REPRESENTING PERFORMANCE IN JAPANESE FICTION: SHIKITEI SANBA (1776-1822)

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1. Introduction

Gesaku fiction

In Edo period Japan (1600-1868), *gesaku*, literally 'playful' fiction, began as a pursuit by samurai and intellectuals as parodies of Chinese classics. This satirical element remained after its entry onto the popular commercial scene. Lack of contact with the outside world during this period meant that writers looked inwards for stimulus, and found this in probing the satire of everyday life. By the late 18th century, Shikitei Sanba and his senior in authorship, Santô Kyôden (1761-1816), being among the first commoners of the city of Edo to write in this genre, were able to become 'professional' writers of *gesaku* fiction.

All popular art forms of this period were interrelated, and were performed by members of the same avante garde. Professional *rakugo* storytelling provided *gesaku* fiction with puns and wordplay; the *ukiyo-e* (floating world) print tradition provided illustrations, and the *jôruri* puppet theatre and the *kabuki* male actor theatre, plots and language. *Jôruri* and *kabuki* provided each other with whole plays. It was a mere twist in plot and presentation of the old themes to create a new *kabuki* play out of an old one. To a large extent in all popular art forms, innovation meant putting together new combinations of the old.

Sanba gained entry into the artistic scene through his training under the story-teller, playwright and fiction writer Utei Enba (1743-1822). We know this because the penname he used from the outset shares two Chinese characters with that of his mentor. Yet various sources tell us that Sanba himself was a bad orator, and the discipleship, although not the friendship, seems to have

ended early. However, as will become clear, Sanba's fiction tells of his constant fascination with the spoken word and other aural elements.

The main genres of *gesaku* fiction to which I will be referring are the *kokkeibon* (comic works), *kibyôshi* and *gôkan* (pictorial or narrative forms). *Kokkeibon*, the genre for which Sanba is best known, appeared from around 1802, taking over in format from the recently banned genre of *sharehon*, tales of the pleasure quarters considered too licentious by the authorities. The *kokkeibon* took a style similar to a *kabuki* playscript (although these remained unpublished), the bulk of the text consisting of dialogue, interspersed with stage direction-like descriptive passages written in double lines. The aim was to depict amusing situations in everyday life predominantly through dialogue. *Kokkeibon* used words to illustrate scenes in such detail that visual illustration was often unnecessary. Sanba is noted for capturing the essence of the townspeople's lives through amusing sketches, and has already been brought to the attention of English readers by Robert Leutner, who focusses on the *kokkeibon* of Sanba's later period (Leutner 1985).

Commercial printing

It was through the medium of woodblock printing that commercial publishing flourished during the Edo period. Each page of a volume was carved in reverse and in relief onto a separate block. Although movable type technology was known during this period, the wood block medium was chosen in preference for mass commercial publishing. The woodblock was more suitable than movable type technology for visual design. Text retained a manuscript-like feel, though it could be produced in large quantities. One block could withstand some thousand print-offs, with the advantage that blocks could be stored and brought out for further printing as required. Information could be changed and kept up to date by simply inserting a new piece of wood into the block and re-carving. Thus, commercially printed in large numbers, yet retaining a

manuscript-like quality, these books themselves hold numerous clues to their function and history, many of which have been lost in modern typed editions.

Almost all types of reading matter were available to the public through the woodblock printing medium. This included *jôruri* chanting texts from the puppet theatre, which were written (and printed) in distinctive large, round lettering, and which were used by professional and amateur chanters alike. *Kabuki* play texts were the one exception as they were rarely published, at least not in unabridged form. (Although *eiri-nehon*, a genre of illustrated playscripts, provided the whole script in most cases, they number few in titles, and appeared only in Osaka, not Edo). Full texts of *kabuki* plays remained under the jurisdiction of the actor or theatre, and were largely unwritten and variable. However, other *kabuki*-related literature was timely produced in great quantity for the theatre-going public.

The *gesaku* fiction writer Shikitei Sanba was in fact the son of a woodblock-carver. From an early age he apprenticed at one book publisher's, and later through marriage ties took over the headship of another. It was evidently through his connection with the book publishing trade that Sanba was made aware of the woodblock printing medium's possibilities. Particularly for Sanba, then, *gesaku* authorship and the woodblock printing medium were closely associated. Here I am interested in exploring how he used the advantages of the woodblock print medium in his fiction.

Theatre and publishing

Although complete *kabuki* playscripts were unavailable, there were many theatre-related publications, collectively known now as *gekisho*, literally 'theatre books', which include general theatre guides and *ukiyo-e* actor portrait albums. The years of 1798-1803 saw a wave of theatre books in innovative formats, catering for the contemporary demand for likenesses of popular actors and tales relating to them.

