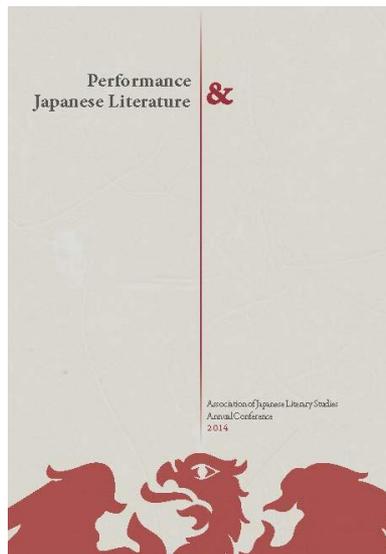


“Envisioning Difference: Social Typology and Exhaustive Listing in Fujiwara no Akihira’s *An Account of the New Monkey Music*”

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Envisioning Difference: Social Typology and Exhaustive Listing in Fujiwara no Akihira's *An Account of the New Monkey Music*

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In the mid eleventh century, the scholar Fujiwara no Akihira (d. 1066) wrote an account of a carnivalesque performance of *sarugaku* (“monkey music”) set in the capital during the annual Inari Festival. Known as *Shin sarugaku ki* (*An Account of the New Monkey Music*, hereafter *Monkey Music*), it first enumerates the wide range of performers present, then shifts to brief sketches of a family that has come to observe the festivities. The family consists of one Lieutenant of the Right Gate Guards and his three wives, six daughters, eleven sons-in-law, and nine sons. Akihira devotes a passage to just about every figure, often using lists of technical jargon to evoke their professions or positions, creating a lexical tableau of the capital's diverse social and professional terrain. (See Table 1.)

Monkey Music has been of great interest to scholars who study the literature, history, and performance of the medieval period. Historians have used it to shed light on a number of issues, including marriage practices, trade, and urbanization.¹ Literary scholars have explored the text's particular style of *kanbun* and its connection with reference works, manuals for letter writing (*ōraimono*), and other works of exhaustive listing (*mono-zukushi*).² And performance historians have treated the text as an early source of information about folk festivals, commoner performance, and audience behavior.³

In this paper I am particularly interested in exploring the nature of the lists that make up a large portion of *Monkey Music*. I argue that while on the surface these lists may seem to generate a fine level of detail about various types of people in the capital, read together they constitute an artificial simulation or fantasized distant vision of the Heian capital's social textures. In this sense, the text is true to its genre (the *ki* or quasi-fictitious account)⁴ — that is, there were

¹ As Joan Piggott has noted, historians often use *Monkey Music* as a source but rarely explore it in depth. As a corrective, she has published two essays that explore marriage practices and urban space as seen in the text. See Joan R. Piggott “A Comedy of Marriage and Family in Eleventh-century Kyoto: Fujiwara no Akihira's *Shinsarugakuki*,” *Nihon kodai gaku* vol. 1 (2009), 51-80; and “Mō hitotsu no Heiankyō: Fujiwara no Akihira *Shinsarugakuki* no naka no toshi,” *Kōkyō suru kodai: Higashi Ajia no naka no Nihon* (Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 2011), 295-311.

² For an example of a literary approach to the text, see Kawaguchi Hisao, *Heianchō Nihon kanbungaku shi no kenkyū*, vol. 2 (Meiji Shoin, 1961), 805-14. For a study of *monozukushi*, see Jacqueline Pigeot, *Monozukushi: Nihonteki retorikku no dentō*, Heibonsha, 1997.

³ See Nose Asaji, *Nōgaku genryū kō* (Iwanami Shoten, 1958), 65-9, 72-81; and Fukutō Sanae, “*Shin sarugaku ki* to kizoku sō no utage to zatsugei,” *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 76, no. 8 (2011): 117-23.

⁴ On the form of the *ki* in the context of early medieval Japanese literature, see Fukazawa Tōru, *Chūsei shinwa no rentanjutsu: Ōe no Masafusa to sono jidai* (Jinbun Shoin, 1994), 71-8, 109-13.

