Editors' Introduction

Theater and Publishing in Early Modern Japan

IN MARCH of 2011, the Center for Asian Studies at the University of Colorado, Boulder, hosted an interdisciplinary academic conference devoted to exploring the confluence of theater and publishing in Edo- and early Meiji-period Japan, ca. 1600-1900. The conference was a bilingual one, featuring thirteen speakers from Japan, the United States, and the United Kingdom, and included papers in both English and Japanese. The present volume is a result of that event. Featuring expanded versions of eleven of the original thirteen conference papers, both in English and in Japanese, it seeks to examine the early-modern history of the Japanese stage—in particular, the seventeenth-century *ko-jōruri* 古浄瑠璃 ("old," or pre-Chikamatsu) puppet theater, and eighteenth- and nineteenth-century *kabuki* 歌舞伎—in the context of commercial publishing, a thriving urban industry that by the mid-1600s had become inextricably enmeshed in the evolving world of popular entertainment.

As a viable commercial enterprise, Japanese publishing was born in Kyoto in the first years of the seventeenth-century.[1] Adopting move-able-type and then woodblock-printing technology, Kyoto merchants pioneered the fledgling book trade that was to spread, over time, to the major urban centers of Edo and Osaka and the larger provincial castle towns. Kabuki originated in Kyoto at the dawn of the seventeenth century, and is often said to have begun in the erotic transgender per-formances that a woman named Okuni and the members of her troupe performed at various venues including the dry Kamo riverbed near the center of the city.[2] Traditional accounts tend to agree that as a fully formed theatrical genre (including puppets, music, and narration), jōruri also saw its start in Kyoto at the Kamo riverbed in or around the first decade of the 1600s.[3] Thus born in the same city at nearly the same time, early-modern theater and the nascent publishing industry were to spread and flourish together, over the next three centuries, as mutually

Fig. 1. A page from the 1625 *Takadachi*
(1918 facsimile edition). Private collection.

supporting partners in a complicated symbiotic relationship. It is this
fundamental and enduring association that constitutes the principal
subject of the essays collected here.

THE TEXTUALIZATION OF PERFORMANCE: KO-JŌRURI AND JŌRURI

As Peter Kornicki has written, "in the course of the seventeenth cen-
tury books became one of the visible commodities available in shops
on the streets of Kyoto."[4] Many of those books, of course, pertained to
the theater. From around the first years of the Kan'ei 寛永 period (1624-
1644), Kyoto publishers began producing what would soon come to
be known as *shōhon* 正本 (true texts): woodblock-printed, purportedly
faithful transcriptions of actual ko-jōruri and *sekkyō* 説経 (sermon-
ballad) performance manuscripts employed by professional chanters,
with added illustrations and, in some cases, musical notation (*fushizuke*
節付け).[5] The oldest dated text recognized as a *shōhon* today is a five-act
ko-jōruri adaptation of the *kōwakamai* 幸若舞 (ballad-drama) *Taka-
dachi* 高館, published by Katsubei 勝兵衛 of Teramachi, Kyoto, in the
first month of Kan'ei 2 (1625) in a single 51-page *yokohon* 横本 (sideways
volume) with basic hand-colored *tanroku* 丹緑-type orange and green

Fig. 2. Fragments of the lost 1631 *Yashima*, attributed to the chanter Rokuji Namuemon and reproduced in Ryūtei Tanehiko's *Yōshabako* of 1841. Private collection.

illustrations (Fig. 1).[6] The work contains neither punctuation nor musical notation, and despite its contemporary classification as a *shōhon*, it neither identifies itself as such nor claims to be the product of any particular chanter.