Also of significance here are Sanba's publishing activities during his early career, and the position he held socially as both a publisher and a writer of theatre-books before becoming a full-time writer of *gesaku* fiction. Sanba provided texts for three theatre books of this period – *Yakusha gakuya tsû* (*Connoisseurs of the actors' greenroom*, 1799), *Yakusha sangaikyô* (*Amusements of the actors' third floor*, 1801) and *Shibai kinmôzui* (*Illustrated encyclopaedia of the theatre*, 1803) – all three with actor illustrations by the *ukiyo-e* artist, Utagawa Toyokuni. In the first, Sanba pioneered a new format for actor print books, where actor prints accompanied by *kyôka* (comic poems) and a text are incorporated into one volume. My studies have shown that the latter two theatre books were actually of Sanba's own physical production as head of a publishing house, and that he was most probably supervising the running of another publishing house (where he first apprenticed) which produced a further two theatre books. These were in fact more than likely written by Sanba under a pseudonym.

Sanba was, then, instrumental in the theatre book boom of the turn of the 19th century, having contributed in some way (that is, as writer and/or publisher) to the majority of the theatre-related works published in Edo during this period. Through his intimate knowledge of these two areas he developed ways of rendering elements of performance (speech, sounds, rhythms, etc.) in intricate detail on the page.

Fiction for representation and re-enactment

Regarding the transcription of oral genres worldwide, Ruth Finnegan has provided groundwork in the analysing and recording of every element of performance.

> 'Meaning and artistry emerge in performance: this means attention not just to words but also to how they are delivered: such elements as intonation, speed, rhythm, tone, dramatisation, rhetorical devices, and performance techniques generally'(Finnegan 1992: 93).

These are the exact issues that Sanba has dealt with in his fiction.

In many *gesaku* works the author adopts a mock humble narrating style, a remnant from the time when they were composed as an amusing pastime by and for members of social and intellectual elites. It is often hard to tell in what vein a work was written, and, indeed for what purpose it was written and subsequently read. Scholars such as Honda Yasuo have indicated the close ties of much popular fiction with the oral arts (Honda 1969), but do not comment upon how this might affect or shape the enjoyment process. As Peter Kornicki has stated in *The Book in Japan,* a work including a comprehensive bibliographical study of the woodblock printed book, we do not yet properly understand how books were read in pre-modern Japan (Kornicki 1998: 266). We are hindered perhaps by modern stereotypes of silent reading.

'Performance re-enacted' in fiction, the underlying theme of this study, means considering fiction as a vehicle for the recreation of performance and calls for a review of methods of 'reading'. In particular, *kabuki* popular theatre provided much material for fiction, although full *kabuki* playscripts themselves were not published as a rule. If popular fiction writers kept *Kabuki*, with its lack of a written text, as the common referent, then we can perhaps begin to understand the conventions of how fiction was read. *Gesaku* fiction must then compensate in some way for *kabuki*'s lack of a written text, to provide a performance that you could take home and recreate at your leisure. Also, perhaps the manuscript-like feel of these woodblock printed booklets added to the idea of their being 'working' texts.

Many of the better known works of this period have been put into typed editions, and are now largely known, sometimes exclusively, in that format. I believe this has had substantial bearing on the way the stories are read. Here, my main sources throughout will be the original woodblock printed books. Therefore I shall be combining a bibliographical and theoretical approach.

I shall look at how two great influences on Sanba's fiction: *rakugo* storytelling and the *kabuki* theatre, are represented in his work. Although

Leutner, echoing the views of Honda, has previously discussed some Sanba *kokkeibon*, and stated indisputably that, 'His principal aim […] was [to recreate] the unique atmosphere of a particular subculture through verbal self-portraits of its members'(Leutner 1985: 91), I will, additionally, by referring back to the original woodblock printed books, show that the orthography holds further clues as to the function of *gesaku* fiction for the reader.

2. Performance representation: *Rakugo* storytelling in comic fiction

In one of the first pieces of English scholarship to handle *gesaku* fiction fully, Iwasaki Haruko describes *gesaku* in the following way:

> 'Perhaps the single most important characteristic of this literature is its organic relationship with the activities of the community. Literature merged with the group's diverse activities, which often bore the quality of multi-genre performing arts. Central to these activities were parties on a grand scale.'(Iwasaki 1984: 363)

It was precisely one of these occasions that gave birth to one of the best known works of the late Edo period. *Ukiyoburo* or *Bathhouse of the Floating world*(1809), a *kokkeibon* (comic fiction) by Sanba, is comprised of a series of verbal sketches of visitors to the bathhouse during a single day. The preface tells us of how one evening a *rakugo* event by the storyteller, Sanshôtei Karaku was held at the house of the *ukiyo-e* artist, Toyokuni.

