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**GESAKU IN EDO FICTION AND AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION
OF "NENASHIGUSA YUME MONOGATARI" BY SHIKITEI SANBA**

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GESAKU IN EDO FICTION AND AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF
“*NENASHIGUSA YUME MONOGATARI*” BY SHIKITEI SANBA

A Thesis Presented

by

FUMIKO U. BROWN

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
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Asian Languages and Literatures

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PREFACE

Throughout this thesis Japanese names are given in the traditional form, the family name precedes the given name. The first part of this thesis quotes translated passages. All translations are my own unless otherwise specified in footnotes.

The second part of this thesis consists of the transcription into modern script and translation into English of the woodblock-printed text of Shikitei Sanba's *Nenashigusa yume monogatari* of Bunka 6 (1809). While I have worked from a facsimile edition, the experience is similar to working with an authentic Edo text, and to reproduce that experience for the reader I have included copies of the complete pages from Sanba's text for reference. Also in my transcription I have used the historical orthography (*rekishiteki kanazukai*) as used in the original text, and I have added phonetic guides for readings of kanji. I have done this in order to preserve the style of the original text as much as possible even in the transcription. The translation is complete, although inevitably I have had to rearrange some of Sanba's text to bring it into English, and some of his witty word play gets lost between the two languages. I have mentioned some cases of this in footnotes, but the commentary is not exhaustive.

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INTRODUCTION

In this thesis I will examine the illustrated fiction *gesaku* of the Edo period (1600-1868), focusing on Shikitei Sanba (1776-1882) as a *gesaku* writer and translate one of his *gesaku* works, *Nenashigusa yume monogatari*, which was published in 1809.

Nenashigusa yume monogatari has been categorized as *gōkan*, which is a genre of *gesaku* literature.

Gōkan is a unique format of illustrated fiction of the Edo period; its format originated from children's picture books known as *akahon* (red cover books). *Akahon* developed readership from children to adolescents according to the content of the book. In time, the color of the covers changed from red to blue and black known as *aohon* and *kurohon*, respectively. *Aohon* and *kurohon* eventually developed into adult humorous books called yellow cover books or *kibyōshi*. *Gōkan* derived its physical form from *kibyōshi*, and became a larger bound volume book around 1805. The peak of *gōkan* occurred around the 1840s, followed by the disappearance of the *gōkan* format in early Meiji due to changes in the printing systems and society.

Publishers of *gōkan* consistently released twenty to thirty books every year from 1805 to the 1840s. Many of the representative authors of the late *gesaku* published *gōkan* and the book illustrations were mainly created by famous *ukiyo-e* illustrators of the time. Texts of *gōkan* were written in a mixture of Tokugawa literary style for the narrative portions and a colloquial language for the conversation, and all pages were illustrated. Because of the easy language and illustrations on every page, *gōkan* had a wide range of readers from youth to adults. These facts suggest *gōkan* should be considered a

representative genre of Edo literature and studying *gōkan* can contribute significant value to aspects of Edo popular culture. However, because the Tokugawa calligraphic style letters (*hentaigana*) pose a particular difficulty to modern readers, there is a noticeable lack of scholarship in Japan and abroad devoted to the vast majority of *gōkan* published in the late Edo period. Even scholars considered *gōkan* a lower level of literature compared to the *yomihon*, and only a small portion of the works from this period have been reprinted and annotated in a scholarly fashion. The reason why *gōkan* were continuously published over the decades and maintained popularity among Edo readers is due to their unique format. My research will analyze this unique format of the illustrated fiction form of *gesaku* especially in *gōkan*, and try to clarify the function of illustrations and text in the form.

The first part of my thesis is in three sections. The content of Section I includes a survey of Edo *gesaku* including the history and characteristics of the genre, and also examines the book format of *gesaku* and development of woodblock prints. Section II will primarily examine the illustrations and text of *gesaku*, especially in the *gōkan* (bound volume) format. Section II will also look at the characteristics of *gōkan* and function of illustrations and narrative text. Section III will investigate Shikitei Sanba's life and analyze his language style. This section will also look at Shikitei Sanba as a *gesaku* writer, and the language style of his *kokkeibon* (funny books).

The second part of my thesis is an annotated translation of *Nenashigusa yume monogatari*, which is a parody of a revenge story written by Shikitei Sanba in 1809. Shikitei Sanba's works total over one hundred and only a small portion of his work is

translated into English. I hope my research will have some value for future study of this field.

CHAPTER 1

EDO GESAKU

Edo Gesaku History and the Characteristics of the Genre

The word *gesaku*, meaning “written for fun or a playful composition,” is used as the generic term for all popular fiction written from the middle of the eighteenth century to the close of the Edo period (1600-1868).¹ *Gesaku* continued to exist as a literary genre through the early part of the Meiji period (1868-1912). This is a narrow definition of the term, however, because *gesaku* has two usages in modern Japanese. The first meaning is to create a playful composition and playfully written literature in general. The word “playful” referred not to the subject of the text but rather to the professed attitude of the author. The term *gesaku* spirit can be used to mean an attitude of creation just for fun. Some examples of literary works created in the *gesaku* spirit are *kyōka* (humorous poems in *waka* form),² *senryū* (humorous poems in *haiku* forms) and *rakugo* (humorous stories in *kōdan* or street storytelling forms).³ The rise of this literature merged with the equally spectacular *ukiyo-e*, publishing, theatrical arts such as *kabuki*, and other popular forms of entertainment. Thus *gesaku* can be used loosely as a literary term that includes playfully

¹ *Kōdansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, Vol.4. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1983).28-9.

² *Kyōka* 狂歌 of the Edo period are full of social satire written in a facetious manner in *waka* form and most writers of *sharebon* and *kibyōshi* composed *kyōka*. Since *kyōka* described contemporary society, it integrated the vocabulary of everyday life into the traditional frame of *waka*. Because of the caricatures in *kyōka* of contemporary government policy and its officials, this form of verse was banned by the Kansei Reforms in the 1790s, and its major poets, who were warriors in active services, were prevented from further writing. *Kyōka* did survive after this for some time but without the satirical manner.

³ Heinz Morioka and Miyako Sasaki, *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990) 211-47.

written literature and entertainment art forms in general. The second meaning of the word *gesaku* is the specific term for a literary genre. Currently many Japanese scholars only use its narrower usage, which is the humorous prose works or fiction written in the middle to late Edo periods. In this study, I use the term in this narrow sense.

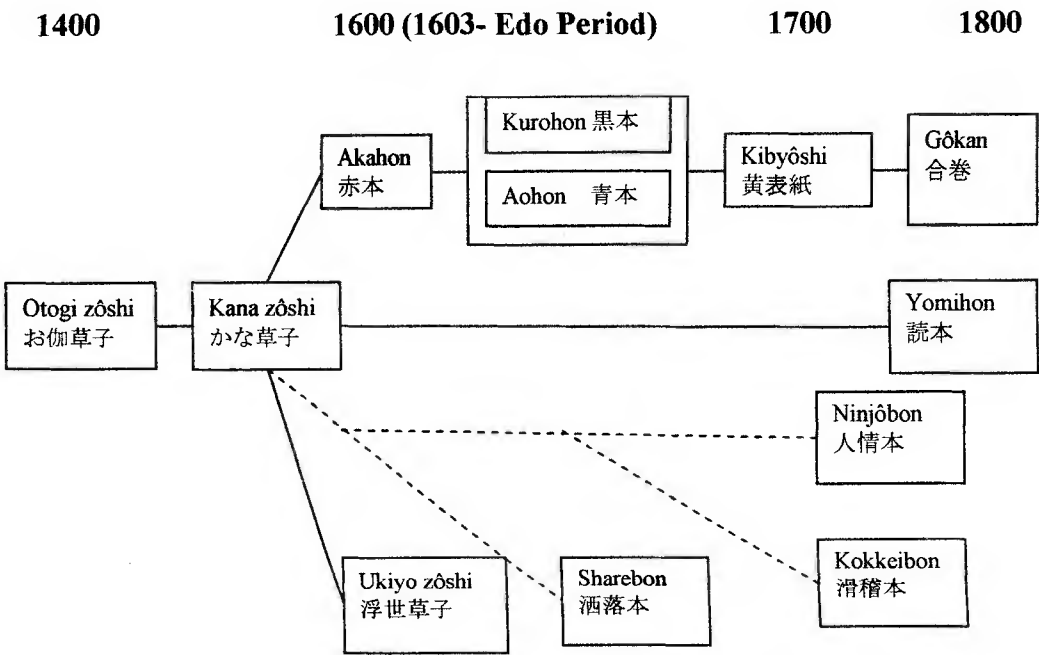
Gesaku writings developed into a variety of formats as a literary genre.

In the early Edo period, *kana zôshi* (*kana* story books) were beginning to be published. *Kana zôshi* were all written in the *kana* phonetic script, usually contained illustrations and were enjoyed by common people. *Kana zôshi* derived from *otogi zôshi* (fairy-tale books), which were originally popular stories in the fourteenth century, Muromachi period (1392-1573) to the early Edo period. *Kana zôshi* encompass a wide variety of content such as parodies, books of practical information, translations from Chinese and European literature, guidebooks, evaluations of courtesans and actors, and miscellaneous essays.⁴ Although *kana zôshi* were not a refined format as a literary genre, it can be said that they were the prototype of all of the later *gesaku* literature genre because of the variety of themes. Most *kana zôshi* were published in Kyoto.

According to the characteristics of these works, *gesaku* literature can be classified as: *sharebon* (pleasure-quarter books), *kokkeibon* (humor books), *yomihon* (reading books), *ninjôbon* (books of sentiment) and *kusazôshi* (illustrated books). *Kusazôshi* is a subgenre of all the illustrated books that are distinguished by the colors of their covers. *Akahon* (red cover books) were mainly for children's stories, *aohon* (blue cover books)

⁴ Richard Lane, "The Beginnings of the Modern Japanese Novel: *kana zôshi*, 1600-1682," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 20 (1957), 651-667.

and *kurohon* (black cover books) for adolescents and older readers, and *kibyôshi* (yellow cover books) were for adult readers. *Gôkan* (bound multi-volume books) were longer stories , often with vendetta as the main topic. The development of the various *gesaku* genres are illustrated in Figure 1.⁵



【Figure 1: The Development of *Gesaku* Genres】

The development of Edo *gesaku* literature was deeply influenced by the rise of artisans and merchants who constituted the townspeople (*chônin*) of Edo society. After the establishment of the shogunate by Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1603 in Edo, peace was preserved in Japan for over two hundred and fifty years. Social order was maintained by

⁵ See Ema Tsutomu, Taniyama Tsutomu, and Iino Kenji, eds., *Shinshû kokugo sôran* (Kyoto: Kyoto Shobô, 1972), 79. This chart does not refer to the stream of oral or storytelling traditions such as *dangibon*, *kôdan* and *rakugo*.

the establishment of a hierarchy headed by a warrior class (*samurai*), followed by farmers (*nômin*), and artisan and merchant (*chônin*) classes. Confucianism, which structured society into hierarchical relationships, was patronized by the shogunate and employed to strengthen the social hierarchy and the family system, in which the head of the household held authority over the family members and servants. As a consequence, the entire Edo society was organized hierarchically both socially and geographically, everyone obeying one's superior. *Samurai* were no longer required to fight and were slowly transformed into bureaucrats who worked for local or central governments. Under the policy of isolation (*sakoku*), Japan had little contact with the outside world and was able to establish a sustainable and reasonable society for living. Furthermore, the establishment of the hostage system (*sankin kôtai*) as well as the encouragement of building and repairing of castles to strengthen the Tokugawa hold on power placed a heavy financial burden on local military lords (*daimyo*).

Since many of the *samurai* class were forced due the alternate attendance system in the countryside to take up residence in the castle towns of their *daimyo* lords, city life experienced a rapid and widespread growth. This urbanization affected the way of life of both *samurai* and the townspeople. In the castle town of Edo, the *samurai* became the administrative officialdom and heavily relied on or were indebted to the services of the merchant class. Merchants as financial agents became essential to the tax collecting process, especially in the conversion of tax rice to cash or consumer goods. For example, the Osaka rice exchange dealt in futures so merchants could influence the price of rice nationally. The *chônin* class was absolutely essential to the *samurai* in their urban environment, and though many became wealthy by serving the *samurai*, the government

policy operated in the *shi-no-kô-shô* (*samurai* - farmers - artisans - merchants) order of society. The *chônin* were at the bottom of the scale and had no voice in *samurai* government. By being denied political influence, *chônin* were generally left alone in their own sphere of activities, where they were free to accumulate wealth and develop their own way of life. Edo *gesaku* was born in such a social background.

The history of Edo *gesaku* literature can be divided into three time periods: the rise of *gesaku* (1716-1750), early *gesaku* (1751-1800), and late *gesaku* (1801-1844). The rise of *gesaku* coincides with the Kyôho Reforms (1716-1745), the Kansei Reforms (1787-1793) were the watershed for the early *gesaku*, and after the Tenpô Reforms (1841-1843) *gesaku* declined in popularity. The life of Edo *gesaku* literature is mainly condensed between the three major reforms of the Edo period.

The rise of the *gesaku* spirit in literature is understood as a reaction to the official Tokugawa bureaucracy. The social energy of development in seventeenth century society and culture had reached a state of stagnation in the beginning of the eighteenth century. *Bunjin*, who were mainly scholars of Chinese and Confucianism, originally cultivated their literary artistic interest by imitating Chinese comic poetry, novels or accounts of the licensed quarters of Edo for their close friends and their own amusement. At the time, in Japan as well as in China, fiction was not being classified as literature, and the *bunjin* kept it distinct from their own work by passing it off as a joke. However, steeped as they were in Chinese scholarship, their own attempts at vulgar literature could not conceal the depth of their knowledge. The *bunjin* had no outlet for this knowledge so they made fun of it for their own pleasure. The origins of the *gesaku* characteristic can be found in the combination of the humorous and the erudite of literature.

Looking back on the development of *gesaku*, Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内 (1728-1779) is considered the father of the tradition. The word *gesaku* was first used by Hiraga Gennai at the end of a postscript of the puppet play *Shinrei Yagiri no watashi* (The Miracle at the Yagiri Ferry) in 1770. He was interested in Dutch studies, invented many of the scientific machines of the time and studied *kokugaku* under Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697-1769).⁶ He published two satiric novels, *Nenashigusa* (Rootless Weeds, 1763) and *Fûrai Shidôken* (The Modern Life of Shidôken, 1763), under the pen name *Fûrai Sanjin*; both works attack contemporary society, specific individuals, and institutions. He also wrote *Hôhiron* (A Theory of Farting, 1777) which is a satirical comic essay. Gennai wrote vehemently satirical prose and was indisputably the first great author of *gesaku*; his work heralded the golden age of early *gesaku* in the 1770s and 1780s.

Gennai's novels are categorized as *dangibon*, which are works of comic didacticism that draw their inspiration from the street-corner sermons of the *shingaku* movement.⁷ Gennai's works are a combination of humor and satire, which reveal his own strong personality. Satire, in its literary aspect, is defined as the expression of

⁶ *Kokugaku* (national learning) emerged as another field of study alongside the study of Confucianism and Japanese history and some *kokugaku* scholars produced important works on Japanese classics. The term *kokugaku* has a broad meaning which includes the study of Japanese classics, Shintoism, Japanese history, philology, and Japanese Language. In the eighteenth century *kokugaku* was fully established and the best-known scholar was Kamo no Mabuchi who was a disciple of Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801). Yaeko Sato Habein, *The History of the Japanese Written Language* (University of Tokyo Press, 1984), 82.

⁷ *Shingaku* 心学 is an attempt to synthesize the precepts of Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism and to explain them to the common people.

humor, irony, exaggeration or ridicule to expose and criticize people's stupidity or vices.⁸ *Nenashigusa*, published in 1763, was based on a real incident occurred in that year. The popular *onnagata* (women's role) kabuki actor Ogino Yaegiri drowned while pleasure boating on the Sumida River. In Gennai's *Nenashigusa*, Enma, the king of hell, falls in love with a picture of Segawa Kikunojyô II, an *onnagata* kabuki actor, and tries to summon him to hell. This setting is a satire of the scandalous infatuation by a castle lord from *Echigo* with the real Kikunojyô. Gennai was a great satirist who believed that fiction as "lies" should be used to reveal the truth. The corruption and hypocrisy of the Tokugawa bureaucracy and the *daimyo* were reflected in the behavior of Enma and other officials of hell. In later years *Nenashigusa* had two important influences on the other writers: it spawned narratives describing hell, which influenced the style of *dangibon*, and inspired the other *gesaku* writers to imitate the "Hiraga style of writing (Hiragaburi)" with its sharp satiric observations.⁹ Representative authors of the early *gesaku* are Hiraga Gennai, Ôta Nanpyô 大田南畝 (1749-1823), Hôseidô Kisanji 朋誠堂喜三二 (1735-1813) and Santô Kyôden 山東京伝 (1761-1816).

Besides the early *kokkeibon* and early *yomihon* (including translations and adaptation of Chinese fiction), the main *gesaku* genres of the early *gesaku* period were *kibyôshi* and *sharebon*. The format of *kibyôshi* originally derived from *akahon*, illustrated books for children, which first appeared around 1670. Around 1740 *kurohon* and *aohon* began to be published. Since *kurohon* and *aohon* targeted adolescents and

⁸ *The Encyclopedia Britannica*. Thirteenth Edition. Vol. 23. London and New York, 1926.

⁹ *Early Modern Japanese Literature*, ed, Haruo Shirane (Columbia University Press, 2002), 461-3.

older, the content was much more sophisticated than *akahon*. *Kurohon* and *aohon* featured the plot of plays recently performed, accounts of military heroes and ghost stories. It is thought that the “green” color of *aohon* naturally faded to “yellow” was the way that yellow-cover books (*kibyôshi*) were first created. The *aohon* merged into *kibyôshi* over time.¹⁰

The *kibyôshi* originated about the same time as the *sharebon* and were sometimes written by the same author, but they were distinct literary forms. For the *kibyôshi*, in which illustrations played a key role, the authors often drew their own illustrations which were as important as the text in determining their reputation. The *kibyôshi* developed into books for adults with the publication of *Kinkin sensei eiga no yume* (The Dream of Splendor of Master Gold, 1775), written and illustrated by Koikawa Harumachi 恋川春町 (1744-1789). Koikawa Harumachi is a pen name used by a *samurai gesaku* writer, Kurahashi Kaku, who stayed in Edo as a diplomat for Suruga-han. The story is a modern-day version of the Nô play *Kantan*, which was modeled on a classic Chinese story.

As the pleasure quarters in Edo began to flourish, a large number of *sharebon*, guidebooks of the pleasure quarters, were published for the reading public. Most *sharebon* works from 1770 on were written in a dialogue style with a short narrative insertion. *Sharebon* writers of this period were citizens of Edo, so they used the colloquial language of Edo in the dialogues. Since topics of *sharebon* were limited to the activities within the pleasure quarters, the spoken language used in them was limited in

¹⁰ Koike Tôgorô, *Akahon aohon kurohon ni tsuite* (Tokyo: Dai Tôkyû Kinenbunko, 1961), 9-12.

scope. However, they are important material for the study of Edo-style language because they consist of lively conversations.

The *sharebon* books devoted large portions of the text to commentary on *tsû*, half-baked *tsû* or totally non-*tsû* customers. The word *tsû* represents the idea of a person who is a “master or expert on manners.” In *sharebon*, the themes are not love or desire in the pleasure quarters; rather, the customers do not think of the courtesans as partners in love or serious relationships. The customers care for the depth of the feeling, lightness and detachment of “the floating world (*ukiyo*),” which is the hallmark of *tsû* behavior. The lightness and detachment of “the floating world” was a key notion in understanding the Edo *tsû* standard and the backbone of *gesaku* spirit throughout the early and late *gesaku*.

The most successful writer of *sharebon* was Santô Kyôden of the merchant class, who was also a successful *kibyôshi* writer and an *ukiyo-e* artist under the pen name Kitao Masanobu. Besides Santô Kyôden, early *gesaku* authors were essentially the intellectuals of the *samurai* class who turned to writing as an outlet for their wasted talents. Since early *gesaku* writers could not make a living by writing *gesaku*, most writers were either *samurai* or merchants to supplement their income. Santô Kyôden owned a tobacco shop and he even wrote the advertisements for products sold in his shop.

The golden age of *gesaku* and *sharebon* and *kibyôshi* was destroyed by the Kansei Reforms (1787-1793). The Kansei Reforms were the second of three reform programs undertaken by the Tokugawa shogunate, falling between the Kyôho Reforms and Tenpô Reforms of the 1720s and 1840s. Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758-1829), chief

senior councilor from 1787 to 1793, reacted against the widespread bureaucratic corruption of former senior councilor Tanuma Okitsugu (1719-1788). The reforms aimed to achieve administrative efficiency at the center through major officials at all levels. The slogan of the Kansei Reform was “return to the Kyôho Reforms,” which was the first of the three reform programs, encouraging the *samurai* class to refocus on Neo-Confucianism and martial arts (*bunbu ryôdô*). Regulations on publications were also strict, specifically in the area of *gunkimono* (military stories), *koyomi* (calendars), *kôshokubon* (fiction dealing with amorous topics) and *uwasagoto* (gossip reports).

Sharebon were banned due to strict government censorship and some *kibyôshi* caricatured government policy. The representative author of *sharebon*, Santô Kyôden, was in manacles for fifty days in his house and half of the publisher’s capital was confiscated due to these government policies. *Samurai* on active duty such as Hoseidô Kisanji and Koikawa Harumachi stopped writing *kibyôshi* altogether. After the Kansei Reforms, those writers who continued to write *gesaku* switched to more serious topics including vendettas, Confucian teachings and advocating loyalty so that they would not offend the Tokugawa shogunate. The Kansei Reforms actually divided the history of *gesaku* into two different forms: early *gesaku* and late *gesaku*. In order to relieve the frustrations of intellectuals, the government promised new opportunities and employment. Some former *gesaku* writers became officials, while others studied science under orders from their clan or the central government. Thus *gesaku* ceased to be an outlet for the besetment of cultivated men.

