Queer Disordering:

Visualizing Sexualities and Bodies

in the Print Culture of Early Modern Japan

By

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the competing visions of sexuality and the body in early modern Japan (1600-1868). Through analysis of illustrated pornographic books, comicbooks, portraiture, and multivolume comicbooks, I show that queer bodies and sexualities disordered normative visions of society and can reveal the inherent heterogeneity in early modern visual culture.

In Chapter One I focus on one of the first woodblock print artists of the "floating world," Hishikawa Moronobu (1618-1694). Through analysis of three illustrated pornographic books published in the late 1600s, I argue that the diversity of sexualities seen in these books exposes the polyvalency of sexuality at the beginning of the early modern period.

Chapter Two considers two comicbooks, or *kibyōshi*, by the leading author and illustrator Santō Kyōden (1761-1816). After situating these comicbooks against norms of sexual and textual reproduction propagated by Neo-Confucian writers and government officials, I demonstrate how Kyōden's use of queer sexual reproductions mocks and twists Neo-Confucian notions of proper sexual reproduction and appropriate manners of producing woodblock printed books.

Chapter Three analyzes how extraordinary and crippled bodies shaped methods of representation. First, I examine Watanabe Kazan's (1793-1841) portrait of the "giant" Ōzora Buzaemon (1802-?) and a *kibyōshi* by Santō Kyōden that depicts "cripples" in a sideshow. I claim that the portrait of Buzaemon resists legibility and that the "cripples" in Kyōden's comicbook enact a visual rhetoric of exposing social truth.

Chapter Four looks at woodblock printed depictions of foreigners in the 1860s and 1870s by Hashimoto Gyokuransai (1807-1879) and Kanagaki Robun (1829-1894). I argue that up until the 1870s, foreigners were often marked as abnormal through association with strange visualities, such as one-point vanishing perspective. Ultimately, however, Robun stripped foreign bodies of their disorderly visuality through adapting foreignness to the normative visual regimes of the modern Japanese nation-state.

Straddling the fields of visual culture studies, queer theory, and Japanese area studies, I show how centering queer bodies and sexualities can reveal the disordered and jagged nature of early modern visual culture.

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Introduction

Early modern Japan (1600-1868) was a time of political stability but cultural upheaval. With the end of centuries of warfare during the Middle Ages (1185-1600), and more than a century of civil war, the Tokugawa warrior clan, under the leadership of Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616), had asserted dominance over a patchwork of provinces and established a small fishing village Edo as the seat of political power. With the new stability, often referred to as the Tokugawa Peace, urban centers grew and the government, ruled by warriors, imposed order on the land, building tightly controlled networks of roads that connected the various provinces to that capitol of the Tokugawa shoguns, Edo. Over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the cultural and publishing center of the Japanese archipelago gradually shifted eastward from the Kamigata region, present-day Osaka and Kyoto, to the upstart boomtown of Edo. One significant cultural upheaval was the flowering of the woodblock printing industry, which supplanted the circulation of manuscripts as the preeminent medium of print culture.

Ukiyo-e, or "pictures of the floating world," are perhaps the most widely recognized and celebrated of early modern Japanese creative expression. These pictures included single-sheet prints, full-color prints, book illustrations, paintings, and other formats. What unites these diverse formats, published over the span of more than 250 years, is their attitude towards the world. *Ukiyo* originally was a Buddhist term of the medieval period (1192-1600) to lament the fleetingness of life in the mortal realm of suffering before passing on to the next life. However, in the early modern period *ukiyo* came to refer to the pleasures of the here and now: cheering on a famous actor at the kabuki theater; sneaking off in the dead of night to the pleasure quarters; and even

viewing oddities at a sideshow on the riverbanks of Edo.[1] The *ukiyo* of the early modern period had transformed from the medieval *fleeting* world to the more hedonistic *floating* world. The ethos of this floating world is best described by the author Asai Ryōi 浅井了意 (1612-1691) in *Tales of the Floating World* (*Ukiyo monogatari* 浮世物語, 1666). Ryōi likens the floating world to bobbing along down the river of life, just like a gourd floating down the river.[2]

Along with this proliferation of publishing and population of the early modern period, the evolution of sexual cultures and the representation of bodies similarly underwent upheavals in the early modern period. The shogun permitted prostitution in "pleasure quarters," specially licensed districts in the major cities in which brothels owned women and extracted sexual labor from them, although unlicensed districts also appeared. All such pleasure quarters became a focus of popular culture. The image of the so-called "courtesan" (*oiran*) persisted through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as an object of desire for consumers of popular print culture. But more importantly, authors, artists, and producers of visual culture utilized representations of sexuality and bodies to trouble norms of textual and visual reproduction and materiality. Popular culture positioned itself as contrary to the conservative forces of the central government. Attempts to suppress popular visual culture manifested as edicts that spanned the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These three edicts, the Kyōhō Reforms (1716-1736), the Kansei Reforms (1787-1793), and the Tenpō Reforms (1842-1845), targeted such things as popular culture, the publishing industry, and popular fashion to promote one

[1]Davis 2007, pp. 7-9.
[2]*Ukiyo monogatari*, p. 89.

authoritative vision of the realm. The central claim of this dissertation is that representations of sexuality and the body were the main locus for resistance against normalizing and ordering visions of the realm. Accordingly, visual representations in particular provide a valuable way through which to understand how order and disorder were constantly under negotiation within the visual culture of early modern Japan.

To illustrate the shifting norms of representing sexuality and the body during this period, consider the following two single sheet prints from the 1850s, attributed to Utagawa Kunisada 歌川国貞 (1786-1865). The first print, entitled *Mirror of Healthy Living in the Bedchamber* (*bōji yōjō kagami* 房事養生鑑, late 1800s) reveals bodies as subject to regimes of vision derived from popular Neo-Confucian educational thought, the laissez-faire culture of the floating world, traditional Chinese views of the body, and even from "Dutch studies" (*rangaku* 蘭学) a metonym for Western – specifically European and American – studies (Fig. 1). The woman in this print is a courtesan as deduced from her accoutrements: the bodkins in her hair, the long pipe that she is about to place in her mouth, and her open robe. From her neck downward, the inner workings of her body are revealed to the viewer's gaze. The thin lines emerging beneath her skin perhaps indicate a trachea or vein. A spinal cord sprouts several leaf-shaped patterns on either of its sides, and that same spinal cord leads to two boxes marked with the Chinese character for breath (*iki* 息). Two small women pump these two boxes, powering the very breath of the courtesan's body. The curvy script that floats above these two small women reads "inhale" (*tsuku iki* つくいき) and "exhale" (*hiku iki* ひくいき). Throughout the rest of the courtesan's body, anthropomorphized organs keep the body functioning. But this illustration of a courtesan's innards does more than just provide

innocent mirth to the reader. The courtesan and the diligent women laboring at the boxes that supply "breath" to her body lay bare to the viewer's eyes a fanciful visualization of how the body functioned and was ordered. Each little worker woman dutifully contributes to the order of a larger whole.

The second print, *Mirror of Healthy Living: Food and Drink* (*inshoku yōjō kagami* 飲食養生鑑), depicts a man gulping down sake with a flopping fish and larger carafe of drink set before him (Fig. 2). Similar to the image of the courtesan, Kunisada renders transparent the belly of a dandy, as we can tell by his fashionable hair style, revealing a complex world that keeps this man's body operating. As opposed to the artist's personification of breath as tiny women working bellows, here the artist has illustrated miniature men, in the upper torso, providing air to the lungs with fans emblazoned with the Chinese character for "breath" (*iki* 息). Beneath the lungs is the fiery-red oval of the heart (*shin* 心) that houses five men. A brigade of men convey cups of liquid from the large kettle in the spleen (*hi* 脾), which the men clad in green clothing present to their superior for inspection. The boss of the entire operation is at the center of the heart, tallying together all the numbers within this body with his account books spread before him. *Mirror of Healthy Living: Food and Drink* sketches the male body as a complex structure of people working to digest food and drink in ordered harmony. Each man has his part to play in distributing vital juices, and discarding the unnecessary, in order to ensure the proper functioning of the body and digestion of food and drink. The headquarters for this functioning is the heart.

These two images are not only playful imaginings of what happens beneath the skin of the human body, but also promote specific ideas about health, sexuality, order,

and power. Renderings of bodies give visual form to imagined ideals and through replication of those ideals attempt to promote one vision of how bodies should function. Or perhaps more simply put, seeing is believing. And these images promote a specific idea of how bodies and *society* should work. At first glance, the representation of these bodies appears to replicate the early modern structure of power. Just beneath the women pumping the boxes of the lungs is the courtesan's heart (*shin* 心). To the right of the label marking this region of the body as the heart sits a woman with a pencil in her mouth as she flips through a book. As Shirasugi notes, the person at the center of the body appears to be the mistress of the brothel, paging through an accounting ledger.[3] In the image of the dandy, the heart is also the location of central order. Throughout the rest of these two bodies, Lilliputian workers diligently control bodily functions. They stoke a fire in the hearth that keeps the heart warm. They guide digested food from the stomach to the intestines. The whole elaborate print teems with activity reminiscent of a bustling household filled with men working to keep a business afloat and women laboring tirelessly to keep the household functioning.

The metaphor illustrated in these two prints – that of a body functioning the same as a brothel, business, or household – represents in visual form the norms of political control within these two bodies. Shirasugi's analysis of these two prints focuses on the meaning of the term "healthy living" (*yōjō* 養生), or the practice of nourishing the body to ensure long life and to avoid bodily pollution from exterior sources. But charting the effect that larger discourses have on texts imposes a top-down approach to the study of

[3] Shirasugi 2007, pp. 46–52.

visual cultures. Working out the incongruities in visual objects, locating places of resistance against singular visions of order, and seeking out potentials for disorder is more in line with the vibrant and playful popular culture of early modern Japan.

Looking more closely at these two healthy living prints reveals flaws in the seamlessness of ideology, and a stream of subversion and refusal to adhere to norms in early modern Japanese visual culture. *Mirror of Healthy Living in the Bedchamber* advances a view of the body and sexuality that supports healthy living, but the obstacles to such healthy living expose the tensions in this view of sexuality and the body. The text that accompanies the illustration explains:

> In general, it is in disordered eating, drinking and lovemaking that affects the healthfulness and longevity of people…Regarding eating and drinking, the reasons for the outbreak of diseases is in the workings of the five viscera and six bowels, and as this has been explained in detail in the male image of *Mirror of Healthy Living: Eating and Drinking,* those reasons will not be noted here. The woman pictured presently is in the business of lovemaking, and there are many people, both men and women, who are disease-addled and shorten their lives as a result of sex. And so, as divulged in the image of the man, I show this image so that it might become a lesson to people who are so fond of sex that it leads to disorder.

The "disorder" (*midari* みだり) alluded to by the author of this text threatens to corrupt the ordered workings of the body. The visual logic of this image portrays the woman as

being an individual body as well as a visual metaphor of a brothel. The authority of the accounting ledger resides in the heart, and the body functions around the mistress at the center of the heart. The image of an authority figure checking production numbers in the heart suggests that any organ not meeting quotas can be chided and any deficiency handled. This chain of command in these bodies mirrors that of shogunal authority centered in the city of Edo. Like the mistress and the master that reside in the hearts of the courtesan and the dandy, the shogunal government sought to observe and control the distant reaches of the realm. But even the heart cannot maintain order over all parts of the body. As the text that accompanies this image tells the reader, the body can become ravaged by disease from simply having too much sex. And if these images can be read as a microcosm of shogunal power and order mapped onto bodies, then disordered sex may threaten even the shogun at the heart of the realm.

I start with these two images of eating and lovemaking to point to the potential of disorder to thwart normative images of embodiment and sexuality. The word "lovemaking" (*bōji* 房事), literally "bedchamber matters," is a term used from at least the fourteenth century in Japan.[4] While lovemaking could refer to sexual relations within a marriage, the image of the courtesan also suggests that the "disordered lovemaking" is probably referencing sexual relationships based on monetary transactions in the pleasure quarters. The courtesan was a figure mocked and celebrated by turns in early modern prose and poetry. She appears in the most acclaimed works of early modern literature, but the pleasure quarters and the courtesans therein always had the potential to drain customers of money, destroy marriages, and even overturn the structures of power.

[4]*Nihon kokugo daijiten* 2002.

Indeed, one appellation for courtesans was "the castle-toppler" (*keisei* 傾城), which alludes to a Chinese story of how one concubine was able to exert control over a kingdom with her sexuality. Disordered sexuality had the power to overthrow kings and to destroy dynasties.

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, disorder could be found in surprising places. Representations of sexual relationships between male youths and adult men in pornographic books (*shunpon* 春本) from the 1670s did not inherently lead to disorder. Instead, such books drew upon different threads of theories of sexuality, becoming a disordered mishmash of the five Confucian relationships and theories of harmony between the five elemental phases of wood, metal, water, fire, and earth. Comicbooks (*kibyōshi* 黄表紙) from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries revel in disorder and twisting received knowledge to create funny stories. Writers and artists pushed the bounds of acceptability by flaunting their refusal to cooperate with publishing edicts and utilized the representations of sexual reproduction and textual reproduction to satirize normative ideas of reproduction.

Early modernity does not simply preface the modern but holds possibilities of other modernities that did not exist–but *might* have. In this project, one key claim is that the modern was not a predetermined eventuality, but one possibility among many. Therefore, the project investigates the visual regimes of early modernity to show how early modern visual culture was not the perfected vision of Neo-Confucian moralists; rather, the visual regime of early modernity is characterized by contestations of meaning through norms of representing the body and sexuality in the age of woodblock print. The term "early modern" is used throughout to define the cultural and visual period

distinguished by the print culture of the floating world, and the shifting norms of representing sexuality and bodies in visual culture.

The early modern culture of the floating world was a culture of the common people, in contrast to the print cultures of medieval and modern Japan. The manuscript, texts created by hand, was the preeminent medium of textual culture before the commercialization of printing in Japan in the early seventeenth century.[5] Speaking in broad terms, medieval manuscripts were mostly inaccessible to anyone but elites. Any copies of manuscripts were produced by hand and were housed in Buddhist temples, palace libraries, or the residences of cultural elites. In the modern period (1868-1945), a strong, centralized government intent on promoting Japan as a civilized nation actively purged abnormal and anti-modern representations of sexualities and bodies from its visual culture. By "anti-modern," I mean any sexualities that did not fit into the schematization of the modern, European science of sexology and the political and cultural ideals of the modern Japanese nation-state. Modern discourses of sexuality were disseminated as part of the colonial apparatus. Through modern militaries and modern governments, colonial metropoles exercised sexual knowledge as a method to control citizens as well as colonial subjects.[6] In contrast to this highly hierarchical and medicalized discursive control of sexuality characterized by mass regulation and bodily discipline, early modern discourses of sexuality and bodies were characterized by multiple discursive threads. Some of these ideas continued into modernity, while others characterize "dead ends."[7]

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[5] Kornicki 1998, p. 112.
[6] Früstück 2003, p. 2.
[7] Walthall 2009, p. 18.

Research Question / Goals of the Study

The "disorder" that threatens healthy bodies and sexualities in the two *Mirrors of Healthy Living* begs the question of how disorder and order functioned in envisioning bodies and sexualities in the early modern period. In order to dig deeper into the complexities of the varied discourses surrounding the body and sexuality in the early modern period, then, disordered representations require attention. Furthermore, representations of sexuality and the body need to be studied not simply as precursors to a singular modernity, but as dynamic texts informed by contemporary ideas of how the body functioned or desire between people was controlled. To that end, I ask: how did authors and artists negotiate normalcy and order, appeal to audiences, and navigate political considerations through representations of sexuality and the body in early modern Japanese visual culture?

Hence, in this dissertation, I investigate how early modern Japanese artists and authors negotiated bodily and sexual difference through visual culture. The central argument of this project is that the early modern period was a time of heterogeneous and competing visions of sexuality and the human body. Such a heterogeneity in early modern visual culture is reflected in the polyvalent identities of those who produced printed texts. In many instances, a person utilized one name when acting as an author and another name when acting as an illustrator. Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761-1816), for example, wrote under the moniker Santō Kyōden when acting as an author but used the name Kitao Masanobu 北尾政演 when illustrating books.[8] There is even evidence

[8]Kern 2019, p. 5

that government officials authored playful fiction under pseudonyms.[9] Within this publishing world of multiple identities, those writing under names associated with the Neo-Confucian ideological umbrella linked the continuation of the family line and family name to the very balance of the universe. Those writing under the names of playful authors or artists, on the other hand, challenged such normative views of sexuality and the body. They valorized strange reproductive strategies and depicted bodies that pushed at the boundaries of pictorial representation or disordered representation itself. I claim that tracing the ways visual culture negotiated normalcy by adhering to or pushing back against normative discourses of sexuality and modes of representing the human body is an effective method for uncovering the jagged and fragmented nature of early modern Japan. Historical norms of representation as well as persons with political power attempted to assert their normative vision of sexuality and the body. But the twisting of those normative visions by popular authors and artists reveals the heterogenous nature of early modern Japan.

To better understand how these contemporaneous and later discourses function, I center analysis on visual representations of bodies and sexualities that did not fit neatly into norms and keep themselves in order. The word "queer" herein signifies a process, not an identity. Queer bodies and sexualities exist outside of norms of representations while also *shaping* those very norms. Through analysis centered on the queer forms of embodiment and sexuality in the early modern period, I reveal how visualizations of the body and sexuality were riven by difference. At the same time, regulatory discourses of

[9]Iwasaki 1983, p. 7.

embodiment and sexuality endeavored to impose a singular scopic regime, a unitary vision of sameness upon the realm.

Significance

This project intervenes in prior scholarship in two major ways. First, *Queer Disordering* places the visualization of queer sexualities and queer bodies at the center of understandings of early modern Japanese culture. The strange sexualities and freakish bodies studied in this project may seem to simply be outliers from a cultural center. However, I argue that these seeming outliers actively shaped the cultural center that sought to deny their existence. These fringe representations could expose the imperfections in mainstream thought. The notion that peripheral figures often reveal the way in which power functions in a society is not novel. However, such a claim has not been made about the visual culture of early modern Japan. Indeed, Mary Elizabeth Berry has argued that print culture laid the groundwork for modernity and the Japanese nation.[10] Therefore, my research opens up new avenues of exploring early modern culture by asking what can be gained by focusing in on queer sexualities and bodies as one stimulus for cultural production and cultural disorder.

Second, my project shows the way in which older media, specifically woodblock printing, offered unique affordances to disorder textual and sexual norms. Throughout the texts under analysis in this project, a heterogeneity of sexual and bodily forms is made possible by textual affordances. Woodblock print culture could reach more readers than manuscript editions in the medieval era and also allowed for the production of

[10]Berry 2006, pp. 211-213.

dynamic visual-verbal texts, something not possible in typeset printing that became popular in the late 1800s. In short, I am claiming that the physical form of woodblock printed texts lend themselves to queer analysis. Texts were no longer only painstakingly produced by hand, as with manuscripts in the medieval period; they were instead produced by a collaborative team of artisans in urban centers. Furthermore, the range of people who were involved in the production of floating world culture also differs drastically from the publishing world of medieval Japan. Merchants, warriors, women, children, rural folk – all manner of people had access to view or read woodblock printed texts. Therefore, this project will be valuable to those who are looking for premodern print cultures that can offer queer, disorderly potential at both the level of content and form.

Queer

The word queer denotes a process that troubles norms of sexuality and gender and does not indicate a stable identity. In this project, the word queer is used to refer to non-normative bodies and sexualities that trouble *and* shape how bodies and sexualities are visualized. Within a visual field inflected by power, these queer bodies and sexualities at times mock norms promoted by Neo-Confucian thought, and, at other times, offer alternative ways of visualizing sexuality and bodies. As explained immediately below, "queer" certainly did not exist in early modern Japanese. I use the term as a method of critique to describe the way that Edo cultural production itself seems to have mobilized abnormal bodies and sexualities to question norms.

Queer Theory is field of inquiry with roots in the West that scholars have critiqued and expanded upon through sexual formations from non-Western cultures. Two of the most influential writers in queer theory are Judith Butler and Eve Sedgwick. Butler writes that, "'queering' might signal an inquiry into (a) the *formation* of homosexualities (an historical inquiry which cannot take the term for granted, despite the political pressure to do so) and (b) the *deformative* and *misappropriative* power that the term currently enjoys."[11] The deformative and misappropriative power that Butler theorizes is at work in the texts I analyze. The wild adaptations of folktales by Kyōden, for example, *misappropriate* prior stories to comedic effect. The enormous size of a young man named Ōzora Buzaemon, I argue in Chapter Three, *deforms* an artists' attempt to render Buzaemon's body in a realistic style. Thus, I take "queering" as the deformative and misappropriative power in cultural artifacts.

Eve Sedgwick's scholarship informs my work by showing the effect queer representations can have on cultures. She argues that any history of modern Western culture that does not address the homo/heterosexual definition will be inherently damaged by such an omission. Furthermore, Sedgwick locates a contradictory view in common understandings of the homo/heterosexual definition. The first part of that contradiction works in a minoritizing view, in that it sees the homo/heterosexual definition as primarily of importance to a homosexual minority. The second part of that contradiction functions in a universalizing manner, in the sense that it envisions this definition as affecting the lives of people across the spectrum of sexualities.[12] These two thinkers and their works constitute widely recognized touchstones for much of the writing

[11] Butler 1993, p. 21.
[12] Sedgwick 2008, p. 1.

in queer theory today. However, both of these writers were working with cultural and historical formations at a remove from early modern Japan. Sedgwick's universalizing view, in other words, does not extend to pre-modern non-Western cultures. One goal of this dissertation is to expand Queer Theory to just such an expansive universalizing view.

Opening up Queer Theory to a broader range of cultures and times requires careful consideration of historical sexual categorizations. The Japanese language did not have words for homosexuality or heterosexuality, as the sexual identities that these words describe did not exist. The contemporary neologism for "homosexual" (*dōseiaisha* 同性愛者) was not introduced until the early twentieth century. Two terms describing erotic relationships between men that were widely used during the early modern period were *shudō* 衆道, which means "way of youths," and *nanshoku* 男色, which meant something like "male eros."[13] Both of these terms signify what modern Westerners may be tempted to call "gay" or "homosexual" relationships. The "way of youths" refers to an erotic and affective relationship between an adult male and a "youth" between the ages of 12-18 years old.[14] "Male eros" describes male erotic desire for male youths. Yet the Japanese terms do not correspond to the modern English terms. As the words for homosexuality and heterosexuality the way we understand them today had not been invented in early modern Japan, and the culture under study lacked the concepts behind the terms as well, approaching the study of premodern and foreign sexualities requires careful consideration of historical and cultural context.

[13]Leupp 1995.
[14]*Shin'yūki,* p. 22.

While there is value in historical and cultural contextualization, there is also value in locating specific iterations and formations of sexuality, forms of embodiment, and networks of desire within a larger scholarly discourse. Moreover, Sedgwick's formulation of a minoritizing and universalizing contradiction in the homo/heterosexual definition is a productive starting point for thinking through forms of queer embodiment in early modern Japan. How could specific texts that brought abnormal bodies to a reader's attention lead to universalizing subversive bodily acts beyond that text? Butler's theorization of "queering" as a deformative and misappropriative act is a productive point of departure. My purpose is not to root out homosexuals in the early modern period who have been hitherto hidden from history. Rather, it is to push Sedgwick's universalizing view towards a more literally universalizing application that would include early modern Japan. Additionally, this project does not let prior literary and artistic depictions lie dormant in the past. Instead, I ask: how might "queer" be used to think through the way in which forms of embodiment and sexuality had misappropriative and deformative potential in early modern Japan? My method is to apply present concerns about normalcy, visuality, and modern perspectives of the significances of analyzing bodily relations to the foreign past while simultaneously respecting that foreign past. The objective here is to let part of the present seep into the past and allow for the past to ghost the present.

Utilizing methods from queer theory before the existence of self-identified queer people is not novel. Scholars in literary and cultural studies have effectively argued for the usage of queer praxis in their work. Carolyn Dinshaw, a scholar of medieval English literature, has most effectively argued what a proleptic usage of "queer" can do. She

proposes that "a queer historical impulse" can make connections between "lives, texts, and other cultural phenomenon left out of categories back then and…those left out of current sexual categories now."[15] In her study of a wide range of texts, from instructions for parish priests in medieval England to *Pulp Fiction*, Dinshaw asserts that sex is heterogeneous and indeterminate. She also exposes how Western communities, pre-modern and modern, often seek to reduce and essentialize.

Some recent scholarship written in Japanese has investigated the connection between gender and sexuality in premodern Japanese visual culture. I build on this literature in these pages. This scholarship serves as a corrective to earlier writings that ignored female agency in sexuality of the premodern period.[16] The work of Itasaka Noriko and Saeki Junko also problematizes modern categories of gender and sexual norms by looking at the history of sex and love in Japan and constructions of Edo-period sexuality and gender as seen in period literature and culture.[17] Beyond these larger concerns of historicizing sexuality and gender and positioning sexuality within the discourses of power in the early modern period, these studies also make specific claims about youths, male-male eroticism, and women.

In her monograph on love and sex in the early modern period, Itasaka hews closely to primary texts while also locating misogyny as a key part of structures of male-male sex and love. Itasaka investigates the extant erotica (*shunga*) that features youths and divides it into categories in which youths are engaged in sexual practices with men and in which youths are engaged in sexual intercourse with women. She does so to see

[15]Dinshaw 1999, p. 1.
[16]Tanaka 2009.
[17]Itasaka 2017; Saeki 2008.

how the sexual activities of youths were depicted in fiction and in *ukiyo-e,* or "pictures of the floating world."[18] Through several close readings of exemplary texts and numerical analysis of images in which youths feature, she concludes that "the body of the youth is a body that is perpetrated and penetrated by men" and that "through sexual intercourse, it can be observed that there is a clear and fixed hierarchy with adult men."[19] Furthermore, she claims that the youth is of flexible sexual and social status, as he engages in intercourse with adult men and women alike. In relationships with women, male youths are the insertee, allowing women to become the aggressor in sexual encounters. In relationships with men, on the other hand, youths are almost always the receptive partner. For Itasaka, the flexible sexuality of the youth's very body – it can be penetrated by women, penetrate women, and be penetrated by adult men – allows women to imagine a space in which they are desiring subjects, not simply sexually objectified bodies. As she puts it:

> [T]he images spun out of the imaginary space of the floating world continued giving the actual women of Edo thrilling dreams. Dreams given to women by the images of sex and love featuring youth and women. That dream is that…there is also a world of sex and love, centered on women, that gives enjoyment to the mind and body.[20]

[18]Itasaka 2017, p. 101.
[19]Itasaka 2017, p. 109.
[20]Itasaka 2017, p. 124.

Importantly, Itasaka does not claim that early modern erotic images are a reflection of actual bodily practices during the early modern period. Conversely, she argues that erotica is a constructed "imaginary space" through which viewers, both early modern and contemporary, navigate a maze of desire and power. Her contention, that the corporeal flexibility of the youth gives women agency, resonates with a central claim of this dissertation: that representations of sexualities and bodies come into view through structures of power.

Saeki's scholarship similarly stresses the historicity of sex, sexuality, and gender and the importance of defining such terms in historicized and cultural contexts.[21] Her wide-ranging study analyzes representations of "sex" (*sei* 性) and "love" (*ai* 愛) from the Edo period until the late twentieth century. Not only does Saeki offer fine-grained readings of literary texts, visual-verbal texts, and cultural phenomena, but she also expands her analysis across large swaths of time, locating the historical continuities and the historical specificities in expressions of sex and love. Instructive for the present project, and especially Chapter One, is Saeki's observations on how ideal representations of "beauties" (*bijin* 美人) shared linguistic and visual commonalities for women and youths.[22] That is, beautiful women and beautiful male youths appear the same in prints from the floating world as well as in literary descriptions. Beyond the specific observations gleaned from Saeki's close readings of visual and verbal materials, her work informs this project in that it pays detailed attention to the powerful formations of sex and love.

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[21]Saeki 2008, p. 5.
[22]Saeki 2008, pp. 54-68.

One of the most significant works of scholarship on male-male erotica with a focus on early modern Japan is historian Gregory Pflugfelder's 1999 monograph *Cartographies of Desire*. Pflugfelder's book is extensive, covering the early modern period (1600-1868) and the period until 1950. He investigates the discourses of male-male desire as propagated in popular culture, medical traditions, and the legal field. Drawing on methods and theories from gender, sexuality, and queer studies, Pflugfelder's main thesis is that male-male sexuality in Japan was not a static construct frozen in one place during this time period, but a dynamic succession of paradigms. These paradigms are conceptualized as a "way," (*michi* 道) or aesthetic and ethical pursuit. In this project, I borrow Pflugfelder's conceptualization of this "way" as being located in a structure of power.[23]

Expanding on Pflugfelder, however, I assert that the ways in which knowledge of sexualities and bodies were consumed were similarly located in power-inflected fields. These fields existed across texts as well as within texts. For instance, the prohibition against creating images of the shogun, what Timon Screech dubs the "iconography of absence," controlled representation across all visual texts.[24] Within individual texts, formal analysis is a tool for viewers to locate power differentials, and how viewers can read against these larger structures of visual power. Because power is constructed visually in the visual-verbal texts I study, scholarship analyzing visuality has also informed my research.

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[23]Pflugfelder 1999, p. 18.
[24]Screech 2000, pp. 112-118.

Visuality

Methods of analyzing visuality and the culturally inflected practices of looking are some of the main concerns of visual culture studies. Visual culture centers attention on how practices and ways of looking work with, or against, power structures. I argue that queer representations of bodies and sexualities disrupted norms of embodiment as well as normative practices of looking.

Visuality is characterized by an ever-emergent difference in normative fields of vision. In cultures with a stratified power structure, this difference is tamped down, functioning in a dampened, if not silent, manner. However, divergent ways of looking and practices of viewing have the possibility of overturning dominant scopic regimes, ushering in new norms. As Hal Foster stated on the subject of vision and visuality:

> the difference between the terms signals a difference within the visual – between the mechanism of sight and its historical techniques, between the datum of vison and its discursive determinations – a difference, many differences, among how we see, how we are able, allowed, or made to see, and how we see this seeing or the unseen therein. With its own rhetoric and representations, each scopic regime seeks to close out these differences: to make of its many social visualities one essential vision, or to order them in a natural hierarchy of sight.[25]

[25]Foster 1988, p. ix.

In Foster's view, visuality and vision are not simply the social meanings of vision and the biological limits on sight. Instead, structures of power attempt to make one social formulation of viewing appear as a natural truth. I draw on Foster's ideas to think through how those in power sought to suppress alternative ways of viewing sexualities and representations of the body.

Early modern Japan was positively saturated in woodblock printed media, so much so that it has gained the moniker of the "age of woodblock print." Scholars of early modern Japan have theorized how the specific affordances of woodblock printing affected practices of reading, looking, and imagining. Adam Kern posits the term "visual-verbal imagination" to describe one mode of visuality in Japanese literature and art.[26] He posits that the *kibyōshi*, or early modern comicbook, was the preeminent genre of cultural expression during this period. Kern argues that "word and picture play equally important roles in generating meaning" and that "words and pictures are mutually reinforcing, synergetic, symbiotic, synesthetic."[27] Working in the archive of nineteenth century texts, Michael Emmerich posits a useful form of analysis for verbal and visual texts. Instead of the schema of text-image, he proposes the schema of "image-text-book" relations to more fully understand how *gōkan,* or "multivolume chapbooks," functioned in the popular imaginary.[28] Although his larger concern is the process by which texts are replaced and canonized, his close readings of book covers, the interaction of images across pages, and other insights offer new possibilities for methodological approaches to early modern woodblock-printed books.

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[26]Kern 2019, p. 10.
[27]Kern 2019, p. 156.
[28]Emmerich 2015, p. 51.

Art historians of Japan have approached the problematic of sight, providing methods of understanding and analyzing the early modern period's visual culture. In his scholarship, Timon Screech has traced how social meanings of vision became attached to ideas of "Dutchness" (*ran* 蘭), and how the visuality of early modern Japan underwent drastic changes in the late 1700s through the visualizations of foreignness.[29] Screech has also studied how the Tokugawa government responded to incursions of strange and new visions by advancing its own visions of a cultural center. Matsudaira Sadanobu (1759-1829), the chief councilor and then regent to the shogun, was the main instigator of this conservative reaction to a crisis in culture. Screech reveals how Sadanobu endeavored to control meaning and impose a unitary vision of "Japan" as an unchanging and stable realm. Sadanobu did so by commissioning the rebuilding of ancient monuments that had become dilapidated and sealing off the boundaries to Japan, both visually and physically.[30]

Feminist and queer reworkings of psychoanalytic theory have devised tactics to push back against the homogenizing regimes that seek to flatten out difference. Butler argues that performances of gender that improperly cite gender ideals may work to subvert those very notions.[31] Other scholars have built on Butler's idea of improper citation. Judith Halberstam investigates recent queer films produced in the United States and the workings of visual subcultures in these films, what Halberstam calls a "transgender look." As Halberstam highlights, the existence of queer bodies in a cultural text, in this instance a film, does not overturn dominant narratives of minoritized

[29]Screech 2002, p. 30
[30]Screech 2000, pp. 208-266.
[31]Butler 1993.

identities or allow the viewers to inhabit the subject position of such embodied identities.[32] Although her arguments are specific to North American cinema, Halberstam's arguments have some purchase on wider theorizations of queer bodies and visuality. One might summarize those observations as: 1) queer bodies can be read in many ways, and some of these readings cut against the grain of norms of embodiment; and 2) some of those readings and practices of viewing queer bodies can serve to further cement norms of representation, embodiment, and visuality.

Theorizing the relationship between queer sexualities and the visual field also entails thinking how sexuality is expressed in bodily acts. Most of the scholars cited above work through how the body is involved in producing sexual identities and in shaping desire. More importantly, many scholars have pointed to the body as the instrument through which group norms can be contested on an individual, corporeal level. Thus, in order to better understand how the body functions in replicating the order of society, or queering the norms of society, I next explore research on how bodies are represented in fields of power.

Representation and the Body

How do we define the body, and what are its boundaries? The meaning of the body and embodiment may seem obvious. The body is the fleshy weight we carry through our lives. It can either be an obstacle to a transcendent existence beyond life or a tool to shape our existence. However, the body is not just a physical entity. Bodies hold social and cultural signification beyond the biological. Definitions of the body and

[32]Halberstam 2005, pp. 79-82, 92, 96.

boundaries of material lived experience can extend beyond our fingers and toes, to social categories and political acts.

