SAMURAI *with* TELEPHONES

Anachronism in Japanese Literature

CHRISTOPHER SMITH

SAMURAI WITH TELEPHONES

MICHIGAN MONOGRAPH SERIES IN JAPANESE STUDIES

NUMBER 102

CENTER FOR JAPANESE STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

SAMURAI WITH TELEPHONES

Anachronism in Japanese Literature

Christopher Smith

University of Michigan Press
Ann Arbor

Copyright © 2024 by Christopher Smith
Some rights reserved

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License. *Note to users:* A Creative Commons license is only valid when it is applied by the person or entity that holds rights to the licensed work. Works may contain components (e.g., photographs, illustrations, or quotations) to which the rightsholder in the work cannot apply the license. It is ultimately your responsibility to independently evaluate the copyright status of any work or component part of a work you use, in light of your intended use. To view a copy of this license, visit http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/

For questions or permissions, please contact um.press.perms@umich.edu

Published in the United States of America by the
University of Michigan Press
Manufactured in the United States of America
Printed on acid-free paper
First published July 2024

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Smith, Christopher (Professor of Modern Japanese Literature and Culture), author. | Michigan Publishing (University of Michigan), publisher.
Title: Samurai with telephones : anachronism in Japanese literature / Christopher Smith.
Description: Ann Arbor [Michigan] : University of Michigan Press, [2024] | Includes bibliographical references (pages 217–225) and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2024002720 (print) | LCCN 2024002721 (ebook) | ISBN 9780472076871 (hardcover) | ISBN 9780472056873 (paperback) | ISBN 9780472904518 (ebook other)
Subjects: LCSH: Japanese literature—History and criticism. | Errors and blunders, Literary. | Japanese wit and humor.
Classification: LCC PL717.S65 2024 (print) | LCC PL717 (ebook) | DDC 895.609—dc23/eng/20240214
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2024002720
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2024002721

DOI: https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.12822236

The University of Michigan Press's open access publishing program is made possible thanks to additional funding from the University of Michigan Office of the Provost and the generous support of contributing libraries.

For Myra, my wife and first reader

Contents

Acknowledgments ix

Introduction: Seeing Anachronism 1
Structure of the Book 5

CHAPTER 1
Toward a Theory of Anachronism 9

CHAPTER 2
From Monologic to Dialogic 35
Samurai as Modern Subject in Mori Ōgai's "Abe ichizoku" 35
Bushi and Bourgeoisie: Monologic Marxism in *Kamui-den* 46
A Riot of Anachronism: History and Power in *Man'en gannen no futtobōru* 51

CHAPTER 3
Gags with an Agenda: Anachronism in Tezuka Osamu's *Hi no tori* 74
Dismantling National Myth with Anachronism 78
Benkei and the Denaturing of Loyalty 91

CHAPTER 4
Speaking the Same Language: Anachronisms of Interoperability in Contemporary Popular Culture 97
The City of the Future Is Edo: *Seibā marionetto J* 99
Anachronistic Interoperability of State Institutions in *Naruto* 105
Samurai Who Read *Shōnen Jump* in *Gintama* 111
Hip-Hop and Anachronistic Marginality in *Samurai chanpurū* 118
Riffs on Tradition: Interoperability in Visual Art 124

CHAPTER 5
Playing with Samurai: Anachronism in Edo Literature 143
Ōmu-gaeshi bunbu no futamichi 149
Daihi no senrokuhon 154
Nise Murasaki inaka Genji 157

CHAPTER 6
Acting Out the Past: Anachronism in Edo Theater 169
Metadramatic Anachronism 172
Appropriating Samurai Heroes in *Sukeroku yukari no Edo-zakura* 175
The *mago deshi* of the Ancients: *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami* 180
Sexy Heroes in *Yoshitsune senbon zakura* 185

Conclusion 192

Notes 197
Bibliography 217
Index 227

Acknowledgments

This book started as a PhD dissertation at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. I would like to thank my supervisor, Joel Cohn, who in addition to providing tremendous education and guidance recognized some potential in my half-formed interest in literary anachronism and encouraged me to pursue it. I would also like to thank the other committee members, whose invaluable contributions improved the intellectual rigor of the book and whose comments gave me many insights and moments of intellectual growth: Ken K. Ito, Robert Huey, Nobuko Ochner, and Julie Iezzi. Thanks also to the anonymous peer reviewers, whose comments and suggestions improved the manuscript immensely.

I would like to thank the Crown Prince Akihito Scholarship Foundation, which allowed me to spend two years in Japan while working on this project. I am also grateful to the National Institute for Japanese Literature (Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan), especially my advisors there, Suzuki Jun and Ōtaka Yōji, for welcoming me as an outside researcher for those two years. Additionally, I could not have completed this project without the support of my colleagues at the University of Florida, who provided valuable guidance and ensured that I had the time and resources necessary to focus on completing the manuscript. In particular, I want to thank my mentor Brigitte Weltman-Aron; my department chair, Akintunde Akinyemi; and my colleague Ann Wehmeyer.

I am also grateful to all the staff and librarians who have helped me throughout the compiling of this manuscript (particularly the interlibrary loan librarians, who must dread my requests for obscure sources in Japanese). Despite the support and help of all the above people, I'm sure this book contains errors, but they are mine alone.

Finally, I thank my family, whose support on the home front made both the dissertation and the book possible in the first place: my wife, Myra, who packed up her life to go with me to Hawai'i and Japan and who reads the first draft of everything I write; my father, Fred, who has tirelessly provided childcare for my family; and my children, Penny, Oliver, and Sam, who put up with the time I must spend apart from them for work and research.

Introduction

Seeing Anachronism

For several years I have taught a course on manga (comics) and anime (animation). Although I change the readings somewhat every semester, I always include part of Tezuka Osamu's "life's work," *Hi no tori* (Phoenix), his sweeping reconsideration of Japan's past and future. I assign several of the volumes that cover the past in order to have students engage with Tezuka's deconstruction of Japanese national history. In their reading journals, students always mention the humorous metafictional elements of the text, especially the anachronisms peppered throughout: a third-century queen calling for an electric fan, for example, or a twelfth-century samurai using a telephone.

At first, I saw these anachronisms as a humorous distraction from the text's serious work of historical critique, which was the main thing that I wanted students to notice. Nonetheless, I had a ready framework at hand for discussing them; these anachronisms are examples of a Brechtian alienation or estrangement effect. By inserting absurd and historically impossible bits of the present into the past, the text does not merely entertain but purposely distances readers from the diegetic world and forces readers to recognize the narrative as constructed, and themselves as critical readers of a construction.[1] This textual stance was important for Tezuka's work, as he grew up in wartime Japan and under an education system that tried to represent the state's narratives as truths that should be accepted uncritically.

However, I soon began to feel that this explanation might not be capturing everything going on with the anachronisms. After all, *Hi no tori* is a text conspicuously devoted to rewriting history, or at least provocatively contest-

ing received history. And is it not true that anachronisms such as the fan and the telephone inserted into the third and twelfth centuries, respectively, are rewriting history? Absurdly and comically, true, but also conspicuously and provocatively? Might it not be the case, therefore, that these anachronisms are doing something within the temporality of the text, rather than just alienating readers from it? And if the narrative is a rendering, however loosely, of Japanese history, might it not be the case that the effects of these anachronisms could reverberate beyond the bounds of the text itself, into readers' reception of history?

Once you start thinking about anachronisms, you see them everywhere. Once I began to look for anachronisms—or rather, to learn to see them—I realized there are a great diversity of them. For one thing, while they are rife in pop cultural works like manga and anime, where they are used for humor, they also appear in more sober works with earnest literary and ideological projects. So while anachronisms are always absurd—because they are impossible—they do not have to be funny. I also began to see anachronisms in the pages and on the stages of premodern Japanese literature and drama, where contemporary urban landscapes might be impressed onto the past, or historical figures might be pressed into service in the present. And, of course, anachronisms are found not only in Japanese cultural works but in Western literature (and presumably other global literatures) as well; Shakespeare's anachronisms are well known. Once I began looking at culture with an eye for anachronisms, I began to realize that the insertion of the present into the past (prolepsis) was not the only possible anachronistic temporal direction. It was also possible to insert the present into the future (postlepsis), although this is a more subtle operation since all the accoutrements of the present will be available in the future. Nevertheless, we can detect something anachronistic about how the twenty-fourth-century characters in *Star Trek: The Next Generation* are interested in the "past" of the twentieth and nineteenth centuries, and almost never mention the past that is more recent from their perspective. One memorable episode features a poker game between a character and the simulated personalities of several great scientists—Isaac Newton, Albert Einstein, and Stephen Hawking (played by himself)—all figures important or recent to the twentieth-century audience, and none of the great minds that presumably must have existed much closer to the narrative present.[2] Another episode features a dream sequence where the sound of ringing is discovered to be coming from a corded, rotary-style telephone another character picks up and answers.[3] Viewers in the 1990s

might still recognize and understand this telephone as a device that rings and must be picked up and placed against the ear and mouth to communicate, but it requires a greater stretch of the imagination to believe that twenty-fourth-century people (who communicate through tiny, badge-like devices and video calls) would dream about—or even recognize—this device, which was already obsolete at the time of the episode's airing.[4] This is nearly the same telephone that makes an appearance in *Hi no tori*, where it is used with equally anachronistic familiarity by a twelfth-century samurai. The telephone, it seems, is a useful signifier of recent modernity that can be inserted into either the past or the future.

Therefore, as I began to think about anachronism as topic of study, I was confronted by this dizzying diversity of anachronisms. How could a theoretical framework of anachronism be developed when they may operate both proleptically and postleptically, appear in both popular culture and "high" literature, be used both comedically and seriously, and occur in both Japan and the West? At the same time, however, I began to notice an even more profound—and important—division in the typology of anachronisms. While the anachronisms I had been interested in drew attention to themselves in one way or another, there was another type of anachronism that sought to conceal its rewriting of history. To name one relatively innocuous example: the popular BBC historical drama *Downton Abbey* is set in the 1910s and 1920s but features hardly any smoking. This is anachronistic but is presented as natural, without comment, in the diegesis of the show, which, with its painstaking attention to detail, is understood as a fictional but accurate representation of the past. Unlike the telephone in the twelfth century, which calls our attention to its absurdity, *Downton Abbey* conceals its anachronism, the equally absurd insertion of twenty-first-century health regimes into the past. But this is only apparent if one has existing knowledge of the ubiquity of tobacco use in the early twentieth century. Without that knowledge, the lack of cigarettes seems plausible in the past precisely because it is familiar in our own twenty-first-century world. The present has successfully been written into the past, and the operation concealed. Or take the US television show *Sleepy Hollow*, a reimagining of the Washington Irving story. The protagonist, Ichabod Crane, grapples with a headless horseman in the American Revolutionary period, only to be put into a magical sleep and awaken in our twenty-first-century present. In order to uncover the supernatural mysteries of his past, Crane must team up with Sleepy Hollow's town sheriff, an African American woman. One might expect some racial

or gendered tension here, but Crane turns out to be an avid abolitionist and early feminist, and with just a single comment about women wearing pants he proceeds to work with the sheriff smoothly and eventually become close friends with her. Crane is naturally amazed at modern technology, but not modern sociopolitics. Crane's attitudes are anachronisms, as he already exhibits present-day racial and gender ideology centuries in the past and can therefore fit into modern society perfectly upon arrival, an extremely unlikely scenario. Again, the past is rewritten with the attitudes or ideologies of the present, and this succeeds precisely because these things are a given in our present-day world, and unless there is something to highlight the absurdity of the anachronism it seems plausible—imperative, even—that they would be present in the past as well. The idea that current beliefs about justice and equality were already evident in the past, in the era when the United States was founded and its ideals were formulated, is extremely seductive. But at the same time this anachronism might be said to do disservice to the real history of racial and gender oppressions, and the historical struggles against them.

I realized that this distinction, between anachronisms that playfully reveal their historical counterfactuality and those that earnestly conceal it, was the most important in the typology of anachronisms, and that all the other categories I had noticed (serious or playful, modern or premodern, prolepsis or postlepsis, etc.) could be subsumed by this higher-order category. This book is the result of thinking about these two main kinds of anachronism, and attempting to find a theoretical framework for them. However, I decided that no study could account for *all* historical dislocation, and so I have omitted time travel in its various forms (both time machines and ghosts from the distant past). Not only would the huge number of time-travel texts expand the scope of the study to unwieldy proportions, but travel between eras is qualitatively different from the overlapping of eras, or the seepage of one era into another, as mentioned above. This study, therefore, limits itself to anachronisms not accounted for by a diegetic mechanism (time machines, magic, ghosts, etc.) for moving characters from one era to another. I have also excluded from this study postleptic anachronisms because it is rarely possible to establish that the insertion of the present into an imagined future is really anachronistic (it is plausible, if not likely, that the characters in *Star Trek* might know what a telephone is, since our present is available to them as history). To the extent that texts insert present-day *ideology* into the future, the gesture is not so much anachronistic as it is uto-

pian or dystopian, depending on the text's ideological orientation. Within this more limited scope, I have attempted to theorize a broadly applicable categorization of anachronisms and apply that theory to several texts that use anachronisms.

As mentioned above, anachronism is certainly not a phenomenon exclusive to modern texts. History has always been an important discourse, and so texts have long destabilized that important discourse through anachronism. Although premodern anachronisms might not be immediately apparent to the present-day reader, for whom the long centuries before modernity may melt into an undifferentiated sameness, they were surely evident to their contemporary readers. We can guess that most eighteenth-century readers would have noticed a contemporary school from their everyday urban life anachronistically appearing in the mythicized tenth century, for example, and that the anachronism is certainly doing some work on history. Although my initial interest in anachronism sprung from very modern pop texts, limiting the study of anachronism to such texts would disingenuously treat anachronism as a recent phenomenon in pop culture and fail to acknowledge its long history. This book, therefore, attempts to grapple with anachronism as both a (post)modern and premodern literary phenomenon by examining contemporary works in chapters 2 through 4, and Edo-period (1600–1868) works in chapters 5 and 6. Although there were certainly anachronistic texts before 1600, the Edo period is when mass literacy gave rise to a rich, playful, popular literature alongside popular theater, and therefore many playfully anachronistic texts can be fruitfully examined in the Edo historical context.

My field of training and research is Japanese literature and popular culture, so naturally all the texts I examine are Japanese. Nonetheless, the theories presented are probably applicable to literature of other regions and in other languages. The *work* of a particular textual anachronism is always historically, culturally, and politically specific (as later chapters will show), but the broader framework of anachronism likely resonates across literatures.

STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

The book lays out a theory of anachronism before turning to anachronism in modern texts and then in premodern texts. In the first chapter I consider previous scholarship on anachronism, then develop a typology of anach-

ronism using Bakhtinian and postmodern theory. Broadly, I divide anachronisms without a diegetic textual mechanism (e.g., time travel) into two categories: monologic and dialogic. These categories are based not on the mechanics of anachronism (prolepsis or postlepsis, etc.), but rather on the work anachronisms do on the discourse of history. Monologic anachronisms are those insertions of the present into the past that attempt to unify the past and the present by rewriting the past. Dialogic anachronisms, conversely, do not try to erase the past, and so their work is more subtle. Dialogic anachronisms juxtapose past and present but maintain the diversity of their discourses, not rewriting one voice with another. Dialogic anachronism is the main focus of the study, and I attempt to theorize how such anachronism allows texts to work on and play with history.

In the second chapter I consider two works that employ monologic anachronism—Mori Ōgai's "Abe ichizoku" (The Abe clan) and Shirato Sanpei's *Kamui-den* (The legend of Kamui)—and attempt to recover their representations of history *as* anachronistic while showing how successfully they rewrite the past with the discourse of the present. I then move on to examine Ōe Kenzaburō's *Man'en gannen no futtobōru* (Football in the first year of Man'en), because this novel features both monologic and dialogic engagements with history, putting them in conflict as its central thematic axis. It is therefore an ideal text for illustrating how monologic and dialogic anachronisms operate differently and what is at stake in their historical representations. The title of the book itself is anachronistic, as football (whether soccer or American football) being played in Japan in the first year of Man'en (i.e., 1860, before the Meiji Restoration) is historically unlikely at best. A highlight of Ōe's early period, the novel grapples with themes familiar to his oeuvre, like the violence inherent in a small rural society. He tries to address the historical legitimation of power and violence by superimposing a rural village in 1960 on that same village in 1860. Through this device, he shows in microcosm both monologic and dialogic strategies for using and abusing history.

In chapter 3 I examine Tezuka Osamu's *Hi no tori*, which supplies several of the examples of anachronism here. *Hi no tori* is considered Tezuka's magnum opus, a multivolume work that moves between Japan's past and its future to reconsider where Japan has been and where it is going. The volumes that treat the past are nothing less than a radical deconstruction of the official Japanese state history that legitimated power during Japan's imperial period and World War II. Rather than write yet another history,

however, Tezuka opens up history to play and humor. Anachronistic gags—like a twelfth-century samurai using a telephone—are a major feature of this project, as the present constantly invades the closed, sanctified past of national history.

In chapter 4, I examine several works of Japanese pop culture that do less radical work on Japanese history than *Hi no tori* does, perhaps, but that together pursue a similar project of refamiliarizing the past without rewriting it. I examine the anime *Seibā marionetto J* (Saber Marionette J), the manga *Naruto*, and the manga *Gintama* (Silver soul), each of which mixes present-day technology with the Edo past in various ways. I also examine the anime *Samurai chanpurū*, (translated as Samurai Champloo) which anachronistically inserts hip-hop music and culture into the Edo period. In this chapter I develop the concept of interoperability. These texts use dialogic anachronisms to acknowledge that the present and the Edo past are in fact quite different from each other, but also to suggest that some form of communication or understanding between them may be possible, in the manner of interoperable computer systems. Finally, I apply this theory of interoperability to the visual anachronism in works of contemporary artists Murakami Takashi, Tenmyouya Hisashi, and Noguchi Tetsuya.

In chapter 5, I discuss the uses of history in the Edo period and examine several works of Edo printed literature that employ dialogic anachronisms. History was just as important in the Edo period as it is in the modern period for legitimating social and political power. In particular, history was used to legitimate the rule of the samurai class and the hegemony of the Tokugawa clan, and departures from officially sanctioned history were strictly censored. The texts examined here use anachronism to open up history to absurd and humorous play. I examine the *kibyōshi* (comic books) *Ōmu-gaeshi bunbu no futamichi* (Parroting back, the two paths of pen and sword) and *Daihi no senrokuhon* (The thousand arms of merciful profit) and the *gōkan* (illustrated novel) *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (A fake Murasaki's country Genji). Each of these texts uses dialogic anachronisms that operate similarly to the dialogic anachronisms in modern texts, but support projects specific to the political and social environment of the Edo period. By inserting samurai of the present into the past, or present-day artifacts and mercantilism into the past, the texts each attempt in their own way to destabilize the legitimation of samurai history and the teleology of Tokugawa rule.

Chapter 6 examines three works of the popular Edo theater. *Sukeroku yukari no Edo-zakura* (Sukeroku, the cherry blossom of Edo), *Sugawara denju*

tenarai kagami (The mirror of the transmission of Sugawara's calligraphy), and *Yoshitsune senbon zakura* (Yoshitsune and the thousand cherry trees) all insert the present urban landscape of the mercantile, commoner class into the past. These dialogic anachronisms have the effect of reclaiming that past from official history, showing urban commoners living alongside heroes and emperors, and sanctified historical figures living comfortably in the contemporary urban milieu. These texts suggest that commoners as well have a claim to the powerful discourse of history. They also imply, again, interoperability between past and present, but this time with added class implications. While samurai have always claimed to be the inheritors of the legacy of past heroes, these texts show that commoners are also able to share their ideals and touch their greatness. Furthermore, this chapter explores metadramatic anachronism. When an actor playing a figure from the past briefly suspends the pretense to acknowledge his present-day real self, two eras are superimposed on one body. Kabuki especially reveled (and still revels) in this form of metadramatic play, and therefore each performance might bring a new, unique anachronistic destabilization of the history being performed. Finally, the conclusion connects anachronism to other forms of literary alienation, estrangement, and metafiction.

1

Toward a Theory of Anachronism

In Tezuka Osamu's (手塚治虫, 1928–89) *Hi no tori* (火の鳥, Phoenix, 1980), the following remarkable sequence occurs. The year is 1184. Minamoto no Yoshitsune (源義経, 1159–89) has been sent by his brother Minamoto no Yoritomo (源頼朝, 1147–99) to drive the army of their erstwhile ally Kiso no Yoshinaka (木曾義仲, 1154–84) out of Kyoto and kill him. Finally, Yoshinaka is defeated, and his head is taken to be presented to Yoshitsune at his camp. Yoshitsune inspects the head and, now certain that Yoshinaka is dead, must inform Yoritomo straight away. He picks up a telephone proffered by a retainer. "Hello, Brother? Yoshinaka is dead."[1]

The scene is remarkable because it is entirely anachronistic. At the same time, it is relatively unremarkable in the context of *Hi no tori*, which peppers such anachronisms throughout its retelling of Japanese history. Why is this anachronism here in this representation of history? What is the text doing with it? Anachronisms tend to be dismissed as mere errors in a text, based on an author forgetting or not knowing that two things do not belong in the same era. But while we can imagine authors erroneously believing—to name one infamous example—that Romans used stirrups, clearly Tezuka cannot have been under the mistaken impression that Yoshitsune possessed a telephone. What is clear is that the anachronism is humorous. Precisely because it is so obviously out of place, the use of the telephone becomes a comic element. However, it should never be presumed that comedy is innocent. Anachronisms are an engagement with history. They allow the past and present (and sometimes the future) to interpenetrate each other. In doing so, they summon up multiple discourses about the past and the present—history, in other words—and overlay them in a manner that is preposterous

yet undeniably appealing. What work could anachronisms be doing on the crucial battleground of history?

To begin, we should acknowledge that some anachronisms, like the image of Romans using stirrups, really are simple errors that are noticed neither by the author nor by the readers (except perhaps the rare Roman history buff). However, it is noteworthy that neither (authorial) *intention* nor (readerly) *attention* is necessary for an anachronism to work on history. Stanley Kubrick likely had no idea that the stirrups Romans used in his *Spartacus* (1960) were anachronistic; the millions who watched the film were likely also largely unaware. And yet, as Tessa Morris-Suzuki notes, "popular conceptions of the past are swayed by certain mass-marketed narratives of history."[2] Precisely because the anachronism was not noticed, it is easy to imagine that it was accepted as historical representation—in effect, rewriting history. In this case little is at stake. Certainly, the error is egregious when we consider that it was arguably the very lack of stirrups that led to Rome's eventual decline, when it was challenged by powers with more capable cavalries. But nothing in our own present society, politics, culture, or ideology depends on that history, and it is precisely because stirrups are of so little importance in present-day social formations that the anachronism escapes attention. Nevertheless, *Spartacus* managed to exercise a kind of radical violence on history without anyone intending or noticing it. Even mere errors have power.

So while some anachronisms might indeed be errors on the part of authors (or directors), that does not disarm the anachronism of its rhetorical potential, since anachronisms can work on history regardless. Nevertheless, for centuries the critical approach to literature's most famous anachronisms—namely Shakespeare's—has been to dismiss them as mere authorial errors. Phyllis Rackin writes that for scholars who take such an approach, "anachronisms can only be faults, either faults to be blamed as the embarrassing evidence of Shakespeare's lack of education or faults to be excused as the product of a genius too preoccupied with the essence of universal truth to trouble itself with the accident of transient fashions or temporary opinions. These positions, in fact, pretty much exhaust the range of commentary on Shakespearean anachronism [before our own time]."[3] Therefore, Shakespeare's anachronisms were largely ignored, presumed to have been unnoticed by both the author and his audience because of "Shakespeare's ignorance or . . . the benighted age in which he lived."[4] Benighted,

that is, because of the deplorable state of historiography during his time, at least from the perspective of Enlightenment scholars.

