

GENROKU KABUKI: CULTURAL PRODUCTION AND IDEOLOGY  
IN EARLY MODERN JAPAN

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## Abstract

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Scholars are in agreement that the kabuki theatre did not attain its first flowering as a complex dramatic art until the Genroku period (1688-1704). The Genroku period is also the earliest for which detailed study of the plays has been possible, due to the large number of playbooks that have survived. For these reasons, Genroku kabuki has long been an object of scholarly attention among Japanese theatre historians. This scholarship, however, has for the most part been shaped by the same ideological concerns that underlie other forms of Japanese intellectual discourse in the modern period. In the Meiji period (1868-1912), for example, efforts were made to find in kabuki a Japanese equivalent to the Western theatre; while in the postwar era, in light of the critique of feudalism following the national defeat, the trend has been to see kabuki as an example of popular culture, one with roots in older indigenous cultural traditions and which not only enjoyed a special relationship with the urban commoner class, but which functioned as a form of resistance to feudal authority. These approaches have sufficiently coloured the received view of Genroku kabuki to warrant a thorough reexamination of the topic. In particular, it is the goal of this study to determine more precisely kabuki's position in Genroku society by analyzing it as a form of cultural and ideological production. The first part of this study takes the form of a sociological examination of Genroku kabuki production. Here it is shown not only that the producers' relationship to their audience and to the samurai class was more fluid and complex than is usually thought, but also how kabuki production itself was the site of varied interests and competing models of cultural and economic production. This is then followed by an attempt to relate this context to the production of ideology in the plays themselves. Through an analysis of important narrative structures found in representative examples of both Kamigata and Edo kabuki plays, it is shown that kabuki in the Genroku era not only spoke to the needs and interests of a varied urban commoner class but was also in significant ways contained within and complicitous with the ideological hegemony of the ruling samurai class.

## Résumé

### Le Genroku kabuki: la production culturelle et l'idéologie au Japon dans l'époque pré-moderne

William James Lee

Né au début du dix-septième siècle, le théâtre kabuki n'a connu sa première floraison comme art dramatique complexe que pendant l'époque Genroku (1688-1704). Grâce à la survivance de nombreux textes-scénarios, l'époque Genroku est aussi la première période dans l'histoire du kabuki dont l'analyse détaillée est possible. Pour ces raisons, le Genroku kabuki est depuis toujours un objet d'étude préféré parmi les spécialistes de l'histoire du théâtre au Japon. Mais ces études, quoiqu'elles soient souvent basées sur des recherches historiques considérables, ont été, pour la plupart, déterminées par les mêmes projets idéologiques qui ont soutenu les autres formes du discours intellectuel dans le Japon moderne. Pendant l'époque Meiji (1868-1912), par exemple, on a essayé de trouver dans le kabuki un équivalent du théâtre occidental, alors que dans l'après-guerre, en conséquence de la défaite et de la critique du féodalisme, les spécialistes de l'histoire du théâtre ont cherché à voir dans le kabuki un exemple de la culture populaire, ayant ses racines dans les traditions folkloriques et ayant fonctionné dans le passé comme forme de résistance au gouvernement féodal. La position de cette thèse est que ces approches problématiques ont suffisamment déformé l'image du Genroku kabuki pour justifier un nouvel examen approfondi de cette époque dans l'histoire du genre. En particulier, nous employons une analyse du kabuki comme forme de la production culturelle et idéologique, afin de déterminer plus précisément sa position dans la société Genroku. La première partie de cette thèse est consacrée à un examen sociologique du Genroku kabuki qui montre non seulement que les relations entre les producteurs, les spectateurs et la classe dirigeante ont été plus fluides et complexes que l'on le croit, mais aussi que la production du kabuki a été le lieu des modèles opposés de la production économique et culturelle. Ensuite, nous essayons d'établir un rapport entre ce contexte productif et la production de l'idéologie. Par une analyse des structures narratives dans plusieurs pièces des régions Kyoto-Osaka et Edo, cette thèse vise à montrer que le Genroku kabuki, quoiqu'il ait répondu aux besoins et intérêts des classes populaires, a servi à reproduire, dans une large mesure, l'hégémonie idéologique de la classe des samourais.

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#### PREFATORY NOTE

Although kabuki is today regarded as one of Japan's "classical" theatres, in the Tokugawa or Edo period (1600-1867) and even into the Meiji period (1868-1912), kabuki was much more fluid and dynamic and decidedly more popular than it has been in the twentieth century. As a consequence, when speaking of kabuki a distinction must be made between two different cultural phenomena: one, the dynamic theatre of the past which depended on a public following for its existence; and the other, the classical, post-Meiji theatre kept alive by the conscious adherence to tradition and by corporate and government support. Even this major division is inadequate for purposes of historical concreteness, however. In order to arrive at an understanding of its social function in the past, kabuki must be studied in more specific contexts than the two-and-a-half centuries of history delimited by the term "Edo period". This dissertation, therefore, will deal neither with kabuki in general nor with Edo-period kabuki as a whole, but rather with a relatively brief period of kabuki history, one largely confined to the Genroku era.

Strictly speaking, the term "Genroku" is a nengō or name given by an emperor to his reign (or an era within his reign). The Genroku era began in the ninth month of 1688 and ended in the third month of 1704. Due to the cultural importance of this era, however, most scholars also use the term "Genroku" to refer to a cultural epoch, the limits of which are usually pushed several years earlier and as much as three or four decades later. My own position, however, is that such an expanded use of the term negates the very historical specificity which the stricter limits of the era provide. In this dissertation, therefore, the designation "Genroku" will be used in a more restricted sense. Most of the plays to be studied fall within the Genroku era proper. The only exceptions are Chikamatsu's sewamono (domestic plays) written for the jōruri or puppet theatre and the kabuki play Sukeroku (first performed 1713). The first of these exceptions is justified by the history of the genre of the sewamono and of Chikamatsu's own career. Since Chikamatsu himself was a major kabuki playwright, it would make little sense to deal

with the Genroku kabuki domestic play without following this up with a look at Chikamatsu's slightly later and much more well-known examples of the genre written for jōruri. As for the play Sukeroku, this will be treated not so much as an example of Genroku kabuki, but as a work which indicates the beginning of a new, post-Genroku period in kabuki history.

In addition to historical specificity, it is also necessary to specify clearly what is meant by the term "kabuki" itself. It is possible, for example, to recognize several different ways in which the term is used. In a strict sense, "kabuki" denotes a particular type of drama or performance. In a broader sense, however, it can refer to the theatres and to the activities of both producers and audiences. Finally, "kabuki" can signify a holistic phenomenon which includes all of the above as well as the various connotations this cultural activity may carry in a given period. In order to prevent confusion, in this study I have tried to avoid use of the unqualified term "kabuki." Whenever I mean a play or a performance, I have used these terms. And when speaking of other aspects of kabuki I have opted for more specific terms (theatres, troupes, production, etc.). Even when using the term "kabuki" in the broadest sense, I have sought to qualify this by specifying whether I mean the kabuki of a certain period (e.g. Genroku kabuki) or of a certain region (e.g. Kamigata [Kyoto and Osaka] or Edo kabuki).

In referring to pre-Genroku kabuki, I have occasionally found it convenient to adopt the common practice of distinguishing between onna kabuki (women's kabuki), wakashū kabuki (boys' kabuki), and yarō kabuki (men's kabuki). The first refers to the period from the beginning of kabuki until the banning of women from the stage in 1629, the second to the period in which the most prevalent type of kabuki was that performed by troupes of boys (1629-1652), and the last to the period following the banning of wakashū kabuki in 1652 until the beginning of the Genroku era.

A few words should also be said here about the position adopted in this dissertation on the translation of titles and technical terms. As a rule, all titles of plays and other primary and secondary sources are given in romanized transliteration. English translations of titles are

provided in the text only if the work in question is of major importance (e.g. a play dealt with in depth) or if the title itself is significant (e.g. a critical work whose title indicates something of its subject matter or approach). The titles of all plays included in the three major corpora defined in chapters four, five, and six are also given in Japanese script in Appendix C. As for theatrical, literary, and other Japanese terms, an English translation will be provided on first mention. Thereafter the English equivalent may sometimes be used in order to avoid excessive underlining. The only exceptions are the subject of this dissertation, kabuki, and a few other terms which are commonly understood, such as "samurai" or "shogun," which will be neither translated nor underlined. Unless an English language work is cited, all translations are mine.

As for Japanese personal names, this study will follow the Japanese practice of placing the family name first followed by given name. In general, when the full name is not used only the family name will be cited. An exception will be made, however, in the case of writers and actors, who are often referred to by their given name (or what corresponds to a given name in the case of a stage name or pseudonym). This practice, though, has its own exceptions. Thus Japanese scholars often use Danjūrō for Ichikawa Danjūrō or Tōjūrō for Sakata Tōjūrō, but Chikamatsu Monzaemon is always Chikamatsu and never Monzaemon. The solution adopted here will be always to follow common Japanese practice.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the kind assistance and encouragement of several individuals. In particular, I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Hara Michio of Meiji University, whose graduate courses on Chikamatsu I attended during the years 1990-92. I wish also to thank Dean Don Nilson and Professor John Mock of Minnesota State University-Akita for their support and encouragement. Most of all, I am indebted to my supervisors, Professors Darko Suvin and Thomas LaMarre, whose patience, advice, and criticisms helped make this a better dissertation and who in no way can be held responsible for any deficiencies that still remain.



Abbreviations

- AA            The Actors' Analects. Eds. and trans. Charles J. Dunn and Torigoe Bunzō.
- CJS            Chikamatsu Jōruri Shū. Ed. Shigetomo Ki.
- CKKS          Chikamatsu Kabuki Kyōgen Shū. Ed. Takano Tatsuyuki.
- CMS            Chikamatsu Monzaemon Shū. Eds. Mori Shū, Torigoe Bunzō, and Nagatomo Chiyoji.
- CZ            Chikamatsu Zenshū. Ed. Chikamatsu Zenshū Kankōkai.
- EKB            Edoban Kyōgenbon. Eds. Torigoe Bunzō and Satō Eri.
- EKBS          Honkoku Eiri Kyōgenbon Shū. Ed. Noma Kōshin.
- FCP            Kabuki: Five Classic Plays. Trans. James R. Brandon.
- GKKS          Genroku Kabuki Kessaku Shū. Eds. Takano Tatsuyuki and Kuroki Kanzō.
- GKS            Genroku Kabuki Shū. Eds. Yuda Yoshi and Tanamachi Tomoya.
- ISS            Ihara Saikaku Shū. Eds. Teruoka Yasutaka et al.
- KHS            Kabuki Hyōbanki Shūsei. Ed. Kabuki Hyōbanki Kenkyūkai.
- KKB            Kamigata Kyōgenbon. Eds. Yuda Yoshio et al.
- KKHS          Kabuki Kyakuhon Shū, vol. 1. Eds. Matsuzaki Hitoshi and Urayama Masao.
- KKS            Kabuki Kyōgen Shū. Ed. Noma Kōshin.
- KMS            Kabuki Meisaku Shū. Ed. Toita Yasuji.
- MPC            Major Plays of Chikamatsu. Trans. Donald Keene
- NSBS          Nihon Shomin Bunka Shiryō Shūsei. Ed. Geinōshi Kenkyūkai.
- SS            Saikaku Shū, vol. 2. Eds. Asō Isoji, Noma Kōshin et al.

CHAPTER ONE  
INTRODUCTION

The Genroku Era in the History of Kabuki

Of all the subperiods of kabuki history it is the Genroku era (1688-1704) that has been most studied and written about. There are reasons for this, one of the most important of which will require the historical survey of discourse on kabuki undertaken below to fully explain. Other more obvious reasons may be mentioned here. It was only shortly before the Genroku era, for example, that kabuki developed into the form of multi-act drama, and it is only beginning with the Genroku era itself that something about the nature of these plays and their performances can be known, due to the fortuitous survival of large numbers of both illustrated playbooks (eiri kyōgenbon) and critiques of actors (yakusha hyōbanki). The Genroku era is also the period in which the great actors Sakata Tōjūrō and Ichikawa Danjūrō I were at the height of their careers and the playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon, best known for his later work in the jōruri puppet theatre, wrote the majority of his kabuki plays. Finally, it was also in the Genroku era that the popular fiction writer Ihara Saikaku (1642-93) and the haiku poet Matsuo Bashō (1644-94) produced their last works. If, as inevitably happens, the limits of the era are stretched so as to include these writers' other important works, then it becomes possible to place Genroku kabuki in the context of a new cultural epoch, one more urban and popular than the courtly or warrior culture that had come before. In this context Saikaku, Bashō and Chikamatsu emerge as a kind of cultural triumvirate, each writer in his own way and in his own genre setting the tastes and tone of the new culture.

These and other reasons have led kabuki scholars to attach special importance to the Genroku period and to see in it an early "golden age" of kabuki and popular culture. I need only cite references to the era in two of the most important histories of the Japanese theatre to give an indication of how this privileging of the period was accomplished and upon what it is based:

With this golden age [saisenki], by which we refer here to the Genroku era, we arrive at a period in which writers and actors excelled, and the common people [ippan kokujin], having finally forgotten the weariness of war, were able to seek pleasure in the theatre. Since it was in this period that most of the structures and performance methods of our national theatre [hōgeki] were worked out, this may also be designated [kabuki's] first period of consummation [daiichi kanseiki]. (Takano, Nihon Engekishi 2: 5)

Having arisen in conjunction with the social conditions which from the end of the sixteenth century mark the early-modern period [kinsei], in the course of the seventeenth century kabuki enjoyed the enthusiastic support of the newly-rising commoner class [shinkō kaikyū taru minshū] and, despite occasional government suppression, went on to reach at the end of the century its first period of consummation, that which later generations would refer to as Genroku kabuki.

(Kawatake, Nihon Engeki Zenshi 325)

In these two passages one finds most of the elements that make up the received view of Genroku kabuki if not of Edo-period kabuki as a whole. This comprises the assertions: 1) that the birth and early development of kabuki were dependent on social conditions marked by a protracted period of peace and the emergence of a significant commoner, i.e. non-samurai, class; 2) that this newly-risen class and its culture was in some way opposed to or distinct from the governing class and its culture; 3) that the brilliance of Genroku kabuki itself was dependent on or at least distinguished by a number of talented actors and playwrights; and 4) that Genroku kabuki in large measure defined the structures and practices of subsequent kabuki.

While it is difficult to reject these assertions out of hand, it is equally difficult to accept them as anything more than generalizations that do little to define the specific historical character of Genroku kabuki. Contributing to this lack of specificity, moreover, has been the

tendency among scholars to see the Genroku era as a cultural epoch whose boundaries are usually expanded to include several other decades of Edo-period history. Takano, for example, uses the term Genroku to refer to a period of some fifty years which begins in the Empō era (1673-1680) and terminates at some point in the Kyōhō era (1716-35) (Nihon Engekishi 2: 6), while Kawatake designates an even longer span of history (1670-1750) as the period of "Genroku culture" or "Genroku kabuki" (Nihon Engeki Zenshi 325-26). When defined in this way and thus set against a background of long-term social and economic change, Genroku culture is inevitably linked with the growing economic importance of the chōnin (urban commoners or townspeople), and the period itself is then seen as the epoch in which this new popular culture arose, flourished, and (if the limits are pushed far enough) also declined.<sup>1</sup>

In criticizing this view I do not mean to deny that there is a connection between socio-economic conditions and culture, which seems to me self-evident. My objection, rather, is that because the notion of a Genroku cultural epoch has long formed part of a historical narrative that stresses the rise of the chōnin, the identification of that culture with the chōnin class has been taken for granted and there has been little attempt to examine critically exactly how the two are related. It is for this reason that I have chosen to concentrate on the kabuki of a relatively short segment of history, one corresponding more closely to the strict limits of the actual Genroku era. Although I will not ignore historical change altogether, I hope that by avoiding the already essentialized category of a "Genroku cultural epoch" and focusing on a rather short period it will be possible to open a space for a synchronic and richer examination of kabuki as a cultural form and activity. Such an approach refuses a predetermined diachronic scheme. But I would argue that it is only by freeing Genroku kabuki from existing teleologies and studying it as a momentarily synchronic, though articulated, system that historical specificity can be achieved. This will then make it possible, through comparison with other periods, to re-examine the question of historical change as well.

It is with the first part of this task, however, that this dissertation is principally concerned. While I hope to offer in the conclusion some tentative observations on Genroku kabuki's place in the history of the genre, my main objective is that of a historically specific analysis, especially as concerns kabuki's cultural and ideological position and function in Genroku society. Due to its association with the chōnin, historical kabuki has often been referred to as an example of "commoner" or "popular" culture, and as a rough measure of its relative cultural position this may well be appropriate. However, unless it is shown precisely in what ways kabuki is marked off against and within other cultural forms or fields of activity, the label "popular" has little real meaning. One must be able to account, for example, not only for the presence of themes and values associated with the urban non-samurai class in kabuki plays, but also for the way these same plays are permeated by and in many ways contained within and reproduce ruling class values and ideology. And to do this it is not enough simply to refer to the increased economic importance of the urban commoners or to point out how kabuki production was hemmed in by government edicts and opposition. What is required, rather, is an analysis of the specific socio-economic structures that determine kabuki as a form of cultural and ideological production.

Unfortunately, it is here that traditional accounts of both Genroku kabuki in particular and Edo-period kabuki in general have been weakest. More often than not, what passes for specification and analysis is limited to the positivist sorting out of historical facts or to the detailed examination of questions of origin, development, or influence. While such work can be useful and is often indispensable, the results cannot serve as anything more than the starting point for the analysis of kabuki as cultural and ideological production in a given period. On the other hand, as will be made clear in the next section of this introduction, when critics and historians do attempt something more than the working out of details, the discursive framework within which such criticism takes place is almost invariably one tied to underlying

ideological concerns with questions of national culture and identity. In the postwar period this criticism has resulted in some necessary corrections to earlier assumptions and has contributed many new insights on historical kabuki. It has also, however, participated in an ideological reconstruction of Japan's past and of kabuki's place within it. This study takes the position, therefore, that there is both room and a need for a new critical approach to kabuki, and that despite its already copious treatment the book on the subject of Genroku kabuki, far from being closed, must not only be reopened but also subjected to a different approach, one based on a theory of cultural and ideological production.

#### A Critical Survey of Modern Discourse on Kabuki

Having already rejected the teleological basis of the received view of Genroku kabuki as well as most recent approaches to the study of kabuki in general, it may seem unnecessary at this point to embark upon a survey of previous contributions to kabuki scholarship. There are good reasons, however, for undertaking such a review. In the first place, I do not wish to unfairly slight the Japanese critics and their work. As has already been suggested, the kind of analysis I feel is now necessary for kabuki does require a certain groundwork, and the wealth of material now available for such analysis is entirely due to the results of two or three generations of careful study and research. The listing and evaluation of such studies is not the prime objective of this review, however. In carrying out my own study of Genroku kabuki I will inevitably and consciously be working against not only traditional views but also a good deal of the more recent scholarship mentioned above. Rather than presenting past work on kabuki as an accumulation of material or as a series of incremental steps in our knowledge of the genre, therefore, this review will seek to place such work within a context of ideological functions and shifting discursive strategies. By doing so, I hope to show how certain approaches and concentrations, as well as certain blind spots, are discursively and ideologically overdetermined. This should not only make it easier to articulate why the approach I

shall be advocating is necessary, but also eliminate the need to situate critics in their ideological context when they are cited later.

Modern kabuki scholarship can be traced back to the Meiji era and to the interest shown in kabuki at that time by members of the educated and governing elite. This was an interest, however, not so much in kabuki as it was or as it had been, but in what it could become. In short, what attracted the elites to the theatre was the possibility of guiding kabuki on a new course, one which would allow it to assume the status of a "national theatre." Thus it is that the discourse on kabuki at this time took the form, not of scholarly study, but of calls for its reform. And since the object of this reform was to create a new national theatre, the direction of reform was itself determined by the conception of the national. In the discourse of the Meiji elite, particularly in the 1870s and 1880s, the national meant a modernized and to a large extent Westernized Japan, one that would be the equal of the industrialized nations of the West. Reform of the theatre, therefore, implied reform along Western lines. It also meant, however, a rejection of a good deal of the kabuki tradition the recovery of which would be the task of later generations of kabuki scholars and producers.

Although some official measures were taken as early as 1872, it was not until the mid 1880s that a concerted effort was mounted to reform kabuki.<sup>2</sup> At the centre of this movement was the Engeki Kairyōkai (Theatre Reform Society), founded in 1886, and among whose members and supporters were the prime minister, the education and foreign ministers, and a host of other leading figures drawn from fields such as scholarship, publishing and industry. According to its prospectus, the three major aims of the society were:

1. to put an end to the evil customs of the theatre and to foster the development of a better theatre;
2. to make the writing of plays an honoured profession;
3. to construct a theatre building suited to the performance of drama and other stage arts, including music.

Elaborating on these goals, the prospectus criticizes kabuki plays for being "lewd" and "vulgar." A reformed theatre, it argues, would be one that "the upper classes can view without embarrassment." Such a theatre, however, would be dependent on better plays, and this in turn, it is suggested, would require encouraging "scholars and men of letters" to become playwrights (qtd. in Hijikata 407). These aims were repeated and other recommendations made by individual members of the society in pamphlets and speeches of the same year. Suematsu Kenchō, for example, who had just returned from a period of study at Cambridge and became the de facto chairman of the society, called not only for the adherence to Western dramatic principles such as the three unities and the separation of comedy and tragedy (108-09), but also for the abolition of such typical features of kabuki performance as the hanamichi (runway), the seriage (stage lift), the chobo accompaniment (recitation by a narrator accompanied by a shamisen) used in plays derived from the jōruri puppet theatre, and the onnagata (female impersonator) (105, 110). Another member of the society, Toyama Masakazu, added to this list the kurombo (veiled stage assistant) and scenes dealing with prostitutes and the licensed prostitution quarters (146-48).

Potentially, the aims of the Theatre Reform Society had major implications for the kabuki world, and it is hard to imagine how anything resembling traditional kabuki could have survived had all the society's recommendations been implemented. The society was short-lived, however, and its direct impact minimal. Nevertheless, the reform movement did have some indirect and long-range consequences. The interest shown in kabuki by the elite, for example, helped to dispel the traditional prejudice against the kabuki world, and eventually the way was opened for writers from the outside to enter the field. Another by-product of the movement, and one of particular interest in the present context, was the impetus it gave to the serious consideration of kabuki, not just as an instrument of cultural modernization, but as a historical theatrical genre. Any attempt at reforming kabuki, after all, implicitly required first a recognition of what kabuki was. Of course, much of what the reformers



saw was rejected, but there were some aspects of kabuki which, even in a climate of reform based on Western models, could be accepted.

It is in the discourse of reform itself that the first hints of an opening for a more positive evaluation of kabuki can be found. Toyama, for example, expresses a preference for the older (i.e. pre-Meiji) plays in the kabuki repertoire, claiming that some of them approach Shakespeare's work in transcending the particular time and place in which they were produced, although for reasons of propriety he will not accept these plays without the removal of certain "objectionable" scenes (144-45). Even Suematsu, perhaps the most fervent of reformers, concedes that in the past Japan did have some playwrights of worth. "A Shakespeare," he argues, "may not appear for generations, but even though Chikamatsu Monzaemon and Takeda Izumo cannot be counted in the same class, it does not seem as if anyone will appear soon to rival them" (107). No doubt this remark was meant to emphasize the unlikelihood of any of the existing playwrights contributing to Suematsu's vision of a reformed theatre. The mention of Chikamatsu (1653-1724) and Takeda (1691-1756), both principally jōruri playwrights but whose works in kabuki versions were still performed, does suggest, however, the possibility of co-opting part of the native tradition for the reform movement. Moreover, that this distinction should fall to writers, and in particular to writers for jōruri, who are considered to have exercised more control over their texts than their counterparts in the actor-centred kabuki, further suggests that if there were room in reformist discourse for a rehabilitation of the theatre of the past, this would be conceived as a literary theatre.

While both Suematsu and Toyama use the example of earlier Japanese plays and playwrights, it should not be forgotten that it was within a context of sweeping social restructuring that these concessions to the kabuki tradition were granted. It was, in other words, only that aspect of the tradition that could be made to fit into a Western-based model for reform that was accepted and allowed to serve itself as a model. Nevertheless, inasmuch as this discursive strategy implied that reform need not entail the complete rejection of the Japanese tradition, it

provided an opening for a new appreciation of historical kabuki and for the construction of a distinctly national theatrical tradition. It would be several decades, however, before the full potential of this opening was realized. In the meantime, discourse on kabuki continued to be shaped by the possibility of reform. This is not to say that these intervening years can be passed over without further comment, however, for it is only in this period that it becomes possible to speak of the study of kabuki as a scholarly activity.

The critic who more than any other was responsible for making the study of the theatre a respected scholarly pursuit was Tsubouchi Shōyō. In the history of Japanese literature Shōyō is perhaps best known for his Shōsetsu Shinzui (The Essence of the Novel, 1885-86), generally considered the first important work of modern Japanese literary criticism, and for his association with Futabatei Shimei, author of Ukigumo, arguably Japan's first modern novel. In the context of his own career, however, the mediating role Shōyō played in the development of modern Japanese prose fiction ranks a distant second when compared to his nearly life-long devotion to the theatre. Soon after the publication of Shōsetsu Shinzui, Shōyō turned his attention to the theatre, and from then until his death in 1935 his activities ranged over virtually every aspect of the field. In addition to his critical work on the theatre, which will be the main focus here, Shōyō also produced a number of original plays of his own, as well as a complete translation of Shakespeare. To this must be added the activities of his Bungei Kyōkai (Literary Arts Association, 1906-13), which was responsible for the staging of several plays by modern European playwrights and which thus ranks alongside Osanai Kaoru's Jiyū Gekijō (Free Theatre, 1909-19) as one of the principle innovative forces behind the shingeki (new theatre) movement.

While Shōyō's activities in the field of drama and the theatre cover more or less the entire spectrum, it could be said that they were really only different aspects of one common project: the creation of a national theatre. This is not to say that Shōyō necessarily always had a clear conception of how all these activities fit together. Rather, his

research into Japan's theatrical past and study of foreign models must be seen against an ideological horizon where the past was always connected to the future through the mediation of the national and the national always implied a consciousness of the West. This applies to all of Shōyō's critical works, even those purporting to deal specifically with historical topics. In such works the examination of the past is always haunted by the question of Japan's national identity and by the example of the West, and thus the option of reform is never entirely absent.

What Shōyō saw in the theatre of the West and found lacking in traditional Japanese theatre was a literary quality. He was, therefore, critical of the Theatre Reform Society's emphasis on theatre architecture and questions of morality, and in his own contribution to the reform debate unequivocally stated his position that reform of the theatre depended above all on producing better scripts, and that this required the recognition of playscripts as literature:

The reform of playscripts, this is the essential basis of any theatre reform, and unless this is carried out, all other reform measures will be of no avail....Since, fundamentally, the main purpose of the theatre, as of the novel, is to portray the truth (the truth of human emotions, the truth of social conditions), to be so concerned with externals as to kill this truth is a dangerous priority. ("Engeki Kairyōkai no Sōritsu" 252)

It is thus by equating drama with the novel that Shōyō is able to bring the whole discussion of theatre and theatre reform into the realm of literature. While his definition of the aim of literature may sound like a recipe for a nineteenth-century European novel, no doubt Shōyō's reading of Shakespeare, whom he had already started translating by this time, also lay behind his ascribing literary value to dramatic texts. He would, in any case, have been aware, as indeed other reformers were, of the great prestige Shakespeare's plays enjoyed and the scholarly attention they received. That such attention was lacking in Japan was evidence to him of the deficiencies of the Japanese theatre.

That traditional kabuki plays should be seen as defective when viewed as literature is not surprising given the primacy of stage performance in historical kabuki and the consequent lack of an independent tradition of dramatic literature. Shōyō's critical assumption that theatre is literature prevented him from accepting this, however, and led him on the one hand to a critique of traditional kabuki, and on the other to an effort at reforming the contemporary theatre. In order that the picture he painted of the traditional theatre be not entirely negative, however, and therefore undermine the possibility of a new national theatre building on the foundation of the past, a third alternative, one already suggested by Suematsu and Toyama, was to find in the tradition at least some limited or potential literary quality. This Shōyō found in the jōruri of Chikamatsu, particularly in Chikamatsu's sewamono (topical or domestic plays). An early indication of this can be found in "Makubesu Hyōshaku no Chogen" (Preface to a Commentary on Macbeth, 1891), where Shōyō suggests that "Shakespeare is a larger version of Japan's own Chikamatsu Monzaemon," and argues that "Chikamatsu's sewamono, like Shakespeare's works, are exceedingly close to nature" (86-87). That Shōyō should bring in the example of Chikamatsu in a discussion of Shakespeare was surely no accident. For it was precisely by comparing the two that Chikamatsu was elevated to the status of literary genius and national icon. Yet if the two playwrights really were comparable, why was it, one might ask, that Shakespeare enjoyed universal praise while Chikamatsu was hardly appreciated in his own country? This discrepancy Shōyō could only attribute to the lack of a critical tradition in Japan. Had his works enjoyed the same history of commentary and scholarship as Shakespeare's had, he argues, "Chikamatsu would surely not be regarded as a mere Japanese writer of jōruri but would occupy a far loftier position" (87).

If Chikamatsu had been deprived of such critical attention, he was now about to receive it. The very next year the publishing house Musashiya came out with a collection of Chikamatsu's sewamono plays. This was followed in 1896-97 by the two volumes of plays (one devoted exclusively to sewamono) edited by Aeba Kōson for Hakubunkan's Teitoku

Bunko series. During the same period Shōyō, Shimamura Hōgetsu, Satō Meiyō, and others wrote a number of articles on Chikamatsu for Waseda Bungaku, while the critic Takayama Chogyū had his Chikamatsu essays published in the journals Teitoku Bungaku and Taiyō. It is in the Waseda Bungaku articles, which in 1900 were republished as the book Chikamatsu no Kenkyū (Studies of Chikamatsu), that Shōyō and his colleagues defined the essence of Chikamatsu's drama as "the conflict between giri (duty; social obligation) and ninjō (human emotions)" (Tsubouchi and Tsunajima 116), a definition that has continued to shape interpretations of Chikamatsu's work ever since.

The result of all this activity was to open the way for Chikamatsu to become the first writer of the traditional popular theatre to be accepted into the canon of national literature. It also started the tradition within Chikamatsu studies of ascribing a privileged position to his sewamono, despite the fact that jidaimono (history plays) actually take up a far greater place in Chikamatsu's oeuvre. As Shōyō argued in his first major essay on the Japanese theatre, "Waga Kuni no Shigeki" (The Japanese History Play, 1893-94), it was precisely due to their literary quality that the sewamono deserved this privilege:

The literature of the Japanese theater world has never suffered from a deficiency of good writers, whether Chikamatsu Sōrinshi [Monzaemon] in the past or Furukawa [Kawatake] Mokuami more recently. There are not a few plays, at least if one restricts one's vision to the domain of the sewamono, which by virtue of superior texts written by men of superior skill almost approach the Elizabethan drama. (287; trans. in Keene, Dawn to the West 411; emphasis added)

This very positive assessment of sewamono is immediately followed by a critique of jidaimono, which are described as "nonsensical" and "implausible." This contrast suggests that for Shōyō the literary quality of sewamono lay in their realism, or to paraphrase his earlier statement on the "main purpose" of theatre, in their truthful depiction of human emotions and society. The contrast also implies that, whereas the

sewamono could be accepted into the canon as is, the jidaimono would first have to be reformed. This is indeed the main point of Shōyō's essay, and after reviewing a number of attempts at reforming the history play, he goes on to make his own recommendations, all of which are based on Western theory or practice.

Shōyō followed "Waga Kuni no Shigeki" with a history play of his own, Kiri Hitoha (A Paulownia Leaf, 1894-95; first performed 1904),<sup>3</sup> and over the next two decades he played an active role in the contemporary theatre. Later in his career, however, he turned once again to the theatre of the past, helping to lay the foundation for the academic study of Japan's theatrical tradition. Even here, though, Shōyō was not able to overcome his ambivalent attitude towards kabuki. In his 1918 essay "Kabukigeki no Tetteiteki Kenkyū" (A Thorough Study of the Kabuki Theatre), for example, he makes many recommendations for the study of the historical theatre and even provides a sociological sketch of kabuki history of his own. His characterization of kabuki, however, is still marked by an elitist prejudice. Its low birth and lack of artistic principles, he suggests, have led kabuki throughout its history to adopt all manner of theatrical devices and performance styles, with the result that it has become a "chimera," a multi-headed monster that is not only difficult to analyze but resistant to reform (44-50). As his conclusion makes clear, however, analysis and reform still remain Shōyō's only options:

The above is an outline of the method and order for the study of Kabuki as a necessary preparation for the improvement of our national theatre. In order to build a future "self," it is indispensable for us to be thoroughly acquainted with our "self" in the past. So must Kabuki -- a relic of the past and an enemy standing in our way for the improvement of our national theatre -- be taken up as the object of study, so that we may become aware of the true substance, the strong and the weak points of our national theatre as exemplified in its representative form. (Tsubouchi and Yamamoto 167).

For Shōyō, then, the study of kabuki was ultimately always inseparable from -- indeed, always subordinate to -- the creation of a national theatre, and in this his position did not differ significantly from that of the Meiji-period reformers. In the meantime, however, other forms of theatre such as shimpa (new school) and shingeki (new theatre) had arisen, and the older nō theatre had been revived after tottering on the brink of extinction. Thus, by the second or third decade of the twentieth century kabuki was no longer the obvious choice to lead the movement for a national theatre. The kabuki scholars who followed in Shōyō's wake, therefore, settled more easily into the task of researching Japan's theatrical past, and the result was a great period of scholarly activity that saw the consolidation of much historical information.

Most of this work was carried out by two major research groups. In 1928 a theatre museum was established to commemorate Shōyō's seventieth birthday and the completion of his translation of Shakespeare's works, and this became the base for a number of theatre scholars, most notably Kawatake Shigetoshi, a former student of Shōyō's and the adopted son of the last great traditional kabuki playwright, Kawatake Mokuami. The other important research group was the Tōdai Engekishi Kenkyū Gakkai (Society for the Study of Theatre History) centred at Tokyo University around the scholar Takano Tatsuyuki. In 1938 Takano's younger colleague, Shuzui Kenji, started a separate kabuki research group, the Tōdai Kabuki Kenkyūkai. According to one historical review of theatre research, the Waseda group was characterized by its study of theatre from the point of view of Western dramatic theory, whereas the Tokyo University group's approach was more akin to that of the discipline of kokubungaku or Japanese literature studies (Hayashiya et al. 74-76). While this is true in a general sense, it should be added that these two approaches also had much in common, including a noticeable positivist attitude towards historical research. It is this positivism, the belief that the truth of the past will yield itself up to exhaustive historical study and classification, that is reflected in the massive histories of the Japanese theatre by Kawatake and Takano which were cited earlier. Although these

works appeared in the postwar period, they are both the fruits of as well as characteristic of the research undertaken in the prewar period.

This is not to say that this research represented a major break from Shōyō's approach to the theatre. Indeed, among the Tokyo University group in particular the privileging of Chikamatsu and his age -- the Genroku period -- was still very much evident. Of the three volumes of Takano's Nihon Engekishi, for example, one is devoted entirely to the early history of kabuki up to and including the Genroku period, while another is almost completely taken up with Chikamatsu. Likewise, one of the group's collaborative works (Genroku-geki Hen, 1936) deals exclusively with the Genroku theatre. Members of the group, moreover, were also involved with the editing of texts, and we have Takano to thank for the first collections of Genroku period plays: Genroku Kabuki Kessaku Shū (2 vols., 1925), co-edited with Kuroki Kanzō; and Chikamatsu Kabuki Kyōgen Shū (2 vols., 1927). The latter work, a collection of Chikamatsu's kabuki kyōgenbon (playbooks), supplements Takano and Kuroki's edition of Chikamatsu's jōruri plays, Chikamatsu Monzaemon Zenshū (10 vols., 1922-24), one of three "complete works" of Chikamatsu published at this time in celebration of the two-hundredth anniversary of Chikamatsu's death.<sup>4</sup> Although Kawatake, perhaps because of his ties through his adopted father to late Edo kabuki, tended to focus less on the Genroku period, his work also shows a tendency to focus on plays and playwrights. He too, for example, was responsible for editing a number of collections of kabuki plays, and among his major works are one devoted to authors, Kabuki Sakusha no Kenkyū (1940), and another dealing with the history of Japanese dramatic literature, Nihon Gikyoku Shi (1964).

Despite the greater willingness to accept kabuki, then, methodologically speaking the work of the later prewar period does not go much beyond the example set by Shōyō. If anything, the study of kabuki in an academic setting seems to have legitimized the literary approach, as well as the tendency towards exhaustive historical research. Both kinds of scholarship are still practiced today, and in this sense the work of Takano and Kawatake, despite being superseded in many details, remains



representative of the mainstream of theatre research in Japan. This continuity is also reflected in the continued privileging of Chikamatsu and the Genroku era in the postwar period. Some of the most important titles in this regard are Suwa Haruo's Genroku Kabuki no Kenkyū (1967; rev. ed. 1983) and Chikamatsu Sewa Jōruri no Kenkyū (1974), Matsuzaki Hitoshi's Genroku Geki Kenkyū (1979), and Torigoe Bunzō's Genroku Kabuki Kō (1991). These works are rich in historical detail, and for this reason they have all been useful sources for the present study. Yet they seldom go beyond the weighing of evidence and working out of details for the purpose of settling questions about influence and development, as in Suwa and Matsuzaki's case, or about the relationship between text and performance, as in Torigoe's. One would look in vain for a critical reexamination of some of the assumptions about Genroku kabuki that one finds in Takano or Kawatake. It is for this reason that the few attempts at methodological innovation in the postwar period have been so striking and, potentially at least, so promising. Yet these new methodologies prove themselves to be ultimately related to an ideological agenda which, although employing a different strategy, has the same aim as earlier discourse on kabuki, namely the construction of a national theatre and, by this means, a national identity. Whereas the Meiji reformers and Shōyō sought this symbol of the national in a new theatre based on Western models, however, postwar discourse came to seek the national character precisely in the "Japaneseness" of the theatre of the past.

One of the two scholars most often associated with methodological innovation in the postwar years is Hayashiya Tatsusaburō. In his own review of early postwar work on kabuki, Moriya Takeshi defines the approach to theatre history established by Hayashiya as kankyō-ron or "environmental study" ("Kenkyū no Tebiki" 338). Certainly in light of Hayashiya's emphasis on the social context of the performing arts this designation is appropriate, but one might also refer to it as "people's history." For as a product of the late 1940s and early 1950s, Hayashiya's approach must be seen against the background of the postwar reassessment of Japanese history and in the context, as the preface to

his Kabuki Izen (Before Kabuki, 1954) makes clear, of attempts to come to terms with the legacy of Japan's feudal past:

Today kabuki, nō, and kyōgen, as well as the tea ceremony and flower arranging, are generally considered to be "traditional arts." However, not only does the feudalistic society that produced them still have strong roots in the world around us, but the development of modern and democratic trends opposed to this is not yet general and widespread. At a time like this, the role played by the so-called traditional arts becomes a very delicate matter. How are we to view this role? No doubt there are aspects of these arts that need to be faithfully continued, as well as aspects that should be discarded. On this question kabuki especially has been the subject of lively debate (i).<sup>5</sup>

Hayashiya's purpose in this and other works, however, was not to enter directly into the debate about the feudal legacy of the "traditional arts." For him, rather, before such a debate could be carried out productively, what was necessary was the calm and thorough study of the history of these arts, not only as concerns their internal development, but also from the point of view of the social environment in which they evolved (i). And since the performing arts had always been a part of "the life of the people," this history, he argues, must not only be "scientific," it must be a "people's history" (minshū no rekishi) (3-4).

According to Moriya, Hayashiya's contribution to theatre history lies in his emphasis on three related aspects of the social organization of artistic production ("Kenkyū no Tebiki" 338-39). The first of these is the relationship between the producers (the artists themselves), their patrons or economic backers, and their audience. Important for the study of kabuki in this connection is Hayashiya's thesis that in the late Muromachi period, that is, just before the dawn of kabuki, the social site of artistic creation and reception shifted, in Kyoto at least, to the urban machishū, the class of prosperous townspeople who were allied culturally with the lower-ranking samurai and members of the impoverished

nobility. The second area of inquiry concerns the origin and social position of the artists themselves. Hayashiya's achievement here lies in tracing the origin of Muromachi and early Edo-period performers to outcast or other social groups of low status in early medieval or even ancient Japan. As regards kabuki, this not only provides a perspective through which to view the social function of itinerant entertainers such as Okuni, the purported founder of the genre, it also accounts for the continued low social status of kabuki performers and the fact that they were pejoratively referred to as "kawaramono" (riverside inhabitants) or "kawara kojiki" (riverside beggars). The third focus of Hayashiya's study of the social environment of the performing arts is summed up in his notion of yoriai (coming together, assembly) and concerns the structure and organization of performance and performing groups. Starting with ancient shrine associations (miyaza), Hayashiya traces the development of performance organizations through the medieval za (guild) to the iemoto (family head) system of the Edo period, together with a parallel shift in performance location from the shrine, to the temporary stages of kanjin-nō (subscription nō) performances, through to the establishment of the permanent kabuki stage.

These three aspects of the social organization of the performing arts are the foci not only of Kabuki Izen but of many of Hayashiya's other works on the Japanese theatre, including Nihon Engeki no Kankyō (The Environment of Japanese Theatre, 1947), Kabuki no Seiritsu (The Formation of Kabuki, 1949), and Chūsei Geinōshi no Kenkyū (A Study of the History of the Medieval Performing Arts, 1960). What is important to keep in mind, however, is that Hayashiya is primarily a historian of medieval Japan, a fact reflected in all these works. Even his two books on kabuki include substantial sections on the medieval period, and in neither does the treatment of kabuki proper extend beyond the formative years (roughly the first half century) of the genre. For subsequent work on kabuki, therefore, it could be said that the value of Hayashiya's work has been chiefly as a methodological model, and that it has been up to other scholars to pick up where he left off and apply his approach to later

periods of kabuki history. At the same time, however, by emphasizing its prehistory and inscribing kabuki into a long tradition of performing arts -- a tradition going back in some cases to even before the medieval period -- Hayashiya's "people's history" approach suggests that the real significance of kabuki lies not so much in terms of its ideological role in the Edo period as in the tradition itself and whatever communal or semi-religious functions the performing arts may have fulfilled in an earlier era. The implication of this for the debate about kabuki's feudalism is that, since kabuki belongs not only to the "people" but to a long tradition that predates feudalism in Japan, whatever feudal ideology may be present in kabuki can be dismissed as inessential.

A similar rehabilitation of kabuki in the context of postwar efforts to rewrite Japanese history can be found in the work of Gunji Masakatsu, the critic primarily responsible for the other major methodological innovation in kabuki studies. If the distinguishing feature of Hayashiya's approach is its emphasis on the social background and organization of production and reception, Gunji's emphasis is on the cultural background that has shaped the plays and their performance. It is for this reason that Moriya, who dubbed Hayashiya's theatre history "environmental study," has labeled Gunji's approach "geitai-ron" or "study of artistic form" ("Kenkyū no Tebiki" 338). Again, however, other designations are possible, and the one that would be most appropriate is "folklore studies" (minzokugaku).

Although the first examples of Gunji's application of the folklorist's methodology can be found in the essays collected in Kabuki: Yōshiki to Denshō (Kabuki: Form and Tradition, 1954), his first explicit theoretical statements on the subject are contained in two articles published in the journal Bungaku in 1956. These articles, "Kabuki to Minzokugaku" (Kabuki and Folklore Studies) and "Kabuki Kenkyū ni okeru Minkan Denshō no Kadai" (The Question of Folklore in Kabuki Studies), were both later republished as part of Gunji's Kabuki no Hassō (The Conception of Kabuki, 1959). Gunji begins the first of these essays with a criticism of previous approaches to theatre scholarship. What goes by

the name of theatre history in Japan, he complains, has tended, under the influence of Western dramatic theory, to treat theatre as a literary genre and thus concentrate on the plays alone, or else has been the work of antiquarians for whom theatre history resembles a museum display. Neither of these approaches, he argues, have been able to answer the basic question as to what is the "essence" ("honshitsu") of the Japanese theatre (Kabuki no Hassō 4). It is for this reason that he suggests turning to the folklore studies begun in the prewar period by Yanagita Kunio and carried on by Orikuchi Shinobu.

For Gunji, the value of the folklore approach is that it treats the traditional performing arts as living theatre and allows the researcher to experience them as part of life. As such, it often serves as a means of correcting the static image of those arts derived solely from the study of historical documents. In the first instance this involves looking for living evidence of past forms of the performing arts in rural survivals. One example of this is Gunji's work on the early history of kabuki, in which he sought -- and apparently found -- remnants of the dances performed by Okuni and other early kabuki troupes in certain folk dances still performed in villages on the Sea of Japan coast (Kabuki no Hassō 13-18). The value of this type of research for theatre history, of course, depends on the degree to which these rural remnants have survived unchanged, and as Gunji himself warns, caution must be exercised in using this kind of evidence (Kabuki no Hassō 8).

Even where such "living evidence" is not available, however, Gunji still sees the methodology of minzokugaku as essential to the study of the traditional theatre. In this case it is a matter of looking for keys to understanding particular acting or staging techniques or aspects of the form and content of plays in popular beliefs, rituals, customs and folk literature. The best example here is provided by Gunji's research on the aragoto (rough business) style of acting in kabuki. As he points out in Kabuki no Hassō, theatre history in the narrow sense can only conclude that this particular acting style was the creation of the actor Danjūrō I alone (8). An examination of popular religious iconography, however,

reveals that many features of the costume as well as the mie (stylized poses) of the actor in aragoto roles are drawn from images of Buddhist guardian deities (Kabuki: Yōshiki to Denshō 15-31). Moreover, Gunji has argued that the typical aragoto hero's superhuman power stems from his identification in the popular consciousness with arahitogami, vengeful human-gods, the fear and appeasement of whom formed the core of the popular religious belief known as goryō. It is this identification, Gunji claims, which is ultimately responsible for the privileged position accorded in Edo kabuki to plays dealing with the revenge of the Soga brothers, the younger of whom (Gorō) is invariably portrayed as an aragoto figure (Kabuki no Hassō 40-53).

If the above can serve as examples of how the methodology of folklore studies is used by Gunji to illuminate specific aspects of kabuki history, plays, and performance, there is also a sense in which minzokugaku, in this case more as a general approach, informs the whole of Gunji's work and shapes his view of kabuki. This can be seen in the assumption, often explicitly stated, that kabuki represents the historical continuation of the folk theatre. In Kabuki: Yōshiki to Denshō, comparing kabuki performances to the feasts or banquets that were a part of medieval religious festivals, Gunji refers to this traditional folkloric quality as kabuki's "banquet nature" (kyōensei) (3). Although he in this case adds that it is a banquet "from which the gods have been exiled," it cannot be said that he always makes a clear distinction between religious and non-religious performing arts and their respective functions. In kabuki no Hassō, for example, he argues that

it is their original conception in the context of religious rites (shinji) that has structured the performing arts, and however much they have evolved they are still governed by this conception. Even kabuki, which developed furthest in the direction of dramatic literature, could not avoid this basic structure. (24)

For Gunji this banquet-like or folkloric structure manifests itself in a number of features that characterize kabuki as a whole. These include:

the lack of a clear separation between the real world and the theatre, evident in the performance space and resulting in an intimacy between actors and audience; the repetitive, seasonal structure of the kabuki calendar, which gives to each new production the atmosphere of an annual festival; the prevalence of the familiar and the typical; and, as an extension of the performing arts' original function as shinji, the emphasis on the extraordinary, often taking the form of sudden transformations (Yōshiki to Denshō 3-14; Kabuki no Hassō 20-39).

If an emphasis on the folkloric is what characterizes Gunji's work, however, it is this same emphasis that invites criticism. What is debatable is precisely the extent to which folklore has shaped and remained unchanged in kabuki. It could be argued, for example, that minzokugaku can do no more than indicate the folkloric origins of certain elements in kabuki, for while these elements may still be present, it is doubtful whether in the context of urban Edo-period society they still had the same significance or fulfilled the same function as they had in an earlier age or in a rural festive setting. Seen in this light, Gunji's insistence on continuity can only lead back to the ideological context of postwar Japan and the revision of Japanese history. In this context, Gunji, like Hayashiya, has to deal with the problem of Edo-period feudalism and, by extension, the feudal legacy in the militarism of the 1930s and the war period; and like Hayashiya he attempts to clear kabuki of any implication in this feudalism by placing it in an alternative tradition. For Hayashiya this alternative or "little tradition" is one developed by medieval performers for the people, while for Gunji it is the folk tradition.

There is, however, another ideological factor at work here, both in Hayashiya's people's history and, to an even greater extent, in Gunji's folkloric approach, and this is the concern for the national identity. For if it is important to both Hayashiya and Gunji to absolve kabuki of any complicity in feudalism, it is also part of their ideological agenda to show that the performing arts tradition to which kabuki belongs is a distinctly Japanese tradition. This is why for Gunji studying kabuki is

not only a matter of determining its dramatic or performative features, but also its "ethnological characteristics" (Kabuki no Hassō 20). And if the national character in kabuki has been tarnished by the Confucianist ideology of feudalism, in Gunji's eyes an even greater danger lies in the processes of modernization and Westernization at work in Japan since the Meiji period. These processes, Gunji warns, have not only alienated the people off from their performing arts tradition, they are threatening to turn kabuki into a "nationless vagrant" (Kabuki no Hassō 20), while at the same time preventing the development of any new theatrical form which will adequately reflect the national character:

The influence of the Engeki Kairyōkai with its imported Western rationalism and superficial dramatic theory has gradually cut kabuki off from the real conditions of popular life, resulting in the large gap that exists between the two today. It is not shingeki but the scorn and hostility shown to tradition as a result of the importation of Western theatre that has been the great misfortune of both kabuki and the modern theatre. If instead of facing this fact we opt for the frivolous solution of simply mixing the East and the West, what can this possibly contribute to the future of the Japanese theatre? A more desirable approach, I believe, would be to confront the modern from the context of the [Japanese] performing arts tradition, that is to say, by first looking at how kabuki carries on that tradition, how it spread amongst the people, where its power of entertainment lies, and, above all, by ascertaining what in that tradition is feudal and what is not. Only then can creation begin. (Kabuki no Hassō 39).

In taking up the question of the future theatre, then, Gunji returns to the Meiji-period concern for the national identity and the creation of a national theatre. Gunji, however, is now armed with a different strategy to accomplish this aim; for whereas the reformers and Shōyō saw in kabuki a theatrical form in need of much Western-based reform before it could



serve as the foundation for a new national theatre, for Gunji it is not a matter of reforming kabuki but of preserving it in its pristine form, unsullied by feudalism and modernization. As he later suggests in the revised edition of his Kabuki Nyūmon (Introduction to Kabuki, 1954; first rev. ed. 1962), if it is the scholar's task as a researcher to uncover this form, it is his duty as a citizen to demand of kabuki today its "strict classicization" (15).

Although Hayashiya and Gunji's most influential work appeared in the early postwar period, their approaches have continued to shape the study of Japanese theatre history in general and kabuki in particular. The emphasis on Japanese traditions, for example, which is so striking in both scholars' work, is reflected in the increased preference in the postwar period for the terms geinō (performing arts) and geinōshi (history of the performing arts) over the more usual prewar terms engeki (theatre) and engekishi (theatre history). This preference, which bespeaks a willingness to include in the domain of study folk performance (minzoku geinō) and other traditional arts, is evident, for instance, in the work of the Geinōshi Kenkyūkai (Society for the Study of the History of the Performing Arts), which was founded in 1963 and has since put out a regular journal, Geinōshi Kenkyū, as well as two multi-volume collaborative works on the performing arts in Japan, Nihon no Koten Geinō (Japanese Classical Performing Arts, 10 vols., 1969-71) and Nihon Geinōshi (History of the Japanese Performing Arts, 7 vols., 1981-89).

At the same time, however, if in opening up new research areas that allow for a broader social or cultural contextualization of kabuki Hayashiya and Gunji's work can be termed epoch-making, it cannot be said that these achievements were immediately followed by other, equally innovative research. Moriya, for example, has several times alluded to the subsequent dry period in kabuki research ("Kenkyū no Tebiki" 339-40; Kinsei Geinō 1-2, 15-16). In Moriya's view, what was exciting about Hayashiya's "environmental study" and Gunji's "study of artistic form" was not so much the new research areas themselves nor these scholars' own work in them, but the fact that the very emergence of new approaches

represented an effort at theoretical and methodological advance in the field of theatre history. The problem with later scholarship, according to Moriya, is that rather than carry on this effort most scholars have been content to simply fill in the gaps in Hayashiya and Gunji's work or concentrate on other, isolated problems. As a result, not only has there been little theoretical advance, little effort towards achieving an "Aufhebung" of the two approaches, but the methodological questions these approaches raised in the first place have been more or less forgotten. Hence, one might add, the continuation of the older, positivist brand of historical research noted earlier, for which the introduction of questions concerning folklore and traditional performance structures has meant only more details to be worked out and more lines of influence to be traced.

There have, however, been a few exceptions. One which Moriya points to is Imao Tetsuya's Henshin no Shisō (The Concept of Metamorphosis, 1970). This work, actually a collection of essays written during the 1960s, contains among other things Imao's most important writing on the Genroku theatre, and thus will be referred to later in connection with specific aspects of Genroku kabuki. What should be noted here is something of Imao's general approach. In this sense one of the most interesting parts of Henshin no Shisō, and one that provides a perspective on the rest of the book, is the first chapter, which Imao calls "A Fragment." This is basically a theoretical analysis and critique of the modern or bourgeois theatre. Quoting from Diderot and other theoreticians of theatre, Imao attempts to show how the rise of the bourgeois theatre with its "fourth-wall" theory and emphasis on individualized characters at the same time represents a certain impoverishment of the theatre. It was, in other words, not simply a movement away from plays about kings and princes to plays about the common man; it was a movement from theatre for and about Man to theatre for and about the bourgeois individual, a movement from popular culture to high culture, from poetry to prose, from collective creation to creation by the author, and, ultimately, from theatre as theatre to theatre as literature. This modern, literary conception of the theatre, moreover, has become dominant in Japan as well

and at least since the early twentieth century has also affected kabuki. Inasmuch, though, as it is based on Enlightenment and nineteenth-century ideals and values, this literary modernity is already out-of-date, and thus Imao calls for its rejection. This rejection, however, at the same time opens up the possibility of a return to the richness of theatre as theatre, such as existed in the premodern period. For this reason, Imao concludes, the renewal of the theatre must begin with "reflection on the premodern theatre," and it is in terms of such a reflection that he wishes his work on kabuki to be read (12).

Although Imao is thus in agreement with Gunji in rejecting the Western derived modern theatre and in seeing the traditional theatre as a key to going beyond the modern, Henshin no Shisō also includes a criticism of Gunji's folklore approach. While Imao concedes that minzokugaku has been far more successful than the literary approach in constructing an image of kabuki in its "totality," its inherent weakness, he argues, is its inability to treat kabuki in terms of its own historical context and development (18-19). The example Imao is dealing with here is the very theme of transformation, which, as has been seen, Gunji points to as evidence of the folkloric world view in kabuki plays and performances. Rather than seeing transformations in kabuki as a continuation of the performing arts' function of fulfilling the people's desire to see gods manifest or miracles performed, Imao views it as a kind of entertainment, the pleasure of which lies in witnessing liberation from a closed or suffocating reality and the possibility of realizing the utopian reality of what should be (59-60). It hardly needs to be said that the suffocating reality from which, in Imao's scheme of things, transformation represents liberation is the feudal structure of Edo-period society itself.

A somewhat similar view of kabuki's social function can be found in the work of Nishiyama Matsunosuke, arguably the most widely recognized authority on the history of old Edo and its people. In an article first published in 1960 and entitled "Kabuki no Dentō: Fueki no Ronri" (The Kabuki Tradition and its Immutable Logic), Nishiyama writes:

As a theatre by and for the people, kabuki was constantly under the oppression of the bakufu. Under such political oppression, the reason that kabuki, a form of commercial entertainment, received the enthusiastic support of the people is that for them it represented the best possible means of liberation. Unable to achieve liberation themselves by consciously confronting their antagonists, the people sought instead other original means....It was this function demanded of the theatre by the people that gave kabuki its mission. (Edo Kabuki 264)

Like Imao, Nishiyama is here trying to build a case for kabuki performances as, if not political theatre, at least something more than pure entertainment or escapism. For Nishiyama, however, this spirit of liberation manifests itself not in transformations but in the aragoto heroes of Edo kabuki plays such as Soga Gorō and, in particular, Sukeroku, his prime example of the Edoites' proud opposition to their samurai masters (Edo Kabuki 174-75, 265). Even if it can be accepted that kabuki did serve as a kind of substitute liberation for a politically frustrated people, there is still the question concerning the degree to which kabuki, precisely as a form of pseudo-liberation, embodies and is contained within the dominant ideology. That both Imao and Nishiyama fail to deal with this question and instead attempt to read into kabuki a form of subdued or indirect opposition to the feudal order suggests that here too an effort is being made to clear kabuki of the charge of feudalism, albeit by means of a different strategy: whereas Hayashiya and Gunji absolve kabuki of this charge by inserting it into alternative traditions with roots in the past, Imao and Nishiyama locate kabuki within a contemporary popular culture which is distinct from and opposed to the feudal system.

Another criticism that could be made of Nishiyama's assessment of kabuki's role in Edo-period society would be to question whether there is not a contradiction between "theatre by and for the people" and "commercial entertainment." It is interesting to note that Nishiyama is

in fact one of the few kabuki historians to have systematically studied kabuki's commercial structure. In an article entitled "Kabuki no Kōgyōshi" (Kabuki Entrepreneurs), he argues that what makes the appearance of Okuni kabuki at the beginning of the seventeenth century epoch-making is that it set the pattern for the performing arts to be "sold as commodities" (215-16). This commercialism, however, is invariably given a positive interpretation by Nishiyama. In the passage cited above, for example, it is implied that kabuki producers' responsiveness to the needs and desires of the audience dissolves the potential contradiction between the interests of the people and commercial entertainment. In a similar way Nishiyama deals with the restraints of commercial production on kabuki as an art by pointing to the positive effects of competition. In "Kabuki ni okeru 'Ie'," a 1971 essay on the ie (house or school) in kabuki, he claims that it is precisely competition that has led to the creation of famous plays and acting techniques. This not only enables Nishiyama to turn commercialism into a virtue, it allows him to regard the ie in kabuki, despite its obvious feudal trappings, into a progressive social structure. For since kabuki houses were in constant competition with each other, they could not rely on tradition alone but had to go on creating and refining their house arts (Edo Kabuki 251).

One other critic who should be mentioned and who, like Imao and Nishiyama, attempts to locate kabuki within a vibrant, oppositional popular culture, is Hattori Yukio. Hattori's first major work is one on the early history of kabuki, Kabuki Seiritsu no Kenkyū (1968). In his Kabuki no Kōzō (The Structure of Kabuki, 1970), however, he attempts to portray kabuki in a broader sense, focusing less on historical change than on the structure of Edo-period kabuki as a whole. Like Imao, Hattori begins this work with a discussion of the problem of modernity and the possibility of a return to "total theatre" through the pre-modern. This helps to explain his emphasis on structure, for structure is understood by Hattori less as a formal principle than as a framework for creation, a framework which is also an alternative to the author-centred, literary creation of the modern theatre.

For Hattori, this structure can be seen in the sekai (dramatic world)/shukō (innovative scene element) dramaturgy of kabuki playwrights and in the organization of the daily kabuki programme. In these structures, Hattori argues, playwrights are only following traditional Japanese aesthetics. The sekai/shukō technique, for example, in which new twists are given to familiar stories, is taken to be an example of the Japanese preference for variation on what already exists rather than radically new creation (72-73). Likewise, the arrangement of the daily programme is seen by Hattori in terms of the jo-ha-kyū (introduction, development, climax) structure found both in the ancient court entertainment bugaku and in nō (187-98). Ultimately, however, for Hattori kabuki's structure is defined by its actor-centredness, for it is the actor that carries the performance and it is through his "art" (gei) that both the typical and the novel are expressed (39, 73, 134, 169-70). This may have prevented the development of the playwright as an autonomous creator, but at the same time it provides for a different kind of creation, one that is more collective, more responsive to the audience, and more theatrical.

This is not to say that Hattori ignores the commercial pressures of kabuki production. Indeed, like Nishiyama, Hattori is one of the few critics to consider seriously this aspect of kabuki production, and thus in Kabuki no Kōzō the first level of structure that he looks at is the organizational one involving financial backers, writers, troupe leaders and actors. What unites them all, he observes, is the desire for full houses and long runs. Achieving this success, however, was primarily the responsibility of the troupe leader (zamoto) and the actors. It was their art, in other words, that made or broke the theatre, and thus for Hattori, too, commercial pressure and competition are seen as ultimately beneficial to the development of that art (39-43). Elsewhere he suggests that, inasmuch as it provided the energy necessary for developing and refining kabuki into a more complex and sophisticated form of theatre, economic pressures were fundamental to the growth of kabuki as a whole during its early period ("Kabuki: Kōzō no Keisei" 50-51).

While it is not difficult to imagine commercialism as the engine that drove kabuki creation and development, it is perhaps harder to accept that it had only positive effects on kabuki as an "art." The question could be raised, for example, whether there is any significant difference between the kind of commercial pressure that animated kabuki production and that under which producers in the entertainment industry work today. As if to counter this possible criticism, both Nishiyama and Hattori concede a resemblance, but they argue that Edo-period kabuki had certain features that distinguish it from modern commercial popular culture. For Nishiyama, kabuki's saving grace is its responsiveness to its audience, its ability to give concrete expression to the people's yearnings. It is this, he claims, that prevented production from falling into the vanity of the "star system" (Edo Kabuki 266-67). In Hattori's view, on the other hand, the danger for kabuki was its very emphasis on fixed patterns or types. This, he admits, could easily have degenerated into the stereotypical and the hackneyed, such as one finds in television drama, but the creative efforts of the producers, he insists, kept this from happening. Indeed, he argues that it was precisely in not rejecting the typical but in using it for fresh creation that both the difficulty of the kabuki producer's art and the value of their achievements should be judged (Edo Kabuki Ron 17-18).

Of these two arguments it is Nishiyama's that should perhaps be taken more seriously, if only because, however popular kabuki was in the Edo period, it was not mass culture in the sense that its audience could only be conceived of as an abstraction. As for Hattori's argument, this, I believe, reveals more about his ideological need both to put kabuki in a positive light and deny its modernity than about kabuki itself. This ideological slant is not absent from Nishiyama's position either. For what is striking about both arguments is that modern popular culture is cast in negative terms, as "dangers" into which kabuki is ultimately saved from "degenerating" or "falling." The distinction they are trying to make, in other words, is one between a positive, "premodern" commercial popular culture and a negative, modern mass culture. Granted

the two are not the same thing, but it is a question whether the difference between, say, the emphasis on the stars or the combination of the familiar and the novel in kabuki and similar features in modern commercial culture is a qualitative difference or merely one of degree. No doubt commercial production and competition did help to spur kabuki's early development and were in this sense partly responsible for the mature, multi-act dramatic art that emerged by the Genroku era. As I hope to show, however, even this "golden age" was not free of crass, economically motivated success formulas and the hackneyed. And what one finds in later periods of kabuki history is an increased reliance on elaborate stage machinery and effects. If commercialism contributed to kabuki's development, in other words, it also pushed it in the direction of the formulaic and spectacle, and it is in this context that a reexamination of the question of transformations can be instructive.

As noted earlier, for Imao the prevalence of transformations in plays is proof not of the continuation of folklore but of a shift in the function of transformation scenes from the reenactment of miracles towards symbolic liberation. While this notion of symbolic liberation needs to be much more rigorously specified in terms of social and ideological relations, another criticism that could be made of Imao's argument is that he does not adequately consider the way in which this shift can also be seen as one from transformation as miracle to transformation as spectacle. For the rise in popularity of transformation scenes and transformation dance (henge buyō) went hand in hand with the development of increasingly sophisticated stage machinery and effects that allowed for more spectacular transformations. Hayagawari (quick change), for example, the practice of having one actor play several different roles and which was one of the principle patterns of transformation from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, would be unthinkable without the elaborate system of lifts and below-stage tunnels used for rapid reappearances or the special techniques for on-stage costume changes (bukkaeri, hikinuki), all of which were developed in the eighteenth century. In this context one would certainly have to agree with Imao that transformations in



kabuki plays were no longer a matter of folklore pure and simple. By the same token, however, it is questionable whether the significance of transformations as part of Edo-period urban popular culture is best captured by considering them a form of symbolic liberation.

True to his willingness to acknowledge the commercial aspect of kabuki, in his own work on the subject, Hengeron (On Transformation, 1975), Hattori does not ignore the theatrical nature of transformations, and even points out that hayagawari has been treated by theatre producers as one of kabuki's most saleable commodities (38-39, 57). In Hengeron, however, Hattori is equally concerned as in his other works to distinguish kabuki from the modern. In this sense, he takes a line of argument similar to Gunji's, for it is precisely the popular religious element in transformations that he insists on. In the chapter entitled "Hitotsu no Dentō Geinōron" (A Theory of the Traditional Performing Arts), Hattori places kabuki within a tradition of religion and play, a tradition which he sees as defining not only the dynamics of the performing arts in Japan but also of the spiritual life of the people. What distinguishes kabuki from earlier forms of Japanese theatre, according to Hattori, is the shift in this dynamic, that is to say, a weakening of the religious function and a corresponding intensification of the play function (21-24). For Hattori, however, this in no way represents a complete loss of the religious function, and if there is one point that he stresses in Hengeron it is that in the Edo period kabuki-- as well as everyday life -- were very much coloured by a popular, premodern religious world view. Thus transformations, however much they relied on special effects and represented a commercially safe part of any play or kabuki programme, are seen by Hattori as something more than mere spectacles or technical thrills. In the final analysis, they are indications of a premodern religious consciousness that was all but snuffed out by the modern rationalism of the Meiji period.

In a more recent book, Sakasama Yūrei (Upside-down Ghosts, 1989), Hattori gives a similar interpretation to ghost scenes in kabuki plays. While acknowledging the important connection with the tradition of

acrobatics (karuwaza) in kabuki performance, he tries to show that such scenes in plays from the Genroku period through to Namboku's Tōkaidō Yotsuya Kaidan (1825) all draw on the popular belief in and fear of ghosts. In much the same way as Gunji points to the folkloric origins of specific features of kabuki, Hattori traces the "upside-down" ghost pattern back to popular images of murder victims thrown down wells or sinners tumbling headfirst into hell. At the same time, however, in a manner reminiscent of Imao's interpretation of transformations, Hattori also ascribes a more contemporary, political significance to the ghost phenomenon. The appearance in kabuki plays of vengeful female ghosts, for example, he interprets as a latent feminism, an implicit protest against feudalism's oppression of women (80); while in the image of the topsy-turvy he sees "an effective weapon against the social order and hierarchy" (107).

In Sakasama Yūrei, in other words, Hattori is attempting to have it both ways: kabuki as popular religion and political protest. This is not to say that popular religion is necessarily apolitical, nor that religious images cannot be put to political use. But to claim that kabuki was sustained by popular religious beliefs at the same time as producers manipulated religious images for purposes of political critique is to imply that kabuki operated on at least two different ideological levels. To be convincing, such an argument would require an analysis of the audience demonstrating a corresponding degree of socio-cultural diversity. Hattori does not supply such an analysis here, however, and his own research into the audience shows that even before Namboku's time the kabuki theatres had become rather exclusive, catering largely to the upper-class chōnin, the samurai, and the literati ("Edo Kabuki no Kankyaku" 38). That he nonetheless insists on both the continuity of popular belief and the transformation of religious iconography into political protest, suggests that with this work Hattori is attempting to merge Gunji's minzokugaku approach with the more recent trend to see kabuki as part of a vibrant and oppositional urban popular culture. This is understandable in light of the fact that the two approaches serve

similar ideological agendas. For the uncovering of the folkloric in kabuki is also a means of proving kabuki's anti-modern character, just as seeing kabuki as a form of contemporary social protest confirms it to be anti-feudal. Both approaches, in short, serve the need to construct an image of kabuki that can form the basis for a national identity free of both Western modernity and the black mark of feudalism.

Although this review has necessarily been selective, it should be sufficient to show that modern discourse on kabuki, whenever it attempts to rise above a positivist science (itself an ideological position), reveals itself to be governed by a common ideological concern for the national. To be sure, there have been improvements in methodology which have contributed greatly to the understanding of historical kabuki. The movement away from reform and towards historical study, for example, and from the conception of kabuki as literature to kabuki as theatre, have led scholars to explore significant features of kabuki and its history that were previously neglected. Yet this same methodological advance has shown itself to be inseparable from a shifting strategy for using kabuki as a symbol of the national identity, a strategy which began by seeking that identity in a modern theatre comparable to that of the West and ends by finding it in a theatre that is both premodern and uniquely Japanese.<sup>6</sup>

Inasmuch, however, as the postwar ideological construction of kabuki depends on the rejection of both the modern and the West, this construction also amounts to a denial of significant, though perhaps unflattering, aspects of Japan's experience as a nation. It implies, in other words, that the "real" Japan is neither the Japan of Meiji-period modernization and reform nor that of wartime militarism, which itself can be dismissed as modernized feudalism. Nor for that matter is the real Japan that of the postwar generation that has forgotten kabuki and threatens it with Western culture and commercialism. The Japan that emerges from this discursive effort at "classicizing" kabuki is an imaginary traditional Japan, the Japan of Hayashiya's medieval performers and artists and Gunji's folk, the Japan of the little people, the marginals and outcasts who performed kabuki and the townspeople who

flocked to see it; it is, in short, the Japan of all those unassociated with feudal oppression, with Westernization, or with the dreaded modernization that has torn the people away from kabuki and turned Japan into just another modern, industrialized state. The real Japan, in other words, does not exist: it is a utopia, a construct for which the image of kabuki serves as a useful support.<sup>7</sup>

In the same manner that this ideological need to construct a unified national identity denies much that is part and parcel of the national self, so the use of kabuki to fulfil this need produces an ideologically overdetermined image of kabuki. The denial of feudalism, for example, has meant that there have been many scholars who try to see kabuki in terms of opposition to the dominant ideology, but few attempts to analyze its place within that ideology. Likewise, the denial of the modern has resulted in a failure to recognize how kabuki's mode of production in many ways prefigures the capitalist entertainment industry of Japan today.<sup>8</sup> Finally, the denial of the West, itself dependent on an ideological construction of the West as the Other, has meant that Western theatre is invariably seen only in terms of modern realist drama. Thus, while kabuki is now generally recognized in Japan as a popular theatre incorporating many folkloric elements, there has been little consideration of folkloric or popular traditions in the West as possible objects of comparison.<sup>9</sup>

In summary, then, the kabuki of modern discourse is a utopian construct that embodies a unified national character or ethnos and stands in opposition to feudalism, modernity, and the West all at once. Any attempt at a new interpretation of historical kabuki, I would argue, must begin by questioning this very unity and the oppositions upon which it is based. As I hope to show, notions of a kabuki-versus-bakufu or a chōnin-versus-bakufu opposition are simply too neat and generalized to describe either the actual politics of kabuki production or the kabuki producers' relationship to their audience. And even if it can be argued, as I will, that kabuki plays display a good deal of ideological uniformity and collusion with the ideology of the samurai class, this

must be distinguished from both the official (i.e. bakufu) ideology and the ideology of a unified Japan, which is largely a post-Edo phenomenon. In a similar way, the discursive framework which closes off kabuki from the modern must be called into question and kabuki's commercial or proto-capitalist methods of production examined both for their relationship to other historical modes of production and for the way in which they anticipate the modern capitalist production of culture. Finally, in order to open fully both the historical world of kabuki and the theoretical framework for analyzing it, the construct of a unified national essence must be rejected in favour of a truly comparative perspective, one which recognizes both differences and similarities and is not locked into an either-or opposition. In no way does this mean a simple return to Meiji-period Westernization and the rejection of native traditions -- surely, postwar kabuki scholarship and the critique of modernity have already made certain of that. If our understanding of kabuki is to go beyond the images produced as part of the ideological construction of the national identity, however, criticism will have to free itself from what has essentially been a half-century long project to "overcome the modern" in order that it may respond to the now more pressing need to overcome the national.<sup>10</sup>

Before concluding this survey a few words about kabuki criticism in English and other Western languages must be said.<sup>11</sup> If the present study treats such criticism as secondary in relation to that produced by Japanese critics and historians, this is because I believe the work by Western scholars on kabuki to be on the whole either too general or too derivative of the work of their Japanese counterparts to warrant extended engagement. These may appear to be harsh words, and I do not mean by them to deny the importance of such works nor the great debt that I and many others owe to their authors. My point, rather, is that because kabuki has been -- and to a large extent still is -- an unknown commodity in the West, in writing on the subject most Western scholars have tended to deal with kabuki in general rather than with the kabuki of any specific historical period. Early postwar works such as those by Scott

and Ernst, for example, were intended as introductions to the kabuki theatre for Western readers and/or audiences, and thus contain some history but much more general description and explanation of the features of kabuki. Much of this description, moreover, is based on modern, particularly early postwar, practices, with the result that the historical account becomes conflated with the exposition of a timeless kabuki aesthetic, which is taken to be "an expression of Japanese life and culture" (Ernst xix). There are also several translations available of works by Japanese scholars.<sup>12</sup> Again, however, virtually all of these assume the function of presenting a general account of kabuki.

More satisfying due to a greater degree of specialization has been the work of the next generation of English-speaking scholars. Many Western scholars, myself included, have benefited from Shively's essays on the social background of Edo-period kabuki, Malm's works on kabuki music, and Brandon and Leiter's work on acting and performance traditions, not to mention these last two scholars' translations. Much of what Shively has written was based on the work of earlier Japanese scholars, however, and this has in some cases been superseded by later scholarship. As for Brandon and Leiter, their work continues to be important; because it deals primarily with acting and performance, however, it has for the most part been focused on kabuki as it is performed today, which limits its relevance for the kind of historical study undertaken here.

For sheer wealth of historical detail the best works on kabuki in a Western language are probably Ortolani's Das Kabukitheater and the long section on kabuki in Barth's Japans Schaukunst im Wandel der Zeiten. Ortolani's book is the more focused in scope, but unfortunately the period covered does not include the Genroku era. Both these works, however, are very much indebted to Japanese scholarship, especially to Kawatake's Nihon Engeki Zenshi, and thus those who read Japanese would be justified in going straight to Japanese histories of kabuki.

As far as I am aware there exists no book-length or extended treatment in any Western language of the topic of the present study, Genroku kabuki. The closest thing to it are two doctoral dissertations.

The first is Horie-Webber's "The Essence of Kabuki: A Study of Folk Religious Ritual Elements in the Early Kabuki Theatre," approximately a third of which is devoted to kabuki of the Genroku era (113-207). This includes fairly lengthy summaries of several plays, which has made it perhaps the most useful introduction to Genroku kabuki for English readers. As the title indicates, however, this is a work which, much in the vein of the folkloric approach, seeks to essentialize certain folk religious and ritual elements in kabuki, and as such it is open to the same criticisms that were made above of Gunji's work.

The other dissertation is Kominz's "The Soga Revenge Story: Tradition and Innovation in Japanese Drama." This is a history and analysis of the treatment of the Soga story in different theatrical genres. Two of Kominz's eight chapters deal with theatre in the Genroku period: the first with Chikamatsu's kabuki and jōruri Soga plays (173-266); and another with Ichikawa Danjūrō's treatment of the Soga story (267-300). The aim is to show how changes in performance context over the centuries have resulted in important transformations or rewritings of the Soga story. As such it also has elements of a history of the Japanese theatre. Kominz does a good job in pointing out how in the early Edo period, and particularly in the Genroku era, the Soga story was secularized and became the subject of numerous novel innovations and parodies, but in accounting for these changes he places too much emphasis on the individual agency of playwrights and actors and not enough, in my opinion, on the demands of commercial theatrical production. Because it is focused on the development of one particular story world (sekai), it is also necessarily something less than a history of the theatre. While it is true, for example, that the Soga story was important in Edo kabuki even before the Genroku era, it was less so in the Kamigata region, where the oiemono was the dominant play type. In this sense Kominz's treatment does not delve into the particulars of Kamigata Genroku kabuki.

Another English language work -- and one important for the present dissertation, which will also include a discussion of the play Sukeroku -- is Thornbury's monograph, Sukeroku's Double Identity: The Dramatic

Structure of Edo Kabuki. In this work Thornbury sets herself the task of showing how the apparently "illogical" structure whereby the dashing Edoite commoner Sukeroku is revealed to be "in fact" Soga Gorō is not so much illogical as determined by the conventions of Edo kabuki. This feature of Edo kabuki will be explored in chapter six. For the moment it will suffice to say that Thornbury's emphasis on programmatic structure appears insufficient in the sense that it explains one particular convention by referring to related but more global conventions without sufficiently considering the ideological implications of these conventions themselves. As I hope to show, Sukeroku's "double identity" and the formal conventions that govern it provide a particularly illuminating example of ideological containment in Edo kabuki.

#### Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

If the preceding survey has made anything clear, then I believe it is that the work on kabuki by Japanese critics, although abundant and often perceptive, must be approached with a degree of caution. To put it another way, and particularly in relation to some of the more innovative postwar criticism surveyed, the problem is how to make use of the insights provided by these critics on cultural forms and creative processes without essentializing these constituents of kabuki. The solution, it seems to me, lies in analyzing these elements or processes within a larger theoretical framework which is also able to take into account what the approaches outlined above do not, namely other productive cultural forms and ideologies, and, more importantly, the relations between them. Recent work in the study of popular culture, both on the theoretical and practical levels, has made it increasingly apparent that it is not enough simply to ascribe certain cultural forms or values to the various groups or classes that make up a particular society in a given period; what needs to be considered is the way these forms and values interact with and shape one another. As Tony Bennett has written, "it is no more possible in the past than in the present to locate a source of popular cultural activity or expression which is not, at the



same time, profoundly shot through with elements of the dominant culture and, in some sense, located within it as well as against it" (18).<sup>13</sup> That popular culture has come to be seen in this way is due in large part to what Bennett in his introduction to the volume from which the above quotation was taken refers to as the "turn to Gramsci," and in particular to Gramsci's concept of hegemony (xiii). Yet, to my mind, Bennett's own interpretation of how this applies to popular culture, namely that "the field of popular culture is structured by the attempt of the ruling class to win hegemony and by the forms of opposition to this endeavour" (xv), still contains too many overtones of a simple opposition between insidious ruling-class manipulation and valiant popular resistance.<sup>14</sup> This is not to deny that class interests enter into and have a determining role in cultural formations. I would only argue that these broader class interests and ideologies are always mediated by more local interests and power relations in particular fields of cultural production and that it is within and through these fields that hegemony is produced. To understand the relationship between popular culture and the dominant, therefore, rather than reducing this relationship to the struggle between two opposed groups, it would be more useful to consider carefully the question of cultural and ideological production precisely as production.

Declaring his own dissatisfaction with analyses of power "couched in the schema struggle-repression," Michel Foucault, in a lecture delivered in 1976, argues that relations of power are dependent on "the production of discourses of truth":

[I]n any society, there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterise and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse. There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates through and on the basis of this association. (Power/Knowledge 92-93)

In this view, then, power is not merely or primarily a matter of economic

dominance but is continually produced and reproduced through the production and circulation of discourse. By situating the production and maintenance of power in discourse, Foucault not only gets around the problem of false consciousness -- which is also ultimately what the "turn to Gramsci" is meant to accomplish -- by ascribing a degree of autonomy to the ideological sphere, but also participates in a reformulation of the concept of ideology itself. For ideology is now no longer seen as simply the ideas, beliefs, and values common to a particular social group, but these ideas, beliefs, and values as they are produced in and through discourses. Ideology itself thus loses its stability and its direct relationship to social classes, and becomes instead a species of production, or, as is it now more commonly regarded, as the construction and reconstruction of subject positions or subjectivities in discourse.<sup>15</sup>

There are certain pitfalls inherent in Foucault's approach. Pushed to its logical conclusion, this tendency to see power and ideology in terms of the production of discourse can lead to the position that there is nothing outside of discourse (or in the Derridian version, that there is nothing outside the text). Nevertheless, attention to the workings of discourse have been instrumental in opening up new avenues of ideological analysis. A case in point is the work of the Japan scholars associated with the University of Chicago. Both Najita's Visions of Virtue in Tokugawa Japan and Harootunian's Things Seen and Unseen effectively employ discourse analysis to provide new insight into Edo-period ideology. By studying the production and reproduction of discourse they have shown, for example, that ideology in the Edo period was much more fluid and less class-bound than traditional accounts and the work of kabuki scholars would suggest. Both authors deal primarily with intellectual discourse in the later Edo period, however, and their work, while suggestive, is thus not directly applicable to the kabuki of the Genroku period.<sup>16</sup>

Another critical model that makes use of Foucauldian analysis and which, since it has been employed primarily in the study of historical cultural forms and discourses (especially Renaissance literature and drama), is also potentially very useful for the analysis of historical

kabuki, is the so-called "New Historicism." What makes this new critical approach a kind of historicism is not only that it tends to deal with historical cultural phenomena, but that the approach itself stresses the need to situate the production of discourses and ideologies in local, historically specific, social and discursive practices. Power or ideological dominance, therefore, also becomes a product of local concerns and interests. In the words of Catherine Gallagher, New Historicism insists "that power cannot be equated with economic or state power, that its sites of activity, and hence of resistance, are also in the micro-politics of daily life" (43).

Although practitioners of the New Historicism have been reluctant to identify themselves with a single common approach, Louis Montrose's essay in the anthology The New Historicism sums up nicely some of the key theoretical and methodological orientations of what he calls "a renewed concern with the historical, social, and political conditions and consequences of literary production and reproduction" (15). Like Foucault, Montrose sees a need to go beyond simple oppositions, especially if such oppositions -- "containment" and "subversion" make up Montrose's version of Foucault's "struggle-repression" -- imply a rigid concept of ideology:

A closed and static, singular and homogeneous notion of ideology must be succeeded by one that is heterogeneous and unstable, permeable and processual. It must be emphasized that an ideological dominance is qualified by the specific conjunctures of professional, class, and personal interests of individual cultural producers (such as poets and playwrights); by the specific though multiple social positionalities of the spectators, auditors and readers who variously consume cultural productions; and by the relative autonomy -- the specific properties, possibilities and limitations -- of the cultural medium being worked. In other words, sufficient allowance must be made for the manifold mediations involved in the production, reproduction and appropriation of an ideological dominance: for the collective and individual agency

of the state's subjects, and for the specific character and conventions of the representational forms (genres or rhetorical figures, for example) that they employ. (22)

When compared to the types of criticism surveyed above, one is struck here by the complexity and sophistication both of the concept of ideology and of the methodological procedures that would be necessary to adequately analyze the production of ideology in this sense in any cultural activity. It is just this complexity, however, which makes this an appropriate theoretical and methodological framework for the study of a complex mode of cultural production such as kabuki. Theatre, after all, is an inherently social activity, and its modes of production and reception, especially in a performance-oriented theatre like kabuki, argue against its reduction to a single class perspective. The complexity of theatre also means that it is often highly conventionalized as well as determined or limited in important ways by the financial and technological resources available to producers. Its mode of reception and visual impact, moreover, require that theatre also be studied as spectacle or symbolic representation. One could add to the already numerous terms of analysis mentioned by Montrose the New-Historicist preoccupations with "prestige" or "symbolic capital." Again, the case of kabuki only makes the appropriateness of such analysis more obvious. In Edo-period Japan, just as much as if not more than in Renaissance England, the trappings of power and class, the symbolic power of special skills and knowledge, and the venerability of tradition all come into play in cultural and ideological production and must not be excluded from analysis.

While it is its comprehensiveness that recommends New Historicism for the study of a complex cultural phenomenon such as kabuki, this very comprehensiveness also points to a potential problem inherent in the approach. For the desire to be all-inclusive, to leave no possible form or instance of mediation unexamined, is also a consequence of the fear of being locked into or associated with one of the meta-narratives or master theories which the New Historicism constantly tries to resist. New Historicism, accordingly, tends towards the eclectic. It is possible to

recognize in Montrose's statement on ideology quoted above, for example, several theoretical and methodological appropriations, including the Foucauldian analysis of power, Althusser's argument for the relative autonomy of the ideological, and Bourdieu's emphasis on "the specific logic of the field of production."<sup>17</sup> While one can appreciate the usefulness of working these various critical strategies into a theoretical and methodological model for cultural analysis, such eclecticism, when combined with the phobia of master narratives and the desire for comprehensiveness risks leading cultural analysis into the theoretical position of complete relativism and to a view of ideology as finally indeterminate. This may in fact already be the case, as is suggested by Greenblatt's ultimate reduction of ideology in Marlowe's plays to the indeterminacy of "absolute play" (Renaissance Self-Fashioning 220), or by Gallagher's unabashed acknowledgment that New Historicists "posit no fixed hierarchy of cause and effect as they trace the connections among texts, discourses, power, and the constitution of subjectivity" (37).

True to its tendency both to be all-inclusive and to avoid subservience to any monolithic theory, New Historicism has also appropriated Marx while avoiding the suggestion that the ideological is in the last instance determined by the economic. As one critic has put it, the theoretical identity of the New Historicism, especially that of Greenblatt, is constituted by "its unlikely marriage of Marx and Foucault, with Foucault as dominant partner" (Lentricchia 235). If Marxism is subordinate, however, its vocabulary -- or more accurately the language of Marx's analysis of capitalism -- is everywhere apparent: "circulation," "negotiation," and "exchange" are for the New Historicists the privileged terms for describing how culture, ideology, and ultimately power are produced and reproduced. As if to dispel any idea that he may have something like an economic determinism in mind, Greenblatt himself explicitly states that such terms are used metaphorically ("Towards a Poetics of Culture" 12). The question may be asked, however, what is it about the vocabulary of capitalist economics that makes it appropriate for the analysis of cultural production? Is it because under late twentieth-

century capitalism this has become the way in which we, the critics, now see the world? Or is it, rather, because such terms are fitting in that they point to ways in which cultural production is actually limited and defined by capitalism? Given the New Historicism's claim to be critically self-reflective, one would assume that the latter is the case. If this is true, though, then it could be argued that the economic is indeed an important determining factor in cultural production.

To emphasize the important role of the economic does not necessarily mean rejecting Foucault and the New Historicists altogether. What it does mean, however, is that if a marriage is to take place, the positions will have to be reversed and Marxism be made the "dominant partner." This is in general the theoretical approach adopted by Richard Halpern in his Poetics of Primitive Accumulation. While pointing out the complementarity of Marxist and non-Marxist approaches such as those of Foucault and the New Historicists, Halpern argues that the economic must be seen as a fundamental determinant. Beginning with the criticism of the New Historicist tendency to reduce the economic to metaphor, Halpern illustrates his argument with reference to his and Greenblatt's major concern, Renaissance England:

If it is not to become trapped by a sort of specious metaphor, any theory of symbolic capital (of which Greenblatt's "poetics of culture" forms one version) cannot overhastily absorb or cancel the concept of capital as it is understood in a strictly (or restrictedly) economic sense. Simply acknowledging the distinction between the economic and the cultural is not enough, however. According to Halpern, it must also be recognized that the boundaries between economic and noneconomic regions are not merely imperfectly permeable but also asymmetrically so and that capital in the restricted sense defines the conditions under which other kinds of cultural material or "energy" can enter its domain....For the economic changes that began to favor the gentry over the aristocracy not only set limits to the extent of aristocratic expense or display;

they also interrupted the circuit through which these older forms of symbolic capital could be reconverted into liquid wealth, while creating entirely new domains of cultural capital (literacy, education, and others). If the economic and the cultural reveal a mutual determination here, it is nevertheless clear that the economic plays the leading role, both in "funding" a symbolic economy and in specifying what can and cannot enter its circuits of exchange. To say that a ruling class secures its dominance through symbolic as well as material means should not, then, be taken to impute a perfect equivalence between these. (14-15)

What should be added to this argument is that it is not only circulation and exchange that need to be understood in strictly economic terms, but also that other frequently used metaphor of recent cultural analysis, production. Despite claims to the contrary, New Historicism does tend to be reflectionist in that discourses are related to particular subject-positions without adequately taking into account the material processes (e.g. printing, stage production) that actually produce the cultural artifacts (pamphlets, books, plays, performances). In most recent cultural analysis, production becomes the abstract process whereby discourses and ideologies (not their material forms) are generated out of other discourses and ideologies and put on the discursive market where they are replicated or mutate into still others. The economy, however, not only sets certain limits to the conversion of this discursive and symbolic traffic into material wealth, it also limits and defines the conditions for the material production of culture itself.

To be sure, the production of cultural artifacts (art, literature, performance, etc.) requires mental as well as physical work. Both forms of labour, however, are materially constrained, and as such subject to economic determinations. As Nicholas Garnham has argued, it is important to distinguish between "two distinct but related moments in a historical materialist analysis of intellectual production," the first in which such production is "a superstructural phenomenon" in relation to modes of

material production, and the second in which intellectual production is "part of material production itself, directly subordinate to or at least in a closely determined articulation with the laws of the development of capital" (20). What this means for the study of cultural production, I would suggest, is that attention must be paid to the ways in which economic pressures and constraints determine the limits and possibilities for the material production of culture and, moreover, how these constraints on material production also set limits to the production and circulation of discourse and ideology. As I hope to show in the following chapters, the mixed feudal-commercial system of Genroku kabuki production determined in several significant ways the form of Genroku plays. Formal limitations, I will therefore argue, are not defined solely by the ideological limits of discourse, but also by the means and relations of material production.

The theoretical model that I propose to follow in my analysis of Genroku kabuki, then, is one that does not, as New Historicists are wont to do, discard the concept of form.<sup>18</sup> Form, rather, by which I mean the significant structures and macrostructures of kabuki plays and performances, will be seen as dependent on and shaped by the specific social, economic, and political conditions of kabuki production, and thus also as a means of understanding these conditions. At the same time, however, I believe it is possible to view form as something other or more than the sum of these many determinants. This does not necessarily mean granting the plays an ultimate structural autonomy. It means, rather, that it is necessary to take into account how form is related to what Goldmann would call the "collective" or "possible" consciousness behind and within a cultural work.<sup>19</sup> For Goldmann, such a consciousness is collective because it represents the social consciousness of a certain group or class; it is also only a possible consciousness, however, since it does not correspond to the actual consciousness of the members of a particular group, who may espouse conflicting ideological positions, but represents rather that group's consciousness expressed at a level of consistency and coherence that is only possible in the imaginative and



creative realm of art. It is only through this construct of a possible consciousness, Goldmann argues, that an "intelligible relationship" or "homology" can be established between "the structures of the collective consciousness and the structures of cultural works" (Essays on Method 66).

Although I will be concerned in this study to identify what Goldmann calls "significant structures" and to show how these can be related to certain world views or ideologies, I am also aware of the limitations of Goldmann's method. As Williams has argued, Goldmann's "genetic structuralism" is essentially idealist in its stress on major genres or cultural forms; and while it is difficult to deny the existence of certain general correlations between such forms and world views, the very emphasis on select forms found most often in the so-called "great works" leads to a kind of "macro-history," one which can have little to say about the specific relations between form and ideologies or social groups as they appear in actual literature ("Literature and Sociology" 13-16). It is in order to overcome this problem that an emphasis will also be placed in this dissertation on more local determinants of form as found in the conditions and relations of production itself. Still, I believe that the notion of a historical trans-individual or collective consciousness can be retained. To do this, however, the notion needs to be reformulated in a way that will be able to account for the (often repressed) antagonistic or dialogical structure of cultural works.<sup>20</sup> This reformulation is best accomplished, I would suggest, by considering what Jameson, drawing on Ernst Bloch's insight into the utopian impulse inherent in any cultural or ideological production, refers to as the "political unconscious" of the cultural work.

According to Jameson's argument, ideology is indeed utopian insofar as it "expresses the unity of a collectivity." In a strict definition of ideology, this would be the collectivity of a particular class or group, and in this sense every ideology can be said to contain a utopian impulse. What makes for a dominant ideology's apparent transcendence of class divisions and gives it hegemonic force is that this limited or class-based collectivity is projected as the horizon for all of society

(287-91). This cannot be achieved, however, without addressing and somehow accommodating disparate elements of society -- both the rulers and the ruled -- and a number of potentially antagonistic discourses. In this sense, form in the cultural work can be seen as the structure by which the claims of different subject positions or discourses are both registered and their contradictions effaced or overcome. It thus becomes the task of formal analysis to restore to the surface precisely these repressed voices and contradictions, to show, in other words, how the apparent unity of form masks an underlying history, which for Jameson is ultimately the history of class struggle (20).

While Jameson is concerned primarily with narrative, it is not difficult to see how such a conception of ideology and form can apply to theatre as well. Theoreticians of the theatre have often pointed out that the organization of dramatic space-time inevitably involves the construction of an alternative or imagined model of social relationships, a "possible world" which is distinct from but intimately related to the existential world of the producers and their audience.<sup>21</sup> It is in this sense, that is, as imagined or hypothetical models of social organization, that the plays of the Genroku era will be treated in this study. This is not to deny the importance of the way in which specific local interests and practices mediate the form of the plays; indeed, it is one of the aims of this study to show precisely how producer interests and production practices give shape to kabuki plays and performances. If this exposition is not to fall prey to the misleading assumption of a simple and direct correspondence between social group or class and cultural production, however, it will also be necessary to show how these same interests and practices existed within and themselves reflected a number of historical social and economic conflicts or contradictions, and how the possible worlds projected in the plays both reveal these contradictions and suggest their formal resolution.

If it is to be argued that the function of theatre is to present a utopian alternative to empirical social reality, one might ask how this differs from the conception of the theatre as ritual, such as one finds

in Gunji's insistence on the shinji aspect of kabuki performance. Certainly a magico-religious theatre which appeals to divine intervention could also be said to perform the function of affirming collectivity and averting social problems. The magico-religious theatre, however, does not so much imagine another possible world as it is founded on the belief that the world of the community already includes a magical dimension, or to put it another way, that the world to which the priest or the shaman has access is also the world of the audience, although imperfectly known by the latter. In Japan as elsewhere, however, at some point in its history, theatre -- and perhaps only then should the term "theatre" be used to distinguish this activity from ritual -- becomes secular, with actors taking over from the priestly caste and the participation of other members of the community limited to their roles as spectators. It is this secular context which provides the necessary conditions for what can be called "the central practical or ontological contract between theatre audience and theatre stage" (Suvin, "Approach to Topoanalysis" 325). For the separation between actors and audience at the same time allows for the distinction between the world of the stage play and the empirical world of the audience. This distinction can only be maintained if the spectators accept that the world of the play, although visible to their eyes, exists in a separate space-time and is thus beyond their reach.<sup>22</sup>

Although it may be difficult to say at precisely what point in the history of a given cultural tradition ritual becomes theatre, surely Edo-period kabuki had already at its beginning crossed this historical boundary; for here not only has the community been divided into professional actors and spectators, the ritual of communion with the other world has been replaced by the modeling of human relationships and events which are imaginable within the particular historical context of the audience and producers. In this sense, Imao is entirely justified in criticizing Gunji's emphasis on the folkloric. Imao is also correct in seeing kabuki's function as constituted by its response to contemporary social reality. Where caution needs to be exercised, however, is in the tendency to see the fulfilment of this function exclusively in terms of

resistance to or symbolic liberation from a repressive feudal regime; for as I propose to show, although Genroku plays do deal with socio-political relations, it is one of their characteristics that the social order is not specifically construed as oppressive. Social aspirations, rather, are on the whole emplotted and allowed a measure of fulfilment within the hegemonic limits of the dominant ideology. It will be the task of this study, therefore, to show how kabuki producers' relationship to this ideology is overdetermined by their socio-economic position, and how as a result kabuki plays not only oppose and manipulate this same ideology but in significant ways also reproduce it.

Before going on there is one final and very important methodological question to be considered. Put simply, the problem is this: what, in the context of Genroku kabuki, should be considered the product of kabuki production or the "cultural artifact?" As was seen in the review of kabuki scholarship, one of the trends in postwar kabuki criticism, and one which can be regarded as a necessary correction of early approaches, has been the emphasis on kabuki as a performance-oriented rather than a literary theatre. Certainly, in light of the popularity of kabuki as theatre and the lack of an independent textual tradition, there is a strong case for considering the performance rather than the dramatic text as the appropriate object of study. I, however, have opted to concentrate on the narrative features of the plays as found in the written texts. This decision is based on both practical and theoretical considerations, and since both are related to the nature of the materials available for the study of Genroku kabuki, some account of those materials as well as a more precise definition of what this study takes to be the cultural artifact is called for here. (See Appendix A for a more thorough discussion and evaluation of available sources.)

What might at first appear to call into question the validity of a text-based study of Genroku kabuki is the fact that no scripts or dramatic texts proper survive from the period. What has survived are eiri kyōgenbon, literally "illustrated playbooks." These give a somewhat abbreviated account of what could be called the "play story." Although

they contain a fair amount of dialogue and are marked by features that indicate they are to be associated with actual theatrical productions, they are not written as scripts and cannot be taken as faithful transcriptions of the plays as they were actually performed on stage. Fortunately, this is not all that is available. The other major source are the so-called "critiques of actors" (yakusha hyōbanki). These, in addition to ranking the actors of each theatre according to their skill, contain comments on most of the principal actors, often including anecdotal accounts of their performances in particular roles. Using these critiques it is thus possible to gain insight not only into Genroku acting in general and how certain actors were received, but also into how particular scenes were staged and acted.

When it comes to studying Genroku kabuki, then, the situation is somewhat different from what one usually finds in cases of historical theatre; that is, dramatic texts in the strict sense do not exist, but there does exist a fair amount of information on performance. This information, however, although relatively abundant, is ultimately only fragmentary in regard to specific plays. Reconstructing anything even approaching the full semiotic richness of the "performance text" is thus impossible.<sup>23</sup> This does not necessarily rule out analysis of performance altogether. One possible approach is to use the information found in the hyōbanki and other sources to determine the major acting styles and performance practices. Many interpretations of Genroku kabuki do in fact concentrate on such features rather than on the particular plays in which these features appear.<sup>24</sup> This option, however, means neglecting an important aspect of Genroku kabuki. For what sets Genroku kabuki plays apart from earlier -- and to some extent also later -- examples of the genre is precisely the fact that individual scenes or performance units here form part of a larger unit, the multi-act play. Genroku kabuki, in other words, involves not only actors' individual performances, but also the relationships and interactions between actors, and not only as actors but as agents in what was referred to earlier as imagined social organizations or "possible worlds." To be sure, even in Genroku kabuki

individual acting fortes as well as non-dramatic performance elements such as dance and song play a large role, but this does not mean that the plots of the plays can be dismissed as mere vehicles for the actors. The recurrent patterns of the Kamigata oiemono and sewamono, for example, or the sudden character transformations in the Edo plays of Danjūrō I, precisely because of their recurrence, are significant structures, and to ignore them means ignoring the very way in which Genroku kabuki selects from empirical reality and transforms it into another, imagined or fictional reality. Calling it fictional, moreover, is not to suggest that this applies only to the written text, for in performance it is precisely the relationships and actions presented on the stage that produce this imagined other world. It is as a key to understanding the shape and limits of this world, however, that the hyōbanki, although rich in information, are insufficient. The kyōgenbon, on the other hand, however far removed from actual performance, do at least indicate the overall structure of and the degree of change possible within the imagined world of the play. They are thus open to both narratological and ideological analysis, and in this sense, I believe, represent a worthy object of study. Therefore, although I shall not ignore performance features, my focus in this study will be on the narrative structures and overall form of the plays as found in their kyōgenbon versions. Since none of the kyōgenbon have been translated, I have provided summaries of the major plays discussed in Appendix D.

To conclude this section on theory and methodology, I would now like to outline briefly the procedure to be followed in the subsequent chapters of this study. Since the approach I will be taking is one that takes seriously the notion of production, the following two chapters will be devoted to an examination of the context of Genroku kabuki production as well as its specific modes of status and economic production. In order to put this examination in social and historical perspective, it will also be necessary to have some idea of both the general class composition and the economic structure of Genroku society. It is for this reason that chapter two will begin with an overview of Genroku

period Japan and of the three major centres of kabuki production, Kyoto, Osaka and Edo. This will be followed by a consideration of the theatre space, both as concerns the practical context of kabuki production and for what the location and structure of theatre spaces as well as the restrictions imposed on them reveal about kabuki's position within the wider context of socio-political relations obtaining in the period. In the final section of this chapter an effort will be made, using both anecdotal evidence and statistical information and estimates, to determine the composition of the kabuki audience. In order that this examination of the audience not be limited to a simple sociology of numbers, however, it will also be necessary to try and relate the conclusions reached on audience composition both to the question of social relations dealt with in the previous section, and to the position of the producers, which will be taken up in the next chapter.

Chapter three, then, will begin with a consideration of the producers from the point of view of social class and status. In addition to examining the social background of kabuki entrepreneurs, actors, and playwrights, this section will look at the producers' concerns with social status and their efforts, largely through the borrowing and invention of traditions, to raise the prestige of kabuki and hence also their own status. This will be followed by an analysis of the organizational structure of kabuki production. Topics covered will include the licensing of theatres, the management of theatre companies, troupe composition and the importance of role-types, and salaries and how these were determined. In order to further illustrate the specific relations of kabuki production comparisons will also be made between kabuki and other forms of economic and cultural production. The final section of this chapter will be taken up by an examination of kabuki production itself. Although some attention will be paid to the process of play creation and the function of the different participants involved, the emphasis here will be on kabuki as economic production, the aim being to show how kabuki's specific mode of commercial production determines not only the creative process, but also many features of the plays themselves.

It is in the next chapter, the fourth, that will begin the actual work of analyzing specific plays both in terms of particular features determined by the production process and as ideological form. The first step, however, will be to break down the corpus of plays into some general categories. In doing so I will follow the common practice of recognizing some basic formal (and ultimately sociological) differences between the plays of the Kamigata (Osaka and Kyoto) region and those of Edo (modern Tokyo). Beginning with the Kamigata plays, an analysis of this corpus will show that the dominant play type is the oiemono, that is, plays about power struggles and intrigue within feudal households (oie). The fourth chapter, therefore, will be devoted primarily to an analysis of the oiemono. This will include a look at the historical background to and some of the literary and dramatic precursors of such plays, close readings of several examples, and a concluding discussion centred on the ideology and form of the oiemono and how this can be related to the socio-political conditions of kabuki production.

