荒木 浩 ―― [編]

古典の未来学

Projecting Classicism

古典研究にとって
いまは
決定的なピンチか
千載一遇のチャンスか

古典はいかにして
〈未来学〉を
志向しうるのか

新しい古典学を提示する

文学通信

編著者

荒木 浩（あらき・ひろし）

1959 年生まれ。国際日本文化研究センター教授・総合研究大学院大学教授。専門は日本古典文学。京都大学大学院博士後期課程中退。博士（文学、京都大学）。大阪大学大学院教授を経て、2010 年 4 月より現職。国文学研究資料館併任助教授、コロンビア大学客員研究員、ネルー大学、チューリヒ大学、ベトナム国家大学、チュラーロンコーン大学、ソフィア大学の客員教授などを歴任。
著書に、『徒然草への途』（勉誠出版、2016 年）、『かくして「源氏物語」が誕生する』（笠間書院、2014 年）、『説話集の構想と意匠』（勉誠出版、2012 年）、編著に、『夢と表象』（勉誠出版、2017 年）、『夢見る日本文化のパラダイム』（法藏館、2015 年）、『中世の随筆』（竹林舎、2014 年）など。京都新聞に「文遊回廊」を連載（2017 年〜）。

古典の未来学
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2020（令和 2）年 10 月 30 日　第 1 版第 1 刷発行

ISBN978-4-909658-39-5　C0095　

発行所　株式会社 **文学通信**
〒 170-0002　東京都豊島区巣鴨 1-35-6-201
電話 03-5939-9027　Fax 03-5939-9094
メール info@bungaku-report.com ウェブ https://bungaku-report.com

発行人　岡田圭介
印刷・製本　モリモト印刷

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Projecting Classicism in Classical Kabuki Theatre
—— A Gender Perspective

Galia Petkova ガリア・ペトコヴァ

Classical Japanese literature (*koten bungaku* 古典文学), in its broader definition, comprises the works from ancient times, recorded in the eight century, up to the Meiji Restoration of 1868.[1] In a more narrow sense, it refers to literature of the Heian period (794–1192), the golden era of imperial court culture in Kyoto. Heian literature was produced and consumed by both male and female aristocrats but it was the latter whose works are considered the representative and who contributed greatly to the development of native literature, which became Japan's classical tradition. A decisive factor was language. Within the Heian court environment various cultural and social elements were classified into "masculine" and "feminine": the term "masculine" signified areas of public concerns, and "feminine" denoted private affairs. Consequently, men wrote in Chinese, the imported official language, and women wrote in vernacular, employing a phonetic script called *kana*. Two respective terms were born: *otoko-de* 男手 (man's hand), meaning calligraphy referred to Chinese script, while *onna-de* 女手 (woman's hand) was used to define the Japanese script and cursive writing.[2] This gender difference in the field of writing was by no means an exclusive one — men occasionally wrote Japanese and some women Chinese.[3] By all means, however, women writers played an exceptionally significant role in the establishment of Japan's classical tradition of poetry and prose during the Heian period that has had a lasting influence on Japanese culture over the centuries, to the present day.

Of the genres of Japanese classical literature, in its broader meaning — theatre, which developed later than poetry and prose, in the medieval and premodern periods (fourteenth–nineteenth century), has been predominantly a male realm, with women excluded for the most part.[4] Although female performers contributed greatly to the birth and evolvement of noh and kabuki, they were removed physically from the stage once the two genres became institutionalised by the ruling samurai class, especially in the premodern Edo period (1603–1868). From the outset, the plays were produced by educated men and consumed by both men and women, albeit to a different extent, with noh audience consisting mostly of elite warriors, while kabuki, as the main form of Edo-period popular culture, enjoyed patrons of all walks of life, and an increasing share of female spectators. How did this influence the kabuki productions and the gender representation on the stage? This paper overviews a distinctive category of kabuki plays: the so-called *kakikae onna kyôgen* 書替女狂言 (rewritten female plays), in which

a popular male character is recast as a woman. The purpose is to explore this specific projection of classical imagery from a gender perspective and within the broader context of Edo-period kabuki and Japanese performing art culture in general.

To begin with, pertinent here is a brief explanation of *sekai* and *shukô*, the two major concepts of the theory of composition developed by kabuki playwrights in the late eighteenth century and widely applied in various genres of premodern culture: popular fiction, art, etc. *Sekai* means "world" and presents the context of some familiar narrative. *Shukô* denotes "plan, idea, contrivance, design, scheme," applied to the plot construction in kabuki it means "innovation" or "twist."[5] Therefore, if *sekai* is the vertical aspect of recognisable worlds of subject matter, in other words — the classics, *shukô* is the horizontal aspect of playwriting, the playful projections of the classical imagery. The creation of female versions of the great male roles was one of these *shukô*. The focus on the unusual female characters in these kabuki productions was marked and advertised in their titles — the opening word was *onna* (woman), followed by the name of the male hero, e.g. Onna Narukami (Female Narukami).[6] Thus, the title immediately provoked spectators' attention and curiosity to see the possibility that is being offered for a new, female gender-based interpretation of a well-known symbol of masculinity, i.e. a novel projection of familiar classical image. These *onna*-plays were staged from the 1690s to the early twentieth century; the peak of their popularity was in the nineteenth century. They gradually disappeared towards the end of the Meiji era along with the changes and modernisation of Japanese society. Today only a few have remained or, rather, have been "revived" in the repertory. Of them, *Onna Shibaraku* is the most regularly performed and has become a classic on its own.

Existing Research and Overview

These plays have been generally overlooked and therefore not yet sufficiently examined. Additionally, there is no sufficient information in primary sources regarding the plots, which further impedes their investigation. Solely two female scholars have taken interest in the topic, in the 1990s. The pioneer is Terajima Natsuko whose "Kakikae Onna Kyôgen: A Survey of Mock-Feminisation in Kabuki Plays" was published in two parts in 1992 and 1993 and refers, respectively, to two time periods: from the Genroku to the Kyôhô era (1688–1735), and from the Genbun to the end of the Kyôwa era (1736–1803).[7] The author explores in chronological order productions whose title begins with the character onna and categorises those as follows: 1) *chûkaku-gun* 中核群 (core or central group), in which a male character is clearly rewritten as a female; 2) *shûhen-gun* 周辺群 (peripheral group) that includes productions which cannot be added

to the first category although the opening word of the title is onna; 3) *ikô-gun* 移行群 (transitional group) that consists of plays, which are on the border between the first two and are typified by a twist in the plot that allows *onnagata* (the female-role specialists) to be the focus of the performance; 4) *fumei* 不明 (unidentified group), productions whose plot remains unclear.