Table 1. List of the Lieutenant's Family Members in *Monkey Music*

#	Relationship to Lieutenant	Profession and/or description
1	First wife	Old, ugly
2	Second wife	Average, industrious
3	Third wife	Young, beautiful
4	First daughter	
5	Second daughter	
6	Third daughter	
7	Fourth daughter	Shaman
8	Fourth daughter	
9	Fifth daughter	
10	Sixth daughter	
11	Seventh daughter	Lush
12	Eighth daughter	
13	Ninth daughter	
14	Tenth daughter	
15	Eleventh daughter	
16	Twelfth daughter	Beauty
17	Thirteenth daughter	Hag
18	Fourteenth daughter	
19	Fifteenth daughter	Virtuous widow
20	Sixteenth daughter	Courtesan
21	First son	Calligrapher
22	Second son	Shingon priest
23	Third son	Artisan
24	Fourth son	Attendant of a provincial governor
25	Fifth son	Tendai scholar-monk
26	Sixth son	Painter
27	Seventh son	Sculptor
28	Eighth son	Renowned merchant
29	Ninth son	Musician

certainly warriors, gamblers, courtesans, and carpenters who lived and worked in the capital, but here they are represented not in any realistic sense but rather as items stitched together to form an artificial composite.

This composite is itself structured as a list, in which each family member inhabits a discrete entry. After cataloguing the many performances taking place amidst the festival, the narrator describes the lieutenant's family members one after the other, from the first wife to the ninth son. For the most part, each description inhabits its own bounded narrative space; the characters do not interact. It is as though each figure occupies his or her own sealed room in a large house. The narrator (and by extension the reader) is positioned to observe the minutiae of the characters' activities through the roof of this house, just as medieval illustrated scrolls (*emaki*) often feature the compositional device of *fukinuki yatai* ("blown-off roof") to enable viewers to see interior spaces. But in this case, the characters themselves have no ability to see beyond the walls that separate them.

Monkey Music is hence structured as a matrix, the "entries" of which furnish the reader with "information" about the capital's varied social and professional terrain. I will explore how such a master list depends on archetypes, allowing literate elites to access a broad yet compressed capitalscape through exhaustive lists of skills, objects, and features. By reducing the complexities of class and status to lists of terminology, and arranging these lists into entries, *Monkey Music* attempts to create a smooth unity out of the city's heterogeneous social life.

Although the lists we find in *Monkey Music* cover a wide variety of content, their consistent presence throughout the text has a homogenizing effect. In his study of the list in American literature, Robert Belknap distinguishes between two types of list: the literary and the pragmatic. In contrast to the pragmatic list, which is characterized by its usefulness for "commercial, reference, and mnemonic purposes,"⁵ the literary list is a moment of carnivalesque excess in which "the rhythm of the repetition interrupts the forward drive of the text, and for a moment we are invited to dance."⁶ In this schema, *Monkey Music's* lists are more pragmatic than literary: they constitute a miniature encyclopedia of skills and objects associated with the practices of particular classes and professions. More to the point, the lists do not invite us to dance but rather to envision "dancing" (that is, *sarugaku*) through a distilled textualization of both the heterogeneity of social life and the radical corporeality of performance.⁷

As a *kanbun* text that draws on the affairs and activities of commoners, *Monkey Music* calls to mind a sequence of poems about the lower classes written

⁵ Robert E. Belknap, *The List: The Uses and Pleasures of Cataloguing* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 12.

⁶ Belknap, *The List*, xiii.

⁷ Lists appear in other literary works of the Heian period, most famously Sei Shōnagon's *Makura no sōshi* but also *Ryōjin hishō*, a collection of popular songs (*imayō*). For a study of the former, see Mark Morris, "Sei Shōnagon's Poetic Catalogues," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 40, no. 1 (1980), 5-54.

by the scholar-official Sugawara no Michizane in the late ninth century. Titled *Kansō jūshū* (Ten Poems on the Early Arrival of the Cold), each of the ten poems begins with the question, “To whom does the cold come early?” and supplies a different answer, highlighting the plight of the dispossessed: a vagrant, a peasant fleeing taxation, an old widower, an orphan, an herb farmer, a relay station attendant, a ferryman, a fisherman, a salt peddler, and a woodcutter.⁸ Because the sequence cycles through several different professions, modern scholars⁹ have often situated it amongst other “lists of professions” (*shokunin-zukushi*), a genre to which *Monkey Music* is also often related. However, the two texts differ in tone. Michizane’s sequence turns an empathetic narrative eye towards the impoverished conditions of workers in the provinces (a gesture likely influenced by Bai Juyi’s “new ballads” (*xinyuefu*)), while Akihiro’s account is encyclopedic and didactic, humorous and distanced.