Although the Kansei Reforms effectively silenced some *gesaku* writers, the reading public was significantly expanded because the Tokugawa government

encouraged being both a good warrior and a good scholar (*Bunbu ryôdô*). Lending libraries (*kashihonya*) had begun to operate around 1750 for the readers who could not afford to buy new books. The number of these lending libraries markedly increased after the Kansei Reforms. By 1808, there were 656 *kashihonya* in Edo alone.¹¹ Around the same time that lending libraries started to appear, publishing businesses became more openly commercial enterprises. The Edo publisher started to pay writers on the basis of evaluation of completed manuscripts. Unlike the dilettanti of early *gesaku* who wrote to amuse themselves, the professional writers who wrote for profit supplied mass-produced *gesaku* to anonymous public readers on a nationwide scale. The Edo publishers and lending libraries became the driving force behind late *gesaku* mass production.

Beginning in about 1800, *gôkan* (bound multi-volume books), which stemmed from *kibyôshi*, gradually became the main genre of the late *gesaku*. The term *gôkan* derived from its format: up to five volumes, each volume consisting of ten pages, two volumes bound together, sold as a unit. The *gôkan* look much like *kibyôshi*, with strings of writing ingeniously worked into the design, surrounded by illustrations. However, the greater length of the stories promoted not only a changed format but a different kind of subject matter. The *gôkan*, unlike the humorous *kibyôshi*, generally covered the tragic events of revenge. As *gôkan* gained popularity, they started to gain a new type of audience who wanted to read a story instead of illustrations. *Gôkan* originally derived from *kibyôshi*, but gradually developed new characteristics similar to “illustrated *yomihon*,” a higher level of story with fewer illustrated pages.

¹¹ For detailed explanation of *kashihonya*, see Yôzô Imada, *Edo no honyasan* (Tokyo: NHK books; 1979), 150-61.

The best known *kokkeibon* writers were Jippensha Ikku 十返舎一九 (1765-1831) famous for *Tōkai dōchū hizakurige* (*A Shanks Mare Tour of the Eastern Sea Road*, 1802-1809, translated into English) and Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬 (1776-1822), who wrote *Ukiyoburo* (*Bath House of the Floating World*, 1811-1823). The success of these works was due to the public's taste for humor. *Kokkeibon* established the dialogue style of writing and employed a larger variety of colloquial language than that used in *sharebon*.

While *yomihon* were popular among a serious readership and *kokkeibon* provided the reader with humorous stories and laughter, *ninjōbon* (books about human feelings) began to be popular especially among women due to the highly romantic content of the stories. *Ninjōbon* emerged as the result of the prohibition placed on amorous books, *sharebon*, by the Kansei Reforms. *Gesaku* writers wrote hoping this new style of writing would be excused from the strict censorship by the government. Even though the *ninjōbon* developed from *sharebon*, their differences outweigh their similarities. The most important new element of the *ninjōbon* was 'emotions of love.' In *ninjōbon*, the scenes were normally set in the licensed quarters just as in *sharebon*; however, instead of the customer's perfect '*tsū*' knowledge, the pleasure quarters were the dominant content, and the heroes of the *ninjōbon* are described as men for whom women would make great sacrifices in order to win over.

The term *ninjōbon* derives from the fact that Tamenaga Shunsui 為永春水 (1789-1843) signed himself as 'the first *ninjōbon* writer' in his successful work *Shunsui ume goyomi* (*Plum Calendar of Spring*) from 1832-35. The written style of *ninjōbon* is much

more elegant than *kibyôshi* or *gôkan*, and less illustrations were provided. The narrative employs simple but elegant classical Japanese grammar, while the dialogue is written in colloquial language. Since *ninjôbon* were intended to be read by women of various social standings, the colloquial language used in the text is very polite. Although *ninjôbon* were disdained by contemporary intellectuals due to their content, the refined style of writing was highly praised later by the *genbunitchi* 言文一致 (unification of written and spoken language) movement in Meiji era writers.¹² *Ninjôbon* declined in the middle of the nineteenth century when some of them were banned by the Tenpô Reforms (1841-1844).

The political change of the Meiji Restoration of 1868 left the *gesaku* writers in complete confusion. Some authors like Kanagaki Robun 仮名垣魯文 (1829-1894) began writing for the new popular press and newspapers, and managed to adjust to the new changes in society. Despite of the effort to survive, the production of *gesaku* had ceased by the end of the 1880s. The physical form of *gesaku* gradually disappeared, but the colloquial language elements of *gesaku* can be found in the style of modern Japanese

¹² *Genbun itchi* means unification of spoken and written language. The movement of this language unification is called *Genbun itchi undo*. After the Meiji restoration of 1868, written Japanese forms were based on classical Chinese and classical Japanese, and this style continued to be used. However, in addition a new modernized classical style, the classical standard, developed based on them. Neither of the traditional styles was close to spoken language and were incomprehensible without knowledge of classical studies. The early Meiji writers Futabatei Shimei, Tsubouchi Shôyô, and the friends of Ink-pot (Ken'yûsha) such as Yamada Bimyô and Ozaki Kôyô, learned the techniques of vernacular dialogue from reading Shikitei Sanba, Tamenaga Shunsui and the other late Edo *gesaku* writers. The first great achievement was Futabatei Shimei's novel *Ukiboromo* (Drifting Clouds, 1887-1889). Other writers followed and attempt the *genbun itchi* styles, and by 1908 all novels were in the colloquial standard. Primary school textbooks completed the switch by 1903, and the transition of the newspapers to the colloquial standard was completed in 1920.

writers such as Tsubouchi Shōyō 坪内逍遙 (1859-1935) and Futabatei Shimei 二葉亭四迷 (1964-1909).

Edo Gesaku Book Format and Woodblock Prints

Tokugawa-era books are in a quite different form than the modern books that we are accustomed to today. The *gesaku* are published in woodblock print book format and written vertically in *hentaigana* (*hiragana* in the Edo period calligraphic style). Even today, Japanese books are read from top to bottom and right to left, opposite from Western language books. *Akahon*, the early forms of *gesaku*, were published in a small size (5 cm x 3 cm) called ‘*hihina bon*’ (tiny books) or ‘*mame akahon*’ (small *akahon*). The majority of *gesaku* are published in *chūhon* (middle size books) sizes which are 18 cm x 13 cm in average and *ōhon* (large size books).¹³ *Chūhon* are printed in one quarter size of *minoshi* (one type of Japanese *washi* paper, 18 cm x 26 cm) folded in half with the loose edges of the papers bound together with thread. All *kusazōshi* which include *akahon*, *aohon*, *kurohon*, *kibyōshi*, *gōkan* and *kokkeibon* were published in *chūhon* size. The books published in the Tokugawa era had a unique page-counting system based on how woodblock prints were made and bound together. One woodblock print on one quarter of a page of *minoshi* was counted in *chō* 丁, and this page was folded in half to make two pages counted as ‘*ichi chō omote* (page one, front) and *ichi chō ura* (page one, back).’ Five *chō*, or ten pages in total, were counted as a *kan* 巻 (volume); this is the smallest unit of a book. Some *kibyōshi* were published in two or three *kan* lengths.

¹³ Koike Tôgorô, *Akahon, aohon, kurohon ni tsuite* (Tokyo: Dai Tôkyû Kinenbunko, 1961), 9-10.

Eventually the five *kan* were bound together, counted as a *satsu* 冊. The two *satsu* or ten *kan* (volumes) were sold as a set called *gōkan* for the first time in 1806.

The process of woodblock printing is as follows. First, the manuscript was passed to a copyist, called *hanshitagaki* 版下書き, who wrote out a clean copy. *Hanshitagaki* was usually carried in the publisher's house, unless the calligrapher was asked to do this, but it is common that calligraphic quality was not a consideration for mass-produced entertainment books. Then the *hanshita* was passed to the block-carver called *horishi* 彫師 who pasted the *hanshita* face-down on the wooden block and carved away the white part, thus leaving the text, borders, and illustrations in relief on the woodblock. By the nineteenth century some authors and publishers had come to appreciate the importance of the copyists and covers in the production of calligraphically attractive books. It became common to give them the recognition of naming them in colophons. Next, the carved blocks were passed to a printer called *surishi* 刷師 who inked the block, laid a sheet of paper on it, and rubbed the paper with a device known as *baren* 馬簾 in order to make a good impression. In some cases a proof was made for corrections before any further printing was undertaken. Once sufficient copies had been printed they were passed to another worker for page alignment, *choai* 丁合; meanwhile, the cover maker, *hyoshiya* 表紙屋, prepared front and back covers, and these were passed with the printed pages to a binder who sewed them together. Finally, the finished book was placed in a protective wrapper that listed the title and often further details and was then ready to be placed on sale. In the larger publishing establishments, it was common for all or most of these stages to be carried out in-house, but smaller-scale publishers contracted some parts of

the process out to sub-contracting specialists like block carvers and binders, and cover makers ran their own separate firm beginning around the 1800s. The colophon printed in early and late *gesaku* period books provides useful information about the publisher, date of publication, author and illustrators. The woodblock printing itself changed little during the Tokugawa period and essentially built on what was already an established tradition. The use of illustrations, however, became much more widespread and was an expected feature for a work of *gesaku*. The woodblock print was the perfect device to carve the elaborate detail of illustrations and brushwork of the narrative text. If the woodblock print had not been the main method of Edo printing businesses, the visually unique format of *gesaku* would not have existed. However, that is why the *gesaku* form disappeared when the Western style printing press was introduced soon after the Meiji Restoration.

It is also important to note that the terms “publisher” and “printer” were almost synonymous in Edo period Japan. It was not until the Meiji period, when movable type was reintroduced and larger editions became possible, that specialist printing firms came into existence and were separately identified in the colophons of books. Until then, the printer was seldom named. It was the publisher who was responsible for all operations from preparing the author’s manuscript, block cutting, printing, binding, selling and distributing the book. Most publishing houses were small family businesses, handed down from father to son, such as Izumiya in Edo and Osaka, and Kawachiya in Kyoto. Not until the late 17th century did Edo become an important center of publishing, and it only began to rival Kyoto during the mid-18th century.

ILLUSTRATION AND TEXTS OF *GESAKU*: WORLD OF *GÔKAN*Language Style in *Gôkan*

The physical format of *gôkan* originally derived from the *kibyôshi*. Sometime around 1805, publishers began the practice of binding separate *kan* (volumes) together in order to save themselves the expense of printing individual covers. Although the format of binding five volumes together already existed in 1805, Shikitei Sanba first used the name *gôkan* in *Ikazuchi taro gôaku monogatari* (Man of Thunder Villainous Story) in 1806 and claimed it as his invention. After *Ikazuchi taro gôaku monogatari* was published, this style increased in popularity and the format became known as *gôkan*. The *gôkan* look much like *kibyôshi*, with strings of writings blended into the illustrations, surrounding the human figures and architectural elements of the illustrations. However, the longer stories were not only a change in physical format, but also a different kind of subject matter. Due to the strict censorship from the government after the Kansei Reforms, *gôkan* mainly dealt with the tragic events of a vendetta.

Vendetta is “*katakiuchi* or *adauchi*” in Japanese, and was a historical reality for *samurai*. *Katakiuchi* is blood revenge for the killing of an elder relation, one’s parents or lord. This type of vendetta was regularly justified in Japan by reference to the Chinese Confucian classics. The *Nihongi* (*Nihon shoki*, 720) notes such classic Confucian moral pronouncements as found in the *Li Chi* (The Book of Rites): “No one should live under

the same Heaven as his father's enemy."¹⁴ Although the emphasis in Chinese practice was on revenge for reasons of family piety, during the Edo period in Japan the revenge served to justify the murder of their lord. Contrary to the common impression, based on the countless retellings of the 47 Rônin incident of 1703, only two vendetta were recorded in the Edo period that occurred out of revenge for a feudal superior's murder.

It is unknown how common *katakiuchi* were in ancient Japan due to the lack of documentary records. The revenge by the two Soga brothers in 1193, whose legend has been celebrated in literature from the *Soga monogatari* (Tale of Soga Brothers) down to the modern times, is one of the few recorded incidents. The cult of the vendetta increased during the Edo period. Between 1600 and 1868, the number of recorded cases exceeds one hundred. At first *katakiuchi* were almost exclusively a matter of the *samurai* class, but by the end of the 19th century, avengers were from other classes as well. Some pursuers continued seeking their enemy for many years, facing enormous difficulties and hardship.

Katakiuchi was considered laudable as a demonstration of loyalty, but the exacting of private revenge could infringe on public authority. Since a nationwide police system was not established during the Edo period, vendetta was only legal if it followed strict rules. A would-be avenger had to secure permission from his own domain's (han) authorities and then inform them of his success, if achieved in his domain. If the murderer had already fled to another domain, then in theory a representative of the shogunate had to second the original domain's permission and then be informed by the

¹⁴ W. G. Aston, trans., *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1956), 389.

avenger of his success. If the proper authorities, upon learning of the revenge, determined that the avenger had kept to these rules, then they imposed no punishment to the avenger. Indeed, the avengers were often feted and rewarded by their home authorities. The most significant feature of Japanese blood revenge is that the vendetta was not allowed to continue after the first revenge was taken and could only be aimed at the original murderer, not on another member of his household. The Meiji government did not allow continuing the *katakiuchi*, and in 1873 a Meiji government decree formally declared blood revenge to be illegal.

Gōkan appeared in numbers larger by far than any of the other fictional forms of the late Edo period; as many as twenty thousand or more copies of the most popular works are said to have been printed. Vendetta was also a suitable theme for the *gōkan* format because readers of *gōkan* were much more widespread than *kibyōshi*. The publishing business became a commercial enterprise, with varieties of *gesaku* being mass-produced and distributed through booksellers and lending libraries. The readers were no longer only the Edo city residents but also expanded to other regions of Japan. The setting of the vendetta story followed the fugitives and the protagonist as they traveled through Japan, and the plot provided a variety of scenery along the route. As a result, the story became much longer than those found in *kibyōshi*. *Katakiuchi* was one of the favorite themes for the Edo readers and safe from government censorship; it appeared not only in *gōkan* format but was performed over time in *kabuki* and *jōruri* as well.

Usually the narrative part of *gōkan* text uses a standard Tokugawa literary style and conversational parts in the text are colloquial. This mixed usage of language style is

one of the unique aspects of all late *gesaku* formats. Sato refer to this unique aspects of the language style *gōkan* citing Mishina Rankei 三品蘭溪 as follows:¹⁵

Why was Edo *gesaku* easy to read even for not so strong readers such as women and children? It was because of the *gesaku* author's considerable effort. Late *gesaku* authors applied the rhythmical tones in the narrative text. After several pages of good sounding text, the readers were carried away in the story and able to enjoy the tale all the way to the end. Especially in Ryūtei Tanehiko's style *gōkan*, he set a great example of natural speech style in the text.¹⁶

Because of the simplicity of the language, *gesaku* stories were enjoyed by different levels of readers who could follow the text without the need for elaborate commentaries like in some classical literature such as *Ise monogatari*. Also, Shikitei Sanba referred to his language style in his *gōkan* preface, *Uwabami ochō uwanari sōshi* as follows:

This book is written in simple language for women and children so that they can easily understand. I used *jōruri* (puppet theater) style writing which are seven-five rhythm phrases in the text.¹⁷

Shikitei Sanba tried to apply the seven-five (*shichi go chō*) tone (or it is called *jōruri* style by Shikitei Sanba) in the narrative text in order to create 'simple language for women and children.' It is important to note because it shows that not only the *gōkan* illustrations, but also the text was strongly influenced by *kabuki* and *jōruri* theaters.

Sato Yukiko analyzed the characteristics of language style in *gōkan* published between 1805 and 1844 (Bunka, Bunsei and Tenpō period).¹⁸ All of the *kusazōshi*

¹⁵ Yukiko Sato, *Edo no eiri shōsetsu: gōkan no sekai* (Tokyo: Perikansha, 2001), 14.

¹⁶ See original in Mishima Rankei, "Gokuseiki to ishin go" *Waseda bungaku* Vol. 261 (October 1926).

¹⁷ This note is written in the Preface of Shikitei Sanba, *Uwabami ochō uwanari sōshi*, 1809 (Bunka 5).

consisted of narrative text with dialogue, or smaller notes next to the characters called *kakiire* 書入れ. The origin of *kakiire* can be found in scroll-style illustrated stories (*emakimono*) back in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries.¹⁹ The original form of *akahon* is written with a simple illustration and a few *kakiire* words around the illustration. *Kakiire* has always existed in all of the *kusazôshi* traditions such as *akahon*, *aohon* and *kurohon*. The function of *kakiire* is especially well utilized in *kibyôshi*. Since fashionable new expressions and twisted humor were essential for *kibyôshi*, *kakiire* was a perfect medium to express the witty phrases or humorous comments to provide an additional touch to the illustration.

¹⁸ Yukiko Sato, *Edo no eiri shôsetsu: gôkan no sekai* (Tokyo: Perikansha, 2001), 38-54.

¹⁹ *Emakimono* 絵巻物 is a long, horizontal hand scroll containing illustrations that tell a story, often with accompanying text. The format has come to be recognized as one of the high points of painting in the native Japanese style that flourished during the Kamakura period (1185-1333).



【Figure 2: *Hara no uchi gesaku no tanehon* (Inside of *Gesaku* Author's Mind) by Shikitei Sanba, 1812】

© National Diet Library

Figure 2 is an example of *kakiire* used effectively in order to express Shikitei Sanba's many thoughts as a humorous *gesaku* author. Shikitei Sanba's thoughts are written in the narrow spaces divided by lines and *kakiire* are written in lively conversational style next to the illustrations. In order to distinguish the *kakiire* from the narrative text, *kakiire* was marked with a Japanese-style angle bracket at the beginning of the dialogue. The function of *kakiire* in *gōkan* was to provide conversational dialogues to the text as auditory information for the story. Most of the *kakiire* in *gōkan* were rephrased dialogues from the main text. While illustrations provided visual information to the readers, *kakiire* effectively added the sound or liveliness to the illustration. Thus, even though the *kakiire* is written in letters, it should be read as part of the illustration, not as part of the narrative text. According to Hashimoto Shirō:

Kakiire is not part of the narrative text but rather part of the illustration. *Kakiire* can function individually; it has more descriptive expressions than what is in the narrative text. It is recorded in almost the exact manner of speech of a different class of people of the time.²⁰

In terms of Edo language, *kakiire* provides us with valuable language material to investigate vocabularies and manners of speech of late Edo period people. When *gōkan* lost its popularity and was replaced by the other genres of *gesaku* such as *yomihon* and *ninjōbon* in the Meiji period, *kakiire* also disappeared. However, the function that *kakiire* played in the text did not disappear. The narrative text modified its style and started combining with the function of *kakiire*. In other words, the narrative text began to be written in a more realistic speech manner, including the dialogue of the characters.

Saito Yukiko analyzed this change of *kakiire* function as a new direction for the *gōkan* format. The narrative text and *kakiire* in all late *gesaku* from 1804 to 1830 (Bunka, Bunsei period) can be divided into two types. When the *gesaku* story was primarily focused on the explanation of the story, the narrative text tended to be written in seven-five (*jōruri*) style. On the other hand, *gesaku* that emphasized humor in the lifestyle of fashionable people used narrative text and *kakiire* that applied more colloquial conversations in the story. The content of the book determined which narrative text style was to be used. Late *gesaku* such as *gōkan*, early *yomihon* and *ninjōbon* until 1830 all shared this tendency of language style being determined by the theme of the book.²¹

²⁰ My translation. See the original in Hashimoto Shirō, “*Kinsei ni okeru bungo no ichi*,” *Kyoto Women University Kiyō*, vol. 17 (1958).

²¹ Sato Yukiko, *Edo no eiri shōsetsu: gōkan no sekai* (Tokyo: Perikansha, 2001), 92-4.

However, the *gōkan* and *ninjōbon* headed in two different directions. *Ninjōbon* published between 1830 and 1844 (Tenpō period) began to focus on more vivid colloquial language in the narrative text in order to express the ‘real feeling’ of people, and *gōkan* tried to imitate the *yomihon* style, which used fewer illustrations and focused on the content of the story. Shikitei Sanba’s 1814 publication ‘*Ōgōkan*,’ which literally means a bigger volume *gōkan*, imitated a *yomihon* style text. Yet *ōgōkan*, a total of 24 volumes with fewer illustrations than *gōkan*, were not as well received as Sanba had expected.²² Also, a new style of *gōkan* ‘*Yomihon shitate (yomihon style) gōkan*,’ started to appear around the 1820s. ‘*Yomihon shitate gōkan*’ is the hybrid format of *gōkan* and *yomihon*, which has fewer illustration than *gōkan* and a more descriptive narrative style in the text. Figure 3 is an example of ‘*yomihon shitate gōkan*.’ It has fewer illustrations than regular *gōkan* and the narrative text imitates *yomihon* style.

²² Shikitei Zakki published in 1811 noted that *Katakiuchi yadorokuhajime*, *Shimagawa taihei midomairi katakiuchi*, and *Onigashima katakiuchi* eight volumes were bound together and sold as ‘*Ogōkan*’. However the *yomihon* style *gōkan* was not well received and was renamed ‘*kusazōshi gōkan*’ in the reprinted version.