While, again, anachronisms require neither intention nor attention to operate on history, Rackin notes that scholars who cataloged Shakespeare's anachronisms as errors "historicized Shakespeare's practice, but only at the cost of denying that Shakespeare and his contemporaries were capable of historicizing their own past." Shakespeare was writing at a point in history when the medieval past could be distinguished clearly from the present of the Renaissance. This consciousness of temporal distance "alienated a nostalgic present from a lost historical past."[5] Shakespeare's history plays, therefore, invoke a discourse of difference by portraying a past not contiguous with the present. Yet his anachronisms create a site of contiguity between past and present in the middle of that discourse. This contiguity is ahistorical and counterfactual, and so it is unlikely that such a remarkable thing was completely unnoticed by either author or audience—just as readers and authors in Edo-period Japan were certainly historicizing their own past and noticing the anachronisms in the works I examine in later chapters. Shakespearean anachronisms are, then, according to Rackin, sites of "radical instability," an instability that is "political as well as epistemological: the multiply conflicted site designated by anachronism was also the point where historiographic representation, whether in the form of written narrative or dramatic reenactment, could take on dangerous present relevance."[6]

This instability could be made to work for many projects, from the literary-symbolic to the political. Sigurd Burckhardt has argued that the clock striking in *Julius Caesar* (set centuries before mechanical clocks) is a deliberate anachronism, designed to drive home the fact that "time is now reckoned in a new, Caesarean style," emphasizing Caesar's terrible power.[7] And Rackin provides evidence that the political potential of anachronisms was appreciated in Shakespeare's own time, sometimes to deadly effect:

> On the day before their unsuccessful uprising against Queen Elizabeth, followers of the Earl of Essex sponsored a performance of Shakespeare's *Richard II*, apparently hoping the play would incite its audience to join their rebellion. A tiny anachronism, not likely to attract attention in a modern theatre, occurs in act II, scene i, when one of the fourteenth-century conspirators against King Richard charges that the king has used benevolences to extort money from his subjects. Shakespeare may have

> known that Richard II never used the forced loans called benevolences; Holinshed, his source for most of the history plays, states that benevolences were introduced by Edward IV, who reigned late in the following century. And the authorities in Elizabeth's England certainly knew that Richard II never used benevolences because this very anachronism . . . was cited at the trial of Essex as evidence that "the times of Elizabeth rather than those of Richard II were in question."[8]

Here anachronism acts as a coded signifier, signaling that while the text is nominally about an era far enough removed from the present to be portrayed critically without fear of censorship or censure, it is really about the politics of the present: the benevolences of present-day monarchs. Rackin does not insist that every Shakespearean anachronism is significant, conceding that many are just examples of poetic license used to rearrange the order of events or ages of characters in order to make a dramatic point.[9] Nevertheless, the significant, historically operative anachronisms uncovered above suggest that the default position toward anachronism should be critical attention. To dismiss anachronism as mere error would be to repeat the mistake of centuries of Shakespeare scholars and ignore the work that anachronisms can do on the historical discourses they invoke.

This is especially important for contemporary literature and culture because, just like Shakespeare's era, our own time is marked by that same consciousness of temporal distance from a lost past.[10] We are keenly aware of the break between the premodern and the modern, and even the postwar era is now often remembered nostalgically as an idyllic, lost time. Just like Shakespeare's history plays, contemporary depictions of history invoke a discourse of difference by portraying a past not contiguous with the present. And anachronisms that appear in these works create a site of contiguity between past and present in the middle of that discourse. It is these sites of radical instability that this study examines.

Anachronisms are radical sites of instability that invoke and abuse discourses of history, but from the few examples cited so far we can already see that anachronisms are not all the same. Yoshitsune's use of a telephone is reflexive, absurd, and comedic, while Romans' use of stirrups is unreflexive and overlooked. Both anachronisms are sites of historical instability that do work on history, but they do that work differently, and to different ends. In the introduction I discuss several types of anachronism that one might consider in developing a typology of anachronism—humorous and serious, pro-

leptic (the present in the past) and postleptic (the present in the future), and so forth—and we might add to these purposeful and erroneous. But rather than centering these dichotomies, I propose that the most serious, highest-order categorical division of anachronisms is between those that reveal their work on history and those that conceal it. This, then, is where I begin my study of anachronism and my attempt to create a theoretical framework for examining the work anachronism does in literature and culture. I propose two broad categories of anachronisms, based on how they act on the discourses of history they are caught up with: *dialogic* and *monologic*. These categories distinguish anachronisms based on the way they summon up discourses about the past and the present and do work on them for the reader, rather than their temporal direction, intentionality, or humorousness. Simply put, *dialogic anachronisms* allow the "voices" of the various discourses summoned—received history, contemporary culture, technology, or what have you—to remain distinct and to interilluminate one another without resolving into a new unitary narrative. Conversely, *monologic anachronisms* attempt to create a synthesis of the various summoned discourses into a new, unified narrative—in other words, they attempt to rewrite history.

I frame this discussion of monologic and dialogic anachronism entirely in terms of proleptic anachronism—and indeed, all examples in the following chapters are of the present inserted into the past—for two reasons. First, proleptic anachronisms are far more clear cut and demonstrable. A telephone with a base and corded handset is clearly impossible in the twelfth century. On the other hand, such a telephone in the twenty-fourth century is only very unlikely. If a fiction of the far future is connected to our own present and past it is entirely possible that such objects could have survived, perhaps as museum pieces or through a fad for retro technology. The diegesis of the future does not make the appearance of the accoutrements of the present completely counterfactual, whereas the diegeses of the past does. Second, representations of the past are far more contentious than those of the future. The future has yet to happen, and so we understand that any representation of it is fictional or at best aspirational, mere possibility. The past, however, has already happened, and therefore representing (re-presenting) it always involves grappling with an established narrative of actual events. More importantly, representations of the past are contentious because of their power to legitimate or challenge the regimes (social, political, ideological, economic) of the present. Many battles of the present are fought on the battleground of history, and disrupting representation of the past has enor-

mous rhetorical potential. I therefore focus on anachronisms that disrupt or rewrite history in one form or another as they have a compelling power to challenge or reshape the present.

As the names *monologic* and *dialogic* imply, this categorization is grounded in Bakhtinian theory. Mikhail Bakhtin, concerned mainly with the language of novels, contested the notion of unitary language by proposing that each speech act consists of a heteroglossia of languages:

> The word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language (it is not, after all, out of a dictionary that the speaker gets his words!), but rather it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's contexts, serving other people's intentions: it is from there that one must take the word, and make it one's own. And not all words for just anyone submit equally easily to this appropriation, to this seizure and transformation into private property: many words stubbornly resist, others remain alien, sound foreign in the mouth of the one who appropriated them and who now speaks them; they cannot be assimilated into his context and fall out of it, it is as if they put themselves in quotation marks against the will of the speaker. Language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is populated—overpopulated—with the intentions of others.[11]

Therefore, any speech act is characterized by dialogue or dialogism, a term that for Bakhtin means preserving and evoking a multiplicity of voices contesting one another. As Michael Holquist writes of Bakhtin:

> Dialogism is the characteristic epistemological mode of a world dominated by heteroglossia. Everything means, is understood, as a part of a greater whole—there is a constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others. . . . Dialogue and its various processes are central to Bakhtin's theory, and it is precisely as verbal process (participial modifiers) that their force is most accurately sensed. A word, discourse, language or culture undergoes "dialogization" when it becomes relativized, de-privileged, aware of competing definitions for the same things.[12]

Dialogism, thus, is reflexively aware of itself as a whole that is not monolithic or unified, but that rather consists of different voices pulling one another in different directions, with "competing definitions for the same things."

Monologism, on the other hand, seeks to impose unity on diverse voices, to synthesize them into a monologue, a unified and unitary expression: a single voice. Bakhtin writes:

> Unitary language constitutes the theoretical expression of the historical processes of linguistic unification and centralization, an expression of the centripetal forces of language. A unitary language is not something given [*dan*] but is always in essence posited [*zadan*]—and at every moment of its linguistic life it is opposed to the realities of heteroglossia. But at the same time it makes its real presence felt as a force for overcoming this heteroglossia, imposing specific limits to it, guaranteeing a certain maximum of mutual understanding and crystalizing into a real, although still relative, unity—the unity of the reigning conversational (everyday) and literary language, "correct language."[13]

Monologic discourse, therefore, seeks to impose limits on a heteroglossia of voices, transforming them from a system of competing voices into a unified, single utterance that conforms to or constructs "correct" discourse. For Bakhtin, monologue is related to, if not synonymous with, the concept of the dialectic. He writes: "Take a dialogue and remove the voices (the partitioning of voices), remove the intonations (emotional and individualizing ones), carve out abstract concepts and judgments from living words and responses, cram everything into one abstract consciousness—and that's how you get dialectics."[14] In this view, the prized mechanism of Hegel's dialectic—the resolution of thesis and antithesis into synthesis—is in fact a kind of violence that erases the distinctiveness of the individual voices or languages in a text and artificially forces them to speak as one. Dialecticism is just the transformation of a rich dialogue into a flat monologue.

I use these Bakhtinian concepts to categorize anachronism, except that where Bakhtin was mainly concerned with language in a text, the "voices" in an anachronism are the various social discourses on different historical eras. Any proleptic anachronism is a collision of discourses on the archaic and the modern, the past and the present, history and current affairs. Dialogic anachronism reflexively calls attention to the presence of these different discourses *as* difference. It maintains the difference and distance between the past and the present, between history and the now, to create a heterotopia of eras. It overtly acknowledges that it is juxtaposing or superimposing two incompatible discourses precisely by highlighting the absurdity of their juxtaposition and their incompatibility, therefore never allow-

ing them to merge into a synthesis. A dialogic anachronism preserves the distinct "voices" of the historical or ideological discourses it summons, yet nevertheless puts those discourses in proximity, allowing them to interilluminate and therefore allowing each to be reconsidered in light of the other discourses present at the site of juxtaposition.

Yoshitsune using a telephone is an apt example of a dialogic anachronism. It summons historical discourses on samurai, the Genpei War, Japanese premodernity, and Yoshitsune himself, and juxtaposes them with discourses on modernity, technology, and present-day communications networks. The juxtaposition is absurd and comical, and precisely for that reason the anachronism does not resolve into a synthesis. That is to say, it does not create a history where Yoshitsune actually used a telephone.[15] The anachronism highlights the heteroglossia of discourses present within it, allowing them to remain partitioned and distinct: a dialogue of voices pulling at one another with competing definitions. In metatextually acknowledging the incompatibility of discourses (and playfully juxtaposing them anyway), the text invites the reader to see each in a new light. This interillumination does not produce a conclusive reading—conclusiveness is hardly possible in a dialogue with many distinct voices clamoring for their own readings and meanings—but rather opens up each discourse to new possibilities. Perhaps telephones would not have been so alien to twelfth-century samurai? Perhaps modern communications technology has not really changed human sociopolitical interaction, but merely the speed at which it takes place? (Yoshitsune and Yoritomo still have their fateful falling out, despite the telephone.) By creating a point of contact between the past and the present, the anachronism makes either of these readings—and others—newly possible, but by maintaining the partitioning between past and present the text does not rewrite either discourse with the other. A dialogic anachronism demands a multiply layered reading. Obviously, it is absurd that Yoshitsune could have actually picked up a telephone with no consternation, and in one layer the reader understands this because the anachronism calls attention to this comical absurdity. Yet that understanding is allowed to coexist with the new, counterfactual possibilities opened up in another layer by the juxtaposition of eras. Dialogic anachronism creates a kind of dual temporality of reading.

Conversely, a monologic (or dialectic) anachronism attempts to remove the partitions between the discourses on history and current society and synthesize them into a single discourse. The past and the present are not

allowed to remain distinct and different, but are shown to be compatible and made to speak with the same voice. In practice, this usually means rewriting the past to make it accommodate present-day ideology. I discuss examples of monologic anachronism in more depth in chapter 2. But for the time being, we might briefly consider Mori Ōgai's (森鴎外) 1913 short story "Abe ichizoku" (阿部一族, The Abe clan), about the events surrounding the death of a feudal lord in the seventeenth century and the wishes of his retainers to follow him in death via ritual suicide. In the text, there is little mention of the ideology of virtuous loyalty and valorized suicide that gave such acts meaning at the time. Instead, the characters are motivated by socioeconomic factors acting on individuals. Katsuya Hirano has argued that the Meiji state constructed the monadic individual, who independently interacted with the state and capital as the primary unit of society, in order to build a populace that could meet the demands of modern statehood and capitalism.[16] "Abe ichizoku" inserts this modern, monadic individual into the past anachronistically. This effectively makes the past speak with the voice of present trends and ideologies, collapsing the separate discourses of past and present into a new monologic voice. This monologic strategy can be politically potent. By making the past speak with the voice of the present, monologic anachronism makes the past attest the ideologies of the present, making it seem as if "things have always been this way."[17]

In order for dialogic anachronism to reflexively summon and partition discourses, it must be immediately appreciable as an anachronism, for if it is too subtle it will fail to call attention to the discourses of past and present it is evoking for the reader. For that reason, dialogic anachronisms are anachronisms that *reveal* their work on history, and usually involve objects, settings, and people that are obviously and noticeably out of their time. They are often also comedic and carnivalesque, much like Yoshitsune using a telephone. As Holquist writes, "carnival . . . is a means for displaying otherness," and putting the mutual otherness of past and present on display is how dialogic anachronism keeps them partitioned.[18] Monologic anachronisms, however, must perform the opposite maneuver. An obvious anachronism would call attention to its own absurdity and constructedness. Since monologic anachronisms seek to convincingly rewrite the past, they *conceal* the ideological work they are doing. Put another way, all anachronisms are intertextual phenomena that invoke extratextual discourses about disparate eras (the past and the present), but while dialogic anachronisms reflexively call attention to their intertextuality, monologic anachronisms must con-

ceal this intertextual nature. Monologic anachronisms must *persuasively* characterize the past as attesting the truths of the present. For that reason, monologic anachronisms tend to concern anachronistic ideologies, psychology, and social trends.

Thus, all anachronisms contain a heteroglossia of discourse about the past and present. The difference is that monologic anachronisms hide their own nature as heteroglossic, while dialogic anachronisms expose and highlight it. Julia Kristeva incorporated Bakhtin's theories of dialogue and heteroglossia into her own theoretical work on intertextuality, and it is therefore fitting that anachronism be described in intertextual terms as well. As Kristeva writes, "any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another."[19] The anachronistic text quotes not from specific texts, but rather from the virtual text of the cultural discourses on both the past and the present, enacting a "transposition of one (or several) sign-system(s) into another."[20] As Roland Barthes has written, "any text is an intertext; other texts are present in it, at varying levels, in more or less recognisable forms: the texts of the previous and surrounding culture."[21] All anachronistic texts have the surrounding culture, past and present, within them: namely, cultural ideology about the past and the present and the history that separates the two. In texts with monologic anachronisms, however, the culture of the present is "less recognizable," and in those with dialogic anachronisms it is "more recognizable." Dialogic anachronism is the *recognizable* culture of the present being quoted alongside the culture of the past, creating for the reader an intertext where past and present are metatextually superimposed.[22]

One more categorical difference exists between monologic and dialogic anachronism: their orientation toward the trajectory of history. Monologic anachronisms rewrite the past to make it speak with the voice of present-day ideology. This does not necessarily mean that they make the past seem just like the present; rather, they situate the past along an ideological narrative of history. Both similarity and difference in the past are constructed to conform to an ideology's notions about the trajectory that leads from the past to the future. Consider, for example, the Marxist trajectory of history, leading from greater oppression in the past through increasingly liberatory movements. A monologic anachronism that rewrites the past to conform to this ideological trajectory would emphasize some similarities between the past and present (e.g., class oppression and struggle) but also some differences (e.g., the relatively greater class oppression under feudalism). I exam-

ine such an example in chapter 2. The key point is that these trajectories do not stop at the present, but lead into the future, to a teleology. Dialogic anachronisms, meanwhile, do not force the past to align with an ideological trajectory of history. They may certainly open up the past to new possibilities, new familiarities, and invite us to reconsider the past in terms of the discourse of different eras. But because they allow the heteroglossia of discourses about past and present to remain suspended in dialogue rather than collapsing to synthesis, they reflexively acknowledge the past as difference. The anachronism might make us reassess that difference, but it cannot erase that difference to make the past speak in the unitary language of present-day ideology. The dialogic anachronism does not align history on a trajectory towards a teleology.

As the discussion of teleologies suggests, I frame the operation of anachronism in terms of postmodern theory. I wish to tread carefully here, however, because while I believe that the body of postmodern theory is useful in illuminating the historical orientation of monologic and dialogic anachronisms and the work they perform on history, postmodern theory developed in response to specific historical changes in culture since roughly the 1970s. I do not wish to claim that anachronisms are delimited by the era in which they are written—indeed, the later chapters of this book are devoted to the study of dialogic anachronisms in the early modern period. The anatomy of an anachronism depends on the orientation of a *text* toward history, not that of the overarching culture, and both dialogic and monologic anachronisms might be attested in any era. Many theorists of postmodernism have considered and written about the relationship between culture, text, and history, and while I delve into that corpus to uncover the mechanism of textual anachronism, I do not incorporate the periodization of postmodernity into my typology of anachronism.

In Jean-François Lyotard's well-known definition, postmodernism is "incredulity towards metanarratives."[23] Metanarratives, or grand narratives, are modernity's engines of legitimation, totalizing (or all-encompassing) narratives of humanity and the individual's place within it that legitimize the promulgation of truth and exercise of power. William V. Spanos, although he uses the term "that which has become official" rather than "grand narrative," is talking about the same thing when he identifies its role in legitimation: it is "the cultural value system the State relies on to maintain its authority without having to resort to force."[24] Axel Honneth, in his reading of Lyotard, defines a grand narrative as "a philosophy of history which con-

strues the history of the species as a process of emancipation" or "a philosophy of history which construes the process of history as a realization of Reason in the sciences."[25] In other words, a grand narrative is a narrative of the human species with a utopian end point (emancipation or enlightenment). Since the present is aligned on this historical narrative somewhere before that end point, progress still needs to be made, and for that purpose power can be legitimated if it is exercised toward that end.

The idea of the grand narrative is crucial to modernity's interaction with history. Modernity seeks to construct consensus by aligning the present on a certain trajectory from past to future. This legitimates the will to power in the present, but also necessitates a recasting of the past. For if the grand narrative really is a totalizing narrative of humanity, *its truths must be evident in the past as well as the present*. In other words, truth as mandated by the grand narrative must always have been true. Evidence to the contrary must be explained away as due to insufficient emancipation or enlightenment (which the present necessarily has more of, given its trajectory of progress according to the grand narrative). In other words, under a grand narrative the truths we hold to be true have always been true; they have merely been repressed somehow in the past. This is most easily discernible in the Enlightenment narrative of science and reason: light has always traveled at a certain speed, mass has always been conserved, and so on, but humans were not enlightened enough to realize it. Grand narratives that proclaim more human truths must project those truths into the past in the same manner.

Hence, various colonialist, Marxist, fascist, nationalist, and other rereadings of history have arisen to support various grand narratives and the power they legitimate. And here it is evident that monologic anachronisms function according to the logic of the metanarrative apparatus of history. Monologic anachronisms often rewrite history according to a present metanarrative. As discussed above, they change the past to situate it on a certain trajectory to the present, a trajectory ideologically demanded by the grand narrative. This trajectory—from the past to the present to a utopian future—in turn legitimates power in the present that is exercised to move society toward that future. As Jürgen Habermas writes of modernity's break with the past, "the cult of the new mean[s] in fact the exaltation of the present . . . a longing for an undefiled, immaculate and stable present."[26] For the present to be both long and stable, it must be extended into the past. If the past fails to attest present truths, this is just evidence of ignorance, insufficient representation, or repressive political or social conditions. This,

then, is the *logic* of modernity's engagement with history. This logic may have become culturally dominant in the chronological period recognized as modern, but that does not mean that the use of this logic is neatly bounded by that chronology. Monologic anachronisms follow this logic of modernity's engagement with history, although they may be found in premodern and postmodern literature. Monologic anachronisms are sites of radical temporal instability that allow the past and the present to be mixed and forced into a new consensus so that the past can attest to the present, lining up history in a trajectory of progress to a teleological future.

Postmodernism, however, is marked by the aforementioned incredulity toward these grand narratives. Lyotard notes the "obsolescence of the metanarrative apparatus of legitimation. . . . The narrative function is losing its functors, its great hero, its great dangers, its great voyages, its great goal."[27] Azuma Hiroki also observes this obsolescence of the metanarrative function, writing that in postmodernity "grand narratives [are] already neither produced nor desired."[28] This has a profound effect on the ordering of society, since as the grand narratives obsolesce, the totalizing consensus they constructed falls apart, and the power of the institutions they legitimated comes into question. For Lyotard, "the society of the future falls less within the province of a Newtonian anthropology (such as structuralism or systems theory) than a pragmatics of language particles. There are many different language games—a heterogeneity of elements. They only give rise to institutions in patches, local determinism." The totalizing narrative function of modernity has been replaced by a multitude of "language games," and "each of us lives at the intersection of many of these."[29] Language games are exchanges of speech acts according to certain rules, which function to make the exchange a pleasurable game in the same way that, say, the rules of chess do. These speech acts can range from simple utterances to "a promise, a literary description, a narration, etc."[30] Here I broadly construe language games to be any exchange of language according to the rules of a social discourse, from the production of literary works in response to other works, to competing interpretations of history, to exchanges of memes on the internet. What is important to note is that the rules of the game are a contract between players, not legitimated by an external discourse, and that "every utterance should be thought of as a 'move' in a game."[31] Every speech act is participating in some language game or another, and there is no transcendental plane above the social, discursive, playful level of the language game.

Subjectivity is determined not at the societal level or by a grand narra-

tive, then, but at a relentlessly individual level by a series of overlapping, simultaneous, dialogic conversations (language games), forestalling any totalizing consensus. This engenders the social fracturing and decentering that is the hallmark of postmodernity. Azuma is thinking along similar lines when he argues that the grand narratives that existed in the "inner layer" of texts in modernity have been replaced by a "grand non-narrative"—namely, a database of emotionally evocative or affective elements (which he dubs *moe yōso* [萌え要素], or *moe* elements) that is constructed dialogically by readers. Texts (the "surface outer layer") freely pick evocative elements from this database and combine them, but the database cannot have a narrative function:

> The agency that determines the appearance that emerges on the surface outer layer resides on the surface itself rather than in the deep inner layer; i.e., it belongs on the side of the user who is doing the "reading up," rather than with the hidden information itself. In the world of the modern . . . model, the surface outer layer is determined by the deep inner layer [the grand narrative], but in the world of the postmodern database model, the surface outer layer is not determined by the deep inner layer; the surface reveals different expressions at those numerous moments of "reading up."[32]

The individual "reading up" of affective elements, and the subsequent modification of the database to include new elements, is similar to the language games Lyotard proposes. Azuma is willing to allow for more of a postmodern mass society in the form of the shared database, but in both cases the construction of meaning is distributed to the individual level and formed dialogically rather than by a totalizing grand narrative.

Naturally, this has major implications for texts' interaction with history. Since the grand narrative is not functional in postmodern cultural logic, the truths of the present (such as they are, formed locally by language games) do not require a certain historical trajectory in order to remain true, and so there is no need to inscribe them onto the past, as there is when the logic of metanarrative legitimation is operative. Yet there is still interest in history, perhaps because the weight modernity placed on it has a lingering effect, or perhaps simply because history is interesting. History is, after all, just another language game, and language games can be engaged in purely for pleasure, just as Azuma's postmodern reader takes pleasure in combining

affective elements. "To speak is to fight, in the sense of playing," Lyotard tells us, but "this does not necessarily mean that one plays in order to win. A move can be made for the sheer pleasure of its invention: what else is involved in that labor of language harassment undertaken by popular speech and by literature? Great joy is had in the endless invention of turns of phrase, of words and meanings, the process behind the evolution of language on the level of *parole*."[33]

History, then, can be construed as a language game that gives particular pleasure to its players, as there is apparently no shortage of engagement with history in postmodern texts. But although history can be engaged with, this postmodern form of engagement with history demands that history not be rewritten. For one thing, the grand narratives that would necessitate the revision of the past for their own legitimation projects are now objects of suspicion. But more importantly, postmodern language games themselves thrive on difference, on heterogeneity.[34] To remove the past's difference by rewriting it to impose the ideology of the present on it is an attempt to force consensus—the enemy of Lyotard's postmodernity—which hobbles the language game, preventing any further moves. This monologism is a form of what Lyotard identifies as "terror," the forced truncation of the language game, which is unacceptable since it denies players the pleasure of its continuation.[35] Therefore, postmodern engagement with history must acknowledge the past's difference from the present—the heteroglossia of past and present.

