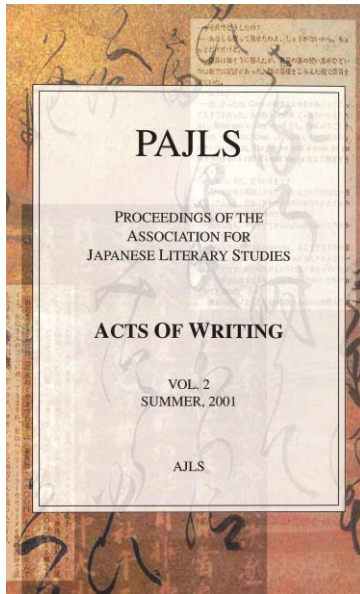


“Making the Scene with Shikitei Sanba”

Joshua Young 

*Proceedings of the Association for Japanese
Literary Studies* 2 (2001): 203–219.



PAJLS 2:
Acts of Writing.

Rebecca Copeland, Editor-in-Chief; Elizabeth Oyler, Editor;
Marvin Marcus, Editor

MAKING THE SCENE WITH SHIKITEI SANBA

JOSHUA YOUNG

I would like to present a short story written by the early nineteenth-century writer Shikitei Sanba (式亭三馬, 1776-1822). Along with this story I will present a reading of the story's performative situation, in hopes of showing a concern with the interweaving of collective memory, performance and text-based history at work in the popular texts of the time. What I am presenting today is a small part of a project to investigate the centrality of performed storytelling in the urban culture of nineteenth-century Edo.

I see in the many small relationships between published texts and the cultural scene of the city an interest (at that time) in the dynamics of memory as embodied practice, history as textual reference and the impact of these two on how we construct identities.

First a caveat: I use the term "performed storytelling" and "rakugo" interchangeably, and sometimes I will also use "*otoshibanashi*" (落とし噺). I do this because I want to refer to the performance tradition, not just the genre of story told. In calling a variety of one-person performances rakugo, I am following the scholarship of Mitamura Engyo (三田村鳶魚, 1870-1952), who sees the professional performance form of rakugo in the mid-nineteenth century as having absorbed various pre-existing styles of one-person performance.¹

SHIKITEI SANBA THE WRITER

Shikitei Sanba is well known as a writer of popular fiction at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He is particularly known as a writer

¹ Mitamura, 146, 155-59, and *passim*.

² For annotated editions of *Ukiyoburo* and *Kejô suigen maku no soto*, see Jinbô Kazuya ed. *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, vol. 86, *Ukiyoburo*; *Gejô suigen maku no soto*; *Daisen sekai gakuyasagashi*; for *Ukiyodoko* see Nakano, et al eds., *Nihon koten bungaku zenshû*, vol. 47 *Sharebon, kokkeibon, ninjôbon*.

who utilized character's speech to depict scenes of urban life. Writing in a genre called the *kokkeibon* (滑稽本 [humor books]), which use dialogue-based techniques of the so-called *sharebon* (洒落本 [books of wit]), Sanba moved the scene of action from the licensed quarters out into the city neighborhoods. Best known are his works *Ukiyoburo* (浮世風呂 [Bath house of the floating world]) and *Ukiyodoko* (浮世床 [Barber shop of the floating world]), books that present voices of people at a neighborhood bathhouse and neighborhood barber, respectively, to draw a picture of goings on in a day in the life of Edo commoners. Sanba wrote many works using this style of presenting conversations between characters to bring to life a certain spot in the city, especially the theatre districts, as in the work *Gejo suigen maku no soto* (劇所粹言幕の外 [Theatre chic this side of the curtain]), a work depicting several groups of people on their way to a kabuki performance.²