Within the next fourteen years—by at least Kan'ei 16 (1639)—the term *shōhon* had come into popular use, as we can see from a reproduction of the first page of the no longer extant ko-jōruri *Yashima* 八島 in Ryūtei Tanehiko's 柳亭種彦 *Yōshabako* 用捨箱 (Box of Scraps) of Tenpō 12 (1841) (Fig. 2). Here, *Yashima* (or *Yashima michiyuki* やしま道行) is identified as a *shōhon* by the famous female chanter Rokuji Namuemon 六字南無右衛門 of Yamashiro Province.[7] In subsequent decades, *shōhon* began to contain strong assertions of their own authenticity—their status as true "true texts"—as evidenced, for example, in a *shōhon* edition of the *sekkyō Shintokumaru* しんとく丸 attributed to the Osaka (and later Edo) chanter Sado Shichidayū 佐渡七太夫 and published by Urokogataya Magobei 鱗形屋孫兵衛 of Edo ca. 1681-1688. In a short colophon

on the final page of the playbook, the publisher avows that "the present published volume is transcribed without a single mistake (*ichiji itten ayamari naku* 一字一点あやまりなく) from a *shōhon* derived directly from the chanter."[8] By the late seventeenth century, assertions of this kind had come to be commonplace in published theatrical scripts, reinforcing the notion that *shōhon* "true texts" were really true to a particular performer.

Among the various contributors to this volume, the one who deals most concretely with issues related to the seventeenth-century textualization of performance—the publication of ko-jōruri *shōhon*—is Janice Kanemitsu. In her chapter, titled "Guts and Tears: Kinpira jōruri and Its Textual Transformations," Kanemitsu explores the history of Kinpira jōruri 金平浄瑠璃—a subgenre of ko-jōruri that flourished around the years 1655-1673 (the Meireki 明暦, Manji 万治, and Kanbun 寛文 periods)—and its dissemination through the medium of woodblock-printed *shōhon*. In describing the influence of commercial publishing on the development of the new playwriting and performance style, Kanemitsu argues for the role of a "textualized orality" in the transmission of Kinpira jōruri from its birthplace in Edo to the Kamigata (Kyoto-Osaka) region. Kanemitsu explains that as purported transcriptions of actual performance manuscripts, the *shōhon* "eliminated some need for face-to-face vocalized transmission," and that as a result, the post-1657 rise of Edo print culture "formed a catalyst that affected the orality of Kinpira pieces while also engaging publishers in a process of transmission transcending artistic lineages and space."

Hioki Atsuko is the only other contributor to deal with the seventeenth-century puppet theater. In her chapter, titled "Chūjōhime setsuwa no tenkai: Taimadera Nakanobō-zō *Chūjōhime eden* o tansho to shite" (Unfolding Chūjōhime Lore: Following Leads from the *Painted Life of Chūjōhime* at the Taima Temple Nakanobō Cloister), Hioki examines an aspect of early-modern tales of the teenage Chūjōhime, an eighth-century female Buddhist exemplar whose legendary life was taken up in literature, art, and drama throughout the medieval and Tokugawa periods. By drawing connections between Chūjōhime's life as depicted in the 1730 woodblock-printed *Chūjōhime gyōjōki* 中将姫行状記 (The Life of Chūjōhime), two eighteenth- and nineteenth-century pictorial biographies, the seventeenth-century *sekkyō-jōruri Chūjōhime no go-honji* 中将姫御本地, and the eighteenth-century *aohon*

青本 *Chūjōhime* 中将ひめ,[9] Hioki illuminates a nexus of theater, publishing, and picture-based storytelling (*etoki* 絵解き) in seventeenth-through nineteenth-century Japan. Focusing in particular on the Pure Land Buddhist salvation story of Chūjōhime's evil, snake-incarnated stepmother, Hioki subtly challenges the stage-print dichotomy of the present volume by demonstrating the likely influence of temple-based preaching on popular drama and essentially "secular" publishing (and vice-versa).

