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Polity and Public Art Performance in Nineteenth Century Japan

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In most modern cultures, societal values reflect, shift and become shaped to a large extent by a broad participation in what we call the public sphere. Nineteenth century Japan is no exception. If what we mean, however, by public sphere is the existence of continuous spaces within social life wherein ideas and sensibilities can be freely exchanged and debated, leading but not limited to criticism of the instruments of power, pre-Restoration era Japan may be accurately described as lacking such a sphere. On the other hand, especially in the realms of so-called private literary activity, early nineteenth century urban Japanese culture is rife with public spaces and the opportunities within them for men and women to gather, discuss, and to exchange cultural products in ways that cross over lines of chaste and social rank.

In my lecture I will introduce and analyze a series of literary documents demonstrating what I would call the unfolding of Japan's early modern public sphere. These artifacts were produced either to advertise and facilitate painting and calligraphy salon events (*shogakai*); or, in some cases, as records of or as critical discourses on the events themselves. One point I hope to make is that participation in these salon events assumed a shared sense of curiosity toward modes of expression to which access had formerly been limited by social rank; and that this common sensibility, as it emerged, served as one catalyst in the reforming of polity and political discourse later on, in the decades past the Meiji Restoration.

The Dynamics of *Nyonin jōbutsu* in Zenchiku's *Yōkihi*: *Honzetsu*, Poetic Allusion, and Sacred Space

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Intertext is an essential feature of medieval Japanese literature, where the cannon of classical Japanese, literary Chinese, and Buddhist literature acts as critical framework for textual composition. In Noh theater, the masked drama of the Muromachi period (1337-1557), this takes the form of *honzetsu* (source materials). *Honzetsu* includes this premodern cannon, as well as medieval commentaries on these sources. Additionally, it is of primary importance in delineating a work's intrinsic meaning. The analysis of multiple *honzetsu* within a Noh play is critical for analyzing its historical, religious, and gender content. Mahāyāna Buddhism's doctrine of universal enlightenment displays incongruities regarding female gender and sexuality, with Noh theater acting as a popularizing vector for Buddhist discourse combined with medieval shamanic beliefs, bringing these incongruities to performative life. My interdisciplinary methodology for analyzing Noh prioritizes the following areas: patterns of poetic allusions and *honzetsu* within Noh plays; conceptions of sacred space and their religious resonances within the combinatory *honji suijaku* paradigm (the Buddhas as the original essence of enlightenment, the kami [native spirits] as their manifest traces) that dominated premodern spirituality; relocating Noh into its historical and religious contexts while also focusing on rhetorical and performative structure with attention to the problematics of gender; and detailed textual analysis of religious and poetic language within the play. This study focuses on the Third Category Noh *Yōkihi* by Konparu Zenchiku (1405-1470), a drama characteristic of female-spirit Noh plays in its utilization of multiple *honzetsu* while presenting a highly problematic depiction of female ontology and enlightenment within medieval religious context. *Yōkihi*'s initial *honzetsu* is *Chang hen ge* (Song of Everlasting Sorrow), a narrative poem by Chinese Tang poet Bai Juyi (772-846). Bai's poetry exerted considerable influence on the Heian period (794-1185), with its subsequent medieval literary reception heavily filtered through this existing canon of literature, in particular the intertextual utilization of *Chang hen gen* by Murasaki Shikibu (973 or 978-1014 or 1031) in her narrative classic, *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji, 11th c.). Therefore, examination of *Yōkihi*'s dramaturgy involves consideration of Bai's original poem, its prior Heian reception, and subsequent life in the medieval era. From a critical perspective, the specific textual structure of Zenchiku's play, and variations from its multiple *honzetsu*, emphasizes *Yōkihi*'s thematic concerns of existential isolation, the Buddhist concept of karmic clinging, and the dramatically static nature of the *shite*. In many ways, the feminine suffering central to *Yōhiki* establishes complimentary themes that pervade Zenchiku's other female-spirit plays: deep textual connection to *Genji monogatari* as a primary *honzetsu*; female-gendered modes of karmic suffering and enlightenment; and the centrality of sacred space and physical location as critical elements to the *shite*'s ontological and enlightenment status. This presentation will delineate the following elements of Zenchiku's work: the depth of the work's Chinese *honzetsu*; its influence and connection with the Heian literary world informing it via Shikibu's *Genji*; and the medieval religious and gender issues central to *Yōhiki*.