One of the key debates in scholarship on the body surrounds the question of whether bodies are passive representations of a culture, or actively shape culture. The scholarship on embodiment comes from several academic disciplines and fields. However, one of the most influential scholars to write about the body is Michel Foucault. His work, *Discipline and Punish*, theorizes that bodies are shaped by the combination of structures of power and knowledge. He calls these bodies "docile bodies," which are shaped and molded by the institutions of power and disciplines of the modern state.[33] He argues that the Panopticon, a penal institution in which one central node observes all inmates, links the inculcation with docility and corporeal visibility to an invisible and disparate authority. Subsequent work, such as his three-volume *History of Sexuality*, pushes back against his conception of bodies as "docile" texts to be written by the powers that be. Instead, Foucault claims that pleasure can be used to alter bodily experiences. Foucault's inconsistent view of the body, both as a passive slab of marble to be shaped by power and discourse, and also as the site of pleasures that shape the self, has elicited critique from scholars. Feminist scholars have linked feminist activism as one of the first sites in which the material body was imagined as a place of resistance.[34] Queer theorists, such as Butler, have also struggled with Foucault's reading of the connection between bodies and power. The ambiguous nature of the body as a passive object to be controlled, and as an active site to be mobilized is a key assumption of this project. The present study asserts that, however, the ambiguous nature of representations of the body should

[33]Foucault 1995, pp. 135-169.
[34]Bordo 1993, pp. 15-23.

best be read against specific historical and cultural contexts. The polyvalent nature of representing the body in early modern Japan stems from the many different systems of thought and ideologies during this time period.

Early modern Japanese visualizations of the body were influenced by Neo-Confucian ideology, propagated through government edicts forbidding heterodoxy and through popular texts aimed at commoners. On the level of words and language, there are two words used to describe the body in the premodern period – *mi* (身) and *shintai* (身体). In her analysis of medieval Japanese literature, Rajyashree Pandey investigates *mi* in her analysis of medieval literature and notes that it "is always understood only in terms of its location within the social and public spheres."[35] Japanese literary scholar Maeda Ai suggests, when speaking specifically about early modern playful literature, that the body in literary texts was suppressed and that clothing should be read as a "hidden skin" or "transformed skin."[36] That is, in the early modern period, one's status or one's public persona could be as easily read from clothing as from one's skin. If the claims of Pandey and Maeda about the sociality and public nature of bodies are true, that the body is shaped by the social and the public, then is not the inverse also true? That is, as per Butler's intervention in Foucault, the social and the public have a bodily nature. Changing one's bodily nature may affect change and be a tactic of resistance against the totalizing visions of powerful discourses. Building on Butler and Foucault, I argue that unruly bodies can deform the very fabric of the social and the public. At times, artists sought to contain extraordinary bodies to regimes of measure to make such bodies

[35]Pandey 2007, p. 112.
[36]Maeda 1993, pp. 75-76.

legible. At other times, representations of bodies do not submit to totalizing visions, but reveal the truth that appearances can occlude. In this sense, queer bodies may resist totalizing visions of society, or they may flip that vision back on society itself, exposing it to the scrutiny.

Outline of Chapters

Drawing on these Western theoretical discussions as well as Japanese scholarship, this dissertation examines how visual-verbal texts had the potential to order and disorder representations of sexuality and the human body in early modern Japan. To that end, I have divided the dissertation into two parts. Part One analyzes visualizations of sexuality and Part Two explores depictions of the human body. In both parts, I focus on how artists and authors locate sexualities and representations of the body in the power-inflected field of visuality. At times, artists choose to represent some sexualities in novel and subversive ways. At other times, artists may select to depict sexualities in a manner that upholds norms. The interest of the early modern period is the diversity and polyvalency of those representations.

In Chapter One, "Queer Discordances: Publishing Harmony and Discord in Early Modern Erotica of Hishikawa Moronobu (1618-1694)," I analyze representations of the body and sexuality in the erotic woodblock-printed books of the artist Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣 (1618-1694). Moronobu was one of the cultural titans active during the Genroku Era (1688-1704), a time period whose cultural efflorescence lasted well into the 1720s. I have selected Moronobu as a focus in this chapter because he is one of the first artists to produce a large number of woodblock-printed books with pornographic

content. Additionally, his texts move away from separating mostly verbal narratives illustrated with occasional pictures to incorporating pictures and images on the same page. During this short period of time, some of the most well-known authors and playwrights of early modern Japanese literary and cultural history were active. Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴 (1642-1693) began writing short tales of merchants indulging in the pleasures of the floating world. Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644-1694) composed linked and independent poetry (*haikai* and *hokku*, respectively), the latter being still read by Japanese schoolchildren today. Among all of this literary and artistic activity which often celebrates and lifts up the merchant class and the world of the pleasure quarters as an ideal, I investigate the norms of vision and sexuality in pornographic illustrated books (*shunpon* 春本) attributed to Moronobu.

Sexuality may be a bit of misnomer to describe the relations between people depicted in these texts. The term utilized in these texts is the word *kōshoku* (好色), sometimes translated as "eros" or "love." The term is composed of two Chinese characters, one for "liking" (*kō* 好) and the other for "color" (*shoku* 色). The character for color has a long history in Buddhism and often indicates the ways in which humans are distracted by the colors and pleasures of this world – which ultimately cause them to be reborn yet again in this existence, not achieving a release from the cycle of death and rebirth. These texts visualize different types of male-female pairings as harmonious, while also legitimating male-youth pairings as a distinct type of relation. This chapter exposes the polyvalency of sexualities that are in some of the first erotic woodblock printed books of the early modern period and shows how erotica has the potential to disorder singular visions of sexuality.

In Chapter Two, "Queer Sexual Reproductions in the *Kibyōshi* of Santō Kyōden (1761-1816)," I investigate representations of the body and sexuality in two early modern comic books (*kibyōshi* 黄表紙) by leading author and illustrator of the genre, Santō Kyōden (1761-1816). These playful comics feature male authors becoming pregnant and the mermaid offspring of a fish and a human becoming the star of the red-light district. First, I situate these *kibyōshi* against the context of reproductive norms in early modern Japan. Among the educational texts published during the early modern period, many of which were lampooned in *kibyōshi*, were those targeted at female readers. The authors of these texts stress the necessity to continue the family line and the role of women in producing children. The result of not adhering to the precepts of how and when to marry and produce children is the degradation of the body.

After establishing the norms in these educational texts that popular authors were frequently writing against, I investigate two *kibyōshi* created by Santō Kyōden: *Daughter in a Box, Mermaid Dolled Up* (*Hakoiri men'ya ningyō* 箱入面屋人魚, 1791) and *Nine Months in the Womb of An Author* (*Sakusha tainai totsuki no zu* 作者胎内十月図, 1804). I argue that the production of infertile offspring in these two *kibyōshi* runs counter to the Neo-Confucian valorization, in educational texts, of continuing the family line. In the first of these two *kibyōshi, Daughter in a Box, Mermaid Dolled Up,* the queer reproduction between a human and a denizen of the Dragon King's undersea realm results in the hybrid figure of a mermaid daughter. The mermaid offspring becomes infamous in the pleasure quarters as an armless and legless courtesan. In the second *kibyōshi, Nine Months in the Womb of an Author*, Santō Kyōden stars in his own comicbook as an author who struggles to find the next bestseller. He prays to a

Bodhisattva only to be impregnated with the seed of a great idea in his sleep. Thereafter, he gestates his next masterpiece in his womb for nine months before giving birth to book-children. Both of these *kibyōshi* therefore toy with norms not only of sexual reproduction, but also of textual reproduction.

Part Two of this dissertation examines how the depiction of "strange" bodies, such as bodies of extraordinary proportions or the bodies of foreigners, troubled less the very norms of selfhood than of representational practice itself. I push back against a developmentalist argument that attributes Western realism with modernity, and therefore represents early modern Japanese visual culture as somehow the prehistory which Western-style realism would overcome. Instead, I show in these chapters that artists over the course of the nineteenth century experimented with different modes of representing the body, but often using strange bodies to do so. I argue that bodily abnormalcy was the main driver of innovative representational practices in the visual culture of nineteenth century Japan, predating such developments in Europe and the United States.[37]

Chapter Three is titled "Showing Strangeness: Representations of the Extraordinary Body," and it analyzes the representations of an historical person of extraordinary height named Ōzora Buzaemon 大空武左衛門(1802-?). I argue that the Neo-Confucian scholar Watanabe Kazan 渡辺崋山 (1793-1841) utilized a depiction of Buzaemon's body to experiment with representation itself. Buzaemon was a young man with a prodigious body who hailed from the southeastern region of Japan. His height was of extraordinary proportions, which gained him renown in his place of birth as well as in the metropolis of Edo. Through investigations of a portrait of Buzaemon painted by

[37]Siebers 2010, p. 2.

Watanabe, I argue that the representation of Buzaemon's body shows how an abnormal body can thwart techniques of representation. Although popular artists and more elite artists, such as Watanabe, drew Buzaemon over the course of his life, both renderings fail to straighten his unruly body into regimes of normative measure. Instead of viewing strange, queer, or abnormal bodies as passive objects, I argue that such bodies played a key role in rhetorical and representational techniques, and that they pushed forward artistic innovations. That is, they disordered the norms of representational techniques of early modern Japan.

Chapter Four, "The Queer Foreign and the Straight Nation," investigates representations of foreigners in the 1860s and 1870s in the port city of Yokohama. I argue that Yokohama at the time functioned as a pivotal site from which the depiction of foreigners changed drastically in visual culture. Through investigation of Hashimoto Gyokuransai's 橋本玉蘭齋 (1807-1879) text, *Things Seen and Heard in the Open Port of Yokohama* (*Yokohama kaikō kenmonshi* 横浜開港見聞誌, 1862-1865), I argue that Gyokuransai figures Yokohama as a site of queer bodies that are marked as visually and ethnically other through pictorial techniques, such as one-point vanishing perspective. For Japanese at that time, one-point vanishing perspective was a novel, and odd, way of envisioning the world. However, this chapter also marks the end of the early modern culture of visual abnormalcy and play. As I show in my analysis of Kanagaki Robun's 仮名垣魯文 (1829-1894)) *Japanese ABCs, Western Libraries* (*Yamatogana seiyō bunko* 倭国字西洋文庫, 1870-1872), the normative visual regimes of modernity straightened the queer potential of foreign bodies. As Robun describes in his preface to a tale about

Napoleon, Robun sought to make foreignness legible to Japanese readers by rendering the stories of other nations in the pictorial style and letters of Japan.

Finally, the Conclusion returns to the main concerns of this thesis: the disorder in early modern sexualities and representations of bodies. After summarizing the arguments constructed in each chapter, I move on to consider the contributions of this project to the fields of Japanese studies and queer theory. I explore how the woodblock print, both as a social form and material form, may contribute to ongoing discussions of queerness and form. Turning back to Sedgwick's view of queerness as both minoritizing and universalizing, I next ponder further research on early modern Japan utilizing queer methodologies.

Chapter One
Queer Discordances: Publishing Harmony and Discord in the Early Modern Erotica of Hishikawa Moronobu (1618-1694)

1.1 Introduction

What might it mean to visualize erotic harmony? What bodies, pleasures, or desires might throw such a vision of erotic harmony into discord? The archive of early modern Japanese erotica offers promise as a place to find answers to such questions. Erotic prints, published books, paintings and handscrolls often take the subject of harmony (*wagō* 和合) as a theme that links together loosely-related images that lack any narrative cohesion. The artist Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣 (1618-1694) produced a large number of illustrated books, single-sheet prints, and other works in the late 1600s. His output and influence on subsequent artists, authors, publishers, and other cultural producers is such that he is often called the father of "pictures of the floating world" (*ukiyo-e* 浮世絵). Moronobu's influence on the "pictures of the floating world" is so profound that I focus my analysis in this chapter on several of his works.

One significant subset of this production of texts is pornography (*makura-e* 枕絵, retroactively called *shunga* 春画), of which 1,200 printed books and hundreds of paintings and prints have been catalogued.[38] Access to such texts has been tenuous at best, and downright dangerous at worst. A major obstacle to modern readers is that these texts are rendered in a curvy, calligraphic script that requires training to decipher. One of the first scholars in the modern period who dared to produce transliterations of the dialogue in these printed texts was even arrested.[39] Therefore, scholarship on

[38]Clark and Gerstle 2013, p. 7.
[39]Ishigami 2013, pp. 37-55.

pornography has faced obstacles that have limited access to texts and dissemination of findings. The scholarship that does exist has focused on legitimizing pornography as a field of study and has been narrow in its focus. This chapter's focus on the larger issue of how erotic harmony and the queer sexualities that caused discord in this harmony, will build on recent studies that, for all of their strengths, have yet to engage with gender theory or queer theory. Additionally, this chapter puts pornography into dialogue with the larger field of early modern visual studies.

In a 1678 erotic text by Moronobu, *Affinity and Harmony of Pleasurable Relations between Men and Women* (*Danjo aishō wagō no en* 男女相性和娯縁), harmony is depicted as being limited to the bonds of marriages and is controlled by the primal forces of the universe.[40] Husband and wife couplings are described as "supremely auspicious" (*daikichi* 大吉), "semi-auspicious" (*hankichi* 半吉), "happy beginnings, but unhappy endings" (*hankichi hatsu yoshi ato waroshi* 半吉初よし後悪し), and "supremely inauspicious" (*ō ni waroshi* 大に悪し). Each pairing of husband and wife was based on their astrological sign, determined by the Chinese lunisolar calendar (J. *Senmyōreki*, Ch. *Xuan ming li* 宣明暦) utilized by Japanese astronomers from the late ninth century to 1685. By charting someone's birth to the hour and day, their elemental phase (wood, water, metal, earth, fire) could be determined. While certain pairings of elemental phases in the Chinese zodiac system were deemed inauspicious or, even, supremely inauspicious, there is also evidence of beliefs that certain women were deemed inauspicious, and indeed disastrous, in all pairings. Thus, Moronobu's *Affinity and*

[40]From here on, I will abbreviate as *Affinity and Harmony*.

Harmony, despite being a work of erotica, functioned within a larger framework for understanding balance in the universe. In order to show how discord interrupts harmony, the normative functions of these erotic texts need to be established. How do erotic texts describe married relationships? How might other texts, that focus on other relationships, expose a crack in this seamless vision of coupled harmony?

Queer analyses of texts involve reading against the establishing of norms.[41] Norms of sexual practice have specific contours in the modern period that are quite different from, say, the early modern period. Scholarship that searches for what might be called "gay" or "lesbian" sexualities in the modern period in the past imposes ideas of present structures of sexuality onto other times. Writing that considers past norms of gender and sexuality, and reads against those norms, is queer practice. In order to play with the rules of the past and read against the normative, I locate queer sexualities in women and youths who did not operate under the totalizing vision of adult men. In premodern Japan, adult men are imagined as being the sole possessors of vital fluids and the only subjects of desire. If, as Gregory Pflugfelder posits, the various structures of erotic desire in the Edo period can be classified as a "way" to be mastered rather than an identity, as in the modern period, I argue that this way can also be read as a realm of knowledge with its own set of norms.[42] Allow me to draw a parallel to modern norms of sexuality. If the male-female pairing in Christian marriage is a norm, then homosexuality, masturbation, adultery and every other sexuality outside of that norm works to subvert that norm. If harmonic marriage based on yin-yang balance and the proper consideration of correlation between the five phases is a norm in the early modern

[41]Butler 1993, pp. 18-21.
[42]Pflugfelder 1999, p. 28.

period, male-male relationships and female-centered sexual pleasure cause discord for that norm.

In this chapter, then, I analyze representations of the body and sexuality to argue that the norms of yin-yang harmonic marriages are established through erotic texts, but also contested through those very same texts. To expose the varied ideological landscape of early modern Japanese visual culture, I will investigate how the yin-yang theory of amorous and erotic harmony was depicted in erotic texts and albums published in the late 1600s. One of the noteworthy features of the early modern period was the rise of an urban culture, conveyed principally by images of the floating world (*ukiyo-e*) as well as the publication of several texts that have come to be known as novellas of the floating world (*ukiyo zōshi* 浮世草紙). What were the general trends in floating world erotica in this period? How were different sexualities described and represented in literary, visual, and visual-verbal texts? These are the questions I will answer in the first part of this chapter.

The chapter then moves on to close analyses of Hishikawa Moronobu's 1675 *shunga* book, *Fragrant Pillow of Dalliance with Youths* (*Wakashu asobi kyara no makura* 若衆遊伽羅枕). This text is one of the earliest *shunga* to feature sexual relationships involving youths in a visual-verbal format. Additionally, *Fragrant Pillow of Dalliance with Youths* shows the shift away from representing youth in Buddhist monastic settings to merchant and warrior settings. I argue that this text visualizes male-male erotica as a distinct tradition dependent on the affective relations between bodies. This *shunga* book offers a different way for bodies to relate to each other that exists outside of male-female pairing and heterosexual reproduction. This chapter next takes up

how female desire and visual subjectivity works against the more widespread yin-yang idea of desire. Finally, a conclusion points to other avenues of exploration in early modern erotica and the implications of this study on the wider field of research on Japanese erotica (*shunga* 春画) and knowledge formation in early modernity.

1.2 Harmony and Affinity in *Affinity and Harmony of Pleasurable Relations between Men and Women* (1678)

In the illustrations and prefaces of erotica in the late 1600s, authors and artists were propagating notions of yin-yang harmony as well as refashioning structures and ideas of erotic love from the past to fit into the present. The roles of authors and artists in the early modern period do not fit with modern ideas of solitary production. Instead, to borrow Julie Davis' schema, artistic collaboration was foundational to aesthetic production in the floating world.[43] That is, *shunga* books were not the product of one sole artist, but a collaboration between an engraver, publisher, designer, and artist. As part of a collaborative process, Moronobu refashioned the past through this idea of yin-yang harmony in *Affinity and Harmony of Pleasurable Relations between Men and Women* (*Danjo aishō wagō no en* 男女相性和娯縁, 1678). Specifically, the pages that describe the affinity between men of the metal phase and women of the metal phase directly reference *Tales of Ise* (*Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語), a poem-tale that, while originally compiled in the late ninth or early tenth century, continued as a cultural touchstone over the centuries for such things as Japanese poetry as well as a model of what poetic composition should aspire to. Furthermore, data from booksellers'

[43]Davis 2015, p. 9.

catalogues shows the rise in the number of affordable, woodblock printed editions of *Tales of Ise* starting in the 1660s, with numbers only increasing in the 1670s. Despite the frequent reference to *Tales of Ise*, and the other literary giant, *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari* 源氏物語, ca. 1000), the structures of desire and erotic love of the early modern period show a dynamic relationship to the worlds of *Tales of Ise* and *The Tale of Genji*. There are some continuities. There are some ruptures. Such a balancing act between adapting the past to a present and leaving a contemporary text vulnerable to the past often leads to interesting artistic results. But what ideological effects did a revisualization of the past into a present have? How did the refashioning of the classic into the contemporary change norms of erotic affinity and harmony? Investigating several scenes from *Affinity and Harmony* and comparing them to classical referents can reveal the ideological effects such practices of revisualization can have. This close reading of *Affinity and Harmony* shows how classical forms were utilized to legitimize an updated, more syncretic view of visualizing erotic harmony.

Affinity and Harmony relates sexy anecdotes about the various pairings of men and women in marriage by describing each phase-type of man and woman and all the possible pairings in an almost encyclopedic manner. Each type is rated as auspicious, semi-auspicious, or inauspicious. Every couple also has a double page spread backing up these ratings with images and a truncated story. The first few pages, all without dialogue, indicate that this text is describing affinity and harmony within marriage. The first page of the text shows a retinue of six men carrying a covered halberd, wrapped boxes, and all carrying swords as they process towards the left of the page (Fig 3). Turning the page,

the double-spread that awaits the reader details an abundance of people conveying a palanquin (Fig. 4).

The procession from the previous page continues across the bottom of the page, drawing the reader's eye to the left of the spread. The reader finds several men bearing the weight of the palanquin, and older gentleman walking behind them all. Two lamp-bearers lead the group, and women walk beside the palanquin. At the top of the page are three men bow to the arriving party. What is inside the palanquin and why the plethora of people guiding the contents of this box? This procession carries a new bride to her husband's house and the message of this visual preface is that the reader is joining the bride as she enters into her soon-to-be husband's family. If she is lucky, she will find her new partner to be an auspicious match.

Affinity and Harmony proposes a theory of harmonic married relations dependent on the traditional Chinese understandings of compatibility and balance. In such an understanding, men and women harmonize, or are discordant, according to their elemental phase. The scene explaining the affinity for Wood-Men and Wood-Women reveals an idea of bodily and conjugal harmony foreign to most moderns (Fig. 5).

The image for this scene shows a man and a woman enjoying tobacco on the right-hand side of the spread. The woman lights her long pipe as the man looks on. Behind them are pillows and a futon. On the left-hand side of the illustration, hidden from their view but visible to the viewer, is a man and woman about to engage in conjugal relations. The viewer is situated within the first room, where the couple is still smoking tobacco. The open door between the rooms allows the viewer visual access to

the couple at their nightly toil. The bounded text at the top of the page explains to the viewer the specific type of pairing that is shown below. It reads:

> Wood-Man, Wood-Woman; Good beginning and bad ending
> As for the time when both of them have yet to stain the pillow of a new marriage with grime, and when they do not neglect even the nightly efforts, as their travail is strong enough to inflame it appears that they will forgive each other's shortcomings. If they think they are becoming weaker, if they are given eel and eggs and other things to eat, there should be no problems in their relations.[44]

In this case, a couple of the "wood" phase are destined to have a good beginning but a bad ending. Upon reading the explanatory comments, the reader discovers that while their erotic affinity for each other is intense when they are just married, as time goes on their passionate flames may peter out. The way for them to avoid this weakening is to strengthen their body with the aphrodisiacs of "eel and eggs and other things."

This passage suggests that erotic affinity and harmony between couples can be maintained through bodily acts. Whereas couples in other times or cultures may seek a remedy for flagging sexual energies or lack of interest through a spiritual or psychological intervention, the husband and wife of the late 1600s change their diet to improve their relational deficiencies. Other texts from the late 1600s explain that eels

[44]*Danjo aishō wagō no en* 1678, fols. 3b-4a. My translation employs the transcription from *Danjo aishō wagō no en* and is rendered in consultation with that of Shigehisa Kuriyama and Patricia Fister's translation in Hishikawa Moronobu 2002.

and eggs, among other foods, replenish sexual energy.[45] Of interest is that this unbalanced couple can banish problems from their relationship by augmenting their diet. In addition to this scene in which the reader is given insights on how diet can change the affinity of couples, *Affinity and Harmony* also illustrates scenes in which classical literary scenes are reworked in the context of contemporaneous fashions and structures of desire.

Affinity and Harmony categorizes relationships and defines harmony in a syncretic manner that complicates any notions of a gendered binary. Although each couple is a man and a woman, gender has far less to do in the success of couples than each individual's elemental phase. The Chinese concept of "yin" and "yang," the complementary negative and positive forces, respectively, affects all manner of relations in the universe. Yin and yang are not oppositional energies, but mutually constitutive. In a similar manner, *Affinity and Harmony* utilizes past literary and erotic tradition to legitimate contemporary erotic structures.

Tales of Ise casts a long shadow on cultural production in Japanese history, constantly being commented upon, edited, and reimagined in new ways and with novel meanings. Moronobu participates in a long history of borrowing *Tales of Ise*, as Joshua Mostow has pointed out, by reworking one of the most often depicted scenes from *Tales of Ise* as part of the world of *Affinity and Harmony*.[46] This reframing of a past scene similarly reframes the erotic culture of the classical world as part of the harmonic system of yin-yang and five elemental phases in the early modern period. This scene transforms the Heian period (794-1185) ideal of a courtly lover's "amorousness" (*irogonomi* 色好

[45]Haft 2013, p. 107
[46]Mostow 2015.

み) into the cultural milieu of early modern erotics. This system of early modern eros includes harmony and compatibility that is much more influenced by traditional Chinese concepts of the heavens, the earth, yin, and yang. While at times the early modern period is imagined as some sort of foundation for a native, "Japanese" identity, these works of erotica show how the ideological underpinnings of harmony and compatibility draw on sources much more varied to form a vision of erotic desire that is mongrel-like in its frazzled pedigree. Closer investigation of this scene will unspin the spools of cultural inheritance, reframing, and the norms of this yin-yang structure of desire that was being created.

The "Musashi Plain" episode from the *Tales of Ise* is reframed visually and verbally in this scene to align it with harmonic notions of erotic energy derived from Chinese philosophy. The original version of the "Musashi Plain" episode is:

> Once there was a man who abducted someone's daughter. He was on his way to Musashi Plain with her when some provincial officials arrested him for theft. He had left the girl in a clump of bushes and run off, but the pursuers felt certain that he was on the plain, and prepared to set fire to it. In great agitation the girl recited this poem:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Musashi no wa | Do not set fire |
> | Kyō wan na yaki so | To Musashi Plain, |
> | Wakakusa no | For my beloved husband |
> | Tsuma mo komoreri | Is hidden here, |
> | Ware mo komoreri | And so am I. |

> They heard her, seized her, and marched the two off together[47]

In this infamous scene, the unnamed "man" marries a young woman by kidnapping her and taking her to Musashi Plain. How does this classical story change in an early modern, erotic retelling?

In *Affinity and Harmony,* the Ise story is revisualized and rewritten to instead show the dangers of a couple whose elemental phases are not aligned (Fig. 6). The text at the top of the image reads:

> Metal-Man, Metal-Woman; Very Inauspicious, good beginning, bad ending
>
> Reflecting upon the essence of the poem, "Do not set fire to Musashi Plain today," a certain person ran off with someone's daughter. As their pursuers were tracking them, the couple had no choice but to conceal themselves in a certain thicket of grass. As long as they were there, they decided first and foremost to perform their conjugal duty. Their energy towards each other caused sparks to fly. Was it the heat of their passion that set fire to the fields? As now that place is called "Burnt Field," even Ariwara no Narihira could recall this incident.[48]

The reason for the plain erupting in flames has changed in Moronobu's retelling. Instead of provincial officials looking to draw the thieving husband out of the fields by setting

[47]McCullough 1968, p. 78.
[48]*Danjo aishō wagō no en* 1678, fols. 16b–17a.

them ablaze, in *Affinity and Harmony* the plains ignite in flames due to the "fire of their passion (*omohi*)." There is a play on words in this passage as "passion" (*omohi*) contains the word for "fire" (*hi*). Furthermore, Moronobu changes the narrative of the original episode to make their passion overt. In the original, the man "[leaves] the girl in a clump of bushes and [runs] off." However, in Moronobu's version, the couple "conceal themselves in a thicket of grass" – that is, the man does not run off. Perhaps to pass the time while hiding, they decide to do their "conjugal duty." Their passion for each other is so intense, that the plain ignites in flames. Instead of provincial officers pursuing the couple and setting the plain aflame to flush out a thief, Moronobu's version rewrites their story so that the act of lovemaking, and their burning passion for each other, burns the place down.

The illustration of this scene similarly updates the classical tale to align with the erotic visual culture of the early modern period. Looking at earlier editions of *Tales of Ise* and the illustrations therein can help distinguish what is updated and revisualized in *Affinity and Harmony*. The most well-known edition is the Sagabon, from the early 1600s, so named because it was printed as a book (*bon*) in Saga, a city near Kyoto.[49] Different from *Affinity and Harmony*, the *Tales of Ise* from the Saga press employs a format called "inserted illustrations" (*sashie* 挿絵). The inserted illustration for the Musashi Plain episode shows a distinct difference in style and bodily illustration of the personages from *Affinity and Harmony* – which one might expect from an erotic text and a high-class edition of a literary classic. In the Sagabon edition, the viewer is situated at

[49]The edition utilized in this project is in the collection of Cambridge University Library, published in 1608 (*Keichō* 13).

some distance from the action in the image. The aforementioned provincial officials rush to the plain, with bows and torches and even a sword in hand. The man stands in the grasses of Musashi Plain, dressed in many robes and a courtier's hat, while the woman cowers at his side with her incredibly long hair (Fig. 7).

This type of representation of the characters in *Tales of Ise* can be seen throughout the medieval period, and in even earlier visual representations. In Moronobu's text, the couple hide themselves behind a brushwood fence very close to the veranda of a house. Furthermore, their dress and hairstyles resemble nothing like what the viewer sees in the Sagabon *Tales of Ise*. The coiffure with the hair tied back more resembles the trendy hairstyles featured in the 1686 *Illustrated Encyclopedia of Eros* (*Kōshoku kinmōzui* 好色訓蒙図彙) (Fig. 8).

These differences in representation of the figures illustrates the concern with the now, the fleeting, and the current in Moronobu's text. *Affinity and Harmony* recasts this scene in the contemporary styles and in the contemporary ideas of erotica and relations between men and women. What the Sagabon edition of *Tales of Ise* imagines as another edition of a past classic, *Affinity and Harmony* reimagines as an example of how a passion too intense can start a fire.

This reimagining of a scene from classical literature does not radically reinvent erotic norms, but only conservatively appropriates the past. The adaption of the Musashi plain episode is just another instance of an early modern text citing a literary and cultural authority. Although the hairstyles and the visual-verbal nature of the woodblock printed erotic book is novel, the act of citing *Tales of Ise* privileges the old. *Affinity and Harmony* sketches out sexual relationships that depart from the meanings of the Heian

period "amorousness" (*irogonomi* 色好み) as depicted in *Tales of Ise*. In Heian Japan, "amorousness" functioned in not only an erotic context, but also in a political one. At times, "amorousness" could even subvert imperial authority if a powerful elite chose the wrong partner.[50] However, *Affinity and Harmony* only adapts this classical past and does not invent. The incorporation of Chinese yin-yang thought into the relationships between married male-female couples is, then, conservative and produces adapted norms. The pornographic version of the Musashi plain episode toys with the wording of the poem in *Tales of Ise* and adds some humor. But Moronobu's version is just that: a version of the past still citing and drawing upon cultural authorities.

1.3 Divergent Traditions in *Newly Published: Fragrant Pillow of Dalliances with Youths* (1675)

The 1675 work, *Newly Published: Fragrant Pillow of Dalliance with Youths* (*shinpan wakashu asobi kyara no makura* 新版若衆遊伽羅枕) by Hishikawa Moronobu (1618~1694) is one of the first erotic illustrated books that features male-male love and draws upon and pushes tropes of male-male love that would prove significant in the early modern period.[51] In this section, I argue that despite the long history of male-male love in Japan, Chinese cosmological understandings of the universe figure male-male intimate corporeal relations as discordant. Despite such a lack of harmony and no possibility for offspring to be the result of such sexual activities, male-male erotica is not described visually or verbally as an aberration – just simply as a "way" to be pursued. Much like

[50]Takahashi 1990, pp. 24-27.
[51]Hayakawa 1998, p. 9.

the figure of the youth, male-male erotica and the ambiguous bodies described in texts related to it, are nonhostile outliers – not threatening enough to the sex/gender system of early modern Japan, but also not contributing to male/female harmony or the propagation of a good Confucian family. I argue in this section that *Fragrant Pillow* does not uphold the norms of yin-yang harmony between couples, as in *Affinity and Harmony*, but draws upon a different ideological and erotic tradition that looks to a constructed Japanese tradition of "the love of youths."[52] Queer theorists often study sexualities or genders that depart radically from and subvert norms. Such scholarship argues that sexual relationships operating outside of heteronormative structures can destabilize those very norms. While *Fragrant Pillow* features many sexual relationships not seen in *Affinity and Harmony,* Moronobu does not radically subvert norms in this illustrated book. In a twist on expectations, *Fragrant Pillow* does not overturn the entire structure of erotica so much as offer another way.

The way of youths in *Fragrant Pillow* is presented as a specific realm of knowledge that can be found in each land of the known world. The preface lays out this view clearly. In the very first lines of the preface, the writer tells the reader:

> The thing called the Way of Youths has also been passed down from the three lands. As for in the Indus, it is called the way of children, and as for in China they have named it "cultivating tail," or "the flower of the rear garden." As for in our reign, Kōbō Daishi of the province of Ki, in order

[52]From here on, I will abbreviate *Newly Published: Fragrant Pillow of Dalliances with Youths* as *Fragrant Pillow*.

> to build a temple with pure priests, he honorably named it the Way of Youths, and it came to pass that he honorably spread this way [of love].[53]

The grammatical structure of the Japanese phrasing, with the repetitive "As for in…" (*ni te wa* にては) shows that although the name of youth-love may be different in each of these three lands, all of these names indicate an underlying sexual practice. Furthermore, these three lands, the Indus (*tenjiku* 天竺), China (*morokoshi* 唐土) and Japan (literally "our realm," *waga chō* 我朝) were the significant regions of Asia for the Japanese in the premodern era. While there were rumors of lands further West of the Indian sub-continent, such realms were more the stuff of legend and fantasy. China and Japan were the cultural hallmarks of early modern Japan. In such a way, the author of this erotic illustrated book constructs the way of youths as practiced in Japan as part of an underlying tradition native to the major lands of Asia.

Stylistically, *Fragrant Pillow* is firmly situated in the representational norms of late seventeenth-century illustrated books. *Fragrant Pillow* begins with a three-page preface. After the preface are twenty-five scenes, followed by a short afterword. The layout of each scene is highly regular. Underneath a scalloped cartouche containing a verbal narrative is presented each of the scenes of the way of youths. The scalloped cartouche in this text appears in many other illustrated books attributed to Moronobu from the late 1600s, including *Guide to Love in the Yoshiwara* (*Yoshiwara koi no michibiki* 吉原恋の道引, 1678), *Genji's Elegant Pillow* (*Genji kyasha makura* 源氏きゃ

[53] *Shinpan wakashu asobi no makura* 1675, fols. 1b-2a.

しゃ枕, 1676), *Pleasure with the Beauties of Japan* (*Wakoku bijin asobi* 和国美人遊, 1673)[54]. The slanted view from ¾ above is similarly typical of this period in illustration, and can be seen in other books of erotica, such as *The Aloe-Scented Pillow* (*kyara makura* 伽羅枕, 1673-1681).[55] Different from other erotic books illustrated by Hishikawa Moronobu is the lack of any dialogue in the space of the pictures. The aforementioned scalloped boundaries between the text and the image is much stricter in *Fragrant Pillow*, with none of the unnamed characters saying anything – not even a word or groan. This lack of pictured spoken dialogue is distinctive from erotica of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in which the writing inserted into the picture (*kakiire* 書き入れ) and the narrative text, usually in some sort of separated space at the top of the page, became much more common.[56]

Another reason I consider Moronobu's illustrated books in depth is that he helped establish a style that would become emblematic of the late seventeenth century. Most frequently, historians of art position Moronobu as the beginning of a shift in culture that embraced the common townsfolk as consumers of a new, woodblock print culture that moved away from the more aristocratic tastes and formats of the medieval period. One scholar opines that "Moronobu is the central Ukiyo-e figure of an artistic efflorescence that is viewed by some as a Japanese Renaissance, akin to the Elizabethan in England a century earlier."[57] Another similarly figures him as a key, if not *the* key figure, in developing *ukiyo-e*: "Ukiyo-e proper was born when the streams of genre painting and

[54]Izzard 2008, pp. 32-39.
[55]Izzard 2008, p. 39.
[56]Some texts by Moronobu, such as *Ornament of the Bedchamber* (1681-1684), do feature dialogue clearly in the space of the picture (*kakiire* 書き入れ)
[57]Hillier 1987, p. 99.

woodblock book illustration came together under the guidance of one of those Genroku geniuses who determined the essential characteristics of a new *chōnin* art form: Hishikawa Moronobu."[58] By contrast, I would position Moronobu as a key artist in the visualization of erotica that confounds mainstream understandings of erotica relations between bodies.