Terajima identifies 38 plays during the first period (1688–1735) — 1 *kakikae onna kyôgen*, 17 transitional, 13 peripheral and 7 unidentifiable, versus 18 productions during the second period (1736–1803) — 10 *kakikae onna kyôgen*, 7 transitional, 0 peripheral and 1 unidentified. The only one *kakikae onna kyôgen* during the initial period is *Onna Narukami*, the female version of the already well-known male character of the wicked priest Narukami featured in *setsuwa* and noh theatre.[8] Narukami's image was also actively used on the early kabuki stage by the first prominent Edo actors Ichikawa Danjûrô I (1660–1704) and his son Ichikawa Danjûrô II (1688–1758) for establishing the overtly masculine, bravura style of acting called *aragoto*. Namely, *Onna Narukami* was a *shukô* of one of the most popular *sekai* in the classical literary discourse and early kabuki. The second female scholar, Satô Chino, explores in detail this first fully-rewritten female version of a male character in her article "Kakikae Onna Kyôgen: on Onna Narukami in Jôruri and Kabuki," published in 1999.[9]

Terajima's conclusion is that the plays which she terms as "unidentified" are mostly from the beginning of the Genroku era (1690s), since there are very few primary sources from that period. She underlines that until the 1730s the transitional plays were the most numerous. They were performed regularly from 1696 to 1735, for prominent *onnagata* to play a more leading role. My observation is that most of these transitional plays featured a female character related to a famous male hero of samurai epics — his wife or sister, or mother. These female relatives were either intentionally conceived or given a more prominent part than the one they had in the traditional narratives. Unlike the relatively limited repertory of present-day kabuki, during the early Edo period mostly original plays were staged, based on samurai epics or contemporary events. Terajima points out that the genesis of a *kakikae kyôgen* requires a primary source, that is, a dramatic work sufficiently familiar to the audience, and established *kata* (acting patterns). Therefore, only one *kakikae onna kyôgen* was created — *Onna Narukami*. The reason was not so much because this type of dramas was still not popular but since the narratives that could function as sources were not yet fixed, or as Terajima puts it, "there were no classics" (Terajima 1992: 62).

She argues that until the 1730s these dramas were produced with the only purpose to attract spectators' attention to the specific acting abilities of certain female impersonators and this was the reason for the lack of works with high literary value.

Furthermore, Terajima contends that from the 1730s onwards, not only "the classics" were established but professional playwrights emerged and created dramas of high quality. The actors too polished their acting skills. All these mutually beneficial factors contributed to the further development of *kakikae onna kyôgen*. From the 1740s to 1800 these productions became part of the repertory because the plays that served as sources had already been perceived as "classics" (Terajima 1993: 26). In addition, the increasing share of female spectators should also be taken into consideration when discussing the rising popularity of these plays.

The first boom of *kakikae onna kyôgen* took place in the 1740s–1750s. These productions were grounded on established narratives like the revenge theme of the epic *Soga Monogatari* (The Tale of the Soga Brothers) (early fourteenth century) or popular current stories such as *Natsu matsuri Naniwa kagami* (The Summer Festival: A Mirror of Osaka). The latter was originally written for the puppet theatre (*ningyô jôruri*) by Namiki Senryû, Miyoshi Shôraku and Takeda Izumo II, and staged in the 7th lunar month of 1745 in Osaka.[10] Due to its tremendous success it was immediately adapted for kabuki and produced in Kyoto (08/1745), Osaka (12/1745), and Edo (05/1747).[11] Hence, both narratives, the traditional and the contemporary, were already well familiar to the spectators. The mid-eighteenth century saw a golden age of *ningyô jôruri* production, which was based mostly on samurai epics and which greatly influenced kabuki that borrowed extensively from it, thus introducing its more traditional notions and ideals of masculinity and femininity in the gender discourse. Terajima contends that kabuki playwrights wanted to create their own works, based on the puppet plays; however, the simple rewriting of a male character as a woman did not produce good drama. She asserts that a successful *kakikae onna kyôgen* was possible only if the original source was skilfully adapted. For this reason, the truly novel *kakikae onna kyôgen* only appeared during the following period, in the nineteenth century, with the works of the great playwrights Tsuruya Nanboku IV (1755–1829) and Kawatake Mokuami (1816–1893).

But Terajima underlines that even during the second half of the eighteenth century the dramatists Namiki Shôzô I (1730–1773) and Sakurada Jisuke I (1734–1806) began to employ the *shukô* of rewriting popular male heroes as women. The former wrote *Onna Kurofune* in 1753, the latter authored a version of *Onna Danshichi* in 1791. Danshichi, the lead male character in *Natsu matsuri Naniwa kagami*, and Kurofune are representative of the *otokodate* (chivalrous commoner) role type, which is briefly discussed further. Plays like *Onna Kurofune* and *Onna Danshichi* presented female versions of these most favourite *otokodate* roles and were big hit, also published as *hanpon* (printed books), thus gaining more popularity. Accordingly, these novel interpretations of popular male images conceived on the stage began to circulate and be projected in

various ways in popular fiction and visual art. The imagery of the female versions of classical male characters was becoming part of Edo culture and turning into a classic of its own, a classic now forgotten. Terajima observes in her survey that many plays based on the worlds of *Onna hinin kataki-uchi* (grounded on the revenge theme of the Soga brothers) and *Onna Danshichi* were frequently performed in a relatively short span — from the 1740s to the 1770s. She argues that with every new production of these plays the plots were moving closer to the complete rewriting of the male characters as women. In summary, from the 1740s to 1800 the foundations of the *kakikae onna kyôgen* were laid. As Terajima puts it, actors, playwrights and audiences "prepared themselves for the coming of the 'Golden Age of *kakikae onna kyôgen*'" — in the nineteenth century, when numerous, more complex rewritten female versions were produced. She promises to explore this stage in her next article, which, however, is yet to be published (Terajima 1993: 25-26).

Some Representative *Kakikae Onna Kyôgen*

Next, some of the most representative *kakikae onna kyôgen* are briefly discussed, focusing on the development of this subgenre and outlining the changes in gender representation of ideal masculinity that were taking place on the stage in the course of the Edo period. As previously stated, the first female counterpart of a great male role was *Onna Narukami* 女鳴神 (Female Narukami), produced as early as 11/1696 (Nakamura-za theatre, Edo).[12] In all *Onna Narukami* versions, the priest Narukami is recast as a nun (Narukami-ni) seduced by a male character (Kumo no Taemanosuke in the present version).[13] The plot is a variation of the popular story about the wicked priest Narukami who imprisons the dragon god of rain and causes a deadly drought. He is seduced and inebriated by the beautiful Kumo no Taema hime (Princess Kumo no Taema or "Break in the Clouds") who releases the dragon god and ends the disaster. Not many prints exist portraying the Female Narukami. **Figures 1 and 2** depict the seduction scene in the original male play and its female counterpart.

The erotic narrative of Narukami was ancient and well familiar to the audience. Hence, the main reason for *Onna Narukami* to be created so early was the fact that the original story was already a classic. It originated in India, was translated into Chinese around the fourth century, and introduced in the Japanese *Konjaku monogatari* (Collection of Tales from the Past) (twelfth century) and *Taiheiki* (Chronicle of Great Peace) (late fourteenth century). There is also a noh play based on this story, *Ikkaku sennin* (The One-horned Hermit), written in the fifteenth century by Konparu Zenchiku (1405–1470) (Brandon 1975: 95-97). The first kabuki drama about Narukami was

staged in 03/1684 (Nakamura-za), under the title *Kadomatsu Shitennô* 門松四天王 (The New Year's Pine and the Four Heavenly Kings). Allegedly, the author was Danjûrô I who played the main male lead. It is believed that 12 years later it was again Danjûrô who wrote the script of *Onna Narukami*, for his renowned stage partner, the female impersonator Ogino Sawanojô I (1656–1704). The play was a great success (Takano & Kuroki 1925: 152). It marked the beginning of the practice of famous male roles being recast as women for celebrated onnagata. However, it remained the only representative of *kakikae onna kyôgen* until the 1740s.