> 'There is surely no one as funny as he;' writes Sanba, 'how hard it is to be even a tenth as effective on paper! Beside me that evening, laughing as hard as I was, sat a publisher. Greedy as ever, he suddenly asked me if I would put something together based on these stories of the public bath.' (Trans. Leutner 1985: 141)

Bathhouse has been previously cited by Leutner as an example of Sanba's particular interest in the recording of the spoken word and its various manners of speech, dialects etc. in order to portray scenes from everyday life in

Edo Japan. For example, in the opening scene, various sounds are introduced from different directions: the cawing of crows, the call of a fermented soybean seller, the crackling of fires burning in houses. Double lines of script provide explanation, and single-line script - the sounds themselves. The sign '*hiku'* (meaning to pull, or extend) written under the word *nattô,* (fermented soybeans), lengthens the sound, and is a device taken from, and usually only found in *jôruri* chanting texts. We can imagine, then, the chant-like call. The next two sets of double lines describe the character, Butashichi, who has entered on the scene. Small script to the right of the main text shows the reading for the Chinese characters, as is usual in all popular fiction, but script to the left of the main text indicates the meaning, or what he was meaning to say, as the main text represents the sounds Butashichi, who has a speech impediment, actually made.

When Butashichi calls the bathhouse manager, *Bantôsan*, he says *Banbantsan*. To represent the sound 'tsa,' not usually rendered in Japanese script, Sanba creates a new sign, a circle next to the usual way of writing 'sa', and gives an explanation of how to pronounce it in the preface. This and another sign created by Sanba to differentiate between a hard and a nasalised 'g' sound are used later on to render the dialect of travellers from the Western provinces. A detailed analysis exists on this by Tanahashi (Tanahashi 1999).

On the first page of *Bathhouse* alone there are several methods of representing oral elements distinctive to Sanba's writing. Those mentioned above have been rendered, though doubtless not without difficulty, in modern movable type. My analysis of this text refers directly to the woodblock printed edition. Immediately we see different size and length lettering (Fig. 1). Reading downwards from the right, the overlapping sideways 'V' shaped signs are ditto marks for the repeated cawing of crows, yet in type these have each been transcribed individually and occupy several times more space. The penultimate

line has Butashichi call out to the bathhouse manager in yet another variation on his name, '*Bantan'*. Before this are four stuttered '*ko*' sounds in small script,

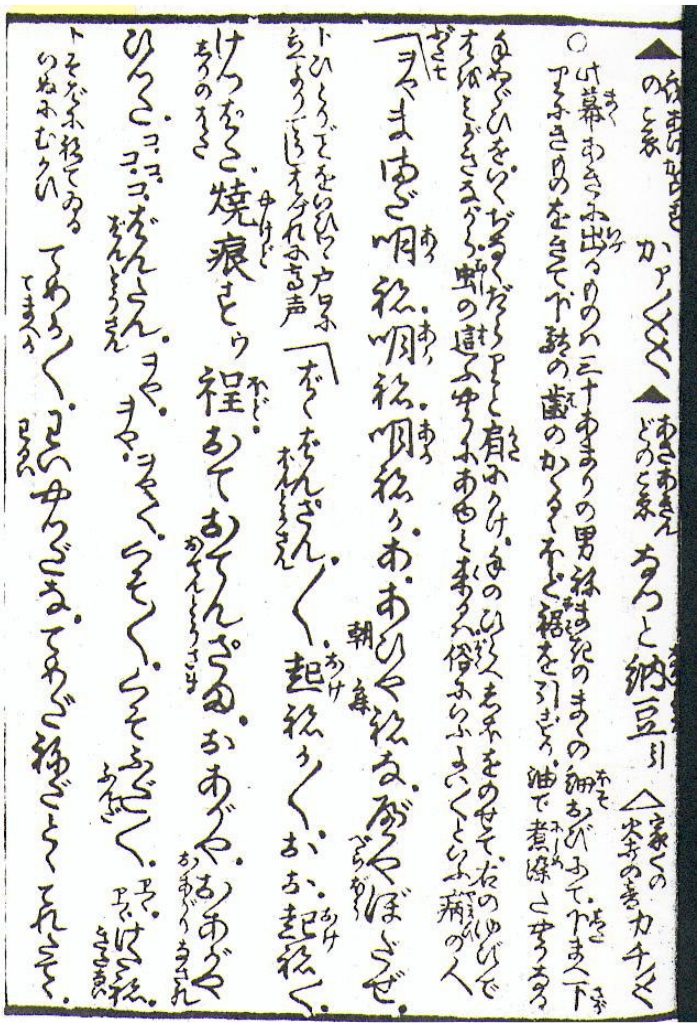


Fig. 1 *Eiin fukusei: Shohanbon odokebanashi ukiyoburo* (Funny stories: Bathhouse of the floating world; Facsimile of first edition). Tokyo: Shintensha, 1978

squeezed into a space half that of *'Bantan'*. This would suggest that the stutter is intended to be softer and quicker than the following call to the bathhouse manager, though in type the stutter actually takes up twice the room (due to the transcribing of the intermittent commas). Physical space would appear to represent speed and timing, whereas such clues have been lost or distorted in the uniform modern typed version.