With the idea of History as a transcendental truth suspect in postmodern cultural logic, history is only available to language games as text, and the texts of history are always part of some ideological project, whether that of the kings who sponsored their writing or the grand narratives of later modern rewriting. Postmodernist texts engage with history as another text, rather than presenting a new, authoritative history of their own. Therefore, they must summon other texts, including those very authoritative texts of modern history. Even as they playfully dismantle these histories, postmodernist texts remind readers that these are histories with deep claims to authority. As Linda Hutcheon writes, postmodernism "ultimately manages to install and reinforce as much as undermine and subvert the conventions and presuppositions it appears to challenge."[36] Although postmodernist texts destabilize modern historical discourses, they necessarily point to those discourses as targets that need destabilizing, paradoxically reinforcing these discourses' claims to truth even in the act of disruption.

Dialogic anachronisms follow this mode of historical engagement. By revealing or highlighting their disruption of the past with unmistakable absurdity (e.g., Yoshitsune using a telephone), dialogic anachronisms preserve the temporal diversity of the past—they in fact emphasize its difference from the present—allowing readers to revel in the pleasure of the language game. Yet, they also reveal a desire to engage with the past, to draw it closer and to make it more relatable to the present; just because the past is not on a trajectory leading to ourselves in the present does not mean that the past is not interesting or important. Dialogic anachronisms attempt this paradoxical project of drawing the past closer without rewriting it by superimposing the past and present at a site of radical instability. But this superimposed image is not resolved into a synthesis. The discourses of the past and the present exist simultaneously, interanimating each other rather than being synthesized into a new monologue.

In the remainder of this chapter, I put this theory of anachronism into conversation with existing scholarship on the relationship between text, history, and metafiction. Several scholars have addressed this topic, although not the function of anachronism specifically. For example, Fredric Jameson diagnoses postmodernism as "schizophrenic" when it comes to history. Here Jameson means schizophrenic in the sense (if not the clinical reality) that the person with schizophrenia is unable to experience "continuity over time" and "thus given over to an undifferentiated vision of the world in the present."[37] Postmodern society has lost its "sense of history . . . its capacity to retain its own past" and "has begun to live in a perpetual present and in a perpetual change that obliterates traditions of the kind which all earlier social formations have had in one way or another to preserve."[38] But Jameson here is talking not about the obliteration of history and tradition so much as about the shortening of the horizon of history, the point where something falls from "the present" into "the past" or "history." He writes (in 1985), "think only of the media exhaustion of news: of how Nixon and, even more so, Kennedy are figures from a now distant past." The present moment becomes shorter and shorter as the point where present becomes past draws closer. Therefore, time is broken into a "series of perpetual presents."[39] The history and traditions that Jameson is talking about, then, are in fact the history and traditions of the present (or in the new estimation, the very recent past). This is an important distinction because postmodernist texts and the postmodern mode of engaging with history demonstrate a keen sense of

the continuities and discontinuities of history. The discourse on continuity, history, and historical difference is not lost in postmodernism; rather, the temporal point at which earlier moments become the past (and therefore irreconcilably different from our present) has drawn nearer.

Jameson does come close to addressing anachronism at one point, when he discusses counterfactual historiographical fiction:

> Thus, for example, we may imagine (in such a postmodern narrative) the visit of the great Prussian neoclassical architect Schinkel to the new industrial city of Manchester: the conceit is historically possible, and offers the relatively postmodern charm of an episode that falls through the cracks (did the young Stalin actually go to London once? How about Marx's incognito inspection of the American Civil War?). . . . It is a comic-book juxtaposition, somewhat like a schoolboy exercise in which all kinds of disparate materials are put together in new ways. The visit also happened in reality, it turns out; but by now one is tempted to recall Adorno's wisecrack about something else, namely, that "even if it was a fact, it wouldn't be true." The postmodern flavor of the episode returns upon the "historical record" to derealize and denature it. . . .
>
> Those are, however, the cultural and ideological effects of the structure, whose conditions of possibility lie very precisely in our sense that each of the elements involved, and thus incongruously combined, belong to radically distinct and different registers: architecture and socialism, romantic art and the history of technology, politics and the imitation of antiquity. Even if these registers do oddly and dialectically coincide, as in the matter of urbanism, in which "Schinkel" is fully as much an encyclopedia entry as Engels's book on Manchester, our preconscious minds refuse to make or acknowledge the link, as those [*sic*] these cards came from different files . . . [but] it is very precisely their interesting dissonance and the garish magic realism of their unexpected juxtaposition which is the bonus of pleasure to be consumed.
>
> It should not be thought that the postmodern narrative in any way overcomes or transcends the bizarre discursive separation at issue here: the latter is not at all to be grasped as a "contradiction" to which the postmodern collage affords a semblance of "resolution." The postmodern effect, on the contrary, ratifies the specializations and differentiations on which it is based: it presupposes them and thereby prolongs and perpet-

> uates them (for if some genuinely unified field of knowledge emerged, where Schinkel and Engels lay down side by side like the lamb and the lion, so to speak, all postmodern incongruity would at once evaporate).[40]

Here we see some applicability to anachronism. Dialogic anachronisms are certainly "comic-book juxtaposition[s]"—indeed, comic books are a prime medium for them, as will be seen in the following chapters. But these juxtapositions are significant precisely because they can put together things of different "registers" or "files" that would not have been linked together in the reader's mind otherwise. (Jameson's discussion of registers anticipates Azuma's database model, where the consumption of disparate elements combined in a single narrative is the source of postmodern pleasure.) Dialogic anachronisms have this exact power: by obviously and visibly putting together objects from the past and present they create an intertext where two "cards" from two "radically distinct and different registers" are considered side by side in a way that would not have occurred to the reader previously. The astute reader will have noticed that the title of this book, *Samurai with Telephones*, is not technically anachronistic. While Yoshitsune using a telephone in the twelfth century is certainly anachronistic, telephones were introduced to Japan in 1877, the same year as the Satsuma Rebellion, before the dismantling of the samurai caste was complete. A samurai probably did use a telephone historically. This fact, however, has not precluded "samurai" and "telephone" from being sorted into two very different "registers" or "files" in the historical imagination, like Schinkel and Manchester in Jameson's example. Juxtaposing samurai with telephones has the effect of juxtaposing these registers, the usually incompatible "files" of premodern warriors and modern communications technology, quite irrespective of the historical fact of a samurai using a telephone. Conversely, a monologic anachronism attempts the opposite function, to convince us that the past and present really belong to the same file or register.

The juxtaposition in dialogic anachronism is not dialectical and does not create a new synthesis: as Jameson says, it does not result in a resolution. Jameson perceptively remarks that this kind of fiction can "derealize and denature" the "historical record," notably putting "historical record" in quotes, since in postmodern historiography any history is just another text and its claims to status as an authentic "record" are suspect, to say the least. Dialogic anachronism does not seek to, and in fact cannot, rewrite history, since for one thing it is too obviously counterfactual to convince anyone

it represents real history, and for another that would end the pleasure of the postmodern language game. But by creating an intertext that examines the past in the new light of present "cards," it can denature (in the sense of making visible its invisible assumptions, removing its "naturalness") a teleological "historical record" as such. It certainly has the power to demystify the historical myths that are the foundation of modern grand narratives by inserting common and familiar objects of the present into them.

However, Jameson does not, ultimately, see such counterfactual historiographical fiction as productive:

> This absolute and absolutely random pluralism—and perhaps it is the only referent for which that charged term should be reserved, a kind of reality pluralism—a coexistence not even of multiple and alternate worlds so much as of unrelated fuzzy sets and semiautonomous subsystems whose overlap is perceptually maintained like hallucinogenic depth planes in a space of many dimensions is, of course, what is replicated by the rhetoric of decentering (and what informs official rhetorical and philosophical attacks on "totality"). This differentiation and specialization or semiautonomization of reality is then prior to what happens in the psyche—postmodern schizo-fragmentation as opposed to modern or modernist anxieties and hysterias.[41]

Elsewhere, Jameson posits "modernist anxiety" as productive: "Anxiety is a hermeneutic emotion, expressing an underlying nightmare state of the world" that motivates critical reflection, whereas in postmodernism "schizophrenic or drug language gives the key notion," and psychological reactions "are no longer cognitive."[42] Postmodern historiographical fiction, then, this juxtaposition of registers, is meaningless "random pluralism" that creates not productive uncertainty about the world but rather a kind of schizophrenic fragmentation.

Here I must disagree with Jameson, for an anachronism, however comical, that allows past and present to interanimate each other in a new way cannot help but question and undermine both past and present—or more specifically the narratives and discourses surrounding them and the power that those discourses legitimate. This may not be immediately apparent in Yoshitsune using a telephone, but elsewhere *Hi no tori* depicts the *Shishigatani no inbō* (鹿ケ谷陰謀, Shishigatani conspiracy), a failed coup to overthrow Taira no Kiyomori (平清盛, 1118–81) in 1177. Eagerly outlining the

strategy for the designated day, the monk Shunkan says that "the plan is for our revolutionary army to seize the Rokuhara headquarters, the broadcasting station, and Tokyo Station, then surround Kiyomori's mansion."[43] This statement is quite clearly anachronistic. Neither broadcasting nor railroads exists yet. In fact, Tokyo itself does not exist yet, and the planned coup was to take place in Kyoto. The incongruity is farcical, but also productive. In the intertext of the anachronism, the Shishigatani coup is juxtaposed with other coups, most conspicuously the *ni-niroku jiken* (二二六事件, February 26 incident), an attempted 1936 coup by portions of the Japanese military, in which several key sites in downtown Tokyo were occupied. And perhaps also, with use of the word *kakumeigun* (革命軍, revolutionary army), the coup is juxtaposed with plans for communist uprisings as well. The *ni-niroku jiken* may not be from the "present" of the text's writing in the 1980s, but it is unmistakably from the "register" of modernity, out of place in the twelfth century. In the intertext the coups of the past and present are laid side by side and scrutinized against each other. This does not create a conclusive new reading, but rather opens up both to new possibilities, and could be used for many different projects. If the text had been sympathetic to the Shishigatani conspirators, for example, this juxtaposition might engender sympathy toward the February 26 conspirators as well. Or, perhaps, by juxtaposing one of the most notorious coup attempts from recent history with the Shishigatani incident, the text rather delegitimizes the Shishigatani conspirators. More likely, given the context of the anachronism and the overall thrust of *Hi no tori*, the juxtaposition probably suggests to the reader that struggles for power have not changed much in the past eight hundred years, just the ideology used to justify and glorify them. In any case, this is clearly not random, pointless pluralism leading to schizophrenic fragmentation; it is a specific and productive mode of interacting with history.

More useful to the description of dialogic anachronism is Linda Hutcheon's work on postmodern historiographic metafiction, which she defines as "those well-known and popular novels which are both intensely self-reflexive and yet paradoxically also lay claim to historical events and personages," in which "theoretical self-awareness of history and fiction as human constructs . . . is made the grounds for its rethinking and reworking of the forms and contents of the past."[44] Although Hutcheon does not address anachronism directly, she does describe how postmodern fiction interacts with history:

> Postmodern intertextuality is a formal manifestation of both a desire to close the gap between the past and present of the reader and a desire to rewrite the past in a new context. It is not a modernist desire to order the present through the past or make the present look spare in contrast to the richness of the past. It is not an attempt to void or avoid history. Instead it directly confronts the past of literature—and of historiography, for it too derives from other texts (documents). It uses and abuses those intertextual echoes, inscribing their powerful allusions and then subverting that power through irony.[45]

Here, I must complicate Hutcheon's description of postmodern intertextuality as an impulse to "rewrite" history. My contention, again, is that in postmodern historiography there is no "history" as a transcendental construct that can be *over*written, and that in any case forcing history into a monologue by rewriting it would end the pleasure of the postmodern language game that is born of heteroglossia: rather, the postmodernist text is driven by a desire to recontextualize history by writing *additional* texts (which have just as much validity as existing history, which is also text). Otherwise, Hutcheon's model of postmodern historiographic metafiction describes well the impulse behind dialogic anachronism. It is not an attempt to "void or avoid" history, but rather an attempt to engage with history, to "[rethink and rework] the forms and contents of the past." Importantly, Hutcheon identifies a desire to "close the gap between the past and present of the reader." Where this desire springs from is not clear, but it plainly does exist. For Lyotard it is enough that history is another language game that provides pleasure. Perhaps, also, even when the will to power is suspect, its overdetermined historical narratives of legitimation still make history important to present-day politics and identity. In the present moment we are, after all, still living in nation-states legitimized by the grand narratives that constructed their borders and polities historically. Since we unquestionably, in legal reality, have an identity as Japanese or American, have a certain passport, cheer for a certain team at the Olympics, and so on, history is still important in figuring out just what that identity means. But because the grand narratives that once would have aligned history to state to self in a cohesive narrative are now cast into doubt, history must be examined in another way, through metafiction. Azuma proposes that in the face of the death of grand narratives, it is the small narratives (rather than the database, a nonnarrative) that

provide meaning for living.[46] The desire to close the gap between past and present, then, might be read as an attempt to reclaim history from its appropriation by power, drawing history closer without imposing the interpretive framework of a grand narrative on it. Anachronisms that insert the present day into, say, the Edo period, do exactly this, drawing the past and the present together in a paradoxical intertext that skips over modernity entirely. To do this they must summon up those very modern discourses on history, ultimately, as Hutcheon notes, inscribing modern history even as they undermine it. Postmodern historiography can never escape modern history, but then perhaps doing so would just close down part of the language game anyway. After all, to refute modern history entirely would simply be another modernist strategy—just replacing one authoritative discourse with another, forcing diverse discourse into another monologue. Therefore, postmodern historiographic metafiction, as Hutcheon notes, finds its form in comedy and parody: "To parody is not to destroy the past; in fact to parody is both to enshrine the past and to question it. And this, once again, is the postmodern paradox." Ultimately, the goal of postmodern historiographical fiction (and dialogic anachronism) is not to create yet another totalizing History, but "to open [history] up to the present, to prevent it from being conclusive and teleological."[47]

Finally, we come to Azuma, who does in fact directly address reflexive anachronism. Discussing the frequent appropriation of the Edo period in Japanese popular culture, he writes: "Japan's cultural traditions have been severed twice: during the Meiji restoration and following defeat in World War II. In addition memories of the period from Meiji to the 1945 defeat have been subject to political repression in the postwar period. If the narcissistic Japan of the 1980s was to forget defeat and remain oblivious to the impact of Americanization, it was easiest to return to the image of the Edo period."[48] But this return is, in fact, impossible because popular fan (otaku) culture "in reality originated as a subculture imported from the United States after World War II, from the 1950s to the 1970s. The history of otaku culture is one of adaptation—of how to 'domesticate' American culture."[49] Therefore, "the 'Japanese' aspects of otaku culture are not connected to premodern Japan in any simple sense. Rather, those aspects should be perceived as emanating from a postwar Americanism (the logic of consumer society), which severed such historical continuities connecting the present with an ancient past." Or, more simply, "Between the otaku and Japan lies the United States."[50] Contemporary Japanese culture is rooted in (Ameri-

canized) postwar consumerism rather than in the Japanese premodern past, making a direct return to that past impossible. The desire to "forget defeat and remain oblivious to the impact of Americanization," therefore, can only be fulfilled by constructing what Azuma calls a pseudo-Japan: "Lurking at the foundations of otaku culture is the complex yearning to produce a *pseudo-Japan* once again from American-made material, after the destruction of the 'good old Japan' through defeat in World War II."[51]

A project to remake Edo in the image of the postwar present might be a monologic project. In the great volume of popular and even academic writings on the Edo period, we can see this sort of monologic (if not necessarily anachronistic) approach, perhaps sparked in the 1980s by essayist Tanaka Yūko but continuing up to the present day. A typical volume, published in 2005, has chapters explicitly reframing Edo in terms of contemporary culture: "Things similar to *shōjo* manga visible in Edo," or "Tracing pop girls through pictures."[52] Such work is an attempt to rewrite the past according to the frame of the present, erasing the distinctness of the past so it can be shown to be just the same as the present, part of a monologue.

But the approach to this project that Azuma discusses is instead dialogic. Since rewriting the Japanese past is impossible (and in any case undesirable), Azuma's pseudo-Japan is instead constructed; this construct allows the Edo period and the present to coexist, but does not void the years of modernity that lie between them. And this is a thoroughly anachronistic project. Azuma specifically examines the anime *Seibā marionetto J* (Saber Marionette J), which anachronistically features an Edo-like city where characteristically Edo objects (as determined by modern discourses) and symbols of contemporary consumerism can coexist.[53] He concludes that such a "'pseudo-Japan manufactured from U.S.-produced material' is now the only thing left in our grasp. We can only construct an image of the Japanese cityscape by picturing family restaurants, convenience stores, and 'love hotels.'"[54] Thus, a pseudo-Japan that re-creates the Edo past must include these accretions of the present, although the pseudo-Japan is too obviously anachronistic and fictional to be plausible as history. This is not to say that there is no representation of the Edo period without family restaurants—indeed, that is the norm. It is rather contemporary ideology that often seems to be unavoidable in such representations, as I discuss in chapter 2.

I believe that Azuma places too much emphasis on Americanization when often modernity would be a better description of that which postmodern culture seeks to reimagine, including not only defeat but the entire

dark history of Shōwa nationalism and World War II. Nevertheless, Azuma has here identified the source of the "desire to close the gap between the past and present of the reader" that Hutcheon describes.[55] It is a desire to construct a pseudo-Japan that paradoxically puts the present day in contact with the Edo period while placing the entire messy project of modernity to one side. But the engine of this project is dialogic anachronism, which constructs the pseudo-Japan without erasing the history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—an erasure that would be enacted by the claim that there was an actual continuous transmission of ideology and culture from Edo to the present, as earlier movements to appropriate Edo have professed. Therefore, this is not an attempt to "forget" history, as Azuma states. The pseudo-Japan (which we now see is a synonym for the intertext created by anachronism) is, again, dialogic, and therefore past and present interanimate each other without resolving to synthesis. The reader is perfectly aware that convenience stores are the result of a specific process of modernization and Americanization that is totally incongruous in an Edo setting. Indeed, this obvious incongruity is what gives the anachronism the power to invoke and juxtapose discourses on the present and the Edo period. This invocation powerfully reinforces the incompatibility of Edo and the present, even as it playfully undermines this same incompatibility. Rather than a mechanism of forgetting, the pseudo-Japan is an attempt to fulfill the desires that impel anachronism: the desire to use the past as a source of identity in the absence of metanarratives, the desire to reclaim history from the legitimation of power without rewriting it, and the desire to derive pleasure from the language game of history. Because this project is inherently paradoxical, pleasurable reflexive play that revels in absurdity might be the only way these goals can be pursued.

• • •

The above outlines a basic typology of anachronism—monologic and dialogic—and its functions. By superimposing past and present, anachronisms of either type juxtapose certain cultural discourses and registers of knowledge about the past and present. Monologic anachronisms attempt to synthesize this superimposition into a new image, to make the past and present speak with the same voice, in unitary language. Dialogic anachronisms, by contrast, maintain the superimposed parallax image indefinitely, allowing past and present to remain suspended in dialogue, interilluminating each other. The following chapters examine many examples of anachro-

nism in literature and pop culture. The purpose of this investigation, however, is certainly not to point out the errors in texts' historical representation or insist on a "correct" reading of history. The goal is rather to study the anachronisms themselves and to reveal the work they do by superimposing eras, the work they do on history. To the extent I point out divergences between a text's representation and accepted historiography, it is in the service of revealing the anachronism's function. Anachronisms are interesting, even when they might be mistakes.

It is almost impossible to talk about history without some anachronistic representations, in the use of language if nothing else. Accordingly, this text itself includes some anachronistic representation. Chapter 3, for example, discusses the third-century mytho-historical queen Himiko. She is called Himiko in most Japanese *discourses* on history, but her name was almost certainly not pronounced Himiko; it was probably closer to Pimiku, although there is not a large enough extant language corpus for us to be sure (or even to be sure that Pimiku was a name at all).[56] Calling her Himiko is anachronistic, and this anachronism has a monologic function, rewriting the past to bring the name of a third-century ruler closer to modern Japanese, creating the impression of an uninterrupted flow of language and culture from antiquity to the present. By using "Himiko" to discuss her, this study inevitably participates in that anachronism. But here, once again, I am not interested in pointing out every historical inaccuracy. My goal is to examine what a specific postwar text is doing by summoning the *entire* discourse about Himiko—including the discourse that represents her as having a name familiar in modern Japanese—and juxtaposing it with (for example) the discourse surrounding pop idols.

This study examines a variety of anachronisms in a variety of cultural forms, including novels, plays, comic books, and art. The comic and visual forms such as modern manga and anime, and premodern *kibyōshi* and *gōkan* (comic books and illustrated novels, respectively), seem especially well disposed to anachronistic representation, perhaps because anachronism in images (and the humor in them) can often be grasped with a single glance. The comic incongruity of Yoshitsune using a telephone is immediately apparent in a picture, whereas a several-sentence description of the scene might belabor the point and ruin the joke. The anachronisms examined in the following chapters exhibit a great variety of functions, as each text is engaged in a very different project, even as they all use anachronism to advance those projects. However, as mentioned in the introduction, the

texts and projects examined here represent only one type of textual historical dislocation. I have excluded from this study historical dislocation that is explained by a diegetic mechanism for travel between eras, such as magic, ghosts, or time machines. Time travelers move between a securely bounded past and present, the time traveler's discomfort with a different era is usually a point of literary concern, and a resolution or synthesis between eras is reached in the text. Anachronisms, conversely, remove the boundaries between past and present and allow them to seep into each other, and often it is precisely the lack of characters' discomfort with the objects of a different era that is meaningful.

2

From Monologic to Dialogic

Before examining dialogic anachronism, which is the main focus of this study, this chapter first discusses monologic anachronism in order to establish the type of historical work it performs. I examine two texts that employ monologic anachronism: Mori Ōgai's "Abe ichizoku" and Shirato Sanpei's *Kamui-den*. Then, before transitioning to dialogic anachronisms in the next chapter, I examine Ōe Kenzaburō's *Man'en gannen no futtobōru* as a novel that uses both monologic and dialogic engagements with history and features a struggle between them.

SAMURAI AS MODERN SUBJECT IN MORI ŌGAI'S "ABE ICHIZOKU"

Mori Ōgai (森鴎外, 1862–1922) was one of the most prominent early writers in Japan's modern period. Although he began his career by writing contemporary novels, later in his life he turned to writing historical fiction. Of these historical novels and stories, the two most well known are probably "Abe ichizoku" (阿部一族, The Abe clan, 1913) and "Sanshō dayū" (山椒大夫, Sansho the Steward, 1915). I examine "Abe ichizoku" here as a text that contains anachronistic subjectivity.