【Figure 3: *Yomihon Shitate: Katakiuchi yamiyo no karasu*
(A Revenge in Dark Night), by Higashizato Sanjin, 1821】

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Sato concluded that the uniqueness of ‘*yomihon shitate gōkan*’ is not the change of *gōkan* format or content but the change of the language style in the narrative text.²³ Because of the less illustration in the text, the narrative text had started written in natural colloquial style in order to substitute what *kakiire* used to do with illustration. The language style change in *gōkan* also showed how *gōkan* had processed and developed as a literature genre.

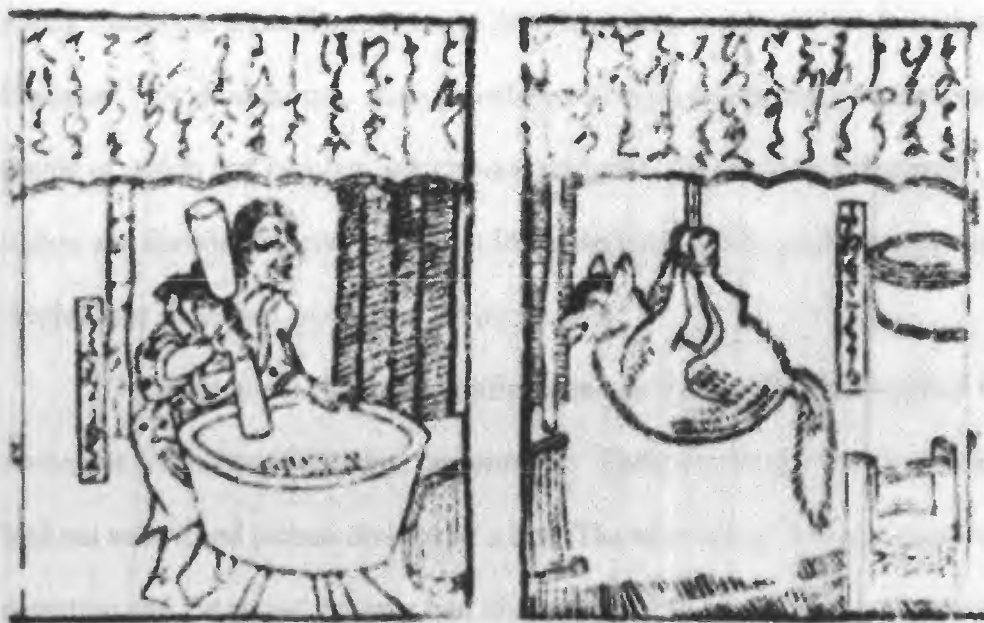
²³ Sato, *Edo no eiri Shōsetsu*, 121-3.

Function of Illustration and Text in *Gôkan*

Since *kibyôshi* are considered to be the representative examples of *gesaku*, it may give readers the impression that all works of *gesaku* were as highly illustrated as *kibyôshi*. However, some early works of *gesaku* did not have any illustrated pages. Most *gesaku* published after 1603 contained some illustrated pages, but were not as highly illustrated as *kibyôshi* and *gôkan*. On the other hand, all the *kusazôshi*, *akahon*, *aohon*, *kurohon*, *kibyôshi* and *gôkan* pages always featured both illustrations and text. The illustrations played a key role in *kusazôshi* since it was derived from children's illustrated books, *akahon*. Early works of *akahon* had only illustrations or a few words in blank spaces around a simple illustration, as in the example below. Figure 4 shows only a few words scattered around illustrations and illustrations that indicate what was happening in the story. In the early *akahon*, the illustration rather than the text was the primary focus.



【Figure 4: *Mukashi banashi* (Folk Tales)】



【Figure 5: *Mujina no katakiuchi* (Revenge of Raccoon)】²⁴

Figure 5 is an early format of *akahon* in which the narrative text was written on the top third of the page and the illustration filled the rest of the page. Narrative text and illustrations were divided by a line. The narrative text in Figure 5 is more descriptive than that in Figure 4 and explains what is happening in the illustration.

Considering the history of illustrations in *kusazôshi*, *akahon* authors were all popular ukiyo-e illustrators such as Hishikawa Moronobu (?-1694) and disciples of his art school. Middle to late era *akahon* authors were Torii Kiyonobu (1664-1729) and his disciples called *Torii-ha*. *Torii-ha* succeeded in this tradition and became the main producers of *aohon* and *kurohon*. Torii and his disciples mainly illustrated *kabuki* actor's portraits and billboards (*kanban*). Because *aohon* and *kurohon* illustrators were popular *kabuki* artists at the time, *kabuki* lovers became enthusiastic readers of *aohon* and *kurohon* as well. *Aohon* and *kurohon* are considered to have been targeted to include

²⁴ Kami Shôichiro. *Jido bunka shosho yuyu*. (Shuppan News Sha, 1988), 59.

young readers as an audience because they featured youngster's heroes such as 'Ishikawa Goemon'²⁵ or ghost stories. *Kabuki* and *bunraku* (puppet theater) were another main theme of *aohon* and *kurohon*, which were sold after the plays were featured. These *aohon* and *kurohon* functioned almost like videotapes today, so that people could 'replay' the plays and enjoy them all over again.

The illustrations played a significant role in both *aohon* and *kurohon* in order to revive the liveliness of the stage performance. Early *aohon* and *kurohon* formats were laid out as text and picture divided by a line. The top third of the page was written narration and the rest of the page had illustrations with *kakiire* dialogues from the characters. Eventually the line between the narration and illustration disappeared, and authors began writing script and phrases together on the page. The origin of the 'crowded look' of *kibyôshi* can be traced in *aohon* and *kurohon* to the author's need to combine the liveliness of the story and illustration together. The illustration played an important role in *aohon* and *kurohon* because *aohon* and *kurohon* had a deep relationship with the theatrical arts. Later era *aohon* and *kurohon* stories featured elaborate content and a variety of themes. *Aohon* and *kurohon* had developed enough diversity to shift to another stage of genre, *kibyôshi*, from juvenile readings to adult fiction.

The most significant difference among *aohon*, *kurohon* and *kibyôshi* is not only the content of the book but the readers. *Aohon* and *kurohon* were illustrated books that everyone could enjoy reading. On the other hand, *kibyôshi* had selective readers. *Kibyôshi* illustrations expressed hidden meanings apart from the text, demanding

²⁵ Ishikawa Goemon (1558?-1594) is a famous thief who lived in the *Azuchi-momoyama* period. Many *kabuki* and *jôruri* featured his story.

audience knowledge of pleasure quarters manners, popular *kabuki* actors and puppet theater language in order to understand the context and illustration. *Kibyôshi* created a sophisticated, two-dimensional display world using word play and illustrations. *Kinkin sensei eiga no yume* (Mr. Glitter-n-Gold is Dream of Splendor, 1775) by Koikawa Harumachi, is considered the first example of *kibyôshi* characterized as a distinct category of fiction. The story is an adaptation of the Nô play *Kantan*,²⁶ which had been modeled on a classic Chinese story. *Kinkin sensei*, a commoner on his way to the great Edo city in quest of wealth and happiness, falls asleep while he is waiting for millet cake to be served. He dreams of falling heir to a vast inheritance, yet he spends everything. At the end of dream, he is reduced to his original state. He realizes the vanity of gold dreams and returns home a much wiser man. Although the story is didactic, the setting is the world of pleasure quarters and courtesans, which provide a sophisticated 'Edo style' adult humor. The key to understanding *Kinkin sensei eiga no yume* is in the illustrations. *Kinkin sensei*'s face is the portrait of the famous *kabuki* actor at the time, Segawa Kikunojô II 二世瀬川菊の丞 (1741-1773) and the narrative text includes many hints to guide readers to guess the model for this *Kinkin sensei*'s face. In *kibyôshi*, illustration and narrative text provide completely separate information to the readers and together create two-dimensional puzzled worlds.

²⁶ *Kantan* is one story of a Nô play, featured from the Chinese folk tale *Pillow of Kantan*. *Kantan* is also known as a city name in China.



【Figure 6: *Kinkin sensei eiga no yume* (Mr. Glitter-n-Gold is Dream of Splendor)
by Koikawa Harumachi, 1775】

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The illustration and story of *Kinkin sensei eiga no yume* were both done by the same author, yet many of the *kibyôshi*'s and *gôkan*'s illustrations and stories were carried out by different authors. In those cases, the authors specifically assigned the design and layout of the page and worked closely with illustrators. In writing his *gôkan* version of *The Tale of Genji*, Ryûtei Tanehiko (1783-1842) experienced the greatest trouble in demonstrating the qualities of women, who were poorly expressed in the illustrations. Tanehiko usually sketched the illustrations he wanted for each page and gave many specific orders to his collaborating illustrator, Utagawa Kunisada (1786-1864).²⁷

²⁷ Donald Keene, *World Within Walls: Japanese Literature –Edo period, 1600-1867* (NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976), 429.

Since *kibyôshi* and *gôkan* were highly illustrated storybooks and provided the ‘popular culture’ entertainment of the time, at least one major scholar of Japanese literature has termed *kibyôshi* and *gôkan* “progenitor of Japanese modern *manga*.” On a certain level, *kibyôshi* and *gôkan* do resemble *manga* comic books. The narrative text and dialogue were separated and heavy use was made of onomatopoeia, and there was a highly stylized system of pictorial symbolism. However, these similarities are purely superficial and modern Japanese *manga* has its roots in the Western comic book tradition and not from Edo *gesaku*.²⁸

Although *kibyôshi* and *gôkan* both have highly illustrated formats and look similar on the surface, there is a difference between the relation of illustrations and text in *kibyôshi* and *gôkan*. In some *kibyôshi*, text and illustrations provided unrelated information on one page; in these cases readers should give both text and illustrations equivalent weight. In *gôkan*, the story structure was more complicated than *kibyôshi*, and illustrations supplemented the content of the text. Nozaki Sabun suggests how *gôkan* were read by readers of Edo as follows: “At first, readers took a look at all the illustrations, understood how story goes briefly then started reading text to confirm what they guessed in the first place.”²⁹

There is no evidence to prove that this is the method that late Edo readers used for *gôkan*; however, there were some suggestions written by Santô Kyôden as to how *gôkan*

²⁸ For more see Hirohito Miyamoto, “The Formation of an Impure Genre: the Origin of *Manga*” in (*Review of Japanese culture and society*, Dec.14 2002), 39-48. See also Yoshihiro Tanahashi, *Edo gesaku zôshi* (Tokyo Shogakkan, 2000), 196-205.

²⁹ Sato, *Edo no eiri shôsetsu*, 65. See the original in Nozaki Sabun, “Kusazoshi to Meiji shoki no shinbun shôsetsu,” *Waseda Bungaku* (Oct. 26, 1927).

should be read in the preface of *Asazumabune yanagi no mikazuki* (Asazuma Boat and Crescent Moon of Willow Tree, 1814):

This text has many detailed *kakiire* in the illustration. If you think reading story is wasting your time, please take a look at illustration first. The illustrations in the book guarantee you the experience as if you are in the theater house.³⁰

Since *gōkan* illustrations mainly describe climactic moments from the main text, illustrations usually followed the sequence of events. Thus, the reader could guess what happened in the story without reading the actual text. However, once the *gōkan* story became longer and more complicated, dealing with different past events in the story or recalling two different events in the text, an information gap occurred between what the illustrations and the text were presenting in one page. If illustrations described different events from the story, it was usually noted in the main text as “when you read the following volume, it will be explained.” This technique was used often in *gōkan* stories in order to retain the reader’s attention and encourage the reader to continue to the following story.

Another information gap technique used in *gōkan* was the ‘silence (*danmari*)’ scene in the story. *Danmari* scene technique was a method used in *kabuki*, usually used in silent action scenes in darkness. It is believed that *gōkan* authors applied this method from *kabuki* to written text. An example of a *danmari* scene is shown in Figure 7.

³⁰ This note is written in the preface of *Asatsumabune yanagi no mikazuki* (Asazuma Boat and Crescent Moon of Willow Tree, 1814) by Santō Kyōden.



【Figure 7: *Yaegasumi kashiku no adauchi* (Revenge of Kashiku in Spring Fog), 1807】

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One of the *danmari* scenes used in Santô Kyôden's *gôkan*, *Yaegasumi kashiku no adauchi* (Revenge of Kashiku in Spring Fog, 1807) was an illustration that showed the scene of three new strange characters glaring at each other in order to steal a sword. The main text notes that 'if you wish to know who these people are, please read the following story. You will know all the details later.' Santô Kyôden and Takizawa Bakin used 'silence' information gap techniques often in their *gôkan* stories.³¹

³¹ 'Silence (*danmari*)' scene technique by Santô Kyôden are used in *Tsuri gitsune mukashi no nuregasa* 11 *chô omote* and *ura*, published in 1813. *Asazumabune yanagi no mikazuki* 10 *chô omote* and *ura*, published in 1814, and *Nuretsubame negura no karakasa* 10 *chô omote* and *ura*, published in 1815. Takizawa Bakin used actual 'silence (*danmari*)' words in the text *Hyaku monogatari chôjya no tomoshibi* 27 *chô omote* and *ura*.

The illustrations in *gōkan* present the same visual information as the text, so looking at the illustrations of the story should convey the main events of the tale. However, due to the complicated storylines of *gōkan*, the illustrations began presenting detailed information which was not written in the text. There was a gap between the information presented in the illustrations and the text. The *danmari* scene technique is one example of the advantages of this information gap in order to pique the reader's interest. The illustrations of *gōkan* were not only entertaining to look at, but also presented more information than in the text. This was one of the unique characteristics of *gōkan* as a literary genre.

CHAPTER 3

SHIKITEI SANBA

Shikitei Sanba as a *Gesaku* Writer

While today Shikitei Sanba is most well known for writing the *kokkeibon Ukiyoburo* (The Bath House of the Floating World, 1808-13), he also authored a large number of bestselling stories in the *gōkan* format. The name *kokkeibon* was given to one type of *gesaku* literature that arose in 1820, not only because it was funnier than all earlier varieties, but also to distinguish it from the *ninjyōbon* that appeared about the same time in a similar format.³²

Shikitei Sanba was born the eldest son of Kiuchi Taisuke, a master woodblock carver. Sanba and his brothers were sent in their early teens into apprenticeships with book publishers. Sanba published his first book while working in a publishing house in his late teens. He was married twice, both times to publisher's daughters, and he continued to be formally connected with publishing enterprises until his middle years. His brother, although not a writer, was engaged in the book trade and his name appears alone or jointly as a publisher for several of Sanba's major works, including the first two books of *Ukiyoburo*. The world of the printed book and the publishing trade was a natural part of Sanba's childhood, and he became a keen reader by his early teens. Sanba grew up surrounded by the world of commercial publishing so it was not a great leap for him from the publishing business to that of writing.

The broad outline of Sanba's life is reasonably well known compared to the writers at the time who were only known by their pen names. Two major contemporary

³² Donald Keene, *World Within Walls: Japanese Literature –Edo period, 1600-1867* (NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976), 412.

sources of basic information survive: Takizawa Bakin's treatment of Sanba in his *Kinsei mono nohon Edo sakusha burui* 近世物の本江戸作者部類 (Catalogue of Authors in the Pre Modern Era); a chapter in a collection of short biographical notes of six major Edo authors entitled *Gesaku Rokkasen* 戯作六家撰 (Six Selected Sages of *Gesaku*); and a fragment of Sanba's own diary from 1810 and 1811, published as *Shikitei Zakki* 式亭雜記 (Notes by Shikitei), which provides a brief description of Sanba's day-to-day existence during one of the busiest periods of his career.³³

As an author who worked primarily in the *kibyōshi* and *gōkan* genre, Sanba benefited from his father's connections with *ukiyo-e* artists and illustrators, which may help to account for his first book, a *kibyōshi* entitled *Tentō ukiyo no dezukai* 天道浮世出操 (The Heavenly Puppeteers of the Floating World) published in 1794, when he was only eighteen. This book was illustrated by Utagawa Toyokuni, who was an illustrator in great demand at the time. *Gesaku Rokkasen* records Sanba's recollection of the beginning of his writing career:

At eighteen, I was independent, and wrote and published my first book, a *kibyōshi* entitled *Tentō ukiyo no dezukai* 天道浮世出操 (The Heavenly Puppeteers of the Floating World) After I finished the manuscript, I decided I needed a pen name, and so I wrote three names I thought appropriate on little pieces of paper, crumpled them in my hand, and tossed them in the air. I then picked one. The name written on it was Shikitei Sanba, and so I decided to use that one.³⁴

³³ Robert W. Leutner, *Shikitei Sanba and the Comic Tradition in Edo Fiction* (Cambridge [MA] and London: Harvard University Press, 1985), 16.

³⁴ *Gesaku Rokkasen*, 383-84. On the origin of the name Shikitei Sanba, see *Shikitei Sanba, Kyōgen kigyō*, 1804, reprinted in Hakubunkan, Ed. *Sanba kessakushū, teikaku bunko* series, No. 13. (Hakubunkan, 1893), 805.

Sanba referred to himself as financially independent, but no source provides any indication of where he was living or how he was supporting himself. However, all sources agree that at some point Sanba became the adopted son-in-law of the book dealer Rankôdô 蘭香堂, Yorozuya Tajiemon 万屋太治右衛門. It is possible that Sanba moved directly from his apprenticeship to employment under Tajiemon, and after a few years, to his adoption and marriage. Marriage and responsibility in the Yorozuya establishment gave him the confidence to develop his connections with other writers, artists, and the theater.

Robert Leutner says that Sanba's three characteristics as a *gesaku* writer were already visible in this earliest work *Tentô ukiyo no dezukai* 天道浮世出操 (The Heavenly Puppeteers of the Floating World).³⁵ The first is that *Tentô ukiyo no dezukai* was closely modeled on a previously published *kibyôshi* by Santô Kyôden entitled *Shingaku hayasomegusa* (Weeds to Dye in *Shingaku*), published in 1790.³⁶ The tendency to imitate plot and themes from other writers was particularly evident in Sanba's case, and it was quite common in many of his contemporaries. From the point of view of literature as art, to imitate previous popular works would betray the work's originality. From the point of view of literature as entertainment, these tricks of *gesaku* writers were totally understandable. Sanba and his colleagues were not engaged in private quests after the great Japanese novels; they were merely entertainers. This sort of

³⁵ Leutner, *Shikitei Sanba and the Comic Tradition in Edo Fiction*, 19-21.

³⁶ This book is illustrated by Kitao Masayoshi (Owada Yasubei, 1790) which is ukiyo-e artist name of Santô Kyôden.

reliance on established formulas and exploitation of best selling themes recurs several times throughout Sanba's works.

The second was Sanba's tendency to choose the main characters from among the middle class 'little people' of Edo. In *Tentô ukiyo no dezukai*, the main character types were the drunk, the lying courtesan, the greedy borrower, the Confucianist, the disobedient wife and the dissolute son. All of the personages were middle class people's life sized characteristics. The character sketches in this work were nothing new; however, the characters exhibit their characteristics best through Sanba's reproduced natural speech in everyday settings. Extreme settings, like wealthy playboys or their favorite courtesans disporting themselves in the pleasure quarters, were favored by other *gesaku* writers from Ihara Saikaku onward. By contrast, Sanba's characters had no outstanding virtues or wealth to begin with; they were simply common people. They have petty failings of greed, drunkenness or talking back to one's mother-in-law. Sanba's strength and skill was portraying these ordinary people's minor differences through direct conversational discourse.

The third characteristic seen in *Tentô ukiyo no dezukai* is Sanba's interest in the theatrical arts. Besides the basic conceit of the Gods as puppeteers to control man's behavior, *Tentô ukiyo no dezukai* did not show any strong influence by the puppet theater. Yet it is significant to note that Sanba's first book reveals his interest in the theater, and it is obvious the theater arts were a source of inspiration for his later creative works. Unfortunately a large number of Sanba's later books, particularly in the *gôkan* format, were not creative productions. They were highlights of the plot of *kabuki* plays featuring an abbreviated text from the play, which recreated the theatergoing experience on the

printed page. Sanba may have been discouraged from producing these simple reproductions of *kabuki* and puppet plays, but they probably brought him regular income. Until Sanba established *gesaku* writing as a mature profession, these reproductions occupied his writing activities.

Sanba's first real recognition came in 1799 with the publication of a *kibyōshi* entitled *Kyan taiheiki nukō hachimaki* 挟太平記向鉢巻 (Swaggering Headbands: a Chronicle of Urban Knight Errantry in a Peaceful Realm), which covered a battle that had recently occurred between two neighborhood fire brigades in the city of Edo. Since the Tokugawa government had made very clear its disapproval of literary treatment of contemporary events, Sanba set his plot back in the historical past, in the fourteenth century world of *Taiheiki*, with the main events surrounding the transition between the Kamakura and Ashikaga shogunate. The illustrations depict the noble warriors of the *Taiheiki* battles with ladders, hooks, axes, and other 'weapons' of the firefighters. One of these brigades, offended by Sanba's work, stormed his house and that of the book's publisher. The firefighters were jailed; also Sanba and his publisher were punished for their role in the incident. Sanba was sentenced to 50 days of being handcuffed. The punishment left Sanba feeling uncomfortable, but also brought Sanba the first real fame and ensured his subsequent popularity as a *gesaku* writer.

Furthermore, Sanba's seven weeks in manacles was a turning point in his career. Sanba never again wrote a satiric story based on contemporary events. The years during which Sanba was active as a mature *gesaku* writer, the Kyōwa, Bunka, and part of the Bunsei eras (1801-1829), were strictly marked by government censorship on writing and publishing due to influence by the Kansei Reforms. The *gesaku* writers of the period

were seeking and experimenting with new literary forms and subjects. For several years after this incident, Sanba published few works, probably as a result of his unpleasant experience from this incident and due in part to his unsettled domestic situation. In 1803 or 1804, his wife died, and he severed his connection with the Yorozuya family. In 1804, he took on the responsibility of supporting the widow of his former master, Gangetsudô Horinoya Nihei. He moved to different district near Nihonbashi, and he opened a used book store in this neighborhood. In the spring of 1806, a great fire destroyed large areas of central Edo, including Sanba's house and bookstore. Sometime later in 1806, he re-established himself in Honkokuchô 4-chôme in Edo. It may have been at this time that he married the daughter of Horinoya Nihei.