It is unclear how much of this work is an elaborate transcription of the story told on that evening, or a representation of an imagined performance. We can, however, suppose that Karaku made attempts to voice various sounds whilst telling his 'Bathhouse' story in an amusing way, and that Sanba's *Bathhouse* records at least some of them. Another type of fiction, the *hanashibon*, consisted of written texts of *hanashi*, (oral stories), tales of the bathhouse among them, but as a genre it lacked the devices seen here, being composed of large lines of text only: the bare script of the story. Any amateur attempting to reproduce the stories orally of a *hanashibon* would need substantial imagination and ability of his or her own.

Hanashibon were regularly produced as a result of storytelling meetings which we know Sanba and his contemporaries attended as audiences to the professional storytellers. It is noteworthy that, among his contemporaries, Sanba alone wrote no *hanashibon*. In a *hanashibon* called *Edo kishô (Jolly laughs of Edo),* of 1806, overseen and prefaced by Sanba but actually written by his pupils, Sanba remarks in his preface that although he had always enjoyed listening to *rakugo*, he had not felt inclined to write stories himself. He evidently preferred the greater potential for representing performance offered by the *kokkeibon* genre, combined with the possibility for orthographic design in the woodblock.

Timing makes or breaks an oral performance. Through Sanba's appreciation of (if not personal expertise at) storytelling, we may assume that a faithful reading of all the clues provided in the woodblock text of the *kokkeibon* will produce a successful performance.

3. Performance representation: *Kabuki* theatre in comic fiction

Authorship and publishing of several theatre books stood Sanba in good stead for incorporating theatrical elements into the later *kokkeibon* genre. *Kejô suigen maku no soto* (*Theatre style outside the curtain,* 1806) is another *kokkeibon* similar in format to *The Bathhouse,* also made up of conversation written in

large script, and intermittent narrative and descriptive passages in double lines. It centres on the amusing conversation and activities of members of the audience during a day at the *kabuki* theatre. It doubles as a theatre guide by explaining theatre conventions to characters visiting from the provinces, while senior members of the audience tell tales of the good old days.

It takes on the form of a performance taking place in the auditorium, borrowing theatre sounds and rhythms from the (background) stage performance to fit its own sequence of events. For example, in the middle of a dialogue we see and hear the clacks of wooden clappers which usually sound during a performance at opportune moments. Although it is unclear what the play on stage actually is, we can rely on Sanba, the theatre connoisseur, to have considered the conventions and crucial timing accurately. He even uses the announcements section (*kôjô*) of the play on stage to advertise goods for sale at the shop of his senior, Kyôden, mimicking the conventional language and style of stage announcements.

