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The University of Michigan,
Ph.D., 1977
Literature, Asian

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SHIKITEI SANBA AND THE KOKKEIBON TRADITION IN LATE EDO PERIOD POPULAR FICTION

by

Robert Winfred Leutner

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Far Eastern Languages and Literatures: Japanese)
in The University of Michigan
1977

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to thank: the Center for Japanese Studies of The University of Michigan and those associated with it for moral and financial support; the faculty of the Department of Far Eastern Languages and Literatures, The University of Michigan, for many happy and productive hours inside and outside the classroom, and particularly Associate Professor William F. Sibley for his more recent advice, editorial suggestions, and assistance of many other sorts in the preparation of this dissertation; the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, for funding a year's research in Japan, 1974-75; his colleagues and students at Yale University for their patience; Jessica Davidson for her unstinting labor and advice as an expert typist; and his parents, for their loving support of all kinds since he first discovered his interest in Japan.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER II: CHILDHOOD AND EARLY CAREER 27

CHAPTER III: THE MATURE PROFESSIONAL 77

CHAPTER IV: SHIKITEI SANBA AND THE KOKKEIBON 133

CHAPTER V: UKIYOBURO AND UKIYODOKO 185

APPENDIX: AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF PORTIONS OF UKIYOBURO 206

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY 322

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The subject of this dissertation is Shikitei Sanba (1776-1822), a popular writer active during a modest renaissance in Japanese fiction associated with the Bunka and Bunsei eras (1804-1829) of the Edo (or Tokugawa) period (1600-1868).[1] The name Shikitei Sanba is a pseudonym adopted at the beginning of his writing career by the eighteen-year-old Kikuchi Taisuke (later known as Nishimiya Taisuke), but in keeping with Japanese and western popular and scholarly tradition, it will be used throughout this dissertation. The sobriquet "Sanba" (or "Samba," in a variant romanization) occupies the place usually taken in Japanese names by the given name, but custom dictates that it be used instead of "Shikitei" when the use of a single name is called for, much as such modern Japanese writers as Nagai Kafū and Natsume Sōseki are customarily "Kafū" and "Sōseki," not "Nagai" and "Natsume." (Mishima Yukio and Kawabata Yasunari, however, are "Mishima" and "Kawabata;" the reasons for this distinction are too complicated to go into here.)

Sanba is remembered today principally as the author of two classic works of comic fiction, Ukiyoburo ("The Bathhouse of the Floating World") and Ukiyodoko ("The Barbershop of the Floating World"). An annotated translation of portions of Ukiyoburo amounting to only a fraction, perhaps

an eighth, of the whole appears as an appendix at the end of the main text of the dissertation, preceded by a short commentary in Chapter V. Despite their popularity, however, Ukiyoburo and Ukiyodoko and others of Sanba's works in the comic kokkeibon format represent only a small proportion of the some one hundred and thirty books Sanba wrote. For this reason, and because so little has been written in English about either Shikitei Sanba or the popular literature of the late Edo period in general, Sanba's two masterpieces are unjustly but necessarily given what may seem like short shrift in this study, in favor of a more general discussion of Sanba's other works and his private life and social and professional milieu.

The vast body of fiction published in Japan in the century or so preceding the Meiji Restoration of 1868 has been little studied outside Japan. A major reason for this neglect is the simple fact that western students, even those with a good grasp of both modern and classical Japanese, find much of it very difficult to read, since the language in which it was written is neither modern nor classical but something infuriatingly in between, and since only a small proportion of the fiction of the period has been edited and annotated by Japanese scholars for the benefit of modern readers unfamiliar with the language and culture of the time. A second reason is that the Japanese themselves, except for a small band of scholarly specialists, have tended not to regard late Edo period fiction as worthy of

much serious attention. Works of the period are neither old enough nor difficult enough to be taught in the schools as "classics," but they are still insufficiently modern to be read with ease and pleasure without special study.

Ironically, the very fact that many species of fiction written during this period come surprisingly close to certain varieties of modern fiction may account in part for this general lack of interest among both Japanese and western readers: when one opens a historical romance by Takizawa Bakin or Santō Kyōden, a melodramatic novel about the licensed quarter by Tamenaga Shunsui, or a comic novel by Jippensha Ikku, it can seem at first to be an early but recognizable representative of a common western genre, but this surprise of recognition soon wears off. One quickly ceases wondering at the fact that the book in one's hand, written by someone with no knowledge of the developing western novelistic tradition, is so very like a western novel, and begins instead simply to feel that "this isn't really a very good novel." Because they often closely approach modern novels in the superficial aspects of form and content, fictional works of the early nineteenth century in Japan seem to be asking to be judged according to modern critical standards; but alas, when held up in comparison to novels in corresponding modern genres, they seem inevitably to disappoint.

All of which is not to argue that if only we narrow-minded moderns were to shed our cultural prejudices, we

would recognize a great trove of neglected literary masterpieces in the fiction of the late Edo period. The only way really to appreciate this literature on its own terms would be to become an early nineteenth century Japanese, and lacking that option, we can only apply our own critical standards, tempered to whatever degree we are capable of by efforts at cultural relativism. The fact of the matter is that most late Edo period Japanese fiction simply does not address the concerns of the twentieth century reader, Japanese or otherwise. It makes no pretense of exploring the social or psychological roots of the behavior of its characters, who as a result lack the individuality and three-dimensional depth modern readers expect in serious novelistic fiction; moral philosophy is a source of formulas rather than of issues to be wrestled with; religion and its practitioners are most often objects of scorn; and interpersonal relationships are usually described in terms of their social implications rather than from the point of view of what they mean to the persons concerned. If the western novelist sees himself as writing out of a compulsion to express himself, a desire to make his readers think, or a need to work out his personal conflicts, the early nineteenth century Japanese wrote to entertain his readers, to make money, or to show off his erudition.

In short, the fiction of the late Edo period was not serious literary art. It could be sternly didactic and far from comic, but even then its purpose remained entertainment;

didacticism was more a convention of certain kinds of writing than a sincere effort on an author's part to raise the sagging moral tone of his society. Two historical developments help to explain this evident lack of depth and seriousness of purpose. The first was the appearance of the concept of the gesakusha, the gentleman-dilettante who amused himself when not occupied with more serious affairs by writing "playful compositions" (gesaku). The second was the rampant growth of a commercial publishing industry, supported by the spread of literacy and urban prosperity.

The term gesaku, applied to prose (usually fictional) compositions in Japanese of less than serious intent, seems to have gained currency some time in the 1760's or 1770's. For a writer to label his work a gesaku composition was to attach to it a disclaimer: this work is not to be taken seriously as an expression of my true interests as a scholar and a literate gentleman; it was written simply for my own amusement and perhaps for that of my friends (also gentlemen), but it is not something I wish to be closely identified with publicly. Within the samurai class, dominated as it increasingly was by austere Neo-Confucian notions of gentlemanly propriety, to write a sharebon about elegant dandies in the pleasure quarter or a kibyōshi parodying a Chinese classic was a socially risky thing to do; the risk of being thought frivolous was seemingly lessened if an author took pains to establish

the fact that he knew full well that such writing was a frivolous amusement by explicitly calling it gesaku.[2]

This use of the term gesaku (and a parallel addiction to pseudonyms fostered by the same desire to put distance between a frivolous work and its author) flourished for several generations, into a period when the original type of the gesakusha, the high-status amateur writing for a restricted audience of like-minded friends, had long since been replaced by that of the professional writer of popular fiction directed at the broadest possible audience. Even an author like Shikitei Sanba, active a good half-century after the first appearance of the classic gesakusha as an identifiable kind of writer, adopted the pose of the early gesakusha in many of his works, striking attitudes of stubborn unwillingness to be "serious" in his writing, contempt for his greedy publishers, condescension toward his audience, and a general air of it's-quite-beyond-me-why-people-keep-badgering-me-to-write-these-silly-books. Fiction in this period meant gesaku, and gesaku meant from first to last a kind of prose that was both read and supposedly written for diversion. Sanba was undeniably plebeian, a sometime publisher himself, and in fact respectful of his readers, but he nevertheless was compelled by custom and convention to write as if he were a gentleman and a scholar.

The wholesale commercialization of writing and publishing after the 1780's helped to keep gesaku fiction within the bounds of its own tradition of frivolousness. By the

early 1800's, book sales in the easy-to-read, heavily illustrated kibyōshi and gōkan genres seem often to have reached 10,000 copies per title; best-sellers sold perhaps twice that over a span of several years in print.[3] The actual audience for such books was undoubtedly much larger, since the flourishing commercial lending libraries of Edo--numbering 656 in 1808[4]--multiplied the number of readers of any given copy of a book by many times. (The poor condition of many of the surviving books of the period attests to this active circulation from hand to hand.) Once the custom was established--evidently in the 1790's--of paying writers for their manuscripts according to their previous sales records, it was to the advantage of author, publisher, and lending library alike to produce and stock books appealing to the widest possible audience. Then as now, any writer with an eye to the marketplace (whether or not he was posing as a frivolous gesakusha) knew that the key to healthy sales lay in providing his potential audience with entertainment rather than edification. The gesaku tradition made the lack of depth and seriousness in fiction a genteel ideal; the realities of commercialized writing and publishing made it a rule, enforced by the fear of financial loss.

If such was the state of the art of writing fiction in the early 1800's in Japan, then why bother to study at all a writer like Shikitei Sanba, whose work was so unabashedly commercial and lacking in artistic gravity? There

are many reasons, some having to do with the nature of his writing itself, and others concerned with broader aspects of literary history and Sanba's milieu.

First, while no writer can be said to be wholly representative of his generation, Sanba's works include examples of virtually every genre of popular writing current in his day. In surveying his oeuvre, one necessarily acquires a much better picture of the breadth (if not the depth) of literary activity pursued by the popular writers of Sanba's time. While Sanba is remembered as a kokkeibon author, the bulk of his output consisted of titles in a considerable variety of other genres and formats. The same is true of Jippensha Ikku, whose kokkeibon represent a small fraction of everything he ever published. Most other writers of the period, like Santō Kyōden, best known for his sharebon, kibyōshi, and yomihon, Takizawa Bakin, remembered almost exclusively as a yomihon author, and Tamenaga Shunsui, of ninjōbon fame, wrote in many modes other than those with which their names are most often associated today.

Sanba's principal medium throughout his career, in terms of the numbers of titles he published, was that of the heavily illustrated kusazōshi, whose main representatives in his day were the genres or formats known as the kibyōshi and the gōkan. The kibyōshi ("yellow-cover," so called because the dominant color on the cover of late eighteenth century kusazōshi was either a blue that faded

quickly to a greenish yellow or, later, yellow from the start) as a distinct species of writing developed in the late 1770's out of an earlier tradition of books in similar format (akahon, "red books;" kurobon, "black books;" aobon, "blue/green books") that seem to have been aimed primarily at a juvenile audience. In the hands of writers like Koikawa Harumachi, Hōseidō Kisanji, Shiba Zenkō, and Santō Kyōden, the kibyōshi became increasingly a medium for adult satire, while retaining the physical appearance of the earlier, comic-book-like kusazōshi genres. In its short-lived heyday, the kibyōshi aimed its satire, in the form mainly of parodies, lampoons, and fantasies, at the Chinese classics, popular historical myths and heroes, Japanese classics in all genres, preposterous, greedy, or pompous behavior wherever found, and ultimately political affairs as well. Political satire, however, was regarded as off-limits by the Tokugawa shogunate (one of its natural objects), and as official punishments were meted out in the early 1790's to political satirists--mostly samurai gesakusha who should have known better--there appeared among kibyōshi authors a general backing away from satire in general. The kibyōshi gradually became a medium devoted in large part to simplified retellings of historical tales, updated fairy tales, and illustrated novelistic versions of popular kabuki and puppet dramas (jōruri). A fad for tales of vengeance and vendettas that began shortly after 1800 signalled the end of the kibyōshi as a satiric medium and

the beginning of its retransformation into a species of juvenile adventure literature.

The gōkan soon succeeded the kibyōshi as the primary representative of the kusazōshi tradition. The term gōkan itself means simply "bound-together bolumes," and refers to works in basically the old kibyōshi format consisting of three to ten or more volumes bound together as one or two larger volumes. Sanba regarded himself as the originator of this new fashion in kusazōshi; while it now seems clear that the gōkan was originally developed simply as a more convenient (and more profitable) way to bind and distribute multi-volume kibyōshi, the popularity of Sanba's works in the new format seems to have been a major factor in its survival and eventual domination of the field of illustrated fiction. The gōkan continued the trend visible in the kibyōshi toward works more and more obviously directed at a juvenile audience (or a marginally literate and unsophisticated adult one). A survey of Sanba's works in this format shows that reworkings of popular plays and historical tales predominate. Most contain large doses of physical violence well suited to dramatic pictorial representation in the illustrations which dominate every page, the text, as in the kibyōshi, occupying spaces above, below, and within the art work.

The kibyōshi and the gōkan should probably be called formats for rather than genres of fiction. Within each format, many distinct types of fiction are found--political

satire, social satire, literary parody, vendetta, military, or picaresque tales, to name just a few--that are in themselves best defined as genres or subgenres. Still, within each format at certain points in time, one type of story or another generally predominated. In this sense, as long as differences in historical period are kept in view, the format terms kibyōshi and gōkan carry connotations for the knowledgeable student that approach the specificity of genres. Much the same can be said about other gesaku "genres" like the sharebon, the yomihon, and the kokkeibon: each "genre" consists of a considerable variety of different types of writing, but at any given point in time one or another of these types predominates. Nevertheless, it has seemed prudent in this dissertation to avoid as much as possible the use of "genre" to describe the traditional categories of gesaku fiction.

The kokkeibon ("funny" or "comic" book) is the second most common sort of work to appear in Sanba's published writings. It is here that most studies of Shikitei Sanba begin and end, not only because he is most commonly identified as a kokkeibon author but also because it is his kokkeibon that best reveal his skills as a writer, his sensitivity to the nuances of behavior and speech, and his sense of humor, and that earn for him an important niche in literary history for his efforts at polishing the techniques of dialogue representation in fiction and for his role in legitimizing literary treatment of the middle and

lower classes and their ordinary, daily concerns. (The history of the kokkeibon and the distinct kinds of comic writing that fall under that broad designation are discussed at length in Chapter IV below; Sanba's works include representatives of most of these varieties of kokkeibon.) Therefore, despite the fact that kokkeibon account for at most perhaps a fifth of the books he published, most treatments of Sanba's career, this dissertation among them, focus on his kokkeibon, and rightly or wrongly discuss his work in other formats or genres generally from the point of view of the light they shed on his development of the skills and attitudes he displays in his kokkeibon. Certainly Sanba saw himself as a guardian of the comic tradition in gesaku fiction, not only in the kokkeibon but in other formats as well. Both Sanba himself and the next generation of gesakusha assigned to him a literary-historical role as the representative in his time of the tradition of comic fiction begun in the mid-eighteenth century by Hiraga Gennai, the multi-talented scholar of western science and painting. Sanba's works may only very generally be described as having been directly influenced by Gennai's--the influence of the more recent works of Santō Kyōden seems to have been more profound--but the obvious reverence he felt for the earlier writer and the duty he seems to have felt to try to carry on as Gennai's successor argue that he would be more than happy to be regarded today as first and foremost a kokkeibon author.

Sanba published only a small number of sharebon, books of "style" or "wit" dealing with the people and customs of the pleasure quarters, perhaps because by his time the genre had already begun to be dominated by increasingly unfunny, melodramatic love stories about sincere courtesans and their lovers. Instead of concentrating on satiric treatments of the elegant misbehavior of gay-quarter dandies as the earlier sharebon had, the sharebon of Sanba's day, his own among them, exhibit a tendency to lay their primary stress on the personal relationships among the inhabitants and habitués of the pleasure quarters, and consequently lack much of the spirit of play that Sanba admired in early gesaku fiction. These late, melodramatic sharebon were the precursors of the ninjōbon, the "books of human sentiment" that reached maturity as a new genre of gesaku fiction in the 1830's. Sanba himself, of course, never wrote a ninjōbon, simply because the genre had yet to define itself, but he contributed to the development of this new kind of fiction both through his own efforts in the sharebon genre and, perhaps more importantly, through whatever influence he may have had on the ninjōbon master Tamenaga Shunsui, who was Sanba's pupil briefly not long before Sanba's death. From the point of view of Sanba's development as a writer, his sharebon are interesting as works where he was experimenting with solutions to the problems of writing convincingly realistic dialogue that would stand him in good stead

in his kokkeibon; they also reveal at an early date his interest in portraying members of the Edo middle class, characters not often met with previously in the sharebon, which tended to focus rather on upper-class men and the most expensive and highest-ranking courtesans.

Sanba published only one yomihon ("book for reading," as opposed to the illustration-heavy kusazōshi genres) while he was alive, and left the manuscript of another barely finished at his death. His earlier effort was a self-admitted failure. Both the sharebon and the yomihon were varieties of fiction that were strongly associated with the first generation of samurai-class gesakusha; Sanba, attempting to acquire all the credentials of a gesaku author, was bound to try his hand at both kinds of writing, but his lack of education and probably his native dislike of unqualified humorlessness prevented him from producing a marketable yomihon. The genre, if it may be called a genre, seems to have originated in translations of Chinese vernacular novels. In the hands of Ueda Akinari and later Takizawa Bakin, the subject matter of the yomihon expanded to include historical or pseudo-historical romances set in Japan, but stylistically, works of the yomihon tradition remained heavily influenced by Chinese prose (or rather by the characteristic style of close Japanese translation from Chinese), and Sanba's training in Chinese, whatever it may have been,

seems not to have prepared him to write extended works in heavily Sinified Japanese.

Just as a broad study of his works helps to clarify the nature of early nineteenth century gesaku fiction in general, a survey of what is known about Sanba's personal life and career as a writer gives greater specificity to our picture of the social and professional world of the early nineteenth century gesakusha. Biographical sources dealing with Sanba's life are disappointingly few and of uneven quality, but it is clear that in some respects he was highly representative of his generation of writers. As a member of the chōnin (urban merchant or artisan) class, Sanba was typical of his fellow writers, who unlike previous generations of gesakusha were as a group overwhelmingly of middle-class chōnin extraction. While his class origin need not determine how an author chooses to write, Sanba and his colleagues and competitors did have the vigorous urban popular culture of their day in common, and their writing was both about and part of that culture. The kabuki theater was perhaps the preeminent symbol of chōnin culture, and predictably enough, kabuki proves to have been the most common inspiration for gesaku fiction in this period. To Sanba and his fellow writers, to be a middle-class commoner of chōnin status meant that it was not only desirable but often necessary that writing be a paying proposition, since few could have dared divert their energies away from more usual moneymaking pursuits to

indulge a passion for writing unless they had hopes, at least, of being paid for their efforts. The large scale commercialization of writing after the 1790's was both a cause and a result of increasing chōnin domination of the gesakusha ranks.

One aspect of the artistic life of early nineteenth century Edo that emerges very clearly as one studies Sanba's literary activities and attempts to reconstruct a picture of his daily life is the striking degree to which all of the arts that we think of as typical of merchant-class culture were interrelated. Popular fiction, the performing arts (kabuki, puppet theater, and professional storytelling), and the art of the great ukiyo-e printmakers all fed on one another. They are inextricably linked in Sanba's books, of course, but in his daily life also we find the same confluence of interests. Print artists were among Sanba's closest friends; while they illustrated his books and those of other writers, their staple art was that of the kabuki print. Both their prints and the illustrated novelizations of kabuki plays by Sanba and others helped fan public enthusiasm for the theater, which in turn helped Sanba sell his books. Sanba no doubt was a regular theatergoer with backstage entrée, but the painting and calligraphy exhibitions that he often attended and sometimes organized also frequently involved theater people as patrons, as subjects of the paintings or comic verse and prose on display, or as

honored guests. Sanba's oldest and most constant friendships seem to have been with people associated in one way or another with the vigorous revival of rakugo and allied storytelling arts that coincided with his most active years as a writer--a fact that is of extreme importance to any understanding of Sanba's kokkeibon, many of which, Ukiyoburo among them, were strongly influenced by the art of the stage storytellers.

Sanba and other writers were often involved with the graphic and performing arts more intimately than simply as connoisseurs or observers: both Sanba and Ikku occasionally illustrated their own books, Kyōden was an illustrator of note before he turned to writing, and Shunsui, at several times in his life, took to the stage as a raconteur. Sanba's earliest patron and mentor, Utei Enba, was not only a gesakusha but also a rakugo performer and impresario. Sanba's milieu and that of his contemporary writers was clearly not purely literary. Just as occasional verse loses much of its meaning when divorced from the context in which it was written, much gesaku fiction becomes unintelligible when it is uprooted from the cultural context upon which it was so often a kind of commentary. A twentieth century western student of gesaku fiction can not hope ever to know enough about the time and place in which it was written to appreciate it the way its original readers did, but even a sketchy knowledge of who a writer like Sanba was, who his friends were, and how he spent his

time helps considerably to make the world of the gesakusha a more familiar place.

For a number of reasons--his reputation as primarily a humorist, the lack of extensive biographical source material, the difficulty of assigning many of his works to traditional western literary-critical categories, among others--Shikitei Sanba has not received the quantity or quality of scholarly attention in Japan that has been paid to other Edo period writers like Santō Kyōden, Takizawa Bakin, Jippensha Ikku, and, of course, earlier writers like Saikaku and Chikamatsu. The first book-length study devoted exclusively to Sanba's life and works, Honda Yasuo's Shikitei Sanba no bungei,[5] did not appear until 1973. Still, Sanba's claim to an important place in the ranks of Edo period popular writers has long been recognized by Japanese literary scholars, and he has been the object of regular scholarly attention since the beginning of western-influenced literary studies in Japan in the Meiji period.

The earliest scholarly and critical treatments of Sanba and his works shared with other Meiji period studies of Japanese literature a tendency to judge their subject almost entirely according to western literary standards. This was a period when a great deal of intellectual energy was expended on attempts to find one-to-one correspondences between the Japanese and western literary traditions, in order both to formulate a "modern" critical approach to the

native literature and to demonstrate that the Japanese need not be ashamed of their own literature. The implicit assumption that western literary standards and categories were absolute provoked rash attempts to identify Japanese counterparts to the acknowledged literary titans of the West: Chikamatsu, for instance, was soon being touted as "the Japanese Shakespeare," and a project was begun to prepare a word-by-word concordance to his dramatic texts.[6] Sanba's satiric writing was compared variously to that of Addison and Steele, Fielding, Dickens, Gogol, and Cervantes;[7] his works in categories other than the kokkeibon were generally ignored, perhaps because it had already been settled that Takizawa Bakin was the greatest novelist of the Edo period, and to call attention to Sanba's novel-like productions in the gōkan medium, so clearly inferior in length, complexity, and moral tone to Bakin's, could only damage the reputation of the pre-Meiji novel.

This was also the period, of course, when author-critics like Tsubouchi Shōyō and Futabatei Shimei were struggling with the problem of developing a graceful and easily understood form of written Japanese suitable for writing novels on the western model. Sanba was one of the writers to whom they turned for help in their quest, since of all late Edo period writers it was he who had devoted the most effort to finding ways of representing real speech in print. Shōyō's famous suggestion that Futabatei try modeling his prose on the language used by the great

contemporary rakugo storyteller San'yūtei Enchō in relating his anecdotes proved to be misguided, since writing convincing dialogue involves far more than simply transcribing real speech. Sanba's writing turned out to be a useful guide, since he himself had, more than half a century before, worked out ways of translating from one medium to another the storytellers' sensitivity to the rhythms, vocabulary, and syntactical patterns of actual speech.[8] To what extent the techniques of realistic dialogue writing developed by Sanba and other late Edo writers--particularly Sanba's student Tamenaga Shunsui--influenced modern novelists other than Futabatei Shimei is a question that lies beyond both the scope of this dissertation and this writer's present competence, as do also the related questions that suggest themselves of how, in fact, western conventions of dialogue representation developed, and whether there was ever, in the course of their development, the kind of interaction between written fiction and the performing arts that is visible in the career of writers like Shikitei Sanba.

The second phase visible in Japanese studies of Sanba's work is characterized by efforts to redefine the objectives of literary scholarship. Scholars like Yamaguchi Takeshi and Mitamura Engyo, basing their work on close reading of vast amounts of gesaku literature and careful consideration of non-literary source material, were no longer interested, according to Honda Yasuo, in describing the works of Sanba and his contemporaries from the point of view of literature

as defined in the West, but rather in redefining the concept of literature itself by expanding and altering it to include forms and genres that did not fit into western categories.[9] Yamaguchi began what has by now become a somewhat over-hallowed and sterile "scientific" tradition of combing the corpus of Edo fiction for the models and precursors written by other authors that are presumed to lie behind and explain seemingly any given work, but also, by virtue of his vast erudition in his field, was able to put together an authoritative body of detailed commentaries on a huge number of significant works of the period. Mitamura's interests ranged far beyond literature itself, and his comprehensive study of the kokkeibon, published in 1936, has yet to be surpassed in breadth and depth of insight. He was the first to demonstrate the all-important link between most varieties of kokkeibon writing and the oral storytelling arts, and in addition brought to bear in his study a considerable sensitivity to the historical and social context of the kokkeibon that has set a high standard for subsequent scholarship.

The basic research and insightful analyses of Yamaguchi, Mitamura, and Ebara Taizō, who was among the first to expand the range of work being done on Sanba to include works other than his kokkeibon,[10] provided a solid foundation for more sophisticated later studies. In the postwar period, an impressive number of articles and chapters in general works have appeared that deal with many different

aspects of Sanba's writing: the nature of his humor, the linguistic aspects of his methods of recording speech, his gōkan, certain of his individual works in various genres, bibliographical topics, and others. The insights offered by these studies have exerted a general influence on the writer of this dissertation, often in ways that he was not specifically aware of, and as a consequence many of them have gone uncited at the appropriate places in the notes; the writer therefore would like to take the opportunity to acknowledge them collectively in this introductory chapter.[11]

This dissertation could not have been written without constant reference to Shikitei Sanba no bungei, the definitive study of Sanba's life and works by Honda Yasuo, who likewise deserves a blanket acknowledgement here, and an apology as well for the many times the writer has unintentionally drawn upon his labors and insights without giving them due credit. Honda has not only drawn together virtually everything that has been learned about Shikitei Sanba and his works over the past several generations of study; he has also managed the feat of looking carefully at practically everything Sanba published (most of which has yet to be reprinted in easily accessible modern editions, let alone studied). As a result, he has been able to provide plot summaries and descriptions of all but a very few of Sanba's works. Honda's most valuable contribution, perhaps, is his well-grounded insistence that

neither Sanba nor his writing can be talked about intelligently unless it is recognized that Ukiyoburo and his other kokkeibon account for only a fraction of his total literary output. Sanba was at his best as a humorist, but it is only when his accomplishments in other fields of writing are taken into consideration that a study of his career becomes meaningful as one approach to deepening our understanding of the gesaku tradition in Japanese literature.

Notes to Chapter I

1. Bunka 文化 and Bunsei 文政 are nengō 年号 , sometimes translated "reign-names," designations that were changed by fiat of the Court at indeterminate intervals. Many of these year periods or eras were a decade or more in length; others, like the Kyōka era (1801-1803) in Sanba's lifetime, were exceedingly short.

Because the Japanese used the Chinese lunar calendar prior to the 1870's, dates during the Edo period do not correspond exactly to those of the western calendar. Thus, a date in, say, the second lunar month would correspond to a date sometime in March or even April of the western calendar. For the most part this causes no confusion, but dates falling toward the end of the year under the lunar calendar may correspond to some time in January or February; a date in the twelfth month of, say, the first year of Bunka, which for the most part coincides with 1804, would actually correspond to a date early in 1805. It happens that in this dissertation few dates are mentioned that fall so late in the lunar year, so it has been possible usually to refer to dates as, for instance, "the twentieth day of the third month of Bunka 6 (1809)."

The designation "Edo period" has been used throughout this dissertation, in accordance with Japanese usage. The same period is sometimes called "Tokugawa," after the ruling shogunal family whose seat was in Edo, but, particularly in the West, this term is most often used by political historians, "Edo" being the term of choice among cultural, art, and literary historians. An alternate Japanese designation is kinsei 近世 , "recent times," which is exceedingly vague in English translation, although its meaning is specific in Japanese. Donald Keene, in his World Within Walls (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976), pp. xi-xii, argues for "pre-modern era" instead of "Edo period" because the literature of the early part of the period was written almost entirely in places other than Edo, but since "pre-modern" is so often used in other contexts to refer to the whole of Japanese history prior to 1868, I have preferred "Edo period," perhaps slightly misleading but sanctioned by custom.

2. Nakamura Yukihiko 中村幸彦 , Gesakuron 戯作論 , 2nd ed. (Kadokawa Shoten, 1970), pp. 17-80. Nakamura is one of the most incisive modern interpreters of the literature of the Edo period, and this study of the literature of the latter half of the period has strongly influenced the interpretations offered in this dissertation.

Because the modern publishing industry in Japan is so overwhelmingly concentrated in Tokyo, and because virtually

all the Edo period literature treated in this dissertation was published in Edo (modern Tokyo), it has seemed redundant to include the place of publication in every footnote citation of Japanese works, which may be assumed to have been published in Tokyo (or Edo, if before 1868) unless otherwise noted.

3. Takizawa Bakin 滝沢馬琴, Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui 近世物之本江戸作者部類 (1834), reprinted in Kishigami Misao 岸上操, ed., Onchi sōsho 温知叢書, 8 vols. (Hakubunkan, 1891), vol. 5, part 3, pp. 58-59.

4. Nakamura Yukihiko and Nishiyama Matsunosuke 西山松之助, Bunka ryōran 文化繚乱, Nihon bungaku no rekishi series, no. 8 (Kadokawa Shoten, 1967), p. 47. Hereafter, "Nakamura, Nihon bungaku no rekishi 8."

5. Honda Yasuo 本田康雄, Shikitei Sanba no bungei 式亭三馬の文芸 (Kasama Shobō, 1973). Hereafter "Honda, SSB."

6. See the introduction by Ueda Mannen to this Chikamatsu concordance, finally published in 1930, for an interesting personal reminiscence about this period in Japanese literary scholarship: Ueda Mannen 上田萬年 and Higuchi Yasuchiyo 樋口慶千代, comps., Chikamatsu goi 近松語彙 (Fuzanbō, 1930).

7. Honda, SSB, pp. 24-27.

8. Futabatei Shimei 二葉亭四迷, "Yo ga genbun itchi no yurai 余が言文一致の由来," Futabatei Shimei zenshū, 9 vols. (Iwanami Shoten, 1964-65), vol. 5, pp. 170-72.

9. Honda, SSB, pp. 30-31. Yamaguchi's most valuable contributions to the study of late Edo period literature are found in his carefully researched introductions to the late Edo volumes of Nihon meicho zenshū: Edo bungei no bu, 30 vols. (Nihon Meicho Zenshū Kankōkai, 1926-29). Mitamura's best work is represented by his introduction to his Kokkeibon meisakushū, Hyōshaku Edo bungaku sōsho series, no. 10 (Dai Nippon Yūbenkai Kōdansha, 1936).

10. Ebara Taizō 江原退蔵, Edo bungei ronkō 江戸文芸論考 (Sanseidō, 1937). Chapter 8: "Sanba no geijutsu 三馬の芸術."

11. See, for instance, the following articles that were particularly helpful as background reading in the early stages of preparing this dissertation: Asō Isoji 麻生磯次, "Kokkeibon no honshitsu 滑稽本の本質," Kokugo to kokubungaku, vol. 4, no. 4 (April, 1927), pp. 663-77; Iwamoto Keiichi 岩本堅一, "Sanba no kokkei to sono fukasa

ni tsuite 三馬の滑稽とその深さに就いて," Kokubungaku kenkyū 22 (Autumn, 1949): 33-40; Jinbō Kazuya 神保五弥 , "Makki Edo shimin no warai: Shikitei Sanba ni okeru 末期江戸市民の笑ひ：式亭三馬における ," Kokubungaku kenkyū 26 (Autumn, 1951): 26-36; Mizuno Minoru 水野稔 , "Kusazōshi to sono dokusha 草双紙とその読者 ," Kōza Nihon bungaku 8 (Sanseidō, 1969): 87-112; Noda Hisao 野田寿雄, "Kokkeibon no keifu to shokeitai 滑稽本の系譜と諸形態 ," Kokugo to kokubungaku, vol. 38, no. 4 (April, 1961), pp. 25-34; Sasakawa Shurō 笹川種郎 , "Sanba kenkyū 三馬研究 ," Nihon bungaku kōza 10 (Shinchōsha, 1931): 265-96; and Tanaka Shin 田中伸 , "Shikitei Sanba no hōhō 式亭三馬の方法 ," Kokubungaku kenkyū 24 (Autumn, 1950): 85-92.

Mention might also be made here of Margarete Donath-Wiegand's Zur literarhistorische Stellung des Ukiyoburo von Shikitei Samba (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963). The writer's poor control of German kept him from making much use of this detailed study, which will serve the reader of German as a good, if slightly dated, introduction to Ukiyoburo.

CHAPTER II: CHILDHOOD AND EARLY CAREER

This discussion of Shikitei Sanba's youth and the beginnings of his career as a writer will attempt first to describe in a necessarily general and speculative way the nature of his upbringing and the social and intellectual context in which he began to write, and second, to introduce, by means of descriptions and analyses of certain of his early works, a number of interests, themes, writing techniques, and literary and political influences that would appear in his later, mature writing. Between 1794, when his work first appeared in print, and the end of the century, Sanba produced a surprising number and variety of books, nearly twenty in all, and individually and collectively they serve, despite their uneven quality, as a useful basis for identifying and understanding certain elements that characterized his work throughout his career. I have expressed elsewhere my overall indebtedness to Shikitei Sanba no bungei, Honda Yasuo's monumental treatment of Sanba's life and works, but any reader familiar with Honda's study will find in this chapter particularly clear evidences of its influence; it could hardly be otherwise, given Honda's painstaking efforts to bring together in one place all of the available information about Sanba's early career, much of it unobtainable elsewhere, and given his overwhelmingly comprehensive knowledge of the entirety

of Sanba's literary output. This chapter will take Sanba's career only through 1799; the succeeding chapter will cover the period from 1800 until his death, with a discussion of Sanba's kokkeibon, the works for which he is best remembered, being reserved for treatment in a separate chapter.

Inevitably, no literary biographer can say with any great degree of confidence why it was that his or her subject chose to make a career of writing, which was as risky and potentially frustrating a business in eighteenth century Japan as it is in twentieth century America. If the ultimate psychological sources of Shikitei Sanba's lifelong commitment to writing for public consumption must remain in doubt, it was perhaps only natural that he should have been tempted, at least, to try his hand at the writer's craft, for the world of books and publishing was his by birthright and upbringing. He was the eldest son of a master woodblock carver named Kikuchi Mohei (or Shigebei), and styled Seiundō,[1] and both Sanba, then known as Kikuchi Taisuke,[2] and his younger brother were sent in their early teens into apprenticeships with book and print publishers. Sanba published his first books while working in a publishing house in his late teens; he was married twice, both times to publishers' daughters; and he continued to be formally connected with publishing enterprises well into his middle years. His brother, too, although not a writer, was engaged in the book trade until his early death in 1811,[3] and his name appears alone or jointly as publisher of

several of Sanba's major works, including the first two books of Ukiyoburo. While Sanba's early environment was likely not self-consciously "literary," he was born and raised into the world of commercial publishing, and it was not a great leap from the business of printing and publishing books to that of writing them, particularly in a time and place where the writer of books for commercial publication was only beginning to be perceived as an independent artist rather than as only one of a number of specialized craftsmen employed by the publisher on a par with illustrators, carvers, printers, and bookbinders.

In all but a small number of cases, detailed biographical information about late Edo period gesakusha is difficult to come by. Many authors are known only by their pen names, and there are many others whose real names are known, but of whom little else is certain. The broad outlines of Sanba's life are reasonably well known, however, if not thoroughly documented. Two major contemporary sources of basic information survive: Takizawa Bakin's treatment of Sanba in his Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui,[4] and a chapter in a collection of short biographical sketches of six major Edo authors entitled Gesaku rokkasen, compiled originally by Bokusentei Yukimaro (1793-1853) and edited and expanded by his disciple Iwamoto Sashichi (Darumaya Kattōshi).[5] A fragment of Sanba's own diary for 1810 and 1811, published as Shikitei zakki,[6] also survives, and provides a brief but enlightening glimpse of Sanba's day to day

existence during one of the busiest and most productive periods of his career, although, like many Japanese diaries, it contains little by way of intimate self-revelation. Further bits and pieces of Sanba's life, mostly in the form of dates, friendships, and associations, can be gleaned from introductions, colophons, and other brief notices in his works and those of others.

Direct documentation of Sanba's birth is lacking, but indirect evidence overwhelmingly favors 1776, the fifth year of the An'ei year period (1772-1780), as the year of his birth. Gesaku rokkasen, otherwise seemingly trustworthy, states that he was born in the fourth year of An'ei (1775),[7] but Bakin[8] gives Sanba's age at his death in the fifth year of Bunsei (1822) as forty-seven by Japanese reckoning, which would put his birth in 1776. In at least four places in dated introductions to his own works, Sanba gives his age; in three of those cases,[9] his year of birth works out to be 1776, while the fourth[10] yields 1777. In the opening lines of Shikitei zakki,[11] Sanba calls himself thirty-five years old in 1810 (Bunka 7), again yielding 1776, and finally, most conclusively of all, a note in Sanba's hand in a copy once owned by him of a work by Koikawa Harumachi published in 1776 reads next to that date, "this year Sanba born."[12]

Of the circumstances of Sanba's childhood very little is known in detail, but some deductions may be made. How and why his father, Mohei, became a woodblock carver are

unanswerable questions, but to judge from the occasional mentions of his name as carver in works published by major firms,[13] and from the fact that he placed both his sons as apprentices in respectable publishing houses, he was at least well-connected and respected, and probably not poverty-stricken. He is described in several sources[14] as having been the son, by a concubine, of an official of the Tametomo Daimyōjin shrine[15] on Hachijōjima, an island off the coast of the Izu Peninsula south of Edo. Why he came to Edo is unclear, but the circumstances of his birth (and the fact that they seem to have been public knowledge) suggest that he was probably reasonably well educated.

Further evidence about Sanba's family background is found in his mention of having an aunt who was in service to a "great lord" (likely a daimyo) in Edo.[16] This fact does not, by any means, imply that Sanba's family was itself of samurai rank. On the contrary, it suggests that one side of his family, at least, perhaps his mother's, consisted of chōnin of a certain degree of wealth, status, and connections, enough to place a daughter in service to a household of rank, a practice evidently not uncommon among socially ambitious merchant families eager to give a daughter a chance to acquire social grace and polish, and reflected status as well, all useful in later marriage arrangements after her period of service ended.[17]

On very scanty evidence, then, it may be guessed that Sanba grew up in a reasonably prosperous merchant or

artisan class home, differing from thousands of others only in the fact, important to understanding his later career, that his father's craft was central to the business of producing books. A woodblock carver necessarily had not only business connections with publishers, but also personal contact with illustrators and authors as well in the course of preparing printing blocks. As an author who worked primarily in the heavily-illustrated kibyōshi and gōkan genres, Sanba no doubt benefited from his father's acquaintanceships among ukiyo-e artists and illustrators, which may help to account for the fact that Sanba's first book, published when he was only eighteen, was illustrated by Utagawa Toyokuni, even then among the illustrators in greatest demand. Thereafter, a large proportion of Sanba's books were illustrated by Toyokuni and his most talented pupils,[18] a fact that undoubtedly enhanced Sanba's reputation and sales throughout his career. The associations with ukiyo-e artists that Sanba in effect inherited from his father went beyond purely professional dealings: surviving evidence suggests that he numbered Toyokuni and other artists among his close personal friends, and at least during the period covered by Shikitei zakki, he frequently both organized and attended exhibits and other celebrations in honor of print artists.[19]

The world of the printed book and the publishing trade was obviously a natural part of Sanba's childhood, and he had become an avid reader by his early teens. When he was

still a child, he often visited his aunt in her quarters in the mansion of the "great lord" she served:

> Since I liked reading [he related some time late in his career], every time I went I picked up and read the books that were always scattered around the place. The other serving ladies who happened by and saw me thought it very impressive that I should be reading at so early an age, and told me that if I was already such a literary genius, what might I be when I grew up? By the time I was thirteen or fifteen, I had read all sorts of dramas as well, and by the time I was sixteen or seventeen, I had resolved to become a writer.[20]

Sanba's reading habit was no doubt reinforced when he entered into an apprenticeship with a book publisher. The surviving sources conflict as to which publisher he served. Bakin asserts that he was apprenticed to "the wholesale book dealer Nishimiya Shinroku of Kayabachō."[21] Gesaku rokkasen, however, paraphrases a conversation with the book-dealer "Hokurindō of Nakahashi," otherwise unidentified, who asserted that "Sanba, from his early childhood, had served in Hokurindō's house, and his surpassing talent was evident as he was growing up."[22] The editor of Gesaku rokkasen notes, however, that "what I heard from one person is that Sanba was an apprentice to the book dealer Gangetsudō (Horinoya Nihei) of Honkokuchō 4-chōme. Hokurindō must have been mistaken."[23] Once again, Sanba's habit of jotting things in the books in his own library comes to the aid of the scholar. In his copy of Ta ga sode nikki, a sharebon published in 1785, he wrote:

> This book was published in the spring of my ninth year by Gangetsudō. . . . Gangetsudō was my wife's father; his real name was Horinoya Nihei (formerly Okuraya Kinbei, later Nihei, finally Horinoya). From the winter of my ninth year to the fall of my seventeenth, I was raised in this house, and I owe this man an immense debt of gratitude.[24]

It was undoubtedly the fact that Sanba did for a time style himself "Nishimiya Taisuke" that led Bakin to assume Sanba had been apprenticed to Nishimiya Shinroku, but Gesaku rokkasen explains that Nishimiya, who published many of Sanba's early works, merely "bestowed the name on him as a token of their warm friendship."[25] In any case, Sanba's apprenticeship to the book dealer Gangetsudō ended in his seventeenth year, just about the time that he "resolved to become a writer."

Sanba acted on his resolve almost immediately. 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. When I began to write that book, I worked on the manuscript even after I had gone to bed, with my hands sticking out from beneath the bed clothes. After I finished the manuscript, I decided I had to have a pen name, and so I wrote three names I thought appropriate on little pieces of paper, crumpled them up in my hand, and tossed them in the air. I then picked one of them up. The name written on it was Shikitei Sanba, and so I decided to use that one.[26]

Sanba's living situation at this time is unclear. He calls himself "independent," but no surviving source provides any indication of where he was living or how he was

supporting himself. He may have simply returned to his father's house upon completing his formal apprenticeship, but if that was the case, then his use of the term "independent" (dokuritsu ni te) seems strange, since he would have merely exchanged the dependency of an apprenticeship for dependency upon his father. Bakin, furthermore, asserts that Sanba and his father never lived together,[27] although he would not necessarily have known about a brief period early in Sanba's career when he was living with his family. All sources agree, however, that at some point Sanba became the adoptive son-in-law of the book dealer Yorozuya Tajiemon (Rankōdō) of Yamashitachō.[28] (Bakin comes closest to specifying a date, but indicates only that the marriage took place some time prior to 1801.)[29] It is possible that Sanba moved directly from his apprenticeship to employment under Tajiemon that led, after a few years, to his adoption and marriage. Honda finds evidence placing Sanba in the Yorozuya household in 1802 and 1803, but not before (or after).[30] In any case, Sanba's formal connection with this publishing house was severed after the early death of his wife, who apparently bore him no children, probably in 1803 or 1804.[31]

Wherever Sanba was living at the time, the publication of Tentō ukiyo no dezukai ("The Heavenly Puppeteers of the Floating World")[32] and of a second kibyōshi entitled Ningen isshin nozoki karakuri ("A Mechanism for Peering into the Heart of Man")[33] during the same publishing season of 1794

marked the beginning of his writing career. His output thereafter rarely dropped below two or three titles a year, but it was to be some time before he achieved anything but a modest reputation as an author. (Bakin was unaware that Sanba had published anything before 1796 or 1797.)[34] It was only with the publication of the first book of Ukiyoburo in 1809 that Sanba finally managed to set himself apart from the scores of other writers then publishing and to establish his name among those of the small number of late Edo period authors still generally remembered today. While few of the products of Sanba's brush during the first decade or so of his career are of any remarkable quality, or more than marginally distinguishable in style and content from those of other writers, Sanba used these years to polish his writing skills and to establish a working style. Marriage and responsibility in the Yorozuya establishment gave him the confidence, respectability, and means to develop his connections with other writers, artists, and the theater; and the very typicalness of many of his works during this period makes them useful, at least, as examples of certain categories of gesaku literature of the late Kansei (1789-1800) and Kyōwa (1801-1803) eras, despite the tedium they seem inevitably to induce in the modern reader.

Tentō ukiyo no dezukai seems not to have "raised the price of paper," as best sellers have long been said to do in Japan, but when seen in the context of Sanba's later works and of its contemporary kibyōshi in general, this

first effort of Sanba's contains many elements, as Honda points out, that would characterize his later style and approach to his work, and that would ultimately set him well apart from other gesaku authors as he gradually refined his technique and capitalized on his own special talents.[35] The book is built around the simple conceit that human behavior is controlled, puppet-like, by the stars, to which Sanba attributes decidedly human personalities. While by and large "good" stars have the upper hand in the general scheme of things, Sanba's story focuses on one "evil" star who manages by treachery and mischief to arrange the replacement of the "good" stars in charge of a number of different human beings by "evil" stars, and thereby succeeds in bringing to ruin, or almost to ruin, a number of previously "good" souls before he himself is brought back under control by the King of Heaven (Tentō-sama).

There are three tendencies already visible in this earliest of Sanba's published works that would be highly evident in much of his later writing. The first is seen in the fact that Tentō ukiyo no dezukai is obviously and closely modeled on previously published works by other writers. It is not a plagiarism, however, but rather a careful attempt to produce a minimally original work relying on conceits, themes, and plot elements that had already been proved by others to be commercially successful. This sort of reliance on established formulas, and the reworking

and exploitation of currently popular plot types and themes, recur again and again throughout Sanba's career, even in Ukiyoburo, his acknowledged masterpiece. Second is Sanba's tendency to subordinate careful plotting and continuity to a loose, almost fragmented structure consisting of a series of vignettes or word-pictures of unrelated characters, representative types drawn largely from among the middle-class "little people" of Edo. A third characteristic of his later writing seen in Tentō ukiyo no dezukai is Sanba's interest in the theatrical arts, revealed here in his choice of a controlling conceit or metaphor drawn from the puppet theater.

The work upon which Sanba seems to have modeled Tentō ukiyo no dezukai most closely was an exceedingly popular kibyōshi by Santō Kyōden entitled Shingaku hayasomegusa, published in 1790.[36] In Kyōden's story, the King of Heaven breathes out human souls like soap bubbles. (The opening illustration shows the King of Heaven, haloed and dressed in flowing robes, holding a small bowl and blowing bubbles from a pipe.) The hero of the story, Ritarō, has been protected from birth by a "good" soul, but in his eighteenth year, an "evil" soul, conspiring with his henchmen, enters Ritarō's body and takes control. Ritarō thereafter leads the life of a classic Edo reprobate and is disowned, whereupon he enters upon a life of crime. Finally he encounters by chance a famous teacher named Dōri-sensei, who takes him home and reveals to him the truths of Shingaku, the popular

moral philosophy originated by Ishida Baigan whose popularity, encouraged by the bakufu, had reached fad proportions by the late 1780's.[37] Dōri-sensei, clearly modeled on the Shingaku teacher Nakazawa Dōni (1725-1803),[38] explains that good and evil spring from within the human heart, and at the moment Ritarō accepts this truth, the son of the ousted "good" soul returns to the scene, vendetta-fashion, to avenge his father and to reclaim Ritarō, who is forgiven by all and becomes a model young man.

The parallels with Sanba's story are obvious: the control of human behavior by outside agents, the plotting and temporary ascendancy of evil forces, description of the degradation brought about by possession by evil, and the ultimate triumph of the good soul or star. That Sanba not only was familiar with Kyōden's work, but probably even had it in front of him as he wrote is suggested by the appearance in both works of a punning verse that computed the number of one's souls according to which of the five elements ruled the year of one's birth.[39] (Sanba was to use the verse again, in a radically different context, in Ukiyoburo.)

While the basic conception in Sanba's story is clearly not his own but Kyōden's, there remains the possibility that at least his stars-as-puppeteers conceit was original; Honda shows that this was only partially the case, however, since the fundamental notion of man-as-puppet had been explored at length in works by Hōseidō Kisanji in 1786[40] and

by Shiba Zenkō in 1792.[41] In this respect, Tentō ukiyo no dezukai is typical not only of Sanba's works, but of much late gesaku fiction in general. From the point of view of literature-as-art, the reliance of the gesakusha on formulas, on minor and timid variations on best-selling themes, and on imitation rather than originality betrays either a lack of imagination or talent or a craven surrender to commercialism. From the point of view of literature-as-entertainment, however, the tricks of the gesakusha's trade are wholly understandable. Sanba and his colleagues were not engaged in private quests after the Great Japanese Novel; they were Agatha Christies, Harold Robbinses, or (to draw an example from television, in some ways more akin to the highly pictorial kibyōshi than is a fat, closely printed Robbins potboiler) Norman Lears in eager pursuit of (and pursued by) an ever-expanding audience that not only accepted but seems to have expected and even demanded a constant diet of the familiar. A successful popular writer in early nineteenth century Japan would no more have tampered too much with his formulas than would a television executive today with an eye on the ratings. What Sanba was doing in Tentō ukiyo no dezukai was simply to try to grab a small share of the market by combining the basic formula of Kyōden's immensely popular Shingaku hayasomegusa with inspirations that appealed to him from other best sellers. A writer who takes this sort of approach to his work runs the risk, of course, of falling

into mere mechanical imitation, instead of producing a book that satisfies his audience's demand for a certain predictability combined with a dash of surprise and novelty sufficient to differentiate it from other similar books.

Sanba's first appearance in print seems in the end to have fallen just on the wrong side of the line between sheer imitation and successful exploitation of old formulas. To the modern reader, alas, the bulk of Sanba's work in the kibyōshi and gōkan genres falls into this category; but to judge from his popularity, which in time rivalled and even surpassed that of Kyōden, such was not the opinion of his contemporary readers, who evidently came to forgive his occasional lapses into mediocrity as readily as the mystery addict makes allowances for the odd Christie or Stout that fails to grip as it should.

Sanba's lifetime preoccupation with the portrayal of stock or standard character types drawn from the urban population also makes its first appearance in Tentō ukiyo no dezukai. The use of character types--in this case, the Drunk, the Lying Courtesan, the Greedy Borrower, the Confucianist, the Disobedient Wife, the Dissolute Son, and others--to illustrate a theme was not, of course, Sanba's invention, but rather a convention of long standing in Edo period fiction first exploited by Saikaku in works like Honchō nijūfukō ("Twenty Cases of Unfilial Conduct in Japan," 1686)[42] and turned into a subgenre of its own by Ejima Kiseki and his imitators with the eighteenth century

katagimono, or "character sketch" books.[43] One of the failings of Tentō ukiyo no dezukai was precisely the extreme fragmentation of structure that resulted from Sanba's decision to offer a series of examples of the results of possession by an evil spirit rather than to concentrate on the career of a single victim, as Kyōden chose to do. As Sanba matured as a writer, he learned to suppress this tendency toward fragmentation in those of his books in the kibyōshi and, later, the gōkan genres that required integrated plots, and instead used his kokkeibon as vehicles for presenting what amounted to series of character sketches.

But while the character sketches in Tentō ukiyo no dezukai were perhaps out of place, structurally speaking, and while as a general technique they were nothing new in popular fiction, they nevertheless exhibit characteristics that would reappear in the best of Sanba's mature writing, most particularly a reliance on carefully reproduced natural speech rather than on description to develop his characters, and a tendency to portray commonplace people in nondescript, everyday settings rather than to concentrate, say, on the extreme examples (like immensely wealthy playboys or their favorite courtesans disporting themselves in the pleasure quarters) favored by other writers from Saikaku onward. Kyōden's Ritarō in Shingaku hayasomegusa is a caricature, a model young man who reaches nearly absolute depths of degradation (he begins his descent into

a life of crime by breaking into the storehouse of the father who has disowned him) and then, freed of possession, reclaims his position as an exemplary son. Sanba's victims, by contrast, are people of no particularly outstanding virtue or wealth to begin with, possessed simply of common decency and middling social position, and their sins are not depravity and thievery, but rather the more or less petty failings of drunkenness, greed, mendacity, or a tendency to talk back to one's mother-in-law. While even in his mature works his characters rarely take on a sharp individuality, and remain "types," it was minor differences among unexceptional people that would always interest Sanba, and it was ultimately his skill at portraying these minor differences, largely through the medium of direct discourse, that made his best work very good indeed.

