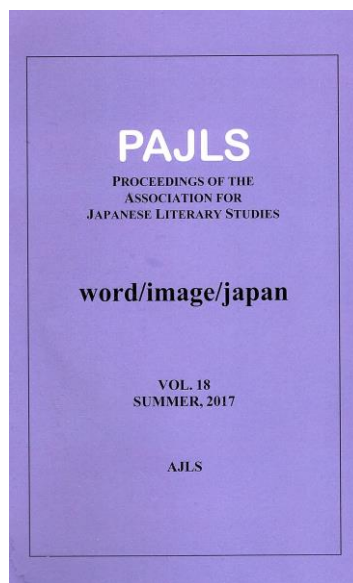


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**NAGOYA GESAKU AND THE DAISŌ
LENDING LIBRARY**

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Under the stewardship of Seijirō (1766-1847), the second Ōnoya Sōhachi, the Daisō lending library of Nagoya expanded its operations during the Bunka and Bunsei periods (1804-1829) and commissioned local writers to produce original works of fiction for its collection. While most of these works circulated exclusively in manuscript, their material effects represent compelling attempts at emulating popular print literature from Edo in scribal form—especially the genres of *sharebon*, *kokkeibon*, and *kibyōshi*. In them, we find lavishly executed frontispiece (*kuchi-e*) and inserted (*sashi-e*) illustrations, calligraphy patterned after the house styles of Edo booksellers, and decorative covers fashioned from high quality paper imported from Mino. Belying their high quality of craftsmanship, however, is a palpable tone of irony regarding their provincial origins, if not complicit acceptance of their inferiority vis-à-vis the print literature coming out of Edo.

With Nagoya *gesaku* as a case study, this paper aims to highlight issues in the production of early modern local literature—in particular, how certain conventions were co-opted in emulation of Edo literature, and how these conventions were offset by tactics of textual localization to authenticate dialogue, setting, and characterization. In word and image, these texts reveal a keen ambivalence towards Edo literature (if not also towards the institution of print publication itself) and an adherence to local mannerisms, ways of speaking, and cultural norms. In this regard, the Daisō lending library may be seen as having played a complex, even contradictory, role—both as the main purveyor of Edo literature to the Nagoya readership, and as one of the main sponsors and archivists of local literature.

Bakin in Nagoya

During the sixth month of Kyōwa 2 (1802), Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴 (1767-1848) stopped for fifteen days in the castle town

of Nagoya en route to Kyoto, Osaka, and Ise. He was travelling as a literary ambassador of sorts, armed with a letter of introduction from Ōta Nanpo 大田南畝 (1749-1823) and a bundle of drawings and inscriptions by Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761-1816) for bartering and selling to provincial fans. Yet as if not to be outshone by these two stars of the Edo literary firmament, Bakin also made pains to spread his own literary reputation. During his last day in Nagoya, on the twenty-seventh day of the sixth month, he visited the lending library of Ōnoya Sōhachi, locally known as the Daisō, and for a generous fee wrote an inscription that would hang in its main reading room for the next ninety-seven years.¹ He also met with a coterie of local writers that had formed around the library, including Kinome Dengaku 椒芽田楽 (act. 1789-1830), a physician moonlighting as a copyist for the Daisō.² Years earlier, Dengaku had made overtures, via Torai Sanna 唐来参和 (1744?-1810), to become Bakin's literary disciple; and Bakin had reciprocated by writing a preface to one of his works and recommending another to Edo bookseller Tsuruya Kiemon for publication. Yet none of these exchanges appears to have left Bakin feeling particularly sanguine about Dengaku or the Daisō's salon of writers. Of more pressing interest to Bakin were Nagoya's prospects as an emerging market for Edo fiction—and presumably, for his own work. Fresh from his visit, Bakin offers the following take on the Nagoya market in *Kiryo manroku* 羈旅漫録 (*A Rambling Record of Westward Travels*, 1802), an account of the journey:

To a tee, Nagoya gets its manners from Osaka. From Edo, it gets its trends. Here the men wear their topknots in shrimp tail crimps (*ebishiri-wage*) and the women in damsel backsweeps (*oboko zuto*). About the only thing that Nagoya has managed to learn from Kyoto is how to be

¹ Shibata Mitsuhiko, *Daisō zōsho mokuroku to kenkyū: Kashihon'ya Onoya Sohee kyu-zōsho mokuroku*, (Tokyo: Seishōdo shoten, 1983) xxvi.