Sanba is also well known as a writer who focused on the performed storytelling tradition in the city of Edo. There are many ways his works are connected to the storytelling tradition. For example, there are odd references to contemporary performers, such as scenes in *Ukiyoburo* when characters discuss their favorite performer³ or the scene toward the beginning of *Ukiyodoko* where a so-called Confucian scholar is ridiculed for his bizarre readings of performers' names on the flyers advertising performances that are posted in the shop.⁴ However, beyond these references he also uses the storytelling tradition to frame some of his texts—for example, the famous "author's note" at the beginning of *Ukiyoburo* that claims the work was inspired by a night's performance by the rakugoka Sanshôtei Karku (三笑亭歌楽).⁵ Sanba's 1806 text *Namaei katagi* (酩酊氣質 [Sketches of drinkers]) includes an introduction instructing the reader to read the book's conversational sketches in the manner of contemporary performers called *ukiyomonomané* (浮世物真似 [floating world impersonators]). By

³ *Ukiyoburo*, 46-47.

⁴ *Ukiyodoko*, 207.

⁵ *Ukiyoburo*, 10. For an English translation of this passage, see Leutner, 141.

Sanba's time, their performances were becoming indistinguishable from the performance we now call rakugo.⁶

In the case of *Namaei katagi*, these framing references to performing traditions actually elicit a certain type of reading practice, a kinesthetic appreciation.⁷ For the purposes of this essay, however, I want to shift to another scene of Sanba's relationship to performed storytelling: that of Sanba the historian of the tradition at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Sanba is known as a historian of various popular contemporary performance forms. He wrote, for example, a text called *Chaban kyôgen hayagaten* (茶番狂言早合点 [Quick pointers on chaban theater]), a work that presents the history and techniques of the one-person skit performances called *chaban*, another performance form that was absorbed into what we now know as rakugo.⁸ Sanba the historian reveals himself in the introduction to the text *Inaka shibai Chûshingura* (田舎芝居忠臣蔵 [A countryside production of Chûshingura]), which he actually wrote as a separate piece for a gathering of *otoshibanashi* storytelling, then appended to this text at a later date.⁹ But Sanba is most noted for compiling and editing a folio collection of prints, notes, and stories from *otoshibanashi* gatherings of the first two decades of the nineteenth century. This folio, variously titled "Otoshibanashikai suriechô" (落語会刷画帖 [Folio of illustrations for *otoshibanashi* gatherings]) or "Otoshibanashi chûkô raiyû" (落語中興来由 [On the origins of the revival in *otoshibanashi*]), is the central document of the period for twentieth-century histories of the rakugo tradition.¹⁰

⁶ Nakano, 207.

⁷ For a reading of this text, and its preface, as a script for a performed reading, see the chapter "Acting Popular With Shikitei Sanba" of my forthcoming dissertation "Nineteenth-Century Edo Rakugo: Writings on the Performance of Language."

⁸ Partially reprinted in Nagai and Miyao, 167-188.

⁹ The introduction alone is reprinted in Nagai and Miyao, 163-66.

¹⁰ There are two modern reprints of this folio: one as an appendix to Ryûtei Enji's *Rakugoka no rekishi*, 233-279, edited by Nakamura Michio, and

Reduced to a narrative outline, the folio tells the story of the development from the invitation-only gatherings of amateur practitioners to professional rakugo performance in the yose variety halls that by the Bunsei era—the 1830s—were said to number over a hundred in the city of Edo. It is one section of this folio, a short story in booklet form, which I want to turn to today. But first let me describe the folio in order to give us some context for a reading of the story that is contained within it.

THE FOLIO

Materially the folio is a collection of prints, illustrations, verses, and notes that was compiled by Sanba in 1816. This folio was never published before it appeared in modern reprints, but it probably was intended to be published at some point as Sanba wrote a proper introduction to the folio as if it were a discrete text.¹¹ Having been passed down as copied manuscripts in various private and public libraries, the text is now reprinted in two versions as parts of histories of the performance art rakugo. The folio is made up of drawings, verses and announcements from the gatherings, interspersed with notes in the margins that explain obscure terminology and bits of personal information, like where the people mentioned lived. However, there are some more extensive passages by Sanba such as an explanation of a street performer called the riddle master Shunsetsu, and how Sanshôtei Karaku took over his act. Karaku is the rakugo performer who, largely due to the attention he receives in Sanba's texts, is considered the first

one collected in *Nihon shomin bunka shiryô shûsei*, vol. 8, *Yose misemono*, 125-140, edited by Nobuhiro Shinji. While I have consulted the Nakamura edition because it contains facsimile images of the manuscript pages, for the purposes of this paper I am using the pagination from the *Nihon shomin bunka shiryô shûsei* edition.