As will become apparent in the discussion of the oiemono, a significant feature of many such plays is the inclusion of what are usually called sewaba or scenes of contemporary life. It will therefore be argued that despite their statistical inferiority the sewamono (plays dealing more or less exclusively with the contemporary life of the non-samurai class) constitute another important play type in the Kamigata corpus and thus also warrant serious consideration. This will be the subject of chapter five. Here much the same procedure will be followed as in the previous chapter, beginning with an examination of the corpus and followed by readings of several plays. Since the sewamono also became an important part of jōruri, however, this chapter will also include a discussion of Chikamatsu's jōruri sewamono plays and of how these plays, despite their obvious differences, can be related both formally and ideologically to the kabuki oiemono.

In chapter six, I will turn my attention to Edo kabuki. A survey of the corpus here will show that although there are some common features, particularly in regards to the sources and subject matter treated in Edo-



plays, there is no one dominant play type corresponding to the oiemono of Kamigata kabuki. Three different play types will therefore be dealt with here. In order to provide a basis for meaningful comparison among the different plays treated, I have decided to concentrate on the work of one major actor/playwright, Ichikawa Danjūrō I. These plays by Danjūrō will be examined not only through a comparison with the works of Kamigata kabuki, but also in terms of the particular social dynamic found in Edo. In order to fully account for the unique themes and structure of these plays it will also be necessary to consider Danjūrō's own peculiar position within and response to that social dynamic, and this will entail, in addition to analysis in terms of social classes, ideology, and form, a certain degree of psychological interpretation. This chapter will then conclude with a discussion of Sukeroku. This play, first staged in 1713 and perhaps the oldest play still performed today, is not strictly speaking a Genroku play and will not be considered as such. Since, however, the sewamono never developed in Edo during the Genroku era, this play, which provides an early example of the way sewa scenes were integrated into the Edo kabuki programme, does serve as a useful object of comparison with the sewa element in Kamigata kabuki plays, as well as providing an indication of the direction taken by later kabuki.

The final chapter, besides summing up the results of the previous chapters, will continue the comparative analysis begun in chapter six while at the same time expanding its scope to include not only later periods of kabuki history but also a Western example, the Elizabethan theatre. In the first instance, the aim of this comparison will be to highlight the historical specificity of Genroku kabuki. The comparative method will also be employed, however, to present an additional perspective on the questions of ideology and form in Genroku kabuki as well as to arrive at some general conclusions concerning the relationship between economics and theatre history and the determinants of dramatic genre.

Notes to Chapter One

1. As an exception to the general trend, Torigoe, using criteria more strictly based on the conditions of performance and reception, suggests a shorter period, one confined to the Jōkyō, Genroku, and Hōei eras, that is, 1684-1711 (Genroku Kabuki Kō 193-98).

2. A good general account of the theatre reform movement in the Meiji period can be found in Kawatake, Nihon Engeki Zenshi 801-24. In English, see Komiya 215-29, as well as Horie-Webber, "Modernisation of the Japanese Theatre" 153-56. On the relationship between the theatre reform movement and the reform of literature in the Meiji period, see also Karatani, Origins of Modern Japanese Literature 54-57.

3. The text of the play, based on the 1896 book edition, can be found in Seiji Shōsetsu, Tsubouchi Shōyō, Futabatei Shimei Shū, vol. 1 of Gendai Nihon Bungaku Taikai. The play is discussed in English in Keene, Dawn to the West 412-15.

4. The other two are: Dai Chikamatsu Zenshū (16 vols. 1922-25), edited by Kitani Hōgin; and Fujii Otoo's Chikamatsu Zenshū (12 vols., 1925-28).

5. The debate referred to here is most likely the one carried out in the pages of the journal Bungaku during the period 1951-52. See, for example, the article by Kondo and Ino and the response by Kuwahara. As part of the general background to the debate about the merits of kabuki at this time one should also not forget the censorship carried out by the American occupation forces, which resulted in the banning from the stage for a period of up to two years (1945-47) several classics of the kabuki repertoire because of their supposed "anti-democratic" sentiments. On this topic, see Kawatake Shigetoshi, Nihon Engeki Zenshi 958-69; in English, Kawatake Toshio, "A Crisis of Kabuki"; also Ernst 258-68.

6. While the relationship between discourse and ideology that I have tried to trace here has been limited to work on kabuki, it is clear that the shift towards an acceptance and privileging of the native and the premodern is not unrelated to other more explicitly theoretical attempts

to deal with the problems of modernity and the national identity. Hayashiya's and Gunji's (re)constructions of popular and folk theatrical traditions, for example, as well as Imao's and Hattori's critiques of modern drama, have their counterparts in the minzokugaku of Yanagita Kunio and Oriuchi Shinobu, in the right-wing intellectual effort at "overcoming the modern" (kindai no chōkoku) during the Second World War, in postwar critiques of militarism and the "emperor system," and in the more recent popular theorizing of the nihonjinron (discourse on the Japanese). As Sakai has argued, it is possible to read much of this discourse as variant attempts to resist a perceived Western universalism by insisting on Japanese particularism. Sakai also points out, however, that all such attempts must also deal with modernization, and to do so invariably means relying on a discursive scheme in which the historical pairing premodern-modern is translated into geopolitical poles (East-West) and vice-versa ("Modernity and Its Critique" 94). As the present review has shown, it is just such a conflation of historical and geopolitical categories that guarantees the easy conversion of discourse on the premodern in kabuki into a celebration of Japanese particularity. Moreover, as was seen in Gunji's, Imao's, and Hattori's discourses on the problem of creativity in the modern theatre, the same discursive scheme makes it impossible to imagine a future national theatre which is not in some significant way also a return to the past. Kabuki, in this sense, to use Marilyn Ivy's apt phrase, has for most of the twentieth century served as one of those "reminders of modernity's losses," the discursive recuperation of which bespeaks "the wish to reanimate, not simply fix, the past at the moment of its apparent vanishing" (243, 245). On the ideological foundations of Japanese minzokugaku studies, see Harootunian's "Disciplinizing Native Knowledge and Producing Place," and on the ideological effort to "overcome the modern," the same author's "Visible Discourses/Invisible Ideologies." Some insightful observations on twentieth-century Japanese intellectual discourse in relation to questions of the past, modernity, and the Other can also be found in Karatani, "The Discursive Space of Modern Japan."

7. The utopian dimension (where utopia literally signifies "no place") in such attempts to define the essentially Japanese through the recuperation and appropriation of dying traditions is treated in Ivy's recent and very stimulating book, Discourses of the Vanishing. See in particular 10, 100-09.

8. The major exception here is Moriya, who -- quite rightly, I believe -- sees the significance of the kinsei or Edo period for the performing arts in that it is "the historical stage in which the commodification of the performing arts and the transformation of the audience into a market first became complete" (Kinsei Geinō Kōgyōshi 15).

9. Many of the folkloric features of the Japanese theatre which Japanese critics are wont to take as indicative of a national culture are in fact also found in other cultural traditions. See for example the work by Bogatyrev and Veltruský on the Czech and Slovak folk theatre, or that of Bevington and Weimann on the English folk theatre and its relation to Elizabethan drama. In connection with the latter, it is interesting to note that here, too, the widening of the field of theatre studies to include folklore has also been seen as a necessary counter-measure to the dominance of the literary approach. As Wickham has put it, "most modern criticism, with its heavy literary bias, has in fact severed Elizabethan drama from its roots" (Early English Stages 1: xxi).

10. On the need to transcend ethnocentrism in conceptions of Japanese culture as well as for a summary of some recent attempts to do so, see Morris-Suzuki, especially 775-77.

11. For a representative though not exhaustive list of works in Western languages dealing with kabuki, see the bibliography, section II.B.

12. Among Japanese works on kabuki translated into English are: Toita Yasuji, Kabuki: The Popular Theater; the section on kabuki by Kawatake in Inoura and Kawatake; and Gunji, Kabuki. For a brief but good overview of the social history of kabuki, see Gunji, "Kabuki and its Social Background."

13. On the question of interaction in popular culture studies see also the essays in the volume edited by Reay, especially Reay's

introduction and the contribution by Peter Burke on "Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century London." Burke, for example, suggests that the idea of interaction should be built into the "model" of "two cultures, learned and popular, dominant and dominated" (32), a model which he himself had elaborated in his earlier work, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe. It is interesting to note that Burke concludes this more recent essay by suggesting a parallel with Japan, where large cities such as Osaka, Edo, and Kyoto were also growing rapidly and became the sites of a "new popular culture [which] included chapbooks (kanazōshi), kabuki theatre, puppet plays, and coloured woodblock prints" (54).

14. A similar view of popular culture as a field of cultural and ideological struggle can be found in Hall, "Notes on Deconstructing the Popular"; for a critique of this position, see MacCabe.

15. See, for instance, Montrose: "...in recent years this vexed but indispensable term [ideology] has in its most general sense come to be associated with the processes by which social subjects are formed, reformed and enabled to perform as conscious agents in an apparently meaningful world" (16).

16. Harootunian does devote part of another work, "Late Tokugawa Culture and Thought," to the subject of popular culture (see especially 169-77). Again, however, emphasis is on a later period of Edo-period history, and indeed it is the historical specificity of this age (the bakumatsu period) that Harootunian is most concerned with in this essay. Other important works on Edo-period intellectual history that should be mentioned here are: Maruyama, Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan; Najita and Scheiner, Japanese Thought in the Tokugawa Period; Nosco, Confucianism and Tokugawa Culture and Remembering Paradise; Ooms, Tokugawa Ideology; and Sakai, Voices of the Past. For a good review of recent developments in the study of Edo-period intellectual history, see Yamashita.

17. Montrose's indebtedness to Bourdieu is indicated in a footnote to the passage quoted, while that to Foucault and Althusser is reflected in footnotes to earlier sections of his essay. The quotation is from

Bourdieu, "Symbolic Power" (81). The impression of eclecticism is reinforced by many other references to diverse forms of criticism, including the deconstruction of Jacques Derrida, the Marxist cultural critique of Raymond Williams and Fredric Jameson, and the anthropology of Clifford Geertz.

18. For a New Historicist critique of some Marxist assumptions regarding form and ideological contradiction, see Gallagher 43-44.

19. For Goldmann's notion of the collective or possible consciousness see his The Hidden God 3-21; Essays on Method 55-74. The latter work also contains an extended discussion of the concept of "significant structure" (75-89). On the concept of "homology," see also Toward a Sociology 158-59.

20. On the dialogical structure of discourse see Bakhtin, Problems of Dostoyevsky's Poetics 153-69; The Dialogical Imagination 259-422; see also Vološinov 83-98.

21. The notion of "possible worlds" in relation to theatre is discussed in Elam 99-114; Suvin, "Approach to Topoanalysis" and "The Performance Text." See also Pavel.

22. This contract is not essentially violated by such features of kabuki performance as the calls from the audience or an actor's temporarily stepping out of his role to speak to the audience directly. As Suvin notes, "theatre can and sometimes does play not only within but also with the very limits of [...] aesthetic distance....Nonetheless, both the actors' physically mingling with the audience or all direct addresses to the audience...are merely a 'laying bare' of th[e] framing device which dialectically proves its stable and abiding status" ("Approach to Topoanalysis" 329).

23. By "performance text" is to be understood an actual stage performance of a play. On the notion of the performance text see De Marinis, "Lo spettacolo come testo"; also Suvin, "The Performance Text." For an indication of some of the implications of performance for semiotic analysis, see Eco. More thorough treatments can be found in Elam; also De Marinis, Semiotica del teatro.

24. In "Kabuki Gikyoku no Tenkai" (The Development of Kabuki Drama; originally published as "Kabuki" in Nihon Bungakushi vol. 8), Gunji stresses the prevalence of acting patterns in Genroku kabuki and argues that the stage was a place to display the "art" of the actors (Kabuki Ronsō 277-79). A similar argument is made by Hattori, who, although pointing out the connection between the Kamigata oiemono and its socio-political background, also ultimately considers the plots of Genroku plays as vehicles for the actors' art ("Kabuki: Kōzō no Keisei" 70-76).

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF GENROKU KABUKI

#### Overview of Edo Period Society and the "Three Metropolises"

In 1703, the last full year of the Genroku era, kabuki, by the most common reckoning, was exactly one hundred years old.<sup>1</sup> Having begun in Kyoto, a century later kabuki was still essentially an urban phenomenon, its apex represented by the "big theatres" (ōshibai) of the "three metropolises" (santo), Kyoto, Osaka and Edo.<sup>2</sup> It is on the urban context, therefore, that this examination of the social environment of Genroku kabuki will focus. Before doing so, however, it will be useful to discuss briefly some of the economic and political factors that contributed to the growth of cities in the early Edo period. In addition, since it will be particularly important to obtain some idea of the social make-up of the cities, it will also be necessary to say something about the division of classes in Edo Japan. I should emphasize that it is not my intention here or anywhere else in this dissertation to rewrite Edo-period history or engage in a critical reexamination of the larger economic and political issues; clearly that is beyond the scope of the present work. The purpose of this overview, rather, is to provide a broad context within which to situate kabuki production. The social and economic categories that I employ at this point will necessarily be generalized; it will be the goal of subsequent sections of this chapter and the next to define them more precisely insofar as they relate to kabuki production.

If in 1703 kabuki was exactly a century old, so too, by some definitions, was the Tokugawa shogunate, and hence also the Tokugawa or Edo period.<sup>3</sup> By all accounts this first century of Edo-period Japan was one of remarkable economic and population growth. A government survey in the year 1721 put the commoner population of the entire nation at just over 26 million.<sup>4</sup> Estimates of the ratio of samurai to commoner range from five to ten percent, which would add another 1.5 to 2.5 million to the total population figure (Nakai and McClain 526; Hanley and Yamamura



45). The population of Japan at the beginning of the seventeenth century is unknown, but it has been estimated at around 12 million, which would mean that the population more than doubled during the first century of the Edo period.

Underlying this growth was increased agricultural production and important social and political changes. According to one estimate, the amount of rice-producing land more than doubled during the century from 1550 to 1650 (Yamamura, "Returns on Unification" 334). Agricultural productivity may have been further enhanced by a change in the composition of farming households, the trend being in the early Edo period away from large land-holdings run by extended families to smaller farms managed by more nuclear family units. Despite the increases in both productivity and the number of individual farming households, the countryside could not absorb the population growth, and as a result those family members who were not able to acquire land and set up households of their own often took up employment in urban centres, thereby fueling the growth of castle towns and cities.

While a displaced rural population partly accounts for the growth of towns and cities, the emergence of urban centres and urban networks was also stimulated by political changes brought about immediately prior to the beginning of the Edo period. As part of his effort to ensure control over the warrior or bushi population, in the 1580s the hegemon Toyotomi Hideyoshi instituted policies that redefined the feudal system. Until then the bushi had held their land outright, but under Hideyoshi such land came to be considered a grant from the state, which the feudal lords (daimyō) only held in trust. Their traditional ties to the land severed, the bushi were thus compelled to settle in or around their daimyō's castle.<sup>5</sup> The some 250 castle towns that sprang up around Japan thus became centres of feudal administration. Since they also represented large concentrations of non-productive consumers, such towns also developed into commercial and trade centres, providing opportunities for merchants and craftsmen, as well as attracting the excess rural population, who became apprentices, labourers and domestics.

Hideyoshi's policies were intended not only to control the bushi class by making their rights to collect tax-rice and other privileges dependent on the state, but also to reinforce class distinctions and thus prevent the kind of upward social mobility referred to by historians as gekokujō (overthrow of superior by inferior) and which had characterized much of the Muromachi period. In order to ensure the separation of peasants from warriors, in 1588 Hideyoshi ordered the peasants to give up their arms. Hereafter it was only the bushi who were allowed to carry swords, which thus became a mark of social distinction. Three years later Hideyoshi issued an edict prohibiting changes in status from farmer or samurai to merchant.<sup>6</sup> These status distinctions were carried on by the Tokugawa bakufu (military government) and became the basis for the four-fold hierarchy known as shi-nō-kō-shō, that is, in descending social order, warrior, peasant, artisan and merchant. In practice little distinction was made between artisans and merchants. Since both earned their livelihood primarily in urban centres, they were often referred to simply as townspeople (chōnin). The distinctions the bakufu was most interested in maintaining were those between peasants and the other classes (in order to keep the peasants bound to the land and thus ensure the production of tax-rice) and, in the cities, between the bushi and the townspeople. In addition to the four classes already mentioned, there were other groups that existed outside the official hierarchy. Some, such as the Kyoto nobility (kuge), the literati, and the upper clergy enjoyed special privileges and high social standing, while others, such as the eta (hereditary pariah caste) and the hinin (literally "non-humans"), were officially viewed to occupy the very bottom of the social scale. Entertainers such as kabuki actors, that is, those who were not involved in courtly or bushi performing arts (e.g. nō) were considered hinin, as were prostitutes. More will be said later in this chapter about the bakufu's attempts to maintain class divisions. It will suffice for the moment to mention that the official ideology of class did not always obtain in practice.

Although the castle town pattern of urban growth was widespread, each of Japan's three largest cities, Kyoto, Osaka and Edo, represents a special case. Kyoto, home of the emperor and the nobility as well as the headquarters of many religious organizations, had long been the cultural centre of Japan and the only city of substantial size. During the sixteenth century Kyoto also developed into a major commercial centre and indeed remained the pre-eminent such city in Japan until eclipsed by Osaka late in the seventeenth century. One oft-cited source describing seventeenth-century Kyoto is the History of Japan written by the German physician attending the Dutch Embassy to Japan, Engelbert Kaempfer, who in 1691 visited Kyoto, which he referred to as "Miaco" (i.e. miyako or "capital"):

Miaco is the great magazine of all Japanese manufactures and commodities, and the chief mercantile town in the Empire... Here they refine copper, coin money, print books, weave the richest stuffs with gold and silver flowers. The best and scarcest dyes, the most artful carvings, all sorts of musical Instruments, pictures, japan'd cabinets, all sorts of things wrought in gold and other metals, particularly in steel, as the best temper'd blades, and other arms are made here in the utmost perfection, as are also the richest dresses, and after the best fashion, all sorts of toys, puppets, moving their heads of themselves, and numberless other things, too many to be here mention'd. In short, there is nothing can be thought of, but what may be found in Miaco...Considering this, it is no wonder, that the manufactures of Miaco are become so famous througout the Empire, as to be easely preferr'd to all others, tho' perhaps inferior in some particulars, only because they have the name of being made at Kio. There are but few houses in all the chief streets, where there is not something to be sold, and for my part, I could not help admiring, whence they can have customers enough for such an immense quantity of goods. (21-22)

Following this description Kaempfer goes on to cite the results of the most recent shūmon aratame or religious survey for Kyoto, which indicated a population of 52,169 monks and nuns and 477,557 adherents of the various Buddhist sects, for a total of 529,726 (23). This number did not include the nobility, estimated at about 150 families, nor the bushi population, which would in any case not have been very significant since few samurai other than bakufu administrators and retainers acting as agents for their daimyō resided in the city (Shively, "Popular Culture" 712). The figures given by Kaempfer, however, should not be taken as absolutely reliable, since others from approximately the same period suggest a population closer to 350,000.<sup>7</sup> All that can be safely assumed for the purposes of this study, therefore, is that in the Genroku era Kyoto had a population somewhere in the range of 350,000-500,000 inhabitants, the overwhelming majority of whom would have been chōnin.

As Kaempfer's description indicates, it was above all for the production of high-quality and luxury goods that Kyoto was famous. One estimate puts the total number of workers involved in various aspects of the textile industry alone at close to 100,000 (Moriya Katsuhisa 98). Given the magnitude of production, Kaempfer's question as to where all the customers were to be found is indeed an appropriate one. Earlier such goods would have been produced primarily for the benefit of the court nobles or, in the Muromachi period, the Ashikaga shoguns and the warrior elite; but in the Edo period daimyō and other high-ranking samurai from throughout Japan sought to acquire Kyoto silks and other high-quality goods, as did the growing number of wealthy chōnin who could afford them.<sup>8</sup>

Another area in which Kyoto's citizens stood at the forefront of the nation was the pursuit of learning and the study of various arts and accomplishments. A directory that forms part of a 1685 guide to Kyoto lists 241 teachers, including forty-one "men of letters" (bungakusha), sixteen experts in painting and calligraphy, and 125 "master teachers" (shishō) of the tea ceremony, flower arrangement, nō chanting, and the board games of go and shōgi.<sup>9</sup> Another such directory published some three decades later mentions a total of 440 masters, including 288 in the arts

(Shively, "Popular Culture" 724). During the seventeenth century Kyoto was also the centre of the publishing trade, a total of 701 different publishers being recorded as active during the century, compared to 185 in Osaka and 242 in Edo (Moriya Katsuhisa 115).

If Kyoto was the cultural capital of the country and the site of the manufacture of high-quality textiles and other luxury articles, nearby Osaka was the centre for the trade and distribution of more everyday goods, including cotton cloth, lamp oil, sake, soya sauce and, above all, rice. Like Kyoto, Osaka grew rapidly in the first century of the Edo period, one estimate putting its population at 360,000 in 1699 (Hanley and Yamamura 97). Contributing to the city's growth as a centre of trade and commerce were the establishment of the rice market and the development of new marine shipping routes. Osaka had early in the century become the central market for tax-rice shipped from daimyō domains in western Japan. The new routes, which linked the city not only with Edo but with both the Pacific and Japan Sea coasts of northern Japan, greatly increased the amount of rice and other goods sent to the city for sale or redistribution. As the volume of these shipments grew, so too did the number of merchants who acted as shipping agents, brokers and bankers. The number of tonya or wholesalers dealing in specific commodities, for example, jumped from a total of 378 in the 1670s to 5,655 by the beginning of the eighteenth century (Hanley and Yamamura 94). Likewise, the number of brokers who handled the sale of tax rice after it reached the Osaka warehouses increased to some thirteen hundred by the 1710s. The growth of commerce also stimulated an increase in the number of moneylenders and changers, as well as the development of new financial instruments to facilitate loans and transactions. Not all of Osaka's business depended on the sale and distribution of goods produced elsewhere, however. Copper smelting was a major industry and employed approximately ten thousand workers, and records from the early eighteenth century indicate that the city was also home to some two thousand ship's carpenters, which suggests that ship building was also a major industry (Nakai and McClain 560-64).

While Osaka was the major distribution centre in the country, the major consumer was undoubtedly Edo. At the end of the sixteenth century Edo had been only a small settlement and site of a branch castle. In 1603, however, when Tokugawa Ieyasu became shogun and moved the capital to Edo, the city began a period of astonishing growth. From an estimated 100,000 in 1610 Edo's population swelled to about 800,000 in 1680 and eventually to over one million before it began to level off in the 1720s (Rozman 93). Unlike the cities of Kyoto and Osaka, whose growth was tied to roles as production and distribution centres, Edo's function resembled more that of the castle towns. Indeed, as the seat of the shogunate and the administrative capital of the nation it was the grandest castle town of them all. It was not only the bakufu officials and administrators that caused Edo's population to grow so dramatically, however. With the regularization of the sankin kōtai or alternate attendance system during the 1630s, daimyō from all parts of Japan were compelled to establish suitably grand residences in the city, each of which was home to a large permanent staff as well as serving as the residence of the daimyō and his personal entourage during his compulsory periods of attendance in Edo. In his breakdown of the Edo population, Rozman estimates that the direct retainers of the shogun, that is, the bannermen (hatamoto) and housemen (gokenin) who resided permanently in the city, accounted for perhaps 10 percent of the total, while at any one time the daimyō and their families and entourages would have constituted another 25 to 30 percent. To this must be added the large number of employees or servants of the bushi, who, although not samurai themselves, were usually included in the bushi population. This category of citizen, known usually as hōkōnin, probably made up an additional five to ten percent of the city's inhabitants, giving a total for the entire population of bushi, their dependents and staffs somewhere between 40 and 50 percent (Rozman 100-101). Assuming Edo's population to be in the vicinity of one million by the end of the seventeenth century, this would mean that in the Genroku era the city was home to between 400,000 and 500,000 samurai, including their dependents and staffs.

Serving this large bushi population was a roughly equal number of chōnin. Again assuming a total population of approximately one million, Edo during the Genroku era would have been the location of not only the largest concentration of samurai in the country but of urban commoners as well. This huge chōnin population could only have been the result of a rather massive and steady migration of commoners from rural areas. The nature of this urban migration, moreover, gave rise to some particular features of Edo's chōnin population which distinguished it from those of Kyoto and Osaka. In the first place, since the city expanded rapidly during the seventeenth century, many of the migrants would have found work in the construction trades rather than in established specialized industries and crafts as was the case in Kyoto. Furthermore, while the migrants included some women and girls, many of whom entered service in samurai households, Edo's boomtown character meant that its chōnin population included a much higher percentage of males. According to Rozman, as late as the 1720s there were still almost twice as many males as females among the city's chōnin residents, and it was not until the nineteenth century that a balance was achieved between the sexes (102). This disproportion in the ratio of male to female during most of the Edo period has led Nishiyama to characterize Edo as a male city (Nishiyama and Haga 12).

When Edo began its rapid growth at the beginning of the seventeenth century, manufacturing and commercial development in that part of Japan lagged behind that of the Kinai or Kamigata region. This explains why many of the goods consumed in Edo came from Osaka and other areas in western Japan. It also explains why many merchants from Kyoto, Osaka, and more commercially developed regions such as the provinces of Ōmi and Ise were able to seize business opportunities in Edo or open up prosperous branch shops in the city (Nakai and McClain 567; Sheldon 70-71).<sup>10</sup> As Saikaku observed in his Seiken Munesanyō of 1692, Edo's position as the paramount consumption centre of the nation meant that there were fortunes to be made there for clever or experienced merchants from other parts of Japan:

In the streets of Edo peace reigns abroad, and people from all over the land are eager to do business there. Shops of every variety are open for business, and never a day passes but goods from every province in the country are shipped in by boat and packed in on the backs of thousands of horses. No further proof is needed that there is an abundance of gold and silver in the world, and it would be a pity indeed if a merchant were unable to lay hands on at least a bit of it. (ISS 3: 504; trans., This Scheming World 126)

It was not only labourers and merchants who were drawn to the opportunities of Edo, however. An Edo occupation directory of the year 1694 lists 280 scholars, painters, poets and nō actors (Nakai and McClain 566). While this figure is comparable to the one given in the Kyoto register of 1685, most of the Edo masters came themselves from Kyoto or were Kyoto trained (Shively, "Popular Culture" 715). The most famous example is the haiku poet Matsuo Bashō, who, after spending some time in Kyoto following the death of his lord and benefactor, in 1672 set out to establish himself as a poet and teacher in Edo, which despite his later wanderings remained his home base for the rest of his life. Many of those involved in Edo's theatre world, too, are known to have come from Kyoto or the surrounding provinces. These include the jōruri chanters Satsuma Jōun and Sugiyama Tangonojō, who by the second or third decade of the seventeenth century were active in Edo, and the reputed founder of the first permanent kabuki theatre in Edo, Saruwaka Kanzaburō.

To sum up this brief comparative sketch of Japan's three metropolises, it will be observed that, while by the Genroku era all three cities probably had chōnin populations in the range of 300,000 to 400,000, both the kind of chōnin as well as the other elements of their respective populations gave to each city a distinctive social character. In Kyoto, the existence of the small but culturally elite nobility should not be overlooked, nor the fact that, as the first major centre to develop commercially, the city by the Genroku period already had a relatively long history of chōnin culture, a culture which, as Hayashiya



has pointed out, began with the influential machishū of the sixteenth century. Edo, by contrast, enjoyed no such tradition; its chōnin were made up of recent migrants, mostly male, from surrounding areas, as well as opportunistic merchant elements from other parts of Japan. This chōnin population, moreover, lived quite literally in the shadow of an equally large but politically infinitely more powerful bushi population, whose needs as consumers provided for many chōnin their social and economic raison d'être. This subordinate position of the chōnin vis-à-vis the bushi was reflected in the spatial organization of the city, the bushi occupying some 60 percent of the land area as opposed to the chōnin's 20 percent, with the remaining 20 percent taken up by shrine and temple grounds (Kodama 103-04). Finally there was Osaka, where there was no nobility, fewer religious institutions, and, especially after the destruction of Osaka castle in 1615, relatively few samurai. Osaka, in other words, probably had the most purely chōnin population of the three cities. Yet this is not to say that the bushi presence was not felt. Due to the existence of the rice market, many of the city's merchants were involved in banking and other transactions on behalf of the bakufu and the daimyō. In short, if the bushi depended on the chōnin of Edo to supply their material needs, they depended on the Osaka chōnin to convert their tax wealth (rice) into cash in order to pay for those material goods.

Given the contrasting social compositions, it is not surprising that each of the three cities should have its own tastes and develop its own characteristic brand of kabuki. In the Genroku era, this three-fold distinction is reflected in the yakusha hyōbanki, which, beginning with the Yakusha Kuchi Samisen of 1699, were usually published in three volumes, one each for Kyoto, Osaka and Edo. Further evidence of the different tastes of the audiences in the three cities is found in this same hyōbanki's entry for Ichikawa Danjūrō I. Although a great star in Edo, Danjūrō's series of performances in Kyoto during the 1693-94 theatre season was less than an unqualified success, and this the Yakusha Kuchi Samisen attributes to the fact that his aragoto style of acting was "not

to the taste" of the Kyoto audience (KHS 2: 219). In time these differences in taste came to be seen as an expression of the different regional characters or, as the Kabuki Jishi of 1756 put it, of the different "temperaments" (kimochi) of the three cities, with Edo being likened to a young, strong-willed and short-tempered man in his twenties, Osaka to a more serious and discriminating man in his thirties, and Kyoto to a sophisticated man of experience in his forties (NSBS 6: 125-26).

While the relative ages of the three cities and thus of their cultural traditions suggest that there may be some truth to this age analogy, it is, after all, an analogy only, one that says more about what by the mid-eighteenth century had already become traditional stereotypes of the citizens of the three cities than about the actual sociological conditions of kabuki production and reception in the different cities during any given period. As will become clear later, for example, Kyoto, the birthplace of kabuki and still in many ways the cultural capital of the country, continued to dominate the kabuki scene during the Genroku era. Thus, while Osaka was by this time a formidable economic rival to Kyoto, Osaka kabuki itself was in large measure derivative, many of its plays being based on whatever was popular in Kyoto at the time. Even Edo kabuki, despite its many differences from that of the Kamigata (Kyoto and Osaka) region, was not unaffected by the prestige of Kyoto. As the above example of Danjūrō shows, for example, the stars of Edo felt compelled to put their art to the test before Kyoto audiences. In order to give the notions of taste and regional differences real meaning, therefore, it will be necessary to situate kabuki production more precisely within the web of spatial, social, and cultural relations obtaining in the urban centres. As the first part of this task, the next section of this chapter will be devoted to an examination of questions of space and social relations, both within the theatres themselves and as concerns the position of theatre entertainment within society and vis-à-vis the government. This will be followed by an attempt to determine which classes made up the kabuki audiences and support systems.

Theatre Space and Social Relations

When Okuni first appeared as a dancer of kabuki-odori in Kyoto in 1603 the city was already the major centre in Japan for the public performance of stage arts (Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 40). Evidence of this activity in the first decades of the Edo period is provided by a number of surviving screen paintings, many of which depict the riverbed of the Kamo River at Shijō (Shijōgawara), an area of the city where kabuki competed for public patronage with nō, jōruri, and a host of other attractions of the sideshow or misemono variety, such as acrobatics, exhibitions of exotic animals, and freak shows (See Appendix B, figs. 1-2).<sup>11</sup> That Kyoto was the centre of such activity during this period can surely be explained by its size. As the most populated city in Japan at the time, Kyoto would have provided the largest potential market for the commercial production of the performing arts (Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 21). Early accounts of kabuki often describe Okuni as being a priestess (miko) of the Grand Shrine at Izumo in western Japan. The term "miko," however, especially in the case of the itinerant variety (aruki miko), was often no more than a convenient euphemism used by travelling female entertainers who also worked as prostitutes. Okuni may in fact have come from Izumo, but in her capacity as entertainer-cum-prostitute, it was surely no accident that she and her troupe should have come to Kyoto, where, due to its large population, both trades could have been profitably pursued.

As was mentioned in the review of kabuki scholarship, much has been made of the folkloric antecedents of kabuki. Many scholars also stress the unconventionality of Okuni and the other kabukimono who were wont to shock the inhabitants of Kyoto and other cities in Japan with their riotous behaviour and dress.<sup>12</sup> What is not emphasized often enough, however, is that from its very beginning kabuki was a commercial theatre whose offerings, for all their festivity or irreverence, were also commodities that were sold for a price. This is clear enough from the above mentioned screen paintings and other depictions of early kabuki performances. These show that the early theatres, despite their makeshift appearance, were designed to restrict viewing to paying customers.

Typically, the audience area was surrounded by a fence hung with mats, thus blocking off the view to those outside. Furthermore, in order to ensure that all those who entered paid the required fee, points of entry into the enclosure were limited to one or two small and easily controlled openings, the so-called nezumi-kido or "mouse doors." Finally, already in the first decades of kabuki the seating area was often divided into the doma (earth floor) in front of the stage and the raised boxes (sajiki) that ran along either side of the enclosure (see Appendix B, fig. 2). Through this division theatre operators were able to cater to a diverse audience, offering both inexpensive admission to poorer customers and relatively exclusive seating arrangements to those who could afford to pay the premium for a box in the sajiki.

While kabuki along with jōruri and the other performances depicted in the screen paintings of the Kyoto riverbed were all organized on a commercial basis, they were not the first examples of the commercialization of theatre space in Japan. This distinction can more accurately be ascribed to the subscription nō performances (kanjin nō) of the Muromachi period.<sup>13</sup> Originally such performances, which date back as early as 1317, were intended to raise money for the construction or repair of temples or shrines or for other public works. Following the Ōnin War (1467-77), however, which disrupted life in the capital and cut off many performers from their patrons among the aristocratic or samurai elite, nō troupes began increasingly to rely on kanjin performances as a major source of income. Indeed, one record of a subscription nō performed by the Kanze troupe in Kyoto in 1519 clearly states that the event was held "for the purpose of supporting the Kanze master" (qtd. in Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 28). A pictorial record of another Kanze performance from approximately the same period reveals spatial arrangements similar to those seen in the screen paintings, including the surrounding fence and small entrance.<sup>14</sup> Strictly speaking, then, it is in these nō performances of the sixteenth century that the beginnings of the commercial theatre in Japan must be located. In this connection it is interesting to note that after the 1540s the number of recorded kanjin events begins to decline. This,

however, should not be taken to mean that the number of performances actually fell off. What it means, rather, is that as the practice of holding such events solely for the purpose of the producers' own financial gain became more common, the designation "kanjin" began to be dropped from their description (Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 38).

It is this practice of producing stage arts on a commercial basis, then, that formed the context for the birth of both kabuki and jōruri. Needless to say, this provides a serious challenge to those arguments which insist on the continuity between earlier folk performances and kabuki. As I have tried to suggest, one way of seeing the development of the theatre in the period in question is the commercial control of the performance context. That is to say, through the mediation of kanjin performances, what Gunji would consider the ritual or festive space becomes in the course of the sixteenth century increasingly closed off and appropriated for commercial purposes. One consequence of this is the further breakdown of whatever communal relationship may still have existed between performers and the audience, who now become more clearly separated into commercial producers and paying consumers respectively. As argued in the previous chapter, this separation also provides the conditions for the "theatre contract," which can be seen as the decisive requisite for theatre as opposed to ritual.

Having thus at this point already achieved spatial control over the performance context, the logical next step in the commercial development of the theatre was for producers to gain temporal control -- not in order to restrict the performance context, as was the case in the commercialization of space, but to extend it as much as possible in order to ensure repeated opportunities for attracting paying customers. The full development of the commercial theatre, in other words, would require not only the demarcation of and control over the performance space, but also the introduction of permanent theatre buildings. Whether or not nō performances held in Kyoto in the Muromachi period were organized on a continuous basis is uncertain. Kanjin performances, although often spread out over several days, were by their nature temporary. Moriya suggests,

however, that already in the first half of the sixteenth century theatres erected for performances which had dropped the kanjin pretext may have been in operation for longer periods (Kinsei Geinō 36-37). Whether this is true or not, by the first decades of the Edo period there can be little doubt that entertainments in areas such as Shijōgawara in Kyoto were being offered on a continuous basis. This is clearly indicated by the screen paintings of the period, which show orderly rows of enclosures among which those dedicated to the stage arts are typically the largest. Such theatres, however, were still of a relatively makeshift character, only the stages themselves appearing to be of more solid construction. Still, their rather imposing size compared to the misemono stalls does indicate that already in this period kabuki theatres were beginning to emerge as important institutions of cultural production.

Given this growing importance, it is not surprising that, before the theatres became much larger and more permanent, kabuki producers began to encounter attempts by the bakufu to control and contain their activities. The banning of women's kabuki in 1629 and wakashū or boys' kabuki in 1652 because of their perceived socially disruptive effects are obvious examples of such attempts.<sup>15</sup> Even before this, however, the bakufu moved to exert some control over the growth and spread of kabuki by initiating a policy of licensing theatres. It is this policy, in fact, which came to define the select group of "big theatres" (ōshibai) that dominated the kabuki world throughout the Edo period.

According to the Kabuki Jishi, an encyclopedia-like work on kabuki first published in 1762, during the Genna era (1615-23) the Kyoto city magistrate (machi bugyō) granted seven theatres in the Shijōgawara area the right to erect above their entrances a yagura, that is, the tower-like structure around which was hung a curtain bearing a crest, usually that of the zamoto or troupe leader (NSBS 6: 96). Although the right to operate a theatre was actually held by a person and did not remain with the theatre itself, since it was only theatres that operated under such a license which were allowed to raise a yagura, the yagura itself became a physical sign that the theatre was an officially licensed ōshibai and

allowed to operate continuously. The Kabuki Jishi goes on to say that those theatres without yagura were called koshibai or "little theatres". The most common variety of little theatre was the so-called miyachi shibai, that is, a theatre that was set up on the grounds of a shrine or temple. Since such theatres were as a rule limited to one hundred days of continuous operation, they were also known as hyakunichi shibai or "one-hundred-day theatres."

This licensing of some theatres to the exclusion of others calls to mind the bakufu's practice in the early Edo period of granting monopolies or other privileges to a few, favoured entrepreneurs. Certainly the licensed theatres benefited from the distinction between large and small to the extent that restrictions placed on the little theatres ensured that they would not become sufficiently important to challenge their larger counterparts. Licensing, however, entailed restrictions on the large theatres as well, restrictions which theatre operators could be encouraged to respect through the threat of having their licenses withdrawn. Shively makes the argument that in its attempts to restrict and regulate the theatre world the bakufu can be said to have fought a losing battle, gradually yielding to the pressure of the theatre interests and losing ground on almost every front ("Bakufu Versus Kabuki" 354). While this was generally true, at times the government did act with the full weight of its authority, leading to significant, even disastrous, consequences for the theatres. All kabuki was temporarily suppressed in 1652, for example, and performance were banned again in Kyoto for a number of years during the 1660's; and Shively himself writes at length about the so-called Ejima-Ikushima incident, the 1714 scandal involving a popular actor and a high-ranking lady-in-waiting at the shogun's palace, as a result of which the Yamamura-za, one of the four big theatres in Edo at the time, was demolished and never again allowed to operate (Shively, "Social Environment" 29-36).

While these actions may be regarded as exceptions to the bakufu's limited ability to enforce its authority on the theatre world, one aspect of the government's efforts to contain kabuki was successful throughout

the Edo period. This was the restriction of the big theatres to certain designated areas in the three metropolises, a move which parallels the bakufu's treatment of houses of prostitution, which were likewise subject to licensing and relocation during the first half of the seventeenth century. In Kyoto, for example, attempts to consolidate and contain the prostitution business led in 1640 to the removal of the brothel district from its earlier location at Nijō Yanagi-machi to a more remote site in the southwest corner of the city that became known as Shimabara. In Osaka, a similar concentration of houses of prostitution in a single area took place during the 1630s, the result being the formation of the Shimmachi brothel district. Edo's licensed quarter, the famed Yoshiwara, was established in 1617 or 1618, but following the great Meireki fire of 1657 was moved a considerable distance to the north of the city centre, thus creating the Shin Yoshiwara or "New Yoshiwara." By the mid-seventeenth century, then, the licensed quarters in the three largest urban centres in Japan had all been relocated to the areas on the fringes of the cities where they were to remain for the rest of the Edo period.

The designation of specific districts for the big theatres can thus be said to have formed part of a more general policy of the bakufu aimed at containing potentially disruptive cultural activity by marking the sites of such activity as exceptional and separating them from the rest of the urban environment. It is not entirely correct, however, to say that the government's main objective in this was to protect the public from the "evil influence" of the theatre (Shively, "Bakufu versus Kabuki" 332). For the bakufu it was not so much a matter of protecting public morality as it was one of maintaining the social order, an order which rested firmly on the strict separation of the classes. What caused the most concern in the case of both kabuki actors and prostitutes was that they attracted and were courted by all classes, including the bushi and even the Kyoto nobility, as well as the chōnin. This breakdown of the social order was made even more intolerable by the fact that actors and prostitutes themselves were regarded as outcasts. In the early history of kabuki there are numerous recorded incidents of brawls breaking out



among bushi in the theatres or other places where kabuki entertainers were present, and for the bakufu there could have been no clearer sign of kabuki's threat to the social order than to hear of samurai fighting amongst themselves over outcasts.<sup>16</sup> The major step taken to control this threat was the permanent banning of those forms of kabuki most open to prostitution, namely women's and boys' kabuki. Geographic restriction, however, was from early on another important strategy. For by containing kabuki theatres within specific quarters of the cities, the bakufu sought not only to prevent the mobility of the performers and hence the possibility of mixing freely with the other classes, but also to instil in society the consciousness that the theatre districts themselves were exceptional to the normal social order.

The history of the Edo period theatre districts, therefore, follows quite closely the pattern observed in the case of the prostitution quarters of increasing restrictions and physical containment. At the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries stage performances and other entertainments could be found at a number of locations around Kyoto, including, besides Shijōgawara, the riverbed at Gojō and the Kitano Shrine (Moriya, 53-61). The decision of the city magistrate in the Genna era to license only those theatres operating at Shijōgawara, therefore, implies an effort not only to restrict the large theatres to one particular district but to curtail theatrical entertainment in other areas. Thereafter Shijōgawara was to remain the centre of the Kyoto theatre world. At the same time, the number of officially sanctioned theatres in Kyoto continued to be restricted, never going beyond the limit of seven mentioned in the Kabuki Jishi, and sometimes dropping below that number. An illustration of the theatre district on an ema (votive tablet) dated 1676, for example, shows a cluster of six theatres located on the east bank of the river (see Appendix B, fig. 3), as does a screen painting from about the same period (Appendix B, fig. 4). By the Genroku period, however, the number was back up to seven, as a survey from the year 1689 indicates (Ihara, Kabuki Nempyō 1: 172-73).

Kyoto's seven theatres were used by both kabuki and jōruri troupes. According to Takano, of the six theatres represented on the 1676 ema tablet, three were home to kabuki troupes (Nihon Engekishi 2: 359), while the Yarō Tachiyaku Butai Ōkaqami, a hyōbanki of 1687, mentions four kabuki theatres in operation in Kyoto that year (KHS 1: 232). Later hyōbanki, however, reveal that in the Genroku era the usual number of active kabuki troupes in the city during any given year was three.

The situation in Osaka during the pre-Genroku era is more difficult to determine. What evidence does exist, suggests that there were kabuki troupes performing in the city as early as 1615 and that in 1626 at least one theatre moved to the area along the recently opened Dōtombori canal and received official permission to operate there (Ihara, Kabuki Nempyō 1: 34, 48; Takano, Nihon Engekishi 2: 365). According to the Kabuki Jishi, after the banning of women's kabuki in 1629 a number of theatre people from Kyoto took advantage of the laxer regulations in Osaka to set up theatres in the city. With the banning of wakashū kabuki in 1652, however, the situation was more strictly regulated, with at first only three kabuki troupes allowed to operate in the Dōtombori district (NSBS 6: 101). From then until the end of the Edo period, Dōtombori remained the centre for large, officially licensed theatres in Osaka. Later evidence indicates that the total number of theatres operating in the district was limited to eight (Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 230-31). As in Kyoto, these theatres were used by both kabuki and jōruri, and an examination of the hyōbanki shows that during the Genroku era the usual number of kabuki troupes in operation at any one time was four.

While developments in Edo follow in general the pattern observed in Kyoto and Osaka of increasing restrictions and the gradual establishment of fixed parameters for kabuki production, there were some significant differences. Tradition has it that the first officially sanctioned theatre in Edo, the Saruwaka-za (later called the Nakamura-za), was founded in 1624 in the Nakabashi district of the city.<sup>17</sup> At this time Nakabashi was already a centre for theatrical entertainments. Due to the proximity of Nakabashi to Edo castle, however, in 1632 (or 1635) the

Nakamura-za and other smaller theatres in the district were ordered to relocate to Negi-chō, approximately one-and-a-half kilometres to the northwest. Following a fire in 1651 which destroyed a large part of Edo, the theatres in Negi-chō were ordered to move once again, this time to nearby Sakai-chō. Sakai-chō, however, was already the location of several theatres, including the Murayama-za (later called Ichimura-za), the founding of which is usually dated 1634. It would seem, therefore, that in relocating the Nakamura-za and the small theatres of Negi-chō to this area, the bakufu was taking advantage of the opportunity created by the 1651 fire to bring about a consolidation of theatre districts. When the division of wards (chō) in Edo was redrawn in 1658, the area of Sakai-chō where the Ichimura-za was located became Fukiya-chō, while the area in which the Nakamura-za was found continued to be called Sakai-chō.

The Nakamura-za and Ichimura-za account for only half of the "four Edo theatres" mentioned so often in the hyōbanki during the Genroku period. The other two were both located in Kobiki-chō. One of these, the Yamamura-za, was apparently originally a small theatre founded in 1642 and known as the Okamura-za, and did not become recognized as an ōshibai until the late 1660s. The final theatre of the big four was the Morita-za, established in 1660. Like Sakai-chō and Fukiya-chō, Kobiki-chō was to remain one of the theatre districts in Edo until all the theatres were ordered to relocate to the Asakusa district several kilometres to the north in 1842-43 as part of the Tempō Reforms.

Along with the intermittent orders to relocate, the bakufu's theatre policy in Edo also included reductions in the number of theatres. According to the Kejō Nempyō, a collection of Edo period documents concerning the Edo theatres compiled during the Meiji period by Sekine Shisei, following the great Meireki fire of 1657, the number of theatres in the city was reduced by 11. Those remaining included four large kabuki theatres, eight smaller kabuki theatres, and seven jōruri theatres for a total of 19 (qtd. in Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 166). This number seems to have remained fairly constant over the next several decades. A detailed drawing of the layout of the Sakai-chō and Fukiya-chō theatre

districts dated 1681 shows 12 theatres (Ihara, Kabuki Nempyō 1: 141-42), while one included in the 1684 Yarō Sanza no Taku indicates 11 (KHS 1: 184-85). No such drawing exists for Kobiki-chō, but a document included in Sekine's Tōto Gekijō Enkakushi records six theatres in that ward in 1668. These six plus the 11 or 12 in Sakai-chō and Fukiya-chō would thus make a total of 17 or 18, a reduction of only one or two from the number given in 1657. Other documents from later years mention more theatres in Kobiki-chō, but these include many of the jōruri theatres named in the 1681 and 1684 sketches of Sakai-chō and Fukiya-chō (Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 173-74). It thus seems that following the Meireki fire, whereas the total number of theatres in Edo varied little and the locations of the four kabuki ōshibai remained fixed, the smaller theatres, particularly the jōruri theatres, were allowed some freedom to move from one theatre district to another.

In contrast to Kyoto and Osaka, then, one of the features of the Edo theatre world was that it was only the four large kabuki theatres that were recognized as ōshibai. Another important difference is that theatrical entertainment was not limited to one area only but was spread out over three chō, although it may be more correct to think of the theatres divided between two distinct areas, since Sakai-chō and Fukiya-chō were adjacent to one another. This should not be interpreted as evidence of a more tolerant theatre policy in Edo, however. In the first place, the number of large kabuki theatres is comparable to the numbers in Kyoto and Osaka. Moreover, Shitamachi, the area of Edo reserved for the non-samurai population, was relatively small compared to the total area of the city, and the parts of the three chō in which the theatre districts were located were also quite compact. What made these three areas even more crowded -- and hence also made it necessary to allow for more than one theatre district -- is that in Edo, as opposed to Kyoto and Osaka, the theatre districts were home not only to the theatres but to everyone associated with them. The two sketch maps of Sakai-chō and Fukiya-chō mentioned above, for example, both show large numbers of actors' residences. This, apparently, was also a matter of bakufu

policy, as is indicated by edicts of 1662 and 1678 which expressly order actors to reside in the districts or in immediately adjacent areas (Ihara, Kabuki Nempyō 86, 133). It is interesting to note that both the 1662 and 1678 orders actually form part of longer edicts which include prohibitions against actors accepting invitations to entertain in the homes of samurai and townsmen. Here again is evidence that the bakufu's restrictions on the kabuki world were aimed principally at preventing actors from crossing class barriers and mixing freely with the rest of the population, especially the bushi class.

As a result of the bakufu's spatial organization of the urban environment, then, in all three of Japan's major centres theatrical entertainments, like licensed prostitution, came to be confined to designated districts on the edges of the cities. Geographically, one significant feature of this arrangement is that in all three cases these theatre districts were separated by water from the rest of the urban environment. Originally the theatres in Kyoto's Shijōgawara area had been located on the west bank of the Kamo River, that is between the city wall built by Hideyoshi and the river itself. Around 1670, however, as Moriya's study of contemporary maps reveals, the theatres were moved across the river to the east bank, which is where they remained and where Kyoto's only remaining kabuki theatre, the Minami-za, still stands today (Kinsei Geinō 151-54). The situation in Osaka was similar, with the theatre district eventually established at the extreme south edge of the city on the other side of the Dōtombori canal. In Edo, where the shogun's castle was surrounded by an outer and inner moat and the chōnin quarters were themselves crisscrossed by a maze of canals, there was hardly an area that was not on the other side of the water in relation to some other part of the city. The theatre districts, however, were clearly at some remove from the centre of the city. To reach the Sakai-chō/Fukiya-chō area from Nakabashi, the earlier site of theatrical entertainments and the part of the chōnin district closest to Edo castle, for example, would have required, if one took the most direct route, crossing the Nihobashi River and two additional canals. While Kobiki-chō

was not quite as far from the centre, getting there from Nakabashi also entailed crossing two canals.<sup>18</sup>

Many Japanese critics have sought to attribute a special significance to these spatial arrangements. Hattori, for example, argues in his Ōinaru Koya that the theatre districts, separated from the world of everyday life by water and reached only by boat or bridge, constituted a sacred or festive space in which the chōnin were able to escape feudal oppression and give vent to their pent-up energies (30-56). Much the same argument is put forward in Jinnai's "The Spatial Structure of Edo." While admitting that, "to some extent, of course, bakufu policy was responsible for this," Jinnai nonetheless sees in the location of Edo's entertainment quarters "a peculiar Japanese logic of spatial formation" and "a tendency, intrinsic to Japanese urban culture, to differentiate spatially between the everyday and the extraordinary" (135, 137). While the emphasis here on spatial organization introduces a new twist, it is easy enough to recognize this argument as a variation of the critical attempt to construct for kabuki a non-feudal or anti-feudal Japanese essence. This is not to say that the theatre districts did not represent a peculiar feature of Edo-period urban geography. The point, however, is precisely the degree of the bakufu's responsibility for this. As has been shown, the potential for free contact between social classes was one of the government's major concerns, and one way of reducing the possibilities of such contact, in the case of entertainers, at least, was by limiting the number of theatres and restricting them to certain, relatively isolated areas. In Edo, moreover, where the potential for intercourse with the bushi class was greatest due to the size of the samurai population, the bakufu took the further step of severely restricting actors' rights of movement and residence.

There is one additional factor that must be considered in this segregation of the theatre districts from other areas. As was mentioned in the previous chapter in connection with Hayashiya's social history of the performing arts, long before kabuki, entertainers in Japan were considered to be of low social status, as is reflected in the pejorative

terms for them, kawaramono (riverside inhabitants) and kawara kojiki (riverside beggars). The origin of these terms lies in the fact that traditionally entertainers along with other outcast groups resided and worked on riverbanks or on dry riverbeds. These areas, since they were subject to flooding, constituted a sort of no-man's-land, exempt both from definitive property relations and taxes. As such, they provided one of the few areas in medieval Japan where entertainers and outcasts could freely ply their trades.<sup>19</sup> It was surely no accident, therefore, that it was on the riverbed in Kyoto that many of the kanjin-nō performances in the Muromachi period were held, and that this same area should also be associated with the early history of kabuki. Seen from this perspective, then, an important qualification must be added to Jinnai's thesis. That is to say, while it is true that entertainment districts represented a peculiar feature of traditional Japanese urban geography, the logic behind this spatial organization has more to do with the history of class distinctions and social segregation than it does with any "intrinsic" desire to separate the everyday from the extraordinary. In this sense the bakufu's policy towards entertainers and the theatres can be seen as an attempt to preserve and exploit the traditional prejudice against outcasts as a means of social control. As was suggested above, if one result of the strategy of restricting theatres to specific districts was to mark theatrical activity in the public consciousness as something existing outside the bounds of normal society, then this would have served well the bakufu's emphasis on social distinctions. In Edo, moreover, where such regulations were extended to include actors' rights of movement and residence, the effect would have been to make this sort of social distinction a matter of the actors' own self-consciousness.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to restricting the number and location of theatres, the Tokugawa government also attempted to regulate the construction and furnishing of the theatre buildings themselves. Here, too, the general thrust of the bakufu's intervention can be related to its concern with maintaining social order and class distinctions. On the one hand, for example, these regulations can be seen as an attempt to restrict the

theatres to a level of architectural simplicity commensurate with the bakufu's view of the social status of public entertainers; on the other hand, a number of specific regulations (especially those concerning the use of blinds or curtains in the boxes, for example, or the construction of passages between the boxes and the backstage area) were obviously intended to prevent fraternizing between the actors and members of the audience. These restrictions were usually in direct conflict with the economic requirements of the producers, and were thus often discreetly circumvented by theatre operators. The theatre districts, especially in Edo, were also frequently destroyed by fires, and these occasions were also often seized by theatre owners to construct larger, more profitable buildings. In contrast to its restrictions on the number and location of theatres, when it came to regulating the architectural features of theatre buildings the bakufu can indeed be said to have fought a losing battle.

As the screen paintings from the beginning of the seventeenth century reveal, the first kabuki theatres often consisted of little more than a stage and the surrounding fence, although already in the age of women's kabuki some theatres also had rows of boxes (sajiki) along either side of the enclosure at right angles to the stage.<sup>21</sup> The stages themselves were essentially the same as those used for kanjin nō performances. The main playing area was raised slightly less than a metre off the ground and measured from approximately four to six metres square. To this was usually added a smaller rear stage and, on the left side (stage right), the bridge or hashigakari, although in contrast to the regular nō stage, this was sometimes set at a right rather than an oblique angle to the main stage. The backstage area, presumably used by the performers for costume changes, was separated from the main stage by a curtain. At first only the main stage, the hashigakari, and the sajiki (if a theatre had them) were roofed.

In the several decades following the period of women's kabuki the theatres underwent a number of developments. Soon the fence enclosing the theatre grounds was replaced by a wooden wall, and all the larger kabuki theatres had roofed sajiki, as well as more permanent backstage



areas, which were also roofed. Occasionally the doma was covered with a temporary roof consisting of straw matting supported by bamboo poles (see Appendix B, fig. 4). This presumably would have provided shade on sunny days and some protection from light rains, but rain could still cause havoc with performances, as is noted in Saikaku's 1687 work, Nanshoku Ōkagami (ISS 2: 475). It was not until 1724 that the bakufu granted theatres permission to construct permanent roofs over the doma (Suda 276). Throughout the Genroku era, therefore, and even slightly later, theatres were still partially open-air structures.

Some idea of the appearance of theatres in and around the Genroku era can be gained from contemporary paintings, as well as from a model of a typical Genroku theatre exhibited at Waseda University's theatre museum (see Appendix B, figs. 4-8). It will be noted that the saiiki by this time had become quite high, thus creating space for an eventual second tier of boxes under the first. The stage itself still retained many features of the no stage, but the hashigakari had been widened, thereby increasing the total playing area.<sup>22</sup> Although only the model shows it, it is presumed that by this time theatres also used the draw curtain (hikimaku). Both the increase in playing space and the use of curtains can be seen as architectural adjustments made to accommodate an increasing complexity in the structure of the plays, especially the development of the multi-act play (tsuzuki kyōgen), the first examples of which are conventionally dated 1664 (Suwa, "Monomone Kyōgen" 106-07).<sup>23</sup>

Since theatres were constantly subject to fires and rebuilding, and as a consequence gradually increased in dimensions, there is nothing resembling a standard size for the Edo period. In addition, there were regional variations. Fortunately, however, there does exist some written evidence concerning the total size of theatres in and around the Genroku era. The 1689 document included in Ihara's Kabuki Nempyō, for example, gives the outside dimensions of all seven of the large theatres in Kyoto plus those of one "little theatre" (1: 172). According to this source, the two largest theatres, both used for kabuki, measured 26.75m × 55.15m and 29.5m × 55.15m, while the theatre of Uji Kadayū (Kaganojō), a jōruri

chanter, measured 15.5m × 41.0m. Although this jōruri theatre is less than half the size of the kabuki theatres in total area, it is still considerably larger than the little theatre (described as a ko-misemono shibai), the dimensions of which are given as 4.7m × 10m.

Unfortunately, there is no such precise documentation concerning the sizes of the Osaka and Edo theatres during the Genroku era. What evidence there is, suggests that theatres in Osaka during the Kambun era (1661-73) measured approximately 18.2m × 36.4m. As for Edo, it is known that in 1651 the Nakamura-za and Yamamura-za measured 15.5m × 27.3m, and that between then and the Kyohō era (1716-36) no theatre exceeded twelve ken (21.84 m) in width (Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 232-33). Since theatres as a rule were approximately twice as long as wide, this would give a hypothetical maximum size for Edo theatres in or shortly after the Genroku era of 21.84m × 43.68m. It would seem safe to say, therefore, that in the Genroku era theatres in Kyoto were considerably larger than those in Edo, while those in Osaka were probably roughly the same size as Edo theatres or slightly smaller.

Due to the lack of other evidence, the only way to arrive at a figure for the capacity of these theatres is by estimating on the basis of the size of the spectator area. If the area occupied by spectators is taken to be thirty percent of the total theatre area,<sup>24</sup> this would come to approximately 500m<sup>2</sup>, 200m<sup>2</sup> and 285m<sup>2</sup> for the theatres in Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo respectively. Assuming on the occasion of a full house each square metre of space was occupied by an average of three spectators (slightly less for the sajiki, slightly more for the doma), the theatres in the three cities would thus have audience capacities of approximately 1500, 600, and 855 respectively. A similar estimate for Edo theatres has been made by Shinoda on the basis of statistics given in the work Kyūki Jūyōshū for the Ichimura-za in 1720 (Shinoda 97-98). According to this estimate, the Ichimura-za in that year could accommodate 240 spectators in the sajiki and 728 in the doma, for a grand total of 968. As Shinoda suggests, however, it is probable that audiences sometimes exceeded this number, due to the practice of packing in as many spectators as possible

at popular performances. The Yakusha Kuchi Jamisen of 1699, for example, claims that Nakamura Shichisaburō's performance in Nagoya Sanza drew such large audiences that many spectators were forced to sit on the stage, while the Yakusha Hyōban Iro Jamisen (1703) reports that it was not unknown for spectators to be squeezed in "eight to a mat" like "human sushi" (KHS 2:185, 3:327). Under such conditions it would be reasonable to assume that in Edo, where theatres could comfortably accommodate audiences of 800-900, crowds might sometimes reach 1100 or 1200, while in Kyoto, where the theatres were approximately forty percent larger, the number of spectators at a popular performance might approach 2000.

Obviously who made up these audiences is of key importance to any sociology of kabuki, and this will be the subject of the next section of this chapter. Before taking up that problem, however, I would like to conclude this section on theatre space by considering the bakufu's concerns about theatre architecture. One way to do this is to look at the list of theatre regulations handed down by the Edo city magistrate's office in the wake of the Ejima-Ikushima affair of 1714. While these regulations (along with the demolition of the Yamamura-za and the banishment of the principals) can be said to constitute the authorities' response to this particular scandal, since most of the regulations had been issued previously, the 1714 list provides a good overview of the bakufu's policy on theatre architecture. In addition, since mention is often made of offensive modifications made to theatres "in recent years," this renewed set of restrictions also gives an indication of the state of the theatres by the end of the Genroku era or shortly thereafter.

The 1714 set of regulations reads as follows:

1. The boxes of the theaters have been made two and three tiers in recent years. As formerly, not more than one tier will be permitted.
2. It is prohibited to construct private passages from the boxes or to construct parlors for merry-making backstage, in the theater manager's residence, or in teahouses and such places. Nothing at all should be done by the actors other

than performing plays on the stage, even if they are called to the boxes or teahouses or the like. Of course pleasure-making patrons must not be invited to the actors' own houses.

3. In the boxes it is not permitted to hang bamboo blinds, curtains, or screens, and to enclose them in any other way is prohibited. They must be made so that they can be seen through.

4. In recent years the roofs of theaters have been made so that even on rainy days plays can be performed. In this matter also roofs must be lightly constructed as was done formerly.

5. The costumes of actors in recent years have been sumptuous; this is prohibited. Hereafter silk, pongee, and cotton will be used.

6. It is strictly prohibited that plays continue into the evening and torches be set up. They should be planned so that they will end by 5 P.M.

7. Teahouses in the vicinity of the theaters should be simply constructed, and parlorlike accommodations are entirely prohibited. Concerning those which are in existence at present, petitions should be submitted to the city magistrate's office and, upon inspection, a decision will be given. (Qtd. in Shively, "Social Environment" 35)

As was mentioned earlier, such regulations can be said to have two principal aims. Numbers one, four and seven, for example, were intended to keep the theatres and neighbouring teahouses simple, in accordance with the bakufu's view of the social status of entertainers. Although it does not deal with theatre architecture, the regulation concerning actors' costumes (No. 5) no doubt serves a similar purpose. By insisting on "simple construction" the authorities probably also hoped to discourage the samurai class from visiting these establishments. The same could be said about the third regulation, which would have meant that samurai who did attend the theatres would not be able to hide their faces (and

supposedly their shame) but would have to sit in full view of the entire audience. This regulation, however, is also related to number two (and seven), which reflects the second main objective of the bakufu's theatre policy, namely to prevent as much as possible opportunities for free contact between the classes. According to one account of the Ejima-Ikushima affair, the ladies from the castle met and caroused with actors not only in their private box, but also in an actor's home and later in a nearby teahouse (Shively, "Social Environment" 34). These venues for private rendez-vous with actors were of course also used by chōnin, as is noted in Saikaku's work.<sup>25</sup> The severity of the response in this case, however, suggests that it was principally the bushi class that the bakufu wished to protect by closing off access to such private venues. This would indicate, moreover, that over a hundred years after the birth of kabuki there was still a considerable samurai interest in this particular form of entertainment. Determining the extent and significance of this interest, therefore, will be one of the goals of the following examination of the kabuki audience.

#### The Kabuki Audience

As Hattori has pointed out in his essay "Edo Kabuki no Kankyaku" (The Edo Kabuki Audience), there has been a serious neglect of the question of the audience in most kabuki scholarship. Unfortunately Hattori's own work focuses on the post-Genroku period, and is thus of limited value here. He does, however, provide some useful methodological suggestions. For in the absence of any hard evidence of who it was who filled the kabuki theatres, one has little choice but to follow Hattori's lead and work from what is known about seating arrangements and the price structures of the theatres. When this sort of information is combined with evidence of incomes it should be possible, if not to identify exactly who attended the theatres, at least to determine some limits as to which social groups or classes could afford to attend the theatre and which area within the theatre they might have occupied.

While this procedure may allow one to make some informed guesses as to who attended the theatres and where they sat, such conclusions alone are not enough to settle the audience question. For in the first place, estimates based on prices and income levels can only effect some preliminary delimitations and exclusions (e.g. of the poorest) and then point to hypothetical audiences; but unless there is other evidence concerning a certain class or social group's actual attendance at the theatres, there is no way to generalize the extent of that group's theatre-going. More importantly, however, an audience survey based only on attendance at the theatres overlooks whole other areas of support for kabuki, namely the purchase of sexual favours (which certainly continued after the ban of wakashū kabuki) and private performances at homes or at teahouses -- the very thing, in other words, that the bakufu was most anxious to prevent. When this sort of activity is taken into account, it becomes clear that, however much evidence there might be to back up the thesis that kabuki was centrally a chōnin entertainment, the support of other classes and their significance for kabuki production must be seriously considered. It is entirely possible, for example, that even if performances at the homes of nobles or bushi did not bring the producers much in the way of monetary support, such performances may have been prized primarily for the prestige they provided. Before undertaking an analysis of the numbers, therefore, I would like to begin this survey of the audience by looking at some of the other evidence concerning support for kabuki during the period leading up to and including the Genroku era.

To begin at the beginning, although the first appearance of kabuki is traditionally associated with Izumo no Okuni's performance on the grounds of the Kitano Shrine in Kyoto in 1603, there is overwhelming evidence that Okuni actually began her professional career more than twenty years earlier as a child dancer of yayako-odori.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, there are several recorded instances dating back to 1581 of yayako-odori being performed at the imperial palace or at nobles' homes (Ogasawara, "Okuni Tōjō" 97-98). One of these records, that of the Tokiyoshi Kyōki for the first day of the seventh month, 1600, specifically refers to one of the

dancers in a troupe performing at a palace guard's residence as "Kuni" (the "O" of Okuni being an honorific, it was sometimes omitted). Another, also from the Tokiyoshi Kyōki, mentions a performance of yayako-odori by female entertainers from Izumo in 1603. After this, however, the term yayako-odori disappears from the records, while references to Izumo and the name (O)Kuni begin to be associated with kabuki-odori. There is little doubt, therefore, that Okuni did indeed begin her career as a dancer of yayako-odori, and that in or about 1603 she dropped this children's dance from her repertoire and began concentrating on the new and sexually more alluring kabuki-odori. All during this time, however, Okuni and her troupe enjoyed the patronage of the Kyoto aristocracy, a fact which has led Ogasawara to claim that "the birth of kabuki-odori was actually made possible through the generous support of the aristocracy" ("Kabuki no Seiritsu" 180).

Aristocratic support, moreover, did not end with Okuni's switch to kabuki-odori. Kabuki performances are recorded at court in the years 1612, 1613, 1615 and 1618 (Ogasawara, "Kabuki no Seiritsu" 221). These, as Ogasawara suggests, may have been the work of the same Okuni, presumably now in the twilight years of her career. While other women's kabuki troupes do not seem to have enjoyed the same amount of courtly patronage as Okuni, there is evidence of aristocratic interest in kabuki in the subsequent periods of wakashū and yarō (men's) kabuki. A bakufu ordinance of the year 1631, for example, expressly barred the Kyoto nobility from theatre-going, which is a strong indication that some aristocrats did in fact frequent the theatre (Tachikawa 293). Following this, there are several recorded cases over the years 1647-60 of performances of kyōgen zukushi (the term used for kabuki during this period) by kabuki actors at the residence of the retired emperor, Gomizuno-O (Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 127-30; Tanaka 265-68). The usual practice at such courtly entertainments was for the performers to be presented with gifts of material or clothing at the conclusion of the day's programme (Tanaka 264), and there is evidence that kabuki performances were no exception to this rule (Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 129).

While these instances of courtly patronage already indicate the need for qualifications to the characterization of kabuki as a chōnin art, this is by no means the only evidence of the support given to kabuki producers by the upper classes of the day. Mention has already been made of the bushi class's interest in kabuki, as well as the disputes between samurai over the attentions of certain actors, which were at least in part responsible for the banning of women's and boys' kabuki. Bushi patronage, however, was not limited to low-ranking samurai who were relatively free to attend the theatres. Okuni herself is said to have performed at Fushimi castle in 1603 and at Edo castle in 1607 (Ogasawara, "Kabuki no Seiritsu" 177, 219-20). Since this was still early in the history of both kabuki and the Edo shogunate, it could be argued that the bakufu had not yet had time to form and implement its policy of restricting kabuki performances.<sup>27</sup> Yet despite subsequent regulations, bushi interest in kabuki continued throughout the seventeenth century. According to the Tokugawa Jikki, even Iemitsu, the third Tokugawa shogun, viewed several performances by the kabuki troupes of Nakamura Kanzaburō and Hikosaku at Edo castle during the year 1651 (Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 201; Nishiyama, Edo Kabuki 340-41).

The richest source of information concerning the interest in kabuki among the upper bushi, however, is the so-called Matsudaira Yamato no Kami Nikki, the diary of the daimyō Matsudaira Yamato no Kami Naonori.<sup>28</sup> Naonori was a great fan of the performing arts, and his diary, which covers the years 1658-95, includes numerous accounts of kabuki, jōruri, nō, and other dance or acrobatic performances both at his own and other daimyō residences in Edo, as well as at his residence in his feudal domain. Since kabuki and jōruri troupes played at the theatres during the day, performances at daimyō residences in Edo were typically held in the evening. An evening's fare often included a variety of items performed by different troupes. The entry for the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month, 1675, for example, records that as many as fifty different actors from various troupes were involved in one such evening's entertainment (NSBS 12: 497-98). As a high-ranking samurai, Naonori did not



himself venture to the theatres, but he often sent his retainers or pages and meticulously recorded in his dairy the reports he received from them concerning theatre programmes.<sup>29</sup> The diary thus serves not only as a testimony to daimyō enthusiasm for kabuki, but also as an excellent source of information on the theatre world, especially in the case of periods for which other materials are lacking, such as the late 1650s and 1660s.

During the period covered by Naonori's dairy, the bakufu issued at least ten edicts ordering actors in Edo not to leave the theatre districts. Several of these expressly forbid actors from meeting samurai or going to their residences after the conclusion of the day's performance (Shively, "Bakufu versus Kabuki" 341). That Naonori and like-minded daimyō continued to undermine the regulations by inviting actors to perform thus raises important questions concerning the enforcement of, and individual daimyōs' attitudes towards, the official policy. One possible explanation for why Naonori and his cronies were able to defy the regulations with impunity is that virtually all of the performances recorded in the diary appear to have been for purposes of pure entertainment with no evidence that the daimyō were secretly carrying on homosexual relationships with actors. Indeed, the performances seem to have been rather open, with typically several daimyō and sometimes even their wives or mothers in attendance. A similar explanation could be made in the case of the shogun Iemitsu mentioned above. As Nishiyama points out, since Iemitsu's kabuki viewing at Edo castle was limited to the last year of his life, this should probably be understood as an attempt by concerned retainers to raise the spirits of a sick and dying man by offering him some entertainment (Edo Kabuki 341). Nevertheless, the discrepancy between such cases and the official regulations forbidding actors to visit bushi residences suggests the existence of a certain double-standard in the case of high-ranking bushi.<sup>30</sup>

In his study of aristocratic patronage of the performing arts in the seventeenth century, Tanaka Yutaka argues that kabuki performances at court were not so much a case of kabuki actors putting on airs as it is evidence of a strong interest among certain members of the nobility in

the common people's entertainment (267-68). The same could be said of samurai patronage as well. The fact that such performances were at the invitation of the aristocracy and the bushi, however, does not mean that the kabuki actors did not go willingly, nor that they had nothing to gain from entertaining their social superiors. Gifts aside, for actors, who were officially regarded as occupying the bottom rung of the social scale, appearing before the nobility and high-ranking samurai must have produced a tremendous boost to their self-esteem, even if in the long run it did not affect their official social status.

While invitations to perform at the homes of the upper classes can be said to have brought kabuki producers a certain prestige capital, it was still the daily performances at the theatres that provided them with the economic basis for their existence. Even here, though, consideration of the audience cannot be separated from the question of social status, if for no other reason than that some correlation between the price of admission and social class must be assumed. As for prices, an illustration in the 1700 hyōbanki Yakusha Dangō Zuku shows a sign at the entrance to an Osaka theatre advertising tickets for 32 mon, or about one-half momme (KHS 2: 416).<sup>31</sup> This is usually taken as the standard price for a place in the doma of a kabuki theatre in the Kamigata region during the Genroku era. Prices for jōruri were a bit less. In his study of Chikamatsu, for example, Mori Shū cites evidence that at the Takemota-za in 1724 the standard price was 24 mon, while a box in the sajiki cost 900 mon (211). As concerns the theatres in Edo, the Kejō Nempyō reports that in the Shōtoku era (1711-16) a sajiki box cost 1,200 mon. Since a box normally accommodated six persons, this would work out to 200 mon per person. During the same period a ticket for the doma cost 64 mon, while the price for watching one act was 12 mon. Theatre-goers could also expect to pay six mon for a cushion and four mon for a length of smouldering rope used for lighting pipes (Shinoda 99). According to the ukiyozōshi Genroku Taikōki (1701), prices in Edo were twice as high as in Kamigata (qtd. in Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 240). This ratio is confirmed by the prices mentioned above, namely 32 mon for a seat in the doma in

Kamigata and 64 mon in Edo. There is no evidence of sajiki prices in Kamigata during the Genroku period, but if the same ratio held true, a box would cost at least 600 mon and most likely more, since in 1724 even jōruri theatres charged as much as 900 mon for the sajiki.

In order to put the cost of attending the theatre in perspective, Mori mentions the prices of some other entertainments and commodities. A kanjin sumō performance in Osaka in 1702, for example, cost 60 mon for basic admission and 860 mon for the sajiki, while charges in the licensed quarters ran as low as ten mon for a common prostitute to as much as 76 momme for a top-ranking tayū along with her assistant. As for publications, prices of illustrated chapbooks (ezōshi) were from three to six mon, while a hyōbanki cost one momme or about 60 mon, and Saikaku's works from three to eight momme, or 180 to 480 mon (212-13). What is noticeable about all of these cultural commodities, be it the theatre, wrestling exhibits, prostitutes or printed publications, is the wide discrepancy between the lowest and the highest prices. Clearly producers, either singly or as a group, were attempting to cover a wide market with prices designed to fit a large range of incomes. In the Genroku era seats (and prices) in the kabuki theatres were still basically divided between the floor and the boxes, except in Edo where the possibility of watching a single act of the day's play for the modest sum of 12 mon provided a third and by far the cheapest option. Over the course of the eighteenth century, however, a number of new seating areas and corresponding price levels were introduced by adding sajiki to the back of auditorium (mukō sajiki) and even at the back of the stage (rakandai), as well as by dividing part of the doma into boxes and raising the section immediately in front of the sajiki to create the takadoma. As Hattori notes, these changes made the doma a more exclusive seating area, thus reducing considerably the amount of space that could be occupied for the basic entrance fee ("Edo Kabuki no Kankyaku" 30).

To return to the situation during the Genroku period, if, like Naonori, daimyō by this time did not themselves attend the theatres, then it can be assumed that most of the sajiki places were taken by wealthy

merchants and some middle-level bushi. For most samurai, however, the sajiki would have been beyond their means. According to Yamamura, at the beginning of the eighteenth century well over half of the approximately 5,000 hatamoto or direct vassals of the shogun had stipends of less than 300 koku a year, and almost all of the some 20,000 gokenin (low-ranking shogunal retainers) received less than 35 koku, with most earning in the range of 10.5 to 24.5, which at the rate of one ryō per koku would be the equivalent of from 630 to 1470 momme a year. Most daimyō retainers, meanwhile, received in the area of four to twelve koku or the monetary equivalent of 240 to 720 momme a year (Samurai Income 13, 120-28).<sup>32</sup> In order to use these figures as the basis for determining the samurai's economic potential to occupy the sajiki, I have calculated the cost of a sajiki box in Edo (approx. 20 momme) as a percentage of the monthly incomes of the three classes of samurai. In the case of hatamoto, such an expense would represent 1% - 2% of monthly income; for gokenin 17% - 38%; and for daimyō retainers, 33% - 100%. It should be added that, unlike chōnin, samurai had to observe minimum social standards (swords, clothing, servants, etc.), and this would have greatly reduced their amount of disposable income (Yamamura, Samurai Income 121). Even without taking this into consideration, however, it is clear from the above that few gokenin and even fewer (if any) daimyō retainers could afford a box in the sajiki. Of course, such low-ranking samurai could have attended the theatre by sitting in the doma, the price of which would have represented only 1% - 5% of their monthly income. Indeed, pictorial representations of the audience often depict a small number of samurai (recognizable by their two swords and their sedge hats) sitting in the doma alongside the chōnin (see Appendix B, fig. 9). As for the sajiki, however, it must be concluded that only middle and upper-ranking samurai could afford such a luxury. Since their numbers were relatively small, however, and since the bakufu's official attitude towards the theatres would probably have discouraged many from attending, it would seem reasonable to conclude that the number of samurai who occupied the sajiki was also relatively small. This would suggest, then, that the majority

of the audience in the sajiki was made up of wealthy members of the merchant class.

That a segment of the merchant class could afford the cost of the sajiki is beyond doubt. There were many merchants in the Edo period who became well-known for their wealth or their lavish spending. The Osaka money changer Kōnoike Zen'emon, for example, held loans to daimyō in 1684 totally 3,445,000 monme or about 57,500 ryō (Crawcour 195), while the Edo timber merchant Kinokuniya Bunzaemon is reported to have twice reserved the whole of the Yoshiwara for his personal amusement, and on another occasion to have had gold and silver coins scattered in the snow so that the crowd that flocked to pick them up would spoil another wealthy merchant's snow-viewing party (Kodama 160). Similar exploits were attributed to the wealthiest of the chōnin theatre-goers. The Yakusha Mai Ōgi of 1704 speaks of fortunes worth as much as 3,000 ryō spent on the theatres and mentions the case of one avid fan who more than once paid 3,500 monme to have the whole theatre to himself and a small group of companions for a day (KHS 3: 495-96).

While such stories may include an element of exaggeration, they do suggest that the theatres, like the licensed prostitution quarters, attracted some of the richest of the chōnin and were sometimes the sites of lavish displays of wealth. Not all merchants, however, were capable of such ostentatious spending, as Saikaku points out in his comparison of the theatre-going habits of Kyoto businessmen in Seiken Munesanyō:

...through the medium of the teahouse attached to the theater they [the big merchants] reserve box seats, and give generous tips to their favorite actors, that they might be hailed as their 'patrons' -- a very hollow and useless vanity indeed!

Drunk with sake they have brought into the theater, they do not return home after the performance, but linger to watch the epilogue again in the upstairs room in Ishigake Street....As these carousers are prominent people in Kyoto, however, other people talk about them: "Oh, yes! He's the favorite draper of Mr. So-and-So," or, "He's the broker that

has entree to Lord What-You-May-Call-'im's house." To be thus gossiped about is considered by these habitués of the gay quarter to be an honor.

However, in the case of a merchant with little capital, the story is entirely different. If he attends the theater just to beguile the time, he must be careful not to sit next to a smoker, lest the craving to smoke overcome him; and as for a cushion for his seat -- well, he had better rent one made of straw." (ISS 3: 439-40; trans., This Scheming World 67-68)

Merchants, it would seem, then, occupied both the sajiki and the doma, depending on their means.

As for the working classes, Mori cites wages given in literary sources from the Genroku era or slightly later that suggest well-diggers earned three momme a day, women ginning cotton 20 mon a day, seamstresses 200 momme a year, and female servants in chōnin homes 80 to 100 momme a year (214). Converting all of these incomes to momme on the basis of twenty working days per month, the wages would run from about 80 momme per year for the cotton ginners to 720 momme per year for the well-diggers, or between 7 and 60 momme per month. Other evidence confirms that most wages fell within these limits. To prevent the construction trades from taking unfair advantage of their need following the Meireki fire of 1657, the bakufu set the wages of sawyers at two momme a day and those of skilled workers such as carpenters, roofers, stone cutters, and tatami makers at three momme a day (Kodama 61). Meanwhile, clerks in Kōnoike's banking business earned 50 to 60 momme every two months, or 300 to 360 momme a year (Sakudō 162). If the average working wage is taken to be between 200 and 400 momme annually, this would work out to the equivalent of 3.4 to 6.7 koku, or about the same as the annual stipend of the lowest-ranking samurai. At this level, the sajiki, costing approximately one month's income, would be clearly out of the question, and even sharing the cost evenly with five other spectators would represent an extravagance very few working people would be able to

afford. The doma, however, at a cost of 64 mon or about one momme in Edo, was clearly within the means of a large proportion of the working class. As a percentage of monthly income, this cost would work out to about 1% - 2% for skilled workers or artisans, 3% - 4% for clerks, 6% for seamstresses, and 12% - 15% for servants and cotton ginners. These figures would indicate that the cost of the doma in Edo would have been prohibitive for only the lowest-paid workers, although they would still have been able to afford the cost of watching a single act, which at 12 mon would have represented no more than 3% - 4% of their monthly income.<sup>33</sup> Even if this class of workers is excluded, however, there still remains an appreciable potential audience for the doma among the artisans, skilled workers, and clerks. It would seem safe to conclude, therefore, that these better-paid workers along with the less wealthy of the merchants made up the majority of the doma audiences in Genroku theatres.

While it can be assumed from this comparison of incomes and prices that a sizable proportion of chōnin could afford at least an occasional visit to the theatre, it is also clear that the theatres catered to economic distinctions within the chōnin class; or rather, as far as seating arrangements were concerned, catered only to economic distinctions, since samurai, when they came to the theatre, were also only as good as their money. The theatres, in other words, like the licensed quarters and commercial activity in general, participated in the creation of a new social hierarchy, one based on the money economy and which represented an alternative to the official hierarchy, which rested on the rice economy and the system of fixed stipends for the bushi class.

This new money economy and the social distinctions it brought with it, moreover, also had an effect on cultural production and consumption. For one thing, it meant that arts and accomplishments that were formerly the preserve of the aristocratic and bushi elite could now be consumed, studied, and even produced by some members of the chōnin class. As Nishikawa Joken stresses in his Chōnin Bukuro (A Bag of Advice for Chōnin, 1692), it was precisely the money economy which made chōnin participation in the elite cultural economy possible:

In the past chōnin were considered to be inferior to the farmers, but then money became of importance in the world and all the gold, silver and treasure in this world went into the hands of the chōnin, which raised their status. For the last hundred years the world has been at peace and now it has come about that many Confucian scholars, doctors, poets, tea masters, and experts in other skills and accomplishments come from the ranks of the chōnin. (Qtd. in Moriya, "Yūgei and Chōnin" 44)

If, in purely economic terms, catering to the upper level chōnin meant providing them with more exclusive seating for which a higher fee could be charged, as cultural production it required somehow accommodating and responding to this chōnin investment in cultural capital summed up by Joken. How important the upper ranks of the chōnin actually were to producers, therefore, becomes a question worthy of consideration. If affordability of the sajiki is taken as a means of dividing the chōnin into two sub-classes, then a comparison of incomes derived from the dōma and the sajiki will provide some rough measure of the importance of the two groups. In his own discussion of theatre economics, Takano cites the case of the Nakamura-za in Edo, for which a record reveals that on one day in 1737 the total income for the theatre amounted to 41 ryō, with that derived from the sajiki amounting to 16 ryō or about 39 percent of the total (Nihon Engekishi 2: 242-43). Mori interprets this statistic as proof that the common working people who occupied the dōma were economically more important to the theatres than the wealthy patrons in the sajiki (215-16). As the figures show, however, by this time the dōma had already been divided into three different sections, each with its own price, and the cost of basic admission itself had risen above Genroku levels. Using Shinoda's estimate mentioned earlier for the audience size of the Ichimura-za in 1720 (240 and 728 for the sajiki and dōma respectively) and calculating on the basis of 200 mon for each person in the sajiki and 64 mon for each member of the audience in the dōma, the result would be a daily revenue of 48,000 mon (12 ryō) from the sajiki and



46,592 mon (11.64 ryō) from the dōma. This would suggest that in the Genroku era the spread between sajiki and dōma revenues may not have been as large as is indicated by Takano's 1737 data and may have even been the other way around as far as which seating area was more profitable.

Whichever was larger, however, both the above sets of figures indicate that the difference between sajiki and dōma revenues was probably not large enough to be significant in itself. That kabuki producers were conscious of the fact that different income and cultural levels existed among the audience, however, is fairly certain. Saikaku's account of theatre-going in Kyoto, for example, tells of a group of young men in the sajiki who, "being fashionably dressed, ...were played up to by the actors on stage, to the great envy of all the spectators" (ISS 3: 440; trans., This Scheming World 68). Other evidence can be found in the hyōbanki, which mention a number of instances where a particular scene or dialogue appealed more to one section of the audience than another. The Yakusha Mannen Goyomi of 1700, for instance, says of the Edo katakiyaku (player of villain roles) Nakajima Kanzaemon: "Using his provincial accent he occasionally says humorous things that appeal largely to the lower spectators" (KHS 2: 534). "Lower spectators" (shita no kembutsu) is here no doubt a reference to the dōma audience and implies a contrast with the "upper" spectators, that is, those who occupied the sajiki. The prologue to the Osaka section of the 1702 Yakusha Nichō Shamisen puts this relationship between acting and audience levels in more general terms:

It sometimes happens that what the unsophisticated spectator [shirōtome] considers good will not be to the taste of the more cultivated [sui]....This the actor must keep uppermost in his mind. If he attempts to please the cultivated, he will not be appreciated by the unsophisticated, and if he appeals to the lower spectators, those in the sajiki will not be moved. (KHS 3: 263-64)

Accommodating the varied tastes and cultural levels of the audience, therefore, could become quite a juggling act. If economics demanded that the actor attempt such a juggling act, however, his own social and

artistic self-consciousness may well have moved him to strive principally for the praise of the more cultivated members of the audience. The same Yakusha Nichō Shamisen, for example, makes the following comparison of Sakata Tōjūrō and Yamashita Hanzaemon (Kyōemon): "Whereas the cultivated find Tōjūrō interesting but not everything about him appeals to the unsophisticated, there is no one, whether sophisticated or unsophisticated, high or low, who does not find this man [Hanzaemon] to his liking" (KHS 3: 185). In the Yakusha Rongo, that collection of anecdotes, advice and "secret traditions" written by and about actors, artistry such as Tōjūrō's is typically and positively associated with an attitude of disregard for the audience. The veteran Genroku actor and playwright Kaneko Kichizaemon, for instance, writes in relation to an anecdote concerning a famous nō drummer who was Tōjūrō's teacher, that "the great man's art resides in doing what he thinks is right, not caring whether the audience likes it or not" (AA 75). There are numerous other passages, many of them purporting to quote authorities such as Tōjūrō, the onnagata Yoshizawa Ayame, or the jōruri chanter Kaganojō, which advise against conscious attempts to solicit applause from the audience (53-54, 79, 87). In his study of actor-audience relations in Japan, Raz points out that the criticisms implied by these statements can be taken as confirmation that many actors did in fact resort to "cheap stratagems" to attract audiences, and that the call to "forget the audience," therefore, should be seen as an attempt by some actors to rise above such cheap tricks, and in general as evidence of an emerging "artistic consciousness" and "idealism" in the kabuki world (166-67).

A sense of artistry, however, need not imply a disregard of the entire audience. Among the spectators, after all, would be some who, like the chōnin described by Joken, were making their own investments in cultural capital and who would thus have been able to appreciate the artistic refinement actors such as Tōjūrō endeavoured to bring to the stage. There would also have been some bushi, who despite their numerical inferiority in the theatres should not be considered insignificant as a target audience. As was shown above, the bushi often

played an important role as spectators outside of the public theatres. They were, moreover, the class in Edo Japan that defined the social hierarchy and made up its top echelons. Contemporary paintings and illustrations also often show among the spectators a few monks or Buddhist priests, some of whom would no doubt count among the more learned members of any kabuki audience (see Appendix B, fig. 9). Finally, there was the Kyoto aristocracy. Although by the Genroku era there may no longer have been a direct connection between kabuki and the court, the continued presence of the nobles in Kyoto as well as in the public consciousness, wherein they were viewed as custodians of Japan's most venerable cultural traditions and represented a link to a past even older and nobler than that of the bushi, allowed them to function, albeit from a distance, as models of cultural refinement and as the ultimate arbiters of taste.

When viewed in this way, then, it becomes clear that the kabuki audience could, and most likely did, mean more to producers than mere numbers. At the risk of oversimplifying things, there were, in other words, two potentially conflicting ways to go about responding to the tastes of the audience. One, the strictly economic, tried to give the audience that which, based on past experience, a majority could be expected to appreciate. The other, however, sought to appeal to a select portion of the same audience by responding to and flattering this group's sense of cultural sophistication. Whereas the first method could reasonably be expected to bring monetary rewards, the goal of the second would be an increase in the actors' cultural capital, capital which would be valued by, and could hopefully be converted into acceptance among, the upper classes, including not only wealthy chōnin but also individual members of the samurai class. This production of cultural capital was thus a means of creating an influential circle of kabuki patrons. For kabuki producers, acceptance among this circle, in addition to contributing to the status of kabuki as an art and to the prestige of individual performers, would have held out the promise of some protection against the bakufu's unsympathetic official attitude.

This is not to say that these two, potentially contradictory, means of accommodating the audience ever resulted in open or disabling conflicts in kabuki production. Struggles for both economic and prestige capital, after all, took place outside the theatre as well, and to this extent their distinction would have remained invisible. The collective nature of kabuki production, moreover, as well as the variety of the means at the command of producers, meant that different economic and cultural needs could be addressed within a single kabuki programme. What I am attempting to do by bringing out this distinction between economic production and the production of cultural or prestige capital, however, is to show why kabuki plays and performances were inevitably more complicated than a reduction to the cultural tastes of its principal consumers would suggest. Ordinary chōnin (that is, excluding the rich) may indeed have represented one half or even more of the theatre audience, but there are not only other segments of the audience to consider, there are the producers' own stakes in the cultural as well as commercial economies, both of which were as much a part of the kabuki world as they were of the world outside. How producers reacted to and participated in these economies will therefore be the next area of investigation.

Notes to Chapter Two

1. The birth of kabuki is conventionally dated 1603, the year a shrine maiden named Okuni is reported to have performed kabuki odori or "kabuki dance" on the dry riverbed of the Kamo river in Kyoto. For detailed accounts of the beginning and early history of kabuki, see Hattori, Kabuki Seiritsu no Kenkyū; Ogasawara, Kabuki no Taniō and Izumo no Okuni; in English, see Horie-Webber, "The Essence of Kabuki" 61-113.

2. Although it was the big theatres and their actors which were the subject of the hyōbanki and it is the kabuki of these theatres that has received by far the most scholarly attention, this was not the only kabuki produced in the Edo period. Each of the major centres had smaller theatres, and there were also regional theatres and itinerant kabuki troupes. Kabuki was even taken up in some rural districts and incorporated into village festivals. Given the limited number of "big theatres" in the major centres, it was these other, more modest venues and performances which would have provided most Japanese living in the Edo period with their experience of kabuki. Much of what has been written about kabuki (including the present dissertation) is thus in need of qualification, and until these other kinds of kabuki are thoroughly studied, our knowledge of kabuki as a historical cultural phenomenon can only be considered partial. Among the few studies of travelling kabuki troupes and regional theatres that have appeared are Gunji, Jishibai to Minzoku; Moriya, "Chihō to Kabuki"; and Moriya, Kinsei Geinō Kōgyōshi 258-312.

3. Where to place the beginning of the Edo period depends on whether one takes the Battle of Sekigahara (1600), Ieyasu's appointment as shogun (1603), or the destruction of Osaka castle and the Tokugawa's final defeat of the rival Toyotomi clan (1615) as the starting date.

4. A good survey and assessment of population figures can be found in Hanley and Yamamura 38-69.

5. Overviews of these late sixteenth-century developments and their consequences for the Edo period can be found in Asao and Wakita.

6. English translations of both edicts can be found in Tsunoda et al. 318-22.

7. Ponsonby-Fane lists ten other totals taken from records covering the years 1634-1750. Some of these (e.g. 408,723 in 1674; 507,548 in 1696; 526,222 in 1732) would appear to confirm that the population of Kyoto rose steadily throughout the period and that the figure given by Kaempfer was not far off the mark. Others, however, such as the figures 350,986 for 1715 and 341,494 for 1719, suggest that the population may never had been as high as Kaempfer's statistics indicate and may already have begun to decline in the early eighteenth century. As Ponsonby-Fane points out, part of this discrepancy may be due to differences concerning counting methods and which groups were excluded in the various figures (424). It seems unlikely, however, that the exclusion of priests in the case of the 1715 or 1719 figures would have brought the number down to as low as 340,000-350,000 if the true total had in fact been over half a million.

8. Strictly speaking, the chōnin were forbidden to wear many of the finest materials by sumptuary laws which were intended to restrict the various classes to a level of dress appropriate to their station. Such laws were difficult to enforce, however, and the few recorded cases of punishment meted out to wealthy chōnin for extravagance seem to have been exceptions rather than the rule. For a good summary of sumptuary laws and their relation to class distinctions, see Shively, "Sumptuary Regulation".

9. The title of the guide book is Kyō Habutae. For discussion of its teachers' directory, see Nakai and McClain 555-56 and Shively, "Popular Culture" 723-74. A good account of the phenomenon of cultural pursuits in and around the Genroku period can be found in Moriya, "Yūgei and Chōnin Society."

10. Among these was the famous Mitsui family, which in 1673 expanded its Kyoto drygoods business into Edo, where it opened a shop specializing in quick cash sales for goods at fixed prices (Sheldon 64).

11. For examples of such screen paintings, see Suwa, Kabuki Kaika, plates 12, 13 and 16; Kondō, plates 66-71. Although the dates of these works are uncertain, since they all depict "women's kabuki," they presumably represent the scene at Shijōgawara before the banning of performances by women in 1629. Reproductions from some of these paintings are also found in Hattori, Sakasama Yūrei, which includes a chapter on the whole phenomenon of the performing arts and misemono in the Shijōgawara district of Kyoto at the beginning of the Edo period (239-64).

12. The name "kabuki" comes from the verb kabuku (modern Japanese: katamuku), which meant "to lean" or "to be tilted," and by extension to be unusual, avant-garde or non-conformist. Those who indulged in such behaviour were thus referred to as "kabukimono". That this sense of the term actually preceded the first use of the expression "kabuki-odori" in 1603 is clear from the fact that both the extended meaning of kabuku and the word kabukimono are included in the Vocabulario de Lingoa de Iapan (Nippo Jisho), the Japanese-Portuguese dictionary compiled by the Jesuit missionaries and published in 1603). On the derivation of the term "kabuki," see Hattori, Kabuki no Kiiwaado 6-9; and on the social phenomena of kabukimono, Horie-Webber, "The Essence of Kabuki" 73-89.

13. Good overviews of the history of kanjin nō performances, as well as discussions of how these anticipate the commercial theatre of the early Edo period, are found in Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 17-52; Kitagawa 64-82. O'Neill's chapter on the subject (73-84), although quite thorough on the early period, does not cover the phenomenon in the sixteenth century.

14. The performance conditions depicted in this illustration are compared to those found in the later screen paintings by both Moriya (Kinsei Geinō 36) and Kitagawa (79-81).

15. These are the dates commonly given for the bannings of women's and boys' kabuki. See Shively, "Bakufu versus Kabuki" 330-33. The bans, however, were not applied uniformly in the three cities at the same time. There were also other periods in which kabuki was temporarily prohibited, most notably in Kyoto between 1661 and 1668. For a thorough

discussion of the evidence pertaining to kabuki prohibitions during the period, see Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 70-90, 141-44.

16. Records of such brawls have frequently been seen cited as direct causes of the banning of both women's and boys' kabuki. For a summary and discussion of this evidence, see Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 70-90. Moriya also concludes that the bakufu's prime concern was not morality but social order. On this point, compare Ernst: "Young Men's Kabuki was forbidden not because of moral objections to homosexual practices, which were widespread among priests and warriors during the period of civil wars, but because the samurai pursuit of, and quarrels over, the favours of the actors reflected a breakdown of social barriers between these widely separated classes" (217).

17. This discussion of the early history of theatres in Edo is based on Hattori, Ōinaru Koya 50-53; Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 158-74.

18. For Osaka and Edo, see, for example, the excellent maps of these two cities, based on 1687 and 1689 originals respectively, which are included at the end of The Japanese Family Storehouse, G.W. Sargent's English translation of Saikaku's Nihon Eitaiigura.

19. The other major area was the grounds of temples and shrines. On the history of the kawaramono, see Hayashiya, Kabuki Izen 105-26; and on the relationship between kawaramono and Edo period performers, Gunji, Kabuki: Yōshiki to Denshō 154-73.

20. That this indeed seems to have been the case is suggested by an episode recorded in the Chūko Gijōsetsu concerning the behaviour of Ichikawa Danjūrō II (1688-1754), who, although a famous actor earning an unprecedented annual salary of 1,000 ryō, is reported to have referred to himself as a "hinin" (non-human) and acted with the utmost humility when visited by a minor city official (qtd. in Gunji, Kabuki: Yōshiki to Denshō 159). Other examples of kabuki actors' continuing self-consciousness of their social inferiority can be found in Hattori, Kabuki no Kōzō 56-60.

21. This description of early kabuki theatres is based principally on surviving pictorial evidence, especially as found in Suwa, Kabuki Kaika (plates 1-22). See also Appendix B, figs. 1-2.



22. During the Genroku era the standard kabuki stage seems to have been three ken wide by four ken deep (5.4m × 7.2m), while the hashigakari measured approximately 2.5 ken square (4.5m). This would give a total stage width of about ten metres. On stages in and around the Genroku era, see Suda 280.

23. The specific date 1664 has been called into doubt, since the only evidence for it comes from works published several decades later. See Hattori, "Kabuki: Kōzō no Keisei" 43-50. There is little reason not to believe, however, that the emergence of the multi-act play occurred about this time.

24. The 30% figure is my own, arrived at by carefully calculating the ratio of audience space to total theatre space in Suda's hypothetical layout of a typical Genroku theatre (Suda fig. 27).

25. See in particular, Nanshoku Ōkagami (ISS 2: 474; trans., Great Mirror 196-97); and Seken Munesanyō (ISS 3: 439; trans., This Scheming World 67).

26. The most thorough reviews of this evidence are contained in two books by Ogasawara Kyōko, Kabuki no Tanjō and Izumo no Okuni. A condensed version of the contents of both books can be found in the same author's "Kabuki no Seiritsu." Also useful is Ogasawara's "Okuni Tōjō," which contains a list of all known references to yayako-odori, Okuni, and female performers from Izumo during the period 1581-1603.

27. A year after Okuni's appearance in Edo, brawls among samurai over prostitutes and kabuki performers at Sumpu (site of the residence of the retired shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu) resulted in the banishment of both groups from this castle town and the establishment of a new quarter for such activity in nearby Abekawa. This can be seen as the beginning of the bakufu's attempt to separate both prostitution and kabuki from the rest of society, especially from the bushi class (Tachikawa 281-82).

28. The diary is reprinted in NSBS 12: 5-625. Naonori (1642-1695), was born in the province of Echizen and served successively as the daimyō of Murakami, Himeji, Yamagata, and Shirakawa.

29. For examples of such reports, see NSBS 12: 39-40, 45-46, 558.

30. Interest in kabuki among individual high-ranking samurai continued long after the period covered by Naonori's diary. For a discussion of bushi-class patronage in the eighteenth century, see Gerstle, "Flowers of Edo."

31. The exchange rate between gold, silver and copper coins during the Edo period was subject to some fluctuation, but the rate of conversion used by most scholars for the Genroku period is: one gold ryō = 60 silver momme = 4,000 copper zeni (called mon when counting). Theoretically, one momme of silver would thus equal 66.67 zeni, although in actual fact the rate was usually closer to 60 zeni to the momme. I have used this latter figure for all conversions. Detailed information on money in the late seventeenth century can be found in the appendices to two translations of Saikaku: Morris, trans., The Life of an Amorous Woman 282-84; Sargent, trans., The Japanese Family Storehouse 235-38.

32. One koku of rice was considered enough to feed one person for a year, although the bakufu recognized that adult males actually required about 1.8 koku (Yamamura, Samurai Income 11, 121). Assuming a low-ranking samurai kept this much for himself and an appropriate amount for any dependents, this would substantially reduce the amount of his stipend that could be converted to cash.

33. Another entertainment option open to the working poor would have been one of the cheaper koshihai or misemono shows, which could cost as little as three to six mon (Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 238-39).

## CHAPTER THREE

### KABUKI AS ECONOMIC AND STATUS PRODUCTION

#### Producers and Social Status

As has already been mentioned, kabuki actors in Edo period Japan were officially regarded as outcasts (hinin, eta). As such, despite the fact that the bakufu often intervened directly to regulate the theatre business, kabuki producers were theoretically under the jurisdiction of the hereditary head of Japan's eta community, Danzaemon. In 1708, however, as the result of an appeal launched by the jōruri chanter Satsuma Kogenda in the wake of a dispute between his theatre and a local eta organization, the Edo city magistrate's office declared that, as professional entertainers, both kabuki and jōruri producers were to be differentiated from other outcasts and thus were no longer obliged to submit to the authority of the eta leaders. On the surface this would appear to be a successful attempt by theatre producers to raise their social status, and indeed Ichikawa Danjūrō II, who welcomed the news, gave as a title to his account of the incident, "Kachiōgi," or "The Victory Fan."<sup>1</sup> As several commentators have pointed out, however, although kabuki and jōruri entertainers were now formally distinguished from the eta, this did not result in any real improvement in their social status, and in fact they continued to be regarded as outcasts for the rest of the Edo period. If the outcome of the appeal had any real significance, it meant that the theatres now fell even more directly under the control of the bakufu, the consequences of which soon became apparent in the aftermath of the Ejima-Ikushima affair of 1714 (Hato 43-43; Harada 328-29).

Although the origins of most of the earliest performers, like that of Okuni herself, remain obscure, there is little doubt that some of them at least did indeed come from hereditary outcast groups, which included itinerant entertainers. The earliest extant hyōbanki, for example, the Yarō Mushi of 1660, says of the kabuki youths that it evaluates: "The handsome among the children of lowly outcastes [eta] and beggars [kojiki] are selected" and then "put on the stage to dance and sing" (KHS 1: 27;

qtd. in Shively, "Bakufu versus Kabuki" 335). Whether or not this was how the majority of the early actors got their start, by the Genroku era many of the kabuki actors and entrepreneurs did in fact come from families with prior histories in the kabuki world. Among influential families that ran theatres in the Genroku era, the Murayamas in Kyoto, the Arashis and Matsumotos in Osaka, and the Nakamuras in Edo, could all trace their involvement in kabuki back two or three generations. The same can be said of some of the most famous actors. Sakata Tōjūrō's father, for instance, had been active in the theatre, as had the father of Nakamura Shichisaburō, one of the stars of the Edo stage.

