

Kabuki Plays on Page—and Comicbook Pictures on Stage—in Edo-Period Japan

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STUDENTS of kabuki are inevitably faced with the conundrum of how best to handle the vast corpus of woodblock-printed materials devoted to the early-modern theater. While one might begin with the rare playscript (when available), what such scripts inevitably present is an idealized performance. By contrast, woodblock-printed theatrical texts—particularly illustrated ones—would seem to provide a better collective glimpse, however kaleidoscopically mediated, of *actual* performances: an ephemeral world that now exists as much in the imagination, or in shards of performance traditions, as it does in the texts themselves.

Be they one-off pictures or lengthy illustrated booklets, such theatrical texts may not provide anything approaching verisimilitude (let alone aim for it). Yet aside from this obvious complication, another issue resides in the assumption that kabuki, as the center of popular culture, is what is being reflected. To be sure, kabuki represents a major popular cultural center, and an extremely vital one at that. Yet to claim that only one such center existed during Japan's Edo period (1600-1868), when cultural hybridity was the rule rather than the exception, and the various literary, poetical, pictorial, and performative arts routinely crossed generic lines to a vertiginous degree, is to risk over-determination.

This obtains particularly to that grand hall of mirrors that was the floating world of popular culture, where not only kabuki theaters, but also pleasure quarters, and the often disregarded commercial street spectacle (*misemono* 見世物), are all reflected in each other. Indeed, it may be impossible to fully isolate any one of these from the other two in the triad. This imbrication is evident in the very origins of kabuki itself, in which, on the dawn of the seventeenth-century riverbanks of Kyoto, the dancer Izumo no Okuni 出雲の阿国 combined outrageously sensual,

gender-bending, burlesque performances that were equal portions theater, prostitution, and freak show. In fact, the word *kabuki*, though most often written with the phonetic equivalents 歌舞伎, literally “song, dance, skill,” derives from the word *kabuku* 傾く, meaning “to lean,” specifically to lean away, or *deviate*, from a presumed norm, such as acting, dressing, or physical appearance. The mutual interdependence of these elements continued unabated, and is evident a century and a half later in the “pictures of beautiful people” (*bijinga* 美人画), which is to say courtesans and actors. These pictures, after all, worked by a double logic of presenting paragons of sophistication and sexiness on the one hand, and on the other hand of withholding the slightest whiff of the “freaks” (*katawamono* 片端者, as they were offensively called) as well as the aesthetically challenged (*yabo* 野暮). Within the context of the floating world, idolization of courtesans and actors was the flip side of aversion for the differently physiognomied individual. In the associated pictorial fetishism, the freak was always present, implicitly, precisely in his or her absence.

This floating world (*ukiyo* 浮世) blurred the lines not only among actor, courtesan, and freak, but also among creators and consumers, authors and authorized, players and played. More than the Bakhtinian carnivalesque of medieval Europe, wherein the mainstream social hierarchy was temporarily though *faithfully* inverted, thereby paradoxically reifying it, the floating world of early modern Japan was a Turnerian *communitas*, an uninhibitedly *demotic*—though by no means democratic—liminal space, wherein emerged a countercultural hierarchy, based largely on sophistication, that provided no inverted reflection of mainstream social hierarchy whatsoever. Indeed, the floating world never reified Tokugawa society, directly or indirectly so. Rather, it was marked by a fluidity of overlapping and ever-shifting literary—or *cultural*—coteries (*za no bungaku* 座の文学), as Ogata Tsutomu notably argued, that ran against the grain of mainstream hierarchical rigidity.¹

In such a milieu, people habitually crossed social, class, gender, and other boundaries. As Victor Turner described it, this anti-structure “abolishes all divisiveness, all discriminations, binary, serial, or graduated. This creative moment of rejection of structures, social, philosophical, and theological is fierce rebellion against petrification.”² A single individual might therefore appear on stage as the actor Ichikawa

Danjūrō V 市川團十郎 (1741-1806), only to compose madcap poetry (*kyōka* 狂歌) in Ōta Nanpo's 大田南畝 (1749-1823) leading circle of the day as the poet Hakuen 白猿. Such nomenclatural variation is routinely treated as a matter of *pseudonyms*, as a single individual using “false names” in multiple art forms to veil his or her “true” mainstream social identity. Although concealment is certainly one result of such “playful appellations” (*gigō* 戲號), another is reinvention. Thus, these appellations might be referred to more precisely (as per Fernando Pessoa) as *heteronyms*, implying diverse alter egos, or personas, in various arts, in a kind of extreme role playing where no one identity is truer than others.

In her meditation on multiple identities in the arts of Edo Japan, Haruko Iwasaki may well have been thinking of the heteronym when writing: “Such compartmentalization of lives through pseudonyms seems to have helped their users to escape temporarily the constraints of a tightly controlled society.”³ Consequently, in the arts of such a fractionalized space, “narrow scrutiny of one genre or aspect often proves futile. Far more profitable is an interdisciplinary approach in which images, tales, and language of many genres may be instantly recalled and cross-matched to deepen the appreciation of specific artistic products.”⁴

Thus, while kabuki was undoubtedly a major center of popular culture, it could never have been the only such center, since it was mutually dependent upon the pleasure quarters and street spectacle. Yet even if it could be demonstrated that kabuki outshone these others, at least within the context of the floating world, one would still have to contend with the almost schizophrenic identities of participants in multiple cultural spheres. The widespread practice of heteronymic participation in various cultural circles thus renders the very notion that one art form could subordinate all others dubious at best.

And anyway, one major form of popular culture to rival kabuki was the estimable woodblock-printing industry. Although a sizable portion of woodblock-printed materials was related to kabuki performances in some way, the complex interconnections between these two forms of popular culture are difficult to sort out. It should be kept in mind that just as kabuki performances can be read as a kind of text, so too can the representations of kabuki, within the woodblock-printed “pictures of the floating world,” be regarded as a secondary performance of sorts. And while it is tempting to regard printed representations of kabuki as beholden to live kabuki, it might be only slightly more accurate to claim

that the primary *communitas* of the floating world was extended by the secondary *communitas* of the pictures and illustrated literature, broadly defined, of the floating world (*ukiyo-zōshi* 浮世草子). At least for many people who had never set foot in the floating world of Edo—or any of the other metropolises, such as Kyoto, Osaka, or Owari (present-day Nagoya), for that matter—this secondary *communitas* was primary, thereby forming an imagined community on an increasingly national scale. Yet even for those who *had* visited in person, floating world texts provided a means of sharing and of reliving their experiences, though these texts also no doubt helped shape expectations even prior to one's first visit.

THEATRICAL TEXTS AND COMICBOOKS

Within this woodblock-printed culture, there is an unruly range of materials that has been broadly subsumed under the rubric of “theatrical text” (*gekisho* 劇書). In an invaluable article on such texts, Martina Schönbein draws on the work of Japanese scholars in proposing three major categories.⁵

(1) “Illustrated playbooks” (*e'iri kyōgenbon* 絵入狂言本), which, having been influenced by illustrated puppet-play books (*e'iri jōruribon* 絵入浄瑠璃本), flourished primarily in Kamigata from the Genroku era (1688-1704) through the 1730s. Though they had a brief moment in the sun in Edo during the years around 1700, these were primarily illustrated plot synopses, published in the large *hanshibon* 半紙本 format (ca. 24 x 16 cm), with 10-12 folded sheets per volume, often including double-page spreads (*mihiraki* 見開き). C. Andrew Gerstle has aptly defined *e'iri kyōgenbon* as “illustrated plot summaries with lengthy text.”⁶

(2) “Theatrical programs,” generally called *kyōgen ezukushi* 狂言絵尽 in Kamigata but *ehon banzuke* 絵本番付 in Edo, where they began appearing regularly with every annual “face showing” (*kaomise* 顔見せ) performance from 1772 on, and regularly with every play in 1781 on, in the so-called “stage books” (*shibai ehon* 芝居絵本). These were typically mid-sized (*chūbon* 中本) booklets (13.5 x 9.5 cm), though sometimes, especially from 1732-1744, in *hanshibon* format. Sometimes they were referred to as *ezukushi kyōgenbon* 絵尽狂言本, which Gerstle has defined as “illustrated plot summaries with little text.”⁷ It might be argued that the take-offs on these playbills (*mitate ehon banzuke* 見立絵本番付) could also be included in this category.