² Kinome Dengaku worked as a copyist for the Daisō starting in the late Kansei Period (1789-1801). Tanahashi Masahiro, *Kibyōshi sōran*, 3 (Tokyo: Seishōdo shoten, 1986) 143.

stingy. Maybe that's why the readers here seem to appreciate Edo comic literature (*gesaku kyōbun*) so much. The humor of Edo literature is lost on most readers in Osaka; but I take this as cause for rejoicing. Readers in Kyoto, meanwhile, don't seem to get the humor at all.³

Lost in Bakin's broad brush generalizations is an important concession about the contemporary literary landscape—namely, that Nagoya had recently joined the ranks of Kyoto and Osaka as a potentially lucrative market for sales of Edo literature, and moreover, with readers who appeared to be more receptive to the Edo brand of humor than their peers in Kamigata.

If Bakin suspected that Nagoya was moving more squarely into the ambit of Edo's commercial influence, he needed only look to recent developments on the ground for confirmation. In Kansei 6 (1794), a consortium of merchant houses in Nagoya managed to petition successfully for the formation of their own, independent bookseller's guild, free from the Kyoto guild that had, for over a century, controlled the Nagoya market.⁴ Their petition was made on the pretext of needing to establish local facilities to print and retail in textbooks for students of the Meirindō, the official domain academy; but in the final analysis, the Great Kyoto Fire of Tenmei 8 (1788), which ravaged dozens of Kyoto bookseller's firms and as a result severely weakened the effectiveness of the guild for years to come, played a far more decisive role in the success of the petition than the persuasiveness of this argument. By all accounts, the ensuing separation was not amicable. Hattori Jin notes in a recent paper that the bookseller's guilds in both Kyoto and Osaka responded to the formation of the Nagoya guild by suspending most of their retailing operations, at least until the Tenpō Period (1830-1844).⁵ Nagoya booksellers, meanwhile, increasingly turned

³ Kyokutei Bakin, "Kiryo manroku," *Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei* 1, 1 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1975) 187.

⁴ For the most detailed account of the process, see [Kishi 1999](#), pp. 7-23.

⁵ Jin Hattori, "Nagoya shoshi Eirakuya Toshiro no shuppan," *Nihon kinsei bungakukai* (2016 Fall Meeting), Shinshu daigaku, Matsumoto, Nagano, 14 Nov. 2016, Lecture.

to Edo for their retail stock—which would have included medicines, cosmetics, tobacco, toiletries and other articles in addition to the principal merchandise of books.⁶

When Bakin visited in 1802, there were at least twenty-two active booksellers operating in the commercial district of Nagoya, many of them retailing in books printed in Edo. Within fifteen years, that number would nearly double to thirty-eight.⁷ Most prominent among these was the Eirakuya 永楽屋, founded by Eirakuya Tōshirō 永楽屋東四郎 (1741-1795) in An'ei 5 (1776). While Bakin makes no explicit mention of the Eirakuya in *Kiryō manroku*, his own publisher in Edo, Tsutaya Juzaburo 蔦屋重三郎 (1750-1797), had embarked on series of collaboratively produced works with the Eirakuya in recent years, opening up the possibility of something that would have been unthinkable until as recently as 1794—Nagoya writers publishing their works in Edo.

Yet even as the worlds of Edo and Nagoya print publication were coming into closer alignment, there remained imbalances of scale, status, and reputation. Ōta Nanpo, Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬 (1776-1822), and Jippensha Ikku 十返舎一九 (1765-1831) all received the celebrity treatment during their visits to Nagoya, which like Bakin's featured visits to booksellers and lenders, including the Daisō.⁸ But predictably, Nagoya writers were virtually unknown in Edo. There is no evidence of demand for their work among readers of the time, nor even that the name "Nagoya" carried any sort of cachet that could be exploited for novelty. No mention of Nagoya is made, for example, in the very first work of *gesaku* by a Nagoya writer to be published in Edo,

⁶ Suzuki Toshiyuki notes that shipments of bookseller and commercial lending library stock commonly included a variety of merchandise in addition to books, such as medicines and cosmetics. Sales of these products represented a key revenue stream for publishers. See Suzuki Toshiyuki, *Shoseki ryutsu shiryōron* (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2012) 101.