Traces of *Genji monogatari* in *Shinkokinwakashū*

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Ariyoshi Tamotsu, in his *Waka bungakujiten* (Waka Literature Dictionary, 1982) argues that the sometimes obsessive tendency, shown by medieval court poets, to go over their precursors' traces has its roots in the shock caused by the Hōgen (1156) and Heiji (1159) civil wars. The main idea is that after crashing down to reality, the aristocrats, just as reported by Kamo no Chōmei (1155?-1216) in his *Hōjōki* (The Ten Foot Square Hut, 1212) reacted trying to take refuge in a world of romantic beauty. In other words, the court nobles, feeding their hearts and minds with past literary masterpieces, tried to relive, at least on paper, the splendor of the golden age the court had experienced three centuries before.

If so, we can assume it was this the real reason of the sudden importance attached to the *honkadori* technique in Go-Toba's poetry circle.

In an essay of the Fifties of the last century, Minemura Fumito stated that a certain pictorial and sensorial attitude is very often pointed out as one of the fundamental characteristics of the *Shinkokinwakashū* (New Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern, 1205). However, he also stressed that since the attitude we find in the poems flow is already traceable in works such as the *Makura no sōshi* (The Pillow Book, 1002) we can't take it as an original feature of the anthology. On the other hand, when it comes to human feelings, if we focus on the lyrical approach shown by *Shinkokinwakashū*'s poets toward the poetic texture, we can say that this kind of approach is witnessed for the first time just in the *Shinkokinwakashū*.

Actually, in his *Senzaishū* (Collection of a Thousand Years, 1187), Shunzei had tried to bring back some distinctive elements of the *Kokinwakashū* (Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern, 905), such as the tone, the stile and the rhythm, and had invited poets to read with great attention the *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji, 11th c.) but this demand found its satisfaction only in the *Shinkokinwakashū*. That's why we can affirm that the elements bound to the sensory perception of reality and the elements related to a lyrical expression of human feelings are peculiar to the *Shinkokinwakashū.* Therefore, we can find a deep link between the lyricism of the *Shinkokinwakashū* and the refined atmospheres of the *Genji monogatari*.

In this paper, after dealing with the poetics of Shunzei and of his son Teika, keeping the focus on Murasaki Shikibu's masterpiece, I will analyze the poems in the *Shinkokinwakashū* that evoke, through the so called allusive variation, the *world of the Shining Prince*, trying to clarify if and how this rewriting process modified the text original diction and atmosphere, providing added value to Go-Toba's anthology.

The Sarashina Diary: How are Literary Quotations Woven into Reminiscences?

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Sarashina nikki (The Sarashina Diary, ca. 1060) is an autobiographical diary written by Sugawara no Takasue's Daughter. A number of diaries valued for their literary quality were written in Japan from the classical period through the early middle ages and all these texts are quite different from one another in both content and writing style. Yet, even among this group of strongly individual works, *Sarashina nikki* displays an outstandingly special character.

No other diary of the period covers as long a period (nearly forty years) of an author's life or gives such a detailed account of an author's early youth as *Sarashina nikki.* Moreover, this diary trains its attention on the influence of *monogatari* (tales, fictional literature) on the narrator's spiritual formation and composes her life story around the relationship between fiction and life. In this respect, *Sarashina nikki* contrasts sharply from the other diaries by women of the same period, which, putting the "important things of human life" such as romantic love, marriage, giving birth and serving at court at the center of the narration, are written from a point of view of total absorption in specific human relationships and events. *Sarashina nikki* is utterly unique in the fact that it pursues the metaphysical problem of the meaning of fiction in relation to a person's life. In this sense, the theme of *Sarashina nikki* is deeply related to the topic of intertextuality that I will raise in this presentation.

In my presentation, I want to discuss the issue of intertextuality from two main viewpoints. The first point I will address is the fact that in addition to direct references to texts such as *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji, 11th c.) and *Ise monogatari* (Tales of Ise, 10th c.), one can also recognize the influence of many other works such as *Kagerō nikki* (Kagerō Diary, ca. 974), *Tosa nikki* (Tosa Diary, 10th c.) and *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* (Murasaki Shikibu Diary, 11th c.), whose titles do not appear directly in *Sarashina nikki*. I will demonstrate clearly that a form of intertextuality by suggestion does exist between these works and *Sarashina nikki*.

