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Nishikawa Sukenobu: The engagement of popular art in socio-political discourse

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD in the History of
Art and Archaeology

2012

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Abstract

Nishikawa Sukenobu was a popular artist working in Kyoto in the first half of the eighteenth century. He was principally known as the author of popular *ehon*, or illustrated books. Between 1710 and 1722, he published some fifty erotic works, including a work detailing sexual mores at court which Baba Bunkô, amongst others, believed responsible for prompting the ban on erotica that came with the Kyôhō reform package of 1722. Thereafter, he produced works generally categorized as *fûzoku ehon*: versions of canonical texts, poems and riddles, executed in a contemporary idiom. This thesis focusses on the corpus of illustrated books from the early erotica of the 1710s to the posthumously published work of 1752. It contends that these works were political: that Sukenobu used first the medium of the erotic, then the image–text format of the children’s book to articulate anti-bakufu and pro-imperialist sentiment. It explores allusions to the contemporary political landscape by reading the works against Edo and Kyoto *machibure*, contemporary diaries (such as *Getsudô kenbunshû*) and contemporary pamphlets (*rakusho*). It also places the *ehon* in the context of other contemporary literary production: for example the anti-Confucianist writings of the popular Shinto preacher Masuho Zankô and the *ukiyozôshi* production of Ejima Kiseki (whose works were illustrated by Sukenobu). It corroborates these findings by citing evidence of the political sympathies of Sukenobu’s collaborators: for example, the political writings of the Kyoto educationalist Nakamura Sankinshi; the works of the children’s author and Confucian scholar Nakamura Rankin (aka Mizumoto Shinzô); and the fictional and *kojitsu* writings of the Shinto scholar Tada Nanrei.

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Introduction

The voice of political dissent is heard rarely in the first two hundred years of the Tokugawa period. Yet despite the fact that criticism of the regime and its officers was an offence punishable with death, and the publication of materials touching on matters relating to shogunal and daimyo families prohibited, there was political dissent; moreover, it circulated publicly. Much of the evidence is now lost: yet dissent surfaces in a range of different media, from anonymous manuscripts (*jitsuroku*) disseminated by lending libraries, to the chants of itinerant *jôruri* players, pamphlet literatures, kabuki and theatrical *jôruri* itself.¹ This thesis will argue that one wholly overlooked vehicle of dissent was the popular *ehon* or illustrated book, one of the principle purveyors of which was the Kyoto artist Nishikawa Sukenobu. The Sukenobu *ehon*, it will argue, provides indications that by the middle of the eighteenth century, popular resistance to shogunal authority was widespread and organised and it gives the lie, thereby, to a still dominant view of the commoner of the Edo period: bereft of political vision, without aspiration for political change, content to merely vent his frustration in the satirical ephemera of the floating world.²

Sukenobu's production of illustrated printed books spanned the first half of the eighteenth century. These early decades, which saw the transformation of the printed book from a luxury to a commodity, coincided with the rise of a commoner intelligentsia. Public lectures, private study groups led by independent scholars and the emergence of merchant

¹ For an introduction to the climate of censorship, see Konta Yôzô, *Edo no kinsho* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan; 2007); Makita Inagi, *Keihan shosekishôshi* (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten; 1982); Manabu Oishi ed., *Kyôhô kaikaku to shakai henyô* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan; 2003). For instances of the operation of censorship, see William J. Farge, "The Politics of Culture and the Art of Dissent in Early Modern Japan", *Social Justice*, vol. 33, 2006, pp. 63-76; Gerald Groemer, "Singing The News: Yomiuri in Japan During The Edo and Meiji Periods", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 54, 1994, pp. 233-61; P. F. Kornicki, "The Enmeiin Affair of 1803: The Spread of Information in The Tokugawa Period", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 42, 1982, pp. 503-33; and Kurakazu Masae, "Kyôhô shichinen shuppan jômoku to hachmonjiya-bon", *Bungaku*, vol. 3, no. 5-6, 2002, pp. 79-90. The political allusions of eighteenth century *jôruri* have been extensively explored in Uchiyama Mikiko, *Jôrurishi no jûhasseiki* (Tokyo: Benseisha; 1989). For a discussion of humanist political thought in Chikamatsu's work, see C. Andrew Gerstle, "Heroic Honor: Chikamatsu and the Samurai Ideal", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 57, no. 2, 1997, pp. 307-81.

² This is the formulation of Kuranami Seiji, *Nihon kinseishi*, p. 220 (Kyoto: Sanwa Shobô; 1972).

academies were just some of the factors which, by the end of the seventeenth century, had combined to provide the common man - if he chose - with access to radical contemporary thinking on a broad range of subjects.³ And as a reflection of its commoner origins, intellectual enquiry - informed and structured by Confucianist or Neo-confucianist principles and inflected to varying degrees by nativist (Shintoist) assumptions - became increasingly concerned with the validation of the individual's role in society and the implications of citizenship: more precisely, of Japanese citizenship. Intellectual enquiry had begun to broach the possibility of a political role for the common man.

There was, in short, a newly nationalist turn in commoner thought. This had been in evidence since the latter part of the seventeenth century: waka commentators such as the Buddhist monk Keichû extolled the distinction of being born in the land of the gods; the *ukiyo-zôshi* writer Miyako no Nishiki (1675-) would exhort his reader to 'revere the gods and the teachings of Amaterasu! Shintô is the very root of our country, who would dare to deny this?'⁴ The upsurge in *okage mairi* pilgrimages to Ise, evident since the 1660s, suggested that the Way of the Gods was spilling beyond fiction onto the road. Shintô was claiming a growing purchase on the popular mind.⁵ However the intellectual roots of the peculiarly

³ The intellectual climate of the early eighteenth century has been discussed in a number of English language studies: see, for example, Harry D. Harootunian, *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press; 1988); Maruyama Masao and Hane Mikiso, *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press; 1974); Tetsuo Najita, *Visions of Virtue in Tokugawa Japan: The Kaitokudô, Merchant Academy of Osaka* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; 1987); Peter Nosco, *Remembering Paradise: Nativism and Nostalgia in Eighteenth-century Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies Distributed by Harvard University Press; 1990); Peter Nosco ed., *Confucianism and Tokugawa Culture* (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press; 1997). For introductions in Japanese, see also Fukawa Kiyoshi, *Kinsei chônin shisôshi kenkyû : Edo Osaka Kyôto chônin no baai* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan; 1983); Oishi ed., *Kyôhô kaikaku to shakai henyô* ; Rai Kiichi ed., *Nihon no kinsei 13: Jugaku, kokugaku, yokagu* (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha; 1991); Fuyuhiko Yokota, *Chishiki to gakumon o ninau hitobito* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan; 2007); Yokota Fuyuhiko, "Edo jidai minshû no dokusho", *Rekishi chiri kyoiku*, vol. 718, 2007, pp. 76-81; Yokota Fuyuhiko, "Kinsei minshû shakai ni okeru chiteki dokusho no seiritsu", *Edo no shisô*, vol. 5, 1996, pp. 48-67.

⁴ Cited in Miyazawa Seiichi, "Genroku bunka no seishin kôzô", *Genroku Kyôhôki no seiji to shakai*, p. 242 (Tokyo: Yuhikaku; 1980).

⁵ The phenomenon of *okage mairi* is discussed in *ibid.*, pp. 239-48. See too Laura Nenzi, "To Ise at All Costs: Religious and Economic Implications of Early Modern Nukemairi", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 33, 2006, pp. 75-114; Davis Winston, "Pilgrimage and World Renewal: A Study of Religion and Social Values in Tokugawa Japan, Part I", *History of Religions*, vol. 23, 1983, pp. 97-116; Davis Winston, "Pilgrimage and

nationalist turn taken in Shintô discourse of the eighteenth century are to be found in the thought of the syncretic Confucian-Shintoist thinker Yamazaki Ansai (1619-1682) and his disciples. It was Ansai who promoted the notion of the uniqueness of the Japanese imperial line and prepared the ground for the imperialist loyalism so passionately embraced by disciples such as Asami Keisai 浅見綱齋(1652-1712); it was, moreover, Ansai's syncretic Shintôist thought - known as Suika - that captured the imagination of the wider populace.⁶ Fostered by influential teachers such as Wakabayashi Kyôsei 若林強齋(1679-1732) (Keisai's pupil), Tamagi Masahide 玉木正英(1671-1736), Tomobe Yasutaka 伴部安崇(1668-1740), Yoshimi Yoshikazu 吉見幸和(1673-1761) and Matsuoka Chûryô 松岡仲良(1701-83), popularised through the rhetoric of populist preachers such as Masuho Zankô 増穂残口 (1655-1742), Suika thought constructed a powerful new image of the *nihonjin*: bound to his lord (the emperor) by an *a priori* bond of subjecthood, defined as a human being through the honouring of that bond, and morally obliged to defend his lord.⁷ It was against this background of religio-political thought informed by new notions of what it was to be Japanese, new notions of what Japan meant; a background of nationalist and loyalist sentiment, that the Sukenobu *ehon* emerged. It is in this context that it is approached in the present study.

World Renewal: A Study of Religion and Social Values in Tokugawa Japan, Part II", *History of Religions*, vol. 23, 1984, pp. 197-221.

⁶ For an account of Keisai's pro-imperio anti-bakufu (*sonnô hanbaku* 尊王反幕) views see Ishida Kazuo and Ushio Hirota, *Asami Keisai, Wakabayashi Kyôsei* (Tokyo Meitoku Shuppansha; 1990).

⁷ For an English language overview of Suika thought, see John Breen ed., *Shinto: A Short History* (London New York: RoutledgeCurzon; 2003); for a more detailed exposition see Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570-1680*, pp. 233-86 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press; 1985). The best introduction to Suika is Taira Shigemichi and Abe Akio eds., *Kinsei Shintoron Zenki Kokugaku* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1972). For discussions of the broader implications of Suika philosophies for the individual, see Maeda Tsutomu, *Kinsei Shintô to kokugaku* (Tokyo: Perikansha; 2002); and Maeda Tsutomu, "Shugo sareru arahitogami", *Edo no shisô: Kokka (jiko) zo no keisei*, vol. 4, 1996, pp. 71-81. The development of Suika at court under the Ôgimachi is the subject of Isomae Jun'ichi and Ogura Shigeji, *Kinsei chôtei to Suika Shintô* (Tokyo: Perikansha; 2005).

The *ehon* as a genre developed in the latter part of the seventeenth century as a means of disseminating popular art in print. It was distinguished from illustrated fiction or waka collections by the predominance of the image, often exploiting the amplitude of the double-page spread and accompanied by only a brief explanatory narrative or epigrammatic text in the uppermost register. It was a format used to advantage by the Edo artist Hishikawa Moronobu for erotic works, comportment books for the modern girl, guides to the pleasure quarters: a vicarious window onto worlds that lay beyond the general purview of the common reader. In the first half of the eighteenth century, it became a popular genre in its own right: by 1729, it was listed as a distinct category in publishers' catalogues.⁸ It was dominated in the early decades of the century by a handful of Kamigata (Kyoto - Osaka) artists: Omori Yoshikiyo (active early decades), Tachibana Morikuni (1679-1748), Takagi Sadatake (active 1720-1752) and Nishikawa Sukenobu, followed in the mid-century by Hasekawa Mitsunobu (active c.1730-1760) and Tsukioka Settei (1710-1787).⁹ During the seventeen thirties and forties, however, it was almost uniquely associated with Sukenobu who published some fifty books over the period. This thesis will argue that in his hands, the *ehon* would transform into a mouthpiece of political dissent.¹⁰

Twentieth century art criticism has paid relatively little attention to Sukenobu, whose flame has been overshadowed by artistic developments of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For the reading public of eighteenth century Japan, however, his name was familiar. Born in 1671, at the end of the Kanbun era, Sukenobu began his career as the

⁸ See Keiô Gijyuku Daigaku fuzoku kenkyûjo shidô bunko ed., *Edo jidai shorin shuppan shoseki mokuroku shûsei*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Inoue Shobô; 1962).

⁹ For an introduction to the *ehon* genre, see Roger S. Keyes, *Ehon: The Artist and the Book in Japan* (Seattle: New York Public Library; University of Washington Press; 2006); see also informative essays in Ôta Shôko ed., *Edo no shuppan bunka kara hajimatta imêji kakumei: ehon edehon shinpojiumu hôkokusho* (Kanazawa: Kanazawa Geijutsugaku Kenkyûkai; 2007); and Suzuki Jun and Asano Shûgô, *Edo no ehon: gazô to tekisuto no ayanseru sekai* (Tokyo: Yagishoten; 2010). For an overview of Moronobu's *ehon* production, see Asano Shûgô, *Hishikawa Moronobu to ukiyoe no reimei* (Tokyo: Tôkyôdaigakushuppankai; 2008); Chiba City Museum ed., *Hishikawa Moronobu ten: Chiba-shi Bijutsukan kaikan goshûnen kinen* (Chiba: Chiba City Museum; 2000).

¹⁰ An extremely useful list of Edo period *ehon* can be found in Ôta Shôko ed., *Edo no shuppan bunka kara hajimatta imêji kakumei: ehon edehon shinpojiumu hôkokusho*, pp. 320-265.

illustrator of actor guides (*hyôbanki*).¹¹ Around 1710, he turned his hand to the production of illustrated erotic works, publishing in tandem a handful of celebrated kimono design books.¹² From the late 1720s through to his death in 1751, he published educational *ehon*: conduct books, books of aphorisms, riddles, classical poetry, selections from the classics. He was prolific (the *Nihon kotenseki sôgô mokuroku* currently lists almost two hundred titles), and his work was enduring: the Sukenobu *ehon* continued to dominate the market for at least a decade after his death and remained a popular choice of infant reading primer as late as the nineteenth century.¹³ It was also pervasive, a favourite with the lending libraries through to the nineteenth century and published in all three of the great metropolises.¹⁴ For over three decades, moreover, Sukenobu had been the illustrator of the *hachimonjiya-bon*, the formidably popular novels authored by Ejima Kiseki and, following Kiseki's death, Tada Nanrei.¹⁵ Most enduringly, perhaps, his name would be associated with his pornographic output - product of one brief decade from 1710-22 - which exerted such dominance that by the 1750s, the eponym *Nishikawa-e* had been coined as a generic term for erotica.¹⁶

Sukenobu was the first artist to engage on such a vast scale with print culture; his legacy remains, largely, unexplored. Contemporaries, however, were well aware of

¹¹ The classic account of Sukenobu's early career is Matsudaira Susumu, "Sukenobu ehon no hankô to fukyû", *Ukiyoe Geijutsu*, vol. 1977, pp. 3-13.

¹² For an introduction to the *hinagatabon*, see *ibid.*, pp. 5-6. For a fuller discussion, see Furuya Aiko, "Nishikawa Sukenobu no fukushoku hyôgen ni tsuite: kosode hinagatabon wo chûshin ni", *Fukushoku bigaku*, vol. 3, 2005, pp. 1-18; and Ozawa Naoko, Ito Norikyuki and Kawamura Machiko, "Nishikawa Sukenobu ehon ni mirareru ishô monyô", *Kyôritsu joshidaigaku kaseigakubu kiyô*, vol. 47, 2001, pp. 81-90.

¹³ The majority of the blocks for Sukenobu *ehon* were bought up by Kikuya Kibe after Sukenobu's death, and the company continued to publish them into the nineteenth century. See Matsudaira Susumu, "Koten no taishûka to Sukenobu ehon", *Bungaku*, vol. 49, no. 11, 1982, pp. 67-70. For their use as reading primers, see Martha C. Tocco, "Norms and Texts for Women's Education in Tokugawa Japan", in Dorothy Ko, et al. ed., *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea and Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press; 2003).

¹⁴ One lending library in Kinokuni Onsen in Hyôgo prefecture still boasted over fifty works by Sukenobu when it sold up in the early Meiji period. See Nagatomo Chiyoji, *Kinsei kashihon'ya no kenkyû*, pp. 111-12 (Tokyo: Tôkyôdô Shuppan; 1982). For the publishing history of Sukenobu's *ehon*, see again Matsudaira Susumu, "Koten no taishûka to Sukenobu ehon", pp. 55-70.

¹⁵ A mid-century visitor to Kyoto would remind his Edo audience that the *hachimoniya-bon* was as popular in Edo as in Kyoto: see Kimuro Bôn, *Mita kyô monogatari*, in Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei Henshûbu. ed., *Nihon zuihitsu taisei*: 3, vol. 8 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan; 1995).

¹⁶ See Chapter 2 for a discussion.

Sukenobu's place in the genealogies. For the literati painter Yanagisawa Kien (1706–1758) writing in 1726, Sukenobu was already the “holy hand” of ukiyoe (*ukiyo-e no seishu*): Hanabusa Itchô, Okamura Masanobu and the Kaigestudô painters were good, Kien conceded, but they were not in Sukenobu's league. Komatsuya Hyakki (1720-94), the pharmacist and collaborator of Suzuki Harunobu, likened the emergence of the floating art tradition to the flow of a river (*kawa*): from Hishikawa (Moronobu) to Nishikawa (Sukenobu), thence to Okumura Masanobu and Ishikawa Toyonobu.¹⁷ By the nineteenth century, Sukenobu's name had become associated primarily with the painting of beautiful women (*bijin*): Ikeda Yoshinobu – better known as the painter Keisai Eisen – claimed the depiction of the female figure in the modern woodblock print was the legacy of Sukenobu.¹⁸ Indeed it was as a painter of women that his name entered the twentieth century. *Hyakunin jorô shinasadame*, a two volume work cataloguing the various classes of women from empress and imperial consort down, was reproduced (along with a handful of other Sukenobu *bijin* works) as part of the *Nihon fûzoku-e* series of the Taishô period.¹⁹ Most general art dictionaries today continue to categorise Sukenobu as a popular artist who specialised in the portrayal of women.²⁰

The fame of Sukenobu's *bijin-e*, however, tends to obscure the fact that the majority of his *ehon* illustrated the contemporary landscape: the street, the home (or the threshold between the two), commerce, the face of rural labour. And they provided surprisingly

¹⁷ Cited in Nakamachi Keiko, "Nishikawa Sukenobu kenkyû", in Yamane Yûzo Sensei Kinenkai ed., *Nihon Kaigashi no Kenkyû* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Hiroshi Bunkan; 1989). Nakamachi's article, which traces the gradual emaciation of the Sukenobu *bijin*, is a fascinating contribution to Sukenobu scholarship, yet it remains symptomatic of the general focus on his depiction of women. Hyakki was an enthusiastic collector of Sukenobu's *ehon*, as was his friend Ota Nanpo.

¹⁸ "中興刻本仕女大和絵の祖と云べし". For the comments of Yanagisawa Kien and Ikeda Yoshinobu see Katô Yoshio, *Ukiyo eshi sôkan*, pp. 9-10 (Ukiyo-e Bunken Shiryôkan; 2005) <http://www.ne.jp/asahi/kato/yoshio/kobetuesi/sukenobu.html>>.

¹⁹ *Hyakunin jorô shinasadame*, *Ehon asakayama*, *Ehon tokiwagusa*, *Ehon jochû fûzoku tsuya kagami* were reproduced in Kurokawa Mamichi ed., *Nihon fûzoku zue*, vols. 3 & 4 (Tokyo: Nihon Fûzoku Zue Kankôkai; 1914).

²⁰ See, for example, Matsudaira Susumu, "Nishikawa Sukenobu", *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*, 20 Feb. 2012 <<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T062580>>.

accurate accounts of that landscape: T. C Smith long ago noted that his rural scenes showcased the most advanced agricultural technology - but their topicality (as this will attempt to demonstrate) did not stop there.²¹ Moreover, these images were deliberately discursive. The majority of the *ehon* (the *bijin* works are the exception) included a textual element: the images were accompanied by selections from the canon – the vast corpus of classical poetry, canonical prose works (the Tale of the Heike, the Rise and Fall of the Minamoto and Taira (*Genpei seisuiiki*), The Pillow Book (*Makura no sôshi*), Essays in Idleness (*Tsurezuregusa*); moral precepts, such as *Saimyôjido no hyakushû*, the hundred precepts compiled by Hôjô Tokiyori (*Saimyôji dono*); or punning riddles. Comprising both cultural and moral expectations, the works complemented their textual content with carefully constructed motifs drawn from the contemporary landscape. Superficially, they were broadly of a type with contemporary educational manuals for the young.²²

Over recent years, Sukenobu's profile as an educator of the young, long neglected, has begun to receive attention. Some fifteen of his educational *ehon* have now been reproduced, six in a *honkoku* edition.²³ In tandem with this, scholars have begun to consider the intellectual milieu in which he worked.²⁴ Sukenobu's collaborators included writers such as Ejima Kiseki 江島其磧 (1666-1735), with whom he produced popular novels (*ukiyo zôshi*), erotic works (*shunpon*) and *ehon*; Kiseki's successor in the Hachimoniya stable, Tada Nanrei

²¹ T. C. Smith, *The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan*, pp. 102-04 (Stanford: Stanford University Press; 1959).

²² There has been a great deal of research on Edo period educational texts: see, for example, Amano Haruko, *Joshi shôsoku-kata orai ni kansuru kenkyû: Edo jidai ni okeru joshi kyoikushi no ikkan to shite* (Tokyo: Kazama Shobo; 1998); Saitô Iwao, "Kyôikuka ni tsuite", in Sugiyama Kazuyo ed., *Nihon shakai shiron shû* (Tokyo: Kôjoshô; 1965); Umemura Kayo, *Kinsei minshû no tenarai to ôraimono* (Matsudo: Azusa Shuppan-sha; 2002); Wada Mitsuhiro, "Kinsei ôraimono sakusha ni okeru shomin kyôikuron: Nakamura Sankinshi wo jirei to shite", *Nihon Kyôiku Kenkyû*, vol. 25, no. 8, 2006, pp. 1-34; Yokota Fuyuhiko, "Edo jidai minshû no dokusho", pp. 76-81; and Yokota Fuyuhiko, "'Onna daigaku' saikô", in Wakita Haruko ed., *Jenda no nihon shi* vol. 2, pp. 363-87 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai; 1995).

²³ Kansai Daigaku Toshokan ed., *Nishikawa Sukenobu shû*, 2 vols (Suita: Kansai Daigaku Shuppanbu; 1998); Taihei Shunin ed., *Nishikawa Sukenobu fûzoku ehon rokushu* (Tokyo: Taihei Shooku; 2002). This work provides textual transcriptions.

²⁴ See in particular Yamamoto Yukari, *Kamigata fûzokuga no kenkyû: Nishikawa Sukenobu Tsukioka Settei o chûshin ni* (Tokyo: Geikashoin; 2010); and Yamamoto Yukari, "Nishikawa Sukenobu to ehon/ôraimono: jûhasseiki zenpanki no gakumonshi to no kankei kara", *Sairen (Siren)*, vol. 10, no. 3, 2007, pp. 37-65.

多田南嶺(1698-1750), who was also a *kojitsu* and Shintô scholar; the Kyoto-based author of educational tracts Nakamura Sankinshi 中村三近子 (1671-1741); the writer of children's books and scholarly miscellany, Mizumoto Shinzô (aka Nakamura Ranrin) 水本深蔵 (中村蘭林) (1697-1761); Tôkaku 東鶴, known as an author of several *hanashibon* in the seventeenth fifties;²⁵ Rôka Ansai (aka Ban Yusa 伴祐佐), the Osaka writer of *ukiyozôshi* and publisher (who also collaborated with the artist Takagi Sadatake):²⁶ and the publisher-author Bankô Sanjin 晩香散人(aka Gyokushishi 玉枝子 and Naitô Doyû 内藤道有).²⁷ Future research will undoubtedly uncover the identities of the wider group of collaborators permitting a more detailed characterization of the milieu within which Sukenobu operated. But even with the existing evidence, a picture emerges of an artist working within the commoner intelligentsia domain, aligned with a group of independent scholars and educators. The writings of these collaborators - in particular those of Sankinshi and Shinzô (Ranrin) - provide crucial insight into the political context which gave rise to the Sukenobu *ehon*.

The most detailed research to date into Sukenobu's vast oeuvre has been conducted by Matsudaira Susumu, whose bibliography (including transcriptions of pre-and postfaces) remains the most important secondary resource on the artist available.²⁸ This is supplemented by two significant articles by the same author documenting the long publishing history of the

²⁵ For example *Karuguchi heso junrei* 軽口臍順礼 of 1746, published in Mutô Sadao and Oka Masahiko eds., *Hanashibon taikai*, vol. 8 (Tokyo: Tôkyôdô Shuppan; 1975-79).

²⁶ Rôka Ansai appears to have been the same as Ban Yusa and Sugôdônin 菅生堂人, author of a treatise on merchant ethics *Akindo heiseiki* 商人平生記 (1738) and two extant works of fiction from the Kyôhō period, *Fûryû yasu gundan* 風流[ヤサ]軍談 and *Taihei hyaku monogatari* 太平百物語 (illustrated by Takagi Sadatake).

²⁷ Sukenobu's collaboration with Bankô Sanjin, Tada Nanrei and Nakamura Sankinshi receives discussion in Yamamoto Yukari, "Nishikawa Sukenobu to ehon/ôraimono: jûhasseiki zenpanki no gakumonshi to no kankei kara", pp. 37-65. To these can be added a number of figures whose identities remain largely obscure: Suibokushi 酔墨子, potentially identified as the Kaitokudô scholar Ikara Sekkei 井狩雪溪, pupil of Nakamura Tôjû and author of a polemic against Ogyû Sôrai: see *Tomonaga Nakamoto no kangaku zôkei ni tsuite* 富永仲基の漢学造詣について(1715-1746) 陶徳民 <http://www.wombat.zaq.ne.jp/auamm705/tominagakangaku.htm>. Also Senri, 千里 possibly a haikai poet of the Kansei period; Naniwa no Ki Yoshiharu 難波 紀美東; Yoshikawa Sanji 吉川三治; Kingo 金吾; and Gendô 玄同.

²⁸ Matsudaira Susumu ed., *Moronobu Sukenobu ehon shoshi* (Musashimurayama: Seishodô; 1988).

Sukenobu *ehon* from the beginning of the eighteenth through to the nineteenth centuries.²⁹ Hayashi Yoshikazu's transcriptions of a number of Sukenobu *shunpon*, and painstaking archival investigation of the Nishikawa family history have also significantly added to our understanding of this artist.³⁰ It was Matsudaira, however, who drew attention to the complexity of much of the *ehon* iconography: the fact that the image often exceeded the semantic scope of the text.³¹ As reproductions of Sukenobu's works began to appear in the nineteen nineties, he bewailed the absence of editorial elucidation of a corpus of images which, he believed, provided the most complete portrait of civic life of the period that exists.³² Subsequent scholarship has done little to address the inherent difficulty of many of the *ehon*: punning language, densely allusive citation and an often idiosyncratic selection of classical tropes, combined with images that reduce at best awkwardly to the base text. Important art historical research has progressively disclosed iconographical sources and catalogued, in turn, images by Sukenobu which supplied templates for others.³³ But the prolific use made of his work by later artists has led to the perception of the Sukenobu *ehon* as an *etehon*: a source book, in the manner of the Kano *funpon*.³⁴ This has had the pernicious effect of occluding the issue of semanticity: what the images actually meant to the contemporary viewer. By dismissing the inherent difficulty of Sukenobu's art and focussing simply on incidence of reproduction, much contemporary scholarship has found itself in the tautological position of identifying the image as the illustration of the text.

²⁹ Matsudaira Susumu, "Koten no taishûka to Sukenobu ehon", pp. 55-70; Matsudaira Susumu, "Sukenobu ehon no hankô to fukyû", pp. 3-13.

³⁰ For the genealogical table, see Hayashi Yoshikazu, "Sukenobu kara Harunobu e no keifu", *Kikan ukiyoe*, vol. 11, no. 9, 1964, pp. 20-57. Hayashi published a number of transcriptions, in particular of early Sukenobu *shunpon*, in his journals *Edo shunjû* and *Ehon kenkyû*. See Chapter One for details.

³¹ Matsudaira Susumu, "Koten no taishûka to Sukenobu ehon", p. 66.

³² Matsudaira Susumu, "Nishikawa Sukenobu shû", *Kokubungaku*, vol. 78, 1999, pp. 406-10.

³³ See, for example, Suzuki Kenkô's highly informative Suzuki Kenkô, "Shunga to sashie: ukiyoe shunga ni okeru shakuyô hyôgen ni tsuite", *Nihon Kenkyu*, vol. 44, 2011, p.17-75.

³⁴ This approach is particularly evident in the essays presented in Ôta Shôko ed., *Edo no shuppan bunka kara hajimatta imêji kakumei: ehon edehon shinpojiumu hôkokusho*

The present study takes as a premise the assumption that popular art of the eighteenth century was capable of being semantically productive: it did more than translate linguistic meaning into a pictorial idiom, it enhanced and added to meaning.³⁵ In so doing it created its own visual signifying systems, selectively communicable to both contemporary and later audiences. To a greater extent than ever before, facial expression, bodily gesture, the direction of the gaze guide the interpretive endeavour of the viewer. So too do crests and motifs on clothing, legible to the contemporary viewer through the regular publication of official and unofficial heraldic guides; flower symbolisms, and allusions to the urban and rural landscape. The visual rhetoric of the Sukenobu *ehon*, that is, is highly allusive. Iconographies are constructed as puzzles (*nazo*) and they repeatedly gesture to their riddle-like meaning.³⁶ The following example is an illustration, which also serves to demonstrate the essentially pragmatic methodological approach adopted in the present study.

Ehon izumigawa, a work of 1742, contains an image of a look-out (*mono-mi*) (fig. 1). The beaded ridge of the rooftop extending at right-angles to the outer wall identifies the building as an imperial one, for the ridges of the roofs and outer walls of imperial buildings were adorned with a chrysanthemum motif compassed by a small roundel - the jewels of the roof eaves (*nokiba no tama*) as Go-Mizunoo termed them, neglected like the rest of the palace (he lamented) since the time of Nobunaga (figs. 2a & b).³⁷ Outside the wall, a group of commoners has gathered to listen to the recitation of *utazaimon* or *jôruri* by some mendicants. The text reads:

³⁵ In linguistic terms, this is known as lexical flexibility: the capacity of substituted terms to inflect the meaning of a conventional metaphor. For the classic account, see M. S. McGlone, S. Glucksberg and C. Cacciari, "Semantic Productivity and Idiom Comprehension", *Discourse Processes*, vol. 17, Mar-Apr 1994, pp. 167-90.

³⁶ Suzuki Jun and Asano Shûgô, *Edo no ehon: gazô to tekisuto no ayanaseru sekai*

³⁷ 百敷のふるき軒端をあらためて玉をみがきなせる功 From *Tôji nenjû gyôji* cited in Tsuji Tatsuya ed., *Nihon no kinsei: Tenno to shôgun*, p. 156 (Tokyo: Chûô Kôronsha; 1991).

you can't shut the door on a look-out tower (*monomi no chin*); and you can't shut the mouths of the lowly. A mortar has no lid and a pestle has no scabbard: this was surely an ancient decree of the gods.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2a



Fig. 2a

The theme of free speech: the divine right to free speech (the imposition of unnecessary restrictions) is manifest. Put a lid on a mortar or a scabbard on a pestle, and the pestle and mortar no longer function. The reciters of *jôruri* or *utazaimon* allude to numerous edicts issued during these years censoring these forms of popular utterance. In 1739 (Genbun 4), two years earlier, for example, a string of edicts had been issued in Edo banning Kamigata

jôruri. On the seventh day of the tenth month, the office of the *machi bugyô* issued a ban on all Kamigata *jôruri*, the growing popularity of which was having – it believed – deleterious effects on the behaviour of the populace at large.³⁸ On the tenth of the same month, it specifically banned the public recitation of *jôruri* in temple compounds (*miyaji*) on grounds that the recitations alluded to the internal affairs of illustrious families (*kagyô*) and were hence inauspicious (*fukitsu*).³⁹ The performers are therefore a topical allusion: the watch-tower is more puzzling. But in Kyôhō 12 (1727), retired emperor Reigen (*Reigen hôô*) had had constructed a pavilion (*chin*) in his palace on Teramachi/Kasugayama, to the west of the Tsubasa Gate. The pavilion allowed him to watch – with the aid of a telescope – urban spectacles such as the Gion festival and the ceremonial fires of Obon. The main construction of the pavilion had been completed that year; the thatched roof and pillars were completed the following year, in the fifth month of which, a look-out, or *mono-mi*, had been added: plaster-clad on all sides and with windows.⁴⁰

The pavilion (*chin*), watch tower (*mono-mi*) and the jewelled motif on the roof ridge suggest that this is in fact an allusion to the *mono-mi* from which the retired monarch surveyed the festivities of his people. The text declares you cannot stop the mouths of common people; and you cannot stop the door of the watch tower – a metonymic allusion to Reigen himself. The hostility of the retired emperor to the bakufu is well documented; indeed,

³⁸ Harashima Yôichi and Kinsei Shiryô Kenkyûkai eds., *Edo machibure shûsei*, vol. 5, p.39 (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobô; 1994).

近き頃、上方ふし浄瑠璃はやり、人の風俗も悪敷候間、為相止候様、町御奉公所より被仰渡候旨被申渡候。

³⁹ Ibid. 上方ふし浄瑠璃之儀、宮地寺ニ而家業ニかたり候分ハ不吉候段被申渡候。

⁴⁰ *Getsudô kenbunshû*, Mori Sensô and Kitagawa Hirokuni eds., *Zoku Nihon zuihitsu taisei: bekkân*, vol. 4, pp. 85-6 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan; 1981).

去る三月頃、法皇御所寺町通の方春日山の上に、巽の御門の西の方に当て御亭建つ、尤此所今迄はやねは無之、敷板計にて、祇園会又は送火の時、遠目鏡にて観覧の所なり、当年に至てやねをふき、四方に高欄を立、結構に出来ず、亭の名を失念又五月の比より、此の亭の下に御物見建、四方塗込め、其所々に大なる窓を開く、院の御所西所の方御物見に同じ。

in 1686 Reigen had been forced, as a condition of his abdication, to pledge his silence on court issues: a matter upon which he reneged egregiously.⁴¹

What is noteworthy here - apart from the fact that the retired emperor's antipathy to the government is given expression in the common printed book - is that the image, together with its riddling text, is intelligible only when read in the context of contemporary experience. It requires to be viewed through what Baxandall termed the 'period eye', through the contours of the intellectual, social, and cultural conditions which contributed to its production.⁴² Some of the more topical allusions within these images are now lost, but by considering other contemporary sources - such as the writings of Sukenobu's collaborators, contemporary memorialists, popular literary production and the vast body of contemporary edicts which in themselves provide a compelling account of the times - it is possible to reconstruct some of the original significations of these works.

The puzzle-like structure of the majority of Sukenobu's iconographies inevitably brings up the issue of *mitate* or allusive parody: the modernizing reinvention of classical tropes that became a seminal medium of communication in the Edo period. In a powerful discussion of *mitate*, Harootunian termed it a fundamentally political mode of understanding experience through the common appropriation of ancient culture; a way of retrieving what he called "essential and tangible meanings no longer available to contemporaries."⁴³ This thesis will consider the use of *mitate* in less mystical terms, as a necessary means of articulating political dissent. By elucidating some of the ways in which Sukenobu constructed new political meaning from the vast web of literary and artistic tropes at his disposal, and by

⁴¹ Kubo Takako, *Kinsei no chôtei un'ei: chōbaku kankei no tenkai*, p. 128 (Tokyo: Iwata Shoin; 1998).

⁴² Two works in particular are relevant to the present study: Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy; A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford, Clarendon Press; 1972); Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven: Yale University Press; 1985).

⁴³ For an overview of *mitate*, see Timothy T Clark, "Mitate-e: Some Thoughts, and a Summary of Recent Writings", *Impressions*, vol. 19, 1997, pp. 2-26; also Harootunian, *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism*, p. 30; and Kobayashi Tadashi, "Mitate in the Art of Ukiyo-e Artist Suzuki Harunobu", in Donald Jenkins ed., *The Floating World Revisited*, pp. 85-93 (Portland, Or.: Portland Art Museum in association with University of Hawaii Press; 1993).

identifying loyalist significations in a cluster of tropes that recur throughout the Edo period, it will appeal for the work of later artists - in particular Suzuki Harunobu who reworked so many Sukenobu tropes - to be re-analysed in similar terms.

The findings of the study can be summarized simply. The early erotic works align themselves with emerging nationalist discourses in which the sexual act was seen as a fundamentally Japanese (or Yamato) form of social bonding, perceived to be increasingly jeopardised by Confucian attitudes to social organization and morality. These works evoke numerous parallels with the thought of the popular Suika Shinto preacher Masuho Zankô, whose celebration of sexuality as an expression of the Yamato spirit conversely condemned what he characterized as the duty-led Confucian regulation of society.⁴⁴ Sukenobu's erotic output was brought to a halt in 1722 by the Kyôhō reforms which outlawed erotica on grounds that it was deleterious to contemporary behaviours (*fûzoku*). Sukenobu responded by turning from the *enpon* (erotic book) to the *ehon*. Produced from 1724 until the artist's death in 1751, the *ehon* draw on a wide range of classical texts and linguistic puns, constructing and exploiting a complex relationship between text and image in order to articulate both anti-bakufu sentiment and passionate imperialist loyalty. The study argues that the *ehon* systematically subverted public language to convey private meaning by way of a sanctioned body of tropes and a communally understood political referent.

To suggest that the popular *ehon* in the first half of the eighteenth century became a mouthpiece of political disaffection and loyalist devotion may appear ambitious. Yet the tropes within these works, to this reader at least, speak loud and clear. Indeed, it seems likely that the *ehon* were just one part of a wider body of anti-shogunal, pro-imperialist propaganda symptomatic of popular sentiment fostered over these decades within Shintô and specifically

⁴⁴ The writings of Zankô have begun to attract scholarly interest: see in particular, Maeda Tsutomu, *Kinsei Shintô to kokugaku* ; Nakano Mitsutoshi, *Edo kyôshaden* (Tokyo: Chuo Koron Shinsha; 2007); Nosco ed., *Confucianism and Tokugawa Culture* ; Taira Shigemichi and Abe Akio eds., *Kinsei Shintoron Zenki Kokugaku* . His *Endô tsugan* (Comprehensive Mirror of the Way of Love) is published in Noma Kôshin ed., *Kinsei shikidôron* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1976).

Suika circles. Given that a number of Sukenobu's collaborators had Suika affiliations, the Suika factor is significant. Nakamura Sankinshi studied briefly under Ansai, referring to him in his works as *Suika sensei*.⁴⁵ From his publishing pseudonym *Keikinsai*, it seems likely that he also studied under Asami Keisai: *kei* and *sai* invoke the characters of Keisai, *kin* is the character *nishiki*, which occurred in the title of Keisai's studio - *Kinpaku kôdô* 錦陌講堂 - located on *Nishiki street (Nishiki koji)* 錦小路.⁴⁶ Tada Nanrei, a collaborator of the latter years (1745-50) is known to have studied Suika Shinto under the courtier Nakayama Yônin 中山要人, and had close professional connections with the court, advising both Nakazono Kidai 中園季題 and Nakayama Kanechika 中山兼親 on matters of *kojitsu*, or ancient learning.⁴⁷ Nakamura Ranrin, aka the children's author Mizumoto Shinzô refers to both Ansai and Keisai (whom he refers to as *Keisai okina*) in his *Kôshû yohitsu* 講習余筆 (Lectures and Miscellaneous Writings) of 1747.⁴⁸ Suika Shintô remains one of the most unexplored of the various intellectual and theological systems available to the eighteenth century man and woman, and its importance in Sukenobu's work calls for a brief account of the phenomenon.

Ansai's syncretic blend of Confucian and Shinto doctrine belongs in the context of the gradual reclamation throughout the early-modern period of spiritual and intellectual prerogatives from China. His amalgamation of Confucian philosophy and Shinto belief, combined with his success as a proselytizer, had significant consequences. Concepts such as principle (*ri*), reverence and righteousness, wedded to Shinto doctrines of the *kami* yielded

⁴⁵ Wada Mitsuhiro has published a number of articles on Sankinshi: see for example Wada Mitsuhiro, "Nakamura Sankinshi no kyôhō-ki ôraimono ni tsuite", *Doshisha daigaku human security kenkyu senta ichinen-po*, vol. 5, 2008, pp. 72-89. Wada's characterization of Sankinshi differs significantly from the understanding offered in this thesis. Sankinshi's writings were passionately political, yet they hid behind a screen of convention. This screen of convention has largely been upheld to the present day.

⁴⁶ Abe Ryûichi, "Kimon gakuha shoke no ryakuden to gakufû", in Nishi Junzô ed., *Yamazaki Ansai gakuha*, p. 582 (Tokyo Iwanami shoten; 1980).

⁴⁷ Nanrei was also possibly related to the Tada Shrine in Settsu. See Furuso Masami, *Kokugakusha Tada Yoshitoshi Nanrei no kenkyû* (Tokyo: Kinshi Shuppan; 2000); and Kamiya Katsuhiko, "Tada Nanrei no ukiyozôshi: tôdai haidan to no kankei wo jiku ni", *Kinsei Bungei*, vol. 2000, p. 13.

⁴⁸ For *Kôshû yohitsu*, see Mori Senzô and Kitagawa Hirokuni, *Zoku Nihon zuihitsu taisei*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan; 1979). Another *zuihitsu* work by Ranrin - *Kansô zatsuroku* 間窓雑録 - can be found in Seki Giichirô ed., *Nihon jurin sôsho*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Tôyô Tosho Kankôkai; 1927).

powerful new formulations, in particular the notion of the unity of man and deity - *tenjin yuiitsu*. The paradigmatic embodiment of that unity was Amaterasu (both goddess and imperial ancestor); the emperor, as direct descendant of Amaterasu was its manifestation on earth. These concepts, developed through painstaking logic, paved the way for the emergence of a cultic reverence for the emperor that was intellectually sanctioned: it permitted the doctrine of the uniqueness of the Japanese imperial line and the divinity of the emperor, and it facilitated powerful claims for the primacy of the ruler-subject relationship over that of parent-child.⁴⁹

Ansai died in 1682. His following had been distinguished, including a number of daimyo, however on his death it was to the courtier Ôgimachi Kinmichi that he imparted secret Suika transmissions, making Kinmichi the *de facto* head of the school.⁵⁰ Suika thereafter acquired an increasingly influential court following, compromising the historical dominance of Yoshida Shintô. It was patronized by Emperors Reigen, Nakamikado and Sakuramachi, and a number of important shrines - particularly in the Kinai region - converted to Suika control.⁵¹ But there was also considerable overlap between court and plebeian Suika circles. Figures such as Tamagi Masahide, Tada Nanrei, Wakabayashi Kyôsai (a disciple of Asami Keisai), Tomobe Yasutaka, Matsuoka Chûryô and Takenouchi Shikibu maintained close connections at court while actively lecturing and often publishing in the common domain.⁵² Their works were met, in some quarters at least, with what appears to have been intense interest: a recent study of the library holdings of a farmer in the Harima domain in the

⁴⁹ See Taira Shigemichi, "Suika Shintô no honshitsu" in Taira Shigemichi and Abe Akio eds., *Kinsei Shintoron Zenki Kokugaku*, pp. 545-50.

⁵⁰ For the development of Suika at court, see Isomae Jun'ichi and Ogura Shigeji, *Kinsei chôtei to Suika Shintô*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

⁵² *Ibid.*

1760s revealed, out of a total of 191 books, 96 books on Shintô - in particular Tachibana and Suika Shintô, including works by both Tamagi Masahide and Matsuoka Chûryô.⁵³

The political implications of the notion of the primacy of the emperor opened up by Suika doctrine permeated beyond the boundaries of Suika circles: they can, for example, be seen quite distinctively in the writings of Keisai, who had officially forsworn Suika theologies but upheld Confucianist aspects of Ansai's thought (the term *Kimon* - taken from Ansai's name - is generally used to describe the band of pupils, such as Keisai and Satô Naokata, who selectively shed Shintoist elements of Ansai's teachings). Particularly powerful was the privileging of the relationship between lord and vassal: within Suika epistemologies the Japanese subject had an *a priori* duty of devotion to the emperor and an ontological responsibility to defend him. This radical doctrine, originally derived from Yoshida transmissions, claimed its justification from the term *himorogi* - a sacred shelter for the gods on earth, subsequently ritualized as a shrine - which could literally be read as "trees to protect the sun".⁵⁴ Suika thinkers would understand the sun as the divine descendant of Amaterasu, with the trees as his vassals. The original *himorogi* - created by Amaterasu and offered to Ame no koyane no mikoto and Ame no futama no mikoto as a sacred dwelling for the divine grandchild on his descent to earth - was thus the embodiment of the relationship between god and man and paradigmatic of the relationship between emperor and subject.⁵⁵ It was a doctrine that gave new relevance to both a marginalized court and a politically disenfranchised commoner population: lowly and lofty alike were born with a god-given

⁵³ See Hatakama Kuzuhiro, "Shingakusha", in Yokota Fuyuhiko ed., *Chishiki to gakumon o ninau hitobito* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan; 2007).

⁵⁴ The Yoshida transmission is known as the *Himorogi iwasaka gokuhi no den* 神籬磐境極秘之伝. See Taira Shigemichi, "Suika Shintô no honshitsu" in Taira Shigemichi and Abe Akio eds., *Kinsei Shintoron Zenki Kokugaku*, pp. 547-8.

⁵⁵ Aston translates *himorogi* as 'heavenly divine fence' and *iwasaka* as 'heavenly rock boundary'. See W. G. Aston, *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, pp. 81-2 (London: Allen & Unwin; 1956); Russell Kirkland, "The Sun and the Throne. The Origins of the Royal Descent Myth in Ancient Japan", *Numen*, vol. 44, 1997, pp. 109-52; Takeshi Matsumae, "The Myth of the Descent of the Heavenly Grandson", *Asian Folklore Studies*, vol. 42, 1983, pp. 159-79. For the significance of *himorogi* in Suika theologies, see Maeda Tsutomu, "Shugo sareru arahitogami", pp. 77-79.

mission to defend the emperor as living god.⁵⁶ More than that, the relationship between lord and vassal mirrored the primal relationship between Kuninotokotachinomikoto and the world of creation: lord and vassal belonged as one (*kunshin gôtai*).⁵⁷ By honouring this obligation to the emperor - the living god, *arahitogami* - the loyal vassal would be reborn amongst the myriad gods after death. Given that teachers such as Keisai would represent shogunal rule as an act of theft and usurpation of the imperial prerogative; given too, the current travesty of that primal relationship - for the emperor was removed from his vassals, concealed behind the palace walls - the emperor's defenders were now being called to reveal themselves.⁵⁸ This accounts for the piercingly hortatory tone of many of the broadly inspired Suika works of the period.

That such doctrines should beget the foundations of the later imperial restorationist movement is hardly surprising. Shintô was increasingly invoked as a political way: for the Shintô priest Fujitsuka Tomonao 藤塚知直 (1714-1778) writing in 1743, it was the privileged unity of sacred ritual and governmental practice in the figure of the emperor (*tennô wa okonautamai saisei*): it was, that is, the way of the emperor (*tennô no michi*).⁵⁹ By the late seventeenth fifties, the appetite for imperial restoration in court circles, fostered by the lectures of Keisai's disciple Takenouchi Shikibu (1712-67), had reached levels that alarmed more conservative court factions, in particular the regent (*kanpaku*) Konoe Uchisaki (1728-85). Young courtiers had taken to practising archery (the *ehon* have a number of images of courtiers practising their archery) and the young emperor Momozono was enthusiastically

⁵⁶ *Himorogi* texts by eighteenth century Suika scholars Tamagi Masahide, Tomobe Yasutaka, Matsuoka Chûryô and Fujitsuka Tomonao are discussed in Maeda Tsutomu, "Shugo sareru arahitogami", pp. 71-89. For the radical implications of the Shintô concept of an afterlife see Maeda Tsutomu, *Kinsei Shintô to kokugaku*, pp. 9-19.

⁵⁷ Taira Shigemichi and Abe Akio eds., *Kinsei Shintoron Zenki Kokugaku*, p. 548.

⁵⁸ See, for example, Ishida Kazuo and Ushio Hirotsuka, *Asami Keisai, Wakabayashi Kyôsei* pp. 48-9; and Kondô Keigo, *Asami Keisai no kenkyû* pp. 280-1 (Kyoto: Shintô Shigakkai; 1990).

⁵⁹ Fujitsuka Tomonao, "Kyôken sensei shokaiki" 恭軒先生初会記 in Taira Shigemichi and Abe Akio eds., *Kinsei Shintoron Zenki Kokugaku*, pp. 237-8. 神道は天皇の行い給ふ祭政. Kyôken sensei was Yoshimi Yoshikazu. Tomonao was the priest of the Shiogama Shrine. See *ibid*, pp. 553-5.

requesting readings of the *Jindai no maki* (Age of the Gods) of the *Nihongi* which elaborated the divine origins of the imperial family. In 1757, Shikibu was exiled from Kyoto, and a number of courtiers were placed under house arrest. This became known as the Hôreki incident. Often treated as an isolated and premature appearance of restorationist sentiment, read against the background of Suika and related loyalist thought of the years running up to it; read, too, in light of the loyalist polemic of the Sukenobu *ehon* and works of his collaborators, it begins to appear symptomatic of a groundswell of contemporary popular sentiment.⁶⁰

The following chapters are an account of the evidence. The first chapter considers the political and intellectual milieu within which Sukenobu operated. The second chapter looks at the erotic works up to 1722; the following two chapters deal with the educational works, or *kyôkun*, works which, through punning combinations of image and text - maxims, riddles, ludic verses (*kyôka*) - articulate loyalist dogma. Chapter five deals with three poetic works, considered as a trilogy, which provide a model of Sukenobu's reinvention of classical waka as contemporary political allegory. Chapter six considers illustrated selections of canonical prose works, which again furnish allegories of the contemporary political landscape. Chapter seven then returns to the erotic works and the early and mid-career *bijin* works which it seeks to re-read in light of the rhetorical strategies identified in the *kyôkun*, *waka* and prose works. By dividing the *ehon* by category of base text: maxim, riddle, epigram forming one group, classical poetry another and canonical prose works a third - as opposed to adopting chronological divisions, the thesis aims to shed light on the range of different rhetorical

⁶⁰ Accounts of the Hôreki incident can be found in Isomae Jun'ichi and Ogura Shigeji, *Kinsei chôtei to Suika Shintô*, pp. 77-83 ; Kubo Takako, *Kinsei no chôtei un'ei: chôbaku kankei no tenkai*, pp. 211-20 ; and Tsuji Tatsuya ed., *Nihon no kinsei: Tenno to shôgun* pp. 218-25; for English-language accounts of Takenouchi's restorationist thought, see Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, *Japanese Loyalty Reconstructed: Yamagata Daini's Ryûshi Shinron of 1759* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press; 1995); and Herschel Webb, *The Japanese Imperial Institution in the Tokugawa Period* (New York; London: Columbia University Press; 1968).

strategies invoked by the works and provide working insights into how text and image might similarly operate in the work of later artists.

Fig. 1 絵本泉川 *Ehon Izumigawa* 1742



物見の亭(ちん)と下々(しもじも)の口には戸がたたず挿鉢(すりばち)に蓋がなく挿木(すりこぎ)に鞆(すりこぎ)のないはとつとむかし神代からのお定めなるべし
 you can't shut the door on a look-out tower; and you can't shut the mouths of the lowly. A mortar has no lid and a pestle has no scabbard: this was surely an ancient decree of the gods

Chapter One

The Political Landscape

The early decades of the eighteenth century were times of economic and social malaise. The affluence of the Genroku period had ceded to more troubled circumstances. Changing market economies had begun to undermine

traditional social structures, both in towns and on the land; familial bonds between employer and employee were increasingly replaced by short term contractual arrangements.¹ The 1720s and 30s saw a series of famines driven by pestilence and poor weather conditions, sending peasants into

towns to seek work or charity. There were floods. On city fringes, increasingly visible, were the shacks of the rural poor whose presence was itself a sign of the times: peasants who no longer properly belonged either to the land



Fig. 1.1a



Fig. 1.1b



Fig. 1.1c

¹ Early Modern Japan John Whitney Hall, 'Early Modern Japan', in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, John Whitney Hall ed., (City: Cambridge University Press; 1991); Hayami Akira, Saito Osamu and Ronald P. Toby eds., *Emergence of Economic Society in Japan, 1600-1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2004); Matsumoto Shiro and Yamada Tadao, *Genroku Kyohoki no seiji to shakai* (Tokyo: Yuhikaku; 1980); Minami Kazuo, *Edo no shakai kozo* (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobo; 1969); T. C. Smith, *The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan*, pp. 108-23 (Stanford: Stanford University Press; 1959)..

or the country. In the first two decades of the century, the number of itinerant pedlars in some cities doubled.² The urban landscape bore increasing witness to people who did not belong, to the disenfranchised and the displaced.³

It was amidst these circumstances that a particular strand of humanist thought took root, propagated by academies of learning run by and aimed at the educationally aspirational merchant class; a humanism that sought both to embrace the needs of the poor and disadvantaged and to establish a model of social interaction premised on human equality and articulated through compassionate action.⁴ The systems of thought developed within these academies, informed and enriched by impassioned readings of Confucianist teachings, changed the way the individual might perceive the horizon of his or her experience, and they changed perceptions of the social contract. As hierarchical bonds weakened, new lateral ones emerged that gave rise to possibilities for new communities, new forms of social interaction. Tsuchihashi Tomonao (founder of the Gansuidô merchant academy in Osaka in 1717) went so far as to imagine a harmonious community of ‘the aged, weak, males and females, high and low, the wise and the foolish’.⁵ These changes inevitably left their mark on cultural production: while Saikaku’s fiction elaborated human narratives that rippled across the contemporary landscape without altering it, by the early eighteenth century, the fiction of Nishizawa Ippû was debating issues of justice, suffering, and relative human value. His *Gozen nidai Soga* (The Tale of the Soga, retold for Elegant Wives 1709), for example, the brothers’ vengeance is substituted by that of two young *kamuro* (apprentice courtesans) who kill the samurai whom they hold responsible for the death of their *tayû* (senior courtesan)

² Hall, 'Early Modern Japan', , p. 696, (City: ; Smith, *The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan*, pp. 73-77.

³ Hall, 'Early Modern Japan', , p. 118, (City: ; Mark Metzler, "Capitalist Boom, Feudal Bust: Long Waves in Economics and Politics in Pre-Industrial Japan", *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, vol. 17, 1994, in particular pp. 71-86.

⁴ Samuel Hideo Yamashita, "The Early Life and Thought of Itô Jinsai", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 43, 1983, pp. 453-80.

⁵ Harry D. Harootunian, *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press; 1988); Tetsuo Najita, *Visions of Virtue in Tokugawa Japan: The Kaitokudô, Merchant Academy of Osaka*, p. 67 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; 1987).

(they are pardoned); in his *Furyû ima Heike* (A Modern Tale of Heike, 1703), Kiyomori, now a ruthless merchant, is killed by the spirit of the child he compelled his wife to abort; his new mistress, a *shirabyôshi* (dancing girl), befriends the wife and oversees the ruin of Kiyomori's son in a gambling spree. These highly emotional tales figuring the ultimate triumph of abused women and roundly endorsing the virtues of compassion, and solidarity in hardship, marked a radical shift both from the didactic formulae of earlier *kanazôshi*, and from the hedonism of Saikaku's works.⁶ Destitution and disadvantage had moved from being a lyrical trope of the floating world to being a genuine social issue and fiction was exploring new interventionist possibilities.

It was against this social and intellectual background that Sukenobu's work was produced, and the changing episteme is abundantly evident in his imagery. Itinerant pedlars (fig. 1.1a), beggars, *hinin* outcasts (fig. 1.1b), the shacks of the poor (fig. 1.1c) and labourers inhabit landscapes whose transformations they themselves inform. Thus, the ferry hauler: harbinger of growing economic integration and market power, celebrated in *Ehon fukurokujû* (Picture book of Wealth, Estate, and Longevity) as a symbol of economic liberalisation: *bankoku wo jiyû ni suru* (fig. 1.2); elsewhere symbol of the attendant human pain, the hardships of the labouring poor, the grim toil of the boat hauler: *hikibune no nobori wazurau* (fig. 1.3).

⁶ See, for example, the new take on moral retribution in Ippû's *Furyû gozen nidai Soga* and *Furyû ima Heike*. Hasegawa Tsuyoshi ed., *Nishizawa Ippû zenshû*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Kyûko Shoin; 2002). This epistemic shift is also discussed in Najita, *Visions of Virtue in Tokugawa Japan: The Kaitokudô, Merchant Academy of Osaka*.

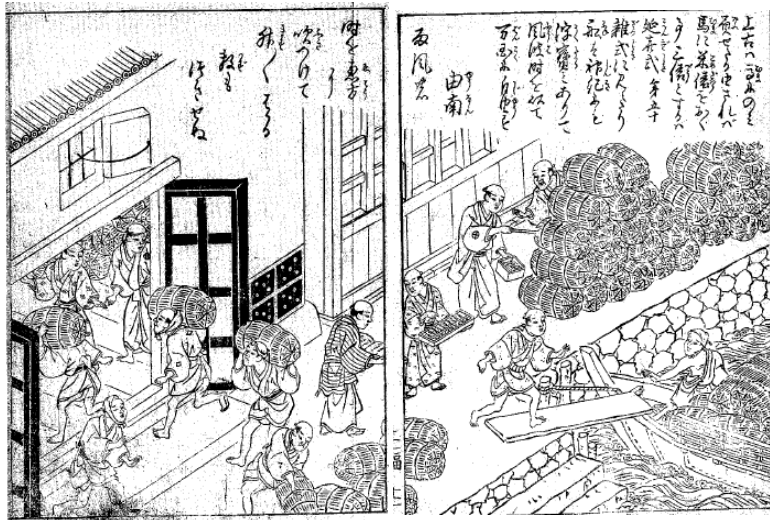


Fig. 1.2

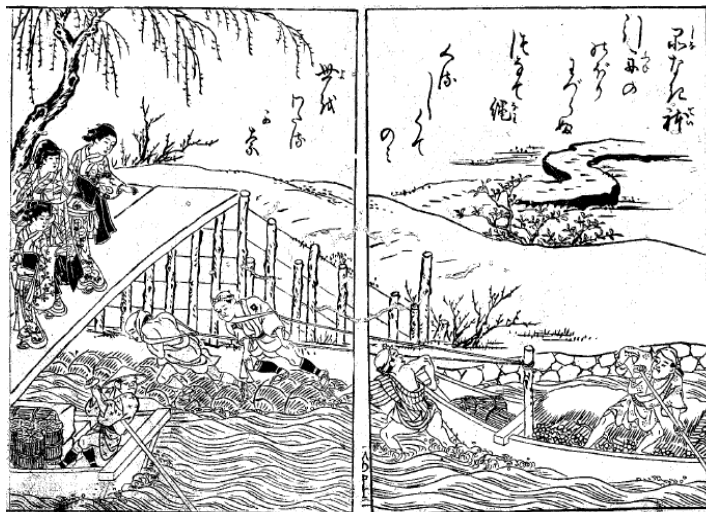


Fig. 1.3

These images of labour introduce a central theme within Sukenobu's works. The toil of the poor is invariably observed by a cluster of well-to-do women, and it serves as a reminder not only of the ephemeral nature of their own privilege but as a meditation on their responsibilities to the poor, and on human equivalence.

Such allusions to the landscape of altruism are frequent in these works and they are highly topical. The importance of civic response to disasters such as famine had become a subject of political debate: during the Kyôhō famine of 1732-3, not a single citizen in Osaka died as a result of a system of emergency provisioning laid on by the citizens themselves.⁷ Such charitable enterprise was a testimony to the growing ability of society to mobilize itself;

⁷ See Kitahara Itoko, "Kyôhō kikin to machikata shikô: ninpû ichiran no shakaishiteki igi", *Nihonshi Kenkyu*, vol. 228, 1981, pp. 6-16; on the new civic responsibilities of townsfolk, see also Matsumoto Shiro and Yamada Tadao, *Genroku Kyohoki no seiji to shakai*, p. 30.

and it did not go unnoticed by contemporary commentators.⁸ The independent scholar Nakamura Sankinshi (Sukenobu's collaborator of the 1730s) noted that during the fire that devastated Kyoto in 1731, not a single person died: motivated by compassion and empathic concern for others, citizens took spontaneous responsibility for the victims. This remarkable achievement was due not, Sankinshi emphasised, to the promulgation of orders from on high (*kokka no mei*) but because of harmonious, functioning relations between people: what he termed *waboku*.⁹ The point was important, for it demonstrated an increasingly contentious aspect of political rule: recourse to manmade law imposed from above versus faith in the inherent goodness of the populace. For Sankinshi, the social contract viewed in terms of *waboku* looked something like this:

Those living together, within a town, should live on intimate terms with one another, mutually caring for each other, differentiating at all times between right and wrong. Harmony (*wa*) signifies living in concord, without disputation. Intimacy (*boku, mutsu*) means genuine affection; like branches of the same tree. It goes without saying that people living in the same village or the same town should never grow distant from each other.¹⁰

Nakamura Ranrin (Shinzô), another frequent collaborator of Sukenobu, made a similar point. Citing the Yuan dynasty scholar Xu Lu Zhai 許魯齋 (1209 - 1281) he wrote: 'When there are no constraints, when there are no laws, when people no longer read flowery, otiose words, then their hearts will naturally become good'.¹¹

⁸ Kitahara Itoko, "Kyôhō kikin to machikata shikō: ninpū ichiran no shakaishiteki igi", pp. 1-38.

⁹ Nakamura Heigorō, "Rikuyu engi koi", in Ishikawa Matsutarō ed., *Oraimono taiki* vol. 35, (Tokyo Ozorasha; 1731).

¹⁰ *Rikuyu engi koi* in Ishikawa Matsutarō ed., *Oraimono taiki: Kyōkunka ôrai* (Tokyo: Ôzorasha; 1993).

中就 (なかんずく) 一在一町内の人とはむつましく互に入懇に往来して善悪につけ真実をつくすべき事なり。和といふはとも矛盾ず (あらそわず) 中をよくすることなり。睦はねんごろに実のあると云。一樹の縁といへり。況や同郷同町の人ハ疎にすべき謂なし

¹¹ Nakamura Ranrin, "Kôshū yohitsu", in Mori Senzô and Kitagawa Hirokuni eds., *Zoku Nihon zuihitsu taisei 1* vol. 1, , p. 42 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan; 1979).

凡検束無き法度無き艶麗不羈之諸文字ハ皆読可不大に人の性情を能移と云り。

These comments were neither abstract musings, nor were they politically neutral: for aversion to the endemic intrusion of the law into the lives of the people had become the subject of political debate. The most high-profile objection to the new legalistic culture was the publication in 1731 of *Onchiseiyô* by Tokugawa Muneharu, the recalcitrant cousin of Yoshimune and daimyo of Owari, who complained that:

Laws and regulations, they proliferate by the year: people

break laws without even knowing they existed. Excessive numbers of laws just create problems: if we carry on in this way, within a couple of decades, we won't even be allowed to raise our voices in the street..... If you really want to improve things, to help people, then it's best to avoid legislating on minor matters...¹²

Muneharu's *Onchiseiyô* had received a prompt encomium just two months after its publication in the form of an annotated version by the same Nakamura Sankinshi, who celebrated the compassion, wisdom and courage of its writer, simultaneously lambasting



Fig. 1.4

¹² See "Onchiseiyô" in Naramoto Tatsuya ed., *Kinsei seidôron*, p. 160 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1976).

萬の法度号令，年々に多くなるに随ひ、おのずから背く者も又多く出来て、弥、法度繁煩らはしき事に成りたり。かくの様子にて数十年を経るならば、後に高声にて咄しする事も遠慮あるやうになるまじきものにてなし。。。第一法度多く過れば、人の心いさみなく、せばくいじけ、道をおろくにも跡先を見るやうに成、常住述懐のみにてくらし、自然と忠義のこころもうすく成間敷ものにてなし。さあれば、其品々をとくと考へ、人の難儀指支にもなるべき事、瑣細なる類は除き止るやうに仕たきものなり。。。和漢ともに、事の多く成り、法度の繁はよろしからぬ事とこれあるよ。

what he likewise considered legalistic lunacy.¹³ Sankinshi had served for a short period in the Owari domain before embracing the life of an independent scholar in Kyoto: his political sympathies were perhaps cemented at this time.¹⁴ Whatever the case may be, both Muneharu and Sankinshi deemed the legalistic approach to government not only cumbersome and inefficient, but a denial of native *waboku*: the natural functioning of the polity through harmonious bonds of community based on the self-regulating governance of the heart. This was a theme to which Kamo Mabuchi would return in the 1750s, but it was one that had emerged on the ideological horizon decades earlier. As an expression of the native Yamato tradition over the Chinese, the innate and intuitive over the artificial and imposed, *waboku* assumed both oppositional and political importance. Suffice it to note, at present, that allusions in Sukenobu's work (see for example fig. 1.4, from the 1734 *Ehon Shimizu no ike* produced in collaboration with Sankinshi) – as in Sankinshi's – to the civic response to disaster bore traces of political bias: it was an endorsement of the Yamato way of social organization, of *waboku*. Thus, while Sukenobu's *ehon* testified powerfully to the changing shape of the landscape, it was an imagery underscored by a political subtext.

The contemporaneity of the landscape gestured to its political relevance. But there were topographical features of this landscape that spoke more explicitly of political affiliations. Traditional conceptual topographies of the early modern Japanese city space tend to invoke the distinction between work space and playspace. If there was an Other within Sukenobu's *ehon* topographies: if binary divisions were to be drawn across the city, it was less the division between the domains of work and leisure than between the palace and the people. The walls (*tsuiji*) of the imperial palace and other imperial residences such as

¹³ The surfeit of laws was also an issue for less impassioned commentators: Yoshimune's advisor Tanaka Kyûgu would also castigate the excessive use of law to regulate trivial matters: see chapter 3, note 73.

¹⁴ Interestingly, Tada Nanrei, another of Sukenobu's collaborators, had also served Muneharu in the Owari domain as a scholar and tutor in the 1730s. Sankinshi's *Onchiseiyô hoyoku* is discussed in Wada Mitsuhiro, "Nakamura Sankinshi ni okeru jinsei to minkan kyôsanron: "Onchiseiyô hoyoku" wo jirei to shite ", *Kyôiku bunka*, vol. 18, 2009, pp. 192-62.

monseki were distinctive in that they were inscribed with five white horizontal lines (*go honsen*); residences of other court nobility were distinguished by four white lines. The ridge, meanwhile, was adorned with a beaded chrysanthemum motif. The imperial wall features time and again in the *ehon*: the example of Retired Emperor Reigen's watchtower has already been cited; in an image from a poetic work of 1739, *Ehon arisoumi*, the wall becomes the specific object of a court lady's melancholy mediation (see fig. 5.40), in *Ehon Tsurezuregusa* of 1738, the wall implicitly divides the emperor from the thronging crowds straining to see (fig. 6.5).

References to the imperial institution within the *ehon* are frequent, and they are almost systematically expressed metonymically through the trope of the palace wall.¹⁵ But there are indications that the metonymic signification of the wall was not restricted to the *ehon*. As a material vestige of the imperial presence, the wall was literally all that remained, for the shogunal veto on imperial excursions had curtailed all other opportunity for proximity between the emperor and his people.¹⁶ The separation of court and city was only deepened by the appointment in 1643 of a bakufu guard (*kinritsuke*) at junctures around the palace wall, a move designed to monitor movements to and from the court.¹⁷ A visitor to Kyoto in the 1750s would describe the palace now bristling with fortifications - tell-tale signs of a military presence (*makoto ni mononou ni sonahenaran*); yet he still extolled the dazzling beauty of the white walls, lined with willows and wrapped in banks of spring green grass like an *obi*.¹⁸

¹⁵ The first overt reference by Sukenobu to the imperial institution was in the 1723 *Hyakunin jorô shinasadame*, a work which had been banned on publication although pirated copies continued to circulate, particularly in Edo. The work opens with the depiction (on the same page) of an empress (in enthronement regalia), an imperial consort, and an imperial princess. With this exception, however, references to the imperial institution are signaled metonymically by the lines on the wall and the beaded motif on its ridge.

¹⁶ See Takano Toshihiko, "Chôtei wo torimaku hitobito", in Takano Toshihiko ed., *Chôtei wo torimaku hitobito* vol. 9, p. 216 et passim (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan; 2007). From the Kan'ei period onwards, pictures of the palace were advertised in booksellers' catalogues;

¹⁷ Tsuji Tatsuya ed., *Nihon no kinsei: Tenno to shôgun*, pp. 134-5 (Tokyo: Chûô Kôronsha; 1991).

¹⁸ *Murasaki no yukari* in Mori Senzô and Kitagawa Hirokuni, *Zoku Nihon zuihitsu taisei*, vol. 8, p. 81 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan; 1979). The visitor was possibly the kokugaku scholar Yamaoka Matsuake.

又柳をおしなみうゑたるもあり。芝居ういそひて春のみどりことにうるはしく、帯のごとく
長う見ゆるに、ついじの白きなどいとまばゆし。

If this eulogy seems surprising, there are signs that, from the latter part of the seventeenth century, the palace had begun to claim a special place in the popular imagination. By 1696, images of the palace - *dairi* - were advertised for sale in publishers' catalogues.¹⁹ By 1724, Wakabayashi Kyôsei would refer to it as Takaamanohara, dwelling place of the gods. Since the emperor (*tenshi*) was a living god and the palace was his dwelling place, the connection was relatively simple (*tenshi no kôkyo wo takamanohara to iu koto*).²⁰ Yoshimi Yoshikazu, in a document prepared in 1754 for Ôgimachi Sanetsure, recalled that the Tachibana and Suika scholar Tamagi Masahide had defined the palace in terms of the *iwasaka* 磐境: the sacred rock boundary which, together with the *himorogi*, enclosed the heavenly grandchild.²¹ Since, in Suika terms, the *himorogi iwasaka* was emblematic of the primordial bond between emperor and subject, the assimilation of such terms was not without implications.²² It was to these walls that the Kimon scholar and passionate imperialist Asami Keisai (1652-1711) would betake himself in idle moments, as a testimony of devotion to his lord (*ôkimi*).²³ Wakabayashi Kyôsei established his academy directly south of the southern gate of the palace, his disciple Seisai 成齋 declared that should anything happen at court, he would make a solitary stand outside the southern gate and defend the palace (*ôjô no nanmon wa, soregashi hitori shite keiei subeshi*).²⁴ The walls, the palace, were powerful – for some, painful - signifiers of both presence, and absence.

The palace wall was new to the iconography of the *ehon* and it seems likely that it was highly purposeful. At the very least, it was a reminder of the residual presence of the

¹⁹ Keiô Gijuku Daigaku fuzoku kenkyûjo shidô bunko ed., *Edo jidai shorin shuppan shoseki mokuroku shûsei*, vol. 2, p. 379 (Tokyo: Inoue Shobô; 1962).

²⁰ Wakabayashi Kyôsei, "Nihon shoki ben", in Shintô Taikei Hensankai, *Shintô taikei: ronsetsu hen*, vol. 13, p. 282 (Tokyo: Shintô Taikei Hensankai; 1978). 天子ノ皇居ヲ高天原ト云コト也。

²¹ See "Yoshimi Yoshikazu "Taimon hikki" *honkaku*" in Isomae Jun'ichi and Ogura Shigeji, *Kinsei chôtei to Suika Shintô*, p. 284 (Tokyo: Perikansha; 2005). 一説ニ皇居ニ祭置故、皇居則磐境也ト玉木被申候ヘドモ

²² See Introduction.

²³ Abe Ryûichi, "Kimon gakuha shoke no ryakuden to gakufû", in Nishi Junzô ed., *Yamazaki Ansai gakuha* p. 590. (Tokyo Iwanami shoten; 1980).

²⁴ Kondô Keigo, *Asami Keisai no kenkyû*, pp. 280-1 (Kyoto: Shintô Shigakkai; 1990).

imperial institution. Yet if it seems excessive to read the wall as an invocation of imperial sentiment – *ôdô* – it is salutary to turn to the works of Sukenobu’s collaborators. Some were familiar, if not affiliated with scholarly institutions like Jinsai’s: but it is as fellow travellers in the imperial cause that Sukenobu’s pattern of collaborators makes most sense. Ejima Kiseki, Nakamura Ranrin, Tada Nanrei, Nakamura Sankinshi, and the Osaka-based Rôka Ansai were neither domain scholars nor did they have allegiance to scholarly institutions and their works have not yet been fully assimilated into the general understanding of the intellectual trends of the period. Yet as representatives of the commoner intellectual milieu and distinguished by Suika or Kimon affiliations, they provide a vital insight into the concerns of private study groups and colloquia that thronged the capital. They represent - to some extent at least - the often dimmed political voice of the common man.

Consider, for example, Nakamura Sankinshi: a Kyoto-based scholar (he called himself a *zokushi* or populist) who published educational polemics from ethical guides to letter-writing manuals.²⁵ Recent scholarship has characterized him as a conservative thinker prepared to err on the side of the illiberal to ensure the stability of the polity.²⁶ But Sankinshi’s works are more complex than they at first seem and they require to be read in the context of his Suika-Kimon background. Read as loyalist polemic, they translate as an impassioned manifesto for *hôbatsu*: the dismissal of the evil ruler. Emotional and rhetorical, these are works which carry with them a sense of impending apocalypse. *Rikuyu engi koi* 六諭衍義小意, for example, published in 1731, invoked in its title Muro Kyûsô’s *Rikuyu engi taii* 六諭衍義大意 (General Sense of the Extended Meaning of the Six Precepts), a primer produced at the behest of the Yoshimune in 1721 and distributed to *terakoya* in the three great

²⁵ Wada Mitsuhiro, "Kinsei ôraimono sakusha ni okeru shomin kyôikuron: Nakamura Sankinshi wo jirei to shite", *Nihon Kyôiku Kenkyû*, vol. 25, no. 8, 2006, pp. 1-34.

²⁶ See, for example, Wada Mitsuhiro, "Nakamura Sankinshi kara Nishikawa Sukenobu *Ehon Shimizu no ike e*: hoshuka suru "zennen" to toshi fûzoku", *Bunkashigaku*, vol. 11, 2009, pp. 321-26. Mitsuhiro is the only scholar to have published extensively on Sankinshi.

cities.²⁷ Embracing the same five themes as its precursor: filial piety (父母に考順) respect for ones elders (長上を尊敬), harmony in the home (郷里を和睦), proper conduct of one's hereditary livelihood (各々生理を安んず) and abstinence from wrongdoing (非為をなかれ母作す), it turned them on their head. No longer conceived as a ministry for the young, these same virtues are now a ferocious satire of bakufu behaviours.

The work opens with a strident appeal to the people to embrace the way of virtue, for the retribution of the heavens is imminent: the righteous will be swiftly rewarded, and the doers of evil punished.²⁸ It was acutely conscious of timing:

“Already in the year of the cow - Kyôhō 6 - and in the following year of the tiger, we received signs from the heavens in the form of the long rains (十雨). Now, after eighteen years of ample harvests, the people have tired of saving. The greater meaning of the six teachings (*Rikuyu engi taii*) has spread throughout the four seas, its teaching has reached as far as village elders and farmers in their fields.²⁹

The passage marries an invocation of divine timeliness with deep irony. The long rains of 1721-22 came in the wake of a severe country-wide drought: the *Getsudô kenbunshû* memorialist noted that, in the sixth month of 1721, farmers in the Kyoto region had asked the city to conduct prayers for rain - prayers (*amagoi*) which featured in Chikamatsu's play of the

²⁷ *Rikuyu engi taii* was based on a popular Ming preceptual work, which made its way to Japan via the Ryukyus. See Dan Fenno Henderson, "Chinese Legal Studies in Early 18th Century Japan: Scholars and Sources", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 30, 1970, pp. 36-40. For Kyûsô's Japanese text, see Nakamura Yukihiro ed., *Kinsei chônin shisô* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1975). For a discussion of its influence and reception, see Matsuoka Yoshie, "Rikuyu engi taii ni okeru keiseisaimin no shisô: "onoono seiri wo yasunzu" to kinsei chûki bungaku", *Tôyô Daigaku daigakuin kiyô*, vol. 46, 2009, pp. 1-15. *Rikuyu engi koi* is reproduced in Ishikawa Matsutarô ed., *Ôraimono taikai: Kyôkunka ôrai*, vol. 35.

²⁸ *Rikuyu engi koi*. 善念の人には。天報迅速に祥を下し。悪念の人には悪報速にして不祥を下

²⁹ *Rikuyu engi koi*:

既に享保第六丑の年中その翌歳虎の年兩年の間天より十雨の嘉瑞を下したまひ。今に至り米穀豊饒(ぶによう)民十八年の貯に飽り。六諭衍義大意四海に布互り。教化(こうか/おしえうつり)村老野夫に及ぶいかなれば民の父母としてあくまで下民を善道に導給ふことぞや。

following year, *Urashima nendaiki*.³⁰ Duly, on the first day of the sixth month of 1721, the deluge began - a sign of divine favour, an answer, it seemed, to the prayers of the people.

By contrast, the reference to eighteen years of abundant harvest was biting irony. Between 1713 and 1731, the country experienced a series of failed harvests due to intemperate weather and pestilence, famines, and epidemics.³¹ These were times of crisis. Moreover in the same breath, the text alludes to Yoshimune's unpopular frugality laws: beset by famine, the people had had enough of saving (*tami jûhachi nen no takuwaie ni akeri*). As a result, Sankinshi pronounced, the meaning of the *Rikuyu engi taii* - glossed in the opening sentence as the principle of right thought (*zennen no ichiri*) - had become apparent in all four corners of the country.

Sankinshi's understanding of the implications of *zennen no ichiri* was markedly different from Kyûsô's - as was apparent from his earlier *Zô no mitsugi* (Tribute of Elephants) of 1729 (Kyôhō 14). This work had heralded the arrival in Japan of a pair of elephants - sent in tribute to the shogun from Vietnam - as a felicitous sign both of imminent change and the rectification of present wrongs.³² The young elephant had parted with its mother in order to come to Japan, but the grief of separation was mitigated when they learned that Japan was a divine and righteous country. Would their belief be borne out? (*makoto naru kana*) Sankinshi asked rhetorically.³³ Elephants, he noted, were brave and filial creatures, and they rewarded filial behaviours (they had ploughed the land for Shun in recognition of his filial piety). And he added in small script, "Even beasts are filial: but those who despise the gods of heaven and earth are unfilial and should be expelled." Elephants

³⁰ Mori Senzô and Kitagawa Hirokuni eds., *Zoku Nihon zuihitsu taisei: bekkân*, p. 208 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan; 1981); the Chikamatsu allusion is cited in Uchiyama Mikiko, *Jôrurishi no jûhasseiki*, p. 43. (Tokyo: Benseisha; 1989).

³¹ See the *Edo jidai nenpyô* for these years at < <http://www1.parkcity.ne.jp/sito/nenpyo.html>>.

³² Nakamura Heigo, "Zô no mitsugi", in Kusonose Nichinen ed., *Zuihitsu bungaku senshû* vol. 11, , vol. 11 (Tokyo: Shoshaisha; 1927). For a detailed discussion of the elephants journey, see Ôba Osamu and Joshua A. Fogel, *Sino-Japanese Relations in the Edo Period: 8 The Travels of Elephants*, pp. 50-68.

³³ Nakamura Heigo, "Zô no mitsugi", p. 455.

averted disaster (Yamazaki Suika, Sankinshi reminded his readers, had believed a sculpted elephant head should be kept in every house).³⁴ And now, an elephant was coming to Japan. The corruption and deception (*jakyoku neikan* 邪曲佞奸) of the present was intolerable: the long rains, and the arrival of the elephant, were signs of change. Would the people have the faith and courage to bring it about?³⁵

Zô no mitsugi was a hortatory work: it had urged the people to demonstrate their virtue through their actions. Significantly, it was written within a year of one of the first of the eighteenth century peasant protests, which had seen the men of Tsuyama march on the residence of the headman and storm the grainhouses. The popular account of the protest, *Mimoku shimin ranpôki*, presented the peasants as moral agents executing divine vengeance on the perpetrators of evil. In the words of Herbert Bix, “the heaven of popular ideology existed to help effect political change in the real world.”³⁶ *Rikuyu engi koi* had a similar agenda. The long rains and the spread of the word (by which Sankinshi alluded on the one hand to Kyûsô’s primer, on the other to a groundswell of populist sentiment which he termed *zennen no ri*) had come about because of the virtue of *kimi*: “How has this come to be? Because as the father and mother of the people, (he) leads even the lowly in the way of righteousness”. The father and mother of the people, *kimi*, was - this thesis will argue - the emperor:

“the munificence of our lord is all-pervasive, his boundless compassion flows through Japan (*Nihon*), he fathoms the hearts of his lowliest servants; tears of gratitude wet my desk as I write this ³⁷

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 459-61.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 467-8.

³⁶ Herbert P. Bix, *Peasant Protest in Japan, 1590-1884*, p. 43 (New Haven, Conn. (USA); London: Yale University Press; 1986). Bix gives a full account of the protest in Ibid. The text of *Mikoku shomin ranpôki* can be found in Miyamoto Tsuneichi, Haraguchi Torao and Higa Shunchô eds., *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryô shûsei*, vol. 13, pp. 293-377 (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobô; 1968).

³⁷ *Rikuyu engi koi*.

The distinctive disposition of gratitude evident in this passage was a fundamental feature of Kimon and Suika concepts of subjecthood. For Keisai, gratitude was an ontological love for ones lord or parent (*oya no itôshiu wa rei*); it was the very glue (*nori*) of selfhood. Without the disposition of gratitude, there was no self.³⁸ There are other indications of Suika influence: *Rikuyu engi*'s insistent religiosity: lexical distinctions, such as the term *shôgô* 浹洽 - with its alternative furigana gloss of *hitashi hitaru* - alluding to the concept of simultaneously cleansing and blessing, a term used by Yamazaki Ansai; the elevation of the character for *kimi* outside and above the margins of the main text, the minimization of *hishi* 卑仕 as a typographic gesture of deference; all suggest the sacralized loyalist discourse of Suika Shintô.³⁹

That the *kimi* of *Rikuyu engi koi* refers to the emperor is crucial in interpreting the text itself. Yet it is not a dominant view. An article of 2008 by Wada Mitsuhiro - who has published extensively on Sankinshi - assumes that the *kimi* of the text refers to Yoshimune on the grounds of Yoshimune's close association with Kyûsô's *Rikuyu engi taii*.⁴⁰ Wada thus characterizes Sankinshi's works as typical of an ethically conservative commoner intellectual milieu. This thesis takes issue with Wada's reading on the following grounds.

In the same year - 1731- that Sankinshi published *Rikuyu engi koi*, he had fulsomely endorsed Muneharu's criticisms of Yoshimune. Moreover his invocation, in the opening pages of *Rikyuyu engi koi*, of the *kami meikun* 上明君 - with its typical pun on *kami* (both higher and god) and the character for *kami* lifted into the margins - was surely a satirical dig at Kyûsô's *Meikun kakun*

君 恩永代に浹洽（しょうごう）し。仁澤（じんたく）日本に充溢（じゅういつ）せり。
 普天（あまねきそら）の卑士深憶熟察すれば。感涙卓（しよく）に落数行。

³⁸ Nishi Junzô ed., *Yamazaki Ansai Gakuha*, p. 261 (Tokyo Iwanami shoten vol. 31; 1980).

身のスジメスジメノ正味ノノリヲ礼ト云。

³⁹ For Ansai's use of the term *shôgô* 浹洽 see *Daigaku suika sensei kôgi* 大学垂加先生講義 in *ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

⁴⁰ Wada Mitsuhiro, "*Rikuyu engi koi* kô: Nakamura Sankinshi no kyôikuka ôraimono ni tsuite", *Kyôiku bunka*, vol. 17, 2008, pp. 134-14.

(House Precepts for the Virtuous Ruler) of 1692, produced for the daimyo of the Kanazawa domain, subsequently adopted by Yoshimune as his own house rules and reprinted frequently throughout the Tokugawa period; for Kyûsô's work bears the characters for *meikun* 明君 writ large on the opening page (fig. 1.5).⁴¹ For a scholar operating in politicized Suika circles, as Sankinshi was, the higher, the divine virtuous ruler could only be the emperor.

Rikuyu engi koi opens on a note of apocalyptic warning, from which it proceeds - under headings derived from Kyûsô's primer - to discussions of (un)filial conduct, governance of the country, and the economy of evil (*hii*).



Fig. 1.5

Thus, under the heading of filial piety, Sankinshi expresses the mutual desire of parent and child to see each other face to face; he laments the physical distance that now separates parent and child, he exhorts sons to demonstrate manliness - *otokogi* - in the face of slights received by their parents; and he enthusiastically supports disinheritance for the unfilial child.⁴² Kyûsô, by contrast, had rested his case on more domestic precepts: as the parent cares for the child in its infancy, the child should care for the aged parent, and so forth.⁴³ Under the section *Hii wo nasukoto nakare* - abstain from wrongdoing - Sankinshi introduces the jealous wife, jealousy being the greatest infringement of the moral order:

⁴¹ The work is discussed in Wakao Masaki, "Kyôhō-Tenmei-ki no shakai to bunka: meikun no jidai" in Manabu Oishi ed., *Kyôhō kaikaku to shakai henyô*, pp. 278-85 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan; 2003).

⁴² *Rikuyu engi koi*:

さらば孝行をせんと思ひ立大善也。善道に脇ひらむる法やある。袁量会積も入べきや。恥かし怖畏き品あるべきか

近頃子たる人のふ了見と云べし。生たる人に懇懃に拝をなして悦び玉へる顔を見てこそ。親も我も楽限なかるべし。相手もなき位牌にむかひて。客心なる挨拶ばかりにてハ。考とはゆるしがたかるべし。

⁴³ Nakamura Yukihiko ed., *Kinsei chônin shisô*, pp. 367-8.

Amongst the lowly too, that which most contributes to the atrophy of a man's natural vigour is the jealousy and wrath of a wife. The jealousy of a woman is a truly great crime; one for which there is no remedy in a conduct book.⁴⁴

Citing as an example Ose no Saburô Chikamune, the indomitable hero of *Azuma kagami*, driven by the insatiable jealousy of his wife to take holy orders and leave the world, Sankinshi warns that any illustrious and noble family is at risk of being destroyed by the machinations of a jealous wife. The learned cannot fathom the stupidity of a woman, nor the brave control the jealousy of a woman.⁴⁵ The work ends with an exhortation that seems little short of a call to arms:

By committing crimes against the natural order, and bringing retribution on themselves, the powerful must fall. If this is the case, let us conduct ourselves properly to bring this about.⁴⁶

Kyûsô, by contrast, had discussed (in more measured terms) the hazards of the brothels, drink and gambling.⁴⁷ Sankinshi's text detains the reader by its vehemence: a vehemence which both overwhelms and undermines its own topoi (filial duty, propriety), tipping them into the realm of metaphor. If Kyûsô recommends an ethical over an academic bias in a child's education, Sankinshi promises death and destruction for arrogant scholars who deny the truth of divine retribution, who fail to perceive in the unrest of the people the thunderous wrath of Michizane.⁴⁸ Domestic imperfection not only paves the way to national disaster, it becomes a trope for that disaster.

⁴⁴ Ishikawa Matsutarô ed., *Ôraimono taikei: Kyôkunka ôrai*, vol. 35, p. 67.

下々も丈夫（おとこ）らしき味（み）棹のくじけて非為をなすことも。おほくハ妻女の嫉妬瞋念（しんねん）よりはじまる物といへり。女として嫉妬ふかきこと大なる非為といへどもこればかり教訓にも術なし。

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁴⁶ *Rikuyu engi koi*:

非為して天理にかなざり悪報いたりて衰微になることなればたがいにたしなむべき事ぞかし

⁴⁷ Nakamura Yukihiro ed., *Kinsei chônin shisô*, pp. 374-5.

⁴⁸ *Rikuyu engi koi*.

To some extent, metaphorical slippage of this nature was not uncommon. Filial piety, loyalty in service and conjugal propriety formed the three bonds (*sankô*) of Confucian doctrine: the invocation of the one as a metaphor for the other was often a matter of routine.⁴⁹ It was a synthesis readily invoked by Keisai - for example, in the formulation, “What is heaven? For the vassal, heaven is his lord, for the child, heaven is his father, for the wife, heaven is her husband”.⁵⁰ But the use of metaphor as a covert form of expression: in particular, as a covert expression of loyalty, was an issue that had preoccupied both Asami Keisai and Wakabayashi Kyôsei (1679-1732).

In 1686, Keisai had written an eight-volume work entitled *Seiken igen* - Testaments of Unwavering Political Devotion. It was an account of the writings left by eight Chinese vassals of the Warring States period who had retained their integrity in the face of injustice and corruption. Not published in its entirety until the *bakumatsu era* (when it became a bestseller and the bible of restorationists) and thus subject to the vagaries of manuscript circulation and word of mouth, it was nonetheless influential. It had formed the subject of a number of Keisai’s lectures, for example, his *Seiken igen kôgi* 靖獻遺言講義 recorded by Kyôsei and published (posthumously) in 1744.⁵¹ This text dwelt on just one of the original eight heroes, Qu Yuan (340 -278 BCE), a virtuous statesman of the Warring states period banished as a result of slanderous allegations made by his enemies. In exile, he composed poetry, most famously the *Li Sao* 離騷- a lament on exile, separation from, and devotion to his lord: a devotion expressed in terms of romantic love. One of the aesthetic qualities Keisai identified in *Li Sao* was that of unfathomable depth (*shinen*):

⁴⁹ For a discussion of the synthesis between filial piety, loyalty and imperial veneration, see I. J. McMullen, "Rulers or Fathers? A Casuistical Problem in Early Modern Japanese Thought", *Past & Present*, vol. 1987, p. 84 & note 135.

⁵⁰ Nishi Junzô ed., *Yamazaki Ansai Gakuha*, pp. 262-3.

天ノ所ハ臣之所天ハ君ヲ云、子之所天ハ父ヲ云、妻ノ所ハ天ハ夫ヲ云ソ。

⁵¹ *Seiken igen kôgi*, in Shintô Taikei Hensankai ed., *Suika Shintô*, vol. 13.(Tokyo: Shintô Taikei Hensankai; 1978).

Unfathomable depth (*shinen*): this describes a love that cannot declare itself, a love far from shallow, a love with profound intent. The work is composed entirely in this mode: yet it issues from Qu Yuan's unerring integrity, the aching pain of his passion. By writing of the wife yearning for her husband, through metaphors of trees and the grasses; without mentioning either his lord, or his detractors, he expressed his love and his yearning for his master, and for this reason his work has unfathomable depth.⁵²

According to Keisai, Qu Yuan had laid claim to tropes of romantic love and the natural world to articulate his feelings for his lord. His use of metaphor was a rhetorical strategy that permitted the circuitous expression of forbidden love. This love that could not speak its name, Kyôsei elsewhere termed *shinobinu nasake*, *shinobinu kokoro*. It was a love forced by the climate of hostility and the unattainability of its addressee to clad itself in metaphors borrowed from other domains of feeling. Yet it left its trace clearly on the page: Keisai concluded his lecture with the following peroration:

Mare (seldom) means being unable to express your love, being unable to confess your feelings to your loved one. It is the character which expresses hopeless love (*yarukatanai omoi*). Because we can't talk about *omoiire* (passionate love) – we just say *omoi* (love). But it really means unbearable loyalty and pain (love?). And since it is impossible to express them, because we can never confess them to the one we love, they inevitably find an outlet in the words of common people.⁵³

⁵² Ibid., p. 261.

深遠ハ云ニ云ヘヌノコイノアサハカニナイ、旨アルコトヲ云。皆其体ニナラウテ作レドモ、屈原ハ至誠惻怛ノヤルセナイ情カラ発シテ、女ノ夫ヲシタウコトヲ云タリ、草木ノコトニヨソヘタリシテ、君トモ讒者トモササズニ、ヌシノヲモイコウタル旨ヲノベラレタラユヘ、離騷ハ深遠トアルゾ。

⁵³ Ibid., p. 265.

稀ハヲモイ入レノ云ニ云ワレズ、誰ニ語フ様モナク、ヤルカタナイト云ヲモイ入レアル字ゾ。ソレデヲモウト順ムデオクゾ。忠憂（愛カ）ノ情ノ申ビヌ思入ヲ知タガヨイ。アノ云ニ云ヘヌ所ハ、ドウモ誰ト語ウヤウモナイユヘニ、是豈易興俗人言哉ゾ。

The open acknowledgement of the strategic function of metaphor is instructive: so, too, the suggestion that through metaphor, this same unspeakable love found an outlet in the words of common people. Moreover, if the conjugal relationship was a powerful political metaphor, it was also a highly flexible one, permitting a number of variations - romantic love (master and servant), the jealous wife (political detractors), the persecuted wife (the loyal but exiled vassal), and so forth. Conjugal and filial relationships - in fact the whole of the natural world - provided a circuitous means of alluding to the relationship between master and vassal.

In the case of *Rikuyu engi koi*, this is particularly illuminating. The mutual desire of parent and child to meet, the lament over the physical separation of parent and child translate readily as metaphors of the separation of emperor and subject; exhortations to avenge the slights received by the parent, as a metaphor of political action; the disinheritation of the unfilial child as a metaphor of political deselection. The jealous wife - a trope which recurs time and again in Sukenobu's *ehon* - becomes a metaphor of an unhappy political marriage. In fact Sankinshi's closing exhortation can be read productively in the context of *Seiken igen* itself. Take, for example, the following quotation from the first volume of that work, an account of the illustrious deeds of Zhuge Liang (181-234), a renowned strategist of the Three Kingdoms period:

The Han dynasty is teetering and crumbling. Wicked vassals have usurped the mandate of heaven, they have assumed political control. The situation is lamentable. I myself am without influence and ability: yet tell me, by what stratagem can I place the true emperor back in his righteous place? To which Zhuge Liang replied: the general is the true successor of the Han dynasty; his rightful claim is widely known.

The people of the realm would surely welcome him with food and wine. For this reason, the restoration of the Han dynasty is eminently possible.⁵⁴

The portrayal of a dynasty in decline, the exhortation to rise above the torpor of futility and the implicit confidence in the people's readiness for restoration are themes which resonate strongly with *Rikuyu engi koi*. In the final section of this work (Abstention from wrongdoing) Sankinshi sets out his notion of the justification of illegality in the name of the rectification of a prior evil. Opening with a reiteration of the deep aversion felt by any individual to breaking the law, he leads on to a highly impressionistic discussion of subjective understandings of the law. Sage Emperor Shun was forced to exile his own father: this was in accordance with the law, it was nonetheless a painful decision. Shun was vindicated, because "there can be no private will within the public will: this too is part of the burden of the law".⁵⁵ The precedent is important for Sankinshi (as it was for Keisai) since it embodies the concept of the rectification of wrong through wrong in the name of a higher good.⁵⁶ Sankinshi acknowledged that it was a concept hard for the lowly to fathom, but he sought to persuade his reader that legality at the present moment was simply evil masquerading as the law:

Something that's not in the law, something evil that goes against reason: you think people don't know, but that's the height of folly.....saying you do something for someone else, abusing your status (*mi katte wo otoshi*), pushing people about, then

⁵⁴ In Dai Nihon Shisô Zenshû Kankôkai ed., *Yoshida Shôin shû. Sakuma Shôzan shû tsuketari Aizawa Yasushi, Asami Keisai*, p. 440 (Tokyo: Dai Nihon Shisô Zenshû Kankôkai; 1931).

我が漢室は傾き頽れ、姦臣等天命を盗み、政權を争って居るのが如何にも残念である。自分は敢て徳望と才力を量らず、我が正統天子の大義の存する所を天下に伸さうとしてゐるが其の謀は如何したらうか.....亮將軍は漢室の正統の子孫、其の信義は天下に知れ渡つたゐるから、天下の民は必ず酒食を供えて將軍を迎へるに違ひない。さうすれば漢室の興復は必ず出来るであらう。

⁵⁵ *Rikuyu engi koi*:

公に私なしといふも。法の重きをいふことなれば。下々わけて法と云ものにこころをつけて。容易に思ふべからず。

⁵⁶ Keisai returns to this trope on numerous occasions; see, for example, *Keisai sensei keisaizô kôgi* 綱齋先生敬齋箴講義 in Nishi Junzô ed., *Yamazaki Ansai Gakuha*, p. 155.

suggesting they sort it out in court, slandering people with your forked tongue continually defying the natural law, committing crimes (*hii*), putting your hand out and stealing (*mesumi*).....you should talk about avoiding crime before you commit the crime..... There are few things that really count as heinous crimes: but when it comes to a really great evil, great immorality, then it goes beyond the net (of compassion) of the conduct books. This must be truly hard to rectify...⁵⁷

What he had in mind was quite specific:

Good and bad are things you get used to: farmers' disputes over mountain rights, water rights, boundaries, these are all crimes. Farmers are the basis of our country. From ancient times, they were known as the people: they provided the basis for the subsistence of the nation, from the emperor and courtiers down to the four peoples. Even if they are not forced to lose a field, that they are forced to enter litigation is wholly inappropriate...⁵⁸

That the discussion of illegality should condense around the legal disputes of farmers is highly significant. Sankinshi was citing important Shinto precedent when he declared that territorial disputes over farmland - the alienation of farmers, defenders of the soil, from their natural right - constituted a prime example of the climate of evil in which the populace was being forced to operate. According to the most famous of the ancient ritual prayers or *norito*, the *ôbarae no kotoba*, the 'breaking down of divisions between rice fields, filling up of irrigation channels, removing water-pipes, sowing seed over again' – that is, the rape of the

⁵⁷ *Rikuyu engi koi* .

⁵⁸ *Rikuyu engi koi*

人の知るまじと思ふハ。愚の上の愚也。国の制禁にいたりてハ。人倫として。犯（おかす）まじきことと知るなれば。かろがろしくやぶる人も希なるべし。人として大それたる悪逆ハ。たくさんにもなく。大悪不道と云にいたりてハ。教訓の網にももれて中々善道にうつりがたかるべきか。。。善道悪道みな馴るる所に有べし。百姓の山論。水論。境目の論。みな非違也。百姓ハ国の本といへり。古より百姓と訓て上

王公より下四民にいたるまで。身命相続の本をつとむるもの也。畔を讓程の事はあらずとも。訴論を取むすぶことは。百姓といふ名にハ不相応なる事なるべし

land, was a divine crime (*tsumi*) which could be absolved only through the ritual cleansing performed by the emperor.⁵⁹ (The clearing of the irrigation channel is a trope that re-occurs in Sukenobu's *Ehon Tsukubayama*). If Sankinshi's illustration was an indication of Shinto outrage at the disruption of ancient land laws, however, it was also a strategic appeal to the farming community. *Rikuyu engi* had indicated at the outset that it was directed at the lowly: at those who, ill-informed, were unable to dissociate themselves from the current regime:

Those with a modicum of education/means are accustomed to hearing worthwhile things. There are many who read books and are thus able to understand reason. But the lowly (and uneducated) spend their days toiling for their livelihoods, and they remain ignorant and cannot fathom reason.⁶⁰

Sankinshi's elliptical gesture to his principal theme of sanctioned illegality was aimed at the community on whom insurrection would, ultimately depend. His appeal was well-judged: peasant communities had begun to articulate their grievances over unreasonable tax levies in much the same terms - *hi* 非 or *mutai* 無体.⁶¹ Allusions to mountain and water rights were equally topical: the rationalization of the tax system over the Kyôhō years sought to include not just harvested yields, but supplementary benefits (fish, game, fertilizer sourced from common land, as well as the produce of cottage industry) within agricultural tax calculations.⁶² The same rationalizing endeavour had sought to restrict land transfers - either through sale or pawn. In the name of rectifying landholding records, peasants were increasingly being forced to seek the recourse of the law.⁶³

⁵⁹ Translated in Stuart D. B. Picken, *Sourcebook in Shinto: Selected documents*, pp. 83-5 (Westport, Conn.; London: Praeger; 2004).

⁶⁰ *Rikuyu engi koi*.

中人以上ハ。常に能事をも聞馴。書物も見ゆへ考の理も弁たる人多し。一向卑賤の人は今日の界業いとなみに貪着し。愚昧に馴て弁へなし。

⁶¹ Fukaya Katsumi, *Hyakushō ikki no rekishiteki kōzō*, pp. 201-8. (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō; 1979).

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 216-23.

Sankinshi's rhetoric was thus highly directed. He was not alone: others were also making emotive references to the rural plight. In his *Satsuroku* of 1706, Keisai had portrayed the progressive dismantling of what he regarded the traditional and equitable distribution of lands from above: the fact that the *ritsuryō* system had been defunct for almost a thousand

years was beside the point, it supplied a conceptual ideal - one that had operated by means of an imperial proprietorial prerogative - with which to compare the contemporary misery of rural communities. Heavy taxes, illness, and famine had led many to

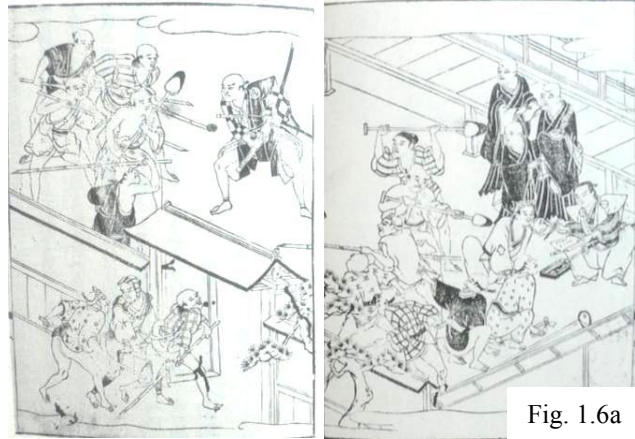


Fig. 1.6a

pawn their lands, others had grown rich from their distress.⁶⁴ Irrigation channels had been filled, common land withdrawn, fields that should have been planted left fallow.⁶⁵ And if the landscape bore the scars of injustice, the source of injustice was clear: the disproportionate level of taxes levied to feed the military (*gunpei*).⁶⁶ Japan had become a country of samurai (*bushikoku*), ruined by greed and arrogance.⁶⁷ Keisai urged his audience to consider well the state of things: politics was no longer just a matter for discussion. Indeed, visions of militant farmers organising to overthrow an abusive regime had crept into the repertoire of fiction: in the 1713 *Hachimonjiyabon, Hyakushō seisuiki* (The Rise and Fall of the Farmers), farmers stricken by poor harvests and crippled by heavy taxes - the evil that is the law (*hō nareba koso hi nagara*), as the narrative describes it - burn down the residence of the local daimyo

⁶⁴ Asami Keisai, *Satsuroku* 箭禄, in Nishi Junzō ed., *Yamazaki Ansai Gakuha*, pp. 370-73.

天下一統ノ知行十分ノ四ニテハ中々不足、大方ハ十分ノ四ト云ヘド、七八上下ニモ及程ニナラシ成テ、民食ハ麦ヲ喰ヨリ外ノコトハ無ニ究ル。皆地ニ付テ直ニ二年貢ヲ取。是亦貢法ノナリナレ共、古ノ貢法ハ田地ノ割付正シテ、年貢ノ究メ明也。

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 372

左モ無カシテ井田ノナリヲ可立繩手ニ地ヲ費シ、可開処モ開ズ植ベキ処モ植付ズ、其々余ニ油断ナク勤セザル故、自例ノ豪民共我儘ヲシ、隠田ヲ拵へ、人ノ田ヲ占取り。

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

while a band of several thousand, armed with spears march on a temple where he has taken refuge.⁶⁸ Both scenes were graphically illustrated by Sukenobu (figs. 1.6a & b). The theme was timely. The first decades of the eighteenth century witnessed the birth of what Fukaya Katsumi has called a politically conscious peasantry (*hyakusho no seijiteki shudai*): the same decades saw, for the first time, violent peasant uprisings exceed petitions for legal redress.⁶⁹



Fig. 1.6b

Sankinshi was at pains to present to his audience grounds for their grievances: he was similarly at pains to unravel the inherent contradiction of using illegal means to counter illegality.⁷⁰ In all of his writings he drew attention repeatedly to the purposeful simplicity of his language and his desire to be understood by the masses. His enterprise had important parallels with other popular literary production. In *Rikuyu engi koi*, he openly acknowledged the subversive political nature of much popular cultural production:

“If you don’t let them watch kabuki; if you don’t let them listen to the songs of traveling minstrels, and *kôshoku banashi*, if you don’t let them read outspoken novels, they’ll never break the law. Not for a moment should your child desist from its reading of illustrated conduct books (*kyôkunzu* 教訓図).”⁷¹

⁶⁸ In Hasegawa Tsuyoshi ed., *Hachimonjiya-bon zenshû*, vol. 4, pp. 296-300 (Tokyo: Kyûko Shoin; 1992). *Hyakushô seisui* (authorship anonymous) was released when Kiseki and Hachimonji Jishô had temporarily parted company. For a brief discussion, see Fujiwara Hideki, "Shôtoku sannen zengo no Kiseki to Hachimonjiya: jidaimono no seiritsu to Tanimura Kiyobei, Nakajima Matabei", *Kokugo to Kokubungaku*, vol. 80, 2003, pp. 58-68.

⁶⁹ Fukaya Katsumi, *Hyakushô ikki no rekishiteki kôzô*, p. 224. See also Bix, *Peasant Protest in Japan, 1590-1884*; and Anne Walthall, *Social Protest and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-century Japan* (Tucson, Ariz.(USA): Published for the Association for Asian Studies by the University of Arizona Press; 1986).

⁷⁰ *Satsuroku*, in Nishi Junzô ed., *Yamazaki Ansai Gakuha*, p. 327.

⁷¹ *Rikuyu engi koi* 52-3

扮劇場（歌舞伎芝居）辻放下好色話。むさとしたる草子などを見聞させざるは。非違を為ことなきの基となる。是全き人間に仕たつる事。幼年よりの教訓図をはなさず。暫??も間断なきによれり

This exhortation, which comes towards the end of the work, is particularly pertinent. By 1731 (the date of publication of *Rikuyu engi koi*), Sukenobu was publishing *ehon* advertised as *kyôkunzu*, or illustrated conduct books. Within a couple of years, he would begin his period of collaboration with the Sankinshi. This thesis will argue that these *ehon*, much like *Rikuyu engi koi*, presented to the people, in images of the people, the justification they required for insurrection. Sukenobu's *ehon*, his erotic production, together with the fictional and incidental works of his collaborators, belonged to a swathe of popular literary production that had insurgency at heart.

But if Sankinshi's writings were ultimately subversive, they articulated their meanings elliptically and allusively, insinuating rather than stating, never wholly disclosing their intent. This chapter has argued that the undisclosed was a trope common to the writings of contemporary Suika thinkers. *Seiken igen* famously avoided any form of direct commentary, relying exclusively on paraphrase or selective citation of its chosen sources to construct its meaning. Kyôsai described Qu Yuan's *Li Sao* as a manifestation of "ultimate meaning (*shii*): unspeakable, but ever present in ones thoughts".⁷² And in response to the objection that the use of vulgar metaphor risked contaminating its referent, he contrived the following defence:

Seen from the perspective of such a person, the discussion of romantic love between a man and a woman, the discussion of supernatural powers (*senjutsu*) may seem inappropriate, even regrettable. Yet none of the teachings of the sages surpass this text in loyalty and filial piety. The vassal in the wilderness, this is the vassal banished from his lord's side; the forsaken son of Zhang⁷³ is the child separated from his parent,

⁷² Shintô Taiei Hensankai ed., *Suika Shintô*, vol. 12, p. 262.

至意ハ、ドウモ云ニ云ヘヌ余儀ナイ思ハクラ云。

⁷³ The allusion is to the deserted son of Kuang Zhang, in Mencius, *Li Lou II* 離婁下, section 58. Accessed at Chinese Text Project <http://ctext.org/mengzi/li-lou-ii>. I am grateful to Yoshiko Yasumura for this information.

the bitter wife is the wife who resents her husband, while in the married couple the wife is persecuted by the mother-in-law.⁷⁴

Metaphor was not a method of choice: it was imposed, as Keisai acknowledged, by force of circumstance. “Emotive words are words which conceal a reason, they are not straightforward. They are useful when you wish to reveal something to your lord.”⁷⁵

Metaphor, that is, helped to maintain a semblance of conformity while permitting a measure of expression: it was a form of doublespeak: “If it were not for this love (*kokoro*), things would appear, on the surface, to be in order; and there, is, fortunately, no trace of subversion. Yet at all times the heart is constrained”.⁷⁶

This thesis will argue that the endorsement by these writers of the strategic function of metaphor and the open acknowledgement of the political necessity of metaphor, provide a crucial paradigm for understanding Sukenobu’s *ehon* production. Sukenobu and his collaborators systematically elaborated their messages of political disaffection through metaphor and riddle. Citations from the classics, variations on the theme of romantic love, punning riddles and cryptic allusions provided a means by which they gave public expression to the unspeakable. The illustrated book, or *ehon*, provided the perfect vehicle. Not only was it an improbable outlet for seditious thought: by means of its visual rhetoric – which provided the viewer with a pictorial analogue of his or her own experience, both emotional and physical – it was able to locate its complex web of allusive meaning in the contemporary landscape. Through images, political imperatives acquired a new sense of personal relevance.

⁷⁴ Nishi Junzô ed., *Yamazaki Ansai Gakuha*, p. 262.

カヨウナ人ノ目カラハ、カノ男女ノ情ヲ云ヒリ、仙術ノコトヲ云タリスルヲミテハ、コレヲ構ノスルコトハ面白ナイヤウニ思ワバ、キワメテ残念ジャガ、然ニ不忍本心ニ根ザスユヘ、聖賢ノ教ノ忠モ考モ此ヨリ外ハナウテ、此心カラ出タ離騒ゾ。放臣ハ君ニハナタレタ臣、屏子ハ親ニシリゾケラレタ子、怨妻ハ夫ヲウラムル妻、夫婦ハ姑ニサラレタ婦ゾ。

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

惣有レ感ト云詞ハ、ヨシアリテ云コトニテ、ムサトハイワヌコトゾ 御前デ披露スルヤウナコトニ便ゾ。

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

此心ガナケレバ、境界ガ順ナレバ幸ニ背ク跡ハミエヌガ、何時デモ狭間クグル心ハモッテイルゾ

It is against this backdrop of political and metaphorical subversion that the ensuing discussion which will trace the shifting moods of imperial loyalist sentiment from the early erotic works to the plangent laments of the later years.