THE TEXTUALIZATION OF PERFORMANCE: KABUKI

In addition to providing material for large numbers of *kusazōshi* 草双紙 (heavily illustrated works of popular fiction), jōruri *shōhon* themselves constituted one of the most widely read genres during the Tokugawa era; printed and circulated for both reading and chanting purposes, they offered general readers outside the theater textual access to the plot and language of the plays.[10] Kabuki productions, by contrast, existed in a radically different relationship to print culture. In principle, kabuki scripts were not supposed to leave the theater, a tendency that was particularly strong in Edo. While manuscript copies of scripts did sometimes turn up in lending libraries, they were not printed or sold as merchandise, and thus were never as widely read as jōruri texts. The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries saw the publication of digests of kabuki plays with large amounts of text that were known as *e'iri kyōgenbon* 絵入狂言本 and were modeled on jōruri *shōhon*, but these rapidly fell out of fashion and were succeeded only much later by fully pictorial digests called *ehon banzuke* 絵本番付 in Edo and *ezukushi* 絵尽 in Kamigata.[11] The one other type of work to circulate outside the theater that was focused primarily on the act of reading was the *e'iri nehon* 絵入根本 (illustrated scripts), a genre launched in Kamigata during the nineteenth century that allowed readers to imagine that they were reading something like a script, and to conjure up a fictional production.[12] Unique to the Kamigata region, and in particular to Osaka, about a hundred of these illustrated texts were published from the late Kansei 寛政 (1789-1801) through the Tenpō 天保 (1830-1844) eras. With the exception of these brief periods, printed works associated with the kabuki theater exhibited remarkably less interest in plots and the language of the theater than those associated with jōruri.

The concept of the *shōhon* itself, which signifies an "authentic" performance script, was not part of the print culture of kabuki, except in the case of musical texts (*ongyoku shōhon* 音曲正本) and booklets containing actors' lines (*serifu shōhon* 台詞正本). To a large extent, this is a function of the kabuki theater's focus on actors rather than on the text or the plot of the play, which is strongly reflected in the visual, actor-centered nature of its printed publications. For the most part, prints and books that emerged from the culture of the kabuki theater depicted actors and the space of the theater, offered evaluations of actors' skills, and advertised the casts of upcoming productions. In contrast to the jōruri *shōhon*, which allowed access to texts and plots, kabuki publications mediated the desire to enjoy the image of actors and the culture of the theater itself, and sometimes served as aids when amateurs performed the actors' parts as a form of entertainment offstage.

It is perhaps not a coincidence, given the nature of kabuki as a theatrical form largely divorced from the practice of reading scripts, that the theater mobilized all sorts of other texts to sustain its popularity in the urban cultural imagination, generating massive amounts of ephemera. Kabuki's need for texts, ironically exacerbated by the reluctance to circulate scripts, was perhaps the reason behind the seamless continuation of the annual *yakusha hyōbanki* 役者評判記 (actor critiques) from *Yakusha kuchijamisen* 役者口三味線 in 1699 all the way to the early Meiji period, an impressive record that marks this genre as one of the most enduring printed genres of the entire Tokugawa period.[13]

With the exception of the two chapters mentioned above, the remaining nine chapters in this volume deal with printed texts that relate in various ways to the practice of representing kabuki in prints and books. Katherine Saltzman-Li's "Kabuki Knowledge: Professional Manuscripts and Commercial Texts on the Art of Kabuki" categorizes the plethora of publications and analyzes the consumer demands and desires they reflected, focusing particularly on the latter half of the eighteenth century and beyond. After introducing Akama Ryō's division of kabuki-related publications into "insider materials" intended for the use of those directly involved in producing plays and "outsider materials" that advertise the stage and provide knowledge of theater, Saltzman-Li turns to *Kokon yakusha rongo sakigake* 古今役者論語魁 (**Pioneering Analects from Past and Present Actors**, 1772) to complicate this distinction. This work, she argues, performatively blurs a seemingly clear division,

presenting a "blend of insider/outsider characteristics" and offering fans access to what might otherwise have remained secret knowledge transmitted within the theater.

Textual and visual depictions of kabuki, including pictures of the stage, ephemera, actor critiques, and actor prints, can be read as documentary evidence relating to particular productions and even performances that have otherwise been completely lost, as well as for the insights they offer into the practice of theatergoing. As Yamashita Takumi demonstrates in his essay, titled "Jūkyū seiki-matsu Ōbei shuppanbutsu no naka no kabuki" (Kabuki in Late Nineteenth-Century European and American Publications), a number of European and American visitors to Japan during the closing years of the Tokugawa period attended kabuki performances, and their writings offer fresh views of the cultures of *bakumatsu* 幕末 theater and its audience. Yamashita discusses accounts by visitors to Japan who were, interestingly, allowed to attend plays only in Osaka, giving a sense of how kabuki was perceived by spectators further outside the normal world of the theater than the intended audience for even the most outsider of "outsider materials."

