

Kabuki Knowledge

Professional Manuscripts and Commercial
Texts on the Art of Kabuki

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KABUKI's popularity throughout the Edo period is attested by the number of types of contemporary publications related to it: woodblock prints, actor evaluation booklets, a large variety of playbills and programs, various renditions of illustrated plot retellings, and a range of treatises explaining everything from production methods to the history of kabuki to actor and playwright biographies. Looking from our current vantage point, Edo-period kabuki is represented today in large part through the combination of these voluminous published materials and cultural products, together with a variety of hand-written manuscripts. Broadly termed by many modern scholars as *gekisho* 劇書 (books on the theater), together they have left traces of the art of kabuki and of the social and cultural practices surrounding this central form of early-modern popular culture.

More specifically, aside from their intrinsic visual and reading merits, *gekisho* are used by scholars to re-imagine both Edo-period stage production techniques, as well as the experiences of theatergoers during performances and their fan-based activities outside of the theaters.¹ The various ways in which one could enjoy kabuki away from the theater—through publications, amateur artistic practice, fan club activities, and cross-professional *haikai* 俳諧 poetry networks (in which theater professionals participated)—helped keep it alive between visits, and provided an inspiration for new creative efforts in pre-existing and newly-developing media and genres. Some *gekisho* were written primarily with these support and leisure-related activities in mind, while others served the purposes of theater professionals. And as we shall see, a work might also present itself as crossing readership boundaries, confusing the neat

categories with mixed elements in the interest of commercial advantage. My endeavor here is to consider the large range of kabuki materials in the aggregate and to address efforts to categorize and understand the quantity and variety of purposes they represent.

The term *gekisho* covers a wide range of materials and can be divided into those that were passed around, mostly in manuscript form and only among professionals (“secret manuscripts”) and those published for public consumption.² The latter were written to encourage the interest of spectators, to offer possibilities for leisure activities, and to deepen knowledge and pleasure in kabuki. The former follow the secret manual tradition (*hiden* 秘伝) in Japanese religious and artistic transmission—that is, as guarded practitioner teachings meant to pass only from master to worthy disciple. They were not published, but circulated in manuscript form only within the theater, or, more limitedly, in a particular family line of transmission. Additions, emendations, and deletions were possible as a given manuscript made its way through the generations. Such changes would keep the work useful and reflective of current practice.

In gaining an understanding of the vast array of *gekisho* materials, the work of Akama Ryō has been paramount. Examining his chart on the relationships between stage production and theater-related materials (Fig. 1),³ we can see that Akama uses the term *engekisho* 演劇書 to cover the broad range of *gekisho* materials introduced above. He charts the relationship between stage production and the various categories of materials, dividing all types into either insider (*makuuchi* 幕内) materials—that is, materials that are prepared by practitioners to aid production—or outsider, promotional (*makusoto* 幕外) materials—those prepared by commercial writers with various degrees of relation to theaters.

Insider materials were prepared from the script and were generally created to aid production. Included are scripts (those prepared before rehearsals, and those with rehearsal and performance notes), booklets for actors’ parts or “sides” (*kakinuki* 書抜), billboards, rough sketches for playbills and programs, and working notebooks for stage properties, music, costumes, finances, and other purposes. These are all grouped on the right side of Akama’s chart and labeled in a polygon with the verb *tsukuru* 作る, “to make,” indicating that they are for professional purposes of creating and staging productions.

The contrasting polygon on the left side of the chart is labeled with the verb *tanoshimu* 楽しむ, “to enjoy,” indicating that the outsider/promotional (*makusoto*) side of the chart diagrams materials for leisure use. Looking at Akama’s chart, we see that promotional materials are then divided into those that promote particular plays or actors—Akama labels this group in a polygon with the verb *miru* 見る, “to look into” or “to examine”—and those that promote kabuki more generally, labeled in a polygon with *hiromeru* 広める, “to disseminate” or “to make known.” While scripts used for productions were not published,⁴ *miru* materials derive from the script; as schematized in Akama’s chart, some derive rather directly, such as illustrated versions of plays intended for reading (for example, *e’iri nehon* 絵入根本 and *e’iri kyōgenbon* 絵入狂言本), and others less directly, such as collected monologues (*serifu shū* せりふ集) and various musical selections. These script-based materials were intended to be sold: their purpose was to present or re-present performance on the page for personal perusing and/or amateur practice and recreation.