Figs. 1.1 a&b Ehon fude tsubana 1747 絵本筆津花

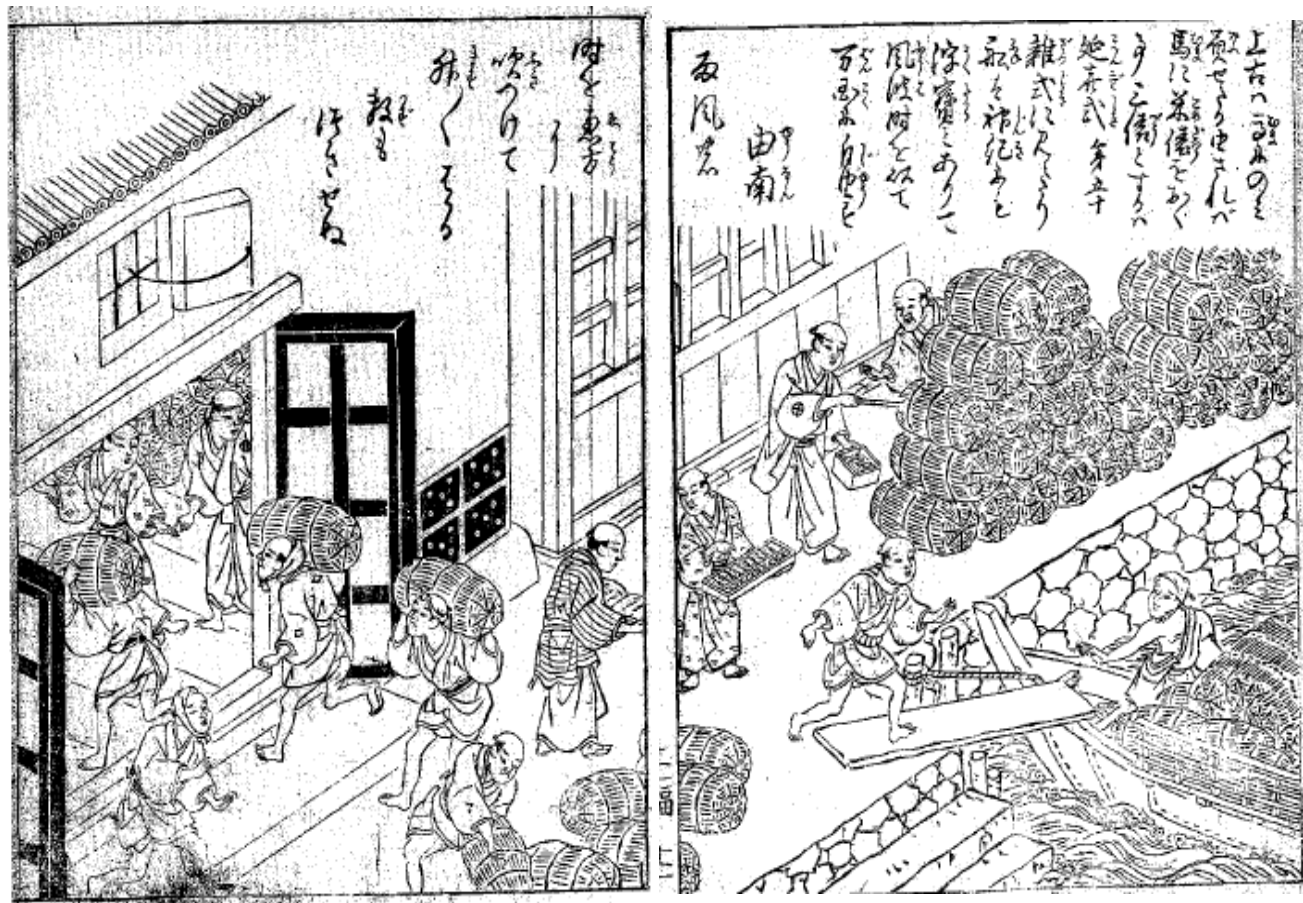


Fig. 1.1c

Ehon himekomatsu 1742 絵本姫小松



Fig. 1.2 Ehon fukurokujû 1749 絵本福祿寿



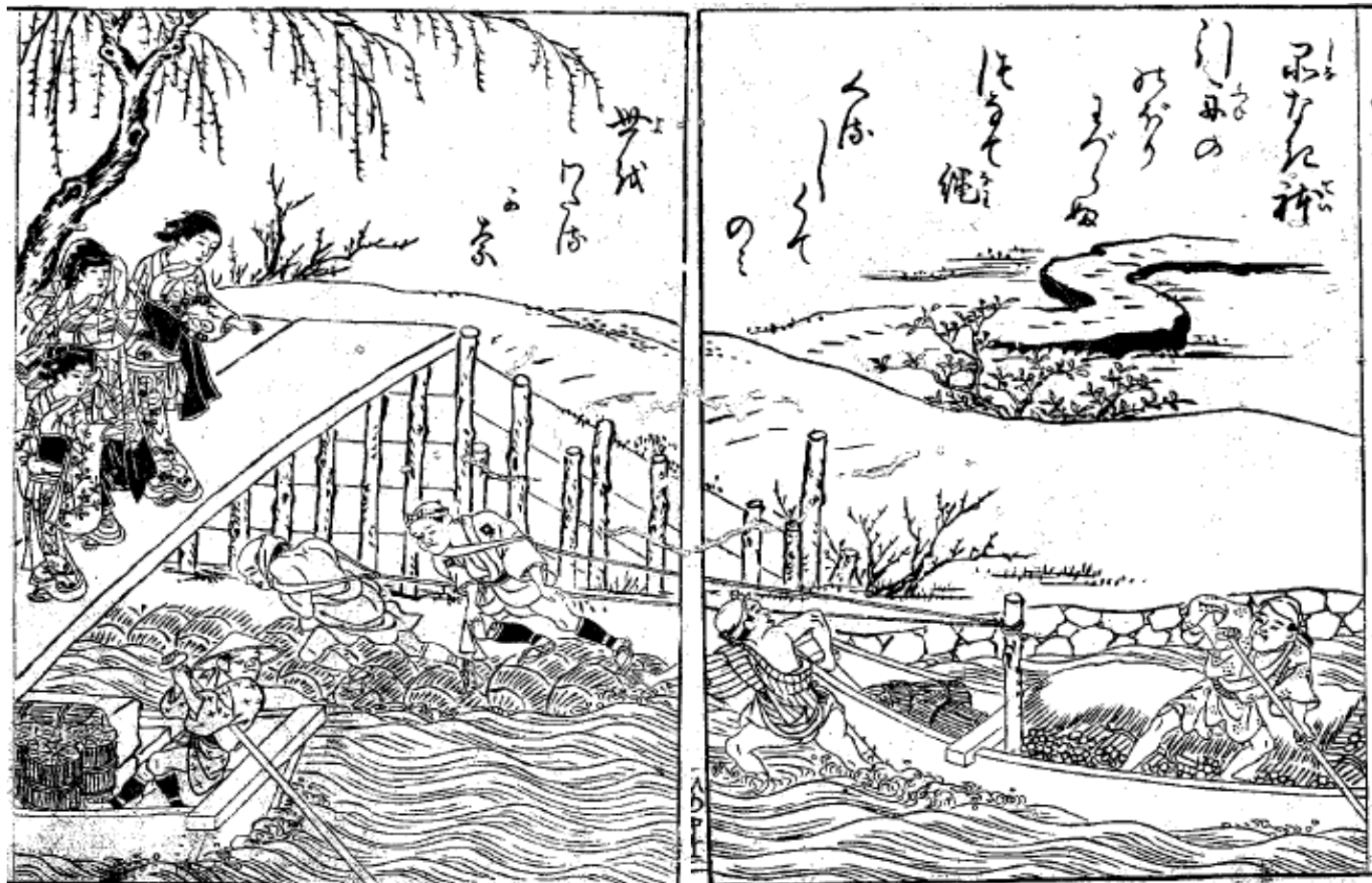




Fig. 1.5

Muro Kyûsô's *Meikun kakun*

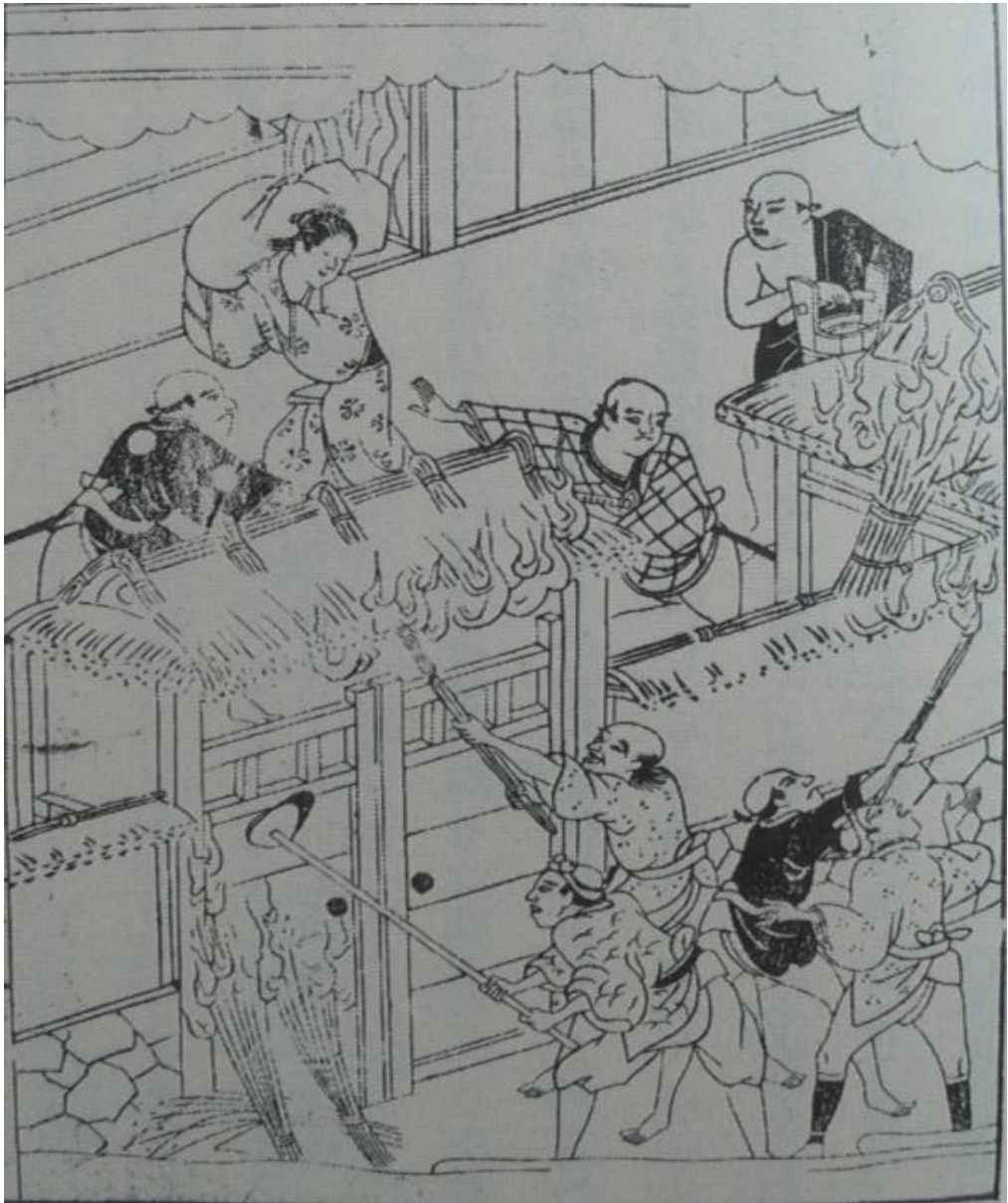


Fig. 1.6a *Hyakusho seisuiki* 百所盛衰記



Fig. 1.6b

Hyakusho seisuiki 百所盛衰記



Chapter Two

Sex, Marriage and Erotica in a Changing World

Between 1710 and 1722, Sukenobu was Japan's most prolific erotic artist.¹ His output, estimated at some fifty *shunpon*, or erotic works, dwarfed that of his contemporaries.

Popular fiction made frequent references to women in daimyo quarters consoling themselves with a *yasashiki nishikawa-e* (or Sukenobu *shunpon*), and by the 1750s, the term *Nishikawa-e* was widely adopted in *senryû* as a generic term for an erotic image.²

But if the Nishikawa *shunpon* dominated the market for erotica over this decade, it also changed it. New and important themes emerged in these works: a concern with the realm of affect and issues of consensuality, the inequities of gender segregation (in particular female sequestration) and the subversion of class hierarchies. The increasingly discursive turn of erotica was linked to developments in fiction: the narratives in Sukenobu *shunpon*, significantly longer than those of earlier works, were penned by the same duo responsible for the *ukiyo-zôshi* of the period, Ejima Kiseki (1667-1736) and Hachimonjiya Jishô (d. 1745). Close productive links between the two

¹ Figures based on the *Kinsei enpon sôgô dētābēsu* 近世艶本総合データベース at <<http://www.dh-jac.net/db13/ehoncatalogue/about.html>>. Artists producing erotica over the same period were Okumura Masanobu (1686-1764) and Torii Kiyonobu (1664-1729), by whom there are respectively five and two works extant from the first two decades of the eighteenth century. See also Nishizawa Ippû, "Fûryû gozen nidai Soga", in Hasegawa Tsuyoshi ed., *Nishizawa Ippû zenshû* (Tokyo: Kyuko Shoin; 2002); Shirakura Yoshihiko ed., *Eiri shunga ehon mokuroku* (Tokyo: Heibonsha; 2007). It should be noted that many Sukenobu *shunpon* exist in variant forms: images from one work can be randomly incorporated in another with alternative narratives, often with significant inconsistencies. It seems that the Sukenobu *shunpon*, for whatever reason, was widely looted and recycled, either through the process known as *kabusebôri* or as a result of blocks changing hands. This means that dating of works can be difficult, and that quotations are volume specific: narratives may differ in works of identical titles in different collections. This is an area of study that has received some attention in Hayashi Yoshikazu, *Edo ehon sukyandaru*, pp. 9-32 (Tokyo: Shinchôsha; 1997).

² Admittedly, *ukiyo-zôshi* which invoked the *nishikawa-e* were works illustrated by Sukenobu himself. *In'yô iro asobi*, for example, describes women placing sweet *Nishikawa-ga* to their cheek: *izuremo Nishikawa-ga ukiyo-e no yasashiki wo hoho ni irite*. See Ejima Kiseki, "Mameimon kojitsu: in'yô iro asobi", in Hasegawa Tsuyoshi ed., *Hachimonjiyabon zenshû* vol. 5, , vol. 5, p. 238 (Tokyo: Kyuko Shoin; 1992). For examples of *senryû*, see Hanasaki Kazuo, *Senryû shungashi*, p. 16 (Tokyo: Taihei Shoya; 2003).

genres meant that many of the humanist concerns of early eighteenth century *ukiyo-zōshi* made their way into *shunpon*. This chapter will argue that the Sukenobu *shunpon*, like fiction, became discursive, even interventionist: a medium for discussing wider social issues.

Sukenobu inherited a flourishing tradition of printed erotica: Hishikawa Moronobu (1618-94), Sugimura Jihei (active 1681-1703) and Yoshida Hanbei (active 1664-89) were all celebrated producers.³ The thirty or so works published by Moronobu between 1677 and 1695 set the format common to much of the printed erotica of latter part of the seventeenth century: illustrated books with a brief narrative section in the upper register, exemplified in the following extract (fig. 1) from his *Enpon kōshoku hana no sakazuki* 絵本好色花の盃 (A Picture Book of the Sake Cup of Amorous Flowers) of 1687 (fig. 2.1):

There once was a happily married couple. As soon as they reached the bedroom they liked to make love. Once they set to, the daughter fled. But one day a young boy she liked explained that these were heavenly delights. There and then, he picked her up and forced himself upon her. Her parents watched from their room (no one can resist the way of love) ‘Shhh, shhhh!’ they called, but the maid was listening: ‘I can’t bear it’ she said ‘I need a man too!’ and she slid her fingers inside herself and began to move them around. At the sound of the white

³ For examples of Moronobu’s work in translation, see Moronobu Hishikawa, "Nichibunken shozo kinsei enpon shiryō shūsei 1: Danjo aisho wago no en, Toko no okomono, " in Shigehisa Kuriyama, Pat Fister, Monta Hayakawa and Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā. eds., *Nichibunken sosho* ; (Kyoto: Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā; 2002). Moronobu, Hanbei and Jihei are all well represented in Sebastian Izzard, *Early Images from the Floating World: Japanese Painting, Prints and Illustrated Books 1660-1720* (New York: Sebastian Izzard LLC; 2008).

juices flowing, the parents declared ‘Lets do it too!’ and all three scattered together their blossoming flowers.⁴



The subjects of these earlier works had ranged from the sexual passion of the rich and beautiful - the act of coitus in elegant surroundings, enhanced by textual

Fig. 2.1

allusions to *The Tales of Ise*, *The Tale of Genji* (fig. 2.2) - to the burlesque and bawdy (women in daimyo service competing for the largest dildo) (fig.2.3).⁵ Their theme might be recast in different forms: Yoshida Hanbei's *Kôshoku kinmôzui* 好色訓蒙図彙 (Pictorial Encyclopaedia of Love)(1686) provided an overview of sex by class from the courtier to the towncrier, Moronobu's *Danjo aishô wagô no en* 男女相性和娯縁 (Sexual Compatibilities of Men and Women) (1678) explored sexual compatibility - genital size and sexual stamina - in terms of Taoist categories of the five elements (fig.

⁴ The Japanese text reads:

中よきふうふむつましようかたらひありねやに入てははじめけりをむすめこれをみてにげ出りが日頃心かけしわか衆はこそ天ののあたやか所也とてそのままいだきあげてしたたかなるめにあわせけるをおやねやのうちより見付老たるもわかきも此道かんにんならぬものじゃだまれだまれといひけるをめしつかひ女聞てわたくしもかんにんならぬにあちてほしやとまへをまいりゆびをさし入っせりければしたたかしろみずをながしけるふうふこのおとを聞てかんにんならぬに今一義せうとてとりかかり三つ共に咲花をちらしけり

⁵ The genital focus of some of these works is inherited from earlier erotic works such as *Eiri Narihira taware-gusa* 忍入なり平たはれ草 of 1663 - an early sex manual with chapter titles such as "How to Conceive Children," "Concerning Penises Big and Small," and "Con-
 Figure 1.1c
 work.

2).⁶ But these witty acts of *mitate*, or parodic analogies, simply provided new packaging for the same celebration of the sexual act: or, in Moronobu's term, 'the great art of making love'.



Fig. 2.2

Sugimura Jihei 杉村治平 *Untitled album*

The text, from episode 37 of *Tales of Ise*, cites the final two lines of the poem:

君により思ひならひぬ世中の人は是をや恋といふらん

It was from you that I came to understand/ that which others, it seems, call love



Fig. 2.3

Hishikawa Moronobu

Toko no okimono 床の置物 1684

By the early years of the eighteenth century, there is evidence that the erotic narrative, hitherto relegated to a few epigrammatic sentences, was acquiring greater importance. Influenced by the immense popularity of the amorous tales - *kôshokubon* - of Saikaku, authors began to explore the narrative potential of eros. The balance between text and image shifted - the epigram now made way for several pages of narrative accompanied by a single image.⁷ Narratives began to bear the name of their authors, they also became more self-consciously literary. The few surviving erotic

⁶ *Danjo aishô wagô no en* is reproduced and translated in *Nichibunken shozô kinsei enpon shiryô shûsei* 1. According to the *Kinsei enpon sôgô dētābēsu*, there are around twenty extant *enpon* by Moronobu, ten by Yoshida Hanbei, and five by Sugimura Jihei. Shirakura Yoshihiko suggests around thirty works for Moronobu (unpublished conference paper, 2009).

⁷ For two examples of these turn-of-century narratives, see Hayashi Yoshikazu, "Edo to Kamigata: maboroshi no kôshokubon no ikkyô shôkai: *Kôshoku eiga otoko to Kôshoku hana fubuki*", *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kanshō. Tokushū: himerareta bungaku (honkoku, shôkai)* 5, vol. 38, 1973, pp. 38-54. Erotic narratives from the same period by authors such as Tōrindō Chōmaro 桃林堂蝶磨 are introduced by Ozaki Kyūya in other volumes of this journal: see *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kanshō. Tokushū: himerareta bungaku (honkoku, shôkai)*, vols. 32 (1967), 33 (1968), and 38 (1973).

works of the Kamigata author Nishizawa Ippû lifted much of the text verbatim from amatory moments of contemporary *jôruri* or *ukiyozôshi*. Ippû's works, however, were not sexually explicit: their eroticism was expressed uniquely through the images (by an unknown hand).⁸ By the 1710s, the erotic narratives of the Sukenobu *shunpon* had largely dismissed the scopic ribaldry often evident in earlier erotica: extended narratives would continue to track the picaresque endeavours of their protagonists to find sex, but there was a new emphasis on the emotional sexual moment itself. The flaunting of genital size made way for highly mimetic descriptions of affective sexual encounters, where physical prowess took a back seat to deep emotional sublimation. The following account of an orgasmic moment from his 1719 *Enjo tamasudare* is representative of the new mood:

you gaze at the beautiful soft skin, the finely drawn hairline, it's like touching a velvet mattress, she's wet, she's warm, it's indescribable [] you're nearly in tears, you move gently in and out of her, no rush, she lets out a low cry as she comes, you hold her tight...oh and then - beyond the power of this clumsy brush to express⁹

The distancing of erotica from its earlier bawdy idiom was less a function of style, however, than a reflection of the growing preoccupation within the literary production of the period with the demise of affect. The commercialisation of sex, loveless marriages secured for reasons of prestige or money and the domestic emphasis on duty

⁸ See Ishigami Aki, "Nishizawa Ippû saku *Kôshoku goku hitsuden kô: Jôruri danmono shû to ukiyozôshi to no kanren*", *Ronkyû Nihon Bungaku*, vol. 88, 2008, pp. 62-76.

⁹ *Enjo tamasudare* (jô). *Tayû shoku no fûzoku* 太夫色の風俗.

肌きれいにしてそのやわらかさ。うすうすとはえぎはは。天鷲絨の敷ぶとんにさわるが如く。。。玉中うるほいにとりとして。どふもいえぬ気味有て。。。ほんに男の方から泣きもしそふな物なり。随分しずかに入出入いそがず。つつにしたがい高からぬ御声出て。じつとくび筋に取つき。。。このあとはどうもどうもおろかの筆には

Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Enjo Tamasudare*, 1719, Nichibunken, Kyoto, Kyoto.

over love had begun to attract the attention of a number of commentators. They were themes which found their way into the erotic narrative. For the first time in the history of Japanese erotica, the blissful sexual encounter acquired a more troubled dimension. Good sex (now presented as the affective consequence of mutual desire rather than genital compatibility) was increasingly sought outside of and in opposition to oppressive social structures - the family, the brothel, life in service. This chapter will argue that it was within this oppositional context that sex became a more complex signifier. As a vindication of personal liberties in the face of authoritarian structures, it offered up new metaphorical possibilities for the expression of disaffection.¹⁰

The shift in mood between the late seventeenth century and the early decades of the eighteenth is palpably evident in Kiseki's novel of 1716, *Wakan yūjo katagi* (Portraits of Courtesans, Chinese and Japanese). Posing as a sequel to Saikaku's *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* (Life of an Amorous Man) – which concluded with Yonosuke's departure westward for the Isle of Women, accompanied by a handful of comrades and trunk loads of sex toys - Kiseki's novel opens on the island, where women wait on the shore for the winds to pleasure them (their unique source of gratification in the absence of men).¹¹ Yonosuke arrives, only to be immediately conscripted into sexual service. The close of the first chapter finds him panting with sexual exhaustion on the shore, on the verge of death, foiled in a desperate attempt to escape.

The parodic reversal of the assumptions of the original book - sexual paradise becomes sexual hell, the consumer becomes the consumed - suggests, at the very least,

¹⁰ For a discussion of the relationship between liberty and libertinism and the opposition of literature and state in eighteenth century France, see the classic account by Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-sellers of Pre-revolutionary France*, in particular pp. 190-96 (London: HarperCollins; 1996).

¹¹ For a discussion of the Island of Women in Japanese visual and literary sources see D. Max Moerman, "Demonology and Eroticism: Islands of Women in the Japanese Buddhist Imagination", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 36, 2009, pp. 351-80.

that new questions are being asked around sexual relations; that sexual servicing (single male amidst many women, or the opposite) is dehumanising; and that numerical inequality amidst the sexes (women in daimyo service, in brothels) is unnatural. And in case the analogy between the frustrated women on the shore and their sisters in daimyo service should by chance be overlooked, it is carefully signalled:

the women were just like the women back home in daimyo service (*wakoku no oku tsutome no jochû*) who contract their eyebrows longingly as they leaf through erotic images, and then console each other with the help of a dildo.¹²

The narrative resumes with an account of the adventures of Yonosuke's descendants, Yotsuginosuke (Yonosuke the Next) etc.; but far from retailing sexual exploits, it dwells on the problems of organised sex, of bankruptcies, arranged marriages, inadvertent incest, futile affairs and betrayals: of a world that has lost its way.

Wakan yûjo katagi took as its theme the less enchanted side of male-female sexual relations. The hedonism that characterised *Life of an Amorous Man* had made way for a more reflective tone, dictated by the times. Harald Fuess has shown that divorce rates at this period were soaring, not just in commoner households, but also amongst samurai.¹³ There appears to have been widespread recognition of this: Muro Kyûsô's popular primer, *Rikuyu engi taii* (The General Sense of the Extended Meaning of the Six Precepts) had occasion to deplore the trivial grounds alleged in many divorces, and to counsel greater forbearance.¹⁴ Tetsuo Najita has suggested the general

¹² Ejima Kiseki, "Wakan yûjo katagi", in Hasegawa Tsuyoshi ed., *Hachimonjiya-bon zenshû*, vol. 7, p. 13. (Tokyo: Kyûko Shoin; 1992).

¹³ Harald Fuess, *Divorce in Japan: Family, Gender, and the State, 1600-2000*, pp. 22-25 (Stanford, Calif. Stanford University Press: 2004).

¹⁴ Nakamura Yûkihiko ed., *Kinsei chônin shisô*, p. 370 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1975). *Rikuyu engi taii* is discussed in chapter 1, pp. It is translated in William Theodore De Bary ed., *Sources of Japanese Tradition: 1600-2000*, pp. 321-3 (New York: Columbia University Press; 2005).

shift in outlook between the Genroku and Shôtoku periods was symptomatic of what he terms the troubled condition of the landscape: “strains generated by the uneasy structural relationship between agricultural production and commerce in the cities had rendered the celebration of passion and the burlesquing of virtue inappropriate”.¹⁵ *Wakan yûjo katagi*, disturbed and dissonant, is a work for the times. Fantasies of serial sex have made way for fantasies of reciprocal love, notions of sexual conquest have yielded to the pursuit of reciprocal desire and enduring affection; sex, rather than a matter of consumption, had become inscribed in debates around *nasake* - affectivity, in particular the privileged intimacy of sexual love. Yotsuginosuke (for all his faults) takes a perfectly respectable daughter of a good family as his wife (*rekireki no gosokujo wo sai ni*) and ends his days in a contented marriage.¹⁶ His father would have been horrified: but times had changed.

The demise of affective relationships is a theme which pervades the literary production of the period and it provides an important interpretative context for the understanding of the collaborative endeavour that was the Sukenobu *shunpon*. In his (non-erotic) *Seken musume katagi* of 1717, Kiseki noted that young girls were treated by their parents as little more than chattels (*akinaimono*).¹⁷ Commercial sex, on the other hand, was simply an orchestrated deception designed to assure not client satisfaction but continued custom; his *Keisei kintanki* (*An Account of Short-Tempered Courtesans*, 1712) was a cynical rehearsal of the different means deployed by the courtesan to ensure not her client’s happiness, but his return. That these were more than

¹⁵ Tetsuo Najita, *Visions of Virtue in Tokugawa Japan: The Kaitokudô, Merchant Academy of Osaka*, p. 13 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; 1987).

¹⁶ Ejima Kiseki, "Wakan yûjo katagi", p. 69.

¹⁷ Ejima Kiseki, *Keisei irojamisen; Keisei denju-gamiko; Seken musume katagi*, Hasegawa Tsuyoshi ed., p. 412 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1989).

mere literary tropes is suggested by the fact that similar concerns found expression in the work of the populist Shinto preacher Masuho Zankô, a prolific proselytizer who addressed packed audiences outside temples, teahouses, and other public spaces.¹⁸ His *Endô tsugan* (1715), a lengthy paean to marriage, dismissed glamorous portraits of the brothels: the reality of the matter, he noted, was financial difficulty, ill health, and a wrecked marriage.¹⁹ Elsewhere, he lamented the demise of happy conjugal relations:

when did love between man and wife go so wrong, how did we find ourselves in this desperate state of affairs....²⁰

Love was not what it used to be; and Zankô, for one, laid the blame on the demise of conjugal sexual relations and alien forms of social governance:

Do priests and scholars (Buddhists, Shintoists, and Confucianists) not know that man and wife are the very origins of the world? When there is no harmony between man and wife, there can be no Way, and once the Way is lost, there can be no truth, and without truth, the world cannot sustain itself. Once the fundamental relationship between man and wife is demeaned, both the Way and truth founder; and we find ourselves in a troubled world bereft of both filial love and of loyalty.²¹

Marriages of convenience, the lure of the pleasure quarters (which compensated for loveless marriage), even the polygamous relations adopted by daimyo had effectively banished conjugal love from the home. No longer regulated by genuine affection in the domestic sphere, the populace was forced to seek its governing structures in abstract

¹⁸ See Nakano Mitsutoshi, "Masuho Zankô no hito to shisô", in Noma Kôshin ed., *Kinsei shikidôron*, pp. 401-08 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1976).

¹⁹ Masuho Zankô, "Endô Tsugan", in Noma Kôshin ed., *Kinsei Shikidôron*, pp. 334-5 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1976).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p 210.

Confucian principles that laid emphasis on external appearance rather than on internal affective realities. Dissimulation (Zankô wrote), as opposed to sincerity, had become the norm.²²

The dismal state of conjugal relations had emerged as a major theme of contemporary fiction. In *In'yô iro asobi* (Love Games of Men and Women) of 1714, Kiseki commented that women would have less need of sex toys if they were better satisfied in love; elsewhere, he wonders by what fate a man never loves his wife, nor a wife her husband.²³ Zankô lamented the absence of sex in marriages, blaming the mercenary machinations of parents:

our precepts may be based on the law, our teachings on righteous principles, but if these don't come from within, we lose touch with our inner soul: a woman doesn't really serve her mother-in-law, she simply satisfies outward appearances, deep down, she curses her countless times a day....²⁴

For Zankô, the way of humanity originated in sexual relations between man and woman: *hito no michi no okori wa fûfu yori hajimari*. The bedroom (*neya no uchi no majiwari*) was the source of life, the first duty of any man (*nindô isse no kyûmu*).²⁵ Conjugal love was paramount: this alone should govern the rhythms of life. One took a wife out of love, engendered a child out of love, there should be no other way.²⁶ By denying the life-giving forces of sexuality, the nation had lost its way. Marriages were arranged for political or financial expedience (*muri zukume no konrei*),²⁷ and no woman

²² 二重根性. Ibid., p. 330.

²³ Ejima Kiseki, "Mameimon kojitsu: in'yô iro asobi", pp. 230-8.

²⁴ Masuho Zankô, "Endô Tsugan", p. 303.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 210. This characterization of Zankô's thought paraphrases sections referenced in notes 23-26.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 284.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 284.

in a marriage of expedience was going to meet the sexual needs of her husband (*kano muri zukume no onna wa otto o omowazu*).²⁸

Zankô's views on conjugal relations were not shared by all. Neo-Confucianist doctrine suggested a more restrained approach to family relations in general. *Rikuyu engi taii*, whilst critical of contemporary divorce trends, nonetheless placed conjugal relations at the very bottom of the family hierarchy; after all wives, unlike parents, could quite easily be replaced.²⁹ Kaibara Ekken - whose Confucianist moral primers were amongst the best-selling works of the period - recommended restraint in affairs of the heart:

“being excessive in our love for our wife, child or concubine, saying it is because they please us, and giving them favours to the utmost, is not a love which emerges from the Way. This is the extreme tendency of a selfish heart.”³⁰

For Ekken and other Neo-confucianist thinkers, subjugation of the self through interior self-discipline was crucial for maintaining the order of the family.³¹ Zankô's mission statement, his call for organic affective action, was articulated as an alternative social model. Popular fiction, and, above all, erotica, lent their voices to his cause: but the appeal for a return to affective modes of societal engagement was clearly at odds with conducts recommended by establishment moralists.

Shunpon and marriage

²⁸ Ibid., p. 340.

²⁹ “Rikuyu engi taii”, in Nakamura Yukihiro ed., *Kinsei chônin shisô*, p. 368.

³⁰ See “Yamato zokkun”, translated in Mary Evelyn Tucker, *Moral and Spiritual Cultivation in Japanese Neo-confucianism: The Life and Thought of Kaibara Ekken, 1630-1714*, p. 196 (New York: State University of New York; 1989). For the widespread dissemination of Ekken's work, see Yokota Fuyuhiko, “Edo jidai minshû no dokusho”, *Rekishi chiri kyoiku*, vol. 718, 2007, pp. 76-81.

³¹ Tucker, *Moral and Spiritual Cultivation in Japanese Neo-confucianism: The Life and Thought of Kaibara Ekken, 1630-1714*, p. 163 and note.

The erotic works of the 1710s engaged conspicuously with discourses championing the sexually-active marriage.



Fig. 2.4

An image in the first volume of *Taiheki chūshin kōshoku* (Amorous Heart of the Great Vulva), a maid looks on as the young married couple engages in oral sex.³² ‘That’s a good relationship’, she comments (*aa, urayamashii, yoi o-naka ja*) (fig. 2.4). An image from the second volume of the same work shows the wife begging for more (*mo hitotsu, mo hitotsu*). The husband demurs: it is dawn and the maid will be up shortly (the maid



Fig. 2.5

is already listening outside). Couples are regularly depicted settling down for the night, exhausted after several sessions of lovemaking (while the daughter pursues her own course behind the screens) (fig.2.5). In Sukenobu’s *Shikidō dangō gusa* (The Way of

³² Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Taiheki chūshin kōshoku*, Nichibunken, Kyoto,

Love: Conversational Snippets) of 1720, a man falls ill through the lack of conjugal sex but is nursed to health in the arms of a robust and vigorous nursemaid.³³ The narrator insists that conjugal sex should take place daily (*maa, sanjū nichī mo shitaraba...*)³⁴ Zankō agreed: a day without sex was hardly worth the candle (*sono fūfu wa-sezu shite, ichinichi mo michi arubekarazu*).³⁵ Medical opinion, on the other hand, was significantly more parsimonious in its sexual prescription. Manase Gensaku's *Enju satsuyō* (Essentials for Long Life), originally published in 1599 but republished throughout the Edo period, recommended a regime of once every four days for a twenty year old man, half that for a thirty year old, half again for a forty year old, once in twenty days for a fifty year old and total abstinence after the age of sixty.³⁶

Sexual compatibility within marriage was a theme that had emerged much earlier. Moronobu's survey of the subject in his 1687 *Danjo aishō wagō no en* (Sexual Compatibilities of Men and Women) left the reader in no doubt that a sexually active partnership was the best route to a lasting relationship. Yet this was a flippant treatment, glossed in Taoist terms of the five elements and focussing on physical compatibility. Thus, for example:

...no matter how inauspicious the pairing, a couple in which the man's thing is vigorous, long and thick, won't fall into discord.³⁷

By the early eighteenth century, the issue was being positioned slightly differently. One tale in *Taiheki chūshin kōshoku* tells of a young girl of thirteen whose

³³ "O-uba dono no tamechi suidasu otoko" お姥殿の溜乳すい出す男 in Jonathan D. Culler, *Literary theory : a very short introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2011).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³⁵ Masuho Zankō, "Endō Tsugan", p. 210.

³⁶ See Otsuka Yoshinori and Yakazu Dōmei eds., *Manase Gensaku*, p. 468 (Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan; 1979).

³⁷ *Nichibunken shozo kinsei enpon shiryō shūsei:1*, p. 43.

parents intend her for marriage. The daughter has no interest in leaving the family home, and refuses all her suitors.³⁸ The parents accuse the nursemaid of allowing her a secret lover: the nursemaid is distraught and interrogates the child, who confides that the prospect of conjugal sex fills her with anxiety – not least from the fear of exposing herself to the ridicule (*naburi*) of her husband. She has, therefore, over the past year, been preparing herself through various masturbatory practices. Having discovered the benefits of the dildo, however, she now sees no need for a husband. The nursemaid is confounded, until a (married) maid comes to her assistance, suggesting that if the girl were to overhear the amorous activity of others she might be persuaded of the existence of a level of sexual pleasure unattainable manually. That night, the nursemaid assists the girl in achieving preliminary clitoral satisfaction; but this is as naught, when she hears the panting lovers next door. The young girl, seduced by the prospect of real sex, accedes to proposals of marriage. While the tale is crude (and improves little in the retelling) it is clearly didactic: the pleasures of sex exceed the pleasures of the dildo and a young girl should view marriage, as much as anything else, as a route to ultimate sexual fulfillment.

An image in the same work alludes to a similar trope: the nursemaid is touching a young girl who has been reading an erotic book (the parents have already achieved satisfaction next door: ‘we’ve had it twice, I’m shattered’ (*futatsu de kutabireta zo*) (fig. vol 3). The girl asks for the dildo (*uba, go-sobai?*), but the nursemaid replies that true satisfaction (*irô* 慰勞) comes with marriage (and a husband).

³⁸ "Ki wa sharetemo mada sono wake ha shiraba no musumego" 気はしゃれてもまだ其分は白葉の娘御, in *Taiheki chûshin kôshoku* (shita).

The broader benefits of sexual acquiescence found expression likewise in popular literature. In a story from Kiseki's *Seken musume katagi* of 1717, a beautiful girl selected from a village as a concubine, or *mekake*, for a daimyo is sent home because she refuses to sleep with him. Pretty but frigid, the girl ends up a beggar: and the villagers conclude that the parents would have done better to temper their religious precepts with a little sex education.³⁹

These tropes clearly linked sex with social integration: they accorded social significance to the sexualisation of the young. If a girl was not interested in sex, she would be unwilling to marry, and chances are the marriage would founder. Sexual desire was thus a corner stone of the functioning of the social polity: a key factor in the transition from girl to woman. In *Seken musume*, again, Kiseki tells of a girl still suckling (courtesy of her nursemaid) on the night of her wedding, underscoring the risks a family might incur should a girl should fail to make the transition. Indeed, the theme



Fig. 2.6

of transition from young girl to bride – *musume keshite yome to nari* – is central to the work.⁴⁰ The same themes finds expression in Sukenobu's erotica: an image in *Fûryû omoi no* -- shows a man with a young girl who has abandoned her bat and ball, making

³⁹ "Bukiryô ni mi wo hataku matsu koya no musume" in *Seken musume katagi*, pp. 440-447.

⁴⁰ *Seken musume katagi*, preface.

the point that sexual initiation was the demarcation between girl and woman (fig.2.6).⁴¹

It was a rite of passage.

Sex and Defiance

Erotica of the period consciously positioned itself within popular contemporary discourses on sexual desire and marriage: indeed it articulated the issue more explicitly and more vividly than ever before. But the premarital whetting of a girl's sexual appetite was hardly a new concept, even if it were now clad in modern tropes. What was new was the polemical twist: the fact that affectivity had become oppositional, an appeal for love in a climate that sought to repress it. Ambitious parents, brothel owners who sequestered nubile young girls, rich old men with young concubines, these figures of coercive sexual authority were identified, persuasively, as the foe. Kiseki grouped them together under the term *shuoya* 主親 - master and parent.⁴² It was precisely the oppressive shadow of the *shuoya*, he remarked, that one could forget as one wandered the busy streets of *miyako* of a summer's evening, looking for a sympathetic face.⁴³

The *shuoya* is, arguably, a new addition to the erotic narrative: and it features repeatedly. A narrative in *Nishikawa fude no umi* blames the illiberal behaviour of

⁴¹ Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Fûryû omoi no --*, Nichibunken, Kyoto. The title of this work is partially erased.

⁴² *Enjo tamasudare* (jô). "Iro chayamusume no fûzoku" 色茶屋娘の風俗. The *shuoya* had been identified as the scourge of the people in popular song from the late seventeenth century: a figure of oppression, from whom one sought respite in the floating world. For example the following sailors' song:

重い重いものにとりては 主の御恩に父母の恩. . . 兎角浮世は軽いがましよ重ひは
ころせん沈むゑい、重いは沈むやんさ、軽いがましじゃいのんゑい。

Oh, they weigh you down, the gratitude you owe your master, the gratitude you owe your
parents . . . oh, give me the lightness of the floating world, these heavy things will be the death
of me, they weigh me down, they weigh me down, give me the lightness of the floating world.

Cited in Miyazawa Seiichi, "Genroku bunka no seishin kôzô", *Genroku Kyôhôki no seiji to shakai*, p. 213 (Tokyo: Yuhikaku; 1980).

⁴³ *Enjo tamasudare* (jô). "Iro chayamusume no fûzoku".

ambitious parents, or parents simply unwilling to admit that their children were children no longer, for many of society's woes:

The parents convince themselves that their daughter is simply tall for her age; she's still a child, you know, just a child. They have no idea, she's much more switched on than they are.....she remembers the excitement of love from the *Tales of Ise*, spies a young lad still sporting his forelock ...⁴⁴

Others married their daughters for money rather than love.

Parental coercion and parental delusion marred the lives of many women; so, too, did the structures of organized sex.

The 1719 *Enjo tamasudare* or

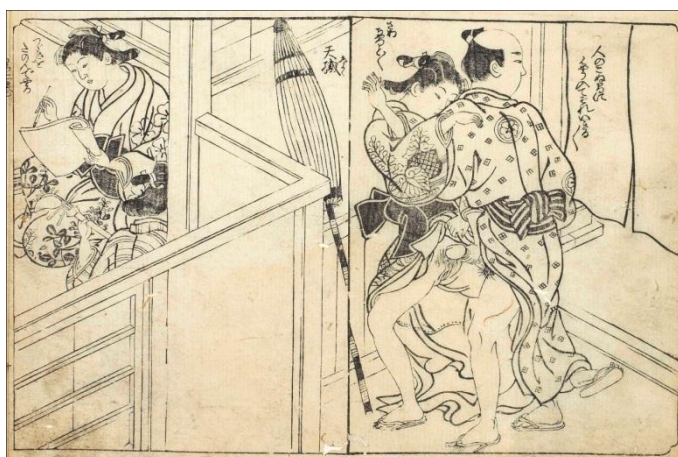


Fig. 2.7

'Beautiful Women of the Jewelled Blind' - a rare work that deals

explicitly with the world of organised sex - tracks the menu of commercial sexual options from the *tayu* (the highest-ranking courtesan) to the *dyer* of cloth, presenting a satirical portrait of the etiolation of the sexual appetite in a commercial environment.⁴⁵

An engagement with a *tenshoku* (a prostitute ranked second only to the *tayū*) is thwarted by the compulsory exchange of three letters prior to sexual consummation. Tired of

⁴⁴ *Nishikawa fude no umi.*

おやの心にはこちが娘は躰（なり）が大きなばかりで。まだ子共じゃ子共じゃと思ひの外におやおやより気が通って。いせ物がたりに恋の道は面白そふな物じゃとおぼへ。前髪だちの若衆を見て。。

oya no kokoro ni wa kochi ga musume wa nari ga ōki na bakari de. Mada kodomo ja kodomo ja to omoi no hoka oyaoya yori ki ga tōtte. Ise monogarari ni koi no michi wa omoshirosō na mono ja to oboe maegamidachi no wakashu wo mite

⁴⁵ One section of *Enjo tamasudare* has been transcribed in Hayashi Yoshikazu, *Edo no makuraeshi* (Tokyo: Miki Shobō; 1981).

waiting, the punter takes his chances in the wings, on the sly, with her attendant; the *tenshoku*, oblivious, attends to her correspondence - which may look pretty (the narrator observes), but in reality is no more than a string of fatuous phrases, scattered over the page (fig. 2.7).⁴⁶

Indeed, the visitor to the brothel could not help but notice (Kiseki repeatedly complained) that sexual desire was often not reciprocal. *Enjo tamasudare* provided a catalogue of the various machinations by which a prostitute could avoid unnecessary exertion, painting a desolate picture of the disappointments of commercial sex. A man could do his utmost to enliven the atmosphere by providing entertainers and musicians, the girls failed to enter the spirit of things:

Sex establishments these days are all form [] You sit there jammed like bundles of firewood facing a woman across a table – this isn't what it's about. And the sex is no better – she just pulls off her *obi*, thrusts about a while, and the next thing you know, she's snoring away beside you –*ichigi shimau to ibiki kashimashiku*.⁴⁷

Nishikawa fude no umi looked at the matter from the prostitute's perspective:

⁴⁶ *Enjo tamasudare* (jô). "Tenshoku no füzoku" 天職の風俗.

お類 (つら) のみすりて[] お定の文章そこ々に書ちらし. *o zura nomi surite* []
osadame no bunshô sokosoko ni kakichirashi

⁴⁷ *Enjo tamasudare* (shita). 'Hakunin no füzoku' 伯人の風俗. The full passage reads:

此気では随分女にもやらぬものぞかし: 始末だてしてかつておもしろからぬは色町のならひ。

猶女も身を恥るうちを色ある花ともいへり。客と居ならび膳にむかい。杉焼の目よりせらり。床の首尾もはれて出。かしらから帯ときひろげに成て。男に腹をつき付袁量なしに手足をうごかし。遠慮なしに手足をうごかし。一義仕舞と軒かしましく
kono ki de wa zuibun onna ni mo yaranu zo ka shi. Shimatsu date shite, katsute omoshirokaranu wa iromachi no narai. nao onna mo mi wo hazuru uchi wo iro aru hana to mi ieri. Kyaku to inarabi zen ni mukai. Sugitaki no me yori serari. toko no shubi mo harete izuru. Kashira kara obi tokihirogeninatte otoko ni hara wo tsukitsuki enryo nashi ni teashi wo e ugokashi. Ichigi shimau to ibiki kashimashiku.

people overrate the pleasure of meeting up with a man. You're there, counting the cracks in the ceiling ... your mind wanders. You don't really feel it at all. Even the professionals get sick of it sometimes.⁴⁸

Erotic fiction presented a damning portrait of organised sex, but amatory popular fiction was hardly more encouraging. In *Wakan yûjo katagi*, Yonotsugisuke's concubine describes herself as passed around like a pawn – *otoko no jiki ni môsewataseshi*.⁴⁹ The works of Nishizawa Ippû – for example *Fûryû gozen nidai Soga* – repeatedly lament the wretchedness of commercial love; Chikamatsu's love suicide plays were a resounding indictment of the contradictions, the divided loyalties, the emotional deadlock arising from the institutionalization of sex.⁵⁰ Back in the real world, Masuho Zankô was likewise unsparing in his castigation of society's mercenary trade in women – the system of multiple wives, the practice of selling daughters into sexual service, and the corruptions of organised sex made him despair.

It was against this background of affective dysfunction - gendered sequestration, brothel life - that the trope of sexual desolation acquired such rhetorical power. The plangent voice of the maid in service is a recurrent one. *Fûryû iro medoki* (A Love Potion for Our Times) takes up the tale of one such woman:

⁴⁸ *Nishikawa fude no umi*.

世には男にあふ事をうるさがりて。天井の板をかぞへ。。。外成事に心をうつし。眞の気のうごかぬやうにと。此道ほっといやがるつとめ女もあるに。。
yo ni wa otoko ni au koto wo urusagarite. Tenjo no ita wo kazoe.hoka naru koto ni kokoro wo utsushi. Makoto no ki no ugokanu yo ni to. Kono michi hotto iyagaru tsutome onna mo aru ni –

⁴⁹ Ejima Kiseki, "Wakan yûjo katagi", pp. 36 and 67, respectively

⁵⁰ For a discussion of the opposition between home and the pleasure quarters, see C. Andrew Gerstle, *Circles of Fantasy: Convention in the Plays of Chikamatsu*, pp. 113-53 (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University; 1986).

Not since she'd slept in the arms of her father as a child had she touched a man's skin. So young, so full of desire....⁵¹

Compulsory celibacy, she concludes, is like 'living in the realm of starving demons':

We use the horns of our demon hearts, plunging them into each other in a guilt-frenzied (*kashaku no seme hodo*) nighttime battle.⁵²

The theme was equally apparent in the less explicitly erotic fiction of the period: *In'yô iro asobi* opens in the female quarters of a daimyo mansion, where sexual frustration, likewise, runs high. These women have never felt the warmth of a man's thigh, the author condoles:

thirsting for love, so desperate for a man, they would accept anyone, even if he was riddled with acne...⁵³

In *Fûryû omoi no --*, a woman delivers a ringing condemnation of life at court:

even when you serve at court, there's no consolation, you're just as lonely. You might get to go to the lord's bedroom once or twice, but even if you do, and you have sex, masters these days are a pain in the neck, they don't engage emotionally, they're just fakes. They get jealous about things that don't concern them, they act autocratic, get really choosy...⁵⁴

⁵¹ *Fûryû iro medoki* (jô). "Ikimono wa tôsanu goshojo no kakochigusa" 生物は通さぬ御所女のかこち草.

男のはだといふものは。ちいさいときとと様にだかれてねたより外はしらずと。若盛の気を。。 *otoko no hada to iu mono wa. Chiisai toki totosama ni dakarete neta yori hoka wa shirazu to. Wakazakari no ki wo...*

⁵² Ibid.

女の無財餓鬼とは我々が事と。心の鬼の角細工。かしゃくの責ほど夜戦の同士打 *onna no muzai gaki to wa wareware ga koto to. Kokoro no oni no tsuno zaiku. Kashaku no seme hodo yo-ikusa no dôshi-uchi*

⁵³ Ejima Kiseki, "Mameimon kojitsu: in'yô iro asobi", pp. 230-1.

Aware koro hodo otoko ni katsubeshi naka e semete nikibi no fukidashi otoko --

⁵⁴ *Fûryû omoi no --*. "Yoko tsuchi yori dakigokoro no yoi motoba" 横槌より抱心のよい元は。

A female protagonist in *Fûryû iro zubôshi* (Anatomist of Love) summed up the situation: women had it tough: *onna no mimochi hodo rachi no akanu mono wa gozansenu*.⁵⁵

In the context of such criticisms, the recurrent trope of the young, libidinous girl who follows her heart and defies her parents can be read as a gesture of defiance. Thus, for example, a story in *Furyû iro medoki* about a girl locked in her room by her parents with a view to conserving her for an advantageous marriage (her servant lover manages to lock them in the storehouse and defeat their plan in the nick of time);⁵⁶ elsewhere, a girl pretends to be haunted by a fox spirit, in order to trick her parents into admitting her young actor lover;⁵⁷ yet another - who, like the princess in Ise, didn't know the difference between dew and pearls (or so they thought) - is discovered in the loft with the servant.⁵⁸ A story in *Waraku iro nando* (An Erotic Closet of Gentle Pleasures) tells of a young girl who complains to the maid of her loneliness at night. The maid helps out by strapping on a dildo and sharing with the girl the pleasures of sex. The mother discovers them, and threatens the maid with a sword. The maid runs off, but not before telling the mother to watch out for her daughter, because the fires of love are now smouldering:

みやつかへさせけるにもなを心もとなくこひしままに。一ど二どその処まで夜にいりてたずねゆき。又よびよせてもあひなどしけるを。今の主人かたくなしなさけしらぬゑせものなりしかば。ほうかいりんきにやまちはおのが気にいれんとてにやさかしらして *miyazukae sasekeru ni mo nao kokoro moto naku koiishiki mama ni. Ichido nido sono tokoro made yo ni irite tazune yuki. Mata wa yobiyosetemo ai nado shikeru o ima no shujin katakunashi nasake shiranu esemono no nari shikaba ...hokai rinki ni ya mata wa ono ga ki ni iren tote ni ya sakashira shite.....*

⁵⁵ Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Fûryû iro zubôshi*, Nichibunken, Kyoto, "Rinka no wakagoke" 隣家の若後家.

⁵⁶ *Fûryû iro medoki* (jô). "Sumi mae gami wa kokoro no marui musume no ki ni iri" 角前髪は心の丸い娘の気に入.

⁵⁷ *Enjo tamasudare* (jô). "Irochaya musume no fûzoku" 色茶屋娘の風俗.

⁵⁸ Sukenobu Nishikawa, *Enjo iro no ne no hi* (Kyoto: 1720). "Musume no senjin nukekake ni ou o-chi no hito" 娘の先陣ぬけかけにあふお乳の人. The Ise reference is to the Akutagawa episode (no. 6) when the abducted woman, having lived a sheltered life, confuses dewdrops with pearls.

mazu mae no hi wo kese. Keburi ga tatsu, abunai, to iute, nigerase – ‘you’d better put out the fire in her loins first. Now there’s a smoke trail, you’re in danger’, she said and fled.⁵⁹

Even in the brothels (in *shunpon* at least) a girl could evade the coercive machinations of organised love and follow her heart: hence the following discussion (adapted from *Enjo tamasudare*) of an engagement with another low-ranking prostitute, the *hashi jorô*:

Since the sex on offer commercially is so disappointing (*awarenu shubi ni natte*) the solution is to strike up a relationship on the sly. The girl pretends she needs a breath of fresh air and a short walk to sober up. She steps outside, spies a firefly in a willow tree (you are waiting beneath it) ‘Oh, sir, you with the straw hat, give us a leg up’, she begs, and things fall into place perfectly naturally.⁶⁰

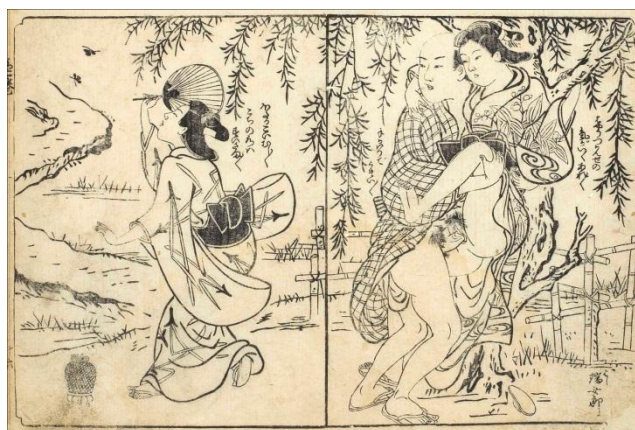


Fig. 2.8

⁵⁹ Taihei Shunin ed., *Nishikawa Sukenobu makurabon issô: Fûfu narabi no oka, Waraku iro nando*, p. 179 (Tokyo: Taihei Shooku; 2009).

⁶⁰ *Enjo tamasudare*, (jô). “Hashi jorô no fûzoku” 端女郎の風俗. The full passage reads:

この里へ商する小間物屋。買ってあわれぬ首尾になって。女郎にしめし合せ出口まで夜のみ笠所とてさのみ目には立ず。たかひに心かけての首尾なれば。女郎は茶屋の手前へ酒さましに野邊の気色を見る鉢にて出口に出しを彼小間物や待うけてたかひに心にうなつき。ハアこの柳の木にしほらしいほたるがあるもしあみ笠様お手をかしてくださんせ。もとにをりますぞ。あれかみえぬカゑお手がとどかすはわたしを。たいてといへば人がしかられしよはて螢が取たいもの。どれこふでござりますのとて柳を恋のかけ橋にして。立ながらの早わざ。



Fig. 2.9

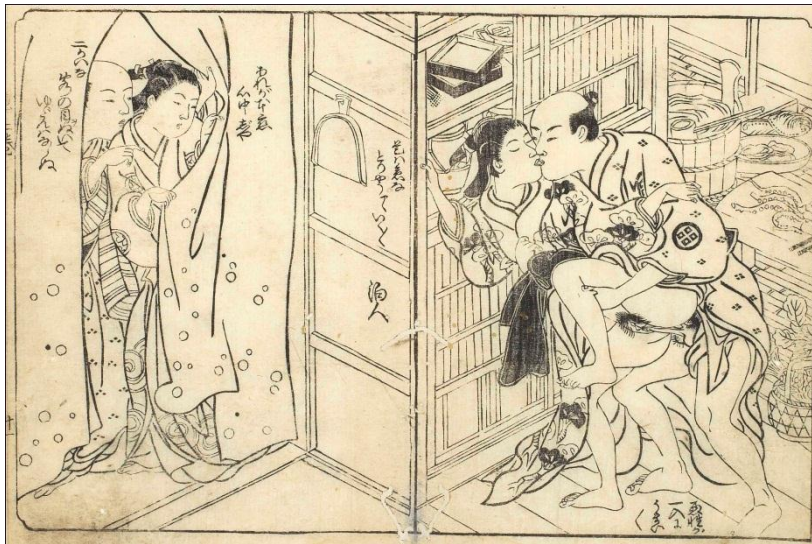


Fig. 2.10



Fig. 2.11

Kiseki called it ‘a standing quickie against the willow tree’ (*yanagi wo koi no kakebashi ni shite tachinagara no hayawaza*) and the manoeuvre was demonstrated in the accompanying image (fig.2.8). Indeed, if this work celebrates anything, it is the joys of spontaneous sex. Not a single image depicts a woman having sex with a paying client: each finds free love, elsewhere. The daughter of the *irochaya* owner tumbles with a young actor half in, half out of a cupboard (fig. 2.9),⁶¹ the *hakunin* does it in the kitchen with the cook, inadvertently observed by the *oyagata* (brothel owner) who remonstrates, ‘This is inadmissible – she’s slipped away from her client upstairs’. His wife replies, ‘Ah, but it’s true love’ (*honkoi shinjū ja*) (fig. 2.10).⁶² An image at the end of the second volume shows the otherwise-engaged fan seller holding a sign that reads ‘Just popped out on business’ (*kono uchi hōkō ni mairimashita*) (fig. 2.11).⁶³ Sex, it suggested, took place when the eye of authority was averted, in the interstices of business proper: it was an act of freewill.

Free Love

Sometimes, but by no means always, the search for love subverts class hierarchies. In *Nagamakura* (1710), an aristocratic girl, unhappily married off to an unattractive partner (*buotoko*) has returned home; freed from her

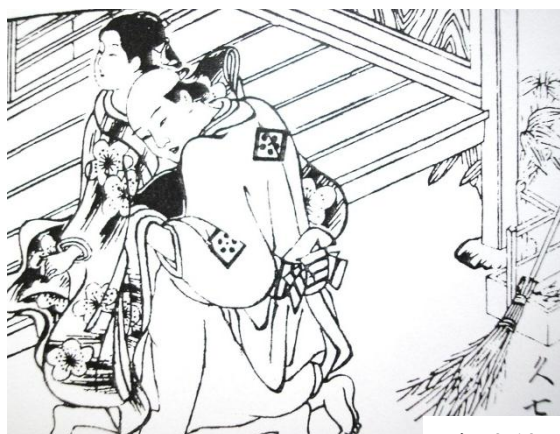


Fig. 2.12

⁶¹ *Enjo tamasudare* (jō). “Irochaya musume”.

⁶² *Enjo tamasudare* (shita). “Hakunin no fūzoku”.

⁶³ *Ibid.* “Itoya ōgiya no fūzoku” 糸屋扇屋の風俗。

marital obligations, she is nonetheless gnawed by sexual frustration.⁶⁴ Sitting on the veranda, she observes the gardener cleaning out gutters with his broom (*tsubo no sôji*), an activity so suggestive of the act of copulation that she commands him to oblige her. But protocol must be observed: since eye contact between the two would violate proprieties, she averts her face (as per the illustration); as she climaxes, she refrains from clasping him to her; and since Hisashichi cannot mount her out of consideration for their status disparity, he penetrates her on his knees in front of the veranda (also as per the illustration). The trope reappears in *Fûryû iro zubôshi*, where a daimyo's daughter observes two cats copulating, and turns to the gardener for consolation.⁶⁵

The pursuit of free love is, in a fact, a persistent theme of these works, one that frequently finds expression in the trope of the roving sexual desire of women. In *Nagamakura*, women in pursuit of sex step out onto the street, to find love in the shadows of temple buildings (*teradera no sekidô no kage ni..*), under the eaves (*noki no shita..*), down narrow alleys between houses (*chisai yado no mise no ma...*).⁶⁶ In *Iro zubôshi*, a woman desperate for sexual satisfaction comes knocking at the door.⁶⁷ Frustrated maids feign illness to be released from service.⁶⁸ Elsewhere, three young maids plot an outing to find a lover.⁶⁹ Widows, maids, courtwomen, daimyos' daughters, nursemaids, housewives: the cast of female sexual predators draws from all quarters of society.

⁶⁴ *Nagamakura* is transcribed and reproduced in Hayashi Yoshikazu, "Shiryô honkoku: Shoyû keshi kanoko (zen)", *Ehon kenkyû*, vol. 8, 1981, p. 42.

⁶⁵ Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Fûryû iro kaiawase*, Nichibunken, Kyoto. "Botan hatake" 牡丹畠.

⁶⁶ *Nagamakura* is reproduced and transcribed in Hayashi Yoshikazu, "Shiryô honkoku: Shoyû keshi kanoko (zen)", pp. 10-60. For the references given here see pp. 46-7.

⁶⁷ *Fûryû iro zubôshi*. "Rinka no waka goke".

⁶⁸ *Nishikawa fude no umi*; and *Taiheki chûshin kôshoku* (shita). "Hairyô no nyobô wa shitani okarenu agarisen". 拝領の如坊はしたに置かれぬ上り撰

⁶⁹ Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Toko no harusame*, Nichibunken, Kyoto. "Tsune ni tashinamu kusuri no tsuke kagen" 常嗜薬の付加減.

The female sexual predator had obvious antecedents in Saikaku's work. Oddly, in *shunpon*, she is largely absent until this point. In Moronobu's work, a man of certain standing might actively pursue the art of seduction, but not a woman.⁷⁰ And this is significant: for to suggest the autonomy of the female body was to directly challenge a grounding trope of social organisation. Writing on the subject of pornographic literature in Stuart England, Melissa Mowry has observed that the trope of the democratic female body was commandeered in the seventeenth century as a republican motif that challenged royalist notions of property: 'bawdry violates patriarchal property rights that seek to subordinate wives and daughters Republicanism ascribes illicit claims to property relations...there is a metonymic relationship between women's bodies and property.'⁷¹

In Edo Japan, bawdry itself was tightly contained within patriarchal models (which is presumably why the pleasure quarters are either absent, or defamed in Sukenobu's erotica). But outside of the pleasure quarters a woman's body was the property of her father, her husband or her master.⁷² The assimilation of marriage and government within the legal system meant that adultery symbolized treason; thus it carried the penalty of death. Meanwhile, a husband's prerogative to punish his adulterous wife – a prerogative only strengthened in the set of revised laws issued by Yoshimune in 1742 – established analogies between the state and the patriarchal head of

⁷⁰ See, for example, Moronobu's *Kôshoku ito yanagi*, translated by Patricia Fister in Monta Hayakawa, Shigehisa Kuriyama, Pat Fister and Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyû Sentâ. eds., *Nichibunken shozô kinsei enpon shiryô shûsei (2)*, vol. 1 (Kyoto-shi: Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyû Sentâ; 2003).

⁷¹ Melissa M. Mowry, *The Bawdy Politic in Stuart England, 1660-1714: Political Pornography and Prostitution* (Aldershot: Ashgate; 2004).

⁷² Amy Stanley, "Adultery, Punishment, and Reconciliation in Tokugawa Japan", *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 33, no. 2, 2007, pp. 309-35.

the household.⁷³ Illicit love affairs in non-erotic fiction, tellingly, often ended in suicide. And while a widow was at liberty to do as she pleased, maintaining her reputation, or her family's name (even within *shunpon*), was of crucial importance. Thus, to suggest the autonomy of the woman's body, as *shunpon* did: to suggest – indeed to celebrate - a world of total sexual freedom in which pleasure repeatedly overrides considerations of authority (and the neighbours), was subversive.

The trope of the sexually frustrated female, so familiar in the pages of the Sukenobu *shunpon*, is nonetheless peculiar to the circumstances which generated it. The existence of large numbers of sequestered women excluded from normal social intercourse – which gave rise to the trope – had received the attention of earlier pornographers. In Moronobu's *Toko no okimono*, women confined in sexually segregated quarters vie for the largest dildo, or the opportunity to conjoin indirectly with a male servant through floor boards or screens (fig 2.13). Setting aside the bawdy humour of the scenes, however, female sexual frustration here serves simply to endorse the primacy of the phallus: these women fantasize not about affective encounters but about genital size - as seen from a sample of the dialogue:

Principal maid 1:	This is a tad too small, perhaps
Principal maid 2:	I should like a big one.
Male servant:	So what do you say to this?
Principal maid:	Yes indeed, it's quite grand. Too much for me to handle, I'm afraid. ⁷⁴

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 318-19.

⁷⁴ *Toko no okimono* is translated by Patricia Fister in Hishikawa, "Nichibunken shozo kinsei enpon shiryô shûsei 1: Danjo aisho wago no en, Toko no okomono, ", vol. 2.



Fig. 2.13 Hishikawa Moronobu: *Toko no okimono*

The erotica of the early decades of the eighteenth century had taken a new direction: the frustrated woman was no longer so much an object of ridicule, a bawdy joke, as a symptom of what was perceived to be a fundamental social dysfunction. The dildo, pornography in general – the nearest many women got to a man, according to Kiseki – pointed to inequitable forms of social organization. Consumption of pornography has been linked to demographic patterns in eighteenth century Japan previously, notably in the work of Timon Screech.⁷⁵ Edo, in particular, was fraught with gender imbalance as a result of the *sankin kôtai* system; but all urban centres were characterised to some extent by both a surfeit of men, and what Gilbert Rozman has called the uneven distribution amongst eligible males of women of child bearing age: ‘concubines, geishas entertainers and prostitutes served men wealthy enough to have a wife.’⁷⁶ Within the Sukenobu *shunpon*, however, the most plangent expression of sexual desolation is attributed not to men, but to women. This could be interpreted as an index of readership (women whose own liberties were restricted would be moved by the

⁷⁵ See Timon Screech, *Sex and the Floating World: Erotic Images in Japan, 1700-1820*, pp. 13-14 (London: Reaktion Books; 1999).

⁷⁶ Gilbert Rozman, *Urban Networks in Ch'ing China and Tokugawa Japan*, p. 78 (Princeton: Princeton University Press; 1973).

paradigm of female constraint). But the voice of female sexual frustration was ultimately a masculine voice: the authors and artists of erotica and popular fiction were, after all, unanimously male. The fact that the pains of segregation were expressed primarily in terms of phallic absence (as opposed to separation from home, confinement) is a reflection, perhaps, of male authorship: but it is also an index of the importance of the act of coitus as a signifier in itself.

In these works, sexual satisfaction is represented exclusively in terms of deep penile penetration leading to orgasm. Clitoral stimulation was inadequate; as was the dildo.⁷⁷



Fig. 2.14

As a maidservant in *Fûryû iro medoki* laments, ‘you just can’t reach the right spot with your hand’ – *kayui tokoro e te ga todokazu*.⁷⁸ A girl in *Taiheki chûshin kôshoku* chastises her young partner for not reaching the spot (he complains that he is trying his hardest) (fig. 2.14). In *Fûfu narabi no oka*, Ise no Tayu moans, ‘Deeper, deeper, reach me, to the very root’ – *soko wo tsuite, ne made, ne made*⁷⁹ Representations of female satisfaction in popular and erotic fiction implicated men, not prosthetics – but even then, it was hardly obvious. In *Iro zubôshi*, the hero Muzan meets a prostitute who complains:

⁷⁷ For a discussion of eighteenth-century sexual discourse by women, see Anne Walthall, "Masturbation and Discourse on Female Sexual Practices in Early Modern Japan", *Gender and History*, vol. 21, 2009, pp. 1-18.

⁷⁸ Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Fûryû iro medoki*, Nichibunken, Kyoto, *Fûryû iro medoki* (jô). “Ikimono wa tôsanu goshojo no kakochigusa” 生物は通さぬ御所女のかこち草.

⁷⁹ Taihei Shunin ed., *Nishikawa Sukenobu makurabon issô: Fûfu narabi no oka, Waraku iro nando*, p. 73 (illustration).

All these tales by young blokes suggest they meet a woman one evening, after five times they've aroused her, the sixth time, she comes. Each time I hear these tales, I feel really envious, please let me be one of these women....⁸⁰

Sexual satisfaction, she laments, is elusive; even an encounter with Muzan leaves her wanting: *onna nokori ooso nari metsuki shite*. Muzan suggests the problem lies in the fact that commercial sex is such a loveless affair:

there's no feeling in this business you're involved in. Just meeting a woman once and having sex, is something even I struggle with.⁸¹

The discussion of intermittent impotence leads him to reflect that women, after all, are just like men:

After all, women are just like men. Sexual arousal isn't simply automatic. When people say they manage to make a woman come ten times out of ten, or even twelve times out of ten, they've completely missed the point. In reality, it takes time; for you to feel it properly, you have to be with a bloke you really like. You've got to realize that sex is just the same for women as it is for men. And with these thoughts mulling in his mind, Muzan wended his way home.⁸²

⁸⁰ *Fûryû iro zubôshi*. "Yûgure no tsurionna" 夕暮の釣女。
皆わかい衆の物がたりをきけばゆふべさる女にあふて五度気をやらして六度うれしが
らしたなんどとの。物がたりを聞たびにうら山しい事かなあわれそんなめに出会てみ
たいと。 *mina wakai shu no monogatori wo kikeba yube saru onna ni aute godo ki wo yarashite*
rokudo ureshigarashita nando tonô. Monogatari wo kiku tabi ni urayamashii koto kana aware
sonna me ni deaute mitai to.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*
此ほうは情けをもらさぬ工夫をし一度あへ共女に一義を調さする事。我身の妙功にあ
らずや *kono kata wa nasake wo morasenu kufû wo shi ichidô aedomo onna ni ichigi wo*
tonooesasuru koto waga mi no myôkô ni arazu ya.

The issue of female sexual needs as represented in women's writing (of a slightly later period) is discussed in Walthall, "Masturbation and Discourse on Female Sexual Practices in Early Modern Japan", pp. 1-18. Tsukioka Settei's sex manuals for women, formulated as parodies of contemporary conduct books, are the subject of C. Andrew Gerstle, *Edô onna no shungabon: tsuya to warai no fûfu shinan* (Tokyo: Heibonsha; 2011).

⁸² *Fûryû iro zubôshi*. "Yûgure no tsurionna".

Without *nasake*, or genuine emotion, without mutual comprehension, sex, Muzan realises, is unlikely to be up to much. Female sexual dissatisfaction was thus represented not just as a consequence of the paucity of sexual opportunity, but as a consequence of the lack of affectivity and consensuality. This significantly distinguishes the figure of the sexually voracious woman in eighteenth century Japanese erotica from her counterpart in seventeenth and eighteenth century European erotica.⁸³ For, whereas the illimitable female sexual appetite was portrayed as a congenital given in the West, in the erotic works of Sukenobu and Kiseki it was inevitably read as a symptom of a fundamental social dysfunctionality. Young girls were sequestered by their parents, maids and court women were consigned to group celibacy, young widows feared for their reputation, prostitutes were kept like caged birds (*tsukamidori*) for wealthy clients.⁸⁴ Mutual desire, crucial for the consummated encounter, was often lacking.

Mutual desire and happy marriage

The often aggressive vindication of love in these tales drew on emerging debates around consensual marriage. Marital love was the pinnacle of love: *saiai* 妻愛, love for one's

惣じて女といふものは男のごとく。気のゆく事自由ならず。世間の人女の方に十度氣をやりて十二度やりてのといふは。此道ぶたんれんの人といふ事也。実はおそく気のゆくゆへひたもの男をせぶりとみへたり。一義さへ調へば。男と同じことといふ事をしるべしと我心に自問自答してかへりぬ。

Sōjite onna to iu mono wa otoko no gotoku. Ki no yuku koto jiyū narazu. Seken no hito onna no hō ni jūdo ni jūdo ki wo yarite jūnido yarite no to iu wa kono michi butanren no hito no iu koto nari. Jitsu wa osoku, ki no yuku yue hitamono no otoko wo seburu to mietari. Ichigi sae totonoeba otoko to onajikoto to iu koto wo shirubeshi to waga kokoro ni jimon jitō shite kaerinu

⁸³ For the insatiable female sexual appetite as a convention of pre-modern European pornography, see Mowry, *The Bawdy Politic in Stuart England, 1660-1714: Political Pornography and Prostitution*, p. 86 et passim.

⁸⁴ *Enjo tamasudare* (jō). “Tayū shoku no fūzoku”.

wife, and *saiiai* 最愛, supreme love, were convenient homonyms.⁸⁵ Kiseki alluded to the same trope in the preface to *Enjo tamasudare*.⁸⁶ *Seken musume*, in many ways a catalogue of marital disasters, ends, uniquely, with a tale of requited love.⁸⁷ The wedding of a betrothed couple is called off when the groom is disinherited by his parents for profligacy. He becomes an itinerant beggar; the girl, meanwhile, refusing to accede to her parent's demands that she marry a new and wealthier candidate, sets out in search of her betrothed (whom she has never met). The two encounter each other serendipitously at a temple; they fall in love, discover that they are already pledged to each other, and, shortly after, get married. The trope recurs in the erotic narratives. The concubine of an old man encounters her former beloved when he reappears as the clerk from the silk merchants, bearing bolts of fabric; they renew their vows. A girl dismissed from the daimyo's bedchamber encounters her former lover as she wanders disconsolate around a temple; they, too, rediscover happiness. *Enjo tamasudare*, which presents itself as a survey of different forms of prostitution, ends with the marriage of the narrator and the cloth dyer who offered sex as a sideline:

So they pledged themselves to one another, took a house and lived happily.

There may have been a few floorboards missing, it didn't matter. They'd start early in the evening, you'd hear them moaning 'oh, oh this is unbelievable....', the pillow would be pushed aside. She'd be crying with happiness, the cloth dyer,

⁸⁵ Masuho Zankô, "Endo tsugan" p. 211 and note. Zankô used the graphs 夫婦 (*fūfu* - husband and wife) with furigana さいあい (*saiiai*); Kiseki wrote 妻愛 with the same gloss.

⁸⁶ *Enjo tamasudare* (jô). Preface.

⁸⁷ "Teijo no michi wo mamorigatana kissaki no yoi shusse musume" in *Seken musume katagi*, pp. 500-5.

a married woman. She gets called Madam now, and sits majestic in her kitchen...⁸⁸

After two volumes of indifferent sex in brothels, the work concludes with a vision of sex, domesticity, and a home of one's own (fig.). In *Fûryû iro kaiawase* (1711), a young girl strikes up a childhood friendship with young boy next door over a shell game, which, as the days pass, mutates into something more. The parents eventually realize what is going on, the two are allowed to marry and live happily ever after:

Later, it became known to their parents. They got married, raised their children and lived happily.⁸⁹

Liberal-minded parents, love, and consensual marriage were the ingredients for happiness proposed by erotica. Yet while consensual relations within erotica were allowed to triumph, in other forms of fiction, the prospects were bleaker: love was often hopelessly at odds with the dictates of society. Chikamatsu's love suicide plays suggested that requited love, pushed to the margins of society, could exist only in another world. In his history plays, lovers are forced out of society, into the wilds; the exiled Tanpa weds the fisher girl Chidori on Devil's Island, but she is forbidden from accompanying him back to the capital.⁹⁰ In Ippû's *Fûryû Ima Heike*, similarly, the

⁸⁸ *Enjo tamasudare* (shita). "Suai no fûzoku" すあいの風俗。

末は夫婦とやくそくふかく。一所にやどばいりして当座のうれしさねだのそこねることかまわず宵から取かけて。是はどふもならぬどふもならぬと齒きりして枕をはずしてなきむつけり。涙をながす随喜のすあい女。今はお内義さまといはれて。台所にずつしりとすわって *sue wa fûfu to yakusoku fukaku. Issho ni yadobairi shite tôza no ureshisa neda no sokoneru koto kamawazu yoi kara torikakete. Kore wa dômo naranu dômo naranu to hagiri shite makura wo hazushite nakimutsukeri. Namida wo nagasu zuien no suai onna. Ima wa o-naigi sama to iwarete. Daidokoro ni zushiri to suwatte.*

⁸⁹ *Fûryû iro kaiawase*. "Futaba no kaiawase" 二葉の貝合。

後い親たちに知れて。ついに夫婦となり子がいたん生しすへさかへなり
Nochi ni oyatachi ni shirete. Tsui ni fûfu to nari kogai tanjôshi sue sakae nari

⁹⁰ "Keisei hangonko", in Hara Michio, Iguchi Hiroshi and Ohashi Tadayoshi eds., *Chikamatsu jôruri shû*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1993).

virtuous Shigemori is exiled with his wife, whose existence he has concealed from his wicked father, to Devil's Island where they live a life of marital harmony.⁹¹

The irreconcilability of love and society, however, was just a variant expression of the original conflict identified by Zankô between native Yamato (native Japanese) affective values and Confucian constraint. Good sex was firmly on the Yamato side, assailed by alien (Buddhist, Confucian) forms of social organisation. Along with waka, sexual affectivity lay at the sacred foundation of things Japanese (Zankô wrote):

the origin of the thirty-one syllable waka was the deity's song of the eight-fold cloud: "an eight-fold fence to enclose my wife, an eightfold fence I build". This was the origin of loving relations between man and wife and the foundation of sexual love.⁹²

Divinely ordained, conjugal sex was not merely a social panacea, it was a civic duty – of a uniquely Japanese type:

waga chô in umaretaru hito... renbo aibetsu no jô, shôfû ragetsu no tanoshimi wo shiran koso, moto wo tatsuru kunshi narubekere – anyone born in our land... should know the pleasures of sexual love and the unsullied beauty of nature, this should be the foundation of our rulers.⁹³

Indeed the originality of Masuho Zankô's *Endô tsugan* was its overwhelming vindication of sex within marriage and its invocation of the spiritual significance of love

⁹¹ In Nishizawa Ippû, "Fûryû gozen nidai Soga", , vol. 2

⁹² Masuho Zankô, "Endô Tsugan", p. 212.

Sono misojitomoji no hajime wa, yakumo no kamiuta koso fûfu waraku no minamoto, renbo kaai no ishizue nari.

The translation of Susano-o's poem is by Donald Philippi in Haruo Shirane ed., *Traditional Japanese Literature: An Anthology, Beginnings to 1600*, p. 31 (New York: Columbia University Press; 2006).

⁹³ Masuho Zankô, "Endô Tsugan", p. 211.

in the home.⁹⁴ At a time when guides to the pleasure quarters abounded, sex within marriage had traditionally been regarded as the poor cousin. Even in Moronobu's work, it was distinguished from its loftier counterpart in the pleasure quarters: no longer represented in terms of the elegant tryst, the seductive sulk, the passionate embrace, married couples – more mundanely – were measured in terms of sexual stamina.⁹⁵ Sex was simply the glue that held the marriage together, a secular manifestation of love: divine manifestations were reserved for the brothels.⁹⁶

Zankô's invocation of erotic love as an indigenous form of social bonding was indebted to Shinto origin mythologies; it had been subsequently reinforced by medieval esoteric commentaries on the *Kokin wakashû* and the *Tales of Ise* which postulated sexual love as a form of enlightenment: Narihira, both god of love (*musubu no kami*) and the avatar of Sumiyoshi daimyôjin, god of poetry, cemented the connection.⁹⁷ By the Edo period, it was more often the civilizing forces of waka that were celebrated – as Chikamatsu noted in *Battles at Kawa-nakajima*, poetry

⁹⁴ This point is also made in Nakano Mitsutoshi, *Edo kyôshaden*, p. 24. (Tokyo: Chuo Koron Shinsha; 2007). The importance of marriage (*fûfu no michi*) over philandering was also highlighted by Kaibara Ekken in his *Yôjokun* of 1713: see Henry Smith, "Overcoming the Modern History of Edo 'Shunga'", in Sumie Jones, *Imaging/reading Eros: Proceedings for the Conference, Sexuality and Edo Culture, 1750-1850*, p. 30 (Bloomington: East Asian Studies Center, Indiana University; 1996). See also Walthall, "Masturbation and Discourse on Female Sexual Practices in Early Modern Japan", pp. 12-14.

⁹⁵ This is particularly true of Moronobu's *Danjo aishô wagô no en*. See note 6.

⁹⁶ In his *Shikidô kokagami* (Lesser Mirror of Love, 1678), for example, Fujimoto Kizan situated the potential locus of sexual enlightenment not in marriage but in the brothels. By climbing the ladder of commercial love (ever mindful of its rituals and conventions) the acolyte might reach the final rung represented by a relationship with a *tayû*; wherein, with practice and dedication to the Way, he could achieve ultimate enlightenment (which the Mirror referred to as 'The Great Extreme', or *daigyoku*). The path, nominally open to any man, was in practice highly exclusive: by grounding the concept of erotic enlightenment firmly in the pleasure quarters, the Mirror reserved it for men of wealth. It acknowledged as much: *fukujin narade wa kono michi ni hairu koto kanaigatashi* – 'if you're not wealthy, it's very hard to pursue the Way of Love'. See *Shikidô kokagami* in Noma Kôshin ed., *Kinsei shikidôron*, pp. 187 and 391-9 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1976).

⁹⁷ For a discussion of these medieval erotic allegories see Susan Blakeley Klein, *Allegories of Desire: Esoteric Literary Commentaries of Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute : Distributed by Harvard University Press; 2002).

‘teaches us to love and cherish and know compassion’.⁹⁸ Prominent advocates of nativist learning such as the monk Keichû (1640-1701) and, later, Kamo no Mabuchi (1697-1769) agreed.⁹⁹ Zankô, too, recognised the value of waka in the governance of the nation: the virtue of waka rectifies all improprieties, it enables long and enduring rule (*waka no toku, moromoro no magareru wo naosu naru kimi ga yo to wa nashikeru*), but placed greater emphasis on its capacity to awaken sexual desire.¹⁰⁰ Evidence of this latter could be seen from the well-known tale of Ota Dôkan. A warrior of the Muromachi period, the youthful Dôkan had gained significant renown for his military prowess but had remained ignorant in the ways of love (*katsute nasake wo shiranu yûsha narishi ga*). Through a chance encounter with a young girl who responded to his demand for a rain hat by offering him a sprig of *yamabuki* – a reference to a poem in the *Goshûishû* by Prince Kaneakira (914-987) - he came to understand the way of poetry. Zankô sums up the moral of the story: Dôkan’s sentimental education takes him from a poem, to love; and love then initiates him into the deeper secrets of poetry:

Dokan progressed from waka to love. Through love he came to understand the deeper meaning of waka, and perfected himself in the Way.¹⁰¹

Very similar formulations can be found in Sukenobu’s *shunpon*. In *Enjo iro ne no hi*, the son of an affluent merchant from Sakai, a boy of marriageable age (Irogorô), remains stubbornly uninterested in various marital propositions put forward by his

⁹⁸ C. Andrew Gerstle, *Chikamatsu: 5 Late Plays*, p. 273 (New York: Columbia University Press; 2001).

⁹⁹ For an account of the importance of waka in early kokugaku thought, see Shimizu Masayuki, *Kokugaku no tashazô: makoto to itsuwari* (Tokyo: Perikansha; 2005). Also Roger K. Thomas, *The Way of Shikishima: Waka Theory and Practice in Early Modern Japan* (Lanham: University Press of America; 2008).

¹⁰⁰ Masuho Zankô, "Endô Tsugan", p. 273.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

道灌の歌より恋に移り、恋より歌に入りて心を磨、道を練の質とし給ふ。 *Dôkan no uta yori koi ni utsuri, koi yori uta ni irite kokoro wo migaki, michi wo ren no shitsu to shitamau* –

father, preferring to devote himself to his books: Confucius, Mencius, and other lofty Chinese classics.¹⁰² In a felicitous moment of reprieve from his studies, he overhears strains of a melody on the koto, catches a stray phrase from a *kouta* (a popular song) and is gradually inducted into the world of affect represented by these canonical Japanese arts. Music leads to poetry, and poetry leads to literature:

He had never so much as glimpsed a popular work written in *kana* (*kanazōshi*); but upon discovering that for the last few years, amorous and erotic novels (*kōshokubon*) had been appearing one after the other and were to be found all over the place, he grew curious and decided to procure for himself several volumes. The *kanazōshi* certainly had an appeal, the tales were of the feel-good variety. Smiling inwardly, Irogorō thenceforth gave himself over to the pleasures of sex (*emi wo fukumite iroke noshinteki*).¹⁰³

Irogorō comes to realise that the world of affect portrayed in popular fiction is of crucial importance in the construct of the humanistic self:

Lord Shunzei's poem also says that without loving, a person can have no feeling, and cannot understand the sympathy of things. Someone else said that without feeling and pity, you returned to the cruel world of devils and beasts.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² *Enjo iro no ne no hi*. "Ne no hi no binan seki yawaragete miru kōshokubon" 子の日の美男石和て見る好色本.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

かなさうしをのぞいた事なしきけば近年好色本とてくしのはを引ごとく版行に出し世にもてあそぶときいて有何を書たり物やらん見はやと思ひ好色本数札とりよせあれこれよんでみて物おもしろきかなさうしこちよき物かたりとゑみをふくみ是より色気の心てき

For a discussion of the term *kanazōshi* see Laura Moretti, "Kanazōshi Revisited: The Beginnings of Japanese Popular Literature in Print", *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 65, 2010, pp. 297-356.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

俊成公のゑいし給ひし歌は恋せずは人はなさけのなるまじ物のあわれはこれよりそしると有人にしてなさけあわれをしらざりはきちくにはもどりたり

Popular fiction and erotica, pleading the case of sensibility over sense, love over duty, represented a portal to the world of feeling (*nasake*); and *nasake*, in turn, informed the peculiar Japanese sensibility known as *mono no aware*, the deep intuitive awareness of things. To be bereft of such a sensibility was to return to the world of beasts: *nasake*, in effect, differentiated man from beast. It is at this point that the alarmed Irogorô realises he has been misled by his Chinese teachers who had persuaded him that erotic love would lead to perdition:

from his studies, he had gleaned only that to immerse oneself in the ways of love, and to consort with women would lead to the ruin of the country, the loss of one's home...¹⁰⁵

As a consequence, he had forsworn the regard of beautiful womanhood. Understanding love to be the essence of life, and conjugal relations – *fûfu no katarai* – its supreme expression, he now devours *kanazôshi*, *irozôshi* and other *kôshokubon*, and immerses himself in the world of love. Irogorô – the modern Dôkan – proceeds from Chinese learning to waka, from waka to *kanazôshi* and erotic works; and from these to love itself. Having shunned the world of women, he now immerses himself therein.

The deliberate oppositions between the gentle arts of Japan (*shamisen*, *kouta*, *kanazôshi*) and the sterner teachings of China; between the world of *nasake* and the world of duty, between enlightenment and (sentimental) ignorance, are familiar from Zankô. The hero's original dismissal of women, theatre and popular pleasure was,

shunzei kyô no eiji-tamaishi uta ni mo koi sezu wa hito wa nasake no narumaji, mono no aware wa kore yori zo shiru to. Aru hito ni shite nasake aware wo shirazari wa kichiku ni wa modoritaru

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. 今までわれ物事かたふをぼへいろにふけりたわふれをなせば国をほろぼし家をうしなふ

Ima made ware mono koto katau wo oboe iro ni fukeri tawabure wo naseba kuni wo horoboshi ie wo ushinau to iu koto

furthermore, fully aligned with the precepts laid down in contemporary works on popular governance. *Enkyo guhitsu* 燕居偶筆 (Random Notes in Idleness, around 1720), for example, the work of Otsuki Risai 大月履齋, a Confucianist scholar working for the Matsuyama domain, counselled avoidance of women, the pleasure quarters, the theatre.¹⁰⁶ Women and sex led to perdition; or, more literally, they were the great poison of governments: *insei bishoku wa sei no daidoku*.¹⁰⁷ There was no swifter route to destruction than the company of female entertainers (*yoraku*); *jôruri*, *kouta* and *ezôshi* (picture books), those purveyors of loose morals, should be treated with caution (*ki wo tsukete mirubeshi*). And the source of all evil, Risai suggested, was Kamigata:

Kamigata no fûzoku ni taijaku shite, danjo tomo inran no fûzoku, fugi fusahô wo nan tomo owanu yô ni naritaruba... if you let yourself be corrupted by Kamigata customs and the lascivious behaviours of its men and women, you become inured to the immorality and impropriety of their ways....¹⁰⁸

And while, for Irogorô, the neglect of sentiment in Chinese works suggested a kind of bestiality, for Risai, Kamigata itself, with its pleasure quarters, its immoral publications and its lascivious customs (nowhere in the whole of China could such immorality be found), was the land of beasts – *chikusho kokuto ieru wa mottomo naru koto nari*.¹⁰⁹

The Sukenobu *shunpon* presented itself as the very antithesis of contemporary moralizing works, and it seems reasonable to suggest this was no mere coincidence. For the same Shôtoku–Kyôhō period that witnessed the dominance of the Sukenobu *shunpon* also witnessed a surge in the publication of conduct books. The works of the

¹⁰⁶ Naramoto Tatsuya ed., *Kinsei seidôron*, pp. 210-5 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1976).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

educationalist Kaibara Ekken - in particular *Yamato zokkun* - were bestsellers, as Yokota Fuyuhiko has shown.¹¹⁰ So too were the conduct books produced by Nishikawa Goken, and they unleashed a veritable tide of similar manuals on the market.¹¹¹ It was at this time, too, that the great trading houses began to issue codes of conduct for their employees (*tedai*);¹¹² conduct books for *chônin*, or townsmen, together with all manner of women's and children's conduct books flooded the market. Publication of women's conduct books (which remained brisk throughout the eighteenth century) peaked, precisely, during the Kyôhô period.¹¹³ These works, despite differences in prospective audience, shared a mission to ensure that each and every category of person act in accordance with his or her station: to honour ones' master, husband, parents, to work with diligence, to behave with propriety, and to shun the whimsical fantasies of popular literature that proposed alternative possibilities. As Ekken put it in *Yamato zokkun*, 'there is a definite principal appropriate to each and all of our personal involvements and one may not depart from this way even for a moment.'¹¹⁴

Sukenobu's *shunpon* clearly undercut the proprieties advanced by these works. In line with Western pornography of the early modern period, they combined libertinism with liberty; they celebrated what Joyce Appleby, writing on English seventeenth century pornography, has termed 'the minor skirmishes of everyday

¹¹⁰ Yokota Fuyuhiko, "Kinsei minshû shakai ni okeru chiteki dokusho no seiritsu", *Edo no shisô*, vol. 5, 1996, pp. 48-67.

¹¹¹ See Nakamura Yukihiro ed., *Kinsei chônin shisô*, p. 426. These works became the speciality of the Kyoto publisher Ryûshiken IbarakiTazaemon 柳枝軒茨木多左衛門.

¹¹² A number of these are reproduced in Yôtarô Sakudô, *Edo jidai no Kamigata chônin*, pp. 177-202 (Tokyo: Kyôikusha; Hanbai Kyôikusha Shuppan Sabisu; 1978). See also "The House Codes of Tokugawa Merchant Families" in De Bary ed., *Sources of Japanese Tradition: 1600-2000*, pp. 294-330.

¹¹³ Koizumi Yoshinaga, *Kinsei no nyohitsu tehon: onnabumi wo meguru shomondai*, pp. 32-34 (PhD dissertation: Kanazawa Daigaku; 1999). http://www.bekkoame.ne.jp/ha/a_r/D3.htm

¹¹⁴ Tucker, *Moral and Spiritual Cultivation in Japanese Neo-confucianism: The Life and Thought of Kaibara Ekken, 1630-1714*, p. 166.

insubordination'.¹¹⁵ Yet such characterizations, while apt, fall short of accounting for the overwhelming emphasis within these works on the issue of consensuality.¹¹⁶

Crisis

Yoshimune's Kyôhō reforms of 1722 outlawed all manner of *kôshokubon*, both the erotic and the mildly amorous, on grounds that they were deleterious to public behaviours.¹¹⁷ Thereafter, it appears that Sukenobu's *shunpon* production ceased.¹¹⁸ Accounts by later commentators – in particular Baba Bunkô - suggest that the ban was precipitated by the discovery of a Sukenobu *shunpon* referencing the court; Bunkô's testimony is something to which we will return in the final chapter. It is clear, however, that in the years leading up to 1722 edicts, the authorities were becoming alert to the subversive potential of popular fiction – erotic and otherwise. In the eighth month of 1720, a *sôshi* (popular fictional work) entitled *Iro denju* was banned: the edict described the work as a *furachi* - offensive. A couple of days later, a further edict was issued to the effect that all new publications including *sôshi* should be submitted for inspection to the *machi bugyô*.¹¹⁹ In the seventh month of the same year, the edict was repeated: again, with specific reference to *karoki sôshi*.¹²⁰ In the eighth month of 1722, Kiseki's *Sakura*

¹¹⁵ Joyce Appleby, "Consumption in Early Modern Social Thought", in John Brewer and Roy Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, pp. 162-73 (London; New York: Routledge, 1993).

¹¹⁶ Writing from a slightly different perspective, Timon Screech considers consensuality to be characteristic of erotica of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. See Screech, *Sex and the Floating World: Erotic Images in Japan, 1700-1820*, p. 288.

¹¹⁷ The Kyôhō legislation can be found in a number of works: see Konta Yôzô, *Edo no kinsho* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan; 2007); also Kurakazu Masae, "Kyôhō shichinen shuppan jômoku to hachmonjiya-bon", *Bungaku*, vol. 3, no. 5-6, 2002, pp. 79-90.

¹¹⁸ The significance of the Kyôhō regulations is also discussed by Henry Smith in Jones, *Imaging/reading Eros: Proceedings for the Conference, Sexuality and Edo Culture, 1750-1850*, pp. 29-30. Here, however, Smith denies the political significance of the *kôshoku* genre.

¹¹⁹ Kyôto machibure kenkyûkai. ed., *Kyôto machibure shûsei*, vol. 1, p. 331 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten; 1983).

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

Soga onna Tokimune was banned, followed by his *Fûryû shichi Komachi* - the first of Kiseki's *ukiyozôshi* to treat a specifically courtly theme and a work that rehearsed with relish the trope all too familiar from *shunpon* of sexual frustration in the women's quarters - in the ninth.¹²¹ In the eleventh month, the Kyôhō publishing edicts were issued. Kurokazu Masae has argued that by the early Kyôhō period, the authorities had come to recognize the power of popular fiction as a form of discourse; a power, she suggests, still underrated by historians today.¹²² This would apply equally to the Sukenobu *shunpon* of the period: the present chapter has argued that Sukenobu's erotic works fixed the sexual act in a cluster of criss-crossing discourses through which it acquired countercultural symbolic associations.

There are, however, indications within the later *shunpon* of an awareness of approaching crisis. *Makurabon taiheki* was published in 1720.¹²³ *Prima facie*, it simply lifted the text from Nishizawa Ippû's *Fûryû gozen nidai Soga*, originally published a decade or so earlier (1709), adding erotic images at the end of each of the five volumes.¹²⁴ But it was, in fact, a carefully constructed, complex and highly elaborate work. The third volume include a hidden erotic textual supplement: three independent stories, carved in a different hand, recounting ways of accessing women sequestered in the female quarters of a daimyo mansion (smuggled, for example, inside a life-sized *karakuri ningyô* or mechanical doll) (fig. 2.15).

¹²¹ For a discussion of these works in the context of the Kyôhō edicts, see Kurakazu Masae, "Kyôhō shichinen shuppan jômoku to hachmonjiya-bon", pp. 79-90.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 81.

¹²³ Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Makurabon taiheki*, Richard Lane Collection, Honolulu,

¹²⁴ There may be a pun involved: each chapter of *Fûryû gozen nidai Soga* is entitled 'utsushie' (life-drawing) which could supply the homonym 'moved, or changed image'. It is the only one of Ippû's novels to use this term. Sukenobu has literally changed the images.

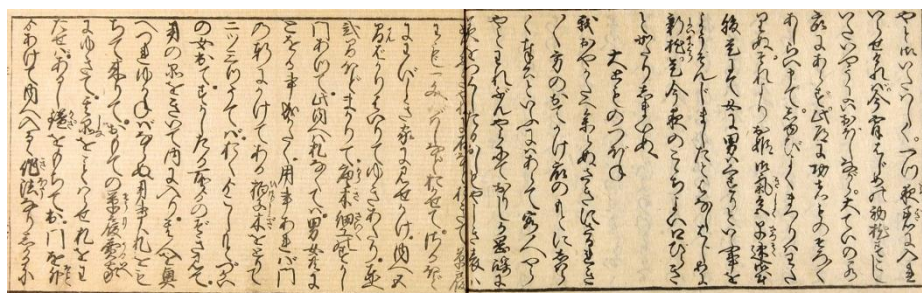


Fig. 2.15 One of the three hidden narratives in *Makurabon taihekkki*: the opening passage of *Otomo no tsubone*.

An image in the fourth volume shows men carrying a palanquin bound with ropes - a prisoner in transit – and guards chasing away onlookers with bloody threats. This is one of only two non-explicit images in the work (the opening illustration shows a story-telling scene in the women’s quarters of a daimyo mansion): and it pulls the viewer up short (fig. 2.16). The image is entitled *Yuge no Dôkyô*: the prisoner, the viewer assumes, is the priest who was banished having usurped the affections of Empress Kôken. *Dôkyô* was the canonical embodiment of the erotic transgression of the political, and its attendant penalties. Elliptically transposed into modern terms, the image suggests the enduring dangers of erotic transgression (such as the dangers involved in the production of discursive *shunpon*).

The *Dôkyô* reference alerts the reader to the existence of a political subtext to the work. The original *Ippû* narrative, within which these images squat, is also politically suggestive, being one of the



Fig. 2.16

many of the period which borrowed the Soga motif and transposed it into a modern idiom. Here, two young *kamuro*, or apprentice prostitutes, whose *tayû*, senior prostitute, has been murdered, seek to avenge her. But in the wake of the Akô Rôshi incident of 1703 - when forty-seven loyal retainers took vengeance on the man responsible for their lord's demise - the Soga theme became a standard rhetorical device for alluding to a wholly contemporary event. Two weeks after the incident, *Night Attack at Dawn by the Soga* (*Akebono Soga no youchi*) was staged in Edo; it was banned immediately, but the Soga trope remained a convenient form of indirect allusion.¹²⁵ Ippû's work appeared five years after the Akô Rôshi incident. But if the Soga tale was a metaphor of a recent vendetta, it was also a powerful trope of devotion: filial devotion (in its original form), or devotion to one's master.

The erotic images that conclude each section of *Makurabon taihekki* contain a cartouche in the upper right hand corner with a fictitious *tsubone* title: for example *Hoshiai no tsubone*, Lady of the Meeting of the Stars; *Kairô no tsubone*, Lady of Enduring Love; *Ashiwake no tsubone*, Lady of the Parting Reeds, *Renri no tsubone*, Lady of the Twinned Trees, *Hiyoku no tsubone*, Lady of the Twinned Feathers, *Mutsugoto no tsubone*, Lady of Sweet Nothings: names that invoke canonical tropes of passionate love. These images belong amongst Sukenobu's wildest depictions of the sexual act: couples copulate in luxury, in poverty, inside, outside, across physical and social boundaries. Yet there are signs that things are awry. Take, for example, the couple in figure 2.17. He looks down towards their already engaged genitals, perhaps because he finds it arousing, but more likely because something has surprised him. The

¹²⁵ For a discussion of Chikamatsu's Soga-themed plays and Akô allusions, see Uchiyama Mikiko, *Jôzurishi no jûhasseiki*, pp. 119-40 (Tokyo: Benseisha; 1989). See also Donald Keene, *Chûshingura, the Treasury of Loyal Retainers: A Puppet Play*, p. 3 (New York: Columbia University Press; 1971).

woman has a penis. In the same volume, a couple copulate as per usual, but the woman's lower body has been switched around: her vulva is now conspicuously located in her anus. Her upper body is supine (breasts uppermost), her lower body prone (buttocks in the air, knees on the ground) - but from these same buttocks emerge her pubic hair and vulva (fig.) . In another image, a man engages with a *wakashû* - or what he believes to be a *wakashû*, but is surprised to find the boy has no penis (fig.).



Fig. 2.17

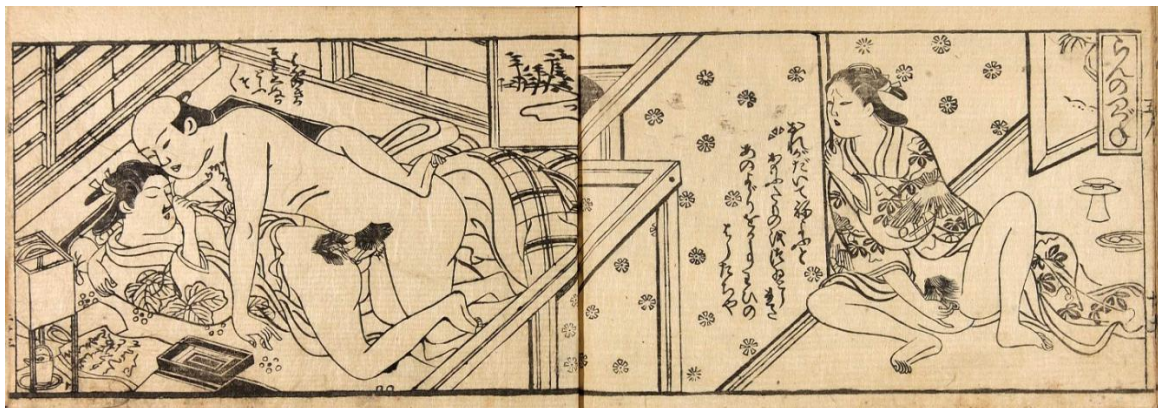


Fig. 2.18



Fig. 2.19

These anomalies may be artistic inaccuracies, but they suggest a level of intentionality. Moreover the travestied bodies are displayed in a work that made overt gestures to political subtexts (the Soga theme, *Dôkyô*); a work, moreover, that contained a secret erotic supplement that could easily double as a trope of erotic concealment. And it is surely not coincidental that the final volume of the original Ippû work is elided. *Makurabon taihekki* closes with the concluding sentences of volume five of Ippû's novel: Saemon has been murdered, the two *kamuro* rejoice and the text notes that, 'fate is hard earned. Just deserts are swiftly reaped. This is just the beginning: People should beware'.¹²⁶ Political subtexts and tropes of concealment would pervade Sukenobu's artistic production for the rest of his life: in later works, they become more legible. Suffice it to note for the present that *Makurabon taihekki* suggests the possibility of an allegorical content: that the travestied bodies, themes of political transgression, and the overarching context of vengeance, could be read discursively. And if *Makurabon*

¹²⁶ Nishizawa Ippû, "Fûryû gozen nidai Soga ", p. 536.

いんぐわもくせんの道理。むかしのむくいはさらのふち。今はまもなきはりのさきと
皆人おそれけると也。

taiheki was, in fact, a political work, were Sukenobu's *shunpon* in general intended as a medium of political expression?

The following chapters will examine the emergence of political themes and the construction of political allegories in the post-Kyôhō educational works. The final chapter will return to the *shunpon* and reconsider recurrent tropes of defiance, sexual dissatisfaction and consensual love in the context of a broader political vision.