(3) “Illustrated playbooks” (*e’iri nehon* 絵入根本), a Kamigata phenomenon, can be regarded, to quote Schönbein, “as printed versions of theatrical prompt-books (*daichō* 台帳) or handwritten manuscripts [*shōhon* 正本] intended solely for rehearsal use, although scenes might be shortened, left out or varied in sequence. As a result, the *e’iri nehon* texts included technical instructions for the stage (*butaigaki* 舞台書), actors’ speeches and dialogues (*serifugaki* 台詞書) as well as directions for concrete performance (*togaki* 卜書).”⁸ Since this third category never really circulated widely beyond the backstage, it need not concern us here.

These categories, thoroughly researched though they might be, nevertheless omit many kinds of floating world text that bear some relationship to kabuki. Three conspicuous absences worth mentioning are: (1) illustrated “race” boardgames (*e-sugoroku* 絵双六, a.k.a. *kami sugoroku* 紙双六 or *dōchū sugoroku* 道中双六)—which were not only among the most widely circulated forms of *ukiyo-e* throughout the Edo period, but as games of chance, were also, according to Yoshida Mitsukuni, “the principle form of gambling at the time.”⁹ Many of these boardgames presented scenes from the stage or likenesses of actors, as with *Shibai sugoroku* 芝居双六 (Stage Parcheesi, date unknown), a polychromatic print (*nishiki-e* 錦絵) by Torii Kiyotada IV 鳥井清忠 and Migita Toshihide 右田年英 (see Fig. 1); (2) single-sheet portrait prints of actors (*nigao-e* 似顔絵 or *yakusha-e* 役者絵) which could be pasted to one’s wall—and which loomed large in the popular imagination, as evidenced by the following dirty sexy haiku (*bareku* 破禮句) by one Gadō 鶯童: “diddling herself / to a kabuki pinup— / the chambermaid” (*nigaoe de ateire o suru nagatsubone*);¹⁰ and (3) a wide variety of illustrated booklets, from Shikitei Sanba’s 式亭三馬 (1776-1822) funnybooks (*kokkeibon* 滑稽本), like his spoof of the critique of actors (*yakusha hyōbanki* 役者評判記), titled *Kyakusha hyōbanki* 客者評判記 (Critique of Theatergoers, 1811)¹¹ or his takeoff on kabuki reference works, titled *Shibai kinmōzui* 劇場訓蒙図彙 (Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Theater, 1803),¹² to Morishima Chūryō’s 森島中良 (1754-1808) fashionbook (*sharebon* 洒落本), titled *Inaka shibai* 田舎芝居 (A Provincial Play, 1787).

No doubt the most voluminous kind of illustrated booklet to take up the theater, to one extent or another, was the *kusazōshi* 草双紙. This was really a collection of closely associated genres, often referred to individually by the color of their covers: redbook (*akabon* 赤本), blackbook (*kurohon* 黒本), bluebook (*aohon* 青本), and yellowbook (*kibyōshi*



Fig. 1. *Shibai sugoroku*. Polychromatic print by Torii Kiyotada IV and Migita Toshihide. Courtesy of Waseda University Library.

黄表紙), though one exception is the “multivolume” (*gōkan* 合巻). The *kusazōshi* is surely a kind of comicbook, for its “texts” consist of interdependent visual-verbal narratives, mass-produced on the cheap, and disseminated to a wide swath of the population. Elsewhere, I have proposed that the *kusazōshi* may well have been the first vastly popular comicbook—and the *kibyōshi*, which flourished from 1775-1806, perhaps even the first such comicbook for adults—in *world* literary history.¹³

It would be difficult to overstate the interconnections among all the various *kusazōshi* genres and kabuki. Still, to take an example, arguably the bestselling of all *kibyōshi*, Santō Kyōden’s 山東京伝 (1761-1816) *Edo umare uwaki no kabayaki* 江戸生艶気蒲焼 (Playboy, Roasted à la Edo, 1785), features as a comic hero a star-struck kabuki fan who foolishly stages his own pseudo-suicide (see Fig. 2). Another example might be any one of the interconnected *kibyōshi* playing off a kabuki “world,” such as that of the forty-seven loyal retainers, which, while originally staged for the puppet theater as *Kanadehon chūshingura* 仮名手本忠臣蔵 (The Treasury of Loyal Retainers, first performed in 1748), written primarily by Takeda Izumo 竹田出雲 (1691-1756), was adapted into innumerable kabuki versions, such as Chikamatsu Monzaemon’s 近松



Fig. 2. The protagonist Enjirō backstage readying himself for a fake double suicide *à la* kabuki. From the *kibyōshi* by Santō Kyōden *Edo umare uwaki no kabayaki* (1785). Courtesy of Waseda University Library.

門左衛門 (1653-1725) *Goban Taiheiki* 碁盤太平記 (A Chronicle of Great Peace Played on a Chessboard, 1706). To cite just a few *kibyōshi* drawing on this world: *Ana dehon tsūjingura* 案内手本通人藏 (1779, written by Hōseidō Kisanji 朋誠堂喜三二 and illustrated by Koikawa Harumachi 恋川春町);¹⁴ *Chūshingura sokuseki ryōri* 忠臣蔵即席料理 (1794, written by “the Gourmet Santō Kyōden” 料理人山東京伝);¹⁵ *Chūshingura zenze no maku nashi* 忠臣蔵前世幕無 (1794, also written by Kyōden);¹⁶ *Kanadehon mune no kagami* 仮名手本胸之鏡 (1799, also by Kyōden but illustrated by Utagawa Toyokuni 歌川豊国);¹⁷ and *Kamidehon tsūjingura* 髪手本通人藏 (date unknown, written by Rizan 里山 and illustrated by Kitao Masayoshi 北尾政美); and so on *ad nauseum*.

Inasmuch as the majority of comicbooks tend to be intimately related to kabuki, it is curious that this category is not included in Schönbein’s schema. To be fair, Schönbein mentions *kusazōshi* in passing, carefully noting that the layout of the illustrated theater booklet “took its key from the style of the eighteenth-century illustrated Edo narrative prose forms known as *kusazōshi*. These, for their part, often dealt with theatrical subjects, even including portraits of actors...”¹⁸ Yet Schönbein refrains from further examination, closing her discus-

sion with the comment: “The only difference seems to be that whereas *kusazōshi* focus on the plot, [*shibai ehon*] highlight the most effective and impressive scenes as settings for actors’ talents.”¹⁹ Such perfunctoriness characterizes the way that the *kusazōshi* has, by and large, been written out of the history of kabuki, the one exception being Takahashi Noriko’s groundbreaking study, *Kusazōshi to engeki* (Comicbooks and the Theater, 2004).²⁰

There seem to be two principle reasons for this collective neglect. First, there has been a wholesale neglect of, if not outright disdain for, Edo-period comicbooks among kabuki specialists. This situation is paradoxical, since comicbooks were just as much a part of popular culture as was kabuki. Moreover, this neglect is somewhat analogous to the problem Jaqueline Berndt has perceived in the case of modern Japanese comics (*manga* 漫画); namely, scholars trained in Japanese literature who find themselves scrambling to meet soaring student interest tend to approach *manga* as a kind of *literary* text, with a little film studies or art history thrown in to deal with the images, but with little if any genuine interest in or knowledge of the history, methodology, or theory of comics and the emerging field of its academic study.²¹ Similarly, since the study of *kusazōshi*, like the study of modern *manga*, is relatively underdeveloped—not that current interest in *kusazōshi* rises to the level of modern *manga*—the neglect is understandable if not inevitable.

