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Floating Between Worlds: The Intersection Between Performance and Popular Fiction in the Works of Ihara Saikaku

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Floating Between Worlds:

The Intersection Between Performance and Popular Fiction

in the Works of Ihara Saikaku

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

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in Asian Languages and Cultures

by

Kirk Ken Kanesaka

2018

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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The Intersection Between Performance and Popular Fiction

in the Works of Ihara Saikaku

by

Kirk Ken Kanesaka

Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2018

Professor Torquil Duthie, Chair

This dissertation examines the emerging genre of popular fiction during the Early Modern period (1600-1868). My primary focus is on the popular fiction writer Ihara Saikaku (1642-1694) and in particular his fourth erotic work, *The Sensuality of Five Women* (1686). Previous scholarly approaches to literary texts has tended to be limited to interpreting, analyzing, or annotating such texts, including scholarly works on Saikaku. The aim of this dissertation is to expand our understanding of Saikaku's works beyond a strictly literary approach and illustrate how the performing and visual arts influence the creation of Saikaku's popular fiction. By incorporating a theatrical and visual approach to Saikaku's works, I illustrate how early modern

popular fiction did not emerge independently as a genre, but rather was highly integrated within the various artistic genres.

This study limits its scoop on chapters one, four and five within *The Sensuality of Five Women* because all three of the female protagonists are of the same age, from the same social class, and are all coming to terms with the exploration of their sexuality. However, I contextualize these stories within the larger framework of Saikaku's other erotic works to also illustrate how *The Sensuality of Five Women* served as a turning point within Saikaku's early career as a popular fiction writer.

Furthermore, this study incorporates analysis of woodblock prints, or *sashi-e* 挿絵, incorporated within *The Sensuality of Five Women*. These woodblock prints are believed to be originally drawn by Saikaku before being commissioned by artisans in order to be mass produced for publication. Previous scholarships on Saikaku has largely overlooked these woodblock illustrations, mainly because literature scholars tended to stay within the boundaries of the written texts. Yet, I argue these woodblock prints offer a glimpse into the mind of Saikaku and offered insights to various levels of interpretations of the narratives by his audiences. The inclusion of these woodblock prints furthers my argument that popular fiction did not evolve independently as a genre, but rather emerged interconnected to both the performing and visual arts.

The dissertation of Kirk Ken Kanesaka is approved.

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2018

DEDICATION

In Loving Memory of my Grandmother:

My source of Inspiration

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INTRODUCTION

The Influence of the Performing Arts on the Popular Fiction of Ihara Saikaku

After nearly a century and a half of intermittent civil wars, the establishment of the Tokugawa military government in 1603 brought a new-found sense of peace and stability throughout much of the Japanese archipelago. This stability was accompanied by revolutionary changes to literature and the performing arts, which began to cater to the tastes of the samurai and townsmen (*chōnin* 町人)[1] classes in the rapidly emerging urbanized cities of Japan. The urbanization allowed for greater intellectual and cultural exchange to take place, especially among the townsmen class. Commoners, many in the hope of gaining economic wealth, migrated from the countryside into the cities. They often brought with them variations on folklore and customs that intermingled with one another. These new hybrid cultural traditions evolved into the distinct cultural identities of these urbanized centers. Two of these distinct cultural identities were centered on the western region of Ōsaka and Kyōto, and the seat of the Tokugawa military government in Edo.[2] Though these two distinct cultural identities influenced their own popular cultural

[1] I translate *chōnin* as townsmen/townsman. Other scholars, including David Gundry, following the lead of Howard Hibbet, Richard Lane and others, have chosen to use the transnational terms "bourgeois" and "bourgeoisie" to refer to the prosperous *chōnin*, see David. J. Gundry, *Parody, Irony, and Ideology in the Fiction of Ihara Saikaku* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2017), p.1.

spheres, the literary and performing arts acted as intermediators in a cross-cultural dialogue that further united the two regions.

The literary world was revolutionized with the emergence of merchant commercial publishing houses during the early 1600s. The earliest merchant commercial publishing house is thought to have been established in Kyōto, since the oldest published book by the merchant publishing houses found to date was published in 1608 by a Kyōto press.[3] By the 1660s, merchant commercial publishing houses were established in Edo, and in Ōsaka 1671. The earliest record of published book by the merchant commercial publishing houses was of a collection of comedic poetic prose (*haikai* 俳諧).[4] In the peripheries of these three major publishing centers, book peddlers established themselves within castle towns. Traveling book peddlers, dispatched from either Kyōto or Ōsaka, often visited distant provinces, providing the educated with access to books through loaning or buying.[5] By the mid-seventeenth century, residents of the both the Edo and the western regions had access to an unprecedented selection of books.[6]

Shortly before the emergence of the merchant Kyōto publishing houses, a new performing art form was also emerging along the banks of the Kamo River in Kyōto. After the establishment of the Tokugawa military government in the second month of

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[2] The Ōsaka and Kyōto regions are often referred to as *kamigata* (上方). As the Glyphs suggests the "upper way" or "superior way", this is in relation to the town of Edo, which became the newly designated seat of the ruling warrior government, the Tokugawa *bakufu*.

[3] Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), p. 173-174.

[4] Ibid, p. 197-200.

[5] Ibid, p. 173.

[6] Ibid, p. 175.

1603,[7] on the sixth day of the fifth month of the same year, there was a performance held at the Imperial palace in the chambers of the Emperor's consort (*Chūgū nyōin gosho* 中宮女院御所). Nishi no Tōin Tokiyoshi (西洞院時慶, 1587-1637) recorded in his personal diary *Tokiyoshi ki* (時慶記) that "[t]here were female entertainers from the province of Un (Unshū 雲州) who performed *yayako odori* (ややこ跳)."[8] Yet, in a different diary entry by Funabashi Hidekata (舟橋秀賢, 1575-1614) regarding the same performance, "this is kabuki dance (*odori*). They say they are from the lands of Izumo."[9] Scholars claim that Tokiyoshi, had been familiar with *yayako* dance troops since 1600, and thus his entry is the more accurate description of that day's performance.[10] By contrast, it was Hidekata's first exposure to such a performance, so his description of it as a kabuki performance may be mistaken. The comparison between the entries does allow us, however, to speculate that the two art forms were so similar to each other that they were easily confused.

Whether *yayako* dance and kabuki dance were similar or not, the first kabuki dance performances were most likely performed by shrine attendants (*miko* 神子) who traveled to collect donations for the Izumo Shrine.[11] After the establishment of the

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[7] The eighth year of Keichō (慶長).

[8] Nishi no Tōin Tokiyoshi, *Tokiyoshi Ki* Vol. 3, (Kyōto: Honganji Shuppansha, 2008), p. 52-53.

[9] *Izumo no okuni* 出雲の国. Funabashi Hidekata, *Keichō nikkenroku* Vol. 1, (*Zokugun shoruijūkan seikai*, 1981), p. 37.

[10] For an introductory overview into *yayako odori*, see Wada Osamu, "Kouta odori to Yayako odori" in *Shibai-e ni miru Edo Meiji Kabuki*, (Tōkyo: Shōgakukan, 2003), p. 8-9.

[11] *Izumo jinja* 出雲神社. The confusion between kabuki dance and *yayako odori* is because first hand and later accounts use the terms "kabuki dance" and "*yayako odori*" interchangeably, allowing us to assume that those authors did not fully understand the differences between the performances. However, from their

Tokugawa government, one way the Izumo Shrine appealed to the public was by offering hopes for a better tomorrow. Hence, the Izumo Shrine started to advertise itself as the shrine of marriage (*enmusubi* 縁結び) sending their shrine attendants out to publicize the shrine and to collect donations.[12]

The charms were especially advertised to inspire hope to the younger generations that faced daily uncertainty of what the future held for them. Faced with the possibility of a dark, grim future, these young men and women dressed provocatively, often carrying a sword. Known as "the loose ones" (*kabuki mono* 傾き者), they wandered about the countryside in small bands. In order to appeal to the younger generations, the shrine attendants that were credited to be the founders of kabuki were sent out by a shrine attendant at the Izumo Shrine, Izumo no Okuni (出雲阿国, 1572?-?). Okuni dressed in the same fashion as "the loose ones," and cross-dressed in a man's attire carrying a sword when she performed. This may have been how the new performance art was created. Okuni integrated various folk traditions with the nō theater resulting in a new emerging cultural identity that became representative of the Ōsaka and Kyōto region.

The goal of this study is to examine the intersection between the emerging genres of performing arts and popular fiction, through an analysis of an erotic work by Ihara Saikaku (井原西鶴, 1642-1693) [13], a collection of five chapters titled *The Sensuality of Five Women* (*Kōshoku gonin onna* 好色五人女, 1686). I mainly focus on chapterss one,

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confusion it is important to note that these performances were given by young girls who symbolized a hopeful future. For a full discourse on the early formation of kabuki dance and *yayako odori*, see Hattori Yukio, *Kabuki seiritsu no kenkyū*, (Kazama shobō, 1968), p. 145-151.

[12] Furuido Hideo, *Kabuki: Toikae no bungaku*, (*Perikan sha,* 1999), p. 298.

[13] Ihara Saikaku is his pen name; his real name is Hirayama Tōgo.

four and five, the three chapters revolving around young women who are experiencing erotic love for the first time.[14] I examine the complexity of Saikaku's *haikai*-influenced prose style, his experience from being a playwright in the puppet theater, and the influences of his close relationship with kabuki actors.

Ihara Saikaku: The Early Years

Ihara Saikaku, author emerged on the literary scene in 1675 with his collection *A Thousand Haikai Alone in a Single Day* (*Haikai Dokugin Ichinichi Senku* 俳諧独吟一日千句). Written as a tribute to his wife only days after her death, *A Thousand Haikai Alone in a Single Day* (hereafter *A Thousand Haikai*) is the first of Saikaku's *haikai* collection published as a book. Saikaku was at first mostly unaware of his fame, since shortly after composing *A Thousand Haikai*, he traveled throughout the countryside for roughly a year and half. It was during his time away from Ōsaka that *A Thousand Haikai* was circulated among his colleagues. Through the circulation and success of his *haikai* and its overwhelming popularity, upon his return to Ōsaka, Saikaku found he had achieved unexpected fame that allowed him to venture into writing less socially accepted popular fiction novels.

In 1682, he published his first book of fiction, *The Life of a Sensuous Man* (*Kōshoku ichidai otoko* 好色一代男). Although modern scholars have criticized its plot and style as at times being fragmented and incohesive, the sensational popularity of the

[14] In the future, I plan to include an examination of these other two chapters. However, for the purpose of this study, I will only focus on the chapters that explores the theme of first infatuations.

story gave Saikaku over-night fame among the townspeople of the Ōsaka and Kyōto regions and later Edo.[15] The instant success of *The Life of a Sensuous Man* was credited to Saikaku's creation of a new writing style that incorporated the Danrin *Haikai* tradition (Danrin *haikai* 談林俳諧) of combining the refined (*ga* 雅) with the vulgar (*zoku* 俗).

The Life of a Sensuous Man is full of refined illusions masked by their vulgar representations, allowing Saikaku's readers to experience an unprecedented form of comedic parody and laughter. The success of *The Life of a Sensuous Man,* along with the popular appetite for new works of popular fiction, ensured Saikaku's career as a writer. After writing novels centered on the erotic affairs of the townspeople, he later expanded his repertory to include themes that revolved around the samurai class (*buke mono* 武家物), commerce, and politics.

Saikaku also ventured into the popular performing arts and had a short-lived career as a playwright for the puppet theater.[16] His first puppet play, *The Calendar* (*Koyomi* 暦), was presented in Ōsaka by the famous chanter Uji Kaganojō (宇治加賀掾, 1653-1711) in the first month of 1685. The play featured a highly complex plot about the

[15] It is not entirely clear what prompted Saikaku to venture into writing popular fiction. Speculating that the death of Nishiyama Sōin (1605-1682), the leader of the Danrin school of *haikai* poetry, may have led to tension among its members, Robert Lyons Danly writes, "scholars generally agree Saikaku had taken his brand of haikai about as far as it could go. He was stymied" (Robert Lyons Danly, *In the Shade of Spring Leaves: The Life and Writings of Higuchi Ichiyō, A Woman of Letters in Meiji Japan*, Yale University Press [New Haven, 1981], p. 113-118). However, Nakajima Takashi states that by 1682, Saikaku's poetic career was booming, solidifying his status as a *haikai* master for the rest of his life. Although there is no clear notion why Saikaku chose to start writing *The Life of a Sensuous Man*, he must have known about the publishing houses and the emerging market for popular fiction (Nakajima Takashi, *Saikaku to Genroku media: Sono senryaku to tenkai*, Kasama Shoin [Tōkyo, 2011], p. 144-45). Tsuchida Mamoru claims that Saikaku's interactions and relationships with kabuki actors was perhaps the reason why he decided to venture into writing popular fiction, stating "in particular, in the case of Saikaku, [he] did not just remain composing *haikai*, but during the time [he] started to be aware and motivated to write popular fiction, he was also very aware of the world of kabuki" (Tsuchida Mamoru, *Kōshō Genroku kabuki: yōshiki to tenkai*, Yagishoten [Tōkyo, 1996], p. 165). Tsuchida's point will be discussed later in this introduction.

[16] *jōruri* 浄瑠璃

late seventh-century Empress Jitō and her court and their complicated attempts to adopt a new calendar system. *The Calendar* was initially received with mix reactions among theater patrons. Moreover, shortly after its initial release, Chikamatsu Monzaemon (近松門左衛門, 1653-1725) released his own similar play, *The Wise Ladies' Writing Practice and the New Calendar* (*Kenjo no tenarai narabi ni shingoyomi* 賢女の手習並新暦), which was performed by the up and coming chanter Takemoto Gidayū (竹本義太夫, 1651-1724). Even though both plays were based on a similar themes, Chikamatsu's version became a sensational hit that elevated his reputation as a superior playwright to Saikaku.

Undeterred, Saikaku attempted to write one more play for the puppet theater, *The Victorious Return from Yashima* (*Kaijin Yashima* 凱陣八島), presented in third month of 1685. Although Saikaku's play was met with much acclaim, a fire broke out at Kaganojō's puppet theater shortly after the premier of *The Victorious Return from Yashima*. The fire was disastrous for Kaganojō who was forced to return to Kyōto, and Saikaku thus became a displaced playwright.

In between the productions of *The Calendar* and *The Victorious Return from Yashima,* Saikaku published his first novel based on an actual person, Wan'ya Kyūemon (椀屋久右衛門, dates unknown) in the second month of 1685.[17] Saikaku most likely based his novel *The Life Story of Wankyū* (*Wankyū issei monogatari* 椀久一世物語) on

[17] Saikaku simply refers to him as Wankyū. The name Wan'ya Kyūemon is adopted in reference to Wankyū after Takizawa Bakin's (1767-1848) usage of the name Kyūemon as one of the protagonists with the his collections of short stories in *Stories of Rain and the Straw Hat* (蓑笠雨談, 1804). In the kabuki drama *The Ten Floating Worlds of Wankyū* (**椀久浮世十界**, 1683) first presented at the Nakamura Theater in Edo, Wankyū is referred to as Wan'bei **椀兵衛**

stories circulating among the public that unfortunately do not survive. An entry from Nishizawa Ippō's (西沢一鳳, 1802-1853) 1843 *Diary of a Rich Merchant* (*Denkisakusho* 伝奇作書), records the Wankyū incident as occurring sometime around 1674.[18] The entry states that a rich merchant of Sakai (堺) Wan'ya Kyūemon fell in love with a courtesan named Matsuyama (松山). During one of his visits to the pleasure quarters, the *Diary of a Rich Merchant* notes that he scattered gold coins throughout the room. Word of this leaked to the Tokugawa authorities, whereupon he was sentenced to prison, where he died shortly after.

After the failure of Saikaku's *The Victorious Return from Yashima*, he returned again to writing another work of popular fiction inspired by actual people. *The Sensuality of Five Women* (1686)[19] was another success for Saikaku, establishing him as a popular fiction writer and *haikai* poet. One reason for Saikaku's success was his popularizing use of classical texts. By comparing Saikaku's style to *haikai* poet Matsuo Bashō (松尾芭蕉, 1644-1694), we can see how Saikaku's use of classical references appealed to a wider range of audience.

[18] No official recordings surrounding the Wankyū incident survives today. Although Nishizawa is writing about Wankyū nearly seventy years after, his entry on Wankyū is often accepted as being an accurate description of the Wankyū incident.

[19] Although Theodore de Bary has translated this title as *Five Women Who Loved Love*, and David Gundry has followed suit in his dissertation, I choose to translate *Kōshoku gonin onna* as *The Sensuality of Five Women*. The title *Five Women Who Loved Love* is a bit misleading, since the concept of "love" differs greatly from the Western notion of love and the Japanese premodern notion of love. Instead, I argue that Saikaku portrays five variations of a woman's erotic sensuality. I use sensuality instead of sexuality because sensuality is the appeal to the five senses: sight, sound, taste, feel and smell. Each of Saikaku's women is also a variation of a woman's sexual appeal to another.

The Age of the Emerging Print Culture: The Styles of Saikaku and Bashō

The emergence of print culture in the early 1600s brought about the popularization of classical works. In order to fulfil demands from all social classes, publishing houses first turned to reprinting classical works such as *The Tales of Ise* (*Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語, ca. late ninth century) and *The Tales of Genji* (*Genji monogatari* 源氏物語, ca. early twelfth century) in addition to other medieval texts such as the *Essays in Idleness* (*Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草, 1330-32) and variants on the retelling of the Heike and Genji war that took place between 1180-1185.[20] These classical texts circulated among the townsmen at an unprecedented rate,[21] which requried publishing houses to expand their publications and recruited new talent. This expansion resulted in the emergence of the career as a professional writer.[22]

Saikaku relied on his *haikai* mastery to combine refined classical references to the classics with everyday vulgarity as an innovative way to bring depth to his works. Scholars have noted that *The Life of a Sensuous Man* (hereafter *A Sensuous Man*) was modeled after the structure of *The Tale of Genji*, mirroring the fifty-four chapters that comprises the classical text. However, Saikaku's style was not a straightforward mimicry

[20] These variants include, but are not limited to, *The Tale of Heike* (*Heike monogatari* 平家物語, ca. fourteenth century), and *Chronicle of Great Peace* (*Taiheiki* 太平記, ca. fourteenth century).

[21] Mary Elizabeth Berry points out the Confucian polymath Kaibara Ekiken (貝原益軒, 1630-1714) in his travel guide of Kyōto published in 1709, evokes certain sites associated to the classic texts he wishes to invoke, such as *Tales of Ise, Tale of Genji, Tales of the Heike, Tales of Uji,* and the *Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern* (Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period* [Berkely and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007], p. 191.

[22] Gundry, *Parody, Irony, and Ideology in the Fiction of Ihara Saikaku*, p. 4; Kornicki, *The Book of Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, p. 175; Howard Hibbett, *The Floating World in Japanese Fiction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 33-35.

of the classics, as was the case of the *Fake Tales* (*Nise monogatari* 偽物語, ca. 1639) which recreated and parodied *The Tales of Ise* chapter by chapter. Rather, *A Sensuous Man* subtly references the classics as a way of creating dramatic scenes parodying the classics in order to provide his readers with an element of comedic relief.[23]

In section two of chapter two of *A Sensuous Man* titled "Even though one cuts his hair, he cannot throw away his attachments for this world,"[24] Saikaku subtly parodies Murasaki Shikibu (紫式部, ca. 978- ca. 1014) and her work *The Tale of Genji*.[25] Yonosuke, the main protagonist of *A Sensuous Man*, just before his coming of age,[26] makes a pilgrimage to the Ishiyamadera Temple located in present-day Shiga prefecture. During his visit, he encounters a beautiful widow and pursues her. The result of their affair is a child, which Yonosuke later abandons at Rokkaku'dō in Kyōto. According to legend, Ishiyamadera Temple is where Shikibu began composing *The Tale of Genji*.

Furthermore, Saikaku's readers would have also been reminded of the nō drama *The Memorial Service for Genji* (源氏供養, dates unknown) and been transported into a world that is connected to *The Tale of Genji*. The connection between a world of refinement and beauty paired with the harshness of the contemporary reality creates humor by juxtaposing two completely different worlds. However, nowhere in "Even though one cuts his hair, he cannot throw away his attachments for this world" does

[23] Nakajima Takashi, "Saikaku, Chōshōshi, Bashō no *Genji monogatari* kyōju: *Kōshoku ichidai otoko*, *Kyohakushu*, *Oku no hosomichi* wo chūshin to shite," in Kojima Naoko, Komine Kazuaki, Watanabe Kenji, eds., *Genji monogatari to Edo bunka: kashikasareru gazoku*, Shin'washa (Tōkyo, 2008): p. 153.

[24] *Kami kiritemo suterarenu yo* 髪きりても捨てられぬ世

[25] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 51.

[26] The capping ceremony, or *genpuku*, usually occurs around the age of fifteen.

Saikaku directly write the names of "Genji" or "Shikibu", but rather he depends on the *haikai* technique of hinting towards words that are associated with certain images and themes. As Nakajima Takashi suggests, without Saikaku's parody of Shikibu and *The Tale of Genji*, this particular episode would only highlight the horrible nature of Yonosuke. But because Saikaku includes this element of parody, he transforms the episode into a humorous one.[27]

Matsuo Bashō's usage of the classics differs from that of Saikaku. Where Saikaku subtly made references to classical texts, Bashō incorporated portions of the classics to conjure up the emotions associated with that particular passage. In *The Narrow Road to the Interior* (*Oku no hosomichi* 奥の細道), published in 1702, for instance, Bashō relies on the readers' knowledge of classical texts in order to fully understand and appreciate his prose. In an entry dated to the twenty-seventh day of the third month, Bashō records his departure "…among the mists before the light of dawn, the peeping moon's luminosity muted (*tsuki ha ariake nite hikari osamareru mono kara*)…"[28] This line echoes the second chapter of *The Tales of Genji* entitled "The Broom-Tree,"[29] in which the main protagonist Genji has just had a romantic affair with Utsusemi. Getting ready to depart in the morning, "the moon still lingered on high, clear despite the pallor of its light (*tsuki ha ariake nite hikari osamareru mono kara*) turning dull shadows to a lovely dawn. To one viewer the vacant sky intimates romance, while to

[27] Nakajima, "Saikaku, Chōshōshi, Bashō no *Genji monogatari* kyōju: *Kōshoku ichidai otoko*, *Kyohakushu*, *Oku no hosomichi* wo chūshin to shite," p. 155.

[28] *Akebono no oboro to shite, tsuki ha ariake nite hikari osamareru mono kara*

[29] *Hahakigi* 帚木

the other it suggests aloof indifference."[30] The description of the scenery serves to highlight the emotional states of both Genji and Utsusemi. The hidden, muted moon beams reflect the secrecy of the affair, while the interpretation of the "aloof indifference" of the sky reflects Utsusemi's feeling of perhaps being forced into the affair. The imposition of the scenery onto the characters' feelings also suggests Genji's uncertainty of whether or not he would be able to visit Utsusemi again. Bashō relies on this "uncertainty" in the Genji episode to highlight his own uncertainty as he embarks on his journey.

In this manner, Bashō incorporates direct passages into his own work and relies on his readers' understanding of the classics in order to properly conjure the imagery and emotions he wishes to convey. This is very different from Saikaku, whose works were intended for a broader readership: those able to recognize the references to the classics would be able to appreciate his work on a higher level, while those who may not have had any knowledge of the classics would still be able to enjoy his works. Nakajima describes this as Saikaku's special language with his readers, one that mixes the refined with the vulgar to create a humorous parody.[31]

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[30] *Tsuki ha ariake nite hikari osamareru mono kara, kage sayaka ni miete, nakanaka wokashiki akebono nari. Nan kokoro naki sora no kishoku mo, tada mieru hito kara, tsuya nimo sugoku mo miyuru narikeri*. For the translation of this passage, I am using Royall Tyler's translation, see Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, Royall Tyler, trans., Penguin (New York, 2003), p. 48.

[31] Nakajima, "Saikaku, Chōshōshi, Bashō no *Genji monogatari* kyōju: *Kōshoku ichidai otoko, Kyohakushu, Oku no hosomichi* wo chūshin to shite," p. 157.

Saikaku and the Performing Arts

The study of Saikaku and his involvement with the performing arts was first highlighted in Noma Kōshin's six part series first published in 1967 entitled "Saikaku itsutsu hōho".[32] In particular, parts one through four focus on the influences of the performing arts upon Saikaku's works. Later, Asano Akira[33] and Tsuchida Mamoru[34] built upon Kōshin's examination of Saikaku's relationship with the performing arts. However, the main focus of their works is on the influence that the performing arts had upon Saikaku, and they provide limited insight regarding Saikaku's influence on the emerging genres of performing arts.

Throughout Saikaku's career, he was continuously interacting with performing artists, especially with contemporary kabuki actors. The following table outlines Saikaku's interactions and collaborations with various artists from roughly 1679 when Saikaku was thirty-eight until 1688 (see table 1).[35] This table can be divided into four categories based upon Saikaku's interactions with the performing arts: 1. Saikaku's personal interactions with kabuki actors; 2. Saikaku as a playwright; 3. Saikaku transforming firsthand knowledge of the world of kabuki into popular fiction; 4. Insights within Saikaku's works of the world of theater.[36]

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[32] Noma Kōshin, "Saikaku itsutsu no hōho," in *Bungaku* vol. 35-37, Iwanamishoten (Tōkyo, 1967-1969), p. 1-13; 81-90; 90-98; 60-70; 77-85; 91-103; 100-114.

[33] See Asano Akira, "Saikaku to Kabuki Jōruri," in *Kyōritsu joshi daigaku kiyō* vol. 16 (Tōkyo, 1970), p. 1-59.

[34] Tsuchida, *Kōshō Genroku kabuki: yōshiki to tenkai*, p. 161-186.

[35] This chart is based upon similar information presented by Tsuchida Mamoru, see Mamoru, *Kōshō Genroku kabuki: yōshiki to tenkai*, p. 162-63.

DATE	INTERACTION	ENTRY[37]
1679 Eighth Month	Publication of *The Prose Box* (*Kubako* 句箱), a collection of *haikai* sequences produced by Saikaku and six kabuki actors.	
1679 Eleventh Month	Publication of *Dōtonbori*: *The Flower Path* (*Dōtonbori: Michiyuki* 道頓堀：道行), collection of *haikai* sequences produced by Saikaku and fourteen kabuki actors	
1680 Fifth Month	At Ikutama Shrine in Ōsaka, Saikaku composes four thousand verses of *haikai* in a single day, *The Great Number of Arrows* (*Ōyakazu* 大矢数). Among those who were assisting (moral support, relying Saikaku's verses, recording verses, etc.) Saikaku were kabuki actors.	
1682 Eight Month	In the Shimabara pleasure quarters in Kyōto, Saikaku enjoys the company of Arashi Saburōshirō and other kabuki actors.	Chapter eight, section two of *The Life of the Second Sensuous Man* (*Kōshoku nidai otoko* 好色二代男)
1683 First Month	Publication of *The Faces of Naniwa Use Ise's White Face Powder* (*Naniwa no kao wa Ise no oshiro* 難波の皃は伊勢の白粉), a four volume kabuki actor critics of actors performing at three different Ōsaka kabuki theaters (only two volumes survive).	
1683 Fourth Month	Saikaku makes a pilgrimage to Fujiidera Temple. On his return voyage, he has drinks with seven kabuki actors.	Chapter eight, section four of *The Great Mirror of Male Love* (*Nanshoku Ōkagami* 男色大鏡); chapter five of *Kokin yakusha taishū*, chapter two of *Nenashigusa*
1683 Fifth Month	Saikaku travels to Sakai on invitation from kabuki actor Okada Samanosuke to meet with leading Ōsaka kabuki actors. On his return to Ōsaka, he watches a kabuki performance.	Chapter seven, section five of *The Great Mirror of Male Love*
1684 Second Month	Saikaku watches a kabuki performance at Araki Yojibei Theater in Ōsaka.	Chapter six, section two of *The Great Mirror of Male Love*
1685 First Month	Saikaku writes his first puppet play for Uji Kaganojō entitled *The Calendar* (*Koyomi* 暦).	
1685 Spring	Saikaku writes his second puppet play for Uji Kaganojō entitled *The Triumphal Return From Yashima* (*Gaijin Yashima* 凱陣八島).	
1685 Seventh Month	Saikaku edits and writes the introduction to Uji Kaganojō's collection of poems, *The Collection of Little Bamboos* (*Kotake shū* 小竹集).	
1686 Third Month	Saikaku watches *Tarikihonganki*, a kabuki performance at Araki Yojibei Theater in Ōsaka.	Chapter six, section five of *The Great Mirror of Male Love*

[36] Tsuchida, *Kōshō Genroku kabuki: yōshiki to tenkai*, p. 163.

[37] This column represents references in Saikaku's works regarding these encounters. We can assume the episodes found within his works were based on his actual experiences.

1687 First Month	Saikaku publishes *The Great Mirror of Male Love*, where the second half is devoted to the male-male relationships of kabuki actors.	
1688 Third Month	Saikaku publishes *Arashi ha mujō monogatari*, based upon the life of kabuki actor Arashi Saburōshirō.	
Dates Unknown	Saikaku makes a pilgrimage to Katsuōji Temple with Yamatoya Jinbei.	Chapter eight, section five of *The Great Mirror of Male Love*
Dates Unknown	Saikaku inquires about backstage stories to the kabuki actors present during a *haikai* session.	Chapter five, section five of *Saikaku nagori no tomo*
Dates Unknown	After watching a kabuki performance, Saikaku visits the public bathhouse, Daikoku furō with kabuki actors.	Chapter five, section five of *Saikaku nagori no tomo*

Table 1: Saikaku's interactions with the performing arts

It is not entirely clear how Saikaku became so involved with the performing arts and with kabuki. The publication of *The Prose Box* (*Ku bako* 句箱, 1679)[38] is believed to be the first *haikai* collaboration between *haikai* poets and kabuki actors. The success of *The Prose Box* led to another collaboration with kabuki actors. Their second project was *Dōtonbori*: *The Flower Path* (*Dōtonbori: Michiyuki* 道頓堀：道行, 1679), which was spearheaded by kabuki actor and playwright Tominaga Heibei. He directed the *haikai* sequences to have beginning verses (*hakku* 発句) revolving around new kabuki plays and to include the theater's announcement of kabuki actors for the year (*kaomise* 顔見世).[39] The announcements were followed by verses (*tsukeai* 付合) detailing the various theaters

[38] Saikaku composed *haikai* sequences along with poet Kimura Itsusui (dates unknown, 木村一水) and kabuki actors Yamatoya Jinbei (?-1704, 大和屋甚兵衛), Kokan Tarōji (1644-1711, 小勘太郎次), Tominaga Heibei (1673-1704, 富永平兵衛), Tanaka Jiheimon (dates unknown, 田中治兵衛門), Umetsu Kaheiji (dates unknown, 梅津加平次), and Kojima Tsumanojō (dates unknown, 小島妻之丞).

[39] The special performance announcing which kabuki actors would be performing at a particular theater for the year was an important event for all kabuki theaters.

of the Dōtonbori district. From this publication, it is clear that the partnership of having top *haikai* poets composing sequences with leading kabuki actors became a widely popular form of public entertainment. Furthermore, we can assume that there were many other creative collaborations between *haikai* poets, more specifically Saikaku, and kabuki actors.

It is also not entirely clear how or why Saikaku ventured into writing popular fiction[40] after composing *haikai*. What we do know is that the success of *A Sensuous Man* resulted in a sequel *The Life of the Second Sensuous Man* (*Kōshoku nidai otoko* 好色二代男, 1684). Within both works, Saikaku included episodes revolving around one hundred and forty-two kabuki actors.[41] In *The Life of the Second Sensuous Man* (hereafter *Second Sensuous Man*), Saikaku incorporated popular contemporary kabuki actors in these fictional episodes. Perhaps this was to satisfy his readers' desires to learn more about the private lives of their favorite kabuki actors, even if the episodes were in fact fictional.[42]

Saikaku's shift from fantastical to semi-factual stories is a style that he relied upon to distinguish himself as a playwright in the puppet theater. Recalling the popularity of his erotic narratives and semi-factual accounts of kabuki actors, Saikaku created a sensational play expanding the subject matter presented in the puppet theater.

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[40] I use the English translation of "popular fiction" when referring to the genre of *ukiyozōshi* (浮世草子), which Saikaku is accredited of creating.

[41] A majority of the episodes about kabuki actors can be found in *The Life of the Second Sensuous Man*.

[42] All of the kabuki actors represented in *A Sensuous Man* and *Second Sensuous Man* are Ōsaka actors and are represented through their actual names. Saikaku most likely did not have direct relationships with all of the kabuki actors, and it is speculated that those actors who reoccur in multiple episodes have the closest relationship with Saikaku.

Combining elements of historical narrative with eroticism, Saikaku created a five act play centered on a female virgin protagonist called *The Calendar* (*Koyomi* 暦, 1685)[43] Saikaku's incorporation of a female protagonist who was a virgin allowed him to shock his audience and showcased his talent as a writer.

However, *The Calendar* also highlighted Saikaku's inexperience as a playwright. Structurally, Saikaku adhered to the strict format in which Kaganojō's plays were written. Saikaku most likely struggled to conform to the structural composition, as the correlation between acts is weak, resulting in the lack of cohesiveness to the overall play. Each act seemed to serve as an independent episode, which is similar to the format of *A Sensuous Man*. This was acceptable for popular fiction, but not for puppet plays as the spectator would most likely struggle to follow along with the live performance. In addition, Saikaku failed to create a dramatic moment within each act, which left his viewers without the emotional impact generally delivered by puppet plays.[44]

Shortly following *The Calendar*, Saikaku created another puppet play, *The Triumphal Return from Yashima* (*Gaijin Yashima* 凱陣八島, 1685).[45] Learning from his previous mistakes, Saikaku focused on experimenting with the structural format of *The Triumphal Return from Yashima*. While *The Triumphal Return from Yashima* is written in the traditional five-act puppet play, Saikaku freed himself from the limitations of how

[43] Before *The Calendar*, there was already a strict format in which puppet plays were written. Saikaku wrote *The Calendar* adhering to this strict format.

[44] *The Calendar* does present well-written subplots and musical language, but, it was not well received by viewers. Tsuchida suggests that this was not Saikaku's fault, but rather Kaganojō's whose strict adherence to the traditional form of puppet chanting was losing favor to Gidayū's new and innovative chanting style, see Tsuchida, *Kōshō Genroku kabuki: yōshiki to tenkai*, p. 170.

[45] Although it is widely accepted that Saikaku is the author of *The Triumphal Return from Yashima*, there are also some scholars that question the authorship of this puppet play.

previous puppet plays were written, and once again relied upon merging historical narratives with the erotic. Saikaku incorporated themes based upon nō and kyōgen dramas,[46] medieval warrior dances (*kowaka mai* 幸若舞), medieval war narratives,[47] with his own twist of early modern notions of erotic encounters. Saikaku molded Minamoto Yoshitsune (源義経 , 1159-1189) younger half-brother of Minamoto Yoritomo (源頼朝 , 1147-1199) and founder of the Kamakura military government, into a model of an early modern lover through his romantic affairs with various women. In addition, Saikaku incorporated the popular early modern kabuki theme of disguise and dual identity (*yatsushi* やつし). Saikaku's introduction of the new themes merged with his unique style of storytelling, allowing him to create an overall cohesive play in his own unique style.[48] His style did not mimic previous puppet plays, but merged themes and styles of medieval performing arts with kabuki, popular fiction, and puppet plays, expanding the ways in which puppet plays were written and changing how each act is structurally created.[49]

[46] Saikaku most likely based his puppet play on the nō dramas *The Barrier at Ataka* (*Ataka*, 1465), *Hospitality* (*Settai*, dates unknown), kyōgen *Hanako* (dates unknown), and kowaka *Taka dachi* (ca. 1545).

[47] *The Chronicles of Yoshitsune* (*Gikeiki*, ca. fourteenth to sixteenth century)

[48] Tsuchida, *Kōshō Genroku kabuki: yōshiki to tenkai*, p. 172.

[49] *The Triumphal Return from Yashima* was met with much acclaim. However, a tragic fire consumed Kaganojō's theater, forcing him to return to Kyōto. The abrupt return of Kaganojō also forced Saikaku to return to writing popular fiction, ending his career as a playwright.

Aims of the Dissertation

When scholars in the Meiji period (1868-1912) reframed classical Japanese works according to European literary genres, Saikaku's works were praised as Japanese predecessors of the modern novel by Naturalists writers, but critics felt his works were too vulgar and sensual. Saikaku's works were praised by Naturalists, but critics felt Saikaku's works were too vulgar and sensual. Highly influenced by Western theories and philosophical approaches, early Meiji scholars examined Saikaku's works through the lens of realism.[50] This approach was a way of trying to understand what sort of person Saikaku was through the ways Saikaku created his protagonists and how he portrayed the daily bustle of the early modern urban towns. The Naturalist novelist Tayama Katai (田山花袋, 1872-1930) for example, focused on the realistic way that Saikaku illustrated the daily lives of the early modern townspeople and samurai and fashioned his own novels to reflect Saikaku's style.[51] However, this realistic approach to Saikaku's works generated questions that remained largely unanswered, such as what Saikaku's relationship was with the samurai class in order for him to depict his characters works in such detail.

Present day scholarship and methods of interpreting Saikaku's works are largely based upon the scholarship of Kataoka Yoshikazu (片岡良一, 1897-1957) and Yamaguchi Takeshi (山口剛, 1884-1932) that began in the mid-1930s. However, with

[50] During the Meiji period, Japanese scholars reviewed Japanese classical works in order to canonize them within the framework of European literary genres. For example, Tsubochi Shōyō reexamines Chikamatsu's plays through a lens of realism, equating Chikamatsu's contemporary plays to Shakespeare's works. See William Lee, "Chikamatsu and Dramatic Literature in Meiji Period" in Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki, eds. *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature* [Stanford University Press, 2002], p. 179-200).

[51] Tayama Kaitai, "Saikaku shōron" in *Bunsō sekai* (August 1907).

the start of the Fifteen Years War (1931-1945), scholarship on Saikaku ceased until after the end of the war. The Postwar era ushered in a new group of scholars such as Taniwaki Masachika, Teruoka Yasutaka, Maeda Kingorō, Matsuda Osamu, Noma Kōshin and Nakajima Takashi, who have devoted their efforts to producing annotated editions and critical works that have made Saikaku's works more accessible.

The studies produced by these scholars are mostly in dialogue with one another, responding, refuting or accepting interpretations and readings of Saikaku's works. These scholars approached Saikaku's texts with the fundamental aim of answering how Saikaku's contemporary audience would have read and understood his stories. In addition, Teruoka's approach was to examine the evolution of Saikaku's style throughout his career.[52] Taniwaki, however, emphasized the importance of the individual narratives and how Saikaku narrates his stories. Taniwaki was not interested in how the stories ended since he claimed Saikaku's audience most likely already knew the outcome.[53]

There has been very little academic study of Saikaku in North America. English scholarship has largely focused on translating a limited number of his stories into English, beginning with Theodore William de Bary's 1956 translation of *Five Women Who Loved Love*.[54] Actual scholarship on Saikaku in English has been very limited until the recent publication of David Gundry's detailed examination of the stylistic characteristics of Saikaku and his annotated translations of selected works. In addition, certain specific aspects of Saikaku's work have been treated in two recent Ph.D.

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[52] Teruoka Yasutaka, *Saikaku: hyōron to kenkyū jō*, Chūōkoronsha (Tokyō: 1948).

[53] Taniwaki Masachika, "*Kōshoku gonin onna* ronjo setsu," in *Kinsei bungei* vol. 15 (November 1968).

[54] De Barry translates *Kōshoku gonin onna* as *Five Women Who Loves Love*.

dissertations: David Atherton has discussed Saikaku's portrayal of samurai vengeance[55] and Tom Gaubatz on Saikaku's portrayal of early modern townsmen.[56]

Scholarly approaches to literary texts in Japan tend to be limited to interpretation, analysis, or annotation. This has certainly been true of scholarship on Saikaku, which has focused on the social context, literary technique, and stylein which Saikaku created his stories. The aim of this dissertation is to expand our understanding of Saikaku's works beyond a strictly literary approach and illustrate how the performing and visual arts influenced the creation of Saikaku's popular fiction. By incorporating a theatrical and visual approach to Saikaku's works, I illustrate how early modern popular fiction did not emerge independently as a genre, but rather was highly integrated within various artistic genres.

My methodological approach builds upon the foundations set by Taniwaki and Teruoka. Similar to Taniwaki's approach, this study focuses primarily on *The Sensuality of Five Women* (hereafter *Five Women*). The five stories presented in *Five Women* are based upon actual events that inspired Saikaku's fictional narratives.[57] Each chapter centers on the love affair of a townswoman, representing a different aspect of how love affairs are instigated, consummated, and the aftermath of such relationships. Chapters one, four and five revolve around three sixteen- year old women and illustrate their first sexual encounters with their lovers. Sandwiched in between these narratives, chapters

[55] See David Atherton, *Valences of Vengeance: The Moral Imagination of Early Modern Japanese Vendetta Fiction*, Ph.D. diss. Columbia University (2013), p. 135-181.

[56] See Thomas Gaubatz, *Urban Fictions of Early Modern Japan: Identity, Media, Genre*, Ph.D. diss. Columbia University (2016), p. 39-86.

[57] The incidents transformed into chapters one and five occurred roughly twenty years before the publication of *Five Women*, while the incidents in the remaining chapters occurred two to three years before publications.

two and three revolve around older townswomen, already married, who either attempt to or have an adulterous affair.

This study focuses on chapters one, four and five within *Five Women* because all three of the female protagonists are of the same age, from the same social class, and are all coming to terms with the exploration of their sexuality. However, I depart from Taniwaki and incorporate Teruoka's approach insofar as I contextualize these stories within the larger framework of Saikaku's other erotic works to illustrate how *Five Women* served as a turning point within Saikaku's early career as a popular fiction writer.

As I noted earlier, Saikaku began his career as a popular fiction writer with the publication of *A Sensuous Man*, which revolved around the semi-fantastical life of a playboy, Yonosuke. Following the success of this first work, Saikaku followed up with a sequel about the fantastical life of Yonosuke's son in *The Second Sensuous Man*, before switching to a fictional tale about an actual townsman in *The Life of Wankyū*. *Five Women* departs from the lavish lives of playboys and pleasure quarters and is the first of Saikaku's texts that focuses on the actual lives of contemporary female protagonists, a theme he would continue to explore in the last of his erotic tales, *Life of a Sensuous Woman* (*Kōshoku ichidai onna* 好色一代女, 1686). As I will argue, *Five Women* played a crucial role in the formation of Saikaku's career as an emerging popular fiction writer.

This study also includes analysis of the woodblock prints (*sashi-e* 挿絵), that appear within *Five Women*. These prints are believed to have been originally drawn by Saikaku before being commissioned by artisans in order to be mass produced for publication. Previous scholarship on Saikaku has largely overlooked these woodblock illustrations, mainly because literature scholars tend to stay within the boundaries of the

written texts. Yet, I argue that these woodblock prints offer a glimpse into Saikaku's authorial intentions as well as insights into how his narratives might have been interpreted by his audiences. The inclusion of these woodblock prints furthers my argument that popular fiction did not evolve independently as a genre, but was always closely connected to the performing and visual arts.

CHAPTER ONE:

Saikaku's Retelling of Onatsu and Seijūrō

> Isn't that Seijūrō who passes yonder?
> Oh how that hat,
> that bamboo hat makes you look so dandy!
> Yaaha haha![58]
>
> Children's Song

These lines portray the deranged Onatsu as seen in the distant country hillside, recognizable only through her faded beauty and by the song she sings as she searches for her lover, Seijūrō. The story of Onatsu and Seijūrō dates to sometime around the 1660s, some twenty years before Saikaku's retelling of the incident in the first chapter of *The Sensuality of Five Women* (*Kōshoku gonin onna* 好色五人女, 1686), which is the earliest extant version of the story. Saikaku's tale captivated the imaginations of his contemporaries and was the basis for subsequent adaptations of the story in literary texts and the performing arts that changed according to the tastes of contemporary audiences. One motif that became particularly popular was the portrayal of Onatsu as a deranged woman, [59] and by the Taisho period (1912-1926), it was Onatsu's derangement over her

[58] *Mukai tooru ha Seijūrō de naika, kasa ga yoku nita, sugegasa ga, yahan haha* (*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 275).