⁷ For data on active booksellers in Nagoya between the Jōkyō (1684-1688) and Keio (1865-1868) periods, see Ota Masahiro, *Owari shuppan bunkashi* (Kobe: Rokko shuppan, 1995) 164.

⁸ Eguchi family records indicate that both Nanpo and Sanba visited the library.

Kinome Dengaku's *Chōchingura yami no nanayaku* 挑燈庫闇夜七扮 (*Treasury of Loyal Lanterns: Seven Guises in the Dark*, 1802). Instead what we find is a postscript appeal, made in the conventional rhetoric and visual tropes of authorial imprint,⁹ to ingratiate readers by virtue of the unknown writer's connection to Bakin: "Master Kyokutei has published all manner of work, *kusazoshi* and *yomihon* and the like, much to the acclaim of you (the readers). Next, I ask that you read my work."¹⁰

The Bakin brand could not guarantee commercial success for a relative unknown like Dengaku, however, who never went on to write another *kibyoshi*. Back at home, the Daisō stocked only a single copy of this, what should have been a seminal work in the history of Nagoya letters. Equally damning was the faint praise of Bakin, who, writing in *Kinsei mono-no-hon Edo sakusha burui* 近世物之本江戸作者部類 (1834), summed up Dengaku's literary career as that of a provincial curiosity:

Kinome Dengaku: In Nagoya, Owari domain, there is a doctor of sorts who goes by the name of Kamiya Gōho 神谷剛甫. He likes comic writing and has some talent for it, so in the first year of Kyōwa (1801), he wrote a *kusazōshi* in three volumes called *Treasury of Loyal Lanterns: Seven Guises in the Dark* and sent me the manuscript. The following spring, Tsuruya (Kiemon) published it. It was the only *gesaku* of his to be published in Edo; but since it is so unusual for someone in the distant provinces to produce a work like this, I am listing it here."¹¹

⁹ Adam Kern, "The Writer at His Desk: Authorial Self-Fashioning in the Adult Comicbooks (Kibyoshi) of Early Modern Japan," *Books in Numbers: Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Harvard-Yenching Library*, Ed. Wilt Idema (Cambridge: Harvard-Yenching Library, 2007) 283-292.

¹⁰ Dylan McGee, "Chōchingura yami no nanayaku 挑燈庫闇夜七扮," *Katei Bunko shoshi shosai* 霞亭文庫書誌詳細, Katei Bunko, n.d. Web, Accessed 1 Jan. 2017.

¹¹ Kimura Miyogo, ed. Kyokutei Bakin, *Kinsei mono-no-hon sakusha burui* (Tokyo: Yagi shoten, 1988) 66.

The Daiso Lending Library and Nagoya *Gesaku*

To be sure, *Dengaku* was a rarity. While many Nagoya writers active between the 1790s and the 1830s aspired to carry the literary mantles of Kyōden, Ikku, Sanba, and Bakin, there were precious few opportunities to actually break into the Edo market. For every case like Ryūtei Senka 笠亭仙果 (1804-1868), the Nagoya-born disciple of Ryūtei Tanehiko 柳亭種彦 (1783-1842) who went on to gain renown in Edo for his works of *gōkan*, there were dozens more who never rose above sheer anonymity or the perception of amateurism. The reality for most Nagoya writers was that their manuscripts would never be cut into woodblock, neither in Edo nor in their home market.

It was in this context that the Daisō lending library exploited the possibilities of scribal publication to give local writers an outlet for circulating their works, albeit on a far more modest scale than the printed book. In doing so, it was following practices established by a number of Nagoya firms in the past, before the formation of the bookseller's guild. Among these, one of the most influential had been the circle of writers that formed around bookseller and lender Gyokuseidō Shibayū 玉晴堂芝誘, whose members numbered over twenty and who as a whole produced more than thirty collections of *kyōka* poetry and fourteen prose works in manuscript. And by no means was the sponsorship of local literature limited to those who worked in the book trade. Hamada Keisuke refers to the example of an innkeeper operating near Miya station during the last decades of the eighteenth century, who commissioned local writers like Shihōtei Chishō 指峰堂稚笑 (act. 1780s-1790s) to compose handwritten gazettes that could serve as primers in local customs and dialects for out of province travellers. What distinguished the Daisō from these and a welter of other operations were its resources and its enviable position within the regional communications circuit. Under the stewardship of Eguchi Seijirō, the Daisō turned its reading room into a literary salon, where local literati could debate the merits of recent books, share their own work in a coterie setting, and even collaborate on the production of new works. Works of parody or homage—and in many ways, the Daisō *gesaku* straddled both—were abetted by