Second, in spite of the desire to mine illustrations for glimpses of contemporary performances, scholars are rightfully wary, since the illustrations tend not to privilege realism, and therefore provide a distorted reflection of kabuki at best. Comicbooks like the *kibyōshi* that present streamlined representations of their subjects with an eye for the comic are not about realism, after all, and are marked by an aggressive fictionality in both their visual as well as verbal texts. Then again, it is precisely because the *kibyōshi* is so closely related to kabuki that the late scholar Maeda Kingorō once advised me that to understand the former one must first study the latter for at least 30 years.

THE REFLECTION HYPOTHESIS

Most of what little scholarship there is that touches on the relationship between *kusazōshi* page and kabuki stage, as with Schönbein’s taxonomy, has tended to operate according to what might be termed a

“reflection hypothesis,” postulating that the *primary* function of these theatrical texts is to *reflect* kabuki. These texts are almost always judged, whether explicitly or implicitly so, chiefly in terms of how faithfully they mirror kabuki. Such texts are regarded, in Barbara Cross’s revealing phrase, as “performance re-enacted.”²² Thus, much is made of how these texts include textual allusions to librettos or to the writings of actors off stage, reference the appearance of actors via sartorial details or facial features, and so on. The telltale terms bandied about include: reflect, mirror, reproduce, reenact, replicate, echo, capture, identify, translate, real-life, realism, and so on. Thus, to take but two of many examples—not including the title of the present volume—one scholar writing on a *kibyōshi* by Sanba has argued that readers would have been “lulled into believing they were watching a play on stage.”²³ Similarly, Ellis Tinios’s otherwise superb catalogue of Kunisada’s actor prints is titled *Mirror of the Stage*.

Among the problems with the reflection hypothesis is that one wonders what exactly it is that is being reflected. Since the great number of theatrical comicbooks have long been regarded as secondary, meaning inferior, to kabuki (as well as to texts that more realistically reflect “actual” kabuki plays), the result is that kabuki is inadvertently elevated to a kind of highbrow status that it never actually occupied in its own day. What ends up being reflected, then, may well be our own prejudices and value judgments just as much as the historical object purportedly under study. There is an inherent risk, in other words, that the hypothesis reflects less the world of early-modern kabuki than the world of present-day Japanology. Thus, the reflection hypothesis is fundamentally circular. It cannot help but come boomeranging back at us.

The reflection hypothesis also contributes to an unhelpful, if not unrealistic, rhetoric of realism. Much traditional Japanese art history is burdened by a teleological narrative of artistic production, whereby each successive line of artists—and each successive generation within that line—marches unflinchingly on toward increased Realism; never mind that kabuki was never a realistic theater to begin with, or that realism is always constructed, and therefore conventionalized, as with any other style. In valuing realism over all else, the reflection hypothesis obscures the role of many of the greatest woodblock-print artists of actor portraits in illustrating theatrical comicbooks. True, this is part



Fig. 3. Illustration from the blackbook *Kokusen'ya kassen*, illustrated by Torii Kiyonobu. Courtesy of Waseda University Library.

of the larger disregard of *kibyōshi* illustrations on the part of scholars of Japanese art history as well as literature. To the best of my knowledge, only one article explores this relationship: Akiko Takata Walley's "Through the Looking Glass: Reflections on *Kibyōshi* Illustrations in Kishida Tohō's *Comicbook Chronicle*."²⁴

WOODBLOCK ARTISTS AND THE COMICBOOK

In order to address the unrealistic rhetoric of realism inherent in the reflection hypothesis, it is worth digressing briefly to note that many of the leading *ukiyo-e* artists of the Torii, Katsukawa, Kitao, and Kitagawa schools were involved in illustrating *kusazōshi* like the *kibyōshi*, as can be demonstrated by counting the numbers of *kibyōshi* titles illustrated by artists listed in the index of Tanahashi Masahiro's encyclopedic compendium to the genre, *Kibyōshi sōran*.²⁵

The first of these schools, the Torii, was certainly renowned for its early black-and-white actor prints that were not infrequently hand colored, but this school's leading figures also illustrated *kusazōshi*, many of them theatrical in nature. The great Torii Kiyonobu 鳥居清信 (ca. 1664-1729) provided the illustrations for theatrical texts such as Ichikawa

Danjūrō I's 市川団十郎 (1660-1704) *Shusse Sumidagawa* 出世隅田川, but also for early *kusazōshi* such as the blackbook *Kokusen'ya kassen* 國姓爺合戦 (The Battles of Coxinga, issued in 1715 when Chikamatsu Monzaemon's puppet play by the same name was first performed) (see Fig. 3).

Kiyonaga 清長 (1752-1815) was also active in both actor prints—he was credited with having introduced the “narrator stepping forth picture” (*degatarizu* 出語り図)—and *kusazōshi*, including over 100 *kibyōshi*.²⁶ One of these is Iba Kashō's 伊庭可笑 (1747?-1783) *Bakemono hakoiri musume* 化物箱入娘 (The Monster's Sheltered Daughter, 1781). Interestingly, Kiyonaga, in his woodblock print (*Hakomusume*) *Nana-yu meisō / kiga* 箱娘七湯名所・きが, places this very *kibyōshi* in the hands of one of two prostitutes.²⁷ Looking as though they are unwinding after a bath, one prostitute stands, adjusting a comb in her coiffure, while the other sits, a young masseur (*anma-san* 按摩さん) rubbing her shoulders, reading the first fascicle of a *kibyōshi*, the yellow cover of which depicts the kabuki actor Ichikawa Danjūrō, his tell-tale concentric square design (*mimasu* 三枳) displayed prominently on his sleeve, in character, wielding a sword. The frontispiece to the actual first volume of *The Monster's Sheltered Daughter* is extant, and similarly depicts Danjūrō in this swashbuckling pose.²⁸ Thus, Kiyonaga organically integrated his *kibyōshi*, *bijinga*, and kabuki compositions. This suggests that a reading of Kiyonaga's *The Monster's Sheltered Daughter* as reflective of kabuki alone is too simplistic.

Kiyotsune 清経 (fl. ca. 1757-1779), who also produced both actor prints and *kusazōshi*, such as *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami* 菅原伝授手習鑑 (1776), was the most prolific of Torii School artists in the *kibyōshi* genre, with over 130 titles to his credit.²⁹ Among these, two of his most famous include Koikawa Harumachi's (*Fūryū*) *Jōge no banzuke* 景上下乃番附 (1776)³⁰ and Bunkeidō's 文溪堂 *Katakiuchi Kurama tengu* 敵討鞍馬天狗 (The Kurama Goblin Vendetta, 1779).³¹

The Katsukawa line of artists, under Katsukawa Shunshō 勝川春章 (1726-1792), is generally credited, according to Hugo Munsterberg, with having “introduced a near realism that completely revolutionized this art form” of the polychromatic actor print, for Shunshō “showed the individual actor as he actually looked, revealing his personality, his style of acting, and even his idiosyncrasies.”³² Epitomizing this unrealistic rhetoric of realism, Munsterberg goes on to claim: “Never has the kabuki been portrayed with greater faithfulness and dramatic appeal.”³³

Although Shunshō illustrated perhaps only one *kibyōshi*, (*Kingin sensei Kaiun sensei*) *Muchū no hoshihanashi* 金銀先生 夢中の印噺 (1780),³⁴ more importantly, one of his students seems to have been Koikawa Harumachi himself, the originator of the *kibyōshi* genre. As Mizuno Minoru noted, focusing again on Shunshō's supposed realism: "Harumachi, who was apprenticed to Toriyama Sekien 鳥山石燕 (1714-1788), and possibly to the *ukiyo-e* painter Katsukawa Shunshō ... introduced three-dimensional and complex compositions and the detailed portrayal of characters' facial features and outfits, refining the illustrations of *kibyōshi*."³⁵ Thus, even if there is no direct evidence that Harumachi studied under Shunshō, the realism of the former's *kibyōshi* illustrations, which represented a departure from earlier picturebooks, could only have developed, according to this unrealistic logic, had Harumachi been *directly* influenced by the realistic actor prints of Shunshō.