PERFORMING THROUGH IMAGES

During the early decades of the twentieth century, many theater critics interpreted actor prints as a form of mimetic art and tried to use them to access the long history of the Tokugawa kabuki stage. Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859-1935), a literary scholar, theater critic, and avid collector of Utagawa-school actor prints, explained his perspective on actor prints in *Shibai-e to Toyokuni oyobi sono monka* 芝居絵と豊国及其門下 (Actor Prints by Toyokuni and His Schools, 1920):

> Relying on these pictorial images allows us to (at least at the present time) fully investigate characteristics and shifts in theatrical devices: costumes, wigs, sets, props, stage designs, and the various musical instruments used. . . . If we are somewhat scientific in our categorization of [multi-color actor prints], we can reproduce acclaimed theatrical moments—various complicated stage settings, styles of acting from famous plays, the poses of the supreme actors of each age, and specific costumes and facial expressions— over a period of at least a hundred years and several decades. This means,

if you will pardon the exaggeration, that we can bring stage productions to life in the manner of a full color motion picture.[14]

As we can see from his invocation of the new technology of film (not to mention his anticipation of the so-called "Ken Burns effect" for turning still images into moving ones), Shōyō projected a thoroughly modern understanding of the almost photographic power of the actor print to capture the reality of the stage. Ihara Seiseien (Ihara Toshirō, 1870-1941), a playwright and scholar who compiled *Kabuki nenpyō* (A Chronology of Kabuki Performances, 1956-1963), a month-by-month chronology of Tokugawa-period Kabuki productions in Edo and Osaka, expressed a similar wonderment at the power of actor prints, writing that they allowed him to travel "a hundred or two hundred years back in time, and enjoy performances from different periods."[15] Through actor prints, these modern intellectuals strove to transcend time, to find a way to revisit the Tokugawa stage.

There was a good reason why Shōyō and Ihara were able to do this. Late-Tokugawa kabuki production, especially the productions in Edo that they were so eager to reimagine, were accompanied as a matter of course by the commercial publication of actor prints. Techniques for depicting actors using their likenesses (*yakusha nigao* 役者似顔) turned these prints into a powerful tool that theaters could use to promote kabuki, and enabled fans to purchase what must have seemed almost like a take-home version of their favorite actor. Naturally, publishers did not limit themselves to depicting actors in actual productions, or to the medium of the print; actors' images were also consumed in the context of books in any number of different genres. The four chapters on actors' images in this volume illuminate elements of this beguiling kabuki culture of print.

The chapters by Matsuba Ryōko and Yamashita Noriko focus on books and printed images featuring actors that were produced in Edo. Matsuba's "Edo yakusha ehon no shuppan" (Publishing Illustrated Edo Actor Books) provides a historical overview of the development and reception of *yakusha ehon* (actor picture books). These books were not meant to advertise particular productions; they served instead to preserve images of actors in famous roles or, alternately, to present fans with a fantasy of their everyday lives. Tracing the history of *yakusha ehon* from the Torii school to the Katsukawa school and finally to the

Utagawa school, Matsuba shows that as artists created the techniques that allowed them to produce identifiable portraits at the end of the eighteenth century, they also made it possible to depict actors off-stage, in the absence of the contextual clues that would otherwise enable the viewer to recognize them. Matsuba takes a particularly close look at *Ehon butai ōgi* 絵本舞台扇 (Picture Books: Actor Fans, 1770), a work that serves in part as an archive of actors in their most celebrated roles, and suggests that it may have circulated outside of Edo, opening up the possibility that the genre may have catered specifically to readers unable to access the stage in person.

Kabuki was all about the actors, and their careers and lineages were common cultural knowledge. This made them ideal material for sophisticated play in *ukiyo-e* genres. One dazzlingly challenging example of this sort of play is Utagawa Kunisada's *Mitate sanjūrokkasen* 見立三十六歌撰 (Portraits of the Thirty-Six Poetic Geniuses, 1852), in which each of thirty-six famous poems is paired with an image of an actor. Yamashita Noriko's "Bakumatsu yakusha mitate-e no mitate: *Mitate sanjūrokkasen* ni tsuite" (Late Edo-Period Formulations of Actor Mitate Prints: The Case of *Portraits of the Thirty-Six Poetic Geniuses*) explores the sophisticated *mitate* 見立て (metaphorical associations and links) that link the poems and the pictures in this series, and introduces her readings of a few of the prints. Yamashita shows how the pairing of classical poetic and kabuki culture, and the clever reworking of familiar themes, makes the two-dimensional space of these prints seem almost alive with meaning.