proximity of access. Thousands of potential source texts were stored within only a few paces of the reading room, in one of the three earthen storehouses that stood out in the curtilage. Illustrations and other material effects could readily be appraised and approximated. In house copyists could be summoned to execute a clean, calligraphic copy of the manuscript for circulation. And since Seijirō's uncle in Gifu was a well-connected wholesaler of Mino paper, paper stock for manuscript works could be acquired at minimal cost. So abundant were the Daisō's resources in this regard that we find examples of manuscripts on Daisō branded paper that were actually commissioned and circulated by other lenders.

In the second half of this paper, I will highlight two specific examples of Nagoya *gesaku* that circulated in manuscript through the Daisō library and demonstrate how they adapted narrative and pictorial aspects of contemporary Edo *gesaku*. These works challenge us to consider how Nagoya writers engaged with Edo *gesaku*—how they negotiated with its conventions, employing various tactics of textual localization with regard to setting, dialogue, and characterization, to make their work more relevant to local readers. As I note with reference to Kōriki Enkōan's *kibyōshi Kitsuhi muda makura haru no mezame* (*A Purposeless Pillow of Tangerine Rinds: A Springtime Awakening*, 1796), just the mere inclusion of local settings and references to local delicacies (*meibutsu*) could engage readers on a more familiar level. But more acutely at stake than familiarity was authenticity. The Nagoya writers mentioned here wrote at a time when several major Edo writers were increasingly staking out the provinces as the settings for their stories, endeavoring to represent local people, customs, and ways of speaking to urban readers. Ōta Nanpo set the trend when he began to set his *sharebon* in quarters far from the familiar world of the Edo demimonde, such as in Karuizawa. Other writers began to follow suite, albeit with palpable chauvinism towards their provincial subjects. Yet as I note below, with reference to the collaboratively written *Keiseikai shijūhatte* 軽世界四十八手 (*Forty-Eight Moves in the Carefree World*, 1800), the *sharebon* afforded local writers with an unique opportunity to reassert authenticity of depiction, by virtue of the

genre's emphasis on character dialogue and detailed descriptions of dress, accoutrements, and manners.

Koriki Enkōan and Nagoya *Kibyoshi*

One of the earliest examples of Nagoya fiction to adopt the narrative and pictorial techniques of Edo *gesaku* is *Kitsui muda makura haru no mezame* かつひむた枕春乃目覚 (*A Purposeless Pillow of Tangerine Rinds: A Springtime Awakening*, 1796), a *kibyōshi* written and illustrated by Kōriki Enkōan 高力猿猴庵 (1756-1831). Enkōan completed the manuscript of *Purposeless Pillow* around the same time that he completed *Tōgai benran zuryaku* 東街便覧図略 (*An Illustrated Guide to the Sights of the Tōkaidō*), a seven-volume travelogue about a journey he made along the Tōkaidō in Kansei 6 (1794), during his journey from Edo to Nagoya. In many ways, *Purposeless Pillow* serves as a promotional piece for this more ambitious work, if not also for the young author himself.

The basic premise of the story is this: fifteen local products featured in *Illustrated Guide to the Sights of the Tōkaidō* plan a feast in honor of Enkōan, to express their gratitude to him for promoting them to readers. All of the products are local to the provinces of Suruga, Tōtōmi, and Mikawa, and most are regional delicacies—including seven varieties of sweets, two types of seafood, one rice dish, one type of soba noodle, one type of broth, and one type of pickled plum. The remaining two items are non-culinary—a medicinal ointment associated with Seikenji Temple and Arimatsu tie-dyed cloth. The narrative enfolds in a series of fifteen, loosely connected tableaux, where wordplay and witty associations trump any sense of story. Eight of the scenes are set along the Tōkaidō, which the products travel on their way to an inn in Narumi, the site of banquet. A quarrel ensues after some of the products, having gathered at the inn, begin to debate their merits. Fortunately a nun, the Odawara pickled plum, arrives in time to mediate a resolution. She is followed by Kashiwa-mochi from Saru-ga-banba (Gifu) and Tōdango from Utsunoya tōge (Shizuoka), who offer themselves as sacrifices to the Bodhisattva Kannon, Enkōan's patron goddess.