The various types of playbills and programs (*banzuke* 番付) constitute an important *miru* category, contributing to promotional activities in the most obvious sense. Four principal kinds of *banzuke* are listed, and aside from the fact that their format varied according to place of sale (Edo, Kyoto, and Osaka versions could have different formal characteristics), each of the four kinds had different purposes and therefore different points and places of distribution. For example, some were issued before the opening of productions (*kaomise banzuke* 顔見世番付, *tsuji banzuke* 辻番付) and others after (*yakuwari banzuke* 役割番付, *ehon banzuke* 絵本番付). Together, they represent a variety of promotional aims and could be produced and reproduced, not to mention quickly produced, according to demand, or in the case of pre-production programs, according to changes in productions (“little playbills” or *ko banzuke* 小番付, for example, were printed to announce changes to what had already been printed in *tsuji banzuke*).

Hiromeru materials, also for sale, take into account a full view of what happens on stage, with goals of both comprehensive and historical coverage of the art and practice of kabuki. This category includes encyclopedias (for example, *Kokon yakusha taizen* 古今役者大全, An Encyclopedia of Past and Present Actors, 1750; also referred to as *Yakusha taizen* 役者大全), chronologies (*nendaiki* 年代記), and books aimed at introducing the backstage workings of the theater to the reading, kabuki-fan

public (which Akama terms *makuuchi shōkaihon* 幕内紹介本, “backstage-introduction books”)⁵—in other words, general and broad explanatory treatments of kabuki, as opposed to *gekisho* in the play-based *miru* group.⁶ *Yakusha hyōbanki* 役者評判記 (actor critique booklets) are the only set of materials that Akama places at the intersection of *miru* and *hiromeru*, because they supported both long-running productions and the actors who performed in them (by reviewing and discussing current actors and plays), as well as a general interest in kabuki (by offering a serial publication devoted to kabuki as practice and event).

We have considered Akama’s opposing categories of insider/professional-related (*makuuchi/tsukururu*) materials on the one side, and outsider-promotional/leisure-related (*makusoto/tanoshimu*) materials on the other, in terms of intended recipients: the former are created for *the sole use of theater professionals* and the latter for *kabuki fans as consumers*. The former are primarily in handwritten, manuscript form,⁷ inscribing a relationship between writer and reader that is direct (no intermediary) and flexible (handwriting and copying can easily be altered for changing professional decisions and situations). The latter are printed commercial texts, where *miru* texts promote particular plays or actors and *hiromeru* texts promote interest in kabuki more generally. Both *miru* and *hiromeru* texts inscribe a writer-reader relationship that, in contrast to the insider/professional category, is indirect (with commercial interests, represented by the publisher, intervening) and inflexible (printed information presented as given, non-negotiable).

The broad definition of *gekisho* (Akama’s *engekisho*) includes approximately five hundred extant items. Akama’s use of the term *gekisho* is restricted to a more limited definition, in which he excludes *yakusha hyōbanki*, scripts, and chronologies, leaving from one to two hundred items. Akama first developed his schema in the early 1990s.⁸ It was mildly questioned by Hattori Yukio in 2003,⁹ who discussed Akama’s use of the terms *gekisho* and *engekisho*. For example, Hattori found the use of *sho* 書 problematic, as not all printed theater-related materials accurately fit under this designation (some pictorial materials or single sheet items, for example). He also found the exclusion of *yakusha hyōbanki*, scripts, and chronologies to be problematic, since these materials, too, fit in the general parameters of printed theater-related materials. Hattori prefers the term *shibai kankei shiryō* 芝居関係資料 (theater-related materials), or, if one excludes materials related to actual productions, *shibai bon* 芝居

本 (theater books). In this way, he suggests, the awkward exclusion of *yakusha hyōbanki*, scripts, and chronologies can be avoided. Akama and Hattori are not the first to develop terms to refer to these materials,¹⁰ but Akama's work was pioneering insofar as he sought to make sense of the broad picture. I have therefore applied his categories as the basis for considering individual works, with the exception of adopting *gekisho* (as opposed to *engekisho*) for the broadest inclusion, as many scholars since have done.