One important conversation that emerged in the course of the conference on which this volume is based concerned the distinctions between print conventions and the styles of kabuki production that developed in Edo and Kamigata. As Andrew Gerstle notes in his essay, "most of our contemporary knowledge about kabuki and kabuki practices comes from research on Edo-city kabuki, which came to dominate the world of kabuki in the twentieth century." The two chapters by Akiko Yano and Andrew Gerstle complicate this standard Edo-centric history.

The different climates of Edo and Kamigata publishing and their divergent theatrical styles are immediately apparent when one compares actor prints from the two regions: while actor prints were professionally mass-produced in Edo, Kamigata production was supported largely by amateur fans. Akiko Yano's "Capturing the Body: Ryūkōsai's Notes

on 'Realism' in Representing Actors on Stage" offers a context for the work of the late-eighteenth-century Osaka artist Ryūkōsai Jokei 流光斎如圭 (active 1776-1809), who first introduced actors' likenesses to Osaka, situating him among earlier professional Kamigata artists who were interested in anatomy and sketched from life, such as Nishikawa Sukenobu 西川祐信 (1671-1750), Tsukioka Settei 月岡雪鼎 (1726-1786), and Maruyama Ōkyo 丸山応挙 (1733-1795). After carefully surveying Ryūkōsai's career and his actor print production in Osaka, Yano investigates the long-lost *Ryūkōsai ikō* 流光斎遺稿 (Posthumous Manuscript by Ryūkōsai), in which the artist proposes that the body of the actor should first be depicted naked, and only then given clothes. This chapter reveals that a different artistic intention was at work in Kamigata actor print publishing, clearly distinct from the commercial, stylized depictions of recognizable facial features being developed by the Edo artists of his time.

Andrew Gerstle's "Creating Celebrity: Poetry in Osaka Actor *Surimono* and Prints" further illuminates the characteristics of Kamigata kabuki, both in terms of the relatively anti-commercial ethic that underwrote the production of actor prints and the distinct style of acting that developed in this region. His discussion is framed in terms of an insightful comparison of two Kamigata actors: Arashi Rikan I 嵐璃寛 (1769-1821), who never left Osaka, and Nakamura Utaemon III 中村歌右衛門 (1778-1838), who made several tours to Edo and incorporated the flamboyant Edo style of acting. Exploring Utaemon's aggressive commercial tactics and Rikan's reservations about such commercialism through an analysis of actor prints and *surimono* that featured the two actors and also incorporated poems, Gerstle presents a picture of Rikan as a traditional Kamigata actor who "chose to keep his poetry distinct from overtly commercial concerns, an attitude that brought him close to the ideal of the *suijin* so important to many writers and artists in mercantile Osaka." Gerstle also makes the intriguing suggestion that there was a lineage of Kamigata acting closer to "what we might call naturalism or realism." Taken together, these two essays give a sense of how much our understanding of kabuki stands to gain from further investigation of Kamigata kabuki.

LITERARY IMAGINATIONS, MAPPING OF THE THEATER

As the preceding chapters demonstrate, kabuki theater gave rise to an astonishing number and variety of printed texts. The influence, however, was never unidirectional. Just as the stage left its imprint on the page, so the page created its own drama. We thus find ourselves having to ask what effect print and textuality had on the theatrical experience texts presented to theatergoers and kabuki fans. How were depictions of stage influenced by the technologies and conventions of woodblock print? The three chapters in this section deal with literary texts and their use of the theater, and with the literary depiction of the stage in cartographic terms.

Adopting an approach intended to question the theme of this volume, Adam Kern in his "Kabuki Plays on Page—and Comicbook Pictures on Stage—in Edo-Period Japan" challenges the notion that kabuki was central to eighteenth-century *kusazōshi,* especially *kibyōshi* 黄表紙 (yellowcovers), by reminding us of the nature of the vibrant cultural hybridity of the floating world:

> 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.