Monkey Music begins with the narrator gazing out at the performers and spectators who have gathered for the festival, a rhetorical act which posits a stable (elite) viewpoint from which to consider the crowd’s boisterous movements:

Over the past twenty years I have observed the east and west sides of the capital, but never has there been [a *sarugaku* performance] as spectacular as the one tonight. There were exorcists, midget dancers, field-music performers, puppeteers, illusionists, knife- and bell-jugglers, diabolo throwers, ball-jugglers, mimes who acted out wrestling matches and games of backgammon, fluid dancers, and stately dancers. I saw District Head Endō’s strutting and the shrimp-catching attendant’s careful tracking, the bunched-up trousers of a low-ranking Hikami monk, and an embarrassed woman from Yamashiro who hid her face behind a fan. There were tales recited by blind lute-priests and the celebratory music of door-to-door minstrels, people drumming their round bellies and chestbones, and dancers imitating a praying mantis. There was the monk Fukukō groping around for his surplice and the nun Myōkō begging for diapers. A first-class court lady revealed her beautiful face, causing a quick-witted chamberlain to whistle. There was the amusing dance of an old musician and the powdered face of a female shaman [waiting for her date], and some unruly rascals who teased

⁸ Sugawara no Michizane, *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū*, *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei*, vol. 72 (Iwanami Shoten, 1966), 259-65. For a partial English translation, see Burton Watson, *Japanese Literature in Chinese, Volume 1: Poetry and Prose in Chinese by Japanese Writers of the Early Period* (Columbia University Press, 1975), 93-4.

⁹ Sugawara, *Kanke bunsō*, 259, headnote. See also Amino Yoshihiko, *Igyō no ōken* (Heibonsha, 1993), 75-6.

an easterner newly arrived in the capital. There was also the appearance of the boisterous musicians and the sight of their troupe leader. With all the humorous movements and foolish lines, you could not help but split your belly and dislocate your jaw with laughter.

予廿余季以還、歷觀東西二京、今夜〔猿樂〕見物許之見事者、於古今未有、就中呪師・侏儒舞・田樂・傀儡子・唐術・品玉・輪鼓・八玉・独相撲・独双六・無骨・有骨、延動大領之腰支・蟻漉舍人之足仕、永上之專当之取袴・山背大御之指扇、琵琶法師之物語・千秋万歳之酒禱、飽腹鼓之胸骨・蟻娘舞之頸筋、福広聖之袈娑求・妙高尼之纏線乞、形勾当之面現・早職事之皮笛、目舞之翁体・巫遊之氣装貌、京童之虚左礼・東人之初京上、況拍子男共之気色・事取大徳之形勢、都猿樂之態、嗚呼之詞莫不斷腸解頤者也¹⁰

In addition to establishing a point from which the festivities can be viewed, the opening passage also introduces the particular format of listing found throughout the account. While I have interpolated subjects and verbs (“there was,” “I saw”) into my translation, the original *kanbun* text contains nothing of the sort, with the notable exceptions of the narrator’s initial “I have observed.” Because of this the original is even more list-like, consisting of a catalogue of twenty-eight performers or acts arrayed one after the other, with no conjunctions or editorial contextualizations.

In terms of content, students of medieval culture will no doubt be familiar with many of these performers and performances: blind lute-priests (*biwa hōshi*), field-music performers (*dengaku*), and mini-dramas that suggest the comic theater (*kyōgen*) of later times. Indeed, there is such a range of performance types that the passage can be read as a kind of introduction to medieval performance. A few decades later, many of the same performances enumerated here would be depicted in records of a field-music extravaganza known as the Great *Dengaku* of 1096.¹¹ Taken together, these texts suggest the emergence of a new cultural phenomenon: as Matsuoka Shinpei has argued, the world of folk performance that had appeared by the late eleventh century was

¹⁰ “Shin sarugaku ki,” *Kodai seiji shakai shisō*, Nihon Shisō Taikēi, vol. 8 (Iwanami Shoten, 1979), 301 (Classical Japanese (CJ): 134). All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