[59] Influenced by Western psychology, Tsubochi Shōyō (1859-1935) created his kabuki dance drama, Tokiwazu *The Derangement of Onatsu* (*Onatsu kyōran* お夏狂乱), exploring the deranged mental state of Onatsu over her loss of Seijūrō. It debuted at the Imperial Theater in 1914, starring Onoe Baikō VI (六代目尾上梅幸, 1870-1934) as Onatsu, and featuring a musical score by Tokiwazu Mojibee II (常盤津文字兵衛, 1857-1924) and choreography by Fujima Kanemon II (二代目藤間勘右衛門, 1840-1925).

loss of her lover that had become the central theme of the story rather than the retelling of the love affair.[60]

Each chapter of *Five Women* is dedicated to a love affair revolving around contemporary events that were still fresh in the memories of Saikaku's readers. Saikaku begins his story with a section that explains the backstory of Onatsu's lover, Seijūrō. Born into a wealthy merchant family, the young Seijūrō is a dandy boy, squandering his family's fortunes in the pleasure quarters. After he is disowned by his father, section two depicts the reformed Seijūrō as a reformed man, working as a lowly clerk in Tajima'ya, the merchant household owned by Onatsu's older brother in the town of Himeji. It is at this point that Onatsu, the female protagonist, first appears, when she sends Seijūrō letters professing her love for him. In section three, after winning the heart of Seijūrō, Seijūrō devises a plan for the two lovers to consummate their love during an outing of viewing the cherry blossoms. They then try to elope by boat from Himeji to Ōsaka. However, due to the mail courier having forgotten his letter box, the boat is forced to return to the port where both Onatsu and Seijūrō are captured and taken back to Himeji. Seijūrō is accused of stealing seven hundred gold pieces missing from the store's safe and is executed. Onatsu, locked up in the family's storeroom and unaware of Seijūrō's execution, only learns of his tragic fate later, and this leads to her derangement at the start of section five. At the conclusion of the Onatsu and Seijūrō narrative, Onatsu takes the tonsure and devotes the remainder of her life to pray for Seijūrō's salvation.

[60] From 1924 to 1954, the Onatsu and Seijūrō narrative was made into six feature films and in 1986 it was produced as one of *Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai*'s (Japan's public broadcast) drama. For the past sixty years, there has been an annual Onatsu and Seijūrō festival held in the city of Himeji on August 9th and 10th.

This chapter seeks to examine how Saikaku reimagined and rewrote the story of the love affair between Onatsu and Seijūrō, and in the process to explore the broader question of how stories traverse geographical and temporal boundaries. I begin by discussing the possible origins of the story of Onatsu and Seijūrō, tracing key elements of Saikaku's tale back to the twelvth century, long before the historical incident that is believed to have served as a basis for the story. I then examine how Saikaku used these influences to reinvent his protagonists and their tragic love affair. I conclude by highlighting how Saikaku drew upon performative theatrical elements from the nō theater to portray Onatsu as a deranged character, which allowed him to ultimately transform her into a protective deity of Seijūrō's soul, thus elevating the Onatsu and Seijūrō story into an exemplary model of an early modern narrative.

The Legend of Onatsu and Seijūrō

Although the oldest surviving written record of Onatsu (おなつ) and Seijūrō (清十郎) is Saikaku's version, various sources written after the publication of Saikaku's *Five Women* claim that Saikaku's story was based on a historical incident. According to the "The Collection of Records of Small Thoughts" ("Shokishishuki" 諸記視集記, 1760), in 1659 there was an incident involving a store clerk named Seijūrō and his master, owner of Tajima'ya. The master expelled Seijūrō from his services, and as an act of revenge, Seijūrō attacked his former master with a sword and was later executed in

1660.[61] Other recorded possible dates for the incident are 1660,[62] 1661[63] and 1667.[64] Although we cannot be certain exactly when the historical incident took place, or indeed if it took place at all (the records may be based on gossip), assuming that it did take place, it would have been more than twenty years before Saikaku wrote his story. Although most scholars believe that the Onatsu and Seijūrō story was indeed based on a historical incident, it also appears that Saikaku's retelling incorporated earlier fictional tales. This is not unusual, given that the tragic love affair motif is not a unique one. Saikaku scholars have also speculated about other types of sources Saikaku may have used to create his version, with most scholars agreeing that there was a song ballad version that has since been lost.[65]

In the current version of the song ballad entitled *Onatsu and Seijūrō* (which postdates Saikaku's story), Seijūrō is a clerk in Onatsu's father's household, Taijima'ya, who has a secret affair with Onatsu.[66] Onatsu's father, unaware of the affair, has arranged Onatsu to be married, an extremely difficult arrangement due to the fact that Onatsu's mother was a courtesan in the Murotsu pleasure quarters, a port town along the Inland Sea. However, another clerk in Tajima'ya named Kanjūrō who has been pining for Onatsu, decides to interfere with her arranged marriage by stealing her dowry and

[61] "Shokishishuki" in *Ban'yō taisei bankōmoku* (1760), scroll 14.

[62] "Chūkō setsuwa hayami nendaiki" in *Denki shakusho goshu* (ca. 1850s), scroll 2.

[63] *Yatsuko ha ikai* (1668)

[64] Although there is no concrete proof of the exact date in which the Onatsu and Seijūrō incident took place, most scholars believe that the incident took place in 1661.

[65] I have translated *utazaemon* as a song ballad.

[66] The song ballad *Onatsu and Seijūrō* (*Onatsu Seijūrō*) is divided into two sections.

blaming the theft on Seijūrō. The disgraced Seijūrō is thrown out of Taijima'ya, and decides to seek his revenge by killing Kanjūrō in his bed chambers. Unfortunately, in the dark, Seijūrō kills Genjūrō, another clerk in Tajima'ya, and realizing his mistake, flees from Himeji only to be caught later.

Onatsu's separation from Seijūrō and her extreme longing for him, transforms her into a deranged woman.

> 向ひ通るはアンア、清十郎ぢやないか。笠がよく似た。菅笠え。清十郎恋しや夫恋し。懐しゆかしとかのおなつ。尋ねさまよひ出でけるが。心狂気となれ衣。袖は涙にかはく間も。なきあかし潟須磨の浦。恨めしつらしその人の。行方何処と狂はるゝ既に。播磨の国はづれ。とある松原うち行けば。

> 'Isn't that Seijūrō who passes by yonder, *ana*.[67] Oh how that bamboo hat makes you look so dandy. Oh that hat!' Longing for Seijūrō, longing for her dear one. How nostalgic it is for the deranged Onatsu of their love. Departing [from her household] in search for her lover, Onatsu's attire gradually transformed as a reflection of her deranged state of mind. Her sleeves wet from her tears do not even have the time to dry. Crying from night till dawn, she arrives at the shores of the Bay at Suma. Oh, the resentment and pain of Onatsu! Not knowing which way to go due to her derangement, she has already left the province of Harima and stumbles along to Matsubara.[68]

The song ballad concludes with Onatsu stumbling upon Seijūrō's execution site and relates the moving scene of their last final farewell between the two lovers. They

[67] *Ana* is not translatable and is used for the rhythm it creates within the song. It also highlights the derangement of Onatsu, as it sounds like an incomprehensible babble of a deranged woman.

[68] Matsuzaki Hitoshi; Shiraishi Teizō, *Saikaku to Chikamatsu: Onatsu Seijūrō Osan Moemon,* Izumi shoten (Ōsaka: 1982), p. 92-93.

pledge even death will not prevent them from becoming husband and wife in the future (*kanarazu mirai ha meotozoya*).[69]

The *Onatsu and Seijūrō* song ballad departs significantly from Saikaku's version of the lovers' plight. The song ballad does not relate Seijūrō's backstory and does not give any insight to his actual family lineage.[70] Nor does the song ballad reveal how Onatsu and Seijūrō began their romantic affair, who the instigator was, or the reason for their sexual attraction. Rather, the song ballad focuses upon the reason why Onatsu and Seijūrō cannot be together. The main focus is not that Seijūrō is a lowly clerk in Tajimaya, but rather because he becomes a murderer.[71] In fact, the song ballad seems to hint that, regardless of Seijūrō's social status, if Onatsu's father had known about his daughter's relationship with Seijūrō before arranging her marriage to another suitor, the outcome of the two lovers' tale might have been radically different.

Furthermore, the *Onatsu and Seijūrō* song ballad particularly highlights Onatsu's state of mind compared to Saikaku's version.[72] The song ballad places another famous lyric associated with the Onatsu and Seijūrō legend immediately after Onatsu witnesses

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[69] Matsuzaki; Shiraishi, *Saikaku to Chikamatsu: Onatsu Seijūrō Osan Moemon* (hereafter, *Saikaku to Chikamatsu*), p. 93.

[70] In Chikamatsu Monzaemon's puppet play, *Onatsu and Seijūrō: Prayers on the Fiftieth Anniversary* (*Onatsu Seijūrō gojūnenki uta nenbutsu*, 1703), Seijūrō is actually a son of a poor famer.

[71] According to Tokugawa law, a servant was strictly prohibited from having a romantic relationship with his boss's wife or daughter. Likewise, it was strictly forbidden for a servant and his boss's daughter to elope. However, the song ballad does not even hint that Onatsu and Seijūrō were considering to elope. These points will be further examined later in this chapter.

[72] It would appear that the oldest surviving song ballad version was created after Saikaku's *Five Women*, since at the conclusion of *Onatsu and Seijūrō*, it pays homage of *Five Women*. The song ballad concludes with "The world can hear the erotic [tales] of five women in the other four chapters. And so I relate the matter of Seijūrō and Onatsu" *Yo ni kokoenishi kōshoku no. Gonin onna no yon no pitsu ha. Seijūrō Onatsu ga mi no ue to. Uyamatsute mōsu* (Matsuzaki; Shiraishi, *Saikaku to Chikamatsu*), p. 94. In 1707, playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon will create his one act, three scene version of the Onatsu and Seijūrō incident based largely upon the song ballad version.

Seijūrō's execution, "If you kill Seijūrō, *ana*, you kill Onatsu too."[73] The strategic placement of this lyric emphasizes the weakness of Onatsu's emotional state, but also highlights Onatsu's determination to take the tonsure. The killing of Onatsu within the lyric acts as a transition between Onatsu's former self as a maiden full of erotic desires, to one who renounces the world.

Besides the song ballad, it is believed that there are two main lineages of the Onatsu and Seijūrō story. The first originates from Ban'shū province (present-day Hyōgo prefecture) and the second from Sen'shū province (present-day South-west Ōsaka prefecture). Most of the early modern performative versions of the Onatsu and Seijūrō story draw upon the Sen'shū version, while Saikaku was most likely influenced by the Ban'shū version.[74] In the Sen'shū version, the story takes place from the late medieval period to the beginning of the early modern period, and involves the tragic love affair between a young warrior and a young village maiden.

Different surviving puppet plays (*jōruri* 浄瑠璃), place a similar story to that of Onatsu and Seijūrō in either the medieval period or the beginning of the early modern period. These puppet plays are based upon the Sen-shū lineage of the story, in which one of the earliest forms of the tragic love affair occurs in a folk song from Kii province, or present day Wakayama Prefecture. In the song, the two protagonists are called Ogiku (お菊) and Senmatsu (千松), and are not lovers, but rather siblings.

[73] *Seijūrō wo koroseba, ana, Onatsu mo korose* (Matsuzaki; Shiraishi, *Saikaku to Chikamatsu*, p. 93).

[74] Takeno Seio, "Onatsu Seijūrō denshō no yukue: Onatsu Seijūrō mono no kiban" in *Yamaguchi joshi daigaku bungakubu kiyō* (1991), p. 89.

According to the folk song, Senmatsu, who was around seven or eight years old, was sent to Kinzan (金山) to work in the gold mines. Year after year, Ogiku waited for his return to no avail. Finally, in the six month of the third year after Senmatsu was sent to the mines, Ogiku received word that he had died. Angered over the fate of her younger brother, Ogiku threw herself into the ocean at Izumi.[75] Different versions of this song evolved: in the Ise and Harima regions, Ogiku and Senmatsu were not siblings, but rather lovers; in the Kaga, Echū and Nōto regions, the protagonists were a father and daughter. In the Harima region in Ban'shū the story of the song is the closest to Saikaku's Onatsu and Seijūrō story.

The Harima variant still exists today as the "Dances of Harima" (*Harima odori* 播磨踊り).[76] Although the version that is performed today is presumed to date from the beginning of the 1600s, there is no concrete evidence regarding exactly when the song appeared or how popular or common it was among the townsmen during that time.[77] But what is important, as folklore specialist Akamatsu Keisuke has pointed out, is that the

[75] Akamatsu Keisuke, "Ushinawareta seishun he no kaisō jō: Onatsu Seijūrō monogatari no heisei," *Hyōgo shigaku* (March 1958), p. 23.

[76] On April 18th of every year, the shrine at Izumo holds a flower hat (*hanagasa* 花笠) festival. There are twelve dances and number seven is "Dances of Harima".

[77] Part of the lyrics states Seijūrō is from Nagashima (or Nashima な島) of Miki (三木の長島), an area located in present-day Hyōgo Prefecture. Miki was a castle town that became quiet famous towards the end of the Sengoku period (1467-1603). Miki grew in prosperity due to commence and trade, but after the fall of the castle in 1618, merchants relocated to the castle town of Akashi (明石城). However, even after the fall of Mikijō (三木城), the town itself still survived for the next hundred years. Akamatsu has pointed out that most likely, in order for people to recognize the location of Miki, the lyrics were changed to incorporate "Harima". Thus, Akamatsu claims that these lyrics must date to the end of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth (Akamatsu, "Ushinawareta seishunhe no kaisō jō: Onatsu Seijūrō monogatari no heisei", p. 23).

protagonist's name is Seijūrō rather than Senmatsu, and that this version most likely inspired other variants.[78]

In the "Dances of Harima" lyrics, Seijūrō departs Miki by boat to work in the gold mines of Kinzan. The female protagonist Ofuji (おふじ)[79] wanting to confess her love to Seijūrō, chases after him only to realize that his boat has already departed. Distraught, Ofuji becomes deranged and starts to sing and dance upon the shoreline.[80] The lyrics also describe the extent of Ofuji's derangement by describing her physical features. They describe her as losing weight due to the extent of her longing for Seijūrō (*omoshii koi ni ha, mi ga hosoru*).[81]

Kinzan became an important site during the Muromachi period (1336-1573), when ambitious warlords needed means to finance their expeditions and war campaigns. This gave rise to the need of miners, who were often deceived, kidnapped, and bought and sold as slaves to work the mines. Children were especially the target of the slave trade, which resulted in tragic tales and songs originating not in the immediate area around Kinzan, but rather in the distant provinces. Although most of the tales and songs are near identical to one another besides the changing of the relationship between the protagonists or their area of origin, Akamatsu claims that the most important aspect is

[78]Akamatsu, "Ushinawareta seishun he no kaisō jō: Onatsu Seijūrō monogatari no heisei" (hereafter "Ushinawareta seishun"), p. 22.

[79] おふじ. Besides Seijūrō (清十郎), what are believed to be later variants use the names Shijūrō (四十郎), Shinjūrō (新十郎), and Sejūrō (瀬十郎).

[80] Kakita Ioji; Tsuboi Tadahiko, *Kuchi Tanba kōhishū*, (*Kyōdo Kenkyūsha*, 1925), p. 153.

[81] Ibid, p. 153.

that the male is sent to Kinzan while the female is left behind. In addition, eventually, the female protagonist dies from her derangement.[82]

An earlier variation of the "Dances at Harima" can be traced back even before the Muromachi period. Based upon medieval Buddhist beliefs, the motif of separation along the shores can be seen in the foot-dragging stories, or *ashizuri* 足摺 setsuwa.[83] One variation of the foot-dragging motif is recorded in *The Confessions of Lady Nijō* (*Towazugatari* とはずがたり) under the title "The story of the foot-dragging" (*Ashizuri no hanashi* 足摺の話).[84] In an entry dated from around 1302 in scroll five, Lady Nijō recounts how she wishes to visit the temple at The Cape of Foot-dragging (*Ashizuri no misaki* 足摺の岬) located in Tosa. The temple was unique in that there was no head monk, nor was the temple enclosed. Any traveling monks or practitioners, regardless of rank or status, were allowed to visit the temple dedicated to Kannon,[85] the Bodhisattva of Compassion. Lady Nijō recalls the story of how the cape gained its name of The Cape of Foot-dragging. According to her account, there was a traveling monk and his young disciple who were staying at the temple. One day, another traveling monk of mysterious origins appeared at the temple. Traveling with no provisions, the young disciple offered portions of his own meals. The elder monk scolded his disciple for continually sharing

[82] Akamatsu, "Ushinawareta seishun", p. 24.

[83] For the following foot-dragging section, I am building around and incorporating aspects of my earlier MA thesis argument on the evolution of the performative aspects of the foot-dragging sequence (see Kirk Kanesaka, "The Genesis of Shunkan: Examining the Evolution of the Portrayal of the *Shunkan Setsuwa* Sequence in the *Heike*, *Nō*, *Jōruri*, and *Kabuki* Traditions," University of Southern California, 2010).

[84] For a complete English translation of "The story of the foot-dragging," see Karen Brazell, *The Confessions of Lady Nijō*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973), p. 230-231.

[85] Mizukawa Yoshio, *Towazugatari zenshaku*, (Kazama shōbo, 1966), p. 624.

his meals, after which during the next meal, the disciple told the other monk that this would be his last meal that he can share with him. Grateful to the disciple, the mysterious monk offered to show him where he lived, and the disciple gladly accepted. Suspicious of the two young monks, the elder monk followed them to the cape. As the two young monks boarded a small boat, the elder monks cried after them "abandoning me, where are you two going?"[86] To which the mysterious monk responded, "We are going to the realm of Kannon." As the monk watched, the two young men stood up and transformed into Bodhisattvas. In a state of extreme anguish and grief, the monk cried while performing the foot-dragging action. Hence, the name of the place is called the "Cape of the Foot-Dragging" (*Ashizuri no Misaki*).[87]

A similar topographical story about the naming of the same region appears in the Nagatobon variant of *The Tale of Heike*,[88] in book 4, entitled "The Matter of the Foot-dragging Deity."[89] In this story a monk named Riichi and his disciple named Riken set sail from the cape to pray at a nearby mountain, when a sudden turn in weather forces their boat back to shore. Fearful that his pupil is not holy enough to set sail, Riichi leaves Riken behind on the shore and once again sets forth into the sea. Fearing to be left alone and apart from his beloved master, Riken chases after his master's boat, and prays as he watches it disappear beyond the horizon. Riken's emotional state of despair and grief causes him to drag his feet along the ground and fall down. The account notes that

[86] Mizukawa, *Towazugatari zenshaku*, p. 624.

[87] Ibid, p. 625.

[88] Asahara Yoshiko and Nanami Hiroaki eds., *Nagatobon Heike monogatari no sōgō kenkyū* 2 (Kōchū-hen jō-ge), (Benseisha, 1998-1999), p. 281-283.

[89] Mizuhara Hajime, *Engyōbon heike monogatari ronkō*, (Katō chūdōkan, 1979), p. 324.

Riken's soul left his body and joined his master on his boat, even as his physical body remained on the shore.[90] These medieval examples suggest a pattern according to which one person departs and leaves another behind, who performs the act of foot-dragging as an expression of extreme grief and distress, at times throwing him or herself onto the ground and rolling around while kicking their legs.

Within the various *The Tale of Heike* (*Heike monogatari* 平家物語) variants, there is only one character who is portrayed as performing the foot-dragging, Shunkan (俊寛, c. 1143-1179). Shunkan was a monk who, along with Lesser Captain Naritsune and Taira no Yasuyori, was exiled to Kigai-ga-shima (鬼界ヶ島) in 1177 by Taira no Kiyomori for his role in hosting the conspirators of what would be known as the Shishigatani Conspiracy at his villa. Eventually Naritsune and Yasuyori were both granted pardons to return back to the capital, upon which they boarded the official envoy to return. This episode is recorded in book three of the Kakuichi *Heike*, in a separate section entitled "Foot-Dragging," or *Ashizuri*.[91] According to the Kakuichi text, as the ship got ready to set sail back to the capital, "in despair, Shunkan went back to the beach, threw himself down and beat his feet (foot-dragged his feet) against the sand like a child who wants his nurse or mother. 'Let me go with you! Take me!' he shrieked. But the vessel went off, leaving behind only 'a wake of white waves,' as is the way of journeying boats."[92]

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[90] Asahara Yoshiko and Nanami Hiroaki eds., *Nagatobon Heike monogatari no sōgō kenkyū* 2, p. 282.

[91] It should be noted that in her translation of the Heike, Helen McCullough translates "ashizuri" as "foot drumming." However, I believe the term "foot drumming" represents more of an *ashifumi* rather than *ashizuri*. The term "*ashizuri*" will be discussed in more detail later.

As the case of Shunkan illustrates, foot-dragging as an expression of emotional distress is often accompanied by other kinds of deranged behavior that are portrayed as non-human. Shunkan is described by Ariō, his faithful boy servant, who comes to visit him at Kigai-ga-shima after Naritsune and Yasuyori have left as follows:

> One morning, a man as thin as a dragonfly came lurching into sight from a rocky beach. Bits of seaweed and other ocean debris clung like a crown of brambles to his hair, which grew straight up as though he might once have been a monk. His joints stuck out, his skin hung in folds, and it was impossible to tell whether his clothing had originally been silk or some other material. In one hand, he held a strand of edible seaweed, in the other a fish given to him by a fisherman. Although he appeared to be walking, he staggered from side to side without making any progress.[93]

It is important to note Shunkan's unkempt appearance, with his hair shooting upwards and his appearance that has "now taken on the heteromorphic characteristics of the islanders."[94]

According to Irene Lin, who is drawing upon the ideas of Yanagita Kunio, "in the medieval Japanese context, hair becomes a cultural marker of status. Hair is both a

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[92] *Zō miyako sen kata nasani, nagisa ni agari taorefushi, osanaki mono no, menoto ya haha nando wo shi tōyō ni, ashizuri wo shite, 'Kore nosete yuke, gushite yuke' to, omekisakebe domo, kogi yuku fune no narai nite, ato ha shiranami bakari nari* (*Heike monogatari* jō, NKBZ, p. 204).

[93] *Aru ashita, isono kata yori, kagero funan dono yōni, yase otohetaru mono, hitori yoroboi ide kitari. Moto ha hōshi nite arikerito oboete, kami ha sora sama he ohiagari, yorozu no mokuzu toritsuite, odoro wo itadaitaru ga gotoshi. Tugi me araharete, kawa yutai, mi ni tsutaru mono ha, kinu nuno no waki mo miezu. Katate ni ha arame wo mocha, katate ni ha sakana wo mocha, ayomu yō ni ha shikeredomo, hakamo yukazu, yoroyoro to shite ide kitari* (*Heike monogatari jō*, NKBZ, p. 227-288).

[94] David T. Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories: Narrative, Ritual, and Royal Authority from* The Chronicles of Japan *to* The Tale of the Heike, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 256.

public and private symbol."[95] This cultural marker of status is defined by the capital (center) which defines Shunkan as belonging to the "other" (periphery). Shunkan's description is almost non-human like, from the way his skin drapes over his bones to the way he walks. This is also highlighted by the fact that earlier, Shunkan was described as a child while performing the foot-dragging. Before the capping ceremony (*genpuku* 元服), when the children finally became gendered, they were still believed to belong to the category of "non-human" (*hinin* 非人), one of the words used to described Shunkan's unkempt appearance.[96] In short, Shunkan's physical characteristics straddle the vague boundary between "non-human" (*hinin*), and "child". According to medieval beliefs, it is "non-humans" and "children" who are able to traverse the boundaries between this world and the other realm.[97]

Ogiku and Senmatsu in the puppet plays are both young children. Ofuji and Seijūrō in the "Harima odori" version are a little older but are still not adults. Ogiku commits suicide by throwing herself into the waters after being distraught over the death of her younger brother. Ofuji becomes deranged upon the shores after being separated from Seijūrō. Similarly, the song ballad of Onatsu and Seijūrō also showcases Onatsu's

[95] Irene Lin, "Traversing Boundaries: The Demonic Child in the Medieval Japanese Religious Imaginaire" (Ph. D. diss., Stanford University, 2001), p. 165.

[96] According to Lin, "In medieval society, non-humans included not only the spiritual 'others' (animal spirits, spirits of deceased humans, *kami* or buddhas), but also social 'others' (outcasts [*hinin*], children)," p. 87.

[97] The term *hinin* is written with the glyphs 「非人」, or "not human." We have come to understand this term as the extension of the Buddhist context of referring to any living being who is not of the human realm or human society. This extension includes any person who lacks status or position in social hierarchy such as children, outcasts, criminals, recluses, and wandering Buddhist clerics. The unkempt appearance of Shunkan, along with the child status of Ariō defines their social class as part of the "other" that lies outside the social construct of society.

derangement[98] on the shores of the Bay of Suma. All of these examples are similar to Shunkan's performance of foot-dragging on the shore: the protagonists all display their heightened emotional state close to the water, which suggests the boundary as between this world and the other.[99] These liminal areas enable the protagonists to move from being members of society into being outcasts. Shorelines and mountains are part of the periphery, away from the capital, the center of human society. In these cases, the protagonists can be identified as outcasts not only by their physical features (Shunkan by his hair and physical appearance, Ogiku by her weight loss), but also by their state of mind.

In these medieval examples, stories about parting on the shore are framed by medieval Buddhist beliefs. During the Muromachi period, although the protagonists change from elder monk and his disciple to brother and sister, the story still maintains the motif of separation and the distraught nature of the one who is left behind. But as this story line is transmitted into the early modern period, we can see how it evolves to reflect the tastes of urban townsmen even as it incorporates and modifies the traditional features of the earlier versions.

Saikaku's "Story of Seijūrō, the Beauty of Himeji"

As I noted earlier, it is unclear to what extent folk songs such as thoses presented in "Dances of Harima" were popular during their day. However, we do see traces of

[98] I translate *monogurui* 物狂 as derangement rather than using the terms insanity or madness.

[99] Akima Toshio, "The Songs of the Dead: Poetry, Drama and Ancient Death Rituals of Japan," *Journal of Asian Studies* 41, (May 1982), p. 488.

these medieval folk songs being incorporated into other popular culture outlets in later periods. The lyrics describing Ofuji's physical appearance becoming weaker due to her extreme longing [for Seijūrō] (*omoshii koi ni ha, mi ga hosoru*),[100] would become a popular lyric for different genres of music to incorporate in the beginning of the early modern period. In a collection of songs to be danced (*odori shōka* 踊唱歌), this lyric describing the physical features of one longing for another would appear in identical form in the "Fushimi dance" (*Fushimi odori* 伏見おどり). Akamatsu claims that this "Fushimi dance" became a popular song which women Kabuki dancers used in their performances during the beginning of the seventeenth century.[101]

Although this line does not appear in Saikaku's version of the Onatsu and Seijūrō story, records indicate that the Onatsu and Seijūrō story had already appeared as a kabuki play as early as 1664, performed in Edo at the Nakamura-za Theater, the same year as a song entitled "Seijūrō's song" (*Seijūrō bushi* 清十郎節) became popular along with a dance entitled "The Dance of Seijūrō" (*Seijūrō odori* 清十郎踊り) following shortly thereafter. In the following years leading up to Saikaku's version in 1686, the Onatsu and Seijūrō incident would be portrayed in various forms of popular culture, with records indicating that their story had spread to around sixty provinces. Since the actual kabuki play (title unknown) has not survived to the present day, and thus its plot, presentation, and story remain unknown, it is unclear to what extent Saikaku was aware or influenced by it. However, based upon the songs that exist today, we can see how various regions

[100] Kakita; Tsuboi, *Kuchi Tanba kōhishū*, p. 153.

[101] Akamatsu, "Ushinawareta seishun", p. 25.

used the popularity of the Onatsu and Seijūrō incident in order to reinvent their own regional identity.

Saikaku titled his account as "The Story of Seijūrō, the beauty of Himeji" ("Sugata Himeji Seijūrō monogatari" 姿姫路清十郎物語)[102] It is unclear exactly what Saikaku's usage of the term "form" (*sugata* 姿) is referring to. In general, *sugata* refers to the beautiful form of the human body; the perfect silhouette of a body adorned in clothes, or a beautiful person or girl.[103] Here, Saikaku could be implying the beauty of Seijūrō's physical features, or he could also be using the term *sugata* to conjure the beautiful image of Onatsu and using it as an element to foreshadow the story. In any case, it is Seijūrō who is the main initial focus. Scholars are divided on the reason for this. Jimbō claims that it is because Seijūrō is the main protagonist. Others have argued that Saikaku is contrasting Seijūrō's erotic encounters during his early years with Onatsu's innocent nature.

In Saikaku's fictional version of the story, Seijūrō is born in Murotsu as the only son to a very prosperous Japanese rice wine (*sake*) producer. While it is certainly possible that rice wine could have been brewed in Murotsu, a small port located in the Inland Sea which has the requisite higher concentration of salt present in its fresh water, there are no historical records of any rice wine brewery in Murotsu, and the surname "Izumi" is uncommon in the area.[104] This suggests that Saikaku may have chosen

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[102] WM. Theodore De Bary translates this title as "The Story orf Seijuro in Himeji" (see, WM. Theodore De Bary, trans., *Five Women Who Loved Love*, Charles E. Tuttle Company, Inc. [Rutland, Vermont, and Tōkyo: 1956], p. 39).

[103] *Dainihon kokugo dai jiten*.

[104] Asano Sanpei, "Onatsu Seijūrō no iseki wo megutte: Kōshoku gonin onna maku ichi shichū," *Jōshi dai kokubun* (March 1964), p. 56.

Murotsu as Seijūrō's birthplace to remind his readers of the once prosperous[105] medieval trade port.

Furthermore, *The Great Mirror of the Art of Love* (*Shikido Ōkagami* 色道大鏡), a late medieval text detailing pleasure quarters and the affiliated teahouses, lists Tajima'ya as a popular teahouse in the port of Murotsu.[106] We can thus speculate Saikaku is trying to connect the late medieval Tajima'ya teahouse of Murotsu with his fictional version of a wealthy merchant household located in Himeji. There is, in fact, very little evidence that a large, wealthy merchant household by the name of Tajima'ya even existed in Himeji during this time period.[107] Rather, by linking Seijūrō's hometown, his early exposures in the ways of love with eight-seven courtesans, and Onatsu's household with Murotsu, Saikaku is able to establish a relationship with his readers by creating a series of common associations.[108] Most of Saikaku's readers would be familiar with previous works such as *The Great Mirror of the Art of Love* and *Life of a Sensuous Man* (*Kōshoku ichidai otoko* 好色一代男, 1682), and thus they would be able to make the connection of the legendary top status of Murotsu with the two protagonists, Onatsu and Seijūrō. Saikaku's includes Murotsu and the name Taijima'ya in his retelling of chapter one to conjure up past historical memories and thus appeal to his readers.

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[105] Asano claims that Murotsu's prosperity is an invention of Saikaku, since it is highly unlikely that not only were there no records of a sake brewery, but a high demand for a sophisticated pleasure quarters district (see Asano, "Onatsu Seijūrō no iseki wo megutte: Kōshoku gonin onna maku ichi shichū" [here after "Onatsu Seijūrō no iseki wo megutte"], p. 56.

[106] The teahouse serves as the connection between the courtesans and their customers. It is also where customers are entertained in the pleasure quarters.

[107] Asano, "Onatsu Seijūrō no iseki wo megutte", p. 56.

[108] Saikaku's naming Onatsu's household as "Tajimaya" could also be a reference to Onatsu's mother, who according to the song ballad "Onatsu and Seijūrō" was a Murotsu courtesan.

The Townsman's Dual-Identity: A Common Early Modern Theme

As I noted earlier, in section one the reader learns that Seijūrō was born as the only son to a wealthy rice wine merchant, Izumi Seizaemon, in the Inland sea port of Murotsu.[109] By fourteen, Seijūrō becomes an expert in the ways of erotic love, eventually pledging himself to a courtesan, Minakawa. Squandering his family fortunes in the pleasure quarters, Seijūrō is eventually disowned by his father. Seijūrō, desperate with this unfortunate turn of events, hastily agrees to Minakawa's suggestion to commit double suicide with her. However, the staff of the teahouse separates them in order to prevent the double suicide, and later Minakawa renounces the world and takes her own life.

Saikaku opens *Five Women* in a literary format that would have already been recognizable by his readers, echoing the literary traditions of late medieval popular texts. Seijūrō's beauty is said to surpass that of the legendary Ariwara no Narihira (*mukashi otoko wo utsushi e ni mo masari*), the legendary Heian aristocrat on which the main protagonist of *The Tales of Ise* (*Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語, dates unknown) is presumably based upon. [110] Previously, Saikaku had also linked Yonosuke, the main protagonist of his first popular fiction novel *The Life of a Sensuous Man* to Narihira.[111] In *Five Women*,

[109] Saikaku only gives the full name of three characters in *Five Women*, Izumi Seijūrō (chapter 1), Onogawa Kichisaburō (chapter 4), and Nakamura Hachijūrō (chapter 5). Although Saikaku's purpose is unclear, Saikaku uses fictional names and records these three in particular, almost as a way to legitimatize his versions.

[110] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 256. Ariwara no Narihira (在原業平 825-880) is one of the six Japanese immortal poets (*rokkasen* 六歌仙) of the mid-ninth century. Narihira became not only legendary for his poetry, but also his extraordinary beauty.

Saikaku has begun to refer to his own works: the birth and early years of Seijūrō echo those of Yonosuke.[112] From this introduction, Saikaku's readers would most likely expect that the story of Onatsu and Seijūrō, unlike previous versions that they may have already been familiar with, would follow the same happy ending pattern as Yonosuke's story in *The Life of a Sensuous Man*.

By linking Seijūrō to Yonosuke, Saikaku also draws his contemporary readers into the story by using a common motif that had become popular during the late seventeenth century particularly in the Kabuki repertory: the genre of dual-identity (*yatsushi* やつし). This motif centers on a wealthy main protagonist being disowned by his parents over his lavish spending at the pleasure quarters. The protagonist thus appears in an impoverished guise, disguising his once wealthy identity.[113]

Saikaku draws upon these references from the kabuki theater to help lead his readers into the world of popular fiction that he is trying to invent. However, Saikaku adds a twist to the fate of Seijūrō. Rather than having the usual happy ending where the disowned protagonist is once again re-instated to his family fortunes, as a kabuki fan might expect from a dual-identity play, or as was the case of Yonosuke, Seijūrō is executed as a criminal. Saikaku thus jolts his readers' expectations by bringing them face

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[111] Saikaku's first popular fiction novel, *Life of a Sensous Man*, was met with exceptional success. It should be noted that Saikaku not only drew upon *Tales of Ise*, but also upon *Tales of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*, ca. early eleventh century).

[112] David Gundry claims that by having Saikaku associate his townsmen protagonists with classical aristocratic literary figures, he is intentionally trying to elevate the social status of the townsmen to that of aristocrats (Gundry, *No Status High or Low*, p. 16). Although this may be true, I would rather argue that Saikaku makes references to past literary works as a way of legitimizing his world of popular fiction. It allows Saikaku to have his readers connect with already familiar themes and characters while allowing Saikaku to add his own twists to the stories.

[113] Satoko Shimazaki points out that during the late seventeenth century, the type of kabuki being performed was referred to as *yatsushi-goto*. See Shimazaki, *Edo Kabuki In Transition: From the Worlds of the Samurai to the Vengeful Female Ghost*, (Columbia University Press, 2016], p. 46.

to face with the harshness of reality. Through Seijūrō's execution and by having Onatsu take her tonsure, Saikaku reinvents the Onatsu and Seijūrō narrative as a classic model of early modern literature.

An Exemplary Model of an Early Modern Courtesan: Minakawa

In section one of chapter one of *Five Women,* Saikaku dedicates a considerable portion to depicting Seijūrō's romantic affairs with the Murotsu courtesan, Minakawa. Minakawa is a courtesan in Murotsu, Seijūrō's hometown and the legendary birthplace of Japanese courtesans (*jorō* 女郎). According to Saikaku in *A Sensuous Man*:

> 本朝遊女のはじまりは、江州の朝妻、播州の室津より事起りて、今国々になりぬ。朝妻にはいつのころにか絶えて…室は西国第一の湊、遊女も昔にまさりて、風儀もさのみ大坂にかはらずといふ。

> The original birth place of the [Japanese] courtesan is in Asazuma (朝妻) of the province of Gōshū (江州) and Murotsu (室津) of the province of Banshū (播州). From these places, [the courtesan] has spread throughout the lands…[Unlike] Asazuma, because Murotsu is the number one port in the Western lands, courtesans have been gathering there since the days of the past. The elaborateness of Murotsu rivals to even that of Ōsaka.[114]

Here Saikaku was undoubtedly expanding upon a reference in *The Great Mirror of the Art of Love* where in chapter fifteen entitled "Muro in the Land of Banshū," it states that "Murotsu in Banshū is the birthplace (*nemoto*) of Japanese courtesans."[115] By

[114] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 144.

linking Minakawa to Murotsu, Saikaku is symbolically re-creating Minakawa as a representative of *the* original Japanese courtesan. The port of Murotsu that Saikaku speaks of in *A Sensuous Man* was strategically located along the Inland Sea and served as an important medieval trading port. The wealth brought about through trading and frequent travelers helped established the pleasure quarters at Murotsu. However, by the early modern period, Murotsu had lost its prestige as a trading port and faded from its former glory. This suggests that Saikaku's portrayal of Minakawa in chapter one of *Five Women* is meant to exemplify the ideal medieval courtesan of the past.

Saikaku paints Minakawa as having a strong personality and being quick-witted. After Seijūrō is disowned by his father and is in a state of despair wanting to commit suicide, Minakawa is able to trick Seijūrō into believing that she no longer cares for him, thus saving his life.[116]

> 女郎それぞれに呼びたつる。さてもさても、替るは色宿のならひ、人の情けは一歩小判あるうちなり。みな川が身にしては、かなしく、ひとり跡に残り、泪に沈みければ、清十郎も、「口惜しき」とばかり、言葉も命はすつるにきはめしが、この女の「同じ道に」といふべき事をかなしく、とやかく物思ふうちに、みな川、色を見すまし、「かたさまは、身を捨て給はん御気色、さりとてはさりとてはおろかなり。我が身事もともに、と申したき事なれども、いかにしても世に名残あり。勤めはそれぞれに替る心なれば、何事も昔々、これまで」と、立ち行く。

[115] Fujimoto Kizan, *Shikidō Ōkagami*, (Yagi Shoten, 2006), p. 155.

[116] It should be noted that shortly after Minakawa's deception, she reappears ready to commit double suicide with Seijūrō, only to be stopped by the members of the teahouse.

> One by one, the low ranking courtesans were called away. Oh the fickleness the rules the teahouse [lives by] and how kindness is shown to those who could pay. Minakawa grieved wholeheartedly, her tears weighing her down, staying behind even after the last of the low ranking courtesans were called away. Seijūrō could only continue to say 'How unfortunate!' Eventually Seijūrō words became worthless like his life, decided to end it all. But, what held him back was Minakawa, who may insist on dying with him. While Seijūrō contemplated [about suicide], Minakawa sensed what Seijūrō was thinking by the [unusal] color of his face and said to him extremely politely, 'It seems to me that you are thinking about ending your life. This is extremely foolish. I wish I could say I can commit suicide alongside with you, but unfortunately, I still have attachments to this world. My profession is to continually change my appeal to each costumer, so let's just say you and I are like a past dream and end our relationship here.' And so saying, Minakawa stood up and left.[117]

Minakawa is portrayed as being quick-witted and having the uncanny ability to read and understand people and the atmosphere of the environment. She can navigate through any problematic situation, and in this case, dissuades Seijūrō from acting too hastily.[118] Yet, this is all a pretext in order for Minakawa to have the opportunity to change into ritual white attire for death. Although her initial plan to commit lovers' suicide with Seijūrō is initially thwarted, she later ends up succeeding, thus displaying her complete devotion to Seijūrō.

Inoue Toshiyuki claims that Saikaku based Minakawa on various legendary medieval courtesans recorded in *Legends of Murotsu's Courtesans*, in particular the story of Miyagi (宮木) in chapter eight. Miyagi, like Minakawa, eventually commits suicide to show her devotion to her lover. Inoue argues that death is used to represent the utmost

[117] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 259-60.

[118] Minakawa address Seijūrō with the utmost politeness using honorific speech to address him. The usage of honorific speech by Minakawa creates the illusion that Seijūrō meant nothing to her besides being a once high paying costumer.

devotion and sincerity of a courtesan to her lover.[119] Thus, Minakawa embodies the true essence of the classical courtesan, as she shows Seijūrō her utmost devotion to him by committing suicide.

An Exemplary Model of a Late Medieval Man: Seijūrō

Seijūrō and Minakawa's love affair might appear to be a distraction from chapter one's main narrative, that of Onatsu and Seijūrō. However, the Minakawa love affair is an important element in Seijūrō's character development. Saikaku's fictional backstory of Seijūrō's early years in which he is pampered from a young age and disconnected from reality, serves to exemplify him as the ideal late medieval townsman, who has the experience to take charge of his relationship with Onatsu.

Minakawa, after tricking Seijūrō into believing that she has lost all interest in him, reappears and pushes Seijūrō to commit double suicide. In this moment, Saikaku illustrates how Minakawa knows the truth about reality by acting on her true feelings rather than creating the illusion of lust and glamour as is her duty in the pleasure quarters.[120] Minakawa is important to Seijūrō's character development, as she expresses and chooses her passion for Seijūrō over her duties as a courtesan. This has a strong influence on Seijūrō, who will later choose his passion for Onatsu over his duties to Taijima'ya.[121] In this manner, section one, although at first glance unconnected to the

[119] Inoue Toshiyuki, "Sugata Himeji Seijūrō monogatari: Muro no yūjo ni sokushite," *Edo jidai bungaku shi* (February 1980), p. 48.

[120] Inoue Toshiyuki, "Sugata Himeji Seijūrō monogatari: Muro no yūjo ni sokushite" (hereafter "Muro no yūjo ni sokushite", p. 44.

story of Onatsu and Seijūrō, allows Saikaku to illustrate Seijūrō's character development from a young, ignorant dandy boy to a lover who takes responsibility for his relationship with Onatsu.

A. Performative Representations of the Early Modern Townsman

The transformation of Seijūrō's character into a dominant persona is not a common trait among the dramatized representations of the early modern townsman but rather a trait found in medieval literary and performative genres. Briefly departing from *Five Women*, I now turn to the works of Saikaku's contemporary, playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon (近松門左衛門, 1653-1725) and his representations of the early modern townsman in two of his famous puppet plays, *The Love Suicides at Sonezaki* (*Sonezaki shinjū* 曽根崎心中, 1703) and *The Courier for Hell* (*Meido no hikyaku* 冥途の飛脚, 1711).[122]

The Love Suicides at Sonezaki debuted in fifth month of 1703 as Chikamatsu's first reformatted contemporary puppet play performed as one act, three scenes.[123] It was

[121] Ukihashi Yasuhiko, "Saikaku no setsuwteki keizō ni okeru ningen ninshiki-Kōshoku gonin onna no minwagenkei wo megutte" *Kokubungaku* (1960), p. 5.

[122] For the purpose of this chapter, I am limiting myself to these two Chikamatsu plays. However, another puppet play by Chikamatsu based upon an actual event, *The Love Suicides at Amijima* (*Shinjū tenno Amijima* 心中天の網島, 1720), which features a paper merchant called Jihei, his wife Osan, and a geisha called Koharu is also worth noting. Jihei is a paper merchant who has fallen in love with Koharu. Unlike *The Love Suicides at Sonezaki*, Jihei's wife, suspecting that Jihei and Koharu are determined to commit suicide, has been a dutiful wife and has tried everything to save the two from death including selling off her dowry items. Osan's father, finding out of his daughter's situation, forces Jihei to divorce her and leads her away. Humiliated, his business in shambles, and his family separated, Jihei resolves to commit lovers' suicide with Koharu. Through Jihei, we see a contrasting image of the townsman to that of Saikaku's Seijūrō. Jihei seems to lack the strength to determine his own path or to make his own choices and depends on the actions of others.

based upon an actual love suicide that had taken place a month earlier between a townsman Tokubei, and a low ranking courtesan, Ohatsu, from the Shinmachi pleasure quarters in Ōsaka. Although rarely performed today, the opening scene to *The Love Suicides at Sonezaki* is Ohatsu's pilgrimage to various temples all located in Ōsaka. Following this sequence, scene one begins on the grounds of Ikutama Shrine as Ohatsu accompanies her patron for the day visiting various religious sites. By chance, she meets her lover Tokubei who reveals that his master has arranged Tokubei to marry his niece in Edo by giving Tokubei's mother a dowry. Tokubei's refusal of the marriage proposal required him to retrieve the dowry from his mother. However, on his way back to his master, Tokubei's friend Kuheiji asks for a loan, promising to repay it before the date he must return the dowry to his master. By sheer luck, Kuheiji is also visiting the Ikutama Shrine, in which he denies the loan ever happened and humiliates Tokubei.