¹¹ By "proper introduction" I mean that a short, one-page note introduces the following text and is signed, dated, and sealed by Sanba. Though neither editor of the modern reprints hazard a guess on the intended use of this text, Miyao Jiryo, in a brief reference to the text, notes that the presence of such an introduction indicates at least the formal intention to have the text published or distributed to readers other than Sanba himself. See Nagai and Miyao, 162.

professional rakugo storyteller in Edo. At the end of the folio is a section that is titled “tôji otoshibanashi ryûkô suru raiyû” (当時おとしばなし流行する来由 [“on the origins of the present trend in *otoshibanashi* performance”]). This section sketches a rough narrative of the appearance of professional performers such as Karku and the *yose* (small theaters or variety halls) where they perform. This section also has given the folio as a whole one of its titles—“Otoshibanashi chûkô raiyû”—as, it is surmised, later owners of the manuscript used this title when they replaced the covers of the text, or when they copied out a new manuscript of the folio.

I think that this matter of the retroactive titling of the folio gives us a hint to the intent with which the folio has been read in later ages. The titling of the manuscript as a narrative history of the origins of a trend displays an assumption that the main point of the text is to document the history of a performance form by tracing the influences from one famous figure to the next.

Considering the attention to details of names and residences and the nature of the illustrations collected in it, this folio could certainly be considered part of what Andrew Markus calls the broad antiquarian movement of the times.¹² It might also be seen as an artifact from the commercial publicity workings of the urban literary culture. Specifically it could be considered a collection of papers from the so-called *shogakai* (書画会), the celebrity banquets that displayed, and more often sold, the arts of the host and invited celebrity artists.¹³ Yet rather than swing back and forth between the inscrutable depth of the serious historian and the assumed shallowness of the commercial mercenary, we should try to see how Sanba played the historical with the commercial to create the popular.

¹² Markus 1992, 101. See also Campbell, 95.

¹³ See Markus's article on these banquets: “Shogakai: Celebrity Banquets of the Late Edo Period.”

THE STORY

The story I want to consider is a short, three-page booklet titled “Hayashiya monogatari” (林屋物語 [The “Tale of Hayashiya”]) that appears in the middle of the folio.¹⁴ It is written in a mock classical style: beginning with the familiar *setsuwa* (説話 [old tales]) line “*ima wa mukashi*” (“Now is the past”) and using verb endings such as *nari keru* that, along with other vocabulary, signal a prose in the style of the old tales. The story, in brief, is about a present-day rakugo performer, Hayashiya Shôzô (林屋正蔵), moving to a new neighborhood and discovering by coincidence that his house was once the residence of the legendary Edo storyteller from the Genroku period, Shikano Buzaemon (鹿野武左衛門).¹⁵ Actually, Shôzô learns of this coincidence close to the beginning of the story from an old man in the neighborhood, and most of the story is taken up with Shôzô’s search, following the advice of the old man, for some evidence of the rumor in the records of the landlord. Rummaging through the dusty, dank, and wadded up papers the landlord’s agent does not find the neighborhood register they are searching for, but does come upon a rent receipt made out for Shikano Buzaemon. Receiving this document, Shôzô is overjoyed, hikes up his kimono to do a dance around the garden, and returns home to ponder the gift bestowed upon him by heaven. He thinks to himself that these events must surely be a reward for his devotion to the path of the storyteller. On the advice of the neighbor, Shôzô decides to change his name to mark the karmic link that has been revealed to him. Casting about for a name that is similar but not just the same, he hits upon Inu no Buzaemon.¹⁶ The story ends with Shôzô hosting a banquet to announce

¹⁴ Geinôshi kenkyûkai, 129-133.