Enkōan draws heavily on contemporary *kibyōshi* for both his narrative and pictorial techniques. In terms of composition, the narrative text is ruled along the top margin of the page and staggered to accommodate figures and important objects in the *mise-en-scene*, while character dialogue is set in close juxtaposition to the characters who speak, usually around their heads or feet. Personification is represented pictorially through the use of anthropomorphic figures wearing iconic headpieces. While this was a common technique in *irui gassen* in general,¹² we find a particularly close filiation with works of Edo *kibyōshi* like Santō Kyōden's *Tatsunomiyako namagusa hachinoki* 龍宮羶鉢木 (1793) and *Mazu hiraku ume no akahon* 先開梅赤本 (1793), published just a few years before Enkōan wrote his piece.

The similarity with Kyōden's work is probably not coincidental. In one scene, Enkōan paraphrases a line from *Mazu hiraku ume no akahon*, with attribution to "a recent work by Kyōden sensei." And in his preface, heavily laden with puns, puffery, and even sexual innuendo, Enkōan disavows any pretensions of being as skillful a writer as Kyōden, opting instead to exhaust every device of homage:

The hues of springtime spread from the east, coloring our books red (*kibyōshi*), as plums blossom into skewers for roasting. This brush of mine will never rival the style of the renowned Kyōden in capturing contemporary tastes for rice seasoned with greens. Yet I gather young herbs from the fields to serve up a New Year's repast in two volumes. I sprinkle in some seaweed to thicken the aibika, now ground to glue in my mortar. As the days grow longer, my nose hairs long for the scent of woman, but I'll make do with an abalone shell to write with. At least that would be better than grinding these pages into pulp. And so I entitle this work *A Purposeless Pillow of Tangerine Rinds: A Springtime Awakening*.¹³

¹² Adam Kern, *Manga from the Floating World: Comicbook Culture and the Kibyōshi of Edo Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006) 177.

¹³ Kōriki Enkōan, "Kitsuhi muda makura haru no mezame," *Nagoya sōsho* 14 (Nagoya: Hosa Bunko, 1982) 153.

The jarring collage of images with which Enkōan opens the preface—red books, plums, and skewers for roasting—recalls the titles of Kyōden’s *Plum Redbook* and *Playboy, Born and Braised in Edo* while also limning, more generally, at the influence of Edo literature, “spreading from the east.” The citation of Kyōden can be seen as working two ways—as legitimizing Enkōan’s own work by situating it within the same lineage of genre and style, and conversely, by complicitly accepting its inferiority. As Enkōan writes, “my brush will never rival the style of the renowned Kyōden.”

Kinome Dengaku and Nagoya Sharebon

In contrast to Kōriki Enkōan, who resided for several years in Edo before embarking on his literary career, Kinome Dengaku never travelled far from his hometown of Nagoya. However, perhaps more so than Enkōan, he was keenly attuned to trends in Edo and eager to ingratiate himself to its literary establishment. With his first work of fiction, he managed to score a major coup by convincing Kyokutei Bakin to contribute prefaces (dictated by Tōrai Sanna) to the first and second volumes of his debut work, a *sharebon* entitled *Shunjū shashiden* 春秋洒子伝 (*Spring and Autumn Annals of Wit*, 1795). In addition to endorsing the work, Bakin also agreed to accept Dengaku as a literary disciple—an important gesture which, even if it did not entail any real mentoring about the craft, nonetheless opened up an opportunity for publication in Edo and endowed Dengaku with a certain literary cachet in his home market.

Spring and Autumn Annals of Wit was the first *sharebon* written by a Nagoya author, and in many ways, its tactics of localization set a standard for later works in the same vein. For one, Dengaku dispensed with the conventional setting of most Edo *sharebon* until that point, the pleasure quarters, and replaced them with settings that local readers would have readily recognized. The first volume of the work, set in springtime, follows a series of revelers who have travelled to the Higashiyama foothills, east of the castle town, for flower-viewing. The second volume, set in autumn, follows groups on pleasure boats as they ply the

Horikawa Canal in Otōbashi on their way to Ise Bay. In both scenarios, it is the drinking and witty repartee between characters that drives the narrative, rather than, as is commonly the case with Edo *sharebon*, the exchanges between customers and courtesans. But true to its genre, *Spring and Autumn Annals of Wit* makes extensive use of character dialogue and experiments with transcription of various registers and dialects. These two tactics of localization—local settings and use of local dialects—would become a hallmark of Nagoya *sharebon*.