Ōgai himself complicated the study of his historical fiction by publishing a short essay in 1915 titled "Rekishi sonomama to rekishi-banare" (歴史其儘と歴史離れ, Faithful to history and departing from history). In it, he situates his own writings along a continuum of approaches to historical fiction, with *rekishi sonomama* (faithfulness to history) at one end, and *rekishi-banare*

(departing from history) at the other. He describes his approach to historical fiction (and, indeed, all his fiction) as Apollonian rather than Dionysian, and thus characterized by a rational engagement with the historical material rather than passion for it. He then indicates that he had previously pursued a *rekishi sonomama* approach, but he had begun to feel constrained by this, and so with "Sanshō dayū" he had moved toward a *rekishi-banare* approach. This indicates that he believed—or that he wanted his readers to believe—that everything published before "Sanshō dayū," including "Abe ichizoku," was *rekishi sonomama*. He claims, in other words, that he was approaching historical material with cool rationality and representing history accurately in his fiction before 1915. He then goes on to catalog how "Sanshō dayū" represents *rekishi-banare*, mainly in the ways it alters facts from the existing Sanshō legend, removes certain historical people, moves dates around, and so forth.[1] Ōgai therefore frames his continuum of *rekishi sonomama* and *rekishi-banare* as one based on degree of faithfulness to the facts or events of the historical record.

This essay complicates the study of Ōgai's historical fiction because, as it turns out, his historical novels before 1915 do depart significantly from the historical record. Ueda Masayuki points out that to give Ōgai his due we should consider his works not in terms of *rekishi sonomama* but rather in terms of *shiryō sonomama* (資料其儘), faithfulness to the historical materials Ōgai used for reference.[2] In the case of "Abe ichizoku," Ōgai mainly worked with an early modern manuscript titled "Abe chajidan" (阿部茶事談), which itself contained many historical inaccuracies. We should, then, evaluate the spirit of *rekishi sonomama* based on Ōgai's faithfulness to the historical documents to which he had access. Nonetheless, based on Ōgai's own claim that he was faithfully representing history, much has been written about the discrepancies between his historical fiction and the historical record.

Yet in "Rekishi sonomama to rekishi-banare" Ōgai hints that he is concerned with more than accurately representing a sequence of historical events. He writes: "While reading through historical materials, I began to feel a certain respect for the 'verisimilitude' [*shizen*, 自然] apparent within them. I became unwilling to distort it. . . . Furthermore, I have seen how people of the present day write about daily life in their own households just as it is [*ari no mama*, ありの儘], and if it is fine to write about the present just as it is, it should be fine to write about the past as well."[3] What I have rendered as "verisimilitude" is the *shizen* of *shizenshugi* (naturalism), the prominent

literary movement that had been introduced to Japan a decade prior and had begun to take the form of quotidian fictionalized accounts of authors' lives and experiences. It is a reference, therefore, to the naturalist style of writing, which sought to represent the world objectively in a scientific and unromanticized fashion. Ōgai is indicating that he sees in historical material the same sort of brutally unadorned verisimilitude that naturalists sought to achieve in their writing. He does not wish to distort that verisimilitude, so he presents it *ari no mama*, just as it is. The verisimilitude of the naturalists, however, mostly concerned human psychology and interiority rather than events. Ōgai seems to be hinting that his historical fiction represents the *psychology* of people of the past with verisimilitude, just as naturalist writers sought to represent the psychology of people in the present (often themselves) with verisimilitude. If this style of representation is fine for narratives about the present, he argues, it should also be a valid style for representations of the past.

Ōgai also references *ari no mama*, or representing the world "just as it is," an imperative not only of naturalism but of modern Japanese literature in general since Tsubouchi Shōyō's (坪内逍遥, 1859–1935) landmark essay *Shōsetsu shinzui* (小説神髄, The essence of the novel, 1885) called for Japanese literature to be reformed into a literature that described the world *ari no mama*.[4] However, *ari no mama* again refers to representations of human psychology, emotions, and social customs. Shōyō was writing about the creation of fiction; he never called for authors to only write about real events accurately. Rather, he thought that Japanese literature should represent humans in fictional narratives *ari no mama*, with all their psychological foibles. In this passage, then, Ōgai invokes the discourse that valorizes fiction that accurately represents human interiority. He seems to be hinting that *rekishi sonomama* in his historical fiction refers to preserving the verisimilitude of the psychology or interiority of people of the past, representing it "just as it was." Confusingly, his later paragraphs about "Sanshō dayū" and its departure from history (*rekishi-banare*) seem to indicate that *rekishi sonomama* refers to faithfulness to the historical record rather than to psychology, but this earlier paragraph provides an interesting insight into the project Ōgai pursued with his historical fiction.

But an author who seeks to present the interiority of people of the past *ari no mama*, with verisimilitude, must create that interiority when it is missing from the historical record. No matter how closely they attend to historical difference, authors will always create this interiority based on their own

interiority and psychology, embedded as it is in an entirely different set of economic, political, and social arrangements. The result will be an anachronistic interiority. This should not be a particularly controversial claim: anachronistic is not a synonym for erroneous. Recasting the past in the light of present concerns (to make it more "relevant" or "interesting" to modern readers) is the acknowledged purpose of historical fiction. As Karatani Kōjin writes of Ōgai's historical fiction:

> Historical materials only record events at a superficial level, they are fragmentary, incomplete, and even contradictory. When Ōgai wrote that he was "unwilling to distort" the *shizen* in historical documents, he meant not simply that he would not distort historical reality [*shijitsu*, 史実], but rather that he doubtless did not want to force historical material into a "unitary" [*matomatta*, 纏まった] concept. In other words, Ōgai did not just want to be faithful to historical materials, he wanted to be faithful to the contradictions and silences at which those materials hint.[5]

Later I will address whether Ōgai forces history into a unitary concept, but what is significant here is Karatani's claim that Ōgai is attempting to faithfully represent things that are *not* in the historical record, its silences and contradictions.[6] The job of historical fiction is precisely to give voice to what is silenced in the record, to bring to the surface those contradictions that are papered over. Or, as Ueda Masayuki argues: "It seems clear that Ōgai's intent was, by placing fictional themes within history, to make it seem even more historical and to connect history with the present by projecting the consciousness [*ishiki*, 意識] of people of the present into the past even though it departs from historical reality. Even *rekishi sonomama* contains fiction and projects the consciousness of people of the present, and in that respect it is not much different from other historical fiction."[7] If historical fiction is a genre that projects the consciousness of the present—its expressiveness, its frameworks of understanding—into the past, it is an inherently anachronistic genre. But again, being anachronistic is not necessarily negative: if the past really did suffer from a poverty of expressiveness, if the historical record omits certain voices, the only way to recover that expression and those voices is through anachronistic fictionalization.

Ōgai's historical fiction (and perhaps historical fiction in general) tries to recover the interiority of people of the past by fictionalizing it, speculating on the unspoken psychology that drove people to the actions that historical

documents record. But the lack of information about this interiority means that no matter how attentive authors are to history, they will end up filling in the gaps by projecting modern interiority into the past. To the extent that Ōgai presents this anachronistic interiority (either within the text or in paratexts) as *rekishi sonomama* and *ari no mama*, it is a monologic anachronism. It tries to claim that its anachronistic representation of interiority is not anachronistic at all, that the people of the past actually, historically thought about their world as represented in the story, which is just how people of the present think. It tries to collapse past and present into a monologue, a gesture at a unitary discourse that erases difference. It is this anachronistic interiority that I wish to examine in Ōgai's "Abe ichizoku."

"Abe ichizoku" is based on a real incident in the Higo feudal domain in the early seventeenth century. In the story, the feudal lord Hosokawa Tadatoshi falls ill, and, as his prognosis worsens, various retainers seek his permission to die with him: the practice of *junshi*, or ritual suicide to follow one's master in death. He grants permission to several retainers but denies it to one Abe Yaichiemon, a retainer who has always performed his duties with punctiliousness but with whom Tadatoshi has never gotten along. After Tadatoshi's death, rumors spread that Abe is a coward, and he decides to commit *junshi* anyway, even without his master's permission. In the wake of his death, Yaichiemon's eldest son, Gonbei, is allowed to inherit the household, but the clan's large hereditary rice stipend is broken up into smaller amounts, distributed among his brothers as punishment for Yaichiemon's unauthorized *junshi*. To protest this treatment, Gonbei resigns from his lord's service and the samurai life, symbolically becoming a monk. Enraged, the new lord, Tadatoshi's son Mitsuhisa, orders Gonbei executed like a criminal. Finding their social position now untenable, the surviving members of the Abe clan hole up in a villa and wait for the lord's punitive force. When it comes, they fight to the last man but are eventually wiped out. As mentioned above, this story contains several departures from the historical record, not the least of which is that Yaichiemon was one of several retainers to be refused permission, his suicide was not late, and the inheritance issue was corrected after merely two days.[8]

This story was published in 1913, following the death of the Meiji emperor in 1912, after which one of his leading generals, Nogi Maresuke (乃木希典, 1849–1912), committed a sensationally archaic *junshi* to follow the emperor in death. "Abe ichizoku" is one of the works Ōgai wrote to work through the practice of *junshi* in fiction, to make it comprehensible to mod-

ern subjects. As such, it is the text's representation of the psychology of the characters (historical figures) as they think about *junshi* that contains the most interest. For example, Ōgai's narrator describes the young retainer Chōjūrō in this way:

> He liked alcohol, and once he had made a mistake that would have earned anyone else a severe reprimand, but Tadatoshi just said with a laugh, "Chōjūrō didn't do that, the alcohol did." Therefore, convinced [*omoikondeita*, 思い込んでいた] that he had to repay that kindness and atone for that mistake, as Tadatoshi's illness worsened Chōjūrō firmly came to believe the only way he could do so was by committing *junshi*. However, if we were to look into this man's heart [*shinchū*, 心中] more closely, we would find that next to a feeling stemming from his own volition that he must commit *junshi* [*junshi shinakutewa naranu*, 殉死しなくてはならぬ], there existed a feeling of equal strength that because people expected him to commit *junshi*, he was therefore being forced to commit *junshi* [*junshi o yoginaku serareteiru*, 殉死を余儀なくせられてゐる], that he was rushing toward death on someone else's volition. To put it another way, he was worried that if he failed to commit *junshi* he would face terrible humiliation. Chōjūrō was weak in this way, but he did not fear death in the slightest. . . . At this moment Chōjūrō thought of his elderly mother and wife. And thinking about how the surviving families of those who committed *junshi* received cordial treatment from the lord's house, Chōjūrō thought that he could die with no worries, knowing he was leaving his family in a secure position.[9]

Ōgai's narration works on this excerpt with great subtlety. First, the narrator hints that Chōjūrō's death at a young age was entirely avoidable, based on a mistaken impression, with the verb *omoikomu*, which can mean "to firmly believe," but with a subtext of "to convince oneself without evidence." The narrator then proposes to look at two levels of Chōjūrō's psychology. On the surface level, Chōjūrō feels, of his own volition, that he "must" commit *junshi* to repay his lord (not, tellingly, that he freely "desires" to repay his lord through *junshi*). The narrator then explicitly signals entering deeper into Chōjūrō's psychology to find that the surface rationalization of repaying his lord conceals a belief that Chōjūrō is being forced to commit *junshi* by social pressure and the expectations of other retainers. Finally, the narrator shows

that Chōjūrō considers the economic and sociopolitical rewards his family will reap after his death.

We can detect anachronistic representation in this description of interiority. This is not to say that there is a different possible representation that would be less anachronistic (or that a less anachronistic representation would be somehow better). Nevertheless, we can see that Chōjūrō's decision to commit *junshi* is not framed in terms of a Confucian ideology of valorized loyalty to one's feudal master, or a genuine gratitude for the kindness Tadatoshi showed him in life and a desire to repay that kindness with the ultimate act of devotion. Instead, such alien and antiquated motivations are omitted, and Chōjūrō is entirely motivated by oppressive social forces and economic factors that a modern individual can easily appreciate. Kuritsubo Yoshiki writes about this passage:

> [We see here] the decision to commit *junshi* of his own volition [*jiriki*, 自力], and him being forced to decide to commit *junshi* based on others' volition [*tariki*, 他力]; in other words, Chōjūrō is conscious of the capacity of his own interiority. His consciousness seems to be swinging like a pendulum between a self that watches himself and a self that is watched by others. . . . Seen this way, the basis of the samurai *junshi* is not confined to the individual retainer's individual relationship with the dying lord he serves. Rather, from the decision to commit *junshi* to its execution, and even after his death, that basis is brought back to the invisible power of "others" [*tasha*, 他者]. Ōgai takes the example of Naitō Chōjūrō, and by analyzing his psychology makes clear the existence of the other that has the power to psychologically constrain those who commit *junshi* from the beginning to the end, and even after their deaths. In this case, the existence of the other can also be called *society*.[10]

As Kuritsubo astutely notes, the text moves the basis of *junshi* from a relational context—the affinitive bonds of loyalty and service between master and retainer—into a social context where an individuated subject is acted on by the existential other. This effectively inserts, anachronistically, modern subjectivity into the seventeenth century.

After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, one challenge facing political and cultural elites was the construction of a modern Japanese subject (*shutai*, 主体) that could accommodate both patriotic nationalism and competi-

tive participation in capitalism. Sharalyn Orbaugh writes that "the post-Enlightenment (male) subject in England, North America, and most of Western Europe was envisioned as rational, monolithic (not changing identities according to context), and, after the eighteenth-century revolutions in France and the United States, defined by accomplishment rather than birth, repository of the highest form of state sovereignty in a secularized and democratic political system. Japan under the shogunate was, on the contrary, still structured according to the rigid neo-Confucian-based feudal system."[11] In order to emerge as a nation with a competitive economy and with subjects who identified with that nation (rather than with heterogeneous local groups), Meiji elites reformed the old caste system and implemented dramatic educational reforms. Katsuya Hirano argues:

> As soon as the Meiji leaders took power by overthrowing the Tokugawa government, they began to work on the reorganization of heterogeneous social groups, which possessed neither a shared consciousness of "national" belonging nor a conception of the modern nation-state, into individual subjects willing without hesitation to identify their destinies with that of the country. Convinced that the early modern regime's cosmological projection of totality authorizing the hierarchical division of society could not produce the desired effect, the government turned to an egalitarianism grounded in patriotic sentiment as the new organizing principle of the social order. . . . Meiji Japan renounced the Tokugawa theory of innate difference and adopted a view that human interiorities possessed the same universal qualities. This new postulate worked, of course, as a basis for the liberal theory of egalitarian humanism and thus for legitimating the Meiji state's policies of spurring people into social mobility and competition.[12]

Therefore, the project of modernizing the nation proceeded apace with the "modernization" of human interiority, reforming interiority away from heterogeneous relationality into uniform identity with the ethnic nation-state. Hirano again writes:

> Human interiority was where power could and should effect an individual's fundamental transformation into a desirable national capitalist subject. . . . This exclusive focus on the interior space of a person as the principal site for modern subject formation was symptomatic of the

> advent of the new conception of the social brought about by the nation-form and modern capitalism. It posited a person as the individual monad, an alienated and isolated entity responsible for its own destiny, which made up the most rudimentary unit of society. The social came to be theorized as a relationship between these atomized individuals and thus society as their aggregation.[13]

The consolidated power of the nation-state required an individuated, monadic subject defined by its individual relationship with the nation, not branching hierarchical relationships with a multiplicity of local entities. And because all other individuals would similarly become defined by this vertical relation rather than horizontal or rhizomatic relations, they would become the existential other, the "society" opposed to the individuated monadic subject.

"Abe ichizoku," as seen in the excerpt about Chōjūrō above, anachronistically inserts this modern subjectivity into its representation of the past. Chōjūrō is a monadic modern subject whose feudal relationship of loyalty and reciprocal obligation with his lord seems to be merely superficial. His real motivation for *junshi* is pressure from "others," which Kuritsubo notes can be called "society," effectively forcing him to commit *junshi* (*junshi o yoginaku serareteiru*, 殉死を余儀なくせられてゐる), an act that does not at all stem from his own will. *Junshi* is thus made comprehensible to the modern subjects reading the story through its framing as something compelled by oppressive social forces acting on an anachronistically similar modern subject.

This anachronistic representation is easy to believe because, while we readily acknowledge that the material conditions of the past were very different, it is often hard to believe that the interiority of people of the past was significantly different from our own. The modern subject has become dehistoricized, depoliticized, and thoroughly naturalized. James A. Fujii writes:

> The centrality of the private subject rightly has been linked to the socio-economic conditions of industrial capitalism, which demands it both as its source of production and its primary unit of consumption. Validated over the years across a broad spectrum of Western discourses—be they Christianity, constitutions and other state declarations, documents propounding democratic rule, or expressions in popular culture—the sovereignty of the private self continues to enjoy a highly privileged position in Western societies. So natural has become this valorization of the

> individuated subject that even "common sense" attests to its status as a verity beyond question. Common sense marks the thoroughness with which the thing so designated has been overdetermined. The close association of common sense with the individual subject points to the latter as a construct built upon convention and agreement.[14]

Modern subjectivity is just "common sense," which means that its representation in the past is only natural: of course people in the past thought in the same way we do, such a truism hardly needs comment. But the creation of modern subjectivity was very much a political project driven by the needs of modern capitalism and nationhood, and the representation of this construct in the past is an anachronism doing work on history.

Other characters in "Abe ichizoku" are similarly modern subjects who consider *junshi* primarily in terms of their relationship with "society." Tadatoshi himself, for example, far from being gratified by or satisfied with the personal loyalty and devotion his retainers display with their requests to follow him in death, considers denying them permission and making them serve his son. But he feels constrained by social pressure (society will scorn these retainers as cowards if he does not allow them to die) and feudal succession politics (his son's coterie will be resentful if not allowed to assume leadership positions) and only regretfully permits their *junshi* based on these factors.[15] Furthermore, Abe Yaichiemon, having been denied permission to commit *junshi* and defiantly continuing his service, thinks to himself, "I should commit seppuku even knowing it will be a dog's death [*inuji*, 犬死], or become a rōnin and leave Kumamoto, those seem to be my only choices. But I am I (*ore wa ore da*, 己は己だ). A warrior is not a concubine, right? He shouldn't lose his position just because his master does not like him."[16] Matsumoto Isako calls this an example of true subjectivity, by which she means not only a modern interiority but also the agency to violate social norms and decide one's path for oneself.[17] Abe's statement "I am I" rhetorically establishes himself as a monadic, individuated subject who can stand apart from and critique "society."

Nearly the only time the story depicts valorized loyalty and feudal obligation as a motivation for *junshi* is in the death of Gosuke, Tadatoshi's lowly dog handler. His station is not so high that he is expected to commit *junshi* and will face social ostracization if he does not. In fact, the house elders even encourage him to give up on the idea. But Gosuke says: "My rank may be humble, but I am no different from the higher-ups in that my life is con-

nected to my lord's by having received my stipend from him. My gratitude at having received my lord's favor is the same. So that's why I'm going to cut open my stomach and die."[18] We detect in Gosuke's statement a desire to advance his social position in death by performing an act that is just like those the high-ranking retainers perform. And indeed, the narrator informs us that Gosuke's widow receives a pension on par with the families of the high-ranking retainers.[19] So while there are economic forces at work that cast doubt on the stated motivation for Gosuke's *junshi*, that stated motivation is what is so conspicuously absent from anyone else's consideration of *junshi*: loyalty, gratitude at receiving his lord's favor, and indebtedness for the allocation of the feudal stipend that sustained his family's lifestyle. The text also includes Gosuke's death poem, awkwardly written, implying that Gosuke might not be the most educated samurai. The text seems to be suggesting that only the lowly and uneducated could really believe in the ideology that valorized suicide out of gratitude for feudal hierarchical relationships.

"Abe ichizoku" contains a complex critique of the practice of *junshi*. It depicts past samurai as stoic and courageous in the face of death, true, but also depicts the practice itself as orchestrated by tyrannical social forces that cruelly force the participants to die, even though no one involved (except Gosuke) actually wants to commit suicide, and the lord whom they die for does not want their deaths. The ideology that valorized *junshi* as an appropriate expression of loyalty and gratitude in the context of reciprocal feudal obligations is shown to be merely a superficial, beautifying veneer over these real oppressive forces. "Abe ichizoku" achieves this critique by anachronistically inserting modern subjectivity into the seventeenth century, portraying those who commit *junshi* as individuated monadic subjects opposed by society. This anachronism is very effective as an engine for critique. However, the text does not acknowledge this anachronism, and precisely because modern subjectivity has become naturalized, treated as common sense, the text's representation seems plausible or accurate—*rekishi sonomama*, to use Ōgai's term from a paratext that implicitly claims historical accuracy for this story's representation of interiority. This representation is, therefore, a monologic anachronism that conceals its work on history. "Abe ichizoku" rewrites the past to accommodate modern subjectivity, overwriting the heterogeneity of the past and collapsing the heteroglossia of past and present into a unitary voice that proclaims that modern subjectivity has always existed, that people have always had the same interiority. This monologic anachronism

is useful for the text's projects: critiquing *junshi* and making the past more relatable to people of the reading present. We can recognize the rhetorical power of monologic anachronism, even as we also acknowledge that it erases the diversity of the past to make this past congruent with the present.

BUSHI *AND BOURGEOISIE: MONOLOGIC MARXISM IN* KAMUI-DEN

Kamui-den (カムイ伝, The legend of Kamui) by Shirato Sanpei (白土三平, b. 1932), serialized from 1964 to 1971, was one of the earliest manga to gain critical acclaim, with its signature rough artistic style, critical stance, and adult-oriented violence. It was serialized in the avant-garde manga magazine *Garo* (ガロ) rather than in one of the dominant children-oriented manga magazines, and as such could include graphic violence and pointed social criticism. It is one of the most celebrated texts of the *gekiga* (劇画, dramatic pictures) movement, which pulled manga away from young audiences and themes and toward more mature themes in the 1960s, and like many *gekiga* it was intimately entangled with the period's left-wing political movements.

Shirato's father, Okamoto Tōki (岡本唐貴, 1903–86), was a proletarian artist who drew the death portrait of proletarian author Kobayashi Takiji (小林多喜二, 1903–33), after the latter was murdered by the Tokkō thought police. Shirato was likewise committed to Marxism and left-wing politics. Not coincidentally, *Kamui-den*'s original run coincides with the radical student movements and civil unrest of the 1960s, and its themes reflect the idealism and the leftist social critique of the time. The titular Kamui is a member of Japan's untouchable caste, the *burakumin*, during the early Edo period. Having faced both intense discrimination and political repression since his childhood, Kamui becomes a ninja in order to obtain the martial power necessary to fight class oppression. The other main characters—Shōsuke, a peasant, and Ryūnoshin, a samurai made rōnin by domanial political intrigue—also come to understand class oppression and struggle against it. This dramatized struggle against oppression, combined with exciting action scenes, made *Kamui-den* an important text of the student movements. Kamui became a kind of icon of the movements, and students even carried banners bearing Kamui's face to protests and sit-ins.[20]

Kamui-den is set in the mid-seventeenth century, and its depiction of the operations of power is relentlessly negative. Cruel samurai brutalize

commoners, murdering, torturing, and raping peasants and *hinin* (非人, outcastes, which in the text are equivalent to the *burakumin*). Not even children are spared horrific deaths and violence at the hands of ruthless samurai, and all this violence is in support of an extractive regime of agricultural taxation that does nothing but support the decadent lifestyle of samurai. In the Marxist view, the Edo period, as a feudal period, was further back on the scale of emancipation than even the oppressive capitalist present of the 1960s. As Carol Gluck notes, in Japanese Marxist historiography Edo "bore the allegorical weight of the oppressions of both Tokugawa feudalism and the modern capitalism that succeeded it."[21] Consequently, *Kamui-den* has none of the cheerful equivalencies woven into later texts that try to reclaim Edo by showing how similar it is to the present. In *Kamui-den*, the only similarity between Edo and the present is the system of power and oppression, which in the past does not even have the thin veneer of civility over its brutality that it has in the present.