Sanba reentered the competitive world of popular fiction by writing a *kibyôshi* in 1805 entitled *Oya no kataki uchimata kôyaku* (A Father Avenged: a Plaster on the Inside of a Thigh).³⁷ This was the first of a dozen or more vendetta stories he was to publish in the next few years. The beginnings of the vendetta in *kibyôshi* were identified with a work by Nansenshō Somabito published in 1795.³⁸ This work of 1805 marks the real beginning of his participation in the *katakiuchi* (vendetta) boom. Sanba made very clear his attitudes toward vendetta stories in his introduction:

³⁷ Illustrated by Utagawa Toyohiro, 3 volumes. Discussed in Yasuo Honda, *Shikitei Sanba no bungei* (Kasama Shobô, 1973), 95-8. The title puns on *oya no katakiuchi* (Smiting One's Parents' Enemy) and *uchimata kôkyaku* (A Plaster on the Inside of a Thigh), a common metaphor for someone who vacillates.

³⁸ Nansenshō Somabito, *Katakiuchi gijo no hanabusa*. Cited as the work that inspired the fad for *katakiuchi mono* in Takeshi Yamaguchi, Introduction to *Nihon Meicho Zenchû*, vol.6, (Nihon Meicho kankôkai, 1927) 5.

If the vendetta is in fashion, then I shall imitate everyone else, submit to the publisher's urgings that I write a vendetta story, and at long last take up my brush again, even though a plot that is all seriousness is an affront to the spirit of playfulness implicit in the word *gesaku*..... Indeed, the writer, too, is like a plaster stuck on the inside of a thigh.³⁹

In 1806 Sanba published a 10-volume *kibyōshi* style story entitled *Ikazuchi tarō monogatari* 雷太郎業悪物語 (The Story of the Villainous Ikazuchi tarō). This format was the first work to be published with the label *gōkan* on its cover. Sanba seems to have found that the *gōkan* genre was well suited to him. Between 1806 and 1822, he produced around seventy books in this format, which account for well over half of the titles he published in his career.⁴⁰ *Gōkan* published after 1806 raised questions of whether they were representative of his most original work. Approximately 41 percent of his *gōkan*, about 28 titles of all *gesaku* writings, were based closely on kabuki or puppet plays.⁴¹ Honda categorized Sanba's *gōkan* into four types as follows: 1) themes on recent kabuki plays, 2) themes on recent puppet plays, 3) 'hiragana *yomihon*,' easier reading in *yomihon* style, and 4) cruel violence stories with illustrations targeted mainly for young boys.⁴² A variety of Sanba's *gōkan* show that his characteristics as a *gesaku* writer were to experiment with a higher level of *gōkan*, close to *yomihon*, while at the same time

³⁹ Translation cited in Leutner, *Shikitei Sanba and the Comic Tradition in Edo Fiction*, 42. Primary source in *Nihon Meicho Zenshū*, vol.6, .5.

⁴⁰ Honda Yasuo, *Shikitei Sanba no bungei* (Tokyo: Kasama Shobō, 1973), 399-400. Honda lists 69 *gōkan* out of Sanba's lifetime total of 144 works.

⁴¹ See chart in Honda, *Shikitei Sanba no bungei*, 386-89.

⁴² Honda, *Shikitei Sanba no bungei*, 389-393.

providing entertainment for a lower level of reader, kabuki and puppet theater fans and young readers.

In 1810 Sanba set up shop as a dealer in cosmetics and medicine in Honchô 2-chôme, a few blocks from Nihonbashi. In spite of the fact that Sanba could make a decent living through his writing, he could not rely on his *gesaku* writing for his livelihood. Many of the Sanba's works after 1810 carried advertisements for his shop 'Enjutan-ya' and its products. Successful *yomihon* authors were paid well for their manuscripts; first 5 ryô as starting rate for a 5-volume work, writers like Bakin and Kyôden are said to have asked 7 ryô to as much as 15 ryô.⁴³ It may be assumed that the going rate for a *gôkan* was lower than *yomihon*, but no record exists to tell us how much lower. Despite this fact, earning a living as an independent writer was a relatively new concept in the early 1800s. Sanba's decision to open a shop was probably partly from financial necessity. It may also be seen as an expression of his identity as a member of the urban merchant class. Yet Sanba should not be described as a merchant for whom writing was the second vocation. The writing of *gesaku* was his principal occupation. Unlike the first generation of *gesaku* writers active in the An'ei, Tenmei, and early Kansei eras (1772-1878), who were predominantly of the *samurai* class, late *gesaku* writers such as Sanba and Kyôden were mostly of the urban middle class.⁴⁴ Most of

⁴³ Leutner, *Shikitei Sanba and the Comic Tradition in Edo Fiction*, 47.

⁴⁴ A survey of the authors treated in *Sakusha burui* by Takizawa Bakin shows that of a total of 93 family occupations that can be determined 55 percent may be classified as *chônin* as opposed to 33 percent clearly of *samurai* origin. The other remaining 12 percent are of the other or uncertain class background.

them were probably merchants first and writers second. The majority of merchant class writers were amateurs, in the sense that they could not make a profession of writing.

Sanba's achievement as a *gesaku* writer was mostly adaptation in the form of refinement of techniques and styles pioneered by other *gesaku* writers. The success of his *kokkeibon*, particularly *Ukiyoburo*, was due not to any radical innovation but adhering to the existing genre of *rakugo*, in other words, modifying *rakugo* into script format. Indeed he may not have succeeded in establishing himself as a *gōkan* writer; his strength was in knowing his own limitations and devoting himself to a style he was comfortable with: the genre of *kokkeibon*. Sanba died in the first month of 1822 at the age of forty-six.

The Language Style of Shikitei Sanba in *Kokkeibon*

Sanba wrote *Ukiyoburo* (The Bathhouse of the Floating World) in a total of four volumes. The first book of four was produced in 1809 when Sanba reached his maturity as a writer. *Ukiyoburo*, his longest comic work, is a plot-less collection of conversations in a public bathhouse in Edo, loosely organized chronologically from dawn to dusk, continuing through all four books. Two books dealt with the men's bath and two with the women's. The conversations took place among various typical bathhouse patrons, generally middle class customers, written with great fidelity to the dialects and speech habits of Edo.

A number of Sanba's *kokkeibon* were very explicitly related to contemporary oral storytelling in the *rakugo* style. It was clear that Sanba and the other late *gesaku* writers of dialogue-based fiction maintained closed contact with performers of *rakugo*. Sanba's *kokkeibon* were basically transcriptions and recreations of *rakugo* performances. Sanba

borrowed topics and characters and rhythms of the spoken language from the *rakugo* performers; he also learned his techniques for writing realistic dialogue and bringing his characters to life in the *sharebon* and *dangibon* tradition.⁴⁵

In *Shikitei Zakki*, Sanba himself described how he started to write *Ukiyoburo*:

One evening in Utagawa Toyokuni's lodgings, we listened to Sanshôtei Karku telling *rakugo* stories..... Beside me that evening, laughing as hard as I was, sat a publisher. Greedy as ever, he suddenly asked me if I would put something together based on these stories of the public bath, leaving out the parts about the licensed quarter and emphasizing the humor in commonplace people and events. I agreed to try.⁴⁶

I would like to mention here that the writers before Sanba, whether of fiction or drama, had wholly neglected living speech or had been unconscious of its power. Sanba often substituted phonetic spellings for *kana* orthography because they were easier for women and children to read. Also such phonetically “uncorrected spellings” were “corrected” in his dialogues. He was not so consistent to supply “correct” modernized spelling. Some of the examples are as follows: historical *kana* forms as ‘*kaharu* かはる’ for ‘*kawaru* かわる,’ ‘*mahe* まへ’ for ‘*mae* まえ,’ and ‘*yafu* やふ’ for ‘*yô* よう.’ Another example is the “g” sound. To the Edo native’s ear, an intervocalic sound “g” was properly nasalized. A sound like the medial “g” of standard English “ringing,” the “ng” of the International Phonetic Alphabet. To distinguish the regular “g” sound and “ng” of Edo speech, Sanba had written them down using a special diacritical mark,

⁴⁵ The *dangibon* was explicitly modeled on the sermons of street-corner preachers, but it appears that early *dangibon* were not only to write, but also to use for performing sermons. Many of them are known as *kôshaku*, which in its original form consisted of recitations of military and historical tales and fables. One of the classics of *dangibon* is Hiraga Gennai’s *Fûrai Shidôken* (An Up to Date Biography of Shidôken), 1763.

⁴⁶ Translation cited in Leutner, *Shikitei Sanba and the Comic Tradition in Edo Fiction*, 128. Primary source in preface ‘authors note’ *Ukiyoburo* Book I, ed. Nakamura Michio (Iwanami Shoten, 1957), 34-5.

evidently of his own creation, using the small circle of regular kana: “ka ki ku ke ko” are written as “か° き° く° け° こ°.” In certain places in Edo speech (and in the other dialects), what was in the historically dominant system, “sa さ” was pronounced as “tsa っあ.” Sanba marked such “sa” syllables with a small circle or open dot written as “さ°.” Sanba’s invention of these new diacritical marks has left no traces in modern orthography, but they stand as testimony to his commitment to phonetic accuracy. He did not use his “tsa っあ” or “tso っお” diacritics consistently, although even an occasional use of “tse っえ” or “tso っお” to distinguish from “se せ” or “so そ” are also found in *Ukiyoburo*.

Characters in *Ukiyoburo* spoke a broad variety of dialects. Sanba had to not only find a method to represent their ways of speech accurately, but also to portray what the characters said in such a way that it would be intelligible to his readers.

It was not as a philologist or linguist, however, but as a writer that Sanba devoted so much attention to these seemingly mundane matters of spelling and dialectology. Living in Edo, a city that was a magnet for immigrants and transients from all over Japan, Sanba saw speech as uniquely revealing of peoples’ characters. How you spoke said nearly as much about where you came from, what you did, or what you thought of yourself. In short, who you were was reflected in what you spoke about and how you said it. It might just as well be said of any culture, not just 19th century Japanese, that style and content were virtually inseparable aspects of conversation; what is special about *Ukiyoburo* and its author was Sanba’s keen ear and the historical circumstances that gave him both a written language flexible enough to record the significant details of speech naturally, and an audience free of expectations for what written dialects must look like.

The title *Ukiyoburo* suggests that Sanba is writing about a world in a public bath as diverse as a “floating world” at large. Here, *Ukiyo* is being used to mean “urban life,” the real world of the book-buying literate classes as opposed to the world of romance and fantasy. *Ukiyoburo* thus presents a slice of life, but its world is surprisingly varied. Every age from children to the elderly are represented, as are people from the north to the south. And remarkably for a work of its time, the sexes have equal time, two books apiece for men and women.

As a conclusion, a survey of his personal life and professional career specifies the social and professional world of early 19th century’s writer’s world to us. Some biographical sources dealing with Sanba’s life are a little scarce, yet it is clear that he was highly representative of his generation of writers. As a member of the *chônin* class, Sanba was typical of his fellow writers, compared to the previous generation of *gesaku* writer who were from the *samurai* class.

Shikitei Sanba and *Nenashigusa yume monogatari*

Shikitei Sanba published *Nenashigusa yume monogatari* (The Dream Tale of Rootless Weeds), a total of three volumes in 1809 (Bunka 6th) when he was most active as a *gôkan* writer. The publisher was Shuhôdô Ômiya Genkurô at 2 cho-me Kayamachi Asakusa, Tokyo. The size of the book was 18 cm x12.7 cm, a total of thirty pages. Thirty pages included a preface, two opening illustrated pages and the main text was twenty-seven pages with illustrations. The total number of pages in this book using the Japanese system was 15 *chô*, or thirty pages. The illustrator of this work was Katsukawa Shuntei 勝川春亭(1770-1820), known as a disciple of Katsukawa Haruhide 勝川春英. His real

name was Yamaguchi Chôjûrô 山口長十郎, born in 1770 (Meiwa 7) and dying in 1820 (Bunsei 3) at the age of fifty-one years. He was mainly active from 1780 to 1810, with many of his illustrations still extant.

Nenashigusa yume momogatari (The Dream Tale of Rootless Weeds) was categorized as a *gôkan*, yet this work was quite different from typical *gôkan* because it was a parody of a revenge story and the humorous style was succeeded in the *kibyôshi* tradition. In the last page of the book, it was noted that this story was based on a *kibyôshi* story by Shiba Zenkô 芝全交(1750-1793).⁴⁷ *Nenashigusa yume monogatari* was not the original. From 1 *chô* to 10 *chô* (pages 4 to 21) of *Nenashigusa yume monogatari* were printed as *Oya no kataki* おやのかたき (Revenge of the Parents) and from 11 *chô* to 15 *chô* (pages 22 to 30) were printed as *Utsuke no hajimari* うつけのはじまり (The Foolish Act). No one knows what happened in the process of printing, but it was certain that Shikitei Sanba started to write this book as *Oya no kataki* and changed to *Utsuke no hajimari* for the last third of the story. He chose *Nenashigusa yume monogatari* for his final title, so this is an example of a book co-existing with three titles. This example shows us a glimpse of the complicated woodblock print process for the Edo book industry.

The main idea of *Nenashigusa yume monogatari* was the parody of popular revenge stories. The main character of the story, Nanzaemon 何左衛門 (some zaemon)

⁴⁷ In the last page of the story, Shikitei Sanba notes the source of this book is from Shiba Zenkô, *Oya no kataki arawaruru no yume*, published in 1789 (Kansei 1). Tanahashi points out that *Nenashihuwa yume monogatari* has adaptation scenes from Santô Kyôden's *kiybôshi*, *Fukushû ato no matsuri*, 1789 (Tenmei 8). See Tanahashi Masahiro, *Shikitei Sanba* (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1994), 168.

has read too many revenge stories and is dreaming of having a real revenge experience. Since Nanzaemon has no family, he cannot take revenge for the sake of a family business. He decides that he can be the enemy of someone so that the enemy will come after him. Nanzaemon kills a retainer of a master swordsman, and demands that he seek him out to have a match. The master of swords, Mononosuke 物の助, is a complete coward and lazy in his nature.⁴⁸ He hides himself with his wife so that he does not find Nanzaemon and kill him. In the end, Nanzaemon and Mononosuke finally meet and have a death match. At the end of the story, the presumed dead retainer appears from nowhere and tells both of them that the entire ploy was a set up so that his master Mononosuke could straighten up his bad nature. Nanzaemon realizes the stupidity of revenge and Mononosuke changes his nature to be a real *samurai* and everyone lives happily ever after. The presumed dead retainer reappears at the end of the story in an information gap technique used by author, which was a popular style of *gōkan* at the time. Shikitei Sanba ends this story with congratulations that no one died, which shows sarcasm on the part of the author toward popular brutal *gōkan* stories.

This story parodies popular revenge fiction. Mononosuke wants to have a real revenge experience, like in his dreams, but the ghost and killing action only happen in the fictional world and not in the real living world. Nanzaemon was continuously disappointed with his revenge experience. Two opening illustrations express Shikitei Sanba's criticism for typical characters of serious revenge stories, such as ghosts, skeletons, fire of ghosts and beautiful courtesans. Imanaka Hiroshi points out that this

⁴⁸ Mono no suke would suggest *mono no fu* 武士 (*samurai*), which indicated a twist of humor by the author, because Mononosuke's character was opposite of *mono no fu* (*samurai*) and set as a coward.

sarcasm was targeted particularly at Takizawa Bakin and his *yomihon* popularity.⁴⁹

Shikitei Sanba criticizes cruel revenge stories in this parody, while he himself wrote an ordinary gory revenge story the following year. To make living as a *gesaku* writer, Shikitei Sanba needed to meet the demands of readers and society.

⁴⁹ For more see the bibliographical introduction in reprints of *Nenashigusa yume monogatari*. Ôedo Bunko, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Edo Geijitsusha, 1959), 4.

CONCLUSION

In the history of Japanese literature, the playful fiction *gesaku* from the Edo period stands out as a unique format of illustrations and text that is still fascinating to readers today. *Gesaku* was the new literature style developed around Edo city life, with contemporary urban townspeople's culture being an integral part of the writing. Unlike the literature of other genres, the first creators of *gesaku* were from the *samurai* class, their high level of literacy contributed to this literature form. *Samurai* class writers expressed their frustrations in the ironic prose and humorous compositions of *gesaku*. In early *gesaku*, the satire tone and humorous attitudes that can be found in *kibyōshi* became the most fashionable mode of expression of the townspeople of Edo. The Kansei Reforms in 1787-93 changed the style of *gesaku*. Typical of late *gesaku* was the disappearance of the earlier intellectual sophistication and accordance with official Confucianist ethics. Late *gesaku* coincides with the performing arts such as *kabuki*, *jōruri*, *rakugo* and book illustrations with popular *ukiyo-e* illustrators, helping it to achieve immense popularity, creating for the first time in Japan a broad reading public for fiction. However, the commercialization of literature also mass produced entertainment.

Although *gesaku* fiction is divided into various categories according to its distinctive characteristics and readership, there are some common characteristics to all varieties. The language of *gesaku* is usually contemporary colloquial in the conversational parts and a standard Tokugawa literary style in the narrative descriptions. This language style was best represented in the work *ninjyōbon* by Tamenaga Shunsui. The Meiji writers who promoted the *genbun itchi* movement, Futabatei Shimei,

Tsubouchi Shōyō, and the Friends of the Ink-pot (*kenyūsha*) learned the technique of vernacular dialogue from reading Shikitei Sanba, Tamenaga Shunsui and other Edo *gesaku* writers. However, the unique elements of Edo *gesaku* were gradually receding and the format became extinct due to the transformation of printing systems. The Edo *gesaku* language styles could now be found in the style of Tsubouchi Shōyō and Futabatei Shimei.

A uniqueness of Edo *gesaku*, especially in *gōkan*, is the visual format. The narrative text is scribbled on every open space around the illustration, almost creating an art form on every page. It creates an extremely crowded look for the readers. Because modern printing systems replace this narrative text with type face, it is difficult to revive the attraction towards the woodblock prints of Edo *gesaku* books. Since I had an opportunity to learn Edo period calligraphy and have access to the text online, I was able to translate one of Shikitei Sanba's *gōkan*. It was exciting for me to read original text and find the humorous twists in the story. I hope more Edo *gesaku* literature will be published with original illustrations and transcribed into modern Japanese, so that more modern Japanese readers can enjoy the readings from the Edo *gesaku* period.

PART TWO

ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF *NENASHIGUSA YUME MONOGATARI*

(THE DREAM TALE OF ROOTLESS WEEDS, 1809)

無根草夢談

夢子重

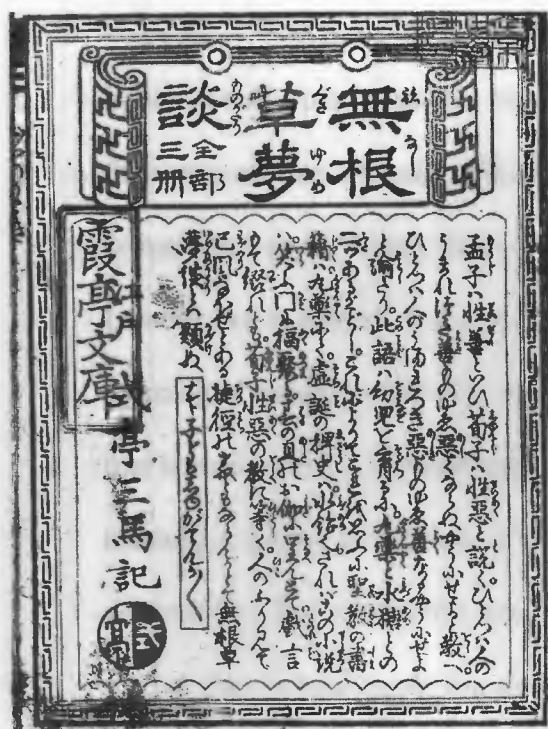
三月外

A 00

713



(Illustration page 1: Preface transcription)



もうし せいぜん しゅんじ
孟子は性善といひ 荀子

せいあく と ひと
は性悪と説く。ひとつは人のう

よき あし
まれつき善もののゆゑ 悪くな

おし
らぬようにせよと教へ。ひとつ

あしき
は人のうまれつき 悪もののゆゑ

よく さとし
善なるようにせよと諭たり。

このことば ようじ そだて
此語は 幼児を育るに。

ぐわんやく みずあめ ふた
丸薬と水糖との二つあるが

おも
ごとし。これによりてこれを思

せいきやう しよじゃく ぐわんやく そらごと ゑぞうし みずあめ
ふに 聖教の書籍は。丸薬にて。虚誕の 稗史は。水飴なり。

せうせつ わら かど ふく はる あした とぎ そなへ
さればこの小説は。笑ふ門に福 あつまる。春の旦の お伽に呈ん

たはれごと つづ じゅんせいあく おしへ ひとし ひと み
とて。戯言もて 綴れども。荀子性悪の 教に等く。人のふり見

わがふり ちかみち おしへ ねなしぐさゆめものがたり
て 己風なほせとある 捷徑の教ともならんかとて 根無草夢談

なずけ
とは題ぬ。 ナントこどもしゆ がてんか がてんか。

江戸式亭三馬記

㊦=式亭

(Page 1: Preface translation)

Mencius preached that human nature is fundamentally good; Xunzi

taught that human nature is fundamentally depraved. One teaches us not to bend

the innate goodness of our human nature, and one teaches us try to improve our

evil nature to be good. These two teachings are used in the same way that parents use bitter medicine and sweet candy in raising their children. It is like saying that books of holy doctrine are the bitter medicine and illustrated books of fiction are the sweet candies. Therefore this little tale⁵⁰ will bring you happiness as in the proverb that says, “Happy faces in the house bring real happiness to the house.” I would like to publish this little story as one of the fairy tales of a fine spring morning. I composed the silly words of this tale according to Xunzi’s teaching that human nature is fundamentally depraved. This little tale was a shorter way of teaching a lesson, an example of other people’s bad behavior to watch and correct yourself by. So I named this work the Dream Tale of Rootless Weeds.