Next, focusing on the record of the author's journey from the East Country to the Capital that begins the diary, I will examine how mentions and quotations of earlier works produce an expressive effect. For example, Takasue's Daughter references to *Ise monogatari*, which includes a similar record of travel along the Tōkaidō, might be expected to create a "sharing the ride effect." However, what we actually perceive in *Sarashina nikki* is a sense of disillusionment arising from the disjunction between descriptions of places in the tale and what the author actually sees. I will delineate in concrete terms the two-sidedness of Takasue's Daughter's mode of consideration, in which, as deeply enchanted with earlier works of fiction as she is, she nonetheless attaches importance to her own individual experience.

Nihon ryōiki: its "Letters", and their Relevance for the History of Literature

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Compiled by Yakushiji monk Kyōkai at the beginning of the 9th century, *Nihonkoku genpō zen'aku ryōiki* (hereinafter *Nihon ryōiki*, Record of Miraculous Events in Japan) is considered the first collection of Buddhist tales in the history of Japanese literature. In its foreword, Kyōkai affirms that, although in China there were already books that would preach the law of retribution and bring people to Buddhism, such books did not exist in Japan yet, thus he presents himself as a pioneer. At the same time, however, Kyōkai maintains that true wisdom consists in revering and understanding not only Buddhist writings (so-called *naiten* or "internal" canon) but also other texts (*geten* or "external"). Accordingly, *Nihon ryōiki* narrates the "karmic effects," the "good and evil deeds," and the "wondrous events" which took place in the "Land of the Rising Sun" by waving together expressions from both Buddhist and non-Buddhist sources.

In this presentation, I will provide a textual analysis of *Nihon ryōiki* in order to explore what kind of sources the author referred to and how he managed to shape Japanese "letters" (Jp. *bun*; Ch. *wen*) well before the invention of *kana*, i.e. only by means of Chinese characters. As I will demonstrate, these "letters" bear witness to a bold attempt, namely, to describe the path of Japanese Buddhism while assimilating the expressive tools of sacred scriptures (such as the *Lotus Sutra*), Confucian classics, and *Wen xuan* poetry. Overall, then, what can we say about the significance of *Nihon ryōiki* and its "letters" for the history of Japanese literature and, more broadly, for the Sinographic cultural sphere? Transcending the boundaries of current academic fields such as religion, history, and literature, *Nihon ryōiki* compels us to rethink the world of premodern Japanese and East Asian "letters."

Embodiment and Textual Interplay in Women's Travel Writings

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This presentation will consider vernacular travel narratives written by women during the Heian (794–1185) and Kamakura (1185–1333) periods in terms of the physical and textual embodiment of their experiences on the road, focusing on sites of interplay and engagement with previous literary travelers. I will analyze the material aspects of travel and its literary representation, with attention to the ways in which the body is inscribed. Drawing from well-known works such as *Kagerō nikki* (The Kagerō Diary, ca. 974), *Sarashina nikki* (The Sarashina Diary, ca. 1059), *Utatane* (Fitful Slumbers, ca. 1265), and *Towazugatari* (The Unrequested Tale, ca. 1306), along with lesser known diaries, I will show how these works build on canonical travel topoi found in tales and poetry and how this may be linked to notions of embodiment. We can compare these representations to those of women at court and within vernacular tales to better understand the act of travel, its literary associations, and the influence of intertextuality on constructions of the body.

Ghosts in Intertextuality: *Sarayashiki* between Oral, Local and Written Tradition

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Sarayashiki (The Dish Mansion) is one of the four most famous Japanese ghost stories to have a female character playing the main role. As for the other ones, there is a considerable number of variations and adaptations in different genres and periods, and the inter-relationship between them allows us to make some interesting considerations on the values and aims of the tale.

The part of the story that tells of the mistreated maid servant Okiku's ghost appearing from an old well, desperately counting dishes but never able to find and count the tenth dish, whose loss caused her murder, is the most popular. The tale was first performed in 1741 at the Ōsaka *ningyō jōruri* theatre with the title *Banshū sarayashiki* (The Dish Mansion at Banshū) and then successfully became part of the *kabuki* repertory in Kansai as well as in Edo. In another genre, *kōdanshi* Baba Bunkō produced in 1758 his own variation of the story, *Sarayashiki bengiroku* (The Sad and Suspicious Chronicle of the Dish Mansion), which became the standard reference plot for many variations set in Edo from the seventeenth century on, most of which bore the title *Banchō sarayashiki* (The Dish Mansion at Banchō). The spread and popularity of this story was not limited to Ōsaka and Edo, and, indeed, another peculiarity of this work is the number of local and regional variations of *Sarayashiki* from the north to the south of Japan. As evidence of how popular the story would remain even after the Edo period, we can mention Okamoto Kidō's narration of 1916 – not included in my contribution – which would become one of the mostly rewritten for modern media.