Kamui-den's representation of the past is inherently monologic, making the past conform to the ideology of Marxism. This does not mean, however, that it is untrue. The laws of the Edo period, especially concerning rice production and taxation, were quite severe, and the punishments often brutal. The village that makes up the main setting of *Kamui-den* does suffer nearly every kind of atrocity at the hands of samurai in just a few short years, compressing the experience of samurai brutality, but the atrocities themselves are historical. Rather than fictionalize historical oppression, *Kamui-den* carefully selects only representations of the past that affirm the teleology of Marxist historical materialism, which mandates that the feudal past exist on a trajectory of liberation, a trajectory leading from harsh oppression in the past to a future communist utopia. Voices that might contradict this trajectory are omitted, and the diversity of the Edo period is erased in order to make it speak with a singular voice that affirms Marxist historiography. From the representation in *Kamui-den* one would never guess that in roughly the same period of its setting the area of land under cultivation doubled, and that new technology and agricultural investment increased the productivity of that land, leading to a new level of prosperity, even for commoners. The population of Japan more than doubled during the first half of the Edo period, and this surplus productivity allowed the surplus population to migrate to the cities, creating an explosion in urbanization.[22] A vibrant commoner culture emerged, bringing new cultural forms of expression, especially in the cities (significantly, *Kamui-den* rarely depicts castle towns,

skipping from rural villages directly to the inside of samurai mansions). These positive developments do not erase or excuse the brutality suffered by peasants, but they do represent the diversity of experiences and voices that *Kamui-den* excludes to create a monologic representation of history.

Certainly *Kamui-den* is not obligated to represent all voices in its narrative, and its selective representation is rhetorically very effective. Other texts have depicted these other voices well enough, after all, in their own monologic representations, most notably in the focus on the positive aspects of the samurai in the construction of modern Japan as representative of the supposed ideal Japanese character. Perhaps precisely because it contests those conservative valorizations of the samurai, Tanaka Yūko praises *Kamui-den* for the diversity in its representation of the past, especially the diversity of people—peasants, *hinin*, blacksmiths, fishermen, woodcutters, and so forth.[23] These people are often neglected in official representations of history, and in that respect *Kamui-den*'s representation of history is diverse for including them. But at the same time, the text excludes a diversity of experiences and possibilities in order to fashion a unitary voice, making history speak—and compellingly so—with the ideology of the present.

So *Kamui-den* is monologic in its representation of history, but the selective inclusion or exclusion and arranging of historical material, while ideological, is not necessarily anachronistic. Where *Kamui-den* is anachronistic is when its characters diegetically enunciate Marxist thought and apply Marxist analysis to the power and class dynamics around them. In one prominent example, Ryūnoshin (the son of a high-ranking samurai family) says to himself at a dramatic juncture: "Peasants create, warriors steal [*ubau*] . . . then why do warriors even exist? . . . If warriors were to disappear. . . ."[24] Tanaka reads this line as an expression of the fragility of the identity of samurai, who rely on others to live—and since most modern Japanese similarly rely on society to live, it speaks to the fragility of modern Japanese identity as well.[25] However, it is much more natural to read this statement as a Marxist polemic. If we replace "peasants" with "proletariat" and "warriors" (*bushi*) with "bourgeoisie," the parallel is clear: the *bushi*/bourgeoisie steal the surplus labor productivity of the peasants/proletariat, the only class that actually creates anything through its labor. Ryūnoshin, in other words, anachronistically understands the economic and political organization of his time in terms of Marxist thought. The question he asks himself—"why do warriors even exist?"—is, then, not an earnest yearning for a samurai identity but a rhetorical question already answered by the first part of the sentence:

warriors exist for no reason, other than to enrich themselves. And although Ryūnoshin does not finish his speculation about warriors disappearing, we can complete it for him based on present-day knowledge of Marxist thought: the disappearance of either the *bushi* or the bourgeoisie would only improve the lot of the peasants/proletariat, since the former are parasites on the latter's productivity. This diegetic articulation of the Marxist understanding of class relations and economic dynamics in the past is an anachronism, but it is presented as plausible, couched in the terminology of the time, and represented as a reasonable realization for the character. As such, it is a monologic anachronism that rewrites history to insert modern, Marxist ideology into the past, creating the impression that class consciousness and an understanding of the economic primacy of labor have been understood and self-evident throughout history.

The rare instances when *Kamui-den* depicts the life of commoners positively usually surround group labor or collective action. At one point, the central peasant character, Shōsuke, organizes villagers to build a dam and agricultural irrigation project that will allow them to open more land to cultivation. Since the labor of the villagers alone is insufficient to the task, he enlists the cooperation of the *hinin* from their nearby settlement as well. Peasants and *hinin* work together to complete a project that will be beneficial to them all, and they celebrate together, forgetting their class differences. Both groups then farm the new fields collectively.[26] At the end of this section, Shōsuke reminds them of all they have achieved together, then dramatically points to the daimyō's castle and says, "Never forget!! They're the ones who made up [*koshiraeyagatta*] classes like peasant and *hinin!*"[27] Shōsuke here attests an anachronistic Marxist understanding of social divisions and prejudice as artificial, constructed by power in order to divide the proletariat and maintain the economic and political privileges of the bourgeoisie. Shōsuke's actions echo Antonio Gramsci's thought: he successfully overcomes the "false consciousness" that pitted peasants against *hinin*, what Gramsci calls a consciousness "inherited from the past and uncritically absorbed." Instead, he encourages villagers to embrace a true class consciousness that "in reality unites [the worker] with all his fellow-workers," as a unified proletariat with common interests in overcoming oppressive bourgeois power.[28] Shōsuke's admonition to remember that social divisions are a tactic constructed by power to divide the proletariat might as well come from Friedrich Engels: "The supremacy of the bourgeoisie is based wholly upon the competition of the workers among themselves; i.e., upon their want of cohesion."[29] It might

even recall the writings of Vladimir Lenin, who, on the topic of bourgeois nationalism, wrote that the bourgeoisie, "try to *divide* the proletariat and *divert its attention* from their bourgeois intrigues."[30] Again, this anachronism is not reflexive. It is presented as natural in the diegetic world of the text, and therefore the past. It is a monologic anachronism that rewrites the past to make it attest Marxist ideology.

Kamui-den not only selectively represents those aspects of the Edo period that conform to Marxist historiography, it also anachronistically inserts Marxist ideology into the past, having characters enunciate some of its basic tenets. This effectively naturalizes Marxism. Not only is the past framed in such a way that it affirms the Marxist trajectory of history, but Marxist thought—or at least its understanding of economics and class relations—is shown to have always existed. Marxist thought is shown to be self-evident, so obvious from observation of sociopolitics that even people in the seventeenth century naturally grasp the concepts of class consciousness and labor exploitation. This anachronism can be hard to appreciate from our present position, or from the present of *Kamui-den*'s initial publication in the 1960s. After a century or more of development of Marxist philosophy and its dissemination throughout politics and culture, the application of Marxist frameworks of class oppression to Edo feudal dynamics might seem natural. Because it seems like common sense in the present, it is easy to believe that seventeenth-century people could perceive and articulate their reality in terms of these frameworks. But this is an anachronistic understanding, a realization of (for example) false consciousness long before generations of thinkers struggled to define and refine the concept. The rewriting of the past to include this understanding in the seventeenth century means that history is made to speak with a unitary voice, and that the oppressed have always understood (economic) class unity and class struggle as a means of liberation just like they do in the present. Therefore, the struggle of the 1960s present is now legitimated and narrativized by a long teleological history. Again, the point here is not to denounce *Kamui-den*'s historical representation as "inaccurate," but rather to point out the operations of monologic anachronism in the rhetorical project of the text. The quality of being anachronistic is not at all negative. *Kamui-den*'s anachronistic representation is an effective tool in the text's rhetorical arsenal, advancing its project of both representing Japanese history according to Marxist historiography, and using history as a metaphor to expose the oppressive operations of discrimination and capital in 1960s Japan.

A Riot of Anachronism: History and Power in Man'en Gannen no Futtobōru

To conclude the discussion of monologic anachronism and move toward dialogic anachronism, I turn now to Ōe Kenzaburō's (大江健三郎, 1935–2023) *Man'en gannen no futtobōru* (万延元年のフットボール (Football in the first year of Man'en, available in English translation as *The Silent Cry*), published in 1967. *Man'en gannen no futtobōru* features a monologic engagement with history, but unlike "Abe ichizoku" and *Kamui-den*, it is overt and reflexive about this monologic engagement. In this section I examine *Man'en* as a novel about the struggle between the will to impose a monologic reading of history, and the will to resist such imposition. Ultimately, *Man'en* models resistance to monologic history, but it allows that history can still be reframed, reflected, and reinvigorated for the needs of the present through dialogical engagement.

Briefly, the novel follows two brothers: Nedokoro Mitsusaburō and Takashi. Mitsusaburō, the narrator, has fallen into a deep depression after his son was born with brain damage and a close friend committed suicide. His wife, Natsumiko, has been similarly affected by these events and has retreated into alcoholism. The couple has no idea how to move forward with their lives, and they spend their days in a listless fog of despair. Takashi returns from America at the beginning of the novel and proposes to Mitsusaburō that they all return to the Nedokoro family home in the small village in Shikoku where they were born. He suggests to Mitsusaburō that they might find a new life there. The brothers fill the roles of passive and active protagonists, a narrative device that Ōe frequently employs. As Susan Napier notes, Ōe's archetypal passive hero displays a cynical intellectualism as he observes the active hero, who exhibits provocative dynamism.[31] Mitsusaburō and Takashi, respectively, play these archetypal roles. Mitsusaburō goes along with the suggestion from his brother, but upon arrival in the village it becomes clear that Takashi has ulterior motives, including selling off the family land and organizing the young men of the village into a football team that will serve as cover for turning them into a kind of revolutionary cadre under his charismatic leadership.

Violence is omnipresent in the novel. Mitsusaburō and Takashi lost their father and eldest brother to the war and Japan's larger imperial project. The second Nedokoro son, called only S in the novel, died at the hands of a violent mob in the village. Mitsusaburō lost one of his eyes violently when

a group of children threw rocks at him, and more recently, Mitsusaburō's friend committed suicide after receiving a head injury from a policeman during the 1960 Anpo demonstrations. Furthermore, it is revealed at the end of the novel that Takashi raped his intellectually disabled sister, continued a sexual relationship with her afterward, tricked her into thinking it was appropriate, forced her to lie about the relationship when she got pregnant, and then drove her to suicide after the family forced her to get an abortion. Duantem Saihom argues that this is the first time Takashi inflicts violence on another, and the first time he gains an awareness of himself as one who is able to inflict violence, an awareness that drives his subsequent actions.[32] After this, Takashi goes on to seek out violence in different forms, including participating in the Anpo protests and traveling to America to seek out the most dangerous neighborhoods in New York. The two brothers have very different reactions to their experience of violence. Mitsusaburō embraces what Murase Ryōko calls a "despair in humanity," leaving him unable to act.[33] Takashi, in contrast, seeks to legitimate violence in general and his own violence in particular as a means to expiate his crimes and maintain his self-image as a moral person. Like many who seek to justify violence, Takashi turns to the past for this project.

Resistance to Monologue

Woraluck Klawploadtook has argued that Mitsusaburō and Takashi are both bound to the past, but the difference between the brothers is in the directionality of their relationship to the past. Mitsusaburō wants to move against time, which is flowing into a hopeless future, and return to the past. Takashi, conversely, is oriented toward the future but must use the past to construct that future and justify himself.[34] As discussed in chapter 1, an attempt to use the past to situate the present on a trajectory to the future and justify power and violence suggests a monologic engagement with history. History must be rewritten or reframed to satisfy the needs of the present, and to that end dissenting voices from the past must be erased or suppressed. The novel follows Takashi's attempts to rewrite the past to justify his own violence and cast himself as a practitioner of justified, glorified violence, in the model of the gallant soldier or the violent revolutionary. He is stymied, however, by Mitsusaburō. Precisely because Mitsusaburō has given up on the future and lives in the present as if already dead (the novel opens with him sitting in a grave-like hole), he feels none of the attraction the other characters

feel toward Takashi's rewriting of history. He continually resists Takashi's attempts to force history into a monologue that will satisfy his own and the village's present needs, ultimately driving Takashi to suicide. This struggle between the brothers, between the desire to rewrite history monologically and resistance to this rewriting, is a major thematic axis of the book.

In order to legitimate himself as a man of violence, Takashi first struggles to find socially permissible and valorized violence (or violent natures) within his family. Family is, after all, a prime source of identity. Since Mitsusaburō is decidedly passive and not given to violence, Takashi instead turns to the other significant men in his lineage: his older brother S and his great-grandfather's younger brother, who led a peasant revolt in 1860. He first attempts to engage monologically with his own family history, specifically his memories of his brother S, who was a military cadet when the war ended and was demobilized shortly after the surrender. Takashi, who was a child at the time, remembers this demobilization in beautified terms: "In the middle of summer S walked up the stone-paved road in his dark-blue winter uniform, carrying his service sword and wearing an aviator's leather boots. And whenever he would meet someone from the valley, he would snap his booted heels together with a click and salute like a Nazi. I feel like that click of his hard leather heels, and his gallant voice saying 'Second Nedokoro son S, returned from duty' still echoes in the valley even now."[35] Takashi identifies S, a military cadet, as a man of violence like himself, and remembers him through the filter of a soldierly ideal: gallant, manly, and admirable. Mitsusaburō, however, has a different recollection: "Takashi talked that way, but the S I remembered bore no resemblance to such an outwardly dazzling person. When he was demobilized, he did wear his air cadet winter uniform to the foot of the bridge, but on top of the bridge he threw away his hat, boots, and service sword, then took off his jacket and came up the stone-paved road with it stuffed under his arm, hunched over. That's how I remember S's demobilization."[36]

This is the brothers' first significant clash over history, and the first time Mitsusaburō challenges Takashi's attempts to rewrite history. Mitsusaburō's version of history is privileged for the reader by his position as narrator, which gives the reader access to his internal recollections, as well as his highly intellectualized and rational deliberation about history. Mitsusaburō seems to be a reliable (if passive and miserable) narrator. For Takashi and the other characters, Mitsusaburō's version of history is privileged by his status as older (and so having a more reliable memory of childhood) and more

intellectual. In this passage, therefore, we must assume that Mitsusaburō's recollections are more accurate and that S was not a gallant, soldierly man of violence after all. Thus, Takashi's memory is exposed as a creative rewriting of history. It is not only Takashi's subjective impressions of S that have been realigned to serve his ego, but even the events of S's return from the navy. Significantly, Takashi here tries to connect himself to a family history of state-authorized violence, the violence of the soldier legitimated by service and contained by—in Takashi's words—Nazi-like discipline. Mitsusaburō, however, reveals that S's devotion to military service was questionable, as he slunk home while hiding or discarding the symbols of that service.

Next, Takashi tries to rewrite the past to glorify S as both a giver and receiver of violence. S died shortly after his demobilization, when he was beaten to death by Koreans from a nearby settlement in the valley. Takashi tries to beautify this violent death (in the following excerpt, Mitsusaburō narrates Takashi's recollection in indirect quotation):

> "I vividly remember the scene on the day S was beaten to death, I still dream about it repeatedly even now. I even remember all the little details clearly," Takashi said to my wife.
>
> He was lying face-down on top of sharp gravel that had been trampled into small pieces, and dried mud that seemed like white powder. The autumn sunlight was bright, and the road, the vine-covered cliff, the slope covered in pampas grass opposite, and the river below all reflected it with a white light. And in all this whiteness, the river burned with the most intense white. Takashi, crouching fifty centimeters from where S's cheek pressed against the ground facing the river, and even the dog that ran around them whining high enough to set his teeth on edge, were also white. The dead S and Takashi and the dog were all enveloped in a cloud of white light.[37]

Here, Takashi tries to beautify the violence S received: his corpse after his violent death In a brawl between village youths is shining and white, fascinating even in its grotesqueness to the young Takashi squatting beside him. This beautification of death certainly reflects state glorification of soldiers' and sailors' sacrifices. At the same time, an assertion that death can be beautiful might ameliorate his own guilt at having driven his sister to suicide. Mitsusaburō, however, refutes this memory as a rewriting of the past:

> "Taka, are you saying that's something you saw in reality? . . . Taka . . . that was all just a dream from the beginning. You probably got the image of S's dried-up corpse from seeing a toad that had been run over by a tire. Frankly, your description of S's broken black head and the things seeping out of it makes me think of a flattened toad. A toad flattened so its innards have melted together and flown out," I said, criticizing and refuting Takashi's memories. "Taka, you definitely did not see S after he died. And there's especially no way you could have seen him lying on the road. The only people who saw that were myself, when I went with a handcart to retrieve the corpse, and the Korean villagers who helped me load it. . . . When I left the handcart in the square and came back to the house for a minute, Taka, you were standing in the kitchen stuffing your cheeks with bits of candy, and dribbling brown drool from both sides of your mouth. . . . It was night by the time [a neighbor and I] carried S's corpse up the long way, below the stone fence, and took it to the storehouse. Taka, you couldn't have seen anything from start to finish, you see?"[38]

Mitsusaburō collapses the beautification of violent death and the violence S received. Since he was much older and more mature at the time of S's death, both Takashi and the reader must conclude that Mitsusaburō's memory of the event is more accurate. Mitsusaburō reveals that Takashi is rewriting history—not just impressions but events themselves—into a monologue that will speak to the beautification of violent death in the present.

Thus denied, Takashi tries to at least valorize S as a giver of violence:

> I do remember the candy. It was from a big brick of candy that S plundered in the first attack on the Korean settlement. He broke it apart with the hilt of his short sword and gave me some. I remember the shape and color of that naval short sword precisely. After that S went to the second attack on the Korean settlement and was beaten to death. But when he gave me his plundered candy, he was happy and cheerful. I think he used his naval short sword in order to excite his little brother and himself even more.[39]

Here martial images are evoked as Takashi remembers S immediately after a raid on the Korean settlement, when he was on the side of givers of vio-

lence. S is cheerful and spirited after committing this violence, using his military sword to break apart plundered candy and magnanimously sharing it with his little brother. Takashi tries to remember S in a way that will beautify that violence and therefore connect Takashi's own violence to a familial and national history of soldierly violent glory. Mitsusaburō, however, again unravels Takashi's memory work, not allowing him the comfort of rewriting the past to accommodate his need to justify his own violence to himself:

> Taka, that's another memory from a dream, a dream image that has settled into your memory with the same density as reality. It's true that S and his comrades did steal black market sake and candy from the Korean settlement. But . . . he hid it in a bale of straw in the barn. I'm the one who stole it and gave it to you, Taka, along with eating some myself. Furthermore, it's not possible that S was in such a good mood after the first attack on the Korean settlement. Why? At that point, one of the Korean villagers had already died. The second attack wasn't an attack at all, but a compensatory raid. It had already been decided that someone from the Japanese villagers' side would be scarified. That way the two murders would cancel each other out, and the whole thing could be settled without involving the police. And it had already been decided who should play that role. In other words, S knew that he himself would be sacrificed. I only have one memory of S between the two raids, like a blurry picture, but it's not a picture I just made up. Even though at the time the others were getting drunk off the black-market sake they stole, in the photo of my memory S was lying in a dark corner of the storehouse, completely sober, facing away from me curled up in a ball.[40]

Mitsusaburō resists Takashi's attempts to repurpose history for a narrative that would suit his needs, simply by recounting a different version of history. Again, because Mitsusaburō is older and more reliable, both the reader and the diegetic characters can only assume that events happened closer to Mitsusaburō's recollection. Takashi fails here to rewrite history into a monologue that would legitimate his own violent acts.

Mitsusaburō's wife, Natsumiko, is present during this exchange about S and is greatly disturbed by Mitsusaburō's account. She asks, "why did S participate in the raid even though he knew he was going to be killed, and was even really killed? Why did S have to play the role of being killed in compensation? It's terrifying to think of S lying there in a dark corner of

the storehouse. It's really terrifying and revolting to imagine a young man waiting alone for the second raid."[41] This conversation marks the beginning of Natsumiko's "defection" to Takashi, as she takes Takashi's side in the conflict between the brothers, does not follow Mitsusaburō when he "exiles" himself from the main Nedokoro house, and eventually commits adultery with Takashi. This defection stems, at least in part, from the two brothers' approach to the past. Crucially, Natsumiko does not disbelieve Mitsusaburō—she knows his account of S's death is more reliable than Takashi's. However, she prefers a historical perspective that offers escape from the despair of S's final hours, even knowing that it is factually incorrect or deceptive, a rewriting of history to justify violence. A version of history that has a young man spending his last days cheerfully before happening to die in brawl, even if it is not accurate, is infinitely preferable to one that has him spending those days waiting for death in the dark, knowing his comrades have sacrificed him. Therefore, she eventually gravitates away from Mitsusaburō and toward Takashi.

Having failed to monologically rewrite the history of his immediate family, Takashi begins to look further back in his family history, to his great-grandfather's younger brother. In the year 1860, his great-grandfather's younger brother (who is given no other name in the text) had organized the young men of the village and led a violent peasant uprising against the domanial authorities. The uprising was crushed, but not before embroiling the region in violence. Afterward, his great-grandfather's younger brother disappeared, escaping the execution that was usually the fate of the leaders of uprisings. Takashi begins imitating his great-grandfather's younger brother by organizing the young men of 1960 into a football team, but the practice of football is merely a pretext for gathering the young men into his entourage. Takashi then tries to monologically rewrite the history of the uprising and his great-grandfather's younger brother in his interactions with these young men, again to connect himself to a history of legitimate or glorified violence. He also begins to apply pressure to ostracize Mitsusaburō from village life, an attempt to erase his voice of dissent to Takashi's rewriting of history. He sells the family land behind Mitsusaburō's back, pulls Natsumiko away from Mitsusaburō, and has the football team scorn Mitsusaburō's passivity. Yet when he does come into contact with Takashi's history, Mitsusaburō again contests the attempt to monologically rewrite the past, despite the social pressure designed to silence him. When he enters the main Nedokoro house at one point, he finds that Takashi has gathered

his entourage of young village men around him to impart to them his own version of history:

> [Natsumiko said] "Taka is telling them about some fun episodes, Mitsu. The nice thing about Taka is that he doesn't paint the whole revolt with a gloomy fixed prejudice like you."
>
> "Could he actually dig up a pleasant episode from the 1860 revolt?"
>
> "Why are you asking me?" my wife snapped back, but gave me an example anyway. "When Taka told them about how all the village headmen and village officials on the way to the castle town were forced to kneel by the side of the road, and the peasants each hit them once on the head bare-handed as they went by, everyone laughed happily."[42]

Here Takashi is holding court with his football team, telling them a beautified account of past violence that will enable Takashi's self-justification and legitimate violence in the present day. However, Mitsusaburō again refuses to allow Takashi's monologic repurposing of history to go by unremarked, and he forcefully reminds Takashi and his listeners (who are sitting within earshot of Mitsusaburō and his wife in this scene) of what lies outside the frame Takashi had tried to assert:

> Something cruel like everyone hitting the village headmen and officials once on the head was certainly the kind of boorish, farcical thing delinquents of farming villages would think up. But those headmen and village officials, hit on the head once each by tens of thousands of people, died with the contents of their skulls like crumbled tofu.
>
> "Did Taka tell them how, after all the people had passed by, old men were lying face down, dead, in front of their furniture covered in people's excrement? Or did those young jocks guffaw at it even so?" I persisted not out of any desire to criticize Takashi and his new comrades, but out of simple curiosity.[43]

Takashi has tried to frame the violence against the village headmen as gloriously transgressive, but Mitsusaburō forces him, the youths, and the reader to acknowledge the ignoble, sad, gruesome result of the violence, which Takashi excluded from the frame of his narrative. Crucially, all Mitsusaburō does here is introduce another aspect of the history Takashi is recounting. He admits the diversity of history, the pity of those who suffered violence,

an alternative voice from the past that is enough to destabilize a monologic and violence-beautifying representation of history. His monologic reframing of history disrupted, Takashi is forced to retreat and retrench, just as with the remembered history of S. He says to the young men: "The young men's organization was truly brutal, but in a sense, that brutality reassured the normal peasants who participated. Because when it became necessary to wound or kill their enemy, they could rely on the young men's brutality and keep their own hands clean. It was an arrangement that allowed ordinary peasants to participate in the revolt without having to worry about being arrested for arson or murder afterward."[44] Thwarted in framing his great-grandfather's younger brother's violence in positive terms, Takashi is forced to now admit to his relative's terrible brutality, but he still insists that this brutality was noble and, in fact, desired by society (the normal peasants who participated in the revolt).