Male-male love between an older man (*nenja* 念者) and a youth (*wakashu* 若衆) is figured in the preface to *Fragrant Pillow* as a specific "way" (*michi* 道) with a mish-mash of historical precedents which undergird this way. Distinct from other collections of "pillow-pictures" (*makura-e* 枕絵) illustrated later by Moronobu, *Fragrant Pillow* does not reference classical literature such as the *Tale of Genji* or *Tales of Ise.* As mentioned in its preface, "the way of youths" (*nyakudō* 若道) has been transmitted from the three major cultural traditions that early modern authors and artists recognized: India, China, and, of course, Japan.

> The thing called the way of youths has been transmitted from all the three lands. In India (*tenjiku*) they call it the way of children (*jidō*), in China (*morokoshi*) they name it both "cultivating tail" (*saibi*) and "the flower of the rear garden" (*kōteika*). In our country (*wagachō*), Kōbō Daishi of Mt. Kōya in the province of Kishū honorably named it "the way of youths" (*shudō*) in order to build a chaste priesthood. And thus, it came to pass that this way was made to spread forth [through our reign]. And so, a youth (*wakashu*) should only be called a youth from the age of eleven

[58]Clark 2001, p. 22.

> until the age of twenty-two or three. However, since it is said that there are sixty [youths] in Kōya and eighty [youths] in Nachi, it probably is not always the case that the definition of youth is reliant on age. Without distinction, those deep of feeling, the lofty and the low all protect humanity and justice (*jingi*) in order to soften their hearts (*kokoro*). In order to do so, they make pledges and cut their arms and prick their thighs, pull out their nails and apply hot irons.[59]

Early modern Japanese thinkers divided the world into three realms: Japan, China, and India. Their boundaries were not sharply divided, and certainly not the same as the modern geopolitical nation-states. More than anything, these three lands represented the places of knowledge for early moderns. As much as religious and philosophical traditions originated from these three lands, "the way of youths" is also present in all these locales, according to the preface to *Fragrant Pillow*. The only difference is the names of these erotica "ways." Through such rhetorical gesturing and the locating of the way of youths in the cultural superiors of early modern Japan, the author positions the way of youths not as a distinctly Japanese anomaly, but rather as an iteration of the same "way" named differently in the major lands of the known world. This passage undermines discourses of Japanese uniqueness and suggests erotic knowledge transmitted transnationally in early modern Japan.

Significantly, the traditions and great figures that are hailed in this passage differ from prefatory remarks seen in erotica that features mostly male and female

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[59] *Shinpan wakashu asobi no makura* 1675, fols. 1b-2a.

pairings. Both the way of love and the way of youths are in the same category of "way" (*michi* 道). But the figures who introduced such knowledge to Japanese are differ and merit investigation. Kōbō Daishi (774-835), also known as Kūkai, is the founder of Japanese Esoteric Buddhism (*mikkyō* 密教). He studied Esoteric Buddhism in China and brought these teachings to Japan. He established a temple complex on Mount Kōya in present-day Wakayama Prefecture, still the center of Esoteric teachings in Japan. Among other feats, Kōbō Daishi is credited with introducing the way of youths, or male-male love, to Japan. Therefore, many texts construct Esoteric Buddhism and Kōbō Daishi as the Japanese link to an transnational sexuality.

This description of this section of the preface shows the material and corporeal practices of engaging in the way of youths. Some of the practices are nearly identical to *shinjū*, or "love pacts," that were carried out with courtesans in the pleasure quarters.[60] Of even greater interest in this passage is the claim that practitioners of the way of youths who "protect their humanity and [are] mild of heart" (*jingi o mamotsute kokoro yaharakanaruniha*) engage in "love pacts" that deformed the body. The word humanity (*jingi* 仁義) harkens back to the Confucian philosopher, Mencius 孟子 (Jp. Mōshi; Ch. *Meng zi*, 372-289 B.C.E.). "Humanity" (*jin* 仁) and "Righteousness" (*gi* 義) are among the five constants (*gojō* 五常) that were regarded as core philosophical concepts of humanism in Confucian philosophy. Much like the assertion that the way of youths was put into practice at Mount Kōya in order to have "pure priests" (*seisō* 清僧), the language in the preface suggests that youths (*wakashu*) and their admirers (*nenja*) are

[60]Lawrence 1994.

engaging in a moral and humanistic relationship that protects Confucian virtue. Or at the very least, engaging in this "way" upholds two of these five Confucian constants.

In the latter part of the volume, two other scenes show admirers, youths, and women engaged in various forms of sexual expression (Fig. 9). This is not to suggest that the early modern period was a sort of sexual paradise, where free love reigned and power structures that governed polite society outside of the floating world did not intercede. As every scholar who has studied male-male eroticism in the early modern period has noted, youths are almost always the receptive partner in anal sex and their admirers are almost always the penetrative partner. That is, the age hierarchy and the sexual and political power of the warrior class spills over from public life into private life as well–something that can be seen from the overwhelming number of private bedrooms and the like that are featured in *Fragrant Pillow*. All of this is to say, that despite the call-out to the floating world throughout the text, even the floating world was subject to hierarchies of power, and infusion of ideology of "compatibility" (*aishō wagō* 相性和娯).[61]

If the premise that desire is figured through practices of looking is a truism, then how are these practices figured in this work, and where do youths fit into these practices? Mostow has argued that youths are "sexually ambidextrous" because they assume active roles when having sex with women and passive roles when with adult men. The liminal positioning of youths outside of a strict gender binary is the reasoning behind Mostow's claim that youths were a third gender.[62] Building off such scholarship, I further these observations but extend this line of argumentation to include visuality. Through analysis

[61]Moronobu uses the Chinese character 娯 (*gō*) in the compound 和娯 (*wagō*). However, the standard character used today is 合 (*gō*).
[62]Mostow 2016, p. 23.

of the visual relations in *Fragrant Pillow*, I claim that Moronobu marks the youth as object of desire for both adult men and women.

Moronobu makes the youth an object of visual desire through visual parallelism with other objects observed for aesthetic pleasure. A latter image from the illustrated book shows how the regard of others figures the youth as something to be looked at, and not a subject who possesses a desiring gaze in and of himself (Fig. 10). The double-spread shows a youth and his adult lover at the far left engaged in sexual activity. At the right are two figures, one standing by the cherry blossom tree and one in the middle of the composition, leaning over. The purported reason for this excursion is to view cherry blossoms, a long-established seasonal practice still widespread in Japan today. Flower viewing is an event in which the short blooming period of the cherry tree is enjoyed while enjoying food and drink. Of import in the image is the way in which the two figures on the right fix the adult man and the youth with their gazes. The figure standing behind the cherry tree raises a hand, as if to push away any object that may hinder his view. To add interest to this figuring of the regard, the adult man's barely perceptible left eye looks towards the two voyeurs. The only person not engaged in an exchange of glances and furtive looks is the youth, whose unexpressive eyes focus on some distant point off to the left.

How is agency represented visually in this image? The youth is exposed to the looks of almost every person present in this scene, including the viewer. Inasmuch agency and power are linked to the possession of sight, then the *wakashu*'s downcast glance suggests a complete lack of agency and power. As Tanaka Yūko has indicated, a key framework for thinking through how bodies are presented in erotica is the

complementary binary of visibility/invisibility.[63] Erotica is a visual game of concealing and revealing. The folding screen in front of the man and the youth, the textiles hung around their encampment, and their strategically draped robes suggest a pretense of trying to hide a private space from public view when, in actuality, they only heighten the pleasure at seeing something that should be hidden. In *Fragrant Pillow,* the youth lacks any visual agency, and his body is a site/sight for others to consume.

1.4 Female Desire and Visual Agency in *Ornament of the Bedchamber* (1681-1684)

The first image in the book of erotica, *Ornament of the Bedchamber* draws a contrast between older forms of male and female relations and new ways of being intimate (Fig. 11). This scene foregrounds female desire. On the right of the page is a merchant with a chest displaying four dildoes, three more on the floor, and showing two more to the women. Three women gather around the merchant, appraising one of the larger dildoes, while another group of three at left approach. They express their desires in arrestingly simple language: "This one's smaller," (*kore wa motto chiisai* 是はもつとちいさい) and "I wanna a big one!" (*ōkina no ga hoshuu gozaru* 大きなのがほしうござる). The perspective is a conventional ¾ top-down view of an interior with the roof "blown-off" (*fukinuki yatai* 吹抜屋台) so the viewer has access to the interior scene.

Of particular interest is the folding screen visible in the upper left-hand corner of the left page. The clouds with patterns on them that obscure the edges of the scene in the folding screen can be used to blur large expanses of distance or time. Furthermore, the

[63]Tanaka 2009, pp. 20-42.

dress of the man and woman appear to be that of the Heian Era (794-1185).[64] The visual parallelism between the man facing the woman in the screen painting, and the women facing the merchant in *Ornament of the Bedchamber,* stresses the difference in the two scenes. In the screen painting, the man regards the woman, whose eyes are downcast and obscured by her long hair. In the folding screen showing the past, the woman has no vision.

Furthermore, the man sits further back into the painting, positioned as a social superior. In the foreground scene, the women appear deeper into the image, looking out from inside their lodgings at the merchant who sits outside. In this way, the visual positions, as well as the social positions, of the merchant and the ladies are inverted from that of the screen painting. Such a visual contrast acknowledges the past, but at the same time privileges the present. The screen painting shows a world in which female vision was obscured or absent and men occupied a higher position. While gender hierarchy had not changed that much by the late 1600s, in Moronobu's text this flipping of the positions of men and women, with women actively buying objects to enact their erotic desire offers a brief respite from the strict gender hierarchy of early modern Japan.

This introductory scene sets the stage for what are eleven scenes that are not so much a structured narrative as an enumeration of fantasies or methods of lovemaking. Significantly, the introductory scene does not have a cloud-patterned smaller image above, as do all of the other scenes. Such a clearly delineated border suggests that this is the world of reality, and that this merchant and his dildoes can be the gateway to fantasy. The fantasy view of these scenes is further emphasized by the separation of each scene

[64]Tanaka 2013, p. 23.

into a lower ¾ portion and an upper ¼ panel. Furthermore, the few men that appear in the "reality" depicted in the lower ¾ of the illustrated book are cut off from the women's quarters by screens, tatami mats, or other obstructive barriers. This fantasy is controlled by women and represents an interior desire that is externalized by means of this illustrated book.

Female desire and visual subjectivity are further illustrated in subsequent scenes. On pages seven and eight of *Ornament of the Bedchamber*, on the upper portion of the page are two scenes of men and women copulating in different configurations (Fig. 12). The right-hand scene shows the women reclining against blankets and clothing on a sheet, embracing the man as they make love. The left-hand scene shows a different male and female couple as they are about to engage in vaginal, penetrative sex. The scenes show similar circumstances with an almost naked male and female couple on a similar blanket. But the facial illustration is different. Both of these cartouches are bordered with a scalloped line on the top, and curled embellishments in the upper corners. Beneath these two scenes is the larger scene, presumably the lived world of the women. A high-ranking woman kneels off to the right in a separate room. The blind has been raised so that she may look outside her room, but she cannot see beyond the interior blind directly to her left. She has a hint of a smile on her face and directs her gaze toward the left-hand side of the scene. Following her gaze to the right, the viewer encounters two younger girls, perhaps serving women, holding each other. The one closest to the viewer covers her mouth with the back of her hand, stifling a laugh or gasp. These two women mimic each other's body poses, with their contrapposto stance, the tilt of their heads, and the destination of their curious glances. Following their glances, the reader encounters a

partition screen. Behind the screen is a man kneeling with an erect penis, looking off the page to the left. How can visual agency and desire be read in this scene?

The interplay of glances within the text and the tension between fantasy and reality provides a clue to reading visual agency and desire in this scene. Those viewers following a right to left direction of reading will likely first encounter the high-ranking lady kneeling on the extreme right of the page. If the reader follows her gaze, it seems that she may only just be able to see the two younger women standing near the partition. Finally, the reader encounters the serving man, partially obscured by a screen. Following the succession of gazes from right to left, the reader in a sense enters into the visual subjectivity of the high-ranking lady, and then inhabits the visual realm of the serving women nearest the man. Neither the high-ranking lady nor the two younger women may be able to see the serving man or his member. But what is important is that their attention is drawn to where, the viewer knows, the man is exposing his penis. He is occluded from the women's gazes but not from their fantasies. Above each group of women is a scene of a man and a woman making love. The dream-like scalloping around the edges of these scenes suggests a dream-like nature to these upper illustrations. These smaller scenes pictured above the women may very well be their fantasies of what might happen if they make their way behind the partition screen. If the reader follows the visual logic of reading from right to left, then the reader full inhabits the fantastical imaginations of these women. Moronobu draws the reader into the sexual fantasies of these women, and in doing so, gives these women sexual subjectivity.

Moronobu's book of erotica, *Ornament of the Bedchamber*, visually privileges female desire and calls upon the viewer to inhabit a female-centered visual subjectivity.

Through the splitting of images throughout the work into a world where women target men and their genitalia with their looks, where women buy dildoes to satiate their desires, this text offers less a reflection of actual practices by women, than it does a space of erotic fantasy in which women's bodies, pleasures, and desires are at the forefront.

1.5 Conclusion

The three illustrated pornographic books examined in this chapter show the variety of ways one of the foremost artists of the seventeenth century negotiated past and present configurations of sexuality and desire. I argued in this chapter that *Affinity and Harmony of Pleasurable Relations between Men and Women* (1678) casts all married relations between men and women according to the Chinese theory of the five elemental phases and yin-yang harmony. This interpretation includes references to reimaginations of married couples from classical literature, such as the *Tales of Ise.* However, *Affinity and Harmony* does not radically reinvent the past, but only adapts past erotic ideals to the present by adding on a veneer of Chinese theories of harmony. Norms are only modified slightly and ultimately upheld.

The other texts investigated in this chapter, *Fragrant Pillow* and *Ornament of the Bedchamber* expose discordances in this one vision of the forces that attract couples and control the origins of results of desire. *Fragrant Pillow* makes no reference to harmony, but instead posits the way of youths as a distinct manner of erotic desire that exists in the predominant cultures of the then-known world. Sexual and affective relations between adult men and youths are not deemed harmonic according to the five elemental phases. Instead, these relationships are judged by the depth of the Confucian virtue of humanity.

In this text, the reader can detect references to Esoteric Buddhism as well as Confucianism that legitimate this "way" of knowledge. Thus, *Fragrant Pillow* does not imagine a world controlled by the primal forces of yin-yang and the five elemental phases. Instead, the way of youths and erotic desire functions within the discursive realm of a mélange of Buddhist and Confucian elements. *Ornament of the Bedchamber* similarly functions against the harmonic vision of erotic desire. If, as Charlotte Furth explains, the interaction of the forces of yin and yang created sexual difference, then the representation of erotic desire in *Ornament of the Bedchamber* pushes back against this binary understanding of sexual and erotic forces.[65] The passive yin that rules female desire becomes active through the women's practices of appraising men, mutual masturbation, and the projection of female erotic fantasies.

What do these implications on harmony, gender, and desire mean for studies of early modern erotica? As Gerstle and Clark note, studies on erotica often ignore the rhetorical workings of the text, taking images and words at their face-value. Analyses of erotic texts need to take seriously the visual and linguistic workings of erotica. Early modern erotica, like any other type of text, has its own conventions and underlying set of assumptions. One of these underlying sets of assumptions is the interaction of male and female bodies through the complementary forces of passive energy (yin) and active energy (yang). Theories of queerness never fail to indicate the importance of anti-normativity in their critiques of structures of power.[66] I argued in this chapter that *Affinity and Harmony* upheld and adapted erotic norms from the past. In contrast, *Fragrant Pillow* and *Ornament of the Bedchamber* recast the subjects of sexual desire

[65]Furth 1988, pp. 1-31.
[66]Eng, Halberstam, Muñoz 2005, pp. 1–17.

and offer alternative erotic histories. These latter two erotic books expose the varied discursive terrain of early modern Japan, while the former simply adapts an older discourse to a contemporary context.

The main thesis of this project is that the early modern period (1603-1868) was a time of competing discourses with one dominant scopic regime of Confucian harmony that attempted to silence other views. In these early erotic illustrated books, the more conservative vision of erotic harmony in *Affinity and Harmony* has yet to silence the divergent erotic worlds of *Fragrant Pillow* or *Ornament of the Bedchamber*. However, over the course of the eighteenth century, the shogunal government embraced a more active role in monitoring cultural production and increasingly saw divergent views of sexuality as a threat to stability. The next chapter investigates how the creators of early modern comic books queered notions of sexual reproduction and textual reproduction in the late eighteenth century.

Chapter Two
Queer Textual and Sexual Reproductions in the *Kibyōshi* of Santō Kyōden (1761-1816)

2.1 Introduction

Which bodies desire and which bodies are desired? How are norms of looking constructed and negotiated in visual texts? As seen in the previous chapter, the rhetoric of harmonious pairings based on Chinese cosmology fixed certain pairings of men and women as auspicious or inauspicious. Erotic texts with youths, such as *Fragrant Pillow*, describes the structure of relations between adult men and youths as not shaped by Chinese cosmology, but a syncretism of Confucian and Japanese thought. Twisting these discourses of erotic desire and visual subjectivity are moments in other erotic texts when women give voice to their desires and fix men as objects in their vision, queering the male-centeredness of vision and visuality in erotic texts. As seen in the last chapter, moments that challenge the norms of looking are always simmering beneath the singular vision that norms impose upon the world. Following this thread of normativity and queerness, let us move on to thinking past desire towards reproduction. In the age of woodblock print, reproduction is a useful way of thinking through normativity and queerness. In this chapter, I investigate several early modern comicbooks (*kibyōshi* 黄表紙), a genre of visual-verbal fiction produced in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. I argue that authors and artists of this genre parodied and critiqued Neo-Confucian norms of reproduction even after the government cracked down on *kibyōshi* and other genres that ran contrary to the official dogma of Neo-Confucianism.

Queer theory has been one of the intellectual currents that has most thoroughly critiqued normative discourses of sexual reproduction in literary and artistic texts. One of

the main concerns in this field has been pushing back against the assumption of heteronormative life cycles. For instance, a common target of critique is the prototypically conceived marriage and the production of children. Conversely, queer theory values non-normative lifecycles that subvert expectations of how sexual reproduction may work, or how people propagate the next generation. Lee Edelman offers one of the most stringent critiques of sexual reproduction in his monograph *No Future*. In this work, Edelman investigates the politics of futurity, which he calls the construction of a future through sexual reproduction. What he calls "reproductive futurity" invests energy and positivity in possible futures, and in a way, is content to sacrifice the present lives of adults to maintain that possible future.[67] Edelman goes on to trace how we can read this oppositionality to reproductive futurism in various cultural texts, including Hitchcock films and in literary texts like *A Christmas Carol*. Memorably, he exhorts the reader to do away with a culture that values the idea of the child over adult queers.

The reproduction of the family and the propagation of the family name through the *ie*, or the "household," was the model of normative future in early modern Japan. The *ie* system indicated both the physical space and location of the household as well as the family members within that household. As Mary Elizabeth Berry and Marcia Yonemoto note, however, religious establishments and organizations, such as Buddhist temples or Shinto shrines, did not actively supervise family formation in early modern Japan.[68] But a wide range of popular didactic texts based on Confucian learning inculcated the

[67]Edelman 2004, pp. 16-18.
[68]Berry and Yonemoto 2019, p. 8.

primacy of filial piety helping to sustain the structure of the *ie* system.[69] Edelman proposes a model of reproductive futurity in which the figure of the child is privileged. In contrast, early modern Japan's schematic of futurity emphasized the propagation of the *ie* system through reproducing the family and the family name.

Textual and sexual reproduction are often joined together in literary texts. As Michael Davidson has pointed out, early modern texts in Europe pair sexual reproduction and artistic fecundity through the figure of the male author.[70] The queering of sexual reproduction and reproductive futurity, as Edelman would call it, mighty come about in the birth of a non-human child or reproduction through a non-female body. One could carry over this line of argumentation with the figures of sexual and textual reproduction in the works of Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761-1816). In his *Nine Months in the Womb of an Author*, Kyōden receives divine aid and gestates his next *kibyōshi* as a woman might gestate a flesh and blood embryo.

Kyōden was one of the foremost cultural producers of the late eighteenth century. He first trained as a woodblock print artist in the Kitao School under the penname Kitao Masanobu but would eventually expand his repertoire to authoring and illustrating *kibyōshi* and crafting "fashion books" (*sharebon* 洒落本) under the name Santō Kyōden. One of his *kibyōshi*, entitled *Playboy, Roasted à la Edo* (*Edo umare uwaki no kabayaki* 江戸生艶気樺焼, 1785), became a bestseller, being reissued twice over the next decade.[71] However, government scrutiny of what was gaining popularity with the

[69]Berry and Yonemoto 2019, p. 9.
[70]Davidson 2010, pp. 207-226.
[71]Kern 2019, p. 339; For a complete translation and annotation of *Playboy, Roasted à la Edo* see Kern 2019, pp. 339-426.

reading public came hand in hand with Kyōden's increased cultural visibility. A few years later in 1791, Kyōden would meet with punishment by the shogunal government for writing "depraved books" and be handcuffed for fifty days.[72] Kyōden was not only a popular author and illustrator, but also someone who was targeted for his outlaw art.

In this chapter, I argue that the reforms surrounding the succession of Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1759-1829) and the cultural texts on sexual reproduction constitute the norms of textual and sexual reproduction, respectively. Sadanobu was the architect of the political, economic, and social reforms of the Kansei Era (1789-1801), through which he sought to restore the legitimacy of shogunal authority.[73] The culture of the Floating World, and specifically *kibyōshi*, stand in opposition to the agenda of Sadanobu. Through analysis of two texts by Kyōden, I argue that a satiric stance on official culture is taken specifically with regards to methods of textual and sexual reproduction. First, I investigate the promulgation of official culture through edicts and pedagogical texts that espoused normative forms of reproduction. Then, I analyze Kyōden's 1791 *kibyōshi*, *Daughter in a Box, Mermaid Dolled Up* (*Hakoiri musume men'ya ningyō* 箱入娘面屋人魚). By featuring a cross-species tryst that leads to a mermaid daughter, this text upends norms of heteronormative reproduction. Next, I analyze the 1804 *kibyōshi Nine Months in the Womb of an Author* (*Sakusha totsuki no zu* 作者十月図), which features Santō Kyōden himself becoming pregnant and birthing a *kibyōshi* through divine intervention. Then, I tie together these two works and their satire of official culture surrounding textual

[72]Kornicki 1977, pp. 158-19.
[73]Screech 2000, pp. 27-28.

and sexual reproduction and finally suggest that these case studies could be informative in thinking through how queer form and queer content are often linked.

2.2 Publishing and Popular Culture

The seventeenth century is often called the "age of the woodblock print." In the Japanese archipelago, the rediscovery and utilization of woodblock printing technology began with the publication of Chinese classics in the late sixteenth-century at the Imperial court. From the eighth century until the seventeenth century, printing mostly comprised of Buddhist texts and Chinese classics that circulated in small numbers.[74] For the entirety of the seventeenth century and the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the old capital of Kyoto and the city of Osaka, together dubbed the Kamigata region, would remain the publishing center of the Japanese archipelago. The booksellers and publishers of Kamigata introduced and circulated some of the most well-known works of the early modern period - the "floating world" novellas (*ukiyozōshi* 浮世草子) of Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴 (1642-1693), such as *The Life of an Amorous Man* (*kōshoku ichidai otoko* 好色一代男, 1682) published in Osaka. This upsurge in the number of printed materials is a result of many factors, one of which is the relative peace in the Japanese archipelago after centuries of warfare. Furthermore, the establishment of the shogunal government (*bakufu*) in the castle-town of Edo would eventually shift the political and cultural center of Japan eastward. Indeed, by the last quarter of the eighteenth century, during the An'ei 安永(1772-1781) and Tenmei 天明 (1781-1789) eras, the city of Edo would witness a

[74]Kornicki 1998, pp. 112-125.

cultural efflorescence that would solidify Edo as a legitimate cultural successor to the old capital of Kyoto.

A large part of this cultural flowering were the many types of woodblock printed texts that allowed readers to imagine the floating world even if they could not watch a kabuki show or carouse in the pleasure quarters. The materials printed and sold by popular booksellers and publishers were pictures of the floating world (*ukiyo-e* 浮世絵), pillow pictures (*makura-e* 枕絵), comic books (*kusazōshi* 草双紙), illustrated books (*ehon* 絵本), appraisals of courtesans in the pleasure quarters (*yūjo hyōbanki* 遊女評判記), playscripts for puppet theater (*jōruribon* 浄瑠璃本) – anything that had to do with the floating world of the theater, the pleasure quarter, street performances, temporary sideshows (*misemono* 見世物), and the printed imaginaries of these spaces.

The growth of consumer culture increasingly bifurcated the book trade into publishers of serious literature that espoused Neo-Confucian ideology, and publishers of more popular and playful material. These two nodes of the book trade were distinct, yet ultimately operated in an almost parasitic relationship. The booksellers and publishers that dealt in serious literature, such as Chinese texts, were called *shomotsuya* (書物屋), while publishers and bookstalls that specialized in popular fiction, such as *kibyōshi*, were named *jihondoiya* (地本問屋).[75] Reformers, such as Sadanobu, extolled the merits of more serious literature and attempted to censor what mocked his vision of culture. Thus, serious literature and playful literature might seem at odds. But playful literature needed material to mock, which is precisely what serious literature provided. Therefore, these

[75]Kornicki 1998, p.175, pp. 202-203.

two nodes of the publishing world were not binary opposites but worked in a more complementary relationship reminiscent of the yin and yang. And this same yin-yang complementary relationship was mirrored in the normative modes of reproduction espoused in serious literature, and the queer modes of reproduction seen in playful literature and Kyōden's *kibyōshi* in particular.

2.3 Neo-Confucian Norms of Sexual Reproduction

A history of the early modern period could be told by looking at official power censoring popular culture in ebbs and flows. Throughout the period from 1603 to 1868, there were three major governmental movements to curb the excesses of popular culture and to reform governmental policy: the Kyōhō Reforms of the 1720s and 1730s; the Kansei Reforms of the 1780s and 1790s; and the Tempō Reforms of the 1830s. The major economic and agricultural reforms pertained mostly to protests surrounding the cost and supply of rice or the value of the coinage. Along with these economic and agricultural reforms, Sadanobu and other counsellors to the shogun also sought to right the moral course of the realm. They did so by discouraging unapproved behavior and restricting popular culture that seemed to pose a threat of overturning the Confucian status system. This status system located samurai at the top of a hierarchy of four major classes, followed by agricultural laborers, artisans, and merchants. By this point in history, samurai were not so much stoic warriors ready to face death as they were bureaucrats and scholars paid in rice stipends. To avoid further erosion of their identity, samurai shored up their moral and social superiority through promotion of Confucian

ideology.[76] The accumulation of wealth by the merchants, who were supposedly the lowest in the Neo-Confucian hierarchy, as well as famines and shortage of rice in the domains of the realm threatened the very logic of maintaining this status system. As seen by these three major reforms, the official response to the varied economic, political, and social changes was to address these economic excesses as well as cultural and social excesses.

However, this understanding of cultural and literary history does not take into account how norms were negotiated in popular culture, only how excesses were suppressed by official government edicts. What might a literary and cultural history that focuses on the negotiation of reproductive norms look like? Such a history would take a close look at the people and texts that were said to have broken those reproductive norms. If government counselors held concern for how Neo-Confucian ideas of filial piety, military knowledge and learnedness were being reproduced and creating Neo-Confucian subjects, how did authors and artists working in the floating world of popular culture twist these norms of reproduction of culture in their own works? They did so by poking fun at Neo-Confucian ideas of sexual reproduction, as well as imagining new ways of textual reproduction.

Kyōden was eminently knowledgeable about the Chinese classics and highbrow culture but was notable for utilizing such highbrow knowledge as fodder for his massively popular and influential creative works. Direct evidence of this knowledge, and Kyōden's toying with these views of the world, can be seen in several of his *kibyōshi*. His 1797 *kibyōshi*, *Lecture for the Young on "Illustrated Encyclopedia"* (*Sansai zue*

[76] Jones 2013, p. 5.

osana kōshaku 三歳図会推講釈*)* directly name-drops the *Illustrated Encyclopedia*, which was published in 1609 and compiled by Wang Qi (1530-1615). The title could also indicate the 1712 *Sino-Japanese Illustrated Encyclopedia* (*Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会*),* the Japanese version (compiled by Terashima Ryōan) of the Chinese encyclopedia. Kyōden's text follows the organizational structure of *Illustrated Encyclopedia,* starting with the Heavens, then the Earth, and finally humanity. In his 1799 *kibyōshi* entitled, *Yarn of the Harmonization of Five Bodies* (*Gotai wagō monogatari* 五体和合物語), Kyōden claims that "it is said that the Human is Heaven and Earth in miniature, and that the human body is a small part of Heaven and Earth, without the slightest difference in logic from the Heaven and Earth."[77] In the next line, he further references the *Historia Naturalis* (*Hakubutsushi* 博物志), a Chinese encyclopedia.

The Kansei Reforms that took place from 1787 to 1793 highlight the official concern with not only the content of cultural works, but also their physical form and means of circulation. The aforementioned Senior Counselor to the shogun, Matsudaira Sadanobu, responded to several events that threatened to destabilize the regime by enacting monetary, cultural, and social reforms. Chief among the concerns for this chapter is the "Code on Restriction of Publishing" (*shuppan torishimari rei* 出版取締令). Amongst other proclamations on the morals of printed matter, the code states that "depraved books" were banned, as well as manuscripts that contained "baseless rumors."

[77]Santō Kyōden 2004, p. 292.

Furthermore, all printed materials were required to have the author and publisher print their "real name" (*jitsumei* 実名) in the colophon (*okugaki* 奥書)[78]. All published works had to have a visible creator so that its production could be attributed to someone. Thus, the Neo-Confucian cultural reforms abhorred depravity and sought to attribute the creator of a text to their textual child.

Writings that describe sexual reproduction before the early modern period tend to frame sexual reproduction and birth as a sinful, defiling act that at the same time reproduced universal rhythms and structures. Scholars have deduced from contemporary sources from the eleventh century that the birthing body was susceptible to otherworldly forces. As a body that would bring new life into the world, the mother's body during labor was subject to attack and possession by malevolent spirits. However, at the same time these texts figured female birthing bodies as defiled and unclean, they also showed that aristocratic women giving birth to an imperial heir required special ritual protection.[79] Such views from pre-Tokugawa Japan emerged from a synthesis of Shintō and Buddhist thought. At the turn of the early modern period, when Confucian views came to the fore, texts inspired by the Confucian tradition, such as encyclopedias, books for edification and the like, instead tended to stress the harmonic balances of the universe and the import of human relationships. In the late 1600s, writers under the sway of Confucian ideology authored several texts directed towards women explaining how to cultivate life and propagate their family names and lineages. Susan Burns claims that these texts that promote a "conception of reproduction as the human manifestation of the

[78]Kornicki 1998, pp. 339-340.
[79]Andreeva 2014, pp. 357-376.

natural cosmic order" would form "the foundation of the medical discourse on reproduction that emerged in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries."[80] In short, prior to the late 1700s, visual, literary and medical texts framed reproduction within Buddhist, Shintō, and Confucian world views and conceptualized the female body as a site of defilement and a reproduction of the natural order of the universe.

These same didactic texts aimed at women figured sexual reproduction between a married man and a woman as the utmost act of filial piety in Confucianism, a system of thought that valorized familial relationships. These didactic texts are called *jokun* or "instructions for women" and they were continuously reprinted in many editions during the early modern period. Such texts covered instructions on how to be a woman, including: how to apply one's makeup, how to marry, when to marry, the stages of pregnancy, and what words should be selected in specific settings. One such text, *Record of Priceless Treasures for Women* (*Onna chōhōki* 女重宝記), was authored in 1692 by Namura Jōhaku, a disciple of the Neo-Confucian scholar Itō Jinsai (1627-1705).[81] This text was reprinted, often with slightly different names, at least two times, in the beginning and end of the eighteenth century. I use the 1711 text, *Compendium of Records of Priceless Treasures for Women* (*Onna chōhōki taisei* 女重宝記大成), for my analysis in this chapter.[82]

Compendium offers descriptions of how humans develop sexually, and how women can be good daughters, wives, and mothers in concordance with Neo-Confucian

[80]Burns 2002, pp. 178-219.
[81]Namura 1711.
[82]Hereafter referred to as *Compendium*.

ideology. Passages in the section on being with child (*kainin no koto* 懐妊の事) quote medical texts to support the notion that if a woman does not marry and carry on her family line, not only will she dishonor her parents, but she may experience physical ramifications for such an impious act as well. For instance:

> In medical texts we see, "Women's menstrual fluids begin to flow from the age of fourteen, men's seminal fluids begin to flow from the age of sixteen." And so, in China if a man is thirty and has not taken a wife, or if a woman is twenty and has not been married off to a husband, their fluids will harden and be spoiled It is feared that they will probably not continue [their family line] …In our kingdom we do not have this law. It is our practice that men take wives at 16 or 17, and women are married off as early as 14 or 13. And it is the practice that those of higher status have marriages that take place even earlier. The reasoning is that in every parent's heart is the fear that their child will be afflicted with consumption or a depression of the spirits, or that their children might commit an impropriety, and this causes them to rush the marriage.[83]

In this quotation, getting married and sexual reproduction are tied to bodily health. If a person does not get married, their menstrual fluids or seminal fluids will "harden and be destroyed." The author reasons that the low age of marriage in high status families is

[83] Namura 1711, vol. 3, pp. 2a-3b.

rooted in the apprehension on the part of parents that their children will fall ill and not be able to carry on the family line.