¹¹ On the Great *Dengaku*, see Ōe no Masafusa’s *Rakuyō dengaku ki* (An Account of the *Dengaku* in the Capital, early twelfth century) and entries from Fujiwara no Munetada’s diary *Chūyūki* (1096/6/12, 6/14, 7/12, and 7/13). For a translation into English as well as a brief study, see Jacob Raz, “Popular Entertainment and Politics: the Great *Dengaku* of 1096,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 40, no. 3 (1985): 283-98. For a more recent discussion of the Great *Dengaku*, see chapter 1 (“Commoner Crowds and Mass Performances”) of my dissertation, “Performing Culture: Representations of Commoner Performance in Early Medieval Japan” (Yale University, 2014), esp. 64-100.

no peripheral development but rather the very essence of medieval culture in embryonic form.¹²

Commoners were active if not central contributors to this new culture, but texts like *Monkey Music* do not simply document this fact. The representation of commoners is motivated, their performances filtered through social typologies and rhetorics of disembodiment. Ivo Smits has introduced the idea of a “literature of the social fringe” to better articulate how these texts chart “a social sphere that was close in geography yet distant in the social order.”¹³ But what purpose does such a literature serve? And why does Akihiro choose to write about folk performance and commoner professions? I suggest that Akihiro’s account, by making extensive use of lists, disembodies the commoners who made up the vast population of the capital, representing them not as individuals but as archetypes: gambler, courtesan, carpenter, warrior, etc. In this way, *Monkey Music* could function as an accessible source of knowledge about those elements of social life in the capital with which elites were less familiar.

That Akihiro was not simply interested in documenting becomes more apparent as the account transitions to an evaluation of performers. The qualities that signify a bad performance include rough speech, forgetting one’s lines, talking too much, and failing to rouse the audience. The narrator seems to have a particular distaste for roughness and low social status, which comes through in his valuation of two performers, the master of Agataido and Ono no Fukumaru. The first, “despite his accomplished movements has rough speech and sometimes forgets his lines” (雖得其体骨、詞其鄙而時々致言失).¹⁴ The second is “a *hinin* [non-person] in the extreme. A beggar should certainly not be counted amongst the others” (其体甚以非人也、偏乞丐而不可衆中一列).¹⁵ These two evaluations show that while a socially peripheral status was of course part of a *sarugaku* performer’s identity, in the narrator’s estimation there is such a thing as being too low. In this way, he imposes an evaluative hierarchy according to which rough speech and poverty undermine a performer’s efficacy. The narrator concludes the section by stating that as of late there are only four or five exceptional performers, a tidy demonstration of the tension between inclusivity and distinction on display throughout the text.

Before moving on to the lieutenant’s family, the narrator describes the audience’s effusive reaction to the handful of accomplished performers:

At this point clerics and laymen, men and women, venerable and base, and high and low all threw clothing and rewards at the performers. It came down like rain and collected like

¹² Matsuoka Shinpei, *Utage noshintai: basara kara Zeami e* (Iwanami Shoten, 2004), 7.

¹³ Ivo Smits, “The Way of the Literati: Chinese Learning and Literary Practice in Mid-Heian Japan,” *Heian Japan: Centers and Peripheries*, eds. Mikael Adolphson, Edward Kamens, and Stacie Matsumoto (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007), 117-8.

¹⁴ “Shin sarugaku ki,” 301 (CJ: 135).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

clouds. A few returned home naked, while others departed [on all fours] like dogs. By the next morning it had clouded over and started to rain, so people tied straw together to make raingear and split sedge mats to make wide-brimmed hats. Some bunched up their trousers and sprang around like monkeys, while others showed their crane legs by pulling up their undergarments. Some wrapped themselves in *tatami* and rolled around in the mud, while others put on straw mats and tumbled into the Hori River. It was impossible to count the number of people who looked on with scornful laughter.