Beyond the basic conceit, not fully developed (and borrowed, at that), of the gods as puppeteers controlling man's behavior, and a few passing remarks in the introduction, Tentō ukiyo no dezukai can not be said to show any real connection with the dramatic arts. But it is significant that in his first book Sanba revealed, however tentatively, an interest in the theater that would be a source of inspiration for a large proportion, perhaps even a majority, of his later works. To judge from the stress he put upon it in his reminiscence in Gesaku rokkasen, drama accounted for much of Sanba's reading in his childhood, and it is little wonder that he found a conceit drawn

from the puppet theater a congenial one for his first attempt at writing for public consumption.

Between the appearance of Tentō ukiyo no dezukai in 1794 and the end of the decade, Sanba published some fifteen known works, an average of about three a year.[44] Most of them were kibyōshi sharing many characteristics with his first work, but this period also saw the publication of Sanba's first sharebon and of several works that foreshadowed major trends in his later writing.

A large proportion of the kibyōshi Sanba wrote in this early period were, like his first, based on themes connected with Shingaku in one way or another. Like Kyōden, upon whose works he continued to model his own, Sanba used the ultimately commonplace philosophical sentiments of Shingaku and the figure of the Shingaku teacher simply as mechanical devices enabling him to present what amounted to negative examples of proper moral behavior. From at least the time of Saikaku, writers had often relied on this sort of pseudo-didactic stance in mounting satires of disreputable or pompous behavior; Sanba was, in this respect, no innovator. It would seem also that the efforts begun by the bakufu in the early 1790's, as part of the Kansei reforms, to raise the general moral tone of Japanese life were a factor that contributed to the tendency of Sanba and his contemporaries to stick closely to a traditional blend of a pious tone and harmless vignettes of foolish, lecherous, impecunious, or merely petty behavior. While the bakufu's publication

control edicts[45] focused on sharebon and other works of purported erotic content as being particularly harmful to public morals, it was clear to writers and publishers alike after the arrest and punishment of Santō Kyōden and his publisher in 1791, and similar troubles encountered by less well-known writers in the early 1790's, that the bakufu was keeping a close if sporadic eye on what was being published. As a result, prudence dictated a reliance on themes, plots, and forms of satire that were as unobjectionable as possible. While the demise of the traditional sharebon, which in any case had begun to lose its vitality as a genre, was probably no great loss to Japanese literature, the retreat into harmlessness taken by Kansei period gesakusha resulted in an unwillingness to explore further the kind of broad and biting social satire, supported by erudition and wit, that had been pioneered by Hiraga Gennai[46] and that was seen later in works by Kyōden and Shiba Zenkō, two of Sanba's literary heroes. While the Shingaku-based kibyōshi by Kyōden, Sanba, and others were hardly serious didactic tracts, neither did they make the simple-minded pieties of Shingaku itself the object of satire they could easily have become in an atmosphere free of the threat of capricious government censorship.

In 1795 and 1796 Sanba published Go taiheiki Shiraishi-banashi ("A Tale from Shiraishi: A Chronicle of Great Peace Played on A Go-board")[47] and its continuation, Katakiuchi Shiraishibanashi ("A Tale of a Vendetta in Shiraishi"),[48]

a two part version in kibyōshi format of a popular jōruri play first performed in 1780.[49] This work, the first of many similar efforts by Sanba, was simply a retelling of the main outlines of the play's plot (a vendetta carried out by two sisters, one a country girl, the other a high-ranking Edo courtesan, to avenge the death of their father), with selected bits of dialogue reproduced verbatim, accompanied by the usual extensive kibyōshi illustrations.

A large number of Sanba's later books, particularly in the gōkan format, were of this type, though some involved a somewhat greater degree of originality than these first examples. They may, in the end, best be regarded as little more than hack work--a largely mechanical job of putting down on paper highlights of a play's plot and coordinating this abbreviated text with the flashy illustrations that, visually speaking, dominated the finished product, a kind of "kabuki on paper"[50] that attempted to reproduce the theater-going experience on the printed page.

Whatever the literary merits of works such as these--it is doubtful, in fact, whether they should be regarded as original, creative works of fiction at all--they were to occupy a major place in Sanba's writing activities year after year, probably because they represented a regular source of writing income for him at the cost of a small expenditure of creative energy.[51] Sanba may have been encouraged to keep turning out these simple condensations of kabuki and puppet plays by the gratifying success of

Go taiheiki Shiraishibanashi and its companion volume, his first essays in the field: they were reprinted at least four times, in 1798, 1817, 1820, and again in 1837, fifteen years after his death,[52] a publishing history that probably says more, however, about the continuing popularity of the play itself than about the inherent quality of Sanba's work.

Sanba published his first sharebon in 1798, a one-volume work entitled Tatsumi fugen ("Women's Words from the Southeast")[53] that was the first of the genre to deal with life in the unofficial pleasure quarter (okabasho) of Furuishiba in the Fukugawa area of Edo, on the far side of the Sumida River to the southeast of the shogun's castle. Honda suggests[54] that the publication of Tatsumi fugen was a symbolic declaration of the twenty-two year old Sanba's wish to be regarded as a full-fledged gesakusha, the sharebon having been seen, since the first days of its existence as a genre, as the medium most expressive of the gentleman-dilettante stance embodied in the term gesaku as it was first used.[55] Certainly Tatsumi fugen was an elegant production with all the trappings appropriate to a work by an established sharebon writer, whether or not Sanba was attempting to adopt the persona of an elegant gentleman of leisure. The work contains, in addition to Sanba's own introduction, a preface by the yomihon and sharebon master Shinrotei[56] and an afterword signed by a disciple (Shikitei monjin), Rakusanjin Bashō.[57] To outward appearances, at least, it seems that Sanba had, at a

surprisingly early age, achieved a reputation sufficient not only to merit an introduction by an established, older writer, but also to attract at least one aspiring writer eager to identify himself as his student. In this connection, it might also be noted that a sharebon by Umebori Kokuga (1750-1821) published the same year as Tatsumi fugen contains an introduction by Sanba[58]--further evidence of his growing reputation. Tatsumi fugen was a physically impressive book as well. Not only was its frontispiece by the ukiyo-e master Kitagawa Utamarō, but it was in color, a rarity in sharebon.[59] If for no other reasons, Tatsumi fugen is noteworthy simply as the first of the relatively small number of sharebon Sanba wrote, and as the earliest work by him deemed to be of enough significance or quality to appear in standard modern collections of late Edo fiction.[60]

The setting of Tatsumi fugen is the Mikawaya house in the Furuishiba quarter in Fukagawa (thinly disguised as the "Nikawaya" of "Furuichiba" in "Futagawa" in Kamakura; a tradition of setting Fukagawa stories in Kamakura was begun by Kyōden[61] and would be followed later by Tamenaga Shunsui[62]); the plot revolves around the affairs of the courtesan (or "whore," considering the nature of Furuishiba as compared to the Yoshiwara) Otoma and her "suitors," Tōhei, Kinosuke, and Chōgorō, with an emphasis being placed on the wiles and ruses Otoma uses, cynically or not, to ensnare each of her lovers. Like an embarrassingly large

number of Sanba's works, Tatsumi fugen is indebted almost to the point of plagiarism to earlier works, principally Fukagawa haiken (1782), a sharebon by Hōraisanjin Kikyō,[63] and several sharebon by Santō Kyōden for specific plot elements and devices,[64] but it is now generally agreed that the imitative aspects of the work are overshadowed, in the end, by recognizably Sanba-like touches that point forward to the best of his later work.[65] In particular, Sanba's decision to set his story in Furuishiba allowed him to stake out a new world of characters hitherto ignored by sharebon authors. While the classic sharebon, true to its name, concentrated on the elegant and rarefied customs, tastes, and language of the Yoshiwara, the world of Tatsumi fugen was populated by characters drawn from the middle and lower reaches of Edo society. A number of earlier sharebon had been set in Fukagawa, beginning with Tatsumi no sono ("The Garden of the Southeast") in 1770,[66] but these works had tended to focus on Nakachō, the most elegant of the okabasho of Fukagawa; they were written with the Yoshiwara as a point of reference, an ideal to which the only marginally different dialect, slang, customs, and clientele of Nakachō were compared. Sanba, however, chose to write with little reference to the Yoshiwara, and to concentrate instead on the people and customs of Furuishiba, one of the least respectable of the unofficial Fukagawa districts, both because the idea of a sharebon on such an unlikely subject was likely to attract readers,[67] and because, it

may be surmised, the world of Furuishiba was simply closer to Sanba's experience and taste than the more exclusive (and expensive) worlds of the Yoshiwara and Fukagawa Nakachō.

While Tatsumi fugen borrows heavily from earlier works by other authors (Yamaguchi Takeshi speaks of it as, "in short, an expression of Samba's usual habit of imitation"[68]), it differs significantly from its models by virtue both of its setting and of Sanba's particular gift for capturing, through painstaking attention to the nuances of natural speech, the essence of his lower-middle class characters. Sanba had, of course, learned the importance of natural and lively rendering of dialogue from Santō Kyōden, but he used these techniques borrowed from Kyōden not to create positive or negative models of how to behave in the pleasure quarters or simply to record accurately examples of what constituted proper gay-quarter wit, but rather to recreate on paper a corner of society that was, in the end, a much closer approximation to the real world of the Edo townsman than was the special atmosphere of elegance and stylized humor that infused the world of the traditional sharebon. The world of Tatsumi fugen does not end at the walls of the "Nikawaya;" Sanba provides generous glimpses as well of the lives his characters lead, or led, outside the world of commercial sex. This sort of extension of the field of vision of the sharebon had, as might be expected, been attempted previously by Santō Kyōden (in Kokei

no sanshō, 1787),[69] but Sanba's concentration on a lower stratum of society, combined with a slightly higher degree of attention paid to his characters' "outside" lives, made Tatsumi fugen a decidedly different sort of sharebon.

In 1806 and 1807, Sanba published Sendō shinwa[70] and Sendōbeya,[71] sequels to Tatsumi fugen that formally speaking were still sharebon but that all but dispensed with traditional sharebon concerns and focused instead on the continuing tribulations outside the gay quarter itself of the characters introduced in Tatsumi fugen. While he probably did not have sequels in mind when he wrote Tatsumi fugen, this trilogy stands as an early, if spread-out, example of the multi-volume "serial" sharebon (tsuzukimono no sharebon), also known as nakihon ("weeping book," a reference to the increasing concentration of the genre on the emotional trials of gay-quarter life), out of which the extended, melodramatic novel of life in and around the pleasure quarters now known as the ninjōbon developed. The development of the serial sharebon, or multi-volume nakihon, as a new genre of gesaku fiction can not be attributed to Sanba on the basis of Tatsumi fugen and its sequels; in fact, Sendō shinwa and Sendōbeya may best be seen as a belated effort to cash in on a new trend begun by others (principally Umebori Kokuga, according to the conventional wisdom of Japanese scholarship).[72] It is nevertheless interesting to note foreshadowings of the interests of ninjōbon authors in Tatsumi fugen and its later companion volumes,

if only because Tamenaga Shunsui, who almost single-handedly brought the ninjōbon to maturity as an independent genre, was for a time one of Sanba's literary disciples.

Little seems to be known about the nature of the Sanba-Shunsui relationship,[73] but several suggestive points may be made. First, the two writers shared an interest in the oral storytelling arts of the yose stage, Sanba as a listener and Shunsui as a sometime performer; as will be discussed in greater detail below in connection with his kokkeibon, Sanba was very clearly aware of the lessons a writer could learn from the yose storytellers, particularly from their skill at bringing to life portraits of the Edo townsman through masterful mimicry and exaggeration of natural speech habits. It can hardly be doubted that Sanba's interest in adapting rakugo and other storytelling forms to the printed page--another important and very positive example of his "habit of imitation"--helped Shunsui, a part-time yose storyteller himself, to develop ways of turning his oral skills to the service of natural-sounding dialogue in fiction purporting to deal with real life in the streets of Edo; it is precisely the dialogue portions of Shunsui's ninjōbon that give them their life and make them more than tolerable reading even today. Furthermore, while it can in no way be said to be closely modeled on the Tatsumi fugen trilogy, Shunshoku umegoyomi (1832-3), Shunsui's masterpiece and the novel that established the form and style of the ninjōbon as a genre, contains basic plot

elements that clearly parallel Sanba's work, and both works include a major character named Tōhei.[74] It would seem that through Tatsumi fugen and its sequels, and through a more general influence on Tamenaga Shunsui, as teacher and stylistic model, Shikitei Sanba played at least an indirect role in the development of what must be regarded as the most important new genre of late Edo fiction.

A quick survey of the works Sanba published in 1798 and 1799 yields the impression that though still only in his early twenties, he was gaining rapidly in self-confidence and was increasingly interested in experimenting with new forms of writing he had not yet tried. Tatsumi fugen, of course, is the best example of Sanba's urge to innovate, which throughout his career would balance his contrary tendency to fall back on conscious imitation of other writers' (and later, his own) work. Several of Sanba's kibyōshi from 1798 and 1799 seem to show, at least in their outlines, that he was becoming dissatisfied with the general blandness that had overtaken the genre in the cautious atmosphere induced by bakufu censorship. One[75] is a slightly demented adult fairy tale populated by the foxes, badgers, demons and other beasts and monsters that had formerly appeared with great regularity in the old akahon and early kibyōshi; annoyed at their displacement by the cloying, sentimental moral tales of present-day kibyōshi, they avenge themselves and assuage their boredom by conjuring into existence a new pleasure

quarter whose innocent patrons become the objects of various bewitchings and humiliations. Another kibyōshi of 1798[76] is constructed around a peculiar plot that combines elements of the Urashimatarō and Dōjōji Temple maiden legends, but is set in the contemporary and very plebeian world of Fukagawa; this sort of interweaving of plot elements, characters, and settings from different historical or legendary worlds is a technique likely inspired by the kabuki theater, and in general outline this work, in its use of a Fukagawa setting, is particularly reminiscent of the somewhat later kabuki plays of Tsuruya Nanboku and his colleagues, like Sakurahime azumabunshō (1817; translated as "The Scarlet Princess of Edo"),[77] that similarly exploited the dramatic and comic possibilities of juxtaposing and interweaving radically different historical, legendary, and social "worlds." These two kibyōshi of 1798, and Kyan taiheiki mukō hachimaki (1799), discussed below, seem to lie closer, in their exuberance of style, content, and conception, to the first-generation kibyōshi of Hiraga Gennai, Shiba Zenkō, and the early Kyōden than to the conservative works of the late Kansei period. In this connection, it is perhaps noteworthy that according to several sources[78] Sanba was, around this time, considering calling himself Shiba Zenkō II. (Zenkō had died in 1793.)[79] Sanba held back, however, feeling that he was not yet ready to claim such distinction, and not wishing to besmirch his respected model's name with his own inferior imitations.[80]

In any case, Sanba is not known ever to have used the name Shiba Zenkō; his modest hesitation may have been genuine, or he may, perhaps, have been confident that his talent was such that he could attract readers even without adopting the name of the then famous but now pretty thoroughly forgotten Zenkō.[81]

Another of Sanba's early works worth a passing glance is Yakusha gakuya tsū ("A Connoisseur's Guide to the Actors' Green Room," 1799),[82] the first book he published in the "middle-size" chūbon format that would be the standard one for his later kokkeibon. This work was divided into two parts. The first was a series of portraits of thirty-six popular kabuki actors by Toyokuni and Kunimasa, accompanied by laudatory comic verses (kyōka) by famous contemporary poets. The second part, separately entitled Yakusha hiiki katagi ("Portraits of Actors' Patrons"),[83] was a loosely-structured story of a kabuki-mad family of theater patrons consisting of little more than a series of character sketches of people exhibiting different kinds of theater addiction, consciously and explicitly acknowledged[84] to be modeled on the early eighteenth century "character pieces" of Ejima Kiseki. This work is of interest for several reasons. First, it gives evidence of Sanba's continuing and ever-developing affection for the theater and his interest in it as a source for his written work. Second, it shows that even at twenty-three, he had begun to form strong connections with the established masters of

comic verse; Sanba's interest in kyōka never went beyond that of a serious amateur, and had no discernible effect on his prose writing, but the composition of comic verse and intercourse with professional kyōka poets, it seems, would be throughout his career both a diversion and a way of gaining entry into literary and artistic circles that might otherwise have been closed to him.[85] Third, the second half of this work clearly foreshadows in format and content a number of Sanba's kokkeibon, as well as suggesting once again, as do the kibyōshi discussed briefly above, that Sanba was consciously attempting, during this period in his career, to revive satiric or comic forms of earlier periods that had for some time been in eclipse.

Late in 1798 or early in 1799, Sanba published a work that signalled very clearly his intent to instill in his writing something of the irreverence and wit that had characterized the best of the early kibyōshi by Harumachi, Kyōden, and other lesser writers. Kyan taiheiki mukō hachimaki ("Swaggering Headbands: A Chronicle of Urban Knight-errantry in a Peaceful Realm")[86] was the first kibyōshi to be published in many years that dared to deal, even obliquely, with current events--in this case, a brawl that had taken place between two municipal fire brigades in Edo the previous autumn. The actual incident upon which Sanba based his story was presumably of little real historical significance, since no record of it seems to survive except in the commentaries on Kyan Taiheiki itself

in sources like Gesaku rokkasen and Bakin's Sakusha burui. But since the bakufu had for decades made very clear its stern disapproval of literary or dramatic treatments of contemporary events, Sanba evidently felt compelled to set his treatment of this trifling outburst of rowdiness far back in the historical past, in the fourteenth century world of the Taiheiki, the classic semi-historical "Chronicle of Grand Pacification" that dealt with the grand events of the chaotic transition between the Kamakura and Ashikaga shogunates. The juxtaposition of the petty squabbles and proud bravado of the fire brigades and the stirring heroics of the Taiheiki must have been comic in itself (the illustrations depict the noble warriors of the Taiheiki battles grandly brandishing ladders, hooks, axes, and other "weapons" of the firefighter's calling), but Sanba finally raises (or lowers) the story to the level of lunatic burlesque in its climactic scene by suddenly transferring the action to a theater stage, where a curtain[87] is pulled aside to reveal, in the grand kabuki manner, a ludicrously anachronistic array of legendary military heroes (among them Yoshitsune, Benkei, and Tametomo of the twelfth century, Asahina Yoshihide of the thirteenth, the fairy tale hero Kintarō, and Watōnai, a hero of Chikamatsu's play, Kokusenya kassen[88]) who rush forth and scatter the attacking forces.

How Kyan taiheiki was received by the reading public, how critics like Bakin regarded it, whether Sanba was proud

of it: all are unanswerable questions, since contemporary observers speak not of its reception or its quality, but of its consequences. On the fifth day of the first month of 1799, according to Bakin,[89] members of a fire brigade allied to one of the brigades satirized in Sanba's book attacked and ransacked the houses of both Sanba and the publisher of Kyan taiheiki, Nishimiya Shinroku. However the bakufu viewed the book itself, it could not overlook this sort of breach of the peace, and not only the offending firefighters, but Sanba and his publisher were summoned to judgment. The firefighters were sentenced to a term in jail as the principal offenders; Sanba, as the ultimate provoker of the quarrel, was sentenced to manacles for a period of fifty days; and Nishimiya Shinroku was heavily fined.[90]

Sanba's seven weeks in manacles proved to be a turning point in his career. The punishment--light by the prevailing standards of the time, perhaps, but still a harrowing and uncomfortable experience--left Sanba chastened and demoralized, but also brought him his first real fame. Long after the event, he still spoke of it with considerable circumspection:

> When Kyan taiheiki came out, it angered certain people, and I ran afoul not only of their ire, but of that of the authorities as well. I received a not insignificant punishment, and caused both my publisher and my father a great deal of pain and trouble. In the end, however, thanks to the benevolence of the present regime, I was pardoned. After that, although my father from time to time told me

> to give up the writer's trade, I refused to abandon it, and after a year or so I began publishing again. As a result of that incident, in fact, my fame had increased greatly, and lately, ever since the success of my Ikazuchitarō,[91] I have been blessed with a good reception by the public.[92]

Sanba and Nishimiya were punished, it would seem, not for any breach of the bakufu's censorship laws, but simply as the ultimate instigators, however unwitting, of a brawl. While in narrow legal terms their experience is nothing more than a good example of the bakufu's I-don't-care-who-started-it-you're-both-going-to-bed-without-supper approach to the maintenance of public order, it also stands as one more example of the perils faced by the writers and publishers of the period.

There is disagreement among Japanese scholars as to the precise effects of the Kansei reforms of the administration of Matsudaira Sadanobu on writing and publishing after the 1780's, but none doubts that there were effects, and profound ones. One aspect of Sadanobu's reform efforts was the emphasis that was placed on education in all levels of society, and another was a call by both bakufu and han reformers for samurai to dedicate themselves anew to the "twofold way" of the martial arts and learning in the service of their lords. Both policies certainly played a role in a phenomenon clearly visible in the popular literature of the Kansei period and beyond, a rapidly increasing proportion of members of the townsman class among writers,

and a parallel expansion of their audience to include people in social strata far lower than had ever before been counted among the readership for popular fiction.[93] On the one hand, the regime's encouragement of education spread literacy into previously unlettered reaches of society, and on the other, many samurai who had been actively engaged in writing popular fiction ceased to do so--some, like Hōseidō Kisanji and Hōraisanjin Kikyō, were simply ordered by their feudal superiors to stop writing,[94] and others, like Ōta Nanpo,[95] were lured back into respectability by appeals for the assistance of men of talent in han or bakufu administration.

A third aspect of the Kansei reform movement that had a more direct impact on literary trends was the active involvement of the bakufu in attempts to strengthen censorship and control of publishing activities through the municipal administrations of Edo and its sister metropolises, Osaka and Kyoto. The first stage of this involvement came in 1790 with edicts prohibiting the publication of books of allegedly erotic content (meaning, in context, sharebon) or that were otherwise prejudicial to moral and political stability.[96] The second came with a reorganization of the censorship system in 1796 and 1797 that, first, resulted in a much more direct involvement of the Edo municipal government in the inspection and approval of books for publication, duties that had previously been handled on a self-policing basis by representatives of

the guild (nakama) of book and print publishers and, second, brought under the censorship system publications in the kusazōshi category, which had hitherto been paid little official attention.[97]

The most prominent victims of the new official mood were the popular authors Koikawa Harumachi and Santō Kyōden. (How many other, lesser known writers ran afoul of the new policy is difficult to ascertain since official records seem to be lacking, and other contemporary sources are scattered and often seem reticent on the subject.) Harumachi died under house arrest (his death was rumored to be a suicide) while awaiting the official decision regarding his satire on the government's reform policies, a kibyōshi published in 1790 entitled Ōmukaeshi bunbu no futamichi ("Parrotings of the Twofold Way of the Literary and Martial Arts").[98] Kyōden was sentenced to fifty days in manacles, and his publisher relieved of half his wealth, for publishing not a political satire, but three sharebon; this direct defiance of the prohibition was compounded by the fact that the books had been packaged in envelopes marked "educational books."[99] Harumachi's death and Kyōden's forced withdrawal deprived the world of popular fiction of two of its most talented writers. When Kyōden resumed publishing after a few years, he was conspicuously subdued, sharing with other writers a general wariness of innovation that resulted in a tendency toward a dull sameness in the fiction of the period.

By the mid-1790's, either the bakufu had informally indicated that it was no longer particularly concerned about sharebon, or publishers had simply begun testing the water again and found that no official action resulted, for sharebon once again began to appear in large numbers. The government was slow to act, but when it did, it investigated thoroughly; and it found to its dismay that many of the offending authors, who in order to circumvent the censorship laws had been publishing privately and pseudonymously, were not only of samurai rank but were hatamoto or other direct retainers of the Tokugawa house.[100] As a result, no individuals were punished, but as noted above, the censorship system was expanded, tightened, and made more official. The only writer known to have become a victim of this second anti-sharebon campaign was Shinrotei, who, it is said, suffered a considerable financial setback after spending a great deal of time and money on field research in the tea houses and brothels of Edo in anticipation of a fat payment for his next, now unpublishable sharebon.[101]

While the new censorship system might have been expected to make writers and publishers even less interested in innovation, its ultimate effect, paradoxically, was exactly the opposite, for the municipal officials charged with censorship duties, overwhelmed by the work of examining every candidate for publication on top of their other duties, soon delegated their authority to deputies, who, in

their turn, likewise overwhelmed, licensed a de facto return to the old self-policing system that in effect made the guild officers themselves official deputies and made their decisions (presumably guided more by considerations of profit than by moral urges) less subject to government criticism than before.

It was this sort of censorship system under which Shikitei Sanba began his writing career. It had been made abundantly clear that the government would intervene any time it felt its interests were threatened, as in the case of Koikawa Harumachi's satire, or when its edicts were baldly ignored, as in Kyōden's case, but a cautious writer could experiment as long as he avoided obviously dangerous ground. The fact that Sanba could publish Tatsumi fugen in 1798 is indication enough that the censorship rules regarding sharebon were only loosely enforced, but it must have been clear also that the authorities were capable of reestablishing control on any pretext. In another sense, Tatsumi fugen and other examples of post-Kansei reform sharebon may demonstrate a surprising positive effect of tightened censorship procedures. Sanba's work and those, for instance, of Umebori Kokuga show a marked tendency to break out of the established pattern of the earlier sharebon, set in the Yoshiwara and concentrating mainly on the decidedly confining question of what did or did not constitute a properly sophisticated and fashionable approach to wooing a courtesan, in favor of treating fallibly

individual women and their lover/clients in settings less rarified than the elegant Yoshiwara houses. Perhaps the ultimate effect of erratic bakufu censorship was, in fact, to encourage experimentation in forms of literary expression that had not been explicitly singled out for attack.

It is interesting to speculate about what directions Sanba's satiric urges might have taken had Kyan taiheiki not resulted in the firefighters' counterattack and the government's consequent involvement as guardian of the public peace. The bakufu had long expressed its disapproval of current events in print and on the stage, but in fact it confined its anxiety for the most part to works dealing either with government policy or scandals within the samurai class on the one hand, or with socially undesirable phenomena like double love suicides on the other. It was not the content, but rather the indirect consequences of Kyan taiheiki that aroused official hostility; Sanba, however, preferring to err on the side of safety, could easily have seen his punishment as a judgment on the acceptability of any kind of topical satire. In fact, he never again wrote anything that dealt satirically with current events or recognizable contemporary individuals or groups.

For many years after the Kyan taiheiki episode, the bakufu seems generally to have left writers alone to publish what they pleased, with the prominent exception of Jippensha Ikku, who did his own fifty-day turn in manacles

in 1804 for publishing Bakemono ehon taikōki,[102] a mildly satirical kibyōshi that lampooned historical figures and events of the late sixteenth century, a period evidently too uncomfortably close to the founding of the Tokugawa shogunate to be tolerated by the bakufu.[103] Not until the following generation, during the bakufu's last futile attempts in the 1830's and 1840's to repair the creaking economic and political machinery of the Tokugawa system in the period of the Tenpō reforms, would writers again be subjected to governmental harassment. This time, Tamenaga Shunsui and the gōkan master Ryūtei Tanehiko were the most prominent victims of the regime's attempts to reestablish morality in print; Tanehiko died in 1842 while under investigation, rumored, like Harumachi, to be a suicide,[104] and Shunsui, broken in spirit and health after a grueling investigation and fifty days in manacles, died early in 1844.[105] Generally speaking, however, the years during which Sanba was active as a mature writer, embracing the Kyōwa, Bunka, and part of the Bunsei eras (1801-1829), were marked by little overt government interference with writing and publishing, and the censorship process was a formal routine that seems to have weighed lightly on the producers of popular fiction. The writers of the period were free, within limits dictated more by common sense and instinct than by government fiat, to experiment with new literary forms and subject matter, and as Sanba grew

into a somewhat chastened and responsible adulthood, he participated in and sometimes led the general broadening, if not yet the deepening, of the concerns of the gesaku writer.

Notes to Chapter II

1. 菊地茂兵衛 ; 晴雲堂 .

2. 菊地太助 (泰輔).

3. Shikitei Sanba, Shikitei zakki 式亭雑記 , reprinted in Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会 , ed., Zoku enseki jisshu 続燕石十種 , 2 vols. (Kokusho Kankōkai, 1908), 1:47. Sanba's brother, who was some five years younger than he, was known in his childhood as Sanojirō 佐之治郎 and later Sasuke 左助 ; he served an apprenticeship with the book dealer Ishiwata Risuke 石渡利助 , and at some time began calling himself Ishiwata Heihachi 石渡平八 , under which name he acted as a junior partner, with Nishimura Genroku 中村源六 and Ishiwata Risuke, in the publication of the first two books of Ukiyoburo. (Shikitei zakki, p. 47; Honda, SSB, p. 41.)

4. Takizawa Bakin 滝沢馬琴 , Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui 近世物之本江戸作者部類 (preface dated 1834), reprinted in Kishigami Misao 岸上操 , ed., Onchi sōsho 温知叢書 , 8 vols. (Hakubunkan, 1891), 5: separately paginated, 191 pp. (Hereafter, Sakusha burui.) This extended essay, written by Bakin under the pseudonym Kaikōsanjin 蟹行山人 , provides a wealth of biographical information on a total of 126 individual gesaku authors from the mid-1700's forward and much incidental and anecdotal information about contemporary popular fiction and publishing practices.

5. Iwamoto Sashichi (Darumaya Kattōshi) 岩本左七 (達磨屋活東子), ed., Gesaku rokkasen 戯作六家撰 (preface dated 1857), reprinted in Iwamoto Sashichi, ed., Enseki jisshu 燕石十種 , 3 vols. (Kokusho Kankōkai, 1907), 1:371-407. An expanded and annotated version of an earlier work by the gesakusha Bokusentei Yukimaro 墨川亭雪麻呂 .

6. See note 3 above for full citation.

7. Gesaku rokkasen, p. 381.

8. Sakusha burui, p. 34.

9. Honda, SSB, p. 73, cites introductions to the following three works: Katakiuchi Adatarayama 敵討安達太郎山 , illus. by Utagawa Toyokuni 歌川豊国 (Nishimiya Shinroku, 1806), 10 vols.; Gejō suigen maku no soto 戯場粋言幕之外 , illus. by Utagawa Kuninao 歌川国直 (1806), 2 vols.; and

Tōsei orimagai Hachijō 当世織繰紛八丈 , illus. by Utagawa Kuninao (Nishimiya Shinroku, 1814), 6 vols. The last-named work is a gōkan version of a jōruri play set on Hachijōjima, Kikuchi Mohei's birthplace, and in his introduction Sanba refers explicitly to his father's parentage and connections with Hachijōjima. (Cited in Honda, SSB, p. 40.)

10. Honda, SSB, p. 73, cites Sanba's introduction to his Nihon-ichi ahō no kagami 日本一癡鑑 , illus. by Utagawa Toyokuni (Izumiya Ichibei, 1801), 3 vols.

11. Shikitei zakki, p. 44.

12. Koikawa Harumachi 恋川春町 , Sono henpō bakemono-banashi 其返報怪談 . The title page of the copy of this work bearing Sanba's autobiographical note is reproduced in Mizuno Minoru 水野稔 , ed., Kibyōshi-shu I 黄表紙集一 , Koten bunko 古典文庫 series, no. 264 (Koten Bunko, 1969), p. xxv.

13. Honda, SSB, pp. 38, 73; Kikuchi Mohei's name also appears (as Kikuji Mohei) in a selective list of ukiyo-e print carvers in Frank A. Turk, The Prints of Japan (New York: October House, 1966), p. 71. The full range of Mohei's activity is difficult to ascertain, since carvers only occasionally signed their work.

14. Gesaku rokkasen, p. 381; afterword by Sanba's literary disciple Shuntei Sangyō 春亭三暁 in Shikitei Sanba, Kokon hyakubaka 古今百馬鹿 , illus. by Utagawa Kuninao (Tsutaya Jūzaburō et al., 1814), 3 vols., reprinted in Nihon Meicho Zenshū Kankōkai 日本名著全集刊行会 , ed., Kokkeibonshū 滑稽本集 , Nihon meicho zenshū Edo bungei no bu 日本名著全集・江戸文芸之部 series (hereafter NMZ), no. 14 (Nihon Meicho Zenshū Kankōkai, 1927), pp. 717-48. (Sanshō's afterword appears on p. 744 of this edition); Sanba's introduction to his Tōsei orimagai Hachijō (see note 9 above). Honda, SSB, p. 39, also cites several contemporary histories of Hachijōjima for further information about Mohei; one identifies him as the eldest son of Kikuchi Takehisa 菊地武綱 , the hereditary head priest of the Tametomo Daimyōjin shrine. These local Hachijōjima records, however, confuse Sanba and Mohei, and one identifies Sanba as the author of Jippensha Ikku's Hizakurige. No evidence exists that Mohei himself ever pursued his family's priestly calling; to identify Sanba as "the son of a Shinto priest" (Keene, World Within Walls, p. 414) is to give a misleading impression of Sanba's childhood environment.

15. This shrine was dedicated to the legendary Minamoto Tametomo, a hero of the first round of the Minamoto-Taira rivalry in the mid-1100's. The shrine was actually located on Oshima, a small island off the coast of the main island of Hachijōjima.

16. Gesaku rokkasen, p. 383.

17. See Sanba's portrayal of the proud chōnin mother of such a girl in service to a wealthy household in Ukiyoburo, II:1.

18. See Chapter III below for a discussion of Sanba's relationships with illustrators.

19. See Chapter III below.

20. Gesaku rokkasen, p. 383.

21. Sakusha burui, p. 32. Also, Takizawa Bakin, Iwademo no ki 伊波伝毛乃記 (1819), reprinted in Hayakawa Junzaburō 早川純三郎 , ed., Shin enseki jisshu 新燕石十種, 5 vols. (Kokusho Kankōkai, 1914), 4:195. (Hereafter Iwademo no ki.)

22. Gesaku rokkasen, p. 381.

23. Loc. cit.

24. Cited in Honda, SSB, p. 42. Ta ga sode nikki 誰が袖日記, an unremarkable work by Hōkasō 宝暦僧 , is reprinted in Kokusho Kankōkai, ed., Tokugawa bungei ruijū 徳川文芸類聚 (Kokusho Kankōkai, 1915), 5:216-24, but this edition makes no reference to Sanba's personal copy of the work.

25. Gesaku rokkasen, p. 381. The name Nishimiya Taisuke 西宮太助 first appears in print as co-publisher, with Yorozuya Tajiemon 万屋太治右衛門 , of Sanba's Shibai kinmō zui 戯場訓蒙図彙, illus. by Katsukawa Shuntei 勝川春亭 and Utagawa Toyokuni (1803), 5 vols. (Honda, SSB, pp. 76, 399.)

26. Gesaku rokkasen, pp. 383-84. On the origins of the name Shikitei Sanba, see Shikitei Sanba, Kyōgen kigyo 狂言綺語 (1804), reprinted in Hakubunkan 博文館 , ed., Sanba kessakushū 三馬傑作集 , Teikoku bunko 帝国文庫 series, no. 13 (Hakubunkan, 1893), p. 805, where Sanba explains that in order to express his admiration for the gesakusha Tōrai Sanna 唐来三和 and Utei Enba 烏亭焉馬 , he took one character from each of their names. Sakusha burui, p. 33, tells substantially the same story. Honda (SSB, p. 51) suggests further a punning connection with

shikisanbasō 式三番叟 , a ceremonial dance piece performed at the beginning of the kabuki season deriving ultimately from the nō play Okina; the accompanying song to this dance includes a phrase reminiscent of another of Sanba's pen names, Tararirō 呵囉哩樓 (Sasakawa Shurō 笹川種郎 , ed., Sharebon kusazōshishū 洒落本草双紙集 , Hyōshaku Edo bungaku sōsho 評釈江戸文学叢書 series, no. 8 [Kōdansha, 1936], note to p. 661.) Other pen names and sobriquets used by Sanba at one time or another, sometimes in conjunction with each other, include Yūgidō 遊戯堂, Sharakusai 洒落斎 , Shikisanjin 四季山人 , Yūgidōjin 遊戯道人 , Gesakusha 戯作舎 , and Kokkeidō 滑稽堂 . (Gesaku rokkasen, p. 381.)

27. Sakusha burui, p. 34.

28. Gesaku rokkasen, p. 381; Sakusha burui, p. 32.

29. Iwademo no ki, p. 195, places Sanba's marriage vaguely "in the Kansei period."

30. Honda, SSB, pp. 42-44, 398-99. In this connection, it may be significant that descriptions (Sakusha burui, p. 33; Iwademo no ki, p. 195) of the Kyan taiheiki incident of 1799 refer to "Sanba's house," suggesting that Sanba had quarters of his own apart from those either of his father or of Yorozuya Taijiemon; on the other hand, Sanba laments (Gesaku rokkasen, p. 384) that this incident caused pain and trouble not only to his publisher, Nishimiya Shinroku, whose house was ransacked, but also to his father. Perhaps in 1799 Sanba was, in fact, living in his father's house.

31. Gesaku rokkasen, p. 381; Sakusha burui, p. 32; Iwademo no ki, p. 195.

32. 天道浮世出星操 , illus. by Utagawa Toyokuni (Nishimiya Shinroku, 1794), 3 vols. Reprinted in Kōdō Tokuji 幸堂得知 , ed., Kibyōshi hyakushu 黄表紙百種 , Zoku teikoku bunko 続帝国文庫 series, no. 16 (Hakubunkan, 1901), pp. 845-59.

33. 人間一心覗替繰, illus. by Utagawa Toyokuni (Nishimiya Shinroku, 1794), 2 vols.

34. Sakusha burui, p. 32.

35. In my discussion of this work, I have relied heavily on the insights offered in Honda, SSB, pp. 45-49.

36. 心学早染草 , illus. by Kitao Masayoshi 北尾政美 (Ōwada Yasuhei, 1790), 3 vols. Reprinted in Mizuno Minoru 水野稔 , ed., Kibyōshi sharebonshū 黄表紙洒落本集 ,

Nihon koten bungaku taikei 日本古典文学大系 series, no. 59 (Iwanami Shoten, 1958), pp. 197-216.

37. For a detailed English treatment of Shingaku, see Robert N. Bellah, Tokugawa Religion (New York: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 133-77.

38. This identification seems to have first been made by Yamaguchi Takeshi in his introduction to Kibyōshi nijūgoshu 黄表紙廿五種, NMZ 11 (1926), p. 41.

39. The verse appears on p. 846 of Tentō ukiyo no dezukai, and p. 199 of Shingaku hayasomegusa in the editions cited above.

40. Hōseidō Kisanji 朋誠堂喜三二, Tentō daifukuchō 天道大福帳, cited in Honda, SSB, p. 46.

41. Shiba Zenkō 芝全交, Ukiyo ayatsuri kumen jūmen 浮世操九面十面, cited in Honda, SSB, p. 46.

42. Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴, Honchō nijufukō 本朝二十不孝.

43. See Howard S. Hibbett, The Floating World in Japanese Fiction (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959) for a detailed treatment of Ejima Kiseki and his katagimono 気質物.

44. See Honda, SSB, pp. 397-98, for a comprehensive list, and pp. 47-73 for descriptions and analyses of Sanba's works during this period.

45. See below for a more extensive discussion of the Kansei reforms and their effects on gesaku literature.

46. Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内 (1729-1780), one of the most interesting personalities of the whole of the Edo period, was an early experimenter in European painting techniques and an influential student of Western science. These special interests, combined with his unassailable command of Chinese, qualify him as the archetypal gesakusha, a serious gentleman scholar writing frivolous works for his own entertainment (in Gennai's case, under the pseudonym Fūraisanjin 風来山人). For a brief account of his career, see Sakusha burui, pp. 110-20.

47. 基太平記白石噺, illus. by Utagawa Toyokuni (Nishimiya Shinroku, 1795), 3 vols.

48. 敵討白石噺, illus. by Utagawa Toyokuni (Nishimiya Shinroku, 1796), 2 vols.

49. Go taiheiki Shiraishibanashi, a play in eleven acts by Utei Enba and several collaborators, was given its first performance at the Edo Gekiza theater on the second day of the first month of An'ei 9 (1780). Honda, SSB, p. 51.

50. "Shijō kabuki 紙上歌舞伎 ": Jinbō Kazuya 神保五弥 , "Kaseido Tenpōki no Edo shōsetsu no sakusha to dokusha 化政度・天保期の江戸小説の作者と読者 ," Bungaku 文学 , vol. 26, no. 5 (May, 1958), p. 98.

51. See Chapter III below for a summary discussion of Sanba's works in this category, usually called kabukimono 歌舞伎物 .

52. Honda, SSB, p. 51.

53. 辰巳掃言 (publisher unknown), 1 vol. See note 60 for modern reprints.

54. Honda, SSB, pp. 58-59.

55. See Chapter I above.

56. 振鷺亭 (? -1815), here using the pen name Kantōbei 関東米 .

57. (式亭門人) 楽山人馬笑 . Also known as Rakutei 楽亭 Bashō; the jōruri chanter Takemonto Sōdayū IV. Iwamoto Sashichi, Gesakusha shōden 戯作者小伝 (1857?), reprinted in his Enseki jisshu, 1:361.

58. Umebori Kokuga 梅暮里谷峨 , Keiseikai futasujimichi 傾城買二筋道 , reprinted in Mizuno, ed., Kibyōshi sharebonshū, pp. 441-65. (Sanba's introduction, p. 442.)

59. Yamaguchi Takeshi, introduction to Sharebonshū 洒落本集 , NMZ 12 (1929), p. xcvii.

60. For example, Sharebonshū (NMZ 12), pp. 567-602, and Sasakawa, ed., Sharebon kusazōshishū, pp. 659-96.

61. In, for instance, Shikake bunko 仕懸文庫 (1791), reprinted in NMZ 12:541-65.

62. Most prominently, in Shunshoku umegoyomi (see note 74).

63. Hōraisanjin Kikyō 蓬来山人帰橋 , Fukagawa haiken 深川拝見 , cited in Honda, SSB, pp. 61-62.

64. Especially, according to Honda, SSB, p. 62, Keiseikai shijūhatte 傾城買四十八手 (1790), reprinted in Mizuno, ed., Kibyōshi sharebonshū, pp. 387-416. Yamaguchi Takeshi (NMZ 12:xcviii) cites also Shikake bunko and Nishiki no ura

錦之裏 (1791), reprinted in Mizuno, op. cit., pp. 417-40, as other works by Kyōden that Sanba seems to have borrowed from in Tatsumi fugen.

65. See, for instance, the opinion of Yamaguchi Takeshi, NMZ 12:xcviii.

66. 辰巳之園 , by Muchūsanjin Negotosensei 夢中山人寝言先生 , of whom virtually nothing is known. Reprinted in Mizuno, op. cit., pp. 295-318.

67. While most sharebon had on their covers only a narrow pasted-on strip of paper with the title printed on it, Tatsumi fugen bore a large rectangle that had, in addition to the title, a brief snatch of dialogue:

"An itinerant booklender [kashihon'ya], carrying a cloth-wrapped bundle slung on his back:

"'Hai! A new sharebon's out! Still in its wrapper . . .'

"He leaves a book, and departs.

"'Hmm. What's this? This is a new kind of story--might be good . . .'

"And when he turned the page . . ."

Honda, SSB, p. 66, notes that a "teaser" of similar format appeared on the cover of Kyōden's Nishiki no ura, but Sanba's version gives evidence that he was conscious of the novelty of his setting, and, further, saw either this work, or sharebon in general, as aimed not at a small audience of connoisseurs but at the much broader readership who patronized the kashihon'ya. (The cover of Tatsumi fugen appears in facsimile, and its text is reproduced, in NMZ 12:567 and xcvii respectively.) Sanba himself hints strongly, in his introduction to Sendō shinwa (see note 70) that one reason he chose to write about the Furuishiba quarter in Tatsumi fugen was simply because it had previously gone untreated.

68. In NMZ 12:xcviii.

69. 古契三娼 . Reprinted in Sasakawa, ed., Sharebon kusazōshi, pp. 585-612.

70. 船頭深話 ("Profound Tales of a Boatman"), 2 vols. Reprinted in Hakubunkan, ed., Sanba kessakushū, pp. 535-98.

71. 船頭部屋 ("The Boatman's Quarters"), 1 vol. Reprinted in Hakubunkan, ed., Sanba kessakushū, pp. 599-625.

72. See, for instance, Teruoka Yasutaka 暉峻康隆 and Gunji Masakatsu 郡司正勝 , Edo shimin bungaku no kaika 江戸市民文学の開花 , Nihon no bungaku 日本の文学 series, no. 5 (Shibundō, 1967), pp. 293-96. Teruoka includes the Tatsumi fugen trilogy among other late works in the genre by Kokuga, Ikku, and Shinrotei as an example of the transitional sharebon type.

73. Sanba's relationship with Shunsui will be treated at greater length as part of a discussion of Sanba and his literary disciples, in Chapter III below.

74. Honda, SSB, p. 74 (note 20), locates a passage in Book IV of Umegoyomi where Shunsui's Tōhei compares himself explicitly to his namesake in Tatsumi fugen. Tamenaga Shunsui 為永春水 , Shunshoku umegoyomi 春色梅児誉美 , edited by Nakamura Yukihiko 中村幸彦 , Nihon koten bungaku taikei series, no. 64 (Iwanami Shoten, 1962), p. 108.

75. Haratsutsumi heso no shitakata 腹鼓臍噺曲 ("The Fox-gut Drum and the Navel Bandsmen"), illus. by Utagawa Toyokuni (Izumiya Ichibei, 1798), 3 vols. Discussed in Honda, SSB, p. 57.

76. Sono atomaku baba Dōjōji 其跡幕婆道成寺 ("After the Final Curtain: The Dōjōji Temple Crone"), illus. by Utagawa Toyokuni (Nishimiya Shinroku, 1798), 3 vols. Discussed in Honda, SSB, p. 56.

77. 桜姫東文章 (1817), translated in James R. Brandon, Kabuki: Five Classic Plays (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 239-349.

78. Sakusha burui, p. 33, quoting Sanba; Gesaku rokkasen, p. 386, quoting Rakutei Bashō, Kuruwa setsuyō 廓節要 (1799), suggests that it was "Shiba Zenkō's final wish" that Sanba become Zenkō II.

79. Iwamoto, Gesakusha shōden, p. 345.

80. Sakusha burui, p. 33, quoting Sanba, says only that "events conspired to prevent" him from assuming Zenkō's name, but Gesaku rokkasen, p. 386, again quoting Kuruwa setsuyō, says he held back for fear of "sullying the name of the deceased," since "he still thinks of himself, as always, as 'Zenkō's pupil.'" Since Zenkō died when Sanba was only seventeen, it seems strange both that he would have bequeathed his name to the as yet unpublished youth, and that Sanba regarded Zenkō as his teacher. Possibly Sanba (then Taisuke) had had personal contact with Zenkō through his father or his master during his apprenticeship, but if such was the case, it would seem likely that Sanba's reminiscences, in Gesaku rokkasen or elsewhere, would mention the fact, given Sanba's obvious reverence for the older man.

81. Sanba's notoriety after the Kyan taiheiki incident caused him finally to discard the idea of taking Zenkō's name: "Thanks to my involvement with the incident of the fire brigades' battle, the name Sanba was suddenly being

noised about, and so I gave up my original intention." (Sakusha burui, p. 33.)

82. 俳優楽室通 , illus. by Utagawa Toyokuni and Utagawa Kunimasa 歌川国政 (Kazusaya Chūsuke, 1799), cited in Honda, SSB, pp. 72, 398.

83. 俳優家顯屓気質 .

84. Introduction to Yakusha gakuya tsū, quoted in Honda, SSB, p. 72.

85. See Chapter III below.

86. 俠太平記向鉢巻 , illus. by Kitao Shigemasa 北尾重政 (Nishimiya Shinroku, 1799), 3 vols. The first character of the title, usually pronounced "kyō" and meaning "chivalry," was often given in the late Edo period the pronunciation "kyan," probably an attempt to reproduce the vernacular Chinese pronunciation (now "hsia"), particularly in the compound kyankaku 俠客 , often glossed, and identical in meaning to otokodate 男立 , "chivalrous commoner," "champion of the underdog," a term conjuring up an image of flashy, street-wise toughs who, in the course of sometimes disreputable private business, acted as a guardian of defenseless "little people." The image is reinforced in this title by mukō hachimaki, a headband tied in front, seen as a symbol of a certain class of otokodate, or at least of a certain sort of hot-tempered swaggerer.

87. The curtain in question was the mukō hikimaku 向引幕 , hung at the far end of the hanamichi (the runway stretching between the rear of a kabuki theater and the main stage); the mukō hachimaki of the title may be a punning reference to this element of the story.

88. 国性爺合戦 , translated as "The Battles of Coxinga" in Donald Deene, Major Plays of Chikamatsu (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), pp. 195-269.

89. Sakusha burui, p. 33; Iwademo no ki, p. 195.

90. Loc. cit.

91. Ikazuchitarō gōaku monogatari 雷太郎強悪物語 ("The Story of the Villainous Ikazuchitarō"), illus. by Utagawa Toyokuni (Nishimiya Shinroku, 1806), 10 vols. in two parts. Samba's first and highly popular gōkan.

92. Gesaku rokkasen, p. 384.

93. See Chapter I above.

94. For Hōseidō Kisanji: Yamaguchi in Kibyōshishū (NMZ 11), p. xxxvi; Sakusha burui, p. 16, hints only circumspectly at the reasons why Kisanji stopped writing. For Hōraisanjin Kikyō: Sakusha burui, p. 77.

95. 大田南畝 , perhaps better known as the kyōka poet Shokusanjin 蜀山人 . Teruoka, Edo shimin bungaku no kaika, p. 263; Nakamura, Gesakuron, p. 100; Sakusha burui once more is very reticent (pp. 19-20).

96. A series of edicts was issued, beginning in the second month of 1790, ordering strict compliance with the edicts still in effect, dating from the Kyōhō period (1716-1735), that had laid down the organizational rules and censorship principles governing the publishing guilds. Teruoka, Edo shimin bungaku no kaika, pp. 290-91; Uesato Shunsei 上里春生 , Edo shosekishō shi 江戸書籍商史 (Meicho Kankōkai, 1965; a reprint of the 1930 edition), p. 118, and pp. 108-10, where the original Kyōhō edicts are reprinted.

97. Sakusha burui, p. 84.

98. Ibid., p. 17.

99. Ibid., p. 80; Iwademo no ki, p. 189; Teruoka, Edo shimin bungaku no kaika, p. 291-92.

100. Sakusha burui, p. 84.

101. Ibid., pp. 82-83. While no writers seem to have received official punishments during this period, Sakusha burui, p. 85, notes that the publisher Kazusaya Rihei was banished from Edo briefly, returning under the name Ishiwata Risuke (see note 3).

102. 化物絵本太閤記 , illus. by the author (Yamaguchiya Chūsuke, 1804), 3 vols. Also known as Bakemono taiheiki 化物太平記.

103. Sasakawa Shurō, introduction to Seibundō 誠文堂 , ed., Jippensha Ikku-shū 十返舎一九集 , Kindai Nihon bungaku taikei 近代日本文学大系 series, no. 13 (Seibundō, 1933), p. xi; Sakusha burui, p. 31.

104. Nakamura Yukihiko and Nishiyama Matsunosuke 西山松之助, Bunka ryōran 文化繚乱 , Nihon bungaku no rekishi series, no. 8 (Kadokawa Shoten, 1967), p. 234.

105. Nakamura, ed., Shunshoku umegoyomi, Introduction, p. 24.

CHAPTER III: THE MATURE PROFESSIONAL

For several years after his encounter with Tokugawa justice for his involvement with the hot-tempered fire-fighters, Shikitei Sanba published very little and what he did produce was markedly different in character from what he wrote before or after. The fact that he published nothing at all in 1800 was no doubt a direct result of his unpleasant experiences of the year before, compounded perhaps by his father's expressed wish that he give up writing altogether. It would be a mistake, however, to attribute the changed character of his work in the next few years entirely to the lingering effects of the Kyan taiheiki episode, for harrowing as that experience was, it was merely the beginning of a series of events and involvements that were, in the end, probably of greater importance to him personally and as a writer.