When it comes to promotional/leisure-related materials, changing conditions both in society and within the theater meant differing audience/consumer demands. Over the course of the nearly three-hundred-year period new interests, as they arose, would be reflected in kabuki-related publications. Furthermore, an audience at a given performance was composed of different classes with different tastes, grouped in different parts of the theater playhouse. These seating arrangements evolved over time, but the classic venue was equipped with side galleries (*sajiki* 棧敷) and central floor seating (*hira doma* 平土間), each costing different prices and thus seating people of different means and social standing. Various *gekisho*, as well as the *yakusha hyōbanki*, show that actors were conscious of playing to the different tastes of audiences in these seating sections,¹¹ and we should assume that *gekisho* writers were similarly conscious of a variety of readers, including those in the galleries and those in the floor seating, and those who were able to attend kabuki frequently and others who could not.

As the level of sophistication and the expected knowledge-base of consumers of kabuki-related materials increased over the second half of the eighteenth century, so too did the depth of detail in *hiromeru* materials. Hattori discusses changes in format and the production of books in terms of the readership they served. He writes of the Kyōwa 享和 period (1801-1804) as the period of a broad popularization of theater books (*shibai-bon* 芝居本).¹² From the 1770s and leading up to Kyōwa, new methods of presentation and content organization, as well as increasingly detailed information were offered. So, too, artists innovated in methods of illustration: along with stage-role portraits, actors were portrayed in everyday appearance; they might be depicted in bust or full-length, or, as in the 1770 *Ehon butai ōgi* 絵本舞台扇, within a fan-shaped frame. Writers and artists applied their ingenuity in all areas of *gekisho* production. In order to feed the great demand for kabuki knowledge,

they went deeper into their subjects and appealed to consumers by offering increased specificity and exposure of kabuki techniques.

An example of an unusual *gekisho*, and one that goes far in exposing the inner workings of kabuki, is *Kokon yakusha rongo sakigake* 古今役者論語魁 (Pioneering Analects from Past and Present Actors, 1772; hereafter *Kokon*) by Kinjinsai Shin'ō 近仁斎薪翁, a writer of Edo *yakusha hyōbanki*. An examination of its format and content suggests that the insider/outsider dividing line on Akama's chart can be blurred. As expressed in its "Introductory Remarks," the aims of the work were to offer a discussion of Edo *yakusha hyōbanki* in relation to audiences (Part I) and to record comments of Edo actors "since the Kyōhō 享保 period (1716-1736)" (Part II), including twenty-five comments each by the actors Sawamura Sōjūrō I 沢村宗十郎 (1685-1756) and Ichikawa Danjūrō II 市川團十郎 (1688-1759). The author urges actors to better understand their audiences when planning for successful performances, and *Kokon*—especially Part I—is offered in large part to aid that effort. Part II is in the tradition of a *geidan* 芸談, a record of a practitioner's personal reminiscences and teachings (usually written down by his students or fellow professionals, and often long after their utterance or demonstration).¹³ *Geidan* were not recorded with the general reader in mind, but rather for the training needs of disciples, with the preservation of acting lines and their specialties (*ie no gei* 家の芸) in mind.