Despite having cautioned against waiting too long to get married, in the same section *Compendium* also warns against the dangers of having children too young. Predictably, any actions that stray from the path of carrying on the family line is described as filial *im*piety:

> Children born when the mother and father have not solidified their relationship will fall ill and be short lived. When a child dies young, the next generation ceases to exist and the descendants of ancestors perish. This is the epitome of filial impiety. Even the learned man called Mencius said that "Lacking any descendants shall be an act of filial impiety." A man taking a wife is for the purpose of having children so that the descendants of his ancestors will not run out and for the purpose of governing the inner workings of his house. It is not the Way to be lost in desire, fall into love and have a wife without any understanding. Therefore, there are seven rules for deserting a wife. It should be known that the first of those is when the wife cannot bear children.[84]

This passage directly quotes Mencius 孟子(Jp. *Mōshi*; Ch. *Meng zi*, 372-289 B.C.E.) to assert that marriage is necessary for a filial child, but especially a daughter, and that not producing offspring is the epitome of filial impiety. In the Confucian worldview, which

[84] Namura 1711, Chapter 3, fols. 3a-3b.

venerates ancestors through continuation of the family line, any impediment to the production and reproduction of offspring has to be removed. Therefore, wives who cannot give birth are of no value and can be divorced. When speaking of reproductive futurity in early modern Japan, texts such as *Compendium* place the utmost importance on production of the next generation. Any woman who does not fulfill this imperative can be divorced, have her children fall ill if she is not a good partner to her husband, or even have her vital fluids congeal. Thus, widely circulated texts aimed at women promoted sexual reproduction and continuation of the family line through marriage. Straying from these imperatives could physically alter the body's composition, rendering a man or woman's reproductive capacity defective. But these Confucian texts are just one realm from which Kyōden draws influence in his queering of reproduction. Kyōden also dug deep into Japanese folklore to create his *kibyōshi*.

2.4 The Urashima Tarō Legend in Visual Culture

Although there are innumerable works of popular culture that interrogate the Neo-Confucian sexual norms, one of the most delightful is Santō Kyōden's *kibyōshi*, *Daughter in a Box, Mermaid Dolled Up* (*Hako'iri musume men'ya ningyō* 箱入娘面屋人魚, 1791).[85] *Mermaid* retells a well-known folktale while inserting contemporaneous fashions as well as a humorous critique of the sex-gender system of the time. Much scholarship on *kibyōshi* has focused on their potential for critique of contemporaneous government and societal structures through satire.[86] However, one avenue of critique as

[85]Hereafter abbreviated as *Mermaid*.
[86]Kern 2019, pp. 212-224.

yet unexplored is the critique of the larger sex-gender system as envisioned by the governmental authorities and propagated by Neo-Confucian scholars and writers. Through a close reading of *Mermaid*, I argue that the author and illustrator Santō Kyōden subverts expectations of gendered reproduction as propagated by Confucian texts aimed especially at women. Before looking at how Kyōden does as much by reworking the Urashima Tarō legend to suit his own satirical aims, a brief explanation of the textual history and the means by which this story was reproduced in Japan is in order.

Mermaid is a reworking of the popular folktale of Urashima Tarō. This tale has a long history in Japan, with versions of the tale appearing in some of the first written texts in Japan, such as *The Chronicles of Japan* (*Nihon shoki* 日本書紀, ca. 720). Subsequent iterations and reiterations occurred throughout the centuries, shifting in form and content adapting to period tastes and trends. Urashima Tarō has appeared in various formats, such as in the handscroll and picture book format.[87] In the modern period, the compilation of the Urashima Tarō tale in national textbooks, and its proliferation through updated versions by Iwaya Sazanami and English translations by Basil Hall Chamberlain, further popularized the story and cemented certain story elements and its importance as a "Japanese" fairy tale. The close connection between national textbooks and collected volumes of "children's literature" (*jidō bungaku* 児童文学) ensured that Urashima Tarō would be retold to generations of children and parents reading to their children.

The tale is most familiar to early modern Japanese in the so-called "Nara picturebook" *(nara-ehon* 奈良絵本*)* and "companion booklet" (*otogizōshi* 御伽草子)

[87]Skord 1991, pp. 4-5.

versions, which were produced and circulated in the late 1500s and early 1600s. Nara picturebooks were colorfully illustrated manuscripts of anonymous creation.[88] The wildly popular *otogizōshi* version of Urashima Tarō in the collection of the National Diet Library relates the story of the fisherman Urashima Tarō, who one day catches a turtle. Instead of taking the turtle back to his home and eating it, he sets it free. After this, a beautiful woman lost at sea entreats Urashima Tarō to help her find her way back home. The two travel to the woman's natal place, a land of luxury and wealth where one can view the four seasons out of the four directions of her manor. After three years, Urashima returns home, with a jeweled box as a souvenir from his lover. He finds that seven-hundred years have mysteriously passed in the three years he has been away from his homeland. His former house has crumbled, and the only vestiges of his elderly parents are their grave mounds. Looking for answers, Urashima opens the jeweled box, against the instructions of his lover, and all the years of his absence are released, reducing him to a graying old man (Fig. 14). He then turns into a crane and flies off with his lover, who has assumed the guise of a turtle (Fig. 15). Afterwards, the two of them are ensconced as Shintō gods of coupled harmony.[89]

The texts that have been collected together and called *otogizōshi* have some common characteristics that warrant their grouping despite their contrived nature of this "genre." As Araki, Ichiko, and Skord all observe, *otogizōshi* is actually a term that was applied after the fact to these short stories.[90] The term means something akin to "companion booklets," or "attendant booklets." As Ichiko notes, there is an opening up

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[88]Kornicki 1998, p. 98
[89] *Urashima tarō* 1974, p. 424.
[90]Skord 1991, p. 9.

of settings and characters that a reader may not see in earlier tale literature of the Heian period, with the exception of Buddhist tale literature (*setsuwa* 説話). For instance, instead of having settings limited to the capital of Kyoto and characters only being from the noble class, *otogizōshi* depict trips to mystical lands, rural locales, and so on, and are peopled by priests, farmers, and nobles.[91] Similarly, the orality of the *otōgizōshi* is worthy of mention. The constant repetition of tales in an oral performance, in which performances were memorized, works to usher stories toward easy-to-recall plotlines and conventionalized language. While not all of the stories that are now called *otogizōshi* entered the circuit of performances, most of them were indeed performed orally.[92] These stories are significant to my project because the written versions were most familiar to early modern readers in Japan. In order for Kyōden to misappropriate and mock a widely known folktale, there had to be some consensus on which version was, well, most widely known. The written versions of *otogizōshi* constitute just that.

Early modern playful literature (*gesaku* 戯作), to which *kibyōshi* belong, is distinctive for the underlying compositional elements that constantly reference and reproduce the cultural past. Playful literature is a capacious constellation of genres, which include visual-verbal texts, poetry written in Chinese, novellas written in Japanese, playscripts derived from puppet theater, and any other text that is "playfully composed" during the early modern period (1600-1868).[93] Nakamura Yukihiko authored a framework and detailed the usage and development of the artistic devices that are characteristic of playful literature. For Nakamura, the key rhetorical tool of playful

[91]Ichiko 1958, p. 8.
[92]Skord 1991, p. 4.
[93]Nakamura 1966, pp. 17-35.

literature is the story world (*sekai* 世界) and its allusive variation (*shukō* 趣向), meaning the novel twist on a recognizable set of narratives. That is, playful literature is invested in the past in a nearly cannibalistic way–the content of playful literature is oriented towards a past artistic and literary tradition and archive of knowledge. At the same time, playful literature irreverently tweaks such an archive to reveal inconsistencies in an attempt to elicit laughter, pleasure, and enjoyment from its authors and audience. Combined with allusions to a sizeable literary tradition that includes the classics of Chinese and Japanese literature, as well as the latest street fashions in the city of Edo, it is hard to call playful composition "unsophisticated" or only for "women and children."

A commonality between *otogizōshi, Nara-ehon*, and *kibyōshi* is their appraisal by literary historians, and at times by the authors of the texts themselves, as being texts suitable only for women and children. Such a perception is perhaps due to their accessible prose and inclusion of both visual and verbal elements. The Japanese scholar of *otogizōshi*, Ichiko Teiji, remarks that, "The *otogizōshi* in this series are horizontal woodblock printed books copied from *Nara-ehon*. The classic elegance of the format and the contents went together so well, and as they were thought to be proper books for women and children, they were welcomed by large numbers of people, and it appears they were printed many times."[94] Similarly, authors of *kibyōshi* frequently mention in the prefaces that their works are for women and kids. As has been studied at length, the attribution of a lower threshold of literacy and sophistication for texts that include images and words is a common thread in literary histories, written both in English and

[94]Ichiko 1958, p. 5.

Japanese.[95] There is a direct linkage between the supposed readership of *otogizōshi* and *kibyōshi*, but one significant difference is the attitudes towards received knowledge, the artistic and narrative devices utilized, and generic variety.

The allusive variation of *Mermaid* in the world of the Urashima Tarō legend imagines what would happen if the village in which the half-fish, half-human daughter of Urashima Tarō washed up were Edo in the late 1700s. Kyōden's version twists the folk legend into a comic romp, all the while hinting at alternative modes of sexual relations that are possible with a mermaid. In Kyōden's version, Nakasu, an unlicensed pleasure quarter built on reclaimed land in Edo and famous for its tea houses, has sunken into the sea, becoming part of the Dragon King's realm. There, Urashima Tarō meets a fish of the Dragon King's realm named Carp (*koi* こい), and they fall in love. The offspring of their union is cast into the sea as she is neither of this world nor the other. The mermaid grows up and is caught by the poor fisherman Heiji. Grateful for his kindness, the mermaid Uondo, seeks to repay him. She accidentally becomes a prostitute but scares off customers because she has stagehands do all of the prostituting for her. Then, a dilettante suggests that licking a mermaid can give a human one thousand years of life. Heiji soon cashes in on this scheme and pays off all his debts. However, Heiji licks Uondo too much and turns into a seven-year old boy. In a *deus ex machina* ending, Urashima Tarō and Carp return with the jeweled box (*tamatebako* 玉手箱). Instead of turning Urashima Tarō into an old man, as in the *otogizōshi* version, the jeweled box turns Heiji into a man

[95]Williams 2012, pp. 16-18.

in his prime. Uondo also sheds her fins, gaining arms and legs. The two live happily ever after–even more happy than in other versions of the Urashima Tarō story.

Scholars most often comment upon the preface of *Mermaid* rather than analyze its content. Exceedingly rare in *kibyōshi* or other playful literature is the appearance of the character of the publisher in the preface. The prefaces to *kibyōshi* usually lay out the inspiration for the plot and the different worlds which will be combined within the visual-verbal narrative. However, the preface to *Mermaid* veers drastically from these conventions (Fig. 16):

> An Earnest Prologue
>
> First of all, I humbly and happily acknowledge and thank all of you who support my store with all your hearts, for as the days accumulate it prospers more and more. Now, the author who calls himself Kyōden has triflingly made shoddy words of playful literature up until this very moment, and although they have been read, him wasting brush and paper in addition to the days and months on such a vain thing as that is, well, the height of foolishness. This past spring in particular he received quite a bad reputation in society. He is deeply embarrassed by this reputation and last year he said that he would certainly quit playful literature. He stridently refused even me. As my business is so heartily supported by all of our patrons, reasoning that our store may suddenly decline, we begged him to write [another work] for just this year. Since Kyōden is a dear old acquaintance of mine he found it hard to be quiet and he bent [to my will]

and wrote it for us. In other words, since a fashionbook and a comicbook have been newly published, for those with interest, after viewing the title and table of contents, you should seek out the book, and I respectfully hope to see you on the first of the month. That's all!

A Spring Day in the Year of the Boar, Kansei 3

Publisher Tsutayamaru[96]

The story of *Mermaid* revolves around the strange erotic desire for the non-human mermaid against this background of government censorship and the financial and physical hardships suffered by the author/artist Kyōden and his publisher, Tsutaya. Like many *kibyōshi*, this yarn starts on the periphery of the city of Edo, in the unlicensed quarter of the Nakasu. Teahouses, sideshows, restaurants, geisha, brothels and all manner of other entertainment sprung up at this popular locale. Writers likened the scenes of boathouses and restaurants, with their lanterns reflected on the waters of the Sumida river, to the palace of the Dragon King. After the official licensed quarter burned down in 1787, Nakasu saw even more traffic, as courtesans and their attendants relocated to Nakasu. The days of fun ended, however, when Matsudaira Sadanobu had the landfill removed and the area restored to the waters below.[97] The inspiration for this work is the author's imagining of the life of Nakasu after it fell into the river – and his idea that the Nakasu is being used as a district of fun, pleasure, and viewing strange oddities even after it has fallen into the realm of the Dragon King. This undersea Nakasu is where the

[96]Santō Kyōden 1993, p. 433.
[97]Seigle 1993, pp. 162-164.

parents of the titular mermaid meet, fall in love, and secretly give birth to their half-human, half-fish child.

The encounter which leads to the birth of the mermaid character takes place in the pleasure quarter of Nakasu, a locale where pregnancy and childbirth were not at all common. Urashima Tarō, who is the male concubine of the daughter of the Dragon King, sneaks off to meet a courtesan–a carp called Koi. They fall in love with each other and promise to die with each other, or even be cooked up and boiled together. One can observe Urashima Tarō at the lower right offering a drink to Koi, as she coquettishly covers her mouth (Fig. 17). On the left of the image, the server at the tea house is climbing up to bring more refreshments.

Although this is a case of interspecies love, the only hint that Koi is a fish is the carp atop her head. Kyōden often illustrates non-human characters with something on top of their head, in this case a fish, to denote their difference. However, her mere status as a courtesan removes her clearly from any Neo-Confucian imagining of a proper bride, an appropriate mother, or filial daughter. The fact that Urashima Tarō and Koi joke about killing themselves or being cooked together is a play on Koi being a fish as well as the practice of love suicide. Couples unable to marry due to being blocked by parents often committed suicide having faith in the Buddhist belief that they would be reborn together on the same lotus blossom in paradise–although in Confucian terms, this was another act of damage to ancestors. For by committing suicide, the couple guarantees that there will be no offspring to carry on the family line. In this way, the love affair that produces the mermaid presages a difficult life on the edge of society even if she was human. But being a mermaid complicates things even more.

The mermaid character, despite her lack of arms or legs, is constantly figured as an object of curious erotic desire. Her eventual husband, Heiji, is at first frightened by his catch, but then awakens to the erotic possibilities of being with a mermaid:

> Here, again, near Kanda Hatchōbori, is the fisherman Heiji. He always fishes out in the deep waters as his family trade and so is able to get by, but at a certain time in the deep waters of Shinagawa, a female monster (*onna no bakemono*) with disheveled hair leaped up onto his boat, and since she was chomping away at something, Heiji was stunned and frightened. For this was the mermaid begotten by the union of our Urashima and Koi! In this deep ocean she had become an adult and she was 17 or 18. If she was a real human, she would be at the height of her womanhood, and cruelly enough, her face was a mix of Rokō with Mangiku, and Tojaku with Guniyatomi. Since she was as pretty as if she had put on white foundation, however much her body was that of a fish, the fisherman Heiji saw a flirty eroticism in her, and was not at all displeased.[98]

In this passage, Kyōden sets up the conundrum that the mermaid has the face and looks of the most acclaimed female-role actors, but nothing of use below the waist.

[98]Santō Kyōden 1993, p. 437.

Kyōden limits his satire of normative modes of reproduction and sexual intimacy through a *deus ex machina* ending in which all characters magically become middle-aged humans. In the final scene before the happy ending, the mermaid's parents, Urashima Tarō and Koi, bring a magical object that makes Heiji a thirty-something. This object is the jeweled box, discussed earlier. In the popular telling of the legend, Urashima Tarō is given this box after living for centuries, unbeknownst to him, in the realm of the Dragon King. When curiosity overrides his better judgment not to open the box, he turns into an old man, having aged all those years in one instant.

The love affair between the fish courtesan Koi and the human Urashima Tarō, breaks with Neo-Confucian norms of courtship, marriage, and childbirth. However, the neat ending that positions the fisherman Heiji and the Mermaid Uondo as a married couple, and Uondo's loss of her tail, normalizes the mermaid born under spectacular circumstances. The narrative of *Mermaid* opens up a space, albeit short and transitory, in which readers could imagine sex outside of continuing the family name. This is certainly evident from queer theory, in which queering as a process of critique misuses and misappropriates received knowledge and norms of sex and gender. Furthermore, cross-species sexual intercourse in this comicbook is not an act of disrespect towards one's ancestors that creates an aberration, but an innovative plot that leads to laughter and a respite from the drudgery of the everyday. Thus, *Mermaid* interrogates Neo-Confucian sexual norms through valorizing a mermaid courtesan, someone who gives life through having people lick her fish scales instead of birthing children through her womb.

2.5 Pregnant Men in *Nine Months in the Womb of an Author* (1804)

Similar to *Mermaid*, Santō Kyōden's *kibyōshi* titled *Nine Months in the Womb of an Author* (*Sakusha tainai totsuki no zu* 作者胎内十月図), interrogates Neo-Confucian sexual norms.[99] This it does by drawing on existing ideas of pregnancy and fetal *development* to imagine a male pregnancy that produces not children, but books. As a book itself, *Nine Months* was published in the 4th year of the Kyōwa era, the year of the wood rat at New Years, corresponding to the year 1804 by the Gregorian calendar. As in *Mermaid,* Santō Kyōden is both the author and the artist of this work, accomplishing both acts under the name Santō Kyōden. The publisher is Tsuruya Kiemon of Tōriabura-chō, or "grease alley."

The story starts with the character of the comicbook Santō Kyōden describing the rough life of a creator. If one's work is a hit, the publisher is all smiles. If it's a dud, the author only drags his own name through the mud. In this world of publishing, the author gets hassled by the bookseller for new ideas, and, in desperation, goes to the Asakusa section of Edo to pray to the Karmic Jizō (*Inga Jizō* 因果地蔵) for some creative inspiration (Fig. 18), faithfully commuting daily for a week. In the next scene, the reader can see the author asleep at his desk on the left, a woman mending her clothing on the right all while a dog watches (Fig. 19). The reader discovers from the text that after a week of supplication, the author is finally visited by Jizō in his dreams. Here Jizō gives the author a jewel that will impregnate him with the seed of an idea for his next work. The descriptive text reads: "The jewel Jizō bestowed upon him is a yellow, smelly jewel.

[99]Hereafter I will abbreviate *Nine Months in the Womb of an Author* as *Nine Months*.

When he ingests this, he will dream and in the stomach of the author will blossom a story."[100]

With each successive month, the author's belly grows as the seed takes root. Additionally, every month a guardian deity stays by his side to protect the work of art in vitro. The images that appear on the author's stomach and the names of the guardian deities are puns on actual guardian deities, and the images have some sort of far-fetched connection to the aspects of each month in a pregnancy (Fig. 20). Finally, after nine months of pregnancy, the author is ready to give birth. However, encountering difficulties in pushing out his work of art, a midwife and a doctor are called in. The doctor recommends medicine to speed up the delivery process, and in the next scene we can see the fruits of his effort. While the author recovers from his labor, several women bathe the freshly birthed children. The children, with books on the head in the comicbook format, are quite literally his newest work of art. They are named Jōjirō, Chūjirō, and Gesaburō after the first (*jō* 上), middle (*chū* 中), and last (*ge* 下) volumes of the work. In the final scene, the reader returns once again to the writer's desk. As Kyōden labors on another book, the viewer sees the three young booklets playing with each other. Advertisements for medical products to increase memory (*dokushogan* 読書丸) and to cure any illness in children (*shōni mubyōgan* 小児無病丸) appear after the story ends (Fig. 21).[101]

This was not, by any stretch of the imagination, Kyōden's most famous title in *kibyōshi*. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Kȳoden was a well-known

[100]Santō Kyōden 2009, p. 167.
[101]Santō Kyōden 2009, p. 186.

personage in the Floating World. Julie Nelson Davis notes that, "[he] made his career as an ukiyo-e illustrator under the name of Kitao Masanobu with works such as *The Mirror of Yoshiwara "Castle Topplers" in a New Comparison of Beauties, with Their Own Calligraphy*. By the mid-1780s Kyōden seems to have come to prefer the role of author, and after his *kibyōshi* titled *Playboy, Grilled Edo-Style* became a bestseller, his bankability was assured…In *A Visit to Mount Fuji Cave* (*Fuji no hito-ana kenbutsu*), 1788, he took aim at Sadanobu's policies in a parody of the arts of scholarship as incompetent bumbler, privileging wit over status and inverting social expectations. In this act of overturning the practices of the fixed world for the benefit of the floating world, Kyōden was treading close to the line of what might be allowed."[102]

Like many of Kyōden's other works, perhaps the main point of this work is to elicit laughter and offer a new twist for his latest book. As we can see from the introduction, the main thrust of the plot is as follows:

> Although so-called comicbooks are foolish things to entertain children, even among them there are hits and flops. If there's a hit, it's the joy of the publisher. If there's a flop, the author will be deflated just like some spongy cucumber. It's a rough world for comicbook writers. This year, once again, he's just been entrusted another work by the bookseller, and although it's said that his ideas are as numerous as the grains of sand on a beach, after all the years his variations on themes have all dried-up.[103]

[102]Davis 2007, p. 147.
[103]Santō Kyōden 2009, p. 165.

In this passage, Kyōden makes the hook of this work an author running out of ideas for his books. In more simplified terms, we can say that Kyōden illustrates what happens when a writer experiences writer's block. Such "hooks" or allusive variations were a key part of composing successful *kibyōshi* and a determinative aspect of the larger genre of playful literature. Nakamura Yukihiko notes that the term allusive variation (*shukō* 趣向) was used during the Edo period in playful literature genres as well as in everyday conversation. In short, it meant something like a new idea on how to spice up an old plotline.[104] In this instance, Kyōden is combining the world of a *gesaku* author with that of the world of pregnancy books. As mentioned previously, the story follows the development of the next *kibyōshi* in the "womb" of the author, much like the development of the embryo and fetus seen in didactic texts, such as Namura Jōhaku's *Compendium* mentioned above.

Compendium offered both advice on how to avoid the hardening of reproductive juices, as well as diagrams on fetal development. In an image illustrating the development of the fetus, the embryo is depicted as beginning as an Esoteric Buddhist ritual object, and only forming into a person (*hito no katachi* 人のかたち) in the fifth month of pregnancy (Fig. 22). Each month the implement or fetus is protected by a different manifestation of the Buddha or a Buddhist deity. Looking at the first month of development from *Compendium* and juxtaposing it with the first month in Kyōden's work, one can see that the protective deity is the same in both images. However, the

[104]Nakamura 1966, pp. 171-172.

deity in *Nine Months*, is not "Unmovable Shining King" (*Fudō myōō* 不動明王) but "Shining King of the Kudō Clan" (*Kudō myōō* 工藤明王) (Fig. 20).

In the ninth month of Kyōden's pregnancy, the fetal book has transformed into something completely different. The child in *Compendium* looks to be wearing a lotus-leaf atop its head which provides a pathway for nutrition to be absorbed from the mother's womb into the child's stomach. In ten-month Buddhist embryologies from China, this is a typical description of the ninth month. In *Nine Months,* Kyōden writes about the ninth month of his pregnancy in the following manner:

> Although it has already boiled down to the ninth month, since one can't grasp a really good allusive variation that would make one exclaim "Eureka" in the author's belly yet, the author thinks: "If I don't have any ideas, I might as well quit being an author and just wander far afield like a masterless samurai." Being mightily irritated by this, the form of someone wearing a woven hat and carrying a fan.[105]

The name of the protective deity in this panel also may elicit some surprised bursts of laughter. Riffing off the Boddhisatva Seishi, who normally protects the fetus in the ninth month of its development, Kyōden substitutes this with the Bodhisattva *Seiki*, or the Bodhisattva of Vital Energy. Kyōden explains: "As an author must be strong in vital energy and a master of gumption, this month the author is placed under the protection of the Bodhisattva of Vital Energy."

[105]Santō Kyōden 2009, p. 178.

In short, the whole point of this work is to take up some of the common knowledge about pregnancy and reset it into the world of an author who has run out of ideas. The result is a light-hearted, if at times somewhat predictable, reworking of the Neo-Confucian values regarding pregnancy. Recall that the major Confucian thinker Mencius said: "Lacking any descendants shall be an act of filial impiety." Additionally, the first reason that a man can leave a woman is if she is unable to bear children. Much like *Mermaid,* the narrative of *Nine Months* is circular. Things end neatly, and the story concludes in a place of stasis in which no dynamic changes have happened to the characters or the world at large. The queer method of artistic reproduction between the divine and the human works far outside the realm of Neo-Confucian orthodoxy, but also does not upset the norms of reproduction on a macro scale.

2.6 Conclusion

These two *kibyōshi* by one of the leading authors of the day offer new twists on the received world of knowledge in the late 1700s. Additionally, they tweak, twist, and irreverently mock Neo-Confucian ideals of sexual reproduction to comedic effect. Such light-hearted take-offs of common sense and take-downs of holier-than-thou didactic texts is not a new phenomenon now or in the late 1700s. Kyōden authored both of the *kibyōshi* analyzed in this chapter, *Daughter in a Box, Mermaid Dolled Up* (1791) and *Nine Months in the Womb of an Author* (1804), in the wake of his two run-ins with shogunal authorities.[106]

[106]Kornicki 1977, pp. 157-162.

The reasons for these kerfuffles with the authorities were ideological as well as textual. The main impetus for censorship in the wake of the Kansei Reforms was barely veiled references to the new ideological regime of the Sadanobu administration's endorsement of the twin values of "letters" (*bun* 文) and "martial arts" (*bu* 武). In order to ensure that no anonymous texts were circulating that mocked or opposed the new ideological regime, the shogunal authorities had all publishers and authors of texts sign their names. The shogunal authorities similarly required publishing guilds to approve each text by indicating that texts, sheet prints, and other published materials were "certified" (*kiwame* 極).[107] In short, any anonymously authored text, or any text that did not bear the proper certification was in violation of the new codes of conduct.

The link between queer sexual and textual reproductions is made explicit in these works. In *Nine Months*, the character Kyōden bodily births *kibyōshi* children through divine intervention when the usual hand-to-paper method of textual reproduction fails him. In *Mermaid,* the most obvious instance of queer reproduction is the strange, and silly, human-fish sexual affair that results in the birth of Uondo. However, readers must not overlook the very method by which this story has been birthed as well. Kyōden twists the legend of Urashima Tarō, in which Urashima and the Princess turn into a turtle and a crane, to dare to question what might happen if a princess from the realm of the Dragon King and a mortal actually did have a child. The very process of drawing on a legend but adding an interesting twist, the "allusive variation," functions as a method of reproducing in unexpected and even queer ways.

[107]Davis 2007.

This chapter has touched upon one of the most common perceptions of early modern Japanese visual culture–that it was about sex and publishing in a floating world where any dream could be realized, at least in the book one was reading, before the calls of a crow at dawn signaled that the fun was over. Furrowing past that surface perception, this chapter and the previous chapter have engaged with theories of how sexuality and reproduction are normalized in early modern visual culture. Anglo-American queer theorists uncover how queer bodies and sexualities work in opposition to an investment in the reproduction of the future. Reading the moments when queer structures of feeling and queer modes of reproduction emerge in Moronobu's pornographic illustrated books and Kyōden's *kibyōshi* reveals the mockery of Neo-Confucian virtue of carrying on the family name to be a good child and how female-centered desire and male-male sexuality exists outside of the cosmic harmony of male-female marriage.

Chapter Three
Showing Strangeness: Representations of the Extraordinary Body

3.1 Introduction

Illness and the ways in which we care for the body are culturally and contextually dependent. In the previous two chapters, I focused my analysis on the ways in which authors, artists, and scholars negotiated the meanings of sexuality. I argue that queer sexualities, those ways of possessing non-normative desires or engaging in cross-species mating, existed outside of the norms of Neo-Confucian principals. In these next two chapters, I turn to queer bodies. Queer bodies are those bodies that push at the boundaries of what is considered normal and bring about different ways of visualizing embodiment. Scholars of disability studies have argued similarly that disability actively shaped the aesthetics of modernity. As Tobin Siebers has explained in his work on disability and aesthetics, "[t]o argue that disability has a rich but hidden role in the history of art is not to say that disability has been excluded."[108] In queer studies as well, scholars such as Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick has proposed that queerness works in two simultaneous ways – minoritizing and universalizing.[109] That is to say, queer embodiment can be said to be significant for and affect a small number of minoritized subjects. At the same time queer embodiment can also rework our understandings of embodiment for all subjects on a grander scale. In these next two chapters, I argue that representations of queer bodies function on a minoritized level as subvisualities while also actively shaping methods of representation. Bodies that displayed difference also

[108]Siebers 2010, p. 4
[109]Sedgwick 1990, p. 1.

offered different ways of viewing the world – new visualities, while also holding the potential to shape entire scopic regimes through their representations of visual difference.

In this chapter, I discuss a portrait and a *kibyōshi* that both visualize bodies with abnormal physiognomies. The first is a painting titled *Portrait of Ōzora Buzaemon* (1827) by samurai artist Watanabe Kazan 渡辺崋山 (1793-1841). The image of Ōzora confronts viewers with the stare of a "giant." Ōzora Buzaemon 大空武左衛門 (1802-?) was a youth of prodigious height from Southwestern Japan. At the behest of his domanial lord, he travelled to Edo in 1827. His arrival in the metropolis caused a frenzy amongst the people of Edo, with popular prints artists, Neo-Confucian scholars, and even artists of erotica reproducing his image. The common theme throughout all of these varied depictions is an emphasis on his height, the breadth of his shoulders, the size of his hands – all of those numbers that mark him as differently bodied. Donald Keene argues against descriptions of Buzaemon as a freak. Instead, Keene claims that "[t]his is not the portrait of a "freak" but of a man doomed to lead a tragic life."[110] Rather than arguing over the veracity of the tragic value of a person's life, I analyze how Watanabe's methods of depiction sought to make Buzaemon's queer body legible and how new visual methods changed modes of representation.

The second text, another *kibyōshi* by Kyōden, titled *Splendid Sideshow Stories of the Tales of Ise* (*Kowa mezurashii misemonogatari* 這奇的見勢物語, 1801), thematizes the double visions of society that are accessible at sideshows (見せもの, *misemono*) where freakish bodies are imbued with the power to reveal social truths.[111] Scholarship

[110]Keene 2006, p. 71
[111]Hereafter referred to as *Sideshow Stories*.

on freakshows in the United States and Europe has traced the etymology of the word monsters to the meaning of "showing." The word monster derives from the Latin root for "to show," or *monstrare*.[112] In the case of early modern Japan, by contrast, visual representations of sideshows, such as in Santō Kyōden's *kibyōshi*, showed the unreliability of the social appearance of such differently physiognomied individuals. In this text, Kyōden exposes the false promises of signs advertising sideshows by revealing the actual show–which diverges significantly from the advertisement. In his comedic takedown of different social types, Kyōden builds to a crescendo in which the human heart is the final sideshow. All of these sideshows add up to cultivate a suspicion of appearances in the reader, which hinges upon the lessons drawn from the social space of freaks, the splendid, and cripples.

Santō Kyōden and Watanabe Kazan produced their respective comicbook and portrait against a cultural backdrop of radically changing ideas of vision and visuality.[113] Timon Screech has teased out how new technologies of vision from Europe, such as microscopes, telescopes, anatomy books, amongst others, changed the rhetoric of vision in early modern Japan.[114] Maki Fukuoka has looked at the relationship amongst botanical illustrations, fidelity in representing objects, and names in nineteenth century Japan.[115] Kern has located the *kibyōshi,* or comicbook, as a key site, if not *the* key site, in thinking through relationship between representing reality in words and images, or, as he calls it, the "visual-verbal imagination." He further links the process of training viewers to read for disjunctions between the visual and verbal to looking for disjunctions in society at

[112]Garland-Thomson 1997, p. 56.
[113]Foster 1988, p. ix.
[114]Screech 2002, pp. 1-2.
[115]Fukuoka 2012, p. 10.

large.[116] All of these scholars have investigated the visual culture of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to analyze how visuality and vision functioned with respect to format, politics, cultural difference, and the role of representing nature. However, the role that abnormal bodies may have played in contributing to new modes of visuality has yet to be explored. Specifically, as part of the larger strain of queer embodiment running through early modern visual culture, I argue that "cripples" and "freaks" actively shaped the visuality of early modern Japan in two ways.[117] First, queer bodies are the testing grounds for new regimes of envisioning the body. In Watanabe Kazan's portrait, Watanabe seeks to make a queer and extraordinary body legible. Second, queer bodies are depicted as being adept at exposing social truths. In Kyōden's *kibyōshi*, freaks and cripples offer another view of society that exposes lies and holes in logic. The key question in this chapter will be to investigate the association of these novel ways of viewing the world with queer bodies.

Misemono were sideshows that constituted one of the cultural sites associated with the "floating world." Spectators paid an entry fee for viewing oddities or freaks, performances, such as acrobatics, and exhibitions of intricately woven bamboo and basketworks. Andrew Markus defines a *misemono* as "private exhibitions of unusual items, individuals, or skills, conducted for a limited span of time inside a temporary enclosure for the purpose of financial gain."[118] Furukawa Miki traces the beginnings of *misemono* to the Warring States (1467-1615) period. Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines would open up their grounds for worshippers and merry-makers during lucky

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[116]Kern 2019, pp. 157-158.
[117]Scholars in disability studies, such as Robert McRuer, have remobilized the derogatory term "cripple" to critique what he calls "compulsory able-bodiedness." McRuer 2006, p. 2.
[118]Markus, pp. 501-502.

days, for special exhibitions of sacred objects (*kaichō* 開帳), and on festival days.[119] Small temporary huts and stalls also appeared on these days within the temple or shrine grounds and collected money to exhibit their tricks, oddities, or wares. During the early modern period, sideshows also appeared in open spaces within the major cities. For instance, sideshows appeared near the riverbanks of the Ryōgoku bridge in Edo as well as in areas cleared for firebreaks.

Scholars have argued for a revalorization of sideshows and street performance in cultural histories of Japan. Nobuhiro Shinji has claimed that sideshows are an integral part of early modern performance culture.[120] Gerald Groemer sketches a history of street performance through critical analysis of the historical, social, and artistic forces that shaped it. In Groemer's estimation, street performance was controlled by the social status system (*mibun*) and the structures of governance (*shihai*).[121] The normative forces of governance tried to constrain what could be performed, by whom it could be performed, and where. People from the "outcast" (*hinin*) class responded to these constraints by performing where they could: in the streets. Significant for this project, Groemer calls for a reevaluation of street performances created by people from the fringes of society and how such performances contribute to Japanese culture.[122] Building on this scholarship, I argue that sideshows are deeply intertwined with socially constructed ideas of health, and that extraordinary bodies and "cripples" can be catalysts for rethinking the norms of visualizing and representing bodies.