¹⁵ Both Hayashiya Shôzô and Shikano Buzaemon are actual historical *otoshibanashi* performers. Shikano (1649-1699) is known as one of the three progenitors of rakugo from around the Genroku period (1680s-1700s), while Shôzô (1780-1842), a contemporary of Shikitei Sanba, is known as one of the first truly professional rakugo performers and the first performer to make ghost tales a staple of the repertoire.

his name change, at which he is showered with praise and money for his arts.

On the last page of the booklet, with descriptive notes and signatures attesting to its appraisal and possession, we find the rent receipt itself. The receipt reads “Year of the eighth snake... Master of the house... Record of rent” (in large characters), and then “Master Shikano Buzaemon.” The notes below the receipt describe the document, and tell who Buzaemon was and when he lived. The notes to the left of the receipt detail the type of paper used for the document, comment that the date must correspond to the fourteenth year of Genroku (1701), and note how happy Shôzô must be to have discovered this document. Finally, two signatures are affixed: “adjudged by Shikitei Sanba” and “in the possession of Hayashiya Shôzô.”

Though a receipt for monies paid may seem odd as a sign from heaven (or may seem too modern for a story from the nineteenth century—too much a part of our late twentieth-century landscape), the story of historical investigation (its basic structure) should be familiar to us all. In fact, the artifact that grounds the story, the rent receipt, could not be more typical as a historical document. The establishment of records of residence has been a mainstay of modern historical scholarship, particularly of the historical study of the so-called common people.

Within the story, or as an appendage to the story, the rent receipt acts just as the character Shôzô wants it to: it stands as a possession that links the present to a legendary past. Yet within the folio compiled by Shikitei Sanba, a folio that collects the announcement prints and products of gatherings of performers and writers as documents, the story of historical investigation takes on some rather ambivalent meanings. The booklet is framed in the folio by two of Sanba’s editorial notes: it is introduced with one line: “booklet announcing Hayashiya Shôzô’s *otoshibanashi* gathering. Held the twenty-fifth of the third month, Bunka

¹⁶ While Shikano Buzaemon contains the word *shika* (deer), Inuno Buzaemon changes deer to dog (*inu*). The title of Shikano Buzaemon’s famous text, *Shika no makifude* (鹿の巻き筆 [Rolled brush of deer]), emphasizes the word deer in the performer’s name. For that text see *Nihon koten bungaku taikai*, vol. 100, *Edo waraibon shû*.

twelve, in the establishment of Kinoya Chûsaemon in Shitayoko-chô at Nakabashi," and ends with three other lines: "to the right is from the first gathering of Hayashiya Shôzô. All the stuff about Shôzô changing his name and the rent receipt of Buzaemon has no basis; it is all just my own made-up tale."

In short, the receipt is a fake.

But the revelation that the story of historical investigation is fictional does not break the link to the legendary past constructed by the story. The gesture of historical linkage still remains. And in the context of the folio, the story makes other links to a literary tradition.

What interests me is how Sanba sets up a story that thematically upholds certain procedures of historical investigation, goes on to subvert those procedures, and yet at another performative level is still creating a connection with a tradition.

READING THE INTERTEXTUALITY OF THE STORY AND THE FOLIO

What is performed by the text of the story in its production for an *otoshibanashi* gathering as well as in its placement within this folio is a gesture toward certain historical antecedents, a gesture that defines a tradition for the nascent professional art of rakugo. However, this gesture is ambivalent because Sanba both holds out the promise of connection to the past and subverts that promise with a joke on the untrustworthy nature of documents.¹⁷