The very complexity of Sanba's domestic and business affairs alone in this period would, in fact, account for his diminished creativity in the half-decade or so following 1799. As we have seen, it is unclear what Sanba's living arrangements were at the time of the Kyan taiheiki incident, but by 1802, he had taken up residence in the Yorozuya household.[1] His marriage to the daughter of the house, and his adoption as heir, presumably took place prior to that date, but not, it would seem from accounts

of the firefighters' attack, before 1799.[2] Some time in 1804, according to Sanba's memoir, he took over responsibility for the widow of Horinoya Nihei (the bookseller Gangetsudō), under whom he had served his apprenticeship, and later, after the death of his first wife, he married Gangetsudō's daughter.[3] The sequence of events is reasonably clear, but their dating is difficult. Various sources place Sanba in the Yorozuya household in 1802 and 1803,[4] but in a work he wrote and co-published with Yorozuya Tajiemon in the spring of 1803, his name appears in the colophon as "Nishimiya Taisuke, of Honkokuchō 4-chōme," which was the location of the Gangetsudō bookstore.[5] This seems to indicate that he severed his Yorozuya connections and moved in with the Horinoya family in 1803, but another of his works published in 1805 lists as publishers Yorozuya Tajiemon and "Yorozuya Taisuke,"[6] which argues rather that even at this later date he was still regarded as heir by Tajiemon. To complicate matters further, one source says that he moved to Kokuchō (probably Honkokuchō) after the death of his first wife,[7] and another says he moved at that time to Yokkaichi (in the Nihonbashi district and the location of the Kazusaya-Ishiwata establishment where Sanba's younger brother was employed[8]), where he opened a used-book shop.[9] Sanba himself says that he was living in another neighborhood near Nihonbashi in the spring of 1806, when a great fire that destroyed large areas of central Edo burned him out of his home and destroyed his library[10]

(perhaps a reference to his stock of used books for trade). Some time later in 1806, he established himself in Honkokuchō 4-chōme,[11] and his marriage to the daughter of his late master, whose shop was in that neighborhood, may have taken place at that time.

While in the absence of more explicit records it is impossible to pin down more precisely Sanba's movements and the nature of his relationships with the families of his two wives between 1800 and 1805, he was obviously unsettled physically, and may have been emotionally upset as well. If his marriage to the Yorozuya daughter took place shortly after the Kyan taiheiki incident, it may be presumed that he entered that family under something of a cloud, and her death shortly thereafter would have further demoralized him. He then found himself, from 1804 onwards, burdened also with the unexpected responsibility of looking after the widow of his former master, an unavoidable duty that must have been thrust upon him because the second Horinoya Nihei, his future wife's brother, was either underage or incompetent.[12] It is not inconceivable that being thus brought back into close contact with the Horinoya family, which included a marriageable daughter whom he had known from childhood, resulted in emotional complications for Sanba; Bakin seems to hint, in Iwademo no ki, that there were reasons other than simply the death of his bride that caused his relationship with Tajiemon's house to be severed.[13] Whatever his lingering feelings about his fifty

days in manacles may have been, this was clearly a period in Sanba's life when he might understandably have been unable to find either the time or the emotional energy necessary for writing much original fiction, particularly if he at some time left the Yorozuya household to set up his own used-book business.[14]

Of the twelve or so titles Sanba published in the years between 1801 and 1805, only six can by any stretch of the definition be called original, creative works, and of these, only one, his first book to be formally included among his kokkeibon, seems worthy of much praise and will be discussed at greater length in Chapter IV. The remaining five, all kibyōshi, are interesting only as further examples of Sanba's "habit of imitation," although one dating from 1805 marks the beginning of a long series of similar works in the category known as katakiuchimono, "vendetta pieces," that would account for a large proportion of his later output. While the other works dating from this period cannot be classed as creative fiction, they include some that are very revealing of Sanba's approach to his craft and illuminate interesting corners of the world of the early nineteenth century gesakusha.

The following brief descriptions of these six remaining "non-fiction" works, arranged according to date of publication, will serve as a basis for further discussion:

Kusazōshi kojitsuke nendaiki ("Kusazōshi: A Burlesque Chronicle," 1802).[15] A history of popular fiction from the kanazōshi forward. The main text consists of a retelling of the story of Hachikatsugihime, "the princess with the pot on her head," a well-known otogizōshi tale, each successive set of facing pages being written in the style of progressively more recent periods and illustrated (by Sanba himself) in a corresponding, chronologically appropriate style; the work contains in addition a wealth of information in tabular form on authors, publishers, and publishing practices during the height of the kibyōshi's popularity, from Kinkin-sensei eiga no yume (Koikawa Harumachi, 1775)[16] to Jūshi keisei hara no uchi (Shiba Zenkō, 1793).[17]

Wata onjaku kikō hōjō ("On the Marvelous Efficacy of the Cotton Warming Plaster: An Announcement," 1802).[18] An illustrated, three-volume kibyōshi-format advertisement extolling the virtues of a kind of medicated cotton plaster sold as a side-line in Yorozuya Tajiemon's book shop.

Kyōkakei ("A Key to Comic Verse," Pt. I, 1803; Pt. II, 1805).[19] A guide to the various Edo schools of kyōka, kyōka judges and their preferences and verse-grading techniques, and other kyōka miscellany, compiled by Sanba under the guidance of the kyōka master Yomo no Utagaki (Shikatsube Magao.)[20]

Shibai kinmō zui ("Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Theater," 1803).[21] A five-volume illustrated compendium of detailed information about the Edo kabuki theaters presented in a classified format parodying that of the monumental Wakan sansai zue of 1713, an encyclopedia in 105 volumes that treated Chinese and Japanese subjects; the on-stage and off-stage worlds are treated here as two "countries," each with its own geography, climate, history, customs, architecture, furniture and so on.

Myōdai no aburaya ("Oil-seller by Ordination," 1804).[22] Another piece of advertising: a loosely plotted, illustrated tale of how the oil-seller Toraya Sōsaburō entered his trade on the command of an oracle, interrupted by short texts extolling the Toraya's cosmetic and pharmaceutical products.

Kyōgen kigyo ("Indecorous Words, Decorative Prose," 1804).[23] A misleadingly titled two-volume collection of humorous congratulatory messages and advertising texts by well-known writers collected on the occasion of a party in honor of the writer and dramatist Utei Enba's sixtieth birthday. The second volume contains advertisements and humorous essays by Sanba.

These six works, taken as a group, raise general questions for the student of late Edo literature that call for a brief digression. They stand as examples, as apt as any, of how uncommonly difficult it is to grasp the content of a term like kibyōshi as a "genre" name. It is perhaps possible to stretch one's conception of a "genre" to include works as diverse as Sanba's Kyan taiheiki, Kyōden's Shingaku hayasomegusa, and the later, wildly popular vendetta stories, all of which at least were creative works of fiction or fictionalization. But can the notion of "genre" be extended to include, in the case of the kibyōshi, works by Sanba and others that are little more than illustrated and captioned summaries of the plots of kabuki plays? And surely it strains to the breaking point the notion of kibyōshi as a genre name to include not only these kinds of works, but advertisements as well! It is as if "short story" were a category including works with titles like "The Story of Plywood" or "Colonel Sanders' Dream of Glory" originally written to be passed out to customers in lumber yards or fried chicken restaurants. The label kokkeibon is another case in point. Jippensha Ikku's Tokaidōchū hizakurige and Sanba's Ukiyoburo, the classics of the "genre", are recognizably related kinds of writing; despite structures even more fragmented than that of Ukiyoburo, so are many of Sanba's other kokkeibon, discussed in the following chapter. But also included in the category of kokkeibon is Kyōgen kigyo, described above, an entire

collection, no less, of advertisements (admittedly written with a good deal of wit, but still intended to move merchandise) for poultices, restaurants, ricecakes, fried eel, soap, and dumplings. The problem of genre classification in late Edo prose has already been discussed briefly in the introduction to this dissertation; works like Wata onjaku kikō hōjō and Kyōgen kigyo are particularly striking examples of one dimension of the problem (as is Kusazōshi kojitsuke nendaiki, by format a kibyōshi but by content simultaneously parody, literary critique, and reference work.)

However these works dating from Sanba's late twenties may ultimately be classified in some future reshuffling of genre designations, they mark his final emergence as an authentic gesakusha. They suggest that Sanba was using these years as a kind of rest period after his first burst of creativity, during which he let his imagination lie fallow and devoted himself instead to reading, editing, and the establishment of a network of friendships with older, more experienced authors.

As one of a relatively small number of contemporary critical works on the subject of popular fiction, Kusazōshi kojitsuke nendaiki continues to be of practical value to the student of late Edo literature, but its appeal at the time no doubt lay not in its usefulness as a literary-historical document but in the wit of its conception and the skill exhibited in its execution. Sanba takes care

not only to mimic accurately the writing style of each successive age of Edo-period fiction, but also to have the Princess Pot-on-her-head undergo adventures appropriate to the time and place in which that style prevailed. While he was clearly not ever to be a great artist, his illustrations in the successive styles of painters like Hishikawa Moronobu and Torii Kiyomasa of the early eighteenth century through Katsukawa Shun'ei and Utagawa Toyokuni of the early nineteenth are more than merely competent. He clearly devoted much time and effort as well to the historical, bibliographical, and critical apparatus of the work, consisting of lists and charts of publishers' seals, writers' names, dominant themes of successive periods of fiction, and comments on changes in illustrating styles. It would seem that one of Sanba's major diversions during his enforced withdrawal from publishing must have consisted of many long, thoughtful hours spent in reading and compiling information about his gesakusha predecessors and their work; Kusazōshi kojitsuke nendaiki bears every mark of having been prepared with great thoroughness, care, and affection for its subject matter. For any reader who is even moderately familiar with Edo fiction and able to distinguish stylistic variation through the haze of the language of the period, this work is without peer as a concise and amusing review of the development of Edo prose style; in reading it, one is forcefully reminded that the Edo period was, indeed, of over two centuries' duration, and

that no single generalization can really be applied to the whole of "Edo period popular fiction."

Kyōkakei (1803-5), Shibai kinmō zui (1803), and Kyōgen kigyo (1804) share certain characteristics that say much about Sanba's frame of mind and relationships with the outside world during these years. They, like much of Kusazōshi kojitsuke nendaiki, are not works of imagination but of compiling, editing, and commentary. They collectively represent many hours of careful research and writing, both solitary tasks, but more importantly, all three must have required Sanba to spend as much time or more "in the field" talking to poets, actors, theater managers and connoisseurs, and other writers. While the shame of his punishment may have smarted for a time and inclined him to withdraw from human contact, Sanba seems to have emerged from his brief retirement more gregarious than before, and ready to lay claim to a position in the ranks of the best-known writers of the time. At this early date he no doubt kept the low profile expected of youth in his dealing with respected older poets and writers; his willingness to undertake the compilation of Kyōkakei and Kyōgen kigyo looks like the eagerness to please of a young recruit happy to do the dirty work in return for acceptance into a distinguished circle of poets, dramatists, and writers.

The world of comic verse composition, competition, and judging that Sanba treats in handbook form in Kyōkakei is beyond the competence of this writer to discuss in any great

detail, and seems to bear little direct relation to Sanba's prose works. From some time prior to the compilation of this work, however, Sanba must have been actively participating in kyōka competitions, since he is among the judges listed in Kyōkakei,[24] and throughout his later career attendance at competitions and other social functions involving kyōka seems to have been one of his major diversions. He is not, however, numbered by modern scholars among the major kyōka poets of his period.[25] Takizawa Bakin was not overfond of Sanba, but his assessment of Sanba's comic verse agrees with the scholars' judgment (the Kyōkadō mentioned in the following passage was the residence of Shikatsube Magao, located not far from Sanba's in Sukiyabashi Yamashitachō):

> From the time he moved to Yamashitachō, Sanba frequented the Kyōkadō, and studied comic verse under Magao, who, always pleased by flattery, would invariably praise Sanba to others and call him a genius. But, perhaps because he was simply insufficiently talented to write good kyōka, Sanba left behind not a single celebrated verse; still less was he capable of composing comic verse in Chinese. One might assume that he at least composed haikai, but this writer has never seen a single such verse by him. He was, it seems, a gesakusha and nothing more. He was like Hsieh Chao-che of the Ming, who was called a genius but never read a book.[26]

Whatever the quality of his verse, Sanba seems to have been a welcome guest at parties in honor of artists and poets and other gatherings where kyōka were composed, to judge from the regularity with which he attended (and sometimes organized) such events during the period covered by

Shikitei zakki. He may have been in demand more for his ability to produce witty, spontaneous verses than for the quality of the final product, but then it would seem that kyōka was as much a social phenomenon as a literary one. In this respect, Gesaku rokkasen ranks Sanba with Utei Enba, one of the acknowledged kyōka masters:

> At painting and calligraphy exhibitions, only Sanba and the late Enba managed to compose poems on the spot, based on the paintings, to give to others in the party; there was none to equal them.[27]

In any case, Kyōkakei is further evidence of Sanba's determination to provide himself with all the credentials of the traditional gesakusha. (In its broadest sense, the notion of gesaku included from the beginning not only prose fiction, but kyōka and the related comic verse form known as senryū;[28] in the passage quoted above, Bakin uses the term gesakusha almost scornfully, perhaps because he preferred to think of himself and others he considered his real equals as genuine bunjin, men of letters.) Its publication formally marked his entry into a literary circle presided over by Ōta Nanpo[29] and his literary disciple Shikatsube Magao. By that time Nanpo, known as Yomo no Akara and Shokusanjin[30] in kyōka circles, was a trusted bakufu official often absent from Edo, but had behind him a long career as a prominent sharebon and kibyōshi author and teacher of both kyōka and kyōshi (comic verse in Chinese). More than almost any other writer of the period, he embodied the old gesakusha ideal, and seems to have had

the sort of personality that somehow naturally invites respect and admiration; no doubt his high official status also contributed to the esteem in which other writers held him.[31] While to my knowledge there is no particular evidence that Sanba's writing was directly influenced by Nanpo's, merely to be able to spend time in his celebrated presence[32] and, more often, in that of Nanpo's old friends Magao and Enba must have been a heady and inspiring experience for Sanba.

If Ōta Nanpo's presence hovers in the background of Kyōkakei, it is the spirit of Nanpo's own teacher, Hiraga Gennai, that pervades Kyōgen kigyo. Gennai's satires and fantasies and the descriptive passages of his sharebon had long since become the standard and the model for compositions in the humorous, playful prose style known as kyōbun; the advertising texts in Kyōgen kigyo are written for the most part in the kyōbun mode, and it seems to have been Gennai who first made such texts a part of the gesakusha's repertoire.[33]

It is difficult for a modern reader accustomed to the separation of literary art and commercial advertising to grasp precisely what must have been the attitude of Hiraga Gennai and his successors toward this sort of writing. It seems doubtful that Gennai's endorsements and advertisements were the result of purely mercenary arrangements. Even a generation or more later, when writing had become largely a commercial proposition for many authors, Sanba's

occasional references in his diary to requests for endorsements or short bits of advertisement treat them little differently from similar requests from his artist-friends, for example, for a few lines of "appreciation" in kyōbun style to be written on fans executed for presentation to friend or acquaintances.[34] Perhaps in the case of Gennai and other early writers, the composition of short bits of humorous prose and perhaps a verse or two for advertising purposes was simply another aspect of the gesakusha's determinedly playful and condescending attitude toward writing. For Sanba and his contemporaries, such writing, whether done simply as a favor or for value received, was probably a manifestation both of this older gesakusha spirit and of a recognition of the benefits of self-advertisement: a fan or scroll prominently displayed in a shop, or a flyer printed for distribution to customers, that bore a witty text by Sanba not only helped sell the shop's products but kept Sanba's name before the eyes of the reading public. On the other hand, it should be remarked in passing that relatively lengthy, kibyōshi-format "advertising novels" like Sanba's "On the Marvelous Efficacy of the Cotton Warming Plaster" seem more likely to have been the result of commercial transactions; this "genre" has a history of its own dating back at least to the 1760's and should probably be viewed as a phenomenon distinct from short, whimsical advertisements like those collected in Kyōgen kigyo.[35]

The first part of Kyōgen kigyo consists, as noted above, of advertisements and other examples of kyōbun prose written by a group of writers who gathered to celebrate Utei Enba's sixtieth birthday in 1803. The majority of the pieces in this section are by Enba himself, but also represented are such notables as Santō Kyōden, Shikatsube Magao, the kyōka poet and yomihon author Rokujuen (Ishikawa Masamochi, 1753-1830),[36] and the yomihon author Shinra Manzō (also known as Manzōtei).[37] The latter, whose preface opens the collection and who seems to have been the host for the party for Enba, was, like Ōta Nanpo, a literary disciple of Hiraga Gennai; his preface, in fact, is signed "Fūrai Sanjin," and "Shinra Manzō" is another of Gennai's pennames either granted to him by the master himself or appropriated by him after Gennai's death. Both the content of Kyōgen kigyo and the role of Shinra Manzō in its compilation speak of Hiraga Gennai's continuing spiritual presence as a kind of patron saint of gesaku literature well into the 1800's.

In his preface to the second part of Kyōgen kigyo, which consists entirely of his own advertisements and kyōbun exercises, Sanba specifically acknowledges Fūrai Sanjin as his stylistic model.[38] The kyōbun style in which Sanba's pieces are composed, specimens of the so-called "Hiraga manner" (Hiragaburi), may be characterized as a playful, almost self-satirizing exploitation in prose of the standard devices of classical poetry, as modified

by their adaptation in jōruri ballad and further changed by the addition of daily life and popular culture as sources of vocabulary and ideas upon which conceits may be built and word-play may operate. Many of Sanba's pieces in this collection are examples of the most intricately constructed variety of kyōbun prose; they are the despair of the translator, for both their considerable charm and their actual content are so thoroughly bound up in allusions to classical literature and Edo theater culture, puns, and ornamental language that some of them virtually cease to exist as coherent literary utterances as soon as the translating process is begun. The same sort of statement might be made, of course, about other, more dignified species of Japanese literary expression, but somehow a translator is willing to savage a Japanese original if it is manifestly great art to begin with; he merely feels silly constructing elaborate English similes to render puns involving bean cakes, patent medicines, dumplings, or hemorrhoids. It is by no means the case, however, that all kyōbun prose is dependent to an untranslatable degree upon what W. G. Aston called "puns and other meretricious ornaments of style."[39] Kyōbun is by definition an artificial, mannered style, but its lighthearted and playful spirit will often survive translation reasonably well. The introductions to "The Men's Bath" and "The Women's Bath" from Ukiyoburo, translated in the Appendix, will stand as examples of Sanba's less intricate kyōbun

style, and are discussed in greater detail in the introduction to the translation. On the other hand, any student of Edo literature who has undertaken to read Tamenaga Shunsui's Shunshoku umegoyomi has encountered, and probably recoiled from, a representative piece of kyōbun of the most extreme sort in the introduction to that work. Shunsui's use of a seemingly interminable series of elaborately contrived puns on the special language of astrological almanacs to establish the setting and mood of his melodramatic novel stands in a direct line of descent from one variety of kyōbun composition practiced by Sanba and his predecessors and colleagues.

In sum, in Kyōgen kigyo, as in Kyōkakei, Sanba succeeded in associating his name in public print with those of the most prominent of past and practicing gesakusha, and both works offer indirect evidence that he was spending much of his time in the company of established writers of high status and considerable seriousness of purpose. In spite of the absence of self-revelatory testimony by Sanba himself, it is tempting to characterize this period in his career as basically a reflective one, during which he was attempting to define his self-image and his attitude toward his chosen calling through intercourse with older colleagues and through the extensive reading and contemplation of the major landmarks of earlier gesaku literature that resulted in Kusazōshi kojitsuke nendaiki. One senses that until the Kyan taiheiki incident, Sanba was simply

going through the motions of what he thought was expected of a writer. The shock of the firefighters' assault and of his punishment may have helped him to realize that writing was, in fact, a serious business with real consequences beyond the self-gratification of seeing published what one had written. If in addition he was also experiencing during these years a series of emotionally complicated upheavals in his private life, it is not too much to assume that Shikitei Sanba in 1804 or 1805 was a very different man from what he was in 1799: older and truly wiser, surer of his position in society, and more confident in his knowledge of what it meant to be a writer.

Sanba's reentry into the competitive world of popular fiction writing is symbolized by a peculiar work he published in 1805 entitled Oya no kataki uchimatakōyaku ("A Father Avenged: A Plaster Stuck on an Inner Thigh"),[40] the first of a string of a dozen or more vendetta stories he was to publish in the next few years. In the preceding discussion, a number of reasons were offered to account for Sanba's lessened creativity in the years immediately after 1800, but in this work and elsewhere he offers a further reason of his own: his utter lack of interest in the quickening vogue for kibyōshi with vendetta-based plots. In his introduction to another kibyōshi that he published in 1805, he remarked:

> Of late, vendettas have robbed the kibyōshi of its humor, and for three years now I have not picked up the writer's brush. . . . It

> is my wish that all of you who are still imbued with the spirit of Edo foreswear the vendetta and its seriousness. Shatter it in all its brittleness, I say, with a return to the style of Harumachi and Kisanji.[41]

But during the same publishing season, Sanba succumbed, or seemed to do so, and presented Oya no kataki uchimatakōyaku to his public. The beginnings of the vendetta fad in kibyōshi are usually dated to a work by Nansenshō Somabito published in 1795,[42] but it seems to have been only after 1803 that it reached proportions that Sanba could no longer ignore.[43] Sanba himself had published a vendetta story in 1798,[44] but this work of 1805 marks the real beginning of his participation in the katakiuchimono boom. Sanba makes very clear his attitude toward vendetta stories in his introduction:

> Publishers are all like plasters stuck on the inside of a thigh: they attach themselves first to one side and then the other, adhering to every passing fashion, paying heed neither to duty nor to principle. . . . "It's just a fad! Ah, just give it time, give it time"--but my solitary laments are simply a self-imposed burden of regret over my own lack of ability, and are more foolish by far than these vendetta books themselves. But he who would disparage the barbarian commits a barbarism; one should always "follow the customs of the place." 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.[45]

As its more than faintly ridiculous title suggests, Oya no kataki uchimatakōyaku was hardly meant to be taken seriously; it seems in fact to have been a parody, a determined effort to kill off the genre by exaggerating to the point of ludicrousness its melodramatic and mechanical conventions.[46] Nevertheless, Sanba evidently found himself unable to resist the insistent pressure from his publishers, most often that of his old friend and patron Nishimiya Shinroku,[47] for in the next few years katakiuchimono of the conventional sort account for nearly half the titles he published. (In 1808, he published no less than seven vendetta stories.[48]) In spite of himself, he had become another frantic author "splitting his head and wracking his soul, spending sleepless nights awake in his bed in search of new methods of exacting vengeance, unusual ways of killing people, pathetic encounters, and perilous escapes. . . ."[49]

Upon resuming an active writing career, Sanba found himself almost immediately in the unexpected position of starting a new fashion of his own with the publication in 1806 of what is sometimes regarded as the first example of a new gesaku "genre" or format, the gōkan. Ikazuchitarō gōaku monogatari ("The Story of the Villainous Ikazuchitarō;" see Chapter II, note 91) was the longest work he had published to date, consisting of ten of the usual small five-leaf kibyōshi volumes bound in two larger volumes of five each. (Gōkan simply means "volumes bound together.") It

seems that even prior to the publication of this work, kibyōshi of three to five volumes in length had occasionally been bound together as single volumes by the owners of commercial lending libraries, who had found that loose volumes had a tendency to disappear; Ikazuchitarō, however, was the first work to be issued by the publisher in what would become the standard gōkan format (multiple volumes in a set of two larger volumes), and to be explicitly labeled gōkan on its cover. Whether or not this work of Sanba's was technically the first gōkan--there seem to be a few dissenting opinions[50]--he prided himself on having originated the form:

> In the spring publishing season of 1806, we put on sale the ten-volume Ikazuchitarō gōaku monogatari in two parts, bound in two separate volumes. It was very well received by the public, and met with great success. The book wholesalers soon found that the gōkan, which required far less by way of expensive covers, was much easier to produce, and so by the following year all of them, without exception, were dealing in gōkan. Even now, in 1810, the gōkan maintains its popularity. I may sound like a wrestler who talks only of his victories, but it will be a source of pride for me for the rest of my life that it was I who began the vogue for the illustrated gōkan; the memory will sustain me in a dignified old age.[51]

Sanba seems to have found the gōkan well suited to him; between 1806 and 1822, he produced seventy or more books in this format, which account for well over half the titles he ever published.[52] Even these figures do not really indicate the extent to which gōkan dominate his total output, however, given the fact that each gōkan title represents

anywhere from three to ten or more kibyōshi-size volumes; they average perhaps six or seven volumes, compared to the standard three volumes of the later kibyōshi. With the exception of Ukiyoburo and his two yomihon, probably none of Sanba's works in other formats approaches his average gōkan in actual length of written text. In terms of the actual amount of writing involved, then, Sanba's gōkan account for a rather large proportion of all the words he ever wrote and published. By giving to gōkan a corresponding prominence in Shikitei Sanba no bungei, Honda corrects the common impression that Sanba wrote virtually nothing but kokkeibon. (Jippensha Ikku, who is likewise remembered mostly for his kokkeibon, was statistically even less a kokkeibon author than Sanba: of his astounding lifetime output of some four hundred thirty-six titles, only twenty were kokkeibon.[53])

Nevertheless, the very speed and regularity with which Sanba turned out gōkan after 1806 raise the suspicion that they may not represent his best, most original work. Indeed, something over forty percent of his gōkan--twenty-eight titles in all, according to Honda[54]--are based closely on kabuki or jōruri dramas, works like his Go taiheiki Shiraishibanashi of 1795 (discussed in Chapter II) that usually amount to little more than heavily-illustrated plot summaries or simplified retellings of the highlights of popular plays and whose publication seems often to have been timed to coincide with the openings of

new plays or new mountings of old favorites. Many others of Sanba's gōkan are vendetta stories, a genre in which we know he wrote with little enthusiasm, and many of the remainder seem to have been historical tales that, like the vendetta tales, were highly formulaic and derivative; if, as seems likely, most of his gōkan were hastily written hack work, it is little wonder that it is not often for them that he is remembered today, despite their evident popularity at the time.

It is ironic that at this time in Sanba's life, when he seems to have been actively working at developing a sense of himself as a proper gesakusha of the old school--associating with an earlier generation of writers, studying his predecessors' work, and looking for stylistic models to follow--he should also have shown himself to be more than ever before a writer with a keen eye on the marketplace. Unlike Takizawa Bakin, who was equally attuned to changes in his readers' tastes and careful to write marketable books, but hated himself for having to sell the products of his brush,[55] Sanba not only saw nothing wrong with writing for money, but seems to have reveled in pandering successfully to the popular taste.

In a summary in Shikitei zakki of his publishing activities between 1806 and 1810, Sanba notes carefully which of his works were "big hits" (ōatari), which were average (seken nami) sellers, and which were duds (hazure), and particularly how they fared against Santō Kyōden's

competition; for 1809, he ranks a work by Kyōden as the season's best seller, but puts two of his own in second and third place, and when the following year one of his works takes first place ahead of two by Kyōden, his joy is evident.[56] Interestingly, if perhaps predictably, Sanba's comments on his and Kyōden's works never include critical judgments as to their literary merit, originality, or social worth, but focus instead only on how well they were received by the reading public. Although Bakin left a remarkable volume of critical writing, he too seems to have been inclined to judge a book more in terms of its popularity than by its quality as a work of art. He wrote extensively about theoretical issues like, for instance, the relative proportions of elegant (ga) and vulgar (zoku) elements appropriate to the yomihon as opposed to the kibyōshi, but his ultimate criterion was still popular acceptance rather than artistic integrity.[57] Bakin's moral scruples kept him from writing sharebon ("what would I tell my children?"[58]), and he was simply unfond of the kokkeibon medium, but otherwise he seems to have been no more eager than Shikitei Sanba--or Jippensha Ikku, or Santō Kyōden, or many another writer of the period--to sacrifice sales to an overly fastidious concern for artistic purity.[59]

Sanba's decision to give in to his publisher's repeated requests that he write vendetta stories and his first burst of productivity in the new gōkan format mark the beginning of a new phase in his career; from this time forward

his publishing record shows clearly that he was writing primarily, if not exclusively, with the mass market and his potential income in mind. There seems to be no surviving direct evidence to indicate precisely what sums a popular writer like Sanba could command for a gōkan of average length. Successful yomihon authors, we know, were paid well for their manuscripts: at first, five ryō seems to have been the going rate for a five-volume work; later, writers like Bakin and Kyōden are said to have commanded seven ryō and sometimes as much as fifteen ryō.[60] It may be assumed that the going rate for a gōkan of five or six volumes in length was lower, considering how much less written text was involved and the added expense to the publisher of paying for illustrations as well, but no records exist to tell us how much lower. Still, a year like 1810, when he published no less than ten gōkan titles, must have been a profitable one for Sanba. If he received even as little as, say, a third the prevailing rate of five ryō for a yomihon, his income for ten gōkan would have been in the neighborhood of sixteen or seventeen ryō. It is virtually impossible to say what such a sum means in terms of modern equivalents, but one ryō in gold was at the time still more or less equivalent to one koku of rice (about five bushels),[61] an amount theoretically enough to support one adult for a year; an income equivalent to fifteen or twenty koku of rice would no doubt have been a considerable one. In any case, Bakin asserts

that Sanba and Kyōden were the only writers who succeeded in establishing a flourishing household by means of their writing income alone,[62] testimony enough to the size of Sanba's income.[63]

In spite of the fact that by 1810 Sanba had learned that he could make a decent living through his writing, he evidently was not willing to trust entirely to his brush for his livelihood, for in that year he made arrangements to assure himself a more reliable income by setting up shop as a dealer in cosmetics and patent medicines in Honchō 2-chōme, a few blocks north of Nihonbashi. Sanba's shop opened originally on the twenty-sixth of the twelfth month of Bunka 7 (early in 1811 by the western calendar) as the exclusive Kantō outlet for Senpō enjutan ("Immortals' Formula Longevity Pills"), the product of a Kyoto pharmacist named Tanaka Sōetsu.[64] The following year Sanba added to his stock a makeup base of his own devising called Edo no mizu ("Water of Edo"), which sold unexpectedly well and seems to have assured the success of the shop.[65] Many if not most of Sanba's works dating from 1810 and beyond carry advertisements for his shop and its products, sometimes only on the last page of a volume, but often as prominent insets on interior pages; sometimes, too, Sanba signed his introductions, "by Shikitei Sanba, in the Enjutan shop in Honchō."[66] He was obviously more than willing to take advantage of the increasing popularity of his books and the prominence of his name to draw patrons

to his shop. It may indeed have been simply a desire to capitalize on his growing fame that prompted Sanba to open his shop, much as celebrity and greed in our own day continue to generate fast-food chains and clothing lines carrying well-known names from the worlds of show business and sports.

A number of further explanations, however, suggest themselves as to why a successful writer like Shikitei Sanba felt compelled to enter a trade unrelated to the business of writing. Most important, perhaps, was the fact that the very idea of earning a living as an independent writer was still a relatively new one in the early 1800's. Bakin says that it was only in 1795 or 1796 that the custom was established--by Kyōden and himself, he claims--of paying authors a fixed fee for their manuscripts.[67] One of the earliest recorded examples of a cash payment for manuscripts was the money Kyōden received in 1790 for the three sharebon whose publication in defiance of the ban resulted in his punishment.[68] Prior to that time, two different sorts of writer-publisher relationship seem to have prevailed. The first was that established early in the century by publishing enterprises like the Hachimonjiya in Kyoto, whereby the writer was little more than a highly specialized employee of the publishing house, working under an informal, exclusive contractual agreement to supply a certain number of manuscripts per year for some sort of recompense ranging from

simple room and board to an agreed-upon stipend in cash or kind.[69] The other, perhaps more typical of Edo in the 1770's and 1780's, when the ideal of the high-status gesakusha writing for his own amusement still prevailed, seems not to have involved cash payments at all; rather, the author was rewarded, if a book sold well, with gifts from a grateful publisher: either a selection of newly published books or prints, bolts of fabric, or other items of value, or simply an evening's entertainment in the pleasure quarters or at the theater.[70]

By Sanba's time, however, a system of cash payment for individual manuscripts seems to have become the norm, under which an author, acting as an independent agent, either sold completed manuscripts to interested publishers, or contracted in advance to write a book tailored to the publisher's requirements; in this case, the writer seems to have received a cash advance, followed by a further payment upon completion of the manuscript. If the book turned out to be a best seller, the author was rewarded further, but more often by entertainment than cash.[71] These arrangements may be seen as "anticipating the modern system of advance and royalties"[72] only in a limited sense, since the publisher's formal obligation seems to have ended with a lump sum payment for the completed manuscript, and "royalties" were paid only out of a sense of gratitude (and even then were more symbolic than concrete). Nevertheless, the authorship of fiction had become a profitable enterprise.

To count on a regular income from the sale of book manuscripts, however, was still a risky business: an author who missed a major shift in popular taste, whose creative powers failed him for a season, or who otherwise slipped from public favor could expect difficulty in peddling future manuscripts. At several points in his career, Sanba bitterly broke off all intercourse with artists (among them his old friend and collaborator Toyokuni) who failed to complete the illustrations for his works promptly; their willful dilatoriness, in his view, had kept him from publishing quickly enough to capitalize on a new trend in fiction, giving an unnecessary edge to his competition (usually Kyōden).[73]

While Sanba's decision to become a shopkeeper was partly a matter of economic necessity--he had probably remarried by this time, and a source of income more reliable than writing would have been desirable--it may also be seen as an expression of his identity as a member of the urban merchant class. What interested Bakin about Sanba's and Kyōden's earning power as writers was not simply that their incomes were enviable, but that they had been able to "build up an estate."[74] Both writers invested their earnings from writing and exploited their reputations to establish businesses (in Kyōden's case, a pipe and tobacco-pouch shop)[75] that would assure the prosperity and continuity of their houses independent of their fortunes as writers.

The fact that Kyōden and Sanba supplemented their writing incomes by running unrelated businesses does not mean that they should not be recognized as two of the earliest independent, professional writers to appear in Japan. The writing of imaginative fiction and other varieties of prose remained their principal occupation, and in no way can either be described as having been principally a merchant for whom writing was merely a profitable avocation. They were, however, chōnin, and to the merchant-class townsman, income alone could never be an index of social status; it was rather the possession of a flourishing family business (kagyō) that conferred respectability and a social identity on one's house. It happens that Sanba's son ultimately became a moderately successful author in his own right,[76] but the fact remains that writing, necessarily a matter of individual talent and inclination, was not in principle a "family business" that could be passed on to one's descendants. Sanba's decision to open his shop was thus based not only on financial considerations, but also on his sense of duty as a chōnin to provide his family with the dignity that only a "family business" could offer.

What we know of his family background, and of his demonstrated entrepreneurial abilities both as a writer attuned to shifts in popular taste and as a shopkeeper, marks Sanba as a creature of the Edo merchant class. In this respect, he is representative of his and later

generations of Edo writers. Unlike the first generation of gesakusha active in the An'ei, Tenmei, and early Kansei eras, who were predominantly of samurai extraction,[77] these later writers, as a group, were mostly of the urban middle class.[78] Most of them were probably merchants first and writers second, since few could hope to challenge the popularity of men like Sanba, Kyōden, and Ikku; they were thus amateurs, in the sense that they were unable to make a profession of writing, but to the extent that any of them aspired to successful, full-time writing careers, it must be assumed that their attitudes toward their craft differed from that of the gentleman-dilettante gesakusha who had gone before them.

What the ascendancy of the chōnin author after the 1790's really signifies in literary-historical terms, however, is very difficult to say. Its causes were manifold and interrelated: the withdrawal of many samurai writers from active publishing as a result of the Kansei reform movement, the spread of literacy and a corresponding expansion of the non-elite reading population, and the commercialization of the enterprise of writing, which not only attracted greedy novices but also, no doubt, legitimized what might otherwise have been seen (from a merchant-class perspective) as a frivolous, unprofitable waste of time. The results of chōnin domination of popular literature are far harder to specify. If Sanba's works are in any way representative, one could point, in terms of

content, to the appearance of greater numbers of books that dealt with the lower orders of society, and with the largely chōnin-supported kabuki theater; in terms of style, the chōnin author may have favored a general simplification of vocabulary, grammar, and syntax, an avoidance of overly erudite allusions, and increased attention to the problems of reproducing the actual living speech of the urban middle class. But most of these developments had been in evidence prior to the 1790's, and all of them are explainable in other than class-origin terms as well. In the final analysis, the emergence of the middle-class author is probably more significant as a social phenomenon than as a literary one.

By 1810, Sanba had achieved a great deal. He had already published close to seventy books, over a third of which he had produced in a remarkable outburst of creative energy in the previous three years. In his twenties, he had been through a series of upheavals in his private life--arrest and punishment, the death of his first wife, and a disastrous fire--but by now, at thirty-four, he was a writer of no mean reputation, the head of a stable household, and a respectable shopkeeper. The first book of Ukiyoburo had appeared the year before, to great acclaim; it had been labeled zenpen, "the first book of two," but when the second book appeared in 1810, it was called nihen, simply "book two," a clear signal that Ukiyoburo was to be an extended project, unlike anything

he had previously published. Ukiyoburo was not, of course, his first kokkeibon, but it was the work that established his reputation as a comic writer, and hereafter the kokkeibon became a regular part of his repertoire, though never to the exclusion of gōkan, which continued until his death to dominate his annual publishing activities.

Sanba was not an assiduous diary keeper, but in Shikitei zakki, dating from 1810 and 1811, he left a partial record of his activities during this busy period of his life. According to the first entry in this work (which is not so much a diary as it is a series of "random jottings," as its title implies), he had kept a similar journal earlier in his career, but it was lost in the conflagration of 1806, and so we lack his own perspective on that important time in his life; but drawing on Shikitei zakki and scattered anecdotes preserved in Gesaku rokkasen and elsewhere, it is possible to put together a portrait of Sanba in the mature phase of his career, although it must remain frustratingly incomplete.

It is only an assumption that the sort of life Sanba led as recorded in Shikitei zakki was not too different from his life after 1811, but no evidence exists to the contrary. He continued to live at the same location in Honchō; advertisements for his shop appear in most of his later works, and it continued to flourish in his son's hands after his death; proof is meager and scattered, but it appears that his friends and associates remained fairly

constant, despite periodic quarrels. The only major change in his living situation that seems to have occurred was the birth of his only child, Toranosuke, in 1812.[79] He may, however, have suffered from increasingly serious bouts of poor health, judging from the fact that in several later years his publishing output dropped to only two or three new titles annually.[80] Indeed, as early as 1810, his health showed signs of deteriorating: in the third month of that year (after the spring publishing season had passed, during which he had published a record fourteen books) he was stricken with dropsy, and in the ninth month suffered a crippling attack of gout. He did not fully recover until early in 1811, and notes that this prolonged illness, which coincided with the period when he must have been making the final arrangements for the opening of his shop, kept him from writing and left him heavily in debt.[81]

In spite of his earlier efforts to establish friendships and associations with other writers, Sanba seems not to have been an active member of any definable literary "circle." His real intimates, instead, were a miscellaneous group of friends chosen not for their literary interests but for sheer congeniality. His friendship with the aging Enba seems to have remained a close one, but the men he himself describes as being good friends included artists like Toyokuni and his pupil Kunisada, and the restaurateur Masuya Kuhei; his companions for evening drinking parties or expeditions to shrine festivals in the

spring of 1811 were most often his literary disciples Ekitei Sanyū,[82] Tokutei Sankō,[83] and Kokontei Sanchō,[84] and a male geisha with a checkered past named Kamiya Isaburō.[85] Sources other than Shikitei zakki suggest that he also numbered among his close friends Sanshōtei Karaku and other yose storytellers active in the current revival of rakugo.[86]

Sanba had occasional formal contact with his major competitor Santō Kyōden,[87] but according to Bakin, as a rule "he had no intercourse with Kyōden, Bakin, and their circle, and was said to have a particular loathing for Bakin, whom he saw almost as an enemy, perhaps because he had an uncharitable aversion to anyone who was better than he."[88] Bakin, for his part, was irritated beyond measure by the popular acclaim that Sanba enjoyed. He seems to have been unable to understand how someone so clearly unlettered and uncouth as Shikitei Sanba could not only have the temerity to call himself a writer, but achieve such conspicuous success in that profession. Long after Sanba's death, he grudgingly conceded that

> Sanba's calligraphy was not unskillful, in an honest and straightforward way; he had not studied painting, but was extremely accomplished at it. While he was unschooled, he was a gifted man, and so in composing, for instance, his introductions, he was able to manipulate citations from the classics, and could easily have been thought a scholar of Chinese.[89]

But earlier, when Sanba published in 1810 a yomihon entitled Akogi monogatari,[90] Bakin had been so incensed at this

invasion of his territory that he immediately wrote a long, bitter essay about the book for private circulation.[91] His critique consisted largely of a detailed and sneering catalogue of Sanba's sins against the heavily Sinified Japanese that characterized proper yomihon style. Most of his criticisms revolve around Sanba's faulty grasp of Chinese vocabulary and syntax, and seem on the whole well taken, despite their frequent pettiness. Whether or not the degree of venom that Bakin indulged in was justified, the public was not taken with Akogi monogatari, and it sold extremely poorly.[92] Perhaps as a result, Sanba never published another yomihon, although he left one in manuscript that was published posthumously in 1825.[93]

During his most productive years Sanba must have been busy indeed. Between 1808 and 1814, he averaged ten or eleven new titles per year, most of them gōkan of five or six volumes in length,[94] and to judge from Shikitei zakki, he expended a good deal of time and effort responding to requests and commissions for kyōka and a bit of kyōbun prose as advertising or as "appreciations" of the work of artists or actors, and for his calligraphic services as a well-known writer. Because he was somewhat lacking in self-discipline, however, Sanba seems to have spent these years in perpetual battle against publishers' deadlines. He almost prided himself, it appears, on his ability to write under pressure: a good many of his works are prefaced with remarks to the effect that they were written

"on urgent request" or "in response to the publisher's urgings" in the span of a few days and nights.[95] Whether we are meant to admire Sanba for his virtuosity or excuse him for any lapses due to haste is impossible to tell. At any rate, a picture emerges of frantic writing marathons alternating with periods devoted to days and evenings drinking and going on excursions of one sort or another with friends.

Sanba's journal entries in the spring of 1811 provide a glimpse of his erratic working style.[96] The end of the third month saw him finishing the introduction to Book Three of Ukiyoburo and attending to the purchase of glass bottles for his "Edo no mizu" and other business matters. The first of the fourth month was devoted to shrine visits with his disciple Tokutei Sankō, accompanied, presumably, by alcoholic refreshment. The second was occupied with business--redesigning the "Edo no mizu" label to read positively, "helps your powder stay on," instead of, "keeps your powder from coming off," and distributing promotional flyers--and with doing a large number of fan inscriptions. On the fourth, he made a visit to his brother's grave on the hundredth anniversary of his death; Sanba's entry for the day includes two long, mocking diatribes, one against the Nichiren sect (for referring to the founder of the sect as "the great bodhisattva Nichiren"), and the other against an incompetent neighborhood calligrapher and sign painter, interrupted by the parenthetical explanation,

"as always, I am writing while drunk tonight." The following week Sanba devoted mostly to writing advertisements and doing more fan inscriptions--as many as thirty in a day--after a final drunken evening with his friend Isaburō on the fifth. The tenth and eleventh disappeared in send-off festivities for an agent of the Kyōto pharmacist whose "long life pills" Sanba was marketing, but he was back at work on the twelfth cranking out fan and scroll inscriptions. The sixteenth through the twentieth he devoted again to partying: an excursion to Ōji (with a drinking stop at the Ōgiya, the famous restaurant in that town mentioned in Ukiyoburo, I:1), an overnight stay with his disciple Tokutei Sankō celebrated with more drink and kyōka composition, followed by shrine visits and a second night at Sankō's; on the nineteenth, Sanba attended a party to ratify his reluctant reconciliation with the illustrator Katsukawa Shuntei, and he concluded his week of revels with an impromptu party on the evening of the twentieth with Tokutei Sankō, Ekitei Sanyū, and Utagawa Kunisada. The following week was spent on another batch of advertisements and inscriptions and, evidently, the first part of Book Three of Ukiyoburo, which he finished and sent to the publisher on the last day of the month. Bad weather and a cold kept him housebound during the first week of the fifth month, but the fifth and sixth days were spent receiving visitors for the dolls' day festival. By the eighth, Sanba's publisher for Ukiyoburo was pressing him

for the remainder of Book Three, and Sanba records that he wrote late into the night. The next evening, Tokutei Sankō and Ekitei Sanyū joined him to help with the final stages of the work and to compose an afterword. Sanba retired finally at dawn, but was up again by ten o'clock to finish by noon some overdue advertising texts. That afternoon, a gift arrived to commemorate the first anniversary of the death of the restaurateur Masuya Kuhei; exhausted by several days of non-stop writing and too little sleep, Sanba wept in private over this pathetic reminder of a good friend and drinking companion, once living but now become nothing more than a box of rice cakes.[97]

Gesaku rokkasen draws the following portrait of Sanba at work:

> When the Master was writing a book, there were times when he completed an entire manuscript of six or seven, or even eight or nine parts in three days and three nights. . . . Early in the Bunka era, when gōkan and yomihon were popular, Sanba and Toyokuni and others like them were under constant pressure from various publishers to come up with drafts and manuscripts. When they were struggling to meet a previously agreed upon deadline that was fast approaching, they would go to the publisher involved and borrow a room for five days or seven days at a time, and complete the story or illustrations there. On any given day, one of them might be in a second floor room, while the next day the other would move into a guest room in one of the wings. . . . Things sometimes reached a point where even then they could not manage, and they would find themselves being hounded by a publisher whose deadline they had missed. In such cases, they would simply go into hiding somewhere, and appear at the publisher's later, when they had finished.[98]

The nature of the principal medium in which Sanba worked during these years--the illustrated gōkan--put him under pressures that went beyond simply juggling his time to maintain a constant flow of manuscripts. Completing the text was only one step in the production of a kibyōshi or gōkan; Sanba seems often to have been actively involved in the illustrating process as well, arranging for the services of artists and supervising their work. Given the number of stages through which a work passed before its final publication--negotiation of terms of payment with the publisher, writing, preparation of a clean copy of the text (Sanba seems sometimes to have farmed this task out to disciples or friends), illustration, preparation of the blocks, and proofreading--each gōkan must have represented many hours of labor and a good deal of emotional energy, particularly in cases where he had to work with artists who either were slow in their work or had different conceptions of how a story might be illustrated. (In at least one case, Sanba relates, he himself reworked illustrations that were not to his liking.)[99]

Considering the pace and complexity of his work as a popular writer, it is little wonder that what evidence there is suggests that when Sanba relaxed, he did so aggressively and with the help of liberal applications of alcohol. He himself regarded his dropsy and gout as attributable to his heavy drinking,[100] and the prominence he gives to drunks and drinkers in his kokkeibon and the

care with which he portrays their types and habits suggest that he spent a good deal of time in their company.

While his drinking may have contributed to the decline of his health, Sanba's relationship with alcohol seems not to have been, on the whole, a destructive one. He did not, like Jippensha Ikku, find pleasure and inspiration in travel. (He is known to have left Edo only once, for a brief sojourn in the nearby countryside of Kazusa after the disastrous fire of 1806.) He was devoted instead to the circumscribed but richly textured world of the Edokko, for whom the delights of life in Edo were inexhaustible. Sanba's entertainments--the theater, kyōka parties, excursions to local temples and shrines, the company of raconteurs and witty friends--were typically urban, and were of the sort that revolved naturally around the consumption of saké. If drinking sometimes undermined his productivity, it was also the universal lubricant of the world in which Sanba was most at home and from which he drew inspiration for the best of his work, his portrayals of the ordinary people of his city in Ukiyoburo and others of his kokkeibon.

Takizawa Bakin has left the only contemporary sketch of Sanba's personality that is not a conventional hymn of praise from a disciple. Brief and biased as it is, it still presents Sanba as a personality of some complexity:

> His personality was marked by a certain bitterness; one often heard that, when drunk, he was prone to disputatiousness. In no way did his character resemble that of a man of letters; but neither, for that matter, was he like a

> merchant. Though he seemed often to behave like a swaggering "knight of the streets" [kyankaku], it is said that once he reached the threshold of old age he foreswore drunkenness and devoted himself to making a living. One thing about him worthy of praise: his father Mohei being very fond of saké, Sanba for some years sent him every month three pieces of silver as drink money.[101]

Sanba's drinking need not concern us further, but it is interesting to note the prominence Bakin gives it in his assessment of Sanba's character; interesting too, how Sanba fulfilled his filial obligation to Mohei--it would seem that his affection for alcohol was an inherited one!

In spite of the popularity of his works, the length and productivity of his career, and his gregariousness, and despite the fact that he attracted to himself as many as fourteen or fifteen writers eager to call themselves his pupils,[102] Shikitei Sanba can not be said to have founded a "school" of popular fiction, or even to have exerted a significant direct influence on later writers. Only one of his literary disciples, Tamenaga Shunsui (known as Sanro during the time of his apprenticeship under Sanba), achieved real prominence as a writer, but Shunsui's relationship with Sanba was brief and seemingly uncomfortable for both parties; he later studied under Ryūtei Tanehiko, the acknowledged master of the later gōkan, and it seems that in both cases, he may have been as interested in gaining approval to reprint his teachers' works--he ran a small publishing and book-lending concern briefly--as in studying the writer's trade.[103] Sanba's

successful exploitation of the techniques of the yose storytellers in his kokkeibon may have encouraged Shunsui to draw on his own skills as a professional raconteur when, long after Sanba's death, he began to perfect his methods in the ninjōbon genre, and he may have learned from Sanba some of the refinements of the kyōbun style, but still, none of his works seems to be particularly identifiable as having been written under Sanba's influence, except in inconsequential ways. Sanba's disciples and his son Toranosuke, who styled himself Shikitei Kosanba ("little Sanba"), left a small body of work reminiscent of that of their teacher and father, but none achieved any notable reputation as an independent author.

Sanba's achievements as a writer lay more in the area of the adaptation and refinement of techniques and styles pioneered by others than in real innovation. The success of his kokkeibon, particularly Ukiyoburo, was due not to their uniqueness or novelty but to his consummate mastery of the skills required of a comic writer and to his decision to treat a broader segment of his society than had previously been attempted, while still adhering to the existing conventions of the genre. Even if Sanba's writing exerted considerable influence over that of his contemporaries and successors, it would be virtually impossible to detect, since his work was not by nature ground-breaking (except in terms of its quality), and his influence would not be distinguishable from that of

his predecessors and contemporaries, individually and collectively.

Having chosen to work within the traditional confines of gesaku fiction as defined by Fūrai Sanjin, Santō Kyōden, and others, Sanba could not be a radical innovator, but neither was he simply a mindless tiller of already well-ploughed fields. He was conscious both of his considerable strengths as a writer and of his limitations, and was well aware of what a popular writer must and must not do if he wished to remain popular. "What is lacking in gesaku . . . is any serious confrontation with life," writes Donald Keene, quoting Nakamura Yukihiko, one of the leading modern interpreters of late Edo fiction;[104] Sanba would no doubt have agreed, and then gone on to say, "and so it should be." One certainly sometimes misses in even the best of his work an acknowledgement that life is more complex than its surfaces; indeed, he may have been not only uninterested in but incapable of writing with anything other than the simple entertainment of his audience in mind. On the other hand, one aspect of his genius was knowing not only his audience and its expectations, but also his own limitations; he was careful not to let his reach exceed his grasp, and devoted himself instead to perfecting the kind of writing he was most comfortable with--a sure sign of his professionalism.

An anecdote related by Bokusentei Yukimaro is highly revealing of Sanba's attitudes toward his craft and of

his quiet but almost defiantly proud dedication to his kind of art:

> One time when I was talking with the Master [Sanba], I told him, "The other day, I heard a friend . . . doing a recitation of the 'Suetsumuhana' chapter of The Tale of Genji, and it occurred to me that that might be a good thing to base a novel on."
>
> The Master replied, "I don't suppose there is any writer who hasn't, at one time or another, turned to The Tale of Genji for help in his writing, because it is, after all, the greatest work of pure fiction ever written. But the popular writer [gesakusha] should not concern himself unduly with such difficult things. If you are thinking of giving fiction writing a try, you mustn't spend your time lapping up recitations of bits and pieces of Genji. If you get carried away listening to parts of Genji or The Water Margin[105]--well, it's certainly the business of the popular writer to pick good subjects and write about them knowledgeably, but if you get too wrapped up in Genji, you'll wind up with nothing but a warmed-over Genji full of unpleasant-sounding anachronisms. The popular writer's belly wants simpler fare, like the things the man in the oden stall jabs on a skewer--eggplant, konnyaku--or the popped rice they sell at New Year's: four coppers for this, four for that! Your real job is mixing together that sort of thing."
>
> The Master clapped his hands together and laughed. I find his words amusing even now as they come back to me.[106]

Sanba died on the sixth day of the intercalary first month of the fifth year of Bunka (1822), and his ashes were buried in the precincts of the Chōgen'in, a subsidiary temple of the Unkōin in Fukagawa.[107] It is probably safe to assume that he had been in ill health for some time, since his output had dropped to only a few short works in each of the three years before his death.[108] (Bakin's assertion that Sanba began to lead a more temperate sort of existence

once he reached "the threshold of old age" may refer to this period of declining health; if so, Sanba's reformation may have been a matter of necessity rather than choice.) Toranosuke was only ten years old when his father died, and so was unable to succeed to the headship of the house, but Sanba's old friends and disciples rallied around to help keep the medicine shop in business, and were able to pass on a thriving enterprise to the heir when he came of age.[109] With the help of his friends, Sanba's dream of assuring the prosperity of his descendants was thus at last realized; he had long before guaranteed himself a different sort of personal immortality through the labors of his brush.