There were, nonetheless, some notable exceptions to the already established pattern of kabuki families. Yamashita Hanzaemon, for example, the actor contrasted with Tōjūrō in the Yakusha Nichō Samisen and one of the leading zamoto (troupe leaders) in Kyoto, was the son of a Kyoto lacquerer, while according to the Yakusha Rongo Sawamura Sōjūrō, whose acting career began shortly after the end of the Genroku era and who went on to become one of the most famous actors in the first half of the eighteenth century, was of samurai stock (AA 142). Among those coming from non-theatrical families, however, the two most important cases to consider are clearly those of Chikamatsu Monzaemon and Ichikawa Danjūrō I, the works of both of whom will be major foci of subsequent chapters of this dissertation. It is appropriate, therefore, to go into some detail here on both their professional careers and their respective positions within Genroku society.

Although not all the details are known, it is generally agreed that Chikamatsu Monzaemon was born in 1653 in Fukui, Echizen province as the son of a 300 koku samurai family that claimed descent from the Kyoto nobility.<sup>2</sup> Sometime during the 1660s, for reasons that have not been determined, his father left samurai service and moved the family to Kyoto, where Chikamatsu and other members of the family apparently studied haikai poetry with Yamaoka Genrin. Several of their verses, including one by Chikamatsu, are included in Takaragura, an anthology of 1671.<sup>3</sup>

While in Kyoto Chikamatsu also served as a page in one or more houses of the nobility. One of these may have been the household of Ōgimachi Kimmichi, a fan of jōruri and himself an amateur playwright known to have written plays for Uji Kaganojō. It was while in the service of Ōgimachi, some scholars suggest, that Chikamatsu was introduced to the theatre and met Kaganojō, the jōruri chanter with whom he later started his own career as a playwright (Mori 15; Hara, Chikamatsu 23). While this has not been definitely established, there is little reason to doubt that some knowledge of jōruri could have been acquired in this aristocratic milieu, if not through Ōgimachi, then perhaps through acquaintance with the nobleman Ichijō Zenkō Ekan, with whom Chikamatsu has been associated with slightly more certainty. Ekan was a habitu  of Gomizuno-O's cultural salon. As mentioned earlier, performances of various arts were frequently held at this retired emperor's residence as well as other noblemen's homes during the early and mid-seventeenth century. It is reasonable to assume, then, that Chikamatsu owes not only his introduction to jōruri but also his knowledge of many other artistic traditions, including nō, the ballad form kōwakamai, and classical poetry, to his experience in aristocratic circles during this early part of his life. When this is coupled with his samurai background, through which he may also have been exposed to nō and kōwakamai,<sup>4</sup> it becomes evident that Chikamatsu enjoyed a familiarity with elite cultural traditions that few others in the Genroku theatre world could have shared.

Given his social background, precisely why Chikamatsu chose to throw in his lot with the commercial theatre is a moot question. Perhaps if his family had been wealthy he could have continued to spend his time in elite cultural circles and eventually ended up, like one of the chōnin described by Joken, as a recognized master and teacher of one of the finer arts. His family had lost its bushi status and income, however, and Chikamatsu's position in Kyoto was tenuous. It is thus not inconceivable that economic considerations pushed Chikamatsu into the commercially based theatre. Although the 1683 jōruri play Yotsugi Soga is the earliest play that can be positively identified as Chikamatsu's,

it is likely that he began his career as a writer for Kaganojō soon after the chanter established his jōruri theatre at Shijōgawara in 1675. Sometime later, perhaps as early as 1684 or possibly even 1677, Chikamatsu also began working for the kabuki theatre, although here too the first play that is unquestionably his, Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō, is from a later date (1693).<sup>5</sup>

Whatever may have been the exact date of Chikamatsu's first involvement in kabuki, the Yarō Tachiyaku Butai Ōkagami, published in the first month of 1687, attests that by the year 1686 he was connected with the Mandayū-za kabuki theatre in Kyoto. This hyōbanki speaks derisively of Chikamatsu's publicizing himself as a jōruri and kabuki "author" (sakusha), and mentions that, among his other activities, he worked as a properties assistant at the Mandayū-za and in his spare time gave recitations of the classical literary work Tsurezuregusa (KHS 1: 244). His first years in the kabuki theatre, in other words, do not seem to have brought him much in the way of either financial security or professional recognition. By 1693 at the latest, however, he was writing plays for Tōjūrō, and from 1695, the year Tōjūrō became zamoto of the Mandayū-za, Chikamatsu served as the theatre's resident playwright, producing over the next seven years some twenty plays in which Tōjūrō starred. Tōjūrō, as has been seen, was himself concerned with raising the artistic level of his profession, and if the accounts of him in the Yakusha Rongo are to be trusted, he also had a great respect for playwrights and the overall quality of the plays (AA 82, 99-100). The two men can thus be said to have participated in a mutual project, one which not only produced a number of plays now recognized as masterpieces of the genre, but also served to enhance both their reputations.

As for Ichikawa Danjūrō I, there are several variant theories about the lineage of his family, but the one most generally accepted is that earlier the Ichikawas had been low-ranking samurai in the province of Kai, where they served the Takeda and later the Hōjō clans. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, following the defeat of the Hōjō by Hideyoshi, the family moved to Shimōsa province, where they became

farmers. Finally, during the 1640s Danjūrō's father settled in Edo's Izumi-chō, where Danjūrō was born in 1660.<sup>6</sup> Although the family had long since ceased to be samurai, the father seems to have been quite an influential man and apparently was head of a local landlords' association. As Aoe has pointed out, however, the legends surrounding the father and the group of townsmen he associated with suggest a strong rural flavour to this urban milieu (44). Indeed, as recent migrants from the country the family was probably rather typical of the inhabitants of the rapidly growing city of Edo around the mid-seventeenth century.

Danjūrō's interest in kabuki is presumed to have stemmed from the proximity of Izumi-chō to the theatre districts of Sakai-chō and Fukiya-chō. One account dates his stage debut to the year 1673, and although there is some doubt about this, there is firm evidence that by 1675 he was working as a tachiyaku (player of adult male roles) at the Nakamura-za (Suwa, Genroku Kabuki 363-64). Traditional accounts claim that his earliest roles were in plays based on the Shitennō and Soga legends, although again the sources are not totally reliable.<sup>7</sup>

Danjūrō was best known in his day as the premier actor of aragoto, a bravura style of acting which makes use of colourful, often fantastic, makeup and costumes, and exaggerated gestures. Traditionally, aragoto has been seen as a derivative of Kimpira jōruri, a variety of jōruri that was very popular in Edo in the 1660s and was centred around the exploits of Kimpira, the son of one of the Shitennō warriors and a hero endowed with super-human strength. As was mentioned in chapter one, another model for the aragoto acting style and the character of its typical heroes has been located by Gunji in popular religious beliefs and iconography. Finally, aragoto has also been seen as an expression of chōnin pride and of defiance of the bushi order, its real-world models being furnished by the machi-yakko (gangs of city strongmen or ruffians) of Edo society.<sup>8</sup>

Certainly all three of these purported sources of aragoto can be viewed as forming part of the social and cultural environment in which Danjūrō grew up. That Kimpira jōruri, for example, was popular during Danjūrō's youth has been well established, and one can certainly imagine

how a young actor familiar with the exploits of this puppet hero might be led to imitate the character's hyperbole and violent actions on the stage. That popular religious beliefs were still present in mid-seventeenth century Edo is also conceivable given the fact that a large proportion of the city's inhabitants were recent migrants from the country and whose cultural baggage may have included elements of folklore and folk Buddhism. Whether or to what extent this permits a reading of aragoto as the expression of those beliefs, however, is another matter. This question will be dealt with in relation to Danjūrō's kabuki in chapter six. Here I would like to consider the topic of the machi-yakko and their place in the social environment of early Edo.

The social phenomenon of the machi-yakko is well documented and even some of Danjūrō's father's acquaintances were apparently leaders of such gangs. But the question raised by the association of Danjūrō with the machi-yakko is whether the social tendency represented by this group (and hence also of Danjūrō's kabuki, if that tendency is taken to be a source of his aragoto) can be said to have constituted a form of resistance to the bakufu. As Thornbury has indicated, it is important not to confuse the real machi-yakko with their fictional counterparts (67). Many of the real life machi-yakko, in fact, were rōnin or masterless samurai, while their opponents, the so-called hatamoto-yakko groups, were associations made up of low-ranking samurai. Clashes between the two, therefore, appear to have been more a case of gang rivalry than of class conflict or of direct opposition to the bakufu on the part of the machi-yakko.<sup>9</sup> Nishiyama points out that the members of one hatamoto-yakko association are known to have adopted the names of the Shitennō warriors, adding that the machi-yakko "probably" were involved in similar posturing (Ichikawa Danjūrō 6). If this is so, then the argument that seeks to connect aragoto with the machi-yakko and with chōnin pride and defiance of the bushi class becomes problematic. The hatamoto-yakko adoption of Shitennō names and Danjūrō's family's own samurai background would suggest, rather, that the real social basis of aragoto should be sought in the political and economic frustration of both former and low-ranking samurai who, in



an increasingly rigid and bureaucratized feudal order, longed for a return to the days when glory and position could be won with the sword.

Regardless of where its origins are to be located, it is important to keep in mind that aragoto was not itself a social phenomenon but a theatrical technique. As such, whatever might have been its social base, this was mediated not only by dramaturgic considerations, as Imao has pointed out (Henshin no Shisō 143), but by the whole system of theatrical production that formed the immediate context of Genroku kabuki plays. It is revealing in this regard to consider the two gammon (prayers or supplications to a deity) written by Danjūrō in the years 1693 and 1696. While these supplications would appear to offer proof of Danjūrō's piety and thus add support to the interpretation of his kabuki as an expression of popular religion, they also reveal that Danjūrō was a man very much concerned with his own economic and social position in the world. The 1693 gammon, for example, begins with Danjūrō expressing pride in his reputation and the fact that he was earning a salary of 250 ryō a year. He goes on to say, however, that recently his performances have not met with much success, and he mentions his fear that the theatre manager was considering replacing him with one or more cheaper actors (Ihara, Danjūrō no Shibai 112, 122-23). Needless to say, this evidence of Danjūrō's attention to questions of money and fame, of which more examples will be furnished later, makes it difficult to accept uncritically the traditional image of Danjūrō as a devout man who naturally and unconsciously embodied folk-religious beliefs on the stage.

Although it will be the task of later chapters to show just how Chikamatsu and Danjūrō's respective socio-cultural positions can be related to their work, I would like to suggest here that both their contemporary success and their lasting fame are not unconnected with their class backgrounds and their efforts to bring to themselves and to kabuki a certain cultural and social prestige. While both men, Chikamatsu in particular, may have stepped down in the world by entering the theatre world, this does not imply that they discarded their cultural baggage in doing so, nor that they were unconcerned with the low esteem in which

their profession was held. As I have already argued, an increase in the cultural currency of kabuki was not unwelcome among certain sectors of the audience. Producers, however, given the official discrimination and traditional prejudice they had to contend with, had an even larger stake in and a more obvious motive for raising the cultural level of kabuki.

If I appear to be overemphasizing questions of status and cultural capital, it is worth pointing out that in this respect kabuki has much in common with other Japanese performing arts. It could even be argued that the very cultural continuity Japanese critics are so fond of pointing to is itself the result of successive attempts by cultural producers to bring new and usually popular arts into what cultural historians refer to as "the great tradition." The development of the solemn and aesthetically highly refined nō theatre from the farcical sketches and acrobatics of sarugaku, for example, has been attributed to the efforts of performers "to make the public forget their outcaste origin" and to "move out of the lowest social condition to a position of privilege" (Ortolani, Japanese Theatre 60, 87).<sup>10</sup> To raise their art and thus also their social standing, sarugaku performers engaged in a number of strategies, including claiming illustrious origins and ancient lineages, infusing sarugaku with the dignity and mystery of religion, and borrowing from the cultural traditions of the elite. Among the first to reap the rewards of these efforts was Zeami, who in the late fourteenth century found a patron in the Ashikaga shogun, Yoshimitsu. Zeami's treatises survive today as a legacy of the effort to lend weight and respectability to nō, and reveal, among other things, a number of appropriations from aristocratic culture, including the structural principle of jo-ha-kyū, borrowed from the ancient court music gagaku, and the concept of yūgen (mystery and depth), which had been used in discussions of classical poetics since at least the twelfth century.<sup>11</sup>

To take another example, one that closely parallels the case of kabuki, mention could be made of the theoretical treatises on jōruri written by the chanter Uji Kaganojō. Kaganojō's first theoretical work, the preface to Takenokoshū (1678), begins with the statement: "In Jōruri,

there are no teachers. However, one should understand that its parent is the Nō." It is evident from this just how prestigious nō had become by this time. Whereas Zeami had to borrow his cultural respectability from courtly music and poetry, by Kaganojō's time nō had become sufficiently endowed with tradition and prestige to fulfil the same function for the new art of jōruri. As for why nō should be considered the parent of jōruri, Kaganojō's reasoning is equally revealing. The preface continues:

The reasons for this are first, at the beginning of a day's performance of Jōruri, the puppets perform the Nō dances Okina, Senzai, and Sambasō. Then, when this ritual has ended, an opening melody from Nō is played as the puppets make their entrances. Are not the robes and costumes for the important roles the same as in the Nō? Therefore, the source of Jōruri is the Nō. (Qtd. in Gerstle, Circles of Fantasy 183).

What Kaganojō points to here as the reasons for considering nō the source of jōruri amounts to a testimony to how the latter has borrowed from the former certain, especially ritual, elements. Nō is the parent of jōruri, in other words, not because it gave birth to jōruri in any natural or evolutionary process, but because producers such as Kaganojō adopted nō for reasons of cultural prestige. As Gerstle says, Kaganojō, who himself had tried unsuccessfully to enter what by his time had become the closed and elite family system of nō performers, "longed for Jōruri to have the tradition and elegance of Nō" (Circles of Fantasy 26).

Like jōruri, kabuki in the seventeenth century was a new performance art, one which could not point to any direct illustrious ancestors. Accordingly, kabuki too borrowed heavily from nō. In Kamigata, for example, the five-part daily Genroku kabuki programme, made up of two one-act plays (the waki-kyōgen and the nibanme) followed by a three-act tsuzuki-kyōgen), can be seen as modeled on the five-part structure of a nō programme (Mori 104). The term "waki," in fact, is a direct borrowing from nō, where it refers to the first category of plays. Kabuki also borrowed from nō the ritual dances Okina, Senzai, and Sambasō. In kabuki these became known collectively as Shiki Sambasō, that is, "ceremonial

Sambasō." At first they were performed as a prelude to the beginning of the daily programme, but later they came to be performed only on special occasions, such as during the first few days of the theatre season and at New Year's. The dance of Okina, the old man who bestows a blessing for longevity and prosperity, was usually performed by the zamotō or, in Edo, the tayūmoto, with his heir, the so-called wakadayū, dancing Senzai. The hyōbanki contain several illustrations of these Sambasō performances (see Appendix B, figs. 10-11). If their context were unknown, these could easily be mistaken for representations of the ceremonial nō play Okina itself. The actor dancing the role of Okina wears a mask and costume virtually identical to those used in nō, while the musicians play the same instruments and wear the same costumes as a nō orchestra. Based on this resemblance, Kaganojō would have no alternative but to conclude that nō is kabuki's parent as well.

It was not only such ceremonial trappings that were borrowed from nō, however. Many pre-Genroku plays, especially in the 1660s and 1670s, were based directly on works of the nō and kyōgen repertoires.<sup>12</sup> Although during the Genroku era itself new kinds of plays were developed in the Kamigata region, in Edo wholesale borrowing from the nō repertoire continued, as will be seen in chapter six. While such borrowing can be regarded as a matter of convenience, especially in light of the bans on onna and wakashū kabuki, which required that producers come up with something other than sexual displays to attract audiences, the prestige value of nō cannot be dismissed. Gunji comments on this point, arguing that the use of nō in Genroku kabuki, either as the basis of whole plays or of individual shukō (dramatic situations) in particular plays, should be seen as an effort by producers to accommodate a certain cultural snobbishness among the upper-class chōnin segment of the audience. In Gunji's view, therefore, nō in Genroku kabuki represents not so much a continuation of the nō tradition as it does the purchase of aristocratic culture by the increasingly economically powerful chōnin class (Kabuki no Hassō 156). This would appear to contradict Gunji's more fundamental position that the proper context within which to view kabuki is a

continuing folk or popular tradition. Gunji himself seems to be aware of this contradiction, and thus qualifies his argument by stating that chōnin culture of the Genroku era was more aristocratic than the "common people's culture" of later periods (Kabuki no Hassō 156). Be that as it may, his point that Genroku kabuki's borrowings from nō reflect a certain cultural snobbishness is well taken and can be accepted. I would only add that this should not be seen only as accommodation, for if producers stood to gain economically by responding to the cultural pretensions of a nouveau riche audience, such appropriations from nō and other forms of aristocratic culture and the favourable receptions these received also served to raise their own self-esteem, both personally and as artists.

In addition to borrowings from nō, kabuki producers were involved in inventing their own traditions. By the Genroku era the theatre season had coalesced into a more or less fixed pattern, each stage of which became inscribed with its own rituals and traditions. The most important event was the annual kaomise (face showing) programme held at the start of the theatre season in the eleventh month of the year. The name derives from the fact that this was the first occasion for the theatres to show off the actors who had been engaged for the season, and accordingly the plays presented at that time were often short on dramatic structure and sophistication but full of scenes designed to allow individual actors to display their special talents. The occasion was also marked, however, by much pomp and ceremony. Actors who had come from one of the other cities to begin a year's contract at a new theatre, for example, were ceremoniously welcomed and borne to the theatre in palanquins, or, in Osaka, by boat (see Appendix B, fig. 12). Actors also made calls on their most important patrons, and gifts sent to the theatre by influential patrons were displayed in front of the theatre. Also outside the theatre signs announcing the new lineup of actors were displayed, while on the inside the theatre was decorated with special ornamental lanterns. In Osaka candles as well as lanterns were used, since here, as an exception to the usual rule of daytime performances, the kaomise ceremony was held at night. The actual stage presentation

itself included a performance of Shiki Sambasō and, in Edo, other ceremonial plays known as kotobuki kyōgen or waki-kyōgen. There was also a series of kōjiō or greetings to the audience from members of the troupe (see Appendix B, fig. 13). The last day of the kaomise run, which ended on or about the tenth of the twelfth month, was known as senshūraku. This term, which comes from the name of the final number in a programme of courtly gagaku music, came to denote the successful conclusion of any public or ceremonial event. In nō there is a dance associated with senshūraku at the end of the play Takasago. Not surprisingly, this dance came to form part of the ceremony of the final day of the kaomise programme as well, with again the zamoto enjoying the special privilege of performing it.

While the ceremonies associated with the kaomise programme were the most elaborate, other phases of the theatre season also acquired ritual and ceremonial trappings. Following kaomise, for example, the New Year began with more ceremonies and felicitous fare, and it was not until midway through or late in the first month that the first major production of the year opened. In Kamigata this was referred to as the ni no kawari, that is, the second programme (kaomise being understood as the first), while in Edo it was known as the hatsu-haru kyōgen or the "first spring play." Here, too, before long certain traditions were established. In Kamigata, following the success of such Genroku plays as Keisei Asama ga Dake (1698) and Chikamatsu's Keisei Hotoke no Hara (1699), it became the custom to present plays including scenes set in the licensed quarters and with the word "keisei," a term for a high-ranking prostitute, in their titles. In Edo, on the other hand, the spring plays were based on the story of the twelfth-century revenge of the Soga brothers. Soga plays were occasionally performed during the Genroku era, but the establishment of the tradition dates from a slightly later period. In 1708, the play Keisei Arashi Soga was presented as the Nakamura-za's hatsu-haru kyōgen, and the following year the Ichimura-za, Morita-za, and Yamamura-za all put on Soga plays for their spring productions (Ihara, Kabuki Nempyō 1: 373, 379). From then on this became the established

pattern, and soon it became imperative that the titles of such plays include the name "Soga." Although individual parts of the spring play were changed from time to time, especially early in the third month, the overall title and Soga theme were retained, with the lengthy production culminating in the Soga matsuri ("Soga festival"), which marked the actual anniversary of the brother's vendetta (the 28th day of the fifth month).

In contrast to Edo, where the largest part of the season became devoted to Soga plays and festivities, in Kamigata the ni no kawari was followed by a new play (san no kawari). Ideally this change was made in the third month, but depending on the reception of the ni no kawari it could take place sooner or, in the event of a very successful play, much later. After the end of the spring production in Edo or the san no kawari in Kamigata came "summer plays" (natsu-kyōgen) and plays associated with the bon festival of the dead (bon-kyōgen). Finally, in the ninth and tenth months, there were the autumn (aki-kyōgen) productions. If a leading member of the troupe was to depart for another city for the start of the next theatre season, he was usually given a special part in the play presented, which was thus known as a nagori-kyōgen or "farewell play." The play Kumagai Nagori Sakazuki, for example, which was performed in Kyoto in the ninth month of 1694, was written to bid farewell to Danjūrō, who was to return to Edo following a one-year visit to Kyoto. Likewise, Chikamatsu's 1695 play Mizuki Tatsunosuke Tachiburumai was intended as a send-off for the title actor, Mizuki Tatsunosuke, who was about to embark for a year-long guest appearance in Edo.

As was noted in chapter one, the kabuki calendar with its seasonal changes and ritual events has been likened by Gunji to the traditional festival cycle and taken as an indication of kabuki's basic folkloric structure. In a similar vein, Nishiyama has interpreted certain aspects of the kabuki calendar, especially the kaomise and hatsu haru productions in Edo, as chōnin versions of the village festival (Edo Kabuki 248). That such events did fulfil some of the functions of traditional festivals -- marking the change of seasons, for example, or providing opportunities for communal celebration -- is difficult to deny. Indeed,

a particularly strong argument for this view could be made in the case of Edo, which, as Nishiyama points out, being a new town made up of recent migrants and samurai from various parts of Japan, lacked the sort of traditions and sense of community found in older cities such as Kyoto (Edo Kabuki 174). What must not be overlooked, however, is that if kabuki was able to make up for this lack, it did so as something new, and not simply by continuing the traditions of the village festival. As pointed out above, most of kabuki's seasonal traditions and ceremonies were not established until several decades after the birth of the theatre itself; and if some of them were appropriated from already existing ritual and festive events, others were newly created. In this sense, these traditions show all the characteristics of what have been termed "invented traditions"; that is to say, they were practices "of a ritual or symbolic nature," the implied continuity with the past of which was "largely factitious" (Hobsbawm 1-2). These ceremonies and rituals, moreover, while no doubt helping to fill a vacuum in the cultural life of the new urban environments of the Edo period, also served the community of performers by lending their profession a certain dignity and legitimacy.<sup>13</sup> One only has to consider, for example, how all the pomp and ceremony of the kaomise performance serves to glorify what was essentially a contractual beginning of the theatre season for the actors.

In this respect it is instructive to compare the case of kabuki with that of another of Japan's cultural heritages, sumō wrestling. Although sumō today boasts of an ancient lineage, like kabuki it essentially began in the seventeenth century and, again like kabuki, appropriated or invented a number of traditions and ceremonies to lend itself respectability. There is an account of wrestling in the mythological age in the eighth-century Nihon Shoki, and there was also a kind of ceremonial wrestling held at court during the Nara (710-794) and Heian (794-1185) periods. These venerable precedents are often mentioned in histories of sumō, but Bolitho persuasively argues that they can in no way be taken as direct precursors of modern sumō wrestling, the real origins of which are to be found in troupes of itinerant wrestlers in the



latter part of the sixteenth century. Through the expedient of kanjin tournaments, this kind of wrestling developed over the course of the seventeenth century into "a fully professional sport mounted for a paying public" (Bolitho, "Sumō" 22). Not content with its status as a plebeian commercial entertainment, the sumō profession then went on to adopt or invent a whole series of ceremonies and rituals in a process which Bolitho describes as "gentrification with a vengeance" (27). If all of this closely parallels the cases of kabuki and jōruri, it should be added that the sumō promoters' efforts at creating an atmosphere of venerability for their profession were more successful, their ultimate reward coming in the form of a number of exhibitions before the shogun and his senior retainers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Bolitho suggests a number of reasons why the sumō profession was more successful than other popular entertainments in its campaign for respectability. Sumō, for one thing, was not marked by a close connection with prostitution. Other likely reasons include the fictitious lineage sumō laid claim to and the heavy Shinto ritualism its promoters gave to the sport (26-27). While all of these were no doubt important, I do not believe that they alone can account for the great distinction between the cultural position sumō, in contrast to kabuki, for example, achieved. After all, the differences separating the two entertainments were not that large. Kabuki's link with prostitution, while never entirely eradicated, did become much less important and certainly less open from about the Genroku era on. In the eighteenth century those connected with kabuki also participated in the strategy of fabricating ancient lineages.<sup>14</sup> Finally, kabuki producers, too, attempted to give their art an air of the sacred. Shiki Sambasō, after all, was not without its religious connotation, and the yagura set up over theatre entrances, besides serving the practical purposes of showing that a theatre had official permission to operate and housing the drum that announced the beginning of the programme, was decorated with, among other things, heisoku, that is, the wands to which are attached strips of sacred paper and which are used by Shinto priests in purification rituals

(see Appendix B, figs. 3-5). Perhaps an even better example is Danjūrō's aragoto acting and the special relationship established between the Ichikawa family line and the Shinshōji temple in Narita. As was seen in the first chapter, religious elements in kabuki have often been interpreted by critics as evidence of the resilience of popular spiritual beliefs. Such an interpretation, however, assumes that producers merely reflected the religious beliefs of some vaguely conceived "popular" audience. As I have argued, though, not only was there a good deal of social stratification within this audience, but the relationship of producers to the audience was determined, at least in part, by their concern for their own economic well-being and social position. In this respect, then, the sacred and religious in kabuki cannot be said to differ greatly from the sumō world's incorporation of Shinto ritualism, which Bolitho sees as part of sumō's "quest for respectability and security" (28).

Yet the fact remains that, in spite of the producers' accommodations to the bakufu in respect to prostitution, their rewriting of history, and their investments in ritual and ceremony, kabuki never received the same public recognition from the ruling class that sumō did. Other factors must therefore have played at least some part in the bakufu's continued official scorn of kabuki. The best explanation is probably that kabuki could simply serve no useful purpose for the bakufu and was therefore unneeded. For if the rulers chose to grant sumō a degree of official approval and recognition, this was because, as the only type of organized wrestling in the country, sumō had potential as a national symbol, a potential which the bakufu eventually seized in the nineteenth century when it designated sumō Japan's kokugi or "national sport" (Bolitho, "Sumō" 28). By contrast, kabuki was just one of many stage arts; and just as the aristocracy of the Kyoto court had its ceremonial gagaku, the bushi class had nō, which in 1615 had been granted the privileged status of "ceremonial entertainment" (shikigaku) of the shogunate. Despite the many efforts of kabuki producers to increase the respectability of their art, therefore, and despite the fact that many individual samurai

continued to be fascinated by it, there was no room nor need for kabuki to be officially recognized among the upper levels of society, and thus kabuki was to remain, as much by default as for reasons of cultural allegiance, the entertainment of the chōnin class for the duration of the Edo period.

#### The Socio-Economic Organization of Genroku Kabuki

While the history of Edo-period kabuki can be seen as a protracted though only partially successful attempt by producers to raise both the cultural capital of their art and their own social standing, this was not the only, nor necessarily the most important, factor determining the form of kabuki production. In addition to the problem of their collective status in society as a whole, individual kabuki producers or production groups were also concerned with enhancing or maintaining their own positions within the theatre world itself. How kabuki production was organized, therefore, and how positions of power were achieved and legitimized, become important questions. What also must be considered is kabuki's economic structure, for whatever else it was, kabuki was also, and fundamentally, a mode of economic production. Of course, the social organization of kabuki troupes was intimately linked to their structure as production units, and there may appear to be little point in distinguishing between the two. If there is a reason for keeping the two at least analytically separate, however, it is because such troupes, although essentially units for the commercial production of culture, were still in many ways dominated by social relations which can best be described as feudal. Kabuki organizations, in other words, embodied within themselves something of the fundamental historical tension of the Edo period, the tension between hereditary privilege and the lord-vassal relationship on the one hand and the market-driven money economy and a new hierarchy of wealth on the other. In what follows I shall endeavour to show how Genroku kabuki reflects these two different systems of social relationships and economic production.

While there were many common features, there were also some significant differences in the organizational structure of Kamigata and Edo kabuki. Most of these differences concern the top levels of the structure. To begin with the case of Kamigata, although the yagura indicated that a theatre had official permission to operate, the actual authority to run such a theatre rested with an individual. This individual was known as the nadai. While it is assumed that several nadai had been authorized much earlier in the century, those active in the Genroku era could not trace the rights they held back more than two or three decades. According to the Kyō Shijōgawara Shonadai Kaichō, a record of Kyoto licenses dated 1713, a number of nadai were named in 1669, (NSBS 735-36). These include most of the nadai under whose names theatres were operated in Kyoto during the Genroku era, names such as Murayama Matabei, Hoteiya Umenojō, Miyako Mandayū, and Hayakumo Chōdayu. Information about the situation in Osaka is scarcer, but the Kabuki Jishi claims that the first Osaka nadai were granted their privileges during the period of wakashū kabuki and that these privileges were renewed with the resumption of business following the ban of youth's kabuki in 1652 (NSBS 6: 101-02).

A common feature of the licensing arrangement in both Kyoto and Osaka is that the nadai's name could be freely used by any theatre troupe wishing to operate a theatre. Most of the nadai who had been granted their privileges in the 1650s or 1660s were troupe leaders and some may have owned their own theatres. By the Genroku era, however, these functions had become separate in most cases, and it is thus necessary in the case of Kamigata kabuki to distinguish between the nadai, the shibainushi (theatre owner), and the zamoto (troupe leader). This division meant that a good deal of negotiation was necessary to put together a kabuki production unit for each new theatre season. The initiative was usually taken by the zamoto, who besides recruiting actors and planning the season's programme had to lease or borrow a nadai's name and make arrangements for the use of a theatre. In Kyoto, incidentally, these theatres were still commonly referred to by the names of the nadai under which they operated, hence the theatre names Mandayū-za, Hayakumo-za, and

Hotei-za, etc. In Osaka, on the other hand, the usual practice was to refer to the theatres by the names of the zamoto currently running them. In both cases, however, it should be understood that it was the zamoto who actually functioned as both troupe leader and theatre director.

In contrast to the situation in Kamigata, in Edo the three functions of license-holder, theatre owner, and troupe leader were as a rule held by the same person. This person was called the tayūmoto, but also sometimes zamoto (with a different character used for "moto"), whose role therefore must not be confused with that of the Kamigata zamoto.<sup>15</sup> The reason why the tayūmoto continued to hold these combined functions long after they had become separated in Kamigata is that in Edo the right to run a large theatre could not be used by any other person but was a privilege that remained with the original holder and his descendants. This strict hereditary system made it impossible for any troupe other than those of the four tayūmoto to produce kabuki in the large theatres. Although the Edo tayūmoto was as a rule an actor, the hereditary system could not always ensure that the holder of this title would have the necessary qualities to become a star actor and effective troupe leader. This led to the emergence of the zagashira (head actor), who besides being the recognized star of a particular theatre also took over much of the responsibility for directing the troupe. This was essentially a post-Genroku development, however, the first actor to fulfil this function being Ichikawa Danjūrō II. The managerial responsibilities of the tayūmoto were also later reduced through the creation of the positions of chōmoto (theatre business manager) and the okuyaku (stage manager).

In Kamigata, since the nadai's authorization could be used by another individual, this meant that in practice anyone could become a zamoto. Moreover, since the zamoto was in a position to reap whatever profits remained after all expenses (including the actors' salaries) had been paid, there was a certain amount of competition for the use of the limited number of nadai titles available. Profits, however, were not guaranteed, but depended on producing successful plays (atari) that drew full houses (ō-iri). Ensuring success, therefore, was not only the

zamoto's responsibility, it was also the crucial factor determining whether he would be able to retain his position. The Yakusha Ōkagami of 1692, for example, recounts the story of Yamatoya Jimbei's short-lived tenure as zamoto in Kyoto. The previous year he had assumed the position at the Hayakumo-za, "hoping to make a lot of money." The competition, however, proved formidable, with the Mandayū-za under Hanzaemon scoring a major success with the play Yomekagami. During this play's long run the Hayakumo-za changed its programme four times, but nothing was able to draw the crowds away from the Mandayū-za (KHS 1: 322). Jimbei's first stint as a zamoto thus lasted only one season.

As a rule, most of the Kamigata zamoto were top actors such as Hanzaemon or Tōjūrō, whose own popularity gave the troupe a head start towards a successful season. It was not unknown, however, for a less well-known actor to become a zamoto and capitalize on the popularity of the actors he was able to engage. According to the Yarō Tachiyaku Butai Ōkagami, for instance, Kaneko Rokuemon, who acted as a zamoto in Osaka in the 1680s, made so much money on Tōjūrō's performance of a play based on the Yūgiri story that he claimed he could retire from the business for two or three years (KHS 1: 246). Later Tōjūrō himself became a zamoto in Kyoto for a period of five years (1695-1700), and with Chikamatsu as his troupe's playwright had many successes. Even this talented team faced stiff competition, however, and in 1698 was over-shadowed by Hanzaemon's troupe, which had engaged the Edo star Nakamura Shichisaburō and produced the long-running Keisei Asama ga Dake.

Putting together a successful troupe and running a theatre required a certain amount of capital. This was particularly true at the beginning of each new season, when a portion of the actors' salaries had to be paid in advance. In Kamigata there was also the expense of leasing or renting the nadai's name and a theatre, while in Edo the frequency of fires meant that the theatre buildings themselves often had to be rebuilt. Both regions, therefore, came to depend on financial backers, usually referred to in Kamigata as ginshu or kanemoto and in Edo as kinshu or kinkata. In Kamigata the shibai-nushi sometimes fulfilled this function, supplying

capital as well as providing the theatre building, but there were also in both regions backers who functioned as investors only. Saikaku refers a number of times to this sort of investment, likening it to other highly speculative ventures such as the development of mines or the opening of new rice lands, and claiming that such financial backers charged exorbitant rates of interest (ISS 1: 423, 465, 3: 413-14; SS 323). According to Ejima Kiseki's Akindo Gumbai Uchiwa of 1712, these rates were as high as thirty-five percent (qtd. in Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 255).

Due to the different licensing systems, the relations between the zamoto or tayūmoto and financial backers differed somewhat in Kamigata and Edo. Since in Kamigata the zamoto could simply step down after an unsuccessful season, the amount of debt he could incur was limited. In Edo, on the other hand, there was no such easy way out of financial difficulties, for if the tayūmoto, who held the right to operate a theatre, stepped down, no other individual or group could move in to fill up the vacuum, and the number of Edo theatres would thus be reduced from the already limited number. As Hattori has noted, it was the burden of accumulated debt that led eventually to the advent of the hikae-yagura (Kabuki no Genzō 155-56). This was a system, initiated in 1734, whereby each of the (by this time) three large Edo theatres had a designated temporary or alternate authorized producer (hikae-yagura) who, in the event that one of the theatres went bankrupt, could step in and carry on until such time as the original license-holder (hon-yagura) was able to resume responsibility himself.

In the Genroku era, therefore, that is, before the development of the hikae-yagura system, the Edo tayūmoto, despite being secure in his privilege, was under even greater pressure to remain financially solvent than the Kamigata zamoto. And while he was in no danger of losing his position, the same could not be said of the actors, upon whose shoulders much of the pressure to succeed was transferred and whose careers, therefore, were dependent on their popularity. This point is made by Danjūrō I, whose gammon of 1693 and 1696 provide some revealing insights into the theatre business. It has already been mentioned how, due to a

temporary lack of success, Danjūrō in 1693 was afraid of being replaced by a cheaper actor. He goes on in the same gammon to add the following observation on the theatre business and the treatment of actors:

The truth is, no one can afford to be more vigilant than a tayūmoto and his financial backers. Since this is a business in which, as in any other business, it is the loss-gain column that counts above all else, it is natural, perhaps, that they dispense with ceremony when dealing with unpopular actors. Still, though, I wish that they would treat actors with more consideration. (Ihara, Danjūrō no Shibai 123)<sup>16</sup>

What security the actors did have was limited to the length of their one-year contracts. Exactly when the system of annual contracts was introduced is unknown, although mention of it in the Matsudaira Yamato no Kami Nikki indicates that it was certainly in place by 1671 (NSBS 12: 489). The contract year ran from the eleventh month through to the tenth month of the following year. Actors could and frequently did change troupes at the end of their contracts. Although most of this movement took place within a single city or region (Kamigata or Edo), actors occasionally went from one region to the other. The Edo actors Danjūrō I and Nakamura Shichisaburō, for example, appeared in Kyoto during the years 1693-94 and 1697-99 respectively. In the Genroku era Kyoto still represented the apex of the kabuki world, and its audiences were considered the most discriminating (Torigoe, Genroku Kabuki Kō 330-31). Stars of the Edo stage such as Danjūrō and Shichisaburō, therefore, may have felt compelled to put their reputations to the test before Kyoto audiences. Traffic the other way (from Kyoto to Edo) among top actors was accordingly less frequent. While it is true that Mizuki Tatsunosuke, a rising young wakaonnagata (player of young women's roles) of the Kyoto stage, went to Edo for the 1695-96 season, and another famous wakaonnagata, Yoshizawa Ayame, did the same several years later (1713-14), the two top players of male roles in Kamigata during the Genroku era, Tōjūrō and Hanzaemon, spent their whole careers on the Kyoto and Osaka stages without once appearing in Edo.



As for the size of Genroku kabuki troupes, the hyōbanki Kiku no Masegaki, Ogakuzu and Musashi Abumi of 1699 list between 46 and 50 actors and from 16 to 19 musicians for each of three Kyoto theatres (KHS 2: 145, 155, 165). The Yakusha Hyōban Iro Jamisen shows only a slight increase in the year 1703, with the number of actors at the Kyoto theatres rising to 52 or 53. The same work also indicates that troupes in Osaka the same year were relatively smaller, with the number of actors ranging from 38 to 41, and that for musicians from 15 to 16 (KHS 3: 328-33). With the exception of the occasional mention of the tōdori (stage assistant) and playwright, the numbers given in the hyōbanki are limited to full-fledged performers. They do not include, for example, apprentice actors, which in 1689 were limited to ten per theatre (Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 214-15), nor the number of other people --barkers, ticket sellers, doormen and ushers, set constructors, costume and makeup people, etc. -- who were involved in the daily operations of the theatres. Unfortunately there are no precise figures for this non-performing personnel during the Genroku era. Hattori, however, provides a table showing the breakdown in staff numbers for the three Edo theatres in 1769 (Kabuki no Kōzō 30-31). The two largest had total staffs (including actors) of over 300. The personnel of the smallest of the three, however, the Morita-za, totaled only 211. Since this number includes 49 actors or about the same number as in the Genroku theatres, it may be assumed that during the Genroku era theatres also had total staff levels approaching the 200 mark.

Turning to the actors themselves, it should be noted that throughout most of the Edo period kabuki actors were classified according to role-type (yakugara). A major study of this phenomenon has been done by Gunji, who shows how, beginning with the two or three character types modeled on the roles in the nō and kyōgen theatres, the number of role-types gradually increased with the developing complexity of kabuki plays (Gunji, Kabuki Ronsō 73-138). The seven most common yakugara during the Genroku era are given in table 1. In order to show the typical distribution among the fifty or so actors in a Genroku troupe, I have also included the number in each category at the Mandayū-za in 1699.

Table 1. Distribution of Roles at the Mandayū-za, 1699

<u>yakuqara</u>	(role type)	number of actors
<u>tachiyaku</u>	adult men	16
<u>wakaonnagata</u>	(young) women	14
<u>wakashūgata</u>	boys or young men	5
<u>katakiyaku</u>	villains	4
<u>dōke</u>	comic characters	4
<u>kashagata</u>	older women	3
<u>oyajigata</u>	old men	2

Source: Ogakuzu, KHS 2: 155.

In the era of wakashū kabuki and even into the 1660s and 1670s, it was the young men or wakashūgata who were the stars of the kabuki stage. They, accordingly, were the main focus of the hyōbanki and also commanded the highest salaries. The popular wakashūgata Tamagawa Sennojō, for example, is reported to have earned 200 ryō in 1663 (Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 253). By the Genroku era, however, the popularity of the wakashūgata had given way to that of the male and female leads, the tachiyaku and wakaonnagata, who began to assume a dominant position both in the hyōbanki and in terms of salaries. Figures mentioned in the Namba Tachigiki Mukashigatari reveal that at least by 1686 the highest paid actors in Osaka were tachiyaku (KHS 1: 199-215). This trend is confirmed by lists of salaries for two Osaka theatres in 1699, which show that the highest salary (400 ryō) went to the tachiyaku Saruwaka Sanzaemon, while the wakaonnagata Yoshizawa Ayame earned 300 ryō. By contrast, the highest paid wakashūgata received only 110 ryō (Torigoe, Genroku Kabuki Kō 401-02).

The most extensive information on salaries in the Genroku era is found in the Yakusha Hyōban Iro Samisen of 1703. Of the 97 Kamigata actors evaluated in this hyōbanki, salaries are given for 57. The distribution of salaries is shown in table 2, which shall serve as the basis for the following discussion of actors' salaries and ranks.

Table 2. Distribution of Actors' Salaries

salary (ryō)	No. of actors	salary (ryō)	No. of actors
500	1	150	6
300	1	100	8
250	2	70	16
200	3	50	7
180	1	30	12

Source: Yakusha Hyōban Iro Samisen, KHS 3: 325-57.

Before analyzing this data, a few words of caution are in order. First of all, it should be noted that, although this is a fairly large sampling, it represents only about 60% of the actors ranked in this particular hyōbanki and a much smaller fraction of the total actor populations of Kyoto and Osaka. Among those whose salaries are not given, are the zamoto, who, as mentioned earlier, pocketed whatever profits the troupe made, and several other tachiyaku who received high ratings. If the earnings of these actors represent an unknown at the top end of the scale, there were probably many more at the bottom end who earned less than the minimum salary of 30 ryō indicated in the above table. Several actors who are evaluated but whose salaries are not specified, for instance, are said simply to be earning an "appropriate" amount. Since most of these are either wakashūgata or dōke and were given the lowest rating (chū) available in this particular hyōbanki, it is reasonable to assume that their salaries were not more, and probably less, than the recorded minimum of 30 ryō. How low salaries went is difficult to determine, but according to the Namba Tachigiki Mukashigatari, at the start of his career Yamashita Hanzaemon earned only seven ryō a year (KHS 1: 212). There is also an extant contract dated 1703 between a minor actor and an unspecified Osaka zamoto. According to this, the actor Ikushima Koheiji was to receive a total of 13 ryō for the year, of which 3.5 ryō was paid in advance (qtd. in Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 218-19). While it is difficult to say with any certainty how typical these salaries of 7 and 13 ryō were, they do

earned considerably less than 30 ryō. Despite the wide discrepancy between the highest and lowest salaries reported, therefore, it can be safely assumed that the salary range found in the Yakusha Hyōban Iro Samisen does not include the actual bottom end of the salary scale.

To put the above actors' salaries into some perspective, it would be useful to consider how they compare with other salaries and wages. If the figures are converted to their rice equivalents on the basis of one ryō to one koku, it becomes apparent that the top salary (that of Sakata Tōjūrō) would be equal to a very respectable samurai income of 500 koku, while at the lower end of the scale, salaries of 30 to 50 ryō, for example, would work out to more than the average gokenin or daimyō retainer received. Even if an actor's earnings were only in the range of 7 to 13 ryō, this would be at least as much as many of the lowest-ranking samurai had to live on. Actors did even better when compared to the average chōnin. Earlier, it will be recalled, the average working wage was estimated at from 200 to 400 momme per year. Converting actors' salaries to their momme equivalent, Tōjūrō's salary of 500 ryō (30,000 momme) would be approximately 100 times greater than this average, while a salary of 30 ryō (1,800 momme) would represent an income some five to nine times more than that of the average wage earner. Even a salary of seven ryō (420 momme) would be slightly higher than this average.

If the available information on salaries reveals that professional actors in the large theatres enjoyed higher incomes than most working people, it also indicates a striking discrepancy between the highest and lowest incomes. What next needs to be considered, therefore, is what determined particular actors' salaries within this wide range. As mentioned, the top salary of 500 ryō in this list went to the tachiyaku Sakata Tōjūrō. Two other tachiyaku, Ikushima Shingorō and Nakamura Shirōgorō, received salaries of 250 ryō, while the 300 ryō salary was earned by the wakaonnagata Ayame. The top wakashūgata, on the other hand, earned 150 ryō. While this further confirms the central importance of the tachiyaku and wakaonnagata in Genroku kabuki, it must be added that not all actors in these categories received high salaries.

Three of the tachiyaku, for example, earned only thirty ryō. This discrepancy can best be attributed to popularity. Indeed, this is confirmed by comparing salaries with the rankings that actors received on the Yakusha Hyōban Iro Samisen's evaluative scale of acting ability. Of the three tachiyaku earning only 30 ryō, for instance, two received the rating chū, the lowest on this particular hyōbanki's scale, while the third received the next lowest rating, chū-no-chū. By way of contrast, the top money-earners, Tōjūrō and Ayame, were both given the highest rating, jō-jō-kichi, while those earning 200-250 ryō all received the next highest, jō-jō. Again, however, a certain discrepancy becomes apparent and points to how salary levels were a function of both popularity and role-type. Three other actors, for example, were given the highest rating, but of these two earned only 150 ryō and the other only 100. Of those earning 150 ryō, one was a wakashūgata and the other a dōke, while the actor receiving only 100 ryō despite his top ranking was a kashagata. In summary then, it can be said that while popular or critical success was the major factor determining actors' salaries, the relative value placed on different roles meant that the potential salaries of actors specializing in certain role-types were limited in relation to others.

Since it was the tachiyaku and wakaonnagata roles that brought with them the biggest potential earnings, it would be natural that actors seek to specialize in these role-types. To some extent, however, an actor's suitability for certain roles depended on age. One career pattern that was possible was for an actor to begin as a wakashūgata, switch to tachiyaku when he reached maturity, and then, as he approached old age, become a oyajigata. Similarly, an actor who either began as a wakaonnagata or switched to this role-type from wakashūgata at an early age, could finish his career as a kashagata. By the Genroku era, however, these patterns did not always apply, and indeed some actors went on to remain tachiyaku or wakaonnagata until the end of their careers.

What was more important in determining roles -- as well as popular and critical success -- was finding one's special talent. This usually involved not only specializing in a basic role-type, but also mastering

one or more special acting skills or styles appropriate to the situations or characters associated with that role-type. These special acting skills or styles are known as goto.<sup>17</sup> Tachiyaku actors, for example, could be expected to concentrate on one of three basic goto: wagoto, jitsugoto, or aragoto, that is, "soft," "serious," or "rough" business, styles of acting, in other words, which would be appropriate for playing gentle, stalwart, or violent heroes respectively. It is also possible, however, to recognize subdivisions within the basic goto. Wagoto thus could be said to include the subsidiary styles of yatsushigoto (the demeanour of a samurai or merchant's son down on his luck and in disguise), keiseigoto (flirting with prostitutes), nuregoto (love scenes), and kuzetsugoto (lovers' quarrels).

By examining Genroku era hyōbanki, Torigoe has identified a total of some forty different goto (Genroku Kabuki Kō 40-43). On the one hand this proliferation of goto can be seen as an indication of the increased complexity of plays in the Genroku era as well as of a trend towards greater individuation of dramatic characters. As Torigoe points out, however, the increase in the number of goto can also be accounted for by the efforts of actors to update, modify or in some way put their individual mark on their particular role-type (Genroku Kabuki Kō 46-54). Tōjūrō's high reputation as an actor, for instance, was based entirely on his own brand of wagoto acting, especially, as the hyōbanki indicate, on his "up-to-date" (tōryū) interpretations of yatsushigoto, nuregoto, and prostitute-buying (keisei-kai) scenes (KHS 3: 19, 184). Likewise, Danjūrō's fame and high salary -- 320 ryō in 1696 according to his gammon (Ihara, Danjūrō no Shibai 135) -- can be attributed to his aragoto acting, as is again noted in the hyōbanki (KHS 2: 30, 72, 219). Just how unusual and innovative Danjūrō's acting style was is also evident from the hyōbanki. Several writers in the early Genroku years, for example, comment on his mixture of styles and their difficulty in categorizing him (KHS 1: 277-78, 477). Although Danjūrō was usually thought of as a tachiyaku, one writer in 1695 assigned him to the katakiyaku (villain) category. This is qualified, however, by the statement that he is in

reality "3/10 tachiyaku and 7/10 katakiyaku" (KHS 2: 29). Once again this is evidence that stardom on the Genroku stage was not achieved by conforming perfectly to pre-existing patterns, but by modifying, updating or stretching the bounds of those patterns to create a unique and novel acting style.

In contrast to later periods, when much emphasis came to be placed on the transmission and reproduction of established acting patterns, these attempts by actors to develop their own personal acting styles meant that the Genroku era was still a relatively free and creative period of kabuki production. This creativity was motivated at least in part by actors' struggles for recognition and economic gain. Working against this creative energy fueled by economic motives was a system of social organization that had not -- and indeed until this day has still not -- freed itself from feudal structures. The best example of this is the Edo tayūmoto system, which in its emphasis on the hereditary succession of a privileged individual proved to be a far less practical way to do business than the more flexible arrangement in Kamigata. So far as is known, these two systems were not the result of two distinct official policies or sets of regulations, but were, rather, practices that became established quite early on within the theatre worlds of the two regions. As such, they suggest much about the social and ideological environments of the two areas. For if the Edo system appears to be modeled on the example of daimyō or shogunal rule, there is, as Hattori has noted, something of Kamigata commercialism in the freer, and as a business, more rational, system adopted in Kyoto and Osaka (Kabuki no Genzō 182-83). The difference, however, is really one of degree rather than of stark opposition. Successful zamoto in Kamigata, like their counterparts in Edo, were also shown a great deal of respect and enjoyed certain privileges, sometimes even with the support of the local authorities. The Getsudo Kemmonshū of 1721, for example, states that among those involved in the theatre in Kyoto only the nadai and zamoto were allowed the right to wear swords (qtd. in Hattori, Kabuki no Genzō 176). If there was a tendency within the theatre world to reproduce the dominant

system of social relations, in other words, this did not amount to a challenge to authority but was rather something that those in positions of power tacitly endorsed.

This tendency, however, was limited in kabuki by the demands of commercial production. In this respect kabuki resembles less the feudal political system directly than it does two other socio-economic institutions that also matured in the late seventeenth century, namely the family business and the family head (iemoto) system for the transmission of traditional arts such as haikai poetry, nō chanting, and the tea ceremony. Both these other institutions displayed certain feudal characteristics, particularly in respect to the privileges accorded the head and the loyalty and obedience demanded of those below. The existence of both, however, ultimately depended on the support of the market, consumers of goods in the case of family businesses, and cultural consumers in the case of the family school system.

In the preface to his monumental study of the theatre business in premodern Japan, Kinsei Geinō Kōgyōshi no Kenkyū, Moriya argues that the parallel development of the commercial theatre and artistic training schools constitute two of the most important cultural developments of the early-modern or kinsei period and should therefore be studied together (4). The commercial theatre system (kōgyō seido) he defines as one in which "performance artists without a specific patron hold performances in a fixed place for the purposes of profit, and in which members of an indeterminate audience pay a fee, on their own free will, to view these performances" (6). The family school system (iemoto seido), on the other hand, involves "a programme of training by a fixed group of instructors in which the students pay to receive certification at certain stages in their progress and value this certification" (6). Both systems depended on others for their existence, the audience in one and students in the other. The increase in the size of both these groups, moreover, was in turn the result of certain social conditions found in the large cities of the Edo period, namely the existence of a "mass" (taishū) society, a sizeable portion of which was enabled, through economic prosperity, an



increase in leisure time, and the spread of education and publishing, to participate in these cultural pursuits and pastimes. In cultural terms, Moriya thus argues, what distinguishes the kinsei from the earlier chūsei or medieval period is that it was only in the former that there developed a truly popular or mass culture (taishū bunka) (8-9).

While both the theatre business and the iemoto school system shared this dependency on a growing cultural market, the nature of the commodities sold on that market meant that there was a difference in the degree to which the two systems reproduced feudal relations. In the iemoto system, for example, certification or recognition of a certain mastery of the particular art taught demanded a long-term commitment to a given school, and one's status, either as a teacher or a student, was directly related to the length of association with the school and, within the hierarchical structure, one's proximity to the master. In the theatre, on the other hand, there was a much clearer separation between producers and consumers, with the latter's participation limited to the viewing of performances and not requiring any loyalty or commitment to a given troupe or actor. As for the actors themselves, they too were freed from the demand of loyalty to a particular troupe or zamoto, since their own status or rank within the theatre world -- and hence also their salaries -- had little to do with length of service or association but was largely a function of audience appreciation.

In contrast to the iemoto school system, then, the hierarchy of the theatre world was much less feudal (in the sense of being a system premised on inherited privilege and vertical ties of mutual obligation). It was, rather, a free-floating hierarchy, one determined by the individual actor's popularity and earning power. It is a testimony to the hegemonic force of feudal structures, however, that despite the obvious marketplace basis of the system, producers still conceived of their social relationships in feudal terms. Danjūrō I, for example, writes in his 1696 gammon that an actor's relationship to his tayūmoto is like that of a samurai in the service of his lord (Ihara, Danjūrō no Shibai 137); and although their incomes were based on two different

economic systems, the Yakusha Rongo compares the actor Kataoka Nizaemon with a samurai receiving a stipend of 1,000 koku, while actors of lower ranks are likened to samurai receiving 700 and 300 koku (AA 109). A further indication of the acceptance and reproduction of feudal social structures is the fact that in its social organization kabuki actually became more like the iemoto system in the course of the Edo period. Until the Genroku era hereditary privileges were limited to the positions of nadai and tayūmoto. Many of the most important actors of the era, however, produced or nominated successors, who in the following period continued their predecessors's particular acting lines. The Kataoka line begun by the above-mentioned Nizaemon is one such example. The most famous case, however, is clearly that of Ichikawa Danjūrō. In 1708, Danjūrō's son, known first as Kyūzō and then Ebizō, took his father's name, making him Danjūrō II and his father Danjūrō I. The current Danjūrō is now the twelfth actor in kabuki history to bear this name. As Gunji notes, this emphasis on family lines made it difficult during most of the Edo period for actors other than those born or adopted into famous families to achieve high ranks ("Kabuki and its Social Background" 203). What began as a sort of merit system based on popularity or the ability to draw crowds (and profits), in other words, ended up as a social hierarchy based on birth or family affiliation. While this development of the iemoto structure within kabuki was essentially an eighteenth century phenomenon, as I have attempted to show, certain aspects of the feudal model of social relations were already evident in kabuki by the Genroku era.

### Kabuki as Economic Production

If Genroku kabuki as a type of social organization tended in the direction of feudalism, as economic production it adhered more closely to the logic of commercialism. It is in this sense that kabuki broke most sharply with previous modes of theatrical production. For Moriya, as was seen, what was new about kabuki was its dependence on a large paying audience. As Marx pointed out, however, production and consumption exist in a dialectical relationship (Grundrisse 90-94), and thus if with kabuki the audience had become a commercial market, then theatre production itself had become a market-driven, commercial activity. It is not enough, therefore, simply to conceive of the relationship between producers and audience as one in which producers respond to or cater to the audience and its tastes. What is important, rather, is to consider the ways in which this response is itself determined by specific modes of production and consumption, not to mention the other two links in the chain, distribution and exchange. To put it another way, plays were produced not simply for the audience, but for a specific system of distribution, exchange, and consumption, one in which the audience was now constituted as a market and the performances themselves, whatever use-value they may have had as entertainment or as instruments of ideological production, took on within the logic of the system the character of commodities with a quantifiable exchange-value measured in terms of audience size, length of run, and, ultimately, production profits.

In most discussions of Genroku kabuki the question of production, if treated at all, is confined to the topic of the creation and preparation of plays for performance. Inevitably, these discussions centre on the roles played by the different participants in the process, and in particular on the relative importance and responsibility of the actors versus the playwright. This is because, although kabuki is generally acknowledged to have been an actor-centred theatre, it was in the Genroku era that playwrights began to be recognized for the special function they performed. While little is known about how plays were worked out in the early period of kabuki, it can be assumed that they

were largely the work of a leading actor, as was sometimes still the case in the Genroku era, Danjūrō I being the most well-known example of such an actor-playwright. The advent of the multi-act play during the period of yarō kabuki, however, led to a division of labour in which the task of constructing plays fell increasingly to writers who, although often former actors, came to specialize in this aspect of kabuki production. According to the Yakusha Rongo, it was on a kaomise playbill of 1680 that Tominaga Heibei, a former actor, became the first writer for kabuki to be publicly acknowledged as such (AA 95). The criticism, mentioned in the last chapter, of Chikamatsu's efforts several years later to publicize himself as a kabuki and jōruri "author" shows that general recognition of the playwright's role was slow to follow. Nonetheless, during the course of the Genroku era playwrights did begin to receive credit more regularly for their part in the production of plays. Tsuchida's list of the 109 extant Kamigata kyōgenbon from the years 1687-1705, for example, shows that 45 of these include an indication of the playwright ("Chikamatsu Kabuki" 84-88). A similar list for Edo covering the years 1695-1711 includes 60 kyōgenbon, 37 of which mention the name of the playwright (Torigoe, "Edoban Eiri Kyōgenbon" 120-23).

While it is thus clear that the playwright in the Genroku era did come to be recognized as performing a function separate and distinct from that of other troupe members, the exact nature of that function is a matter of some debate. The fact that acceptance of the role of the playwright was only gradually and reluctantly granted and that salaries were lower than those of most actors suggests that in the Genroku era, as in other periods of kabuki history, the playwright occupied a subordinate position.<sup>18</sup> This has led to the view that the playwright's principal task was to provide vehicles for the actors, that is, plays which provided ample opportunities for the actors to display their special skills or goto. Hattori, for example, has written that "the playwright's work was focused on the question of how to combine these patterns [i.e. goto] and develop them within the framework of a single plot" (Hattori, "Kabuki: Kōzō no Keisei" 70).

This view, while acknowledging the playwright's accommodation to the actors' special talents, still gives the impression that the playwright's work was performed independently of the actors. Evidence from the period, however, indicates that the act of conceiving the plot, usually referred to as sujidate (literally "building a story-line"), was only part of the process of play construction. The best source of information on this process is contained in an account of play production given in the Zoku Nijinshū section of the Yakusha Rongo. According to this account:

The normal way of working was that after the discussion of a new play and a decision upon it, the construction of each scene was worked out. Then the actors in a scene were called together, placed in a circle, and taught the speeches orally. They stood there until they made their exit, and then either rehearsed it again in what was termed the kokaeshi, "little going over," or the authors worked out the speeches for the next section, and got them fixed by repetition. The action in scenes in which a distinguished member of the company appeared was worked out by this member himself. (AA 118)

What this account of play creation shows is that the Genroku playwright cannot be equated with the modern dramatist who produces, as an independent creative work, a definitive script which the actors are more or less bound to adhere to. On the contrary, the evidence suggests that the Genroku playwright worked closely with the zamoto and other actors in constructing the scenes and in working out the dialogue.

While it must be concluded, then, that the creation of plays in the Genroku era was not an individual act performed by the playwright, it does not necessarily follow that this situation should be viewed negatively; to do so would mean operating under the modern assumption that an author's work is a piece of intellectual property to be treated as sacrosanct. By way of contrast, Imao has sought to give a positive interpretation of the play construction process during the Genroku era by emphasizing its collective nature and the complementary roles played by the playwright and the actors within the process (195-219). As Imao sees

it and as the passage quoted above would seem to support, although the playwright's principal responsibility was that of constructing the main lines of the story (sujidate), this was followed by a general discussion (hanashi) of the play with the actors, after which it became the responsibility of the actors in the course of rehearsals (keiko) to work out the details of the action and the dialogue, activities referred to in the Yakusha Rongo as shikumi and serifuzuke respectively. The entire process can thus be said to comprise the following steps:

sujidate -----> hanashi -----> keiko (shikumi/serifuzuke)

(Imao, 205)

According to this interpretation of the available information, then, play creation must be seen as a collective process, one in which responsibility shifts in the course of production itself from the playwright to the actors. The finished product, moreover, is not a play in the sense of a dramatic text, but a play ready for performance. The play was not complete, in other words, until it had been transformed through the mediation of discussion and rehearsal into a "performance text". Seen in this light, the work of the playwright cannot be regarded as independent of that of the actors, nor can it be said to consist merely of stringing together scenes for individual actors; it must, rather, be seen as part of a larger, integrated creative process. This view allows Imao to conclude on a positive note, dismissing the notion that Genroku kabuki was simply made up of plays the content of which was made to fit the acting, and arguing instead that it consisted of stage action or performance, the content of which was integrated, through discussion and rehearsal, into a story-line or plot (219).

This assessment of Genroku play construction has the merit of defining a context and a role for the playwright that is not based on the modern view of the playwright as author. At the same time, by pointing to the way stage action was integrated into the playwright's story-line, Imao is able to show that Genroku kabuki actors did make an effort to maintain the structural coherence of the plays they appeared in. This is an important point, I believe, for it justifies reading the plays as

narratives as well as displays of acting ability alone. Producers had other considerations, however. One of the most important of these was economic. The purpose of kabuki production, after all, was not play creation for its own sake but the production of commodities (plays) for a market (the audience). It is necessary, therefore, to take into account the effects of what can be called production and market economics on the creative process. Both of these, I would argue, acted as restraints on that process: production economics by favouring cost-effective methods of production, that is to say, methods which would limit the amount of time required to work out and prepare a play for performance; and market economics by privileging those types of plays and scenes which the audience could reasonably be expected to appreciate. These economic pressures, moreover, tended to reinforce each other and led to the widespread practice of copying, which had the great merit of satisfying both kinds of economic pressure at a single stroke.

That the practice of copying successful plays was the result of economic pressures is suggested by another account in the Yakusha Rongo which states that, in the wake of Chikamatsu's extremely popular jōruri play, Kokusenya Gassen (1715), the Osaka zamoto Sawamura Chōjūrō put on a kabuki version of the play at the urging of his economic backer (AA 112). Indeed, several other kabuki and jōruri troupes in Osaka and Kyoto were doing the same thing, and thus in this case the dictates of production and market economics were further reinforced by the pressure of competition. As Sadoshima Chōgorō observes elsewhere in the Yakusha Rongo, the success of a rival troupe often meant "hastily putting a play with the same theme into rehearsal in order not to be undone" (AA 149).

In addition to this anecdotal evidence, surviving kyōgenbon provide many indications of how the production of new plays often involved wholesale borrowings from previous or current successes. Two plays from 1693, for example, Tamba Yosaku Tazunaobi (Kyoto, Murayama-za) and Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō (Osaka, Iwai-za), contain almost identical scenes in the first act, which leaves little doubt but that one play served as the model for the other. Since neither play can be dated more precisely than

early 1693, however, it is not immediately apparent which borrowed from which. Takano and Kuroki, the editors of the two plays, suggest that the Kyoto play was the original (GKKS 2: 36, 100). Other evidence shows that copying plays produced in Kyoto was indeed a frequent practice of the Iwai-za and the troupe's playwright, Tsuuchi Jihei. The very next year, for instance, the Iwai-za put on the play Nippon Ajase Taishi, the first act of which is essentially the same as that of the play Ajase Taishi Yamato Sugata (Kyoto, Murayama-za) performed earlier the same year, while the second act was appropriated from another Kyoto play, Kanaoka ga Fude (Mandayū-za) of 1690. Similarly, the Iwai-za's 1699 Keisei Hachijōjima was a remake of Nagoya Sanza, which had opened earlier at the Hotei-za in Kyoto. The story of this last case of borrowing is recounted in Iwai Hanshirō Saigo Monogatari (The Last Days of Iwai Hanshirō), which tells how in 1699, when the Iwai-za was not having any success with its new play, Hanshirō, who had acted as the theatre's zamoto since 1689 and was now ill and near death, instructed his playwright, Tsuuchi Jihei, to go to Kyoto, see Yamashita Hanzaemon's new play (Nagoya Sanza), and make a version of it for the Osaka stage (qtd. in Ihara, Kabuki Nempyō 1: 233). To call this a deliberate act of plagiarism would again assume that a play is a piece of intellectual property belonging to its creator. Clearly the Genroku theatre did not operate under such an assumption. That the reproduction, either in whole or in part, of other troupes' plays was not considered a crime, however, does not alter the fact that the Iwai-za's frequent recourse to borrowings was the result of the need to come up quickly with plays that would attract a profitable share of the market in what was a very competitive business.

It was, moreover, not only the Iwai-za or Osaka troupes which made use of this strategy. Indeed, one of the most telling examples of borrowing is to be found in Chikamatsu's Mizuki Tatsunosuke Tachiburumai of 1695. The existing kyōgenbon of this play reveals that the second act is virtually identical to that of Musumeoya no Katakiuchi of 1691; the two acts, in fact, were almost certainly printed using the same woodblocks (CZ 15: 97). This does not necessarily imply that neither



Chikamatsu nor the troupe performing the play made any changes to this particular act. Since both kyōgenbon were put out by the same publisher, it is highly likely that the complete absence of changes is the result of the publisher's effort to reduce his own production costs by reusing existing woodblocks. That this was considered acceptable, however, does suggest that the two acts were indeed very similar.

In addition to the free use of existing plays and story lines within the Kamigata region, there were also cases of borrowing between Kamigata and Edo. This was often facilitated by the movement of actors between the two regions. During Nakamura Shichisaburō's visit to Kyoto, for example, one of the plays the troupe he worked with put on was the above-mentioned Nagoya Sanza (1699), a play based on the same story as Fuwa Nagoya Hatsu Kammuri, in which Shichisaburō had appeared in Edo in 1696 and which was followed by Danjūrō's own Sankai Nagoya of 1697. Shichisaburō's biggest success in Kyoto, however, was Keisei Asama ga Dake. Not surprisingly, Shichisaburō also starred in a version of the play at the Yamamura-za in 1700 following his return to Edo. Three years later he and the Yamamura-za put on a production of Hotoke no Hara, the Chikamatsu play originally performed by the Mandayū-za in 1699 while Shichisaburō was still in Kyoto.

Another strategy employed by Genroku kabuki producers to ensure success was the serialization of popular plays. The just-mentioned Hotoke no Hara, for example, which was reportedly so successful that the zamoto, Tōjūrō, was able to buy a large mansion in the Fukuroya section of Kyoto (Gunji, "Chikamatsu" 13), was followed the same year by two sequels (gonichi), Ryūnyo ga Fuchi and Tsuruga no Tsu Sangaigura. The same pattern was repeated with the Mandayū-za's next major success, Chikamatsu's Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu (1702), which spawned the sequels Jorō Raikō Bashira and Mibu Aki no Nembutsu. As the above-mentioned case of the Yamamura-za's Hotoke no Hara indicates, it was not only Chikamatsu and Tōjūrō's troupe who sought to benefit from the success of the originals. Indeed, soon after Hotoke no Hara began running in Kyoto a play with the same title and similar plot opened at the Arashi-za in

Osaka, which in turned was followed by a sequel of its own, Keisei Hachisugawa. Similarly, the Iwai-za made ample use of Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu in one of its plays of the same year, Keisei Myōto Ike.

While most of these examples involve the appropriation of substantial parts or even the whole plot of a popular play, another and perhaps even more common practice was to capitalize on the success of a particular scene or element of the action of such a play, what is known in the kabuki world as a shukō. Several of these shukō will be discussed in connection with the plays dealt with in the next chapter. For the moment, two examples will suffice to illustrate the point. One is the angry spirit of the jealous courtesan that arises out of the flames in act one, scene three of Keisei Asama ga Dake, and the other is Bunzō's long monologue on his experiences with prostitutes in act one, scene two of Keisei Hotoke no Hara. Hotoke no Hara, in fact, takes up the fiery spirit shukō itself, and a later play by Chikamatsu and the Mandayū-za, Keisei Guzei no Fune (1700), uses the same shukō again, as well as the long monologue shukō from Hotoke no Hara. The story does not stop there, however, for Keisei Guzei no Fune became the source for yet another borrowing by the Iwai-za in Osaka, which reproduced many of the play's shukō in Nanto Jūsan Kane, also of 1700. Later in the year the Iwai-za's playwright, Tsuuchi Jihei, moved to the Ichimura-za in Edo, which the next year put on the play Keisei Uba Zakura. As might be expected, this play also contains several shukō from Keisei Guzei no Fune, as well as some from the playwright's own Nantō Jūsan Kane.

More examples could be given, but the above should suffice to show that the exploitation of previous plays and shukō was widespread in the Genroku era. It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that there has been only one major study dealing specifically with the practice. This is Tsuchida Mamoru's "Kyōgen-tori, Shukō-tori." Were confirmation of the frequency of the practice required, Tsuchida provides it in his listing of 150 separate cases over the years 1689-1710 of the "taking up" (toru) of plays or their shukō (19-24). Most of Tsuchida's study is devoted to examining the routes and the circumstances of such borrowings. He shows,

for example, that, although in most cases the play or shukō was borrowed by a different troupe or even in a different city from that of the original play, in exactly half of the total number of cases at least one member of the original troupe, usually a leading actor, had become part of the troupe doing the borrowing. From this Tsuchida argues that the phenomena of kyōgen-tori and shukō-tori should be thought of not only as a method of producing new plays by borrowing from existing works, but also as a means of allowing actors repeated opportunities to perform the kinds of scenes or shukō in which they had had success (29-30). His conclusion, therefore, is another appeal for the consideration of Genroku kabuki "from the point of view of the actor's art" (32).

Tsuchida's point about the significance of shukō for actors is well taken. His findings also appear to support Torigoe's argument about the importance of goto in Genroku kabuki, since it was precisely in performing a play's particular shukō that actors were able to display their specialties. Again, however, this interpretation of play construction fails to deal adequately with kabuki as economic production and with the way in which the product, the play or performance, is shaped by specific economic pressures and constraints. The evidence makes it abundantly clear, after all, that the reuse of shukō or larger portions of existing plays was motivated by the desire to repeat a previous success or to capitalize on the success of another troupe's play. And since popular success meant at the same time economic success, the practice of borrowing can also be considered an economic strategy, one entirely in keeping with a system of production that had become dependent on the sale of cultural wares on an open market for its existence.

That elements of plays or their performance could be so easily reused by other troupes in itself bespeaks a certain degree of standardization of production. The fact that troupes in the Genroku era, and especially within each of the three metropolises, had similar numbers of actors and similar distributions of role players, for example, made it much easier to exploit another troupe's successes. The effect of this exploitation, therefore, was only to further this tendency towards

standardization in production and, consequently, in the products themselves. This standardization, this reliance on common production practices, play structures, and shukō is one of the most striking aspects of the Genroku theatre, as the plays summarized in Appendix D and discussed in the next three chapters well illustrate. In Kamigata kabuki, for example, the ubiquity of features such as the feudal strife plot, scenes set in the licensed quarters, vengeful spirit shukō, and allusions to contemporary kaichō (exhibitions of Buddhist images) can all be seen as a result of a production strategy not to stray far from successful formulas. The same can be said of Edo kabuki, where another set of common practices and features marks both production and the products: the heavy reliance on the plots of nō and jōruri, for example, or, in Danjūrō's plays, the inevitable presence of the superhuman, aragoto hero. Another common feature, and one directly the result of the economic policy in Edo of changing the standing-room audience after every act, is the division of plays into four or five semi-autonomous acts, each with its own sub-title.

While in general the result of these economic pressures on kabuki was the production of sameness, it could be argued that the phenomenon of copying was actually motivated by the quest for novelty. In later kabuki and jōruri, shukō came to signify a repertoire of stock scenes or situations which could be inserted in various ways into one of the well-known dramatic worlds (sekai) to produce a new presentation of a familiar story. In the Genroku era, however, full-length, multi-act plays were still a recent enough development in kabuki that new sekai (new in kabuki at least) were still being introduced, and most of the shukō employed had yet to take on the character of conventions. To be sure, the practice of borrowing both popular plays and shukō did lead to a good deal of sameness and in the long run contributed to the common stock of material that later producers could draw on. The point is, however, that most of the plays and shukō borrowed in the Genroku era did not have a long history in kabuki but were current or at least relatively new at the time of borrowing. Their novelty, in other words, was part of their appeal,

and hence also one reason why other troupes and playwrights were eager to take them up. Not all Genroku plays were mere pastiches of earlier works, and indeed many of the most popular ones have their share of novel shukō. That the copying of previous works was a common and accepted practice, however, is an indication that it was much easier and more economical to appropriate novelty rather than create it.

There was another kind of novelty in Genroku kabuki, however, one which had little to do with innovative scenes or aspects of performance. This was novelty in the form of topicality. Plays which in other ways followed well-known patterns could still be new in the sense that they referred to some contemporary event. One example of this are those plays in which some relationship to a current kaichō (i.e. the temple at which it was held or the sacred image exhibited) is built into the plot. Many of the most popular plays of the period fall into this category, including Keisei Asama ga Dake, Keisei Hotoke no Hara, and Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu. Some indication of the numbers involved can be found in Gunji's study of kaichō, which includes a list of 64 such plays in the three major cities over the years 1680-1710 (Kabuki no Hassō 174-80).

The practice of relating plays to religious institutions or the deities to which they are dedicated is a feature of both ko-jōruri (old jōruri) and sekkyō-bushi, an early sub-genre of the puppet theatre with origins in the tradition of didactic Buddhist story-telling. Both contain a category of plays known as honjimonō, that is, plays dealing with the stories or legends surrounding the founding of a temple or with the deity enshrined there. The kaichō in jōruri can thus be seen as a further extension of this. By the Genroku period, however, kaichō themselves had taken on a more secular, festive nature, and temples began to exploit their entertainment value for economic purposes. As Gunji observes, it is this aspect of kaichō that kabuki capitalized on, and this is what distinguishes kabuki kaichō plays from those in jōruri, which followed more closely the pattern of medieval religious stories (Kabuki no Hassō 169-73). The popularity of kaichō, in other words, led to references to them being worked into kabuki plays, and in order for such plays to have

the maximum topical value, they invariably opened about the same time as the kaichō began its run or immediately prior to it. As was the case with attempts to capitalize on the latest shukō or successful play, however, the quest for novelty could also bring about the effect of sameness, as often more than one troupe would attempt to exploit the topicality of the same kaichō. This is true of the two plays discussed in the next chapter which share the common title Butsumo Mavasan Kaichō. Gunji's list reveals several more cases in which two, three, or even as many as five plays all make reference to the same kaichō.

Another and even more obvious example of topicality in Genroku kabuki was the sewamono or domestic play, which was often based on a recent sensational incident such as a murder or double suicide. Although the best known examples of sewamono were written by Chikamatsu for the jōruri theatre, the genre itself actually began in kabuki. The sewamono will be treated in more detail in chapter five. The point I would like to make here in relation to topicality is that, while the sewamono can be seen as the first dramatic genre in Japanese theatre history to treat the contemporary life of the common people, the very fact that most of these plays were based on recent, unusual events indicates that it was the sensational and topical nature of the material, and not just a desire by the chōnin to see their world portrayed on stage, that led to the emergence of the genre. Indeed, the race to put on such a play while the incident was still fresh often resulted in hastily contrived plays referred to as ichiyazuke or "overnight pickles." This was also often a race against other troupes, however, for in many cases two or three different theatres would rush to put on a play based on the same incident, resulting in yet another case in which the quest for novelty brought about the opposite effect of sameness.

Although I have here tried to make the case that the combination of novelty and standardization in Genroku kabuki can be attributed to the demands of competitive commercial production, there have been other explanations offered. As noted in chapter one, Hattori has likened the combination of repetition and variation in the sekai/ shukō relationship

to the poetic device of honkadōri (lit. "taking up the original poem"), that is, the practice in the writing of classical waka verse of alluding to a known poem while at the same time transforming it into something new (Hattori, Kabuki no Kōzō 174).<sup>19</sup> The appeal of such an argument lies in its ability to account for the structure of kabuki exclusively in terms of native cultural traditions; and certainly there can be no denying the importance of traditions, especially given the kabuki producers' concern with establishing the legitimacy and venerability of their art which I have sought to illustrate above. The argument of tradition can be misleading, however, if the emphasis on continuity involves overlooking historical specificities or is motivated by the desire to define a "Japanese" aesthetic tradition that can be opposed to and serve as a counterpart to that of the "West." It is for this reason, I would argue, that cross-cultural comparisons can be instructive. For the reuse and recombination of pre-available scenic units that is so prevalent in kabuki is a feature of construction that can be found in many artistic traditions. To limit the discussion to the theatre, one could point, for example, to the Italian commedia dell'arte, another actor-centred theatre and one which in its use of familiar plots involving stock characters and built around a number of ready-made comic situations or routines (lazzi) in many ways parallels kabuki as far as methods of play construction are concerned. The Elizabethan theatre provides another example. Shakespeare, after all, not only had his sources, he also worked within established conventions. Even his plays, moreover, are not without their share of stock situations and stock characters. What is significant about these examples, however, is not the parallel methods themselves, but the relation between such methods and the socio-economic contexts of cultural production in which they rose to importance. It is important to note, for instance, that all three theatres share the distinction of being early examples of professional public theatre in their respective countries. The question becomes, then, whether there can be shown to be a connection between these common methods of play creation and the system of professional, commercial production.

As Hauser has noted, "every art-form involves an element of standardization, is more or less conventional." This is because conventions serve the important function of allowing the artist to "make a start somewhere without hesitation or doubt upon organizing his often overwhelming material." According to Hauser's argument, what distinguishes "genuine, serious art" from "popular art" is whether such conventions are used precisely as starting points for some "more radical transformation or finer discrimination" or whether they serve simply "as crutches," that is, as convenient substitutes for the real labour of artistic creation (Philosophy of Art History 334-35, 347). One might question Hauser's use of the heavily-loaded opposition between "genuine, serious art" and "popular art." His point is still valid, however, especially if it is stated not in terms of these problematic categories but in terms of modes of cultural production and their effects on the cultural products themselves. Thus, to return to the examples above, it can certainly be said that the use of stock situations, characters, and routines served the commedia dell'arte well as a means of keeping up a steady production of theatrical performances, but it also inevitably marked these performances themselves with a certain stereotypicality and repetitiveness (Wickham, History of the Theatre 112). Likewise, as not only a playwright but an actor and shareholder in a professional theatre company, Shakespeare could appreciate the convenience of taking up what he found "ready to hand," even if this was done "more often than not quite uncritically and thoughtlessly" (Hauser, Social History 1: 419-20). The point, in other words, is that while conventions, stereotypes, and formulas are not unique to commercial cultural production, commercial production nevertheless tends, for very practical, economic reasons, to demand and emphasize their use, the result of which is only further standardization. This, I have tried to show, was the case with Genroku kabuki. I would further argue that herein also lies the distinction between the poetry technique of honkadori and kabuki's penchant for borrowing or reuse. For in kabuki it was not only the originals (i.e. the oiemono plot or the sekai of nō and jōruri plays) that are taken up;



the innovations (shukō) themselves are subject to constant borrowing and repetition in what must be seen as an effort to reproduce popular successes. All of this, moreover, is quite understandable in light of the demands of kabuki production. Producers faced the task of putting on several large-scale productions each year, a situation that could be exacerbated if a particular production was a flop and a new play had to be mounted in a hurry. Under such conditions, copying what another troupe was doing or repeating parts of a previous success made a good deal of sense from the point of view of production efficiency.

The other side of commercial production for the market, however, was the apparent opposite of this tendency towards reproduction; it was the quest for novelty. As argued above, much of the standardization in kabuki can be seen as the result of a market strategy to produce the new. The curious connection between standardization and novelty in cultural production has often been commented on in the West.<sup>20</sup> While most commentators have sought to relate this phenomenon to capitalism and have located its emergence in the rise of mass cultural production in nineteenth-century Europe, I would argue that neither a full-blown industrial capitalism nor a system of mass cultural production constitute its essential conditions. What is crucial, rather, is that such cultural production be market-oriented, that is, that the cultural work itself be transformed into a commodity in order to enter the chain of production, circulation, exchange, and consumption. For as a commodity, what counts is not the product's newness as use-value -- that is, whether or not it offers any new cognitive insight or, to use Hauser's phrase, "radical transformation" -- but whether such newness has an exchange-value that will enable it to circulate profitably on the market.<sup>21</sup> It is precisely this demand for market novelty, I believe, that characterizes kabuki producers' frequent introduction (and borrowing) of new shukō and the taking up of the purely topical. Both these strategies, in short, serve the purpose of keeping up a steady production of plays and performances, the apparent novelty of which distinguishes them from what came before and thus invites renewed consumption on the part of the audience.

If a consideration of production and market economics thus precludes any simple reading of Genroku kabuki in terms of a "traditional Japanese aesthetic," it can have similar implications for the folklore argument. For Gunji, it will be recalled, repetition and the recurrence of the familiar are among the features which define kabuki's folkloric structure. As I have argued above, however, repetition can be largely explained in terms of the demands of professional commercial production itself. It is true that this system of production may have benefited from or even exploited an appreciation or tolerance of the familiar among the audience, yet it also differed radically from the folkloric mode of cultural production in being both professionally organized and tied to the market. If there is an apparent continuity between folklore and commercial popular culture, in other words, this continuity is not so much due to the immutability of a folkloric structure or world view as it is the result of the way in which commercial production tends for its own very practical reasons to reproduce what already exists.

While the effect of standardization thus tends to obscure the difference, it is in the quest for novelty that the distinction between Genroku kabuki and folk culture becomes most noticeable. For the striving after the novel, the attempt to outdo or at least keep abreast of the competition, is clearly an effect of a commercial, market-oriented mode of production. And while this novelty was often of a superficial kind, in another sense kabuki could not help but be more than just a new variation on classical poetic techniques or folkloric themes. For kabuki plays were produced within a world and a social order that differed significantly from those either of the ancient court or traditional folklore, and how these plays portrayed and responded to this new order was ultimately a function of kabuki's place in it, of the position of its producers and its audience, and of its system of production itself.

In closing this section of this study, I would now like briefly to review what the previous two chapters have revealed about Genroku kabuki and how the sociological orientation I have tried to maintain provides a critical standpoint from which to correct much of the kabuki scholarship

discussed in chapter one. First of all, it was shown that not only were there regional variations in the social composition of the three major cities, but that the kabuki audience itself was highly stratified, a stratification that kabuki producers sought to accommodate both culturally and in terms of services and prices. It was further observed that by the second half of the seventeenth century many members of the chōnin class, who made up the majority of the audience, were making cultural investments in the arts, including those which had previously been the preserve of the Kyoto nobility and the bushi, and that a large number of teachers and iemoto organizations had emerged to cater to these investments. In a parallel movement, kabuki producers too had begun to organize themselves along the lines of the iemoto schools. By the Genroku era there were already second or third generation families in the theatre business, and new acting families were being founded. By this time as well, producers had appropriated ceremonial trappings from nō and were busy developing traditions of their own, such as those that came to mark the annual cycle of performances. It has been argued that the banning of women's and boys' kabuki forced producers into coming up with something other than the display of young beauties who could be purchased afterwards for sex. Many of the developments that took place in kabuki in the seventeenth century, however, came from within the kabuki world itself, and in view of the producers' low social status and government attempts to segregate them and their activities from the rest of society, it is understandable how producers might have felt that they had much to gain, both in terms of their own social legitimacy and their relationship to their audience and the authorities, by emulating and ultimately seeking a place within cultural traditions which were identified with the political and social elite.

Unlike the iemoto system, however, which was predicated on a teaching of skills that required long periods of training and practice, kabuki's economic raison d'être lay in the production of wares which, though in many ways more complicated, were also more conveniently packaged and easily consumed. Thus, although there was a tendency towards the

iemoto system, as a form of economic production kabuki took on many of the features of a commercial enterprise. Due to its scale, for example, kabuki production not only required considerable capital investment, it also necessitated a division of labour; and since within this division of labour it was the actors who were most readily identified with the product, many enjoyed considerable celebrity and were free to change theatres and seek better salaries elsewhere. Most important, however, commercial production for the audience market meant that every play a troupe produced was aimed at being a popular success. Efforts were thus made to outmatch or at least keep pace with the competition, which usually meant packing each play with as many current or proven successful elements as possible.

When the full significance of these social and economic factors is taken into account, it becomes clear that there was much militating against kabuki's becoming primarily either an urban version of folkloric production or a vehicle for popular resistance to authority. A kabuki performance was neither a village festival nor a carnivalesque restructuring of social relations, but an event which was already structured by a group of professional producers who themselves participated in the real-world struggles for both cultural and economic capital. No matter how much the bakufu tried to keep it separate, therefore, and no matter how much present-day commentators would like to see it as an "extra-ordinary space," the theatre world of Genroku Japan was inextricably tied to the economic and social order of the day. Neither completely an "other world" nor a fully accepted part of the normal world, if the theatre district was, to use Turner's phrase, an "anti-structure," then it was a structured anti-structure, a world operating both under the constraints of commercial production and -- even more so than most chōnin businesses -- within political and ideological structures maintained by the samurai class, whom they were meant to serve. It remains to be seen, now, how this structural dependence and containment observable on the political, social, and economic levels of kabuki production is related formally and ideologically to the plays themselves.

Notes to Chapter Three

1. The dispute and the subsequent verdict has thus come to be known as the "Kachiōgi incident." Details of the affair are given in Harada 326-29.

2. This account of Chikamatsu's origin and early years is based on Mori 11-17; Torigoe, Kyojitsu no Nagusami 13-20, 28-37; Hara, Chikamatsu Monzaemon 17-23. Somewhat briefer accounts in English can be found in Keene, World Within Walls 245-46, and MPC 3-5.

3. The verses written by Chikamatsu's family can be found in Torigoe, Kyojitsu no Nagusami 13-14.

4. Kōwakamai, sometimes also referred to as bukyoku, was a narrative performance form that flourished alongside nō in the sixteenth century and then all but died out during the Edo period. According to Mori, kōwakamai was supported by bushi patronage in the Echizen area, and Chikamatsu's father had more than likely attended some performances (16). On the history and form of kōwakamai, see the book by Araki.

5. Mori dates Chikamatsu's professional association with Kaganojō to around the year 1677 (29). As for Chikamatsu's involvement in kabuki, the date 1684 is suggested by the fact that the original Yūgiri Shichinenki, of which the 1697 play of the same name is presumed to be a restaging, was first performed in that year. The date 1677, on the other hand, stems from the association made between Chikamatsu and the play Fujitsubo no Onryō in the Kokon Yakusha Taizen of 1750 (Ihara, Kabuki Nempyō 1: 128). For a fuller discussion of the various dates possible for Chikamatsu's earliest work in kabuki, see Mori 25-29.

6. On the origin of the Ichikawa family, see Nishiyama, Ichikawa Danjūrō 7-8; Suwa, Genroku Kabuki 362; Kominz, "The Soga Revenge" 267.

7. The dates and titles of these plays can be found in Ihara, Kabuki Nempyō 1: 115, 123, 126; Nishiyama, Ichikawa Danjūrō 10. See also Kominz, "The Soga Revenge" 267-68; Barth 221-22. Since Danjūrō's role in these plays, and often even the titles and dates themselves are based on documents from much later periods, they cannot be accepted with absolute

certainty. Many of Danjūrō's purported early plays, for example, are excluded from the chronology of Danjūrō's life found in Suwa, Genroku Kabuki 361-403, which includes only those plays and events that can be backed up by reliable contemporary evidence.

8. Kimpira iōruri and its relation to aragoto are discussed in Suwa, Kabuki no Denshō 83-91. Suwa also provides a sober examination of the arahitogami/aragoto question, which is in part critical of Gunji's thesis. See the article "Goryō Shinkō to Aragotogei," which is also included in the same author's Kinsei no Bungaku to Shinkō 89-126. As for the connection between aragoto and the Edo machi-yakko, the main proponent here is Nishiyama. See his Ichikawa Danjūrō 6-7, as well as Edo Kabuki 332-34.

9. According to Haga, both the machi-yakko and hatamoto-yakko were made up of gangs drawn from unruly samurai elements (66).

10. Ortolani's remarks here are made in reference to the work of the Japanese historians of nō Gotō Hajime and Matsumoto Shinhachirō, both of whom have advanced the theory that the history of nō should be read as a continual campaign on the part of producers to improve their own social position. For the full discussion of these theories as well as Ortolani's own comments on the social situation of nō performers, see Ortolani, Japanese Theatre 57-61, 78-81, 86-87.

11. For Zeami's use of the concepts of yūgen and jo-ha-kyū, see Rimer and Yamazaki 46-48, 83-87. See also the section of Zeami's Fushikaden on the "Gods," where he establishes nō's sacred roots in India and in the myth of the goddess Uzume's dance in front of the Heavenly Cave, as well as claiming for his own family divine ancestry (Rimer and Yamazaki 31-37).

12. The major studies are by Matsuzaki, "Yarō Kabuki to Nō-kyōgen" and "Shoki Kabuki ni okeru Nō no Keishō," both of which are included in his Genroku Engeki Kenkyū, 3-23 and 24-55 respectively.

13. In terms of function, too, kabuki rituals and ceremonies bear a resemblance to the "invented traditions" discussed by Hobsbawm and other social historians in the work The Invention of Tradition. Hobsbawm notes

that invented traditions can be generally divided into three types based on function: those establishing or symbolizing cohesion or membership in groups or communities (real or artificial); those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority; and those whose main purpose is socialization or the inculcation of beliefs, value systems, and conventions of behaviour (9). Most of kabuki's invented traditions, I would argue, fulfil the first two of these functions; that is to say, on the one hand, they create the illusion of community by bringing audiences and producers together in an artificially created "festive" space; while, on the other hand, they serve to legitimize kabuki as an institution by stressing its links with the past as well as the producers' roles as custodians of its (factitious) traditions.

14. The best example of this is found in the Kabuki Jishi (The Beginnings of Kabuki, 1762), written by Tamenaga Itchō, a disciple of the rather obscure kabuki and jōruri playwright, Tamenaga Senchō. In this work the ultimate origin of kabuki is traced back to the mythical dance of the goddess Uzume before the Heavenly Cave, while the beginnings of modern kabuki are set back half a century to 1559, when the first Okuni (the historical personality is said to be her daughter) and the ancestors of the most important seventeenth-century kabuki families put on a performance at the court of shogun Yoshiteru (NSBS 6: 90-96).

15. In Kamigata the term "zamoto" was written 座本, while in Edo the characters 座元 were employed.

16. Another testimony to the vulnerable position of the actors can be found in Danjūrō's gammon of 1696:

The other day we began the run of the play Narukami Sansesō, and it is proving a great success. Since I am now earning a high salary of 300 or 400 ryō, it is expected that I have at least one or two big successes like this a year....If a play is a flop, it is always the leading actors who are blamed and who become subject to pressure and ridicule from both inside and outside the theatre. (Ihara, Danjūrō no Shibai 134-35).

17. Strictly speaking the term, which means "business" or "stuff," should be pronounced "koto." However, since in connection with kabuki it is always used in compounds, where it is pronounced "-goto," it is this latter pronunciation that I have adopted.

18. In comparison with the case of actors, there is much less information about the salaries earned by playwrights in the Genroku era. According to the Settsuyō Kikan, a work published in the early nineteenth century, Chikamatsu's annual salary as a playwright was one kamme (qtd. in Mori 30). It is not made clear to what stage in Chikamatsu's career this figure refers, and the late date of publication makes this source less than perfectly reliable. If the figure is accurate, however, it would mean that at one kamme (approximately 17 ryō) Chikamatsu's salary was comparable to those of the lowest paid actors. As for Edo playwrights, Danjūrō I makes some revealing comments in his 1696 gammon. His own high salary, he claims, was primarily due to his fame as an actor, and not in recognition of his work as playwright. The highest salary paid to someone who operated exclusively as a playwright, he goes on to say, was the more modest sum of 65 ryō, while others received only 15-30 ryō (Ihara, Danjūrō no Shibai 135).

19. For a discussion with examples of honkadōri in poetry, see Miner, Introduction to Japanese Court Poetry 24-25. Gunji is another critic who has tried to relate kabuki to a more general Japanese aesthetic tradition as exemplified in the honkadōri technique. See his Kabuki no Hassō 72-73.

20. See Benjamin, Gesammelte Schriften I/2: 507-690 (especially 660, 673, 680); Horkheimer and Adorno; Suvin, "Two Holy Commodities."

21. On this point see Benjamin, Charles Baudelaire (172), many of whose insights on the relationship between novelty and sameness in modern cultural production are elaborated on in Suvin, "Two Holy Commodities." For the distinction between surface novelty and a modern radical newness of a cognitive sort, see also Suvin's Metamorphoses of Science Fiction 63-84.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE OIEMONO: FORM AND IDEOLOGY IN KAMIGATA KABUKI

#### Survey of Kamigata Plays

In this chapter and the next the focus will be on Kamigata plays, and I shall thus begin with a general survey of the different categories of plays produced in the region. Since it is necessary to have some idea of the content and structure of a play in order to categorize it, this survey will include only plays for which kyōgenbon exist. According to Tsuchida's list, there is a total of 109 surviving Kamigata kyōgenbon datable between the years 1687 (the date of the earliest extant) and 1705 (the year of Chikamatsu's last kabuki plays) ("Chikamatsu Kabuki" 84-88). To this should be added one play (Chikamatsu's Kasuga Busshi Makura Dokei), the original kyōgenbon of which has since been lost but was reproduced in 1931; that text is included in the most recent Chikamatsu Zenshū. This makes for a total of 110 surviving texts. Of these, 86 are of Kyoto plays, 21 of Osaka plays, and three of uncertain provenance. For convenience's sake, I shall be using a corpus of plays from the same period; however, several of the plays on Tsuchida's list are available only in archives or private collections, so that I shall restrict myself to a slightly smaller corpus, made up of virtually all those kyōgenbon included in the published collections, as well as to a few that have been reprinted in scholarly journals. Even with this restriction there still remains a total of 98 plays or a respectable 89% of the surviving texts, including 77 plays from Kyoto, 19 from Osaka, and two of unknown provenance. (See Appendix C for a complete list of the plays).

An examination of these 98 plays reveals a number of types but at the same time the overwhelming dominance of one particular play type, the oiemono. The distribution of plays according to play type is given in table 3. In categorizing these plays I have for the most part made use of standard categories employed by kabuki scholars. The oiemono, as has already been mentioned, is a play dealing with a plot to usurp control of a feudal household. Over 60% of the plays fall into this category,

and the oiemono will thus be the major focus of this chapter. First, however, it is necessary to say something about the other categories of plays.

Table 3. Distribution of Kamigata Kabuki Plays by Category

category	number of plays
<u>oiemono</u>	60
<u>ōdaimono</u>	18
<u>jidaimono</u>	8
<u>sewamono</u>	7
<u>katakiuchi</u>	2
<u>minwa</u>	2
unclear	1
Total	98

Ōdaimono, also called ōchōmono, are historical plays centred around the imperial court, usually of the Nara or Heian periods. Three of these plays, (numbers 2, 33 and 34 on list 1, Appendix C) deal with court intrigue in the seventh century and the exploits of the statesman Nakatomi (Fujiwara) Kamatari. Another three plays (nos. 35, 53, and 95) treat the life of the legendary poetess of the ninth-century court, Ono no Komachi. Other plays dealing with writers or characters from classical Japanese literature include numbers 58, 67 and 96. Many of these stories had been treated earlier in nō, kōwakamai, and ko-iōruri.<sup>1</sup>

Jidaimono are also historical plays, but in this case the plays deal with events from later periods and the characters are typically members of the warrior or bushi class. Of the eight jidaimono in the corpus, five treat the late twelfth-century vendetta of the Soga brothers (nos. 19, 32, 63, 74 and 94), two the story of the legendary warrior-hero Minamoto Yoshitsune (nos. 14 and 70), and one the great struggle between the Minamoto and Taira clans at the end of the twelfth century known as

the Gempei wars (no. 21). All three of these story worlds had been treated earlier in nō, kōwakamai, and ko-jōruri and eventually became important sekai in kabuki and jōruri.<sup>2</sup> That only about 8% of the plays in the corpus are jidaimono, however, is an indication that in the Genroku era such historical sekai had not yet become a major source in Kamigata for the creation of new kabuki plays.

Closely related to and sometimes included within the jidaimono category is the katakiuchimono or revenge play. Like the jidaimono, this was to become one of the most important play types in subsequent kabuki and jōruri, and indeed it is into this category that must be placed one of the most popular and frequently performed plays of all times, Kanadehon Chūshingura (1748), which deals with the famous vendetta of the 47 rōnin of the early eighteenth century. Since the story of the Soga brothers involves a vendetta, the Soga plays could also be included in this category: they can also be considered jidaimono, however, since the story is definitely historical and is related to the Gempei sekai, the Soga family having been retainers of the Taira clan, while their enemy, Kudō no Suketsune, was allied with the Minamoto. Vendettas are incorporated into the plots of several plays in the corpus (as indicated by the titles of nos. 7 and 96, for example), but in most cases the revenge is part of an oiesōdō or disturbance in a feudal house, and I have therefore chosen to categorize such plays as oiemono. In the case of the two that have been designated katakiuchimono (nos. 15 and 50), the plot is structured around the quest for revenge itself.

Only seven plays fall into the category of the sewamono, but this is arguably an important play type and one worthy of in-depth examination. That the numbers are low should not be taken as evidence that such plays were infrequently performed. The surviving sewamono are all short, and it can be assumed that many of the plays were even shorter still, making them unsuitable for the kyōgenbon format. In addition, sewamono were by their nature topical and thus were changed more frequently than the other plays in the corpus, which represented the main fare of Genroku kabuki programmes. Under such conditions, the fact that seven such plays

have survived as kyōgenbon is in itself remarkable. A more important reason for considering the sewamono is the fact that, while they are the only plays which deal largely with the non-aristocratic or non-samurai world, they are not unrelated to the dominant play type of the oiemono, many of which contain what is usually referred to as a sewaba or domestic scene. As I will try to show later, an understanding of the kabuki sewamono also provides an entry into and a key to interpreting the more well-known examples of the sewamono written by Chikamatsu for the jōruri puppet theatre. Despite the statistical inferiority of the category, therefore, the sewamono will make up a major part of this study and will be the subject of the next chapter.

This leaves only the two plays which I have assigned to the category of minwa or folktale. Both these plays (nos. 54 and 57) deal with the story of a man married to a woman who is really a fox spirit. The two plays were produced by different troupes in different cities, but the title of the second indicates that it was intended as a sequel to the first. The story itself was already an old one at the time these plays were produced and had been the subject of a ko-jōruri play of 1678.<sup>3</sup> Gunji points to plays of this type as evidence of the folkloric basis of the Edo-period theatre and cites several other examples from kabuki and jōruri (Kabuki no Hassō 32). Judging from the present corpus, however, it must be concluded that such plays were of little importance to Kamigata kabuki during the Genroku era. The first play may actually have been conceived of as a vehicle for the wakaonnagata Mizuki Tatsunosuke, who played the role of the wife/fox spirit. If Tatsunosuke, who was famous for his dancing ability, made this play a success, then the second play, an Osaka production, is probably one more example of how Osaka troupes sought to exploit the popularity of plays produced in Kyoto.

If the numbers do not support Gunji's argument about the importance in kabuki of folktales and folk motifs, they do reveal other significant facts about Kamigata kabuki in the Genroku era. Besides the overwhelming dominance of the oiemono, what is perhaps most striking is that approximately 90% of the plays deal with the social worlds of the upper

classes, be this the imperial family and the Kyoto nobility (ōdaimono), the historical bushi class (jidaimono), or the fictional but clearly contemporary daimyō families of the oitemono. As has just been mentioned, this is one argument for the serious treatment of the exceptional case of the sewamono. The numbers, however, also raise the question of why a "popular" theatre produced by outcasts for a largely chōnin audience should concentrate on plays about their social superiors. Some answers to this question have already been suggested. As I have argued, the bushi audience, while smaller than that of the chōnin, because of its social prestige and what this meant to the self-esteem of producers, carried more weight than can be assumed from the numbers alone. Furthermore, in the case of ōdaimono and jidaimono at least, many of the stories treated had already been lent a certain venerability or cultural capital in having been the subject of nō and kōwakamai, both forms of performance patronized by the bushi class. That many of these same stories were also taken up by jōruri is only a further indication of the way in which jōruri producers, like those of kabuki, sought to raise the status of their art by merging it with existing elite traditions.

In the case of the oitemono, however, producers did not have much in the way of literary or dramatic models elevated by tradition or association with the courtly or samurai classes. As will be shown, what precursors did exist are found mainly in the more popular genres of ko-jōruri and sekkyō-bushi. Kabuki producers did, however, have real-life models in the problems that plagued the feudal houses of the early Edo period, and in this sense the oitemono represents a further example of the quest for topicality in Genroku kabuki. That the troubles of feudal households became the most important topic of Kamigata kabuki, however, is also an indication of the hegemony of the bushi class. This dominance, moreover, was not confined to the choice of topic alone, for it is also found in what the plays say about that class and how social relations are construed. As I hope to show, it is precisely in the modeling of social relations that the ideological position of the oitemono is most clearly revealed. Before examining representative examples of the

genre, however, it is useful to look at some of the historical conditions and events that lie behind the oie mono, as well as at some earlier forms of this play type.

#### The Historical and Cultural Background to the Oie mono

Disturbances or rebellions within feudal houses such as one finds in the oie mono are usually referred to as oiesōdō, and hence the term oiesōdō mono is also sometimes used to designate such plays, although the shorter term, oie mono, is generally preferred. A number of actual oiesōdō are recorded in the seventeenth century, the domains involved including Tsushima (1635), Takamatsu and Yamazaki (both 1640), Aizu (1643), Miyazu (1666), Sendai (1660-71) and Echigo Takada (1679-81). Among the causes of such disturbances were the question of succession and the difficulty of career advancement. After centuries of warfare and the possibility of rising in the world by dint of military strength, the bushi class in the seventeenth century had trouble adjusting to the Tokugawa order in which the number of daimyō was limited and those left out of the line of succession had no chance of acquiring a domain of their own, and even important administrative positions were closed to all but the highest ranked retainers. Blind ambition, however, was not the only factor behind the oiesōdō. As Totman points out, "governing involved serious decision making, and failures of honest policy, abuses of power, and sheer incompetence all gave someone reason to seek changes in leadership" (122).