Katsukawa Shunchō 勝川春潮 (fl. ca. 1781-1801)—who is most often credited with the introduction in the 1760s of the actor likeness print—was more directly involved with *kibyōshi*, illustrating half a dozen works,³⁶ including several penned by Yomo Sanjin 四方山人 (a.k.a. Ōta Nanpo), such as (*Ryōri kondate*) *Atama tenten ni kuchi ari* 饌頭てん天口有 (Pat-a-Cake! Pat-a-Cake!, 1784) and *Kasane gasane medetai haru mairi* 返々目出鯛春参 (1784).³⁷ More active still was Katsukawa Shun'ei 勝川俊英 (1762-1819), illustrating nearly 3 dozen *kibyōshi*.³⁸ These include works like *Bakemono hitotosegusa* 妖怪一年草 (1808?), written by the great Jippensha Ikku 十返舎一九 (1765-1831),³⁹ and *Sono henpō hōnen no mitsugi* 其返報豊年貢 (1790), written by Shitchin Manpō 七珍萬宝.⁴⁰

Other members of the Katsukawa School were steeped in *kibyōshi* and other forms of *kusazōshi* as well as actor prints, too. Katsukawa Shunsen 勝川春扇 (fl. ca. 1790-1830) illustrated *Takarabune kogane no hobashira* 寶船黄金樁 (The Treasure Ship's Golden Mast, 1818), a *gōkan* written by Tōri Sanjin 東里山人 (1790-1858). Katsukawa Shunsō 勝川春草, mentor to the celebrated artist Hokusai, illustrated Nanpo's fashionbook *Dōchū sugoroku* 道中双六 (ca. 1781); and the vastly original Katsukawa Shunkō 勝川春好 (1743-1812) issued a slew of comicbook-style jokebooks (*ehon-jitate hanashibon* 絵本仕立噺本), such as the blackbook-style (*Kaomise*) *otoshibanashi* 鰯見芝居ばなし (1766), the title of which glosses the Chinese graphs for "theater" (*shibai*) with "comic story" (*otoshi*), insinuating a correspondence between stage and page.⁴¹

No doubt the most famous Katsukawa artist was Katsushika Hoku-

sai 葛飾北斎 (1760-1849), who illustrated over two dozen *kibyōshi* under the heteronym Katsukawa Shunrō 勝川春朗.⁴² This abundance is meaningful in light of the fact that Hokusai is habitually credited—erroneously—with having coined the term *manga*; for as I have suggested elsewhere, it is possible that it was his involvement in the *kibyōshi* under Santō Kyōden that resulted in his picking up the term *manga* in the first place.⁴³ Be that as it may, Shunrō illustrated many noteworthy *kibyōshi*, such as: Kyokutei Bakin's 曲亭馬琴 (1767-1848) *Fukujukai murō no shinadama* 福寿海无量品玉 (The Unfathomable Ocean of Fortune and Longevity, 1794);⁴⁴ *Jitsugokyō osana kōshaku* 実語教幼稚講釈 (The Guide to Morality for Dummies, 1792), supposedly written by Kyōden, though probably actually ghostwritten by Bakin;⁴⁵ and Kyōden's *Momotarō hottan banashi* 桃太郎発端話 (Peachboy's Family Tree, 1792) and *Hinpukuryō dōchū no ki* 貧福両道中之記 (1793), to name a few.⁴⁶

Celebrated for its highly “realistic” portrayals of courtesans, the Kitao School also was heavily involved in illustrating both actor prints and *kusazōshi*. The great master Kitao Shigemasa 北尾重政 (1739-1820) was unquestionably the single most prolific *kibyōshi* artist of any school, having illustrated over 200 works—approximately 10% of all extant *kibyōshi*. Shigemasa was also a prolific producer of actor prints. As Takahashi Noriko has pointed out, Shigemasa in 1770 illustrated a performance program (*ehon banzuke*) for the play *Kagami-ga-ike omokage Soga* 鏡池佛曾我 consisting of *nigao-e* in a thoroughly realistic manner. According to Takahashi, “This was the first illustrated programme [in Japanese history] in which it was possible to differentiate between realistic facial portrayals of each of the actors.”⁴⁷

Additionally, Shigemasa trained several influential *kibyōshi* artists. Masayoshi 政美 (a.k.a. Kuwagata Keisai 鋤形蕙斎, 1764-1824), while perhaps only a minor *ukiyo-e* artist, was nevertheless one of the chief illustrators of humorous vernacular fiction (*gesaku* 戯作) including the *kibyōshi*.⁴⁸ And Kitao Masanobu 北尾政演 would go on to become one of the brightest stars of the genre, though he is better known today under his authorial heteronym Santō Kyōden. Just as the *kibyōshi* can be considered a more sophisticated version of earlier *kusazōshi* genres like the redbook, it is probably no coincidence that Shigemasa's student adopted an artistic heteronym after the earlier *ukiyo-e* giant Okumura Masanobu 岡村正信 (1686-1764), who had been active in redbook illus-

trations (a subject that deserves greater attention than can be accorded here).

Much along the same lines pertains to other schools. In the Kitagawa School, aside from Yukimaro 行麻 (fl. ca. 1781-1801), who illustrated many satirical *kibyōshi*, there was, of course, the great Utamaro 歌磨呂 (歌磨, 1753-1806), who though famous for his beauty prints also executed actor prints, and who illustrated at least two dozen *kibyōshi* (using Utamaro as well as other heteronyms, like Toyoaki 豊章).⁴⁹ Artists in the Utagawa School—Kuniyoshi 国芳, Yoshitora 芳虎, Kunimasa 国政, and Toyoharu 豊春—were also active in both actor prints and *kibyōshi*, as was the great Toyokuni 豊国 (1769-1825), who illustrated works like *Daiichi ontokunyō monogatari* 第一御徳用物語 (1794), as well as several late works by Kyōden, such as *Gotai wagō monogatari* 五体和合談 (1799),⁵⁰ *Hiragana senjin mondō* 平仮名銭神問答 (1800),⁵¹ and a send-up of the *Chūshingura* story, *Kanadehon mune no kagami* 仮名手本胸之鏡 (1799).⁵² Finally, mention should be made of Eishōsai Chōki 栄松斎長喜 (fl. ca. 1780-early 1800s), who in addition to actor prints illustrated innumerable *kibyōshi*. The earliest appearance of the Chōki heteronym 長喜—and therefore arguably the piece that announced his new artistic identity—came in a *kibyōshi*.⁵³

THE CONSTRUCTIONIST HYPOTHESIS

It should be abundantly clear even by this admittedly perfunctory survey that most of the leading artists of *ukiyo-e* illustrated both actor prints and *kusazōshi*, particularly *kibyōshi*. The longstanding scholarly inattentiveness to comicbooks notwithstanding, the way that the unrealistic rhetoric of realism in art history has jibed with the way that the reflection hypothesis has emphasized fidelity and accuracy to the stage has generally blinded us to those aspects of the page that are *not* reflective of the stage. These aspects are reduced to a kind of strange excess, that, by extension, reinforces the reduction of the comicbooks themselves, judging them not for what they are, but against what they should be *vis-à-vis* the stage. Although Cross is aware of this discrepancy when she writes, “All the genres [of *kusazōshi*] I have mentioned are *to some extent* representations of performance and, as such, vehicles for potential performance reproduction,”⁵⁴ she does not pursue the matter.