Notes to Chapter III

1. See Chapter II, note 30.

2. Ibid.

3. Sanba's note in his copy of Ta ga sode nikki, quoted in Honda, SSB, p. 42.

4. See Chapter II, note 30.

5. The work in question was Shibai kinmō zui (see Chapter II, note 25).

6. Colophon to Book II of Kyōkakei (see note 19 below), cited in Honda, SSB, p. 399.

7. Sakusha burui, p. 32.

8. Shikitei zakki, p. 47.

9. Gesaku rokkasen, p. 381.

10. Shikitei zakki, p. 44.

11. Ibid.

12. Sanba's note in Ta ga sode nikki (Honda, SSB, p. 42) says that the Horinoya house went bankrupt in 1804.

13. Iwademo no ki, p. 195: "tsuma wa mimakari katsu yue arite yōke o ribetsu shi" 妻はみまかり且故ありて養家を離別し. . .

14. In his introduction to Oya no kataki uchimatakōyaku (see note 40 below), Sanba himself says that "having had much private business to attend to, I have not had time to write very much." Quoted in Honda, SSB, p. 92.

15. 稗史曉說年代記 (Nishimiya Shinroku, 1802), 3 vols. Reprinted and annotated in Sasakawa, ed., Sharebon kusazōshishū, pp. 223-40.

16. 金々先生栄花夢 .

17. 十四傾城腹之内 .

18. 綿温石奇効報条 , illus. by Utagawa Toyohiro (Izumiya Ichibei, 1802), 3 vols. Discussed in Honda, SSB, pp. 43, 84.

19. 狂歌艸 (Yorozuya Tajiemon, 1803, 1805), 3 vols. Discussed in Honda, SSB, pp. 85-86.

20. 四面歌垣 (鹿津部真顔).

21. See Chapter II, note 25.

22. 名代のあふぐら , illus. by Utagawa Toyohiro (publisher unknown, 1804), 1 vol. Discussed in Honda, SSB, p. 90.

23. See Chapter II, note 26. This work is not, as its title alone might suggest, "a theater-related work" (Ozaki Kyūya 尾崎久弥 , Kinsei shomin bungaku ronkō 近世庶民文学論考 , ed. Nakamura Yukihiko [Chūō Kōronsha, 1973; a reprint of the 1950 edition], p. 101).

24. Honda, SSB, pp. 85, 399.

25. Sanba is not mentioned, even by name alone, in the standard, short summary treatment of late Edo kyōka contained in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi 久松潜一 ed., Shinpan Nihon bungakushi 新版日本文学史 (Shibundō, 1971), 5:638-57.

26. Sakusha burui, p. 35.

27. Gesaku rokkasen, p. 383.

28. While by Sanba's time the term gesaku itself seems to have been restricted to prose fiction, comic verse in Japanese and Chinese had long been part of the repertoire of the gesakusha, although not all kyōka poets called themselves or were called gesakusha. See the discussion in Nakamura, Gesakuron, 17ff., of historical and modern definitions of gesaku and gesakusha.

29. 大田南畝 (1749-1823).

30. 四面赤良 ; 蜀山人 .

31. For contemporary biographies of Ōta Nanpo, see Sakusha burui, pp. 19-20, 75-76, and Gesakusha shōden, p. 347.

32. According to Nanpo's diary, cited in Honda, SSB, p. 77, Sanba was among those present at a party to mark Shikatsube Magao's departure on a trip to Suruga.

33. Honda, SSB, pp. 90-91.

34. Shikitei zakki, pp. 58, 69-70, 78. In only one instance (Shikitei zakki, p. 70) does Sanba seem to make reference to a payment received for his calligraphic

services; this does not necessarily mean, of course, that the many orders he filled for poems and inscriptions were done free of charge.

35. See Hisamatsu, Shinpan Nihon bungakushi 5:780-81.

36. 六樹園 (石川雅望), also known as Yadoya no Meshimori 宿屋飯盛.

37. 森羅万象, 万象亭.

38. Kyōgen kigyo, p. 785.

39. W. G. Aston, A History of Japanese Literature (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1972; reprint of the 1899 edition), p. 222. Elsewhere (pp. 298-99), Aston offers this appreciation of the sort of language characteristic of kyōbun prose:

> "Our old enemy the pivot-word is here, also the pillow-word, and several varieties of the ordinary pun, with various fearfully complicated contortions of speech which I shall not attempt to describe. Even the reader who has a competent knowledge of the language requires a special study to understand and appreciate them. He follows these far-eastern waggeries with a halting step. . . . It may be doubted whether such an excessive fondness for mere verbal wit does not amount to a disease, and whether it has not constituted a serious obstacle to the development of higher qualities in their literature."

40. 親雖腭膏薬, illus. by Utagawa Toyohiro (Nishimiya Shinroku, 1805), 3 vols. Discussed in Honda, SSB, pp. 95-98. The title puns on oya no katakiuchi ("smiting one's parent's enemy") and uchimatakōyaku ("a plaster on the inside of a thigh"), a common metaphor for someone who vacillates.

41. Introduction to Naburu mo yomi to utajizukushi 嬶訓歌字尽, illus. by Utagawa Toyohiro (Izumiya Ichibei, 1805), quoted in Honda, SSB, p. 95.

42. Nansenshō Somabito 南杣笑楚満人, Katakiuchi gijo no hanabusa 敵討義女英. Cited as the work that inspired the fad for katakiuchimono in, for instance, Yamaguchi Takeshi, introduction to NMZ 11: x, and Hisamatsu, Shinpan Nihon bungakushi 5:776.

43. Honda, SSB, p. 93, summarizing Suzuki Shigezō 鈴木重三, "Gōkanmono no daizai tenki to Tanehiko 合巻物の題材転機と種彦," Kokugo to kokubungaku, vol. 38, no. 4 (April, 1961), pp. 62-63.

44. Azuma kaidō onna katakiuchi 吾妻街道女敵討, illus. by Utagawa Toyokuni (Nishimiya Shinroku, 1798), 3 vols. Discussed in Honda, SSB, pp. 54-56.

45. NMZ 11: x-xi.

46. This work is summarized and analyzed in detail in Honda, SSB, pp. 95-98.

47. About two-thirds of those of Sanba's works identifiable by title as vendetta pieces were published by Nishimiya Shinroku. Data from Honda, SSB, pp. 399-400.

48. Ibid.

49. Introduction to Oya no kataki uchimatakōyaku, quoted in Honda, SSB, p. 97.

50. See the summary of arguments in Suzuki, "Gōkanmono no daizai tenki," pp. 58-59.

51. Shikitei zakki, p. 45.

52. Honda lists 67 gōkan titles out of Sanba's lifetime total of 127 works (data from SSB, pp. 397-406); Ozaki, Kinsei shomin bungaku ronkō, p. 101, based on more extensive data, lists 79 gōkan out of a total of 136 titles.

53. Ozaki, op. cit., p. 88.

54. Honda, SSB, pp. 386-89.

55. See, for instance, Takizawa Bakin's letter to Suzuki Bokushi dated the 28th of the 10th month, Bunsei 1 (1818), contained in Takizawa Bakin, Kyokutei ikō 曲亭遺稿, ed. Hayakawa Junzaburō (Kokusho Kankōkai, 1911), pp. 394-95:

> "I am told my great-grandfather, my grandfather, and my father were all upright in their behavior . . . and did not even once in their lives sit cross-legged; nor did they ever lie down unless they were ill. I, on the other hand . . . never pass a day without crossing my legs or reclining. And I eke out a living in the marketplace: how dare I speak of my ancestors to even the closest of my friends?"

56. Shikitei zakki, pp. 45-47.

57. See, for instance, his letter to Suzuki Bokushi, dated the last day of the 7th month, Bunsei 1 (1818), in Kyokutei ikō, p. 375:

"A work will always sell that is seven-tenths vulgar and three-tenths elegant; one that is seven-tenths elegant and three vulgar will not sell very well . . . and a work that is all elegance and not even a tenth vulgar will not sell at all."

58. "Nani o mote ko ni oshien ya?" The full passage (Sakusha burui, p. 83) is as follows:

"Only Bakin never wrote sharebon. At the time, there were many who, driven by greed, came to him to solicit such manuscripts, but Bakin did not accede, telling them: 'I am fond of gesaku, but if I were to be led by greed to write a sharebon, and if later I had children, what would I tell them? Do not ask me a second time.'"

59. Sakusha burui, p. 72, records Bakin's distaste for kokkeibon.

60. Yamazaki Yoshinari 山崎美成, Kairoku 海錄, ed. Hayakawa Junzaburō (Kokusho Kankōkai, 1916), p. 86.

61. Takayanagi Mitsuhisa 高柳光寿, et al., Nihonshi jiten 日本史辞典 (Kadokawa Shoten, 1966), pp. 1154, 1157. Hamada Keisuke 浜田啓介, writing in Nakamura, ed., Nihon bungaku no rekishi 8:56, says the going rate for a standard six-volume gōkan in Bakin's day was five ryō, but does not cite sources. He also guesses that one ryō might be regarded as roughly equal to 100,000 yen (in 1967 terms). If Hamada's figures are correct and his rough equivalancies acceptable for the sake of argument, Sanba's ten gōkan in 1810 would have earned him perhaps fifty ryō, or about $14,000 at 1967 prices and rates of exchange--closer to $30,000, no doubt, in 1977 terms. The differences in standard of living and life style between Edo in 1810 and the United States in 1977 make these figures almost meaningless, however.

62. Sakusha burui, p. 35.

63. Kyōden's and Sanba's incomes could not have been vastly greater than those of, say, Bakin and Ikku; either Bakin is being modest or (more likely) what set Kyōden and Sanba apart in his mind was their success in establishing family businesses. Bakin's samurai pride prevented him from capitalizing on his success as they did; Ikku's notorious profligacy and the fact that he was often on the road no doubt kept him from investing his writing income, which must have been impressive.

64. Shikitei zakki, p. 46.

65. Ibid., p. 47; Sakusha burui, p. 32.

66. Introduction to Ukiyoburo III:1.

67. Sakusha burui, p. 22.

68. Yamaguchi Takeshi, introduction to NMZ 12: lxxxix.

69. Nakamura, Nihon bungaku no rekishi 8:33-34.

70. Gesaku rokkasen, pp. 385-86.

71. Ibid.

72. Keene, World Within Walls, p. 410, quoting Nakamura, Gesakuron, p. 120.

73. Gesaku rokkasen, pp. 383-84, regarding Sanba's break and reconciliation with Toyokuni; Shikitei zakki, pp. 67-68, regarding the same with Katsukawa Shuntei.

74. "San o kōzeshi 産を興せ"し": Sakusha burui, p. 35.

75. Iwademo no ki, p. 190.

76. Gesakusha shoden, p. 366; Sakusha burui, p. 56.

77. Nakamura Yukihiko, "Yomihon no dokusha 読本の読者," Bungaku, vol. 26, no. 5 (May, 1958), pp. 74-75.

78. An informal survey of the authors treated in Sakusha burui and Gesakusha shōden shows that of the total of 93 whose family occupations can be determined, 51, or 55 percent, may be classed as chōnin, as opposed to 31 (33 percent) clearly of samurai origins (the remaining 12 percent are of other or uncertain class background); this five-to-three preponderance of chōnin over samurai would be even more striking did not these collections include a sizable number of prominent gesakusha of the earlier generation, who were virtually without exception of samurai origin.

79. Gesakusha shōden, p. 366.

80. In 1816, Sanba published only two titles (four volumes in total), followed by six in 1817 (23 volumes), two (two volumes) in 1818, and none in 1819. Tamenaga Shunsui, writing as Nansenshō Somabito II in an introduction to the third book of Ukiyodoko (by Ryūtei Rijō) in 1823, describes Sanba's last years as having been beset by many illnesses. (Cited in Honda, SSB, p. 296.)

81. Shikitei zakki, p. 47.

82. 益亭三友 ; San'yū's real name is unknown but he seems to have had connections with a well-known patent medicine business in Nihonbashi. (Gesakusha shōden, p. 361.)

83. 徳亭三孝 : Izumiya Kan'emon, a rice dealer who lived in Koishikawa on the north side of Edo; studied kyōka under Shikatsube Magao. (Honda, SSB, p. 200; Gesakusha shōden, p. 36; Shikitei zakki, pp. 50, 52.)

84. 古今亭三鳥 : Mikawaya Kichibei, a drug wholesaler from Asakusa; with Rakutei Bashō and Ittei Sanshō, one of Sanba's three "old disciples" (Gesakusha shōden, p. 361); from about 1808, he lived with Sanba's father Kikuchi Mohei. (Shikitei zakki, p. 80; Honda, SSB, p. 201.)

85. 紙屋伊三郎 : originally a purveyor of decorative goods to the shogunal house, but lost his position through his profligacy, and became an entertainer; later placed himself under the patronage of Sanba's brother-in-law Gangetsudō and became a book dealer. (Shikitei zakki, p. 58.)

86. See Chapter IV below for a discussion of Sanba's connections with rakugo revivalists.

87. A painting- and calligraphy-viewing party organized by Sanba in the third month of Bunka 8 (1811) included Kyōden among its pre-opening patrons (zenjitsu yori no sewayaku). (Shikitei zakki, p. 50.)

88. Sakusha burui, p. 84.

89. Ibid.

90. 阿古義物語 , illus. by Utagawa Toyokuni and Utagawa Kunisada (Tsuruya Kiemon, Tsuruya Kinsuke, 1810), 5 vols. Discussed in Honda, SSB, pp. 119-20, 201-208.

91. Takizawa Bakin, Heiben 騈(駢)鞭 , reprinted in Hayakawa, ed., Kyokutei ikō, pp. 275-96.

92. Shikitei zakki, p. 46.

93. Sakigakezōshi 魁草紙 , illus. by Utagawa Kuniyasu (Tsuruya Kiemon, Kawachiya Taisuke, 1825), 5 vols. Discussed in Honda, SSB, pp. 380-81.

94. Data from Honda, SSB, pp. 400-404.

95. See, for instance, Sanba's introduction to his Hitogokoro nozoki karakuri, in Hakubunkan, ed., Sanba kessakushū, p. 663: "Written during the span of a two-day stay at a brothel in Odawarachō." Also, his introduction

to Namaei katagi (Sanba kessakushū, pp. 866-67): "Written the morning after, with a hangover, in a day and a night."

96. The following discussion is based on Shikitei zakki, pp. 51-78.

97. In the section of his diary summarized above, Sanba mentions (p. 56) that on his visit to his brother's grave he encountered by chance his stepmother and his brother (presumably half-brother or stepbrother) Kinzō: this brief notice is the only evidence that his father had at some time taken a second wife. The presence of a stepmother in his father's household may help to explain Sanba's evident unwillingness to share living quarters with him.

98. Gesaku rokkasen, p. 385. In Hara no uchi gesaku shubon 腹之内戯作種本 ("An Author's Internal Musings: A Rough Draft"), illus. by Kogawa Yoshimaro, 3 vols. (Tsuruya Kiemon, 1811), one of his last kibyōshi, Sanba describes vividly the hectic life of a popular writer. Summarized and excerpted in Honda, SSB, pp. 273-75.

99. Gesaku rokkasen, p. 385; Shikitei zakki, p. 67.

100. Afterword to Kyakusha hyōbanki, in Sanba kessakushū, p. 503.

101. Sakusha burui, p. 34.

102. The most extensive existing list of Sanba's disciples is given in Gesakusha shōden, p. 361:

Rakutei Bashō 楽亭馬笑 Tokutei Sankō 徳亭三孝

Kokontei Sanchō 古今亭三鳥 Settei Santō 雪亭三冬

Ittei Sanshō 一亭三生 Shōtei Sansei 匠亭三世

Fukutei Sanshō I 福亭三笑 Shuntei Sangyō I 春亭三暁

Fukutei Sanshō II Shuntei Sangyō II

Ekitei San'yū 益亭三友 Ittei Sanraku 一亭三楽

Ittei Sanshi 一亭三子 Sanro 三鷺 (Tamenaga Shunsui)

To this list might be added two names from Sakusha burui, p. 51, although Bakin was not certain whether these men were indeed pupils of Sanba's or had simply adopted names similar to those of his legitimate disciples:

Gakutei Sanshi 学亭三子 Shōtei Sanshichi 匠亭三七

Donath-Wiegand, Zur literarhistorischen Stellung des Ukiyoburo, p. 45, citing Yamazaki Fumoto, "Shikitei Sanba no deshi," Edo jidai bunka (1927), p. 38, adds the following names:

Oka Sanchō 岡三鳥 (Described in Gesakusha shōden, p. 363, as a disciple of Bakin but so close a friend of Sanba's as to be almost a disciple.)
Santei Shunba 三亭春馬 (Described in Gesakusha shōden, p. 365, as a disciple of Jippensha Ikku.)
Santei Goran 三亭五蘭 .
Rakutei Seiba 楽亭西馬 (Sanba's publisher and friend Nishimiya Shinroku.)

Very few of these men seem to have actively pursued writing careers; Sanba may have bestowed pen names on some of them simply as signs of affection (Nishimiya Shinroku would certainly be one of these), and others seem either to have been only briefly his students or to have acted more as scribes, general assistants, and drinking partners than as serious students of literary art. One or two, principally Rakutei Bashō, were Sanba's collaborators in writing enterprises.

103. Jinbō Kazuya, "Shinrotei to Tamenaga Shunsui," Kinsei bungei, no. 7 (March, 1962), p. 49; Nakamura Yukihiko, introduction to Tamenaga Shunsui, Shunshoku umegoyomi (Iwanami Shoten, 1962), pp. 4-7.

104. Keene, World Within Walls, p. 410, quoting Nakamura, Gesakuron, p. 132.

105. Shui-hu chuan 水滸伝 (Jap. Suikoden), the great Chinese vernacular novel that inspired countless imitations, adaptations, and parodies in Japan throughout the latter half of the Edo period.

106. Gesaku rokkasen, p. 385.

107. Sakusha burui, p. 34, gives the date of Sanba's death as the sixteenth day of the intercalary first month of Bunsei 5, but both Gesaku rokkasen (p. 381) and contemporary records in the possession of the Shōzenji, the temple in Meguro-ku in Tokyo to which Sanba's remains and grave marker were removed after the earthquake of 1923, give the date as the sixth of that month. See Nakamura Michio, "Sanba arekore," Nihon koten bungaku taikei geppō, no. 5 (Sept., 1957), pp. 6-7.

Sanba seems to have left no "parting verse" (jisei no uta) written in anticipation of death, despite the persistent attribution of one such verse to him. See Gesaku rokkasen, p. 381, for an early and seemingly trustworthy refutation of the attribution.

108. Honda, SSB, p.405.

109. Sakusha burui,pp. 34, 56.

CHAPTER IV: THE KOKKEIBON AND SHIKITEI SANBA

At just about the same time that he succumbed to the fad for vendetta stories, complaining all the while that it had "robbed the kibyōshi of its humor,"[1] Shikitei Sanba began in earnest to exercise his talents in a new medium. The kokkeibon, by definition immune to the epidemic of "seriousness" that had overtaken the world of the kusazōshi (the collective term for kibyōshi and gōkan), proved to be the genre in which Sanba was most obviously at home and which would earn him his lasting reputation. All but four of Sanba's twenty-odd kokkeibon date from after 1805, when he grumblingly published his first entry in the vendetta sweepstakes; he had recognized the impossibility of upholding the traditions of wit and satire in the kibyōshi (and its derivative, the gōkan) and turned instead to the medium of the kokkeibon as a vehicle for his humor. He did not, of course, abandon the illustrated kusazōshi genres: on the contrary, they continued to dominate his output until his death, no doubt because they offered handsome financial returns for relatively little labor.[2]

It is not easy to find a succinct way to define precisely the meaning of the term kokkeibon, other than to adopt what seems to be the standard if unenlightening Japanese conception of the genre as consisting of works

of the late Edo period of clearly humorous intent that do not fall obviously into other "genre" classes, and that were published, for the most part, in the "middle-sized" chūbon format. To the Western scholar accustomed to thinking in categories like "comic fiction" or "satire," it seems very strange thus to exclude from consideration other late-Edo forms like the sharebon and many early kibyōshi, all clearly comic or satirical in intent, while including in the kokkeibon category other works that seem to have very little in common but their physical dimensions and the fact that they were meant to be funny. One of the goals of this chapter will be to clarify the content of the term kokkeibon as it is presently used through a survey of the works of one of the masters of the genre, and to demonstrate that its use as a "genre" classification is not wholly arbitrary.

The history of the kokkeibon genre has been more than adequately treated by Japanese scholars,[3] and Donald Keene has recently given the subject a survey treatment in English.[4] The term kokkeibon itself seems not to have been used in its modern sense until perhaps the 1820's; prior to that time, the works now so designated were referred to simply as chūbon, but the establishment of the ninjōbon as a second genre in the chūbon format required the adoption of more specific terminology.[5] In any case, when Sanba turned his attention to it, the humorous chūbon or kokkeibon was already a genre with a history, whatever its name. Its

origins are usually traced to a species of comic writing popular in the middle decades of the eighteenth century known as dangibon, which were parodies of the sermons presented on street corners and in other public places by itinerant moralists in an oratorical style very close to vernacular speech. The content of the dangibon was highly varied, borrowing as it increasingly did from oral arts other than the sermons that were its original model, but the form adhered more or less always to the style of these vernacular sermons. The combination of satire and plain, conversational language would be one of the primary general characteristics of the later kokkeibon. A second element in the developing kokkeibon tradition was the satiric kyōbun prose of Hiraga Gennai and his lesser contemporaries. The influence of both the dangibon and kyōbun traditions is visible in Sanba's kokkeibon, but of far greater immediate importance in the development of the later kokkeibon was the influence of the sharebon.

Because its primary concern was the pleasure quarter, its rituals, and the poses of its habitués, there is a tendency among Westerners and modern Japanese alike to regard the sharebon either as a peculiar form of pornography or as little more than an overripe and decadent late reworking of themes and topics already thoroughly explored by Saikaku and his fellow ukiyōzoshi authors. Its concentration on the fine points of elegant behavior in the pleasure quarters, on the subtle distinctions between the

true connoisseur (tsū or tōrimono) and the poseur (hankatsū, "half-tsū"), and on the argot of the denizens of the quarter do indeed set the sharebon apart as a very specialized sort of literature that is difficult for modern readers to understand, much less appreciate. By the 1790's, however, the sharebon had become an item of mass consumption, or at least was no longer aimed at a restricted audience of connoisseurs. Books in the genre had become a staple stock in trade for the kashihon'ya (commercial lending libraries) and a major source of profit to publishers,[6] possibly because the sharebon had broken out of its earlier mold and no longer dealt exclusively with the superficial arcana of the pleasure quarter, but with the personal relationships among courtesans, patrons, entertainers, and brothel proprietors. It was no longer a genre designed to appeal solely to actual or potential frequenters of the pleasure quarters, but had instead become increasingly a means whereby people who could not, for financial reasons, emulate the pleasure quarter tsū in his accustomed haunts could at least savor the atmosphere of his world at a vicarious remove. The sharebon remained, however, restricted in its subject matter. If the genre seems to modern eyes to be over-specialized and decadent, it is largely because the sharebon was concerned primarily with describing and evoking the mood of a small corner of Japanese society that was itself peculiarly specialized and decadent.

The narrowness of its focus does not detract from the fact that the sharebon was virtually the first species of prose fiction in Japanese literary history that attempted to describe its chosen world almost entirely through the medium of realistic dialogue. True, the dialogue itself is often laden with slang, puns, and obscure references to current popular songs and fashions in dress that impart to it a certain stiltedness and cloying preciosity; these features (faults in modern eyes) of sharebon prose are not, however, flourishes and decorations derived from existing, purely literary traditions, but rather are offered as examples of the living speech--however self-conscious and contrived it may have been--of the pleasure quarter.

The subject matter and humor of the later kokkeibon differ greatly from those of the sharebon, but the vast majority of kokkeibon written after about 1800 are equally reliant on dialogue rather than descriptive prose. The mechanical conventions used by the sharebon author to represent dialogue were similar to those seen in contemporary dramatic texts: each speech was set off with a single half-bracket or by the full or abbreviated name of the speaker or some other identifying symbol; short descriptions, much like stage directions, of the speaker's movements, appearance, or emotions appeared within or between speeches, written in a double line of smaller characters. These conventions were borrowed virtually intact and put

to identical use by kokkeibon authors. In both genres the conclusion of a speech could be marked by the quotative particle to, but it was signalled in many cases only by the insertion of a "stage direction" or another half-bracket marking the beginning of a speech by another character. The half-bracket "quotation mark" was used exclusively to set off passages of actual speech, never to mark internal monologues; thus the modern reader is spared the difficulty of distinguishing between speech and thought (or certain kinds of adverbial clauses that can look like quotations) that often makes reading--and especially translating--other, earlier varieties of fiction that use only the particle to to mark both kinds of expression such a frustrating task.

Writing of the emergence of the dialogue-based kokkeibon as a new genre, Takizawa Bakin bears contemporary witness to its similarity to the sharebon:

> Since the prohibition of the sharebon there has appeared something called the chūbon, consisting of "books" [hen] of one or two volumes each that contain very amusingly written, silly vignettes highly reminiscent of the "floating world impressions" [ukiyomonomane] performed by mendicants. . . . Though they do not deal with brothels and rakes, they are nevertheless a variant of the sharebon.[7]

Not only did Bakin perceive the fundamental similarity between the kokkeibon and the sharebon, but his reference to ukiyomonomane impressionists is also very important to an understanding of the development of the kokkeibon genre.

Ukiyomonomane, literally, "imitation of the floating world," was one of a number of different kinds of oral storytelling practiced in the entertainment districts of Edo and other cities; the ukiyomonomane artist's specialty was the portrayal of various familiar stock figures of Edo life--the rustic tourist, the drunk, the country samurai, the self-styled "retired gentleman," the dissolute heir, and so on--through careful mimicry of the dialects, speech habits, and physical mannerisms of his subjects. This art, which seems to have remained far less formalized an entertainment than the similar rakugo, appears to have been practiced in Edo in the environs of the Asakusa Temple from some time in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, flourishing side by side with the other oral arts (wagei) of the period, all of which seem to have participated in a general movement toward professionalization catalyzed by the arrival from Osaka in 1798 of the great rakugo raconteur Okamoto Mansaku.[8]

Bakin did not necessarily mean that the new kokkeibon were all based on the ukiyomonomane artists' routines; he was probably using the word simply as a slightly opprobrious term for all of the various arts that specialized in oral caricature. In any case, it is clear that he saw a strong connection between the comic chūbon and the arts of vocal mimicry and storytelling. That there was, indeed, an important association between oral artists and chūbon authors is certainly borne out in Shikitei Sanba's career.

A number of Sanba's kokkeibon are very explicitly related to contemporary oral storytelling modes. Foremost among them, of course, is Ukiyoburo, whose genesis Sanba himself described as follows:

> One evening in Utagawa Toyokuni's lodgings, we listened to Sanshōtei Karaku 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. . . .[9]

Namaei katagi ("Portraits of Drinkers," 1806)[10] is even more directly related to oral storytelling, Sanba reveals in a preface:

> This work was originally a single evening's amusement, written as a present for Sakuragawa Jinkō, but on the urgings of the publisher, I turned it into a book. I hope that you will keep Jinkō's mannerisms in mind as you look at it; its true meaning will then reveal itself, and it will be far funnier than if you were simply to read it.
>
> I have been listening to Jinkō since my childhood. . . . He is accomplished at imitating physical mannerisms, and a master of mimicry. I have long loved him. It is for these reasons that I offer him this book.[11]

It would appear that Sanba intended Namaei katagi originally to be used as a performance text (daibon), or at least as a source of ideas for performance, by the raconteur and impressionist Sakuragawa Jinkō, a disciple of the kibyōshi author and rakugo artist Sakuragawa Jihinari.[12]

A third work with direct and obvious connections to the world of the raconteur is Inaka shibai chūshingura

("'The Treasury of Loyal Retainers' on Tour in the Countryside," 1813-14), which is not really an original work by Sanba at all but rather a reworking and expansion by him of a story or cycle of stories performed by the rakugoka Asanebō Muraku, a pupil of Sanshōtei Karaku. Sanba explained in his introduction that Muraku had intended to publish his own version of the stories himself, but found that he lacked both the time and the skill, and so turned his drafts over to Sanba for rewriting and elaboration.[13]

In 1815, Sanba compiled and annotated a collection of miscellaneous documents and souvenirs relating to the history of rakugo and allied arts entitled Otoshibanashi chūkō raiyū ("The Origins and Course of the Rakugo Revival")[14] that dealt particularly with the period of the rakugo revival of the late 1790's and early 1800's. This compilation is further evidence of Sanba's abiding interest in the oral storytelling arts, and is a major primary source for the study of the early roots of modern rakugo. The figures of Sanshōtei Karaku, whose stories were one of the inspirations for Ukiyoburo, and Sanba's old friend and mentor, the kyōka poet and dramatist Utei Enba, loom large in Otoshibanashi chūkō raiyū, the former as the first Edo raconteur to follow Okamoto Mansaku's lead in elevating rakugo from the status of an occasional amateur entertainment to that of a professional performing art, and the latter as a storyteller himself, an organizer and promoter of rakugo performances and fan clubs, and author or

compiler of a number of hanashibon, collections of short rakugo stories.[15]

Jippensha Ikku, too, seems to have had a good deal of contact with the world of wagei. One of his earlier efforts in the kokkeibon genre, for instance, was a partial continuation of Kyūkanchō (first book published in 1805),[16] a work by Mantei (Kannatei) Onitake (1760-1818)[17] that is said to have been derived directly from ukiyomonomane routines on the general theme of the rustic visitor to Edo; this work was, in fact, subtitled ukiyomonomane. Ryūtei Rijō (1778?-1841), author of the immensely popular Hasshōjin ("Eight Laughers," 1820),[18] which recreated on paper the world of the amateur theatrical entertainment known as chaban kyōgen, was himself a raconteur, a pupil of the rakugo artist Ryūtei Riraku.[19] Tamenaga Shunsui, known more for the ninjōbon variety of chūbon than for kokkeibon, was of course also a sometime storyteller in the kōshaku tradition; early in his career, as a pupil of Ryūtei Rijō, he performed as Tamenaga Masasuke, and toward the end of his writing career he mounted the yose stage again under the name Kyōkuntei Kinryū as a reciter of ninjōbanashi, "tales of human feelings," a variety of story closely related to the ninjōbon.[20]

It is clear that Sanba and other late-Edo authors of dialogue-based fiction maintained intimate contacts with performers of rakugo and related arts, and the degree to which Sanba's kokkeibon in particular are indebted to the

techniques of the mimic and the raconteur will be made even clearer in detailed discussion below. It should not be assumed, however, that Sanba's kokkeibon are merely transcriptions or recreations of rakugo or ukiyomonomane routines: they are all, to greater and lesser degrees, the products of a conscious process of literary composition, and as such they have their ultimate roots not in an oral but in a literary tradition. Sanba borrowed topics and characters, and acquired a sensitivity to the rhythms of the spoken language from the storytellers, but he learned his basic techniques for writing realistic dialogue and bringing his characters to life from the sharebon and dangibon traditions. Honda Yasuo has shown beyond much doubt, however, that these earlier dialogue-based genres themselves had also been deeply affected in their formative stages by the oral entertainments of their day.[21]

The dangibon, of course, was explicitly modeled on the sermons of street corner moralists, but it appears that early dangibon authors like Jōkanbō Kōa, who wrote Imayō heta dangi ("Bumbling Sermons for the Present Day," 1752),[22] the earliest classic of the genre, were themselves raconteurs who not only wrote but also actually performed their mock sermons. Many of them also entertained professionally in an oral medium known as kōshaku, which in its original, legitimate form consisted of serious recitations of military and historical tales and fables. Adopting the poses of legitimate kōshaku narrators or dangi sermonizers, humorists

like Kōa and Fukai Shidōken seem to have prefaced their routines with appropriate mock-serious bits of historical or moral texts and then would wander off into irreverent, rambling commentaries on contemporary life and manners, interspersed with punning rakugo-like routines, imitations of famous actors, and oral caricatures of the habitués of the entertainment districts.[23] One of the classics among early kokkeibon is Hiraga Gennai's Fūryū Shidōkenden ("An Up-to-Date Biography of Shidōken," 1763),[24] a whimsical account of how the great kōshaku artist Shidōken was guided into his calling by a fictional teacher of morals named Fūrai Sennin. This work reflects the close relationship between the burlesque versions of kōshaku and dangi recitation--"Fūrai Sennin" is depicted as a dangi sermonizer--and shows moreover that Hiraga Gennai was profoundly impressed with Shidōken's skills as a storyteller and impersonator. Gennai had a respect bordering on reverence for Shidōken, who seems to have been unusually advanced in years at the height of his career, and seems to have regarded himself as a special patron or protector of the old man, judging from the fact that he cast himself in that role in this "biography."[25] ("Fūrai Sennin" is of course a transparent reference to Gennai's penname, Fūrai Sanjin.)

The most outstanding formal characteristic of the classic sharebon and the one that links it most closely with the later kokkeibon is, as argued above, its heavy reliance on dialogue. The earliest example of a sharebon

composed in this style is found in Gekka yojō, a work by one Kenshōkaku Shujin published in Osaka in 1746.[26] The first half of this work is in Chinese, as were many of its predecessors in the genre, but the second half consists of conversational exchanges among the clients and employees of a brothel that are recorded in precisely the same serifu (play-script) format that soon became standard in the sharebon.[27]

Speculating on the origins of this style of presenting dialogue, Honda notes that the publisher of Gekka yojō, Kyūkodō Harimaya Sahei, seems to have specialized in publications closely related to the pleasure quarter and its entertainments. Among his products were a number of detailed "how-to" guides for the amateur dealing with jōruri song, puns and other word play, and how to mount informal performances of niwaka, an amateur theatrical entertainment then popular in the Osaka pleasure quarters that was heavily dependent upon word play. All of these arts were accomplishments required of the aspiring tsū in the gay quarter; these books were written as practical handbooks in an easy, colloquial style, and more importantly, provided actual examples of, for instance, word-play as it might appear in actual conversations, and niwaka in its social setting (the zashiki--"parlors"--of the teahouses and brothels of the quarter) recorded according to the same conventions as the dialogues in Gekka yojō and subsequent sharebon. Unfortunately for the airtightness of

Honda's argument, the examples he provides all post-date the publication of Gekka yojō, but the fact remains that in the publications of the Harimaya we see what are probably the origins of the dialogue-based sharebon in "scripts" written to show how certain of the social arts of the true connoisseur were incorporated into his conversations and entertainments in the pleasure quarter. (A further linkage between these guide books and the sharebon is the fact that Gekka yojō and the guide to puns and word-play mentioned above seem likely to have been written by the same author.)[28]

It is thus apparent that the most common type of kokkeibon, made up for the most part of conversational exchanges and typified by works like Ukiyoburo and Hizakurige, was part of a larger tradition of dialogue-based literature that included the sharebon, the dangibon, and the ninjōbon. Once this tradition was begun and its conventions established--by works like Gekka yojō--it took on a life of its own independent of its origins as the techniques of dialogue representation were mastered and refined by successive generations of writers. But it is also evident that throughout the century or more of its history prior to contact with the Western novel, the tradition of fiction built around dialogue was constantly refreshed by interaction with a parallel tradition of oral storytelling and caricature. This interaction came about in many ways: through the writing of fiction by men who were themselves practitioners of one or another of the oral arts, through

personal interaction and collaboration between fiction writers and professional raconteurs, and through the much more general cross-influences that resulted from the fact that from the mid-eighteenth century onward, the interrelated oral arts of rakugo, ukiyomonomane, niwaka, and kōshaku were all-pervasive in chōnin culture.

One senses, in fact, that the spoken word itself was an object of intense fascination throughout this period, whether in everyday conversation (itself endlessly varied because of the profusion of regional and class dialects in the increasingly cosmopolitan city of Edo) or in the more elaborate and artificial utterances of the elegant punster, the actor, or the raconteur. Throughout Sanba's kokkeibon, the reader is aware of an extreme sensitivity to language on the part of both the author and the characters he portrays. If this awareness of the phonetic and semantic richness of both the spoken and the written language--revealed not only in word play but in direct conversation about language--can be taken to have been shared generally by the literate urban population, then it is little wonder that those who wrote in genres like the kokkeibon and the sharebon that concentrated on conveying in accurate detail the flavor of urban life found it necessary to include generous portions of realistic dialogue in their works in order to reflect properly the importance of linguistic matters in the lives of their characters.

A clear majority of Sanba's kokkeibon--among them his best-known and, arguably, his best works--belong to this tradition of dialogue-based fiction; only seven of the twenty-three titles that Honda assigns to the kokkeibon category are not of this type. In the survey discussion that follows, Sanba's kokkeibon will not be treated strictly chronologically, but rather according to groups into which they naturally seem to fall based on format and content. The first category to be surveyed will be this miscellaneous group of seven works that are not predominantly composed of conversational exchanges; the remaining sixteen works, which belong to what has been called the "mainstream" of the kokkeibon genre, will then be treated in several sub-groupings. As works that are in a sense a culmination of trends visible in all these categories of Sanba's kokkeibon, Ukiyoburo and Ukiyodoko will be mentioned occasionally in the following discussion, but will receive a more systematic analysis in Chapter V, which will serve as an introduction to the translation of portions of Ukiyoburo that appears in the Appendix. For the sake of convenience, a comprehensive list of Sanba's kokkeibon, arranged according to the categories by which they are discussed here, appears at the end of the present chapter.

The first two works that appear in the canon of Sanba's kokkeibon date from the period in his life shortly after 1800 that was described in the previous chapter as one during which he was experimenting with new writing

styles and at the same time attempting to establish for himself a claim to legitimate gesakusha status by studying and copying the styles of earlier writers. The comic works of Hiraga Gennai were the obvious inspiration for these earliest of Sanba's kokkeibon, Mashin gigen ("A Whimsical Discourse on the Measles," 1803), and Kyōgen kigyo (1804). The degree to which the advertisements and kyōbun essays collected in Kyōgen kigyo were influenced by Gennai's models has already been treated in some detail in Chapter III, and the work will not be discussed further here.

Mashin gigen, which is a satirical treatment of a grim subject, the disastrous measles epidemic that swept Edo in the spring of 1803, bears a striking stylistic and structural resemblance to one of Hiraga Gennai's most famous comic essays, Hōhiron ("On Flatulence," 1774).[29] Mashin gigen is divided, like Hōhiron, into two parts. The first is a cynical description in decorative kyōbun prose of how the people of Edo reacted to the epidemic--a sudden upsurge in piety, the appearance of charlatans in large numbers claiming special knowledge of cures for the disease, the rush to cash in on the epidemic with new patent medicines, and so on. The second part, prefaced by a playful, punning commentary on the tendency of Edoites to succumb to fads (the same verb, hayaru, is used for "to become popular" and "to spread," as in "a disease spreads"), consists mainly of a mock-serious learned discourse on dialect linguistics, epidemiology,

ichthyology, and folklore delivered for the benefit of the neighbor's cook, who has come to the erudite narrator to settle a bet with his fellow servants about whether the proper name for the present disease is hashika (the standard word for measles) or ashika (a dialect variant of hashika, but normally, "sea lion"). The first part of Hōhiron, on the other hand, is an account in Gennai's best kyōbun style of a performer who had become a sensation in Edo for his ability to fart out on command imitations of frogs, birds, fireworks, jōruri music, and any number of other familiar sounds for hours on end; this description is followed by a rambling, "learned" discourse on the history and physiology of flatulence, and the diet and training such performances require. The second part of this peculiar work consists of a similarly erudite defense of the performer for his enterprise and self-discipline prompted by a long-winded attack by a priggish samurai moralist who visits the narrator to complain about this affront to good taste and public morality. Mashin gigen is not particularly amusing, and fails utterly to reach the heights of elegant crudity achieved in Hōhiron, but there can be little doubt that Sanba was consciously copying this work of Gennai's or another very similar to it. He evidently realized that his talents lay elsewhere, however, for Mashin gigen was his only essay in this direction. Sanba continued to write kyōbun in the Hiraga-buri style, but only in short introductions to works in other styles,

as advertising texts, and in fan inscriptions and the like. Both this work and Kyōgen kigyo remain as evidence, however, of his abiding respect for Gennai and his interest in trying to preserve the best of the old gesaku traditions.

Ono no bakamura usojizukushi ("Ono no Bakamura's Exhaustive Dictionary of Lies," 1806) is a slight work; as its title (based on puns on the name of Ono no Takamura, a semi-legendary ninth-century poet, and utajizukushi, "dictionary of poetic words") suggests, it is a parody of combination dictionary-poetry handbooks, and includes as well parodies of selected portions of standard setsuyōshū, which were all-purpose popular dictionaries and guides to seasonal festival observances, proper epistolary style, etiquette, and other miscellaneous social skills. It has a close parallel in an earlier work by Koikawa Harumachi entitled Sato no Bakamura mudajizukushi (1783).[30] Honda suggests that one of Sanba's objects in this work was to poke indirect fun at Takizawa Bakin and other gesakusha who occasionally wrote simple textbooks of similar format but serious intent for use in village schools.[31] In any case, this work is also one of a kind in Sanba's oeuvre.

Four theater-related works complete this group of non-dialogue-based kokkeibon. The earliest is Shibai kinmō zui ("An Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Theater," 1803), described briefly in Chapter III. This work was published as a hanshibon, a format slightly larger than the chūbon,

but it is still classified as a kokkeibon, evidently because its nature as a parody of the form of conventional "encyclopedias" marks it as humorous in intent, and because it does not fall readily into any other genre/format category. The next work in this sub-group to be published was Hatsumonogatari (1808), a reworking in chūbon format of a play written and performed in honor of the actor Nakamura Utaemon III's visit to Edo from Osaka; it is a tale of the adventures of a stage-struck country girl who wants to go to Edo to see her beloved Utaemon perform, but is deceived by a former cook in an actor's household who manages to pass himself off as Utaemon, setting in motion a series of comic complications. Hatsumonogatari was clearly little more than an attempt to cash in on the excitement of Utaemon's visit. It is a chūbon by format, and a kokkeibon because it is funny, but has far more in common with Sanba's theater-based kibyōshi and gōkan, and with his "advertising novels," than with his other kokkeibon.[32]

The third title in this sub-group is probably the best-known and most interesting of Sanba's non-"mainstream" kokkeibon, Chūshingura henchikiron ("'The Treasury of Loyal Retainers:' A Crackpot View," 1812). This work is a tongue-in-cheek criticism of the famous puppet play Kanadehon chūshingura, which by Sanba's day had become one of the central myths of Tokugawa Japan, having spawned numerous kabuki versions and countless novelizations and

parodies. Pretending to present the theories of a fictional moralist-critic named Henchiki-sensei, Sanba analyzes each major character in the play in a way precisely contrary to the received wisdom: the heroic Ōboshi Yuranosuke, the leader of the vendetta, is attacked as a besotted incompetent; the scheming, self-serving Sagisaka Bannai is hailed as a paragon of loyalty; En'ya Hangan is a miserly hothead, and Kō no Moronao a man of charity and common sense. Nakamura Yukihiko identifies henchikiron, which might be translated loosely as "perverse sophistry," as one of the major subtypes of late Edo satire. The humor of the technique arises from an intentional misreading of the motives for a character's actions based on a selective application of conventional ethical tenets or accepted theories of human motivation.[33] Commenting on Chūshingura henchikiron, Donald Keene has written:

> Shikitei Samba could not have been entirely serious in his contradictions of all the accepted views, but his criticism seems to go beyond mere frivolity to something approaching a rejection of the ideals expressed in the play. At the same time, Samba's quibbling is proof of how avidly interested he and his readers were in every detail of the play. Yuranosuke, Moronao, Kampei, Bannai, and the other characters were a part of their lives, and their desire to learn more and more about them, as if they were real people whose secrets were not fully revealed in Chūshingura, occasioned the many revisions and expansions of the original work.[34]

It would probably be a mistake, however, to grasp too eagerly at Chūshingura henchikiron as evidence that Sanba was at heart a cynic and a social critic. On the contrary:

Nakamura regards the work as a distinctly unserious reworking, played almost entirely for laughs, of an earlier, similar work by Hatakenaka Kansai entitled Chūshingura jinbutsu hyōron ("A Critique of the Characters in Chūshingura," 1786)[35] that is far more clearly a genuine satirical attack on the received ethical wisdom about Chūshingura.

It is certainly true, however, that Chūshingura still exercised a remarkable hold over the popular imagination generations after the play was first performed, as demonstrated in works like Kanadehon kuraishō ("Gleanings from the Copy-book Storehouse," 1813), the last kokkeibon Sanba would produce that was not written predominantly in a dialogue format. The work is a pseudoscholarly compilation of "historical" materials relating to the events and personages of Chūshingura, such as facsimiles--complete with wormholes, blots, and erasures--of documents like the original oath signed by the forty-seven loyal rōnin and an advertising placard announcing the self-sacrificing Okaru's arrival in the brothel, a rubbing of a decorated end-tile from the roof of the Ashikaga palace where En'ya Hangan drew his sword on Moronao, and drawings of a paper doll once owned by Yoshimatsu (the son of Amakawaya Gihei, the chōnin hero of Act Ten), a clock once owned by Momonoi Wakasanosuke, and one of the lanterns carried by the rōnin on their daring night raid on Moronao's mansion. Kuraishō is not wholly Sanba's creation; the original inspiration

and parts of the final work are from the hand of Manjutei Shōji, a jōruri playwright active in Kyoto and Osaka who had published a similar work in Kyoto in 1804 and evidently asked Sanba to revise and expand it for publication in Edo.[36] The point of the work is, on the one hand, to satirize the deadly, fussy style of contemporary antiquarian scholars and, on the other, to poke fun at the lengthening tradition of increasingly tedious and trivial critiques and exegeses of Chūshingura. Underlying the work and the source of its humor is the fact that the elaborately reproduced and annotated "relics" are of course wholly spurious; they are not souvenirs of the actual vendetta of 1703, but of the fictitious events of the play, which was set in the Ashikaga period. While the work is not entirely Sanba's, Yamaguchi Takeshi found it to be vastly superior to the original Kyoto version and attributed the improvement to Sanba's extensive emendations.[37]

The works just described are evidence enough of how varied in style and content works labeled kokkeibon may be; when this survey is extended below to include Sanba's dialogue-based (kaiwatai) works, it will be even more difficult to identify points of similarity that would allow us to recognize all of Sanba's kokkeibon as members of the same genre of literature. The books described above do, however, share at least one characteristic beyond the fact that they are (or were meant to be) funny: all of them address themselves, irrespective of their ruling conceits,

the style in which they are written, or the way they are structured, to subjects of immediate interest to the general run of chōnin, the townsman (or townswoman) of average education possessed of a sense of humor and a familiarity with the popular culture of his time and place.

With the possible exceptions of Mashin gigen and Kyōgen kigyo, which are products of a period in Sanba's life when he was trying on the persona of the old-style, unabashedly elitist gesakusha, all of the works described above deal with one aspect or another of Edo popular culture. Chūshingura henchikiron and Kanedehon kuraishō take as their subject the one play that virtually every adult inhabitant of Edo could be expected to be familiar with. Ono no Bakamura usojizukushi, nominally based on a species of dictionary of interest only to poets, is actually for the most part a parody of the setsuyōshū, a kind of practical guide to the culture of the upper-middle classes that to all appearances was aimed at the greater mass of upward-aspiring and socially insecure townsmen. Shibai kinmō zui and Hatsumonogatari would have appealed to anyone with more than a passing interest in the theater; to judge from the phenomenal popularity of kabuki-based kibyōshi and gōkan, their potential audience probably included a rather large proportion of the population. Even Mashin gigen and Kyōgen kigyo were not, in the final analysis, aimed at a small elite. The former dealt with an epidemic that must have touched just about everyone in Edo. The latter was

composed largely of advertisements, intended by definition for mass consumption, and the remaining kyōbun exercises, while they were written in a complex and allusive style, required little of the reader beyond a good general knowledge of the commonly-shared popular culture.

Any attempt to define the term kokkeibon in its modern sense must take into account the fact that works of the genre not only are products of urban merchant-class culture, but take that culture itself as their subject matter and make it the object of their satire. The other main varieties of comic literature of the period--the sharebon and the kibyōshi--were certainly genres that appealed to the merchant class as a whole, but they did not make the generality of urban culture their subject. Prior to its metamorphosis into a species of romantic, melodramatic fiction, the sharebon was certainly a comic genre, but its satire was elitist in tone and took as its object a stylized and expensive world and way of life that was inaccessible to the great majority of townsmen. As Sanba so often wistfully reminded his readers, the kibyōshi, too, developed originally as a comic genre; it was a form, however, that was a part of but not about popular culture. Kibyōshi satire was most often directed at historical subjects, the literary tradition, or other objects that stood at a remove from the daily life of the streets; the kibyōshi author tended to prefer fantasy to the real world, and filled his pages with dreams,

reincarnations, magic, supernatural beings and interventions, and larger-than-life imaginary heroes. In contrast to the kibyōshi, Sanba's kokkeibon are down-to-earth and of the present; in contrast to the sharebon, their point of view is non-elitist and they deal with the broadest conceivable spectrum of chōnin life.

Sanba published a total of sixteen kokkeibon composed principally of monologues and conversations. For the purpose of discussion, these works will be divided into four categories. These groupings are not proposed as any sort of formal typology; the categories tend to run into each other and some works fit as well in one as in another. The first group might be defined as works that are conceptually similar to the early eighteenth century katagimono: collections of verbal portraits or sketches of a series of "types" of people within a specific category. The second group consists of works that are each constructed around a ruling conceit, theme, or particular conception of human psychology. The third contains works that focus on a single setting or subculture, rather than on unrelated individuals sharing certain attributes or traits (as in the first group above) or serving to illustrate some "truth" of human nature (as in the second group). The final group consists of only two works, Ukiyoburo and Ukiyodoko, which are here regarded as works that combine aspects of works in the three other groups. (They may otherwise be seen simply as falling outside this system of classification.)

The earliest work in the katagimono group to appear was Yakusha hiiki katagi ("Portraits of Actors' Patrons"), not an independent work at all but published as the second book of Yakusha gakuya tsū ("A Connoisseur's Guide to the Actors' Green Room," 1799), discussed briefly in Chapter II. It consists of a series of sketches of the members of a family of theater fans, each character exhibiting a different aspect of kabuki mania. The portraits are executed mainly by means of their subjects' own words. Another book in this group is Kyakusha hyōbanki ("Critiques of Theater Patrons," 1811), a far more fully developed exploration of the same theme. This latter work, organized according to the general scheme of the actors' critiques (yakusha hyōbanki) published in the major cities at regular intervals throughout the latter half of the Edo period, consists of a series of verbal portraits of types of theater patrons, either singly or in conversational (or argumentative) groups: the typical Edo, Osaka, or Kyoto theater-goer, the adolescent girl, the foul-mannered little boy, the theater tsū, the know-it-all, the occupant of the cheap balcony seat (or the ground-floor private box), the amateur theater historian, and others. While in one respect Kyakusha hyōbanki is no more than a collection of disconnected images of different kinds of theater-goers, it is also a real storehouse of contemporary theater lore; the monologues and conversations of the characters portrayed are as life-like and lively as any in Sanba's oeuvre, but

they serve also as a medium to convey a vast amount of specific information about historical and contemporary theater practice, performance styles, and actors. As one of Sanba's relatively late kokkeibon, this work shows him at his most competent. By this time he had fully mastered the techniques of writing realistic dialogue; the speeches in Kyakusha hyōbanki still show the influence of rakugo and ukiyomonomane storytellers, but Sanba had domesticated their art to the point where he was free to elaborate the content of his characters' speeches as much as he wished, without sacrificing the startling realism he had achieved in earlier works more closely dependent on the oral artist's repertoire.

The work that clearly marked the beginning of Sanba's exploitation of oral art forms in his writing was Namaei katagi ("Portraits of Drinkers," 1806). This work shows better than any other the immense changes that had overtaken comic fiction since the days of Saikaku and Kiseki. Both Namaei katagi and the "character sketch" pieces of Ejima Kiseki are structurally uncomplicated works made up of portraits of anonymous representatives of certain types of people within a larger category. Kiseki reveals the essence of his "types" to the reader through third-person descriptions or brief stories illustrating their behavior. The characters never really come to life, since our knowledge of them comes only indirectly through appeals to our general knowledge of human nature or our special familiarity

with the culture of the time and place that are based on implicit formulations like, "he is the sort of man who wears this sort of clothing," or "she is the sort of girl who wears her hair that way." Sanba's characters in Namaei katagi, on the other hand, reveal themselves directly without the mediation of a narrator.