The difficulties involved in managing a feudal domain (han) were real enough and were invariably tied to economic issues. A daimyō's tax rice had to provide not only for general domain expenses and obligations to the bakufu, but also the stipends and salaries of all vassals, officials, and attendants, as well as the cost of maintaining at least two residences (one in the daimyō's domain and one in Edo) and of regular and suitably ceremonious travel between the two. This situation was exacerbated by the growing relative impoverishment of the feudal houses. Whereas, as noted earlier, the amount of rice land is estimated to have

more than doubled during the decade 1550-1650, in the second half of the seventeenth century the rate of increase in agricultural production dropped as the amount of land that could be easily converted to rice cultivation diminished. And although the earlier period of growth laid the basis for a subsequent expansion of the commercial economy, the bakufu and the domainal governments on the whole suffered from an institutional inability to adequately tax or tap into this economy. With little or no increase in their own income the bushi thus found it increasingly difficult to maintain their standard of living, let alone enjoy the benefits of the money economy. As a result, "by the end of the seventeenth century, nearly all domains were spending in some years more than they could collect in agricultural levies, and many daimyō took to borrowing funds from wealthy merchants in Edo and Osaka" (Nakai and McClain 545).<sup>4</sup> The bakufu itself was similarly hard-pressed, and it is this that prompted its recoinage policy of 1698. By melting down old coins and reissuing new ones with inferior gold and silver content the government did succeed in putting more money into circulation and providing itself with a sudden increase in revenue. The policy also led to the hoarding of old coins, however, and to a wave of price rises, which ultimately spelled more financial trouble for both the bakufu and the daimyō, who, as non-productive consumers, were hard hit by the inflationary trend.

Under such conditions, then, domain management and administration took on great importance, and herein lies another major cause of oiesōdō. For while the fiscal problems were clear to all, there was often disagreement over the best way to deal with them. As Tsuji has noted, such disagreements, which became characteristic of feudal house disturbances from about the time of the Echigo Takada sōdō of 1679-81 onwards, often pitted older retainers whose response to fiscal crises was to hold fast to or call for a return to traditional patterns of management against younger, more forward-looking retainers who sought to devise new policies for reducing expenditures or increasing the domain's income (179-80). Disturbances which appear on the surface to be mere

power struggles between rival factions, therefore, can often be analyzed in terms of competing responses to the very real financial problems confronting the domains.

While the phenomenon of oiesōdō was real enough, what made the problems of feudal households an almost de rigueur topic of Genroku Kamigata kabuki plays was undoubtedly the spectacular nature of some of the disturbances themselves, as well as the heavy-handed way in which the bakufu tended to deal with them. The long, drawn-out Sendai oiesōdō, for example, included everything a playwright could ask for. The story begins in 1660 when the bakufu, having heard suits from the domain's senior retainers concerning their lord's debauchery, forced the young daimyō, Date Tsunamune, into retirement and installed his two-year-old son in his stead. The next ten years saw a series of struggles between various of the new daimyō's relatives and retainers for control over domain policy and management that culminated in a murder, a suicide, and charges of a plot to poison the young lord.<sup>5</sup>

Another high-profile disturbance was the one that occurred within the Takada domain in Echigo province. Like the Sendai oiesōdō, this one involved a struggle among retainers for influence over the daimyō, Matsudaira Mitsunaga. What made this dispute notorious, however, was not the actions of the participants themselves but the outcome. After a forced retirement of one of the key retainers involved and an order issued to another to stay out of domain politics failed to put an end to the disturbance, two more retainers were dismissed and banished from the domain. Then in 1681 the new shogun, Tsunayoshi, who had assumed office only the year before, in addition to ordering the suicide (seppuku) of one of the disputants and the arrest and banishment of others, took the drastic step of confiscating the entire Takada domain. This decision was all the more startling for the fact that the Echigo Matsudairas were related to a junior branch of the Tokugawa family itself. This, moreover, was far from being the only occasion on which Tsunayoshi resorted to the measure of confiscation. By the time of his death in 1709 in all some 46 daimyō had lost all or part of their domains (Hall,



"The Bakuhan System" 150). Not all of these confiscations were as sensational as the Echigo decision, but their frequency is certainly indicative of the precariousness of the daimyō's position and suggests that the spate of kabuki plays dealing with troubles in feudal households was indeed a reflection of a common and serious issue for the ruling elite.

One does not find in Genroku kabuki, however, any plays which deal with specific historical oiesōdō. Nor do the plays treat the question of domain management and administration. On the contrary, house disturbances are given only a vaguely defined geographical setting and are invariably cast in the form of a struggle between good and evil parties, with the legitimate lord and his faithful followers making up the former and a scheming stepmother and her relatives and retainers the other. Only in the frequent characterization of the young daimyō as a patron of the prostitution quarters, which was in fact the case with the above-mentioned Date Tsunamune, would there appear to be any attempt to represent the circumstances of actual disturbances. Examples of debauchery as a major factor in real oiesōdō are rare, however.

One possible explanation for this avoidance of any similarity with actual disturbances is government censorship and the threat of punishment. In 1644 the bakufu had forbidden the use in kabuki plays of the names of contemporary persons, and in 1673 this restriction was extended to include all matters pertaining to the bushi class (Shively, "Bakufu versus Kabuki" 351). In later kabuki and jōruri, beginning with attempts to dramatize the sensational 1703 vendetta of the 47 rōnin of the Akō domain, playwrights learned to evade the censors by changing the names of the characters involved and setting the stories in the Kamakura or Muromachi periods.<sup>6</sup> Eventually even oiesōdō were treated in this manner, the most well-known examples being the plays Meiboku Sendai Hagi (1777) and Kagamiyama Kokyō no Nishikie (1780), which deal with the Sendai and Kaga (1724) oiesōdō respectively. As the dates indicate, both these plays were written and performed a half century or more after the disturbances they allude to occurred, and it may be that in the Genroku era playwrights and zamotō were wary about making references to what were for

them more recent events. Still, the almost total lack of anything that can be construed as an allusion to particular oiesōdō or even to the typical circumstances of such disturbances suggests that the Genroku kabuki treatment of the oiesōdō theme was shaped neither by a simple desire to report the news nor by a concern for social realism.

To fully account for the form of the oiemono in Genroku Kamigata kabuki, therefore, other determining factors must be sought. One obvious place to begin such a search is in the dramatic tradition itself. Although there is nothing in the nō repertoire that can be considered a precursor, ko-jōruri does have a number of plays which are sometimes labelled oiesōdōmono by scholars.<sup>7</sup> These include the plays Hanava (1634) and Aguchi no Hangan (1637) by Satsuma Jōun and Sugiyama Tangonōjō respectively.<sup>8</sup> Both chanters were active in Edo about this time, but the surviving texts of these plays were published in Kyoto. The first tells of the efforts of a brother and sister who set out to establish the innocence of their father, who has been falsely accused and imprisoned by a wicked governor; while the second relates the trials of a son who with the aid of a faithful former family retainer seeks revenge against the man who has killed his father and schemes to take over the house. Other pre-Genroku plays which could be described as oiesōdōmono include several of the standards of the sekkyō repertoire, such as Sanshō Dayū, Shintokumarū, and Aigo no Waka.<sup>9</sup> The earliest extant texts of these plays can be dated between about 1640 and 1660, although later versions, both as sekkyō and jōruri plays, continued to be produced up to and throughout the Genroku era.

All of the above plays have important points in common with the Genroku kabuki oiemono, including the plot to do away with the legitimate head of the family or heir, the hardships the heroes undergo, and the ultimate vanquishing of the villains and restoration of order. There can thus be no denying that kabuki oiemono follow many of the narrative conventions established by ko-jōruri and sekkyō plays on the same theme. Indeed, given the propensity of kabuki producers to resort to the expedient of reuse in the creation of new plays, it could hardly be

expected that this would not be the case. There are some important differences between the kabuki plays and their precursors, however. In the ko-jōruri and sekkyō plays the action is set in the legendary past, and even though, in the ko-jōruri pieces at least, some of the characters and sentiments seem more appropriate to the world of the medieval warrior than the ancient court, it is the emperor who wields ultimate authority and sanctions the restoration of order. All of the plays, moreover, are heavily imbued with a popular religious faith, and in every case the heroes' success in righting the wrongs done them is dependent on the receipt of divine assistance, whether this be from a Shinto god or a Buddhist deity. This contrasts sharply with the majority of the kabuki oiemono, where the setting, however ill-defined, is clearly the contemporary world, one populated not only by daimyō and samurai, but also by merchants and money-changers enjoying the fruits of the commercial boom and prostitutes who ply their trade in flourishing and unmistakably modern licensed quarters. It is true that plays intended as kaichō pieces do sometimes contain miracles, but this can be seen as a convenient way to incorporate the object of the kaichō into the story, and such miraculous happenings usually have little bearing on the main plot and its resolution.

Despite the undeniable contemporary context of the Genroku oiemono, many critics have sought to find antecedents of the form that go back even further than the ko-jōruri and sekkyō plays of the early and mid-seventeenth century. In three of the essays included in Kabuki no Hassō, Gunji argues that a good many kabuki plays and especially the Genroku oiemono conform to the pattern of what the critic Orikuchi Shinobu has identified as Japan's most basic and ancient narrative and to which he gave the name "kishuryūritan" or the "exile of the young noble" (33-34, 74-76, 114-15).<sup>10</sup> The essential elements of this archetypical narrative are the banishment of the noble, the hardships or trials he undergoes while in exile, and his eventual return home and restoration to his rightful place in society. Alternatively, the hero may die as a result of his ordeal and be enshrined as a god. This same narrative, Orikuchi

argues, forms the underlying structure not only of many of the myths contained in the eighth-century Kojiki and Nihon Shoki, but also of such later works as the Heian-period romances Utsuho Monogatari and Genji Monogatari, the story of Minamoto Yoshitsune as told in the medieval Gikeiki and in nō plays, and of many ko-jōruri and sekkyō plays, including some of those mentioned above, such as Sanshō Dayū and Aigo no Waka.

Certainly on the level of elemental structure, the kabuki oiemono would appear to conform to this widespread narrative pattern. The question is what is to be gained by tracing back the structure of the oiemono to ever more ancient forms. As Harootunian has pointed out, the twentieth-century folklore movement which forms the context of Orikuchi's literary and theatre studies carried over from the earlier kokugaku or "nativism" movement of the Edo period much of the latter's emphasis on "the past as a condition for understanding the present" (Things Seen 426). Moreover, like the attempt to relate kabuki production to ancient poetic traditions or to folk rites, this "discourse on origins," to use Harootunian's phrase, can also be said to have participated in an ideological production, one which likewise has the effect of erasing history and dissolving Japanese culture into an original and unchangeable essence.<sup>11</sup> In order to avoid this danger, the identification of the "exile-of-the-young-noble" pattern must not be allowed to substitute for analysis; nor must it be invoked to justify an interpretative scheme that considers the kabuki oiemono only in terms of a linear-temporal transformation of an originating narrative. As argued in chapter one, the imperative of kabuki studies now is to open kabuki both to the complexities of its historical contexts and to a more flexible theoretical framework. My reading of the oiemono, therefore, will take as its starting point, not the traces of some spurious Japanese essence, but all that has been examined in the preceding two chapters in relation to kabuki production and to the position of kabuki audiences and producers within Genroku-era society. This is the context to which I propose to relate my analysis of the plays. By doing so I hope also to open the plays to questions of ideology that previous approaches have avoided.

Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō: Two Early Oiemono

In order to highlight the relationship of the oiemono to its contemporary context, I shall begin with a comparison of a play that retains many of the features of the ko-iōruri and sekkyō oiemono with one that is more indicative of the direction the form would take in later Genroku plays. The two plays selected for this comparison were both produced in 1693 and bear the common title Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō (see Appendix D for summaries of both plays). Since one was produced in Osaka and the other in Kyoto, they will be referred to as the Osaka and Kyoto versions respectively. The kaichō alluded to in their titles was held at Mt. Maya near the modern city of Kobe from the fourteenth of the third month to the fourteenth of the fourth month, 1693. The sacred object displayed was the mountain temple's statue of the eleven-faced Kannon. The Osaka play was produced by the Iwai-za, and although the exact date of its performance is not known, both Tsuchida and the editors of the kyōgenbon assume the play to have been a ni no kawari production. The playwright is unknown. The Kyoto play was produced by the Mandayū-za in the third month of the year. Chikamatsu is identified in the kyōgenbon as the playwright, and this is in fact the earliest surviving kabuki play for which Chikamatsu's authorship can be definitely established. Although the plays were produced about the same time and refer to the same kaichō, they share only this reference and the general oiesōdō theme. Neither, in other words, borrows from the other, although the first act of the Osaka play, as mentioned in the last chapter, was apparently taken from a different Kyoto play, Tamba Yosaku Tazunaobi.

When compared with the Kyoto Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō as well as with most other Kamigata Genroku plays, the most striking thing about the Osaka play is the host of miraculous events that make up its plot. Beginning with the curse on Oran and the child's voice heard coming from her womb in the first act, the play goes on to follow a course regularly punctuated and driven by marvelous happenings. Act two, for example, begins with the birth of the three-year-old child, followed by the miraculous reattachment of Oran's severed head to her body. This scene

then shifts to Mt. Ōmine, where the yamabushi (mountain ascetic) Kakuhan first encounters two boys who turn into tengu (long-nosed goblins) and is then confronted by Oran's ghost. Act two closes with a climactic scene in which first the ghost of Myōdonmi then that of Oran appear to struggle over the child, who is finally returned to his father by Oran, who is revealed to be in fact the eleven-faced Kannon of the Mt. Maya Temple. In the final act, the chief villain, Hyōgo, who was slain in act two, returns as an evil demon before being driven off by a benevolent deity.

This profusion of miracles suggests that the Osaka play can be placed within the same popular religious tradition to which the ko-jōruri and sekkyō plays discussed above belong. Such a view would also appear to be supported by the last lines of the play, which sum up the events as "another sign of the flourishing of the Buddha's law" and express the belief that all those who hear the story "will become more fervent believers" (GKKS 2: 126). This apparently heavy-handed Buddhist didacticism, however, need not be taken at face value. The play, after all, was intended to coincide with a kaichō, and to this extent a complete lack of a Buddhist theme would have been inappropriate. It is also important to remember that this was a staged performance. Most of the play's numerous miracles could not have been produced without a certain amount of acrobatic skill and stage machinery, and these, rather than achieving a convincing presentation of miraculous events, would have drawn attention to themselves precisely as stunts or special effects. Unfortunately, nothing can be found in the hyōbanki or elsewhere that would indicate how these effects were achieved. As noted earlier, however, displays of acrobatic skills formed part of the misemono entertainments that were offered alongside kabuki in the Shijōgawara area of Kyoto, and these, as Suwa has shown, became an integral part of kabuki during the era of wakashū kabuki (Genroku Kabuki 3-21).<sup>12</sup> It is likely, therefore, that the scene in which Oran and Myōdonmi sink into the sea while struggling over the child and the one in which Oran/Kannon descends from the heavens were in fact early examples of the special effects known as mizu-karakuri (water effects) and chū-nori (aerial stunts) respectively.

According to the Iwai Hanshirō Saigo Monogatari, the Osaka version of Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō was a great success and ran for a total of 150 days (qtd. in GKKS 2: 100). Since Hanshirō himself was zamoto of the Iwai-za at the time and one of the actors in the play, one suspects a bit of exaggeration in this claim. What success the play did enjoy, however, was no doubt at least partly the result of the special effects. Another factor that could have contributed to the play's popularity is its humour. Dewanosuke's efforts to pick up the supposedly severed head of his father in act one, for example, would make for an extremely funny scene when staged. Humour is also to be found in act two in the form of the witty verses and account of his life given by Kakuhan's servant Gōriki, who was played by the dōke actor Kanazawa Goheiji.

Although the play thus appears to belong to an older tradition of popular Buddhist tales, it would be a mistake to read it only in those terms. Here rather, through the addition of humour and stage spectacle the Buddhist tale has been transformed into a vehicle for entertainment. Aside from the connection with the current kaichō, however, the play makes little reference to the contemporary world. The settings of the different scenes (seashore, daimyō's residence, mountain, temples), for example, give no indication of the period. As for the oiesōdō element of the story, this takes the form of a plot by a wicked stepmother and retainer to prevent the birth of an heir to the household. Opposing them are Dewanosuke, who proves himself a model samurai by putting loyalty to his lord ahead of flesh-and-blood ties to his own brother, and the yamabushi Kakuhan, who seeks revenge against the villains for their having tricked him into a misuse of his spiritual power. Only in Dewanosuke's plea to his lord to give up his religious austerities on the grounds that the land is in turmoil and needs a strong ruler could any allusion to the actual historical problem of oiesōdō be inferred. The lack of other references to the contemporary world, however, as well as the magico-religious means by which the plot is set in motion, moved along, and finally resolved, work against such a reading of the play, giving it instead a timeless if not anachronistic quality.

In the case of the Kyoto play, on the other hand, although here too the oiesōdō plot employs the conventional motif of the wicked stepmother and bears little resemblance to any actual such disturbance, the play as a whole is more clearly set in the contemporary world. This is apparent as early as the first scene. As in the Osaka play, this scene serves to establish the relationship with the kaichō mentioned in the title. It also makes it clear, however, that the lord of the domain is a modern samurai, one involved in a relationship with a high-ranking prostitute (keisei) of the Muro licensed quarters. The keisei theme is then continued in the next scene, which begins with Kamon's wife's ransoming a keisei (Takahashi) in order to learn the ways of such women and thus win back her husband. This is followed by the revelation that the well-digger Magosaku is in fact the middle brother of the family and was disinherited because of his involvement with the same keisei. Finally, the false Gyōbu attempts to have Kamon executed for his own infatuation with a keisei.

The first act, of course, also functions to introduce the villains, the stepmother and her brother Bundayū, who by means of various deceptions attempt to take advantage of Kamon's absence and gain control over the house. In the second act, however, the action shifts to the town of Muro and the focus is almost exclusively on Kamon and his visit to the licensed quarters. The first scene takes place outside the home of the magistrate, who is hearing a dispute between Kamon's favourite keisei, Ikoku, and the holder of her contract. The rest of the act is then taken up by a long scene set in a brothel (ageya) in which, as a result of a mutual misunderstanding, Kamon and Ikoku first quarrel before finally making up and then leaving to return together to Kamon's domain.

As in the previous play, the final act of the Kyoto play takes place at the site of the kaichō. This is also the setting for the play's only miraculous occurrences: the divine intervention of Kannon that saves Kamon's son from death; and the giant serpent that descends from the sky to punish the villains. Like the many miracles in the Osaka play, it can be assumed that this scene involved the use of stage machinery and



special effects. In this case, however, the use of such effects is an exception rather than the rule; on the whole the world of the play is much more secular and realistic than in the Osaka play, and the occurrence of miracles in the third act can be seen as a convenient device for getting rid of the villains and concluding the play with a fitting homage to the object of the kaichō, the goddess Kannon.

Even more than the relative avoidance of the magico-religious, it is the keisei theme, and especially act two, which is set entirely within the world of the keisei and the licensed quarters, which most distinguishes the Kyoto version of Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō from the Osaka play. As pointed out earlier, debauchery on the part of daimyō was occasionally a factor in historical oiesōdō, and to this extent Kamon's attachment to the keisei Ikoku and the resultant neglect of his duties can be seen as a reference to the real world of feudal disturbances. Skits featuring prostitutes and their customers had been a part of kabuki since the time of Okuni, however, and can thus be considered one of the oldest pure kabuki traditions. In the early years of yarō kabuki, one of the most frequently performed types of one-act plays or skits was the so-called Shimabara kyōgen, that is, a play set in the Shimabara licensed quarters of Kyoto.<sup>13</sup> Even more recently, Sakata Tōjūrō, who in the present play acted the part of Kamon, had frequently appeared in the role of Izaemon, the disinherited merchant son and lover of the famous prostitute Yūgiri, who died at a young age in 1678 (see Appendix D for a summary of a Yūgiri play).<sup>14</sup> Given this tradition, then, it is not surprising that keisei scenes came to be included in the multi-act plays of the Genroku era, and in this sense the importance of the Kyoto Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō can be said to lie in its being an early example of how, by making the young daimyō or heir to the house a devotee of the licensed quarters, this incorporation could be achieved in the case of the oiemono.

Analysis is not exhausted, however, by saying that the play involves the incorporation of a kabuki tradition (the keisei scene) into a conventional plot structure found in ko-iōruri and sekkyō (the oiemono). What also needs to be clarified is how this linking of the two worlds --

the world of the samurai and the world of the licensed quarters -- is related to the real, historical world, which constitutes the ultimate context of the play. This linkage, I would argue, implies more than just a reference to those isolated cases in which overindulgence in the licensed quarters really did figure as a cause of oiesōdō. For by the Genroku era the licensed quarters had become largely the preserve of the chōnin, and thus through the incorporation of keisei scenes, and especially the scene set in the licensed quarters itself, the world of the play is expanded to include this contemporary, non-samurai world as well. The play in this sense thus presents two different worlds, each with its own economy and ideology; and although the two are in many ways opposed to one another, they are brought together through the actions of the daimyō Kamon, who in the play traverses both worlds. It is necessary, therefore, to consider how these two worlds are represented, where they differ and where, if at all, they are shown to intersect.

To begin with, one of the main points of difference between the two worlds is economic. For while the play represents the economic basis of the samurai class as lying in the right of domainal proprietorship, which here figures precisely as the subject of the oiesōdō dispute, the world of the keisei and the licensed quarters is shown to be one ruled by money. This is made clear as early as act one, scene two, where Kamon's wife has the money-changer come with a large and specifically named sum in order to buy out Takahashi's contract. Money again looms large in the first scene of act two, which revolves around the contract dispute between Ikoku and her employer. Finally, in the second scene, it is again money, this time brought by the merchant Tarōzaemon at the request of Kamon's wife's lady-in-waiting, Tsubone, that enables Kamon to free Ikoku from her contract.

When money makes its appearance in the play, therefore, it is always in the hands of chōnin: money-changers, brothel owners, and merchants. Yet as long as Kamon is in the licensed quarters -- and by extension the chōnin world -- he too needs money. When, for example, the contract dispute is decided in favour of Ikoku's employer and it is thus confirmed

that she must serve for five more years, Kamon is powerless to do anything because of a lack of money. He tries to strike a bargain with Sakubei, the holder of Ikoku's contract, by offering him a token amount and promising to pay the rest when he has returned to his domain. To this Sakubei simply replies, "Such talk will get us nowhere," and then unceremoniously pushes Ikoku into a palanquin and takes her away (CZ 15: 23). Although Kamon's avowal that he can come up with the money once he has returned home suggests that his lack of money is only a temporary problem, the attitude of Ikoku's employer throws some doubt on this. It is possible, therefore, to read Kamon's financial plight as a reference to the general financial crisis of the samurai. Moreover, since it is only through the money supplied by the merchant Tarōzaemon that Kamon is able in the end to ransom his beloved keisei, the play would seem to suggest that the bushi is indeed dependent on the chōnin, if not for their wealth itself, then certainly for their services.

If, however, through the figure of Kamon the play depicts the bushi as drawn into the pleasures of the licensed quarters and thus engaged (to their disadvantage) with the money economy of the chōnin world, it also represents the licensed quarters as the denial of this dominance of strictly monetary relations. Nowhere is this denial more evident than in the portrayal of the keisei, who contrary to common opinion and the dictates of their trade are shown to be capable of sincerity and faithfulness to their chosen lovers. This is brought out most clearly through the actions of Ikoku, who refuses to submit to the customer who wants to buy out her contract and then, when she believes Kamon has rejected her, attempts to commit suicide. Ikoku, in other words, is shown to be in her own way every bit as virtuous as Kamon's wife and brothers, all of whom are also devoted to Kamon, who besides being a husband and a brother is also according to the Neo-Confucianist ideology of feudalism their lord and master. In conclusion, therefore, if on one level it can be said that the play is structured by the juxtaposition of the world of the chōnin and the keisei to that of the samurai, it must at the same time be recognized that the potential for conflict inherent

in this arrangement is partly defused by the representation of this intersection of keisei faithfulness with bushi loyalty. To determine whether and in what way other plays represent this intersection will be one of the concerns of the next section of this chapter, which will deal with later Genroku oiemono.

Later Oiemono: Keisei Asama ga Dake, Keisei Hotoke no Hara,  
and Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu

Following Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō Chikamatsu went on to write some twenty-five further kabuki plays that have survived, most of which are oiemono and were written for Tōjūrō and the Mandayū-za.<sup>15</sup> Discussing Tōjūrō's brilliant acting career, the Nijinshū section of the Yakusha Rongo first gives an account of his many Yūgiri pieces and then mentions several other successful plays, including Keisei Awa no Naruto (1695), Keisei Edo Zakura (1698), Keisei Hotoke no Hara (1699) and its two sequels, and Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu (1702) with its two sequels (AA 101-03). As the titles indicate, all the latter plays, though oiemono, follow the pattern established by Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō of including keisei scenes. Indeed, as the Nijinshū also points out, not only did Tōjūrō spend practically his whole career doing keisei pieces, it became the custom during the Genroku era to present a keisei play as the second play (ni no kawari) of every theatre season (AA 102).

All the plays mentioned above, especially Keisei Hotoke no Hara and Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu, both of which spawned two sequels, can be considered successful plays and representative of Kamigata kabuki in the Genroku era. No discussion of Genroku kabuki would be complete, however, without consideration of another play, one which neither Chikamatsu nor Tōjūrō had any hand in: Keisei Asama ga Dake (1698). According to the Kengaishū section of the Yakusha Rongo, this was an extremely successful play and ran for a total of 120 days (AA 134). The popularity of the play is further confirmed by its many restagings. As mentioned in the last chapter, an adaption of the play was put on in Edo in 1700. Commenting on the popularity of the play, the Yakusha Kenzumō of 1726

states that since its first performance in 1698 it had been reproduced seven times in Kyoto, three in Osaka, and several times in Edo as well (KHS 9: 222).<sup>16</sup> Along with Keisei Hotoke no Hara and Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu, then, Keisei Asama ga Dake must be considered among the masterpieces of Genroku Kamigata kabuki, and since it was the earliest of the three, will be treated first in the following discussion of later Genroku oiemono. (Note: all three plays are summarized in Appendix D)

The same Kengaishū section of the Yakusha Rongo cited above gives an interesting account of the circumstances surrounding the first production of Keisei Asama ga Dake. According to this source, the Edo actor Nakamura Shichisaburō, who had a reputation as a master of lover's parts, had come to Kyoto in the fall of 1697 to join Yamashita Hanzaemon, the zamoto of the Hayakumo-za. The company's kaomise performance was not favourably received, however, and Shichisaburō became the subject of satirical songs. At this point Tōjūrō, who was having success at the Mandayū-za with his own kaomise play, warned his actors not to take Shichisaburō lightly, saying that because of his current failure he would be a formidable opponent in the ni no kawari. True to Tōjūrō's prediction, Shichisaburō met with great success in the Hayakumo-za's Keisei Asama ga Dake, which opened on the twenty-second of the first month, 1698. The Kengaishū focuses on one particular scene, which, it is suggested, was a major factor in this sudden reversal of fortunes:

In one act of this play there is a scene where [Shichisaburō] has a lover's quarrel with the keisei Ōshū while playing solitaire go, using fragments of a broken teacup as pieces, on a go-board patterned coat that he spreads on the floor. In this scene he surprised everybody by his acting, which was inimitable, and the Kyoto audiences were in raptures; his reception was the direct opposite to what it had been in the kaomise, and he had a great success. (AA 133-34)

The authorship of Keisei Asama ga Dake has traditionally been attributed to Shichisaburō himself, although there is no hard evidence to support this. Indeed, given Shichisaburō's dismal failure in the kaomise,

it is hardly likely that responsibility for the next play would be placed entirely in his hands. It is more probable that the play was the result of a cooperative effort to reverse the company's fortunes, with perhaps much of the direction coming from the experienced Kyoto actor and zamoto, Hanzaemon. This would appear to be borne out by the structure of the play, which resembles that of Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō and many other Kyoto plays in combining an oiesōdō plot with a kaichō reference and scenes set in the licensed quarter. Moreover, the play is not centred around Shichisaburō's part alone, but employs two male leads (Shichisaburō as Tomoenjō and Hanzaemon as Wadaemon) and two female leads (Yoshizawa Ayame as Miura and Iwai Sagenda as Ōshū), as well as a number of other key roles, including that of Wadaemon and Miura's servant-fool Yotarō, played by the dōke actor Yamada Jimpachi. As the Kuchi Samisen Hentō Shitazutsumi stresses, all five of these actors and not Shichisaburō alone should be credited with the success of the play (KHS 2: 306).

Along with this effective distribution of roles, the hyōbanki as well as many subsequent commentators on the play have pointed to the importance of a number of key shukō to the success of Keisei Asama ga Dake. These include, in addition to the solitaire go scene cited above: the humorous episode involving the palanquin bearers in act one, scene three; Ōshū's jealous spirit that rises from the fire later in the same scene; the murder of Wadaemon and Miura's daughter and Miura's subsequent concealment of this fact from her husband in act two, scene one; and the lovers' spat, the severing of the finger, and Wadaemon's beating of Tomoe with a straw sandal (zōri), all in act two, scene two. All of these shukō were taken up in later plays, and there is little doubt that they were all successful parts of the present play's performance. Most of them, however, were not entirely original. The jealous spirit shukō, for example, can be found in ko-iōruri plays of the 1670s, and may even have been used in an early kabuki play by Chikamatsu that has not survived.<sup>17</sup> It also appears in the 1691 play Musumeoya no Katakuchi as well as in the play that incorporates the same second act, Chikamatsu's Mizuki Tatsunosuke Tachiburumai (1695).<sup>18</sup> These two plays, incidentally, also

involve a murder committed to conceal a robbery, although in this case the victim is a grown woman and not a child. A more direct antecedent of this shukō, however, can be found in the Kyoto Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō which, it will be recalled, contains the attempted murder of a child who is saved by divine intervention. What makes the scene in Keisei Asama ga Dake more poignant is the fact that it is not until much later, namely during the play's final scene at the kaichō, that the other characters learn that the child's life has been miraculously spared. Even this, however, is nothing new, for the device of divine substitution (miawari) had long been a part of ko-jōruri and sekkyō plays.<sup>19</sup> As for the lovers' quarrel based on mutual misunderstanding, this has also already been encountered in the Kyoto Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō, while the solitaire go part of the same scene, as is pointed out in the hyōbanki which reports on Shichisaburō's restaging of the play in Edo in 1700, had earlier been one of the specialties of the Edo actor Komai Shōzaemon (KHS 2: 520). The shukō involving the beating with the sandal, on the other hand, may have been Shichisaburō's invention, but as is indicated in the Ninokawari Geihin Sadame, its first use was not in Keisei Asama ga Dake but in the 1696 Edo play Fuwa Nagoya Hatsu Kammuri (KHS 10: 182). The same shukō as well as that of the severed finger also appear in Danjūrō I's 1697 play on the Nagoya story, Sankai Nagoya (GKKS 1: 47).

When Keisei Asama ga Dake's most effective shukō are examined in this way, it becomes apparent that the play's success can in large measure be attributed to its creators' skillful use of the technique of borrowing discussed in the last chapter. Indeed, given the failure of their kaomise programme, it is easy to understand how rather than risking anything new and untried, the producers would have been predisposed to stick with a standard oiemono plot including keisei and kaichō scenes and flesh this out with a number of proven shukō. Moreover, since some of these shukō came from Edo kabuki, they would probably have struck the Kyoto audiences as novel. This, at least, would appear to be the case with the solitaire go scene, as the passage quoted from the Yakusha Rongo suggests.

As a play which involves scenes of both samurai life and the licensed quarters, however, Keisei Asama ga Dake, like Chikamatsu's Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō, also presents a model of how these two worlds relate to one another. As in the earlier play, here too members of the bushi class come up against the harsh reality of the money economy. Nowhere is this more explicit than in the scene which portrays Tomoe pursued by his creditors and threatened with punishment. At this moment even his insistence that he is a samurai is of no avail, and he must suffer the humiliation of being roughed up by commoners from the brothel district. Yet while these particular representatives of the licensed quarters appear to know only the value of money, as in the earlier play the quarters are shown not to be without their redeeming features. Again it is in the figure of the keisei that a certain intersection of licensed quarter and bushi values is to be found. The keisei Ōshū, for example, through her extreme devotion, is shown to have as rightful a claim to Tomoe as his betrothed, the samurai daughter Otowa. More important in this regard, however, are the actions of Miura. Like Ikoku in the earlier play, she also refuses to bend to the economic logic of serving the man who wishes to buy out her contract. Her actions go beyond faithfulness to her chosen lover, however, for her offer to return to work in the quarters in order to pay off Tomoe's debts -- despite the death of her daughter which was itself the indirect result of the couple's efforts for the same purpose -- shows that she takes her samurai husband's duty to his master as her own duty. If Ikoku's faithfulness to Kamon can be said to point towards a certain resemblance between the loyalty of the keisei and that of the samurai, in this play the two are shown to be virtually identical.

This identification of keisei with samurai loyalty, it must be pointed out, does not betoken the complete dissolution of the opposition between the world of the samurai and that of the licensed quarters, nor does it imply a completely symmetrical confluence. For not only is there no adequate resolution to the economic question, but what movement there is towards a unification of the two worlds is confined mainly to the



keisei's rise to the nobility of samurai-like self-sacrifice. It is true that the two main characters, Tomoe and Wadaemon, spend much of their time in exile from the samurai world, but this is ultimately only a temporary exile and does not mean an abandonment of samurai ideals. Indeed, it is the bushi ideology of honour and of service to one's master that are most clearly valorized in the play, even in the licensed quarter itself. For despite his disappointment in Tomoe, and despite his own daughter's death and his wife's sacrifice, Wadaemon remains determined to aid and make a true samurai out of Tomoe, whom as the husband of his late lord's heiress he now considers his master. In the end, moreover, Tomoe does indeed show himself to be a true samurai. His apparent betrayal of Wadaemon and Miura, for example, is revealed to have been only a scheme to help Miura free herself of the wealthy chōnin who wants to ransom her. In addition, not only does he prove that he is willing to accept responsibility for Osan's death by his intention to renounce the world and become a priest, when his honour is called into question he is ready to commit suicide. Finally he shows his true mettle by helping his retainer avenge the murder of Osan. This marks the beginning of Tomoe's return to his rightful place in society and of the restoration of order. It then remains only to deal with the usurper Tonegorō, which is swiftly accomplished in the play's final act. At the same time, however, Tomoe's rebirth as a samurai also signals the beginning of the end to his money problems. After having earlier been manhandled by the brothel owners and threatened with punishment, Tomoe is inexplicably now able to leave the licensed quarters and take Miura with him with only the promise that his debts will be paid off once he has reestablished himself in the world. The harsh reality of the money economy, in other words, only held Tomoe in its clutches as long as he eschewed his samurai status and allowed himself to be subject to the economic laws of the licensed quarter. Once he is ready to re-enter the samurai world this reality is reduced to an inconvenient detail that can be taken care of later. In the final analysis, therefore, the play presents a somewhat asymmetrical contrast between the licensed quarters and the samurai world, the latter being

represented not only as the desired point of return for the characters but as an axiologically central presence within the former as well.

Following the success of Keisei Asama ga Dake, Shichisaburō and Hanzaemon put on Kantō Koroku Imayō Sugata, a play based on one with a similar title that Shichisaburō had starred in as his last play before leaving Edo the year before (Ihara, Kabuki Nempyō 1: 205). The next year, now operating out of the Hotei-za, the duo mounted a production of Nagoya Sanza, again a version of a play in which Shichisaburō had recently appeared in Edo. As the Yakusha Kuchi Samisen indicates, this Kyoto adaption of Nagoya Sanza played to enthusiastic audiences (KHS 2: 185-86). It faced strong competition, however. For having been humbled by the triumph of the Hayakumo-za the year before, the troupe at the Mandayū-za came back in early 1699 with a hit of their own. This was the play Keisei Hotoke no Hara.<sup>20</sup> Like Keisei Asama ga Dake and Chikamatsu's earlier Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō, this is again an oiemono with keisei scenes and a kaichō reference. In addition, like Asama ga Dake but in contrast to Butsumo Mavasan, this play devotes less attention to the feudal house struggle and more to the non-samurai world by portraying the disinherited samurai hero in exile as early as scene three of the first act. The play also dispenses all together with the usual introduction to the kaichō in act one, and the kaichō act that concludes the play is itself reduced to a celebratory dance scene, the loose ends of the plot having already been tied up at the end of act two.

In many ways Keisei Hotoke no Hara can be seen as the result of an effort to capitalize on the success of Keisei Asama ga Dake. Many features of the earlier play by the rival troupe, for example, can be found in this play as well. A close look at Hotoke no Hara, however, reveals that most of these borrowings have also been transformed, thus providing an element of novelty in a play that otherwise has little to distinguish it from its predecessors. Whereas, for example, Asama ga Dake deals with the fate of two samurai, one (Wadaemon) who has been driven into exile by the villains, and the other (Tomoe) who is disinherited by his family for his profligacy in the licensed quarters,

in Hotoke no Hara these characters are united in the single samurai hero, Bunzō, who is both exiled and disinherited. Furthermore, while Tomoe in Asama ga Dake is involved with two women, one his betrothed (Otowa) and the other a keisei (Ōshū), Bunzō has not only a fiancée (Takehime) and a former keisei lover also named Ōshū (played, incidentally, by the same actor who had the role in Asama ga Dake the year before), but a new keisei partner as well (Imagawa). To be sure, much of this redistribution of roles was necessitated by the different compositions of the two troupes. At the Hayakumo-za, for instance, there were two leading tachiyaku actors, the zamoto, Hanzaemon, and the guest from Edo, Shichisaburō, whereas the Mandayū-za in 1699 had only one tachiyaku who occupied the top ranks of the hyōbanki ratings, the zamoto Tōjūrō.

There are many more innovations in Keisei Hotoke no Hara than those determined by troupe composition, however. The fiery spirit shukō which was such a sensation in Asama ga Dake, for example, appears also in Hotoke no Hara, but here it is not a keisei whose jealousy erupts in flames, but the samurai daughter Takehime. Moreover, the spirit does not spew out its wrath on Bunzō directly but through the medium of Ōshū, who becomes possessed. Similarly, as in both Asama ga Dake and Chikamatsu's earlier Butsumo Mayasan, the scene set in the licensed quarters involves a series of lovers' spats due to misunderstandings. This is transformed into a humorous scene, however, by having Bunzō try to conceal himself disguised as a kotatsu and then having to make up a story for the two different keisei who discover him. Later the scene becomes more serious, and at this point, as in Asama ga Dake, a finger is cut off as a sign of sincerity. In this case, though, it is not simply part of a scheme to trick a customer but a genuine demonstration of a keisei's fidelity to her lover. Finally, in Hotoke no Hara there also occurs an apparent or near death of a child, but this time the incident is accidental and ironically involves one of the villains and his own grandson.

Perhaps the most effective innovation of Hotoke no Hara can be found in the scene that first finds the samurai hero down on his luck and in disguise (yatsushi). Whereas at this point in Asama ga Dake comic relief

is provided by Wadaemon and Tomoe's acting as palanquin bearers, here the scene revolves around the character Bunzō, who wanders into the garden of a daimyō's residence and cleverly manages to get a free snack and drink of sake and then only narrowly escapes receiving a crack on the head with a hammer when he is mistaken in the dark for a frozen water barrel. This is one element of the scene that is singled out for praise in the Yakusha Kuchi Samisen's account of Tōjūrō's role in the play (KHS 2: 183). The same hyōbanki is even more glowing in its praise for Bunzō's long monologue on his experiences with the keisei Ōshū and Imagawa. Exactly how long this monologue was in performance is difficult to say. In the shorter namihon version of the kyōgenbon it amounts to only half a page of modern print (CZ 15: 278), but in the longer jōhon version, the first volume of which has survived, it goes on for almost four pages (CZ 15: 310-13). A lesser actor, the critique states, would not have been able to carry on such a long speech and still hold the audience's attention, but with Tōjūrō the audience eagerly took in every word (KHS 2: 183).

It is interesting to compare this scene with the equivalent in Asama ga Dake. In that play Shichisaburō also carried on a monologue about his relationship with the keisei Ōshū. This occurred, however, while he was involved in his game of solitaire go, suggesting that the scene required something in addition to the monologue to make it a success. In Hotoke no Hara, on the other hand, the scene is carried off precisely as a monologue. The one-man go shukō of Asama ga Dake, in other words, is here transformed into a one-man show resting entirely on Tōjūrō's ability to hold the audience's attention during a long speech.<sup>21</sup>

In the last chapter it was argued that the pressures of market-oriented commercial production pushed kabuki producers towards the practices of borrowing and reuse. The example of Keisei Hotoke no Hara, however, shows that the effect of sameness, which was often the result of such practices, could be effectively overcome by an imaginative reworking of the borrowed or recycled elements. Tōjūrō's role in the play, moreover, indicates how the nature of such transformations could be determined by the actor or actors they were intended for.

Reworkings of familiar shukō are not the only examples of transformation to be found in Keisei Hotoke no Hara, however. The play also employs interesting variations on the tension between the samurai and chōnin worlds and their respective economies. Unlike the other plays, for example, Hotoke no Hara shows the hero in financial difficulty even before his banishment from the samurai world. According to the Yakusha Kuchi Samisen, another scene in which Tōjūrō's performance was impressive was the one in which he makes his first appearance in act one. As he entered, the critique declares, he was the very image of a samurai (KHS 2: 183-84). As this scene unfolds, however, it is revealed that Bunzō has had to borrow money from his brother, Tatewaki, in order to pay his debts in the licensed quarter. Moreover, when as part of his plot the brother claims that he himself raised the money by borrowing a large amount of rice from Gemba, who now demands repayment, Bunzō finds himself in an awkward situation. Proud samurai though he be, Bunzō is here shown to be living beyond his means. He therefore asks that Gemba (who is actually Tatewaki's fellow conspirator, Suke-dayū) wait until the peasants have delivered their annual tax-rice. This again can be taken as an allusion to the financial crisis of the bushi class, whose income did indeed stem from the collection of tax-rice and thus was bound to the seasonal nature of agricultural production itself. It is this feature of feudal production that is now exploited by the villains. For the fake Gemba claims he cannot wait until the peasants have brought in the harvest, and Bunzō's inability to pay is thus used as a pretext for having him disinherited and exiled.

This suggestion of samurai impoverishment is only enhanced by the next scene, in which Bunzō appears wandering in exile wearing nothing but a cheap paper kimono and a wicker hat to hide his face. After his encounter with Ōshū and his narrow escape from the villains, he next appears in the licensed quarters as a beggar-monk. Here, he is reunited with his current keisei, Imagawa. As in Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō, the problem now becomes one of how a dispossessed samurai can afford to buy out a prostitute's contract. In this case the keisei comes up with the

novel solution of simply stealing the contract from its holder. Reading the contract, however, Bunzō discovers that his lover is the daughter of his brother's co-conspirator, Sukedayū. This provides the rationale for Imagawa's severing of her finger, which is done as proof that her loyalty is to Bunzō and not her father. It also lays the groundwork for the final scene of act two. For in that scene, after accidentally wounding his own grandson, Sukedayū repents his evil deeds and demonstrates the sincerity of his regret by killing the man who egged him on, Tatewaki, while Bunzō shows his compassion by forgiving Sukedayū, his own father's murderer. The scene then concludes with all present swearing allegiance to the Umenaga house under Bunzō's now uncontested leadership, which effectively ends the play, since, as mentioned earlier, the final act consists entirely of a celebration at the site of the kaichō.

Despite Bunzō's long monologue on keisei-buying, therefore, and despite the scene set in the licensed quarters itself, the play thus concludes with an affirmation of bushi values and the feudal order. This is again not unlike Asama ga Dake, which also effectively ends with the highest-ranking samurai character's regaining of his proper social status. Similarly, while the samurai in both plays are beset by money problems, such problems are inevitably dissolved when the villains have been defeated and the social order reestablished. This restoration of order, moreover, is accomplished by the bushi class itself. That is to say, it is the daimyō and their faithful retainers who vanquish the villains and bring about the return of prosperity which is alluded to in the last lines of both kyōgenbon. Hotoke no Hara, however, produces a slightly different image of the samurai world. For while the unswerving allegiance of Bunzō's retainer Hachirōzaemon serves as a model of samurai loyalty and Sukedayū's villainy and repentance as a moral lesson on the unrighteousness and futility of trying to go against the feudal order, Bunzō himself demonstrates that compassion and forgiveness are also qualities of a true samurai. This only serves to reinforce the positive portrayal of the samurai world, however. For if Bunzō's involvement with the licensed quarters and with the keisei Ōshū and Imagawa make him human,

it is his return to his rightful status and the samurai virtues that he demonstrates that make him a noble character. Here too, then, the play as narrative can be said to structure the relationship between the two worlds asymmetrically, with the world of the licensed quarters represented as ultimately subordinate to that of the samurai. This is also generally true of the last Kamigata oiemono to be examined, Chikamatsu's Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu. This play, however, not only focuses more on the suffering of the bushi class in a world dominated by money, it also paradoxically goes further than the others in depicting a certain intersection between the bushi and chōnin worlds.

Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu opened on the twenty-eighth day of the first month, 1702. In the 1701 theatre season Tōjūrō had left the Mandayū-za and gone to work at the Hayakumo-za. Neither of the two theatres produced very memorable plays that season, and the next year Tōjūrō was back at the Mandayū-za, now under the leadership of a new zamoto, Kokin Shinzaemon. This would be one of Tōjūrō and Chikamatsu's most successful seasons, but it was also the last in which they worked together. The next year, 1703, Chikamatsu himself moved to the Hayakumo-za and also wrote Sonezaki Shinjū for the jōruri chanter Takemoto Gidayū in Osaka. The season after that Chikamatsu may not have written anything at all for the kabuki theatre; in any case, nothing has survived from that year. He did write at least two plays for the 1705 season, however, but in that year Tōjūrō, whose health was already failing, was at the Hotei-za.

Even a cursory glance at Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu will reveal the reason for its popular success. The play includes a host of novel shukō, or at least novel variations on already familiar shukō. This is evident as early as the first act, which includes not only a concrete reference to the kaichō through the incorporation of the Jizō statue in the plot, but also a "play-within-a-play" performance -- albeit an interrupted one -- of the play Oketori, one of the pieces in the repertoire of Mibu Kyōgen, the pantomime theatre that was performed as part of the Mibu Temple's annual dainembutsu festival.<sup>22</sup> That this play, unlike Hotoke no Hara, makes so much of the temple and the sacred image that was the

object of the kaichō can perhaps be explained by the fact that Mibudera was a local temple, and thus many of the people of Kyoto, the potential audience of the play, would have been familiar with the legends surrounding the Jizō as well as the dainembutsu ceremony and its Mibu Kyōgen. Whatever the reason, both of these associations with the site of the kaichō are very skillfully incorporated into the play. Hikoroku's displeasure at being chosen to play the part of the woman in the pantomime, for example, and his successful deception of the villain Ōkura provide a humorous introduction to the oiesōdō plot. Likewise, the return to the Jizō motif in the last act not only makes for a fitting conclusion to this, a kaichō play, but also serves as a means of resolving the apparent tragedy of the death of Koden.

This last act, incidentally, differs from those in the other plays examined in being divided into two scenes. Whereas the second is set at the site of the kaichō and celebrates both the restoration of order and the mercy of the Jizō, it is in the first scene that the villains are disposed of. What no doubt prevented the two scenes from being combined is that the first is actually a variation on the nō play Sumidagawa, and accordingly takes place on a river. Sumidagawa, which involves the story of a grieving woman who while crossing the river reveals that she is the mother of the child whose grave is to be found on the other side, was a favourite subject of the jōruri theatre and just the year before had been taken up in the Edo kabuki play, Shusse Sumidagawa. The reason for its incorporation into Mibu Dainembutsu, however, was not the popularity of the story alone. A more likely reason is that the Mandayū-za's zamoto, Kōkin Shinzaemon, had made a career out of playing the singing boatman.<sup>23</sup> Accordingly, it was he who took the role of the ferryman, Tokueemon, and not surprisingly the scene includes an opportunity for him to display his singing talent, his account of the death of Koden being delivered in song. This particular scene, in other words, was determined not so much by its importance to the plot -- indeed, its overall effect is to break whatever structural unity the play does possess -- but by the need to give this particular important actor a chance to shine.



Another example of how scenes are determined by actors' specialties can be found in the first act of the play. In the night scene following the "play-within-a-play," the character Omiyo appears to steal the Jizō and take it to her former lover, Tamiya. Using the ropes strung up for the kyōgen performance, she pulls herself into the storehouse and returns the same way. The Yakusha Nichō Samisen comments on the actor Arashi Kiyosaburō's agility in performing this stunt (KHS 3: 204). The same hyōbanki is also full of praise for Kiyosaburō's acrobatic performance as the jealous spirit later in act one, scene three. Certainly by the time of this play the jealous spirit shukō was becoming worn, and if it were to succeed it would have to be given some novel twist. In this case the character Omiyo is killed by the false Tamiya and thrown down a well. Believing it was the real Tamiya who had her killed, Omiyo's rage causes the well water to boil. When her ghost emerges from the well it is attacked again by the false Tamiya and this time eludes him by doing a handstand on his shoulders before disappearing.

The same scene in which this display of acrobatic acting occurs also marks Tōjūrō's first appearance in the play. Once again Tōjūrō, who played the part of the real Tamiya, was in his familiar role as the daimyō in exile; and once again, according to the two surviving hyōbanki of 1703, his performance was exceptional (KHS 3: 184-85, 302-04). What was said above about the jealous spirit shukō, however, also applies to Tōjūrō's yatsushi roles; that is to say, without some new variation his performances in these roles would soon lose their appeal. This is particularly true in the present case, since this scene employs the same long monologue device used in Keisei Hotoke no Hara. This time, though, the samurai hero is disguised as a humble buyer of sake dregs, and his monologue is not only more playful than in Hotoke no Hara, it is presented as a drunken reverie. For the author of the Yakusha Itchō Tsuzūmi, it was precisely in Tōjūrō's ability in this scene to play the drunk effectively that his great skill as an actor was revealed:

The long speech on keisei-buying by the buyer of sake dregs may appear to be similar to the monologue in Hotoke no Hara, but the difference between them is like the difference between heaven and earth or black and white. In Hotoke no Hara it was spoken by a sober man and concerned real events; whereas the buyer of sake dregs speaks drunkenly of unreal events as if in a dream. For this reason the present speech is much more difficult than the one in Hotoke no Hara....If [such a scene] appeared even in the slightest to be part of a play, the audience would not accept the acting; but [this scene] did not look as if it were part of a play at all, but like a real case of drunkenness. (KHS 3: 303-04)

If such praise supports the accepted view that Tōjūrō was a great actor, it also serves to point out the necessity of coming up with new ways to play what was becoming a set of stock scenes. The scene set in the brothel in act two provides another example of this. In Hotoke no Hara, it will be recalled, the brothel scene was given a humorous variation by Bunzō's hiding and pretending to confess his secret admiration for the two keisei who find him. In Mibu Dainembutsu Tamiya first disguises himself by putting on a kimono and hat he finds. Later, however, the man to whom the clothes belong sends his servant to fetch them, and the servant, not knowing who Tamiya is, roughly strips him of the clothes. In the meantime, since the man who is to buy out Michishiba's contract is in the same brothel, Tamiya can only communicate with his beloved keisei by pretending he is addressing the slow-witted Fujie, who naively believes Tamiya is in love with her and wants to take her away. This variation on the brothel scene results in a series of comic misunderstandings which ends with the two women fighting over Tamiya.

As in Hotoke no Hara, however, the brothel scene also contains more serious moments. Before analyzing that part of the scene, it is first necessary to go back and look at act two, scene one. For it is this scene which lays the groundwork not only for the confrontation between

the samurai and the chōnin which later takes place in the brothel, but also for the reconciliation between these two classes. In this earlier scene, which also begins humorously, Tamiya's faithful retainer Hikoroku, desperate to come up with the money his lord needs to ransom Michishiba, ends up stealing it from a young kaburo and then, reluctantly, killing her to conceal the theft. He soon learns, however, that the girl was his own daughter, Koden, whom he and his wife had put up for adoption. This is a potentially very moving scene, and according to the critiques was well acted by Nakamura Shirogorō, who played the role of Hikoroku (KHS 3: 188; KKS 49).

The killing of Koden can be seen as yet another variation on the narrowly averted or temporary death of a child. Here, too, the death is only temporary, for in the last scene of the play it is revealed that the Mibu Jizō has substituted itself for the child and saved her. In none of the other plays, however, does the initial wounding or murder of the child occur under such tragic circumstances. For whereas in the others the act is the work of villains, in Mibu Dainembutsu it is the hero's loyal retainer who, driven to desperation by the need for money, unwittingly murders his own daughter.<sup>24</sup>

This apparent tragedy, then, provides the conditions for the resolution of the tension created in the play by Tamiya's money problems. When Hikoroku's servant brings the money Tamiya is overjoyed. Having recovered his clothes and sword from the pawnshop, he is also able to make himself look more like the daimyō that he is. His return to his proper social status, however, is immediately put into jeopardy. Suspecting that the money being used to ransom Michishiba was stolen, the merchants Shichizaemon and Koshirō and their servants surround Tamiya and interrogate him. Both Tamiya and Hikoroku, when he arrives, insist on their prerogatives as samurai to ignore such questioning by common chōnin. But the fact is that the money was indeed stolen and a girl murdered to cover up the theft. When Hikoroku finally admits this, Tamiya, like Bunzō in Hotoke no Hara, shows compassion in only beating Hikoroku with the back of his sword. He then breaks down and cries. His tears stem

not from his pity for Hikoroku alone, however, but from his awareness that the theft and murder have occurred because of Hikoroku's loyalty and devotion to him, Tamiya. This unexpected result of feudal loyalty is given an even more tragic dimension when it further comes out that the girl Hikoroku killed was his own daughter. At this point Michishiba, both because of Tamiya's disgrace and because it was ultimately to free her that the tragedy occurred, attempts to kill herself but is stopped. Once she is persuaded that such an act would only render meaningless Hikoroku's positive intentions, Shichizaemon, the merchant to whom the stolen money belonged, steps forward and says he will let Tamiya keep the money. Still standing on their dignity as samurai, however, Tamiya and Hikoroku will not accept money from a common townsman. Fortunately, the brothel owner steps in and takes the money directly from Shichizaemon, thus, in form at least, avoiding the appearance that Tamiya received money from a chōnin in order to buy out Michishiba's contract.

If Tamiya manages to preserve his dignity as a samurai, it is thus not without the help of the merchant Shichizaemon. Like the similar scene in Chikamatsu's Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō, this would seem to imply that the bushi class is indeed dependent on the chōnin. But whereas in the earlier play the merchant was acting at the request of the daimyō's family, in Mibu Dainembutsu Shichizaemon's assistance comes of his own free will, suggesting that the merchant class too is capable of compassion. This is not only an act of pity, however, for what moves Shichizaemon to offer Tamiya the money is above all his hearing the story of how Hikoroku's loyalty to his master led to his killing his own child. This outstanding example of samurai virtue, in other words, is represented as proof that there are greater or more noble things in the world than money. In this way the economic issue at stake is displaced into ethics. Accordingly, Shichizaemon's response too becomes an ethical one and is expressed in the form of self-sacrifice. For just as Hikoroku sacrificed his child and Michishiba indicates that she is willing to pay for this tragedy with her life, Shichizaemon the merchant now demonstrates his own capacity for self-denial by giving freely of his wealth.

Form, Ideology, and Utopia in the Oiemono

Among other things, in this discussion of representative oiemono of Kamigata Genroku kabuki I have attempted to demonstrate how the various plays make use of a number of key scene elements or shukō. In many cases it was also possible to show how such shukō as well as other aspects of the plays were determined by the composition of the troupe in question or by the acting specialties of its members. As was argued in the previous chapter, however, this focus on individual sub-scenic units can also be related to a production strategy aimed at ensuring popular success and which pushed kabuki production in the direction of copying and reuse. This aspect of the employment of shukō was most noticeable in the plays Keisei Asama ga Dake and Keisei Hotoke no Hara, both of which were shown to have been products of their respective troupes' efforts to win back their audience after being overshadowed by the success of a rival troupe. If in these cases as well as that of Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu it can be said that this borrowing and reuse of shukō was not unaccompanied by a good deal of imaginative reworking, it is also necessary to keep in mind that in this respect these plays are exceptional, that it is precisely the degree of innovation that sets them apart from countless other kabuki plays and has earned them the status as masterpieces of Genroku kabuki.

If in this sense the plays are exceptional, in other respects they are all thoroughly typical. They are, after all, oiemono, and as the survey of the Kamigata plays served to point out, the marked prevalence of this particular form demands that these plays also be analyzed in terms of this dominant structure itself. It is for this reason that I have focused not only on the individual shukō and their variations but also on the overall narrative structure of the plays and how this is related both to the historical context and to the way in which the plays construe social relations. At the heart of the historical problem, it will be recalled, were the limits on the income the bushi class was able to extract from the peasants coupled with an institutional inability to tax or share in the growth of the chōnin commercial economy. While it must be concluded that the plays make virtually no direct reference to

the actual circumstances of the historical oiesōdō which this financial crisis fueled, in other ways they were shown to be actively engaged with contemporary economic issues and the question of class relations. As the comparison with the Osaka Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō made clear, what distinguishes the other plays examined is the significance given to the licensed quarters as an alternative site of socio-economic relations. It is into this world that comes the daimyō of the plays; and since this is a world ruled by money, which the daimyō invariably lacks, he thus adds to the problem of attempted usurpation which he already faces a financial problem. In this sense it can be said that while the oitemono treat the political aspect of the oiesōdō as a simple opposition of the legitimate versus the illegitimate ruler or of good versus evil, the economic issues which often lay behind such disputes are displaced to the world of the licensed quarters, where they centre around the samurai hero's difficulties in gaining the release of his favourite prostitute.

The fact that wealth in the oitemono is measured by the ability to redeem a prostitute's contract has led some critics to conclude that, although the main characters are invariably young daimyō, the real significance of these plays lies in the way they reflect the contemporary problem of the wayward and often profligate sons of commercial houses (Torigoe, Kyojitsu no Nagusami 220). To be sure, many a merchant son was caught up in the pleasures and expenses of the licensed quarters, and this accounts for the attention given to this topic in the popular prose literature of the period.<sup>25</sup> It is also difficult not to see the incorporation of the licensed quarter scenes in the oitemono as a reflection of the interest in this particular aspect of modern urban life among the chōnin, who after all made up the majority of the kabuki audience. Yet to say that the oitemono are simply vehicles for the expression of the immediate interests of the chōnin class is to make a too simplistic identification between chōnin audience and cultural product, one which fails to take into account the concerns of both the audience and the producers with questions of status and cultural prestige. That the vast majority of Genroku plays deal with the lives of the ruling class was not

only a matter of convention but also the result of the fact that cultural capital in the Genroku era was still associated with the ruling class. In the previous chapter it was shown how kabuki producers frequently resorted to appropriating elite traditions in order to render their art more respectable. In a similar way, just as once they had acquired the means and leisure to engage in cultural pursuits wealthy merchants often took up those arts which had formerly been the preserve of the Kyoto nobles and the Muromachi military aristocracy, when the chōnin went to the theatres they would not have been disappointed to be shown the trials and triumphs of the bushi class. Rather than being viewed simply as a reflection of chōnin life, therefore, the oiemono can be considered imaginative constructions of ruling class life in which chōnin interests, although in a certain sense formative, are prevented from being given a more direct expression by the continued cultural and ideological dominance of the samurai class and its values over both producers and their chōnin audience.

This cultural and ideological dominance, moreover, is evident not only in the fact that the majority of Genroku kabuki plays continued to be about the ruling class, it is also detectable in the ways non-samurai characters are represented when they appear. On the one hand, for example, there are the brothel owners and employers of Chikamatsu's Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō and of Keisei Asama ga Dake, who are portrayed as acting within their rights but still somewhat mean-spirited in pushing their economic advantage over the samurai. On the other hand, there are more positively portrayed characters such as the keisei, who figure in all but the first play examined, or the wealthy merchants, who also appear in the Kyoto version of Butsumo Mayasan and in Asama ga Dake, as well as in Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu. The keisei, it was shown, were usually represented as models of feminine virtue, absolutely faithful to their samurai lovers and willing to mutilate their bodies or even kill themselves in order to prove it or to preserve their lovers' honour. As for the other non-samurai characters, the rich merchants who appear in the brothel scene in Asama ga Dake and who through their willingness to

spend freely produce a dilemma for Miura may also appear to be exploiting their economic advantage over the samurai. This same willingness for free-spending, however, can take other forms, as it does in both Chikamatsu's Butsumo Mayasan and Mibu Dainembutsu, where the merchants Tarōzaemon and Shichizaemon respectively give freely of their wealth in order to help out the hard-pressed samurai of these plays. All three cases, moreover, point to a certain disregard of the value of money, a disregard which both distinguishes these merchants from the parsimonious brothel owners mentioned above and makes them more akin to the virtuous keisei, who in their faithfulness to their impoverished lovers are similarly represented as denying the economic logic of their trade. While this can be taken as an indication of the positive portrayal of non-samurai characters in the plays, what must not be overlooked is the way in which the forms of expenditure or denial upon which such positive portrayals are based are themselves modeled on the samurai virtues of sacrifice and self-denial. As was argued in the case of Mibu Dainembutsu, for instance, both Michishiba's threat of suicide and Shichizaemon's giving freely of the money that clearly belongs to him can be seen not only as responses to but as the keisei and merchant equivalents of Hikoroku's inadvertent and tragic but nonetheless virtuous sacrifice of his daughter for the sake of his master. If, therefore, it can be said that the Kamigata oiemono tend to turn the figure of the daimyō into a profligate merchant son, it must also be recognized how both the keisei and the merchants, whenever they are positively portrayed, are endowed with virtues that transform them into samurai-like characters.

This convergence of samurai and non-samurai virtues, however, should not be taken to imply the transcendence or dissolution of social hierarchies in the plays. For not only are the keisei and merchant virtues ultimately modeled on the samurai ideals of sacrifice and self-denial, structurally the plays represent the relationship between the chōnin and samurai worlds in an asymmetrical fashion. In the first act, for example, one scene of which typically takes place at the family residence, the daimyō or heir to the household, even if absent, is still



recognized as the lord. This state of affairs is soon disrupted by the villains' plot to take over the house. As a result, the lord is driven into exile or prevented from returning home. The second act, then, in all but the first play examined, takes place in and around the licensed quarters, where the hero suffers from a temporary loss of status and indeed is often disguised and treated as a commoner. Finally, in the third act the villains are defeated, the hero regains his authority, and order is restored. On the surface this would appear to follow the same pattern as the kishuryūritan narratives identified by Orikuchi. The major difference, of course, is the setting of the exile segment of the narrative in the oiemono. For the licensed quarters represent not only the site of an alternative set of socio-economic relations, but also the point in which the story of the struggle for feudal lordship intersects with another and more modern discourse, that of chōnin money and pleasures. What is significant, however, is that this scene, which temporarily places the samurai hero in a chōnin context and points to a certain utopian intersection between the chōnin and samurai worlds, is literally framed by scenes which focus on the struggle for and celebration of feudal authority. The scenes portraying licensed quarter pleasures and chōnin wealth, in other words, are subject to containment on the structural level in the same manner that the themes of keisei faithfulness and merchant spending, through assimilation to the samurai virtues of sacrifice and self-denial, are contained within the dominant ideological position of the plays. In this sense, then, and to borrow Goldmann's notion, it is possible to speak of a homologous relationship between form and ideology in the Genroku Kamigata oiemono.

That the representations of contemporary life and social relations found in the oiemono can be considered ideologically conservative in that they leave the social order intact, is only proof that in the Genroku era the ideology of the ruling class was indeed the ruling ideology, even when it came to so-called popular entertainments. As the previous chapters of this study have shown, however, there was much in the specific modes and relations of kabuki production and reception that

militated against its being a direct expression of the political interests of the chōnin as a class. Among other factors, it was noted that not all of kabuki's producers and consumers were in fact from the chōnin or non-samurai class. Chikamatsu is the most obvious example of this in the present case. To be sure, his kabuki plays are among the most up-to-date in their focus on contemporary brothel scenes and money problems. Having been born a samurai and educated among the Kyoto nobility, however, it is hardly surprising that these plays, rather than championing the case of the chōnin class in opposition to the bushi, instead ascribe a supportive but nonetheless subordinate role to the chōnin in what amounts to an idealistic representation of social relations and the values of the samurai class.

Pointing to Chikamatsu's samurai background, however, does not itself provide a sufficient explanation of why plays produced for a primarily chōnin audience should affirm the ruling position of the bushi class. Keisei Asama ga Dake, for example, a play not by Chikamatsu, is also conspicuous in its lauding of samurai virtues and for its celebration of the triumph of its samurai heroes, not only over their fellow samurai enemies, but also over the money problems they endure while temporarily exiled to the chōnin world. To fully account for the ideology of the ojemono, therefore, it is necessary to go beyond individual cases and consider the conditions and relations of production on a more general level. That the ojemono are marked by an ultimately conservative ideology, I would suggest, is the result of both kabuki producers' concern with their own social status and of the way in which these same producers and their production organizations were contained within existing socio-political structures. In other words, while on the one hand producers sought to increase their cultural capital and their status by both inventing traditions and appropriating those associated with either the contemporary or previous ruling classes, they were at the same time subject to a number of personal, professional, and spatial restrictions and prohibitions designed to maintain and reinforce class distinctions and the dominance of the bushi class. Kabuki producers, in

short, were contained within and through the very system they tended to emulate, and were thus ideologically incapable of imagining a social structure significantly different from the one that already existed.

If this interpretation of the oiemono appears to be weighted too heavily on the side of ideological dominance and containment, I would argue that the evidence both in regards to the form of the oiemono itself and from the point of view of the mode and relations of kabuki production effectively precludes the attempt to read into the plays anything resembling a strong challenge to the socio-political status quo. I am willing to admit, however, that my emphasis on structures of containment has also been motivated by what I see as a need to develop an alternative reading to oppose those sorts of interpretations, discussed in chapter one, which, in an effort to absolve kabuki of any complicity in the feudal system, too easily and uncritically assume a correlation between kabuki and the interests of the chōnin class. Yet to argue on the other hand for total containment would be tantamount to saying that the chōnin class, which clearly made up the largest part of the kabuki audience, was totally ignorant of or unconcerned with its own self-interest, and this in the final analysis is an equally untenable a position. As was also pointed out in the first chapter, the Goldmannian notion of a "possible consciousness" and its homologous relationship to form, while demonstrable in a general sense, is too abstract and idealist to fully account for the specifics of any cultural work. And although I believe that my own use of the concept of homology differs from Goldmann's in that form has been shown to be not simply the expression of the possible consciousness of a particular group or class but the result of a system of productive and social relations which overdetermines the privileging and reproduction of the dominant ideology, I am willing to grant that there are nonetheless aspects of the Kamigata oiemono that exist outside of the structure of containment. I would like to conclude this chapter, therefore, by suggesting how the plays, despite their demonstrable formal and ideological closure, can still be said to reveal a certain social desire or "utopian impulse," one that can be distinguished from the more

coherent and conservative ideology that gives the plays their narrative form. This is a desire that belongs to the realm of the "political unconscious," however, since it is never given expression in terms of what it really is, namely class conflict.

If my effort to counteract those interpretations concerned with denying the connection between kabuki and feudalism is one of the reasons for my neglect of the utopian aspect of Kamigata kabuki, perhaps another lies in the concentration on the texts of the plays as found in the kyōgenbon. As mentioned in the first chapter, it is because the kyōgenbon provide more complete versions of the plays than any possible reconstructed performance texts that this strategy was adopted. Nevertheless, a reading that privileges the form of the written text can only be partial, and it is possible to give the plays a slightly different and more positive reading when they are considered as performance. For in performance, although the plays would still have had the same overall structure, this structure would have often been overshadowed by the immediate presence of the actors on the stage and the spectacle they brought to life. And when that happened, the story of the daimyō's struggles to regain authority and deal with the money economy would have had to compete with other elements of the play: the humour, the stunts and staged miracles, and especially the presentation of the pleasures of the licensed quarters. In this sense, while it would arguably still be significant that the licensed quarters are identified with the chōnin class, it matters less that the samurai heroes are faced by money problems there than that they participate in and thus reveal the quarter's delights.

When viewed in this way, then, the kabuki oiemono can be said to be not primarily about the problems of the samurai class but about the joys of life, joys, moreover, which through the incorporation of the licensed quarter scenes are also associated with the chōnin. The plays could thus also be said to bespeak a certain social confidence or optimism on the part of that class, and it would be difficult not to locate the basis for this optimism in the chōnin's growing economic prosperity. There would

also be a justification, therefore, to speak of the plays as embodying a certain "feeling of liberation," as some critics are wont to do.<sup>26</sup> It would be going too far, however, to say that this feeling of liberation is specifically construed as political, since nowhere in the plays is it given a specific class identification nor is it suggested that this is liberation from a particular socio-political system or from the dominance of a particular class. The utopian impulse recognizable in this feeling of liberation, in other words, despite its potential to subvert or undermine the celebrations of feudal authority, remains at the level of an impulse, incapable of overcoming the ideological limits which are inscribed in the formal structure of the plays. It is in this sense, I would argue, that, despite the tendency to turn the stories of the samurai and their troubles into celebrations of chōnin optimism, as a form of cultural and ideological production Genroku Kamigata kabuki must still be seen as contained within an ideological hegemony of the samurai class.

It remains to be seen now whether the same sort of formal and ideological containment observable in the oiemono can be found in plays that do not take as their topic the samurai and their troubles but focus instead on the chōnin class itself.

Notes to Chapter Four

1. Among the repertoire of nō plays still performed, for example, one play, Ama, is related to the story of Kamatari, while there are five plays which deal with the life of Ono no Komachi: Kayoi Komachi, Ōmu Komachi, Sekidera Komachi, Sōshi-arai Komachi and Sotoba Komachi. The legend of Kamatari is also the subject of two kōwakamai plays, Taishokan and Iruka, and of several ko-jōruri plays. See Hara, "Taishokan Nōto".

2. Nineteen of the 20 plays in the second category of nō (shuramono or nibanmemono) deal with the Gempei wars or the related story of Yoshitsune. Nō plays about Yoshitsune in other categories include Ataka (later adapted for kabuki as Kanjinchō), Hashi Benkei and Funa Benkei. Of the fifty extant kōwakamai texts, 20 treat the legend of Yoshitsune, 13 various episodes of the Gempei wars, and seven the story of the Soga brothers. Many of these nō and kōwakamai texts were adapted for ko-jōruri, and in many cases there is little to distinguish kōwakamai and ko-jōruri versions of the same story. On the kōwakamai repertoire and its relation to ko-jōruri, see Araki, especially 13-18 and 120-149.

3. The jōruri play, Shinodazuma, was in the repertoire of chanter Yamamoto Kakudayū.

4. In his "The Bakuhan System," Hall sums up the problem in the following manner:

Although later [i.e. from the eighteenth century on] the chōnin became subject to a variety of excise taxes, license fees, and compulsory loans (both forced and secured), they were never as systematically and heavily taxed as were the agriculturalists. Samurai government placed merchants under various restraints, but it also relied on the mercantile community to bridge the gap between the urban-based samurai and the rural commoners who produced food and other goods. Urbanization and the spread of money economy created conditions that enabled merchants and manufacturers to become essential to the well-being of the warrior class. But the

Edo period samurai government had difficulty working out institutionally a satisfactory relationship between the two segments of the society. (177-78)

5. This account of the Sendai sōdō as well as the one that occurred in the Echigo Takada domain (discussed next) is based on Tsuji 176-80.

6. For a discussion of this practice see Shively, "Tokugawa Plays on Forbidden Topics."

7. On the category of oiesōdōmono in ko-jōruri, see Dunn 82-84. Following the classification scheme of the jōruri scholar Kuroki Kanzō, Dunn treats both the ko-jōruri plays discussed here as oiesōdōmono.

8. Both plays are in Yokoyama et al, Ko-jōruri Shōhonshū 1.

9. Summaries of these plays can be found in Ishii's excellent study of the sekkyō genre (289-92). The texts themselves are in Yokoyama, Sekkyō Shōhonshū vols. 1-2.

10. Orikuchi's most thorough exposition of this narrative pattern, is found in his essay "Shōsetsu Gikyoku Bungaku ni okeru Monogatari Yōso." For a brief overview in English of the kishuryūritan paradigm and its relevance to Heian period literature, see Shirane 3-4. Although the theme of exile and return can be found throughout world literature, both Orikuchi and Gunji treat it as a distinctly Japanese narrative.

11. The phrase "discourse on origins" is the title of the third chapter of Harootunian's Things Seen and Unseen, which seeks, among other things, to show how Edo period nativists such as Hirata sought to formulate a sense of time based on the eternal rhythms of agricultural production as opposed to historical time. It is in the epilogue to this same work that Harootunian relates nativist discourses on time and origins to the modern folklore movement represented by Yanagita and Orikuchi. On the "discourse of origins" see also Harootunian's "Ideology as Conflict" 30-38; and on the folklore movement, the same author's "Disciplinizing Native Knowledge."

12. On this point see also Gunji, Kabuki: Yōshiki to Denshō 75-94; Moriya, Kinsei Geinō 92-125.

13. Evidence of the popularity of this kind of play can be found in the Matsudaira Yamato no Kami Nikki, which records a performance of a kabuki troupe in 1658 that included no fewer than six different Shimabara-kyōgen (NSBS 12: 8-9). Something of the structure of such skits can be inferred from the Geikagami section of the Yakusha Kagami, which includes an account of such plays under the heading "Keiseigoto no kyōgen" (AA 46-47).

14. According to the Yakusha Rongo, there had been a total of 18 Yūgiri plays between 1778, the year of the first such play, and 1709, the year of Tōjūrō's death (AA 102).

15. The number 25 represents those plays for which Chikamatsu's authorship has been established beyond any doubt. These are all included in the most recent collection of Chikamatsu's work, Chikamatsu Zenshū (vols. 15-16). This collection also contains four other plays of uncertain authorship. Of these, Tsuchida considers three (Keisei Guzei no Fune, Matsukaze, and Kisokaidō Yūrei Katakiuchi) to be more than likely the work of Chikamatsu ("Chikamatsu Kabuki" 92-94). One additional play, Yūgiri Shichinenki, is included as a kiri (final short piece) in the kyōgenbon of Momoya Komachi (1697). Although it does not specifically bear Chikamatsu's name, since Chikamatsu is named as the author of Momoya Komachi and was the staff playwright of the Mandayū-za at the time, it is reasonable to assume that he had at least some hand in this play on the Yūgiri story. This would thus make for a total of 29 plays. Of these 29, 21 starred Sakata Tōjūrō, including 13 written for Tōjūrō during his tenure as zamoto of the Mandayū-za (1696-1700).

16. Another account of the perennial popularity of Keisei Asama ga Dake is given in Sanga no Tsu Ninokawari Geihin Sadame of 1731, in which year there was yet another production of the play in Kyoto (KHS 10: 158-85). A later (1805) version of this same account is appended to the text of the original 1698 kyōgenbon in GKKS 2: 454-64.

17. The ko-jōruri plays are Inoue Harima no Jō's Kazan-in Kisaki Arasoi (1673) and Kaga no Jō's Denjō no Uwanari-uchi (1677). Both of these plays are based on the Genji Monogatari and concern the struggle



between two characters for the favour of the emperor. In the latter, the angry spirit of Lady Fujitsubo turns into a giant serpent and appears in a dream to the emperor's chief consort, Kokiden. According to the Kokon Yakusha Taizen of 1750, Chikamatsu wrote a kabuki play employing the same shukō. For a discussion of Chikamatsu's relationship to the two jōruri chanters and the likelihood of his having written such a kabuki play, see Takano, Nihon Engekishi 3: 20-23; Mori 17-20, 27-29.

18. In this case the vengeful spirit is that of a murdered woman, the Arima prostitute Fuji. Since her murderers convince her that they are acting on the orders of Kazuma, her daimyō lover, however, when she reappears as a ghost, it is to haunt Kazuma for his supposed unfaithfulness, in much the same manner as Ōshū's jealous spirit torments Tomoe.

19. Examples of this device can be found in the play Amida no Munewari. English translations of two ko-jōruri versions of the play, dating from about 1630 and 1660 respectively, are included as an appendix to Dunn (111-34).

20. The title makes allusion to the nō play Hotoke no Hara, which in turn is based on an episode recounted in the Heike Monogatari. Both concern the story of how Taira Kiyomori abandoned his favourite shirabyōshi (a medieval female entertainer) when he became infatuated with another. There is a parallel here to the situation of Bunzō and his past and present keisei lovers, Ōshū and Imagawa.

21. This aspect of Tōjūrō's skill as an actor is also praised in the Nijinshū section of the Yakusha Rongo (AA 81-84).

22. Notes on the Jizō of Mibudera, the Mibu dainembutsu festival, and Mibu Kyōgen are included in the annotated edition of Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu (KKS 444). See also Watson's short article on Mibu Kyōgen, which includes a summary of the pantomime play in question, Oketori.

23. Evidence of this can be found in the Yakusha Tomoqui Hyōban (1697), which claims that Shinzaemon's salary of 200 ryō was due entirely to the success of his singing boatman act (KHS 2: 94).

24. This tragic dimension of the play has been singled out by Matsuzaki in his article on the development of tragedy in Genroku kabuki

(Genroku Engeki 97-112). Matsuzaki, too, makes a distinction between those plays in which tragedy occurs at the hands of villains and those in which even positive characters are pushed to tragic actions by the inextricable situations they find themselves in. He also notes, however, that what separates such tragedies in kabuki from those of iōruri plays of the same period are the decidedly modern circumstances the heroes are caught up in. One of the most important causes of such tragedies, he points out, are money problems, and in this respect the Genroku oiemono not only display a similarity with kabuki sewamono of the period, but can also be said to have paved the way for the development of the sewamono in iōruri (100-02, 110). The question of money problems in sewamono plays and how this is related to the oiemono will be taken up in the next chapter. For the moment, however, I would like to avoid the suggestion that the significance of the money theme in plays such as Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu lies exclusively in its importance for later developments, and instead would like to focus on what money problems mean in the context of the oiemono themselves and their imaginative construction of social reality.

25. Examples of this can be found in the work of Saikaku. In English, see The Life of an Amorous Man 52-55; Five Women who Loved Love 41-48.

26. Among the critics to use the term "feeling of liberation" (kaihōkan) are Hattori ("Kabuki: Kōzō no Keisei" 63) and Hirose ("Kabukigeki Seiritsu" 4, 10).

CHAPTER FIVE  
THE SEWAMONO: KAMIGATA DOMESTIC PLAYS

The Kabuki Sewamono

The scenes of oiemono plays set in the licensed quarters or other locations of chōnin life are frequently referred to by scholars as sewaba (domestic scenes). The term conveniently draws a parallel to but at the same time serves to distinguish such scenes from the sewamono itself, that is, the independent domestic play. As discussed in chapter one, Chikamatsu's jōruri sewamono have long been a major focus of theatre and literary research and critical writing, and are clearly the most well-known examples of the genre. Not only, however, were many sewamono also produced in the kabuki theatres, the kabuki sewamono predates its counterpart in jōruri by at least two decades. The kabuki domestic play, therefore, can be seen as an important precursor of Chikamatsu's more famous work, and indeed it is just this relationship that has been the focus of the limited number of studies of the genre in kabuki. Yet the significance of the kabuki sewamono, I would argue, is not limited to the way the plays anticipate the appearance of the sewamono in jōruri. Another possible approach to the plays is to consider how they relate to the kabuki oiemono. The kabuki domestic plays, after all, are not only contemporary with the oiemono, they also frequently deal with the same problems faced by the samurai characters of those plays. Before looking at Chikamatsu's more well-known examples of the sewamono, therefore, I would like to concentrate on the kabuki sewamono and how these deal with the questions of money and social relations when the principal characters are not members of the bushi class but ordinary chōnin.

It is an indication of the scant attention that has been paid to Genroku kabuki sewamono that the most important work on the subject remains Suwa's 1959 article "Sewa-kyōgen: Genroku-ki," later republished as part of the same author's Genroku Kabuki no Kenkyū (168-90). Based on surviving kyōgenbon as well as evidence from the hyōbanki and other historical sources, Suwa identifies a total of 27 kabuki sewamono datable

to the period 1683-1703 (173-75). These 27 plays he divides into four categories according to the nature of the event they deal with (see table 4). Of these 27 plays, five have survived in kyōgenbon form: Uzuki Kokonoka Sono Akatsuki Myōjō ga Chaya (Kyoto, 1697), Tamba no Kuni Chishio no Suifuro (Osaka, 1702), Yotsubashi Musume Koroshi (Osaka, 1702), Shinjū Chaya Banashi (Kyoto, 1700), and Kawara no Shinjū (Kyoto 1703). The first three are all murder plays or satsuinmono, while the other two, as their titles indicate, are shinjūmono. Although three of the five surviving texts are Kyoto plays, of the total 27 the majority (21) were produced in Osaka, including the earliest examples of both the shinjū and murder categories and all three of the crime plays, which suggests that the sewamono was earlier and more firmly established as a genre in Osaka.

Table 4. Categories and Distribution of Kabuki Sewamono

category	number of plays
<u>shinjūmono</u> (double love-suicide)	15
<u>satsuinmono</u> (murder)	7
<u>hanzaimono</u> (crime)	3
others	2

Source: Suwa, Genroku Kabuki 173-75.

In the discussion of the corpus and categories of Kamigata Genroku kabuki plays in the last chapter it was stated that there were seven surviving sewamono. The reason for the discrepancy between this and Suwa's list is that Suwa does not include in the category of the sewamono the two extant Yūgiri plays, Yūgiri Shichinenki (1697) and Yūgiri Samban Tsuzuki (1703). I, however, have included them on the grounds that in so far as they deal with the contemporary world and with non-samurai characters they belong in this category more than any other. Nevertheless, Suwa is correct, I believe, in seeing an essential difference between the Yūgiri plays as well as another play dealing with a famous prostitute, Yoshino no Miuke (Osaka, 1678), and the other sewamono plays. It is appropriate, therefore, that something be said

here about the contemporary meaning of "sewa" and about what Suwa sees as the common characteristics of the Genroku kabuki sewamono.

The term "sewa" is written with the characters se (世 = "world") and wa (話 = "talk" or "story"). The sense of the compound, therefore, is that of a widespread or popular story, and indeed this is how the term is defined in Pagés's Dictionnaire Japonais-Français (Nichifutsu Jisho), which is based on the early seventeenth-century Nippo Jisho (Japanese-Portuguese Dictionary) (qtd. in Suwa, Genroku Kabuki 169). Suwa, however, provides other evidence which shows that in the Edo period the term implied not only a popular or well-known story, but one which was distinguished from traditional stories or those derived from high literature. Sewa, in other words, meant a story that was popular both in the sense of being well known and in the sense of being vulgar or associated with the lower classes (Genroku Kabuki 169-70). According to this definition, then, there are grounds for excluding from the category of sewamono the Yūgiri and the Yoshino stories, both of which deal with famous, top-ranked prostitutes and wealthy merchants and, in the case of the frequently performed Yūgiri story at least, in kabuki took on the nature of a ceremonial piece.

Suwa's reason for excluding the Yūgiri and Yoshino plays from the category becomes even clearer when these plays are compared to those which Suwa does consider sewamono. Surveying these other plays, Suwa concludes that they all share the same four characteristics: 1) the treatment of extraordinary or shocking events; 2) an emphasis on the story as a whole more than the individual roles of the actors; 3) as a consequence of this, a degree of realism and a unity of structure that distinguishes the plays from the oiemono and jidaimono; and 4) principal characters who are members of the chōnin class, including the lower levels of this class (petty merchants, apprentices, low-class prostitutes, etc.) (Genroku Kabuki 175-87, 191-92).

Certainly on the basis of these common characteristics the Yūgiri and Yoshino plays, which treat nothing more extraordinary than the death or marriage of a famous prostitute and which were most definitely actor-

centred pieces, can and should be distinguished from the other plays. In one important respect, however, all the plays, including the Yūgiri and Yoshino pieces, can be considered to form a single category, and this is in relation to their place within the overall structure of the daily programme. For all these plays, irrespective of their degree of realism or structural unity, were performed as kiri-kyōgen, that is, as single-act concluding pieces to the day's fare.<sup>1</sup> As was pointed out in chapter three, in Kamigata the usual daily programme consisted of two short, one-act plays, the waki-kyōgen and the nibanme, followed by the main item, the three-act tsuzuki-kyōgen. If a kiri-kyōgen was performed, however, this was not simply added to the end of the programme; rather, the tsuzuki-kyōgen was reduced to two acts, with the kiri-kyōgen replacing what would usually be the third act (Mori 104-06; Torigoe, "Sewa Kyōgen" 90). A good illustration of this is provided by the play Yūgiri Shichinenki. The play exists in a kyōgenbon of 1697, but this kyōgenbon actually begins with the two-act tsuzuki-kyōgen Momoya Komachi. Following Momoya Komachi and immediately before the Yūgiri play the text reads "daisan no kawari," that is, "in place of the third [act]" (CZ 15: 166).

By making the kiri-kyōgen a substitute for the third act of the tsuzuki-kyōgen, then, the five-part structure of the daily programme could be maintained. While this can be viewed as an effort to maintain conventions and to keep the programme from becoming overly long, the fact that the sewamono was accommodated within the programme in this way also indicates that it was considered to be part of a longer structure. And since the main focus of this longer structure was the tsuzuki-kyōgen, which was typically an oiemono play, it is possible to see the sewamono as being in a certain sense subordinate to the oiemono, just as the characters represented in sewamono plays (i.e. the chōnin) were socially subordinate to the characters of the oiemono (the bushi). The question thus arises whether this structure of subordination, like the formal containment of chōnin society and the money economy within the formal structure of the oiemono, might not also be evidence of containment on the ideological level as well. To answer this question it will be

necessary to take a close look at some of the kabuki sewamono themselves. (Note: see Appendix D for summaries of the plays discussed below).

The earliest extant kabuki sewamono, Uzuki Kokonoka Sono Akatsuki Myōjō ga Chaya (The Ninth of April, That Morning at the Myōjō Teahouse), was first performed at the Mandayū-za in the fifth month of 1697. Since Chikamatsu was closely associated with the Mandayū-za at this time and two of the theatre's other productions during the same year (Daimyō Naqusami Soga and the above-mentioned Momoya Komachi) are known to be Chikamatsu's work, there is a strong possibility that Chikamatsu was also the author of Myōjō ga Chaya (Suwa, Chikamatsu Sewa Jōruri 17). In any case, there can be little doubt that Chikamatsu, if he did not write the play, was familiar with it, and indeed, as will be discussed later, a number of shukō employed in Myōjō ga Chaya can also be found in Chikamatsu's later jōruri sewamono.

The play Myōjō ga Chaya was based on a real incident that had occurred a month before in Myōjō, a popular amusement centre for pilgrims to the nearby Ise Shrine. According to the prologue, not only did this incident supply the material for the play, the play itself is confined to the story "as it was heard":

There are no doubt many of you who have made the pilgrimage to the Ise Shrine, that same Ise, where, on the ninth of last month, at a teahouse in Myōjō, a number of people were cut down. Just at that time the actor Tenjō Mataemon made the pilgrimage and on the evening of the ninth he stayed in Myōjō. Tenjō heard of the attack and recorded the details, thinking that the story could be made into a play. Zamoto Tōjūrō, however, was of the opinion that to embellish the incident would be wrong and make for too long a play, and that it would be better to simply act out the story as it was heard. This is the play you are about to see. (KKB 2: 124).

Despite this claim, it is clear that the story was in fact embellished. The clever stratagems of the villain, Jūzaemon, the coincidental comings and goings of the characters, and Kyūemon's misunderstanding of

Oyoshi's intentions all suggest that the material was reworked to provide grounds for Kyūemon's dismissal and the motivation for his vendetta, as well as the basis for the tragic love story. What also must be considered is the distribution of characters; for whatever the actual facts of the case were, the play had to include suitable roles for the members of the troupe. The leading male role, that of the shop assistant Kyūemon, was taken by the zamoto Tōjūrō, while the part of the merchant Yasobei was taken by another senior member of the troupe, Kaneko Kichizaemon. Oyoshi, the teahouse girl with whom Kyūemon is in love, was played by one of the leading wakaonnagata, Tamagawa Handayū. To provide for some of the troupe's other wakaonnagata the play also includes the role of Yasobei's sister, Osan, played by Kirinami Senju, and another teahouse girl, Oshina, played by Sodeshima Genji. Similarly, in the character of the servant Tarōza, a part was created for the dōke actor Tenjō Mataemon, while the tachiyaku actor specializing in budōgato or samurai scenes, Fujikawa Buzaemon, was given the role of Kyūemon's rōnin uncle, Koike Tosuke. Last but not least, the part of Jūzaemon, the villain in the play, went to the troupe's specialist in such roles, Mikasa Jōemon.

This more or less perfect match between the many characters in the play and the specialties of the actors who played them can thus be considered proof that the story of the Myōjō incident was not simply acted out "as it was heard" but was instead adapted to meet the requirements of the troupe. This does not necessarily contradict Suwa's claim that the sewamono are characterized by an emphasis on the plot rather than actors' specialties, however, for indeed it can be argued that the roles are all well integrated into the story. Nevertheless, both the tightly structured plot and the distribution of roles do mean that the play was not a simple reenactment of the news, despite the claim in the prologue and the direct allusion to the event in the title. As for the claim of veracity itself, therefore, this must be seen as part of the producers' efforts to exploit the topicality and newsworthiness of the event. The same, incidentally, can be said of another of the existing sewamono,



Shinjū Chaya Banashi, which in its prologue makes a similar claim to sticking to the facts of the story (Matsuzaki, "Honkoku Shinjū Chaya Banashi" 29). That both these plays opened only a month after the incidents they treat occurred is another indication of their topicality.

Despite the tampering with the facts of the case, Myōjō ga Chaya does possess a certain realism. This is because, although it does not simply report the news, in order to exploit the news value of the event it had to appear realistic. In place of veracity, in other words, the play offers verisimilitude. Thus, for example, the circumstances that force Kyūemon out of his job and drive him to attack four people need not be the actual circumstances; it is enough if they are realistic and Kyūemon's actions are plausible. The play, in short, is an attempt to make sense of a sensational event, and it is this act of reconstruction, this effort to render the event plausible, that gives the story form. At the same time, however, just as bringing the daimyō into the licensed quarters required that the oiemono make some sense of the relationship between feudal power and the money economy, so the attempt to explain the causes of the violent attack in Myōjō compelled the producers of this play to construct a model of chōnin society and of the relationships among its members; and it is in this construction of social relationships as the necessary conditions for the event that the event itself is given not only an explanation, but also an ideological interpretation.

The model in this case takes the form of a family business run by Yasobei, a dried fish dealer. Both Kyūemon, who will turn out to be the perpetrator of the attack, and Jūzaemon, the real villain in the play, are employed in Yasobei's shop as assistants. Kyūemon, who has worked at the shop for a number of years, has proved himself a diligent employee and gained Yasobei's trust. Yasobei, in fact, is planning to have his sister Osan marry Kyūemon and give them a share of the family fortune to start their own business. Kyūemon, however, has fallen in love with Oyoshi, a teahouse girl from Myōjō, and is planning to marry her and become the master of the teahouse, which is now run by Oyoshi's foster mother, Akita. Kyūemon is aware of his master's plan to have him marry

Osan, but he has not yet informed him that he intends to marry Oyoshi instead. This is not a matter of deception; Kyūemon simply wants to wait until all the arrangements have been made, which includes helping Akita pay off her debt to Yasobei.

Jūzaemon, on the other hand, is not only an unreliable employee, he has in the past squandered his own money and had to beg Kyūemon to help him pay off his debts. If Kyūemon thus represents a man attempting to operate successfully in chōnin society and achieve happiness, then Jūzaemon's actions reveal the dangers present in this same society because of the dominance of money. It is his greed, in fact, which begins the chain of events that culminate in Kyūemon's violent attack in Myōjō. Jūzaemon first steals seven ryō from the money box temporarily in his master's care, and then skillfully makes it appear that Kyūemon was the thief. He also manages to bribe into silence the only person aware of the real circumstances of the theft, the servant Tarōza.

Once it is known that the money has been stolen and that the evidence points to Kyūemon, Kyūemon's world suddenly collapses. He is thrown out of the house, beaten by Yasobei's servants, and even Oyoshi's mother swears she wants nothing to do with him and will have Oyoshi marry Jūzaemon instead. Kyūemon is thus faced with the task of clearing his name. He also wishes, however, to see if Oyoshi still loves him despite the accusations against him. He therefore goes to Myōjō, and this sets the stage for his violent outburst. For at the same time Jūzaemon also goes to Myōjō to claim his bride. Misunderstanding Oyoshi's intentions, Kyūemon attacks not only her and Jūzaemon, but also two others who have turned against him, Oyoshi's mother and Tarōza. Finally, Kyūemon's rōnin uncle comes and interrogates all concerned, and Jūzaemon is exposed as the real thief and instigator of the whole series of events.

As mentioned above, as a kiri-kyōgen, the sewamono was considered equivalent to one act of a tsuzuki-kyōgen. All the extant sewamono, however, consist of at least two scenes. In the case of Myōjō ga Chaya it can be said that the function of the first scene is to provide the background to the story and the explanation for the attack, while it is

in the second scene that the attack itself is shown. This two-scene structure, however, can also be compared to the first two acts of a typical oiemono play. The first scene of Myōjō ga Chaya, for instance, also focuses on the machinations of the villain and the disruption of order, and like act one, scene two of Keisei Hotoke no Hara, ends with the hero's being driven into exile. In the second scene, then, much like in the second act of an oiemono, the hero goes incognito (yatsushi) to the pleasure quarters, and here too the meeting of the lovers is spoiled by a misunderstanding. The difference, of course, is that before this misunderstanding can be corrected Kyūemon strikes both Oyoshi and her mother with his sword. That he also attacks Jūzaemon and Tarōza, however, can be likened to the vanquishing of the villains in the oiemono. Were it not for the assault on both Oyoshi and her mother, which presumably was dictated by the facts of the case, the play would indeed end very much in the same manner as a typical oiemono. In this respect it is interesting to note that, although Suwa categorizes this as a murder play, it is not clear whether either the spectators or the readers of the kyōgenbon were to understand that anyone actually died as a result of Kyūemon's attack. Following the incident, for example, both Oyoshi's mother and Tarōza give evidence that helps expose Jūzaemon, who too shows signs of life by protesting. There is also mention in the text of "the wounded" (KKB 2: 158). The illustrations in the kyōgenbon, moreover, show all four victims bleeding but still apparently alive and sitting upright or kneeling. If, then, it is to be understood that everyone, especially Oyoshi and her mother, survived the attack, then the play comes very close to having a happy ending very much like the oiemono.

It is, however, not only the defeat of the villain and the restoration of order that makes the play similar to the oiemono, but also the manner in which order is restored. As was seen earlier, in the case of the oiemono the restoration of order was ultimately the work of the samurai class. The same can be said of Myōjō ga Chaya. For although Kyūemon sets out to clear his name, it is only during the interrogation conducted by his uncle that Jūzaemon is finally exposed as the real

thief. It is true that his uncle is only a rōnin, but as one of the teahouse girls says, "he is still a samurai" (KKB 2: 155). As such, he commands a position of authority and uses this position to overrule the representative of chōnin authority, Yasobei (who is still convinced that it was Kyūemon who stole the money), and to press on with his investigation. Finally the truth comes out, and the uncle gives orders for Jūzaemon to be turned over to the magistrate. Thus, although the wounding of the innocent -- and here there is no miracle to reverse the course of events -- precludes a perfectly happy ending, the play does nonetheless conclude with order restored at the hands of a representative of the bushi class.

Not only, therefore, can Myōjō ga Chaya be said to employ a structural framework similar to that found in the oiemono, by introducing the samurai figure, the play, although ostensibly concerned only with events that occurred among the chōnin, presents a model of social relationships that reproduces the political dominance of the bushi class. In this sense the play can be seen as an interesting variation on the suggestion in some of the oiemono that the bushi class needs or is in some sense dependent on the chōnin and their money. For since it is ultimately only through the intervention of a member of the bushi class that justice is achieved and order restored, the play can be taken to imply that the chōnin, despite -- or perhaps because of -- their economic power, still require the political leadership and fairmindedness of the bushi. In either case, however, the subordination of the chōnin and the money economy to the ruling class is also implied. For it is only the samurai characters who have the moral strength to rise above money concerns and show by their actions that there are other, more noble values: the ideals of loyalty and sacrifice, for instance, or, as in the present case, justice.

Admittedly, this interpretation of Myōjō ga Chaya depends much on the importance ascribed to the appearance of the samurai character at the end of the play. In support of this reading, however, mention could be made of another murder play which employs a similar structure, including

the restoration of order by samurai authorities. This is the 1702 Osaka play Tamba no Kuni Chishio no Suifuro (The Bloodbath in Tamba Province). Like Myōjō ga Chaya, this play was based on an actual incident, which in this case occurred some three to five months prior to the staging of the play (EKBS 2: 6).

As in Myōjō ga Chaya, the main character of Tamba no Kuni, Kuheiji, is portrayed as a basically good man who falls victim to another's greed and deception. Driven by poverty to seek work in Edo, Kuheiji not only finds a job but gains the confidence of his employer and manages to save a substantial sum of money, while all along dutifully sending money to his family. After six years he takes leave of his employer and sets out to return to Tamba. Stopping at an inn along the way, he is surprised to meet his wife, who has been reduced to a beggar and a thief. This is because Kuheiji's uncle, the village headman, Magozaemon, has intercepted the money Kuheiji sent to Tamba and, claiming that Kuheiji has a new wife in Edo and will never come back, thrown out Kuheiji's wife and children. When Kuheiji then goes to Tamba to investigate, the uncle, realizing that Kuheiji knows everything and that he will be done for if Kuheiji exposes him, lures Kuheiji into taking a bath, and then fastens down the lid and boils him alive. The play does not end there, however, for at the last moment, having been informed of the wrongdoings, the magistrate arrives with several samurai to capture the uncle and his accomplices, who are, as the last lines of the play make clear, literally crucified for their crimes. Since Kuheiji is murdered, this play also cannot end happily. Still, though, order is restored -- again through the intervention of the samurai class -- and Kuheiji's wife and children at least have the satisfaction of being released from poverty and seeing their and Kuheiji's enemies pay for their crimes.

What further links Myōjō ga Chaya and Tamba no Kuni is the portrayal of both the role and the dangers of the money economy within chōnin society. For if Kyūemon and Kuheiji are both characters who attempt to make an honest living through the money economy, Jūzaemon and Magozaemon show how money itself can be a temptation to evil, especially in a chōnin

society that lacks the superior moral values associated with the bushi class. In both cases this danger is represented through the actions of villains, itself a device borrowed from the ojemono. In other sewamono, however, although the money theme is still present, no actual crime is committed, and thus there are no real villains. Yet this dispensing of the villain role only makes the dangers of a society dominated by monetary relations more explicit, for here it is money itself which becomes the villain.

Nowhere is the oppressive dominance of monetary over human relations more evident than in the earliest extant of the double suicide plays, Shinjū Chaya Banashi (The Teahouse Story of Double Suicide, 1700). Indeed, to summarize this play is to describe how the two main characters are trapped in a web of debts and financial obligations that leaves no room for movement, yet alone the freedom to have a love affair. At the beginning of the play, Seki, a prostitute in Osaka, is looking forward to being released from service when her contract expires. Her employer, however, is reluctant to let her go since she has been very profitable for his business. He and Seki argue and he ends up beating her. Along then comes Seki's favourite customer and lover, Saburobei, who announces that he must go to Edo to work and pay off his debt of 1 kan 500 momme. In order that they can stay together, Seki reverses her earlier position and asks for a one-year extension to her contract, turning over the advance payment (800 momme) to Saburobei. Soon thereafter, Shōemon, Seki's father, arrives followed by his creditors. Shōemon is also in debt and has come to have Seki's contract extended and collect the advance payment. Moved by Shōemon's plight, Saburobei hands over to him the money he received from Seki. At this point, Seki's employer, upset at getting mixed up in all this money trouble and claiming that he has his own debts to repay, takes back the money he had initially given to Seki. Shōemon's creditors then threaten to sell Seki to some distant brothel and take the money as soon as her present contract expires. Having thus tried their best to prevent a separation only to have their hopes dashed, Seki and Saburobei decide to kill themselves.

This is the entire first scene of the play. In the second scene, Saburobei's wife and daughter along with their servant come searching for Saburobei at the home of a friend, which is also where Saburobei and Seki had planned to meet. The servant admonishes Saburobei for his conduct, quoting from the last words of his mother, who was also Saburobei's wet nurse. Saburobei is moved to tears and asks to be forgiven. After his wife and servant have left, however, Saburobei and Seki still meet and carry out their plan of double suicide, which constitutes the last scene of the play. The fact that Saburobei has a wife and child can be seen as a further obstacle standing in the way of his and Seki's relationship. This complication also anticipates some of Chikamatsu's later jōruri shiniūmono, such as Shinjū Ten no Amijima. What should not be overlooked, however, is that it is their (and others') money problems more than anything that drive Saburobei and Seki to suicide, and that indeed they had already resolved to kill themselves before the scene introducing Saburobei's wife and daughter.

While in Shinjū Chaya Banashi the question of marital relations is not well integrated into the suicide plot, the same cannot be said of the other surviving Genroku kabuki shiniūmono, Kawara no Shinjū (The Riverside Double Suicide, 1703). In this case it could even be argued that it is the lovers' lack of freedom to choose marriage partners due to parental opposition that is the chief cause of their suicide. Here too, however, money matters are not entirely absent and, as I will attempt to show, can be seen to underlie even the motives of the parents. First, though, it is necessary to say something about the background to this play.

The main characters of Kawara no Shinjū bear the names Seijūrō and Onatsu, and on the inside cover of the kyōgenbon the title of the play is given as Seijūrō Onatsu Gojūnenki (Fiftieth Anniversary of the Death of Seijūrō and Onatsu). This would indicate that the play deals with the story of Seijūrō and Onatsu, whose tragic love affair had already been the subject of earlier kabuki and jōruri plays and was also taken up by Saikaku in his Kōshoku Gonin Onna (trans., Five Women 41-72).<sup>2</sup> However, the kyōgenbon also includes, in place of a prologue, the text of a song,

"Shinjū Kouta-bushi," which tells of the shinjū of one Komeya Shōbei and the prostitute Oshun which took place on the fifth day of the fourth month, that is, earlier in the same month in which the play was produced. This is followed by another title of the play, Kawara no Shinjū. It would seem, then, that the producers of the play (or at least of the kyōgenbon) were attempting to exploit both the familiarity with the by-then traditional story of Seijūrō and Onatsu and the topicality of the more recent event. This is not all, however, for as Matsuzaki has shown, the play also borrows some details from another shinjū, one which occurred just two days after that of Shōbei and Oshun and which Chikamatsu later also took up in his first jōruri sewamono, Sonezaki Shinjū (Genroku Engeki 174-75). While this (in some cases transparent) mixing of names and details from three different incidents suggests that the producers here were not primarily concerned with creating the illusion that they were giving the actual facts of a particular shinjū, it also shows that the production of sewamono was not divorced from more general kabuki production practices, including the strategy of taking up whatever lay conveniently to hand as well as the exploitation of the topical.