This contribution does not examine the origins or the narrative itinerary of the story, already the object of much study; rather it aims to detect some of most interesting factors of intertextuality among the versions of *Sarayashiki* in order to speculate in some way about their meanings and literary results.

Hidden Temporalities: Time and Intertextuality in the Medieval Court Diary *Utatane* (Fitful Slumbers)

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Japanese literature of the medieval period is strongly focused on questions of time. This concern is closely related to the political and social environment at the epoch that was characterized by the gradual disempowerment of court aristocracy, and the strong influence of Buddhism, spurring a sense of deterioration and nostalgia. This period of upheaval produced new approaches to time concepts and perceptions, which shows in the emergence of new literary genres that exhibit epoch-specific and genre-specific expression of time.

Medieval Japanese literature provides different techniques to encode temporal sensations. One of the most effective rhetorical devices to inscribe temporality into a text are intertextual allusions. References to texts from the past allow to superimpose different temporal levels and to pay reference to literary ancestors or the past as such. Besides poetry, allusions are notably pronounced in female diaries, court narratives, and travel diaries.

In female diaries and court narratives, extensive allusions to earlier texts are often used in order to express longing for the past. In travel diaries, on the other hand, intertextuality allows to express temporal feelings associated with memory, as the places visited during the journey are structured along famous places (*utamakura*) that appear in classical literature and poems: they thus link the past with the present by way of reminiscence. The incorporation of the past is intensified by way of allusive variations that the traveler composes when passing these places, thus encoding nostalgia for the capital the wanderer has abandoned.

In my paper I will explore intertextual expressions of temporality by way of *Utatane* (Fitful Slumbers, ca. 1238), a medieval memoir describing the unhappy love affair of a young lady-in-waiting with a courtier of higher standing and her efforts to get over her lover by way of two travels. The work skilfully combines specific intertextual techniques of female memoirs, court tales, and travel diaries. It contains extensive allusions to earlier texts such as classical tales and poems of the Heian period; particularly in scenes where yearnings for the beloved are described, and during the two travels, allusions are abundant.

By way of an in-depth analysis of the allusions interlaced into the text, I will demonstrate how intertextual techniques are used in *Utatane* to inscribe the past into the present. I will argue that, while allusions underline the protagonist's longing for her unfaithful lover, they may also be read as encrypted expressions of nostalgia for the Heian period's court culture.

Suffering Citation: The Distortion and Dislocation of Wang Zhaojun's Legend in Japan

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Today, scholars recognize intertextuality as an integral feature of all literary activity. Often, they even celebrate it as an avenue toward ever more insightful interpretations. Literary language is, after all, supremely "iterable"; references, structures, and citations can be shunted from text to text and made to reappear in new contexts. Discovering intertextual pathways can be exhilarating, and even the most levelheaded critic might struggle to repress praise for the writer who is found to weave an intricate allusion or transform an age-old legend. From scholarship we get the impression that intertextual achievements are good in themselves, almost as though they had an inherent moral quality.

In fact, ethical standards for the reuse of writing by others are culturally specific. In remote times and cultures, they can be almost impossible to evaluate. Sometimes, however, texts themselves moralize against reuse and refiguration.

One example is the ancient Chinese legend of Wang Zhaojun, which allegorizes the cruelty of misrepresentation and expatriation. Zhaojun's story is one of a beautiful lady at the Chinese court who was betrayed by a corrupt portraitist. Judging Zhoajun by her inaccurate portrayal, the emperor decides she is expendable. He thus marries her off to the *chan'yu* ("khan") of the menacing Xiongnu ("Huns"), where she lives on in a land where no one even understands her language. "Grief and angst have worked and worn her so completely," one Chinese poet laments, "that *now* she does resemble her likeness in that portrait."