The sketches that make up Namaei katagi are characteristically monologues, interrupted occasionally by brief notes describing the speaker's dress, particular quirks of speech or tone of voice, carriage, or movements. There are usually others present in the scene, but their comments and movements are revealed only indirectly in the reactions of the subject: "Well yes, thank you, I will, but only a little . . ." "Why the hell don't you say something? . . . I am not drunk!" The overall effect is startlingly reminiscent of certain kinds of monologue delivered by stand-up comedians in our own day. (The telephone routines of Shelley Berman and Bob Newhart come immediately to mind.)

There are twelve sketches in all in Namaei katagi, including the Superstitious Drunk, the Loud Drunk, the Weeping Drunk, the Abusive Drunk, and others. Most of the sketches are accompanied by an illustration bearing a short caption describing the behavior of the subject, and many are prefaced with a brief note suggesting how the drunk's speech should sound when read aloud. Below is an excerpt

from the third sketch in the series, the Unfunny Drunk (omoshirokunai jōgo):

The Unfunny Drunk

(How to read: should be read quietly and calmly, in a spirit of seriousness.)

(The sound of a throat being cleared:) Ehen, eheh, ehen . . . gohori, gohori, uhha, uhha, goho, goho . . . (He spits out some phlegm:) Pyoi . . . Excuse me. Hello? . . . It's very lively over here tonight, isn't it? . . . No, it's just that I could hear it all perfectly over at my place, and I thought it would be a lot more fun if I saw what was going on, so here I am. I certainly don't mean to bother you . . . No, no, don't trouble yourself . . . (He stands swaying in the entranceway.) . . . Anyway, anyway, it's too early to go to bed. Eh heh heh. Ah, Tora! are you helping out? I suppose Orin got tired. Ya. One, two, three, up we go. (Steadying himself on his wobbly legs, he heaves himself up out of the entranceway.) I suppose the old gentleman is in his rooms. Was that dancing just now your daughter who's studying with Kineya? I could only hear the sound of her feet, but even that was marvelous . . . Ah, excuse me. My goodness! So many guests. Well, here we go. Heave ho! (Bracing himself against the wall as he walks, he reaches the entrance to the guest parlor.) . . . Eh, hello, I'm Tazaemon . . . Eh, eh, eh, kind of you, by the way, to see me home last time. Eh, heh, heh, heh, hee hee hee, thank you. Eh, eh . . . (He has a habit of going "eh, eh," as if he were thinking and unable to find the right words.) Eh . . . No, no. Don't trouble yourself . . . Heave ho, down we go. (He seats himself in the lower part of the room, and begins fumbling at his sash and inside the lapels of his kimono.) Now, where in the world . . . Could I have left it somewhere? . . . Eh? Well, if you insist, thank you, I'll have just a puff of yours. (He picks up the host's tobacco pouch.) Isn't this a fine one! What would you say it's made of? Cloth? Leather? Hmm . . . No, leather is different . . . Eh? Oh, I see now. You know, I've heard they're getting so good now that uh, yes, they can make paper tobacco pouches so that they look just like leather or cloth . . . Pardon me? Yes, I think Takeya Seibei in Yokkaichi

> and Miyakoya Denzō [i.e., Santō Kyōden--trans.] in Kyōbashi are supposed to be good . . . Really? I didn't know that . . . Ah, this is very good tobacco. I have mine brought down from Gunma in the leaf and cut it myself. It's better than the tobacco you pay eighty a kin for in Edo . . . No, no. I insist. Do not go out of your way on my account. Besides, I just had some at home, and you saw what my legs were like when I came . . . Well, if you insist. Just one more . . .[38]

Translation destroys, of course, many of the fine points of the characterization that are dependent on the hems and haws and slurrings and garblings in the drunk's speech, but the general style and structure of the sketch should be reasonably clear even if much of the humor is lost. The proximity of this sort of writing to the kind of oral caricature produced by stage comics should also be very evident. Namaei katagi was written, as we have seen, as a text for the raconteur Sakuragawa Jinkō, so it is not surprising that it is so close in feeling to an oral form of humor. This work appears to have been the first in which Sanba was consciously manipulating the techniques of the oral storyteller; it feels almost as if he were sticking intentionally close to his model in order to master its stylistic tricks in its pure form before attempting to adapt it to more conventionally literary ends. The training he gave himself in writing Namaei katagi stood him in good stead in many later works. Drunks, of course, were common inhabitants of the worlds he created elsewhere, but the skill he developed here at reproducing quirky habits of thought and speech and slurred pronunciation

turned out to be useful in portraying a wide variety of other, soberer types as well.

Namaei katagi was followed by two other similar collections of sketches of drunks, Tōsei nanakuse jōgo ("Seven Idiosyncrasies of Modern Drunks," 1810) and Ippai kigen ("One Cup and They're Up," 1813), which complete the roster of Sanba's katagimono-like pieces.

The works in the second category of Sanba's dialogue-based kokkeibon are very similar to those of the first, except that the sketches contained in them are united not by their portrayal of a certain category of person--the drunk, the theater-goer--but by a particular theme: "everyone lies sometimes," "there are two sides to every personality," "unpleasant habits," or "people think one way and act another." There is a vein of cynicism running through all of these works that is more apparent than in most of Sanba's other writing, but it never produces much beyond a gentle mocking of human foibles. The personality types that Sanba holds up to ridicule here are those that by general social agreement are acceptable objects of satire. "The husband who is afraid of his wife" and "the husband who plays around," for instance, are fair game, but "the wife who does her husband's bidding" or "the filial son" would not be: Sanba's ridicule is directed at aberrant types, not at the society that defines them as aberrant. Still, though his satire remains within these bounds, Sanba seems to be warning us that we are all capable of saying

things and acting in ways that leave us open to mockery: a rather feeble and underdeveloped theory of human nature, but one that suffices as a basis for good comic writing.

The first work of this group to appear was Hayakawari mune no karakuri ("Quick Changes of Heart," 1810), which takes as its central metaphor the fast costume changes that were a staple bit of flashy kabuki performance practice at the time. In many plays, a single popular actor might display his virtuosity in as many as six or seven different roles; Sanba borrowed this idea as a metaphor for the way in which a single individual sometimes exhibits sudden changes of personality--the seemingly self-effacing wife who becomes a ranting harridan, the repentent, introspective hangover victim whose first "medicinal" morning-after cup of saké turns him into an abusive bully, the modest country girl who suddenly begins acting like the mistress of the household in which she serves. Most of the sketches in Hayakawari mune no karakuri are monologues similar to those of Namaei katagi, but a few are in dialogue form.

Shijūhachikuse ("Forty-eight Nasty Habits") was published in four parts between 1812 and 1818. This work, in effect a serial publication, is made up of wholly independent sketches of people with certain undesirable habits or idiosyncrasies. Only a total of twenty sketches out of the promised forty-eight ever appeared, among them pieces like "The Person Who Worries about Everything," "The Person Who Makes Everything a Lot of Work," "The Wife Who Puts

Down Her Husband," or "The Person Who Makes Fun of Others Behind Their Backs." Honda points particularly to "The Person Who Catalogues Others' Faults" (I:7) and "The Philanderer and the Insincere Person" (II:6) as being sketches that are as good as anything Sanba ever wrote.[39] Both are in dialogue rather than monologue form and are distilled vignettes of life in the uranagaya, "back street tenements," the long, low multi-family (almost communal) houses that filled the alley-laced interiors of city blocks in Edo. These sketches are funny, but their humor comes from the devastating accuracy with which Sanba portrays commonplace people with common weaknesses rather than from exaggeration of inherently comic mannerisms or character defects.

In Ningen banji uso bakkari ("In Human Affairs, Nothing But Lies," 1813), Sanba examines the white lies that complicate human intercourse in six sketches consisting of monologues or dialogues depicting the original lie-filled transactions followed by after-the-fact comments by the participants on what was really going through their minds at the time. The third sketch, for instance, "The Lies of the Man of Elegance" (Gajin no uso), begins with a dialogue between two connoisseurs of the finer things of life who have gone out on a snow-viewing excursion. Their conversation consists mainly of efforts to outdo each other in their appreciation of the beauties of the snowy landscape through references to classical poetry and popular songs and other evidences of their mastery of the arts and

pastimes required of an elegant man of the world. They part, and we are next shown them in their respective homes, huddled under heavy quilts by the brazier. The first is muttering:

> Oh, I'm cold . . . Hey! Hurry up and fix the hot bean curd. Put some more charcoal in the brazier, too. . . . I'm still shivering. Oh, I feel terrible. Never again will I go out "snow viewing," for goodness' sakes! I can't think of anything less elegant. What could be more elegant, after all, than sitting by the brazier at home with some hot bean curd and warm saké? I thought I was going to burst out crying right there in the middle of Mukōjima, but I managed to hold out and not embarrass myself in front of Kottō. And then to rub it in, the damned snow started coming down harder than ever . . . Come on! Hurry up with the bean curd! . . .

The second connoisseur, hunched over his own brazier, is shown complaining loudly:

> . . . I've never seen so damned much snow as I did today. That damned Gyūkotsu kept pestering me about "snow viewing, snow viewing," so I finally gave in in spite of myself, but it just kept coming down and we got soaked to the skin . . . Snow's snow, whether you look at it from a verandah or your back stoop . . . I must say I've learned my lesson about "elegance." Give me a boor any day. Even a boor can look at snow and tell it's white and cold. If being elegant meant you could look at it and think it was black and warm, that'd be one thing, but what the hell, it's still the same damned stuff, so you might as well be elegant staying home with a hot bowl of blowfish soup. Wow, I'm still shivering. . . .[40]

In sketches like these and the others--"Lying About How Handsome He Is," "The Lies of the Young Man Who Hates Women," "The 'The-Past-Was-Better' Lie," and two others--Sanba's cynicism is in full view. The "changes of heart" of the characters in Hayakawari mune no karakuri take place

sequentially, over time, and are thus simply examples of human unpredictability, but the characters in Ningen banji uso bakkari are treated simply (though sympathetically) as hypocrites who say one thing while thinking another. Hitogokoro nozoki karakuri ("A Mechanism for Peering into The Human Heart," 1814), the fourth title in this subgroup, is written around the same simple notion, the contrast between what one says and what one thinks. This work borrows its title and its central conceit from one of Sanba's first kibyōshi, Ningen isshin nozoki karakuri (1794),[41] but is constructed, as one might expect, of a series of five dialogue-based vignettes, each consisting of two scenes showing the "front" and "back" of a character's personality--the man who praises domesticity and his wife's cooking to her face, but damns them both behind her back when he is out carousing; the charlatan who flaunts his learning in front of his patients, but sweats in private over his ignorance of real medicine and his fear of being found out; the housewife who splurges on a treat of grilled potatoes for herself and a friend next door, only to offer them to the husband she has been badmouthing all afternoon when he unexpectedly returns. (Honda praises this last sketch as another example of Sanba's skill at depicting the lower-middle class world of the uranagaya.)[42]

The last work in this group is Kokon hyakubaka ("A Hundred Fools, Ancient and Modern," 1814), composed, despite its title, of only four relatively lengthy sketches

of types of fools, all "modern:" the husband who lets his wife make a fool of him, the bad chess player who gets angry when he loses, the teahouse jester who scolds the customers for their improvident ways, and the man who prides himself on being able to eat inhumanly large quantities of food. The first sketch is particularly effective, perhaps because it has a certain universality that is lacking in the others, which are dependent for their humor on specifically Japanese situations and attitudes to an extent that makes them sometimes either tedious or incomprehensible to a modern western reader.

The four works in the third group are of limited appeal to western readers also, but are important to an understanding of how both Ukiyoburo and Ukiyodoko came into being. All of them consist largely of dialogue, and are peopled, like all of the works discussed above, by stereotyped characters, but Sanba's purpose here is no longer a simple cataloguing of stock figures but rather the evocation of an entire world of which those figures are a part. All four works are concerned with various kinds of theatrical entertainment, however, and it is for that reason that their appeal is limited: the world of the late Edo-period theater, for all its excitement and creativity, was too mannered, too ingrown, and too culture-specific for it to be readily appreciated today.

Gejō suigen maku no soto ("Theater Chic This Side of the Curtain," 1806) attempts to recreate on paper the rich

atmosphere surrounding the great theaters of Edo, principally the Nakamuraza. Its primary focus is on the members of the typical theater audience as they reveal themselves in conversation, but its field of vision extends far beyond that of a work like Kyakusha hyōbanki to include not only the people in the audience, but the vendors and hawkers inside and outside the theater itself and even the neighborhood surrounding the theaters. There is a greater proportion of direct description in this work than in Namaei katagi, which appeared the same year; it is the first of Sanba's kokkeibon to attempt to create a strong sense of "place." In this respect it foreshadows strongly both Ukiyoburo and Ukiyodoko, which devote a good deal of attention to evocations of the atmosphere of their fictional neighborhood and to the physical arrangements of the bathhouse and the barbershop in ways very reminiscent of those seen in Gejō suigen maku no soto.

If Namaei katagi shows startlingly clearly how a medium like the kokkeibon benefited from contact with the oral storytelling arts, this work shows that the influence of the sharebon remained equally strong in the development of the dialogue-based kokkeibon, for Gejō suigen maku no soto is in a sense basically a sharebon that has shifted its focus to the world of the theater and expanded it as well to include a much broader range of characters and concerns. Honda traces in it the influence as models of several sharebon, and points to Kyūkanchō (discussed

previously), which itself shows the strong influence of both the sharebon and ukiyomonomane caricature, as a more immediate inspiration for this work (particularly insofar as both works pay a good deal of attention to the figure of the rustic tourist-theater-goer as a device for satiric commentary on the theater world).[43]

Both Kyōgen inaka ayatsuri ("A Puppet Troupe in the Countryside," 1811) and Inaka shibai Chūshingura (1813-1814, discussed briefly above) apply somewhat the same techniques as seen in Gejō suigen maku no soto to descriptions of the atmosphere surrounding theatrical performances in the provinces, but these works differ from most of Sanba's dialogue-based kokkeibon in that both are structured around actual plots; they consist in the main of conversations, but the dialogue is intended to advance the action (the arrival of a touring troupe in a small town, the preparations for the performance, and the performance itself), not simply to evoke atmosphere and portray amusingly rustic character types.[44] Still, the presence of rudimentary plots does not result in works radically different in feel from Sanba's other kokkeibon; one would still hesitate to call either of these books comic "novels" in any familiar sense.

The last work in this sub-group is Shirōto kyōgen monkirigata ("The Archetypal Amateur Theatrical," 1814), which like the two works just described also has a plot of sorts: the preparations leading up to an amateur theatrical performance sponsored by a wealthy Edo merchant. The writing

and performing of small-scale dramas by amateurs--usually referred to as chaban kyōgen--seems to have been a popular diversion of a certain class of townsman in this period. Whether or not Sanba himself actually participated in such events is unknown, but as a theater addict and inveterate partygoer, he must have witnessed them. This work does indeed tell a story, but one senses still that most of Sanba's energy went not into its skeletal plot but into the incidental and often irrelevant conversational interludes that are intended to advance it; his real interest here, as in the other three works just discussed, lay in evoking the specific atmosphere of a particular subculture through verbal self-portraits of its members.

Appendix to Chapter IV

Below is a list of kokkeibon by Shikitei Sanba, organized according to the order in which they are discussed in the preceding chapter. Unless indicated otherwise, all these works were originally published in Edo and in chūbon format. Modern editions are listed in the footnotes.

Non-dialogue-based works

Mashin gigen 麻疹戯言 ("A Whimsical Discourse on the Measles"). Yorozuya Tajiemon, 1803. One volume in kobon format. Introduction in Chinese by Yomo no Utagaki (Shikatsube Magao).[45]

Kyōgen kigyo 狂言綺語 ("Indecorous Words, Decorative Prose"). Unknown publisher, 1804. Two volumes. The first volume was only compiled and edited by Sanba; the second contains his own, original work. Discussed in Chapter III.[46]

Ono no Bakamura usojizukushi 小野篁（馬鹿村）誰字尽 ("Ono no Bakamura's Exhaustive Dictionary of Lies"). Seiundō Eibun (private edition), 1806. One volume.[47]

Shibai kinmō zui 戯場訓蒙図彙 ("An Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Theater"). Illustrations by Katsukawa Shun'ei and Utagawa Toyokuni. Yorozuya Tajiemon, Nishimiya Taisuke [i.e., Shikitei Sanba], 1803. Five volumes in hanshibon format.[48]

Hatsumonogatari 初物語. Surugaya Hanbei, 1808. One volume.[49]

Chūshingura henchikiron 忠臣蔵偏痴気論 ("'The Treasury of Loyal Retainers': A Crackpot View"). Illustrations by Utagawa Kuninao. Tsuruya Kinsuke, 1812. Two volumes.[50]

Kanadehon kuraishō 仮名手本蔵意抄 ("Gleanings from the Copy-book Storehouse"). Illustrations by Utagawa Kunisada. Nishimura Genroku, 1813. One volume. An expansion and rewriting of an earlier work by Manjutei Shōji 萬壽亭正二 .[51]

Dialogue-based works

Yakusha hiiki katagi 俳優家顔見気質 ("Portraits of Actors' Patrons"). Illustrations by Utagawa Toyokuni and Utagawa Kunimasa. Treated here as an independent work, but published originally as the second book of: Yakusha gakuya tsū 俳優楽屋通 ("A Connoisseur's Guide to the Actors' Green Room"). Kazusaya Chūsuke, 1799. One volume. (Discussed in Chapter II.)[52]

Kyakusha hyōbanki 客者評判記 ("Critiques of Theater Patrons"). Illustrations by Utagawa Kunisada. Tsuruya Kinsuke, 1811. Three volumes in yokobon format (dimensions identical to the chūbon, but bound along the short side).[53]

Namaei katagi 酩酊気質 ("Portraits of Drinkers"). Illustrations by Utagawa Toyokuni. Kazusaya Sasuke, 1806. Two volumes.[54]

Tōsei nanakuse jōgo 当世七癖上戸 ("Seven Idiosyncrasies of Modern Drunks"). Illustrations by Utagawa Kunisada. Nishimura Genroku, Nishimiya Yohei, Nishimiya Heihachi, 1810. Three volumes.[55]

Ippai kigen 一盃綺言 ("One Cup and They're Up"). Illustrations by Utagawa Toyokuni. Ishiwata Risuke, 1813. One volume.[56]

Hayakawari mune no karakuri 早替胸機関 ("Quick Changes of Heart"). Illustrations by Utagawa Toyokuni. Nishimura Genroku, Ishiwata Risuke, Ishiwata Heihachi, 1810. One volume.[57]

Shijūhachikuse 四十八癖 ("Forty-eight Nasty Habits"). Book I: illustrations by Utagawa Kuninao; Tsuruya Kinsuke, 1812; one volume. Book II: illustrations by Kuninao; Tsuruya Kinsuke, 1813; one volume. Book III: illustrations by Yanagikawa Shigenobu; Tsuruya Kinsuke, 1817; one volume. Book IV: illustrations by Utagawa Yoshimaro; Tsuruya Kinsuke, 1818; one volume.[58]

Ningen banji uso bakkari 人間万事虚誕計 ("In Human Affairs, Nothing But Lies"). Illustrations by Utagawa Kuninao. Igaya Kan'emon, Sekiguchi Heieimon, 1813. One volume. A continuation by Ryūtei Rijō was published in 1833.[59]

Hitogokoro nozoki karakuri 人心覗機関 ("A Mechanism for Peering into the Human Heart"). Illustrations by Utagawa Kuninao. Chōjiya Heibei, 1814. Two volumes.[60]

Kokon hyakubaka 古今百馬鹿 ("A Hundred Fools, Ancient and Modern"). Illustrations by Utagawa Kuninao. Tsutaya Jūzaburō, Echizen'ya Kichihei, Yamazaki Heihachi, 1814. Three volumes.[61]

Gejō suigen maku no soto 戯場粋言幕之外 ("Theater Chic This Side of the Curtain"). Illustrations by Utagawa Kuninao. Unknown publisher, 1806. Two volumes.[62]

Kyōgen inaka ayatsuri 狂言田舎操 ("A Puppet Troupe in the Countryside"). Co-authored with Rakutei Bashō 楽亭馬笑 . Illustrations by Utagawa Kuninao and Kitagawa Utamaro. Mikiya Kizaemon, Nishimura Genroku, 1811. Four volumes.[63]

Inaka shibai chūshingura 田舎芝居忠臣蔵 ("'The Treasury of Loyal Retainers' on Tour in the Countryside"). Book I: unknown publisher, 1813; two volumes. Book II: unknown publisher, 1814; two volumes. A reworking by Sanba of materials given him by the raconteur Asanebō Muraku.[64]

Shirōto kyōgen monkirigata 素人狂言紋切形 ("The Archetypal Amateur Theatrical"). Unknown publisher, 1814. Two volumes.[65]

Ukiyoburo 浮世風呂 ("The Bathhouse of the Floating World").
Book I: illustrations by Kitagawa Yoshimaro; Nishimura Genroku, Ishiwata Heihachi, 1809; two volumes. Book II: illustrations by Yoshimaro; Nishimura Genroku, Ishiwata Risuke, Ishiwata Heihachi, 1810; two volumes. Book III: illustrations by Utagawa Kuninao; Nishimura Genroku, Ishiwata Risuke, 1812; two volumes. Book IV: illustrations by Kuninao; Nishimura Genroku, Ishiwata Risuke, 1813; three volumes.[66]

Ukiyodoko 浮世床 ("The Barbershop of the Floating World").
Book I: illustrations attributed to Utagawa Kuninao; Tsuruya Kinsuke, Kashiwaya Hanzō, 1813; three volumes. Book II: illustrations by Kuninao; Tsuruya Kinsuke, Kashiwaya Hanzō, 1814; two volumes.[67]

In addition to the above works, there are three others sometimes included in the canon of Sanba's kokkeibon that have been omitted from discussion in this dissertation. The first seems to be an experimental fragment of a much longer planned work; the second, according to Honda, should probably be treated as a practical guidebook rather than as a kokkeibon; the third was left only half finished at Sanba's death, and was revised and completed by Nansenshō Somabito II (Tamenaga Shunsui):

Daisen sekai gakuya saguri 大千世界楽屋探 . Illustrated by Utagawa Toyokuni. Tsuruya Kinsuke, 1817. Three volumes.[68]

Chaban kyōgen hayagatten 茶番狂言早合点 . Book I: illustrations by Utagawa Kuninao; Nishimiya Shinroku, 1821; two volumes. Book II: illustrations by Kuninao; Nishimiya Shinroku, 1824; two volumes.[69]

Keikojamisen 稽古三弦 . Revised and completed by Tamenaga Shunsui (Nansenshō Somabito II). Illustrations by Utagawa Kuninao. Nishimura Yohachi, Osakaya Mokichi, 1826. Five volumes.[70]

Notes to Chapter IV

1. See Chapter III, note 41.

2. There seem to be no sources surviving that indicate what a writer like Sanba or Ikku could expect to receive as payment for a major kokkeibon manuscript, but it seems likely that Sanba received more per hour of writing time or unit of creative energy expended for one of his average, hastily-written gōkan than for a polished, imaginative work like Ukiyoburo.

3. The best comprehensive survey of the kokkeibon remains Mitamura Engyo 三田村鳶魚, "Kokkeibon gaisetsu 滑稽本概説," the introduction to his Kokkeibon meisakushū 滑稽本名作集, Hyōshaku Edo bungaku sōsho 評釈江戸文学叢書 series, vol. 10 (Dai Nippon Yūbenkai Kōdansha, 1936), pp. 1-244, which virtually all more recent scholarship takes as its starting point. Yamaguchi Takeshi's introduction to Kokkeibonshū, Nihon meicho zenshū Edo bungei no bu series [hereafter NMZ], vol. 14 (Nihon Meicho Zenshū Kankōkai, 1927), pp. i-lxxv, is a shorter but no less insightful study tied to the works reprinted in that volume.

A sound, popular survey is Teruoka Yasutaka and Gunji Masakatsu, Edo shimin bungaku no kaika, Nihon no bungaku series, vol. 5 (Shibundō, 1967), pp. 320-44.

Finally, there is the comprehensive outline in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, ed., Shinpan Nihon bungakushi 5 (Shibundō, 1973): 913-45, which is a tedious but fact-filled presentation of the mainstream of current scholarly opinion on the subject of the kokkeibon.

4. World Within Walls, pp. 411-16.

5. Ibid., pp. 411-12, says that the terms kokkeibon and ninjōbon came into use to distinguish the two varieties of chūbon "about 1820," but Mitamura, Kokkeibon meisakushū, pp. 93-94, shows that it was probably only in the late 1820's that ninjōbon became a generally current genre designation.

6. Sakusha burui, pp. 83-84, describes the disproportionate profits publishers and lending libraries were accustomed to earn on sharebon as opposed to other forms of fiction.

7. Ibid., p. 72. Honda Yasuo, "Ukiyomonomanemekitaru esemonogatari no koto 浮世物真似めきたる売せ物語のこと," Kinsei bungei 近世文芸 8 (1962): 61-67, discusses Bakin's perception of the chūbon's connections with ukiyomonomane.

8. Okitsu Kaname 興津要, Rakugo to Edokko 落語と江戸っ子 (Sangensha, 1973), p. 169. See Mitamura, Kokkeibon meisakushū, pp. 169-73, on the professionalization of rakugo.

9. Ukiyoburo, "Author's Note" prefacing Book One (text on pp. 34-35 of Iwanami Shoten edition).

10. Publication data regarding Sanba's kokkeibon may be found in the appendix to this chapter. Citations of editions in the notes below refer to the modern editions listed in notes 45-75.

11. Namaei katagi, preface to Book I (p. 207 of Shōgakkan edition).

12. Kaname, Rakugo to Edokko, p. 171.

13. Honda, SSB, p. 302.

14. Discussed in ibid., pp. 196 (note 34), 302, citing the manuscript in the possession of the National Diet Library, Tokyo.

15. Honda, SSB, pp. 188, 251-52, 302. On the roles played by Utei Enba and Sanshōtei Karaku in the development of Edo rakugo, see Mitamura, Kokkeibon meisakushū, pp. 161-64, 170-71, and Nakamura Yukihiko and Nishiyama Matsunosuke, Nihon bungaku no rekishi 8 (Kadokawa Shoten, 1967): 438-39, 442-46. A hanashibon by Utei Enba entitled Kotoba no hana (1797) appears in NMZ 14: 1157-74. Sanba's long, close friendship with Utei Enba and his acquaintanceship with Sanshōtei Karaku are evidence enough of his close connection with the world of the professional storyteller during one of its most creative periods.

16. 旧観帳, 4 vols. (1805-1809), reprinted in Mitamura, Kokkeibon meisakushū, pp. 628-704. Discussed in Honda Yasuo, "Kokkeibon to wagei 滑稽本と諸芸," Zenkoku Daigaku Kokugo Kokubungakkai 全国大学国語国文学会, ed., Kōza Nihon bungaku 講座日本文学 8 (Sanseidō, 1969): 124-25. It has often been pointed out that Ikku's Hizakurige was strongly influenced by niwaka, another late-Edo comic storytelling art (Honda, "Kokkeibon to wagei," p. 126; Mitamura, Kokkeibon meisakushū, pp. 114, 125).

17. 曼亭(咸和亭)鬼武; a short biography may be found in Sakusha burui, pp. 38-39.

18. Ryūtei Rijō 滝亭鯉丈, [Hanagoyomi] Hasshōjin [花暦]八笑人. Reprinted in NMZ 14: 749-930.

19. 滝亭鯉楽. See Okitsu Kaname, Nihon bungaku to rakugo 日本文学と落語 (Ōfūsha, 1974), p. 40.

20. Ibid., p. 41.

21. The following discussion follows closely the analysis in Honda, "Kokkeibon to wagei," which seems in turn to be heavily indebted to Mitamura's discussion in Kokkeibon meisakushū.

22. Jōkanbō Kōa 静観坊好阿, Imayō heta dangi 当世下手談義.

23. Honda, "Kokkeibon to wagei," pp. 115-17, citing also the dangibon author Ken'a Midabutsu 嫌阿弥陀仏.

24. 風流志道軒伝, reprinted in NMZ 14: 1-53.

25. See Honda, "Kokkeibon to wagei," pp. 119-21, on the relationship between Gennai and Shidōken.

26. Kenshōkaku Shujin 献笑閣主人, Gekka yojō 月花余情, reprinted in NMZ 12: 25-38.

27. Hisamatsu, ed., Shinpan Nihon bungakushi 5: 887, 889-90.

28. Honda, "Kokkeibon to wagei," p. 122.

29. 放屁論. Reprinted in Nakamura Yukihiko, ed., Fūrai Sanjin shū 風来山人集, Nihon koten bungaku taikei series, no. 55 (Iwanami Shoten, 1961), pp. 228-55.

30. 廓篭雙字尽.

31. Honda, SSB, p. 114.

32. Ibid., pp. 177-78.

33. Nakamura, Gesakuron, pp. 219-20.

34. Donald Keene, Chūshingura: The Treasury of Loyal Retainers (New York: Columbia University Press, Columbia Paperback no. 114, 1971), pp. 21-22. Keene's notes and bibliography cite Sanba's work as Chūshingura Henkichi Ron.

35. Hatakenaka Kansai 畠中観斎, Chūshingura jinbutsu hyōron 忠臣蔵人物評論, cited in Nakamura, Gesakuron, pp. 221-21. For another critique of Sanba's work, see Matsushima Eiichi 松島栄一, Chūshingura 忠臣蔵 (Iwanami Shoten, Iwanami shinsho no. 541, 1964), p. 207.

36. Yamaguchi Takeshi, introduction to NMZ 14: lviii-lix.

37. Ibid.

38. Namaei katagi, pp. 214-16 of Shōgakkan edition.

39. Honda, SSB, pp. 306-308.

40. Ningen banji uso bakkari, in NMZ 14: 611-12.

41. See Chapter II, note 33.

42. Honda, SSB, pp. 313-14.

43. Honda, "Kokkeibon to wagei," pp. 127-28.

44. Honda, SSB, pp. 271-72, 301-302.

45. Reprinted in Hakubunkan, ed., Sanba kessakushū, pp. 923-39, as Hashika no kami o okuru hyō 送麻疹神表 .

46. Reprinted in Sanba kessakushū, pp. 757-806.

47. No modern edition exists. Discussed in Honda, SSB, pp. 113-15.

48. No modern edition. Discussed in Honda, SSB, pp. 88-89.

49. No modern edition. Discussed in Honda, SSB, pp. 177-78.

50. Reprinted in Engei Chinsho Kankōkai 演芸珍書刊行会 , ed., Engeki bunko 演劇文庫 , 3 vols. (Gannandō Shoten, 1973; reprint of the 1915 edition), vol. 3, book 5, part 5, pp. 1-20, 1-37.

51. Reprinted in NMZ 14: 637-86.

52. No modern edition available to writer; discussed in Honda, SSB, pp. 72-73.

53. Reprinted in NMZ 14: 423-510.

54. Reprinted in Nakano Mitsutoshi 中野三敏, Jinbō Kazuya 神保五弥 , and Maeda Ai 前田愛 , eds., Sharebon, kokkeibon, ninjōbon 洒落本・滑稽本・人情本 , Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 日本古典文学全集 series, no. 47 (Shōgakkan, 1971), pp. 201-54; Furuya Chishin 古谷知新 , ed., Kokkei bungaku zenshū 滑稽文学全集 [hereafter KBZ], 12 vols. (Bungei Shoin, 1918), vol. 6, pp. 313-50; and Sanba kessakushū, pp. 865-921.

55. Reprinted in KBZ 4: 1-42.

56. Reprinted in NMZ 14: 687-716, and KBZ 4: 211-36.

57. Reprinted in NMZ 14: 393-422, and Sanba kessakushū, pp. 627-59.

58. Reprinted in KBZ 4: 43-174. Sanba kessakushū, pp. 427-95, reprints only Books I and II.

59. Reprinted in NMZ 14: 599-622, and KBZ 4: 237-84.

60. Reprinted in KBZ 3: 509-92, and Sanba kessakushū, pp. 661-95.

61. Reprinted in NMZ 14: 717-48; KBZ 4: 175-210; and Sanba kessakushū, pp. 289-426.

62. Reprinted in KBZ 5: 65-108.

63. No modern edition available to writer; discussed in Honda, SSB, pp. 271-72.

64. No modern edition available to writer; discussed in Honda, SSB, pp. 301-303.

65. Reprinted in KBZ 5: 109-72, and Sanba kessakushū, pp. 941-1005.

66. Reprinted in Nakamura Michio, ed., Ukiyoburo, Nihon koten bungaku taikei series, no. 63 (Iwanami Shoten, 1957); Jinbō Kazuya, ed., Ukiyoburo (Kadokawa Shoten, Kadokawa bunko no. 2497, 1968); Mitamura, Kokkeibon meisakushū, pp. 716-903; KBZ 3: 139-368; NMZ 14: 221-392; Sanba kessakushū, pp. 1-222; and many other places. Only the first three editions are annotated.

67. Reprinted in Nakanishi Zenzō 中西善三 , ed., Ukiyodoko, Nihon koten zensho 日本古典全書 series (Asahi Shinbunsha, 1961); Nakano, et al., eds., Sharebon, kokkeibon, ninjōbon, pp. 255-369; NMZ 14: 511-98; KBZ 3: 369-488; Sanba kessakushū, pp. 223-388; and elsewhere. A translation into modern Japanese exists: Kubota Mantarō 久保田万太郎 , trans., Ukiyodoko, in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, et al., eds., Edo shōsetsushū II, Nihon no koten series, no. 25 (Kawade Shobō, 1974), pp. 271-309. Ono Takeo 小野武雄, ed., Edo no rakugo: Ukiyodoko 江戸の落語 : 浮世床 , Edo fūzoku shiryō 江戸風俗資料 series, vol. 5 (Tenbōsha, 1974), contains the original text with parenthetical modern Japanese equivalents for difficult words and passages. Only the first two editions cited above are fully annotated.

68. Reprinted in Sanba kessakushū, pp. 807-63.

69. Reprinted in Hayakawa Junzaburō, ed., Zatsugei sōsho 雑芸叢書 , 2 vols. (Kokusho Kankōkai, 1915), 2: 68-102.

70. No modern edition exists. Discussed in Honda, SSB, pp. 381-82.

CHAPTER V: *UKIYOBURO* AND *UKIYODOKO*

The first book of *Ukiyoburo* ("The Bathhouse of the Floating World"), the work that would earn Shikitei Sanba his lasting reputation, appeared during the spring publishing season of the sixth year of Bunka--that is to say, either late in 1808 or early in 1809, since as the competition in commercial publishing became more intense, works that were nominally spring publications had tended increasingly to appear well before the lunar New Year, the traditional beginning of spring in Japan. (Given the amount of time necessary to carve the printing blocks, this means that Sanba finished his manuscript probably no later than the spring or early summer of 1808.) *Ukiyoburo* and its sister work *Ukiyodoko* ("The Barbershop of the Floating World," 1813-14) are by far the best-known and most often reprinted of Sanba's works.[1] Along with Jippensha Ikku's *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* (1802-1814, translated by Thomas Satchell as *Shanks' Mare*),[2] and Takizawa Bakin's *Nansō Satomi hakkenden* ("Tale of the Eight 'Dogs' of the Satomi Clan," 1814-41),[3] these books are probably the best remembered of all the vast numbers of novels and other forms of fiction published in the late Edo period. Although *Hizakurige* likely eclipses the others in enduring popularity in modern Japan, *Ukiyoburo* and *Ukiyodoko* continue to be read and enjoyed. (A reading of extended portions of

Ukiyoburo was broadcast recently on radio on the cultural channel of NHK, the Japanese national broadcasting service; the popularity of Ukiyodoko is evidently such that a major publisher has seen potential profit in bringing out a modern Japanese translation of the work.)[4]

This chapter will treat both Ukiyoburo and Ukiyodoko, but will deal with the latter work primarily in relation to Ukiyoburo, which is the better-known of the two; much of what can be said about Ukiyoburo applies equally to Ukiyodoko, which may be regarded almost as a sequel to the earlier work, allowing for certain important differences between the two works.

Of the textual development and publishing history of both Ukiyoburo and Ukiyodoko little can be said beyond a recitation of the bare facts of publication, already summarized in the appendix to the preceding chapter, since no pre-publication rough drafts survive and the variations among pre-Meiji editions are minor and attributable simply to the idiosyncrasies of the woodblock carvers rather than to the revising hand of the author. Because the original blocks from which Book One of Ukiyoburo was printed were destroyed in a fire in the spring of 1809, a second edition of that part of the work, printed from newly carved blocks, was published in 1820,[5] but this single instance of an entirely new edition of one of his works issued during his lifetime shows no evidence of revision or emendation by

Sanba himself. A brief publisher's afterword present in the first edition was dropped in the second, but otherwise the two versions are virtually identical: Sanba seems to have been content to ignore this opportunity to improve upon his original effort. The versions of Book One in the modern texts of Ukiyoburo edited by Nakamura Michio and Jinbō Kazuya cited in the Translator's Note immediately following the translation are based respectively on the 1820 and the now exceedingly rare 1809 editions, but the differences between the two texts are so minor that only scholarly protocol dictates calling Jinbō's edition the definitive text of this portion of the work.

In format as well as in content, Ukiyoburo and Ukiyodoko are very similar, although Ukiyodoko, in two Books, is considerably shorter than Ukiyoburo, with its four Books. Each Book opens with one or more introductory sections by Sanba or other writers, usually written in kyōbun style, and some close with afterwords of one kind or another; all are made up of two or more individual volumes (the second and succeeding volumes of a Book, called "Parts" in this dissertation, are simply continuations and contain no prefatory material), and all conclude with advertisements for Sanba's medicine shop and publishers' notices of forthcoming books. Compared to Sanba's kibyōshi and gōkan, Ukiyoburo and Ukiyodoko are not heavily illustrated: each Book contains only a few full-page

illustrations, uncaptioned and tied only loosely to events described in the text.

In its final form, Ukiyoburo consisted of nine volumes (satsu; here, "Parts") in four Books (hen). The only organizational principle evident in the work overall is its basic division into sections treating separately the men's bath (Books One and Four) and the women's bath (Books Two and Three). In Book One, Sanba arranges his materials according to the time of day, a scheme that appeared occasionally in Kyōden's sharebon,[6] and the rudiments of a similar structure are visible in Book Two, but thereafter structural unity is provided only by the unchanging setting itself and by occasional author's interjections on the order of "meanwhile, back in the dressing room . . ." or "next to appear was a man in his early twenties . . ." that establish the simplest sort of transition between unrelated scenes and serve to reinforce the reader's awareness of the physical location of the various conversations. A character from an early scene in a Book will sometimes reappear in a later scene, and once in a while conversational groups will overlap, but generally speaking, the scenes of which each Book is composed are discrete, unrelated units. (In the translation, independent scenes have been separated by a pair of asterisks; in the original, a short description written in a typographically distinctive double line of smaller characters and introducing the next scene often serves the same purpose.)

Ukiyoburo has sometimes been described as a kind of inside-out Hizakurige:

> In Hizakurige the two main characters remain the same, but their constant travels provide them with a great variety of new situations; in Ukiyoburo the place, a public bath, remains the same, but the customers are constantly changing, producing a similar result.[7]

The unifying presence of the characters of Kitahachi and Yajirōbei throughout Hizakurige and the unity provided by setting Ukiyoburo in a public bath (or Ukiyodoko in a barbershop) are drastically different things, however. Hizakurige has no real plot, but it does tell a "story," that of its principal characters' progress up the Tōkaidō; Ukiyoburo has neither plot nor "story." Hizakurige's story is, to be sure, made up of a series of unrelated adventures experienced by Yaji and Kita, and Ukiyoburo's scenes are likewise unrelated to each other; both works succeed in describing, largely through dialogue, an impressive array of different kinds of people; both are funny; but there their similarities end. The absence of a hero or set of heroes and Sanba's own brand of humor, so unlike Ikku's, make Ukiyoburo distinctly different from Hizakurige. The fact that Ukiyoburo is set in a single location does make for a certain kind of conceptual or atmospheric unity, but in the end it is a fragmented work best approached, perhaps, more as a succession of unrelated scenes, verbal genre paintings of town life, than in the expectation of finding anything resembling a novel in the usual sense of the word.

The scenes of which Ukiyoburo is composed may be broadly broken down into three general groups: those that evoke the atmosphere and surroundings of the bathhouse itself, those that portray inherently comic situations or people, and those that portray ordinary people in ordinary situations. All three types of scene are heavily dependent on dialogue and fit Bakin's description of the later kokkeibon as being "very like ukiyomonomane,"[8] his general term for entertainments based on oral mimicry; the techniques Sanba uses, however, vary according to the type of scene and seemingly derive from several different genres of oral storytelling as well as from literary sources. The discussion of these scene types that follows will be based on the portions of Ukiyoburo that are translated in the Appendix below. As will be made clear later in this chapter, these translated portions (Book One, Part One, and Book Two, Part One) are not fully representative of the whole of Ukiyoburo, but they do contain examples of all three scene types, even if certain types are more prevalent in these early sections of the work than in later Books.

The first scene type is represented in the translation mainly by brief interludes that mark the passage of time: the description of the bathhouse sign and the early-morning sounds that open Part One of "The Men's Bath;" the hawkers' cries and the bathhouse manager's banter with the mendicants that are symbolic of the increasing bustle in the

neighborhood; the brief interchange between the pot-mender and the anonymous local wag that closes the "morning" section and introduces the "noon" section; and the babble of mendicants that opens "The Women's Bath." Other examples are scenes or parts of scenes that focus on people and activities specific to a bathhouse: interchanges involving the bathhouse manager and the bath attendants and, of course, the lengthy description of the bustling interior of the bathhouse in a mixture of kyōbun prose and quoted speech that appears in the introductory sections of "The Men's Bath." These passages, which are the means by which Sanba establishes the sense of place that functions to unify the disconnected scenes of Ukiyoburo, are rather less dependent on dialogue than the other two categories of scene. Except for the descriptive passages in the introductions, all of them are indeed constructed around the reproduction of voices and sounds on paper, but their purpose is to set a scene or establish an atmosphere or sense of the time of day rather than to portray (or to caricature) the people who appear in them. While certainly these passages are as indebted as any of the others to the techniques of the stage mimic (particularly those that include highly distinctive and easily imitated "types" such as the mendicants or the street vendors), they are more immediately derived from the sharebon tradition, particularly the works of Santō Kyōden, who perfected the sharebon as a genre dedicated in large part to evoking the atmosphere

and flavor of the pleasure quarter rather than simply to portraying the behavior of its elegant denizens. Passages such as these are further evidence of the fundamental similarity and historical connection between the later kokkeibon and the sharebon in spite of surface differences.

Scenes of the second category, which portray innately comic characters or situations, are especially in evidence in Book One of Ukiyoburo. Examples include the several scenes of which the spastic Butashichi is a part, the scenes with the retired gentleman and the doctor, the bath attendant Sansuke's story of the yam that turned into an eel, and the final scene in which the man from the western provinces washes his face with a soiled loincloth.

These scenes are the closest of any in the entire work to the stock routines of the storytellers. Sansuke's story and the loincloth routine both close with readily identifiable punch lines (ochi) based on puns, and seem very close to standard rakugo stories. The other scenes are not so obviously related to stage comedy, but it is easy nevertheless to imagine them as oral performances. They all center on characters whose unusual personalities and speech habits would make them prime objects for oral caricature. In this respect they may be seen as being of a type with the portraits of drunks in Sanba's Namaei katagi, which likewise derive their humor from atypical speech and abnormal behavior. The figures of Butashichi (very similar to a drunk, in terms of his erratic speech

and behavior), the retired gentleman, and the doctor (as well as Sansuke and the man from the western provinces) all feel very much like the sort of stock figures that might appear in storytellers' routines because of the ease with which such characters can be imitated and because of their built-in comedy. The kind of humor that all of these scenes contain is readily understandable: it depends on word play, exaggerated quirks of character or speech, or ludicrous situations. It is in such scenes that Ukiyoburo is most like Hizakurige, whose humor comes in the main from similar sources, the puns and other linguistic games played by Yaji and Kita and subsidiary characters, the silly predicaments the heroes find themselves in, and a general atmosphere of slapstick mayhem. This is a humor born of conscious wittiness, incongruity, embarrassment, or condescension. Neither Sanba nor Ikku betrays any particular viciousness in his portrayals of defective or abnormal characters, but the author's stance both in Hizakurige and in these scenes from Ukiyoburo is often one of finger-pointing mockery.

Such scenes are bound to provoke laughter, and Sanba's intent throughout Ukiyoburo was certainly to amuse his readers, but unlike Hizakurige, Sanba's work is not on the whole dependent on this sort of obvious comedy for its humor. Book One, inspired by Sanshōtei Karaku's rakugo stories and perhaps conceived in part as Sanba's answer to the great popularity of Hizakurige, contains a rather high

proportion of such insistently comic scenes, but the succeeding Books (represented in the translation only by the first Part of Book One) consist almost entirely of scenes that belong in the third category established above, those that involve ordinary people in ordinary situations. The laughter these scenes provoke is gentle and slow in coming; one smiles at recognizing familiar types of people who reveal their inconsistencies and weaknesses gradually and unconsciously, instead of laughing at ridiculous people doing foolish things. In a good part of Book One and in most of the rest of Ukiyoburo, Sanba eschewed the cheap shot in favor of a subtler and more difficult kind of humor that created its own universal "types" instead of relying on the preexisting stock of comic stereotypes. Sanba's characters may remain types, rather than fully developed individuals, but it does his art a disservice to say that he dealt merely in stereotypes. The difference is a subtle one, as seemingly minor as the distinction between the definite and indefinite articles or lower- and upper-case letters: a representative character from "The Women's Bath," for instance, begins as an old woman who thinks her daughter-in-law is something of a slut and only gradually becomes, through the accuracy of Sanba's portrayal of her, The Old Woman Who Thinks Her Daughter-in-Law a Slut.

Much of the appeal of Sanba's kokkeibon must have come from this ability of his to recognize universal types in unremarkable, ordinary people; his sketches are funny not

because they are about funny people doing funny things but rather because they show us that the normal behavior of people in general, when symbolically put in a frame and hung on a wall, can be funny. We laugh when Jippensha Ikku points a finger at Yajirōbei and Kitahachi because he makes us think, Aren't they silly? When Sanba shows us a father speaking baby talk as he patiently guides his children through the rituals of the bath, we smile and exclaim, Isn't that the truth! Hizakurige and Ukiyoburo both remain popular because their humor is universal, but it is universal in very different ways. Donald Keene is right to distinguish the comic fiction of Ikku and Sanba from that of earlier writers by saying,

> The kibyōshi and sharebon of Santō Kyōden are read today only by specialists in the literature of the period, but the works of later gesaku authors like Jippensha Ikku and Shikitei Samba are still popular because their humor is derived not from the peculiar (and now vanished) atmosphere of the licensed quarters but from the lives of the common people.

He obscures an essential difference between Sanba's work and Ikku's, however, by continuing,

> When somebody in a novel has a bucket of excrement dropped over his head the effect is neither subtle nor literary, but the situation remains impervious to time.[9]

The humor of Book One certainly inclines to the sort of effects Keene describes: excrement is one of Butashichi's torments in his opening scene, and buckets appear, naturally enough for a bathhouse, in various scenes; more generally

speaking, subtler humor that is less dependent on such pure slapstick but that is still recognizably similar to that of Hizakurige is much in evidence in this part of Ukiyoburo. But beginning with Book Two, slapstick, puns, and mockery give way almost totally to the sympathetic caricature and unexaggerated satire and irony that provide the humor of the third type of scene described above, those scenes that portray ordinary people in unremarkable situations.

Why the character of Ukiyoburo should change so clearly between the first and subsequent books is difficult to say. There are several possible explanations. First, Sanba may simply have exhausted his repertoire of distinctive comic types and situations adaptable to the bathhouse setting. Or second, it may be that the subject matter of Book Two, the women's bath, dictated a different approach: for whatever reasons, women as an abstract class had never produced as many stereotyped comic figures, or those that did exist in various comic traditions were not as exaggerated or susceptible to slapstick treatment as stock male comic types. A third possibility relates to the first two: having run out of obvious comic types and situations, and having been forced to rely on his own imagination to find ways of portraying the women in the bathhouse, Sanba continued in Book Three and Four, and in both Books of Ukiyodoko, to write in this new manner that did not depend heavily on borrowings from stock comic

routines and that turned out besides to be very well suited to his own particular interests and talents.

The later books of Ukiyoburo and Ukiyodoko consist for the most part of scenes of a type best represented in the translation by, as one example, the conversation in Book One between Hachibei and Matsuemon about the fallen playboy and his miserly father: scenes that both reveal the personalities and concerns of the speakers (here, the "types" of the young father trying to make his way in the world and the experienced, advice-filled older man) and at the same time relate, through the actual content of the conversations, to the larger world outside the bath. Such conversations--seken-banashi, "talking about the world," i.e., gossiping--may be assumed to have been the most common sort to be heard in bathhouses and barbershops, natural centers for collecting and passing on local news; in this sense Ukiyodoko and the later books of Ukiyoburo may be said to recreate far more accurately the real atmosphere of their settings than either Book One of Ukiyoburo or Hizakurige.

The language and style of Ukiyoburo were of course dictated by Sanba's choice of subject matter and his decision to make it a work largely based on dialogue. (His introductions and occasional descriptive passages in narrative or expository prose, discussed briefly below, were necessarily in a different style altogether.) This means that to discuss Sanba's literary style in Ukiyoburo is to

talk mainly about the techniques he used in reproducing speech, and the nature of that speech itself. Except for the occasional appearance of people from outside Edo, like Sansuke and the men from the western provinces and Kamigata in Book One, and the lady from Kamigata in Book Two, the characters in Ukiyoburo all speak one or another of the common Edo dialects, depending on their class, sex, and occupation. Most of these distinctions, of course, disappear in translation or can only be suggested by marginal differences in level of formality in English.

Sanba pushed the resources of the kana orthography to their limits in Ukiyoburo in his efforts to record the sounds of Edo speech, and even invented his own orthographic conventions in order to reproduce certain sounds like the hard (non-nasalized) "g" that appears between vowels in non-Edo (and therefore, to Sanba, non-standard) dialects or the Edo syllable "-tsa-" that could not be written in the standard orthography (see note 20 to "The Women's Bath" below). The various grunts, hisses, and drawn-out vowels of natural speech he usually represented in katakana, reserving hiragana for standard forms. Whenever he felt that his dialogue as faithfully transcribed might be unintelligible to the average Edo reader--as in the cases of Butashichi's speeches (see note 46 to "The Men's Bath") and heavy regional dialects--he provided a gloss in standard Japanese to the left of the speech. Within conversations, he tended to use spellings that reflected actual

current pronunciation rather than the archaic historical kana spellings.[10]

The grammar and syntax of the dialogue portions of Ukiyoburo are wholly conversational. Unlike earlier writers like Saikaku, Sanba took great care to exclude from his representations of speech any anachronistic intrusion of classical grammatical forms (except where the speaker--a Confucian scholar, for instance, or an amateur classicist--might consciously have used them). His sentences are written to suggest the rhythms of natural speech; they are punctuated at places where the speaker might catch his breath, or pause for thought, rather than according to logic or syntax, and are sprinkled with the near-meaningless sounds--"un," "ē," "mā," etc.--that, as every beginning student of Japanese discovers on his first visit to Japan, make all the difference between textbook Japanese and Japanese as it is actually spoken.

The cumulative effect of these careful efforts to reproduce the fine points of natural speech is to make reading Ukiyoburo an unexpectedly pleasurable experience, once one masters the peculiarities of early nineteenth century Edo speech (which is not, in any case, as different from the speech of older inhabitants of certain parts of modern Tokyo as one might suppose). The characters still emerge, even to a modern western reader, with an extraordinary vividness. Some of the nuances are

certainly lost to such a reader, upon whom references to the material and theatrical culture of the time, for instance, have an effect entirely different from that experienced by Sanba's contemporary readers, but the personalities of the characters still come across with striking directness. Translation unavoidably diminishes or destroys much of this vividness, but precisely because the original is so carefully wrought, much of the essence of Sanba's characterizations can survive the process of being rendered into English.