The following scene at the Tenma'ya teahouse reveals the lovers' suicide pact. Humiliated by the events that had taken place earlier in the day, Tokubei turns to Ohatsu, who hides him beneath the veranda of the teahouse. The arrival of Kuheiji escalates the lovers' plight, where Ohatsu shows her intent to enter into a lovers' suicide pact by signaling to Tokubei under the veranda with her foot. Finally being able to escape the teahouse, the concluding scene dramatizes the double suicide in the woods of Sonezaki, near present day Umeda train station in Ōsaka.[124]

Chikamatsu presents Tokubei as a male protagonist who lacks a strong, leading persona, similar to the young Seijūrō of *Five Women*. Both Tokubei and the young

[123] I translate *sewamono* 世話物 as contemporary plays.

[124] Chikamatsu Monzaemon, *Sonezaki shinjū* in *Chikamatsu zenshū* vol. 4, (Iwanami shoten, 1986), p. 1-42.

Seijūrō are represented as somewhat indecisive, gullible and easily deceivable. In both cases, the female protagonists are the instigator in their relationships. The strong nature of the female protagonists' characters can be attributed to their professions as courtesans, but their underlying desire to sacrifice their duties for their own personal passions reflects their independent nature.

In *The Courier for Hell* Chikamatsu presents a different aspect of the townsman: one that is affected by the humiliation of others. A one act-three scene puppet play, *The Courier for Hell* debuted at the Takemoto-za Theater in 1711. It is about a townsman called Chūbei and a low ranking courtesan named Umegawa. Scene one opens with a samurai visiting the money courier Kameya, which is ran by Chūbei in Ōsaka. The samurai inquires whether three hundred gold pieces were sent from Edo to Ōsaka through the Kame'ya services, but is told that due to a flood, the services has been delayed. Following the departure of the samurai, townsman Hachiemon arrives to collect fifty gold pieces that were sent to him from Edo by a rice merchant. Although it arrived ten days ago, Chūbei has still to hand the gold over to Hachiemon. Chūbei reveals to Hachiemon that he had actually used the gold to put a deposit to ransom his lover, Umegawa, from the pleasure quarters and asks for a few more days to repay his debt. Hachiemon agrees, and departs, just as the three hundred gold pieces arrive from Edo. Chūbei takes the pouch of gold pieces and departs to deliver it to the samurai.

Scene two, the most famous of all scenes performed in kabuki today, is known as "The Cutting of the Seals."[125] Instead of delivering the three hundred gold pieces, Chūbei finds himself wandering and arriving at the Echigo'ya teahouse where he frequently

[125] "Fū'in giri" 封印切

meets with Umegawa. Already inside the teahouse is Hachiemon who exposes Chūbei's financial difficulty in front of the teahouse proprietor, Umegawa and the servants. Flabbergasted by Hachiemon's betrayal, Chūbei rushes in to defend his honor, not knowing of the fate that awaits him. Through the banter between Hachiemon and Chūbei, Hachiemon pushes Chūbei to reveal the gold pieces he carries in his pouch. The banter escalates, resulting in the destruction of the seals guaranteeing the authenticity of the gold pieces, and forcing Chūbei to repay his debt to Hachiemon and pay the teahouse the rest of Umegawa's ransom. All those present congratulate Umegawa, who like everyone else present does not know the money is actually stolen. Finally alone, Chūbei reveals what he has done and the two lovers agree to elope. In the concluding scene, Chūbei and Umegawa set off to visit his father one last time in order to say their farewells before departing to commit double suicide.[126]

The actual source behind *The Courier for Hell* is unknown, although it is believed that, like Chikamatsu's other works, it was based upon an actual event.[127] There are in fact different ways of interpreting the "Cutting of the Seals" scene, which is reflected in the performances of different kabuki actors lineages. During the banter between Chūbei and Hachiemon at the teahouse, Chūbei ultimately feels as if he is being pushed into a corner. Before revealing himself from his hiding spot in the teahouse, Hachiemon

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[126] Chikamatsu Monzaemon, *Chūbei Umegawa: Meido no hikyaku* in *Chikamatsu Monzaemon shū jō*, NKBZ, p. 107-154. The reuniting of Chūbei with his father is highlighted in the dance drama *The Village of Ninoguchi* (*Ninoguchi mura* 新口村). Although Chūbei and Umegawa decided to commit suicide together, they are later caught just on the outskirts from his father's house as they are fleeing. The two are brought back to Ōsaka, where Chūbei is beheaded and his head placed on display by the Dontonburi district. Umegawa is forced to work once again in the pleasure quarters, this time as a prostitute rather than a courtesan, which will be the focus of playwright and critic Ōmori Chisetsu's (大森痴雪, 1877-1936) play, *The Aftermath of Umegawa* (*Nochi no Umegawa* 後の梅川)

[127] Chikamatsu Monzaemon, *The Courier for Hell*, in *Major Plays of Chikamtsu*, Donald Keene trans., Columbia University Press (New York, 1961), p. 161.

continually slanders Chūbei until he presents himself. In an exchange where they boast who has more money, Chūbei does the unthinkable by presenting the carefully wrapped samurai's gold pieces as his own. This leads to the dramatic highlight of the scene of the seals being broken and Chūbei now an embezzler, officially becoming a criminal.

The Nakamura Ganjirō (中村鴈治郎家) tradition portrays the breaking of the seals as almost a mistake.[128] As the banter between Chūbei and Hachiemon escalates, with each of them showing their stacks of gold, Chūbei accidentally breaks the packaging and the seal of one pile, and after the initial shock of what has happened subsides and realizing his criminal act, Chūbei then breaks all of the seals of the remaining gold pieces. This method of accidentally breaking the seals heightens the audiences' sympathies for Chūbei's plight. However, the sub-title "The Cutting of the Seals" (*Fūin giri* 封印切), suggests that the seals are intentionally broken not accidentally. Jitsukawa Enjaku III (三代目實川延若, 1921-1991) portrayed Chūbei in this manner. In order to make it even clearer to the audience, Enjaku would grab a pair of metal chopsticks used to rearrange burning coals, and deliberately use them to break the seals. Although there are differences between the portrayals, in both cases the breaking of the seals is the result of an external force: Hachiemon's bantering and teasing of Chūbei. In this manner, Chikamatsu paints an image of the townsman as indecisive, easily persuadable, and lacking in a strong character.

128 The twelve kabuki plays are known as "Ganjirō's Twelve Plays" (*Ganjirō jyūni kyoku* 玩辞楼十二曲) and were originally selected by Ganjirō I (1860-1935) as representative of his acting style and those roles that he was most famously known for.

B. Trickery and Deception

Returning to *Five Women*, Saikaku incorporates the common theme of trickery and deception throughout all five chapters, although not always with a negative connotation. In section one of chapter one, Minakawa's deception spares Seijūrō's life and eventually allows him to strengthen his own character in his relationship with Onatsu. Thus Saikaku transforms Seijūrō from a playboy, already an expert in the ways of love, yet inexperienced and ignorant in the ways of the world outside the pleasure quarters, into Seijūrō thelowly clerk, a productive, indispensable member of Tajima'ya, the merchant household he becomes apprenticed to in Himeji and lover of Onatsu. In this way, Seijūrō transcends obstacles and hardships and becomes the ideal lover for the blossoming Onatsu.

First Encounters: Onatsu and Seijūrō

After being disowned by his father, Seijūrō shuns the idea of suicide through the pleas of his mother and seeks refuge at the family's temple, Eikō'in, with the intention of becoming a Buddhist monk. However, after hearing of the death of Minakawa, he decides to make something of himself rather than take Buddhist vows, Seijūrō departs Murotsu for Himeji, where he becomes a lowly clerk in the wealthy merchant house of Tajima'ya. Here, Seijūrō devotes himself not to the ways of love, but to his work, becoming an indispensable worker at Tajima'ya.

Unlike Minakawa, who shows her utmost devotion to Seijūrō by committing suicide, Seijūrō decides not to only continue his existence, but also to forsake his Buddhist vows. In part, Seijūrō continues to live due to the pleas of his mother, but also because he learns that Minakawa had committed suicide ten days earlier. Since the time of Minakawa's suicide has lapsed, it is pointless for Seijūrō to commit suicide with the intention of being reborn with her in the next life. It is important to note however, that Seijūrō is nineteen--the same age that Yonosuke in *A Sensuous Man* took his own Buddhist vows, further linking both protagonists together.

Seijūrō's departure from Murotsu allows him to reinvent himself. No longer the carefree and wealthy playboy, he becomes an obedient member of society as an employee of Tajima'ya, marking his social transition to the status of a servant.[129] As such, Seijūrō is no longer concerned about the upkeep of his appearance, but rather being a productive employee. In this way Saikaku creates the perfect ideal townsman, one who is well versed in the ways of love, yet a devoted, productive member of society.

Onatsu, the sixteen-year-old younger sister of the owner of Tajima'ya, is said to be as beautiful, if not more, as the most beautiful courtesans in the Kansai area. Coming of age, her duties to Tajima'ya, her brother, and to society, would be to marry a prospect proposed by her brother. At this point in her life Onatsu is at a crossroads: on one hand, Onatsu's blossoming sexuality rivals those of the highest-ranking courtesans; on the other, as the younger daughter of a wealthy merchant household, her sexuality is best used to serve her future in-laws' household. William R. Lindsey refers to this as the wife-courtesan dichotomy. Lindsey argues that the purpose of female sexuality in the

[129] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 206.

early modern period was to either serve the household through reproductive fertility, or to serve the commercial sex industry by providing non-reproductive pleasures. As a wife, a woman's duties are to be obedient to her husband and in-laws, using her skills to economically advance the household, and to use her sexuality to produce an heir. As a courtesan, her duties are to act in a sophisticated and spirited manner, pretend to love all but love none, and use her sexuality for the economic advancement of the brothel.[130]

The inclusion of the story of Minakawa allows Saikaku to contrast her with Onatsu. Whereas Minakawa is well versed in the ways of love, Onatsu has yet to be exposed to eroticism. Onatsu is described as an innocent sixteen-year-old girl whose beauty rivals or surpasses the highest-ranking courtesans of Kyōto's Shimabara Pleasure district.[131] Minakawa is portrayed as the dominant figure in her relationship with Seijūrō, but it will be Seijūrō who will fulfill that role in his relationship with Onatsu.

Furthermore, Minakawa fails in her duties to the teahouse, since she falls in love with Seijūrō. Yet Saikaku eulogizes her as a courtesan who is true to her feelings. Through suicide, she determines her own fate. In the same manner, Saikaku will eulogize Onatsu as one who is undeterred by her obligations and chooses to stay true to her desires.[132]

Saikaku does not mention Onatsu's first encounter with Seijūrō, but rather only illustrates how Onatsu becomes infatuated with Seijūrō. As a new clerk employed in

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[130] Lindsey, William R., *Fertility and Pleasure: Ritual and Sexual Values in Tokugawa Japan*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), p. 4.

[131] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 261-62.

[132] Unlike Chikamatsu's version of Onatsu and Seijūrō in which Onatsu is engaged, Saikaku does not place emphasis on Onatsu's moral obligation to her family. From her age and references to her budding sexuality, however, one can still conclude that Saikaku's Onatsu is coming to an age where wedding offers will shortly follow.

Taijima'ya, it is most likely that Onatsu has come across Seijūrō before her infatuation with him begins. Onatsu only becomes infatuated with Seijūrō after he requests the head maidservant, Kame, to narrow the width of his *obi*[133]. When Kame is modifying the *obi*, she discovers some love letters from former courtesans of Murotsu.

> そこそこにほどきければ、昔の文名残ありて、取乱し読みつづけけるに、紙数十四五枚ありしに、当名皆「清さま」とありて、うら書は違ひて、花鳥・うきふね・小大夫・明石・卯の花・筑前・千寿・長州・市之丞・こよし・松山・小左衛門・出羽・みよし、みなみな室君の名ぞかし。
>
> When [Kame] pulled the *obi* seams apart, [she] discovered past love letters. Reading them in a frenzy, one after another, there was a total of fourteen or fifteen love letters all addressed to the nickname "Kiyo-sama". The signatures all differed: Kuwachō, Ukifune, Kodaiyu, Akashi, Unoha, Chikuzen, Senju, Ichinojō, Koyoshi, Matsuyama, Kozaemon, Deha, and Miyoshi-all of which are names are courtesans of Murotsu.[134]

Onatsu's infatuation begins when she hears these former love letters being read out loud by Kame.[135] Her desire for Seijūrō is fueled not by his physical features, but rather by the hidden qualities that Onatsu imagines he must possess given that many courtesans have fallen in love with him. The Seijūrō that Onatsu pines for is not the one

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[133] A wide *obi*, or slash, is only worn as a status of playboys. Since Seijūrō has transition into becoming a servant in the household of Tajima, this wide *obi* is no longer appropriate. *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 206, see note 6.

[134] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 262-63.

[135] Saikaku does not explicitly state that Kame read the love letters aloud, but the *sashi-e*, or woodblock print with which Saikaku illustrates this scene depicts Kame reading the letters and Onatsu standing by with another maidservant listening to her.

that is working for Tajima'ya, but rather, the Seijūrō as seen through the eyes of the courtesans of Murotsu.

Thomas Conlan argues that when official reciters in medieval Japan read documents aloud, they functioned as a kind of shaman who brought back the traces of another's speech.[136] It is only after Kame's recitation, that the maidservants close to Onatsu also become infatuated with Seijūrō, as if the senders of those past love letters were conjured into the household.

> つきつぎの女も、哀れに、いたましく思ふうちにも、銘々に、清十郎を恋ひ侘び、お物師は針にて血をしぼり、心の程を書き遣はしける。中居は人頼みして、男の手にて文を調へ、袂になげ込み、腰もとは、はこばでも苦しからざりき茶を見世に運び、抱姥は、若子さまに事よせて近寄り、お子を清十郎にいだかせ、膝へ小便しかけさせ…下女は又それぞれに、金じやくし片手に目黒のせんば煮を盛る時、骨、かしらをえりて、清十郎にと、気をつくるもうたてし。

> One after another [the maidservants] professed their love to Seijūrō. The seamstress sent a letter revealing her heart's desires [for Seijūrō], written her blood collected by pricking [her finger]. A maidservant threw her letter into his sleeve after asking another to write her love letter, [only to be betrayed] by his masculine handwriting. The chambermaid, although no tea was summoned in the shop, brought Seijūrō tea in order to steal glances at him. The wet nurse, made the excuse that the baby wanted to see Seijūrō. She brought the baby to be cuddled by Seijūrō, only to have the baby pee in his lap…The lowly maidservant, when serving the tuna soup, was always careful to serve Seijūrō the fish's collar and head.[137]

However, none of the women are affected more than Onatsu.

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[136]Thomas D. Conlan, "Traces of the Past: Documents, Literacy, and Liturgy in Medieval Japan," in *Currents in Medieval Japanese History*: *Essays in Honor of Jeffrey P. Mass*, Gordon M. Berger, Andrew Edmund Goble, Lorraine F. Harrington, and G. Cameron Hurst III, eds., (Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2009), p. 30.

[137]*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 264-65.

いつとなくおなつ、清十郎に思ひつき、それより明暮、心をつくし、魂身のうちをはなれ、清十郎が懐に入りて、我は現が物いふごとく、春の花も闇となし、秋の月を昼となし、雪の曙も白くは見えず、夕されの時鳥も耳に入らず、盆も正月もわきまへず、後は、我を覚えずして、恥は目よりあらはれ、いたづらは言葉に知れ…

Without knowing, from dawn to dusk, Onatsu started to long for Seijūrō. Onatsu's soul, consumed with desire for Seijūrō, fled her body and lodged itself into the kimono folds of Seijūrō's chest. Speaking as though she were in a dream, [she was oblivious as if] the spring flowers were cloaked in darkness, the [light of the] Autumn moon became same as daylight, and the whiteness of Winter's snow at dawn was no longer brilliant. [It was also as if] Onatsu was oblivious to the singing of the warbler, or whether it was the start of the New Year or the summer festival of the dead (*obon* お盆). Her eyes betrayed her and revealed her passions [for Seijūrō], as did her words.[138]

The description of Onatsu is as if she had become possessed. It is only after the letters are read out loud that she begins to suffer from love sickness and her passion for Seijūrō overcomes her sensibilities. In this manner, Saikaku's linking of Minakawa to Onatsu is not only to compare and contrast the two, but also perhaps to suggest that Minakawa is being given a second chance at her love affair with Seijūrō by possessing Onatsu.

Through Onatsu's prescient written professions of her love to Seijūrō, he finally yields his own heart to her. As a sister of a wealthy merchant, Onatsu's future husband should be of the same social ranking, and Tokugawa strictly forbade servants from pursuing love affairs with their employer's daughter or family member. The irony behind the love affair between Onatsu and Seijūrō is that Seijūrō would indeed have been a

[138]*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 263-64.

perfect match for her. Before he was disowned Seijūrō also belonged to a wealthy merchant household and he is well versed in the ways of love. If this were the typical dual-identity story line, at this point Seijūrō would be reinstated to his family fortunes, which would allow him and Onatsu to live happily ever after. Saikaku's ironical turn, however, points toward a new kind of story.

The difference in social ranking creates a dangerous situation for Onatsu and Seijūrō to consummate their love. During the full bloom of the cherry blossoms, the Tajima'ya household holds an excursion to the woods. Onatsu and the women of the household are hidden behind the outdoor curtains, where the only male allowed to accompany them is Seijūrō. Unknown to the household, Seijūrō pays the traveling lion dancers to create a diversion in order for him to slip behind the curtains where Onatsu is staying under the pretext that she is ill. It is under this curtain of deception that Onatsu and Seijūro are finally able to consummate their love.

Saikaku's Medieval Renditions in the Onatsu and Seijūrō Narrative

With Onatsu's and Seijūrō's love finally consummated, Seijūrō determines to elope with Onatsu and makes the necessarily arrangements to flee Himeji to either Ōsaka or Kyōto. Under disguise, they both board a boat with other passengers, and shortly after depart to open waters. Due to an unfortunate turn of events in which a passenger forgets his mailbag and sword, the boat is forced to return to port. Upon returning, Onatsu and Seijūrō are captured by men sent from Himeji, who were ordered to bring them back. Separated into different holding areas back in Himeji, Seijūrō is ultimately sentenced to

death. His crime, according to Saikaku, is not eloping with his master's daughter, Onatsu, but rather stealing seven hundred pieces of gold.

In section four, Saikaku incorporates a woodblock print insertion (*sashi-e* 挿絵), of the passengers in open waters after departing the port of Shikamazu. Shinoda Junichi claims that Saikaku is parodying previous woodblock prints produced during the medieval period. In particular, Shinoda points out the woodblock print of *The Tales of Sumidagawa* (*Sumidagawa monogatari* 隅田川ものかたり) and *The Tales of Ise* as a potentinal source of Saikaku's woodblock prints.[139] Printed editions of classical and medieval tales such as these circulated widely in Kyōto well up to at least around 1684. One reason for the early modern popularity of medieval short stories is the incorporation of woodblock print illustrations. Although medieval short stories may not have much in the way of remarkable plots, the woodblock prints helped influence the development of early modern popular fiction and plays,[140] and allowed early modern writers to bridge their works with the classics. In addition, many literate people could enjoy the stories even though they were not well educated.

During the time that Saikaku was writing his popular fiction, in order to reduce the cost of publications, publishers would often use the same patterns found in illustrations as those used in woodblock prints of medieval tales. Saikaku most likely produced most of his own woodblock prints in his works, including those included in

[139] Shinoda Junichi, "Chūsei shōsetsu to Saikaku-*Suidagawa monokatari* to *Kōshoku gonin onna* wo megutte," *Bungaku* (September, 1976), p. 111.

[140] Shinoda, "Chūsei shōsetsu to Saikaku-*Suidagawa mon katari* to *Kōshoku gonin onna* wo megutte," (hereafter "Chūsei shōsetsu to Saikaku"), p. 111.

Five Women, and would have been highly influenced from patterns present in previous works.

> 十人よれば十国の者、乗合舟こそをかしけれ…「おのおののお仕合せ、この風、真艫でござる」と、帆を八合もたせて…
>
> All in all, how interesting it is. Ten passengers from ten different regions all sharing the same boat…"Everyone, how fortuitous the winds are against our backs!" [shouted the boatman] as he raised the sail [and adjusted it] 30 degrees into the wind.[141]

How can we deduce that Saikaku is intentionally parodying the older illustrations? Although there is some skepticism concerning whether or not Saikaku drew the illustration of Onatsu and Seijurō fleeing from Himeji, a comparison with a previous illustration from the first chapter of *A Sensuous Man*—an illustration that we know Saikaku himself drew—we can surmise that the print of Onatsu and Seijūrō was also drawn by Saikaku. In this illustration Yonosuke, the playboy protagonist of *A Sensuous Man*, at the age of eight, is peering over a veranda peeping into a group of maids doing laundry. The way the fingers are drawn as long, thin and wavy lines are characteristic of Saikaku's style of drawing fingers. Comparing Yonosuke and the maids' fingers to that of the mail carrier, we can see that the fingers are drawn in a similar manner.

[141]*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 270.

1.1: Yonosuke peeping into the maids doing laundry.
(Ihara Saikaku, *Kōshoku ichidai otoko*, [Shianbashi (Ōsaka): Aratoyamagobēkashin, 1682] Waseda Library

Saikaku mentions the boatman raising the sail and adjusting it to catch the winds for a faster voyage. Yet, the woodblock print that Saikaku draws clearly illustrates a boat without sails (see figure 1.3). Instead, Saikaku draws a boat that is used to navigate the rivers.[142] This is one reason that Shinoda claims Saikaku based his woodblock print on the illustrations in *The Tales of Ise* (see figure 1.2) and *The Tales of Sumidagawa* (see figure 1.4).[143]

[142] A river boat is one that uses no sails. A boat used for a voyage from the Himeji region to Ōsaka would require passage through the Inland Sea, therefore sails would be needed.

[143] Shinoda also traces the possible influences of the boat woodblock print from other classical texts. For a complete over, see Shinoda, "Chūsei shōsetsu to Saikaku," p. 111-117.

Due to the emergence of publishing houses, classical works, such as *The Tales of Ise*, which originally dated to the ninth or tenth century, enjoyed a surge in readership and interest. *The Tales of Ise*, which recounts the life and love affairs of the legendary protagonist, Narihira, was enjoyed by socially diverse groups of readers. If we were to examine the boat that Saikaku uses in his illustration (see figure 1.3), this is a river boat that would not be able to make the voyage across the inland sea from Himeji to Ōsaka. Saikaku was clearly relying on previous illustrations, such as this print from *The Tales of Ise*, reprinted in 1629 (see figure 1.2). The print illustrates Narihira's journey to the Eastern province as he crosses the Sumidagawa River. As we can see, the boat is identical to the one Saikaku uses in his print.

Figure 1.2: Narihira and friends on the Sumida River
(*The Tales of Ise*, Publisher unknown [1629])
Waseda Library

One of the simplest explanations for why Saikaku might have copied the previous illustration was to cut down on printing costs. Artisans would have already been accustomed to carving the river boat and rather than having to create an entirely new ship, which would require extra time and money, it was more efficient to reuse already established patterns from previous illustrations. However, Saikaku is also using the patterns found in previous illustrations to conjure up the emotional states with which they are associated. The illustration portraying Narihira and his friends crossing the Sumidagawa River corresponds to Narihira composing a poem revealing his extreme longing for the capital. Thus, the reader is not only moved by the story, but also through the illustration, as we can see Narihira's friends weeping, and he conjures up loving memories and longing for the capital. Saikaku's use of the pattern of the illustration from *The Tales of Ise* this subtly foreshadows Onatsu's own feelings of longing for Seijūrō in the following section.

Furthermore, if we compare Saikaku's illustration to the early modern reprint of *The Tales of Sumidagawa*, we can further see how Saikaku alludes to the emotional state that is portrayed in the story that it is associated with. *The Tales of Sumidagawa* was republished in 1656 by Kyōyama Denichirōhemon in three volumes with a total of three full page woodblock print and thirteen half page woodblock print. The full page woodblock print published in *The Tales of Sumidagawa* illustrates two boats parallel to each other.

Although there are differences between the Saikaku's woodblock print and the one presented in *The Tales of Sumidagawa*, the direction of the boat and the boat itself

are almost identical. One reason for the identical direction of the boat is because the reader would be reading the text from right to left, hence the direction of the boat would also follow a similar orientation. The back of the boat would be on the right hand side while the front illustrating the direction of the boat would be on the left hand side of the reader.

In *The Tale of Sumidagawa*, both boats are transporting merry, cheerful passengers across the Sumidagawa River. The second boat lags behind the first boat in the foreground, and the reader's eyes are first drawn to the boatman and the deranged Umewakamaru's mother sitting, weeping, and holding onto a bamboo reed branch (*sasa* 笹).[144] There is an inserted caption, "Deranged woman" (*kyōjo* きょうじょ) next to the sitting figure to indicate that the figure is in fact Umewakamaru's mother. In order to guide the reader's gaze towards Umewakamaru's mother, half of the passengers are looking back towards her.

[144] The *sasa* branch, when carried, is one of the common symbols of the deranged. The carrying of the branch recalls its original function of inducing a state of divine and inspired madness (Carmen Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow: A study of shamanistic practices in Japan*, p. 107). The leaves of the *sasa* are also believed to protect those on pilgrimages. In addition, traveling peddlers used the branches to showcase and hang their wares (for example, peddlers selling paper masks during festivals).

Figure 1.3: Seijūrō and Onatsu eloping.
(Ihara Saikaku, *Kōshoku gonin onna*, [Kitamidōmae (Ōsaka): Moritashōtarō, 1668])
Waseda Library

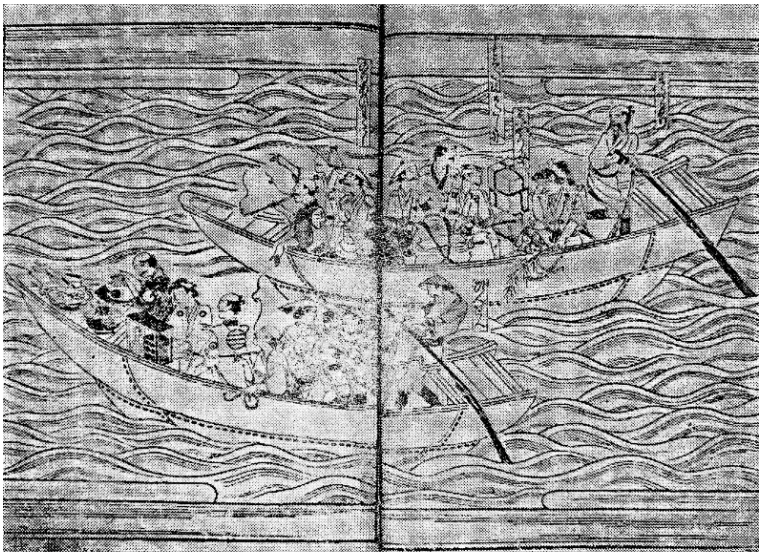

Figure 1.4: *The Tales of Sumidagawa*: Upper right sits the "madwoman" next to the boatman.
Shinoda Junichi, "Chūsei shōsetsu to Saikaku- Sumidagawa monogatari to
Kōshoku gonin onna wo megutte," *Bungaku* vol. 44 no. 9 (1976), p. 111

Saikaku's woodblock print, in contrast, has only one boat drawn across two pages. Except for the mail carrier and the boatman, all passengers are calmly sitting. This leaves the reader with two main focal points, the boatman, whose position is at the rear of the boat, and the mail carrier, who stands at the front stern in a mode of panic. The body position of the two boatmen in *The Tales of Sumidagawa* is different from that in *Five Women*. The boatman in *The Tales of Sumidagawa* body is facing towards the rear of the boat, while the boatman in *Five Women* faces forward, his attire opened at the chest and in disarray. The boatman in *Five Women* seems as if he is in a hurry, trying as best as he can to get the passengers across the Inland Sea.[145]

The patterns of the waves are also different in the two woodblock prints. The waves in *The Tales of Sumidagawa* are depicted as if they are engulfing the two boats, yet they are calm enough for a pleasant journey across the river. The overpowering patterns of the waves are a reflection of the turmoil within Umewakamaru's mother. Contrasting with the waves is the merriment of the passengers, who are unaware of the heartache and suffering of the mother in search of her kidnapped son. The merriment of the passengers is also a reflection of the mother's happier times with her son, before he was kidnapped. It is this balance that is reflected within the *The Tales of Sumidagawa*'s woodblock print: the roughness yet smooth sailing waves that at any moment could cause havoc upon the passengers, and the merriment of the passengers versus the torment of a mother in search of her son. This balance serves as the reflection of the balance between the sanity and insanity of the deranged mother.

[145] Shinoda, "Chūsei shōsetsu to Saikaku", p. 114.

In contrast, Saikaku's woodblock print illustrates the waves as being calmer, almost non-existent. The scenery in the foreground also creates a picturesque setting. Onatsu and Seijūrō blends seamlessly among the passengers, with the reader only assuming which two passengers are really them. It is only fitting that the reader cannot instantly identify Onatsu and Seijūrō, as they are trying to flee by concealing their true identity. The only commotion created in this woodblock print is not by the natural setting, but rather by the mail carrier. In this manner, Saikaku subtly hints at the true object of his critique: not the elopement of Onatsu and Seijūrō, but rather the societal restrictions that prohibit the two from being together.

After Seijūrō's and Onatsu's elopement ends in the disastrous capture of the two, both are taken back to Himeji. Onatsu, in her state of misery, refuses to consume any food. On the seventh day of her fasting, she writes a request to the deity of Murotsu for him to spare Seijūrō's life. Later that night, the deity appears to Onatsu in her dreams, warning her that although she will be spared, Seijūrō will not be as fortunate.

It is curious that Onatsu would write a request to the deity of Murotsu, a place where she never have made a pilgrimage to, rather than a local deity in Himeji. Yet as I previously noted, Onatsu is linked to Minakawa, a Murotsu courtesan and ex-lover to Seijūrō. Onatsu only becomes infatuated with Seijūrō after the reading of the love letters from various courtesans of Murotsu, which could explain the reason behind Onatsu's request to the deity of Murotsu.

Carmen Blacker has argued that according to traditional Japanese religious beliefs there is a barrier between this world and the world of the deities, which ordinary

men and women are powerless to cross.[146] A way for a person to gain the ability to see deities is through the practice of fasting.[147] Another medium in which deities can appear to interact with a person is through dreams[148] According to Blacker, the deity can appear to the dreamer in two ways. In the first, the sleeper is completely passive. A single deity appears as the sleeper lies and speaks to him or her. The sleeper is convinced that the apparition is not part of their imagination, but an objective fact.[149] In the second, the deity appears to the sleeper, who afterwards function as a guardian. The sleeper must leave his or her former life and enters a new one. The start of this new life is marked by the sleeper's performance of a course of austerities to mark the end of the former life.[150] In the case of Onatsu, the deity of Murotsu appears to Onatsu after her fasting and in her dreams, explaining to her:

> 「その方も親兄次第に男を持たば、別の事もないに、色を好みて、その身もかかる迷惑なるぞ。汝、をしまぬ命はながく、命ををしむ清十郎はやがて最期ぞ」と、ありありとの夢かなしく、目を覚まして心ぼそくなりて泣き明かしける。

> "If you too, had taken a husband in accordance to the wishes of your brother, you would not face the situation you are in. Rather, you chose your desires that have led you into trouble. Your life that you worry so little about will be long. Seijūrō's life that you care so deeply is at the end." So saying, the realities of the depressing dream made Onatsu open her eyes. In her miserable state, she wept her heart out until dawn.[151]

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[146] Carmen Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan*, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1991), p. 20.

[147] Blacker, p. 85.

[148] Ibid, p. 85.

[149] Ibid, p. 85.

[150] Ibid, p. 85.

The deity of Murotsu clearly outlines Onatsu's fault that lead her into her predicament. From a Confucian perspective, if Onatsu had been a dutiful sister, Seijūrō's life would not have been cut short.[152] However, awakened from her dream, Onatsu will transform herself, after ceremonially ending her former life, into a guardian, praying for Seijūrō's salvation.

Derangement: *Monogurui*

As I have argued so far, Saikaku opens *Five Women* with the story of Onatsu and Seijūrō by appealing to his audience's familiar medieval beliefs. In addition to Buddhist beliefs, Saikaku also incorporates insanity (*monogurui* 物狂), a well-established genre found in the nō repertory. Saikaku has Onatsu, upon hearing the death of her lover Seijūrō, become delusional, roaming around the countryside in the hope of once again encountering him. In addition to having Onatsu lapse into a temporary state of derangement in chapter one, Saikaku also hints at this motif in chapter four, where it is the male protagonist Kichisaburō, who is suffering from his longing of Oshichi, that enters the temporary state of derangement.

Zeami Motokiyo (世阿弥元清, c. 1363-c.1443), together with his father Kan'ami Kiyotsugu (観阿弥清次, 1333-1384) is accredited with being the founder of the nō

[151] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 273-74.

[152] Gundry, *No Status High or Low*, p. 232.

theater as it is known today. According to Zeami in *The Transmission of the Flower through Body Formation* (*Fūshikaden* 風姿花伝) there are two sub genres to derangement. The first includes those plays that revolve around the protagonist being possessed by either a deity, a Buddha/Bodhisattvas, disembodied spirits animated by the living or the deceased (*tsukimonoyue no monogurui nō* 憑き物故の物狂能); the second type revolves around the theme of longing for another (*omoiyue no monogurui nō* 思ひ故の物狂能).[153] However, the genre of derangement predates Zeami. From the end of the Muromachi period (1392-1573) we can already see derangement being mentioned as a genre in literature. For instance, by the end of the sixteenth century, *Yano ichiu kikigaki* (矢野一宇聞書, ca. 1573-1592) outlines not two sub genres of derangement, but four.[154] Another text, *Bunshōgoma* (舞正語磨) outlines what type of costume should be worn depending on the distance that the disillusioned protagonist wanders from her or his own hometown.[155] These texts show how popular the derangement theme became even toward the late medieval period.

The majority of nō derangement plays are from the second sub-genre where there is already a set format for these plays about insanity due to longing. In the case of these plays, the protagonist who suffers from extreme grief becomes disillusioned with reality,

[153] Zeami Motokiyo, "Fūshikaden" in *Zeami Zenchiku* (*Iwanamishoten* 1974), Vol. 24, p. 23-24.

[154] Kuroda Akira, eds., "Yano ichiu kikigaki" in *Chūsei setsuwa no bungakushiteki kankyō* (Ōsaka: *Izumishoin* 1995), p. 653-654.

[155] Shūsen'ō, *Bushōgoma* (Wan'ya shoten 1958).

and thus, teetering between reality and derangement, always believes that she[156] will once again be reunited with the one she longs for.[157]

Ōtani Setsuko, a specialist in the structure of nō drama, asserts that the sub-genre of nō derangement plays that center on longing can be further divided into two categories, according to the way the protagonist resolves her temporary state of insanity. Ōtani shows through her examination of various plays that in one category the protagonist usually encounters a traveling monk and recalls her longing for her lover that has made her unconsciously travel to the particular site. Over the course of Buddhist-themed questioning and answering (*mondō* 問答), the protagonist comes to her senses.

In the second category, Ōtani argues that the protagonist is seen usually wandering in an area that would be well known to its audience. In addition, the audience already knows from a previous scene what event triggered her derangement and the purpose of her wandering. Therefore, the highlight is not the retelling of her story, as one would see in the plays in the other category, but rather the way that the derangement is portrayed. Furthermore, it is usually not through the aid of a monk, but rather a person who is locally tied to the location in which the play takes place.[158]

Examining Saikaku's usage of derangement as represented by Onatsu, it is closely related to Ōtani's second category as noted above. Saikaku introduces his readers to how Onatsu and and Seijūrō become lovers, and their misfortune that lead to Seijūrō's

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[156] I use the pronoun "she" here, since majority of the protagonist portrayed as *monogurui* are usually female. However, this is not always the case as we see one of the most famous male *monogurui* modeled on Wanya Kyūemon (椀屋久右衛門, dates unknown), a wealthy merchant of Sakai.

[157] Ōtani Setsuko, "Nō no kōsōron" (Ph.D. diss., Kyōto University, 2003), p. 61.

[158] Ōtani Setsuko, "Nō no kōsōron", p. 6163-67.

execution that results in Onatsu's derangement. However, since Saikaku's main protagonist is not Onatsu, but rather Seijūrō, and Saikaku is writing for his readers and not theater patrons, Onatsu's derangement section is not dramatic or theatrical in its presentation. Rather, Saikaku uses the already established trope of derangement to allow his readers to have a sense of empathy for Onatsu and her plight, after having been introduced to the blossoming love affair between her and Seijūrō. Saikaku also purposely uses an already established genre in Japanese literature, performing and visual arts to appeal to a sense of familiarity among his readers. The story of Seijūrō and Onatsu serves this purpose for *Five Women*, where Saikaku models the five stories around the format of the historical play structure and opens *Five Women* with a story that develops in ways that would have already been familiar to his readers. However, as Saikaku progresses through the other stories, he evolves the direction of his stories to expand the boundaries of the pre-existing literary genres, ultimately creating his own unique style.

While Onatsu is locked up in her family's storehouse, Seijūrō is wrongfully sentenced to death, due to his crime of stealing seven hundred pieces of gold[159] from Tajima'ya. It is only after the hearing children singing "If you kill Seijūrō, you might as well kill Onatsu," that Onatsu realizes the tragic fate of her lover. It is this realization that triggers Onatsu's derangement, leading her to flee from her imprisonment and wander the mountain countryside (*yamazato* 山里), singing:

[159] Seven hundred pieces of gold would be too burdensome for Seijūrō to carry while fleeing with Onatsu. This highlights the absurdity of Seijūrō's alleged crime.

むかひ通るは清十郎でないか、
笠がよく似た、
すげ笠が、
やはんはは

Isn't that Seijūrō who passes yonder?
Oh how that hat,
that bamboo hat makes you look so dandy!
Yaha haha![160]

This song that Onatsu sings is not a new invention by Saikaku. It had already become popular in the Early Modern period by 1664.[161] It is unclear why the song became so popular. One reason may have been that it did not only represent sadness or lament, but there was an element in its structure that was very classical to it.[162] The hat (*kasa* 笠), often carried by those on a journey, can also refer to an erotic encounter between the traveler carrying the hat and another person. Here, the particular type of hat (*suge gasa* 菅笠) is made from bamboo leaves (*sasa* ささ) that became popular for pilgrims to Kumano Shrine to use in order to protect themselves on their journey.[163] The bamboo leaf hat became fashionable in Harima during the time of the Onatsu and Seijūrō incident, hence it was incorporated with the Onatsu and Seijūrō legend.[164]

[160] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 275.

[161] Takeno Seio, "Kayō no reiki ryoku-Onatsu Seijūrō mono ni sokushite" *Kokugakuin zasshi* (May 1987), p. 245.

[162] Takeno, "Kayō no reiki ryoku-Onatsu Seijūrō mono ni sokushite", p. 245.

[163] Akamatsu Keisuke, "Ushinawareta seishun he no kaisō ge: Onatsu Seijūrō monogatari no heisei," *Hyōgo shigaku* (July 1958), p. 19.

[164] Takeno, "Kayō no reiki ryoku-Onatsu Seijūrō mono ni sokushite" (hereafter "Kayō no reiki ryoku"), p. 250.

Onatsu becomes deranged shortly after learning that Seijūrō was executed in the fourth month. Onatsu is described as losing her beauty[165] and slowly transforming into a deranged being. The song Onatsu sings signifies her departure from reality and entering a world of fantasy.[166] Onatsu freely enters and leaves the mountain countryside, transcending the boundaries between the human and other world.[167]

In the same manner, Onatsu travels between the mountain countryside and Seijūrō's grave, where she comes every night to mourn her loss. At Seijūrō's grave, Onatsu envisions her lover as if he were still alive. On the hundredth day of Seijūrō's death, Onatsu is determined to commit suicide, only to be stopped by other women who had also followed her into the mountain countryside and become deranged. Their pledge to Onatsu to follow her into taking the tonsure marks the end of the one hundredth day of performing the course of austerities. With the cutting of her hair and the renouncement of the world, Onatsu physically marks the death of her old self, and reemerges as the transformed guardian deity of Seijūrō.

Saikaku thus concludes his version of the story of Onatsu and Seijūrō paying homage to yet another literary and oral genre of the medieval tradition, the medieval chanting of Buddhist-themed tales (*sekkyō'bushi* 説教節). The medieval chanting of Buddhist-themed tales, which originated in the medieval period and is often thought to be the predecessor of puppet theater chanting, usually concludes with a Buddhist teaching

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[165] *uruhashiki sugata* うるはしき姿

[166] Akamatsu Keisuke, "Ushinawareta seishun he no kaisō ge: Onatsu Seijūrō monogatari no heisei," *Hyōgo shigaku* (July 1958), p. 24.

[167] As Edmund T. Gilday notes, the villagers who reside near the hills and mountains must enter the space to perform the festival, or *matsuri*, honoring the deity who resides in that scared space. The deity enshrined in that scared space is construed to be the guardian of that village.Edmund T. Gilday, "Dancing with Spirt(s): Another View of the Other World in Japan," *History of Religions* (February 1993), p. 278.

conveyed by examples of its divine powers to the audience. However, Saikaku adds a twist to his story. Onatsu does not become Seijūrō's protective deity through the divine intervention of Buddhism, such as being aided by a Bodhisattva, or through the powers of a sūtra, but rather by the very emotions that medieval Buddhism condemns and warns its practitioners against, passion and lust: Saikaku does not allow Onatsu's tale to end by her being displaced from society due to her derangement, as would be the case of Ume-waka-maru's mother in the nō drama *Sumidagawa River*, but rather uses Onatsu's derangement as a vehicle to awaken her to realize the true path of a lover's devotion.

Conclusion

The Onatsu and Seijūrō story has proved to be enormously popular long after Saikaku's time, transgressing both time and geographical boundaries.[168] As the story spread throughout Japan, regional provinces incorporated their own traits. [169] In this chapter I have attempted to illustrate how Saikaku manipulated factual places and references to previous works of literature to conjure up certain pre-conceived imaginaries that were already associated with them. I argue that this allowed Saikaku to create an illusion behind the truth, while subtly reminding his readers that they were entering a world of fiction. Saikaku's re-invention of the associations with historical places ensured that these places, too, remained a part of cultural memory, albeit transformed.

[168] The retelling of the Onatsu and Seijūrō affair was not just limited to within Japan. In 1933, singer Sekiya Toshiko (1904-1941) created an opera version of the Onatsu affair entitled "The Derangement of Onatsu," debuting first in Paris before being performed for the first time in Japan at the Kabuki-za in Tōkyo in 1934.

[169] For instance, when the story of Onatsu and Seijūrō spread to the Wakayama province, the clothes that Seijūrō wore to the execution grounds became the famous Wakayama pattern printed on the summer attire.

It is unclear whether the Onatsu and Seijūrō incident actually ever took place or whether it was created through gossip. In any case, Saikaku's story incorporated medieval references that encouraged his readers to imagine the main characters as representative of late medieval protagonists. I have noted how Saikaku uses references to past texts, such as *The Tales of Ise* and the *Tales of Sumidagawa* to imbue his own narrative with the emotions associated with the classical episodes he is citing. Saikaku then re-enforces this by adding print illustrations which serve as a visual emotional connection for his readers. Onatsu's derangement sequence is illustrated simply, yet the inclusion of it references the nō theater and medieval representations of the deranged lover. Thus, Saikaku ties his rendition of the Onatsu and Seijūrō incident to past precedents, establishing the very boundaries in which he seeks to expand and evolve from.

CHAPTER TWO:

Transcending Boundaries of Social Class: The Tale of Oshichi and Kichisaburō

> And so this tale encompassed a variety of love and sorrow; the impermanence, the illusion, the reality.[170]
>
> Ihara Saikaku

In the third month of 1682, a woman called Oshichi was paraded around the town of Edo[171] dressed in her finest garments before the authorities executed her at the Suzugamori execution grounds on the shores of Shinagawa. The story of Oshichi's crime and execution was recorded in *The Jest Book Collection of the Tenna Years* (*Tenna shōishū* 天和笑委集, 1681-1684), according to which Oshichi was burned at the stake along with several other arsonists on the twenty-eight day of the third month of 1683.[172] *The Jest Book Collection of the Tenna Years* records that on the twenty-eight day of the twelfth month of 1681 a fire broke out at the Daienji temple in Komagome that later

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[170] *Satemo satemo, toriatsumetaru koi ya, awareya. Mujō nari, yumenari, utsutsu nari* (*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 364).