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[119]Furukawa 1940, p. 18.
[120]Nobuhiro 1976, pp. 9-17.
[121]Groemer 2016, p. 5.
[122]Groemer 2016, p. 8.

Artists and authors seeking to represent queer bodies find those same objects of representation twisting the very modes of depiction. In order to trace how those queer and crippled bodies trouble truth and norms of representation, I first investigate the norms of health in early modern Japan. Writers, such as Neo-Confucian scholar Kaibara Ekiken (1630-1714), instructed people on how to avoid illness and live a healthy life. Through a close reading of his writings, I establish the norms of health and ability in early modern Japan. Then, I analyze the portrait of Ōzora Buzaemon, the giant who caused such a stir in the city of Edo in 1827. Finally, I consider Santō Kyōden's 1801 text, *Sideshow Stories of the Splendid and Ise Monogatari*. I argue that in this comicbook, enfreaked bodies reveal the unreliability of surface appearances and expose truth.[123]

3.2 Neo-Confucian Views on Nourishing Life and Incomplete Bodies

Buddhist and Neo-Confucian worldviews, as well as native folk traditions, informed premodern Japanese conceptions of bodily difference, illness, and health. As such, an investigation of the concepts of "illness" (*yamai* 病), "cripples" and "deformed people" (*katawa* 片輪, *fugusha* 不具者), and "nourishing life" (*yōjō* 養生) is necessary. Not only are these terms, and the worldviews that undergird them, different in meaning in modern Japanese, but these terms also differ significantly from their English counterparts. In this section, I trace the meanings of these terms in premodern Japan. How were these words used? Who did these concepts indicate in their usage? I contend that these ideas of illness, bodily care, and bodily difference cannot be understood separately from Neo-Confucian and Buddhist theories of the mechanics of the universe.

[123]I borrow this term from Rosemarie Garland Thomson. See Garland Thomson 1996, p. 10.

Working against modern understandings of individualized regimes of care and compartmentalized disabilities, premodern Japanese conceptualizations of illness, bodily care, and bodily deformities are dependent upon karmic ties, the treatment of one's family, and the most rudimentary forces of the universe.

Buddhism in premodern Japan located the causes of illness and bodily difference in a person's spiritual life and grouped together bodily difference, visible and invisible diseases under the term *yamai* (病). The word *yamai* can be translated as "illness," but it also indicates mental and emotional maladies in addition to physical disabilities. The visual culture of medieval Japanese Buddhism constructs a vision of humanity that is shot through with suffering and of a world that is slowly slipping away from even the salvation of the Buddha. The *Illness Scroll* (*yamai no sōshi* 病草紙, 12th century) is one text in which to observe how Buddhist art imagined bodily maladies and bodily differences (Fig. 23). This handscroll shows twenty-one scenes depicting people with various illnesses. While the scroll was once a complete set, collectors separated the scroll into individual scenes, of which nine scenes are housed in the Kyoto National Museum. Some of the scenes work in a descriptive mode, giving particulars of a certain illness. For instance, one section of the scroll shows a woman with severe diarrhea (*kakuran* 霍乱). The afflicted woman squats over the side of the veranda, defecating liquids while an older woman rubs her back and offers her a bowl. The text accompanying the image reads: "There is an illness called diarrhea. The pain in the stomach is like one is being stabbed. One vomits water from the mouth and discharges diarrhea from the rear. It is

truly hard to endure once one begins to faint from the agony."[124] Other scenes work in a narrative mode, supplying details of the person's life and circumstances.

The rise of Neo-Confucianism as a school of thought coincided with the early modern period, though Buddhist views on illness certainly did not disappear.[125] The consolidation of political and military power in Edo in the early 1600s through the shogunate brought about peace and stability. Mary Evelyn Tucker has argued that the lack of warfare and death in the early modern period persuaded people to look away from other worlds and towards this world with a philosophy that could "guide human actions and order human relations amidst the demands of daily affairs" had popularity.[126] Neo-Confucianism, with its emphasis on the here and now, provided precisely such a view. While a look at the functioning of Buddhist or Neo-Confucian views of the world on an official level is beyond the scope of this project, what does concern this project is how Neo-Confucian scholars imagined and defined illness, bodily difference, and health. Writers from the Neo-Confucian school of thought had considerable influence in the shogunal government, and their writings are excellent sources to view normative ideas of health and embodiment.

Despite the bounty of playful and irreverent texts in the early modern period, Neo-Confucian writers and moralizers still very much produced, translated, and edited books to edify readers. These texts, which have a variety of names including "treasuries" (*chōhōki* 重宝記), "illustrated encyclopedias" (*kinmōzui* 訓蒙図彙), "category books"

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[124]「霍乱といふ病ありはらのうち苦痛さすがごとし口より水をはき尻より痢をもらす悶絶頂倒してまことにたえがたし」
[125]Bowring 2017, pp. 46-47.
[126]Tucker 1989, p. 28.

(*ruisho* 類書), and "dictionaries" (*setsuyōshū* 節用集), constitute one realm of official knowledge. While Buddhist and folk-beliefs certainly did not disappear, the shogunal government aligned itself more closely with Neo-Confucian ideals of rule over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For that reason, reading these encyclopedia and dictionaries offer readers a Neo-Confucian interpretation of how the world worked, and more specifically, how Neo-Confucian mainstream thought imagined illness and bodily difference.

Illustrated Sino-Japanese Encyclopedia of the Three Powers (*Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会) edited by Terajima Ryōan and published in 1712 defines bodily difference through lack. Ryōan's enormous text, which comprises 105 volumes, pulls deeply on Chinese histories and is written in Classical Chinese. The connection and direct influence from Chinese thought is not only obvious from the fact that the text is written in Classical Chinese, but also from the title itself. The "three powers" (*sansai* 三才) refers to the twin poles of existence, the heaven and the earth, and humanity which connects these poles. The encyclopedia is organized into different sections, such as "Astronomy" (*tenmon* 天文, volume 1), "Comprehensive Illustration of Japan" (*nihon sōzu* 日本総図, volume 64), and "Worship of Gods and Buddhist Ritual Implements" (*kamimatsuri butsugu* 神祀り仏具, volume 19). In the section on the "Uses of Humanity," Ryōan defines "cripples" in the following manner: "When one does not possess arms or legs, this is called a cripple."[127] The term I have translated here as "cripple" utilizes the Chinese character for "strange" and "person," but glosses these

[127]Terajima 1712.

characters with the Japanese term of deficiency, “one wheel.” In this entry, Ryōan recounts several Chinese historical figures who have lost an eye, lost a leg, or had a protruding lip. Significantly, these historical figures all have what would now be called physical disabilities. In contrast to the *Illness Scroll*, *Illustrated Sino-Japanese Encyclopedia* only classifies those with permanent bodily abnormalities as “cripples.” Ryōan finishes this entry with the sentences: “All of these people and names are warriors that resound throughout the world in recent years and yet they are incomplete” (Fig. 24).

Kaibara Ekiken’s treatise on healthy living introduced a normative understanding of bodily health predicated on propagating the family line. Neo-Confucian thought that influenced Ekiken emphasized the ability of humans to improve themselves and to maintain order through “training the body,” or (Ch. *xiu shen* 修身). This phrasing appears in a core text of Neo-Confucianism, the *Great Learning* (Ch. *da xue* 大學), but also significantly influenced Ekiken’s thoughts on how to “cultivate life” (*yōjō* 養生). In the first few lines of the *Great Learning*, the text describes a world in which the macro is connected to the micro, the public to the private, and the metaphysical to the carnal. This long passage instructs the reader on how “the ancients who wanted to illustrate illustrious virtue in the realm” (Ch. *gu zhi yu ming ming de yu tian xia zhe* 古之欲明明德於天下者) by describing in a step-by-step manner how this was done. First, they ordered their states (Ch. *zhi guo* 治國), then they regulated their families, cultivated their bodies, rectified their hearts, were sincere in their thoughts, extended their knowledge to the utmost, and they extended their knowledge by investigating things. This long to-do list ends by indicating the results of accomplishing all of these tasks. Like dominoes falling one after

the other, each task that is accomplished begets yet another goal that has been met. "Things being investigated, knowledge became complete; Their knowledge being complete, their thoughts were sincere; their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were then rectified." While the "investigation of things" (Ch. *ge wu* 格物) resides at the core of how the ancient sages illustrated virtue, the cultivation of the body is one key step in this treatise on how to espouse virtue. In Neo-Confucian thought, the idea that one must be active in cultivating the body was less an individual matter than was a public matter that was paramount in living a moral life and "illustrating virtue." Against this background of Chinese Neo-Confucianism, what did influential scholars like Ekiken have to say on the matter of "cultivating the body" and how "incomplete bodies" were defined?

Kaibara Ekiken 貝原益軒 (1630 -1714) was a Neo-Confucian scholar and educator whose many works sought to educate and cultivate all classes of people. Originally from present-day Fukuoka in Southwestern Japan, Ekiken immersed himself in the study of the Confucian classics, especially the work of Zhu Xi 朱子 (Jp. *Shushi*; Ch. *Zhu xi,* 1130-1200). Ekiken's birth into a samurai family in service to the Kuroda clan allowed him to travel to Kyoto, Edo, Nagasaki and other places. These travels also led him to make extensive scholarly contacts. Ekiken would serve the Kuroda family for four decades in various roles, all the while deepening his knowledge of the Confucian classics and producing a significant body of writings of his own.[128] Kaibara Ekiken's belief in educating all can be seen in his 1710 *Precepts for Children* (*Wazoku dōjikun* 和俗童子訓). To shortly summarize, the Neo-Confucian worldview was a reinterpretation

[128]Tucker 1989, pp. 31-51.

of earlier Confucian doctrines that stressed the "four books" (*shisho* 四書) as the basis of Confucian learning. These four texts are *Doctrine of the Mean, Great Learning, Analects,* and *Mencius*. This new interpretation of Confucianism also advocated the spread of learning towards a broader base of people. Neo-Confucianism also has an interesting relationship with Taoism and Buddhism, incorporating some elements of their cosmologies in its stress on human relationships. Most importantly, Neo-Confucianism had many advocates amongst elites, who actively shaped government policy to reward filial behavior.

In his *Precepts for Cultivating Life* (*Yōjōkun* 養生訓, 1713), Ekiken concentrates on how to nourish life rather than how to accommodate or to cure the sick or disabled. Ekiken divides his *Precepts* into eight different books, which include a general introduction (*sōron* 総論), two sections on eating and drinking (*inshoku* 飲食), the five organs (*gokan* 五官), being wary of illness (*yamai o tsutsushimu* 慎レ病), using medicine (*kusuri o mochiiru* 用レ薬), and cultivating old-age (*rō o yashinau* 養レ老). Ekiken's emphasis on nourishing life fits with the Neo-Confucian imperative to "cultivate the body" as one would regulate a family or rule a country. Indeed, the section on the five organs likens the workings of the human body to the administration of a household or country. The first few sentences of the general introduction clearly lay out Ekiken's cosmological view and where a person's body fits into that universe:

> The human body takes the father and mother as its origin, and the Heavens and Earth as its beginning. Upon birth the body receives the blessing of Heaven and Earth, Father and Mother. Although we cultivate our own

> bodies, the body is not a private thing. The body is an honorable gift from Heaven and Earth, and it is the body that can be passed on from Father and Mother. As such, one should be careful and cultivate the body, neither harming nor spoiling it; and one should maintain it to its Heaven-appointed life. And such is the basis of filial servitude to Heaven and Earth, Father and Mother. If one loses one's body, there is no way to serve. In one's own body, down to your bare skin and the hair on your head, as [this is all] received from your father and mother, recklessly damaging and destroying it is an unfilial act.[129]

Ekiken's authoritative sentences are clear in their pedagogy. If one does not cultivate their body and its health, then one is dishonoring not only their immediate family, but heaven and earth as well. As much as can be seen in the *Great Learning*, matters of the mind, the body, and the family scale up to influence the country and the realm. In short, human bodies are individualized, but tied to one's family, as well as to the heavens. Bodies are entrusted to humans by heaven and they are to be passed on to children. Neo-Confucian discourse requires that both the immaterial heart/mind (J. *kokoro* 心) and the material and social body (*mi* 身) be strong and nourished. There is no privacy for bodies in this Neo-Confucian context.

The section on being wary of illness in *Precepts for Cultivating Life* emphasizes the fact that bodily and spiritual control are paramount in avoiding illness and having a long life. Ekiken's precepts for being wary of illness hinges on maintaining health to

[129]Kaibara 1910-1911, p. 476.

avoid illness. Building on Chinese precedents for the causes of illness, Ekiken locates the causes of disease in a person's incorrect and imprudent care of the body and mind, as well as in the four "Outer Evils" (*gaija* 外邪) of wind, coldness, heat, and dampness (*fū kan shō shitsu* 風寒暑湿). Only through avoiding exterior pollution and being vigilant of one's body may longevity and health be achieved.

Ekiken describes people with illnesses (*yamai* 病) as not a distinct identity, but as a state of being from which people may recover if they are steadfast and prudent in their cultivation of life. Distinct from modern understandings of "disability" (*shōgai* しょう害) in Japan, which claims disability as an identity around which to rally for political and cultural change, illness in Ekiken's Neo-Confucian view is a misstep on the path to living a long life as heaven intended. His approach to cultivation of life is premised on an understanding of the body as something that, in conjunction with the heart/mind, can be controlled. Much like the way of tea, poetry, or eros, nourishing life is a way that can be mastered if one has the proper instruction. He writes, "If people with illnesses are steadfast and reverent of the way of nourishing life then they won't miserably suffer from illness. If they suffer in misery, then their life force (*qi*) will be blocked and the illness will grow."[130] He stresses that "steadfast[ness]" and "diligence" are key to mastering the way of nourishing life and avoiding illness. Ekiken's idea of "diligence" (*tsutsushimi* 慎み) permeates his texts, even appearing in the title to this section: "being diligent against illness" (*yamai o tsutsushimu* 病を慎む). "Diligence" has a multitude of meanings, ranging from being cautious or reverent of something, to being chaste in carrying out

[130]Kaibara 1910-1911, p. 549.

actions. However, the message from his text as a whole and this passage specifically is clear: if a person becomes ill, they are at fault for lacking the moral willpower to carry out the way of nourishing life.

After outlining how those travelling the way of cultivating life should be diligent against illness, Ekiken gives the reader tips on how to pick the right doctor:

> The Way of Healthy Living is not only being wary of illness by oneself, but also is in carefully selecting a doctor. It is risky to entrust the body of your father or mother or your own body, hard to change even under heaven, into the hands of a quack. Not knowing if a doctor is good or inept when your father, mother, child, or grandchild is ill, and the trend of entrusting them to a quack doctor, well, this is the same as being unfilial and unmerciful.[131]

In this admonition against entrusting your health to a quack doctor, the idea of the body being not a purely individual entity is clear. Ekiken explains that it is risky to entrust not only one's own body, but "the body of your father or mother." Additionally, he says, "when your father, mother, child, or grandchild is ill" turning them over to the hands of an inept doctor is "unfilial and unmerciful." As Ekiken repeats throughout *Precepts for Cultivating Life*, and in his other *Precepts* works, the unsavory result of not cultivating life properly is being proclaimed "unfilial" (*fukō* 不孝). While bodily maintenance and training of the body appears in the Confucian classics, Ekiken explicitly links becoming

[131]Kaibara 1910-1911, p. 553.

sick or choosing the wrong doctor for yourself or your immediate family as an unfilial act. Having a strange or sick body, then, is also an unfilial act.

The application of the title "unfilial" to those who fail to select a competent doctor or who fall ill due to exposing themselves to one of the "outer evils" is a major shift in the imagination of illness in Japanese history. The *Illness Scroll* from the 12th century represents a medieval and Buddhist viewpoint on a variety of illnesses and bodily differences. Although this Buddhist handscroll requires more research, one art historian claims that Buddhist monks utilized the scroll as a way of enlightening people on the constant state of suffering in the human realm. In medieval Buddhist epistemology, the human realm is but one realm of six in which beings suffer if they do not attain enlightenment. But perhaps bigger than this shift from the Buddhist concept of life is suffering is the larger concept of "cultivating life." If humans in Buddhist epistemology are in a realm of suffering from which they cannot escape in this lifetime, then Neo-Confucian "cultivating life" methods promise a way to better your body and your heart. And the goal of this program of betterment is being a filial child by strengthening and propagating your family line and living to your heaven-appointed years.

Ekiken clearly delineates "healthy living" from abnormal, and thus unhealthy, ways of life. Those bodies and people who fail to maintain a healthy lifestyle and live to old age fall into the category of unfilial children. Buddhist discourses found the reasons for illness in actions accumulated over lifetimes. In contrast, Ekiken's ruminations on healthy living locate unhealthy living in bodily actions, and the ignorance or refusal of proper bodily cultivation. Thus, people who live short lives, have abnormal bodies, and

fail to produce heirs to carry on the family name shoulder responsibility for their unhealthy living.

3.3 Ōzora Buzaemon and the Measure of Strangeness

Ōzora Buzaemon arrived in Edo in the summer of the Yin Fire Pig in Bunsei 10 (1827), and with his arrival set off a visual change in how people with bodies outside of the norms are represented. The best-known depiction of Ōzora Buzaemon is a hanging scroll with his image rendered in ink on paper. One version is housed in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art and another in the holdings of Waseda University Libraries. The verticality of the hanging scrolls accentuates Buzaemon's prodigious height, which is inscribed on both scrolls as 2.1 meters. The portrait is the effort of the Neo-Confucian scholar and artist Watanabe Kazan (1793-1841). While there are differences in the two hanging scrolls, the attempt to "accurately" portray Buzaemon's extraordinary height and size is a central impetus for why this portrait was undertaken. Scholars point to the affective dimensions of this portrayal, noting the pathetic look on Buzaemon's face. Furthermore, the use of a *camera obscura* to achieve a realistic and more accurate portrait has also been emphasized in previous scholarship. However, the connection between the methods of viewing, measuring, and representing Buzaemon have yet to be linked to his bodily extraordinariness. In this section, I argue that Buzaemon's extraordinary body is necessary for understanding the representational techniques and technologies of visuality in these two hanging scrolls. Additionally, I argue that queer bodies, such as Buzaemon's, had the power to actively change the visual field.

A famed writer recorded one of the few surviving accounts of Buzaemon's arrival in the city of Edo in 1827. Kyokutei Bakin (1767-1848) was a prolific author who wrote the great classic of early modern literature, *The Tale of Eight Dogs (Nansō satomi hakkenden* 南総里見八犬伝*,* 1814-1842). His account of how Ōzora came to the city reads:

> In the summer of the 5th month of the tenth year of Bunsei, the Large Man who had come to Edo, Ōzora Buzaemon, was the son of a farmer in the village of Yabe Atsuta, the county of Bonshiro, in the province of Higo in the territory of the daimyo of Kumamoto. He is twenty-five years of age and his height is as follows:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Height | 2.1 meters / 83 inches |
> | Palm | 30 centimeters / 1 foot |
> | Right Leg | 35 centimeters / 14 inches |
> | Body Weight | 120 kilograms / 264 pounds |
> | Length of garments | 155 centimeters / 5 feet and 1 inch |
> | Breadth of body | Front 27 inches / 11 inches |
> | | Rear 30 centimeters / 1 foot |
> | Shoulder | 68 centimeters / 2 feet and 3 inches |
>
> …
>
> He was born in the village of Yabe, East of Kumamoto by about twenty *li*. Word of Buzaemon naturally reached the ears of the Lord, and the Lord wished to lay eyes upon him. The Lord gave him clothing for his lower and upper body. The measurements of his dress length were 188 cm (6 ft. 2 in.), and the sleeves were

> 70 cm (2 ft. 3 in.). They gave him alcohol and food, for it was the will of the Lord that it would be good to test how much he could consume. First, they gave him nine liters of sake and nine liters of rice, and besides that they supplied him with various other foods. The Lord looked on in delight. Ōzora drank about five and a half liters of sake and ate about half of the nine liters of rice. Without leaving a bite left, he ate three sea bream measuring 45 cm (1 ft. 6 in.), two of which were served raw and one boiled.[132]

The Lord mentioned in the above passage is the same Lord who would bring Buzaemon to Edo. Of note in this passage is the tyranny of numbers and measure with which the writer supplies the reader. As soon as the passage mentions the "Large Man," his height, weight, size of his palm, weight and every other part of Buzaemon is recorded down in detail. Furthermore, he is submitted to a similar regime of measuring once presented before his Lord. How much can he eat? How much can he drink? The same regime of measure attempts to make Buzaemon's body legible in Kazan's portrait. As Bakin notes earlier in his account, Watanabe Kazan used a camera obscura-like device, called a *sokurankyō*, to represent the physical proportions of Buzaemon. In other versions of the portrait, the artist even included Buzaemon's handprint.

Prior scholarship on this portrait has overlooked the importance of Buzaemon's likeness in the development of realism in Japanese art. Additionally, scholars have commented on the strange aesthetics of the attempted realism, which at times their commentary turns to judgements of the subject himself. Art historian James Ulak describes Buzaemon as "gangling and unsure" in the image, and later comments that

[132]Kyokutei 1914, pp. 421-424.

Buzaemon's eyes "gaze in unfocused bewilderment and confused resignation."[133] As noted earlier, Keene resists labelling this image as a simple "representation of a freak." Instead, Keene sympathizes with the image of Buzaemon, stating that naming Buzaemon a freak "seems to miss the sadness in Buzaemon's face." For Keene, Buzaemon is not a freak to be ogled at but an unfortunate soul doomed to an ill-fated future. In Keene's words, "[t]his is not the portrait of a "freak" but of a man doomed to lead a tragic life."[134] These varied comments that appraise an extraordinary body, here represented in a hanging scroll, fit nicely with Garland-Thomson's definition of a "stare." In her reckoning, staring "attempts to make sense of the unexpected" with the disabled body being the "exemplary form of the unforeseen."[135] That is, Keene and Ulak's comments grapple with the visual difference and the unexpected form of Buzaemon's body. Keene and Ulak only comment on the extraordinariness of Buzaemon's image without probing how his bodily difference may have actively shaped the representational techniques used by Kazan. Instead of treating Buzaemon's portrait as an oddity to be explained away, or an exception to the rule, I claim that Buzaemon's image reveals how queer bodies refuse legibility and spoil attempts at representation.

Kazan's position as a Confucian scholar with an interest in Western Learning complicates our reading of Buzaemon's portrait. Kazan was a disciple of Tani Bunchō 谷文晁 (1763-1841). Unlike other artists affiliated with Bunchō, Kazan decided to become an artist as a way to support his family.[136] Scholarly interpretations of Kazan as

[133]Ulak 1983, pp. 102-103.
[134]Keene 2006, pp. 70-71.
[135]Garland-Thomson 2009, p. 38.
[136]Suzuki 1977, p. 103.

a person and an artist figure him as an ambiguous figure. Kazan deplored his own perceived "disloyal and unfilial" (*fuchū fukō* 不忠不孝) nature enough to commit suicide, lest the name of his daimyo be sullied. But at the same time, Kazan maintained an interest in "western painting" (*seiyō no ga* 西洋の画) and actively sought ways to better protect his province from aggressive incursions from foreign powers.[137] Suzuki Susumu emphasizes the development of a "realism" (*riarizumu* リアリズム) in Kazan's paintings, placing him in a developmental timeline of realism that starts with artists such as Shiba Kōkan 司馬江漢 (1747-1818), Tani Bunchō, and Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内 (1728-1780).[138] Conspicuously absent from any discussion by mainstream scholars of Kazan's work is the hanging scroll depicting Buzaemon. The invisibility of Buzaemon in secondary scholarship attests to the difficult work of situating disabled and queer bodies in processionary histories of artistic representation.

The hanging scroll depicting Buzaemon centers the place of disability in new methods of viewing bodies in the visual culture of early modern Japan (Fig. 25). Earlier artists, such as Maruyama Ōkyo 円山応挙 (1733-1795), Shiba Kōkan, Hiraga Gennai and others, incorporated perspective into their art. The different perspectival methods of creating depth and space were linked to these artists' study of Western painting techniques. But the Cleveland hanging scroll specifically tests out this Western mode of vision on someone with an extraordinary body: Ōzora Buzaemon. This scroll merits attention because it also departs radically from the figural renderings of Buzaemon in *ukiyo-e*. *Ukiyo-e* depictions of Buzaemon, to be analyzed later, show him as part of a

[137]Keene 2006, pp. 220-229.
[138]Suzuki 1977, pp. 105-108.

lively community. However, the same popular depictions attempt to account for his extraordinary body through a regime of numbers. The Cleveland handscroll, in contrast, pictures Buzaemon alone in measured precision. Before delving deeper into the social and cultural context of Kazan's handscroll, a description of the physical properties of the handscroll is necessary.

The Cleveland scroll mirrors the dimensions of Buzaemon himself. The scroll measures 221.8 cm x 117.8 cm (87 5/16 x 46 3/8 in.). The image portrays Buzaemon standing with his left foot turned away from the viewer, holding a fan in his right hand. His shaved head, with the topknot intact, along with his two swords require some explanation. After restrictions imposed upon the populace in order to maintain peace, only samurai could carry swords. However, Buzaemon was not a samurai. He received special permission from the lord of his domain to wear the swords.[139] In addition to the off-balance proportions of Buzaemon's torso and legs, the inclusion of a handprint to the left of Buzaemon's image is remarkable. This is Buzaemon's handprint, rendered lightly in ink.

The text that accompanies the image at the bottom of the handscroll works in concert with the image to emphasize accuracy of bodily measure. In addition to the same bodily measurements as seen in Bakin's text, the inscription reads:

Eleventh Month, Sixth Day of Bunsei Year of the Yin Fire Pig

Zenrakudō [Hall of All Comforts] Draft Book

[139]Ulak 1983, pp. 99-11, 101.

This terse description of the physical attributes of Ōzora gives the viewer crucial information about the site where Kazan created this portrait. One key piece of information is that this handscroll is only a "draft."[140] Furthermore, the inscription supplies the viewer with the artist who completed this draft: Zenrakudō, a heteronym, or *gō,* of Kazan.[141] After this basic information comes a deluge of numbers and a listing of parts of Buzaemon's body. His height is 2.1 meters (seven *shaku* and three *bu*). After relating his height, the text displays the size of the back of his hand and the breadth of his shoulders all in a precise fashion. Screech speaks extensively about this same type of precision as an example of Western modes of visuality being interpreted by the Japanese.[142] However, this instance of precision, utilized by a Neo-Confucian scholar to represent an extraordinary person, gives precision a different nuance. In this case, the draft book by Watanabe Kazan, I argue, utilizes precision (*saiku* 細工), measure, and new visual devices in an attempt to represent a queer and extraordinary body.

Ukiyo-e artists produced images of Buzaemon as well that attempted to render him legible in the style of the floating world. These images, mostly in the single-sheet woodblock print format, depict Buzaemon as part of a diverse community that still stares at his bodily difference. That is, instead of using new objects of vision and sight, these prints represent Buzaemon in the style of the floating world while still stressing his prodigious height, weight, and ability to straddle a cow. For instance, Utagawa Kuniyasu 歌川国安 (1794-1832) figures Buzaemon at the center of a bunch of townspeople (Fig. 26). Buzaemon, centered in the image, immediately grabs the attention of the viewer.

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[140]Ulak 1983, p. 102.
[141]Ulak 1983, p. 103.
[142]Screech 2002, p. 94.

The two groups of viewers to either side of Buzaemon fix him in the center of image as the focus of attention. A woman with a child on her shoulders as well as a man to the right of Buzaemon observe him. To Buzaemon's immediate right, a man with facial hair grabs a robe in an attempt to control the bull atop which Buzaemon sits astride. To Buzaemon's left, a child, a farm laborer, a woman, and a samurai take in the spectacle of Buzaemon riding a bull.

This rendering documents one of the extraordinary feats that Buzaemon is said to have accomplished while in Edo. In addition to his height, the size of his hands, and the breadth of his shoulders, Buzaemon is said to have sat astride a bull. The text that is strung along the top of the print relates the same cacophony of numbers that appears in Kazan's portrait and Bakin's written account. After listing his place of origin as well as his age (25), the text continues with his height (2.1 meters), his weight (120 kilograms), the size of his palm (30 centimeters), and the size of the bottom of his foot (41 centimeters). At the extreme left of the image is listed the key information which this image relates visually: the length of his stride. However, more than the repetition of the numbers and measures which made Buzaemon a media spectacle in Edo, the importance of this image is how it fixes Buzaemon as the object of stares.

The inclusion of women, children, and townsfolk and the difference in format may suggest drastic differences from Kazan's portrait. This image portrays Buzaemon as part of a group of people, but still existing apart from them. Their gazes figure him as separate from their group and the object of normative scrutiny. The slight addition of yellow pigment to the bottom of the image suggests the ground upon which all the figures are standing. However, the varying depth into which the figures are standing does not

point to any application of Western perspectival techniques. That is, this image's formal properties do not draw on perspectival methods, but from representational techniques from the floating world. The large group of people surrounding him, with some laughing, may invite comparisons with the *Illness Scrolls* from the 12th century. Indeed, as in scenes in the *Illness Scrolls*, such as the woman with bad breath, a person with an extraordinary body is visualized as an object of laughter. However, in contrast to the *Illness Scrolls*, which also have short narratives separated from the images in a handscroll format, the image of Buzaemon only has a terse introduction to Buzaemon along with a list of his size.

How does one read these two diverging visualizations of Buzaemon? The images of Buzaemon published in the cultural milieu of the floating world picture him as one thread in a rich social fabric and yet still as an object of scrutiny. His extraordinary body figures as a spectacle and an event. In Kazan's rendering of the man, Buzaemon seems bound and restricted by a long litany of measures and numbers. Kazan's experimentation with European norms of measurement and perspective render Buzaemon solitary as an object of a stare that purports to use Buzaemon's body as the testing ground for new visual techniques.

Both of these images make use of numbers and precise measurements in an attempt to make measurable the extraordinary and contain a queer body in legible sums. For Kazan, the measures serve as a visual map, as does the handprint. The numbers and handprint invite the viewer to compare the figural representation of Buzaemon to the numbers of his height, the width of his shoulders, and the size of his hand. In a surprising twist, the numbers recorded in Kuniyasu's print work against the ethos of the floating

world. The realm of the pleasure quarters, kabuki theaters, and sideshows lauded the extravagant and celebrated the spectacular. Modern viewers may expect the *ukiyo-e* rendition of Buzaemon to not fix him with such an objectifying gaze. And yet the same parade of numbers from Kazan's portrait make their way into this rendition of Buzaemon. The assembled personages gawk at Buzaemon's feat of sitting astride a bull. For although the regime of measure attempts to normalize his body, the spectacle of his prodigious proportions exposes the inability of numbers and weights to contain this queer body.

3.4 Showing Strangeness in *Sideshow Stories of the Splendid and Tales of Ise* (1801)

In addition to spicing up folktales, Santō Kyōden also features new machines for sight and sideshows in his *kibyōshi*. In 1782, Kyōden authored *Those Familiar Bestsellers* (*Gozonji no shōbaimono* 御存知商売物) that features a peepshow called a "Grand Dutch Peepshow" (*oranda daikarakuri* おらんだ大からくり). The peepshow was a mechanical device through which one would "peep" miniaturized vistas, often of foreign lands. One of the characters in the story, an anthropomorphization of a "perspective print" (*ukie* 浮絵), beats a drum to attract visitors to a sideshow. As Perspective Print drums up enthusiasm for his stall, another character, "little bean print" (*mamee* 豆絵), squats down to the peephole to view a landscape in miniature through this contraption (Fig. 27). Uchiyama, in his meticulous research on the appearance of peepshows in late eighteenth century visual culture, remarks that the main attraction of Kyōden's use of the peepshow is in seeing a landscape change from noon to night in one

instant.[143] In explanatory notes accompanying an English translation to *Those Familiar Bestsellers*, Adam Kern notes the "exotic-looking screen print depicting the arches of European architecture."[144] Additionally, each of the three frontispieces of *Those Familiar Bestsellers* feature scenes as if seen through a peepbox.[145] This early appearance of the peepshow in the *kibyōshi* of Kyōden appears in the context of a sideshow. Furthermore, the view the peepshow displays to the characters in the *kibyōshi* is of a foreign city. Key in this work is the linkage between novel devices for seeing, such as the peepshow, with foreignness and the sideshow. However, this was only Kyōden's first foray into inserting novel viewing devices from Europe into his visual-verbal narratives. The reader can find a more sustained engagement with the visual meanings of sideshows, and novel viewing devices, in Kyōden's 1801 *kibyōshi Sideshow Stories of the Splendid and Ise Monogatari*.

The aforementioned *kibyōshi* sets its story in the world of *misemono*, while mixing in stylistic elements of the literary classic from the ninth century, *Tales of Ise*. The artist of the *kibyōshi* complicates the pictorial reading process by including small pictures (*kuchie*) within each larger page, similar to the layout of *Ornament of the Bedchamber* from Chapter One. Recent scholarship has taken up the *kibyōshi* as a dynamic visual-verbal medium, while also taking note of the satiric and parodic techniques possible precisely because of this medium.[146] However, my concern is not in *kibyōshi* as a genre that is inherently well-suited to political satire, but instead in the

[143]Uchiyama 1996, p. 56.
[144]Kern 2019, pp. 322-323.
[145]Kern 2019, pp. 273, 287, 301, 315, 322, 331.
[146]Kern 2019, pp. 202-224.

visual practices of *kibyōshi* and how "enfreaked" bodies serve as a visual tool to expose social truths. Just as freaks bring up questions about identity in the American context, Kyōden utilizes the performance of "freaks" (*kijin*) as a tool to poke fun at the veracity of appearances in society.