以茲或道俗男女貴賤上下被物祿物、如雨如雲、仍百之九裸
〔而〕婦、万之八犬而去、其明朝天陰雨降、結藁為蓑、割
薦為笠、或褰袴猿踵、或被柏鶴脛、或戴疊斃臥深泥、或着
筵落人堀川、見之嘲咲之人、敢不可勝計之¹⁶

The narrator writes that all—high and low, venerable and base—participate in the great outpouring of rewards for performers, but he also specifies the antics of a particular subclass of spectators, those driven mad by the spirit of performance. They are figured as animals: naked, dirty, rolling around in the muck, and left to fashioning makeshift clothing from whatever they have on hand. Once again, there is a move from inclusion to exclusion, from general to specific: these mad spectators are socially and structurally analogous to the *hinin* beggar dismissed in the previous passage.

Akihira's decision to cast a lieutenant of the Right Gate Guards as the text's "protagonist" is significant. Those employed in the Six Guard Bureaus (*rokuefu*) and the Municipal Police Bureau (*kebiishichō*) were tasked with maintaining the capital's physical and ritual order, making them liminal figures who bridged high and low, purity and impurity, and order and violence.¹⁷ Their ambiguous status is the topic of several medieval stories, in which they are often treated with suspicion for participating in the very activities they were supposed to suppress.¹⁸ The Gate Guard Bureau (*emonfu*) was in charge of guarding the gates of the greater imperial palace (*daidairi*) and providing security for imperial processions. Significantly, Akihira himself was once a lieutenant of the Left Gate Guards, so the focalizing lieutenant of *Monkey Music* can be thought of as a kind of surrogate for (or parody of) the author. Conversely, the lieutenant's liminal status suggests something of Akihira's own circumstances as a mid-ranking courtier who remained on the political fringe for the majority of his life.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ For a detailed study of the *kebiishi*, see Niunoya Tetsuichi, *Kebiishi: chūsei no kegare to kenryoku*, Heibonsha, 2008.

¹⁸ For some notes on and sources related to the ambiguous status of the *kebiishi*, see Moriya Takeshi, *Chūsei geinō no genzō* (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1985), 61-2.

It is through this mobile, precarious figure that *Monkey Music* issues its homogenized vision of the capital. This dynamic is most memorably demonstrated in the description of the eighth daughter's husband, a carpenter by trade. As with several of the descriptions, the passage consists almost entirely of technical terms belonging to a particular professional idiom:

The husband of the eighth daughter is from Hida Province.¹⁹ He is a fifth-rank carpenter named Hinokuma no Sugimitsu.²⁰ He transmits the plans for building the Hasshōin and the Burakuin,²¹ and understands the principles of constructing palaces and shrines. In terms of temple architecture, he can build the lecture hall, the main hall, the sutra repository, the belfry, the pagoda, the monks' dormitory, the main gate, the inner gate, the second story of a building, a simple cottage, base rafters, [structures using] unrefined timber, square-shaped buildings, and bedrooms. In terms of private residences, he is skilled at building the western and eastern houses, the main house, the covered passageway, the bridgeway, the attendants' quarters, the kitchen, the carriage stall, the stables, the logged storehouses, and the *kafukura*.²²

八御許夫飛驒国人也、位大夫大工、名檜前杉光、伝八省豊楽院之本図、鑑造殿・造宮等之式法、或造寺者、講堂・金堂・経蔵・鐘楼・宝塔・増房・大門・中門・二蓋・四阿・重櫓・間椽・並科楫・寝造也、或人家作者、対・寝殿・廊・渡殿・曹司町・大炊殿・車宿・御廐・叉倉・甲蔵等之上手也²³

The narrator continues with a list of some fifteen components that the carpenter can fashion with ease, a moment in which Akihira shows off his ability to access specialized knowledge. The encyclopedic nature of the lists suggests a didactic function—the text may have indeed been written for a young aristocrat or future emperor, a theory supported by Akihira's appointment as imperial tutor (*tōgū gakushi*) towards the end of his life. In this sense, *Monkey Music*

¹⁹ The northern part of present-day Gifu Prefecture. Shigematsu notes that so many carpenters came from Hida that they were sometimes generally called "Hida workers" (飛驒工). *Shin sarugaku ki, Unshū shōsoku* (Gendai Shisōsha, 1982), 32.

²⁰ A fictitious name that incorporates the words "cypress" and "cedar."