The key to this story and its intertextual embeddedness is that it is thematically the story of the creation of a tradition: Shôzô is singled out "amongst all the many who ply this trade," and a line of influence is drawn between him and the legendary Buzaemon. The line of influence is drawn through the mechanism of a historical document, but that mechanism is far from a simple *deus ex machina*. The historical document in fact becomes the main character of this story, that which is

¹⁷ At the presentation of this paper in St. Louis, Christopher Robins asked why, if the *takara awase* presentation of fake artifacts was a common exercise at the time, Sanba would include a note identifying the receipt and its story as made up. I read the situation as a display of Sanba's awareness of the uncertainty of future readings of the story as an item in the folio.

presented for the audience to admire. In this matter, the story echoes a set of practices that involved the presentation of historical or antique texts and objects. Some of these practices include the *takara awase* (宝合わせ [mock treasure presentations]), *kôshôgaku* (考証学 [the study of historical customs and artifacts through philological investigation]), and even *chaban kyôgen* (茶番狂言 [amateur theatricals using found objects as props]). The practice, very prevalent at the time, of writing philological essays, so-called *kôshô zuihitsu* (考証随筆), was part and parcel of this antiquarian movement.¹⁸ In these texts, customs and arts, particularly of the urban common classes, were traced in historical records and literary texts. For example, the figure of Shikano Buzaemon appears in the writer Santô Kyôden's *Kinsei kisekikô* (近世奇跡考 [Thoughts on odd items of the recent past]) as a performer who is mentioned in old texts from the Genroku period.¹⁹ The twentieth-century scholar Nobuhiro Shinji, in fact, locates the beginning of scholarship on rakugo in Kyôden's *zuihitsu* (miscellany essays), claiming that Kyôden's texts are the first ones to consider the historical figures of performed storytelling from a rigorous scholarly perspective,²⁰ referring to Kyôden's method of tracing textual references. It is the continuation between these various practices—ranging from laborious philology to spontaneous entertainment—which I wish to highlight for our consideration. Texts such as Sanba's folio, and the practices of reading them, must be considered within such a continuum.

At the performative level, the "Tale of Hayashiya" subverts the tradition it builds by announcing the story and its mechanism of verification to be false. In relation to this, the status of the text as a product constructed for the storytelling gatherings is important. Gatherings such as the one Shôzô hosted, and for which the booklet was produced, often took the form of the presentations of artifacts. These gatherings, sometimes called *takara awase*, were a space for people to act out stories about artifacts they displayed to the audience. Like the

¹⁸ See Andrew Markus's chapter "Old Scraps and Pieces" in *The Willow in Autumn*, 97-118; also Inoue, 33-45.

¹⁹ Kyôden, 301. See also Teruoka, 48.

²⁰ Geinôshi kenkyûkai, 6.

rent receipt in Sanba's story, the artifacts in these presentations were generally fakes, props for the story. Formally such presentations of artifacts bear a striking resemblance to the entertainment called *chaban kyôgen*, in which a variety of objects would be brought on stage and used as props in a story constructed loosely around a predetermined theme. The form and occasion for the text of the story link it to a performing tradition that is theatrical in the sense of constructing a virtual world following only the codes of the narrative fiction.

In the stylistics of the "Tale of Hayashiya," Sanba in fact connects himself to a strong literary tradition, a tradition of published texts and text publishing, but also a tradition of performances.

At the end of the story, in a text box just before Sanba's signature, we read the line "Emulating the style of the Uji minister's tale." The "Uji minister's tale" refers to either the *Uji shûi monogatari* (宇治拾遺物語) or the *Konjaku monogatari* (今昔物語), as both were ascribed at the time to the authorship of the minister of Uji, Minamoto no Takakuni (1004-1077). But should we then try to look in the *Uji shûi monogatari* for some sort of progenitor story that explains the story by Sanba, some story perhaps of a hidden treasure that leads a character to his chosen path, we would certainly find any number of candidate examples. The *Uji shûi monogatari*, along with the *Konjaku monogatari*, contain any number of parables about "gifts from the gods and Buddhas" (as is the phrase that Sanba's text gives).²¹ In fact, to follow such a path of interpretation—to search for *genwa* (source stories)—would be to act on the literary history of the rakugo tradition. The *Uji shûi monogatari* and the *Konjaku monogatari* are generally given as the textual antecedents of the performance form, texts from the days when the stories and their performance were not yet commercial entertainment but