Another problem with the reflection hypothesis stems from the

very nature of mass-produced and widely disseminated texts such as comicbooks in engendering a potential for advertising. Since advertising is all about constructing desirability, even those works whose sole aim is to reflect end up constructing. Thus, the reflection hypothesis naturally leads into its seemingly opposite corollary, namely, that these comicbooks participated in *constructing* the theater in the first place. This slippery slope from reflection to construction is not dissimilar, in the theoretical terms of Austinian Speech Act Theory or Pragmatics, to the way that the constative glides seamlessly into the performative. Woodblock-printed description, merely by virtue of its mass distribution, acquires the force of prescription.

In fact, some recent scholarship has begun to pursue this obverse of the reflection thesis, what might be termed the “constructionist hypothesis,” postulating that printed works not only reconstructed performances, but also constructed those performances in the first place. They did this by such strategies as advertising, celebrating, and parodying (thereby reifying). Takahashi has unearthed the practice of using “dream-cast *mitate*” (discussed below) as a kind of loving memorial to deceased actors. For instance, Bandō Hikosaburō II 坂東彦三郎 (1741-1768) was featured in the blackbook *Fūryū ikai tawake* 風流いかい田分, which was published in 1770—two years after the actor’s demise.⁵⁵

One immediate problem besetting the constructionist hypothesis, however, is that the reverse proposition seems equally valid: that it was the *stage* that was really advertising the *page*. A homologous chicken and egg predicament is manifest in the *bijinga*; for surely it is the artist and publisher, the clothing and accoutrements—as David Pollack has argued⁵⁶—and the floating world of pleasure quarters and kabuki theaters that are being advertised in these prints, every bit as much as it is the beautiful courtesan or actor. The more intractable problem, however, is that inasmuch as the page is held to participate in the construction of the stage, this hypothesis—as with the reflection hypothesis—places kabuki at center stage. In so doing, both the reflection and constructionist hypotheses ignore the preponderance of moments in theatrical texts that either do not reflect or do not construct the stage. In order to reclaim the page from this stage-centric view, one might adopt a page-centric view—even if only as a heuristic strategy. Looking through the other end of the telescope engenders a different set of generative questions, such as: What is lost on the page by placing

the theater at center stage? How did the *stage* advertise the *page*? How did the experience of reading comicbooks affect the viewing of kabuki plays? Or the writing of kabuki plays? Or the acting?

Accordingly, I would contend that not only did theatrical comicbooks like the *kibyōshi* refer to the stage because it was a major cultural reference point, but also these comicbooks should be considered as genres in their own right, with their own conventions, and scopic regimes, and motives, that warrant treatment unto themselves, not as *epiphenomena* of the stage—that is, secondary phenomena dependent upon the stage as a point of departure for either constructing or reconstructing. To this end, then, two features of theatrical comicbooks that initially appear beholden to the stage, but turn out to be just as much if not more products of *comicbook* culture, shall be taken up here. These features are visual punning and self-reflexivity.

VISUAL PUNNING (*MITATE*)

The most well known kind of visual punning (*mitate* 見立) is the puzzle variety, wherein one must decode the pun in the image through an associative (*rensō* 連想) strategy. Another category of *mitate*, which Iwata Hideyuki has identified, is the so-called “dream-cast *mitate*” in which a *fantasy* cast of actors is assembled together on some imaginary stage. This explains why certain illustrated texts or pictures depict actors who never actually performed together in real life for one reason or another, as with the infamous rivalry between the actors Bandō Mitsugorō III 坂東三津五郎 (1775-1831) and Nakamura Utaemon III 中村歌右衛門 (1778-1838).⁵⁷ Commercial rivalries between troupes might also have been a factor (not unlike the notorious *Masked Marauders* recording of 1969, supposedly bringing together anonymously Bob Dylan, John Lennon, Mick Jagger, Eric Clapton, and other famous pop music stars who were contractually prohibited from recording with each other). There are also examples of illness culminating in suicide attempts (as with Sawamura Tanosuke II 澤村田之助, 1788-1817),⁵⁸ death, or other such logistical problems.

The dream-cast *mitate* can also be read as reflection and/or construction, though, again, both of these glide too readily into the other to be discretely separated, and both are ultimately stage-centric. Thus, when Iwata suggests that dream-cast *mitate* reflect the desire of fans

to see their fantasies actualized, he is in fact acknowledging that these both construct and reconstruct. If true, then such *mitate* may actually be a distant antecedent of today's "fan-fic" *manga*, wherein fans create new stories by mixing characters from disparate *manga*. Likewise, Takahashi has suggested that certain dream-cast *mitate* in *kusazōshi*—like the blackbook *Ryūgū miyage* 竜宮土産 (1770)—may have served as an informal though widely publicized form of fan petition to the actor Ichikawa Danjūrō IV 市川団十郎 (1712-1778) to modify his acting style, thereby both reflecting *fan* sentiment but also making a bid to affect—or construct—the stage. Fantasy or suggestion, reflection or construction—either way, the dream-cast *mitate* subordinates *kusazōshi* page to kabuki stage.

Yet there is another plausible—even likely—motivation for dream-cast *mitate*, particularly in the case of the *kibyōshi*: that the dream-cast fits the needs of the comicbook story, particularly in the case of stories whose comic premises involve “intertwining” (*naimaze* 綯い交ぜ), “blowing together” (*fukiyose* 吹き寄せ), or some similar kind of variation (*shukō* 趣向) on set themes (*sekai* 世界). True, dream-cast *mitate* reinforce the significance of the stage, but this is precisely why it has been difficult for scholars to see beyond this fact, which is admittedly incontestable, to the equally valid if lurking fact that the comicbooks have their own logic and needs and conventions. An analogy would be to claim that some of Suzuki Harunobu's 鈴木春信 (1725?-1770) famous *mitate* prints (*mitate-e* 見立絵) employing 31-syllable poems (*tanka* 短歌 or, more loosely, *waka* 和歌) are to be read as *primarily* reflective of *waka*, when, as Kobayashi Tadashi has argued convincingly, those *waka* were accessories chosen randomly merely because they were popular.⁵⁹

I would suggest that rather than regarding dream-cast *mitate* as subordinating page to stage, one could regard it as *exploiting* the stage as a means to a larger comicbook end, particularly in the many *kibyōshi* satirizing government policies. To take but one well-known example, the actor Matsumoto Kōshirō IV 松本幸四郎 (1737-1802) served, from about 1788 on, as a kind of thinly-veiled cipher for Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1758-1829; r. 1781-1793), Senior Councilor of advisors to the shogunate and ironfisted mastermind of the Kansei Reforms (*Kansei kaikaku* 寛政改革, 1787-1793) that sought to suppress popular culture in order to regain control of the economy. So, in the landmark *kibyōshi* titled *Bunbu nidō mangokudōshi* 文武二道万石通 (Twin Arts Threshing



Fig. 4. The character Hatakeyama Shigetada (back) drawn in the likeness of the actor Matsumoto Kōshirō IV to refer slyly to Matsudaira Sadanobu. From the *kibyōshi* by Hōseidō Kisanji *Bunbu nidō mangokudōshi*. Courtesy of Waseda University Library.

Device, 1788), written by Hōseidō Kisanji and illustrated by Kitagawa Yukimaro, the character Hatakeyama Shigetada 畠山重忠 (1164–1205) is rendered in the likeness of Kōshirō, who, in turn, is used obliquely to signify Sadanobu (see Fig. 4).

Here, reference to kabuki is *not* primarily a matter of either reflection (of actual or fantasized plays), or construction (of celebrity or acting styles). Rather, it is a means of getting at something *beyond* the theatrical world entirely; namely, the world of politics. Significantly, the stage-centric view would completely miss what a page-centric view would catch: the political allegory that is the whole point of this piece. Thus, it might be said that in the case of those *kibyōshi* that use kabuki actors to stage satire, it is the page that subordinates the stage to a *deflective* as well as a reflective device to shield the authors and illustrators from censure.