By the late nineteenth century, a determined search was on among Japanese writers for an alternative to the rapidly aging conventions of Japanese prose that they saw as strait-jacketing the modern creative impulse, but ironically enough, it may have been just those rigid conventions that allowed Sanba to produce such lifelike dialogue, since the conventions applied only to descriptive and expository prose and said nothing about dialogue. The only conventions that existed in Sanba's day regarding the reproduction of speech were those dealing with format developed by the early sharebon authors; the only prescription of this new tradition was that dialogue be as realistic and lifelike as possible. No rules existed to regularize spelling or grammar or, for instance, to enjoin writers from having their characters speak in less than complete sentences. A writer like Sanba who was possessed of a good ear and an instinctive sensitivity to the

unpredictability of human patterns of thought was free to write realistic dialogue virtually unencumbered by prescriptive rules about grammar, syntax, logic, or vocabulary; all that mattered was that it read like real speech. One of the reasons that the dialogue portions of Ukiyoburo strike the modern western reader so forcefully is no doubt that the general run of dialogue in the fiction of his own tradition seems by comparison highly stylized and hedged in by convention. Because dialogue has been an integral part of English and American fiction for so long, it has developed its own conservative tradition. Far from seeming "realistic," dialogue written to reproduce the broken syntax, elisions, and sublingual grunts and mumbles of real English speech as it is spoken seems inevitably contrived and irritatingly precious. In the western tradition, people in books simply are not expected to talk like real people; if they do, they become caricatures and the author who created them becomes something less than a serious writer.

One special problem related to this matter of conventions that presents itself to a translator of the dialogue-based fiction of the sharebon, kokkeibon, and ninjōbon is the question of how to handle the format of the dialogue. In Ukiyoburo as in all works in these genres, dialogue is presented in something approaching a play-script (serifu) format. To render dialogue according to the corresponding English format for

dramatic scripts--speaker's name, colon, speech, for each entrance of a speaker--is far too extreme a solution, however, since that format immediately says "drama," and Ukiyoburo was assuredly not written as a drama. I have therefore substituted for the late-Edo period conventions for representing dialogue the equivalent English conventions, that is, locutions like "'. . . ,' he said," "Turning to A., she remarked, '. . . ,'" or "'. . . ,' said the other man, wrinkling his nose." This sort of substitution may obscure some of the differences in format between Edo-period Japanese and modern English fiction, but at least it does not give the impression that Sanba was, for some inexplicable Oriental reason, writing comic fiction and trying to pass it off as drama, or vice versa.

As can be seen in the translation, introductions of one sort or another occupy a significant place in Ukiyoburo, as they do in most forms of fiction written in the Edo period. In Ukiyoburo and in many other works, they serve several purposes. The most obvious one is simply that of informing the reader of what awaits in the main body of the work and setting the scene for what is to follow, but this purpose is generally secondary. Most late-Edo period introductions seem intended primarily to establish a persona for the author, most frequently that of an erudite, worldly gentleman aware of his responsibilities as an educated man to enlighten and instruct his readers: in short, the pose of the classic gesakusha.

This pose is not, of course, a serious one. In "The Larger Meaning of the Bathhouse of the Floating World," which serves to introduce the whole of Ukiyoburo, Sanba employs all the techniques of a serious litterateur schooled in the Japanese and Chinese classics: allusions and references to the great works of poetry and prose of the past, complex wordplay, carefully wrought parallelisms on the Chinese model, and a constant reiteration of the serious educational value of the work to come. But the intent of the whole is decidedly tongue-in-cheek. Sanba's real object is to juxtapose for comic effect the belletristic and didactic style of the serious writer against the utter mundaneness of his subject matter. The result is somewhere between satire and parody. The heavy-handed seriousness of the didact intent on extracting moral lessons from every social or literary phenomenon that comes his way is satirized; the style of serious artistic or didactic prose becomes the object of parody.

One sometimes wishes, however, that having once given us a few paragraphs of this sort of thing, Sanba had been able to rest content and not go on to preface each book of Ukiyoburo and Ukiyodoko with similar efforts. "The Larger Meaning of the Bathhouse of the Floating World" is something of a classic of the type, and is an amusing demonstration of Sanba's ability to manage with considerable skill the conventions of kyōbun prose, but once, one feels, is enough: as one reads through Ukiyoburo and pushes on

into Ukiyodoko, it becomes clear that such introductions are not really objects in themselves but rather are simply requirements of the medium, without which gesaku fiction was felt to be incomplete. The fact that they appear not only in works of the kokkeibon and sharebon genres, both of which are comic and satiric in intent, but also in the more serious, melodramatic ninjōbon is evidence enough that they can not be regarded as having been written solely for comic effect. They stand, in the end, as testimony to the longevity of the gesaku ideal; the works of Shikitei Sanba and Tamenaga Shunsui are far removed in time and style from those of Hiraga Gennai and the pseudonymous samurai authors of the early sharebon, but they were nevertheless written from within the same tradition, which would endure well beyond the Meiji Restoration until overwhelmed by new literary ideals arriving from the West.

Notes to Chapter V

1. For a comprehensive list of modern editions of Ukiyoburo and Ukiyodoko published by the early 1960's, see Kokusho sōmokuroku 国書総目録, 8 vols. (Iwanami Shoten, 1963-72).

2. Jippensha Ikku 十返舎一九, Tōkaidōchū hizakurige 東海道中膝栗毛; Thomas Satchell, trans., Shanks' Mare: Being a Translation of the Tokaido Volumes of "Hizakurige," Japan's Great Comic Novel of Travel and Ribaldry . . . (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1960; a reprint of the private 1929 edition).

3. 滑稽里見八犬伝.

4. The NHK broadcast took place in the spring of 1975 (personal reminiscence). The modern Japanese translation of Ukiyodoko is cited in note 67 to Chapter IV above.

5. Nakamura, ed., Ukiyoburo, p. 106, reproduces the colophon of the 1820 edition of Book One. Jinbō, ed., Ukiyoburo, pp. 376-77, discusses the differences (or rather, lack of differences) between the two editions.

6. For instance, in Nishiki no ura (1790).

7. Keene, World Within Walls, p. 415.

8. Sakusha burui, p. 87: "ukiyomonomanemekitaru."

9. Keene, World Within Walls, p. 410.

10. To indicate the non-nasalized "g" sound, Sanba adapted the nigoriten (゛), normally used to indicate voicing (converting 's-' to 'z-', 'k-' to 'g-', 't-' to 'd-', 'h-' ['f-'] to 'b-'), by "hollowing" it out: ゜. In a preface to Book Three of Ukiyoburo, Sanba explains that his use of phonetic, rather than historical kana spellings is intended to make the text "easier to read for women and children." (Nakamura, ed., Ukiyoburo, p. 175.)

APPENDIX:

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF PORTIONS OF UKIYOBURO

This translation corresponds to Book One, Part One (zenpen, maki no jō), and Book Two, Part One (nihen, maki no jō) of Ukiyoburo. The introductory passage entitled "The Larger Meaning of the Bathhouse of the Floating World" appears at the beginning of Book One in the original, but was clearly meant as an introduction to the work as a whole, since both Books One and Two have their own introductions.

At several points in the translation, passages have been omitted that proved to be untranslatable, usually because they were too dependent on word play to be recreated in English without drastically distorting the meaning or the tone of the original. All such omissions are explained in the notes.

Donald Keene has written in his World Within Walls (p. 416) that "it would be pointless to translate" the comic works of Shikitei Sanba, since "their interest lies in the words he used to record aimless gossip about incidents of daily life, the theater, and the brothels, perfectly recapturing the speech and spirit of the common people." The translator, of course, is bound to disagree: "aimless gossip" or not, what Sanba's characters have to say to each other produces a richly detailed collective picture of life in nineteenth century Edo; the fact that

Sanba's skill at writing realistic dialogue is sometimes of more immediate interest than the content of a particular conversation seems ultimately an argument for, not against, translation. Whether or not the present translation supports or refutes Keene's judgment of Sanba's works is a matter the reader must decide.

The Larger Meaning of the Bathhouse of the Floating World

There is, one realizes on careful reflection, no shortcut to moral learning like the public bath. It is, after all, the way of Nature, and of Heaven and Earth, that all are naked when they bathe--the wise and the foolish, the crooked and the straight, the poor and the rich, the high and the low.[1] The nakedness of infancy purges them all of sorrow and desire,[2] and renders them selfless, be they Sakyamuni or Confucius, Gonsuke or Osan.[3] Off with the wash water come the grime of greed[4] and the passions of the flesh; a master and his servant are equally naked when they rinse themselves. As surely as an evening's redfaced drunkard is ashen and sober in the morning bath,[5] the only thing separating the new-born baby's first bath from the cleansing of the corpse is life, fragile as a paper screen.[6]

So it is that the old man who loathes Buddha enters the bath and at once recites a prayer in spite of himself. The rake takes off his clothes, and for once feeling shame, covers his private parts. The fierce warrior restrains his anger when someone pours water over his head, for the place is crowded. And the hotheaded bully, his arm tattooed with invisible gods and demons,[7] bows when he goes through the door, and says "excuse me." Are these not signs of the power of the public bath?

While a man of feeling may have his private thoughts, the unfeeling bath affords no privacy. Should one, for instance, attempt to fart discreetly in the bath, the water will at once go "buku-buku," and bubbles will rise to the surface. In his thicket, Yajirō may do what he likes, but in the larger world of the bath, will not even he feel shame?[8]

At the bathhouse one sees demonstrated every one of the Five Virtues. Hot water warms the body, removes dirt, cures ills, and heals fatigue. This is Benevolence. A bather will not touch another's wash bucket without first asking if it is free; and far from being selfish with the rinse buckets, customers will hurry to finish and lend them to others. This is Integrity. Bathers denigrate themselves--"I'm just a bumpkin," "Oh, I'm cold-blooded, I guess"--and politely say to others, "Excuse me," "Good to see you," and "After you!" Or perhaps they will say, "Come, let's be a little quieter," or "Go ahead, please take your time." This is Propriety. The proper use of cleansing powder, pumice stone, or gourd skin to remove soil, or of cutting stones to trim the hair--this is Wisdom. Adding cold water when someone finds the bath too hot, or hot if it is cold, and scrubbing one another's backs--these things are Trust.

The public bath being this auspicious sort of place, its patrons come to understand, through using the square dipping-bucket and the round wash-pail, that water does,

indeed, conform to the shape of the vessel, as the Lotus Sutra teaches. Like the floor boards of the bath, their hearts are constantly polished, and the filth of the world cannot long adhere. . . .[9]

The bathhouse rules[10] require watchfulness against fire, and indeed, one must guard against the fires of human passion. The rules say, "In times of strong wind, the bath may close at any time;"[11] so it is that when the winds of luxury blow in the heart, a fortune may be lost in a moment. The Five Elements and the Five Bodily Parts have been placed in our safekeeping by Heaven, and so we carry with us naturally the "valuables" otherwise prohibited by the rules. Through wine and lust we are apt to leave behind consciousness and good sense, cautioned though we are about "leaving articles behind." And is it not true that we "are strictly forbidden" to blame on others the ills that we bring upon ourselves? Just as "there shall be no quarrels or arguments," neither should we pursue worldly fame and gain. "There shall be no raising of voices," whether in joy, in anger, in sorrow, or in pleasure. Ignoring these injunctions is as sure to result in loss as going to the bathhouse just before closing time, when one risks wasting the entry fee should the drain plug be pulled too soon. Chew as you will on your washcloth, there is no profit in regret![12]

As a general rule, the human heart is as apt to jump from good to evil as are the bathhouse fleas from Gombei's

quilted coat to Hachibei's silk jacket, or from the country girl's simple robe to the stolid matron's kimono. The underwear that yesterday was dropped on the floor may today be placed high on a shelf: the high and the mighty, the lowly and the poor, are alike creatures of Heaven's will. But good and evil, rectitude and deviance are matters of individual choice. Once one comes to a full understanding of these truths, they will suffuse one's being like the warmth of a morning bath.

The body should be put safely away as if in a bath-house locker, a lock placed upon the spirit, and care taken not to don mistakenly the wrong one of the six emotions.

"The above rules shall be faithfully observed." So saying, the chief of the guild[13] of the gods, Buddhas, and Confucius placed his seal, as large as a "peony cake," on the regulations to be followed in caring properly for one's single life on earth.

In response to the publisher's request, urgent as usual, that I produce a book for the coming spring publishing season of the Year of the Dragon, the sixth of the Bunka era,[14] I took up the brush on the ninth day of the ninth month of the previous autumn, and after partaking of the sweet potato that is de rigueur at moon-viewing parties in that month, I farted forth this little volume.

By Shikitei Sanba (seal)
At his humble abode in Kokuchō

Author's Note

One evening in Utagawa Toyokuni's lodgings,[15] we listened to Sanshōtei Karaku[16] telling rakugo stories, and, as always, his gifted tongue went right to the heart of human emotions. There is surely no one as funny as he; how hard it is to be even a tenth as effective on paper! 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, and set myself to work on the first two books, a treatment of the men's bath.

The Bathhouse of the Floating World: A Burlesque

Book One, Part One

Compiled for the Sake of Amusement, in Edo

by Shikitei Sanba

When the wind is calm (and in any case, they say, in a peaceful realm it blows only one day out of five),[17] the "closing early" sign is not hung up by the entrance to the bathhouse;[18] when the rain is gentle (and it is said to fall on only one day out of ten), there is no need to put out the umbrella barrel. And on the day the bathhouse closes each month, all is truly tranquil and quiet.

Wise or foolish, exalted or lowly, the human heart is bathed in blessings. If a bath on the day of the New Year's housecleaning washes away the dust of the Five Impurities,[19] the Six Passions will be scrubbed from the flesh in the Gift Day Bath.[20] And how splendid, how welcome a bath in the morning: it is as if every one were the first bath of the year!

Over here a priest mutters, "Buddha be praised," and over there a layman babbles drunkenly. For every man showing off by using the theatrical slang word for bath water, there is a woman drawling about the "bawth."[21] While the herbalist's apprentice may make a simple-minded pun on the characters in the "cash only" sign, the fledgling Confucian scholar misreads the characters for "honeysuckle bath" as

"bath of escape from winter."[22] Sometimes the easiest things to read are the hardest to understand!

Should someone in the women's bath lose her comb in the tub, the bath boy will plunge in and retrieve it, as if he were diving into the Nameri River. "Adults, ten mon," reads the sign--even Aoto Fujitsuna, we may assume, would not begrudge a square-holed coin for a bath![23] "Children, eight mon; with nursemaid, sixteen"--ah, the sixteen saintly rakan![24]

Though there be a comely Kaoyo emerging from the bath, her robe, like a monk's, revealing a naked right shoulder, no latter-day Moronao would dare peek into the women's bath.[25] The men's bath "will not be alone, but always have a neighbor"[26] in the women's!

The bathhouse master, presiding like an image of the chief rakan Binzuru,[27] stops lending out scrubbing bags[28] for a moment and sneaks a sidelong glance into the women's bath, on the pretext of summoning a bucket-boy for a customer with a rap of his wooden clappers. Binzuru may not be conscious of the salve his worshippers rub on his images, but surely even he must know that the men's and women's baths "shall not be together," and the distinction between husband and wife.[29]

The master's wife manages the women's bath. This modern Empress Kōmyō[30] heats soap powder over the brazier to extract an oil to use as a salve for athlete's foot, and wrings out the towels that people have rented, but the

bathhouse still will not admit the seriously ill, or the aged and infirm: while no disease-ridden incarnation of the Buddha Ashuku is likely to appear, not so the common louse, that crawling insect version of the thousand-armed bodhisattva Kannon![31]

The pungent smell of soap powder wafts over to prick the nose of the bath attendant, and someone raps the side of the wooden tub to wake the bucket-boy. Wailing voices, excited babble: "Too hot!" "Too cold!" "Add a little cold water!" "No, don't!" Through the din and bustle cuts a voice singing Makura tanzen,[32] and suddenly a naked figure appears, striking exaggerated theatrical poses in the roppō style.[33] Someone chants a sumō scene,[34] and a bather makes his exit imitating a wrestler entering the ring. A quavering rendition of "Here has misery lodged . . ."[35] comes from someone standing shivering by the door. Someone else begins to chant the lines, "And whereupon a voice was heard again, 'A horse, a horse,'"[36] but "horse" is hardly the word for a man so unimpressively equipped!

The old men who drone out Edo-bushi[37] tunes in the bath are convinced that the children who squeeze through the crowd shouting, "Getting out! Getting out!" take remarkably long baths. But then again, to the real Edoite fond of meriyasu[38] songs, the rustic politely excusing his way toward the door seems to have barely wet his towel during his brief stay in the water. Long baths, short baths--"in front of the greengrocer's, every shape and

size," sings the shop boy newly arrived from the Capital, in a reedy-voiced rendition of a Matsuzaka[39] tune. A shrill voice adds a kind of counterpoint, in a gay-quarter ditty: "Long or short, it's not for us to choose . . . Sai! Ne-e! Moshi!"[40]

For every old man gumming "Amida be praised," there is another coughing out, "Hail Amida of the Lotus of the Law." The voices are by turn gravelly and nasal, and here someone announces in a loud, coarse voice that he resides "in the foothills of the Golden Mountains of Cathay."[41] One person holds his head and groans, while another slaps his buttocks as he talks. One man sings with a foot in the air, and another shouts with his feet planted wide apart on the floor. Some sit, some stand; and a bad imitation of a shamisen, in a voice as artless as a monkey's, comes from a figure crouched in a corner of the bath: ne-te-te-ten tsuru.[42]

This is the Bath of the Floating World, overflowing with gods and Buddhas, moral lessons, love, and evanescence: the place could be anywhere, but the time is the middle of the month. Dawn has just come to the bathhouse, which is not yet open for business.

The Men's Bath:
Morning Scenes

In former days, the entrance to the bathhouse was marked by a carved wooden arrow, a play on the words for "shoot an arrow" and "enter the bath."[43] Such signs appear in old illustrated books, and may still be found, even now, in out of the way places.

* *

It was dawn, and crows were crying, "Caw, caw, caw." An early morning vendor hawking fermented soybeans called out, "Nattō, nat-to-o-o." From nearby houses came the sound--"kachi, kachi, kachi"--of people stiking flints to light their fires.

A man of thirty or so approached the bathhouse. He was still dressed in his nightclothes, which were tied with a narrow sash. The inner flap of his kimono hung low, its dangling hem nearly hiding his high clogs. His towel, which looked as if it had been boiled in grease, hung limply over one shoulder as he polished his teeth with the fingers of his right hand. The man, who was called Butashichi,[44] slouched along like some sort of crawling bug; he was a victim of a kind of palsy popularly known as the "yoi-yoi" disease.[45]

"Hunh! S-Still no' open, hunh? S-Still aslee', th-the slobs!"[46]

Talking to himself, Butashichi went up to the entrance of the bathhouse and shouted harshly, "M-Manager! G-Ge' u'! Ge' u', you s-slob! The s-s-sun's u', an' i''s alrea'y ho' enough to b-burn your ass! He-e-y M-M-Manager!" Butashichi looked down. "Ah, ah, ah! Shi', shi'!" he cried. "I s-s-ste'd inh some shi'! Ugh! Ugh! F-Filthy!" He turned to a dog sleeping nearby. "Wa' i' y-you, you li'l b-bastar'? Ah, i' doesn' m-ma'er. D-Danh i' anyway, why'h I h-ha' to g-go an' ste' inh a p-pile of sh-shi'?" Still muttering, he finished cleaning his teeth, and spat at the dog.

As Butashichi stumbled around waiting for the bath to open, a man of perhaps twenty-one or twenty-two appeared. He had a plucked forehead, square cut forelocks, and a sloppy, home-dressed topknot. He looked as if he had just risen; over his shoulder lay a bleached cotton towel spotted here and there with lip rouge. He had attached his tooth powder bag to his topknot with a toothpick and was carrying a pair of baggy work pants rolled up under one arm.

From the alley opposite came a second man in his twenties. He appeared to have plucked his forehead recently, but apart from his sash and his clogs, he was totally unremarkable. He tilted his head slightly as he polished his molars with a toothpick. When he bent over to spit, his towel slipped from his shoulder and fell to the ground.

The other newcomer had been watching him, and laughed, "Hey, stupid! You dropped your towel. Wake up!"

The second man turned on the tips of his clogs and picked up the towel. Still looking back over his shoulder, seemingly at the knot in his sash, he started forward again and stumbled over the sleeping dog, which let out a yelp.

"Sonuvabitch. What a dumb place to be," he swore.

"Who's dumb? Serves you right!" said the onlooker.

"Who are you to talk? Get a load of this guy--you get those clothes from a 'phoenix?'[47] Bath isn't open yet, huh? Sure sleep late, the lazy bastards. We've got our rights, too. What time do they think it is, anyway? The nattō guy has already packed up, and it's time for the sweet beans. Hey! Let me see that towel. Lip rouge? Powder? Shameless! Got it from her, I'll bet!"

"Come on! Don't piss me off. Get one yourself, if you're man enough. Some men just have it, and some don't."

"I'd rather not have it, thank you, if it meant I had to have a face like yours. If you didn't have a nose, it would look like a grater. With a face like that, you could be collecting royalties from pigs!"[48]

"Ah, fuck off!" said the man with the spotted towel as he gave the other a playful push toward the covered gutter.

"Who-o-a! Look out for the shit," he cried, catching his balance and stepping aside just in time. "Looks like somebody else stepped in it before."

"Y-Yeah, I s-s-ste'd inh i' j-jus' n-now," volunteered Butashichi.

"Oh, it was you that stepped in it! You didn't have to, you know. Really. That's too much."

"M-Maybe, bu' I ste'd inh i'! C-C-Coul'nh hel' i'. M-M-My c-c-clog, m-my clogs g-go', 'gs g-g-go', g-g-g . . ."

"What? What? Can't understand a word you're saying. Boy! You're still really a mess. Aren't you any better?"

"Hunh? Oh, s-sure, I'm a l-l-lo' be'er. J-J-Jus' f-fine. L-Loo'!" Butashichi planted his feet firmly on the ground. Swaying back and forth, and shuffling to keep his balance, he said, "S-S-See? M-My legs are f-fine. T-There wa' a f-fire a' m-m-my, a' my aunt's p-place in H-Honjo las' w-wee', an', an', I r-ran over an' h-h-help' ou'. Really kn-n-nock' mysel' ou'. She wa' v-very please'."

"What exactly did she tell you?" one of the men asked.

"She sai', 'T-Tha' f-fine. N-Now wh-why don' you g-go on a n-n-nice p-p-pil, p-pilgrimage to the K-K-Konpira S-Shrine in S-S-Sanuki?'[49] T-Tha' wha' she sai'."

"Listen. Why don't you try praying at Hori-no-uchi?[50] You're really not any better at all. In fact, you're <u>dangerous</u>!"

"I alrea'y go' a c-charm f-from Ho-Horun, Hori-no-uchi. I s-sai' than' you, an' I g-g-g, unh, I g-g-g, I sai' 'Hail t-the Lo'us Sutra' three hun're' t-times, an' . . ."

"Three hundred times isn't that many."

"B-Before b-b-breakfas'? You h-hafta do i' on an empty s-stoma', or i' won' w-wor'. Anyway, t-the ol' lady really take' g-goo' c-care of m-me. S-She's g-grea', b-bu' my unh-unh-uncle in A-Asakusa hate' me. H-He wan' me to b-b-be a p-p-pries'!"

"You know, you might be better off being a priest. Maybe you should listen to him."

"Are you k-k-kidding? T-The ol' l-lady woul'n' le' me. I-I-I'm g-gonna ge', gonna g-ge' m-m-marrie', you know, any d-day now. Whee-ooo! T-Take tha'! An' t-tha'! S-Swish, swish. Unh. An' tha'!"

"What are you supposed to be, a samurai?"

"Y-You b-be'! W-With t-two s-sword'. Whoo-ee! S-See? L-L-Loo' a' these legs. They're j-jus' f-fine, s-see?"

Butashichi jumped up and down on the gutter cover, his legs jerking around wildly. Then, just as he began to totter and lose his balance, the big shutters of the bath-house started to open. Butashichi made a grab for one of the shutters as it swung inward, but lost his footing and sprawled flat on his back with a <u>thud</u> on the pounded earth floor of the entrance.

"Look out!" cried the others simultaneously.

Aghast, the manager leapt down from the raised floor of the bathhouse into the entryway, and he and the other two men grabbed Butashichi and helped him to his feet. He had been lying on his back where he fell, simply gaping wide-eyed at everyone around him.

"Are you hurt?" the manager asked.

"Guess he tripped on his tongue! Ah ha ha ha ha," laughed one of the men.

"Hunh? I-I'm all righ', I'm all righ'. Hee hee hee." Giggling to cover his embarrassment, Butashichi stepped up into the bathhouse.

"Well. Good morning, everybody," the manager greeted them cheerfully.

"Yeah. You certainly do sleep late."

"Yes, I had a very late night."

"That sounds suspicious!"

"I'll bet he went to see the niwaka."[51]

"Ha ha ha. I wish I had," said the manager as he dusted off his cash box with the corner of a quilt and seated himself.

In the dressing room, the two men began to take off their clothes, and one of them turned to Butashichi.

"Now mind you don't slip again," he warned. "Oh, it's cold. Damn, it's cold this morning!"

"Well, in we go!" said the other. "Let's wash away those sins!"

They headed for the bath.

"Here we go!"

They went through the low "pomegranate door,"[52] and immediately began singing a bantering gay-quarter song. Butashichi, meanwhile, had finished undressing, and holding his towel hesitantly in front of him and scowling to cover

his embarrassment, he wobbled uncertainly toward the door.

"H-Here I go-go!" He stooped and went through the door to the bath. "Loo' ou', here I c-come. Oooh, ooh, i' really h-ho'! Jus' like I-Ishikawa G-Goemon!"[53] he said as he clambered into the tub. With a defiant look on his face, he began to croon, "'Tonigh' I slee' in Yoshida-chō,[54] ro'-a-bye, ro'-a-bye . . .'"

"Well! Listen to the dashing youth! Hey-ho, hey-ho," the other men in the bath hooted.

Mistaking their scorn for praise, Butashichi went on proudly, "An' then i' g-g-goes, "Ro'-a-bye, ro'-a-bye . . .'"

* *

In the meantime, a retired gentleman of about seventy had appeared at the entrance to the bathhouse, wearing a floppy cap and a sleeveless paper jacket. He gave his bath robe to his boy, who was eleven or twelve, and leaned mumbling on his cane.

"Ah, good morning, sir," said the manager. "You're early today."

"Hullo, Manager. Gotten a lot colder, hasn't it?" the retired gentleman replied.

"Yes, indeed. It feels like the weather's gradually changing."

"'Gradually' is hardly the word for it. Tsurukichi! Watch my sandals." As the old man stepped up out of the

dirt-floored entrance, he took a string of prayer beads from behind his ear and clasped it to his forehead. "Oh, I had a terrible time getting to sleep last night," he said. "Damned dogs just wouldn't stop barking. Never in all my days do I remember them barking so much! Finally, I just got up and got dressed. I sat at the head of the bed for a while and puffed on my pipe and thought, but I still wasn't sleepy, so I thought I might as well check over the house again. I took a lamp and looked all around, front and back, but everything seemed normal, so I went back to bed. I must say, young people certainly don't seem to have any trouble sleeping, do they? There I was, tiptoeing all over the house, and not one of them woke up. That's why you always have to keep an eye on things yourself." The old man spotted a friend who had just arrived. "Ah, Pinsuke! You're early today!"

"Ah! Good morning, sir," Pinsuke answered. "What time was the earthquake last night?"

"Well, I heard the clock strike three some time later, so it must have been a little after two. 'Sickness if twelve o'clock,' you know, 'rain if eight or four, dry spell if ten o'clock . . . '"[55]

Pinsuke continued, "'Seven, gold; five, water.'"[56]

"No, no, no," said the retired gentleman. "This one goes, 'Cold if six or two.'"[57]

"Oh, is that what it is? I guess I was getting the earthquake one mixed up with the one about souls. Yours

makes more sense--I do feel as if I have a cold coming on."

"No, no, Pinsuke. They mean temperature cold."

"Well, what do you know. Mixed up again! I figured that since it was 'sickness if twelve o'clock,' then the 'six or two' part meant 'catch a cold.' Ho! Watch your step there, sir!"

The retired gentleman and his friend entered the bath one after the other.

* *

The neighborhood around the bathhouse was gradually becoming more and more crowded and lively as the morning wore on.

A tooth powder vendor cried, "Get your Red Plum Tooth Polish, cure-all for the mouth! Red Plum here . . ."

And there were others hawking their wares:

"Shucked mussels, shu-u-u-cked clams . . ."

"Bean paste here, bean paste--Hishio, Kinsanji. Unfiltered soy sauce . . ."

"Get uour pickles here! Pickled greens, Naras, Southern Barbarians . . . Pickled greens? Can't beat 'em anywhere . . ."

"The Ise-ya at your service . . ."

"Bring your empty bottles here. Empties? Empties?"[58]

* *

Hammering on a wooden gong, a mendicant priest appeared at the entrance to the bathhouse. "Hail Amida, hail Amida," he chanted. Bonk, bonk, bonk, bonk went the gong.

"Here you are," said the bathhouse manager as he handed him some money.

"Hail Amida, hail Amida. Your generosity today assures salvation to the souls of your ancestors to the earliest generation. Hail Amida, hail Amida," the priest cried again. Bonk, bonk, bonk, bonk.

* *

The approach of two old nuns, bent with age, was signalled by the tinkle of bells, chiririn, chiririn.

The manager gave them alms, too. "Here you are."

"Thank you," said one of the nuns. "Hail Amida, hail Amida. Oh, Seikō! It looks like you have a new hood--or is it just that my eyes are bad?"

"What, this? This is the one," the other nun explained, "that showed up next to where I was kneeling during the all-night prayers at Tokuganji last year, during the Ten Nights.[59] I couldn't find out whose it was, so I just kept it, and I've had it ever since. It was getting a little ratty, though, and just when I was thinking about maybe fixing it up somehow, I found this nice little piece of cloth. 'The faithful heart is rewarded,' wouldn't you say, Myōsei?"

"Really, Seikō, a gift from Nyorai[60] himself, isn't it? My goodness! Hail Amida! Hail Amida! Let's see--isn't it today that the Yorozu-ya usually gives alms?"

"Mm. Let's go by the Kanō-ya on the way, too."

"Oh my, does my back hurt!" complained Myōsei. She planted her staff firmly on the street, and the bells attached to it jingled, chiririn, chiririn. Bracing herself with the staff, she arched her back and stretched.

* *

"May Inari and the Seven Gods of Wealth always be with you!" Two more priests had come to beg at the bathhouse. "Now, tell me--you haven't had a Buddhist worthy by here for a while, have you? 'Priest in the morning, handsome profits,'[61] they say."

"Nothing today, nothing today," said the manager.

The priest ignored the manager and said to his companion, "If you don't tell them something like that, they won't give." He turned back to the manager. "'Handsome profits,' you know. Come on--just a copper? One copper for two priests?"

"No, no. Not today, not today."

"'Not today, not today,'" the priest imitated the manager. He and his friend moved on down the street, bowls in hand.

* *

A man in his forties arrived, holding by the hand a boy of five or so and carrying on his back, like a monkey trainer carrying his pet, a little girl of about two, who in turn was clutching a toy bucket made of bamboo and a ceramic baby turtle.

"Ho, ho, ho. Here we are," said the father, whose name was Kinbei, in a tired voice. "Where's the bath? Brother, don't fall over. Watch where you're going! Oh ho! Here's the bath! Oops. Look out for the dog dirt! Let's jump over it. Let's jump! Ooh, dirty. Brother almost stepped in the dog dirt, didn't he? Bō's on Daddy's back, so she's safe."

"Bō. Back," said the little girl, whose real name was Tsuru.[62]

"Ho ho ho. Bō's on my back, and Brother's walking. All right, down you go. Wait, wait! You're going to fall! You're going to fall! All right, Brother, you undress yourself, and Daddy'll take off Bō's clothes. There. The arm comes out here . . ."

"I already got my clothes off," the little boy announced. "'Senjirō's the last, Senjirō's the last,'"[63] he taunted. "You're slow, you're slow," he said, tickling his sister under the chin.

"Come on! No horsing around," Kinbei warned.

A man nearby joked, "Hey! Brother's got a weenie, but where's Tsuru's?"

"Tsuru lost hers somewhere, I guess!" answered a man named Gen, laughing. "Looks like the good weather's going to last, don't you think, Fukusuke?"

"Seems so. If it does, it'll be a good harvest."

"All right, now let's go inside," the father said. "Look out, Brother. Don't slip. Don't drop your toys, Tsuru. There we go." He turned to the other men and said, "You know, Fukusuke, I'm still not doing as well as I'd like. But once the kids come along, I guess you're stuck."

"But they <u>are</u> a lot of fun, don't you think?" said Gen.

"Fun? A lot of trouble, if you ask me! They can really wear you down. Ah! Watch your head! Watch your head!" He led the little boy and girl through the "pomegranate door," with a warning call of "Children coming through!" and began to scrub them. "Now Brother, get yourself wet all over," he said. "There's a good boy. Sploosh, sploosh. Ah, good, good. The water's nice and hot."

"Better be careful it's not too hot for the kids, Kinbei," warned a man named Tokuzō.

"Yeah, thanks, Tokuzō. Say, where was it that you went yesterday? I hear you were in fine spirits."

"Oh, I went to Ōji,"[64] Tokuzō answered.

"Aha! The Ebi-ya? The Ōgi-ya?"[65]

"Yes, and I suppose I should have been satisfied with that, but I came home by way of the Paddies Road,[66] too."

"The Imaguchi Tomoe-ya,[67] I'll bet!" Kinbei laughed. "That's somehow the way it always turns out. Ha ha ha ha ha."

"Here, let's have it cooled down a little. If you try to force children to get used to hot water, they wind up not liking it." Tokuzō pounded the side of the tub--thump, thump, thump--to call the water boy to add some cold water. The boy signalled that he had heard with a thump in reply. "You really ought to chant the 'Sculling Scene'[68] while you're stirring the bath water. Come on. Let's everybody help swish it around. 'Yasshisshi, yashisshi,'" Tokuzō sang as he stirred the water.

"Thanks very much," said Kinbei. "All right, let's get in. Hurry up, Brother!"

"It's still too hot, Daddy," cried the little boy.

"Come on! How could it be too hot? After Uncle Tokuzō went to all that trouble cooling it off for you! Tsuru's a lot tougher than you are. Watch! There we go--she's in, see?"

"Even the hot water pipe is just lukewarm now," Tokuzō grumbled, but saying, "Oh, well," he thumped on the side of the tub again.

"Oh, Tsuru's tough, Tsuru's tough!" Kinbei was saying.

"Daddy," said Brother, "I'm tough, too. Watch! I'm in!"

"Oh, you are tough," Kinbei agreed. "Why don't you fill your bucket up, Tsuru? Slop, slop! There! Isn't that

fun? Oh, look! The baby turtle's swimming! Blub, blub, blub. Good, good! Brother, be sure to sink way down and get good and warm."

"But, Daddy, if I sink way down in, a goldfish or a carp will swim up and get me!"

"Oh, don't be silly! If you cry, though, a kappa will swim up and get you! Oh, scary! Stay away, kappas! Tsuru's a smart little girl, so she doesn't cry. Come on, Brother. Don't cry!"

"I'm not a sissy!" Brother said bravely.

"See? Brother's tough, too," said Kinbei as he scrubbed the little girl. "Okay, let's get behind your ears so there won't be any dirt there. Close your eyes. Now, let's do under your nose so the bugs[70] won't bite you. There! What a good girl! Your Uncle over there thinks so, too, I'll bet. All right, now stick out your tongue. Good girl. Oops. Did I make you cough? Bad Daddy! He scrubbed your tongue too hard. Oh! You have a moxa burn on your tummy, don't you! We'll stay away from that. Who gave you the moxa?"

"Mommy," answered Tsuru.

"Oh. Mommy did. Bad Mommy. I'll have to scold her--giving my little Bō a moxa burn!"

"Sco' Mommy?" Tsuru asked.

"Uh huh, I'm going to scold Mommy."

"I wanna get out, Daddy," Brother interrupted.

"Not yet, not yet. Get a little warmer."

"But I can't stand it anymore."

"Well. That's not very grown up. Look how grown up Tsuru is. Listen! I have an idea," Kinbei said. "Let's Brother and Tsuru sing songs!"

"'Oh Moo-oo-n, how old are yoo-ou?'" Brother began. "'Thirteen and seven.'"

Kinbei went on, "'Oh, how . . .'"

"'. . . Very young you are still,'" the little boy continued.

"'Though you've had that baby there . . .'"

"'And though you've had this baby here.'"

"All right, Tsuru, now you sing one," Kinbei suggested.

"'Gib' it Oma' cawwy it,'" Tsuru began.

"Oh, ho ho," laughed her father. "'Give it to Oman to carry.' What's next? Well? What's next, Tsuru?"

"'Pway the dwum.'"

"No, no. Not yet. Where does Oman go?"

Brother helped out with the next line: "'To buy the oil, to buy the tea she goes.'"

"Oh, Brother's good!" cried Kinbei.

"'But in front of the oil shop . . .'" Brother continued.

Tsuru sang out, "'A big batch of ice!'"

"Oh, ho ho," Kinbei laughed. "'A big patch of ice.'"

The boy went on, "'She slips and she tumbles . . .'"

"'. . . And spills a-a-all the oil!' Come on, Tsuru, you sing too. What happens to the oil? Come on--'Jirō's dog . . .'"

"Daddy, no-o-o!" Brother screeched. "It's Tarō's dog!"

"'. . . Licked it all up,'" Kinbei continued.

"'A-A-Aww up!'" sang Tsuru.

"Daddy forgets the rest. Ha ha ha ha."

"What happens to the dog, Daddy?" Brother hinted.

"Ah, that's right! Now, Tsuru!"

"'Pway the dwum!'"

"'Facing over there, boom-boom-boom-boom,'"[71] sang Brother.

"'And now over here, boom-boom-boom-boom,'" Kinbei concluded the song.

"No, first I think it goes, 'Facing over here, boom-boom-boom-boom,'" Brother said.

"Really? Well, boom-boom-boom! What do you say we get out?" Kinbei said. "Getting out! Children coming through!" he announced. "Mommy's waiting for us, and she'll probably have something nice for you if you're good, like a sweet potato or a jam bun. You've both been good, haven't you? Oh, look! Hatsu came to meet us with some clean robes."

"Hatsu. Wobes," said Tsuru.

"Oh, ho ho. Here, Hatsu. They're all yours! They've been very good."

* *

By the exit to the dressing room, the retired gentleman was talking to a physician named Takuan.

"How have you been, sir?" inquired Takuan. "Playing go[72] as usual, I trust. You always play with the master of the Isejū and that Tarōbei fellow from Abuhachi's, do you not? One might say you go against those fellows, mightn't one! Ho ho ho."[73]

Whenever the physician laughed, he seemed to be mocking someone. His speech sounded stilted and insincere, and he was given to saying things like "fellow."[74]

"Well actually," the old man answered, "as a matter of fact, one of my relatives is ill, and the members of the household are taking turns with the nursing. So what with one thing and another, I haven't been playing much go recently."

"Mm. That is unfortunate. Dear, dear. A thousand sympathies. How is the patient?"

"He can't keep a bit of food down. Anything he eats, he--pardon my language--just throws right back up. Seems worse lately, if anything."

"Whom have you called in?"

"Well, at first Dr. Chūkei was coming once every two weeks, but there was no improvement, so later we called in Dr. Sonhaku, too, and now we have Dr. Tankei as well,"[75] the retired gentleman said.

"And what, may I ask, is their diagnosis?"

"They all say it is a growth in the gullet."

"'A growth in the gullet,' indeed! What do they mean, 'a growth in the gullet?' Even a layman could make a guess and call it 'a growth in the gullet,' if someone is throwing up everything he eats. Now esophageal carcinoma, that's quite another matter. What do they think they're doing? Those men are such lightweights. What do they know? Hah! I know the type. They spout nothing but nonsense, like, 'The medical books from as far back as the Wai-t'ai and the Ch'ien-chin-fang[76] tell us that'--now let me see, what might that sort of fellow say? Ah yes, I have it: '. . . the books tell us that "The breath is like a flight of geese, flying and scattering; a man with a growth in the gullet is overfond of linked verse."[77] You see, a sick person's breathing is compared to geese flying in a straight line because he has as much trouble gasping for breath as he would if he had swallowed a long, straight staff, like the ones Kuan Yü and Chang Fei carried, you know, and so, of course, he wishes he could "fly and scatter." Now, it seems that poetry lovers often suffer from this growth in the gullet fellow, and that is why the books say "a man with a growth in the gullet is overfond of linked verse." The disease arises in one who is so determined to write verse at any cost that people have to beg him to stop.'"

"That makes sense," commented the retired gentleman, interrupting the physician's parody. "Now that you mention it, he does like poetry!"

Takuan, continuing in the same vein, said, "And then he would say, 'Now, if it were simply a matter of, say, thirty-six link verse, that would be quite all right, but fifty or hundred links? No, that would surely be too large a dose to digest at one sitting, and would likely aggravate his condition.' There, you see? You say he likes linked verse. I could tell you that without even seeing him! 'Feel the pulse, find the disease,' they say. But I found the disease simply by listening, did I not? Hah! Be careful to 'avoid repetition'[78] in his diet!"

"Seriously," the doctor went on, "there is something called 'cormorant disease' that looks like this esophageal carcinoma fellow, but isn't. The patient eats something, then immediately brings it up. Your patient probably has cormorant disease. It is not, I am sorry to say, an easy one to cure. I'm afraid doctors like yours are far better with their tongues than they are with their medicine spoons. But the patient's family are at their mercy, because the latest medical books imported from China are unpunctuated and hard to read. That sort of fellow will always tell you that the Chinese are slipshod in their methods, and then turn right around and spout his own brand of nonsense. Suppose you say, 'Dr. Tankei, I'd like to eat eggs. What shall I do?' He'll say something like, 'Er, well, the ovum of the Gallus gallus, the common domestic fowl, is, of course, contraindicated, but if you must, then perhaps a

few duckus ovums.'[79] My word, what these fellows don't know! Hah hah hah. Most lamentable. Hah hah hah!

"Listen. Come closer. I've taken up ball-playing recently, for my digestion--you know, that 'kickball' fellow. I am not in Lord Narimichi's[80] league, of course, but even if all you manage to do is kick the thing to a pulp, it's marvelous for the digestion. Well, I must be off. What ho, Manager! The proconsul of the bath is a fellow of grave responsibilities, is he not? Hah hah hah!"

"Heh, heh, heh," laughed the manager. "And where are you going today?"

"Well," Takuan replied, "today I thought I would go to a picture viewing party in honor of Li Li-weng, and then, after I stop by Ku Yen-wu's place, I believe I shall drop in at Huang T'ing-chien's poetry competition. Who knows? Perhaps Su Tung-po or Lu Yu[81] will ask me to ghost write a few lines! At any rate, I have plenty of things to keep me busy without listening to a lot of grumbling sick people. Unfortunately, that is how a doctor builds a good practice! Well. I'm off! Hah hah hah!" Carrying his yukata under one arm, the physician made his exit.

* *

Two men were in the dressing room after their baths. One of them was Hachibei, from whose head steam was still rising in little puffs. He had wrapped a towel around his waist in place of a loincloth, and was shaking out his

kimono. The other, Matsuemon, was holding one end of his loincloth under his chin, in the old manner,[82] while he tied it on. His towel, of course, perched in a little round bundle on top of his head.

"Hachibei. Look over there," said Matsuemon. "See that guy walking along with the big hat pulled down over his face? The one with the jacket that looks like it would fall apart if you touched it? He's a sad case. He's what's become of a big land-owning family that had thirty-odd pieces of land."

"Your 'local playboy from the big house at the corner' sort of thing, huh?" Hachibei suggested.

"Yup. Pathetic. Absolutely pathetic. Could happen to anybody, though--you have to be careful."

"He looks just like one of those beggars that go around handing out charms to the kids and talking about the 'King of Heaven,'"[83] Hachibei observed.

"His father came from Ise, you know, and built up a fortune all by himself," Matsuemon began to relate. "But he had to be a real penny-pincher to do it. You simply can't afford to treat anybody to anything, you know. Anybody else, for instance, when there's a lot of fish around, would decide to be nice and give the servants a special treat, but do you know what he'd do? He'd give them all of maybe five vinegar-dried anchovies on a big platter, all lined up like little soldiers at attention, with their heads and tails still on. Or if it happened to be those awful

young thread herrings that the market was full of one day, he'd buy some and fry them up, then go out the next morning to the fish market in Nihonbashi. He'd take them all around the market, and if he couldn't get the price he wanted for them, he'd pick up some big pieces of white radish on the way home and put those fried fish inside. Then he'd have them boiled and sliced up and served for supper. Heaven knows he had enough servant girls that he could have given them to, but he'd pile the things up in front of everybody, even Grandma, when they sat down for supper. Even Grandpa had to force them down, too, head and all--he used to go on and on about how the head was the best part of a fish. And sure enough, all of his managers and shop boys, all forty or fifty of them, would wind up having to eat the rest of the things, every last scrap, especially the heads. That way nothing was wasted.

"All year round, he had gruel boiled in tea for breakfast, and just a little soup for lunch. At night all he had with his rice was pickled radish, but that takes a lot of salt to make, so he limited himself to just two slices for the whole meal, right up through his hot water at the end. Even if it was some relative's death anniversary, all he served was a big, flat bowl of soup with a few pieces of noodle-cut bean curd swimming around in it. He let himself have soup made with real bonito stock only twice a year, on his own birthday and on the day of the Ebisu Festival.[84] The only thing he ever had for a snack between meals was a

little salted fried rice, with maybe a few soybeans somebody had sent him from the country--but not so many, you understand, that you could find them without a search party![85] Besides the fried rice with the beans, once in a while he had a little home-brewed sweet saké, and since Grandma was from Kazusa, sometimes he made her those little Satsuma tea cakes with the shredded sweet potato and rice. That was it! Those were his only luxuries! He honored his ancestors, and he kept a close watch on everybody's comings and goings, so it's no wonder he did so well for himself. Money makes money, and after a while he started cleaning up on foreclosures. His business got bigger and bigger, and before long he was a very rich man."

"You can say <u>that</u> again!" Hachibei exclaimed. "I remember my father telling me that the only time he had saké was for the Ebisu Festival, and when guests came at other times, all he would set down in front of them would be two bowls of noodles. He'd say, 'Please go ahead, don't stand on ceremony' and all, but since there were only two bowls, of course, the guests would eat only one, and then leave. Afterwards, he'd invite Grandma in to join the party, but then he'd say, 'Don't mind if I do' himself, and split the other bowl with her. No wonder he piled up so much money!"

"Well, first of all, it helps if you have the gods on your side," Matsuemon observed. "But still, it did take him only thirty years to put together thirty-two or thirty-three pieces of land, thirty earthen storehouses, and maybe

twenty-five or twenty-six storage cellars. You could tell just from the number of people coming and going that he was a man to be reckoned with."

"And it didn't take his son more than two or three years to ruin it all, did it?" Hachibei commented.

"Nope. It always takes less time to spend it than to make it, and you can't make a copper, even, if all you ever do is fool around. You may still be young, Hachibei, but let me tell you, don't spend all your money. 'The spend-thrift has his reward.' Isn't that so, Manager? The manager's keeping his mouth shut, but I'll bet he's bought himself a slice of the busines!"

"Ha! The only slices I ever see," said the manager, "are the ones from the turnips I cut up for my soup. I somehow never can manage to put any of that good old copper and gold away."

"Oh, you really should try to save some money, you know," Matsuemon advised. "You're just not determined enough, that's all. That's why you can't manage to put anything aside. How can anybody <u>not</u> build up a little capital in this bountiful city of Edo? It's such a wonder-ful place--money just seems to accumulate naturally here. Isn't that why so many people can come here from all over the country and make successes of themselves? Even you, Manager, if having money really didn't interest you, wouldn't you still be in the country somewhere, eating

gruel and turning into a lump? What can you say to that? Nothing, I'll wager!"

"I stand corrected," said the manager.

"You do have your good points, though," Matsuemom went on. "There's hope for you yet, Manager! But you'll never get ahead in this world if you go around thinking the only way to keep warm is with charcoal, instead of wearing a good, thick, padded kimono. Just keep telling yourself that once the padding's worn thin, it's all over for you. And you, Hachibei, your old mother's alone now, so be very good to her and don't cause her any trouble. You know the story about that Chinese what's-his-name that went out in the dead of winter to find bamboo shoots for his poor old father, and dug up a gold pot instead!"[86]

"Well," Hachibei said, "I'm pretty good to her, but probably not good enough to rate a gold pot! I do give her some sweet saké now and then, but the pot they bring it in is only brass!"

"Well, that's all right," Matsuemon said. "This playboy we're talking about, now even though he came into that huge fortune, he was unfilial, and that's why he wound up the way he did. At his father's funeral--you won't believe this--when it came time for him to light the incense, he came slouching in in full formal dress, looking for all the world like some actor. You could pretty well guess that he wasn't a very solid sort from the way he didn't seem in the least bit sad at losing his father, and sure enough, it

turned out we were right. Geishas here and jesters there--you name it, he brought 'em home and whooped it up with 'em. Or he'd go out and lurch and slide from tea-house to whorehouse and back again. The bills he piled up, both at home and away, kept getting bigger and bigger, his friends stopped having anything to do with him, and finally he used up the last bit of fat on his poor father's bones. But he's still snotty as you please--he looks down on everybody, and calls them blind and vulgar. He's very stuck up about his social accomplishments, too--he built who knows how many tea-ceremony rooms. Such a dilettante! Anyway, it pays to watch yourself."

Sansuke,[87] a bathhouse attendant recently arrived from the countryside, had come in at some point carrying a shovel full of hot coals, and had been listening to the conversation.

"You boys say you got to lay up some money," Sansuke interrupted, "but you don't want to be a speculator, no sir. When I was still down home, there was one of those, what do you call 'em, freaks of nature, you know? There was this--what do you say in these parts, I wonder? Back home, we call 'em 'yams.'"

"They're 'yams' in Edo, too," everyone answered in chorus.

"Well, anyway," Sansuke continued, "this yam, boys, turned into an <u>eel</u>!"[88]

"You don't say!" came another chorus.

"'Course it didn't quite have all its parts. Half of it was a yam, and the other half was an eel. A hunter found the thing, and was he surprised! He reckoned it was some kind of warning from the god of the mountain, or maybe a python. Pythons when they aren't pretending to be pythons are devils, you know, that's for sure. Anyhow, he could have killed it easy right then and there, but seems he didn't like to kill things that weren't half dead already, so what does he do? He goes to the village for consultations. Now, boys, there's this man in the village named Sonemura no Matsu-no-jō that knows about everything from Empress Jingū's time on down. Nothing he doesn't know, all the way right back to when this world began. Anyway, this Matsu-no-jō turned his neck around like a goose, and looked and looked at the thing. Didn't do anything except think and think, until you could hardly stand it anymore. Finally he says, 'This is an eel.' And then he says, 'If I am wrong, may I be separated from the god who watches over us here, and forced to leave this village where generations of my house have lived. But it looks like a yam has turned into an eel. Or perhaps an eel has turned into a yam. It's both things at once. You don't have to have some priest do a divination, or get a sorceress in to do a purification. It's just an eel. And it's certainly not a python. Boys, that much I know. But I must say, even though there are things in books about sparrows diving into the sea and turning into clams,[89] I've never seen anything in the Teikin no Ōrai[90]

or Imagawa Ryōshun,[91] or in any of the miscellanies or chronicles, either, about a yam turning into an eel.' That's what he told us, boys.

"Anyway," Sansuke continued, "there was this speculator there. Now, he had good ears, and heard about everything right away, and so, when he had found out the whole story, he talked things over with the right people, and paid twenty-four ryō in gold to buy the thing. That twenty-four ryō, by the way, went for cloudy saké and rice cakes for everybody in the village--everything you need to do up the Third-Day New Year's[92] in real style. Well anyway, this speculator, what do you suppose he did then? He figured he'd take his little attraction and put him in a square box, and make a lot of money showing him to crowds at temples and the like. So he got everything all set up, ready to go, and what do you think happened?"

"What? What?" cried the listeners.

"Well, we all like to busted a gut, it was so funny. Boys, that damned yam we thought was half eel, while that old speculator was getting ready to show it, went and stopped being a yam at all, and turned completely into an eel! That old half-yam had up and turned itself the rest of the way into an eel, and there it was, squirming around this way and that. If you tried to catch it, it just squeezed through your fingers, all wiggly and slippery like any regular old eel! 'Course, that wasn't surprising--any eel knows that if somebody grabs it too hard, it'll die.

You know, if you buried an eel, it would certainly die, but I figure it just might turn into a yam. But once it turned into a yam, it sure wouldn't turn back into an eel!"

"Ah ha ha ha ha ha, ah ha ha ha ha," everyone laughed, over and over.