[171] The parade of criminals around the town of Edo was called the parading around to the five spots (*gokasho hikimawashi* 五ヶ所引回し). These five spots included Nihonbashi bridge, Sujikaihashi bridge, the Akasaka gate, Ryōgokubashi bridge, and the Yotsuya gate. The criminals would be publically shamed with an explanation of their crimes before being executed at either Suzugamori or Kozukappara execution grounds.

[172] Among the arsonists who were executed along with Oshichi was a young boy named Kisaburō. Since the *The Jest Book Collection of the Tenna Years* records Oshichi's lover as young temple page named Ikuta Shōnosuke, there is speculation Saikaku was influenced by the name of Kisaburō, who was punished for the same crimes as Oshichi.

spread to the Hongō district. This fire displaced Oshichi and her family who sought refuge at the Shōsen'in temple.[173] At the temple, Oshichi encountered a young page, Ikuta Shōnosuke, and through her maidservant, Oshichi and Shōnosuke were able to correspond with each other professing their love. This correspondence continued even after Oshichi returned to her newly rebuilt residence. Longing for Shōnosuke, Oshichi decided that if her house were to burn down again, she would be able to freely see her lover. However, Oshichi's plan was foiled when she was captured trying to set fire to a nearby building on the second day of the third month. Not wanting to implicate Shōnosuke, Oshichi bravely met her end on the eighteenth day of the third month. Shōnosuke was stopped from appealing on Oshichi's behalf by the maidservant who relayed Oshichi's wishes to keep Shōnosuke from being implicated in her crime. Thus, in the fourth month, Shōnosuke traveled to Mount Koya where he took the tonsure and entered the priesthood.[174]

Oshichi's story was quickly picked up and disseminated by local newspapers (*yomiuri* 読売), actors, street performers and preachers.[175] Although it is unclear which source Saikaku based his version on, Saikaku fictionalized Oshichi's love affair roughly three years after her execution in the fourth chapter of *The Sensuality of Five Women*. Saikaku divides the story of Oshichi (お七) and her lover into five sections, changing Shōnosuke into a fictional character named Onogawa Kichisaburō (小野川吉三郎).

[173] Oshichi and her family were affiliated with the Shōsen-in temple.

[174] *Tenna shōishū* vol. 13, in *Shin enseki jusshu* vol. 5 (Tōkyo: Chūokōronsha, 1981), p. 136-138.

[175] Ibid, p. 138.

In section one, Oshichi, the daughter of a wealthy produce merchant Hachibei, flees with her mother to Kichijōji Temple in Komagome ward of the town of Edo, in order to escape the flames that would eventually consume their residence. During her refuge at Kichijōji Temple, she encounters a young masterless samurai (*rōnin* 浪人) Kichisaburō. Under the moonlight, Kichisaburō is struggling to remove a splinter without much success. Oshichi's mother, also without much success, tries to help the young lad by calling upon Oshichi to help remove the splinter. This first encounter between the two characters sparks the intense longing for each other later on, which eventually leads to their sexual encounter in section two.

Section three highlights the extreme longing of Oshichi and Kichisaburō. With the completion of Hachibei's new residence, his wife and daughter leave the temple, and the young lovers separate. Oshichi becomes lovesick and Kichisaburō disguises himself as a poor peasant selling vegetables in order to gain access to Oshichi's residence. Kichisaburō and Oshichi are thus able to once again consummate their love for one another. The separation after this meeting, however, drives Oshichi to commit arson in section four, in the hopes of once again being reunited with Kichisaburō. Oshichi is then captured and sentenced to death by being burned at the stake. In section five, Kichisaburō hears the news of Oshichi's death and tries to join her in the afterlife by committing suicide, but is persuaded to become a Buddhist monk instead.

In crafting the story of Oshichi and Kichisaburō, Saikaku makes use of his talents as a *haikai* poet to juxtapose the social reality of contemporary Edo with various ideal worlds of the past. In this chapter, I first illustrate how Saikaku inverts classical motifs and portrays a world where it is the woman who instigates the romantic affair. I then

argue that Saikaku further redefines the role of women by associating the relationship of Oshichi and Kichisaburō with medieval representations of the supernatural, parodying Buddhist notions of overly lustful women who are transformed into demonic creatures. The portrayal of Oshichi's strong will is also highlighted by Kichisaburō's lack of agency. I argue that Saikaku's introduction of the male-male relationship (*shudō* 衆道) theme revolving around Kichisaburō, empowers Oshichi to determine the course of her love affair with him. In this way, Saikaku is able to create a place where Oshichi's and Kichisaburō's love affair can exist, representing a world that is both sentimental and cruel.

The Juxtaposition between the Classic and Popular

The entry dedicated to Oshichi in *The Jest Book Collection of the Tenna Years* (hereafter *The Jest Book*) devotes a lengthy section to the beginnings of her early life.

> 七つの春より、ある師を頼みて手習をさせ、読書事をならはしむるに、一字を受けては二字をさとり、十字を習へば廿字をおぼえ、多くの友の中に、かれにひとしきはなかりし、あるひは、徒然、伊勢物語、古今やうのたけある双紙をよましむるに、二へん三べん、もしは五へんにして是を覚え、後の後迄又忘るゝ事をせず…今ははや二八の春に至る、さてもかたちのあてやか成事、語るに言葉たらず、しるすに筆をあやしむ、凡其色の白きをいはゞ、田子の浦うち出見れば白砂の、ふじのたかねにゆきのふゞきのつもるがごとし、みどりの髪たけにあまりてながく…結ひ上たる鬢のはつれ、ほころびそむる梅の花、にほひもいかにとあやまたる、まゆのかゝりはことさらに、ひかりもきよき半月の、西山にかたむき給ふにさも似たり、あくまで目の内涼しく、唇あこうして紅にひとし…立姿、あゆみぶ

りの風流なる事、たとへて是を云ば、吉野、立田の花紅葉…父母につかえて心をやぶらず、常に孝をつくす…みる人立どころにめでまどひ…もしは、参詣物もふでに立出たる祈から、路次にて姿を見る事あれば、いかにたうとき徳行のひぢりも、覚えず玉しひ飛みだれ、とし頃の行法をわすれ、あはや天女爰にあまくだるか…

From the age of seven, Oshichi started her education under a certain teacher. In teaching her in the matters of reading and writing, for every single glyph in which she received instruction, she learned two. So that having been taught ten glyphs, she mastered twenty. Among all of her friends, she was never alone. For example, she read the classics of *Tsurezuregusa*, *Ise monogatari*, and *Kokinshu*. If she read two lines, three lines, even five lines, she memorized it all and never forgot any lines that followed…currently, she reached the age of sixteen. In regards to the maturity of her figure, there are not enough words to say, or are there enough characters to write [that will do her justice]. If we were to talk about her white skin, it resembles the white sands of Tago Bay or the snowcapped peak of Mount Fuji. Her glossy hair was unusually long…the loose strains of hair from her sides smelled like the blooming plum blossoms. Her eyebrows were similar to the radiant crescent moon setting over the western mountains. Her eyes were forever clear, her lips were crimson…her posture and manners were refined. If we were to talk about [her poise], it was like the full blooms of Yoshino or the crimson foliage of Tatsuta…to her parents, she served them wholeheartedly with virtue and patience…she stopped all those who glanced at her in their tracks…[even] the high priest who saw her [pass by] in the streets would disregard his virtues and his soul would leap from his body in distraught. Forgetting Buddha's teachings mastered through austerities, he wondered if she was a lost angel fallen from the heavens.[176]

The above entry pays homage to both Oshichi's intelligence and her beauty. As a young woman, Oshichi excels at her studies, bright and quick to learn, exhibiting the capacity to master the classics. This entry also highlights the extent to which publishing houses flourished in the early part of the early modern period and how the nouveau riche townsmen's access to education was on par with that of the upper echelons of the elites.

[176] *Shin enseki jisshu*, vol. 7 (Tōkyo: Chūōkōransha, 1982), p. 192.

Oshichi's education in the classics does not corrupt her into becoming a free thinker, but rather illustrates her well-rounded nature that makes her an exemplary model for filial piety and patience.

In contrast to the *The Jest Book*, Saikaku focuses primarily on Oshichi's beauty.

> ここに、本郷の辺に、八百屋八兵衛として売人、むかしは俗姓賤しからず。この人ひとりの娘あり、名はお七といへり。年も十六、花は上野のさかり、月は隅田川のかげきよく、かかる美女のあるので、べきものか。都鳥その業平に、時代ちがひにて見せぬ事の口惜し。これに心を掛けざるはなし。
>
> In the area surrounding Hongo, there was a merchant known as the Hachibei the Greengrocer whose lineage was of quality. Hachibei had one daughter named Oshichi who was sixteen years old (*toshi mo jyūroku*).[177] Her beauty was like the full blooms of the cherry blossoms at Ueno, or the radiant rays of the moon shimmering on the Sumidagawa River. How can it be possible that such a beauty exists in this world? How unfortunate it is that Oshichi did not live during the time of Narihira [when he composed his] *miyako* bird poem.[178] There was not one whose heart did not long for Oshichi.[179]

The Jest Book and Saikaku's account also differ in their use of imagery and references. *The Jest Book* compares the whiteness of Oshichi's skin to the white sands of Tago Bay and the snowcapped peaks of Mount Fuji, a clear reference to poem number

[177] It is not clear if the narrator is implying that Oshichi is actually fifteen and is turning sixteen this year, or if this is an oversight since later Oshichi reveals that she is fifteen turning sixteen. It can also be interpreted that Oshichi is lying to Kishisaburō when she reveals her age during their dialogue.

[178] This reference of Narihira is from ninth passage of *The Tales of Ise* titled "The Journey Eastward" (*Azuma kudari* 東下り).

[179] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 341.

four in the collection of *One Hundred Poems, One Hundred Poets* (*Hyakunin isshū* 百人一首), by Yamabe no Akahito (ca. eight century).[180]

tago no ura ni	From the Tago Bay
uchi idete mireba	When gazing out I see
shirotahe no	White as the mulberry cloth
Fuji no takane ni	On the towering peaks of Mount Fuji
yuki ha furitsutsu[181]	The fallen snow.

The Jest Book further references plum and cherry blossoms, as well as crimson maple leaves, which are all classical poetic tropes as are the association of cherry blossoms and crimson maple leaves with the physical spaces of Yoshino and Tatsuta. In this manner, *The Jest Book* ties the representation of Oshichi to the classical figures of the past, distancing her from the early modern townsmen.

Saikaku's description of Oshichi, by contrast, modernizes her representation in such a way that makes her more familiar to contemporary readers. Instead of referencing Yoshino and Tatsuta, he uses the locations of Ueno and Sumidagawa. For the Edo townsmen, both locations were popular sights for cherry blossom viewings and boating. In typical *haikai* style,[182] Saikaku combines the classical poetic tropes of the cherry

[180] This poem originally appears in a slightly different form in *Collection of Myriad Ages* (*Man'yōshū*, eight century) in chapter three, poem 318, and later in the *New Collection of Ancient and Modern Japanese Poems* (*Shinkokin wakashū*, ca. 1439).

[181] For a complete English commentary on this poem see Joshua S. Mostow, *Pictures of the Heart: The Hyakunin Isshu in the Word and Image* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996).

[182] *Haikai* poetry is a style of juxtaposing the refined (classical) with the vulgar (contemporary). Haruo Shirane argues the practice of *haikai* allowed the educated elite to create a world of "humorous linguistic and social disjunction." For the townsmen, however, *haikai* allowed them to represent their own lives and to create new literary genres.See Shirane, *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

blossoms and the moon with places within the recently designated hegemonic seat of the Tokugawa bakufu in the town of Edo. These new associations illustrate the shift in political power from the Kansai region to Edo by combining the representations of the established culture with the newly emerging one. In addition, by merging the image of Narihira from *The Tales of Ise* with Oshichi, Saikaku is conjuring the images of amorous, erotic encounters of Narihira with Oshichi. Oshichi's character now highlights the tension between the virtuous, dutiful daughter and the sensual, sexually charged woman. In this manner, Saikaku modernizes the figure of Oshichi while also elevating the popular space of Ueno and Sumidagawa.[183]

Taking cover from the thunderstorm, Oshichi sneaks into Kichisaburō's room to consummate her desire for him. Saikaku depicts a humorous scene, emphasizing how inexperienced the two young teenagers are in the matters of love. The passage clearly highlights how direct Oshichi is in fulfilling her desires: as she travels from her chambers, she encounters numerous people along the way but is not deterred; these encounters only strengthen her conviction to be with Kichisaburō.

The barter scene between Oshichi and the temple novice, who is Kichisaburō's roommate, underlines the extent to which Oshichi is willing to go in order to be with Kichisaburō. It also illustrates how commerce and the trading of goods for services have progressed. The temple novice blackmails Oshichi for cash, a deck of cards, and sweet rice cakes in exchange for his silence and turning a blind eye to Oshichi's sexual encounter with Kichisaburō. This barter scene also highlights Oshichi's quick wit and

[183] *The Jest Book* relies on places in the Kansai region（*kamigata* 上方）to illustrate Oshichi as a maiden worthy of recording within the accounts. Saikaku, however, inverts this by associating Oshichi with locations in Edo. Saikaku, as a Kansai region resident, could be using Edo locations as a way to eroticize Oshichi to his Kansai region readers, while creating a sense of familiarity to his Edo readers.

her ability to negotiate. While *The Jest Book* describes Oshichi's extensive knowledge of the classics, Saikaku focuses instead on a quality prized among the townsmen, the ability to conduct business.[184]

After agreeing to fulfill the temple novice's demands in exchange for his silence, Oshichi lies besides Kichisaburō, who is still asleep. Oshichi, without making a sound, pulls closer to Kichisaburō (*Kichisaburō ne sugata ni yorisohite, nanto mo kotoba naku, shidokenaku mo tarekakareba*). From the start of this interaction between Oshichi and Kichisaburō, it is clear that Oshichi dominates the relationship. She is the one traveling to visit her lover, a parodic inversion of classical male lovers such as Ariwara no Narihira and Hikaru Genji.

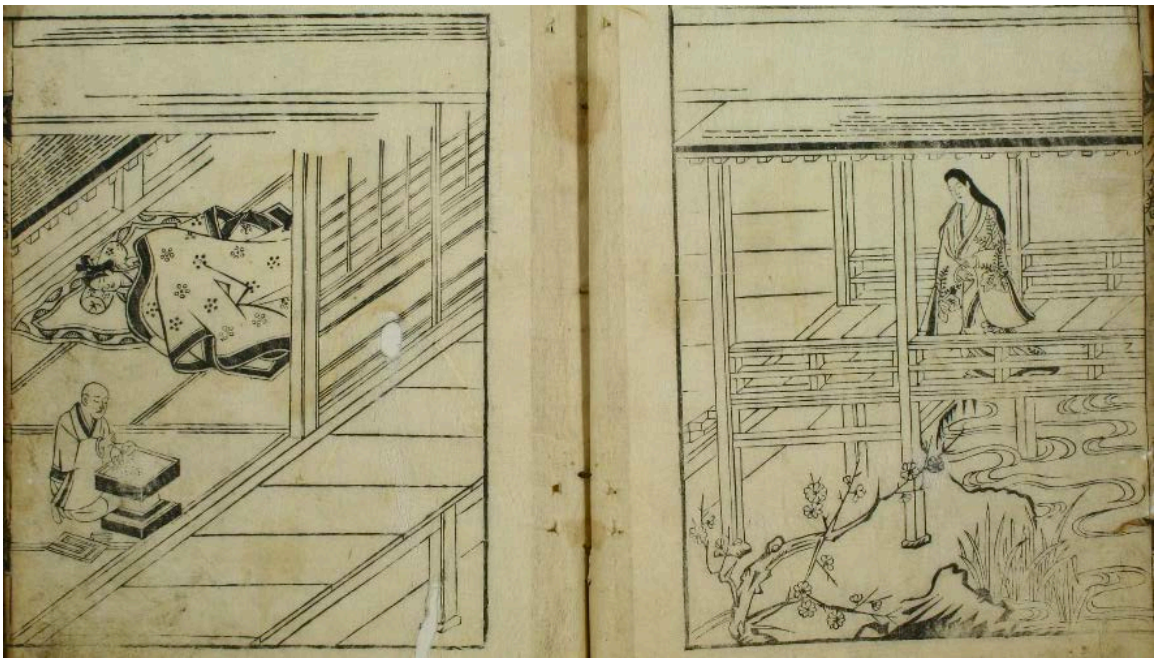

Figure 2.1: Oshichi traveling to Kichisaburō's room.
(Ihara Saikaku, *Kōshoku gonin onna*, [Kitamidōmae (Ōsaka]): Moritashōtarō, 1868])
Waseda University

[184] Although the education in high culture was an important aspect of wealthy townsmen, Saikaku also stresses the importance of the very foundations that established and defined their social class.

Figure 2.2: Lady Ise traveling with her completed version of *The Tale of Ise*
(Shinoda Jun'ichi, "*Koten to Saikaku*: *Kōshoku gonin onna-maki yon wo megutte*," *Bungaku*, vol. 46 [August 1978])

In the woodblock illustration (*sashi-e* 挿絵) that illustrates this scene (see figure 2.1), Oshichi is shown walking down the temple corridor on her journey to fulfill her desires. The woodblock illustration is believed to be based upon an illustration Saikaku drew.[185] According to Shinoda Jun'ichi, this woodblock illustration is based upon *The Annotated Tales of Ise* (*Kashiragaki Ise monogatari* 頭書伊勢物語)[186] published in the eighth month of 1685, roughly half a year earlier than *The Sensuality of Five Women*

[185] The way the fingers are drawn, the long, skinny fingers are distinctively the characteristic in which Saikaku drew his illustrations. However, it should be noted that some scholars also believe that this illustration was by the artist Yoshida Hanbei, commissioned by and supervised by Saikaku.
[186] Shinoda Jun'ichi, "*Koten to Saikaku*: *Kōshoku gonin onna-maki yon wo megutte*," *Bungaku*, vol. 46 (August 1978), p. 29-50. In the Early modern period, classical literary works, such as *Tales of Ise* and *Tale of Genji* were published as both educational and recreational texts. The recreational texts, or *hanbon*, were marketed to the townsmen and included a variety of woodblock prints, or *sashi-e*. The *Annotated Tales of Ise* was published as a *hanbon* that included a commentary to the text.

(hereafter *Five Women*) was published. Shinoda argues that the woodblock illustration Saikaku used to portray Oshichi resembles the woodblock illustration in *The Annotated Tale of Ise* (see figure 2.2), where Lady Ise, who just completed writing *The Tales of Ise*, is carrying the manuscript down the corridor, and thus suggests that Saikaku is parodying *The Tales of Ise* and modeling his version of Oshichi and Kichisaburō on the first five sections of *The Annotated Tale of Ise*.[187]

Whether Shinoda is correct or not, the fact that the woodblock illustration of Oshichi is uncannily similar to the illustration of Lady Ise would have probably made readers connect the figure of Oshichi to the classical text. Moreover, Oshichi is not just a passive participant who merely records the tales, but rather creates her own erotic adventures similar to Narihira. Thus, the merging of the erotic and sexual representations of Narihira with Oshichi's character serves to challenge the norms imposed upon the early modern townswomen. The association of Oshichi with *The Tales of Ise* allows Saikaku to depict a woman overcoming the strict gender norms of the time, at least within the ideal world of the story.

[187] Shinoda, "*Koten to Saikaku*: *Kōshoku gonin onna-maki yon wo megutte*," p. 29-50. Inoue furthers Shinoda's claim by stressing that Oshichi's woodblock illustration does not illustrate a scary, deranged, lust-filled woman but rather an aristocratic, well-groomed lady. Therefore, Inoue argues that Oshichi's woodblock illustration is the same as the woodblock illustration portraying Lady Ise (Inoue, "Oshichi, The Greengrocer's Daughter: A Cultural History of *Sewamono*, 1686-1821, p. 70). Although Inoue's observations are valid, it was common to recycle previous woodblock illustration to minimize production costs. Thus, Oshichi's woodblock illustration maybe the result of Saikaku tying his story to *The Tale of Ise*, and most recently to the popular *Annotated Tale of Ise*, but it could have also been the result of minimizing costs.

Transgressing Boundaries: Oshichi's Erotic Encounter

> 折ふしの夜嵐をしのぎかねしに、亭坊、慈悲の心から、着替のある程出して、かされける中に、黒羽二重の大ふり袖に、梧銀杏のならべ紋、紅うらを山道のすそ取り、わけらしき小袖の仕立て、焼きかけ残りて、お七心にとまり、「いかなる上臈か世をはようなり給ひ、形見もつらしと、この寺にあがり物か」と、我が年の頃おもひ出して、哀れにいたましく、あひみぬ人に無常おこりて、「思へば夢なれや、何事もいらぬ世や、後生こそまことなれ」。

> Just then, the refugees suffered with [the turning of weather] and the bitter cold evening winds. The monk, to whom the care of the refugees was assigned to, out of pity, brought out whatever warmer garments that they might change into. Within the pile of garments, there was a double-sided[188] black silk *kimono* with extra-long sleeves which displayed one crest of paulownia leaf and another of ginko leaf. The color scheme of the *kimono* was inspired by the short-sleeved *kimono*, where the skirt was highlighted with a crimson trim that wrapped around resembling a winding path through the mountain. Taking notice of the lingering scent of the incense, Oshichi took special interest in this garment. "I wonder what sort of young maiden departed from this world so early? It must be too painful to look at the *kimono* and therefore it was donated to the temple?" Oshichi thus wondered if the young maiden was around her age. Even without knowing the young maiden, Oshichi felt even more pity for her and decided to recite a short prayer for her. "To understand that life is like a dream and everything in this world is just fleeting, is to be able to seek rebirth in Western Paradise. This is the true path that we should seek."[189]

According to Oogake Mao, this passage highlights Oshichi's innocence and girlish charms, while also suggesting her determination to choose her own fate. In

[188] The double-sided (*awase* 袷) kimono is worn during the colder months. To the outer *kimono*, an inner *kimono* is sewn to it, acting as a liner.

[189] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 341-42.

particular, Oogake argues that Oshichi is strong willed and opinionated because she is dissatisfied with the situation of her current life and laments the impermanence of the world. These dark thoughts are what lead her to ponder about the afterlife.[190] Oshichi takes interest in the stranger's garment, even offering to recite a prayer on her behalf. As a young maiden, Oshichi is taught to respect the wishes of her parents and to marry a suitor of their choosing, thus, repressing her will and desires.[191]

The double crest displayed on the *kimono* is that of the paulownia leaf and a gingko leaf, illustrated on the *kimono* side-by-side. The paulownia leaf crest is the secondary crest (*kawari mon* 代り紋) used by the Imperial family, with the primary crest of the chrysanthemum flower. According to Chinese legend, a phoenix (鳳凰, Chinese f*ènghuáng*; Japanese *hōō*) singing in a Chinese parasol tree foretells the coming of a wise and virtuous leader. This tale was introduced to the Imperial court, where the Japanese paulownia tree took the place of the Chinese parasol tree.[192] The sacredness and auspicious beliefs associated with the paulownia tree were incorporated as the secondary crest representing the imperial family. Later, permission was granted for high-ranking aristocratic families to use the crest as their own. With the rise of the warrior class, it was powerful warrior families who adopted the paulownia crest[193] with the intent of

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[190] Oogake, "*Kōshoku gonin onna* maki yon *Koigusa kara geshi Yaoya monogatari* no kōsai," p. 41.

[191] Ibid, p. 41.

[192] Sadao Hibi and Motoji Niwa, *Snow, Wave, Pine: Traditional Patterns in Japanese Design*, (Kodansha International Ltd., 2001), p. 24.

[193] Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598) used the paulownia leaf as part of his crest. Born as a peasant and having risen in ranks under the leadership of Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), he eventually avenged Oda's death and unite the fighting factions. Because of his low birth, Toyotani was prohibited from taking the title of Shogun, and thus became chancellor, or *kanpaku*. He created the surname, Toyotomi, and adopted his own paulownia crest as a way help elevate his lineage. Today, the Toyotomi crest is used by the Japanese Government.

legitimizing and elevating their families' social status. In the early modern period, the gingko leaf crest was often associated with the Tokugawa clan as a secondary crest, the primary being the three hollyhock leaves within a circle. The usage of the double crests, according to *The Great Mirror of the Art of Love* (*Shikido Ōkagami* 色道大鏡, 1678), then became popular in the pleasure quarters among courtesans. Later, townsmen picked up on the usage and displaying of the double crests, usually one representing their family crest, and the second displaying that of their lover.

Saikaku chose two distinctive crests, the paulownia dating back to ancient Japan, while the gingko represented the Tokugawa period, much like the difference between Kichisaburō and Oshichi. Kichisaburō's lineage is one that is well established, while Oshichi represents the emerging class. Saikaku's usage of the double crest displayed on the black *kimono* also suggests that the young maiden has either extreme feelings for, or is in a love affair with someone outside her own social class.[194] It is ironic that Oshichi feels a connection with the *kimono*'s previous owner, strong enough to offer a prayer on behalf of the deceased without knowing the former owner's identity, given that she too will meet a similar demise. Saikaku's inclusion of this brief episode informs his readers that Oshichi's affair with Kichisaburō is doomed from the very start.[195]

Disgruntled with the current state of her life, Oshichi chooses to disregard her obligations to her parents and society by determining her own fate.[196] The temple setting

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[194] Oogake, "*Kōshoku gonin onna* maki yon *Koigusa kara geshi Yaoya monogatari* no kōsai" (hereafter "*Gonin onna* maki yon"), p. 47.

[195] Oogake, "*Gonin onna* maki yon," p. 47.

[196] Oogake claims that Oshichi's personality must be strong-willed to begin with, otherwise she would not be questioning her life at this particular moment (Oogake, "*Gonin onna* maki yon," p. 41).

that Saikaku chooses also allows Oshichi to be free from the restrictions placed upon her when in a residential setting. During the Early Modern period, pilgrims found freedom by briefly stepping outside the restrictive structures of community and society.[197] During her stay at the temple, Oshichi is not only a refugee from the fire, but also an escapee from reality. This separation from reality allows Oshichi to be freed of her obligations as a dutiful daughter and empowers her in her quest to seduce Kichisaburō. The temple novice comments on Oshichi's appearance:

> 「汝元来帯とけひろげにて、世に徒らものや、たちまち消えされ。この寺の大黒になりたくば、和尚のかえらるるまで待て」

> [Oshichi], walking around with your sash untied and [your appearance] disheveled, you look like a newly departed soul! If you are looking to become the wife of a monk, you better wait until the monks return.[198]

Oshichi's determination to quench her desire for Kichisaburō transforms her physical appearance to resemble a nonhuman, night-crawling creature engulfed in passion and lust. It is this transformation that empowers her to be true to her feelings towards Kichisaburō. As Satoko Shimazaki has noted, representations of ghosts in premodern genres tend to be strongly gendered. Vengeful male ghosts (*onryō* 怨霊) often return to wreak havoc upon the public sphere, usually in the form of a natural

[197] James H. Foard, "The Boundaries of Compassion: Buddhism and National Tradition in Japanese Pilgrimage," Journal of Asian Studies vo. 41, no. 2 (February, 1982), p. 239.

[198] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 347.

disaster, in retribution toward the people who have wronged them. Women who become ghosts, however, return to seek vengeance on the lover who has betrayed them, and their revenge tends to be limited to private affairs.[199] Although Kichisaburō has not wronged Oshichi, her lustful pursuit of him is a private affair, and her transformation allows her to break out from the boundaries of her moral duties and obligations to her parents in order to embrace Kichisaburō.

The woodblock illustration of Oshichi traveling to Kichisaburō's room, portrays Oshichi transgressing over a bridge with a tiny stream flowing beneath it.[200] The newly deceased soul of the young maiden foreshadows Oshichi's fate, and also implies the possibility of the soul possessing Oshichi, whose passions and lust mirror that of the young maiden. Although the exact social class to which the recently deceased maiden belongs to is not clear, the materials and length of the *kimono*, along with its crests, imply that she was of very wealthy standing.[201] As Oshichi crosses the bridge, she seems to be wearing the *kimono* of the dead young woman, as the woodblock illustration shows the pattern of the paulownia leaf displayed on her kimono.[202] The pairing of Oshichi with

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[199] Satoko Shimazaki, *Edo Kabuki in Transition: From the Worlds of the Samurai to the Vengeful Female Ghost*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), p. 150.

[200] The bridge (*hashi gakari*) in the nō theatre represents the joining of two divided worlds. On one side of the bridge is the world in which humans inhabit, while the other side lies a realm inhabited by non-human beings with supernatural powers. Their existence is ambivalent, mysterious and strange, (Carmen Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow*: *A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan*, [Great Britain: Routledge, 1999], p. 20).

[201] Although Saikaku does not explicitly reveal the social status of the deceased maiden, I argue that the young maiden was a member of aristocratic class. The *kimono* is presented with only the paulownia crest, and since this woodblock illustration is linked to the woodblock illustration of Lady Ise, we can assume that the young maiden was most likely from the aristocracy.

[202] The *kimono* of the deceased young maiden was black with double crest displayed upon it. However, the *kimono* in which Oshichi is wearing is white with only the paulownia leaf clearly visible. The technique of creating woodblock prints may have made it difficult to have Oshichi in a black *kimono* with the paulownia leaf visible. In addition, if Oshichi is illustrated in black, it would also affect the overall ascetic appeal of the woodblock illustration.

the deceased young woman, both engulfed by passion and lust, reinforces the portrayal of Oshichi as an embodiment of the supernatural and the strange. At the same time, Oshichi's bridge crossing marks the exit from her own social class into the world of the samurai.

The morning after Oshichi and Kichisaburō's erotic encounter, the ringing of the early morning bell awakens Oshichi's regret, as she must soon depart from him.

> 程なくあけぼのちかく、谷中の鐘せはしく、吹上の榎の木朝風はげしく、「うらめしや、今寝ぬくもる間もなく、あかぬは別れ、世界は広し、昼を夜の国もがな」と、俄に願ひ、とても叶はぬ心をなやませしに、母の親、「これは」と、たづね来て、ひつたてゆかれし。おもへば、むかし男の、鬼一口の雨の夜のここちして、吉三郎あきれ果ててかなしかりき。

> Without [allowing the young couple to take a short break from love making] the arrival of the morning was marked by the sounds of bells ringing from the Yanaka area.[203] A strong morning wind blew through the Fukiage area[204], rustling the nearby trees. "Oh how hateful! How dreadful it is that [just now we fell asleep], but even before we can warm ourselves in bed, we must part. This world is so vast, there must be a land where the afternoons are nights," Oshichi hurriedly pleaded. As Oshichi contemplated the impossibility of her pleas, Oshichi's mother came looking for her daughter. Approaching [Oshichi and Kichisaburō lying together in bed], Oshichi's mother exclaimed "What's this," while dragging Oshichi [out of bed] and taking her back with her. This scene reminds us of the time Narihira's lover was swallowed in one bite by a

[203] The bells are being rung at the Kanōji Temple, present day Tenōji Temple located in present day Taito ward of Tōkyo. The bells are struck six times to mark the sixth hour of the morning (dawn).

[204] The Fukiage area is located in an area west of Komagome from the Koishi River to Otsuka.

> demon in the middle of a rainy night.[205] The helpless and distraught Kichisaburō [could only stand there in disbelief].[206]

Satisfied after fulfilling her desires, Oshichi is still left thirsting to spend more time with Kichisaburō. Saikaku uses the trope of ringing morning bells to signal the parting of lovers. Although Oshichi hears the morning bells ring every morning, the bells on this particular morning mark Oshichi as being different than before. Her comment of resentment is such that an experienced lover would make and not that of a young, innocent girl who is trembling and crying while embracing Kichisaburō.[207] Nevertheless, we are reminded that Oshichi is just the visitor, and that her relationship with Kichisaburō is forbidden based upon Tokugawa laws that prohibit relationships between members of differing social classes.

Oshichi's remarks about the possibility of a land in this world that is always dark also reminds the readers of the retelling of Seijūrō's early years in chapter one, section one, in which Seijūrō creates an artificial world that is lit so brightly that night never falls. Seijūrō is able to do this because he has nothing to hide, showing off not only his wealth, but also his reputation as an experienced playboy that allows him to be part of this artificial world. Onatsu and Seijūrō's first sexual encounter, made possible by the diversion of the lion dancers, takes place during the day. In fact, Saikaku even inserts a

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[205] Saikaku is referring to chapter six in a section titled "Pearls of Dew" of the *Tales of Ise* (*Ise Monogatari*, NKBT; Peter MacMillan trans., *The Tales of Ise*, [United Kingdom: Penguin Publishing House, 2016], p. 9-10). Saikaku associates Oshichi and Kichisaburō to Narihira's erotic escapades. Oshichi awakens Kichisaburō's *nyōshoku* appetite and leads him to abandon his sworn pledge and down a path of erotic desire.

[206] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 350-51.

[207] Oogake, "*Gonin onna* maki yon," p. 41.

woodcutter to peep in on their lovemaking. The woodcutter is both amazed and amused by this situation. Although according to Tokugawa law, the store clerk Seijūrō is prohibited from having a love affair with Onatsu, in reality, if Seijūrō had not been disinherited, he would have been the perfect match for her. Yet, Oshichi is a visitor into another world that she truly does not belong in. Her intrusion into the world of beyond her own social class forces her to take cover under the cloak of night in order to fulfill her desires. Although the temple novice is present in the room, and reminds her of his payment as she is lead away by her mother, Saikaku does not mention him peeping at the couple, as if hinting at the awkwardness of Oshichi's and Kichisaburō's sexual encounter.

Figure 2.3: Right: Oshichi's mother, Oshichi, and their servants depart the temple. Left: Kichisaburō in disguise arrives at Oshichi's father's store front.
(Ihara Saikaku, *Kōshoku gonin onna*, [Kitamidōmae (Ōsaka]): Moritashōtarō, 1868])
Waseda University

In section three, Oshichi's departure from the temple and return to her residence marks her reentrance back into society and her designated place within it based upon her social class. In the corresponding woodblock illustration that accompanies Oshichi's departure from the temple,[208] Oshichi is illustrated as departing in the same *kimono* that she wore when she went to visit Kichisburō's room (see figure 2.3), which is also the same *kimono* of the recently deceased young maiden that was loaned to her on that unusually chilly night. This further illustrates that Oshichi is not the same person when leaving the temple as she was when she entered it.

Within the temple grounds, Saikaku creates a space free from social obligations that transforms Oshichi. Medieval Buddhism regarded passions and lust as hindrances to the path of salvation, and often represented them in female form, illustrating women as representations of the demonic, engulfed by passions and lust. Oshichi displays these traits during her stay at the temple, but just as he does with classical poetic tropes, Saikaku plays with the conventions of the medieval demonic woman to create a world in which Oshichi can fulfill her desires.

[208] Saikaku does not explicitly mention the departure scene in the text; it is only depicted in the woodblock illustration. However, the reader can deduce by viewing the woodblock illustration that it is Oshichi, her mother, and their servants departing from the temple grounds. Shiomura suggests that this woodblock illustration, with the tomb stones visible in the background, illustrates Saikaku's desire to link this illustration to the nō play *Komachi on the stupa* (*Sotoba Komachi* 卒塔婆小町, ca. late fourteenth century) (see Shiomura, "*Kōshoku gonin onna* Yaoya Oshichi no nazo", p. 38).

Kichisaburō as a Representation of the Thunder Deity

It is not only Oshichi that is associated with the supernatural, but Saikaku also associates Kichisaburō as part of the other. Oshichi and Kichisaburō are both still children, which means they have a relatively close relationship to the deities and the supernatural, and the ability to come and go freely between the worlds of the deities and men.[209] Earlier I discussed a scene in which Oshichi travels to Kichisaburō. Saikaku also creates a scene in which Kichisaburō journeys to visit Oshichi. On both nights of Oshichi or Kichisaburō journeying to visit each other, the weather becomes extremely cold. In *The Chronicles of Japan* (*Nihon shoki*, 720) and the *Records of Ancient Matters* (*Kojiki*, 712), unusual anomalies in the weather, such as thunder and lightning, along with fire, water, rain and sacred mountains are associated with deities.[210] The weather, along with the crossing of the bridge, suggests that the character is transgressing into another world.

The title of chapter four section two is "The Spring Thundering of the Thunder Deity also ties on a loincloth" ("Mushidashi no kaminari ni mo fundoshi kakitaru kimi sama"虫出しの神鳴もふんどしかきたる君さま).[211] According to Higashi Akimasa, the commentator of the Shogakukan edition of *Kōshoku gonin onna*, the terms thunder

[209] Lin, "Traversing Boundaries: The Demonic Child in the Medieval Japanese Religious Imaginaire" (hereafter "Traversing Boundaries"), p. 3.

[210] Higo Kazuo, "Heian jidai ni okeru onryō no shishō," in Shibata Minoru ed., *Goryō shinkō* (Yūzankaku shuppan, 1984), p. 13-36 and Cornelis Ouwehand, *Namazu-e and Their Themes*: *An Interpretative Approach to Some Aspects of Japanese Folk Religion*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964), p. 143.

[211] De Bary has translated this section's title as "Spring thunder shakes out someone in summer underwear," (see De Bary, *Five Women Who Loved Love*, p. 167).

(*kaminari* 神鳴) and loincloth (*fundoshi* ふんどし) within the title are two words associated with each other in *waka* poetry (*engo* 縁語).[212]

The association between thunder and loincloth can be traced back to folkloric beliefs and practices. Sometime during the Heian period (794-1185) the social functions of deities began to overlap in ways that sometimes rendered their identities ambiguous or indistinct. In particular, Heian culture blurred the distinctive characteristics of the *goryō*, *ekijin* (deities of pestilence and epidemics), and *raijin* (thunder), and blamed any ailments in society on these deities. Later, these deities would shed their destructive qualities and became known for their preventive powers and to help with the success of reproduction.[213] For example, Sae no kami (deity of obstacles), Sai no kami (deity of happiness) and *raijin* were merged together to represent the deity of sexuality and fertility. During thunderstorms, people would pray to Sai no kami for good weather, while during drought, they would pray to and display a phallic symbol for rain. Women who either married late or had reproductive difficulties would also pray to the thunder mallet, a phallic symbol.[214] Here, Saikaku is insinuating that both the thunder deity and Kichisaburō (*kimi sama*) are the same, since they both wear a loincloth, a reference to the

[212] See footnote nineteen in *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 345.

[213] For a comprehensive overview on the discussion of the transformation of these deities into preventative and protectors of sexual functions, see Shibata Minoru, "Goryōshin," in Gorai Shigeru and Sakurai Tokutarō, eds. *Nihon no minzoku shūkyō*, vol. 3: *Kami kannen to monzoku*, (Kōbunsō, 1984); Higo Kazuo, "Heian jidai ni okeru onryō no shisō," in Shibata Minoru eds. *Goryō Shinkō*, (Yūzankaku shuppan, 1984), p. 13-36; Tachibana Yūtaka, "Waga kuni ni okeru onryō shinkō to daihannyakyō no kankei ni tsuite," in Shibata Minoru ed., Minshu shukyoshi sosho vol. 5: Goryo shinko, (Yuzankaku, 1984); Nakano Takeshi, ed., "Raijin shinkō," *Nihon bungaku to bukkyō*, vol. 8: *Hotoke to kami*, (Iwanami shoten, 1994); Nakayama Tarō, "Raijin kenkyū," *Nihon minzokugaku* 1-81 (Daiokasen shoten, 1930); and Bernard Faure, *The Red Thread*: *Buddhist approaches to Sexuality*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

[214] Nakayama, "Raijin kenkyū," p. 43-44.

phallic symbol and sexuality.[215] Saikaku further reaffirms this with the usage of *kaku*, or to tie, the dictionary form of *kakitaru*, implying that the thunder deity and Kichisaburō are somehow tied together; the two are the same entity.

Saikaku highlights Oshichi's sensuality by having her act as the intermediate between the supernatural and humans. Oshichi is transformed into a medium, or *miko*, whose powers are enhanced by the spirit of the *kimono* of the recently dead maiden.[216] Through the use of her body, it acts as a vehicle in which spiritual beings can communicate with humans and enter our world. In a tale related to Mt. Miwa[217], an extremely handsome young man visits a woman repeatedly at night. She eventually becomes pregnant and wants to know the identity of her suitor. She decides to tie a thread to a needle and attach it to the hem of his clothes. Following the thread, she realizes it went through a keyhole, thus indicating to her that her suitor must have shape-shifted from a snake into human form.[218]

In another tale relating the founding of the Kamo Shrine recorded in the *The Gazetteer of the Lands of Yamashiro* (*Yamashiro no kuni fudoki* 山城国風土記), the

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[215] The image of the loincloth also reminds the reader of an earlier incident in chapter one section three, in which the woodcutter was pleasuring himself by rubbing himself over his *fundoshi* while peeping in on Onatsu and Seijūrō's sexual activities (*fundoshi ugokashi*). I am using Taniwaki Masachika's interpretation that the woodcutter is masturbating rather than Maeda Kingorō's interpretation of an erection (see Maeda Kingorō, *Kōshoku gonin onna zen shūhaku*, [Tōkyo: Benseisha, 1992], p. 82.

[216] Blacker claims that part of the sacredness of the *miko* is characterized by assistances of the spirits (usually animals), instruments and magic clothes (see Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow*, p. 25).

[217] Mount Miwa (*Miwazan* 三輪山) is located in the present day Nara prefecture. The *kami* of Mount Miwa is described in the *Nihon shoki* and *Kōjiki* as being a deity that is linked to the Izumo and feared by the Yamato rulers (for an overview of the cultural significance and sacredness of Mount Miwa, see Anna Andreeva, "A Transformation of the Sacred Mountain in Premodern Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 65, no. 2 (2010). Legends associated with Mount Miwa believe that there is a sacred white snake that inhabits the mountain.

[218] *Kojiki*, *NKBZ*, p. 184-87; Donald L. Philippi trans., *Kojiki*, (Tōkyo and Princeton, Jew Jersey: Tōkyo University Press and Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 201-04).

daughter of an attendant of Emperor Jinmu is playing near the banks of a river. The young maiden retrieves a red arrow that floats by, and then places it in her bedroom. After she gives birth to a boy, her father invites all of the deities together in hopes of revealing who the child's father is. He instructs the child to present his father with a cup of rice wine, where he ascends to the heavens and becomes a thunder deity.[219]

In both of these tales, the deity's visit to a young maiden results in the birth of a supernatural child. The woman's body is used as a vehicle to service the deity, much like Oshichi's body is used to enlighten Kichisaburō in the ways of womanly love.

The gradual introduction of Buddhism from the latter half of the sixth century to the beginning of the seventh century resulted in the transformation of local deities into servants of the Buddhas. These transformations allowed local deities, whose significance were limited to local geographical regions, to acquire prestige recognition through association with the buddhas and bodhisattvas.[220] One such example was the transformation of the thunder deity, as highlighted in the tale associated with the Gangōji Temple, which served as an important center from which Buddhist teachings and philosophies were disseminated throughout the kingdom.

One feat of the Gangōji Temple was the transformation of the thunder deity into a servant of the Buddha. As a young boy, the thunder deity was renowned for his superhuman strength and was challenged by a prince of similar fame to a rock throwing contest at night. The prince easily defeated the thunder deity. After the thunder deity

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[219] *Fudoki*, Akimoto Kichirō ed., in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, vol. 2 (Tōkyo: Iwanami shoten, 1958), p. 414-15.

[220] Yoshida Kazuhiko, "Religion in the Classical Period," in Paul L. Swanson; Clark Chilson eds., *The Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), p. 144-163.

becomes a servant to Buddhism as monk at Gangōji Temple, the temple faced a water siege authorized by the imperial court to undermine the influence and power of the temple. However, the thunder deity uses his strength to divert the water, thus saving the temple's fields. It is only because the thunder deity has become a subject of Buddhism that he can openly challenge imperial authority.[221] Thus, it is only fitting that after the execution of Oshichi at the end of section four, in section five, Kichisaburō is allowed to defy his scared vows to his elder brother by devoting himself to the teachings of Buddha in order to pray for Oshichi's salvation.

The association of Kichisaburō and Oshichi as part of the other is furthered by descriptions of their continual transcendence of boundaries. Two distinctive features characterize the transcending of boundaries that occurs when Oshichi visits Kichisaburō in his room at the temple and when Kichisaburō seeks Oshichi at her residence. The first distinctive characteristic is the motif of disguise. Both crossings occur at night, in the darkness. Oshichi mistakes the temple novice as Kichisaburō in the dark. She is also fooled by Kichisaburō's disguise in section three, only to realize her mistake after smelling the incense resonating from his skin and touching his undergarments. In both cases, the eyes are deceived and the boundaries of reality and fantasy are blurred. In addition, their physical bodies are disguised. Oshichi wears the *kimono* of the deceased young maiden, and Kichisaburō disguises himself as the young country lad.