Nonetheless, *Onna Narukami* should be viewed within the context of other similar productions whose title emphasised the female-gender representation, such as *Shitennô yome kagami* 四天王嫁鏡 (The Four Deva Kings: A Bride's Mirror), called *Onna Shitennô* (Female Four Deva Kings), for example.[14] It was staged in exactly the same year and month — 11/1696, at the rivalling Morita-za. The program of the eleventh month was called *kaomise* (face showing); it was the most important performance, the opening of the theatre season, which showcased all actors of the troupe, hired with an annual contract. Also, a drama with the title *Onna ima Kagekiyo* 女今景清 (Now a

Figure 1: The actors Ichikawa Danjûrô IV (1711–1778) (right) and Segawa Kikujirô I (1715–1756) (left) playing the roles of the priest Narukami and Princess Taema in the drama *Narukami shônin Kitayama zakura* (Saint Narukami and the Cherries of Kitayama) (01/1755, Nakamura-za, Edo). Depicted is the beginning of the seduction scene. Print made by Torii Kiyohiro (1708–1776). (Illustration: The Museum Applied Arts, Vienna, Austria)

Figure 2: The actors Bandô Shûka I (1813–1855) as Onna Narukami and Bandô Takesaburô I (1832–1877) as Taemanosuke in the drama *Kumo no uwaki: Onna Narukami* (Clouds of Adultery: Onna Narukami) (06/1854, Kawarazaki-za, Edo). The seduction scene is depicted. Print by Utagawa Kunisada (Toyokuni III, 1786–1865). (Illustration: Waseda University, Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum)

Female Kagekiyo) was performed in the *kaomise* of the previous year, 1695, at the other rivalling theatre, Yamamura-za (ARC database). In the female version of the general Taira Kagekiyo, it is not him but his wife Akoya who attempts to kill the shogun Minamoto Yoritomo.[15] This trend to stage productions whose titles began with or contained the word *onna*, often followed by the name of a well-known male character, continued. *Kabuki nenpyô* (Chronology of Kabuki) lists 76 such play titles from 1699 to 1741, when the second *kakikae onna kyôgen* was produced, versus 32 titles beginning with or containing the word *otoko* (man) (ARC database). During the same period the art of female impersonation was perfected on the stage and the titles of all these productions drew spectators' attention to the women's characters embodied by the all-male cast.

In Terajima's survey, *Onna hinin kataki-uchi* 女非人敵討 (The Revenge of the Outcast Woman) is the second *kakikae onna kyôgen*, conceived 45 years after *Onna Narukami* (1696) — in 1741, in the three cities: Kyoto (second month), Osaka (fifth month), Edo (eight month). *Onna hinin kataki-uchi* was grounded on the story of the two Soga brothers who killed the assassin of their father and lost their own lives. It is one of the most famous vendettas in samurai discourse, featured in the epic *Soga Monogatari* and noh plays during the medieval times. Kabuki produced countless dramas with their *sekai*. All Edo theatres established the custom to stage a *soga mono* (soga plays) as the New Year program.[16] Therefore, it is not surprising that the first rewritten female play after Narukami was an "onna soga mono," as Terajima defines it and categorises it as transitional, since initially only a *shukô* was employed — one of the avengers was a woman: an older or a younger sister. The full rewriting of the Soga brothers as two sisters happened soon after but firstly in popular fiction — in the ukiyo-zôshi *Onna hinin tsuzure no nishiki* 女非人綴錦 (The Outcast Woman in Rags), published by Hachimonji Jishô in 1743 (Terajima 1993: 18).[17] This happened right after the *shukô* was introduced to the stage and perhaps as a result of its success, and shows that the phenomenon of conceiving female versions of classical male characters was becoming part of Edo-period popular culture.

Chronologically, the third rewriting of a popular male character as a woman was *Onna Shibaraku* 女暫 (Female "Just a Minute!"), produced for the first time in the *kaomise* program *Tenchi Taiheiki* 天地太平記 (Chronicle of Great Peace on Heaven and Earth) (Nakamura-za) in 1746 — some fifty years later than the original male scene *Shibaraku*, premiered in 01/1697 (Nakamura-za), within the New Year drama *Daifukuchô sankai Nagoya* 大福帳参会名古屋 (Nagoya Enters the Ledgerbooks). The Shibaraku hero is the most recognisable kabuki character.[18] In the current version of *Onna Shibaraku*, created in November 1901, the scenes, the characters and the costumes are the same as in *Shibaraku*. During the Edo period, however, this scene was performed

in different manners. Since the topic of *Shibaraku* and *Onna Shibaraku* is vast and deserves a separate study, it is just briefly referred to here. The first production in 1746 included only a *shukô* of presenting the masculine hero as a woman, embodied by Arashi Koroku I (1710–1786), an *onnagata* star from Osaka (Atsumi 1974: 1).

This production as well should be viewed within the context of the other female versions of familiar male characters, which were becoming increasingly popular since the early 1740s. *Onna hinin kataki-uchi* was included in the repertory and *Onna Narukami* was already a "classic," staged four times in 1742 and 1743. *Onna Shibaraku* was followed by *Onna Kan Shôjô* 女管丞相 (Onna Sugawara) in 05/1747 (Ichimura-za, Edo), based on the drama *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami* (Sugawara and the Secrets of Calligraphy), originally written for the puppet theatre and first performed in 08/1746 (Takemoto-za, Osaka). *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami* was a big hit, immediately adapted for kabuki and, as we can see, even rewritten as a female version, for the star *onnagata* Segawa Kikunojô I. He also played with great success *Onna Narukami* in 1743 (ARC database, Terajima 1993: 20). In the following year, 1748, *Onna Shunkan* 女俊寛 (Female Shunkan) was performed in the *kaomise* program *Onna moji Heike monogatari* 女文字平家物語 (The Tale of Heike Written in a Female Hand) (Nakamura-za).[19] The role represented Shunkan's sister and it was especially conceived for kabuki, for the younger brother of Kikunojô — Segawa Kikujirô I, who also affirmed *Onna hinin kataki-uchi* in the repertory and played twice *Onna Narukami*.[20] In the same *Onna moji Heike monogatari*, the main part was performed by another popular *onnagata*, Yoshizawa Ayame II (1702–54), and it was again a female version of one of the samurai characters in the classic *Heike monogatari* (compiled prior to 1330).

These three *onnagata*, along with Nakamura Tomijûrô I (1719–1786), a brother of Ayame II (both were sons of the great *onnagata* Yoshizawa Ayame I (1673–1729)) contributed greatly to the development of *kakikae onna kyôgen*. Tomijûrô created and affirmed many female versions of popular male characters — *Onna hinin kataki-uchi*, *Onna Shibaraku*, *Onna Sugawara*, *Onna Yuranosuke* (Yuranosuke is the male lead of the hit *Kanadehon Chûshingura*), *Onna Kagekiyo* (the great warrior Taira Kagekiyo), *Onna Asahina* (Asahina is a well-known character belonging to the *soga mono* world, helping the two brothers to execute their vendetta), *Onna Kinpira* (Kinpira is a superhuman hero in the puppet theatre and very popular in kabuki as well), *Onna Kurofune*, and many more (Gabrovska 2014: 194-282).[21]

From the 1750s kabuki began to conceive female versions of *otokodate*, the chivalrous commoner, a role type that became increasingly popular from the 1720s onwards, a new symbol of ideal masculinity, displacing the samurai exemplar. The ARC database lists seventeen productions whose titles start with the word *onna date* 女伊達