Fig: 2.1

Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣 *Enpon kôshoku hana no sakazuki*
繪本好色花の盃 1687





君により思ひならひぬ世中の/人は是をや恋といふらん
It was from you that I came to understand/ that which
others, it seems, call love

Fig: 2.3

Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣 Toko no okimono 床の置物
1684

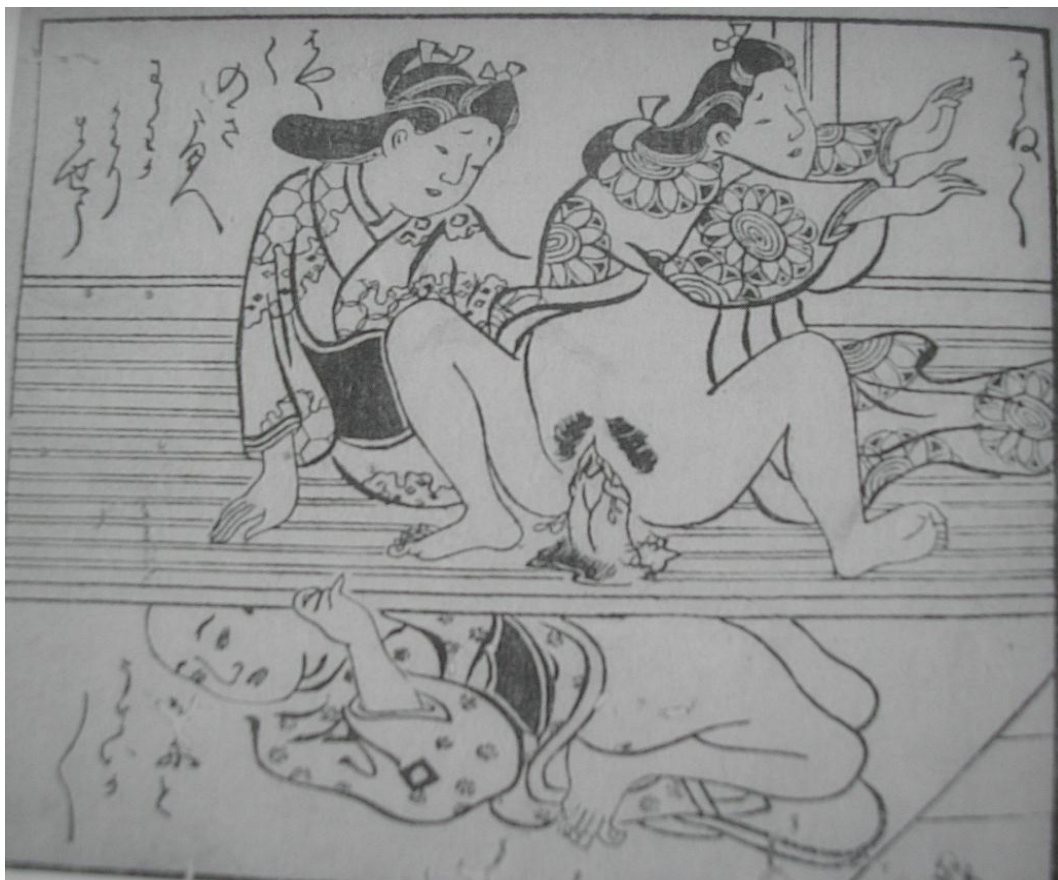


Fig: 2.4

Nishikawa Sukenobu (attributed) 西川祐信
Taiheki chûshin kôshoku 大開中心好色





Fig: 2.6

Nishikawa Sukenobu (attributed) 西川祐信
Fûryû omoi no..風流おもひの

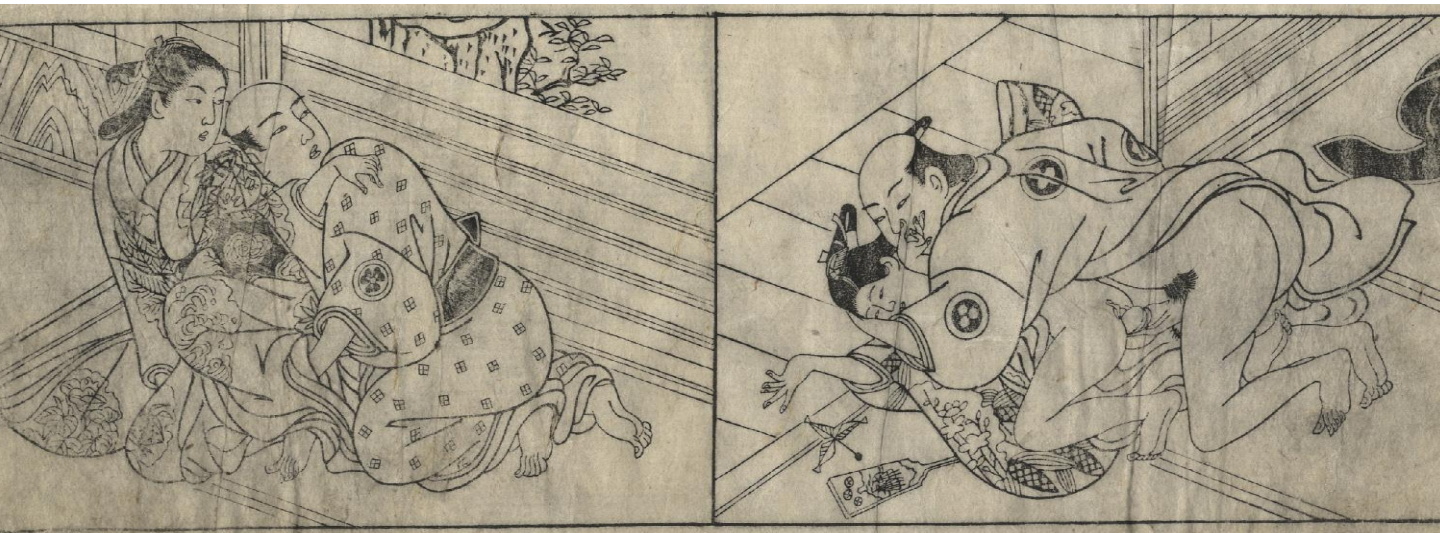


Fig: 2.7 Nishikawa Sukenobu 西川祐信
Lusty Women of the Jewelled Blind 艶女玉すだれ 1719
Tenshoku 天職

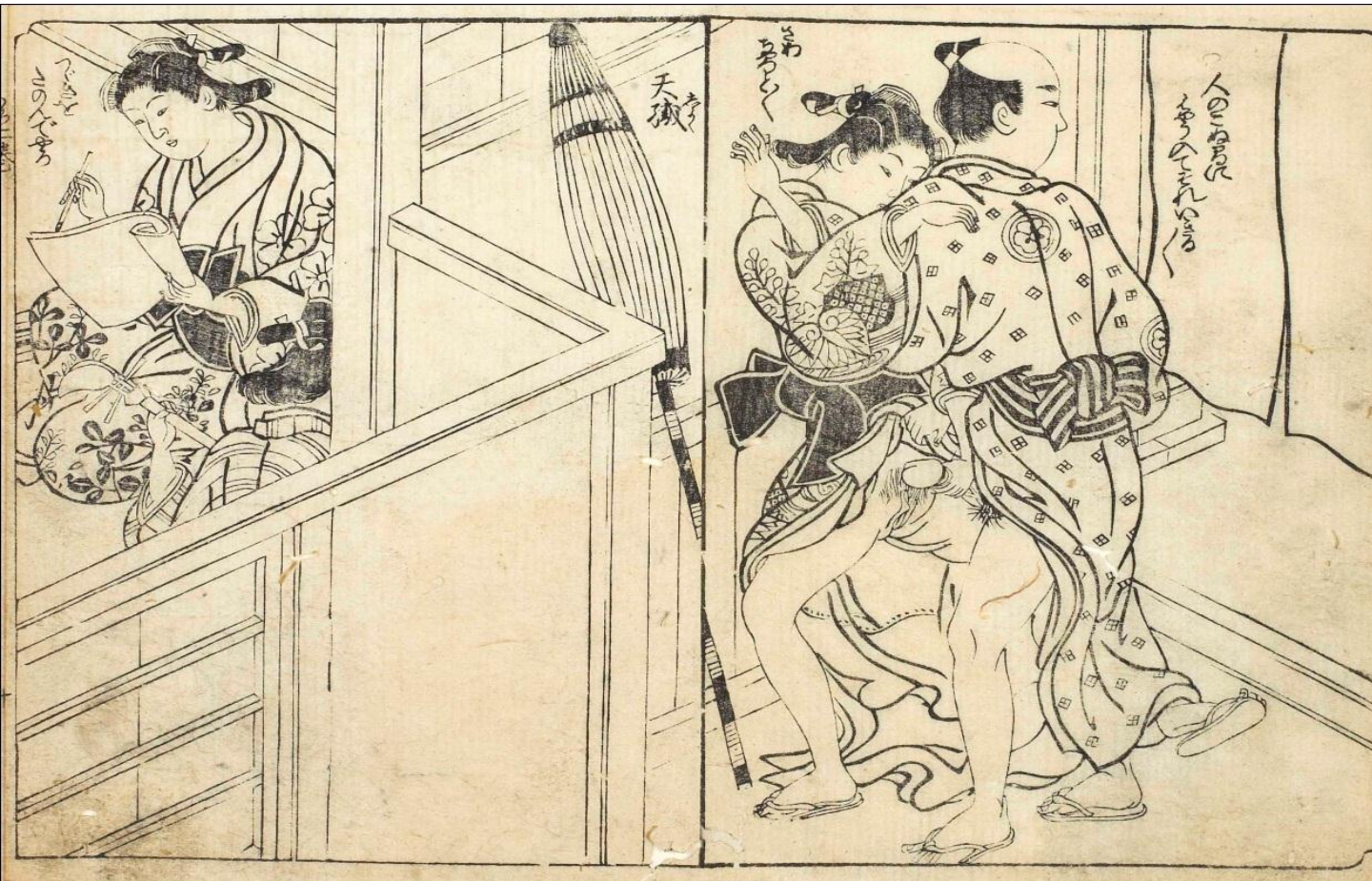


Fig: 2.8

Nishikawa Sukenobu 西川祐信

Lusty Women of the Jewelled Blind 艶女玉すだれ 1719

Hashi 端女郎



Fig: 2.9

Nishikawa Sukenobu 西川祐信

Lusty Women of the Jewelled Blind 艶女玉すだれ 1719

Iro chaya musume 色茶屋娘

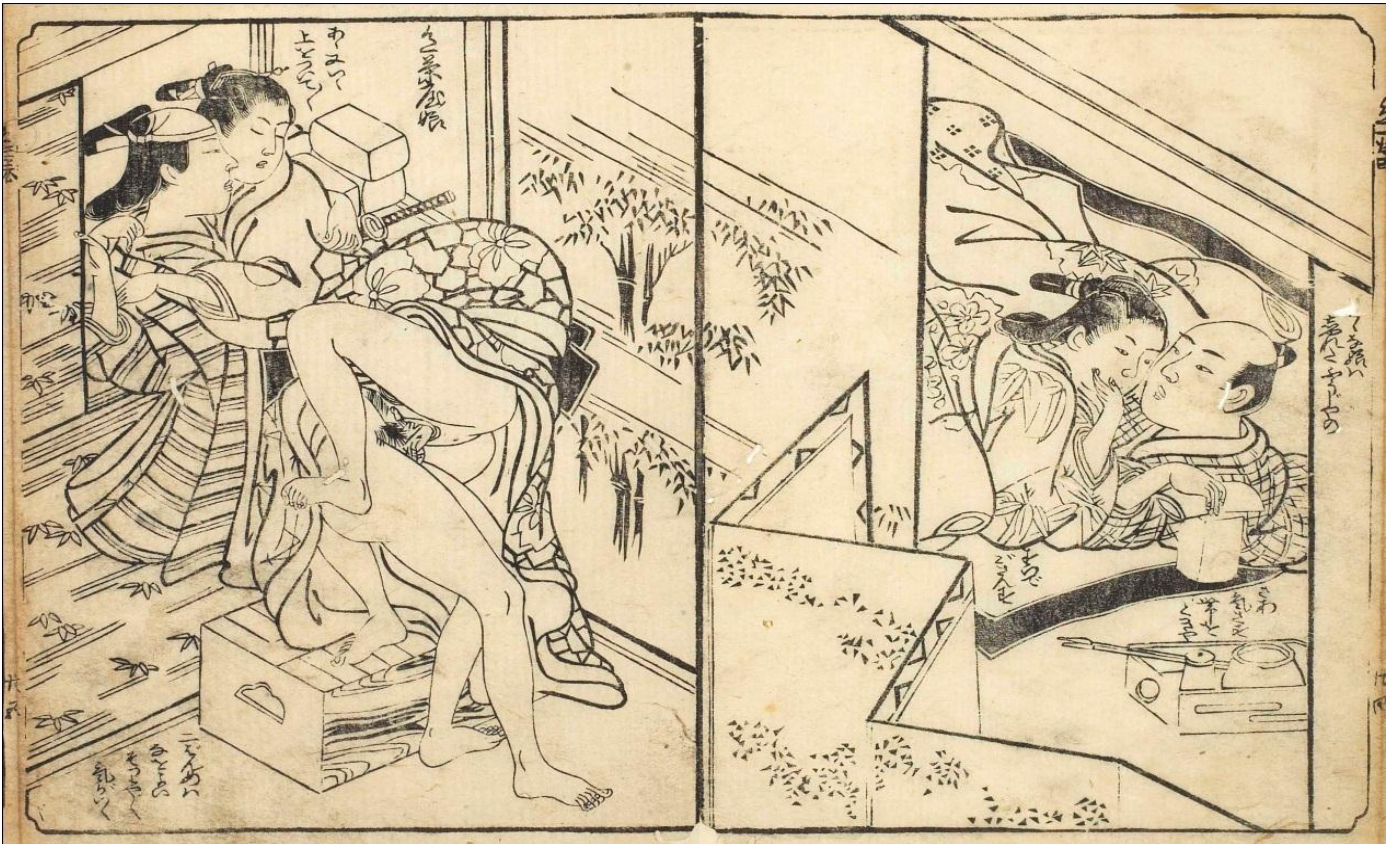


Fig: 2.10

Nishikawa Sukenobu 西川祐信

Lusty Women of the Jewelled Blind 艶女玉すだれ 1719

Hakunin

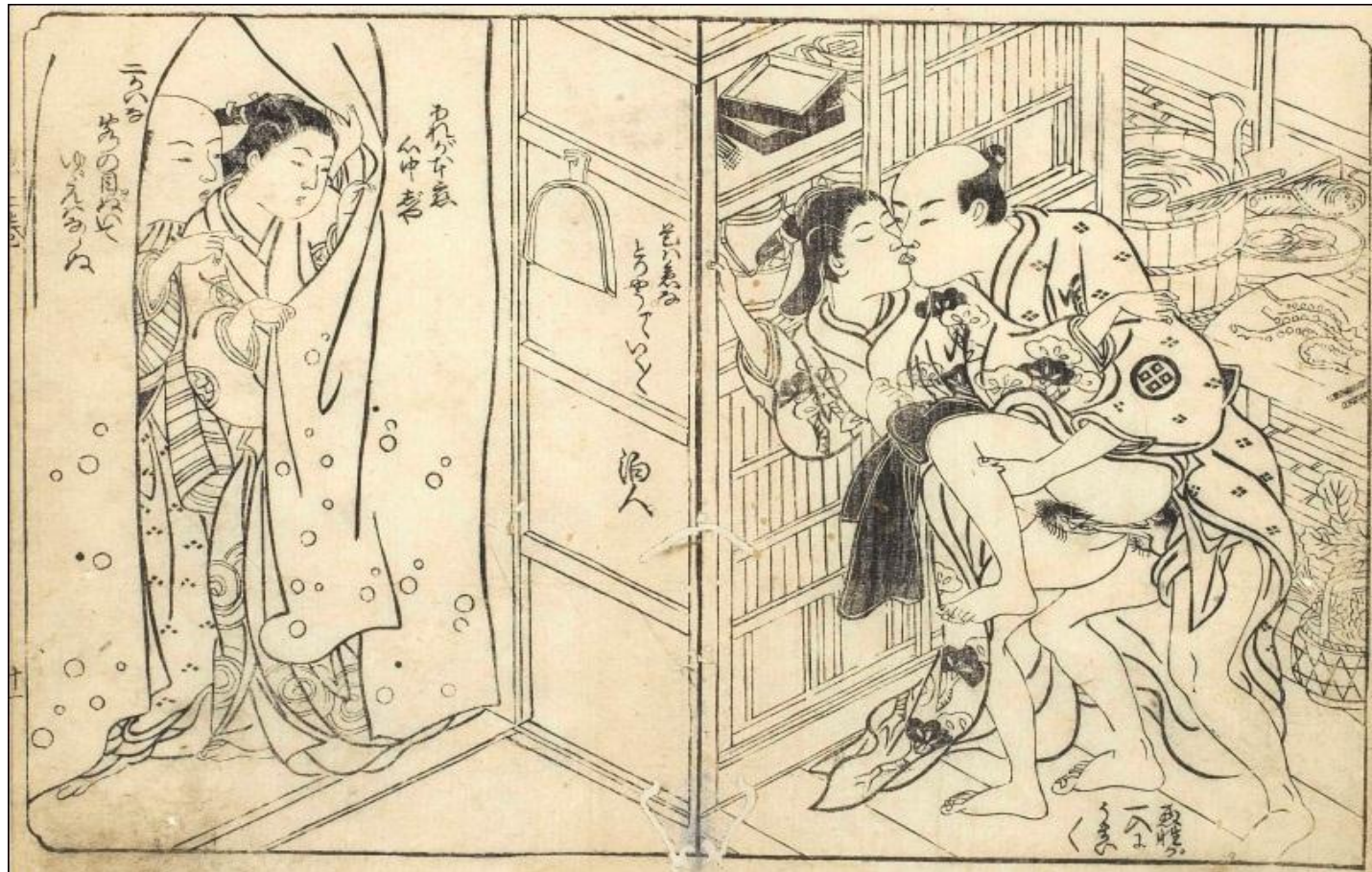


Fig: 2.11 Nishikawa Sukenobu 西川祐信
Lusty Women of the Jewelled Blind 艶女玉すだれ 1719
Thread seller (left) and fan seller 糸屋女、扇屋女



Fig: 2.12

Nishikawa Sukenobu 西川祐信

Shoyu keshikanoko: Nagamakura 諸遊芥子鹿の子:長枕



Fig: 2.13

Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣
Toko no okimono 床の置物 1684



Fig: 2.14

Nishikawa Sukenobu (attributed) 西川祐信
Taiheki chûshin kôshoku 大開中心好色



Girl: 一六々大事な所にせかず。。
Four out of ten: you're not hitting the spot
Boy: それ、しっかりと皆入ます
Right, I'll go really deep..

Fig: 2.16 Nishikawa Sukenobu 西川祐信
Makurabon Taihekki 枕本大開記 1720



Yuge no Dôkyô ゆげの道行(道鏡)

Fig. 2.17 Nishikawa Sukenobu 西川祐信
Makurabon Taihekki 枕本大開記 1720
Ukine non tsubone うきねの局



Fig: 2.18 Nishikawa Sukenobu 西川祐信
Makurabon Taiheki 枕本大開記 1720

Higurashi no tsubone ひぐらしの局



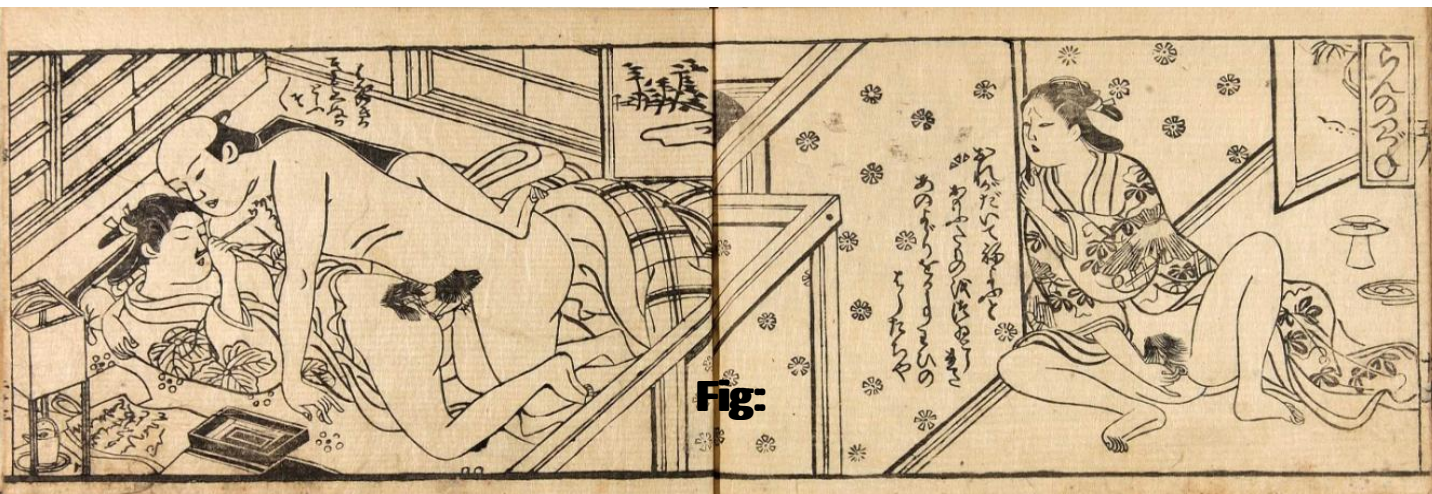
Fig: 2.19

Nishikawa Sukenobu 西川祐信

Makurabon Taihekki 枕本大開記 1720

Ran no tsubone

らんのつぼね



Chapter Three

Riddle-me-ree: *Kyôkun* and Collaboration

The implications of the Kyôhō reforms of 1722 were highly material for publishers and producers of recreational literatures.¹ The proscription of *kôshokubon* – both amatory and erotic works - affected not just *shunpon* but also a large swathe of popular fictional production – for example, the *hachimonjiyabon*. But *hachimonjiyabon* were also impacted by new restrictions on the publication of information relating to notable families, be it reality, rumour or scurrilous invention. This at a blow eliminated much of the existing substance of the contemporary popular novel. For Sukenobu and Kiseki – the dominant partnership over the past decade in the production of both *shunpon* and *hachimonjiyabon* - the regulations had a significant effect. Existing records suggest that Sukenobu ceased production of *shunpon* completely. In the following year, 1723, he published a solo work - *Hyakunin jorô shinasadame*, “A Selection of One Hundred Women”, with a preface by Hachimonjiya Jishō. It was a non-erotic picture book depicting an array of women from empress to streetwalker, nonetheless it was banned on publication.² In 1724, he published a children’s book, *Ehon Yamato warabe*. Thereafter, he published nothing for four years. There was a similarly ominous lull in the production of *ukiyozōshi*: nothing new came off *Hachimonjiya* blocks for the next two years.³

¹ For an account of the effects of the reforms on the publishing industry, see Konta Yōzō, *Edo no kinsho*, pp. 139-57 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan; 2007); also Kurakazu Masae, "Kyōhō shichinen shuppan jōmoku to hachimonjiya-bon", *Bungaku*, vol. 3, no. 5-6, 2002, pp. 79-90.

² See Kurakazu Masae, "Shuppan kisei to zōshi-rui no kankō wo megutte: hachimonjiya-kan "Hyakunin jorō shinasadame" no baai", *Kokubungaku Kenkyū*, vol. 139, 2003, p. 31. The ban was not rigorously enforced for pirate copies circulated widely, particularly in Edo.

³ See *ibid.*, pp. 30-40.

When Sukenobu and Kiseki returned to the fray, they did so in a new guise. Kiseki abandoned tales of the pleasure quarters and the illustrious and focussed instead on satirical portraits of commoner life - the *seken katagi* works - and longer historical novels (for both of which Sukenobu continued to provide illustrations). From the late twenties, however, the two collaborated on a small handful of illustrated books or *ehon*.⁴ These were ostensibly educational books: they offered the reader what appeared to be precepts for the conduct of daily life, presented in the form of satirical aphorisms accompanied by sometimes puzzling iconographies. For example, from *Ehon tôwa kagami* of 1729 (fig 3.1):

A spiteful mother-in-law who suddenly starts ingratiating herself with the young wife - about as easy to swallow as a bowl of clam soup for a monk.

小意地のわるい姑のにはかに嫁のひいきせらる々は坐頭の坊に蜷の吸物
すわすやうなもので身やら皮やらしれぬといへり

Undesirable things: a lecherous acupuncturist treating the belly of a young widow, and lending money to an unreliable guy. Like entrusting the brazier to the god of wind.

浮気な針立に若後家の腹さすらすと不埒な男に銀かすハすかぬ物あたかも
も風の神に火桶預るがごとし

⁴ *Ehon tôwa kagami* of 1729 and *Ehon tatoegusa* of 1731. These are transcribed in Kurakazu Masae, "Kana sesetsu wo megutte: Kiseki, Sukenobu ehon no saikentô", *Kinsei Bungei Kenkyû to Hyôron*, vol. 25, 1983, pp. 43-59; see also Suzuki Jun and Asano Shûgô, *Edo no ehon: gazô to tekisuto no ayanaseru sekai* (Tokyo: Yagishoten; 2010).



Fig. 3.1



Fig. 3.2

These general counsels to be circumspect in ones behaviours (caution features highly in these works) are illustrated here by a soldier running to the assistance of another who has fallen from his horse, and a man lighting his pipe from a portable brazier held by the wind god. Another image from the same book shows children lifting ice from a water bucket, and a woman in travelling garb pursued by an apparently importunate man (fig. 3.2). The text warns that an absent person's secret is likely to last as long as a gate made of sugar icing (the image puns on *kôri satô* or iced sugar); and that an absence of leave (*yabui*) is hard to keep secret because people keep tabs on the days you have been granted. Life, the reader infers from these works, must be navigated with care; secrets are not kept, people cannot be trusted, and hazards lurk on every corner. Image and text suggest a climate of mistrust at odds with the conventional world of the conduct book (where peace, happiness and prosperity are secured through filial piety, respect and hard work). Pessimistic and often cynical, the riddling aphorisms suggest, yet never elaborate, impending dangers.

In 1735, Kiseki died. The preceding year, Sukenobu had produced an illustrated book in collaboration with the Kyoto educationalist Nakamura Sankinshi, the first of a significant group of works - which will here be loosely categorised as *kyôkun* or

educational works - produced in tandem with members of the commoner intelligentsia: notably Sankinshi, Nakamura Ranrin, the children's author and *kangaku* scholar and the *kojitsu* scholar Tada Nanrei. However, the early collaborative works with Kiseki had been seminal in informing the subsequent direction of the Sukenobu *ehon*. Later collaborators would have recourse to the same use of allusive, epigrammatic texts and riddles, to the language of deliberate indirection. The reader of the *ehon* would become familiar with a world represented only obliquely, through the twists and turns of allegory and metaphor.

Sukenobu's *kyôkun* and his collaborators

By the 1730s, there were clear pockets of disaffection with the political regime. Conditions in the countryside were difficult: there had been a series of poor harvests, pestilence and epidemics. The economy was struggling, daimyo had responded by levying hefty taxes on farmers; in 1729, the peasants of Tsuyama had revolted. The urban population was facing austerity measures. In country and city alike, life was increasingly regulated by the hand of the Law.⁵

The most high-profile objection to what was perceived as heedless governmental intrusion in civic affairs issued from the cousin of the shogun, the daimyo of Owari Tokugawa Muneharu (1696-1764). In 1731, Muneharu published, within his own domain, a political tract entitled *Onchiseiyô* 温知政要 (Essentials of Government

⁵ Conditions in the Kyôhō era are summarised in Nakai Nobuhito and James McClain, "Commercial Change and Urban Growth in Early Modern Japan", in John Whitney Hall, *The Cambridge History of Japan. Vol.4, Early Modern Japan*, pp. 572-3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1991). For an account of the systemization of the law and its mechanisms under Yoshimune, see Manabu Oishi, "Kyôhō kakikau to shakai henyô", pp. 28-37, and Murata Michihito, "Bakufu Kamigata shihai kikô no saihei", pp.120-146, both in Manabu Oishi ed., *Kyôhō kaikaku to shakai henyô* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan; 2003).

through Compassionate Wisdom). Intended as a guide to good government for domain officials, it took issue with what he considered to be some of the most conspicuous failings of Yoshimune's regime: lack of tolerance, inclemency, excessive interference in civil affairs (such as sumptuary regulations); and an aggressively authoritarian stance.⁶ Commercial publication of the work was banned by the Kyoto authorities in 1732, nonetheless, it had made a considerable impression.⁷ A pamphlet that appeared in 1739 on the occasion of Muneharu's house arrest noted that "*Owari dono*" (Muneharu) was a household name:

“ Everyone – down to most the ignorant lad chucking stones at a dog – knows Lord Muneharu as a true saint; farmers, fishermen regard him as the Buddha incarnate, they call him the Duke of Zhou or Confucius, and claim that's no exaggeration; they shed tears of gratitude when they think of his benevolence, they revere him beyond words”⁸

Less than a couple of months after the original publication of *Onchiseiyô*, a glowing review was published by Nakamura Sankinshi (1671-1741). This is of particular interest in the present context, for it helps to determine the political complexion of Sukenobu's *ehon* of the period.

⁶ Tokugawa Muneharu, “Onchiseiyô”, in Naramoto Tatsuya ed., *Kinsei seidôron* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1976). There were earlier complaints: for example Tanaka Kyûgu's *Minkan seiyô* of 1720, which opined that excessive legislation was the root of civil disorder (*kuni no ran no moto*) and a burden on the peasantry (*hyakushô no se e ataru nite konkyû to naru koto*). In Takimoto Seiichi ed., *Nihon keizai taiten*, p. 167 (Tokyo: Keimeisha; 1928). A brief biography of Kyûgu (1663-1729) can be found in the Meiji biographical compendium *Sentetsu sôdan zokuhen* 先哲叢談続篇 at http://www2s.biglobe.ne.jp/~Tajju/pred2_05.htm#top.

⁷ The publication of *Onchiseiyô* is discussed in Naramoto Tatsuya ed., *Kinsei seidôron*, p. 453. See also Makita Inagi, *Keihan shosekishôshi*, p. 131 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten; 1982).

⁸ 犬打童べ迄も、宗春卿ハ慈悲者也と知る。土民漁夫迄も釈尊出世の思ひをなし、周公孔子と云共、是に過ずと聞伝へ々々感涙を流し奉、敬事なんめならず Yano Takanori, *Edo jidai rakusho ruijû*, vol. 1, pp.136-7 (Tokyo: Tôkyôdô Shuppan; 1984).

Sankinshi's *Onchiseiyō hoyoku* – Reflections on the Essentials of Government through Compassionate Wisdom – was released in the third month of 1731.⁹ It bore the name of Nakamura Heigo (Sankinshi), a commoner of the Imperial city 皇都処士 as commentator (*hoyoku*) and Fukada Seishitsu, a Confucian scholar of the Owari domain as redactor (*kaitei*).¹⁰ The work was organised as a sequence of addenda attached to discrete sections of *Onchiseiyō*, simultaneously rehearsal of and tribute to Muneharu's text. But, in many ways, *Onchiseiyō hoyoku* was even more virulent than its parent text in its criticisms of governmental policy; and the fact that Sankinshi was prepared to put his name to this work – indeed, to repeatedly invoke his own name throughout the work – is some index of the intensity of his political feelings.¹¹

Three years after the publication of *Onchiseiyō hoyoku*, in 1734, Sankinshi collaborated with Sukenobu on an important illustrated book entitled *Ehon Shimizu no ike* (Picture Book of the Pond of Clear Water).¹² This work, the first evidence we have of Sankinshi's affiliation with Sukenobu, was an illustrated edition of the hundred educational waka, or moral precepts attributed to the early Kamakura regent, Hōjō Tokiyori (1227-63), known as Saimyōji dono. To these, Sankinshi supplied a preface and afterword, in addition to individual commentaries for each precept – sometimes of considerable length. *Shimizu no ike* has recently been characterized as a deeply conservative work, intent on securing and ensuring the greater good for society through

⁹ *Onchiseiyō hoyoku* is published in Nagoya-shi Kyōiku Iinkai ed., *Nagoya sōsho*, vol. 1, pp. 59-113 (Nagoya: Nagoya-shi Kyōiku Iinkai; 1960).

¹⁰ Fukada Shinzai aka Seishitsu (1683-1737) 深田正室 is listed in *Nihon sōtairoku: sōtaichō* 掃苔帳 at <<http://www4.airnet.ne.jp/soutai/index.html>>. The Fukuda family were Owari domain scholars over several generations. Shinzai (Seishitsu) was the adopted son of Fukuda Meihō. I am grateful to Yoshiko Yasumura for this information.

¹¹ Sankinshi repeatedly refers to himself by name in the opening passages of the work.

¹² Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Ehon Shimizu no ike*, 1734, Victoria and Albert Museum,

the inculcation of feudal values.¹³ Sankinshi has been firmly placed in the large body of commoner educationalists that proliferated from the early years of the eighteenth century in Kamigata: fundamentally reactionary and mildly authoritarian.¹⁴ This is problematic: for while *Shimizu no ike* appears to endorse a number of ultra-conservative tenets - it recommends that women be prohibited from circulating outside the home and from socialising, that a man never trust a woman, that a woman with a glib mouth be divorced without further ado - Sankinshi was a man who had been prepared to put his name on the line in defence of Muneharu and to pen criticisms of the bakufu which, had they come to its attention, would have surely resulted at the very least in his exile. It is possible that a man committed to liberal government for the polity at large should be committed to a misogynistic authoritarianism in the home, even to a misogyny developed, as Saitô Iwao has pointed out, in response to a medieval climate of potential political unrest.¹⁵ It is, however, an anachronism and an inconsistency that would require explication.

This chapter will suggest, conversely, that the maxims of *Saimyôjidono* are applied in *Shimizu no ike* as satirical political tropes; that their original frame of reference has been displaced, and that they now operate, obliquely, within a new matrix of political disaffection. This is a reading supported by, amongst other things, the high level of congruence between the commentaries and iconographies of *Shimizu no ike* and Sankinshi's *Onchiseiyô hoyoku*. Read through the lens of *Onchiseiyô hoyoku*, *Shimizu*

¹³ See Wada Mitsuhiro, "Nakamura Sankinshi kara Nishikawa Sukenobu *Ehon Shimizu no ike* e: hoshuka suru "zennen" to toshi fûzoku", *Bunkashigaku*, vol. 11, 2009, pp. 321-26.

¹⁴ Wada Mitsuhiro, "Nakamura Sankinshi no kyôhō-ki ôraimono ni tsuite", *Doshisha daigaku human security kenkyu senta ichinen-po*, vol. 5, 2008, pp.72-89.

¹⁵ Saitô Iwao, "Kyôikuka ni tsuite", in Sugiyama Kazuyo ed., *Nihon shakai shiron shû* (Tokyo: Kôjoshu; 1965).

no ike morphs from a conservative conduct manual into a radically political text addressed to and targeting an informed and politically aligned audience.

The call to action: Ehon shimizu no ike

Shimizu no ike opens with an exhortation to the young to associate with the good and righteous, to listen to the advice of the elderly and wise, thereby growing upright like flax in a grove. The illustration (fig. 3.3) shows a young boy kneeling submissively before an elderly man, who instructs him. This is textbook. But if the reader fast forwards to the very final page (fig. 3.4), he or she might well suspect that this counsel conceals something more. The concluding maxim echoes the opening precept:

yoshi hito ni mutsubitemo mata kokoro nari asa no naka naru asa wo miru ni wo
by consorting with the good, your heart becomes virtuous: observe flax growing
in a grove

The image is less conventional, however. It shows a woman advancing from a flax grove, having plucked a stem of crooked flax. She greets another woman (who approaches with a child) and points to the crooked flax. She seems to indicate that she has plucked the plant because although it was growing in the midst of upright specimens, it has grown twisted. The image seems to oddly contradict the master precept, but so, too, does the accompanying commentary, for it fundamentally questions the wisdom that righteous conduct is communicable:

By mingling with the righteous, a person should naturally become righteous.
But a fish swimming in the sea doesn't become salty, and some people can hang
out with saints and redress none of their shortcomings. This is the ultimate folly,
it's when things go to the dogs. Even Confucius cited the four evil retainers

who polluted the virtuous reigns of Yao and Shun; and Kings Wu and Tang, who overthrew the wicked monarchs King Zhou of Shang and King Jie of Xia¹⁶ The discussion closes with an allusion to the seventeenth book of the Analects, in which a disciple of Confucius (Yang Huo) approaches the master with a query regarding righteous government. The text to which the commentary refers reads:

Yang Ho said to Confucius, "Come, let me speak with you." He then asked, "Can he be called benevolent who keeps his jewel in his bosom, and leaves his country to confusion?" Confucius replied, "No." "Can he be called wise, who is anxious to be engaged in public employment, and yet is constantly losing the opportunity of being so?" Confucius again said, "No." "The days and months are passing away; the years do not wait for us." Confucius said, "Right; I will go into office."¹⁷



Fig. 3.3



Fig. 3.4

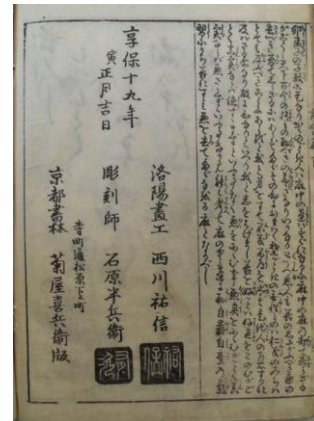


Fig. 3.5

¹⁶ *Ehon Shimizu no ike*

善人とむつべハ其身をおのずからよくなるものといへ共海の魚の塩にしまぬ風情にて成人と同居しても直らぬ者あり是ハ下愚の至自暴自棄ものなり堯舜の時四凶あり湯武の世に桀紂あり孔子の陽貨儒悲 *yoki hito to mutsubeba sono mi onozukara yoku naru mono to iedomo umi no uo no shio ni shimanu fuzei nite seijin to dôkyo shitemo naoranu mono ari kore wa kagu no itari jibôjiki mono nari gyôshun no toki shikyô ari tôbu no yo ni ketchû ari kôshi no yôka juhi.*

¹⁷ James Legge, *The Analects of Confucius*, Book XVII, ebooks@adelaide 2012. <<http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/c/confucius/c748a/>>

That a work of moral precepts for the young should be brought to conclusion with allusions to the righteous overthrow of tyrants and the absence of virtuous government is surprising. Yet it does not end here: for the postscript, which follows on the reverse of the page, contains a vehement exhortation to eradicate evil (fig.3.5):

If a flax plant growing in a grove of flax fails to grow straight, you discard it (*tenka kokin no sutemono hazubeki no hanahadashisa nari*). Any fool knows that you should embrace good and eradicate evil. But if you think you're too insignificant (*mushô*) to follow the road of righteousness and consequently abandon yourself to despair; if you thus fail to arrest the wickedness being perpetrated, thinking that it is not up to you to stop someone else's actions, then the case is hopeless. You need to rally your spirits: a taste for virtue is like a taste for sex – once you get serious, you can't help but start making things better. Disliking evil, on the other hand, is like avoiding a bad smell. And again, if you get serious about it, you end up getting rid of the evil. You need to give proper thought to this. It's like the mugwort in the flax: it's a shame. You have to overcome your despair, make strides in the right direction, and eradicate the evil so that the flax can grow healthily once more.¹⁸

¹⁸*Ehon Shimizu no ike.*

人ハ麻中の蓬ハすぐになるに麻中の麻の却て直らざるがことし天下古今の捨もの恥べきの甚きなりいかなる愚人悪人も善のしたがふべき悪の去べき嘗てしらざるにハあらずただその心におもはく我ごときの無性ものハ仁義のみちハとても及ぶべきことにあらずと我と身をすて不義不道を止めず是他人の左右するに及ばざる処なり故に心なりといへり我と志をはげまし善を好ことハ好色をこのむがごとく真実ならば徳すすまざるといふ事なく悪をにくむ事悪臭をにくむがごとく真実ならば悪さらずといふ事なからん能々考て麻の中蓬に恥自暴自棄の氣習にかち善にすすみ悪を去てただなをる麻となるべし *Hito wa asa chû no yomogi wa sugu ni naru ni asa chû no asa no kaette naorazaru ga gotoshi tenka kokin no sutemono hazubeki no hanahadashiki nari. Ikanari gunin akunin mo zen no shitagafubeki aku no sarubeki katsute shirazaru ni wa arazu tada sono kokoro ni omowaku waga gotoki no mushô mono wa jingi no michi wa totemo oyobubeki koto ni arazu to waga to mi wo sute fugi fudô wo yamezu kore tanin no sayû suru ni oyobazaru tokoro nari yue ni kokoronai to iheri ware to kokorozashi wo hagemashi zen wo konomu koto wa kôshoku wo*

This passionate, repetitive, tautological text, scribbled hastily along with the publishing details on the back page of the work, exudes a sense of urgency. It could be read as a general exhortation to right action: the allusion to foul smelling things comes straight from the Great Learning (*Daigaku*).¹⁹ But this fails to explain its militancy. The same hortatory tone, the call for manly action (*otokorashii misao*), had emerged earlier in Sankinshi's *Rikuyu engi koi*, to which he directed the reader on numerous occasions in *Onchiseiyô hoyoku*. There were echoes, too, of Suika thought. Sankinshi's use of the term *mushô* 無性 to express the notion of personal inadequacy carried similar connotations to the term *fushô* 不肖 in Suika rhetoric: the Suika scholar Yoshimi Yoshikazu 吉見幸和, in his *Kokugaku bengi* 国学辨疑 of 1746, would similarly appeal to the common man to overcome his sense of inadequacy (*fushô*) and rise to the task of defending the emperor: an effort by which the loyal vassal might earn a posthumous place amongst the eight myriad pantheon of protector gods.²⁰ Meanwhile the imperative to overcome a sense of futility, even impotence, call to mind the concluding words of an earlier work of imperial loyalist exhortation, Asami Keisai's *Seiken igen*:

The basis of all things, and the way to navigate through affairs, all depends on you: there is nothing else. If you want to put something into action, like the right way of the ruler, if you feel strongly about this, and understand it properly,

konomu ga gotoku shinjitsu naraba toku susumazu to iu koto naku aku wo nikumu koto akashû wo nikumu ga gotoku shinjitsu naraba aku sarazu to ifu koto nakaran yoku yoku kangaete asa no naka yomogi ni haji jibô jiki no kishû ni kachi zen ni susumi aku wo satte tada naoru asa to narubeshi

¹⁹ See Mary Evelyn Tucker, *Moral and Spiritual Cultivation in Japanese Neo-confucianism: The Life and Thought of Kaibara Ekken, 1630-1714*, p. 163 (New York: State University of New York; 1989).

²⁰ Yoshimi Yoshikazu, *Kokugaku bengi* (1746), cited in Maeda Tsutomu, *Kinsei Shintô to kokugaku*, p. 13 (Tokyo: Perikansha; 2002). Yoshikazu studied under Asami Keisai, Ogimachi Kinmichi and Tamagi Masahide. See also Maeda Tsutomu, "Shugo sareru arahitogami", *Edo no shisô: Kokka (jiko) zo no keisei*, vol. 4, 1996, pp. 78-9.

所謂る日本魂にして念々忘れざれば則ち身不肖と雖も、宜しく八百万の神の末席に列すべし。

you must admonish yourself, urge yourself on...for this reason I have left these words.²¹

Similar tropes of opposition, expressed through metaphors of combat - above all the weak confronting the strong - are repeated throughout Sukenobu's *ehon*. *Ehon Chitoseyama* (Picture Book of Chitoseyama, 1740) contains a reference to a small kitten killing a large mouse – a pleasing yet nerve-racking sight (*ureshi osoroshii koto*).²² In *Ehon Makuzugahara* (Picture Book of Makuzugahara, 1741), a verse composed around the term *kamakiri* (praying mantis) is illustrated by a Gion festival float topped by an imperial palanquin, on which sits a giant praying mantis (fig. 3.6).²³ The allusion to the praying mantis and the carriage was a classic Chinese example of futile effort; it was a trope invoked in the *Taiheiki* by the Kamakura forces in order to disparage the feasibility of imperial revolt:

Those who knew nothing of change in the world laughed together scornfully, saying: “Too much is made of this matter. What can happen? Were attackers to come against us from India of the land of T’ang, it would be a serious thing, but as for those that rise up within our land of Akitsushima to smite the lord of Kamakura – are they not as the praying mantis that sought to block a carriage, or the *ching-wei* bird that sought to fill up the sea?”²⁴

²¹ Dai Nihon Shisō Zenshū Kankōkai ed., *Yoshida Shōin shū. Sakuma Shōzan shū tsuketari Aizawa Yasushi, Asami Keisai*, p. 493 (Tokyo: Dai Nihon Shisō Zenshū Kankōkai; 1931).

而うして其の大なる根柢、取捨得失の大事な機は、皆己自身に在って、外に待つものではない。…此を実行せんと欲するものは所謂君子の正道に就いても宜しく其の帰着する所に感激、覚悟する所有って、以って自己を警しめ、鞭撻する様にしなければならぬ。因て此の文を以て

²² Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Ehon Chitoseyama*, 1740, Victoria and Albert Museum,

²³ Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Ehon Makuzugahara*, 1741, British Library,

²⁴ H. C. McCullough, *The Taiheiki: A Chronicle of Medieval Japan*, p.276 (1959). The trope occurs also in Chikamatsu's *Love suicides at Amijima* when Tahei goads Koharu about Jihei's financial straits. See Haruo Shirane, *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600-1900*, p. 316 (New York: Columbia University Press; 2002).

In the *Taiheiki*, the metaphorical praying mantis does in fact succeed in blocking the carriage. *Makuzugahara* likewise turns the trope of futility on its head, for here, the praying mantis sitting atop the palanquin of the Gion festival float is giant-sized. The poem reads as an expression of hopeless love:

The carriage of my lord that draws towards us, how could I ever to approach it,
oh vain love

むかい来る君が車にをのをもて及ばぬ中の恋とするかな

the image, however, is a

vindication of the underdog.

The postscript to *Shimizu no ike*

was likewise an appeal to the

underdog to take heart in the

face of giant odds. It was an

appeal to action.

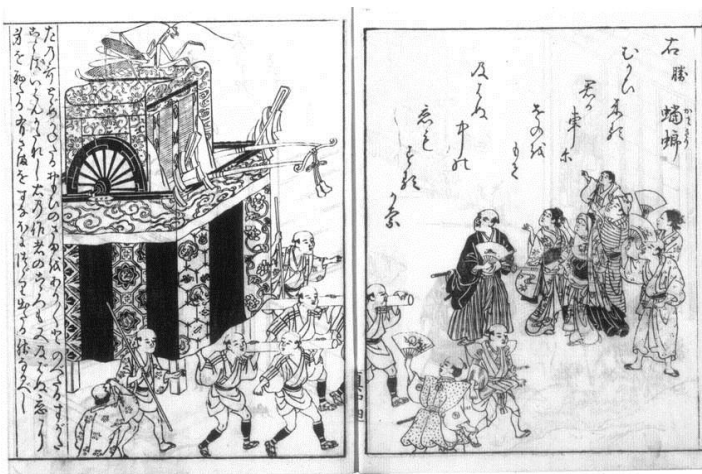


Fig. 3.6

Disaffection and Confrontation: The Grounds for Revolt

By the early decades of the eighteenth century, Japan had benefitted from over a hundred years of Tokugawa peace: a peace which, according to traditional accounts, had contributed to a sense of social complacency and political lethargy. Such accounts are repeatedly contested in the *ehon*. Sankinshi's tropes of confrontation in *Shim* Fig. 3.7



ike evoke times of war; a ground swell of resistance and opposition to existing rule,

indeed a call for its overthrow. The grounds for this hostility, the cause of injury - the relentless catalogue of failings of warrior - *bushi* - government - were vividly brought to the viewer's attention.

Take, for example, the maxim in the first volume, with the counsel to ignore the status of whoever is talking and just take good advice wherever it comes from: *iu hito no tai bashi miru na tomokaku mo yoki koto torite waga toku ni seyo*. The image (fig. 3.7) shows a river crossing; a man sits on the bank waving his arms in amused disbelief as another proceeds to wade through deep waters, his panniers submerged in the swirling eddies. This latter has evidently disregarded all warnings to cross through the shallows. Behind him, a young boy bearing a child on his back crosses the shallow section of the river.

The commentary rehearses the general wisdom of listening to your inferiors, and cites Chinese examples of the precept. But the same admonition, in *Onchiseiyō hoyoku*, served as an example of the Bakufu's non-consultative approach to government. It was illustrated by the same example of popular wisdom (a young boy lifting a child through the shallows). This suggests that the admonition in *Shimizu no ike*, illustrated by an apparently non-contentious image, is a covert allusion to Bakufu autocracy.

Muneharu's *Onchiseiyō* had warned that by seeking to legislate on every minor detail, the Bakufu was making a serious error; things would go badly wrong (*mata ô naru tagai mo kanarazu dekiru koto nari*). Even farmers and *chônin*, parents and employers knew to seek advice from their children, their clerks, their servants or labourers.²⁵

Onchiseiyō hoyoku provided the following amplification:

²⁵ Nagoya-shi Kyōiku Iinkai ed., *Nagoya sōsho*, vol. 1, pp.107-08.

There's the old adage, consult your knees; or three heads together can surpass the wisdom of Monju. You can learn something just from watching a child being lifted through the shallows (*outa ko ni osherarare asai se wo wataru*): don't just rely on your own little portion of wisdom. When lowly men climb a lofty peak, in order to navigate the rocky precipices and attendant dangers unscathed and unhurt, they hire a guide.²⁶

The fact that *Shimizu no ike* offers a visual citation of the *Onchiseiyô hoyoku* piggy-back trope is an indication of the allusive strategies at work in the *ehon* iconographies. But *Onchiseiyô* (and its commentary) frequently shed light on the imagery of *Shimizu no ike*. Muneharu's appeal for consultative government, for example, came in the context of his criticism of excessive regulatory behaviours. The proliferation of laws under Yoshimune was one of Muneharu's principle gripes, and it was pointedly satirized in the opening volume of *Shimizu no ike*. Illustrating the feudal maxim 'Don't criticize what you think is wrong; if you have received benevolence, place yourself wholly at the service of you master' (*ashi tote soshiribashi suna; on wo ete ono ga mi wo oku kuni no aruji wo*) is an image of two farm labourers looking up quizzically at a cluster of *kôsatsu* – boards used by bakufu officials for posting edicts (fig. 3.8).

The commentary – the most extensive section of commentary in the whole work – explains why rulers and their representatives (*karô*, *shobugyô*) should be respected and honoured and why the laws (*hatto*) they issue constitute a gesture of benevolence to the populace: 'if it were not for the laws issued by the lord (*kokushu*) trouble makers

²⁶ Ibid., p.108 . The Japanese text reads:

俗間に膝とも談合、三人寄れば文殊の知恵といへり。又は肩（おふ）た子に教えられ浅い瀬をわたると云も我が一分の了見私智を用ひざるいましめときこへたり。卑賤のもの大峯山上をするに、さしもあやうき陰阻の難行に、一人も踏損じ怪我の無は、先達の力による事とぞ。

would emerge amongst the people: they would purloin fields, steal possessions, and cause distress...'²⁷

Any reader familiar with Muneharu's assault on Bakufu lawmaking, or with Sankinshi's endorsement of his criticisms, would approach this encomium to the lawmaker with caution. For Muneharu, laws were the veritable scourge of the populace, they 'constrained people, created anxiety'.²⁸ Such criticisms were topical: the Kyôhō reforms, with their emphasis on economic retrenchment, had resulted in the introduction of a number of legal measures with implications

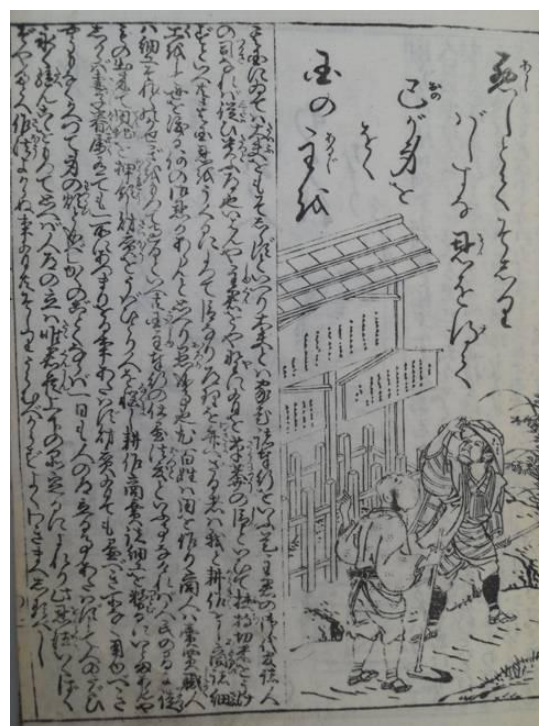


Fig. 3.8

²⁷ *Ehon Shimizu no ike.*

其国主奉行の仕置法度といふ事なければ人民の間に徒もの出来て田地を横領し財宝をうばひとり人を悩し耕作商売諸細工を務るにいとまあらんや

The full text of the commentary is as follows:

其国にゐては太夫をもそしらずといへり太夫とは家老諸奉行をいふ是主君の御代官諸人の司なれば従ひ貴ふ道也いはんや主君おや野に有を草莽の臣といひて扶持切米をうけずといへ共其国恩をうくるによつて臣なり道理を弁へざる者は我と耕作をし商諸細工をして世を渡る何の御恩かあらんと思へり愚成事也尤百姓ハ田を作り商人ハ売買職人ハ細工それ々のかせぎをもつて過るといへ共国主奉行の仕置法度といふ事なければ人民の間に徒もの出来て田地を横領し財宝をうばひとり人を悩し耕作商売諸細工を務るにいとまあらんやしからば妻子眷属有ても一所にあつまりおり事あたわず財宝有つても置べき処なく用ゆべきやうもなくかへつて身の煩とも成べしかくのごとくならば一日も人の道立る事あたわずして人のたぐひ永く絶んここをもつて思へば人道の立ハ唯君臣上下の品定るによれり此恩徳いくばくぞやたとへ作法よからぬ事有共そしりうらむべからずよくわきまへしるべし

²⁸ Tokugawa Muneharu, "Onchiseiyô", in Naramoto Tatsuya ed., *Kinsei seidôron* vol. 38, , p. 160 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1976).

for the populace at large. The attempt to regulate from above – to impose constraint as opposed to nurturing natural temperance – flew in the face of both Confucian ideals of moral suasion and emerging nationalist concepts of self-regulating Yamato society.²⁹

In light of such documented antipathy to legislative excess, the fact that in the *Shimizu no ike* commentary, Sankinshi appears to welcome the gift of the law appears anomalous. In *Rikuyu engi koi* the same farmers had been portrayed not as beneficiaries of the system's benevolence, but as its victims. In his *Satsuroku* lectures of 1706, the Kimon scholar Asami Keisai (with whom Sankinshi appears to have been associated), having enumerated the grievances of farmers, discussed the praxis of government in the following terms:

Virtuous government requires the lowly to empathize with the lofty, and the lofty to empathize (to extend his heart to) with the lowly. Should there be any distance between ruler and ruled, even the smallest misunderstanding, then for all that a government may lay claim to the virtue of Yao and Shun, Tang and Wu, it has fallen short. The unlearned (*kuraki mono*) may even say that when the ruler looks down from above, he cannot see the pain of the people, he cannot hear their slander, and he will be unaware, even though disturbance is already erupting.³⁰

²⁹ The orthodox Confucian ideal of suasion over compulsion is discussed, in a different context, in I. J. McMullen, "Non-Agnatic Adoption: A Confucian Controversy in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Japan", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 35, 1975, pp. 133-89.

³⁰ For Keisai's discussion of the farmers' predicament, see introduction, page . His *Satsuroku* 筭録 lectures, not published until 1769, can be found in Nishi Junzō ed., *Yamazaki Ansai Gakuha*, p. 382 (Tokyo Iwanami shoten vol. 31; 1980).

大凡政ハ能下ノ情ヲ上ニ達ツ、上ノ心ヲ下ニ達ス、此間一つモ隔アリ、少モクイ違エバ、堯舜文武ノ政ヲスルト云共、セザルト同ジ。ココニ暗キ人ハ、上ノ高キヨリ詠メ互シテ、下ノ痛ミヲ不知、下ノ欺クヲ不知、下ノ已ニ乱ル端アルヲ知

For Keisai, virtuous government implied the single-heartedness, the mutual empathy of high and low, ruler and ruled. Division between the two paved the way for disaffection, and disturbance. The *Shimizu no ike* image appears to draw on a similar trope of division between high and low: the *kôsatsu* tower above the peasants' heads much like the impersonal machinery of governmental authority. The peasants look up quizzically; one seems disdainful but not surprised – he adjusts his *kasa* with an air of resignation – the other slightly alarmed. The new injunction will perhaps affect him. But above all, the two appear powerless before these laws which loom aloft, inscribed in an alien language. The sum effect of the newly posted laws – to judge from the expressions on their faces – is somewhere between irritating and burdensome: not so distant from Muneharu's allegation that excessive legislation constricted the hearts of the populace and added to their burden of anxiety.

Read in terms of Keisai's political critique, the image represents a visual conceit of misrule. Given impassioned appeals in the work of both Sankinshi and Keisai to the much-abused farming community, given, too, repeated criticisms of shogunal legislative excess, the possibility emerges that the *Shimizu no ike* commentary was intended as an extended piece of irony. And in fact, the allusions to peasants and the law within the image are perhaps more specific. For from the mid seventeenth century, there had been a deliberate endeavour on the part of bakufu authorities to increase literacy in farming communities.³¹ The move was linked to new thinking regarding the governance of rural areas, where the widespread practice of pawning lands had created layers of obfuscation in the identification of tax sources. By introducing stringent new laws on

³¹ For a discussion of the changing system of landholding in the period, see Fukaya Katsumi, *Hyakushô ikki no rekishiteki kôzô*, pp. 207-30 (Tokyo: Azekura Shobô; 1979).

landownership, the bakufu intended to eliminate channels of tax evasion. The importance of legislation in this endeavour was underscored by the economist Kobayashi Hirotoshi 小林寛利 who declared in 1716 that ‘tax revenue is best ensured not through skilled agricultural labour, nor through the compassion of rural officials, but through the enforcement of the law’.³² In rural areas in particular - where *kuchibure*, or orally delivered laws were less effective - the law depended on the ability of the ruled to comprehend it. The education of the peasants thus became a matter of importance: in 1734, one magistrate in the Kanagawa domain wrote a reading primer for farmers, and instituted reading classes from four until eight thirty each morning.³³ It thus seems likely that Sukenobu’s image was a satirical allusion to the new relationship between rural communities and the law.

Indeed the commentary, translated below, is more complex than it might at first appear:

This maxim means that one should never criticise the senior person in one’s domain. Senior person means the elders, *machi bugyô*, magistrates or various officials, all of whom should be obeyed and honoured. But if one’s lord or parent is in the wilderness that is called *sômô no shin* (person out of office). The vassal [of such a lord] receives no rice stipend but because he has received the beneficence (*kokuon*) of that lord, he remains a vassal (*shin nari*); anyone who fails to understand this moral principle, saying they are indebted to no-one for their living, that they cultivate their own crops, conduct their own business or manage their trade, they are truly fools. Farmers plant their paddies, merchants trade and others pursue their

³² Cited in *ibid.*, p. 218.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

respective crafts, but if it were not for the laws issued by the lord (*kokushu*) trouble makers would emerge amongst the people: they would purloin fields, steal possessions, and cause distress. There would be no time to cultivate crops, trade, or pursue one's *métier*. But we cannot gather with wives, children and friends, we cannot place our money where we wish, or spend our money as we wish, indeed it becomes a source of trouble. It is hard to survive as a human being in this way or even a day. But if one considers for how long the relationship with a person may be severed (*hisashiku taen koko wo motte omoeba*), when one remembers that the way of humanity lies in the relationship between master to vassal, when one realises how immeasurable is the beneficence of one's master, then even if one has to do a bad thing, one should never complain, never resent it.

In the midst of references to the respect owed to the lawmakers - *karô, shobugyô, kokushu bugyô no shioki hatto* - Sankinshi introduces another, distinct figure of sovereignty: a figure out of office, marginalised, without authority or material means:

Indeed, when a lord or parent is in the wilderness that is called *sômô no shin* (person out of office). The vassal [of such a lord] receives no rice stipend but because he has received the beneficence (*kokuon*) of that lord, he remains a vassal³⁴

³⁴ *Ehon Shimizu no ike.*:

いはんや主君おや野に有を草莽の臣といひて扶持切米をうけずといへ共其国恩をうくるによつて臣なり道理を弁へざる者は我と耕作をし商諸細工をして世を渡る何の御恩かあらうと思へり愚成事也 しからば妻子眷属有ても一所にあつまりおり事あたわず財宝有つても置べき処なく用ゆべきやうもなくかへつて身の煩とも成べしかくのごとくなれば一日も人の道立る事あたわずして人のたぐひ永く絶んここをもって思へば人道の立ハ唯君臣上下の品定るによれり此恩徳いくばくぞやたとへ作法よからぬ事有共そしりうらむべからずよくわきまへしるべし

The term *kokuon* 国恩 can mean both beneficence of the country and beneficence of the lord of the country. It can also refer to the beneficence of the emperor (*tenshi no ontaku*). (*Nihon kokugo daijiten*).

In the context of the times, the lord in the wilderness, out of office, could have been read as an allusion to the emperor. Imperial exclusion from the world of politics was amply apparent to the people at large. In 1681, Tsunayoshi had become the first shogun not to travel to Kyoto to receive his investiture from the emperor.³⁵ Shogunal disrespect towards the court - along with its arrogant handling of townsfolk and peasants - had been satirized in Chikamatsu's *Ootonomiya no asahi no yoroi* (Prince Morokoshi and the Armour of the Morning Sun) of 1723: the *tsuwamono no banzai* (Soldiers' Manzai) scene, in which a group of the disaffected perform a satirical banzai lambasting the autocratic behaviours of the bakufu, had become the subject of a popular illustrated broadsheet (*eirizu*) known as the *Chiryaku no banzai* (The Intelligent Man's Manzai). The broadsheet finally came to the attention of the authorities and was promptly banned, but its chorus had become a familiar ditty. It was transcribed by the *Getsudô kenbunshû* memorialist:

“the Kyoto of today is all bad (*yorozu yokoshima de*), the emperor is not respected (*ano gotenshi wo habakarazu*), it's become the self-indulged Kyô of the Taira, it's ruled entirely by the eastern provinces, the palace is belittled, courtiers are overruled, farmers are oppressed and the townsfolk are bullied, the people are wretched, things are looking dire.³⁶

Popular antipathy to the government was a commonplace: and it extended to an awareness of autocratic shogunal behaviours towards the palace. Thus, in the *Shimizu no ike* passage quoted above, Sankinshi was distinguishing between two rulers: the ruler

³⁵ See Matsumoto Shiro and Yamada Tadao, *Genroku Kyohoki no seiji to shakai*, p. 44 (Tokyo: Yuhikaku; 1980).

³⁶ Cited in Miyazawa Seiichi, "Genroku bunka no seishin kôzô", *Genroku Kyôhoki no seiji to shakai*, pp. 245-46 (Tokyo: Yuhikaku; 1980). The chant was recorded by the *Getsudô kenbunshû* memorialist: Mori Senzô and Kitagawa Hirokuni eds., *Zoku Nihon zuihitsu taisei: bekkân*, vol. 3, pp. 252-3 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan; 1981).

who rules by law, and the marginalised ruler who can now provide no material reward for his vassals but to whom a debt of gratitude is an *a priori* due. The language invokes familiar tropes of Suika Shinto: in his *Nihon shoki ben* of 1723, Wakabayashi Kyôsei had declared - in line with his erstwhile teacher Yamazaki Ansai - that the natural relationship between lord and vassal (*kunshin no shizen no kurai*) had obtained since the beginning of the world;³⁷ that any person born in Japan owed his very existence to the beneficence of his lord (*waga kuni ni umare kun'on ni tate iri ni yotte*);³⁸ that the way of humanity was embodied in the beneficent relationship between lord and vassal (*jindô ni tatsu ha kunshin jôka no shinasadameru ni yorere on-ontoku*).³⁹ The relation between sovereign and subject was coeval with the age of gods, it was an ontological absolute. Being was, inevitably, a “being with”, an ontological interdependence. Once the primordial relationship between sovereign and vassal was rent, human existence was no longer possible: *kaku no gotoku naraba, ichinichi mo hito no michi tatsuru koto atawazu*. For Keisai, this ontological interdependence was like having fingers and toes: a man feels pain when he stubs his toe, he feels the same physical pain when severed from his lord.⁴⁰

Sankinshi’s overt invocation of Suika terminology and Suika concepts left little doubt that the sovereign here was the emperor, divine descendant of Amaterasu. He thus embedded within an ironic account of submission to the lawmaker an exhortation to the common man to act upon his ontological debt of gratitude to his sovereign. Allusions to prohibited gatherings, sumptuary laws, moreover, were a direct invocation

³⁷ Shintô Taikei Hensankai ed., *Suika Shintô*, vol. 13, p. 267 (Tokyo: Shintô Taikei Hensankai; 1978).

君臣ノ自然ノ位ハ天地開ソムルト立テアル筈ユヘ、天地第一ノ主宰国常立尊ヨリ御系
図ガ立テ

³⁸ Ibid. 我国ニ生レ君恩デ立テ居ルジャニ由テ。。

³⁹ Ibid. 唯君臣上下の品定るによれり此恩徳

⁴⁰ Keisai, “Jindô montô shisetsu” in Nishi Junzô ed., *Yamazaki Ansai Gakuha*, p. 260.

of aspects of unpopular bakufu legislation relating to aspects of civic life.⁴¹ The commentary thus encompassed a criticism of legislative intrusion in urban and rural communities, and an appeal to the common man - the true vassal - to honour his obligations of service to his lord. In such a context, the closing words of the peroration acquire an ominous meaning:

Even if the methods used are not good, (*sahô yokaranu koto aritomo*) you should not complain

This justification of the unethical in the name of a higher good is a conclusion that recalls Sankinshi's earlier justification in *Rikuyu engi koi* of the elimination of evil by evil. It was a concept to which Keisai had returned repeatedly. In *Jinsetsu montô shisetsu*, he wrote,

That which in no way distances itself from the way of the righteous person is what is called the light of principle. Well, as things go, it's certainly not dark: but true lightness is the heart of the righteous person which doesn't stop at principle, which obeys an unbearable truth. If principle doesn't issue from such a heart, you may call it the light of principle but it is not the innate principle (of the body). And thus it will die, in maybe ten years, just as anger passes. But as for man's true estate, it is like the desire of fire to burn, the need for water to moisten, it is the knowledge of the sensations of one's natural body, one's natural affections..... In this estate, one doesn't lose one's own self, one acts from a state of body which has attained true virtue.⁴²

⁴¹ Representations of bakufu legislative practice in the *ehon* are discussed in chapter 4.

⁴² In Nishi Junzô ed., *Yamazaki Ansai Gakuha*, pp. 260.

仁者ノ何事デモ応ゼヌコトナイト云ハ、理ガ明ナト云ヘバ、ナルホドクラウハナイガ、仁者ノ心ハ理ニヤマレヌ忍ビラレヌナリガ明ナゾ。コノ心デナケレバ何ホド理ハ明デモ、身ノモノデナイユヘ、十年シテヤマフヤラ、腹ガ立テヤマフヤラシレヌゾ。火ノ

The higher truth to which Keisai was referring was the love of one's lord, a love with which one was born, a love as tangible as physical pain: an ontological love which preceded all principle (*kono tei de nakereba.... dôri ja hodo ni kôshô no to iu yori saki wa, michi no okonowareru koto wa nai*).⁴³ It was to this same principle that Sankinshi appealed in *Shimizu no ike*. In Suika terms, the division of sovereign and subject was an injury that demanded rectification, even via immoral action (*yokaranu sahô*). By shifting between sacred and secular definitions of sovereignty and society, alternating passages of ironic condemnation with textbook Suika doctrine, Sankinshi sought to depict both the abuses of the current regime and the sacred justification for righteous action. And if the passage seems to the present-day reader dense and complex, that is at least in part the distancing of our own reading practice from those of the time. For these shifts in tone, in deictic referents and the continuous imbrication of meaning was fundamental to the densely woven language of *jôruri*, the highly emotive language of popular theatre. For the eighteenth century audience, it was a familiar rhetorical strategy.

Metaphors of Resistance

The Suika affiliation of *Shimizu no ike* was, perhaps, evident from its very title. In 1732, the Suika scholar Tomobe Yasutaka had published an influential Suika tract, *Shintô nonaka no shimizu* 神道野中の清水- Pure Waters of Shinto in the Meadow.⁴⁴

The title cited - and the preface acknowledged - the *Kokinshû* poem:

モエタガル様ニ、水ノウルライタガル様ニ、自然ノ意味親切ノ身トモニヲボヘテイ
味ガ体ゾ。。。コレハ実ニ我身ニ失ヌ、実徳ノ身ニナリタ上カラカタルゾ。

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Tomobe Yasutaka, "Shintô nonaka no shimizu", in Saeki Ariyoshi ed., *Suika Shintô* (Tokyo: Shunyôdô; 1935-7).

Though the waters of the old spring in the meadow - once so pure and cold-
have become tepid, one who remembers still dips to drink⁴⁵

*Inishie no nonaka no shimizu nuru keredo moto no kokoro wo shiru hito zo
kumu*

Sankinshi invoked a similar concept in his *Shimizu no ike* preface: ‘reflecting on the sentiment of the images (and returning to that sentiment), washing away the mud, so that the moon can reside in the pure waters’.⁴⁶ Purification rituals (*harai*) featured in the work itself: the third illustration shows a courtier conducting a *harai* ritual beside a river. *Harai* was a key concept in Suika thought from Ansai onwards, associated with the ridding of both personal and social defilements.⁴⁷ From the mid-thirties onwards, it was a trope repeated in the Sukenobu *ehon*.

But if Suika philosophies of being permeate this work, so do other, more secular Kimon texts. Take, for example, the image (fig. 3.9) illustrating the maxim:

腹を立心より火のもえ出てわれとわが身をこがしこそすな

If you become angry, flames issuing from your heart will burn you and your
body, so stay calm.

The commentary endorses the precept, counselling calm even during moments of severe provocation:

If you are aflame with anger, you will certainly harm someone, and if you harm
someone, they will take their revenge, and you will be harmed: it’s the same as

⁴⁵ No. 887, translated in Laurel Rasplica Rodd and Mary Catherine Henkenius eds., *Kokinshū: a collection of poems ancient and modern*, p. 304 (Boston, MA: Cheng & Tsui; 1996).

⁴⁶ Matsudaira Susumu ed., *Moronobu Sukenobu ehon shoshi*, p. 151 (Musashimurayama: Seishodō; 1988).
絵の情に帰服（おもひつけ）ば游泥を決流（さぐりなが）して清水の池の月を宿すの情誠

⁴⁷ Isomae Jun'ichi and Ogura Shigeji, *Kinsei chōtei to Suika Shintō*, p. 31 (Tokyo: Perikansha; 2005); Rai Kiichi ed., *Nihon no kinsei 13: Jugaku, kokugaku, yokagu*, p. 54 (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha; 1991); Uchida Ginzō and Miyazaki Michio, *Kinsei no nihon; Nihon kinseishi*, pp. 238-9 (Tōkyō: Heibonsha; 1975).

harming yourself. By forgetting yourself and surrendering to the anger of a moment you can even harm your parent, and get them in a mess. Follow the advice of the Analects, and keep your behaviour moderate.⁴⁸

The reasoning is expedient: an angry outburst is liable to result in injury to another party, which may counter with reciprocal or greater violence. One's initial anger, even if a legitimate response to injury, thus results in even greater injury to oneself and perhaps to one's associates.

The text is taken from Book Twelve of the Analects where it appears within a discussion of confusion: 'to be oblivious of one's own person and even of one's own parents



Fig. 3.9

all because of a morning's anger - is this not a confusion?'⁴⁹ The accompanying image, however, supplies an additional level of meaning. It shows a woman in a kimono bearing an *asagao* (morning glory) motif, standing beside a pond. A rosary dangles from her right wrist, and in both hands she clasps a stone; her left sleeve bulges, suggesting it conceals other stones within. She is stooping forward to pick up more stones lying on the ground in front of her. The association of the female figure with a rosary, picking up stones beside a pond or lake, suggests she is contemplating suicide:

⁴⁸ *Ehon Shimizu no ike.*

いかりに焼じてはかならず人をそこなふ人をそこなへば人又あたをふくみて我を損是
我とわがみを損にあらずや一朝のいかりに其身を忘れていて其親に及すは迷いなりと
論語にみえたり慎べき事なり

⁴⁹ Confucius, *The Analects*, trans. Raymond Dawson, p. 47 (Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2003).

thwarted lovers often committed suicide by throwing their stone-weighted bodies into a river or lake. But it is still not clear how the image relates to the text.



Fig. 3.10



Fig. 3.11

The admonition to stay calm in the face of provocation is one that is repeated on several occasions in Sukenobu's *ehon*. Another image in *Shimizu no ike* depicts a commoner, apparently acquiescent before the wrath of a samurai (identified through his two swords) (fig. 3.10). The commentary rehearses the same logic encountered earlier: in the face of provocation hold your counsel and avoid abusive exchanges which can only redound to your own detriment. Elsewhere, an uncouth henchman draws his sword in fury, confronted by a man peaceably offering him a cup of tea; and a man insolently blows smoke in the face of another who, on this occasion and despite the maxim, appears to be about to confront him (fig. 3.11). An undercurrent of aggression, of social malaise, of hostility on the brink of eruption pervades *Shimizu no ike*, and each time the reader receives the same counsel: to stay calm, to limit the damage.

There was, however, a logic to this. In Keisai's lectures on Qu Yuan, he commended the loyalty of his hero yet he regretted his suicide as a waste of a life that could have been more usefully dedicated to his lord. Qu Yuan, in despair, had drowned

himself: having laden his sleeves with stones, he had waded deep into the waters of the Miluo river. For Keisai, this was a waste of a life of service: to cast one's body into the waters was counter-productive (*mi ni shizumete gai nari*).⁵⁰ In *Shimizu no ike*, the reason for suppressing one's anger in the face of aggression and provocation from the 'bakamono' was to prevent retaliation that could injure oneself, ones kin and ones chances of success. Daily discourtesies had to be disregarded, not to save face, but for the sake of the endgame. The image of the woman preparing for suicide by drowning suggests a contemporary *mitate* of Qu Yuan. Despair was not an option; suicide was not an option; irresponsible outbursts of anger, displays of hostility were not an option. The strategy was to stay calm, to keep one's counsel, and to wait for the right moment.

Sense of an Endgame

The sense of an endgame recurs in *Shimizu no ike*. An image from the first volume (fig. 3.12) illustrates the dictum:

jihi mo naku on wo mo shirazu fudô naru hito no kokoro wa inu ni otoreri –
knowing no gratitude, with no compassion, the heart of an immoral person is
more base than a dog.

A samurai on a rearing horse directs an aggressive look towards a defiant figure clad in a straw raincoat and *kasa* hat, who seeks to restrain the horse by its tail. The iconography belongs to the episode in the *Tale of the Soga Brothers* when Gorô accosts the warrior Kagesue (the brothers, intending to mingle as hunting porters, “had donned straw hats and shaggy raincoats, under which they hid their swords”).⁵¹ The image reads

⁵⁰ *Seiken igen kôgi*, in Shintô Taikai Hensankai ed., *Suika Shintô*, vol. 13, p. 240 et passim

⁵¹ Kitagawa Hiroshi ed., *The Tale of the Soga Brothers*, p.170 (Hikone: Faculty of Economics, Shiga University; 1981-5).

very simply as a confrontation between a malevolent superior and his subordinate; and the maxim is thus implicitly directed at the figure on horseback, whose lack of compassion the image deplors.

The commentary elaborates the sense of the dictum: anyone who despises or belittles his master, and who in turn makes his own subordinates suffer, is worse than a beast - *shuoya wo anadori karoshime shinmin wo setage*



Fig. 3.12

kurushimuru wa chikusho ni mo otorite asamashi. A dog protects his master; it wags its tail when he returns, never seeks to harm him and guards him from thieves and villains through the night. If a person falls short of this in his obligations towards his master, he is more base than a dog. He should be ashamed - *nan zo ya, sono haji wo shirubeshi.*⁵²

The image glosses this villain in terms of the Soga allusion: Soga Gorô challenges Kagesue because the latter has treated him with arrogance. He has forfeited his privilege to exercise authority by showing neither compassion to those below him (a prime offence of the Bakufu, according to *Onchiseiyô*), nor true service toward his own master: he fabricates ‘slandorous tales to ingratiate himself with Lord Yoritomo’, his

⁵² This is a paraphrase of the accompanying commentary.

behaviours threaten the wellbeing of the whole country.⁵³ The commentary urges such a villain to feel shame. The image, through the Soga allusion, evokes thoughts of his overthrow.

By carefully locating the villain as both master and servant the commentary invokes contemporary constitutional debate. The Tokugawa shogun exercised *de facto* power but was, as Arai Hakuseki acknowledged, subordinate to the emperor.⁵⁴ By governing with benevolence and fortitude, he shared the same divine mandate to rule.⁵⁵ Both Tokugawa Hidetada and Iemitsu had accepted vassal, or “*shin*” status toward a sovereign “*kimi*” emperor; perception of the emperor as sovereign over a shogunal vassal was a general one.⁵⁶ The villain characterized by Sankinshi is neither benevolent toward his own subordinates, nor respectful to his superior. Read in conjunction with its accompanying texts and in light of contemporary discourse, it is not hard to conclude that the villain of Sankinshi’s text is the Bakufu; the abused master (*shuoya*) is the emperor, and that vengeance, Soga style, is an option.

But the encounter between Gorô and Kagesue was a seminal illustration in the tale of the importance of patience. As Jurô comments, ‘Have we endured these hardships merely to kill Kagesue? We must stay alive until we have accomplished our task.’⁵⁷ Elsewhere, the author invokes the Wen Hxuan 文選: do not be reckless if you have an important task, do not bother with trifles when you have a great duty before

⁵³ Kitagawa Hiroshi ed., *The Tale of the Soga Brothers*, vol. 2, p.52.

⁵⁴ Joyce Ackroyd defines Hakuseki’s vision of shogunal status as a ‘sub-monarchy’. See J. I. Ackroyd, *Lessons from History: The Tokushi Yoron*, p. xlvi (St Lucia; New York: University of Queensland Press; 1982).

⁵⁵ See John Whitney Hall, “Edo Shogunate: Authority and Structure” in William Theodore De Bary ed., *Sources of Japanese Tradition: 1600-2000*, vol. 2, p. 156 (New York: Columbia University Press; 2005); and Kate Wildman Nakai, *Shogunal politics: Arai Hakuseki and the Premises of Tokugawa Rule* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies Distributed by Harvard University Press; 1988).

⁵⁶ Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, "In Name Only: Imperial Sovereignty in Early Modern Japan", *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 17, 1991, pp. 29-32.

⁵⁷ Kitagawa Hiroshi ed., *The Tale of the Soga Brothers*, vol.1, p.171.

you.⁵⁸ The Gorô-Kagesue confrontation is a trope of strategic patience. Thus the text, in this *Shimizu no ike* vignette appeals to the reader's sense of deep disaffection, while the image both endorses such sentiments and at the same time counsels caution. Vengeance must, above all, be timely.

Reading the Crests



Fig. 3.13

There were other signs within these images that could direct the reader's interpretation, however. The Soga rebel in the present image wears a garment under his straw cape patterned with a chrysanthemum design. The woman who, on the concluding page of the work (fig.3.4), has plucked the twisted flax wears a kimono with the same chrysanthemum design. On the preceding page, two women gaze at themselves in a mirror; one wears a kimono with a flax design, the other wears a chrysanthemum crest (fig. 3.13). The maxim reads:

yoki hito wo mireba wagami mo migakarete kagami ni mukau kokochi koso sure: if you see a good person, you try to improve yourself, just like looking in a mirror.

The commentary explains that a man cannot gauge his own heart: for this, he requires the exemplar of a wise man. The righteous person of the maxim (it continues) is none other than the ruler (*kunshi*). The good ruler is the mirror of the people - *kore yoki hito*

⁵⁸ Ibid., vol.2, p.76.

kunshi wa shonin no kagami narazuya. In the image, the woman regarding her reflection in the mirror wears a kimono with a chrysanthemum crest, similar to the crest of the imperial institution.



Detail of fig. 3.13.



Fig. 3.14 *Kyô habutae* 京羽二重 1745

Thus symbols of the imperial institution, of moral rectitude (the flax), and model government (the mirror and its reflection) combine. Text and image together propose that under the virtuous leadership of the chrysanthemum throne, the people would naturally grow upright like flax in a grove.

The symbolic use of floral motifs to semantically elaborate the female figure is a consistent feature of the rhetoric of *Shimizu no ike*; it is, in fact, a characteristic of Sukenobu's entire artistic production. This is not surprising, perhaps, in the work of an artist who began his career with several celebrated books of designs for women's clothing.⁵⁹ In an age when crests formed a language of their own, and when catalogues of crests were made publicly available as part of the general heuristic endeavour of the times, it seems reasonable to assume a certain readiness on the part of the viewer to

⁵⁹On the *hinagata* books, see for example Furuya Aiko, "Nishikawa Sukenobu no fukushoku hyôgen ni tsuite: kosode hinagatabon wo chûshin ni", *Fukushoku bigaku*, vol. 3, 2005, pp. 1-18.

assimilate the coded signifiers of dress and its ornaments.⁶⁰ The regularly-produced guide to Kyoto, *Kyô habutae taizen* (Kyoto Brocade Omnibus - the translation is Berry's) provided in its opening two volumes - in addition to details of reigning and retired emperors - the names and crests of the imperial princes, the various court families, the Kyoto *shoshidai*, the *machibugyô* for Kyoto (west and east), Osaka, Fushimi, Nara and Sakai. Armed with two slim volumes of this work, the viewer was in a position to decrypt all the various signs of authority in the capital and surrounding provinces. And from the opening pages, it was impossible to avoid the association of the chrysanthemum motif with the imperial institution (fig. 3.14). But if the reader turned thence to the myriad *bukan*, or warrior mirrors - which listed the names, crests and halberds of daimyo families - alongside information on domain, income, and office - the association of the hollyhock with Tokugawa (fig. 3.15), and paulownia- *kiri*- and ivy-*tsuta* (which was commonly confused with the *kiri* on account of iconographic similarities) -with the Matsudaira clan was equally evident (figs. 3.16-7).⁶¹

⁶⁰ See Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period* (Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press; 2006). Various editions of *Kyô habutae taizen* can be viewed at

<<http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/search.php?cnbn=%90%bc%90%ec+%97%53%90%4d>>. In addition to *Kyô habutae*, there were specifically courtly mirrors - *unjô kagami* - listing crests of court families.

⁶¹ The *bukan* are discussed in *ibid.*. A number have been reproduced: for a later period, see, for example, Aô Motonobu and Jinbunsha Henshûbu., *Bunsei Tenpo kokugun zenzu narabini daimyô bukan* (Tokyo: Jinbunsha; 1967); see also Numata Raisuke, *Nihon monshôgaku* (Tokyo: Jinbutsu Ôraisha; 1968). A number of the *bukan* can be viewed on line at

< <http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/search.php?cnbn=%90%bc%90%ec+%97%53%90%4d> >.

These include *Hôreki bukan* 寶曆武鑑, *Ashikagake bukan* 足利家武鑑, *Kyôhō bukan* 享保武鑑, *Genroku bukan* 元禄武鑑. The paulownia crest was in actual fact bivalent: it was originally associated with the imperial family, but from the late *Sengoku* period was bestowed on a number of military families (notably Emperor Go Yôzei on Hideyoshi, Emperor Ogimachi on Mori Motonari). Thenceforth, it became strongly associated with the Matsudaira. See Nukada Iwao, *Kiku to kiri: kôki naru monshô no sekai*, pp. 72-89 (Tokyo: Tôkyô Bijutsu; 1996). The *tsuta* crest was both the personal crest of Yoshimune, and widely adopted by the Matsudaira, who out of deference ceded the *aoi* to the Tokugawa. See Numata Raisuke, *Nihon monshôgaku*, pp. 605-13. There are a number of good websites for *buke* crests, see in particular: < http://www.harimaya.com/o_kamon1/yurai/a_yurai/pack2/tuta.html>.

Chrysanthemum, hollyhock, paulownia and ivy are motifs which recur regularly on clothing and other accoutrements in the *ehon*. Given their prominence in the heraldic guides, this seems more than coincidence.

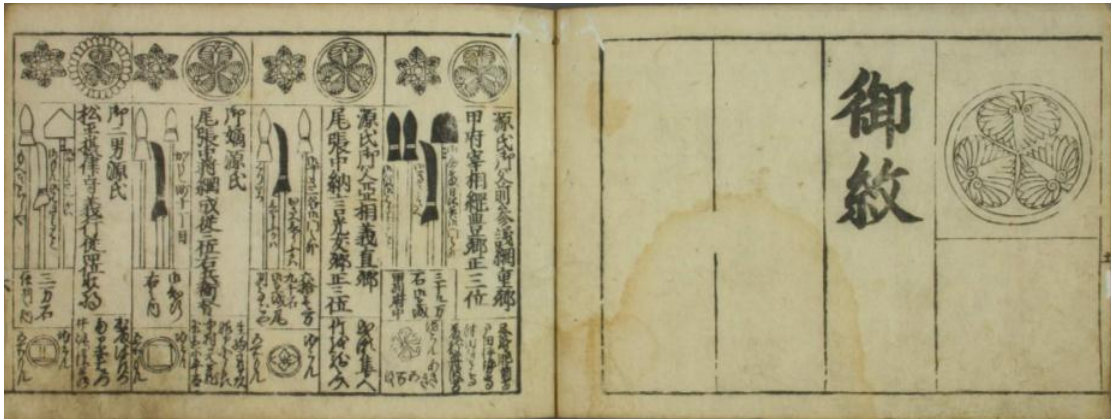


Fig. 3.15 Edo kagami 江戸鑑 1687

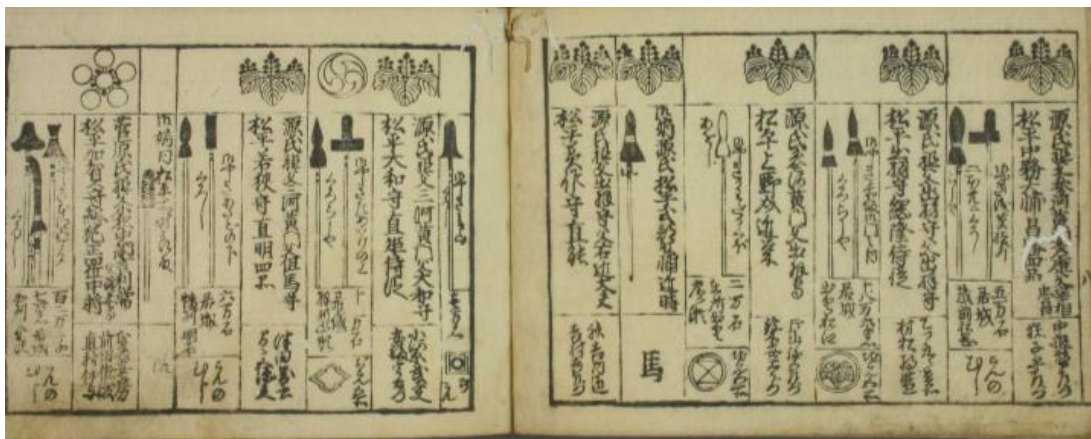


Fig. 3.16 Edo kagami 江戸鑑

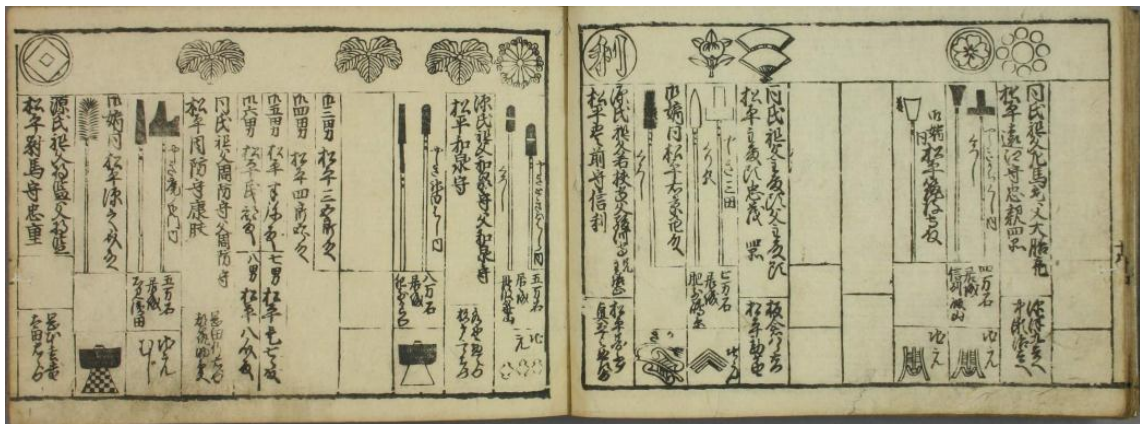


Fig. 3.17 Edo kagami 江戸鑑

Indeed, when images are reread in terms of their floral signifiers, conventional tropes - such as the *bijin* or beautiful woman - become newly meaningful. Thus, the image discussed above of a beautiful woman gazing at her reflection in a mirror, read in conjunction with the chrysanthemum crest on her kimono and the accompanying adage, supplies a metaphor of virtuous government.

A superficially similar image of another conventionally beautiful woman gazing at her reflection in a mirror (fig. 3.18), by virtue, once more, of the floral motif, signifies the opposite. The maxim warns that a person's heart reflected in a mirror must be an ugly sight - *wagakokoro kagami ni utsuru mono naraba sakoso wa kage no minikukarubeki* -

we must be prepared to correct the evil we see (and if we fail to acknowledge the evil, the reflection will be ugly).



Fig. 3.18

The woman's kimono bears a paulownia leaf design; her obi is decorated with a flower that looks like a hollyhock.

The association in Sukenobu's work between the paulownia and the hollyhock had been established early on when they were presented side by side in his kimono design book *Shôtoku hinagata* of 1713 (fig. 3.19).⁶² The flower in the *Hinagata* bears a striking resemblance to the Tokugawa hollyhock emblem, but it is carefully labelled as a waterlily (*kôhone*). Since the Tokugawa hollyhock (*aoi*) was in fact a waterlily, the difference is semantic, but it suggests that the waterlily was intended *minikukarubeki*. The commentary expounds that if we are prepared to look in a mirror, as a visual pun: a way of denoting the hollyhock without denoting it, a metaphor.



Fig. 3.19

⁶² Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Shôtoku hinagata* 1713, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Here, woman and crest thus read as a symbol of shogunal government. Since she additionally represents those who have failed to rectify their faults, the image – superficially unexceptional – transforms into an example of coded political criticism.

Floral signifiers radically change the interpretation of an image. Illustrating the adage that a man will soon tire of a woman who persistently displays her learning – *rikô shite mi wo fukasetaru nyobô wa tsui ni otto no aki kaze to naru* – is an image of a man sliding a divorce notice



Fig. 3.20

(*mikudarihan*) over the *tatami* to his wife, who turns away, covering her face in distress (fig. 3.20). The commentary notes that a woman’s intellectual conceit, her hair-splitting and arrogance (*rikôdate wo shite rikutsu takeku onore wo takaburi kizui naraba*) are grounds for divorce. As a general precept for commoners, this is surprisingly severe: even the highly conservative precepts contained in *Onna Daigaku* (Great Learning for Women), the conduct book for women published fifteen years earlier and republished throughout the Edo period, were less stern on the subject of divorce.⁶³

⁶³ See *Onna daigaku*, translated in Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Japanese Things: Being Notes on Various Subjects connected with Japan, for the Use of Travelers and Others*, esp. p. 504 (Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle; 1971). Reprinted in De Bary ed., *Sources of Japanese Tradition: 1600-2000*, pp. 261-7. Divorce in the Edo period is discussed fully in Takagi Tadashi, *Mikudarihan: Edo no rikon to joseitachi*, pp. 35-65 (Tokyo: Heibonsha; 1999).



Fig. 3.20a
Detail

Marriage itself, however, had previously been requisitioned by Sankinshi (following Qu Yuan) as a metaphor of political relationships. *Rikuyu engi koi* had concluded with a discussion of the jealous wife, jealousy, Sankinshi noted, being the greatest infringement of the moral order.⁶⁴ At the end of the second volume of his *Onchiseiyō* commentary (published just a couple of months after *Rikuyu engi koi*), Sankinshi offered a parable of government intrusion in civic affairs that was a tale of conjugal disaster. The parable went as follows: a married couple lived in Sesshu province, close to Sumiyoshi. They were humble and poor, but in spite of this the wife insisted on treating her husband with an absurd degree of solicitude, as though he were not her husband but her master. Her importunate attentions drove him to distraction. Eventually, no longer able to endure her continual pestering, he threw her out of the house.⁶⁵

The trope of the over-attentive wife here served as an expression of intrusive regulatory behaviours. But if divorce on grounds of fundamental incompatibility could serve as an illustration of the hazards of over-intrusive government in *Onchiseiyō hoyoku*; and if the jealous wife represented the culmination of evil in *Rikuyu engi koi*, it is conceivable that the trope had similar meanings in *Shimizu no ike*. Indeed, the woman's culpability is expressed in much the same language Muneharu would use to

⁶⁴ See introduction, page.

⁶⁵ Nagoya-shi Kyōiku Inkaei ed., *Nagoya sōsho*, p. 91.

撰州住吉のかたほとりに、貧家の夫婦あり、此女房夫に遇する事、主人のごとく、其真実恭敬する事類なかりし。此夫甚だ怒り、明けても暮れても食え飲めとせごめ、臥すときは温かなるやうにとやかましくいひ立るとて、此妻を追出せりとなん。

criticise legislative excess: misguided, agonisingly pedantic, the product of intellectual arrogance⁶⁶ The populace, he declared, could get by nicely without the kindly attention of the law.⁶⁷ In fact, the woman receiving the divorce papers wears a kimono bearing the hollyhock design repeated throughout these works (see detail in fig. 3.20a). As such, it becomes apparent that the *Shimizu no ike* image does not sanction illiberal behavior on the part of a husband: but the rights of a populace to dismiss a government.

The divorced woman's offence, in this case, is her display of erudition – *rikô*. Throughout both *Onchiseiyô* and Sankinshi's commentary upon it, the bakufu is criticized for what the authors consider its intolerable levels of interference in the daily lives of the people. The term repeatedly used to describe this meddling is *rikutsu*, or *kuchikashikoi*. In *Onchiseiyô*, for example, Muneharu notes that the virtue of learning can easily tip into a vice:

If, however, a person pursues learning immoderately, he will acquire much false knowledge which he will nonetheless proudly display; he will interfere unnecessarily in a thousand issues, he will deride and belittle others, he will become arrant an fool with whom one can have no commerce. There is no doubt, in fact, that such a person would have been better off by far with no learning at all.⁶⁸

Sankinshi agreed and added his own comments on warriors who failed to distinguish between erudition (*koji raireki bunsaku*) and wisdom. The seed of a bitter mandarin, he

⁶⁶ Tokugawa Muneharu, "Onchiseiyô", p. 159.

邪知さかんに口かしこくなりて万のことに理屈はり人を誇あなどり、上々の不出来者となり。

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 166. 法度の世話なくとも事済様になるべき事なり。

⁶⁸ Nagoya-shi Kyōiku Iinkai ed., *Nagoya sōsho* pp. 75-6.

しかるに心身のたしなみはわきへなし、邪智さかんに口かしこくなりて、萬の事に理屈はり、人を誇りあなどり、上々の不出来者と成り、つき合れもせぬ様にて、学問せざる以前大に増なる者かならず有事也。

remarks, will grow into a bitter mandarin tree, irrespective of where it is planted. It will never become a sweet mandarin.

The object of learning is to improve a man's ethical disposition and to strengthen his integrity. Learning is a profoundly humanitarian endeavour. But if a warrior (*bushi*) should study in the wrong way: if he believes that by simply associating with scholars, he will absorb their learning in the same way that paper takes on the colour of ink; if he believes that simply by committing historical and cultural facts to memory, that is, that by sheer mimicry of the external figments of knowledge he can become a Confucian scholar, he will lose touch with his natural and humane faculty of judgment and he will end up a warped and overbearing fool. The seed of a bitter orange (*karatachi*) will grow into a bitter orange tree, wherever it is planted;it won't turn into a sweet mandarin.⁶⁹

These reflections on misplaced learning took place in the context of a critique of bakufu law-making, which both writers characterized as intrusive and autocratic. The divorced woman in the *Shimizu no ike* image, who has so vexed her husband by her display of erudition, or her propensity to intervene in matters of no concern to her, can legitimately be read, in light of established conjugal and floral tropes, as a metaphor or intrusive, legalistic government.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

学問は志を改め節を守り、人の人たる道を学問と聞及べり。武士たるものも、右の風俗の学者に、親炙し師とするゆへ、墨にまじはれば黒くなる道理にて、古事来歴文作は、記憶するといへども、みるをみまねに、武士も儒者風にうつり、干心の節義の志操もうつなふ様になり、結句我慢邪僻（じゃへき）の枳（からたち）のたねを植えるゆへ、いつ迄も枳にて果てぬ。いかさま古さへ師道の伝はらざる事久しといへば、今更古代に立かへり、橘に成はずもなし。

The Law

Bakufu intrusion in local affairs is a recurrent theme in the *ehon*. *Ehon ike no kokoro* 絵本池の心, a subsequent interpretation of the wisdom of the *Saimyôjidono hyakushu*, was published in 1739, five years after *Shimizu no ike*. The similarity of subject matter has led to its attribution to Sankinshi, although his direct involvement is not documented. Many of the concerns raised in *Ike no kokoro*, however, were close to his heart. One of the images depicts labourers in the process of dredging, or widening, a river (fig. 3.21).⁷⁰ Two stand on the bank, their shovels on the ground beside them, heaving a basket piled high with silt from the river; a third man, standing in the water below, guides the heavy load. The maxim above the image reads:

iku tabi ka omohi sadamete kawaruran tanomu

majiki wa kokoro nari kerî –

it seems that you have now committed, now
changed your mind several times: what ought not
to have been trusted is your heart.⁷¹

Once again, it is no longer immediately apparent how image and text are related: river-dredging seems to be an arbitrary choice of iconography. Yet, river dredging – *sarae* – was a highly topical subject. Of all civil works undertaken at the time, it was one of the most crucial. Throughout the Kyôhō years, edicts concerning the



Fig. 3.21

⁷⁰ Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Ehon ike no kokoro*, reproduced in Kansai Daigaku Toshokan ed., *Nishikawa Sukenobu shû*, vol. 1 (Suita: Kansai Daigaku Shuppanbu; 1998).

⁷¹ This translation is based on the assumption that *kawaruran* is the *shûshikei* form of the *yodan* verb *kawaru* with the suffix *ramu*. *Iku tabi ka* means several times.

dredging and widening of rivers and canals, both to prevent the major hazard of flooding and to allow the passage of larger boats, proliferated.⁷² In *Onchiseiyô hoyoku*, however, Sankinshi – angered once again by what he perceived to be bakufu intrusion - criticised at length the recent recommendation of ‘a Confucianist’ that perennial flooding of the Yamato plain be resolved not through deeper dredging of the river bed, but by reducing deforestation of upland areas. The relationship between the flooding of rivers and deforestation had been signalled some decades earlier by Kumazawa Banzan, who had noted that excessive felling of trees on upland areas led to the destabilization of the terrain, which, in turn, led to loam washing into the rivers and silting them up.⁷³ But it seems more likely that Sankinshi was indicating the scholar Tanaka Kyûgu, whose publication in 1720 of *Minkan seiyô* (which ran to seventeen volumes) had been so favourably received that Yoshimune had appointed him as an advisor on flood control in the Kantô.⁷⁴ He subsequently published a work on flood control - *Chisui yôhō* 地水要方 - which is no longer extant. Sections of *Minkan seiyô*, however, had clearly implicated deforestation of Mt. Hie as a cause of river flooding.⁷⁵ No edict appears to have been issued halting dredging works of the Yamato river: but the Confucianist’s (geologically sound) recommendation to manage flooding through modified land use was enough in itself to send Sankinshi into a frenzy:

Recently, a scholar (renowned in China as a leading Confucianist) has published a number of books. In one of these, he turns his attention to the dredging of the

⁷² See, for example, Harashima Yôichi and Kinsei Shiryô Kenkyûkai eds., *Edo machibure shûsei*, vol. 5, pp. 28-30 (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobô; 1994).

⁷³ See James McMullen, *Idealism, Protest, and the Tale of Genji: the Confucianism of Kumazawa Banzan (1619-91)*, pp. 239-45 (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press; 1999). Also in McMullen, “Kumazawa Banzan: Confucian Practice in Seventeenth Century Japan”, in De Bary ed., *Sources of Japanese Tradition: 1600-2000*, pp. 130-1.

⁷⁴ For a brief account of Kyûgû’s role, see Oishi ed., *Kyôhō kaikaku to shakai henyô*, pp. 31-33.

⁷⁵ Takimoto Seiichi ed., *Nihon keizai taiten*, pp. 92-96.

Yamato river. He declares that over recent years, much of the forest on the surrounding mountains has been felled for construction purposes. This had led to the progressive aetiolation of the innate spirit of the area: there are no longer branches and leaves to shield the earth from heavy rains which consequently wash the top soil down the mountainside into the valleys, thence to the rivers. The river beds become increasingly elevated, and require frequent dredging. Trees and grasses, he states, hold the rain like a kaburo's hair: the water just sits there. When there are no trees and no grassland, it's like water running off a monk's head: there is nothing to retain it. In this manner, our scholar develops his inane logic. But please: no one asked for his opinion, it was none of his business, so what was he doing poking his nose into the dredging of the Yamato river? The fact that the riverbed of the Yamato river is elevated has nothing to do with innate spirits. It has nothing to do with these ridiculously elaborate theories. Heavy rains lead to rising river levels, houses are swept away, and fields flooded. So experts in river dredging projects widen rivers so that even during flooding periods, water levels are contained, flooding is less drastic, and even if heavy rains flow into the rivers, because the river bed is wider, the water is shallower, and the river bed is elevated. There's a saying, the snake is the best guide of own path. Mountains are best left to loggers and lumberjacks; the sea is best left to sailors; rivers to the officials and labourers specialised in dredging works. It's not the place for a Confucianist to stick his nose. Even Confucius admitted it wasn't his place to tell a farmer or a peasant how to manage the land.....in the end, when it comes to writing on farming matters, it's best for scholars to stay out of it. They just end up writing a load of theoretical nonsense

like a bunch of smart-alecs. They had best just bear in mind one thing: when you begin to get under the skin of the people at large, and the farmers in particular, then things can go massively wrong.⁷⁶

Sankinshi's objections are emotional and scientifically uninformed, but the narrowness of his vision was beside the point: his must have been representative of some portion of popular opinion. He concludes on an apocalyptic note of looming disaster. The dredging trope appears in *Ike no kokoro* out of the blue as evidence of bakufu indecision and governmental incompetence. An image of three men lifting silt from a river, a trope derived from the contemporary landscape of labour, eloquently conveyed the deepening opposition between what was perceived to be native Yamato practice, and the arbitrary imposition of political authority from above.

A visceral hostility to bakufu rule is palpable throughout Sankinshi's work, and it clearly informed his collaboration with Sukenobu. In many ways, the *Saimyōjido no hyakushu* was an apt choice of base text, for these were precepts for surviving in times

⁷⁶ Nagoya-shi Kyōiku Iinkai ed., *Nagoya sōsho*, pp.76-77. 学問と名つけたる義は、俗学にても悪ととはいふべからず。学問をして、博学にして、余り理の却ずるは兆の一倍もある事也。近代中国に大儒と鳴りし学者、書物もあまた編集していん印行せり。其中に、五畿内大和川内の川床高く成りしは、諸国の山々に、大分の樹木を伐倒して用木とするゆへ、山林川沢の神気次第にうすくなりて、大雨を枝葉にとどむる事あたらず、すぐに山の土沙、雨にたたかれて谷へをつるゆへ、支流に土沙ながれこみて、あんごとく河床たかくなりて、切々川浚あり。草木の葉に雨をとどむるは、禿（かぶろ）なる髪に水をかくるとく、水木大分に髪にとどまり、又草木なき所の雨は、坊主頭に水かうるとく、水しばらくもとどまらずと理をつめて書り。是己が博覧の知に酔て、我が博を人にしらしめ、山河地理までに能達したりと名聞の為、河浚までの事に筆を費せり。いはれぬ人の頼まぬ我が任にもあらぬ大和河の穿鑿は何事ぞや。大和河の川床高くなりしは、山沢の神気などいふ子細らしき事あらず。左様の迂廻たる事にては有まじ。大雨の時、川上より洪水をし来て、民家田畠も損ずるゆへ、川普請に功者なる人、川幅を広たるゆへ、洪水のときも水勢ゆるくして、田地をさまたげず水をつれば、水はばやはり広くして浅くなるゆへ、川床高し。惣而蛇の道は蛇が知るとて、山のことは樵人柚人が能く知り、海の事は船頭が功者、川などは諸代官の手代、川普請になれたる者が功者にて、儒者のさし出る事にてはなし。。。惣而農業耕作の書物、学者として編集すること宜しからざる事なるべし。相応に理屈をつめて書ゆへ、黠領主など、一概にこころへて、民百姓虐る時は、莫大なる下々の難儀に及ぶ事なるべし。

of strife, times when notions of duty, loyalty, right and wrong, even basic etiquettes were radically redrawn along factional lines. The sense of wartime hostility emerges in an illustration in *Shimizu no ike* of the maxim (fig. 3.22):

even if you are well acquainted with a person, call out before you proceed to enter their residence –

yuku ni tada shitashiki hito no tokoro e mo kado de koe shite uchi e irubeshi

It shows a samurai retainer on the point of stepping inside a residence, apparently unannounced. He is observed by an elderly man who, from his hairstyle and the cloud motif on this garments, appears to be a courtier. The retainer may, in fact, be uttering some cursory greeting as he steps across the threshold, but he is certainly not pausing to receive a reply. The courtier looks somewhat resigned.

The admonition to knock before you enter is a fairly standard precept. But it was something that had become an issue in early eighteenth century Kyoto circles as a result of the introduction of tougher fire precautions in the capital. As a general fire-prevention measure, bakufu fire inspectors - *hi no mawari no yakunin* – had been granted the right of entry, unannounced, into courtier residences at night: this was part of a general strengthening of bakufu presence in



Fig. 3.22

the capital begun in 1714.⁷⁷ However, the fire inspectors, as their later name 火つけ盜賊改 (*hitsuke tōzoku aratame* – ‘fire and theft prevention corps’) suggests, were not simply there to keep an eye on fire hazards: they had a general policing function.

This function had been widely exploited as a means of spying on courtier activities: Chikamatsu’s play 弘徽殿鶉羽産家 *Kōkiden unoha no ubuya* of 1712 contains a reference to fire inspectors entering courtier residences surreptitiously in order to – in this case – discover who had murdered the princess:

the fire inspectors sneak into the gates of courtier residences, even the palace: they need no papers of introduction (*annai nashi*), they have the right to come and go as they please (*deiri no okite*), they learn what people are up to, pick up stray ends of talk....⁷⁸

Shimizu no ike echoes the words of the Chikamatsu’s play:

*Hito no ie e iru ni wa kanarazu annai wo kofubeshi annai naki wa burei nari
fudan deiri shite kokoro yasuki aida naritomo*

Before you enter someone’s house, always ask permission; to fail to do so is impolite. Even it’s someone whose house you frequent, someone you know well,

The same admonition – to knock before you enter – reappears in *Ike no kokoro*: this time, the maxim reads:

if you approach a closed room with someone in it, clear your throat or otherwise signal your presence before opening the door

⁷⁷ Uchiyama Mikiko, *Jōrurishi no jūhasseiki*, p.63 (Tokyo: Benseisha; 1989). along with the establishment of a new law court

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.63 火の周りの役人は禁中公家の門内へも。案内なしに出入掟人の風俗詞のはし

tare komoru zashiki e yukaba soto ni ite kowazukuri shite to wo mo akubeshi

The image shows a courtier approaching a screened-off room in which another courtier is sitting at a writing table. The approaching courtier has presumably alerted the writer to his presence, for the latter looks up agreeably and calls out to his visitor to enter. The court, one concludes, knew its manners better than the bakufu.

Conclusion

In 1741, Sankinshi died at the age of 80. His collaboration with Sukenobu resulted in only a small handful of works.⁷⁹ Yet read in light of his impassioned political manifestoes, these provide indications that the *ehon* in general might conceal a radical political agenda. It was an agenda articulated through elaborate rhetorical strategies and the productive interplay of text and image, through generic maxims obliquely adapted - by means of commentaries and topical iconographies - to fit current imperatives; and through floral signifiers requisitioned to direct readerly interpretations. Moreover, this rhetoric of resistance was more than domestic satire: it sought not to divert popular unrest, but to intensify it. Sankinshi's was the language of the radical activist, and Sukenobu's illustrations, superficially anodine, provided a witty analogue. This language of sedition, however, was presented in Suika terms. It suggests that by the early decades of the eighteenth century, powerful strands of disaffection were grounded in religious conviction.

⁷⁹ For a discussion of Sukenobu's involvement with Sankinshi and others in the production of *ôraimono*, see Yamamoto Yukari, "Nishikawa Sukenobu to ehon/ôraimono: jûhasseiki zenpanki no gakumonshi to no kankei kara", *Sairen (Siren)*, vol. 10, no. 3, 2007, pp. 37-65. Products of the Sankinshi collaboration are *Shimizu no ike*, possibly *Ike no kokoro* and one late educational work for women, published the year of his death.

Fig. 3.1 Ehon Tôwakagami 絵本答話鏡



Fig. 3.2 Ehon Tōwakagami 絵本答話鏡



Fig. 3.3 絵本清水の池 Ehon Shimizu no ike 1734



Fig. 3.4 絵本清水の池 Ehon Shimizu no ike 1734



よきいそ
若人

じついそと

ま

いそ

麻チゴの中チがね

あさと

んふ

いそ

びんごの白濁の流しは池とて清水の麻の中なるまのうさひてはうさひとじつはまかしの
 よくうらみのいそは池の魚のほまきね風情とて人とは異なるともまのまのまのま
 自暴自棄ののから老練の河田はあり陽武のせし集付あり孔子の陽貨は徳女に

Fig. 3.5 絵本清水の池 Ehon Shimizu no ike 1734

卵...の...
か...
ま...
と...
及...
と...
刻...
明...