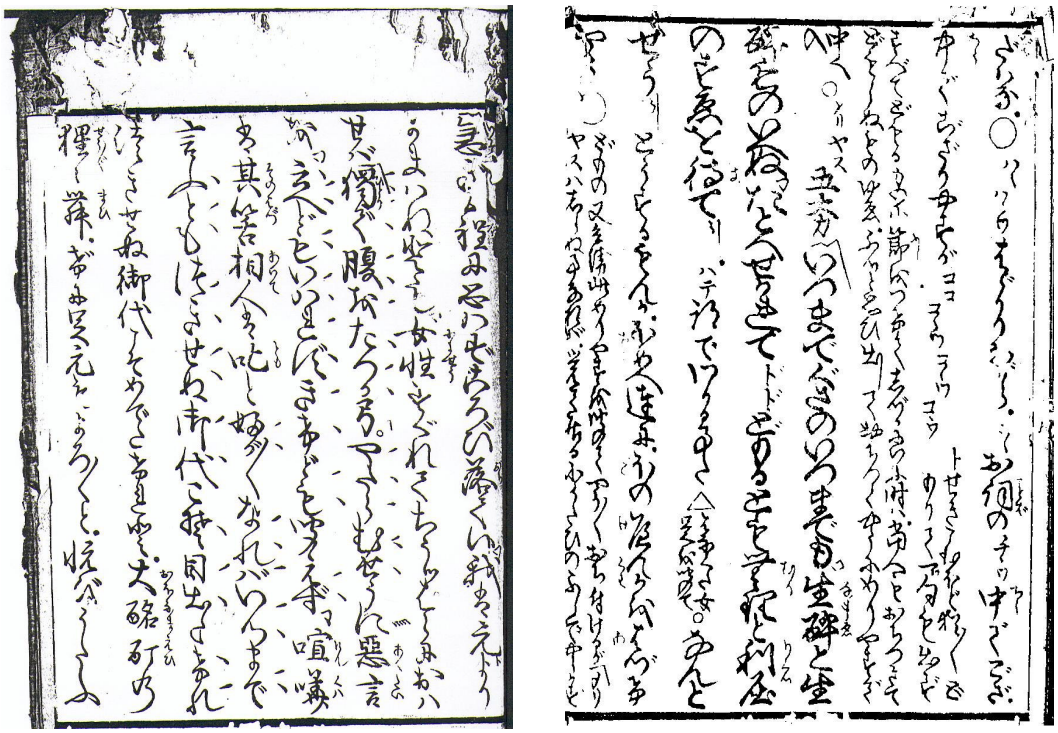
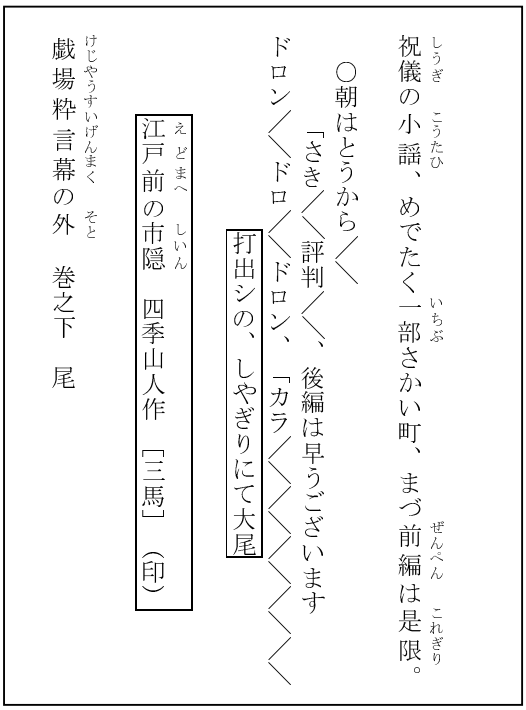


Fig. 2 *Kejô suigen maku no soto* (courtesy of the National Diet Library)

Fig. 3 *Kejô suigen maku no soto* (courtesy of the National Diet Library)

The diversity in representing verbal text made possible by the woodblock is exemplified well in the last three pages of *Theatre style*. The larger rounded script in the centre of the first page (Fig. 3) resembles the type of script found throughout *jôruri* chant books and is an excerpt from a play, here delivered by a member of the audience, with additional stuttering indicated). The script on the next page (Fig. 2) borrows the distinctive comma-like marks of a song book, which suggest a melody by their angle, length and position. The intermittent scripts are the usual single lines indicating dialogue, and double lines for explanation or narrative. Thus, four types of script feature on just two pages, each providing different connotations and clues to their intended way of reading.



祝儀の小謡、めでたく一部さかい町、まづ前編は是限。

○朝はとうから〳〵

「さき〳〵〳〵評判〳〵〳〵、後編は早うございます

ドロン〳〵〳〵ドロ〳〵〳〵ドロン、「カラ〳〵〳〵〳〵〳〵〳〵〳〵

打出シの、しやぎりにて大尾

江戸前の市隠　四季山人作　［三馬］（印）

戯場粋言幕の外　巻之下　尾

Fig. 4 The text from Fig.5 in modern type

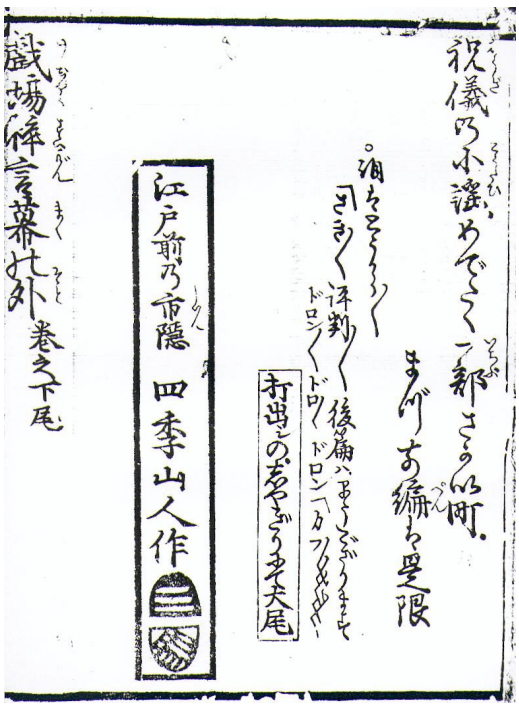


Fig. 5 *Kejô suigen maku no soto*
(courtesy of the National Diet Library)