-Here children, do you understand? Oh yes, I’m sure you will.

Written by Shikitei Sanba of Edo.

【Picture】 The title of *Nenashigusa Yume Monogatari* (The Dream Tale of Rootless Weeds) is written in large font with a phonetic guide with hiragana on the top one third of the page. The title is illustrated in the middle of opened scroll with a design of Buddhist *manji* (swastikas) around the edges. Also, it is noted as having a total of three volumes.

The preface text is written in the remaining two thirds of the pages with a simple line around the text. The preface text includes punctuation, using a small circle beside the last letter of each sentence. (the main text, by contrast, does not have any punctuation). The last sentence is written in a colloquial style, as if talking to children, and highlighted

⁵⁰ Shôsetsu 小説 is used by the author here. Shôsetsu translated as “novel” during Meiji period, the original meaning of the word was “small tales, or little stories” when first introduced from China during the Edo period.

in square. This suggests that this story is pretends to be written for children, although actually for adults. At the end of paragraph, after Shikitei Sanba's name, there is a circular seal with his name.

(Illustration page 2 and 3: kuchie, opening picture pages)



Chinese-style borders are all around the two pages. The border that says, “見てくれわく Border of Exaggeration.” There is a parody of a Chinese poem, that repeats some, some in Chinese characters 何何何何, which claims to be similar to be a Soething poem of the Song Dynasty by Someone of the Mountain.⁵¹

⁵¹ Sng Dynasty, 960-1270. It is divided into South Song and North Song. During Song Dynasty, wood blocks were invented and increased literacy. Neo-Confucianism with Zhuxi, literature and poetry writing was also flourished.

【Picture: page 2】 Illustration of *samurai*, a typical hero type of a male character holding up a sword and looking up and to the left in a Kabuki style *mie* pose: ⁵² he is holding and sitting on a skeleton, with the title “やうすありげな口ゑ plausible illustration.” Up in the air, a ghost floating title next to is said “こけおどしの聯句^{れんく} showing off poems”⁵³, “何ぞといふがいこつ Speaking Skeleton” and next to a female ghost titled as “お定まりのゆうれい^{さだ} The usual character, ghost”. These are typical revenge story characters that Shikitei makes fun of in this story.

【Picture: page 3】 Illustration of a high-ranked courtesan holding a sword with the title “ごあいきょうの女ゑ A sexy Babe.” Next to her is “ghost fire” title “おどかしのいんくわ a ghost fire for to surprise you.”⁵⁴ Above the illustration, there is a parody of a Japanese *renga* poem with the inscription “引きうたの出たらめ a nonsense reference poem.” is written. The transcription of poem is as follows: ちはやぶる 卯づき ようか 千早振 卯づき 八日は

きち 吉にちよ かみさけむしを せいばいぞする はつゆき うめ あと いぬ 初雪や 梅のあし跡 犬のはな

⁵² *Mie* “See-do” is a nonrealistic, sculpture, dance-like pose taken by one or more actors at a climactic moment in a play to make a powerful impression in *kabuki*. From its earliest days, *kabuki* was intimately bound up with highly stylized pictorial representations of its performance, as in the illustrated posters and that advertised productions.

⁵³ *Renku* is a style of *haikai* poem compiling several individual phrases together.

⁵⁴ *Inka(inkwa)* 陰火 is blue flames used in *kabuki* theater when ghost appear.

Chihayaburu⁵⁵
 Uzuki yôka wa
 Kichi jitsu yo
 Kamisagemushi wo
 Seibai zo suru

In the strong will of
 the Fourth month,
 the eighth is such a lucky day
 All the maggots in the toilet bowl
 have to be killed

Hatsuyuki ya
 Ume no ashiato
 Inu no hana

First snow of the year
 shows plum flower footfalls:
 Dog paws' doggie flowers

At the end of the poem, ^{うめくさ}埋草 (Buried Weeds) is written as the author's name. This

poem is used as *Hikiuta*.⁵⁶ The reason here is titled as '引きうたのでたらめ a poem of nonsense', meaning this poem is a parody of one of the poems by Ariwara no Narihira from *The Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets*. The first word *chihayaburu* is a 'pillow word' for *kami* or *uji*, which means god or lineage. In the second of the three links Shikitei Sanba picks up on the word *uji* 蛆 in another meaning maggot, and uses *kami* in the word *kamisagemushi*. *Kamisagemushi* are the maggots that grow in a toilet bowl. It was a custom that on the morning of the eighth day of the Fourth month people pasted in the bathroom a poem written in black ink made with sweet tea, as "From this year, April eighth is a good day because all the nasty maggots will be killed." The first part of this poem is humorous parody of a famous Ariwara no Narihira poem to twist humor into a well-known custom of 'maggots of toilet bowl' which makes everybody laugh.

The second line of this poem 'foot prints of plum flower' actually means footprints by dog paws, which look like plum flower shapes. Shikitei Sanba tricked

⁵⁵ *Chihayaburu* 千早振 is the "pillow word" for *kami*, god 神 or *uji*, lineage 氏.

⁵⁶ *Hikiuta* is one of the techniques uses in literature to quote famous classical poems in the beginning of the story or paragraph so that it expresses author's additional idea and thoughts to the main text.

readers with the visual image of dog paw prints being as plum flowers, expressing that 'plum foot prints' as being like 'dog flower'. I am not quite sure about the relation between the first section and second section of the poem. However, that is why this is titled as 'nonsense'. The use of the name 'Umekusa' is also intend as parody: contrasts with the story's title 'Nenashi gusa, rootless weeds.' Also a part of the word *ume* from 'umekusa' is rhymed with 'plum/ume' from the second section of poem 'ume no ashiato'. So, this poem is nothing but a random parody, a piece of nonsense and using rhymes and word play from old poems to make readers smile.

(Illustration page 4 and 5: transcription)



じんおうなんだいなんでんのう おんとき
 人王何代何天王の御時 何とかいふ国のそんじょそこに 何とか申して
 やんごとなき おんかたぞましきける。その^{しんかなに}臣下^{なんざえもん}何の何左衛門 といふもの

ありけり。このりうこうの かたきうち よみぶんをこのみて しんばんさへ
うりだせば かしほんのふうきり ごふかんの はつうりをもとめて いちばん
にみることを てがらとしければ 版元作者画工のためには けっこうなる
おとくいさまなり。さればこの何左衛門 いよいよよみぶんに とりかたまり
て ふうぞくも^{とうせい}当世は やばらしい ひねってむかしふうがよいと ひやくにち^{ひやくにち}百
かづら たてがみにて むなだかおび ^{だいしょう}大 ^{しろ}小 もぱっぱのさめざや 白いとに
てまきたる^{なが}長つかに ^{かど}角つばこしらへ くわんぬきざし すりばくのいなずま
を もようどりし みちかばおりはかまのそば たかくとりて あみかさかぶ
り あしにはすねかくしの 紙をあて^{とも}供のやつも つくりひげに ながわきざ
し ^{もん}紋にはまるに ^{よし}吉の字 ^{うめ}丸に梅ばちあるひは ^{つのじ}角字の^{ごしょ}五所もんは すべて
たんぜんのこしらへにて みちなかを^{ろっぽう}六法ふって あるくなど 世の中の人
はばかものか きちがいかとあきるをもかまわず ^{いえ}家にあるときは ことばづ
かいも ちかごろのよみほんの ^{ことば}詞に ならひ「やよ八よ あさげた たべざ
らん。さきに りうきゅういもの ^{おお}大きやかなるを はいの^{なか}中に うちくべて
とくとくゆきね。 これよりはなしふたつにわかる。いかに^{はなこ}花子やおはす。お
んみ^{いま}今のほど ^{そと}外のかたにつと^{いで}出つるが ほどなくがやがやと たかやかに こ
ゑたてつ さやさやとおとのしつるはなぞのものぞ このすゑにはなしなし。
それはさておき ^{いま}今は^{なん}何の^{こと}事ぞ。こはいかにせん めめしきわざかな。おのれ
は はらへりて いともいとも ひもじくぞはべる このはらいかなるぞ。
^{かつげくわい}且^{ぶんかい}下回の^{しも}分解をきけ。 はなし下にあらず。」などと よみぶんのこじつ
け詞をしやべるゆゑ ^{ひやうちう}標注 か ^{ぼうちゆう}傍注 か おししょうさまへ おこうしゃ

くをねがわねば根からわからず。しんざんの^{げなん}下男もなじむにつれて だんなの
ことばがうつりて 「これこれ お^{さん}三どの ^{わせつ}話説す。」などといひ出してざい
しょばなしをすれば お三もまけずに ^{こじんときててよし}古人説得^{うた}好などとやらかし「詩あり
^{しやう}証とす。たかい山から戸にぞこ見ればころころ ねんころりよ。」などと見
^{よう}みまねに よみぶんで みしらせる。

通行人：「よっぼどのだりむくれだはへ。」

何左衛門：「すみだ川のわたしもりにえぼうしぬばかまを きせて なうなう
御ふね まみらせよう などとよばせたい とかく^{こが}古雅あいすべしじゃ。」

下男：「ハイハイ うべなりうべなり うべうべでござります。」

(Page 4 and 5: narrative translation) Sometime ago, in some reign of some Emperor,
there was an honorable lord named Somebody who lived in some country and
place somewhere. There was a man named Nanzaemon (Mr. Something) who
was the honorable lord's retainer. This man loved to read popular revenge stories
(*yomihon*): he prided himself that he was always the first one to purchase the
latest *gōkan* and that he rented books on the very first day they were available.
Indeed, for authors and illustrators, he was a very special customer. Eventually,
he was deeply involved in the 'revenge *yomihon* world.' As he read them, his
fashion and clothing imitated the old 'revenge style.' He fixed his hair as in the
old thief style,⁵⁷ tied his sash high on his chest, had a special-order sword made
with a long hilt in shark skin in a thunder pattern: he held his sword horizontally

⁵⁷ *Hyakunichi kazura* 百日鬘 is a male wig and refer to the style of hair that gives the impression that the wearer has not shaved his pate for 100 days. Long hair stands up bristle-like from the crown.

in the style of a *kannuki zashi* gate bolt: he tacked up his kimono so it was short, wore a braided-straw hat, and used white paper for his leggings. He was accompanied by a servant who was also dressed in old-fashioned clothing, had a fake mustache, held a long sword, and wore as a crest on his kimono sleeves a letter 吉 lucky in circle or potted plum. All their clothes were *tanzen*⁵⁸ style and they walked on the street in the manner of Kabuki *Roppô*.⁵⁹ People laughed and treated them as idiots or crazy, but they did not care at all. At home, he spoke in *yomihon* style which did not make any sense to anyone. It would be like this, “Ho Hachisuke, thou shall not eat breakfast. First bake me a large potato in the ashes, off you go now, make haste. From this page, the story goes into two parts. Here Hanako, how hast thou been? When she goes outside, many of the voices are very loud. Who do you think they are? I guess this story has no end. Oh well, I am still hungry and nearly starved to death. Therefore, you need to listen to the end of part two and there is no point to this story.” Because Nanzaemon spoke far-fetched phrases using dialogues from *yomihon* no one could understand what he said, unless you had footnotes with each word, or a teacher explained them to you. Even Nanzaemon’s new servant got used to his master’s weird speech and he also started to talk in *yomihon* style as well. For example, “Dear Osan, I shall speak from now on.” Then he started chit-chatting about nothing. Osan too, not to be out done responded to his speech in such nonsensical *yomihon* style poems

⁵⁸ *Tanzen* 丹前 means fashionable clothing and hair worn by bath house addicts.

⁵⁹ *Roppô* 六方 means “six directions”, a highly stylized *hanamichi* exit. As the character walks or bounds off, he makes exaggerated movement with his feet and arms, which are seemingly extended in all six directions (heaven, earth, east, west, north and south).

as “The old wise man talked about good things” and went on “The poem was to prove the truth. If you peeked at the bottom of the valley from on top of a high mountain, singing a song to a baby, hush little baby don’t say a word.” Osan tried her best to imitate *yomihon* style in her speech, yet made no sense.

(Page 4 and 5: dialogue translation)

Passenger: “They must be really drunk.” ⁶⁰

Nanzaemon: “I would love to see the boat carrier of Sumida river dressed in a court noble’s hat and pants and to order him, ‘Row slowly now’ or something like that. Old fashioned elegance is the best, don’t you think?”

Servant: “Very true, very true, I totally agree with you my master.” ⁶¹

【Picture】 Picture of page 4 shows the front of a book store, indicated by the hanging curtain of the store with diagonally crossed rolled books: one man looking at Nanzaemon is stepping out from the curtain. This man is dressed like a townsman, possibly a worker at the bookstore. Two men dressed like builders with a disguised expression on their faces are looking at Nanzaemon and his servant’s outrageous outfits. A woman is passing by with a servant carrying a parcel and talking about Nanzaemon’s crazy act. The picture on page 5 is Nanzaemon standing in a *kabuki, mie* pose with his and the servant squatting down, looking up at Nanzaemon, his master.

⁶⁰ *darimukure* means “drunk” in Edo period language.

⁶¹ *Ubenari*, means agree to the reasonable, understandable opinion.



さても何左衛門は ますます

よみほんにかたまり この上は何とぞ
正じんのかたきうちをして 見たく思
ひしが しんるいもなき身なれば 敵
をうたうといふあてのなし。いつその
事おれが ^{かたき}敵 もちになる方がちかみち
なり。ちかごろのゑぞうしは ^{かたきやく}敵役は
くらいやのきどりでかかれるゆゑ ま
んざらでもなし。何とぞいこんをふく

む しかたがありそうな物と あまたのそうしをさがすに けんじゅうしょう
ぶのいこんがたくさんなり。さらば ^{どうかちゆう}同 ^{ものが}家中 ^{すけ}物賀ものの助といふ けんじ
ゅうしはんの人と立ちあいしば まけるはしれたことなりと このよしをとの
へ ねがひければ 「いらざる事」とありてゆるし ^{たま}給はず せんかたなく

こひのいしゆに のりかへて 物の助が妻のお何といふ かの

^{ちんぎょらくがんへいげつしうくわ}
沈魚落雁閉月羞花といふ しるものでもなけれども こいつをくどいたら

^{おつと}
夫トのある身とかなんとかいふてふりつけるだらうと くどきければお何は

あんのごとく ^{おつと}「夫ト物の助へ たたぬ」と古風なふりつけもんくに 何左衛門が

心のうちまづ ^{かたきうち}敵 ^{おおい}討 できた と 大 によろこぶ。

(Page 6: narrative translation) Ever since Nanzaemon had entered into the world of *yomihon*, he had desired to experience a real vendetta for himself. Unfortunately he did not have any family members, so he had no reason to take revenge for a family matter. He thought about the easiest way to acquire an enemy. Since the villain's role, *katakiyaku*,⁶² in recent illustrated revenge stories⁶³ were modeled after the famous Kabuki actor, Matsumoto Kôshiro,⁶⁴ and it would be quite a cool role to play. He searched in stories published lately for an appropriate cause for him to have a grudge. The most typical grudges were related to matches between swordsmen. He tried to set up a sword fight with his colleague, Monoga Mononosuke (Mr. Such-and-Such), who was a master swordsman. Nanzaemon asked his lord for permission to have a match, yet was denied because of "There is no need to hold such a meaningless match." In order to create a reason for revenge, he changed the topic of his vendetta from swordsmanship to romance, then approached Mononosuke's wife, whose name was Onani (A-what). Though Onani was not a beautiful woman, - at least not as in expression *chingyo rakugan heigetsu syûka*,⁶⁵ Nanzaemon counted on her to reject him because an affair would be immoral to her husband. Nanzaemon made an advance to her, and as

⁶² *Katakiyaku* 敵役 is actors who specialize villains in *kabuki*, and the roles themselves. During the Genroku period (1688-1703) they were called *tekiyaku*, *akunagata*, or *iyagata*. The word *katakiyaku* is being of later derivation.

⁶³ The author called them *ezôshi* here.

⁶⁴ *Kôraiya* 高麗屋 is nickname or business family name (*yagô* 屋号) for *kabuki* actor Matsumoto Kôshirô and the Matsumoto family.

⁶⁵ 沈魚落雁(*chingyo rakugan*) is a phrase describing the beautiful woman, originally written in *Zhaung zi*.

planned Onani felt guilty about her husband and said in the typical phrases of cheap soap opera, "Oh, I am married. I don't know what to say to my husband!" Nanzaemon was pleased to hear this, thinking he had a good reason to claim revenge at last.

【Picture】 Nanzaemon is sitting down in the middle of a nice Japanese style room, holding Onani's left hand as if he trying draw Onani to his breast. However, Onani puts her right hand against Nanzaemon, showing that she is refusing his intentions. Each character has one letter circled indicating their names. Nanzaemon is dressed in a black kimono with a sword on his left hip, and has fixed his hair in Kabuki thief style. Onani is dressed in a long-sleeved kimono with a pretty flower pattern on it: her hair is styled in *marumage*, typical of a married woman, decorated with a couple of ornamental hairpins.

(Illustration page 7: transcription)



恋のいこんにて 物之介をうつ
 ところなれど ひよつとまけてはかぶ
 じまいと思ひ どうしははづみやら物
 之助がわかとうに ^{ものべえ}物兵衛といふもの
 をまちぶせし 何のくもなく
 さつがい いえじゅうだい まさむね
 せつがいして いへ重代の正宗の
 かたな か い ち ゆ う かねひゃくりょう
 刀 とくわいちゅうの 金 百 両
 これはほしくなくともぜひうばいひと

らねば 敵めかぬと くわいちゅうしてしがいを 谷へけおとし かねてかき
おいたる しょうこの一通を くらやみでわかるようにひきちらし むかひの
やつらが来たらば ^{はこちょうちん} はこでうちんへ しゅりけんばったりすぐに ちょんちょ
ん この所 ひやうしまくと 思ひのほか むかひの人も見えぬゆゑ きのき
かねへやつらだと こごとをいひながら ゆるゆるとにげさりぬ

何左衛門：「ここはぎっくりとよこむきのにらみがいい でんぼうのうれしが
るやつだ」

物兵衛：「エエ、むねんな。だましうちとはひけうものめ」と物兵衛もかたき
うちにはくろううとと 見えて せりふまわしのもんきりかたは きついもの
なり。

何左衛門：「だまってくだばれ。なんまい」

物兵衛：「だぶつ」

(Page 7: narrative translation) Nanzaemon planned to kill Mononosuke due to his
jealous love for Mononosuke's wife Onani. But he was concerned that things
might go wrong and he – end of story.⁶⁶ In the end, he waited in ambush for
Mononosuke's retainer, Monobei, and killed him without any trouble. He stole
the family heirloom sword, a Masamune and one hundred ryô (gold pieces) from
Mononosuke's inside pocket. Actually he didn't want to go into Monobei's
pocket, but he thought he should look like an authentically bad thief: so he took
the money and kicked the body into a gorge. He took out a letter that he had

⁶⁶ *kabujimai* 株仕舞 means all the stock is taken over by someone else. It means the end of situation.

prepared in advance, and spread it across the road⁶⁷ so that Monobei's fellow would find it even in the dark. Then he waited: the moment Monobei's fellow showed up, he would throw a hand-knife at the paper lantern just like in the famous revenge story. That would cue the music and the closing credits⁶⁸ --but no one showed up! He grumbled "How inconsiderate!" and slowly made good his escape.

(Page 7: dialogue translation)

Nanzaemon: "It is best to show off here with a sharp sideways look. The fan⁶⁹ would love it!"

"You go to hell quietly! Nama mi."

Monobei: "...da butsu"

"You ambushed me, you bastard!" (Monobei seems not to be an expert on revenge scripts, and it is painful to listen to his cheap dialogue.)

【Picture】 Monobei lies down on his back, one sandal off, both hands sticking out in the air. His sword lies next to him yet he is not able to grab it because Nanzaemon has stepped on top of him. Nanzaemon is standing in an ostentatiously manly posture and Monobei also lies in an exaggeratedly flung out way. This is a highly stylized illustration, like a kabuki *mie* pose.

⁶⁷ Letters in Edo period was written in rolled paper.

⁶⁸ *Hyôshimaku* 拍子幕 is the end of the scenes hitting blocks together for the cue to close the curtain.

⁶⁹ *Denbou* 伝法 is a slang word for theater addicts, especially those who peek at plays from outside for free.