In the play, Seijūrō, an employee in a shop owned by his uncle, Kan'emon, has pledged his love to Onatsu, daughter of the merchant Kyūemon. Unfortunately, another young man, Kimbei, having been unsuccessful in his own bid to woo Onatsu, has offered his services as a go-between and arranged for Onatsu to enter the service of a daimyō in Western Japan. Seijūrō, whose love for Onatsu has caused him to desert the bride his uncle arranged for him, disappears when he hears the news about Onatsu. It then comes out that someone has been sending notes requesting a delay to the samurai who has been sent to escort Onatsu to the daimyō's domain. The samurai himself appears at Kyūemon's house, but it is discovered that he is an impostor and that both this bit of deception and the false notes are part of Seijūrō's attempt to prevent Onatsu from being sent away. Finally Seijūrō is located and, after his uncle has reminded him of his obligations, made to affix his seal to a written promise to cut off all relations with Onatsu. Like Saburobei in Shinjū



Chaya Banashi, however, Seijūrō does not keep his word. When they have a chance, he and Onatsu slip away and kill themselves on the river bank.

On the surface, this would appear to be a clear case of parental opposition preventing two young people from choosing their own marriage partners. What needs to be added, however, is that, although their arguments stress the young people's familial obligations, the parents themselves have a sizeable financial stake in seeing the arrangements they have made carried out as planned. Onatsu's father, it is revealed, has already received a total of 100 silver pieces from the daimyō whom Onatsu is meant to serve. If she does not go, he will of course have to return the money. Similarly, Seijūrō's uncle has received from the parents of his nephew's new bride a dowry (shikigane) of 24 kamme, which likewise must be returned if the marriage falls through. As in the oiemono, in other words, here too it is money that prevents the lovers from being together. In this case, however, it is not the lovers' lack of money that stands in their way but the money others stand to gain by keeping them apart.

To continue this comparison with the oiemono, it is interesting to note that Seijūrō and Onatsu's only ally is Matabei, the fellow employee whom Seijūrō persuades to write the notes and impersonate the daimyō's retainer. Forged documents and impostors are of course devices which frequently appear in oiemono as well. There, however, they are stratagems employed by villains bent on usurping the daimyō's position. In this case, although his object is deception and he is even threatened with being taken before the magistrate if he does not reveal who put him up to it, the impostor can hardly be called a villain. It is perhaps more fruitful to compare him with the daimyō of the oiemono. The role of the impostor in this play, in fact, was taken by none other than Tōjūrō. Here, in an interesting reversal of his typical role in the oiemono, rather than playing the samurai who temporarily adopts the guise of a commoner, he plays a chōnin who pretends to be a samurai. It is, significant, though, that it is as a samurai that Matabei attempts to intercede on Seijūrō's behalf, for as was seen in the oiemono, the ability

to rise above petty money issues was represented as a samurai virtue. Since he is only a fake samurai, however, his intervention fails, and Seijūrō is persuaded through his uncle's reproaches to seal the agreement breaking off relations with Onatsu. As for Matabei, he is dismissed from his job and driven out of town.

The second scene finds Matabei and his family wandering in the dark. Having no place to stay, they take to the river bank. There they are surprised to meet Kyūemon and his wife, who ask for help in searching for Seijūrō and Onatsu, who have since disappeared. Later Seijūrō's uncle and aunt also join in the search. They are too late, however, for when they find the young couple they are already dead. Curiously, the play then ends in the same fashion as the murder plays. That is to say, the parents hold Kimbei responsible for the deaths and turn him over to the magistrate. It was Kimbei, of course, who arranged for Onatsu to enter the daimyō's household, but this was done out of spite, and there was nothing unlawful about it, so he can hardly be considered a criminal. That he is treated as the villain, therefore, should probably be attributed to the dictates of convention. It is also possible, however, to see Kimbei as a scapegoat for the parents, who, unable to admit that it was their own self-interest that drove the couple to suicide, transfer their guilt feelings to the spiteful Kimbei.

While it can thus be argued that in this play as well it is money that ultimately brings about the tragic event portrayed, it must also be said that here the dangers of money are revealed in a different light. In the murder plays, money is simply the object of greed, and it is greedy villains who are responsible for the crimes committed. In Shinjū Chaya Banashi, on the other hand, where there are no human villains, it is the money economy itself, an economy which puts a price on everything, even the pleasures of love, which leads to the death of the main characters. Finally, in Kawara no Shinjū, the money economy does not simply dominate human relations as an external oppressor, but is shown to be internalized in the social behaviour and relations of the chōnin class itself; it has become, in other words, part of chōnin ideology.

This chōnin ideology, though, is not simply a merchant's attitude to life; or, better yet, the merchant attitude is not simply a concern with making money. For if the Edo period chōnin's outlook on life can be said to have internalized monetary relations, it was also structured according to feudal relations. The structure of Yasobei's household in Myōjō ga Chaya is an example of this, as is the parents' insistence on their authority over their children in Kawara no Shinjū. One reason Kan'emon is so concerned to make an obedient nephew of Seijūrō, in fact, is that he lacks a son of his own and therefore wishes to make Seijūrō his heir and have him carry on the family business. All of these examples can be attributed to economic self-interest, but they also show how in the Edo period merchant households reproduced on the chōnin level feudal structures of authority, service, and family succession.

This sort of fusion of both feudal and mercantile or commercial structures was also encountered in the socio-economic organization of kabuki, and it should come as no surprise that something similar can be found within chōnin society. What is more significant is how the kabuki plays portray this fusion. In the oiemono, although the world of the samurai and that of the chōnin and the money economy are brought together in the brothel scenes, the plays themselves conclude with the restoration of a social order that ultimately maintains the separation of these two worlds. If there is a suggestion that the two classes are more alike than different, this is to be found in the scenes in Chikamatsu's Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō and Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu in which bushi loyalty and honour are matched by a corresponding chōnin largesse. In the kabuki sewamono, on the other hand, the world shown is indeed one in which there has been a marriage between feudalism and mercantilism, although this marriage takes place not in the grand houses (oie) of the bushi but in the smaller merchant households (ie) of the chōnin. The result, moreover, is characterized by the plays as a sort of petty feudalism, one more concerned with economic self-interest than that found in the oiemono and thus incapable of moderating the effects of the money economy on social relations.

It is this same chōnin world that is the setting of most of Chikamatsu's jōruri sewamono, and since many of these plays end in tragedy, Chikamatsu himself has been seen as a critic of the feudal social order. Yet the same playwright's oiemono, which were invariably shown to affirm samurai values, suggest that this is an oversimplification of Chikamatsu's ideological position. To deal adequately with Chikamatsu's sewamono, in other words, it must be shown how the tragic outlook in these plays can be reconciled with the more optimistic portrayal of socio-economic relations found in the oiemono. The above examination of the kabuki sewamono, I would suggest, provides a hint as to how this can be done. For the chōnin world represented by the sewamono was shown to be not only one in which samurai characters are largely absent, but also one in which social relations have come more directly under the influence of the money economy. In the following discussion of Chikamatsu's jōruri sewamono, therefore, the plays will be examined precisely for their depiction of the role of money in chōnin society. Moreover, in order not to lose sight of their broader ideological implications, I will also attempt to read Chikamatsu's sewamono plays as a corpus, one which must be read as a whole and set within the perspective provided by the juxtaposition with Chikamatsu's other work, including his kabuki oiemono.

#### Paying With One's Life: Chikamatsu's Jōruri Shinjūmono

As was shown in chapter one and mentioned again at the beginning of the present chapter, Chikamatsu's sewamono have long been accorded a special position among the works of the Edo-period theatre and have thus been the subject of numerous scholarly and critical treatments. Within Chikamatsu's sewamono corpus itself Sonezaki Shinjū (1703), since it is his first work in the genre, has received much of this attention. Sonezaki Shinjū is also, as Keene points out, the oldest of Chikamatsu's plays still performed in the theatre and read by the general public today (MPC 15). The preceding account of the kabuki sewamono, however, shows that it is oversimplified to claim either that this play "marked the

creation of the sewamono" or that "it created the genre of lovers'-suicide plays" (Keene, World Within Walls 258, 253). Indeed, Keene himself points out that shinjū plays had been performed in kabuki for some twenty years before this date and that a kabuki treatment of the same incident dealt with in Sonezaki Shinjū preceded Chikamatsu's play (253-54). That he nonetheless stresses the role played by Sonezaki Shinjū is an indication of how Chikamatsu's work has become synonymous with the creation of the sewamono. The few critics who have studied the kabuki sewamono, however, have all pointed out how the kabuki plays not only furnished a precedent for the theatrical treatment of double suicides and other topical events, but also provided Chikamatsu with several plot devices he was to use in his own sewamono.<sup>3</sup>

In the case of Sonezaki Shinjū, this debt to the kabuki sewamono is considerable. This is most clearly seen if the play is compared with Kawara no Shinjū, which appeared just two or three weeks before Chikamatsu's work. The character Tokubei in Sonezaki Shinjū, for example, like Seijūrō, works in his uncle's shop. The two shops even have the same name, Hiranoya. This is because, as mentioned above, some of the details from the Sonezaki incident were first taken up in Kawara no Shinjū. It is not just that the two plays share this name, however, or that they both drew from the same source. What is more significant is that the main character's relationship with his uncle is structured in a similar way. Like Seijūrō, Tokubei is pressed by his uncle to marry a girl he has no interest in. As he had often done with kabuki shukō, however, here too Chikamatsu does not simply borrow but also transforms. The girl in this case is his aunt's niece, and thus it is the uncle himself who must pay the dowry and it is Tokubei's mother who receives it. When Tokubei informs his uncle that he has no intention of going through with the marriage, his uncle, who like Seijūrō's uncle intends to set his nephew up in business, is so upset by Tokubei's rejection of these arrangements that he demands Tokubei repay the money and leave his house. It thus becomes necessary for Tokubei to get the money back from his mother, which he does only with great difficulty.

Neither Tokubei's rejection of his uncle's plans nor his struggle to have his mother return the money are shown directly, but only come out in Tokubei's conversation with Ohatsu at the beginning of the first scene of the play. Moreover, since he has managed to get the money back from his mother, the dowry problem is apparently solved as soon as it is introduced. But at this point another and more serious complication arises, one which provides the main action of the first scene. For although Tokubei has managed to get back the money, since his uncle had given him a few days' time to pay it back, he has in the meantime loaned it to a friend, the oil merchant Kuheiji. Kuheiji, however, is late in repaying, and when he comes along he claims not only that he did not borrow the money from Tokubei, but that he had lost his seal and thus could not have affixed it to the promissory note Tokubei holds as proof of the loan. It thus looks to all the world that Tokubei found the seal and forged the promissory note to extort money from Kuheiji. Enraged at being deceived so cleverly by a man Tokubei thought his friend, Tokubei attacks him, but he is no match for Kuheiji and his followers, who give him a good beating and leave him a broken and humiliated man.

In many ways, this turn of events is reminiscent of the first scene of Myōjō ga Chaya. There, too, the main character, Kyūemon, was made to look like a criminal through a clever ruse with a note and as a consequence also suffered the humiliation of a public beating. In reprimanding the villain, Jūzaemon, Kyūemon also mentions that he had loaned him money, although this is not directly related to the deception with the note. As Hara has pointed out, in Sonezaki Shinjū these two separate incidents are combined by Chikamatsu in such a way as to intensify the desperation and hopelessness of the situation Tokubei has fallen into ("Kuheiji no Settei" 74).<sup>4</sup>

Also as in Myōjō ga Chaya, in Chikamatsu's play the villain attempts to take advantage of the hero's discrediting in order to win over the hero's lover. In neither play do the women doubt the sincerity and innocence of their men, but whereas in Myōjō ga Chaya it is only Kyūemon's sword that puts a stop to the villain's advances, in Sonezaki Shinjū it

is the woman herself, the prostitute Ohatsu, who makes it clear to Kuheiji that she will have nothing to do with him. It is at this point in the play that also occurs the famous scene in which Tokubei, who is hiding under the porch, gives Ohatsu a sign that he is resolved to die. Ohatsu's direct rejection of Kuheiji and her willingness to die with Tokubei have been taken as an indication that Sonezaki Shinjū is more tightly structured than the kabuki sewamono in being "unified along an axis provided by the logic of love" (Matsuzaki, Genroku Engeki 184). Yet Ohatsu's spurning of Kuheiji and her decision to die with Tokubei are at the same time a rejection of a world in which monetary values prevail and even normal human relationships such as friendship have become distorted by self-interest. That this is what Kuheiji stands for is only made too clear by his attempt to save face after being put down by Ohatsu:

Let's get out of here. The whores in this place are certainly peculiar -- they seem to have an aversion for customers like ourselves with plenty of money to spend. Let's stop at the Asa House and have a drink there. We'll rattle around a couple of gold pieces, then go home to bed.

Oh -- my wallet is so heavy I can hardly walk. (MPC 50)

If love provides a unifying element in this play, then, it is only in and through opposition to the world of money and of monetary relations that love assumes this central importance. Love, however, unlike the samurai values displayed in the ojemono, is powerless against its opponent; and with no samurai authorities to expose Kuheiji's guilt or magnanimous merchants to help them out of their plight, Tokubei and Ohatsu choose the solution of death, victims of their love for one another to be sure but also of a world in which the money economy, to borrow a phrase from Marx, "has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment'" (Selected Writings 223).

While Sonezaki Shinjū was successful in its day and is considered by those critics who have studied both to be structurally superior to the kabuki sewamono, it is nonetheless a fairly short and simple play. One way of looking at Chikamatsu's sewamono corpus, therefore, has been to

see it as a development from this promising but simple start towards the more sophisticated and complex kind of tragedy found in the later play Shinjū Ten no Amijima (1720), which is generally recognized to be Chikamatsu's masterpiece in the genre.<sup>5</sup> What makes Shinjū Ten no Amijima more complicated is above all the addition of family relationships. For in this play, the main character, Jihei, not only has a favourite prostitute in the licensed quarter, but also a wife, two children, an older brother, a father-in-law, and a mother-in-law, who is also his aunt. It is these family relationships and the obligations that they imply that have led to characterizations of this play as a classic example of the conflict between giri (duty, obligation) and ninjō (human feelings). Certainly these family members play a role in Jihei and Koharu's suicide, and the concept of giri, too, must be dealt with in any interpretation of this play. Yet to stress the family relationships and the bonds and obligations between the characters is both to read Shinjū Ten no Amijima as an entirely domestic tragedy and to read into it a "fundamental opposition" (giri/ninjō, reason/passion) "which is part of all cultures" (Gerstle, Circles of Fantasy 139). To be sure the events in this play do take place on a level that can be described as more domestic or private than that found in the oiemono, and in this sense the emergence of the sewamono does indeed mark a major development in the history of the Japanese theatre. This very privatization of space and of human experience, however, is itself related to other, more important, historical changes occurring during this period, among which the development of the money economy must be counted as primary, since it is this which makes possible the accumulation of private wealth and the building of the private spheres (i.e. the merchant households) which provide the settings for the sewamono. The tragedy of Jihei and Koharu, therefore, is not simply the result of a clash between familial pressures and human feeling; rather, this conflict is itself symptomatic of a more fundamental conflict operating in the play, one which can be related to the same historical tensions shown to underlie both Chikamatsu's oiemono and his earlier Sonezaki Shinjū.



As in all the sewamono examined thus far, money plays a central role in Shinjū Ten no Amijima as well. Here too money is associated with a villain or at least a villain-like character. In this case it is the wealthy merchant Tahei. In a scene similar to the one in Sonezaki Shinjū quoted above, Tahei in act one tries to buy the company of the prostitute Koharu, stressing as he does his financial advantage over Jihei:

You may not want to hear me, but the clink of my gold coins will make you listen....Just think -- of all the many men in Temma and the rest of Osaka, you chose Jihei the paper dealer, the father of two children, with his cousin for his wife and his uncle for his father-in-law! A man whose business is so tight he's at his wits' end every sixty days merely to pay the wholesalers' bills! Do you think he'll be able to fork over nearly ten kamme to ransom you?...I admit I'm no match for Jihei when it comes to bragging about myself in the Quarter, but when it comes to money, I'm an easy winner. If I pushed with all the strength of my money, who knows what I might conquer? (MPC 392)

Koharu, however, already has a customer that night, not Jihei, but a samurai. And when her customer arrives, Tahei, like Kuheiji, attempts to save face, this time by arguing the superiority of money over samurai authority:

Koharu, I'm a townsman. I've never worn a sword, but I've lots of New Silver at my place, and I think that the glint could twist a mere couple of swords out of joint. (MPC 393)

The customer, in fact, is not a real samurai but Jihei's brother, Magoemon, who has come to try and persuade Koharu into breaking with Jihei. He discovers, however, that Koharu has already decided to give up Jihei, not because of any lack of fidelity on her part, but as is revealed later, because Jihei's wife, Osan, begged her "as one woman to another" to break with Jihei in order to save him, and Koharu, bound by her own sense of "giri" to Osan, has agreed to do so (CMS 2: 374; MPC 409). Unfortunately, Jihei has been listening in on this conversation,

and mistakenly thinking that Koharu has been deceiving him all along with her pledges of love, attempts to stab her through the paper window. His blade fails to reach her, though, and his brother then grabs his arms and ties him to the latticework in the window opening. At this point Tahei returns and, seeing Jihei tied up, suspects that he has been caught stealing and torments him with all manner of abuse. Magoemon, however, still in the guise of a samurai, seizes Tahei and demands to know why he is calling Jihei a thief. He then pushes him to the ground and invites Jihei to stomp on him, which Jihei does.

For the moment, then, Tahei and the world of crass monetary values he represents have been put in their place. This is not a final victory for Jihei, however, for as in Kawara no Shinjū, this chōnin attempt at samurai-like intervention fails, and Tahei and his money resurface in their villain-like role. For when Jihei stops seeing Koharu because of her supposed unfaithfulness, Tahei takes advantage of the situation to announce that he intends to buy out Koharu's contract and make her his own. It is then that Osan reveals to Jihei the reason for Koharu's behaviour, and since Osan believes that Koharu will kill herself rather than be redeemed by Tahei, she now feels bound by the giri of one woman to another ("onna doshi no giri") to help Jihei raise the money to ransom Koharu himself and keep her out of Tahei's clutches, even if this means pawning her own and her children's clothes (CMS 2: 374; MPC 409). Unfortunately, it is at this point that Osan's father arrives. Believing that this effort to redeem Koharu is all the result of Jihei's selfishness, he demands that Jihei write out a notice of divorce, and when Jihei refuses, he simply drags Osan home with him.

If giri is an important theme in Shinjū Ten no Amijima, then, it is clear that this is a complex concept, one that signifies neither simply family pressures or obligations nor the opposite of ninjō. It is true that Osan's father makes much of the impact Jihei's visits to the licensed quarter have had on his home and business, but his sense of obligation is limited to what are portrayed as ultimately petty, economic relationships. Part of his reason for coming to Jihei's shop that night,

in fact, is to recover the furniture and clothes Osan brought with her in her dowry (MPC 412). Osan herself, on the other hand, has already gone far beyond such concerns in her attempt to fulfil her giri to Koharu. Not only is she willing to give up her best clothes, she is also willing to sacrifice her own happiness for Koharu, just as Koharu did first for her, and just as both Jihei and Koharu will give up all that is dear to them to be true to their love for each other. Giri in this case, in other words, cannot be identified with external pressure, but is something that comes from within, and in this sense is closely related to ninjō itself (Hirosue, "Chikamatsu no Giri"). Indeed, as Hara has argued, giri in Chikamatsu's work is not so much opposed to ninjō as it demands of the characters the sacrifice of certain emotional attachments -- Osan and Jihei's attachment to each other, for example, or to their children -- in order to be true to other emotional attachments ("Chikamatsu no 'Giri'" 66-67). This makes for highly charged and, inasmuch as in the end it is their own lives that Jihei and Koharu must sacrifice, tragic drama. However, one should not lose sight of the fact that it is ultimately Jihei's lack of money coupled with Tahei's attempt to use his to sunder and reshape human relationships that begins the whole chain of events that ends in Jihei and Koharu's suicide. It is this domination of monetary over human relationships, in short, that brings about the conflict between competing emotional attachments which is only resolved by death.

As Keene has argued, this decision on the part of the lovers in Chikamatsu's shinjūmono to accept suicide as the only solution as well as the poetic language in which their journey (michiyuki) towards death is narrated have the effect of elevating the lovers' plight above the level of a common sensational happening (MPC 16). Death and its acceptance in the plays have also been taken as evidence of an Amidist or millenarian framework in which suicide should be read not simply as the result of the lovers' problems but as both a cry of protest against the finite conflicts of the world and as a means of transcending them (Heine). Both interpretations, moreover, infer that what the characters are rejecting

or transcending in their decision to commit suicide includes the feudal morality of the period, especially as this concerns duties and obligations. Yet while this enables the plays to be read in part as chōnin protests against the social order, such interpretations do not fully square with Chikamatsu's affirmation of samurai values in his oie mono, nor do they take into account how models for the lovers' solution to their problems are provided by these same kabuki plays. Sacrifices and the willingness to commit suicide, after all, are aspects of behaviour frequently encountered in the oie mono, where, as I have tried to show, such behaviour is invariably positively represented as the ability to rise above self-interest. It was also observed that, while this readiness for sacrifice and self-denial was primarily associated with samurai characters, it also had its non-samurai counterparts in keisei faithfulness and merchant-class free-spending. With the shift now to the more humble and exclusively chōnin context of the shinjū mono, however, these examples of virtuous behaviour have been transformed. The keisei's gesture of suicide, in other words, has become the common prostitute's actual suicide; while the largesse of the wealthy merchant has been transformed into a form of pure expenditure, that of the petty businessman's own life. This, I would hasten to add, does not imply any lack of sympathy for these lower-class characters and their problems. On the other hand, the fact that the wealthy merchants who appear in these same plays are now cast in the roles of villains and that the problems of the lovers are themselves represented as stemming from the growing dominance of money over human relations suggests that, when it came to the treatment of an exclusively chōnin context, Chikamatsu was unable to maintain the same sense of optimism implied in the utopian intersection of bushi and merchant values in his oie mono. That the heroes of the plays are nonetheless treated with sympathy and ennobled by their samurai-like decision to die also makes it possible to see the plays as preaching a kind of ideological alliance between the samurai and the lower classes against the more powerful chōnin and the money economy they represent. Again, however, this alliance should not be equated with the dissolution

of hierarchical class distinctions. For not only are the moneyed members of the chōnin class now more clearly placed in a negative role, the economic conflict between the samurai and the chōnin, which in the oitemono was always resolved favourably for the samurai, is here transformed into one taking place within the chōnin class itself, with the weaker members of the class becoming its victims.

#### Chikamatsu's Other Sewamono

While Sonezaki Shinjū and Shinjū Ten no Amijima are the two most well-known examples, they are by no means representative of all of Chikamatsu's sewamono. This does not mean, however, that what I have said about the negative portrayal of the money economy or about the privileging of samurai ideals and behaviour does not apply to these other plays as well. Indeed, in many of these money is given an even more central thematic importance; and whereas in the two plays just examined there are no samurai characters, in others samurai characters not only appear, values associated with the samurai class are placed in clear opposition to money and monetary values. In order to present a more comprehensive picture of Chikamatsu's sewamono, therefore, something must be said about these other plays. First, however, since many of these are not shinjū plays, it will be useful to have a look at how Chikamatsu's sewamono are usually classified.

Although there have been others, the most commonly accepted classification system for Chikamatsu's sewamono is the one first proposed by Takano and which Suwa, after a reexamination of this and several other schemes, has endorsed (Takano, Nihon Engekishi 3: 263; Suwa, Chikamatsu Sewa Jōruri 357-58). According to this system, Chikamatsu's 24 sewamono plays can be placed into one of four categories. These categories as well as the number of plays in each are given in Table 5. (Note: see Appendix C for a full list of the plays with their categories.)

Table 5. Distribution of Chikamatsu's Sewamono Plays

category	number of plays
<u>shinjūmono</u> (love-suicide)	11
<u>kantsūmono</u> (adultery)	3
<u>shobatumono</u> (crime/punishment)	5
<u>kakō</u> (fiction)	5

Source: Suwa, Chikamatsu Sewa Jōruri 357-58.

It can be seen from this classification that the shinjūmono, although constituting the largest single category, account for less than half the total. The crime category has been encountered in the kabuki sewamono, and it should come as no surprise that Chikamatsu also wrote plays on this subject. And if adultery can be considered a crime, as it was in Chikamatsu's time, then there is an argument for collapsing these two categories into one. What is perhaps most striking is the category of fictional plays. In the kabuki sewamono it was seen that, although the plays often strayed from the facts, they nevertheless emphasized the newsworthiness if not the truthfulness of the events they portrayed. That five of Chikamatsu's sewamono have been labelled fictional suggests that with time the sewamono became more of a genre in its own right and not simply a designation for plays that exploited the topicality of sensational events. Four of the five fictional plays were actually based on incidents that happened forty or fifty years earlier and had already been treated in the theatre or in popular ballads (utazaimon). The same, incidentally, can be said of one of the crime plays, Gojūnenki Utanembutsu, and one in the adultery category, Daikyōji Mukashi Goyomi.

Another feature usually taken to be common to the sewamono and yet not true of all the plays is the treatment of ordinary, that is, non-samurai, society. In five of the plays at least one of the main characters is a samurai, while in four others at least one of the main characters comes from a former samurai family. Four other plays have important secondary characters who are samurai. Finally, it should be noted that by no means do all the plays share the tragic outcome

associated with the shiniūmono. Seven of the plays, in fact, end happily, including all five of the fictional plays, as well as one crime play (Yodogoi Shusse no Takinobori) and one adultery play (Daikyōji Mukashi Goyomi).

Given this variety in Chikamatsu's sewamono corpus and the way in which categories overlap when the plays are subjected to other criteria, it is questionable whether the categories commonly used are adequate. Certainly other methods of categorization are possible, such as the division into tragedy and comedy, for example, or according to the social classes of the main characters. My concern here, however, is not to refashion the classification system for Chikamatsu's sewamono, but to show how the corpus need not be divorced from Chikamatsu's other work, especially his kabuki plays. For while it can be argued that the kabuki sewamono provided models for some of Chikamatsu's sewamono, an examination of other plays shows that the proper comparison, both in terms of structure and theme, is the oiemono.

From the point of view of structure, for example, several of the plays exhibit a form remarkably similar to that of the oiemono. One of these is Tamba Yosaku Matsuyo no Komuro Bushi (Yosaku from Tamba, 1707-08) a play in the fictional category and one which is often considered by editors and critics to be structurally flawed. This is because the play appears to be a *mélange* of the oiemono and sewamono genres.<sup>6</sup> It is perhaps more useful, however, to see the play as an oiemono in which the exile scene has been both extended and intensified. The main character, Yosaku, is a samurai, but when the play begins he has already been discredited and he appears in yatsushi throughout. In the course of the play he and his prostitute lover, Koman, endure hardships (including money problems) worse than any of those suffered by the daimyō and keisei of the oiemono. They in fact come dangerously close to killing themselves before they are stopped by a fellow samurai and old friend of Yosaku's, who also brings news that Yosaku is to be reinstated as a samurai with a stipend of 1,000 koku.

To take another example, the crime play Yodogoi Shusse no Takinobori (The Carp's Successful Climb up the Waterfall, 1709) uses all the elements of a typical oiemono but transposes them to the world of the chōnin. Here the main character is a rich merchant, Katsujirō, who has a favourite keisei, Azuma, whom he wishes to ransom. Due to his own profligacy and the criminal intrigue of one of his employees, however, he is driven into exile. In yatsushi, he secretly visits Azuma, but it is learned that a man is planning to buy out her contract. When the man shows up with the money, Azuma stabs and kills him. It turns out that the man was actually the brother of Katsujirō's former clerk, Shinshichi, who had been wrongly dismissed due to the slander of the same employee who was behind Katsujirō's troubles. What is more, the attempt to ransom Azuma was all for Katsujirō's sake. Katsujirō is moved by Shinshichi's loyalty and begs to be forgiven by him. As for Azuma, she asks that Shinshichi kill her for having murdered his brother. Shinshichi, however, replies that if Katsujirō and Shinshichi are happy as man and wife, he will forget the mistreatment he has received and forgive the murder of his brother. Meanwhile, news arrives that, due to Shinshichi's efforts, Katsujirō's banishment has been lifted. The play thus ends in typical oiemono fashion with the hero restored to his rightful position.

The parallels between this play and Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu are obvious. The humility of Katsujirō, Azuma's willingness to die for the death she caused, and Shinshichi's unfailing loyalty to his master despite the sacrifices this entails all have their counterparts in the behaviour of Tamiya, Michishiba, and Hikoroku. As a portrait of chōnin society this may come across as far-fetched, and the play could be condemned for simply transposing the oiemono model to the world of the merchant. The fact that this transposition occurs and the result is a positive outcome to the play, however, at the same time suggests that it was only by ascribing to the characters samurai-like behaviour and values that Chikamatsu was able to give a positive picture of merchant society. For as was seen in the case of Sonezaki Shinjū and Shinjū Ten no Amijima, when money does assume a central position and is not subordinate to other



values, the result can only be tragic. In order to further explore the relationship between money and the ideology of class I would like to look briefly at two more plays, in both of which money plays a key role and in which there are samurai as well as chōnin characters.

The first of these is the 1718 fictional play Yamazaki Yojibei Nebiki no Kadomatsu (Yamazaki Yojibei and the Uprooted Pine). The main characters are Yojibei, a merchant's son, and Azuma, a top-ranked prostitute (tayū). As Gerstle has noted, this play employs an inverted oiemono structure in that the first and last acts take place in the licensed quarter while the middle act is set in Yojibei's family residence (168). In the first act an old woman comes to the quarter with her son to see Azuma. The woman explains that her son, Yohei, has been dying to meet the famous tayū, but they are poor, her son's hopes having been "overpowered by the enemy called money" (MPC 317). She nevertheless asks if Azuma will share a cup of sake with her son. Azuma is moved by their poverty and offers Yohei some money. Yohei is at first reluctant to take it, but when he hears about Azuma's own troubles and how she waits desperately for her lover, Yojibei, to redeem her contract, he accepts the money and declares he will use it to go to Edo and start a business so that he can repay Azuma's kindness by buying out her contract and uniting her with Yojibei.

Later the rich merchant Hikosuke comes to the quarter and tries to buy Azuma's company, boasting, in much the same way Kuheiji and Tahei do in the shinjū plays examined above, of his wealth and the power it has given him. Azuma is not impressed. "I'm not the kind of prostitute to be manipulated by a rotten scoundrel like you with the lever of your money," is her reply (MPC 323). Humiliated, Hikosuke later attempts to stab Yojibei, but in the dark attacks Yohei instead, who fights back and ends up wounding Hikosuke. Hikosuke, believing he was injured by Yojibei, accuses him of attempted murder, and Yojibei is arrested.

The second act finds Yojibei under house arrest at the home of his father, the merchant Jōkan. Also present is the father of Yojibei's wife, the samurai Jibuemon. The two men play a game of shōgi (Japanese

chess), during which, in a manner reminiscent of the go shukō in Keisei Asama ga Dake, they use their discussion of the moves to allude to the situation of Yojibei. It appears at first that the samurai father-in-law, Jibuemon, is much more concerned with Yojibei's plight than is the merchant father, Jōkan, who claims he would rather lose his "knight" than give up his "gold and silver" (MPC 331). It is later revealed, however, that Jōkan is only playing the game to keep from worrying about Yojibei, who will be executed if Hikosuke dies from his wound. The father, in fact, is not only willing to suffer the consequences of letting Yojibei escape, when Yojibei refuses to go, he threatens to kill himself so that he will at least have been outlived by his son should the latter in fact eventually be put to death. The supposedly parsimonious merchant, in other words, is shown in the end to be capable not only of ninjō, but also of making a samurai-like self-sacrifice for his son's life. This demonstration has the desired result, and Yojibei leaves to wander in exile with Azuma.

In the final act, the play comes full circle as the action returns to the licensed quarter. Yojibei and Azuma are still missing, but Hikosuke has recovered and wishes to buy out Azuma's contract. He is not the only prospective buyer, however, for Yojibei's father-in-law is ready to pawn his sword to ransom Azuma so that she can be with Yojibei. Yet the man who is in the best financial position to redeem Azuma's contract is Yohei, who has returned from Edo "a minister of the treasury" and "with ready cash in [his] wallet" (MPC 345). He has, in fact, already met Yojibei and Azuma on the way, and once Azuma has been freed from her debt to the brothel, they make their appearance. Hikosuke is then persuaded to drop the charge against Yojibei, and all ends happily.

Despite the inverted oiemono structure, then, this play closely follows the oiemono pattern with the exception that it is set entirely in a chōnin milieu. The presence of the samurai Jibuemon, however, and, perhaps more importantly, the merchant Jōkan's ability to rise above money concerns and display a samurai-like grandeur has the effect of infusing the play with bushi values, which can perhaps explain why everything

works out so well. Not unrelated to this happy outcome is the way money is used in this play. For whereas Hikosuke, who resembles many other villains in Chikamatsu's sewamono, attempts to use his wealth to dominate others, Yohei uses his to repay those to whom he owes a debt of gratitude: Azuma, who did not turn him away when he was a poor man and gave him the money with which he made his fortune; and Yojibei, who willingly took the blame for the wounding of Hikosuke. Yohei's fortune, moreover, although quickly made, is said to have been acquired "without harming anyone" (MPC 345). In both the way he made his money and the use he puts it to, in other words, Yohei serves in this play as a model merchant. Yet to be a model merchant in this sense means to deny both the intrinsic value of money and one's own self-interest. The model merchant, in short, is a "samurai merchant," not in the sense of today's "samurai businessmen," but in the sense of one who puts the samurai values of honour, loyalty and service above money itself.<sup>7</sup>

That the majority of his sewamono do not end happily, however, suggests that on the whole Chikamatsu did not hold out much hope for the chōnin class, or at least its lower levels, in the context of the money economy. This has already been demonstrated, I believe, through the examples of the two shinjū plays discussed above. Nowhere, though, is this sense of pessimism more apparent than in Chikamatsu's only murder play, Onnakoroshi Abura Jigoku (The Woman-Killer and the Hell of Oil, 1721). Here the main character, Yohei, appears to be thoroughly bad, but it is also made clear that Yohei's desperate act of theft and murder are the result of his need for money, which is brought to a critical point by the actions of a usurer, who "with words as soft as cotton batting...closes the vice around Yohei's neck" by offering him a loan at an exorbitant rate (MPC 454).

Like the preceding play, samurai and samurai values are not totally absent from this sewamono. In the first act, Yohei's raucous behaviour leads to his accidentally insulting a high-ranking samurai, and although his own uncle, who is also a samurai, wants to cut off Yohei's head for the offense, the senior officer, "true to the samurai code, is indif-

ferent to petty annoyances," and asks that Yohei's life be spared (MPC 435). Yohei's own mother comes from a samurai family, and his deceased father is described by his present stepfather as "a perfect gentleman, a man who understood duty and compassion too [giri mo nasake mo]" (CMS 2: 414; MPC 455). These values, however, have not been inherited by Yohei, who consistently puts his own self-interest first. Yet the fact that he is the main character in this play suggests that Yohei's role is not simply that of the villain but that of a representative of the younger chōnin generation. Ultimately, therefore, the play can be read as Chikamatsu's pessimistic assessment of the contemporary chōnin world, one in which the money economy is shown to have displaced an older, more positive, morality that includes both giri and ninjō, and substituted in its place the morality of money and naked self-interest.

It is certainly no overstatement to say that the bleak view presented here is in sharp contrast to the tone not only of the preceding play but also of the oiemono. In the oiemono, the difficulties occasioned by the lack of money are only temporary and are always resolved in the end, often through what can perhaps best be described as an idealized samurai ethic that combines both giri and ninjō. In the majority of the sewamono, on the other hand, the chōnin world and the money economy are shown to be no longer governed by this sort of morality. Money, accordingly, appears in a more powerful and disruptive form, and what in the oiemono is essentially tragi-comedy thus gives way in many of the sewamono to domestic tragedy.

Although I have tried to offer a broader perspective on Chikamatsu's sewamono by reading the plays in light of the structures and thematic concerns found also in the oiemono, it is important to point out that this perspective is still limited and must be qualified in at least two important ways. In the first place, I have only considered the plays as literature and not as performance. In my defence I would argue that the modern critic invariably passes through the modern text and its previous readings, but that I have tried to do so in such a way as to open the plays to ideological questions that traditional literary studies have

ignored. Nevertheless, as is the case with kabuki, an interpretation of jōruri plays that neglects the performance context can only be partial. This is perhaps even more true of jōruri, especially the jōruri of Chikamatsu's time. For what must be remembered is not only that these plays were written for performances involving puppets, but that the puppets used were not the large three-man puppets which one sees in the Bunraku theatre today and which were only introduced into jōruri after Chikamatsu's death, but were the older, smaller variety, which were operated by a single puppeteer. These small, relatively simple, puppets would have lacked the expressive capabilities of their later counterparts. Performance, therefore, was in all likelihood focused as much (if not more) on the narration by the chanter as on the actions of the puppets. This separation or dispersal of performance elements (to which must be added the music of the shamisen player) renders highly problematic the tendency in Chikamatsu studies since Shōyō's time to treat the characters of Chikamatsu's plays as bourgeois individuals.<sup>8</sup> Since my own analysis has not depended on such a view of the characters, this observation about jōruri performance does not necessarily invalidate my interpretation of the plays. In one sense it could even be said to support my approach. For while the composite nature of jōruri performance makes questionable the focus on an assumed internal conflict between giri and ninjō, it does not rule out reading the plays as parables dealing with contemporary life, including the effects of the money economy on social relations.

The other qualification that needs to be made to my reading of Chikamatsu's sewamono is that I have only extended the context to include his kabuki plays. A more comprehensive reading, and one perhaps differing in important ways from what I have offered here, would emerge if Chikamatsu's other jōruri works were also taken into account. For no matter what one takes to be the total number of Chikamatsu's jōruri plays, these other works, virtually all of which fall into the categories of odaimono and jidaimono, outnumber the sewamono plays by a ratio of at least four to one.<sup>9</sup> It is true that this proportion can be partly explained by the fact that Chikamatsu produced many plays in these other

categories before he began to write sewamono. Yet while it would suit the trend of privileging the sewamono to say that the domestic plays thus represent Chikamatsu's more mature work, a look at the corpus reveals that even after he began writing sewamono Chikamatsu still produced about twice as many plays in the other categories. It should also be mentioned that, like their kabuki counterparts, Chikamatsu's sewamono were always performed as the kiri part of the daily programme, the main item of which was either an odaimono or jidaimono, and that their subordinate status is further underlined by the fact that virtually all the plays are three acts in length, while the odaimono and jidaimono are much longer and typically made up of five acts.

Even from the limited perspective offered here, however, it should be clear that it is possible to interpret Chikamatsu's sewamono as something other than a critique of the feudal order or a passionate lament for the defeat of ninjō at the hands of relentless giri. When viewed alongside the oiemono, the ideology of the sewamono that emerges is both more conservative than is usually implied and more directly related to the socio-economic conditions of the age. In the kabuki oiemono, it was observed, the socio-economic order occasioned by the rise of the money economy, while making its presence felt, is ultimately not allowed to disrupt permanently an older order, one founded on traditional social structures and values invariably associated with the bushi class. The ultimate utopian horizon of these plays, therefore, allows for at most an accommodation of the new merchant economy within the existing order. In the sewamono, on the other hand, or at least in the tragic examples of the genre, there is little to hold the new economic order in check and prevent it from making victims of those under its control. Utopia, accordingly, is replaced by dystopia, and although this implies critique, it is not a critique of the ideology of the ruling class, but of a money economy which recognizes no superior morality and which thus threatens to reduce all human relations to the cash nexus.

History shows, however, that in the Edo period this emergent new order never did effectively displace the old order, either politically or economically. In this sense Chikamatsu's more pessimistic sewamono should perhaps be seen as alarmist. Yet if the chōnin class was unable to bring about a Japanese equivalent of the bourgeois revolution or even to mount a significant challenge to the ruling class, then part of the explanation for this may lie in the way that chōnin culture itself was contained within an ideological hegemony, one which was maintained not only by laws and regulations but also by cultural production itself, including Chikamatsu's work for both the kabuki and jōruri theatres.

Notes to Chapter Five

1. One play which cannot be included in this category, however, is the Yūgiri Sanban Tsuzuki, which, as its title implies, is a tsuzuki-kyōgen. Actually, the different acts of the play are made up of earlier versions of the Yūgiri story.

2. For an account of some of the other versions of the story, see Richard Lane's "Saikaku's 'Five Women'," which is included as an afterword to the same translation (233-40).

3. On the relationship between Chikamatsu's sewamono and kabuki sewamono, see Suwa, Chikamatsu Sewa Jōruri 3-40, 381-407; Matsuzaki, Genroku Engeki 165-85; Tsuchida, "Sewa Higeki no Seiritsu"; Hara, "Kuhei-ji no Settei."

4. This is not the only one of Chikamatsu's sewamono which borrows elements of Jūzaemon's clever strategy: in both Hijirimem Uzuki no Momoji and Gojūnenki Utanembutsu, for instance, the villain also employs a ruse with a note to discredit the main character; while in Shinjū Nimai Ezoshi and Daikyōji Mukashi Goyomi the hero, like Kyūemon in Myōjō ga Chaya, is framed when caught taking something from his master's purse. Of all these plays it is Shinjū Nimai Ezoshi which bears the most striking resemblance to Myōjō ga Chaya, for here not only is the hero trapped when he opens the purse, but it is also money from an association money box that he is accused of stealing.

5. This approach is most evident in Hirosue's monumental work, Chikamatsu Josetsu, which meticulously analyses Chikamatsu's sewamono corpus in terms of the development of tragedy. For a criticism of this approach, see Gerstle, Circles of Fantasy 84-85. Though Suwa also objects to Hirosue's too literary interpretation of Chikamatsu's work, he too sees a development in Chikamatsu's method from Sonezaki Shinjū to Shinjū Ten no Amijima (Chikamatsu Sewa Jōruri 381-94).

6. Some of the criticisms of this play are summarized in Gerstle, Circles of Fantasy 157-58. Although Gerstle dismisses most of these criticisms, he himself writes that in this play "the playwright was



trying to reconcile two contrasting themes and conventions" (162).

7. There is an interesting parallel between Chikamatsu's view of the model merchant and the merchant ideology that arose in the eighteenth century, particularly in Osaka, and which sought to locate in merchant activities the capacity for meaningful and ethical action. On eighteenth-century merchant ideology, see Najita.

8. The incompatibility of bunraku's performance structure with bourgeois conceptions of the individual is noted in Suvin, "The Soul and the Sense" 505-06, 528-29. Similar observations are found in Hoff, although I believe Hoff pushes the case too far by arguing that bunraku-like narrative (katari) is a central element in all traditional Japanese theatre and relating it to an ancient "shamanic prototype"(7). In this, however, he is only reproducing the emphasis of certain Japanese critics, who, in Hoff's own words, have sought "to identify the uniqueness of Japanese classical theatre" by distinguishing "theatre in Japan from Western naturalism" (14,3).

9. Due to the fact that there are many plays of doubtful or uncertain authorship, the actual number of Chikamatsu's jōruri plays is difficult if not impossible to determine. However, if the number of plays appearing in the five "complete" editions that have appeared since 1924 can be taken as a guide, then the total number of Chikamatsu's jōruri plays could be said to lie somewhere between 104 and 147. This would mean that the 24 sewamono represent between one-sixth and one-quarter of the total.

## CHAPTER SIX

### EDO KABUKI

#### Survey of Edo Plays

If in the final analysis it can be argued that Kamigata kabuki and jōruri served to reproduce an ideological hegemony that contributed to the maintenance of the feudal system, one might expect that Edo kabuki, operating in the very shadow of the centre of that system, would do likewise. While this in general is true, an analysis of representative plays of the Edo region, which will be the focus of this chapter, shows that this very proximity to the centre of political rule resulted in significant differences from Kamigata kabuki. Some of these differences, moreover, are immediately evident in the kinds or categories of plays that dominated in the two regions. Before turning to the examination of individual plays, therefore, I would like to begin this chapter as I did chapter four by defining a corpus and establishing some rough categories.

The most comprehensive list of extant Edo Genroku plays can be found in Torigoe's "Edoban Eiri Kyōgenbon Nempyō" (120-23). This gives a total of 63 kyōgenbon dateable between 1683 and 1711. To this must be added at least one play, Taishokan Nido no Tamatori (1701), which has since come to light and is included in vol. 2 of Edoban Kyōgenbon. It is also necessary to take into consideration that the first three items on Torigoe's list are in a form substantially different from the other kyōgenbon and that there are thus grounds for not treating them as kyōgenbon at all. Indeed, Torigoe makes this point about two of the plays in his notes that accompany the list (123), and elsewhere he suggests that none of these plays but rather the 1697 play Sankai Nagoya should be considered the oldest extant Edo kyōgenbon (Genroku Kabuki Kō 258). If these three plays are excluded, then, and the one missing kyōgenbon added, the result is a list of 61 kyōgenbon from the period 1697-1711. Again, however, not all of these kyōgenbon are readily accessible, and if, as was the case with the Kamigata plays, the corpus is limited to those kyōgenbon which are available in modern editions, this

would give a total of 34 plays from the years 1697-1708. This, then, will be the corpus of Edo Genroku plays for the purpose of this study. (See Appendix C for a list of all 34 plays.)

Following the same procedure that was used in chapter four, these 34 plays can be divided into several categories. As will be seen from the numbers provided in table 5, in contrast to Kamigata kabuki, where the dominant category was the oiemono, in Edo kabuki the major play type is the ōdaimono, which accounts for more than 40% of the plays in the corpus. This is followed by the category of jidaimono plays, which make up more than a quarter of the corpus. The oiemono is by no means absent, but it is a particular feature of Edo Genroku kabuki that unlike Kamigata kabuki, where the setting of such plays is inevitably a fictional contemporary domain, in Edo the majority of oiemono are set in recognizable historical worlds or sekai. Only three plays (numbers 3, 7, and 13 on list 3, Appendix C) are comparable to the typical Kamigata oiemono. As for the other oiemono, one (number 24) is set in the period of court rule, while seven are placed in the context of later historical periods, numbers 14, 17, 30, 31 and 32 being set in the years of the Gempei wars or early Kamakura Period (late twelfth century) and numbers 1 and 8 in the period of the Ashikaga shogunate (fifteenth century). It is for this reason that I have chosen to employ for these plays the hybrid categories ōdai-oiemono and jidai-oiemono in table 5.

Table 6. Distribution of Edo Kabuki  
Plays by Category

category	number of plays
<u>ōdaimono</u>	14
<u>jidaimono</u>	9
<u>ōdai-oiemono</u>	1
<u>jidai-oiemono</u>	7
<u>oiemono</u>	3
total	34

As an explanation for this feature of Edo oiemono it could be argued that, whereas in Kamigata kabuki producers sought to avoid too direct reference to contemporary politics by giving their oiemono fictional settings, in Edo this was achieved by adopting pre-Tokugawa historical contexts. As was mentioned earlier, this was in fact the strategy employed in many later kabuki plays when treating contemporary events. The shape of the corpus and the categories into which the plays can be placed suggest at least two other factors, however, both of which cannot only be taken as possible explanations for this feature of the Edo oiemono, but which also help to define the character of Edo kabuki as a whole. The first of these is the marked tendency of Edo kabuki to take up the plots and sekai of other theatrical genres; while the second is related to the setting and scale of these sekai.

In order to show the extent of Edo kabuki producers' dependence on other theatrical genres I have included in the list of Edo plays found in Appendix C an indication of the genres in which the material of individual plays had been previously treated. While I do not wish to suggest that this information is exhaustive, further investigation would no doubt only turn up more evidence for what is already apparent from the information offered, namely that not only the oiemono but the great majority of Edo plays are based on material drawn in some form or another from previous plays in other genres. This is true of at least 27 plays in the corpus. Specifically, eight plays can be related to previous treatments of the same material in jōruri and/or sekkyō plays, seven to nō plays, seven to both nō and jōruri/sekkyō plays, and five to versions of the same material found in nō, jōruri/sekkyō, and kōwakamai. For these 27 kabuki plays, in other words, there exists a total of 44 possible sources, 20 of which are to be found among jōruri/sekkyō plays, 19 among nō plays, and five in the genre of kōwakamai.

What this information reveals is that the tendency in Edo to set oiemono plays in historical contexts is not simply a means to avoid direct reference to contemporary political events, but should be seen instead as part of a more general convention of play creation. It is

true that many of the Edo plays treat the material taken up from previous theatrical works very freely. It is also important to point out that this borrowing from other genres does not preclude the other kind of borrowing seen so often in Kamigata kabuki, namely the incorporation of specific plot elements or shukō from other kabuki plays, which indeed is also a feature of Edo kabuki. All I wish to make note of for the moment is that in most cases the construction of Edo plays involved, at least as a first step, the adoption of a historical world or sekai already defined by previous theatrical treatments.

As for why Edo kabuki producers adopted this strategy, one possible answer is that it was simply a matter of convenience. By starting out with a known historical world, producers would have spared themselves the task faced by their counterparts in Kamigata of creating a fictional setting and a cast of characters. Given the many other examples of borrowing in Genroku kabuki and the cost-effectiveness of the practice, there would appear to be grounds for concluding that this adoption of existing sekai stems in part from an effort to simplify the production process. This does not adequately explain why this practice was so common in Edo but not in Kamigata, however. To do so it would be necessary to add that the keisei scene, which forms an important part of the oiemono, had long been a feature of Kamigata kabuki and provided the core around which fictional settings modeled on older oiemono were constructed to produce multi-act plays. In Edo, on the other hand, kabuki had from early on faced strong competition from ko-jōruri and sekkyō, and as a consequence producers took to borrowing the sekai of these plays, the result of which was that the choice of a sekai became established as a standard first step in the creation of a new play.

This explanation, however, applies principally to those sekai adopted from jōruri and sekkyō plays. As for the equally strong tendency among kabuki (not to mention jōruri) producers to treat the nō repertoire as a source for plays, here the most likely explanation is to be found in the prestige value associated with the material. Prestige and social status, it has already been argued, were major concerns of kabuki

producers, and since nō had long been the recipient of elite patronage and thus enjoyed far greater prestige than kabuki, there would appear to be good grounds for considering this explanation as well.

There is, however, another equally compelling argument for why Edo plays were so often set in historical worlds, and this at the same time can be taken as the second possible explanation for the difference between Edo and Kamigata ojemono. Put briefly, both the proclivity towards historical sekai in general and the setting of ojemono in such sekai can be seen as the reflection of a concern in Edo kabuki with questions of national rule and order. This is certainly true, for example, of plays set in the context of the imperial court, which by definition represented the centre of political authority. The same, moreover, can be said both of plays treating aspects of the Gempei wars, that period in Japanese history which marked the end of court rule and saw the beginning of government by the military class, and of plays focusing on power struggles within the Ashikaga shogunate, which during the Muromachi period was itself the centre of that military rule. Contrasting this with the situation in Kamigata kabuki, then, it can be concluded that while Kamigata plays addressed the questions of social and political order through local or domainal examples, in Edo kabuki order meant above all national order, that is, an order defined in relation to the national political authority. There can be no better accounting for this tendency in Edo kabuki than to point once again to the fact that Edo producers themselves lived and worked in the shadow of the national government of their own age, and to suggest that this close proximity to the political centre of the nation led to the identification of power with national power. This is not to imply, though, that the producers of Edo kabuki simply transferred the sense of political and social order they were familiar with to the historical worlds of their plays. To be sure, in some cases and to some degree this is indeed what they did. As should become clear through the examination of representative plays in the next section of this chapter, however, historical worlds, like the fictitious settings of Kamigata kabuki, also provided opportunities for

transforming or refashioning that order. How this order as well as the social relationships that define it are construed, therefore, will be a major focus in the discussion of individual plays.

As for which plays can be considered representative, the above survey shows that, although the ōdaimono was the major play type, it did not dominate Edo kabuki to the same extent that the oiemono did in Kamigata. Other play types, therefore, will also have to be considered. On the basis of the survey, I would argue that any representative selection of plays would have to include, in addition to at least one ōdaimono, an example of a jidaimono as well as a hybrid jidai-oiemono. The three plays I have chosen from these categories are, in the order they will be treated, Tsuwamono Kongen Soga (jidaimono), Sankai Nagoya (jidai-oiemono), and Naritasan Funjin Fudō (ōdaimono). Summaries of all three plays are provided in Appendix D.

All three of the plays selected for analysis were written by and starred Danjūrō I. While this may appear to contradict the intention to deal with representative works of Edo kabuki, there is, I believe, ample reason for focusing on plays by Danjūrō. In the first place, Danjūrō is well represented as a playwright by surviving kyōgenbon. Of the 37 kyōgenbon on Torigoe's list for which the playwright(s) can be identified, 13 were either written (9) or co-written (4) by Danjūrō, which is more than twice the number than can be attributed to any other single playwright. Of these 13 plays, 12 are included in the corpus of 34 plays used here. These twelve plays, moreover, are representative of Genroku Edo kabuki as a whole inasmuch as they are distributed among the various categories in roughly the same proportion as the entire corpus of 34 plays. More precisely, five of Danjūrō's plays are ōdaimono, three jidaimono, three jidai-oiemono, and one an oiemono.

In kabuki, however, as was seen in the case of Kamigata plays, play writing must be considered in the context of the actors and their specialties, and in this sense, too, Danjūrō's plays merit attention. They were, after all, written first and foremost for himself, and that Danjūrō was a major star of the Edo theatre is indisputable. In the

hyōbanki, for example, he consistently earned the highest ranking available, jō-jō-kichi. Danjūrō, in short, represents that combination of prolific playwright and accomplished actor which in Kamigata is to be found only in the writing/acting team of Chikamatsu and Tōjūrō.

There are, in addition to the above, other possible reasons for focusing on Danjūrō I. Many accounts of kabuki, for example, stress his founding of both the aragoto acting style and the acting family that came to bear his name. It is also frequently pointed out that the earliest versions of many of the scenes which would eventually make up the "Eighteen Favourite Plays" (Jūhachiban) of the Ichikawa family can be found in the plays that Danjūrō wrote and acted in during the Genroku era. To locate the importance of Danjūrō's work in its relationship to subsequent kabuki traditions, however, would be once again to resort to the "discourse of origins." Here my emphasis is on the Genroku era itself, and in this context the large number of Danjūrō I's surviving kyōgenbon, the fact that these plays are spread amongst the different categories, and Danjūrō's contemporary stature as an actor provide sufficient justification for seeing his work as both important in its own right and representative of Edo Genroku kabuki as a whole.

Once it is accepted that Danjūrō's work constitutes a suitable focus, then it remains only to show why I have selected for analysis the three plays mentioned above. Part of the rationale for this choice is already provided by the fact that these three plays fall into the three most important categories of Edo kabuki plays. In addition to this, though, the three plays can also be considered representative of Danjūrō's work in that each one includes a role he frequently performed during his career. Other reasons for my choices will become evident in the ensuing discussions of the particular plays. It will suffice for the moment to mention that among these other considerations it was deemed important to select examples that would offer instructive comparisons with Kamigata kabuki and which displayed certain telling characteristics of Danjūrō's work, such as his frequent employment of sekai borrowed from the nō theatre or the structural device of sudden character transformations.



Sexual/Social Desire and Repression: The Plays of Danjūrō I

It is often stated that Danjūrō I began his acting career in 1673 and made his first appearance as Soga Gorō in 1675, but there is little reliable evidence for this.<sup>1</sup> It is certain, however, that Soga plays were performed in Edo kabuki long before the beginning of the Genroku era and that Danjūrō had already acted in such plays prior to his 1697 performance in Tsuwamono Kongen Soga (The Genesis of the Soga Warrior), the only one of his Soga plays for which the kyōgenbon has survived. In 1688, for example, the first year of the Genroku era, Danjūrō played Soga Gorō in Kokin Kyōdai Tsuwamono Soga Jūban Tsuzuki. It is an indication of the popularity of the Soga theme at this time that in the same month that this play was performed two of the three other Edo theatres also put on Soga plays (Ihara, Kabuki Nempyō 1: 170). In 1696 Danjūrō performed in a play with a similar title, Kokin Kyōdai Nanori Yūryoku Soga Jūbangiri (Suwa, Genroku Kabuki 379). Whether or not this was a reproduction of the earlier play is unknown. On the other hand, it would seem safe to assume that the 1697 play Tsuwamono Kongen Soga, if not a direct restaging, did at least owe much to a play with the same title performed by Danjūrō in 1695 (Suwa, Genroku Kabuki 137).

While it is thus likely that Danjūrō drew on his previous Soga plays for Tsuwamono Kongen Soga, it does not necessarily follow that all the features of this play or even of Danjūrō's portrayal of Soga Gorō were entirely of his own creation (Suwa, Genroku Kabuki 138). For behind this 1697 play lies a dense intertextual web that includes, in addition to the various prose versions of the Soga Monogatari and kabuki plays by other playwrights and troupes, some 14 nō plays, seven kōwakamai plays, and countless jōruri plays. The history of the Soga story from the early prose accounts through to the dance dramas of late Edo-period kabuki is the subject of a dissertation by Kominz and thus will not be discussed here.<sup>2</sup> It will be enough to mention that among the many extant previous Soga plays those that appear most important in relation to Tsuwamono Kongen Soga are the nō play Chōbuku Soga and the kōwakamai play Wada Sakamori, the latter of which was also the basis for several ko-jōruri

plays of identical or similar titles.<sup>3</sup> These nō and kōwakamai plays can be considered the main sources for acts two and four respectively, both of which involve scenes featuring Danjūrō's aragoto acting.

Although such scenes were clearly among the highlights of the play in performance, it is to Danjūrō's credit as a kabuki playwright (and to that of his collaborator, Nakamura Seizaburō) that the play also provides ample opportunities for the other actors of the troupe to display their special talents. As is indicated in table 7, it is Danjūrō in the role of Soga Gorō, who appears in the greatest number of scenes (six). Other important tachiyaku actors, however, are also given a number of scenes. Murayama Shirōji, for example, who played the role of Soga Jūrō, appears in four; while Nakamura Dengurō in the role of Asahina appears in three. In addition to this there are scenes for the katakiyaku actor Yamanaka Heikurō, the wakashūgata Ikushima Daikichi and Ichikawa Dannojō, as well as for the troupes' several wakaonnagata.

Table 7. Distribution of Scenes Among Actors in Tsuwamono Kongen Soga

Act	One		Two				Three		Four	
	1	2	1	2	3	4	1	2	1	2
Ichikawa Danjūrō (T) = Gorō				X	X	X	X	X		X
Murayama Shirōji (T) = Jūrō		X					X	X		X
Nakamura Dengurō (T) = Asahina	X					X				X
Yamanaka Heikurō (KY) = Kudō	X		X	X						
Ikushima Daikichi (WS) = Koshirō		X						X		
Ichikawa Dannojō (WS) = Dōzaburō			X		X		X	X		
Sodeoka Masanosuke (WO) = Tora							X			X
Fujimoto Monnojō (WO) = Shōshō							X			
Kiriyama Masanosuke (WO) = Otome		X								
Sodeoka Hanojō (WO) = Manyō								X		
Oginō Sawanojō (WO) = Ninomiya									X	

T = tachiyaku; KY = katakiyaku; WS = wakashūgata; WO = wakaonnagata

This distribution of roles and scenes lends a certain variety to the play as a whole. To be sure there is an emphasis on Danjūrō's aragoto acting, especially in act two, scene three and in those scenes where his character, Gorō, confronts the play's other strongman, Asahina (act two, scene four and act four, scene two). In juxtaposition to the aragoto of Danjūrō's Gorō, however, is the wagoto role of Jūrō, played by Murayama Shirōji. This role clearly shows that wagoto acting was already by this time a part of Edo kabuki. It should be noted, however, that in contrast to Kamigata wagoto, in Edo kabuki wagoto acting in the Genroku period involved, in addition to love scenes with prostitutes, scenes of homosexual relationships (wakashūgato). In act one, scene two, for example, Jūrō makes a pact of homosexual brotherhood with the young Koshirō, played by the wakashūgata Ikushima Daikichi. The wakashūgata Ichikawa Dannojō, who took the role of the Soga retainer Dōzaburō, was given an even more important part in the play, appearing in a total of four scenes, where he is the object of both male and female attentions. Finally, although female characters do not figure as importantly in this play as they do in most works of Kamigata kabuki, there are several roles for wakaonnagata actors. In terms of the plot, the most important such role is that of Tora, played by Sodeoka Masanosuke. It should not be overlooked, however, that the troupe's leading wakaonnagata, Ogino Sawanojō, was given an entire scene of his own, the michiyuki dance scene that makes up act four, scene one.

When analyzed in this way it becomes clear that Tsuwamono Kongen Soga is a well-made play by kabuki standards and that Danjūrō and his collaborator fully accepted the responsibility of the kabuki playwright to create suitable roles for the members of the acting troupe. As the troupe's leading tachiyaku Danjūrō the playwright was undoubtedly justified in giving himself the greatest number of scenes. Yet the fact that he does not appear in this play until act two, scene two and that several of his scenes are shared with other important actors makes it somewhat of an exaggeration to state that Danjūrō "cast his plays so that he would dominate the stage and all other actors would remain in his

shadow" (Kominz, "The Soga Revenge" 282). What no doubt lies behind this perception of Danjūrō is his reputation as both the founder and a brilliant practitioner of the aragoto acting style. This privileging of aragoto, in turn, can be ascribed not only to the continuation of the tradition within kabuki, but also to the view, first expounded in Gunji's Kabuki: Yōshiki to Denshō, that aragoto was originally not simply an acting technique but was an expression of the belief in "violent human gods" (arahitogami), which is one aspect of the more general folk-religious belief known as goryō shinkō (15-18).

Several commentators have pointed to Tsuwamono Kongen Soga in support of Gunji's thesis.<sup>4</sup> Most often singled out is the second act, in which Gorō encounters but fails to kill Kudō. It has frequently been observed, for example, that whereas in the nō play Chōbuku Soga the god Fudō appears to foretell that Gorō will be granted the strength necessary to avenge his father's death, in the kabuki play this transformation is graphically portrayed in Gorō's changed appearance and the feats he accomplishes during his "wild training" in the mountains. According to Horie-Webber's interpretation:

The implication, as the Genroku audience saw it, is that Gorō as a result [of Fudō's intervention] is in a state of kami-kakari (divine possession), and that as the possessor of supernatural power he is now bound to succeed in carrying out his mission. So it turns out that the Soga revenge had been sanctioned by none other than Fudō Myōjin himself, and that Gorō who fought "like a demon" had in fact been a hito-gami (man-god) even while he lived. ("The Essence of Kabuki" 172).

The problem with this interpretation, which is the weakness of all such attempts to interpret kabuki as folk religion, is that the existence of folk-religious patterns or motifs is taken as evidence that the world view of both the producers and their audience was still dominated by the beliefs that underlie these motifs. Granted, Gorō is shown in the play to benefit from Fudō's intervention. Whether this can be considered proof that the belief in arahitogami was still prevalent in the urban

environment of late seventeenth-century Edo, however, is doubtful. In his own examination of the connection between the goryō belief and Danjūrō's aragoto, Suwa concludes that "Genroku kabuki was already caught up in that swift-flowing current in the history of the theatre that turned belief into entertainment" ("Goryō Shinkō to Aragotogei" 15-16). If this is true, then what was Danjūrō's motivation in developing and performing his aragoto style of acting? For Suwa the answer is that aragoto, like other goto, was simply a particular acting style, one in which Danjūrō sought to make his mark in the theatre world and which, due to the fact that he was also a playwright, he was able to exploit to his own advantage (12). According to this view, then, the appeal of aragoto can be said to lie not in its affinity with popular religious beliefs, but in its theatricality, that is to say, in the spectacular nature of the typical aragoto hero's appearance and behaviour, while the use of folk-religious motifs and dramatic structures themselves can be explained in terms of the opportunities they provide for such spectacles.

In support of Suwa's thesis it could be pointed out that, as a playwright concerned with producing entertainment for his audience, Danjūrō was not above injecting a certain amount of humour into his plays, even at the expense of the dignity of the characters he himself portrayed. Thus, in act three, scene two of the present play, that is, after Gorō's supposed transformation into a superhuman warrior through the intervention of the god Fudō, Gorō dresses himself up as a woman in order to admonish his brother for carrying on a relationship with a prostitute, only for it to be revealed that he (Gorō) has a prostitute lover of his own. A perhaps even more striking instance of this deflation of the image of the virtuous hero can be found in the next scene, where Gorō pretends to be a life-like mechanical doll. It hardly needs to be stated that it is difficult to reconcile scenes such as these, which amount to a parody of the legendary character Soga Gorō, with the view that Danjūrō's portrayal of Gorō was an expression of the popular religious belief in arahitogami. Clearly, Tsuwamono Kongen Soga was an entertaining play and this entertainment value was actively sought by its creators.

As was seen in the case of the Kamigata plays examined, however, to point to a play's entertainment value need not mean that it does not also fulfil an ideological function. It was also observed that one way to analyze a play's ideological function is through its form. Here, though, one is immediately aware of a formal difference between Kamigata and Edo kabuki. For whereas in the former the scenes of licensed-quarter pleasures are framed by scenes of samurai life and power struggles, in Edo kabuki there is no such neat structure. Tsuwamono Kongen Soga, for example, contains four acts divided into a total of ten scenes, and although this arrangement makes for a great deal of variety, the structural relationship between individual scenes or acts is not immediately apparent. No doubt part of the explanation for this lies in the practice in Edo kabuki of offering single act admissions for the doma. This required the producers to make an effort to give each act of the play some variety. Thus act one of Tsuwamono Kongen Soga contains both a scene of political authority and samurai strength (scene one) and a wagoto scene consisting of both homosexual and heterosexual flirtation (scene two). Other acts contain similar degrees of variety. Act three, for example, is made up of a domestic scene showing the Soga brothers at home (scene one), as well as a scene set at the residence of the powerful samurai lord Hōjō Tokimasa, which is the site not only of Gorō's doll imitation but of a staged battle with the mock shogunal forces (scene two); while the last act juxtaposes a featured dance scene for the troupe's leading wakaonnagata (scene one) with a final display of samurai might (scene two).

To point out the play's variety, however, is not to say that Tsuwamono Kongen Soga is totally devoid of any unifying structure. To begin with, there is the structure provided by the story upon which the play is based, the Soga Monogatari. Since the play tells less than the whole story, though, what is significant is not the original revenge plot itself, but the structural transformation of the earlier narrative which is brought about through the selection of certain elements from that narrative and their particular arrangement in the play. In this respect

an important point to consider is that the play does not focus on the motive for revenge but rather on those episodes -- Gorō's coming of age, his acquisition of strength, and the receipt of his mother's blessing -- which show the brothers', particularly Gorō's, preparations for carrying it out. What is perhaps even more significant is that the play neither deals with the actual revenge itself nor makes any allusion to the brother's impending doom. Instead the play concludes with Gorō's successful demonstration of his strength in the tug of war with Asahina and with praise for the brothers as "the very models of true samurai" (GKKS 1: 90). This would seem to suggest that the play is not really about revenge at all, but about the development of the Soga brothers into model samurai.

The play does more, however, than simply portray the qualities that go into the making of the true samurai hero. For this making of the heroes unfolds against a background of political order. This is underlined by the very first scene of the play, which depicts the banquet attended by the highest political authority of the land, the shogun Yoritomo, as well as by his chief retainers. What is particularly significant about this scene is not only that the Soga brothers are absent, but that their enemy, Kudō Suketsune, is shown to be among Yoritomo's retainers, while Yoritomo himself declares the brothers to be his enemies as well and orders their execution. In short, at the beginning of the play the Soga brothers stand fully outside the circle of political authority, and thus their transformation into model samurai represents not only their preparations for revenge, but also their desire for social and political reenfranchisement. This, of course, is not the same as saying that they desire the overthrow of the political system. For although they seek the death of Kudō, it is precisely as samurai that they do so. The fact, moreover, that the Soga brothers, who in the banquet scene in act one were branded traitors, are in a similar banquet scene in the final act praised as "the very models of true samurai" shows that by the end of the play the brothers have indeed become worthy of readmittance into the ranks of the social and political elite. It is for

this very reason, however, that the play must end when it does, that is, with the brothers setting off to join Yoritomo's hunting party and with the assurance that "thereafter the world was governed peacefully." For if the play were to go on and follow the Soga Monogatari in depicting the actual revenge, it would have to show how, through Jūrō's death in battle and Gorō's capture and execution soon thereafter, this relegitimization of the brother's status is annulled no sooner than it is achieved. Structurally, in other words, this particular selection and arrangement of elements from the Soga story makes this a play not of revenge but of how two dispossessed and marginalized samurai are able to gain readmittance into the sphere of the social and political elite.

It is not enough, however, simply to point out how the play is structured along the lines of the brothers' reintegration into the political order. For in addition to those scenes which show the brothers' worthiness as samurai there are many others which show them in a different light. The domestic scene, for example, as well as those showing the brothers' pursuit of worldly pleasures, especially Jūrō's many romantic entanglements, indicate that this play is not unlike the Kamigata oiemono in its incorporation of both the mundane and the sensual side of life. It is to be noted, however, that unlike both the oiemono and the sewamono, the theme of the money economy does not enter into this play. To be sure, the brothers are shown to be in poverty, but this does not bring them into a confrontation with the chōnin economy, nor does it put a curb on their pursuit of pleasure. Many of Jūrō's numerous affairs, for example, take place within the samurai class, and even in his and Gorō's relationships to their prostitute lovers there is no suggestion that these liaisons are dependent on monetary expenditure. If there is an opposition operating in the play, in other words, then this is not one of conflicting systems of political economy but one which contrasts the pursuit of pleasure itself with the samurai values of honour, filial piety, and martial skill. This is hinted at in Gorō's remark in act three, scene one that carrying on with prostitutes is incongruous with the brothers' status as the descendants of an important samurai family.



Moreover, inasmuch as Tsuwamono Kongen Soga concludes with the "very models of true samurai" about to join the shogun's prestigious hunting party, the play as a whole can be said to place the samurai ideals and way of life over the pursuit of earthly pleasures.

It would be a mistake, nonetheless, to interpret this final scene to mean that the play presents a simple opposition between the sensual and the ideal, one which is resolved by the triumph of the latter. For the play is not without its ambivalence on this point. Jūrō's behaviour is the most obvious indication of this; indeed, he seems never to miss an opportunity for romantic adventure, and in the last scene he is shown to be still emotionally attached to Tora. Yet even Gorō, who despite his remarks about the inappropriateness of liaisons with prostitutes is revealed to have a prostitute lover of his own, is not without his share of ambivalence. If the conclusion of the play seems to indicate that the brothers have risen to the samurai ideal, therefore, this must not be understood to mean that Danjūrō's play can be taken as a simple denial of sensual pleasures. Indeed, this would be tantamount to saying that the play as an ideological narrative denies its very legitimacy as performance, that is, as a sensual, entertaining spectacle. There is, to be sure, a certain tension or contradiction between the story of these legendary samurai heroes from the past and the physical and sensual way the story and its characters are embodied on the stage. My point, however, is that this tension exists not only between the narrative and performative levels of the play, but also within the narrative itself, where it is expressed above all in the ambivalent treatment of the theme of sexual desire.

This reading of Danjūrō's play, I believe, is corroborated by an examination of his other works, which shows that the theme of sexual desire is not only common to his plays, its treatment is never in any way categorical or unambiguous. Indeed, it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that sexual desire is the one theme in Danjūrō's plays that cannot under any circumstances be ignored. If, therefore, I refrain from saying anything further on the topic for the moment, it is only with the

intention of putting off the discussion of this aspect of Danjūrō's work until such time as an examination of other plays, to which I now turn, will have provided the basis for a more thorough and satisfying analysis.

One play which promises to repay study in this connection is Sankai Nagoya (Nagoya's Attendance), also of 1697 and again attributed to Danjūrō in collaboration with Nakamura Seizaburō. The play takes its title from the name of the character Nagoya Sanzaburō, the semi-legendary rōnin and kabukimono, who in the play is cast in the role of retainer and attendant to the young Muromachi period shogun, Ashikaga Haruō. Nagoya Sanzaburō was the subject of many Genroku plays, but in the case of Danjūrō's kabuki the significance of the Nagoya plays is that this was also the sekai in which appears the fictional character Fuwa Banzaemon, one of Danjūrō's most frequently performed roles. According to the Yakusha Nichō Samisen, by the year 1702 there had been a total of some 24 Nagoya/Fuwa plays since the first in 1680, and of these Danjūrō took the role of Fuwa in 12 (KHS 3: 221-22).<sup>5</sup> Of these 12 plays, however, only one survives in kyōgenbon form, Sankai Nagoya, which is also the oldest extant of all Edo kyōgenbon. The play thus actually precedes Tsuwamono Kongen Soga by some four months. I have chosen to deal with the later play first, however, because I believe there is much to be gained from analyzing Sankai Nagoya in conjunction with the last of Danjūrō's plays to be examined, the 1703 work Naritasan Funjin Fudō.

As mentioned earlier, Sankai Nagoya belongs to the play category which I have termed jidai-oiemono. A convenient way to begin analysis of this play, therefore, is to compare it with the examples of the Kamigata oiemono examined in chapter four. There are in fact many similarities between the two. To begin with the most obvious, Sankai Nagoya resembles the Kamigata plays in adopting the basic oiesōdō structure of a dispute over lordship, with the play's many characters thus occupying positions on either the side of the legitimate heir and ruler or that of the would-be usurper and chief villain. One also notices a similarity in the pattern of attempted usurpation, with the villains here, as in the Kamigata plays, employing such strategies as false accusations, the use

of imposters, and the theft of a special family heirloom or symbol of rulership. Yet it is not only the oiesōdō element which bears a resemblance to the Kamigata oimono. For here, as in the Kamigata plays, the prostitute lover plays an important role and a substantial part of the action (in this case the entire third act) is centred in the licensed quarter. When compared with individual Kamigata plays, the most striking resemblance is to Keisei Asama ga Dake. As was pointed out in chapter four, this is because the Kyoto play borrowed shukō from Sankai Nagoya and another, now non-extant, Nagoya play (which may have also been a source for Sankai Nagoya itself). It is usually assumed that development of multi-act plays that included keisei scenes was a Kamigata innovation. There is no reason to doubt this, but the present example does at least make it clear that by the Genroku era such scenes, like the acting style of wagoto, was already an established, if not necessarily dominant, part of Edo kabuki.

As necessary as it is to be aware of these similarities and of the cross-fertilization that produced them, it is equally important to recognize the significant differences that exist between a play such as Sankai Nagoya and the Kamigata oimono. As concerns the oiesōdō plot, for instance, a major difference lies in the fact that here the dispute revolves not around the position of a mere regional lord but that of the shogun himself. More precisely, the play is set in the mid-Muromachi period during the rule of the ninth Ashikaga shogun, Yoshihisa (here called Haruō), and the challenge to his authority comes from his uncle and former regent, Ōgimachi Dazainojō.<sup>6</sup> It has already been suggested that the Edo preference for historical topics involving the highest political authority of the land can be attributed to the dominant position occupied by the shogunate and its institutions within the city of Edo. Yet if national rather than domainal politics constitute the preferred context of Edo oimono, it is not always the case that the action thus focuses on the trials and tribulations of the representative of national authority himself. In Sankai Nagoya, for instance, the part of the shogun, unlike that of the daimyō in Kamigata oimono, is a minor

role and was played by the wakashūgata Sodezaki Tamura. The most important roles in the play are those of the shogun's retainers Fuwa Banzaemon and Nagoya Sanzaburō, played by the leading tachiyaku Danjūrō and Murayama Shirōji respectively. This arrangement, moreover, is not unique to the present play. Indeed, in virtually all of Danjūrō's plays the role of the highest authority represented is a comparatively minor one, and in none did Danjūrō himself take such a role. From this it can only be concluded that for Danjūrō what was important in his dramatic portrayals of the political elite of the past was not the centre of political authority itself but rather, as was already seen in the case of Tsuwamono Kongen Soga, one's relation to it.

This conjecture is borne out by an examination of the principal oiesōdō scenes of Sankai Nagoya, which emphasize the villainy of the would-be usurper and the loyalty of the shogun's retainers. In the first act, which features Danjūrō's fellow tachiyaku Murayama Shirōji, Sanzaburō proves his loyalty by exposing the plot involving the fake storyteller and the theft of the sword. In the following act, then, which marks Danjūrō's first appearance, Fuwa Banzaemon similarly displays his loyalty, first by preventing Dazainojō from slighting the shogun by replacing his shrine offering, and then by drinking the poison that was meant for his master. This scene has a special significance in kabuki history since it is the earliest extant version of the scene which would eventually become famous as the play Shibaraku, one of the Ichikawa family's Jūhachiban.<sup>7</sup> Again, however, what is important here is not what later generations have made of this play, but what the play means in its own particular context. It is necessary to go beyond this scene, therefore, and seriously consider the rest of the play. For indeed, the events of the last two acts not only provide a contrast to these displays of loyalty and heroism, they appear to undermine these very values themselves, while at the same time making of Banzaemon's entire behaviour an enigma.

Having already touched on the problem in the preceding discussion of Tsuwamono Kongen Soga, it can probably be inferred that what I am alluding to here concerns the theme of sexual desire. Before turning to

an examination of how the events of the third and fourth acts render the whole play problematic, however, it should be pointed out that the theme of sexual desire is not entirely absent from the first two acts. Act one, scene two, for example, involves, in addition to the discovery of the villains's strategy, the subplot of Teruhime's infatuation with the young retainer Mikinojō. Similarly, act one, scene three is given a twist when the shogun announces that, despite the service he has rendered, Sanzaburō is to be dismissed from duty for the crime of "forgetting the way of the bushi and going day and night to the licensed quarters" (GKKS 1: 30). Both these elements of the story have their counterparts in Tsuwamono Kongen Soga, the former corresponding to the relationship between Otome and Koshirō, also found in the second scene of act one, and the latter in Jūrō's reported frequent visits to the licensed quarter to see Tora, which similarly earn him reprimands. Finally, it should be mentioned that Sankai Nagoya, like the Soga play, also includes the theme of homosexual relations. This is introduced in act two, scene three, which depicts the shrine priest Kamon receiving a visit from his young homosexual partner. This scene also serves as a prelude to the next act, however, for Kamon is visited as well by the prostitute Katsuragi, who complains that her lover, Sanzaburō, has stopped coming to see her and who thus asks for Kamon's assistance in arranging a meeting.

Act three, then, brings the action into the licensed quarter and the theme of sexual desire to the fore. The first thing that must be said about this scene is that in the context of the play's historical setting it is an anomaly. It is true that brothel centres were not unknown in the Muromachi period or even earlier. Ōiso, for example, the town where the prostitute Tora of the Soga Monogatari is said to have plied her trade, was one such area. The brothel quarter in Sankai Nagoya, however, is clearly an Edo-period licensed district and is specifically referred to as the Shimabara (GKKS 1: 40). As was pointed out in chapter two, Kyoto's Shimabara district did not exist before 1640. The play thus conflates two different historical periods, the fifteenth century and the present, and while this can be seen as an attempt by the producers to

make the story more up-to-date so as to appeal to their contemporary audience, because this modern licensed quarter is also the site where the highly ambiguous theme of sexual desire will be played out, it also implies an ambivalent stance towards the contemporary world and the pursuit of pleasure.

Although a detailed summary of this and other plays can be found in Appendix D, because of the importance of the third act for the entire play, I will take the liberty of a brief summary of the main events here. The first, short scene of act three immediately calls to mind the keisei scene in many a Kamigata oiemono. Sanzaburō is now in yatsushi, disguised as a geta seller. He hopes to have a chance to meet his lover, Katsuragi, and when the strap of her geta breaks and he rushes to assist her, his hopes are realized. Their meeting is a short one, however, for Sanzaburō is discovered by Fuwa Banzaemon's brother, Bansaku, who has been sent to the quarter with instructions to find Sanzaburō and bring him to Banzaemon's residence.

At the beginning of the much longer second scene, then, it is revealed that Sanzaburō has returned to the quarter. Also in the quarter is Banzaemon, who this time has come personally to find Sanzaburō and take him back. Banzaemon is accompanied by his wife, who is dressed in the guise of a young samurai. They run into Sanzaburō as well as the priest Kamon. Banzaemon reprimands them both for visiting such a place, but when he learns that Sanzaburō has tried but is unable to forget Katsuragi, he suggests he simply marry her. He also suggests he himself be first given a chance to test her constancy. This test proves to be Banzaemon's undoing, however, for while he is meeting with Katsuragi he suddenly becomes so infatuated with her that he ends up declaring his love for her, cuts off a finger in proof of his sincerity, and finally, when she resists his advances, attempts to rape her. When Sanzaburō hears of this he beats Banzaemon with a zōri. Witnessing this humiliation of her samurai husband, Banzaemon's wife kills herself. This is soon followed by Banzaemon's own suicide to atone for his wife's death.

Many of the events of this scene have already been encountered in the Kamigata play Keisei Asama ga Dake. Indeed, were it not known that the Edo play is actually the earlier of the two, the present scene would appear to be an uncanny transformation of these same events. The actual chronology, however, makes it clear that the events of the scene have been recontextualized in the Kamigata play to make their occurrence there more acceptable. Conversely, what makes the original scene in Sankai Nagoya difficult to accept is that these same events -- Banzaemon's declaration of love for Katsuragi, his severing of the finger, and his sexual advances -- do not serve any redeeming purpose but are rather precisely what they appear to be: proof that Banzaemon has suddenly succumbed to a strong passion for Katsuragi and been unable to control himself. In this sense the sandal beating is entirely justified. So too, for that matter, are Fujigae and Banzaemon's suicides. This severely tarnishes the image of the hero, however, and since Banzaemon's infatuation for Katsuragi is so sudden and unexpected and leads almost immediately to his death, were the play to end at this point it would have to be counted a failure as a tragedy of passion.

But of course this is not the end of the play. In the first scene of act four Sanzaburō and Katsuragi come close to committing a double love suicide, only to learn at the last moment that Sanzaburō has been pardoned by the shogun and recalled to service. In this scene also takes place the defeat of the now desperate villains. Again all this has already been seen in Kamigata kabuki. The reassuring familiarity of the scene, however, again stands in sharp contrast to the uncanniness of what follows. For in the final scene of the play it is revealed that Banzaemon's promise of a curse upon Sanzaburō and Katsuragi has indeed been fulfilled, and the two lovers are now constantly plagued by the spirits of Banzaemon and his wife. This is not all, however, for when the priest Kamon has finally succeeded in driving away the spirits, the heavens open to reveal that a number of the characters in the play are in fact not who or what they appeared to be. This includes the principal villains, all of whom we learn are the spirits of former Ashikaga

opponents. It also includes, however, Sanzaburō, who is revealed to be a former Ashikaga warrior, and, perhaps most incongruously of all, Banzaemon, who turns out to be in reality the guardian Buddhist deity Shōki Daijin, who had temporarily taken human form to "preserve the peace and security of the land" (GKKS 1: 54). As a sign of his divine power Shōki Daijin now vanquishes once and for all the villains' spirits, and thus the play ends.

Again this last turn of events is not totally unfamiliar, for a similar scene has been encountered in the Osaka version of Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō. In that play, however, the relationship between the human and the otherworldly was perfectly symmetrical; that is to say, good and evil characters were correspondingly good or evil when they were revealed to be spirits or divine manifestations. In the present play, however, this is not quite the case with Banzaemon. It is true that he does show himself a hero and loyal retainer to the shogun in act two, and had he appeared to have died for good in that act after drinking the poison meant for the shogun, his later revelation as a deity who assumed human form to preserve the peace would have made sense. Banzaemon's demonstrated sexual weakness while on earth, however, as well as his unjustified grudge against Sanzaburō and Katsuragi, are unreconcilable with this claim of divine benevolence. Perhaps if this were a play like Amphytrion, that is, one which took as its theme how a deity became captivated by mortal beauty, this discrepancy might be understandable. Since the play does not support such a reading, however, the only conclusion that would appear tenable is that the play embodies two themes or discourses, one concerning samurai loyalty and valour and the other the dangers of sexual temptation, and that the revelation of divinity represents a belated and unsuccessful attempt on the part of the playwrights to integrate these two themes and reconcile their contradictions.

One would be justified in accepting this conclusion were this the only one of Danjūrō's plays which makes use of such a last-minute revelation of the flawed hero's divinity. This is not the case, however, for



in fact four of Danjūrō's other plays are structured in the same way.<sup>8</sup> That Danjūrō repeatedly resorted to this structure throughout his career strongly suggests that there is nothing accidental about it and that it cannot simply be written off as an attempt to make up for clumsy play writing. Just as, therefore, it was not possible to pass final judgement on the theme of sexual desire in Tsuwamono Kongen Soga without first looking at other examples, so it is now necessary to push on with the examination of Danjūrō's plays in order to try and make some sense of this structure of sudden revelation. The final play to be discussed will thus be one that shares this structure with Sankai Nagoya. Of the four possible plays, the one I have chosen for analysis is the last, Naritasan Funjin Fudō.

Unlike the two plays already discussed, Naritasan Funjin Fudō (The Fudō of Mt. Narita, 1703), is attributed to Danjūrō alone. The play is an ōdaimono set in the world of the Rokkasen, the "six poetic sages" of the ninth century singled out by Ki no Tsurayuki in his Japanese preface to the early tenth-century anthology, the Kokinshū. Of these six sages five, Kisen, Bunya Yasuhide, Ariwara Narihira, Ōtomo Kuronushi, and Ono no Komachi, appear as characters in this play. The most important roles are those of Kuronushi and Komachi, played respectively by Danjūrō and the wakaonnagata Ogino Sawanojō. A month before the play opened both these actors had been given the highest rating available (jō-jō-kichi) in the hyōbanki Yakusha Gozen Kabuki (KHS 3: 385-86). Sawanojō, in fact, was the only wakaonnagata in Edo to be so distinguished. This suggests that Sawanojō was in 1703 at the peak of his popularity and perhaps explains why he along with Danjūrō was given such a significant role in the present play.

The life of the waka poet Ono no Komachi, like that of the Soga brothers, had long before the Edo period become the stuff of legend and the subject of various literary and dramatic treatments, including a number of nō plays, five of which are still in the current repertoire. Naritasan Funjin Fudō owes much to three of these nō plays, Sōshi-arai Komachi, Kayoi Komachi, and Sekidera Komachi. This however, is not the

limit of the play's borrowing from the nō theatre. In all a total of eight nō plays can be identified as sources. The relation of these eight plays to the various acts and/or scenes of the kabuki play is given in the following table.

Table 8. Nō Sources of Naritasan Bunjin Fudō

act	scene	<u>nō</u> source
one		<u>Matsukaze</u>
two	one	<u>Sōshi-arai Komachi</u>
	two	
three	one	<u>Ikkaku Sennin</u>
	two	<u>Kayoi Komachi</u>
four	one	<u>Aya no Tsuzumi</u>
	two	<u>Tenko, Sumidagawa</u>
five	one	
	two	<u>Sekidera Komachi</u>

As can be seen from table 8, of the play's nine scenes, seven are based, however loosely, on one or more nō plays. It will also be noticed that the scenes derived from the three Komachi plays occur in three different acts, the second, third, and fifth. It is these three nō plays, in other words, which provide the unifying element in the kabuki play. As for the scenes derived from other works of the nō repertoire, all of them are integrated into the story established by the Komachi plays with the exception of the first. The first act, which comprises one long scene, deals with the exiled courtier Ariwara Yukihiro's relationship with the salt-gathering sisters, Matsukaze and Murasame, and with Yukihiro's return from exile. This story is tangentially related to the world of the Rokkasen in that Yukihiro is the brother of one of the six poetic sages. The real reason for the inclusion of this scene, however, is no doubt because the story of Kuronushi and Komachi that takes up most of the rest of the play, unlike that of the Soga brothers or the Fuwa/Nagoya world, provides for only one male and one female lead.

Suitably important roles, therefore, had to be created for the troupe's leading wagoto actor, Murayama Shirōji, as well as for other wakaonnagata, and this was accomplished by the addition of the Matsukaze story, which features the character Yukihiro and the two sisters. Yukihiro and the two sisters appear again in act two, scene two, which focuses on Yukihiro's irrepressible interest in young male and female beauties. In terms of the main story line, however, the scene serves no purpose other than to introduce the next scene, which returns the play to the story of Kuronushi and Komachi.

Incidentally, Murayama Shirōji and the two wakaonnagata who took the roles of Matsukaze and Murasame are not the only actors featured in the first act. This is also the major scene for the katakiyaku Ōtori Kurōji, who appears in the role of Onizumi, alias Kishikuma Daiton. In this case, however, it is not because there is no villain role in the Kuronushi/Komachi plot, but because the villain is Kuronushi himself. This is the major difference between this play and the others already discussed. In those other plays the characters played by Danjūrō were not without their ambivalence; Banzaemon in particular proved himself to be a far from virtuous character in the second half of Sankai Nagoya. In the present play, however, the character played by Danjūrō takes on a villainous colouring throughout, at least, that is, until he is revealed in the very last scene to be the god Fudō. If this sort of character revelation was difficult to accept in the case of Sankai Nagoya, then, it would appear to be even more implausible here.

In order to unravel this mystery of Kuronushi's revelation of divinity, it would be useful to first examine the apparent villain's conduct for some clues as to his motivation. Kuronushi makes his first appearance in act two, scene one, where he attempts to discredit Komachi's poetic triumph at court by exposing her as a plagiarist. This attempt proves disastrous for Kuronushi, however, for the evidence he brings forward is revealed to be of his own concoction, and he is thus not only publicly humiliated but stripped of his court rank and sent into exile. This humiliation and loss of court rank could be offered as an

explanation for Kuronushi's resentment towards Komachi and his subsequent villainous conduct. Indeed, the dragon princess in act two, scene two says as much. Yet this does not explain the reason for Kuronushi's initial attempt to discredit Komachi.

In the third act Kuronushi again comes face to face with Komachi. The first scene is set at the Nachi Shrine, where Kuronushi has imprisoned the dragon gods, thus plunging the land into drought. The ultimate source of this scene, which would eventually form the heart of the later Jūhachiban play Narukami, is the nō play Ikkaku Sennin. A more immediate precursor, however, is a similar scene in Danjūrō's own Gempei Narukami Denki of 1698.<sup>9</sup> Both portray a resentful man who has imprisoned the dragon gods and who is deceived by a beautiful woman who manages to free the gods. There is a major difference, however. In the earlier version of the scene there is no indication that Narukami has met the woman, Lady Taema, before she comes to the waterfall to entice him into releasing the dragons. In Naritasan Funjin Fudō, on the other hand, the woman is none other than Komachi herself, although disguised as a humble seller of firewood. Kuronushi is wary and indeed suspects that she is indeed Komachi, yet he allows himself to be convinced that she is not and to take her as a disciple. This is undoubtedly the most sensuous scene in the play. When he first spies Komachi, Kuronushi is so captivated that he falls from the rock he is standing on and loses consciousness. Komachi then revives him with water, which she administers mouth-to-mouth. Later, after he has agreed to accept the woman as a disciple, he asks to be allowed to feel her skin and attempts to grab her breast. Finally, after having been reproached by Komachi for his behaviour, the two settle down to drinking sake, which will eventually prove to be Kuronushi's undoing.

The Nachi Shrine scene thus makes it clear that despite the grudge he bears towards Komachi, Kuronushi is strongly attracted to her. This would appear to be confirmed by the next scene, in which Kuronushi's appearance in Komachi's bedroom in the form of a giant praying mantis can be interpreted not only as an effort to frighten her, but also as an act

of jealousy over her relationship with the courtier Fukakusa, who is in the middle of his "hundred-night" vigil of visiting Komachi. It is only in the fourth act, however, that the depth of Kuronushi's passion for Komachi is given more positive confirmation. In a scene loosely based on the nō play Tenko, Kuronushi's father appeals to Komachi's sister for mercy, claiming that his son "has taken to his bed and is wasting away, all because of his love for Komachi" (GKKS 1: 590). Then, in act four, scene two, Kuronushi, now in the guise of a priest, accidentally encounters his wife and child, and declares himself that it has been his unfortunate destiny to be caught up in an ill-fated relationship with Komachi from which he cannot escape ("Komachi ni wa yokuyoku akuen ja. Omoikirarenu") (GKKS 1: 590). Having confessed, he then kills himself.

If the Nachi Shrine scene suggests that Kuronushi is physically attracted to Komachi, then the two scenes of act four now make it evident that this attraction is not a sudden or momentary infatuation. Indeed, the revelations of Kuronushi's love and of his ill-fated relationship with Komachi suggest that he has been infatuated with her all along, probably even before he makes his first appearance in the play. If this is so, then his attempt to disgrace her before the court can only be interpreted as a scheme to rid himself of the object of his infatuation. His entire conduct, in other words, points to a man who feels but attempts to repress or overcome his passion for a certain beautiful woman, and, failing to do so, harbours a strong resentment towards her.

Such an interpretation also sheds some light on the two other plays of Danjūrō's examined, for both can similarly be read in terms of repressed desire. In the case of Soga Gorō this repression is hinted at in his chastisement of Jūrō's behaviour and his denial of his own relationship with a prostitute. Gorō, however, on the whole manages to keep his sexual desire under control. This is of course not the case with Banzaemon, but it can now be seen that Banzaemon's behaviour should be understood not only in terms of sexual desire but also of repression. Banzaemon, for example, also reprimands his fellow samurai (Sanzaburō) for carrying on in the licensed quarters, which he refers to specifically as

the "akusho" or "evil place" (GKKS 1: 43), and when he himself goes there to fetch Sanzaburō he brings his wife with him as a safeguard against temptation. But tempted he is. This failure to resist temptation, however, rather than leading to self-loathing over his own weakness, results instead in the grudge that he bears towards Katsuragi and Sanzaburō. This is similar to the case of Kuronushi, but the difference is that Kuronushi is from the very beginning of the play aware of his weakness and of his inability to free himself of his passion for Komachi. His attitude towards Komachi, therefore, is characterized by both desire and resentment, and because both these feelings inevitably draw him to Komachi, whether as an object of desire or as a target for his resentment, he is locked in a relationship with her that can only end with his death.

But why, one might ask, is Kuronushi so concerned to deny this desire he feels for Komachi? Why, for that matter, does Gorō deny his relationship with Shōshō, and why is Banzaemon so worried about falling pray to temptation? Jūrō, Sanzaburō, Yukihiro, and countless other kabuki heroes, after all, are not troubled by such things. Indeed, on one level at least, the entire repertoire of Genroku kabuki can be seen as a celebration of sensuality, and in performance even Danjūrō's own scenes -- Banzaemon's attempted seduction of Katsuragi, for example, or Kuronushi's encounter with Komachi at Nachi -- present a spectacle bordering on the pornographic. If Danjūrō's plays show certain characters struggling to repress their desires, in other words, they also can be said to participate in representing and celebrating such desires.

In the discussion of Tsuwamono Kongen Soga it was suggested, albeit with reservations, that that play is structured around an opposition between samurai values and the pursuit of worldly pleasures. While this interpretation need not be discarded completely in relation to that particular work, it can now be seen that such a framework is inadequate for a more global understanding of Danjūrō's plays. For in the other two plays examined it was discovered that this opposition, which is better characterized as one of desire and repression or perhaps simply repressed

desire, is concentrated in certain characters, characters inevitably created and played by Danjūrō himself. It is worth considering, therefore, whether this ambivalent attitude towards sexual desire might not have some basis in Danjūrō's own sexual life.

The suggestion to relate the theme of repressed desire in Danjūrō's plays to his own life would be little more than an invitation to speculation were there not good evidence that Danjūrō was indeed personally troubled by his own sexual desire. In his gammon of 1693, for example, he writes:

Errant desires give rise to misfortune. By errant desires I am referring to alcohol and lust. As for the first, for my parents sake I have vowed to the God of the Three [Buddhist] Treasures to strictly abstain from drinking as long as my parents live. Yet there is no greater wickedness than sexual desire, whether it be of the heterosexual or homosexual variety. Of course, marital relations have existed since the time of the gods Izanagi and Izanami, and not to produce descendants is a serious breach of the law of filial piety. Even Gautama Buddha is said to have had a wife. I would like to abstain even from this, but a husband and wife are the two pillars of the family, and since this is the norm in society, I will permit myself only this [kind of sexual relationship]. From all other relationships, however, whether with women or men, I intend to abstain as long as I have my parents to serve. Having been blessed with good fortune in the acting profession, I would like to be known as the best actor in all Japan. (Ihara, Danjūrō no Shibai 128-29).

The impression one gets from this written prayer or resolution, which draws heavily on the Confucian concept of filial piety as well as on Buddhist and Shinto precedents, is of a man with a strong moral sense who is devoted to his parents. It is obvious from the emphasis on the kind of behaviour he vows to abstain from, however, that prior to this Danjūrō had indeed been involved in extra-marital sexual relationships,

including homosexual ones. It is possible, therefore, to see the recurrent theme of sexual desire and repression in Danjūrō's plays as a reflection of this personal struggle with his own sexuality. How successful Danjūrō actually was in living up to the vows he makes in his gammon is impossible to tell. Whatever his success, however, when read against the background of his resolution to give up extra-marital sexual relations, the fact that characters such as Banzaemon and Kuronushi fall prey to precisely this kind of temptation suggests that the plays themselves are the locus of a certain "return of the repressed". The same could even be said of the consistent theme of homosexuality in Danjūrō's plays, although here the return would have to be characterized as one projected onto characters other than those portrayed by Danjūrō himself.

One other aspect of Danjūrō's personality revealed by the above gammon is his pride in his acting. Indeed, while he claims devotion to his parents as his prime motive for abstaining from irregular sexual activity, there is also a suggestion that what he is most concerned with is his fame and reputation as an actor. Yet there is a contradiction here. For to be an actor in the Genroku theatre inevitably meant portraying the very kinds of behaviour which Danjūrō, as an individual, is here vowing to give up. This contradiction could only be resolved, I would suggest, by focusing on and making transparent the non-identity of actor and role. This Danjūrō achieved not so much by stepping out of his roles (although he may have done this too),<sup>10</sup> but by making of the characters he portrayed actors. Disguises, impostors, and yatsushi scenes, of course, are frequent conventions encountered in the Genroku theatre, both in Edo and Kamigata. In Danjūrō's plays, however, this role-playing by characters is often taken to extremes. The example of Kuronushi in Naritasan Funjin Fudō is a case in point: here Kuronushi plays the role of Narukami at Nachi; takes on the form of a giant praying mantis in Komachi's bedroom; and then adopts the guise of a Buddhist priest when on his way to the shrine at Narita; finally, he reveals that he is in fact none of the above, not even really Kuronushi, but the Fudō



of the Matrix mandala. Kuronushi, in short, is like Danjūrō himself a great actor, but one who, also like Danjūrō, is caught between trying to satisfy and repress his sexual desire. The ultimate revelation of his divinity, however, is also a revelation that both the desire and the attempted repression were all an act. In this sense the entire play can be seen as a further act of repression, an attempt to deal with the whole problem of sexual desire and repression by turning it into an object of representation, one which is ultimately exposed as a sham.

Among Japanese critics only Suwa has attempted a detailed analysis of the structure of revelation in Danjūrō's plays. His analysis is worth mentioning here, because it helps to explain why Danjūrō so often turns to this structure. Suwa notes that Danjūrō had plenty of models for such revelations in both nō and sekkyō/jōruri plays (Genroku Kabuki 161-64). Nō plays of the fukushiki or "two-part" type, for instance, typically follow a pattern in which a mysterious character who appears in the first part of the play is revealed in the second to be the spirit of some illustrious personage of the past; while sekkyō and jōruri plays of the honjimonō category commonly tell the story of a character who after enduring great hardship in life became a god. There are, of course, differences between these plays and Danjūrō's, and among those stressed by Suwa are that, as opposed to both the nō and sekkyō/jōruri plays, Danjūrō's kabuki plays show a marked emphasis on the present world, while, in contrast to honjimonō in particular, the heroes of these plays are not infallible nor is their ultimate godliness assumed from the beginning.

Certainly it is fair to point out the conventional nature of the device of divine revelation or transformation and to suggest that Danjūrō found plenty of models to hand. It is also difficult to argue with the point that Danjūrō's heroes are both more human and live in a world which is recognizably more modern than is the case with the heroes of nō or sekkyō/jōruri plays. This still says little about the specific function of the revelation scenes in the plays themselves, however. On this point Suwa offers a two-part explanation. On the one hand, he reminds us that Danjūrō had in the past played villains and as a consequence there was a

villainous streak in his aragoto acting style. It is in keeping with this aspect of aragoto, Suwa argues, that in the five plays which make use of the device of divine revelation the characters portrayed by Danjūrō all commit villainous or at least apparently villainous acts. On the other hand, in order that these characters be able to redeem themselves and regain their lost honour, they must in the end be shown to be something other than the villains they appear to be. According to Suwa's argument, moreover, this was not just a matter of redeeming the character, for it was also a way in which the actor Danjūrō himself could engage in playing the villain while still remaining a hero in the eyes of the Edo audience (Genroku Kabuki 154-58).

In light of what was said earlier about Danjūrō's concern for his reputation, the suggestion that the redemption of the hero was also a matter of his own desire to remain unblemished in the eyes of the public cannot be easily dismissed. The problem, however, is how to relate this argument to the theme of desire and repression, both in the plays examined above and in Danjūrō's own life. To do so, I would suggest, it would be necessary to read into the revelations of the characters' divinity a certain narcissism or megalomania on Danjūrō's part. Such an interpretation is not wholly unwarranted, moreover, for as Freud argues, there is indeed a close connection between repression and narcissism.<sup>11</sup> According to Freud's theory of narcissism, it is repression that leads to the withdrawal of libido from external objects and thus results in libido being redirected at the ego. As Freud further argues, however, narcissism itself can be transformed and thus partly overcome by displacing the object of self-love onto an "ego-ideal", one which "finds itself possessed of every perfection that is of value" (11: 88). It is not difficult to see how this can apply to Danjūrō and his plays. For if his pride in his acting ability represents a sort of self-love or ego-libido that compensates for his repression of object-libido, then the revelations that his characters are ultimately gods who are working for the good of mankind can be taken as the transformation of this ego-libido into an ego-ideal.

As much as this interpretation finds support in Freud's theory and allows the structure of revelation in the plays to be neatly related to Danjūrō's concern's over his own sexual behaviour, I would hesitate to make this the last word on Danjūrō's kabuki. For to reduce everything to this personal level would mean at the same time to deny the social element in the plays. By social I mean not only the way in which the plays reconstruct social reality, but also the way in which that reconstruction can be related to a social as well as an individual subject.