享保十九年

寅 正月吉日

洛陽畫工 西川祐信

彫刻師 石原半兵衛



京都書林

菊屋喜兵衛版

寺町通松原下町

Fig. 3.6 絵本真葛が原 Ehon Makuzugahara 1741

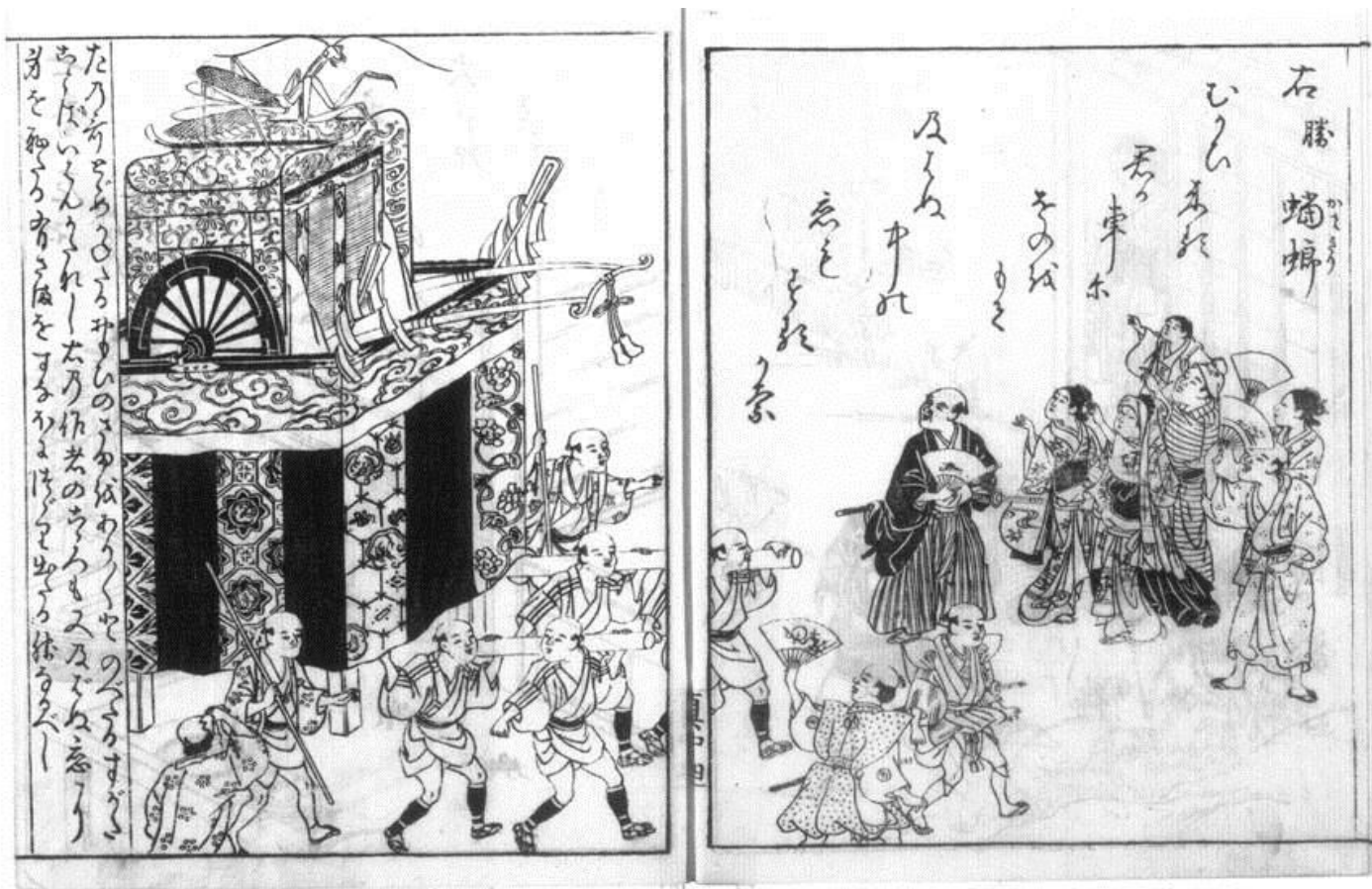


Fig. 3.7 絵本清水の池 Ehon Shimizu no ike 1734

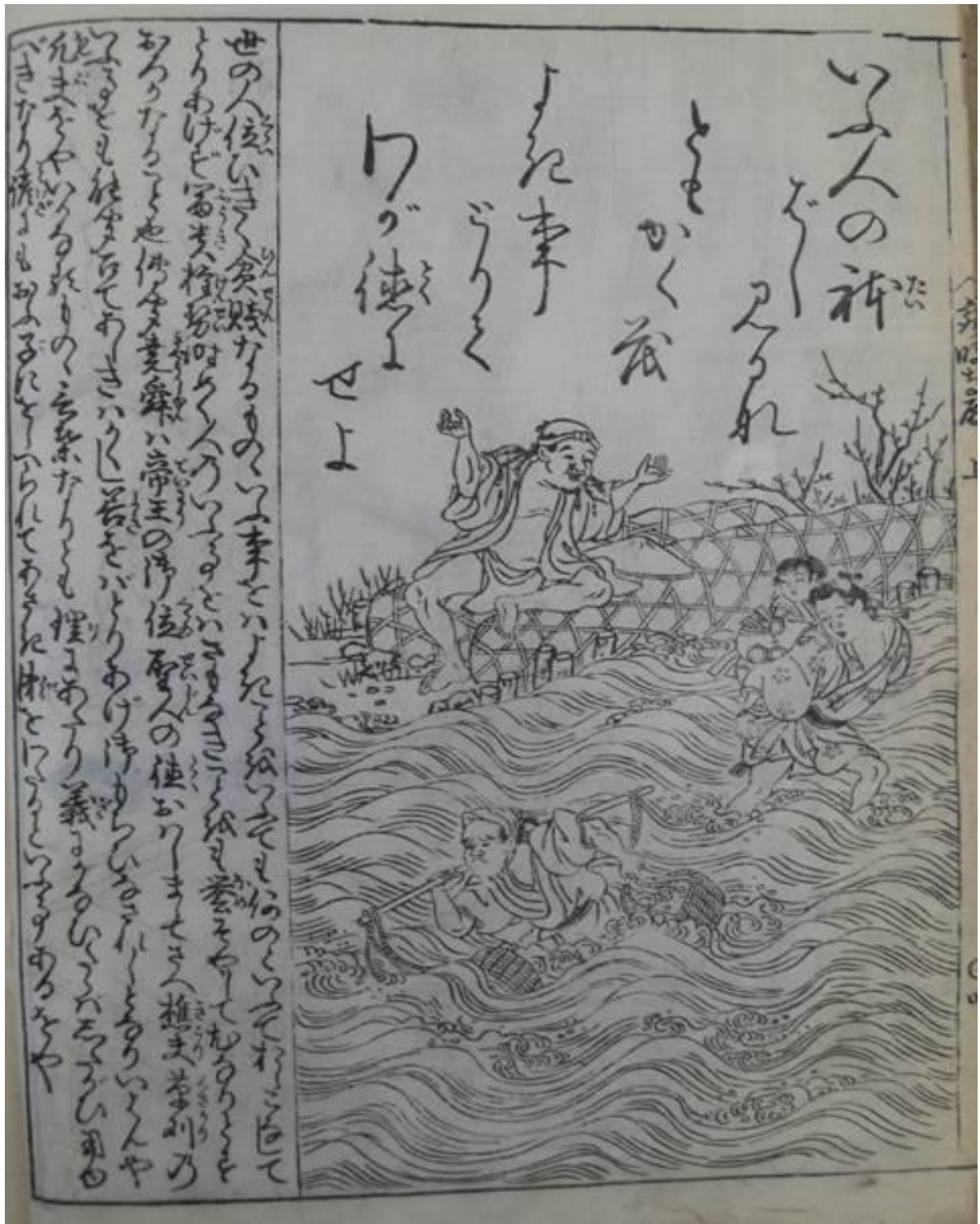


Fig. 3.8: 絵本清水の池 Ehon Shimizu no ike 1734



あゝ〜〜〜〜〜

〜〜〜〜〜

こぶ身と

金の五匁

まゝのわせいふまどもそらほつりおまといあむ法守約といふまゝ日蓮の法代は法人
 の目かいた後いふ方地といえやまゝとやあひの力を法守の目といひておれ切果て
 ぶといふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝ
 五匁とせと海つらの口其つわりんとさつりあむ法守約といふまゝ日蓮の法代は法人
 ハ細それはれやいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝ
 もの物えて細細と押解材交とつらひり人を極く耕作高貴は細とを替つていふまゝ
 ちつとまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝ
 さつりあつて男の力とていふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝ
 ちつとまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝ
 ちつとまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝいふまゝ

Fig. 3.9 絵本清水の池 Ehon Shimizu no ike 1734



Fig. 3.10 絵本清水の池 Ehon Shimizu no ike 1734



Fig. 3.11 絵本清水の池 Ehon Shimizu no ike 1734



Fig. 3.12 絵本清水の池 Ehon Shimizu no ike 1734



Fig. 3.13 絵本清水の池 Ehon Shimizu no ike 1734



Fig. 3.14 *Kyô habutae* 京羽二重 1745



Fig. 3.15 Edo kagami 江戸鑑 1687



Fig. 3.16 Edo kagami 江戸鑑 1687

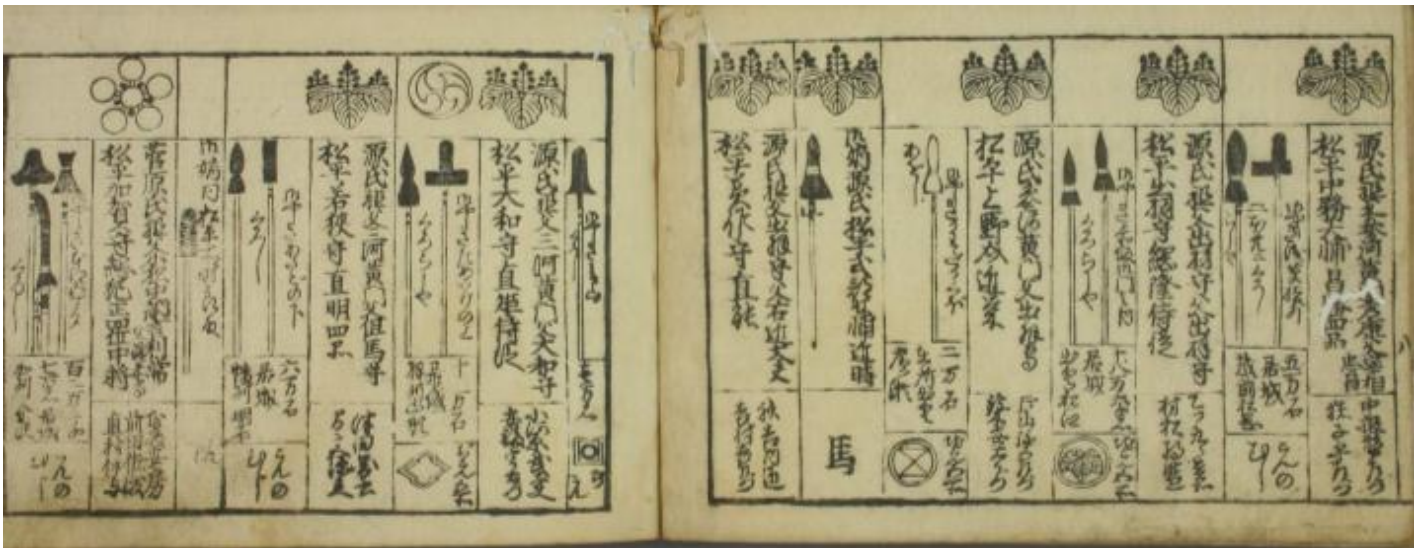


Fig. 3.17 Edo kagami 江戸鑑 1687

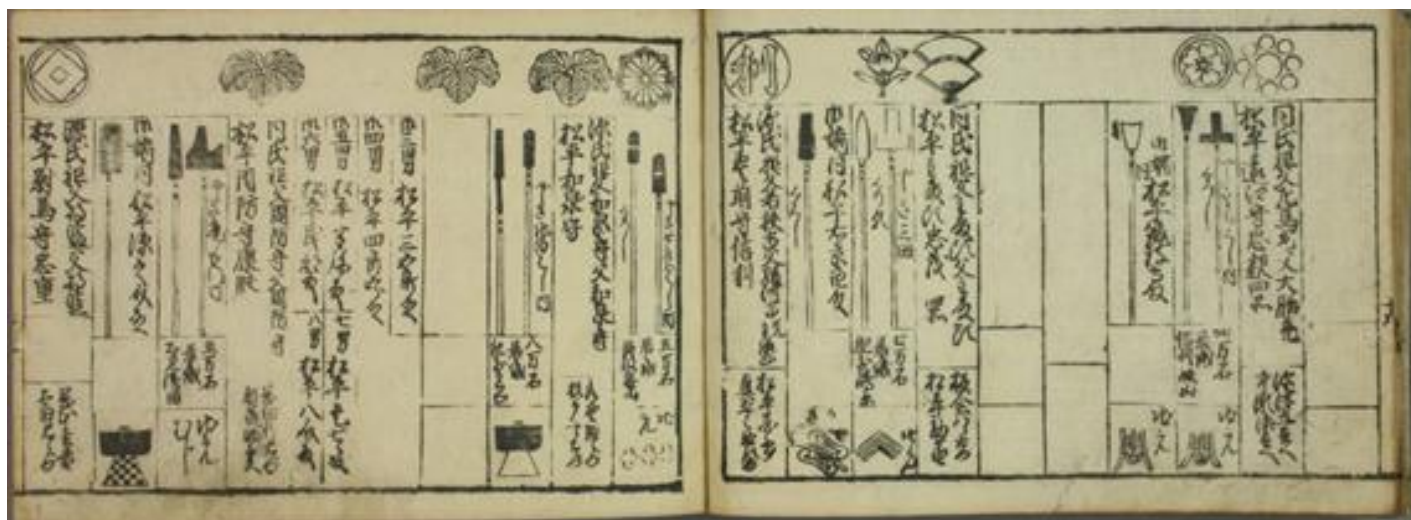


Fig. 3.18 絵本清水の池 Ehon Shimizu no ike 1734



Fig. 3.19 Shôtoku hinagata 1713

身 六 番



目

をそりやうまりを井づ
 桐の葉をえりり色
 花のそりや
 せせんをわがうへ

かまひまのちのり
 みるまん
 みるまん
 みるまん

身 八 番



目

あまかりのり
 そとにりたりのり
 みるまん

かまひまのちのり
 みるまん
 みるまん
 みるまん

Fig. 3.20 絵本清水の池 Ehon Shimizu no ike 1734



Fig. 3.21 絵本池の心 Ehon ike no kokoro 1739



Fig. 3.22 絵本清水の池 Ehon Shimizu no ike 1734



Chapter Four

Sukenobu's Riddle Books and the Law

Ehon Shimizu no ike read both as conservative conduct book and manifesto of political intent. For the intended reader, it rehearsed the grounds of political grievance - its broad-brush profile of the enemy (uncompassionate, intrusive, autocratic) - and broached the possibility of insurrection. The same spirit of antagonism informs later works, but the debate has now moved onto the streets. Generic maxims have largely made way for a web of satirical allusion that draws on current events, discussion of sacred duty has made way for ruthless satire of bakufu misrule and its intrusion into the daily business of living.

These works took issue not just with the broad trope of bakufu legislative interference, but with specific laws. Critics of legislative excess had long observed that the proliferation of regulations was bewildering for the populace at large.¹ The bakufu was forced at times to admit as much; a decree issued in Edo in 1742 (Kanpô 2) read:

To be announced to all and sundry: of late, a number of defendants have pleaded ignorance of the law. This is largely the fault of the home-owner. Henceforth, all new laws should be publicized widely. Shop-owners and household heads should stamp their seals thereon. Let it be proclaimed that from now on, if anyone should plead ignorance of the law, home-owners should immediately be punished.²

¹ See chapter 1.

² Harashima Yôichi and Kinsei Shiryô Kenkyûkai eds., *Edo machibure shûsei*, vol. 5, p. 185, no. 6739 (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobô; 1994).

御触事、裏々軽キ者共迄委細ニ可申聞処、近頃諸願事ニ罷出候者ニ、何之御触之不承ト申者有之候、此儀ハ畢竟家主共不埒ニ候、向後御触度毎ニ裏々迄為申聞、店之者依リ家主へ印形取置候様可仕候、若此以後御触不承旨申者有之候ハ々、家主急度御咎可被成旨被仰渡候

Tokugawa Muneharu's observation - ten years earlier - that people found themselves breaking the law without knowing there was a law to break was not ungrounded.³

Legislative culture was ruthlessly satirized in *Ehon ike no kawazu* 絵本池の蛙(1745), a collaborative venture between Sukenobu and one Tôkaku.⁴

Parodying the thematic categories of *The Pillow Book*, the work opens with a list of hateful things - *nikui monozukushi*: for example, when the men carrying one's palanquin stop for a smoke in the street (fig. 4.1).



Fig. 4.1

For a passenger in a hurry, the inconvenience is understandable:

but the fact that in 1739, the *Kyôto machibugyô* had issued an edict forbidding smoking on the move (*kuwaekiseru nite ôrai itashi sôrou yoshi*), lends it a particularly contemporary edge:

Despite numerous injunctions prohibiting smoking on the move, it has been observed that the habit persists. From now on, any person smoking on the move will be severely punished (*kitto ai-togamubeku sôrou*). If strangers to Kyoto (*tasho no mono*) are observed to be in breach of the law, they should be duly advised of this proscription. This applies within and without of Kyoto (*rakuchû rakugai*).⁵

For a contemporary audience, it was this injunction that the work was satirizing. In the image, the palanquin bearers no longer smoke as they trudge through the street, they

³ See Introduction.

⁴ Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Ehon ike no kawazu*, 1745, British Museum, London.

⁵ Kyôto machibure kenkyûkai ed., *Kyôto machibure shûsei*, vol. 2, p. 367 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten; 1984).

stop for a smoke. But the work also dredged up petty injunctions from the past.

Another example of something hateful is men loitering around the ceremonial float or *mikoshi*, even though they are not the bearers (fig. 4.2a). Again, for a contemporary audience, what was perhaps more hateful was the fact that the *Kyôto machibugyô* had seen the necessity to legislate on the matter: for example, in 1714 on the occasion of the Imamiya festival, and at other times ahead of the Gion festival:

Persons who have not been hired to carry the Imamiya shrine float should stay away from the float.⁶



Another image (on the facing page) shows a man complaining about the dust as his neighbours undertake rigorous spring cleaning (fig. 4.2b). The trope appears to satirize local edicts - for

Figs. 4.2a & b

example that of 1709 (Hôei 6) – on considerate

cleaning (*susu barai no yoshi sôji no yoshi*) - housework, henceforth, was to be undertaken in a genteel or discreet fashion (*onbin*).⁷ *Ike no kawazu* was, in fact, a litany of what its authors, and presumably their audience, considered the legacy of bakufu folly; intrusive and petty legislative behaviour which the work allegorized, in its opening image, as mosquitoes buzzing in one's face on a summer's afternoon: *utatane ni kao no atari wo tobimekuru ka no hosokoe wa futatsu mitsu yotsu*.

⁶ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 195.

⁷ Ibid., vol. 1, p.170.



Fig. 4.3

Given that many minor laws were communicated verbally by a town crier (*fure nagare*), the jibe was apt (fig. 4.3).⁸ But the work was topical in another sense. From the early 1720s, under Yoshimune's direction, compilations of the legal code had been undertaken: in 1744, a year before the publication of *Ike no kawazu*, the shogunal elder Matsudaira Norisato had produced a comprehensive compilation

of the first 129 years (1615-1743) of shogunal law, the so-called *Ofuregaki Kanpô shûsei*. Part of Yoshimune's rationalization of the legal system, it was also a firm statement of governmental power over civic life.⁹ The appearance of *Ike no kawazu* in the following year was unlikely to have been mere coincidence.

But other works, too, made an ass of the law. In 1740 (Genbun 5), the Bakufu had issued the following edict:

In the tenth month of the preceding year, it was declared that firewood should only be stacked outside a property up to five *shaku* in height, while straw, twigs and the like, being highly inflammable, should not be left outside at any time. It has recently been observed that this ruling has been disregarded. Henceforth, if anyone should store these goods outside, they will immediately be placed in handcuffs. Firewood is not to be stacked to any height, nor straw, twigs and the like placed outside, by merchants of these items, householders or shop tenants,

⁸ Kyôto machibure kenkyûkai. ed., *Kyôto machibure shûsei*, vol. 2, pp. 529-39 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten; 1983).

⁹ Oishi Manabu ed., *Kyôhō kaikaku to shakai henyō*, pp. 28-31 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan; 2003).

neither in front of the property nor behind it. If, in any case, this ruling should be ignored, then both the offender and the five householders and the *nanushi* will be charged, and this should be made known to all those renting shops and other terrains with immediate effect.¹⁰

Three years later, in 1743 (Kanpō 3), Sukenobu published a book of riddles called *Ehon Yamato nishiki* 絵本大和錦 in collaboration with the *haikai* poet Senri. A riddle towards the end of the work reads as follows:



Fig. 4.4

A seller of firewood has to stack all his supplies of firewood outside the shop; that makes sense. Girls in the pleasure quarters sit in the shop window writing love letters they don't even believe in, that's clever too.¹¹

The image (fig. 4.4) shows firewood stacked in the street, an itinerant vendor of logs and the street façade of a brothel with girls sitting in the front writing love letters.

Image and text tally well enough: but why these apparently random tropes have been selected in the first place, is less obvious - unless both are read in light of the preceding edict on the storage of firewood. The coincidence between the new legislation and the subject matter of the image suggests in this case a significant level of dialogue between contemporary affairs and the *ehon*. It is tempting to take the dialogical content of the

¹⁰ Harashima Yōichi and Kinsei Shiryō Kenkyūkai eds., *Edo machibure shūsei*, vol. 5, p.48.

¹¹ Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Ehon Yamato nishiki*, 1743, British Library, London.

薪屋の元手はありたけ外につみかさねて置ねばならず。いかに実事でないとみせさきで千話文かく色町のならわしはさばけたせんさく也。

image further: for the wry glance directed by the vendor of firewood at the girls in the shop window, busy composing their letters of bad faith, may well allude to the shop owners and householders now obliged to display their seals on the scripts of all new edicts - a comparable example of bad faith performed under duress.

Wherever one turned, in fact, the city supplied further evidence of bakufu intrusion into civic affairs.

Given the frequency of devastating fires in cities, legislation on the storage of firewood seems reasonable: but antipathy to the autocratic mechanisms of the shogunal apparatus had reached a critical point.



Fig. 4.5

An image in the 1745 *Ehon Wakakusayama* 絵本若草山- authored by the writer Shinzô, aka Nakamura Ranrin - lampooned the incessant provision of new laws regulating social gatherings (fig. 4.5). It shows a group of revellers on the right, a *kôsatsu* on the left; the commentary dryly observes “they grumble if you speak, grumble if you sing, here they grumble there they grumble, forever grumbling, the *baku*” - かたるやらうたふやらあそこもここもくだを幕のかずかず。To grumble, here, is *kuda wo maku*; *maku* is written with a homonymic *ateji* which is the *baku* of *bakufu*.¹²

¹² Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Ehon Wakakusayama*, 1745, British Library, London. The full text reads:
 去程に呑助のおもたせハ都合二万五千樽大仏のつ々みにおしよせてじゃかたるやらう
 たふやらあそこもここもくだを幕のかず々々いきた春の柳腰を都ぞ春の二色とハ色酒
 をよめる歌也

The Street: Site of Disaffection

Laws and regulations were not the only topical allusions in these works. In 1742 (Kanpô 2), an incident was recorded in pamphlets and poems (*rakusho*) whereby a group of drunken samurai henchmen had turned up at a theatre in Ashiya-machi 蘆屋町 and attempted to forcibly turf spectators from their front-row seats.¹³ The theatre staff had managed to evict them, but the louts had subsequently returned with their friends and proceeded to ransack the theatre. They had ultimately been arrested, and the principal perpetrators were punished with exile. But the director of the theatre troupe – one Ichimura Uzaemon had also been driven out of town, and it appears that the lead actor, Ishikawa Gozaemon suffered some form of punishment. Poems satirizing the incident had circulated, for example:

The henchmen are squirming but they're gathering around Uza's; they're busting up the entrance to the theatre, the one Ichimura's still paying for
六尺の宇左々々しくもよりたかり市村なしてくずす木戸口

Ichimura theatre has been smashed up –river of rancour – they've got Uza and it looks like the end for Gozaemon

市村座打こわされていしゆ川や宇左まのつきた五左衛門のはて¹⁴

Ehon Wakakusayama - published three years later - contains an image which appears to allude to the incident (fig. 4.6). The scene is the outside of a theatre; a group of townsmen and women are entering through the main portal at the far left. From the far right, however, two thugs approach with a threatening demeanour; they appear to have said something to a well-set man, who stands in front of some tall boxes looking

¹³ Yano Takanori, *Edo jidai rakusho ruijû*, p.166 (Tokyo: Tôkyôdô Shuppan; 1984).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.166.

intimidated. The theatre crier observes them, his hand to his mouth in trepidation.

Violence looks set to erupt at any moment. The text reads:

Working in a dyer's shop and having a group of young gallants coming and going amounts to the same thing: you have to tidy up afterwards. I mean, otherwise, it's like having things lying about all over the place and your guests see it all. So everybody come along, come along, tread the path again, let's talk about payment and so forth, don't slip away, join the fray, right in the middle of the opening performance at the Ajigawa Theatre, that's where men need to make their point.¹⁵

紺屋の仕事と俠者（おとこだて）の鬪（でいり）はとかくかたづけねば
おかずたとへば道具取ちらしたる座席へ客をみかけたるがごとしさあこ
い々皆の者ともふみかへしてくりゃうそふだんべいと一寸もひかぬとり
あひはあじ川芝居の顔みせ最中いずれ男のたていりぞかし

The passage is elliptical and a little nonsensical. But, by exploiting the *ateji* and homonyms, it yields another message:

Tonight's work and that punch-up with a group of ruffians, they both need finishing off; I mean, otherwise it's like having all the theatre props lying around and the audience sees everything. So everybody come along, come along, get your own back, let's talk about a few stubborn problems, don't give an inch, join the fray, right in the middle of the opening performance at Ajigawa Theatre, that's where men need to make their point.

¹⁵ *Ehon Wakakusayama.*



Fig. 4.6

Presented in the allusive, coded, riddle language that characterizes so many of these works, the passage appears to be an exhortation to settle old scores and to plan retribution. It is an

invitation to action. The battle at the theatre with

the samurai henchmen was clearly a microcosm of wider tensions: what was going on in the theatre in the first place is less clear, but the episode certainly did not mark an end.

In fact public places - the theatre, the tea houses of Shijō - functioned (according to the *kyōkun*) as nodal points of communicative action. An image in *Shimizu no ike* shows a man who has taken the tonsure and is living in rural retreat (fig.



Fig. 4.7

4.7). The commentary advises that turning your back on the world is to follow the path of lesser wisdom; the path of true wisdom and the greatest challenge (*taiken taishi*) is to reside in the bustle of the world, but to remain, in the midst of impurity, untainted; to retain ones inner purity (*shakuzen to shite*), while doing nothing to facilitate or enable the greed of others. What, after all, is ever going to accomplish on Mount Yoshino?¹⁶ This has

¹⁶ *Ehon Shimizu no ike.*

しかれどもそれは小賢小智の人のしわざなり大賢大智の人は市隠といふて市人の中にまじわりゐても人のために毛頭けがされず磨どもうするがずくりすれどもくろまずその胸中いつも釈然として人欲のため

strong overtones of Vimalakirti: yet *Shimizu no ike* was not about Buddhahood.



Fig. 4.8

The reference to living in the midst of the townsfolk or merchants (*shijin no naka*) emerges elsewhere: *Ehon Yamato nishiki* alludes to the possibilities of inconspicuous association afforded by *chaya* teahouses of *Shijō* (fig.4.8):

If you work for a courier service and you fail to show at one of the fifty-three post stations, chances are they'll notice you're missing; but sitting on a bench outside a *chaya* shooting the breeze down by *Shijō*, you can do business with a wide range of folk.¹⁷

This recalls the earlier counsel in *Ehon tôwa kagami* regarding over-extended *yaburi* absences.¹⁸ Here, it is the courier whose whereabouts is monitored, an allusion to the system of compulsory registration at each post station on the Tōkaidō legally reinforced by edicts such as that of 1711 (Shōtoku 1) and repeated throughout the 1740s.¹⁹ The passage celebrates the converse anonymity provided by recreational social sites: locations that remained invisible to the roving eye of authority.

うごかさねずさながらみよしののおくなりなんぞかならずしも山居
をこととせにや

¹⁷ *Ehon Yamato nishiki*.

五十三次引うけて自由をさせる飛脚問屋の居なしは大抵にみゆる筈也纒 (わずか) の床机をならべて涼風を売四条の水茶屋はまた手広ひあさなひ也。

¹⁸ See Chapter 3.

¹⁹ See Kyōto machibure kenkyūkai. ed., *Kyōto machibure shūsei*, vol. 1, pp. 191-92; and *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 97-9

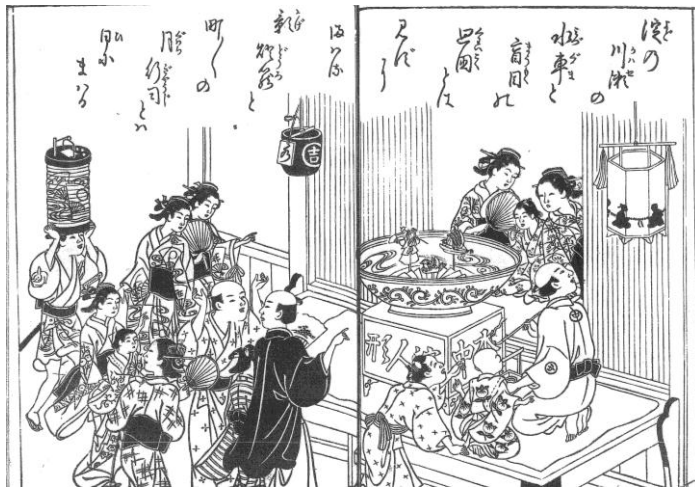


Fig. 4.9

The same point was reiterated a few pages later: ‘the waterwheel in the Yodo river and a blind man on a pilgrimage, both circle blindly; a shadow lamp and the local police, they circle (in) the light.’²⁰ The epigram was

illustrated by a group of commoners regarding a shadow lamp and some mechanical figures - a treasure ship, a mandarin duck and the Takasago deity - circulating on a wheel in a large basin of water - a water (*mizu*) *karakuri*. But the image was, at least in part, a foil for the text, which celebrated the blind eye of authority. Punning both on *mizu ni* (in water, and without seeing) and light (the light/candle around which the lantern turns, and daytime) it suggests that the authorities (*gachi gyōshi* were civil inspectors reporting to the *machi bugyō*) circulate without seeing, and only in daylight hours. Night afforded a cover under which other forms of business could be conducted. The silhouettes on the shadow lantern reveal two figures in earnest discussion: intrigue under cover of darkness.

Metaphors of Governmental Incompetence

²⁰ *Ehon Yamato nishiki*.

淀の川瀬の水車と盲目の回国とはみずにもわる影灯笼と町々の月行司〔がちぎょうし〕とは日にまわる。

Objections to bakufu rule went deeper than discontent at what was perceived to be regulatory folly. A number of episodes in these works suggest that the government had lost its remit to rule: it was not ready to learn from its lessons. The maxim opening the middle volume of *Ike no kokoro* (1739) counsels that remorse paves the way to self improvement: *ikutabi mo kôkai wo seba onozukara ashiki wo sarite yoshi ni narubeshi*. The image shows a forge: the master forger and his young apprentice are diligently hammering a blade into shape on a stone block (fig. 4.10). A third man approaches at a run, his long-handled mallet raised, ready to bring down on the blade: his face is set in an expression of boorish violence. Imminent disaster appears inevitable. The master forger wears an expression of resignation:

clearly, this happens regularly but the man never learns.

Ike no kokoro was the work published after *Shimizu no ike* showcasing the dredgers as an example of (governmental) indecision. It seems reasonable to read the trope of the forger who refuses to learn the skill of temperance as an allegory of heavy-handed, unreflective government.

Fig. 4.10



For the intended reader - a postulate to which we shall return - the *kyôkun* constituted a veritable anti-bakufu manifesto. *Ehon miyako sôshi* 絵本都草紙 (1746) - with a preface by one Yoshikawa Sanji 吉川三治 - has an image of a group of blind

biwa zōshi leaving a residence where they have been performing (fig. 4.11).²¹ The accompanying text reads:

This is like a bunch of guys living in darkness (moving up in the world), seeking the cool after the brilliance of the stage: after an act of the Heike, caught up in the flow of their own recitation, they just have to get out of the heat.²²

In the image, the sightless men ushered out of the doorway hopelessly seek to reorient themselves. A group of

chōnin observe them, pleased: a dog snarls. The blind musicians have performed (re-enacted) the first section of the Tale of the Heike - the initial account of Taira autocracy. The text suggests they now

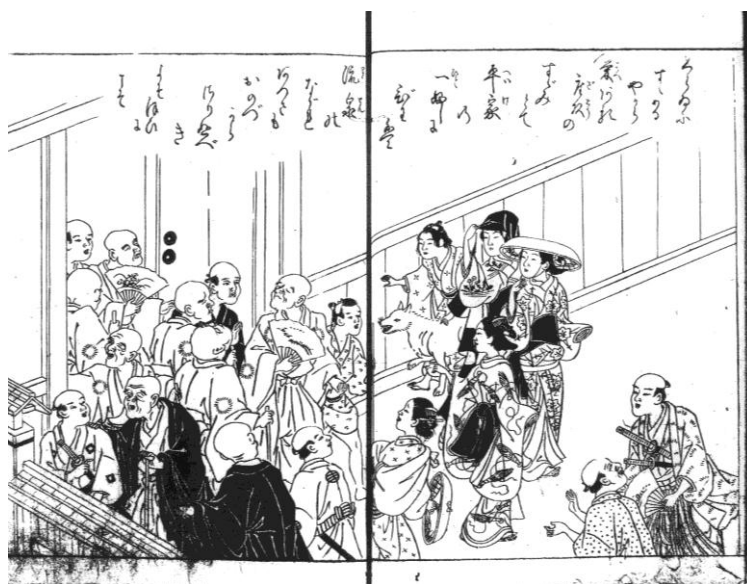


Fig. 4.11

leave of their own accord. The Heike were destroyed as a result of their misjudged usurpation of the imperial prerogative. The Tokugawa usurpers, equally blind to their own folly and enactors of the same story of arrogant misrule, should leave peaceably.²³

²¹ The *Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku* lists no other works for Yoshikawa Sanji, whose identity remains obscure.

²² Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Ehon miyako sōshi*, 1746, British Library, London.

くらゐにすすめるやから榮えある座頭のすずみとて平家の一節にびわは流泉のながれ
あつさもおのずからさりぬべきよそほひにこそ

²³ The concept of usurpation was clearly on the contemporary mind. Most often it was discussed allusively in terms of Yoritomo's theft of the realm. Keisai elaborated on the implications of usurpation for the vassal, noting that there were those who could be robbed of their house and thereafter serve the thief as their master, but the correct course of action was to abstain from such service: and he cited the

Blindness and bad government are tropes that recur. In *Ehon hime komatsu* 絵本 姫小松 (1742), a warrior stands poised to fire an arrow, presumably in the course of training. But a curtain obscures his vision to the left. From behind the curtain emerges another warrior (with chrysanthemums on his garments) bearing a missive: he notices the archer's folly with alarm, just in time to halt his unwitting advance into the line of fire. The image has a header: "Examples of dangerous things" - *ayauki tei* – and the text reads:

A *biwa hōshi* on a blind horse on a dark night without so much as a pair of reins, heading in the direction of a steep precipice: this might seem like a risky situation. Worse still is a person with no idea of the direction they're headed, no principles, no knowledge, but a lot of money and prestige: a smartarse, and proud to boot, this is a truly dismal sight.²⁴

The characterization of the bakufu as misguided, arrogant, and deluded had been introduced much earlier in *Onchiseiyō hoyoku* but it becomes a regular trope of the *kyōkun*. Another image (from the same work), with the header "An example of suffering" – *kurushiki tei* – shows a man and a woman skilfully handling complex milling machinery (the woman's kimono has the chrysanthemum design) (fig. 4.12).

The text reads:

model of the scholar and philosopher Liu Yin (1249-93) who famously observed that to serve an illegitimate regime, was to dishonour the Way. In "Satsuroku", Nishi Junzō ed., *Yamazaki Ansai gakuha*, pp. 354-5 (Tokyo Iwanami Shoten 1980). For Liu Yin, see Igor de Rachewiltz, *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200-1300)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz; 1993).

²⁴ *Ehon hime komatsu* is reproduced in Kansai Daigaku Toshokan ed., *Nishikawa Sukenobu shū*, vol. 1 (Suita: Kansai Daigaku Shuppanbu; 1998).

闇の夜にびわ法師のめぐら馬（むま）の手縄（たずな）ひかえてくちとりもなくふかき淵のかたへのりゆくいとあやうしとみゆれどもそれよりいやましたるは道なき富さかへものしらぬもののかしこだてきてはおごる人こそみるめもいたくうたてけれ

A bird with wings flies, a fish with fins swims, each has his own particular talent. But if you try your hand at something you're not cut out for, you won't succeed and you'll get into trouble. A little talent can lead to a big disaster - and a lot of suffering.

Mired in the cleverness of your own heart, knowing no better: listen to the sobbing (of the world)²⁵

The *kurushii* of the header, it emerges, refers not to the sweat of labour (as an initial glance at the image might lead one to suppose) but to the sight of people with no talent engaging in work ill-suited to their competency. Competency, in the terms of the image, was firmly on the side of commoners.

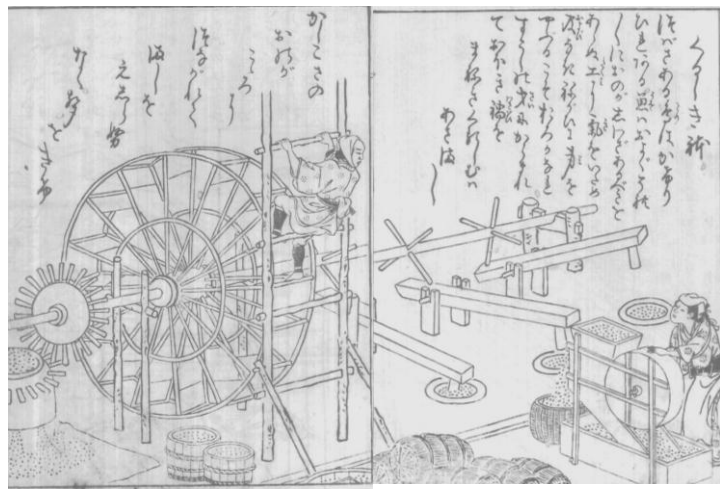


Fig. 4.12

This was, again, a subject that had been amply treated in *Onshiseiyô hoyoku*.

But mired in the cleverness of its own heart, the bakufu showed no sign of leaving peaceably. An image in *Shimizu no ike* shows an owl perched on a branch, surrounded by aggressively cawing crows (fig. 4.13). The maxim reads: you think you look the same as others (same nose, same eyes and mouth) but they all think you look

²⁵Ibid.

翼ある鳥はかけりひれある魚はおよぐそれ々におのがしわざあるべきをあらぬ工（たくみ）に気をいため及なきねがひに身をやぶるこそおろかなれすこしの才にからまれておほき禍をまねきくるしむはあさまし
かしこさのおのがこころにつながれてましをえしらぬなく声をきけ

odd.²⁶ The owl in the image clearly thinks it looks like a crow: but the crows, for their part, are intent on forcing its departure. The commentary develops the bestial metaphor:

an ambitious and unrighteous person, devoid of basic courtesy, may look like a person on the outside, but his heart is that of a horse or a cow or a dog or a cat, he shouldn't be called a human at all, he's just a beast in human skin, he should be ashamed.²⁷

The preface to *Hime komatsu* invoked the same trope: “a person may have eyes a nose and a mouth, he can look pretty normal but still be offensive.”²⁸ But these metaphors of bestiality surface only rarely in the iconography itself.

For perhaps the most profoundly subversive element of the *ehon* enterprise was the fact that its visual rhetoric was so deeply embedded in the familiar and the commonplace.

Through a web of contemporary allusions and the systematic use of the language of crests, it transformed the ordinary into a radically political signifier. And this, too, was acknowledged in the preface to *Hime komatsu*:

If people looking at these works decipher them clumsily and miss the point of the patterns and designs, then they criticise. That's a shame, but there is always a degree of subtlety in the humour of the learned. Yet to see this ugliness and



Fig. 4.13

²⁶ *Ehon Shimizu no ike* 目口鼻われある鼻（かほ）に思へども人はおかしく思ひぬる物を

²⁷ *Ehon Shimizu no ike*.

tonyoku futô ni shite reigi wo shirazaru mono wa katachi wa hito no yô nareba kokoro wa uma ushi inu neko ni hitoshi sara ni hito to ifubekarazu tada hito no kawa wo kaburitaru kedamono nari sono haji wo shirubeshi

²⁸ Preface transcribed in Matsudaira Susumu ed., *Moronobu Sukenobu ehon shoshi*, pp. 192-3

(Musashimurayama: Seishodô; 1988). 目も鼻も口もひとつ々々よくておしたてのわろき人もあり

simply tolerate it is not acceptable, thus finally I've consigned my drawings to the catalpa block.²⁹

いづらやいづら見ん人々の撰ぶつたなく模様をあやまりてあたらぬ事を
あざけり給わむはまことにこころうけれどももとよりはかせのあらひは
おもひもふしことなれ唯に見にくきをしのびつつまんもよしなしとて終
に物して梓に寿く。

Covert expressions of resistance, the allegories of the *ehon* were not necessarily understood by all. Yet even misapprehended, they remained the enduring testimony of political integrity of the loyal vassal.

Political Metaphors of Conjugal Devotion

The converse of this vitriolic rejection of the *buke* was passionate devotion to an absent lord - *kimi*. An image in *Wakakusayama* depicts a group of townspeople – a family – visiting a temple (fig. 4.14). The male servant bears the child on his shoulders.

Hanging from the temple eaves is a votive plaque or *ema* of a horse. The horse stands between two crests, linked by an inscription (which reads *go hôzen wo kaketatematsuri* 奉掛御宝前). A samurai (with two swords) looks up at the image and scratches his head, perplexed; the father, by contrast, turns back to his family as if to alert them to the significance of the image. The text reads:

The two crests on the dedicatory image (*ema*): they're about passion. But to put the parallel lines of the *komochi-suji* design used in wedding robes, together

²⁹ Ibid., p. 193.

with two husband and wife *mon* on the image, you can't say it more brazenly.

But they just think its commonplace, they don't suspect a thing.³⁰

The child on the servant's shoulders wears the *komochi-suji* design on its robe - thick horizontal stripes; the two crests on the *ema* likewise symbolize conjugal devotion.



Yet there appears to be more

to this expression of conjugal love

than meets the eye: of deep significance to

the commoners, it perplexes the samurai, whose confusion becomes an object of derision.

Fig. 4.14

Ehon Wakakusayama was a work produced in collaboration with Mizumoto Shinzô, known as a writer of children's stories. Under his real name, Nakamura Ranrin, he published a number of works on topics such as Chinese historiography and its Japanese reception. An example is *Kôshû yohitsu* 講習余筆 "Lectures and Other Writings" of 1747, an ostensibly scholarly tract which, within a couple of lines of its conclusion, presents the following observation:

Intercourse between man and woman is the true way of humanity. Thus it is written in the commentary to the Sheng Min section of the Da Ya (Major Odes

³⁰ *Ehon Wakakusayama*

堂宮に掛け奉る御宝前の二文はさりとは熟なこととみゆればわけて子持筋におしだして夫婦の紋所はこれほどあつかましいせんぎはなけれどありふれたこととて人もあやしまず *dômiya ni kaketatematsuru go hôzen no futatsumon saritowa netsu na koto to miyureba wakete komochi suji ni oshidashite fûfu no mondokoro wa kore hodo atsukamashii sengi wa nakeredo arifureta koto to hito mo ayashimazu*

of the Kingdom). Likewise, Kong Yingda (574-648) notes that the way of humanity is the way of sexual intercourse. This is an ancient transmission.³¹ Ranrin's meaning, camouflaged by a welter of references, is inherently ambiguous. The love songs of the Book of Odes were construed from an early date as allegorical expressions of political sentiment. Meanwhile, the conjugal trope had emerged in Sukenobu's *Shimizu no ike* as a political metaphor;³² it had also been acknowledged as a political metaphor in the work of Asami Keisai, and, more recently, his disciple Wakabayashi Kyôsei.³³ The emphatic positioning of the allusion to intercourse in *Kôshû yohitsu* is odd, given that this is a work of political historiography. A few pages earlier in the work, Ranrin had discussed the subject of reason of state (*raison d'état*), which, through his sources, he considered to obtain "when the poor people have nowhere to rest: when the people have something they hate".³⁴ In the context of the times; when rural communities were experiencing massive hardship, this was no academic platitude. Moreover, the same work ends on an equally enigmatic note, a brief allusion to the Chinese term "*hôfuku*" 捧腹 meaning to hold one's sides laughing: but *hôfuku* has a homonym- 報復- meaning retaliation, retribution.³⁵

If conjugal tropes appear to carry metaphorical meanings, so, too, do tropes of romantic love. *Ehon makuzugahara* 絵本眞葛腹 (1741) for example, reads as one long lament for an absent *kimi*. The work presents itself as a traditional poetry contest on the theme of insects (disguised within the poems as homonyms, a technique known as

³¹ Nakamura Ranrin, "Kôshû yohitsu", in Mori Senzô and Kitagawa Hirokuni eds., *Zoku Nihon zuihitsu taisei: I*, vol. 1, p. 72 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan; 1979).

³² See Chapter 3.

³³ See Chapter 1.

³⁴ Nakamura Ranrin, "Kôshû yohitsu", p. 60.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 73. 極メテ笑フニタヘカネルヲ捧腹ト云。コノ文字日者伝ニ出タリ。

kakuredai); and each poem is illustrated. The first poem of the left, on the topic of the butterfly, is typical:

恋すてふうき名立とも年さかる花のくちびる吸やとらまじ

they say it's in love (*koisu chô*), the butterfly: but although it can press its lips to flower in full bloom, it cannot pluck it.³⁶

The same trope of the thwarted or unconsummated love of a butterfly appears in a work of the previous year (1740), *Ehon chitoseyama* 絵本千年山 (fig. 4.15):

花はあれどおどろの枝のつれなさやあそぶ胡蝶の露もすい得ず

The flower, there, in full bloom: yet the heartless thorn prevents the butterfly from sipping its dewy nectar.³⁷



Fig. 4.15

Here, the poem is preceded by an observation on the pain of separation and self-alienation: A cuckoo brought up in a nightingale's nest cries for its own blood; a plum grafted on a twig blossoms but faintly; each knows the pain of the

adopted child. Unless you can tolerate the pain, you cannot continue.³⁸

The use of the tropes of adoption and grafting to articulate feelings of alienation is significant. The silvicultural metaphor of grafting (as opposed to raising from seed)

³⁶ *Ehon Makuzugahara*.

³⁷ *Ehon Chitoseyama*.

³⁸ *Ehon Chitoseyama*

うぐいすの巢にそだてられし時鳥 (ほととぎす) は血に泣接木の梅のいたみ咲はそこ色悪いずれ養子の身の艱難きわめて堪忍つよき人ならでは次がたし

was frequently invoked by Kimon scholars to describe the non-agnatic adoptive relationship, considered a travesty of familial bonds.³⁹ The parent-child relationship was also a staple analogy in early-modern discourse of the relationship between ruler and people. Adoption, in such a context, becomes a metaphor of disruption. Here, the tropes of adoption/grafting are preceded by a poem on the subject of thwarted love. The butterfly is prevented from reaching the flower by the thorns that surround it (as per the illustration), the parent has been displaced and the child consigned to the care of a foster parent; the plum, grafted onto another tree, blooms but faintly. Given the declared scope and function of metaphor in Keisai's *Seiken igen kôgi* - which endorsed the use of tropes taken from nature and from the realm of affect to describe devotion to one's lord - there is a strong case for reading these passages as covert allusions to the troubled landscape of imperial loyalist devotion.⁴⁰ The passionate conclusion: *kannin tsuyoki hito narade tsuzuk gatashi* – the situation is hard to endure unless you have deep powers of forbearance - likewise invokes the Suika premise that human life itself is unliveable when the master-vassal relationship is disrupted.

Thwarted love and the lament for an absent lover are themes repeated time and again in *Makuzugahara*. Tropes of absence: “*au koto naku*” (unable to meet) *au tanomi naku*” (with no hope of meeting) are recurrent. Equally insistent are expressions of unending loyalty to an estranged lover:

I would sleep even in hollow beneath these trees on Okuyama, if I heard my lord
was here

³⁹ See I. J. McMullen, "Non-Agnatic Adoption: A Confucian Controversy in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Japan", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 35, 1975, pp. 153-4 and note. Keisai uses the grafting trope in his “Jinsetsu mondô shisetsu” in Nishi Junzô ed., *Yamazaki Ansai gakuha*, pp. 299-300.

⁴⁰ For *Seiken igen kôgi* see Chapter 1.

奥山の枝木のほらにねもしなむわが思う君のありと聞なば

The poem is accompanied by the commentary:

The phrase ‘Should someone tell me the one I love is here’: what bond can it be that binds the poet thus to his beloved? this phrase affects us deeply?

我思ふ君のありと聞なばといひおふせたる何のえん又たぐいなくあわれに聞え⁴¹

But the *kimi* of these poems is not only unreachable: he is out of bounds, as suggested by the following poem on the subject of wasp - *abu* (fig. 4.16):

君すまい虎ふす野べもわけなましあふなくおもふ心ならねは

Even if the one I loved lived in a plain where tigers trod, I would still approach: but unable to meet, I am desolate.

Fig. 4.16

Here, *au* is a homonym for *abu* (wasp) and a pivot word for *abunaku* (danger), the sense of which hangs over the poem. The wasp reference is repeated in the illustration, in which a young boy is watering peonies in a



flowerbed, watched by an elderly man who calls out to him to beware, for wasps hover close by. The young boy is undaunted. But the slightly incongruous allusion in the poem to the tiger is emphasized by the fact that the tiger so deliberately replaces the

⁴¹ The poem and its commentary are from the second round of the fictional poetry competition that constitutes *Ehon Makuzugahara*.

deer which conventionally roam through the plains; for example, in the following poem by Saigyô from the *Sankashû*:

絲すゝきぬはれてしかのふす野べにほころびやすき藤袴かな

Plume grasses spread like purple skirts, so easily torn and trampled by the deer
that roam the meadows

This deliberate substitution (at the expense of poetic sense, for tigers did not roam the plains of Japan) is intended to evoke a sense of danger - itself not a conventional poetic trope. The tiger prevents the lover from seeing his beloved, like the thorns around the flower, and the battlements around the imperial palace. It is a metaphor - one that will recur - for the bakufu.

The Consequences of Thwarted Love

The poems of *Makuzugahara* read consistently as circuitous expressions of forbidden love. But the intentional concealment or duplicity of this work is signalled both by the *kakuredai* theme around which it is organised, and the term *mushi* - insect - which is a homonym of both undying (like the imperial line) and unseen (無視). The preface draws attention to the pun, where *mushi* pivots both the sense of insect and (as *mushidomo* - the various insects) “although you are not seen”:

もとより思ひの露ふかき草の庵に住みせし虫どもみな々々あはれがりて
我も々々とおもひの声を歌にあらはしけること

This love, which dates back to the very beginning, towards the insect (unseen) which lives in the dew-laden grass hut, although it cannot be seen, everyone holds it in pity, and expresses their love in these songs.⁴²

The preface - like many - suggests a sense of communal endeavour (*minamina awaregarite*) - of popular support for the cause. This is echoed elsewhere. The middle volume of *Ehon miyako sôshi* opens with an image of women switching wardrobes: new summer clothes are lifted from the *tansu*, spring ones

Fig. 4.17

folded and returned (fig. 4.17). The text reads:

Though we put on new summer robes, memories of spring linger in the folds of old ones, still speckled with the snow of fallen cherry. So the poem says, but with today's change(s) the capital is particularly vibrant, lets dazzle them in the provinces with our display of colour.⁴³



The term *utsuri*, which ostensibly refers to the exchange of clothes, can also mean contemporary events (*jijô*). The vibrancy of the capital suggests not simply the splash of summer colour, but a mood of political optimism.

This is significant: for there are, within these works, indications of possible insurgency. *Wakakusayama*, for example, depicts a *hinagata* (doll festival) celebration (fig. 4.18). The text reads:

⁴² Preface transcribed in Matsudaira Susumu ed., *Moronobu Sukenobu ehon shoshi*, p. 185.

⁴³ *Ehon miyako sôshi*.

ちる花の雪をたためるなつ衣かへても春のなごりやはありとよみ給ひしもけふのうつりにて都はことにはな々々しき衣がへのめずらかき鄙人にみせたくこそ。

Peach blossom and dolls; pretty girls' games familiar to every young bride. But soon these become the deep bonds of the well crib. Armed robbery doesn't start from being a boor; it starts from the non-boorish bond set up during the drifting drinks ceremony, it's as inseparable as steamed rice in cakes, and just as good. It's the deep secret of Japanese song (*yamato uta*).⁴⁴

Fig. 4.18

Here, childish games become lovers' vows; and armed robbery, the text implies, is a consequence not of intrinsic violence, but of desperation fuelled by love. Indeed,



celebration of the doll festival (*hinagata* or *momo no sekku*) by townsfolk was in itself a recent phenomenon, associated with loyalist nostalgia.⁴⁵ The *Kyôto machibugyô*, meanwhile, had been issuing laws restricting the size of dolls (figures of the emperor, empress and court nobles), the number of platforms provided to display them, and bats (*hagoita*) since the Genroku period; the Kyôhō period saw several reiterations of such

⁴⁴ *Ehon Wakakusayama*.

桃花 (もものはな) のいたひけな雛 (ひいな) あそびも嫁入ごとのじゃらくらがやがて筒井つつのふかい中と也強盗 (がんだう) のはじまりはやぼならぬ曲水の匂にむすびうれしくみそに蒸 (むともじ) のはなれぬうまみこそ和歌 (やまとうた) の秘密なるべし。

⁴⁵ Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, "In Name Only: Imperial Sovereignty in Early Modern Japan", *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 17, 1991, p. 30.

laws.⁴⁶ The trope of the well-crib, meanwhile, had been introduced in *Ehon hime komatsu*, and it is useful to examine its elaboration in this work before returning to the *hinagata* vignette of *Wakakusayama*.

In *Hime komatsu*, the well-crib was introduced under the heading “An example of precociousness” *komashakuretaru tei*:

Taller, now, than the well-crib, this while we haven’t met - the well-crib we used to measure ourselves against...this is a precocious thing to say, isn’t it?



Fig. 4.19

That young Osome and the servant Hisamatsu, their love began when she was just seven or eight years old, they’d cast furtive glances all about, a bit too clever for a young girl, no? Young girls need bringing up strictly.⁴⁷

⁴⁶See, for example, two laws issued in 1721 (Kyôhō 6): Kyôto machibure kenkyûkai. ed., *Kyôto machibure shûsei*, vol.1, p. 349.

⁴⁷ *Ehon himekomatsu*.

筒井筒いつつにかけしまろがたけおいにけらしなみみざるまにとはこましゃくれたるさまならずや染といひし処女 (むすめ) のめしつかふ久松といふものに忍びかたらひけるも七八歳 (ななつやつ) よりうしろまへみてごごかしきふり袖にや有けん女の子はわけてきびしくをしへそだつべき事也 *Tsustui tsutsuitsutsu ni kakeshi maro ga take no*

The image shows two children performing what appears to be the Nô play *Itsutsu* (The Well Crib) (fig. 4.19). The occasion, to judge from postings on the outside of the theatre entrance, is linked to a children's festival (*kodomo matsuri*); an audience of commoners looks on appreciatively. But also affixed to the outer wall of the theatre are advertisements for jôruri performances of *Osome and Hisamatsu* – referring presumably to some version of the play by Ki no Kaion, first performed in 1710 five years after the couple had died.⁴⁸ It is to be recited at the Takemoto-za by the *tayû* Miyakoji Bungonojô 宮古路豊後掾.

The overt allusion to both the play and the name of the *tayû* is of interest. Performances of love suicides plays had been outlawed in 1723. During the 1740s (*Ehon hime komatsu* was published in 1742), the bakufu issued numerous injunctions prohibiting the performance of Kamigata jôruri; it specifically prohibited billboards advertising the name of the chanter (*tayû*).⁴⁹ Bungonojô, a pupil of Miyako Ichû 都一中, was renowned (in both Edo and Kamigata) for his performances of love suicides.⁵⁰ The image deliberately cocks a snook at Bakufu authority. But, perhaps more significantly, both image and text underscore the connection between *Itsutsu* and *Osome and Hisamatsu*; and the connection is eloquent. The former is a tale of consensual love leading to marriage; the second is a tale of thwarted love, leading to disaster. The text can be presented either as a criticism of *Itsutsu* on grounds that it precociously awakens thoughts of love, leading to illicit sexual liaisons; or, as a demonstration of what

oi ni kerashi na imo mizaru mani to wa komashakuretaru sama narazu ya Some to iishi musume meshitsukau Hisamatsu to iu mono ni shinobi katarikeru mo nanatsuyatsu yori ushiromae mite kozakashiki furisode ni ya ariken onna no ko wa wakete kibishiku oshiesodatsubeki koto naru

⁴⁸ For the play, see *Osome Hisamatsu tamoto no shiroshibori* in Yokoyama Tadashi ed., *Jôjurishû* (Tokyo: Shôgakkan; 1971).

⁴⁹ For example, in 1721. See Kyôto machibure kenkyûkai. ed., *Kyôto machibure shûsei*, vol. 1, p. 400.

⁵⁰ According to *Nihon jinmei daijiten* at JapanKnowledge.

happens when blossoming love (*Itsutsu*) is forced underground and affection required to assume the mantle of secrecy, fear, and suspicion.

As a political allegory, consensual love needs little explanation. Here, however, it is specifically contrasted with love suicide. Sankinshi had also had occasion to discuss love suicide (*shinjû*). In his *Zokugenkaishaku* 俗諺解釈 - a manuscript not published until 1820 (Bunsei 3) - he developed the meaning of the term “outsider” *ingai no koto* 員外が事:

Human beings exist by heavenly will. But if a hundred or a thousand people become outsiders (*ingai ga yô ni*) it becomes unendurable. Because of this, they can expect no happiness/good fortune. If you reach a situation where a hundred people are made outsiders, they will either strangle themselves or drown themselves; denied the supreme happiness (*taikô ni awazu shite*), they forfeit their whole life (*ichigo wo ayamaru*). In the world at large, men and women, ashamed of their love and unable to go any further, stab each other and die. This is called love suicide (*shinjû*). Faced with a situation where they have to die, to live would be to live as an outsider. And because they yearned for happiness, they surely die laden with regret.⁵¹

Sankinshi’s typically elliptical statement discussed love suicide in the context of outsiderdom: outsiderdom on a large scale, for he talks of hundreds of outsiders. He is talking about politics. Terms such as *shinbô nashi* - unendurable - recall Keisai’s (and

⁵¹ Cited in Wada Mitsuhiro, "Nakamura Sankinshi no kyôhō-ki ôraimono ni tsuite", *Doshisha daigaku human security kenkyu senta ichinen-po*, vol. 5, 2008, p. 6.

人間なる者は皆此天運備はる。しかし百千人共に員外がやうに辛抱なし。夫故幸運を待うけず。百人共に員外が如き場に至れば、必ず縊首(クビクタル)か身を溺(ナゲル)かして、彼大幸にあはずして一期をあやまる。俗間に男女の色に恥り其道ゆきつまりて男女つき違へて死す。是を心中となつく。死なねばならぬ所を答へて生きるは皆員外の如き幸運にあるべきに惜むべし

Kyôsei's) language of political despair. Love suicide is invoked as an analogy of the inevitable result of the unbearability of outsiderdom. It is invoked as a metaphor of political desperation (*mi wo nageru* - to throw one's life away, written with the character to drown, recalls once again Qu Yuan's suicide, the canonical trope of political love).

This suggests that love suicide was being requisitioned as a political trope: a symbol of the desperate action a man or woman might be forced to take if consensual love were thwarted.⁵² Consensual love, meanwhile, was rooted in the conjugal bond (*en musubi*) (symbolized by the *hina matsuri* festival) and the exchange of meandering water (*kyokusui*) poems also associated with that festival. The meandering waters (*kyokusui*) were in turn associated with the peach blossom waters of the Orchard Pavilion, where the poem game originated. Those waters were widely celebrated in poetry: for example, the poem in the *Wakan rôeishû* by Wang Wei:

When spring arrives, everywhere are peach blossom waters;

No longer can one distinguish the route to the immortal source.⁵³

Peach blossom waters, that is, emerge from an immortal source. In the *Wakakusayama* text, the marital yoke is associated with the same peach waters whose immortal source is now lost in time. This has strong echoes of the primordial bond between sovereign and subject in Suika thought: the inseparability of the two, subsequently expressed in the more grounded culinary metaphor of the rice dumpling in miso soup.

⁵² In 1720, Sukenobu had published an erotic work which named each of its chapters after a recent love suicide. See Chapter 7.

⁵³ Translated in J. Thomas Rimer and Jonathan Chaves, *Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing: The Wakan rôei shû*, p. 38 (New York: Columbia University Press; 1997).

For Love and Money

These works are elliptical, allusive, riddle-like: meaning masquerades as triviality. But they clearly assumed the sympathies of their audience. A maxim in *Ike no kokoro* asks where the gods are to reside if not in the heads of the righteous.⁵⁴ The image shows townsmen and women at a Shinto shrine; one man raises his eyes heavenward and holds out his hand as if in expectation of some palpable signal of divine grace. These are the common folk - like the family visiting the shrine in *Ehon Wakakusayama* - representative of the tacit loyalties of the city. Another image in *Ehon miyako sôshi* invokes the community of merchants (fig. 4.20):

Buying cheap and selling dear, that's what the Chinese do too. Anyway, if a home prospers, it's a sign the gods are pleased. Put that into words, wild words: in the empty vows of *chônin* and on their deceitful heads, therein abide the gods.⁵⁵

The image shows *chônin* gathered at a shrine, purchasing prayer tokens and engaging in the rituals of popular Shintô: it appears to be a celebration of the devotional heart of townsmen. Yet the text alludes unmistakably to financial



Fig. 4.20

unscrupulousness. It invokes a pejorative merchant stereotype, but it applauds it.

⁵⁴*Ehon ike no kokoro.* 正直のかうべなければ神達のやどる所のすくなからむ。

⁵⁵*Ehon miyako sôshi.*

賤 (やすしき) に買ふて貴 (たかき) にうるとはもろこし人もかきのせてといひ
かくいひても家富さかふるこそ神もうれしとおぼしめすらめされば其こころを狂詠
(きょうえい) にも商人の虚誓 (そらせい) 文やいつはりの頭 (かふべ) やどる神と
なりけり

This allusion to financial waywardness appears to exceed conventional discourses on *chônin* morality. But money, in fact, occupies an important place in the allusive narratives constructed through these works. In *Shimizu no ike*, for example, a maxim relating the rewards of the righteous (the honest-hearted man will reap the blessings of the gods)⁵⁶ is fully endorsed in the commentary which declares “there can be no doubt but that the gods and Buddha will oversee the fate of an honest heart”.⁵⁷ The image, however, shows the lucky god Daigoku visiting a sleeping townsman, having deposited a pile of money beside him. The message appears to be riches for the righteous. *Chitoseyama* closes with an image of a New Year’s gathering in a town house, with a *jôruri* chanter, a shamisen player, and guests (fig. 4.21). A man dressed in a hakama kneels before the household altar which bears a tray with traditional Shinto prayer offerings; and, more unusually, a gold coin. The text reads:

How about, say, a guest arrives who you would like to treat to a feast and suddenly someone sends round a dish of food; or a girl you asked to marry you but who refused, suddenly catches smallpox; or on the last day of the month you suddenly get a whole load

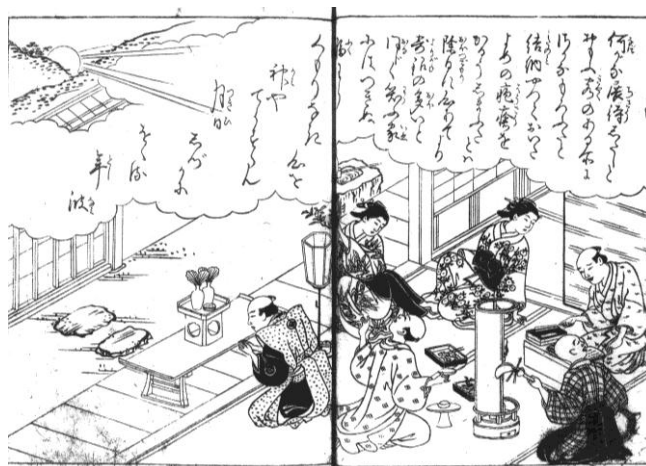


Fig. 4.21

⁵⁶ *Ehon Shimizu no ike.* 正直の心を人のもつならば神やほとけのめぐみあるべし
⁵⁷ *Ehon Shimizu no ike.* 正直の心神明仏陀の冥慮にかなふ事うたがひあるべからず

of money, there is endless fortune for a house where there is laughter. Let the gods illumine the cloudless heart and the days and months pass peacefully.⁵⁸

The repeated assimilation of virtue and money strikes an odd note at a time when there were significant efforts being made on the part of scholars to absolve townsmen, and merchants in particular, of accusations of greed.⁵⁹ Yet there are indications that money, as invoked in the *kyōkun*, was money for a cause: funding.

Take, for example, one of the final pages of *Wakakusayama* (fig. 4.22). The text reads:

Just like the mountain of money is the light of Gotō, which has shone through generations of his family; the gods are present even in his cupboard of promise (*hikari nandō*) what an auspicious Ebisu festival! But this is the clearing-up of oaths time, and so however cheap he sells it, the gods should get rid of suspicions on honest Saburō.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ *Ehon Chitoseyama*.

何かな馳走したしとおもふ客のある所にさかなもろふたと結納（たのみ）やっておいたよめの痘瘡をからうしまふたとは除日（おほつごもり）に心あてより寄金（よりがね）の多いと同じく笑ふ家にはつきぬ福わらくもりなき心を神やてらすらん月日しずかにおくる年波

⁵⁹ For example, Ishida Baigan. See, Takemura Eiji, *The Perception of Work in Tokugawa Japan: A Study of Ishida Baigan and Ninomiya Sontoku* (Lanham: University Press of America; 1997). It is within this context of redemption that Najita locates early humanist thought: see Tetsuo Najita, *Visions of Virtue in Tokugawa Japan: The Kaitokudō, Merchant Academy of Osaka* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; 1987).

⁶⁰ *Ehon Wakakusayama*.

金銀山のごとくありどほしの家には後藤の光納戸にこそ神さへいとどふくぶくしきえびす講但し是を一年中のせいもんばらいとなずけしはいかほどうすをうりけん神は正直三郎殿の御不信やたるべき

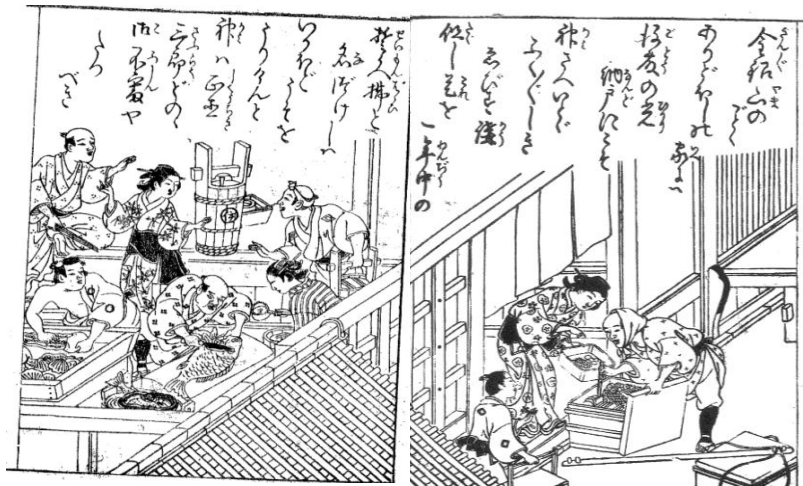


Fig. 4.22

The Ebisu festival was a merchant festival celebrated on the twentieth day of the tenth month: the image depicts preparations in the kitchen of a restaurant for a celebratory feast. But in Kyoto, the festival was accompanied by a ceremony known as the clearing of oaths, when merchants would make their way to the Kanjaden 冠者殿, east of Shijō Kawara Teramachi, and petition the gods to spare them retribution for their deceptions over the course of the year.

Here, the author petitions the gods on behalf of Gotō Saburō. The allusion to the Gotō family, and Gotō Shōsaburō 後藤庄三郎 (or *Shōjikisaburō* 正直三郎) in particular, is one of the most startling indications in these texts both of their implicit confidence in the sympathies of their audience and in their ability to circulate incognito. Since the end of the sixteenth century, the Gotō family, as *yōdachi chōnin* 用達町人 or townsmen by appointment to the *bakufu*, had been in charge of Kinza, which had unique responsibility for the minting of gold coins. In 1595, Gotō Shōsaburō had been instructed by Tokugawa Ieyasu to open the Edo quarters of Kinza and six years later he established the Kyoto branch. A scion of the Gotō family was also active in Ginza, the

silver mint, run similarly by a group of hereditary families by bakufu appointment.⁶¹

Although the function of the two mints was identical, their structures were different: for while Kinza was responsible for both the administrative and technical sides of its operations, at Ginza, the silver smelting *-fukusho-* operation was run separately, on a hereditary basis, by Daikoku Jôse, who branded the coins with a small image of the lucky god Daikoku.⁶²

In 1714 (Shôtoku 4) a number of Ginza elders had been dismissed from office on grounds of corruption. The Confucian scholar Muro Kyûsô speculated that Gotô Shirôsaburô - one of the elders at the time - had only escaped indictment thanks to his connections with the court regent (*kanpaku*), Konoe Motohiro.⁶³ Rumours of corruption resurfaced in the Genbun period (1736-41) in connection with the reminting of debased Genroku and Kyôhō currencies. This operation, conducted over just three years (1736-39) involving the reminting of some 333,098 *kanme*.⁶⁴ The profits accruing to the mints and to Jôse (in the form of fees) were vast. Sensing some form of impropriety, the bakufu had demanded to see the relevant accounts, but presumably it discovered nothing untoward, for no charges were laid. In 1750 (Kan'ei 3) however, there was a shortfall in Ginza payments to the bakufu of over 3,960 *kanme* and a shortfall in gold payments of 66,000 *ryô*.⁶⁵ This triggered an intensive bakufu investigation which revealed that the deficit had been accruing since the beginning of the Genbun period.⁶⁶ For the duration of the investigation, the seventh generation head of Kinza, Gotô

⁶¹ Ginza had originally been established in Fushimi, but it moved to Kyoto in 1608, while the Sunpu Ginza had moved to Edo in 1612.

⁶² Taya Hirokichi, *Kinsei ginza no kenkyû*, pp. 1-27 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan 1963).

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

Shôsaburô Mitsushina 光品, was relieved of his Kinza responsibilities, which were temporarily vested in the person of Jôse. Once more, there were no charges: but the elders were instructed to make good the deficit from their own pockets. There was, however, a spate of references to the incident in pamphlets: it was a matter of public knowledge.⁶⁷

A similar deficit emerged towards the end of the Kansei era. In 1800, Daigoku Chôsaemon Jôbo 長左衛門常房 would be charged with corruption and the hereditary post withdrawn from the family.⁶⁸ Scandal followed at Kinza: in 1810, Mitsushina's grandson, Mitsukane 光包 was dismissed from Kinza and exiled on allegations of the misappropriation of funds, and the hereditary office withdrawn from the family. In 1845, the thirteenth-generation incumbent Gotô Saeemon Mitsutoshi 光亨 would be found guilty not only of financial misappropriation but of outspoken criticism of the bakufu, and executed.⁶⁹

Given the suspicion of malfeasance that overshadows Kinza history of the Genbun era, the allusion in this *ehon* of 1745 to financial fiddling (*ikahodo uso wo uriken*) is significant. Reminting had historically (during the Shôtoku and Kanbun periods) provided bankers with a margin of error to siphon off money with relative invisibility. The text appears to imply that Gotô Shôsaburô Shôsaburô (*hikari*, of *hikari nandô* alludes to his given name Mitsushina - it also suggests glimmering gold; *nandô*, closet, was also the term for the bakufu treasury operation) is exploiting his privileged access to the very source of the monetary economy for dishonest purposes: that he is under suspicion (*go fushin*), yet that his fundamental honesty will guarantee him a

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 324-27.

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 356-68.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

divine reprieve. The justification of evil to redress evil is a theme familiar from the writings of Nakamura Sankinshi. In *Ehon Wakakusayama*, a work of loyalist sympathy, Shôsaburô's implicit financial impropriety is celebrated. If money and virtue were linked, they had to be linked in the name of a higher cause, which raises the possibility that government funds were being diverted at source to the imperial cause. Since, in Suika terms, there was no higher cause, the gods would be sure to absolve the malefactor.

But what was the point of advertising Shôsaburô's complicity in the *ehon*? In 1714, financial abuse had led to the downfall of five Ginza elders: the incident had attracted considerable attention, it had spurred numerous pamphlets, and angry mobs had stormed the residences of the named culprits. The thirty-six year-old wife of one of the elders, Fukae Shôsaemon, had taken her own life.⁷⁰ It is possible that the *ehon*, a vehicle of the loyalist underground, sought to make clear to its audience that Shôsaburô was not a petty criminal, that he was fighting for the cause. It was a form of counter-rhetoric. The following page (fig. 4.23) celebrates the advent of a treasure ship (*takarabune*):

The pines line the avenue, and people shout, the bustle of New Year's Eve:
may the treasure ship encounter no vicissitudes (*namikaze naki*), and may his
life be long, prosperous and without difficulty.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 213-16 .

⁷¹ *Ehon Wakakusayama*.

おおじは松などたてわたして人どよむもおおみそかのにぎわい宝舟に波風なき御代ぞ
不苦富久 (ふくふく) ひさしけれ

The allusion to difficulty (embedded in the term *fukufuku*) is enabled by the *ateji* 不苦 which translates as “free from suffering”. Whatever this windfall may have been that the texts celebrate so immodestly, it brought with it a level of risk.



Fig. 4.23

The actual mechanics of money-making are hinted at in *Ehon Izumigawa*, which likewise concludes with a series of images and texts celebrating the arrival of financial fortune. One of these images (fig. 4.24) depicts a man pointing smilingly to a building which bears the sign 千代湯 – *Chiyo no yu*. Since *yu* 湯 denoted a smelting foundry (as well as a bath) and since it was these foundries that were responsible for casting new coinage, the allusion seems significant. The head of the Kyoto smelting foundry was an office held by Daigoku Chôzaemon Jôbo 大黒長左衛門常房: in 1745, the incumbent was the eighth generation incumbent

Sakuemon Jôgai 作右衛門常

柄. The text reads:

The sincerity of a courtesan,
the coins in the *yarite*'s
rake-like purse, whether or

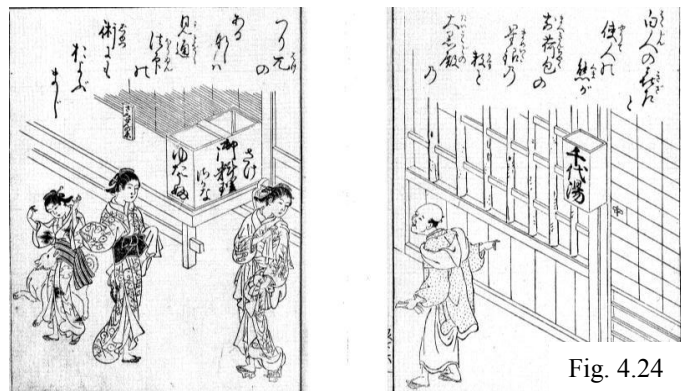


Fig. 4.24

not Daikoku-dono has a bald patch, none of these are likely to be visible even to the diviner.⁷²

The sincerity of a courtesan and brothel finances were all, presumably, hard to gauge. Daikoku-ten, the god of good fortune, wore a hat, and so whether or not he had a bald patch was similarly hard to gauge (see fig. 4.25, from *Ehon shimizu no ike*).

But *Daikoku dono* (who, along with *kanebako sama* is referred to several times

Fig. 4.25



in works of the 40s onwards) is not quite the same as

Daikoku-ten. And since Daigoku dono was in fact in charge of silver smelting operations, the image could well be celebrating, once again, the successful laundering of funds: Jôgai, like Gotô Shôsaburô, was fiddling the system and the ruse was wholly invisible to the eyes of the auditors.

Fig. 4.26
Kanebako sama



⁷² *Ehon Wakakusayama*, 白人の喜左 (きざ) とやり手の熊が前荷包 (きんちやく) の星銀 (まめいた) の数と大黒殿のつる元 (はげ) のありなしは見通訪印の術にもおよぶまじ

Tributes of Gold

Visual allusions to money recur in the late works, in particular two works - *Ehon fukurokujū* and *Ehon Setsugekka* - published posthumously and produced in collaboration with Tada Nanrei, the *ukiyozōshi* writer, *kojitsu* and Shintō scholar. The first section of *Fukurokujū* is an examination of *fuku* wealth - and it opens with an image of a mine - the very core of material prosperity (fig. 4.27). A large hole has been carved out of a mountain side, a group of miners examines glistening earthen walls by candlelight, a dedicated bathing facility is provided nearby, packhorses make their slow way towards the exit of the enclosure, clerks and officials bustle about their business. Nanrei had earlier set one of his *ukiyozōshi* in a mining community, and it is clear he had some interest in the issue.⁷³ The image appears to endorse the commercial exploitation it depicts, and lingers sympathetically over the various aspects of the community formed around a fundamentally mercantile interest.



If Sukenobu's image celebrates the enterprise, however, Nanrei's text locates the practice of mining for precious metals at the very origin of Japanese history:

Fig. 4.27

⁷³See, for example, "Kanayama ni mo horidashi nyobo". In Takada Mamoru, Hara Michio and Kazama Seishi eds., *Tada Nanrei shū*, pp. 139-42 (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai; 1997).

From the time of the gods, Japan has been a country of vast wealth; precious metals were only extracted, however, from the time of the forty-second emperor, Monmu, when silver was sent from Tsushima as a tribute offering. The year name was immediately changed: the new year-name was Great Wealth 大宝. The province of Michinoku began to send tribute gold during the reign of Emperor Shomu, which is why ancient poems refer to the golden blossoms of the mountains of Michinoku.

After that, gold, silver and copper were discovered in many mountains.

If you find a seam of gold or silver, great prosperity ensues.⁷⁴

The production and export of gold, silver and copper, together with de- and revaluations of the silver currency were key debates of the period.⁷⁵ The depletion of reserves was the subject of much concern amongst a number of observers, notably Arai Hakuseki. Others were violently opposed to the practice of mining: Andô Shōeki (1703-62) called it one of the five terrible crimes which despoiled the earth and created artificial economies that, “inflaming the hearts of people with desires and encouraging greed”

⁷⁴ Reproduced in Kansai Daigaku Toshokan ed., *Nishikawa Sukenobu shū*, vol. 2, pp. 210-11.

神々（そもそも）わが大日本ハ宝充滿る国なれ共是を掘て用るハ四十二代文武天皇の御時対馬より銀を献じすなはち年号を大宝と建て給ひ聖武天皇の御時陸奥国より金をたてまつり初たる故にこがね花さみちのく山と歌にももよむなりそののち諸国には金山銀山ありてそのかねのつかに掘あたれば栄花あごろまおことになん続日本史

⁷⁵ See Hiroshi Shimbo and Akira Hasegawa, "The dynamics of a market economy and production", and Kazai Tashiro, "Foreign trade in the Tokugawa period", in Hayami Akira, Saito Osamu and Ronald P. Toby eds., *Emergence of Economic Society in Japan, 1600-1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2004); and Kate Wildman Nakai, *Shogunal Politics: Arai Hakuseki and the Premises of Tokugawa Rule* pp. 97-117 (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies Distributed by Harvard University Press; 1988); for an account of Sumitomo and other Kamigata commercial interests in the mines, see Sakudō Yōtarō, *Edo jidai no Kamigata chōnin* pp. 109-25 (Tokyo: Kyōikusha; Hanbai Kyōikusha Shuppan Sabisu; 1978). In 1713-14, Arai Hakuseki had repeatedly called for curbs on exports of silver to China, on grounds that excessive exports were critically depleting domestic reserves. Regulations issued in 1715 set a ceiling on silver exports. While this was only partially upheld (on account of difficulties policing shipments leaving the country through Satsuma and Tsushima) its effects were nonetheless acutely felt by the merchant community. Restoration of the silver currency designed to stem rampant inflation fuelled severe liquidity crises equally deleterious to trade. The 1630 ban on copper exports had been vigorously challenged by merchants; in 1640, the ban had been lifted, and for the next few decades, export volumes had been managed. The 1715 regulations extended tight external trade restrictions to copper too.

destroyed the “self-acting living truth”, or right cultivation, of society.⁷⁶ Clearly, the celebration of mining in Nanrei’s text did not participate in contemporary economic or social discourse. Rather, Nanrei was eager to emphasize the coequality of the country’s mineral wealth with the gods, and its ancient use as imperial tribute. The passage ends with the observation that the discovery of gold ushers in great good fortune.

Visual allusions to money recur in subsequent pages. The second image appears to illustrate a *Kinza* scene: in the back, clerks weigh out money, in the front, a man attends with great courtesy to a samurai and his retainer (fig. 4.28). His attendants wait outside. The passage again celebrates the tradition of minting coins under earlier emperors, and praises those who hold the country’s monetary resources:

People who keep the gold and silver make of it the wealth of the world, they use it for their own purposes and to help others (*jita no tasuke*).⁷⁷

References to the wealth of the world - *yo no takara* - and helping others *jita no tasuke* - are deliberately vague: in the language of loyalism, they imply - arguably - an imperial recipient. In fact, the accompanying *kyōka*, by Dōsun of Tennōji, likens the flow of money to the flow of love:

The constant flow of bills, like love letters, suggests the eternal fount of love from the moneychanger⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Cited in Yasunaga Toshinobu, *Andō Shōeki: Social and Ecological Philosopher in Eighteenth-century Japan*, pp. 79-80 (New York: Weatherhill; 1992).

⁷⁷ *Ehon fukurokujū.*, pp. 212-3.

金銀も万物に交易せざれば用なし故に古来より市の法を定めて通用を自由になし給へり留る人は世の宝にして自他の資(たすけ)ありされば朝鮮は布粟を以市をたて暹羅は海買いちをたて日本は漢唐の錢を以市をたつるよし明の劉仲達がごう書 Fig. 4.28
共日本にてハ持統天皇八年より錢を鑄る中国史にみえたり poem かよはつるモノ、ハことに両替のはかりがたなき人を恋つつ

As for gold and silver, if you don’t exchange them for goods they are of no use. The laws of the market place have been established since ancient times, they make commerce free. Korea has a market in cloth and grains, Thailand has a market in seashells, Japan has a market in the currency of China. Yet, in the *Gōsho* of the Ming author Liu Zhong 劉仲達, it is written that monies were cast from the eight year of Empress Jitō.

Love and money - or monies circulating in the name of love - are difficult, but not impossible to reconcile in terms of contemporary commoner discourse.



Fig. 4.28

Ishida Baigan, the influential *shingaku* preacher, articulated a theory of economic activity in terms of love, whereby the reciprocal acts of buying and selling, borrowing and lending, undertaken with integrity, provided models of compassionate action ensuring the free flow of capital crucial to the economic well-being of the people. Those in positions of authority, meanwhile, could best demonstrate their love for the people through the practice of frugality and respect for the commonweal.⁷⁹ Baigan's sermons were aimed at creating a functional operating model for merchants, one that permitted them to view their operations as an integral element of a bigger picture. Nanrei's texts articulate something different. Here, money is the very substance of love, a physical manifestation that wends its way, like a love letter, towards a loved one. Its virtue is integrally linked to its final destination: not as a token within socially-enabling commercial economies, but as an offering to the beloved.

The following image (fig. 4.29) shows a bustling scene in a drapers shop (Echigo, to judge from the sign), where men are weighing out gold coins in scales. A

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ For an account of Baigan's social theory of commerce, see Kinugasa Yasuki, *Shisôshi to bunkashi no aida: Higashi Ajia, Nihon, Kyôto* (Tokyo: Perikansha; 2004); also, Takemura Eiji, *The Perception of Work in Tokugawa Japan: A Study of Ishida Baigan and Ninomiya Sontoku*

hanging sign reads *kinginbutsu shinajina kakene nashi* 金銀物品々 かけねなし all types of gold and silver at fair prices. The accompanying text reads:

The big companies are the just the decorative icing on the country’s wealth. People who write business (*akinai*) with the character for business (*akinai*) are most mistaken: you shouldn’t say *shô* for business, you should say *teki* - they’re very different. When you’re writing about business, you should say “behind enemy lines” -*tekibai* - but write business stuff - *shôbai*.⁸⁰

The poem, by Chôdô Nakata:

My love displayed in the shop even as I wrap up these silken cloths, my love never abates

Fig. 4.29



The *kyôka* invokes the same analogy between love and money, suggesting that revenues from the sale of cloth somehow contribute to the cause of love: that is,

that the company is part of the same racket. The allusion to business and the enemy in the prose section is puzzling; yet the homonymic possibilities of the language, combined with visual similarities between characters allowed for elaborate puns. *Shô* means business, which could be graphically associated with *teki* because it provides its

⁸⁰ *Ehon fukurokujû*, pp. 224-5.

大商は国留るの銚りなり今商の字を誤りて商と書人あり非なり商にしやうの音なして
きとよみて大小わけの違ひたる字なり商売たる字などとかけばてきばいとよむなり商
売と書くべし

我恋はみせにかざりしきぬ々々もまきつつされぬ思ひなるらん

radical. But *tekibai* means “from behind enemy ranks”. Whatever the financial deceptions being practised were, they took place under the eye of the enemy (note the samurai in the images): and behind enemy lines. Diverting bakufu funds to the imperial cause, they justified it through precedent: if gold and silver belonged to the land of the gods, they belonged to the gods (and the emperor was a god in human form); they had also been originally minted by the emperors.

A subsequent work produced by Sukenobu and Nanrei - *Ehon setsugekka* - contains similarly suggestive allusions to money. The image depicts a brothel *zashiki* with a small group of courtesans and clients, a kitchen below where staff are gutting and preparing fish, and behind the screens of the *zashiki*, two *kamuro* and a man servant preparing the bedding (fig. 4.30). This is the labour that supports the edifice of pleasure. The text is an exploration of *kamihana*, or paper flower: paper offered to a brothel owner by a customer in advance of services rendered, redeemed in the morning in hard cash. In the image, the customer hands his *kamihana* to the *oyagata*: the conversation is evidently audible to the nearby staff, for the *kamuro* preparing the bedding shows her colleagues a flower in one hand and a coin in the other, as if reflecting on their symbolic equivalence; in the kitchen below, a man enters excitedly holding a coin, as though he, too, has suddenly reached a new understanding of its significance. The text reads:

In brothels and the like, to stamp a flower means to take out a piece of paper, commonly known as a paper flower (*kamihana*). This is an ancient practice: in China, it is called the temporary currency leaf (*kakayô*). The term is found in the *Zokugo tsûeki*.⁸¹

⁸¹ Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Setsugekka*, 1753, British Museum, London. 遊所などにて花をうつとて紙を出すこれを俗に紙花といふ昔よりある事にて唐土にてハ暇貨葉といふよし俗語通譯に見えたり



Fig. 4.30

The passage is followed by a *kyōka* attributed to the seventeenth century *haikai* master Bokuyō:

Even the paper we receive is originally Yoshino paper, let us remember, that by papering over things, the conjugal bond of spring comes about. (Bokuyō)⁸²

Clearly, the *kamihana* has prompted a train of thought on the token equivalence, within a given system (here the brothel) of paper, and gold coin. It could be a reference to the controversial paper currencies (*satsu*) that had been introduced by Kamigata merchants some daimyo to ease liquidity problems.⁸³ But that fails to account for the flower, and the flower is significant. *Setsugekka* was published in 1753, but it must have been written and illustrated by late 1750, because Sukenobu died in 1751. 1750 was a key

⁸² Ibid. 下さる紙も元よりよし野紙はるにえにしのありとおもへバ ト陽

⁸³ Sakudō Yōtarō, *Edo jidai no Kamigata chōnin*, pp. 142-3. Paper currency, introduced sporadically in the seventeenth century, had been outlawed by the bakufu in 1708. Its reintroduction in Kinai markets in the 1730s represented a move amongst merchants to boost liquidity: the Kamigata merchant Mikeno Jirozaemon had launched the first issue of paper money in 1730 in his dealings with the Kishiwata *han*.

date in Kinza history for it was in the eleventh month of this year that the Bakufu initiated corruption investigations against the two mints, and Gotô Shôsaburô was relieved of his responsibilities.⁸⁴ What this meant in practice was that the task of refining the supplementary silver used in the production of *koban* and *ichibuhan* gold coins - a process known as *hana furifuki* or flower smelting (on account of the flower like formation on the surface of the molten liquid when it reached a certain temperature) - was temporarily assumed by Daigoku Jôse.

The text deliberately alludes to the stamping of the flower: *hana wo utsu* was a term used in brothels to describe the ritual of handing over the paper pledge. It was also a term used for monies offered up on a celebratory occasion (*shûgi*), particularly marriages. The allusion to the Chinese term for the practice (*kakayô* 暇貨葉) introduces the term for currency 貨: given the scandal surrounding the *koban* flower smelting, this only serves to highlight the allusion to the problems at Kinza. The poem then elaborates the relationship between *kami* (paper) and Yoshino paper. The character for *kami* is paper: but the *kunyomi* - *kami*, which permits the homonym of gods, is clearly marked. Therefore the poem could also be read:

The gods who descended to earth are the original gods of Yoshino: let us remember, that by papering over things, the conjugal bond of spring comes about

These works repeatedly alluded to an ancient relationship between the gods, the imperial system, and money: money, which in the form of gold, silver and coin (*zeni*) had for time immemorial been dug from the land of the gods and offered up to their human descendants in the form of tribute. In this poem, once again, the divinity of the

⁸⁴ Taya Hirokichi, *Kinsei ginza no kenkyû*, p. 324.

landscape is invoked (the gods of Yoshino); as is the conjugal relationship, which has served before as an allegory of the relationship between the emperor and his subjects. It also refers to papering over things: covering things up, operating in a non-transparent way. In the image, the interest manifested by the figures towards flowers and gold coins is surely a covert allusion to financial shenanigans being undertaken in the name of love. In fact, as the man bursts into the kitchen with the coin in his hand, making - one assumes - some observation on the imprint - the other chefs are taken aback. They look up, uncertain, anxious: a bowl of water on the decking is inadvertently knocked over. The man's unwitting comments have unsettled them, they come, perhaps too close to the truth.

Exactly how money was laundered, how it was gifted, and for what purpose, is impossible to ascertain in the scope of the present work. But the trope of money and references to financial fiddling were clearly a long way from standard characterizations of mercantile greed: and allusions to money are a consistent feature of the *kyōkun*. A poem in *Makuzugahara*, for example, makes the link between financial donations and *kimi* explicit (illustrated in figs. 4.31 a & b):

The money beetle which cares not for money: I too, would regret not my whole fortune, if it were for my lord.⁸⁵

The accompanying commentary suggests that financial donations in the name of *kimi* were a natural expression of one's longing:

⁸⁵*Ehon Makuzugahara.*

こがねむし身のたからさへ中々に君が道にはおしからぬかな

The poem on the right means that whether it be the wealth of the lowly or the noble, once you have entered into the path of longing it's only natural to tap the bottom of your purse; this is very clear.⁸⁶



Fig. 4.31a



Fig. 4.31b

It seems reasonable to speculate that political factions - commoner loyalist factions - were actively soliciting funds for their activities. What these activities entailed remains obscure: but there were clearly a number of rumours circulating in the common domain. As early as 1736, an edict sought to quell speculation regarding the recasting of coinage:

Of late, a number of idle rumours, tales, pamphlets and the like have circulated, in addition to unfounded rumours regarding the recent re-minting of coinage.

This is wholly unacceptable.”⁸⁷

And in 1737 (Genbun 2):

⁸⁶ Ibid.

右の歌其賤貴富をわかつ恋慕のちまたに入れれば巾着のそこをたたく世のならひおしからぬは尤ことわりなるべし

⁸⁷ Harashima Yōichi and Kinsei Shiryō Kenkyūkai eds., *Edo machibure shūsei*, vol. 4, p. 515.

近キ頃雑説虚説を申ふらし、物ニなぞらへ作り物楽書等流布致、其上今度金銀吹替えニ付雑説申、無筋儀を書付申ふらし候もの有之、不届至極

Throughout town a number of idle rumours have circulated, citing this person and that person, and in houses there are songs, and notices pinned up, this should not cease.⁸⁸

The Reader

Under the cover of apparently anodine images designed for the amusement of children, the Sukenobu *ehon* appears to have been a committed channel for the dissemination of such *zassetsu*. But it was more than this: a dedicated channel of communication for a community of politically sympathetic readers and a continual rehearsal of the long loyalist lamentation, it also provided counsel and reassurance. The conducts proposed by these educational works stressed the importance of discretion and perseverance: *Ike no kokoro*, for example, opens with injunctions to keep quiet, to say nothing; to provoke no one, to commit no indiscretions, not to gossip, to persevere. *Ehon kaikasen* (1748) counselled caution:

talking of purple *murasaki*, we think of wisteria, and that experience - an example of the way they always treat people. But even without thinking, in a riddle, say, you have to be careful of using the word, it's dangerous (*abu koto ari*). People should be careful how they behave, it's like adjusting your hat as you walk under a pear tree.⁸⁹

The passage appears to be alluding to the purple robes affair. In 1615, the bakufu had rescinded the court's prerogative to bestow the prestigious purple robe on Buddhist

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 543.

町中ニ而色々成虚説ヲ申、誰トナク人之名ヲ呼候由申、家々ニ而除之歌、或ハ書付等張置候由、左様之儀不仕候様被申渡候

⁸⁹ Reproduced in Kansai Daigaku Toshokan ed., *Nishikawa Sukenobu shû*, vol.2, pp. 20-1.

紫といへば藤とおもわるるためし常のしなしにておもわぬいひかけにもあふことあり人は李下に冠のふだんが大事ぞとしるべし

monks of its choosing.⁹⁰ The incident had marked the first of a series of signals from the bakufu alerting the court to its newly subordinate position. A number of Rinzai zen clerics had opposed the ruling: two - Takuan (Daitokuji) and Tôgen (Myôshinji) - had been sent into exile.⁹¹ The commentary reminds its reader of the enduring dangers associated with the subject, but only indirectly, for the passage is written elliptically with puns on to meet and danger (*au* and *abu*); it never fully names its referent⁹² The image, meanwhile, illustrates a domestic scene with two girls reading: an image - like so many scenes in the *ehon* - of iconic demureness with insurrection at heart (fig. 4.32).

Fig. 4.32



The constant punning, the double-entendres, are an outstanding characteristic of these works and the duplicity is frequently acknowledged. An image in *Ike no kokoro* shows

⁹⁰ For an account of the incident, see Tsuji Tatsuya ed., *Tennô to shôgun*, pp. 81-9 (Tokyo: Chûu Kôronsha; 1991).

⁹¹ Ibid. See also Duncan Williams, "The Purple Robe Incident and the Formation of the Early Modern Sôtô Zen Institution", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 36, 2009, p. 35.

⁹² Purple was, in any case, a royal colour: the palace could be referred to as *shigû* 紫宮 an allusion to the Purple Tenuity Palace of Daoist immortals. See David T. Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories: Narrative, Ritual, and Royal Authority from the Chronicles of Japan to the Tale of the Heike* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press; 2007).

a man inspecting a piece of calligraphy in feminine script (*nyohitsu*) which has been handed to him by two children, who laugh at him surreptitiously (fig. 4.34). The maxim reads: don't pretend to understand what you don't understand.⁹³ The reason the children laugh is that the man is reading the script upside down: despite his connoisseurial regard, he has no idea of how to read *nyohitsu*. The message on the paper is in fact a simple one: 夕かたちと々 tonight, quickly quickly. It is a memo for a secret rendez-vous. Given the duplicity of these works themselves – the fact that they pose as generally educational books while disseminating anti-government rhetoric – this secret message, simultaneously legible and illegible – can be read as a trope of the enterprise as a whole. The *ehon* circulated freely: like the *nyohitsu* in this image, or the *ema* with the double crest in a previous image, they were literally beneath the bakufu's nose. Yet they appear to have passed unnoticed.



Fig. 4.34

⁹³ *Ehon ike no kokoro*. しりたるもしらぬ顔なる人ぞよき物しりがほいともみぐるし

Wakakusayama opens with scenes of children's New Year celebrations. In one of these, two young girls examine with amusement a *hagoita* – a painted battledore (fig. 4.35). Battledores often bore erotic images, and it seems to be some lewd image which has captured the attention of the girls:⁹⁴

Minano river flows from the top of Tsukuba mountain, the bud of love in the
hagoita of young girls, mum and dad say, what are you looking at, ah this is too
much, these days, girls are ripe for marriage at eleven or twelve.⁹⁵

At one level this is simply a reference to the youthful consumption of erotica. But in the context of *Wakakusayama*, and indeed the *kyōkun* in general, the reference to things being not what they seem (a *hagoita* bears an erotic image, a children's book carries a political message) is surely self-referential. The sexual education of the young and the political education of the young are tropes which intersect. But if marriage, divorce, love suicide could be political tropes, perhaps the erotic could too. The final chapter will argue that this was indubitably the case. Thus the suggestion that pre-pubescent girls are old enough to consume erotica could equally mean that they were ready for political initiation. On the right of the image, a dog cocks its leg, as it watches a girlish game of battledore: urinating in public is a little like disseminating political propaganda under the nose of the enemy.

⁹⁴ See, for example, "Rinki wa surudoī kokoro no tsurugi shiroba no musume", in Hasegawa Tsuyoshi ed., *Keisei irojamisen; Keisei denju-gamiko; Seken musume katagi*, p. 435 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1989).

⁹⁵ *Ehon Wakakusayama*.

つく羽根の峯よりおつるみな
の川恋の蕾の娘同士のぼてくさ
羽子板の絵にと々様か々
様何してじゃああおらしとは
行過た今様けふ此頃のよめい
りざかりとは十一二をいぐべし



Fig. 4.35

The second volume of the same work opens with a secluded domestic scene: one woman sits inside holding a fan, another, on the veranda, wafts the smoke of a smudge fire (fig. 4.36). Letters lie on the floor inside. The text reads:

Fig. 4.36

When you fail to come, I arrange cards
of the poetic
immortals around the smudge pot; but
since I tend not to meet you, and since
you are a lover who does not deign to
read frivolous *iroha* kana writing, I
sleep alone, and even the short summer
nights seem long.⁹⁶



The text envisions a woman who, in the
absence of her loved one, turns to the solace of poems. The poem cards laid out on the

⁹⁶*Ehon Wakakusayama.*

君がこぬ夜は蚊遣火（かやりび）のもとに歌仙板並べていてもあはぬがちなばいろは
もじのよみのくだらぬ恋人ひとりねは夏の夜もあけやらぬではあり

floor become an expression of her longing - which she seeks in vain to communicate through the wafting smoke of the smudge pot. But not deigning to read elementary kana script, *kimi* remains ignorant of her enduring affection; he never receives her message, and he never visits. Thus, from her solitude she produces ever new formulations of desire recast in the *kana* script of the poetic immortals. Given that the *kyōkun* were themselves a sustained expression of longing for the emperor; given, too, that they were presented in the form of children's works - the *iroha* of the young - this text reads as yet another reflexive allegorical representation of the fundamentally political enterprise.

Elsewhere, the duplicity of the works is both acknowledged and lamented. *Chitoseyama* opens with a riddle that concludes with an invocation of the original transparency of language:

Doing up a child's clothes in the melon field, or wearing a hat to view flowers,
these are things one would rather not do: and if the lock isn't placed on the
mouth, there would be no reason to doubt the truth that issued from it: thus it
was in days of yore - *hito no kuchi ni wa jō wo orosarezu iiwake wa*
*utagawarenu izen.*⁹⁷

This cryptic text is accompanied by a poem:

People easily get a reputation: night after night, the fragrance of the plum lingers
around my scanty pillow

⁹⁷*Ehon Chitoseyama.*

瓜畑でわらんずのひも結ぶと花のもとでぼうしきるとは遠慮ありたし他（ひと）の口
には錠おろされずいひわけはうたがわまぬ以前
人ならばうき名やたたん夜な夜なにわが手枕にかよふ梅が香

The image (fig. 4.37) shows a woman reading on the threshold of a veranda, gazing out at the plum tree; she has a box of books behind her. The text lists two spurious precautions, before



Fig. 4.37

concluding that if speech were free,

then the things people said could be taken at face value (as it was once upon a time). The use of riddles and double meanings, it apologetically suggests, is a necessary evil. But speech and transparency were one of the basic tenets of the culture of waka: poetry was the direct expression of the heart. The invocation of a past when the heart was reflected in speech (poetry) is a courtly allusion which throws into contrast the current regime in which polemic is forced underground - only to remerge, duplicitously, in children's books.

Glossed in these terms, the affections of the woman in the image, gazing at the plum tree, take on a political hue (for nothing, any longer, is as it seems): the fragrance of the plum and the rumours it provokes double as a declaration of the political complexion of the work - of the *ehon* endeavor - as a whole. These were highly topical works which spread their political disaffection through the medium of the children's book, communicating under the nose of the enemy through coded messages and private ironies. Sukenobu and his collaborators had elaborated a wholly modern form of social protest.

Fig 4.1 *Ehon Ike no kawazu* 1745 絵本池の蛙



いそぐ道にかゝる松兵衛がながぎせる籠はかかずにせわをかきつつ
You're in a hurry: but your bearer stops for a leisurely smoke and a chat, leaving you stranded
in the palanquin

Fig 4.2a & b *Ehon Ike no kawazu* 1745 絵本池の蛙



御輿かかぬみこしかきこそあとよりもただ
 賽銭
 に目をばひからし
 Float bearers who aren't even carrying the
 float - they just hang around for the rich
 pickings

となりよりことはりもなき煤掃うつまきわたり
 くるほこりかな
 All that dust flying around- they're cleaning next door,
 and they haven't even got permission

Fig 4.3 Ehon Ike no kawazu 1745 絵本池の蛙



うたたねに顔のあたりを飛めぐる蚊のほそ声はニツミツヨツ

You take a nap and mosquitoes keep buzzing in your face, there are two, now three, and another, that's four ...

Fig. 4.4 Ehon Yamato nishiki 1743 絵本大和錦



薪屋の元手はありたけ外につみかさねて置ねばならず。
 いかに実事でないとみせさきで干話文かく色町のならわしはさばけたせんさく也。
 A seller of firewood has to stack his supplies of firewood outside the shop;
 that makes sense. Girls in the pleasure quarters sit in the shop window
 writing love letters they don't even believe in, that's clever too.

Fig. 4.5 Ehon Wakakusayama 1745 絵本若草山



Fig. 4.6 Ehon Wakakusayama 1745 絵本若草山



紺屋の仕事と俠者（おとこだて）の鬪（でいり）はとかくかたづけねばおかずたとへば
 道具取ちらしたる座席へ客をみかけたるがごとしさあこい々皆の者ともふみかへしてく
 りゃうそふだんべいと一寸もひかぬとりあひはあじ川芝居の顔みせ最中いずれ男のたて
 いらぞかし

Fig. 4.7 Ehon Shimizu no ike 1734 絵本清水の池



Fig. 4.9 Ehon Yamato nishiki 1743 絵本大和錦

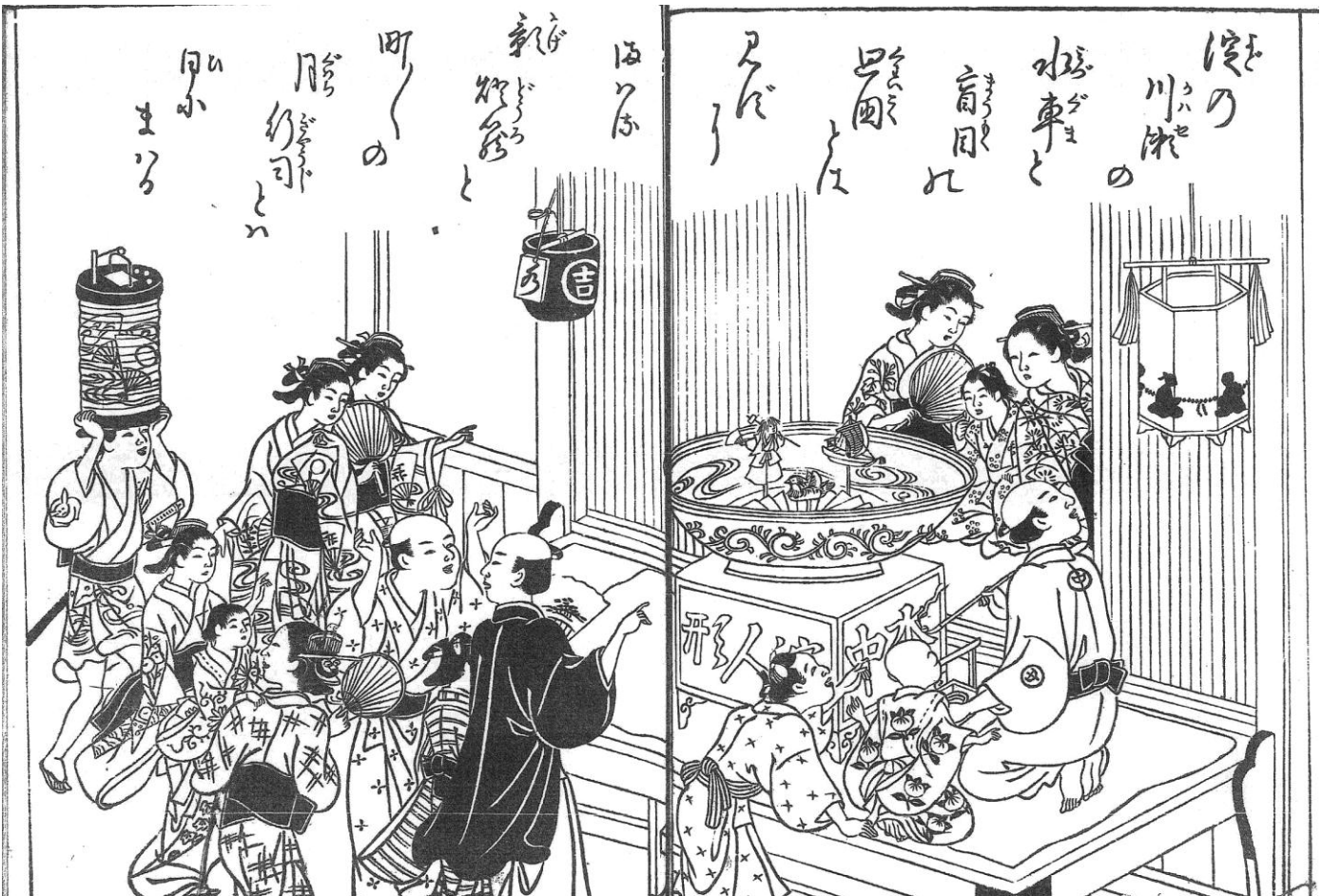


Fig. 4.10 Ehon Ike no kokoro 1739 絵本池の心



Fig. 4.11 Ehon miyako sôshi 1746 絵本都草紙



Fig. 4.12 Ehon himekomatsu 1742 絵本姫小松

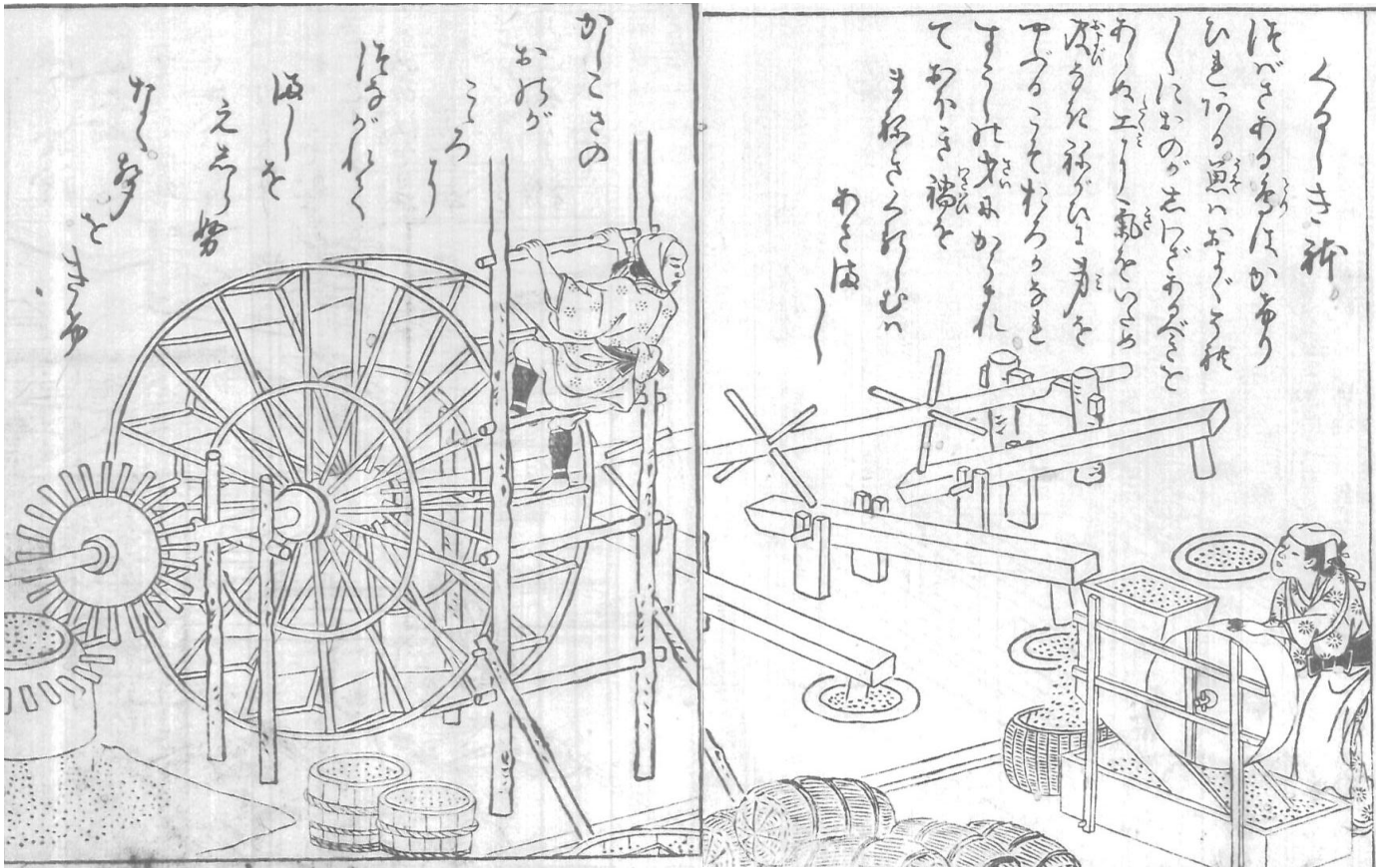


Fig. 4.14 Ehon Wakakusayama 1745 絵本若草山



堂宮に掛け奉る御宝前の二紋はさりとは熱なこととみゆればわけて子持筋におしだして夫婦の紋所はこれほどあつかましいせんぎはなけれどありふれたこととて人もあやしまずThe two crests on the dedicatory image: they're about passion. But this public display of the (parallel lines of the) komochi-suji design used in wedding robes, together with the paired husband and wife mon on the image, you can't say it more brazenly. But they just think its commonplace, they don't suspect a thing.