Takashi uses every form of social pressure to silence Mitsusaburō, but Mitsusaburō nevertheless refuses to relax his resistance to Takashi's attempts to rewrite history into a monologue. No matter how many people Takashi infects with his charismatic accounts of history, as long as Mitsusaburō remembers another narrative Takashi's cannot triumph. Mitsusaburō is similar to the narrator of Ōe's early masterpiece *Me mushiri ko uchi* (芽むしり仔撃ち, Nip the buds, shoot the kids, 1958). Villagers at the end of that novel convince a group of boys to adhere to their rewritten version of history, a version that will absolve the villagers from any guilt in an ugly incident. The narrator alone insists on telling the truth as he remembers it, making him a threat to the village, someone who must be killed. Similarly, Mitsusaburō plays the role of the lone rememberer of unaltered history. Although he is alone in his resistance, as long as he persists in rejecting Takashi's rewritten history there will be an element of dissent to prevent Takashi's version from becoming naturalized "truth."

Takashi's attempts to re-remember or reframe history into a monologue that would fulfill his own psychological needs in the present thus frustrated by his brother's resistance, he eventually sets out to re-create history. By re-creating the events of 1860, Takashi hopes to create a new context for the consideration of his family's history of violence. If the modern analogue of the 1860 revolt can be made valorous and glorious, by association the revolt of the past will be cast in a new light. By becoming his great-grandfather's younger brother, Takashi can alter how that man of the past is perceived. Takashi therefore sets out to create his own uprising, first with his loyal

football team, but eventually drawing in the whole village. Having failed at rewriting history, Takashi now attempts to overwrite it, another strategy to force past and present into a unified monologue.

The rural village of the novel's setting is a circumscribed space that shows little outward evidence of modernity. The winter snows cut off telephone service and the main road out of the valley in which it is situated. The village has many physical anchors—such as the Nedokoro storehouse—that have persisted since 1860. This circumscription and physical commonality with 1860 allows Takashi, who has the persuasive charm of a sociopath or cult leader, to draw the villagers into a shared delusion that they are reliving the events of the 1860 revolt. When one member of Takashi's football team is expelled from the group, he tries to travel over the mountains:

> Banished by his comrades and pursued by shame and despair, the young man struggling through the snow must have pictured himself as a peasant son of 1860 wearing a topknot. The simple youth driven by his growing fear had been surrounded by the darkness of the midnight woods, toiling through the snow; there would have been no way for him to verify that a century had passed since 1860. If he had collapsed and frozen to death the night before, he would have died exactly the same death as a young man exiled in 1860. All the "times" that coexist in the deep forest would have poured into the head of this young man on the verge of death and occupied it.
>
> "Now that the first sign of it has appeared in that young man, the tendency to identify with the young men of 1860 will spread to the whole football team. And I'll spread it to every person in the valley. I'll revive the revolt of our ancestors from a hundred years ago, and re-create it even more realistically than the Nenbutsu dance. Mitsu, it's not impossible!" [Takashi said].[45]

Within the special bounded space of the village, Takashi's charismatic lectures about the 1860 uprising have caused his football team members to see themselves as the young men of 1860. With Takashi playing the role of his great-grandfather's younger brother, he will lead the young men in an uprising that valorizes his violence, overwriting the sordid history of the actual young men of 1860. As long as the village is cut off from the outside world, Takashi's project to re-create and overwrite history can find fertile ground. It is only when, briefly, the outside world is brought into the village again via

television that the villagers realize how absurd Takashi's revolt is: "Standing behind [the children], the adults weren't focused on the TV, but murmuring uneasily. The transmissions from far-off cities arriving when the valley was under a strange martial law had a certain effect. The blurry close-up on the screen of a girl singer smiling disingenuously with her large jaw thrust out renewed the sense that what had happened and was still happening in the valley was unusual."[46] This brief intrusion of the outside world into the space of the village reminds the villagers that what they are doing defies common sense: peasant revolts do not happen in 1960. In 1960 there are, instead, political demonstrations, and, despite all Takashi's efforts, these two kinds of riots are not the same. Aside from this brief contact with the outside, however, the circumscribed space of the village is left inviolate, and Takashi's scheme can advance.

Nevertheless, crucially, one part of the village is an obtrusive reminder of not only modernity but also diachronic time: the "supermarket" (so called, although it sells durable goods as well as consumables). The supermarket is owned by a Korean man whom the villagers derisively call the Supermarket Emperor. This emperor originally lived in the settlement of Koreans near the village. Forcibly brought to Japan during the war for forced labor like so many other Koreans, these Koreans were relocated to the remote valley to work in the forest. After Japan's defeat, the emperor bought up land in the settlement and accumulated wealth, eventually founding a chain of supermarkets. The supermarket, therefore, is not only an undeniable reminder of modernity—selling electronics and foreign goods—it is also a constant reminder of the war, and of Japan's defeat. A foreigner who would never have come to Japan except as a slave during Japan's colonial adventure now owns the most successful business in the valley, and as all the family-run village shops are being forced out of business by the cheaper and more modern supermarket, the former masters of the empire are slowly being driven into bankruptcy and economic subservience.

The supermarket, therefore, is a source of resentment, much like the samurai officials were in 1860, and it is only natural that Takashi's riot should focus on it. His football players—and eventually all the villagers, at his encouragement—break into the supermarket to loot various goods. Several scholars have read this attack on the supermarket as a sign of resistance. Klawploadtook argues that "the name Supermarket Emperor, and the business organization of the supermarket itself, suggests a symbolic association with the center and central culture."[47] Kobayashi Tokiaki argues that the

looting is an example of a frequent Ōe trope: a small, isolated *kyōdōtai* (共同体, collective body) resisting the centralized *kyōdōtai* created by the emperor system.[48] However, this attack is much more ambivalent. It does have elements of resistance to the center and to capitalist modernity, but it is also an anti-Korean riot motivated by racial resentment. Takashi says as much: "[the villagers] are fully aware of the misery of their fading lifestyles. . . . But now they've remembered the sweet feeling of superiority toward Koreans before and during the war."[49] One villager, Jin, remarks to Mitsusaburō, "ever since the Koreans came to this valley, the valley people have continuously suffered from trouble! When the war ended, the Koreans snatched up the valley's land and money and got rich! We're just taking back a little bit."[50] The looting, then, is both a recognizably leftist attempt to overthrow a large corporation, seize the wealth of the capitalist class, and redistribute it to the villagers, and a recognizably rightist attempt to restore the social order and racial hierarchy that existed during and before the war. This ambiguity is productive: the text summons discursive intertextual associations with both leftist and rightist legitimations of violence, thereby highlighting how history is entangled with the legitimation of violence for all types of ideology. Takashi is able to legitimate the supermarket attack because of the precedent of the 1860 uprising and a precedent of village violence. At the same time, by re-creating the 1860 uprising in 1960 he hopes to overwrite the history of violent brutality associated with the earlier event that Mitsusaburō pointed out, thereby both redeeming his great-grandfather's younger brother and securing a place for himself as the inheritor of a family tradition of legitimate or beautified violence.

Like Natsumiko, the villagers have accepted Takashi's monologically rewritten history because it supplies a comforting narrative; their troubles are due not to their increasing economic irrelevance but to the depredations of outside invaders who have gotten above themselves. However, Mitsusaburō again plays the role of implacable resister of monologue. He refuses to participate in the festive village jubilation over the supermarket attack, conspicuously demonstrating that he is not convinced that this display of violence is legitimate. He even attempts to leave money at the supermarket for an item he needs. To Jin's statement, above, he replies: "The Koreans didn't come to the valley by their own will. They were slave laborers forcibly brought here from their own country. And as far as I know, there are no incidents of the villagers actively suffering trouble because of them. Even with the issue of the Korean settlement land after the war ended, no vil-

lager suffered any loss individually, right? Why have you distorted your own memory?"[51] Mitsusaburō reminds Jin of history unaltered by Takashi: that the Koreans are not invaders who came to cause trouble but victims, slaves who even when freed never caused trouble or economic harm to the villagers. Once again, he will not allow a rewriting of history into a new monologue, even when that monologue would provide a comforting narrative that people in the present desperately need. He names the phenomenon for what it is: people deliberately distorting their own memories to remember a history they know to be false. Although Takashi has convinced everyone else in the village to go along with both his riot and his monologic rewriting of historical violence, he cannot convince Mitsusaburō. Mitsusaburō is not only Takashi's brother, and so perhaps the person he most needs to convince for his own self-justification, but also a voice of dissent or difference that—though alone—can disrupt monologic representation and its attempts to construct a unitary voice.

This tension between Takashi's attempts to rewrite history and Mitsusaburō's refusal to acknowledge them finally comes to a head in the novel's climax. Takashi, desperate to demonstrate that he can wrest a modicum of control of history away from Mitsusaburō, attempts to rewrite a portion of history over which Mitsusaburō can claim no privileged knowledge. Takashi claims that he attempted to rape a young woman from the valley, then murdered her by smashing her head in with a rock when she resisted. This version of history would probably result in Takashi's death, either from formal execution or at the hands of a lynch mob. However, it would allow Takashi to die as a rebellious criminal, someone who used violence to take what he wanted with no concern for social morality. This image may be a far cry from that of the young revolutionary who led his village in an uprising, but it still appeals to Takashi's vanity and his need to valorize the violence within himself. This represents a desperate last attempt for Takashi, after Mitsusaburō has blocked all his efforts to rewrite or overwrite history in a way that would allow him to construct a historically legitimated ideology of valorized violence for himself.

However, Mitsusaburō again stymies Takashi's attempt to rewrite history, even history lived only by Takashi and the dead victim, which Takashi should be able to control completely. Mitsusaburō incisively debunks all of Takashi's claims, just as he did with Takashi's childhood memories. He deduces what the reader can only assume to be the actual course of events, given Mitsusaburō's established status as a more reliable rememberer and

his narrated internal reasoning: the young woman was in a car with Takashi, became afraid at the speed he was driving, and tried to jump out of the car, whereupon she hit her head on a rock accidentally. Having thus been foiled even in his attempt to rewrite his own personal history, Takashi is left with nothing but despair. Mitsusaburō demolishes his attempt to legitimize himself with history one last time: "even our great-grandfather's younger brother, whom you're counting on so much, not only committed massacres when he led the revolt, but then, in the end, he abandoned his comrades to die and escaped through the forest alone."[52] In a final act of contempt, Mitsusaburō vilifies their great grand-father's younger brother's violence one last time, that violence that Takashi was "counting on" (*tayori ni shite*, 頼りにして) to validate his own. With this last victory of Mitsusaburō in the brothers' struggle over history, the final reminder that Takashi is powerless to alter history into a monologue that would legitimize and valorize the violence within himself, Takashi can only commit suicide a few minutes later.

Finally, however, Mitsusaburō discovers a hidden room in the storehouse that he realizes was used to hide his great-grandfather's younger brother for decades after the revolt. Based on this new evidence that his great-grandfather's younger brother did not run away and abandon his comrades after all, but instead stayed in self-imposed imprisonment as self-punishment for his violent crimes, Mitsusaburō revises his opinion of him. He tells Natsumiko, "At least where our great-grandfather's younger brother is concerned, Taka didn't have to feel ashamed of him!" To this revelation Natsumiko has the harshest of rejoinders:

> I don't think you made Taka kill himself. But I do think you drove him into the most shameful and pathetic kind of death. You repeatedly dropped him into the circle of his shame, until there was nothing left for him but to die so pathetically. . . . And now that Taka is dead and there's no way to take that back, you say that he didn't have to feel ashamed of your great-grandfather's younger brother. Even if it wouldn't have given him a reason to keep on living, couldn't your great-grandfather's younger brother's life have given him hope in the moment he was about to kill himself? If you had told this . . . to Taka then, his suicide might not have been so awful.[53]

To this, however, Mitsusaburō only replies, "What I just told you was only discovered after the Supermarket Emperor surveyed the storehouse. Such a thing was unthinkable that night."[54] Here the tension of the entire

novel is summarized at its conclusion. Takashi tries to reframe and rewrite history in such a way that it serves the needs of the present, providing hope and satisfying egos, and giving himself a reason to live by inventing historical precedent to valorize his own violence. Mitsusaburō, however, disallows any such attempts, insisting on preserving history. Natsumiko points out that Mitsusaburō might have saved his brother's life (or at least given him a better death) even just by allowing for the possibility of a creative reinterpretation of history, but to do so without additional evidence is "unthinkable" for Mitsusaburō. Mitsusaburō wins the conflict between the brothers, and the novel shows resistance to monologic history winning in the end.

Dreaming in Anachronism

It cannot be said that Mitsusaburō's victory over his brother brings him any joy. In fact, Takashi's manipulation of history might have created some hope and meaning for life. Mitsusaburō's refusal to allow history to be used in this way—although it is an admirable resistance to power and violence—leaves him unable to provide any hope or reason to live for either himself or Natsumiko. However, the text depicts another way for history to be engaged with and used for the purposes of the present despite this unwavering resistance to a monologic rewriting of history: a dialogical engagement with history in the form of dialogic anachronism.

As mentioned in chapter 1, dialogic anachronisms often take the form of "comic-book juxtaposition," in Fredric Jameson's words. While Ōe's work is often dark and sober and might seem like an unlikely place for such comic-book work, Ōe frequently utilizes the carnivalesque and buffoonery. Ōe has said that there is always a serious element in buffoonery and cartoonization, but perhaps this should be amended to say that for Ōe, buffoonery and cartoonization are always serious.[55] In this case, the very title of the novel is a clownish anachronism: *Man'en gannen no futtobōru*, literally translated, means "football in the first year of the Man'en period," or 1860. Either soccer or American football being played in 1860, before the Meiji Restoration, in a space where time is measured in Japanese units (i.e., in Japan), is extremely unlikely in narrative history. While Ōe does not depart from realism in the novel, the anachronistic title hints that the text will complicate historicity and linear historical narratives, and furthermore that it will put those issues front and center. Ōe himself has written that this novel is an explicit attempt to juxtapose different eras:

> When I began to write *Man'en gannen no futtobōru* in its present form, I felt that the people, things, and times surrounding the focal point of the first year of Man'en were distant enough from myself that their otherness was quite distinct. I tried to eliminate conceptual knowledge of the reality of the first year of Man'en as much as possible. Furthermore, I tried to use my imagination as a clamp, to crimp together that era and today's era. This clamp of the novelist's imagination creates a contemporaneity that allows two different eras to interilluminate [*shōō shiau*, 照応しあう] dynamically, while maintaining their independence. I tried to have the first year of Man'en and 1960 face each other across a century of darkness. The ball kicked by the people of the first year of Man'en flies over the abyss of a century to fall among the people of 1960. And the ball kicked back by the people of 1960 once again flies back to the first year of Man'en.[56]

Ōe's project with this novel, as he describes it, is an attempt to engage with history dialogically. He juxtaposes two different eras devoid of the narrative history that leads from one to the other, allowing them to come into dialogue—to interilluminate, in his words. Yet the two eras are not resolved into a synthesis, into a claim that 1860 is no different from 1960. That would be monologic historical representation, to which the novel models resistance. Instead, the novel maintains the distinction between the two time periods, kicking the "ball" between them. This commitment to dialogic juxtaposition has the effect of highlighting monologic rewriting of history when it occurs, but also signals the possibility of a different kind of engagement with history.

While Mitsusaburō never succumbs to Takashi's attempts to rewrite the past, he *is* swayed by Takashi's superimposition of the events of 1860 onto the village of 1960. Takashi juxtaposes the two eras, hoping to overwrite one with the other. However, since Mitsusaburō will not allow the past to be overwritten, the eras become stuck in juxtaposition, unresolved. This juxtaposition, formed dialogically by the brothers' struggle, is anachronistic. For example, one carnivalesque scene gives rise to the compression of time and the superimposition of eras:

> I polished the narrow glass window . . . in an oval shape, like an old-fashioned mirror, and looked down. I saw Takashi there, completely naked, running a circle into the snow piled up in the front garden. An

> outdoor light, reflecting off the snow that had fallen on the ground, roof, and several small shrubs under the eaves, illuminated the white garden with plentiful light that gave an impression of the vague light of dusk. The snow was still falling. I had a strange sense that everything was fixed in place, as if the lines snowflakes traced in this one second would be maintained for as long as snow fell in the valley, and no other movement of snow would be possible. The essence of that second would be stretched out for eternity. Just like sound is absorbed by a layer of snow, the directionality of time was also swallowed by that snow and lost. "Time" misdistributed. The Takashi running around stark naked was my great-grandfather's younger brother, and also my own younger brother. All the moments of a century were piled into this one moment.[57]

In the buffoonery of a naked Takashi running pointless circles in the snow, we can detect one of the "numerous parodies and travesties, humiliations, profanations, comic crownings and uncrownings" of Bakhtin's carnivalesque (of which Ōe is an advocate), which signals a "temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order."[58] In this special moment and space, the established order of narrative time and history can be suspended. Here the frosted glass is polished into an oval shape reminiscent of "an old-fashioned mirror," like a Japanese polished-metal mirror rather than a mercury-backed mirror. Such mirrors reflect distorted, fantastical worlds. Through this portal, which, like a dream, admits a counterfactual perception of reality, Takashi's carnivalesque buffoonery creates an anachronistic impression in Mitsusaburō, the sense that the person he sees is both his younger brother and his great-grandfather's younger brother. Time loses its directionality, is allowed to fold back on itself, and the space of a century is compressed into one moment, so that two people of different eras can anachronistically be the same person.

So Myeongseong points to this scene as an example of Ernst Cassirer's theory of mythical time, a kind of eternity that repeats forever cyclically. Since it cannot sustain the division of past, present, and future, it is always trying to wrap up temporal difference in uniformity. She points out that by perceiving linear time as physical and spatial, Mitsusaburō dismantles the temporal phases of past, present, and future.[59] This use of Cassirer's theory is productive, but in this scene the text does not "level the differences" between past and present (a monologic gesture) but rather puts them in contact while maintaining their distinctness.[60] Since it is impossible for a

man to be both himself and his great-grandfather's younger brother, the text reflexively calls attention to the impossibility of the anachronism here, even as it allows the two men to be superimposed for a moment to interilluminate each other. The difference between 1860 and 1960 created by linear time is reflexively maintained while that same linear time is simultaneously collapsed in a hallucinogenic moment. As Michiko Wilson writes, this passage demonstrates "the coexistence of synchronic and diachronic time."[61] Because a synchronic perspective cannot admit a chronological narrative progression, the narrative that leads from 1860 to 1960 is discarded, but the essential parts of both eras (Mitsusaburō's great-grandfather's younger brother and his own younger brother) are retained and juxtaposed, representatives of points in diachronic time.

This anachronism reveals a compromise between the brothers' diametrically opposed historical philosophies. Takashi wishes to become their great-grandfather's younger brother, and therefore overwrite history, writing the latter's history into a new history that will fold back on itself and legitimate Takashi's own violence in the present. Mitsusaburō will never allow history to be rewritten, however, even if he must play the role of the lone outcast dissenter. Here, the distorting night window and Takashi's absurd behavior create a moment removed from common sense. In this moment, the failure to overwrite their great-grandfather's younger brother results in him becoming stuck in juxtaposition with Takashi, superimposed rather than overwritten—but this superimposition is anachronistic. Takashi is "my great-grandfather's younger brother, and also my own younger brother." He occupies both roles simultaneously, impossibly, so that the juxtaposition is maintained, not resolved into synthesis. Takashi cannot become his great-grandfather's younger brother after all, but the anachronistic juxtaposition opens up the possibility of connection between the two. Mitsusaburō is intrigued by the juxtaposition, and in this timeless moment the anachronistic superimposition seems to suggest to him (and the reader) that there might be some similarity between them, some compatibility between the leader of a peasant revolt and a young student protestor. Crucially, however, the superimposition retains both images as distinct and does not resolve into a single focus, like a superimposed photograph in which both original images are still clearly detectable and distinct even as they are overlaid into a single new image. The text in the end refuses to replace one image with the other or blend them into a single impression, rewriting history as Takashi wishes. It does, however, admit to new possibilities, reconsiderations, and

connections between past and present in a moment of fantastical, unresolved anachronistic superimposition.

As Takashi moves to re-create the past in the isolated, rustic village, Mitsusaburō responds by increasingly processing reality anachronistically, at least in dreams and visions. In one dream:

> As my dream developed, the flow of a dream involving the revolt of the peasants in the valley reached my memories of the day at the end of the war when one adult from every house in the village was mobilized to go into the large grove and harvest bamboo. From there the flow reversed, and returned to the first year of Man'en, creating a new dream flow. . . .
>
> In this new dream, peasants living in a "time" that was both the first year of Man'en and the end of the war, who wore khaki-colored civilian defense uniforms with steel helmets hanging down their backs along with topknots, worked to cut a great number of bamboo spears. They were the people who were going to wield those bamboo spears to advance the battle of 1860 to victory, and they were also the people who were going to throw themselves at the armored sides of aircraft and landing craft in a suicidal attack. . . .
>
> When my mother and I shut ourselves in the storehouse, a squad of villagers carrying bamboo spears climbed the stone-paved road up to us. They were being directed by Takashi, who was of indeterminate age. Since he was the only person in the valley who had actually seen America and Americans, he was the most reliable person to lead the villagers to attack with bamboo spears the Americans who were going to land at the seaside village. But first the bamboo spear squad was going to advance on the storehouse where my mother and I were hiding. . . .
>
> My brother, leading the mob, had now merged with my great-grandfather's brother of 1860 and enthusiastically challenged myself, my mother, and the household spirits. Takashi was surrounded by a group of the valley's young men he had trained through football practice.[62]

Within the realm of dreams, temporality can be compressed. Here, three points in time, 1860, 1960, and 1945, have been superimposed on one another. In Jameson's terms, their cards have been juxtaposed, or in Azuma Hiroki's, elements of the three eras (steel helmets, bamboo spears, topknots) have been extracted from the database and redeployed in a new combination. Significantly, there is no historical narrative that can support this

compression of temporality into a single narrative present. But within the carnivalesque world of the dream, the years 1860, 1960, and 1945 can coexist comfortably. The narrative history that separates them is temporarily set aside within the bounded space of the dream. Once that happens, Takashi's forceful attempts to become his great-grandfather's younger brother and to make the villagers of the present into the villagers of 1860 successfully summon the juxtaposition, although they do not resolve it. In the dream Takashi is, anachronistically, both himself and his great-grandfather's younger brother. The villagers anachronistically wear both topknots and civil defense uniforms. Both Mitsusaburō and the reader are aware of the paradoxical nature of the juxtaposition. The various elements—topknots, civil defense uniforms, and so forth—belong firmly in separate eras, and there is no possible way to resolve the anachronism into narrative history. Therefore, although the eras are put into contact with one another, history is not rewritten. And yet, neither does Mitsusaburō succeed in keeping the past inviolate, untouched by the present. Dialogic anachronism here is a compromise the text suggests between the two positions, formed by the two brothers' dialogue over history.

This anachronistic compromise does the work of opening up the past to the present while maintaining the integrity of both eras. So Myeongseong argues that Ōe uses history and myth as an alienation device to fundamentally alter those things that seem perfectly obvious to modern people, his way of searching the past for possibilities in the present.[63] Anachronism here performs just this function. Anachronistic juxtaposition devoid of narrative connection allows new connections to form between the eras—in Ōe's terms, the ball passes between them over the abyss of the century that separates them—even as that narrative history is acknowledged by conspicuous temporal difference. In the above passage, Takashi becomes completely identified with the brothers' great-grandfather's younger brother. The leader of a nineteenth-century peasant tax revolt becomes equated with a participant in the 1960 Anpo demonstrations, and is furthermore identified with a leader of civilian defense forces during the war. This is impossible, not merely because the gulf of time separating these three eras makes it impossible for one person to fill all three of these roles, but more importantly because an ideological gulf separates the three people and their three eras. But in Mitsusaburō's anachronistic dream, three young men who used violence to achieve some end are superimposed onto one person.