(chivalrous woman).[22] All of them were staged between 1751 and 1829 — thirteenth in Edo, two in Osaka and two in Kyoto. *Onna Danshichi* 女団七 is considered the first representative of *onna date*, staged ten years after the first female version of the Soga brothers (1741) but relatively soon after the *otokodate* original Danshichi in *Natsu matsuri Naniwa kagami* (1745). In 05/1751, the Ichimura-za in Edo produced the play *Onna date Azuma hinagata* 女侠東雛形 (A Model for a Chivalrous Woman from Edo), which Terajima considers the first *Onna Danshichi*. She observes that unlike the rest of *kakikae onna kyôgen*, *Onna Danshichi* was staged in numerous versions; hence, it was very popular and regularly performed. The completely rewritten play, in which all the male characters were recast as women — *Shinzô tsurifune kidan* 新造鱸奇談 (The Strange Story of Newly-built Fishing Boat), was created by Sakurada Jisuke III (1802–1877) a century later, in 05/1852 (Terajima 1993: 20-21). The mid-nineteenth century was an exceptionally important period for the reaffirmation and further expansion of the subgenre of *kakikae onna kyôgen*.

Soon after the first *Onna Danshichi*, the other famous *otokodate* character from Kamigata — Kurofune — was also "feminised" as *Onna Kurofune* 女黒船 , within the play *Keisei ama no hagoromo* けいせい天羽衣 (A Courtesan and the Heavenly Feather Robe), staged in 12/1753 in Osaka (Terajima 1993: 20-21). Following the female versions of the Osaka *otokodate*, next the Edo hero, the *otokodate* Sukeroku, was recast as *Onna Sukeroku* 女助六 . The favourite kabuki character of Sukeroku was created during the period 1713–1716 by Ichikawa Danjûrô II.[23] It took considerably longer for his female version to be embodied on the stage, first as a *shukô in shosagoto* (dance piece), in 1764.[24] The *kakikae onna kyôgen* was produced in 1809, almost a century after the premiere of Sukeroku (Terajima 1993: 22). *Onna date* was revived in 1958. It is not performed very often today.

Furthermore, kabuki produced female versions not only of individual male heroes but also of the famous groups of *gonin otoko* 五人男 (five men) who similarly belonged to the *otokodate* category, despite being outlaws. The drama *Otokodate itsutsu Karigane* 男作五雁金 (Karigane's Five Chivalrous Men) was first performed in *ningyô jôruri*, in 07/1742 in Osaka, and adapted immediately for kabuki. The characters were actual criminals, executed in 1702 and transformed into dramatic heroes on the stage, affirming the *yakugara* of *otokodate* and the category of *gonin otoko mono* as a kabuki play — the heroes were five thieves and outcasts but chivalrous and charming.[25] This category includes the world of *Shiranami gonin otoko* 白浪五人男 (Five Men of the White Waves/ The Shiranami Five Thieves) conceived by Kawatake Mokuami in 03/1862 (Ichimura-za) that has remained tremendously popular to the present day.

Both *Karigane gonin otoko* and *Shiranami gonin otoko* were rewritten as women

and the play category of *gonin onna* 五人女 was established. *Onna date itsutsu Karigane* was premiered in 02/1793 in Kyoto, fifty years later than *Otokodate itsutsu Karigane* (1742) (Terajima 1994: 24-25). *Shiranami gonin onna*, however, was produced soon after the male original — in 08/1865, at the same Ichimura-za. This was the popular title of the drama *Musume hyôban zen'aku kagami* 処女評判善悪鏡 (A Mirror of Good and Evil Famous Young Women).[26] *Shiranami gonin otoko* and *Shiranami gonin onna* are the first male original and female versions written by the same author, in a very short span of time — only three years, showing that by the mid-nineteenth century staging *kakikae onna kyôgen* was a regular practice, expected and enjoyed by audiences, performers and playwrights. Mokuami wrote many female versions of both popular male characters from the past, like Onna Sadakurô (1865) (the wife of the famous erotic villain Sadakurô from *Kanadehon Chûshingura* "The Treasury of Loyal Retainers," 1748), and those created by himself, like *Onna Kôchiyama* 女河内山 (1900) and *Onna ôsakazuki* 女大盃 (?). But while the male-centred plays remained in the repertory, the female-centred plays were abandoned, since Meiji and post-Meiji period kabuki became gradually preoccupied with more traditional women's roles. **Figures 3 and 4** depict *Shiranami gonin otoko* and *Shiranami gonin onna* striking an elegant pose.

Kakikae Onna Kyôgen in Context

Far more female counterparts of popular male heroes were conceived on the kabuki stage and then in popular fiction and woodblock prints. The versions discussed here are, literally and figuratively speaking, the tip of the iceberg. They have been selected, following a chronological thread, to trace the overall development of *kakikae onna kyôgen* from the earliest Genroku production of *Onna Narukami* (in the 1690s), to the rewritings of samurai exemplars like *Onna hinin kataki-uchi* and *Onna Shibaraku* (from the 1740s onwards), to the emergence of *onna date* (from the 1750s onwards) such as *Onna Danshichi*, *Onna Sukeroku*, and the five chivalrous bandits *Onna date itsutsu Karigane* (1793), to the five charming thieves *Shiranami gonin onna* (1865). This trajectory follows kabuki's development from its outset as a fully-fledged dramatic form during the Genroku era (defined broadly 1690s–1730s) to its mature phase (from the 1740s onwards) to the decadent *bakumatsu* period (around the mid-nineteenth century), a development related to the changes in Edo-period society itself, the collapse of the social and gender order. The trajectory of these *kakikae onna kyôgen* helps to clearly identify a shift in the representation of ideal male image on the stage — from the samurai hero in *jidaimono* such as the Soga brothers and the Shibaraku character, through the hybrid character like Sukeroku (samurai-*otokodate*), to the chivalrous

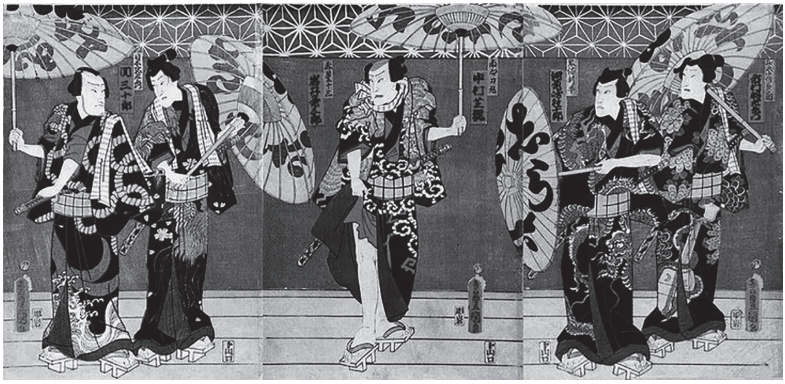

Figure 3: *Shiranami gonin otoko* in the Act IV *Inasegawa seizoroi no ba* (Inase River Monologues) from the play *Aoto zôshi hana no nishikie* (The Glorious Picture Book of Aoto's Exploits) (03/1862, Ichimura-za). From left: Seki Sanjûrô III (1805–1870) as Nippon Daemon, Iwai Kumesaburô III (1829–1882) as Akaboshi Jûzaburô, Nakamura Shikan IV (1831–1899) as Nangô Rikimaru, Kawarazaki Gonjûrô I (1838–1903) as Tadanobu Rihei, and Ichimura Uzaemon XIII (1844–1903) as Benten Kozô Kikunosuke. Print made by Utagawa Toyokuni III. (Illustration: Waseda University, Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum)