We find this dynamic in other satirical *kibyōshi*, too, as with *Jidai sewa nichō tsuzumi* 時代世話二挺鼓 (Tale of the Two Tambours, 1788), written by Santō Kyōden and illustrated by Kitagawa Yukimaro. On the surface, the story is a whimsical updating of a famous historical confrontation between Taira no Masakado 平将門 (d. 940) who, boldly

declaring himself “New Emperor” (*shinnō* 新皇), led an infamous revolt against the throne, and Fujiwara no Hidesato 藤原秀郷 (dates unknown), the man whom the throne appointed to lead the retaliatory force.⁶⁰ Although the standard interpretation of this *kibyōshi* has long been as a fictional allegory about the real-life rivalry between the Grand Chamberlain Tanuma Okitsugu 田沼意次 (1719-1788) and his adversary, Sano Zanzaemon 佐野善左衛門 (dates unknown), the fact that Hidesato is drawn in the likeness of Kōshirō has lead Takahashi Noriko to speculate that some readers might have read this character not as Zanzaemon, but as Matsudaira Sadanobu.⁶¹ It is perhaps no surprise, then, that this piece was so successful in couching its true object of criticism that it was republished even while the Kansei Reforms were in full swing.⁶²

In both of these instances, the reflection and constructionist hypotheses, by subordinating page to stage, would send readers—including some would-be censors—scampering to illustrated kabuki texts in search of real-life performances and snippets of dialogue. A reading that grants equal weight to the page, on the other hand, would correctly allow one to see the depiction of these comicbook characters as kabuki actors—in their respective roles—less as references to the stage than as staging covert political criticism. Here, the stage is merely an intermediary, not the be-all and end-all.⁶³

SELF-REFLEXIVITY

The second feature of theatrical *kibyōshi* that on first blush appears to be beholden to kabuki but that I would contend favors the page is self-reflexivity. By “self-reflexivity,” I mean any device that draws attention to the constructed nature of a cultural product. While self-reflexivity no doubt includes self-referentiality, which denotes the conflation of author with narrator (or other character), self-referentiality is merely one of many forms of self-reflexivity. For example, the following *kibyōshi* illustration, from Santō Kyōden’s *Rosei ga yume sono zenjitsu* 廬生夢魂其前日 (On the Eve of Lu Sheng’s Dream, 1791), depicts the titular character Lu Sheng (J. Rosei) reading a *kibyōshi* within this *kibyōshi*. While undeniably self-reflexive, this scene is not self-referential, since Lu Sheng is not equated with the author Santō Kyōden (see Fig. 5).

Of course, kabuki itself is highly self-reflexive. As a non-representational form of theater like the puppet theater (*ningyō jōruri* 人形浄瑠璃),



Fig. 5. The character Lu Sheng reading a *kibyōshi* within the *kibyōshi* *Rosei ga yume sono zenjitsu*, by Santō Kyōden. Courtesy of Waseda University Library.

only with live actors, kabuki routinely breaks the fourth wall, closing the gap between stage and audience for a variety of calculated reasons: playfulness; a bid for authority or authenticity; dramatic effect, and so on. The great playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon frequently mobilized self-reflexivity as a form of irony. In his *Sonezaki shinjū* 曾根崎心中 (Love Suicides at Sonezaki, first staged in 1703 as a puppet play), for instance, the doomed hero Tokubei exclaims: “My mind’s been in turmoil, and my finances in chaos... It’s a miracle I’m still alive. If they make my story into a three-act play, I’m sure the audiences will weep.”⁶⁴ Likewise in Takeda Izumo’s puppet play *Kanadehon chūshingura*, there is a line about a little boy who is sick and tired of watching puppet plays. Self-reflexivity affects both *script*—one thinks of the various auto-citations in Chikamatsu’s works—and *performance*—direct improvisational address in ad-libbed dialogue (*sutezerifu* 捨てぜりふ)—like the famous ad-libbed expectorant vendor’s (*uirōuri* 外郎売) spiel of Ichikawa Danjūrō II 市川団十郎 (1689-1758) in the play *Waka midori ikiōi sogā* 若緑勢曾我 (1718).⁶⁵ Self-reflexivity lurks in various “backstage jokes” (*gakuya ochi* 楽屋落ち) and other stripes of insider allusion (*Insider-Spaß*) that both include some people (those in the know) and exclude others (those not

in the know, whom Ross Chambers terms *tiers exclu*). This sort of self-reflexivity appears in *kibyōshi* so extensively that few would question the link between the stage and page.

Now, according to the stage-centric view, the conspicuous self-reflexivity of the *kusazōshi* page either merely reflects the conspicuous self-reflexivity of the *kabuki* stage, or else constructs the stage by self-reflexively gazing back at it. Still, *ukiyo-e*, like its comicbook brethren, suffers no shortage of self-reflexive play. *Trompe l'oeil*, *mise-en-abyme*, play with frame, beauties looking at themselves in mirrors as we look at them looking at themselves in mirrors, copulating cats mimicking the action of a human couple, inset cartouches (*koma-e* 駒絵)—the examples are legion. So much so that, adopting a *page*-centric view, it might be possible to regard these “images within images” (*gachūga* 画中画) as a type of panel within a panel, not unlike *comicbook* panelization. The prominence of *kusazōshi* suggests the possibility that some readers might well have viewed the world through the scopic regime of comicbooks. It is not hard to imagine, for instance, how some *kusazōshi*-crazed fans gazed at the kabuki stage through the comicbook page; the stage, after all, can be regarded as a kind of live unfolding of pictures within pictures. The spectacle that is kabuki contains within it the further spectacle of the stage scenery, the wardrobes—which themselves embed crests and designs—the role-playing actors who, in no small number of plays, don disguises to play further roles, and so on and so forth. In this view, stage is an epiphenomenon of page.

As a case in point, consider the dramatic pose (*mie* 見得) held by one or more actors for several dazzlingly spectacular moments, sometimes as a kind of *tableau vivant*. Surely this “sight bite” (to coin a phrase to suggest how the *mie* is a kind of visual analogue of the “sound bite”) is self-reflexive play with frame. The entire stage, with its various pictures within pictures, effectively freezes itself momentarily into the sort of picture within a picture in woodblock-printed pictures and comicbooks. One might easily get the impression that the *mie* was intended for artists to fix their gaze long enough on the actors to sketch the scene for later fleshing out. Still, it might be said that the *mie* instantaneously turns the actor(s) into a frozen picture within the larger picture of the stage in precisely the way that most *ukiyo-e* viewers would have imagined the scene transposed into *ukiyo-e*—or, more to the point, the way that most readers of comicbooks were regarding the world through comicbooks.

Thus, while the stage-centric view treats comicbook characters holding *mie*-like poses as reflective of the stage, the page-centric view would treat kabuki actors holding picture-like poses as reflective of the page. To those who would insist that the comicbook *mie* merely reflects the kabuki *mie*, that the former was possible only after the invention of the latter, it could be argued that such dramatic moments appeared in pictures within the long tradition of illustrated fiction in Japan *prior* to the invention of kabuki. In this case, it is the *stage* that probably reflects the page. And to those who would insist that the *mie* functions in kabuki to establish rhythm, to affect the flow of dramatic time, and to mark the climax of a scene, it could be argued that the *mie* in comicbooks similarly functions to punctuate large narrative shifts, becoming a kind of visual shorthand for scene-to-scene transitions. In this case, stage and page are on equal footing.

In any event, it is also possible to situate self-reflexivity in the context of world comics. Self-reflexivity is prominent in comics from different cultures with no historical contact with each other because, I would submit, self-reflexivity is an integral feature of the comicbook form itself. It is as though self-reflexivity is a universal compensatory strategy in comics for the lack of realism. Self-reflexivity is probably the natural byproduct of *any* system of representation, for that matter, be it visual, verbal, or some combination of the two, as with either the *kibyōshi* or kabuki. As a kind of play with frame, self-reflexivity is found anywhere framing devices are used in some kind of sign system.