The adoption of theatre convention is carried out to every last detail. At the very end of the text (Fig. 5), where at the close of the day at the theatre it would be announced, 'Today's programme is over', here it says, 'The first volume is over.' Where at the theatre it would be announced, 'More to come, early start tomorrow,' here 'early' has been exchanged for 'sequel' and the meaning becomes 'Sequel out soon'. The script that follows represents the onomatopoeic sounds of the *shagiri* – the characteristic slow drum beats, and then the fast tapping on the side of the drum signaling the end of a curtain at the theatre. The drum beat pattern represented is slow ('*doron doron dorodoro doron'* – the curved lines being ditto marks), followed by fast smaller drum taps (*karakarakara* – to be repeated five times). Speed is carefully represented here by the long ditto marks for slow, low drum beats, and the overlapping squashed-together ditto marks for the fast drum taps. However, if you look at a typical modern-typed version of the same passage (the most recent published edition can be found in Jinbo 1989) where all the ditto marks have been printed the same size, the speed patterning has been lost (Fig. 4). This illustrates well the advantages of the wood block print medium over movable type for representing non-verbal elements of performance.

Timing in general is an integral part of any performance, yet has remained largely in the realm of the unwritten performance text, thus fluid and difficult to ascertain in modern times. James Brandon, in his Appendix on *kabuki* sound effects (Brandon 1975: 351-356), has explained these sounds from modern *kabuki* performance examples by using a series of dots (size and distance apart indicating loudness and frequency respectively). Sanba represents them equally well with his animated markers dispersed within lines of text. Presumably Sanba had in mind a specific or typical performance when transcribing these aural elements. Thus they can be seen to tell us about the nature of a *kabuki* performance at the turn of the 19th century.

The value of Sanba's comic fiction in this respect will become apparent if we compare the closing lines of *Theatre style* with those of *Ehon iroha kana*

chûshingura (Illustrated, easy to read 'Treasury of loyal retainers'), of 1813, an example of an *eiri-nehon*, or illustrated playscript (one of the few to be published – in Osaka), of a variation on the theme of the popular 18th century vendetta story '47 masterless samurai'. (Incidentally, as with the aforementioned *hanashibon*, script of storytellers' stories, this illustrated *kabuki* playscript too was prefaced, but not written, by Sanba). All be it closely theatre-related material, the *Treasury of loyal retainers* text ends simply with the words *'Uchidashi maku,'* 'final curtain' – none of the set phrases and drum rhythms which accompany the process during actual performance and which are meticulously set down in *Theatre style* are present. I conclude from this that the *kokkeibon*, comic fiction, attempts to represent more of the whole performance, recreates more of the atmosphere of actual performance for the reader, than the playscript.

Kibyôshi (literally 'yellowcovers'), an earlier genre of *gesaku* fiction, evolved during the mid 18th century from short picture books scattered with short lines of speech and author's comments around the illustrated characters. It was during the previous century that speech began to be written in the vernacular, and the 18th century saw the introduction of speech marks for quoted speech. *Kibyôshi* generally had a pungent satirical element, which was gradually rooted out by the samurai authorities. One such work was the *kibyôshi Kyan taiheiki mukô hachimaki* (*Spirited chronicle of the great peace in headbands*, 1799) by Sanba, a parody on the medieval epic *Taiheiki*, (*Chronicle of the Great Peace)*. Incidentally, it referred to a topical incident involving fire-fighters, and landed Sanba and his publisher in manacles for fifty days.

It has already been noted by Akama Ryo that this work is an early example of the use of *Kabuki* play conventions as a resource (Akama 1997: 219). Play-style scene divisioning and illustrations showing characters with play-like props, lulls the reader into imagining he or she is watching a stage.

However, as we turn to the final page and the narrative comes to a close, we are greeted by Sanba himself, pictured sitting on a dais, who, as indicated

Fig. 6 *Kyan taiheiki mukô hachimaki* (courtesy of the National Diet Library)

by a quotation mark, speaks, switching to the deferential language of a storyteller addressing his audience, as if he has just been telling the story (Fig. 6). He says, 'I am not good at telling stories, and I regret you will not have found this one interesting…' The volume ends with the onomatopoeic expression '*ehen ehen*' of Sanba clearing his throat in order to resume his story. Now we might look back upon the story as if it had been related orally,

mimicking and parodying scenes from a *kabuki* play (a feat often done by story-tellers). But Sanba, ironically, never performed. The act of being a *gesaku* fiction writer was in itself a type of performance.