Figure 4: *Shiranami gonin onna* from the play *Musume hyôban zen'aku kagami* (08/1865, Nakamura-za). From left: Sawamura Tosshô (1838–1886) as Kinezumi Okichi, Bandô Mitsugorô VI (1846–1873) as Osaraba Oden, Ichimura Kakutsu IV (1844–1903) as Subashiri Okuma, and Onoe Kikujirô II (1814–1876) as Kumokiri Oroku. The missing fifth character is Yamaneko Osan, performed by Nakamura Tsuruzô (1809–1886). Print by Toyohara Kunichika (1835–1900). (Illustration: Waseda University, Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum)

commoner *otokodate* in *sewamono* like Danshichi and the chivalrous bandits *Karigane gonin otoko*, to the charming, chic outlaw male characters in *kizewamono* (raw domestic plays) like *Shiranami gonin otoko* who became the new "heroes" on the decadent kabuki stage of the nineteenth century.

Overall, the numerous female counterparts of prominent male characters in kabuki could be loosely summarised in three groups:

(1) Fully rewritten female characters, i.e. the *kakikae onna kyôgen* proper, which became increasingly popular after the 1740s and especially in the nineteenth century. Terajima defines these as the "core or central group." Representatives of this group have become classics on their own and continue to be occasionally performed, like *Onna Shibaraku* and *Onna Narukami*. Some of these narratives had transitional versions, as we have seen.

(2) Female relatives of the classical heroes — e.g. wife, sister, mother, niece, etc. — that were given a central role in a production. Some of these heroines were newly conceived but many, especially in the early years, were borrowed from samurai epics and transformed from marginal to important characters in the story. This group, which Terajima defines as "transitional," is perhaps the most numerous; its representatives were staged continuously from the 1690s to the 1930s. Some examples are: *Onna Kagekiyo* "Kagekiyo's Wife" (1695), *Onna Masakado* "Masakado's Daughter?" (1700, the samurai Taira Masakado was a rebel against the central government in the tenth century), *Onna Kusunoki* "Kusunoki's Wife" (1713, based on Chikamatsu Monzaemon's *jôruri* play *Yoshino no miyako Onna Kusunoki* "Female Kusunoki in the Yoshino Capital," 1710),[27] *Onna Shunkan* "Shunkan's Sister" or "Shunkan's Wife" (1748), *Onna Sadakurô* "Sadakurô's Wife" (1865; this story was filmed twice in the 1920s and 1930s), and many more.

(3) Independent plays centred on female characters that were associated thematically with popular male-centred works and therefore given the respective popular title (*tsûshô*), such as *Onna Chûshingura* "Female Chûshingura" (1782), as the drama *Kagamiyama kokyô no nishiki-e* "Mirror Mountain: A Women's Treasure of Loyalty" is commonly called. This group should include plays that seemingly belong to the first group of *kakikae onna kyôgen*, like *Onna Seigen* (1814), *Kirare Otomi* (1864), *Shiranami gonin onna* (1865) — late works written by Tsuruya Nanboku and Kawatake Mokuami who created fully-fledged, independent female characters that cannot be perceived as a simple rewrite of the male "originals." In addition, here belong literary works like *Onna Heike monogatari*, as "The Poetic Memoirs of Lady Daibu" *Kenreimon'in Ukyô no Daibu-shū* 建礼門院右京大夫集 was referred to.

Conceived c.1169–1232, in the late Heian and early Kamakura periods, by Kenreimon-in Ukyō no Daibu, an aristocratic woman and *waka* poetess, *Onna Heike monogatari* is a combination of diary and collection of *tanka* poems, mostly composed by the authoress, with prose context. Ukyô no Daibu witnessed the power of the Heike clan and their subsequent demise during the Genpei War (1180–1185), which affected her own life and status; she also lost her idealised lover Taira Sukemori and spent the rest of her days grieving for him. The overall melancholic and pessimistic atmosphere of the period is reflected in this personal poetry collection (*shikashû* 私家集), in a way similar to the samurai epic *Heike monogatari*, which was compiled a century later (prior to 1330). The appellation *Onna Heike monogatari* was probably employed in the late medieval or Edo periods; it has not been commonly used.[28]

What meaning did all these female versions had? As specific projections of the classical male imagery created on the stage and, by extension, in literature, popular fiction and visual art, they inevitably reinforced the male originals' popularity and authority, but also parodied and subverted those, although to a various degree. Since these *onna*-plays appear to have been part of the repertory from the beginning, albeit some of them only a fleeting one, they certainly helped producing a more varied and rich world of female gender representations in the all-male theatre of kabuki, especially in the nineteenth century during the boom of their popularity. The female audiences have always been an important factor in the production of plays. *Onna Chûshingura*, for example, was performed in spring during the third lunar month (April) when the cherry blossoms were in full bloom and the ladies-in-waiting serving in samurai households were allowed to return home for a short vacation. Many took the chance to watch theatre and enjoyed seeing dramas about women with whom they could identify. The influence of kabuki on both female and male spectators was significant, the actors were stars and fashion trend-setters in society, influencing the ideals of femininity and masculinity.

The most important point, however, is that these female versions were not an isolated phenomenon in kabuki. They are also encountered in the literary field and film, depicted in woodblock prints, as demonstrated by *Onna Heike monogatari* and many other similar forms. As a matter of fact, a whole fourth group should be added to the previously formulated three groups in kabuki, which comprises female versions of popular male-centred genres and forms of entertainment and whose time span is wider than kabuki, as we shall see — from the middle ages until today. I have elsewhere proposed the generic term *onna mono* 女もの "female things, female-centred forms" as inclusive of all these forms and emphasising their relatedness (Gabrovska 2015).

For example, to continue chronologically, *onna zumô* (female sumo) became a popular entertainment by the mid-eighteenth century and continued until the 1920s — the very same time framework as *kakikae onna kyôgen*.[29] *Onna kengeki* (female swordplay) was fairly trendy from the 1930s to the 1970s, featuring actresses, often cross-dressed, fighting and defeating male enemies. The spectacle was imbued with eroticism and like *onna zumô* mostly targeted male patrons.[30]

Like noh and kabuki, the puppet theatre (*ningyô jôruri*) or bunraku, as it is called today, has also been a male domain. While the tradition of women performing the chanted, shamisen-accompanied narration has existed from the very outset of *ningyô jôruri*, called *onna jôruri* (in the early seventeenth century), *onna gidayû* or *musume gidayû* (from the early nineteenth century onwards) and *joryû gidayû* (today), the puppet manipulation on the official bunraku stage has remained restricted to men.[31] Nonetheless, the 1920s witnessed the birth of female puppeteers in the Osaka area, as the classical all-male genre was in decline because of the lack of audience and since the Bunraku-za theatre burned down in 1926. Three female troupes were formed with the purpose to attract spectators and were named according to the already established practice — *Onna Bunraku* (Female Bunraku), *Musume Bunraku* (Young Girls' Bunraku), and *Osaka Otome Bunraku* (Osaka Maidens' Bunraku). They all were managed by professional male bunraku performers who decided for financial reasons to use solo puppeteers instead of the usual three puppeteers (*ningyô-zukai*) typical of the traditional form. It was only after the war, in 1948, when a "fully-fledged female version" with three *ningyô-zukai* emerged — *Naoshima Onna Bunraku*, still active on Naoshima Island and managed by women. *Otome Bunraku* also continues to practice and perform, using solo puppeteers. Of course, these female bunraku troupes are neither professional, nor widely known.