Whereas Zhaojun's body was carried west into a nightmarish barbarian wasteland, her story was carried east to the Japanese islands. Known there as Ō Shōkun, she captured the imaginations of poets, storytellers, and dramaturgs. Japanese wove their own web of intertextuality around Zhaojun that extended over poems in both Japanese (*waka*) and Chinese (*kanshi*), vernacular narratives (*monogatari*), and drama (*nō*). Departing from Chinese precedents, the local set of Zhaojun tropes developed to include the lonely cuckoo bird (*hototogisu*), harsh clarions (*kokaku*), and, most fascinatingly, distorted mirrors (*kagami*).

But how did Japanese creators depict and domesticate a foreign woman who, in the many iterations of her story, begs only to be undepicted and left at home? By reiterating her legend, they are in effect imitating the dishonest portraitist or, worse, the uncouth "khan" who disfigures Zhaojun by causing her so much distress. These sympathies and anxieties complicate Japanese representations—as well as our contemporary interpretations of these representations.

With the term *intertextuality*, we elevate texts that glide across the globe, but texts are not like silks or spices; never straightforward, their movement involves fraught—and perhaps even unethical—transformations. Tracing the metamorphoses of the Wang Zhaojun legend in Japan, I consider how a literary work's narrative content can cast shadows on its intertextual redeployment.

Intertextual Intersections in Late Edo-Period Prose Literature

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Literary criticism, both in Japan and abroad, has always highlighted a diachronic path of genre development which strictly links dialogue-based short stories published in little-size book format (the so-called *sharebon*) on the one hand to comic fiction (*kokkeibon*) and on the other hand to melodramatic fiction (*ninjōbon*), putting the *yomihon* line onto a parallel yet distinct path.

This presentation aims to trace the yet little explored links between *sharebon* narrative material and other literary manifestations which started to appear at the end of the eighteenth century, such as historical and fantastic novels published in middle-size book format and *hanshi* (half-folio) book format (the so-called early-*yomihon* of Edo). These links are clearly of an intertextual and hypertextual nature and analyses of them are focused on casting light on how blurry and ambiguous the borders of late Edo period genres were notwithstanding the problematic and complex intermedial and inter-genre relations in Edo literature.

Following some recurring narrative themes in *sharebon* and subsequent prose literature, such as paranormal phenomena linked to female jealousy or rewritings of famous vendetta stories, this research builds on a triangulation of close-readings of texts: in so doing, it aims at reconsidering two crucial concepts in early modern Japanese prose history, firstly by challenging the effectiveness of *shukō* as a working tool for literary criticism and secondly by questioning the validity of genre boundaries.

Riverside Mansion: Retextualizing the Past in Heian Poetry

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This paper will discuss a specific literary set of usages of landscapes, both two- and three-dimensional, in poetry of the Heian period (794-1185). The landscapes viewed by poets were usually references to historic landscapes, by which I mean one that in fact existed but often was not actually known by sight but only by textual reference. Such landscapes may be said to be only visible as re-creations of something unseen; as such they lent themselves to imagined transportation to other places. This transportation was executed by means of intertextuality.

This exploration will take the form of sketching a cultural history of the famous garden of the Kawara-no-in, or Riverside Mansion, the estate of the ninth-century statesman Minamoto no Tōru. What we know of this garden derives largely from poetry and poetic commentaries, not from historical sources. Tōru's garden was especially renowned for its recreation of Shiogama, a "famous place" (*meisho*) in northern Japan. *Waka* poetry composed at Tōru's garden was presented as poetry that could have been composed at Shiogama. However, that was not the only poetic use made of Kawara-no-in. We will see that there exist minimally three poetic trajectories to reconfigure Kawara-no-in in text, each of them building one earlier textual traditions: Riverside Mansion as the embodiment of a poetic toponym; as a Daoist, Sinitic realm; and as glorified ruin.

Collectively, these different approaches to intertextual reconfigurations of Riverside Mansion will provide some necessary insights into cultural and textual practices of dealing with the past in classical Japan.

Buddhist *Sūtras* in Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō*: Intertextuality and Re-Interpretation

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Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō* (Treasury of the True Dharma Eye) is an important text of Zen Buddhism in Medieval Japan. The presentation of Dōgen's teaching there makes extensive use of quotations from many Buddhist *sūtras*, mostly Chinese. The strategy implemented by Dōgen is that of presenting *sūtras* as a solid reference for Buddhist truth and, in large part, Dōgen founds the exposition of the doctrine on the interpretation of those texts. The *sūtras* are considered by Dōgen as a leading guide: what is written there is the truth since they were written by buddhas and patriarchs. Nobody can question their authority.