おいのちしやくようもうすひとふだのこと
御命借用申一札之事

まさむねとう いちこし きんひゃくりょう ただ こぼなり
一、 正宗刀 一腰 一、 金 百 両 但し小判也

みぎ われらてきもち あいな たびしんぐわん つき せんだつ なに
右は我等敵持に相成り 度 心 願 に付 先達お何どのへむたいの よこれ

そうろう いま なん いこんもで きもうさずなんぎいたしそうろう
んぼいたし 候 ども 今においては何の遺恨出来不申難儀 致 候 間

たびきでんごけらい おんいのち しやくよう
この度貴殿御家来の 御 命 よんどころなく 借 用 いたし しがいをかくし

た そうろうどころしょうじつなり ふたしなおいりようのせつ われらのいのち
立ちのき 候 所 実 正 也 みぎ二品御入用節は 我等 命ともろと

ちががなくへんさいべくしそうろう とうかいどう のぼ みち
も無相違返済可仕候 東 海 道 をかみがたすぢへとにげ登り 道すがら

そうろう よう まちう もう そうろう あいな たけやらい
ずいぶんめだち 候 様 いたし待受け申し 候 相成るべくは 竹矢来の

もうし しろしょうぞく こてすね
うちにて うたれ 申 たく候 白 装 束 小手脛あて くさりかたびらの

たぐいさんにんまえ 類 三人 前 われら かね ようい そうろう いつ おんま あ そうろう
我方にて兼て用意いたし 候 何時にても御間に合い 候

きでんがた おん 貴殿方にて 御したくにおよばじ まんいちよこあ すけだち もう もの
万一横合いより 助太刀など申す者

そうろう われら いで さっそく らちあ そうろうのうえ う
御座 候 はば 我等かり出 早速 埒明け 候 上 いさぎよく 打たれ

きでんすこ もごくろうあいかけもうすまじきそうろう すなわちごにちのためけんのごとし
貴殿少し茂御苦勞相掛申間敷候。 為 後 日 乃 如 件⁷⁰

ものがもののすけ
物賀物乃助 殿

月日 なんのなんざ もん
何野何左ゑ 〇

(Page 8 and 9: narrative transcription)

物賀物之介 お何もろとも用じありて この夜この所へ来たりしが の
りにすべりてころぶといふこともなく もちろんしがいは見えぬゆゑ けつま
づいて 「こりやおや人何者のしわざ」ともいわれず されども証拠の一通は
めくらにもしれるやうに みちなかへひきちらしてありしゆゑ ちょうちんこ
れへとけらいにもたせてかの一通をちらき見れば けらいをうたれしもんごん
ゆゑ ふうふは おおきにあきればてこぶしをにぎるくちおしなみだといふ所
なれど このふうふ とんだあきらめのはやいものにて 「そんならうつて立
ちのいたか どうするものだ しかたがねへ ままよ」などときせるでもおと
したやうにへいきであれば かかあどのもおなじくやくしゃにて だい

しゅうたん
しうたんもなく 「それだからわたしがふだんから いはねへことか。それみ

なせへ しがいまでなくしなすった。それでちつとこりるがいのさ。ほんに
けらいまでもちぎっぺいなしだ」といへば 物乃助「エエ、やかましい 女のし

⁷⁰ gojitsu 後日 is missing in the transcription text. See *Nenashigusa yumemonogatari* (repr. Edo geijitsusha, 1959) p.11.

ったこつちやねへ こざしでた うつちやつておけ おほかたすすはきにはで
るだらう」とおそろしくへいきであるからいい。

物之助「天に一つ あしもとに一つ たとひいづくにかくれんぼうするとて
たづねださでおくべきかと まづかういったものさ」

お何「おりやまあ どうせうせうといふ所だが どうするもんか やくおとし
だとあきらめやう」

家来「だんなさま、チトおせきなさい、おせきなさい」

(Page 8 and 9: translation of letter) To: Mr. Mono ga Mononosuke,

Letter: Announcement of taking of a person's life.

Items: *Masamune* Sword, One

One hundred *ryō*, in gold (NB: small coins only)

As to the above, I have desired to have an enemy for the longest time, and recently I forced the good lady Onani to love me. Until the present, I have been in difficult situation in that I could not have any grudge. At this time, I have taken your servant's life away, hid the body, and made my escape: these are the facts. Once you take my life the above two stolen items will be returned to your possession. I will make my escape by route of Tōkaidō (Eastern Seaboard road) in the direction of the capital, dressed in a quite outstanding outfit so that it will be hard to miss me on the way. When you find me, I will request to have a dual to the death with you behind bamboo fence (*take yarai*). I have already arranged for three sets of white kimono, leggings and chain mail jackets for us to wear for the occasion, they are available at any time, so you don't need to worry about

getting ready on your own. And if anyone offers to assist either of us, I will come forwards immediately to sort the matter out. I hope I am not asking too much trouble of you in this matter. Until such time I remain your humble servant.

Date

From: Nani no Nanzaemon

(Page 8 and 9: narrative translation) That night, Mono ga mononosuke and Onani both had some errands to do and came to the very scene. They did not slip over blood nor of course did they find the body, so the usual reaction, such as stumbling over the body and screaming, “Who did such a horrible thing?!” did not happen. Although the letter to them was scattered all over the road so that even a blind person would find it, they asked the servant to bring a lantern and read it.

Because the letter told of the retainer being killed, they should have reacted with astonishment and tears of chagrin, wringing their hands with frustration. However, this couple were both of the sort to simply resign themselves to the inevitable; he acted as if he had dropped his tobacco pipe or something saying, “Mononosuke has killed him and left here already, so there is nothing we can do about this.” His wife Onani too was well restrained and made barely a fuss: “This is why I’ve been telling you everyday, you are so careless and now you’ve gone and lost a body. You should learn a lesson here. You are so hopeless, you lost a retainer this time!” Mononosuke responded showing no sign

of concerns, “It’s nothing that a noisy woman like you needs to worry about, you busy body! Just leave it, and I’m sure it will come out in the wash!”⁷¹

(Page 8 and 9 dialogue translation)

Mononosuke: “Even you play hide and seek whether is in heaven or earth, should we look for him? I guess that’s what you say in a situation like this.”

Onani: “This is a no-win situation. It’s wise to give up and limit our losses.”

Servant: “Master, this is not the time for talking!”

【Picture】 In this print the content of the letter is framed in a box above the main illustration. The main event of this page is opening and reading the letter, so the narrative should be read first and then the letter.

⁷¹ *Susuhaki* 煤掃き is the big clean up event before New Years. “ohokata susuhaki niwa deru darou” was a popular phrase at the time. The same phrase is found in *kibyôshi*, *Kinkin sensei eiga no yume* by Koikawa Harumachi.



しゅうおやき^{きょうだい}うだいをうたれし

ものは ^{かたき}敵 とともに天をいただかずと
いふて かんなんしんくをして つひに
そのあだをぬくふ これ世の中の つね
とする所なり 物の助はけらいをうたれ
しゆゑ かたきうたずとゆふことを 思
ひつきければ とうかいどうへと たび
立ちしが でかけてはいやでもおうでも
しやうぶせねばならず たとひ敵が死ぬ

かくごでうたれて くれても 立ち会ふまでが めんどうだ 「かかどん、お
らあもう敵うちはいやになつた これからきそかいどうへでかけて 敵にあは
ぬようにせう 何左え門は おとにきこえたよわむしのたつじんだから うた
れたがってにげかくれせずにおいらを さがすだらう いっそ天うんにつきて
かへりうちになつたらば うるさくなくて よかろう」といへば 女房も「さ
ようさ わたしもさ」などと さつそくそうだんがきまる。

(お何) 「石ぼとけ こうしんづか ながれかんじょう そとぼなどといふ
どうぐだてが かたきうちらしくて うつりがよいねへ。」

(物のすけ) 「さうさ かつばをきないと 敵うちめかねへ はじめからしま
ひまでおなじ きものをきてゐる事だ。」

(Page 10: narrative translation) A person whose parents or brothers have been killed must bear any hardships until the enemy is avenged. That was the golden rule of revenge. Mononosuke's case was only a lost retainer, so he thought it was unnecessary to avenge the death. If he started his journey along the Tôkaidô, he might come across Nanzaemon and be required to participate in a death match. Even if Nanzaemon desired to be killed, it still would take a lot of work to arrange a death match. He said to his wife "Wife, I am already fed up with this revenge business. Let's head off along the Kiso kaidô⁷² so we can avoid meeting our enemy. That Nanzaemon was famous for being a weakling and a coward. He wants to be killed, so he will try to find us when he realizes we have escaped. He will give up running away and come to find me. If we run out of luck, and Nanzaemon finds and kills us, we will be done with this whole thing." His wife agreed, saying, "You are right. I think so too."

(Page 10: dialogue translation)

Mononosuke: "If we don't wear straw rain coats, nobody will think we are in the revenge business. I guess we can wear the same clothes from the beginning to end."

Onani: "The setting is just right for a great revenge story, with mournful things like a stone-carved Buddha (*ishibotoke*), a stone spirit mound (*kôshinzuka*),⁷³ stupas (*sotôba*), and a mourning-cloth stand *nagarekanjô*.⁷⁴

⁷² It is also known as *Kisoji*. It is a part of *chûsan dô* 中山道 and it is one of the major traveling route to go through the *Kiso* valley. *Kisoji* is usually from *Niekawa* to *Magome*.

⁷³ *Kôshini* belief in Japan became associated with the *Shintô* god and with the worship of the guardian deities known as *dôsojin*.

【Picture】 Mononosuke and Onani are sitting down on the side of a stream somewhere.

Onani's speech indicated the objects in the illustration around her and Mononosuke.

Ishibotoke is the Buddha figure carved in stone and located behind Mononosuke. Next to the *ishibotoke* is a *kôshinzuka*, a stone figure on a mound. It was thought to protect people against evil spirits and illness, and usually placed at the side of the road. *Nagare kanjô* is in the left corner by Mononosuke's feet. The long poles with letters written on them are called *Sotôba*: they are placed on tombs to mourn the dead. These items are used here to add a creepy atmosphere to the story, just like stage props.

⁷⁴ *Nagare kanjô* 流灌頂 is a piece of cloth tied into poles and set on the side of the river. It is a custom to pour water into the cloth in order to mourn for women who died when giving a birth. It is considered that until the cloth turns white, the dead soul will continue to wander. It is also called *hyakunichi zarashi*, hundred days of breaching cloths.



ここに何左え門は 物兵衛をうつ
てたちのき すぐさま とうかいどうへ
心ざしけるが まてどくらせど 物の助
がかたきうちにめぐりあはず よんどこ
ろなくうかうかと日をくらしけるが す
べて かたきうちには ひとりかふたり
ゆうれいのないことはなく どうぞして
ゆうれいに あひたいものだ と さひし
き所をえりぬいてあるけども たづねる
ときには ないものにて ゆうれいいま

だふつていにて みあたらずゆゑ さらば これからあまたの人をころさうと
思へども つみのない人をころすは せつしゃうと はたけのなかのかかし
あるひは 風のかみの わら人形などをあひてにして まつかうなしわり 車
ぎり 上をはらへば 身をしづめ すそをはらへば ひらりととびこえ でん
こうせつかといふて はねこえ ひとりごとによみほんの もんくをいふて
飛んだりはねたりするゆゑ のまわりのぢいさまが見つけて 狐にばかされた
と 思ふももつともなり。

何左え門「ひとかたなに さしつらぬき しめんをにらんでたつたるさま あ
あわれながら はげしかりける はたらきなりだ。それにつけても 化物に
あひたいものだ」

(Page 11: narrative translation) Nanzaemon immediately set off down the Tōkaidō

and waited for Mononosuke on tiptoe with expectation. Yet there was no sign of Mononosuke appearing; Nanzaemon ended up wasting his days doing nothing. Since Nanzaemon was so bored, he started to seek out ghosts, because all great revenge stories have at least one or two ghosts that add a sense of adventure to the story. Nanzaemon thought that he must meet one, so he wandered around all sorts of creepy places: yet he did not have any luck in encountering a ghost. But of course you never find one when you are looking for it. It seems that they are all out of ghosts: “Okay then, I will kill a bunch of people.” However, he thought killing an innocent person would constitute a wanton destruction of life, so he decided not to murder anyone. Instead, he played at killing scarecrows and straw dummies⁷⁵ in the fields. He had a serious fight with a scarecrow, using all of the swordsman’s techniques: front apple slice, wheel cut, crossing swords high and low, ducking to avoid high blows, leaping into the air, the low sweep in forwards and back, jumping and yelling, “Special transformation!” or “Thunder lightning!” Because he jumping around all over the places, the old grandfather who patrolled the field saw this from the distance and thought that Nanzaemon must be have been bewitched by a fox.

(Page 11: dialogue translation)

Nanzaemon: “With one strong stab in a fluid movement, he glares at the enemy though I say it myself, I look magnificent. Even so I would like to meet a ghost.”

⁷⁵ Straw dummies were used for the festival of *kaze no kami* 風の神.

【Picture】 This illustration expresses Mononosuke's satisfaction. Mononosuke has stabbed the scarecrow with his sword, and is holding his pipe in the side of his mouth while glaring at the scarecrow. What he is doing looks silly in contrast with rustic background of the illustration.

(Illustration page 12 and 13: transcription)



ゆうれいや化ものにであふには 日本かいこくの しゅぎょうじやにい
 でたつがよし。 かたきやくは身をしのぶために すがたをやつすこともあれ
 ば 上ふんべつなり。 たとひすがたはやつすとも かくれしのぶではなし。
 もし物の介が みちがへたときはこちらから なのりうけるゆゑ なんなくか
 たきはうたれるに ちがひなしと 六十六部のしゅぎょうじやとなりてつじど

うに とまりいたりしが これもまたおならのなかうちにて へんてつもない
むだごとゆゑ もういつぱひ うへをゆくつもりで えの木の下へ紙帳をつり
て その中にはいり もののあはれに鉦をならしてゐると あんにたがはず
女のゆうれい かたかげよりあらはれたり。すかしみれば 子をだいてゐるよ
ふすゆゑ さては よみほんでたびたびみる うぶめといふものだらう 「も
しもし この子をだいて下さりませ」と石ぼとけをだかせるやつか こいつは
おもしろし やうやうのおもひで むねがはれた。いまに だけといふだらう
と見てゐるうちに かの女は ふりむきもせず ゆきすぎるゆゑ 「これこれ
ゆうれい またぬか ライライうぶめどの」とよびかけれど ものいはずにあ
ゆみゆくにぞ あとからおいつかけて そでをとらへ 「きさまはゆうれいで
はないか」といへば おおきにはらをたち 「わしは かみをあらひましたが
たぼさう とおもつて あらひざらしのかみかけをきて このこをだいて す
ずみにでました。わしは 上の村のむすめでござる うぶめとやらは しりま
せぬ」と さんざんに いひこめられ こいつも大しくじりなり。

(何左え門)「さてこそ なんぢ うぶめと見しはひがめなるが しゃうたいをあ
らわせろ なんとなんと」

(村の娘)「ねんねがもりは どこへいく あの山こえてさとへいく」

(Page 12 and 13: narrative translation) Nanzaemon thought the best way to see ghosts
and monsters was to become a pilgrim and travel all over Japan. It was a perfect
way to hide, by taking on a disguise. This was quite a common practice in order

to take revenge on someone. “Even if I take on a disguise I’m not hiding myself away. And just in case Mononosuke does not recognize me, I can announce my name so that he could attack me no problem” with these thoughts, Nanzaemon started his pilgrimage to the sixty-six places,⁷⁶ sleeping at small Buddha temples at the side of the road. Although sleeping in a Buddha temple did not give him any ghostly experiences, he decided to take it to the next level and hang a paper tent under a camphor tree, sitting inside of it and ringing a bell mournfully. As he had expected, soon after a female ghost appeared from nowhere, holding a baby to her chest. Nanzaemon peeked out of his paper tent, pleased to see her: he thought that she must be one of the *ubume* ghosts in the *yomihon*.⁷⁷ A *ubume* ghost usually would asks people, “Would you hold my baby?” and the baby later turns into a stone Buddha. He thought, “This looks interesting--, my dream came true at last!” He waited for her to ask him to hold her baby, yet she continued to walk by and then walked away, completely ignoring him. Nanzaemon called after her, “Hey ghost, please wait! Hey, *ubume* ghost!” Nanzaemon chased her and caught her by her sleeves asking, “Aren’t you a ghost?” She was quite furious and said back to him, “I just washed my hair and left it loose to dry. I’m wearing my hair-dressing clothes and am carrying my baby as I walk outside to cool off. I am from the village just up the way there and I don’t know any *ubume*!!” And so Nanzaemon failed again.

⁷⁶ *rokujiyûrokubu* 六十六部 is a pilgrimage travels sixty six places to dedicate a hand copied sutra to temples. In the Edo period, not only priests but also common people could join the journey of sixty-six pilgrimage and wore a white cotton kimono and ring bells while walking.

⁷⁷ *ubume* 姑獲鳥 is a imaginary bird, or the ghost of a woman who died during childbirth.

(Page 12 and 13 dialogue translation)

Nanzaemon: "Okay, I was wrong. When I thought you were an *ubume* ghost, but let me know who you *really* are, please!"

Village woman: (Singing a lullaby to her baby) "Where has your baby's nanny gone?
She went back home across the hills."

【Picture】 Nanzaemon is crawling out from his paper tent, holding his sword ready to have a fight with the ghost. The ghost was actually a village woman wearing high *geta* (Japanese wooden clogs). We know she is not a ghost because we can see her feet.

(Illustration page 14 and 15: transcription)



ここに 木そかひどうの なんとかいふ所に 百しょう誰すけとふもの
あり。もとは物の介が家来にてありしが 物の助かたきうちときは むしづ
のはしるほどきらひなれば さいはひ この所にたづねきたり とうりゅうす

るも かたきうちめいてよしと ふうふ かくまひもらひけるが ふたりなが
らいつも たつしやであては どうもかたきうちのやうでないと ふうふそう
だんのうへ たがひに おまんまをひかへてくひければ しだひにやせおとろ
へ あしもとも ひよろつきて いひぶんなしの 大病となり どうとふして
ねたりしかば ふうふは 心中はなはだよろこびけるとは とんだわるいもの
ずきなり。このだれ助一人むすめ おたれ といふをもてり。 きはめてびん
ぼうなるゆへ こればかりは かたきうちにあつらひとおもひのほか だれ助
大忠しんのうまれつきにて 主人のなんぎ わが身のひんくをかなしみ ひと
りむすめのおたれを どことやらの 何やら屋といふ女郎やへ うりしろなし
主人のびやうきをかいほうしけり。

(お何) 「こちの人 おまへもわたしも おもへばおもへば かほう つたな
きではない つたある 身のうへでござんす」

(誰助) 「おつなことを おしやるが ねつのうはごと とみえた」

(Page 14 and 15: translation) Somewhere on Kiso kaidô, there was a farmer named

Daresuke who used to be Mononosuke's retainer. The word 'revenge' gave
Mononosuke the creeps so it was fortunate that he could stay at Daresuke's house.
It was a sort of thing that would happen in a revenge story. Mononosuke and
Onani were both perfectly healthy, which seemed inappropriate for fugitives.
Husband and wife consulted and decided to eat smaller meals so they would start
losing weight. They became genuinely sick at last, and were quite happy being
sick in bed. Now, Daresuke had an only daughter and was extremely poor.
Mononosuke thought perfectly suited the revenge setting. Yet Daresuke was born

“loyal retainer,” took his master’s difficulty personally, and so he sold his only daughter ‘Odare’ to some brothel called Something or other, in Somewhere or other, in order to get some money. Daresuke then took care of Mononosuke with this money.

(Page 14 and 15 dialogue translation)

Onani: “When you look at these people, we are not misfortunate, indeed we are quite Mr. Fortunate.”

Daresuke: “Such a cleaver thing to say, yet that must be her talking in a delirium from her high fever.”

【Picture】 The illustration shows the inside of farmer Daresuke’s house. The walls have holes and a spider-web above the kitchen indicates that they are quite poor. Mononosuke’s hair is drooping down and he appears to be unwell. Onani seems to be weeping next to Mononosuke. Daresuke’s daughter is serving a light meal to Mononosuke and Onani. Daresuke is trying to get a fire going using a fan to help fuel the small portable clay cooking stove in the room. A money-wrap envelope lies next to Daresuke, indicating that he has already sold his daughter to get money to give to Mononosuke and Onani. In the back of the wall, Mononosuke’s swords are nicely covered up and set in a placed of honor.



さるほどに だれ助が忠しん 物之
助ふうふが 心にはおおきな てんちが
ひ そのうへ むすめをうりて 金五十
両をろぎんにしたまへと わたし この
うへは かたきうちの おともいたして
すけだち仕らんと りっぱにやらかしか
れば だれ助もつての ふしやうびとな
りかندوقをうける。 物の助ふうふの
もの これはたまらぬ このやうな 忠

しんものが言えにはかたときもいられぬと また いひあわせて めしを た
んとくひ たちまち びやうきほんふくして たびのよういをする。

(物の助) 「なんだと すけだちが いたしたい? あのような忠しんものの
ぎりしりの ひとで ありめが。そのうへに むすめを うつて 五十両のか
ねをろぎんにしろと くれた。しゅじんのおんを しつて りのとふぜんをす
る ふとどきものめ みあげはてた やつだ 七しゃうまで おれがほうで
かندوقだぞ。 きりきりここを おれのほうからでていく。ほそいやつだ
うぬ。」

(だれ助) 「さやうならば おまへさまを わしがともにしては ごかんにな
りませぬか。」

(お何) 「見るもなかなか けがらはしいではない。 かはいらしいわいな」

(物の助) 「われが所にへんべんとゐたらば あげくのはてはおれに かたき
うちを うたせるであらう。 そのてをくらふ物か」

(Page 16: narrative translation) There was a big difference between Daresuke's devoted loyalty and what Mononosuke and his wife were thinking. More-over, Daresuke had sold his only daughter so that he could give the fifty ryô he received to Mononosuke for road money; he also planned to accompany Mononosuke to assist him in the fight. He really did them proud and the outcome was he got himself fired. Mononosuke and Onani could not stand it and felt they couldn't remain in such a loyal retainer's house. They consulted once more and decided eating full meals this time, to recover immediately and prepare to set out once more.