In *Kyan taiheiki mukô hachimaki* he borrows any element of 'performance', be it *Kabuki* or storytelling, the important thing being that it evoked in the reader's mind the convention of some kind of performance; the multi-framing technique adding extra intensity to this performative consciousness. And as a fiction writer (as opposed to a writer of *hanashibon* story scripts), Sanba produced a more accurate representation of a performance, even be it an imagined one.

4. Performance representation in the pictorial and narrative genres of *kibyôshi* and *gôkan*

It is significant that there are no illustrations within the main text of the *kokkeibon* (comic fiction), *Bathhouse* and *Theatre style*. Description relies on the intensity of Sanba's language combined with the variety of script and signs made possible by the woodblock medium.

The main pictorial genre of *gesaku* fiction at the turn of the 19th century was the *kibyôshi* (for example, the previously mentioned *Kyan taiheiki mukô hachimaki*). Development of the *kibyôshi* format saw the author's comments gradually become longer and narrative-like, and satire give way to the vendetta theme. The change to the *gôkan* format (literally 'combined volume' and initially comprising of three *kibyôshi* bound into one), came about through the separation of a main narrative text from the speech and comments *(kaki-ire)* within the illustration of the *kibyôshi*. Comments accompanying illustrations then took on a secondary role of adding humour or remarks not directly related to the narrative text. The first *gôkan* is arguably Sanba's *Ikazuchi tarô gôaku monogatari (Tale of the villainous Ikazuchi Taro)* and appeared in 1806.

Naoki Sakai has termed the relationship between the verbal and pictorial texts in Japanese fiction from the 18th century (referring presumably to the

kibyôshi and *gôkan*) , Gestalt type, as it is impossible to extract the meaning of the whole text from either the pictorial or verbal text alone (Sakai 1991: 173). As Sanba's senior, Kyôden wrote that just looking at the pictures in a *gôkan* is like watching a play in the deaf gallery (quoted in Sato 2001: 65). The interaction of a verbal and visual text meant that two events happening in one place could be described at the same time. So that in a *gôkan,* a secondary story that could not be told fully in the main written text could be expressed through illustration, thus transmitting an ulterior meaning to the reader, similar to the contrast of audio and visual elements on stage.

In Sanba's *gôkan*, however, as Sato Yukiko has observed, from an early date the narrative text sometimes replaced the speech and comment illustrations completely, or more often constituted the larger part of the page (Sato 2001: 103). The result was that illustration became a less dependent, or separate part of Sanba's *gôkan,* as in his *kokkeibon*. He also introduced the renderings of sounds found in the dialogue of *kokkeibon* to the predominantly narrative genre of *gôkan*. Although illustration became separated from the narrative text in Sanba's *gôkan*, it was able to create a 'visually noisy' scene by itself. Double-page illustrations containing speech-only insertions are, Sato states, a distinguishing feature of Sanba's *gôkan* (Sato 2001: 40), and represent the intensity of a busy stage scene, as in *Mukashi gatari gama ga fuchi (Old tale of the deep cauldron)* of 1811 (Fig. 7).

Particularly from around 1808, *gôkan* in general began to rely heavily on *kabuki* plays for plot material. Even the narrative sections began to include large amounts of dialogue. These were accompanied by illustrations containing likenesses of contemporary actors. Thus the *gôkan* page resembled a captured *kabuki* scene, while the narrative described the movement therein.

How then did *gôkan* differ from a playscript? Ryûtei Tanehiko, a prolific writer of *gôkan* working during Sanba's later career, raises this issue in a letter to his pupil of 1829. In the letter he admits to writing *gôkan* dialogue in the 5-7-5 syllable meter of *jôruri* chanting texts in a *gôkan* series he began in 1814