The same postwar period, even the same 1848, finally saw the birth of female noh performers of the *shite* type, within the Kanze school. In the prewar times women learned as amateurs *hayashi* (the musical accompaniment), *mai* (the dance), and *utai* (the singing), but they were not given the opportunity to act. The end of the WWII brought democratisation and changing status of women, thus bringing to changes in the mindset of noh performers and audiences, which allowed professional female noh actors (*joryû nohgaku-shi* 女流能楽師) on the stage. But this happened because women had already been part of the noh world, as amateurs. In fact, learning at least *utai* was part of the proper upper-class female education, along with ikebana and tea ceremony.

During the same postwar period, in the 1950s, the *Ichikawa Shôjo Kabuki* (Ichikawa Girls' Kabuki) was formed and performed to great acclaim until the early 1960s — an all-female troupe consisting of adolescent girls, managed and supported

by professional kabuki actors, but not sufficiently in order to continue its existence after the girls turned into women.[32] Although predominantly a traveling troupe, they were based in the Aichi prefecture, where later *Nagoya Musume Kabuki* (Nagoya Young Girls' Kabuki) was established in 1983, this time managed entirely by women. Like *Ichikawa Shôjo Kabuki*, they also faded away due to the lack of patrons and financial basis. These female kabuki performers trace their genealogy not only to kabuki's founder Okuni and the early *onna kabuki* (female kabuki) but also to the largely forgotten Edo-period *o-kyôgen-shi* お狂言師 (theatre masters) who performed kabuki, mostly popular *jidaimono* scenes and dances, in the residences of *daimyo* (feudal lords) and the shogun's inner palace where men were forbidden to enter. They appeared in the 1780s, in the midst of kabuki's popularity and the boom of female versions on the stage, and were related to the all-male kabuki world. Besides performing, they were also teaching *kabuki buyô* (kabuki dance). With the coming of the Meiji era one century later the *o-kyôgen-shi* lost their occupation. Part of them formed their own troupes, both all-female and mixed male-female after the mid-1880s, and performed kabuki at minor theatres until the 1930s. They came to be called *onna yakusha* (female kabuki actors) and present one more phenomenon that should be viewed within the context of all the other female versions existing at the time (Gabrovska 2015: 395-398).

And all these female versions should be explored within the context of Japanese culture, particularly Japanese traditional performance culture, which has been dominated by professional male players and within which these *onna mono* were born. As I have already argued, the female counterparts of prominent male characters in kabuki can be seen as an intriguing development of a practice that began in the medieval times (Gabrovska 2015: 398-408). Performances described as *onna dengaku* (*miko dengaku*), *onna kusemai* (called also *nyôbô no kusemai* or *nyôbô mai*) and *onna sarugaku* (*onna gaku*) or *onna noh* appeared from the fourteenth century onwards, allegedly emulating the respective male-centred genres *dengaku*, *kusemai* and *sarugaku* (the noh theatre). *Nyôbô kyôgen* is another form mentioned in the records, in the mid-sixteenth century, describing a supposedly all-female kyôgen company.[33] At the time such itinerant troupes usually consisted of mixed male-female cast with women being in the focus of the show (hence the description *onna* added to the name of the group), while men were in charge of musical accompaniment and *okashi* or *saruwaka* (the comic role).

We can gain an insight into the extent to which these female-centred forms of entertainment were common in the Muromachi (1336–1573), Azuchi-Momoyama (1573–1603) and early Edo periods (1603–1631) from the research on primary sources such as diaries of aristocrats and monks, conducted and published by the male noh scholar Nose Asaji (1894–1955) and further expanded by the female

scholar Okuyama Keiko who has been exploring systematically the role of women in noh.[34] Based on Nose's findings, Okuyama cites numerous records of *onna sarugaku* during the Muromachi and early Edo periods, which show that before the Ônin War (1467–1477) the troupes were mostly supported and appreciated by the shogun and the imperial court but after the feud, which devastated Kyoto, the *kanjin* performances (collecting money for temple construction) increased. These records are from 1432 (3 times), 1436 (2 times), 1466 (2 times), 1496, 1497, 1518 (in Nara), 1530, 1590, 1606, 1617.[35] Similarly, the references to *onna noh* (or *onna no noh*, *onna dayû*, *nyôbô noh*, *dayû nyôbô*, and even only *o-noh*) are also numerous, mostly after the Ônin War.[36] As Okuyama has shown, the records were especially frequent at the end of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth century — 1587, 1590, 1593, 1605, 1606 (4 times), 1617. The last one, from 18/2/1622, describes a *kanjin noh onna dayû* staged in the area of Shijô Kawaramachi in Kyoto and featuring a female performer called Ukyô. Seven plays were offered, among which *Ama*, *Hachinoki*, *Teika*, *Sumidagawa* — all classical pieces. Okuyama also cites an early seventeenth-century source *Nagasawa kikigaki* 長沢聞書 (Heard and Recorded by Nagasawa) whose author mentions that after the turbulent war period *onna noh* became very popular in Kyoto (乱世の後、京都　専　女能はやり申候). Then he depicts a performance of a noh staged in Shijô Kawaramachi by a *keisei no dayû* (high-ranking courtesan performer) named Yoshino. This show ended with a serious fight among the spectators that left many samurai dead; the incident brought to "the strict ban on *onna noh*" (Okuyama 1979: 323-326). Women were banned from the stage in 1629 precisely because of such disturbances of the public order caused by the male spectators.

Needless to say, during the self-same period — the early seventeenth century — kabuki was born, originating in Okuni's *kabuki odori* (kabuki dance) mentioned for the first time in 1603, in an aristocratic diary.[37] Okuni was the lead performer of one such mixed female-male company in which women occupied centre stage. Her innovative humorous erotic skit instantly became a hit and brought many emulators known as *onna kabuki* (female kabuki). Okuyama attributes the decline of *onna noh*, noticeable even before the ban on women from the stage, to the rising popularity of *onna kabuki*. In any case kabuki emerged within the vibrant performing art scene that was typical of the period and that was characterised by numerous troupes centred on female performers, as their naming reveals — *onna sarugaku, onna noh, nyôbô noh, onna dayû, nyobô kyôgen*, etc. A similar form is *onna saruwaka* (female comic role), recorded in the mid-1670s — during the period of *yarô kabuki* (adult-male kabuki) defined versus the earlier phase of *wakashu kabuki* (adolescent-boy kabuki). This was the time when kabuki was on its path to becoming a fully-fledged dramatic art during the next Genroku era

when the first female versions were staged — in the 1690s. The point I would like to make here is that these *onna*-forms did not disappear with the ban on women to perform in the 1630s. And, as we have seen, it would continue during the whole Edo period and afterwards, until the 1930s, but also sporadically to the present day.