²¹ Amongst other contextual reasons, which I mention a bit later, it is clear that the text referred to by the postscript is the *Uji shûi monogatari* because the story refers to, and even quotes lines from, stories in that collection. For example, toward the beginning of the story Shôzô's performances are called "as funny as Tôroku reciting a prayer to Amida Buddha." This refers to a story in the *Uji shûi monogatari* where the poet Tôroku puns on the phrase "Amida pledges to save even those boiling in hell" (煮物を救う) in order to explain his filching a spoonful of broth (煮物を掬う). See Kobayashi, *Uji shûi monogatari*, tale forty-three (book three, tale eleven: "On Tôroku's act").

were developing out of religious sermon traditions and tale tellers for the medieval war lords.²²

However, such a search would probably miss the main idea of style that Sanba sets up in the epigram. Style—in this case *buntai* (文体) the shape of the writing—is about the reading of the text, about how to read. As the shape of the prose, the importance is placed on the material aspect of the written words rather than on the manifest content of the words' meaning.²³ In this case, the style of the prose points to the literary and performance tradition of the writer, poet, and dramatist Utei (Tatekawa) Enba (烏亭 [立川] 焉馬 [1743-1822]).²⁴

Specifically we should remember that Utei Enba, the host and producer of earlier storytelling gatherings in the Kansei era (1790s), had responded to the restrictions put on those gatherings by the authorities by renaming them “gatherings for the reading of the tales of Uji” because the recitation of moral parables from what were by then classical texts was one of the forms of public performance acceptable to the authorities. Not only were the storytelling gatherings of Utei Enba called recitations of the *Uji shûi monogatari*, but these gatherings for the telling of made up stories (*shinsaku hanashi* [新作噺]) themselves developed out of the *takara awase* gatherings performances of the very form that Sanba uses for his “Tale of Hayashiya.” The *takara awase* were events in which literati came together to display an item that was supposed to be a rare treasure from the past and tell a story about it. In other words, Sanba, through both the epigram referring to the style of the *Uji shûi monogatari*

²² See the chapter entitled “Prototypes of rakugo narration in the *Konjaku monogatari shû* and the *Uji shûi monogatari*” in Morioka and Sasaki, 217-228.

²³ In regards to Sanba's prose in particular, Ishigami Satoshi shows how style (*buntai*: the shape of the prose) should be understood as material language, that is, as the aural and visual effect of the writing. See “Shikitei Sanba ni okeru ‘furi’—Fûrai Sanjin to no kakawari wo chûshin ni, buntai no ron toshite.”

²⁴ Nobuhiro Shinji has described Utei Enba's personal and social connections to the *otoshibanashi* world in his book *Rakugo wa ikani keisei sareta ka*, and Robert Leutner, following Honda Yasuo, has shown Sanba's literary debts to Enba. I simply want to focus on some of the ways these connections play out on the small stage of a little work like the “Tale of Hayashiya.”

and the form of his text—a burlesque explanation of a concocted artifact—is placing his text within the tradition of the storytelling gatherings held thirty years before the time of his production of the story, which was produced as an announcement for the gathering offered by Hayashiya Shôzô the contemporary professional performer.²⁵

It is, in fact, Sanba's own folio that orients this tradition into which we are supposed to place the "Tale of Hayashiya;" the section of the folio entitled "the origins of the current trend in *otoshibanashi*" begins by saying "the progenitor of the current *otoshibanashi* gatherings in Edo is the old gentleman Tatekawa Danjurô Enba," and goes on to give information about Enba's gatherings and the *Uji shûi monogatari* recitation renaming during the Kansei reforms.