"Anyway," Sansuke began again, "since you couldn't tell what that little old performer really was anymore, there wasn't much to gawk at. That speculator sure had it figured wrong! He was out a good thirty ryō all told, what with putting up a stall and all. Wasn't a damned thing he could do about it, though, so he just grilled the eel and ate it. That figures out to something like three ryō, two bu and then some a skewer. Pretty expensive eel! Thirty ryō's worth of eel that man ate, all by himself! But that old eel had really skinned him, so it was right for him to skin the eel, but I'll bet it was tough![93] Ha ha ha ha ha."

Just as Sansuke was finishing his story, voices were heard in the bath crying, "Looks like he passed out from the heat! . . . Hey, Manager, there's somebody here that fainted. He passed out from the heat!"

"Somebody passed out?" said the manager. "Terrible, terrible!"

A crowd of bath attendants carried the man out. He turned out to be the palsy victim Butashichi, who had fainted in the steam and heat.

"Who is he?"

"It's the spastic, Butashichi."

"If he's still sick, he shouldn't have stayed in the bath so long!"

"Splash some water on him."

"Put the lavatory sandals on his face!"

"No, stupid! That's for a fit! You're supposed to write 'horse beans' on his back, aren't you?"

"Hoarse? He isn't hoarse, he's passed out!"[94]

"Butashichi! Oh, Butashi-i-i-chi. Where ar-r-re you? Boom, boom, boom, bong, bong, bong."[95]

"Come on! This isn't funny. We have to bring him around. Wake up! Wake up!"

In the midst of all the commotion, the water they had thrown in Butashichi's face began to revive him.

"How are you, Butashichi? Butashichi! Can you hear me? Can you hear me?"

"Are you all right?"

"Unh-unh-ugh . . ." Butashichi grunted. "F-Fine, I'm f-fine. Wh-wha' happen' . . ."

"YOU PASSED OUT FROM THE HEAT!" someone told him in a loud voice.

"Huh? Huh?"

"YOU PASSED OUT FROM THE HEAT!"

"P-Passed . . . ou' . . . f-from the h-hea'? Unh . . . s-stupid thing . . . All righ' . . . I-I-I'm f-fine now. I p-passed b-back, passed b-back <u>in</u>![96] Unh . . . I was d-dreaming. F-Fine now. P-Pass' b-back in! F-Fine . . ."

* *

It was lunchtime, and a waterboy had come in and sat down at the counter in the manager's stead. Outside peddlers could be heard hawking their wares:

"Dumplings, du-u-mplings . . ."

"Sweet cowpeas . . ."

"Bean curd . . ."

"Broiled eel, very good! Broiled eel . . ."

"Fix your pots? Got any broken pots?"

"Hey, you--pot man! I've got a water urn that I need fixed."

"Ah, go on!" retorted the pot man.[97]

* *

Noon-time Scenes

"Cool it off. Cool it off, huh? It's too hot!" someone called out from the bath as he pounded the side of the tub, thump, thump, thump.

"Don't make it any cooler! It'll be nothing but cold water!"

The manager said to the water boy, "There's more hot water now. Get the rinse buckets ready."

"Yes, sir," said the boy, leaving with a bucket.

* *

An old man, clearly a busybody, was in the dressing room. Pushing aside with his foot a pail that someone was using to soak a towel, he grumbled, "Look here, you youngsters, get that drain board[98] good and clean. It's dangerous for old people. It's easy for them to slip and fall. And what are all these buckets here for? You can hardly get past. Watch there's not too much water in the tub. Now look at that! Somebody's split open a soap bag. These people! What kind of pigs are they? And now somebody's old plaster's got stuck on my foot! Pfui. Disgusting. Ugh. Ugh. They spit all over. They pick off scabs and leave them lying about. Ugh. What a mess! Hail the Lotus Sutra!"

The old man bent over and peered through the pomegranate door. "Good Heavens!" he cried. "What an enormous rear end! Excuse me. Excuse me, please, but that's very rude, you know--get into the bath. You're blocking the door, and no one can get in after you. It doesn't do you any good, just sitting on the edge of the tub, you know. Aye! Old man coming through!" He settled into the tub. "Ah! This is nice! Anybody who complains about this being lukewarm would have to cuddle right up to the hot water pipe to get any hotter, or better yet, take off the grill and crawl right into the boiler! Ah, perfect, perfect! Hail the Lotus Sutra."

Someone in the bath began to sing, "'Lord Kiyomori had a fever. We . . .'[99] Hey, Grandpa! If you're going to

cuddle up with some hot little thing,[100] make sure they don't get the duns after you! If you're too hot, just stick in your pickle and swish it around![101] Ah! There! It's started to boil. Terrific. Feels good on the old louse bites. It's sort of nice, really, when you have bites all over--you wind up all speckly, just like a fawn. Guess lice aren't totally bad!"

"'Came a lantern, creeping near,'" someone began to sing. "'"Igo, is that you?" she called. "Who did darling Yoshimatsu sleep with? If he slept with his Papa, that's fine, that's fine . . .'"[102]

Someone else started another song. "'If only I could live with him, in Sangen'ya or Yamanaka . . .'"[103]

"Ah! There you go! Sonuvabitch, that's the one I want to hear! Keep going. Do it up right!"

"'. . . Ah, lo-o-ove. Love without end!'" continued the singer, in the Itako-bushi style.[104]

Someone added a bad imitation of a samisen as accompaniment: "Teko-ten-ton, teko-teko-ten-ten, tsun-pon-pon."

"Hey, keep down the splashing, huh? Your samisen's all wet as it is!"[105]

"Oh, sorry!"

One of the men started to clamber out of the tub. "I'm getting out. Sorry, I have to step over you. Excuse me . . ."

"Wow!" cried the man who had been stepped over. "Did you see the size of his nuts? They were bouncing all over

the place! He just calmly smacked me in the head with them. Now, that takes balls, wouldn't you say?" he joked after the man left. . . .[106] "Well, I'm getting out. Make way! Make way for a country boy!"

* *

A man from the western provinces,[107] on his first visit to Edo, had entered the bathhouse. He did not know the customs of the place, and so he at first stood rooted to the floor looking confused, until he spotted the bucket used for rinsing out underwear. In it, a new loincloth with string ties was soaking in hot water.

"Now there's something!" the man exclaimed. "They put out a nice bucket of hot water for you, with a towel already in it!"

He wrung out his own towel and draped it over the rack usually used for drying loincloths. He took the new loincloth with the ties out of the bucket and started to wash his face with it.

"This water really smells!" he exclaimed. "Whew, what a stink! Huh! That's funny--it looks like somebody's used this towel already, too. There's some kind of greasy stuff on it. Ecch. Disgusting. It looks like a whale's been washing with it, it's so slimy. What a funny smell! I'll dump out the bucket."

He poured out the water and took the bucket over toward the waterboys' station to refill it.

A waterboy, assuming he wanted to wash his loincloth, said, "You shouldn't bring that bucket over here. Leave it over there, and use one of the small buckets to fill it," he explained.

"Fine, fine," said the man from the western provinces. Following instructions, he took the bucket back and carefully used a smaller pail to fill it up with hot water.

"If it's a clean towel, why does it have dirty places all over it?" he asked himself. "It's amazing--looks like somebody's dragged it through the mud."

Spreading out the cloth, he noticed the strings attached to the ends.

"I suppose the strings on either end are so that when somebody puts the towel on his head while he's in the tub he can tie it around his chin,"[108] he said.

He wound the strings around his wrist, and crushing the cloth into a ball, began to scrub himself with it. Just then, a man who hailed from the Kamigata region[109] came toward him out of the bath, stopped next to the underwear bucket, and looked around uneasily.

"Hey! What's going on?" he said. "What happened to the loincloth I left here a little while ago to soak? It doesn't make any sense for something you haven't even washed yet to disappear! It's got to be somewhere, for Heaven's sake!" Spotting the man from the western provinces using the loincloth as a towel to wash his face

with, he said angrily, "What the hell! That's not your towel, is it?"

"No, of course not," said the man. "I found it in this bucket. I hung up my own over there."

"Good grief!" cried the man from the Kamigata. "What a damned idiot! That's not a towel! It's my loincloth! Washing your face with a loincloth, indeed--how can you be so stupid? Have you been bewitched by a fox? Or are you just crazy? What are you doing? Give it back right away and rinse yourself off! The idea!"

The man from the western provinces had been getting more and more angry. "No wonder I thought it was all greasy!" he exclaimed. "So you let it sit for a while and then wash it! Damn! It sure smelled! When I think about it--ooh, sonuvabitch!" He tossed the loincloth back into the bucket and went on into the bath.

"Ah, ha ha ha ha ha," laughed the man from the Kamigata. "That certainly takes the cake! He could have at least waited until I'd washed it! . . . Ha ha ha ha ha!"[110]

The Bathhouse of the Floating World: A Burlesque

Book One, Part One

Conclusion

The Women's Bath: Introduction[1]

When my previous effort, "The Men's Bath" of _The Bathhouse of the Floating World_, appeared, it attracted readers enough to fill a tub to overflowing, and bathed the publisher in the warm glow of success. The blocks from which it had been printed, however, were soon after lost in a fire,[2] turned to ash as surely as the coals in the bathhouse manager's brazier. Alas! They are gone, as prematurely and as wastefully as the fee one pays to enter the bath near closing time, only to have the drain plug pulled as he steps into the tub! Be that as it may, let the reader plunge back into this second bath, before the warmth of the first has faded. The requests for its appearance have been as eager as the impatience of the twice-daily bather awaiting the reopening of the bathhouse after its monthly day of rest; but the writer's brush, like the bath attendant's ladle, dribbles lazily about its ever-unfinished business, seemingly always behind schedule, an iris bath on the sixth, a peach leaf bath in the waning days of summer.[3] "Aren't you through _yet_?"--such is the complaint of someone sent to fetch a bather fond of a good long soak, and likewise of a publisher impatient for a manuscript. But a writer's meager bag of tricks is not a scrub bag full of soap; squeeze it as you will, writing is still a long and dirty business. Easy though it may be to

wring a twelve-copper offering out of a festival-goer,[4] not so the draft of a book from an author.

The women's bath is a world of its own, and though it can, of course, be imagined, no peeking is allowed. The present two-volume book, therefore, can only be like a quick glimpse through the bamboo pipe used to fill the wash buckets in the bath.

By way of preface to a fee increase, the management of the bathhouse will say, "Due to the present high cost of firewood . . ."; I have frugally gathered up the chips and scraps left over from my previous essay in literary carpentry, and use them now to fire the boiler for "The Women's Bath," a bit later, as in life, than "The Men's."[5] Plunge in and let it wash over you for a while!

Written, in response to urgent requests,
in the five days before and after the
ninth day of the ninth month,
By the Edoite withdrawn from
Affairs of State,[6]
Shikitei Sanba

Addendum[7]

One quickly discovers, in raising a child, that medicine is bitter and candy is sweet. In literature, the Three Histories and the Five Teachings[8] are the bitter medicine, and novels and popular histories are the sweet candy. Thus it is that while there is no shortage of books written for the edification of the female sex, the woman or girl is rare indeed who genuinely enjoys the bitter flavor of such works as The Greater Learning for Women[9] and The Woman's Imagawa Ryōshun.[10] The present "Women's Bath," of course, is merely a light amusement; but though it be sweet and easy to swallow, if read with close attention it will yield naturally an understanding of good and evil, deviance and rectitude. As the conventional wisdom has it, identifying the good and the evil in one's own behavior by observing that of others is a sure shortcut to true moral learning. Youth may turn a deaf ear to stern admonition, but will always sit still for instruction that is entertaining, and take it to heart. Even the most trifling of books, when read with care, will demonstrate once again that it is often in things of little value that the greatest profit is to be found. . . .[11]

The Bathhouse of the Floating World: A Burlesque

Book Two, Part One

The Women's Bath

By the Edo dilettante, Shikitei Sanba[12]

Scenes from Early Morning to the Forenoon

The neighborhood was filled with the chirping twitter of mendicants:[13]

"Purify all living beings, leave no filth behind. Pollutions, be no more. Let the jeweled wall, within and without, be clean, be pure . . ."

"May all Creation and the Four Seas come to the Miracle of the Law. Praise the name of the Founder, the bodhisattva Nichiren. Praise the Sutra of the Lotus of the Law . . ."

"May the blessings of piety be extended to every sentient being. Amida be praised. Amida be praised . . ."

The Pure Land Sect and the Nichiren, the Eight Sects and the Nine,[14] were represented in the crowd entering the women's bath in all their conflict and diversity.

* *

A woman slid open the shōji door to the bath, complaining about the cold and shivering. She was a girl of seventeen or eighteen with unblackened teeth, and must surely have been an entertainer who called herself something-moji

or Toyo-something.[15] She carried a yukata in the latest style, dyed in a pattern that formed an old-fashioned rebus that meant "hearing good news."[16]

"Ah, Otai!"[17] she cried. "Good morning! Things got a little lively last night, didn't they!"

"I should say so," answered Otai, who looked as if she worked in a restaurant. "You must have been pretty tired. That boozer certainly stays up late, doesn't he?"

"He certainly does," said the first girl, whose name turned out to be Osami, "but he behaves himself, anyway. He's a good drunk. At least he's not like Kasubei, who really gets out of control when he drinks. Anyway, he offered to take me home. It took a while, what with him slipping at every corner and all, but he saw me all the way to my gate."

"My, that was nice of him," said Otai. "The old fellow certainly likes to fuss over other people, doesn't he? Anyway, he's better than Donsuke, with his stupid games with his fingers, and Inroku, who's such a terrible drunk. They really frighten me."

"I know what you mean. And Shukō--he makes such a scene with his little Jinku songs!"[18]

"And then he always winds up just snoring away when he's done. Oh--speaking of 'done'--you got your hair done, didn't you?"

"Yes. Okushi came by this morning, first thing," answered Osami. "Who did you get to do yours this time?"

"Osuji," Otai said.

"It looks nice."

"Really? This Osuji who came this morning is new, and she was a little awkward, so it somehow feels funny."

"It's always that way," said Osami, "when you get a different person. Even if she knows what she's doing, it doesn't seem quite right. Turn around and let me see. Oh! It's a really good job!"

"Don't you think the back part's a little too high?"

"No. It's just fine," Osami reassured her.

"Well," said Otai as she stepped into her sandals and started toward the door to the street, "have a nice bath, now."

"Why don't you drop by sometime?" Osami said. "We've got a nice old lady, you know. Well, 'bye now!" Without waiting for Otai to answer, she hurried into the bath.

Soon after, another woman arrived. She was about thirty years old, and seemed to be in the same line of work as Osami; her teeth, too, were not blackened. Wrinkles had begun to accumulate above her eyebrows, and the creases on either side of her nose were deepening. Her skin color was somewhat dark, and her white teeth were, in fact, slightly yellowed; her eyebrows were bristly and sparse, but they gave her a proud air that helped to disguise the other shortcomings of her appearance. Kicking off her hinged sandals with a lively clatter on her way in, she greated the mistress of the bath and tossed down her <u>yukata</u>. As

she untied her sash, she turned toward the bathroom. "Osami! Hey, Osami!" she called in a piercing voice, but Osami did not hear her. "OSAMI! ARE YOU DEAF?"

From the bath, Osami at last answered, "Oh! Is that you, Obachi? Nice to see you so early in the morning."

"Early? It's hardly early by now. Why must you rub it in? You always do just as you like, don't you? Why should I care if you don't know the first thing about getting along with people? Didn't I ask you to wait just a little longer this morning?"

"Well, yes," Osami answered, "but you always take forever over your breakfast . . ."

"I guess that's because I'm such a big eater. I'm sorry. I suppose you're right," said Obachi as she slipped into the bath water. "I stopped by your place just now, and your Mama[19] said you'd just left, and that you'd been waiting for me right up to a few minutes before. She said you were a heartless child, to leave like that! She makes everyone feel so good. Honestly, your Mama is a smooth one! She really knows how to get along with people. Now the Mama at our place, she's always complaining and nagging at us. I can hardly bear it."

"Well, still," said Osami, "your Papa[20] is nice, and that sort of makes up for it, doesn't it?"

"Sometimes I think he's a little too nice," Obachi said. "Mama does nothing but scold him day and night. Now, I'm not taking Papa's side, you understand, but

really, it's hard to stand by and just grind your teeth. Hey. Did you have any big drinkers last night?"

"Ye-e-s, Ma'm," answered Osami, using the affirmative favored by knowledgeable young girls in the trade. "And you?"

"I had an Ebisu Festival[21] party, you know? They didn't leave until exactly two in the morning."

"Me too. I was all over the place, and got back just before two."

"Look at my eyes," Obachi said. "This is what happens when they make you drink with them. They're still puffy."

"You're right. And the color's bad, too."

"Oooh, this water's hot!" Obachi cried.

"Hot? You're too soft!"

"Soft, nothing! I'll bet it's a little hot for you, too. You're such a phony. You're just too proud to give in. Add a little cold water, won't you?" Obachi called out, thumping the side of the tub.

The water boy joked, "I just <u>did</u>. I can't add any <u>more</u>!"

"Well, even if you did, I still can't stand it," Obachi said. "It's still too hot. Add some more, you stupid Sansuke!"[22]

"If you call me 'Sansuke,' I won't add any at all!"

"All right. I beseech the Great God Sansuke, then!"

The boy began to run cold water into the tub. "All right, swish it around," he told the women.

"Oh no! You expect me to swish it around? Come on, Osami, sink yourself down over here, where the cold water's coming in. There. That's the way I like it. Listen, Osami. Tell me exactly where it was you went the day before yesterday."

"The theater," Osami said.

"Oh, really! Did somebody take you?"

"Come on! I paid my own way."

"Well, then who'd you go with?"

"The invitation was from Neko-moji's place, so I went with Ozuru and Toyotabo. We sent somebody over to your place, but they said you'd gone to Hori-no-uchi[23] with Shatsū."

"That's right," Obachi said. "Listen. I haven't seen that play yet. Who's in it that's good?"

"Kinokuniya[24] was the best," Osami answered.

"That's no surprise. It makes me sick--I missed the last show, too."

"Anyway, after the show was over, we dropped in at the Marusabu and said hello to Sabu, and then when we were leaving, guess what happened? We heard somebody going 'ahem, ahem' up on the second floor, and when we looked up, there were a bunch of people sticking their heads out to look at us, you know? Yashichi, the one who does actors' voices, you know, and Noshimatsu, both of them shouted down at us, but who else was up there, I don't know, because we ran away good and fast. My, it still

seems to be a little hot in here. What do you say we get out?"

Osami first, and then Obachi, got out of the tub onto the rinsing platform. The attendant who did the rinsing filled a pair of buckets and came over to rinse their backs.

"All right, Obachi, let's have your back," he said, and began to scrub.

"Will you look at that!" Osami cried. "Even though I got out first!"

"What difference does it make? You'll be leaving together anyway," protested the rinse man, who was probably going to be promoted to manager in a year or so. Since he had been with this bathhouse a long time, perhaps four or five years, he had learned to get along well with the women, and could get away with using rude and impertinent language.

"Come on! Be nice, won't you? You're always so rude!" Obachi complained. You just give us a couple of quick rubs, splash on a little water, and quit!"

"Well, that's good enough. You're here every day--there can't be that much dirt!"

"Oh, skip it. You have such a mouth," Obachi said.

"So! She wants another fight, does she?" said the rinser. "Whoa! Let's not have a splashing contest! What a racket you make, you two girls! All right, that'll do for you. Osami, let's see your back."

"Huh? You're already seeing it! Wash it, will you? And don't be so rude, old man!"

This sort of banter continued for a long while; we shall omit the rest.

* *

A merchant-class housewife of thirty-three or thirty-four entered through the street gate, accompanied by a girl of about seven and carrying a baby of barely two.

"Ooh, it's cold, it's cold," said the mother. "I'll bet you're cold, aren't you, Bō?" she asked the baby. Turning to the mistress of the bath, she said, "How have you been, Mistress?"

The mistress was sitting on a raised platform. "Ah, good morning! It's been damned cold the last couple of days, hasn't it! Oh! Osugi, you're here today, too! Oh ho ho ho ho! You're always full of beans, aren't you, Osugi-bō! Otama, do you have a vacation from school today?"

"No, Ma'm," answered the little girl.

"Aha! A lazybones, eh?"

"Just look at her, will you?" said the mother. "The minute my back is turned she thinks she can skip school. Today she completely fooled her Papa and got him to let her take the day off. Papa is so much trouble. He's just too nice, I'm afraid. She simply ignores everything I say."

"She's bound to be that way for a while yet," the mistress reassured her. "You know, it's funny, but it's always the father that dotes on a little girl. Ah ha ha ha. What's that you've got there, Osugi? A sweet potato? Oh,

isn't that a nice thing to have! Oh ho ho ho. She's at her absolute cutest right now. What a good baby. You can tell by her face even now that she's got a terrific future. Oh-ho! You're smiling all by yourself! Oh, Osugi, you're a good little girl, yes you are!"

"Otama, when you get your clothes off, put them over there," instructed the mother. "Whoops! Don't fall over. Let's take your socks off, Osugi-bō. There! Now we undo your undershirt . . . Huh? Rin certainly has a funny way of tying this thing. I can't get the ties on your undershirt undone, Bō. Ah! There we are. It's all right. Let's hurry up and get in the tub and warm up! Go, go, go, go!"

Suddenly another little girl of about seven slid open the shōji and cried in from the street, "Ma! Ma-a!"

A woman came out from the bath and said, "What? Is that you, Ouma? What did you come here for?"

Ouma answered, "Well, I, um, Papa, um. Somebody came to visit, and, um, Papa says to finish up your bath quick, and not to, um, go anyplace else, and come straight home right now."

"All right, all right. I'll come right home, tell him. Who's there, I wonder? Wouldn't you know it! Just when I finally get out to go to the bath, he sends somebody right over to get me to go back. What a bother! Say-- aren't you supposed to be at school? What did you come back for?"

"Today we, um, we do our good writing, you know? So, um, I came back to get my good notebook," Ouma explained.

"Oh. Well, that's all right, I guess. But go back right away."

"Oh, and Mama? Papa says, um, for a special treat, I can take my lunch."

"Oh, no! Not that again! Listen. You don't need to take your lunch unless it's raining."

"But, um . . ." Ouma sniffled. "Um, Mama? Please let me eat there. Come on. Papa said I could, Mama."

"All right. Be quiet. If he said so, then you can take your lunch. But you don't get to be picky about what's in it."

"Yes, Mama," Ouma said, and left.

A woman nearby, a Mrs. B.,[25] commented, "Everybody has the same problem about lunch, you know!"

"I do know," said Ouma's mother, Mrs. A., "but it still drives me crazy the way she's always whining at me about it. And then, if for some reason it isn't ready in time in the morning, she comes home to get it, and then takes it all the way back to the teacher's to eat it."

Mrs. B. laughed, and said, "Sure, it's fine for them to take a lunch if it's windy and rainy, so they don't slip and fall or whatever on the way home and back, but then they make such a fuss about wanting this or that to go with their rice. And then it's, 'Buy me a flower to stick in my water holder.' 'I want some cassia bark.' 'Gimme some oil of

cloves, Mama.' 'I want to make clove water.'[26] Honestly, they just wear you out nagging you for things."

"I guess it's the same for everybody," said Mrs. A. "They ask you for gilt paper, or that lovely colored paper with the designs done on it in mica powder, and then they just waste it. They cut it all up and throw it away. And then there are those things they call 'switch pictures'[27] or whatever they are, the ones you fold one way or the other to change the pictures, you know, to make an actor do quick costume changes for instance. Anyway, my children buy them one after another, and then put them in a box. You wouldn't believe how packed that box is! And then my third one, the oldest boy, buys those--what are they? gōkan[28]--those little illustrated novels, anyway, and they pile up in a basket. 'Toyokuni's the best!' 'Kunisada's the best'[29]--they even learn the names of all the illustrators! Children these days are up on simply everything!"

"They certainly are! When we were little," said Mrs. B., "we couldn't imagine anything more wonderful than a 'red-cover'[30] of some old story like 'The Mouse's Wedding.'"

"Well, everything changes, I guess. It seems like it was just a little while ago that people started wearing whalebone clips in their sidelocks. And before that, everybody . . ."

"Yes!" interrupted Mrs. B. "Everybody did their hair up in tight little buns. And then, when those handy little pins and paper strings came in, you could do your hair up

yourself. And what about those 'quick Shimada' forms![31] Just like an actor's wig, I swear! All you do is put it on top of your head, and zip! You've got your hair done up. Now that's really clever."

"And we used to have a big topknot up on top," Mrs. A. continued. "But now we're back to the tiny little old-style Shimada again. Of course, now we're starting to get people that like the Kamigata style, too. Sometimes I just can't believe how quickly things change, really!"

"Yes, and people are always going on about the Kyoto style, or Kyoto pins and what not. I think Edo people should just stick with Edo things and be done with it, don't you? Say. This is a different subject, but did I hear that you finally got your oldest daughter taken care of?"

"Yes, we did. We found just the match for her, and managed to get it all settled."

"It must be a relief to get one of them taken care of, anyway," observed Mrs. B.

"What is it my husband always says? 'Girls are money-gobblers.' Honestly, he does nothing but complain!" said Mrs. A.

"Will she have a mother-in-law there?" Mrs. B. asked.

"Yes, and she's still young, too."

"Oh, dear. The girl may be in for a lot of hard work!"

"No, I don't really think so," Mrs. A. said. "The mother-in-law is very good-natured. Not only that, but the groom--he's settled down now, but he evidently used to be

something of a playboy, so he's a very knowing sort of person. They certainly get along very well, anyway."

"Well, that's the important thing," Mrs. B. observed. "Even if the mother-in-law is a little difficult, things will work out if the two of them really get along with each other."

"She put on the maternity sash[32] last month, too!" said Mrs. A.

"Really? Oh, my goodness!" Mrs. B. exclaimed. "Nothing but one happy event after another. You must be sure she avoids anything that's bad for her. Nothing much can happen after the fifth month, but certainly don't let her have any sting ray or anything like that. It blocks up the nipples. You've had children, so I assume you won't forget to make sure she takes the pills she should, like 'Real Mother' and 'Queen.'"

"Oh, yes! Both of those worked so well for me, too. But there's another one that's good, too, the medicine for female complaint they sell at the tabi shops in Koami and Kofuna.[33] There aren't any signs up for it, but a lot of people know about it. It's really very good--it keeps you from getting dizzy. I know a lot of people that it's helped, so I tell people about it whenever I get a chance."

"Now, didn't I hear about a medicine of some kind, that if you use it for the first seven days, it keeps the milk coming? It keeps the nipples soft, too, and opens them up.

Now what was it? I've suddenly forgotten. Where did I see it?"

"Oh," said Mrs. A., "that must be that 'Hiramatsu Black' compound they sell in Owari-chō.[34] That's good medicine. Anyway, you can be sure we've borrowed all sorts of lucky things from people, like a bear's sash,[35] and charms for easy childbirth, and one of those dolls from the Kurishima Shrine[36]--you know, that sort of thing. Even though I've had a lot of children myself, I still can't help worrying when a baby's due. I always just feel sort of uneasy."

"Well, that's natural," said Mrs. B. "Listen. When the baby comes, be sure to fill up a bottle with some of the water it's washed in, and bury the bottle along with the afterbirth. It's a charm to keep Baby from having trouble with its milk. My. We don't have any babies to take care of at our house, and that's no good at all. Oh, how I envy you!"

"Well, I don't know--you should be happy with just one child. At least he's a boy. We have three girls and two boys, and let me tell you, those girls are going to be a plague from cradle to grave."

"Oh, come!" protested Mrs. B. "Girls are good to have. They're a real pleasure. My! If you have two sons, you're in a perfect position to get the younger one adopted into some other family as an heir, aren't you? Now <u>my</u> son, he's nothing but trouble, let me tell you! He's driving me

crazy. I'm really sorry now we didn't apprentice him out somewhere. But then, he's our only child, and a boy at that, and we spoil him terribly. Still, no matter how clever and intelligent someone is, he won't amount to anything unless he sees a little of the world. He'll certainly be good at spending money, but he won't know a thing about making it."

"Well, I don't know," said Mrs. A., "but he's in the prime of his youth. A little loose living is normal, don't you think? Now our second boy, he says being out in the world is like a tonic for him. We sent him out to apprentice in a book shop."

"My, already a grown-up apprentice!" said Mrs. B. "If a person doesn't know what it's like to eat someone else's rice, how can he ever hope to understand other people, you know? Especially if some day he's going to have his own apprentice! 'If you don't pinch yourself, you'll never know another's pain,' you know. It's really true that someone who never leaves his parents' side will never understand pain, or even an itch, for that matter! You were very wise to send your boy out, anyway."

"Yes. Well," said Mrs. A., "right now he's just doing the best he can. My husband is very strict, you see. He told him that he wasn't to come home except when he's supposed to have his visit, and so even if they send him to our neighborhood on an errand, he won't stop by home."

While Mrs. A. was talking, a maid came running into the bathhouse. "Ma'm" she cried, "Mr. Umatarō from the Shikite-ya is at the house, so won't you please come back?"

"All right, all right! I'm coming right away," Mrs. A. told the maid. She turned back to her companion. "There. You see? That's what--the second or third person he's sent for me? Really! I can't even take a bath in peace. Ho ho ho ho ho," she laughed. "Oh, Kiyo," she called to the maid. "Please get everything set up for tea."

"Yes, Ma'm," answered the maid, and left.

"Well, goodbye now," said Mrs. A. "Have a nice, quiet time."

"Goodbye. My regards to your husband--tell him we're sorry we haven't been in touch," said Mrs. B. as they parted.

* *

Two old ladies were squatting just outside the tub gumming at each other as they wrung out their rice-bran filled scrubbing bags.

"Are you finishing up, Auntie?" asked one, a Mrs. C.

"Oh! It's you, Auntie. You're early. When did you get here?" said the other, Mrs. D. She was about the same age as Mrs. C.; each one greeted the other as "Auntie," so it was quite impossible to tell who was whose aunt.[37]

"I haven't been out and around much lately, Auntie," said Mrs. C.

"I've noticed. Haven't you been feeling very well?" Mrs. D. inquired.

"That's it, exactly. I suppose it's just old age. My eyes are bad, and my legs and my back bother me, but what can you do? 'Only the bride is happy.'"

"What? You're not <u>that</u> old!" protested Mrs. D.

"How old do you think I am?"

"Well, you are a little older than me, I guess," Mrs. D. said.

"Oh! A <u>little</u>? I certainly am older, by a full zodiac cycle,[38] I'm sure," said Mrs. C.

"Eighty?"

"Ooh, Heaven help me! Don't be nasty now, Auntie," Mrs. C. cried. "I'm seventy."

"My, my. Well, actually, I was fifty-nine last year, they tell me, and now I've gone and put on another one, so I'm sixty. Now they're going around saying I'll be sixty-one next year!"

"Oh, you always say such funny things. You really do seem very young and full of life, you know."

"Well, I <u>am</u> young!" cried Mrs. D. "'There was an old lady of forty-nine years, who married a man from Shinano . . .'"[39] she sang. "But it's pretty much all over when you're sixty, I guess!" she said, laughing heartily.

"My, it's nice that you're always in such a good mood. You'll always be young at heart, even if your hair turns gray."

"You never get anywhere being unhappy, I always say. I just don't let things bother me. It might be nice, though, to dye my hair and live it up one more time! Listen, Auntie. If I should happen to have a chance to be a bride again, will you act as go-between? Even the Devil was sixty once,[40] and this old lady's still in her prime! Ah ha ha ha ha," laughed Mrs. D. again.

"Ha ha ha ha ha. My! Your next life is sure to be a good one!"

"Next life? What about this one! Let the chips fall where they may after I'm dead, I say. I hardly understand this world. How can I know anything about the next one? It's heaven enough for me to have a little nip of saké at bedtime, and get a good night's sleep!"

"See? There you are," said Mrs. C. "All you need is a little saké to cheer you up, but nothing like that works for me. I just get more and more depressed by the year. It's really disgraceful. I must say, I'm heartily sick of this world."

"Come, come, Auntie. What good does it do to be sick of the world? Who knows what the next life is going to be like! Isn't it better to live to be a hundred right here?"

"Oh! What a horrible thought! No, I'm thoroughly fed up. I can hardly wait for Nyorai to come and get me,[41] let me tell you!"

"What are you saying?" asked Mrs. D. "Don't you have any spirit at all? I don't think anybody that goes around

saying 'I want to die, I want to die' ever really wants to. When Nyorai's messengers come, I'll bet you'll be begging them to wait a little longer!"

"No, no I won't," protested Mrs. C.

"Once you're dead, I'm sure you'll be wishing you were still alive. I must say, that will be like praising the wife you've sent away and criticizing the new one that came in her place. People always want everything their own way. When it's summer, they say they like winter better, and when winter comes, summer's better.

"Now, what I always tell my son and his wife," Mrs. D. went on, "is that they should give me lots of nice things now, while I'm still alive, or they'll regret it after I'm gone. Why line up a lot of offerings on the altar, I say. Sure, everybody eats sweet potatoes and bean paste,[42] but who knows whether or not they eat anything after they've become Buddhas? And forget about fast days, too, I tell them--instead of putting a piece of fried bean curd on the altar for me, or giving me rice cakes or the Seven Offerings after I'm dead, isn't it a lot more virtuous to give me a bite of the first bonito of the season and a shot of saké while I'm still alive? What do you think, Auntie? Isn't that so?

"Maybe because that's the way I am, my son is very good to me, and he works very hard in the business, besides. Every day on the way home from work, he buys a little something wrapped in a bamboo leaf, and says, 'Here, Mama, have

one,' and offers me a cup of saké." Mrs. D's eyes glistened with tears of happiness. "He used to be something of a playboy, you know, but now he seems to have settled down a little, and I must say, he's become very serious and hardworking. I think losing his father so early has made him steady, too. Believe me, Auntie, it was hard work, taking on the job of bringing him up all by myself. It certainly wasn't easy, I must say. Still, if he'd been born bad, he'd probably still be out playing around even now, and no good to anybody. He learned to be responsible very quickly, though. I suppose that's partly thanks to me, and partly to him. And oh, his wife is a dear, too. She's always looking after me, and believe me, that's a comfort. And to think she came to us practically out of the blue--that Ashiemon of Dragon Alley[43] was the go-between. But you know, it's already been three years, and I would so like to have a grandchild! Somehow they just haven't managed so far. I guess it just isn't right for them yet. That's something you simply have to wait for, no matter how eager you are. If it doesn't happen, it doesn't happen, does it, Auntie?"

"You're absolutely right," said Mrs. C. "You can't do a thing about it. Now at our place--I'm really not very well, you know, and I shouldn't have to look after children, but they all came along less than a year apart. Honestly, it's almost got to the point where I'd like to give them away. His first wife left us three when she went away,

and the new one has had two more, right in a row. And would you believe it? Now she's going to have another! It would be all right, I suppose, if she was at least willing to work hard, but all she does is guzzle saké and loaf around, sometimes for three or even five days at a stretch. As you can imagine, that's terrible for the family business. Really, the other people in the building call her a slut. She ignores her own children, and does nothing but fuss with her hairdo. And not only does she make her husband wear rags, she throws down dirty diapers just anywhere, all covered with whatever, and won't wash a single one. When she finishes eating, she pushes back her tray and makes one of her poor little kids take it away. We don't have any help at all, of course, so I'm the one that winds up having to clean up after her. She just sits back and expects to be praised for having a lot of children, even though she obviously doesn't give a damn about taking care of her family. Whoever said you have to have a lot of children? She really is--she's actually <u>proud</u> of having children as often as she wants. I've stopped being surprised by now, let me tell you. Just look at her! You'd feel the same way if you were in my position. She does her hair up like a fancy lady, and won't wear anything but her one decent kimono, which she's going to wear out completely. My goodness, Auntie, if she'd only take proper care of herself, she could always have clean clothes to wear, nice and crisp, fresh from the laundry. Not doing

the laundry is one thing, but sewing, too! She doesn't even know how to hold a needle. I thought that since she used to be a courtesan, she wouldn't be able to have children, and I could gradually teach her something about housework, but it turns out she really can't do a thing. Except have children, which I thought she couldn't! I can't even get her to turn a few hems to make dust cloths! Give her a needle, and she starts stabbing away with it like a tatami-maker sewing on a border strip. And oh, her mouth! She yatters on and on, with a ten-word comeback for everybody else's one. Oh, I tell you, it drives me simply mad. And listen! She grates dried bonito on lacquer trays, and knocks out her pipe on the door sills, and if she feels like taking a nap, she'll grab any old thing to use for a pillow, and fall sound asleep right in front of everybody. Sometimes she'll sit there spitting in the brazier, and rolling the gobs around in the ashes. I get so angry when I come around later and have to scoop out a bunch of little round lumps. Really, it's like spitting on hearth and home! She's started staying up late, too, and then sleeping late the morning after, so when they have people over they go on and on with their stupid stories about the theater until all hours, and so then, of course, she gets cold and wants hot noodles. She slurps them up, and then she goes to sleep and starts snoring away. Combine that with my son talking in his sleep, and her grinding her teeth, too, and it gets so

noisy I simply can't get a wink of sleep. And in the middle of all that, one of the babies will wake up and start screaming, and then all of them start crying at once. But you know, even then she won't get up. She doesn't even wake up! So there I am, night after night, in the middle of all that racket. It's just too much to take, Auntie."

"Well, nevertheless," Mrs. D. said, "as long as the two of them seem to get along, it's really none of your business. Leave them alone! You're too much of a busy-body!"

"Well, I don't care," said Mrs. C. "If a couple gets along well, they shouldn't fight, but when these two aren't having a set-to with the children, they're going at each other. Then, as if she didn't share at least part of the blame, she goes and tells him to get the hell out! She just sits there and sulks, looking superior to everybody else, and then takes it all out on some blameless thing like the lamp. Even if it's perfectly fine, not dim at all, she'll say, 'this damned light is too dim,' and give the wick a good yank, and there goes all that expensive oil! Then, of course, my son being the way he is, he flies off the handle, and grabs some pot or dish that's handy, and breaks it. It happens every time. We're some of the best customers the pottery-mender and the lacquer man have, I tell you! But really, it's a shameful sort of thing. I simply don't have a quiet moment."

"Now listen!" said Mrs. D. "It's your own fault if you waste so much energy on that kind of thing. You can have your quiet moments if you really want to, you know. Don't think about the next life--just make this one heaven itself! You upset the whole household when you let yourself get steamed up. It's no wonder you feel like you're suffering the torments of hell! Even when you watch yourself, like I do, you run the risk of being called a meddling mother-in-law. You were twenty once yourself, you know, fifty years ago. Just pretend it's fifty years ago, and you're the new bride, and treat her as if she were your mother-in-law. It'll save you a lot of trouble! If you want a peaceful household, it's best for a mother-in-law simply to beat a retreat once she's found her son a bride. Anyway, I know that once a mother-in-law opens her mouth, there's never any peace. You keep saying you want to die. Well, just tell yourself you're already dead, and none of this will bother you!"

"Auntie!" Mrs. C. cried. "Are you taking her side, too?"

"What? Who's taking sides? You're just being silly. I may be a woman, but I think like a man, and I don't like it when people are silly. Why don't you stop talking that way and try going out to a sutra dedication or something instead? It's because you're home all the time that things are so bad. Just start pounding on your gong and march right out the door--'I praise the Buddha daily, yes I do,

yes I do.'[44] You know what I mean. You'll feel incredibly much better, I promise you. You'll live forever! Just forget about all that other business. It's not doing anybody any good. My goodness! I'm cold. Are you going to leave? Why don't you drop by during the Ten Nights?[45] I'm sure a lay helper will be by with some tickets."

"Well, thank you. I think I'd like to do that," Mrs. C. replied.

"'I think I'd like to,' nothing! Just get yourself out of the house!" said Mrs. D., as she got into the tub.

* *

A married woman of about thirty, with a long upper lip and a generally refined appearance, was scrubbing her temples.

"Oh!" the woman, a Mrs. E., cried out. "Can that be Onabe? It really hasn't been very long since I've seen her, but she's grown so much, hasn't she! How old is she this year, may I ask?"

"She's eight, thank you," answered Onabe's mother, Mrs. F., laughing.

"Is this her home visit?"[46]

"Yes indeed, it is. She's been given three nights with us."

"My, isn't that splendid!" Mrs. E. exclaimed. "How wonderful for her dancing that you could get her taken

in while she was still small.. How old was she when she started?"

"She was accepted into service the fall she was five," Mrs. F. replied.

"My, that must have been difficult for you!"

"Yes, indeed. We sent her nurse with her, though, and so her apprenticeship has been going very well. Still, we are a bit concerned because she has always been a little disobedient."

"Some willfulness is perfectly all right, I'm sure. But I suppose it isn't easy for the nurse, all the same. What are the arrangements for her dancing practice, by the way?" asked Mrs. E.

"Well, of course, since we sent her into the Fujima household,[47] she can practice right there, in the compound," Mrs. F. explained.

"Ah! That's very fortunate, isn't it? I should imagine she's very good by now."

"Well, she seems to have some problems still, but the child enjoys it, so she learns quickly," said Mrs. F., and laughed politely.

"I should imagine she pesters you to take her to the theaters when she's home."

"Oh, yes. We've taken her to two already, but today we're making a temple visit. Whenever we have her home, I can't seem to apply myself to anything. I can't get any of

my chores taken care of properly. We have to take her back tomorrow, though, bright and early."

"My goodness!" said Mrs. E. "Why don't you ask for special permission for her to stay with you for a few more days? What do you think of that, Onabe? Oh ho ho ho ho. Perhaps you could come visit us. I insist! She would be a perfect playmate for our Okama."

"Well, thank you! Okama is very grown up, too. She's so good about going to her practice every day."

"Well, yes, I suppose she is, but . . . She certainly has grown, but I really can't say she's grown up! She practices, but only after I've told her to, over and over again. She's really very lazy, I'm afraid. It's true, my dear, isn't it, that without the right kind of luck it's difficult to arrange an apprenticeship. If I find a house I'd like to have accept her, they aren't willing to take her. And I always seem to have some sort of reservation about the households that do like her. My goodness, how many places we've gone for interviews! But there is always something that keeps it from working out. Oh ho ho ho ho. This sort of thing certainly keeps one busy!" said Mrs. E., laughing once more.

"Don't be concerned," Mrs. F. said. "It's all a matter of luck, so just be patient. But an apprenticeship is very much worth it, I assure you. Without really being taught manners, they just naturally learn how to behave properly. If they're at home, they simply won't straighten out, no

matter how much you scold them. But when you send them off to live in a good household, everything begins to change. And let me tell you, my dear, this household of Onabe's, I suppose because the lord's stipend is so good, is very well off. The gifts they give her, whatever, everything is quite sumptuous. And furthermore, the lady Onabe is assigned to is extremely kind. She treats her like her own child and goes to all sorts of extra trouble with her, so she's willing to work very hard. And the lord's wife has really come to be fond of her, too--instead of calling her by her name, she uses a friendly little nickname for her, 'Ochappii,' when she summons her to bring tea, and I gather she always puts in a good word for her when there are guests present. My goodness, that's kind of her! I shall never forget, as long as I live, how much we owe them for being so good about taking her in when she was still little. The only thing is, not only do they dress very elegantly there, you know, but Onabe's things that she's been wearing are getting to be too small, and we'll have to replace them all with a lot of grown-up clothes. So I have a lot of headaches still ahead of me!"

"I can well imagine!" said Mrs. E. "But you can pass her old things down, can't you, to her little sister. That way they won't go to waste. But still, that certainly is hard on her Papa's wallet! Oh ho ho ho ho. Really, you must come by for a visit. I shall have our Okama play accompaniment, and Onabe can dance. I would so love to see her."

"Well, thank you," said Mrs. F. "What do you say, young lady?"

"Thank you, Ma'm," Onabe answered.

"Okama plays the koto, doesn't she?" continued Mrs. F.

"Yes, she does. We had been having her go to Ikuta, but lately we've been able to get her in with Amata.[48] She already has her intermediate certificate, by the way."

"Really! That's wonderful. I'll tell people, if I have the chance."

"Thank you! We'd be very grateful," said Mrs. E. as they parted.

* *

Next there appeared a lady from the Kamigata region, short and pudgy, with fair skin and thick lips. The rims of her eyes were shaded with rouge, and her heavily-applied lip rouge was dark and glistening. Her thick hair pins were carefully wound with white paper to keep the steam in the bath from warping the tortoise shell of which they were made.

"My, Oyama, it's cold, isn't it?" said the Kamigata lady in a sweet voice. "You know, for some reason lately I have been having a good deal of stomach trouble. It was becoming so annoying--stomach aches night after night--that I thought perhaps coming for hot baths would help. I've been here ever so many times now. Goodness, Oyama! Look

over there! Look at the child standing next to that lady. What color is that robe of hers?"

"That?" Oyama asked. "I suppose you could call it a sky blue with crimson highlights."

"My, it's very nicely dyed, isn't it!"

"It has a sort of purplish cast to it that's very smart, don't you think?" Oyama commented.

"It certainly is very chic," said the lady from the Kamigata. "I must say, I adore the purples one sees in Edo. I would certainly like to wear something like that. Here, Oyama, turn around."

"Oh! Are you going to wash my back? Oh really, you needn't . . ."

"Now, now. It's no trouble," interrupted the Kamigata lady. "Say, you're nice and plump."

"Ooh, don't say that!" Oyama cried. "I simply loathe being fat. I would really like to go on a vinegar diet or something."

"Come, come! It's good to be a little plump, don't you think?"

"Then why do people always talk about being as slender and supple as a willow?"

"Well, they do, don't they?" said the Kamigata lady. "But I just thought they meant that sort of person couldn't stand up straight in a wind! Now, somebody like me can always win a footrace by lying down and rolling!"

"Ha ha ha ha ha," Oyama laughed. "My goodness, it's already struck ten, hasn't it?"

"What? It certainly has, and a long time ago, too. It's nearly noon."

"Really? The day seems so short, doesn't it!"

"It surely does," the lady from the Kamigata agreed. "Why don't you come home with me when we're through here and have something to eat? I've told myself a thousand times I'd like to make myself some round the way we do in the Kamigata, but my husband won't stand for it. Today I said to myself, 'I'm going to cook up some round,' and round it's going to be, for lunch."

"What in the world is 'round?'" Oyama asked.

"You people here call it snapping turtle. Wouldn't you like to try it?"

"Oh, no! I couldn't bear it!" cried Oyama. "I can't even stand to look at turtles. When you said 'round,' I pictured round things of some sort, like whole barley grains in rice or something, but you meant turtle? Ooh, that sounds awful. In Edo, you know, we call turtles 'lids.'"

"What? Lids? That's certainly silly!" said the Kamigata lady. "Why in the world do you call them lids?"

"Well, they look like lids, so they're 'lids.' Why do you call them rounds?" Oyama asked.

"Their shells are round, so we call them 'rounds.'"

"Well, that's just as far-fetched, isn't it?"

"I suppose so. Here, people always talk about 'boiled turtle,' don't they? When I thought about how you must prepare it, I realized you mean what we call koroiri[49] in the Kamigata. That's not a soup at all, for Heaven's sake! And it's too salty altogether. It's just terrible! The way we make it, it's not that tasteless sort of thing at all. You use a light soy sauce for the soup base, so it's absolutely delicious as something to eat with saké. I love it, I really do. And what you people insist on doing with eel! It's terrible--it's always so limp. If you want to know what real Kamigata eel is like, the only places to go, I suppose, are the Kami-no-Ikesu in Kyoto, and the Daishō in Ōsaka. There are a lot of other restaurants that do fresh-water fish, but I think those are the best. I think what they usually do is grill them on skewers, and then, oh yes, after they're cooked, they cut them up in small pieces for you, and serve them up on a nice covered platter, so you don't have to worry about them being cold."

"In Edo, you know," Oyama interrupted, "people aren't so stingy. Real Edo eel they plop on a plate while it's still steaming hot, and if it happens to cool off while you're still eating, you put it aside and have them cook up another serving. That's what a real native does. Some people wrap up the part that's gotten cold in bamboo leaves and say they're going to take it home to feed to the cat, but that's only the really stingy ones."

"Really? Isn't that just like you Edo people! You're actually proud of letting things go to waste. You know, in the Kamigata, they think Edo people are terrible, the way they go on and on about how wonderful it is to be from Edo. It's always bad to be so proud of yourself. That's why we say Edo people are foolish."

"Well, then I'd just as soon be foolish," said Oyama. "The best thing about Edo people is that from the day they're born till the day they die, they never leave their birthplace. People like you, you're born in Kyoto, and then live in Ōsaka or someplace, and then after you've moved all over the place, you still wind up in good old Edo. And you're still living here, aren't you? That's why we call you 'Kamigata sneaks.'"

"What's <u>that</u> supposed to mean?" the Kamigata lady asked. . . .

"It's just as well you don't know," Oyama told her. . . .[50]

"There! How do you like that?" asked the Kamigata lady.

"Ooh. Ow, ow, ow! That hurts! You got carried away and scrubbed my back so hard that it hurt. That's enough!" Oyama cried.

"Ha ha ha ha ha!" the Kamigata lady laughed. "I did get carried away, I guess! Ah, I'm tired."

"All right, now you turn around," Oyama said.

"Now, don't do anything to try to get even!" the Kamigata lady said warily. "How's this, Oyama? Ooh! Ouch! Don't be mean! Really, if it's too much trouble, you don't have to. Oww! What are you doing? I can't stand pain. I have a moxa burn back there, besides. Just rinse me off! Ouch, ouch, ouch!"

* *

A young nursemaid, having for a time given over the care of her mistress' child to another, sat near the clothes lockers. She had spread out a child's kimono, and was picking lice from it. Near her was playing a group of four or five little girls about five years old, led by another girl of six or seven. They had set up a little folding screen made of shells, a souvenir of Enoshima,[51] and on top of a small incense box had spread out a doll's clothes. One doll they had covered with a quilt and put to sleep, but they had others to play with: a "big sister" doll made of bundled grass, a young woman with a full Shimada hairdo made of tightly crinkled paper, a middle-aged lady with her hair in a simple round bun, a woman with a "quick Shimada," and another "big sister," this one with her hair simply pinned up. Using matchsticks for hair ornaments, and scraps of red hairdressing ribbon for sashes, they were playing house and bickering with each other.

"There, little Bō," a little girl named Oharu was saying. "Be a good girl and go to sleep. When you get up in

the morning, I'll give you a sweet potato before breakfast. Oh, oh! Are you awake again? Why don't you go to sleep? Onatsu! Onatsu! (Oh, no! She's supposed to be the lady next door!) My, my. Our little girl, you know, is driving me simply mad with her crying!"

"Well," Onatsu answered, "then you should give her a moxa treatment."

"Perhaps we should. Ooh, Bō! That's scary! Moxa! Isn't that scary? Now why don't you just hurry up and go to sleep? Ooh, the bogey man's coming! There. Bō's gone to sleep!"

Among the girls was a nasty one, roundly disliked, the sort of girl who made the younger ones cry, and started fights between children who had previously been getting along happily together. The girl was universally acknowledged to be a chatterbox, and was known as "Oniku with the big pockmarks;" but she was the leader of this little group of girls.

Wiping some greenish mucus from under her nose with a sideways flick of her hand, then wiping it on her lap, Oniku cried out, "Hey! Hey! I don't like that. I don't like that! You're so selfish, Oharu. <u>You</u> aren't a housewife. Onatsu and me are the mothers, and you're the maid. Isn't that right, Oaki?"

"Wishy-washy Oaki" was the one most eager to please among the girls. "She's right, Onatsu," she said.

Onatsu, the cleverest among them, hesitated: "Oh, really? I don't know a thing about it."

"No, no, no!" Oharu protested. "That's not the way it was! We decided before that I was supposed to be a housewife. This isn't any fun. I'm not going to play with you."

Ofuyu, a "two-faced sticking plaster" who always tried to see both sides, said, "All right. Who cares? We don't mind if you don't play, do we, Oniku?"

"You're right," Oniku said. "I don't care at all."

"Oharu, why don't you just be patient and play with us?" Onatsu urged. "Even if you're the maid for a while, we'll all take turns, so it'll be all right. You can be a housewife later."

"No!" Oharu cried. "That's just what Oniku and Ofuyu were saying!"

"What did I say?" Ofuyu asked.

"You <u>did</u>! You said--" Oharu started to reply.

"All right. Forget it. We don't care about somebody like her," Oniku intervened.

"Okay, then you can give back what I gave you," said Oharu.

"Here! You can have it. Why would I need a dirty old thing like that, anyway?" said Oniku as she tossed back a little scrap of gold brocade.

"And Ofuyu can just give back what I gave <u>her</u> before, too!" Oharu said.

"All right," said Ofuyu, and pulled something from her sleeve, bringing with it some bits of sleeve lint. "What did you think I wanted an old samisen string for, anyway? Isn't that so, Oniku?"

"Okay. From now on, if you ever ask me for anything, I won't give it to you. I don't care!" said Oharu.