In 1776, seven small Genroku-period *geidan* treatises were collected and published under the title *Yakusha-banashi* 役者論語 (translated as *The Actors' Analects*; also read as *Yakusha rongō*). While collectively they were published four years after *Kokon*, all had been written earlier in the century, and at least some had been known and publicly available in the twenty-five years or so before the 1776 group publication. *Kokon's* author was certainly aware of some, if not all, of them. He sets up his work in direct contrast to *Nijinsbū* 耳塵集 (Dust in the Ears), one of the treatises in *Yakusha-banashi*. The entries in *Nijinsbū* are based in Kamigata kabuki of the Genroku period; by contrast, *Kokon* focuses on Edo-based actors active in a period when Edo was beginning its rise to a position of centrality in the kabuki world. In the "Introductory Remarks," the author writes:

Nijinsbū, which appeared in the Hōreki period, is a secret manual still used, but because it concerns only actors of the Genroku period, few peo-

ple in it are known today. Therefore, the present book gathers together and records famous comments of our predecessors from the Kyōhō period and is a secret book of the art of kabuki.¹⁴

Several of the treatises in *Yakusha-banashi* refer to the secret nature of their teachings, and *Kokon* also declares that as “a secret book of the art of kabuki” (*kabuki ichidō no hisho nari* 歌舞伎一道の秘書なり), it, too, offers “secret” teachings. The need to protect family art from competition is the most important reason for secrecy in transmitting artistic practice and lessons, and written versions of such teachings are even more vulnerable to competition than oral communication. Indeed, there were no *geidan* published for about 130 years, from after the publication of *Yakusha-banashi* until the Meiji period. The question of why, as we have seen, is answered by the commercial, competitive nature of kabuki where secure livelihood meant protecting one’s techniques from appropriation. However, the question of why previously-guarded material, or previously-secret type material, was published in the mid-eighteenth century is another question to which we will turn after first examining the contents of *Kokon*.

As previously mentioned, one of the distinctive aspects of *Kokon* is the blurring of the insider/outsider demarcation that we have discussed in looking at *gekisho*. Not only does the work profess to record secret teachings—which according to the insider/outsider division should not be published at all—but in its discussions, it draws on earlier works that were intended and published for promotional, commercial purposes. We find references in *Kokon* to four of the treatises included in *Yakusha-banashi*, including *Butai hyakka jō* 舞台百ヶ条 (One Hundred Items from the Stage), *Ayame gusa* あやめ草 (Words of Ayame), *Nijinshū*, and *Zoku nijinshū* 続耳塵集 (Sequel to Dust in the Ears). Also significant is the fact that references and citations to *hiromeru*, encyclopedia-type *gekisho* are frequent. Those referred to are *Kokon yakusha taizen*; *Kabuki jishi* 歌舞伎事始 (A Kabuki Primer, 1762); and *Yakusha kōmoku* 役者綱目 (Important Facts About Actors, 1771).¹⁵ Principal references to these works follow.

From the “Introductory Remarks” (*hanrei* 凡例), there is:

...by drawing on *An Encyclopedia of Past and Present Actors*, *A Kabuki Primer*, and *Important Facts About Actors*, I will investigate the significance of the audience.¹⁶

From the section titled “The Heights of Mastery” (*Meijin no kiwamari* 名人の極), we find:

The eminence of the first master actor of lead male roles, Sakata Tōjūrō I, is detailed in *An Encyclopedia of Past and Present Actors*. Arashi Sanemon I was the first great star and gradually there were others, but they never reached Tōjūrō’s level. This is made clear in *A Kabuki Primer* and again in *Dust in the Ears*, but is not explained in detail.

In the preface to *An Encyclopedia of Actors* it is written that the late Segawa Kikunojō... performed too many dance pieces and not enough straight acting.

In *Sequel to Dust in the Ears*, Tōjūrō states that to be an *onnagata* [female-role actor], living like a woman is most important, and then acting. Kikujirō presented well as a woman and an actor. In *One Hundred Items from the Stage*, it states that it is essential that young *onnagata* do not lose their sexual appeal.... Kikujirō was among all a master as a woman.... The way he affected a laugh, even the way he cleared his throat, had a sexiness to it.... Kikujirō’s acting accords with all of the dictates we find in *Words of Ayame*. Its thirty items of sage advice, needless to say, were all handed down from the expert Ayame. During his whole life, Kikujirō never learned to act like a man, but mastered only the way of women, their customary etiquette, feelings and accomplishments.¹⁷