Granted, situating the *kibyōshi* in the context of global comics runs against the grain of the myth of Japanese uniqueness, which has long informed Japanology, particularly in its manifestation within the Japanese study of Japanese literature (*Kokubungaku* 国文学). For those who subscribe to this myth, it is less disquieting to explain the self-reflexivity of the *kibyōshi* in terms of a reflection or construction of kabuki than it is to deracinate *kusazōshi* from its native context, relocating it in the wider context of world comics. However, to isolate Japanese comics from world comics, as Berndt argues has regrettably happened too often in courses on modern Japanese *manga*, would be to imprudently ignore the benefits of the emerging field of comics studies.

CONCLUSIONS

The present paper has discussed the complications of using theatrical comicbooks like the *kibyōshi* as a means of studying Edo-period kabuki. I have taken issue with the reflection and constructionist hypotheses on various grounds, including the way that these glide into each other. This is not to deny the fact that certain comicbooks mirror the stage, or even construct it. Both hypotheses have their applicability, to be sure. The major drawback of these hypotheses, however, is that they reflexively subordinate the comicbook page to the kabuki stage, as though it were self-evident that kabuki was *the* major popular cultural form of the Edo period, when it was, in all likelihood, merely one of several such forms. Even within its immediate floating world context, kabuki was inextricably bound up with the pleasure quarters and the commercial street spectacle, making it difficult to privilege any one of these over the others. Moreover, the tendency for individuals to adopt multiple heteronymic identities in various cultural spheres was profoundly decentering. And anyway, the woodblock printing phenomenon must also be acknowledged as another major popular cultural form, perhaps even rivaling all others. Finally, it may well be impossible to disentangle kabuki from the woodblock-printed theatrical comicbooks that have been the focus of this paper.

Accordingly, these theatrical comicbooks, even as they referenced the stage, should be read with their own generic ends foremost in mind. So, for instance, while the dream-cast *mitate* of these comicbooks may have reflected fan desires or sought to influence acting styles, it is also crucial to acknowledge that the dream-cast *mitate* served the specific needs of the comicbook by, for example, couching political satire. Similarly, to read the self-reflexivity of theatrical comicbooks as a matter of slavish devotion to the self-reflexivity of kabuki is misguided, not least because this would be to isolate Japanese comicbooks from the study of world comicbooks. The page-centric reading proposed herein may not have shaped the way everybody gazed at kabuki or *ukiyo-e*, let alone the world, but as a heuristic device, it has helped decenter the stage-centric view that risks distorting comicbooks by forcing them into the cookie-cutter of kabuki.

In the final analysis, even when the page seems devoted to the stage, something precious is lost by privileging stage over page. In trying to disambiguate these two performative spaces, this paper has endeavored

to demonstrate that not everything on the page that is seemingly about the stage is about the stage. Students of kabuki who have recourse to use *kusazōshi* in their work would be well advised to keep this in mind.

NOTES

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3. Haruko Iwasaki, "The Literature of Wit and Humor in Late-Eighteenth-Century Edo," p. 49. In Donald Jenkins, ed., *The Floating World Revisited* (Portland, OR and Honolulu: Portland Art Museum and University of Hawaii Press, 1993), pp. 47-61.
4. Iwasaki, "The Literature of Wit and Humor in Late-Eighteenth-Century Edo," p. 53.
5. Martina Schönbein, "Illustrated Kabuki Texts," in Susanne Formanek and Sepp Linhart, eds., *Written texts, Visual Texts: Woodblock-Printed Media in Early Modern Japan*, in Hotei Academic European Studies on Japan, vol. 3 (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2005), pp. 215-29. Also see Katherine Saltzman-Li's chapter in this volume, pp. 55-67.
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7. Gerstle, "Culture of Play," p. 196.
8. Schönbein, "Illustrated Kabuki Texts," p. 222.
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10. From *Yanagi no hazue* 柳の葉末 (1835). In Watanabe Shin'ichirō, *Edo bareku: Yanagi no hasue* [sic] o tanoshimu (Tokyo: Miki Shobō, 2008), pp. 57-58.
11. See Jacob Raz, "The Audience Evaluated: Shikitei Sanba's *Kyakusha Hyōbanki*," in *Monumenta Nipponica* 35, no. 2 (Summer 1980), pp. 199-221.
12. Shikitei Sanba, *Shibai kinmōzui: Kyōwa 3-nen shohanbon*, ed. Kokuritsu Gekijō Geinō Chōsashitsu, *Kabuki no bunken* 3 (Tokyo: Kokuritsu Gekijō Geinō Chōsashitsu, 1976).
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14. Koike Masatane, et al., eds., *Edo no gesaku (parodii) ehon 5: Zokkan 1*, in *Gendai kyōyō bunko 1107* (Tokyo: Shakai Shisōsha, 1984), pp. 103-128. Also see Mizuno Minoru, ed., *Kibyōshi shū 2: Hōseidō Kisanji shū*, in *Koten bunko* 313 (Tokyo: Koten Bunko, 1973), pp. 1-25 (facsimile reproduction) and pp. 181-97 (typescript version).
15. Mizuno Minoru et al., eds., *Santō Kyōden zenshū 3: Kibyōshi* 3 (Tokyo: Perikansha, 2001), pp. 449-73.
16. Mizuno et al., eds., *Santō Kyōden zenshū* 3, pp. 421-47.
17. Mizuno Minoru et al., eds., *Santō Kyōden zenshū 4: Kibyōshi* 4 (Tokyo: Perikansha, 2004), pp. 271-88.

18. Schönbein, "Illustrated Kabuki Texts," pp. 218-19.
19. Schönbein, "Illustrated Kabuki Texts," p. 220, citing Takahashi Noriko, "Kurohon, aobon, *Shuten dōji* ni tsuite—Kurohon, aobon taisai no iwayuru kyōgen ezukushibon no mondai," p. 33 in *Kinsei bungei*, 37 (1982), pp. 16-34.
20. Takahashi Noriko, *Kusazōshi to engeki: yakusha nigaoe sōshiki o chūshin ni* (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 2004). Also see her "The Meaning of *Yakusha-nigaoe kibyōshi*—The Influence of the Theatrical World upon the Works of *Kibyōshi* up to the First Half of the Tenmei Era," in *Nihon bungaku* 45, no. 10 (1996), pp. 10-21.
21. Jacqueline Berndt, "Considering *Manga* Discourse: Location, Ambiguity, Historicity," in Mark MacWilliams, ed., *Japanese Visual Culture: Explorations in the World of Manga and Anime* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2008), pp. 295-310.
22. Barbara Cross, "Representing Performance in Japanese Fiction: Shikitei Sanba (1776-1822)," in *SOAS Literary Review AHRB Centre Special Issue* (Autumn 2004), p. 5.
23. In Torigoe Bunzō et al., eds., *Kabuki bunka no shosō*, vol. 4 of *Iwanami kōza: kabuki, bunraku* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1998). The *kibyōshi* is *Kyan taiheiki mukō hachimaki* 俠太平記向鉢巻 (trans. Swaggering Headbands: A Chronicle Of Urban Knight-Errantry In A Peaceful Realm, 1799).
24. Akiko Takata Walley, "Through the Looking Glass: Reflections on *Kibyōshi* Illustrations in Kishida Tohō's *Comicbook Chronicle*," in Adam L. Kern, ed., "*Kibyōshi*: The World's First Comicbook?" a special colloquium of *The International Journal of Comic Art*, vol. 9, no. 1 (spring 2007), pp. 157-97. Walley examines *Kusazōshi nendaiki* 艸雙紙年代記 (*Comicbook Chronicle*, 1783), a *kibyōshi* written by Kishida Tohō 岸田杜芳 and illustrated by Kitao Masanobu 北尾政信. According to Walley, "this piece provides an overview of the development of the comicbook genre by parodying the styles of popular authors and illustrators" (p. 158).
25. Tanahashi Masahiro, *Kibyōshi sōran*, in *Nihon shoshigaku taikēi*, vol. 48, nos. 1-5 (Tokyo: Seishōdō Shoten, 1986-2004). The five volumes are: *Kibyōshi sōran 1: Zenpen* (1986); *Kibyōshi sōran 2: Chūhen* (1989); *Kibyōshi sōran 3: Kōhen* (1991); *Kibyōshi sōran 4: Sakuin hen* (1994); and *Kibyōshi sōran 5: Zuroku hen* (2004).
26. For a list of his *kibyōshi*, see Tanahashi, *Kibyōshi sōran* 4, pp. 254-55.
27. This print is in the possession of the Kanagawa Prefectural Museum, Yokohama. The image is reprinted as #33 in Kobayashi Tadashi, *Meibin soroimono ukiyo-e—2 Kiyonaga* (Tokyo: Gyōsei, 1991).
28. Reprinted in Tanahashi, *Kibyōshi sōran* 5, p. 144. Also see Tanahashi, *Kibyōshi sōran* 1, p. 313.
29. For a list of his *kibyōshi*, see Tanahashi, *Kibyōshi sōran* 4, p. 254.
30. Tanahashi, *Kibyōshi sōran* 1, pp. 52-53.
31. Tanahashi, *Kibyōshi sōran* 1, p. 169.
32. Munsterberg, *The Japanese Print: A Historical Guide* (Tokyo: John Weatherhill, 1983), p. 56.
33. Munsterberg, *The Japanese Print*, p. 58.
34. Tanahashi, *Kibyōshi sōran* 1, p. 270-72.
35. Mizuno Minoru, *Kibyōshi sharebon no sekai*, in *Iwanami shinsho* 986 (Tokyo: Iwanami