The second feature that Saikaku uses during the crossing of boundaries is the lack of authority present in both scenarios. When Oshichi decides to visit Kichisaburō's room, it occurs when all of the temple monks are called away to perform funeral services

[221] Abe Yasurō, "Gangōji," in Konnō Susumu, ed., *Nihon bungaku to bukkyō*, vol. 7: *Reichi*. (Tōkyo: Iwanami shoten, 1995), p. 151-52; Lin, *Transversing Boundaries*, p. 25-26.

for the rice merchant Hachizaemon. The only people left in the temple are the aged temple cook, the young temple novice, and other unspecified refugees who are hiding within their own chambers from the lightning storm. Likewise, when Kichisaburō visits Oshichi, the birth of a relatives' son calls Oshichi's parents away to partake in the celebration. Saikaku also incorporates the cycle of life and death within each incident. The death of the rice merchant is offset with the birth of the baby boy. The absence of adult men allows Oshichi and Kichisaburō to escape into another world, free from their own social and moral obligations. The presence of adult men, such as Oshichi's father, expels Oshichi from her ideal world and returns her back to reality.

The Softer, Sensitive Lover: Kichisaburō

The first encounter between Oshichi and Kichisaburō occurs during twilight or early evening. It is directly after Oshichi offers her prayers for the recently deceased young maiden. The twilight (*kawatare doki*, *tasogare doki*) marks a special time during the day when spirits can briefly interact with the living.[222] Kichisaburō, in the twilight with a pair of silver tweezers, is a sight which give him a special aura, one that instantly attracts Oshichi to him. Silver tweezers (*shirokane no kenuki* 銀の毛貫) in which the silver can also be interpreted as white gold (*hakkin* 白金) are a symbol of innocence and purity. This symbolic representation further enhances Kichisaburō's exceptional

[222] Recent novels have also expanded on the twilight themes, such as Miyabe Miyuki's *Tengu-kaze*, in which a young girl, Oaki, encounters a spirit during the *kawatare doki* (Miyabe Miyuki, *Tengu-kaze*, (Kōdansha, 2014), p. 640. In addition, Shinkai Makoto's *anime*, *Kimi no na wa* uses *kawatare doki* as an essential moment to propel his plot between the two young protagonists, Mitsuba and Taki (*Kimi no na wa*, Directed by Shinkai Makoto, Funimation Films, 2016).

appeal.[223] Drawn to Kichisaburō's innocence and helplessness,[224] the possessed Oshichi is even more determined to fulfill her desires for him.

> やごとなき若衆の、銀の毛貫片手に、左の人さし指にあるかなきかのとげの立ちけるも心にかかると、暮方の障子をひらき、身をなやみおはしけるを…
>
> [Oshichi] took notice of a young, high-class samurai lad, who, while holding a pair of silver tweezers in one had, was trying to remove what seemed like a splinter in his left index finger. He had opened the screens [to his room] with no avail of trying to remove the splinter in the twilight.[225]

Oshichi first notices Kichisaburō as he anguishes over trying to remove a splinter from his finger (see figure 2.4). It is his helplessness and boyish charms that make Kichisaburō appealing to Oshichi.[226] Terada Masami comments, "there is nothing more beautiful than the description of a young boy struggling in the twilight. Add to this, Oshichi embracing him [to remove the splinter] adds even more sensuality to the scene."[227]

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[223] Oogake, "*Gonin onna* maki yon," p. 41.

[224] Oogake suggests that it is Kichisaburō, not Oshichi, who is in the twilight, and is the one who appears to be a representation of a deity or a supernatural spirit (Oogake, "*Gonin onna* maki yon," p. 42).

[225] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, 342-43.

[226] Oogake Mao, "*Kōshoku gonin onna* maki yon *Koigusa kara geshi Yaoya monogatari* no kōsai," Kokugo kokubungaku shi, vol. 39 (2006), p. 41

[227] Terada Masami, "*Kōshoku gonin onna* maki ni maki yon kō," Rikkyō Daigaku Nihon Bungaku, vol 89 no. 64 (2002).

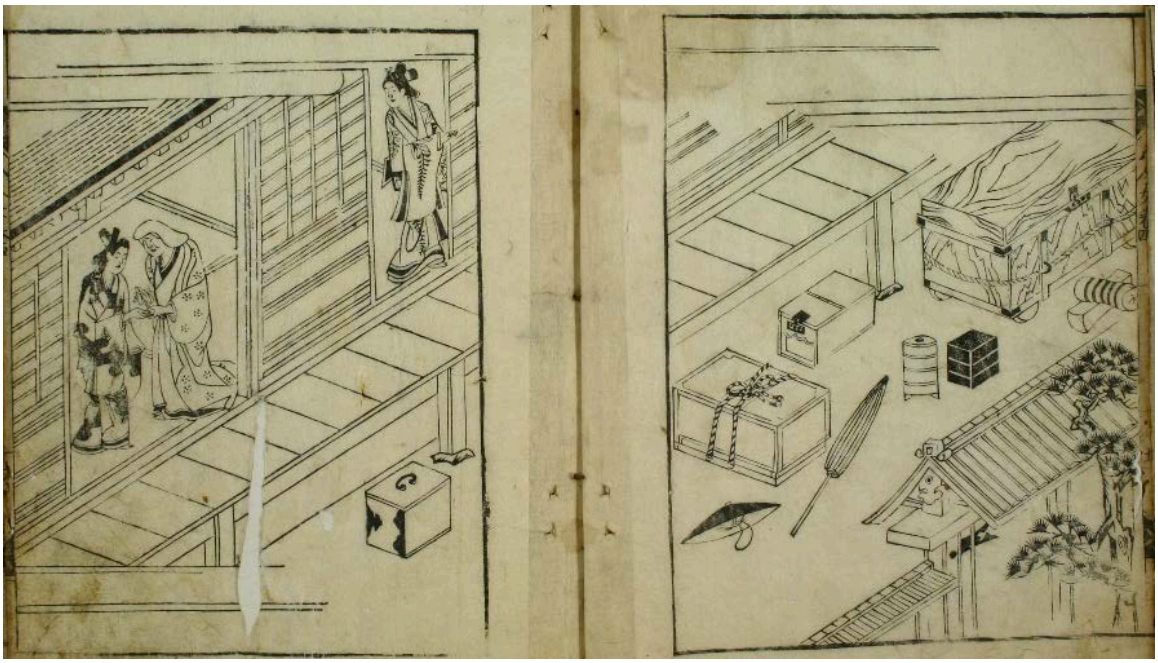

Figure 2.4: Kichisaburō in the twilight trying to remove a splinter with the aid of Oshichi's mother. Oshichi is shown looking in from another room.
(Ihara Saikaku, *Kōshoku gonin onna*, [Kitamidōmae (Ōsaka]): Moritashōtarō, 1868])
Waseda University

Both Oshichi and Kichisaburō are fifteen years old, yet Oshichi is the one who takes charge in their relationship. This contrasts with the case of Onatsu and Seijūrō in chapter one, where Onatsu, despite being no less inexperienced than Oshichi, remains passive, and it is Seijūrō who takes charge. It is Seijurō who hires a troupe of lion dancers during the House of Tajima's viewing of the cherry blossoms to distract the household as he slips behind the partition to embrace Onatsu for the first time, and it is he who also instigates their failed attempt to elope and flee to Ōsaka, when they are both

captured and returned to Himeji where Seijūrō is charged and executed with stealing seven hundred pieces of gold.[228]

Just like Seijūrō, Oshichi is involved in an affair with Kichisaburō which is illicit in the eyes of the Tokugawa government.

> お七、次第にこがれて、「この若衆いかなる御方ぞ」と納所坊主に問ひければ、「あれは小野吉三郎殿と申して、先祖ただしき御浪人衆なるが、さりとはやさしく、情けのふかき御かた」とかたるにぞ、なほおもひまさりて、忍び忍びの文書き
> て、人しれずつかはしけるに…

> Oshichi asked the temple monk "May [I] inquire about that *wakashu*?" To which the temple monk responded, "That is Master Onogawa Kichisaburō, whose ancestors are well established [samurai], but he is not in a service of a master. He is gentle and very sensitive." Upon hearing the monk's remarks, Oshichi's desires [for Kichisaburō] grew more intensely. She wrote secret love letters, one after another, taking care no one found out.[229]

It is not clear which part of the monk's remarks about Kichisaburō it is that fuels Oshichi's desires. It may be of Kichisaburō's fine family pedigree, or because he is

[228] Saikaku has Seijūrō executed for a crime that he is innocent of rather than the actual crime of a servant eloping with his master's daughter or sister. According to the seventeenth-century laws, edicts on illicit intercourse were issued to ensure each member within society remain locked within their own social class, thus ensuring peace and stability. The edict stated "For those who engage in illicit intercourse with their master's daughter, or who have attempted to do so, [punishment is] death." Another edict also states "Those who abduct another, [punishment is] death." In the scenario with Onatsu and Seijūrō, although Onatsu is the one who lusted after Seijūrō and agreed to elope with him on her own free will, Seijūrō's position in society, by law, makes him guilty of the crime of illicit intercourse and abduction. Yet, Seijūrō is not charged on those accounts, but rather stealing seven hundred pieces of gold. It is physically impossible for a single person to carry seven hundred pieces of gold, yet alone trying to quickly flee. Ironically, the seven hundred pieces of gold was misplaced and later found after Seijūrō was executed. Seijūrō's real crime, as presented by Saikaku, is his strong feelings and attachment to Onatsu.

[229] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p.344.

gentle and sensitive (*sari to ha yasashiku, nasake no fukaki onkata*).[230] Throughout the passage illustrating Oshichi's first encounter with Kichisaburō, Saikaku uses honorific language when addressing Kichisaburō, signifying that although he is still young, his social status is higher than that of Oshichi's family.[231]

Oshichi is not from an unworthy background.[232] Her family represents the emerging *nouveau riche* townsmen, who strive to be well versed in the proper etiquettes and customs of the ruling class, but are politically oppressed by those they try to emulate. Through Kichisaburō's and Oshichi's family lineages, Saikaku illustrates the discrepancy between those who are part of the ruling class but have no actual power (Kichisaburō), and those who are politically oppressed but socially powerful because of their wealth (Oshichi). Thus, Oshichi is not drawn to Kichisaburō's family lineage[233], but rather is attracted to his soft, boyish charms.

In contrast with Seijūrō, Kichisaburō is depicted as a novice in the ways of male-female relationship (*nyoshoku* 女色).[234] Saikaku devotes the entire first section of chapter

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[230] Ibid, p. 344

[231] The Tokugawa government ensured that upward mobility was nearly impossible. However, it was common for members of an upper social class to demote themselves to one of a lower class.

[232] David Gundry suggests the employment of servants, Oshichi's father's description of not being from a lowly birth, and the usage of honorifics when describing both Oshichi's father's and mother's actions informs the readers of her upper class status among merchants (see David J. Gundry, *Parody, Irony and Ideology in the Fiction of Ihara Saikaku*, [Boston: Brill, 2017], p.146).

[233] Of all of the male protagonists in *Five Women*, Kichisaburō is the only one from the upper samurai class. Kichisaburō also endures the most in order to visit Oshichi. Gundry suggests Saikaku chooses Oshichi as his main protagonist among the five women in *Five Women* based upon Kichisaburō's high status and his devotion to her (see Gundry, *Parody, Irony and Ideology in the Fiction of Ihara Saikaku*, p.148).

[234] I have adopted this term from Gregory M. Pflugfelder, who refers to the sexual desires and practices between males as "male-male sexuality." Pflugfelder argues against using terms such as "homosexuality" and "bisexuality", since *nanshoku*, which can also be referred to as *shudō* (the way of youths), is a practice to be pursued, refined, and perfected rather than an identity. Those who only preferred men were knowns as "women haters," or *onna girai*. Pflugfelder notes that the terms *nyoshoku* and *nanshoku* (male-male

one to portray Seijūrō as the classic model of a lover for the early modern townsman, one who is able to take charge of his relationship. Kichisaburō's inexperience allows Oshichi to be dominate in their relationship.

> その後は心まかせになりて、吉三郎寝姿に寄添ひて、何とも言葉なく、しどけなくもたれかかれば、吉三郎夢覚めて、なほ身をふるはし、小夜着の袂を引きかぶりしを引きのけ、「髪に用捨もなき事や」といへば、吉三郎せつなく、「わたくしは十六になります」といへば、お七、「わたくしも十六になります」といへば、吉三郎かさねて、「長老さまがこはや」といふ。「おれも長老さまはこはし」といふ。何とも、この恋はじめもどかし。

> After [talking to the temple novice], Oshichi allowed her desires [for Kichisaburō] to control her actions. Oshichi lay down next to the sleeping Kichisaburō, and without making a sound, ever so gently, she drew him closer. [Startled], Kichisaburō awoken from his slumber, shivering, pulling the sleeve of his night *kimono* over his head. 'Your forelocks will get messed up,' Oshichi told Kichisaburō as she removed the sleeve from his face. Not knowing what to do, Kichisaburō told Oshichi 'I will be turning sixteen this year,' to which Oshichi replied 'I, too, will be turning sixteen.' 'I am afraid of the head abbot,' Kichisaburō quickly responded to Oshichi's reply. 'I, too, am afraid of the head abbot,' Oshichi told Kichisaburō. Thus, the start of this love affair was irritatingly slow.[235]

At first glance, this deal between the two appears to be harmless. Oshichi is only concerned about having her illicit affair with Kichisaburō being kept secret, especially

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relationship) center around and are from the perspective of the dominant male in the relationship (see Pflugelder, *Cartographies of Desire*: *Male-male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600-1950*, p. 5-10). Thus, although Oshichi, herself, is inexperienced in the ways of love, it is not appropriate to use the term *nyoshoku* in relation to Oshichi.

[235]*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 349-350.

from her parents. Yet, Saikaku will later reveal in section five that Kichisaburō has entered into a male-male relationship (*nanshoku* 男色) with an older samurai. The older samurai, as he traveled to Matsumae in Hokkaidō, placed Kichisaburō in the care of the head abbot. The temple novice would have known the reason why Kichisaburō was left in the care of the temple, and though his silence seems expensive and petty to Oshichi, there would have been severe consequences for Kichisaburō if exposed.

There is no direct mention of Kichisaburō's male-male relationship until section five.[236] Yet, Saikaku hints throughout the first two sections at the possibility that Kichisaburō is pledged to an older samurai. Saikaku describes Kichisaburō as a *wakashu* who is almost sixteen years old. During the medieval period, by the age of fifteen, male youths would undergo the capping cermony (*genpuku* 元服), where their forelocks would be shaven and their hair would be dressed into a top-knot (*motodori* 髻). The youth's attire would also change from the larger, longer sleeves, to that of an adult, thus marking his entrance as an adult into society,[237] and the shaving of the forelocks (*sumimaegami* 角前髪) would further demarcate that the young man is no longer a suitable object for the erotic attention of other males.[238] As a *wakashu* pledged in a male-male relationship

[236] Megumi Inoue questions in her dissertation why Saikaku included the male-male relationship in his version of the Oshichi story. Inoue feels Saikaku's sudden inclusion of Kichisaburō's male-male relationship in section five is out of place and a "senseless and disturbing digression from the romantic love story," (see footnote 87 of Megumi Inoue, "Oshichi, The Greengrocer's Daughter: A Cultural History of *Sewamono*, 1686-1821, Ph.D. diss., Washington University, 2004, p. 79). This may be true, if one were to take the stance that chapter four revolves solely around Oshichi and Kichisaburō and their longing for each other. Rather, I argue, Saikaku is educating his readers on ideal models of how lovers should behave, whether in a male-male or male-female relationship. In addition, I argue that Saikaku's inclusion of a male-male relationship serves as a transition into chapter five, where section one of chapter five revolves solely on Gengobei's male-male relationships.

[237] Irene Lin, "Traversing Boundaries: The Demonic Child in the Medieval Japanese Religious Imaginaire," (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2001), p. 165.

during the Early Modern period, the age of the capping ceremony was arbitrary, often left to the discretion of the elder male in the male-male relationship.[239] According to the *Records of Heartfelt Friends* (*Shin'yūki*, 1643), the peak of the *wakashu* was from around the age of fifteen to seventeen.[240] Kichisaburō is thus at the peak of his youthful beauty and has still to transition into male adulthood, when expected to graduate from his submissive role into the role of the dominant man in both male-female and male-male relationships. In this way, Saikaku highlights Kichisaburō's inexperience in the way of male-female relationship, and the predicament that Oshichi places upon him.[241]

To thwart Oshichi's advancements, Kichisaburō instinctively hides beneath the sleeves of his *kimono*. The dialogue between them that follows highlights how Kichisaburō tries to deter her. However, Oshichi does not understand the true meanings behind Kichisaburō's comments. After she pulls the sleeve away from Kichisaburō's face, he informs her that he is only fifteen years old (turning sixteen this year). On one level, the reader may assume that Kichisaburō is being frank by informing Oshichi that he is too young, which is in fact how Oshichi interprets his comment. However, given

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[238] Pfulgfelder, *Cartographies of Desire*: *Male-male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600-1950* (hereafter, *Cartographies of Desire*), p. 33.

[239] Pfulgfelder, *Cartographies of Desire*, p. 34.

[240] *Shin'yūki*, in *Nihon shisō taikei*, 60:22 (trans. Paul Gordon Schalow in "Spiritual Dimensions of Male Beauty in Japan Buddhism," in *Relgion, Homosexuality, and Literature*, ed. Michael L. Stemmeler and Jose Ignacio Cabezon, Gay Men's Issues in Religious Studies Series, no. 3 [Las Colinas, Tex.: Monument, 1992], p. 90).

[241] Hiroshima Susumu argues Saikaku's description of Kichisaburō as a *wakashū* in section one already signifies to his readers of Kichisaburō's male-male relationship. Hiroshima claims that Kichisaburō is staying at the temple for a reason not associated with the great fire, like Oshichi, her mother and the other refugees. Rather, Saikaku is relying on the common *haikai* poetic trope of connecting the terms temple (*tera*) and monk (*zō*) with *wakashū*, since it was common practice to have male-male relationships between an elder monk and younger (see Hiroshima Susumu, *Saikaku shinkai: Irokoi to budō no sekai*, Perikansha [Tōkyo, 2009]: p. 117).

that Kichisaburō reveals his age immediately after Oshichi's comment about his forelocks, it is likely that he is hinting to Oshichi that as a *wakashu*, especially at his age where he is considered to be at his peak, he is technically unavailable.[242] In spite of this, Oshichi brushes off his comment about being too young and too inexperience to be involved in the ways of love.

Kichisaburō realizes that Oshichi has misinterpreted his comment, and quickly follows up by stating he is afraid of being discovered by the temple abbot[243] (*watakushi mo jūroku sai ni narimasu to ieba, Kichisaburō kasanete chōrō sama ga kowa ya*). Since Kichisaburō was placed in the temple's care, he is worried that his inappropriate behavior

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[242] At the end of section one, Oshichi was sending Kichisaburō secret love letters to which Kichisaburō responded. Eventually, both of them are professing their extreme longing for each other. For Oshichi, she is professing her true desires for Kichisaburō. However, it can be argued that Kichisaburō is acting out of duty as a *wakashu* to respond to her letters, perhaps not knowing she would physically act on them. The *wakashu* was trained not to have any desires towards the *nenja*, or older male suitor, and to never spur the *nenja*'s advancements. The *Shin'yūki* states that the youth should never refuse the suitor who expresses a sincere interest in him (*Shin'yūki* 60, p. 19-20 [see also Schalow, "Spiritual Dimensions," p. 88]). Later, Saikaku echoes the *Shin'yūki* in *The Great Mirror of Male Love* in chapter one, section three "Within the Fence: Pine, Maple, and a Willow Waist." Tamanosuke, a rustic beautiful youth, departing from his family to serve a lord, informs his servant, Kakubei, "it would be heartless of you [Kakubei] not to convey them [the love letters from male admires] to me, regardless of the station of their sender" (*Teihon Saikaku zenshū*, vol. 4 [Chuo Koronsha, 1964] [English translations by Paul Gordon Schalow, *The Great Mirror of Male Love*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), p. 64]. Saikaku readers who practice *shudō* would instantly understand Kichisaburō's position and find the humor of Oshichi's ignorance in understanding the principles of *shudō*.

[243] Shiomura Kō suggests Oshichi's repetition of Kichisaburō's remarks is a parody of the nō play "*Oumu Komachi*" (see Shiomura Kō, "*Kōshoku gonin onna* Yaoya Oshichi no nazo", *Kokugo to Koku bungaku* [December 1994], p. 38). "*Oumu Komachi*" belongs to the third category of nō plays that is performed by all major nō schools besides Konparu School. The authorship is unknown. The *shite* is the aged Ono no Komachi and the *waki* is the messenger from the Emperor. The Emperor sends a poem via the messenger to Komachi: "*Kumo no ue ha arishi, mukashi ni kawaranedo, mishi tamadare no uchi ya, yukashiki*." To which Komachi responds by reciting exactly the same poem except for changing one character "*mishi tamadare no uchi zo.*" This response is known as the "parrot response" (*oumu gaeshi*). Although the dialogue between Kichisaburō and Oshichi may in fact be a parody of "*Oumu Komachi*" as Shiomura suggests, the highlight of the nō drama is Komachi's witty change of just one word, from *ya* to *zo*, hence changing the entire meaning of the original poem. With the dialogue between Kichisaburō and Oshichi, Kichisaburō's "I am turning sixteen this year" (*watakushi ha jūroku ni narimasu*) and Oshichi's response "I, too, am turning sixteen this year" (*watakushi mo jūroku ni narimasu*), changes the meaning but does not represent the original wittiness accredited to Komachi's response. Furthermore, the following dialogue about being scared of the head abbot, Oshichi's response mimics Kichisaburō's response in meaning, although her line differs completely from Kichisaburō's.

with Oshichi would be relayed to his elder male suitor (*nenja* 念者). Oshichi, unaware of the ways of male-male romance (*shudō* 衆道), replies that she is also scared of the temple abbot, out of fear of being discovered and perhaps ridiculed for being a lustful, immoral maiden and contravening the moral and righteous way she has been brought up by her parents. During Oshichi and her mother's refuge at the temple, Oshichi's mother keeps her daughter close to her, and comments "we must be careful [because] in this world, even monks have wandering eyes."[244] Perhaps it is because Oshichi's father is not present at the temple, but Oshichi's mother is overly protective of her daughter. Oshichi is of marital age, thus her obligation to her parents is to remain morally righteous until a proper marriage suitor is found. This includes being chaste until she enters her husband's household, where her role is to manage the household and the raise its heirs.[245] Oshichi fears being discovered because she is disregarding the limitations society has imposed upon her, and disrespecting her parents by indulging in her lustful desires for Kichisaburō.[246]

Oshichi's frankness towards Kichisaburō is also evident in her language. She no longer uses honorific terms while addressing Kichisaburō, and even teases him slightly about how he has messed up his forelocks by hiding underneath the sleeve of his night

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[244] *Oshichi ha haha no oya daiji ni kake, bōzu ni mo yudan no naranu yo no naka to, yorozu ni ki wo tsuke haberu* (*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 341).

[245] William R. Lindsey, *Fertility and Pleasure*: *Ritual and Sexual Values in Tokugawa Japan*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), p. 11.

[246] This interlude concludes with a comment that the start of this love affair was irritably slow (*kono koi hajime modokashi*). De Bary translated this from both Oshichi's and Kichisaburō's perspective, "Love-making was indeed slow and awkward at the start," (De Bary, *Five Women Who Loved Love*, p. 174). However, I would argue that this line is from the perspective of Oshichi, and thus have translated this line accordingly. Kichisaburō has tried to deflect Oshichi's advances, thus making her annoyed at his hindrance to be able to consume her passions for him.

kimono. This, of course, can be attributed to the numerous love letters that Oshichi has sent Kichisaburō before professing her feelings for him face-to-face, thus allowing a more familiar interlude between them.[247] This "conversation" between the two is almost one sided, as Oshichi professes her feelings while Kichisaburō tries to deter her advances.

Oshichi's first embrace of Kichisaburō illustrates a clear role reversal between Oshichi and Kichisaburō. The actions and dialogue that follow between them not only highlight Kichisaburō's predicament but are also humorous. His first reaction to Oshichi's advancement is to hide his face beneath the sleeve of his *kimono* because he is scared. It is as if, being startled from his slumber, Kichisaburō has mistaken Oshichi for a ghost and his childlike nature has instinctively instructed him to hide.

The inversion of the roles is further echoed when Kichisaburō journeys to Oshichi in section four, setting the scenario where Saikaku first bluntly introduces the theme of male-male romance (*shūdo*). Kichisaburō travels on an unusually cold, winter-like day in spring, during the twilight of the early evening, disguised as a country boy selling mushrooms and horsetails (see figure 2.3). With the setting of the sun, he dreads trekking through the snow to return home. Oshichi's father pities the boy, allowing him to sleep in an earthen space (*tsuchima* 土間)[248] till dawn. Shortly after, due to the harsh weather

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[247] Kichisaburō eventually responds to Oshichi's love interests by replying to her letters. We can assume that Kichisaburō did not believe anything would come about from these letters. In the early modern period, just professing one's desires for another did not always result in a relationship. The relationship is only formed only after a sexual encounter. This is evident in chapter three section two, regarding the love affair between Osan and Magoemon. Osan sent love letters to Magoemon on behalf of her servant, Rin. However, after Osan's plan of trying to trick and ridicule Magoemon backfired which resulted in a sexual encounter between the two, causing to be Osan resolved to be with Magoemon. She is described as being humiliated and is later punished for her illicit affair, but over the course of chapter three, only after their sexual contact, does Osan become more attracted to Magoemon.

[248] De Bary translates *tsuchima*, which can also be read as *doma*, as courtyard (see De Bary, *Five Women Who Loved Love*, p. 178). However, the *tsuchima* is not the courtyard but rather an enclosed space that has no floor boards where the ground has been pounded hard. It is the space that lies neither outside nor inside of the house, but demarcates a space that lies in-between. In the kabuki theater, the *doma* was a designated

conditions, Kichisaburō starts wheezing and coughing. Taking pity upon him, Oshichi orders the manservant Kyūshichi to give him something warm to drink.

> 食焼きの梅が、下の茶碗にくみて、久七にさし出しければ、男請取りてこれをあたへける。「忝き御心入れ」といへば、くらまぎれに、前髪をなぶりて、「我も江戸においたらば、念者のある時分ぢやが、痛はしや」といふ。「いかにも浅ましくそだちまして、田をすく馬の口を取り、真柴刈るより外の事をぞんじませぬ」といへば、足をいらひて、「きどくに、あかがりを切らさぬよ。これなら口をすこし」と、口をよせけるに、この悲しさ、切なさ、歯を喰ひしめて泪こぼしけるに、久七分別して、「いやいや根深・にんにく喰ひし口中もしれず」と、やめける事のうれし。

> Putting a leftover pickled plum from dinner into the servant's bowl, Oshichi had Kyūshichi bring it to the young boy. As he hastily received the bowl, the boy thanked Kyūshichi, "I sincerely appreciate your generosity." And so saying, [hiding his actions] in the darkness, Kyūshichi fondled the boy's forelocks. "If only you too were allowed to be in service [of another] in Edo, you would for sure have an older brother looking after you. Ah, what a pity!" "But I have been brought up in such a crude manner! I only know the work of leading a horse by the mouth to plow the fields and tying twigs together into bundles." As the young boy told Kyūshichi, Kyūshichi [next] fondled the boy's foot. "How marvelous! Your skin is not at all cut up. If that is the case, I must [inspect] your lips[249]!" As Kyūshichi started to press his lips onto the young boy, oh how dreadful the young boy thought as he clenched his teeth shut and tears rolled down his cheeks. Kyūshichi, sensing the boy's distraught, changed his course of action and exclaimed "What is

seating area that had no seats. Rather, it is a large earthen floor that is further separated into squares that can accommodate the costumers (see Morisada Mankō, *Kinsei fūzoku shi* vol. 4, [Tōkyo: Iwanami shoten, 2003], p. 41). The costumer would sit on mats (cushions were available at an additional cost) within the shared space. These costumers were also visitors, similar to Kichisaburō, who left reality to enter a fictional world of drama.

[249] Saikaku uses the term *kuchi* (口). Kyūshichi tried to touch the boy's mouth by bringing his mouth close to his, thus touching by kissing him. Since Kyūshichi has just fondled the boy's foot, commenting that he has no calluses, I have translated *kuchi* as lips rather than mouth, since lips can also be chapped and rough if not properly cared for.

> this stench! It is as if your mouth is filled with garlic!" And to the delight of the young boy, Kyūshichi did not pursue any further.[250]

Saikaku sets this fondling scene in the darkness, which is similar to the earlier episode when Kichisaburō is with Oshichi at the temple. Like Oshichi, Kyūshichi travels to the boy, exiting the world he inhabits to enter the space of another. Kyūshichi is unaware that he is making sexual advances to another who is outside his own social class,[251] because the young boy is in reality Kichisaburō in disguise. Hence Kyūshichi's actions must be done in the cover of darkness. Yet, Kyūshichi senses that Kichisaburō is not reciprocating his advances, and unlike Oshichi, who is unaware of the intricacies of the practice of male-male romance, immediately creates an excuse to remove himself from the situation.

Although Kichisaburō takes the initiative of traveling to Oshichi, afterwards he suffers from love sickness. His resolve is not to take action to be with Oshichi, but rather to lament and to accept his fate of being separated from her. His attempt to determine his own fate by committing suicide is driven not by his own will, but rather by the execution of Oshichi and the pain of not being reunited with her again. Even his resolve to commit suicide is prohibited, since his life actually does not belong to himself, but to his elder male lover (*nenja*). It is at this moment that Saikaku officially reveals Kichisaburō's involvement in a male-male relationship.

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[250] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 352-53.

[251] The humor lies in Kyūshichi's excuse that young boy's mouth reeks of garlic, therefore "rejecting" the boy. There is also a play on the names of Oshichi and Kyūshichi, both having the glyph for seven within their names. This helps the reader to recognize the similarities between this scene and the scene earlier between Oshichi and Kichisaburō at the temple.

腰の物に手を掛けしに、法師取りつき、さまざまとどめて、「とても死すべき命ならば、年月語りし人に暇乞をもして、長老さまにもその断りを立て、最後を極め給へかし。子細は、そなたの兄弟契約の御かたより、当時へ預け置き給へば、その御手前への難儀、かれこれ覚しめし合させられ、このうえながら憂名の立たざるやうに」と、いさめしに、この断り至極して、自害おもひとどまりて、とかくは、世にながらへる心ざしにはあらず。

Reaching for his sword attached to his waist, the temple monks lunged at Kichisaburō all trying to stop him. "If you are determined to die, you must say goodbye to the one who you have pledged to all these years. [In addition] you should first explain yourself and ask for permission to the head abbot and allow him to determine your fate. The reason [for allowing the head abbot to determine your fate] is because you have entered a pledge with your older brother. Your older brother has asked this temple to look after you on his behalf. [If you commit suicide] you will be creating many troubles [for the temple]. Please give it some consideration and spare [everyone] from more sorrows that may arise from your suicide.[252]

Unlike Oshichi, it is clear that Kichisaburō is not in control of his own fate and decisions.[253] Just as he did at the start of his relationship with Oshichi, he allows others to determine his future.

[252]*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 362.

[253] Kichisaburō still continually attempts to commit suicide after he is stopped once. Even after his older brother returns, and it is settled that he should renounce the world, it is only after Oshichi's mother leans over and whispers something into his ear that he finally agrees to become a monk, in order to pray for Oshichi's soul. It is not revealed what Oshichi's mother said to persuade Kichisaburō, but Shiomura proposes that she told Kichisaburō that Oshichi is not dead. According to Shiomura, the only comment that could persuade Kichisaburō from not committing suicide is to tell him that Oshichi is still alive. Rumors spread after Oshichi's execution that she had actually escaped. By inserting this scene, Shiomura believes that Saikaku is inserting popular culture within his work. However, he could not openly insert the rumor that Oshichi is alive because it goes against Tokugawa's law on arson and Oshichi's verdict (see Shiomura, "*Kōshoku gonin onna* Yaoya Oshichi no nazo", p. 40).

Oshichi as a Representation of Ono no Komachi

During the early 1990s, Japanese scholars such as Shinoda Jun'ichi and Shiomura Kō focused on the various woodblock illustrations that are present in Saikaku's works. As I noted earlier, Shinoda claims that the woodblock illustration illustrating Oshichi traveling to Kichisaburō's room during the thunderstorm is based upon the woodblock illustration of Lady Ise in *The Annotated Tales of Ise*. Furthermore, Shinoda argues, based upon the woodblock illustration present in chapter four, the purpose of Saikaku's inclusion of the woodblock illustration was to superimpose Oshichi onto the legendary poetess Ono no Komachi (fl. ca. 850).

Known as one of the prominent early female *waka* poets, Komachi's life is shrouded in mystery. Ki no Tsurayuki (872-945), the main compiler of the first imperial waka collection, *Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern* (*Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集), praises Komachi's skill as a poetess in his preface to the collection, and includes her as one of the six extraordinary poets of her time.[254] Based upon Tsurayuki's praise and Komachi's poems, the legends that sprang up regarding her beauty, wit, sensuality, and fickleness further immortalized her during the medieval period, when seven different nō dramas (*nana Komachi* 七小町)[255] showcased Komachi either in life or as a spirit. Of the

[254] The six extraordinary poets are often referred to as the six immortal poets (*rokkasen* 六歌仙) of the mid to late ninth century. The other five poets praised by Tsurayuki are Ariwara no Narihira, Bishop Henjō, Monk Kisen, Fun'ya no Yasuhide, and Ōtomo no Kuronushi (see Haruo Shirane, eds. *Traditional Japanese Literature*: *An Anthology, Beginnings to 1600*, [New York: Columbia University Press, 2012], p. 78).

[255] The seven nō dramas revolving around Komachi are: *Stupa Komachi* (*Sotoba Komachi* 卒塔婆小町), *Komachi at Sekidera Temple* (*Sekidera Komachi* 関寺小町), *Parrot Komachi* (*Oumu Komachi* 鸚鵡小町), *Komachi Washing the Manuscript* (*Sōshi arai Komachi* 草紙洗小町), *The Commute to Komachi* (*Kayoi Komachi* 通小町), *Komachi at Kiyomizu Temple* (*Kiyomizu Komachi* 清水小町), and *Komachi's Rain Prayer* (*Amagoi Komachi* 雨乞小町).

seven Komachi plays, *The Commute to Komachi*, *Komachi on the Stupa*, and *Komachi at Sekidera Temple* seem to have had the most impact upon Saikaku's portrayal of Oshichi.[256] The scene in which Kichisaburō visits Oshichi disguised as a young, country bumpkin, echoes the nō play *The Commute to Komachi*.

The Commute to Komachi (*Kayoi Komachi* 通小町) is accredited to Kan'ami (観阿弥 清次, 1333-1384) with possible revisions by Zeami (世阿彌陀佛, 1363?-1443?). The play belongs to the fourth category of miscellaneous plays, and it is set during late summer at Yase in Yamashiro Province.[257] A priest who resides in Mount Hiei is visited daily by an old woman who bears offerings of various nuts and fruits. Over the course of her visitations, her true identity is revealed to the priest. The old woman is actually the spirit of Ono no Komachi who is unable to achieve salvation due to her cruel treatment of and resentment by Captain Fukakusa (Fukakusa no Shōshō 深草少将). The priest offers prayers on behalf of Komachi, but the ghost of Captain Fukakusa appears forbidding the priest to allow Komachi to attain salvation. Through both Komachi and Captain Fukakusa retell the story of his hundred nights of commute to woo Komachi, both Komachi and Captain Fukakusa are able to forgo their prior sins and resentments to achieve salvation together.

In the final scene Captain Fukakusa relates how he endured Komachi's fickleness and cruelty in order to fulfill her request for him to commute to her one hundred nights before she would entertain his desires for her.

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[256] Shiomura largely builds upon Shinoda's arguments. However, Shiomura adds *Oumu Komachi* as another nō drama to which Saikaku may have included within his work (see footnote 31).

[257] Present-day Yase of the Sakyō Ward in Kyōto.

Chorus: But when I tallied up…
The notches on the shaft bench,
There were ninety-nine nights.
Only one more now-
How happy I am!
<He rises>
The longed-for day has come!

Shōshō: I will hurry to her!

Chorus: How shall I attire myself?

Shōshō: This bamboo hat is unsightly-
<He looks at the hat, then tosss it away.>

Chorus: I shall wear a folded court hat.

Shōshō: I cast away my coat of straw,

Chorus: And in this flower-patterned robe

Shōshō: Richly I array myself
In fold on fold of color.

Chorus: Purple-lined

Shōshō: My trouser-skirts,
Wisteria-hued.

Chorus: I'm sure she must be waiting!

Shōshō: I can't wait to be with her!
At last the final day is here,
<He goes to the front of the stage.>
And it has drawn to a close.
I arrange with elegance

Chorus: My crimson hunting cloak.
What shall we drink to celebrate
Through the moon itself
Should be our wedding cup,
<He holds out his fan as though offering wine.>
The Precepts order abstinence,
And I will observe them

This instant of enlightenment
Obliterates a host of sins:
Ono no Komachi
And Shōshō the Captain
Together have entered
The way of Buddhahod,
Together have entered
The way of Buddhahood.
<Shōshō gives a final stamp of the foot, then exists, followed by Komachi and the Priest.>[258]

This excerpt from *Kayoi Komachi* is echoed in Saikaku's version of Kichisaburō traveling to visit Oshichi.

お七、戸をしめて帰りさまに、暮方里の子思ひやりて、下女に、「その手燭まて」とて、面影をみしに、豊に臥して、いとど哀れの増りける。「心よくありしを、そのままおかせ給へ」と下女のいへるを、聞かぬ顔してちかくよれば、肌につけし兵部卿のかをり、何とやらゆかしくて、笠を取除けみれば、やごとなき脇顔のしめやかに、鬢もそそけざりしを、しばし見とれて、その人の年頃におもひいたして、袖に手をさし入れて見るに、浅黄はぶたへの下着、「これは」と、こころをとめしに、吉三郎殿なり…吉三郎もおもてみあはせ、物えいはざる事しばらくありて、「我かくすがたをかえて、せめては、君をかりそめに見る事ねがひ、宵の憂き思ひおぼしめしやられよ」と、はじめよりの事どもを、つどつどにかたりければ、「とかくは、これへ御入りありて、その御うらみも聞きまゐらせん」と、手を引きまゐらすれども、宵よりの身のいたみ、是非もなく、哀れなり。

やうやう下女と手をくみて車にかきのせて、つねの寝間に入れまゐらせて、手のつづくほどはさすりて、幾薬をあたへ、すこし笑ひ顔うれしく、「盃事して、今宵は心にある程をかたりつくしなん」と、よろこぶ所へ、親父かえらせ給ふにぞ、かさねて憂めにあひぬ。

[258] Donald Keene, *Twenty Plays of the No Theatre*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 61-62.

Recalling the country boy who came in the early evening, Oshichi told her maidservant, "Bring that candle over." Oshichi went over to investigate the [sleeping] shadow and saw how peacefully he lied there. "He looks as if he is sleeping peacefully. Why don't you let him be?" the maidservant told Oshichi. [But] Oshichi pretended not to hear her and as she approached him closer, the fragrance of the Hyobukyo incense lingering on his skin intoxicated her senses, perking her interests of him. Removing the bamboo hat away from his face she saw his beautiful and posed face. The hair on his sides was combed in precision, not a single hair was out of place. The more Oshichi was mesmerized, the more she thought that he seemed to be the same age as the one she desires [Kichisaburō]. Putting her hand into his sleeve, she saw that he wore an undergarment of fine yellow silk. "Oh my!" she gasped as she took a second look. It is Kichisaburō…Kichisaburō faced Oshichi but couldn't bring himself to say anything. "I came here disguising myself in hopes of catching even a slight glimpse of you. Please consider how much I have endured." And so saying, he related to Oshichi from the beginning all of the hardships he endured, one by one. "Why don't you please come inside and relate all of your problems to me," Oshichi told Kichisaburō as she tried to take his hand to pull him inside. However, all of the hardships had weakened Kichisaburō. How truly a pitiful sight.

Finally, Oshichi and her maidservant embraced each other and acting as a cart, they carried Kichisaburō into one of the bedrooms. Oshichi relentlessly rubbed Kichisaburō's hands while Kichisaburō drank some medicine. Finally, Kichisaburō gave a slight smile and asked Oshichi, "Shall we exchange a cup of sake and relate our desires for each other?" [But] to this joyous scene was met with the return of Oshichi's father.[259]

[259]*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 354-55.

Figure 2.5: Oshichi realizing it is Kichisaburō
(Ihara Saikaku, *Kōshoku gonin onna*, [Kitamidōmae (Ōsaka]): Moritashōtarō, 1868])
Waseda University

Kichisaburō's disguise (*yatsushi* やつし) is a bamboo hat (*take no wogasa* 竹の小笠) and a waistcoat made of straw (*koshimino* 腰蓑) to repel the rain/snow (see figure 2.4 and 2.5). Captain Fukakusa, who once commuted in style and grandeur, was forced to commute in nothing but rags, a straw coat and a bamboo hat similar to Kichisaburō. In both cases, they are dressing in an attire that is below their original status. Furthermore, Kichisaburō appears during the early evening from somewhere near the Itabashi bridge. This bridge motif reminds the reader of Oshichi's journey when she visits Kichisaburō's room. Like Captain Fukakusa and Kichisaburō, Oshichi dons a garment that misrepresents her actual social class. In her case, Oshichi is being represented in a class

superior than her actual standing.[260] Kichisaburō travels in disguise across the bridge, venturing into a world apart from his. Captain Fukakusa also relates to the priest in a dialogue before this passage of his commutes to Komachi, venturing from a world that is familiar into another, enduring the harsh rain and snow, and even encountering demons along his way.

Oshichi stops Kichisaburō's rants and invites him inside. However, Kichisaburō's health has deteriorated to the point where he can no longer stand on his own. Oshichi, together with her maidservant, devise a plan to transport Kichisaburō into the main house. The description of them transporting Kichisaburō as if he is riding a carriage[261] also mirrors *The Commute to Komachi*. Komachi demands that Captain Fukakusa commute on foot, as he relates, "So of course I ceased to use/ My palanquin or carriage."[262] Once Kichisaburō's true identity is revealed, he is able to do away with his disguise to reveal the fine garments concealed underneath. Captain Fukakusa also, upon completion of commuting one hundred nights, strips his disguise and dons clothing that represents his true standing in society. Both Kichisaburō and Captain Fukakusa, who are invited into the various properties, are on the verge of death, although, Kichisaburō is revived and Captain Fukakusa dies before attaining Komachi.

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[260] Mori Kōichi, "*Kōshoku gonin onna* ron josetsu-ge," *Sonoda kokubun* vol. 12 (Amagasaki: Sonoda Kokubun, March 1991), p. 53.

[261] De Bary has translated this section as "But Kichisaburō's suffering that evening left him too weak to walk, so Oshichi and the maid put their hands together, making a cradle in which to carry him" (De Bary, *Five Women Who Loved Love*, p. 181). The text states "*yō yō gejō to te wo kumite kuruma ni kakinosete*" with Saikaku's clear intention to paint the image of Oshichi and the maidservant acting as the wheels and their arms as the seating area of the carriage (*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 355). Inoue has also noted the discrepancies in translations (see Inoue, "Oshichi, The Greengrocer's Daughter: A Cultural History of *Sewamono*, 1686-1821, p. 75).

[262] Keene, *Twenty Plays of the No Theatre*, p. 59.

As Kichisaburō recovers, he jokingly suggests the exchange of rice wine (*sake*) with Oshichi. Captain Fukakusa also suggests the exchanging of rice wine with Komachi not only to celebrate his completion of the task, but also to claim his prize of having Komachi as his wife. However, both Kichisaburō and Captain Fukakusa are stopped short before being able to exchange rice wine. Oshichi's father interrupts Oshichi and Kichisaburō, and according to legend, Captain Fukakusa dies of his ailments. In *The Commute to Komachi,* Captain Fukakusa stops in the partaking of rice wine because it is against the Buddhist precepts. By abstaining, both Komachi and he are able to shun their worldly attachments and attain salvation together.

The insertion of the male-male relationship also reinforces the link between Oshichi and Kichisaburō with the legends of Komachi. In 1699, the Arashi-za (the Arashi Theater) in Ōsaka presented a kabuki play by Mizushima Shirobee (水島四郎兵衛, 1648-?) entitled *Ono no Komachi*. Mizushima based his kabuki play on the nō plays *The Commute to Komachi, Komachi on the Stupa*, and *Komachi at Sekidera Temple*.