"Nyaah, nyaah, nyaaah!" Oniku said, pushing her face forward and scowling.

"Quit being mean!" Oharu cried.

"Crabby old lady, crabby old lady!" Oniku and Ofuyu chanted. "Rob-bers, rob-bers, robbers everywhere this year!"

"When was I ever a robber?" asked Oharu.

"Granny's got no teeth, let her drink some tea! Granny's got no teeth, let her drink some tea!" the other two taunted.

"Even if I didn't have any teeth I still wouldn't take anything from you!" Oharu said, pushing her lips into a pout. "Come here, Oaki! I'll give you this cloth!"

"Thank you very much," said Oaki.

"Let's just us play together," Oharu suggested. "Shall we play house?"

"Okay."

"Look at that!" Oniku interrupted. "That stupid Oaki! Onatsu and Ofuyu, don't you go over there. Play with me. What shall we do?"

"Um. Let's play bounce the ball," Ofuyu suggested.

"Good. Now we can play house together by ourselves," Oaki said.

"That's right. We don't want to play with those dummies anyway, do we, Oaki?" agreed Oharu.

"Oka-a-ay!" Ofuyu called out. "We're going to play ball! Let's go!"

"Let's be friends. It's not worth fighting about," Onatsu interrupted.

"All right," said Oniku. "Sing please. Everybody sings. 'One-two, three-four, five-six, seven-eight, nine and ten and twen-ty, thir-ty, for-ty, fif-ty, six-ty, seven-ty, eight-y, nine-ty-nine-and-luck-be-mine, right be-fore your eyes--a hundred!' Okay, now I bounce the ball. 'One-two, three-four, five-six'--oops! I dropped it . . ."

The girls finally chose their turns.

"All right, you're first, and I'm second. Ofuyu goes third," Onatsu announced.

"Hmm. Which one shall we do?" Oniku asked herself. "I know. I'll do 'By the Great Gate,' okay? 'By the Great Gate, Teahouse Lane. Mi-ura, Taka-ura, Kome-ya-no-kimi. See the girls, on parade, pretty, pretty, pretty. . . ."[52]

"There! That's a hundred!" Oniku finally cried.

"Ah! You dropped it! Now I'll do 'Faces White,'" said Onatsu. "'Fa-ces white. White, white, white. Okoma of the Shi-ro-ki-ya. . . .'"[53]

"You dropped it!" Ofuyu cried. "'E-E-Enshū, pret-ty ba-by. . . .'[54] Ah, phooey! I dropped it. That makes me mad."

"This is fun, isn't it?" Oharu was saying to Oaki.

"Why don't you just shut up, you babies!" Oniku barked out. Turning back to Onatsu, she said, "Now listen, this time let's do 'Kyō-Kyō-Kyōbashi, Nan-Nan-Nakahashi,' you know? That song."

"Okay. That's a good one," Onatsu replied.

In the meantime, the other two girls were playing "Neighbors."

"Oh! How nice of you to come by. My, my. Come in, come in!" Oaki answered.

"I have some red bean rice[55] here. It's nothing, really, but I'd like you to have it."

"Why, you've done a lovely job with it!"

"Please--I hope you'll want to eat a lot of it," Oharu said. She had slid her sash around, and tied a stuffed monkey to her back, to which she now began to sing a lullaby. "My Bō is something of a crybaby," she finally said. "I hope she won't bother you. Hmm. Why don't I go take you up to see the hill, Bō, and let you go pee-pee? Oh, look! The hill is just covered with trees and flowers, isn't it? There we go! Good! Let's cross the bridge. Boom, boom, boom! All right, this is where we turn around after we see the hill. Good, Bō! Do a good job--pss-s-s-s . . ."

"Oharu? I mean--neighbor? Did you go home?"

"No! We haven't gone home yet! We're up on the hill, flower-viewing!"

Oniku, still playing ball, glanced over at the others. "Just look at that," she exclaimed. "Nyaah, nyaah! Look at the little girl pretending she's a mommy! Look, Ofuyu--she busted off some broom straws to use for chopsticks, and now she's got a cup of dirt and she's pretending it's 'wed bean wice.' Aww! Hey, Mommy! Dat's a tewwible thing fow 'oo to do!" Thrusting out her lips, she imitated the smaller girl.

The young nursemaid, unable to sit by and watch any longer, finally broke in: "Now, Oniku, don't be nasty. You always tease the little ones. Why don't you all make up and play nicely together? The reason you get into fights is because you play separately. Play together!"

"All right," cried Oharu and Oaki.

"Who needs your advice?" Oniku said. "It's none of your business, you bitch!"

"What? What a disgusting child! That's why the boys always pick on you. You're exactly what people mean when they talk about nasty little girls."

"Well, so I'm nasty. So what!" Oniku snapped back. "Ptoo!" She spit at the nursemaid, ran three steps toward the door, and burst into tears. She ran off for home at top speed, but stopped crying on the way. When she turned the corner into the alley where her house was located, however, she started wailing once more.

Back at the bathhouse, Oharu was saying, "Why doesn't everybody come back to my house?"

"Yeah, let's go!" Onatsu agreed.

"Oharu? Can I be your friend, too?" Ofuyu asked.

"Sure. You come, too."

So it was that Two-faced Ofuyu, Wishy-washy Oaki, Clever Onatsu, and Silly Oharu raised their voices in squawky unison: "'Home we go,' cried the frogs, 'go-HOME, go-HOME! Home we go, go-HOME.'"[56]

Translator's Note

The following notes to the translation are based unless otherwise indicated on the annotations to the relevant passages in the two principal modern editions of Ukiyoburo, those edited by Jinbō Kazuya (Kadokawa Shoten, Kadokawa bunko no. 2497, 1968), cited in the notes as "Jinbō, UB," and Nakamura Michio, Nihon koten bungaku taikei series, no. 63 (Iwanami Shoten, 1957), hereafter cited as "Nakamura, UB." Abbreviated citations of these editions that contain no page numbers are meant to refer to the annotations to the original corresponding to the English version.

I have not specified my sources for basic definitions and identifications of people, places, and things, which consist mostly of the standard reference works--dictionaries, biographical and literary dictionaries, encyclopedias and the like--that are used by any translator or student of premodern Japanese literature. I have, of course, noted sources for other than such basic information.

Kanji have been supplied in the notes only where they seem necessary to clarify the nature of puns or to identify authors and works cited; they do not appear after common Japanese words cited in romanization, the names of major authors and historical figures, or the titles of works that are either very well known or only indirectly relevant to an understanding of Ukiyoburo.

Notes to "The Men's Bath" (I:1)

1. Jinbō, UB, p. 359, notes that this passage, like many other briefer ones in this introduction, paraphrases the introduction to Santō Kyōden's kibyōshi, [Kengu] Irikomi sentō shinwa [賢愚] 湊銭湯新話 (1802), which he and earlier scholars have identified as a major literary source or inspiration for Ukiyoburo. I have not specifically identified every such echo of Kyōden's work, since the subject is exhaustively treated in Jinbō's notes.

2. Oshii mo hoshii mo nishi no umi ("regret and desire to the Western Sea"): a phrase commonly used in purification ceremonies.

3. Gonsuke and Osan were personal names often used as synonyms for "male servant" and "female servant" respectively.

4. Yokuaka 欲垢 : a pun on yokuaku 欲悪 , "evil of greed."

5. A satirical allusion to a passage that appears in Gobunshō 御文章 (or Ofumi 御文), a popular collection of didactic letters addressed to his parishioners by the priest Rennyo 蓮如 (1415-1499), a major figure in the fifteenth-century revival of the Jodō Shinsū sect: "cheeks reddened with makeup in the morning turn to white bones by nightfall." This line appears in the letter dated the middle of the ninth month, 1473. See Sugiura Minpei 杉浦明平 Sengoku ransei no bungaku 戦国乱世の文学 (Iwanami Shoten, Iwanami shinsho no. 557, 1965), pp. 71-96, for a discussion of Rennyo and his writings and the text of this letter.

6. This passage contains a pun on shōji 生死 , "life and death," and shōji 障子 , "paper-covered door."

7. Me ni mienu onikami: a phrase from the introduction to the Kokinshū by Ki no Tsurayuki (likewise takeki mononou, "fierce warrior," above), in which the claim is made that poetry soothes all such untamables. See Saeki Umetomo 佐伯梅友, ed., Kokinwakashū 古今和歌集 , Nihon koten bungaku taikei series, no. 8 (Iwanami Shoten, 1958), p. 93.

8. "Yajirō in the thicket" refers to someone who indulges in private in disreputable behavior. Jinbō, UB, cites a proverb, "usotsuki Yajirō yabu no naka de he o hitta" ("the liar Yajirō farted in the thicket").

9. A short passage has been omitted here, since it consists of untranslatable punning allusions to popular medicines advertised on placards displayed at the entrance to the bathhouse.

10. Rules governing the operation of the bathhouse were posted near the entrance. A typical list of such rules dating probably from the Tenpō era (1830-1843) is reprinted in Kitagawa Kisō 喜田川季荘, Morisada mankō 守貞漫稿, ed. Muromatsu Iwao 室松岩雄 (Enomoto Shobō, 1927), part 2, p. 209, and reproduced in Nakamura, UB, p. 309.

11. The bathhouse closed early during periods of strong winds as a precaution against the spread of fire. See Kitagawa, Morisada mankō, part 2, p. 205.

12. An allusion to the proverb "kōkai hozo o kamu" ("regret gnaws at the navel"), which according to Nakamura, UB, is based in turn on a passage in the Taiheiki.

13. Kumiai gyōji: an office rotated on a periodic basis among the leading members of a merchant guild whose duties were to represent the guild in official matters and to govern its internal affairs.

14. 1809.

15. 1769-1825. Ukiyo-e artist and book illustrator who illustrated many of Sanba's works. For Sanba's relations with Toyokuni and other artists, see Chapter III above.

16. Sanshōtei Karaku (? -1833). Active in the revival of the art of rakugo in the Bunka and Bunsei eras. Said to have originated the form of rakugo known as sandaibanashi ("three-topic stories") in which the storyteller improvises a comic routine based on three topics provided by members of the audience. For Sanba's connections with the world of rakugo, see Chapter IV above.

17. An allusion to a passage from Lun-heng, 論衡 a Han dynasty moral treatise by Wang Ch'ung 王充 (A.D. 27-96): "In a peaceful realm, one day of wind in five, one day of rain in ten." (Quoted in Jinbō, UB.)

18. See note 11 above.

19. New Year's housecleaning: susu-barai ("soot-sweeping"), a ritual housecleaning carried out on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month to mark the beginning of preparations for the New Year's celebrations; one of a number of festival days throughout the year on which patrons were expected to make a special "gift" to the bathhouse of twelve mon in lieu of the regular fee. Five impurities (gojin): pollutions of

the flesh arising from sexual desire, speech, and the senses of smell, taste, and touch.

20. Six passions (rokuyoku): desires or cravings arising from the "six roots" of desire, the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and will. Gift Day bath (moraiyu): on the sixteenth day of the first and seventh months, the bathhouse receipts went not to the proprietor but to the bathhouse servants as a sort of bonus. Kitagawa, Morisada mankō, part 2, p. 205.

21. The man uses the jōruri slang word for "bath," taroku. The woman refers to the bathhouse as yūya, rather than the formally correct yuya. Kitagawa, Morisada mankō, part 2, p. 203, suggests that yūya was not, perhaps, a particularly feminine affectation, as this passage might suggest, but rather the standard Edo pronunciation of the word.

22. The apprentice reads the characters 現金場, usually read genkin'yu, as genkintō; the reference is to the fee paid in cash on a daily basis by patrons who did not make arrangements to pay on a periodic, flat-rate basis. The young scholar reads as fuyu o shinobu yu ("bath of longing for winter") the characters 忍冬湯, usually read suikazurayu ("honeysuckle or woodbine bath"), meaning a medicinal bath in which suikazura has been steeped.

23. Jinbō, UB, p. 363, explains that this allusion is to the story, contained in Book 35 of the Taiheiki, of Aoto Fujitsuna, who, upon dropping a ten-mon coin in the Nameri River one night, spends fifty mon on torches so that his retainers can dive in and search for it in the dark.

24. The preceding passage is here rendered more logical than the original, which consists of a series of free associations based on the fees listed on the signboard. In Theravada Buddhism, the sixteen rakan (Chinese lo-han, Sanskrit arhat, arahat) were "worthies" who had reached enlightenment by following others' teachings.

25. In the jōruri play Kanadehon chūshingura, En'ya Hangan is forced to commit seppuku as punishment for drawing his sword against the evil Kō no Moronao, who has been attempting to seduce Hangan's wife. See Donald Keene, Chūshingura: The Treasury of Loyal Retainers (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).

26. A reference to the Lun-yü (Analects) of Confucius, 4.25: "Virtue will not be alone, but will always have a neighbor (companion)."

27. Sanskrit Pindola, chief among the arhats (see note 24). In Japanese folk belief, images of Binzuru had curative powers if rubbed. (Hence Sanba's reference below to salve.) The bathhouse master's customary seat was on a raised platform just inside the street door of the bathhouse. See diagram in Kitagawa, Morisada mankō, part 2, p. 207.

28. The bathhouse rented out for a nominal fee rough cloth bags into which the bather poured rice bran or a mixture of bran and soap powder. (Kitagawa, Morisada mankō, part 2, p. 212.) The natural oils contained in rice bran were regarded as good for the complexion. The rice-bran scrubbing bag (nukabukuro) has been nearly superseded by soap and other cosmetic cleansers, but is still used, likewise because of the oils it contains, to scrub and polish fine wood floors. See Miyao Shigeo 宮尾しげを and Kimura Sen'hide 木村仙秀 Edo shomin no fūzokushi 江戸庶民の風俗誌 (Chiba Shuppan, division of Tenbōsha, 1970), pp. 212-15.

29. The passage alludes to the Book of Rites (Li-chi), which prohibits the mixing of the sexes after the age of seven, and to a passage in Mencius (T'ang Wen Kung, 1.4) that prescribes a separation of function between man and wife.

30. According to folk tradition, Empress Kōmyō, consort to Emperor Shōmu (reigned 724-749), as a way of demonstrating her evenhanded regard for high and low alike, personally bathed and scrubbed a thousand of her subjects. The thousandth to appear was a particularly loathsome, pus-covered old beggar. The Empress cleaned his sores and bathed him, whereupon he revealed himself to be an incarnation of the Buddha Ashuku (Sans. Aksobhya).

31. One of the six manifestations of Kannon, the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara.

32. The title of a nagauta song first performed on the kabuki stage in 1756.

33. In kabuki, "a dynamic, often tempestuous, exit on the hanamichi by a major character (very occasionally entrance as well); literally, 'six directions' movement." (James R. Brandon, Kabuki: Five Classic Plays, [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975], p. 367.)

34. Likely a reference to the "Sumō Scene" (Sumō no dan) of the jōruri play by Chikamatsu Hanji entitled Sekitori senryōnobori 関取千両幟 , first performed in 1767.

35., 36. Fixed, conventional lines often heard in "old" (pre-Chikamatsu) jōruri.

37. A variety of Edo jōruri song, also known as Katō-bushi, that reached its height of popularity in the Jōkyō and Genroku eras (1684-1703).

38. A variety of nagauta music used in Kabuki "to accompany tender scenes in which a female character mimes, without dialogue, her state of mind." (Brandon, Kabuki, p. 365.)

39. A type of folk song that accompanied the folk dance known as the Ise-odori; it originated in the late Muromachi period and spread throughout Japan.

40. Neither Jinbō nor Nakamura cites a source for this particular song. Its refrain consists of nonsense syllables ("Hi, hey, ho!") that mark it as a rollicking little tune, however.

41. A line from the Nō play Shōjō 猩々 , part of the waki's nanori, or self-introduction.

42. This onomatopoetic rendering of the sound of a samisen puns on the verb neru, "to lie down, go to sleep," which fills out the progression, "some sit, some stand."

43. Yu iru (yumi iru) 弓射る , "shoot with bow and arrow;" yu (ni) iru 湯(に)入る, "enter the bath." Kitagawa, Morisada mankō, part 2, p. 204, reproduces a drawing of a similar sign representing a drawn bow and arrow. The same drawing appears in Ishii Ryōsuke 石井良助 Edo no yūjo sono ta 江戸の遊女その他 (Shiji Nippōsha Shuppankyoku, 1971), p. 76.

44. Presumably a nickname: buta ("pig") plus shichi ("seven").

45. This was apparently a kind of palsy or paralysis with a sudden onset, resembling that caused by a stroke. (Jinbō, UB.)

46. In Butashichi's speeches, Sanba tries to reproduce as accurately as possible, within the limits of the kana orthography, the speech of a semi-paralytic. This sentence, for instance, reads in the original, "Oya, ma-mada akane, akane, akane ka? A-aiyane na beyabo da ze!" In passages like this, where dialect or individual speakers' idiosyncrasies make the transcription difficult to understand, Sanba thoughtfully provides, to the left of each line of text, kanji or kana as needed to elucidate the meaning of particularly unintelligible phrases, allowing the reader

to reconstruct their meaning. In this case, Butashichi's speech would read, in standard Edo dialect, "Oya, mada akanē ka? Asane na berabō da ze!"

47. Hōo no bebe: "clothes of a phoenix." Hōō was a slang word for "courtesan," bebe a baby word for "clothing." The speaker here is presumably making ironic reference to the shabbiness of the other's appearance.

48. The victim of the taunt is presumably pockmarked. The original refers to a kanagashira, "gurnard," a fish evidently regarded as being particularly ugly. As the gurnard (or gurnet) is not a well-known fish in the West, and is certainly not a common metaphor for ugliness, I have substituted "pig." The point of the remark is that the owner of the face looks so much like a gurnard that he should by rights be paid for its use by the fish. The association here of a pockmarked face and noselessness no doubt suggests syphilis.

49. A shrine to Konpira (the Hindu demon-god Kumbhira), located in modern Kagawa Prefecture on the island of Shikoku. Konpira was usually worshipped in Japan as a patron deity of sailors.

50. The reference is to the Myōshōji, a temple in Hori-no-uchi, a neighborhood in Suginami-ku, a ward in the western suburbs of modern Tokyo.

51. Also known as niwaka kyōgen, one of the several varieties of comic storytelling entertainments popular in the Edo period. Puns and wordplay figured more heavily in niwaka than in the similar but more sophisticated rakugo; both forms closed the story with an ochi, or punch line, but the ochi in niwaka almost always involved a pun. The small theaters (yose) in which niwaka and other such arts were performed were concentrated in the Asakusa area of Edo, not far from the Yoshiwara licensed quarter.

52. Pomegranate door: zakuroguchi 石榴口, a small, low opening at the rear of the dressing room by which one entered the bathroom (yushitsu) proper. The origin of the name is said to lie in a pun on the verb kagamiiru, "to stoop to enter," since the juice of the pomegranate was used in polishing bronze mirrors (kagami). Kitagawa, Morisada mankō, part 2, p. 208, furnishes a drawing of an Edo-style zakuroguchi.

53. Ishikawa Goemon (1558-1594) was a famous bandit who was captured and boiled to death in a large cauldron. His story was popularized in jōruri and kabuki plays, and his name came to be associated with a type of round bathtub

(goemon-buro) with a curved, cast-iron bottom directly under which the fire was laid and to which was attached a barrel-like upper part made of wooden staves. The bather was protected from the hot iron bottom by a floating wooden grill that he pushed down beneath himself as he stepped into the tub.

54. Honjo Yoshida-chō, a neighborhood in modern Sumida-ku frequented in Sanba's day by low-class streetwalkers. Neither Nakamura nor Jinbō cites a source for Butashichi's song.

55. The retired gentleman quotes a ditty by which the weather may be predicted according to the hour at which an earthquake occurs. I have converted the old Japanese hours to their approximate modern equivalents. For another contemporary version of the ditty, and speculations on its origins in Chinese astrological theories, see Yamazaki Yoshinari 山崎美成, Kairoku 海錄, Hayakawa Junzaburō 早川純三郎, ed. (Kokusho Kankōkai, 1916), pp. 172-73.

56. Pinsuke confuses the retired gentleman's earthquake ditty with a similar one by which one computes the number of one's souls according to which of the five elements (wood, fire, earth, metal, water) appeared in the cyclical designation of the year of one's birth. Jinbō, UB, finds the song quoted in full in Santō Kyōden's kibyōshi of 1790, Shingaku hayasomegusa; it appeared also in Sanba's earliest work, Tentō ukiyo no dezukai (see Chapter II, above).

57. The original reads, "wind if six or two," allowing a confusion between kaze, "wind," and kaze, "common cold."

58. Saké shops would deliver wine on order, then send a shopboy around later to collect the empty bottles.

59. The Tokuganji was a temple located in modern Chiba Prefecture. The Ten Nights (o-jūya) was a period set aside for special devotions by members of the Pure Land Sect, when worshippers would spend the ten lays and nights between the sixth and the fifteenth days of the tenth lunar month reading sutras and chanting the nenbutsu, a prayer invoking the name of Amida.

60. An alternate name for the Buddha Amida.

61. The priest has altered the usual unflattering proverb, bōzu marumōke, "priests make all the money," to asabōzu marumōke "priest in the morning, make all the money."

62. Bō 坊 , literally "priest," was a common affectionate nickname or diminutive suffix for little girls' names.

63. A line from a children's play song.

64. A town now part of the northern suburbs of Tokyo.

65. Well-known restaurant-teahouses (ryōrijaya), both dating from 1799, and located by the entrance to the Inari Shrine in Ōji.

66. The road to the Yoshiwara licensed quarter, so called because the quarter then was surrounded by rice fields.

67. Sanba perhaps had in mind the Yamaguchi-Tomoeya, a hikitejaya ("guide teahouse") located in Edo-chō 1-chōme in the Yoshiwara, which appears in the 1819 edition of a popular Yoshiwara guidebook, Tōto Yoshiwara saiken no zu 東都吉原細見の図 (Tsutaya Jūzaburō), p. 2.

68. From the jōruri play Hiragana seisuiki by Takeda Izumo I, first performed in Osaka in 1739.

69. A troll-like creature that lives in streams and rivers.

70. Lice are likely the bugs (chīchī in baby talk) referred to.

71. The pounding of the drum in this children's song is probably a playful allusion to search parties (see note 85 below); the dog, perhaps, has run off.

72. The Japanese board game, played with round black and white stones on a square ruled grid.

73. The doctor's speech includes a playful use of language, if not quite a pun: "Isejū no shujin, Abuhachi no Tarōbei naru mono, onoono goshukkai ka na. Iwayuru gogataki naru mono de arōte, hahhahhahha." He juxtaposes goshukkai, "(honorific) encounter, confrontation, battle," with gogataki, "opponent in go," but literally, "go-enemy." The doctor calls attention to what he considers to be a clever association of "confrontation" and "enemy" by his use of iwayuru, here, "what might be called."

74. The doctor's affectation is his overuse of the pretentious and redundant naru mono, literally, "the thing or person that is," or "the thing or person called."

75. The three physicians have affected professional names borrowed from famous Chinese physicians. Chūkei 仲景 : from Chang Chung-ching 張仲景 , Han dynasty; Sonhaku 孫邈 : from Sun Ssu-miao 孫思邈 , T'ang dynasty; Tankei 丹溪 : from Chu Chen-liao 朱震亨 , Yuan dynasty.

76. T'ang dynasty treatises by Wang Tao 王燾 and Sun Ssu-miao, respectively.

77. Sanba here executes a satiric triple play, having the physician Takuan voice an attack on doctors in general for their pretensions and shallow grasp of their art, mocking Takuan himself for his own sense of superiority over his fellow charlatans, and expressing his distaste for scholars of Chinese and their arrogant condescension and windy exegeses of Chinese texts. Takuan puns on the traditional Japanese reading of a well-known poem by Po Chü-yi and turns it into a nonsensical medical diagnosis by exploiting the tendency of a Chinese text to become a gibberish of homonyms when read in Japanese. The original poem, with one possible Japanese reading of it and a literal translation, is as follows:

人雪 Yuki wa gamō ni nite The snow resembles goosedown,
複似
鶴鵞 tonde sanran shi flying, swirling down.
老毛
立飛 Hito wa kakushō o kite A man dons a feather cloak,
雑散
恒乱 tatte haikai su. rises, and wanders about.

Takuan's fictitious doctor's misinterpretation of the poem rests on puns between yuki ("snow") and iki 息 ("breath"); gamō ("goose feathers") and gabō 鵞棒 ("geese flying in a straight line"); kakushō ("crane-feather cloak") and kakushō 膈症 ("pain in the gullet," here likely a cancer); tatte ("stand up and . . .") and tatte 達って ("at all costs, in spite of everything"); haikai su ("wander aimlessly") and haikai su 俳諧す ("compose comic linked verse"). The original poem appears in Japanese in the Nō play Hachigi 鉢木 and subsequently was used elsewhere as an object of parody. See Jinbō, UB, for examples.

78. Takuan makes another little joke, alluding to the rule of haikai composition that prohibited the use of the same word in successive verses of a sequence.

79. Takuan's doctor insists on referring to chicken eggs as keiran, the Sino-Japanese reading of the characters 鶏卵 , usually read tamago, and then directs his patient to eat ahiru ran あひる卵 , combining incongruously (and ignorantly) the Japanese word for "duck" with the

Sino-Japanese reading of the character for "egg," instead of saying simply ahiru no tamago.

80. The Major Counsellor Fujiwara no Narimichi (d. ca. 1159), noted for his skill at kemari, the kickball game played by members of the Court.

81. Li Li-weng 李笠翁 : writer and painter of the late Ming and early Ch'ing. Ku Yen-wu 顧炎武 : Ch'ing scholar and philosopher. Huang T'ing-chien 黃庭堅 (1045-1105), Su Tung-p'o 蘇東坡 (1037-1101), Lu Yu 陸游 (1125-1209): major poets of the Sung dynasty.

82. The same concept appears in a senryū cited by Jinbō, UB: "kofū naru otoko fundoshi ago de shime" ("The old-fashioned man ties his loincloth with his chin."). The reference, Jinbō believes, is to the old-fashioned loincloth made of a single narrow width of fabric six shaku (approx. six feet) in length.

83. Jinbō, UB, p. 365, following Kitagawa, Morisada mankō, part 1, p. 187 (see also ibid., pp. 194-95, not cited by Jinbō), explains that Hachibei, who in the original imitates the beggar's cry ("sorya 'maku maku yo, Tennō-sama wa' to iu nari da ne!"), is referring to a particular kind of beggar associated with Shintō shrines whose modus operandi was first to gather a group of neighborhood children around him with promises of charms ("maku maku yo!") to those who made enough of a stir, because "the King of Heaven likes noise" ("Tennō-sama wa hayasu ga osuki"). Surrounded by his claque of greedy young admirers, the beggar then proceeded from door to door seeking alms.

84. Ebisu-kō: a festival in honor of Ebisu, one of the seven gods of wealth, celebrated in merchant homes on the twelfth day of the tenth month, and marked usually by sumptuous parties for family, employees, and friends.

85. Literally, "search with bell and drum." Search parties organized to find lost children would comb the neighborhood to the accompaniment of a lively clatter of gongs and drums, which presumably would attract small children.

86. Matsuemon is confusing two separate tales from the Chinese collection Erh-shih-ssu hsiao 二十四孝 ("Twenty-four cases of filial piety"), which was widely read (and parodied) throughout the Edo period. In the first tale, Meng Tsung's aged father is seized by a desire for fresh bamboo shoots in the dead of winter; Meng Tsung's filial piety is rewarded when Heaven allows him to find bamboo shoots growing (unnaturally) in the snow. In the second tale, Kuo Ch'en is too poor to care for his parents. In

order to reduce the number of mouths he must feed, he decides to bury his children alive, and in the process of digging their intended grave unearths a golden pot.

87. On Sansuke's name, see note 22 to "The Women's Bath," below.

88., 89. Both varieties of metamorphosis were apparently items of folk belief.

90. Teikin ōrai 庭訓往来, a primer in epistolary format dating from the fourteenth or early fifteenth century but still widely used in the Edo period.

91. Imagawa Ryōshun 今川了俊 (1326- ?) was a general and poet; author of numerous poetic treatises and didactic works, among them Imagawa jō 今川状 (1412), a textbook still used in the temple schools (terakoya) of the Edo period.

92. The first two days of the new year were devoted to ritual observances and formal visiting; the third was devoted to less formal revels.

93. Sansuke puns on the idiom "yoku no kawa ga tsuppatte iru," "skin of greed is stretched tight" ("bursting with greed"), by saying "yoku no kawa o hippatte," "stripping off the skin of greed," and uses the dialect word kowai (for standard katai) in both its senses, "chewy" and "difficult." (Compare English "tough.")

94. This exchange appears in the original as:

Speaker A: " . . . 'Natamame' to kata e kaku ga ii." ("You should write 'horse beans' on his shoulder.")

B: "Sore koso hayauchikata daa!" ("That's for angina pectoris!")

The exchange involves several puns. Speaker A is offering sincere if confused advice, since it was believed that having someone eat natamame ("horse beans," written "sword beans" 刀豆) would indicate whether or not a fit was epileptic in nature. Speaker B pretends kata e kaku refers not to writing on someone's shoulder, but rather to using someone's back as a makeshift writing desk when one is pressed for time. "Being hurried" suggests the adjective hayai, which in turn suggests hayauchikata, "quick stab in the shoulder" or "angina pectoris." The uchi ("stab") of hayauchikata in turn refers back to the "sword" of "sword beans." I have substituted a less elaborate English pun for this untranslatable bit of word play.

95. The speaker imitates the sound of a search party. See note 85 above.

96. For the verb agaru, "rise," used idiomatically to mean "pass out" or "be dizzy" in the phrase ike (yuke) ni agaru, "pass out in the steam," Butashichi substitutes sagaru, "descend," to indicate that he has regained consciousness, thus making a (likely unintentional) play on words.

97. The "pot man" (yakitsugi, "pottery mender") was an itinerant mender of earthenware and porcelain. The request that he fix a water urn (mizukame) is clearly a joke, and he reacts to it as such, since a yakitsugi repaired only small pieces of crockery, and the mizukame was a very large earthenware storage vessel.

98. Nagashi: a slotted wooden platform upon which bathers stood while drying themselves.

99. Evidently the first line of a popular song; both Nakamura and Jinbō offer a second line, without citing a source: "Warera wa rinki de ki no yamai," "We were sick at heart with jealousy."

100. In the previous paragraph, the old man suggests "sinking down toward the hot water pipe" (teppō no hō e shizumu), where teppō, "rifle, musket," was the term applied to the pipe that circulated hot water from the boiler into the bath. (See Kitagawa, Morisada mankō, part 2, p. 218.) In this paragraph, the speaker uses teppō in its meaning of "cheap whorehouse," turning teppō e shizumu into "submerge oneself in a cheap whorehouse." Since the teppō houses charged on the basis of short periods of time, to "submerge" or stay for a long time meant a larger bill; hence the later reference to "duns" (tsukinma), who would be set upon a customer who overstayed his resources.

101. "Omē atsukaa kō no mono o hitokire irete kakimawashi nē:" the reference is to the custom of finishing a meal with a rice bowl of hot water; the bowl is cleaned and the water cooled by swishing around in it a slice of pickled vegetable with one's chopsticks. The speaker clearly intends a lewd interpretation of his words.

102. A line from a popular song derived from Act 10 of Kanadehon chūshingura. See Keene, Chūshingura, p. 163.

103. Jinbō and Nakamura both offer the following as the next line of this song, evidently an example of Itako-bushi (see next note): "Take no hashira ni kaya no yane, kocha ito yasenu" ("with bamboo for pillars, reeds for a roof, I shall not hunger").

104. A popular song form based on a folk song from Itako in modern Ibaragi Prefecture that first became popular in Edo during the Meiwa era (1764-1771).

105. "Oi, shizuka ni shi nē, samisen haneraa!:" "Hey, quiet down! Your samisen is splashing!" (Haneru: splash, usually applied to water; here, the sense is something like, "you're getting samisen all over everything.")

106. A brief passage is omitted here as untranslatable. It consists of a brief exchange of puns based on genitals and the names of pieces and moves used in shōgi, a chess-like game. The common word for testicles, kintama, allows for many variations on the themes of gold and money (kin) and balls, jewels, and spirit or soul (tama).

107. Saikoku 西国 : Here the term probably refers to the southwestern island of Kyūshū, then as now a notorious breeding ground for ignorant rustics (eclipsed in recent years in the popular mind, perhaps, by the Tōhoku region of northern Japan).

108. Allusion to the past and present custom among bathers of putting the small scrap of toweling used for both washing and (after a fashion) drying the body on top of the head while soaking in the tub, in order both to keep track of it and to keep any traces of soap or grime from polluting the bath water. More modest and less fastidious moderns, however, often float the towel discreetly over the pubic region.

109. The area around Osaka and Kyoto.

110. The man from Kamigata puns untranslatably on the proverb "futoshita koto de mokke no saiwai," "unexpected good fortune comes suddenly:" for futoshita ("sudden"), fundoshita (fundoshi: "loincloth"); for mokke ("unexpected"), mokko (a kind of straw basket from which the name for a loincloth with string ties--mokkofundoshi--is derived). The resulting "proverb," "fundoshita koto de mokko no saiwai," makes no sense in Japanese, let alone English.

Notes to "The Women's Bath" (II:1)

1. This portion of the translation corresponds to Jinbō, UB, pp. 95-138, and Nakamura, UB, pp. 109-40.

2. A reference to the great fire of the first month of the sixth year of Bunka (1809), which destroyed a large portion of the Ryōgoku and Nihonbashi districts of Edo, including the establishment of Ishiwata Heihachi, publisher of "The Men's Bath." See note 11 below.

3. It was the custom, on the fourth or fifth day of the fifth month, to bathe in water in which leaves of the shōbu plant had been steeped (Kitagawa, Morisada mankō, part 2, p. 205). There is a good deal of confusion, among both English translators and the Japanese themselves, over botanical niceties concerning the shōbu. The term is often used interchangeably with ayame, which is written with the same characters (菖蒲). While both the ayame and the hanashōbu, or flowering shōbu, resemble the iris, they are botanically distinct both from each other and from the iris known in the West. There is a further distinction between the hanashōbu and the shōbu. The latter, translatable as "calamus," "sweet rush," or "sweet flag," does not bear iris-like blossoms at all, but rather tight bunches of small yellowish-green blossoms. It is the leaves of this plant that are used in the shōbuyu, here mistranslated as "iris bath," in keeping with both translating custom and the translator's desire to exclude Linnaean fussiness from the translation.

Peach-leaf baths were taken during the first hot days of summer in the sixth month, in order, according to Jinbō, UB, to ward off prickly heat. (See also Kitagawa, Morisada mankō, part 2, p. 205.)

Thus, both "an iris bath on the sixth" (muika no shōbuyu) and "a peach leaf bath in the waning days of summer" (zansho no momoyu) are metaphors for dilatoriness.

4. Twelve coppers (mon, zeni) was a standard offering at a temple or shrine, but it was also customary to pay twelve mon at the public bath on certain festival and "special gift" days (monbi) scattered throughout the year. There is a word play in this passage on the verb hineru, "to twist, wring," which Sanba uses, as in the translation, in reference to the plot of a book, but which also echoes the custom of presenting these twelve-mon offerings to the bathhouse in twisted paper packages called o-hineri. (See Kitagawa, Morisada mankō, part 2, p. 205.)

5. The women's bath customarily opened for business in the morning slightly later than the men's.

6. Edomae no shiin: Kōjien's definition suggests that shiin 市隠 refers, in its Chinese context, to an official retired (or excluded) from office and living in the town, as opposed to the countryside. Sanba's use of the term is in keeping with the lingering pose of the gesakusha as a gentleman of leisure, a dilettante dabbling in writing for his own amusement, although Sanba himself had no such self image.

7. Jinbō, UB, p. 368, finds a model for this prefatory note in a preface by Fūrai Sanjin (Hiraga Gennai) to an early kokkeibon by Hirabaraya (Hezutsu) Tōsaku 平賀屋(平秩)東作 (1726-1789) entitled Mizu no yukue 水のゆくへ (1765).

8. The Three Histories: Shih chi (The Records of the Historian), Han shu (History of the Han), and Hou Han shu (History of the Later Han). The Five Teachings: Yi ching (The Classic of Changes), Shu ching (The Book of History), Shih ching (The Book of Odes), Li chi (The Book of Rites), and Ch'un ch'iu (The Spring and Autumn Annals).

9. Onna daigaku 女大学 (1729), abstracted posthumously from a longer work by Kaibara Ekiken 貝原益軒 (1630-1714).

10. Onna Imagawa 女今川 (1700), a moral treatise for women modeled on the Imagawa jō of Imagawa Ryōshun (see note 91 to "The Men's Bath").

11. This preface is followed in the original by a brief advertisement regarding the reprinting of the first volume of Ukiyoburo:

> "The first volume of this work suffered the wrath of Chu-jung, the God of Fire, early in the spring of Bunka 6 [1809], when the printing blocks met with total destruction. We therefore contemplate the publication of a new and expanded edition. If our loyal readership throughout the realm will be so kind as to buy it upon its long-awaited publication, the publisher's good fortune will be great indeed."

The second edition of the first volume of Ukiyoburo, "The Men's Bath," finally appeared in the eleventh month of the third year of Bunsei (1820).

12. Edo gesakusha Shikitei Sanba cho.

13. According to Jinbō, UB, the three mendicants quoted by Sanba are, respectively, a begging monk unidentifiable as to sect, someone intoning a prayer of the Nichiren sect, and an Amidist reciting a passage from the Lotus Sutra.

14. Hasshū 八宗, referring originally to the eight sects of Heian Buddhism, had by this time the more general meaning of "diversity." Building on this idea, Sanba uses the word kyūshū 九宗 "nine sects," probably a pun on kyūshū 仇讐, "enemies," to hint at both the mutual distrust that existed between the Pure Land and the Nichiren sects and the petty conflicts that naturally arise in human intercourse (most especially among women perhaps, in Sanba's view).

15. Entertainers who performed songs of the Tokiwazu school of jōruri took professional names that included the element -moji (文字) after the founder of the school, Tokiwazu Mojitayū (1709-1781). Likewise, the founder of the Tomimoto school of jōruri chanting was Tomimoto Buzen-no-jō; toyo- (豊) is the Japanese reading of the Sino-Japanese bu of Buzen, and appeared in the names of singers of that school.

16. Yoki koto o kiku: tiny drawings of the elements of the rebus (yoki: a hand ax; koto: the musical instrument; and kiku: a chrysanthemum) appear in place of kanji in the text, accompanied by the appropriate furigana.

17. For a discussion of the names Sanba gives the women in the bathhouse, see note 25 below.

18. A type of popular song based on a verse of three lines of seven syllables and one of five.

19. Kakasan: the term used by geisha to refer to the mistress of their house; likewise "papa" for the master of the house (see following note).

20. Tottsan: to the kana for sa (さ) Sanba adds a handokuten (the small open dot ordinarily used to convert the kana of the h- column to p- sounds--ha to pa, hi to pi, etc.), giving さ゜, to represent the Edo dialect tendency to substitute -tsa- (さ゜) for -sa- (さ), particularly in cases of assimilation to a "double" consonant (standard -ssa-).

21. Ebisu-kō: see note 84 to "The Men's Bath."

22. A derisive nickname applied to the male bath attendants whose duties included scrubbing and rinsing women bathers' backs. According to Jinbō, UB, who cites a set of bathhouse regulations dating from the Genroku period, women (akakakionna) were originally employed for this purpose, limited by the rule to three in number; he suggests that the san ("three") of Sansuke derives from this earlier rules.

23. See note 50 to "The Men's Bath."

24. The yagō (acting "clan" name) of the actor Sawamura Shūjūrō; here likely the fourth bearer of the name is meant.

25. Here, for the first time in the text, it becomes clear that the names Sanba is giving his female characters should not necessarily be taken as real women's names, for the speeches of the woman called here "Mrs. B" are labeled Mi, "snake," the sixth of the twelve calendrical animals of the Sino-Japanese zodiac. Mrs. A's speeches are labeled Tatsu, "dragon," the fifth animal of the cycle, which is a marginally plausible name, but it is clear that Sanba is henceforth using the zodiac animals simply as a way of distinguishing successive speakers, for the next few women to appear are Saru, "monkey," and Tori, "cock," the ninth and tenth animals, here Mrs. C. and Mrs. D., followed by Inu, "dog," the eleventh animal (here, Mrs. E.), and her friend Kiji, "pheasant"--not one of the calendrical signs, but not a common woman's name, either.

It appears that Sanba is taking advantage of--and, perhaps, gently mocking--the Edo period custom of giving girls simple, short names with an auspicious ring, often themselves words like haru, "spring," or hana, "flower," usually prefixed, depending on social context, with an honorific o-. (Despite the fact that this prefix is separable, and sometimes omitted, I have chosen to treat it as an integral part of names, in order to reduce the typographic clutter resulting from forms like "O-Tai" and "O-Haru" and to avoid the inappropriate tone of names without the honorific prefix.) Sanba is clearly being playful in the names he gives to some of the little girls in the bathhouse: Onabe ("pot"), Okama ("kettle"), and Ouma ("horse," also a calendrical sign), above, and Oniku ("meat," or perhaps "hateful"), below. The other little girls who appear in the closing section of this book are rather mechanically given the names "Spring," "Summer," "Winter," and "Fall" (Oharu, Onatsu, Ofuyu, Oaki). The women who appear early on in the book have names connected with their trades: the geisha Osami (from samisen), Obachi (the bachi is the large plectrum used to play the samisen), and Ozuru (zuru was jōruri slang for samisen), and the hairdresser Okushi ("comb").

26. Both the bark of the cassia root and oil of cloves were used to make a simple sort of scented toilet water.

27. Kawari-e: pictures issued as single sheets or as illustrations in bound books that were designed in such a way that when folded at certain points, part of one picture could be juxtaposed against part of another to create a new scene, or to give a figure a new costume, sometimes with intentionally ludicrous or surprising results. Among Sanba's works is a kawari-e production entitled Hayakawari mune no karakuri (1810; see Chapter IV, above, for a

discussion); this work, whose title refers to the virtuoso fast costume changes (hayakawari) popular on the kabuki stage at the time, also includes costumes to be cut out, paper-doll fashion, and attached to certain of the illustrated figures. Jinbō, UB, suggests that the actors' kawari-e mentioned in the text may be a reference to an 1809 production by Toyokuni.

28. A publishing format often said to have been pioneered by Sanba (see Chapter III above) in which three, five, or more volumes of the old kibyōshi size and format were bound together and issued as a single volume.

29. Utagawa Toyokuni: see note 15 to "The Men's Bath." Utagawa Kunisada (1786-1864): pupil of Toyokuni and likewise one of Sanba's frequent collaborators.

30. Akahon: "red book," an illustrated book usually regarded as children's literature bound with red covers; popular in Edo from the 1680's through the mid-1700's. Many akahon were retellings of folk or fairy tales.

31. The reference is to a simple version of the Shimada hairstyle called the Shimada-kuzushi that was popularized on the kabuki stage in the 1770's and 1780's, and by the time of Ukiyoburo was popular among older women of the middle and lower classes. The hair was done up over a form constructed either of papier-mâché or of iron wire covered with lacquered paper and stuffed with cotton. See Kitagawa, Morisada mankō, part 1, p. 360.

32. An obi of bleached cotton worn under the clothing for extra abdominal support after the fifth month of pregnancy.

33. In the original, shops in terifuri-chō, literally, "rain or shine neighborhood," a term applied to the area around Koami-chō and Kofuna-chō near Nihonbashi (modern Chūō-ku) where shops selling tabi (bifurcated socklets) and other footwear, as well as umbrellas and parasols, were concentrated.

34. Near the modern Ginza 4-chōme, Chūō-ku.

35. Kuma no haraobi: perhaps a reference to the white cotton sash adorning bear cubs exhibited by street entertainers, believed to be a good luck charm for a safe childbirth, likely because of a folk belief that bears in some way lessened the severity of smallpox and measles. Neither Nakamura nor Jinbō seems wholly convinced on this point, however.

36. Charms for a safe delivery issued by the Kurishima shrine in Kada in the old province of Kii (modern Wakayama Prefecture).

37. The women call each other obasan, the direct-address or honorific term for "aunt," used customarily to address, not necessarily respectfully, a woman significantly older than oneself but not obviously enough older to be called obāsan, "grandmother." Mrs. C. and Mrs. D. are thus not necessarily related to each other; Sanba's speculation about "who was whose aunt" is probably a pose mocking this use of what was originally a kinship term, particularly by two old ladies who, to go by their ages, should fall into the "grandmother" category, anyway.

38. A reference to the twelve year Sino-Japanese calendrical cycle.

39. Both Jinbō, UB, and Nakamura, UB, adduce a children's ball-bouncing song as the source for this line. The latter also quotes a haikai verse of similar import by Kobayachi Issa (1763-1827).

40. Mrs. D. converts to her own uses the proverb "oni mo jūhachi, bancha mo debana," "even the devil was once eighteen, and even coarse tea has its first infusion."

41. Adherents of the Amidist sects believed that at the time of death, Nyorai (an alternate name for the Buddha Amida) came from the Pure Land to greet the deceased believer riding on a purple cloud.

42. In the original, "sweet potatoes, and a few shavings from the pestle mixed in." Fermented bean paste (miso), ground in a mortar with a wooden pestle, inevitably contained small bits of wood worn from the pestle. Given the universality of bean paste in the Japanese diet, this fact was easily expanded into a metaphor for the universality of human experience (as in "even X puts on his pants one leg at a time").

43. Tatsu no kusojinmichi: neither annotator is able to locate or explain this peculiar place name, literally something like "New Dragon-shit Street."

44. "Oira wa mēnichi o-nenbutsu da, hā, sō da zo . . . :" a chant sung by believers soliciting contributions for a religious purpose.

45. O-jūya: see note 59 to "The Men's Bath."

46. Merchant class girls like Onabe sent out for service and training in samurai households were customarily given a certain number of days off occasionally to visit their families.

47. Jinbō, UB, suggests this may be a reference to the contemporary head of the Fujima school of dance, Fujima Jinbei III (? -1821).

48. Both Ikuta and Amata were schools of jōruri-style samisen.

49. This term seems to mean something like "rolling boil."

50. A passage of considerable length is omitted from the translation here in which the two women argue the relative merits of their respective dialects. The passage is virtually untranslatable, although Margarete Donath-Wiegand, Zur literarhistorische Stellung des Ukiyoburo von Shikitei Samba (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963), pp. 196-99, does admirably by it, in giving Oyama and the Kamigata lady widely divergent dialects to speak. Clearly, the dialects of American English are insufficiently distinct to permit a similar attempt here.

The discussion begins with the elision in the translation that immediately precedes this note, in which the Kamigata lady does not understand the Edo woman's epithet for Kamigata people, Kamigata-zēroku. "What is zēroku?" she asks. Oyama replies, "That's sairoku ['sneak']." It is at this point that the Kamigata lady asks Oyama what she means by "Kamigata sneak." The long omitted passage begins with an attack by the Kamigata lady on the standard Edo replacement of the vowel sequence -ai- with a long, open "e" sound (-ē-, -ɛ:-): Edo sēroku for sairoku ("sneak, scoundrel"), ryogē for ryogai ("rudeness"); she criticizes also Edo Kannon (now standard) for Kan'on (the bodhisattva Kannon). She further questions the use of kara to express causal relationships in Edo speech. Oyama retaliates by attacking the equivalent Kamigata use of sakai, and points out that kara appears in a poem in the Hyakunin isshu. Her pronunciation of this title as hyakuninshi goads the other woman into further assaults on the Edo -ē- (sēgo for saigo, "final moment;" dēgan jōjū for daigan jōjū, "fulfillment of the Great Vow," a Buddhist term; manzē no sēzō for manzai no saizō, the foil for the chanter in the two-man comic entertainments known as Mikawa manzai). But in her diatribe, the Kamigata woman herself uses the words gippa and hikarite, Kamigata dialect for Edo (and Kamigata standard) rippa ("splendid") and shikarite ("one who scolds"), pronunciations upon which the Edo woman is quick to pounce. The other woman acknowledges her error in this case.

The discussion moves next to the Hyakunin isshu poem by Bun'ya no Yasuhide in which kara appears: "Fuku kara ni/ aki no kusaki no/ shiorureba/ mube yamakaze o/ arashi to iuramu" (roughly, "Because it blows, the trees and grasses of autumn wither: should not the wind from the mountains be called a gale?"). The Kamigata lady accepts this defense of the Edo use of kara for "because." (According to Jinbō, UB, pp. 368-69, Sanba modeled this discussion of kara on a passage--reproduced in Jinbō, UB, loc. cit.--in Takizawa Bakin's Hesowakashi seiyūki 膝栗毛西遊記.) To buttress her defense of Edo speech habits, Oyama refers vaguely to the linguistic theories of the kokugakusha ("scholars of national learning"), but the Kamigata lady still balks at the Edo (and general eastern Japanese) dialect form -bei, more or less equivalent to the standard modern suppositional auxiliary -darō. Oyama defends this by reference to the Manyōshū and the "books about the Age of the Gods" (presumably the Kojiki and the Nihon shoki), where -bei for standard classical -beki, -beshi occasionally appears. She also notes that the "rural dialect" (inakakotoba) form -chū, an elision from -to iu ("say") is an ancient and therefore honorable usage. The Kamigata lady, still skeptical, agrees to have a look at Oyama's notes on a lecture she attended on the subject. The women conclude their discussion by agreeing to consult the lecture notes, the one whose position is proved false to treat the other to some sort of refreshment.

51. Then as now, a popular resort area near Kamakura, south of Tokyo.

52. Because of the difficulty of maintaining a rhythm appropriate to a ball-bouncing song (temariuta) beyond a few lines of translation, I have omitted most of this song and the following ones from the main body of the translation. In literal paraphrase, this song might be rendered as follows:

> "By the Great Gate [to the Yoshiwara], in Ageyamachi [the street in which were located the ageya or agejaya, teahouses where high-ranking courtesans met their clients], how magnificent is the parade of the girls [kimi] of the Miuraya, Takauraya, and Komeya [names of famous Yoshiwara houses]. Cast a glance around and see Hanamurasaki, Aikawa, Kiyokawa [names of famous courtesans], dyed with the blush of new love, brocade upon brocade, like the Tatsuta River [a common image in poetry was the Tatsuta River covered with a "brocade" of floating autumn leaves]. Anose, konose, yakkonose [meaningless rhythm words, but suggesting "over here, over there"]. Look over there, at the Shinkawa [a small canal running

from Nihonbashi to the Sumida River]--two sailboats lined up! In those boats ride a great courtesan, a lesser courtesan. From behind, a covered pleasure boat overtakes them. 'Hey, stop! Captain, stop the boat! When it stops we'll give you all five shō [of saké; one shō equals approximately 1.8 liters].' 'We don't need five shō, we don't need three shō or five; we will be yours. The day is coming to a close, the day is coming to a close, the moon is rising. Ah, how kind you are, good sir!' There's a hundred, there's two hundred, there's three hundred . . . [elision in the original] . . . stopping, stopping, I've given you a thousand!"

Having successfully completed one song (interesting insofar as it indicates that even little girls were well aware of the existence of and even the details of life in the Yoshiwara, if not of their adult meaning), Oniku begins another, not at all clear in its meaning:

"Osumi of the dyer's shop, and the Master, and Daihachi, too: when in Kyoto, it's Kiyomizu and the Rokkakudō [famous temples]. In the shelter of the pines, by the latticed windows, they see someone speak. There's a hundred . . ."

53. Onatsu's song is based on the jōruri drama Koimusume mukashi Hachijō, first performed in 1775, whose heroine was Okoma of the Shirokiya, whose love for a hairdresser named Saiza was thwarted by the evil shop manager Jōhachi. Onatsu drops the ball after singing only a few lines, paraphrased below, but Jinbō, UB, p. 369, provides the full text. Onatsu's effort is as follows:

"White makeup, white, white: Okoma of the Shiroki ['white tree']-ya, and Saiza--but inside the shop, Jōhachi practices his calligraphy."

54. Ofuyu's song, also terminated abruptly, goes as follows:

"Enshū, what a pretty girl! And the unspeakably dashing youth, who is called 'the grandson of the oil magnate,' who wears tabi even in summer, and sandals with braided laces, and shuffles carelessly along . . ."

Jinbō, UB, pp. 369-70, records in full a lengthy version of this song.

55. Aka no manma, baby language for akameshi or sekihan, "red rice": rice cooked with red azuki beans, a sweet concoction often eaten on festive occasions.

56. "Oirā uchī kēro, kēru ga naku yo, oirā ūchī kēro, kaero ga naku yo:" chanted by children going home from play in the evening; literally, "Let's go home. The frogs are croaking! Let's go home. The frogs are croaking!" The original includes a sound association between kaeru, "to return home," and kaeru, "frog," that I have attempted to suggest in the translation.

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