(Page 16: dialogue translation)

Mononosuke: “What!? You said that you want to assist me in the fight? You are such a terribly faithful retainer! On top of that you sold your daughter and gave me money for the road. What is that all about? You knew what I needed and you make me feel indebted to you for your act! I cannot stand your attitude any longer: I disown you this moment, for this and all other times of my existence.”⁷⁸
I shall leave here immediately. What a hopeless case you are!”

Onani: “Just looked at him. He is not sleazy, actually he is quite elegant.”

Daresuke: “If you feel like that, would you forgive me if I hire you as my retainer?”

Mononosuke: “If I stay here too long, you will end up making me succeed in this revenge business. I will not be fooled by your tricks!”

⁷⁸ Nanasyô 七生 is the seven stages of life in Buddhism.

【Picture】 Mononosuke is talking down to Daresuke, who looks like he is crying and begging Mononosuke to let him join him on his revenge journey. Mononosuke seems to have regained his health, and is packed up and ready to leave this house. Onani is looking at Mononosuke's and making comment on his appearance.

(Illustration page 17: transcription)



いろざとは あまたの人の出入り
おほき所ゆゑ かたきうちにはよくはい
りこむ ものなれば どことかいふ名の
なんとやらいふ女郎になじみて しんて
いをよくよく 見さだめ すけだちをた
のみそうもない 女とおもひければ 今
は何をか つつむべき それがしはかた
きうたずの のぞみにあれば かたきに
めぐりあはぬやうにと これまで かん
なんもせずくにぐにをさがさず にげあ

るくなり。 てきは むしやうにうたれたがるゆゑ 大こまり かくのごとく
身をしのぶもわが ほんもうをたてうせぬやうにとの しんぐわん なれば
こののち めんたいかつこう かようかようの人きたりて かたきうたれとほ
んみやうをなのり われをたずぬるものあらば はやくしらせてくれたまへ
おれはすぐに かけおちだと しんていあかして たのみけり。

(物の助) 「おいらんは きゃくじんか」

(おいらん) 「よしか もうこよいなしたなえ。 あさつてよかあ おいてきやなあ」

(かぶろ) 「あのうおいらんて あすのあさふみを おだしなんすついでにこれをも ふうじこんでおくれないまし。 ごしやうざいます。」

(Page 17: narrative translation) Since pleasure quarters were places with many people coming and going, they would make a perfect hiding spot for someone involved in a vendetta. Mononosuke hid himself in such place and became a regular customer of some courtesan. After making sure that this courtesan was not as sort of person who assist him in the fight, he talked openly about his situation to her. He told her that he had no desire to participate in the vendetta, instead he had walked away from revenge and didn't search his enemy from country to country and escaped himself. His enemy, Nanzaemon couldn't wait to be killed so that he is actively searching for him. Nanzaemon is putting him into a difficult situation. If he could hide himself like this, his enemy will not achieve his desire- this is the Mononosuke's greatest wish. He asked her to let him know quickly if such a person who's appearance like such and such, declare himself as a target of vendetta and ask for him. Mononosuke promised that he would run away with her if that happened.

(Page 17 dialogue translation)

Mononosuke: "Hey mistress, do you have a customer waiting?"

Courtesan: "It's late tonight so I won't see anyone else."

Courtesan's helper⁷⁹: "When you sending a morning letter out tomorrow, would you tuck in this letter with yours? I would really appreciate your help."

【Picture】 This illustration shows a room in a brothel. Mononosuke is relaxing, smoking his pipe and lying on top of three layers of *futon*. The courtesan next to Mononosuke is receiving a letter from her assistant girl.

(Illustration page 18 and 19: narrative transcription)



何左え門は せつかく かみがたすぢへいでたちけれど あひて 物の
助にめぐりあはず 木そかいどうへときくより あとをしたひくぐりしが ま
たむさしのかたにあるとのうはさ おおきなむだとはおもひけれど 道中双六
のはこねに ごたびも あたつたと おもへばすむと また むさしへかへる。

⁷⁹ Kaburo is a girl who assists the upper class courtesan and it is usually around 8-10 years old.

こんどは しゅこうをかへて まづ かたきうち入用のどうぐを 両が
けの はさみばこにいれて かたきうたれ 何左え門と木札をたて けらい八
助にかつがせて さきにたて おのれは ふかあみのばかまにて かたきうた
れのしだいをいひたててあるくゆゑ みちゆくひとは めづらしいばいやくだ
とおもふ。

「おたちあひの門に ごぞんじの おかたはござるまい。 せつしや事
は 何の何左え門と申して 物が物の助をうつてたちのひたる かたきうたれ
でござる。 おとほしの方がたもし御心あたりもござらば せつしやをころす
とおほしめして おやのかたきと なのりかけ ごえんりよなくおうちなさい。
かならず れいせんは つほとるとおほしめしては おおきな ごりょうけん
ちがひ 一度もせんとらず くさりかたびら しらあやのはちまき しろせう
ぞくはもふすに およばず こりや このはさみ箱の中にござる。 イヤイヤ
わかいもの さうでない もしすけだちが あつたらどうするとおしやるまい
ものでもない。このときには これ こちらの はこの中にござる たけやら
いのうちにて しょうぶ おのぞみのお方ならば あとに おのこりなさい。
あふしもさか ふたつどうに しきつて よつくきれます。なかなかさうで
ざい。」

(何左え門)「ああ はやくころされたい。 そくらにおのぞみはないかな。じき
にうたれますぞ。 いつかこのあみかさを あとへほおりながら その敵はこ
れにあり なにかなんとと きつくりじきに どてつはらをえぐられの あと
へどさあつと さぞいいところもちだらふ。」

「さきへゆく お六部どのあるいはじゅんれいいせまいり どうやら あの内にねらふひとがありそふなものだ。」

「さてさて こまるぞ」

「そじながら あなた方は かたきうちの おのぞみは ございませぬか。せつしやは ひとつろしでござれど 今にあいてがなくてなんぎいたします。」

(通行人)「おだはらの うひろううりかと おもった。」

(Page 18 and 19: narrative translation) Nanzaemon started to head to the capital along the Tōkaidō, never meeting Mononosuke. When he heard that Mononosuke had headed off on the Kiso road, he also started to chase after him. Then Nanzaemon heard rumor of Mononosuke was in *Musashi* province⁸⁰, he thought it was a big waste, decided returning to *musashi*. It would be like stay at *hakone* hot springs five times playing a traveling version of *sugoroku*, or Japanese Parcheesi.⁸¹ This time he changed the style of his revenge journey, he packed up the equipment into a portable box called *hasamibako*,⁸² mounted a signboard with words “Nanino Nanzaemon, sought in a vendetta.” He had his retainer Hachisuke walking front of him, carried boxes and He himself followed Hachisuke, wearing

⁸⁰ *Musashi* is old country name in Edo period. It is part of Tokyo, Kanagawa and Saitama prefecture now.

⁸¹ *Dôchû sugoroku* has 53 places picture from *Tōkaidō*, play the same rule as *sugoroku*. It is just like a monopoly game.

⁸² *Hasamibako* is used for to carry extra shoes or clothing when you have outing. Two boxes were connected by a pole and usually servant carries them.

a deep straw hat with bootcut trousers,⁸³ explain the background this revenge story journey as he walked. People on the road thought it was a medicine salesman's new advertising campaign.

(Page 18 and 19: dialogue translation)

Nanzaemon: “You may not know what this is all about. My name is Nanino

Nanzaemon and I am freeing the venison of killing Monoga mononosuke's retainer. If you think you have some business with me, just say ‘For the sake of my parents’ and please don't hesitate to attack me. You may think I will charge you a fee by doing something like this, but you would be quite wrong. Without charging any single money, I even prepared everything you need, chainmail, white headband and off course the white kimono, all in this box. Hey, come-on young fellow, I'm sure some of you are thinking that what can we do if you got assistant in the back. If you say so, in this box I have a bamboo partition to make a private space just for two of us. If you wish to use that, please remain. I guarantee that the sword is made by the famous *Aoi shimosaka* and you will be satisfied by its sharpness of sword that can cut a body in half in no time. I am telling you this is it!”

Nanzaemon: “I can't wait to be killed right away. Is there anyone who wants to kill me?

I will be happy to be killed in such a situation. I would throw this straw hat off and said “Here I am, Mr. so and so.” and he slashes across my guts off and I will flop backwards. It must feel good.”

⁸³ *Nobakama* 野袴 is wide bottom style trousers with velvet sawed on the hem.

“Mononosuke may be disguised in that group of pilgrims or the people go to Ise shrine ahead of us.”

“Well now, if you any of you have any with for revenge, I am a killer but I am troubled a lack of opponents.”

Pedestrian: “I thought they were the sales of *odawara* lozenge.”⁸⁴

【Picture】 This illustration depicts Nanzaemon and his retainer Yaehachi walking down the street dressed strangely. Yaehachi is carrying his *hasamibako* (portable clothes carrier), which has two baskets on the ends of pole. Yaehachi looks so happy that he must be quite satisfied with what he is doing. There is a sign tied on the front of the *hasamibako* “Nanino Nanzaemon, sought in a vendetta.” Nanzaemon follows Yaehachi wearing a deep straw hat and carrying a folding fan using as a microphone, saying something to people. Other pedestrians beside road give them strange looks or laugh at them. A passenger passing by Nanzaemon holding a pole with round object on top is the pilgrimage of sixty six places and two people ahead of Nanzaemon are to Ise shrine.

⁸⁴ *Odawara no uirô* 小田原の外郎 is the popular cough medicine originated from China.



さても 何左え門は 道中さまざ
まとたづぬれど おやのかたきと なの
りかけるものもなく こいつもまた い
ろざとがよかろうと 女郎やへいき か
たきでもうちさうな女郎を見たててあが
り「てまへは おやをかたきにうたれた
おぼへはないか」ときけば「アイ わつ
ちはおやに うたれたおぼえはありますが
おやをうたれたおぼへはごさんせん」と
ちやなあいさつをする。

(女郎)「かたきうたずといふ きやくじんが あるさうでござんすが ぬしは
かたきうたれとか。おつにおひねりなんしたねへ。」(何左え門)「おれがこ
とを はねものといふが いろおとこの事か」

(女郎)「ぬしも よつほど いいきめんでござんすね。しやうじきをいへば
ばかだとほかは おもいはれいせん。」

(何左え門)「どこでも そのあいさつよ」

(Page 20: Narrative translation) During the road trip, Nanzaemon kept on asking

around, yet nobody challenged to him “for the sake of parents”. He also thought
the pleasure quarters were good place to get information. He went to a brothel,
chose a courtesan look like she might carry out of vendetta and became a

customer. Nanzaemon asked her, “Do you know if your parents were cut down?”

She gripped in reply that “They were cut me a slack but I don’t remember that parents were cut down.”

(Page 20: dialogue translation)

Courtesan: “I hear that there is a customer who claims he doesn’t want to kill for revenge, I understand you want to be killed for revenge. It is quite a twisted situation.”

Nanzaemon: “When you call me a crazy guy, does that mean I am a sexy?”

Courtesan: “You are really thinking highly of yourself. To tell you a truth, I think you are just a stupid.”

Nanzaemon: “That’s what every one says to me.”

【Picture】 This illustration shows the inside of another room on a brothel. Nanzaemon is smoking a pipe sitting in front of a *hibachi* (Japanese heating appliance using charcoal as fuel) talking with a courtesan who is also smoking a pipe. The shape of the *hibachi* is called ‘*shigami hibachi* (clinging bowl)’ because the legs of *hibachi* are holding the bowl, making customers associate it with a sexual posture; it was commonly used in pleasure quarters.

(Illustration page 21: transcription)



物のすけふうふのものは ふかあ
みさむらいか かたきやくらしいおとこ
をみても もし何左え門ではないかと
みあたりしだいにげまわりけるが かぜ
のたよりにきけば かたきのほうからた
づねて あるくとのさた これは たま
らぬ もし見つけられれば ひやくねん
め ねんらい ねらはぬけらいの かた
きうたれにみつけれぬやうにと かお

に こしらへあざをつける。

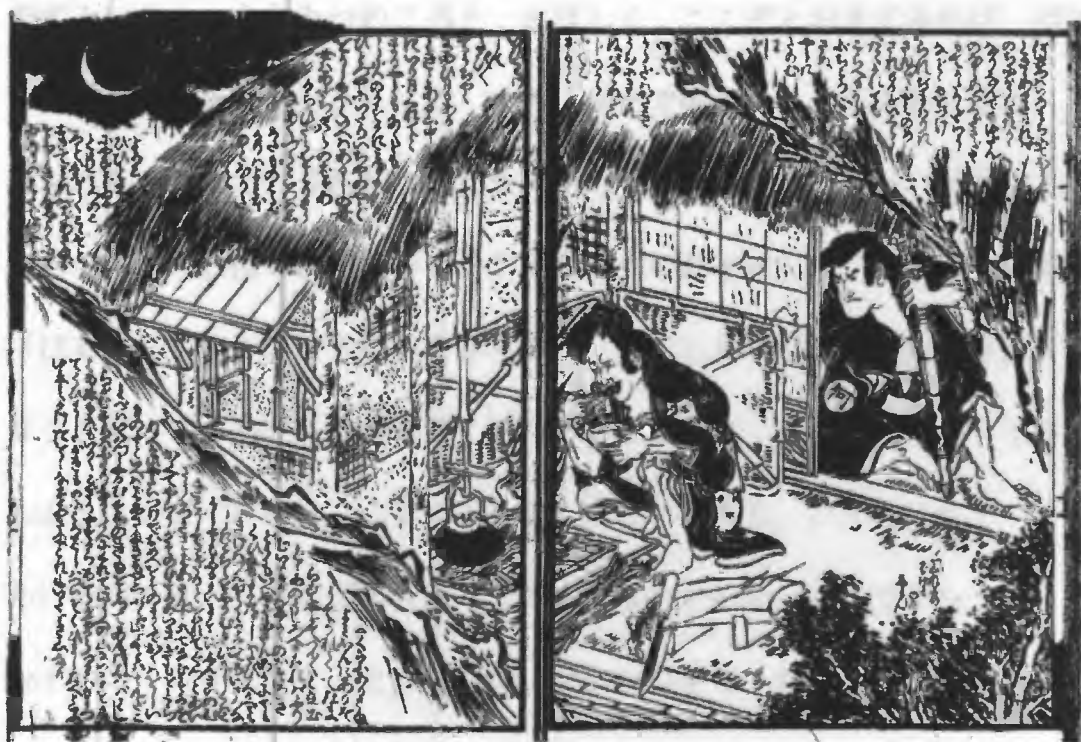
(物の助) 「おれは むらさきのあざにするから こなたは あおにするが
いい。しかしべにとびか べにかけはないろも いきでいいの。」

(Page 21: narrative translation) Mononosuke and Onani run away every time they saw a warrior in a deep straw hat, thinking he could be Nanzaemon. They heard target is looking for them all over the place. “This is no good. If he find us we will done for.” Unheard of target of vendetta master revenge of a retainer will not find Nanzaemon and Onani, they disguised their own appearance and putting fake bruises on their faces.

Mononosuke: “I will choose a purple bruise, so you should wear a blue one. On second thought, hawk feather red or safflower red would look stylish.”⁸⁵

【Picture】 Mononosuke and Onani are putting bruises on their faces. Mononosuke is looking into the mirror making comments about the bruises on his face. Mononosuke is wearing patched up clothes. The illustration shows that they are staying at a temporary hut, a sort of straw tent. Caldron over the fire illustrated next to Nanzaemon possibly mixing materials for fake bruises.

(Illustration page 22 and 23: transcription)



何左え門はいろまちにて ほうぼうとききあるけば のちにうわさはた
かくなり 「ゆだんのならないやつだ。さだめてかたりだらう。」などとめを

⁸⁵ The word “*iki*” 粋 is used in this phrase.

つけられ じまはりに 散々ぶちのめされけるが 「いくらたたかれても こ
らえるから ぶちころさぬやうにたのむ。わしが からだは かたきうちに
着られねばならぬ たいじのからだでござる。」といひわけして たびたび
てうちやくにあひける。 あるとき とある山中にいり 日くれてとまるやど
もなくともし火のかすかにみゆる ひとつやにいたり いちやのやどを かし
たまへといへば あるじの 老女は あだちがはらの ばばあから ひどうを
とりさうなあくづら

こいつはしめたもの ここばかりはよみほんのとおり とよろこび ひとまに
やすみいると うちみつのころと おぼしく ここぞとおきてみれば ばあさ
ま おそろしきがんしょくにて いろりばたで何やら くらふありさま よみ
ほんにありそうで うれしくてたまらず やがて づかづかと ばあさまのう
しろへ まわれば ふりむいたるがんしょくのおそろしさ どうもいへぬ。

「ばあさん あかごでもくいなさるか。 ただしたびびとは」ときけば つん
ぼうと見へて あいさつなしに こちらをふりむき 「ひもじくば こがしで
もふるまいますべい しんまいのむぎこがしでござる。」といはれて ぐつと
あいそがつき 「コレばあさん 十六、七なむすめをかかへてやらうが その
むすめの いきぎもを とらねへか。やたいつきで おまへを そのままでお
くはおいしいものだ。」といへば ばあさま きもをつぶし 「このひとは と
んだことべい いはつしやる。むすめのきもをとつて あんにしべい わしら
が むすめはふたりながら ひとにくれて このうへの山にいますが モウは
孫も彦も いてござりやすから あいらが所から もらつたいもは くひまし

たが きもの にころがしは ついぞ くひましねへ。」といふゆゑ みかけ
だほしな ばあさまこれもいただき山なり。

(何左え門) 「やまねこの ばけたのかしらん」

(Page 22 and 23: narrative translation) Nanzaemon asked around in pleasure quarters looking for information regarding his enemy and the suspicion toward him began to mount. The local gangsters were uncomfortable, “Watch out. When he is around, he sounds like make up stories.” Nanzaemon was beaten up by gangsters and begged them saying “I won’t complain but please don’t kill me because I am saving my body to be cut down for a revenge mission. I need to keep them in one piece.” He sounded like he was lying, so he was beaten up several more times.

One day, Nanzaemon head gone somewhere in the mountain, it was getting dark and he had no place to stay. Nanzaemon found a faint light of a house and asked to stay for one night. The old lady of the house looked more menacing than an old crone from story of *adachigahara*.⁸⁶ Nanzaemon rejoiced and thought was “this is it! This is just like in a yomihon story.” He laid down in a small room to rest and he got up when he thought about little past midnight, time of *ushimitsu*⁸⁷ and saw the old lady with terrifying expression eating something beside the fireplace. Nanzaemon couldn’t contain in his happiness, thinking that the old lady must be the real demon in yomihon, marched up behind

⁸⁶ *Adachigahara* is a famous story of ogress appears.

⁸⁷ *Ushimitsu* is about 2am to 2:30 am. *Ushi* is about 1am to 3 am and was divided by four periods of time in Edo period. *Ushimitsu* means the third period of *Ushi*. It is consider the ghost appears at *ushimitsu* time.

her and her horrifying face was beyond the word. Nanzaemon asked, “Do you eat baby? How about a traveler?” The old lady must have been deaf and turned around without answering his question and she said that “If you are hungry, I can make you a bowl of barley grits. It is made from the new crop.” Nanzaemon despaired that she was not eating a human being and asked her “Oh granny, I can get you sixteen or seventeen girls and couldn’t you eat their fresh liver? It’s such a waste that you are in this setting.” The old crone was astonished⁸⁸ by Nanzaemon’s question saying “What kind of nonsense are you talking about? What is the use of a fresh liver from a young girl? I have two daughters of my own and they were already married and live in the village further up this mountain. I have grandchildren and grand-grandchildren, I will eat the potato that they gave me, but I never had a cooked liver from a human being.”⁸⁹ When she said that this old crone was dashed off his hopes- it was the case of thanks a mountain!!⁹⁰

Nanzaemon: “ That must be a mountain cat disguised as an old lady.”

【Picture】 This illustration shows the inside of the old lady’s house in the mountain. The moon is in the dark sky, indicating that it is late at night. The demon-faced old lady is at the fireside eating something. There is a Japanese raise on a chopping block, a kitchen knife next to her. Nanzaemon surveys this scene from the other room, sword in

⁸⁸ Expression of *Kimo wo tsubusu* is used here must be a pun for “eating fresh liver (*kimo*) as demon’s act that took place in conversation between Nanzaemon and old lady in earlier.

⁸⁹ *Imo* (potato) and *kimo* (liver) is rhymed in this dialogue.

⁹⁰ *Itadakiyama* 頂き山 is a phrase a word play of *itadakimasu* in Edo.

his hand. The house looks old with holes in the walls. The house seems located at in the steep hill.