Fig. 4.15 Ehon Chitoseyama 1740 絵本千年山



うぐいすの巣にそだてられし時鳥（ほととぎす）は血に泣接木の梅のいたみ咲
 はそこ色悪いずれ養子の身の艱難きわめて堪忍つよき人ならでは続がたし

Fig. 4.16 Ehon Makuzugahara 1741 絵本眞葛が原

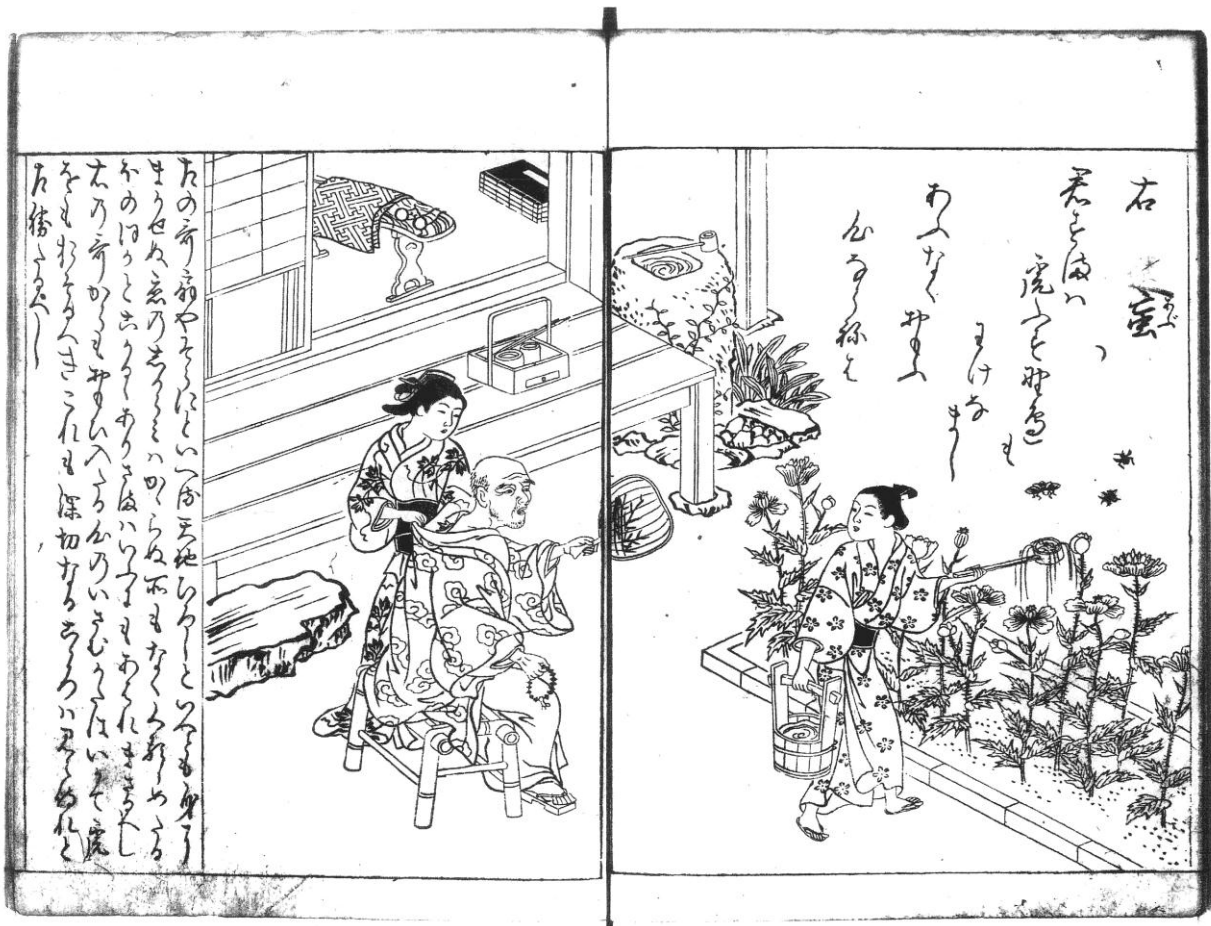


Fig. 4.18 Ehon Wakakusayama 1745 絵本若草山



Fig. 4.19

Ehon himekomatsu 1742 絵本姫小松

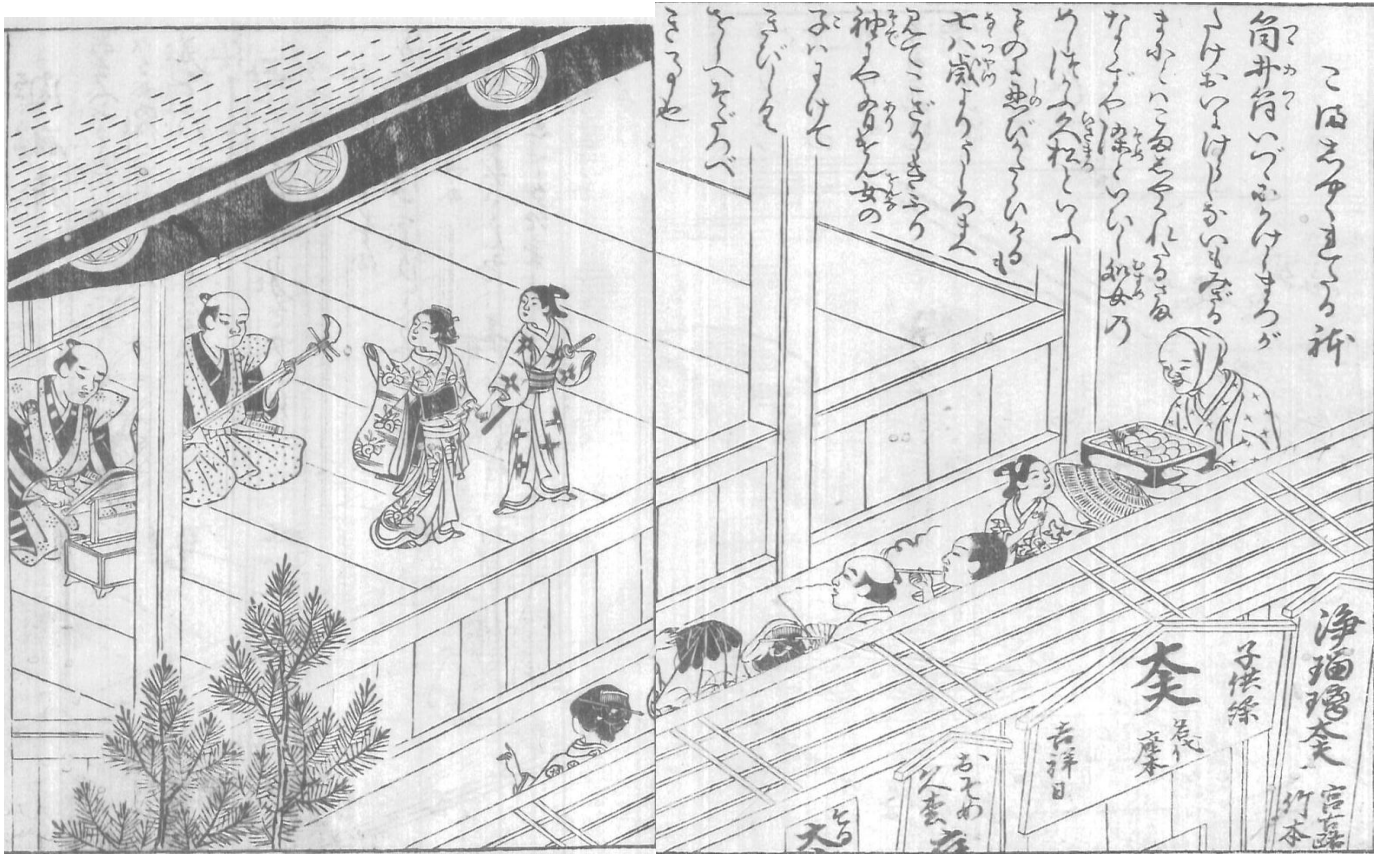


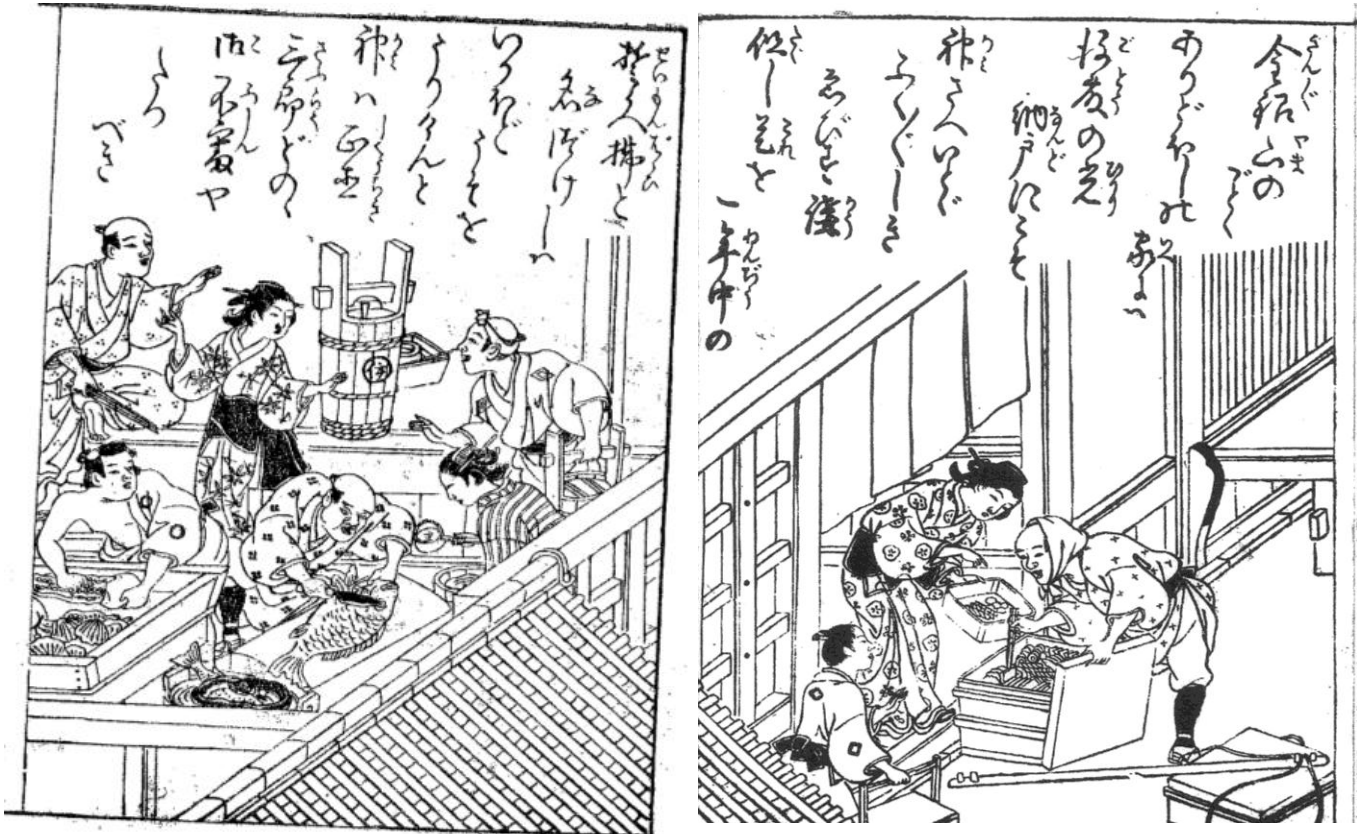
Fig. 4.20 Ehon miyako sôshi 1746 絵本都草紙



Fig. 4.21 Ehon Wakakusayama 1745 絵本若草山



Fig. 4.22 Ehon Wakakusayama 1745 絵本若草山



金銀山のごとくありどほしの家には後藤の光納戸にこそ神さへいとどふくぶくしきえびす講
 但し是を一年中のせいもんばらいとなずけしはいかほどうすをうりけんと神は正直三郎殿の
 御不信やたるべき

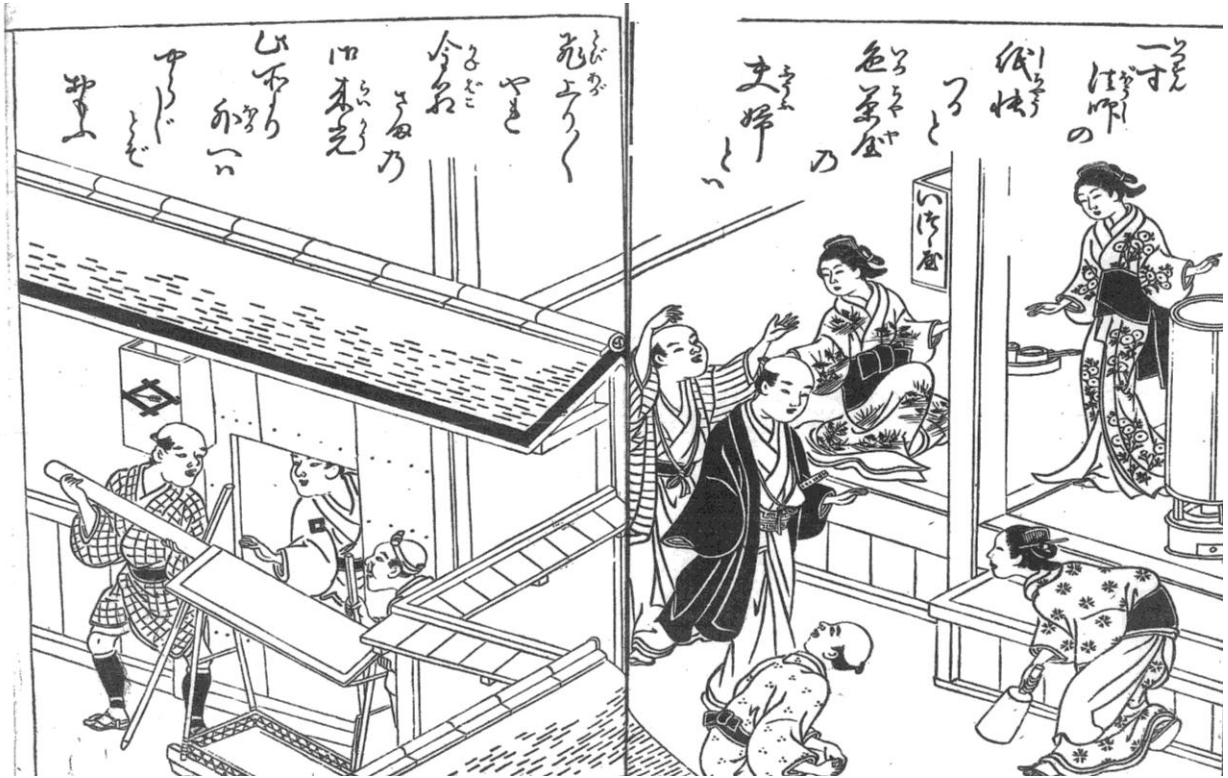
Fig. 4.23 Ehon Wakakusayama 1745 絵本若草山



Fig. 4.24 Ehon izumigawa 1742 絵本和泉川



Fig. 4.26 Ehon Yamato nishiki 1743 絵本大和錦



一寸法師の紙帳つりと色茶屋の夫婦とは飛上り 飛上り
 やれ金箱さまの御来光此所より外へはやらじとぞおもふ

Fig. 4.27 Ehon fukurokujū 絵本福祿寿 1749



Fig. 4.28 Ehon fukurokujū 絵本福祿寿 1749

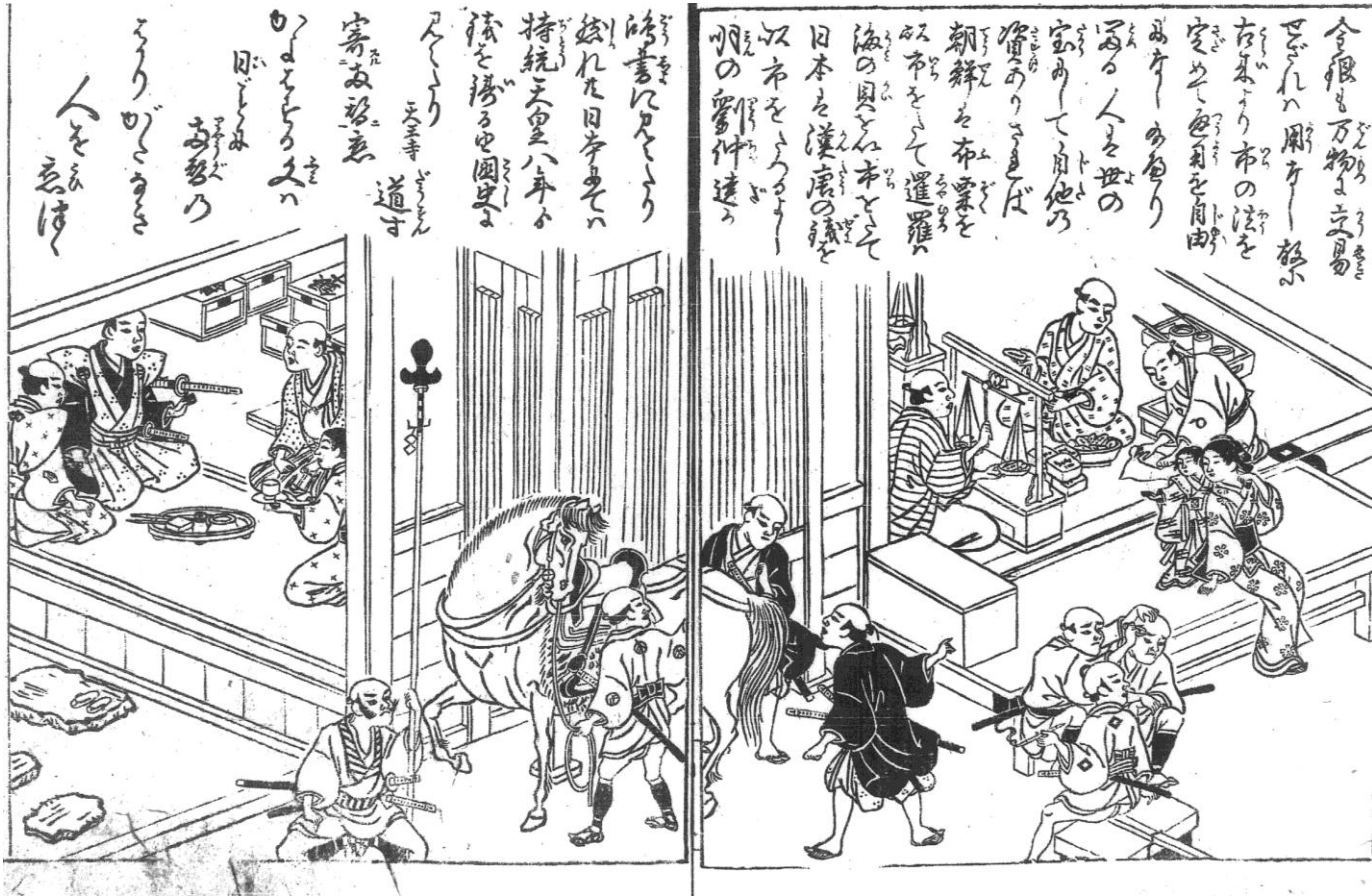


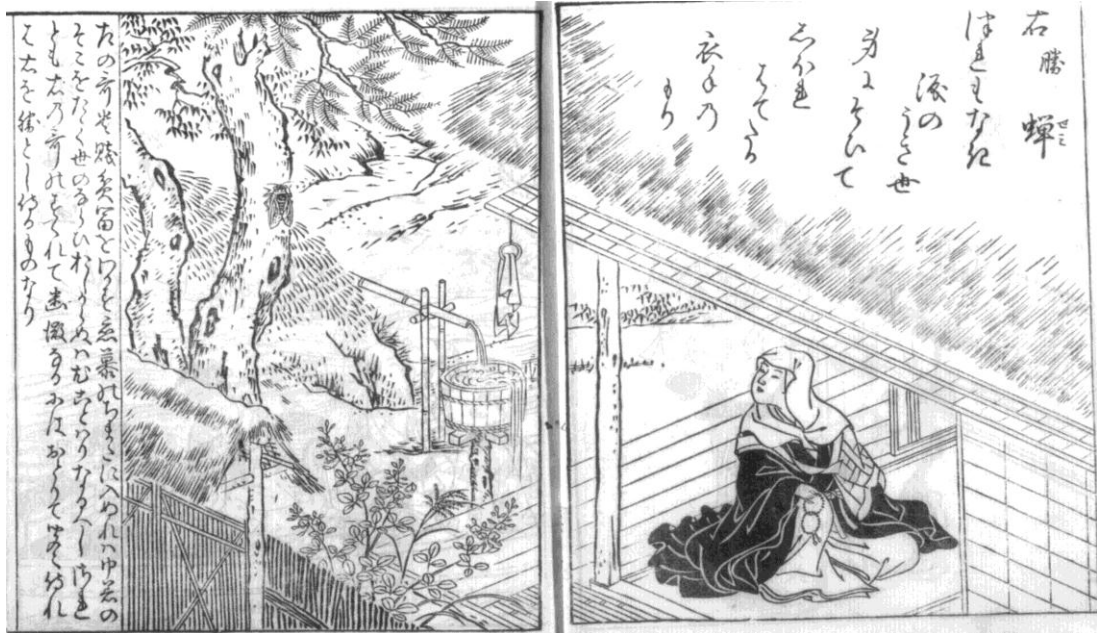
Fig. 4.29 Ehon fukurokujū 絵本福祿寿 1749



Fig. 4.30 *Ehon setsugekka* 絵本雪月花 1753



Figs. 4.31 a & b Ehon Makuzugahara 1741 絵本眞葛が原



右の歌其賤貴富をわかす恋慕のちまたに入れれば巾着のそこをたたく世のならひ
おしからぬは尤ことわりなるべし

Fig. 4.32 Ehon kaikasen 1748 絵本貝歌仙



Fig. 4.33 Ehon Ike no kokoro 1739 絵本池の心



知りたるもしらぬ顔なる人ぞよき物しりがほはいとも見ぐるし

「夕かたちと々」

Fig. 4.34 Ehon Wakakusayama 1745 絵本若草山



Fig. 4.35 Ehon Wakakusayma 1745 絵本若草山



Fig. 4.36 Ehon Chitoseyama 1740 絵本千年山



Chapter Five

The Landscape of Waka

The riddling aphorisms of the *kyōkun*, elaborated by a small band of collaborators, were largely constructed around topical allusions: the law, urban disaffection, contemporary scandal. They took their material from the ephemera of discontent. Between 1731 and 1736, however, Sukenobu produced three works of a very different order. These were solo works of illustrated waka, and they formed a trilogy: *Ehon Tsukubayama* (Picture Book of Mt. Tsukuba 1731), *Ehon Minanogawa* (Picture Book of the River Minano 1733), and *Ehon arisoumi* (Picture Book of Rough Seas 1736).¹ On the face of it, they joined the growing ranks of publications aimed at the dissemination of cultural norms. From the middle of the seventeenth century, familiarity with the classics was increasingly facilitated by the existence of abridged, annotated and illustrated editions; by its closing decades, popular artists such as Yoshida Hanbei and Hishikawa Moronobu had produced influential illustrated volumes of poems that took the horizons of waka illustration significantly beyond traditional portraits of the six immortal poets.² In an illustrated poetic anthology of 1691 - *Shigi no hanegaki* 鳴の羽搔 - Yoshida Hanbei had explored the scenic allusions of waka with a series of innovative landscape sketches.³ Moronobu's *Sugata-e Hyakunin isshu* (1695) had gestured to the enduring

¹ The preface to *Minanogawa* notes that the work follows on from *Tsukubayama*; the preface to *Arisoumi* invokes both *Minanogawa* and *Tsukubayama*. See Matsudaira Susumu ed., *Moronobu Sukenobu ehon shoshi*, pp. 148 and 53 (*Musashimurayama: Seishodō*; 1988). These works are distinguished from other *ehon* that contain poetic texts – notably *Ehon mazugahara*, *Ehon chitoseyama*, *Ehon narisomatsu* – in that the latter deal with *kyōka* - both mad verse 狂歌 and prescriptive verse 教歌. A discussion of *Ehon nezamegusa*, a selection from the *Wakan rôeishū*, and *Ehon Ogurayama*, a selection from the *Hyakunin isshu*, has been excised for reasons of space.

² For an illuminating discussion of Moronobu's waka illustration, see Joshua S. Mostow, *Pictures of the Heart: the Hyakunin Isshu in Word and Image* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press; 1996).

³ Yoshida Saburō Hanbei, *Shigi no hanegaki*, 1691 British Library, London. The work showcases celebrated clusters of poems: for example, the *sanseki* (three evening poems), *santai* (three poetic modes), *jittai* (Teika's ten poetic modes), and *hakkei* (the eight views).

relevance of the poetic heritage by providing illustrations in a contemporary idiom - the unsettled heart of the courtier in spring makes way for the dandy in the pleasure quarters fretting over the affections of his consort.⁴ Moronobu's iconographies, moreover - as Joshua Mostow has shown - had begun to reflect a number of diverse exegetical traditions: they were both informed, and inventive.⁵

This chapter will argue, however, that Sukenobu's waka works owed less to the iconographic tradition than to emerging discussions of waka in nativist discourse: discourse which increasingly explored the political significance of waka. More than this: in Sukenobu's hands, the canonical laments of waka - of desolation, thwarted love, separation, anticipation - acquired a wholly new referent. No longer read as isolated poetic voices, these laments were recast as the primordial yearning of the vassal for his master: expressions of what Keisai, Kyôsei and Sankinshi had termed unbearable love - *shinobinu kokoro*.⁶ The voice of courtly lament was requisitioned for the wholly modern expression of imperialist lament.

Voice of the Realm

By the late seventeenth century, scholarly endeavor had begun to cast waka (along with other literary classics) in a new role. No longer simply cultural capital, poetry was now the authentic voice of *waga chô* - our realm, Japan. A testimony of native cultural identity untainted by subsequent accretions of Buddhist and Confucian thought, the Man'yôshû in particular had come to assume (after centuries of relative neglect) a sense

⁴ The image illustrates *Hyakunin isshu* no. 33 by Tomonori. See Mostow, *Pictures of the Heart: the Hyakunin Isshu in Word and Image*, pp. 105, and pp. 240-41.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 95-115.

⁶ See Introduction.

of political relevance.⁷ Moreover, as a collective cultural resource, poetry acquired new democratic significance. The Edo scholar Toda Mosui challenged lexical restrictions that had been brought to bear on waka composition through courtly practitioners. Waka embraced the speech of everyman, it was the language of Japan. ‘If song is but the words of Japan (*Yamato kotoba*), there can be no word that is spoken by a person that cannot be sung in song’.⁸ Likewise the monk Keichû stressed the spiritual affinity of waka with the heart of everyman, a point he demonstrated by producing an anthology of waka that drew poems from authors of all social class.⁹

For both these thinkers, waka was also a sacred trace – however faint - in a secularized world: it originated with the gods and it remained a legacy of the gods.

Keichû affirmed:

This realm (*honchô*) is the land of the gods.....In ancient times, the land was ruled according to the way of the gods (Shintô). Shintô, unlike Confucianism and Buddhism, has no preceptual texts. The Kujiki, Kojiki, and Nihongi are simply accounts of events in the Age of the Gods. Today, residual traces (*ifu*) of the way of the gods are preserved only in court ritual and in the ritual performances of the various shrines. But beyond this, in the worlds at large, still faintly visible, lingers the enclosure of the eightfold clouds (*yakumo*, signifying

⁷ Arguably, poetry had always been politically relevant: classical anthologies were both manifestations of government and demonstrations of power and allegiance. See Gustav Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony: Poetry and Power in Early Heian Japan* (Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University; 2008).

⁸ This is the celebrated opening of Mosui’s preface to his “Nashi moto shû”, in Taira Shigemichi and Abe Akio eds., *Kinsei Shintoron Zenki Kokugaku*, p. 267 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1972).

⁹ Ito Masao, *Kinsei no waka to kokugaku*, p. 45. (Ise: Kôgakkai Daigaku Shuppanbu; 1979).

waka); its walls are canting, yet it still remains, and it is our proof of the origins of the gods.¹⁰

Waka testified to the divine origins of the realm; the Man'yôshû preserved the words of the gods (*kamigoto*) and like Shintô, it embodied the way of truth (*makoto*).¹¹ Waka ensured the union of sovereign and vassal (*kunshin gôtei*), pacified the country, helped the people, and ensured good relations between man and wife.¹² More than this, it held the key to the indigenous Japanese temperament. Philological study of the *Man'yôshû*, Keichû believed, revealed the native Japanese profile before Buddhist and Confucian influences took purchase on the Japanese mind.¹³ For both Keichû and Mosui, ancient language provided a paradigm of the original Japanese heart. Truth - *makoto* - (a term notably absent from later imperial collections), denoted not simply an aesthetic preference, but an ethical disposition.

Reflections on the native relevance of waka were not restricted to the scholarly sphere. Populists such as the early eighteenth century Shintô preacher Masuho Zankô invoked waka as the language of love and harmony, conjugal felicity, and peace in the realm.¹⁴ It was the converse of that pseudo-discipline (*hangaku* 半学) of Confucian detritus (*fujū* 腐儒), the spread of which testified to a deep and pervasive ignorance of indigenous learning (*kokugaku*) – or waka.¹⁵ The championing of the native would likewise characterize the work of scholars such as Kada no Azumaro (1669-1739) and

¹⁰ Keichû, "Zassetsushô: Manyô dai shôki sôshaku", in Taira Shigemichi and Abe Akio eds., *Nihon Shisô Taikai*, p. 310 Iwanami Shoten; 1972).

¹¹ In Taira Shigemichi and Abe Akio eds., *Kinsei Shintoron Zenki Kokugaku*, p. 315.

¹² "Nashimoto shû", in Sasaki Shin ed., *Nihon kagaku taikai*, p. 79 (Tokyo: Kazama Shobô; 1959).

¹³ Shimizu Masayuki, *Kokugaku no tashazô: makoto to itsuwari*, pp. 48-50. (Tokyo: Perikansha; 2005).

¹⁴ See, for example, Masuho Zankô, "Endô Tsugan", in Noma Kôshin ed., *Kinsei Shikidôron*, p. 290-1 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1976).

¹⁵ Taira Shigemichi and Abe Akio eds., *Kinsei Shintoron Zenki Kokugaku*, p. 222.

Kamo no Mabuchi (1697-1769). Azumaro's lament for the past was clearly declared in his poetry - verses such as:

Tread once more the paths of Japan! Can it be the true way of the people to stare
at traces of an unknown Chinese bird? ¹⁶

But it was Mabuchi who would take the implications of Keichû's thought to their logical conclusion. For Mabuchi, *waka* - the poetry of the *Man'yôshû* - was the expression of the uncorrupted, self-purifying Japanese heart: its robust language (*masurao no teburi*) only highlighted the present etiolation of the Japanese spirit.¹⁷

From his reading of the *Man'yôshû*, Mabuchi elaborated a profile of the indigenous mind: a mind that embraced the manly way (*masurao no michi*), that nourished a stout and forthright heart (*takaku naoki kokoro*), a true heart (*magokoro*); a mind that lodged a Japanese spirit (*yamato damashii*).¹⁸ Manly, forthright, and true, the *yamato damashii* was also valiant: Amaterasu, he reminded his reader, had taken up arrow and quiver and with a manly roar (丈夫なす雄叫 *masurao nasu otakebi*) subdued the wicked god (*ashiki okami*).¹⁹

Much of Mabuchi's work was both written and published in the latter years of his life: *Niimanabi* was published in 1765, *Kokuikô* written between 1764 and his death in 1769. He had been lecturing on poetry since 1735, however; in 1738, in Edo, he embarked on a year-long course of lectures on the *Man'yôshû*, and four years later, in

¹⁶ Cited in Ito Masao, *Kinsei no waka to kokugaku*, p. 66.

踏分けよ日本にはあらぬ唐鳥の跡を見るのみ人の道かは。

Azumaro's poetry collection contains works from the Genroku to Kyôhō years, but remained unpublished until 1798. See *ibid.*

¹⁷ "Niimanabi" in Sasaki Shin ed., *Nihon kagaku taikei*, vol. 7, p. 218.

¹⁸ These terms recur throughout Mabuchi's writings; see, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 218-21.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

1742, he wrote a study of the Tôtomi poems of the Man'yôshû.²⁰ It is reasonable to assume that many of his thoughts on the political morals to be drawn from the work were both formed and disseminated over this period. But discussions of nativist concepts such as *yamato damashii* and the *masurao* had, in any case, emerged considerably earlier in the works of Asami Keisai, Zankô, and related Kimon-Suika thinkers. In 1719, Masuho Zankô had exhorted his readers to embrace their *yamato damashii* in order to expel the teachings of other countries - *yamato damashii wo motte itan wo kudaku kokoro zo naraba*.²¹ Contemporary Suika works - for example Matsuoka Chûryô's *Shintô gakusoku Yamato damashii* 神道学則日本魂 of 1733 - likewise exhorted their readers - peasants and merchants alike - to honour their *yamato damashii* and protect the emperor (*shikyoku wo gosuru*), an endeavour which would earn them, after death, a place amidst the manifold gods (*yaoyorozu no kami no masseki*).²² Such concepts - this chapter will propose - made their iconographic debut in the waka *ehon* of Sukenobu.

The Elephant Frontispiece

Ehon Tsukubayama, published in 1731, was Sukenobu's first work to illustrate samples of the waka canon.²³ The title gestured to both imperial and Shintô motifs: Mt. Tsukuba was a poetic topos or *utamakura* whose purple shade was a celebrated in the *Kokinshû* preface as a metaphor of imperial protection; it was also an important site in Shintô topographies, its twin peaks considered natural representations of the male and female

²⁰ For this period of Mabuchi's life, see Peter Nosco, *Remembering Paradise: Nativism and Nostalgia in Eighteenth-century Japan*, pp. 106-12 (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies Distributed by Harvard University Press; 1990).

²¹ Taira Shigemichi and Abe Akio eds., *Kinsei Shintoron Zenki Kokugaku*, p. 206.

²² Cited in Maeda Tsutomu, *Kinsei Shintô to kokugaku*, p. 14 (Tokyo: Perikansha; 2002).

²³ Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Ehon Tsukubayama*, 1731, Art Insitute of Chicago, Chicago.

principles, of yin and yang.²⁴ The first edition of the work, however, was distinguished by a frontispiece depicting an elephant in convoy, watched by the people of Kyoto who line the streets (fig. 5.1).²⁵ This was a reference to the two elephants transported from Vietnam (Guangnan,

near present-day Haiphong) at the behest of the shogun Yoshimune, which had arrived in Nagasaki in 1728.²⁶ The male elephant (the female



Fig. 5.1

developed a boil on her tongue shortly after their arrival and died)

had sojourned briefly in Kyoto - where it was presented to the emperor - before proceeding to Edo.²⁷ The upper part of the *Tsukubayama* image bears a slightly awkward inscription:

我が国の徳をしたひてはるかなるくにより譯（訳 やく）をかさねて入来るもうごき
なき御代のしるしなるべし²⁸

²⁴ See Laurel Rasplica Rodd and Mary Catherine Henkenius eds., *Kokinshū: a collection of poems ancient and modern*, p. 40 (Boston, MA: Cheng & Tsui; 1996).

²⁵ The only first edition currently known to be extant is held by the Art Institute of Chicago.

²⁶ For an account of the elephant cargo, see Ôba Osamu and Joshua A. Fogel, *Sino-Japanese Relations in the Edo Period: 8 The Travels of Elephants*, pp. 50-68. Trans. Joshua A. Fogel.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 55. In the fourth month of 1729, the elephant had remained briefly in the grounds of Jôkein for the benefit of Retired Emperor Reigen, proceeding thence to the court where it was awarded a court rank of 4b and presented to emperor Nakamikado.

²⁸ Matsudaira Susumu ed., *Moronobu Sukenobu ehon shoshi*, p. 136.

Yearning for the virtue of our country they have come from a distant country, by means of much translation. And yet, this is a sign of our peaceful (*ugokinaki*) reign.

On the face of it, the frontispiece and its inscription appears to be a conventional memento of an auspicious event, an event marked widely in Kyoto by the production of souvenir clay elephants, drawings of elephants and pamphlets relating to elephants.²⁹ Yet there was more to the elephant's popularity than met the eye. It was less than a month after the elephant's arrival in Kyoto, in the fifth month of 1729, that Nakamura Sankinshi's pamphlet - *Zô no mitsugi* (Tribute of Elephants) - had come on sale.³⁰ It was a hortatory work: it welcomed the elephants as a sign (like the long rains) of imminent change, it had lamented the intolerable conditions of the present, and it had urged the people to demonstrate their loyalty in order to vindicate the elephant's painful separation from its mother.³¹ *Tsukubayama* was published two years later: the excitement surrounding the beasts had abated. But perhaps more significantly, Sankinshi's exhortation had been to no avail: there had been no move by the people to rid themselves of (what he referred to as) the current corruption and treachery.³² That is, there had been no uprising - *ugokinaki*. And in this context, the inscription becomes more portentous. For the elephant had come to Japan in anticipation (Sankinshi wrote) that the people would demonstrate their virtue: yet nothing had happened. The frontispiece that was, on the face of it, a celebration of an auspicious event, was in fact a token of disappointed hopes. The image itself shows the commoner crowds hemmed in

²⁹ Ôba Osamu and Fogel, *Sino-Japanese Relations in the Edo Period: 8 The Travels of Elephants*, p. 56-57.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 57. Osamu notes the alacrity with which Sankinshi's work appeared.

³¹ See Introduction.

³² See Chapter 1.

behind low barricades or kept back from the street by a samurai guard: contemporary edicts had repeatedly rehearsed measures for crowd control during the procession.³³

And this explains the apparent grammatical oddity of the inscription: not ‘*overcoming many odds, they have come. And yet this is a sign of our peaceful (ugokinaki) reign*’, but ‘*overcoming many odds, they have come. And yet there has been no uprising, a sign of the times.*’³⁴

Yamato gokoro

The elephant frontispiece suggests that, like the later *kyōkun*, *Tsukubayama* was a politically engaged work. But there were other indications that this was the case. The poems featured in Sukenobu’s waka volumes were notable in that for the first time in the illustration of waka, the dominant canon – the *Kokinshū*, the *Shinkokinshū* – was eschewed in favour of lesser known works taken from two extensive anthologies, the *Dairingushō* (Random Writings from the Great Forest) compiled towards the end of the fifteenth century, and the *Meidai wakashū* (Collection of Waka on Well-known Themes).³⁵ These anthologies contained many, but not all of the eight imperial

³³ Similar crowd control measures applied during Korean embassies: see Ronald P. Toby, "Carnival of the Aliens. Korean Embassies in Edo-Period Art and Popular Culture", *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 41, 1986, pp. 415-56.

³⁴ The frontispiece simultaneously took a covert swipe at the Bakufu, for in 1730 (Kyōhō 15) the Kyōto authorities had issued an edict forbidding thenceforth the production and sale of toy elephants and prohibiting their use as playthings. Anyone to defy this law (*hatto*) would be immediately brought in for questioning. 急度御吟味可被成候間.. 後向売買ハ勿論、弄びに仕候儀相止可申候
Kyōto machibure kenkyūkai ed., *Kyōto machibure shūsei*, p. 86 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten; 1984). It is unclear what in reality led to the popularity of the elephants, or to the banning of facsimiles. However, Nakamura Sankinshi had considered the elephants to be the herald of political change in his *Zō no mitsugi*. See Chapter 1, pp. 38-39.

³⁵ These vast compilations (the former contained the latter, or versions thereof) were frequently reprinted during the Edo period: editions of the *Meidai wakashū* appeared in 1710 and 1730, while the *Dairingushō*, compiled by 1470, saw published editions in 1637, 1692 and 1792 (*Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku*). See Mimura Terunori, ""Waka dairingushō" kara "Meidaiwakazenshū" e: chūsei ruidai kashū no saikentō", *Hanazonzo Daigaku Kenkyū Kiyō*, vol. 10, 1979, pp. 237-63.

collections; they also made room for a number of less-known house collections from later periods. For the artist, they offered several advantages. They organized their material by subject categories, and they were editorially inclusive - which meant that they contained obscure material that broached marginal subjects, poems whose meaning had not necessarily been anchored by scholarly commentary. They offered a certain latitude.

Sukenobu undoubtedly profited from both the inclusivity of the works and the relative anonymity of some of the poems. *Tsukubayama* - like its sequels - was loosely organized by season, but it nonetheless

accommodated a number of unconventional tropes. For example, a poem towards the end of the final volume is illustrated by an image of a girl expressing milk into a vessel (fig.

5.2). The headnote to the poem relates that a woman has arrived at the residence of Ôe no Masahira to take up a position as a wet nurse, but her breasts are small. The first poem is spoken by Masahira, who derides her by asking if she has come for a position in a



Fig. 5.2

bachelor's house. Akazomeemon (his wife) replies, by suggesting the girl be measured not on the size of her breasts, but on the size of her spirit: her *yamato gokoro*:

Thus it may be, yet armed with a sturdy *yamato gokoro*, even a small breast can be fertile.³⁶

さもあらばあれ大和心し賢くばほそちに付けてあらず計ぞ

Samoaraba are yamato gogoro shi kashikokuba hosochi ni tsukete arasu bakari zo

Aptitude, Akazomeemon suggests, should be judged not by quantity, but by quality: not by the size of one's breasts, but by their potency. The poem had been anthologized in the sacred song (*jingi* 神祇) section of the *Goshûi wakashû* (1086) (the first appearance of the term *yamato gokoro* in a poetry collection): the *Goshûi wakashû* version makes explicit the latent violence of the trope, for it writes *arasu* with the character 荒: to wreak havoc.³⁷ The citation of the poem in an eighteenth century volume of illustrated waka, ostensibly for the young, is striking. By the middle of the century, Mabuchi would have adopted the term *yamato gokoro* to articulate his vision of the innate warrior spirit of old Japan, but the concept - as noted above - had been circulating several decades earlier. The indigenously militant spirit of the Japanese was clearly on the contemporary mind: it was in the very same year - 1731 - that Sankinshi's *Rikuyu engi koi* had urged its readers to avenge the injuries of their parent with a manly and stalwart heart (*otoko rashisa, otoko no misao*). In four years' time, with the publication

³⁶ All of the following poems are taken from *Ehon Tsukubayama*. This poem appears in the *zatsubu* section of the *Meidai wakashû* (MWS): see Mimura Terunori ed., *Meidai waka zenshû*, vol. 12, no. 093 (Okayama: Fukubu shoten; 1976).

³⁷ The related term *yamato damashii* had emerged a little earlier in the *Tale of Genji* as a celebration of the spirit of Japanese culture over Chinese learning. See David Pollack, *The Fracture of Meaning: Japan's Synthesis of China from the Eighth through the Eighteenth Centuries* (Princeton; Guildford: Princeton University Press; 1986). The term *yamato gokoro* appears twice in Akazomeemon's personal collection in the context of native as opposed to Chinese learning. See Shinpen Kokka Taikan Henshu Iinkai ed., *Kokka taikan*, vol. 3:2, p. 318 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten; 1983).

of *Shimizu no ike*, Sukenobu's *ehon* would be making repeated allusions to the righteous overthrow of the tyrant.³⁸

It was not just the stalwart Japanese heart that the Akazomeemon poem invoked, however, but the virtue of such a heart to compensate for physical weakness or inferiority. This was a theme (vindication of the underdog) that would recur in Sukenobu's later *kyôkun*.³⁹ It seems highly probable that here, the poem was not selected on grounds of aesthetic merit or iconographic possibilities - the image has little iconic appeal. Its claim to distinction - and to a place in the concluding pages of *Tsukubayama* - lay uniquely in its invocation of the *yamato gokoro*.

Yamato gokoro was an infrequent trope in waka, and it was not repeated in *Tsukubayama*. The cluster of meanings associated with it, however, inform the whole work. Tropes of resilience, courage, and stoic devotion – in particular, rural fortitude - recur. Take, for example, this poem (by Moroyori 師頼) celebrating the courage of the hunters' mountain vigil (fig. 5.3):

Setting flares in the fifth month the brave men on the mountainside spend nights
on guard till dawn.⁴⁰

Tomoshisu to satsuki konureba masurao no ikuyo yamabe ni tachi akasuran

ともしすと五月来ぬればますら男のいく夜山辺にたちあかすらん

³⁸ Nakamura Heigorô, "Rikuyu engi koi", in Ishikawa Matsutarô ed., *Oraimono taikei* vol. 35, (Tokyo Ozorasha; 1731).

³⁹ See Chapter 2.

⁴⁰ The poem is included in MWS summer section - *natsu no bu* 夏部 under flares: *tomoshi* 照射.



Fig. 5.3

Detail of Fig. 5.3



Since deer are crepuscular, hunting during the summer months was traditionally nocturnal: hunters sought out their prey illuminating the territory with torches (*tomoshi*). The illustration to the poem shows a mountainside with a small group of hunters bearing rifles, a torch burning brightly in the dark, whilst deer on the far slope graze. The deer are unconcerned by the presence of the hunters; for his part, the man brandishing a rifle ignores them, scanning the landscape before him, off page. The imagery does not attempt to evoke the hunt of the poem. These brave men – *masurao* – more protector than predator, are not hunters in the conventional sense. This raises fundamental questions about the meaning of the image. The term *masurao* was a common *Man'yo* appellation, subsequently revived by Mabuchi to express the innate manly heart of the Japanese. It had more contemporary echoes in Sankinshi's invocations of *otoko rashisa*; it was celebrated by Keisai as a defining tradition of Japan: 'a tradition of martial valour and manliness (*masurao*) and a sense of honor and integrity that are rooted in our very nature'.⁴¹

⁴¹ Asami Keisai, *Chūgoku ben*. Cited in William Theodore De Bary ed., *Sources of Japanese Tradition: 1600-2000*, p. 94 (New York: Columbia University Press; 2005).

If the *Tsukubayama* image concealed an allegorical meaning, it clearly revolved around the deer: a poetic trope of passionate desire but hunted in the wilds as game. The species was protected only within the lands of the Kasuga Shrine on the slopes of Mount Mikasa, where, avatars of the Kasuga deity and messengers of the gods, deer roamed freely.⁴² In the image, the deer are protected: the *masurao* beside them are thus implicitly the protectors of the gods and their messengers. They perform a duty which, in Suika thought, was the primordial duty of the vassal.⁴³ If this reading is correct, then the image provides a context which inflects the meaning of the term *masurao*: no longer merely brave, these men perform a sacred duty.⁴⁴

Beacons in the Rural Hinterland

Like *yamato gokoro*, *masurao* occurs only once in *Tsukubayama*, but it casts a long shadow over the work. The peasant, steadfast, persistent and diligently committed emerges time and again as a pictorial trope. Thus, for example, this poem (by Takasuke 隆資), taken from the rice planting - *nawashiro* 苗代 - section of the *Meidai wakashû*, on the topic of freeing the irrigation channels of the paddies:

In the outer fields of the mountain village, not a day when the passage of water through the rocks is not freed up.

山さとの外面の小田のなはし路に岩まの水をせかぬ日ぞなき

⁴² Royall Tyler, *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity* (N.Y.: Columbia University Press; 1990); Susan C. Tyler, *The Cult of Kasuga Seen Through its Art* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan; 1992).

⁴³ See Introduction.

⁴⁴ It should be pointed out that the conjunction of the sacred and the martial was also a key feature of Tachibana Shintô doctrine which contained a large number of martial transmissions. See Matsumoto Takashi, *Suika Shintô no hitobito to Nihon shoki*, pp. 109-11 (Tokyo: Kôbundô; 2008). Links between Tachibana and Suika, forged principally by Tamagi Masahide, are documented in *ibid.*, pp.99-117.

Yama sato no sotomo no oda no nawashiji ni iwama no mizu wo sekanu hi zo naki

In the image, a peasant stands with half-raised pick, an expression of dour determination on his face as he observes water now flowing freely as a result of his endeavours (fig. 5.4). Persistent and undaunted, his daily toil results in the nourishment of the crops. But the imagery invokes the terms of the *ôbarae no kotoba*. To fill up an irrigation channel was a crime against the gods: to keep it free was thus a sacred duty.⁴⁵ The man's labour has connotations that exceed the performance of agricultural toil, connotations of sacred observance. Yet his is a lonely endeavour, a solitary yet devoted act of resistance, conveyed both by his stance and in his defiant, yet slightly nostalgic expression.

Fig. 5.4



Detail of Fig. 5.4



Indeed the rural landscape of these images is often the site of activity that verges on ritual: acts of devotion performed in a disenchanted world. A later poem in the work invokes the fisherman whose lamp burns through the night:

⁴⁵ See Introduction.

If there were no burning flares, how could they know where to lay the nets for the whitebait? Akisue⁴⁶

かかり火のなからましかハひをのほるあしろの程をいかてしるまし 顕季
Kakaribi no nagaramajikaba hio noboru ajiro no hodo ikade shirumaji



Fig. 5.5

Details of Fig. 5.5



The image depicts a solitary fisherman who stands half-sheltered by a thatched awning on a platform of woven bamboo, extending into the river. He pulls taut a string attached to the net suspended in the water; a flare burns nearby, the flames carried by the wind. The fisherman's posture, his face, express strength and resolve; he appears to execute his task with skill and judgment. The poetic trope of the fisherman's flare was conventionally commandeered both as an expression of secret passion and as a sign of human presence through the darkening night: for example *Kokinshû* no. 530:

my body suffers burning fire deep within, like the reflections of the fishing flares that float beneath the river's surface⁴⁷

or, from the *Shin goshûi shû*:

⁴⁶ MWS, winter *fuyu no bu* 冬部, net-fishing *amishiro* 網代.

⁴⁷ Translated in Rodd and Henkenius eds., *Kokinshû: a collection of poems ancient and modern*

boats descending the wider shallows of the Oi river, far from the mountain shade,
 their passage lit by flares along the shore

大井川山もと遠く漕ぎつれてひろ瀬にならぶ篝火のかけ⁴⁸

In the *Tsukubayama* illustration, these conventional associations are subtly modified by the detailed depiction of the fisherman himself: an image of fortitude, resilience amidst hardship: the *masurao*, a beacon in the depths of night. Yet the *masurao* himself is dependent on the light of the burning flare: a light which informs his every move, his deeper judgment. It is a light that, within Suika contexts, suggests symbolic possibilities.



Fig. 5.6

These tropes of rural toil and stoic resolution – denoted by a cast of rural types from peasant and fishermen to ferry haulers, cloth beaters, lumberjacks, hunters - recur throughout the waka volumes. Figures of solitary endeavour awaiting their moment, they keep vigil through the dark hours of night. The glow of their fires amidst the encroaching dark is a trope that, through repetition, acquires a symbolic intensity. Thus, in a striking nocturnal mountainscape, it is the white smoke rising from village

braziers that penetrates the black sky (fig. 5.6):

⁴⁸ *Shin Goshūishū*, no. 248.

Buried beneath a blanket of snow - yet smoke from the charcoal kilns of Ono
drifts upwards on the mountain wind Tadasue

雪は猶うつみもはてぬすみかまのけむり吹しくをの山風 忠季⁴⁹

Elsewhere, the light from the smudge fire of an isolated cottage reminds the traveller of
passion thwarted by circumstance (fig. 5.7):

Why born so lowly? she wonders - the girl, lost in anguished thought, beside the
glowing smudge fire Ippon Hōshinnō

今さらにはやしき身をやしつめかおもひくゆらんかやり火のかけ

一品法親王⁵⁰

Distinctive through their mood of melancholy,
even sombre absorption, these rural figures
possess an aura of dignity. Sunk in thought,
peasants appear to pursue their labour as if it
were ritual, as though their activity were
imbued with a loftier significance. Yet these
empathic, even reverential portraits clearly
owed much to contemporary humanist debate.



Fig. 5.7

Changing Perceptions of the Peasantry

Tsukubayama translated canonical tropes into modern terms, images of the peasantry
superimposed on paradigms of courtly utterance. The trope of rural life in Heian period
waka, when not a direct reference to an imperial landscape (such as the site of an

⁴⁹ MWS, winter *fuyu no bu* 冬部, *sumigama* 墨釜.

⁵⁰ MWS *natsu no bu* 夏部, *kayaribi* 蚊遣火.

imperial pilgrimage), was invariably an inverse reference to the capital, an invocation of home from afar.⁵¹ The poet-traveller's was either an administrative mission, or the consequence of exile: poets travelled at the behest of the emperor, and as such they were bearers of imperial influence mapping the extent of imperial presence. By the eighteenth century, the *rus-urbs* matrix was invested with additional complexity. Powerful strands of Kamigata humanist thinking were beginning to embrace labouring peasants and the poor not simply in terms of function, but as members of an empathetic human community.⁵² For Kaibara Ekken, in particular, the landscape at large offered up natural truths for contemplation: it was an education, a means whereby peasants through observation of the empirical world could improve their lot.⁵³ The farming community played a seminal role in the polity as a whole (*kuni no moto nari*) and thus commanded according respect.⁵⁴ The farmer, moreover, was inherently courageous, a soldier in ancient times who, put to the test, would still fight as well as any warrior.⁵⁵ Asami Keisai, lecturing in Kyoto at the same time, likewise saw the landscape as the locus of native truths, but of an allegorical order: native flora and fauna might remind the viewer of native institutions and indigenous political sympathies. Contemporary rural hardship,

⁵¹ See Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony: Poetry and Power in Early Heian Japan*, pp. 164-9.

⁵² For a discussion, see Tetsuo Najita, *Visions of Virtue in Tokugawa Japan: The Kaitokudô, Merchant Academy of Osaka* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; 1987).

⁵³ For Ekken's validation of the study of the material world, see, for example Tsuji Tetsuo, "Kaibara Ekken no gakumon to hôhō: Yamato honzō ni okeru jugaku to kagaku", *Shiso*, vol. 605, 1974, pp. 1542-3. See also Okada Takehiko, "Practical learning in the Chu Hsi School: Yamazaki Ansai and Kaibara Ekken" in William Theodore De Bary and Irene Bloom, *Principle and Practicality: Essays in Neo-Confucianism and Practical Learning* (New York: Columbia University Press; 1979); and Ekiken Kaibara and Mary Evelyn Tucker, *The philosophy of Qi : the Record of great doubts* (New York: Columbia University Press; 2007).

⁵⁴ Ekiken Kaibara and Masajir o Takikawa, *Kaibara Ekiken sh*u*, p. 68 (T*oky*o: Seibund*o Shink*osha; 1936).

⁵⁵ In "Bukun", Ekken Zenshūkai ed., *Ekken zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 370 (Tokyo: Ekken Zenshū Hankōbu; 1910-11). Cited in Kaibara and Takikawa, *Kaibara Ekiken sh*u*, p. 69

農人は商工にかはりて其志いやしからず。養をうけ恩をかうむれば戦にのぞんで其勇気をはげましてつたなからず。

meanwhile, was testimony of political injustice:⁵⁶ lambasting the burden of taxation borne by the farming community, he exhorted farmers to recognise their latent strength in numbers - ‘when the few unite, they become many’ - *shō wo yoseyosete, dai ni naru koto*.⁵⁷

Indeed there were signs in the world at large that the rural community was a force to be reckoned with: in the Tsuyama peasant revolt of 1727 over six thousand farmers had stormed the grain stores, while two hundred broke into a merchant store house.⁵⁸ The martial potential of the peasantry would remain on the popular mind. In 1750, the Suika scholar Yoshimi Yoshikazu would recommend - in his *Shindai jikisetsu* 神代直説 - that courtiers and farmers alike should cultivate a martial spirit ‘that they might act (*hanbaku*) if the realm was teetering’.⁵⁹ Takenouchi Shikibu was of a similar mind. In his *Ryūshi shinron* of 1759, Yamagata Daini would appeal to the forces of what he considered a militant peasantry. The work was never published, but Daini, like Mabuchi, was a prolific lecturer.⁶⁰

It seems reasonable to suggest that the peasant in *Tsukubayama* was the product of contemporary debate on the peasantry at large. Nonetheless, the recurrent tropes of rural toil and solitary burning lamps - deliberately selected from categories such as *tomoshi* (flares), *sumikama* (brazier), *kayaribi* (smudge fire) - simultaneously gesture to a symbolic domain of meaning. The atmosphere of nostalgia, moreover, that pervades

⁵⁶Keisai, “Satsuroku”, Nishi Junzō ed., *Yamazaki Ansai Gakuha*, pp. 340-43 (Tokyo Iwanami shoten vol. 31; 1980).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 350

⁵⁸ Described by the memorialist of “Getsudō kenbushū”, in Mori Senzō and Kitagawa Hirokuni eds., *Zoku Nihon zuihitsu taisei: bekkann*, vol. 4, p. 7-9 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan; 1981). See also Herbert P. Bix, *Peasant Protest in Japan, 1590-1884* (New Haven, Conn. (USA); London: Yale University Press; 1986).

⁵⁹ Isomae Jun'ichi and Ogura Shigeji, *Kinsei chōtei to Suika Shintō*, p. 80 (Tokyo: Perikansha; 2005).

⁶⁰ Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, *Japanese Loyalism Reconstructed: Yamagata Daini's Ryūshi Shinron of 1759*, p. 22 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press; 1995).

so many of these images - the sense of painful loss that marks the rugged features of the peasants - is suggestive of some more universal loss.

Landscape of Ritual

The scenes of *Tsukubayama* are frequently located within a specifically Shintoist context: labour and ritual intersect. In one image, two men (their *eboshi* suggest they are shrine functionaries) have made their way into the mountains to cut branches of the *sakaki* tree, an offering for the gods (fig. 5.8):

Today is the first day of the fourth month,
therefore let us take this sakaki branch and
make an offering to the gods Saionji Kinsuke

たちかへるけふを卯月のはじめとや神
のみむろにさか木とるらん 公相

*Tachi kaeru kyô wo uzuki no hajime to ya
sakaki toruran kami no mimuro ni*

The poem suggests joyful celebration: the men's faces convey loss, resignation, dedication in the face of adversity.



Fig. 5.8

Elsewhere, a functionary sweeps up the *hagi* leaves on the ground in front of a residence, daily labour that the poem casts in terms of ritual cleansing (*asakiyome*) emotionally observed by an imperial audience (fig. 5.9a):

I don't forget - petals of bush clover clinging to his sleeve as he sweeps the
temple grounds (*asakiyome suru*) Daijô Tennô

わすれずよ朝きよめするとのもりの袖にうつりし秋萩の花 太上天皇

Wasurezu yo asa kiyome suru tonomori no sode ni utsurishi akihagi no hana

In the image, there is no imperial audience; the bush clover blossoms but its petals no longer cling to the sleeves of the somber faced functionary, whose demeanour once more suggests disenchanting times.

Elsewhere, illustrating the topic of midsummer cleansing - *minatsuki no harae*, two women by a stream prepare to commit their *tamagushi* offering to the waters (fig. 5.9b):

The gods of the water are angry, perhaps - for even the waves seek to cleanse themselves of evil spirits

Ise no Tayû

みなかみもあらふる心あらしかし波もなこしのはらひしつれば 伊勢大輔

Minakami mo arafuru kokoro araji ka shi nami mo nakoshi no harai shitsureba

These poems invoke the trope of ritual purification (*harai*) - a ritual that occupied a key role within Suika Shintô.⁶¹ Central to the practice and teachings of both Yamazaki Ansai and Wakabayashi Kyôsei, its significance



Figs. 5.9a & b

for the latter extended beyond personal purification to the cleansing of the realm as a whole:

⁶¹ For the centrality of the concept of *harai* in Suika thought, see Matsumoto Takashi, *Suika Shintô no hitobito to Nihon shoki*, pp. 154-6. For its relevance to Wakabayashi Kyôsei, see *ibid.* pp. 196-7. Also Isomae Jun'ichi and Ogura Shigeji, *Kinsei chôtei to Suika Shintô*, p. 31 ; and Rai Kiichi ed., *Nihon no kinsei 13: Jugaku, kokugaku, yokagu*, pp. 54-5 (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha; 1991).

Harai is a word that means to sweep away evil (*aku wo haraisaru*). It sweeps away revolt in the realm (*kuni tenka*), it sweeps away those who commit evil in the realm (*ranzoku*), it restores virtue in the realm (*zen ni fukusuru*).⁶²

Given Kyôtsai's loyalist convictions, integral both to his Suika faith and his Kimon reasoning, *harai* was both a spiritual and political resource. It was also an effective rhetorical trope: a satirical version of the *Nakatomi no harai* (a key Suika ritual) was recorded in the miscellaneous writings assembled in the *Kyôhō sesetsu*. Here, the *harai* was satirically invoked in order to expel a select group of daimyo responsible for the bakufu's economic policies (*kanjō hōkō*) - the lords of Izumi, Kakei and Arima - who would be sent off to sea to leave a land purged of famine and austerity.⁶³ The frequent invocation of the trope of *harai* in *Tsukubayama*, and indeed thereafter, can be read productively in the broader context of Suika thought.

But while many of the images in *Tsukubayama* suggest an attitude of prayer and abiding reverence, others directly invoke it. A poem celebrating a Shintô ceremony, for example, suggests that the gentle breeze from the swaying sleeves of the priestess reach the gods:

Oh sakaki boughs bending in the breeze from the dancing sleeves, there is no
god who is not moved, I think Yasusukeô no haha

さかき葉や立まふ袖のおひ風になひかぬ神はおらしとそ思ふ 康資王母⁶⁴

sakakiba ya tachimau sode no ohikaze ni nabikanu kami wa oraji to zo omofu

⁶² Wakabayashi Kyôtsai, "Zatsuwa hikki", in Shintô Taikei Hensankai ed., *Suika Shintô*, vol. 13 (Tokyo: Shintô Taikei Hensankai; 1978). Cited in Rai Kiichi ed., *Nihon no kinsei 13: Jugaku, kokugaku, yokagu*, p. 54.

⁶³ "Kyôhō sesetsu", in Mori Senzô and Kitagawa Hirokuni eds., *Zoku Nihon zuihitsu taisei: bekkai*, vol. 5, p. 363.

⁶⁴ The poem is included in the Shintô section 神楽 of *Meidai wakashû*.

The image shows a Shintô priestess performing a rite under the canopy of a shrine (fig. 5.10a). Two attendants kneel to the side of the forecourt; one turns to observe the flame of a torch burning beside the shrine, which drifts in the breeze - a small moment of epiphany, for the poem suggests the breeze is god-sent. A similar god-sent breeze features in *Ehon arisoumi* - again, a momentary manifestation of the divine (fig. 5.10b).



Figs. 5.10a & b

Once more, these were rhetorical tropes: and yet to some extent they drew on contemporary perceptions. *Getsudô kenbunshû*, a memoir of the period, records rumours of divine winds (*kamikaze*), even manifestations of the god of wind (wearing a dark-blue *hakama*).⁶⁵ Freak winds, meteorological anomalies were widely read as manifestations of a divine will. The landscapes of *Tsukubayama* were largely

⁶⁵ See volume 3 of *Getsudô kenbunshû*. In Mori Senzô and Kitagawa Hirokuni eds., *Zoku Nihon zuihitsu taisei: bekkân*, vol. 4, p. 324

disenchanted, yet they remained landscapes of immanence; and there was a sense, in the world at large, that the gods were biding their time.

Moments of Epiphany

The residual presence of the gods within the largely disenchanted world of *Tsukubayama* gives rise to occasional epiphanic moments. Courtiers, male and female, wander in a rural wilderness occasionally encountering scenes of symbolic immanence: a reflection in running water, a sudden bloom revealed by the parting of foliage, smoke rising from cottages. Take, for example, the following poem by Shunrai:

Brushing my sleeve against rain-heavy boughs of wisteria, drenched by the
flower: suffused with love for the flower

雨ふればふちのうら葉に袖かけて花にしほる我身と思はむ 俊頼⁶⁶

*Ame fureba fuji no uraba ni sode kakete hana ni shihoruru waga mi to
omowamu*



Fig. 5.11

⁶⁶ MWS: Wisteria in rain *uchû fujibana* 雨中藤花.

The image shows a courtier grasping a branch of wisteria leaves; he makes as if to break it off when his eye catches sight of the panicles of flowers suddenly revealed beneath (fig. 5.11). Sight of the bloom checks him in his stride: it appears to be a moment of significance, of revelation. With the foliage parted, the sudden appearance of the flowers has all the moment of an epiphanic encounter. The poetic diction, moreover, is suggestive: the rain-heavy panicles soak - *shioruru*, both to soak and to be suffused, overwhelmed - the poet's sleeve. But the poem then explicitly pivots the physical state - the body literally drenched by the flower - into metaphor: the body suffused with love for the flower, a metaphor with powerful currency in Kimon discourse. Keisai's definition of humanity was the body suffused with love for one's lord.

The same sense of revelation is afforded by the sight of white chrysanthemums



growing beside a stream (fig. 5.12):

The clear depths of the rocky stream that flows forever the white chrysanthemums reflected in it for generations

Tamemichi no musume

たえずゆく(谷)岩の下水そこすみて千(世)年のかけ
みるしら菊の花 為道女⁶⁷

*Taezu yuku iwa no shita mizu soko sumite chiyo no
kagemiru shirakiku no hana*

Fig. 5.12

Chrysanthemums occupy a privileged place in Sukenobu's work: carefully cultivated on bamboo trellis by the young (*Arisoumi*) and the old (*Nezamegusa*), displayed in vases

⁶⁷ MWS: Chrysanthemum at water's edge *mizube kiku* 水辺菊.

by young girls (*Tsukubayama*), meeting the gaze of middle-aged courtiers (*Ogurayama*), they frequently suggest the object of longing. Here, the discovery of their reflection in the limpid water appears to give rise to a moment of nostalgia, of affectionate remembrance, even reassurance. Given that the white chrysanthemum was a symbol of the imperial institution and that the poem associated the flower with longevity, the chance encounter depicted in the image and the emotion it provokes suggest some kind of symbolic significance.

But the most emphatic expression of divine revelation occurs in an image of a courtier gazing at the moon (fig. 5.13). The poem (by Tachibana Tamenaka) is a declaration of (aesthetic) devotion:

All day I have spent gazing at the
flowers, yet here I remain,
waiting for the moon

さくら花日くらしみつつ (る
る) けふもまた月待ほとにな
りにけるかな 橘為仲⁶⁸

Sakura bana higurashi miruru
kyô mo mata tsuki matsu hodo ni
narinikeru ka na



Fig. 5.13

The courtier in the image appears in profile, the intensity of his gaze enhanced through the dramatic cropping of the image which creates an emphatic sense of proximity. The moon emerges from the

⁶⁸ MWS: Days spent beneath the flowers *hanami higurashi* 見花日暮.

mountainside, vast and white - a divine apparition. The courtier himself seems to be suddenly in the presence of the divine: his face suggests not the yearning of romantic love, but the beatitude of the religious devotee.

Tropes of Exile

Read as a whole, however, this work evokes an uneasy sense of a world not quite right in itself. Rare moments of epiphany cede to recurrent tropes of exile and homelessness. A spring poems shows a group of women plucking grasses in a meadow; a woman and a young boy espy a bird in the sky, beyond them fields and path dissolve into haze that shrouds the horizon (fig. 5.14). The poem reads:

The dwellings of capital dwellers are distant, lost in the mists: yesterday and today we pass in the meadows.

都人やとをかすみも余所にみてきのふもけふも野邊にくらしつ 如房⁶⁹

Miyakobito yado wo kasumi mo yoso ni mite kinofu mo kyô mo nôbe ni

kurashitsu

⁶⁹ MWS: Picnicking in the meadows *no asobi* 野遊.



Fig. 5.14

The women have a desultory air, their figures appear small against the vast span of meadow and paddy. The bird appears to represent a moment of hope - a token, as birds often were, of home. The original poem was composed on the subject of *noasobi* - picnicking, flower viewing, a country excursion; pleasurable things; yet the image conveys a sense of loss, of displacement. Home is distant, veiled by mist, and days are spent in a rural wilderness. A similar mood informs other images; occasionally, the tone slips towards despair. An image toward the end of the volume shows a female courtier walking despondently along a path through barren fields (fig. 5.15):

Drenched in thoughts along the frosted path through the meadow I can proceed
no more Kii

身にしみておもほゆるかな霜かれの野みちハさらにゆきもやられず紀伊⁷⁰

*Mi ni shimite omohoyuru kana shimogare no nomichi wa sara ni yuki mo
yararezu*

⁷⁰ MWS: Meadows *no* 野.

Thoughts of futility, a bleak wintry landscape: common tropes of waka. Yet the image of a female courtier struggling along a track through desolate fields—an image that recalls the displaced courtwomen of Chikamatsu’s history plays – is incongruous.⁷¹ And since the text is vague regarding the figure of enunciation, the decision to cast her as a female courtier seems a deliberate move. Once again, the metaphorical landscape of the text – the mindscape - becomes



Fig. 5.15

the physical landscape of the image: no longer the desolation of the individual, but of the civilized world.



Fig. 5.16

But a sense of looming threat pervades the natural world too. Pheasants are denied shelter, a deer senses danger (*arenu mono yue shika no nakaranu*), waterfowl are unable to pierce the ice of the frozen river (fig. 5.16).

⁷¹ For example Lady Yoshiteru in “Lovers Pond in Settsu Province”, Lady Emon in “Battles of Kawakajima”, Lady Eika in “Tethered Steed and the Eight Provinces of Kantô”. All translated in C. Andrew Gerstle, *Chikamatsu: 5 Late Plays* (New York: Columbia University Press; 2001).

The following poem is an example:

Even the grasses of the hunting fields afford me no shelter the cries of pheasants

はしたかのかりハ小野のくさわかみかくれもやらてきじすなくなり⁷²

Hashitaka no kariba no ono no kusa wagami kakuremo yarade kijisu nakunari



Fig. 5.17

The image shows a pair of pheasants with their chicks, exposed amongst clumps of cropped grasses, the male vigilant, the female tending her young (fig. 5.17). The detailed rendition of the birds is characteristic of the iconography of *Tsukubayama* and not repeated in Sukeknobu's oeuvre.⁷³ These images of indigenous flora and fauna appear to be the product of empirical observation: they evoke in particular, the life drawings of flora and fauna of Ekken's *Yamato honzô* (1715). Ekken's work had claimed the study of the empirical world as the route to true knowledge.⁷⁴ Life drawing was the natural extension of the concept, a tool for the wider heuristic endeavor (*tsumabiraka no toute, sono ri wo akiraka ni shi*).⁷⁵ If the images of indigenous flora

⁷² MWS Pheasants - *kiji* 雉

⁷³ With the exception of botanical illustrations in *Ehon hanamomiji*.

⁷⁴ *Yamato honzô* can be accessed at <http://nla.gov.au/nla.gen-vn536958>. See Tsuji Tetsuo, "Kaibara Ekken no gakumon to hôhō: Yamato honzô ni okeru jugaku to kagaku", in particular p. 1549.

⁷⁵ Cited in *ibid.*, p. 1549.

and fauna in *Tsukubayama* cited the idiom of Ekken's work and they tacitly laid claim thereby to its purpose: the representation of natural truths. The rhetoric of truth, however, was powerfully inflected by the poetic utterance. While Ekken's images were representations of the empirical world, Sukenobu used the same idiom to articulate the world of affect. Tropes of exile, homelessness, impending danger, expressed in the impartial language of scientific endeavor, were intended as representations of a political truth.

But there was, perhaps, more to the animal iconography. For Mabuchi, animals were the unchanging legacy of the land: the rightful heirs, mistreated, threatened by humans:

just as the heavens and earth, the sun and moon never change, birds, beasts, fish, trees and grasses are as they were in ancient times. . . . from a bird or beast point of view, the bad ones are the humans.⁷⁶

If the study of flora and fauna for Ekken was the passage to a reverential understanding of moral truths, for Mabuchi, flora and fauna stood as testimony to the cumulative crimes of humanity. This chapter has argued that the dissonant landscapes of *Tsukubayama*, published in the same year as Sankinshi's *Rikuyu engi koi*, belong to a matrix of disaffection: that its overtly Shintoist gestures invoked the imperialist inflection of contemporary Suika Shinto thought. It was a meditation on the imperial plight. In such a context, images of native fauna, hunted and homeless, could easily be read - in Mabuchi's terms - as victims of cruel change. They summoned up the analogous situation of another native institution, perceived by some, at least, to have

⁷⁶ Kamo Mabuchi, "Kokuikô" in "Taira Shigemichi and Abe Akio eds., *Kinsei Shintoron Zenki Kokugaku*, p. 379.

been displaced from its native habitat, exiled from its people. If moments of epiphany represented moments of imperialist hope and tropes of exile and homelessness gestured to the marginalised imperial institution, the dying strains of the bush warbler's song, the beating wings of waterfowl, the cry of the pheasants, were metaphors of imperial lament.

Metaphors of Love

Like Qu Yuan's *Li Sao*, *Tsukubayama* articulated its plaint through metaphors of the natural world. In a cluster of images at the end of the work, however, the iconography shifts abruptly to the world of romantic love. There is a suggestion that this, too, is no more than a political trope. The first of the love poems is illustrated by a woman in contemporary court dress, adorned with a cherry blossom design, reading a letter (fig. 5.18):

Languishing, my body alone survives; however auspicious it may seem, the name of the one I love I shall never reveal Noriyoshi no musume

おもひよはる身こそはたえす成とても人の

しのはん名をはもらさし 教良女

Omohiyowaru mi koso wa taezu naru totemo hito

no shinobamu na wo ba morasaji

The cusped window suggests a reclusive setting, the plum branch abiding memories; the piled books - possibly historical works - suggest an informed environment. The trope of undeclared love recalls Keisai's love that cannot speak its name: indeed, the



Fig. 5.18

poem is placed under the heading of *shinobu koi* (secret love).

Another poem, celebrating a first tryst (*shogû koi*) is illustrated by a woman kneeling by the seated figure of a man - who has clearly just arrived: she helps him to remove his jacket (fig. 5.19a). It is an image of requited passion; the woman's kimono once again bears a plum blossom design.

But more common are the poems that treat the subject of unrequited love. A poem on the subject of *tsukimashi koi* (love that increases over time) is illustrated by an image of a woman with a pipe, gazing at the moon from a veranda (fig. 5.19b). The poem reads:

Your features haunt my mind this evening: yet though I would gaze at the moon,
it is long since you have come Naidaijin

いとどしく面影にたつこよいかな月を見よとも契らざりしにを 内大臣

Itodoshiku omokage ni tatsu koyoi kana tsuki wo miyo tomo chigarazarishi ni

Figs. 5.19a & b



The rejected woman wears a kimono bearing the waterlily/hollyhock design familiar from *Ehon shimizu no ike* (fig. 5.20b). On the facing page, a woman looks at herself in

a mirror (fig. 5.20a). The poem - on the subject of *wasururu koi* (forgotten love) - reads:

All I have now is memories of that night of intimacy: how I long for you

Morikata

今はたまたなれしそのよを思ひいててわか身さへこそ恋しかりけれ 盛方

Ima wa tada nareshi sono yo wo omohiide wagami sae koso koishikarikere



Figs. 5.20 a & b

Once more, the rejected woman wears a kimono with a hollyhock design. But on the veranda stands a vase with chrysanthemums, symbol of the imperial institution. These *bijin* images bring to mind the figures of women in *Shimizu no ike*, emblazoned as a political

cipher. The rejected lover, like the divorced wife, is branded with the hollyhock; requited love is expressed in terms of the plum. Translated into cruder political terms, these symbols point to the theme of political rejection, of unrequited political desire. As such, this

initially discordant group of images (the jump from rural stoicism to courtly expressions of romance is abrupt) fits comfortably within the religio-political narratives of the work as a whole.

Metaphors of Light

In fact, when the work is read in light of such narratives, iconographies that originally appear less discursive acquire new symbolic possibilities. The opening image of the first volume, for example, depicts a seascape: the risen sun casts a shimmering light over waves that break on a rocky promontory. It illustrates a poem by Fujiwara no Teika celebrating *risshun*, the first day of spring.

The same light of the rising sun that bathes the waves across the sea today spring
dawns

出る日のおなじ光にわたつ海の波にもけふや春はたつらむ

Izuru hi no onaji hikari ni watatsumi no nami ni mo kyô ya haru wa tatsuramu

The poem, which opened Teika's private collection (*Shûigusô*), invoked the spring sun as a conventional metaphor of imperial favour.⁷⁷ The spatial allusions, in particular the connotations of ubiquity, suggest not simply imperial favour, but the extent of imperial beneficence.⁷⁸

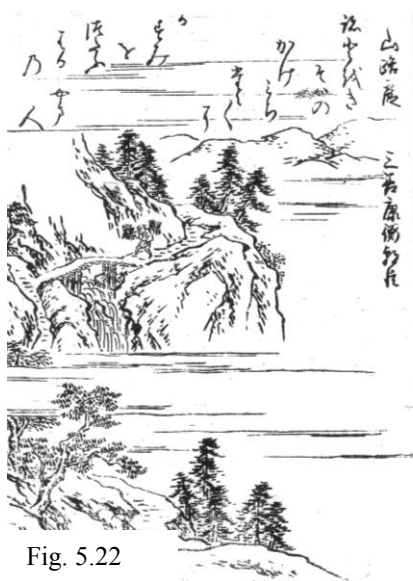


Fig. 5.22



Fig. 5.21

⁷⁷ For example this poem from the felicitations section of the *Kokinshû* (870): 'The brilliant rays of the sun light up the darkest thicket even in ancient Isonokami'. Translated in Rodd and Henkenius eds., *Kokinshû: a collection of poems ancient and modern*. For the full text of the *Shûigusô*, see Shinpen Kokka Taikan Henshu linkai ed., *Kokka taikan*, vol. 1:2.

⁷⁸ Teika's poem was composed in 1181 (Yôwa 1), at the height of the Genpei war: imperial influence was already waning but the imperial institution nonetheless remained the hub of poetical activity (and retained political aspirations) for another fifty years. See, for example, Edward Kamens, *Utamakura, Allusion, and Intertextuality in Traditional Japanese Poetry* (New Haven, [Conn]; London: Yale University Press; 1997).

The image is equivocal, however: for the rising sun - half-obscured below the horizon - is depicted in the upper left corner of the picture space, the remainder of which is given over to the depiction of stormy seas (fig. 5.21). Passages of shimmering light break across the page, but they are dominated by swirling eddies of turbulent water. The expanse of light evoked in the poem has been reduced to patches of illumination, residual traces of a luminous presence. This is no longer an iconography of power. In an age when imperial illumination was anything but pervasive, its subdued radiance suggested a cosmic metaphor of faded glory.

Subsequent images likewise make discursive use of the language of natural phenomena. The second poem invokes the theme of spring mist:

Far into the distance along shaded tracks - wisps of spring mist borne by the
mountain dwellers

跡とをきそハのかけみちたえ々々にかすみをつたふはるやまの人⁷⁹

Ato tôki sowa no kakemichi taedae ni kasumi wo tsutafu haru yama no hito

The poem is a pastoral meditation on the rising spring, and here forms part of a sequence of three poems invoking the spring mist. The mist is expressed in horizontal bands of shimmering light - the same term used for the watery reflection of light in the opening seascape – yet unlike the light, the mist is pervasive (fig. 5.22). Unfurling along mountain paths deep in the heart of the country, rising like the tell-tale smoke of the burners into the sky, clinging to the fronds of trees, the mist is conveyed deep into the landscape by the progress of tiny rustic figures. Steadfast and stoical, they carry word of the rising spring through difficult terrain.

⁷⁹ MWS: Shady road *kage michi* 陰道 (MWS has *haru no yamabito*).

If the watery light of the opening image was in some way semantic (if its fading eminence was symbolic) - the insistent repetition of wide bands of mist also suggests metaphorical possibilities. From the early poems of the Man'yôshû, mist had been invoked as a trope of longing.⁸⁰ Within contemporary Shintoist discourse, the atmosphere itself was considered a manifestation of divinity, the shifting passage of yin and yang between heaven and earth. Zankô, for example, would write:

The descent of the gods to earth should be considered in terms of the rise and fall of yin and yangIn order to nurture all things under the heavens, the earth has to attract the yang principle: so as the sun dries the earth, the spirit of the earth is pulled upwards, and becomes like smoke rising into the sky. The yang element of the earth, meanwhile, attracts the yin of the heavens, which descend in the form of rain and frost.⁸¹

For Zankô, rising mists and falling rain were symptoms of divine movement, they were evidence of universal immanence. It is tempting to read the mists of *Tsukubayama* - which, like the representation of light and other atmospheric effects are distinctive features of the iconography of the work - as graphic allusions to this same immanence. Read in tandem with metaphors of loyalist yearning that thread through the work, they

⁸⁰ For example Akahito's celebrated meditation on the former Asuka capital, where mists rising from the river mime the poet's own longing: 'Like the mists that rise and linger above the pools of the Asuka River, mine is a longing that will not fade away'. Translated by Anne Commons in Haruo Shirane ed., *Traditional Japanese Literature: An Anthology, Beginnings to 1600*, p. 91 (New York: Columbia University Press; 2006).

⁸¹ Taira Shigemichi and Abe Akio eds., *Kinsei Shintoron Zenki Kokugaku*, pp. 206-7.

天上より神の降臨の事、或物識の書に、神は雪雨などのごとく、空より降べからずと。…天上より降臨の事、元陰陽の降昇を以て論ず。天の陽清の降り下るは陽中の陰濁也。又地中の陰濁の昇り上るは、陰中の陽清の気なり。天の万物を生育給ふば、地中の陽清をいざなふなり。則日光の土地をかはかすによりて、土気いざなはれて煙のごとくして、空に昇は、又土気の陽清、天中の陰濁をいざないて雨と下る霜と下る。

allude, perhaps, to emergent hopes of divine assistance, divine protection, even the proximate advent of the gods

Postscript

Tsukubayama can be read as a meditation on the imperial plight. The two penultimate images of the work, however, provide a form of postscript; they suggest - obliquely - a context of production. Both images depict an elderly, tonsured man; in the first, he has fallen asleep despite the festive company of courtiers (figs. 5.23 a & b). The headnote informs us that the poem was composed when Ryûgen Hôshi 隆源法師 fell into a deep sleep at a gathering, from which he could not be roused even by a cup of sake – the *mezamashigusa*, or waking potion of the poem:

Even here, beneath the deep forests of the shrine of sleep, grasses of awakening
have grown Shunrai

おひしけるねふりのもりの下にこそめさまし草はうふべかりける俊頼⁸²

Oishigeru neburi no mori no shita ni koso mezamashi gusa wa ububekarikere

Mezamashigusa - a euphemism for both tea and tobacco, and the common name for both the pine and the bush clover - was a variant of the term *nezamegusa* that would provide the title of a later *ehon* dedicated to the *Wakan rôeishû*. The poem suggests that even in dark shades of sleep there are signs of awakening; yet in the image, taunted, prodded by the courtiers, the priest sleeps on: their words fall on deaf ears. The following image, however, shows the same priest camping beneath a clump of maiden flowers - *ominaeshi*:

⁸² MWS: On the Buddha's birthday, *kanbutsu no kokoro wo* 灌仏の心を.

If you wish to say I have failed to keep my word, say it, but tonight I will shelter beneath the maiden flowers.

おちにきとかたらハかたれ女郎花こよひハはなのかけにやとらん 都僧範玄

83

Ochiniki to kataraba katare ominaeshi koyohi wa hana no kage ni yadoramu

The expression on the priest's aged face, resigned yet determined, burdened, perhaps, by too great an insight, is eloquent. The maiden flower was a common trope of sexual desire, a consequence of the kanji for 'woman' (*gorô*) with which it was written.⁸⁴ It was also often associated - by extension- with lapsed vows.⁸⁵



Fig. 5.23b



Fig. 5.23a

In the context of Sukenobu's publishing history, this is significant, for *Tsukubayama* was his first overtly political work since the Kyôhō reforms and the banning of

⁸³ MWS: Picking flowers on the road at Hino, *Hino hanatome ji* 日野花留路.

⁸⁴ The flower had a number of symbolical associations. For a discussion, see Edward Kamens, "Dragon-Girl, Maidenflower, Buddha: The Transformation of a Waka Topos, "The Five Obstructions"", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 53, 1993,

⁸⁵ See, for example, *Kokinshû* no. 226 by Henjô in Rodd and Henkenius eds., *Kokinshû: a collection of poems ancient and modern*, p. 112.

Hyakunin jorô shinasadame: and it concludes with an allusion to a broken vow. In the first of the pair of images, the aged priest is unmoved by the solicitations of courtiers: in the second, he sleeps openly beneath the maiden flowers - an allegorical declaration of passion that constitutes, implicitly, a broken vow. This is the first of a number of veiled allusions within the *ehon* to broken vows and past crimes. But for the next twenty years, Sukenobu would pursue the same political agenda in his works: *Tsukubayama* was the first in a long series. It seems possible to suggest, tentatively, that the trope of confession was in some way self-referential. The passion to which he here confessed was a political one: the broken vow is something to which we will return.

Ehon Minanogawa

Over the next decade, Sukenobu would publish two sequels to *Tsukubayama*, both of which explored the rhetorical use of waka for the expression of passionate political allegiance. The first of these sequels, *Ehon Minanogawa*, appeared five years later, in 1736: the same year in which *Shimizu no ike* was published. Since Mt. Tsukuba mountain was the source of the River Minano, the title suggested an association between the works; indeed the two topoi were jointly celebrated in a verse by Retired Emperor Yozei (876-84) in the *Hyakunin isshu*:

Flowing from the summit of Tsukuba mountain, the waters of the Minano river
converge in deep pools like my love.

Minano - often written with the characters for ‘man’ and ‘woman’ - the people; and tellingly, the landscape has shifted from the rural wilderness of *Tsukubayama* to the city. Opening with *banzai* celebrations, the work closes with an image of a street and a bookseller selling New Year books: images, that is, of communal encounter. Not a

single courtier graces the pages of *Minanogawa*, no poets, no court costumes, no *eboshi*. Instead, its cast draws from the urban community: townsmen and labourers, rafters, fisherman, beggars, travellers, pedlars. Festival celebrants, too, feature prominently, as do shrine and temple visitors and blossom viewers. Old and young, male and female, jostle together at shrines, in temple precincts, along roads, under rain shelters. The work appears to celebrate, above all, the moveable urban community: courtly references of *waka* are now relocated not just in the present, but in the commoner present. Take, for example, a poem by Yukihiro hailing the return of Emperor Kôkô (884–887) to a long-neglected site of imperial pilgrimage:

Imperial visits to Saga mountain have long ceased; yet the Seri river still recalls
the hallowed trace of the distant past

Saga no yama miyuki taenishi serigawa no chiyo no furu michi ato wa arikeri
is illustrated by an image of bands of commoners returning along a rural track from a day's picnicking, hailing a *senbei* vendor as they pass. They carry branches of the sakaki tree. Imperial pilgrimages are no more, yet the trails and the memories are sustained by the daily rituals of common folk (fig. 5.24).

Fig. 5.24



Ki no Tsurayuki's famous Osaka pass poem:

While still he crosses over and journeys onward leaving me behind, your title
Osaka, Meeting Hill, is just a name

Katsu koete wakare mo yuku ka ausaka wa hito danome naru na ni koso arikere

which in the *Kokinshū* bears the preface that it was composed while seeing off Fujiwara no Koreoka, leaving to take up the vice-governorship of Musashi - is no longer a trope of illustrious partings but of the weary anonymity of undistinguished travel (fig. 5.25).



Fig. 5.25

But if *Minanogawa* adopted a starkly different frame of reference to *Tsukubayama*, its message was not so different. In the absence of a courtly presence, it is now commoners who uphold



Fig. 5.26

tradition: *manzai* is celebrated on the streets, translated into a commoner idiom of hobby horses and drums (fig. 5.26); commoners seek out late and lingering blossoms in villages, bind iris leaves to the eaves of their houses for the fifth month, throw offerings to the gods into the river, attend shrine festivals.

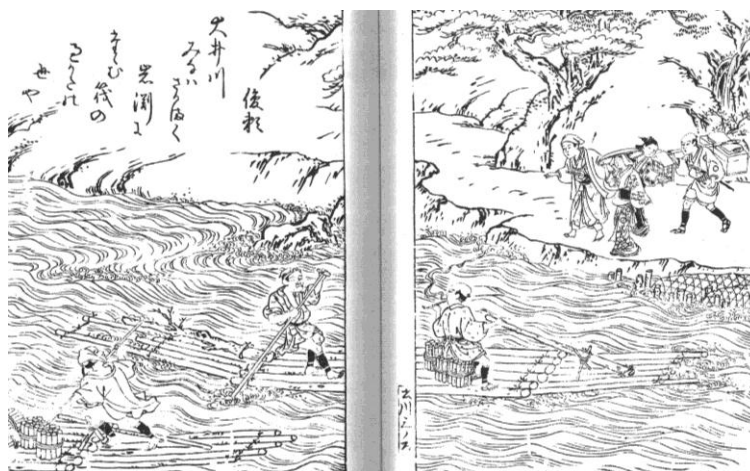
Tropes expressed in *Tsukubayama* in rural or courtly terms are broached here in urban terms. Perseverance and endurance, for example, are now expressed through the trope of rafters on the River Ôi:

Life is like the passage of a raft tossed on the waters surging over the rocky reefs of the Ôi river

Oigawa minawa sakamaku iwafuchi ni tatamu ikada no sugikata no yo ya

Fig. 5.27

The illustration (fig. 5.27) shows a small group of townsfolk looking on as rafters negotiate perilous waters; the rafter in the centre of the image



bears the expression of stoic endurance familiar from the fishermen, the hunters, the farmers - the *masurao*, or men of substance - of *Tsukubayama*. The burning light of devotion is now represented by a pedlar of fireflies (fig. 5.28):

A flame of love that never dies, burning through the short summer night, the firefly

Kieyaranu omohi naru rashi natsu no yo no mijikaki hodo ni moyuru hotaru wa

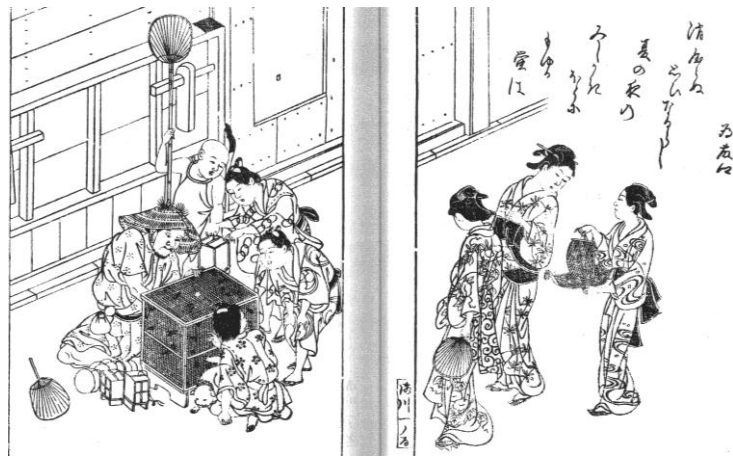


Fig. 5.28

The pedlar, his face bearing an expression of deep compassion, opens his mesh cage to transfer a firefly into a small lantern proffered by one of the young children gathered about him. It is now children and pedlars who keep the light ablaze. An image in the middle of the work (illustrating a poem by Tametoshi) develops the topos of the night lantern, ‘*yotomoshihi*’ (fig. 5.29):

onozukara kakagetsukusanu tomoshibi no kage mo fukenu to miyuru yowa kana.

Somehow, the oil in the lamp has not yet burned dry yet its light grows fainter as night deepens

The lantern trope is based on an allusion to the tale of Genji: at the Paulownia court, the emperor lost in anxious contemplation as Kiritsubo no Kôi

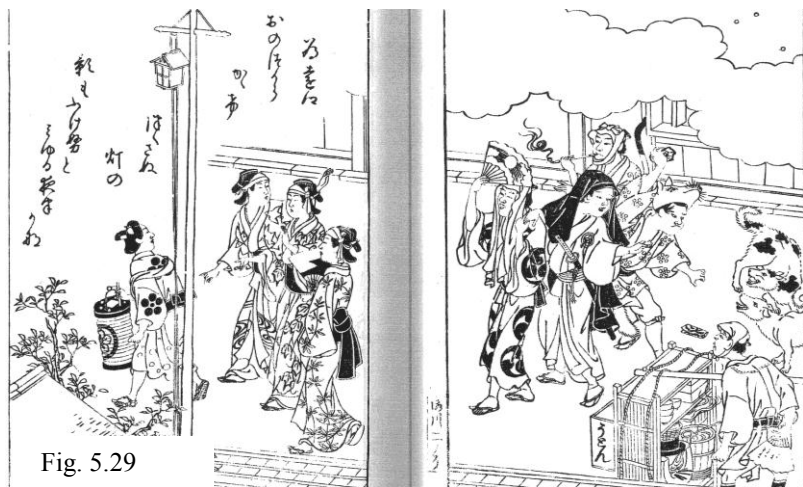


Fig. 5.29

languishes, stays up so late that the light from the lanterns expires - ‘*kakagetsukushite tomoshibi*’ (the term literally indicates that the wicks have been turned up until they have completely burned out). Tametoshi’s poem reverses the trope – the oil in the lamp has not yet burned dry (*kakagetsukusanu*) yet its light, nonetheless, grows fainter as night deepens. The solitary lamp becomes another reference to imperial fortunes, dimming in the face of advancing night. In the image, the solitary lamp is now a street lamp or *kôtôrô*, a common feature of festive celebrations; and it enables a punning reinterpretation of ‘*onozukara*’. In the poem, the term means ‘naturally’: here, the lamp is free-standing, or self-suspending: it stands up all on its own (*onozukara*).⁸⁶ The Genji allusion is summarily replaced by a part of the fabric of contemporary life, which in turn acquires symbolic significance.

Such punning interpretations of poems are frequent in this work. Take the *Shinkokinshû* poem by Fujiwara no Tametada in which the poet attempts to express the feelings of an abandoned *yûjo*, or courtesan:

Another solitary night draws toward dawn, but since I rely on none, why should

I be bitter?

*Hitorinete koyoi mo
akenu tare to shimo
tanomaba koso wa
konu mo uramime*

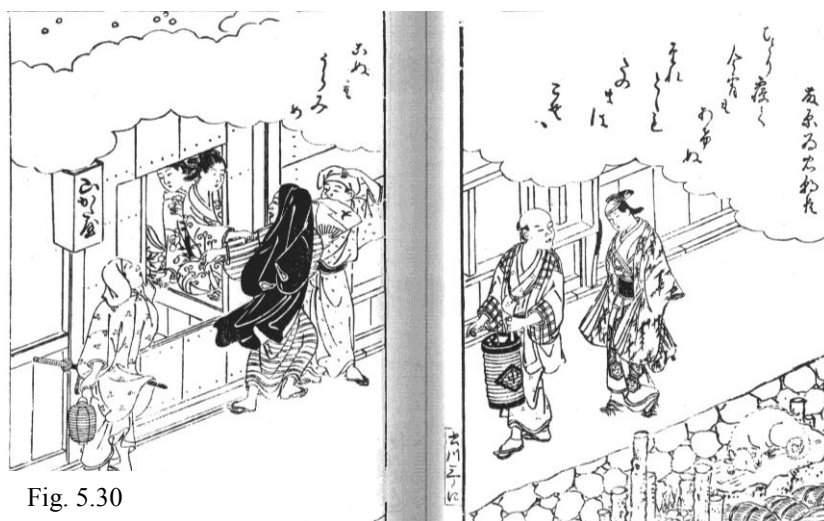


Fig. 5.30

⁸⁶ For an example of the *kôtôrô* see Motoyama Keisen, *Nihon minzoku zushi*, vol. 3, p. 182 (Tokyo: Tôkyôdô; 1942-3).

The text is illustrated by a number of figures seeking to secure a sleeping partner for the night: a courtesan accosts a passer-by (who pulls away alarmed), a young male actor or *wakashū* has been rebuffed by a middle-aged man (fig. 5.30). Resentment is in the air. But in the lower right corner of the image, a solitary dog is curled up, asleep and contented, below the wall of a dike. The poetic voice is the dog's: it alone accepts its solitude without bitterness, without thought for itself. This has resonances with Keisai's characterization of the true vassal: loyal in adversity, neither reproaching nor resenting his lord:

If you find yourself even remotely resenting (*uramu kokoro*) your lord you should pluck the notion from your mind, eradicate it at source: your lord is precious beyond words (*taisetsu de yamarezu*).⁸⁷

The sleeping dog is a witty allegory of Keisai's ideal of the selfless subject, consummated through love for his master - the epitome of the public servant: *ware naku oyake nareba*.⁸⁸



Fig. 5.31

fabric. In one image (fig. 5.31), a woman watches a young boy prepare

This is not the only image, however, that alludes to tensions: in fact, the ostensibly festive atmosphere of *Minanogawa* conceals ominous rifts in the social

⁸⁷ Cited in Ôkubo Yûichi, *Asami Keisai no kenkyû: kyôgaku shinzui*, p. 89 (Tokyo: Daiichi Shuppan Kyôkai; 1938).

⁸⁸ *Jinsetsu montô shisetsu* in Nishi Junzô ed., *Yamazaki Ansai Gakuha*, p. 302 et passim.

for the bath: he sheds his outer garment, to reveal a yukata emblazoned with paulownia leaves. The woman starts with surprise.

The poem reads:

Leaves of the secret forest, do not scatter like words: you reveal your true heart
*Chirasu na yo shinobu no mori no koto no ha ni kokoro no oku no miemo koso
sure*



Detail of Fig. 5.31

Clearly, the shed garment has revealed unexpected political affiliations. The woman - who, by contrast, wears a kimono with the *tachibana* design - exclaims in surprise, inadvertently revealing her own allegiance. For although the *tachibana* crest was not restricted to the Tachibana family, it was overwhelmingly associated with it.⁸⁹ Given the close affiliation at court between Tachibana and Suika Shinto factions, given also the use of the motif on the clothes of shrine officials in Sukenobu's imagery (see below), it carried uniquely Shintoist - Suika Shinto - connotations in the *ehon*.⁹⁰ Thus, illustrating the poem (fig. 5.32):

⁸⁹ For example in the Edo period, the Kuroda and related Onodera clans used a triple *tachibana* crest. See Numata Raisuke, *Nihon monshôgaku*, pp. 520-1 (Tokyo: Jinbutsu Ôraisha; 1968).

⁹⁰ For the coalition of Tachibana and Suika factions at court, see Isomae Jun'ichi and Ogura Shigeji, *Kinsei chôtei to Suika Shintô*, pp. 55-61 et passim. Also Matsumoto Takashi, *Suika Shintô no hitobito to Nihon shoki*, pp. 99-117

Ten thousand, a thousand years, if we give voice to this refrain, the gods will protect the reign in perpetuity

Yorozu tose chitose to utafu koe sunari kami mo hisashiku yo wo mamorurashi is an image of a shrine festival. A group of commoners watch the purification dance; but the drummers on the stage and two women in the audience direct hostile looks towards a samurai, who makes to leave through the *torii*. The ritual dancer wears a garment emblazoned with the *tachibana*.



Fig. 5.32 and detail

These images suggest political divisions within the urban community. One of the early images of *Ehon Minanogawa* - a work which illustrates classical waka - shows a boat progressing down the Yodo river (fig. 5.33). The poem reads:

People may think the Yodo River currents stand still in quiet pools yet deep
beneath the surface constant waters swiftly flow⁹¹

淀川のよどうと人はみるらめと流てふかき心あるものを

The topographical allusions of the image are significant. The Yodo landscape had been transformed under bakufu rule: the island at the confluence of the Uji, Katsura and Kizu had been requisitioned as the site of Yodo jô, the residence of the Yodo authorities who

⁹¹ Rodd and Henkenius eds., *Kokinshû: a collection of poems ancient and modern*

supplied the officers to Kyoto. Yodo-jô was completed in 1625: the historic waterwheel, previously used for agricultural purposes, was commandeered for the castle while major alluvial works to the Kizu river made the waters run faster. It was a site depicted with detail in the landscape view of Tachibana Morikuni (fig. 5.34).

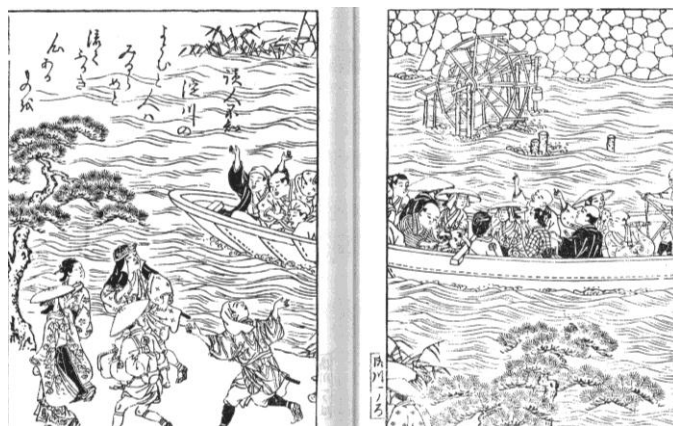


Fig. 5.33

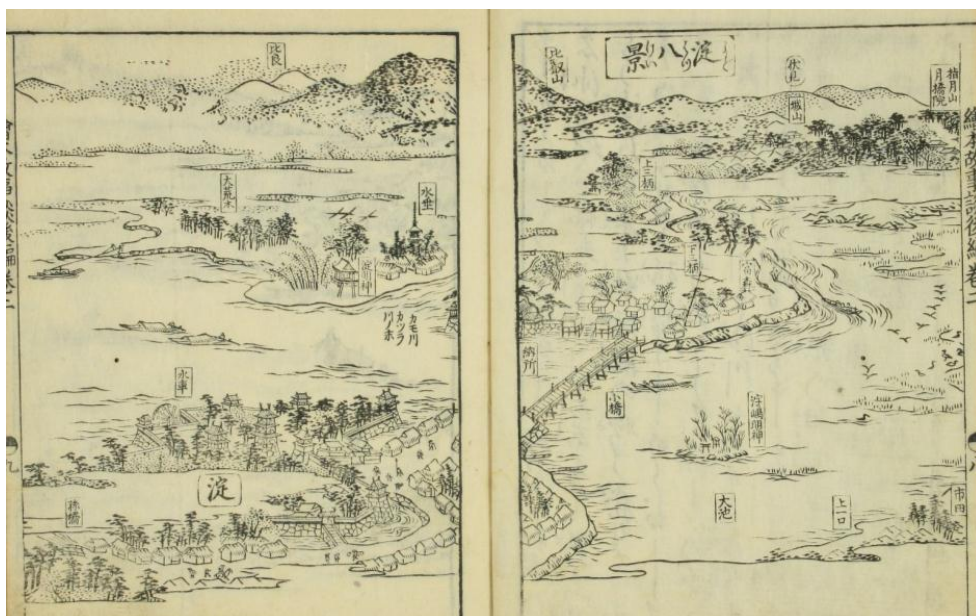


Fig. 5.34

Sukenobu's image is thus an emphatically contemporary view of the site of an ancient poem - a view which would serve as a model for later *meisho zue* (see fig.5.35) - and it

radically recontextualizes it. The waters of the river now flow rapidly and the landscape has been recast at the hands of temporal authorities: yet those same authorities, capable of transforming the face of things, have no purchase on - can neither fathom nor control- the depth of people's hearts.



Fig. 5.35: 都名所図会 *Myako meisho zue* 1780: Yodogawa

Similar allusions to potential popular insurgency underlie a poem celebrating the first day of the horse:

Today, first day of the horse in the second month: as a sign, there is not a single old leaf left on the Inari cedar
Kisaragi ya kyô hatsuuma no shirushi tote inari no sugi wa mototsu ha mo nashi.

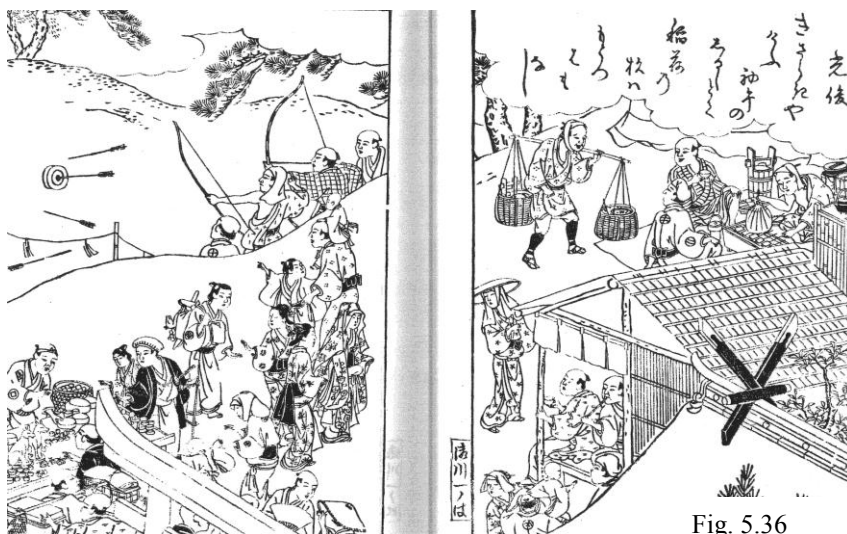


Fig. 5.36

The image (fig. 5.36) shows commoners milling around shrine grounds - they purchase Inari fox amulets, practice archery (one man has just hit the bull's eye) and talk. It was a custom on the first day of the horse to pluck branches from the cedar at the Inari shrine: if the branches took, as cuttings, good luck would follow; conversely their withering was an omen of bad luck. The poem - by Fujiwara Mitsutoshi (1203-76), one time student of Teika - was originally a seasonal celebration in the courtly tradition. Perhaps, at the time of utterance, it carried loyalist aspirations, for Mitsutoshi, as part of Go Toba's circle, had been implicated in the Jōkyū disturbance (1221) and briefly exiled. Here, however, the referent is emphatically commoner. Thus the allusion to the shrine cedar, stripped bare, is a trope of commoner imprecations to the gods. The muscular torso, the grim determination of the lead archer recalls the *masurao*. In light of the general theme of popular disaffection that informs the whole work, the commoners' petitions to the gods are surely intended to read as political supplications.

But political divisions equally inform the domestic sphere. A famous poem by Shunzei:

Let it be known: the wind which is blowing around the garden branches carries with it your thoughts.

Shirurame ya yado no kozue wo fukikawasu kaze yo tsuketemo omofu kokoro wo is illustrated by a boy has climbed a ladder from the neighbouring garden in order to retrieve a shuttlecock that has landed on the boundary wall (fig. 5.37). A young girl with a battledore stands below, expectantly. Another woman emerges from the girl's house with a long pole: she clearly intends to retrieve the shuttlecock herself, and she

addresses a stern look towards the boy. The significance of this is hard to understand - unless read in terms of the flowers. The boy grasps a branch of plum to steady himself on the ladder: the lower part of the girl's kimono bears a hollyhock design.



Fig. 5.37

Read in terms of the image and the flower motifs, the poem acquires ominous overtones: if amorous thoughts are conveyed by the wind, so too are political ones. Political allegiance can be unwittingly disclosed: the maid seeks to prevent association between the young girl, groomed in a pro-shogunal climate, and the boy whose allegiance, implicitly, is to the cherry. Allegories informed by the floral symbolism of political affiliation, suggest a world where appearances are deceptive, where no one can be trusted, and where the truth must remain hidden.

Ehon arisoumi

If the superficially festive mood of *Minanogawa* belied a darker subtext, the mood in the final volume of the waka trilogy was unmitigatedly bleak. *Arisoumi* was published in 1736:⁹² the new pessimism was palpable in the very title, derived, once again, from a well-known waka topos:

How he encouraged my trust, singing of the many sands on the beach by the
rough sea did he mean to tell of the many ways of forgetting?⁹³

*Ariso umi no hama no masago to tanomeshiwa wasururu koto no kazu ni zo
arikeru*

Indeed a sense of hope betrayed pervades the volume. Like its predecessors, *Arisoumi* took its poems from the *Dairingushô* or the *Meidai wakashû*, with the exception of the opening poems of each volume which are drawn from the *Shinchokusenshû*, the imperial anthology compiled in 1235 by Fujiwara Teika.⁹⁴ The inclusion of *Shinchokusenshû* poems may be significant: the reception of this anthology had been mixed from an early date, yet its poems were generally recognised as being more forthright (*shojiki*) than those of its predecessor the *Shinkokinshû*. It was associated with a virile aesthetic, with the virtue of *makoto*, with the fruit (*mi*) rather than the flower (*hana*).⁹⁵ It was perhaps this aesthetic consideration that contributed to a growing increase in the popularity of the anthology from the late decades of the seventeenth century, both in court circles (where it was copied on several occasions by a

⁹² Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Ehon arisoumi*, 1736, National Diet Library, Tokyo.

⁹³ *Kokinshû* no. 818. Translated in Rodd and Henkenius eds., *Kokinshû: a collection of poems ancient and modern*

⁹⁴ The poems are included in both collections, but the majority of the variants follow *Dairingushô* versions.

⁹⁵ Ôtori Kazuma, *Shin chokusen wakashû kochûshaku to sono kenkyû*, pp. 14-21 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan; 1986).

handful of courtiers); and in the world at large, where commentaries and printed editions became increasingly common from the Genroku period onwards.⁹⁶

Sukenobu's reasons for incorporating poems from the *Shinchokusenshū* in *Arisoumi* are not clear: but its characterization as a work that embraced a martial spirit may have lent it a special appeal. The first volume opens, typically, with a scene of *manzai*:

Those stressed and rushing until yesterday, are suddenly peaceful in their hearts,
spring has come.

きのふまでいそくとみえし諸人の心のとけき春は来にけり

kinofu made isogu to mieshi morobito no kokoro nodokeki haru wa kinikeri



Fig. 5.38

The poem celebrates the welcome calm that descends following New Year's bustle: yet the atmosphere of the image is subdued (fig. 5.38). *Manzai* dancers perform in a domestic forecourt: a woman and some children pause to watch, clutching balls, bats and a pine branch – tokens of New Year - but others pass on. A courtier in *hakama* strides past, his face stern; a commoner leaves in the opposite direction, left of page, holding a child by the hand whose kimono bears a chrysanthemum motif. The reason

⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 17-22.

for the mood of restraint is signalled by the manzai dancers' costumes: one bears a bold *tachibana* motif, with its Shintoist (and in the context of the *ehon*, loyalist) connotations: the other the *tsuta* ivy motif associated with the Matsudaira. This is significant, for it suggests that communal festivities celebrating the longevity of the imperial line are disturbed by a foreign presence. The meaning of the poem shifts: if it originally welcomed a beneficent calm, it now becomes an oblique allusion to disappointed expectations, to a new sense of apathy or defeat.

The following two poems (both from the *Shinchokusenshū*) show court women in the act of contemplating desolate landscapes. In the first, the woman stands on the bank of a full-flowing river on the other side of which, thick mist obscures all but the roof ridges of thatched cottages. The poem invokes the desolation of winter, frost laying bare the dilapidation of rustic cottages:

Ragged with frost, the reed-thatched cottages, cut off by bands of mist

Taikenmon' in Horikawa

霜かれハあらはにみえしあしの屋のこやのへたてはかすみなりけり

待賢門院堀川

Shimogareba arawa ni mieshi ashi no ya no koya no hedate wa kasumi narikeri



Fig. 5.39

The mist, which in *Tsukubayama* appeared as a signifier of rural longing, is glossed in the image as both distance and obstruction: the water of the river merges with a band of mist that sweeps across the picture space like an erasure, dividing the courtier from the abodes of the people (fig. 5.39). In the second image, the woman stands in heavy rain, sheltered by an umbrella held by a maid, staring at a wall (fig. 5.40). The poem (by Ise) invokes gentle spring rains and raindrops strung from willow fronds:

The spring rain on the boughs of the young willow looks like jewels on a string

青柳の枝にかかれる春雨はいともてつなく玉かとぞ見る 伊勢

Aoyagi no eda ni kakaruru harusame wa ito mote tsunagu tama ka to zo miru



Fig. 5.40

The image is anomalous on a number of counts: the delicate spring rains of the poem have become a torrent; the raindrops – central to the poem’s imagery - are elided; and the wall - which so preoccupies the woman - has no equivalent in the poem. Yet the wall is key to understanding the image. Inscribed with five painted lines, or *gohonsen*, it indicates a residence of imperial status. The beaded motif on the ridge of the wall (*nokigawara*) suggests the roundels which adorned the ridge of the outer walls and roofs of the palace.⁹⁷ It is to this jeweled motif that the woman’s gaze is directed. The roundels are clearly strung across the ridge like beads: brushed by the tips of the willow fronds, they suggest a displaced reference to the string of jeweled raindrops in the poem. The wall and its jeweled motif, symbols of imperial presence and correlates of the glistening willow fronds, become implicit objects of desire.