Recently, reflecting the changing position of women in Japanese society, a trend of producing more *onna mono* is noticeable — in kabuki (e.g. *Onna Narukami*, staged again after eighteen years, in March 2019) and in the entertainment world in general. The most conspicuous example is *Onna jôshu Naotora* おんな城主 直虎 "Naotora: The Lady Warlord" (lit. "Naotora: the female lord of a castle"), the 2017 Japanese historical drama television series and the 56th instalment of the iconic NHK Taiga Drama. Written by the female screenwriter Yoshiko Morishita (b.1971), the series featured the highly-acclaimed actress Shibasaki Kô (b. 1981) in the main lead of Ii Naotora (1536? –1582), a *daimyô* of the Warring States period (*Sengoku jidai*) — which was also the time of *onna sarugaku*, *onna noh*, and *nyôbô kyôgen*, as we have seen. Similarly to these performing art forms, Naotora was called ***onna*** *jitô* 女地頭 "a **female** landlord."[38] The very first *onna mono* that started the trend in kabuki was titled *Onna daimyô* 女大名 (Female Daimyô), staged in 01/1690 in Kyoto. While its content remains unknown, the female feudal lord image seems to have been sufficiently popular to be employed again, in competition with the other early *onna mono* previously discussed, in three more productions — in 1707 (*Onna daimyô irekozan* 女大名入子算 , Osaka), 1717 (*Onna daimyô shôbu gatana* 女大名菖蒲刀 , Kyoto), and 1719 (*Onna daimyô iroha obi* 女大名以呂波帯 , Osaka) (ARC database). There is no end to the list of *onna mono*; the further my research on this topic extends, the more and more forms come to the surface.

In conclusion, this paper has discussed a widespread but nonetheless rather overlooked phenomenon in Japanese culture — these *onna mono*, as I have denoted them, the female-centred versions or counterparts of popular, well-established and occupying a mainstream position in the discourse male-centred narratives, genres and forms of entertainment, i.e. male-dominated "classics." The focus has been on the most representative and well-known *onna mono* — *kakikae onna kyôgen*, the fully-rewritten kabuki plays in which famous male characters are recast as women. These *kakikae onna kyôgen* have been positioned within the context of both Edo-period kabuki and the numerous similar forms produced from the medieval to contemporary times. The purpose of this paper is to provide an overview of these *onna mono* and to thus draw attention to their existence and the need for further thorough investigation in order to elucidate their meaning and multiple implications for the processes of cultural production and representation of gender in Japan.

And to return to the introduction, these *onna mono* emerged within the medieval performing arts tradition, especially the classical theatre, that have been customarily a male domain. Would the way they were denoted by the term *onna* (female) be related to that *onna-de* (woman's hand), which played such a significant role in the formation of Japanese classical poetry and prose during the Heian period?

Notes

1 Cf. *Shinpen nihon koten bungaku zenshû* 新編日本古典文学全集 (New Complete Collection of Japanese Classical Literature), 88 volumes, Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1994–2002.

2 Other gender-related terms that were formulated were *onna-e* 女絵 (feminine painting) and *otoko-e* 男絵 (masculine painting), both referred to in Heian-period literature but without any useful hints as to their meaning or particular examples. It seems they have been used in contrast, with *otoko-e* less mentioned.

3 Copious research exists on the topic. Cf., for example, Tsuboi 2003.

4 During these periods women gradually lost inheritance rights and the economic independence they had during the Heian period.

5 On *sekai* and *shûko*, cf. Gerstle 2000: 39-62; Brandon & Leiter, *Vol. 1*, 2002: 365-366; Kabuki gakkai 1998: 149-152, 194, 210, 385-388; Gunji 1972.

6 Usually the character *onna* 女 was used, but the words *nyôbô* 女房 or *musume* 娘 (in later kabuki) also were added sometimes. *Musume* means "daughter," "young girl." The word *nyôbô* means "wife" in contemporary Japanese. In the old language it denoted "a woman." Other words denoting female gender have been employed as well, such as *otome* 乙女 and *shôjo* 少女 , both have the meaning of "maiden; young lady; a female usually between 7 and 18 years." The somehow more prestigious *joryû* 女流 (female school / style) is used before job titles like *joryû sakka* 女流作家 (woman writer) or in *joryû bungaku* 女流文学 (women's literature), a term used for Heian-period literature and for female writers in general. Many contemporary artists, however, find this term degrading as it distinguishes them from the mainstream that remains male-dominated. *Nadeshiko* ナデシコ is another word that belongs to the same category; its original meaning is a Dianthus superbus, a flowering plant native to Japan, which came to be employed in the term *Yamato nadeshiko* ヤマトナデシコ(大和撫子), used to praise the idealised woman of old Japan (Yamato). Interestingly, the Japan women's national football team is called "Nadeshiko Japan."

7 Japan counts years using a system of era names called *nengô*, which was derived from the Chinese imperial practice that dates back to 140 B.C.E. and was also common practice in East Asia. It was adopted by Japan in 645.

8 *Setsuwa* 説話 (spoken / explanatory story) is an East Asian literary genre, which consists of

myths, legends, folktales, and anecdotes, with Buddhist or secular character, and often didactic meaning.

9 Satô Chino has included a chapter on *Onna Narukami* in her book *Kinsei chûki kabuki no shosô* (2013), which discusses one of the first prominent *onnagata* Segawa Kikunojô I (1693–1749).

10 The Japanese used the lunar calendar until 1873 and all months are given accordingly.

11 For the chronology of the first performances, brief introduction to the play and translation of the three scenes most commonly staged today, cf. Jullie Iezzi, "The Summer Festival: A Mirror of Osaka," in Brandon & Samuel Leiter, *Vol. 1*, 2002: 196-233.

12 Cf. the database of the Art Research Centre (ARC) at Ritsumeikan University. Unless otherwise indicated, I have used this web source for information on play titles, date of performance, and actors. http://www.arc.ritsumei.ac.jp/dbroot/kabuki.htm (accessed June 9, 2020).

13 Cf. Iizuka 1919: 197-198; Satô Chino, "Onna Narukami" 女鳴神 in Furuido Hideo 2006: 616-617; On Narukami, cf. Gunji 1969: 41-42; also *Kokiritsu gekijô jôen shiryô-shû* (369), 1996: 2-18.

14 *Yome* 嫁 means "bride, wife, daughter-in-law."

15 On *Onna Kagekiyo*, cf. Torii 1985: 1-27.

16 For a detailed exploration of the Soga theme in Japanese performing arts and particularly in kabuki, cf. Kominz 1995.

17 *Ukiyo-zôshi* (books of the floating world) is the first major genre of popular Japanese fiction, written between the 1680s and the 1770s.

18 For more information on Shibaraku, cf. Gunji 1969.

19 Nakamura-za's next show, the New Year program in 01/1949, featured the production *Otokomoji Soga monogatari* 男文字曽我物語 (The Tale of the Soga Brothers Written in a Male Hand). These titles demonstrate the extent to which gender representation was emphasised in kabuki performance and advertised in order to attract spectators.

20 *Onna Shunkan* was also staged around 1792, this time the role represented Shunkan's wife. Cf. Watanabe 1986: 317-326.

21 For more details, especially on Tomijûrô's life and career, cf. Watanabe 1986.

22 Versus 177 *otokodate* during the Edo period.

23 For a detailed exploration of Danjûrô's versions of Sukeroku, cf. Thornbury 1982.

24 *Shosagoto* is one of the three genres of kabuki, together with *jidaimono* (historical plays) and *sewamono* (contemporary plays).