Mizushima opens the first act of *Ono no Komachi* based on the general elements of *The Commute to Komachi*. The three main characters, Komachi, Narihira and Captain Fukakusa are involved in a love triangle.[263] Komachi is infatuated with Narihira, and Captain Fukakusa is infatuated with Komachi. However, to complicate matters, no matter how interested Narihira is in Komachi, he is unable to act upon his feelings

[263] The love triangle motif is common within *Five Women*. In chapter one, although the love triangle relationship is not in direct contact with each other, we still see an indirect links between Minakawa, Seijūrō and Onatsu. In chapter two, we have a humorous love triangle between Kyūshichi, Osen, and the Cooper as they journey to Ise. In chapter three, we see the love triangle between Zetarō, Osan, and Magoemon. In chapter four, Oshichi, Kichisaburō, and the elder male lover. Finally, in chapter five, the ghosts of two *wakashu* are tugging at Gengobei forming the love triangle between Hachijūrō, Gengobei, and the young boy who was capturing birds.

because he is involved in a male-male relationship with Captain Fukakusa (Fukakusa acting as the elder male lover in the relationship). Komachi confesses her desires for Narihira, and he gently rejects her. Captain Fukakusa visits the depressed Komachi and devises a plan to win Komachi over by camouflaging the garden's lantern as an official messenger from the capital to relay the message for Komachi to accept Captain Fukakusa. Komachi responds by ordering Captain Fukakusa to commute one hundred nights and thus validates the "messenger's" orders from the capital. Komachi sends Captain Fukakusa off with a gift of a cherry blossom branch, to which she attaches a poem she wrote for the occasion. Meanwhile, Komachi's stepmother and brother devise a plan to try and seize control of the household, only to be hindered by those close to Komachi. Frustrated, the stepmother and brother attack and attempt to kidnap Komachi, which coincidently is the ninety-ninth night of Captain Fukakusa's commute to Komachi.

Act two incorporates the main themes from *Komachi on the Stupa Sotoba*, and opens with the order of Komachi's execution by beheading due to the disruption that occurred in act one. Her half-sister offers her head in her place, and Komachi escapes to the Shikadera Temple (志賀寺) in Ōmi. Captain Fukakusa is also present in Ōmi, as he has disguised himself as a merchant owning a store located in front of the main entrance to Shikadera Temple. One day, Captain Fukakusa encounters one of Komachi's manservants, who is resting on a fake Komachi's tomb stone. They enter into a series of Buddhist rhetorical questions (*mondo* 問答) in which the manservant reveals to Captain Shōsho that Komachi, full of resentment and regret, has decided to drown herself in the Bay of Shiga.

Act three, based loosely on *Komachi at Seikidera Temple*, begins with Captain Fukakusa and Komachi's manservant searching for Komachi at the Bay of Shiga (*Shika no ura* 志賀の浦). They encounter the deranged Komachi wandering at the shoreline of the bay. Captain Fukakusa and Komachi resolve their differences, and together they avenge her household by killing her brother, thus ending this play on an auspicious event.[264]

Although the oldest known version of Mizushima's *Ono no Komachi* script is from the 1699 Arashi-za production, thirteen years after the publication of *Five Women*, records indicate that a previous production of *Ono no Komachi* dates to around 1687[265], one year after the publication of *Five Women*.[266] In addition, in act two, Mizushima includes a murder subplot where a wicked monk attempts to kills the head abbot in order to take control of the Shikadera Temple. Captain Fukakusa and Komachi's manservant kill the evil monk, thus revealing his attempt to usurp control over the temple. This subplot resembles a story dating to the seventeenth day of the ninth month of 1686, involving the murder of the head abbot of the Miidera Temple in Ōmi, who was avenged by one of his trusted monks and a temple servant.[267] It is not clear whether there was a

[264] Noma Kōshin, eds., *Eiri kyōgenbonshū jō*, (Ōsaka: Han'an'noma kōshin sensei kakō kinenkai, 1969).

[265] The original production featured Arashi Sanemon II (二代目嵐三右衛門, 1661-1701) as Captain Shōsho, Namie Kokan I (初代浪江小勘 ,1659-?) as Ono no Komachi, and Takeshima Kōzaemon (竹島幸左衛門, ?-1712) as Kirifuji. Kokan and Kōzaemon were members of the Arashi-za troope (a *kamigata* kabuki troope), and Komachi was the breakout role for Kokan. The 1699 revival production also starred the same members in the same roles as the original production.

[266] Mori, "*Kōshoku gonin onna* ron josetsu-ge," p. 53.

[267] Ishi Ryōsuke, eds., *Oshioki saikyochō* in *Kinsei hōsei shiryō sousho* (Tōkyo: Sōbunsha, 1959).

previous production before 1687, but Mizushima's kabuki play highlights the early modern popular infatuation with the legend of Komachi.[268]

Saikaku's linking of Komachi and Oshichi exemplifies the mixing of high culture with popular culture. By associating Oshichi with Komachi, Saikaku also elevates the social status of townsmen, allowing them to view themselves as part of the aristocratic world. Yet, Saikaku is also commenting on the importance of living a life as one chooses, however short it maybe, rather than living a long life that has no meaning. While Oshichi is linked to Komachi, there is also a strong contrast between them. The legends of Komachi, as she is represented in the three nō plays mentioned above, highlight her resentments and sorrows over her past actions. Oshichi, although branded as a criminal, dies without any resentment or sorrow. She stands by her own conventions and meets her death not wanting to waste her life like Komachi, full of regrets.

The Burning Flames of Desire

In section four, titled "The Cherry Blossom Vanishes from this World" (*yo ni mi wo same no sakura* 世に見をさめの桜)[269], Saikaku recounts the execution of Oshichi and transitions into a story focused on Kichisaburō. The image of the cherry blossoms

[268] Ki no Kaion's (紀海音, 1663-1742) puppet theater, or *jōruri* version of *Yagura no Oshichi*, produced sometime during 1714-1716, explicitly links Kichisaburō to Captain Shōsho. Kaion includes the line describing Kichisaburō visit to Oshichi, Kichisaburō "similarly understood Shōsho's [misery during] the rainy nights of his one hundred night commute." Although produced after the death of Saikaku, we can see how the legend of Komachi and the story of Oshichi were intricately linked to each other.

[269] De Bary has translated section four's title as "Farewell to the Cherry Blossom" (De Bary, *Five Women Who Loved Love*, p. 184).

vanishing conjures the image of Oshichi who no longer exists in this world. It also conjures the image of Komachi, thus further linking Oshichi with Komachi.

> ある日、風のはげしき夕暮に、日外、寺へにげ行く世間のさわぎを思ひ出して、「又さもあらば、吉三郎殿にあひ見る事の種ともなりなん」と、よしなき出来ごころにして、悪事を思ひ立つこそ因果なれ。すこしの煙立さわぎて、人々、不思議と心懸け見しに、お七が面影をあらはしける。これを尋ねしに、つつまずありし通りを語りけるに、世の哀れとぞなりにける。
>
> けふは、神田のくづれ橋に恥をさらし、又は四谷、芝の浅草、日本橋に、人こぞりてみるに、惜しまねはなし…「最期ぞ」とすすめけるに、心中さらにたがはず、「夢幻の中ぞ」と一念に仏国を願ひける心ざし、さりとては痛はしく、手向花とて咲きおくれし桜を一本もたせけるに、うち詠めて、「世の哀れ春ふく風に名を残しおくれ桜のけふ散りし身は」と吟じけるを…品かはりたる道芝の辺にして、その身はうき煙となりぬ。人皆いづれの道にも煙はのがれず、ことに不便はこれにぞありける…それはきのう、今朝みれば、塵も灰もなくて、鈴の森松風ばかり残りて、旅人も聞つたえてただは通らず、廻向してその跡を弔ひける。さればその日の小袖、郡内縞のきれぎれまでも世の人拾ひもとめて、すゑずゑの物語の種とぞ思ひける。

> One day a violent windstorm appeared during the twilight of the early evening (*yūgure*). There was a time, recalls Oshichi, during a great turmoil in this world that we took refuge at the temple. "If there would be another similar incident, it would also give me the opportunity to meet Master Kichisaburō." And so from this dark thought, she decides to commit a hideous act of arson. From the rise of the slight smoke, [those who were passing by] thought it was strange and decided to investigate, only to find Oshichi present [starting the fire]. Questing her actions, Oshichi does not try to conceal her actions and retells her story from the beginning. Thus, the world knew of the sorrows that took place.
>
> Oshichi was paraded around town as a common criminal. She was displayed starting from the old bridge at Kanda, then to Yotsuya, the entrance to the Tokaido Road at Shiba, Asakusa, and Nihonbashi[270]…[during this time] Oshichi appeared calm and composed,

[270] According to *The Jest Book*, Oshichi was on public display for ten days between the eighteenth till the twenty-seventh in the year 1683. During this time, she was publicly humiliated in five different areas

reminding herself "this is all nothing but a faint dream." She prayed with the utmost sincerity to Amida Buddha to welcome her into Western Paradise. Oh, what a pitiful sight. [As she departed to meet her death], she held a branch of cherry blossoms someone gave to her as an offering to the dead that bloomed late in season. Gazing at the branch, Oshichi recited "Just as these late blooming cherry blossoms scatter due to the spring winds, my fleeting existence will too scatter [among the winds]"…by the roadside of Shinagawa, along the weeds that grow there, her body became a cloud of smoke…but that was yesterday. This morning, not even dust or ashes remained…but those who passed by the execution grounds collected the remaining scrapes of the Gunnai short-sleeve *kimono* that Oshichi had worn, which became the inspiration for numerous legends [about her].[271]

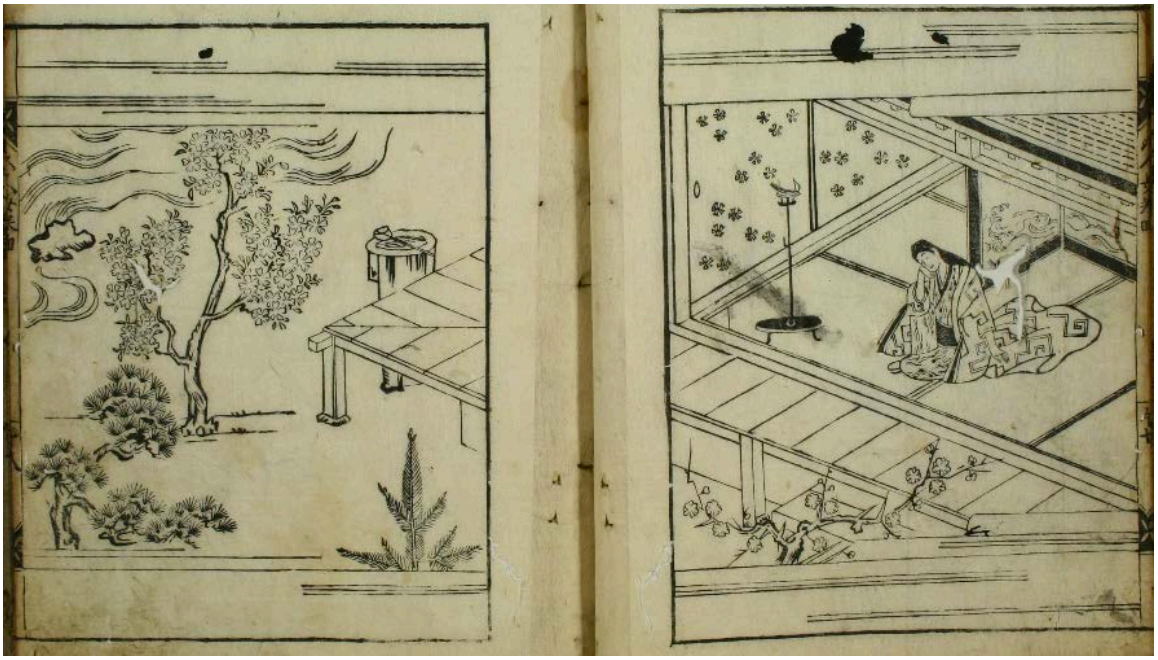

Figure 2.6: Oshichi contemplating her life without Kichisaburō.
(Ihara Saikaku, *Kōshoku gonin onna*, [Kitamidōmae (Ōsaka]): Moritashōtarō, 1868])
Waseda University

throughout the town of Edo. These five locations were where criminals were usually displayed to the public.

[271]*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 357-60.

Figure 2.7 (Left): Ono no Komachi
(*Onna kasen shinshō*, [Edō (Tōkyo): Yamagata-ya, 1682])
Tenri Central Library-Historical Texts

Figure 2.8 (Right) Saikaku's Ono no Komachi
(*Kokon haikai onna kasen*: *sugatae iri*, (Taihoku: Nodashobō, 1941)
Waseda University

The woodblock illustration that illustrates Oshichi sitting in a dazed state while overlooking the inner gardens is one that does not directly correspond to the text (see figure 2.6). Yet, the reader can assume that this woodblock illustration corresponds to Oshichi pondering her dilemma of not being able to be with Kichisaburō. Oshichi's portrayal in the woodblock illustration, with her hair down and wearing a long train *kimono* (*suso biki*) over her own *kimono* seems to represent her as a member of the

aristocratic class.[272] In *Onna kasen shinshō* published by Edō Yamagata-ya publishing house in 1682,[273] under a section entitled "Ono no Komachi," the woodblock illustration that accompanies the Komachi poem, originally recorded in the *Kokin Wakashū* anthology,[274] eerily resembles the woodblock illustration of Oshichi sitting in the room (see figure 2.7). One year after *Onna kasen shinshō* and two years before *Five Women*, in 1683, Saikaku published *Kokon haikai onna kassen*, in which he personally illustrated the woodblock illustrations that accompany the poems presented in the collection (see figure 2.8). The poem that Saikaku selected to represent Komachi is from *Hyakunin isshu.*[275] The woodblock illustration accompanying the poem not only closely resembles the illustration from *Onna kasen shinshō*, but also to what would later be associated with Oshichi.

Komachi's poem in *Onna kasen shinshō* expresses the extreme longing for her lover at night, which Saikaku mimics in the description of Oshichi's longing for Kichisaburō. It is this same poem illustrating Komachi's extreme longing to meet her lover that is echoed in *Komachi at Sekidera Temple*[276] and associated with Oshichi. The

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[272] Shiomura, "*Kōshoku gonin onna* Yaoya Oshichi no nazo", p. 37. Although it can be interpreted that this woodblock illustration suggests that Oshichi is an aristocrat, as Shiomura has suggested, the fact that Oshichi is portrayed as sitting with her right leg bent upwards, thus serving as an arm rest, may also suggest Oshichi's erotic nature. This sitting position is one that is typical of courtesans and prostitutes, and should not be mimicked by those maidens who were raised in a proper household. By sitting with one knee bent upwards, especially the right knee, would leave the possibility of the genitalia to be easily exposed.

[273] The only copy of *Onna kasen shinshō* is held in the Tenri Central Library-Historical Texts, Tōkyo. Although I have listed 1682 as the date, the actual publishing date of this book is unknown. The Tenri Library has entered into its records as 1682. Since this is the only copy that has been discovered to date, it is also unclear whether or not there was a *kamigata* version. However, we can assume that there was most likely a *kamigata* version that was published in which Saikaku would have been familiar with.

[274] This is the first poem credited to Komachi in the *Kokinshu*, poem 552. *Omoi tsutsu nurebaya hito no mietsuran* (Is it because I fell asleep longing for him, he appeared?) (*Kokinshū*, NKBT, 8:101).
[275] Saikaku's selected poem was: *Hana no iro wa utsuri ni keri na itazura ni waga mi yo ni furu nagame seshi ma ni* (The color of the cherry blossoms has changed so much in vain my body grows old as I gaze upon the rain).

cherry blossom, although not mentioned in this particular poem, is illustrated in the foreground. The cherry blossom tree is a homage to Komachi's famous cherry blossom poem, presented by Saikaku in *Kokon haikai onna kassen*. By having the cherry blossom tree present in Oshichi's woodblock illustration, the presence of the iconic symbol is one that is easily recognizable by the readers who are then able to link at least two, if not all three of the woodblock illustration together.[277] In this manner, Saikaku, along with the references of the fleeting cherry blossoms in section four of *Five Women*, further links Oshichi to the legendary Komachi.

Oshichi's resolution to commit arson and her calm demeanor as she is paraded throughout Edo demonstrates her lack of remorse or regret. Although Oshichi is at the border of adolescence and adulthood, she does not act impulsively as one might expect a child to do, implying that she is mature beyond her years.[278] Instead, she reflects upon her situation, and rather than accepting her role as a dutiful daughter by obeying the wishes of her parents, she is determined to choose her own fate. Oshichi's acceptance of her death recalls her prayer earlier for the deceased young maiden at the temple, echoing the Buddhist philosophy of impermanence reinforced with the imagery of the cherry blossoms.

Oshichi's physical life may have been short lived, but Saikaku not only memorialized her storyin his collection, but alsoand portrayed her as a deity of romantic

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[276] Keene, *Twenty Plays of the No Theatre*, p. 73.

[277] Shiomura claims that the cherry blossom is not a flower that should be associated with merchants' daughters (see Shiomura, "*Kōshoku gonin onna* Yaoya Oshichi no nazo", p. 38).

[278] Upon hearing about Oshichi's death, Kichisaburō's rash action of trying to commit suicide can be seen as an impulsive act. Saikaku is once again contrasting Oshichi and Kichisaburō and how they each react to the challenges of love and relationships.

relationships. Although her physical remains vanished, those who made the pilgrimage to her execution grounds presented offerings and prayers on her behalf and took the remaining scraps of her clothing as a memento. Similar to sacred religious artifacts, such as bone fragments of holy men, which are revered to possess extraordinary powers, Oshichi's scraps were taken by pilgrims and revered. These pilgrims, drawing on the powers of Oshichi's clothing, were responsible for the transformation and the deification of Oshichi through the legends that sprung from her execution.[279]

After Oshichi's execution and Kichisaburō admittance into priesthood, as his forelocks are shaved, the narrator describes the scene in a highly poetic manner. The action of shaving his forelocks is compared to the wind that destroys the full blooms of cherry blossoms. This scene of Kichisaburō's entrance into the secular world marks the final episode in which Saikaku uses the wind motif to propel the plot in chapter four. In total, Saikaku makes references to the wind in nine different instances in chapter four,[280] more than in any other chapter within *Five Women*. Each time Saikaku uses the wind motif, it appears during a crucial point in the plot and foreshadows a major change that is about to occur.

[279] Recalling the discussion of Kichisaburō as the thunder deity, it is also fitting that Oshichi, who serves as a *miko* to Kichisaburō, is later transformed into a protector of romantic affairs.

[280] The first notion is the winter wind used in the opening of chapter four which assisted the spread of the fire that originally consumed Oshichi's residence (*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 340). The second is the unusually cold night that leads to Oshichi to borrow the black *kimono* (*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 341). Third, Oshichi's determination to consummate her desires with Kichisaburō (*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 345). Fourth, after Oshichi and Kichisaburō's consummation, Oshichi's mother appears and led her away (*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 350). Fifth, Kichisaburō disguises himself as a village boy and travels to Oshichi (*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 352). Sixth, Oshichi's arson attempt in order to be reunited with Kichisaburō (*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 357). Seventh, before Oshichi's execution (*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 358). Eight, right after Oshichi's execution (*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 360). Ninth, Kichisaburō becomes a monk (*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 364).

Saikaku also personifies the wind, often associating it with human emotions such as loneliness or fierceness. Ōkage has suggested that the wind symbolizes the natural element that cannot be controlled by people.[281] Since man cannot control wind, its movements are unhindered, representing notions of freedom. This freedom, unrestricted by man and society, is what Oshichi and Kichisaburō desire the most, but it is unattainable.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have continued my examination of Saikaku's *Five Women* with chapter four, the story of Oshichi and Kichisaburō. Saikaku based his version of Oshichi and Kichisaburō upon a recent event that had occurred roughly three years before he published *Five Women*. The execution of Oshichi is the only story in the collection that was still vivid in the memories of his readers. Although the sources available to Saikaku when he composed his version are unknown, what is clear is that he transformed Oshichi and Kichisaburō into exemplary role models of love for the early modern townsmen.

The method in which Saikaku created his story allowed it to connect with a wide spectrum of readers. Previous scholarship has shown how Saikaku elevated the townsmen by merging them with legendary literary figures. In addition, I argue that Saikaku uses these references to the past not only to elevate the townsmen' social status, but also to create an ideal world in which relationships are free from social constraints. Oshichi and Kichisaburō's unique position as children allow them to have the freedom to

[281] Ōgake, "*Gonin onna* maki yon," p. 44.

transgress boundaries and to enter into a world free of obligations and responsibilities. In this ideal world, they are free to indulge in their desires.

At the same time, Oshichi's resolution to ensure her lover is not implicated in her crime was paradoxically acclaimed by the samurai class as an example of true loyalty and dedication and her story would be transformed to reflect this. Oshichi's transformation reflects the core values of *haikai,* the mixture of the vulgar (townswoman) with the refined (samurai's daughter). As the legend of Oshichi found its way back to Edo from the *kamigata* region, Oshichi was no longer an arsonist driven by her lust, but a heroine who defied the authorities in order to save Kichisaburō's life. By 1770s, bunraku and kabuki theaters immortalized her valor and would eventually portray Oshichi as an exemplary samurai's daughter who deserves to be happily wedded.[282] Thus, the various representations of Oshichi in popular fiction and theater ultimately transformed her from an exemplary model for the townswomen into an exemplary model of a samurai's daughter.

[282] Gundry claims of the five women in *Five Women*, Oshichi has the highest status because her lover is a samurai who endures the most hardships in order to visit her (Gundry, *Parody, Irony and Ideology in the Fiction of Ihara Saikaku*, p. 147). Oshichi's elevation continues in the Edo tradition, where succession disputes was one of the main concerns that plagued elite samurai households. Rather than having Oshichi executed, the Edo tradition eventually transforms her into an exemplary model of a happy marriage that symbolized the continuation of the household.

Chapter Three
Creating the Early Modern Townsman: The Story of Gengobei and Oman

> "Oh, how dreadful! How I resent those black robe of his! I must seize this opportunity and seek him out to relate how resentful I am of him."[283]
>
> Oman

The final chapter of *Five Women* is dedicated to the retelling of the Oman and Gengobei incident, also believed to have occurred around the same time as the Onatsu and Seijūrō affair during the 1660s. The exact date or any official records surrounding Oman and Gengobei's story are, to date, non-existent, except for a short description of a lovers' suicide that occurred between a young maiden named Oman and her lover Gengobei in the province of Satsuma. Yet, by the time Saikaku was writing *Five Women*, the Oman and Gengobei incident had already become a sensation among contemporary readers, with various versions of their story being disseminated through popular songs and performances.

Saikaku creates his version of the Oman and Gengobei affair based upon his own imagination, only borrowing their names and the domain where the incident actually took place. Saikaku starts with section one and two dedicated to Gengobei's romantic affairs, describing his disdain for women in favor of male youths, or *wakashu*. Saikaku reserves

[283] *Kanashi ya, so no hito ha sumizome no sode urameshi ya. Zehi, sore ni tasune yukite, hitotabi kono urami wo iwa de ha to omoi tatsu* (*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 378).

a considerable portion to retelling Gengobei's back story and his two love affairs with the male youths, Nakamura Hachijūrō and an unnamed youth. It is not until section three, the readers are introduced to Oman. Saikaku describes Oman's infatuation with Gengobei, resulting in her extreme measure to deceive those around her to pursue her passions for him. Camouflaging her own sexual identity, Oman is finally able to consummate her desires with Gengobei in section four, followed by their hardships as a couple in the beginning of section five. However, their fortunes change with Oman being reunited with her parents, and as the sole inheritor of their estate, becoming wealthy beyond her and Gengobei's wildest dreams.

Saikaku's recreation of the Oman and Gengobei affair will be the focus of this chapter. Similar to the Onatsu and Seijūrō incident, I assume Saikaku must have been aware of various versions of the story, including perhaps, more journalistic accounts that attempted a more truthful report of the incident. Yet, Saikaku ignored these sources to create his own fictional version in which, I argue, Gengobei is portrayed as a model contemporary early modern townsman. This is in contrast to Seijūrō, who Saikaku portrays as a late medieval model townsman.

I first examine how the Oman and Gengobei narrative fits into the overall structure of *Five Women*. In particular, I examine the titles of each chapters followed by how Saikaku structures *Five Women*. In doing so, I demonstrate contrary to popular belief, that the main protagonists of *Five Women* are not always the women alluded to in the title. I argue, instead, that in chapters one and five, the characters of Seijūrō and Gengobei are as important if not more sothan their female counterparts. By having chapters one and five, the opening and concluding chapters within *Five Women*,

emphasize the male protagonists, Saikaku allows his readers the ability to compare and contrast these two stories, drawing attention to Seijūrō and Gengobei as characters of importance.

I then shift my focus to the Oman and Gengobei narrative. By placing the Oman and Gengobei narrative within the context of the overall genre of Saikaku's erotic works (*kōshoku mono* 好色物) I demonstrate Saikaku's intent of transforming Gengobei, and subsequently Oman, into representations of the issues that plagued contemporary early modern society.

Titles and Structure of *Five Women*

Among Saikaku scholars, there has been an ongoing debate over whether the main protagonists of *Five Women* are all women, as the title suggests. Teruoka Yasutaka and Maeda Kingorō, for example, have taken the stance that the main protagonists are all women, since the title is *Five Women*. Jimbo Kazuya, although not explicitly stating his reasons, and Hayashi Masaharu believe that chapters one and five revolve mainly around the male protagonist. While I agree that the main protagonists of the stories are not always the female characters, I do not believe any of the narratives revolve solely around the male protagonist. Instead, I argue that in chapters one and five the male protagoniss are just as important as their female counterparts, and that the stories are about the human emotions of lust and desire that are felt by both women and men.

One way of determining if Saikaku places emphasis on the role of the male protagonists is by examining the titles Saikaku assigns to each chapter. For example,

Saikaku ends each title with the term "story" or "narrative" (*monogatari* 物語).[284] Of the five chapters, only in chapters two, three, and four is the term "story" directly preceded by an occupation.[285] These three chapters are sandwiched in between the only two chapters where the male protagonist's name directly precede the term "story", chapter one the Story of Seijūrō, and chapter five the Story of Gengobei. Given Saikaku's strategic placement of his chapters, we can assume Saikaku is directing his readers to the importance of both Seijūrō and Gengobei to the respective narratives. In addition, the highlighting of these two male protagonists encourages readers to make a connection between to them, whether it is to compare and contrast chapters one and five, or the two male protagonists in a collection that is otherwise about women's love affairs.[286]

Saikaku's titles are carefully thought out. Within each title of the five chapters in *Five Women*, Saikaku hints at the message or theme of that particular narrative. For example, to chapter three of *Five Women*, which revolves around the adulterous affair of Osan and the clerk Moemon, Saikaku assigns the title "The Story of the Calendar Maker as Perceived in the Midsection of the Almanac" (*Chūdan ni miru Koyomiya monogatari* 中段に見る暦屋物語).[287] Here, Saikaku plays upon the term "midsection", or *chūdan*.

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[284] Saikaku connects the five narratives through the usage of the term "story" within each of the chapters' titles. In his subsequent works, Saikaku will also connect each narrative through the repetition of a term or phrase. In the *New Accounts of the Strange* (*Shin kashō ki*, 1688), Saikaku uses the phrase "The Samurai is…" (*bushi wa*…) in order to connect all of the narratives together in order to explore the world of the samurai class. In *Japan's Storehouses* (*Nippon eitaigura*, 1688), Saikaku uses the term "those that cannot be concealed…" (*kakure naki*…) throughout his narratives as he recounts the daily lives and business strategies of the merchant class.

[285] Chapter two, the Story of the Barrel Maker; chapter three, the Story of the Calendar Maker; and chapter four, the Story of the Greengrocer.

[286] Hayashi Masaharu, "Kōshoku gonin onna *no naidai ni tsuite: maki ichi machi go wo chūshin toshite*," *Ronkyū Nihon bungaku* (Tōkyo: 1974) vol. 37, p. 19.

[287] Theodore de Bary translates this title as "What the Seasons Brought the Almanac Maker," which David Gundry also uses within his own work (Theodore de Bary, *Five Women Who Loved Love*, p. 115; David

One reference is to the actual placement of the narrative, being the middle narrative in *Five Women*.[288] This reference also echoes the five-act structure in which historical puppet plays are written, with the third act often being the dramatic highlight of the entire play.[289] In comparison to the other chapters in *Five Women*, the Osan narrative is often considered by scholars to be the most dramatic narrative, infused with the kind of poetic and descriptive language used in puppet plays to emotionally captivate its viewers.

The second meaning behind Saikaku's usage of the term "midsection" in the title also serves as a method of foreshadowing the fates of the protagonists. The midsection can also refer to the second of three chapters that constitutes the almanac that the calendar maker publishes. The middle chapter of the almanac is dedicated to the year's auspicious and unfavorable dates, directions, elements and other factors that help the reader plan the course of the year by maximizing his fortunes on fortuitous days and minimizing his losses on inauspicious days. Thus, Saikaku uses the reference to midsection within the title to hint to the fortuitous and tragic fate of Osan.[290]

Saikaku also strategically places each of the five narratives and structures his chapters according to how each love affair is instigated within *Five Women*. In chapters one (Onatsu) and five (Oman), the love affair is instigated by the women while in chapters two (Osen) and four (Oshichi), the love affair is initially instigated by the male.

Gundry, *Parody, Irony and Ideology in the Fiction of Ihara Saikaku*, p. 135). Chris Drake simply translates the title as "The Calendar Maker's Wife" in his translation of chapter three with a sub caption "Written in the Calendar's Middle Column" (Haruo Shirane eds., *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology 1600-1900*, p. 62).

[288] See footnote 1, *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 309.

[289] Alison McQueen Tokita, *Japanese Singers of Tales: Ten Centuries of Performed Narrative*, Routledge (New York, 2016), p. 145.

[290] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 309.

In chapter two, the Cooper confesses his desires for Osen to an old lady who eventually acts as the couple's matchmaker. The Cooper divulges:

> その君遠きにあらず、内かたのお腰もとおせんがおせんが、百度の文のかへしもなきと泪に語れ
>
> The one [I long for] is not too far away. She is the maid Osen in the household nearby. I have sent a hundred letters professing my passions without a single response from her.[291]

Likewise, Kichisaburō, the male protagonists in chapter four, unwittingly professes his desires for Oshichi. Oshichi describes the scene as Kichisaburō struggles to remove a splinter from his left index finger.

> かの御手をとりて、難儀をたすけ申しけるに、この若衆我をわすれて、自らが手をいたくしめさせ給ふ…
>
> I [Oshichi] took [the young samurai youth's] hand and relieved him from his pain. The young samurai youth [so taken by me, even] had forgotten his own existence. Impulsively, he squeezed my hand.[292]

[291] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 283.

[292] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 343.

In both of these scenarios, it is the male protagonist who initially instigates the love affair. By contrast, chapters one (Onatsu) and five (Oman) describe a young woman who is so driven by her passions that she lingers on the border of being deranged, as the instigator of the courtship.[293]

Saikaku describes Onatsu's instigation as one sided.

> あなたこなたの心入れ、清十郎身にしては嬉しがなしく、内かたの勤めは外になりて、諸分の返事に隙なく、後にはこれもうたてくと、夢に目を明く風情なるに、なほおなつ、便を求めて、かずかずのかよはせ文、清十郎ももやもやとなりて、御心にはしたがひながら…しにを互い燃やし、両方恋にせめられ…

> Everyone in the Taijima household lusted for Seijūrō. Though pleased [for the attention], it also created problems for Seijūrō. His work [as a clerk] became secondary to trying to deal with all of the passionate advances from the members of household. Eventually, Seijūrō looked upon this task as being more burdensome than anything and it was as if he was in a constant daze, half sleeping and half awake. However, this did not deter Onatsu. One after another she sent Seijūrō letters professing her passions for him that eventually aroused Seijūrō's burning desires for her.[294]

Oman's instigation is depicted in a similar fashion.

> その頃又、さつまがた浜の町といふ所に、琉球屋の何がしが娘、おまんといへるありけり…この女、過ぎし年の春より、源五兵へ男盛りをなづみて、数々の文に気をなやみ、人しれぬ便りにつかはしけるに、源五兵へ、一生女をみかざり、かりそめの返事もせざるをか

[293] If we were to examine chapter three, we can argue Osan, although her intensions were to punish and ridicule Moemon, is the instigator to her affair with him. However, I am not including her within these groupings because Saikaku does not mention Osan's initial romantic encounters but rather glosses these over by simply referring to her as the Modern Komachi.

[294] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 265.

なしみ、明暮、これのみにて日数をおくりぬ。外より縁のいへるをうたてく、おもひ外なる作病して、人の嫌ふうはごとなど云ひて、正しく乱人とは見えける。

Around that time, there lived a daughter called Oman of a curiosity shop specializing in goods from the Ryūkyū Kingdom located in a place called *Hama no machi* in Satsuma…Starting from the Spring of the past year, this girl lusted for the manly Gengobei. One after another Oman poured her heart's desires to be with him in the letters she had secretly sent to Gengobei, but was only met to no avail. Gengobei had sworn off women and hence never responded back to Oman. Heartbroken, from dawn to dusk, day after day, all Oman could think of is her passions for Gengobei. She refused to entertain any other marriage proposals by faking an illness unknown to anyone. Her words [and actions] offended people that made her look as if she had become deranged.[295]

The examples above illustrates how love affairs are instigated in chapters one, two, four, and five.[296] The constant persistence of both Onatsu and Oman towards winning the affection of their desires differentiate the start of their love affairs from Osen and Oshichi.[297] This persistence, driven by their lust for their lover, portrays them on the

[295] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 377-378.

[296] I have purposely left out chapter three from analysis. Chapter three glosses over the beginnings of Osan and her marriage to the Calendar maker, with Saikaku giving little details on how her love affair was instigated besides hinting to her extraordinary beauty by proclaiming her as the modern day Komachi. Saikaku seems to be vague in regards to Osan, much like the title that he assigns to chapter three. As the title suggests to the readers of the fortuitous and tragic fate of Osan, Osan's first sexual encounter with her adulterous partner, Moemon, is by chance. Osan's plan of wanting to play a trick on Moemon backfires resulting in an unwanted affair.

[297] Of the four love affairs, only Oshichi's begins through physical contact with her lover and is relayed to the reader through her, as her own personal account. In Osen, Onatsu, and Oman's initial start of their love affair, they all begin as an infatuation as seen through a distance from the one that is obsessed over. Furthermore, Osen's love affair with the Cooper begins through the perspective of the Cooper, while Onatsu and Oman's is retold through the narrator.

verged of becoming deranged, if they are not already.[298] The similarity between of Onatsu and Oman as the main instigators of their love affairs, according to Hayashi Masaharu, further aids Saikaku readers to make the connection between the two stories. By showing first the already popular styistical approach to which late medieval stories were written through his rendition of the Onatsu story, this allows Saikaku to reinvent and contemporize his own style to appeal to his own readers by the time he writes the last chapter in *Five Women*.[299]

Transforming Gengobei into a Contemporary Early Modern Townsman

The structure of *Five Women* with chapters one and five linked together also serves to begin and conclude the fictional world Saikaku is creating. The actual incidents Saikaku is recreating in chapters one and five occurred roughly around the same period, sometime during the 1660s. Saikaku opens *Five Women* with chapter one, following traditional patterns, motifs, and subject matter popular to the time period of the Onatsu and Seijūrō incident. However, in chapter five, Saikaku departs from past rhetoric and invents an innovatied narrative that represents Saikaku's progressive style, such as the way he introduces his male protagonist.

Comparing chapters one and five, both chapters begin by focusing on the personal lives of the male protagonists. In chapter one, the reader is not introduced to Onatsu until

[298] In the previous chapter, I argue Oshichi's lust for Kichisaburō eventually leads her to becoming possessed and also portrays her on the verge of being deranged. However, this occurs after her initial contact with Kichisaburō.

[299] Hayashi, "*Kōshoku gonin onna* no naidai ni tsuite- maki ichi maki go wo chūshin to shite" (hereafter *Gonin onna no naidai ni tsuite*), p. 21.

section two, and in chapter five, Oman is not mentioned until the third section. The reader is introduced to each chapter through the back-story of the male protagonist. Section one of chapter one, introduces the reader to the somewhat fantastical beginnings of Seijūrō.

> 春の海しづかに、宝舟の波枕、室津は、にぎはへる大湊なり。ここに酒つくれる商人に、和泉清左衛門といふあり。家栄えて、よろづに不足なし。しかも、男子に清十郎とて、自然と生まれつきて、むかし男をうつし絵にも増り、そのさまうるはしく、女の好きぬる風俗、十四の秋より色道に身をなし、この津の遊女八十七人ありしを、いづれかあはざるはなし。

> Upon the calmness of the springtime waves, the treasure ship harbors among the waves (*takarabune no nami makura*), while the expansive port of Murotsu is bustling with commotion.[300] In this place, there is a merchant who specializes in brewing rice wine named Izumi Seizaemon. His house prospered and was limitless in joy. Furthermore, he had a son named Seijūrō, who from birth, resembled the painting of the famed Narihira. Seijūrō's grace and manners made him the ideal lover through the eyes of the women, and by fourteen, he became well versed in the ways of lovemaking. In the pleasure quarters of Murotsu, there are eighty-seven courtesans, and all of them have been intimate with Seijūrō.[301]

[300] Saikaku is creating a poetic trope by linking the treasure ship (*takarabune* 宝舟) with the pillow waves (*nami makura* 波枕). According to Higashi Akimasa's commentary the term treasure ship is poetically associated (*engo* 縁語) to pillow waves because the treasure ship refers to the seven lucky deities who rode on the treasure ship. In the Ōsaka and Kyōto tradition, the night before the first day of spring, one slept with a picture of the treasure ship under his pillow in hopes of dreaming a fortuitous dream. Thus, the term treasure ship and pillow waves are poetically paired together (see note one, *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 255).

[301] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 256.

Saikaku opens section one with reference to the legendary treasure ship that is associated with the seven lucky deities.[302] This association with the treasure ship places Seijūrō among the legendary figures of the past while also drawing the reader's attention to his extraordinary birth. As previously stated in chapter one, Saikaku associates the legendary Narihira from *The Tales of Ise* and Yonosuke from his own work *Life of a Sensuous Man* with Seijūrō, along with the historical memory associated to the port of Murotsu, in order to establish the past trends of the iconic male protagonists. Saikaku's establishment of the iconic male protagonist, as seen through Seijūrō, allows him to later re-create a contemporary model of male protagonist through Gengobei.

> 世に時花歌、源五兵へといへるは、さつまの国かごしまの者なりしが、かかる田舎には稀なる色このめる男なり。あたまつきは所ならはしにして、後さがりに髪先みじかく、長脇差もすぐれて目立つなれども、国風俗、これをも人のゆるしける。明暮、若道に身をなし、よわよわとしたる髪長のたはぶれ、一生しらずして、今ははや、二十六歳の春とぞなりける。

> Even now the world knows of the name Gengobei from the popular songs [still sung about him]. It was amazing how stylish he was even though he was from the countryside of Kagoshima from the land of Satsuma.[303] He dressed his hair in accordance to the style that was popular in the region where the back is combed low and the top knot thin and short.[304] Gengobei carried an overly large long sword that was quite noticeable, but since it was stylish in the region, people often overlooked it. Day and night he devoted himself to the ways of male love, never once taking notice to the other frail,

[302] The seven lucky deities are Ebisu (deity of wealth and harvest), Daikokuten (deity of commerce), Bishamonten (deity of war), Benzaiten (arts), Fukurokuju (deity of wisdom), Jurōjin (deity of longevity), and Hotei (deity of fortune).

[303] This is the present-day Kagoshima prefecture located in southwest area of Kyūshu. During the early modern period, Kagoshima was part of the Satsuma domain that also included the Ryūkyū Islands.

[304] This particular hair style became popular from 1684-1704.

> long hair type. Thus, twenty-six years has passed with Gengobei never once knowing the ways of female love.[305]

Saikaku opens section one of chapter five with a description of Gengobei that is both similar to and contrasting to that of Seijūrō. In a similar fashion to chpater one, the reader is presented with an introduction to the backstory of the male protagonist. Saikaku presents both protagonists as ideal townsmen--fashionable young men and connoisseurs of love-making. However, while Saikaku portrays Seijūrō as a way to perhaps ease his readers into the fictional world he is trying to create, linking Seijūrō to references of classical iconic heroes late medieval story, he illustrates Gengobei as his idealized version of early modern model of the contemporary townsman.[306]

The introduction to Gengobei does not begin by using poetic references, but rather with a contemporary popular song that is about Gengobei himself. The popular song (*hayari uta* 時花歌), Saikaku refers to is the "Gengobei Song" that became popular from around the 1660s.[307] According to an entry dated to the twenty-second day of the

[305] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 368.

[306] I am not trying to establish, label or categorize the actual social class of the townsman, but rather refer to Saikaku's version of Seijūrō and Gengobei as an idealized version of a townsman, one who is wealthy and well versed in the ways of erotic love. The establishment of the Tokugawa government brought an end to the major military conflicts of the previous century. The Shimabara Rebellion of 1638 was the last uprising that jeopardized the peaceful status quo. Yet people were uncertain whether or not the peaceful status would remain, often reflected in the younger generations who dressed in a sloppy manner, or *kabuku mono* of the early 1600s. Thus, I argue Saikaku was not intent on defining or representing the actual townsmen within his genre of erotic works, but rather a fictional, idealized version that allowed his readers to escape into the fictional world that he created. For a detailed account into the categorization of the early modern townsmen as a social class see Thomas Gaubatz, "Urban Fictions of Early Modern Japan: Identity, Media, *Genre*" Ph.D. Diss., Columbia University, 2016.

[307] The popularity of the "Gengobei Song", or *Gengobei bushi*, describes the love affair between Oman and Gengobei, which was, contrary to Saikaku's version, a double suicide. The "Gengobei Song" spread from province to province, evolving into various variations that incorporated distinct regional characteristics.

fifth month of 1671 in *The Diary of Matsudaira Yamato no Kami* (松平大和守日記) kept by Matsudaira Naonori (松平直矩, 1642-1695), "[a]ll throughout the streets one can hear the song called 'Gengobei Oman' being sung. The song's popularity keeps spreading throughout the roads to various provinces."[308]

In addition to relating Gengobei to contemporary popular culture, Saikaku reinforces this connection by describing Gengobei's personal appearance. The manner in which Gengobei fashions his hair is in accordance with the style popular during the time Saikaku was writing *Five Women* rather than the actual decade that the Oman and Gengobei affair is believed to have taken place. Since there are no official records surrounding the affair, the exact date that it took place remains a mystery. Yet, accounts of popular songs about the Oman and Gengobei affair emerged in the early 1660s, which allows us to assume the actual event must have also taken place around the same time. Thus, Saikaku's depiction of how Gengobei fashions the back of his head in an elongated manner is not in accordance to the style that was fashionable during the 1660s. Rather, it is combed in the fashion that became popular starting from the early 1680s and peaked during the Genroku period (1688-1704), a style that is now commonly referred to as the "Genroku *tabo*".[309]

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[308] *The Diary of Matsudaira Yamato no Kami* records, in additional to contemporary politics and records of events in his daily life, personal insights by Matsudaira Naonori of the popular culture between 1658 until his death in 1695. His diary is also an excellent source of kabuki performances performed during his day, in which he sponsored four performances at his personal residence during his lifetime. For a complete transcription and commentary of the diary, see Matsudaira Naonori, *Matsudaira Yamato no Kami Nikki* in Wakatsuki Yasuji eds., *Kinsei shoki kokugeki no kenkyū* (Tōkyo: Seijisha, 1944), p. 13-180.

[309] The term *tabo* is referring to the region of hair in the mid-lower back of the head. In today's kabuki repertory, the "Genroku *tabo*" is rarely used. Two of the most famous kabuki pieces that uses the "Genroku *tabo*" is the dance "Wisteria Maiden" ("Fujimusume" 藤娘, 1826) and *The Love Suicides at Soneaki* (*Sonezaki shinjū* 曽根崎心中, 1703), revived by Nakamura Senjaku II (now Sakata Tōjūrō IV) and his father Nakamura Ganjirō II in 1953.

Saikaku's transformation of Gengobei into a lover of young males also reflects how his character is modified into a reflection of contemporary popular culture. Saikaku dedicates over half of chapter five to Gengobei's conquests as a skilled lover of young males, in particular a youth named Nakamura Hachijūrō (see figure 3.3) and another samurai youth trying to hunt sparrows (see figure 3.4).