But the outer wall of the imperial palace was a mixed signifier: it signified the palace - imperial presence - yet it also signified imperial absence. Here too, the wall bars the woman from the object of her affections - its jeweled motif an abiding token of

⁹⁷ See introduction

her desire – while auspicious spring rains become a relentless torrent: an invocation of imperialist loyalty in difficult times.

That these are difficult times is signalled in a later image, which shows a courtier in the palace or an imperial residence (the ridge of the wall bears the beaded motif) progressing down a corridor. He espies, to his alarm, a woman pulling back the blind of a room to the left: her gown bears the paulownia motif (fig. 5.41). The poem (by Teika) reads:

I am used to having sleeves wet by tears, but there is not even time to enquire of
if my loved one has forgotten

涙せく袖の余所めはならえともわすれすやともとふひまぞなき 定家

Namida seku sode no yosome wa narae tomo wasurezu ya to mo tofu hima zo naki

Fig. 5.41



The poem alludes to the bustle of courtly affairs that prevents lovers meeting, but the image suggests an environment of physical barriers and intrusive presences, the impossibility of private moments. It is a climate of suspicion, located specifically, moreover, within an imperial residence. Another poem (by Fujiwara Takamitsu) bears a

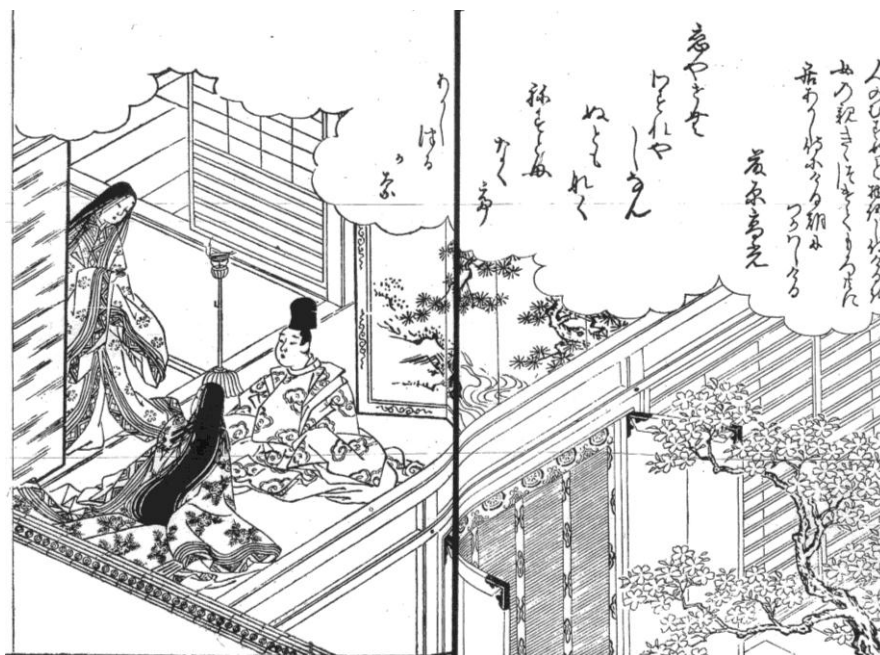
headnote to the effect that a young girl's parents, alerted to the proposed visit of a suitor, stay up all night to thwart the encounter. Come morning, the lover sends a poem:

Shall I love or shall I forget? never sleeping, nor truly waking, forever waiting
 戀やせむ忘やしなむぬともなくねず共なくて明しつる哉 藤原高光

Koiya semu wasureya shinamu nu tomo naku nezu tomonakute akashitsuru kana

The beaded ridge of the imperial palace is once more clearly signalled in the image, where the father and mother are seated in a lamp-lit room, preventing the daughter's passage to the door (fig. 5.42).

Fig. 5.42



Elsewhere, a man visiting a woman dismisses his servant on his arrival (fig. 5.43). His face betrays anxiety: 憑不信恋

You asked that we should meet therefore I came; yet the bird strangely,
 suggesting I should leave Narinori

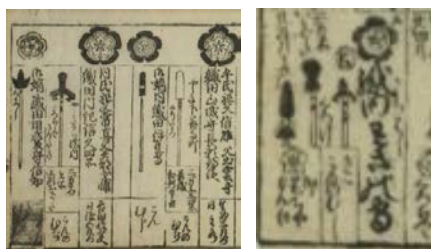
逢見むとたのむれはこそくれはとりあやしやいかがたちかへるべき

成範

Ai mimu to tanomureba koso kure ha tori ayashiya ikaga tachikaeru beki

The original poem writes *tori* - bird - with the *kanji* 鳥; the *Arisoumi* poem leaves it in phonetic script. This permits a homonymic reading - 取り (*tori*) - which indicates a bearer, for example the bearer of a lantern. Given that there is no bird in the image, and that the man is dismissing the bearer of his lantern, there seems to be a pun intended. The servant wears an obsequious look which appears to have disconcerted the man: and so it should, for the lantern he carries bears a crest with unavoidable *bushi* associations, the five lobed *kyûri* crest 五瓜 of the Orita clan.⁹⁸ The sense of threat invoked in the poem is recast by the image in political terms.

Fig. 5.42&3



The *kyûri* crests of the Orita clan:
left, *Teibo kagami*, right, *Kyôhō bukan*.



⁹⁸ For an introduction to the warrior mirrors, see the Hitotsubashi University Library exhibition website <http://www.lib.hit-u.ac.jp/service/tenji/k14/tenjihin_list.html>. The *Teibo Edo kagami* 丁卯江戸鑑 (1687) can be found online at <<http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/search.php>>. For *kyûri* associations with Orita Nobunaga and the Orita clan, see also Numata Raisuke, *Nihon monshôgaku*, pp. 1193-99

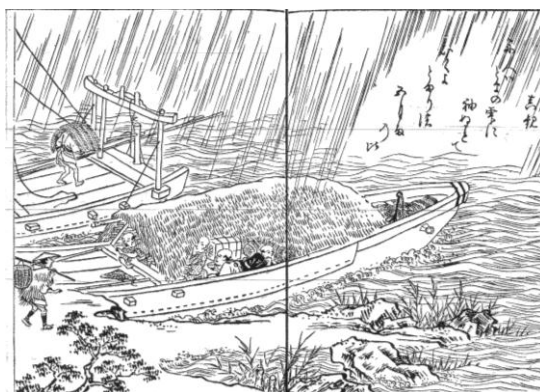
This sense of suspicion, of deep malaise, is characteristic of *Arisoumi*. Encounters are regularly thwarted by the inimical presence of a third. There are obstructions; a sense of impasse informs a number of images. Tropes which earlier, in *Tsukubayama*, had signified the stoic resistance of the peasant, have become tropes of despair. Thus, boatmen sheltering under thatched canopies through the long rains of the fifth month no longer anticipate any reprieve (fig. 5.44):

The boatmen drench their sleeves with the drops from the thatch canopy, how long will they have to wait through the rains of the fifth month? Shinkan

船人はとまの雫に袖ぬれていくよとまりの五月雨の比 真観

Funabito ha toma no shizuku ni sode nurete ikuyo tomari no samidare no koro

Fig. 5.44



Similarly ferryman hauling boats through the shallows now symbolise the relentless adversity of the times (one of the haulers raises his eyes to the skies, as if in imprecation):

Like the river boat poled through the shallows, my heart seems heavy as I go through life

あさき瀬にさほさしのほる川舟の心もゆかぬ世をわたるらん

Asaki se ni sao sashinoboru kawabune no kokoro mo yukanu yo wo wataruran

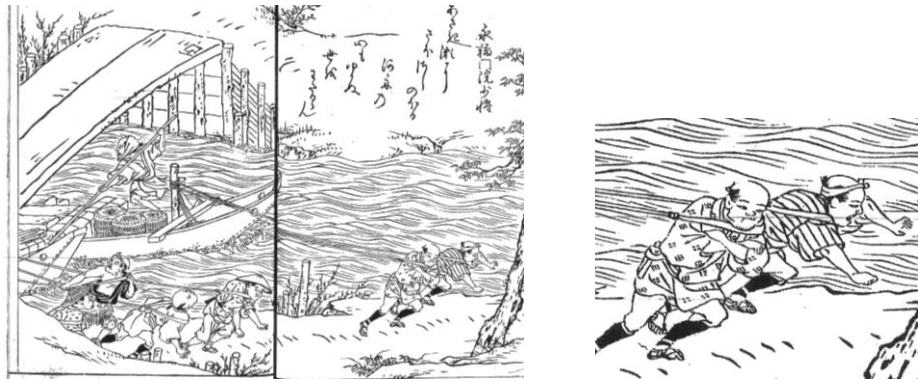


Fig. 5.45 and detail

The work concludes with an image of a courtier's residence: night is falling, and lights are being brought in: there is a sense of urgency. The poem reads:

It grows dark, the lamps are coming quickly, for our hearts yearn for the light of
 day Sadatsugu⁹⁹

暮ぬとてまつ灯そいそかるる日影をきほふ心ならひに 定嗣

Kurenu tote matsu tomoshibi zo isogaruru hikage wo kiou kokoro narai ni

Amidst the encroaching gloom, the lamps offer some relief: an allegory of faint hope in difficult times (fig. 5.46). The image - one of the many selected from categories devoted to lamps burning through the night - *yo tomoshibi, tomoshibi, kayabi* - is testimony to a mood of gathering despondency: invocations of divine immanence, of sacred landscapes, rural loyalty, have all but vanished, and in their place is a deep and rivening mistrust.

⁹⁹ MWS:yotomoshihi 夜灯.



Fig. 5.46

These three works formed a trilogy charting imperialist sentiment over a period of five years. The mood, however, has changed palpably. While the landscape of *Tsukubayama* had offered signs of hope, *Arisoumi* is characterized by a sense of deep disappointment, even dejection. References to the court in the earlier work suggested a climate of loyalism: in *Arisoumi*, the palace is itself the site of dissension, suspicion. There are suggestions that the shift in mood charted by these works was based in contemporary reality. Within the court itself, differences between those counselling a course of rapprochement with the bakufu - in particular the powerful Konoe family - and those seeking to reclaim imperial authority were widening.¹⁰⁰ The Suika interface between court and the common domain was also suffering: in 1733, the Suika scholar Matsuoka Chûryô had been expelled from Ogimachi circles for publishing secret transmissions not intended for commoner ears.¹⁰¹ Earlier, in 1724, Atobe Yoshiakira 跡部良顕(1658-1729) and Tomobe Yasutaka 伴部安崇(1668-1740) had been expelled by

¹⁰⁰ Isomae Jun'ichi and Ogura Shigeji, *Kinsei chôtei to Suika Shintô*, pp. 80-82.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-5.

Ogimachi Kinmichi for the same crime.¹⁰² There was a conscious distancing on the part of official Suika factions from the more incendiary elements in the common sphere. In *Tsukubayama*, courtier and peasant had trod the same path of spiritual exile, in *Arisoumi*, the common ground was receding.

The Private Language of Waka

The images of the waka volumes read, throughout, like riddles: presumably they were meant to. The reader was offered a clue in the form of a contemporary allusion, a crest, an odd gesture or facial expression, and from this he or she could unravel the political satire proposed by the combination of image and text. How many readers fathomed these puzzles is impossible to gauge. This thesis argues that some tropes, at least - love suicide, marriage, the elephants - had become current in the world at large. The expression of loyalist devotion through the hallowed language of waka was itself becoming commonplace. The political importance of waka had captured the attention of scholars since the latter decades of the seventeenth century. Its potential to serve as a coded idiom was voiced in a short story collected in *Seken hahaoya katagi* (1752) by Sukenobu's collaborator Tada Nanrei. A group of friends betake themselves to Takao to view the maple and compose poetry. One wanders away from the group and encounters a mysterious young woman with whom he exchanges poems. The friends speculate upon her identity: perhaps she was planning to 'strike her parent's enemy and having no one to assist her in the fight, she used waka as a strategy (*kotoyose*) to fraternise with men, to fathom their minds and to enlist their support'.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Ibid., pp. 51-2.

¹⁰³ Takada Mamoru, Hara Michio and Kazama Seishi eds., *Tada Nanrei shû*, p. 251 (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai; 1997).

Within court circles, it seems quite clear that waka had become a medium of expression for political disaffection. Go-Mizunoo's disgust at the bakufu ruling on the purple robes incident was given allusive expression in a New Year's composition in which he referred to his shame (*haji*).¹⁰⁴ A votive plaque preserved at Entsûji 円通寺 bears a trinity of poems by emperors Go-Mizunoo (1596-1680), Go-Kômyô (1633-54) and Reigen (1654-1732) - the latter added at a later date. All three invoke the desolation of the winter landscape:

露結ぶ袖のかたしき打とけてねぬ夜の月の影そ寒けき

These robes, dew-bound, fall ragged; moonlight shines coldly through the
sleepless night

朝ぼらけ有明の月もみるからに吉野の山にふれる白雪

In the light of the dawn moon, I see white snow falling on Yoshino mountain

霜氷る袖にも影ぞ残りけり露より馴れし有明の月

Light flickers on my frost-hardened sleeve: it is the dawn moon, accustomed
only to the dew

Kawakami Kozan, commenting on the poems in 1917, had little hesitation in ascribing the bleak winter tropes to a political state of mind:

The retired emperors took ancient poems, and modified them. The moon
became a metaphor of their own person. They expressed their pain and disgust at

親のかたきをうたむと思へども、助太刀にたのむべき人なきゆへ、歌に事よせ男とまじはり、こころをためしてたのまんため...

¹⁰⁴ Elizabeth Lillehoj, *Art and Palace Politics in Early Modern Japan, 1580s-1680s*, p. 198 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill; 2011).

bakufu constraints (*bakuatsu*) in various ways: frost alluded to pain, snow to the extremity of pain.¹⁰⁵

Indeed, throughout the Kyôhō years, the memoirs record numerous poetry meetings at court. In 1727 (Kyôhō 12), Retired Emperor Reigen had made an imperial pilgrimage to Shûgakuin. There had been a poetry party: the topics were facing the chrysanthemum (*kiku ni taisu*), and waiting for the moon, tropes which resurface time and again in Sukenobu's *ehon* as allegories of imperialist lament. Both the *miyuki* and the topics were recorded by the *Getsudô kenbunshû* memorialist: it was information available in the public domain.¹⁰⁶

Even in the world at large, waka possessed a degree of aura. In 1734 (Kyôhō 19), there had an uncanny spate of deaths in an area of Kyûshû, when those opening their doors to a mysterious nocturnal knocking would inexplicably die. Terrified residents began to attach a poem to their doors concluding with the words *koko zo kami nari* - the gods reside within. The knocking and the deaths ceased.¹⁰⁷ In some quarters, at least, there was residual faith in the words of the gods. It is in this context of common lore that the final poem in *Tsukubayama*, originally compiled under the category *Invocations to the Gods* 奇神祇祝 - should be read (fig. 5.47):

住吉の松も花咲く御代に逢ひてとかへりまもれ敷島の道

Waka of Japan, defend the pines of Sumiyoshi and their blossoms for a thousand years

¹⁰⁵ Kawakami Kozan and Ogisu Jundô, *Myôshinji-shi*, pp. 562-4 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku; 1975). 此等古歌を選がせ御製に代へ月に御身を寄せ心に幕圧を悪み給ひ其苦みの軽きを其重きが霜に其極を雪とし、三院其意を通じ給ひて、共に此の御懐きを詠じさせ給うたものであらう。

¹⁰⁶ Mori Senzô and Kitagawa Hirokuni eds., *Zoku Nihon zuihitsu taisei: bekkân*, vol. 4, p. 22.

¹⁰⁷ *Getsudô kenbunshû*, in *ibid.*, p. 317.

Shikishima no michi was a metaphor for the way of waka. The poem invoked the magico-spiritual powers of poetry as protection in perpetuity (*tokaeri* was a reference to the *tokaeribana*, the flower of the pine that blooms once in a hundred years) for the imperial institution. It was a fitting conclusion to the work: but as an invocation of the power of waka, it was more than a mere rhetorical flourish.

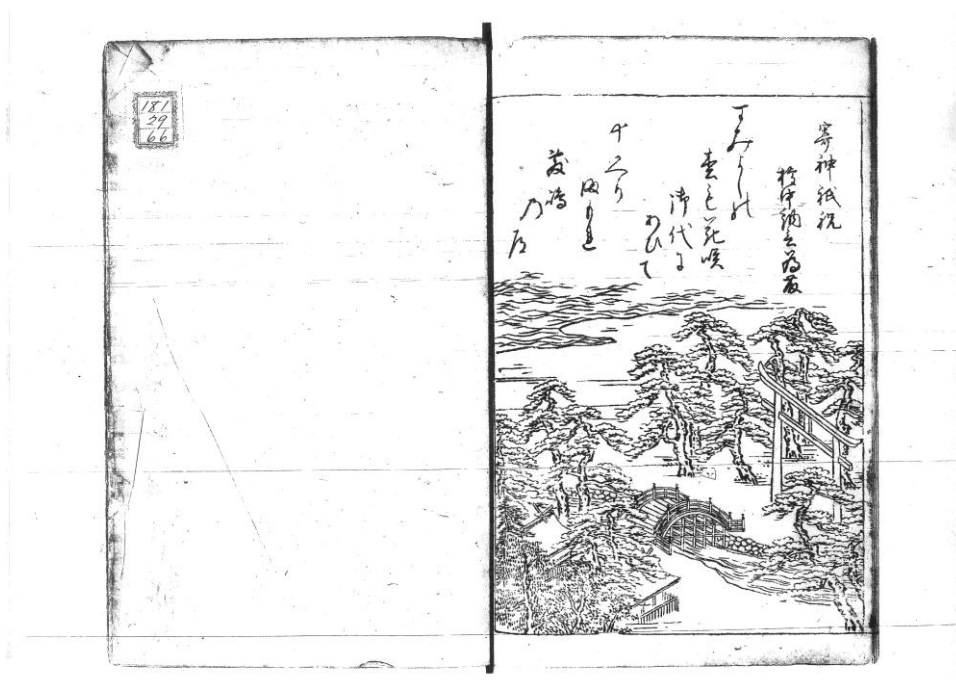


Fig. 5.47

Fig. 5.1 *Ehon Tsukubayama* 1731 絵本筑波山: Elephant frontispiece



Fig. 5.2 *Ehon Tsukubayama* 1731 絵本筑波山



Fig. 5.3 *Ehon Tsukubayama* 1731 絵本筑波山



Fig. 5.4 Ehon Tsukubayama 1731 絵本筑波山



Fig. 5.5 Ehon Tsukubayama 1731 絵本筑波山



Fig. 5.6 Ehon Tsukubayama 1731 絵本筑波山



Fig. 5.7 Ehon Tsukubayama 1731 絵本筑波山



Fig. 5.8 Ehon Tsukubayama 1731 絵本筑波山



Figs. 5.29 a&b Ehon Tsukubayama 1731 繪本筑波山



Figs. 5.10 a& b

(a) *Ehon Tsukubayama* 1731 絵本筑波山



(b) *Ehon arisoumi* 1739 絵本有磯海



Fig. 5.11 Ehon Tsukubayama 1731 繪本筑波山



Fig. 5.12 *Ehon Tsukubayama* 1731 絵本筑波山



Fig. 5.13 Ehon Tsukubayama 1731 絵本筑波山



見花月著

橋為伴狂言

さくら

月夜

見花月著

月夜

さくら

Fig. 5.14 Ehon Tsukubayama 1731 絵本筑波山



Fig. 5.15 Ehon Tsukubayama 1731 絵本筑波山



Fig. 5.16 Ehon Tsukubayama 1731 絵本筑波山



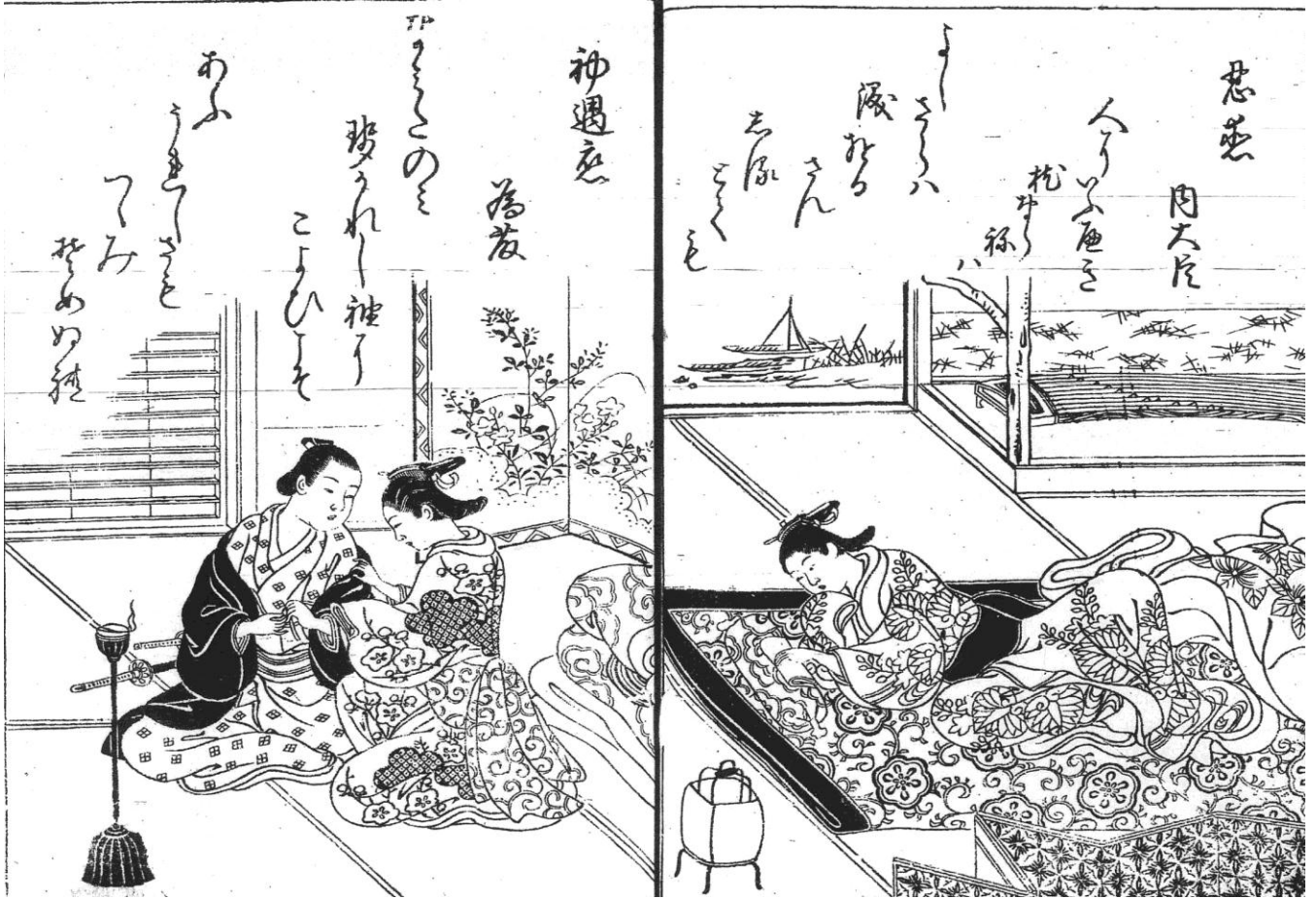
Fig. 5.17 Ehon Tsukubayama 1731 絵本筑波山



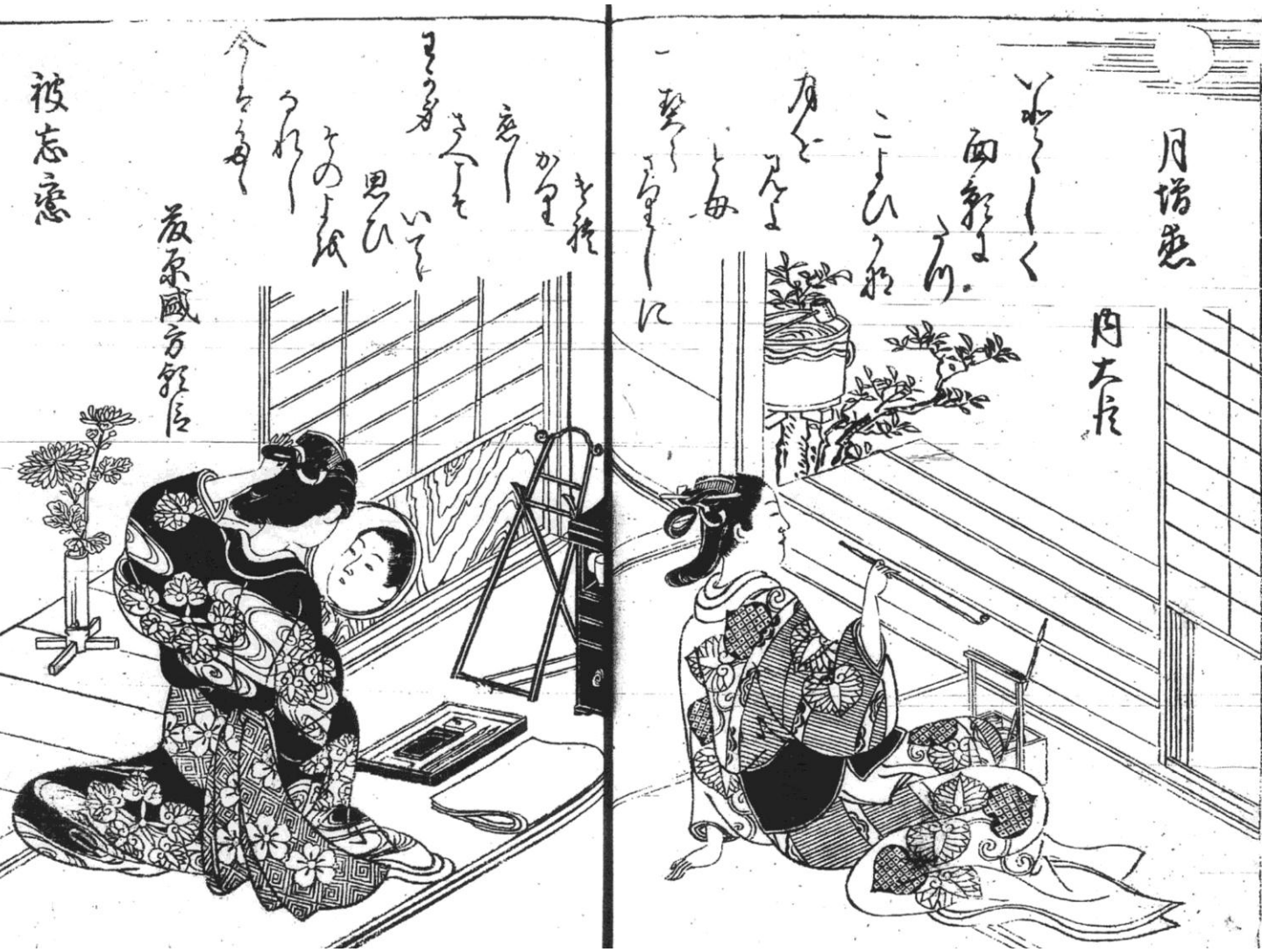
Fig. 5.18 *Ehon Tsukubayama* 1731 絵本筑波山



Figs. 5.19 a & b *Ehon Tsukubayama* 1731 絵本筑波山



Figs. 5.20 a & b *Ehon Tsukubayama* 1731 繪本筑波山



Figs. 5.21 & 5.22 Ehon Tsukubayama 1731 絵本筑波山

5.22

5.21



Figs. 5.23 a & b Ehon Tsukubayama 1731 繪本筑波山



Fig. 5.24 Ehon Minanogawa 1736 絵本美奈能川



Fig. 5.25 Ehon Minanogawa 1736 絵本美奈能川

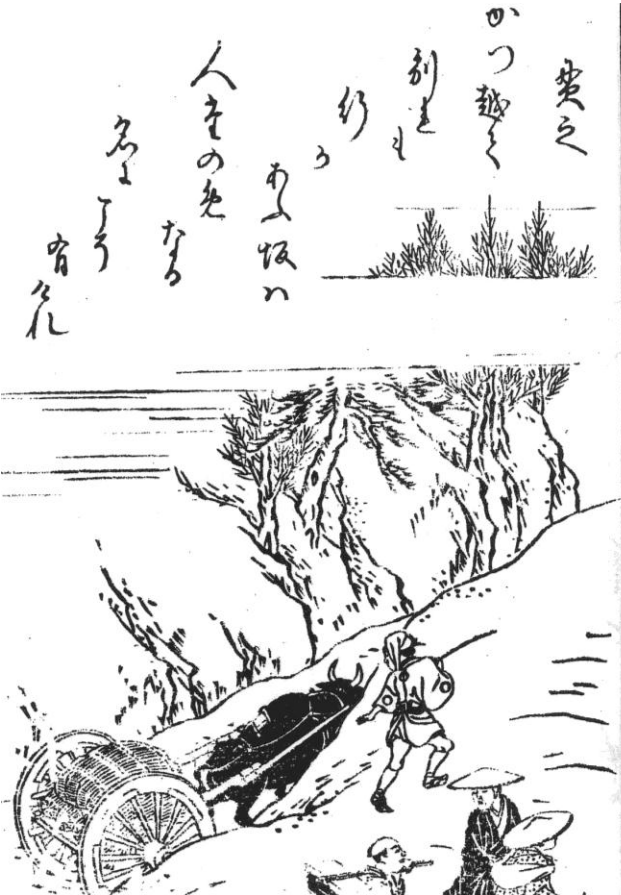


Fig. 5.26 Ehon Minanogawa 1736 絵本美奈能川



Fig. 5.27 Ehon Minanogawa 1736 絵本美奈能川

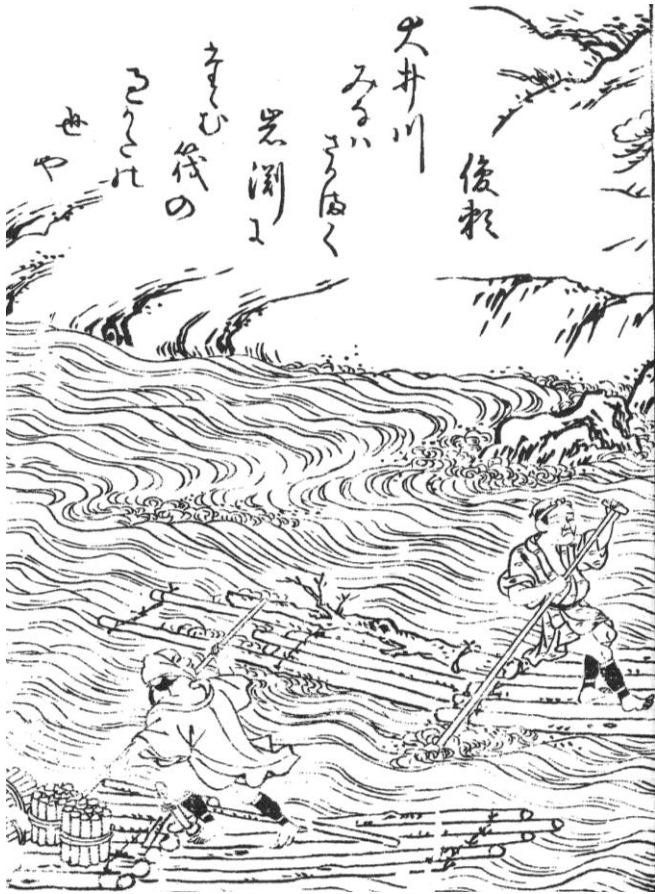


Fig. 5.28 Ehon Minanogawa 1736 絵本美奈能川



清和の
夏の花の
ふくら
あま
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あは
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清川ノ石

Fig. 5.29 Ehon Minanogawa 1736 絵本美奈能川



Fig. 5.30 Ehon Minanogawa 1736 絵本美奈能川



Fig. 5.31 Ehon Minanogawa 1736 絵本美奈能川



Fig. 5.32 Ehon Minanogawa 1736 絵本美奈能川



Fig. 5.33 Ehon Minanogawa 1736 絵本美奈能川

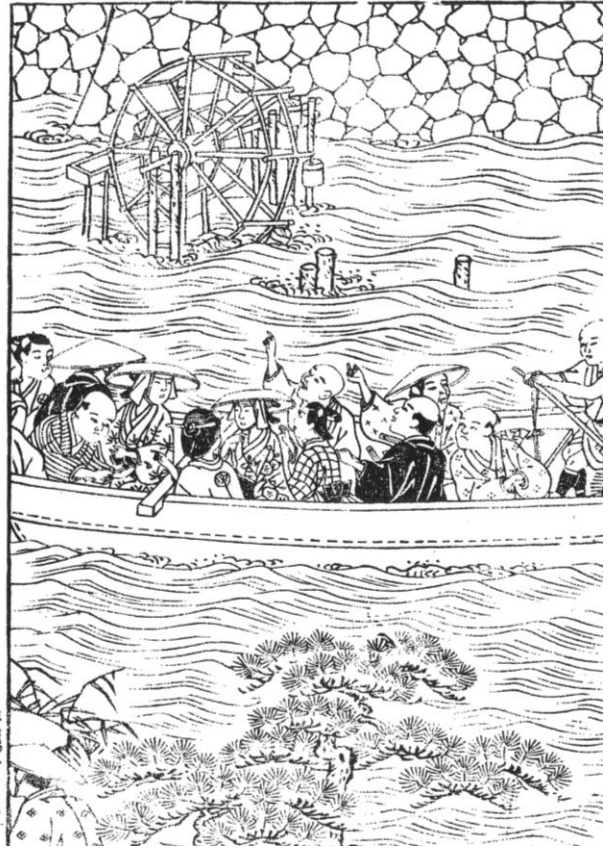


Fig. 5.34 *Yodo hakkei*. Tachibana Morikuni 橘守国 : *Gaten tsûkô* 画典通考 1727

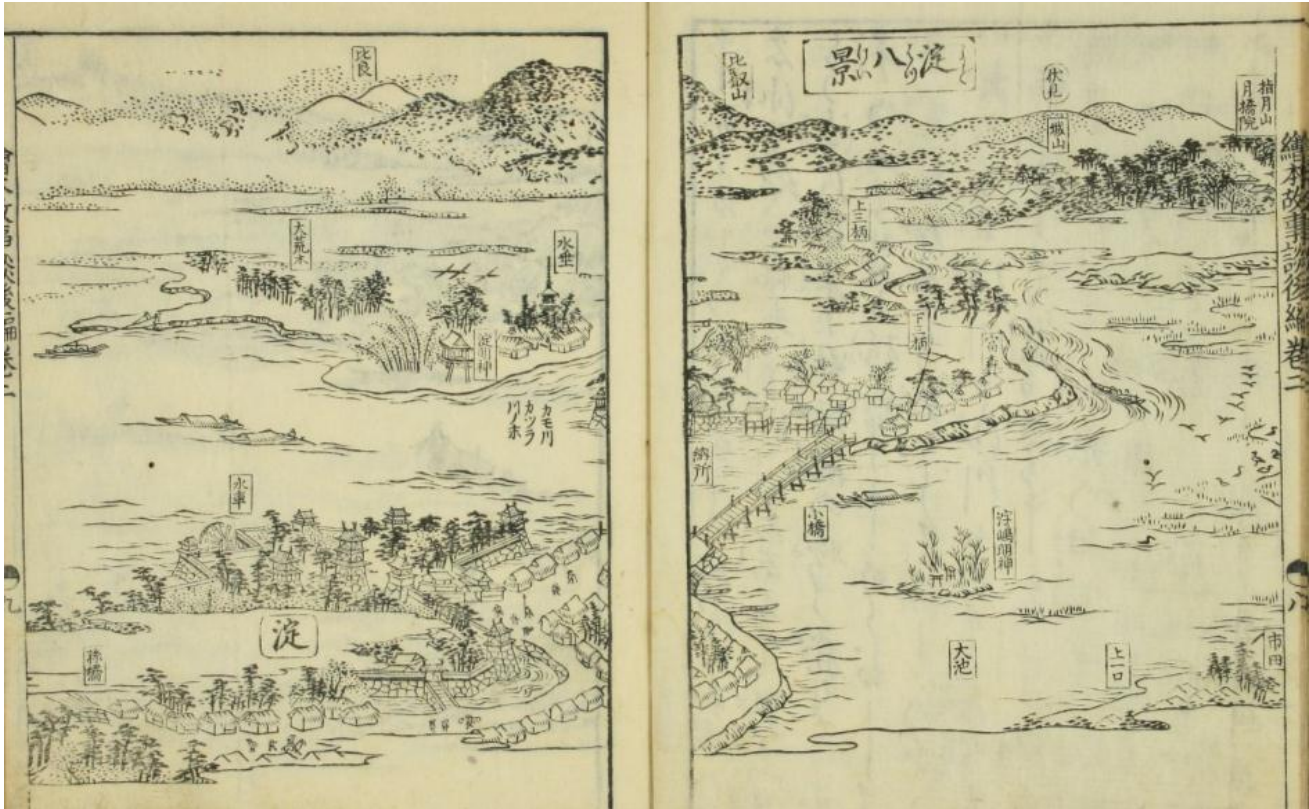




Fig. 5.36 Ehon Minanogawa 1736 絵本美奈能川

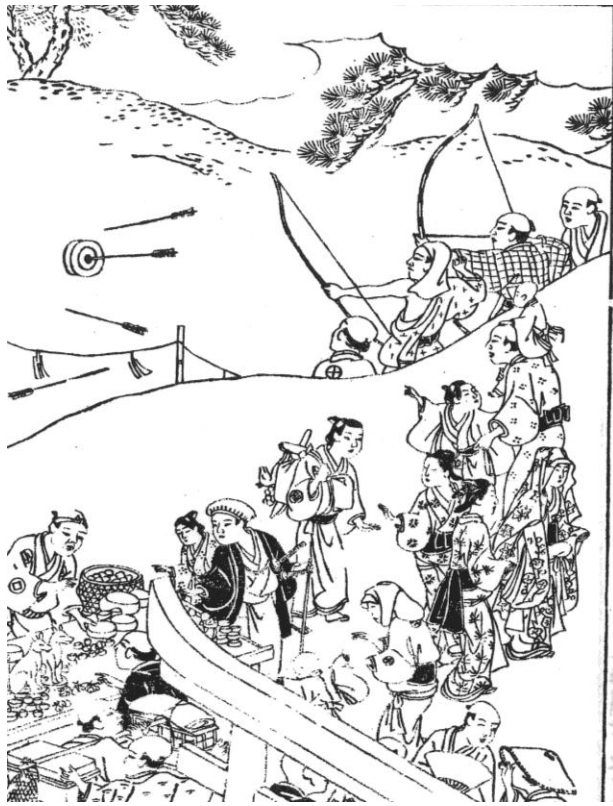


Fig. 5.37 Ehon Minanogawa 1736 絵本美奈能川



Fig. 5.38 *Ehon arisoumi* 1739 絵本有磯海



Fig. 5.39 *Ehon arisoumi* 1739 絵本有磯海



Fig. 5.40 *Ehon arisoumi* 1739 絵本有磯海



Fig. 5.41 *Ehon arisoumi* 1739 絵本有磯海



Fig. 5.42 *Ehon arisoumi* 1739 絵本有磯海

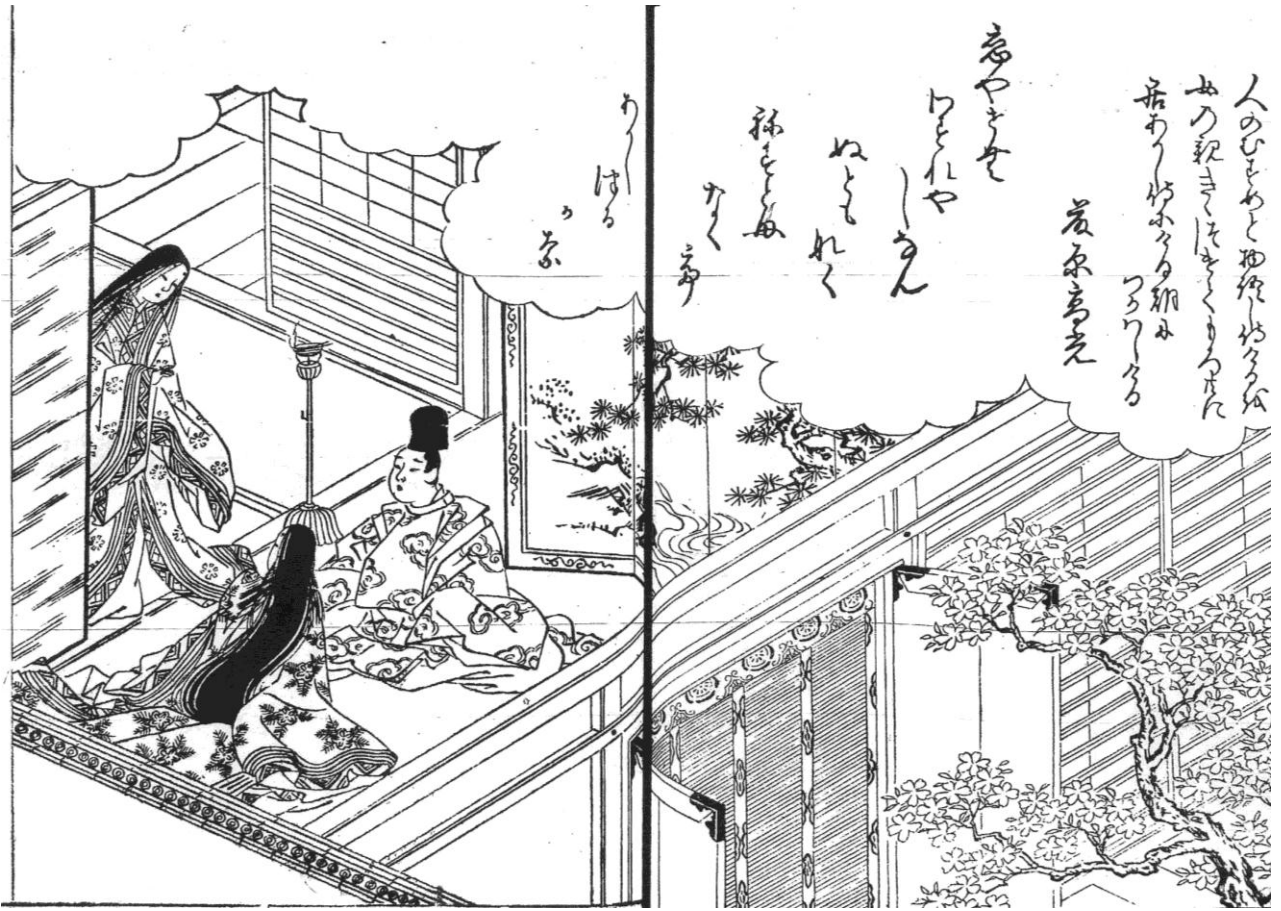


Fig. 5.43 *Ehon arisoumi* 1739 絵本有磯海



Fig. 5.44 *Ehon arisoumi* 1739 絵本有磯海

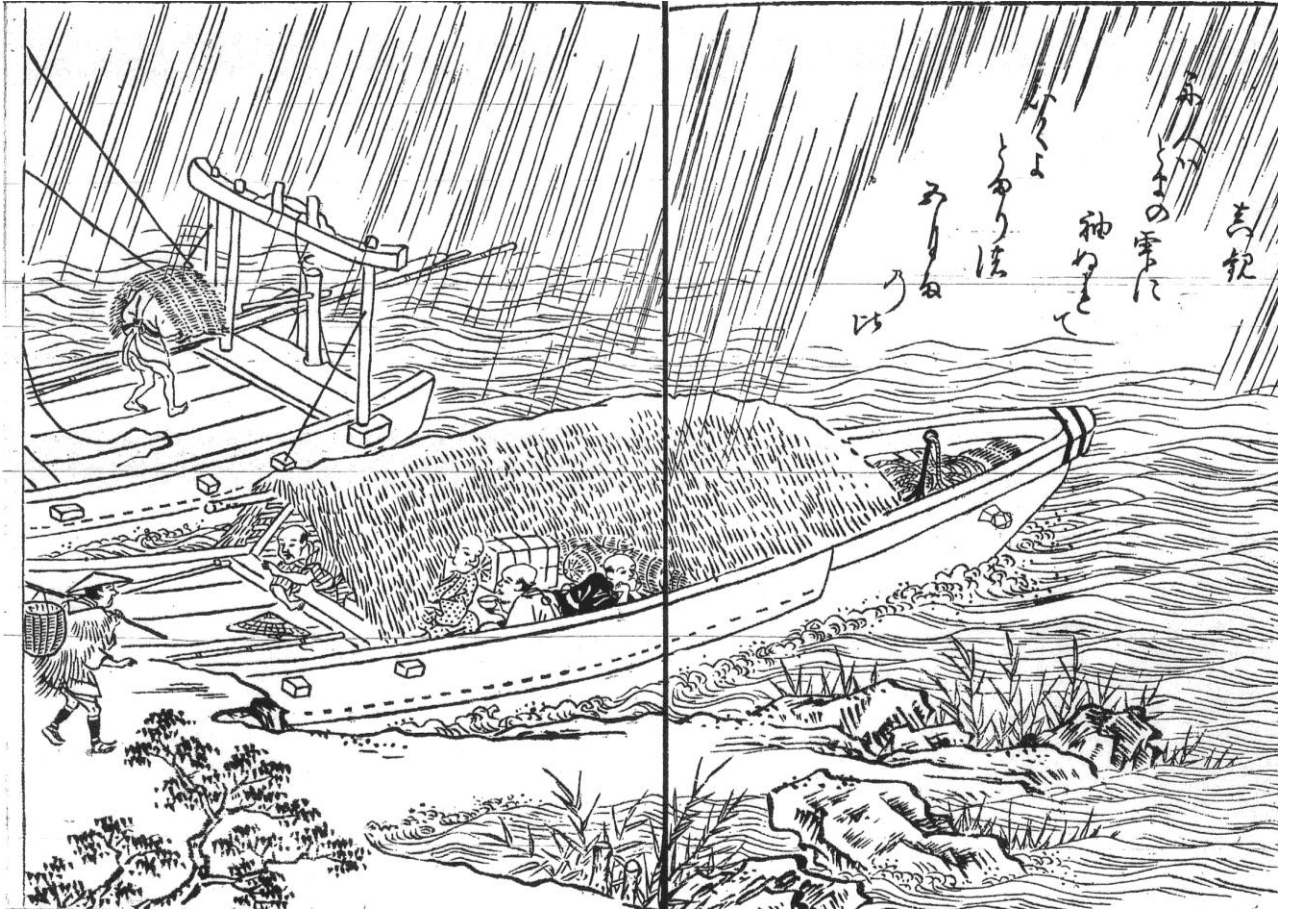


Fig. 5.45 *Ehon arisoumi* 1739 絵本有磯海

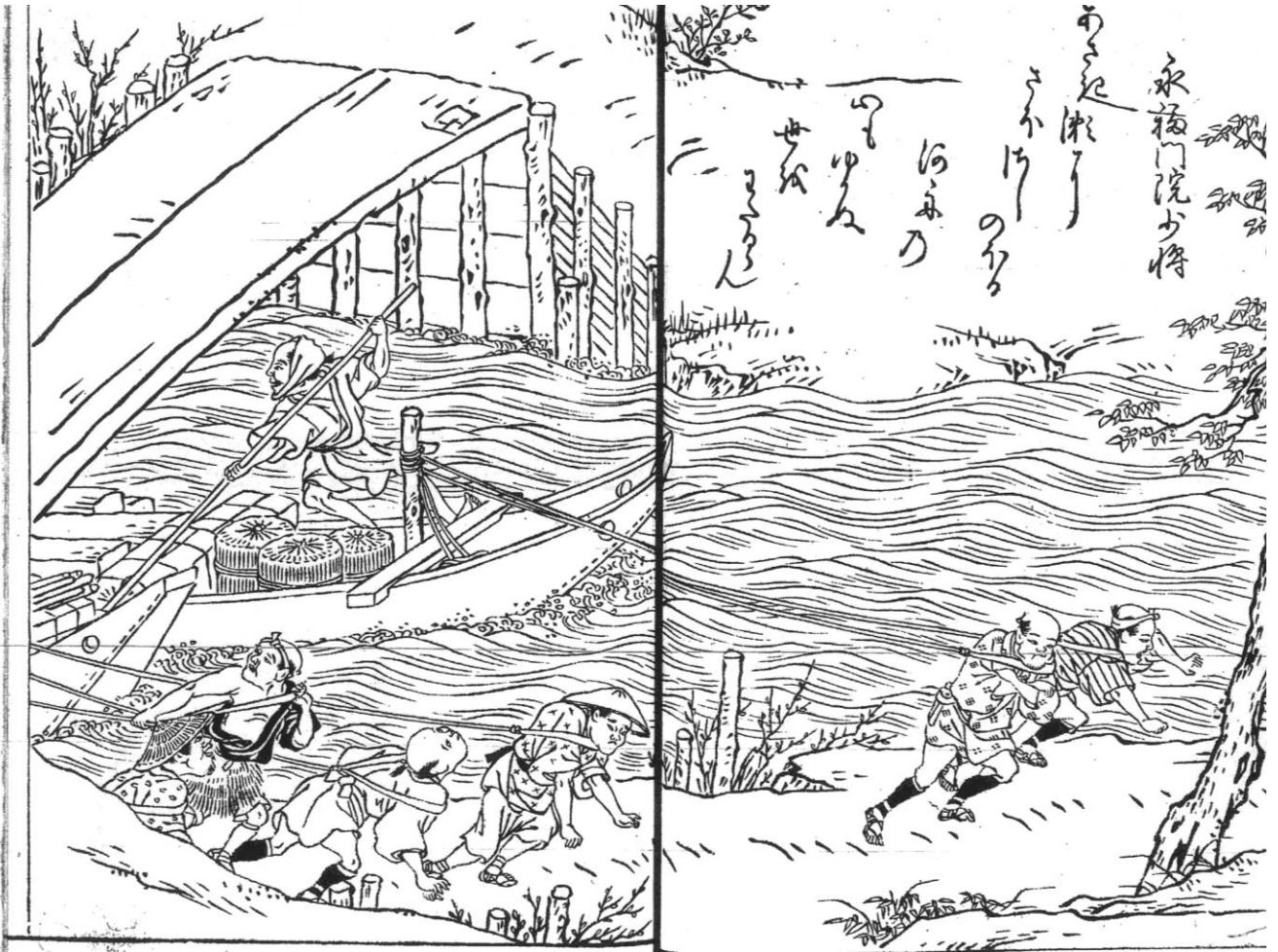


Fig. 5.46 *Ehon arisoumi* 1739 絵本有磯海



Fig. 5.47 Ehon Tsukubayama 1731 繪本筑波山



Chapter Six

Canonical Prose Works

Loyalist polemic pervaded, with modulations, the entire corpus of Sukenobu's post-shunga production. In his illustrations and adaptations of canonical prose works, however - *Makura no sôshi* (The Pillow Book), *Tsurezuregusa* (Essays in Idleness), *Genpei seisuiki* (The Rise and Fall of the Genji and Taira) amongst others - tropes of disaffection and political usurpation were increasingly shot through with a more personal take on the master narrative. These works - *Ehon Tsurezuregusa* (Picture Book of Essays in Idleness 1738), *Ehon Yamato hiji* (Picture Book of Japanese Things Compared 1742), *Ehon Asahi-yama* (Picture Book of Asahi Mountain 1741), *Ehon himetsubaki* (Picture Book of Chaste Women 1745) *Ehon Kamenoyama* (Picture Book of Kamenoo Mountain 1747), *Ehon shinobugusa* (Picture Book of Yearning Grass 1750) were largely late works, appearing in the final years of the artist's life. By the 1740s, Sukenobu was over seventy; this was the production of his twilight years, and it bore testimony to a moving element of personal reflection. The image of Priest Sôchin in *Yamato hiji*, dying, brush

in hand before a half-finished copy of a Genji manuscript - dying in the performance of a labour of love - strikes a particularly poignant note (fig. 6.1).¹



Fig. 6.1

Fig. 6.1

¹ Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Ehon Yamato hiji*, 1742, British Museum, London. Vol. 3, *Sôchin* 宗樞.

Ehon Tsurezuregusa

Tsurezuregusa – Essays in Idleness - was a work to which Sukenobu returned three times: in *Ehon tsurezuregusa* (Picture Book of Essays in Idleness 1738), *Ehon shinobugusa*, and in a handful of leaves that bring *Ehon Kamenoo yama* to its conclusion. *Tsurezuregusa* itself was a collection of anecdotal notes composed by the reclusive priest Yoshida Kenkô in the early fourteenth century. Modelling itself both on the musings of Sei Shonagon's Pillow Book and on the reclusive philosophies of Kamo no Chômei's *Hôjôki* (Tale of a Ten-foot Hut), it remained a popular text throughout the Tokugawa period, indeed it was one of the first of the canonical works to find its way into print with the Saga-bon edition of circa 1610.² Its popularity in the early-modern period is easy to understand: writing from the outside – as a recluse – Kenkô's thought was marked by a kind of radical humanism which flew in the face of authority. His willingness to admit virtue amidst vulgarity, to defend theft driven by poverty, to recount tales of peasants bettering princes, to prefer virtue to worldly status: this was a disposition that resonated easily with the episteme of the early eighteenth century. Kenkô's work, while not autobiographical, was intensely personal, extracted from a process of solitary reflection. The *ehon* retained the passion and personality of the original, but it proposed a new political referent which drastically altered its intent. Sukenobu's preface - miming the original :

² See Kanagawa Kenritsu Kanazawa Bunko ed., *Kenkô to Tsurezuregusa* (Yokohama: Kanagawa Kenritsu Kanazawa Bunko; 1994). The Saga-bon edition can be partially viewed at the NDL exhibit website <<http://www.ndl.go.jp/exhibit/50/html/catalog/c047.html>>. Kenkô himself became something of a posthumous celebrity - in Saikaku's novella "The Calendar Maker's Wife", a woman makes her way through the streets in a hand-painted kimono depicting Kenkô at his writing desk, while Moronobu's *Wakoku hyakujo* suggested women console themselves with the delights of "that sweet-tempered Kenkô". See Peter F. Kornicki, "Unsuitable Books for Women?: Genji Monogatari and Ise Monogatari in Late Seventeenth-Century Japan", *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 60, 2005, pp. 147-93.

what a strange demented feeling I get when I realise I have spent whole days before this inkstone randomly making illustrations of the priest's old stories (*kano hōshi no furugoto wo sokohaka to naku e ni utsuseba...*)³

was in fact wholly disingenuous . For his selections are not random. Quoted accurately (and quoted largely in proper sequence) these extracts are nonetheless artfully chosen to construct a wholly new political subtext.

Sukenobu's two principle adaptations of *Tsurezuregusa* – *Ehon Tsurezuregusa* (1738) and *Ehon shinobugusa* (1750) - share only one episode in common (episode 135).⁴ With this exception, there is no imbrication between the two works: *EhonTsurezuregusa* runs through from episodes 1 to 157, *Ehon shinobugusa* opens with episode 23 and charts a wholly different trajectory through to episode 238. But this single instance of repetition is significant. Episode 135 is the account of the challenge proposed by the learned Sukesue Dainagon Nyūdo, to Tomouji no Saishō Chūjō: namely, that the latter pose a question to which he (Sukesue) is unable to answer (figs. 6.2a & b).⁵ Tomouji responds by requesting a definition of a term he has heard since childhood, but never understood: *muma no kitsuri yauki tsuni no wo kana kakuba reiriku rentou*.⁶ Sukesue claims the question is invalid since - as a childish riddle - it falls outside the canonical realm of scholarship. Tomouji retorts that it is precisely for

³ Transcribed in Matsudaira Susumu ed., *Moronobu Sukenobu ehon shoshi*, p. 177 (Musashimurayama: Seishodō; 1988).

⁴ *Ehon Tsurezuregusa* is reproduced and transcribed on the Tōhoku Daigaku Kano Bunko Gazō Database at <http://www.geocities.jp/ezoushijp/tureduregusa.html> *Ehon shinobugusa* is reproduced in Kansai Daigaku Toshokan ed., *Nishikawa Sukenobu shū*, vol. 2 (Suita: Kansai Daigaku Shuppanbu; 1998). For discussions of Sukenobu's *Ehon tsurezuregusa*, see also Koike Tōgorō, "Ehon bungaku no taika Nishikawa Sukenobu to Tsurezuregusa", *Kagami*, vol. 8, 1959, , pp. 32-39.

⁵ Kanda Hideo, Nagazumi Yasuaki and Yasuraoka Kōsaku eds., *Hōjōki. Tsurezuregusa. Shōbō genzō zuimonki. Tannishō*, episode 135, p. 98 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan; 1971).

⁶ The Japanese version of the riddle is: むまのきつりやうきつにのをかなかくばれいりくれんとう。 It has been suggested in *ibid.* that it reduces through internal logic to the two phonemes *rika*, which inverted give *kari*, or goose.

this reason he has selected it: since Sukesue is famously learned, there would be little point in interrogating him on a point of scholarship. The moral of the story - the primary moral intended by Kenkô - is that of humility: the arrogant scholar is confounded by the vulgar, the adult by the childish, authority by those it governs. These tropes have a universal appeal, irrespective of time or culture and they fit comfortably within the context of political disaffection that is the fundamental subtext of Sukenobu's works. But the point of repeating the episode is perhaps even simpler: Tomouji's words are a riddle (*nazo*) which dumbfounds the scholar. Sukenobu's *ehon* are also constructed around riddles and childish references, designed to communicate their meaning invisibly. The repetition of the Tomouji episode is deliberate: it underscores its significance as yet another allegory of the *ehon* endeavour.



絵本徒然草 *Ehon tsurezuregusa* 1738

Fig. 6.2a



絵本忍婦草 *Ehon shinobugusa* 1750

Fig. 6.2b

The celebration of the duplicitous text is familiar from the *kyōkun*: but it was trope to which Sukenobu returned on numerous occasions in these later works. Kenkō's vindication of the

power of waka, for example - *waka can subdue the heart of a wild boar* – is illustrated by a young boy playing a flute and a boar asleep on the ridge above, soothed into

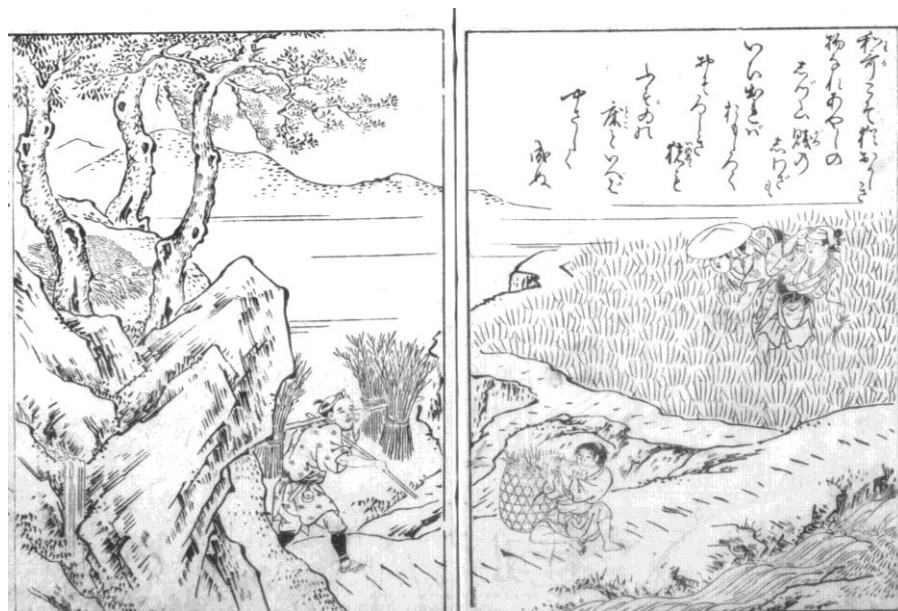


Fig. 6.3

somnolence by the music (fig. 6.3).⁷ The dozing boar is observed by the woman plucking seedlings in the field, while a man shouldering bundles of firewood acknowledges the boy. With the boar asleep, the people can pursue their business undisturbed. The woman directs a knowing glance towards the boar. Just as music lulls the rampaging boar (or, in the *Kokinshū* preface, softens the heart of the fiercest warrior), the anodyne appearance of the *ehon* assuages the suspicions of the authorities.

Other anti-bakufu tropes are also familiar from the *kyōkun*. Episode 51, for example, recounts the story of Kameyama dono, who commissions the construction of a waterwheel in an effort to divert the waters of the River Oi into his pond (fig. 6.4).⁸ After several failed attempts by his own men, he calls in the specialists from Uji. The

⁷ Kanda, Nagazumi and Yasuraoka, *Hōjoki, Tsurezuregusa*. Episode 14, p. 104.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

moral is once again universally applicable: get the right man for the right job. Read in light of earlier references within Sukenobu *ehon* to the same trope - and in the context of Sankinshi's lacerating criticisms of the bakufu's failure to recognise the limitations of its own expertise - the general wisdom of Kenkô's anecdote becomes a highly directed indictment of bakufu government.⁹



Fig. 6.4

The carefully culled wisdom of *Tsurezuregusa* is in fact redeployed wholesale in the *ehon* for political ends. Thus, the opening section of the work on the theme of political ambition becomes a passionate expression of loyalist devotion and the impossibility of the imperial encounter. Kenkô, invoking the trope of metonymic desire, sets the imperial lineage above and beyond the realm of normal political ambition (*negawashikarubeki koto*):

⁹ For other tropes of bakufu incompetence, see chapter 4.

Being born in this world, there are many things that a man might desire. The position of emperor is exalted, even the remote descendants of the imperial line are sacred, they are not of the seed of man.¹⁰

Sukenobu illustrates this text with a throng of commoners straining to see through the cracks in a fence: not any fence, but a fence marking off one of the guard enclosures - which would remain a feature of the palace into the Meiji era (fig. 6.5a) - that punctuated the wall of the imperial palace (denoted by the five bands or *gohonsen*) (fig. 6.5).

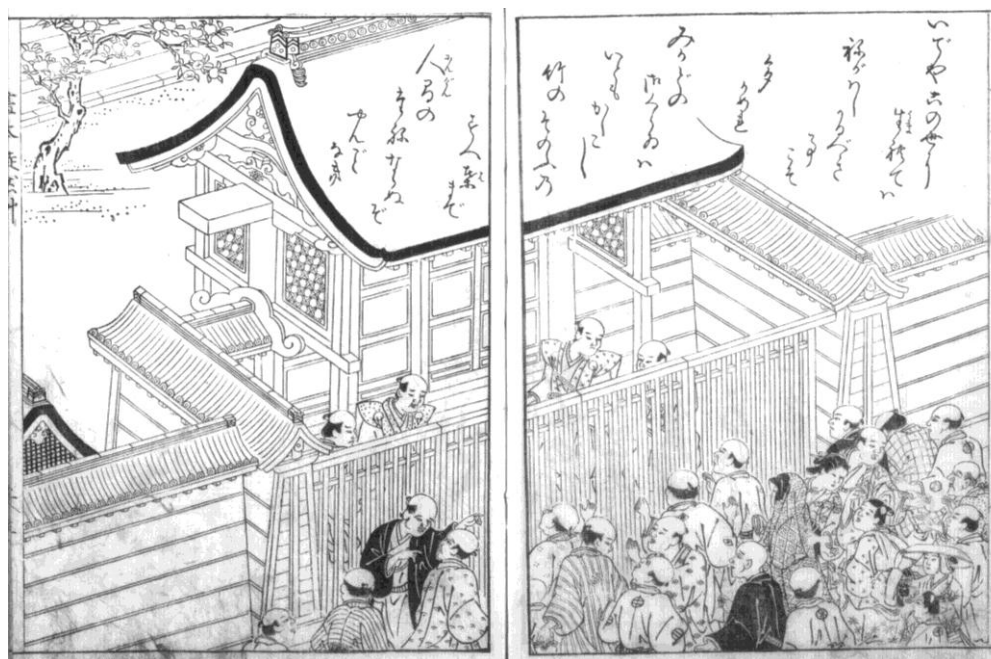


Fig. 6.5

¹⁰ Kanda, Nagazumi and Yasuraoka, *Hôjoki, Tsurezuregusa*, p. 93.

いでやこの世にうまれてはねがはしかるべき事こそ多かめれみかどの御くらゐはいともかしこし竹のそのふのすへ葉まで人間のたねならぬぞやんごとなき。

This translation is adapted from Donald Keene's translation in Haruo Shirane ed., *Traditional Japanese Literature: An Anthology, Beginnings to 1600*, p. 882 (New York: Columbia University Press; 2006).

Keene's translation has: *It is enough, it would seem, to have been born in this world, for a man to desire many things. The position of an emperor of course, is far too exalted for our aspirations. Even the remote descendants of the imperial line are sacred, for they are not of the seed of man.*



Fig. 6.5a *Unjō benran taizen* 雲上便覽大全 1868, showing the palace wall and guard enclosures

If Kenkō's text excludes the imperial system from the purview of common ambition, the commoners in the image (and in political reality) are excluded from the palace compound - metaphorically and literally severed from the emperor, by the bakufu guard and its structures. But the extract cited in the *ehon* excludes Kenkō's subsequent peroration on worldly desire: it provides only the introductory statement to the effect that neither emperor nor courtiers are of human origin. This is significant, for contemporary Suika thought had come to the same conclusions: in his *Hōkō shintoku sho* of 1757 Takenouchi Shikibu would declare - in words that echo Kenkō's - that the emperor was not of human seed (*ningen no tane narazu*), and he implied that courtiers were likewise of divine extraction (*mata miyazukaeshi hito wo unjōbito to ii*).¹¹ Earlier Suika proselytizers - such as Tamagi Masahide (1670-1736) had also begun to adumbrate the possibilities of posthumous deification for those whose lives had been spent in loyal service to the living god that was the emperor (*arahitogami* 源人神).¹²

Masahide had the courtier in mind: but popular Suika proselytizers - such as Matsuoka

¹¹ Takenouchi Shikibu, "Hōkō shintoku sho", cited in Maeda Tsutomu, *Kinsei Shintō to kokugaku*, p. 14 (Tokyo: Perikansha; 2002). See also Maeda Tsutomu, "Shugo sareru arahitogami", *Edo no shisō: Kokka (jiko) zo no keisei*, vol. 4, 1996, pp. 71-89.

¹² Maeda Tsutomu, *Kinsei Shintō to kokugaku*, pp. 13-14.

Chûryô - would extend the possibility to the loyal population at large. In Sukenobu's hands, Kenkô's deferential commonplace suddenly revealed uncanny similarities with Suika concepts of imperial divinity.

Desire is a theme which dominates much of Kenkô's *Tsurezuregusa*; shifting attitudes to the objects of desire -now condemned, now dismissed, never vanquished - map the shifting emotions of a man struggling with the implications of reclusion. It is a theme likewise embraced by the first of the *Tsurezuregusa ehon*. Thus the desire for women - which Kenkô illustrates with the trope of Kume and the washer girl - is illustrated in the *ehon* by the figure of the holy man Kume, emerging from a slash of black lightning, arms outstretched towards the woman who stands in the water, her kimono raised to reveal bare calves (fig. 6.6).¹³ This appears to be a literal interpretation of the original: and yet the emphatic expression of pro-imperio desire in the opening image surely casts its shadow over succeeding images. Allegory was, after all, the mode in which all of Sukenobu's *ehon* operated and it was a template that ruthlessly absorbed the contingent for its own ends. Sexual and conjugal relations had been colonized as metaphors in the *kyôkun* and the waka volumes; Asami Keisai's lectures on *Seiken igen*, published in 1744, provided a model of the political appropriation of the amorous in literature.¹⁴ In *Ehon Shimizu no ike*, the intellectually conceited wife had served as an image of the bakufu; in *Ehon hime komatsu*, Osome and Hisamatsu provided a metaphor of forbidden political passion.¹⁵

Read like the *kyôkun* and the waka *ehon* as extended allegories of loyalist longing and political disenchantment, the episodes of *Ehon Tsurezuregusa* become

¹³ Kanda, Nagazumi and Yasuraoka, *Hôjoki, Tsurezuregusa*. Episode 8, p. 99.

¹⁴ See introduction. *Seiken igen kôgi* in Shintô Taikei Hensankai ed., *Suika Shintô*, vol. 13 (Tokyo: Shintô Taikei Hensankai; 1978-84).

¹⁵ See Chapters 4 and 5.

newly cogent. Kume's sacrifice of his magic powers for the washer-girl no longer represents residual attachment to the samsaric world but religio-political yearning for the emperor. Kenkô's other celebrated trope of sexual desire - a woman's hair - is invoked in the final group of images that conclude *Ehon kamenoo yama* (fig. 6.7). It stands alone, without text or caption, presumably because for the intended audience, it was a visual conceit that needed no further elaboration. It was a symbol of the voluntary versus the coercive: an elephant could only be constrained by the rope of woman's hair if it was content to be so constrained. A people, likewise, would naturally yield to the light touch, the benignity of imperial rule.¹⁶



Fig. 6.6



Fig. 6.7

Yet these tropes of desire incorporate a new sense of risk and, indeed, sacrifice. Kume forswears his divinity to embrace the washer-girl; in a later episode, the desire to see prompts a priest at the Kamo horse race to risk his life by climbing up into a tree. Perched precariously in the crux of the trunk, he dozes (fig. 6.8).¹⁷ His rash disregard for safety provokes the derision of the crowd, until someone observes that the

¹⁶ This was an ancient trope: for a discussion see David T. Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories: Narrative, Ritual, and Royal Authority from the Chronicles of Japan to the Tale of the Heike*, pp. 242-4 (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press; 2007).

¹⁷ Kanda, Nagazumi and Yasuraoka, *Hôjoki, Tsurezuregusa*. episode 41, p. 125.

precariousness of his situation is an allegory of life itself. Such metaphors of transience, uncertainty, flux and limbo were fundamental to the Buddhist worldview espoused by Kenkô, and they remained fundamental to its more material expression in the floating world. Yet here, the uncertainty – the risk – is linked to the desire to see. At the beginning of the race, crowds at the front had blocked all access to the spectacle: the priest merely climbed the tree to obtain a view otherwise denied him. He endangered his life for a moment's vision. Sobered by the allegorical significance of the act, the crowds at the front leave permitting those at the rear to approach. The priest risks his life to see: he paves the way for others, precipitating a movement from blindness to vision.



Fig. 6.8

Similar metaphors of proximity and obstruction - of thwarted vision - proliferate in this work. Take, for example, the account of Saigyô turning away from an aristocratic residence (that of Fujiwara no Sanesada), repelled by the sight of bird-

scarers strung across the roof.¹⁸ In Sukenobu's illustration, the residence becomes an imperial one (denoted once more by the *gohonsen*), the bird-scarers the correlate of the obstructions that cordoned the imperial presence from popular view (fig. 6.9).

In another episode, Kenkô describes his disappointment on seeing a fine specimen of a tangerine tree in a rustic garden, around which the owner has erected an inhospitable barricade.¹⁹ The trope of the fenced tree recurs in

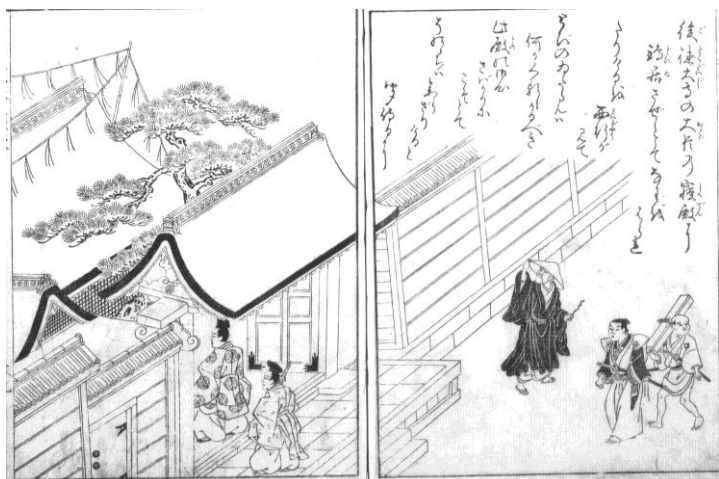


Fig. 6.9

Sukenobu's *ehon*: the *fudan zakura* 不斷桜 and *namiki no matsu* 並木松 in volume four of *Ehon yamato hiji*; the cherry tree in *Ehon setsugekka (shita no maki)*: natural beauty isolated by artificial construct, the thwarted encounter. It was a key metaphor of imperial seclusion.

Ehon shinobugusa

Ehon tsurezuregusa was the first of Sukenobu's *ehon* to match Kenkô's work to the new metaphor of loyalist longing. In 1750 he produced a sequel, *Ehon shinobugusa*: but the tone was now more subdued. While the earlier work had celebrated the momentum of popular loyalist sentiment, *Shinobugusa*, from the opening page, explored not the passion of political sentiment, but the pain. It opens with episode 23,

¹⁸ Kanda, Nagazumi and Yasuraoka, *Hôjoki, Tsurezuregusa*, episode 10, p. 100.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, episode 11, p. 102.

in which Kenkô celebrates the ‘ancient atmosphere, uncontaminated by the world, that still prevails within the palace walls’.²⁰ In the illustration, officials and other members of an imperial entourage while away time inside the enclosure of what appears to be the imperial palace (only the top section of the outer wall is shown); a palanquin is parked nearby. Their boredom (they yawn, stretch, doze) is palpable. But boredom is not a trope that appears in the text and the palanquin does not traditionally appear in illustrations of the episode. If the stationary palanquin and the redundant attendants signify, they do so as symptoms of the discontinued imperial pilgrimage, or *miyuki*. Estranged from his people for nearly two hundred years, the emperor was not permitted to tread the same ground as the populace at large. The imperial palanquin was perpetually parked. Not until 1863, when emperor Kômei, in a highly political gesture, visited the Kamo shrines, did an emperor of the Tokugawa period leave the palace compound and take part in a *miyuki*.²¹ Kenkô’s celebration, in ‘degenerate times’, of the enduring splendor of the imperial institution, is here turned on its head: there is nothing to redeem this newly degenerate age.

Thus, while the earlier work opened with an image of an irrepressible upsurge of popular devotion, *Shinobugusa* opens on a note of abjection. The pages that follow chart not the passion (Kume, the lure of a woman’s hair), but the dull mechanisms of survival in difficult times. They rehearse cautionary tropes familiar from the *kyôkun*: episode 56 - in which Kenkô deplores the effusiveness that marks reunion after long

²⁰ Ibid., episode 23, p. 112. Kansai Daigaku Toshokan ed., *Nishikawa Sukenobu shû*, vol. 2, pp. 290-91. Translation taken from Donald Keene, *Essays in Idleness: the Tsurezuregusa of Kenko*, pp. 23-4 (New York and London: Columbia University Press; 1967).

²¹ Takano Toshihiko, "Chôtei wo torimaku hitobito", in Takano Toshihiko ed., *Chôtei wo torimaku hitobito*, p. 216 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan; 2007). For a discussion of *miyuki* in the bakumatsu period, see Fujita Satoru, *Kinsei seijishi to tennô*, pp. 196-222 (Tokyo Yoshikawa Kobunkan; 1999).

absence - echoes the admonition to stay mum familiar from *Ike no kokoro*.²² Metaphors of suspicion and distrust loom large. In episode 230, a group of courtiers hear a rustling behind a screen and discover a lurking fox - a motif echoing earlier allusions to the prying habits of the bakufu - the rustling mice in *Ike no kawazu*, the admonitions (*Shimizu no ike, Ike no kokoro*) to knock before entering.²³ In the image, courtiers chase the intruder from the premises: but it is no longer a fox, but a person with a fox head. Episode 236 recounts a man's visit to a temple and the oblique (yet wholly apparent) efforts of a shrouded woman to approach him.²⁴ He subsequently learns that she was an emissary, sent to observe him by her mistress. These tropes, sometimes anecdotal, sometimes lightly moralizing in Kenkô's hands, here acquire a newly sinister tone. They contribute to a sense of looming threat.

There is, nonetheless, a sense of urgent militancy to the work. The illustration to episode 68, in two men expel enemy soldiers from a residence, casts that residence as the imperial palace (fig. 6.10).²⁵ In episode 207, a group of labourers preparing the

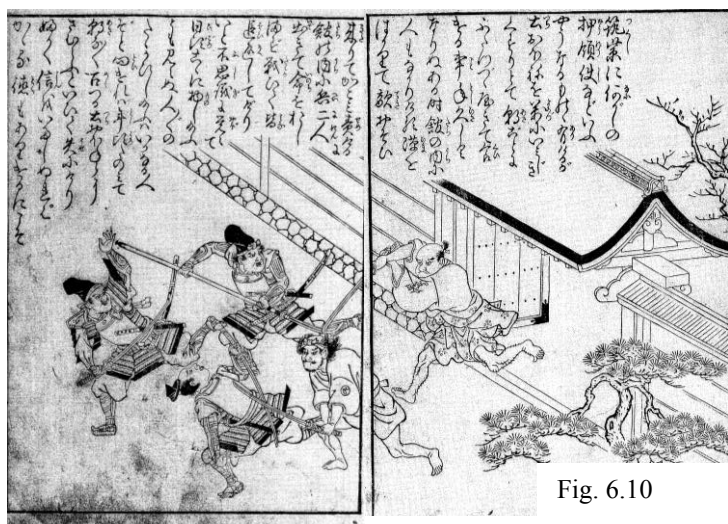


Fig. 6.10

²² Kanda, Nagazumi and Yasuraoka, *Hôjoki, Tsurezuregusa*. p. 137; Kansai Daigaku Toshokan ed., *Nishikawa Sukenobu shû*, vol. 2, pp. 294-5.

²³ Kanda, Nagazumi and Yasuraoka, *Hôjoki, Tsurezuregusa*. p. 271. *Nishikawa Sukenobu shû*, vol. 2, pp. 348-9.

²⁴ Kanda, Nagazumi and Yasuraoka, *Hôjoki, Tsurezuregusa*. p. 275. *Nishikawa Sukenobu shû*, vol. 2, pp. 356-7.

²⁵ Kansai Daigaku Toshokan ed., *Nishikawa Sukenobu shû*, vol. 2, pp. 296-7. The original residence is that of the radish-eating constable of Tsukushi.

ground for the elevation of a new imperial building unearths a nest of snakes: on the point of abandoning the construction, the lord declares the destruction of the nest can incur no divine retribution since it is in the imperial interest.²⁶ In the new context of anti-bakufu sentiment, these analogies, so simply illustrated, require little clarification.

The work closes - as many of these works do - with a covert invitation to the reader. Kenkô visits Ryûgein, where the priest shows him a calligraphic plaque, the hand, he believes, of either Fujiwara Sukemasa (Sari) or Yukinari (Kôzei) (fig. 6.11).²⁷ Kenkô observes that if it is by Kôzei, there will be a signature on the back, if it is by Sari there will be nothing. The priest has it removed from its hanging and the monks wipe off thick layers of accumulated dust, to reveal the signature of Kôzei.

Shinobugusa thus concludes its meditations - and Sukenobu's lifetime production - with a trope of deep reading: only by scraping away layers of dust - layers of indirection - is the truth revealed.



Fig. 6.11

²⁶ Kanda, Nagazumi and Yasuraoka, *Hôjoki, Tsurezuregusa*, p. 254. *Nishikawa Sukenobu shû*, vol. 2, pp. 332-3.

²⁷ Kanda, Nagazumi and Yasuraoka, *Hôjoki, Tsurezuregusa*. episode 238, pp. 77-81. *Nishikawa Sukenobu shû*, vol. 2, pp. 358-9. This episode regarding Yukinari's Ryûgejuin plaque is discussed in John T. Carpenter, *Fujiwara no Yukinari and the Development of Heian Court Calligraphy*, pp. 59-65 (Unpublished PhD thesis: Columbia University; 1997).

Ehon Asahiyama

The same themes of disillusion and disaffection can be found in all of Sukenobu's prose works. *Ehon Asahiyama*, published in 1741, was an illustrated selection of episodes from Sei Shônagon's *Makura no*

sôshi, but its mood was far removed from the entertaining levity of the original.²⁸ This was partly due to its predilection for the bleaker moments of the text: things that are hateful, odd,



Fig. 6.12

awry, in some way out of kilter - *migurushiki mono*, *iinikuki mono*, *toridokoro naki mono*; things that make you tense (*uchitokumajiki mono*), things that make you anxious (*kokoromoto naki mono*), unreliable things (*tanomoshige naki mono*), dirty things (*kitanagenaru mono*), awful things (*susamajiki mono*). Amongst things that are despised (*hito ni anazuraruru mono*), the text supplies the example of the northern wall of a building (*ie no kita omote*). The image depicts the crumbling outer wall of a courtly residence (denoted by four painted lines) (fig. 6.12).²⁹ Since the penury of the court was public knowledge, the allusion needed little amplification. Here, people pass before it; a woman with a chrysanthemum head covering and a kimono with a tangerine design (which throughout the *ehon* signifies a *Shinto* allegiance) looks on with sympathy; the woman with the paulownia head covering remains oblivious.

²⁸ Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Ehon Asahiyama*, 1772, National Diet Library, Tokyo.

²⁹ Matsuo Satoshi and Nagai Kazuko, *Makura no sôshi*, episode 24, p. 98 (Tokyo: Shôgakkan; 1974).

The work is brought to its conclusion with a list of things that cannot be compared (*tatoe naki mono*), the text rearranged to prioritise the primary opposition of black and white, followed by young and old, summer and winter, love and hate, the flush of first love and its waning.³⁰ In the image, an old man bent double on his stick struggles down the street assisted by a girl in the flush of youth, a white puppy yaps at a black one, courtesans snigger at a man who turns angrily, ready for a fight (fig. 6.13).



Fig. 6.13

The street, riven with irreconcilable opposites, offers a microcosm of the broader political landscape.

Ehon Kamenoo yama and Valediction

The pessimism that characterized *Asahiyama* continued through *Ehon Kamenoo yama*, an illustrated selection from *Genpei seisuiiki* and *Heike monogatori*. Both these works had furnished tropes in the earlier *kyōkun*: *Ehon Chitoseyama* contains an image of a group of commoners entering a theatre advertising a performance of *Genpei seisuiiki*. The man casts a somewhat critical look at a group of passing courtiers, dismayed that they choose to forswear the show. One of the courtly group turns her head and points

³⁰ Ibid., episode 158, p. 301.

くろきとしろきと。夏と冬と。若きと老いたると。人の笑ふと腹だつると。おもふとにくむと。雨と霧と。おなじ人ながらも心ざしうせぬるは、誠にあらぬ人とぞおぶゆるかし。

to the show, as though fleetingly entertaining the possibility (fig. 6.14). The text notes that even lowly entertainments could be beneficial to the lofty.

In the political climate of the times, the appeal of the *Genpei seisuiki* narrative was clear: it showcased the downfall of an arrogant power-monger and it was a powerful



Fig. 6.14

vindication of the underdog. The treatment of the *Genpei seisuiki* subtext in *Kamenoo yama* was less flippant, however.³¹ Tropes of exile, loss and the impossibility of return run like a leitmotif through the work. So too does the theme of the poetic testament. The work opens with the following poem (of unknown provenance) (fig. 6.15):

山の端にかすめる月もかたふきてよふかき雲に匂ふ梅かな

The moon sinks behind the mountain, yet the fragrance of the plum lingers through the deep cloud of night.

Deepening night, the obscurity of the moon and the lingering fragrance of the plum are conventional tropes: yet, in the context of Sukenobu's personal circumstances (he was seventy-seven by this time), they acquire an added

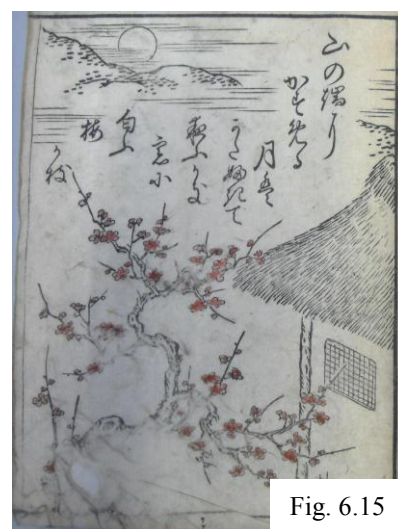


Fig. 6.15

³¹ Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Ehon Kamenoo yama*, 1747, British Museum, London.

poignancy. The moon, source of light through hours of darkness but prematurely obscured, prepares to set: the pervasive fragrance of the plum drifts on. As a political trope, the obscured moon translates easily as a metaphor of the obscured imperial presence, but it seems probable that here it was intended to convey a more personal meaning. For the past thirty years, Sukenobu's works had stood as a beacon of pro-imperio loyalty. Now he was approaching death. His works, however, in theory (and in fact, for Kikuya Kihei continued to publish the *ehon* into the following century) would remain, like the lingering plum, a testament of devotion,



Fig. 6.16

potentially an inspiration for future generations.³²

Thereafter, textual vignettes (the work of Shinzō, aka Nakamura Ranrin) serve as a brief narrative platform for the citation of a celebrated poem. But *Kamenoo yama* was a particularly partial reading of *Genpei seisuiki*. The opening double-page spread, for example, shows Emperor Tenmu (631-86) and the visitation of the Gosechi dancers: merely a passing reference in the original, here an emphatic opening (fig. 6.16).³³ In the original text, the episode was merely a rhetorical allusion designed to highlight the desolation of the new Fukuhara palace (to which the Taira had removed the imperial institution) and the demise of ritual. In the opening pages of the *ehon*, the Gosechi

³² For Kikuya Kibe's publication of Sukenobu's *ehon* see Matsudaira Susumu, "Koten no taishūka to Sukenobu ehon", *Bungaku*, vol. 49, no. 11, 1982, pp. 67-70.

³³ Matsuo Ashie ed., *Genpei seisuiki*, vol. 1, chapter one, pp. 18-19 (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten; 1991).

trope, writ large, appears as an unambiguous affirmation of imperial divinity. Read in terms of the original text, it nonetheless called to mind the modern version of a similar desolation.

If the opening image stressed imperial divinity, the subsequent three images highlighted instances of trespass on the imperial prerogative. These were trespasses of weight, however, since they led to the birth of Kiyomori and the eventual usurpation of imperial power. The first was Taira no Tadamori's seduction of Hyôe no tsubone, consort of Retired Emperor Shirakawa, a crime for which Tadamori was pardoned on account of the depth of feeling expressed in his poetic exchange with the lady.³⁴ The second was the pregnancy of Hyôe no tsubone: since paternity was in doubt, the retired emperor gave the son to Tadamori.³⁵ The birth of Kiyomori - within the *Kamenoo yama* narrative - was thus consequent upon the violation of imperial privilege.³⁶ In the third instance, Shigenori surrenders his wife to his dearest friend Sadaijin Kanemasa.³⁷ These tropes of conjugal theft, intimately linked through the figure of Kiyomori to the usurpation of power, suggest a paradigm of illicit appropriation that resonated with pro-imperialist perceptions of the contemporary political situation. Conjugal relations – what might be termed the conjugal economy – served as political metaphors throughout the *ehon*; here, the metaphorical metanarrative was brought down to earth: it functioned quite literally. For the consequences of Tadamori's adultery – the engendering of Kiyomori - are portrayed in the following images of separation, exile and death.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, chapter 26, 忠盛婦人事.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ By stressing the paternity of Tadanori (alternative versions of Kiyomori's birth allowed the possibility that he was the son of Go-Shirakawa) the work also firmly defines him as mortal. See Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories: Narrative, Ritual, and Royal Authority from the Chronicles of Japan to the Tale of the Heike*, pp. 292-5.

³⁷ Matsuo Ashie ed., *Genpei seisuiiki* vol. 1, chapter 2, p. 41. 清盛息女事.

Thus, Tokudaiji Sanesada, a courtier and illustrious poet - passed over for promotion by Kiyomori - who conceals himself in the mountains as political uncertainties rack the capital; Saigyô, prey to a love incommensurate with his station (the narrative informs us) who retreats from society to busk in the wilderness with other outcasts like Eguchi; thus, too Shunkan, abandoned on Devil's Island, consigning the figments of his despair to the void (fig. 6.17):

みせばやな家をおもわん友もがな儀のとま屋のしばのいほりを

Oh for a friend with whom to share this wretchedness - a grass thatched hut on the shore.³⁸



Fig. 6.17

These figures of exile, displacement or disappointment, separated from home, beloved, friends, express their abjection in writing: in poems cited within the text that bear witness to their despair. The pictorial depiction of the poetic testament becomes a

leitmotif: Sanesada, Saigyô, Shunkan, Yorimasa, Tadanori, Tsunemasa, Shigemori, Munemori, Kajiwara Kaketoki, his son Genda, Kesa Gozen, wife of Watanabe Wataru are all portrayed in the act of composing a final poem of leavetaking. Thus, Tadanori depositing his poetic testament with Shunzei; or taking leave of his wife before going into battle:

わかれ路を何にたとへん越て行く関をむかしの跡と思へば³⁹

³⁸ Ibid., vol. 2, chapter 9, p. 107.

To what shall I compare this leavetaking - when I think that I must pass the barrier where others have gone before.

Tadanori and Tsunemori regarding the burning houses of the capital:

はかなしや主は雲井に別るれ

ば宿は煙と立のぼるかな⁴⁰

How desolate; yet, though our lord abandons his palace in the clouds, smoke from our homes rises skywards (fig. 6.18)



Fig. 6.18

Tsunemasa as the Taira commence their life on the waves:

みゆきする末も都と思へども猶なぐさまぬ浪のうへかな⁴¹

Though its final destination may be the capital, there is little consolation in this imperial journey over the waves

Tokitada's poem during the first autumn of exile:

君すめばここも雲居の月なれど猶恋しくは都なりけり⁴²

Since my lord lives here, the moon must be the moon of the palace of clouds: yet how I yearn for the capital

Munemori in Kamakura awaiting execution (fig. 6.19):

³⁹ Ibid., vol. 4, chapter 23, p. 141.

⁴⁰ Ibid., vol. 6, ch. 30, p. 43.

⁴¹ Ibid., vol.6, ch.32, p. 60.

⁴² Ibid., ch. 41.

ふるさとも恋しくもなし旅の空都も
ついのすみかならねば⁴³

Distant skies - yet I care for
nothing, not even home, for I am
bound to end my life away from
the capital



Fig. 6.19

Tsunemasa at Ninnaji prior to the battle of Ichinotani (fig. 6.20):

旅衣夜な夜な袖をかたしきておもへばとほく家は行なん⁴⁴

When I think how night after night I have lain alone on my rough bed, I realize
how far I have travelled.

Reizei Takafusa taking leave of Kogô, recently elevated to imperial consort (fig. 6.21):

玉ずさを今は手にだにとらじとやさこそ心におもひすつとも⁴⁵

You refuse to take up my letter: have you thrown me away already?



Fig. 6.20



Fig. 6.21

⁴³ Ibid., ch. 45.

⁴⁴ Ibid., vol. 6, ch.31, p. 33.

⁴⁵ Ibid., ch. 25.

Yet of all these testaments of exile, the most plangent, perhaps, is Yorimasa's, composed before he committed *seppuku* at Byôdôin following the defeat by the Taira of Mochihito's forces at Uji Bridge:

埋木の花咲こともなかれしに身のなりはてはあわれなりけり

No flower of fortune has ever blessed a life resembling a long buried tree - yet how bitter is the thought that all should end like this.⁴⁶

The illustration shows a group of (contemporary) picnickers visiting the site of his suicide at Byôdôin marked (then, as now) by a small section of lawn fenced off by a low fence, with a pine tree in the center (fig. 6.22). A somber-faced man shouldering the effects of the picnickers clutches an open fan to his chest, an allusion to the fan placed on the ground by Yorimasa before he slashed his belly (*Byôdôin no shiba ni ôgi shikite jigai suru tote*). Another man, bottom right, approaches with a canister of tea in his hand, an allusion to Yorimasa's retainer, the tea master Furukawa Unai (or Tsuen Masahisa), who had served tea to travellers while serving as a sentry at Uji Bridge; Unai died, with Yorimasa, in the grounds of Byôdôin.



Fig. 6.22

This modern pilgrimage, paying testimony to the painful lament of failed insurrection, is surely significant. Yorimasa had fought and lost on the side of imperial forces: his death and defeat still move the urban pilgrims depicted in the image. Yet by casting the Uji narrative as a scene of modern remembrance – by setting up a correspondence between then and now - the Uji endeavor (and defeat) become corollaries of a wholly modern loyalist effort. The man clasping the fan to his chest in homage suggests a contemporary context of despondency; the man with the canister of tea suggests a tangible connection with the past.

Fig. 6.23

Kamenoo yama is a deeply valedictory work and the repeated theme of the final testament - in particular Reizei Takafusa's discarded letter - strikes a highly personal note. The penultimate episode relates the tale of the Kesa Gozen, wife of Watanabe Wataru



(fig. 6.23). Beleaguered by the attentions of Endô Musha Moritô, who threatens to kill her mother and husband if she fails to succumb to his advances, she leaves a valedictory poem (the moment depicted in the illustration) before sacrificing herself by lying in place of her husband in the bed where Moritô plans to attack him:

露ふかき浅茅が原にまよふみのいとと闇路にいかそかなしき⁴⁷

I wander, lost, through the deep dews of Asajigahara - darkness shrouds my path,
sorrow overwhelms me

⁴⁷ Matsuo Ashie ed., *Genpei seisuiiki*, vol. 4, ch.19, p. 18.

Defiance, dissimulation, sacrifice for one's lord, these are core themes throughout the *ehon*. Here, they come together in the figure of Wataru no tsuma. Yet this final example of marital fidelity – the fervent resolve of a virtuous and filial woman (*omohi tsumetaru teisetsu kôshin zo ka shi*) is a striking reversal of the opening tropes of conjugal theft and usurpation. While the latter had precipitated years of sorrow and exile, Kesa's refusal to participate in the exchanges of power represented by the trope of conjugal infidelity – her self-sacrifice, that is - leads Moritô to renounce his ambitions, and to renounce the world. More than this, perhaps: for it is the posthumous recognition of her loyalty that prompts Moritô's change of heart: the belated recognition of her devotion.

Ehon himetsubaki and Popular Art

If the poetic testament was a recurrent theme of *Kamenoo yama*, the poetic exchange had emerged as an important theme in an earlier work. *Ehon himetsubaki*, published in 1745, opened with an exchange of poems between Princess Senshi (964-1035), the Kamo shrine princess, and a courtier who chances to spy her through a hole in the wall as he passes by the shrine (fig. 6.24).⁴⁸ He sends her a cage with a cricket inside, to which he attaches a branch of bush clover and a poem:

しめのうちに花のほひをすず虫のおとにのみやはききふるすべき

Fragrance of flowers beyond the wall, sound of crickets, oh to live forever in
this palace of the meadows

Senshi replies:

色々の花はさかりに匂ふとも野はらの風の音にのみきけ

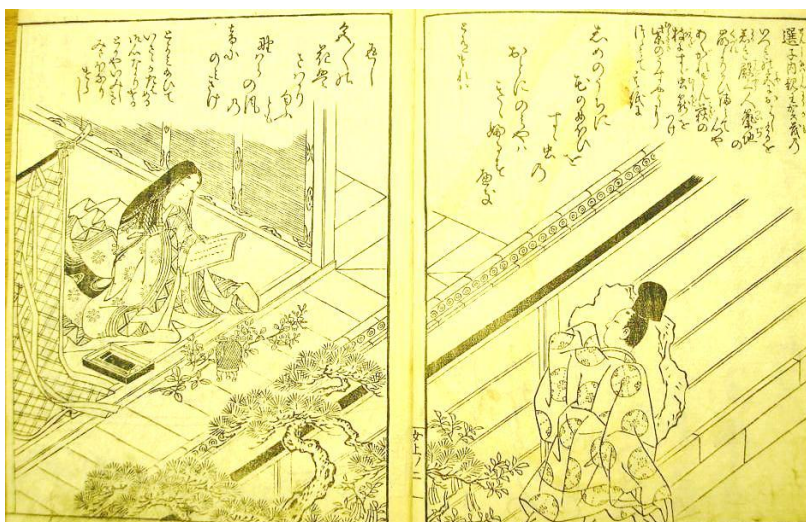
⁴⁸ Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Ehon himetsubaki*, 1745, British Museum, London.

Fragrant flowers in full-bloom - yet listen only to the sound of the wind on the plain.⁴⁹

The accompanying text celebrates her unswerving integrity (*isasaka tawameru migokoro nakarikeru to*

Fig. 6.24

ka ya): not surprisingly, perhaps, since Senshi remained in her role of Kamo Shrine Princess for five reigns. Chastity could be read as a political virtue, but



more striking in this citation is Senshi's advice to listen, not to the crickets of the palace, but to the wind on the plains. For if the original intent of the poem was to dismiss the courtier – to have him direct his attentions elsewhere – it also raised an early distinction between the courtly and the popular (the shrine and the world beyond it).

This was a distinction invoked throughout *Himetsubaki*: not in the familiar sense of *ga* and *zoku*, but as a literary agenda, an endorsement of the popular as a vehicle for the courtly, as a vehicle, that is, for loyalist polemic.⁵⁰

For if the Senshi poem introduces the distinction between courtly and popular, inside and outside, other episodes stress their points of congruence. Take, for example, an episode (taken from *Genpei seisuiki*)

⁴⁹ This exchange is included in volume 4 of the *Shoku senzai wakashû*, compiled around 1320.

⁵⁰ For a discussion of *ga* and *zoku* see Nakano Mitsutoshi in C. Andrew Gerstle ed., *18th Century Japan: Culture and Society*, pp. 124-31 (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon; 2000).

describing the efforts of a group of women to entertain Emperor Takakura during an illness (fig. 6.25).⁵¹ Presenting the emperor with his meal (*gugo*), Awa no tsubone composes the following poem:



Fig. 6.25

君が代ににまの里人数そひていまもそなふるみつき物かな

Throughout my lord's reign, twenty thousand men from the village of Nima will offer up gifts to the gods

The allusion to *Nima no satobito* derives from a reference in a *fudoki* to a village in province of Kibi, which had supplied the army of Empress Saimei (655-661) with twenty thousand soldiers for the planned attack on Paekche following its invasion by Silla. In recognition of this, the Empress had bestowed the name *Nima* – or Twenty Thousand – on the village. In Awa no tsubone's poem, the village and its men offer gifts (*mitsugi*) to the gods on behalf of the emperor, a metaphor of loyalist devotion in the provinces, in the country at large.



Fig. 6.26

⁵¹ Matsuo Ashie ed., *Genpei seisui*, vol. 3, chapter 17, p. 160.

The theme of imperialist loyalty in the hinterland which had emerged powerfully in the waka volumes, here becomes a message passed (via a poetic trope) directly to the emperor.

Allusions to art in the common domain open the third volume of the work, which describes a pilgrimage made on foot by Izumi Shikibu to Kamo (fig. 6.26). En route, a courtier observes her padding her straw sandals with paper to stop the cord rubbing. The man composes:

ちふふるかみをは足にまくものか

The eternal gods/paper, are they there to bind your feet? to which she replies:

此れをはしものやしろ

This is the lower shrine⁵²

In another episode, Shikibu writes a (celebrated) poem on the pillar of the temple hall of Shoshasan for an absent Shôkû shônin (fig. 6.27):

くらきよりくらき道にて

入にけるはるかにてらせ

山の端の月

Out of darkness into

darkness I pass - shine

distant moon on the cusp of

the mountain



Fig. 6.27

⁵² Conventionally, the first lines are ascribed to the Kamo shrine priest, Tadayori. The Himetsubaki text attributes it to Hirotsuke.

To which the priest sends a reply:

日はいりて月まだいでぬたそがれにかけて照す法のともし火

The sun has set, the moon is not yet out, but the beacon of the law shines in the twilight⁵³

The image depicts Shikibu in the act of writing on the wall: writing, that is, in the public domain. The full significance of these episodes emerges in the final scene, which describes a beautiful plum tree growing in a humble woman's garden. Retired emperor Ichijō commands his men to uproot the tree and bring it to the palace, but a nightingale has built its nest there (fig. 6.28). The woman implores the men that they firstly present the emperor with a poem:

勅なればいともかしこし鶯の宿はととわくいかがこたへん

If it is an imperial command, I must obey: yet I beseech my lord, if the nightingale were to ask where is its home, what may I reply?

Fig. 6.28

On reading the poem, Ichijō relents and permits the tree to remain in the poor woman's garden. The image shows the woman presenting the attendants with the poem as the nightingale sings in the tree.⁵⁴



⁵³ This account appears to be a version of the *otogizōshi* "Izumi Shikibu". See Kubota Yoko, "L'Izumi Shikibu: Storia della Passione tra un Monaco e una Yujo", *Il Giappone*, vol. 29, 1989, pp. 5-49.

⁵⁴ The poem is included in Book 9 of the *Shūi wakashū* (compiled 1005-7).

The motifs of this account unravel suggestively. The emperor wishes to confine the plum within the palace, to remove it from the common domain. If the plum tree is removed to the palace, the nightingale loses its perch and the people are denied its song. In poetic terms, the plum was a symbol of lingering presence, of past memories. As such, within the *ehon*, it was a fitting metaphor of loyalist nostalgia. Here, the emperor explicitly seeks to appropriate the tree. But if the plum represents abiding memories of an imperial presence, the nightingale singing from the plum represents the popular *ehon* that champions the imperial prerogative amongst the masses. The nightingale sings from the plum - or of the plum - just as the Sukenobu *ehon* takes as its subject the imperial institution. If the plum is removed to the confines of the palace (if the artist is deprived of his subject), then the loyalist lament, which has for decades been the unique subject of this artist, will be silenced. *Himetsubaki* thus concludes with a plea that the common *ehon* may continue to elegize the court. The nightingale singing in the plum, Shikibu's witty rejoinder about the lower shrine (*shimo no yashiro*) of the gods; her writing on the wall, Senshi's reference to the wind on the plains: the popular in the service of the courtly, these are revelatory metaphors of the *ehon* itself.

Ehon Yamato hiji: Opposing Cultures

Such consciously self-referential tropes - allusions to both the broader agenda of the *ehon* and its status as a personal expression of devotion - had emerged repeatedly in *Ehon Yamato hiji*, Sukenobu's most complete statement of his art published in 1742. Here, over the course of eight volumes (the ninth is an eclectic collection of poems - particularly celebrated *haikai*, *waka* and *kyōka*; the tenth and final volume a treatise on

painting) Sukenobu introduced the cluster of tropes so central to the later works - exile and devotion, art and redemption.⁵⁵

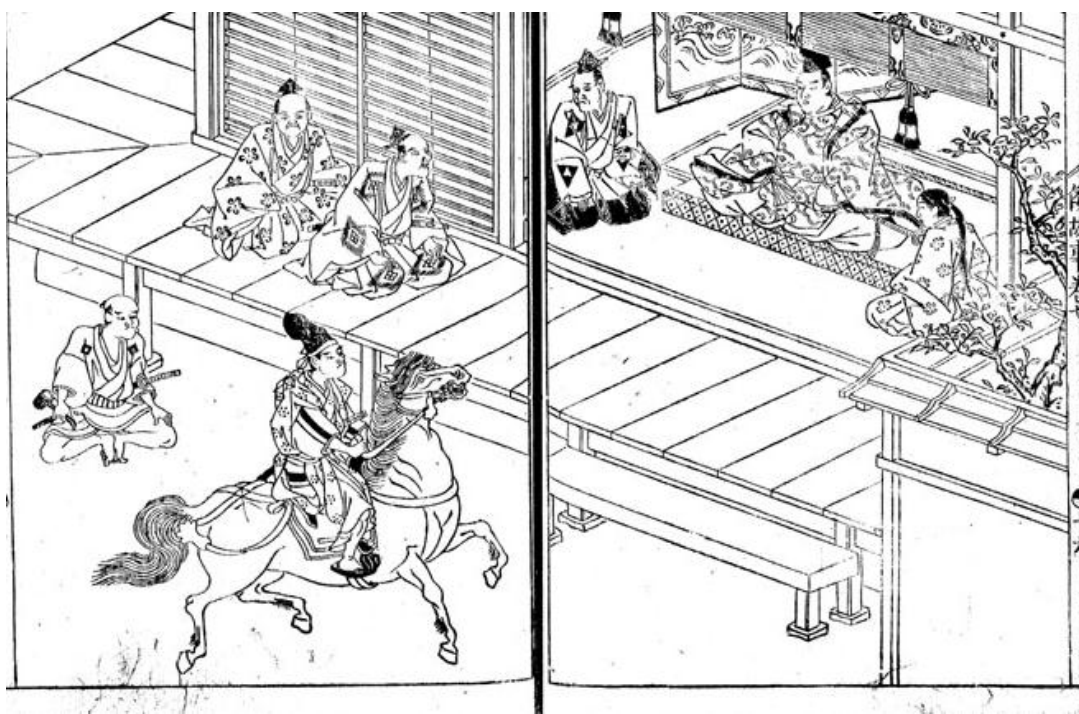
The work was complex, and it constructed its meaning through disparate vignettes culled from a wide variety of sources (Chômei's *Mumyôshû*, Tales of Yamato, The Tale of the Heike, The Tale of the Soga Brothers, *Azuma monogatori*, Nô plays, the biographies of Kano Einô's *Honchô gashi* - History of Japanese Painting - and countless others). Its title was derived from a Sung dynasty compendium of criminal cases compiled by Gui Wanrong 桂萬榮 entitled *Cases Heard Beneath the Chinese Bush Cherry* (*Tangyin bishii*; *Jap. Tôin hiji monogatari*), a work translated into Japanese as early as 1649 which proved sufficiently popular for Saikaku to produce his own version, *Honcho tôin hiji* (*Cases Heard beneath the Japanese Cherry Tree*), in 1689. The comparative endeavour inherent in the notion of *hiji* (literally *kurabegoto*) seems to have been a particularly attractive concept in the early years of the eighteenth century: Uchiyama Mikiko, following Hasegawa Tsuyoshi, has noted that from the Hôei period (1704-11) onwards the *hiji* theme became popular in *ukiyozôshi*, while jurisdiction (*saiban*) related themes in *jôruri* became common from the Kyôhō years.⁵⁶ In the context of Sukenobu's work, indeed, viewed in terms of the invocation of the *incomparable* that concludes *Ehon asahi-yama* (black and white, young and old, laughter and anger) - the terms of comparison inevitably take on a political complexion.

⁵⁵ **Rôka** would continue to publish *ehon* in the 1750s, working with both Hasegawa Mitsunobu (active through to the 1760s) and Tsukioka Settei (1710-87).

⁵⁶ Uchiyama Mikiko, *Jôrurishi no jûhasseiki*, p. 60 (Tokyo: Benseisha; 1989).

The theme of oppositional cultures is epitomized in an account of a fine horse in the possession of a Kamakura bakufu official that cannot be tamed even by the most experienced horsemen.⁵⁷ As a last resort, the official is informed that a man taken prisoner in an earlier battle has a reputation as a horseman (fig. 6.29). The man is summoned to the official's residence, and mounts the horse without saddle and without reins. The moral - as the text emphasizes - is that under the righteous ruler, neither horses nor people need be tamed with artificial constraints.

Fig. 6.29



A similar moral is conveyed in the story of Nibu no Hiroyoshi, that model of filial piety who, trusting to the winds, would embark for a neighboring island (to gather firewood for his father) in a boat with no rudder and no oars: an illustration of the dictum that when government is virtuous (when the winds blow true), the people cannot err (fig. 6.30).⁵⁸

⁵⁷ *Ehon Yamato hiji*, vol. 7, 廿木経家.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 8. 丹生弘吉

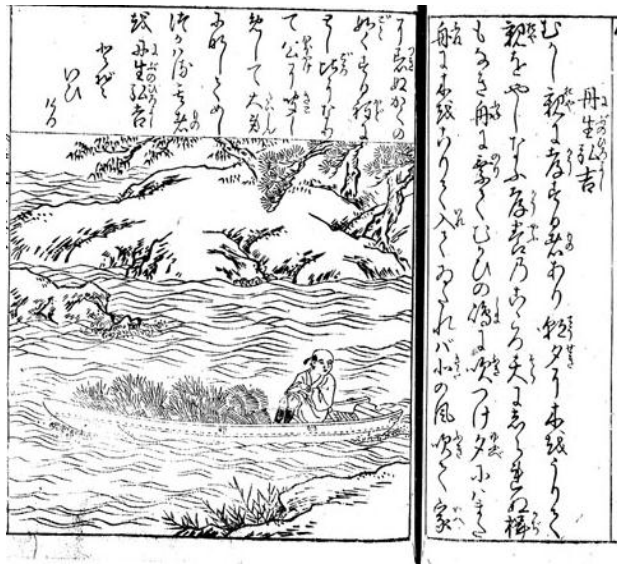


Fig. 6.30

Art and Redemption

But by this stage in Sukenobu's career, the political poles of *Yamato hiji* were perhaps a given. More striking in this work were the repeated allegories of art, its production, its circulation, and its purpose. For if, in *Himetsubaki*, art was a conduit between the court and the people (the poem *nima no satobito* presented to Emperor Takakura, the nightingale in the plum) in *Yamato hiji* art was above all a gift: the offering of the poor. Thus, a young girl whose parents have died is visited by a priest. She offers him all she has: a poem (fig. 6.31).⁵⁹ On the day of the Tama *matsuri*, crowds throng the temple with offerings for their dead; a poor woman, shabbily dressed, approaches nervously with a dedicatory offering of some died silk in a pot, a poem and a lotus leaf. The crowd is deeply moved (fig. 6.32).⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Ibid., vol. 4. 孤女. This poem is also collected in *Kin'yo wakashû*, Book 10.

⁶⁰ Ibid., vol. 4. 貧女



Fig. 6.32



Fig. 6.31

Two priests lodge for the night in a wretched house; the woman who gives them shelter offers a poem:

Wretched tho I am, inconsequent as the myriad grasses, here I pass my life,
transient as dew⁶¹

In another episode, Fushimi Shuri no Tayu Toshitsune holds a poetry gathering: a man arrives from the countryside, and begs to submit a poem - a poem which leaves the courtiers speechless (*ichiza shirakete hajiaerikeri*).⁶²

But this gift of the poor and marginalized circulates, ideally, within an exchange. In the tale of the daughter of a fisherman from Iwami, the girl's poetic talent so impresses an imperial envoy that she is sent to serve at court.⁶³ A (wrongly) divorced wife offers up a poem of undying love as she leaves the home, and is taken back by her husband (fig. 6.33); another wife discarded by her husband in favour of a concubine similarly wins back her husband through a poem of undying devotion.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Ibid., vol. 2. 隆尊

⁶² Ibid., vol. 5. 鄙人秀歌

⁶³ Ibid., vol. 3: *Ishimi no saiyo* 石見の才女.