²¹ Two of the three main compounds within the greater imperial palace. The Hasshōin (also known as the Chōdōin) and the Burakuin were located next to one another, just southwest of the inner palace (*dairi*). The Hasshōin was home to the Daigokuden, where the most important ceremonies and functions took place, as well as the buildings that housed the various ministries. The Burakuin, just to the west of the Hasshōin, was the site of major celebrations and banquets.

²² Perhaps a type of log storehouse.

²³ "Shin sarugaki ki," 303 (CJ: 141-2).

bears similarities to other didactic manuals, such as Minamoto no Tamenori's *Kuchizusami* (970) and the anonymous *Nichūreki* (ca. 1210). But whereas these texts present catalogues of terms meant to acquaint the reader with a broad range of knowledge, Akihira arranges his lists into a unified narrative matrix. Furthermore, the conclusion of the passage demonstrates how this unified view instrumentalizes embodied practice:

The carpenter has inkpots²⁴ for eyes: he can see when a line is not straight. He has saw bits for teeth: he can slice the corners off a block of wood. He has an adze for a neck and a mallet for a head: he is a master carpenter and the leader of this Way. His fingers are bamboo brushes, his elbows are squares, his back is the flat part a chisel, and his feet are hammers. Starting with his body, he is in every way a preternaturally skilled carpenter.

抑塵目而繩於曲直也、鋸齒而當於切角也、手斧頸而為工之棟梁也、桴槌頭而為道之首長也、指者墨刺、臂者曲尺、肩〔者〕鋤柄、足者鉄槌也、都始身体得天骨工也²⁵

The narrator represents the carpenter's body as a prosthetic composite of the numerous tools associated with his craft, using the visual similarity and functional correspondence of the tools with their imagined corporeal manifestations as a way to "naturalize" the disembodiment. Inkpots are associated with eyes because of their shape and also because both are necessary for measuring. A saw resembles a row of teeth; both function to separate one thing from another. The adze and mallet are associated with the neck and head respectively, perhaps due to a general correspondence of shape. Bamboo brushes evoke fingers because of their visual similarity, and also because of the metonymic relationship between the two: fingers are required to use brushes, so brushes stand in for fingers. Lastly, the square mimics the shape of a bent arm, while the chisel and hammer resemble one's back and feet respectively.

In this passage, the carpenter's body is stripped of its organic integrity and reduced to certain parts (eyes, teeth, neck, head, fingers, elbows, back, feet), which are replaced with tools that bear a visual and functional resemblance. This artificial body, rebuilt in the image of the work it performs, evokes the same sense of differentiation found throughout the account (concerned as it is with

²⁴ *Sumitsubo*. An ingenious tool used by carpenters to inscribe a straight line on an object of virtually any length. The pot contains a wad of silk soaked with ink and a spool of thread positioned above. In order to draw a straight line between points A and B, the end of the thread is stuck into point A with a needle. The carpenter then unfurls enough thread so that he can position the pot over point B. (The thread becomes soaked by the ink as it unfurls.) Pulling the thread taut and making sure it is positioned directly over point B, he lifts the string some inches and lets it go so that it strikes the surface, inscribing a perfectly straight ink line.

²⁵ "Shin sarugaku ki," 303 (CJ: 141-2).

high and low, best and worst, ugliest and most beautiful). More fundamentally, it illustrates the way social typologies and discourses of ordering can transform a skilled body into a laboring machine. With this post-human transformation, the carpenter loses all meaning except as an instrument of measurement, separation, inscription, and production. And this transformation captures the nature of the wider text: an unnatural yet naturalized amalgamation that consists of lexical disembodiments and creative re-embodiments—a re-ordering of the functions and boundaries of social bodies.

Bodies become focal points elsewhere in *Monkey Music*, most notably in the description of the twelfth and thirteenth daughters—the hag and the beauty. But whereas the carpenter’s body is recast as a machine that can perform a superlative kind of labor, here the two daughters’ bodies are seen through the lens of male sexual desire.

In stressing the beauty of the twelfth daughter, Akihira uses references to classical Chinese texts and figures:

Her hair is smooth like the wings of a kingfisher and her elegant countenance is relaxed and composed. Closing her lotus-blossom eyelids and smiling, she exudes limitless coquetry; arching her blue eyebrows and tilting her head, she attracts endless affection. Though she does not apply powder, her face is still white; and though she does not apply rouge, her cheeks are still red. Her moist lips are like the red bimba fruit, and her lustrous skin is white as snow. Her arms contend with the radiance of jewels, while her teeth embody the whiteness of seashells.