To read the plays in this way, however, does not necessarily require abandoning the psychological approach altogether, at least not initially. For in Freud's theory the term narcissism also has a more far-reaching application. In Totem and Taboo, he argues that narcissism in the individual corresponds, in the evolution of human views of the universe, to animism and magic, that is, to the belief among primitive peoples that they have the ability to influence the world. In Freud's own terms, this is the belief in "the omnipotence of thoughts" (13: 143-48). I am not suggesting by this that Danjūrō and other kabuki producers should be regarded as "primitive," but rather that, just as narcissism is primarily a stage of childhood psychological development but one which is never entirely abandoned and can resurface in later life, so the omnipotence of thoughts is not completely discarded following the development of religious and scientific views of the world. Indeed, as Freud points out, in the field of art the omnipotence of thoughts is still largely retained (11: 148-49). My purpose in considering Danjūrō's plays from this perspective, however, is not to develop an argument for their treatment in aesthetic terms, but rather to suggest that Danjūrō's kabuki shares with magic and animism, in short, with all omnipotence of thoughts, something of the same ultimate motivation, namely human wishes, and that like sympathetic magic, the plays can be considered on a certain level to be "representation[s] of a satisfied wish" (Freud 11: 141).

By referring to wishes and wish fulfilment I am not proposing that the revelations of divinity in Danjūrō's plays, for example, be read simply as evidence of a desire for immortality or godhood on Danjūrō's

part. The "certain level" that I have in mind here, rather, is precisely one that transcends the individual and relocates this desire in a socio-political context; and if in this sense wishes can still be equated with unconscious desires, then the unconscious of which I now speak would be what Jameson calls the "political unconscious," that is to say, the repressed and masked traces of the history of class struggle.

It is this notion of the political unconscious, then, of wish fulfilment on the social and political levels, that will enable us to return to the socio-political analysis that was tentatively carried out on the play Tsuwamono Kongen Soga but which broke down in the case of Sankai Nagoya when confronted with Banzaemon's inexplicable disgrace and death and the unexpected revelation of his divine status. To pick up the thread of that analysis again, it will be recalled that emphasis was put on the fact that the focus of the first two plays was not on the highest political authorities represented but on characters who were in some sense inferior. It was also suggested that these plays are thus concerned not so much with representations of absolute authority as they are with the relationship of lesser characters to such authority. The theme of loyalty, however, proved less than adequate in characterizing that relationship. If this whole scheme is reconceived in terms of unconscious social wishes, however, and the relationship itself seen as one of class, then things begin to make more sense. For now the characters in the plays would no longer be characterized as trying to prove their loyalty but rather having their own legitimacy as members of the ruling class recognized. This, it can now be seen, is precisely what Soga Gorō does in showing that as a samurai he is inferior to no member of the same class, and indeed the conclusion of that play states that he has in fact achieved the recognition he seeks. In the case of the other two plays, however, where the main characters have to fight against their own weaknesses for such recognition, legitimacy can only be gained by extraordinary means, that is, by the undeniable proof of a superiority that lays to rest all doubts of the characters' worthiness.

In support of this last point, I would like now to take one last look at these latter two plays. It is significant, I believe, that in Sankai Nagoya the revelation of Banzaemon's true nature occurs not only in the presence of the couple (Sanzaburō and Katsuragi) whom he apparently betrayed but also before the highest authority represented in the play, the young shogun, Haruō. This same pattern is repeated in Naritasan Funjin Fudō. Kuronushi, it should be remembered, is a courtier among other courtiers; that is to say, like the Soga Brothers and Fuwa Banzaemon, although a member of a privileged class, he is not the highest representative of that class. In this particular play the highest authority is the kampaku, the chancellor or civil dictator who exercised real political power in the name of the emperor. The character of the kampaku is in many respects a minor role, even more so than the role of Haruō in Sankai Nagoya. Again, what is significant, however, is not the role itself but the relationship of other characters to the authority represented by this role. For this reason, as minor as they are, the two appearances of the kampaku in this play merit some consideration.

The first of these appearances takes place in act two, scene one, the very scene in which Kuronushi's plot to discredit Komachi is exposed. Kuronushi's disgrace is therefore witnessed not only by his fellow courtiers but by the kampaku, and if there is one person above others to whom Kuronushi must now prove his worth, it is this same representative of authority. This is exactly what Kuronushi does in the last scene. The text in this case has unfortunately been severely abbreviated and mentions only Komachi's brother Yoshitane and "several other courtiers" as having arrived from the court. The illustration of this scene in the kyōgenbon, however, clearly shows a high-ranking courtier designated "kampaku" sitting on a veranda (presumably of Sekidera Temple, the location of the scene) and looking across at the divine manifestation of Monju Bosatsu (the bodhisattva Manjushiri), who is flanked by the Fudōs of the Matrix and Diamond mandalas, the two deities who until just moments before had assumed the human forms of Kuronushi and the priest Kūkai respectively. This act of revelation thus takes place literally

before the kampaku, who by his witnessing of the event confers on Kuronushi and Kūkai recognition of their exalted status.

Why Kūkai, who only first appears in the preceding scene, should be included in this act of revelation/recognition is a moot question. The answer is immediately apparent, however, when it is realized that the role of Kūkai was taken by Danjūrō's son Kyūzō, the future Danjūrō II. Danjūrō's desire for status, in other words, included also status for his son, and this in turn shows that this desire was fundamentally a wish to belong to a class other than the inferior one to which his profession assigned him. For by including his son in the revelation scene, this desire for status is at the same time expressed in terms of the major determinant of feudal class distinctions, namely family lineage.

A final question remains, however, the answer to which can serve as a conclusion to this chapter on Edo kabuki. If indeed Danjūrō's plays represent the expression of a social desire, a wish to belong to a higher social class, why does this wish fulfilment take the form that it does? Why did Danjūrō not simply create and play the roles of unblemished samurai or aristocratic heroes or, better yet, of flawless heroes of low rank who by dint of their virtue or valour rise to the top of the social heap? To provide a complete answer to this question would be to point out once again all the conditioning factors, constraints, and mediations under and through which Genroku kabuki producers in general and Edo producers in particular operated. I will therefore confine my answer to the more immediate context of social status and class.

It is certainly true, I believe, that kabuki producers were aware of their low social position, and this explains the various efforts to improve their image and their status: the adoption of the social structures of the ruling class, for example, or the invention of traditions and the borrowings from nō. Yet the fact that these producers recognized and accepted such things as social or cultural capital, as symbols of status and privilege, also shows that they themselves subscribed to the very ideology of class that opposed them. This is not so much class consciousness as it is the consciousness of belonging to an

inferior class. The social aspirations of kabuki producers, therefore, were always, to a greater or lesser degree, and perhaps only unconsciously, accompanied by feelings of guilt. In Edo, I would argue, both the temptation and the guilt associated with class wishes were strongest, and this, in the last analysis, is the real significance for kabuki of the overwhelming samurai presence in that city. For this presence not only evoked class envy and provided models for social aspirations, it at the same time served as a powerful reminder of class distinctions, indeed, of the very legitimacy of class divisions. To aspire to a higher social class in Edo, therefore, was quite literally a "taboo," that is to say, a forbidden desire, a desire inseparable from and held in check by an injunction against it.<sup>12</sup>

It is precisely this ambivalence, this inseparability of desire and repression, that characterizes and gives form to Danjūrō's plays. Behind it is a social desire, a wish to be a privileged member of society. This was not allowed Danjūrō, the son of a former samurai family, because of his profession. His profession did allow him to achieve a certain fame and status in other ways, however. It also allowed him to rise socially in the representational world of the theatre. Yet here is where the repression which is inextricably tied to social desire comes in. For Danjūrō's consciousness of his own inferiority, of the social prejudice against the theatre world, and of his personal weakness in regard to sexual desire, would not allow him to take the roles of either the most powerful and legitimate heroes or the most virtuous. This explains why Danjūrō's characters, if they are to achieve a rise in status, require either divine intervention or some extraordinary proof of their worthiness. The class wish, in other words, is in a certain sense depoliticized by being displaced into religion. In the final analysis, therefore, the structures of divine intervention and revelation do not so much bespeak the continuity of a folk-religious world view as they do the existence of an ideological hegemony, one which rendered a more direct expression of class conflict and of Danjūrō's own social aspirations a discursive and representational impossibility.

Sukeroku: Ideological Containment in Later Edo Kabuki

To the extent that the above discussion has focused on Danjūrō's peculiar social background and his concern over his own sexual behaviour, what has been said about his plays cannot apply in all particulars to other Edo plays of the period. As was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, however, there are grounds for seeing Danjūrō's work, despite its obvious idiosyncrasies, as nonetheless representative of Genroku Edo kabuki as a whole. The numerical superiority of the ōdaimono and jidaimono, for example, as well as the tendency to treat the oiesōdō theme within the context of such dramatic worlds are characteristics of both Danjūrō's plays and those of his fellow Edo producers. Both these features, I would suggest, are not unrelated to the sort of ideological containment observable in Danjūrō's plays. The same can be said of another play type that is conspicuous by its total absence, the sewamono. Some of Danjūrō's plays, it was seen, are not unlike those of Kamigata in incorporating domestic or licensed quarter scenes in their plots. However, neither Danjūrō and the troupes he was associated with nor any other Edo troupe produced an independent sewamono. This, moreover, is a characteristic not only of Genroku Edo kabuki but continued to be the case in Edo for decades to come. To conclude this chapter on Edo kabuki, therefore, I would like to briefly consider this absence of the independent sewamono along with the method that was eventually adopted to incorporate something resembling the sewamono into the Edo kabuki programme. For purposes of illustration I will take as an example the play Sukeroku, which is still in the current kabuki repertoire but which can be dated to the second post-Genroku decade, at which time it was first performed by Danjūrō's son, Danjūrō II. Since versions of the play are available in several Japanese editions as well as Brandon's excellent English translation, I have not included a summary of it in the appendix.<sup>13</sup> Thornbury has also written a monograph on the subject of Sukeroku and the structure of Edo kabuki, and thus it will not be necessary to go into all the details here. My purpose in dealing with Sukeroku differs significantly from Thornbury's, however. For whereas she



attempts to explain the double identity of the title character by pointing out the conventions of post-Genroku kabuki, my main concern is with the ideological implications of these conventions themselves.

The first firm evidence of the attempt to incorporate sewa-like topical events into Edo kabuki can be found in Chūjōhime Kyohina, a play performed at the Nakamura-za in 1708 and which has survived in kyōgenbon format. The play itself is an ōdaimono based on the sekai of the nō plays Hibariyama and Taema. In the third act, however, the action shifts to the story of Oshichi, the greengrocer's daughter who some 30 years prior to the date of the play had become infamous for starting a fire in order to create an opportunity to meet her lover.<sup>14</sup> The Oshichi story, although already somewhat dated, had been revived two years earlier in the Osaka play Oshichi Utazaimon. What no doubt lay behind the Nakamura-za production of 1708 was not only the play's recent Osaka success, but the fact that Arashi Kiyosaburō, the actor who had starred in the title role in Osaka, had come to join the Edo troupe for the season. Significantly, though, the play was not presented as a separate sewamono as it had been in Osaka, but was incorporated as an act of a completely unrelated play. In order to link the two stories, Chūjōhime and a young nobleman from the main plot were given double identities: Chūjōhime, who was abandoned by her mother on Hibariyama earlier in the play, becomes in the third act the adopted daughter of a greengrocer and goes by the name of Oshichi; while the young nobleman is revealed to have sought refuge from troubles at home in a local temple, where he serves as a page and uses the name Kichisaburō. Like the appearance of the Shimabara scene in Sankai Nagoya, this linking of the two plots creates an obvious anachronism, since the Chūjōhime story is set in the Nara period, while the story of the chōnin daughter Oshichi belongs to Edo period. This anachronism is all the more conspicuous since at the end of the third act the action returns once again to the main plot and to the Nara period.

If it can be argued that the sewamono, although not unknown in Kamigata since even before the Genroku era, did not really become a major genre in its own right until Chikamatsu began writing his jōruri sewamono

in the first decade of the eighteenth century, then it would be possible to attribute the anachronistic mixing of historical and contemporary stories in the Edo play Chūjōhime Kyōhina to a certain time lag in Edo kabuki's catching up with the latest developments in the Kamigata region. This hypothesis would run counter to the abundant evidence of frequent interchanges between Edo and Kamigata kabuki, however. It would also be difficult to defend in light of what did eventually become the common method for dealing with sewamono in Edo. For the practice that was finally adopted, although granting a degree of autonomy to the sewa story, still required its linkage with the main plot and thus continued to produce anachronisms.

One of the first indications of this new practice can be found in the Edo treatment of the Sukeroku story. Like the story of Oshichi, that of Sukeroku was first dramatized in the Kamigata region. The story itself is based on a double suicide, the date of which is uncertain but which apparently involved a young Osaka merchant named Sukeroku and a prostitute named Agemaki (Suwa, Sukeroku Yukari no Edo Zakura 152). The event was soon taken up in several jōruri plays of the Genroku era and somewhat later became the subject of a number of kabuki plays as well, including Sukeroku Shinjū Kamiko Sugata (1706), Kyō Sukeroku Shinjū (1706), and Sukeroku Yatsushi (1709) (Ihara, Kabuki Nempyō 1: 347-48, 379). The first use of the Sukeroku story in an Edo play was in the Yamamura-za's production of Hana Yakata Aigo Zakura in the fourth month of 1713. According to the Yakusha Iro Keizu, in this play Danjūrō II abandoned the strict aragoto style and instead played Sukeroku as a nuregoto lover (KHS 5: 409). Despite this evidence of the influence of Kamigata kabuki on the acting, the Sukeroku story was not produced as a fully independent sewamono. Although it followed the history play in the programme, the story was subsumed under the same general title and Sukeroku himself given a double identity linking him to the main plot. In the process the suicide plot of the original was dispensed with, and the play was transformed into one that pitted Sukeroku against a samurai rival. It is not difficult to see why this had to happen: because of

Sukeroku's double identity, maintaining the suicide plot would have also meant the death of the hero of the history play.

Three years later Danjūrō II again played the role of Sukeroku, this time at the Nakamura-za. The main plot in this case was a Soga play. That Danjūrō again played Sukeroku in a style approaching Kamigata wagoto is suggested by the play's general title, Shikirei Yawaragi Soga (Ceremonious Gentle Soga). Again this title applied to the Sukeroku part of the play as well, and thus here too Sukeroku had a double identity. This, in fact, is the origin of the convention whereby Sukeroku is said to be "in reality" (jitsu wa) Soga Gorō, a convention that is still followed in versions of the play currently performed.<sup>15</sup>

The programmatic structure exhibited by these 1713 and 1716 productions of Sukeroku remained the norm in Edo for most of the eighteenth century. What in Kamigata was referred to as the sewamono, in other words, became in Edo the second part of a day-long programme that bore a common title and was treated in a certain sense as one long play. Accordingly, the sewa part of the programme had to be somehow linked to the preceding historical part, and the most common method for doing this was to give one or more of the characters double identities. It was not until 1794, when the former Kamigata playwright Namiki Gohei began writing for the Edo theatre, that this convention was ignored and the first and second parts of the programme severed and given separate titles. Two years later this break began to be reflected in playbills, with the first part of the programme (the history play) now referred to as the ichibanme and the second part (the sewamono) as the nibanme (Hattori et al., "Sewamono," Kabuki Jiten).

To say, then, that Sukeroku has a second identity as Soga Gorō because of the convention of linking the jidaimono and sewamono parts of the programme is of course true but begs even larger questions: Why this convention in the first place? And why did it persist for so long? To answer these questions, I would argue, it is necessary to take into account what this study has sought to demonstrate in the case of Genroku-era plays, namely that form is in the final analysis ideological. In the

case of the sewamono of both Kamigata kabuki and jōruri, for example, it was suggested that the relative brevity of these plays as well as their position as either additions to or substitutes for the last part of a daily programme that centred on oiemono or history plays implies a degree of subordination that can be related not only to the social position of the characters in the play, but also to the social and political subordination of the producers and their largely chōnin audiences to the bushi class. By the same token, then, the complete absence of the sewamono in Edo Genroku kabuki can be attributed to the even more pronounced ideological dominance of the bushi class in Edo, while the subsequent practice adopted to deal with sewamono stories such as that of Sukeroku can be seen as an indication of continued ideological resistance to the independent treatment of chōnin themes, the result of which was an even greater degree of structural subordination than that observable in Kamigata sewamono.

This subordination, moreover, is not simply a matter of the arrangement of the daily programme; it also has important implications for the sewa part of the programme as ideological production, as can be seen in the case of Sukeroku. As mentioned in chapter one, the character Sukeroku has frequently been regarded as a symbol of the Edo townsmen's resistance to the feudal order and the bushi class. Indeed, as Thornbury points out, "scholars do not seem to be able to say enough about Sukeroku and the idea of resistance" (70). In order to see how this resistance is expressed and how it is at the same time undermined by the formal structure mentioned above, I would now like to take a closer look at the play Sukeroku. I shall use as my text Brandon's translation. Although this is based on a Meiji-period text, variations among existing versions of the play are minimal. All, moreover, conform to the broad lines of the play as it was performed in 1716.<sup>16</sup>

On one level, Sukeroku is about the rivalry between a chōnin playboy and an arrogant elderly samurai over the affections of a famous prostitute. While this exact same situation has not been encountered in the earlier Genroku plays, some of features of this rivalry and of the

characters involved have. Agemaki, for example, like the keisei of the oiemono, is a top-ranked prostitute who displays a fierce loyalty to her chosen lover. She also resembles the women characters of Chikamatsu's sewamono in not being afraid to talk down to her lover's rival:

You are a tiresome old man, Ikyū. Do you think I fear your anger because I give my love secretly to Sukeroku? Do you want to strike me here, before everyone? Do you want to cut me down with your sword? You may, but I will not take you as my lover. I am Agemaki, of the House of Three Harbors. I love a man -- Sukeroku!...Compare Sukeroku and Ikyū, side by side. Here is the one, a young stag, here is the other, an old crab. White and black, like snow and ink. One the broad ocean, one a mire of mud; one deep, one shallow, as the courtesan's beloved and the prostitute's customer. Black is the courtesan's life bereft of her beloved, but in her blackest life, in the blackest night, she could not mistake Sukeroku for Ikyū! Ha, ha! Ha, ha, ha! (FCP 61).

That Agemaki here speaks derisively of a samurai may be taken as an example of the play's irreverence towards the samurai class. Ikyū, however, is not like any other samurai so far encountered. He is above all characterized as a wealthy samurai. As he makes his appearance, his wealth is mentioned by one of the assembled prostitutes and confirmed by his henchman, who claims that "[Ikyū's] generosity is legend in the quarter" (FCP 60). Ikyū himself reminds Agemaki of this with the warning: "I have the money to meet you when I please" (60). In this he more closely resembles the rich and boastful merchants of Chikamatsu's sewamono than he does either the daimyō of the Kamigata oiemono, who typically suffer from a lack of money, or Danjūrō I's heroes, for whom money is a non-issue. If Ikyū can thus be said to represent the samurai class, it must also be said that he stands for the wealthier sub-stratum within that class. In rejecting Ikyū, therefore, Agemaki shows herself to be not unlike the keisei of Kamigata kabuki, who similarly deny the value of money and thus also the economic logic of their profession.

As if to confirm the comparison Agemaki has made between Sukeroku and Ikyū, Sukeroku himself soon makes his appearance. Adoringly, the prostitutes all rush to offer him a pipe. When Ikyū complains that he would like one too, Sukeroku offers him one wedged between his toes. This is only the first of many ways in which Sukeroku verbally and physically insults Ikyū and the other samurai in the quarter. His actions include placing a clog on Ikyū's head, dumping a bowl of noodles on the head of Ikyū's henchman, Mombei, and forcing a number of other samurai to pass between his legs.

While Sukeroku's insults certainly constitute a mockery of Ikyū and the other samurai in the play, it is important to recognize that these same samurai appear ridiculous even before Sukeroku has his fun with them. Ikyū with his stuffy airs and white beard, for example, is a caricature of the pompous samurai official, while his lackey Mombei is shown to be a blustering idiot. The other representatives of the bushi class include an effeminate dandy and a boorish country samurai. These, then, are the samurai whom Sukeroku confronts in the play. It is debatable, however, whether these confrontations can be taken as outright defiance of the samurai class. The fact that it is distinctly modern, pleasure-loving samurai who are ridiculed, suggests that what is actually being opposed in this play is not the social position of the samurai itself, but the debasement of the samurai ideal by members of the contemporary samurai class. Ikyū's lackeys Mombei and Sembei more or less give this away when, lamenting the fact that their lord refuses to draw his sword and fight with Sukeroku, they comment: "We are losing our samurai pride" and "What miserable warriors" (FCP 73).

If, therefore, it is this debasement of the samurai ideal to which Sukeroku stands opposed, then it does not follow that this opposition need be directly equated with the interests of the chōnin as a class. Even without considering Sukeroku's double identity, it is difficult to see him as a purely chōnin hero. Certainly he is a poor representative of the merchant class: he himself neither works nor has any need for money. Indeed, his verbal abuse of Ikyū includes the telling boast: "No

titled noble, no fat moneybags can begin to buy what the whores of Edo give me for free every day" (FCP 65). Sukeroku, in other words, like Agemaki, the samurai and keisei of Kamigata kabuki, and the Soga brothers in Danjūrō I's Tsuwamono Kongen Soga, stands above the money economy. As long as he masquerades as a commoner, it would appear that the source both of his opposition to the samurai and his popularity among the prostitutes lies in his self-confidence and manly vigour. But since we soon find out who he in fact is, it is easy to see that what really causes the women to despise Ikyū and adore Sukeroku is that they are able to recognize a true samurai when they see one.

Midway through the play, then, Sukeroku is revealed to be in reality the samurai Soga Gorō, while his taunting of other samurai in the Yoshiwara licensed district turns out to be a scheme for getting them to draw their swords so that he might recover the sword he needs to avenge the death of his father. This allows Sukeroku to be read on another level as the continuation of the Soga plot of the main play. This other level, however, is not simply an additional reading of the play made possible by the fact that the two plots were linked, but exists within the Sukeroku narrative as the continuation of the valorization of samurai ideals. The difference is that, whereas in the first part of the play Gorō's enemy is his father's murderer, in the sewamono section, Gorō (alias Sukeroku) stands opposed to all those members of the contemporary bushi class who have forgotten what it means to be a real samurai. The true samurai, the play thus implies, is not he who, like Ikyū, flaunts his wealth and privilege. The true samurai, rather, is he who remains dedicated to his calling even in times of peace and abundant pleasures. The only true samurai, in other words, is Sukeroku/Gorō.

To see Sukeroku as a samurai not only "in reality" but also in substance does not necessarily mean that the play cannot still be taken as a certain challenge to the samurai class. Indeed, inasmuch as the objects of its ridicule are distinctly modern samurai, the play must be seen as critical of the contemporary bushi class. It is also significant, I believe, that the main target, Ikyū, is characterized as

a privileged samurai who is fond of flaunting his wealth. Already during the reign of the shogun Tsunayoshi (1680-1709) the bakufu had begun to face serious revenue problems, which it attempted to solve through the expedient of recoinage. By the second decade of the seventieth century -- i.e during the period of the play's first two productions -- the government's financial difficulties had reach a crisis stage and prompted the new shogun, Yoshimune, to launch the set of policies known as the Kyōhō Reforms when he ascended to the title in 1716. The bakufu's calls for fiscal restraint were no doubt resented by many of Edo's citizens, who were constant witnesses to the samurai's privileges. It may not be stretching the point too far, therefore, to read into the characterization of the villain Ikyū a thinly disguised attack against the bakufu and the upper ranks of the bushi class.

This attack, however, is not made from the class perspective of the chōnin. Although the play can be said to express the resentment of the non-samurai classes towards the bakufu, it does not oppose bakufu arrogance and extravagance by presenting a chōnin model of socio-economic practice. Instead it offers a handsome and manly samurai in disguise. To be sure, Sukeroku's double identity is related to the convention of linking the jidaimono and sewamono parts of daily kabuki programme. This linkage, however, is not an empty convention, but an example of the way in which form itself is ideological. Sukeroku's double identity, in other words, is determined by the ideological limits of Edo kabuki producers and audiences, limits which made it impossible to imagine a chōnin hero and opponent of the samurai class without simultaneously making him a samurai as well.

Samurai ideals, of course, and even samurai characters, were also encountered in some of the Kamigata sewamono examined. The difference, however, is that whereas in Kamigata certain chōnin characters were given virtues linking them ideologically to the bushi class, in the Edo equivalent of the sewamono the chōnin hero not only exhibits similar virtues but is himself a samurai. This, I believe, is again an indication of an ideological restraint operative in Edo kabuki, a



restraint that ultimately stems from the overwhelming social and political dominance of the bushi class in Edo. The effect of this restraint in the case of the Edo sewamono, moreover, is not unlike that observed in the earlier Genroku plays. For here too the expression of chōnin interests is contained within a formal structure, one which in the final analysis is ideological and serves to displace or efface class conflict and thus preserve the hegemony of the ruling class.

Notes to Chapter Six

1. According to traditional accounts, Danjūrō's first Soga play was Kachidoki Homare Soga (Ihara, Kabuki Nempyō 1: 123). On the reliability of the evidence concerning Danjūrō's early career, see chapter three, note 7.

2. Kominz's "The Soga Revenge" gives a detailed account of the history of the Soga Monogatari and its relation to Edo-period theatre. On the oral and prose versions of the tale, see 37-62; on Soga nō plays 71-93; Soga Kōwakamai 93-114; and on ko-jōruri and early kabuki Soga plays, 120-172. Lists of these various plays can be found in the several Appendices of this same work, 399-415. An excellent English translation of the Soga Monogatari complete with copious notes has been made by Cogan.

3. For an English translation of Chōbuku Soga, see Bresler. Summaries of the Soga kōwakamai plays can be found in Araki 136-38. Both the kōwakamai and ko-jōruri versions of Wada Sakamori receive extensive treatment in Kominz, "The Soga Revenge" 107-10, 144-55. In discussing the second act of Tsuwamono Kongen Soga, Kominz states that "certainly the Nō play Chōbuku Soga was Danjūrō's most important source" ("The Soga Revenge" 290). Elsewhere Kominz suggests that Danjūrō must have read or seen performed one of the ko-jōruri versions of Wada Sakamori ("Origins of Kabuki Acting" 139).

4. See, in addition to Horie-Webber (discussed below), Thornbury 53-54; Kominz, "The Soga Revenge" 279.

5. For the titles and dates of 19 of the Nagoya/Fuwa plays performed between 1680 and 1702, see Gunji, Kabuki Jūhachibanshū 33-34. Fuwa plays were also frequently performed by Danjūrō's descendants, and one such play (Fuwa) is included among the Ichikawa family's Jūhachiban.

6. Yoshihisa succeeded to the shogunate in 1473 at the age of twelve and held office until his death in 1489.

7. Danjūrō revived the same scene a few years later in the play Kagemasa Ikazuchi Mondō (1700). This time Danjūrō played the part of the

retainer Gongorō Kagemasa, which is the name given to the hero in Shibaraku as it is performed today.

8. These four plays are: Gempei Narukami Denki (1699), Keisei Ōshōgun (1701), Shusse Sumidagawa (1701), and Naritasan Funjin Fudō (1703).

9. There is evidence that Danjūrō had actually played the role of Narukami earlier than this and on more than one occasion. See Ihara, Kabuki Nempyō 1: 151, 202; also Suwa, Genroku Kabuki 139. This would make the role of Narukami, along with those of Soga Gorō and Fuwa Banzaemon, among the most frequently performed roles of Danjūrō's career.

10. It is of note, for example, that the convention of tsurane -- a long, boisterous speech delivered by an aragoto hero, usually upon his entrance, and also often including allusions to the contemporary world and to himself as an actor -- is generally considered to have been in existence by the Genroku period and has been associated with Danjūrō I. For an account of an entrance and speech by Danjūrō that may have been an example of the tsurane convention, see the comments on Danjūrō's role in the play Kagemasa Ikazuchi Mondō (1700) found in the Yakusha Mannen Koyomi (KHS 2: 527).

11. Freud's views on narcissism can be found in his famous essay "On Narcissism: An Introduction" (11: 59-97).

12. This definition of taboo comes, again, from Freud. See in particular the second chapter of Freud's Totem and Taboo (13: 71-131).

13. The oldest extant version of the play dates from 1779 and is given in Kawatake, Kabuki Jūhachibanshū 183-254. Those edited by Gunji (Kabuki Jūhachibanshū 59-139) and Suwa (Sukeroku Yukari Edo Zakura) are based on a Meiji period text. Gunji's edition in turn served as the basis for Brandon's English translation (Kabuki: Five Classic Plays 49-92), although the stage directions were taken from modern productions.

14. The story is treated in part five of Saikaku's Kōshoku Gonin Onna (1686). For an English translation, see Five Woman Who Loved Love 157-94.

15. Danjūrō II played the role of Sukeroku for the third and last time in his career in 1749. Again the play was linked to a jidaimono based on the Soga sekai. By this time the play had also been taken up by other leading Edo actors (Thornbury 64-65). The full title by which the play is known today, Sukeroku Yukari Edo Zakura, was originally used for the jōruri accompaniment of a 1761 production, and was not used to designate the play itself until after the Sukeroku section began to be performed as a separate play (Suwa, Sukeroku Yukari Edo Zakura 154-55).

16. While performance features of the play have changed since its first production, the plot itself has remained remarkably consistent. Tanimoto's examination of the available evidence concerning the play's earliest stagings confirms that not only the main lines of the story and the Soga connection but also Sukeroku's character and the focus on the rivalry between Sukeroku and Ikyū were all established by the time of the play's second performance in 1716 (236-37).

## CONCLUSION

### GENROKU KABUKI IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

In the preceding three chapters I have tried, both through surveys of the corpora and analyses of individual plays, to define what may be termed the dominant forms of Genroku kabuki: the Kamigata oiemono; the Kamigata sewamono; and the ōdaimono and jidaimono of Edo kabuki. At the same time, I have attempted to show how in every case these dominant forms, despite allowing for the emergence of new discourses or the expression of the political longings of the emergent chōnin class, also function to contain these same discourses and political impulses within an ideological hegemony. While the focus has been on the Genroku era, in the last chapter it was pointed out how a related but slightly different structure of containment can be seen in post-Genroku Edo kabuki. As a conclusion, I would like to expand the field even further and show how comparison can be used to highlight the specific nature of Genroku kabuki both as ideological form and, on a broader level, as a dramatic response to historical conditions and change. In the first instance comparison will be provided by a look at some developments in subsequent kabuki. This will be followed by a consideration of a few possible points of comparison with another dramatic tradition, that of Elizabethan England. In neither case does the scope of this conclusion allow for more than a cursory discussion and some suggestive comments; and if for this reason my comments cannot be taken as conclusive confirmation of the points I have tried to make in this dissertation, then I hope that they will at least have some value precisely as suggestions.

Turning first to the subsequent history of kabuki, in the last chapter it was stated that the programmatic structure in Edo, whereby sewamono were linked to history plays, was not challenged until the end of the eighteenth century. This new development, since it finally made possible the independent sewamono in Edo, would appear to suggest that later Edo kabuki, rather than continuing the pattern established during the immediate post-Genroku era, actually became more like that of Kamigata

kabuki during the Genroku era itself. The severing of the history and sewa sections in the programme did not, however, win general acceptance, and throughout the rest of the Edo period many kabuki productions continued to adhere to the traditional structure (Gunji, Kabuki Ronsō 290-91; Brandon, Kabuki: Five Classic Plays 30). A case in point is Tsuruya Namboku's well-known Tōkaidō Yotsuya Kaidan (1825), which was linked to the jidaimono Chūshingura in a two-day programme. This is arguably a different kind of sewamono from those produced either in Kamigata or Edo in earlier periods. The new variety of sewamono that appeared in Edo in the early nineteenth century and of which Namboku's play is an example is known as kizewamono ("living" or "raw" sewamono). These plays go far beyond their predecessors in depicting the sordid and violent lives of the lowest classes of Edo-period society. The characters, moreover, are usually thoroughly bad, sharing none of the virtues of Chikamatsu's unfortunate lovers nor the ulterior motives of Sukeroku. It is thus impossible to see in them the same sort of transference of samurai ideals onto the chōnin that was observed in the earlier sewamono. Nonetheless, it is still possible to see these plays as being in a certain sense ideologically contained. For although the bushi class no longer functions as a source of positive values, the result is not the emergence of new models of social behaviour or relations, but rather the nihilistic destruction of all values. The chōnin social confidence and aspirations observable in the Genroku plays, in other words, has here given way to frustration, a frustration turned not only against the ruling class, but also against the chōnin characters themselves.

Not all later plays were this negative, however; nor was the Edo sewamono, either as an independent play or one still linked to the main plot, the only new development in later kabuki. Starting about the time Danjūrō II produced his first Sukeroku plays, the jōruri theatre of the Kamigata region, due to innovations such as the introduction of the large, three-man puppet, began to eclipse kabuki in popularity. Many of the plays of this golden age of Kamigata jōruri were quickly adapted for kabuki, including the three "masterpieces" of the genre, Sugawara Denju

Tenarai Kagami (1746), Yoshitsune Sembon Zakura (1747), and Kanadehon Chūshingura (1748). These and most other plays of this period are ōdaimono or jidaimono, and although they invariably contain sewaba, such scenes are not only connected to the main plot, the characters who appear in them are often exiled or disguised samurai. Another characteristic of these plays is the emphasis on extreme tests of loyalty, the inevitable result of which are various forms of sacrifice. While this may suggest an implicit criticism of the sedate or less-than-virtuous lives of the contemporary samurai class, it also shows that in this period as well bushi ideals, however far removed from the reality of contemporary life, continued to dominate. Indeed, it is difficult to read into such plays any expression of the aspirations of the chōnin class, unless this can be said to lie in the longing for a return to a romanticized, feudal past, in which case the plays would have successfully fulfilled the ideological function of depoliticizing chōnin interests.

Although the heyday of jōruri was brief, coming to an end by the close of the Hōreki era (1751-64), its impact was great and left a profound mark on subsequent kabuki. Today adaptations from jōruri make up approximately a third of the kabuki repertoire. Jōruri techniques, such as the use of the narrator and his musical accompaniment (chobo), were also incorporated into plays written directly for the kabuki theatre. Another legacy of this period is to be found in the increased emphasis on spectacle. It was in the Hōreki era, for example, that the playwright Namiki Shōzō, following a brief apprenticeship in the jōruri theatre, is said to have introduced into kabuki a number of new kinds of stage machinery, including the stage lift (seriage), the revolving stage (mawari-butai) and the mobile and horizontally rotating stage sets (hikidōgu, gandōgaeshi). All of this added to the visual appeal of kabuki, as did the vogue of quick costume changes. Hayagawari and the costume change technique of hikinuke, for example, had become part of kabuki soon after the Genroku era, and these were to play a major role in the boom of henge buyō pieces that began in the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Dance itself, while it had always been a part of kabuki performances, began in the eighteenth century to take on greater significance, especially beginning in the Temmei era (1781-88), when special dance scenes came to be written not only for onnagata but also for tachivaku actors. The trend towards a greater use of dance in kabuki was reinforced in the late Edo and Meiji periods when many nō and kyōgen plays were adapted and transformed into dance pieces. The plays Renjishi (1861) and Kagami Jishi (1893), for example, are just two of a number of dance plays based on the nō play Shakkyō. Other plays adapted from nō include Kanjinchō (1840), based on the nō play Ataka, and Tsuchigumo (1881) and Funa Benkei (1885), both derived from nō plays with the same titles. Humorous dance plays adapted from kyōgen pieces were among the last additions to the traditional kabuki repertoire. Starting in the last years of the Meiji era the playwright Okamura Shikō along with actors Onoe Kikugorō VI and Bandō Mitsugorō produced a series of kyōgen adaptations, including Bōshibari (1916), Tachi Nusubito (1917), and Cha Tsubo (1921).

Finally, no discussion of late Edo and Meiji period kabuki would be complete without mention of the last and most prolific of the great kabuki playwrights, Kawatake Mokuami (1816-93). Over his long career Mokuami wrote some 360 plays, many of which can be related to the trends discussed above. Among his plays, for example, are many kizewamono and dance plays, the latter including adaptations from nō. Despite this variety, though, Mokuami's kabuki has a certain unifying style. What is most apparent in his plays is the emphasis on aesthetic refinement and display. This can be seen not only in his use of spectacle and music, but also in the poetic language he puts into the mouths of his characters. His shiranamimono or "thief plays," for example, although considered a continuation of the kizewamono because of their subject matter, are highly stylized, with even the thieves speaking their lines in rhythmical cadences of alternating lines of five and seven syllables and striking carefully choreographed group poses on the stage.<sup>2</sup>



All of these developments -- the absorption of iōruri plays and techniques, the emphasis on dance and music, and the adaptations from nō and kyōgen -- have enriched kabuki performance and contributed to the "kabuki aesthetic" which Western observers have so admired. These plays and their stylized manner of presentation, however, stand in contrast to the kabuki of the Genroku period, especially that of the Kamigata region, which, though not without a degree of stylization in the acting, was not only simpler in presentation and thus more focused on the telling of a story, but also much more engaged with contemporary life and social conditions. The kizewamono, of course, is an exception to this later trend. Both the kizewamono and the more aesthetically refined plays of nineteenth-century kabuki, however, may be regarded as new forms of ideological containment. For if the cynicism of Namboku's plays represents the nihilistic dissipation of an unconsciously felt political frustration, the kabuki that later came to dominate and lives on as the legacy of the Edo period can be seen as the result of the complete suppression of ideological conflict and the escape into the realm of pure presentation.

This political emasculation of kabuki cannot be explained without reference to overt governmental pressure, especially as this was manifested in the reform campaigns that took place in the Kyōhō (1716-35), Kansei (1798-1800), and Tempō (1831-44) eras. While sporadic and followed by periods of less stringent government control, these periods of reform served as reminders to both kabuki producers and audiences of their political and social subordination to the authority of the bakufu. It is therefore not entirely coincidental that virtually all of Namboku's masterpieces of negative social energy appeared in the relatively lax period of the Bunka and Bunsei eras (1804-30), whereas Mokuami's more stylized and therefore more politically harmless plays were written for a théâtre that had, during the Tempō reforms of 1841-43, been subjected to the full weight of government authority and, as a constant reminder of its political impotence, been forced to relocate from the centre of Edo to the distant suburb of Asakusa.

It has been one of the aims of this study, however, to show that Genroku kabuki, despite its own relative freedom from direct political oppression, is also characterized by ideological containment. It can now be seen, though, that this kind of containment is different from that of later kabuki, and that this difference is also apparent in the form. For whereas the ideological function of form in later kabuki lies in its serving as a substitute for or escape from ideology, in the Genroku era form is both the expression of ideological conflict and the mechanism by which such conflict is ultimately resolved in favour of the dominant ideology.

This ideology of form in Genroku kabuki was not simply the result of the direct transfer of ideology into theatre. It was, rather, the product of a number of mediations found both in the world of kabuki producers and their audience and in the production process itself, and it is for this reason that before, turning to an examination of the plays, the focus of this study was directed at the social and productive environment that produced them. Here it was shown that a number of factors -- the spatial segregation of kabuki theatres from the rest of society, the class background and social aspirations of kabuki producers and their audience, and the organizational structure of kabuki itself -- combined not only to determine kabuki's social position but to ensure that producers' efforts to make something more of kabuki would not seriously challenge but rather reproduce the same ideology that had ascribed to kabuki its inferior social position in the first place. It was also shown, however, that kabuki production followed not only the feudal model but in many ways adhered to the logic of market-oriented, commercial production. While in this kabuki itself embodied a contradiction that also marked the historical period as a whole, this internal contradiction was not enough to guarantee the production of an ideological challenge to the socio-political status quo. For not only was the ideology of commercial production held in check by other ideological formations, as a mode of economic production commercialism was aimed primarily at the production and reproduction of popular success,

which required a superficial but not necessarily fundamental newness, and which thus also tended towards ideological reproduction.

Although in this sense it encouraged reproduction, as a fully-developed multi-act dramatic art, kabuki in the Genroku era was itself still relatively new. The positive side of commercial production lay in the fact that it was commerce itself, both as a source of new wealth and as a model for cultural production, that provided the conditions for the development of large-scale theatrical production on a continuous basis and thus also made possible the creation of a new type of drama and performance. As suggested earlier, in this there is a certain parallel with the Elizabethan theatre, which is also unimaginable outside of a commercial structure. In both cases, moreover, the opportunity for theatrical production created by commercialization also brought together a number of traditions, both learned and popular, which led to the emergence of new play types and new methods of representation. To be sure, the oiemono, ōdaimono, and jidaimono of Genroku kabuki had their precursors, just as did Shakespeare's histories, comedies, tragedies, and romances. The fundamental newness of these plays, however, did not simply spring from the new historical conditions in a general sense, but was also the product of new opportunities and a new context for production.

Of course, the general historical conditions and the structure of cultural production are closely related, and ultimately the latter depends on the former. If this is true, though, then it would mean that the Elizabethan and Genroku theatres must also share some common ground in regards to more general historical conditions. While I believe this to be the case, the issue is obviously a very complicated one, and no doubt a thorough comparison would uncover as many differences as likenesses. In terms of economics, for instance, while there are good grounds for considering Elizabethan England as capitalist or at least proto-capitalist, there are equally good reasons why this cannot be said about Japan in the Genroku era or during any other time in the Edo period. Nevertheless, I think it is safe to say on a general level at least that

both the Genroku and Elizabethan periods were characterized by socio-economic changes which not only saw an increase in the importance of money and gave rise to commercial modes of cultural production, but which also precipitated a financial crisis among certain privileged groups or classes. In the case of Japan, what I am referring to are the financial troubles of the bakufu and the samurai class, which resulted from the inherent limits in their traditional income and their failure to exploit the emerging money economy. In England, a similar crisis befell not only the monarchy but also the aristocracy and the landed gentry, at least those among these classes who did not engage in or were unsuccessful at speculation and other new ways of money-making. My purpose in drawing this comparison, however, is not simply to back up the argument about the relationship between modes of cultural production and general socio-economic trends, but to show how a similar crisis among the ruling classes is treated in a rather similar way by both the Genroku and Elizabethan theatres. Since it will not be possible to go into detail on the Elizabethan side of this comparison, I will focus on one particular example, Shakespeare's King Lear, especially as the economic theme in this play has been interpreted by Halpern in his brilliant chapter on Lear in The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation (215-69).

It need hardly be said that the topic of King Lear -- and it can be taken as a given that this topic was inspired at least in part by the absolutist pretensions of James I -- is the nature of kingship. Lear's decision to divide up his kingdom among his daughters immediately raises the question of the relationship between royal authority and its economic basis. Lear himself believes that his act will not prevent him from retaining "the name and all th'addition to a king" (1.1.135). In this, of course, he is proved wrong, for the events that unfold from this initial gesture show that without his land Lear is indeed nothing. In this sense, as Halpern argues, King Lear is the "the most demystifying, indeed materialist, of Shakespeare's meditation on kingship," for here royal authority is shown to be not only legitimated but constituted by landownership itself (222).

If landownership is translated into other economic terms, then the problem of *King Lear* can easily be seen as a reference to James's problem with royal finances. Land is important in the context of the play, however, precisely because it indicates the nature of feudal economics or what Halpern refers to as "the economy of the zero-sum" (253). For it is the nature of landed wealth that it can be divided up but that it cannot be made to increase. Unlike capital, in other words, it does not produce surplus wealth; and once it is gone its value as landed wealth to the original holder is exactly zero. This is precisely what Lear is left with. And since the play relentlessly adheres to a materialist definition of kingship, the loss of his land also means Lear's loss of royal authority.

It should be clear by now how this economic interpretation of *King Lear* can also apply to the Genroku *oiemono*. For not only was the historical samurai class dependent on a similarly limited or zero-sum economy, so too are the *daimyō* in the plays. The exposure of Bunzō's debts in act one of *Hotoke no Hara*, for example, points directly at the inflexible, agrarian-based nature of samurai income. What is more important in this connection, however, is the fate of the *daimyō* after they have been deprived of their lands through the machinations of the villains. Without their land not only are they plunged into poverty but, as their *yatsushi* disguises suggest, they also suffer from a certain loss of status. Yet this loss is not complete, and indeed in the end the characters are able to regain their full status and authority. To understand why this is possible in the *oiemono* and not in *King Lear*, it is necessary to take another look at a Shakespeare's play and consider Lear's response to his lost kingship.

As Halpern argues, in the face of the zero-sum economy, there are really only three options open: inflation, conservation, and destructive expenditure (256). *King Lear* explores all three options through the actions of its various characters. The one chosen by Lear himself, of course, is the third. Lear's tragic flaw, in other words, is that he fails to accept the economic reality of kingship. Having given away his

kingdom, he still believes he carries some surplus of kingly authority and thus continues not only to act as if he were king but to insist on his right of royal expenditure. This is not very different from the case of the daimyō characters of the oiemono. By continuing their visits to the licensed quarters and hoping to obtain the release of their favourite keisei, they too show a disregard for their economic situation. The difference, though, is that Shakespeare's play steadfastly refuses to grant Lear the surplus or magical supplement he believes he has, whereas the oiemono, not being bound by the same consistently materialist premise, allow the daimyō to retain some of their authority. Since authority is nothing unless it is recognized and respected, however, to say that the daimyō retain their authority means also that there are others who uphold them. The surplus present in these plays, in other words, is found precisely in the service and loyalty of the keisei, retainers, and -- in some cases -- merchants, who through their own sacrifices and expenditures make up for the daimyō's economic shortfalls.

The presence or absence of surplus thus reveals not only two different conceptions of the relationship between authority and economic base, but also why Shakespeare's play must end in tragedy while the oiemono take the form of tragi-comedy. As Halpern puts it, "tragedy assumes the absence of any miraculous supplement to overcome loss" (253). This holds true not only for the contrasting cases of King Lear and the oiemono, but also for Chikamatsu's sewamono. These plays with their chōnin settings are no longer concerned directly with the feudal economy. But the money economy portrayed in these plays is not fully capitalist and thus is still bound by the logic of the zero-sum. Money, in short, is limited: some characters have more of it than others, and those who spend or are swindled out of theirs are left with nothing. This is precisely the problem encountered by Tokubei and Jihei in the two shinjūmono discussed. Yet the reason why these plays end in tragedy is not simply this loss itself, it is because Chikamatsu refuses to grant his chōnin characters the same sort of supplement or surplus allowed the daimyō in the oiemono. This, moreover, is entirely consistent with the

nature of this surplus as revealed in the oiemono: because surplus is constituted by the class system and consists chiefly of the loyalty and service owed to social superiors, it is natural that chōnin such as Tokubei and Jihei and their prostitute lovers should be deprived of it. In order, therefore, to continue their consumption of love even after having reached the limits of the zero-sum economy, they have no alternative but to follow the self-destructive course of expending their own lives. The class-bound nature of this surplus, I believe, also explains why some of Chikamatsu's sewamono end happily. For in such plays there are enough samurai characters -- or at least characters endowed with the samurai virtues of loyalty and self-denial -- to produce the surplus necessary to avert tragedy.

To continue the comparison with Elizabethan drama, it is interesting to note that the genre of domestic tragedy was not totally unknown in Shakespeare's day, as can be seen by the examples of the anonymous plays Arden of Feversham (1592) and A Yorkshire Tragedy (1605-08). Other plays such as Heywood's A Woman Killed with Kindness (1603) and Ford's 'Tis Pity She's a Whore (1632) can also be considered domestic tragedies and would, I believe, provide useful comparisons with Chikamatsu's shinjūmono. Such a comparative study, even in abbreviated form, is beyond the scope of this conclusion, and so I shall content myself with saying a few words about the two anonymous plays and the parallels they indicate between the Elizabethan and Genroku theatres. Both these plays are murder plays, and although they have little in common with Chikamatsu's sewamono they do resemble some of the Genroku kabuki sewamono, not only in the topic of murder, but also in the emphasis on the newsworthiness of the events portrayed. Both English plays claim to be true accounts, for example, and while the first deals with a murder that had actually occurred some forty years earlier, there is evidence that the second play was written and staged within a few months of the events it portrays.<sup>3</sup> What comparison shows in this case, I would suggest, is that although the emergence of the domestic tragedy both in England and Japan was clearly related to the rise of new social classes, it was the new system of

commercial production that played the instrumental role in getting the genre started. For the key element in the early examples in both dramatic traditions is the topicality or newsworthiness of the subject matter, and novelty, as I have argued earlier, has always been a sought-after commodity in commercial production. If it was the news appeal of the material that led to the emergence of the domestic tragedy, however, it was only time and the labour of dramatists who could afford to ignore the immediate topicality of the events that turned it into a major genre. Thus, although there were many early kabuki sewamono, it is Chikamatsu's plays we remember today; and although the anonymous murder plays of Elizabethan England can be seen as a beginning, it was left to George Lillo to define the genre of the European bourgeois tragedy with his play of 1731, The London Merchant.<sup>4</sup>

That Shakespeare himself did not try his hand at the domestic play is a point worth considering. Hauser sums up Shakespeare's case in this connection as follows:

From the stylistic point of view, the most peculiar characteristic of Shakespeare's theatre is the combination of the popular tradition with an avoidance of the tendency which leads to the 'domestic drama.' In contrast to most of his contemporaries, he does not use middle-class figures from everyday life as leading characters, nor does he introduce their peculiar sentimentality and inclination to moralize.... [His] heroes, even when they belong to the middle class, display an aristocratic attitude.

This aristocratic attitude no doubt accounts, in part at least, for the grandeur of Shakespeare's drama when compared to that of other Elizabethan playwrights. As Hauser goes on to say, however, in the choice of characters and the avoidance of middle-class sentiments Shakespeare's drama "marks a certain retrogression sociologically" (Social History 1:418). It would be difficult, I believe, not to see in this retrogression a reflection of Shakespeare's own social position and class wish. Shakespeare, after all, not only enjoyed the privilege of being a member



of the King's Men, he himself took advantage of both the profits of his company and the general "inflation of honours" in the period to become a landowner and acquire the status of "gentleman."<sup>5</sup>

If social aspirations and the aristocratic attitude can be said to characterize Shakespeare and his dramatic creations, they also suggest that his proper counterpart in the Genroku theatre is not Chikamatsu, as Shōyō argued, but Danjūrō I. For Danjūrō's plays are also characterized by their focus on the elite centres of power and the avoidance of chōnin themes. Danjūrō himself, as I have tried to show, was also concerned with his own reputation and class position. Sociologically, the difference in the two playwrights' positions is that Shakespeare was able to capitalize on both the court's patronage of the theatre and the opportunities for social mobility presented by the socio-political dynamics of the Elizabethan period, whereas Danjūrō, as an actor in a more rigidly hierarchical social order that relegated entertainers to the lowest social class, was prevented from actually improving his social position except in the representational world of the theatre. As I have also attempted to demonstrate, the illegitimate or counterfeit nature of this theatrical rise in status is itself reflected in the ambiguity of the characters Danjūrō portrayed on the stage. This, I believe, can now also be related to what was said above about the presence or absence of a magical surplus as a determinant of genre. For if Danjūrō's characters are able to overcome their difficulties (and their shame) and prove their status as heroes, it is only through the introduction of a surplus (divine intervention or revelation) that is, in a more exact sense of the term, magical. That is to say, their legitimacy or authority, unlike that of the heroes of the Kamigata piemono, is not grounded in the respect and loyalty paid to them by subordinates, but precisely in the introduction of a miraculous external supplement, a supplement, moreover, which has the effect of obscuring or nullifying the very class system which the plays simultaneously privilege. While these contrasting conceptions of the supplement can be said to constitute a major difference between Kamigata kabuki plays and those of Danjūrō, in another

sense both can be seen to share the same ideological horizon. For if the Kamigata kabuki is characterized by the reproduction of a politically conservative conception of class and authority, the distinctive feature of Danjūrō's kabuki surely lies in his plays' implicit recognition of the inflexibility of the class system and the impossibility of transcending it except through recourse to the miraculous. Both cases, in other words, are indicative of the ideological limits of Genroku kabuki, limits which, as I have attempted to show throughout this dissertation, are also recognizable in the production process and which attain their clearest expression in the form of the plays themselves.

Notes to Conclusion

1. As Hattori shows in his list of such plays broken down by era, henge buyō enjoyed a minor surge in popularity in the Temmei era (1781-88) and a major boom in the Bunka through Tempō eras (1804-44) (Hengeron 62).

2. Well-known examples of Mokuami's shiranamimono include Nezumi Komon Haru no Shingata (1857), Sannin Kichisa Kuruwa no Hatsugai (1860), and Aotozōshi Hana no Nishikie (1862). The last of the three is translated under its common title, Benten Kozō, in Leiter, The Art of Kabuki 1-58.

3. The title pages of both plays claim that the events they relate are "lamentable and true." On the question of the date of The Yorkshire Tragedy, see the editors' introduction (1-2).

4. Lillo's play can be seen as a pivotal point in the history of European drama. Lillo himself was not unfamiliar with the early plays Arden of Feversham and The Yorkshire Tragedy, and his own The London Merchant was instrumental in the development of domestic or bourgeois tragedy in Germany and France. On Lillo and the subsequent history of bourgeois tragedy in Europe, see Szondi; also Hauser, Social History 2: 577-92.

5. On Shakespeare's relation to the so-called "inflation of honours" in Tudor and Stuart England, see Halpern 241, 244.

GENROKU KABUKI: CULTURAL PRODUCTION AND IDEOLOGY  
IN EARLY MODERN JAPAN

William James Lee

VOLUME TWO: APPENDICES

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## APPENDIX A

### SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF GENROKU KABUKI

Besides pictorial records, which are discussed in chapter two (see Appendix B for examples), there are two main sources for the study of Genroku kabuki. The first are the eiri kyōgenbon or "illustrated playbooks". These are programme-like booklets which commonly include the title of the play, the name of the theatre where it was performed, a list of characters and the actors who played them, and a novelistic version of the play story that contains some dialogue as well as several pages of illustrations.<sup>1</sup> Although many of them bear the name of the playwright (kyōgen sakusha), scholars are in agreement that the kyōgenbon themselves were written by professional writers associated with the publishing houses that produced them. It is assumed, however, that these writers had access to the playwright's original script. The identification of the theatre and cast also makes it clear that, while the kyōgenbon can be read as independent stories, they were intended to be associated with particular theatrical productions. Most likely they were sold at the theatres, and may have served much the same purpose as programmes today.

Beyond these common features, there are regional variations and changes in the kyōgenbon format over time that should be mentioned. In the case of Kamigata kyōgenbon, the oldest example extant dates from 1687 or 1688,<sup>2</sup> and they continued to be published into the Kyōhō era (1716-35), although from about 1725 onward the text to illustration ratio began to change in favour of the latter, with the result that the last examples of the genre are really picture books. All together, more than 150 Kamigata kyōgenbon survive, the majority of them dating from the Genroku era proper. Within this corpus a distinction can be made between two formats. The first and most common is the so-called namihon (ordinary booklet), which usually contains between 16 and 24 pages, four to six being devoted to illustrations. The other format is the jōhon, which is a two-volume edition two to three times the length of the namihon.

The term jōhon, which was used in the Genroku era itself, probably had the connotation of superior quality in regard to either the format itself or the play (jō = upper, superior). Only about a dozen jōhon are extant. Among this limited number, however, are what can be judged some of the most important plays of the period, including Keisei Asama ga Dake, Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu, and Keisei Hotoke no Hara (first volume only extant). The reason for this seems to be that jōhon versions were reserved for plays that were popular successes. This is known from the (invariably positive) critical comments on the actors of the leading roles that are included in several of the extant jōhon. These comments were written either above the illustrations, as in the case of Keisei Asama ga Dake, or on separate pages, as in the case of Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu. The insertion of these comments also indicates that jōhon were published after the play opened, whereas it is assumed that namihon were published early enough so as to be available once the play began its run.<sup>3</sup>

Comparison of the jōhon and namihon versions of Keisei Hotoke no Hara reveals that, although the dialogue and especially Bunzō's famous monologue in act one, scene three are much more extensive in the jōhon, there are no differences between the two as regards the flow of action and the setting of individual scenes. As Torigoe has pointed out, there are thus two conflicting ways of looking at the relative merits of the two formats. On the one hand, the jōhon with its more extensive use of dialogue may be considered a more complete text and closer to the actual performance. On the other hand, since it is known that actors, particularly star actors, were allowed liberties with their lines, the simpler namihon version may well be truer to the playwright's original script (Genroku Kabuki Kō 68). The question is academic in any case, since Hotoke no Hara is the only play for which both versions exist.

As for Edo kyōgenbon, these seem to have had a shorter span of popularity than those in Kamigata, and the total number extant is thus correspondingly smaller. In all some 60 have survived, the earliest dating from 1697 and the last from 1711.<sup>4</sup> Most are 24 pages in length, making them slightly longer than the average namihon of the Kamigata

region. They usually contain more illustrations (eight to ten pages), however, so that the amount of text is approximately the same. There are a few two-volume editions, including Tsuwamono Kongen Soga, but these are only slightly longer than the average and thus cannot be compared to the Kamigata jōhon. Other distinctive features of the Edo kyōgenbon include pictures on the cover and a separate title page, which also gives subtitles for each individual act (ban or dan).

In terms of literary style, the kyōgenbon differ from play scripts proper in integrating dialogue into the action, which is recounted in narrative fashion. Speech is distinguished by the speech marker to and the verb "to say" (iu, mōsu), though sometimes the verb is omitted. At other times, in order not to break the flow of the story, certain conjunctive forms are used, corresponding roughly to "so saying" (to ieba) or "hearing [this]" (kiki), the former usually followed and the latter preceded by the identification of the next speaker. In an extended dialogue between two characters, however, both the speech marker and the identification of speakers may be omitted. To give an example of some of these devices, the following is a more or less literal translation of a passage from act one, scene two of Keisei Asama ga Dake:

...[the samurai] telling [him] this, Tonegorō angrily rushes out. The samurai having stopped him, "Let go of me, let go of me," so [saying] he breaks free. The widow appears, "Young lord, what are you so angry about?" Tonegorō, "Wadaemon, don't play the wise senior retainer with me. It's because you despise me [that you're doing this]." "What a nuisance. What have I done?" The widow hearing [this], "Young lord, that's an unjust accusation..." (GKKS 2: 395)

Elements of this style are found in both the prose literature (kanazōshi, ukiyo-zōshi) of the period and in jōruri texts.<sup>5</sup> This is different from the style of actual play scripts (daihon), the earliest extant of which dates from 1710. Torigoe's comparison of the two shows that scripts, which use other methods of marking and identifying speech, are much more precise in regards to the timing and manner of entrances and exits. The



scripts are also much longer, which would indicate that the frequent omission of speech markers as well as the general imprecision of kyōgenbon is a result of the page limitations of the format (Genroku Kabuki Kō 275-81). Torigoe also points out that kyōgenbon include authorial intrusions, that is, lines which are neither speech nor simply description of the action or the setting (Genroku Kabuki Kō 283). Such lines are often found at the end of plays, serving to sum up the moral of the story or to suggest how the heroes go on to live peaceful, prosperous lives.

Finally, a word should be said about the illustrations found in the kyōgenbon. As can be seen from the examples provided in Appendix D, these are for the most part attempts to represent the action of the play as it would appear in the real world rather than on the stage. In this respect, the kyōgenbon are very similar to illustrated jōruri texts. The exceptions are certain jōhon where the lines of the stage are clearly visible in the pictures. The illustrations in Keisei Asama ga Dake, for example, depict a rather simple stage, bare except for what could be considered essential props. This suggests that these illustrations may actually have been based on the performance. Even here, though, certain embellishments are noticeable: heads are split open and Ōshū's angry spirit rises from the fire more convincingly than any stage trickery would have made possible. As an aid in reconstructing what performances looked like, then, even illustrations such as these are of limited value.

Fortunately it is no longer necessary to seek out kyōgenbon in archives and struggle with the wood-block printing of the originals. Most of the kyōgenbon are now available in modern collections which print the texts in modern type and mark the dialogue in brackets, but otherwise remain faithful to the originals. The first such collections to be published were Genroku Kabuki Kessaku Shū (2 vols., 1925), edited by Takano Tatsuyuki and Kuroki Kanzō, and Takano's Chikamatsu Kabuki Kyōgen Shū (2 vols., 1927). In the postwar period three more major collections have appeared. One of these is made up of a number of volumes in the Koten Bunko series of reprints of classical literature. The individual volumes or sets in this series include: Kabuki Kyōgenshū (1956), edited by Noma

Kōshin; Kamigata Kyōgenbon (8 vols., 1959-81), edited by Yuda Yoshio, Torigoe Bunzō, and others; Genroku Kabuki Shū (2 vols., 1960-62) edited by Yuda and Tanamchi Tomoya; and Edoban Kyōgenbon (2 vols. to date, 1983-), edited by Torigoe and Satō Eri. Another major collection is Honkoku Eiri Kyōgenbon Shū (1973-75), a two-volume compilation of some fifty Kamigata plays edited by a team of scholars under the supervision of Noma Kōshin. Finally, there are the two volumes of kabuki kyōgenbon that form part (vols. 15-16) of Iwanami's new Chikamatsu Zenshū (17 vols., 1985-92), edited by the Chikamatsu Zenshū Kankōkai. This last collection, which supersedes Takano's earlier work, reproduces Chikamatsu's known kabuki plays plus several others possibly by him in both facsimile and modern type. It should be noted that, although most of the above collections provide bibliographical notes on the original texts the reproductions are based on, none of them is annotated. The only annotated Genroku kyōgenbon are Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu, which is included in vol. 1 of Kabuki Kyakuhon Shū (Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei vol. 53), and Keisei Asama ga Dake, which is found in Kabuki Meisaku Shū (Koten Nihon Bungaku Zenshū vol. 26). None of the kyōgenbon have been translated into English or any other European language. Rather detailed summaries in English of six plays, however, are included in Horie-Webber's dissertation.<sup>6</sup>

The other major source for the study of Genroku kabuki, and one which serves as a useful complement to the kyōgenbon, are the yakusha hyōbanki or "critiques of actors." These began in imitation of the yūjo hyōbanki (courtesan critiques), which evaluated and ranked the prostitutes in the licensed quarters of Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo. Yakusha hyōbanki are known to have existed as early as 1656 and the oldest extant, Yarō Mushi, dates from 1660. Although wakashū kabuki had been banned in 1652, male prostitution was still a part of kabuki in the 1660s and 1670s, and this is reflected in the early hyōbanki, which concentrate on the looks and personalities of young actors. It was not until the eve of the Genroku era that they began to include much information about the older actors and evaluate acting skill as well as physical charms. An important turning point in this respect was Yarō Tachiyaku Butai Ōkagami (1687),

which not only classified actors according to their role types (yakugara), but gave pride of place to the more mature actors who played leading roles (tachiyaku). It was the Yakusha Kuchi Samisen published in 1699 by Kyoto's Hachimonjiya, however, which set the standard for years to follow. Although there were some changes over time, yakusha hyōbanki, later called kabuki hyōbanki, continued to be published until the Meiji era.

Among the practices standardized by the Yakusha Kuchi Samisen was the publication of the three-volume set, one volume each for the actors of Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo. These usually came out twice a year, with the New Year's edition being based on the kaomise performances in the eleventh month and the edition that appeared in the third month based on the New Year's programme. Typically a hyōbanki would include: a prologue or preface; a list of the actors of the city classified by role type and ranked according to a system of grades; critical comments and gossip on individual actors; and an epilogue. They also often include illustrations, which, although seldom identified as representations of particular plays, do seem fairly reliable in so far as they depict the layout of the stage and its use. Although in the eighteenth century the critiques went to absurd lengths to distinguish subtle differences in skill and created new ranks by adding on to the string of superlatives at the top end of the scale, in the late Genroku era generally a five-rank system was employed: jō-jō-kichi (superior-superior-excellent), jō-jō (superior-superior), jō (superior), chū-no-jō (upper-middle), and chū (middle).

The hyōbanki were written by professional writers, often those who also wrote in the genre of ukiyozōshi ("floating world" fiction). Among the most famous authors are Saikaku, thought to have written Naniwa no Kao wa Ise no Shiroi (1683), and Ejima Kiseki, reported author of the Yakusha Kuchi Samisen. Some of the wit and style of ukiyozōshi is also found in the hyōbanki. The prologue to the Kyoto volume of the Yakusha Kuchi Samisen, for example, takes the form of a conversation between a wealthy, pleasure-loving merchant and a cynical lay priest. This device is maintained in the body of the critique itself; that is, comments on and appreciations of the individual actors are not presented objectively

but as the opinions of these observers of the kabuki world. The same format is employed for the Edo and Osaka volumes as well, although different conversation partners appear. The witty style of the writing make the hyōbanki an interesting genre in their own right, and that they were appreciated as such is confirmed by the occasional republication of prefaces compiled in separate volumes, such as Yakusha Sayogoromo (1717).

Given the conversational format and the emphasis on wit and literary style, the hyōbanki cannot always be taken as objective accounts of kabuki acting nor as representative of the tastes of the audience in general. Nonetheless, their value as research materials is enormous. Using the hyōbanki, scholars have been able to trace the careers of many actors. It has also been possible to date many otherwise undatable kyōgenbon by comparing the lists of actors given in these texts with lists for specific years provided by the hyōbanki. It is as a supplement to the kyōgenbon, however, that lies perhaps the greatest value of the hyōbanki, at least in regard to Genroku kabuki. Here a distinction can be made between two ways in which the hyōbanki can be used. On one level, paying attention to what the hyōbanki say about an individual actor's performance in a particular play helps make it possible to imagine how the action may have appeared on stage. On another level, however, the very singling out of certain scenes or scene segments as significant provides an insight into the overall structure of the play, indicating how that structure was determined, at least in part, by building the play around key scenes for the star actors.

Literally hundreds of hyōbanki survive from the Edo period, including over thirty from the Genroku era itself. The latter are included in the Kabuki Hyōbanki Shūsei, an eleven-volume collection of hyōbanki covering the period from 1660 to 1736.

Finally, a word should be said about one other source of information on Genroku kabuki. This is the collection of advice, admonitions, and anecdotes known as the Yakusha Rongo (The Actors' Analects). The extant copies of the complete Yakusha Rongo date from 1776, which would seem to place it too late to be a reliable source for Genroku kabuki. There is

evidence, however, that all seven of the individual pieces that make up the collection were in existence by about 1750 and that at least one of them existed as early as 1727 (Dunn and Torigoe 12-15). Moreover, of the seven actors who reportedly wrote the pieces, four of them were active during at least part of the Genroku era. It would be safe to assume, therefore, that at least some parts of the Yakusha Rongo were based on first hand experience of Genroku kabuki and that these parts were probably written down within two or three decades of the end of the era.

The information found in the Yakusha Rongo is varied and runs the gamut from the purely trivial to passages that provide the only insight available into certain key practices of early kabuki. The passages that recount Tōjūrō's comments on realism, for example, or those describing how plays were worked out and rehearsed, are frequently cited in discussions of Genroku kabuki. It should always be kept in mind, however, that the Yakusha Rongo is a work that attempts to do for kabuki what poets and nō actors, for example, had earlier done for their own fields, namely set down a body of precepts and guidelines for future generations -- to establish, as it were, an artistic tradition. Hence the reference to the "secret traditions" in the preface, the many admonitions against resorting to cheap tricks to please the audience, the constant concern that artistic standards are declining, and, perhaps most important, the worshipful praise for the wisdom and genius of the recognized stars of Genroku kabuki such as Tōjūrō and Yoshizawa Ayame. Already by the time the pieces in the Yakusha Rongo were written, then, it seems that Genroku kabuki was taking on legendary or "golden age" status, and reinforcing this view is just one way the authors of the Rongo sought to raise the perception of their art and, by the same token, their own social status.

An English translation of the Yakusha Rongo, entitled The Actors' Analects, has been made by Dunn and Torigoe. This work also includes the complete Japanese text. For readers of Japanese, however, the most useful edition is probably the one edited and annotated by Gunji and included in Kabuki Jūhachiban Shū (Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei vol. 98).

Notes to Appendix A

1. This definition of the eiri kyōgenbon as well as the discussion that follows owes much to Torigoe's chapter on the subject in Genroku Kabuki Kō (211-300).

2. The uncertainty is due to the difficulty in dating the kyōgenbon Asukagawa. Tsuchida places it first on his list of extant kyōgenbon and dates it 1687 ("Chikamatsu Kyōgenbon" 84), as does Miyamoto, the editor of the text (35). Torigoe, however, is not convinced that the play can be assigned to this year, although he does agree that it cannot be dated more than one or two years later (Genroku Kabuki Kō 240). If the play is not from 1687, then the oldest kyōgenbon would be either Ōgumagawa or Taishokan, both from 1688, the first year of the Genroku era.

3. Torigoe suggests that the longer jōhon version may actually have been written first and the shorter namihon version based on it. If the play then proved a success, critical comments would then be added and the longer version published (Genroku Kabuki Kō 68).

4. Torigoe includes three earlier works in his list of Edo kyōgenbon, but as he himself points out, these all differ significantly from what was to become the standard format ("Edoban Kyōgenbon" 120-24). In his more recent study he states that Sankai Nagoya (1697) can be considered the earliest extant Edo kyōgenbon (Genroku Kabuki Kō 258).

5. A comparison of kyōgenbon and straight narrative versions of the same story can be found in Torigoe, Genroku Kabuki Kō 243-44. For a comparison of kyōgenbon and jōruri texts, see Kamakura.

6. These include three Kamigata plays, Tamba Yosaku Tazunaobi (1693), Mizuki Tatsunosuke Tachiburumai (1695), and Keisei Asama ga Dake (1698); and three Edo plays, Sankai Nagoya (1697), Tsuwamono Kongen Soga (1697), and Gempei Narukami Denki (1698). Webber's summaries of Keisei Asama ga Dake, Sankai Nagoya, and Tsuwamono Kongen Soga were extremely valuable in preparing my own summaries of these plays.

APPENDIX B  
ILLUSTRATIONS

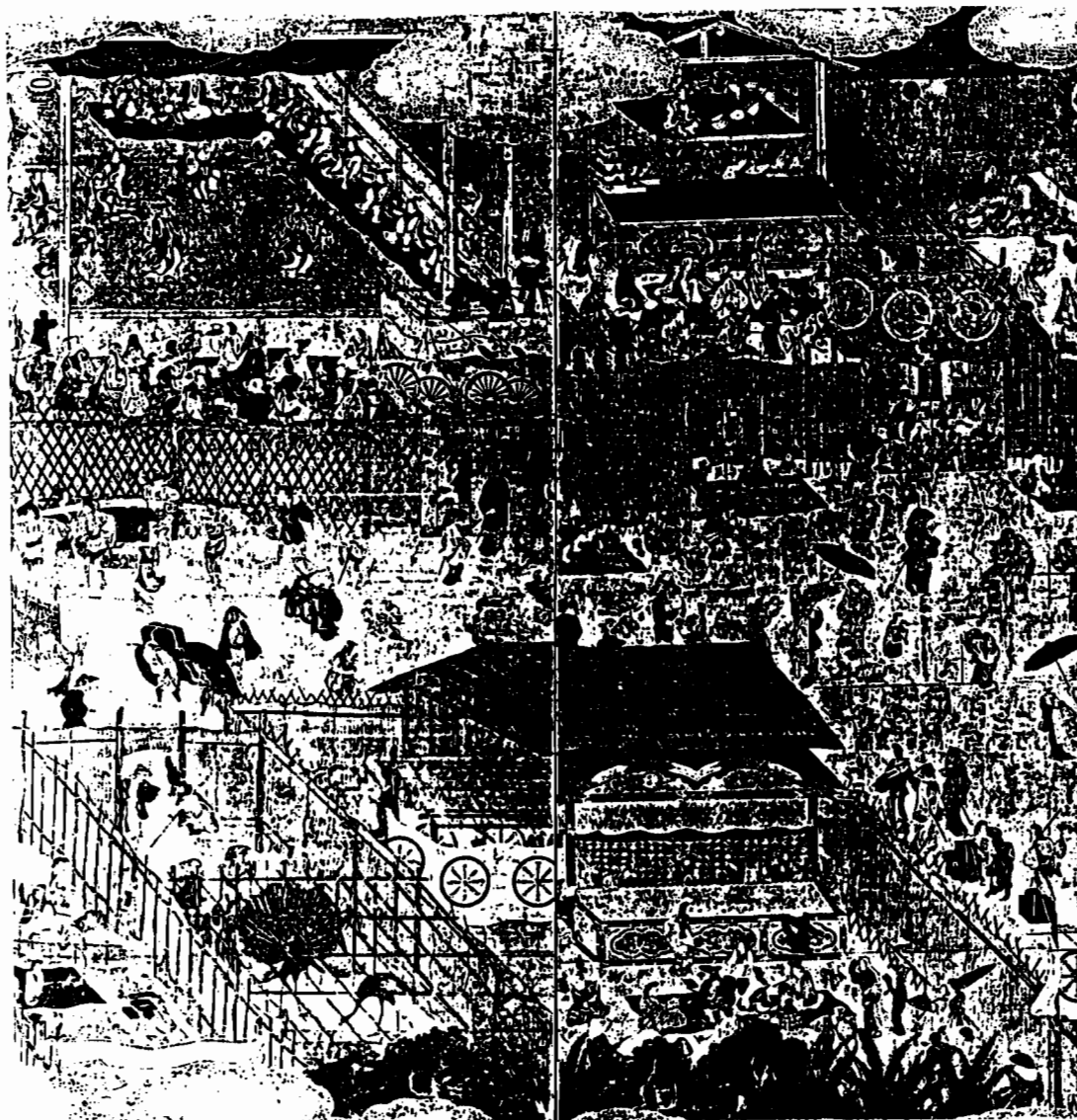


Fig. 1. Screen painting of the Shijōgawara, Kyoto (early seventeenth century), showing a kabuki theatre (top left) and two jōruri theatres. Dōmoto Collection, Kyoto. Kondō, Japanese Genre Painting, plate 71.



Fig. 2. Screen painting of Shijōgawara (early seventeenth century), showing kabuki theatre with sajiki (top right), as well as several misemono stalls. Seikadō Collection, Tokyo. Kondō, plate 67.



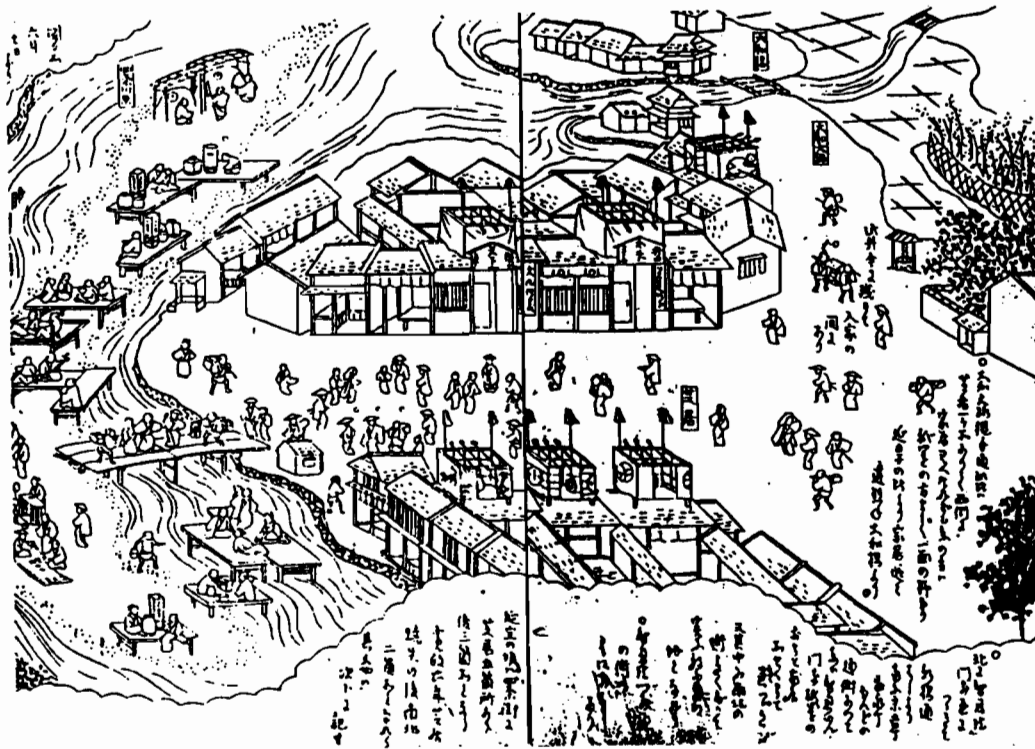


Fig. 3. Drawing on votive tablet (ema), dated 1664, depicting Kyoto theatre district at Shijōgawara. Originally reproduced in Hangaku Kihan, 1821. Hara, Chikamatsu Monzaemon 29.

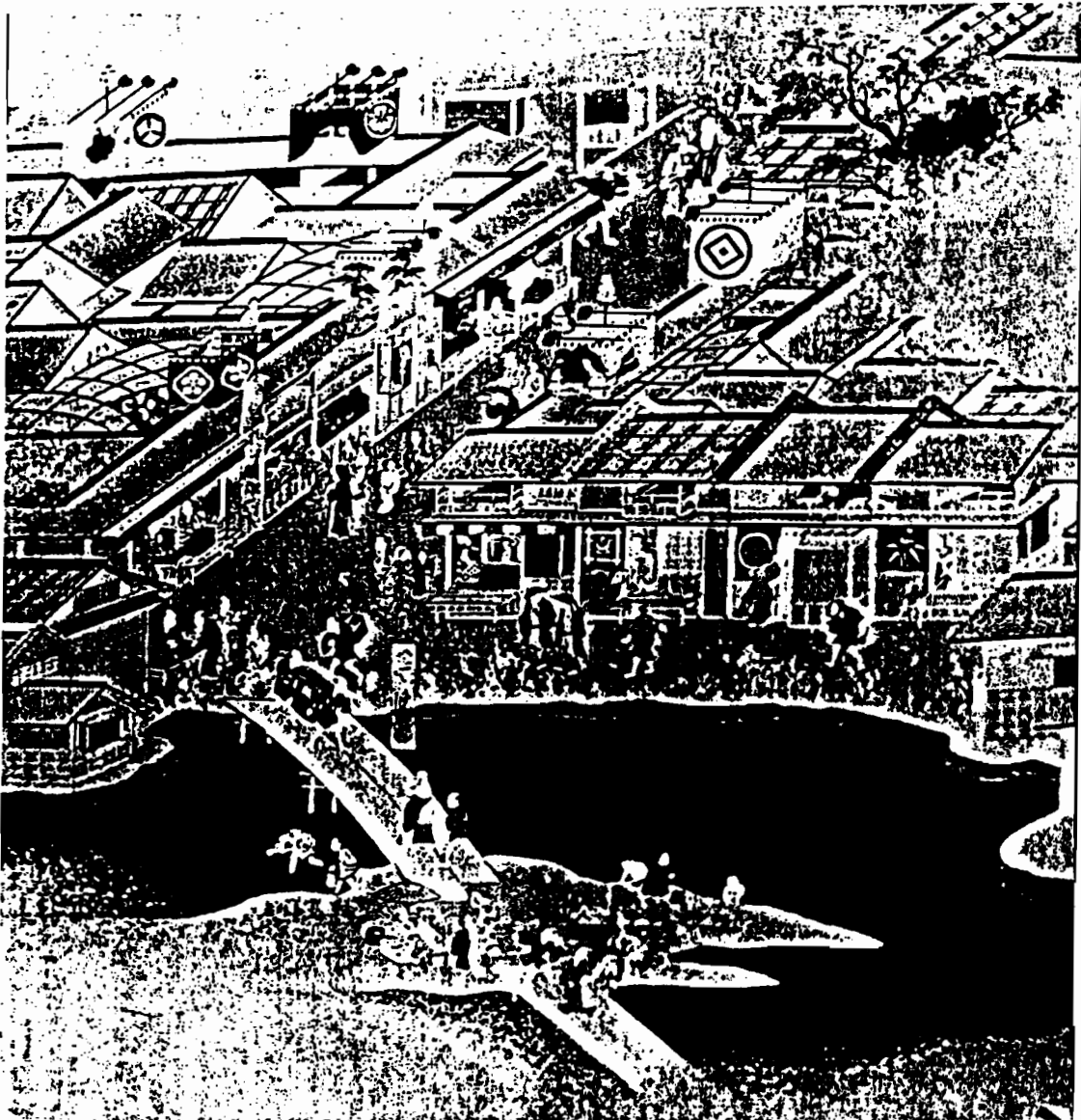


Fig. 4. Screen painting of Shijōgawara theatre district during Empō era (1673-81). Property of Jakkōin Temple, Kyoto. Suwa, *Kabuki Kaika*, plate 41. Note temporary roofs over theatres, as well as the row of tea houses facing the river.



Fig. 5. Screen painting of the Mandayū-za theatre in Kyoto, late 1670s to early 1680s. Waseda University Theatre Museum, Tokyo. Hara, Chikamatsu Monzaemon 53.

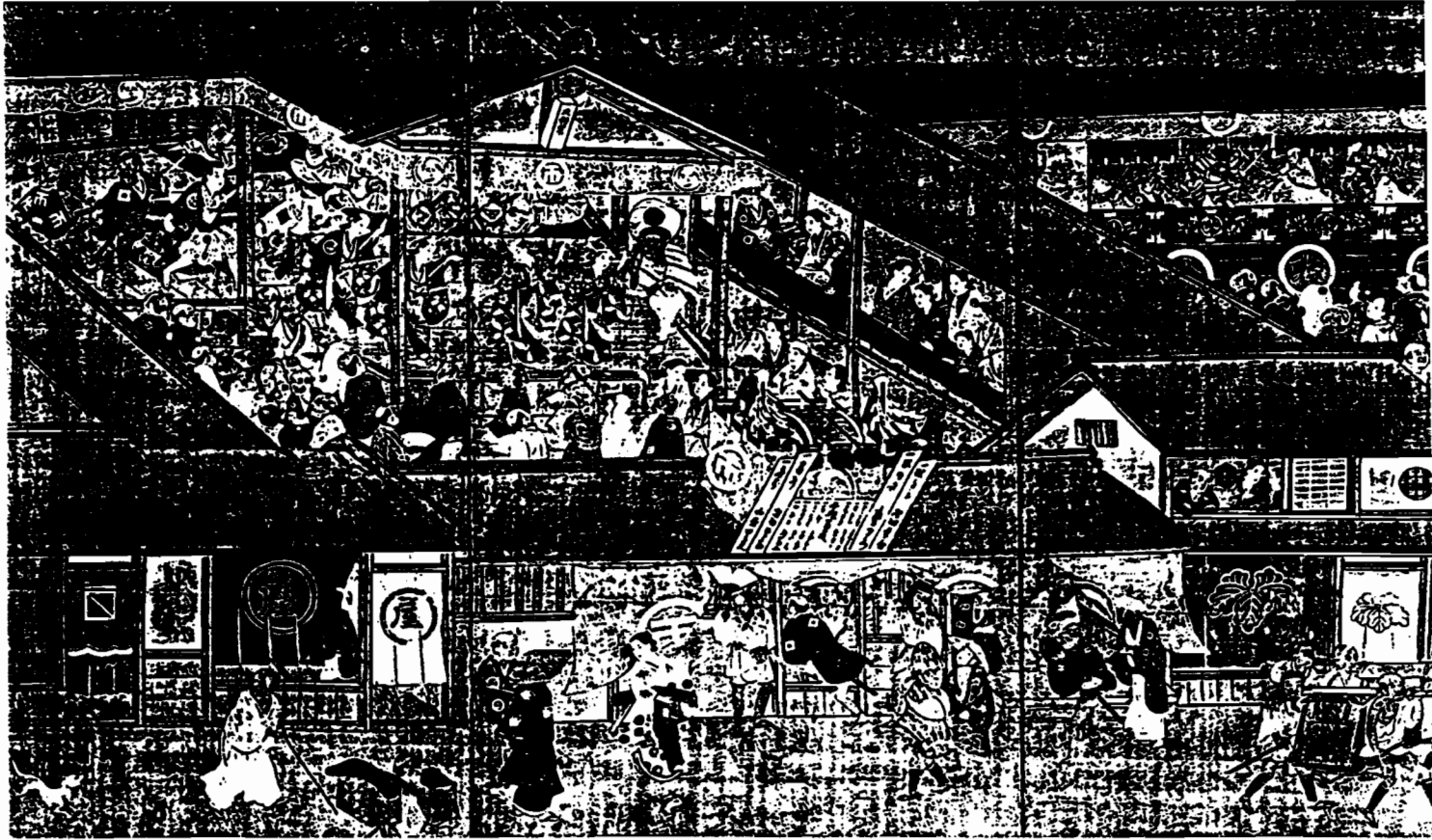


Fig. 6. Screen painting of the Hayakumo-za, Kyoto, during the Genroku era. Kaneko Seiji Collection, Tokyo. Suwa, Kabuki Kaika, plate 62.

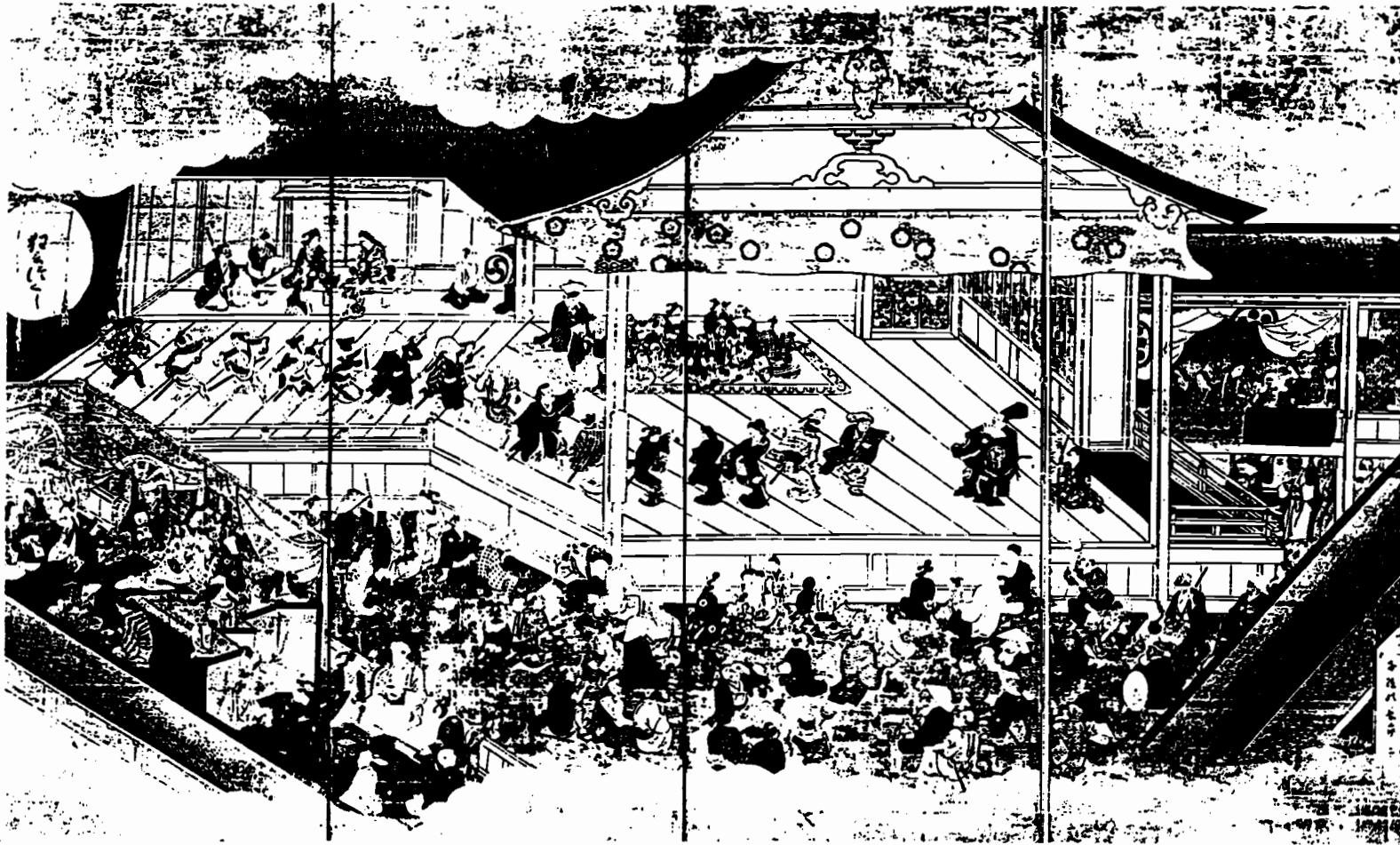


Fig. 7. Screen painting of Nakamura-za, Tokyo, during the Genroku era.  
Attributed to Moronobu. National Museum, Tokyo. Kondō, plate 76.

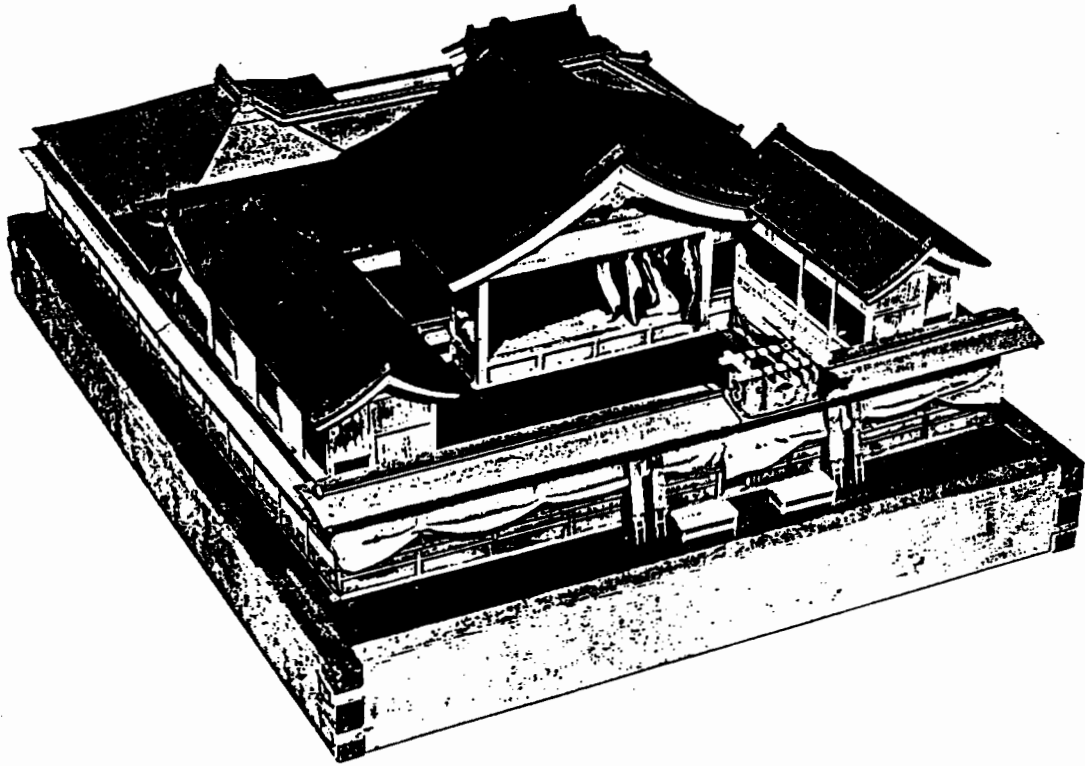


Fig. 8. Model of Genroku period kabuki theatre. Waseda University Theatre Museum, Tokyo. Hara, Chikamatsu Monzaemon 57.

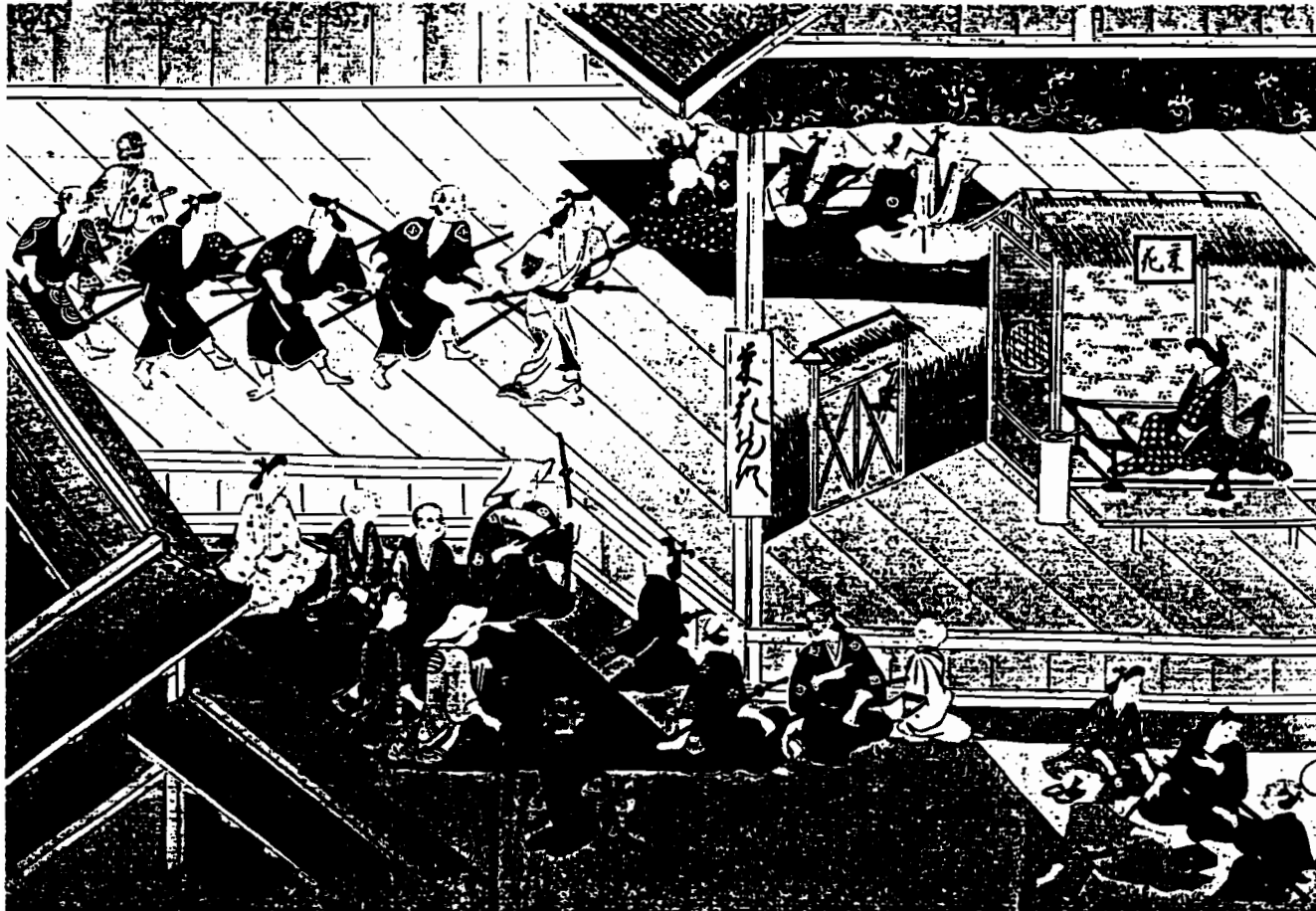


Fig. 9. Performance of Eiga Monogatari at the Hayakumo-za, Kyoto. Note the use of simple but effective scenery and the samurai (in sedge hats) and monks in the audience. Kyo Shijōgawara Shibai Kabuki Zukan (late 1670s early 1680s). Suwa et al., Chikamatsu Monzaemon, plate 50.



Fig. 10. Performance of Shiki Sambasō at the kaomise of the Araki-za, Osaka, with Araki Yojibei dancing the role of Okina. Note the use of candles. Namba Tachigiki Mukashigatari (1686). KHS 1: 209.

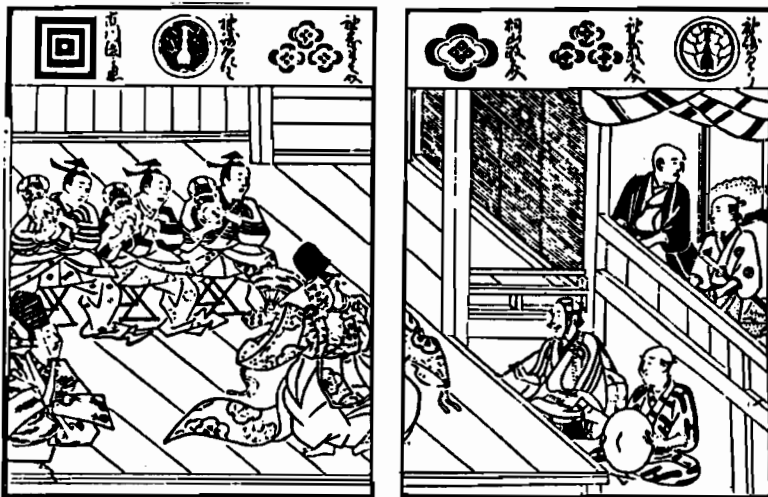


Fig. 11. Performance of Shiki Sambasō at the Nakamura-za, Edo. Yarō Nigiri-kobushi (1696). KHS 2: 60.





Fig. 12. Actor being borne in palanquin to theatre prior to kaomise.  
Kokon Yakusha Taizen (1750). NSBS 6: 28.



Fig. 13. Kōjō (greeting to audience) during kaomise at the Arashi-za,  
 Osaka. Namba Tachigiki Mukashigatari (1686). KHS 1: 201.

APPENDIX C: LISTS OF PLAYS

1. Chronological List of Kamigata Genroku Plays

The list below gives the following information (where known) in this order: title of play; year and month or season of opening performance; city and name of theatre where performed; category of play; name of playwright; and location of text (name and volume of collection[s], or name of editor if published separately). Dates are given as in Tsuchida ("Chikamatsu Kabuki" 84-88). A question mark indicates a reasoned assumption.