The work that this anachronism does on history is polyvalent, opening

up rather than closing down history's discursive associations. It suggests, in the realm of counterfactual speculation, that there is some similarity between young men attracted to violence across various eras and drastically disparate ideological and political regimes. This could have multiple possible semiotic effects. It could suggest that despite the antiwar stance of the Anpo demonstrators, they are young people just as attracted to violence as a solution to their frustration as were patriots during World War II, or as were nineteenth-century rioters who tortured and murdered many people during their uprising. Conversely, the anachronism might suggest that the violent youths of 1860 are better understood as young revolutionaries, like the 1960 protesters, fighting against the oppressive state power of their time. The anachronism puts the *discourses* on peasant uprisings and student protests into contact, allowing them to interilluminate each other, forging new intertextual associations with the other's discursive accretions, but does not force them to synthesize into a single authorized meaning. Given *Man'en*'s general stance on violence as grotesque and unredeemable, this juxtaposition likely suggests that the will to power will always end in violence, but other possibilities are opened up as well. The ideological differences between these three different types of violent young men (revolting peasants, patriots, and student protestors) are acknowledged and preserved—to be taken up fruitfully elsewhere, perhaps—but for a transitory moment the anachronism suggests that they are not so different, and that narratives of peasant revolt, nationalism, and revolution are all much the same in their legitimation of ugly violence.

Whatever the case, the significant point is that the anachronism creates these possibilities as an intertext between the eras rather than rewriting the past. There is no synthesis of a new narrative history out of elements of the past and present. Those elements are too absurdly incongruous: there is no way to synthesize topknots and civil defense uniforms, after all. Given the possibilities dialogic anachronism offers, it might seem as if it could meet Takashi's need to open up the past to the present. However, Takashi's ego cannot be satisfied with an intertext. Regardless of the possibilities created in an intertext between the two eras, as long as the primary text—history—still speaks of the squalid brutality of violence, Takashi cannot salve his ego. He must rewrite the primary text to create some example of glorified, valorized violence, or else be swallowed up by shame at his violent nature.

At the end of the novel, however, Mitsusaburō and Natsumiko reconcile. Natsumiko is pregnant with Takashi's child, but the two agree to raise it

together after Mitsusaburō returns from a new job as an interpreter in Africa. This decision to go to Africa is much more characteristic of Takashi's active and adventurous personality, although, as Tagusari Kazuma notes, Mitsusaburō decides on this adventure by passively accepting Natsumiko's insistence that he go, suggesting that Mitsusaburō's "new life" after leaving the village will consist of a combination of passiveness and activeness, himself and Takashi.[64] The child will also be a combination of the two, conceived by Takashi but raised by Mitsusaburō. If, as I have argued, one main theme of the novel is a contest between the brothers over how to interact with history, this hybridity of the two at the end indicates that a hybridity of their historical viewpoints is the resolution to their conflict. This hybrid approach is the dialogical engagement with history that Mitsusaburō has seen in dreams and visions. History can be reconsidered for the needs and projects of the present, as Takashi desired, but without being rewritten or overwritten into a monologue that legitimates violence and power in the present, as Mitsusaburō insisted. Dialogic engagements with history, including anachronism, can satisfy both impulses.

• • •

As I have argued in this chapter, monologic anachronisms work by inserting the common sense of the present into a representation of the past. Common sense refers to those ideas that have become so thoroughly naturalized that their historicized construction has been forgotten. These ideas might include modern subjectivity or an understanding of the adversarial relationship between economic classes. These concepts are so thoroughly natural to the modern reader they can be inserted into the past with little resistance, with the effect of erasing the difference between the past and present, making the past speak in a unitary voice that confirms the common sense of the present. This suggests, however, that nearly any representation of history engages in monologic representation at some level, and perhaps monologic anachronism. It is impossible for people in the present, even the most careful and devoted historians, to completely inhabit the mindset of those of the past. So much about the past was not recorded, so many voices were lost, that any interpretive representation of history must rely on the frameworks and mindset of its present day to represent the past. This representational work might be monologic or anachronistic, but it is no less valuable for that. As I have attempted to show here, such monologic engagements with the past have powerful rhetorical potential. Yet it is important to appreciate

such representations *as* rhetoric, rather than let their representations of the past become naturalized. Ōe's novel demonstrates one way to accomplish this, by insisting on admitting those voices that monologic history tries to erase, especially those voices that undermine an attempt by power and ideology to use the past for legitimation. At the same time, he shows that history can be engaged in a way that does not involve rewriting it to legitimate the will to power in the present day. It is such dialogic anachronism I turn to in the next chapter.

3

Gags with an Agenda

Anachronism in Tezuka Osamu's *Hi no tori*

Manga artist Tezuka Osamu (手塚治虫, 1928–89) grew up during the war and spent his formative years observing the state's appropriation of history for ideology and propaganda. This experience deeply affected Tezuka and is a recurring theme in his oeuvre. Tezuka took inspiration from Western comics, especially Disney cartoons and comics, and in the immediate postwar period revolutionized the Japanese manga industry. He started writing manga for children, but pushed the boundaries of children's manga at the time to publish longer stories with complex plots and moral themes. In many ways he opened up the expressive space of modern manga as it eventually transformed into a medium that could accommodate violence, serious social criticism, and political themes, as well as stories aimed at adults, like Shirato Sanpei's *Kamui-den* (The legend of Kamui), discussed in the previous chapter. Tezuka is often cited as the single most important figure in the development of manga into the wildly popular and diverse art form it is today, appealing to all segments of society—across genders and ages—and often treating difficult and serious subjects. He eventually became the celebrated *manga no kamisama* (漫画の神様, god of manga). His singular importance may have been overstated, but there is no question he is a key figure in the development of postwar manga.[1]

While Tezuka was writing serious works that expressed his moral concerns by the middle of his career, he never quite let go of his early inspirations: Western gag comics (comics with absurd situations designed to provoke laughter quickly) and Disney cartoons. His style remained stubbornly

fixed, and he always drew rubbery, soft, rounded characters, though the rest of the manga world moved away from these by the 1980s. He also never quite forgot his beginnings writing comedic gags in children's manga, and even in his more serious and tragic works he often included jokes and gags. His use of gags went beyond just humor, however. He regularly inserted gags that were not particularly humorous. For example, Tezuka developed a gag character, Hyōtantsugi (a kind of gourd with bandages and a pig nose), that recurs throughout his entire body of work. Hyōtantsugi is part of Tezuka's "brand," but narratively it is an empty signifier without a referent; it does not refer to anything in particular that would create a comedic association. Its appearance is silly and comedic, true, but after the first time a reader sees it the humor of its appearance wears off, and Tezuka used it frequently. Rather than a mere gag, Hyōtantsugi is a technique Tezuka used to create a Brechtian alienation effect, disrupting narrative flow in a way that is apparent to the reader and violates the narrative frame. Tezuka's works call the reader's attention to the constructedness of the text itself, metatextually reminding readers that they are reading a text, a fiction. For example, the last panel of a particularly artistic sequence might replace the expected final image with an image of Hyōtantsugi, betraying readers' expectations but therefore reminding them that the text created those expectations in the first place, drawing readers' attention to the manipulative power of text. While Tezuka often used gags, visual and otherwise, they can never be dismissed as purely comedic devices.

Tezuka's works frequently feature anachronism, and these anachronisms are deployed in a similar way. While his period works do not depart from history enough to allow for anachronistic elements within the diegetic world, he frequently included them as gag elements apparent to the reader but unacknowledged (or taken in stride) by characters. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Tezuka's "life's work," *Hi no tori* (火の鳥, Phoenix). Published sporadically in many different magazines between 1967 and 1988, *Hi no tori* began as part of Tezuka's attempt to push the limits of manga expression in the 1960s. It was first published in *COM*, an experimental magazine Tezuka founded himself upon realizing he could not respond to the growing popularity of *gekiga* (dramatic pictures) in the commercial children's magazines to which he contributed.[2] By the publication of the last installment of *Hi no tori*, the thematic range of manga had deepened considerably, and although the series had begun in an avant-garde magazine, Tezuka was able to publish later installments of the series in commercial magazines.

Hi no tori is a deep engagement with Japanese history. The story, across twelve volumes in the omnibus edition, moves from the distant past to the far future and back again, with these trajectories seeming to eventually converge on the present. The text speculates on the future of humanity while at the same time grappling with the Japanese past. Each volume moves to a new era and takes up a new group of characters. The only constant in the series is the phoenix, the immortal bird of legend whose blood grants immortality to anyone who drinks it. This work has earned a great deal of critical acclaim. Author Ishikawa Jun (石川淳, 1899–1987), himself a writer of "serious" literature not usually associated with manga, writes effusively, "I know of no other example of a work of manga that . . . portrays the passage of such an immense amount of time and the human lives that repeat within it. Even if you broaden the scope to literature, or to art entire, there would be very few such examples. For that reason, I would label this particular work 'the best' [*saikō*, 最高]."[3] A giant sculpture of the titular phoenix hangs in the foyer of the Kyoto International Manga Museum, cementing the status of the text as a work of major importance in the entire body of Japanese manga.

Because of its cosmic scope and focus on this mythological creature, the work has been analyzed mainly in terms of spirituality or religion.[4] The text features cyclical time and Buddhist karmic transmigration (although in a way that positions the phoenix as a transcendental being that can manipulate rebirth), lending itself to a religious reading. Hosokawa Shūhei has noted the text's connections to Indian philosophy and Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence.[5] Ozawa Tomomi argues that the text shows a variety of characters whose lives are upended by encounters with the phoenix, causing them to contemplate the meaning of human existence and the truth of life. She also notes a Buddhist-inspired loop in the text, moving from nothingness (*mu*, 無) to the illusion of substance (*u*, 有), before cycling back to nothingness.[6] Nevertheless, despite the presence of spiritual or religious themes, the text also contains pointed political and social critique, and it leverages Japanese history to make that critique. It is this critique I focus on here. The worldly desire for the phoenix's blood is the leitmotif of the series, and the desire for immortal life is always entwined with the desire for eternal power. In the work's humanistic vision, the only human constants are the twin desires for life and power that the blood elicits.

Tezuka attended school in the highly nationalistic wartime educational system when he was young and was deeply immersed in the state's appropriation of history to legitimate its sovereignty and power. He became a com-

mitted pacifist and humanist after the war, and accordingly the episodes of *Hi no tori* set in the past are nothing less than Tezuka's attempt to dismantle the Japanese history of the wartime state. Each historical hero is shown to be brutal, feckless, or both, every mystery is shown to be mundane, and every beautified victory is shown to be ugly and cruel. As Rachael Hutchinson puts it: "The nation of Japan is ruled by merciless emperors and shoguns in a repeating cycle of oppression, persecution and destruction. Tezuka invokes imperial discourse and emotionally charged national symbols to create a history that is both intelligent in its critique and stirring in its rhetoric, leaving the reader questioning not only the history being represented but their own attitudes towards it."[7]

In a sense, then, *Hi no tori* is engaged in a monologic representation of history, in the same manner as *Kamui-den*: it consistently excludes any portrayal of the past that would contradict the representation of power as oppressive, making history speak to the cruelty of power in a unitary voice. This representation is compelling: as Miura Sukeyuki (himself a scholar of premodern Japanese history and literature) writes, "I find myself thinking that the representation of Tachibana no Moroe and Kibi no Makibi in [*Hi no tori*] might be closer to reality [真実, *shinjitsu*] than official history [正史, *seishi*] is, and lose myself in reading [the text's] depiction of Minamoto no Yoshitsune as a really unpleasant person, thinking 'so that's how it was' [なるほどそうだ, *naruhodo sōda*]."[8] However, unlike *Kamui-den*, *Hi no tori* repeatedly and conspicuously undermines its own authority as a representation of history through devices like gags and anachronisms. The text's own representation of history is monologic, but it highlights its intertextual links to other discourses, other texts, and other representations of history, reminding us that its own voice is but one in a multitude. The text acknowledges that its project is to destabilize the official or received history it is in dialogue with. It frequently does so through obvious, dialogic anachronisms that signal its work of intertextually invoking and juxtaposing discourses for the reader, preventing any reading that would suggest its modern philosophies are natively attested in the past. It is precisely in Tezuka's use of, in Hutchinson's terms, "emotionally charged national symbols" that these anachronisms come into play. The text juxtaposes powerful symbols from a mythicized (or mythical) past with familiar symbols from the present or more recent history. This has the effect of opening up the rigidly guarded past that is the source of Japanese identity to the possibility of new meaning.

DISMANTLING NATIONAL MYTH WITH ANACHRONISM

The first volume of *Hi no tori*, *Reimei* (黎明, Dawn), depicts the early prehistory of Japan and the conflict between the various kingdoms in what would become the Japanese archipelago. Significantly, the text superimposes two source texts, the sixth-century *Record of Wei* (魏志, Chinese *Wei zhi*, Japanese *Gishi*), a Chinese history that includes the first known historical account of Japan, and the *Kojiki* (古事記), a Japanese mytho-history that describes the descent of Japan's first emperors from the realm of the gods, a major source of imperial legitimation in the modern era. *Hi no tori* depicts the third-century kingdom of Yamatai (邪馬台) and its queen Himiko (卑弥呼), which are briefly mentioned in the *Record of Wei*. (Yamatai has long been imagined to be located in Yamato, the region where the imperial court emerged, although there is no scholarly consensus.) Tezuka superimposes Himiko on the figure of Amaterasu (天照), the Shinto sun goddess who is the divine ancestor of the Japanese imperial line. In the *Kojiki*, Amaterasu has a brother named Susano'o, and in one of the most well-known parables he becomes violently destructive, causing Amaterasu to hide in a cave, plunging the world into darkness. In the text of *Hi no tori* Himiko, too, has a brother named Susano'o and hides in a cave during a solar eclipse, drawing an unmistakable parallel between her and Amaterasu.[9] Notably, the cave incident reverses causality from the *Kojiki*, where darkness falls because Amaterasu—the sun goddess—hides away. In *Hi no tori* a solar eclipse occurs, and an uncomprehending Himiko hides in a cave out of fear. *Hi no tori* shows the source of the Amaterasu legend to be mundane, denying Himiko/Amaterasu's divinity and, consequently, divinity as a source of legitimacy for imperial rule. This is characteristic of the text's approach to history or myth that legitimates power.

The text often subverts historical sources of legitimation specifically, and the will to power generally, by humorously associating them with certain modern discourses. As with other dialogic anachronisms, this has the effect of opening them up to new meaning, but these gag anachronisms have the additional effect of poking fun at the myths and heroes that legitimated the twentieth century's grand narratives, diminishing their sacredness or revered stature and humanizing them in the sense of denying them transcendental status. For example, in one sequence of panels where Himiko imperiously demands the death of a subject, her costume suddenly shifts to resemble a Nazi uniform, then a Chinese Communist Party uniform, and

finally a French imperial uniform, equating Himiko—who is also Amaterasu, the principal deity of state Shinto and the imperial ancestor—with Hitler, Mao, and Napoleon in rapid sequence (figure 1).[10] This nondiegetic anachronism is undeniably comedic; by creating a gag at Himiko's (Amaterasu's) expense, the text deflates her seriousness. However, this anachronistic gag also superimposes the discourse surrounding Amaterasu and the discourse on the worst modern dictators. As a result, the most sacred, inviolable figure of prewar and wartime ideology is opened up to new meaning and contemporary discourse. She is profaned, associated with all the modern discourse on dictators, and pulled down from elevated status. This superimposition is highly reflexive and overtly textual; there is no narrative by which Himiko in the third century might wear a Nazi uniform. Unlike monologic anachronism, this dialogic anachronism takes place on the level of discourse, in the intertext, rather than modifying the historical narrative.

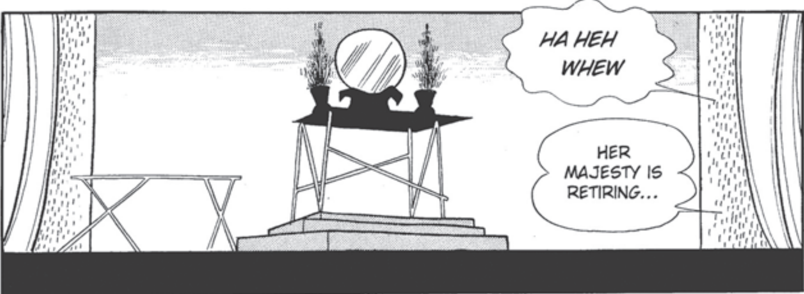
In another scene, a subject is walking near Himiko's palace and notices her looking at him. He gushes, "She looked at me! What a privilege! What an honor!" His companion replies, "Hmph, you're talking like a fan of a popular singer [*ryūkō kashu no fan*, 流行歌手のファン]."[11] Here the anachronism is textual rather than visual, but the effect is the same. The discourse surrounding popular singers and their fans is firmly situated in the present, whereas Himiko and her subject are firmly situated in the past. This anachronism is unacknowledged in the diegetic space and is understood to be another gag: the character in question has no real knowledge of twentieth-century popular singers, and this is a sly message to the reader. Here adulation of Himiko/Amaterasu—adulation of the sacred—is juxtaposed with the mass, profane adulation of a popular signer by an obsessive fan. By putting the "cards" for different kinds of adulation side by side, the anachronism puts all the discourses surrounding these adulations side by side as well, suggesting surprising connections among these discourses, usually not considered together. It creates the possibility in the intertext for devotion to the divine imperial ancestor (and by implication the emperor) to be equated with fan devotion to popular singers, along with all the disdain and concern about unhealthy obsession that devotion evokes.

In one of the most striking scenes in the first volume, the text employs powerful, emotionally evocative symbols of Japan, the emperor, and imperial legitimacy, and levels withering challenges at them. This sequence of six pages opens without text, simply featuring a circular mirror on a stand. For five panels there is no dialogue—only some onomatopoeic sound effects

Figure 1. Tezuka Osamu, *Hi no tori*, volume 1. Himiko's outfit switches between various anachronistic uniforms. Interestingly, the language shifts (use of German, "comrade," etc.) are not attested in the original Japanese, meaning this English translation from VIZ Media calls heightened attention to the anachronism. Copyright 2003 by Tezuka Productions.

and the same image of a mirror in the center of each panel, as if captured by a fixed camera. Tezuka is famous for his cinematic innovations in manga, particularly his use of multiple cinematic "shots," so the fixed viewpoint here is highly unusual and conspicuous. The text draws the reader's attention to the mirror and charges it with significance: in a narrative about Amaterasu, a significant mirror can only be the mirror of the imperial regalia, a powerful symbol of the imperial line and its divine ancestry, as the mirror was purportedly a gift from Amaterasu herself. In the seventh panel Himiko finally enters the scene, which is still fixed, and it becomes apparent that her hair ornament is a string of *magatama* (comma-shaped) beads, the second of the imperial regalia.[12] Amid these ancient symbols of nation and emperor, which the text has so conspicuously and provocatively invoked, Himiko is clearly in distress after performing her duties, exhausted and overheated. Her attendants fuss over her and anachronistically call for an electric fan and ice cream to be brought for their mistress. These are duly supplied (figure 2). Again, this is a gag, not a rewriting of history to include such items in the third century. Here the text mixes some of the most revered and ancient symbols in Japan with symbols of the common and modern. The text sets up a disjunction that creates tension: these symbols are incompatible; something is undeniably out of place. This anachronistic tension demands resolution.

That tension is resolved by Himiko's brother, Susano'o, who enters the scene and smugly discusses Himiko's claims to divinity. The *Record of Wei*'s brief account of Himiko mentions that she was "skilled in the Way of Demons, keeping all under her spell."[13] *Hi no tori* incorporates this idea of Himiko as a sorcerer; she adjudicates through divination and, much like modern emperors, claims divine status for herself. However, Susano'o puts the lie to those claims here. He says, "the people are slowly starting to lose faith in your curses. . . . You may pretend to be a god, but anyone can see that god is slowly getting older." In response, Himiko hides her face in horror, then flies into a rage: "You're talking about my face, aren't you? My . . . this face!!"[14] Himiko's aging is foregrounded, as she seems to be barely able to carry out her duties as sorcerer queen, and is enraged by any mention of her increasing age, especially as related to her face. The mirror, then, must be what she uses to inspect her growing collection of wrinkles, and the *magatama* hairpiece is merely a fashion accessory she uses to accentuate her failing beauty. These imperial objects are shown to be merely the mundane accoutrements of a person obsessed with her appearance. They are not sacred rel-



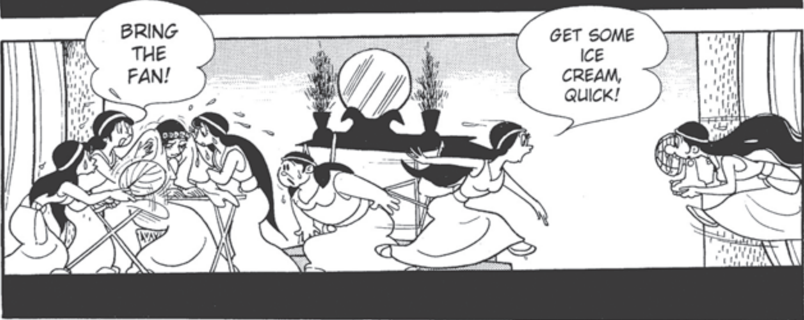


Figure 2. Tezuka Osamu, *Hi no tori*, volume 1. Himiko's attendants call for a fan and ice cream in front of a circular mirror. Copyright 2003 by Tezuka Productions.

ics at all and are not pregnant with any sort of divinity or solemnity. The anachronism in this scene juxtaposes past and present, sacred and profane, and by doing so opens the sacred to the possibility of the mundane. The possibility thus created, the text resolves the tension by showing Himiko to be merely human, and these objects to be merely fashion accessories.

In that same scene, Susano'o contends that Yamatai should reform its politics. "Trying to rule a country through magic is out of date now," he argues. "Sometimes I'm laughed at by other countries. . . . Yamatai should become a true modern nation, with correct politics."[15] Here the phrase "modern nation" (*kindai kokka*, 近代国家) is an anachronistic usage. The anachronism is not quite as blatant as is ice cream in third-century Japan, but precisely because that ice cream has summoned present discourse into the past in this scene, this anachronistic phrase demands attention. Here the phrase evokes several present-day discourses on the modern nation: the materialist discourse on the development of nations, certainly, but more specifically Japan's own modernization during the Meiji period, when Japan's emergence (and acceptance by the West) as a modern nation was a national ambition for several generations. Susano'o implies that Yamatai is not a modern nation, with all the discourse that has become wrapped up in such a claim in the modern era. Yamatai is therefore old-fashioned, backward, and benighted. However, the flow of discourse is not unidirectional. By juxtaposing the present and past here, the text allows them to interilluminate each other, and the past can open up new possibilities in the present. Susano'o says that Yamatai is not a modern nation precisely because Himiko/Amaterasu uses *majinai* (呪い, magic) to rule and consolidate power. Because past and present are superimposed, this inevitably brings to mind modern political systems, in particular the *tennōsei* (天皇制, emperor system), which legitimated state power in the prewar and wartime years through the sovereignty of the emperor, whose reign was in turn legitimated by his divine ancestry. This is exactly how Himiko/Amaterasu legitimizes her own sovereignty in the text. It is undeniably true that Yamatai is not a modern nation, as Susano'o claims, but it is also true that Yamatai's politics are quite similar to Japan's under the emperor system. The modern discourse that was turned on the past now rebounds to illuminate the present: if Yamatai under Himiko is not a modern nation (with all the negative connotations modern discourse associates with that premodern status), then Japan under the emperor system was also not a modern nation (with all those same negative connotations of feudalism, backwardness,

and benightedness). The text uses anachronism not merely to criticize the past, but to allow the past and present to entwine, in however ephemeral an intertext, and to open each other up to new interpretations and meanings.