Opening with an image of the enormous variety of media available in Edo, "Kabuki Plays on Page" criticizes first the so-called "reflection hypothesis," which holds that prints mirrored the stage, and then the "constructionist hypothesis," which postulates "that printed works not only reconstructed performances, but also constructed those performances in the first place." Kern suggests that if we place too much importance on the stage we risk misunderstanding what is happening on the page. "Kabuki Plays on Page" questions and expands the meaning of "publishing the stage" by offering a warning against the subordination of the book to the culture of the theater.

If Kern's chapter urges us to beware of a kabuki-centric reading of the page, Robert Goree's chapter, "Publishing Kabukiland: Late Edo Culture and Kyokutei Bakin's *Yakusha meisho zue*," creates a parity

between stage and page by investigating the translation of kabuki culture into a particular textual rhetoric—the popular geographical world of illustrated gazetteers (*meisho zue* 名所図会, or "pictures of famous places"). Goree explores the intention behind Kyokutei Bakin's 曲亭馬琴 publication of *Yakusha meisho zue* 戯子名所図会 (Famous Sites of Actors, 1800) in the wake of Akisato Ritō's 秋里籬島 successful *Miyako meisho zue* 都名所図会 (Famous Sites of the Capital, 1780), which dealt with Kyoto, and in advance of the monumental *Edo meisho zue* 江戸名所図会 (Famous Sites of Edo, 1834-1836). In contrast to Ritō and his collaborators' project to "reassert the cultural caché of their own beloved region," Goree suggests, Bakin attempted to proclaim the cultural centrality of Edo through a presentation of its theater and its most celebrated actors. Through careful analysis of specific examples, Goree argues that Bakin was engaged in a project of historical archiving: "[Bakin] spatialized the most recent history of kabuki as a game of interpretation, inviting readers to conceptualize the heroes of popular culture as monuments located in topographies of their own making." Kabuki knowledge, here, is transmuted into geographic knowledge.

Theater was also re-envisioned in a style that accorded with the larger cartographic imagination of the nineteenth century, in texts that presented the theater as a world and, in turn, the world as a giant theater. According to Jonathan Zwicker in his chapter "Stage and Spectacle in an Age of Maps: Kabuki and the Cartographic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Japan," this vision of the theater emerged at a time when it was being spatialized in relation to its history and in relationship to the theatrical forms of neighboring countries. Zwicker probes the historical consciousness behind geographic representations of the theater in texts such as *Shibai kinmōzui* 戯場訓蒙図彙 (An Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Theater, 1803) and *Gekijō ikkan mushimegane* 劇場一観顕微鏡 (A Look at the Theater through a Microscope, 1829).[16] Focusing on the transnational axis, he shows how the particularities of Japanese theatrical convention were translated into a transcendental, hypothetical equivalence with other theatrical traditions. Yet "Stage and Spectacle in an Age of Maps" concludes with the identification of a paradigm shift in the early twentieth century, in which kabuki was suddenly differentiated from universal categories. The volume ends, then, on a somber note with "a withdrawal into particularity and difference that would characterize so much of interwar thinking about Japanese culture."

Printed texts were an important element of the vibrant culture of theater in early modern Japan. They enabled the textual consumption and transmission of plays and images of plays, promoted particular productions, promoted cultures of theater, constructed and transmitted historical knowledge both within and across geographical borders, and enabled the communication of particular worldviews by presenting the theater as a cultural node. The notion of "publishing the stage," in its broadest sense, is about the various constructions of meaning accomplished through the engagement of printed texts with the institution of the theater. The chapters in this volume, covering an enormous range of materials from ko-jōruri *shōhon* to kabuki actor prints, from literary fiction to maps, open up a space in which we can continue to explore those meanings.

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NOTES

1. See Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), particularly chapter five. Other major works on the history of publishing in Tokugawa Japan include Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), and Henry D. Smith II, "The History of the Book in Edo and Paris," in *Edo and Paris: Urban Life and the State in the Early Modern Era*, ed. James L. McClain, John M. Merriman, and Ugawa Kaoru (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 332-52.