Sanba is making a gesture of respect toward Enba and those gatherings (and the texts which came out of those gatherings), and Sanba backs up that gesture in the folio at large by naming Enba as the progenitor of the trend in *otoshibanashi* that was taking place in his contemporary moment.

In short, by offering this story, Sanba is performing a tradition-making linkage—from the legendary Genroku performer Shikano Buzaemon to the Tenmei-era literati such as Enba on to the contemporary professional performers such as Shôzô. And yet this is a literary tradition, a lineage dependent on the published texts for which these figures stand.

THE TEXTURE OF HISTORY

Elsewhere I have looked at how Sanba's texts elicit kinesthetic consumption practices, which are connected to modes of thinking about

²⁵ The date given for Hayashiya Shôzô's gathering, third month of the year Bunka 12 (1816), is also the "publication" date of the story as the story is said to have been produced for that gathering. Note also that the introduction to the folio in which the story is preserved is dated the fall of the same year (though there are prints from other gatherings dated later than 1816). Assuming that the introduction to the folio was written at the time Sanba decided to put these artifact texts into some sort of order, we can see that the writing of the story of Hayashiya, with all its intricate references, was very much part of the project of creating or reviving a tradition of performed storytelling.

history. For the purposes of this discussion I have simply been looking at the other side of the memory/history split in Sanba's work, reading a story that is about connecting one's self with the past, but a story that also strikes a note of caution on the use of written records to make such a connection. Within the context of Sanba's, and other writers', infatuation with performance scenes and performance traditions, this little story about the play of textual history must be seen as a statement of consciousness of the tension between textual traditions and embodied traditions as social memory.

The way the story questions documentary history leads me to other ways of conceptualizing tradition. One way has been to consider the bodily practices of performance, and what Joseph Roach calls social memory.

Roach says the key to performance is its nature as "restored behavior...that which can be repeated, rehearsed and above all recreated." He goes on to say,

The paradox of the restoration of behavior resides in the phenomenon of repetition itself: no action or sequence of actions may be performed exactly the same way twice; they must be reinvented or recreated at each appearance. In this improvisatory behavioral space, memory reveals itself as imagination.... Thus understood, performance highlights the distinction between social memory and history as different forms of cultural transmission across time: memory requires collective participation, whether at theatrical events, shamanistic rituals, or Olympic opening ceremonies; history entails the critical (and apparently solitary) interpretation of written records. Both also function as forms of forgetting: cultures select what they transmit through memory and history. The persistence of collective memory through restored behavior, however, represents an alternative and potentially contestatory form of knowledge—bodily knowledge, habit, custom. The academic preoccupation with textual knowledge—whereby a

culture continually refers itself to its archives—tends to discredit memory in the name of history.²⁶

Sanba's folio is an archival history par excellence. It collects as reference material words and images that allow one to trace figures and events as names across a short temporal span in a certain location. However, right at the middle of this text lies the disruptive performance: a playful story that undermines the certainty we long for as we crawl along the structure of a knowable history. As the old neighbor says to Shôzô in the story, "if you think this [what I'm telling you] is all a joke I'm putting over on you, why don't you go check in the records?"²⁷

If all history is constructed, Sanba's work displays that constructedness. And here I am suggesting that this is the case with Sanba's work in general, beyond the specific instance of the "Tale of Hayashiya."

I am not just trying to contest the scholars who use Sanba's work and have used it to trace the connections that make up the rakugo tradition. (I am in a sense entirely dependent on that work.) Rather than point a finger and saying "ah ha, Sanba put one over on you!" I would simply note that Sanba (and others) are aware of issues of historiography (of false evidence and desire for truth).

For me this simple statement of awareness, this idea that a positivist historical approach may not work, leads to a question of what the openness of a text may look like.

In turn I wonder what is going on when these texts solicit references to historical intertexts that cannot be scripted. I have in mind here the situation where Sanba, for example, asks readers in the preface to *Namaei katagi* to use the sensation of the impersonator and storyteller Jinkô as a heuristic prop to get at the sensation (*jô* [情]) of the drinkers evoked there. This combination of kinesthetic appreciation and historical desire seems to outline the openness of the text in early-nineteenth-century popular writing.