25 For more information, cf. Koike Shôtarô, "Gonin otoko mono" 五人男物 in Hattori et al. 2011.

26 Cf. "Musume hyôban zen'aku kagami," in *Kawatake Mokuami zenshû* 1925: 303-386.

27 Chikamatsu created many similar female roles that subsequently were borrowed by kabuki and contributed greatly to the development of the subgenre.

28 For more details on this work, cf. Wagner 1976: 1-27. The author does not mention that *Ukyô no Daibu-shû* was called *Onna Heike monogatari*. I have not yet been able to identify the time period and the source of this reference to *Kenreimon'in Ukyô no Daibu-shû*. What is interesting is that in this case the female version precedes the male "original," which indicates that the name *Onna Heike monogatari* was employed during a period when these *onna* versions were common and in vogue, probably in the Edo period, but this is only an assumption.

29 *Onna zumô* is a complex phenomenon that deserves an exhaustive study and for this reason is only mentioned here. There are two types. The first is a ritualistic or folk performance staged during festivals at shrines (the male sumo had similar function in the past). And there was *onna zumô* that emerged as a form of entertainment as early as in the 1700s, in Osaka, in connection with the brothels. Its popularity reached Edo by the 1750s, when the first boom of *kakikae onna kyôgen* occurred. Matches were organised initially between women and later between women and blind men, which turned out to be more popular, especially in Edo. It was often banned by the authorities, during and after the Edo period but due to popular demand the matches continued to be held until the 1920s when this form of activity was completely banned for women. Men's professional sumo world considers women incompatible and impure to even allow them on the ring (*dohyô*), as recent incidents have shown. Nonetheless, women sumo wrestlers have become active recently. On *onna zumô*, cf. Kamei 2012.

30 *Onna kengeki* is another genre that has remained insufficiently examined. It was also related to the film productions of *kakikae onna kyôgen* in the 1920s–1930s, featuring *onna kengeki* actresses.

31 *Onna jôruri* (female narration) was banned in the 1630s together with all female performers. In the early nineteenth century, it became very popular again, amongst the boom of the female versions of male characters in kabuki. It was occasionally banned again but without success.

32 On *Ishikawa Shôjo Kabuki*, cf. Edelson 2009.

33 Kyôgen are the comic interludes performed between the noh plays. On all these forms, cf. Hattori 1997: 5; Wakita Haruko 2001: 204-210; Gabrovska 2015: 392-398.

34 Nose Asaji 1938. As referred to in Okuyama Keiko 1979: 311-331.

35 Okuyama makes the suggestion that the lack of performance records between 1530 and 1590 might be because the troupes were performing in the countryside, like the Nara performance in 1518 (Okuyama 1979: 322-324). During this period the Ashikaga shogunate was losing its power and the country was thrown into constant wars.

36 *Noh-dayû* 能太夫 signifies today "high-ranking noh actor; head of a noh school." The word *tayû* 太夫; 大夫 has had the following meanings: (1) high-ranking noh actor; (2) head of a school of noh performance; (3) high ranking courtesan (especially in Yoshiwara) during the Edo-period; (4) *jôruri* narrator; *manzai* narrator; (5) female role actor in kabuki, etc. In summary, the word was first used in noh to denote a skillful actor of high social status and it

was subsequently applied to various performers. Cf. https://www.edrdg.org/cgi-bin/wwwjdic/wwwjdic?1F (accessed June 9, 2020).

37 One of the previously mentioned records, from 1606, refers to the name of Ukifune who had performed *Ukifune noh* 浮舟能 on 2/2 and 3/2 in Kyoto and was invited by the influential courtier and poet Konoe Nobutada (1565–1615) to the Imperial court on 14/2. The name of Kuni, the foundress of *kabuki odori*, is also mentioned, which means that *onna noh* and *okuni kabuki* were staged together at Konoe's residence. Cf. Okuyama 1979: 323, 327.

38 Naotora was the daughter and only child of Ii Naomori, the eighteenth head of their clan. She succeeded in avoiding the destruction of the Ii clan, which became one of the main samurai clans that formed the Tokugawa Shogunate government. Haotora has been also featured in novels, computer games, children books and theatre plays, since the 2000s.

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・http://www.enpaku.waseda.ac.jp/db/enpakunishik/ Image Database of Ukiyoe Collection owned

by the Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum.

Acknowledgements:
I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the International Research Center for Japanese Studies and to my host, Professor Araki Hiroshi, and also to Professor Sano Mayuko, for the support to conduct this research project. Furthermore, I am most appreciative for the financial support from The Japan Foundation and The Japan Society for the Promotion of Science.

＊要旨

本論文は、江戸時代の歌舞伎における書替女狂言という芝居を、日本芸能史の文脈の中でジェンダーの観点から分析し、男性中心の世界であるとされてきた日本の伝統芸能において、女性の「存在」や「女性性」の表象を探る。

書替女狂言とは、『女暫』、『女鳴神』のように、著名な狂言世界を下敷きにしながら、趣向として、その主人公もしくは複数の登場人物を女性に置き換えたものである。書替女狂言の最盛期は文化文政〜幕末で、小芝居まで含めると、相当な数にのぼると推察される。近代には『女定九郎』（昭和４年）など、歌舞伎に基づいた映画も制作されている。

本論文は、三つの部分からなる。最初に書替女狂言の発生と発展を元禄から幕末まで辿り、その特徴を概観する。次に『女鳴神』（初演元禄９年）、曽我物語などに基づいた『女非人敵討』（初演寛保元年）、女暫（初演延享３年）、団七九郎兵衛や助六を元にした女伊達（初演宝暦年中）、五人男をもじった『女作五雁金』（初演寛政５年）や『白波五人女』（初演慶応元年）の五人女など、代表的興行に注目し、それぞれの「オリジナル」に当たる男性中心の演目との関連を検討し、書替女狂言の発展が、時代や社会の変化とともに、どのように形象され、変遷していったのかを明らかにする。

そして最後に、書替女狂言を、江戸時代の歌舞伎や日本文化の文脈の中で捉える。とりわけ『女景清』、『女楠』、『女俊寛』、『女定九郎』などのように、有名な男性の登場人物の妻や母、妹など、女性の親戚が主役する演目や、『仮名手本忠臣蔵』に対する『女忠臣蔵』など、「女なになに」という芝居に注目する。古典的な男性中心の作品を女性中心のバージョンにしたこれらの興行が、どのような意義を持つか。ジェンダーの視点から分析を進めていく。

「女なになに」という演目は、歌舞伎にとどまらず、幅広く日本の芸能文化の文脈の中で把握すべきである。中世後期から江戸初期の資料によく出る「女田楽」、「女曲舞」（女房曲舞、女房舞）、「女猿楽」（女楽）、「女能」（女大夫、女房能、大夫女房）、「女房狂言」、「女浄瑠璃」、「女猿若」（初演延宝）などの芸能と関連を有するからである。さらに江戸中期以降流行った「女義太夫」（「娘義太夫」）や「女相撲」、明治から昭和初期まで小芝居で活躍した「女役者」、さらには昭和初期に人気を博した「女剣劇」や「女文楽」、「娘文楽」、「大阪乙女文楽」等々、多くのジャンルに影響を残していく。

これらを広く「女もの」として定義し、ジェンダーの観点からとらえ、男性を中心した古典芸能における女性の登場や役割と女性性の表象をより良く理解することを目指す。さらにこうした「女なになに」の名付けの起源は、平安時代に誕生した「女手」と関わっているのではないかとも提言したい。