2. The details of Okuni's kabuki dance are unknown. For one frequently cited version in English, see Donald Keene, *World Within Walls: Japanese Literature of the Premodern Era, 1600-1867* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976), pp. 230-43. Also, Karen Brazell, ed., *Traditional Japanese Theater: An Anthology of Plays* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), pp. 13-14.

3. In English, see C.J. Dunn, *The Early Japanese Puppet Drama* (London: Luzac & Co., 1966), p. 20 and 53.

4. Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, p. 170.

5. For a definition and discussion of *shōhon*, see Torii Fumiko, "Shōhon (2)," in *Nihon kotenseki shoshigaku jiten*, ed. Inoue Muneo et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1999), p. 300.

6. The single extant text was destroyed in a fire following the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923. Luckily, a close facsimile reproduction was published by Yoneyamadō

in 1918. For a discussion of the original *shōhon* and its copy, see Yokoyama Shigeru, "Takadachi," in *Ko-jōruri shōhon shū*, vol. 1, ed. Yokoyama Shigeru (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1964), pp. 323b-29b.

7. *Shōhon* were not necessarily published in or near the year of their performance. As Muroki Yatarō has observed, although women were banned from performing *jōruri* in 1629, Rokuji Namuemon's *Yashima* was published in 1639. Muroki Yatarō, *Zōtei katarimono (mai, sekkyō, ko-jōruri) no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1981), p. 57.

8. The colophon is transcribed in Shigeo Sorimachi, *Catalogue of Japanese Illustrated Books and Manuscripts in the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library* (Tokyo: The Kōbunsō, 1978), cat. 322.

9. The term *sekkyō-jōruri* refers to the oral performative genre of *sekkyō* (or *sekkyō-bushi* 説経節) after it had come under the dominating influence of *jōruri* in the seventeenth century. *Aohon* "bluebooks" are simple, comicbook-like children's books produced ca. 1744-1775.

10. Takahashi Noriko, "Geinō bunka no hirogari," in Kuroki Bunko Tokubetsuten Jikkō Iinkai, *Edo no koe: Kuroki bunko de miru ongaku to engeki no sekai*, ed. Robert Campbell (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Daigakuin Sōgō Bunka Kenkyūka Kyōyō Gakubu Bijutsu Hakubutsukan, 2006), pp. 199-200

11. Akama Ryō, "Kabuki no shuppanbutsu 1: jōen shuppanbutsu," in *Kabuki bunka no shosō*, vol. 4 of *Iwanami kōza: kabuki, bunraku*, ed. Torigoe Bunzō et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1998), pp. 20-22. For a comprehensive overview of kabuki-related publications, see Akama Ryō, *Zusetsu Edo no engekisho: kabuki hen* (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 2003). On Kamigata actor prints and ephemera, see C. Andrew Gerstle with Timothy Clark and Akiko Yano, *Kabuki Heroes on the Osaka Stage: 1780-1830* (London: The British Museum Press, 2005). *E'iri kyōgenbon* were published considerably less frequently in Edo, and their publication there ceased earlier as well. This may reflect the different degrees to which Edo and Kamigata kabuki publications relied on plot descriptions.

12. It is telling that the jōruri *shōhon* publisher Shōhonya was involved in the experimental publication of *nehon*. See Gunji Masakatsu, "Kabuki to shōsetsu no kōryū," in *Gunji Masakatsu santei shū*, vol. 5, *Gisei no bun* (Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1991), p. 68.

13. For a concise explanation of *yakusha hyōbanki*, see Jacob Raz, *Audience and Actors: A Study of Their Interaction in the Japanese Traditional Theater* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983), p. 155-57.

14. Tsubouchi Shōyō, *Shibai-e to Toyokuni oyobi sono monka* (Tokyo: Shun'yōdō, 1920), pp. 3-4.

15. Ihara Seiseien, *Engeki dangi: zuihitsu shū* (Tokyo: Okakura Shobō, 1934), p. 92.

16. The seminal work that established the genre of "illustrated encyclopedias" is Nakamura Tekisai's *Kinmōzui* (Collected Illustrations to Instruct the Unenlightened), published in twenty volumes in 1666. For a brief discussion of the work, see Michael Dylan Foster, *Pandemonium and Parade: Japanese Monsters and the Culture of Yōkai* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), pp. 35-39.