⁶⁴ Ibid., vol. 3: 吟雨婦 and 大和の義婦.

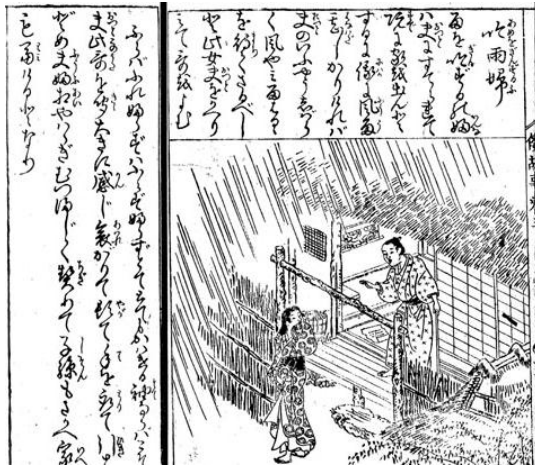


Fig. 6.33

Themes of art and redemption loom large in this work. Priest Kakusan (Sôjô Kakusan), laments that after years of ascetic practice, he has arrived at the age of fifty, denied office:

I am no high priest, and these are not the shallows of a mountain river: I think of them, not flowing, still-standing, like myself.

In a dream, he is assured that fortune will not neglect him, and shortly thereafter he receives a promotion.⁶⁵ Nakanoin Michikatsu, living in exile, composes a particularly felicitous poem and receives an imperial pardon (fig. 6.34):

Who would have thought it? That I, who have so long yearned for a sign from the geese - that I should return this year to the palace above the clouds?

66

⁶⁵ Ibid., vol. 7, 僧正覚讃: 山川のあさりにならでよどみなばながれもやらぬものやおもはん。

⁶⁶ Ibid., vol.4: おもひきや雁の便をしたひにし雲井にかへる身をことしとは。

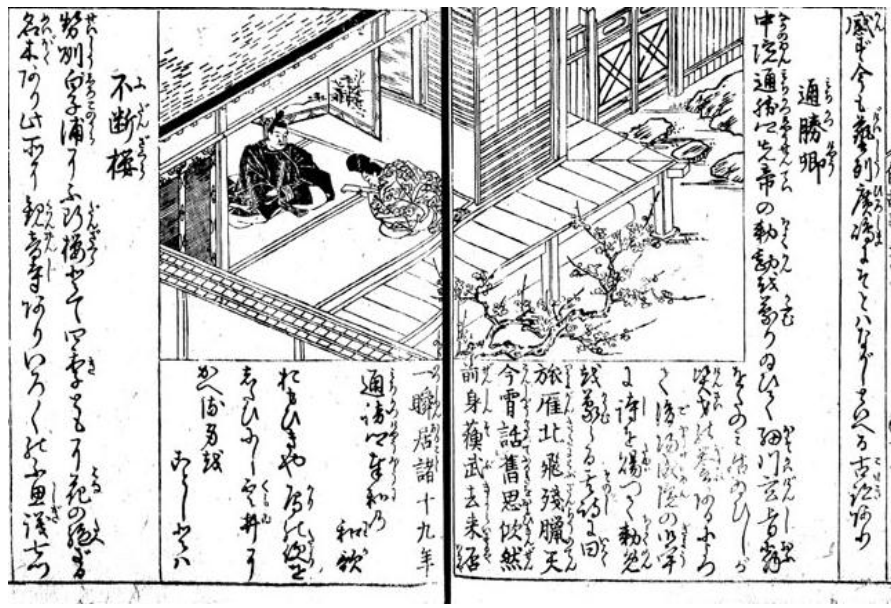


Fig. 6.34

Art, offering of the poor, the exiled, the wronged, communicates the integrity of its devotion and as such it is rewarded. Yet, more often, it is the somber tones of rejection that characterize individual episodes. Yasuyori, exiled to Kigai-ga shima for his role in attempting to expel the Heike, inscribes one thousand *sotoba* with poems of anguish for an aging mother, and casts them into the sea (fig. 6.35):

Have pity! Racked by thoughts of home on the briefest journey, how much more so as my absence endures

Here am I on this small island in the bay of Satsuma: tell this to my mother, oh eightfold winds!⁶⁷

They drift ashore: a moving, yet hopeless testimony of filial piety.

⁶⁷ Ibid., vol. 4:

おもひやれしばしとおもす旅だにも猶ふるさとはこほしき物を。
さつま潟沖の小しまに我ありとおやにはつげた八重の汐かぜ。



Fig. 6.35

Similarly, the closing episode of volume six, wherein Semimaru composes melodies in the wilderness, witnessed only by the disconsolate Yoshimine no Munesada 良岑宗貞 (Bishop Henjô) (fig. 6.36). These volumes are littered with the disappointed and the disaffected: Prince Koretaka, Ôtomo no Kuronushi, Kamo no Chômei, Chûnagon Fujifusa - the staunch ally of Kusunoki Masashige (the text informs us) who opts for reclusion when the restoration fails;⁶⁸ and there are numerous others. Volume six closes with an account of an imperial pilgrimage by Go Shirakawa to Ohara.⁶⁹ He stops in passing at the ancient site of the hermitage of the poet Kiyohara no Fukayabu: but there is a sense that this coveted expression of imperial appreciation is but wishful thinking.

⁶⁸ Ibid., vol. 2, 藤房: 治国平天下の道調ふらざるをなげきて遂に遁世し玉ひけり.

⁶⁹ Ibid., vol. 6, 深養父.



Fig. 6.36

The Riddle

Ehon Yamato hiji was a compendium of all the themes, political and artistic, that would appear in Sukenobu's later prose works: typically, it contained several familiar invocations of the riddle. In volume eight, an emperor proposes at a poetry meeting the hidden theme (*kakushidai*) of "hichiriki" 篳篥 (a type of flageolet used in *gagaku* performances).⁷⁰ The court poets are wholly flummoxed. Dismayed, the emperor objects that a lowly lumberjack would not struggle to produce a poem on the subject: the courtiers thus betake themselves to the mountains in search of rustic inspiration. They encounter two young boys collecting firewood, to whom they propose the same poetic theme. With great ease, the boys compose a poem and the courtiers return, their mission accomplished (fig.6.37). The motifs of the story are suggestive. The emperor wishes to compose a poem but to conceal his theme; the court is confounded. In the common domain, where art and deception are commonplace, the rustics offer up a

⁷⁰ Ibid., vol. 8: 樵童隱題詠歌.

perfect model of dissimulation: “It didn’t even appear to conceal a hidden meaning, it was completely spontaneous (*hiso sama ni mo nizu imaimashiku iikereba*)....”⁷¹

The concluding vignette of this long and complex work is also a riddle: a concluding challenge to the reader. The priest Eshin (Eshin Sôzu) visits a diviner on Mount Kinbu to see if she can divine his deepest desire (*shinjû no shogan*) (fig. 6.38).⁷² The diviner promises that though myriad lands, seas and mountains lie between him and his goal, if his heart is pure, and he remains stalwart, he will reach it.⁷³ The reader never learns the object of the priest’s desire: but the text gestures significantly to Suika motifs of purity of heart, and to the love that cannot speak its name.⁷⁴ As such it casts retrospective light on the very title of the work: *Yamato hiji* - comparison of things Japanese - is at the same time the secret of Japan, *hiji* meaning both things compared 比事 and secret matters 秘事. And the secret is not simply the covert allusiveness of the work, but the unspoken, endlessly signified love that underpinned it: the love that was, that defined (in Suika terms) Yamato.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid., vol. 9: 巫女.

⁷³ Ibid.: 十万億の国々は海山隔てて遠けれどもこころの道の直ればつとめて至ると

⁷⁴ Suika laid emphasis on the belief that the gods rewarded the pure-hearted: see, for example, Masuho Zankô, “Shinrô tebikigusa” in Taira Shigemichi and Abe Akio eds., *Kinsei shintôron zenki kokugaku* p. 224 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1972).

清潔よければ万物ために奸されず。。。朝々祓修行すれば、衆福とこしなへに入来らん。

Also Ibid., pp. 208-9.

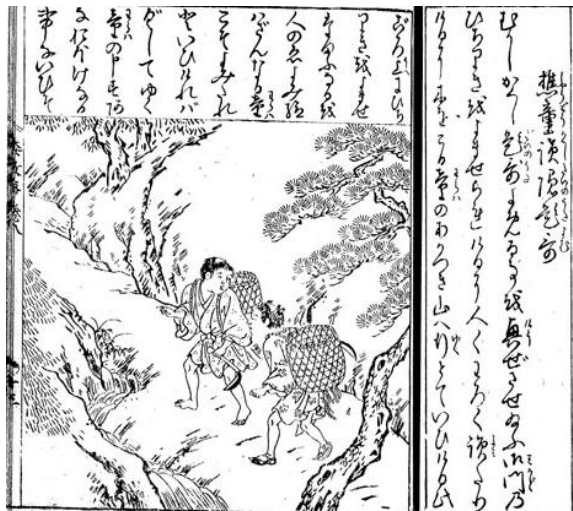


Fig. 6.37



Fig. 6.38

Sacred Landscapes: Neither Lofty nor Lowly

Of the ten volumes that comprise *Yamato hiji*, the vignettes discussed above belong to volumes two to seven. The opening volume was devoted to a series of landscapes, celebrated sites of poetic significance (*utamakura*) or topographical seasonal tropes. This volume in particular has been understood hitherto as an exercise in the production of *etehon* - sample pictures to be used as models for other artists in the manner of the Kano school *funpon*.⁷⁵ But the two prefaces to the work, one in *kanbun* by Rôka Ansai, the Osaka publisher who, after Sukenobu's death, would go on to publish *ehon* by his son Suketada and others, the other in *kana* by Sukenobu himself; combined with its vast scope (publication of the work was a joint venture between six independent publishers) signalled that the project was more than an exercise in workshop economics or painterly paradigms for the amateur artist.⁷⁶ Moreover, these landscapes were in many ways innovative within the printed medium. Their expression of atmospheric movement -

⁷⁵ See, for example, Hayashi Susumu, *Nihon kinsei kaiga no zuzôgaku: shukô to shin'i*, p. 226 (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten; 2000).

⁷⁶ Sukenobu's preface is discussed in chapter 4.

rising mist, lowering clouds, reflected light - was partly familiar from *Tsukubayama*: but the manner of rendering light through the staggered spacing of horizontal lines suggesting evanescent bands of luminosity, remained unique in the contemporary printed book.⁷⁷

The volume opened with a celebration of Mt Fuji - the quintessential expression of the sacral origins of the Japanese landmass – listing its homonyms 不二 (nonpareil) and 不尽 (without end). Fuji, it declares, is a mountain without parallel (*kisan* 奇山) in either China or Korea: ‘a wholly exceptional mountain, and although our country is close to China, there is nothing there to which it can be compared’.⁷⁸ Fuji’s supremacy amongst mountains appears to have been point of indigenous consensus at the period,⁷⁹ yet for the Suika devotee, this status was inevitably linked to its sacrality. The first human emperor, Jinmu, was the grandson of the goddess of Mounts Fuji and Asama, Konohanasakunohime : the mountain was thus intimately associated with the imperial house.⁸⁰ For Yamazaki Ansai, Fuji was the material correlate of the Way of the Gods.⁸¹ And as an imperial symbol, Fuji was most obviously unparalleled: for the Japanese imperial system, guaranteed by the three regalia, was coeval with the gods. The Joseon

⁷⁷ The status of Sukenobu’s landscape prints has not been considered in the literature. Melinda Takeuchi has claimed that Sukenobu criticised Nanga paintings in his *Gashô saishikihô*. His criticisms of Chinese landscapes are interpreted here, by contrast, in terms of metaphors of nativist rhetoric. See Melinda Takeuchi, ""True" Views: Taiga's Shinkeizu and the Evolution of Literati Painting Theory in Japan", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 48, 1989, p. 5.

⁷⁸ *Ehon Yamato hiji*, vol. 1.

其富士の奇山なる事わが朝はいふに及ばず韓近といへども更にたぐふべきなし故に來朝の漢人詩文に虚譽する物記すにいとまあらず。

⁷⁹ See, for example, Kate Wildman Nakai, "The Naturalization of Confucianism in Tokugawa Japan: The Problem of Sinocentrism", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 40, 1980, p. 186.

⁸⁰ Imperial associations became more iconographically explicit in later nineteenth century depictions of the Fuji deity, Konohanasakuya hime, crowned as an empress. See Marco Gottardo, "Fuji shinkô to shomin no episutême (shinkô no wakugumi)", *Arusasu Nichiô chiteki kôryû jigyô: Nihon kenkyû seminâ "Edo" ronbunshû* (Alsace: CEEJA; 2010).

⁸¹ See, for example, Ansai’s “Suika okina shinsetsu” in Shintô Taikei Hensankai ed., *Suika Shintô*, vol. 12, p. 382 富士ニ襲テ其道行レ

dynasty of Korea was a mere three hundred years old and its origins in the overthrow of the Goryeo dynasty fell easily within the compass of human history; in China, the fall of the Ming and the rise to power of the Manchu Qing dynasty was only a matter of decades ago. This native advantage was early recognised in Suika circles. Wakabayashi Kyôsei had noted that other emperors were merely the head of a humanly constructed hierarchy: the Japanese imperial institution was unique since the emperor was descended from the sun: he was a god.⁸²



Fig. 6.39 Konohanasakunohime wearing an imperial crown. 1868

Thus when Sukenobu goes on to note that the Koreans, on their mission to Japan (presumably that of 1719), ‘had no time to make empty homage (*kiyo*) to [the mountain] in their poems’, the reference was metonymic. For the delegation’s business was uniquely with the shogunate: it was granted no imperial audience and there were, consequently, no Korean elegies to the emperor. Korean failure to compose on the subject of Fuji was thus an oblique reference to the absence of imperial tribute (particularly since Korean poems and paintings celebrating Fuji exist).⁸³ The poetic tributes that did issue were therefore no more than empty tributes (*kyoyo*).⁸⁴

But Fuji, with its homonym *fu-ji* “no two” - could be commandeered as another signifier of Suika truths. For one of the constantly repeated Suika credos was the

⁸² See Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570-1680*, pp. 272-3 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press; 1985).

⁸³ See Burglind Jungmann, *Painters as Envoys: Korean Inspiration in Eighteenth-century Japanese Nanga* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press; 2004).

⁸⁴ *Ehon Yamato hiji*, vol. 1.

necessary equivalence of vassaldom: the true vassal was measured not by worldly status but by his heart of yearning, his devotion to his lord.⁸⁵ Moreover, since all were ultimately descended from the gods: since all partook of the same divine origin, there could be no status differential.⁸⁶ Thus, having celebrated Fuji's supremacy amongst mountains, Sukenobu notes "in our country, people are neither lofty nor lowly" - *waga kuni no hito ki to naku sen to naku*.⁸⁷ The opening celebration of Fuji was thus simultaneously a powerful statement of Suika belief in the ontological equality of the *nihonjin*. It was a premise which, in a society dictated by notions of hereditary estate, contained the germs of social revolution.

Sacred Landscapes: Footprint of the Gods

The opening celebration of Fuji and its symbolic attributes is followed by two double-page views of Fuji, accompanied by poems invoking its divinity:

The god of Fuji appears amidst the clouds: an undimmable name that rises in its
very smoke⁸⁸

Cloudless throughout the night, the tall peaks of Fuji: bathed in the pure light of
the moon⁸⁹

Thereafter, the scene shifts to Hakone, Miho no ura, Tago no Ura, Tatsutayama river and finally the whirlpools of Naruto, landmarks which sweep from east to west, and

⁸⁵ Yamazaki Ansai, "Suika okina shinsetsu" in Shintô Taikai Hensankai ed., *Suika Shintô*, vol. 12, p. 382: 今世ノ貴トナクイヤシトナク. The notion of equality becomes a commonplace in popular Suika tracts: see for example, Tomobe Yasutaka, "Shintô nonaka no shimizu", in Saeki Ariyoshi ed., *Suika Shintô*, vol. 2, p. 398 (Tokyo: Shunyôdô; 1935-7).

⁸⁶ "Suika okina shinsetsu", Shintô Taikai Hensankai ed., *Suika Shintô*, vol. 12, p. 382:

日本ノ人億万人アリトイヘドモ、皆其先祖ハ神代ニ生レ出タル人ナレバ。

⁸⁷ *Ehon Yamato hiji*, vol. 1, "Fujisan": 吾国の人貴となく賤となく。

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 1: ふじの神は雲の中にもあらわれてうずもれぬ名にたつけぶりかな。

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1: よもすがらふじの高根に雲消へてきよみが一帯にすめる月かな。

from the highest point (Fuji) to the lowest (the downward spiraling whirlpools of Naruto). These landmarks offer up their own narrative. For if Hakone, Miho and Tago no ura are famed for their canonized views of Fuji (fig. 6.40), here, in each case, Fuji is elided, substituted by bands of mist or cloud. And thus, while *Yamato hiji* opens with a celebration of Japan's most sacred mountain, gesturing simultaneously to its imperial associations, it subsequently portrays a landscape from which it has been erased; a landscape where bands of mist and spray, curling salt smoke, maple leaves drifting from a mountain top – tropes supplied by the accompanying poems – become symbols of a pervasive but no longer tangible presence (fig. 6.41). Thus, for example:

The mist has cleared over the waters of Kiyomigata, revealing Miho Bay, in the evening sun⁹⁰

The evening sun over Miho, the sudden view of Lake Izu over the crest at Hakone, these become surrogates, traces of an absence; similarly the crimson waters of Tatsuta river, the sounds of the whirlpools of Naruto, distant traces, echoes of a former presence. Like the topographies of a mandala, these landscapes lead progressively away from the locus of sanctity (Fuji) to its converse (Naruto); they chart a world of sacred loss, one where traces of divinity linger only in the poetic memory.

⁹⁰ Ibid., vol. 1: 清見瀾なみじの霧ははれにけり夕日ぞのこるみほの浦哉。

Miho was also associated with Fuji in the Nô play *Hagoromo*:

Let the angel maiden linger a while, here by the pine wood, to show us spring touching Miho Cape, the moon so clear over Kiyomigata, the snows of Fuji, peerless all...

Translated in Royall Tyler, *Japanese No Dramas*, p. 105 (London: Penguin; 1992).



Fig. 6.40. Views of Fuji: Hakone

Miho no ura

Tago no ura

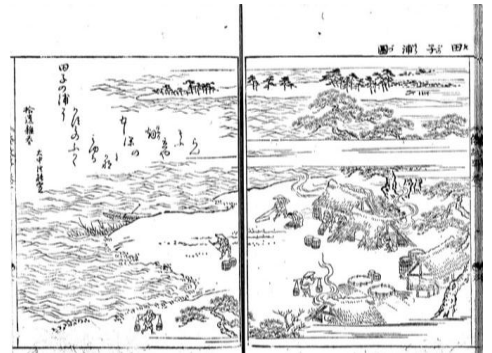
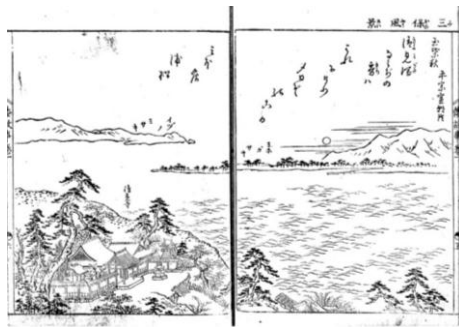
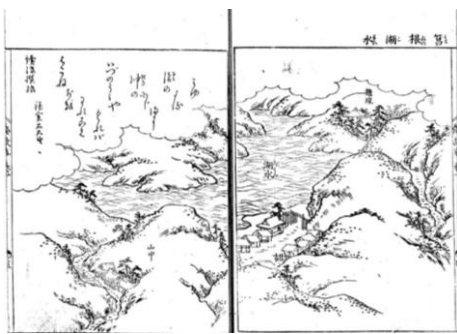
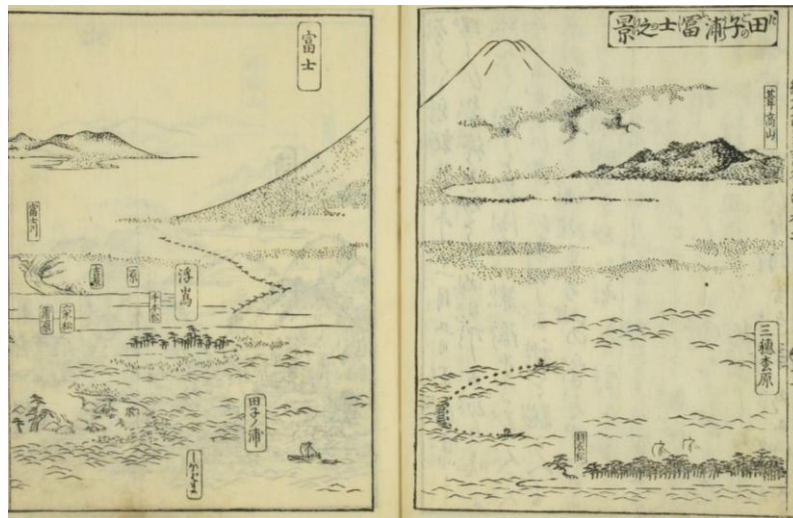


Fig. 6.41. *Yamato hiji* : Hakone

Miho no ura

Tago no ura

Below: A more conventional view of Tago no Ura, from vol. 2 of Tachibana Morikuni's 1727 *Gaten tsūkō* 画典通考.



The opening sequence (Fuji to Naruto) (figs. 6.43a & b) is followed by a series of poems illustrating (through landscape) fragments of the poetic legacy (the *shinrokkasen*, the

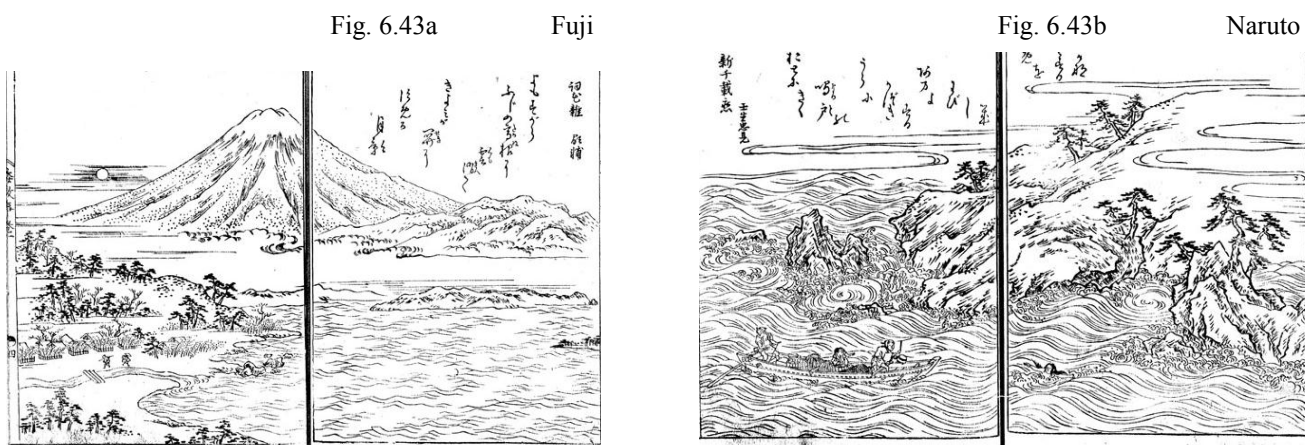
sanseki) that again both acknowledge the latent spirituality of the landscape. A third sequence opens with the celebrated Yoshino topos:

Who, in former days, spread these cherry blossom seeds, and made Yoshino the mountain of spring?⁹¹

Illustrated by the cherries dotting the slopes of Yoshino, the poem – cited also in *Ehon arisoumi* – invokes origins: origins which, in Suika discourse, were intimately linked to the divinity of the imperial institution. But as the sequence progresses through the seasons, the landscape becomes less hospitable. Thus, for example, the poem from the *Fugashû*:

Deserted by clouds driven adrift by the winds of the evening rain, the moon hovers on the edge of the mountain⁹²

The image shows three travellers making their way through mountainous terrain in heavy rains, while the moon appears in the sky above the storm clouds (fig. 6.44). Read in light of the waka volumes, read in light of the persistent loyalist tropes that characterize these works, this is yet another reference to the hardship of loyalist devotion in inclement times.



Ehon Yamato hiji, vol. 1.

むかしたれかかるさくらのたねをうえてよしのはるの山となしけむ

⁹² *Ibid.*, vol. 1.

夕立の風にわかれて行雲におくれていずる山のはるの月

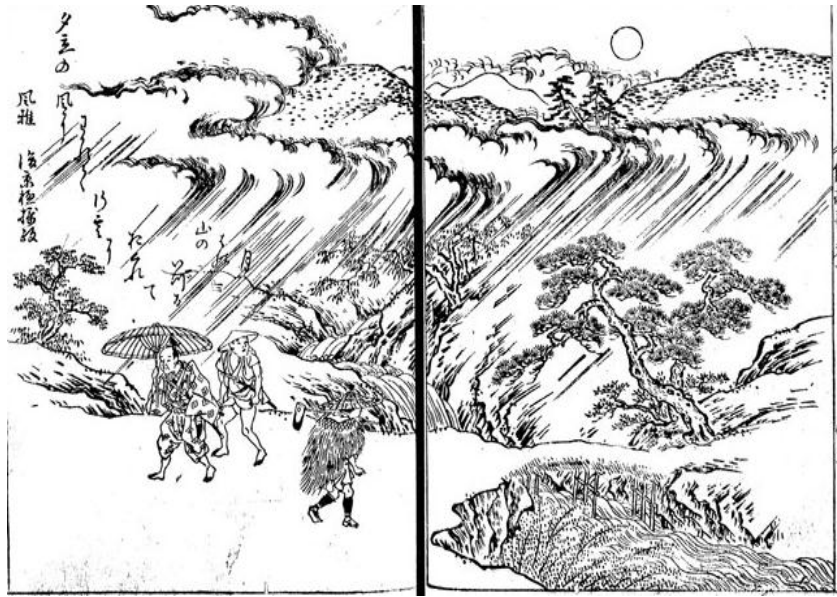


Fig. 6.44

Symbolic Landscapes

Yet at the same time, these metaphors gesture to Suika concepts of the sacred landscape. This thesis has argued that the landscapes of the waka volumes - particularly *Tsukubayama* - were symbolically appropriated, that the conscious evocation of light and mist was a pictorial expression of Shintoist concepts of immanence. Such concepts were



Fig. 6.45

prominent in the popular sermons of Masuho Zankô, they were passionately invoked by Keisai;⁹³ they were also fundamental to Ansai's understanding of the spiritual economy that informed Japan. Citing the *Nihon shoki*, he would remind his students that the Japanese landscape - mountains, rivers, seas and plains - reflected in the true gaze of the

⁹³ For Zankô, see chapters 2 and 5. For Keisai comments, see "Ninsetsu montô shisetsu" in Nishi Junzô ed., *Yamazaki Ansai gakuha*, pp. 274-5 (Tokyo Iwanami Shoten 1980).



Fig. 6.46

sacred mirror was simultaneously bathed and subdued in the regard of the emperor.⁹⁴

The sacred origins of the Japanese landmass had been attested to in the originary myths of local sites, documented in the eight century provincial gazeteers (*fudoki*). Ansai had been a keen proselytizer of *fudoki* wisdom, to the extent of distributing to students woodblock reproductions of a copy in his possession of the *Jindaimaki kôketsu* 神代巻口訣 - a medieval illustrated work charting Japan's Shintoist origins.⁹⁵ The work, notably, contained a representation of Onogoroshima at the moment of its conception: it was an illustration acknowledged by Sukenobu in a painting (of around 1730) depicting

⁹⁴ Shintô Taikai Hensankai ed., *Suika Shintô*, vol. 12, p. 381.

⁹⁵ For *Jindaimaki kôketsu* see Isomae Jun'ichi and Ogura Shigeji, *Kinsei chôtei to Suika Shintô*, p. 239-40 (Tokyo: Perikansha; 2005).

the creation of Japan by Izanami and Izanagi, for the distinctive shape of the island born of the two gods is identical in both works (figs. 6.45-6).⁹⁶

Steeped in the myths of the *fudoki*, Ansai upheld named places (*meisho*) not simply as poetic pillows but as testimonies to the passage of the gods before the coalescence of *Dainihonkoku*: ‘Yamato no kuni is Heaven.... Yamashiro, Mino, Ise, Omi, and so forth: these were in existence before Japan: these provinces are all heavenly.’⁹⁷ Thus if winds and mists, for Zankô, were manifestations of godly movement, for Ansai the landscape itself was a sacred trace, its named places (*meisho*) echoes of divine presences. The landscape sequences of *Yamato hiji* consciously created an idiom to express this sacrality. Through their compelling expression of light and shade, mist and cloud, they mapped the sacred territory of *honchô*, land of the living god.⁹⁸ Through the idiom of pathetic fallacy they simultaneously attested to its troubled political climate.

Kuge no hatto, buke no hatto

This first volume ends, however, with three wholly celebratory images. *One hundred horses (hyakuba no zu)*, *One hundred oxen (hyaku gyū no zu)* and *One hundred monkeys (haykuen no zu)* (6.47) depict animals cavorting freely in the wilds.

⁹⁶ Sukenobu’s painting is reproduced in Tōkyō Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo ed., *Painting and Sculpture of the Mary and Jackson Burke Collection and the Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation New York* (Tokyo: Kobunkazai Kagaku Kenkyūkai; 1992).

⁹⁷ From “Shindaiki Suika okina kōgi” in Shintō Taikai Hensankai ed., *Suika Shintō*, vol. 12, p. 355:
天上ハ大和ノ国ノコトゾ。。。ソウシテアノマヘノ日本ニ生トアル、アレガコクラノ山城、美濃、伊勢、近江ナドココラノクニハミナ天上ゾ。

⁹⁸ The representation of light in the printed works of this period is a subject that requires study in itself. There is evidence in the works of Sukenobu’s contemporary Tachibana Morikuni of a conscious effort to express light and atmosphere. See, for example, Tachibana Morikuni, *Gaten tsūkō*, 1727, Waseda University Library, Tokyo. Morikuni’s landscapes were clearly influenced by early Nanga or Chinese works; in Sukenobu’s case, while the landscapes are distinctly indigenous, the representation of light may well have been an innovation borrowed from the Nanga or Chinese idiom.

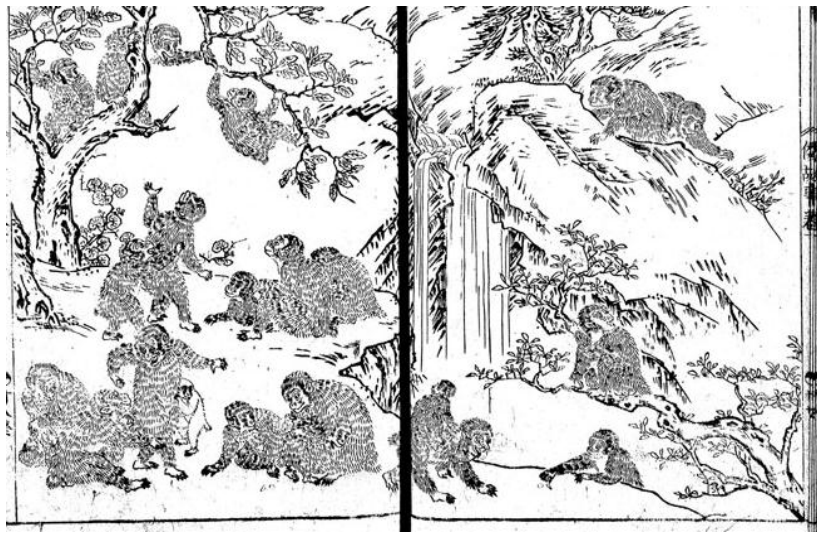


Fig. 6.47

It was a trope first introduced in *EhonTsukubayama* and repeated in *Ehon Minanogawa*, but here it receives its most emphatic expression. For these are metaphors of benign dominion: wild animals who of their own volition approach the sweet new grass of the spring meadows, seek out the shade of the willow, the cool waters of the rocky fall, the sturdy branches of oak. It is a theme which recurs in other forms in the work: the trope of the wild horse tamed by the true horseman, the boat guided by the righteous wind. Here, the theme of virtuous rule is expressed in terms of natural habitat: animals gather, they form societies based on mutual goodwill, they prosper within their (god-given) environment. It was a paradigm of unfettered freedom that, for nativist thinkers, obtained when people's hearts were regulated by the naturally rectifying forces of poetry. Kamo no Mabuchi's *Kokuikô* – published not until 1765, but circulating earlier - gave one of the fullest accounts of the benefits of benign dominion:

Everything that exists naturally in accordance with Heaven and Earth is round,

without corners, beginning with the sun and moon. To make a comparison to dew on a blade of grass, when dew forms on a sharp-cornered blade, it conforms to the blade's shape, but when it is placed on a flat surface it returns to its original roundness. Thus it is when the Emperor (*tennô*) governs the world: because his rule is based on roundness, good government comes about. That being rigid and judgmental (*kado tsukiatte ita*) leads to bad government can be seen from the history of China. Since the Way of Japan is originally one with the heart of Heaven and Earth, when the true form of things becomes corrupt, we must strive to return its original state.⁹⁹

Similar sentiments were in evidence much earlier. Tokugawa Muneharu, critic of the legalistic rule of Yoshimune, favoured a regime of compassionate understanding, where intemperate behaviours were rectified through the workings of natural respect:

If you're going to tell someone off, first of all think back to your own youth: then you will chastise with moderation, the person will become virtuous and things will be resolved without tensions.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Dai Nihon Shisô Zenshû Kankôkai ed., *Kamo Mabuchi shû. Motoori Norinaga shû tsuketari Tachibana Moribe, Ueda Akinari*, pp. 31-2 (Tokyo: Dai Nihon Shisô Zenshû Kankôkai; 1931).

元来天地間に存在するものは日月を始めとして、自然の状態に於いては悉くが丸く角のないものである。今これを草に置く露に譬へやう。その露が角張った葉の上に置く時は葉の形に従って種々な型となるけれど再び平坦なものの上に置けば、元の丸さを快復するやうなものである。故に天皇が世を治め給ふ際にも、この丸いことを模範として実行すれば申し分なく治まるので、事々に角つき合っていたのでは、支那の歴代の様子からも十分わかるやうに、決して完全に治まるものではない元来日本の道が天地の心と同じである以上、若しそれが曲げられた場合には、再び原型に復する努力を為さなければならない。

This translation is adapted from Peter Flueckiger, "Reflections on the Meaning of Our Country: Kamo no Mabuchi's Kokuikô", *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 63, 2008, p. 252. Flueckiger chooses to translate *tennô* as government rather than emperor and he elides the reference to the remedying of corrupt ways.

¹⁰⁰ Tokugawa Muneharu, "Onchiseiyô", in Naramoto Tatsuya ed., *Kinsei seidôron*, p. 164 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1976).

しかれば人に異見せんと思わば先我若き時をとくと存じ出し、先の者へも理を付け、ほどよくいひきがせ、よき人間の成、もはや何事にも気遣ひなきやうになる事也。

For Masuho Zankô, the popular Shinto preacher and writer, the concept was equally clear:

The way of Japan is not entered through imitation ...the spirit of divinity is natural, non-coerced: it is like removing the structure and being within the structure.....¹⁰¹

Chikamatsu Monzaemon would express it as the difference between the laws of the court - *kuge no hatto*, which took as their model the Way of waka - and the law of the warrior - *buke no hatto*.¹⁰² It was precisely this poetico-political economy that, for Sukenobu and his collaborators, naturally obtained under imperial rule; and it was a concept to which he gave powerful expression in tropes of the natural, uncorrupted society of animals

Gahô saishikihô

Volume ten of *Yamato hiji* departed from earlier volumes in being an (unillustrated) treatise on drawing and painting (*Gahô saishikihô*).¹⁰³ The first section was ostensibly a manual in how to draw; the second, a guide to the formulation of pigments. The treatise drew in part on Tosa Mitsuoki's *Honchô gahô taiden* of 1690 (Sukenobu may have studied under both Mitsuoki and Kano Einô). But for a reader approaching these writings with a knowledge of contemporary loyalist thought - for the intended reader,

¹⁰¹ Masuho Zankô, "Shinro tebigigusa" in Taira Shigemichi and Abe Akio eds., *Kinsei shintôron zenki kokugaku*, p. 219-20.

物真似するを道に入とせざるが日本流の国風。。。無作の妙用こそ神明の不測、格をはずして格に中るこそ真の達徳なれ

¹⁰² "Kaoyo utagaruta" 娥歌かるた in Chikamatsu Zenshû Kankôkai ed., *Chikamatsu zenshû*, vol. 8, pp. 701-2 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1985). I am grateful to Drew Gerstle for this reference.

¹⁰³ *Gahô saishikihô* is discussed and partly translated in Véra Linhartová, *Sur un Fond Blanc: Ecrits Japonais sur La Peinture du IXe au XIXe siècle*, pp. 320-63 (Paris: Le Promeneur : Gallimard; 1996). It is transcribed in Sakazaki Shizuka ed., *Nihon garon taikan* (Tokyo: Arusu; 1927-29).

that is - the precepts outlined in the drawing manual must have seemed uncannily similar to contemporary political formulations. Thus, the lamentable habit of painting in a Chinese idiom (and abandoning the native Japanese style) was akin to placing one's trust in the people of a distant country and shunning one's own (*tôku no kuni wo shinjite waga kuni wo iyashimuru*).¹⁰⁴ It was an allegation commonly upheld in other contexts: Asami Keisai would criticise the observance of foreign disciplines as a betrayal of one's indigenous self:

If your heart doesn't follow the way at hand, the teaching at hand, that is not the way....there are people who read Confucian books, and their heart becomes foreign (*ikokujin to nari*)¹⁰⁵

In his *Niimanabi* of 1765, Mabuchi would lament, likewise, that of late, men had time only for current scholarship and failed to invoke the examples of the ancients: it was like consigning one's heart to another (*kokoro wo hito ni azukuru ga gotoshi*).¹⁰⁶ Indeed, there were many similarities between the credo of the painter and that of the nativist. In the painting of large pictures – *taiga* – *Gaho saishikihô* counselled a soft, flexible brush stroke (*yawaraga ni kaiteha nukarite miyuru mono nari*):

¹⁰⁴ Sakazaki Shizuka ed., *Nihon garon taikan*, p. 74.

是遠く他の国を信じて近きわが国をいやしむるの心ならずや

¹⁰⁵ Tada Kiun hitsuroku “Asami sensei gakudan”, cited in Nishi Junzô ed., *Yamazaki Ansai gakuha*, p. 587.

道ハ近ク教近ク心ニツレデナケレバ道トハイハレヌゾ。 . . 世儒書ヲ読テ心異国人トナリ。。

¹⁰⁶ “Niimanabi”, in Sasaki Shin ed., *Nihon kagaku taikai*, vol. 7, p. 229 (Tokyo: Kazama Shobô; 1959).

後世人は其の時の師の伝をのみ守りて物をよく古にたくらべず。かかる人は心を人に預くるが如し。

When painting large pictures, use a long-stemmed brush. For small paintings use a soft, light touch. If you go over lines strongly and repeatedly, the painting will look ugly, and people will tire of looking at it.¹⁰⁷

The light touch was a trope that had arisen earlier in Muneharu's *Onchiseiyô*: Kamo Mabuchi would liken good government to a drop of dew on blade of grass, for Nakamura Sankinshi it was the branch of the willow bending yet not breaking with the snow (*yanagi no eda ni yuki oreha nashi*).¹⁰⁸ For Tokugawa Muneharu, it relied on harmonious relations (*wajuku ichi*);¹⁰⁹ and a hands-off approach:¹¹⁰

howsoever you may try to be careful, if you insist on scrutinising every corner and sweeping up the dust from under the tatami, people will be unable even to shake their heads.¹¹¹

For Sukenobu, the insistent focus on Chinese painting had led to oddly idiosyncratic creations, what he termed a bias – *katayori* 偏. The term, again, was familiar from oppositional literature. Muneharu had claimed that excessive Confucian learning had resulted in a kind of emotional warping – *henkutsu* 偏屈: like a straw doll, oddly pristine, yet with no human feeling, no sense of human relations (*ninjô ni wa yorisoi nakushite, wa wo ushinau dôri*).¹¹² In all things, the key (Sukenobu declared) was to simply observe ancient ways, thus avoiding the cultivation of unfortunate habits both in

¹⁰⁷ Sakazaki Shizuka ed., *Nihon garon taikan*, p. 72.

これを書には筆の軸の長きを用ひて尤よろし。小画は又筆法やわらかにして軽く書くべし、強く重ければ絵様陋しくなりて、必ず見飽くものなり

¹⁰⁸ “Onchiseiyô hoyoku”, in Nagoya-shi Kyôiku Inkai ed., *Nagoya sôsho*, p. 66 (Nagoya: Nagoya-shi Kyôiku Inkai; 1960).

¹⁰⁹ Tokugawa Muneharu, “Onchiseiyô”, p. 162

上中下共、和熟一致になくしては善行も成し遂がたしと思はるる事也

¹¹⁰ Naramoto Tatsuya ed., *Kinsei seidôron*, p. 100 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1976). 手厚き事なきやうに。

¹¹¹ Tokugawa Muneharu, “Onchiseiyô”, p. 167:

いかに丁寧といふても、隅々迄訃（あばき）出し、畳の裏まで埃を払ふくらゐにては、かぶりもふられず

¹¹² Ibid.

the broader terms of one's life and the narrower terms of one's painting (*shō ni katayorite gahō wo midashi ayamaru koto nakare*).¹¹³ The appeal to ancient ways, to ancient days, was one that needed little elaboration in nativist circles.

Gahō saishikihō was, in fact, persistently allegorically suggestive. A painting needed to take account of the individual characteristics of its subject (*banbutsu sono shinajina ni shitagaitte*): if not, it ended up like a piece of pretty cloth, not a painting at all.¹¹⁴ This, again, was not so far from Muneharu's straw doll. A painter needed to seek expert advice if he was to progress in his art; with his own tuppence ha'penny worth, he would not get far (*jiko no ryoken nomi nishite wa narigatakarubeshi*).¹¹⁵ This was another theme - the bakufu's reluctance to consult - to which the *ehon* returned again and again. In sum, painting - the very sweep of the brush - along with the literary classics, the poetic canon, the conduct manual, the landscape, the world at large, was an allegory of government.

The landscape sequences of *Yamato hiji* constitute arguably the most stylistically innovative aspect of Sukenobu's oeuvre. Early examples of *meisho zue* (images of famous places), these works claimed the landscape as a form of religio-political expression.¹¹⁶ Unlike the waka iconographies, moreover, where combinations of image and text (transformed by the trope of *mitate*) yielded often elaborate new meanings, the relationship between image and text in *Yamato hiji* was only minimally discursive. A depiction of the rising mists of Miho, the cherries of Yoshino, was just that. Within a powerful strand of contemporary discourse, these sites were already

¹¹³ Sakazaki Shizuka ed., *Nihon garon taikan*, p. 71.

古例を考へ、生にかたよりにて画法を乱しあやまる事なかれとなり

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 70.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 69.

¹¹⁶ For another early example, see Tachibana Morikuni, *Gaten tsūkō*,

invested as metaphor, the empirical world as paradigm of an underlying sacrality.

Sukenobu's extraordinary achievement - one that he would repeat in later works - was to develop a graphic medium for the representation of light that both gestured to and invoked this sacrality. To the extent, in fact, that it could be argued that *Yamato hiji* was a religious work: perhaps the very first systematic pictorial expression of Suika belief.

Fig. 6.1 Ehon Yamato hiji 1742 絵本倭比事

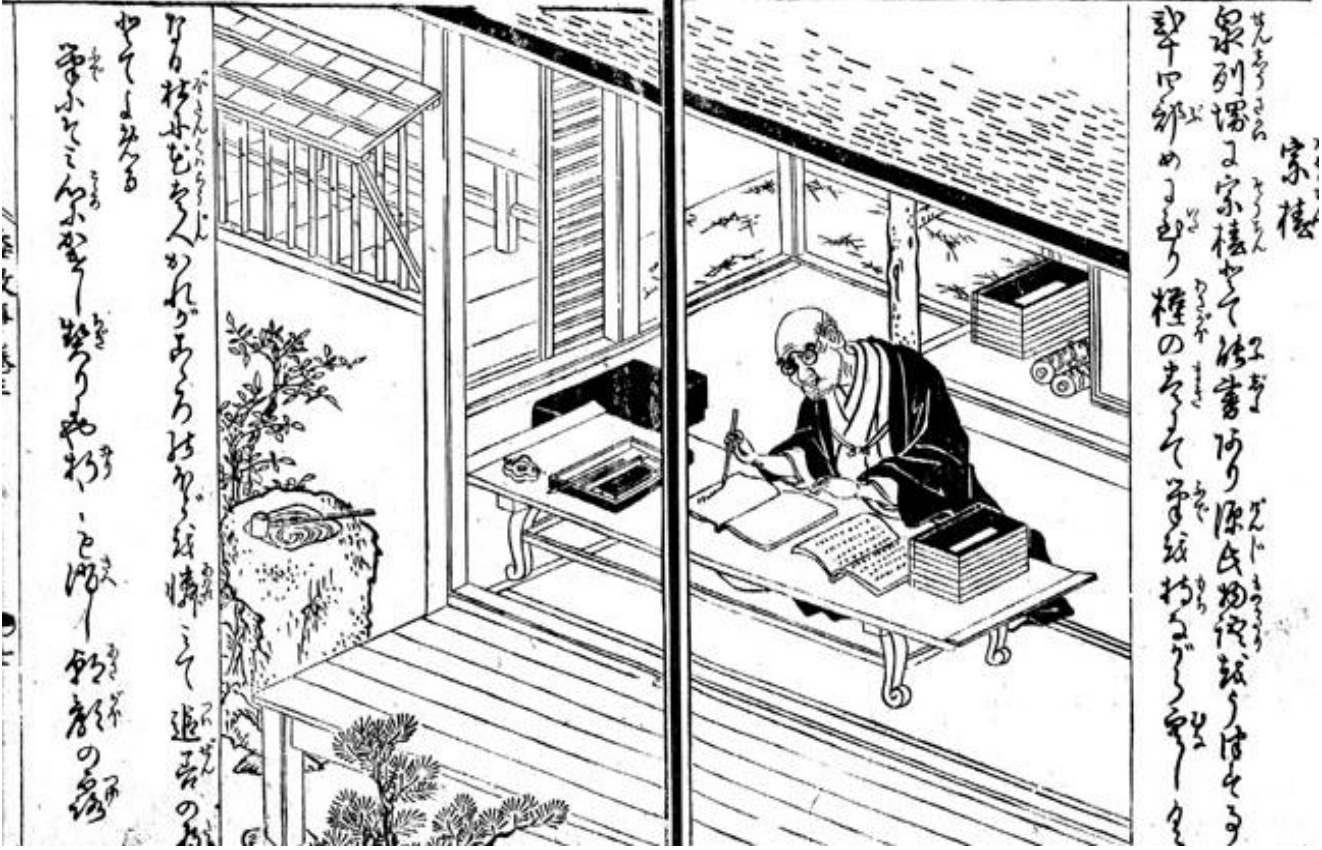


Fig. 6.2a *Ehon Tsurezuregusa* 1738 絵本徒然草

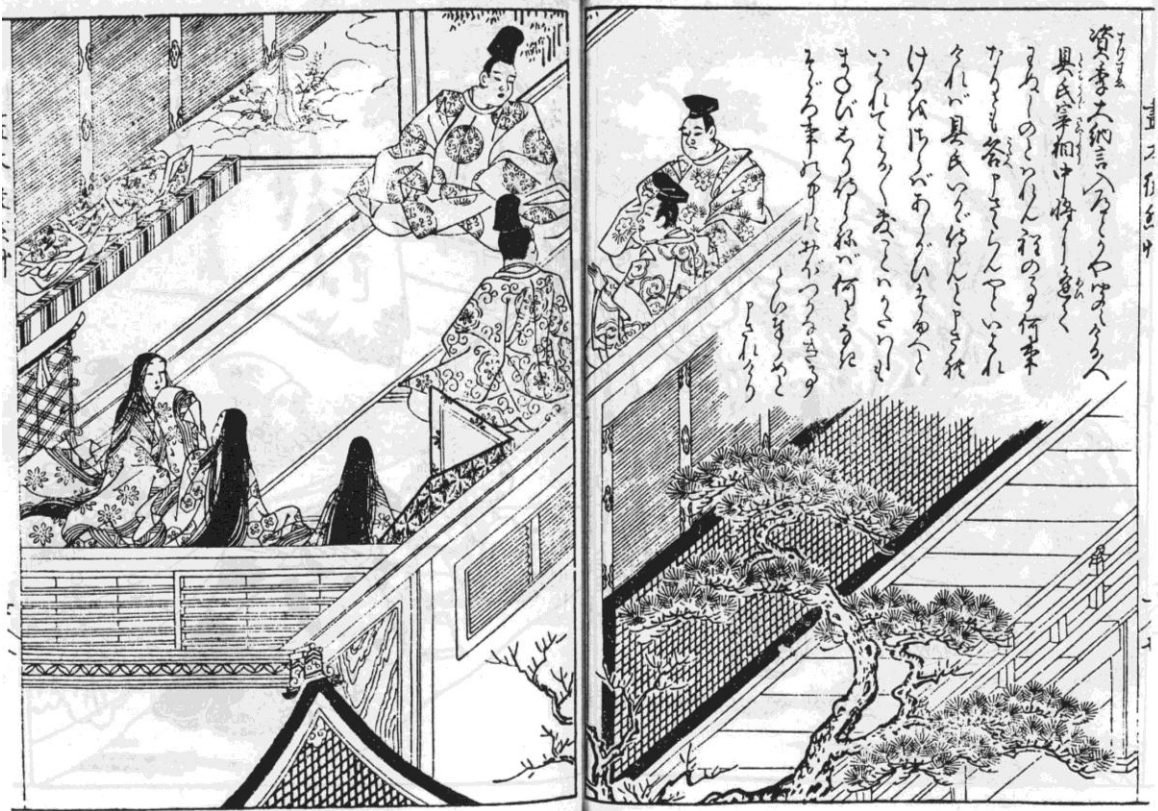


Fig. 6.2b *Ehon shinobugusa* 1750 絵本忍婦草



馬のきつれうきつわのをる中くぼれ
いりくれんどう

Fig. 6.3 Ehon Tsurezuregusa 1738 絵本徒然草



Fig. 6.4 Ehon Tsurezuregusa 1738 絵本徒然草

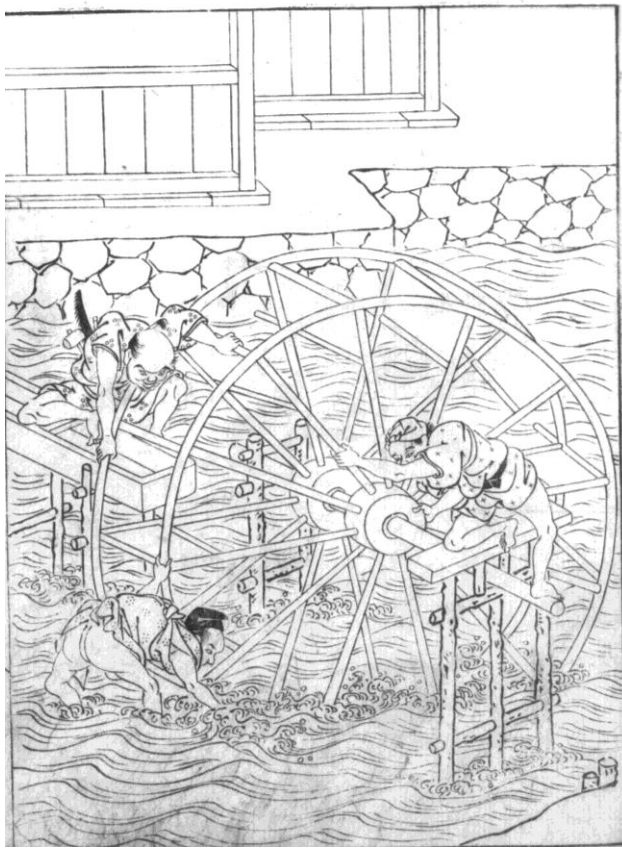


Fig. 6.5a *Unjô benran taizen* 雲上便覽大全 1868



Fig. 6.7 *Ehon Kamenoo yama* 1747 絵本亀尾山



Fig. 6.8 Ehon Tsurezuregusa 1738 絵本徒然草



Fig. 6.9 Ehon Tsurezuregusa 1738 絵本徒然草

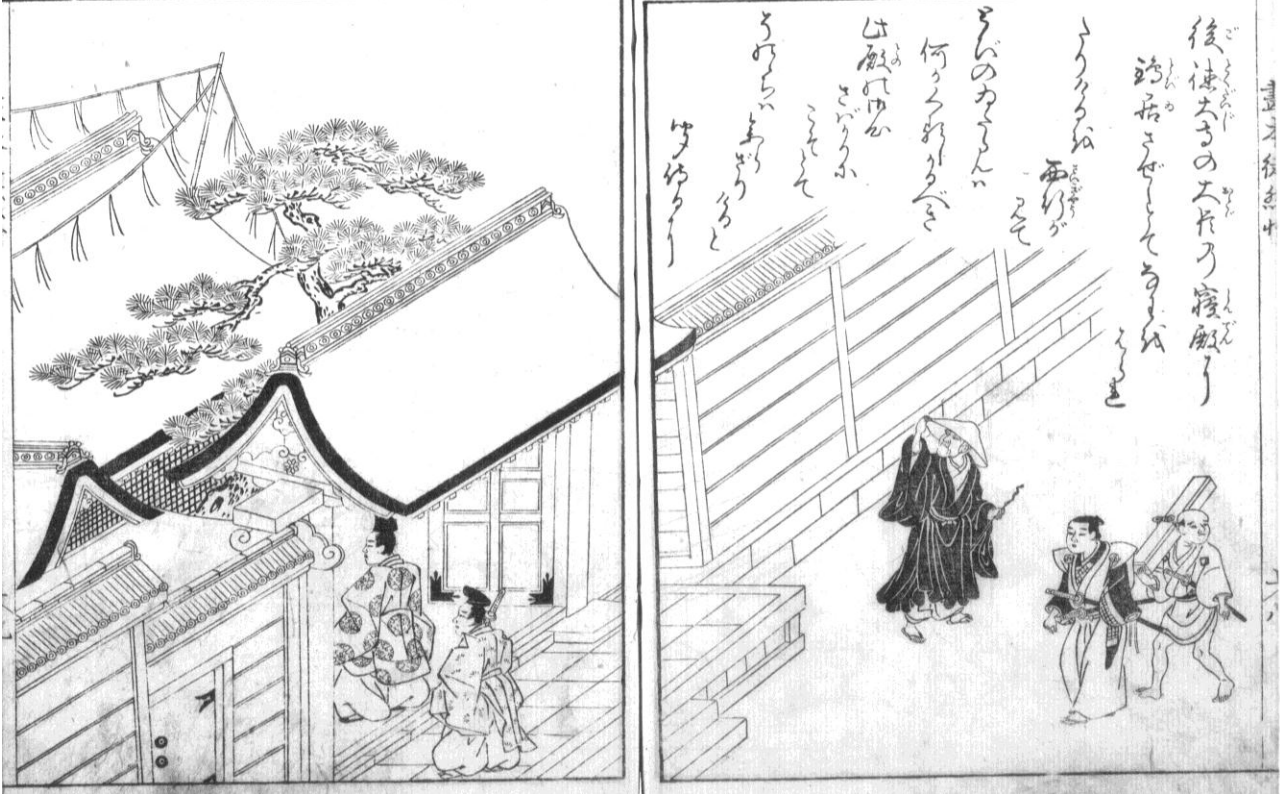


Fig. 6.10 *Ehon shinobugusa* 1750 絵本忍婦草

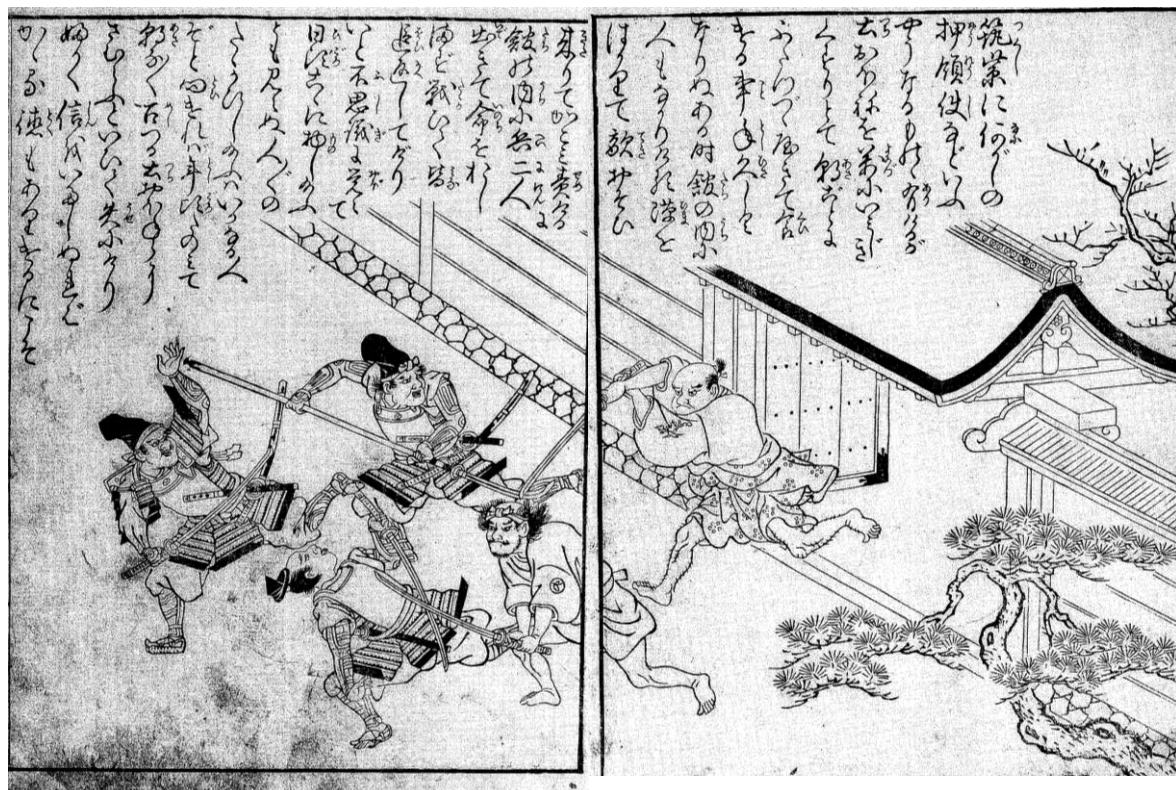


Fig. 6.11 *Ehon shinobugusa* 1750 絵本忍婦草



Fig. 6.12 Ehon Asahi-yama 1741 絵本朝日山



Fig. 6.14 Ehon Chitoseyama 1740 絵本千年山



Fig. 6.15 Ehon Kamenoo yama 1747 絵本亀尾山



Fig. 6.16 Ehon Kamenoo yama 1747 絵本亀尾山



Fig. 6.17 Ehon Kamenoo yama 1747 絵本亀尾山



Fig. 6.18 Ehon Kamenoo yama 1747 絵本亀尾山



Fig. 6.19 Ehon Kamenoo yama 1747 絵本亀尾山



Fig. 6.20 Ehon Kamenoo yama 1747 絵本亀尾山

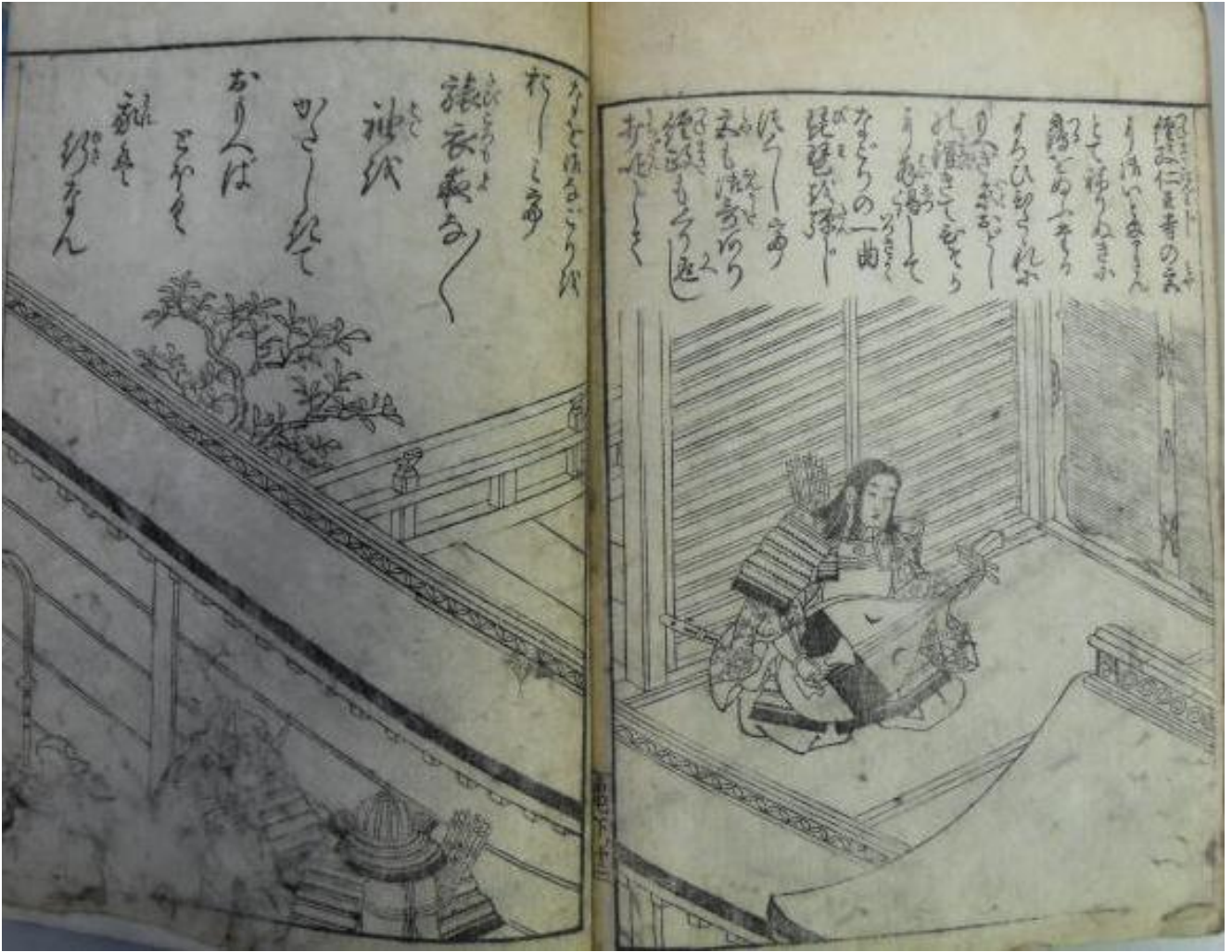


Fig. 6.21 Ehon Kamenoo yama 1747 絵本亀尾山



Fig. 6.22 Ehon Kamenoo yama 1747 絵本亀尾山



Fig. 6.25 Ehon himetsubaki 1745 絵本女貞木



Fig. 6.27 Ehon himetsubaki 1745 絵本女貞木



Fig. 6.29 *Ehon Yamato hiji* 1742 絵本倭比事

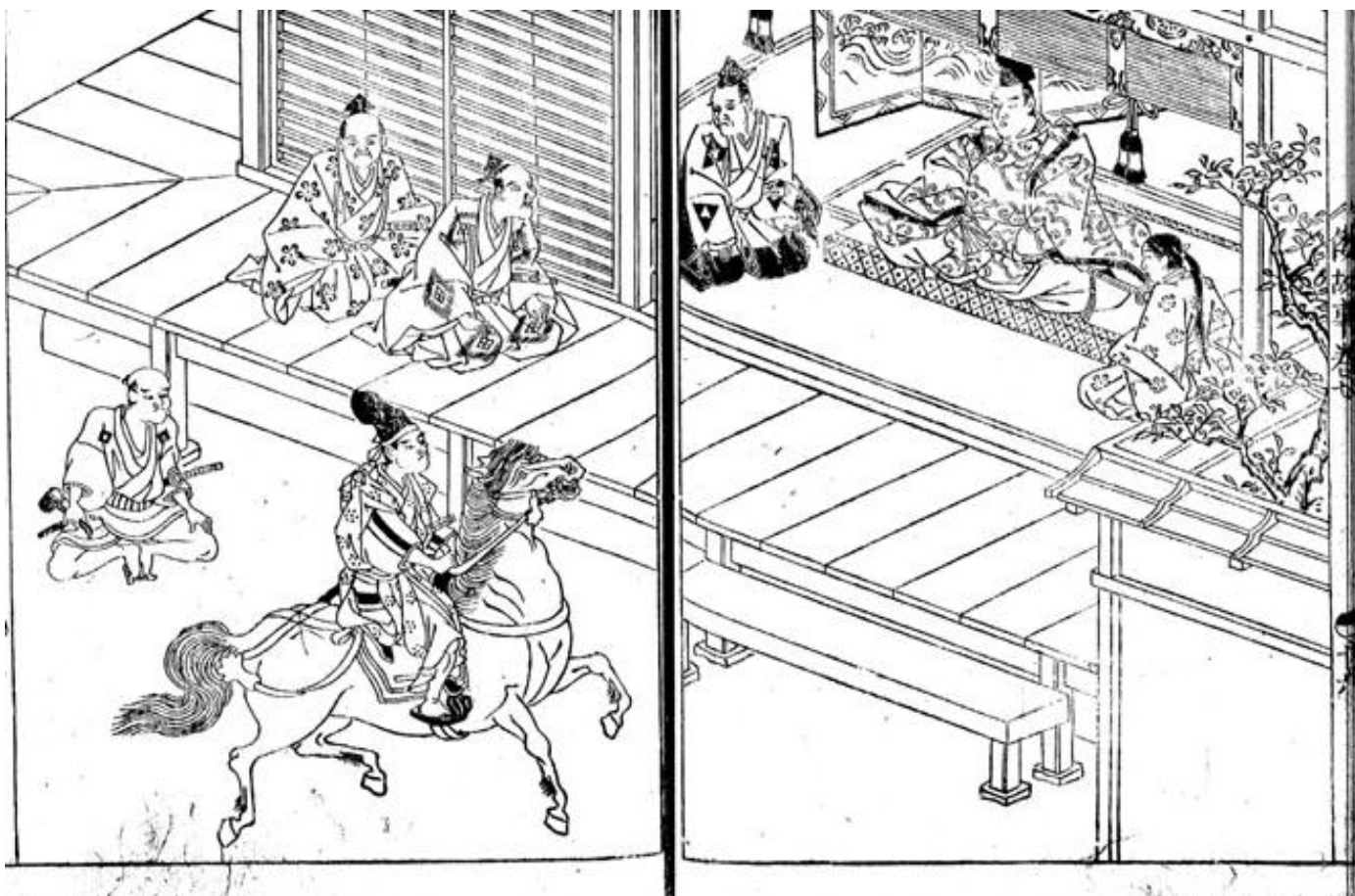


Fig. 6.30 Ehon Yamato hiji 1742 絵本倭比事

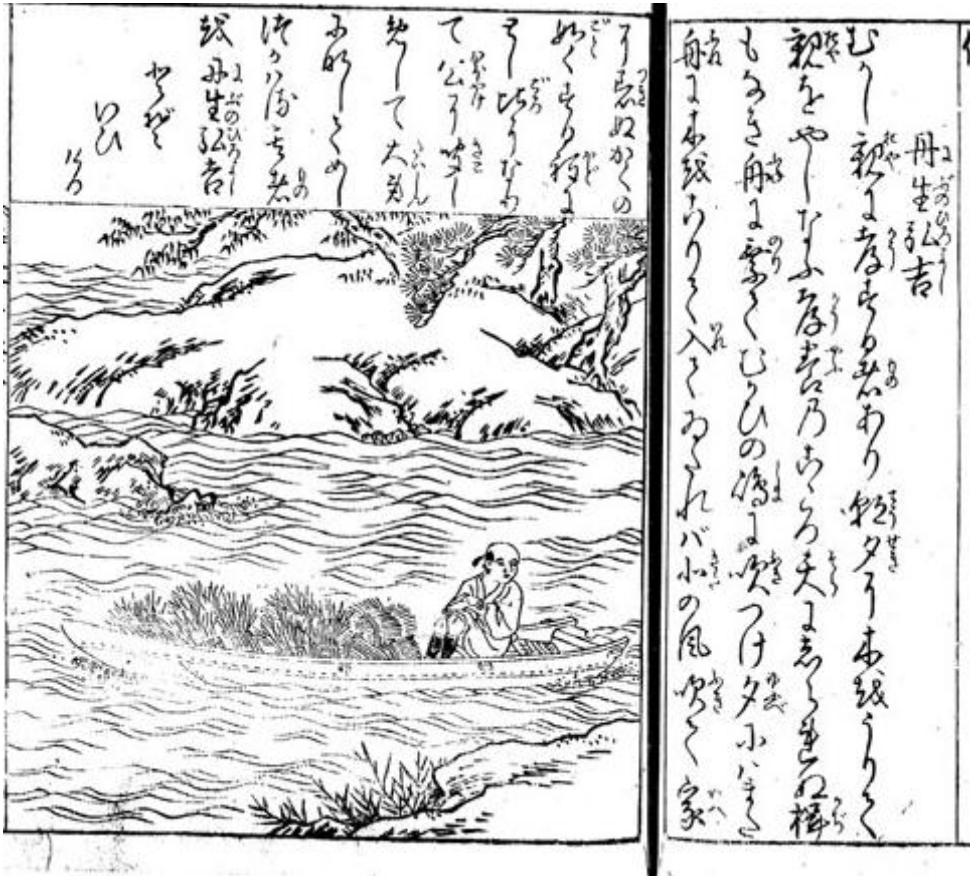


Fig. 6.31 Ehon Yamato hiji 1742 絵本倭比事



Fig. 6.32 *Ehon Yamato hiji* 1742 絵本倭比事



Fig. 6.33 Ehon Yamato hiji 1742 絵本倭比事

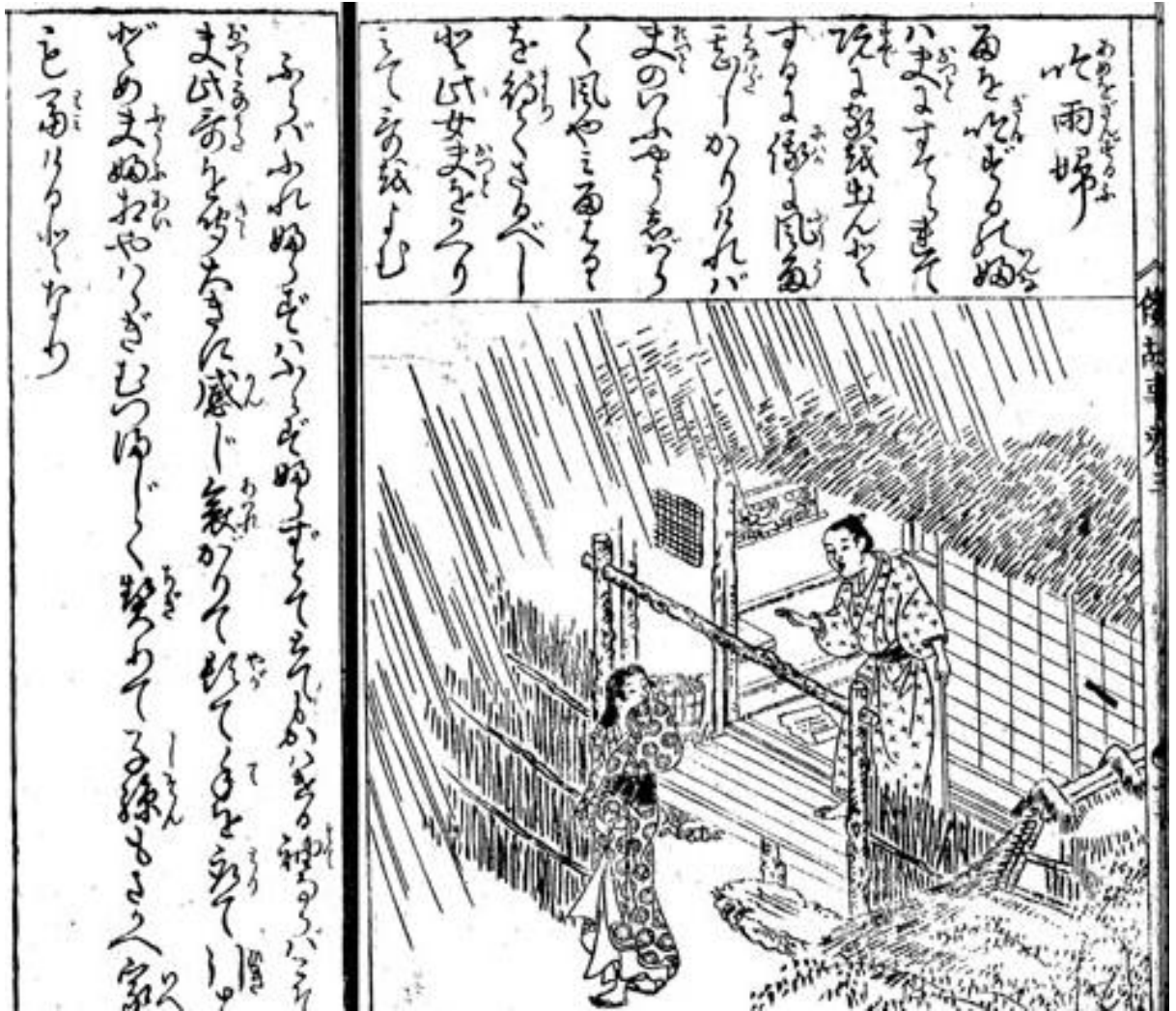
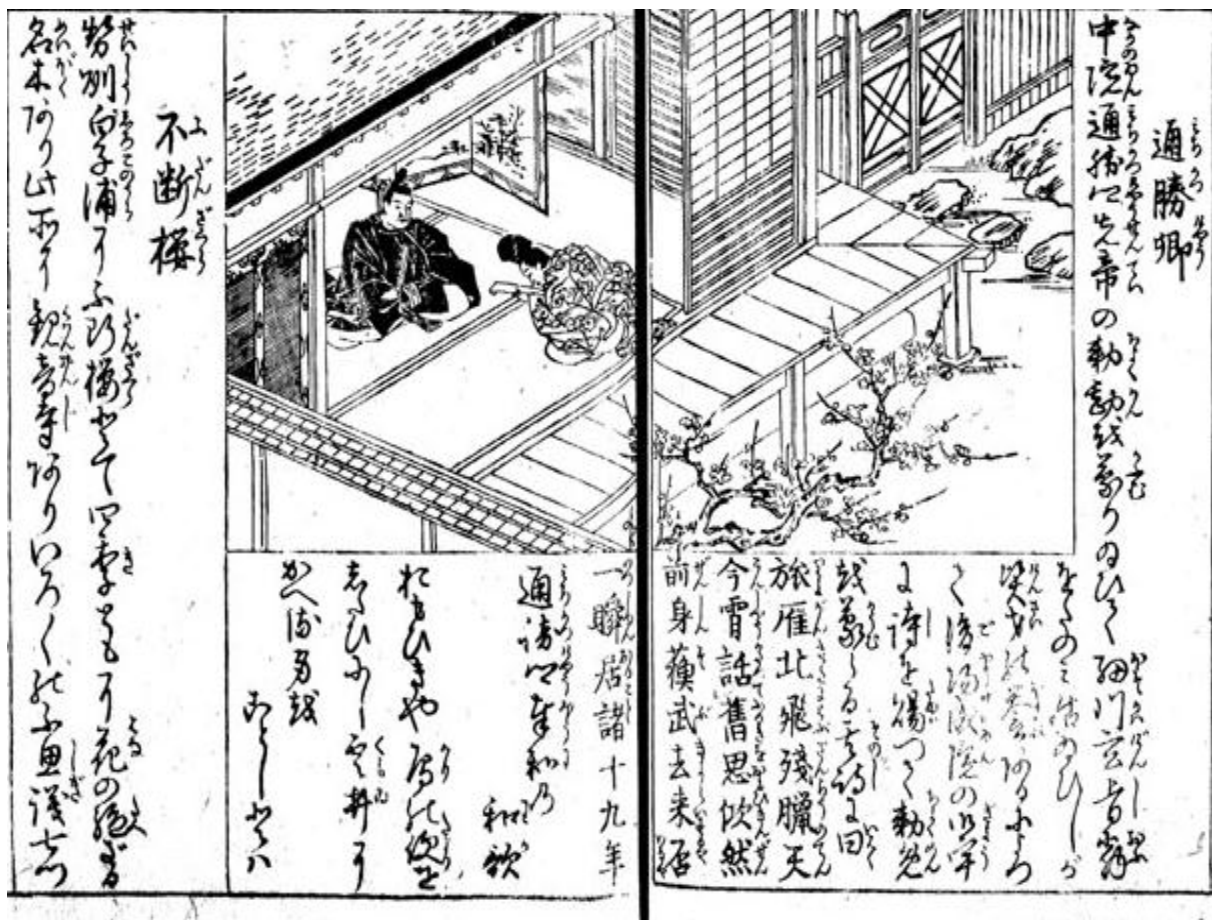


Fig. 6.34 Ehon Yamato hiji 1742 絵本倭比事



通勝卿

中院通勝に先帝の勅勅致ありのひく

旅雁北飛残臘天
今宵話舊思依然
前身蘓武去未居

一聯居諸十九年

通勝心な和乃

ねいみやや居れは
あしひしやや并
久由多跋
あしやハ

不断極

名本阿りけあす親者阿りけあす
勢別白子浦すふ巧極やてやまもす花の絶
名本阿りけあす親者阿りけあす

Fig. 6.35 Ehon Yamato hiji 1742 絵本倭比事



Fig. 6.36 Ehon Yamato hiji 1742 絵本倭比事



深りかゝり三光院の山僧ふへり或はふハ金返乃と
 て信りりううり又事或は信も云返乃并下乃事
 仰りく信りりりりよりよ人そそ

此れやふりも人もおきそハ知とそぬもわ返乃せ
 此お返ハ事り思ふふ人も思ふより於人思ふ人も信り
 誠なるはけさの街りあされバ於りおてり人よこれ思
 たり於人よ事生記轉者此理りりれこれ知ひよ
 此るりり又ふ事糾あことそ常ハ此色紙強く信
 此本の曲をやしんをうごあ乃り信者字ありん
 此れく事通ひつてつわよ事凡の世を信りき

やりのへね

Fig. 6.37 Ehon Yamato hiji 1742 絵本倭比事



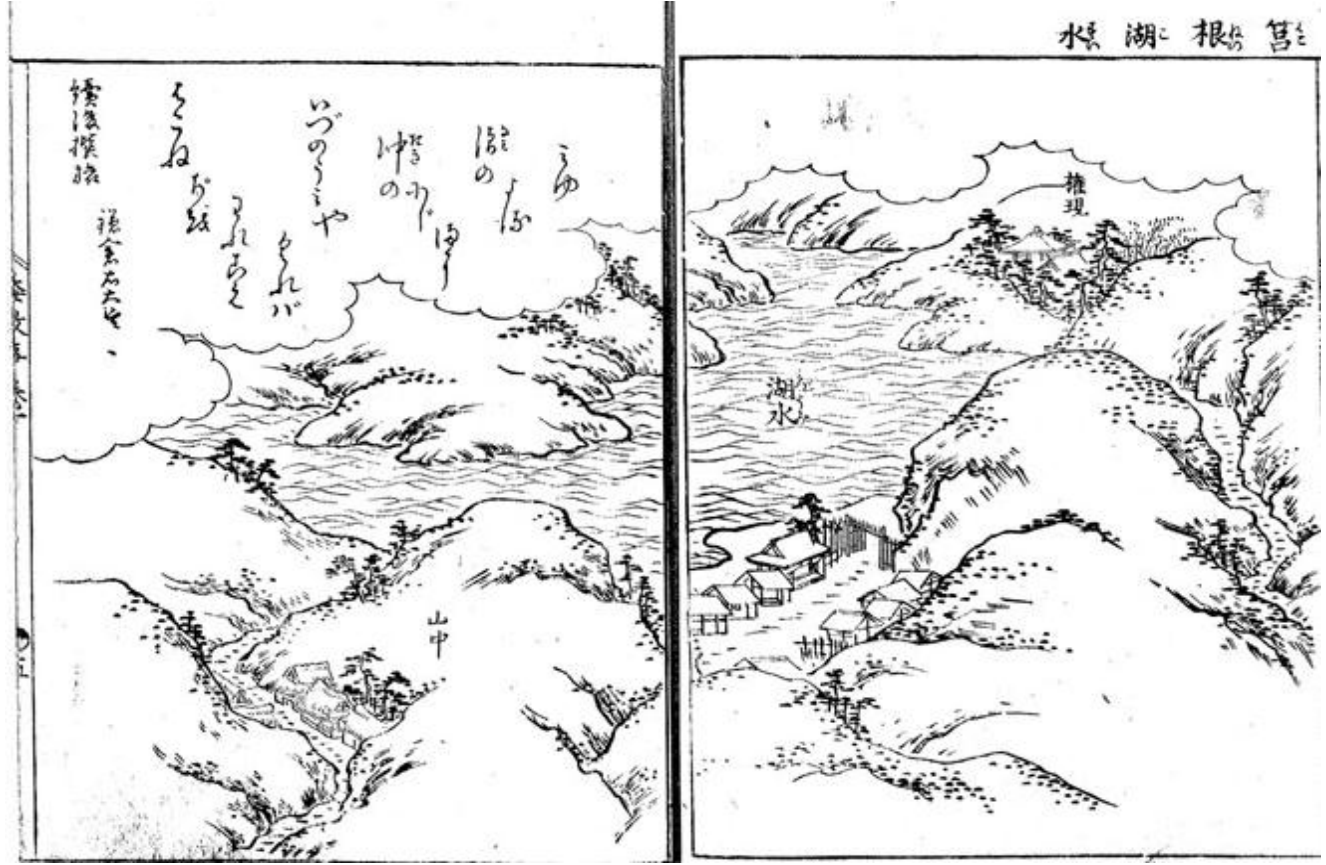
Fig. 6.38 *Ehon Yamato hiji* 1742 絵本倭比事



Fig. 6.39 Konohanasakunohime wearing an imperial crown. 1868



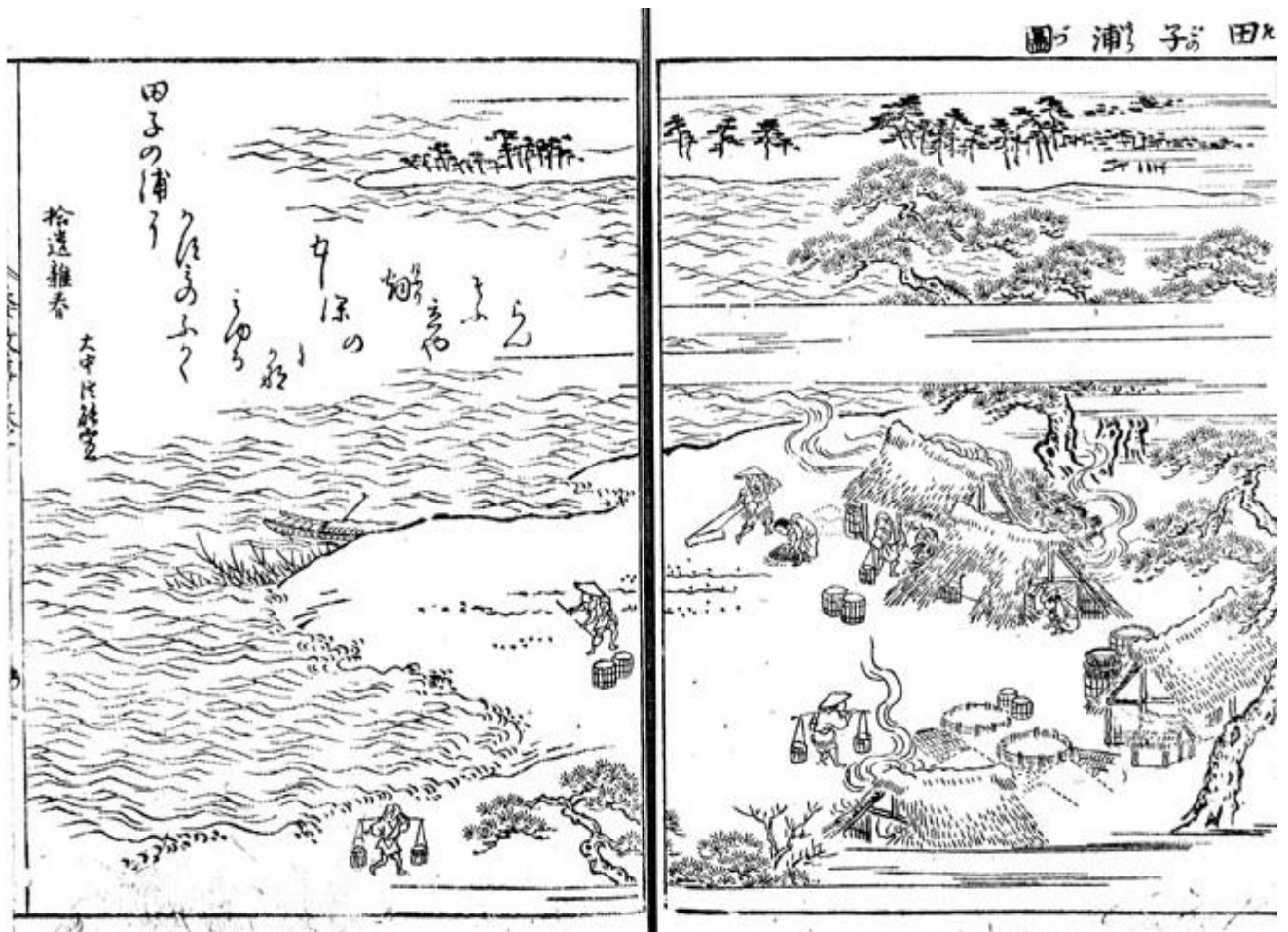
Figs 6.40- 41. Hakone



Figs 6.40- 41. Mio



Figs 6.40- 41. Tago no ura





Figs. 6.43 a&b Ehon Yamato hiji 1742 絵本倭比事
Fuji and Naruto

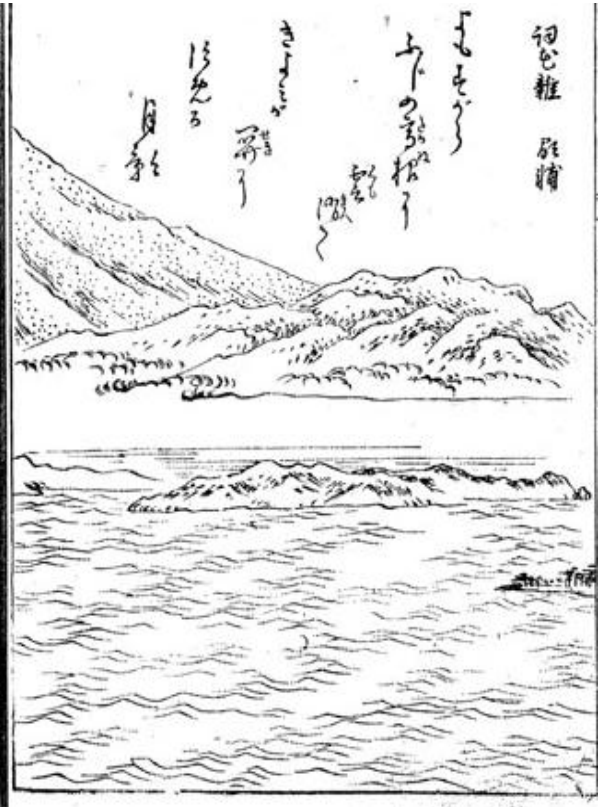


Fig. 6.44 Ehon Yamato hiji 1742 絵本倭比事

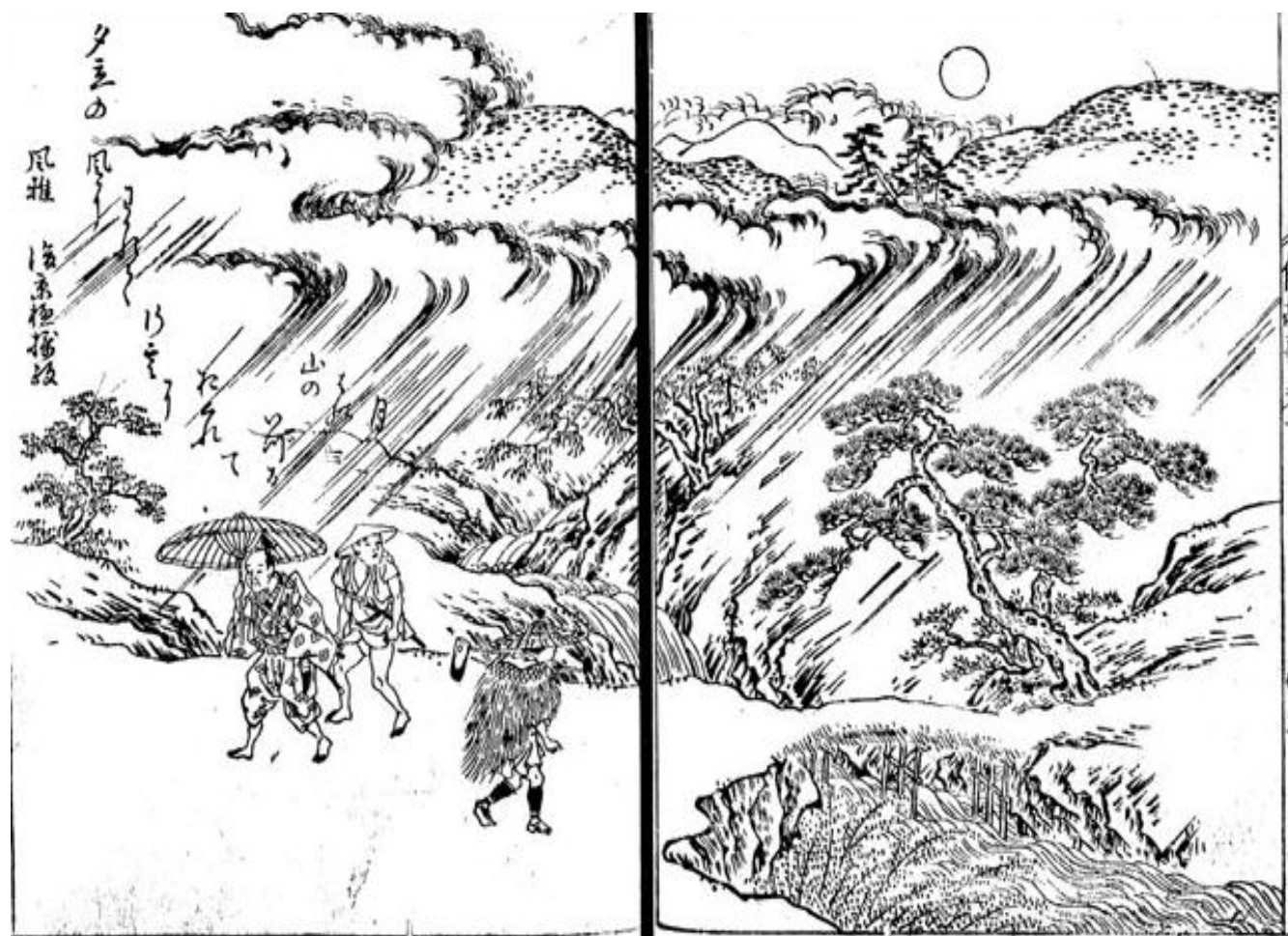
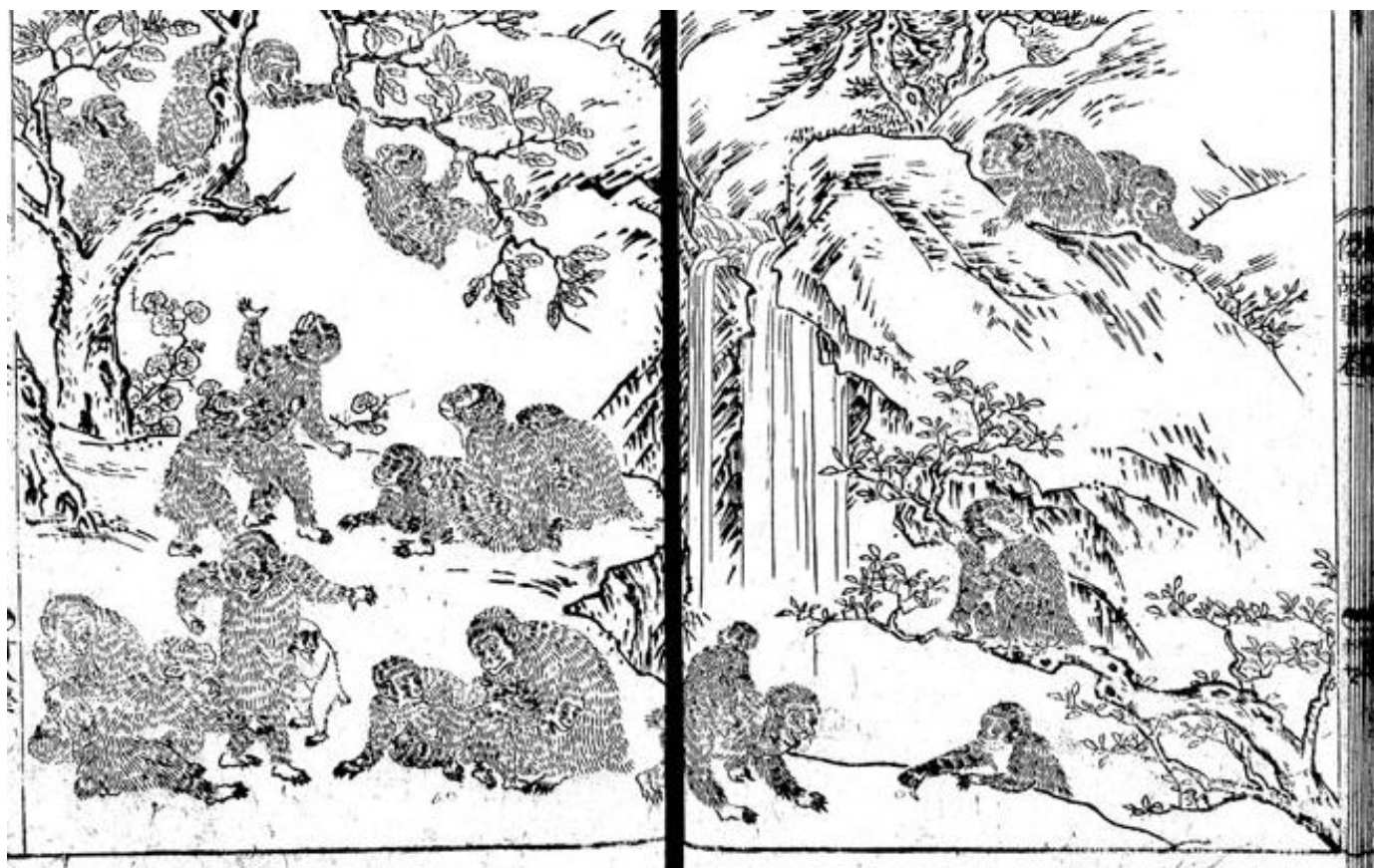


Fig. 6.46 Izanami ,Izanagi ,Onogorshima Mary and Jackson Burke Collection



Fig. 6.47 *Ehon Yamato hiji* 1742 絵本倭比事



Chapter Seven

Beautiful Women

This thesis has argued that Sukenobu's *ehon* were relentlessly political: the world they represented was an allegorical one. *Honchô* became a landscape of immanence, the *Heike*, *Makura no sôshi*, *Tsurezuregusa*, together with the corpus of classical poetry became allegories of loyalist lament. The urban environment bore the marks of *bakufu* legislation like a battleground. But perhaps one of the most radical transformations effected by this process of allegorization was to be found in the representation of women.

By the early decades of the eighteenth century, representations of women in literature - the trope of womanhood- was changing. Both the works of the Kamigata novelist and publisher, Nishizawa Ippû, and the *jôruri* of Chikamatsu portrayed a parallel world in which women claimed, against the odds, political significance. Ippû's *Furyû gozen nidai Soga* – “The Tale of the Soga, retold for Elegant Wives” – published in the first decade of the eighteenth century, transposed the warrior world of the Soga into feminine terms: the brothers are now two young *kamuro* (apprentice courtesans) who avenge the death of their *tayû* (or senior courtesan) by killing the samurai whom they hold responsible (they are pardoned). In his *Furyû ima Heike* – “A Modern Tale of Heike” – published in 1703, Kiyomori, now a ruthless merchant, is killed by the spirit of the child he compelled his wife to abort; his new mistress, a *shirabyôshi* (dancing girl), befriends the wife and oversees the ruin of Kiyomori's son in a gambling spree. These highly emotional tales figuring the ultimate triumph of abused women and roundly endorsing the virtues of compassion and solidarity in hardship, marked a radical shift both from the didactic formulae of earlier *kanazôshi*, and from the hedonism of Saikaku's works.¹

¹ For an account of the moralizing content of late seventeenth century *kanazôshi* see Nakano Setsuko, "Kanazôshi ni miru josei no kazoku to shigoto", in Kono Nobuko and Tsurumi Kazuko eds., *Onna to otoko no jiku: Nihon no joseishi saikô* (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten; 1995).

The women of contemporary *jôruri* likewise suggested feminine possibilities far beyond the less enchanted world of the real. Late Chikamatsu plays in particular depict passionate and fearless women as lovers, politicians, strategists, revolutionaries; given the little executive power in reality available to women, these depictions (with the exception of the lover) are fictive.² Yet, like Ippû's tales, they reveal a vicarious world of possibilities that one can only assume was in tune with the desires of their audience. Passionate heroines mindful yet defiant of contemporary social mores, aged women challenging political authority, court women braving the wilds for their love, Chikamatsu's women gesture to the possibility (as opposed to the viability) of a different form of social organisation, where values of compassion and empathic solidarity lead to a more nuanced and negotiated model of justice.³ The figure of woman had become a rhetorical strategy: a way of articulating politically contentious concepts by placing them in the mouths of the most politically disenfranchised sector of the populace. Or, put differently, the political other – the humanist society at odds with the Confucian based values of the existing one – was articulated through the metaphor of woman.⁴

The female figure was also an important element in the metaphorical language of the *ehon*. The selective use of floral symbolism in *Shimizu no ike* had transformed the divorced wife into a trope of political deselection; the woman regarding her figure in a mirror symbolised either virtue or vice, depending on the motifs on her clothing. For the reader familiar with the broader conceptual context of these works, political allegiance did not need to be explicitly marked. In *Ehon Yamato hiji*, for example, a young girl is pledged to a man

² See C. Andrew Gerstle, *Chikamatsu: 5 Late Plays* (New York: Columbia University Press; 2001).

³ Jinsai's influence on Chikamatsu is discussed in C. Andrew Gerstle, "Heroic Honor: Chikamatsu and the Samurai Ideal", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 57, no. 2, 1997, pp. 310-13. For a discussion of the metaphorical worlds of *jôruri*, see also C. Andrew Gerstle, *Circles of Fantasy: Convention in the Plays of Chikamatsu*, pp. 113-53 (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University; 1986).

⁴ Uchiyama Mikiko argues that in the works of Namiki Sôsuke, the figure of woman becomes a trope of political impotence. See Uchiyama, Uchiyama Mikiko, *Jôrurishi no jûhasseiki*, pp. 169-76 (Tokyo: Benseisha; 1989).

who dies: despite the remonstrations of her parents, she refuses to accept another husband, citing the example of the swallow that returns each year but never takes a new mate:⁵

父母はあわれとも見よ燕すらふたりハ人に契らぬ物を

I sympathise with my father and mother but not even swallows pledge themselves to two mates

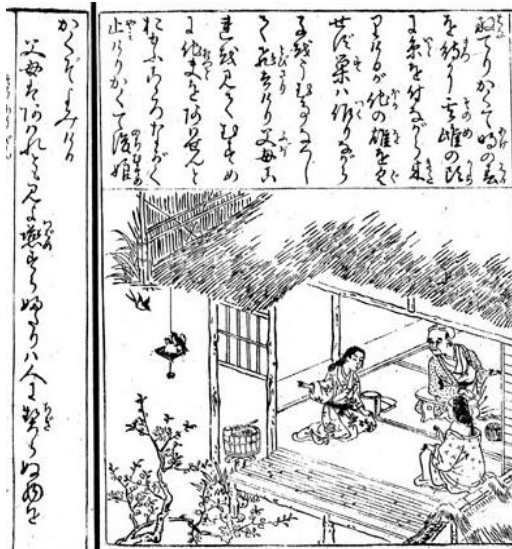


Fig. 7.1

The moral of the story - once wed once, forever wed - was familiar from popular fiction. Kiseki's *Seken musume* - in many ways a catalogue of marital disasters - ends, uniquely, with a tale of requited love.⁶ The wedding of a betrothed couple is called off when the groom is disinherited by his parents for profligacy. He becomes an itinerant beggar; the girl, meanwhile, refusing to accede to her parent's demands that she marry a new, wealthier candidate, sets out in search of her betrothed (whom she has never met). The two encounter each other, by luck, at a temple; they fall in love, discover that they are already pledged to each other, and, shortly after, get married. In the context of *Yamato hiji* and the *ehon*, the refusal to remarry reads as a ringing endorsement of the impossibility of serving two masters,

⁵ Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Ehon Yamato hiji*, vol. 6, 1742, British Museum, London. 山城国貞女.

⁶ See "Teijo no michi wo mamorigatana kissaki no yoi shusse musume" in Hasegawa Tsuyoshi ed., *Keisei irojamisen; Keisei denju-gamiko; Seken musume katagi*, pp. 500-5 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1989).

of shifting allegiance to a new political master. It seems highly possible that the trope had currency in the wider world of artistic production.

Hyakunin jorô shinasadame: A Selection of One Hundred Women

Read both through the lens of Kimon and loyalist polemic, and in light of the highly conspicuous motifs that adorn the women's clothing, these images and the adages they illustrate transform from hackneyed platitude to political manifesto inscribed, literally, on the body. But the use of the language of crests to inform meaning was not new to the works of the thirties and forties: there is evidence that it emerged considerably earlier. This chapter will suggest that Sukenobu's celebrated *bijin* works - *Hyakunin jorô shinasadame*, *Ehon tokiwagusa*, *Ehon tamakazura*, *Ehon Asakayama* - were as politically inflected as his more discursive works. Reviewed in light of the Suika tendencies of later works, moreover, it will propose that the earlier erotica was likewise politically committed.

Sukenobu's erotic production had come to an abrupt halt with the Kyôhō reforms of 1722. The following year he had published his first (non-erotic) solo work, *Hyakunin jorô shinasadame* – 'A Selection of One Hundred Women'.⁷ It was a work which *Hachimonji-ya* had been promising for some eight years. Early blurbs suggest it had been originally conceived in five volumes: it was eventually published in just two, one devoted to women of the world at large (*ji-onna*), the other to the world of the brothel.⁸ Thus, the first volume tracked the occupations of women from empress regnant (*nyotei*), imperial consort (*kôgu*) and imperial princess (*kôjo*) to peddler; the second, from the *tayû* to the common streetwalker. Each portrait (or nearly) was labelled as per encyclopaedic conventions and this gesture to the

⁷ Reproduced in Kurokawa Mamichi ed., *Nihon fûzoku zue*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Nihon Fûzoku Zue Kankôkai; 1914).

⁸ For discussions of the mystery surrounding the publication and censorship of *Hyakunin jorô shinasadame* see Kurakazu Masae, "Kyôhō shichinin shuppan jômoku to hachimonjiya-bon", *Bungaku*, vol. 2002, pp. 88-89; Kurakazu Masae, "Shuppan kisei to zôshi-rui no kankô wo megutte: hachimonjiya-kan "Hyakunin jorô shinasadame" no baai", *Kokubungaku Kenkyû*, vol. 139, 2003, pp. 30-40; Matsudaira Susumu, "Sukenobu ehon no hankô to fukyû", *Ukiyoe Geijutsu*, vol. 53, 1977, pp. 6-8.

realm of popular reference works was emphasized by preliminary sections providing the reader with a brief historical gloss of the loftier estates.⁹

Hyakunin jorô, an apparently inoffensive portrait of the spectrum of womanhood, was banned on publication. The ban was not pervasive: copies continued to circulate, particularly in Edo: it nonetheless appeared on the list of banned books (*kinsho mokuroku*) in 1770.¹⁰ Commentators within decades of its publication seemed more familiar with rumours about the work than with the work itself. Baba Bunkô, writing in 1757 (a year before his own execution for writings critical of the regime), drew parallels with a work of supposedly similar scope by Hanabusa Itchô, for which (it was said) Itchô had been exiled.¹¹ Whether or not such a work had ever existed was to some extent beside the point: for Bunkô, *Hyakunin jorô* had scandalous associations. It had not only depicted secret matters of the court (*ôuchi no kakushigoto*) - so he claimed - it had also furnished the model for an erotic version – *Fufû chigiri ga oka* – which had revealed a seriously steamy underside to life at court.¹² It was this erotic version, he believed, that had earned Sukenobu a severe punishment. Bunkô's testimony was largely hearsay: he does not appear to have seen a copy of *Hyakunin jorô* (for its content is not sexually revelatory). The erotic work assumed to have followed it, moreover, appears from his description to be an extant work that in fact preceded it by several years. But if his facts were a little mixed up, his hunch was right: there *was* a whiff of insubordination in Sukenobu's works. Rumours of scandal and reprisals should not be easily dismissed.¹³

⁹ The encyclopaedic aspects of the work are discussed in Yamamoto Yukari, "Nishikawa Sukenobu to ehon/ôraimono: jûhasseiki zenpanki no gakumonshi to no kankei kara", *Sairen*, vol. 10, no. 3, 2007, pp. 41-43.

¹⁰ Kurakazu Masae, "Kyôhō shichinen shuppan jômoku to hachmonjiya-bon", pp. 79-90.

¹¹ Cited in Katô Yoshio, *Ukiyo eshi sôkan*, p. 9 (Ukiyo-e Bunken Shiryôkan; 2005) <http://www.ne.jp/asahi/kato/yoshio/kobetuesi/sukenobu.html> Bunkô's comments can be found in his *Kinsei edo chomonshû*, collected in Iwamoto Kattôshi ed., *Enseki jusshu*, vol. 5, pp 52-55 (Tokyo: Chûhokôronsha; 1980).

¹² Katô Yoshio, *Ukiyo eshi sôkan*. いろ／＼の玉簾の中の隠し事を画きし.

¹³ For a discussion of a possible sequel to *Hyakunin jorô shinasadame* see Amaury Alejandro Garcia Rodriguez, *El control de la estampa erotica japonesa shunga*, pp. 235-54 (Pedregal de Santa Teresa: El Colegio de Mexico; 2011). Rodriguez remains the only other commentator to have taken the ban seriously.

Similar rumours were still being repeated seventy years later. The painter Eisen wrote that Sukenobu's hundred beautiful women 'had ranged from the most revered court estates to the lowliest commoner, each depicted in contemporary fashion': he, too, believe the work had been followed by an erotic version for which Sukenobu had been punished.¹⁴ The work's audacity now seemed to be linked to its irreverent mixing of class - from female emperor to peddler to prostitute - rather than its association with Itchô. Still, Sukenobu's name remained firmly associated with a scandal involving an erotic work that took the court as its setting. Sensitivities persisted through the nineteenth century: commenting in 1872 on rumours of the existence of a banned erotic version of the work, Miyatake Gaikotsu opined that the original was quite sufficiently offensive (again, it was the mix of classes that upset him). And when it was republished in 1914, the Taishô editors opted to exclude the first image (of the *nyotei*, *kôgu* and *kôjo*) on grounds of deference (*habakari ga aru*).¹⁵

Modern commentators have tended to dismiss the transgressive associations of the work, pointing to the fact that it continued to circulate, particularly in Edo. Kurokazu Masae, however, has suggested that the work shocked contemporary viewers because it alluded to the investiture of an actual female emperor (Meishô) but misrepresented the event. She has demonstrated that the regalia worn by the *nyotei* – both crown and kimono - resemble articles worn by an adult male on his coronation, but not a child, and not a female.

¹⁴ Katô Yoshio, *Ukiyo eshi sôkan* .

百人美女郎とて、雲上高位の尊きより、賤のいやしき迄、各其時世の風俗を写し書き分たり、後又是を春画にかきしかば、罪せられしと云。

¹⁵ For Gaikotsu's comments see *ibid*. For the Taishô preface see Kurokawa Mamichi ed., *Nihon fûzoku zue*, vol. 3.