Shoten, 1976), p. 53.

36. Tanahashi, *Kibyōshi sōran* 1, p. 219.

37. See Wada Hiromichi, ed., *Shoku Sanjin kibyōshi shū* (Tokyo: Koten Bunko, 1984), p. 137 of the *kaisetsu*. This work contains both typescript and facsimile reproduction versions.

38. Thirty-three titles are listed in Tanahashi, *Kibyōshi sōran* 1, p. 218.

39. For more on this piece, see Adam Kabat, *Edo bakemono sōshi* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1999), pp. 83-116, and Tanahashi, *Kibyōshi sōran* 2, pp. 744-45.

40. For more on this piece, see Tanahashi, *Kibyōshi sōran* 2, p. 155.

41. Miyao Shigeo, ed., (*Mihonkoku*) *E'iri Edo kobanashi jissu* 1 (Tokyo: Kinsei Fūzoku Kenkyūkai, 1966), II vols.

42. Twenty-six titles are listed in Tanahashi, *Kibyōshi sōran* 1, p. 219.

43. See “Manga Culture and the Visual-Verbal Imagination,” in my *Manga from the Floating World: Comicbook Culture and the Kibyōshi of Edo Japan*, Harvard East Asia Monographs, no. 279 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), pp. 129-80.

44. For a discussion of this piece (and its later title *Yōjin kanshin*), see Tanahashi, *Kibyōshi sōran* 2, pp. 428-29.

45. Bakin confesses to having ghostwritten this piece in *Sakusha burui* and *Iwademo no ki*, passages of which are excerpted in Tanahashi, *Kibyōshi sōran* 2, p. 236. Other writers at the time also claimed Bakin was the ghostwriter.

46. Mizuno et al., eds., *Santō Kyōden zenshū* 3, pp. 35-58. Also see Tanahashi Masahiro, ed., *Edo gesaku zōshi* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2000), pp. 127-58.

47. Takahashi, *Kusazōshi to engeki*, p. 6 (English abstract).

48. For a listing of the many *kibyōshi* illustrated by Masayoshi, see Tanahashi, *Kibyōshi sōran* 4, p. 223.

49. Suzuki Jūzō, *Ehon to ukiyo-e: Edo shuppan bunka no kōsatsu* (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1979), pp. 410-15.

50. Mizuno et al., eds., *Santō Kyōden zenshū* 4, pp. 289-309.

51. Mizuno et al., eds., *Santō Kyōden zenshū* 4, pp. 353-73.

52. Mizuno et al., eds., *Santō Kyōden zenshū* 4, pp. 271-88.

53. Koike Masatane, et al., eds., *Edo no gesaku (parodii) ehon 3: Henkakuki kibyōshi shū*, in Gendai kyōyō bunko 1039 (Tokyo: Shakai Shisōsha, 1982), p. 285. The *kibyōshi* in question was Tōrai Sanna's 唐来参和 (1744-1810) *Tenka ichimen kagami no umebachi* 天下一面鏡鉢 (1789).

54. Cross, “Representing Performance in Japanese Fiction,” p. 18. Emphasis mine.

55. Takahashi, *Kusazōshi to engeki*, p. 157-61.

56. David Pollack, “Designed for Pleasure: *Ukiyo-e* as Material Culture,” in Julia Meech and Jane Oliver, eds., *Designed for Pleasure: The World of Edo Japan in Prints and Printmaking, 1690-1860* (New York: Asia Society and Japanese Art Society of America; Seattle: In association with University of Washington Press, 2008), pp. 168-89.

57. Iwata discusses how a scene in Toyokuni I's diptych depicting Bandō Mitsugorō III as Nuregami no Chōgorō and Nakamura Utaemon III as Hanaregoma no Chōkichi, supposedly from the play *Futatsu chōchō kuruwa nikki* 双蝶々郭日記, never took place in real life because of the rivalry between these two actors.

58. Iwata cites a diptych, ca. 1815 or 1816 (Bunka 12 or 13) by Utagawa Kunisada depicting Ichikawa Danjūrō VII as Shirai Gompachi and Sawamura Tanosuke II as Komurasaki in a play that they never performed; Tanosuke failed to appear on stage because he had attempted suicide. As Iwata puts it, “Therefore, the diptych shows a well-matched ‘dream cast’ that kabuki fans wanted to see, and it was an extremely nice advertisement for the production.” Iwata, “*Mitate* in Actor Prints,” p. 132.

59. Arguing that Harunobu included famous *waka* in his *mitate-e* simply to reach as wide an audience as possible, Kobayashi concluded that his research “did not suggest broad referencing from all the collections of celebrated *waka*—the *Kokinshū*, *Shinkokinshū*, and so on. On the contrary, it became evident that rather than saying Harunobu selected *waka* directly from these various poetry anthologies, it is probably closer to the truth to say that he randomly chose *waka* that had become familiar because they were popular favorites in the basic learning of his contemporaries.” In Kobayashi Tadashi, “*Mitate-e* in the Art of the *Ukiyo-e* Artist Suzuki Harunobu,” p. 90, in Jenkins, ed., *The Floating World Revisited*, pp. 85-91.

60. These events are detailed in *Shōmonki* (The Account of Masakado, 940). For an English translation, see Judith Rabinovitch, *Shōmonki* (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1986).

61. Koike Masatane, et al., eds., *Edo no gesaku (parodii) ehon 6: Zokkan 2*, in *Gendai kyōyō bunko 1108* (Tokyo: Shakai Shisōsha, 1985), pp. 133-46; Mizuno, *Santō Kyōden zenshū 1*, pp. 433-44.

62. Koike, *Edo no gesaku (parodii) ehon 6*, pp. 103-128.

63. For more on this, see Nakayama Yūshō, “Bunbu nidō mangoku dōshi zakkō: Yoritomo, Shigetada o megutte,” *Kinsei bungei* 27 and 28 (May 1977), pp. 77-95. For annotated versions in Japanese, see Tanahashi Masahiro, ed., *Kibyōshi, senryū, kyōka*, Shin Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 79 (Tokyo: Shōgakusan, 1999), pp. 131-50, and Koike, *Edo no gesaku (parodii) ehon 3*, pp. 45-80.

64. Donald Keene, trans., *Major Plays of Chikamatsu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961; reprint 1990), p. 41.

65. Matsumiya Saburō, *Edo kabuki to kōkoku* (Tokyo: Tōhō Shobō, 1973), pp. 149-51.