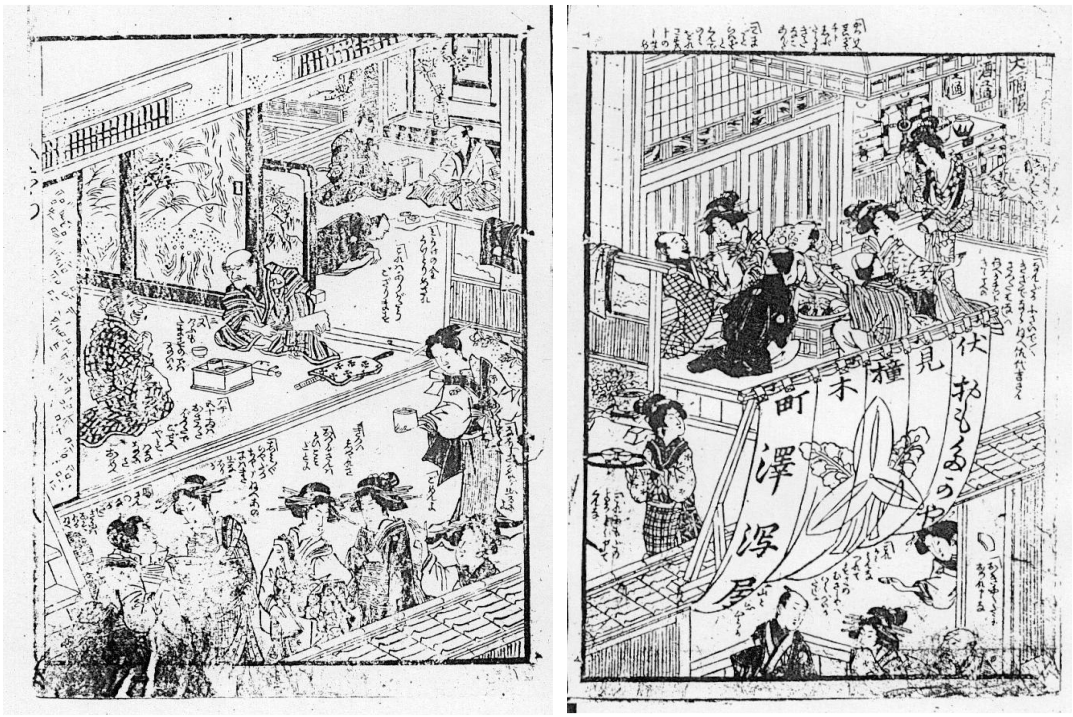


Fig. 7 *Mukashi gatari gama ga fuchi* (courtesy of Tohoku University)

> […]while outwardly it appeared that I was merely writing actors' lines. You might think it best to proceed as if writing a real play, and to have the characters of the story speak like real actors in a performance, but I assure you, this will not succeed[…].This principle is my great secret. (Trans. Markus 1992: 77).

Unlike *kabuki* playscripts, *jôruri* puppet theatre chanting texts were widely available for amateur chanters. However, it would seem that Sanba knew of Tanehiko's great secret, as he himself wrote *gôkan* dialogue in the 5-7-5 meter as early as 1808, acknowledging in prefaces of having written in '*jôruri* style', although the works contain no particular links otherwise to any *jôruri* puppet play.

It would appear, then, that the key to writing a successful *gôkan* was not to emulate the short exchanges of *kabuki* play speech, but to follow the 5-7-5

meter of a *jôruri* chanting text. Thus, although unlike a real *kabuki* performance text in one sense, since the learning of *jôruri* chanting was a common hobby in Edo, the 5-7-5 meter could well have made the *gôkan* easier for the amateur to 'perform' by himself or herself.

5. Conclusion

I focused on the popular fiction genres of *kokkeibon* and *gôkan* by Sanba, and through examples of original edition wood block printed texts, I showed the extent to which Sanba was interested in representing performance in fictional genres. The son of a woodblock carver and a publisher himself, Sanba was aware of the medium's possibilities. In his *kokkeibon* we have seen speed, movement and loudness implied in the woodblock, which are subsequently lost in movable type. Through the *gôkan* genre he attempted to convey the intensity of performance on the page, as well as introduce whole pages of verbal text, independent of illustration, and employed sound-representing devices as found in his *kokkeibon*. I also indicated that many of Sanba's sound-representing devices are not found in more directly performance-related literature such as *hanashibon* (scripts of storytellers' stories) in the case of *rakugo*, and *eiri nehon* (illustrated playscripts) in the case of *kabuki*, suggesting his renditions are more accurate records of actual performance techniques, within the constraints of a specific genre of fiction.

In *Theatre style* Sanba fits his story of theatregoer sketches into *kabuki* play format. This makes it a straightforward example for the contemporary reader to have 'performed', and for us to analyse, as a kind of *kabuki* performance. This will form a further study where I shall examine fiction in relation to the rules of composition found in contemporary treatises on playwriting. This will form a basis for analysing other works where performance cues are less obvious.

All the genres I have mentioned are to some extent representations of performance and, as such, vehicles for potential performance reproduction.

However, *hanashibon*, scripts of storyteller's stories, and *eiri nehon*, illustrated playbooks, both timely publications, neither of which Sanba wrote, were more of a memorabilia from a performance. Sanba, meanwhile, wrote for a wider audience, for those perhaps who were for various reasons unable to attend live performance yet wanted to experience it as best they could. I conclude that Sanba sought to convey the whole of a (imaginary) performance on the page as a comprehensive set of cues for oral interpretation and re-enactment by the reader. This method of reading was furthermore encouraged by, and intrinsic to, the dynamic symbols littering the woodblock printed page.

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