翡翠之釵滑、嬋娟之粧靚、廻芙蓉之臉一咲、成百媚、
開青黛之眉半面、集万愛、不着粉自白、不施脛自赭、
潤唇如丹菓、膏膚似白雪、腕論玉、齒含貝²⁶

As with the carpenter, the daughter’s physical features are sometimes situated in the same ontological space as the objects used to describe them. We see this in locutions like “lotus-blossom eyelids” (*fuyō no manabuta*) and “her teeth embody the whiteness of shells” (*ha wa kai o fukumeri*). Consisting of comparisons to resplendent objects and allusions to historic beauties such as Yang Guifei, the description of the twelfth daughter is similarly composite and artificial.

As for the thirteenth daughter, she is the polar opposite of the twelfth; the entry is dominated by images of prodigious ugliness:

²⁶ “Shin sarugaku ki,” 304 (CJ: 144).

Her hair is a tangle of mugwort and her forehead is narrow, her mouth hangs open and she has a protruding chin, her ears droop and her jawbone is large, her cheeks are enlarged on top and sunken at the bottom, there are gaps between her teeth and she speaks with a lisp, and her nose is low, flat, and stuffed up. She is a hunchback and her chest protrudes like a pigeon's, her stomach is bloated and she has the belly of a frog, she is bow-legged and moves from side to side when she walks, and her skin is covered with scabies and rashes. She has a short neck, causing her collar to bunch up, and her robes are too short for her tall stature. Her body exudes a foul stench and her clothes are infested with lice. Her hands are like iron rakes and her feet are like hoe blades. When she applies powder to her face it resembles that of a fox, and when she applies rouge it looks like a monkey's ass.

蓬頭額短、齟唇頤長、攣耳顙太、顙高頰窄、歷齒譚
 涎、膈涕塞鼻、偶儻鴿胸、臃脹蛙腹、傍行戾脚、疥癩
 歷易、短頸而襟有余、長大而裾不足、身薰胡臭、衣集
 蟣虱、手如鐵鈞、足如鍬枚、施粉似狐面、着經猶獼尻²⁷

Of all the bodies that appear in *Monkey Music*, this is surely one of the most memorable. Using a series of brisk two- and four-character compounds, Akihira strings together a list of images—tangled hair, protruding chin, drooping ears, bloated stomach—to form an excessive and grotesque body. In addition to being unattractive, physically deformed, and afflicted with disease, the thirteenth daughter's "hands are like iron rakes and her feet are like hoe blades." Such images associate her with rustic agricultural labor and recall the carpenter's artificial re-embodiment.

Even though this entry describes a body in meticulous and colorful detail, it still has the effect of contributing to the same sort of disembodied, archetypal ordering found throughout the text. This is because the thirteenth daughter, like all other members of the lieutenant's family, cannot "do" anything of narrative significance once she is introduced: we take in the details of this single portrait and flip to the next one. The formulaic structure of the text, coupled with the profusion of lists, serves to minimize narrative movement and cross-entry interaction, leaving room for only a rudimentary plot that supplies little more than the occasion for the gathering. In effect, Akihira directs the attention of *his* audience towards the spectators he has put on stage, guiding the reader through a typology that abstracts the social and professional conditions of the capital.

This abstraction emerges as a function of listing, by which I mean both

²⁷ "Shin sarugaku ki," 304 (CJ: 145).

the profusion of pragmatic lists throughout the account as well as the account's list-like structure. Though the particular terminology differs, the evocation of each family member is made up of long lists of terminology. These lists allow the narrator and his readers (that is, those trained or training in the study of classical literary language) to approximate the contours of particular social or professional types, and through this approximation envision the varied terrain of the capital. This is not a case of language attempting to represent embodied action, as are many performance texts, but rather a more extreme disembodiment in which specificity is eschewed for a broader archetypal knowledge based on a dense allusiveness and structured around an exhaustive serialization of categories. Listing hence functions to distill the excess of the popular carnival to a streamlined textual form, allowing a distant and reified view of the capital's heterogeneous elements. To read *Monkey Music* is to make the messy bodies of the multitude legible.