Sideshow Stories mixes the worlds of popular sideshows with the classical world of the *Tales of Ise* in its loose narrative. As discussed in Chapter Two, *Tales of Ise* (ninth century) is a poetic-tale that describes various episodes in the erotic life of an unnamed man. Almost every episode of *Tales of Ise* begins with the phrase, "A long time ago there was a man" (*mukashi otoko arikeri*). Kyōden copies the diction of *Tales of Ise* and commences every episode in his comicbook with the same opening line as in the original. The first episode in the *Tales of Ise* relates how the unnamed man goes on his first hunt and encounters love. In Kyōden's text, he introduces an accomplished sideshow producer who embarks on a hunt for sideshow acts that will expose the truth of human hearts. The main thrust of the work is to expose the lies of appearances and reveal the inner workings of the human heart. As the prologue states (Fig. 28):

> A long time ago there was a man. He lived in the capital of Nara and was called Kahei Kasuga. This person travelled the various provinces, buying up in bulk all and every sort of sideshow of strange forms and weird variety. Making these [things] into a side-show and making money was his forte, but once while in deep contemplation, he thought: "The hearts of people are like the sideshows from which I make my way in this world– even if the signpost looks splendid, once you enter inside the heart, the

> human heart is such that it exhausts the affability of everyone. If the human heart was able to be seen with the eyes, satisfaction will be meager, and probably a cripple would be a good sideshow." And so, he hit upon an idea that should be his focus.
>
> "The hearts of people are varied–there are clever ones, there are foolish ones, there are good ones, there are bad ones, there are demons, there are Buddhas, and since there are Buddhas, there are living things, and since there are living things, there are also Mountain Hags, and since there are Mountain Hags, there is also Kintoki, and since there is Kintoki, there is also the Bear Woman – but if I keep on going on like this, there will be no end!"[147]

In this excerpt, Kasugaya Kahei functions as a call-back to the first section of the *Tales of Ise*. For most people familiar in the barest sense with the *Tales of Ise*, they would recall the first few sentences of the Heian Period (794-1185) poem-tale. The name of the character in *Sideshow Stories* also harkens back to the *Tales of Ise*. In the first section of the *Tales of Ise*, the reader is introduced to the unnamed male protagonist, who lives in the Kasuga Plain near the ancient capital of Nara. The character in *Sideshow Stories*, Kasugaya, has Kasuga in his name. Additionally, his personal name, Kahei, includes the character for deer. Deer in Nara are regarded as sacred messengers of the gods in Shinto belief. Specifically, they are seen as the messengers of the spirits that

[147]Santō Kyōden 1992, p. 378.

reside in the Kasuga Shrine. This doubling, with slight variation, prefaces the type of double vision that will be the main visual rhetoric throughout this *kibyōshi*. However, the function of this first page of the *kibyōshi* is to only introduce the frame for the various sideshows that will be introduced. All of the subsequent scenes show a much more concrete double vision.

The scenes in *Sideshow Stories* turn common sideshows on their heads through an inherent pun in their name or imagining a new way of presenting a sideshow. This visual and verbal move of inversion follows through with Kyōden's prologue, which seeks to show how appearances can be deceiving and how even someone with the face of a Boddhisattva might harbor the heart of a demon.

This idea of a double vision, or inversion of expectations, has much to do with the artistic strategies of playful literature of the early modern period. Within the larger category of "allusive variations," is the specific visual strategy of "visual punning" (*mitate* 見立). Nakamura Yukihiko contends that the complexity of visual punning "hinges upon discovering similarity in objects or points that don't appear to have similarities at first glance, or, alternately, don't have similarities in the most general sense."[148] Thus, scholars have pointed to the political and satirical implications of *mitate*, or visual punning, in *kibyōshi*. In *Sideshow Stories,* that very same visual punning combines with the "cripples" of the sideshows in a novel way.

The last sideshow that Kasugaya Kahei introduces in this kibyōshi exposes the idea of "cripples of the human heart" (*kokoro no katawamono*) (Fig. 29). In this scene, the sideshow on display is that of the human heart. In the chaotic scene, the Chinese

[148]Nakamura 1966, p. 214.

character for heart/mind, *kokoro*, appears on a dog, at the top of a flaming leg, at both ends of a two-headed snake, and even at the head of a top traversing a silk thread. A portrait of a man with a mist band emerging from his neck appears in the inset image. A "mist band" (*suyarigasumi*) is a stylized cloud wisp with pictorial weight that can be traced back to Heian-period illustrated scrolls. Only in the early modern period did mist bands begin to signify dreaming.[149] Within that mist band is the Chinese character for heart. Underneath the inset picture is a single leg with "heart" emblazoned at its top. Surrounding the leg is a two-headed snake, a dog, and a street performer doing the ball and cup, or rather, ball and basket routine. Amidst all of this chaos, what, precisely, does Kyōden define as a "cripple of the human heart?" In the text surrounding these images, Kyōden pinpoints many shortcomings of the human heart in these metaphorical sights on display at a sideshow. The narrative reveals the foibles of the human heart and how the human heart is crippled (Fig. 29):

> Although they say there are no falsehoods on signs, what is full of falsehoods are human hearts. Even if someone looks splendid from the outside, once you enter the depths of their hearts, there are many instances for which affection would run out. Whether a person is good or evil does not depend on their outward signs. It is difficult to trust someone when you can only rely on their appearance.
>
> The heart is like a top, if the axis of the heart is not good, then you can't spin freely through society. As long as the axis of the heart is right,

[149]Kern 2019, pp. 147-148.

> then you should be able to cross even a thread of silk or the edge of a sword with your heart at ease.
>
> Since what we call the heart is always wanting to move no matter what we put onto it, one should try to make the heart settle-down. The hearts of people who lose their way easily do not have hearts that settle-down - for their hearts are like a juggler at a sideshow, constantly bouncing about without rest. Such people should be careful.
>
> The hearts of people are more prone to change than even a juggler with quick hands. You should not be negligent [of people like this].
>
> A heart with one leg neither advances nor retreats. It is a heart that stands paralyzed for its whole life.
>
> A heart with doubled heads is of two minds, with one trying to go East. As the other [head] tries to go West, between this way and that way, it never makes up its mind. This is a cripple of the heart.[150]

All of these similes and metaphors of how the human heart functions hinge upon a sideshow act showing the truths of society. The image depicts a man spinning tops on the edge of a sword and on the silk threads. Each top either has the character for "heart" affixed onto it, or, each top is a metaphorical heart. The image connects with the text in that "[t]he heart is like a top, if the axis of the heart is good, then you can't spin freely through society. As long as the axis of

[150]Santō Kyōden 1992, pp. 375-396, 394-395.

the heart is righted, then you should be able to cross even a thread of silk or the edge of a sword with your heart at ease." The top is in contrast to metaphors of human hearts that are stuck in place due to the ease at which human hearts change. For instance, Kyōden offers the snake with two heads as an example. "A heart with twin heads is of two minds…between this way and that way, it never makes up its mind. This is a cripple of the heart."

The main assumption and contribution of this kibyōshi is that cripples of the human heart, in this case the snake with the twin heads, can instruct and reveal. Kyōden's works should never be taken at face value, as he stresses in this very kibyōshi. However, the connection between cripples of the human heart, as well as the entire premise of the sideshow, emphasizes how appearances can occlude as well as show. It is only through the revelatory function of a "crippled" body or heart that lies are exposed. Furthermore, the double-vision at play in this text underlines the power of "crippled" bodies and hearts to deform and to undo surface appearances. The juxtaposition between the "outward signs" in the inset picture and the actuality of a sideshow in the larger picture frazzles common sense. The logic of double vision and the revelatory function of "crippling" in this comic exhort readers to question how they view society.

3.5 Conclusion

Literary scholar Tobin Siebers has claimed a central position for the disabled body in modern culture. Through looking at the history of aesthetics, he comes to the conclusion that disabled and deformed bodies shaped modern ideas of beauty, while also

having the role they played in constructing modern aesthetics hidden away.[151] In a similar way that disability functions in modern art, I have argued for centering extraordinary and crippled bodies in conceiving of how visuality in early modern Japan. However, the portraits, *kibyōshi*, prints, and literary texts in this chapter show that extraordinary and crippled bodies not only actively shaped early modern visual culture in Japan but could also incisively critique it.

Kazan's portrait of Buzaemon is the result of a Neo-Confucian scholar who sought to capture the body of a person who had caused so much interest with his arrival in Edo. While modern scholars know little of the life of Buzaemon before his arrival in Edo, what is evident is the normative scrutiny focused on Buzaemon's body. Both in Kazan's portrait and Kuniyasu's print, there is a tension between the numbers that divulge Buzaemon's measurements and the visual representation of Buzaemon's body. Viewers can trust numbers to exactly measure someone's height or their weight. However, pictures frequently exaggerate the mundane and represent the fantastic. Both Kazan's portrait and Kuniyasu's print utilize numbers to convince viewers that Buzaemon was indeed extraordinarily tall or could straddle a bull. But Buzaemon's image pushes back against this scrutiny and thwarts the attempts to contain his unruly and extraordinary body.

Sideshow Stories utilizes crippled bodies as not things to be mocked, but as an impetus to rethink how social truth is constructed. The premise of Kyōden's *kibyōshi* is that sideshows will not be used to entertain, but to reveal hypocrisy and the folly of trusting in appearances. After a whirlwind tour of myriad sideshows, that often contain

[151]Siebers 2010, p. 4.

wordplay and references to contemporaneous trends, the reader arrives at the sideshow exhibiting human hearts. For Kyōden, nothing contains more falsehoods than a human heart. But, crucially, the freaks in the sideshow of the human heart act to reveal and display that kind faces may obscure malicious intent and exterior beauty may obfuscate ugliness inside. These cripples of the human heart reveal falsehoods and serve pedagogically to nurture in readers a critical eye for spotting hypocrisy.

The depictions of Buzaemon and Kyōden's *kibyōshi*, I have argued, are vital objects in thinking through the relation queer bodies had to early modern visual culture. To some, these texts may seem to only deal with and affect a minoritized group. However, I have argued that extraordinary bodies and cripples actively shaped the visuality of early modern Japan, in what Eve Sedgwick might call a universalizing view. In both of these case studies, queer bodies resist representative legibility and sometimes twist ways of looking on their head.

Chapter Four
The Queer Foreign and the Straight Nation

4.1 Introduction

The so-called opening of Japan in 1853 by Commodore Matthew Perry re-introduced visualizations of the foreign body which Japanese authors and artists negotiated in visual texts. On July 8, 1853 Commodore Perry sailed into Edo Bay intent on negotiating the opening of Japanese markets to trade with the United States, bringing with him not just his American crew, but African slaves and new technologies as well.[152] Through a subsequent visit in 1854, Japan ended a roughly 250-year period of national seclusion that had restricted trade with all foreign countries, except the Netherlands, China, Korea and the Ryūkyū islands.[153] This re-establishing of trade relations characterized the imperial restoration of The Meiji Period (1868-1912), which is commonly thought of as a sharp break politically, culturally, economically, and socially with the Japan of the early modern period. Alongside these changes, the foreign bodies that appeared in visual texts prior to 1868 also underwent modifications.

Western powers scrutinized the bodily practices of Japanese, emphasizing a connection between cultural development and modes of dressing the body, public bathing, and choice of sexual partners.[154] While Perry and his shipmates were flummoxed by the practice of mixed-bathing in hot springs and baths, they were equally shocked by one present the Japanese offered, which was "a box of obscene paintings of naked men and women." To the Americans these images were "another proof of the

[152]Perry 1968.
[153]Toby 2008, pp. 1-20.
[154]Pandey 1999, pp. 295-299.

lewdness of this exclusive people."[155] Perry and his crew considered the practices of covering, bathing, and representing bodies as indicative of a people's cultural progression, or regression. "Lewdness" is one way of pushing the "exclusive people" of Japan out of modernity and out of consideration as part of the developed world.

All of this is to say that while literary histories have marked literary modernity as beginning in 1868, such histories fail to account for how the body can also be a productive site for thinking through cultural modernity and when visual modernity may have started.[156] In this chapter, I trace how the multiple discourses surrounding foreignness in the early modern period worked to order and disorder the visual field. Various terms and representative practices put the strange category of "foreign" into word and image while also maintaining a scent of the strange in their depictions. However, by the end of the early modern period, artists and authors adhering to the government line made the slippery category of the foreign legible through national aesthetics, thus normalizing the queer possibilities of the foreign.

The juxtaposition of Perry's Anglo-American sailors performing a minstrel show in blackface and the presence of a telegraph echoes the Japanese adoption of foreign visualizations of race and foreign technologies. After the first visit to Japan in 1853, Perry landed near Yokohama in March of 1854 to enter into final negotiations with the Japanese. At a dinner fêting the Japanese delegation and the success of the negotiations, Perry called upon some of his sailors to perform "an exhibition of negro minstrelsy."[157] The mix of food, dancing, booze, and minstrelsy created an air of exuberance that even

[155]Szczeniak 1962, quoted in Gerstle and Clark 2013, p. 3.
[156] Rimer and Gessel 2007.
[157]Yellin 1996, p. 265.

led one Japanese official to fling his arms around Commodore Perry and exclaim, "Nippon and America, all the same heart."[158] A watercolor rendition of this performance, painted by an unknown Japanese artist, points to the tensions among ethnic difference, modern technologies, and representation percolating in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Fig. 30). The image portrays a modern machine for transmitting information, the telegraph. Alongside the telegraph, the watercolor painting also displays a minstrel show in which white Americans performed blackness. How did Japanese print culture translate foreign visualizations of ethnic and racial difference at a time when new methods of communication were being introduced?

In this chapter I argue that Japanese authors and artists produced representations of ethnic and racial others that at times normalized the strange category of the foreign, and at other times accentuated the abnormal and queer possibilities of the foreign. While scholars have convincingly argued that Japanese society and culture underwent rapid modernization and westernization in the Meiji period, how processes of visualizing minoritized bodies and identities played out in this period still remains a lacuna in scholarly literature. This understudied scene of racial performance, Perry's sailor's minstrel show, can be a starting point from which to think through visualizations of the body and racial and ethnic difference in Japanese woodblock print culture of the 1860s and 1870s. Additionally, the methods of visualizing ethnic and racial others in Japan can be read as part of a longer process stretching back to the sixteenth century. Prior to the late nineteenth century, there are two key moments in Japanese history in which visualizations of foreignness changed. The first moment is Japan's contact with the

[158] Yellin 1996, p. 267.

Portuguese Empire in the mid-sixteenth century, which produced the genre referred to as "southern barbarian" (*nanban* 南蛮) art. The second moment is the long trickle of texts coming through the Dutch settlement on the island of Dejima off of Nagasaki. I show how these visualizations and racial discourses were negotiated in the print culture of the 1860s and 1870s.

Ideals and norms of embodiment in early modern Japan were propagated through illustrated dictionaries, such as *Illustrated Sino-Japanese Encyclopedia* (*Wakan sansaizue* 和漢三才図会, 1712), and such texts were influenced by Neo-Confucian understandings of the composition of the body and its relation to the universe. Blunt categorizations of the humanity rank groups of people along clear lines of gender and status. Ethnic conformity and homosociality is assumed and foreign bodies are relegated to the end of the list, along with fantastic creatures. For instance, in *Illustrated Sino-Japanese Encyclopedia* a "Dutch" person (*oranda* 阿蘭陀) is listed near a "one eye" (*ichimoku* 一目) and before a dragon (*dokuin* 独隠) (Fig. 31).[159] Such encyclopedias are a clear example of how representations of the body reveal the processes of visualizing ideals and norms of a specific culture, rather than simply acting as a transparent lens through which we can view real bodies.

In the 1770s, the translation from Dutch of the German text, *New Text on Anatomy* (*Kaitai shinsho* 解体新書*,* 1774), changed the perception of the body from a microcosm of the Neo-Confucian cosmos, to an object of machine open to human view through anatomy.[160] As Nicholas Mirzoeff indicates, the tension between the

[159]Terajima 1712, vol. 14, fols. 60b-63b.
[160]Screech 2002, pp. 87-90.

imperfection of our bodies and idealized forms of bodies in art and literature is one of the conditions for representing the body.[161] That is, the feeling of unease derived from a perceived lack in the body itself drives the [attempt to control the body through its] representation in visual culture. In this chapter, I argue amongst the changing norms of representing foreignness in the late 1800s, Yokohama emerged as a queer site that troubled methods of representing foreigners. These representations supplanted older conceptualizations of foreignness and geographic imaginings. But the queer work these visualizations of foreigners accomplished was only momentary. The totalizing vision of the modern Japanese nation-state would soon straighten out methods of representing foreigners, making foreigners legible through the lens of Japanese pictorial and literary techniques.

The port city of Yokohama opened in 1859 to cater to foreign ships and trade. In addition to its commercial importance, Yokohama was a key site in the shift of visualizations of foreignness. I explore this shift through texts analysis of visual-verbal texts that represented Yokohama and the people therein. Over the course of two years in 1861 and 1862 Yokohama would lend its name to a genre of single-sheet woodblock prints featuring all manner of things foreign: people, customs, food, chairs, and languages. A commercial treaty negotiated in 1858, after the initial negotiations with Commodore Perry in 1853 and 1854, designated Yokohama as one of several port cities open to foreign trade and foreigners. However, Yokohama's proximity to Edo and its appealing harbor made Yokohama the port city *par excellence* for foreign traders and for Japanese merchants. In this chapter, I investigate a multivolume comicbook authored and

[161] Mirzoeff 1995, p. 17.

illustrated by Hashimoto Gyokuransai 橋本玉蘭齋 (1807-1879), entitled *Record of Things Seen and Heard in the Open Port of Yokohama* (*Yokohama kaikō kenmonshi* 横浜開港見聞誌, 1862-1865).[162] The chapbook was an "instant bestseller" documenting the mundane particularities of life in Yokohama that seemed anything but ordinary for Japanese readers.[163] More significantly, *Record of Things* queers and unsettles the visual field through the creator's use of non-quotidian techniques of representation and inclusion of new visual apparatuses.

This chapter is comprised of three sections, all investigating how visual-verbal texts negotiated norms of representing foreigners and how foreigners troubled norms of representation. First, I look to early modern visualizations of foreign bodies. The paradigms of visualizing foreignness in the early modern period can be divided into two: "southern barbarians" (*nanban* 南蛮) and "red hairs" (*kōmō* 紅毛). These two appellations refer not only to the Iberians and Dutch traders, but also to the ideas about bodily difference that came into being with their inscription in woodblock print. Additionally, I parse the formal features of these visualizations in artistic and literary sources, and how period ideologies of embodiment and foreignness coalesced to create a specific visual rhetoric.

Secondly, I investigate visual materials produced by Hashimoto Gyokuransai, Kanagaki Robun 仮名垣魯文 (1829-1894), and Utagawa Yoshitora 歌川芳虎 (active 1850-1880) pertaining to the foreigners (*ijin* 異人) in the treaty port of Yokohama. By focusing on Gyokuransai's *Record of Things,* and prints in a series depicting the

[162]Hereafter, I abbreviate this title as *Record of Things*.
[163]Meech-Pekarik 1986, p. 40.

foreigners of the five treaty countries, I examine how the rhetoric of embodied foreignness was tied to the space of Yokohama in the visual imagination through woodblock prints and how Yokohama, for a few brief years, radically changed the social imagination of foreigners.

Finally, I turn to a "multivolume comicbook" (*gōkan* 合巻) authored by Kanagaki Robun in 1872 and analyze the rhetoric of visual and literary "softening" and translation that he applies in his depiction of foreign words and images. Robun was writing at a time when modernization was a national imperative in order to stave off colonization by western powers. It was also a time when the government had undertaken sweeping reforms to change the literature, language, art, political structure, trade, and the culture of Japan. His work offers a view of how foreign bodies entered into the visual and verbal lexicon of a culture in the midst of dizzying changes, and how those foreign bodies were visualized according to Euro-American hierarchies of racial and ethnic difference in a Japanese context. His text acts as the last breath of queer bodies in early modernity. For in his multivolume comicbook, he straightens the queer potential of the foreigner and makes foreignness legible to the new context of nation-states and empires.

4.2 Southern Barbarians and Red-Furs

In late nineteenth century Japan, visual and verbal depictions of foreign bodies were influenced by previous visualizations of Europeans in early modernity. In 1639, Portuguese ships were ordered out of the port city of Nagasaki, sailing off to Macao and away from the Japanese archipelago ending almost a century of cultural and economic relationships. As Japan had stopped trade with the English in 1623, and the Spanish in

1624, the only remaining Europeans that had any relationship with the Japanese were the Dutch of the Dutch East India Company. They would remain on the artificial island of Dejima, located off the coast of Nagasaki, for the duration of the early modern period. Furthermore, Japanese travel beyond Korea in the West and the Okinawan island chain to the South was tightly restricted. Trade continued with the Chinese, the Koreans, and the Ryūkyū kingdom, suggesting that the so-called "seclusion" policy did not seclude Japan from Asia or the West as completely as has been suggested.[164] The visual culture surrounding foreignness can be seen in "southern barbarian," or *nanban* objects. *Nanban* is a term which originated in China to refer to people from south of the Chinese mainland. The Japanese utilized this term to name the peoples who approached Japan from the South. The term *nanban* functioned as a referent for the Portuguese and Spanish.[165]

One set of folding screens in the collection of Kobe City Museum, entitled "Southern Barbarians Screens" (*Nanban byōbu* 南蛮屏風), provides visual evidence of how artists produced ethnic difference. Of the various objects referred to as "*nanban* art" (*nanban bijutsu* 南蛮美術), perhaps the most well-known is this genre of *nanban* screens (*nanban byōbu* 南蛮屏風). The Kanō School painter Kanō Naizen (1570-1616) produced this object between 1597 and 1616. Viewing from left to right, the two screens tell a narrative of Iberian traders leaving a foreign port by ship and arriving in a Japanese port (Fig. 32 and Fig. 33). The two ships on each screen and the continuous line of people traveling along the bottom of both screens connects these two objects visually as a

[164]Toby 2008, p. 18.
[165]Narusawa 2007a, p. 58.

set. In each screen, the men of darker complexion are invariably serving the men of lighter complexion; a scene consistent with European expectations of racial hierarchy. On the left screen, seven men of darker complexion shoulder a sedan chair in which a light-skinned Iberian reclines and indicates the route they should follow. On both the left and right screen, the subordinates carry parasols, either shading their superiors with an open parasol, or standing and waiting for orders with the parasol closed. Moreover, all the people visually marked as darker in these two screens are engaged in physical labor. All of the images of people of color are barefoot, and the sailors of color are climbing the rigging of the ships, one of the riskier tasks on the ship.

In addition to the pigmentation of skin, the artist has marked figures in these screens as "foreign" or "Japanese" through their clothing and hairstyles. At the far right of the right screen, the seven figures are marked as Japanese by their shaved heads, divided riding skirts (*hakama* 袴), and possession of swords. In contrast, the Iberians and their servants are marked as distinctly foreign by their billowing pants, frilled collars, rosaries in hand, and knee-high stockings. Exotic flora and fauna, or foreign cities or landscapes that would mark anyone within that landscape as foreign, are absent. Instead, gold clouds, a recurrent feature of the screen format in Japanese art, serves as a luxuriant background against which to contrast these foreign bodies.[166]

People used folding screens to divide rooms and decorate rooms, but the images on the screens had other uses. However, more ornate screens, like the *Nanban byōbu*, were often lavishly produced with meaning-laden decoration. The materials the creators of the screens utilized added to the authority and wonder of the representations therein.

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[166]Katz 2009, pp. 22-25.

Ink, color, and gold on Japanese paper (*washi*) are all traditional materials utilized in the creation of such a folding screen.[167] Kanō Naizen's use of gold in this screen underlines the money expended upon this object. In addition to the prestige given to this object by its materials, historical sources recount an episode when such an object was imbued with geographic authority. A history of the founder of the Tokugawa, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616) recounts an episode in which a screen depicting *nanban* was used for non-decorative functions. At a time when Tokugawa was considering opening trade routes to Pacific ports in South America, he examined a world map on a *nanban* screen and put various questions about foreign lands to his counselors. Katsushi Narusawa claims that this incident shows how these folding screens were utilized to facilitate trade and make foreign policy decisions.[168] Folding screens, such as the *Nanban byōbu*, shaped how figures of authority imagined the world beyond Japan and Japanese artists differentiated foreigners according to perceived power and skin tone.

Over the course of the early modern period, the visual discourses of foreignness shifted from depictions based on Iberians to representations of the Dutch. After the government banished Jesuits from Japan and cut off contact with most foreign countries, the Dutch and the settlement in Nagasaki Bay became a focus of Japanese cultural imaginings of Europeans. Narusawa has even described Nagasaki as a "pinhole-like oculus connecting them to foreign countries and the border – the sea – that could not be crossed."[169] The uncrossable sea that Narusawa describes was very much a place of fantasy and study for a select group of Japanese in the early modern era. The small

[167]Katz 2009, pp. 16-20.
[168]Narusawa 2007a, p. 65.
[169]Narusawa 2007b, p. 75.

settlement of Dutch traders on the island of Dejima was viewed as an intellectual resource for some, spawning what was called "Dutch Studies" (*Rangaku* 蘭学). The small coterie of "Dutch scholars," (*Rangakusha* 蘭学者) who were interested in all things Dutch, studied the Dutch language, artistic methods and subjects through Dutch materials, as well as mechanical and scientific discoveries of Europe as represented to them through the Dutch on Dejima.

Different from the depiction of "Southern Barbarians," the representations of "Red Hairs" carried associations of scientific precision (*saiku* 細工), and new ways of visualizing the world based on new visual technologies. As Screech has indicated, the microscope, as well as other technological innovations and viewing apparatuses, affected how the Japanese observed and imagined the world around them.[170] Visual technologies not only revolutionized visual representations of the world and foreign bodies, they became a theme within visual representations themselves. For example, in his *Random Tales of the Dutch* of 1787, Morishima Chūryō (1756-1810) reproduces an image of a Dutch microscope, as well as detailed views of insects. The accurate depiction of such minute creatures would have required study through a magnifying lens (Fig. 34). This miscellany is a didactic text, grouping foreign bodies, animals, and visual technologies together under the same umbrella of "the foreign." The text accompanying the image instructs the reader where to place their eye when viewing insects, as well as where to place insect specimens.

Certain modes of visualizing the world and the body became associated with "Red Hairs" in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Whereas the "Southern Barbarian" art

[170]Screech 2002, pp. 194-211.

was made using native traditions of perspective, motifs and materials with well-worn tracks on the Japanese archipelago, visualization of the "Red Hairs" demonstrate Japanese use of novel viewing technologies and representational techniques. That is, in the history of how Europeans were visualized in Japanese visual culture, the accumulations of visualizations of "Southern Barbarians" also changed some of the modes of representing the body and the visual representation of the Japanese people themselves. Shiba Kōkan (1747-1818) may be the most salient example of the intercultural exchange of modes of visualizing the world. He is believed to be the first artist in Japan to produce an image using the copper-etching process, and an early adopter of one-point linear perspective in the production of a landscape scene entitled "View of Mimeguri" 三囲景 (*Mimeguri no kei*) in 1783.[171]

Chūryō shaped how foreignness was imagined through his many publications on things exotic to Japanese readers. Due to the limits of the sources Chūryō could procure, visualizations and descriptions of ethnic and racial others were filtered through Chinese and Dutch sources. Therefore, Chūryō's descriptions necessarily rely upon ideologically inflected images produced by the Dutch East India Company and the Chinese. Brother to a gifted linguist and student of medicine, Chūryō wrote several books about peoples removed from the main islands that constituted the Japanese archipelago in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. In addition to scribing *Random Tales of the Red Hairs* (*Kōmō zatsuwa* 紅毛雑話, 1787), he also authored *New Tales of Myriad Countries* (*Bankoku shinwa* 万国新話*,* 1790)*, Tales of the Ryūkyū* (*Ryūkyū banashi* 琉球談*,* 1790), and a dictionary of the Dutch language entitled *Dictionary of Barbarian Words*

[171]French 1977, pp. 150-157.

(*Bangosen* 蛮語選, 1798). As a whole, these books focus on the daily life of peoples, their clothing, and the languages spoken in the myriad lands. In short, at a time when restrictions of popular fiction were growing increasingly strict, Chūryō had an interest in those who populated the rest of the world, especially those who bordered the Japanese archipelago.

In *Random Tales,* Chūryō offers a new theory for ethnic difference amongst foreigners. Dark-skinned servants, slaves, or laborers appear in both materials about the "Southern Barbarians," and the "Red Hairs." However, in this latter text the servants are listed amongst foreign oddities and objects, and the purported reason for their dark skin is explained. In *Random Tales*, pictured alongside entries on tobacco, menus for banquets, European versions of dragons, and microscopes are several entries on the derogatorily termed "darkies" (*kuronbō*). Despite its title, the text of *Random Tales* functions more as an encyclopedia with entries and illustrations, rather than a sustained literary narrative. The placement of the entry on *kuronbō* places black and brown people distinctly in the realm of strange creatures and curious products brought to Japan by the Red Hairs. The entry under question appears after several entries dedicated to exotic creatures and the supernatural, such as a green pheasant (*midori iro no hato*) and the name of the Buddha (*namu amida narabini hotoke no na*). Most significantly, Chūryō groups the peoples brought with the Dutch, most likely indigenous peoples from Malacca, alongside animals and his explanation of differences between Japanese and the "barbarian tongue" (*bango* 蛮語).

Random Tales places "darkies" in a lower position of power relative to "barbarians" (*banjin* 蛮人) as well as the Japanese. Furthermore, Chūryō classes these

two peoples as different, not under the catchall categorization of "barbarian," but as "black." The description reads:

> The darkies (*kuronbō*) that were brought along inside the ships are called *suwaruto yongo*. *Suwaruto* is being black, and *yongo* is a young person. Their birth land is within the Southern Seas... As [these people] were born in a country close to the Sun, their color was burnt and so they are black. It is said that though they [the *svart jong*] are put to work by the red furred peoples (*kōmōjin*) with no middleman, often it is the case that the countrymen of the darkies kidnap them when they are still young children and sell them to the barbarians. By nature, they are persistently stupid. But there are strong ones as well. They usually eat rice and fish. Under no circumstances do they eat pork.[172]

Chūryō, and presumably the other scholars of Dutch Studies, identified the distinct difference in rank and position between the "Barbarian" and "Red Hairs" and the "darkies" brought to Japanese shores. Of interest is the view of these people as not only phenotypically different, but also infantilized both by the Dutch and Chūryō. Instead of directly transliterating the Dutch words, Chūryō translates *zwart jong* as "little black," or *kuronbō*. As much as the term "Red Fur" places emphasis on the perceived bodily differences between the Dutch and the Japanese, the term *kuronbō* similarly links phenotypic difference with naming practices.[173] That is, Chūryō's description and the

[172] Morishima 1796, pp. 8-10.
[173] The Great Dictionary of Secret Words (*Ingo daijiten)* posits that in addition to its description of skin tone, the word *kuronbō* may also have come from the city of Colombo, now located in Sri Lanka. *Ingo daijiten*

very names utilized for foreigners make bodily difference the main distinguishing characteristic for foreign bodies.

Chūryō depicted white Europeans as a foreign other, but only in contrast to the ethnic other of their dark-skinned servants.[174] Dutchness, and the discourse of "Red Fur" was not presented in Japanese materials as a single instance of racial or ethnic visual difference, but also contrasted with the darkness of the social and racial other. The shifting signifier of "dark" other can be seen in materials from the 1600s, such as the black servants of the Iberians in the *Nanban byōbu.* Morishima replicates European supremacy in his translation of *svart jong,* "black servant" or "black boy," into *kuronbō,* "darkie." Of import to mention is the fact that "Red Fur," (*kōmō*) or "Southern Barbarian" (*nanban*) were not by any stretches of the imagination complementary terms. These terms were crude forms of describing ethnic others. What is significant is how these ethnic others were visualized against social and ethnic inferiors, as imagined by both the Europeans and the Japanese producing the visual sources.

This broad swath of the history of visualizing foreignness shows how Europeans were brought into the Japanese imagination not as independent and isolated cases of whiteness, but always with a racial other to visually or verbally champion and prop up the power of the Iberians or Dutch. These depictions of foreigners from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries constitute the background against which later textual representations would contrast. As I explore in the next section, the visuality associated with the city of Yokohama incorporated visual techniques that upset the norms of how foreigners were depicted.

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[174]Studies of foreignness in the early modern period (Fleming 2011; Screech 2002; Winkel 2004) do not link Japanese racial constructions with the depictions of racial and ethnic others.

4.3 Foreigners and the City: *Record of Things Seen and Heard in the Open Port of Yokohama* (1862-1865)

As the foremost foreign treaty port in Japan, Yokohama served as a vibrant site from which visualizations of the new foreigners were formed in the Japanese imagination through print material. Artists, mostly coming from the line of Utagawa Kuniyoshi, started producing a genre of prints that focused on the new foreigners as the fad of the day. These prints are called "Yokohama prints" (*Yokohama-e* 横浜絵). They were so named based on the association of foreignness with the city, not necessarily the site of production. In the period from 1860 to 1861, just one year after the government opened Yokohama as a treaty port in 1859, artists produced eight hundred designs featuring foreigners as the motif.[175] Most of these designs were for single-sheet prints in print series, focusing on the European and American peoples of the five treaty-nations. Other designs focused on ships docking in the port, or fly's eye views of Yokohama itself.

Rupturing earlier representations of foreignness in print culture, the visual culture that grew out of the Yokohama utilized the term "outlanders" (*ijin* 異人), and visually placed white Europeans and Americans at the apex of an ethnic hierarchy. Over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, usage of the term "outlander" changed from signifying a strange or miraculous person, to simply meaning a foreign person.[176] One of the artists to work most prolifically in the genre of Yokohama-prints was

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[175]Meech-Pekarik 1986, pp. 14.

[176]See entry on *ijin* 異人 in *Nihon kokugo daijiten*. The earliest usages in the 15th century carried meanings of "unusual people," or simply "other people." Additionally, the homophone *ijin* 偉人, or "great person" seems to been part of the earlier 18th usage before the meaning of foreignness permeated the word.

Sadahide Gyokuransai (1807-1879)[177]. His work ranges from panoramic views of the city from above, to single-sheet prints, to a bestselling multivolume comicbook that records things seen and heard in Yokohama. I analyze his work, *Record of Things Seen and Heard in the Open Port of Yokohama* (1862-1865), in this section.[178] The first three volumes of the album were originally published in 1862, with three more volumes produced in 1865.[179] In the present analysis, I focus on the first three volumes published in 1862, and examine: (1) how they figured foreignness, while contending with the prior representations of "Southern Barbarians" and "Red Hairs" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and (2) how Hashimoto's album made the queer bodies of foreigners legible amidst the rush of modernization and westernization.

The depictions of the foreigners in *Record of Things Seen and Heard* focus on the public spaces and streets of Yokohama. Gyokuransai shows trade and the public lives of the people of Yokohama as one of the distinguishing characteristics of the city. The first pages, which open out to show the reader a panoramic view of the city and port, draw upon prints Gyokuransai completed in 1859 and 1860 that showed aerial views of the port and city of Yokohama.[180] The tying together of the spatial geography of the city and the curious and intriguing appearances of its denizens continue in the preface and other written sections of the book. The first few lines of the preface situate Japan, with Yokohama as the doorway, within a larger world:

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[177]Hashimoto used the pen-name Hashimoto Gyokuransai 橋本玉蘭齋 in the texts analyzed in this chapter, but is better known by his other name, Hashimoto Sadahide 橋本貞秀. For sake of consistency, when referring to him I will use the name Gyokuransai.
[178]Hereafter abbreviated as *Record of Things Seen and Heard*.
[179]Meech-Pekarik 1986, p. 40.
[180] For catalogue entries on some of these prints, including a massive eight-sheet print showing the port, see Yonemura 1990, pp. 44-49, 52-55.