We find similar tactics employed in *Keiseikai shijūhatte* 軽世界四十八手 (*Forty-Eight Moves in the Carefree World*, 1800), a *sharebon* collaboratively produced by Dengaku and six other authors—Ishibashi-an Masui 石橋庵真酔, Yūga Teikō 有雅亭光, Yūga okinasai 由賀翁齋, Onimo jūshichi 於仁茂十七, Kikutei Kaori 菊亭香織. A seventh person involved with the production of the manuscript was Eguchi Seijirō, the second Onoya Sōhachi, who appears to have coordinated the project and provided one or two of his copyists to transcribe the final version of the text and produce the six author portraits. In his preface to the work, Kinome Dengaku indicates that it is an homage to Santō Kyōden's popular *sharebon Keiseikai shijūhatte* 傾城買四十八手 (*Forty-Eight Moves for Buying a Courtesan*, 1790), a work owned by the Daisō library and which, judging from the wear and tear on its extant copy, appears to have been in regular circulation. One of the contributors, Kikutei Kaori, jokingly styles himself with the moniker Sentō Kyōden. Meanwhile, Onoya Sōhachi refers to himself as the “publisher” (although obviously as a manuscript, it has no publisher) with the expression “from the press of the House of Ivy” 蔦舎梓, thereby extending the homage to Edo bookseller Tsutaya Juzaburo, who published Kyōden's *Forty-Eight Moves for Buying a Courtesan* and whose trademark was a garland of ivy.¹⁴ The joke carries over the cover design, which features a motif of ivy leaves.

¹⁴ Next to the handwritten reference is a seal stamp used by the second Onoya Sohachi, an imprint of a butterfly measuring 1.2 cm in height and 1.8 cm in width in cinnabar ink.

The setting of all eight vignettes is the tea house district near Atsuta Shrine, a brief walk northwest from the Miya station of the Tōkaidō. The district developed in the late seventeenth century to accommodate travellers waiting for boats to ferry them across to Kuwana, the only leg of the Tōkaidō intraversable by land. The tea houses were designed primarily to provide travellers with a place for rest and refreshment for a few hours; most were ill equipped to provide lodging for the night. At the same time, the district also received a good number of regular patrons from Nagoya, who lacked anything resembling a pleasure district after a makeshift complex of brothels, built in the Misono district to accommodate laborers working on the construction of Nagoya Castle, was destroyed by the middle of the seventeenth century. Along with Osu Kannon, the area around Atsuta Shrine became one of the principal entertainment districts in the castle town.

The premise of each vignette in *Forty-Eight Moves in the Carefree World* is more or less the same, in that all of the patrons who visit the tea houses in the neighborhood of Atsuta Shrine are locals, not travellers resting from their journey on the Tōkaidō. Most are samurai and wealthy merchants, with the exception of the sixth vignette by Kikutei Kaori, in which the patron is the proprietor of a lumber firm. Patrons depicted in the collection travel singly or else in groups of three, such as with an entourage that includes a *taiko-mochi*. Most of the character dialogue is based on exchanges between the groups of patrons, the serving maids who greet them at the tea house, the cook who prepares the food, and in some cases, the proprietor. Exchanges between the patrons and the courtesans of the tea house are surprisingly few, often limited to a few lines of coquettish repartee near the conclusion of each vignette. This subdued treatment of the flirting between courtesans and patrons represents a significant departure from Kyoden's work, and most *sharebon* published before the Kansei publishing edict, or after, for that matter. There is little of the arcane wit and erotic humor that we find in the *sharebon* of Kyoden, Sanba, and others, and none of the romanticism or sentimentalism that we find in later examples of the genre. Instead, the focus shifts to depiction of the repartee between the patrons, their quibbling over choices of tea house to visit, talk of money and unsettled bills, and of course, jokes. In this sense, the Nagoya

sharebon privileges the meaning of *share* as “wit” rather than the meaning “fashionable.”