(Illustration page 24 and 25: transcription)



ちかごろのよみほんには しうたん 又は ちからわざのつよい事が
 りうこうなれど 何左え門はうれいが 大きらひゆゑ かのちからわざの 大
 だてがしてみたく思ひければ かる石の大きなるをかひもとめ たびやくしゃ
 を たのみて はらぎば よこぎば ぼろくそがへり しびとがへりの たぐ
 ひ すいぶん じやうすにひつくりかへる たてしに金をたんとつんで まへ
 がたから いひあはせけいこ さうざらいのうへ いしだんのたて からかさ
 のたて みづしあひ どろしあひ やねしあひ ふぢだなのたて いろいろさ

まざまなる　ちからわざをして　こればかりは　よみほんのやうだ　やれやれ
これで　ちつとはぢになつた　とうぬ　ひとりうれしがつている。

(何左え門)「ありやありやを　たんといふものは　ほうびをやるぞ。ありや
ありやの　ねだんは　一トこえを　四文づつに　さだめやう。　どうかおぢい
の　あめのようだ。」

(役者)「ありやありや(くりかえし) 四六二十六文」

「ありやありや(くりかえし)　四九三十六文　ゝて六十文　ありやありやあ
りや(くりかえし)」

「コウト十八いつたから　四十の四八三十二文　ゝて　七十二文ふたくちゝ百
三十六文よ。ありやありや　アアどうか　かんじょうちがひが　ありそうふだ。
十六文。ありやありや二十文。さあしれなくなつた。」

(Page 24 and 25: narrative translation) In the latest yomihon is tear-jerking or action
heroes are popular. Nanzaemon was not a big fan of sad stories, and preferred
action. He thought would like to be a super action hero, so he bought a huge
piece of pumice stone. He paid strolling players performed some actions forms
as pratfall, sprawl fall, eating dirt spins and dead body roll and so on. He paid a
lot of money to stuntman and arranged with them and after rehearsing he
performed all kinds of strong stunts such as fight on the stone steps, umbrella
fight, in the water, in the mud, on top of the roof and on the flower ledge. At
least this is like yomihon, I am living a dream- at least one happy fellow here.

(Page 24 and 25: dialogue translation)

Nanzaemon: “Whoever says “Argh!” most times gets reward. I will raise the pay. Let’s set the price for pennies for each “Argh!”. Bu the way I sounded like an old candy man.”

Players: “Four pennies for mourn is pretty good deal.”

“Argh! Argh! Argh! Four times six is twenty four pennies. Argh! Argh! Argh! Argh! Argh! Argh! Argh! Argh! Argh! For times nine is thirty sixty in total of sixty pennies.”

Other players: “Argh! Argh! Argh! Argh! Argh! Argh! Argh! Argh! Argh! Argh! Argh! Argh! Argh! Argh! Argh! I said eighteen times so that forty plus four time eight of thirty two is sub-total of seventy two times, in all the total of one hundred thirty six pennies. Oh no, I must messed up with my calculation. Sixteen pennies Ummmm, twenty pennies, I can’t keep track of it!”

【Picture】 Nanzaemon is posing, holding up a big pumice stone above him and stripping both of his shoulders out of his kimono.⁹¹ His hair is not as in his usual style, hanging loose and giving him a wild look. Around Nanzaemon, six men are sticking out their arms, posing with their palms up. This illustration looks like another of the *kabuki mie* poses Sanba has borrowed for his tale.

⁹¹ *Morohada wo nugu* is both shoulders out from the one’s kimono, represents the strength or the attitude to try the one’s best.



何左え門しきりにたづぬるとききて 物の介なほなほ こわくなりふう
ふ ひにんとなりてあたりしが 何左え門ひにんなどにえて かたきうちがある
ものと おおくのやどなしの中をたづねける。 しかるに此ふうふのひにんひ
たいに あざはあれども めんたいかつこう 物の介ふうふによくにたるゆゑ
ひたいのあざは こしらへもの ばけのかわをあらはす くふうあるべしと
おもふおりから ひにんふうふは ふかあみがさが うすきみわるく思へども
はらがへつてこたえられぬゆへ 「なにそ おあまりくださりませ」といひけ
れば これさいわいと よだかそば きりささつまいものふかしたて おでん
あんばいよし しらぎくあまい だいふくもち あつたかいなんでもかんでも
なりたけ あついものへ とうがらしをいれて くわせければ こびんから

たまのようなあせをたらし あんにちがはず こしらへあざは ながれけるゆゑ「さてこそ たづぬるかたき うたずよな。われは せんねん なんぢがけらいをうつて たちのきたる 何の何左え門なるぞ。物が物の助 いさぎよくなのりかけて かたきをうたぬか。なんじ うつまいと思ふとも わが運のつきる所 もはやのがれぬ。じんぜうにうつてくれ。たのむたのむ。」とこえかけたり。こんなかたきうちが もう一人あつたらかけだ。

(何左え門)「それ父のかたきには ぐに天ぷらをいただかず うききのかめがうどんやのそばゆの あついで ひたいのあざが ながれた。さてこそな。」

(お何)「それ見なせへ。かたきうたれめが みつけおつた。 おめへがいちが きたねへからだ。(物の助)「とうとう おれをかたきうたずとあてたな。くひものであたつたから しょくあたりだ。ひにんぐわんでもものむべい。」

(Page 26 and 27: narrative translation) Hearing Nanzaemon was searching all over the places for Mononosuke and Onani, he was fearful ever more. He and his wife decided to disguise themselves into the class of “non-humans”.⁹² Nanzaemon also thought that the ‘non-human’ and homeless would make a perfect hiding place for Mononosuke and Onani, so he made a thorough investigation among homeless groups. Nanzaemon finally found a couple that looked like Mononosuke and Onani, except that they each had a bruise on their foreheads.

⁹² *Hinin* 非人 literally means non-humans. People who belong to the lowest social class, along with the outcast group now known as *eta* in the Edo period. It also used for the homeless and beggar status.

Nanzaemon suspected that bruises might be fakes and tried to find a way to reveal the true face. Mononosuke and Onani knew that they needed to be cautious about the man in the deep straw hat, but both of them were starved and begged, “Sir, do you have any spare of food?” Nanzaemon thinking this was his chance to reveal their true face, fed them the hottest noodles, steaming hot sweet potatoes and nicely spiced hot stew, hot sweet sake, sweet bean dumplings and so on.

Nanzaemon sprinkled everything with chili pepper. Mononosuke and Onani’s faces were running with sweat. As he had suspected, the fake bruises streamed away with the sweat. So he said “You must be the enemy hasn’t kill me yet. I am Nanno Nanzaemon who killed your retainer and fled. Mononosuke, this is the time for you to turn yourself, won’t you kill your enemy? You might think you can avoid it yet there is no way out now. Please, please face me and do what you supposed to do.” I bet you will never see such a weird revenge story anywhere.

(Page 26 and 27 dialogue translation)

Mononosuke: “For the sake of avenge your parents, as in saying, you can’t share the same heaven with your enemy, do not use *tempura* noodles, as in saying of it is almost impossible to find your salvation, then just use hot noodles to reveal the truth. There will do it!”

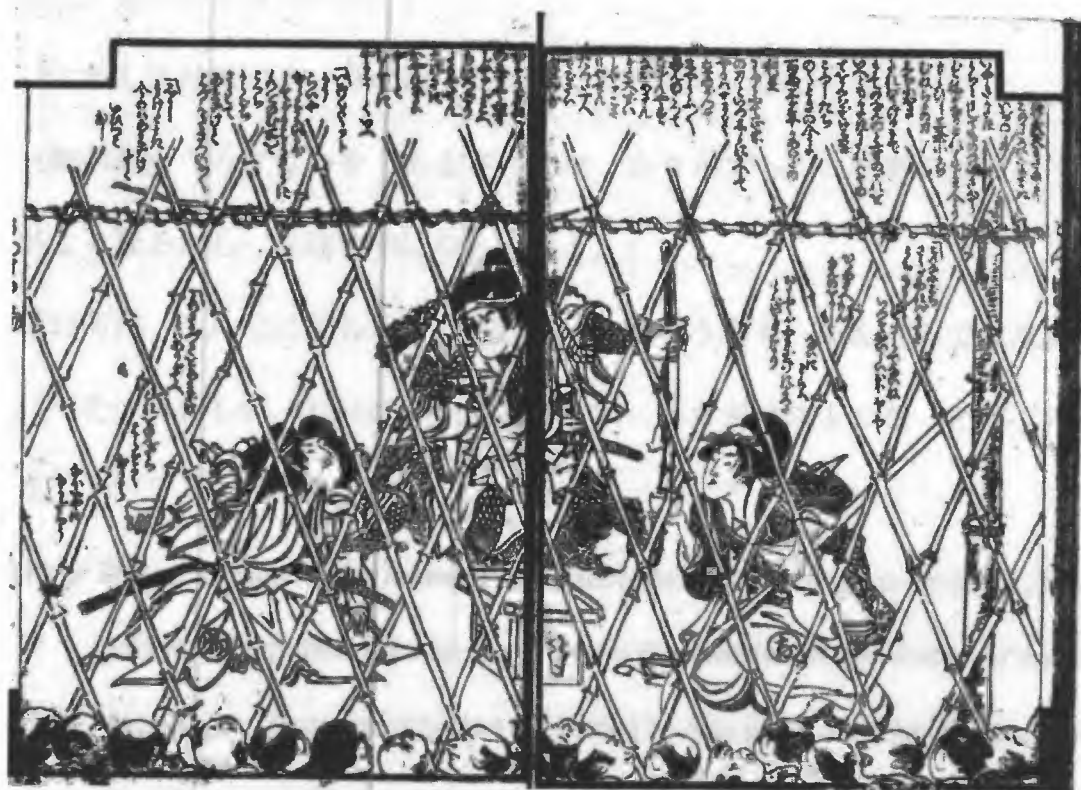
Onani: “That idiot finally found us all because you are so greedy for food.”

Mononosuke: “Finally you caught me. And you got me with food so I guess we can call it a case of food poisoning. I should take some ‘non-human’ pill.”

【Picture】 This illustration is the climatic scene when Nanzaemon finally encounters Mononosuke. Nanzaemon is illustrated on the right page high above, and Mononosuke

is in the lower left corner. This position represents Nanzaemon's confrontation with Mononosuke, who has finally been exposed. Both of the men put their hands on their swords and look like they are going to have a showdown.

(Illustration page 28 and 29: transcription)



神武天皇さまのかたより ついにきかぬ いぢのいやしきかたきうち
 どうしてもものつぴきならず ねがなりけれども 主人よりもらいし三条こかじ
 まさむねのかたな しちにおきたれば うけるまでまての 何のとのがれをい
 へども かたきうたれはそのては くはず 「けらいをころし たちのくとき
 のきんし 百両 三ヵ年があいだの りそくにて まさむねのかたなとともにか
 えしてやるは。 サアサア たちあがつてしょうぶしょうぶ。 なんのこつて
 ござんやすな。おめへさんがたおおぜいじや こまりせん。 たつた一人でご

ざいやさあな。かすりきずの ごすんや六寸じやあどこへもひっぱりたりやせん。 大げさにおやんなさいやし。」と むしやうにさわがしくいふ。

(何左え門) 「いざいざいざ アト かうらいやなら こわいかおして がうはらさうに みずをのくところを こつちからごちそうして あまざけとはづんだ。きついかきついか。」

「しかしまけたとき 今のは あまざけだとは いひつこなし」

(物の助) 「みずはいを あまざけとは ありがてへ。これをのんだら はらがよくなるから なほいやになるだらう。」

(お何) 「こんなにごちそうがあれば かたきうちも まんざらではないね。いつそ おいしい。おほほ。」おたふくが あまざけによつた とはこの事なり。

(Page 28 and 29: narrative translation) Since the time of the great Emperor *Jimmu*,⁹³

this is the greediest revenge story; this is the situation of absolutely no was of avoiding it. Because of he had left sword he was given from his master, *Sanjyô Kaji Munechika*⁹⁴ in a pawn shop, so he said you need to wait till he gets his sword back. Would-be target was not fooled with such an excuse. He shouted back with no pity, “I will give back your sword *masamume* which I stole, and money with three years of interest. Come-on now, stand up and fight! I am the

⁹³ Legendary first Emperor of Japan. According to traditional reckoning, reigned 660-585B.C.

⁹⁴ *Sanshô kokaji* 三条小鍛冶 is the famous sword smith in Kyoto Sanjyô. The sword is known as *masachika* 宗近.

only one that you need to kill. It is nothing like fighting with a bunch of guys.

They won't take you just a five or six inches of slash. Do it with the style!"

(Page 28 and 29: dialogue translation)

Nanzaemon: "The famous actor, *kôraiya* would make a scary face here, drink water with a furious look. I will treat you with sweet sake here. How is it? But if you loose, you can't blame the sake."

Mononosuke: "Thank goodness! Instead of drinking water in the sake cup, I can drink sweet sake, although it is so good that it makes me not want to have revenge."

Onani: "Such a treat! If it is like this all the time, revenge is not a bad deal. Mmm, it tastes so good. Ha, Ha, Ha." Bold old wife⁹⁵ laughs with no reason for it to be funny. They would say that plain woman drunk on sweet sake.

【Picture】 This illustration uses the perspective technique, showing the audience at the bottom of the page in the foreground, with the death match scene visible through a bamboo fence further off. The table in the middle of the illustration holds sweet sake instead of water⁹⁶ for the ceremony. Nanzaemon, Mononosuke and Onani are each holding a sake cup before the death match ceremony. Both Mononosuke and Nanzaemon are putting on *shiro shôzoku* (white kimono) with both kimono sleeves tucked up and a head band on; they are getting ready for a death match. Onani has also tucked her sleeves up, holding a *naginata* (pole sword) ready to join in the match.

⁹⁵ *Kaka zaemon* means making fun of an old wife who controlling the husband after years of marriage.

⁹⁶ *Mizu sakazuki* (water sake) is used for formal ritual ceremony of farewell or departure.



かかる所へ 物賀物兵衛 いづく
ともなくはしりいで 三人まちたまへ
と声かけたり。 これは どこから出た
事やら 作者もそこまではしらねども
そのとき 物兵衛いはく さきだつて
それがしうたれたりと 見せしは いっ
はり 何左え門がかたなは なまくらも
の ゆゑ ぼうでうつたも どうぜんな
れバ ダア引と いふて だましたもの

之。まことは かくかたが のらくらものの なまりぶしを なおさんために
主人ともうしあわせしはかりごと これよりのち 心をあらため 五常のみち
をまもり 忠孝をもつぱらとすすめて まことのさむらいとなりたまへ と
きょうくんしければ 三人乃ものども はじめて忠孝にこころづき だじやく
をくやみければ もとのごとく家とみ さかへ いくひさしく めでたきはる
をいわいけり。 此本 三冊のあいだ 一人もけがのなきこと まことに古今
めづらしく 大極上 大極上。作者請合のめでたしめでたし。

(物兵衛) 「此よりのち 心あらためて 君に忠 親に孝をはげめよや。」

(三人) 「ゆらの介ではない。だんだん あやまり入りましてござる。」

(Page 30: narrative translation) All of a sudden, Mono ga Monobei appeared from nowhere and said, “Wait a minute you three.” Even the author has no idea where Monobei was hiding all this time. Monobei said “It was a story that I was killed back then. Nanzaemon’s sword was dull, so it was just like hit by a big stick. I fooled Nanzaemon with yelling “you got me!” and pretended I was dead. That was all set up after I talked to our master to reform your lazy natures. From now on turn yourself over for new leave, preserve the five principles of the way of Confucius; work hard and become the real samurai.” All three realized the importance of loyalty and filial piety, repent for their laziness and work hard ever after. The house was in prosperity and celebrated many happy springs ever after. Nobody got hurt during making of the three volumes, it was quite rare and indeed this was guaranteed happy ending by author.

Monobei: “From now on, you must serve your master and be dutiful to your parents.”

All three: “We are not like Yuranosuke from *Treasury of Loyal Retainer*.⁹⁷ We are very sorry of everything we did.”

This copy is adaptation of old story by Shiba Zenkô.

Written by Shikitei Sanba. Illustrated by Shuntei.

【Picture】 The illustration of the scene is arranged at the top one third of the page and the narrative text is in the bottom, divided by a borderline. The illustrator’s name, Shuntei is written in the illustration, and the author’s name is in extra large font in the beginning of the narrative text. This page is not only the last page of the story but also functions as a postscript to this book.

⁹⁷ Ôboshi *Yuranosuke* is the name of main character in *Kanatehon Chûshingura* which is the famous revenge story of 47 *samurai*.

APPENDIX A

CONVERSION CHART OF EDO REIGN NAMES OF PERIOD

Edo reign names	Western year	Main event
慶長 けいちょう	1596.10.27 - 1615.7.13.	
元和 げんな	1615. 7.13. - 1624. 2.30.	
寛永 かんえい	1624. 2.30. - 1644. 12.16.	
慶安 けいあん	1648. 2.15. - 1652. 9.18.	
明暦 めいれき	1652. 4.13. - 1658. 7.23.	
寛文 かんもん	1673.9.21. - 1681. 7.23.	
延宝 えんぼう	1673.9.21. - 1681. 7.23.	
貞享 じょうきょう	1688. 9.30. - 1704. 3.13.	
宝永 ほうえい	1704. 3.13. - 1711. 4.25.	
正徳 しょうとく	1711.4.25. - 1716. 6.22.	
享保 きょうほう	1716.6.22. - 1736. 4.28.	* the Kyôhō Reforms
寛保 かんぼう	1741. 2.27. - 1744. 2.21.	Rise of <i>gesaku</i>
宝暦 ほうれき	1751.10.27- 1764. 6.2.	Early <i>gesaku</i>: 1751-1800
明和 めいわ	1764. 6.2. - 1772.11.16.	
安永 あんえい	1772.11.16. - 1781. 4.2.	
天明 てんめい	1781. 4. 2. - 1789. 1.25.	
寛政 かんせい	1789.1.25.- 1801. 2.5.	* the Kansei Reforms
享和 きょうわ	1801. 2. 5. - 1804. 2.11.	Late <i>gesaku</i>: 1801-
文化 ぶんか	1804. 2.11. - 1818. 4.22.	
文政 ぶんせい	1818. 4.22. - 1830. 12.10.	
天保 てんぼう	1830.12.10.- 1844.12.2.	* the Tenpō Reforms
弘化 こうか	1844.12.2.- 1848. 2.28.	
嘉永 かえい	1848.2.28. - 1854. 11.27.	
安政 あんせい	1854.11.27.- 1860. 3.18.	

SELECTIVE GLOSSARY OF TERMS IN JAPANESE

The following is a selected list of Japanese terms, titles, and names that appear in the text and notes. Titles of works that appear in the bibliography are excluded.

akahon 赤本

aohon 青本

Asazumabune yanagi no mikazuki

朝妻舟柳三日月

baren 馬簾

bunraku 文楽

bunjin 文人

bunbu ryôdô 文武両道

chônin 町人

chûbon 中本

chô 丁

chôai 丁合

dangibon 談義本

danmari だんまり

Echigo 越後

emakimono 絵巻物

Fûrai Sanjin 風来山人

Fûrai shidôken 風来志道軒

Futabatei Shimei 二葉亭四迷

genbun itchi 言文一致

gesaku 戯作

Gesaku Rokkasen 戯作六歌撰

gôkan 合巻

gunkimono 軍記物

Hara no uchi gesaku no tanebon

腹之家戯作種本

hanshita 版下

hanshitagaki 版下書き

Heike monogatari 平家物語

hentaigana 変体かな

Higashizato Sanjin 東里山人

hihinabon 雛本

hikiuta 引き歌

Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内

Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣

horishi 彫り師

Hôhiron 放屁論

Hôseidô Kisanji 朋誠堂喜三二

Horinoya Nihei 彫屋二兵衛

hyôshiya 表紙屋

Ikazuchi taro gôaku monogatari

雷太郎業悪物語

jôruri 浄瑠璃

Jippensha Ikku 十返舎一九

kan 巻

kanbun 漢文

kakiire 書き入れ

Kawachiya 河内屋

Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵

Kanagaki Robun 仮名書魯文

Kansei Reforms 寛政の改革

kashihonya 貸本屋

Kantan 邯鄲

katakiuchi 敵討ち

Katakiuchi yamiyo no karasu

敵討闇夜鳥

Katakiuchi gijo no hanabusa

敵討義女英

Katsukawa Shuntei 勝川春亭

Katsukawa Haruhide 勝川春英

kibyôshi 黄表紙

Kiso kaidô 木曾街道

Kikuchi Mohei 菊池茂兵衛
Kinkin sensei eiga no yume
金金先生栄華夢
Kinsei monono sakusha burui
近世物の本江戸作者部類
Kitao Masanobu 北尾政演
Kiuchi Taisuke 菊池泰助
Koikawa Harumachi 恋川春町
kokkeibon 滑稽本
kokugaku 国学
kôdan 講談

kôshokubon 好色本
koyomi 曆
kurohon 黒本
kusazôshi 草双紙
Kyantaiheiki mukô hachimaki
挟太平記向鉢巻
kyôka 狂歌
Kyôho Reforms 享保の改革

mame akahon 豆赤本

Nenashigusa yume monogatari
根無草夢物語
ninjôbon 人情本

Ôta Nanpyô 大田南畝
Ogino Yaegiri 荻野八重桐
onnagata 女形
Oyano kataki uchimata kôyaku
親敵内股膏薬

rakugo 落語
renku 連句
Ryûtei Tanehiko 柳亭種彦

satsu 冊
samurai 侍
Santô Kyôden 山東京伝
sankin kôtai 参勤交代
Segawa Kikunjô II 瀬川菊の丞二世
senryû 川柳

sharebon 洒落本
Shiba Zenkô 芝全交
shichi go chô 七五調

Shikitei Sanaba 式亭三馬
Shikitei Zakki 式亭雑記
shingaku 心学
shi-nô-kô-shô 士農工商
Shinrei yagiri no watashi
神霊矢霧渡
surishi 刷師

Tamenaga Shunsui 為永春水
Tenpô Reforms 天保の改革
Tentô ukiyo no dezukai
天道浮世出操
Tôkaidô 東海道
Tôkai dôchû hizakurige
東海道中膝栗毛
Torii Kiyonobu 鳥居清信
tsû 通
Tsubouchi Shôyô 坪内逍遙
Tsurezure gusa 徒然草

ukiyo 浮世
Ukiyoburo 浮世風呂
ukiyo-e 浮世絵
Utagawa Kunisada 歌川国貞
Utagawa Toyohiro 歌川豊広
Uwabami ochô uwanari sôshi
うわ蛇お長うわなり草紙

yomihon 読本
yomihon shitate 読本仕立

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