> With the waves in the four directions placid, we celebrate the everlasting life of the samurai, farmers, artisans, and merchants; and the steam from the cooking pots of the people rises up high. To the south in Nagasaki and going all the way to the island of Karafuto in Ezo to the north, people's hearts are without change, and yet are resilient.[181]

In these few sentences, Gyokuransai delineates the boundaries of Japanese society and geography. The reference to the "everlasting life of the samurai, farmers, artisans, and merchants" signals the early modern status hierarchy mandated by the shogunal government. Although this system would soon be reformed with the drastic changes in government in the late 1860s, in 1862 this social hierarchy was still the law of the land. Hashimoto also maps out the geographical boundaries of Japan, or as he later calls it in this preface, the land "under the sun" (*hi no moto*). At the time, the city of Nagasaki on the island of Kyūshū was the southernmost area under control of the shogunate. The northernmost region under shogunal control consisted of Ezo and Karafuto, present-day Hokkaidō and Sakhalin Island, respectively. The name Ezo also refers to the indigenous peoples of Sakhalin, Hokkaidō and the Kuril islands, which had been mapped and explored by Japanese in the nineteenth century, subsequently becoming territorialized.[182] In this short preface, Hashimoto figures these diverse regions as being of the same heart, claiming a consistency of feeling across the broad swath of lands under Japanese control. Implicitly, Gyokuransai also makes a claim that Yokohama, although a city in which

[181] Hashimoto 1862, vol. 1, p. 1.
[182]Howell 2005, pp. 172-196.

European nations and the United States could operate under foreign laws through the extraterritoriality agreement, is also a land in which the sentiments are distinctly Japanese.

The visual rhetoric of *Record of Things Seen and Heard* offers productive readings of how foreignness was translated into the Japanese imagination in 1862. Not only do the formal characteristics of the text merit investigation, but the rhetorical features of how Yokohama the city and the people within that city are figured also demands attention. The title of the work itself, *Record of Things Seen and Heard,* posits a documentary quality to the book that draws on the auditory and visual. The twelve pages of text that follow the views of the city and the streets advance a view of Yokohama that presupposes the embodied experience of trudging through the city on foot. The first sentence of the description seeks to "record the streets of Yokohama," starting "at the edge of the lodges of Western Kanagawa on the Tōkaidō Road."[183] The reader of this text moves through the streets of Yokohama in their mind, and in doing so links the major routes of Japan, such as the Tōkaidō Road, with the new city of Yokohama.

The use of perspective in the depiction of Yokohama draws on earlier utilizations of perspective that marked such visual objects as possessing an otherworldly quality and a scientific precision associated with European art styles. In his discussion of late eighteenth century "floating pictures" (*ukie* 浮絵), a woodblock print that utilized perspective so that the print appeared to "float up" at the viewer, Screech contends that:

[183]Hashimoto 1862, vol. 1, pp. 16.

> [p]erspective was enlisted to show precisely what was *not* quotidian, or vouchsafed, but the mimetic space of the stage, the 'otherness' of the recreational and escapist worlds, or the pleasure zones beyond the actual.[184]

For consumers in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the perceived depth of images offered by perspective pictures constructed an imaginative space in which the mind could play and escape the normal. Scholars of visual studies have posited that the use of perspective in the early modern era in Europe imbued the viewer as the object and origin of sight while also suggesting a "disembodied, divine, and objective viewpoint."[185] These two observations, one on Japanese visual culture and the other on Euro-American visual cultures, reveal how perspective accrues different significations in particular cultural contexts. In *Record of Things Seen and Heard*, perspective imbues foreignness with a novelty and queer visuality of the non-quotidian.

The use of perspective in *Record of Things Seen and Heard* imbues the physical space of Yokohama and the people therein with a playful otherness. Rather than functioning as perspective did in European or American contexts, granting the viewer unlimited control as origin of sight, perspective instead grants a strangeness to the peoples in *Record of Things Seen and Heard*. The first perspective view in *Record of Things Seen and Heard* appears on the third page and shows several foreigners shopping for lacquer ware in the foreign quarter (*Ijin honmachi nite nurimono no kaiire no zu*) (Fig. 35). On the right of the double page spread, a Japanese proprietor has his back to the viewer, showing his wares to the two foreign men. The two foreign men, one seated

[184]Screech 2002, p. 104.
[185]Sturken and Cartwright 2009, p. 157.

and one standing, pay close attention to the Japanese man's explanation. The beam in the foreground, the lines running towards the back of the shop near the entrance, and the lintel give depth to the image by constructing a vanishing point. The page on the left features a Western woman in the foreground waiting outside the shop for her companions, while another woman in the background peruses items in the shop. On the left-hand page, the slanted lines of the doors partitioning the storefront and the shops lined up on the left give a sense of depth through vanishing point perspective. This utilization of vanishing point perspective continues throughout the entire work, with other types of views of the city included as well. For instance, ¾ above views of specific scenes, close-ups of specific types of peoples, and interior shots are featured. These images that utilize perspective tap into the queer quality of visual perspective to stimulate interest in readers and also break with normative methods of representing spaces and bodies.

Gyokuransai also introduces new technologies for viewing the world in *Record of Things Seen and Heard*, linking new tools for viewing the world with ideas of how the world should be viewed. In the third volume, the last volume published in 1862, photographic technology is explained and featured alongside the Europeans and Americans who live in Yokohama. The first image that features photography explains the mechanisms of a glass-plate camera (*shashinkyō* 写真鏡) (Fig. 36). Beneath the image of the camera is an image of an organ (*orugoru no zu*), another item imported into Yokohama, presumably. The description reads:

> Camera (*Shashinkyō*)
>
> There are advantages in this technique even for [reproducing] landscapes. First, face the glass mouth of the pipe towards the center of the box. The image will be inscribed upside-down on a glass plate. On top of the box there is yet another glass plate affixed beneath the lid, and when the image is taken once again, it is like this.[186]

In this page from *Record of Things Seen and Heard*, of note is the reproduced image of the Western woman. The text accompanying the image makes no mention of just what images are being reproduced onto the glass plates, only stating the camera's efficacy in producing landscapes. As both Meech-Pekarik and Yonemura note, women were a popular subject in Yokohama prints despite their small numbers in the actual settlement.[187] Gyokuransai's rendering of a camera that captures landscapes as well as foreign women suggests that cameras are a tool for visual possession. That is, the object of the reader's vision is a foreign woman and the camera produces an image of the desired object. Furthermore, the figuring of landscape as another object to be photographed suggests an easy transition from photographing landscapes to photographing foreign women. For Gyokuransai, both landscapes and foreign women are objects to be ogled at and reproduced in the dark box that "reflects truth."

Gyokuransai reinforces Yokohama as a city of queer bodies and new viewing technologies elsewhere. In volume three, Hashimoto shows a man embroiled in taking pictures of the ships in Yokohama Bay while several dogs try to interrupt his work (Fig.

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[186] Hashimoto 1862, vol. 3, p. 14.
[187] Meech-Pekarik 1986, pp. 12-14; Yonemura 1990, p. 82.

37). The text above the ships says, "Possessing a camera on the coast of Yokohama. An image of the house dogs come to play with their master as the master surveys the landscape of Kanagawa."[188] In the foreground, the "master" stoops under the cloth covering of the camera while his dogs squeeze through his legs, peek around the legs of the tripod, and even stick their noses up to the camera lens. Whatever landscape the photographer intends to capture with his camera is situated off-page to the left. This image offers an amusing scene of what foreigners do for fun in Yokohama, but also demonstrates the uses of the camera technology. Gyokuransai first explains the process by which a camera operates, and the proper objects to be produced by the camera: photographs of women and landscapes. Following this short explanation of how the camera operates, Hashimoto shows *where* it operates. As shown through images and described through words in this image, the camera is carried out of doors to capture scenes of coasts, ships, and "landscapes" (*keshoku* 景色).

In *Record of Things Seen and Heard*, Gyokuransai utilizes formal visual techniques and introduces content that conceptually links the city of Yokohama with the category of the foreign as well as new apparatuses and techniques of viewing the world. The use of perspective draws on existing connections between perspective and transitory or non-quotidian visions of space practiced in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries but implants foreign bodies into that liminal space. His introduction of new viewing apparatuses, such as the camera, not only instructs readers on the workings of these new technologies, but also shows their uses in the world.

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[188] Hashimoto 1862, vol. 3, p. 16.

Significantly, the *shashinkyō* captures and reproduces images of Western women and the landscapes of Yokohama, revealing desires to capture and to reproduce the queerness of foreign otherness. But this fad for images of Yokohama and production of the visual desire to reproduce foreign others would soon fade. Gyokuransai renders foreignness in Yokohama as abnormal, if enticing. This is a moment when foreignness disorders the visual field. Gyokuransai still works in the early modern period wherein vanishing-point perspective imbues an image with a non-quotidian and queer aura. In the next section, methods of translating foreign images and words works to remove the non-quotidian and abnormal from a text, straightening the disorderly and making it legible.

4.4 Napoleon and the Seeds of Humanity

Kanagaki Robun's *Japanese ABCs, Western Libraries* (*Yamatogana seiyō bunko* 倭国字西洋文庫, 1870-1872) constructs a discourse of "translating" Western words and images that normalized the queer foreignness seen in *Records of Things Seen and Heard*. And, subsequently, Robun made that foreignness legible in the context of modern nation-states. Part of the vast modernizing project was the propagation of "civilization and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika* 文明開化), espoused by the "mastermind of the nationalist movement," Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901).[189] Yukichi began writing prolifically in the late 1860s, going on to produce a massive corpus of didactic texts still read today by eager young students. In the 1860s, Kanagaki Robun poked fun at such modernizers, and Yukichi in particular, with word-for-word spoofs of Yukichi's writings. However, the government released of "The Three-Article Education Law" (*Sanjō no kyōken* 三条の教

[189]Jones and Inouye 2017, pp. 9-11.

憲) in 1872 that sought to align literature with "truth" (*jitsu* 実) and away from "falsehood" (*kyo* 虚), as well as imbuing the Emperor and Shintōism with more authority. Robun responded to this governmental policy by submitting a writ of support in favor of "truth," and fell in line with the government.[190]

Today, Robun is perhaps best remembered as the last of playful writer (*gesakusha*) in an age of "Enlightenment and Civilization" (*bunmei kaika*). But, of interest to this project, his works consistently take up themes of foreignness and ethnic difference. Perhaps his most famous work, *Things Heard Around a Pot of Beef* (*Agura nabe* 案愚鍋, 1871), shows snapshots of the patrons of the newest Western import: beef pots. He draws on the conventions of older works, notably Shikitei Samba's *Bathhouse of the Floating World* (*Ukiyo-buro* 浮世風呂, 1809-1813), in which people of all stations pass through a public commons. Most of his works are "multivolume comicbooks" (*gōkan* 合巻), a genre of comicbooks (*kusazōshi* 草双紙) that have been described as "peculiar picto-literary novels in which the words and pictures lean on and help each other."[191] Some scholars have characterized Robun as "[u]nlike the great *gesaku* masters of earlier years," and doing "little to develop new forms of expression."[192] However, translation of foreign bodies into legibility marks him as an important figure in tracing the normalization of foreign bodies at the end of early modernity. Robun's work has been translated in English a number of times and has received some attention from scholars working in English and Japanese. However, this scholarship has mostly been

[190]Okitsu 1968, pp. 14-15.
[191]Suzuki 1961, 2; Kern 2019, pp. 236-238.
[192]Cohn 2017, p. 69.

confined to analyses of how Robun created notions of individual choice in a modern, Japanese nation through works like *Things Heard Round the Beef Pot* and, his other great hit, *Shank's Mare Round the West* (*Seiyō dochū hizakurige* 西洋道中膝栗毛, 1870-1876).[193]

In the following pages, I analyze one of Robun's works that has received considerably less attention, *Japanese ABCs, Western Libraries* (*Yamatogana seiyō bunko* 倭国字西洋文庫, 1870-1872) and how Robun translates and represents foreignness in a "Japanese" idiom.[194] This visual-verbal text relates the story of Napoleon and the history of France as a nation. *Japanese ABCs* is a six-volume "multivolume comicbook." The first volume was published starting in 1870 and the last volume in 1872. Like many comicbooks, or *kusazōshi,* the most outstanding feature of the text is its mixture of visual and verbal elements.[195] The illustrator of the work, Utagawa Yoshitora (active 1850-1880), is best known for his Yokohama prints, or *Yokohama-e*, discussed previously in this chapter.

Japanese ABCs relates the childhood and personal history of Napoleon. But this infamous figure, Napoleon, may not have been well known to Japanese reading this text in 1870. An alternate title of the work is *Biography of Napoleon* (*Naporeon ichidaiki* 那勃列一代記). The story is relatively simple and follows the narrative of a hero's rise to prominence. Perhaps most surprisingly for modern readers is the fact that Napoleon's visual depiction more resembles a Kabuki actor from Edo than a sailor from France. The

[193]Mertz 2003, pp. 28-30.
[194]Hereafter abbreviated as *Japanese ABCs.*
[195]Suzuki 1961.

image on the cover of the second volume shows Napoleon pulling a rope but reveals none of the accouterments of foreignness that would figure this person as "foreign" (Fig. 38). The first volume deals with Napoleon's upbringing on the island of Corsica, and his slaying of a giant shark (*wanizame* わにざめ). Although this may be the first version of Napoleon's story to be told in the format of a multivolume comicbook, *Japanese ABCs* is not the first textual evidence of Napoleon's appearance in Japanese print culture. In the 8th year of Tenpō (1837), Koseki Sanei (1787-1839) translated Johannes van der Linden's biography of Napoleon into Japanese from the Dutch under the title *The Biography of Napoleon Bonaparte* (*Naporeon bonaparute den* 那波列翁勃納把爾的伝) (Fig. 39).

The image from Koseki's translation of his biography much more closely resembles images of Napoleon familiar to Western audiences, with his military uniform and windswept hair. The rendition of Napoleon in Koseki's text stands in stark contrast to the representations of Napoleon in *Japanese ABCs*. Yoshitora's illustration and Robun's textual framing points to a domestication of Napoleon's image and story. They represent Napoleon not as an unfamiliar and foreign element, but within specific bounds. Robun makes this framing of Napoleon's story most clear in the prefatory remarks at the beginning of the story. The preface begins:

> Gazing down at the depths of Naniwa Bay, looking up at the heights of Mount Asaka, in the time of Tasseled Knots, everyone has heard of the isles of the Little People, the Long-arms and the Long-legs. Of late, upon opening up relations with the various countries of the Four Sibling Seas, we have begun to learn more, and, as the insight of the reigns of the West is not negligible, isn't it a truly gracious age that allows even an illiterate like me to know that the world's shape

> is round and that there are myriad countries that border continents divided into five parts? The library of the West that appears herein, even if the ranks of young learners and first timers don't follow along, is far better than reading a songbook of ballads from the German Empire.
>
> Tokyo
>
> As Recorded by Kanagaki Robun

Typical of "playful writing," this preface not only shows the writer humbling himself before his readers ("an illiterate like me"), but also hailing "young learners and first timers" as part of his reading audience.[196] After the preface there is a foreword. As the author relates, he heard tales of Napoleon from the artist Wirgman, an Englishman who established the first magazine in Japan.[197] At the end of his foreword, Robun writes, "Of course, the pictorial design is drawn in the style of our Blessed Country just like in the beginning."[198] Just precisely what Robun means by "the pictorial design" which is "drawn in the style of our Blessed Country" is best illustrated by looking at some of Yoshitora's illustrations from the first volume (Fig. 40). Figure 40 shows the scene in which Napoleon slays the shark (*wanizame*) that has been troubling the fishermen of Corsica. Having Napoleon split between the two pages, as well as the dramatic slaughter of the shark reminds the reader of the affordances of the visual-verbal format. Furthermore, the inclusion of the shark pulls Napoleon into the world of the fantastic. As noted previously, foreigners were often associated with fantastical creatures and

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[196]Respectively, 「僕ごとき文盲」(*yatsugare gotoki monmō*) and 「幼学初心」(*yōgaku shoshin*).
[197]Duus 2001.
[198]もちろんえぐみはわがみくにぶりにえがくことはじめにひとし

supernatural beings. However, in this story Napoleon is featured as a paragon of humanity imbued with the skills and bravery to defeat this monster of the sea. That is, Utagawa depicts Napoleon "in the style of our Blessed Country" through selection of hairstyle, clothing, and conventions of representing facial features. Furthermore, in this spread Napoleon slays a monstrous beast, eliminating an aberrant menace to the residents of Corsica. Such a narrative that includes the elimination of monsters reaffirms the normative bent of this story.

The narrative of *Japanese ABCs* joins together ideas of ethnicity and "civilization and enlightenment" in its introduction of Napoleon's birthplace, France. Right after the prefatory remarks, Robun writes:

> The shape of the world is circular, just like a ball. This ball is called the E-A-R-T-H. On the Earth are oceans and hills. We divide the hills into five and have called them the continents. The first is Asia, the second is Europe, the third is America, the fourth is Africa, and the fifth is called Australia. Among these, the second, Europe has 620,000 people according to their estimation. Of that, nine out of ten are of the white race. In the south there are white and black mixed people. In the north, there are very, very few who are not white.[199]

[199] Kanagaki Robun 1870-1872, p. 5.

The dividing up of the Earth into five continents, the numerical ranking of the continents in descending order starting with Asia and ending with Australia and Africa are all key points of interest in this quotation.

Robun's use of the term "race" (*hitodane* 人種) in describing the bodily differences between Northern and Southern Europe draws on new understandings of the world. As Ronald Toby has noted, prior to the appearance of the Portuguese on the shores of Japan in the sixteenth century, materials from the Japanese archipelago indicate that conceptions of foreignness were understood in a "three lands" (*sangoku* 三国) dynamic. This same geographic schema was seen in Chapter One. The three lands that constituted that geographical imagination were Japan, China, and India. However, after contact with the Europeans, the geographic imagining of the world shifted from a model of "three lands" to that of "myriad countries" (*bankoku* 万国).[200] The 1850s through the 1870s were another period of time in which the visualization of the world and its peoples changed drastically for the Japanese with beginning of the usage of the term "race." The term "race" (*jinshu* 人種), written with the same two Chinese characters as *hitodane* but pronounced differently, appears in other works by Robun. But the usage of "race" (*hitodane* or *jinshu*) takes on new dimensions of meaning in the pictorial and literary adaptions undertaken by people like Kanagaki Robun in the decades following the arrival of Commodore Perry in Japan.

By looking at some other visual sources produced by Yoshitora, I tease out the complexities of Kanagaki's phrase "the pictorial design…drawn in the style of our Blessed Country." Of course, Kaganaki's text and Yoshitora's illustrations are not the

[200] Toby/Tobi 2008, pp. 186-198.

first instance in which nation, race, and representation collided. As Marcia Yonemoto has noted, Edo period popular literature and culture at times used the idea of a foreign journey to critique domestic politics and culture. She asserts that in "early modern Japanese satires of foreign lands, writers 'deconstructed' the foreign in order to reveal within it the familiar characteristics of 'home.'"[201] However, I contend in this instance that Robun translated the foreign to construct the domestic.

In 1861, seven years before the Meiji Restoration, and nine years before the publication of *Japanese ABCs*, Robun and Yoshitora collaborated on several texts. One of them is the print series, *All Sorts of Foreign Peoples* (*Gaikoku jinbutsu zukushi* 外国人物尽) (Fig. 41). Figure 41 is a print from the series, now in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art. At the far right of the print is the title, "France" (*Furansu*). Situated to the left of the title, the text reads:

> Originally at the center of Europe. Now, as one of the larger countries, France has the genius of its people. It has greatly prospered, and in all things it is commensurate. The capitol that deals mainly in trade is called Paris. It is on the banks of the River Seine. The walls, the gates, as well as the roads of the city are vast, and all manner of marvelous techniques are exhausted in its glorious construction. Within the city limits, there are many government offices. Since they are of the most marvelous construction, it is said that only after a hundred years had elapsed was their construction finally completed.

[201] Yonemoto 2003, p. 109.

The image shows two personages interacting. To the left of the man's arm is Yoshitora's name in the cartouche, and a smaller seal indicating this print has passed the censors. The man is sitting down in a chair; while the woman is about to pour him a beverage, presumably wine. The coloration of their clothing, the furniture, as well as the faces of the man and woman contrast sharply with the later images of Napoleon, seen in *Japanese ABCs*. The yellow wine, the red pom-poms that adorn the hat of the woman, and more than anything, the light brown of their hair colors them as distinctly foreign.

However, Figure 41 is from a single-sheet print of illustrated by Yoshitora. Figure 42 is from another multivolume comicbook entitled, *Tales of the Myriad Countries: Illustrated for Kids (Osana etoki bankoku banashi* 童絵解万国噺*,* 1861). The text introduces several foreign countries in an effort to educate literate young Japanese about the new world knocking at their doorstep (Fig. 42).
Robun and Yoshitora collaborated in the production of this text from 1861 to 1862. The preface of this text reads:

> Becoming acquainted with the situation of lands overseas and thousands of miles away clarifies the regimes of the various barbarian lands. It is paramount that we respect and elevate the benefits of peace. While having stated as much, with words and sounds outside the domains of and differing in form from those of the Qing and the Dutch, since it might be difficult to read for our unlettered and female population, herein we have explained and simplified things into the letters of our Blessed Country.

> We have extracted exterior sights of the lands thousands of miles away from various books. Perhaps these things named "Tales of Myriad Countries" are said to be tedious versions of companion tales (*otogizōshi*) because they are only appropriate for the length of days in the summer and nights in autumn.

In this preface, of particular interest is the comment on explaining and simplifying things "into the letters of our Blessed Country." In *Japanese ABCs* Robun states that the "pictorial design" is drawn in the "style of our Blessed Country." Furthermore, he states that this is because of, or perhaps for the sake of, those unlettered and female members of the Japanese archipelago. This phrase is key to understanding how the aesthetics of the "Blessed Country" infused not only Western letters, but also pictorial design and the visual description of bodies in *Japanese ABCs*. Through Robun's words and Yoshitora's images, the duo utilizes the old technology of woodblock printing to act in a pedagogical role of bringing foreign bodies beyond the ken of the unlettered into a Japanese system of intelligibility. That is, through the process of translating foreign bodies into "Japanese" systems of representation, Robun and Yoshitora domesticated and ordered the once illegible, disorderly, and queer category of the foreign.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that the visualization of foreignness underwent several transformations, eventually being ordered through the work of Robun and

Yoshitora. The representations of the Portuguese and the Spanish under the term "Southern Barbarians" existed alongside later pictorial and textual linkages between the Dutch and technological precision. Even more changes in the visualizations of Europeans occurred in the 1860s and 1870s, as did the form into which Japanese authors and artists translated foreign bodies into contemporary visual culture. *Record of Things Seen and Heard* envisions a bustling port, filled with the enticing strangeness of Europeans and technologies that provided novel views of the world. However, Robun domesticated the otherness of foreigners and the tools of vision seen in Gyokuransai's text. Robun purports to "explain[ing] and simplify[ing]" things in the "letters of our Blessed Country" in his preface to *Tales of the Myriad Countries: Illustrated for Kids*. In *Japanese ABCs* from 1872, Robun similarly writes of "the pictorial design is drawn in the style of our Blessed Country." The category of the foreign, that had yielded strange and queer ways of picturing bodies, had been subsumed by the nation.

In the long history of representations and visualizations of Europeans in Japanese visual culture, we can see a shift from the earliest *nanban* screens to the multivolume comicbooks of Robun, produced some three hundred years later. The earlier *nanban* screens were produced in an age when trade with foreigners was a boon, and Christianity was perceived as a threat. The multivolume comicbooks of Robun were published and consumed when Japan had to show its modernity to the world or continue to be treated as a half-developed civilization. Unsurprisingly, authors like Robun worked to visualize a conception of Europeans as paragons of learning, scientific knowledge, and all of those disparate elements that made up the discourse of "civilization" in the late 1800s.

However, these same European bodies were translated into Japanese, making legible even for the unlettered masses the past illegibility of the foreign body.

Conclusion

This dissertation has charted a long history starting with pornographic books in the late 1600s and ending with multivolume comicbooks published at the end of the 1800s. Part One of the dissertation investigated how heterogeneous discourses of sexuality were negotiated in the world of woodblock print publishing. We have seen how Hishikawa Moronobu's pornographic books introduced a number of discursive threads concerning sexuality. Some of his books, like *Affinity and Harmony* (1678), adapt older forms of sexuality to result in a conservative shaping of sexual norms. Other books, like *Ornament of the Bedchamber* (1681-1684) and *Fragrant Pillow* (1675), envision a world in which sexuality can be expressed between youths and adult men, as well as a world in which women possess their own sexual fantasies and agency. We have also seen how sexual and textual norms of reproduction became solidified through governmental edict in the 1790s. The reforms of the shogunal counsellor, Matsudaira Sadanobu, limited creative expression and sought to censor "depraved" books. In response to this moral finger-wagging, authors such as Santō Kyōden created satirical *kibyōshi* that twisted not only Neo-Confucian modes of sexual reproduction, but normative forms of textual reproduction.

Part Two of this project examines representations of queer bodies in nineteenth century visual culture and how extraordinary, crippled, and foreign bodies affected the representational practices of visual culture. Watanabe Kazan attempted to render Ōzora Buzaemon legible to viewers through realistic proportions and a listing of Buzaemon's bodily measures (Fig. 25). Those same numbers appear in both textual sources describing Buzaemon's arrival in Edo and in contemporaneous full-color woodblock

prints. And yet art historical scholarship has overlooked Kazan's attempt to realistically portray Buzaemon utilizing a technology that would subsequently be used in photography. The few pieces of writing on Kazan's portrait describe Buzaemon in extreme terms, attributing pathetic emotions to his expression:

> Outsized nose, thick lips, and a knobby, jutting chin overwhelm tiny ears and sunken cheeks. Small, soft brown eyes–the single gentle and most startling feature of this curious assemblage–gaze in unfocused bewilderment and confused resignation.[202]

The adjectives that modify the nouns in this quotation sketch a face that is extreme and, simultaneously, deficient. His nose is "outsized," his lips "thick," and his chin "overwhelms" his disproportionately small ears and cheeks. Buzaemon's eyes, the only gentle feature of his face, stare in bewilderment and resignation. Not only is Kazan's portrait of Buzaemon absent from histories of realism, but art historians have removed Buzaemon's agency and subjectivity from his very eyes.

The final chapter of this project investigated how the representation of foreigners and foreignness shifted from being something strange and illegible, to being made legible to Japanese through Kanagaki Robun's rhetoric of "explanation" and "simplification." The two folding screens by Kanō Naizen examined at the beginning of Chapter Four represent a break *and* a beginning in visualizing foreignness (Fig. 32 & 33). With the arrival of Portuguese and Spanish traders to the Japanese archipelago in the sixteenth

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[202]Ulak 1983, p. 103

century, the Japanese finally encountered people from far-off lands in the flesh, challenging the world view that had only included the three lands of Japan, China, and India. However, with the expulsion of the Spanish and the Portuguese in 1639, and Dutch traders sequestered on a small island off the coast of Nagasaki, the strange foreignness of the Europeans left the world of fleshy encounters and entered the realm of print culture.[203] Over the course of the next two centuries, foreignness appeared most often as a fantastic imagining. Only with the boom of visual culture surrounding foreignness in the 1860s and 1870s did profound changes in the legibility and illegibility of foreign bodies develop. As I have argued, in *Japanese ABCs* (1870-1872) Robun translates foreignness from a strange, queer phenomenon, into a linguistic and pictorial form that was legible to citizens of a modern Japanese nation-state.

The arguments that I have constructed and the texts I have studied in this dissertation cover a breadth of temporal territory, albeit in Japanese literary and cultural studies. Viewed from outside Japanese area studies, this project may appear to be focused on only a few texts, only on one time period, and only on one region of the world. This is true to a certain extent. But I also have suggested that this project has much larger implications for visual studies, queer theory, and Japanese area studies. In the introduction to this dissertation I made reference to a bold claim Eve Sedgwick makes in *Epistemology of the Closet*. She contends that modern culture in the West must be understood through a critical analysis of the bifurcation of definitions of homosexuality and heterosexuality. Immediately after introducing this sweeping statement on modern

[203]Screech 2002, pp. 8-9.

Western culture, Sedgwick identifies two contradictions within this homo/heterosexual definition, of which the first has particular significance for this project:

> The first is the contradiction between seeing homo/heterosexual definition on the one hand as an issue of active importance primarily for a small, distinct, relatively fixed homosexual minority (what I refer to as the minoritizing view), and seeing it on the other hand as an issue of continuing, determinative importance in the lives of people across the spectrum of sexualities (what I refer to as a universalizing view).[204]

In the texts analyzed in this dissertation, I have perceived a similar contradiction between universalizing views and minoritizing views. Many of the texts I have analyzed in this dissertation could fit into a so-called minority report of early modern Japan. The three illustrated pornographic books by Moronobu discussed in Chapter One, for instance, could very well constitute the first chapter of a relatively fixed history of pornography (*shunga*) in early modern Japan. And, indeed, many more studies that analyze individual works of *shunga* through archival research is needed, as earlier research tended to analyze all of *shunga* as a whole.[205] However, I have argued that this minoritized, subset of visual culture had effects on visuality in the early modern period in a universalizing bent. The varied expressions of sexuality in Moronobu's texts reveal the heterogeneous nature of early modern visuality, in which Chinese philosophy, Buddhist thought, and Confucianism were in negotiation.

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[204]Sedgwick 1990, p. 1.
[205]Gerstle and Clark 2013, p. 9.

This project has sought to center queer bodies and sexualities and how they can expose the workings of normative discourses of sexuality and embodiment and also point towards the inherent disorder in those discourses. This claim, too, was inspired from thinking closely with Sedgwick's claims on homo/hetero definitions. The few scholarly works on premodern, Japanese non-normative sexualities that have been written have focused exclusively on male-male sexual relationships, specifically "male eros" (*nanshoku*) or "the way of youths" (*shudō*).[206] These studies were written in a time and context in which scholarship that historicized sexualities and studied them in depth was absolutely necessary. In fact, the comparative dearth of research in queer sexualities in East Asian area studies might suggest that *any* research on queer sexualities is needed and welcomed. However, the above research has focused exclusively on male-male sexualities, in what one might name a minoritizing view of queerness.

One of the goals of this project was to think more expansively about queer bodies and queer sexualities. I have demonstrated that such sexualities and bodies not only operated outside of norms but were in a dynamic relationship with those very discourses. Such dynamic relationships were seen most clearly in *Fragrant Pillow* (1675) and *Nine Months* (1801). While both of these texts deal with sexualities that operate outside of norms, they also fed off those same norms. However, these texts and norms did not function in the mode of a Western binary, but rather, in a relationship based off the opposite and yet complementary yin and yang model. In Moronobu's *Fragrant Pillow*, readers can observe how adult men and youths entered into erotic relationships foreign to any notion of male-female harmonious marriage. And yet, the preface to the text

[206]Childs 1980; Hayakawa 1998; Leupp 1995; Pflugfelder 1999; Shirakura 2005.

suggests that youths and their adult male admirers are participating in a moral relationship that encourages a form of Confucian virtue and humanity. In Kyōden's *Nine Months*, the risible idea of a male author immaculately conceiving his next work of literature spotlights a strange reproductive sexuality. However, Kyōden draws on Neo-Confucian texts and on the Buddhist pantheon in dreaming up this satire on norms of textual and sexual reproduction. That is, the very norms that are being critiqued, in a sense, feed back into the representational practices of critique. Kyōden needs normative texts to create the queer bodies and sexualities in his *kibyōshi*. *Frangrant Pillow* draws on the Confucian emphasis on relationality to legitimate male-male intimacy. While *Queer Disordering* has uncovered some of the workings of this yin and yang binary thinking, more research on how this oppositional and yet complementary relationship vis-à-vis Western binary thinking would be informative.

Another goal of this project is to point to the queer disorderliness of woodblock printed media both as material form and as a realm of public knowledge. In her history of printed media in early modern Japan, Mary Elizabeth Berry theorizes that the vast range of texts available to readers constituted a "library of public information." For Berry, this library is not a physical place accessible with a library card, but a metaphorical place that is organized around the goal to "examine and order the verifiable facts of contemporary experience for an open audience of consumers."[207] While the vast amount of sources Berry investigates certainly upholds her claim, not all books in the metaphorical library Berry theorizes seek to order the world. In contrast, many authors and artists in the early modern period utilized that same library to reveal the hypocrisy of

[207]Berry 2006, p. 15.

government edicts that sought to order the world, or to satirize common sense and the norms of textual reproduction itself to actively *dis*order the world.

In addition to the implications this project has for scholars in Japanese area studies, I also see my work contributing to conversations about form in the field of queer theory. More than two decades ago, Judith Butler explained what she meant by the critical practice of "queering." One possible use she attributes to this term is the "*deformative* and *misappropriative* power" of queer practice.[208] That is, queering is a practice of undoing forms of power and incorrectly citing norms that constrain. More recently, queer theorists have expanded upon Butler's engagement with queerness and form. In a 2017 special issue on queer forms, Amin, Musser, and Pérez claim that "*[f]orm informs queerness*, and queerness is best understood as a series of *relations* to form, relations not limited to binary and adversarial models of resistance and opposition."[209] Not only must scholars think of queerness as a method of critique that undoes form, but also as embedded in literary and aesthetic forms that may sidestep, work around, or bypass norms entirely.

In my estimation, woodblock printed media is a form of expression that has the potential to give rise to the disorderly. First, due to the wide consumer base for woodblock printed media in early modern Japan, more diverse groups of people than in the medieval period could produce, consume, and enjoy comicbooks, novellas, poetry, pornography, single-sheet prints, guidebooks and many other types of woodblock print media. In a society regulated under a strict status system, woodblock print media as a social form enjoyed by all types of people had the potential to disorder society. Second,

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[208]Butler 1993, p. 21.
[209]Amin, Musser, and Pérez 2017, p. 228.

the archive of early modern woodblock print is still in the process of being formed. That is, the form of the archive itself is rather disorderly for several reasons. Early modern texts are rendered in a premodern form of calligraphy that is difficult to read for most but trained scholars. The modernization of printing practices rendered obsolete a literacy that was once commonplace. Furthermore, the sheer volume of printed materials produced during the early modern period and the devalorization of texts that did not fit neatly into modern, Western categories of Art or Literature has contributed to a disjointed and disordered archive of early modern visual culture.