1. Asukagawa; 1687; Kyoto/Okamura; oiemono; Miyamoto
2. Taishokan; 1688/5; Osaka/Arashi; ōdaimono; EIKS 1
3. Ōgumagawa Genzaemon; 1688; Kyoto/Mandayū; oiemono; EIKS 1
4. Wakanoura Kataonami; 1689; Kyoto; oiemono; KKB 1
5. Kanaoka ga Fude; 1690/4?; Kyoto/Mandayū; ōdaimono; EIKS 1
6. Matsunami Shōjō Kavoī Guruma; 1691; Kyoto/Murayama; oiemono; KKB 7
7. Musumeoya no Katakiuchi; 1691/fall?; Kyoto/Hayakumo; oiemono; EIKS 1
8. Shikoku Henro; 1691/9; Kyoto/Mandayū; oiemono; EIKS 1
9. Kashima no Kaname Ishi; 1692/fall?; Kyoto/Mandayū; oiemono; Tominaga Heibei; KKB 5
10. Ōmīyahito Hatsushimada; 1693/1?; Kyoto/Mandayū; ōdaimono; KKB 5
11. Tamba Yosaku Tazunaobi; 1693; Kyoto/Murayama; oiemono; Tominaga Heibei; GKKS 2
12. Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō; 1693/ninokawari; Osaka/Iwai; oiemono; GKKS 2
13. Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō; 1693/3; Kyoto/Mandayū; oiemono; Chikamatsu; CKKS 1; CZ 15
14. Shinjū Yashima; 1693; Kyoto/Murayama; jidaimono; Tominaga Heibei; EIKS 1
15. Budō no Tassha; 1693/11; Kyoto/Mandayū; katakimono; Tominaga Heibei and Hirayama Bungo; GKKS 2
16. Godō no Myōkan; 1694/spring; Kyoto/Mandayū; oiemono; Tominaga Heibei; GKKS 2
17. Nippon Gakkai Chōja; 1694/summer?; Kyoto/Mandayū; oiemono; Tominaga Heibei; GKKS 2

18. Ajase Taishi Yamato Sugata; 1694; Kyoto/Murayama; ōdaimono; KKB 1
19. Wakoku Fūryū Kyōdai Kagami; 1694; Osaka/Murayama; jidaimono; GKKS 2
20. Nippon Ajase Taishi; 1694/bon?; Osaka/Iwai; Tsuuchi Jihei; ōdaimono;  
EIKS 1
21. Kumagae Nagori no Sakazuki; 1694/9; Kyoto/Murayama; jidaimono; KKB 2
22. Banzai Maru; 1694/11; Kyoto/Mandayū; oiemono; Shiraishi Hikobei;  
GKKS 2
23. Ima Genji Rokujujō; 1695/1; Kyoto/Hayakumo; oiemono; Chikamatsu;  
CKKS 1; CZ 15
24. Keisei Awa no Naruto; 1695/3; Kyoto/Hayakumo; oiemono; Chikamatsu;  
CKKS 1; CZ 15
25. Nembi Kannon Riki; 1695; Osaka/Arashi; oiemono; KKB 2
26. Izumi Kawachi Renri no Matsu; 1695; Kyoto/Murayama; oiemono;  
Hirayama Bungo; EIKS 1
27. Mizuki Tatsunosuke Tachiburumai; 1695/9; Kyoto/Hayakumo; oiemono;  
Chikamatsu; GKKS 2, CKKS 1; CZ 15
28. Himegura Daikokubashira; 1695/11; Kyoto/Mandayū; oiemono;  
Chikamatsu; CKKS 2; CZ 15
29. Ōzassho Ise Oshiroi; 1696; Kyoto/Kokin; oiemono; Kojima Hikojūrō;  
GKKS 2
30. Fukujumaru; 1696/11; Kyoto/Hayakumo; oiemono; KKB 2
31. Uzuki Kokonoka Sono Akatsuki Myōjō ga Chaya; 1697/5; Kyoto/Mandayū;  
sewamono; KKB 2
32. Daimyō Nagusami Soga; 1697/bon; Kyoto/Mandayū; jidaimono;  
Chikamatsu; CKKS 1; CZ 16
33. Menkō Fuhai no Tama; 1697/7; Kyoto/Hayagumo; ōdaimono; Shiraishi  
Hikobei; GKKS 2
34. Iruka Daijin; 1697?; ōdaimono; EIKS 1
35. Momoyo Komachi; 1697/fall; Kyoto/Mandayū; ōdaimono; Chikamatsu;  
GKKS 2; CKKS 1; CZ 15
36. Yūgiri Shichinenki; 1697/fall; Kyoto/Mandayū; sewamono; Chikamatsu?;  
GKKS 2; CKKS 1; CZ 15
37. Keisei Asama ga Dake; 1698/1; Kyoto/Hayakumo; oiemono; GKKS 2; KMS

38. Kamigyō no Utaizome; 1698/1; Kyoto/Mandayū; ōdaimono; Chikamatsu;  
CZ 15
39. Bishamon Chōja; 1698/spring; Osaka/Arashi; oiemono; EIKS 2
40. Keisei Edo Zakura; 1698/ninokawari; Kyoto/Mandayū; oiemono;  
Chikamatsu; CKKS 1; CZ 15
41. Daidai no Mikagura; 1698/3?; Kyoto/Hotei; oiemono; Kojima Hikojūrō;  
EIKS 1
42. Kantō Koroku Imayō Sugata; 1698/5; Kyoto/Hayakumo; oiemono; GKKS 2
43. Isshin Niga Byakudō; 1698/7; Kyoto/Mandayū; oiemono; Chikamatsu;  
CKKS 1; CZ 15
44. Semimaru Nido no Shusse; 1698; Kyoto/Hotei; ōdaimono; KKB 2
45. Ōakinai Miyako no Meibutsu; 1698/11; Kyoto/Hotei; EIKS 2
46. Keisei Hotoke no Hara; 1699/1; Kyoto/Mandayū; oiemono; Chikamatsu;  
CKKS 1; CZ 15
47. Fukki Daiō; 1699/1; Kyoto/Hayakumo; oiemono; EIKS 1
48. Keisei Hotoke no Hara Daijin Hokkoku Ochi; 1699/1; Osaka/Arashi;  
oiemono; Mizushima Shirōbei; KKB 6
49. Keisei Hanaikada; 1699/1; Kyoto/Hotei; oiemono; EIKS 1
50. Keisei Futami no Ura; 1699/ninokawari; Kyoto/Hayakumo; katakimono;  
EIKS 1
51. Nagoya Sanza; 1699/ninokawari; Kyoto/Hotei; oiemono; KKB 4
52. Taema no Chūjōhime Nidaiki; 1699/ninokawari; Osaka/Kataoka-Araki;  
ōdaimono; KKB 3
53. Ono no Komachi; 1699; Osaka/Arashi; ōdaimono; Mizushima Shirōbei;  
EIKS 1
54. Shinodazuma; 1699/6; Kyoto/Hayakumo; folktale; KKB 4
55. Keisei Hachisugawa; 1699; Osaka/Arashi; oiemono; Mizushima Shirōbei;  
EIKS 2
56. Tsuruga no Tsu Sangaiqura; 1699/7; Kyoto/Mandayū; oiemono;  
Chikamatsu; CZ 15
57. Shinodazuma Gonichi; 1699/9?; Osaka/Arashi; folktale; Mizushima  
Shirōbei; KKB 4

58. Yoshida no Kenkō Shika no Makifude; 1699/9?; Kyoto/Mandayū; ōdaimono; KKS
59. Amida ga Ike Shinteramachi; 1699/10; Kyoto/Mandayū; oie mono; Chikamatsu; CKKS 1; CZ 15
60. Miyako no Hinagata; 1699/11; Kyoto/Kameya; oie mono; GKKS 2
61. Fukujukai; 1699/11; Kyoto/Mandayū; oie mono; Chikamatsu; EIKS 1; CZ 15
62. Shinjū Chaya Banashi; 1700/1; Kyoto/Kameya; sewamono; Matsuzaki
63. Kamakura Shōgatsugai; 1700/1; Osaka/Arashi; jidaimono; EIKS 1
64. Keisei Guzei no Fune; 1700/ninokawari; Kyoto/Mandayū; oie mono; Chikamatsu?; EIKS 1; CZ 16
65. Nanto Jūsan Kane; 1700/ninokawari; Osaka/Iwai; oie mono; Tsuuchi Jihei; EIKS 2
66. Honchō Nijuyonkō; 1700; Kyoto/Kameya; oie mono; EIKS 1
67. Matsukaze; 1700; Kyoto/Mandayū; ōdaimono; Chikamatsu?; CZ 16
68. Jitō Tennō; 1700; Osaka/Arashi; ōdaimono; EIKS 2
69. Daiichi Daiman Daikichi; 1700/11; Kyoto/Hayakumo; oie mono; KKS
70. Onzōshi Hatsutoramōde; 1701/1; Kyoto/Mandayū; jidaimono; Chikamatsu; CKKS 2; CZ 16
71. Keisei Fuji Miru Sato; 1701/ninokawari; Kyoto/Mandayū; oie mono; Chikamatsu; CKKS 2; CZ 16
72. Keisei Nara Miyage; 1701/ninokawari; Kyoto/Ebisuya; oie mono; EIKS 1
73. Nihongi Sosa no Ono Mikoto; 1701/3; Osaka/Kataoka; oie mono; EIKS 1
74. Kachō Fūgetsu Jinji Soga; 1701/7; Kyoto/Mandayū; jidaimono; KKB 3
75. Ima Komachi Eiga Guruma; 1701/11; Kyoto/Mandayū; oie mono; Chikamatsu; EIKS 2; CZ 16
76. Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu; 1702/1; Kyoto/Mandayū; oie mono; Chikamatsu; GKKS 2; CKKS 2; KKHS 1; CZ 16
77. Keisei Ariwaradera; 1702/ninokawari; Kyoto/Ebisu; oie mono; EIKS 2
78. Nippon Yomekagami; 1702/ninokawari; Osaka/Matsumoto; oie mono; KKB 3
79. Keisei Myōto Ike; 1702/ninokawari; Osaka/Iwai; oie mono; KKB 3
80. Jorō Raikō Bashira; 1702/sannokawari?; Kyoto/Mandayū; oie mono; Chikamatsu; EIKS 2; CZ 16

81. Tamba no Kuni Chishio no Suifuro; 1702/3?; Osaka/Takejima; sewamono; EIKS 2
82. Mibu Aki no Nenbutsu; 1702/fall; Kyoto/Mandayū; oiemono; EIKS 2; CZ 16
83. Yotsubashi Musume Koroshi; 1702/fall; Osaka/Matsumoto; sewamono; EIKS 2
84. Keisei Mitsu no Kuruma; 1703/ninokawari; Kyoto/Hayakumo; oiemono; Chikamatsu; CKKS 2; CZ 16
85. Kawara Shinjū; 1703/4; Kyoto/Mandayū; sewamono; Matsuzaki
86. Nippon Hachiyō no Mine; 1703/summer; Kyoto/Hotei; oiemono; KKS
87. Karasaki Hakkei Byōbu; 1703/5?; Kyoto/Hayakumo; oiemono; Chikamatsu; CSSK 2; CZ 2
88. Keisei Shirayama Zenjō; 1704/ninokawari; Kyoto/Mandayū; oiemono; KKB 3
89. Kitsunegawa Ima Sesshōseki; 1704/ninokawari; Kyoto/Kameya; oiemono; KKB 7
90. Yūgiri Samban Tsuzuki; 1704/sannokawari; Kyoto/Mandayū; sewamono; Matsuzaki
91. Kichijō Tennyō Koyasu no Tama; 1704/11; Kyoto/Mandayū; oiemono; Chikamatsu; CKKS 2; CZ 16
92. Kasuga Busshi Makura Dokei; 1704/12?; Kyoto/Mandayū; ōdaimono; Chikamatsu and Fukuoka Yagoshirō; CZ 16
93. Keisei Kinryū no Hashi; 1705/summer?; Kyoto/Mandayū; oiemono; Chikamatsu; CKKS 2; CZ 2
94. Soga Mitsu Tomoe; 1705/6; Kyoto/Kameya; jidaimono; KKS
95. Waka Sanshin Yōgō no Matsu; 1705; Kyoto/Kameya; ōdaimono; EIKS 2
96. Genji Kuyō; 1705; Kyoto/Hotei; ōdaimono; EIKS 2
97. Kisokaidō Yūrei Katakuchi; 1705; Kyoto/Mandayū; oiemono; Chikamatsu?; CZ 16
98. Keisei Wakamurasaki; oiemono; Chikamatsu; CZ 16

## 2. Chronological List of Chikamatsu's Jōruri Sewamono

This list includes: title of play; date of first performance; category of play; and English translation, if any. Various authorities give different dates for several of Chikamatsu's early sewamono. Dates are for the most part given as in CMS, although I have also consulted the chronologies included in Torigoe, Kyojitsu no Nagusami (241-48), and Hara, Chikamatsu Monzaemon (104-08). Where these two more recent works are in agreement on a date differing from that given in CMS, I have used it instead. All texts are in CMS.

1. Sonezaki Shiniū; 1703/5; shiniūmono; MPC
2. Satsuma Uta; 1704/1; kakōmono
3. Shiniū Nimai Ezōshi; 1706/2; shiniūmono
4. Hijirnen Uzuki no Momiji; 1706/6; shiniūmono
5. Horikawa Nami no Tsuzumi; 1707; kantsūmono; MPC
6. Uzuki no Iroage; 1707/4; shiniūmono
7. Gojūnenki Utanembutsu; 1707/7; shobatsumono
8. Shinjū Kasane Izutsu; late 1707; shiniūmono
9. Tamba Yosaku Matsuyo no Komuro Bushi; early 1708; kakōmono; MPC
10. Yodogoi Shusse no Takinobori; late 1708; shobatsumono
11. Shiniūyaiba wa Kōri no Tsuitachi; 1709; shiniūmono
12. Shiniū Mannensō; 1710/4; shiniūmono; MPC
13. Meido no Hikyaku; 1711; shobatsumono; MPC, Miyamori
14. Imaya no Shinjū; 1711/summer; shiniūmono
15. Yūgiri Awa no Naruto; early 1712; kakōmono
16. Nagamachi Onna Harakiri; 1712/fall; kakōmono
17. Daikyōji Mukashi Goyomi; 1715/spring; kantsūmono; Miyamori
18. Ikudama Shinjū; 1715/5; shiniūmono
19. Yari no Gonza Kasane Katabira; 1717/8; kantsūmono; MPC
20. Yamazaki Yojibei Nebiki no Kadomatsu; 1718/1; kakōmono; MPC
21. Hakata Kōiorō Namimakura; 1718/11; shobatsumono; MPC, Miyamori
22. Shinjū Ten no Amijima; 1720/12; shiniūmono; MPC, Miyamori, Shively
23. Onnakoroshi Abura no Jigoku; 1721/7 shobatsumono; MPC
24. Shinjū Yoigōshin; 1722/4; shiniūmono

### 3. Chronological List of Edo Genroku Plays

The list below gives the following information (where known) in this order: title of play; year and month or season of opening performance; name of theatre; category of play; theatrical genres in which the material was previously treated; name of playwright(s); and location of text. Dates are given as in Torigoe ("Edoban Eiri Kyōgenbon" 120-23).

1. Sankai Nagoya; 1697/1; Nakamura; jidai-oiemono; jōruri; Danjūrō I and Nakamura Akashi Seizaburō; GKKS 1
2. Tsuwamono Kongen Soga; 1697/5; Nakamura; jidaimono; nō, kōwakamai, jōruri; Danjūrō I and Nakamura Akashi Seizaburō; GKKS 1
3. Kantō Koroku; 1698/3; Nakamura; oiemono; jōruri; Danjūrō I; GKKS 1
4. Ryūnyo Sanjūnisō; 1698/6; Nakamura; jidaimono; Danjūrō I, Akashi Seizaburō and Nakamura Seigorō; EKB 1
5. Gempei Narukami Denki; 1698/8; Nakamura; ōdaimono; nō, jōruri; Danjūrō I; GKKS 1
6. Isshin Onna Narukami; 1699/6; Yamamura; ōdaimono; GKKS 1
7. Nagoya Sanza; 1699/8; Yamamura; oiemono; jōruri; GKS
8. Tōsei Okuni Kabuki; 1699/11; Morita; jidai-oiemono; jōruri, nō; Danjūrō I; EKB 1
9. Kagemasa Ikazuchi Mondō; 1700/1; Morita; jidaimono; jōruri; Danjūrō I; GKKS 1
10. Keisei Asama ga Dake; 1700/1; Yamamura; jidaimono; EKB 1
11. Wakoku Gosuiden; 1700/3; Morita; ōdaimono; jōruri, sekkyō; Danjūrō I; GKKS 1
12. Usuyuki Ima Chūjōhime; 1700/3; Yamamura; ōdaimono; GKKS 1
13. Keisei Ranjatai; 1700; Yamamura; oiemono; EKB 1
14. Yorimasa Mannen Goyomi; 1700/kaomise; Yamamura; jidai-oiemono; nō; GKKS 1
15. Keisei Ōshōgun; 1701/1; Nakamura; ōdaimono; nō, kōwakamai, sekkyō; Danjūrō I; GKKS 1
16. Keisei Mitsu Urokogata; 1701/1; Yamamura; jidaimono; nō; GKKS 1
17. Shusse Sumidagawa; 1701/3; Nakamura; jidai-oiemono; nō, sekkyō, jōruri; Danjūrō I; GKKS 1



18. Aigo Jūnidan; 1701/3; Yamamura; ōdaimono; sekkyō; EKB 1
19. Taishokan Nido no Tamatori; 1701/5; Yamamura; ōdaimono; nō,  
kōwakamai, jōruri; EKB 2
20. Bontenkoku Takarabune; 1701/6; Yamamura; ōdaimono; sekkyō;  
Miyajima Denkichi; GKS
21. Sanze Dōjōji; 1701/7; Morita; jidaimono; nō; Miyajima Denkichi;  
GKKS 1
22. Kōbai Sumida-gawa; 1702/3; Yamamura; jidaimono; nō, sekkyō, jōruri;  
EKB 2
23. Oni ga Jō Onna Yamairi; 1702/7; Yamamura; ōdaimono; GKKS 1
24. Shida Kaikeizan; 1702/8; Yamamura; ōdai-oiemono; nō, kōwakamai,  
jōruri; GKKS 1
25. Keisei Asama Soga; 1703/1; Yamamura; jidaimono; nō, kōwakamai,  
jōruri; GKKS 1
26. Keisei Hotoke no Hara; 1703/3; Yamamura; ōdaimono; EKB 2
27. Naritasan Funjin Fudō; 1703/4; Morita; ōdaimono; nō; Danjūrō I;  
GKKS 1
28. Oguri Kanameishi; 1703/7; Ichimura; ōdaimono; sekkyō, jōruri;  
Fujimoto Heizaemon; GKKS 1
29. Oguri Jūnidan; 1703/7; Morita; ōdaimono; sekkyō, jōruri, nō;  
Danjūrō I; GKKS 1
30. Keisei Sumida-gawa; 1704/2; Yamamura; jidai-oiemono; nō, jōruri;  
GKKS 1
31. Hayazaki Sumida-gawa; 1705/ni no kawari; Ichimura; jidai-oiemono; nō,  
jōruri; Tsuuchi Kuheiji; GKKS 1
32. Yorimasa Goyōmatsu; 1707/1; Yamamura; jidai-oiemono; nō; Tsuuchi  
Jihei and Higuchi Han'emon; GKKS 1
33. Keisei Arashi Soga; 1708/1; Nakamura; jidaimono; nō; Nakamura  
Seigorō; KKS
34. Chūjōhime Kyōhina; 1708/3; Nakamura; ōdaimono; nō; Nakamura  
Seigorō; GKKS 1

#### 4. Alphabetical List of Plays with Japanese Titles

This list consists of all plays in lists 1 - 3 together with their Japanese titles. The number on the right can be used to find a play on one of the other lists: K = Kamigata (list 1); C = Chikamatsu (list 2); E = Edo (list 3).

<u>Aigo Jūnidan</u> [愛護十二段]	E 18
<u>Ajase Taishi Yamato Sugata</u> [阿闍世太子倭姿]	K 18
<u>Amida ga Ike Shinteramachi</u> [あみだが池新寺町]	K 59
<u>Asukagawa</u> [あすか川]	K 1
<u>Banzai Maru</u> [万歳丸]	K 22
<u>Bishamon Chōja</u> [毘沙門長者]	K 39
<u>Bontenkoku Takarabune</u> [梵天国宝船]	E 20
<u>Budō no Tassha</u> [武道達者]	K 15
<u>Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō</u> [仏母摩耶山開帳] (Osaka)	K 12
<u>Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō</u> [仏母摩耶山開帳] (Kyoto)	K 13
<u>Chūjuōhime Kyōhina</u> [中将姫京雛]	E 34
<u>Daidai no Mikagura</u> [代々の御神楽]	K 41
<u>Daiichi Daiman Daikichi</u> [大一大万大吉]	K 69
<u>Daikyōji Mukashi Goyomi</u> [大経師昔暦]	C 17
<u>Daimyō Nagusami Soga</u> [大名なぐさみ曾我]	K 32
<u>Fukki Daiō</u> [富貴大王]	K 47
<u>Fukujukai</u> [福寿海]	K 61
<u>Fukujumarū</u> [福寿丸]	K 30
<u>Gempei Narukami Denki</u> [源平雷伝記]	E 5
<u>Genji Kuyō</u> [源氏供養]	K 96
<u>Godō no Myōkan</u> [五道冥官]	K 16
<u>Gojūnenki Utanembutsu</u> [五十年忌歌念仏]	C 7
<u>Hakata Kojorō Namimakura</u> [博多小女郎波枕]	C 21
<u>Hayazaki Sumidagawa</u> [早咲隅田川]	E 31
<u>Hijirimen Uzuki no Momiji</u> [ひじりめん卯月の紅葉]	C 4
<u>Himegura Daikokubashira</u> [姫蔵大黒柱]	K 28
<u>Honchō Nijuyonkō</u> [本朝廿四考]	K 66
<u>Horikawa Nami no Tsuzumi</u> [堀川波鼓]	C 5
<u>Ikudama Shinjū</u> [生玉心中]	C 18

<u>Ima Genji Rokujujō</u> [今源氏六十帖]	K 23
<u>Ima Komachi Eiga Guruma</u> [新小町栄花車]	K 75
<u>Imaya no Shinjū</u> [今宮の心中]	C 14
<u>Iruka Daijin</u> [入鹿大臣]	K 34
<u>Isshin Onna Narukami</u> [一心女雷]	E 6
<u>Isshin Niga Byakudō</u> [一心二河百道]	K 43
<u>Izumi Kawachi Renri no Matsu</u> [泉河内連理の松]	K 26
<u>Jitō Tennō</u> [持統天皇]	K 68
<u>Jorō Raikō Bashira</u> [女郎来仰柱]	K 80
<u>Kachō Fūgetsu Jinji Soga</u> [花鳥風月神事曾我]	K 74
<u>Kagemasa Ikazuchi Mondō</u> [景政雷問答]	E 9
<u>Kamakura Shogatsugai</u> [鎌倉正月買]	K 63
<u>Kamigyō no Utaizome</u> [上京の謡始]	K 38
<u>Kanaoka ga Fude</u> [金岡筆]	K 5
<u>Kantō Koroku</u> [関東小禄]	E 3
<u>Kantō Koroku Imayō Sugata</u> [関東小六今様姿]	K 42
<u>Karasaki Hakkei Byōbu</u> [からさき八景屏風]	K 87
<u>Kashima no Kaname Ishi</u> [鹿島之要石]	K 9
<u>Kasuga Busshi Makura Dokei</u> [春日仏師枕時鷄]	K 92
<u>Kawara Shinjū</u> [河原心中]	K 85
<u>Keisei Arashi Soga</u> [傾城嵐曾我]	E 33
<u>Keisei Ariwaradera</u> [けいせい在原寺]	K 77
<u>Keisei Asama ga Dake</u> [けいせい浅間嶽]	K 37
<u>Keisei Asama ga Dake</u> [傾城浅間嶽]	E 10
<u>Keisei Asama Soga</u> [けいせい浅間曾我]	E 25
<u>Keisei Awa no Naruto</u> [けいせい阿波のなると]	K 24
<u>Keisei Edo Zakura</u> [けいせいゑどざくら]	K 40
<u>Keisei Fuji Miru Sato</u> [けいせい富士見る里]	K 71
<u>Keisei Futami no Ura</u> [けいせい二見の浦]	K 50
<u>Keisei Guzei no Fune</u> [けいせいぐぜいの舟]	K 64
<u>Keisei Hachisugawa</u> [けいせい蓮川]	K 55
<u>Keisei Hanaikada</u> [けいせい花筏]	K 49
<u>Keisei Hotoke no Hara</u> [けいせい仏の原]	K 46
<u>Keisei Hotoke no Hara</u> [けいせい仏の原]	E 26

<u>Keisei Hotoke no Hara Daijin Hokkoku Ochi</u> [けいせい仏の原 大臣北国落]	K 48
<u>Keisei Kinryū no Hashi</u> [傾城金龍橋]	K 93
<u>Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu</u> [傾城壬生大念仏]	K 76
<u>Keisei Mitsu no Kuruma</u> [けいせい三の車]	K 84
<u>Keisei Mitsu Urokogata</u> [傾城三鱗形]	E 16
<u>Keisei Myōto Ike</u> [けいせい夫婦池]	K 79
<u>Keisei Nara Miyage</u> [けいせいならみやげ]	K 72
<u>Keisei Ōshōgun</u> [傾城王昭君]	E 15
<u>Keisei Ranjatai</u> [傾城蘭麝鉢]	E 13
<u>Keisei Shirayama Zenjō</u> [けいせい白山禪定]	K 88
<u>Keisei Sumidagawa</u> [けいせい隅田川]	E 30
<u>Keisei Wakamurasaki</u> [けいせい若むらさき]	K 98
<u>Kichijō Tennyō Koyasu no Tama</u> [吉祥天女安産玉]	K 91
<u>Kisokaidō Yūrei Katakiuchi</u> [木曾海道幽霊敵討]	K 97
<u>Kitsunegawa Ima Sesshōseki</u> [狐川今殺生石]	K 89
<u>Kōbai Sumidagawa</u> [紅梅隅田川]	E 22
<u>Kumagae Nagori no Sakazuki</u> [熊谷名残盃]	K 21
<u>Matsukaze</u> [松風]	K 67
<u>Matsunami Shōjō Kayoi Guruma</u> [松波少将通車]	K 6
<u>Meido no Hikyaku</u> [冥途の飛脚]	C 13
<u>Menkō Fuhai no Tama</u> [面向不背玉]	K 33
<u>Mibu Aki no Nembutsu</u> [壬生秋の念仏]	K 82
<u>Miyako no Hinagata</u> [京ひながた]	K 60
<u>Mizuki Tatsunosuke Tachiburumai</u> [水木辰之助錢振舞]	K 27
<u>Momoyo Komachi</u> [百夜小町]	K 35
<u>Musumeoya no Katakiuchi</u> [娘親の敵討]	K 7
<u>Nagamachi Onna no Harakiri</u> [長町女腹切]	C 16
<u>Nagoyā Sanza</u> [なごや山三]	K 51
<u>Nagoya Sanza</u> [名護屋山三]	E 7
<u>Nanto Jūsan Kane</u> [南都十三鐘]	K 65
<u>Naritasan Funjin Fudō</u> [成田山分身不動]	E 27
<u>Nembi Kannon Riki</u> [念彼観音力]	K 25
<u>Nihongi Sosano Ono Mikoto</u> [日本記素戔鳴尊]	K 73
<u>Nippon Ajase Taishi</u> [日本阿闍太子]	K 20

<u>Nippon Gakkai Chōja</u> [日本月蓋長者]	K 17
<u>Nippon Hachiyō no Mine</u> [日本八葉の峰]	K 86
<u>Nippon Yomekagami</u> [日本嫁鏡]	K 78
<u>Ōakinai Miyako no Meibutsu</u> [大商都名物]	K 45
<u>Ōgumagawa Genzaemon</u> [大隈川源左衛門]	K 3
<u>Oguri Jūnidan</u> [小栗十二段]	E 29
<u>Oguri Kanameishi</u> [小栗鹿目石]	E 28
<u>Ōmiyahito Hatsushimada</u> [大宮人初しまだ]	K 10
<u>Oni ga Jō Onna Yamairi</u> [鬼城女山入]	E 23
<u>Onnakoroshi Abura no Jigoku</u> [女殺油地獄]	C 23
<u>Ono no Komachi</u> [小野小町]	K 53
<u>Onzōshi Hatsutoramōde</u> [御曹司初寅詣]	K 70
<u>Ōzassho Ise Oshiroi</u> [大雑書伊勢白粉]	K 29
<u>Ryūnyo Sanjūnisō</u> [竜女三十二相]	E 4
<u>Sankai Nagoya</u> [参会名護屋]	E 1
<u>Sanze Dōjōji</u> [三世道成寺]	E 21
<u>Satsuma Uta</u> [薩摩歌]	C 2
<u>Semimaru Nido no Shusse</u> [蟬丸二度之出世]	K 44
<u>Shikoku Henro</u> [四国辺路]	K 8
<u>Shida Kaikeizan</u> [信田繪稽山]	E 24
<u>Shinjū Chaya Banashi</u> [心中茶屋咄]	K 62
<u>Shinjū Kasane Izutsu</u> [心中重井筒]	C 8
<u>Shinjū Mannensō</u> [心中万年草]	C 12
<u>Shinjū Nimai Ezōshi</u> [心中二枚絵草紙]	C 3
<u>Shinjū Ten no Amijima</u> [心中天の網島]	C 22
<u>Shinjūyaiba wa Kōri no Tsuitachi</u> [心中刃は氷の朔日]	C 11
<u>Shinjū Yashima</u> [心中八島]	K 14
<u>Shinjū Yoigōshin</u> [心中宵庚申]	C 24
<u>Shinodazuma</u> [しのだつま]	K 54
<u>Shinodazuma Gonichi</u> [しのだずま後日]	K 57
<u>Shusse Sumidagawa</u> [出世隅田川]	E 17
<u>Soga Mitsu Tomoe</u> [曾我三ツともえ]	K 94
<u>Sonezaki Shinjū</u> [曾根崎心中]	C 1
<u>Taema Chūjōhime Nidaiki</u> [当麻中将姫二代記]	K 52
<u>Taishokan</u> [大織冠]	K 2

<u>Taishokan Nido no Tamatori</u> [大職冠二度珠取]	E 19
<u>Tamba no Kuni Chishio no Suifuro</u> [丹波の国血汐の水風呂]	K 81
<u>Tamba Yosaku Matsuyo no Komuro Bushi</u> [丹波与作待夜の小室節]	C 9
<u>Tamba Yosaku Tazunaobi</u> [丹波与作手綱帯]	K 11
<u>Tōsei Okuni Kabuki</u> [当世小国歌舞妓]	E 8
<u>Tsuruga no Tsu Sangaigura</u> [つるがの津三階蔵]	K 56
<u>Tsuwamono Kongen Soga</u> [兵根元曾我]	E 2
<u>Usuyuki Ima Chūjōhime</u> [うす雪今中将姫]	E 12
<u>Uzuki Kokonoka Sono Akatsuki no Myōjō ga Chaya</u> [卯月九日其暁の 明星が茶屋]	K 31
<u>Uzuki no Iroage</u> [卯月の潤色]	C 6
<u>Waka Sanshin Yōgō no Matsu</u> [和歌三神影向松]	K 95
<u>Wakanoura Kataonami</u> [和歌浦片男浪]	K 4
<u>Wakoku Fūryū Kyōdai Kagami</u> [和国風流兄弟鑑]	K 19
<u>Wakoku Gosuiden</u> [和国五翠殿]	E 11
<u>Yamazaki Yojibei Nebiki no Kadomatsu</u> [山崎与次兵衛寿の門松]	C 20
<u>Yari no Gonza Kasane Katabira</u> [鏑の権三重帷子]	C 19
<u>Yodogoi Shusse no Takinobori</u> [淀鯉出世滝徳]	C 10
<u>Yorimasa Goyōmatsu</u> [頼政五葉松]	E 32
<u>Yorimasa Mannen Goyomi</u> [頼政万年曆]	E 14
<u>Yoshida no Kenkō Shika no Makifude</u> [吉田兼好鹿巻筆]	K 58
<u>Yotsubashi Musume Koroshi</u> [四ツ橋むすめころし]	K 83
<u>Yūgiri Awa no Naruto</u> [夕霧阿波鳴度]	C 15
<u>Yūgiri Samban Tsuzuki</u> [夕霧三番続]	K 90
<u>Yūgiri Shichinenki</u> [夕霧七年忌]	K 36

## APPENDIX D

## SUMMARIES OF PLAYS

Part One: Kamigata Kabuki Plays (Oiemono)1. Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō (Osaka)

First performed at the Iwai-za, Osaka, in spring of 1693. Original cast: Adachi Dewanosuke = Iwai Hanshirō; Akashi no Gensuke = Sugiyama Kanzaemon; his wife Oran = Okada Samanosuke; Adachi Hyōgo = Mihara Jūdayū; Kakuhan = Murayama Heijūrō. Text: GKKS 2: 99-126.

Act One

Scene one (On the seashore). The lord of the Ōe domain, Saemon Yukisada, and his wife have no heir. They have thus sent two ladies-in-waiting, Matsugae and Umegae, to pray to the Kannon at Mt. Maya for the lady to conceive a child. On the way back the two women see a fishing boat and ask to be taken as far as Akashi. The boatman says that the wind blowing down from Mt. Maya is strong and the journey would be dangerous. The two ladies-in-waiting, however, say that since they have been to the mountain temple and received an amulet they will be safe. The boatman's wife, Oran, then tells them the charm is useless. She tells her story. She was originally from Kyoto, but was taken into service by a daimyō from the provinces on duty in the capital and employed as a bath maid. Unexpectedly, she fell into the lord's hand and he asked her to bear his child, since his wife was unable to do so. Oran agreed and prayed to the Kannon (Goddess of Mercy) of Mt. Maya for a healthy baby boy. One night the Kannon appeared at the foot of her bed and told her her wish would be granted. She became pregnant and the lord was delighted. He sent her to his province where she discovered his wife to be equally happy with the news. After the usual nine-month period, however, the child was not born. Nor was it born after two years. In the end she was accused of deceiving the lord and was about to be executed when she was rescued by the younger brother of one of the family retainers and allowed to escape. Since then (a year before) she has been living with Gensuke and has still not delivered the baby. She then takes the charm and is about to tear

it up and throw it away when she suddenly falls unconscious. As the others try to revive her a child's voice is heard calling its mother. Oran, now conscious, asks if the voice is that of the child in her womb. The voice replies that he is indeed Ōe Saemon's child and that he has been trapped in her womb by a yamabushi's curse. The two ladies-in-waiting now realize that the woman is the same Oran previously in the service of their lord. They ask the child if he is now ready to be born, and he says that he is, but that he wishes to be born at the lord's residence. They all get in the boat and leave for the residence.

Scene two (The residence of Ōe Saemon). Lord Ōe is on service in Kyoto, so it is his stepmother, Myōdommi, along with Saemon's wife, Sakura no Mae, and his retainers who receive Oran and the others. Adachi Hyōgo, a retainer and oldest of three brothers, is suspicious and thinks the whole story of the curse and the child's voice might be a plot cooked up by Oran and Gensuke. He asks for proof that the child is the lord's. Gensuke replies that they cannot furnish proof, but that if they wait until the child is born the truth will be clear enough (he claims they can tell by the afterbirth). The middle brother, Dewanosuke, suggests they wait and see. Hyōgo reluctantly agrees and Myōdommi is asked to look after Oran.

While they are waiting for the birth, Danroku, the messenger who had been sent to advise Saemon of the events, returns from Kyoto. He reports that he found Saemon extremely angry and received from him a divorce notice for his wife. He also says that he found Shōgen, the Adachi brothers' father, badly wounded. When asked, Shōgen explained that Saemon had been involved in a treasonous plot at the court in Kyoto, and when he, Shōgen, tried to admonish him, Saemon attacked him. Danroku adds that Shōgen then killed himself and he, Danroku, cut off his head. He has brought the head as well as the note Shōgen left behind. He presents the head on a board and the brothers weep while Myōdommi reads the note. In it Shōgen explains the nature of Saemon's treason and asks his sons to revenge themselves against Saemon. At Myōdommi's prompting Hyōgo and the youngest brother, Tomonosuke, prepare to leave for Kyoto. Dewanosuke,





[Top: The unborn child's voice is heard coming from Oran's womb. Bottom: Dewanosuke (left) and Hyōgo and Myōdommi (right) examine the supposedly severed head of Shōgen.]

however, is suspicious and refuses to go. He asks the others to look closely at the head. It appears to be warm and breathing. Finally he pulls it and discovers that his father, quite alive, has merely stuck his head through a floor board. Shōgen confesses that the whole thing was Hyōgo's idea. Hyōgo, however, argues that Saemon is still a traitor, and they have the letter he wrote to his wife to prove it. Dewanosuke opens the letter and finds it is not written in Saemon's hand but in that of his teacher, Umemura Bokuan. Dewanosuke asks his father and Hyōgo to go with him to Bokuan's place and investigate. Hyōgo is reluctant, but finally agrees.

Meanwhile, Myōdommi builds up a fire in the hibachi and heats a poker until it is red hot. She calls Oran to her on the pretext of

making sure the expectant mother is taking care of herself, but then beats her and knocks her to the floor. Before stabbing her in the throat with the poker Myōdommi reveals that she was the one who had the yamabushi put a curse on Oran. Gensuke then appears. Although he is too late to save his wife, he picks up the still hot iron and kills Myōdommi with it. While he is lamenting his wife's death, the three brothers come in. Since his and Hyōgo and Myōdommi's villainous plot is now clear, Hyōgo makes his escape. Dewanosuke tells Gensuke to take Tomonosuke and Sakura no Mae away to some safe place. He himself will go to Kyoto to see Saemon. Just then Danroku comes up from behind and tries to stab him, but Dewanosuke sees him in time and kills him. He then leaves.

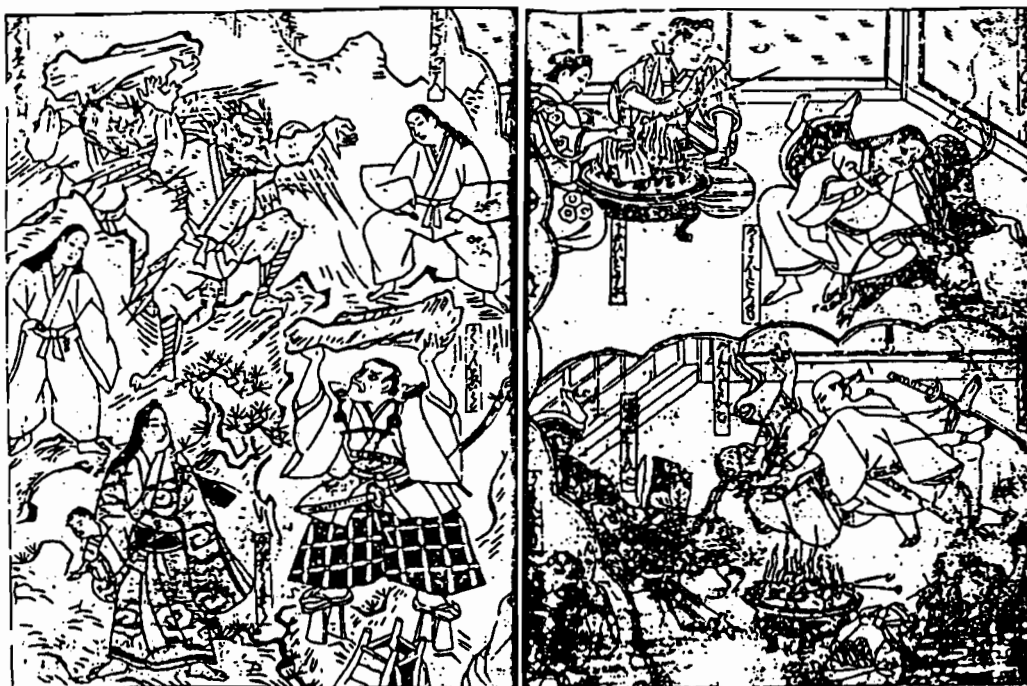
### Act Two

Scene one (At the Ōe residence). The child carried by Oran is born through the cut in her throat. It is a male child, and since it is already three years old, it is not a baby. Still, the boy clings to its mother's breast and calls for her. Miraculously, the mother's severed head rises in the air and reattaches itself to her body. Oran gets up, soothes the child, and then they disappear.

Scene two (Mt. Ōmine). The yamabushi Kakuhan is on a pilgrimage to Mt. Ōmine, accompanied by his servant, Gōriki. While climbing Gōriki makes up verses and gives an amusing account of his life. Suddenly two boys appear and, accusing Kakuhan of a lack of mercy, tell him he cannot go any further up the sacred mountain. Kakuhan warns them that he is a powerful priest, but they persist in abusing him. Suddenly they turn into tengu (long-nosed goblins) and pick up huge rocks and hurl them at Kakuhan. These Kakuhan easily catches and throws back, but in the end the tengu prevent him from climbing further.

After the tengu have vanished, Oran's ghost appears carrying the young lord. She accuses Kakuhan of having placed a curse on her. Kakuhan says he did no such thing, but he does remember being tricked by a samurai and an older woman into not completing the prayer for a safe birth that they had requested. They discuss the incident and it turns out that the man was Hyōgo and it was Oran's child that was thus held

captive in the womb. Kakuhan swears to take revenge on Hyōgo for disgracing him and causing so much sorrow. Before parting Oran gives him the child and asks him to pass it on to Saemon.



[Top right: Myōdommi stabs Oran. Bottom right: Gensuke avenges his wife's death. Left: Kakuhan does battle with the tengu, while the ghost of Oran appears with the child.]

Scene three (Kakuhan's temple). Due to the disturbances at home Saemon has secretly left the capital and is heading west, intending to stop at a temple, take the tonsure, and hold services for the repose of the dead. Gōriki passes by with the child. Saemon stops him and asks if there is a temple nearby where he can spend the night. Gōriki tells him that Kakuhan's temple is nearby and that he is welcome. At that moment the boy goes over to Saemon, saying "father." Gōriki tells the story behind the child and Saemon realizes it is his son. They are on their way to the temple to tell Kakuhan the news when Myōdommi's spirit suddenly

appears in the form of a she-devil and tells Saemon that it was she and Hyōgo who plotted to prevent Oran from giving birth. She also explains that she killed Oran and was then in turn killed by Gensuke. Since all along her intention had been to kill the child, she now demands that Saemon hand his son over so she can take him with her to hell. Saemon and his servant draw their swords, but they are overpowered by the angry spirit. Just as the child is in danger of being taken away Oran's spirit appears and demands that Myōdommi return her son. Each tries to pull the child in her own direction. Locked in struggle, the two ghosts along with the child sink into the sea.

At this point Hyōgo, intent on slaying Kakuhan, arrives with a number of samurai. Seeing Saemon he ties him up and then, going into the temple, finds and ties up Saemon's wife and the ladies-in-waiting with her. Hyōgo declares that he has long desired Sakura no Mae and that from now on she will be his wife. Just then, however, Kakuhan comes running, declaring that Hyōgo will die for having deceived him. He grabs Hyōgo and cuts off his head. He then releases the captives and says he will now turn over Saemon's son. Saemon explains that his son had been returned, but that he was taken away by the ghost of Myōdommi. Kakuhan stamps the earth and, evoking the names of the Buddha and the God Fudō, prays for the child's return. Suddenly a marvelous pagoda appears from the sky, borne on a stream of purple clouds. In it sits a celestial maiden, holding the young lord. The maiden explains that she has previously appeared as Oran, but that she is really the eleven-faced Kannon of the Mt. Maya Temple. As she has done in the case of Oran, she temporarily assumes human form in order to show the world the ties that bind all to the Buddha. She then exhorts all present to follow the ways of Buddhism and, after handing over the child, is carried off to paradise by a heavenly wind. All rejoice and kneel in worship. They then leave for Mt. Maya.

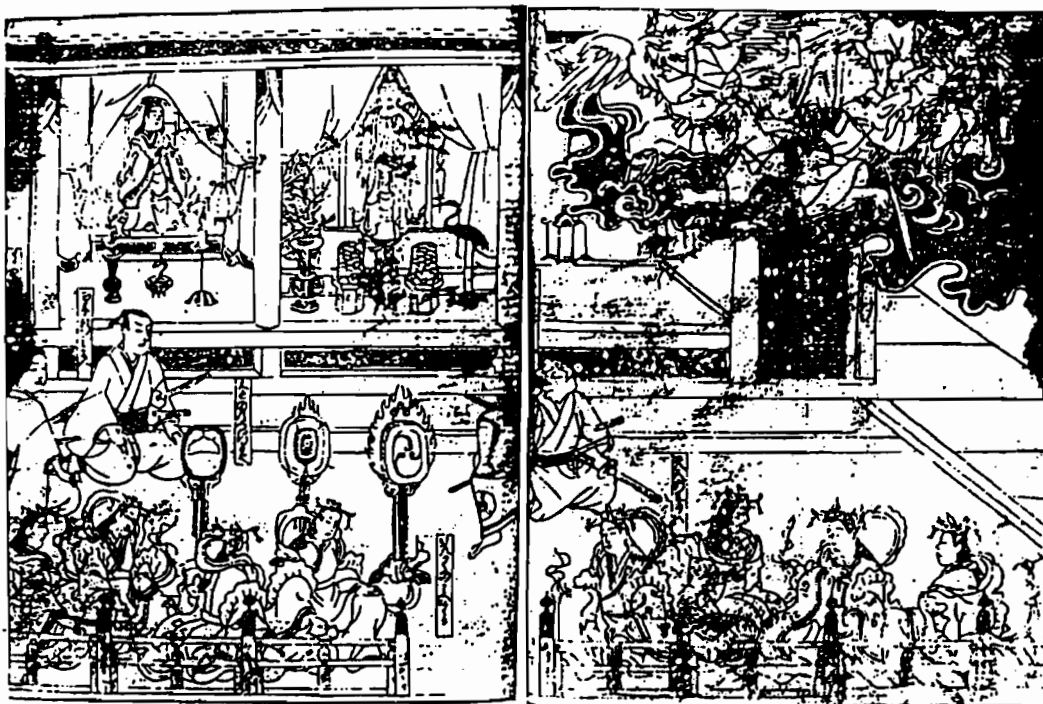
Act Three

(Mt. Maya). Saemon's wife, Sakura no Mae, as well as her ladies-in-waiting Matsugae and Umegae have all become devout followers of the Buddha's way and have taken a priestess from Mt. Maya as their teacher. Saemon, too, now devotes his time to religious austerities. While they are busy with their religious practices at the foot of the mountain, the head priest of the Mt. Maya Temple appears. Asked why he has come, he explains that he was inspecting his dilapidated temple a few days earlier when he noticed the statue of Kannon was missing. Then the night before he had a vision in which Kannon told him to come to the present place. Sure enough the Kannon is there (apparently having been borrowed for Saemon and his wife's religious practices). They declare the vision a miracle, and the head priest decides that since it has been thirty-three



[Top right: The spirits of Oran and Myōdommi struggle for possession of the child. Top left: Kakuhan beheads Hyōgo. Bottom: Saemon and Kakuhan and their servants kneel in worship as Kannon descends with the child.]

years since the statue was last shown to the public the temple will hold a kaichō. He then tells Saemon that Dewanosuke is on the mountain. The two go up the mountain, taking the statue with them. They meet Dewanosuke, who admonishes Saemon for withdrawing from the world when the land is in such turmoil and the people need him. The priest voices a similar opinion and suggests that Saemon have his son enter the priesthood in his stead. Saemon resolves to do just that. They then put the Kannon back in its place and display a statue of the Buddha's mother, Maya, and all the temple's other treasures as well. The kaichō begins with music and dancing, but just then the spirit of Hyōgo, who has become a devil in the sixth Buddhist heaven, comes to disturb the proceedings. His power is no match for the Buddha's, however, and he is driven off by other deities. The text concludes with the comments: "This has been another sign of the flourishing of the Buddha's law. Those who hear of [this story] will become even more fervent believers."



[In a failed attempt to disrupt the kaichō, the spirit of Hyōgo is driven off by other deities (top right).]

## 2. Butsumo Mayasan Kaichō (Kyoto)

By Chikamatsu Monzaemon. First performed at the Mandayū-za, Kyoto, in the third month of 1693. Original cast: Mutsuda Kamon = Sakata Tōjūrō; Keisei Ikoku = Iwai Heijirō; Kofuji (Yarite) = Yoshizawa Ayame; Keisei Takahashi = Kirinami Senju; Idohori Jinsuke = Yamashita Matashirō; Idohori Magosaku (Daigorō) = Yamashita Hanzaemon; Ikoku's older brother = Kaneko Kichizaemon. Text: CZ 15: 1-31.

### Act One

Scene one (Announcement of the kaichō). Two temple pages accompanied by monks appear carrying a placard and announcing an exhibition at Mt. Maya of the temple's eleven-faced Kannon, whose origin they also explain. They meet Tsubone, a lady-in-waiting to the wife of Mutsuda Kamon. She is looking after a child. When asked whose child it is, Tsubone explains that it is Kamon's. Kamon, she goes on to say, had gone to western Japan to hold a memorial for the thirteenth anniversary of the death of his father, who drowned while on a trip there. While away, Kamon fell in love with Ikoku, a keisei of the Muro licensed quarter, and has since failed to return home.

Scene two (The residence of the Mutsuda family). Kamon's wife has had Tsubone fetch the money-changer Kurōzaemon. He arrives bringing a sum of 36 kamme and is surprised to learn that the money is to be used to ransom a keisei. He assumes it is Ikoku whom they plan to ransom, but he is told that it is another keisei, Takahashi. Kamon's wife, it is revealed, plans to have Takahashi instruct her in the ways of the keisei so that she can go to Muro and bring back her husband. She and Tsubone seal a receipt and hand it over to Kurōzaemon.

The people from the brothel arrive and the mistress instructs Tsubone to pay the money and show Takahashi in. Takahashi is also surprised when she learns that it was not Kamon but his wife who has ransomed her. After hearing the explanation, Takahashi tells the mistress something about the life of a keisei, stressing the hardships: "Today I'm a woman from the east, the next day I say I'm from Tsukushi--all lies. Oh, it's dreadful! There is no life as wretched as that of a keisei."

She then breaks down and cries. The lady of the house does too, but she explains: "I'm not weeping over the keisei, it's because the Lord carelessly believed such lies and forgot himself and even his country and failed to return that I am sad and crying." Takahashi replies that she will not be called a liar. It is true she sometimes deceives her clients, but she can also be very true. She has a lover but he can no longer visit her. She adds that she had hoped that being ransomed by a woman would give her a chance to meet him, but that now that she has met the mistress she would prefer to return to the quarter.

At this point Kamon's stepmother, Shingetsu, and her brother, Kazuraki Bundayū, appear and threaten Kamon's wife. Kamon's younger



[Top right: Tsubone meets the temple pages announcing the kaichō. Top left: The keisei Takahashi presents herself to Kamon's wife. Bottom: Utanosuke (centre) questions Shingetsu and Bundayū (kneeling, right).]



brother Utanosuke arrives to disarm Bundayū and demands to know the reason for their action. Bundayū claims Kamon's wife is plotting to kill him and his sister. Utanosuke asks if he has proof. Bundayū claims he has. Utanosuke doubts it, but says it is best not to look into it now, since if it is doubtful and he acts on it in Kamon's absence, he might be accused of some crime. Bundayū insists and finally gets Utanosuke to read a pact signed and sealed by Kamon's wife and Tsubone in which they resolve to follow Kamon's orders and burn down the house with Bundayū and Shingetsu in it. Utanosuke shows it to Tsubone, who says she has never seen it. Wondering how the seals got on such a damning document she calls back Kurōzaemon and asks to see the receipt they just gave him. He says he cannot return it without getting the money back. When threatened he finally admits he turned over both the receipt and the seals to Shingetsu and Bundayū. Utanosuke says he has already heard enough. He claims he is so mortified that such a thing should happen while he was in charge that wants to kill himself. Shingetsu stops him and apologizes. They agree to forget the whole thing. The receipt is destroyed and Kurōzaemon returns home with neither money nor receipt.

Meanwhile, the well-diggers Jinsuke and Magosaku appear and begin working on the well. The mistress's younger sister, Oiwa, comes out and declares she is going to throw herself in the well and kill herself because her love cannot be fulfilled. The well diggers persuade her not to. Utanosuke then comes out and tells them to get back to work. After he leaves, Kamon's wife and Tsubone come out. They remark on the resemblance of Magosaku to Kamon. Kamon's wife asks him to imitate her husband. She then calls out Takahashi and has them pretend to be lovers meeting for the first time in a long while. As she watches, Kamon's wife grows sad with longing for her husband. At this point Magosaku suddenly recognizes Takahashi, becomes angry, and beats her. He then explains that he used to be a samurai but was disinherited because of his infatuation with Takahashi, who he has not seen for a long time. Takahashi claims that she allowed herself to be ransomed by a woman because she thought she could find out about him. The lovers make up.

It is then revealed that Magosaku is in fact the middle brother of the Mutsuda family, Daigorō.

Just then a samurai comes running to announce that the family patriarch, Gyōbu, has landed on the coast and is about to return after an absence of seventeen years. Daigorō hides. Gyōbu, with long white hair and beard, arrives in a palanquin. Shingetsu and Bundayū come out to greet him. He sees Kamon's wife and the child and asks who they are. Learning that Kamon has been spending his time in Muro and has had a child by a keisei, Gyōbu grows angry and asks Bundayū to go to Muro and kill Kamon. Utanosuke stops him from going, and Kamon's wife says that if Gyōbu intends to kill Kamon, he must also kill her. Gyōbu says he will, but is stopped by Daigorō, who questions the man claiming to be his father and, ripping off his false beard, proves him an imposter. The man



[Top right: Utanosuke talks to the well-diggers. Top left: Magosaku (Daigorō) beats Takahashi. Bottom: Daigorō (right) exposes the imposter, as Bundayū (left) looks on.]

turns out to be a temple guard whom Shingetsu and Bundayū persuaded to impersonate Gyōbu and kill Kamon's wife on the promise of service and a stipend. Daigorō, enraged by the conspiracy, draws his sword and fights with Bundayū and his samurai. Jinsuke also joins in but, finding himself at a disadvantage, saves himself by hiding in the well. Shingetsu then snatches up the child and, intending to kill it, tosses it down the well. She then escapes. Daigorō finally manages to drive off the samurai. Kamon's wife and Tsubone come running. Tsubone says that Shingetsu threw the child to its death in the well. They begin to grieve over the death, but just then Jinsuke emerges from the well with the child. They put the child in the palanquin and leave.

### Act Two

Scene one (Before the magistrate's house in Muro). On his way to Muro, Kamon orders a palanquin so he can enter the town incognito. He comes upon a large crowd of townsmen outside the magistrate's house. The taiko (professional male entertainer) Gembei comes out and informs the crowd that the case has not yet been decided. Kamon beckons Gembei to him and is told that the suit is between Ikoku and a brothel owner. It seems she claims her contract expires on the fourteenth of the third month, whereas the holder of her contract, Sakubei, claims she still has to serve five years. Kamon says that Ikoku had told him herself that her contract would soon be up. He therefore cannot understand what the dispute is about. They call out Ikoku and she tells them not to worry. They ask if she has the receipt she received at the time her contract was agreed upon, and she replies that her brother, Gorosuke, has it. At that moment the disputants are called back into the house. When they come out again it is revealed that the case has been decided in favour of Ikoku's employer, who presented a receipt showing that Ikoku borrowed 200 momme when her mother was ill and agreed to serve for five more years. The contract was sealed by her brother, Gorosuke. Ikoku is put in a palanquin to be taken back to the quarter. Kamon tries to strike a deal to buy out Ikoku's contract, but is informed that, with the addition of exorbitant interest charges, it will now cost a total of 800 ryō, and he

does not have the money. The lovers are thus forced to separate.

Scene two (A brothel in Muro). At a brothel in Muro there is talk of Ikoku's contract being bought out by a rich customer. The varite (procuress) Kofuji is much distressed at this news, since she considers Ikoku and Kamon to be as good as man and wife. When she meets the customer who is to ransom Ikoku, she insults him and then leaves in a huff. Meanwhile Kamon arrives with a wicker hat down over his eyes and with his child, Kiyomatsu, in his arms. He asks the owner of the brothel, Okane, to see if she can arrange for the child to see its mother. He explains that because of the troubles at home he has had to take back his son. The child, however, wants its mother and will not sleep with him. When Kamon learns that Ikoku is to be ransomed by another



[Right: A page from the original kyōgenbon. Top left: Kamon (right) calls to Ikoku, who is led away in a palanquin. Bottom: Kamon (seated with shamisen) and Agemaki watch Ikoku, who is outside tied to a tree.]

customer, he becomes upset and wants to leave, but he is talked into staying by the brothel owner's younger brother, Chōzaburō, who wants him to call his own lover, Agemaki, so that the two can meet. Kamon agrees to do so, but when Agemaki arrives they are seen by Kofuji, who, believing Kamon has called the keisei for himself, reproaches him for his unfaithfulness.

Meanwhile, Sakubei, Ikoku's employer, is seen tying Ikoku to a tree as punishment for not wanting to go with the man who is buying her out. Unaware that Ikoku has resisted being ransomed, Kamon does nothing to help her and even prevents his child from going to its mother. Kofuji, however, releases Ikoku and tells her that Kamon is seeing another woman. The two lovers have a fight, each believing the other has been unfaithful. Finally Kamon beats Ikoku and goes upstairs with Agemaki. Now deep in despair, Ikoku asks the child to cut her throat. Naively, the child complies. Ikoku's injury (which is not fatal) is discovered and all come running. It is then revealed that Tarōzaemon, the rich merchant who came to buy out Ikoku, was acting at the request of Tsubone, who saw this as the only means to get Kamon to come home. Kamon is delighted and asks him to buy out Kofuji and Agemaki as well. Tarōzaemon agrees to do so. Kamon and the three women then leave for the Mutsuda estate.

### Act Three

Ikoku along with Agemaki, Kofuji, Kamon's wife and her sister Oiwa have come to Mt. Maya for the kaichō. It's a very lively scene. Kiyomatsu, who has become a novice priest, is also present. Hearing that Kamon is to come to the temple, Shingetsu and Bundayū arrive with the intention of slaying him. They see his son and decide to kill him as well. They order their samurai to grab him and Bundayū draws his sword and cuts off the child's head. The head, however, rises in the air and becomes a lotus flower inscribed with the characters "namu Kannon" ("Hail Kannon"). Meanwhile, Kiyomatsu appears to be uninjured. Bundayū is about to strike him again when a large serpent comes down from the sky, wraps itself around the two villains and squeezes them to death. Kamon and Daigorō arrive in time to witness the miracle and the divine retribution meted

out to the villains. They all then dance in celebration. The play ends with the comment that afterwards they return home and the domain enjoys a long period of peace and prosperity.



[Top: The child stabs Ikoku (right), as Kamon quickly descends from the second floor (left). Bottom: At the kaichō Shingetsu and Bundayū are restrained by a giant serpent.]

### 3. Keisei Asama ga Dake

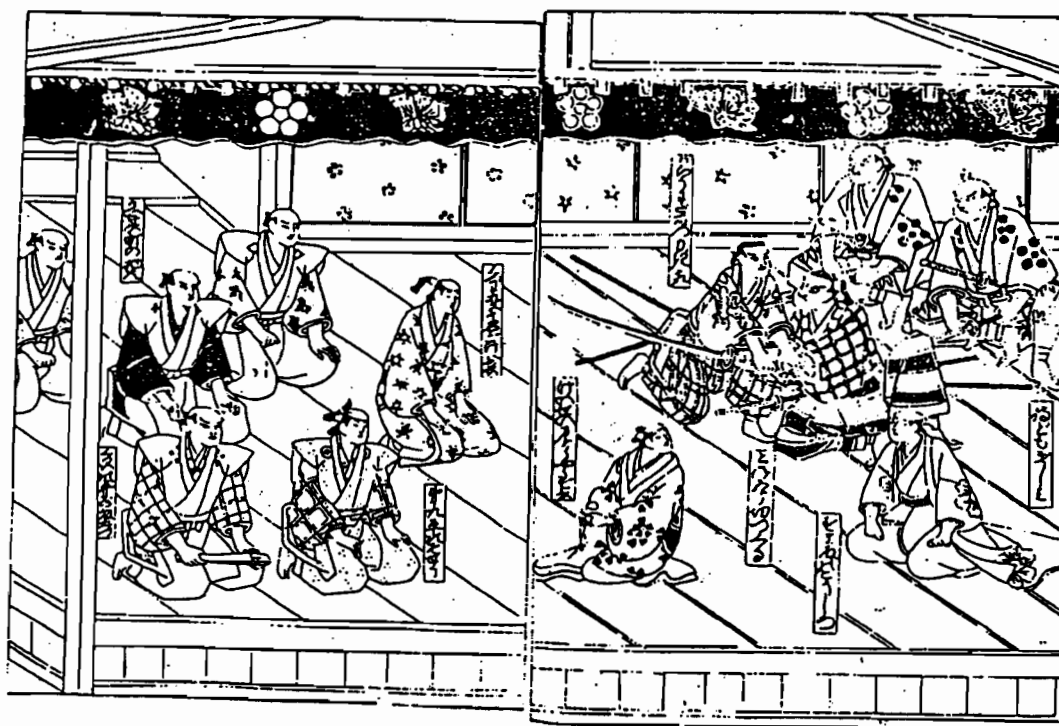
First performed at the Hayakumo-za, Kyoto, in the first month of 1698. Original cast: Hanaoka Wadaemon = Yamashita Hanzaemon; Keisei Miura = Yoshizawa Ayame; Ozasa Tomoenojō = Nakamura Shichisaburō; Keisei Ōshū = Iwai Sagenda; Tonegorō = Kuwahara Sanzaemon; Otowa no Mae = Yamamoto Kamon; Yotarō = Yamada Jimpachi. Text: GKKS 2: 389-451; KMS 5-65.

#### Act One

Scene one (Announcement of the kaichō). The head priest of the Asama Shrine appears with two novices and several other monks. He explains to the crowd the origin of the shrine and announces that, since women are not allowed to visit this mountain shrine, an exhibit of its chief object of worship, a statue of Fugen Bodhisattva, will be held in the Higashiyama district on the outskirts of Kyoto beginning on the fourteenth day of the second month. Also displayed will be the bodhisattva's attendant deities, Emman-ō and Go-ō. Those who purchase the amulets of these two deities, he continues, will be protected from evil and calamities, while those who make the pilgrimage to the exhibit will be able to meet their dead loved ones. Among the crowd listening to the priest's announcement are Ochō, the mistress of a brothel, as well as her brother, Kuheiji, and others from the licensed quarter. They are on their way to the magistrate's office to make an appeal. Believing that an amulet may help them in their suit, Ochō obtains one from the priest. The two parties then go their separate ways.

Scene two (The residence of Lord Suwa). The senior retainer of the Suwa family, Hanaoka Wadaemon, is on his way to the family residence with a number of samurai when he is stopped by Ochō and her party. Their suit has not been taken up by the magistrate, and so now they appeal to Wadaemon. They explain that Tonegorō, the young lord of Suwa, after having visited the keisei Miura some twenty times, suddenly became angry and tied her up, threatening severe punishment for anyone who dares release her. Since this is causing great hardship for the brothel, they ask Wadaemon to intercede. He agrees to do so and sends his men into the house to inquire about the lord. Tonegorō comes storming out and accuses

Wadaemon of showing disrespect by taking up the brothel's case against him. Tonegorō's mother also appears. She reminds her son that it is Otowa no Mae (the former lord's daughter by his first wife) and not he who is the heir to the household, and that Wadaemon is not being disrespectful. She adds that he has been very short-tempered lately. Tonegorō thus explains why he became so angry. After visiting Miura some twenty times he asked her to come and live with him at his residence, and she agreed. When the time came to bring her, however, she refused, saying there was another man with whom she was very close. He therefore tied her up and swears he will keep her that way for fifty or even seventy years. Wadaemon replies that he should not take this as an insult, since keisei are known to refuse even daimyō and members of good families. He also suggests that Miura may already be regretting her refusal. Tonegorō thus announces that he will forgive her if she now



[Wadaemon restrains Tonegorō (right), as the brothel mistress and others look on.]



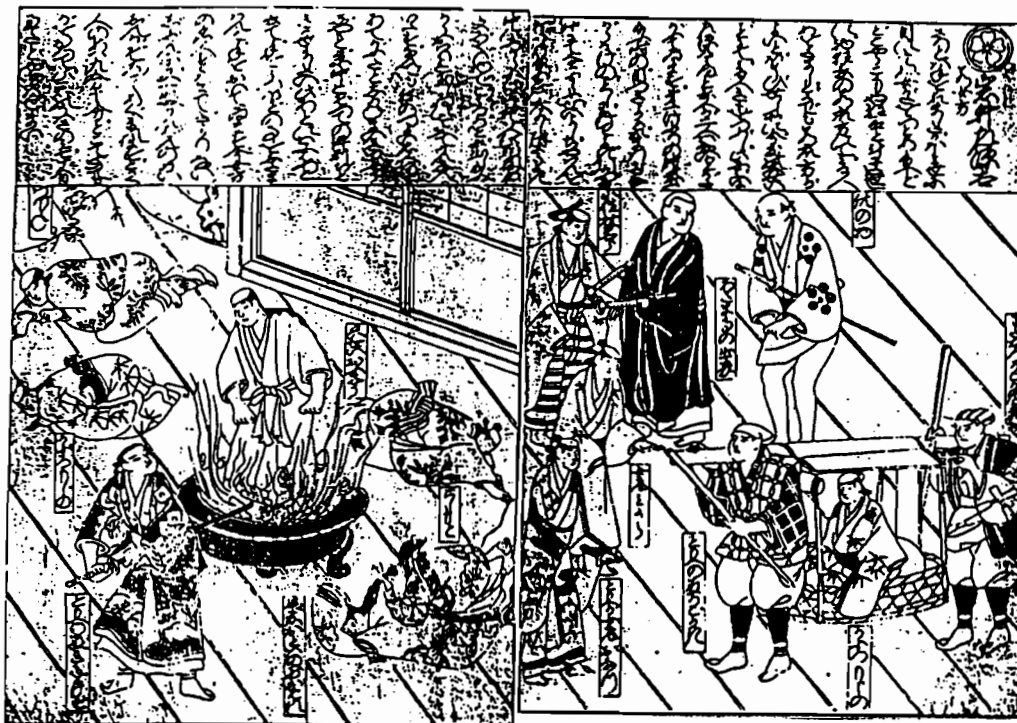
agrees to come. Wadaemon proposes buying her out, and Tonegorō's mother gives her consent to this solution. The people from the brothel, however, knowing what a strong-minded woman Miura is, insist that she be asked directly. Fortunately, she has been brought in a palanquin and is waiting at the gate. They untie her bonds and Miura makes her entrance in full keisei finery. Tonegorō's mother is impressed, but points out that Miura broke her promise to her son, something a samurai's daughter would never do. "As they say, there is no sincerity in a keisei," she adds. Miura replies that, on the contrary, there is no one more sincere than a keisei, though she does not expect Tonegorō's mother to understand what she means. Wadaemon then volunteers to make the proposal to Miura, but when he takes a close look at her he realizes that she is the very same keisei with whom he himself had been intimate. Miura explains (presumably to Wadaemon alone) that she has been thinking only of him. When he stopped seeing her, she neglected her duties and was eventually sold to another licensed quarter closer to the Suwa residence. She was thus hoping to be able to meet Wadaemon again, but she heard not a word from him. Tonegorō then asks about this other man she is apparently deeply committed to. Wadaemon, apparently not aware that she means him, also wants to know. Miura does not answer immediately but instead speaks of the nature of her relations with her customers and the false truths and truthful falsehoods of the keisei. Finally, however, it is revealed to all that Wadaemon is her former lover and that it was when she learned that Tonegorō was his master that she refused to come to the Suwa residence. Tonegorō becomes enraged, and his mother orders her samurai to strip Wadaemon of his swords and drive him into exile, together with the keisei. Wadaemon, however, will not stand for this and suggests that if anyone should be sent into exile it is Tonegorō. He reminds them that Tonegorō's mother was a mere servant girl whom the former Lord Suwa took up as his mistress after the death of his wife, and that Tonegorō himself is a bastard she brought along with her. He suggests that they step down and allow Otowa no Mae and her fiancé to rule the house. Insulted, Tonegorō's mother now orders Wadaemon to commit suicide (seppuku).

Wadaemon replies that he had heard something about a plot to get rid of both himself and Otowa no Mae so that the bastard can be installed as the heir to the Suwa household. Now that Tonegorō's mother has ordered him to commit suicide on flimsy charges he realizes that the rumours were true. He draws his sword and fighting ensues. Eventually Wadaemon succeeds in driving Tonegorō, his mother and their samurai back into the house. Meanwhile, the people from the licensed quarter have fled, leaving Wadaemon and Miura alone. Miura suggests that they go off somewhere together, adding that being ordered into exile is as good as being ransomed for free. Fearing for Otowa no Mae's safety, Wadaemon is at first hesitant to leave. Concluding, however, that since she is officially recognized as the legitimate heir to the house no one will dare harm her, he finally agrees. They leave together.

Scene three (The road to Higashiyama in Kyoto). A young girl of twelve or thirteen appears carrying a bundle on her back. The palanquin bearer Shichibei also appears and suggests she take a palanquin, adding it will only take seven minutes to reach the site of the Asama kaichō. The girl agrees and asks him to call his partner. Shichibei's partner turns out to be none other than the exiled Wadaemon, now going by the name of Sakubei. A humorous scene ensues in which the two bearers discuss how to compensate for their unequal heights. There is also some confusion about where they are going (Sakubei believing they are going to the original Asama Shrine some 120 leagues away!). While they are talking they discover that the young girl is a kaburo (apprentice keisei) from the Chimori licensed quarter in Sakai and that she has been sent by her tayū (the highest rank of keisei) to the Asama kaichō to pray that she can meet again the man she loves. They just start on their way when the wives of the two palanquin bearers (i.e. Miura and Shichibei's wife, Onatsu) appear with some young monks. One of the monks explains that they are looking for someone to work at the site of the kaichō. Both men volunteer, and when the monks decide on Sakubei, Shichibei involves them in a witty conversation in which he eventually disqualifies himself by showing that, contrary to his claim, he is too short-tempered for the

job. Sakubei and his wife (Wadaemon and Miura) thus leave with the monks. Shichibei, now without his partner, asks his wife to look after the palanquin while he carries the girl to the kaichō on his back.

On the way Shichibei stops for a rest and asks the girl if she would like to learn the ABCs of love. She refuses and runs into a narrow street, where she hears a woman singing a song. The girl is captivated by the song and sings one of her own in response. Hearing the girl's singing, the woman sends out one of her servants to invite the girl in. The woman, it turns out, is Otowa no Mae, heiress of the Suwa family. She says she would like to take the girl in as a servant, but the girl replies that that is impossible since she is already a kaburo in the service of a tayū. Lady Otowa then says she would like to see how people behave in the licensed quarters. Shichibei volunteers to act the part of the keisei buyer, but the kaburo protests that he is not dressed well enough for the part. She therefore suggests that he put on the kimono



[Right: Sakubei and Shichibei carry the kaburo in their palanquin. Left: The spirit of Ōshū rises from the flames.]

she is carrying in her bundle. Shichibei, however, is surprised to see that the kimono bears his crest. He realizes that the tayū the girl serves is Ōshū, the prostitute to whom he gave the kimono as a memento. The girl then replies that he must be Ozasa Tomoenjō, the man Ōshū longs to see again. It is for just this reason that she has been sent to offer the kimono to the kaichō. Hearing this, Lady Otowa announces her own identity, saying that she is Tomoe's betrothed. She adds that she has taken a house near the kaichō in order to pray for information concerning her missing fiancé. Asked about his present state, Tomoe answers that because of his involvement with Ōshū he has been disinherited by his family and fallen into the lowly station of a palanquin bearer. He assumes that Otowa is no longer interested in him, but she insists she will have him just as he is. She concludes his turning up is a miracle wrought by the grace of the Asama bodhisattva. Tomoe is overjoyed and offers a prayer of thanksgiving. Just then, however, the kaburo faints. All are alarmed and try to revive her. As she regains consciousness she asks that the amulet pouch around her neck be removed, as it is burning her. Tomoe removes it and, after confirming that it is hot, throws it away. It starts to smoulder. When the smoke has subsided, Tomoe picks it up and finds the pouch is full of kishō (pledges of love). There is also a vow written to the god of Asama mountain. In it Ōshū declares that she has been absolutely true to her lover, even cutting off her finger and writing countless kishō to show her sincerity. Her lover, however, having lost his stipend and been disinherited, has turned against her, declaring his own kishō lies. She has now resolved to gather the kishō she has received from him and dedicate them to the god of Asama so that she may be saved from future sins. Tomoe is frightened by this proof of Ōshū's excessive attachment to him. Since he is to be married to Otowa he decides to burn the kishō Ōshū has sent him and which he still carries. He throws them into the hibachi and they start to burn. Then out of the smoke appears Ōshū's spirit. While the women cower in fright, Tomoe places his hand on his sword and demands to know the reason for her appearance. She replies that she has longed to meet him and talk

to him again. He tries to embrace her but she disappears, only to reappear singing a song of forsaken love. Otowa now understands the depth of Ōshū's passion for Tomoe and suggests he ransom her. They have one of the servants accompany the kaburo back to her brothel, and then Tomoe and Otowa withdraw to meet the widowed Lady Suwa.

Scene four (Otowa's lodgings). Tonegorō, carrying a large, ornamental umbrella, appears at the same inn with a number of his samurai, who are carrying buckets. They are preparing to perform the ceremony of "bathing the bridegroom." Lady Suwa enters and, after inquiring what all the fuss is about, suggests that such a ceremony can wait until the wedding couple (Tomoe and Otowa) have returned to the family residence. Tomoe and Otowa then also appear. Tomoe, now in formal dress, thanks Tonegorō for making the preparations but also says that such a ritual can wait. Just then



[Right: Lady Suwa stops Tonegorō (carrying umbrella) from performing the "bathing of the bridegroom" ceremony. Left: Tomoenojō drives away Tonegorō and his men with a spear.]

a messenger arrives with news that Tomoe's cousin Danshirō has murdered his master, Lord Emon, and has been captured. The prisoner is presented before Tomoe to make his confession. The messenger declares that such a crime inculpates all members of the criminal's family, and thus Tomoe must commit seppuku. Convinced that this is retribution for his own past behaviour, Tomoe states he is ready to submit to the law. Otowa, however, asks what will become of her if her husband kills himself. Lady Suwa replies that the only honourable thing to do would be to follow her husband's example and kill herself as well. Otowa prepares to do just that, but is stopped by Tomoe. If this is the custom, he asks Lady Suwa, why did she not kill herself when her own husband died? Lady Suwa attempts to make excuses, but Tomoe becomes suspicious. With him and Otowa out of the way, there will be nothing stopping Tonegorō from being declared the legitimate heir of the Suwa family. Eventually the cousin admits that there has been no crime and that he was promised a reward by Tonegorō if he made a sham confession. Tomoe kills his cousin with a spear and then, after driving off Tonegorō and his samurai, he and Otowa make their escape.

#### Act Two

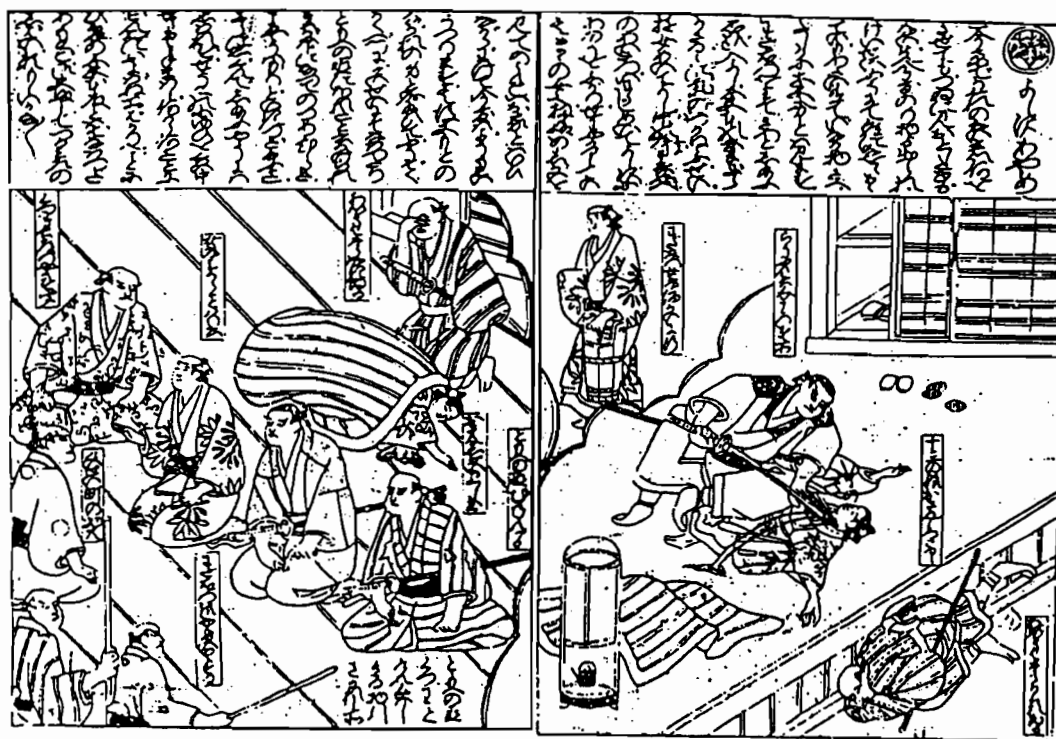
Scene one (Wadaemon's house in Kyoto, several years later). Wadaemon and his wife Miura are living in humble circumstances with their thirteen-year-old daughter, Osan. As the scene opens, Osan is being taught how to read by their neighbour, a rōnin named Hyōsuke. Wadaemon returns with their servant boy, a fool called Yotarō. In the course of some humorous bantering between Yotarō and Wadaemon and his wife, Yotarō accidentally kicks Wadaemon's sword case. Picking it up, Miura discovers that it contains only a wooden sword. Pressed to explain, Wadaemon relates how he sold the sword to help out his master, Tomoe. It seems that Tomoe and Otowa, due to continued troubles at home, have been forced to leave their domain and have taken temporary accommodation in Kyoto. Tomoe, however, has gone back to his old ways and started visiting the licensed quarter again. Having piled up a debt of 8,000 monme, he became desperate for money. Otowa has sold her possessions, but they still require 2,800

momme. If they cannot raise the money by the next day, Tomoe will be hauled before the licensed quarter authorities to face punishment. Wadaemon has thus sold his sword to acquire the necessary sum. Hyōsuke lauds him for his devotion to his lord, and Miura, too, approves of his actions. Wadaemon then prepares to take the money to Tomoe, but Miura suggests that it would be better to have him come to their house so that she can encourage him not to make the same mistake again before handing over the money. Wadaemon agrees with this plan. He puts the money away in a cupboard and then leaves to fetch Tomoe, telling Yotarō to look after the house while he is away. Hyōsuke leaves at the same time.

It is now getting dark and Osan and Yotarō go to bed. Thinking that she should have some sake to offer Tomoe when he comes, Miura goes out to buy some. While she is away, however, Hyōsuke sneaks back into the house. He takes the money out of the cupboard, but drops some of the coins as he is stuffing them into a bag. Osan awakes and asks why he is stealing her father's money. Hyōsuke replies that her father sent him to get it, but Osan still insists he is stealing. Finally he throws the money on the floor and tells her to put it away. As she is picking it up, Hyōsuke draws his sword, grabs her and, after a brief struggle, stabs her. Meanwhile, Yotarō has awoken and witnesses the murder. He hides. After picking up the money Hyōsuke searches for him, but soon gives up and leaves. Immediately thereafter Miura comes back with the sake and Yotarō tells her what has happened. She is about to rush out after Hyōsuke when Osan calls to her. Before dying, Osan asks her mother to seek revenge.

While Miura and Yotarō are lamenting Osan's death, Tomoe turns up at the gate pursued by his creditors in the licensed quarter. He has apparently missed Wadaemon on his way to the house. The creditors threaten him with legal proceedings if he does not pay. Tomoe replies that he is a samurai and they are insulting him. He makes to draw his sword but the men grab him and rough him up. Just then Wadaemon returns and breaks up the struggle. The situation is explained to him and he assures Tomoe's creditors that they will get their money. They all go

into the house. Without telling him about Osan's murder, Miura informs her husband that the money has been stolen. Tomoe's creditors then say they have no choice but to take Tomoe with them. At this point Miura volunteers to go to the licensed quarter instead and work to pay off Tomoe's debts. Wadaemon will at first have nothing to do with this proposal but in the end is persuaded by his wife's argument that this is just a temporary measure and that she will return as soon as the debt is paid off. He thus agrees, but since the creditors have not brought their seal, he will have to go to the licensed quarter with them and Miura to complete the agreement. As he is about to leave Tomoe speaks up, suggesting that Wadaemon leave him to his fate. Wadaemon, however, will hear nothing of it, declaring that he will make a samurai out of Tomoe yet. Before leaving Miura secretly mourns one last time for Osan.

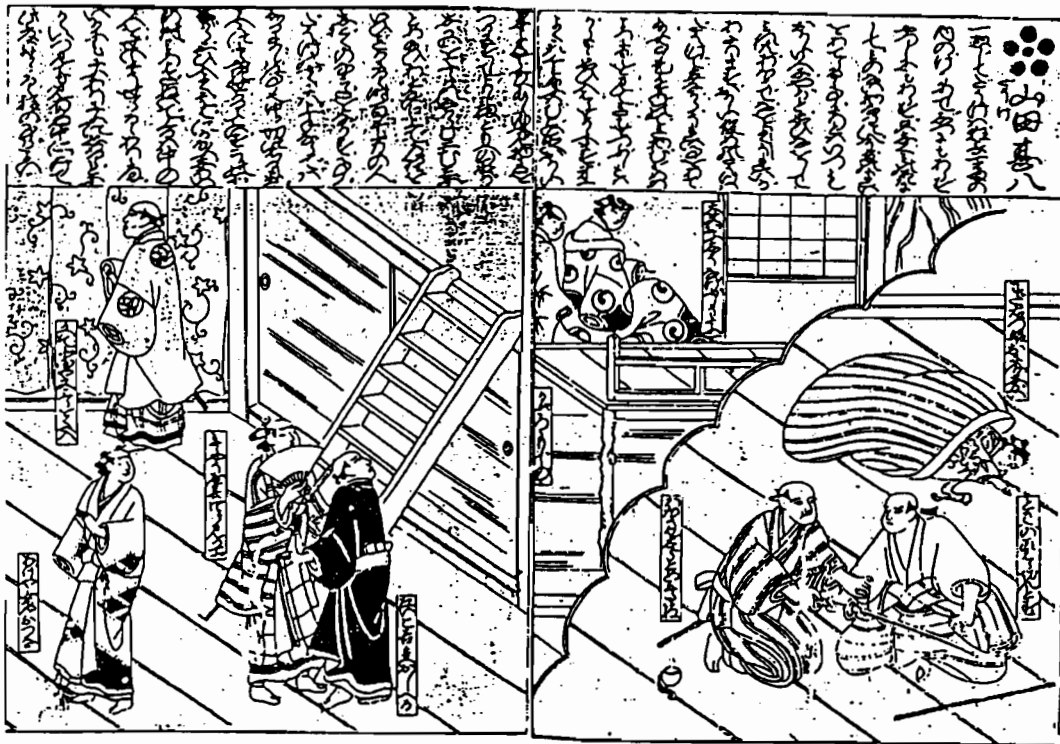


[Right: the rōnin Hyōsuke kills Osan, while Yotarō hides and Miura is away buying sake. Left: Miura (kneeling) offers herself to the men from the brothel, while Yotarō grieves over the death of Osan.]



Left alone with Yotarō, Tomoe learns of Osan's murder. Asked who killed her, Yotarō replies that it was Tomoe. Finally he does learn from Yotarō the details of the incident, but Tomoe sees Yotarō's point: Osan's murder and Miura's being sold to a brothel both happened on his account. Ashamed of himself he tries to commit seppuku, but is stopped by Yotarō, who urges him to avenge Osan's death by killing Hyōsuke instead. Tomoe resolves to do just that. The two place a light in the house's Buddhist altar and then carry Osan's body off to a temple.

Scene two (The Chimori licensed quarter of Sakai. Some three months later). To the Chimori licensed quarter comes a rich merchant, Matasaburō. With him is Chōshirō, son of another merchant. The two are led into a house by the taiko Kichibei, where they are received by the owner, Izaemon. Matasaburō explains to Izaemon that Chōshirō's father has asked him to show the young man the ways of the licensed quarter. Money,



[Right: Tomoenojō finds out about Osan's death from Yotarō.  
Left: A regular customer and a young man (at bottom of stairs) enquire about Ōshū.]

it seems, is no object. Izaemon is delighted. He asks them which keisei they would like to call for the young man. Matasaburō asks for Ōshū, but Izaemon replies that Ōshū is ill and is resting. He then suggests that they invite the new keisei, Miura, and Matasaburō agrees. As they are leaving for the inner room, a door on the second floor is slid open and Ōshū is seen leaning on one of the kaburo, singing a melancholy song. Chōshirō is impressed and asks who it is. Kichibei tells him and also suggests to Ōshū that her illness is feigned. She replies that that is indeed the case, adding that what she needs is distraction more than anything else. Kichibei therefore says that he has brought along an interesting customer and asks if she can be "borrowed" for a while later. Ōshū agrees. The door then closes and the men go inside.

Meanwhile, outside in the street Tomoe appears with his samurai swords and wearing a wicker hat to conceal his face. Two keisei with their kaburo come along and one of the keisei peeks under the hat and recognizes him. She is Yaegiri, formally a kaburo of Ōshū's. After the other keisei has gone on ahead Yaegiri tells Tomoe that Ōshū has become sick with worry over him. She suggests they meet, but Tomoe replies that he has not come to meet Ōshū. He runs away but bumps into another keisei. This time it is Miura. The two are glad to see each other and Tomoe tells her that it is she he came to see. Overhearing this conversation, Yaegiri thinks that Tomoe has forsaken Ōshū for Miura and runs to tell Ōshū so. Tomoe tells Miura how Wadaemon, Yotarō and himself spend their evenings mourning for Osan. Since today is the hundredth day since Osan's death he has been to visit her grave. After discussing Osan's posthumous Buddhist name, Miura informs Tomoe that she has met Ōshū and finds her to be a fine woman. She adds that Ōshū thinks of Tomoe constantly and has become ill. She suggests that Tomoe pay her a visit. Tomoe at first refuses, saying that Wadaemon would not approve, but Miura argues that it would be unchivalrous of him not to visit her and she will not let him go until he has done so. Taking him by the hand she leads him into the brothel.

Having heard from Yaegiri that Tomoe is meeting Miura, Ōshū is

furious and comes storming down the stairs. The other keisei and the brothel owner's wife try to restrain her, but she demands to be let go. Finally she cries out in pain and collapses. They take her into a room and put her in bed. Tomoe enters and finds Ōshū resting alone. He finds the sight of the worn-out woman pitiable. Just then Ōshū, thinking Tomoe is her kaburo, asks for a drink of medicine. Tomoe looks around and sees a kettle warming on the hibachi. He pours some of the medicine into a cup and brings it to her. Opening her eyes and seeing Tomoe, Ōshū throws the cup, smashing it into pieces. She then pulls the covers over her head. Since Ōshū refuses to talk to him, Tomoe decides to play a game of go by himself. He takes off his outer kimono, which is printed in a go-board pattern, and spreading it over his knees plays go. While playing he carries on a monologue about his relationship with Ōshū, comparing it to the moves of the game. Finally, deciding he has lost the game, he gets up to leave. Ōshū, however, jumps up and stops him. She bites his leg and accuses him of giving her up for Miura. Tomoe therefore explains who Miura is, stressing that they are both indebted to her since she is working to pay of the debts he accumulated while visiting Ōshū. Ōshū now understands and the lovers make up. Miura then comes in and Ōshū apologizes for her behaviour. Then news comes that the doctor has arrived, and Ōshū goes off to another room to see him.

Left alone with Tomoe, Miura explains that she has a problem. The young customer she has been entertaining (Chōshirō) has become infatuated with her and wants to buy her out. This is out of the question, and besides would reflect badly on both Wadaemon and Tomoe's honour. She asks Tomoe to think of some plan to get out of it. Tomoe thinks for a while, but then begins to praise Miura's good looks and accomplishments, adding that he can well understand why a man would like to have such a woman as his mistress. Miura tells him to stop talking nonsense and get on with devising some plan. Tomoe, however, goes on to confess that he has been in love with her since the first time he saw her, but that Wadaemon's presence prevented him from revealing his feelings. Now that they are alone in the brothel, will she not satisfy his passion just this

once? Miura feels that he may be testing her, so she asks to see proof of his devotion. Tomoe therefore cuts off his finger and throws it to her, saying, "here's your proof." Miura is now furious with him. She draws one of his swords and, proclaiming her disgust at the man for whom she and her husband have sacrificed so much, attempts to kill him. Tomoe flees and Miura runs after him, brandishing the sword. The people in the brothel shout, "It's a double love-suicide!" and "Murder!"

Outside in the street Tomoe runs into Wadaemon, who demands to know what is going on. Miura runs up and explains everything, showing her husband the finger Tomoe has cut off as proof of his love. Wadaemon, now also thoroughly disgusted, declares Tomoe to be a wretched example of a samurai. He should kill himself, he adds, and if he does not he himself will do the job. Then, however, deciding that it would be a shame to



[Top right: Tomoe plays go on his kimono. Bottom right: Miura (holding finger) attacks Tomoenjō. Bottom left: Wadaemon beats Tomoenjō with his zōri.]

soil his sword with the blood of such a scoundrel, he takes off his zōri (straw sandal) and beats Tomoe with it. Tomoe says nothing and only hangs his head. Meanwhile, Ōshū has also arrived and, seeing Tomoe disgraced, declares that if he will not defend himself or commit suicide she will kill herself instead. Tomoe stops her and then explains that his confession of love for Miura was only a ruse to try and dissuade Chōshirō from buying her out. He thought that if the young man learned Miura was deeply involved with another man he would give up his plan. Asked why he had to go as far as cutting off his finger, he produces an oath he has written to the Buddha. It states that to atone for his sins and the hardships he has caused Wadaemon he has resolved to leave the world for the life of a priest. Tomoe adds that since he intended to cut off his finger and present it to Asama Shrine as proof of his resolve, he did not hesitate to make this a part of his ruse. He then removes his kimono to reveal a priest's robes underneath. Wadaemon tries to dissuade him from becoming a priest, arguing that if he does so Osan's murder and Miura's sacrifice will have been in vain. He says it would be better to make a samurai out of him. Tomoe counters, however, with the argument that if he is to be a samurai he will have to kill himself for having suffered the humiliation of being beaten with a zōri. Wadaemon then says that if that is the case, he will commit suicide as well. Eventually Tomoe gives in and declares he will do as Wadaemon wishes.

At this point Yotarō runs up to say that Osan's murderer, Hyōsuke, is on his way to the licensed quarter. Wadaemon waits for him and attacks when he arrives. Hyōsuke turns out to be a formidable opponent, and Wadaemon is wounded, but Tomoe comes to his rescue and eventually Hyōsuke is defeated. All, including Yotarō and Miura, then share in finishing off the dying murderer. They then make apologies to the people of the licensed quarter and, promising that they will make amends as soon as Tomoe is established in the world, they leave, taking Miura with them.

### Act Three

(The site of the Asama kaichō). Miura, Ōshū and Otowa no Mae arrive at the site of the kaichō, followed by Yotarō. The head priest appears and

Miura explains that she has come to have a memorial service held for her dead daughter. When told the girl's name and age, the priest remarks that a girl of that age and calling herself Osan appeared at the shrine several days after the opening of the *kaichō*. She is called out and Miura is astonished to see that it is indeed her own daughter. Osan explains that on the night of the murder she was carried away to the shrine by the Buddha who rides on the elephant's back (meaning Fugen Bodhisattva). All express their gratitude to the merciful bodhisattva. Just then, however, Tonegorō arrives with his samurai and demands that they hand over Lady Otowa. The priest refuses, and when Tonegorō attempts to strike him, the priest knocks the sword out of his hand with a pole. Yotarō then ties Tonegorō to the pole and takes him away. The ceremonial dance of the twenty-five bodhisattvas is then held. Afterwards, Tonegorō is taken home to meet his punishment, while Tomoe and Otowa happily govern the province.



[Right: Wadaemon and Tomoe avenge Osan's death. Left: Miura is united with her daughter, while Tonegorō is subdued.]

#### 4. Keisei Hotoke no Hara

By Chikamatsu Monzaemon. First performed at the Mandayū-za, Kyoto, in the first month of 1699. Original cast: Umenaga Bunzō = Sakata Tōjūrō; his brother, Tatewaki = Mikasa Jōemon; Umenaga retainer Mochizuki Hachirōzaemon = Shibasaki Rinzaemon; Keisei Ōshū = Iwai Sagenda; Keisei Imagawa = Kirinami Senju; Inui Sukedayū = Fujikawa Buzaemon; Takehime = Uemura Kichizaburō; Fujiwaki Ikkaku = Murakami Takenojō; Tamaya Shimbei = Wakabayashi Shirōemon; Bunzō's servant Mitsugorō = Kaneko Kichizaemon. Text: CZ 15: 259-89 (namihon); CZ 15: 290-318 (jōhon, part one only).

##### Act One

Scene one (On the North Road). The rōnin Inui Sukedayū informs his men that he has now been engaged by Umenaga Tatewaki, and if they can come up with a plan to do away with Tatewaki's older brother, Bunzō, there will be stipends for all. Just then Tamaya Shimbei, son of a Mikuni brothel owner, and the keisei Imagawa come by on their way to Mikuni. Imagawa recognizes Sukedayū as her father. Shimbei explains that Imagawa had been sent to Fushimi because she had a lover and refused to meet other customers. The same thing happened in Fushimi, however, so Shimbei has come to return her to her brothel in Mikuni. Sukedayū tells her that since he has been taken into service he will soon be able to buy her out. Imagawa then mentions that she has promised herself to a man and has had a child by him. Sukedayū says he will adopt them as his heirs.

Scene two (In front of the Umenaga residence). Takehime, daughter of Tachibana Kazue and betrothed of Umegawa Bunzō, comes secretly to the Umenaga mansion with her retainer Fujiwaki Ikkaku. They attack the Umenaga retainer Mochizuki Hachirōzaemon. Hachirōzaemon easily disarms them and makes them talk. They explain that they have received a letter from Bunzō breaking his engagement with Takehime. They also explain that they believe the child now in the care of Hachirōzaemon is that of Bunzō and Hachirōzaemon's sister, and that Hachirōzaemon intends to take over the house. Hachirōzaemon denies the charges, stating that the child is Bunzō and Imagawa's. Inspecting the letter, he sees that it was not written by Bunzō. Suspecting some sort of plot, Hachirōzaemon accompanies

Takehime and Ikkaku home.

Meanwhile Bunzō returns to the family residence to find the Tachibana retainer Fujiwaki Gemba (really Sukedayū) outside his gate. The false Gemba explains that he lent Bunzō's brother 2000 roku of rice three years ago but that it has not been paid back. He has now come to collect. They send for Tatewaki. Tatewaki appears embarrassed. Finally he says he did borrow the rice, but that he did it to raise cash to pay back Bunzō's debts. Bunzō says he remembers borrowing money from his brother but that he was not aware it came from Gemba. He asks Gemba to wait until the peasants have paid their yearly rent. Gemba says, however, that he must have it today or he will not be able to face his lord and



[Top right: Imagawa meets her father. Top left: Hachirōzaemon confronts Ikkaku and Takehime. Bottom right: Bunzō (standing) listens to the arguments of Tatewaki (right) and Sukedayū (left). Bottom left: Bunzō is driven away by Tatewaki's men.]



will have to commit suicide. Before doing so he wants to speak to the brothers' father. The father is apparently upset. Tatewaki goes in and a short time later comes out and says his father has issued a statement, which he reads, saying that Bunzō is to be stripped of his swords and driven into exile. Since Hachirōzaemon is suspected as well, he too is to be barred from the house. As Bunzō is driven away by the samurai, Tatewaki commends Sukedayū on his scheme. Now all they have to do is get rid of Hachirōzaemon. Tatewaki then goes inside. At this point Hachirōzaemon returns and finds he is locked out. When the gate is opened for Sukedayū, the two struggle to get in. While this is going on Takehime and Ikkaku (the real Gemba's son) arrive and expose Sukedayū as an imposter. Fighting erupts. Hachirōzaemon drives the villains' samurai back and then flees with Takehime and Ikkaku to Takehime's residence.

Scene three (The villa of a certain daimyō). Bunzō dressed in paper kimono and under a wicker hat is on his way to the Gessō Temple. It is dark. Passing a daimyō's mansion he is drawn by the singing and shamisen music. A serving lady brings out mochi on a little stand as an offering to the garden and then returns inside. Bunzō takes the mochi but the woman returns with sake before he can leave, so he hides. The woman finds the stand and, thinking to place it on the water barrel, puts it on Bunzō's head. He reaches up and drinks the sake. The woman then returns to get water. She takes off the stand and, thinking Bunzō's head is the barrel, finds no water. Others call out that it must be frozen and tell her to get a hammer to break the ice. At this point Bunzō runs away but he leaves the bundle he was carrying behind. The women find it and show it to the keisei Ōshū, who is in the house. She takes a look at the letters in the man's bundle and then asks the women to talk to him and let her see his face. She then goes into the house. The women call Bunzō back to get his bundle. They discover that the love letters are from a keisei and ask him about his love-life. In a long monologue he tells them about his love for Ōshū, who was eventually bought out by a rich man; and then his love for Imagawa. Ōshū then reveals herself and the former lovers rejoice to see each other. Just then Takehime arrives

and sees Bunzō. She tries to take him away, but Bunzō pushes her out and locks the door. The former lovers then share a cup of sake. But then Takehime's jealous spirit erupts in flames and is carried to Ōshū's cup. Ōshū becomes possessed and spews out Takehime's jealous rage. At this point Tatewaki and his men arrive and rush the house. Ōshū, herself again, helps Bunzō to the roof. She then kills one of the samurai and throws his body in the well. When Tatewaki asks about Bunzō, she tells him he is in the well. Bunzō's father, Gyōbu, is brought in and killed

[Top right: Hachirōzaemon confronts Sukedayū outside the gate, while Tatewaki looks on. Top left: Bunzō steals a drink of sake while hiding under the offering stand.]



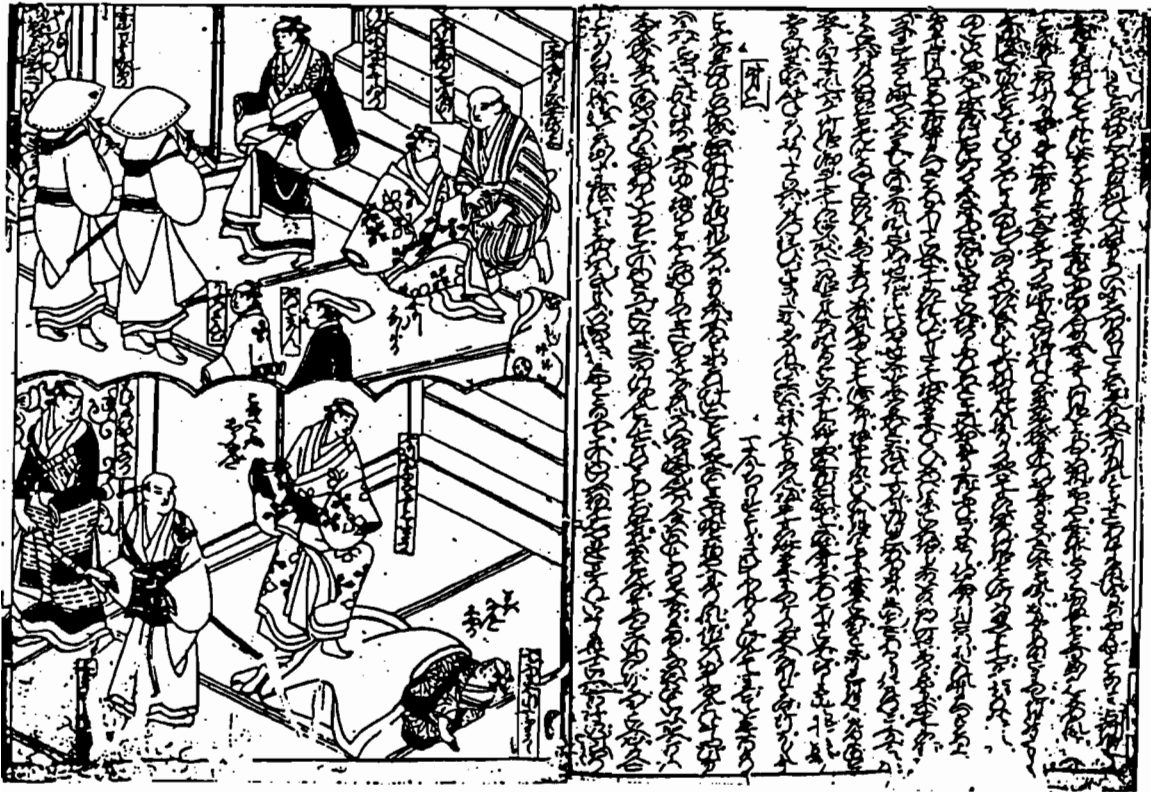
[Bottom right: Takehime's jealous spirit is carried to Ōshū. Bottom left: Bunzō escapes over the roof, while Hachirōzaemon confronts the villains, who have killed Lord Gyōbu.]

by Sukedayū, who makes it appear as if Gyōbu had committed suicide. They then call Hachirōzaemon who, seeing his dead lord and hearing that Bunzō has also been killed, is about to give up. Ōshū, however, tells him that Bunzō has escaped unharmed, and Hachirōzaemon then drives off the villains.

### Act Two

Scene one (At the Kashiwaya brothel in Mikuni). The male entertainer Sashichi comes to the Kashiwaya with a rich but unsophisticated man from the country (actually Bunzō's servant Mitsugorō in disguise). The proprietor, Sakuemon, greets them and then leads them upstairs, where the uncouth ways of the supposed countryman cause the others to laugh. Just then Imagawa arrives and says to Sakuemon, who has come down to greet her, that she is expecting a customer. A man with a wicker hat over his eyes enters and attempts to go upstairs. Imagawa says it is her customer, but Sakuemon, sensing something odd, removes the man's hat and discovers it is Tamaya Shimbei. Sakuemon says that such behaviour is a breach of the trade's customs. Shimbei replies that he is aware of that but that he is burning with love for Imagawa. Imagawa has thus suggested that if she can be freed from her contract she will consent to be his lover. He has therefore stolen her contract from his parents. Sakuemon is moved by the story and allows him to go up. Sakuemon then follows him upstairs. Imagawa too is about to go up when Mitsugorō stops her. He informs her of the fact that Bunzō has been humiliated and disinherited and is now wandering around destitute. He also tells her that Bunzō wants her to look after their son, Fujimatsu, since he (Bunzō) must now seek revenge against his enemies. He adds that if Imagawa refuses, he will have no choice but to kill the child. Finally he tells her that Bunzō will come and she can answer directly to him. Bunzō then shows up disguised as a mendicant, flute playing priest (komusō), accompanied by a real such priest. Imagawa sees them and brings out some rice for them. Before they have a chance to speak, however, she is called back inside. Bunzō then thanks the priest and sneaks into the brothel to await his chance to see Imagawa. He slips under a futon and pretends to be a

kotatsu (futon-covered foot warmer). He is discovered by the keisei Wakamurasaki, however, so he pretends to be her secret lover. After promising to meet, she leaves. Another keisei, Kozatsuma, then comes and he tells a similar story to her. They are discovered by Imagawa, however, who, thinking Bunzō has a fickle heart, becomes jealous. Bunzō explains and Imagawa forgives him, but when Bunzō hears that Imagawa is entertaining Shimbei he becomes jealous. Finally Imagawa reveals that her affair with Shimbei is just a stratagem to get herself freed from her contract so that she can be with Bunzō. The lovers make up. But when Bunzō sees the contract Imagawa has obtained from Shimbei, he realizes that she is the daughter of his enemy, Sukedayū, and declares he cannot marry her. Thinking that Bunzō has his heart set on Ōshū (who is present



[Right: A page from the original kyōgenbon. Top left: Mitsugorō speaks to Imagawa, while Bunzō and a real mendicant priest appear at the door. Bottom left: The jealous Imagawa tramples on Kozatsuma.]

also), Imagawa takes his sword and cuts off her finger as a sign of her fidelity to him. The commotion causes Shimbei, Sakuemon, and Sashichi to come. Urged to explain, Bunzō tells them that Imagawa's father is his enemy. Imagawa says that she still loves him, but Bunzō believes that since he now must kill her father, she will not be able to forgive him. He then turns their son (who Mitsugorō has brought) over to her.

Scene two (The residence of Suke-dayū). Tatewaki arrives and says he has heard that someone has posted a threat (hi no fuda) on Suke-dayū's gate. Suke-dayū says that it is so but that he does not wish to discuss it that

[Top right: Imagawa cuts off her finger as a sign of fidelity to Bunzō. Top left: Suke-dayū accidentally wounds Fujimatsu, as Bunzō and Hachirōzaemon arrive.]



[Bottom right: Suke-dayū slays Tatewaki. Bottom left: Ōshū, Imagawa, and Takehime join in the dancing at the kaichō.]

night. Tatewaki leaves. Imagawa then arrives with the child, Fujimatsu. She sets the child down and goes to the gate. Fearing he is being attacked, Sukedayū comes out swinging his sword in the dark and accidentally wounds Fujimatsu. Bunzō and Hachirōzaemon arrive secretly. They fight with Sukedayū, but Imagawa comes running up and stops them, explaining what has happened. Sukedayū laments his evil deeds. Tatewaki returns but Sukedayū knocks him down and kills him. He then asks Bunzō to kill him. Bunzō makes as if to avenge his father's death, but only strikes Sukedayū with the back of his sword, saying "thus I have slain my enemy." Ōshū arrives with Takehime and Ikkaku. All, including Sukedayū, declare life-long fidelity to the restored house of Umenaga.

### Act Three

(The site of the Gessōji kaichō) The head priest of the Gessō Temple has come to Kyoto to exhibit the temple's statue of Amida Buddha at Higashiyama. Here Takehime, Ōshū and Imagawa hold a Buddhist memorial service, themselves taking an active part in the singing and dancing. All of Kyoto comes to see the colourful festivities, a sign of prosperous times.

5. Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu

By Chikamatsu Monzaemon. First performed at the Mandayū-za, Kyoto, in the first month of 1702. Original cast: Takatō Tamiya = Sakata Tōjūrō; Rurihime = Suzuki Tatsusaburō; Omiyo = Arashi Kiyosaburō; Chiryōin = Tamagawa Sennojō; Ōkura = Yamamura Chōgozaemon; Miyake Hikoroku = Nakamura Shirogorō; Katsuhime = Asao Jūjirō; Michishiba = Kirinami Senju. Text: CZ 16: 85-138; KKS 1: 43-104.



[Two pages from the original kyōgenbon of Keisei Mibu Dainembutsu. Right: List of actors and their roles in the play. Left: Critique of Sakata Tōjūrō with illustration showing him in his role as Tamiya, disguised as a buyer of sake dregs (act one, scene three).]