It is not entirely clear why Saikaku decided to change the entire story about Oman and Gengobei. Although all official records are lost, Chikamatsu Monzaemon's puppet play "The Song of Satsuma" ("Satsuma uta" 薩摩歌, 1704) version of the incident is most likely closest to the actual event, as the name Oman is linked to double suicide.[310] However, Saikaku showcases his *haikai* mastery through his recreation of the narrative and transformation Gengobei into a connoisseur of male love. Saikaku himself had never traveled down to Kyūshu and therefore would not have experienced first hand whether or not Satsuma was a domain where male-male relationships were popular. However, according to the *Ruisenshū* (1677), a collection of traditional pairing words that can be used to compose *haikai*, Satsuma is conventionally paired with male-loving.[311] Thus, an acceptable pairing to the previous *haikai* poem referencing Satsuma would be male-loving (*yarō* 野郎).

At the time *Five Women* was published in 1686, the fifth military leader Tokugawa Tsuneyoshi had just came into power roughly a year earlier. Tsuneyoshi was known for his fondness of keeping young boys who were talented at performing nō

[310] "The Song of Satsuma" is Chikamatsu's second contemporary play that followed the success of "The Love Suicides at Sonezaki" (1703). "The Song of Satsuma," however, was not well received by the audience. Chikamatsu creates a play closer to what is thought of as the actual event, a double suicide between Gengobei and Oman.

[311] Takase Baisei, *Ruisenshū* vol. 2, (1677).

dramas within the Edo castle, and soon afterwards other provincial lords followed suit. In particular, the Satsuma domain became famous for their manly men and their fondness of male-male relationships. Yamamoto Shunshō (1610-1682), a Kyōto artist and cultural observer, recounts the practices of male-male romance during his travels in the Satsuma domain:

> 此あたり近き御寺に、国のならひにて、少年あまた、花をかざり玉をつくしきよらによそひ、袖をひるがへすありさま、いはむかたなくをかしきすさび成ける。世こぞりてこれをめでずといふ事なし。

> In a nearby temple, all of the young boys from the domain gathered. In a similar fashion of displaying the most radiant flower or jewel, their beauty was put on display. Their flowing sleeves captivated the beholder. Never in the world can there be such a sight as this.[312]

Shunshō furthers notes that these young boys were often called to gatherings for parties as entertainment. In fact, they were called to entertain at Shunshō's farewell party before he departed the Satsuma domain by boat.[313] Whether or not Saikaku read Shunshō's accounts is unclear, but as a *haikai* master he was clearly familiar with the pairing of the terms "Satsuma" and "male-loving" (*nanshoku* 男色).

[312] Yamamoto Shunshō, "*Shūbokushū*" in Odaka Toshio eds., *Kinsei shoki bundan no kenkyū*, Tōkyo: Meiji shoin 1964, p. 486.

[313] Ibid, p. 486.

Transcending Time

The anachronism present in chapter five is not a merely an accident or oversight by Saikaku, but rather purposely inserted to create a contemporary version of a male protagonist. Saikaku is one of the very first authors in Japanese literature who wrote his works with strict notions of a time sequence in mind, such as correlating actual events that correspond to the particular time period within the structure of his stories.[314] In a similar manner to how Saikaku emphasizes the importance of his works' titles, he manipulates time to blur the worlds of fiction and reality.

A. The Sequence of Time in Saikaku's First and Last Erotic Fictions

Saikaku's attention to the representation of the sequence and flow of time is evident in his first and last erotic works, *The Life of a Sensuous Man* (1683) and *The Life of a Sensuous Woman* (1868). *The Life of a Sensuous Man* is structured in five chapters that are divided into fifty-four sections, mirroring *The Tale of Genji* (ca. 1000), which also contains fifty-four sections. However, each section within *The Life of a Sensuous Man* (hereafter *A Sensuous Man*) represents one year of Yonosuke's life, except for the first section which describes the first seven years of his childhood, allowing the text to conclude with Yonosuke setting sail for the legendary Island of Women (*nyogo no shima* 女 護島) at age sixty.

[314] Teraoka Yasutaka, *Kōshoku mono no sekai: Saikaku nyūmon ge*, Nihon hōsō kyōkai (1979), p. 96.

In addition to each section correlating to one year of Yonosuke's life, Saikaku also pays particular attention to retelling recent historical memories within each section, starting roughly from the start of the early modern period before shifting his focus to the periods between the Kan'ei era (1624-1644) and until the publication of *A Sensuous Man* in 1682, a span of roughly fifty-two years. Teraoka Yasutaka claims Saikaku paid particular attention to the flow of time in order to create a text that was easily relatable to the readers and would appeal to their own personal experiences. The relatable episodes within *A Sensuous Man* is what makes it an early modern text.[315] Teraoka's claims seems to be true in the first four chapters of *A Sensuous Man*, especially the manner in which Saikaku illustrates Yonosukse's adventures in the pleasure quarters.[316]

Saikaku opens *A Sensuous Man* in the same manner in which he will later open chapter one of *Five Women*, with the semi fantastical, legendary circumstances that surround the birth of the male protagonist. Setting the backdrop to Yonosuke's birth, Saikaku introduces his playboy father, Yumenosuke, along with Nagoya Sanza (?- d. 1604) and Kaga no Hachi (?- d. 1603).[317] Both Nagoya and Kaga, by the time Saikaku

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[315] Teraoka, *Kōshoku mono no sekai: Saikaku nyūmon ge* (hereafter *Kōshoku mono no sekai*), p. 96.

[316] There has been an ongoing debate on whether or not *A Sensuous Man*, as a whole, can be read as a collective work. Teraoka takes the indirect stance that there seems to be a continuality within *A Sensuous Man* since Saikaku relies on starting from the beginning of the early modern period and mixing historical memory within each section of the text, see Teraoka, *Kōshoku mono no sekai: Saikaku nyūmon ge* (hereafter *Kōshoku mono no sekai*), p. 96-98. Noma Kōshin, however, argues that chapters five through eight are disjointed from the previous four chapters. Noma claims this is because the protagonist Yonosuke is roughly modeled upon Saikaku himself, and thus by the end of chapter four, Yonosuke is forty-one, the same age as Saikaku when writing *A Sensuous Man*. For Noma, Saikaku is not integrating cultural history within the text, but rather Saikaku's own personal memories. Therefore, starting from chapter five, Saikaku didn't know what sort of episodes to write about and this created a disjointed feeling within the text, see Noma Kōshin, "*Saikaku to Saikaku iko*," in *Saikaku shin shinkō* (Iwanami shoten, 1981), p. 17-28.

[317] Nagoya Sanza also went by the name of Nagoya Sanzaemon. There is a discrepancy on the date of Kaga no Hachi's death. Chris Drake notes in *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology 1600-1900*, Kaga no Hachi's death is 1584, see foot note 4 in Haruo Shirane eds., *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology 1600-1900*, p.47. However, Teruoka notes that Kaga no Hachi died violently in the fourth month of 1603, see foot note 5 in *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 20.

publishes *A Sensuous Man* have become an essential part of the popular culture and would have been imagined as those pioneers who helped create the emerging culture of the early modern period.[318] Nagoya, a masterless samurai famed for his good looks and rumored lover of Izumo no Okuni, the founder of the modern day kabuki theater, and Kaga for his extraordinary strength and fearless character. Saikaku is not relying upon classical icons such as Narihira or Genji to legitimatize the opening of *A Sensuous Man*, but rather the popular icons that were very much alive in contemporary popular culture.[319]

Within *A Sensuous Man*, Saikaku recounts the pleasure quarters, especially the legends, customs, and daily lives surrounding the quarters from around 1624 to 1682. In one of the most famous episodes, Saikaku incorporates the legend of the top tier courtesan, Yoshino. According to *The Great Mirror of the Sensual Way* (*Shikidō Ōkagami*, 1678), a collection of roughly thirty years of Fujimoto Kizan's (1626-1704) personal observations of the pleasure quarters, the courtesan known as Yoshino was born in 1604 in Kyōto. By the age of seven, as an apprentice to a courtesan, she took the name of Rinya, and by fourteen, she became a top tier courtesan taking the name of Yoshino. In 1631, she left the pleasure quarters after it was discovered she entertained an

[318] Twenty-one years after the death of Nagoya, there are records of kabuki performances that already included the role of Nagoya as part of the repertory. By 1658, the legend of Nagoya began appearing in popular songs where he is transformed into a ghost, and by 1680s, the kabuki dramas revolving around the role of Nagoya was being performed throughout Edo (Torigoe Bunzō, *Genroku kabukikō*, Yagishoten [1991], p.164-179)

[319] It should be noted that Saikaku will shortly after compare the baby Yonosuke to Narihira. In addition, it is widely accepted the woodblock illustration Saikaku inserts when Yonosuke is seven crossing the bridge to the bathroom is alluding to the sacred bridge that Izanagi and Izanami crossed upon their decent from heaven to earth in the creation myth of the *Records of Ancient Matters* and *The Chronicles of Japan*. Likewise, the woodblock illustration of Yonosuke, age eight, sitting on the veranda overlooking three female servants working is alluding to an illustration by Yoshida Kenkō (1284-1350), author of *Essay of Idleness* (*Tsurezuregusa*, 1330-1332).

apprentice of a sword maker, becoming the wife of a charcoal dealer and died on fifteenth day of the eighth month of 1643 at the age of thirty-eight.

Saikaku has Yonosuke marry Yoshino when he is thirty-five. Counting backwards from the time Yonosuke set sail for the Island of Women in 1682, Yonosuke and Yoshino's marriage took place around 1657, roughly fourteen years after the death of the actual Yoshino. In fact, at the time of the actual Yoshino's death, Saikaku was only around a year old. Saikaku relied upon detailed accounts that recorded the legend of Yoshino, such as *The Great Mirror of the Sensual Way*, as well as the popular songs still sung in praise of her character.[320]

Saikaku models the opening of chapter one of *Five Women* in a similar manner as *A Sensuous Man*, depending upon the readers' historical memories in order to capture their imaginations and perhaps legitimize his version of the story. As stated earlier, Murotsu was an important trading port during medieval times that had lost favor by the early modern period. It is also believed to have been one of the birthplaces of the pleasure quarters, a notion Saikaku preserved in chapter one of *Five Women*. In this manner, Saikaku is linking a certain number of his readers of his version of the Seijūrō and Onatsu story, to historical memories of the late medieval period.

If *A Sensuous Man* and chapter one of *Five Women* link Saikaku's readers to the textual and historical late medieval period, Saikaku uses chapter five as a link into his next text, *The Life of a Sensuous Woman*, which redefines the figure of the early modern

[320] Saikaku holds true to the portrayal of Yoshino within *A Sensuous Man* as the records found about her within *The Great Mirror of the Sensual Way*. One of the major differences is Saikaku emphasizes Yoshino's artistic talents such as playing the zither (*koto*), poetry, and tea ceremony in order to win over Yonosuke's family. *The Great Mirror of the Sensual Way*, however, emphasizes her practicality as a wife, such as performing wifely duties and dressing in plain, simple clothes.

townswoman. Published shortly after *Five Women* in 1686, *The Life of a Sensuous Woman* (hereafter *A Sensuous Woman*) is divided into six chapters with twenty-four sections. Unlike the mostly lighthearted andhumorous feeling of *A Sensuous Man, A Sensuous Woman* takes on rather dark overtones, as it details the life of a working woman and the various employment opportunities available to women in the early modern period.

The publication of *A Sensuous Woman* marks the last of Saikaku's erotic books, and marks his transition transition from the fantastical world of the playboy to the harsh realities that plagued early modern women. The opening of *A Sensuous Woman* begins with two young men visiting the sensuous woman, now of old age, at her hermitage in the mountains. Unlike the opening to *A Sensuous Man,* Saikaku emphasizes the present rather than the past.

> 老女、忍笑みて、「けふも又、我を問はれし…いかにして尋ねわたられし」といへば、「それは恋に責められ、これはおもひに沈み、いまだ諸色のかぎりをわきまへがたし。ある人伝へてこの道にきたるなれば、身のうへの昔を時勢に語り給へ」

> 'Why have both of you, yet again, come all this way to visit me…' [inquired the old woman]…'My friend suffers from the prangs of longing for another, and I, too, am often lost and confused when thinking about the ways of love. We were told by a certain person that you are well experienced in the ways of love and so we came to seek your advice. Please share your past experiences with us, but do so in the fashion that is understandable by today's standards (*imayō*).'[321]

[321] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 399.

Saikaku emphasizes the present by having the two young men request that the sensuous woman retell her tale in the present. In fact, *A Sensuous Woman* is one of Saikaku's only works that is told from the first person perspective, allowing Saikaku to unfold the woman's past narrative as if it is actually happening in the present. In reality, similar to *A Sensuous Man*, the timeline for *A Sensuous Woman* covers from when she was eleven until sixty-five, placing the start of her tale around the same time the start of Yonosuke. However, unlike *A Sensuous Man*, Saikaku is not interested in the past historical memories but rather portrays the life of old woman as if she is currently living her past experiences as the present.

In addition, Saikaku uses anachronism through his commentary on current affairs. In chapter two section two of *A Sensuous Woman*, Saikaku voices his resentment for the Tokugawa edict banning the townsmen from wearing either a long sword or larger accompaniment sword, the *wakizashi*.

> 町人のするゑずゑまで、脇指といふ物さしけるによりて、伝分・喧嘩もなくてをさまりぬ。世に武士の外、刃物さす事ならずば、小兵なる者は大男の力のつよきに、いつとても嬲られものになるべき。一腰おそろしく、人に心を置くによりて、いかなる闇の夜も独りは通るぞかし。

> From all social ranks within the townsmen class, they all carried [within their sash] an item called the accompaniment sword, and yet, there has never been an argument or fight that has gotten out of hand to the point where the swords were drawn. In our society, if no one is permitted to carry a sword besides the warrior, the smaller framed men would be the constant punching bag of those larger framed, stronger men. [However], the display of the one sword acts as deterrent, allowing the townsman to walk alone even in the pitch darkness of night.[322]

[322] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 435-36.

The Tokugawa government passed edicts limiting or prohibiting the townsmen from carrying either a long sword or the shorter accompaniment sword numerous times during the seventeenth century.[323] One of the earliest prohibitory bans issued by the Tokugawa government went into effect different times depending on where the townsmen lived. The ban on carrying swords went into effect first in Kyōto in 1629, then in Edo in the beginning of 1648, and lastly in Ōsaka towards the middle of the same year. However, these prohibitory bans excluded those townsmen who were granted the usage of surnames.[324] Outside of the aristocratic and samurai classes, peasants and townsmen did not have the right to use a surname, unless they were wealthy, influential or politically well-connected. In *A Sensuous Woman*, Saikaku is not referring to these earlier edicts, but rather the edict issued by the Tokugawa government in the second month of 1683, just three years before the publication of *A Sensuous Woman.*

The edict passed in the second month of 1683 strictly prohibited anyone outside of the samurai class from carrying any type of sword. This included the previously exempted surnamed townsmen, and those townsmen who displayed their powerful connections with the Tokugawa government by being able to carry a sword.[325] The 1683 edict was a revision of the previous 1668 edict that explicitly forbade any commoner

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[323] John Rogers points out at the establishment of the Tokugawa government, they did not consider the bearing of the long and/or short swords as a distinction of social classes. It was not until 1640 that the Tokugawa government started to regulate the carrying of the sword(s) and weapons through various edicts (John Michael Rogers, "The Development of the Military Profession in Tokugawa Japan," Ph.D diss., Harvard 1998, p. 22).

[324] See special note in *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 435.

[325] The Kabun era (1661-1673) edict states "All commoners-even those receiving government stipends-are most strictly forbidden to go sauntering about Edo wearing the long sword. However, those commoners who have received special permission [to wear a long sword] are exempted from this regulation…From this day on, violators will be severly punished" (*Ofuregaki kampō shū* [Tōkyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1934], p. 1308-9; translation by Rogers, "The Development of the Military Profession in Tokugawa Japan," p. 19.)

from wearing the long sword "under any circumstances, even when [said commoners] are about to set off on journeys and even during outbreaks of fires."[326] According to John Rogers, this revised edict establishes the bearing of two swords as a social status privilege of the samurai class.[327] The time that Saikaku introduces his commentary about the edict is when the sensuous woman is around fifteen or sixteen, which would place the edict to around the 1630s, the same time as the first ban. However, the severity of the ban on all classes except the samurai being prohibited from carrying a sword would have been instantly recognizable to Saikaku's readers as the most recent 1683 edict.[328]

Anachronism is also used in the way Saikaku presents the various professions the sensuous woman holds during her lifetime. One example is in chapter one section two, when at around the age of twelve or thirteen, the sensuous woman earns her living as dancer.

> 万治年中に、駿河国、あべ川のあたりより、酒楽といへる座頭、江戸にくだりて…鳴物八人の役を独りして間をあはせける。その後都にのぼり芸をひろめけるに、殊更、風流の舞曲を工夫して、人のために指南をするに、少女あつまりて、これを世わたりにならへり。女歌舞伎にはあらず。うるはしき娘をこの業に仕入れて、うへつかたの御前さまへ、一屋夜づつ御なぐさみにあげける。
> 衣装も大かたに定まれり…つとして若衆のごとく仕立てける。小歌うたはせ、踊らせ、酒のあいさつ、後には吸物の通ひもすることなり。

[326] *Ofuregaki kampō shū*, p. 1311; translation Rogers, "The Development of the Military Profession in Tokugawa Japan," p. 20.

[327] Rogers, "The Development of the Military Profession in Tokugawa Japan," p. 20.

[328] The passing of the edicts and the actual enforcement of such laws are two different circumstances. It is unclear whether edicts limiting or prohibiting the bearing of arms were enforced uniformilly through out the lands or if they were enforced in certain areas and ignored in others. What I am suggesting here is how Saikaku is recording within *A Sensuous Woman* the edict of 1683 and his commentary to such edict.

> From around the 1660s, there was a blind performer named Shuraku from around the area of Abegawa of Suruga no Kuni, who traveled to Edo…he was able to play music originally composed to be performed by eight blind musicians in a single performance…From Edo, he came to Kyōto. In order to popularize and attract an audience to his performance, he incorporated the popular dance music of the time and recruited young girls to perform. This is how he was able to teach young girls his art form. This is not, however, women kabuki. He would teach young, beautiful girls how to perform and send them to entertain in front of lords at their mansions. For one night [these young girls] would console [and entertain] these lords. Their attire is usually set…often resembling that of a young male youth (*wakashu*). [When invited], they sang popular songs (*ko uta*), they danced, they poured rice wine and kept company, and eventually they even brought out the clear soup [served at the end of the evening].[329]

The kind of professional dancer that the sensuous woman describes here started to become popular not during the 1660s but rather around the time *A Sensuous Woman* was published, around 1686 and became extremely popular by the end of the seventeenth century . These professional performers, who were often called to entertain customers in the pleasure quarters, are now commonly known as *geiko*.[330] Saikaku's insertion of "Please share your past experiences with us, but do so in the fashion that is understandable by today's standards (*imayō*)" refers to addressing his readers in the present, but also Saikaku's intentions to address topics that are relevant and has either occurred within their lifetime or is currently occurring at the time *A Sensuous Woman* was published.

[329] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 403-04.

[330] I use the term *geiko* (芸妓), here, rather than*geisha* (芸者) even though both are referring to the same, modern profession. The term "*geiko*" is used in Kansai area while "*geisha*" is used in the Kantō region.

B. The Sequence of Time in the Oman and Gengobei Narrative

The anachronism, therefore, is not a mere coincidence but is purposely inserted by Saikaku within his retelling of the Oman and Gengobei affair. In addition to opening chapter five with references to contemporary popular songs, Saikaku portrays Oman as the only female protagonist who is also a working woman.

> 互に世をわたる業とて、都にて見覚えし芝居事、種となりて、俄に顔をつくり髭、恋の奴の物まね、「嵐三右衛門がいきうつし、やつこのやつこの」とはうたへども、腰さだめかね、「源五兵衛どこへ行く、さつまの山へ、鞘が三文、下げ緒が二文、中は檜木の」あらけなき声して、里々の子供をすかしぬ。おまんは、さらし布の狂言綺語に身をなし、露の世をおくりぬ。

> In order to make a living together, they [Gengobei and Oman] remembered the performance they once saw and memorized in the capital (Kyōto). Gengobei hastily made up his face and attached a fake moustache. Gengobei portrayed the genre of a love sick footman of a domain lord (*yakko*), and attempted to channel [the kabuki actor] Arasahi San'emon I by singing the tempo in a bellowing voice '*yakkono, yakkono*!'[331] But, his wobbly movements due to his weak stance [betrayed him].
> In a boisterous voice, Gengobei attracted and amused the village children with his song: 'Where are you going Gengobei? To the mountains of Satsuma, [carrying] a sword blade made of cypress in a scabbard worth three cents, tied with a cord worth two cents.[332]
> [Meanwhile] Oman, using a long piece of white cotton fabric as a prop, recited funny lyrics, immersing herself into her kabuki dance (*sarashi nuno*

[331] Arashi San'emon I (1635-1690) is a *kamigata* actor who made a name for himself in portraying wealthy dandy boys who fell into hard times (*yatsushi yaku*), creating the "six directions" movement (*roppō*) and for his powerful voice.

[332] The song that Gengobei is singing is the popular song, "Gengobei Song." Recounting the description of Gengobei in the beginning of chapter five, Saikaku informs his readers that Gengobei carries an overly large sword in his slash. Since Gengobei is a townsman, this would have been prohibited by the recent Tokugawa edict banning all those other than the samurai class to carry a sword. Gengobei's carrying of the sword is overlooked by people on the grounds that it was stylish in the day to carry the oversized sword. It could be because the people knew the sword is actually made of wood carried only as a fashion statement, another commentary by Saikaku on the silliness of the Tokugawa strict edict.

no kyōgen kigyo ni mi wo nashi). And thus they lived each day, never knowing if their lives would evaporate like the morning dew.[333]

In order to support their livelihood, Oman joins Gengobei in creating a side show in the hope of attracting an audience.[334] The description of Oman dancing with a long piece of white cotton[335] (see figure 3.1) comes from a popular song during the time Saikaku was writing *Five Women* that would later be included within a collection of popular folk songs, the *Sanka chōchūka*.[336] The song recites, "If you look from the top of the mountain down into the valley, you can see the cute Oman waving the long, white cotton fabric."[337] The kabuki dance Saikaku is referring to here as *kyōgen* is not the same as the women kabuki dances performed during the years surrounding the founding of kabuki at the beginning of the early modern period, but rather the kabuki that was being performed towards the late 1600s.[338]

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[333] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 387.

[334] In the *Kamigata*, or Western Japan, tradition, it was common for performers, such as actors, dancers, or comic story tellers, who are not yet famous, to perform along the side of the roads or within the boundaries of the temple complex. In order to make a living, performers often had to think of innovative ways in order to attract and delight their audience. This is different, however, in Edo, where they usually had the opportunity to perform within a more formal structure that charged admission.

[335] For each chapter in *Five Women*, Saikaku assigns a subtitle. For chapter five, Saikaku assigns the subtitle "The White Cloth in Satsuma," reasserting the image of Oman's performance.

[336] The *Sanka chōchūka* (山家鳥家) is a collection thought to actually date back to the late 1600s, although today, the oldest known published copy dates to 1772, see Asano Kenji, Sanka chōchūka: *kinsei shokoku min'yōshū*, (Tōkyo: Iwanami shoten, 1984), p. 170-171.

[337] *Takai yama kara tanisoko mireba Oman kawaiya nuno sarasu* (*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 387, see note 28).

[338] In the present day kabuki repertory, there are two kabuki dances that deploy the use of the long, white cotton fabric, or *sarashi*. These two dances are of the nagauta genre, "The Lion Dancer from Echigo" (*Echigo jishi*, 1811) and "Okane of Ōmi Province" (*Ōmi no Okane*, 1813). I give two examples since they are the most famous today. However, "The Lion Dancer from Echigo" originates from the jiuta genre

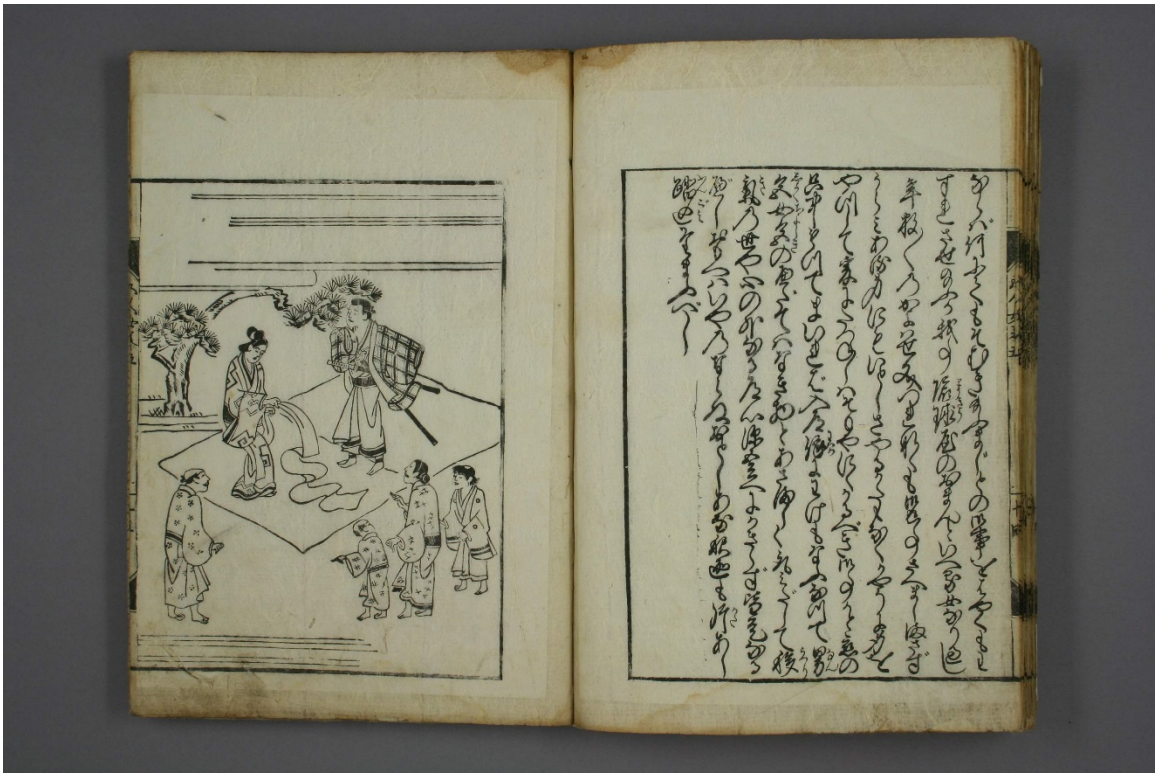

Figure 3.1: Gengobei performing as Arashi Sa'emon I and Oman performing a kabuki dance.
(Ihara Saikaku, *Kōshoku gonin onna*, [Kitamidōmae (Ōsaka): Moritashōtarō, 1686])
Waseda University

Here, I want to examine how Saikaku differentiates between the earlier versions of kabuki with the contemporary kabuki performances or *kyōgen* by turning to his work *The Great Mirror of Male Love* (*Nanshoku Ōkagami* 男色大鏡, 1688).[339] By examining *The Great Mirror of Male Love,* we can see how Saikaku references Oman's kabuki

(author and dates unknown), and "Okane of Ōmi" is based upon the legendary young maiden of extraordinary strength dating to the early Kamakura period (1185-1333) that had inspired numerous kabuki dramas in the 1700s.

[339] It is unclear exactly when Saikaku wrote *The Great Mirror of Male Love*. Some scholars speculate that he had already started working on a version of it while writing his actor's critic *The White Painted Faces of Nainiwa is Ise's White Powder* (1683).

dance as a contemporary performance, adding to the anachronism within chapter five of *Five Women*.

Saikaku opens chapter five section two with a critique of both women and young lads' kabuki, both styles preceding the male only kabuki, or *yarō* kabuki.

> 是はいかになりぬる世の姿、難波のむかし、大夫蔵土・お国が女歌舞妓も絶て、若衆をあまたかかへ、是ぞ世界の花踊…其比までは、昼の芸して、夜の勤めといふ事もなく。[340]

> It seems that the world is forever changing. The female kabuki of Tayū Kurōzu and Okuni so popular in Naniwa long ago came to an end to be replaced by troupes of boys, their dancing the finest the world had ever seen[341]…Up until that time, actors did not divide their time between acting during the day and selling themselves at night.[342]

In the opening passage to chapter five section two, Saikaku remarks the differences between the early forms of kabuki as women kabuki and young lads' kabuki and does not refer to them as *kyōgen*. Chapter five section two of *The Great Mirror of Male Love* is a narrative revolving around a main protagonist who is a frugal, seventy-

[340] *Shinpen Saikaku zenshū*, p. 315.

[341] Saikaku refers to the women's kabuki as *onna* kabuki (女歌舞妓) and the young lads' kabuki as *wakashu*. Women were banned by the Tokugawa government from performing on stage in 1629, followed by a ban on young lads in 1652. Afterwards, only males who has had their coming of age ceremony were allowed to perform on stage.

[342] For the English translations of *The Great Mirror of Male Love*, unless otherwise noted, I am using Paul Gordon Schalow translations (Paul Gordon Schalow, trans., *The Great Mirror of Male Love*, Stanford University Press [Stanford, 1990], p. 196). *Koreha ikani narinuru yo no sugata, Naniwa no mukashi, taiyu Kurōzu, Okuni ga onna kabuki mo taete, wakashu wo amatakakae, korezo sekai no hana odori…sono koro made ha, hiro no gei shite yoru no tsutome to iu koto mo naku* (*Saikaku shū chū*, NKBT, p. 461).

year old man who has never experienced the desires to be with another. For the first time in his life, this frugal old man decides to go to the kabuki theater to watch Hirai Shizuma (dates unknown) perform in the kabuki drama *Sakuragawa*.[343]

> It was natural then that people were amazed when this man went to see a play for the first time one day. Unfortunately, it began to rain in the middle. The other theater-goers jumped to their feet and scrambled for shelter, but the old man stayed where he was without moving. 'Shizuma is supposed to appear in the third play, "Sakuragawa," (*sanban me no* Sakuragawa *no kyōgen*) isn't he? I cannot go home until I have seen him," he said.[344]

Saikaku uses the term *kyōgen* in reference to Shizuma's kabuki drama, *Sakuragawa*. The term *kyōgen* came into use to reference the kabuki dramas that emerged beyond simple dance numbers that were the main attraction of early kabuki performances. Sophisticated kabuki performances started after women were banned from performing on stage in 1629 but did not become an essential part of the kabuki theater until the banishment of young lads from the stage. Instead of continuing to perform dances popular during women kabuki, they turned to the kyōgen theater as a model to transform the repertory of kabuki performances.

The present day nō and kyōgen theaters originate in the medieval period (1185-1603). In contrast to the seriousness of nō dramas, kyōgen plays are lighthearted and

[343] Hirai Shizuma (平井静馬) was especially known for his beauty and his singing voice. He is recorded as the top star for the role of the young lad at the Shioya Kuroemon Theater in 1661.

[344] Schalow, trans., *The Great Mirror of Male Love*, p. 198. *Yōkan muki no kaketaru otoko, hajimete shibai wo mirareshini, hito mo fushigi wo tate ni keru. Shikamo sono hi ame furite, 'sanban me no* Sakuragawa *no kyōgen ni, Shizuma ga deru to ya. Kore wo mizu ni ha kaeraji* (*Saikaku shū chū*, NKBT, p. 463).

comical, allowing them to be inserted as interludes between nō dramas for the audience to have emotional and comical relief. Where nō drama relies heavily upon the lyrics and dance movements, kyōgen relies heavily upon the actor's ability to deliver lines to the audience. Although the young male kabuki still depended heavily upon dance performances with the addition of some simple plays, after they were banned from performing on stage, adult men's kabuki turned towards performances that featured acting rather than dancing. The earliest forms of plays were ones were the actors would impersonate characters on stage, or *mono mane kyōgen*.

In section five of chapter five in *Five Women*, it is only befitting that Oman is the one dancing and Gengobei is the one impersonating Arashi San'emon. Saikaku is echoing the common practice of kabuki plays of the late 1600s and early 1700s that often highlight the male actor. Often stuck with supporting roles, female impersonators could only shine in dance numbers. Thus, Saikaku is transforming his version of the Oman and Gengobei's affair to represent the contemporary popular culture and not the actual period in which the affair is thought to have taken place.

Gengobei Starring in the Role of Double-Identity

Through Oman and Gengobei's performance Saikaku is also cleverly referencing the popular genre of the double identity, or *yatsushi*, where a well to do townsman falls upon hard times and is forced to disguise himself as a beggar. Saikaku incorporates this particular genre that had actually become popular for actors of the Kyōto and Ōsaka regions to perform starting from around the latter half of the 1600s and reaching its peak

during the early 1700s and not during the time of the actual Oman and Gengobei's double suicide. This is, yet again, another way Saikaku uses anachronism to create a story that reflects the contemporary trends recognizable by his readers.

In these double identity dramas, a wealthy dandy boy is disowned by his father due to him squandering the family's fortunes in the pleasure quarters. The plot revolves around the hardships of the now penniless dandy boy, who has resorted to disguising his true identity brought upon by his diminished economic status. This is often resolved by his father forgiving him and once again re-instating him to the family's fortunes. The classic example of this type of double identity genre would be Yonosuke of *A Sensuous Man*.[345] Gengobei is also a classic example of the double identity genre. Gengobei is the son of wealthy currency exchange townsman who squanders his family fortune on his pursuits of male love. Unlike Yonosuke, Gengobei is not re-instated with his family fortunes. In fact, Gengobei's sexual pursuits bankrupt his father's business. Rather, Gengobei achieves his wealth at the end of Saikaku's version through Oman's family. This is only befitting since Oman's character has blurred gender lines, creating yet another twist in a genre that is already familiar to Saikaku's readers.

Saikaku concludes his retelling of the Oman and Gengobei affair by having Gengobei come into Oman's inheritance. After Oman's disappearance and her struggles living a life of poverty, her tale ends with a happy ending in which she is reunited with her parents. Moreover, Oman's parents accept her choice of being with Gengobei and hand to him the keys to the family's storehouses that contain countless treasures.

[345] The story of Sēijurō from chapter one of *Five Women* would also fall under this double identity genre. However, unlike Yonosuke, Sēijurō is never re-instated into his family's fortunes, one element of Saikaku's version that highlights the tragedy of the Onatsu and Sēijurō affair.

吉日をあらため、蔵びらきせしに、判金二百枚入りの書付の箱六百五十、小判千両入りの箱八百、銀十貫目入りの箱はかびはえて、下よりうめく事すさまじ…銭などは砂のごとくにしてむさし。
庭蔵みれば、元渡りの唐織山をなし、伽羅掛木のごとし。さんごじゆは一匁五分から百三十目までの無疵の玉千に百三十五、柄鮫、青磁の道具かぎりもなく、飛鳥川の茶入れ、かやうの類ごろつきて、めげるをかまはず。人魚の塩引、めなうの手桶、かんたんの米かち杵、浦島が庖丁箱、弁才天の前巾着、福禄寿の剃刀、多門天の枕鑓、大黒殿の千石どほし、えびす殿の小遣帳、覚えがたし。世にある程の万宝、ない物はなし。

Then, an auspicious day having been determined, they set about a Storehouse Opening. First, they inspected six hundred and fifty chests, each marked "Two Hundred Great Gold Pieces," and eight hundred others, each containing one thousand small gold pieces. The hundred-weight boxes of silver, which they next examined, were mildewed from disuse and a fearful groaning came from those underneath…[C]opper coins lay scattered about like grains of sand.
Proceeding now to the outside storehouse, they found treasures galore: fabrics brought over from China in the olden days were piled to the rafters; next to them precious incense lay stacked like so much firewood; of flawless coral gems, from ninety grains to over one pound in weight, there were one thousand two hundred and thirty-five; there was an endless profusion of granulated shark skin and of the finest willow-green porcelain; all this, together with the Asukawa tea canister an such other precious ware, had been left there pell-mell…Other wonders too were in that storehouse: a mermaid picked in salt, a pail wrought of pure agate…[346] a box containing Urashima Tarō's knives reserved for cleaning the fish he caught, the apron of the deity Benten, the deity Daikoku's box that separates the rice from its shell, and the accounting book of the deity Ebisu. There were so many treasures that one cannot remember them all. It was as if all of the world's treasures were all present.[347]

[346] I am using a modified version of Mary Elizabeth Berry's English translation up to this point. However, Berry does not fully translate the whole list, and therefore, I complete the translation with my own (Mary Elizabeth Berry, trans., *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period*, University of California Press [Berkeley and Los Angeles: 2007], p. 12).

[347] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 387-89.

The list of treasures begin with objects that are actually part of the daily lives of the townsmen before turning into a list of mythical treasures. Teraoka claims that Saikaku starts with ordinary objects before creating a list of legendary treasures in order to make his readers laugh at its absurdity.[348] By having an absurd and happy ending to *Five Women*, Saikaku mimics the *haikai* principle of concluding the series of linked verses in an auspicious ending, regardless of what season or subject matter the composers are at.[349] Thus, Saikaku brings the narratives of *Five Women* to conclude in a complete circle. Saikaku opens in reference to the legendary treasure ship believed to transport the seven lucky deities and concludes with the legendary treasures associated to each deity.

[348] Teraoka, *Kōshoku mono no sekai*, p. 55. Berry interprets Saikaku's list of treasures as the early modern obsession of keeping an account of all things (see Berry, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period*, p.12). Although this may be true, it slightly misinterprets Saikaku's style of humor, parody, and the miss matching of opposite ideas.

[349] Teraoka, *Kōshoku mono no sekai*, p. 57.

Figure 3.2: Gengobei being handed the keys to the storehouse full of treasures.
(Ihara Saikaku, *Kōshoku gonin onna*, [Kitamidōmae (Ōsaka): Moritashōtarō, 1686])
Waseda University

Saikaku's Dark Humor: The Floating Treasures of the World

Teraoka's interpretation of the conclusion to *Five Women*, however, misses the innovation and progressiveness of Saikaku's works. The listing of treasures is used by Saikaku in three of his works; the conclusion to *A Sensuous Man* (1683), the preface to *Saikaku's Tales from the Provinces* (*Saikaku shokoku banashi* 西鶴諸国話, 1685), and lastly in chapter five of *Five Women* (1686). There is no doubt that on the surface, Saikaku concludes *A Sensuous Man* and *Five Women* on an auspicious note, but with a slight twist in the *haikai* tradition, by matching the auspicious with a little dark humor.

As noted previously, *A Sensuous Man* concludes with Yonosuke, age sixty, setting sail to the legendary Island of Women with six of his closest friends.[350] Saikaku's list of the bountiful sexual treasures that would be used once Yonosuke and his friends reach the Island of Women is excessive, resulting in a humorous conclusion. However humorous the list of sexual items may be, there is no mention of any practical substances to keep the men alive during their voyage. Nakajima Takashi, in response to an ongoing debate over the manner in which Saikaku concludes *A Sensuous Man*, poses an alternative reading behind Yonosuke's voyage. Nakajima claims the lack of provisions for the voyage echoes the Buddhist practice of *fudaraku* and that Saikaku is parodying the practice of setting sail on a boat in the hope of reaching Western Paradise.[351]

Fudaraku dates to the Heian period (794-1185) and was still in practice during the 1600s. What started as one practitioner setting sail alone in hopes of reaching Western Paradise, eventually evolved into a group voyage. Records indicate that there were three recorded *fudaraku* expeditions during the Heian period, fifteen during the medieval, and at least three by the time *A Sensuous Man* was published.[352] Nakajima stresses that he does not believe Saikaku intentions were for the readers to seriously read into the *fudaraku* theme, but rather to mock those who were still setting sail during the 1600s.[353] In this manner, Saikaku's parody of the *fudaraku* practice juxtaposes in a *haikai*-esque

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[350] The seven passengers setting sail on a ship full of sexual treasures can also be seen as the parody of the lucky seven deities on board a treasure ship, see footnote 16.

[351] Nakajima Takashi, "*Kōshoku ichidai otoko* shūshō no 'haikai': nyogo no shima watari to fudaraku tokai," in *Shoki ukiyo zōshi no tenkai* (Wakakusa shobō, 1996), p. 61.

[352] These are based upon numerous account and does not take into considered those who may have set sail without being officially recorded.

[353] Nakajima, "*Kōshoku ichidai otoko* shūshō no 'haikai': nyogo no shima watari to fudaraku tokai," in *Shoki ukiyo zōshi no tenkai*, p. 62.

fashion the happy ending of *A Sensuous Man*. Using dark humor, Saikaku contrasts worldly pleasures with notions of the afterlife.

Saikaku's list of worldly treasures once again appear in *Saikaku's Tales of the Provinces.* Contrasting *A Sensuous Man* and later *Five Women*, Saikaku inserts his list in the prelude to the tales. The list is almost identical to the list he would later use at the end of *Five Women*, using the same pattern of starting off with actual worldly treasures followed by legendary ones. It is not clear what Saikaku's intent was by using the list of worldly treasures, but it seems likely that he may have been hinting that his work, too, was among the treasures of the world.[354] *Saikaku's Tales of the Provinces* is divided into thirty-five short narratives with each one taking place in a certain geographical region ranging from the main island of Japan to the northern parts of Kyūshu.[355] *Saikaku's Tales of the Provinces* highlights Saikaku's masterful skill as a popular fiction writer, and his ability to transform bits and pieces of reality to create a convincing fictional narrative. This is similar to the list of worldly items Saikaku includes in his preface, starting with actual worldly goods and transforming the items into fictional treasures.

The insertion of the worldly treasure list at the end of *Five Women*, and the fact that this is the last such list Saikaku inserts within his works, highlights the complexity of Saikaku's conclusion. Saikaku's readers would have been instantly reminded of the two

[354] Donald Keene claims by Saikaku inserting his own name within the title, he is exerting his popularity and the his fame of being able to sell texts, see Donald Keene, *World Within Walls: Japanese Literature of the Pre-modern Era 1600-1867*, Columbia University Press (New York, 1999), p. 174.

[355] Keene explains this shows how extensively Saikaku traveled, since his tales cover a wide geographical range, see Keene, *World Within Walls: Japanese Literature of the Pre-modern Era 1600-1867*, p. 175. However, Saikaku's year-long travels after the death of his wife and daughter was limited to the Kansai area.

previous lists from his earlier works that convey both a sense of dark humor and the transformation of actual narratives into fiction.[356]

> 源五兵へうれしがなしく、これをおもふに、江戸・京・大坂の太夫のこらず請けても、芝居銀本して捨てても、我一代に、皆になしがたし。何とぞ、つかひへらす分別出ず、これはなんとした物であらう。

> Gengobei was both ecstatic and troubled [by his newfound wealth]. "If I think about it, even if I were to buy all of the contracts of the highest ranking courtesans of Edo, Kyōto, and Ōsaka, or throw my wealth away by sponsoring all of the kabuki theaters, I would never be able to spend all of this wealth in my lifetime! What am I to do? I won't be able to think of ways to spend it all!"[357]

Although it is a humorous dilemma, and one that almost all of Saikaku's readers wish they were in, it also highlights how newfound wealth and power also brings with it new sets of problems and headaches. This echoes Saikaku's own sentiments on the publication of *Saikaku's Tales of the Provinces*. The insertion of his own name within the title showcases the boastful Saikaku, believing that perhaps his name alone would generate another best seller. However, contrary to his beliefs, *Saikaku's Tales of the Provinces* apparently did not sell as much as he had anticipated.[358]

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[356] The list at the end of the Oman and Gengobei story also ties this story with chapter one. As stated earlier, Saikaku opens chapter one with the imagery of the Treasure ship, the ship that also transports the Seven Lucky Deities. Saikaku concludes chapter five with a list of treasure and items belonging to the Seven Lucky Deities.

[357] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 389.

Saikaku also concludes chapter five of *Five Women* with no mention of Oman. Although it is through her household that Gengobei acquires his newfound wealth, Oman's presence is completely muted. David Gundry points out "the story's moralizing narrative voice clicks its tongue at his [Gengobei's] fickleness, lustfulness and filial impiety, as well as decrying the female sex en masse, but Gengobei and the scheming young woman who woo and wins him end up together happy and wealthy anyway."[359] Gengobei's initial thoughts on how to spend the wealth are not about his and Oman's future together, but rather reflect the very thinking that had originally bankrupted his own household, "…thus [Gengobei and *Five Women*] neither presents marriage as lastingly satisfying or stabilizing desire..."[360] It is as if ultimately all of Oman's hardships, sacrifices, and suffering could not sway Gengobei from his fickle past.

Throughout chapter five, Saikaku constantly hints towards Gengobei's fickle character. In section one, Gengobei is illustrated as forming a deep bond with a young youth, Nakamura Hachijūrō (see figure 3.3).