Although these pages have followed the unexpected ways in which competing visions of sexuality and the body were negotiated in visual culture, the conclusions reached therein need not remain dormant in a different place and a remote time. Perhaps the greatest surprise I encountered when conducting research was the sizeable number of illustrated pornographic books, *kibyōshi*, and other popular works that skirted the edicts of a reactionary government. I have argued that at times these portraits, prints, and books uncovered the heterogeneity of early modern visual culture. In the final chapter I showed how the last writer of playful literature, Kanagaki Robun, aligned himself with government policy and "ordered" his depictions of foreigners according to proscribed representational practices. And yet, the queer disorderings of the early modern world did not vanish, but simply lay resting in a scattered archive waiting for discovery.

Appendix: Figures

1 Illustration of courtesan and the interior of her body. Utagawa Kunisada. *Mirror of Healthy Living in the Bedchamber,* late Edo period. Ajinomoto Foundation for Dietary Culture, Tokyo.

2 Illustration of man eating and drinking. Utagawa Kunisada. *Mirror of Healthy Living: Food and Drink,* late Edo period. Ajinomoto Foundation for Dietary Culture, Tokyo.

3 Illustration of from fol. 1a of *Affinity and Harmony of Pleasurable Relations between Men and Women*, 1678. International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto.

4 Illustration from fols. 1b and 2a of *Affinity and Harmony of Pleasurable Relations between Men and Women*, 1678. International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto.

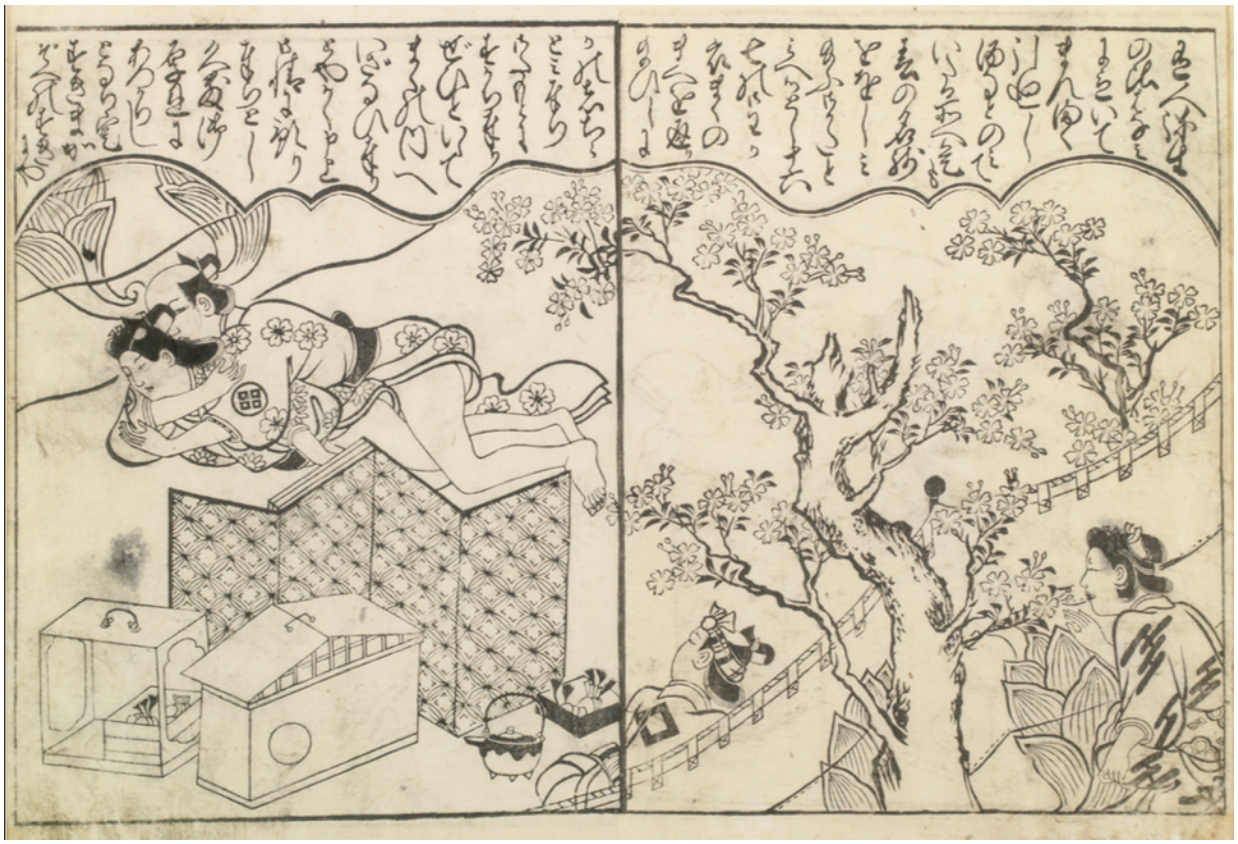
5 Illustration of wood phase couple from fols. 3b and 4a of *Affinity and Harmony of Pleasurable Relations between Men and Women*, 1678. International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto.

6 Illustration of metal phase couple from fols. 17b and 18a of *Affinity and Harmony of Pleasurable Relations between Men and Women*, 1678. International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto.

7 Illustration of Musashi Plain episode in Sagabon *Tales of Ise* on fol. 20a, 1608. National Diet Library, Tokyo.

8 Detail of illustrations of hairstyles from volume three, fol. 8a of *Illustrated Encyclopedia of Eros*, 1686.

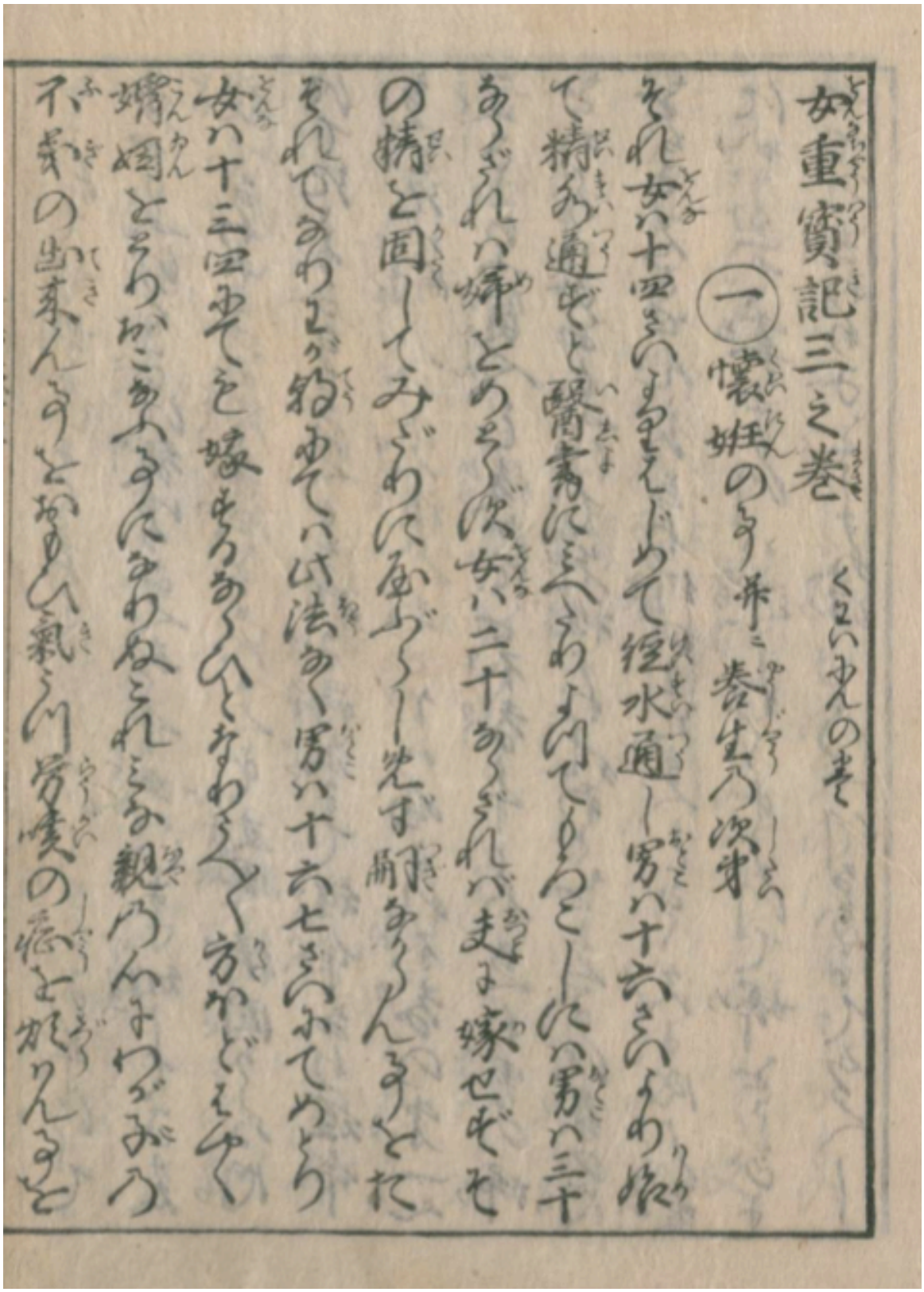
9 Illustration of amorous group on fols. 11b and 12a from *Newly Published: Fragrant Pillow of Dalliances with Youths*, 1675.



10 Illustration of flower viewing session on fols. 14b and 15a of *Newly Published: Fragrant Pillow of Dalliances with Youths*, 1675. International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto.

11 Illustration of women appraising dildoes, from fols. 1b and 2a of *Ornament of the Bedchamber*, 1681-1684. International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto.

12 Illustration of women fantasizing about a male servant, from fols. 8b and 9a of *Ornament of the Bedchamber*, 1681-1684. International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto.



13 Text describing stages of pregnancy from fol. 40b of *Compendium of Records of Priceless Treasures for Women*, 1711, woodblock printed book, National Diet Library, Tokyo.

14 Illustration of Urashima Tarō opening up the jeweled hand-box after leaving the realm of the Dragon King, from fol. 16a of the *otogizōshi Urashima Tarō*, 1716-1736, illustrated book, National Diet Library, Tokyo.

15 Illustration of Urashima Tarō and the princess transformed into a crane and turtle, respectively, from fol. 17b of *Urashima Tarō*, 1716-1736, illustrated book, National Diet Library, Tokyo.

16 Prologue of *Daughter in a Box, Mermaid Dolled Up* featuring the publisher, Tsutaya Jūzaburō, illustrated bowing his head in apology from fol. 1a of fascicle one.

17 Urashima Tarō escaping the palace of the Dragon King to spending time with the courtesan, Koi, in a teahouse, from fols. 2b and 3a of fascicle one of *Daughter in a Box, Mermaid Dolled Up*.

18 The *kibyōshi* character, Santō Kyōden, praying to the Bodhisattva Jizō for artistic inspiration, from fols. 1b and 2a of fascicle one of *Nine Months in the Womb of an Author* (1804).

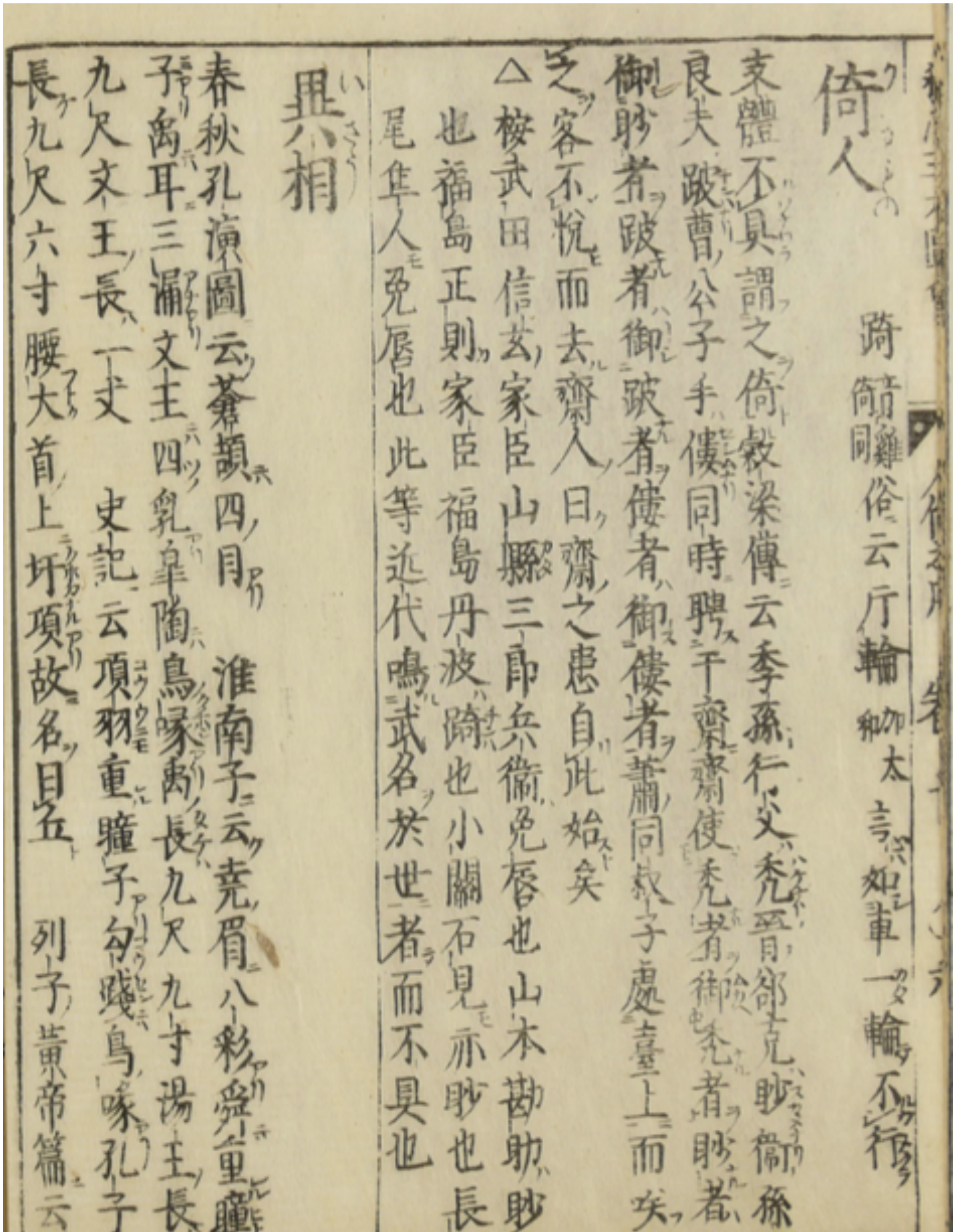
19 Kyōden dozes at his desk and dreams of the Bodhisattva Jizō gifting him a stinky jewel that will mature into Kyōden's next hit, from fols. 2b and 3a of fascicle one of *Nine Months in the Womb of an Author* (1804).

20 Scene in which Kyōden has entered the first month of his literary pregnancy. At right, Kyōden's belly shows an image of the four treasures of the scholar while a deity, surrounded in flames, guards him. The illustration is from fols. 3b and 4a of fascicle one of *Nine Months in the Womb of an Author* (1804).

21 Kyōden sits writing at his desk as his newborn book children play nearby. The last scene, on fol. 10b of fascicle two of *Nine Months in the Womb of an Author* (1804).

22 A ten-month embryology that shows the child develop from a Buddhist ritual implement in the first month to a fully-grown fetus in the tenth month. Fols. 42a and 43b of *Compendium of Records of Priceless Treasures for Women*, 1711, woodblock printed book, National Diet Library, Tokyo.

23 Scene showing a woman with severe diarrhea (*kakuran* 霍乱) from the *Illness Scroll* (12th Century), picture scroll, Kyoto National Museum, Kyoto.



24 Entry for “Cripple” (*katawamono* 倚人) from *Illustrated Sino-Japanese Encyclopedia of the Three Powers*, 1712, edited by Terajima Ryōan.

25 Hanging scroll of Ōzora Buzaemon by Watanabe Kazan, with Buzaemon's handprint visible to the left. *Portrait of Ōzora Buzaemon*. 1827, hanging scroll, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland.

26 Ōzora Buzaemon straddling a cow while passersby look on. Utagawa Kuniyasu. *Ōzora Buzaemon ushimatagizu nishikie*. 1827, full-color woodblock print, Waseda University Libraries.

27 Scene from *Those Familiar Bestsellers* (*Gozonj no shōbaimono*, 1782) showing a "Grand Dutch Peepshow" (*oranda daikarakuri*). Santō Kyōden. *Gozonji no shōbaimono*. 1782, *kibyōshi*, University of Tokyo.

28 Kahei Kasuga, a sideshow entrepreneur, contemplates how people's outward appearances so rarely match their character. From fol. 2a of fascicle one of *Sideshow Stories of the Splendid and Ise Monogatari*. Santō Kyōden. *Kowa mezurashii misemonogatari*. 1801, *kibyōshi*, Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto.

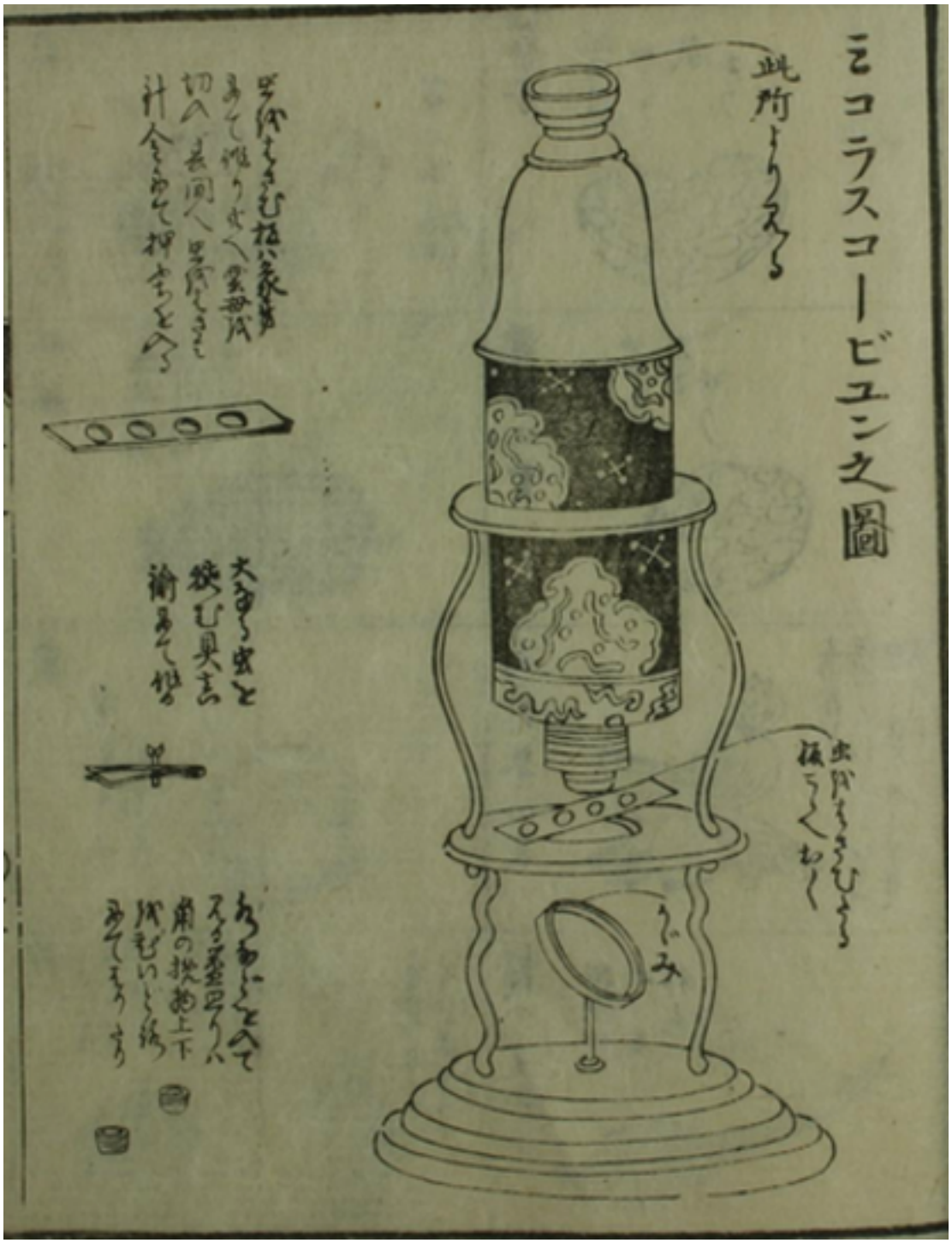
29 The final sideshow of Sideshow Stories, which displays various “cripples of the human heart” (*kokoro no katawamono*) from fols. 4b and 5a of fascicle three. Santō Kyōden. *Kowa mezurashii misemonogatari*. 1801, *kibyōshi*, Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto.

30 Painting of a telegraph gifted to the Japanese by Matthew Perry and a black-face minstrel show performed by the Americans for the Japanese. Anon., *Telegraph, Dance on Ship, Music and Singing on Ship.* 1853, scroll painting, Chrysler Museum, Norfolk.

31 Entry for “Netherlands” (*oranda* 阿蘭陀) from *Illustrated Sino-Japanese Encyclopedia of the Three Powers*, 1712, edited by Terajima Ryōan.

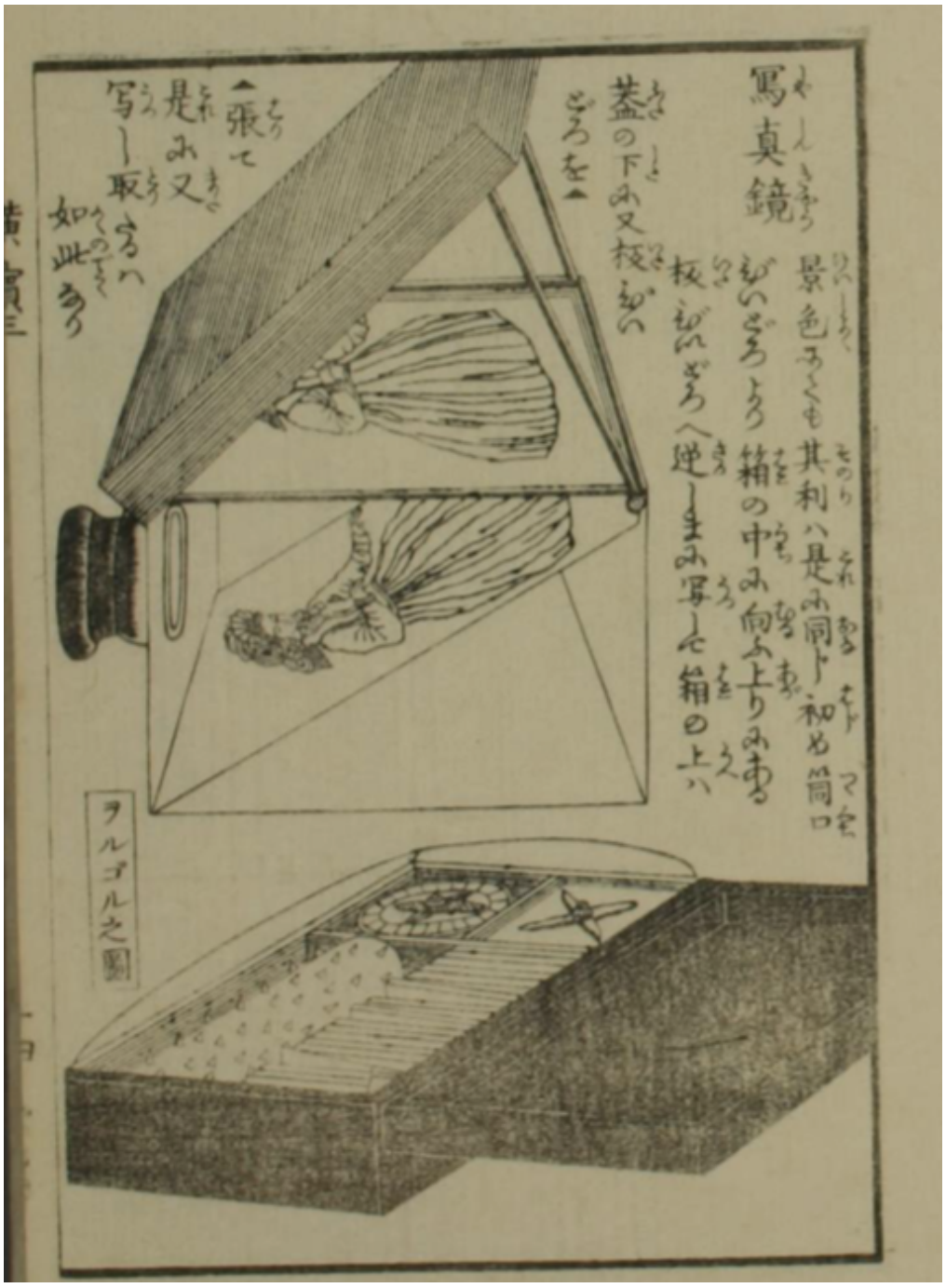
32 Folding screen depicting Iberians leaving Europe by ship to trade with the Japanese. Kanō Naizen. *Nanban byōbu*. 1597-1616, Folding screen, Kobe City Museum, Kobe.

33 Folding screen of Iberians arriving in Japan by sea to trade with the Japanese and proselytize Catholicism. *Nanban byōbu*. 1597-1616, Folding screen, Kobe City Museum, Kobe.

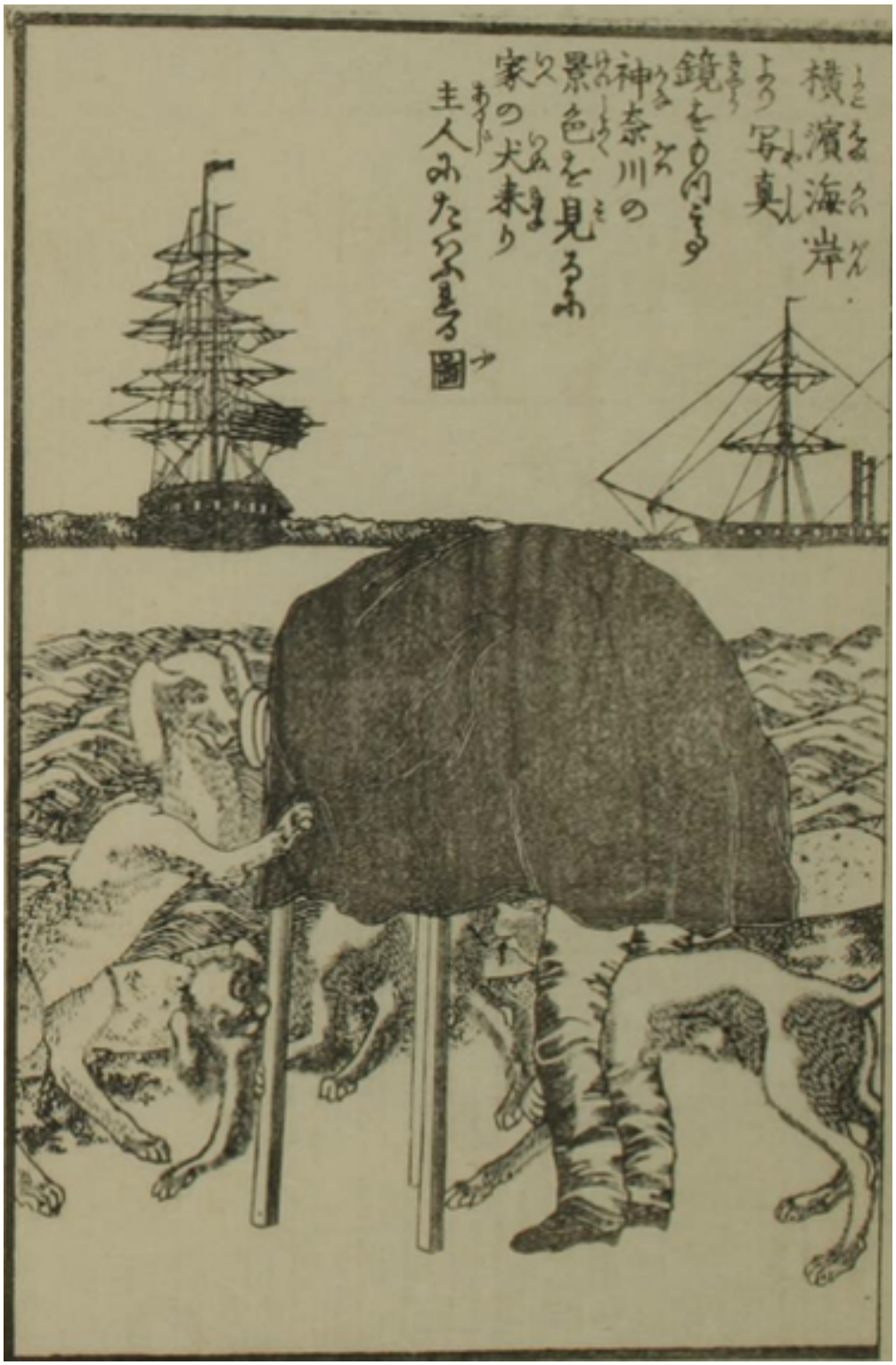


34 Illustration of a microscope from Morishima Chūryō's *Random Tales of the Dutch*. Detailed instructions teach the reader where to place samples and how to manipulate the instrument. Morishima Chūryō. *Kōmō zatsuwa*. 1787, Waseda University Libraries, Tokyo.

35 Illustration of a Western man and woman shopping in Yokohama, which demonstrates the dramatic usage of perspective with vanishing point perspective. Hashimoto Gyokuransai. *Things Seen and Heard in the Open Port of Yokohama*. 1862-1865, woodblock printed book, Waseda University Libraries, Tokyo.



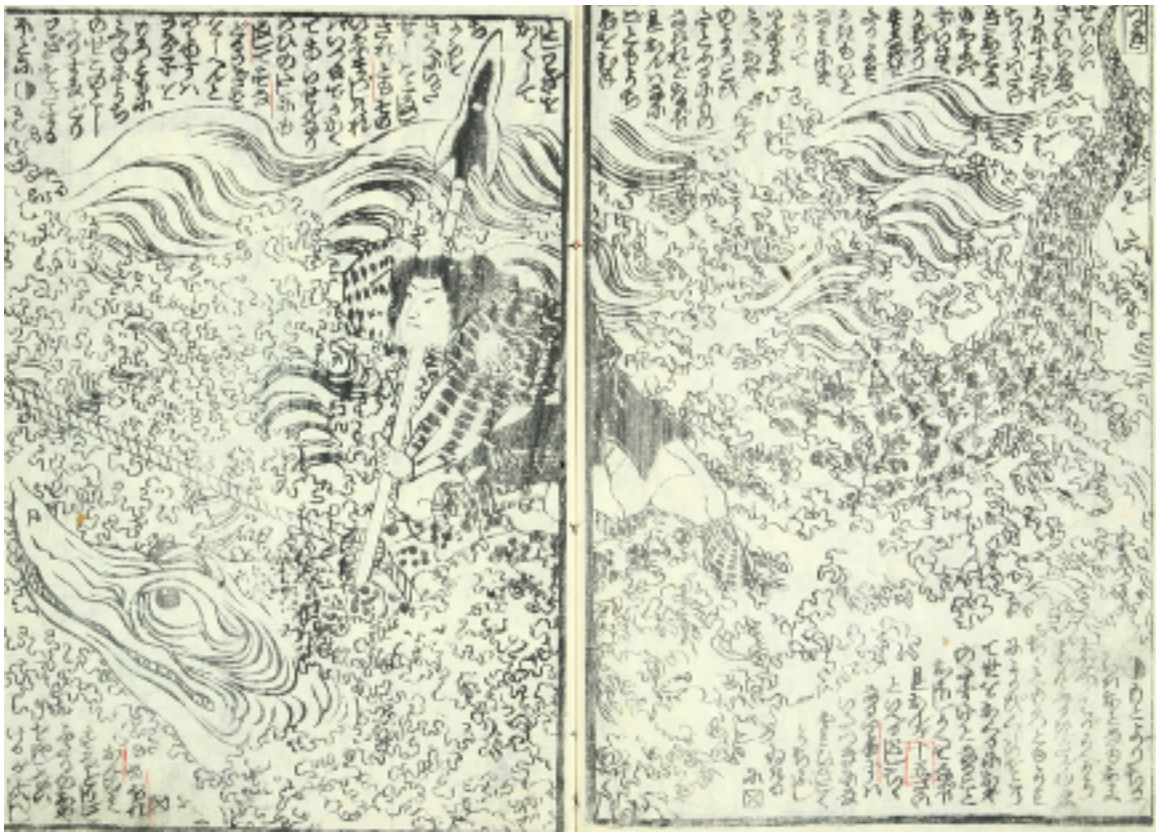
36 Illustration of Western technologies, including a camera obscura (*shashinkyō*) capturing the image of a foreign woman. Hashimoto Gyokuransai. *Things Seen and Heard in the Open Port of Yokohama*. 1862-1865, woodblock printed book, Waseda University Libraries, Tokyo.



37 Illustration of a man taking pictures of the seaside from Yokohama, as his dogs attempt to pull him away from his photography. Hashimoto Gyokuransai. *Things Seen and Heard in the Open Port of Yokohama*. 1862-1865, woodblock printed book, Waseda University Libraries, Tokyo.

38 Illustration from the cover of the second volume of *Japanese ABCs, Western Libraries* that shows Napoleon against a background of European letters. Kanagaki Robun. *Yamatogana seiyō bunko*. 1870-1872, multivolume comicbook, Waseda University Libraries, Tokyo.

39 Illustration of Napoleon from Koseki Sanei's translation of Linden's biography of Napoleon. Koseki Sanei. *Naporeon bonaparute den*. 1857, National Diet Library, Tokyo.



40 Illustration of a young Napoleon slaying a monstrous shark (*wanizame*) that had been terrorizing the island of Corsica. Kanagaki Robun. *Yamatogana seiyō bunko*. 1870-1872, multivolume comicbook, Waseda University Libraries, Tokyo.

41 Full-color print of a French woman and man enjoying wine. Utagawa Yoshitora. *Gaikoku jinbutsu zukushi*. 1861, full-color woodblock print, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia.

42 Illustrated preface to *Tales of the Myriad Countries: Illustrated for Kids* (1861-1862), describing Kanagaki Robun's philosophy of domesticating foreign things into a Japanese aesthetic view. Kanagaki Robun. *Osana etoki bankoku banashi*. 1861-1862, multivolume comicbook, Waseda University Libraries, Tokyo.

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