Finally, from the section titled “The History of *Kanadehon chūshingura* with Observations on the Role of Ōboshi Yuranosuke” (*Kanadehon chūshingura yurai narabini Ōboshi Yuranosuke hyōban* かな手本忠臣蔵由来ならびに大星由良之助評判), there is:

Formerly, Sawamura Chōjūrō I and Shinozuka Jirōzaemon were very successful in the role of Ōgishi Kunai. While the fame of both men in that role was great, Tosshi was the best as Yuranosuke, a fact recorded in the section on old practices in *An Encyclopedia of Actors*.¹⁸

These sections rely on evidence from published writings to make their points about the work and lives of the actors they address. The points are made as part of an appeal to actors to keep audience reactions in mind. The use of outside, published criticism has an effective place in discussing performance reception, but in light of both the text’s claim to record secret traditions and its own for-sale status as a publication, *Kokon* constitutes a work that crosses Akama’s *makuuchi*/*makusoto*

category boundaries. Its publication came at a time when the production of *gekisho* and a serious interest in kabuki on the part of fans were increasing rapidly. *Kokon* came out at about the halfway mark between the 1750 publication of the aforementioned *An Encyclopedia of Past and Present Actors*, the first encyclopedia-type *gekisho*, and the “boom” in publication of “backstage-introduction books” at the turn of the nineteenth century. As already mentioned, over this fifty-year period a wealth of information on seemingly every aspect of kabuki was presented to the public through various kinds of *gekisho*. The nature and content of these encyclopedic works, which encompass kabuki production, plays, actors, and history, explain their usefulness as sources of information to which the author of *Kokon* is able to refer. The author’s several references to published *makusoto* works as a method to strengthen his discussion regarding issues of actor evaluation and evaluation booklets—a discussion that purports, or at least implies, to be of use to those professionally interested in the evaluation booklets—certainly points to mutual interest on both sides of the insider/outsider divide.

The blurring of the insider/outsider distinction can be considered not only by understanding who read these materials and why, but also with regard to who wrote them. We know well that writers of popular fiction and poetry maintained connections with kabuki practitioners in social and poetry circles. For example, major Edo-period writers like Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761-1816) and Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬 (1776-1822) were deeply connected to the kabuki world in their social and professional interactions. Santō Kyōden became a writer of fiction (many genres), poetry, and non-fiction (texts on Edo manners and customs), and was also the woodblock print artist known as Kitao Masanobu 北尾政演, who started as an illustrator of *kibyōshi* 黄表紙 (a genre of popular illustrated fiction). Kyōden’s interest in kabuki ranged from poetry exchanges and other social activities with actors, to authoring treatises on kabuki and writing and illustrating some of the fictional works connected to kabuki. Shikitei Sanba, primarily known as a writer of comic fiction, wrote the texts for several illustrated *gekisho* during the “boom” period.¹⁹ The interpenetration of kabuki plays and fiction, in terms of themes, storylines, dialogue, pictorial effects, and more, was in part possible because of the social and creative connections between kabuki professionals and the many kinds of print-based professionals. This meant an intermingling of the insider and outsider domains for which the various types of *gekisho* were intended.

One might assume, then, that while a bleeding of *purpose* of the works on either side of Akama's dividing line did not occur, an exchange of materials did, particularly in cases where the commercial interests of publishers and kabuki professionals merged in the dissemination of material that would feed publisher coffers as well as kabuki ticket sales.

Kokon emerged from this context. It is a hybrid work in more ways than one. First of all, in format and content, it is a mix of different kinds of insider-style *gekisho*: manual-type and *geidan*-type works.²⁰ Secondly, it presents itself as both an insider work (a “secret book”) and an outsider one (it was for sale). Finally, in drawing on both “secret teachings” and outsider-oriented publications to support its positions, it brings mixed types of sources together in a work not easily categorized according to Akama's prevailing schema.