However, Dōgen points out that, though the words in the *sūtras* are unquestionable, their interpretation often falls short the mark and their meaning needs to be examined deeply. As a matter of fact, in many cases Dōgen, by using linguistic stratagems—sometimes taken to the limit of reasonableness, or even, explicitly a distortion done on purpose—forces the interpretation of sentences taken from *sūtras* in order to give prestige to his teaching and to justify his point of view. My presentation will offer a few relevant examples of this technique of intertextual re-interpretation.

Intertextuality or Plagiarism? The Culture of Citation and the Quest for Originality in Medieval Japanese Poetry as seen through *Ungyoku wakashō*

PIER CARLO TOMMASI

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The intertextual nature of traditional Japanese poetry has received great attention in scholarly debates and is now widely acknowledged. Less explored, however, is the relationship between intertextuality and the discourses of authorship and ownership over a piece of work, especially in light of later developments in the history of *waka*. In this paper, I will look at these issues through the lens of *Ungyoku wakashō* (Notes on the Poems of Clouds and Jewels), an anthology compiled in 1514 by Nōsō Junsō, a monk of alleged warrior origins who skillfully managed to navigate the tumultuous tides of 15th-century Kantō.

Despite being classified as a "personal" collection of poems (*shikashū*), nearly two-thirds of the compositions included in *Ungyokushō* are *full* quotations: poems written not by Nōsō himself but by either classical or contemporary poets. Within such a dense intertextual web, the authorial voice seems either to fade into the echoes of the past or to be overwhelmed by those of his contemporaries. Nonetheless, it is far from silenced as Nōsō tends to indulge in reminiscence and often inserts lengthy glosses, thereby offering a unique perspective on his intellectual and aesthetic tenets.

One of his poems, in particular, was reportedly accused of plagiarism, a serious allegation to which Nōsō responded with an apologetic statement. By following the line of reasoning behind his self-defense and tracing its genealogy, we can gain new insights into the ways intertextuality was theorized, taught, and practiced at the time. Moreover, this case study will help us reframe the tension between literary tradition and innovation, and ultimately shed light on what it meant to be a poet in Japan's medieval world.

Evil of the Lower Middle Classes: What Tsuruya Nanboku's Kabuki Learned from Japanese Classics and Chinese Texts

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Osome Hisamatsu – Ukina no yomiuri (The Scandalous Love of Osome and Hisamatsu, premiere in 1813 at Edo's Morita Theatre), a kabuki play by Tsuruya Nanboku IV, is a popular work that continues to be performed today. It is best known for its quick-change technique, where the onnagata actor playing the female role plays seven roles in quick succession. However, it has also been highly recognized for the scene where a corpse is used for extortion. This scene is said to have used the kabuki play *Daigashira kasumi no iromaku* (The Glowing Curtain of the First Haze) performed at Edo's Nakamura Theater in 1812. However, there is no scene in *Daigashira* where a corpse is used for extortionary purposes.

I believe that *Daigashira* was rather based on volume 4 of the *yomihon Kakinegusa* (Grasses Along the Hedgerow, 1779) and volume 3 of the *yomihon Sono no yuki* (Snow in the Garden, 1807). Minoru Mizuno suggests that *Kakinegusa* and *Sono no yuki* are adaptations of the latter half of episode 29 of *Kinko kikan* (Ch. *Jingu qiguan*, Wonders of the Present and the Past), which entered Japan from China in 1731. Mizuno also suggests that *Kakinegusa* and *Sono no yuki* may have referred to the *wakokubon* (Japanese reprint of a Chinese text) called *Shōsetsu suigen* (Novels in Refined Words, 1758), which is a Japanese version of *Kinko kikan*.

Although *Osome Hisatsu* was inspired by *Daigashira*, it directly gleaned the tropes of swindling and extortion from the *yomihon Kakinegusa* and *Sono no yuki*. In other words, *Osome Hisamatsu* was recreated directly from two *yomihon* works based on *Kinko kikan*, dramatizing the trope of swindling and extortion using a corpse from the novel into the kabuki scene of "yusuriba".

The "yusuriba" of *Osome Hisamatsu* is said to have influenced the "yusuriba" in many later kabuki plays, and I suggest that *yomihon* based on Chinese popular novels influenced the creation of the model of the evil lower middle classes.