Act One

Scene one (Rurihime's residence). The brothers Samon and Umon, both pages in the house of Takatō, rulers of Bingo province, enter carrying a Jizō statue and masks. Asked by the serving women at Rurihime's residence where they have been, the pages tell the story of the Mibudera Jizō. In the fourteenth century, the ancestor of the house of Takatō, about to be defeated in battle, prepared to commit suicide in front of his favourite statue of Jizō. The Jizō, however, turned into a monk and rescued Takatō from his enemies, and Takatō's side went on to win the battle. Since then the statue has been a family treasure, without which no one can succeed to the head of the house. Unfortunately, the present heir to the position, Tamiya, has fallen in love with a prostitute of the Shimabara licensed quarter in Kyoto and his whereabouts is unknown. Before he died the elder Takatō, that is, Tamiya's father, had announced to the family that, should he reform his ways, Tamiya is to succeed to the title. He then locked the Jizō away in the storehouse and gave the key to his daughter, Rurihime. Rurihime is aware of a plot by her stepmother, Chiryōin, and Chiryōin's brother, Ōkura, to steal the Jizō and take over the house. She has thus sent the brothers to Kyoto to have another Jizō made, as well as a case, inside of which she plans to hide the real family heirloom. While there they also had masks made. This is because Rurihime plans to hold a dainembutsu service for her mother in the style of Mibu Temple, and to make it complete there will also be a performance of Mibu kyōgen.

Scene two (A residence of the house of Takatō). All is ready for the kyōgen performance, including the ceremonial ropes strung above the playing area. Rurihime arrives in a palanquin and has only to decide on the performers for the play to be presented, Oketori. One samurai who has seen the kyōgen at Mibu Temple volunteers and is assigned the role of the old man. The role of the woman is decided by drawing lots, and the part falls to the retainer Miyake Hikoroku, who much to his displeasure is made to put on a woman's kimono and wig. The play just begins when Chiryōin and Ōkura appear and stop the performance. Ōkura suggests that





[Top: Rurihime arrives with the retainer Hikoroku for the performance of Mibu Kyōgen. Bottom: Ōkura and Chiryōin (left) arrive to interrupt the performance just as it begins.]

Rurihime display the Jizō in the open so that all can benefit from it, but Rurihime refuses, reminding them of her father's words. They decide to interrupt the play and go inside for a drink. Before entering Ōkura notices Hikoroku (who has taken off his mask but is still dressed as a woman). Ōkura asks who he is and Hikoroku replies that he is Hikoroku's wife. Thereupon Ōkura tells him that Hikoroku is having an affair with Rurihime. Hikoroku pretends to be jealous, and Ōkura asks him to participate in the plot to steal the Jizō, kill Rurihime, and blame everything on Hikoroku. Hikoroku pretends to agree, but asks for time to await a good opportunity. Ōkura then goes into the house. After

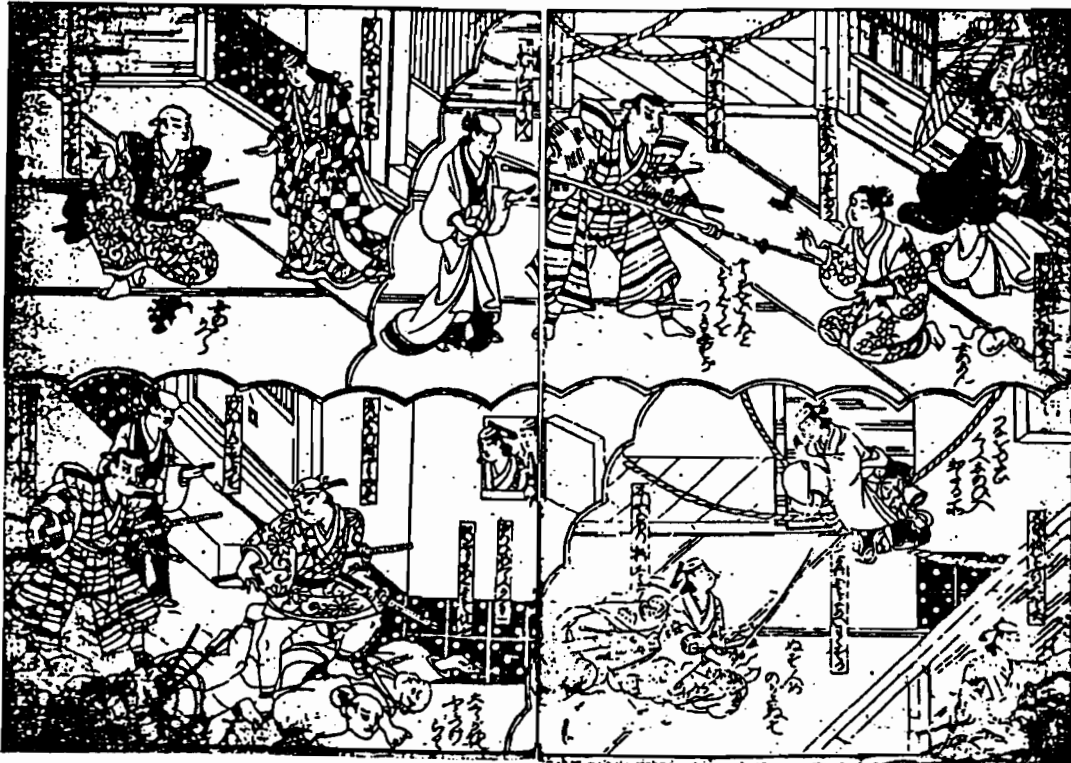
Rurihime has come out and Hikoroku revealed to her what he knows, the two make plans to flee that same night.

That evening the lady-in-waiting Omiyo, a former mistress of Tamiya's, appears to carry out her own plan to steal the statue and turn it over to Tamiya. She jumps up on the ropes and makes her way to the storehouse, entering through the window. While she is inside the storehouse, Kōri Shintarō arrives and announces himself. The page Daikaku appears and asks who he is. Shintarō, a retainer of Lady Katsu, the woman to whom Tamiya is betrothed, reveals that Tamiya is at Katsu's residence and that he is ready to return home. He has also brought a letter for Chiryōin and Ōkura. Daikaku takes it to them. Omiyo then climbs out of the storehouse and onto the ropes. Shintarō, thinking it is a thief, raises the alarm but is soon quieted by Omiyo. Omiyo has heard Shintarō's conversation with Daikaku. She then reveals to Shintarō her own plan. They open the Jizō case and discover it is empty. Thinking it must have dropped out, Shintarō volunteers to go back in to get it. Omiyo stands to the side to keep watch.

Just then Rurihime appears for her rendezvous with Hikoroku. She is discovered by Chiryōin and Ōkura, who ask what she is doing there. Rurihime replies that she wanted to enter the storehouse but the key has been stolen. Suspecting this is a lie, Chiryōin grabs the key from Rurihime's purse, opens the door, and pushes her in, ordering Ōkura to go in and kill her. Just as he is about to enter, however, Shintarō runs out and asks why they are planning to kill Rurihime. Chiryōin explains that the letter from Tamiya spoke of a plot by Rurihime and Hikoroku to murder Tamiya and contained instructions for them to be killed. The letter is shown to Shintarō. Rurihime also has a look and sees that it is not written in her brother's hand. Shintarō thus realizes that if the letter is a fake, the man claiming to be Tamiya must also be an imposter. He then accuses Chiryōin and Ōkura of a plot to kill Rurihime and Hikoroku and take over the house. Shintarō clashes with Ōkura's samurai. Since he is outnumbered, however, he escapes with Rurihime to the storehouse and locks the door. The samurai are about to break it open

when Hikoroku comes running and throws the samurai to the ground. Shintarō and Rurihime come out of the storehouse. Daikaku appears with the Jizō, telling Rurihime that it is safe. Meanwhile, Chiryōin, in a panic, runs into the storehouse. Ōkura jumps up onto the ropes and attempts to get into the storehouse as well. Hikoroku grabs his foot. Rurihime asks Hikoroku to spare the lives of Chiryōin and Ōkura, so Hikoroku contents himself with tormenting Ōkura by pulling his leg hairs and then binding him with the rope. He then locks Chiryōin in the storehouse. Hikoroku, Shintarō and Rurihime then leave for Katsu's residence.

[Top right: Ōkura (with lance) questions Hikoroku (dressed as woman). Top left: Rurihime and Hikoroku make plans to flee.]



[Bottom right: Omiyo is surprised by Shintarō. Bottom left: Ōkura and Chiryōin watch as Hikoroku throws their samurai to the ground; Shintarō and Rurihime watch from the storehouse.]

Scene three (The residence of Lady Katsu.) Entering to the tune of a popular song, Tamiya, drunk and disguised as a buyer of sake dregs, walks with tottering steps up to Katsu's residence, calling out for sake dregs. Shintarō's sister Himuro comes out. Tamiya, pretending his sake bucket is a tayū, enacts a keisei-buying scene. Katsu, who has been watching, declares that, although he is dressed in mean attire, she can tell by his words that the man is not of humble birth. She compares him favourably with the (false) Tamiya inside, whom she considers uncouth. She delivers her own monologue on the effects of sake and then asks Himuro to invite the buyer in. Thinking he is about to enter a brothel, Tamiya puts on the airs of a keisei buyer and enters. There follows a humorous conversation in which Tamiya claims he is from the province of "Ringo" (Bingo) and that he has bought a keisei named "Nizō" (Jizō). He also, however, unwittingly reveals to Katsu that he has pledged his love to the tayū Michishiba and that his name is Tamiya. Rurihime grows suspicious. She tells Tamiya to go home to his fiancée. Tamiya, however, claims that his men will come from his domain bringing money and he will buy out the keisei (Katsu). He then lies down to sleep off his drunkenness. Katsu declares that she prefers this Tamiya to the one inside. Indeed, she would like to sleep with him. The false Tamiya comes out and declares his faithfulness to Katsu, encouraging her to forget the sake dregs buyer. Katsu is suspicious of him and withdraws with her ladies-in-waiting.

The false Tamiya is left alone to ponder what is happening. Omiyo appears and in response to her greeting Himuro comes out. Omiyo says she has a message for Katsu, and Himuro goes to fetch her. The false Tamiya, claiming he is one of Katsu's guards, questions Omiyo and she reveals that she has come to give Katsu advance warning that Shintarō and Hikoroku will come tonight to kill the man impersonating Tamiya. The false Tamiya tries to prevent her from delivering the message and ends up strangling her and throwing her body down the well. A rumbling sound then erupts and he leaves in fright.

Awakened by the rumbling, the real Tamiya comes out. He is now sober. He is about to leave when Katsu comes out. Convinced now that he is the real Tamiya, she reveals who she is. Tamiya is ashamed of the things he said while drunk, but Katsu forgives him and promises to help ransom Michishiba if he stays the night. Realizing what a fine woman she is, Tamiya agrees. They decide to lie down together, but Tamiya first wants to wash his dirty feet. He goes outside to the well and draws some water and pours it into a basin. He puts his foot in and is shocked to find the water boiling hot. Hearing his scream, Katsu comes out. Omiyo's ghost then rises from the basin. Tamiya recognizes it as the ghost of Omiyo. Omiyo believes that Katsu has had her killed out of jealousy. To the tune of a song about the fickleness of men and the jealousy of women, Omiyo's ghost dances and torments Katsu and Tamiya. Just then the false Tamiya appears with a lance and is about to attack Katsu and Tamiya when the ghost blocks his way. Katsu and Tamiya take advantage of the opportunity to flee into the house. The false Tamiya attacks Omiyo with his lance. She alludes him at first, but he grabs her and tries to lift her up, whereupon she does a handstand on his shoulders. He throws her to the ground and calls his samurai to kill her. But she has disappeared, leaving only her kimono behind.

Just then Ōkura arrives to say that Hikoroku and Shintarō are aware of there being a false Tamiya and are on their way to kill him. The imposter explains that Katsu and the real Tamiya are in the house and suggests they kill them first. Tamiya and Katsu come to the door. Tamiya says that he heard Ōkura mention the false Tamiya's name. He now knows it is Ōkura's brother, Nuinojō, who had been disinherited and sent into exile in his youth because of his wickedness. Tamiya draws his sword and they clash, but he is clearly outnumbered, so he and Katsu go back inside. The villains rush in after them. Just then Shintarō and Hikoroku arrive and follow the villains into the house. On the doorstep Hikoroku is wounded on the forehead. Shintarō fights his way in and comes out with Tamiya and Katsu. He explains to Hikoroku that Ōkura and Nuinojō have fled over the garden wall. Hikoroku asks Shintarō to take

Katsu and Tamiya away. He then stays behind to take care of the remaining samurai. Now that he knows Tamiya and Katsu are safe, he is able to concentrate on his fighting. Displaying his swordsmanship, he lops off several heads and scatters the rest of the samurai.

[Top right: Katsu hears Tamiya's story as the false Tamiya listens in. Top left: The false Tamiya kills Omiyo.]



[Bottom right: Omiyo's ghost prevents the false Tamiya from attacking the real Tamiya and Katsu. Bottom left: Tamiya and Katsu escape, while the wounded Hikoroku fights with the villains.]

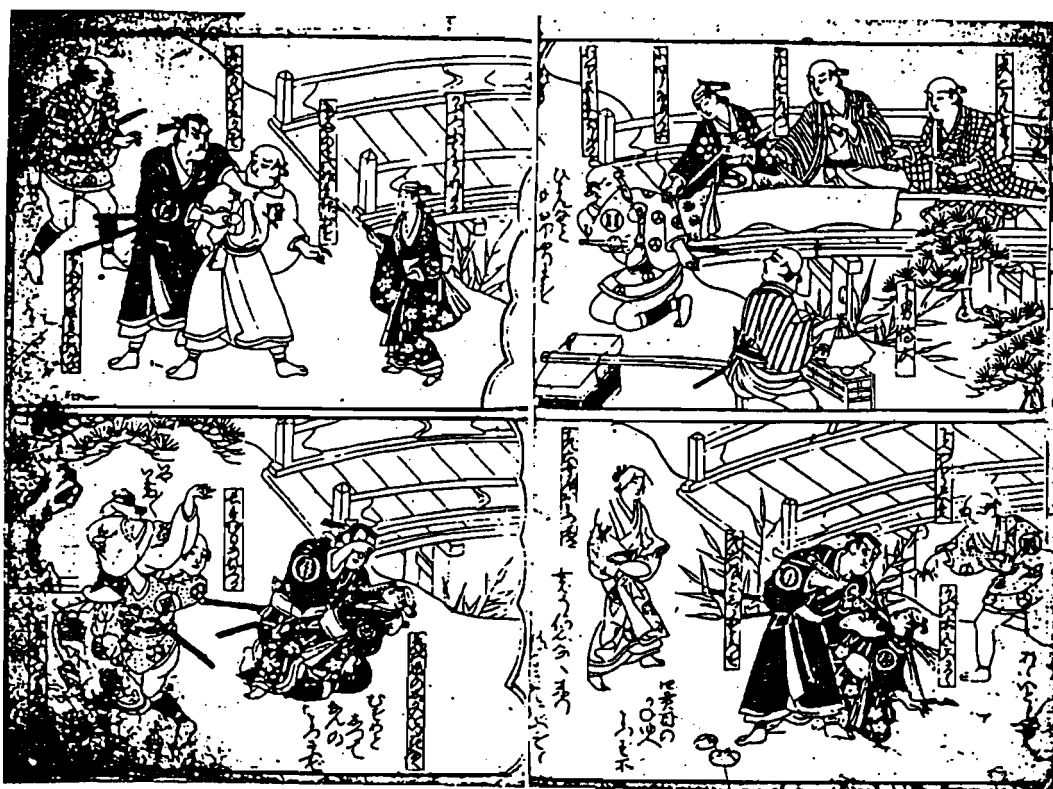
Act Two

Scene one (On the road to the brothel district of Tomo). The merchants Onomichiya Shichizaemon and Hakataya Koshirō appear in palanquins, accompanied by Shichizaemon's assistant Sahei and Koshirō's servant Denroku. They meet the taiko Kanshichi and the kaburo Koden. Kanshichi explains that he is accompanying Koden on a pilgrimage to Fukuyama, at the request of her tayū. Shichizaemon says that while in Arima, from which they are now returning, they met a rōnin named Sōsuke (Hikoroku) and were traveling back with him. They decide to sit down on the bridge and talk while waiting for Sōsuke to catch up. Kanshichi explains that while Shichizaemon was away the keisei Michishiba's contract expired, but since she has debts in the licensed quarter amounting to ten kamme, she will be forced to prolong her contract. The brothel owner Yomohachi has been able to get her creditors to reduce the sum to four kamme, but since Michishiba does not have it, she has sent Koden to pray for the needed money. Shichizaemon agrees to pay the money, but says he needs a few days to get it together. Kanshichi informs him that the deadline is that very day. Koshirō then says he will lend Shichizaemon the money. They arrange for Sahei to go to Koshirō's shop and tell his people to bring the money, while Kanshichi goes to the quarter to arrange things. As for Koden, they decide that she should go with Sahei and wait at the nearby shrine, and when the servant brings the money he will take her with him. Shichizaemon and Koshirō stay to wait for Sōsuke (Hikoroku).

Finally Sōsuke's servant, the fool Chōbei, appears and says he has run ahead of his master. Shichizaemon decides to amuse himself by talking to Chōbei. There follows a humorous scene involving much joking and word play. After a while of this, Shichizaemon and Koshirō decide they can wait no longer and leave, giving Chōbei a long farewell message to relate to Sōsuke. Hikoroku (Sōsuke), who has been to the hot springs at Arima to recover from his wound, comes in a palanquin. There follows a bit more playful language between Chōbei and Hikoroku. It is revealed that Tamiya has asked Hikoroku to find four kamme, saying that he will have to kill himself if he does not get it. They decide to wait and rob

someone on the road to the brothel district. Along comes Hikoroku's wife, Omitsu, whom he has not seen in a long time. After they discuss Tamiya's need for money, she goes to where their daughter (whom they had put up for adoption) is in service to see if she can get the money. While she is away, Hikoroku and Chōbei hide under the bridge. Koshirō's assistant Sakubei comes with the money accompanied by Koden. She says that now that they are close to the licensed quarter she will go by herself. She asks for the money. Sakubei gives her some, but not all of it. They argue. Hikoroku comes out and grabs Sakubei and beats him, demanding that he give the money to the girl. Finally he takes the money

[Top right: The fool Chōbei amuses Shichizaemon, Koshirō and their men. Top left: Hikoroku takes the money from Sakubei.]



[Bottom right: Hikoroku kills the kaburo Koden. Bottom left: Hikoroku laments his cruel fate, while Chōbei takes away his grieving wife.]



himself. Chōbei informs him that she is a kaburo named Koden. Tamiya hesitates to give the money over to the kaburo, though, thinking of his master's dire straits. Finally, he declares he will keep it. Koden says he can if he wants; she will simply tell Shichizaemon and Koshirō that it was stolen. Fearing what will happen if Koden talks, Hikoroku kills her and hides the body under the bridge. Hikoroku's wife then arrives and informs him that their daughter's adopted parents did not send her out to service but sold her to the licensed quarter as a kaburo. Hikoroku grows uneasy. He asks what name she used and is devastated to learn it is Koden. He shows them the body and they all weep over the dead girl. Finally, Hikoroku tells Chōbei to take his wife home and the money to Tamiya. He then picks up the dead girl and laments his cruel fate and the sadness of the world.

Scene two (The Yomohachi brothel in Tomo). In the Tomo licensed quarter word is out that Michishiba is to be ransomed by Shichizaemon. The brothel owner Yomohachi admonishes Michishiba for her behaviour. She had formerly been a keisei in Kyoto's Shimabara district, but after falling in love with Tamiya she refused to see other customers, so her brothel sold her to one in Tomo. Yomohachi expected her to be eventually bought out by Tamiya, and he has even reduced Michishiba's debts to make this possible. But now that he hears that Michishiba will allow herself to be bought out by Shichizaemon, he thinks she is unfaithful. Michishiba reveals, however, that she is faithful, that she will let Shichizaemon buy her out, but will not become his wife. She will claim she has just borrowed the money, and will go to court if necessary. "It's a keisei's deceit, but it's because I want to be with Tamiya." There is then a song (kouta) about the hardships suffered by women who have loved only to be treated coldly.

Just then Tamiya arrives wearing a single paper kimono and with a wicker hat down over his eyes. He sneaks into the house and puts on a kimono and hat he finds in order not to be recognized. He confides to Yomohachi that he has come to see Michishiba. Since Shichizaemon is in the same brothel (upstairs) a meeting would be risky, so they pretend

that Tamiya has come to see Fujie (a slow-witted woman whom Tamiya has previously used as a front for seeing Michishiba). The keisei are shown in. Tamiya and Michishiba can only meet each other directly for a moment (while Fujie is cleaning a pipe), but the look in their eyes tells all. Tamiya tells the story of his misfortunes to Michishiba indirectly through Fujie. He says he has come to meet his keisei (Fujie/Michishiba) one last time before he dies. Michishiba says that if he really loves her he should run away with her and, if they are pursued, commit a double

[Top right: Yomohachi cooking, surrounded by prostitutes and family. Top left: Yomohachi admonishes Michishiba for her apparent unfaithfulness, as Tamiya arrives (outside).]



[Bottom right: Tamiya (seated) speaks to Michishiba (behind him) through Fujie (standing). Bottom left: Fujie and Michishiba fight over Tamiya, just as Chōbei arrives with the money and Tamiya's swords and clothes.]

suicide. Fujie, thinking Tamiya is really in love with her, is flattered to be so dear to him and agrees and gets ready to go. She comes back but decides to get a knife too, so that they can kill themselves if necessary. While she is away Tamiya and Michishiba decide to leave together, but Fujie comes back before they can get away. The two women fight over who is to go with him.

Just at that moment Hikoroku's servant Chōbei arrives with the money, which he claims Omitsu got from her daughter's adopted parents. He has also redeemed Tamiya's clothes and swords from the pawnshop. Tamiya is delighted and, after making himself look more like a samurai, asks Yomohachi to arrange for Michishiba's freedom. Fujie, believing it is herself that is to be ransomed, is overjoyed. She is led out by Yomohachi who says he will make things clear to her. Tamiya orders Chōbei to get a palanquin so they can leave right away. Yomohachi comes back and says that, since there is a money changer (Koshirō) present upstairs, they should have the money counted. While he is out, Koshirō's assistant Hambei comes running and calls his master. He explains to him that he handed over the money to Sakubei but he has not returned. Then the procuress Tama runs in and says the kaburo Koden is also missing. Koshirō suspects something and goes to talk it over with Shichizaemon. They come back with their servants and surround Tamiya. Shichizaemon asks where Tamiya got the money. Tamiya says his retainer arranged it for him and therefore he does not know. Shichizaemon counters by saying Koshirō had also sent for the same amount and both the assistant and Koden have gone missing. He adds that the money Tamiya is using to ransom Michishiba is wrapped and sealed with the mark of Koshirō's shop, the Hakataya. Tamiya says he is not surprised, since his house does a lot of business with the Hakataya, but he says he will go home and check with his retainer. Shichizaemon refuses to let Tamiya go and suggests that the money has been stolen. Tamiya flies into a rage for being called a thief by a townsman. A fight erupts.

At this point Hikoroku arrives and sees the two men whom he had met at Arima. Since he is a samurai, they ask him to deal with the criminal.

When Hikoroku sees it is Tamiya, however, he becomes enraged himself at the treatment his master has received. Tamiya asks where he got the money. Hikoroku does not answer and instead says that Tamiya should go home and he, Hikoroku, will look after things. Tamiya answers that after having been ignominiously treated by townsmen leaving is out of the question. He interrogates Hikoroku who finally admits that he stole the money and killed the girl, but he did it in order to repay his debt of gratitude to Tamiya for sheltering him when he was in trouble years before. Tamiya beats him with the back of his sword but then breaks down and cries. Hikoroku goes on to explain that he did it because Tamiya had said he would kill himself if he could not ransom Michishiba. He also reveals that it was his own daughter that he killed. Hearing this, Michishiba grabs Shichizaemon's sword and tries to kill herself, saying she cannot live when Tamiya has been so disgraced and Koden killed all on her account. She is stopped, and Hikoroku begs her not to kill herself, since then his actions, as terrible as they were, will have come to nothing. Having learned of the circumstances, Shichizaemon is moved and says he will let Tamiya have the money so that he can buy out Michishiba. Hikoroku objects, saying it is an insult to suggest Tamiya take money from a common townsman. Yomohachi then intercedes and asks Shichizaemon to give him the money. Thus the money goes directly from Shichizaemon to Yomohachi without passing through Tamiya's hands. All are pleased with the outcome and Shichizaemon orders drinking and entertainment.

### Act Three

Scene one (The ferry landing). A ferryman, Tokueemon, takes a young woman pilgrim (Omitsu) in his boat. Asked by Tokueemon, she explains that she is making a pilgrimage to pray for her dead daughter's life in the next world. She sees a crowd saying prayers (nembutsu) on the shore and asks about them. Tokueemon replies that a thief brought his dead child there ten days ago and buried her on the bank. Omitsu asks to know more about it and discovers the thief was Hikoroku and the child Koden. Just then the villains Nuinojō and Ōkura appear with a samurai and demand to be

taken in the boat. At the same moment a man dressed in a straw raincoat and appearing to be a peasant approaches and challenges Ōkura with his sword. It is Shintarō. They cross swords. The samurai tries to catch the ferryman and Shintarō lops off his hands. Tokueemon picks up the hands, puts them in his kimono, and sticking them out through the sleeves, pretends to pray to Ōkura for mercy. Ōkura takes off Tokueemon's sash and ties the fake hands with it. He then is about to strike Omitsu when Tokueemon slips out of his kimono, knocks down Ōkura, and

[Top: Tamiya (standing, left) forces Hikoroku to confess where he got the money, while Michishiba (kneeling, right) is stopped from killing herself.]



[Bottom right: Shintarō about to kill Nuinojō, who is threatening Tokueemon; Ōkura already lies dead. Bottom left: The Mibu Jizō on display at the kaichō.]

slays him. He tries the same trick with Nuinojō, but the latter catches on. Shintarō, however, comes running back and slays Nuinojō from behind. The villains are now dead, and Shintarō and Omitsu, having heard that Tamiya and Hikoroku have gone to the Mibu kaichō, decide to go there as well.

Scene two (Mibu Temple). Crowds have come to the Mibu Temple kaichō. There Tamiya, Hikoroku, Omitsu and Shintarō meet. Suddenly Koden comes running out of the sanctuary. Everyone is amazed. Koden explains that she remembers being killed but says a priest gave her the case she is carrying and brought her to the temple. They open the case and discover inside the family Jizō, bleeding from its breast. They realize the Jizō has taken Koden's place as the murder victim. They all kneel down and worship the Jizō. Meanwhile, the colourful kaichō festivities seem to represent a veritable heaven on earth.

Part Two: Kamigata Kabuki Plays (Sewamono)

1. Yūgiri Shichinenki

First performed in Osaka, 1684. Extant text based on performance at Mandayū-za, Kyoto, 1697. Cast: Fujiya Izaemon = Sakata Tōjūrō; Naniwa = Kirinami Senju; Yabuisha Kyūko = Yamatoya Jimbei. Text: CZ 15: 166-75.

Scene one (Outside a house in the Kyōbashi district of Osaka). The taiko Yabuisha Kyūko comes to Kyōbashi with his servant Sōhachi. They hear a song accompanied by a nō drum and Kyūko concludes it is Izaemon. Kyūko explains to his servant that Izaemon has sent him a letter telling him to meet him there. He then sends Sōhachi home. Kyūko then calls out and Izaemon comes out of the gate holding a drum. Kyūko asks if he has come down from Kyoto (where he lives) to hold a memorial service on the river bank for the seventh anniversary of the death of Yūgiri, his former lover. Izaemon replies that he has already held services for her. He then explains the purpose of his trip. Although he had tried to give up the life of a profligate, he was talked into making a visit to the Shimabara licensed quarter of Kyoto. There he discovered a prostitute named Naniwa who is the very image of the dead Yūgiri. In fact, the more he got to know her, the more she resembled his former lover. News of this new infatuation reached his family, and as a result he was disinherited for the second time. What is more, he is in debt to the brothel to the sum of fifteen ryō because of his visits to Naniwa. He then goes on to say that he has brought his and Yūgiri's daughter with him in order to sell her to a brothel in Osaka and pay off these debts. Kyūko thinks Izaemon heartless to condemn the child to a life in the brothel district, but Izaemon explains that he does not intend to keep her there long. If he signs a pledge never to set foot in the licensed quarter again, he is sure he can get the money from his family to ransom her. Besides he has an acquaintance who said he would lend him the money, but Izaemon has decided not to ask him for it now in order to protect his honour. Kyūko thus agrees to help.

Izaemon then asks Kyūko to play on the drum. After some discussion they decide on a part from the nō play Eguchi (also about a famous courtesan). While Kyūko is playing and singing a young woman comes to the river bank and proceeds to hold a memorial service there. They speak with her and discover her to be Kawachi, Yūgiri's younger sister. She had been a prostitute but was ransomed by a man who died soon thereafter due to his drinking problem. While they are talking Izaemon's daughter, Oseki, appears. Kawachi says that she would like to take the girl to Kyoto to show her a prostitute who looks just like the girl's mother. She also mentions that this prostitute (who is of course Naniwa) has come to Osaka to entertain a rich man who is holding a New Year's party. Izaemon is surprised and explains to Kawachi why he and his daughter have come to Osaka. She agrees to go to the licensed quarter to arrange things. In the meantime Izaemon asks Kyūko to take Oseki and show her the sights of Osaka, including the house in which her mother died.

Scene two (The Shimmachi licensed quarter of Osaka). Izaemon comes to the licensed quarter with a wicker hat down over his eyes. The brothel owner, Magotarō, comes out and tells him all has been arranged. He leads him inside, where Kawachi and Kyūko are waiting, and hands over the money. As Izaemon is writing instructions for the money to be sent to Kyoto, Naniwa's kaburo sees him and tells him that Naniwa has also come to Osaka. She asks if he will see her. Izaemon, thinking that Naniwa has spurned him for the rich man, treats her rudely and sends her away. Then Naniwa herself comes. She sees what Izaemon is writing and tears it up. Then, seeing Kawachi, she becomes jealous. Kawachi explains that she is no longer a prostitute, but this only leads Naniwa to conclude that Izaemon has ransomed her. She then tries to explain her reason for coming to Osaka, but Izaemon will not listen. When she tries to stop him from leaving, he beats her. Izaemon then asks for a drink of water and Oseki brings it but gives it to Naniwa instead. Naniwa then learns that Izaemon has sold his child to the brothel. She gets angry with Izaemon and calls him a fool. He does not need the money: she herself has paid off his debts by switching to the brothel in Osaka and extending her



contract for three more years. All are impressed by this sacrifice made in the name of love, and Izaemon promises to make Naniwa his wife when her contract is up. Naniwa then takes off her outer kimono and reveals underneath a kimono formerly worn by Yūgiri. Just then Magotarō comes and announces that Naniwa's patron has paid off Izaemon's debts and will give her up to him. They are thus all free to go. Praising the man's sympathy, they all leave.

[Top right: Kyūko plays on the drum for Izaemon, while Kawachi comes to the river to pray. Top left: Izaemon receives the money from the brothel owner.]



[Bottom right: Naniwa confronts Izaemon. Bottom left: Naniwa, comforted by Oseki, weeps while telling her story.]

## 2. Uzuki Kokonoka Sono Akatsuki Myōjō ga Chaya

First performed at the Mandayū-za, Kyoto, in the fifth month of 1697. Original cast: Yasobei = Kaneko Kichizaemon; Kyūemon = Sakata Tōjūrō; Jūzaemon = Mikasa Jōemon; Osan = Kirinami Senju; Oyoshi = Tamagawa Handayū; Tarōza = Tenjō Mataemon; Koike Tosuke = Fujikawa Buzaemon. Text: KKB 2: 123-59.

Scene one (Matsuzaka, near Ise. The shop of the dried fish dealer, Yasobei). Yasobei's servant, Tarōza, arrives carrying a money box on his shoulder. That night there is to be a meeting of the daidai kagura (a type of Shintō dance and music) association at Yasobei's house and he has brought the association's money box with him from the home of fellow association member, Rokurobei. Rokurobei's clerk, who has come with Tarōza, explains to Yasobei that since his master will be absent from the meeting he has sent the money box. Yasobei asks the clerk to tell his master to try and come by some time so they can open the box and settle it's receipt. He then places the key in his purse.

Just then an acquaintance, Kaijūrō of Osaka, comes by on a pilgrimage to Ise. Since Kaijūrō had been very kind to Yasobei's family when they were in Osaka, Yasobei asks him to stay with them. Kaijūrō accepts the invitation. He then asks about Yasobei's clerk Kyūemon, saying he has a letter for him from a girl named Oyoshi from one of the teahouses in Myōjō. Yasobei replies that Kyūemon is away on business. He adds that he knows Oyoshi's foster mother, a widow whom he lent money to when she set up her teahouse, but he cannot understand why Oyoshi would have sent a letter to Kyūemon. Yasobei's younger sister, Osan, interrupts to say that she believes the young men of the shop are always running off to spend time with the girls in Myōjō. She suggests that they open Kyūemon's letter, but Yasobei refuses and puts it in his purse. He then goes off to take a bath and Kaijūrō retires to the inner room. Left alone with Osan, Yasobei's wife reproaches her for not trusting Kyūemon. It seems Yasobei is planning to have Kyūemon marry Osan and give them a share of the family fortune. Their conversation takes an

amusing turn, and Yasobei's wife, fed up with Osan's satirical remarks, ends up chasing her out of the room.

After they have left, the clerk Jūzaemon appears, takes the key out of Yasobei's purse, and then opens the money box and takes out a number of coins. After he has relocked the box and replaced the key, he notices that the servant Tarōza has been watching him. Jūzaemon asks him not to tell anyone what he has seen. Tarōza is reluctant to make such a promise, so Jūzaemon gives him two ryō in gold to keep quiet. The two then leave.

Kyūemon returns from his business trip. Kaijūrō comes out and tells him about the letter and hints that Kyūemon has been spending his time with teahouse girls. Kyūemon tells him the truth: he has an arrangement with Oyoshi and her mother to marry Oyoshi in a year or two and become the master of the teahouse. He has not informed Yasobei of this yet, and so is anxious that no one find out what is written in the letter. He learns from Kaijūrō that the letter is in Yasobei's purse, and when he is left alone he secretly removes it. This act, however, is witnessed by Jūzaemon, who accuses Kyūemon of stealing. Kyūemon protests that he did not take anything belonging to the master, but Jūzaemon, claiming to be acting for the master's good and to clear others of suspicion should anything be missing, demands that Kyūemon write an affidavit admitting to having opened the purse. Kyūemon reluctantly agrees to do so.

After Kyūemon has left, Akita, Oyoshi's mother, arrives. She takes out five ryō in gold and, saying it is the money she owes Yasobei, asks Jūzaemon to give it to him. When questioned, she admits that the money came from Kyūemon. Jūzaemon says he believes this to be money stolen from the kagura box and shows her the note Kyūemon wrote. Akita is shocked. Jūzaemon then takes out the real stolen money and tells Akita to give that to Yasobei instead. He also insists that Akita take him as Oyoshi's husband. Believing Kyūemon to be a thief, Akita agrees. She then goes into the house with the money. Just then Rokurobei arrives and he and Yasobei open the box and count the money. They discover that seven ryō are missing. Jūzaemon shows Yasobei the note, and at the same

[Top right: Kaijūrō (far right) hands over the letter to Yasobei. Top left: Tarōza witnesses Jūzaemon stealing from the money box, while Kaijūrō's palanquin bearers wait outside (corner of panel).]



[Bottom right: Kyūemon is caught by Jūzaemon taking the letter out of Yasobei's purse; the cutaway section of the panel shows Akita on her way to the Matsuzaka shop. Bottom left: The theft is discovered; Jūzaemon (standing left) shows Yasobei the affidavit written by Kyūemon.]

time Yasobei's wife comes in with the money she received from Akita. The wrapping on the money bears Rokurobei's seal, making it appear that Kyūemon stole the money and gave it to Akita to repay her debt. Yasobei calls Kyūemon and announces he is being dismissed from his job. Kyūemon is dumbfounded and asks for an explanation. Yasobei shows him the affidavit and then tells the servants to throw out Kyūemon and his things.

While Kyūemon is pondering this turn of events, Jūzaemon comes along. Kyūemon confronts him, threatening to kill him if he will not say why he made it appear that he, Kyūemon, is a thief. Jūzaemon calls for help and the servants beat and kick Kyūemon until Osan finally comes out and stops them. Apparently believing in his innocence, Osan suggests that Kyūemon first go to his uncle's home in Kuwana and recover from his beating before trying to clear his name. Kyūemon thanks Osan for her help and apologizes to her for having fallen in love with another woman. Osan admits that she did indeed hope they would marry, but she understands. She then helps him into a palanquin and bids him farewell.



[Right: Yasobei (far right) goes into the back room accompanied by his wife and Osan, while Kyūemon, who has just been dismissed, threatens Jūzaemon. Left: Osan bids farewell to Kyūemon, who is about to set off for Kuwana.]

Scene two (In front of the teahouses in Myōjō). A samurai arrives by horse and goes into one of the teahouses to seek accommodation for the night. Kyūemon then appears wearing a wicker hat down over his eyes. He beckons to Oshina, one of the teahouse girls, and asks her to talk to Oyoshi to see if her heart has changed now that there are bad rumours about him floating around. Oshina thus calls out Oyoshi and claims she has heard that Kyūemon is contemplating killing himself. Oyoshi is shocked and is about to run off to find him when Kyūemon reveals himself. They embrace, weeping, but their reunion is cut short when Akita comes out to call Oyoshi and Kyūemon must hide. Just then Tarōza arrives bearing a letter from Jūzaemon. The letter states that Jūzaemon will take up his position as Oyoshi's husband starting that night and says that Oyoshi is thus to apply the traditional toothblack (the mark of a married woman). Akita then leads Oyoshi into the house. Kyūemon calls Tarōza over and, hiding his face, asks about Oyoshi. Tarōza informs him that Oyoshi was to marry a man named Kyūemon, but that since he turned out to be a thief, she will be marrying Jūzaemon instead. Kyūemon gives him a pouch, saying he once received it from Oyoshi. He asks Tarōza to show it to her and tell her that the man she gave it to wants to see her. Tarōza goes into the house and soon Oyoshi comes out. At that moment, however, Jūzaemon arrives, so Oyoshi persuades him to go into the house, saying she will be along shortly. She then runs over to where Kyūemon is and asks him to take her away with him. Seeing that she has already applied the toothblack and believing that she really does intend to marry Jūzaemon, Kyūemon strikes her with his sword. Hearing Oyoshi's scream, Akita comes running and Kyūemon strikes her as well. There are cries of "Murder! Murder!" and many others come running, Jūzaemon and Tarōza among them. Kyūemon slices off Tarōza's nose and slashes at Jūzaemon. He is about to be beaten by several men with poles when the samurai appears and reveals himself to be Kyūemon's uncle, the rōnin Koike Tosuke. At that moment Yasobei also appears and asks why the samurai is defending a thief. Kyūemon's uncle asks to see proof that his nephew is really a thief. Yasobei shows him the affidavit written by Kyūemon. The uncle

declares that it is just an apology for having opened his purse. Yasobei therefore tells him about the money he received from Akita. Akita, however, says that the money she returned to him she got from Jūzaemon. Tarōza then confesses what he witnessed and how he was bribed by Jūzaemon to keep quiet. Now that all has been made clear, Kyūemon's uncle gives orders for the wounded to be cared for and Jūzaemon to be turned over to the magistrate.

[Top right: Akita appears at the entrance of her teahouse just as Oyoshi (second from left) is about to hurry off in search of Kyūemon. Top left: Kyūemon sits in front of the teahouse wearing a wicker hat to conceal his face.]



[Bottom right: The injured are tended to and Jūzaemon tied up. Kyūemon (with sword) is kneeling on the left. Bottom left: Koike Tosuke (seated with swords) conducts his inquiry. Tarōza (bleeding from face) makes his confession.]

### 3. Shinjū Chaya Banashi

First performed at the Kameya-za, Kyoto, in the first month of 1700. Original cast: Igaya Saburobei = Tamon Shōzaemon; Saburobei's wife, Osayo = Yamamoto Kamon; palanquin bearer Sakubei = Yamashita Matashirō; prostitute Seki = Dekijima Kodayū. Chūbei = Yamada Jimpachi. Text: "Honkoku Shinjū Chaya Banashi," ed. Matsuzaki Hitoshi. Chikamatsu Ronshū 5 (1969): 27-36.

Scene one (The Hishiya teahouse in Shinchi). It is the twelfth month and the employees of the Hishiya are busily doing housecleaning. Since the term of her service will be up on the twentieth of the month, the prostitute Seki asks her master, Goemon, to release her on that day. However, since Seki has been very profitable for the house, Goemon does not want to let her go. Seki and Goemon argue, and Goemon ends up beating her. Just then Igaya Saburobei, Seki's favourite customer and lover, arrives to take his leave. He is going to Edo to work to pay off a debt of one kan 500 momme to Hachiemon of the Kinuya. Hachiemon, it seems, has gone bankrupt and his creditors are after him to collect his loans so they can get their money back. Since Saburobei cannot pay back his debt he will have to go to Edo to work it off. Upon hearing this, Seki on her own initiative asks for a one-year extension of her contract and turns over the advance payment (800 momme) to Saburobei. Later, Seki's father, Fujiya Shōemon, comes with Furuteya Jinzaburō and other of Hachiemon's creditors. Shōemon is also in debt to Hachiemon to the amount of 800 momme and has come to get Seki's advance payment. Moved by Shōemon's plight, Saburobei decides to give the money he received from Seki to her father. Goemon, however, upset at getting mixed up in all this money trouble and saying he has his own debts to repay, takes back his money and lets Seki go. Shōemon's creditors threaten to sell Seki to some distant brothel and take the money. Saburobei and Seki pledge to commit double suicide. They make plans to meet that night at the home of the palanquin bearer Sakubei.



[Top right: Goemon's sister and teahouse girls restrain Goemon from beating Seki (kneeling). Top left: Goemon turns over Seki's advance payment to Saburobei.]



[Bottom right: Seki's father and his creditors discuss the repayment of loans. Bottom left: Goemon reaches for the money Saburobei attempts to turn over to Seki's father.]

Scene two (The home of the palanquin bearer Sakubei). Saburobei's wife, Osayo, comes with her daughter, Osan, and the servant Chūbei in search of her husband. Not knowing she is Saburobei's wife, Sakubei does not prevent her from seeing her husband. Chūbei admonishes Saburobei for his misconduct, quoting from his mother's last words. Saburobei is moved to tears and asks to be forgiven. Believing that her husband will return home, Osayo and Chūbei go on ahead to placate Saburobei's angry father. Saburobei and Seki, who has been hiding outside, flee. This is followed by a short michiyuki or travel scene.

Scene three (Sennichidera). The lovers spread a haori on the ground. Saburobei stabs Seki and then cuts his own throat.

[Top right: Saburobei's wife and daughter and the servant Chūbei arrive at the home of Sakubei, where Saburobei is waiting. Top left: Chūbei reprimands Saburobei.]



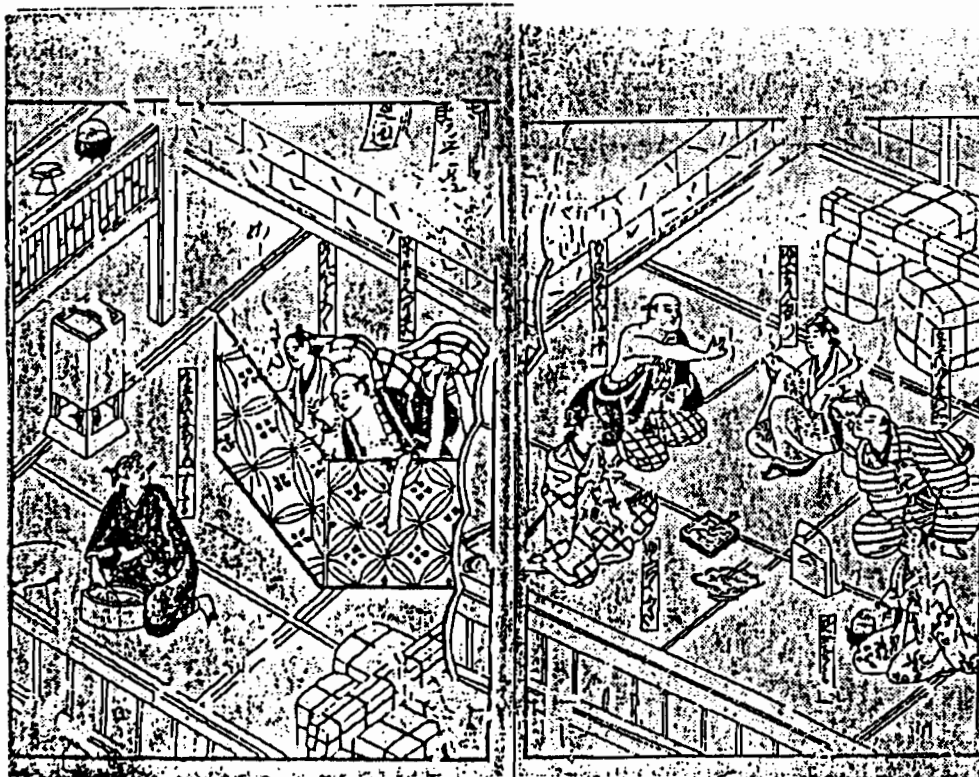
[Bottom: Chūbei, Sakubei, Shōemon, and others arrive too late, as Saburobei and Seki have already killed themselves.]

#### 4. Tamba no Kuni Chishio no Suifuro

First performed at the Takeshima-ya, Osaka, 1702. Original cast: Kuheiji = Yamashita Matashirō; his wife = Nakamura Senya; Kyūbei = Narukawa Dēngorō; Yaichi = Takeshima Kōjūrō; Magozaemon = Nagashima Isoemon; magistrate = Takeshima Kōzaemon. Text: EIKS 2: 73-84.

Scene one (An inn at Akasaka). Furui Kuheiji is on his way back to his home in Tamba. Six years earlier, having run into misfortune and become unable to support his wife and children, he left his native village and went to Edo to work. Now, having saved up a total of 180 ryō and taken leave of his employer, he is returning to Tamba. On the way his servant, Kyūbei, is taken ill, so the two put up at an inn in Akasaka, where they end up staying several days. Kuheiji is worried about his luggage, so the inn-keeper, Yaichi, puts it in his room for safe-keeping. One night Kuheiji, feeling bored, asks Yaichi to invite some prostitutes. Three prostitutes come, and Kuheiji takes an interest in one of them, Gen. It turns out, however, that Gen is involved in a relationship with Yaichi. Yaichi becomes jealous and he and Gen have a lovers' quarrel. Finally they make up and Kuheiji amuses himself with the other two women.

That night a beggar-woman enters the room where Yaichi and Gen are sleeping. The woman opens the rice pot, fills up a bowl, then wraps it in a towel and puts it in her kimono. Next she pours herself a bowl of sake and drinks it. At this point Yaichi awakes and, keeping himself out of sight, observes the woman. The woman sees Kuheiji's luggage and attempts to carry it out, but it is heavy and she can barely move it. Yaichi wakes up Gen and they attempt to catch the woman, who runs into the back room. In the dark Yaichi mistakenly grabs hold of Gen's clothing and shouts, "I've caught a thief." Meanwhile, Kuheiji has caught the woman and brings her out from the back room. He ties her up and then, when a lantern is lit, is shocked to see it is his wife. He demands to know why she looks like a beggar and has turned to stealing. His wife explains that since Kuheiji left for Edo she has not heard a word from him. In the meantime, she and the children have been mistreated



[Right: Yaichi and Gen argue, watched by Kuheiji (right) and the other two prostitutes. Left: The woman beggar-thief is discovered by Yaichi and Gen.]

by Kuheiji's uncle, the village headman, Magozaemon, who told her that Kuheiji had taken a new wife in Edo. Finally, when Magozaemon's daughter married, Kuheiji's wife and children were thrown out to make room for the new couple. Since that time she has been forced to beg and steal to support herself and the children. Kuheiji is amazed. He asks what she did with the money he regularly sent from Edo, a total over the six years of 72 ryō. His wife says she never heard of his sending money and never received a single zeni. Kuheiji realizes that, since his wife is illiterate, Magozaemon must have signed the receipts for the money and kept it for himself. He asks about the children, and the wife says she left them outside on the street. They are brought in and the family has a tearful reunion. Kuheiji then says he will go to Tamba and question his uncle.



[Kuheiiji's wife (kneeling right with her two children) tells her story as the others listen and weep.]

Scene two (Magozaemon's house in Ibara-mura, Tamba). Kuheiiji along with Kyūbei and one of Yaichi's servants arrive at Magozaemon's house in Ibara-mura. Magozaemon, his daughter and son-in-law, and the priest and a few of the parishioners of the local temple are holding a memorial service on the seventh anniversary of the death of Magozaemon's wife. They are all surprised to see Kuheiiji. Magozaemon, acting as if nothing has happened since Kuheiiji has been away, greets him and tells him to go in the back room and rest from his journey. Kuheiiji says he is in a hurry to see his wife and children. Magozaemon says he will call them. Realizing from the look in his face that Kuheiiji knows everything, Magozaemon decides he will have to kill Magozaemon in order to protect himself. He sends

Kyūbei and the other servant away, but Kyūbei, wary of Magozaemon, stays and hides in a storeroom. In the meantime, Magozaemon and the others make plans to kill Kuheiji. Magozaemon calls Kuheiji and suggests he take a bath. Kuheiji is reluctant, but finally agrees. When he gets in the tub, Magozaemon and the others put on the lid and then build up the fire underneath. Kuheiji is boiled alive. Soon thereafter Yaichi and Kuheiji's wife arrive. Magozaemon calls them thieves and proceeds to beat them. In the meantime, however, Kyūbei, who witnessed Kuheiji's murder, has gone to inform the magistrate. The magistrate and samurai arrive and arrest Magozaemon and his accomplices. They are all sentenced to death and their bodies strung up for all to see.



[Right: Kuheiji is murdered in the bathtub while Kyūbei watches from the storeroom. Left: The magistrate and samurai arrive to arrest Magozaemon and his accomplices.]

5. Kawara no Shinjū

First performed at the Mandayū-za, Kyoto, in the fourth month of 1703. Original cast: Tajimaya Kyūemon = Tenjō Mataemon; Onatsu = Yamamoto Kamon; Seijūrō = Nakamura Shirogorō; Hiranoya Kan'emon = Yamashita Hanzaemon; Matabei = Sakata Tōjūrō; pilgrim = Kaneko Kichizaemon. Text: "Honkoku Kawara no Shinjū, Yūgiri Samban Tsuzuki," ed. Matsuzaki Hitoshi. Chikamatsu Ronshū 3 (1964): 49-57.

Scene one (Tajimaya). Onatsu, daughter of Kyūemon of the Tajimaya, and Seijūrō, nephew of Kan'emon of the Hiranoya, have pledged each other their love. However, Kimbei of the Kameya, unsuccessful in his own bid to woo Onatsu, has offered his services as a go between and arranged for Onatsu to enter the service of a daimyō from western Japan. Kyūemon has already received 100 silver pieces from the daimyō. Seijūrō, who is so in love with Onatsu that he has deserted his wife (for whom his uncle, Kan'emon, has already received the shikikin or dowry), disappears when he hears the news about Onatsu. Since Onatsu is to leave that very night, there is a farewell celebration at the Tajimaya.

Seijūrō's aunt comes to ask if Seijūrō has been seen. After she leaves, a samurai named Takagi Seidayū arrives. He claims to be the retainer of the daimyō into whose household Onatsu has been accepted. He is shown into the back. Meanwhile, Kimbei arrives and explains to Kyūemon that Seidayū has loaded the boat and has been waiting. According to Seidayū, three days earlier he received a letter from Kyūemon requesting a delay since the arrangements were not ready. When the three days were up again a letter came asking for three day's delay. Kyūemon cannot understand what is going on. He shows Seidayū to Kimbei. Kimbei recognizes him as Matabei, manager of the Hiranoya, the shop owned by Seijūrō's uncle, Kan'emon. Kan'emon is called and they interrogate Matabei, who admits to being requested by Seijūrō to impersonate the samurai and write the notes. Threatened with being taken before the magistrate, Matabei also reveals where Seijūrō has been hiding. Seijūrō is thus also called. Seijūrō at first refuses to give up Onatsu,

claiming that they are man and wife and he will kill himself if they force him to abandon her. Finally, however, after a long speech in which Kan'emon reminds Seijūrō of his obligations to him (here they both end up in tears), he agrees and affixes his seal to a promise to cut off all relations with Onatsu.

Scene two (The river bank). Matabei, who has been driven out of town because of his conduct, takes to the road with his wife and two children. Having no place to stay that night, they head to the river bank. There they meet Kyūemon, who asks for their help in finding Onatsu and Seijūrō. Meanwhile, Seijūrō and Onatsu come to the river. They are surprised to see Kan'emon and his wife and servants. They hide. Thinking they are beggars, Kan'emon and the others toss them coins. After they have passed, Seijūrō and Onatsu share a parting cup of water, spread a haori on the ground, and tie their kimono together. They then cut each other's throats just as the early morning bell of a nearby hermitage rings. The bodies are discovered by a pilgrim, who raises the alarm. Kan'emon and his wife, Kyūemon and Kimbei arrive, but too late. Since Kimbei is held responsible for their deaths, he is led away to the magistrate's.



Part Three: Edo Kabuki Plays

1. Sankai Nagoya

By Ichikawa Danjūrō and Nakamura Akashi Seizaburō. First performed at the Nakamura-za, Edo, in the first month of 1697. Original cast: Fuwa Banzaemon = Ichikawa Danjūrō; Nagoya Sanzaburō = Murayama Shirōji; Ōgimachi Dazainojō = Yamanaka Heikurō; Nikki Nyūdō = Tamura Heibachi; Mikinojō = Ichikawa Dannojō; Mumezu Kamon = Nakamura Dengurō; Fujigae = Sodeoka Masanosuke; Katsuragi = Ogino Sawanojō. Text: GKKS 1: 19-54.

Act One

Scene one (The palace of Ashikaga Haruō). Since the retirement of the Ashikaga shogun Yoshimasa, his brother, Ōgimachi Dazainojō, has been serving as regent for Yoshimasa's son, Haruō. This year, however, Haruō is to succeed to the shogunate. Dazainojō and his retainers are gathered at the palace to celebrate the event. One of the retainers, Nikki Nyūdō,



[Dazainojō and his retainers (right) and Nagoya Sanzaburō and Mikinojō (left) hear the storyteller's prophecy.]

announces that he has brought a blind storyteller to entertain the new shogun. Instead of reciting a story, however, the storyteller foretells that within three years the palace will become a deserted ruin. When asked why, he declares that the well near the treasure house is the home of the dragon god and that anyone who approaches the well will fall under its evil influence. To prevent this, he adds, the well must be drained and the Great Wisdom Sutra recited. Dazainojō expresses his gratitude to the blind man for alerting them to this danger. All retire to the inner room.

Scene two (Outside the treasure house). Haruō's retainers Nagoya Sanzaburō and Mikinojō are on guard duty outside the treasure house. A messenger arrives, saying that Teruhime, Haruō's sister, would like to meet Mikinojō. Teruhime then appears and declares she will kill herself if Mikinojō will not marry her. They are interrupted, first by a diviner who comes to erect a sign near the treasure house, and then by Dazainojō's retainers Yamana Saemon and Nikki Nyūdō, who come to take over the guard. Teruhime hides in the treasure house, but unfortunately Yamana locks the door. Sanzaburō and Mikinojō leave, but only so that they can think up some plan to get Teruhime out of the treasure house. Sanzaburō pretends to be an intruder to draw Yamana and Nikki's attention, while Mikinojō puts a ladder up to the window of the treasure house in an attempt to rescue Teruhime. He is caught by Yamana and Nikki, however, who accuse him of being a thief. Sanzaburō then appears and suggests they check the contents of the treasure house to see if anything has in fact been stolen. Yamana unlocks the door and Nikki prepares to enter, but he is stopped by Sanzaburō, who argues that, since the treasure house contains a number of sacred objects, there must be a purification ceremony before anyone can enter. He suggests they call the diviner to perform the ceremony. The diviner comes and during the purification Teruhime is smuggled out of the treasure house behind a hanging screen. Nikki then inspects the treasure house and announces that the priceless sword called Kumoharai is missing. Firmly convinced now that Miki is a thief, Nikki hurries off to report the matter.

Feeling responsible for putting Miki in this predicament, Teruhime attempts to commit suicide by throwing herself in the well, but she is stopped by Sanzaburō. They then notice a suspicious character running away. They catch him and make him talk. The man confesses that he was ordered by Nikki to drain the well and dig a tunnel to the treasure house and steal the sword. Whoever possess the sword, he claims, will rule the land. The man adds that the blind storyteller who made the ominous prophecy was a fake acting on the orders of Dazainojō. With this news, Sanzaburō, Mikinojō, Yamana and Teruhime leave for the palace, taking the man with them.

Scene three (The palace). At the palace, Nikki is reporting the theft of the sword to Haruō and Dazainojō when he is confronted by Sanzaburō, Mikinojō and Yamana, who make the man they have brought along repeat his story. As punishment for his treachery, Nikki is stripped of his swords and exiled. Haruō also suspends Mikinojō from service for failing in his duty to guard the sword. Sanzaburō is suspended too, his crime said to be "forgetting the way of the bushi and going day and night to the licensed quarters" (GKKS 1: 30). Upon Sanzaburō's plea, however, Mikinojō and Teruhime are allowed to marry.

#### Act Two

Scene one (Kitano Shrine). Fujigae, the wife of Haruō's retainer Fuwa Banzaemon, is making a New Year's visit to Kitano Shrine with her sister and several attendants. They notice a young woman who tosses a letter box into the shrine and then attempts to hang herself with the rope used for ringing the shrine bells. The ladies stop her in time. At this point the shrine priest, Mumezu Kamon, appears and learning of the incident, questions the young woman. She tells them that her brother, a pharmacist, has sold poison to a certain man, and she is terrified of what might happen. The woman's brother arrives to question his sister about the fifty ryō he received from the man to whom he sold the poison (the money was in the box the sister threw into the shrine). When questioned by Kamon about the transaction, the brother produces a doll in the image of the man who purchased the poison. Fujigae is shocked to see

it resembles her own husband, Fuwa Banzaemon. She declares she will go immediately to question him about this, but Kamon explains that Banzaemon is expected at the shrine today to attend Haruō, and they decide to wait until then.

Dazainojō arrives at the shrine with his retainers. As an offering he has brought a picture of the famous sword "Thunder," but finds that Haruō's offering, a calligraphy which reads "Daifukuchō" ("Ledger of Great Good Fortune") is already on display. He is about to tear it down when a voice calls out "Shibaraku" ("Just a moment"). Haruō's retainer Fuwa Banzaemon enters. Dazainojō demands to know why Banzaemon is trying to stop him from replacing the offering. Banzaemon explains the significance of the characters "Dai," "Fuku," and "Chō," and insists that it is a much better offering than Dazainojō's. He also points out that Haruō



[Right: Banzaemon (with sword) and Dazainojō (with halberd) clash at the Kitano Shrine. Left: Kamon confronts Banzaemon as Haruō arrives at the shrine.]

is now Dazainojō's superior, and thus Dazainojō has no business removing the offering. Following this, Banzaemon pretends to perform the nō play Kumasaka, in the middle of which he attempts to slay Dazainojō, but he is stopped by the others.

Haruō and Kamon arrive and Banzaemon prepares to offer his master a drink of sake. Kamon stops him, declaring the sake is poison. At this point Banzaemon's wife runs up and tries to stab her husband. Banzaemon is shocked and demands to know why she wants to kill him. Fujigae replies that Banzaemon intends to poison his master and produces the doll as proof that he has purchased poison. Banzaemon points out that although the doll is wearing his crest its hair style is different from his own. Dazainojō demands that Banzaemon drink the sake to prove his innocence. Banzaemon does and promptly dies. Dazainojō then reveals that the whole thing was his plot and asks Kamon to come over to his side.



[Right: Kamon (seated at desk) receives a visit from Sakuramaru. Left: Katsuragi waits to see Kamon.]

Kamon instead uses a magical incantation to revive Banzaemon. Banzaemon and Haruō's men drive away Dazainojō and his retainers and then they all leave for the palace.

Scene two (Kamon's residence). Kamon receives a visit from his young homosexual partner, Sakuramaru. Kamon explains that he is busy writing a new version of the famous essay Tsurezuregusa, this one devoted to the topic of sex (kōshoku). The two are then interrupted by the prostitute Katsuragi. She complains that her lover, Nagoya Sanzaburō, has stopped coming to see her, and she has come to ask for Kamon's help. Kamon promises to bring Nagoya to see her soon. Just then Nikki Nyūdō and Akamatsu, the fake storyteller, rush in pursued by Yamana. Yamana captures them and recovers the stolen sword, Kumoharai. He then locks the two villains in a chest and heads for the palace.

### Act Three

Scene one (The Shimabara licensed quarter, Kyoto). Banzaemon's younger brother, Bansaku, enters the licensed quarter. Nagoya Sanzaburō, now reduced to selling geta (wooden clogs) is also in the quarter, hoping to meet Katsuragi. When the strap of Katsuragi's geta breaks, Sanzaburō rushes to assist her, and thus the lovers are able to meet. Bansaku recognizes Sanzaburō, however, and tells him that he has been sent by his brother to bring him to Banzaemon's residence. They leave.

Scene two (The same licensed quarter). Later Banzaemon comes to the licensed quarter accompanied by his attendants and his wife, who is dressed in the guise of a young man. At the same time Sanzaburō, who cannot forget Katsuragi, also comes to the quarter. He is accompanied by Mikinojō, whom he tries to convince to play the role of his servant. Sanzaburō accidentally bumps into Banzaemon, who is about to draw his sword when Kamon, who is also visiting the quarter, intervenes. All recognize each other. Banzaemon reprimands both Kamon and Sanzaburō for visiting the akusho (evil place). They ask about Banzaemon's own reason for coming, and he presents his wife (still in the guise of young man) as proof that he has not come for any other reason than to bring back Sanzaburō. Sanzaburō says that he would like to forget about Katsuragi



[Banzaemon (left, with hat), Kamon (centre), and Sanzaburō (right, with hat) meet in the Shimabara licensed quarter.]

but he cannot. Banzaemon thus suggests he buy out her contract and marry her. First, however, he (Banzaemon) would like to test her heart. He tells the others to wait and goes into the brothel.

Fujigae is waiting in another part of the brothel when Katsuragi enters, complaining about the boorish behaviour of the man she is entertaining (Banzaemon). Offended by this insult to her husband, Fujigae strikes back with a critical remark about keisei. The two women are exchanging insults when Banzaemon enters and tries to persuade Katsuragi to be more accommodating. She reveals that she cannot, 'since she has a lover'. Banzaemon replies that he knows about her relationship with Sanzaburō and asks why she continues to accept other men as her customers. "It's my duty," Katsuragi replies. She begins to undo and comb Banzaemon's hair. Banzaemon reveals who he is and says that he has

come to test her heart. Now that she has proven herself faithful, he would like to adopt her as his daughter. Katsuragi is overjoyed. Banzaemon then sends his wife to bring in Sanzaburō and the others.

While they are waiting Katsuragi begins to do up Banzaemon's hair. Watching her in the mirror, Banzaemon is struck by Katsuragi's beauty. To cover up his feelings he pretends he is suddenly inflicted with a pain. Katsuragi begins to rub his back, but Banzaemon declares the pain is in his stomach. She puts her hand in his kimono to rub his stomach but Banzaemon grabs it. He gives vent to his feelings and begs Katsuragi not to go with Sanzaburō to his residence. Katsuragi suspects that he is testing her again, but Banzaemon declares he is speaking the truth and cuts off a finger as a sign of sincerity. Katsuragi tries to run away, but Banzaemon catches her and extinguishes the light. Again she tries to flee, but Banzaemon grabs hold of her sash and it comes undone. As she



[Right: Katsuragi combs Banzaemon's hair, watched by Fujigae.  
Left: Sanzaburō and Katsuragi prepare to commit suicide.]



is searching for her sash Banzaemon catches her again and, holding his sword to her breast, demands that she satisfy his passion. Finally Katsuragi agrees to do so -- but just once. Banzaemon, however, declares that once is not enough. Meanwhile Katsuragi manages to get hold of Banzaemon's sword, and now she threatens him and it is his turn to run.

Just at this moment Fujigae returns with Sanzaburō and Kamon. They see Katsuragi wielding the sword and chasing Banzaemon, and believe they are witnessing the result of Banzaemon's "testing" of Katsuragi's heart. Katsuragi, however, explains what has really happened. Sanzaburō asks Banzaemon to show his hands so that he can see if he has really cut off his finger. Seeing that it is true, he becomes disgusted with Banzaemon and beats him with a zōri. Fujigae is outraged by this insult to her husband and blames Katsuragi for the whole turn of events. Declaring that because of this disgrace her husband can no longer call himself a samurai, she takes his sword and uses it to commit seppuku. Mourning his wife's death, Banzaemon asks why Sanzaburō did not kill him instead of striking him with the zōri. Then, at least, he could have preserved his honour before his wife. He goes on to say that he could easily attack and kill Sanzaburō now, but that Sanzaburō does not deserve it. Instead, he proclaims, he will kill himself as an apology to his wife and plant a curse upon Sanzaburō and his descendants for seven generations to come. He then commits seppuku and dies. Just then Bansaku comes rushing in and, declaring Sanzaburō to be his brother's enemy, attempts to attack him. He is stopped by Kamon, who explains that the whole thing was Banzaemon's mistake. All then leave for Kamon's residence to discuss the unhappy turn of events.

#### Act Four

Scene one (Near Kitano Shrine). Dazainojō, who is now in exile, is wandering near Kitano Shrine with three followers. They stop for the night and the followers prepare a meal for their master. As they are about to bed down in the grass, Sanzaburō and Katsuragi enter. It is revealed that they have resolved to die together. Seeing Dazainojō and mistaking him for an itinerant priest, Sanzaburō asks him to hold a

Buddhist service for their souls after their death. Just as they are about to kill themselves, however, Kamon and Mikinojō come running up to announce that Haruō has given the order for Sanzaburō to return to service. They are about to leave when Dazainojō reveals his identity and challenges them. Kamon, Mikinojō, and Sanzaburō easily defeat Dazainojō and his men and then hurry off to the palace.

Scene two (The residence of Nagoya Sanzaburō). Sanzaburō and Katsuragi, who are afflicted with Banzaemon's curse, are confined to bed. Haruō and Yamana visit them to cheer them up. Sanzaburō and Katsuragi call for their medicine, which is brought in by the ghost of Banzaemon, who proceeds to torment Katsuragi. Sanzaburō attempts to drive off the ghost with his sword, but then the ghost of Fujigae appears and attacks him. Kamon intervenes and by means of an incantation finally succeeds in



[Banzaemon (Shōki Daijin) defeats Dazainojō (the spirit of Kusunoki), watched by Kamon, Sanzaburō, Katsuragi and others.]

driving off the ghosts. Calm has just been restored when suddenly the clouds open and the spirits of Dazainojō, Nikki and Akamatsu appear riding a seven-headed ox. Dazainojō announces that he is in truth the spirit of Kusunoki Masashige, the fourteenth-century warrior who fought against the Ashikaga, and that his reincarnation as Dazainojō was for the purpose of stealing the sword Kumoharai and thus avenging himself against the Ashikaga. He adds that Sanzaburō is in reality the spirit of Ōmori Hikoshichi, the Ashikaga warrior who killed him. At this point the northern sky opens and Banzaemon appears. He in turn announces that he is not really Banzaemon but Shōki Daijin, the protector of the Buddha's law. He had come to live among mortals, he adds, "to preserve the peace and security of the land." He then reveals his true form. Immediately he is attacked by the villains and their seven-headed ox, but they are no match for the powerful Shōki, who drives them off with his sword. The play ends with the comment that the Buddhist law is now unclouded and peace restored to the land.

2. Tsuwamono Kongen Soga

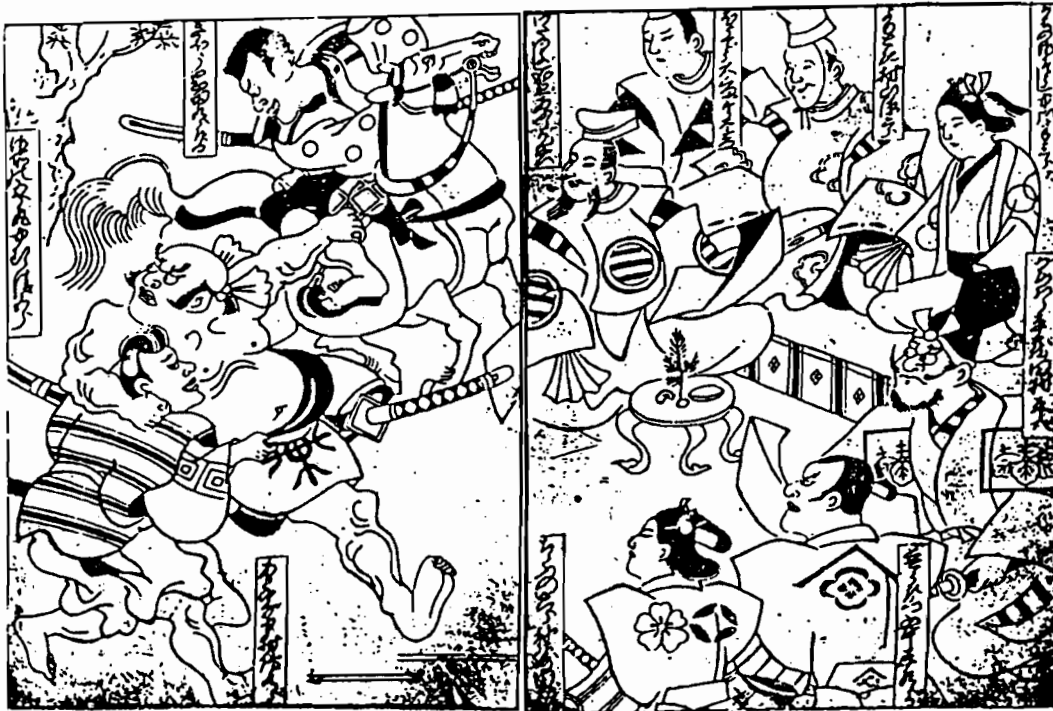
By Ichikawa Danjūrō and Nakamura Akashi Seizaburō. First performed at the Nakamura-za, Edo, in the fifth month of 1697. Original cast: Soga Gorō = Ichikawa Danjūrō; Soga Jūrō = Murayama Shirōji; Kudō Suketsune = Yamanaka Heikurō; Hōjō Tokimasa = Ōkuma Utaemon; Asahina = Nakamura Dengurō; Bonze (Fudō) = Ichikawa Kyūzō. Text: GKKS 1: 55-91.



[Right: Cover of the original kyōgenbon text. Left: Title page with subtitles of the different acts.]

Act One

Scene one (The residence of Hōjō Tokimasa). A banquet is being held at the residence of Hōjō Tokimasa. Among the guests are the shogun, Yoritomo, and his retainers, including the Soga brothers' enemy, Kudō Suketsune. While the company is watching a sumō match, Kajiwara Heizō, one of Yoritomo's retainers, reveals that he has learned of a plot to kill the shogun. He produces a doll in the figure of Yoritomo with a



[Yoritomo and his retainers watch as Asahina drags back the samurai who had been sent to execute the Soga brothers.]

large spike driven through it, claiming he found it on a river bank. Yoritomo, deciding that it must be the work of the Soga brothers (who are also his enemies), gives orders to have them executed. Two samurai are dispatched to carry out the order, but they are stopped and dragged back by the powerful warrior Asahina, who strongly objects to Yoritomo's rash decision. Eventually he manages to persuade the shogun to spare the brothers' lives.

Scene two (The Myōjin Shrine). Soga Jūrō is at the Myōjin Shrine practicing archery, vowing to avenge his father's death. As he shoots his arrows, however, he also prays that his love for the young samurai Ema no Koshirō, Hōjō's son, will be fulfilled. Just then a young woman, Lady Otome no Mae, appears and confesses that she also has become infatuated with Koshirō and asks Jūrō to be the go-between. He agrees,

but only on his terms. Koshirō then arrives and Jūrō professes his love for him. Koshirō responds positively, so they make a pact of "brotherhood" before the shrine. Jūrō then explains about Otome and asks Koshirō to grant her his love as well. Koshirō is reluctant to do so, but when he finds out that she is a respectable lady he agrees, and he and Otome make a vow of marriage. Then Kajiwara's younger brother, Genta, appears and he also prays at the shrine for his love for Koshirō to be requited. He sees Koshirō and proclaims his love. Koshirō, however, says he already has a love brother, Soga Jūrō. Genta becomes enraged and declares that he will tell the shogun that Koshirō has made a bond with his enemy. Fighting erupts and Koshirō and Jūrō defeat and drive away Genta and his men.

#### Act Two

Scene one (On the road to Hakone). The brothers Oniō and Dōzaburō, the faithful retainers of the Soga brothers, are travelling to Hakone to see Gorō. On the way they encounter a daimyō's procession and discover it to be that of Kudō Suketsune. Just then Oniō realizes that they have forgotten the kimono they were to bring to Gorō, and he goes back to get it, exhorting Dōzaburō to be careful while he is away. Kudō, however, notices the young, good-looking Dōzaburō and has him brought forward. Dōzaburō, seeing his chance while Kudō is off his guard, attempts to assassinate him, but is easily subdued by Kudō. At this moment Oniō returns and, using the kimono to disguise himself, attempts to get his brother out of trouble. Eventually, however, they are recognized as the Soga brothers' retainers. Kudō then says that he is aware that the Soga brothers regard him as their enemy, but he swears that the man who killed their father was not he but Matano no Gorō. Oniō has a mind to strike Kudō, but since he does not wish to spoil the brother's revenge, he controls himself and says that he agrees there might be some mistake and that even Jūrō has his doubts. Dōzaburō, however, declares he will commit suicide and let his spirit aid the Soga brothers in vanquishing their enemy, whoever it may be. Kudō admires Dōzaburō's samurai spirit, but says he will not let such a fine samurai die before his eyes. He then

repeats his claim that Matano is the Soga's real enemy. At this point Dōzaburō again attempts to kill Kudō, but he is stopped by his brother, who says he should be grateful for Kudō's mercy. Kudō informs them that he is travelling to Hakone as the shogun's envoy and tells the brothers to go back home.

Scene two (The Hakone Shrine). At Hakone the shrine intendant and the other priests are busy looking for Hakoō (Soga Gorō's boyhood name). Hōjō Tokimasa arrives and tells them that, in response to Hakoō's fervent wish, he has performed the coming-of-age ceremony for him and made him a man. He is now called Soga Sukegorō Tokimune. Gorō enters in his man's clothes and expresses his joy at having come of age and thus now being able to carry out his plan of revenge.

At that moment Kudō's arrival is announced. Gorō begins to tremble in anticipation of killing his enemy. Tokimasa calms him down and Gorō goes off to hide behind a sliding paper panel. While Tokimasa and the intendant are greeting Suketsune, the panel begins to shake and rattle. Kudō asks what it is, and the intendant answers that it is a mouse. Gorō then brings in tea. Kudō says that he has heard that one of the Soga brothers is at the shrine. The intendant introduces Gorō to him and Tokimasa explains that he has performed the coming-of-age ceremony for him. In memory of the occasion Kudō presents Gorō with a small dagger. Gorō takes it and tries to kill Kudō with it, but Kudō grabs his arm. Tokimasa and the intendant intercede and Kudō lets go of Gorō. He complains, however, about the boy's behaviour and, saying the incident has upset him, prepares to leave. The intendant suggests he have a massage before he goes, and Gorō volunteers to do it. While administering the massage Gorō yearns to kill Kudō, but Tokimasa tells a story about a dove and a hawk in which he hints that Gorō should wait until he is united with his brother before seeking revenge. Unable to act, Gorō ends up clinging to Kudō. Kudō pushes him away and, complaining again about Gorō's behaviour and Tokimasa's as well, leaves for Kamakura. Gorō tries to run after him but is held back by Tokimasa and the intendant.



[Soga Gorō (bowing, left) meets Kudō (right) for the first time at Hakone Shrine.]

Having thus been humiliated in the face of his enemy, Gorō cries himself to sleep, using the shrine's sacred image as his pillow. After a while Tokimasa and the intendant decide to wake him up and offer him some sake. They find his countenance changed, his face now a fierce red colour. Gorō explains that he fell asleep praying to the god Fudō and in his sleep saw smoke rising from a Buddhist altar. He believes this to be a sign that his prayers have been answered and that he has been granted the superhuman strength necessary to accomplish his mission of revenge. He then hurries off to the mountains.

Scene three (The mountains, some weeks later). The intendant brings Dōzaburō to where Gorō is doing his "wild training" (*aragyō*). They witness him breaking hoes, pulling up large bamboos by the roots, and smashing stone stupas. A small bonze appears and asks Dōzaburō for a

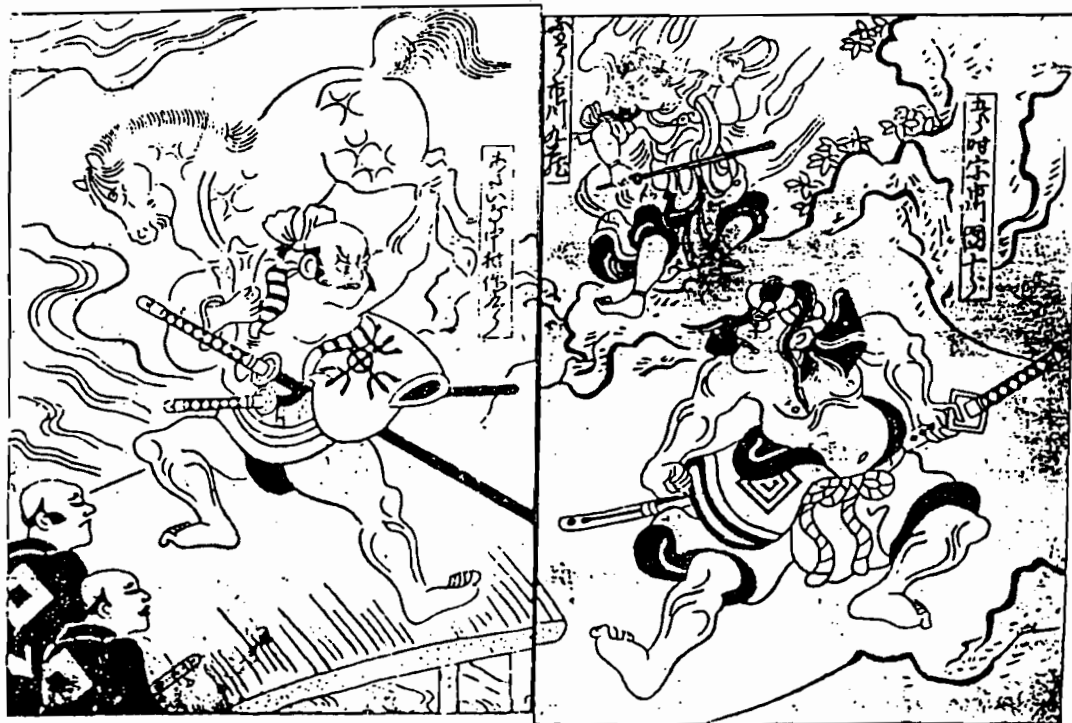


food offering. When Gorō sees the bonze he threatens to crush him to death, but the bonze disappears. Fearing the apparition was a demon, Gorō decides to go the Sagami River to purify himself.



[Right: Gorō tears up bamboo trees by the roots as part of his training. Left: A small bonze appears before Dōzaburō and the shrine intendant.]

Scene four (Sagami River). At the river Gorō finds Asahina with his horse. He accuses him of polluting the water used for purifications. The two begin fighting. At that moment the little bonze appears again. He announces that Gorō and Asahina are of the same family and should thus not be fighting. He also confirms that in answer to his prayers Gorō has been granted superhuman power in order to accomplish his revenge. He then reveals that he himself is the god Fudō Myōō and shows them his true appearance. Gorō and Asahina rejoice and give thanks to the god. They then leave, Gorō for the Soga village and Asahina for Kamakura.



[The bonze (in reality Fudō Myōō) rushes to intervene in the fight between Asahina (left) and Gorō (right).]

### Act Three

Scene one (Oniō and Dōzaburō's home in Soga). Oniō is busy making straw sandals to support the Soga brothers. Dōzaburō arrives and asks about Jūrō, but Oniō does not know where he is. Dōzaburō is despondent and lies down to sleep inside a paper mosquito net. Later Jūrō appears singing a song. Dōzaburō admonishes him, saying now is not the time to be singing. Jūrō, however, points out that it is the fifth day of the fifth month, Boys' Day, and everyone is celebrating the festival. He claims he is sad, and Dōzaburō brings out some rice cakes to cheer him up. Dōzaburō then decides to repair the mosquito net, but there is no glue or paper in the house. Jūrō suggests using the rice cakes as glue and the letters he has received from his lover, Tora, to repair it. While they are working on the net Dōzaburō asks Jūrō to give up his visits to the Ōiso

licensed quarter. Jūrō agrees to do so. He then says he would like a drink of sake. Since there is none in the house, Dōzaburō volunteers to go out and get some.

While Jūrō is waiting for Dōzaburō to return, Tora enters with her kaburo. Jūrō is surprised and asks why she has come. Tora replies that it has been so long since they have met that she just had to come and see him. She mentions that they have now known each other for three years. Jūrō then complains that, even though it is a festive day, he is still wearing the same black kimono. Tora takes off her outer kimono and, shortening the sleeves, gives it to Jūro to wear. Jūrō is delighted. He now looks presentable enough to pay a visit to his mother. Telling Tora to wait, he goes off to his mother's house.

During Jūrō's absence Gorō arrives. Tora tells him why she is there and about her relationship with Jūrō, and then adds that he has gone to see his mother. Gorō then says he would like to tease his usually so serious brother. He asks Tora to hide and then dresses himself as Tora. When Jūrō returns he asks him who is more dear to him, Tora or Gorō. Jūrō answers that it is Tora, of course, and makes to embrace her, only to discover his brother. Gorō asks his brother whether a real Kawazu (the name of their father) would keep a woman. Tora hints that Gorō has a woman too, but Gorō denies it. Just then, however, Gorō's lover, Shōshō, arrives, and now it is Jūrō's turn to tease his brother. After this humorous scene the brother's decide to go to the Hōjō residence. Their mother, they know, will be there and they want to appeal to her to forgive Gorō for undergoing the coming-of-age ceremony instead of becoming a monk as she had wished. They send the women back to the licensed quarter and leave.

Scene two (The Hōjō residence). At the Hōjō residence Boys' Day is being celebrated. The Soga's mother presents one of the Hōjō boys with a gift of a sword. Jūrō then enters with Dōzaburō, much to the delight of Tokimasa's daughter, Manyo, who finds Dōzaburō very attractive. Jūrō announces that he too has brought a gift, a large warrior doll. He removes the cover to reveal Gorō posing in the form of the famous warrior



[Right: Gorō poses as a statue, while Jūrō talks to their mother. Left: The fake shogunal force arrives.]

Ishiyama Genta, subduing a tiger. Both the Soga mother and Tokimasa lament that such warriors are not to be found anymore. But there is such a warrior, Jūrō argues. He asks if they have heard of Hakoō, otherwise known as Gorō Tokimune. His mother replies that she does not want to hear of any Hakoō. At this point Gorō, saddened by his mother's rejection, lets out a sigh. All are surprised, and Jūrō quickly explains that the statue can be made to move by pulling a string. He then demonstrates how, if he pulls the string, the statue will go to the mother, bow down, and weep. Gorō follows his instructions. Everyone expresses their amazement at the mechanical doll. They then all go inside, leaving Gorō alone.

After a while Ema Koshirō enters followed by Jūrō. They hope to have a brief moment together and share a cup of sake. Manyo also

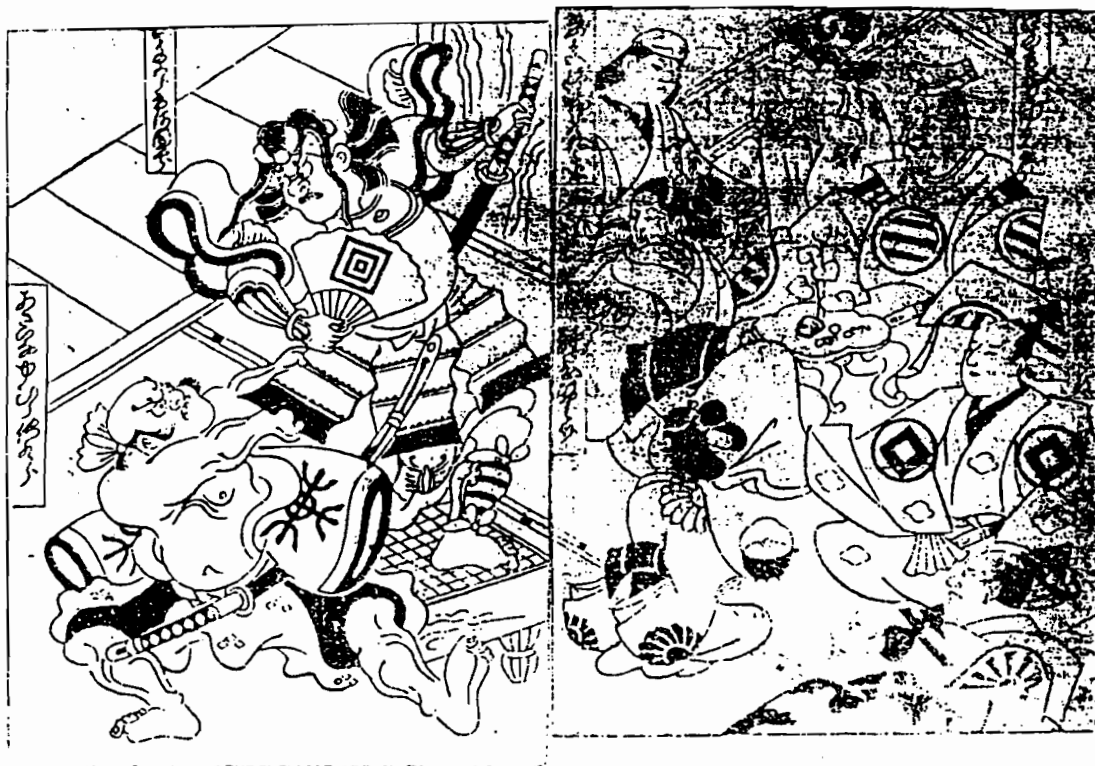
appears, however, with sake for Dōzaburō. The Hōjō brother and sister question each other's behaviour, but in the end they all drink and the couples embrace. Poor Gorō, however, is still alone. His mother then enters saying she wishes to leave. At this point Gorō gives up his act and pleads with his mother to pardon him. She replies that she will not forgive a child who is so selfish as to go against her wishes and abandoned the priesthood. Gorō argues that he did so in order to become a man and carry out his long-cherished ambition of avenging his father's death. He then declares that if she will not forgive him he will commit suicide. Jūrō reminds his brother that they swore to seek revenge together. Besides, the task is so formidable he cannot possibly accomplish it alone. The brothers argue, and Tokimasa urges the mother to pardon Gorō.

Just then a shogunal force arrives and demands that the Soga brothers be turned over. Jūrō and Koshirō put up resistance, but they are outnumbered. Gorō goes to their aid, but Jūrō refuses to let him fight, saying that since he has been disowned by their mother he is not his brother. Seeing Jūrō in danger, the mother finally gives in and pardons Gorō. The battle then stops. The opponents show their wooden swords and confess that the whole scene was staged for the purpose of persuading the mother to forgive Gorō. All present celebrate the happy outcome.

#### Act Four

Scene one (michiyuki). The Soga's sister, wife of Ninomiya, travels to Ōiso to admonish Jūrō for carrying on a relationship with the courtesan Tora. She arrives at Ōiso.

Scene two (A brothel in Ōiso). Wada Yoshimori is holding a banquet with his ninety-three horsemen. There are women to entertain the men, but Tora is not present, so Yoshimori summons her. She comes but appears unhappy. Realizing why, Yoshimori sends for Jūrō, who appears now as a well dressed samurai. Jūrō is reluctant to join in but Yoshimori makes him drink. Asahina then arrives and is asked to dance. While he is dancing one of the sliding paper doors breaks open to reveal Gorō, who has also come. Asahina invites him up onto a table to dance with him.



[Jūrō, Tora, and Wada Yoshimori and his retainers watch as Asahina and Gorō (on go-board table) engage in a tug of war.]

Gorō gets up on the table and casts a fierce look around the room. Asahina grabs hold of the hip plate of Gorō's armour and the two warriors engage in a tug of war contest. Despite Asahina's great strength, he is unable to move Gorō, and the tug of war ends when the hip plate breaks off from Gorō's armour. It is then announced that the shogun's hunting party is due to leave for the foot of Mt. Fuji, and Wada Yoshimori and his men return to Kamakura. The play ends with the words: "Indeed they are the very models of true samurai. Thereafter the world was governed peacefully."

### 3. Naritasan Funjin Fudō

By Ichikawa Danjūrō. First performed at the Morita-za, Edo, in the fourth month of 1703. Original cast: Ariwara Yukihiro = Murayama Shirōji; Matsukaze = Utamura Jūjirō; Murasame = Ichikawa Takenosuke; Ōyatabe Onizumi = Ōtori Kurōji; Ono no Komachi = Ogino Sawanojō; Fukakusa Shōshō = Tamon Shōzaemon; Ōtomo no Kuronushi = Ichikawa Danjūrō I; Kūkai = Ichikawa Kyūzō; Ono no Yoshitane = Miyazaki Jūshirō. Text: GKKS 1: 549-99.

#### Act One

Scene one (Suma). Ariwara Yukihiro, who has been living in exile at Suma, is now to be pardoned by imperial decree, and the poets Ki no Tsurayuki, Bunya Yasuhide, and others hurry to Suma to deliver the news. During his exile Yukihiro has become romantically involved with two salt gatherers, the sisters Matsukaze and Murasame. A passionate lover, Yukihiro also amuses himself with young men. The play begins with such a scene, witnessed by Matsukaze, who becomes jealous. Yukihiro apologizes and the two make up. Meanwhile, Yukihiro's regent, the incomparably fierce warrior Takenouchi Buyūnosuke, has come looking for Yukihiro. No one is able to tell him where Yukihiro is, however, and Buyūnosuke grows violent and begins thrashing about. Murasame arrives and informs him of Yukihiro's whereabouts. Buyūnosuke leaves.

Kishikuma Daiton, a cruel ruffian who has also been exiled to Suma, enters with several of his companions. He is about to make advances to Murasame when Yukihiro arrives. Murasame and Yukihiro mock Daiton, and he grows angry and attacks with his men. Yukihiro drives them off. Later, Daiton comes back, ties up Murasame, and throws her into a salt cauldron, intending to boil her alive. He then goes off to get some firewood. While he is away Buyūnosuke comes by and hears Murasame crying for help. He helps her out, and she explains what has happened. He sends her away and gets into the cauldron. Daiton then returns and lights a fire under the cauldron. From inside he hears a voice saying the water is not warm enough yet. He opens the lid and Buyūnosuke jumps out, grabs him and throws him to the ground. Just then Yukihiro arrives. Daiton reveals that he is in reality Ōyatabe Onizumi and begs for mercy.



[Top: Yukihiro plays music with two young men, while Matsukaze and two other women carry salt water from the sea. Bottom: Murasame and Matsukaze prepare to throw their sashes into the sea, watched by Buyūnosuke (standing between them) and other courtiers in the boat.]

Yukihiro says he will forgive him if he promises to give up his evil ways. Onizumi is then told that he too has been pardoned and may return to the capital.

Tsurayuki and Yasuhide arrive to take them to the waiting boat. Yukihiro mentions that he has had an amorous affair during his exile and asks to be allowed to take a woman back with him. Permission is granted to do so. Matsukaze appears and begs to be the one to go with him. Murasame also comes, however, and asks that she be allowed to go. The sisters get into a heated argument. Finally Buyūnosuke proposes that the two women throw their sashes into the sea and the one whose sash does not



sink be allowed to go. The sisters do so and it is Murasame's sash that does not sink. Murasame thus goes with Yukihiro while Matsukaze is left alone to grieve on the beach at Suma.

#### Act Two

Scene one (The imperial palace in Kyoto). It is already the twentieth day of the third month and still the cherry tree in the palace grounds has not bloomed. It has thus been decided that a poetry contest on the topic "waiting for the blossoms" will be held. A large number of courtiers assemble. The chancellor (kampaku) is also in attendance. A number of poems are read to no effect. Then, when Ariwara Narihira approaches the tree with Ono no Komachi's poem in hand, it suddenly bursts into flower. Soon thereafter Ōtomo no Kuronushi appears and announces that Komachi's poem is not an original but was lifted from the Manyōshū anthology. He produces a copy of the anthology as proof. Komachi is humiliated and ordered to leave the palace. The courtier Fukakusa no Shōshō, however, is suspicious of the ink the poem is written in. He suggests they test it. Komachi rinses the leaf in question in a basin of water and the poem washes away, proving the ink was fresh. Now it is Kuronushi's turn to be embarrassed. Because of his false charge he is stripped of his rank and forbidden to set foot in the palace again. The party then breaks up and the other courtiers withdraw, leaving Kuronushi to gnash his teeth and lament his fate.

Scene two. Yukihiro is amusing himself by watching a number of young men and women dance. A veiled woman appears and attracts Yukihiro's attention. He makes advances to her. She asks whether he already has a wife. He says he does but continues to flirt with her. Finally he rips off the veil and discovers it is Murasame. He apologizes and they withdraw. Next a good-looking young man comes out and does a dance. Yukihiro returns and watches him. His passion inflamed once again, he attempts to woo the young man. When he removes his hat, however, he finds it is Matsukaze. He asks if she has come to disrupt his relationship with Murasame, but she answers that she has given up all thought of him and would not even care if Yukihiro and Murasame share a

lovers' cup of sake before her eyes. Yukihiro and Murasame begin to do so, but suddenly Matsukaze is transformed into a giant serpent. No sooner do Yukihiro and Murasame realize this than Matsukaze returns to her normal self. They again begin to drink, but once again Matsukaze turns into serpent. Having returned to her normal self the woman announces that she is not Matsukaze but a dragon princess. She explains that because of the humiliation he faced and the fact that it was water that exposed his deceit, Kuronushi has imprisoned the dragon gods at the waterfall at Nachi in Kumano and intends to cause a drought in the land. She asks that Ono no Komachi be sent to entice Kuronushi to let the dragons out.

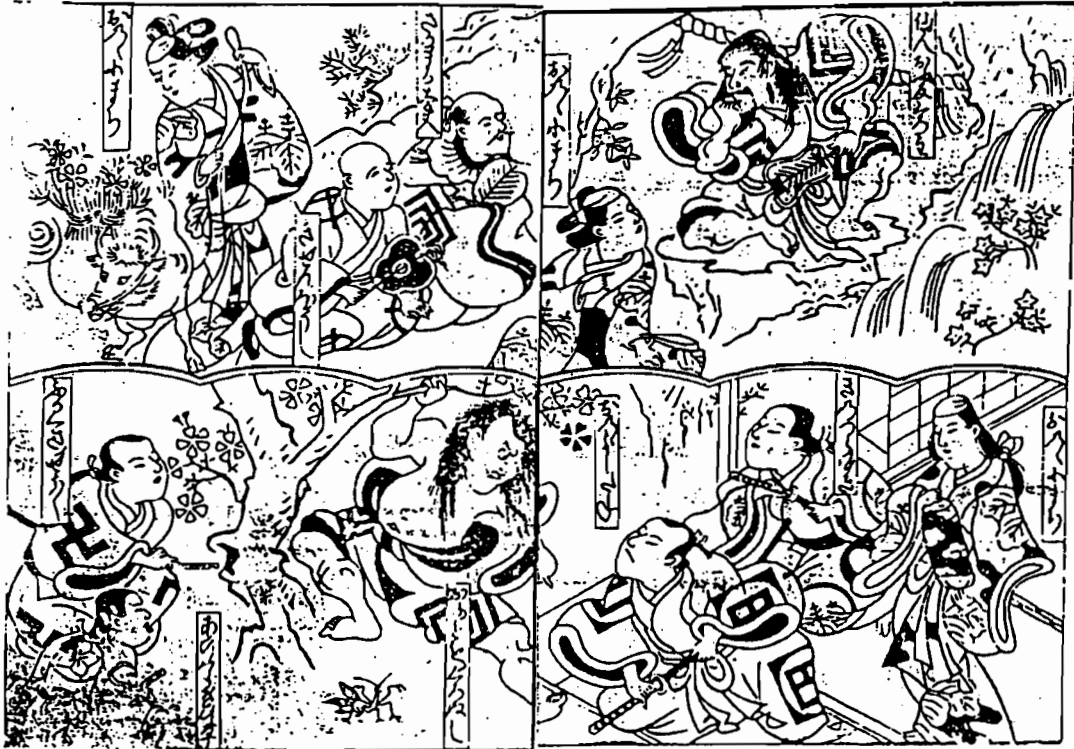


[Top: Komachi is watched by the other courtiers and the kampaku as she rinses the suspect leaf in water. Bottom: Yukihiro attempts to woo the woman who is in fact Murasame (right), while Matsukaze (in reality a dragon princess) appears in the guise of a young man (left).]

### Act Three

Scene one (The Nachi Shrine). The priest Kisen and the courtier Sarumaru Daifu have changed their names to Tsūfū Sennin and Kōyō Sennin and have become priests at the Nachi Shrine. One day they spy a woman leading an ox at the foot of the waterfall. She appears to be a humble seller of firewood but is very beautiful. Tsūfū and Kōyō report her presence to Kuronushi. As they point her out to him the woman speaks up, saying she is from the capital. She tells of her lover and his nightly visits to her. Kuronushi is so absorbed in watching and listening to the woman that he accidentally falls off the cliff he is standing on. The woman brings him water, administering it mouth-to-mouth. When he comes to he tells the tale of Ikkaku Sennin, hinting that the woman might be planning to deceive him just as Lady Senda did in the story. He concludes by claiming she must be Ono no Komachi. The woman assures him she is not, but says that she must look like her since people in the capital often remark on the resemblance. She then says that Kuronushi resembles her lover and asks to be taken as his disciple. He agrees, but then asks to feel her skin and attempts to grab her breast. The woman stops him, and so they turn instead to drinking sake to seal their agreement. While they drink the woman asks about the rope across the front of a cave by the waterfall, and Kuronushi explains that it is there to keep the dragon gods from escaping. Soon he falls asleep and the woman cuts the rope, releasing the dragons. Thunder sounds and it begins to rain. Kuronushi awakes and realizes he has indeed been deceived by Komachi. Enraged, he rips up trees and tosses boulders before going after her.

Scene two (Yoshitane's residence in Kyoto). Ki no Tsurayuki arrives at the residence of Ono no Yoshitane, Komachi's brother. He accuses Yoshitane of being an unfaithful lover, saying he will have him exiled. There is a playful argument in which they compare each other's behaviour to the moves in a game of shōgi (Japanese chess). Since Tsurayuki says Yoshitane will have to turn in his court robes and cap before going into exile, they go into another room to remove them. Meanwhile Fukakusa no Shōshō arrives as part of his "hundred-night" vigil of visiting Ono no



[Top: Komachi appears at the Nachi Shine as a seller of firewood (left); Kuronushi is captivated by Komachi (right). Bottom: Kuronushi suddenly appears before Yoshitane, Ki no Tsurayuki, and Komachi (right), and Fukakusa and Ariwara Narihira (left).]

Komachi. He is accompanied by Ariwara Narihira. They sneak into her bedroom and are surprised to see that she is not sleeping alone. The two men are then discovered by Tsurayuki and Yoshitane. They explain why they have come and what they have seen. Looking again they see that it is not a man beside Komachi but a giant praying mantis. At this point Komachi awakes and they tell her about the mantis. She replies that she had earlier seen such an insect come out of a crock on the table. Suddenly out of the crock the praying mantis appears again, this time in the figure of Kuronushi. He flies at Komachi and torments her. They all run in fright.

Act Four

Scene one (The Sumiyoshi Shrine). Komachi's sister, Sagoromo, goes to the Sumiyoshi Shrine to give thanks for her sister's having survived her several recent brushes with the villainy of Kuronushi. Among the throng at the busy shrine is an old man. The old man dances and then reveals that he is Kuronushi's father, Takitō. He tells of his son's infatuation for Komachi and pleads with her sister to show compassion. Sagoromo gives him a damask drum. The old man is delighted, but when he beats the drum it emits no sound. Despondent, he throws himself into a pond and drowns.



[Top: Komachi's sister, Sagoromo (right), pays a visit to Sumiyoshi Shrine, while Kuronushi's father, Takitō, dances. Bottom: Kuronushi (concealing his face) rides in the same boat as his wife, child, and the ghost of his father.]

Scene two (A ferry landing). The priest Dōyo Shōnin of the Jingo Temple near Kyoto is on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Narita Fudō. He comes to a river and gets into a boat to make the crossing. A woman with a child also gets in. The woman reveals that she is the wife of Kuronushi, and that she is travelling around the country in search of her husband. Dōyo hides his face with his hat, for he is in fact Kuronushi himself. As they are crossing the river they hear the sound of a drum, and the boatman tells the story of Kuronushi's father's death. He then reveals that he is the ghost of the father and exposes Kuronushi to his wife. The ghost then disappears. Kuronushi explains to his wife that it is because he has been unable to free himself from his passion for Komachi that he has deserted her and become a priest. He then kills himself with his sword.

#### Act Five

Scene one (The imperial palace in Kyoto). The priest Kūkai, recently returned from China, makes an appearance at court. He speaks of what he has learned during his travels as well as the system for writing Japanese he has devised. Yasuhide asks for an example of his calligraphy and Kūkai writes the character for "dragon" (ryū) on a paper screen. Onizumi objects that the character lacks a stroke. Kūkai replies that he left out the last stroke intentionally, since to complete the character could cause a flood. Onizumi adds the missing stroke anyway. The character disappears, only to be replaced by a venomous serpent. The serpent grabs Onizumi in its jaws and vanishes into the air.

Scene two (Sekidera). Komachi, who by this time has grown mad, is wandering around Sekidera Temple. A young man, also apparently mad, appears carrying a bucket. The two dance. Yoshitane arrives with several courtiers. He sees his sister and manages to restore her sanity. Just then, however, the spirit of Kuronushi appears. He announces that he is not in fact Kuronushi but the Fudō of the Matrix mandala. At the same time it is revealed that Kūkai is in reality the Fudō portrayed in the Diamond mandala.



[Top: Kūkai (centre of left panel) pays a visit to the court.  
 Bottom: The kampaku (right) looks on as Kuronushi and Kūkai  
 are transformed into Fudōs flanking the bodhisattva Monju.]

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