Fig.7.2



Fig. 7.3 *Benkan* *Hōkan*

The crown of an adult male is known as a *benkan* 冕冠, that of a female a *hōkan* 宝冠 (fig. 7.3); Meishō tennō, a six year old child on her coronation in 1629, wore a smaller version of the *hōkan* known as a *higata tenkan* 日形天冠.¹⁶ In the *Hyakunin jorō* image, she is depicted wearing a *benkan* (fig. 7.2).¹⁷ In the context of what Timon Screech has called an iconography of absence - the systematic mystification of the lofty through a rhetoric of invisibility - the depiction of an emperor or empress was transgressive.¹⁸ But *Hyakunin jorō* made a claim to verisimilitude (the *benkan*, as Kurakazu has noted, is drawn with forensic accuracy): and at the same time displayed something patently wrong. This can be read either as an error, or a deliberate mistake. It is an issue to which we will return.

There is little doubt that the depiction of an empress was audacious. The fact that the imperial institution occupied such pre-eminence within the work (the first eight pages are devoted to women of the court, followed by two pages of *buke* women - a daimyo's daughter and his domain wife) suggested that status was somewhere on the agenda. But at the end of

¹⁶ See Kurakazu Masae, "Shuppan kisei to zōshi-rui no kankō wo megutte: hachimonjiya-kan "Hyakunin jorō shinasadame" no baai", pp. 34-5. Kurakazu consulted the *Meisho tennō sokui ki* in the Kunaichō.

¹⁷ Kurakazu has also demonstrated other anomalies in the image: the *ōsode*, for example, resembles the red robe with applique design worn by a male emperor, not the pure white robe worn in actual fact by Meishō Tennō. See *ibid.*

¹⁸ For a discussion of the iconography of absence, see Timon Screech, *The Shogun's Painted Culture: Fear and Creativity in the Japanese States, 1760-1829*, pp. 121-25 (London: Reaktion; 2000).

the day, no one really seems to have known what made *Hyakunin jorô* offensive: Bunkô suspected erotic indiscretions, Eisen judged the lack of class divide problematic. This was an objection to which Sukenobu himself appeared to respond in his next work of women, *Ehon tokiwagusa*, by separating court women (*kanjo*), townswomen (*machionna*) and courtesans into three separate volumes.¹⁹ Given, however, that Sukenobu had been the celebrated purveyor of pornography for the past decade; given, too, the scandal that attached to his name, it would surely have been reasonable to suppose that his immediately post-shunga production would be, in some way, irreverent - even if it was difficult to pinpoint the nature of its irreverence. The work proposed, through its structure, suggestive parallels and hierarchies, it clearly walked the line in its depiction of the *nyotei*; it seemed to be saying something, yet could anyone, really, tell what?

For perhaps the most disconcerting aspect of this work was the fact that the images were somehow opaque. Unlike earlier works dedicated to the representation of women, they offered no accompanying narrative. In this alone, *Hyakunin jorô* was distinctive. Moronobu's *bijin* volumes - for example *Ukiyo hyakunin onna-e* (Pictures of One-hundred Women of the Floating World, 1681) or *Wakoku hyakujo* (A Hundred Women of Japan, 1696) - essentially guides to female conduct, covered matters from dress and demeanour to pastimes and cleanliness. The images were glossed by a sympathetic and (given Confucian norms) modishly liberal authorial persona.²⁰ Missing your husband? Read a few books. Newly married? Enjoy: but keep your mother-in-law sweet. A woman foolhardy enough to wear a garish kimono is shunned by her companions; a married woman who steps out without her *wata* head covering receives hostile stares from other women on the street (fig. 7.4).

¹⁹ Nakamachi Keiko, "Nishikawa Sukenobu kenkyû", in Yamane Yûzo Sensei Kinenkai ed., *Nihon Kaigashi no Kenkyû* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Hiroshi Bunkan; 1989).

²⁰ Several pages of *Ukiyo hyakunin onna-e* can be found in Chiba City Museum ed., *Hishikawa Moronobu ten: Chiba-shi Bijutsukan kaikan goshûnen kinen* (Chiba: Chiba City Museum; 2000). For *Wakoku hyakujo*, see Kurokawa Mamichi ed., *Nihon fûzoku zue*, vol. 1.



Fig. 7.4

町人の娘はあまりふうそくにもかまわずしてかるかる敷しやんとみゆるもとよりいふくのもやうもしほらしく人のめにたちてはでなりは大かたきらふなり手ならひともだちはたがひとし行するまでもひたしくするなり

The daughters of townsmen pay little heed to custom. They dress flirtatiously, eye-catchingly. Clothes should be worn tastefully. Loud and brash designs are largely to be avoided. Girls who have been acquainted since their earliest calligraphy lessons, should keep a check on each other's behaviours, ensure that whatever they do, they do it in a seemly way.

町人の女房その身かほ形よくむまれつきよろしきかたへえんずきしての後おやの方又はその外しんるいの所へ行とくにはかほもわたにてかくさずそとわたりのふうぞくして人にほめられたくおもひわざとかちにておもわらしくしずかにゆくなり

A handsome townswoman, if she makes a propitious marriage, tends not to cover her head or conceal her face when she subsequently goes visiting her parents or other relatives, in the hope that people will praise her good looks. If a woman has to go out on foot, she should make herself genteelly attractive and proceed discreetly.

The woman whose husband is travelling on business is cast as the new romantic (fig. 7.5):



Fig. 7.5

たこくがけのあきなひするもの女房つねにむつまじうかたらひしがおつとながさきへくだる
 をそのうちのなごりをおしみとやかくとあなじかなしむ内にとききたりておつとなごりの袖を
 ふりすてたびだちするをかなしみひとりことに今はいづくいかなる所をとをり給わんとまりは
 いずれの宿にてさびしくらしたがひにいひかわせし事をおもひねにしたまわんなどそぞろに
 なみだをもよほす所にあたりちかき女房たちいざや行てなくさめんとてむすめともをさそい大
 勢もよほしるすみまひにゆくなり

The wife of a man who travels on business to distant parts grows accustomed to being with him, but when he must leave for Nagasaki, she will fret and grieve during his absence, she will cease to wear the clothes that remind her of him, and she will torment herself with thoughts of his journey, of where he is lodged; she will recall the little intimacies they used to exchange, and shed secret tears. But the women of the neighbourhood will come visiting in an effort to console her, inviting over their daughters and organising a social gathering to lift her spirits while her husband is away.

These images - thanks to the accompanying narratives - are fundamentally legible.

The fact that the women in *Hyakunin jorô* are by contrast merely labelled becomes newly significant. For the viewer is left to negotiate the meaning of the images solely on their own (pictorial) terms: to read them through the semiotics of gesture, facial expression, posture. And rather than illustrating typical feminine behaviours, these images chart moments that cannot be captured in the conduct book, nor, necessarily, in the novel: the fugitive passage of personal history, the flotsam of a woman's daily life, the exchange of banalities that characterizes the execution of routine chores.

Fig. 7.6

Unspoken Tales

These transitory moments, however, are distinguished by a pervasive sense of unease. Consider, for example, the page depicting a *nyoju*



(a palace serving woman): a kneeling woman prepares a meal tray, she is addressed by a woman standing nearby (the *uneme*, a woman in attendance on the emperor) who passes a tray to a third (fig. 7.6). Perhaps there is some condescension in the *uneme*'s remarks, for the kneeling woman seems unimpressed, she makes no effort to reply.



Fig. 7.7

In the image of the *ama gosho* (imperial nuns), three nuns walk within the imperial grounds (the *gohonsen* and the chrysanthemum motif on the gable of the wall are clearly shown) accompanied by two female attendants, one of whom

addresses the nuns. (fig. 7.7) She appears to be (with a somehow meretricious air) suggesting they take a different path. One of the nuns appears to placate her, the others ignore her.

Another image of palace maids (*hashita*) depicts a group of five women leaving the palace, wearing head coverings (fig. 7.8). The one at the front advances with a look of determination, the two in the foreground seem to be arguing; there is some hesitant communication between



Fig. 7.8

the two rear figures. What at first sight appears to be a group of women on an outing becomes, on closer inspection, a snapshot of a community divided.

In the image of the shopkeeper's wife (*akindo no tsuma*), the wife flicks through the accounts

whilst the daughter tots up figures on an abacus; a servant perches on the veranda peeling radish (the figure is labelled *gejo daikon kaku* - servant peels a radish - surely cocking a snook at the encyclopaedic convention the work appears to embrace) (fig. 7.9). But the servant girl, for some reason, seems uneasy, as though distressed by the conversation taking place behind her.



Fig. 7.9

In the second volume, an image of serving women at the grocer's store shows a woman sitting on the vending platform smoking: two women beside her stand in discussion, whilst another selects persimmons (again, helpfully labelled). A fifth, kneeling behind the merchandise, looks on, chin on hand, sunk in thought (fig. 7.10).

These images tell stories: the expressions on the women's faces, their gestures, their



Fig. 7.10

postures are eloquent. But the stories are less of a mystery than might at first appear. For in the first image of the *nyoju*, the kneeling woman wears a kimono with a large chrysanthemum motif; the *uneme* wears the hollyhock motif.

The preliminary commentary on the *uneme* describes her function (presentation of the imperial food tray - *tenshi no haizen*); it recalls the felicitous example of the *uneme* who

pacified the angered Prince Kazuraki by composing the Asakayama poem;²¹ and it then concludes with an allusion to an episode from the Tales of Yamato, in which an *uneme*, rejected as a lover by the emperor, drowns herself in Sarusawa Pond. The emperor recites a poem to the effect that his love is now no more than jewelled duckweed on the pond (*tamamo to miru zo*).²² Given the implied hollyhock allegiance of the *uneme* in the image, this passage recalls similarly expressed tropes of political rejection in other works. The image which advertises itself as a depiction, in the encyclopaedic vein, of court office is in fact a political allegory.

Other scenes likewise become more intelligible when read in terms of their crests. The nuns promenading in the imperial grounds are approached by a woman wearing a *tsuta* ivy motif, familiar from later *ehon* and intimately associated with the Matsudaira clan.²³ The woman heading the group of *hashita* in the third image wears a head covering with the chrysanthemum motif; one of the women in the foreground, who appears to be engaged in an altercation, wears the paulownia motif. And so it goes: the shopkeeper's daughter wears an *obi* boldly emblazoned with the *tsuta* crest; the servant girl, so uneasy in her presence, has no crested clothing, but her antipathy seems clear. At the grocer's store, where the woman to the rear is sunk in thought, the woman perched on the platform smoking wears a hollyhock motif. The store blind carries a sign: *oroshi wari koba iroiro* - wholesale goods for sale as single items - advertising the theme of division that is so central to the meaning of the image. Throughout the work, in fact, political sympathies are distinguished through the crests and motifs displayed on clothing. Emotional tensions translate as political tensions, the uneasiness, agitation, the pervasive sense of disquiet as symptoms of political antagonisms.

²¹ An allusion to *Man'yōshū* no. 3807: see later

²² Mildred M. Tahara, *Tales of Yamato: A Tenth Century Poem-tale*, pp. 104-5 (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii; 1980).

又天の御門の御時。采女君ををうらみ奉りて。猿沢の池に身を投げけば。わきもこがねぐた
れがみをさるさわの池の玉もとみるぞかなし

²³ See chapter 3, p.

And this, in turn, throws light on the title of the work. For the term *shinasadame* invokes the celebrated Genji scene in which Tō no Chūjō expatiates on the merits of different types of women, offering direction to the young Genji.²⁴ Here, likewise, the viewer is presented with an array of women, distinguished now not by beauty, nor by character, but by political allegiance. The selection the viewer is asked to make is thus a political one. The preface (written by Hachimonji Jishō) hints, obliquely, at a hidden agenda. The work, it declares, will enlarge on the myriad inhabitants of the palace (*momoshiki no ōmiyabito to wa yomitsuzukeri*): a beautiful woman possesses a hundred forms of coquetry, Yang Guifei was lauded as a flower with a voice (有声 *ujō*).²⁵ Here, “flower with a voice” is a pun on the conventional metaphor of feminine beauty “flower with feelings” (有情の花). But in this book of female beauties, the women are, in fact, allocated a voice – a political voice, expressed through the crests of their clothing. And the preface returns to this point. For having celebrated Sukenobu’s depiction of a hundred different types of women (*iroshina no tagai wa aredo*), it concludes that if it is impossible to express one’s meaning precisely in words - *makoto ni kotoba no hana no tsumabiraka narazaranba* - then this is a fitting way to transmit a message to the world at large.²⁶ An allusion to constraints on the freedom of political expression, it gestured, at the same time, to the metaphorical possibilities of the female figure.

Women and Wives

Metaphors of marriage were important tropes in the *ehon* as a whole, but the status of the wife in *Hyakunin jorō* was one that was particularly contested. The commentary section that

²⁴ The discussion takes place in “The Broom Tree”. See Royall Tyler, *The Tale of Genji* (New York: Viking; 2001).

²⁵ Transcribed in Matsudaira Susumu ed., *Moronobu Sukenobu ehon shoshi*, p. 120-1 (Musashimurayama: Seishodō; 1988). 美女に百の媚あり。貴妃を有声の花と誉しは

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 121. 誠に詞の花のつまびらかならざらんは。世にあまねく知る所なればもらし侍る。

precedes the images has often been overlooked, yet it contains highly topical observations.

The opening discussion of the *nyotei* - empress regnant - casts significant doubts on the historical validity of the title:

The first female emperor (Jingû) never acceded to the throne (*sokui nashi*) and served only as regent (*sesshō*) for Emperor Ôjin. The first enthronement of a female emperor was that of Emperor Suiko: yet Shôtoku taishi served as her regent. Since then, in recent times, female emperors have been rare.²⁷

The only female emperor since the eighth century had been Emperor Meishō - granddaughter of Tokugawa Hidetada - who had abdicated in 1643 and died in 1696. The above account is thus wholly accurate. Yet it implies that female emperors are more normally regents for a male heir, or must be assisted by a princely regent (Shôtoku taishi). The following section, on the imperial consort, summarised below, likewise contains potentially disruptive observations on the estate:

In former times, both lofty and lowly used the term wife (*kamishimo tomo ni tsuma to iu*). The term *kōgō* was introduced after Chinese precedent (*ikoku nite wa kan no kōso yori kōgō to iu*). The term *chūgū* designated an imperial consort who had not yet produced an heir. But both terms refer to the emperor's wife (*chūgū kōgō tomi ni tenshi no tsuma wo môsu nari*).

Chūgū was the title given to Tokugawa Masako - daughter of the shōgun Tokugawa Hidetada - upon her wedding to Emperor Gomiizunoo in order to designate her imperial consort, in spite of the fact that the emperor already had an official wife (*kōgō*). But in terms of the definition provided in *Hyakunin jorō*, the title was patently invalid. The commentaries in fact systematically undermine the notion of a female imperial prerogative: the *himegimi*, sister of

²⁷ Kurokawa Mamichi ed., *Nihon fūzoku zue*, vol. 3.

人皇十五代神功皇后を始めとす。しかれども即位はならず。胎中の御子応神天皇のために摂政し給ふ。三十四代推古天皇を即位の始めとす。聖徳太子摂政し給ふ。そののち女帝なかがろ稀也。

the emperor or daughter of the retired emperor, was never awarded the title *naishinnô* (princess) and after several generations (*sono suezue wa*), her descendants reverted to commoner status (*tsune no jochû nami to nari*).²⁸ The wife in general, in fact, was dependent for rank on her husband: the wife of the *buke* received the rank of her husband (*otto no ikai ni shitagau*); the daughter of a daimyo similarly assumed the rank of her husband; wives of shrine officials received no rank (*heinin ni hitoshi*). Given that metaphors of marriage would represent political liaisons in later works, the emphasis on the subject status of the wife in the commentaries of *Hyakunin jorô* is of interest. But the discussions of the titles of female emperor regnant (*nyotei*) and imperial consort (*kôgô* or *chûgû*) could easily have struck the contemporary reader as specific allusions to Tokugawa efforts to infiltrate the imperial system through marriage. And, to return to the issue of her garments, the fact that the *nyotei* in the image wears the regalia not of a woman but of a man; given, moreover, that she is shown wearing regalia restricted to the coronation ceremony itself in a scene of relative informality, the scene actually represents a travesty of protocol. The female emperor is, in fact, all wrong: exposed (as an emperor would never be) in an image destined for commoner eyes, exposed in the wrong clothes, at the wrong time, she is exposed as a construct: a fraud.

In fact the issue of protocol is central to the work in other ways. In 1710, Mito Mitsukuni had compiled a massive compendium of court ritual, the 510 volume *Reigi ruiten*.²⁹ Around the same time, Arai Hakuseki travelled to Kyoto and sojourned at court with the remit of studying court protocol, that it might be emulated in Edo. It was an endeavour later ridiculed by Baba Bunkô: in his *Meikun Kyôhō roku* (1758), a merciless satire of the vanities perpetuated under shoguns Tsunayoshi and Ienobu, he wrote that on his return from Kyoto, Hakuseki had instituted at Edo castle a system of rank and office for the women that mirrored those pertaining at court - *okujochû mo kinri no nyokan no gotoku to shite, sechie no*

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Kurakazu Masae, "Shuppan kisei to zôshi-rui no kankô wo megutte: hachimonjiya-kan "Hyakunin jorô shinasadame" no baai", p. 36.

*maihime made deki, daiten shinten san'i no tsubone wo tatetamai.*³⁰ For Bunkô, it was symptomatic of Shogunal obsession with court prestige - *banji wo kamigata fû ni*. A similarly parodic allusion to female court rank is evinced in the opening of the preface to *Hyakunin jorô* (written by the publisher, Hachimonji Jishô): 'The court is divided into myriads of different offices and ranks - *kintei ni hyakkan, hyakuryô no za wo wakateri*. From this one can enumerate the many courtiers of the palace...*Kore yori momoshiki no oomiya bito to wa yomitsuzukeri.*³¹ Courtly matters, the preface continues, are generally concealed above the clouds behind a jewelled blind. 'This book will momentarily raise the blind: but there'll not be time to count them' - *tamasudare wo agete kazofuru ni itoma arazu.*'³² Read in light of Bunkô's scathing account of Hakuseki's endeavours to emulate the palace system of office and the (deliberately) misrepresented figure of Meishô tennô, it seems likely that the *Hyakunin jorô* preface was intended as a quietly mocking gibe at Shogunal courtly aspirations.

Political Preferences

The commentaries of the second volume likewise contain suggestive paradigms of marriage. The section on the *jishû no shitsu* (a female temple servant) alleges that Ippen Shônin (founder of the *jishû* sect) had turned to religion when, on attempting to bed both his wife and concubine, snakes of jealousy had emerged from the women's heads. This, the commentary observes, is worth bearing in mind when taking a wife (*kono rei ni ya saitai to nari*) - a caution that could well invoke the political paradigm of the impossibility of serving two rulers.

³⁰ In Okada Satoshi ed., *Baba Bunkô shû*, pp. 261-2 (Tokyo Kokusho hankôkai; 1987).

禁中公事の秘事を学び来り、君をすすめ参らせて、奥女中も禁裏の女官のごとくにして、節会之舞姫迄出来、大典親典三位の局をたて給ひ。

For Hakuseki's involvement with the court, see also Wakamatsu Masashi, "Kan'in miyake no sôsetsu", *Rekishu dokuron*, vol. 51, 2006, pp. 120-27.

³¹ Matsudaira Susumu ed., *Moronobu Sukenobu ehon shoshi*, pp. 120-21.

³² *Ibid.*

The volume closes with a discussion of the *sōka*, the lowest ranking ambulant prostitute. To suggest that even wild boars avoid sharing a bed with a *sōka* is to put the matter kindly (the commentary notes): the image shows the woman (in the dark kimono) wearing, discreetly, the paulownia crest (fig.7.11).



Fig. 7.11

The work concludes with the following peroration: ‘The pain of imminent separation is also something to look forward to (*oshimu tanomoshiki*). This is a relationship of just one heart (*isshin no naka*), from courtier to the lowly common folk. We desire only the children of the two pillars (*futahashira no shishisonson*), and look forward to ten thousand years of this.’³³ Joyful anticipation of separation is a resounding inversion of its conventional representation, yet in terms of the political paradigm that informs all of Sukenobu’s work, it is wholly congruent. It signifies the desire for political separation. At the same time, the people’s desire for the offspring of the two pillars - Izanami and Izanagi - is an endorsement of the imperial lineage - which the work has characterized as a male lineage. Thus, while the

³³ Kurokawa Mamichi ed., *Nihon fūzoku zue*, vol. 3.

はやきぬぎぬの別を惜むたのしみも。ただ一心の中なれや。上は及ばぬ雲の上下万民にいたるまで。二柱の子々孫々。幾万歳の春ぞたのしく。

book appeared to transgress in portraying an empress regnant, it simultaneously proposed that the title was in itself an aberration - as were other (foreign) titles such as imperial consort. The act of representation was thus in itself a deliberate refutation of claims to imperial status: if an iconography of absence confers status, then that which can be represented must belong to the common domain. *Hyakunin jorô* suggested that the principal positions within the court which the Tokugawa had briefly secured for its own were anomalous, or of little value; moreover, that the position of wife (within the political marriage) was one of no intrinsic value - it depended solely on the status of the husband. It was the husband who commanded - determined - rank (*shina wo sadameru*).

Hyakunin jorô took the conventional trope of the *bijin* and made of her a political cipher, a flower with a voice. It was a powerful invocation of the metaphor of marriage. The imperial allusions within the work were significant, the flagrant mixing of classes was provocative: in a cautious environment still reeling from the Kyôhō reforms, these may have been sufficient grounds for halting publication of the work. But these were by no means the greatest transgressions of a work which effectively used the trope of the wife (*tsuma*) in order to undermine Tokugawa claims to power.

Ehon tokiwagusa

Sukenobu returned to the theme of womanhood in three more works: *Ehon tokiwagusa* (A Picture book of Evergreens, 1732), *Ehon tamakazura* (A Picture Book of Jewelled Combs, 1736) and *Ehon Asakayama* of 1739. In some ways, these were more conservative: in the three-volume *Ehon tokiwagusa*, for example, different ranks of women were confined to separate volumes - the court woman, the contemporary woman (*tôsei no josei*) and the *yûjo*. The work even provided tips for the would-be artist on the depiction of different feminine

types.³⁴ Moreover courtwomen were no longer classified by function, but represented more generically by figures of ancient court poetesses or historical personages: figures already familiar to a commoner audience, ones that revealed little of contemporary court reality.³⁵

Nonetheless, the vignettes portrayed in these works still harboured traces of less



Fig. 7.12

tranquil realities. In the third volume of *Tokiwasuga*, for example, is an illustration of a courtesan playing the shamisen as another looks on, smoking (fig. 7.12). A young *kaburo* plays with a hand puppet. The puppet is strikingly similar to a similar puppet - the so-called *kirakubô ningyô* - that Go-Mizunoo had had fashioned as



Fig. 7.12a

a symbol of imperial impotence: the head modelled on that of the retired emperor, with no lateral movement, the lack of legs and arms disguised by the stiff and voluminous robes (fig. 7.12a).³⁶ The shamisen player wears a kimono with a paulownia design - symbol of shogunal allegiance; the smoking woman's kimono is embellished with *chidori* birds, which had no specific significance as a crest but carried poetic overtones of nostalgia, memories of the past.

³⁴ Reproduced in *ibid.*, vol. 4.

³⁵ This gesture towards convention (or authority) was only half-hearted, for while the first images in the volume are clearly labelled and identified through a verse, subsequent images are only labelled (with no verse), while the final images are not identified at all. Similarly, while three of the figures are shown in the traditional courtly garb of the poetess, the remaining five are depicted in contemporary dress. That this was provocative is suggested by the fact that, with each subsequent edition of the work, the unlabelled images were incrementally (and presumably arbitrarily) ascribed the names of poetesses. Later editions also made modifications to the courtesan volume: they omitted the artist's notes on the depiction of courtesans and they excluded the topographical indications contained in the first edition – Edo, Kyô, Naniwa, conventional metonymies for the brothel districts of these cities. That is, they removed the court from the domain of contemporary discourse, and they removed the brothel from the domain of feminine discourse.

³⁶ See Kawakami Kozan and Ogisu Jundô, *Myôshinji-shi*, pp. 422-23 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku; 1975).

The smoking courtesan regards her strumming companion with what may be a look of resignation, while the *kaburo*, displaying her symbol of imperial impotence, appears resentful.

If their looks harbour meaning, this is surely articulated in the inscription on the screen in the upper left corner of the image: 刻銘磻谿 *kokumei hakei*: ‘carved on stone’ and ‘Pan Creek’. The citation is from the *Senjimon* 千字文 (The Thousand Character Classic) composed by Zhou Xingsi (AD?-521) as a literacy primer for the son of Emperor Wu (ruled AD 502-547) and draws from the following four consecutive quatrains:

策功茂实
勒碑刻铭
磻溪伊尹
佐时阿衡 ³⁷

The first two graphs (highlighted) are the final graphs of the second quatrain, which belong semantically with the preceding quatrain:

策功茂实 勒碑刻铭 *Wrote scrolls of glories and abundant facts; carved on stones their famous names and acts.*

The text alludes to the vainglorious accounts of the deeds of the hereditary feudal officers of the Qin-Han periods, whose positions entitled them to lucrative emoluments. The second two graphs, also highlighted, open the following two quatrains:

磻溪伊尹 佐时阿衡 *Pan Creek, the place, Yi Yin, the man; assisting as Prime Minister*

The references are to the virtuous statesmen Shang and Yi Yin. The counsel of the virtuous Shang (吕尚 *Rishō*), discovered by King Wu of Zhou 武王 fishing in Pan Creek, led to the

³⁷*Senjimon* is available online at <http://www.quanxue.cn/ct_rujia/Meng/Meng04.html>. The translation and commentary by Nathan Sturman is available at <<http://www.angelfire.com/ns/pingyaozhuan/tce.html>>. The translations are taken from Sturman. I am grateful to John Carpenter for identifying the *Senjimon* allusion and correcting my earlier reading of the screen.

destruction of the wicked King Zhou of Shang 紂王. With the assistance of Yi Yin, King Tang of Shang 湯王 was able to defeat the evil King Jie of Xia 桀王.

The inscription on the screen thus alludes on the one hand to corrupt government (the records - *kokumei* - drawn up by swaggering feudal lords); and on the other, to the virtuous statesmen who had assisted their rulers in the overthrow of tyrants. The same allusions had brought *Ehon Shimizu no ike* to its conclusion.³⁸ They were highly meditated. And they cast new light on the meaning of the present image, for it, too, bears signs of political rifts: on the one hand, the *kaburo* and the smoking courtesan, with their symbols of imperial impotence and courtly yearning, on the other the musician who bears the paulownia motif associated with the bakufu. The inscription on the screen glosses this political antagonism in terms of vice and virtue and invokes a model of political action. It is a covert exhortation to overthrow the evil tyrant. The trope of beautiful womanhood, once again, is carefully inflected to convey a message not simply of political disaffection, but of revolt.

Ehon Asakayama: the Possibility of Imperial Audience

With their visual conceits and punning allusions to the contemporary landscape, these were works which clearly addressed a particular audience, an audience groomed to read covert political messages in the iconography of the ordinary. Who was this reader? One familiar, perhaps, with Sankinshi's educational tracts, one sympathetic to Kiseki's fiction, one who mingled in Kimon and Suika circles, attended the theatre, resented increasing legislative constraints, indeed the system of government itself: a reader, that is, who felt justified in attributing the panoply of contemporary woes to the usurpation of the divine imperial right to rule. The breadth of this readership is unknown; yet Sukenobu and his collaborators were productive, their works were published in Kyoto, Edo and Osaka by over twenty different

³⁸ See Chapter 3.

publishers and circulated in lending libraries.³⁹ Theirs was not a completely marginal endeavour.

The final *bijin* volume, however - *Ehon Asakayama*, of 1739 - provided important clues both in its title and preface to the possibility of an imperial audience. The preface opened with a citation from the Nô play *Sekidera komachi*: “man is never young a second time” *hito sara ni wakaki toshi naki* 人無更小年. It continued:

Years pass but spring does not return; a hand sketches before a full sake cup.
But year after year, picture books bearing the unchanged image of my beloved
pile up, oh they pile up, and though they are the work of an old man, still the
publisher plies me with requests; how can I refuse, since his words are not
shallow like Mount Shallow? And so, reluctantly, I dip my brush once more in
the ink.⁴⁰

The language took advantage of puns and polysemies. The sake cup was an allusion to nuptial celebrations: here, the absence of nuptials in the absence of the beloved. Given that *Sekidera Komachi* took place on the evening of Tanabata, the celebration of the annual reunion of the Herdsman and Weaver stars. It is a reunion that serves as a trope of loyalist aspirations throughout the *ehon* - here, the allusion underscores a poignant reversal of the *Komachi* text. The vision of the beloved (*omokage*) is represented simultaneously unchanged (*kawarade*) – no different from the allegorical representations of loyalist yearning that pervade the *ehon*.

But the *Komachi* reference also supplied the title of the work. For as a prelude to the Tanabata festivities, the monk asks Komachi to teach the children about poetry. Prompted,

³⁹ The data is taken from Matsudaira Susumu ed., *Moronobu Sukenobu ehon shoshi*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

人無更小年常に春ならず空しからぬ盃の前に手ずさみして只面影のかはらで積る年々の絵本もいや重りて古めかしけれども猶も書林のもとめやまず浅香の山のあさからぬこと葉いなみがたくてあやにくにも筆を染侍るのみ。

she firstly praises the Naniwa Harbour poem, which celebrated “the happy accession of a sovereign”; and then the Mount Asaka poem:

Monk: Surely the “Mount Asaka” poem is a fortunate one too, since it soothed the heart of a king.
Komachi: You understand these things very well.
These poems are the father and mother,
And the first models for all who would learn.⁴¹

The Mount Asaka poem, collected in the Man’yōshū (3807), was traditionally copied out by children as part of their first calligraphy practice:

*Shallow is the mountain well-pool
that glasses the clean image
of yonder hill of Asaka –
but no shallow heart
have I for you, O Prince!*⁴²

Asakayama kage sae miyuru yama no i no asaki kokoro wo waga omowanaku ni

But it had a more specific significance, as the *waki* suggested. For the poem had been composed and recited by a female attendant (*uneme*) in the service of a provincial governor, in order to appease Prince Kazuraki whom the governor had slighted.⁴³ That is, it was a poem uttered as an act of imperial propitiation. If *omokage* is an allusion to the imperial personage, then the gratitude is addressed to the same personage. The title *asakayama* thus raises the question of intended audience. The original poem was an act of imperial propitiation, the preface hints at concealed meanings, an unchanging subject (*omokage kawarade*); and an attitude of gratitude that had specific currency in Kimon thought. The *ehon* functioned throughout as covert tokens of popular loyalty to the emperor. Here, however, it was positioned as an everlasting song of sorrow addressed to an imperial recipient, one destined, in all probability, never to receive it.

⁴¹ Royall Tyler, *Japanese No Dramas*, pp. 229-30. (London: Penguin; 1992).

⁴² Japanese Classics Translation Committee. ed., *1000 Poems from the Manyōshū*, pp. 265-6 (New York: Dover Publications Inc.; 2005).

⁴³ Ibid. See also Edwin A. Cranston, *A Waka Anthology (1): The Gem-Glistening Cup*, pp. 752-3 (Stanford: Stanford University Press; 1993).

Yet the question of audience, the requited utterance, and the status of art as gift or offering, were tropes that grew increasingly insistent in Sukenobu's late works. *Ehon chitoseyama* had alluded to the *iroha* that the lord never deigned to read; *Makuzugahara* alluded time and again to offerings made for *kimi*.⁴⁴ In the preface to *Tokiwagusa*, and elsewhere, Sukenobu had tantalizingly positioned himself as the heir to Tosa Mitsunobu (1434–1525):

Over recent years, Tosa Mitsunobu has been the unparalleled master of Yamato-e and he paid extremely close attention to detail in his images. Nonetheless, he portrayed the customs of the Eikyō period (1429-1441), which are different from the customs of today, and therefore, with my own clumsy and vulgar brush I develop a new means of painting.⁴⁵

The reference is significant. In 1469, Mitsunobu had been appointed head of the court painting bureau (*edokoro*) by Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado, a post which he held for fifty years and during which time he painted a number of imperial memorial portraits.⁴⁶ In 1489, however, Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado had sketched a likeness of his own face which he had requested Mitsunobu to complete.⁴⁷ Two brushes had joined to trace the same hallowed lines, to bring to life, to re-present the sacred imperial visage. Sukenobu's method was different (times had changed, as he pointed out) but the endeavour was similar. The *ehon* were a constant invocation of the imperial presence (the *omokage* of the *Asakayama* preface) and a popular endorsement of the imperial prerogative. Their lament for the imperial plight echoed imperial indignation at bakufu autocracy.

⁴⁴ See Chapter 5, p.

⁴⁵ Matsudaira Susumu ed., *Moronobu Sukenobu ehon shoshi*, p. 140.

中比土佐信最倭画に長じて能細密を致すといへどもそのかみ永亭の風俗にして当時と異なる事ありよって卑俗の敏からぬ筆して新に絵法を発して

⁴⁶ For Mitsunobu, see Melissa McCormick, *Tosa Mitsunobu and the Small Scroll in Medieval Japan*, pp. 89-93 (Seattle: University of Washington Press; 2009); and Quitman E. Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan, 1475-1500* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press; 2000). Also Karen L. Brock and Quitman E. Phillips, "Tosa", in *Grove Art Online, Oxford Art Online*, 20 Feb. 2012,

<<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T085779pg1>>.

⁴⁷ Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan, 1475-1500*, p. 162.

But if the *ehon* in general were an example of popular art serving a loyalist cause, *Ehon yamato hiji* had elaborated a slightly different paradigm of art as gift (the poetic offerings of the poor) and expiation (poems sent from exile). *Yamato hiji* was the only one of Sukenobu's works to be written in the more formal *sorôbun*, and it made frequent use of honorific language. The *kana* preface (written by Sukenobu) positioned it carefully as a surrogate: a volume containing representations of landscapes that the viewer was unable to see, might never visit:

If, thus, you cannot visit these sites, how can you come to see the sublime beauty of the landscape? In this slim volume are assembled the notable landscapes of our country celebrated in great poems; exceptional poets, and models of decorum; and historical events, still sung in the world at large; and we have called it 'A Comparison of Things Japanese'.⁴⁸

That remote viewer could, presumably, be anyone. Yet, in the following lines, they become the resident of a dark, silent room - *yûsô keiri* - a room removed from the common thoroughfare. Moreover the depiction of these sublime landscapes is no ordinary task: the landscape, like Fuji in the introductory remarks, is without parallel. To defile it through representation (*musô no keishoku wo kakiyogasan koto*) would resemble a heinous crime (*sore tsumi fukaki ni nitaredomo*). Only if it were portrayed truly (*makoto ni*) could it be a source of amusement, a resource for the composition of poetry (*shika no tayori*).

This has always been a clumsy brush (unfortunate brush). To defile the landscape of which there are no replicas with this brush, resembles a deep crime, but if this was to

⁴⁸ Matsudaira Susumu ed., *Moronobu Sukenobu ehon shoshi*, pp. 196-7.

されど其地に至らされば。豈風景の絶妙を見る事を得らんや。今此小冊は吾朝に名ある景地。秀歌に聞およぼし事。或は堪能の歌人風雅の故人。あるは世の人口にある。故事ども取集て。和比事と題せるを。

be done truly, it could be for the enjoyment of the quiet and darkened room. It could even be a resource of study.⁴⁹

This passage could be dismissed as mere rhetoric; or it could be read in the context of other allusions in the *ehon* to a crime. *Makuzugahara* (published the previous year, 1741) also linked the poetic offering with expiation. The poems to the eleventh round, for example, read:

This long despised self: what can it do? Should it approach while my lord took his afternoon nap?⁵⁰

もとよりのにくまれる身はいかにせむ君がひるねを待てよらはや

In the whitening dawn, would my lord dismiss from his bed this weakened, sullied louse (*shiramiaitaru aka tsuki*)?

しらしらしらみあひたるあかつきは君が床よりすてらるるかな

They are accompanied by the following judgment:

Both poems, of the left and the right, imply the authors have committed a crime (*tsumi aru katakata nareba*), and that the subject they raise is thus a difficult one (*tokaku sata shigataku haberu*). The author of the left has always been despised and his poem might appear annoying and impertinent like the buzzing bluebottle (*zôsôyôfu* 憎蒼蠅賦). Still, he wonders, if he were to wait till his beloved (*kimi*) were having his nap, and then approach ...ah, this sounds like an unrelenting passion (*nesshin hanaregataku*), it is quite startling. As for the poem on the right, once more the author trembles: he too, is a lowly person, but in this poem he makes a confession (*zange no tei mo miehabereba*): would he be thrown out of the bed of his beloved

⁴⁹ Ibid.

もとより拙き筆して。無双の景色を書汚さん事。其罪ふかきに似たれども。まことに是に絵あらば。幽窓閨裏のもてあそびともなり。かつは詞花の便ともなりなんと思ふより。

⁵⁰ Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Ehon Makuzugahara*, 1741, British Library, London. The *Makuzugahara* poems all conceal the names of insects: this poem contains the fly (*hai*), the following one the flea (*shirami*).

(*kimi ga toko*)... This is his message, it has traces of fine sentiment in it (*isasaka kokoro yasashiku*).⁵¹



Fig. 7.13

The image to the first poem shows a young child who has fallen asleep having been suckled, and is being covered by his nurses with a quilt that bears the *tachibana* motif (fig.7.13). A fly hovers over the child. On the right, a young boy is about to catch another fly on a plant. The second image shows townsfolk giving alms to beggars. Both poems are concerned with issues of illicit access and status disparity. The commentary, however, highlights a crime perpetrated by the poets which threatens to jeopardise the fulfillment of their wishes.

There were allusions in other works to past transgressions. *Hime tsubaki* contained repeated tropes of courtiers pardoned for sexual misdemeanours that could have cost them their lives. Moreover, in *Yamato hiji*, the depiction of this landscape without equal was not criminal in itself: it risked resembling a crime (*tsumi fukaki ni nitaredomo*) - that is, an earlier crime. It was the spirit in which these landscapes were now portrayed - the spirit of

⁵¹ Ibid.

これまた左右ともに罪あるかたがたなればとかく沙汰しがたく侍る左の作者もとよりもにくまるとあれば憎蒼蠅賦なども管見せられたるにやされと君がひるねを待てよらはやとあれは熱心はなれかたく聞えて心劣せられ侍る右の作者も身ふるひしていやかられ給へるかたなれと君が床より捨らるるかなと懺悔の躰もみえ侍ればたよりは聊心やさしく覚侍る

truthfulness, which promised to exonerate the present endeavor. It was thus positioned as a work offered up, dedicated to a person who resided in deep isolation and who could not travel; a person young enough to find it both entertaining and educational, and a person who could, potentially, be offended by the act of depicting the sublime landscape. In 1742, the future emperor Momozono was two years old: he was just one when *Makuzugahara*, with its oblique allusions to flies approaching a (beloved) infant, nurtured under the protection of Suika/Tachibana Shinto (the *tachibana* quilt), was published. Perhaps these works were produced with the young prince in mind. Whatever the case, both *Makuzugahara* and *Yamato hiji* were deeply conscious of - indeed were written in the shadow of - an original sin.

Shunpon and Transgression

Sukenobu's works of the last three decades of his life were works of loyalist polemic. His *shunga* production, which had occupied the decade from 1710-20, had been discursive, even oppositional. But revisited in the light of later work, the *shunpon* too reveal familiar traces of a political subtext. The dominant theme of consensual love, for example, reviewed in terms of the trope's political implications, begins to carry new paradigmatic possibilities. And if the plea for consensual love was intended as a political metaphor, the images readily permitted this interpretation. *Iro zubôshi*, for example, depicts an attempted infidelity: the man is restrained (rightly, one might suppose) from making his way to the maid's bed by his jealous – and pregnant - wife (fig. 7.14).

Fig. 7.14



The kimono of the wife bears the water lily/hollyhock motif: it thus invokes the political trope of the jealous wife who, like the bakufu, stands in the way of true political passion. *Makurabon taiheki* (1720), which took Ippû's *Nidai Soga* and supplemented it with erotic images, concludes with an image of a single man and two women: the one, he takes from the front, penetrating her with his own organ (her kimono bears the chrysanthemum motif) (fig. 7.15). With a dildo strapped to his rear he penetrates the other, to whom he turns to kiss. Her fallen kimono bears the hollyhock motif. Organic sexual engagement is contrasted with copulation by means of a

prosthetic: read in terms of the emblems, it becomes an allegory of political preference, political compromise, the difficulty of serving two masters. Sukenobu's *shunpon* make

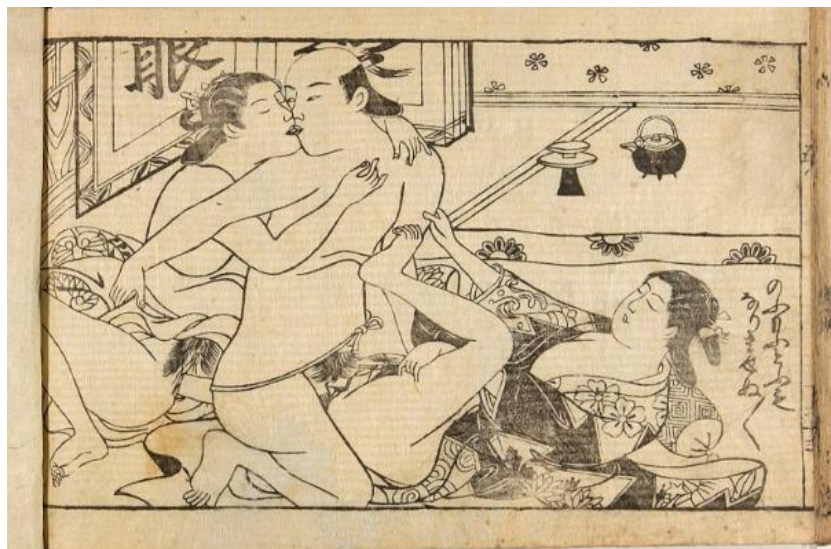


Fig. 7.15

much of the intimacy forfeited through the use of a dildo; moreover the mechanical, or artificial, versus the natural - in particular the silvicultural metaphor of cultivation via grafting as opposed to raising from seed – was an opposition he would subsequently adopt *Ehon Chitoseyama* to express the difference between the genuine political parent, and the usurper.⁵² Here, the dildo becomes an erotic transposition of the same concept.

Iro zubôshi: The Anatomist of Love and the Political Agenda

⁵² See Chapter four, p.

But were the *shunpon* intended as political works? There are, in fact, indications that they were intended as something more than mere erotica. *Iro zubôshi* is a tale of the life and escapades of one Muzan (No Regrets). Muzan is a consummate lover: but one night, Narihira appears to him to impart the ultimate secrets of the way of love: secrets of impeccable pedigree, for Narihira's mission (to fan the flames of love) comes at the behest of Emperor Ninmyô. Abandoning paradise Narihira has returned to earth, moved by nostalgia for his previous life in court service.⁵³

If I grow old will I yearn again for this time? the same court service I once thought of as a bitter life is now dear to me.⁵⁴

This deliberate misquotation of the *Hyakunin isshu* poem (where *ushi to mishi yo* - the world that I once saw as bitter - becomes *ushi to mishi miyatsukae* - court service, which I once saw as bitter) enables a witty allusion to Narihira's own history of courtly estrangement; but it also provides an explicit link between courtly and erotic discourse. Narihira's task to fan the flames of love is a service he conducts for the court. The secret teachings he has come to divulge, moreover, are divine transmissions, passed down through families descended from the gods (*busshin no ie ie no hijutsu*):

The house of Izanami and Izanagi possesses the secret teachings of the originary sexual act. The secret transmission of the house of Aizen Myôô is affection (*aikyô*). The teaching of the god of Karajima is the enduring penetration of the jewelled gateway with the jewelled stem even when sleeping, a secret teaching known as the cormorant rope stone.⁵⁵

⁵³ Paradise is populated only by men and women reborn as men -*henjô nanshi no yoriai katazumaritaru sensaku* - and is thus not much fun for the heterosexual Narihira.

⁵⁴ *Fûryû iro zubôshi*, "Onna no chiebukuro" 女の知恵袋.

ながらへばまた此ごろやしのばれんうしとみしみやずかへの世わたり今かへって恋しく成

⁵⁵ Ibid.

本年（本然か）の床入はいざながいざなみの尊の家の秘術愛敬ありとみえさするは愛染明王の家の伝授。玉ぐきを玉門へ入て。ねいりてなへてもぬけぬを。うなわ石の曲と名付て。是唐島大明神一子相伝の手なり。

Narihira's divine transmissions, now offered up to the world at large, satirize the concept of exclusive knowledge (the stock in trade of many courtly families) and parodied medieval allegorical commentaries of *Ise* and *Kokin wakashû* which had claimed the act of love as the path to enlightenment.⁵⁶ In an age of print, commoner readerships and growing political awareness, claims to exclusive access were straining. But the boundaries between parody and metaphor in this passage are deliberately vague: for when Narihira proceeds to the transmission on conjugal love his formulation has strong echoes of Suika thought:

When you become man and wife, there is no difference between high and low - this is the teaching of *Musubu no kami*.⁵⁷

In his *Shinrô tebikigusa*, Masuhô Zankô had declared much the same: When we celebrate our (Japanese) process of deification, yin and yang, harmony, men and women are equal, there is no high and low, superior and inferior.⁵⁸ The absence of status differentials between vassals had similarly been celebrated in *Yamato hiji* as a defining characteristic of Japan.⁵⁹ But since the conjugal relationship was repeatedly invoked as an expression of the ruler-subject relationship in Sukenobu's work, and since the consensual conjugal relationship had served as a metaphor of the bond between emperor and subject, the trope of conjugal love begins to acquire specifically Suika - popular Suika - overtones.⁶⁰ In fact, *Iro zubôshi* itself reads as an extended allegory of the dissemination of Suika thought (and its inherently loyalist connotations) in the world at large. For if Suika teachings had been restricted under Ansai, to oral transmission, the same held true for the teachings Narihira now embodied:

⁵⁶ See Susan Blakeley Klein, *Allegories of Desire: Esoteric Literary Commentaries of Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute : Distributed by Harvard University Press; 2002).

⁵⁷ *Fûryû iro zubôshi*, "Onna no chiebukuro".

夫婦になるに貴賤尊卑をわかたぬは是むすぶの神の所為ぞかし

⁵⁸ Taira Shigemichi and Abe Akio eds., *Kinsei shintôron zenki kokugaku*, p. 214 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1972).

我神化陰陽和合と祝くは、男女一双にして、高下尊卑なし。

Cited in Maeda Tsutomu, *Kinsei Shintô to kokugaku*, p. 83 (Tokyo: Perikansha; 2002).

⁵⁹ See Chapter six,

⁶⁰ For some of the sensitivities regarding the sexual trope in Suika Shintô, see Taira Shigemichi, *Kinsei Nihon shisôshi kenkyû*, p. 105 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan; 1969).

The secrets of each house have never been transmitted to people in writing, but I, being born a man, naturally express the virtues of this way.⁶¹

Moreover the popularization of Suika teachings in the common domain - through the publications of the likes of Masuhô Zankô, Wakabayashi Kyôsai, Tomobe Yasutaka (1667-1740), and Sukenobu's collaborator Tada Nanrei - was echoed in Narihira's efforts to popularize his teachings through the popular erotic book (*kôshokubon*).⁶² For Narihira is the proud author and artist of numerous *kôshokubon* "unlike anything the public has seen before". These works revealed secrets never revealed in images since the days of the gods: to behold them was to walk through a doorway into the light.⁶³ They provided a road to enlightenment.⁶⁴ But for those new to the way (*shoshin no tame*) they also rehearsed basic precautionary measures (how to avoid conception, how not to lose your life) that ensured the possibility of multiple future trysts at no risk:

The most important thing is to do it without having a child. This is the key to the whole thing. You do it in such a way that you don't lose your own precious life, you don't end up fleeing home, there's none of that desperate love-suicide stuff. In this

⁶¹ *Fûryû iro zubôshi*, "Onna no chiebukuro".

其家々の深秘ども文に人間につたわらず然れども私人男に生まれて天然と其道の徳をあらわし。

After Ansai's death, Suika transmission had in fact become scriptural: see Isomae Jun'ichi and Ogura Shigeji, *Kinsei chôtei to Suika Shintô*, pp. 52-55 (Tokyo: Perikansha; 2005).

⁶² There had been considerable debate in court Suika circles regarding the release of transmissions into the popular domain: see Ibid. In the face of such opposition, Sukenobu's later collaborator Tada Nanrei had on one occasion made a unilateral decision to disseminate a body of teachings in manuscript version, judging them too important to remain in the private domain. See Furuso Masami, *Kokugakusha Tada Yoshitoshi Nanrei no kenkyû*, pp. 53-4 (Tokyo: Kinshi Shuppan; 2000).

⁶³ *Fûryû iro zubôshi*, "Onna no chiebukuro".

予が図を以ておしゆる品は神祇以来人のしらぬ図にしてこの図をみる時は戸を開てあかりへ出るがごとし。

⁶⁴ There were other similarities between Narihira's project and the educational processes elaborated by Yamazaki Ansai. Ansai divided his students into those that could grasp the truth in Neo-confucian garb, and those who accessed it through Shinto parable. The truth required "different packaging for different audiences". See Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570-1680*, pp. 262-4 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press; 1985). Sukenobu's Narihira adopted a similar policy of expedient means: "As for sex, it depends on the preference of people. You have to look at what they like doing, and build it from there: some people like faces, others hips, expressions, necklines, fleshy oiled skin: the cock has its dependencies".

好色といふは其人々のおもひ入によりてかわる物なり。先は風ぞくをみておもひつく物有・面ていにほるる有。物ごしめつき又くびすじのきよらにこへあぶらつきたるはだへ。一物の風味其々のより所有ぞ。 *Fûryû iro zubôshi*, "Onna no chiebukuro".

game, it's not about creating difficulties. This is for beginners, I repeat it over and over again in images, and once they get the hang, then you can meet up a thousand times, two thousand times without any mistakes.⁶⁵

But although Narihira trumpets his own methods of contraception, the only tip the reader is likely to pick up is to face west and say a prayer. Because, like other sex-related activities, contraception is a metaphor - for staying safe:

Since the beginning of heaven and earth, if husband and wife have sex, they necessarily conceive a child. Ever since this was ordained by Izanami and Izanagi, people have had to be careful about getting pregnant. But if you can get pregnant, then you can also *not* get pregnant: if you understand this, there'll be no end to your pleasure.⁶⁶

If sex here is a metaphor for loyalist activity then the advice is clearly to keep such activity under wraps. Having a child becomes a metaphor for being discovered; and death, exile or love suicide (an already familiar loyalist trope) the attendant penalties or consequences. This is not a pornotopia: it is a world of deadly political factions, made clear in the following passage. For if Narihira's works are (as he declares) *kôshokubon* with a difference - ones that tell the truth (*jitsugi*), that lead the reader to the truth - "by following the spirit of my teachings, you will learn the secrets of the gods and buddhas" (*waga kokorobase ni shitagawaba kono hotoke kami tachi no myôshu wo*)⁶⁷ - there were others in the field to be wary of. Distinguishing between the true erotica and pernicious simulacra was crucial:⁶⁸

⁶⁵ *Fûryû iro zubôshi*, "Onna no chiebukuro".

第一重宝は子をはらませぬしやう。此道のかんじんなり。是によりて大切な命をうしなふのみならず家にはなれかけ落ち。又は心中のぶしゆびたら々も。此一いろになんぎしてせんさくなうあらかじめ此一だんは初心のためかさねて図にあらわしてしめさん。是をとくとがてんしてあふ時は千度が二千度も其あやまちなし

Ibid. 天地はじまりて此かた夫婦の一義にてはかならず子をはらむといふ事。正直二柱の神達の定め給ひしより此かたはらみきたる所に気を付てみるべし。はらむといふ事あればはらまぬといふ事なふてはかなわず。かく悟道しぬれば楽しみまたかぎりなし。

⁶⁷ *Fûryû iro zubôshi*, "Onna no chiebukuro".

⁶⁸ *Fûryû iro zubôshi*, "Onna no chiebukuro".

There are some guys about who brush lively *toba-e* caricatures that certainly catch your eye: they look harmless, and they come in the customary brownish dust-jacket. But they're really a motley-coloured mouse trap (*nezumi ote*). They're designed to mirror the rumours of the day. And though you might think no one is likely to know if you've got one, if you get caught, there's no hope. You may think you've got quite a long way in this game, but you have to go all the way. And even if you think you want to get completely rid of this hatefulness that doesn't even care how hateful it is, in all the wide world, there are few people as experienced as you.⁶⁹

Once again, the passage plays on double meanings: *nezumi iro* could mean mouse-coloured, a dark grey that supplied the metonym for *ukiyozôshi* which came in a mouse-coloured cover. It could also mean colourless, equivocal, harmless. But the mouse-coloured documents here appear to allude to works in the public sphere designed to test political sympathies. Attuned to the current mood, they are traps (*nezumi ote*) intended to entice and expose. And if the world is to be rid of the current hatefulness, they need to be treated with caution. These are times of war: activities are conducted clandestinely, there are risks of exposure, of infiltration. And if the references to hatefulness are familiar from the later *ehon*, so too is the counsel of caution, and the hortatory appeal to the common man: Muzan, the people's warrior.

Iro zubôshi is a crucial document in that it outlines, in familiarly allegorical language, the project of the erotic books: to both declare their political allegiance and to remain concealed. Allusions to traps, infiltration, discovery and fearful consequences, combined with the promise to guide the reader through these pitfalls, shed light on the often troubled mood of the images themselves. The lover who abandons his wife for the maid in fig. 7.16 is

⁶⁹*Fûryû iro zubôshi*, "Onna no chiebukuro".

今の世にも生た鳥羽絵のやぼ太郎出て。人の目を驚し鼠色にきわまりたる物が。まだらの鼠おて。世の口ずさみにあへり。是を以しるべしなとおもへど。あればせう事もなし。其方も極たりとおもへど極まらねばぜひもなし。にくさもにくしかまわずに打捨ておかんとおもへど普天広しといへども。又其方程此道極たり物まれなるば。

observed: there will, presumably be consequences for his moment of sexual surrender, and the *tsuta* emblem on the bed covering suggests they will be political (fig. 7.16). The same goes for the man caught by his wife in fig. 7.15 as he prepares to visit the maid. His attempt to abandon the hollyhock of the marital bedcover for the cherry of the maid, earns him a garroting. Moreover lovemaking is frequently interrupted by the prurient gaze of others: in fig. 7.17, the man turns suddenly, alerted by a noise to realize he is observed. His lover's kimono, which enwraps them both, bears the *tsuta* motif: the girl who peers through the round latticed window wears a kimono with plum, bamboo and pine. The crest suggests the man has been caught in a moment of political collusion. Traditionally read as reflexive metaphors of the viewer's own voyeurism, these images in fact convey a climate of suspicion.⁷⁰ Voyeurs are often neither benign nor politically disengaged, for the common tropes of erotica have been reassembled for a new purpose.

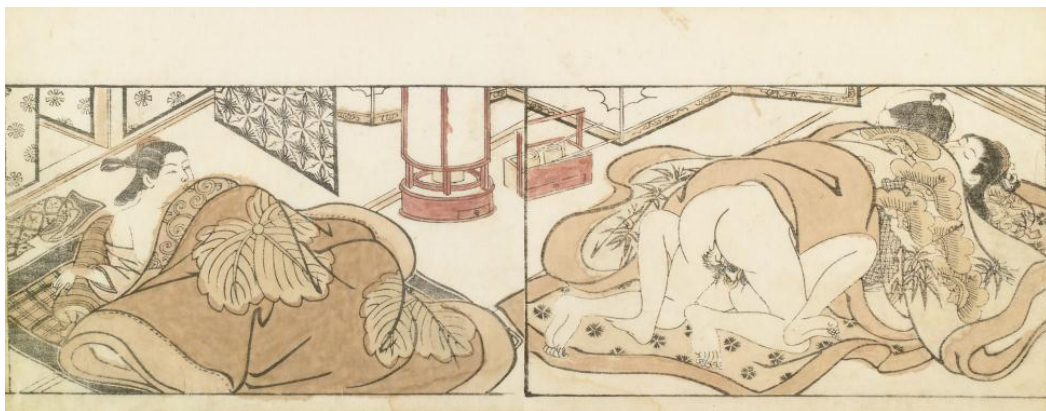


Fig. 7.16

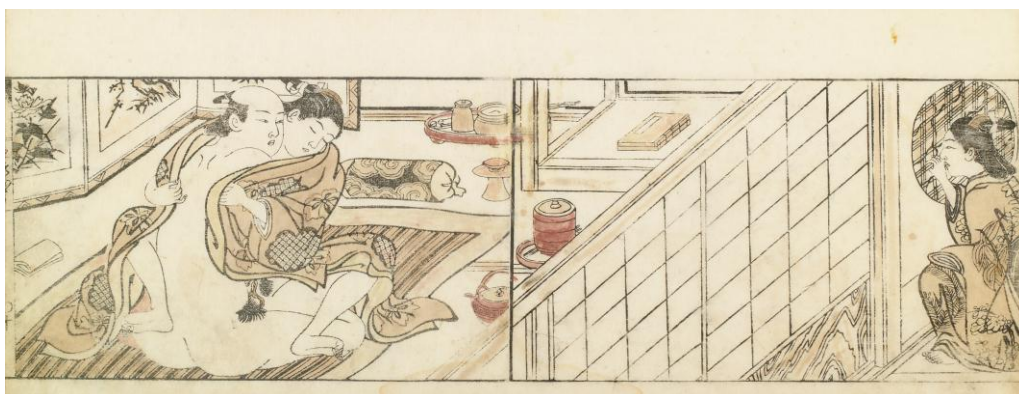


Fig. 7.17

⁷⁰ See, for example, Timon Screech, *Sex and the Floating World: Erotic Images in Japan, 1700-1820* (London: Reaktion Books; 1999).

Religious Climax

The Sukenobu *shunpon* presents the same picture of a world divided, of a world grown suspicious of its own shadow that emerged in the later *ehon*. The erotic, it could be argued, simply supplied an early medium for articulating political allegories. But it was a particularly powerful medium, both visually and discursively. An image in *Iro zubôshi* shows a couple in the grip of passion on the ground outside what appears to be some kind of commercial premises (fig. 7.18). It is night, the lovers' heads are pressed close, the shaven section of the man's pate aligned to the woman's profile. Together, they form a perfect oval.



Fig. 7.18

It is hard not to read this as a visual conceit of enlightenment. In his *Shikidô kokagami* (The Lesser Mirror of Love) of 1678 - volume five of the immense eighteen-volume *Shikidô ôkagami* (Greater Mirror of Love) - the *haikai* poet and flâneur Fujimoto Kizan (1626-1704) had mapped out a man's sentimental education through twenty-eight stages (*hon* 品), from

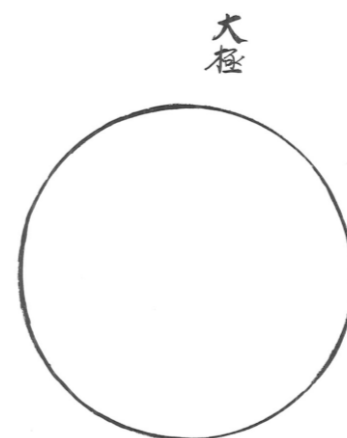


Fig. 7.19

sexual initiation with a housemaid to the pinnacle of love with a top-ranking courtesan.⁷¹

This ultimate expression of love -which the Mirror referred to as 'The Great Extreme' or *daigyoku* - was represented by the figure of an empty circle (fig. 7.19).⁷²

Kizan was clearly following early esoteric commentaries on *Ise*: the poet and priest Nijō Tameakira, in his *Ise monogatari zuinō* composed in the 1320s, for example, offered the following account of sexual union:

When the two consciousnesses dissolve altogether into perfect identity, the two people's individual thoughts are transformed into virtue and merge into a single enlightened thought... which does not discriminate between enlightenment and unenlightenment. Because everything is originally in Harmonious Union, at this moment of Harmonious Union, [the enlightened consciousness] merges with the unenlightened consciousness and they become as they were originally, that is, the Harmonious Union of the innate and eternally existing I-Se. The unenlightened consciousness and the enlightened consciousness become one, the seed of the Buddha buds, and they grasp the karmic link to true enlightenment. This is the true reality of the essence of I-Se (yin and yang).⁷³

Klein's commentary on this passage is equally suggestive:

The orgasmic moment of Harmonious Union creates a state of *musō munen* identical with the primordial void before creation.... The disruption of all consciousness of

⁷¹ *Shikidō kokagami* can be found in Noma Kōshin ed., *Kinsei shikidōron* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; 1976). For a discussion of Kizan and his influence, see "Fujimoto Kizan and The Great Mirror of Love" in Donald Keene, *Landscapes and Portraits: Appreciations of Japanese Culture*, pp. 242-49 (London: Secker and Warburg; 1972); for an annotated translation, see Lawrence Rogers, "She Loves Me, She Loves Me Not: Shinjū and Shikidō Ōkagami", *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 49, 1994, pp. 31-60. The twenty-eight stages were modelled on the Lotus Sutra.

⁷² See Noma Kōshin ed., *Kinsei shikidōron*, pp. 391-99.

⁷³ Klein, *Allegories of Desire: Esoteric Literary Commentaries of Medieval Japan*

physical and mental processes by orgasm likewise results in dissolution of the Five Modalities and Four Great Elements into Harmonious Union.⁷⁴

The concept of the primordial void, or Great Extreme, source of all things (*banbutsu*) belonged within both Buddhist and Neo-Confucian epistemologies. But the concept of *daigyoku* had been assimilated in the seventeenth century by Ansai as an expression of the originary god of chaos in the Shintô pantheon, Kuninotokotachi no kami - represented, in Suika originary cosmographies, as a perfect empty circle.⁷⁵ The populist preacher Masuhô Zankô would equate the great void (*daikokû* 大虚空) with Takamagahara, land of the Shintô gods.⁷⁶ It was from this unitary void that the yin-yang plurality of the manifest world issued: a plurality represented (for Zankô) by the primordial union of Izanami and Izanagi:

In the beginning [plurality] issued from the union of man and woman, and thus it is the teaching of the gods of our country, the crucial teaching of yin and yang, to practice thoroughly the way of intimacy⁷⁷

The sexual act was the physical embodiment of the yin-yang principle: for Zankô, it was a route to divinity:

The way we celebrate the divine yin-yang union is by man and woman being together, with no status differential.⁷⁸

Thus, this image of a hasty coupling in the street - a conjunction which gives rise to a visual conceit of the great void - positions the sexual act as ritual. The confluence of heads, the merging of two into one visually engendering the circle of enlightenment, was a metaphor of the sacred within the human: a reenactment of the primordial union of Izanami and Izanagi,

⁷⁴ Susan Blakeley Klein, "Allegories of Desire. Poetry and Eroticism in Ise Monogatari Zuino", *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 52, 1997, ; Klein, *Allegories of Desire: Esoteric Literary Commentaries of Medieval Japan* p. 290-91

⁷⁵ For a fascinating discussion of Suika cosmography, see Isomae Jun'ichi and Ogura Shigeji, *Kinsei chôtei to Suika Shintô*, pp. 233-39.

⁷⁶ Taira Shigemichi and Abe Akio eds., *Kinsei shintôron zenki kokugaku*, pp. 195-6.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 229. 其はじめは男女夫婦の和合より出るなれば、睦はじめを濃（こまやか）にせよと、陰陽の大事をおしへ給ふが、我国神の訓ぞ。

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 214. 我神化陰陽和合と祝くは、男女一双にして、高下尊卑なし

and the unique moment of congruence between the divine and the mortal (the Suika doctrine of *tenjin yûitsu*) which, for Zankô, represented the living legacy of the gods. But the intended reader could easily have taken this further: since the conjugal trope was a consistent expression of the relationship between the emperor and his subject in the *ehon*, and since the sexual act was conscripted, within *Iro zubôshi*, as a metaphor of clandestine loyalist sentiment, it can reasonably be argued that the orgasmic void portrayed in the image gestures, here, to the restored union of emperor and vassal (*kunshin*): a return to the primordial oneness of that axiomatic Suika bond which had been disrupted by centuries of warrior rule. Read in light of Asami Keisai's account of a hypothetical reunion with *kimi*, the parallels are suggestive:

How to describe the sensation when all distance between the two hearts disappears: warm, pleasurable, beyond the powers of cognitive intelligence, beyond reason (*fuchifukaku*): a sweet, delicious intimacy (*imijimi shinsetsu na*), yet something beyond even this (*saritote wa omou tokoro ga aru*).⁷⁹

But there are other indications that orgasm was intended as a political metaphor. The final story in *Nuresugata aizomegawa* tells of a man with an outsized member and a woman with an outsized vulva; neither find sexual satisfaction until they encounter one another.⁸⁰ Their orgasmic pleasure is described in territorial terms: *it felt like hitting the crucial spot of the whole of Japan, right there between the shoulders - Nihonkoku ga chirikemoto e yoru kokochi shite*.⁸¹ The term *chirikemoto*, an acupuncture point at the base of the neck known as the Governing Vessel, could be written with the characters 身柱元 (base of the pillar of the

⁷⁹ “Jinsetsu montô shisetsu” in Nishi Junzô ed., *Yamazaki Ansai gakuha*, p. 288 (Tokyo Iwanami Shoten 1980).
其へダテナイ心ニナリタトキハドフ心上ノ味ハアルゾト云トソコニホシコリト不知不覺意味
滋味親切ナ、サリトテハト思フトコロガアル

⁸⁰ Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Nuresugata Aizomegawa*, (shita), 1722, Lane Collection, Honolulu. “Nii makura musume no saya wo waru Satsuma Gengogozô” 新枕に娘の鞘を割薩摩源五兵衛。

⁸¹ *Nuresugata Aizomegawa* (shita), “Iken nukakugi kajiya no yonegurui” 異見は糠に釘鍛冶やの★狂ひ。
日本国がちりけもとへよる心地して

body) or 天柱元 (base of the pillar of heaven). The pillar of the heavens (天柱) was a current metaphorical expression for righteous conduct: it also carried Shintoist connotations of the unity of heaven and earth. The phrase, translated literally, could thus read: *it felt like the whole of Japan at the base of the pillar of heaven*. Orgasm, once again, was a moment of union between the divine and the mortal.⁸² The illustration shows the couple in bed beside the sleeping mother-in-law. They make love surreptitiously (the wife pretends to be asleep) for the mother's bed-cover - which physically encroaches on the conjugal space - is emblazoned with the *tsuta* emblem (fig. 7.20).

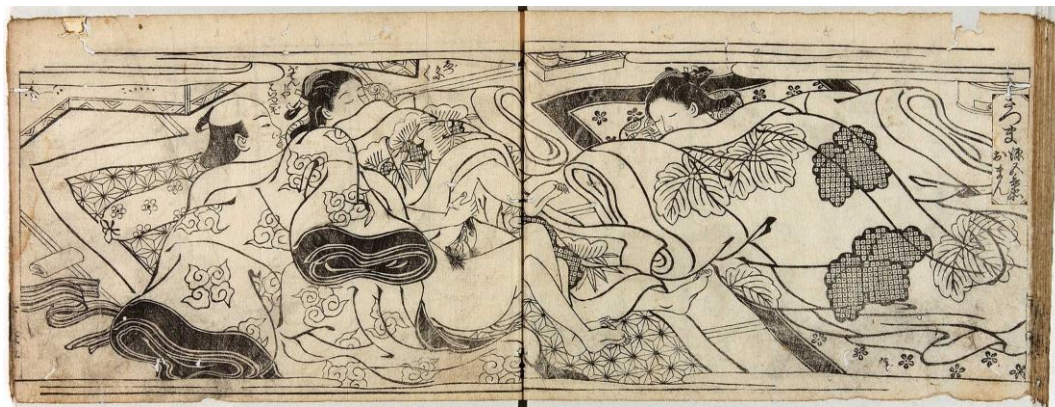


Fig. 7.20

The Sukenobu *shunpon* claimed good sex as a metaphor for the ideal relationship between ruler and subject. But the erotic narratives also provided a platform for the discussion of righteousness, with a peculiarly loyalist slant. Another story in *Nuresugata* retells the tale of Kokan and Heibei, lovers from the Chikamatsu play *Shinjû yaiba wa kôri no tsuitachi* (Love

⁸² A similar metaphor had appeared in the 1714 *Fûfu narabi no oka* 夫婦双の岡: Ise elopes with Sadaijin Nakahira in order to avoid a nocturnal summons from Retired Emperor Kanpei. As her pleasure peaks, she cries out: *the whole of Japan has hit the spot: kill me, kill me* (日本国が一所へよりまする。いつぞころしてください). See Taihei Shujin ed., *Nishikawa Sukenobu makurabon issô: Fûfu narabi no oka, Waraku iro nando*, p. 39 (Tokyo: Taihei Shooku; 2008). In the Suika cosmographic sequence “*Tenchi kaibyaku zu*”, commissioned in 1755 by Ôgimachi Sanetsuru and prepared by Suzuki Tachû 薄太仲, Japan (*Dainihonkoku*) is represented as a pale yellow circle contained within the blue ring of heaven, a single spot evolved from the perfect void of Kuninotokotachi no mikoto. See Isomae Jun'ichi and Ogura Shigeji, *Kinsei chôtei to Suika Shintô*.

Suicides in Midsummer with an Icy Blade 1709) - with a difference.⁸³ Kokan, a prostitute, earns her keep making love to men she despises. When she learns that her father faces the prospect of debtor's prison, and that her mother depends on Kokan to save him, she sells her last kimono. To spare a parent from pain is, after all, the supreme duty (*taigi*) of any child - *taigi ja...oya no kutsû wo tasukeru koto ja*.⁸⁴ After all, she owes her very life to her parents:⁸⁵ *higoro wa inochi mo sochi yue*. Kokan's exemplary filial piety impresses the hitherto asexual Heibei (he witnesses her receipt of the letter bearing bad tidings), who realizes that when it comes to saving one's parent, morality becomes relative. Even if it means getting your head cut off (*asa kubi kiraruru ni shireta tomo*), or robbing a man as he walks down the road (*oihagi shite*), you should do it to save your parent (*oya no nangi wa sukuute yarubeshi*).⁸⁶ He therefore arranges a loan under false pretenses from the manager of the carpentry shop where he works and redeems Kokan's father. She is deeply moved and they go to bed. Heibei falls in love with Kokan, and can think of nothing but being with her. He no longer values material things, he can no longer focus on his work. At this juncture, the text suddenly slips into a different register:

But if it means meeting *kimi* even for a brief second; then all one needs to do is to cross the Oebashi bridge (which led to the Osaka Shinmachi brothel district) to the Hiranoya brothel, where one's own deceitfulness, and that of the likes of Kokan, will be redeemed through the truthfulness of others (*Kokan mo hito no makoto ni waga itsuwari mo satte*).⁸⁷

⁸³ The Chikamatsu play is discussed in Gerstle, *Circles of Fantasy: Convention in the Plays of Chikamatsu*, pp. 42-48.

⁸⁴ *Nuresugata Aizomegawa*, 大義じゃ…おやのくつうを。たすける事じゃ。

⁸⁵ *Nuresugata Aizomegawa*, 日頃は命もそちゆへといはしやった詞をたよりに。

⁸⁶ *Nuresugata Aizomegawa*, おいはぎして成共親のなんぎはすくふてやるべし。

⁸⁷ *Nuresugata Aizomegawa*.

つかのまなり共君に大江橋を打渡り平野屋のざしきにあがれば。小かんも人の誠に我いつわりもさって。おまへならでは命もやるほどの中となり。

This extraordinary passage suggests that somehow, money spent in the brothels can become an act of redemption, that the proceeds could be channeled to a higher cause: the Hiranoya was a genuine brothel located in Shinmachi, under the proprietorship of Hiranoya Isaemon.⁸⁸

The broader narrative context of theft for the sake of one's parent, the perception of the emperor as both *kimi* and *oya*, introduces the possibility that funds were diverted by brothels to the loyalist cause. And the story closes with the couple making love, the sound of which

“arouses even the old and impotent; and thus, should the young and vigorous (*kekki no wakamono*) go wild (*arederu/areteru*) at the sound, there would be no blame attached (*toga ni arazu*). Those without ears go on and on about principles (*michi*): it would be a real joke if they were to uncover our secret.”⁸⁹

The story of Kokan and Heibei, with its topical allusions to *taigi* - glossed by Keisai as the vassal's ultimate duty of loyalty to his lord, and intimately associated with the imperial cause;⁹⁰ its sanctioning of crime in the name of the cause (recalling earlier allusions to Gotô Shôsaburô); its relativisation of morality, its closing snook at those without ears oblivious to the plotting beneath their very noses, indeed its suggestion of inflammatory intent (the sound of lovemaking that arouses others) provide a suggestive paradigm for the agenda of the *shunpon*.

Kokan and Heibei were not the only rabble-rousers active on the contemporary scene. Tada Nanrei, commenting on the impact of Masuho Zankô's sermons on the *Kami no maki* (*Age of the Gods* volume) of the *Nihongi*, noted that the young, fiery and loutish of Osaka (*kekki no mono ôku, hanbun wa otokodate nite*) were inflamed by Zankô's oratory to the point of casting Buddhist altars into the sea, erecting *torii* in their living rooms and invoking

⁸⁸ See the list of Osaka brothels in Hasegawa Tsuyoshi ed., *Keisei irojamisen; Keisei denju-gamiko; Seken musume katagi*, p. 130.

⁸⁹ *Nuresugata Aizomegawa*.

音をきいては老たるものさへ。あたまを持あぐれば血気の若者があれ出るはとがにあらず。
耳のないやつが其道々として。ききだすこそおかしかれけれ。

⁹⁰ Keisai's notion of *taigi* is discussed in Ôkubo Yûichi, *Asami Keisai no kenkyû: kyôgaku shinzui*, pp. 80-91 (Tokyo: Daiichi Shuppan Kyôkai; 1938).

the gods.⁹¹ Zankô's populism and the *shunpon* were not dissimilar: both, arguably, had a Shinto manifesto at heart, and both overtly employed the rhetoric of sex.⁹² Sex - good sex - was a powerful political metaphor. The preface to Sukenobu's *Fûryû iro kaiawase* (An Erotic Shell Game For the Times) declared that the artist shared old secrets because 'the way of love is no longer what it was': *imose no katarai wa ametsuchi no hajimari yori otorite* - love between man and woman has declined since the primordial division of heaven and earth.⁹³ The *Nishikawa-e* recaptured, for the viewer, a lost world of affectivity (*ninjô*). *Imose no katarai, fûfu no michi*: nostalgia for a pre-lapsarian sexual past had distinctly political overtones.

Fûfu narabi no oka: Sex, the Court, and Transgression

But the artist may have overreached himself. In 1714, with Hachimonji Jishô, Sukenobu published *Fûfu narabi no oka*. It took as its subject twelve celebrated female poetesses of the Heian period, transposed them into the contemporary cityscape, and devised around them tales of erotic escapades ending in sublime and consensual sex. This work is of particular interest because it bears a striking resemblance to Bunkô's account of the work he called *Fûfu chigiri ga oka* (of which we have no record) for which he believed Sukenobu had been severely punished. Bunkô summarized the transgressive aspects of the work as follows:

Pornographic representations of courtiers, descriptions of courtly bedchambers, illicit sexual encounters, women hidden in the *seiryôden* and the *nashi tsubo*, lovers slipping

⁹¹ Cited in Taira Shigemichi and Abe Akio eds., *Kinsei shintôron zenki kokugaku*, p. 557.

⁹² Zankô's emphasis on sex irritated his critics (for example Nanrei) who considered it a crowd-pulling gimmick. See Nakano Mitsutoshi, *Edo kyôshaden*, pp. 20-25 (Tokyo: Chûo Kôron Shinsha; 2007). One work devoted to the demolition of his reputation - *Zankô sarugutsuwa* 残口猿轡 of 1720 suggested the ploy was designed to delude the stupid and lure followers who would proceed from issues of sex to more serious matters (*kôshoku no in-en wo mitsuke shidai ni kono hô e okurareyo hito no yorokobu kuchidashi*). Anonymous, *Zankô sarugutsuwa*, 1720, Waseda University Library, Tokyo.

⁹³ Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Fûryû iro kaiawase*, 1711, Nichibunken, Kyoto.

through the swing door of the *hagi no to*, love trysts of lords, and other secret activities taking place behind the jeweled blind.⁹⁴

It is a description that fits *Narabi no oka* to a tee, and it is these similarities, together with obvious similarities in the titles, that led Katô Yoshio to suggest the two works were one and the same. *Narabi no oka* was deliberately risqué. In the opening chapter, an imperial princess dresses up as a salt gatherer in order to spy on Fujiwara Teika's threeway. Ukon has been forced by the impecunious affairs of her father into a life of prostitution in the Yoshiwara. Murasaki Shikibu, to alleviate the monotony of a life in seclusion, cross-dresses and plays kemari with some local provincial prostitutes. Lady Ise, while desperately trying to avoid the summons of retired emperor Uda, has regular commercial interaction with an itinerant vendor of sex toys (who himself turns out to be a disaffected courtier - Sadaijin Nakahira) (fig. 7.21). In the story of Suo no Naishi, a courtier gains access to the *mume tsubo*, the *nashi tsubo*, the *fujitsubo*, and other palace quarters - *jochû no heyabeya wo ichiya mawari ni: mume tsubo, nashi tsubo, fujitsubo, subete izure no goten ni mo* (fig. 7.20).⁹⁵ The work celebrates sexual transgression at court, sexual transgression by courtiers.

But it also cocked a snook at contemporary shogunal policy toward the court. Its references to courtiers roaming around town dressed as actors, to court women freely inviting traders into the palace and copulating with them before fleeing to distant loveholes; references to male courtiers loitering outside the female quarters, to gaming - are provocative in that they specifically invoke behaviours outlawed by shogunal decree. In the *Kuge shû hatto* (1611) courtiers were prohibited from visiting the city without specific business: they were not permitted to walk the streets or mingle with the urban fray; unseemly behaviours on

⁹⁴ Katô Yoshio, *Ukiyo eshi sôkan* at <<http://www.ne.jp/asahi/kato/yoshio/kobetuesi/sukenobu.html>>
雲の上人の姿をつがひ絵に図し、やんごとなき方々の枕席、密通の体を模様して、清涼殿の妻隠れ、梨壺のかくし妻、萩の戸ぼそのわかれ路、夜のおとゞの妻むかへと、いろ／＼の玉簾の中の、隠し事を画きし

⁹⁵ Taihei Shujin ed., *Nishikawa Sukenobu makurabon issô: Fûfu narabi no oka, Waraku iro nando*, p. 98.

the part of courtiers or their subordinates, could be punished with exile. In the *Kinri rinji gojômoku* of 1668 the bakufu imposed further restrictions on the free, unauthorized movement of courtiers. Movement to and from the palace was monitored and visits of functionaries were regulated. The unique function of courtiers was to study ritual.⁹⁶ The appointment of the *kinritsuke* in 1643, moreover, increased the presence of the bakufu at court: in addition to bakufu representatives in the women's quarters, first introduced with the accession of Meisho tennô, shogunal guards were set outside the palace walls to monitor movements to and from the palace. Thus, celebrating the sexual incontinence of courtiers was very different from celebrating the sexual incontinence of a common or garden amorous man.

In *Iro zubôshi*, Narihira/Sukenobu had vaunted the popularity of his *kôshokubon* in select circles:

Back when I was human, I perfected the art of love, and got a lot of women into bed.
My success meant that I mixed freely with the more amorous members of Buddhist society: and what I now tell you, are the deepest secrets of the Buddhist families themselves.⁹⁷

Since these families were courtly families, and since Narihira has been reminiscing about his time in court service, it seems reasonable to equate the amorous members of Buddhist society with courtiers. The mordant humour of *Narabi no oka* was, in many ways, addressed to a courtly audience: in the *Akasomeemon* chapter, a courtier ordering a new pair of *hakama* from the dying shop, engages in some banter with the shop girl: he'll have them in a *ryumonjima* fabric –a pun on *ryumon*, a type of cloth, and *jima*, stripe, here written as Badge

⁹⁶ See Tsuji Tatsuya ed., *Tennô to shôgun*, vol 2, pp. 134 - 70(Tokyo: Chûô Kôronsha; 1991). Also Ishikawa Kazuto, *Kinri tsuke buke* in Takano Toshihiko ed., *Chôtei o torimaku hitobito* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan; 2007).

⁹⁷ *Fûryû iro zubôshi*, “Onna no chiebukuro”

さりながら人間の時に好術を？道してあまたの女をなびけし功德によりて色中間の仏達に心やすくより合。今私が物かたりする故は皆仏神家々の秘術なり。

of Exile Island cloth 流紋島.⁹⁸ The penalty for contravention of the *kuge shohatto* – the bakufu’s regulations governing court behaviours – was exile: since some prominent court members had tasted exile and given the Bakufu’s strictly authoritarian stance towards the court, the pun was timely.⁹⁹ In the *Koshikibu* chapter, Fujiwara Sadayori, elder son of Fujiwara Kintô, dresses up as a dandy to cruise the streets incognito.¹⁰⁰ His outfit is described at length: striped trousers, a purple silk crepe over-jacket, and a sword and dagger with a yellow-green hilt; despite the fact that he was a palace courtier, he still had his eyebrows and his teeth weren’t blackened, while his hairstyle was wholly modern, tied up in a ponytail at the back.¹⁰¹

Fig. 7.21

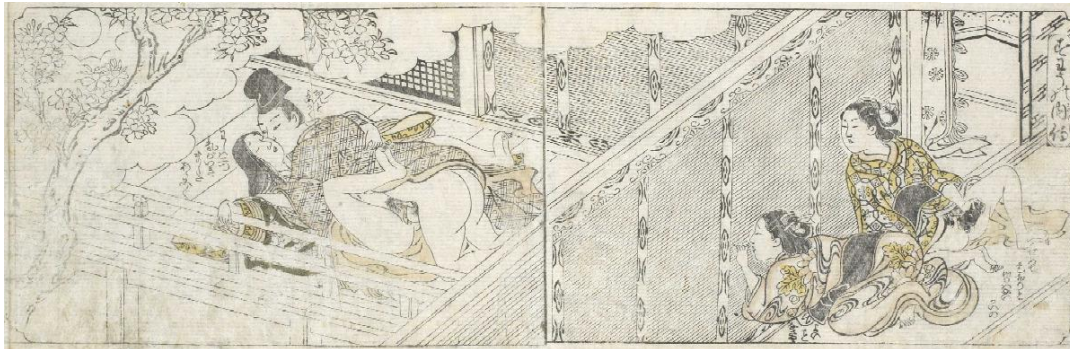
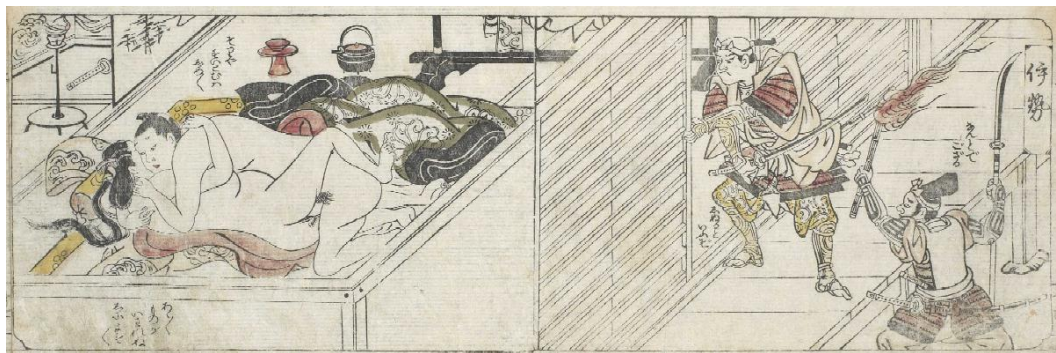


Fig. 7.22



⁹⁸ Taihei Shujin ed., *Nishikawa Sukenobu makurabon issô: Fûfu narabi no oka, Waraku iro nando*, p. 67.

⁹⁹ For a discussion of punitive measures taken by the Bakufu against the court, see Hiraï Seiji, "Edo jidai no kuge no rûhai ni tsuite", *Ogurayama Ronshu*, vol. 29, 1991, pp. 269-94.

¹⁰⁰ Taihei Shujin ed., *Nishikawa Sukenobu makurabon issô: Fûfu narabi no oka, Waraku iro nando*, p. 61.

四条の大納言金任卿の御公達定頼さまと申が。風流をこのませ給ひ。御身を党上と見えず作りなし御忍びありき。

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

茶宇島のひとへばかま、紫尻面の羽織。もへぎ柄の大小、大内山の御公達にしては御まゆも有て、齒黒めしたる唇共見えず。まして御髪つきは当世にして、はずにかけたるもとゆい。。。

In the *Murasaki Shikibu* chapter, some local prostitutes skimp on their bath, and just wash their feet; another girl asks them, sarcastically, if there's been a new law prohibiting baths - *kono kurowa ni ha furo wa hatto ka?* (there were, in fact numerous laws temporarily prohibiting baths on fire grounds).¹⁰² In the *Suo no Naishi* chapter, the women patrolling the imperial apartments at night urge each other – in language borrowed from the bakufu's frequent fire warnings – *hi no yojin* – to beware of their private parts - *mae no go yojin*.¹⁰³

The work did not just reference, in some detail, the palace interior: it catalogued and celebrated miscreant courtier behaviours and it ridiculed bakufu restrictions on the court. Its humour appears to have been carefully aimed at a coterie of courtiers disaffected by bakufu rule. But somehow, it seems that it backfired. The work came to the attention of the authorities 公庁, the blocks were seized and Sukenobu was punished.¹⁰⁴ There are no records of his punishment, nor details of the seizure of the work. But he published no erotica after the Kyôhō publishing reforms, and although *Hyakunin jorô* came out hot on the heels of the reforms, it was immediately banned. It has already been noted that this phenomenally prolific artist published nothing thereafter for four years.

The incident was not completely erased from the record, however. From the 1740s on, references in the *ehon* to punishments, culpability, imperial intercession and to the hope for imperial pardon proliferate. The 1731 waka volume, *Ehon Tsukubayama*, was the first work in which Sukenobu had made covert allusion - through the trope of the priest slumbering under the *ominaeshi* flowers - to the renewed political engagement of his work, an allusion which simultaneously invoked the trope of broken vows (fig. 5.23b.).¹⁰⁵ What these vows might have been remains obscure; yet, it seems probable that Sukenobu incurred, as a result

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 84. 此くろわにハ風呂ハ法度か。

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 98.

¹⁰⁴ Cited in Katô Yoshio, *Ukiyo eshi sôkan*, p. 9 (Ukiyo-e Bunken Shiryôkan; 2005) <http://www.ne.jp/asahi/kato/yoshio/kobetuesi/sukenobu.html> Bunkô's comments can be found in his *Kinsei edo chomonshû*, collected in Iwamoto Kattôshi ed., *Enseki jusshu*, vol. 5, pp 52-55 (Tokyo: Chûhokôronsha; 1980).

¹⁰⁵ See chapter five.

of the *Hyakunin jorô* incident, some form of sanction; and that that sanction had included the instruction to desist thereafter from the production of works that alluded to the court. *Ehon himetsubaki* alluded to a similar sanction in its opening admonition on the part of Senshi, to focus not on the world within the imperial walls, but on the world without, and in its closing vignette of the plum threatened with removal from the poor woman's garden. *Tsukubayama* would have marked Sukenobu's first subsequent trespass on that sanction, the first time that he would again invoke themes of courtly dejection and loyalist devotion in works for the common domain.

Fig. 7.1 Ehon Yamato hiji 1742 絵本倭比事



Fig. 7.2 *Hyakunin jorô shinasadame* 百人女郎品定 *nyotei* 女帝



Figs. 7.4-5 Moronobu *Wakoku hyakujo*



Fig. 7.6 *Hyakunin jorô shinasadame* 百人女郎品定 *uneme, nyoju*



Fig. 7.7 *Hyakunin jorô shinasadame* 百人女郎品定 *ama goshi*



Fig. 7.8 *Hyakunin jorô shinasadame* 百人女郎品定 *hashita*



Fig. 7.9 Hyakunin jorô shinasadame 百人女郎品定 *akindo no tsuma*



Fig. 7.10 *Hyakunin jorô shinasadame* 百人女郎品定 *hôkônin*





Fig. 7.12 *Ehon tokiwagusa* 1732 絵本常盤草



御水之尾の気楽坊人形

Fig. 7.13 Ehon makuzugahara



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Fig. 7.14 風流色図法師 *Fûryû iro zubôshi*



Fig. 7.15 枕本大開記 *Makurabon Taiheki* 1720

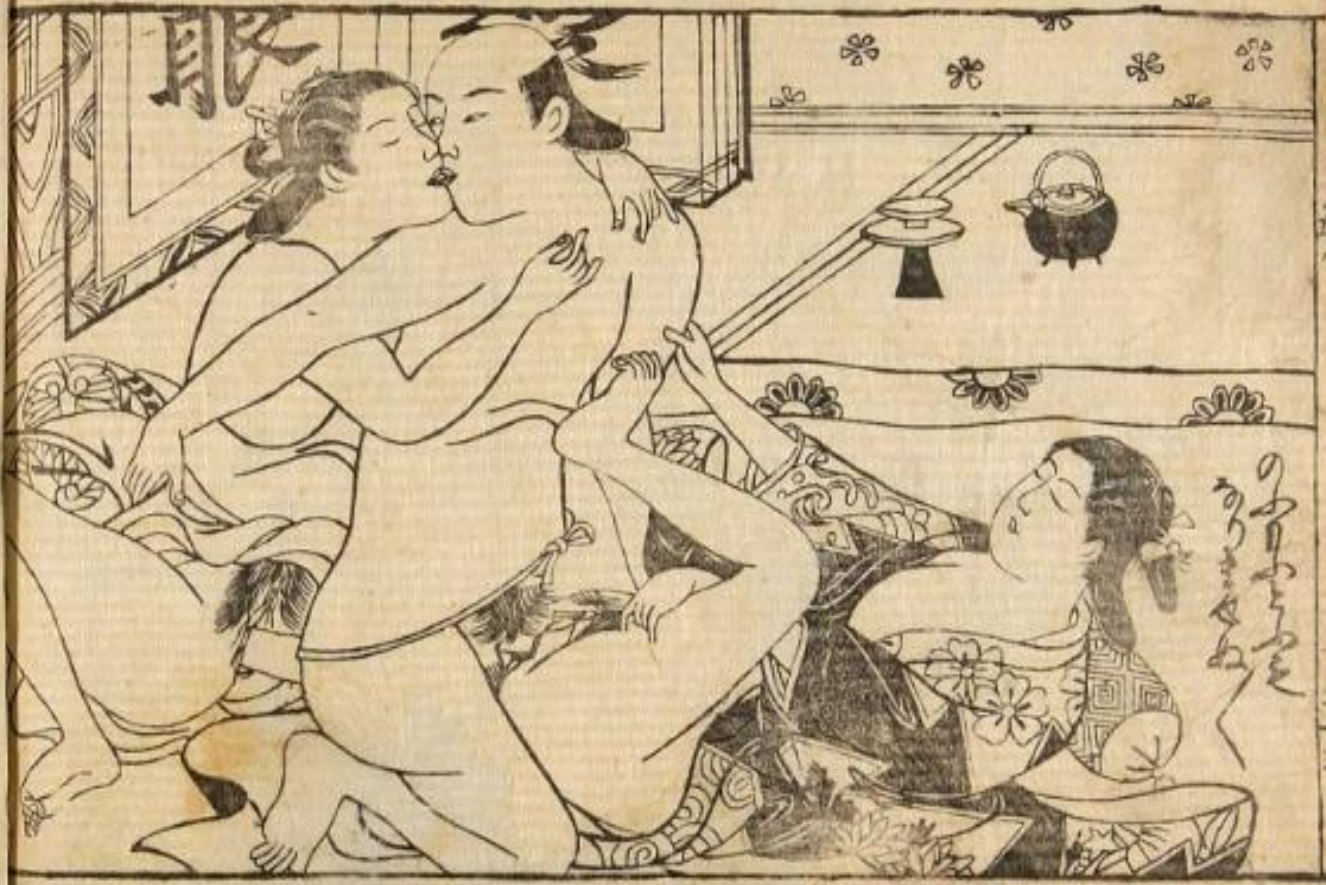


Fig. 7.16 風流色図法師 *Fûryû iro zubôshi*



Fig. 7.17 風流色図法師 *Fûryû iro zubôshi*



Fig. 7.18 風流色図法師 *Fûryû iro zubôshi*

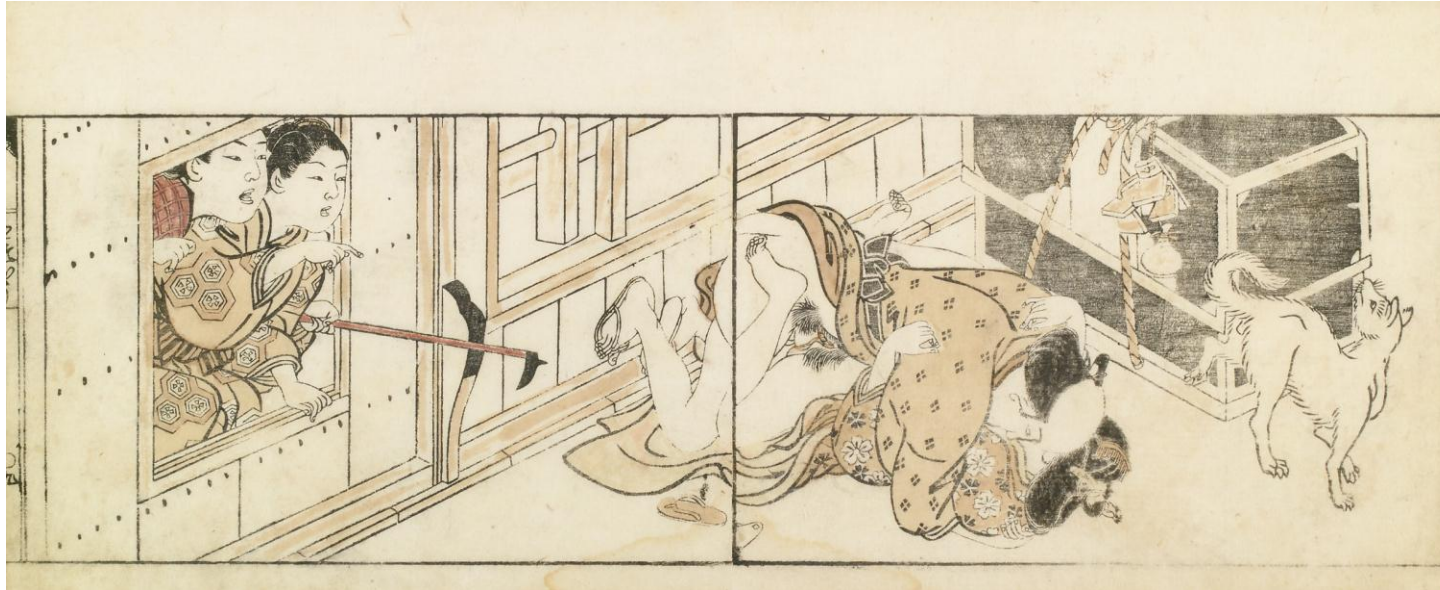


Fig. 7.20 濡姿逢初川 *Nuresugata aizomegawa*



Fig. 7.21 *Fûfu narabi no oka* 夫婦双びの岡 *Suo no naishi* すおの内詞

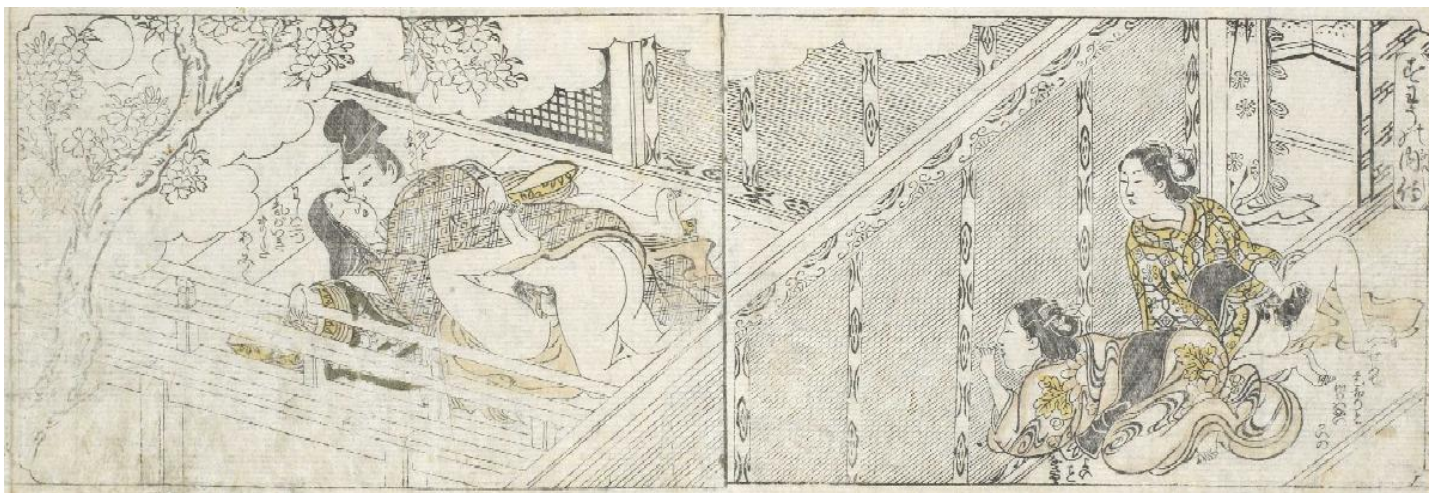
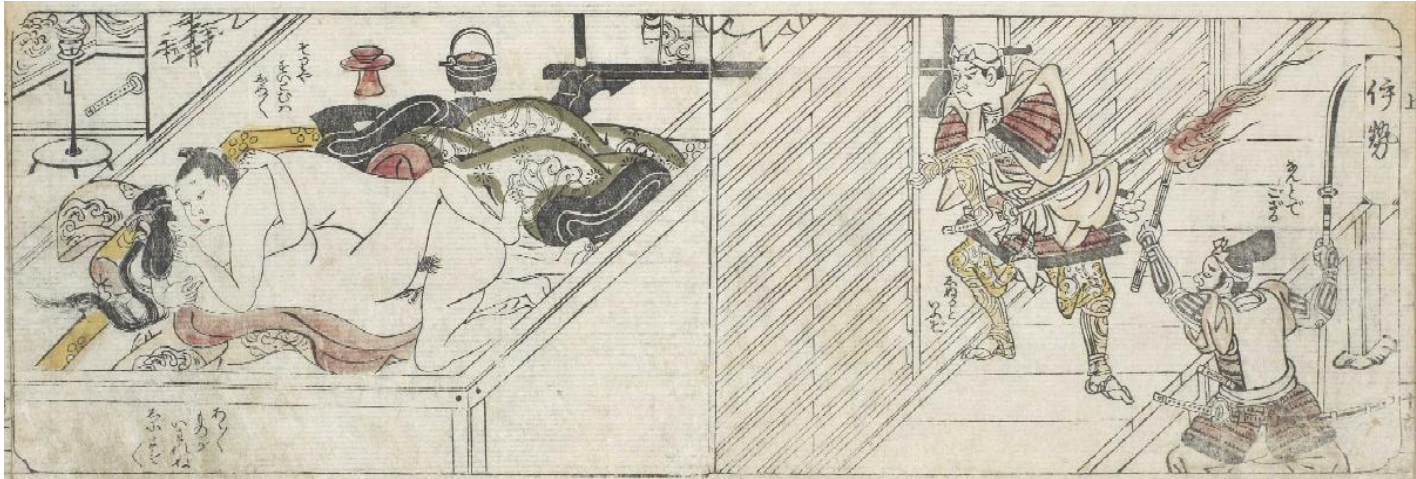


Fig. 7.22 *Fûfu narabi no oka* 夫婦双びの岡 Ise



日本国が一所へよります。いつぞころして下され

Ise: All Japan... it's coming together... in one place ...take me take me

検非違使: 勅命なれば日本国が一所によせたと覚えしも断

Kebisihi: She's right: if it's by imperial order, then all of Japan certainly will be unified.

Conclusion

For forty years, Sukenobu turned out anti-bakufu, pro-imperio polemic. The mood of these works changed: the early pornographic works were wittier and largely more optimistic than the later *ehon*, yet their political complexion was the same. Their covert nature was acknowledged in repeated references to duplicity; the prefaces themselves often gestured to an ulterior agenda. The independent works of Sukenobu's collaborators suggest the enterprise was not a wholly solitary one. Sankinshi's polemics presented themselves in the guise of *kyôkun* or educational manuals for the young. Ejima Kiseki's fiction likewise had a virulently political subtext. His *Fûryû shichi Komachi* (1722) was a tale of usurpation, restoration of the rightful ruler, and the organised defence (led by Ono no Komachi) of the imperial regalia.¹ Given that in Suika thought the regalia were considered the ultimate guarantors of imperial rule, the tropes of the tale hardly seem innocent. *Sakura Soga onna Tokimune* - a tale of revenge published in the same year - elaborated the concept of *hôben no itsuwari* 方便のいつわり: deception as expedient means.² Again, it was a theme that resonated with similar formulations by Asami Keisai and Sankinshi.

Both these works by Kiseki were banned on publication, not by the authorities but by the publishers' guild.³ This suggests that publishers were aware of polemical content circulating in recreational literatures. In times of crisis (1722 was the year of the Kyôhō reforms) it was surely expedient to err on the side of caution. But if there was a general, unspoken awareness on the part of the publishing community of the subversive potential of both *ukiyo-zôshi* and the *ehon*, what of the fact that Sukenobu published with more than twenty different publishers?⁴ And that a number of his collaborators - Hachimonji Jishô

¹ Hasegawa Tsuyoshi ed., *Hachimonjiya-bon zenshû*, vol. 8 (Tokyo: Kyûko Shoin; 1992).

² *Ibid.*, vol. 9, p. 39

³ For a discussion of the banning of these works, see Kurakazu Masae, "Kyôhō shichinen shuppan jômoku to hachimonjiya-bon", *Bungaku*, vol. 3, no. 5-6, 2002, pp. 79-90.

⁴ Counting up from details in Matsudaira Susumu ed., *Moronobu Sukenobu ehon shoshi* (Musashimurayama: Seishodô; 1988).

(who appears to have been responsible for the text of *Fûfu narabi no oka*); Rôka Ansai (aka Ban Yusa 伴祐佐); and Bankô Sanjin 晩香散人 were publishers in their own right?⁵ At the very least, it cannot be ruled out that Sukenobu's works were knowingly distributed as loyalist polemic. Following his death, Kikuya Kibei would systematically acquire from other publishers the blocks of the *ehon* and reissue them into the nineteenth century in the *Ehon Yamato bunko* anthologies.⁶ Given that artistic styles over the period changed, and that the format of the *ehon* itself changed radically: given normal preoccupations with changing trends and the whims of consumers, it is hard to understand why the company should have invested such effort in keeping the flame of these works burning: unless the move was not driven by commercial, but by ideological interest. In her work on the eighteenth century anthology in Britain, Barbara Benedict has argued that the anthology was an ideological endeavour in its own right: a genre that shaped the way people read and 'nursed ephemeral literature into permanence as a part of the [] literary tradition'.⁷ It was an ideal vehicle for the dissemination of partisan literatures. Kibei's objectives in anthologizing the Sukenobu *ehon* still require study.

It seems clear that some tropes invoked in the *ehon* - for example, metaphors of marriage, love suicide, the elephant - had acquired wider currency in popular artistic production, as metaphors of loyalist sympathy. Allusions within the *ehon* to financial improprieties suggest that Sukenobu anticipated in his audience a certain level of comprehension. In a sense, the *ehon* were both a personal and a collective testimony of loyalist endeavour and loyalist yearning, and as such, they were wholly congruent with Suika and Kimon notions of the function of literature: testimony, in times of political oppression, of

⁵ For these figures, see Introduction.

⁶ There are six volumes of the *Ehon Yamato bunko* series, each containing five works. The majority of these are by Sukenobu, a handful by his son Suketada and Hasegawa Mitsunobu.

⁷ Barbara M. Benedict, "The Paradox of the Anthology: Collecting and Difference in Eighteenth-Century Britain", *New Literary History*, vol. 34, 2003, pp. 231-56.

enduring loyalty. Wakabayashi Kyôsei's celebration of Qu Yuan's *Li Sao* provided a paradigm for the contemporary vassal:

Qu Yuan's unquenchable love resonates a thousand years later as it did then. He left his *Li Sao*, the work of a loyal vassal that expressed his feelings of love for his lord in language both tropical and passionate, in the hope that, should it by chance come before the eyes of his lord, the depth of his feelings might be known, the flattery of malicious advisers recognised, and a way forward to righteousness and loyalty open up.⁸

For Kyôsei, these were words written from the political wilderness, words which centuries later, thanks to the commentaries of Chu Hsi, had reached a sympathetic readership:

Through the notes to this collection, we perceive Qu Yuan's true meaning: though a thousand years divide us, it is as if we see Qu Yuan face to face, he surely had no reason to complain that future readers would not heed him.....⁹.

Sukenobu's works - personal and collective testimonies of loyalty - may have circulated publicly: like Qu Yuan's *Li Sao*, they were ultimately addressed to one reader only.¹⁰ And there is a sense throughout that these works - shared amongst a community of sympathetic readers - were destined to remain, as a testimony of loyalty, an unrequited utterance. Much like the thousand *sotoba* consigned to the waves by Yasuyori in *Ehon Yamato hiji*, they

⁸ "Soji joshô kôgi" 楚辞序章講義 in Shintô Taikai Hensankai ed., *Shintô taikai: ronsetsu hen*, vol. 13, p. 258 (Tokyo: Shintô Taikai Hensankai; 1978).

屈原ノヤルカタナイ心ト千載一徹ノ心デ、アノ忠臣ノ離騷ヲ作ラレタモ、君ヲ思ヒ恋フ情ヲ觸ニシタガイ感ズルニシタガイ吟詠セラレテ、カヨウニシテモオイタラバ、万一君ノ御目ニモトマリテ、屈原ガ?程ニモ我ガコトヲ思フカト思召ツカレタラバ、讒者ノヘダツルヲ悟テ、忠直ノ道ノヒラクル場ニモナラウカト云

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

此集注ニ由テ屈原ノ本意ヲウレバ、千載ヲヘダテテモ屈原ノ顔ト顔ヲミシッタモノデ 来者ノ不聞ニ恨ハナイデアラウト

¹⁰ The extent to which the Sukenobu *ehon* was acknowledged in court circles as the loyalist endeavour of the common folk remains hard to assess. Yet tantalizingly, in 1777, a sake merchant from Wajima in Iyonokuni, one Nagataki Shirôbei, was granted an audience at the *monseki* Myôhôn, in connection with a donation he had made to the restoration of the Buddha hall. In addition to the usual monetary gifts, he is recording as having sent three *ehon* for the young prince Tokimiya (later Shinnin Hosshinnô). Cited in Tanaka Jun, "Monseki ni deiri no hitobito", in Takano Toshihiko ed., *Chôtei wo torikamaku hitobito*, p. 130 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan; 2007).

would never reach their addressee. For *kimi*, as *Ehon Chitoseyama* put it, did not deign to read the frivolous *iroha* writings of his devotees.

Thus, time and again, Sukenobu suggests that his works will serve as a testimony for future generations. In *Ehon kaikasen* (A Picture Book of Shell Poems by Master Poets) (1748) writing was a link not just with the contemporary audience (the likeminded), but with the future:

If the traces of the beach plovers accumulate it will be worthwhile: will we not be able to meet in secretly on the shelly shore? ¹¹

The poem puns on shelly (*kai aru*) and worth; shore (*ura*) and secrecy (*ura ni au*). The commentary continues:

Writing began from the traces left by birds. People who have no liking for Chinese poetry or Japanese song might think it pointless: yet if we leave sheaves upon sheaves of writing (*kakioku kazu no tsumorinaraba*), they will not perish, indeed they will be passed on through undying generations and they will meet surely with one who understands (*kokoro shiru hito ni mo aubeshi*).

The gradual accumulation of the written word leaves an indelible imprint, a fossilized lament: a future legacy that arrests the futility of the enterprise and the ideal listener – *kokoro shiru hito* – belongs to the future, to more clement times. The image depicts young girls preparing *tanabata* poem slips, the literal embodiment of poetry and union, scripted, like the *ôraimono*, in a childish hand (fig.8.1).

¹¹ *Ehon kaikasen*, in *ibid.*, , vol. 2, pp. 50-1

はまちどりふみおく後のつもりなばかひある浦にあわざらめやは
文字は鳥のあしあとより始まり詩文は勿論歌の道なんこのまぬ人はむだことのやうにおも
へどもかきおく数のつもりたらばくちせざる代々につたへてころしる人にもあふべし



Fig. 8.1

These book, more than the gratuitous sniping of the disaffected, were an act of devotion. Kyô sai described Keisai's *Seiken igen* as the product of deep political conviction, but also the ineluctable exercise of duty:

The intent of this book is plain: its subject is the pain of deeply-held emotion (*kenken sokudatsu*), the loyalty which flows from irrepressible love. The pain of deeply-held emotion, the love that permits no separation, such is the nature of love for ones lord. And only that which issues from this depth of feeling is worthy of the name of duty. Such was the meaning of our teacher: and the word *seiken* – unwavering dedication – is thus one part of the subject of this book.¹²

Qu Yuan's *Li Sao*, Keisai's *Seiken igen* - and, this thesis has argued, Sukenobu's *ehon* - were the product of religio-political conviction: revolutionary works, circulating in the common domain, dedicated to an absent - a future - *kimi*.

¹² Ibid., p. 238.

繡繪惻怛(ケンケンソクダツ)ノ、ヤムニ忍ビヌ情カラ尽ス忠義ワキテコノ書ノ旨ガ、繡繪惻怛ノヤムニ止レズ、イトシウテ離レラレヌト君ヲ思フナリガ直ニ義ジャ、カウ云カラノ心デナケレバ義デナイトアル先生ノ旨デ、靖献ノ二字ガ、此書ノ一部ノ眼目ゾ。

Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli

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