²⁶ Roach, 46.

²⁷ Geinôshi kenkyûkai, 130.

WORKS CITED

- Campbell, Robert. "Poems on the Way to Yoshiwara." *Imaging /Reading Eros. Proceedings for the Conference, Sexuality and Edo Culture, 1750-1850*. Ed. Sumie Jones. Bloomington: The East Asian Studies Center, Indiana University, 1995. 95-96.
- Geinôshi Kenkyûkai. *Nihon shomin bunka shiryô shûsei, vol. 8: yose misemono*. San'ichi shobô, 1973.
- Inoue Keiji. *Kyôden kôshôgaku to yomihon no kenkyû*. Shintensha, 1997.
- Ishigami Satoshi. "Shikitei Sanba ni okeru 'furi'—Fûrai Sanjin to no kakawari wo chûshin ni, buntai no ron toshite." *Kokubungaku*, 47.1 (Jan. 1998): 38-46.
- Kobayashi Tomoaki, Kobayashi Yasuharu, Masuko Kazuko, eds. *Uji shûi monogatari*. Shôgakkan, 1984.
- Leutner, Robert W. *Shikitei Sanba and the Comic Tradition in Edo Fiction*. Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies Harvard University; distributed by the Harvard University Press, 1985.
- Markus, Andrew Lawrence. "Shogakai: Celebrity Banquets of The Late Edo Period." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 53.1 (June 1993): 135-167.
- _____. *The Willow in Autumn: Ryûtei Tanehiko, 1783-1842*. Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University; distributed by the Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Mitamura Engyo. "Kokkeibon gaisetsu." *Mitamura engyo zenshû*. Vol. 22. Chûô kôronsha, 1976. 9-246.

Morioka, Heinz and Miyoko Sasaki. *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*. Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University; distributed by the Harvard University Press, 1990.

Nagai Hiroo and Miyao Jiryo. *Ajia no geijutsuron: engeki rironshû*. Benseisha, 1998.

Nakano Mitsutoshi, Jinbô Kazuya, and Maeda Ai. *Sharebon, kokkeibon, ninjôbon. Nihon koten bungaku zenshû*. Vol. 47. Shôgakkan, 1971.

Nobuhiro Shinji. *Rakugo wa ikani shite keiseisareta ka*. Heibonsha, 1986.

Otaka Toshio, ed. *Edo waraibonshû. Nihon koten bungaku taikai*. Vol. 100. Iwanami shoten, 1966.

Roach, Joseph. "Culture and Performance in the Circum-Atlantic World." *Performance and Performativity*. Ed. Andrew Parker and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick. London and New York: Routledge, 1995.

Ryûtei Enji. *Rakugoka no rekishi*. Yûsankaku, 1972.

Santô Kyôden. "Kinsei kisekikô." *Nihon zuihitsu taisei, dai ni ki*. Vol. 6. Ed. Nihon zuihitsu taisei henshubu. Yoshikawa kôbunkan, 1973.

Shikitei Sanba and Jinbô Kazuya. *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai*, vol. 86: *Ukiyoburo, Gejô suigen maku no soto, Daisen sekai gakuyasagashi*. Iwanami shoten, 1987.

Shikitei Sanba and Nakamura Michio. *Ukiyoburo*. Iwanami shoten, 1963.

Shikitei Sanba and Nakanishi Zenzô. *Ukiyodoko*. Asahi shinbunsha, 1965.

Shikitei Sanba, Takada Mamoru, Hara Michio, and Tanahashi Masahiro. *Shikitei Sanba shû*. Kokusho kankôkai, 1992.

Shikitei Sanba and Utagawa Toyokuni. *Chaban hayagaten*. Edo: Kansuidô, 1824.

Teruoka Yasutaka. *Rakugo no nenrin*. Kôdansha, 1978.