Returning to an earlier question, we can ask, why is it that previously guarded secret writings, or, guarded writing formats (such as *geidan*) were published in the mid-eighteenth century? Why were the secret traditions of the actors and playwrights in *Yakusha-banashi* and *Kokon* revealed in commercial publications at this time? Is the use of a term referring to secrecy (*hisho* 秘書) in the “Introductory Remarks” of *Kokon* meant as a kind of publishing ploy? There are no certain answers to these questions, but some guesses can be made. As Gunji Masakatsu writes in the introduction to his annotated text of *Kokon*, Part II records collected comments of playwrights and actors “in the format of a secret transmission” (*hiden no katachi de* 秘伝の形で),²¹ and we might thus surmise that the promise of divulging secret teachings, and/or the use of the format of secret transmissions, was a way to offer something novel and appealing to kabuki fans hungry for kabuki knowledge. In a period when fans wanted to know ever more about the details of kabuki—in order, perhaps, to distinguish themselves as connoisseurs in the world of fandom—offering “secret” content in an insider format was likely to have been a great sales device.

Although *Kokon* shows us that distinctions are not always clear in individual cases, especially as the Edo period progressed, I have followed Akama in presenting the various theater treatises that address kabuki history, practices, participants, and traditions according to their intended recipients: either for *the sole use of theater professionals*, or for *publication and purchase by outsiders*. According to this interpretive dichotomy, the purpose of the former class of materials was to help perpetuate successful

stage production methods and techniques, and to contribute to the training of actors and other theater personnel. Insider manuscripts pull together specific information and teachings for particular groups of practitioners. The purpose of the publicly-oriented treatises, on the other hand, was to present the kabuki experience for commercial and fan-support objectives. These texts usually present a relatively broad view of the theater, and can be seen as training materials for aficionados in kabuki knowledge and appreciation. The wide range of commercial materials offered both enjoyment and the specialized knowledge necessary to achieve the kind of connoisseurship required of the sophisticated urbanite of the time.

The establishment of Akama's clear dividing line between insider/professional-related and outsider or promotional/leisure-related materials is an indispensable contribution to mapping out a publication and reader-use history of *gekisho*. At the same time, we have seen that in the example of *Kokom*, and with the increases in the numbers, types, and consumer demands for outsider works over the second half of the eighteenth century, a wide range of materials led to some examples of *gekisho* that seem to confound scholarly categorization, or are most easily explained with reference to a blend of insider/outsider characteristics. As we continue to build on our understanding of these fascinating and informative materials, the construct of the dividing line will remain essential, but must be treated as a negotiable entity.

NOTES

1. Where records do not remain regarding the particulars of actual performances and productions, they have also been used to reconstruct the details of what actually happened on stage. The various kinds of playbills and programs (*banzuke* 番付), in particular, have been used in this effort by Akama Ryō and others. See Akama Ryō, "Kabuki no shuppan-mono o yomu," in *Edo no shuppan*, a special issue of *Edo bungaku*, vol. 15, ed. Nakano Mitsutoshi (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1996): 99-123; Akama Ryō, "Posutā toshite no kabuki tsuji banzuke," in *Shōbai hanjō: Edo bungaku to kagyō*, Kōten kōen shirūzu 3, ed. Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1999), pp. 153-91.

2. Elsewhere, I have diagramed four possibilities of production, where both secret manuscripts and published works can be either newly-written or revised. See Katherine Saltzman-Li, *Creating Kabuki Plays: Context for Kezairoku*, "Valuable Notes on Playwriting" (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2010), pp. 4-5.

3. From Akama Ryō, *Zusetsu Edo no engekisho: kabuki hen* (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 2003), p. 135. See pages 134-37 for Akama's discussion of this chart. An earlier version of the chart appeared in Akama Ryō, *Edo no engekisho: kabuki hen* (Tokyo: Waseda

Daigaku Tsubouchi Hakushi Kinen Engeki Hakubutsukan, 1991).

4. Full scripts were not published during the Tokugawa period. They became available from commercial publishers in the late nineteenth century.

5. Books of this kind were continually published from the 1780s to the end of the 1820s. Many of them claim important contemporary writers and artists as authors and illustrators. (See footnote 19 for examples from the hand of Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬.)