> 年久しくふびんをかけし若衆に、中村八十郎といへるに、はじめより、命を捨てて浅からず、念友せしに、又あるまじき美児、たとへていはば、ひとへなる初桜の、なかばひらきて、花の物云ふ風情たり。
>
> For many years [Gengobei] has bestow his favors upon a young youth named Nakamura Hachijūrō. From the beginning, Gengobei has whole heartedly pledged his life to this male-male relationship. Hachijūrō's

[358] Nakajima Takashi, *Saikaku to Genroku media*, p. 159.

[359] David J. Gundry, *Parody, Irony, and Ideology in the Fiction of Ihara Saikaku*, Brill (Leiden: Boston, 2017), p. 150.

[360] Gundry, *Parody, Irony, and Ideology in the Fiction of Ihara Saikaku*, p. 158.

beauty, was in fact thought as exceeding anything in this world. In terms of flowers, his beauty was often compared to the blossoming bud of the very first cherry blossom.[361]

However, this relationship is cut short with the passing of Hachijūrō, leaving the distraught Gengobei to take his tonsure and make a pilgrimage to Mount Kōya, an esoteric Shingon Buddhist complex located in present day Wakayama prefecture founded by Kūkai (774-835) in 819.[362] During his travels in section two, Gengobei meets another young youth sparrow hunting who instantly reminded Gengobei of Hachijūrō (see figure 3.4).

「さても世に、かかる美童もあるものぞ。その年の頃は過ぎにし八十郎に同じ。うるはしき所はそれに増さりけるよ」と…明くれば別れををしみ給ひ…「さては」と、お情けうれしく、都にのぼるもはかどらず、過ぎにし八十郎を思ひ出し、又、かの若衆の御事のみ。仏の道は外になして、やうやう弘法の御山にまゐりて、南谷の宿坊に一日ありて、奥の院にも参詣せず、又、国元にかえり、約束せし人の御方に行けば…

'How on earth is there such a lovely youth? He must be around the same age as the recently deceased Hachijūrō, but his looks far surpasses Hachijūrō'…at the break of dawn, it signified the separating of the two lovers [Gengobei and the youth]…the travels from the capital [to Mount Kōya] was tedious since Gengobei's thoughts was on nothing but Hachijūrō and also on his new youth. The pilgrimage now became secondary [to Gengobei], and at last he finally reached Mount Kōya. Gengobei stayed

[361] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 368.

[362] Women were prohibited from making a pilgrimage and worshiping at Mount Kōya. The prohibition of women has often led to legends as Kūkai being the introducer of male-male relationships to Japan (see Gregory M. Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japan Discourse 1600-1950*, University of California Press [Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: 2007], p. 50-51, 64, 75, 83-84, 87, 333).

one night at the southern dormitory without even bothering to pay his respects to the inner sanctuary before heading back to visit the youth as he had promised…[363]

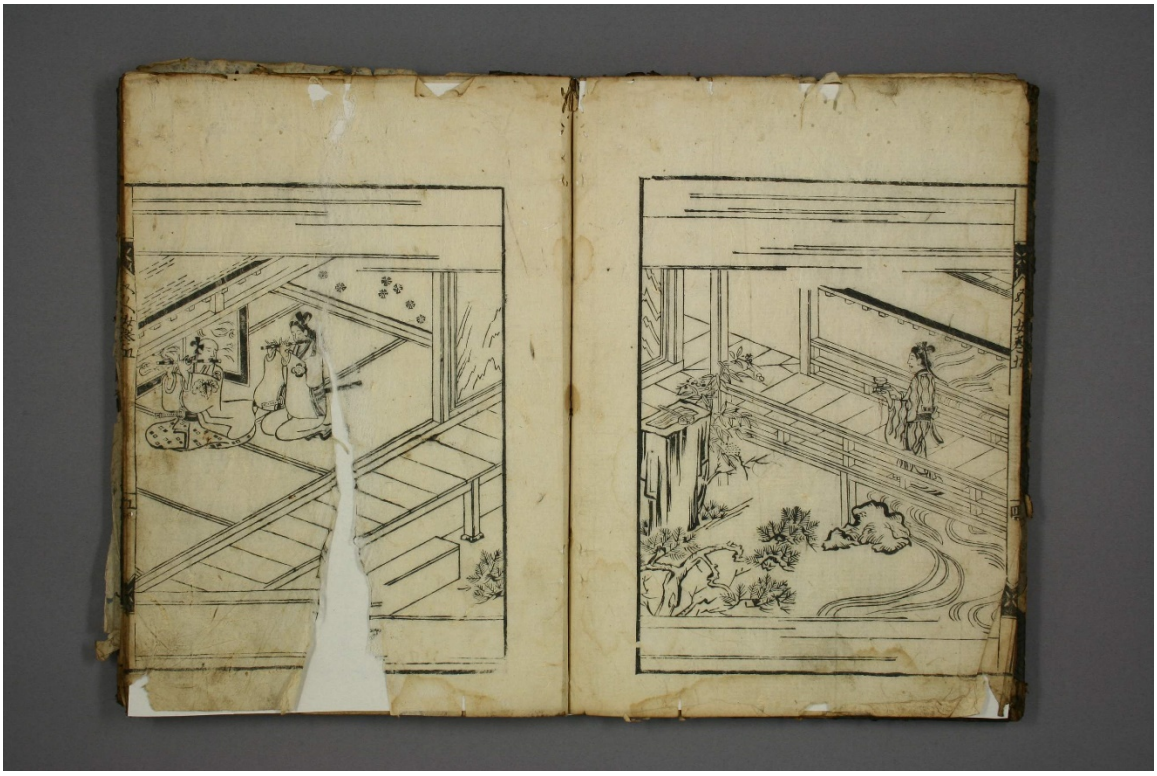

Figure 3.3: (Right) Gengobei and Hachijūrō playing a duet on flutes.
(Ihara Saikaku, *Kōshoku gonin onna*, [Kitamidōmae (Ōsaka): Moritashōtarō, 1686])
Waseda University

[363] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 373-75.

Figure 3.4: Gengobei encountering the youth on his pilgrimage to Mount Koya.
(Ihara Saikaku, *Kōshoku gonin onna*, [Kitamidōmae (Ōsaka): Moritashōtarō, 1686])
Waseda University

Saikaku illustrates Gengobei's fickle character through the easiness of his abandonments of his vows. Furthermore, although Gengobei still regularly thinks of Hachijūrō, he is instantly attracted to the new youth's beauty, even stating that it surpasses Hachijūrō. Gengobei's new relationship so quickly after the passing of Hachijūrō also exemplifies how easy it is for him abandon his priestly obligations. Perhaps what is most shocking is how quickly Gengobei abandons his devotion to the path of male loving after his pursued by Oman in section three. Gengobei's fickle character is in stark contrast with Seijūrō, who takes the lead and is unswayed by the obstacles obstructing Onatsu and him from being together.

This is also in contrast with Yonosuke's story, where Saikaku highlights and emphasizes Yonosuke's devotion to Yoshino regardless of his material wealth. Saikaku illustrates Yonosuke's devotion to Yoshino by having him attach, as a tribute to her, her petticoat at the prow of the ship when departing to the Island of Women (see figure 3.5). This devotion is also echoed in *Five Women*, with Onatsu and Kichisaburō devoting their lives praying for the souls of their lovers. The ending to *Five Women*, therefore, presents problems that Saikaku perceived as plaguing his contemporary readers—wealth and greed—and in fact would be one of the subjects of his later work, *Japan's Eternal Storehouse* (1688).

Figure 3.5: Yonosuke set sail for the Island of Women displaying Yoshino's petty coat.
(Ihara Saikaku, *Kōshoku ichidai otoko*, [Shianbashi (Ōsaka): Aratoyamagobeekashin, 1603])
Waseda University

Derangement: Then and Now

The presentation of Gengobei as the model of an early modern townsman is very clear when he is contrasted to Seijūrō. At first glance, both are described in a similar fashion. Seijūrō and Gengobei are extraordinary beautiful and are from extremely wealthy merchant families and in both stories, the first section is dedicated to their back story in which Saikaku reveals that they experience the loss of a lover. The sense of loss results in both Seijūrō and Gengobei's decision to want to or take their tonsure. This is followed by a trip far from their homeland and their desire to live a productive life free from sexual desires. Yet, both will encounter new lovers that will sway them from their decisions. Saikaku's conclusion of the two stories differs, however, with Seijūrō sentenced to death and Gengobei's newfound inheritance. In addition to comparing and contrasting the male protagonists, we can also compare and contrast the female protagonists, Onatsu and Oman, and in particular, their derangement sequence. Through the examination of their derangement, we can see how Saikaku further emphasizes the Oman and Gengobei incident as a contemporary affair and redefines the conventions of how to represent derangement in early modern culture.

As previously stated, Onatsu's derangement in chapter one is modeled on nō dramas and the medieval textual traditions revolving around the extreme longing for a love one. Although it is not entirely clear whether or not Oman suffers from a form of derangement, she acts as though she is deranged in order to dissuade potential suitors. The pattern of the cause of the derangement, however, is different in these two cases. For

Onatsu, her derangement is brought upon her extreme longing for her lover Seijūrō, a pattern closely associated with medieval representations of the deranged woman.

Although the women of the Tajima'ya household all pine for Seijūrō, ultimately, it is Onatsu for whom Seijūrō gives up his decision to lead a productive life free of sexual desires. In the case of Oman, Saikaku paints a different situation. Oman pines for Gengobei, a person whom has yet to even acknowledge her, and Gengobei, himselfis caught in a lovers' triangle between the ghosts of his two deceased male lovers. The pattern Saikaku creates in chapter five is the derangement of the woman who intrudes upon the bonds of a male-male relationship.

Before examining how Saikaku redefines the usage of derangement in chapter five, I first want to briefly revisit the importance of the placement of the narratives in *Five Women*. In chapter four, Saikaku also presents a similar scenario to Oman with Oshichi intruding upon the relationship of Kichisaburō and his male lover. Chapter four is often criticized for Saikaku's addition of Kichisaburō's male relationship, with the charge that it does nothing to help develop the story of Oshichi and Kichisaburō's love affair. However, when viewed collectively together with chapters one and five, we can see how Saikaku is trying to connect the narratives in *Five Women* to each other.

As previously stated, chapter one represents the typical narrative commonly found in earlier texts, while in chapter four, Saikaku creates a narrative that is a representative of early modern culture by transforming the sights of the new urban town, Edo, with classical poetic tropes usually associated with the capital and allowing Oshichi as the only daughter of a merchant to have a love affair with someone above her own social status. In addition, by introducing the male-male relationship in chapter four, Saikaku is

able to expand the genre of derangement and redefines it to appeal to the contemporary readers.

In the case of Oshichi, Saikaku does not explicitly state she is suffering from derangement. However, in section four of chapter four, Oshichi is described as suffering from lovesickness. It is her longing for Kichisaburō that drives her to commit arson in the hope of once again being reunited with him. There is some suggestion that Oshichi is deranged in that she appears to show no remorse for her crime. And yet, at first glance, she does not seem to meet the criteria of the typical deranged woman, since derangement often takes place near a body of water, the mountains, or sacred spaces, all geographical locations that lie outside human boundaries.[364] It should be noted, however, that after Oshichi is caught and sentenced for her crime, she is taken from bridge to bridge throughout Edo as a form of shaming before her execution in which she is burned at the stake. These bridges connect the urban center to the outer borders and bodies of water that are associated with the deranged. Saikaku is thus reinventing the convention of derangement by placing it within the urban setting of Edo.

[364] In traditional representations of derangement in the nō theater, the deranged is always a person who is alive and is suffering in the present moment. There are nō dramas that highlight the derangement of both men and women, although the representations of deranged men are fewer. Derangement plays revolving around a male protagonist include, but are not limited to, *Derangement at Mount Kōya* (*Kōya monogurui* 高野物狂, ca. late fourteenth to early fifteenth century), and *The Wheelbarrow* (*Tuchi guruma* 土車, ca. late fourteenth to early fifteenth century). Derangement plays revolving around a mother's loss of a child feature in *Sakura River* (*Sakura gawa* 桜川, ca. late fourteenth to early fifteenth century), *Sumida River* (*Sumida gawa* 隅田川, ca. late fourteenth to early fifteenth century), *Miidera Temple* (*Miidera* 三井寺, ca. late fourteenth to early fifteenth century), *Kashiwazaki* (柏崎 ca. late fourteenth to early fifteenth century), and *Hyakuman* (百万, ca. late fourteenth to early fifteenth century). The derangement of a woman who is jilted by her lover is represented in plays such as *The Flower Basket* (*Hana gatami* 花筐, ca. late fourteenth to early fifteenth century), and *The Maiden* (*Hanjo* 班女, ca. late fourteenth to early fifteenth century). All of these derangement plays are attributed to Zeami Motokiyo (世阿弥元清, 1363-1443). In each of these plays, the derangement occurs at a temple, near a river, or in the countryside.

As I noted in chapter two, we see a similar pattern of a male-male-female love triangle resulting in female derangement presented within the kabuki play written by Mizushima Shirobee entitled *Ono no Komachi*, which highlights the love triangle between Ono no Komachi and two male lovers, Captain Fukakusa and Narihira, resulting in Komachi's derangement scene by the Bay of Shiga. Although it is unclear if there were any performances of this play before 1687, Saikaku's depiction of Oman's derangement in *Five Women* marks the development of a new subgenre for derangement as an early modern convention: the lovers' triangle and the woman who becomes deranged after intruding upon a male-male relationship.

In 1688, Saikaku expanded the genre of early modern male-male romance by publishing *The Great Mirror of Male Love*, comprised of eight chapters with five sections in each chapter for a total of forty sections. The first four chapters are dedicated to the male-male romances of the samurai and Buddhist monks and chapters five through eight are dedicated to the male-male romances of kabuki actors from the Kyōto and Ōsaka theater districts. In this work, Saikaku reincorporates two of the themes first introduced in chapter five of *Five Women* in his retelling of the Oman and Gengobei affair.

The first theme revolves around the concealment of the woman's sexual identity in order to intrude upon a man who is committed to male-male love. Oman is only able to convince Gengobei to meet with her by disguising herself as a young male youth.

> 源五兵へ姿をかえにし事もしらざりしに、ある時、人の語りけるを聞きもあへず「されとては情けなし。いつぞの時節にはこの思ひを晴べきと、たのしみける甲斐なく、惜しや、その人は墨染の袖うらめしや。是非、それに尋ね行きて、一たびこのうらみをいはでは」と思ひ立つを世の別れと、人々にふかくかくして、自らよき程に切

りて中剃して、衣類もかねての用意にや、まんまと若衆にかはりて忍びて行くに…

Oman had not known that Gengobei had taken his tonsure. By chance, she overheard someone talk about the matter and thought to herself, "Oh, what a pity! I was hoping for an opportunity to be able to reveal my true feelings for him. But now, I have nothing to hope for! Oh, how dreadful! How I resent those black robe of his! I must seize this opportunity and seek him out to relate how resentful I am of him." And so, Oman said good bye to the world and masterfully hid [her true intentions]. Cutting her hair shorter and shaving the center of her crown, she completely transformed herself into a young male youth by wearing the carefully picked out clothing she had chosen before. And so, she sneak out from her residence.[365]

Saikaku plays on two notions within this passage, that of becoming a nun and that of transforming herself into a young male youth. Saikaku readers would at first think of Oman becoming a nun, saying goodbye to her family and friends and taking the tonsure. His readers would have been delighted at the twist Saikaku creates. Rather than saying goodbye to worldly pleasures, Saikaku has Oman embrace them. Moreover, the passage stresses Oman's hatred and jealously over Gengobei becoming a monk and yet succeeds in attaining Gengobei as a lover. Similar to the case of Oshichi in chapter four, this inverts, the medieval demonic representations of the jealous, lust driven maidens who are transformed into non-human demons. However, where Oshichi failed, and Oman succeeds by transforming herself into a young male youth, and is thus able to act openly on her desires.[366]

[365] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 378-79.

[366] Unlike *A Sensuous Man*, which celebrates Yonosuke's sexual desires and conquests, *A Sensuous Woman* appears (at least on the surface) to condemn the sensuous woman's instinct to act upon her sexual desires.

Returning back to section two of chapter five of *The Great Mirror of Male Love*, Saikaku reinforces the concept that a woman who intrudes upon a male who devotes himself as the lover of young males will eventually lose her life. This is the case where the old, frugal man deceives Shizuma in order to arrange a meeting for his daughter with the kabuki actor. The old man tells Shizuma,

> 'I am not the one in love with you. It is my only child. You are all he talks about lately, and he is so distraught he seems ready to expire. As a parent concerned for his life, I have come to ask a favor of you. Kindly agree to see him, even if just for a moment.' Shizuma's sympathy for the man grew even stronger when he heard this. 'Having come this far, I would not refuse you now. I will do exactly as you wish'…Shizuma waited for quite some time and wearily pillowed his head on his arm. Just as he was falling asleep, a palanquin of the type used by sick people was quietly brought up to the house. Shizuma was awaken by the sound of footsteps. He opened his eyes to find a beautiful girl of fourteen or fifteen standing there before him…suffice it to say, she was an incredible beauty…'If I heartlessly insist on maintaining my exclusive devotion to men, her illness will only grow more grave,' he thought. Reluctantly, he made up his mind to sleep with her.[367]

This can be seen especially in the concluding sections, where Yonosuke set sails heroically in search for the Island of Women, while the sensuous woman is confronted with her past lovers through the imagines of the five hundred different bodhisattva statues. The reference to the five hundred different bodhisattvas is from Saikaku's *haikai* collection, *The Shooting of Many Arrows* (*Ōya kazu* 大矢数, 1681) where he solo composed four thousand linked verses in one day, "From among them, finding those whom seem familiar. The mountain-like five hundred bodhisattva statues, makes one ponder." Teraoka believes Saikaku is stressing the one thousand plus men the sensuous woman had been involved with, therefore, among the five hundred statues, she could easily associate each one of them with a different past lover, see Teraoka, *Kōshoku mono no sekai*, p. 152.

[367] Schalow, trans., *The Great Mirror of Male Love*, p. 200 ('*Satemo satemo yasahiki onkokoro ire wasuregatashi. Sonatasama ni omoi irishi ha, watakushi no hitori aru segarenari. Haya kono hodo ha onmi no koto bakari mōshi kurashi, inochi mo semaru wo fubinni, ko omou oya no mi ni shite kaku mōsu wo, totemo no onnasake ni, shibashi ga hodo mamiete tamaware' to mōseba, shizumanao awaremasarite, 'imatonatte inatoha mōsaji. Waga ga mi ha azuke oku'…Shizuma ha machiwabishiku, sode wo makura ni yume mikakaru toki, byōnin norimono shizuka ni kaki irekeru. Kono ashioto ni Shizuma me samite mishi. Jyūyon, go naru bijo…kono utsukushisa, mina iu made mo nashi… 'Mi wo tatsuru kotowari tsurenaku mōseba, ano ue ni mata mo ya byōki mo' to omoi, kokoro ni somanu midare sugata to nari* [*Saikaku shū chū*, NKBT, p. 465-67]).

It is not entirely clear whether Saikaku's intentions were to have the old man deceive Shizuma, since there is an absence of pronouns within the actual passage. However, just moments before Shizuma made a pact with the old man, Shizuma had made a sexual advance towards him, which the old man reacted to by freezing up and reciting a Buddhist prayer. It was only after drinking cups of rice wine that the old man once again regained the ability to talk. This description of the somewhat traumatized old man, followed by his proposal that purposely leaves out any inclination that his child is in fact a young maiden, allows us to assume that the old man is cunning enough to deceive Shizuma.[368] However, where the old man fails in his attempt of arranging the rendezvous between Shizuma and his only child is the complete decepition of his child's sexual identity, perhaps resulting in her untimely death.

The pattern Saikaku uses in this story of the old man's daughter is one that he has previously used in *Five Women*. On the night the old man's daughter meets Shizuma, she is transported in a palanquin reserved for transporting the ill. The daughter is quite weak and is suffering from lovesickness due to her longing for Shizuma. Saikaku does not explicitly state that the daughter is deranged, but she is the reason that Shizuma has given up his oath to dedicate himself exclusively to male-male romances. For her intrusion into the sacred bonds between men, the daughter's life is cut short, and she dies the very next morning.

Saikaku further expands the motif of derangement caused by a maiden's intrusion into a male-male relationship in the same chapter in section four of *The Great Mirror of*

[368] In the previous description of the old man, Saikaku paints him as a frugal, cunning businessman who is only interested in collecting rent and interests on loans. Schalow inserts the masculine pronouns in the English translations, representing Hirai's assumption that the only child is a son.

Male Love. The protagonists of this story area once famed female impersonator and young male youth kabuki actor, Tamamura Shuzen and a young boy, Asanojō.[369] Lamenting the loss of his beauty, Tamamura takes the tonsure and retreats to the mountains. One particular day, Asanojō pays Tamamura a visit and on his return home, a young farmer's girl happens to see Asanojō pass by.

> In a neighboring village, at a place called Old Market, lived a farmer's daughter of unusual beauty. She chanced to see Asanojō pass by in traveling dress and immediately fell passionately in love with him (*tamashi tobi de*). Half crazed (*ōkata ha kyōran ni natte*), she started after him on his way to the temple, but the maidservants dragged her back home…that night [she] crept in secret to the temple. She peered through a window into the hut, illuminated only faintly by a pine torch. Lo and behold, the one she loved had shaved his head and become a monk. She raised her voice in an anguished cry. 'What could have caused that youth to renounce the world?' She wept and wailed as if she would die…She continued to scream, "Who cut off the boy's hair? Whoever it was, I hate him! I hate him!" She had unmistakably gone mad (*kyōjin utagainashi*).[370]

This story corresponds closely to Saikaku's description of Oman. In both cases, the female protagonists peep into (see figure 3.6) and are captivated by the beauty of the

[369] The real spelling of his name is Tamagawa Shuzen. According to the *Kokon yakusha monogatari* (1678) he was a famed Kyōto female impersonator after the banning of young lads' kabuki in 1652. He retired from performing in 1673 and became a monk, changing his name to Kaken (Hishikawa Morinobu, *Kokon yakusha monogatari*, Kawakami Kunimoto, eds., Chinsho Kankō Kai (1915); see note 2 in Schalow, trans., *The Great Mirror of Male Love*, p. 335.

[370] Schalow, trans., *The Great Mirror of Male Love*, p. 212 (*Kono sato tsuzuki Furuichi to iu tokoro ni, yajin no musume ni ha sono sama yasashikarikeruga, Asanojō tabisugata wo mishi yori tamashii tobiide, ōkata ha kyōran ni natte ato yori mitera ni yuku wo, meshitsukai no onna domo tori tsuki, isamete yado ni kaerishini…sono yori shinobite tōi, matsubikasu kanaru onjitsu wo mado yori nozokeba, omoishi hito ha hōshi to natte arikeru. Kanashiki koe wo agete 'Ano wakashu wo nani tote shukkei ni ha nasu koto yo' to taeiru bakari nagekinu…'kono hito wo dare ga kami wo oroshikeruxo. Sono hito urami naru' to, kyōjin utagainashi* [*Saikaku shū chū*, NKBT, p. 478-79]).

one they long for—a man who is dedicated to the ways of male-male love. Both womens' extreme longing generates the lovesickness and resentment that trigger their derangement. In Oman's case, however, her disguise as a young male initially allows Gengobei to keep his promise to pursue only the ways of male love.[371] The farmer's woman, however, intrudes upon the sacred bond between two male lovers, and she can only be saved by becoming a Buddhist nun.

The inclusion of the male-male-female love triangle within the Oman and Gengobei narrative that is later also adapted into *The Great Mirror of Male Love*, marks the development of the derangement motif into a new direction. Saikaku's usage of female derangement as a result of an intrusion into a male-male love relationship, departs from classical, medieval notions of derangement and later spreads into other forms of emerging arts in the early modern period.[372]

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[371] Tanaka Takako claims Oman dresses in disguise as a young male with the intention getting close to Gengobei in order to relate her resentment of rejecting her love letters and not with the intention of seducing him (Tanaka Takako, "Onna to otoko, docchi ga ii?," *Saikaku to ukiyozōshi kenkyū*, vol. 4 [November 2010], p. 134).

[372] One example of the expanding of the derangement theme in the early modern period can be seen in Kumi odori, or Ryūkyū style combination dance. Kumi odori was created in 1719 as performing art patronized by the aristocrats that combined storytelling, dance, music, and dialogue together. It was developed by Tamagusuku Chōkun at the request of the King Shōkei (1700-1752, r. 1713-1752) of the Ryūkyū Kingdom, under the control of the Satsuma Clan since 1609, in order to entertain foreign embassies visiting the court. Tamagusuku previously traveled to the Satsuma domain and to Edo five times before 1715, where he concentrated his studies on the contemporary Japanese arts. After his reappointment as the minister of dance in 1718, Tamagusuku created the first five kumi odori dramas, "The Vendetta of the Two Sons" (*Nidō Tichiuchi*), "Possessed by Love, Thwarted by the Bell" (*Shūshin Kani'iri*), "Master Mekarushi" (*Mekarushi*), "Filial Piety" (*Kōkō nu maki*), and "The Madwoman" (*Unna munu gurui*).

Among the five kumi odori dramas, "Possessed by Love, Thwarted by the Bell" (hereafter "Possessed by Love"), revolves around a young boy named Nakagusu Wakamatsu. Wakamatsu is from Nakagusuku, present day Nakagami district, who is sent to serve at the court. One evening during his journey to Shuri, the capital of the kingdom, he loses his way and requests for lodging at a nearby house. A young maiden answers by initially denies his request since her parents are away. However, after much pleading with the young maiden, and after she steals a peak at him, she allows him to stay the night. The young maiden becomes engulfed with lust for Wakamatsu who is able to thwart her sexual advances and escapes her house. Wakamatsu flees to a nearby temple where the abbot hides him within the temple bell. The abbot informs the novices that women are strictly forbidden to enter the temple grounds and to keep an eye out for any women who wish to enter. The young maiden arrives to the temple, but after a series of questions and answers, the novices permit her to enter. Recounting Wakamatsu's shunned love, the young

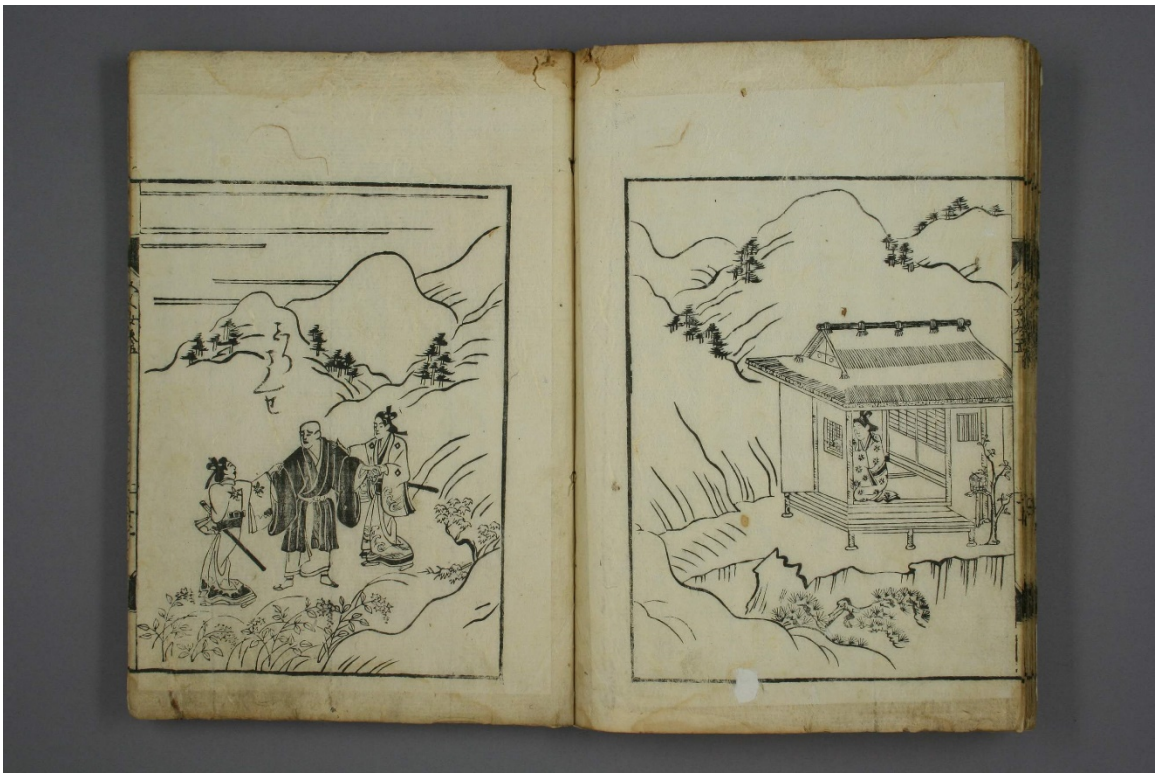

Figure 3.6: Oman (right) peeking in on Gengobei who is torn between two young male youths.
(Ihara Saikaku, *Kōshoku gonin onna*, [Kitamidōmae (Ōsaka): Moritashōtarō, 1686])
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maiden becomes enraged, apparent by her slow transformation into a demon. Finally, the young girl's unchecked passions and lust allow her to strike at the bell, at which it is only through the power of the Buddhist chants that forces the maiden turned demon to retreat.

Examining "Possessed by Love," we can see how influenced Tamagusuku was by the nō theater, modeling itself upon the nō dramas *Dōjōji Temple* and *Black Mound*. However, unlike nō dramas, Tamagusuku creates a drama illustrating the actual process of a woman falling in love and then transforming into a demon. This is most likely because of the influence of the works by Saikaku. Elements, such as presenting "Possessed by Love" as a contemporary piece, echoes Saikaku's version of the Oman and Gengobei affair. Besides *A Sensuous Man, Five Women*, and *A Sensuous Woman*, which were all bestsellers, *The Great Mirror of Male Love* is often thought as Saikaku's appeal towards the Edo market. Saikaku, himself, had never traveled to Edo, and yet pretends to have written *The Great Mirror of Male Love* in Edo. Paul Schalow notes Saikaku's usage of male-male relationship within his works was an attempt to appease his readers in Kyōto and Ōsaka, while also trying to gain popularity among the samurai in Edo. *The Great Mirror of Male Love*, along with the notion the Satsuma domain was famous for male-male romance, had a strong influence in Tamagusuku's "Possessed by Love."

Conclusion

Saikaku's strategic placement of the Seijūrō's adventures in the Murotsu pleasure quarters as his opening, and Gengobei's reference to spending his new found wealth on courtesans and kabuki actors at the end of the story, bring *Five Women* to conclude in a full circle.[373] Following the pattern of historical puppet plays and the *haikai* tradition, Saikaku concludes with an auspicious ending. Yet, is it truly a happy ending? Do Oman and Gengobei truly acquire what they desire the most? Similar to the jōruri puppet play that Saikaku wrote for less than a year before, where dramas conclude auspiciously without ever punishing the villain of the play, Saikaku concludes with rather a vague message at the end of *Five Women*.[374] At first glance, the reader is lead to believe the text ends in an auspicious event, with the reinstatement of Oman and Gengobei's wealth. Yet, it also raises questions about wealth in correlation to the happiness of marriage.

Vagueness in the conclusion of the stories of *Five Women* is Saikaku's trademark. The interpretation of the ending is left up to the reader to decide. Yonosuke's voyage to the Island of Women at the end of *A Sensuous Man*, depending on the reader, can mark the triumphant departure of every man's wildest fantasy or the absolute ridiculous nature of men and the folly behind such an absurd voyage. And, of course, anything that lies between these two extremes. The same can be said of the fantastical list of treasures at

[373] Gundry, *Parody, Irony, and Ideology in the Fiction of Ihara Saikaku*, p. 158.

[374] This vagueness also contrasts with medieval tales that often end with a religious or moral teaching of right and wrong.

the conclusion to *Five Women*. This is one reason for the popularity of Saikaku's works: they were accessible to a wide range of readers.

In this chapter, I have illustrated how Saikaku structures *Five Women* and strategically places his five narratives in order to grasp the attention of his readers, unfolding a world in which women are not morally restricted, although they can still be punished for their actions. I argue that Saikaku places the Onatsu and Seijūrō incident in chapter one and the Oman and Gengobei affair in chapter five in order to transform Oman and Gengobei into contemporary characters faced with the kinds of challenges and problems that plagued his v readers. It is true, as Maeda Kingorō points out, that by 1686, Saikaku depended less on legitimzing his works by linking them to past classical precedents.[375] This is further echoed by Gundry, who claims that the townsmen have become, in their own right, a sustainable topic of intrigue without the need to link them to past real or imaginary figures.[376] This chapter has illustrated how this exact shift occurred in my examination of chapters one, four and five of *Five Women*. There is a clear and conscious shift on Saikaku's part to break free from past literary traditions, as the reader is encouraged to compare and contrast two actual events that were believed to have taken place roughly around the same time, with the very different ways in which Saikaku is portraying them in *Five Women*.

The success of *Five Women* that included this shift of transforming Oman and Gengobei into contemporary figures also highlights the changing roles of womenin early modern society. *Five Women* was written in a period in which women actually had the

[375] Maeda Kingorō, *Kinsei bungaku zakkō*, Bensei Shuppan (2006), p. 225.

[376] Gundry, *Parody, Irony, and Ideology in the Fiction of Ihara Saikaku*, p. 73-74.

unprecedented option and freedom of being employed outside of their own households or of the typical, few positions held by women of previous generations. The rapid urbanization and economic transformations of the urban towns allowed women to experience a new sense of freedom, but this freedom came with working women balancing compromising their moral values with being sexually objectified.[377] This is evident in *A Sensuous Woman* where Saikaku continues to explore the contemporary early modern society as seen from the perspective of a woman.

The transformation of Oman and Gengobei into contemporary figures and placing their narrative as the concluding chapter in *Five Women* brings the world Saikaku depicts to a closure, but it also serves as a bridge into Saikaku's subsequent works, allowing him to further develop the literary and performative genres of the early modern period.[378]

[377] David Atherton, *Valences of Vengeance: The Moral Imagination of Early Modern Japanese Vendetta Fiction*, diss. University of Columbia (2013), p. 137-38.

[378] Gundry outlines an ongoing debate on whether or not there is a stylistic change in 1686 in the way Saikaku writes his works (see footnote 93 in Gundry, *Parody, Irony, and Ideology in the Fiction of Ihara Saikaku*, p. 73-75). At this time, I am not addressing this issue that 1686 marks a stylistic change in Saikaku works, with the claim that Saikaku is changing from longer prose works to shorter, *setsuwa* type narratives. Rather, I am arguing that Saikaku is revolutionizing and expanding the genre of early modern popular fiction.

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I have examined the relationship of Saikaku's *popular fiction* and to late medieval and early modern literary themes and genres, historical events, depictions of the supernatural, and the performing and visual arts. The texts examined in the preceding pages are fairly limited in scope and thus offer only a fragmented sample of the extraordinary quantity of printed popular fiction that was produced with the commercialization of merchant publishing houses at the beginning of the early modern period. These texts represent a key stage in the evolution of Saikaku's stylistic, thematic, and revolutionary approaches to his genre of erotic narratives (*kōshoku mono* 好色物).

Although I focus primarily on Saikaku's *The Sensuality of Five Women* (*Kōshoku gonin onna*, 1686), I have resisted in representing it, along with the rest of his erotic narratives, as a singular, independent work free from external influences. Rather, I argue that *The Sensuality of Five Women* serves as an important pivot in Saikaku's career as a popular fiction writer, bridging his past and future stories, through its representation of women and their changing roles in early modern society.

The Sensuality of Five Women is the first of Saikaku's works that revolve around women and the awakening or exploration of their sexuality. The very fact of basing his stories upon the scandalous sexual escapades of the five women protagonists must have created a sensation among his readers. And yet, Saikaku presents the sexual encounters

between Onatsu, Oshichi, and Oman with their lovers in a peculiar manner. In all three scenarios, their sexual encounters occur under the cloak of deceit and disguise. With Onatsu, her sexual encounter with Seijūrō occurs under the pretext of her being ill, while unbeknown to her Seijūrō deceives the Tajima'ya household by hiring a local lion dancers to keep them distracted in order for Onatsu and he to fulfil their sexual desires. Oshichi travels to Kichisaburō only to be accused by his roommate of looking as if she is possessed by a spirit, while Kichisaburō, who has made a vow to his elder brother, is unsuccessful in revealing that vow to discourage Oshichi's sexual advances. Lastly, Oman successfully wins over Gengobei only thanks to her disguise as a young man. It is as if Saikaku is disguising the scandalous nature of their sexual encounters through the interjection of humorous incidents within each episode (the peeping of the woodcutter into Onatsu and Seijūrō's love making session, the repetition of dialogue between Oshichi and Kichisaburō, and Gengobei's reaction as he discovers the true sexual identity of Oman). In addition, Saikaku has each of these three sexual encounters take place outside of the borders of society: Onatsu and Oman's takes place in nature and Oshichi's within the compounds of the Buddhist temple. Moreover, the lack of political or social commentary by Saikaku on these three stories suggests that perhaps the actions of the three women are not meant to be judged, and that their sexual encounters outside the boundaries of the Tokugawa government's regulations and laws are rather meant to be celebrated.

In addition, I stress the importance that *Five Women* had within the general development of Saikaku's early career as a writer and how it embraced the intersection between popular fiction and the performing and visual arts. Saikaku's popular fiction did

not emerge independently as a genre, nor did it simply mimic past literary, visual, and performative traditions. Using *Five Women* to highlight the pivotal shift in Saikaku's erotic narratives, I examine Saikaku's evolution in his approach of writing his early popular fiction erotic narratives starting with *The Life of a Sensuous Man* (*Kōshoku ichidai otoko*, 1682) and ending with *The Life of a Sensuous Woman* (*Kōshoku ichidai onna*, 1686). One key distinction that sets *Five Women* and *The Life of a Sensuous Woman* apart from his earlier narratives is Saikaku's short-lived career as a playwright for the puppet theater. However short Saikaku's time was as a playwright, his experimentation with the content and structure of plays did have a profound effect on how subsequent play writers approached writing puppet plays. Saikaku's experience also led him to incorporate into *Five Women* notions of dedication and sexuality, both topics Saikaku had experimented with in the two puppet plays he had written for Uji Kaganojō (1635-1711) shortly before returning to writing popular fiction.

I have also discussed the ways in which Saikaku blurs reality in his retelling of the five women protagonists and their lovers to create stories with dramatized plots, humorous scenarios, and alternative endings, creating a world that allowed his readers to question their own knowledge of the actual events that Saikaku based *Five Women* upon. Saikaku meticulously crafted his stories to transport his readers into the fictional world that he created and yet he occasionally inserted factual information within his stories, jarring his readers back into reality.[379] In chapter one section two, for example, Saikaku

[379] I use the term "meticulously" to describe how Saikaku wrote *Five Women*. Some scholars, however, argue that Saikaku made mistakes within his stories due to the rapid pace he was producing them, and suggest that the insertion of factual information that contradicted his own story was unintentional. Although this may be true, thinking of the rapid pace Saikaku composed his *A Thousand Haikai Alone in a Single Day* (*Haikai Dokugin Ichinichi Senku*, 1675) and his ability to produce his other stories, I take the insertion of factual information as no mere accident, but a deliberate strategy by Saikaku.

informs his readers that Onatsu is the younger sister of the owner of Tajima'ya, Kyūemon (*Kyūemon imoto ni, Onatsu to iheru arikeru*).[380] Yet in section four, when the deity of Murotsu visited Onatsu, he reveals to Onatsu that if she had only waited for her parents and her brother to choose the proper suitor, she would not find herself in the predicament that she is in now (*Sono kata mo oya ani shidai ni otoko wo mataba, betsu no koto mo nai ni*).[381] Until the deity's visit, there is no mention of Onatsu's parents, although the song ballad (*utazaemon*) and preceding accounts of the Onatsu and Seijūrō incident state Onatsu is the daughter of Tajima'ya.[382] It is not entirely clear why Saikaku inserted factual information periodically within *Five Women*, but we can assume one purpose was to remind his readers that his stories were meant to be enjoyed as works of fiction.

The notion of factual versus fictional is furthered by *Five Women*'s departure from the absurd lifestyles of the wealthy dandies who had been the main protagonists of Saikaku's previous erotic narratives. Rather, *Five Women* tackles notions of realism within the fictional world Saikaku creates. In "Infiction and Outfiction: The Role of Fiction in Theatrical Performance" David Z. Saltz argues against standard views of the role of fiction in theater:

[380] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 261.

[381] *Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 273.

[382] In his introduction to the section on *Five Women*, Haruo Shirane also states Onatsu as the daughter of her father's store (see Haruo Shirane eds., *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology 1600-1900*, Columbia University Press (New York: 2002), p. 60. I am using this particular example because this dissertation has focused mainly on chapters one, four and five of *Five Women*. However, in *Five Women* chapter three, Saikaku suddenly thrusts the name "Tama" at the conclusion of his rendition. This "Tama" refers to Osan's servant whom until this moment Saikaku has referred to as "Rin". "Tama" is the actual name of Osan's servant (*Saikaku shū jō*, NKBT, p. 336).

> The standard view is that a theatrical performance is a kind of text whose primary goal is to represent an absent fictional world, and the audience looks past, or through, the real events to the fiction…I…argue that it [the standard view] gets the relationship between performance and fiction backwards. Theater survives in an age of film and video precisely because the reality of the theater event matters. An audience comes to the theater to experience a real event, to see real, flesh-and-blood actors perform real actions. Fiction in theater is vitally important, but not as an end unto itself, and not merely as a content that the audience extracts from the performance. Fiction functions as a cognitive template that informs an audience's perception of reality on stage, structuring and giving meaning to the actual events that transpire on stage…[383]

The standard view assumes that each spectator views and accepts the play as the reality it is trying to project unto them. The value of the play is measured by how effectively it convinces the audience of the alternative, fictionalized story as reality. Saltz further summarizes the standardized viewpoints of Marvin Carlson and Peter Handlke to which Saltz's counters, "the events that actually transpire in the theater assume significance only insofar as they apprise the audience of some other event, often fictional, always absent. The audience looks at the stage in order to look beyond the stage. In performance, actors cease to exist as or for themselves, and become instead the stand-in for an absent and perhaps nonexistent other."[384] Here, the main proponents of the standard view claim that the actors cease being themselves in order to become the actual characters they are portraying and assume the spectators watch the play for the characters and not the actual actors.

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[383] David Z. Saltz, "Infiction and Outfiction: The Role of Fiction in Theatrical Performance" in David Krasner; David Z. Saltz eds., *Staging Philosophy: Intersections of Theater, Performance, and Philosophy*, University of Michigan (Ann Harbor: Michigan, 2006), p. 203.

[384] David Z. Saltz, "Infiction and Outfiction: The Role of Fiction in Theatrical Performance", p. 203.

Although Saltz's arguments and examples refer to contemporary Western plays, his basic premise, that main purpose of the plays is not to create a setting of pure fiction, but rather to define reality by the presence of fiction, can be applied to the popular fictional stories created by Ihara Saikaku in the mid to late seventeenth century Japan.

Recalling the discussion of Gengobei and Oman's performances in chapter three of this dissertation, the way in which the textual descriptions and visual woodblock illustrations intersect with the reader's own personal recollections of popular songs and dances, kabuki performances and the kabuki actor Arashi Sanemon, contribute to blurring the boundaries between reality and fiction. The humor of this scene relies upon the reader's recollection of a professional kabuki actor's body movements and voice, and comparing them to the description of Gengobei's amateur roadside show, and is enhanced by the struggling image of Gengobei trying to impersonate himself. Contrasting with this humorous scene is the beautiful Oman waving about the long piece of white cotton fabric as described by the numerous popular songs, dances and kabuki performances of the exact scene Saikaku is portraying through his text. The combination of all these factors, the textual, visual, personal recollection and performative, supports Saltz's claim. Arashi Sanemon was famous for his boisterous voice and Saikaku's readers would most likely have been familiar with that attribute of Sanemon rather than with how well he impersonated Gengobei on the kabuki stage.[385] In this manner, Saikaku masterfully crafts his stories through a specific language that is directly spoken to his reader regardless of how well educated they are. The world Saikaku creates is formed by

[385] Kabuki performances from the mid-1600s to early 1700s highlighted the actor and not the story. The spectators went to the theater to view their favorite actor rather than the play. This is one reason why puppet playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon refused to write kabuki plays until he collaborated with Sakata Tōjūrō I. After Tōjūrō retired, Chikamatsu returned back to the puppet theater as a playwright.

multiple layers of literary, performative, and visual tropes, which appealed to a broad fan base, and which a wide spectrum of readers could interpret in various ways through their own personal knowledge and interpretation.

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