6. Such materials belong to Elizabeth Berry's "library of public information." Elizabeth Berry, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006). On page 15, Berry explains the library as "a metaphorical place where we can array the many early modern sources that fit together because of their common purpose: to examine and order the verifiable facts of contemporary experience for an open audience of consumers." An examination of the various encyclopedic kabuki works reveals the shared characteristics that give them their place in this library. On page 16, Berry writes that "the strongest link between texts [of the library] is attitude. And it is here that the merit of thinking about them collectively comes clear; for the information library discloses pervasive habits of mind. The texts affirm the knowability through observation of worldly phenomena. They presume the coherence of those phenomena through holistic and taxonomic modes of analysis. And they declare the entitlement of anonymous and ordinary readers to know what is known."

7. The painted billboards (*kanban* 看板) hung at the front of theater playhouses are a clear exception.

8. For which, see Akama, *Edo no engekisho: kabuki hen*.

9. Hattori Yukio, *Edo kabuki bunkaron* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2003).

10. For a discussion of the various terms and the scholarship related to them, see Akama, *Zusetsu Edo no engekisho: kabuki hen*, p. 129ff.

11. Many scholars have addressed issues related to audience make-up. A brief, useful discussion is found in Matsuzaki Hitoshi, "Kabuki no kankyaku," *Kokubungaku* 37, no. 6 (May 1992): 41-46. The *yakusha hyōbanki* show a strong consciousness of audience types, offering critiques out of the mouths of many different kinds of (fictional) viewers.

12. Hattori, *Edo kabuki bunkaron*, p. 261.

13. In spite of the differences between kabuki *geidan* and Zeami's treatises, Tom Hare's term "performance notes" to characterize Zeami's writings might well be used for the nature of the writing in *geidan*. Tom Hare, *Zeami: Performance Notes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

14. Gunji Masakatsu et al., eds., *Kinsei geidōron* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1972), p. 465.

15. The latter work was published in 1771 as *Shinkoku Yakusha kōmoku* 新刻役者綱目 (Important Facts About Actors, Newly Printed). All references to these *gekisho* are found in Part I. The only treatise titles cited in Part II are *Yakusha yonjūhachikajō* 役者四十八ヶ条 (An Actor's Forty-Eight Items) and *Jōzu no michi, beta no michi* 上手道下手道 (The Way of Expertise and The Way of Inexpertise), both claimed to be by Sawamura Sōjūrō I (aka Tosshi). I have found nothing about these two works, other than the fact that an entry in *Sadoshima nikki* 佐渡嶋日記 (Sadoshima's Diary, one of the treatises in *Yakusha-banashi*)

regarding Sawamura Sōjūrō I ends with a reference to his having written a work called *Tosshi yonjūbachikajō* 訥子四十八ヶ条 (Tosshi's Forty-eight Items). Gunji speculated that the source for the Sawamura Sōjūrō entries in Part II of *Kokon* might have been this work.

16. Gunji et al., eds., *Kinsei geidōron*, p. 465.

17. Gunji et al., eds., *Kinsei geidōron*, pp. 470 and 473-74.

18. Gunji et al., eds., *Kinsei geidōron*, p. 477. Sawamura Chōjūrō is given in error as Chōjūrō I, but this entry actually refers to Chōjūrō III, the Tosshi (Sawamura Sōjūrō I) of *Kokon*.

19. Among them were *Yakusha gakuya tsū, yakusha hiiki katagi* 俳優楽屋通・俳優鼻眞氣質, 1799; *Yakusha sangaikyō* 俳優三階興, 1801; *Shibai kinmōzui* 劇場訓蒙図彙, 1803; and *Kyakusha hyōbanki* 客者評判記, 1811.

20. For an example of a manual-type insider work see *Sakusha shikihō: kezairoku* 作者式法戲財録, 1801, in Gunji et al., eds., *Kinsei geidōron*, pp. 493-532. A study and translation of this text is available in Saltzman-Li, *Creating Kabuki Plays*.

21. Gunji et al., eds., *Kinsei geidōron*, p. 463.