Hi no tori's leitmotif is the denaturing of a valorous Japanese history that was used to legitimate the *tennōsei* before and during World War II. Accordingly, the text is also invested in revealing the textuality of history, showing history to be constructed as a text rather than existing as an authoritatively true narrative.[16] The third volume of *Hi no tori* continues portraying the *Kojiki*, this time retelling the story of Yamato Takeru (日本武尊) while also addressing the construction of the text of the *Kojiki* itself. This volume uses many anachronistic references to modern technologies of information recording, manipulation, and distribution in order to reveal that the texts of both past and present are ideological devices in the service of particular powers.

The text opens with a narrative introduction while the drawings zoom in on a man from behind, hiding his face: "In the ancient islands of Japan, in the kingdom of Yamato, there lived a certain king. Now as for that king's face . . . it was this kind of face."[17] Immediately following is a full page of thirteen faces, each drawn in a different modern artistic style, from cubist to one of Tezuka's own signature gag faces. The text begins with the basic claim of most historical texts—that it can and will represent history accurately. However, it immediately gives the lie to this claim, showing a myriad of representations. These two pages form a kind of dialogue: the first asks for a representation of a fourth-century king, and the second answers with multiple representations. The text implies that accurate representation is impossible, and that multiple perspectives on history can result in multiple representations. In other words, all thirteen representations are the answer to the request for representation. They all have equal claim to authenticity, even though some are quite surreal. Significantly, the portraits are all modern styles, glaringly anachronistic in the face of the historical setting and the archaic, poetic language used on the previous page.[18] The text signals that all possible representation comes from the present looking back at the past, rather than emanating from the past itself, and as such is subject to the projects of the present, no matter how that may twist or distort representation. Right from the beginning, the text calls attention to the constructedness of representation and sets the tone for the following chapters.

The following scene reveals that all these representations of the king's face are portraits painted by artists employed by the king, who rails against

them for failing to do justice to his visage: "Is this the face of the coolest emperor ever?" he demands.[19] The text moves smoothly from signaling the impossibility of authentic representation to showing power's vested interest in controlling representation. This is further signaled with another anachronism: "I've been employing you at high wages for a year now. I ordered you to create the *correct* history of this Yamato court. My country and I will surely be written about in the social studies textbooks or something of our descendants."[20] Here the anachronistic use of "social studies textbooks" (*shakaika no kyōkasho*, 社会科の教科書) juxtaposes two kinds of representation: the king's quest to *create* (*tsukuru*) a representation of history that flatters his ego and vanity, and the supposedly authoritative representation of school textbooks created by disinterested authors of much later generations. By superimposing self-interested representation and textbook representation, the text destabilizes the authority of textbook history and its claims to objective, authentic historical representation.

The text then moves to critiquing technoscientific claims of authentic representation. In response to the king's demand to see the progress made over the past year, one historian anachronistically calls for the "cassette tapes" (*kasetto tēpu*, カセットテープ) to be brought out. Cassette tapes are supposedly capable of recording events authoritatively, with cold machine objectivity uncolored by human bias. Here the text persistently uses the language of machinery; in response to the king's desire to hear a "recording" of the history of Yamato, a court official demands that "one of you recorded [*rokuon-zumi*, 録音済み] tapes get out here."[21] *Rokuon-zumi* is a word used precisely for audio recordings. However, the "tapes" here are revealed to be people, humans who have memorized laudatory propaganda about Yamato. Persistent anachronistic use of machine language is an attempt by power to create a fiction of machine objectivity, a fiction that is transparent, but that power must enforce in order to elevate its preferred history to objective and authentic status. Even so, the "tapes" that recite for the king turn out to have "recorded" unflattering impressions of Yamato as well, and the king rejects them, ordering that they "have their tongues pulled out and be executed."[22] Despite the fiction of technoscientific objectivity that power persists in maintaining, any "recording" that does not flatter power is silenced, tongues symbolically removed before death. The anachronistic use of machine terminology in the fourth century allows the text to juxtapose the supposed objectivity of recording devices with the fallibility of human memory, and show such objectivity as a fiction that power is invested in maintaining.

Ozawa applies Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer's critique of Enlightenment thought to *Hi no tori*, specifically their argument that the Enlightenment attempted to defeat myths with rationality but ended up incorporating those myths into new knowledge structures, making myth the hidden layer underneath supposedly rational modernity. She argues that *Hi no tori* intertwines science with religion or myth to show that scientific rationalism is a veneer over the active use of myth to legitimate power.[23] The modern, scientific, and mechanistic language, anachronistically inserted into the mythical past, brings modern science and premodern myth into proximity, juxtaposing them to show how they are not necessarily opposed at all; rather, power has used both of them as conveniences to legitimate itself and its production of knowledge.

The anachronisms continue apace as the king inspects his future grave, one of the "keyhole" tombs of Japan's Kofun period. As the architects explain (with anachronistic knowledge) that it is bigger than even the pyramids of Egypt, another says, "We've put in a high-speed expressway to the grave." Still another points to crowds of people holdings signs and remarks, "That's the antitomb alliance sit-in, and next to them are the students."[24] This volume was originally serialized between 1968 and 1969, right in the middle of the vigorous protest movements of the 1960s. The anachronistic invocation of a high-speed expressway immediately evokes modern infrastructure development, juxtaposing the construction of the king's tomb with modern construction of highways and airports. And just as modern construction projects are met with protestors, so too is this ancient construction project. The anachronism here superimposes a highly contested present onto a monolithic past, creating the possibility of new associations between them in an intertext. It allows the discourse about protests against power to flow into the discourse about the past, thereby denaturing the unity of rule and harmony of nation depicted in the *Kojiki* and opening up the possibility that the past was just as highly contested as the present. Later in the same scene, the *Kojiki* itself is shown to merely be a pamphlet (*panfuretto*, パンフレット) for tourists coming to visit the tomb, connecting the text that became Japan's official history during the war with the banal, self-serving, shallow bubblegum copy typical of such brochures.[25]

Notably, *Hi no tori* does not offer an alternative "true" objective history that somehow avoids the pitfalls of power's self-interested representation. In true postmodern fashion, it calls all histories into question. Yamato's rival nation Kumaso is also compiling a history, with the specific aim of

competing with the history Yamato's king is creating. As he inks characters on a scroll, the king of Kumaso remarks, "From what I hear, the king of Yamato is cooking up [*detchiage*] some nonsense [*detarame*] history, where he presents himself as the descendant of gods. . . . I can't allow that. As the king of Kumaso, I'm going to leave future generations a true [*tadashii*] history, the true state of Japan."[26] The reader has seen that the Yamato king's history is highly questionable and distorted by the needs of power. The Kumaso king reinforces that impression, strongly denouncing Yamato's history ("cooked up," "nonsense,") while claiming to offer an authoritative alternative ("true history," "true state"). However, just prior to this moment, another anachronism has drawn attention to the problematic nature of this textual construction. The Kumaso king has sent his advisor on a public relations campaign, telling him, "listen, this isn't the kind of era where you can win allies by force! You need advertisements! PR! Give out free gifts and ratchet up Kumaso's popularity! Nagashima, you're going to appear in a commercial [*komāsharu*, コマーシャル]!"[27] The advisor, Nagashima, is then taught a jingle for advertising Kumaso sake, and sent away riding in an ox-drawn box with a window in the side that resembles a television screen, bordered by advertisements and slogans that could have come straight from a modern advertising agency.[28] The Kumaso king's claim that he is writing a "true" history, therefore, is completely undermined by this evidence that he, too, is engaged in a campaign of self-promotion. Again, the use of anachronism allows all the discourse about the mercenary commercialism of modern TV advertisements to be juxtaposed with the past and its claims at authentic representation, ultimately exposing Kumaso's alternate history as another attempt by power to insist on a fiction of objectivity to impart legitimacy to its chosen narrative. Miura Sukeyuki notes that *Hi no tori* rejects the official or "correct" history (*seishi*, 正史) of power and the state and instead re-creates the history of those murdered and massacred.[29] This may be true, but even as it does so, the text undermines—through dialogic anachronism—any claim that such re-created history might be authoritative.

The text of *Hi no tori* itself cannot and does not claim to proffer a corrected "true" history in the fashion of modern histories. Among other things, the use of anachronisms reflexively signals the text's fictionality and constructedness. Instead, the text uses the power of art to open up history, to unlock it from rigid, authoritative understandings of history. In a side note that explains the background of Kumaso to the reader, the narrator argues:

> In the Yamato court's *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* . . . the Kumaso are treated as barbarians and depicted as evil. If someone in Kumaso had written a record of Kumaso at the time, ancient Japanese history might be quite different. Unfortunately, however, nothing of the kind survives.
>
> In any case, if you look at it from Kumaso's side, the Yamato court's subjugation of Kumaso was clearly an invasion.
>
> In other words . . . history must be investigated from every angle, from all people's sides, in order to know the truth.[30]

Just after showing that both Yamato and Kumaso are writing self-serving histories, the text explicitly states its epistemological stance: the truth (*honto no koto*, ほんとのこと) can only be grasped by looking at the history of all sides, from every angle. However, both the history of early Japan and the hypothetical alternative to it have been shown to be the history of only one side. The only text present that might be positioned to look at all sides and all angles is the text of *Hi no tori* itself, but *Hi no tori* has deliberately renounced any claim to authoritative representation with its playful irreverence for history. Therefore, the only way to examine history from every angle, and from all sides, is as a synthesis of all versions of history. The *honto no koto*—or as close to it as we can come—can only be known by the postmodern subject who reads multiple, contradictory representations of history and synthesizes these representations for themself. *Hi no tori* highlights the textuality of the history of the Japanese imperial state, but rather than supplant this text with another attempt to create authoritative history, it rejects the modern impulse for authoritative history entirely. *Hi no tori* does not quite embrace Michel Foucault's model of history as a "tactical polyvalence of discourses" employed in force relations from which there is no exteriority.[31] *Hi no tori* posits the "truth" of history as knowable, at least in some Platonic realm. However, it depicts received history in the reality in which we live as a discourse manipulated by power that flatters and legitimates itself, and therefore authoritative representations of history are all suspect.

The other project of this volume (or one of its other projects, at least) is the denaturing and dismantling of Yamato Takeru. Yamato Takeru is prominent in the later sections of the *Kojiki*, where he is credited with personally subjugating the Kumaso people as well as other kingdoms or groups that were rivals of the Yamato court. An early martial hero, he was featured prominently in prewar and wartime education along with the stories of

Amaterasu and her descendant Emperor Jinmu, which were taught to children in history textbooks as historical fact legitimating imperial rule.[32] Just as the first volume of *Hi no tori* dismantles the divinity of Amaterasu and Jinmu (whom it portrays as a butchering conqueror from the Asian mainland), this volume must dismantle the heroism of Yamato Takeru.

This is again achieved through anachronism. As mentioned earlier, after the Yamato king is introduced the text reveals that he is building a great tomb for himself. In a full-page panorama of the tomb site there are several small figures holding signs. Again, one of the king's retinue explains, "That's the antitomb alliance sit-in, and next to them are the students," anachronistically evoking the mass protest movements that were occurring contemporary to this chapter's original publication in 1968.[33] Particularly, what I have rendered as the "antitomb alliance," the *bochi hantai dōmei* (墓地反対同盟), evokes the contemporary *kūkō hantai dōmei* (空港反対同盟, anti-airport alliance), a group that opposed the construction of Narita Airport, near Tokyo. Army soldiers charge through the students, again evoking contemporary events, then capture the student *i'inchō* (委員長, committee chairman), another anachronistic term appropriate for 1960s student protests, who turns out to be Yamato Oguna (who will later adopt the name Takeru), the king's own son.[34] In the *Kojiki*, Yamato Oguna is a loyal supporter of his father and the Yamato court, whose power he increases greatly by conquering other people. However, *Hi no tori* uses anachronism here to immediately link Oguna to all the modern discourse associated with student protestors. Even from the moment of his introduction, the text implies that he will be antiestablishment, pacifist, and liberal—someone who supports the Left, rather than the Right, which claimed him as a principal icon. Even without the plot events that will later reveal Oguna's character, the text has already begun the work of dismantling Yamato Takeru as a valorous martial hero, and it is able to do this through a humorous dialogic anachronism that juxtaposes the received discourse on Yamato Takeru with the discourse on contemporary student protesters, in the process creating an intertext that opens up Yamato Takeru to new meaning and interpretation.

Oguna's father, the Yamato king, orders him to travel to Kumaso and kill the Kumaso king. This is counter to Oguna's pacifist student-protester ideals, and upon arriving at Kumaso he discovers he personally likes and respects the Kumaso king. Quite unlike the Yamato Oguna (Takeru) of the *Kojiki*, who goes to subdue the Kumaso barbarians with confidence and resolve,

the Oguna of *Hi no tori* is uncertain, torn between his own budding moral principles and the demands of his father and nation. The text characterizes this with another anachronism by reproducing a newspaper advice column:

> ***Life advice for a sixteen-year-old***
> Question: I'm a sixteen-year-old youth with a problem. I came to Kyushu on my father's orders to kill someone. But I think there's more to life than that, and I don't know what to do. How should I live my life?
> Answer: First, you should try to get rid of the frustration that afflicts so many young people. If money isn't an issue, rather than just stop at Kyushu you should travel overseas a bit. And date women from all over the world.[35]

Here the text first uses the anachronistic device of a newspaper advice column, then fills that column itself with anachronisms ("Kyushu," "overseas"). This is unmistakably an artifact of the present; aside from the mention of the father's order to kill someone, such a column would not be out of place at all in a twentieth-century newspaper. With this anachronism, the text evokes all the contemporary discourse about frustrated adolescents and associates it with Oguna. This effectively dismantles the image of Oguna—promoted by wartime and prewar education—as a soldier who confidently and without moral quandary exercises martial prowess in loyal service to the Yamato court. The use of anachronism allows the text to open up Oguna to present discourse on adolescent boys and ascribe to him new possibilities of meaning. But precisely because the anachronism is so obviously and apparently absurd the text does not claim a new authoritative interpretation. Rather, it creates the possibility of additional meaning in dialogue with received meaning. Given what we in the present know about frustrated adolescents, and given the previously demonstrated unreliability of historical texts, *Hi no tori* suggests that this new interpretation, which is allowed to exist alongside the militarist interpretation, is just as likely. When Oguna does finally kill the Kumaso king in *Hi no tori*, far from the loyal act of a martial hero it is the act of a troubled youth who actually wants to join the Kumaso people and only carries out his orders because of a misinterpreted sign from the phoenix, to whom he looks for transcendental guidance like many young people troubled by life.[36] Anachronism allows the text to open up a closed edifice of wartime morality to the possibility of new meaning.

BENKEI AND THE DENATURING OF LOYALTY

Volumes 7 and 8 of *Hi no tori* revolve around the events of the Genpei (源平) civil war (1180–85).[37] This war is, perhaps, the single greatest historical source of material for later literary and dramatic works, and its events and characters have been made and remade into countless cultural products, spanning a broad range of mediums from the medieval *Heike monogatari* (平家物語, Tale of the Heike) and Nō plays, through Edo-period drama and fiction, to modern novels and manga. Just as in previous volumes, *Hi no tori* denatures the heroics of the war's heroes and the exceptionalism of its events. The text signals its stance on the era in question early in the section, when a court aristocrat (while preparing to rape a commoner woman who has been kidnapped by soldiers and brought to him) steps out onto the balcony of his residence and urinates. The text briefly exits the diegetic space and Hyōtantsugi steps in to supply historical information: "According to one theory, in the Heian era, even aristocrats didn't have toilets in their houses, so they just went in their gardens. Because of that, the gardens really, really stank."[38] Although not strictly anachronistic, the text here explicitly brings in modern historical discourse to disrupt romanticized perceptions of the Heian past and encode an academic mode of reception—the text will present the past "scientifically," with all its ugliness intact. Although accounts of the Heian era like *The Tale of Genji* may present a highly romanticized vision of courtly life, and stories of twelfth-century samurai may present romanticized valor and heroism, the text subverts these representations of history by evoking a modern academic historical discourse that portrays the Heian era as filthy, smelly, and disgusting.

The text also uses dialogic anachronisms to create new connections between past and present. As mentioned in chapter 1, these volumes recount the failed *Shishigatani no inbō* (鹿ケ谷陰謀, Shishigatani conspiracy), in which a group of aristocratic and ecclesiastical elite plotted a coup d'état against Taira no Kiyomori (平清盛, 1118–81), the despotic head of the Heike clan. In the text, the monk Shunkan (俊寛, 1143–79) explains the group's plans thusly: "The day of the revolution has been decided: April 13! On April 13 our comrades will rise up as one, seize the court, and pull the entire Heike clan down from their official positions! The plan is for our revolutionary army to seize the Rokuhara headquarters, the broadcasting station, and Tokyo Station, then surround Kiyomori's mansion."[39] Much like Susa-

no'o's remark about modern nations, this anachronism is multidirectional; it opens up both the past and present to new meaning. The anachronistic language used here—"comrades" (*dōshi*, 同志) and "revolutionary army" (*kakumeigun*, 革命軍)—clearly evokes modern communist revolutionary rhetoric, and at the same time the anachronistic plans to occupy broadcast stations and Tokyo Station perhaps evoke another infamous failed coup, the 1936 *ni-niroku jiken* (二二六事件, February 26 incident), in which a cadre of Imperial Japanese Army officers attempted to seize key areas of Tokyo and overthrow the civilian government. The use of anachronism here creates an intertext in which the Shishigatani coup, the February 26 incident, and revolution are all juxtaposed and allowed to interanimate one another.

Obviously these are three very different things: a twelfth-century coup by aristocrats, a twentieth-century right-wing coup by military officers, and revolution. Yet in the intertext created by the anachronism, all of these are superimposed, creating new connections among them based on their commonalities. Despite their differences, this superimposition brings into sharp focus the one thing they all have in common: they are all examples of the will to power. In one direction, this opens up the history of the Shishigatani conspiracy to new meaning. The postmodern discourse surrounding modern coups and revolutions—the notion that whatever noble ideology they espouse merely masks a naked will to power—is applied to the Shishigatani conspiracy.[40] Rather than a noble attempt to overthrow the tyrannical Kiyomori, the conspiracy is reframed as merely an attempt by one group of aristocrats to seize power from another group of aristocrats. However, at the same time the text's portrayal of the Shishigatani conspiracy is allowed to infuse those more modern attempts to seize power. The head of the conspiracy, the monk Shunkan, is portrayed as a cunning, vaguely evil-looking old man, and his coconspirators are depicted as fat, pompous, self-important aristocrats who do little more than get drunk and exhibit bloodthirsty glee at the thought of killing Heike.[41] Because of the use of anachronism, this unflattering depiction of the Shishigatani conspirators is superimposed on modern revolutionaries and coup conspirators in the intertext, denaturing any nobility the rhetoric of coups and revolutions might attempt to engender. In the end the anachronism allows the text—in accordance with its generally humanist message—to imply that all examples of the will to power are equally ugly, self-interested, and suspicious.

Although these volumes touch on many aspects of the Genpei War and the surrounding years, the putative main character is Musashibō Benkei (武

蔵坊弁慶), a warrior monk who in popular legend was the loyal retainer of Minamoto no Yoshitsune (源義経, 1159–89), the general of the Genji forces. Benkei is a well-known literary figure who appears perennially in drama and literature, most famously in the Kabuki play *Kanjinchō* (勧進帳), where he helps Yoshitsune avoid suspicion and cross a road barrier. *Kanjinchō* was a central piece of Kabuki's contribution to the war effort because of the loyalty that Benkei displays to Yoshitsune. Censors noted that Benkei displays "perfect feudal loyalty," the same sort of loyalty that the government wanted to instill in citizens and soldiers.[42] A core group of patriotic plays including *Kanjinchō* was performed more than a thousand times between 1931 and 1945 as Kabuki responded to the demands of the government and patriotic culture.[43] In addition, among renowned director Kurosawa Akira's early films is *Tora no o o fumu otokotachi* (虎の尾を踏む男たち, Those who tread on the tiger's tail, 1945), a fairly faithful film reproduction of the Kabuki *Kanjinchō* except for the addition of a new comic character, a porter, added to aid plot exposition. Censors approved the film for production, presumably because it showcased Benkei's loyalty and (they hoped) would therefore inspire loyalty in viewers.[44] Production finished during the American occupation, but the movie was probably banned by the occupation government's Civil Censorship Division for displaying values of "feudalistic" loyalty, and the film was ordered destroyed.[45] All told, Benkei was another important installment in the wartime government's appropriation of history for political purposes. Unsurprisingly, *Hi no tori* attempts to dismantle Benkei, who in the text is Benta (弁太), a simple, illiterate, uneducated woodcutter. In contrast to Benkei, who is the very model of loyalty, Benta is tricked and manipulated by Yoshitsune into serving him. Benta's service to Yoshitsune, so valued as a model of virtue by the militarists, only comes about because Benta is too simple to detect and resist Yoshitsune's manipulation. Ultimately, *Hi no tori* depicts loyalty as the result of uncritical naïveté.

Again, the text uses dialogic anachronism to dismantle Benkei, although more sparingly than in earlier volumes. *Hi no tori* ascribes authorship of the main source text for Benkei, the *Gikeiki* (義経記, The Chronicle of Yoshitsune) to the monk Myō'un (明雲, 1115–84). Myō'un remarks to a fellow monk that he is writing a *taiga shōsetsu* (大河小説), an anachronistic term for a roman-fleuve, based on a funny-looking person he met in town (Benta).[46] The modern term *shōsetsu* is a translation of the Western term "novel," and specifically implies literary fiction. The use of anachronism is subtle here, a mere literary term out of time. Yet the addition of *taiga*, with

its popular association with *taiga* dramas (melodramatic historical TV dramas), clearly draws the reader's attention to the anachronistic nature of the term. The text thus evokes the discourse surrounding the modern *shōsetsu*, or novel: Myō'un's work will be fictional, the product of his imagination.[47] And the use of the term *taiga* imposes the modern discourse about *taiga* dramas on the story about Benkei: it will be a melodramatic, highly theatrical rendition of events that takes many liberties with history. Again, the text highlights the constructedness of history, anachronistically summoning the present-day discourse on melodramatic fiction to underline that the narrative so ably deployed by the militarists to exhort wartime Japanese to loyalty is fictional and unrealistic. Benta's unembellished story is that of a simple man out of his depth who is deceived and manipulated by power for its own selfish ends, which by implication may also be the real story of people in wartime Japan.

Although the titular phoenix does not make an actual appearance in these volumes, the desire for its blood is again a key theme that drives the plot and motivates characters such as Kiyomori and Kiso no Yoshinaka (木曾義仲, 1154–84), powerful men who crave the power to live forever so that they may reign forever. Kiyomori succeeds in acquiring a peacock from mainland China. He is convinced this bird is the phoenix, but it disappears in a major fire that ravages Kyoto. Kiyomori here is painted as a rather pathetic, credulous, and desperate figure, believing that a merely unusual bird is the legendary creature that will grant him immortality, then becoming distraught when the bird is lost. As he agonizes over the loss of immortality that was almost within his grasp, his sons admonish him: "There's no way such a bird could exist in this world. Really . . . father, you can't believe all the exaggerated advertisements you see in newspapers and on TV." Newspaper and TV advertisements are anachronistic, of course, which metatextually calls the reader's attention to their juxtaposition with Kiyomori's beliefs. Kiyomori responds, "I don't care if you believe or not, but that bird . . . it was my whole reason for living."[48] One theme of *Hi no tori* is the humanistic rejection of transcendentalism, which in Tezuka's early life had been used to rationalize killing and dying and led to the disaster of the war. Throughout the series, those who devote their lives to something larger than themselves find only despair in the end. In volume 1, one of Himiko's loyal soldiers, upon finding out that she is not a divine being but merely a capricious dictator, reflects, "I gave thirty years of my life in service, and what do you think I have left? Only my own stupidity."[49] Similarly, the king in volume 3, who has devoted his life to

building himself a grand tomb that will give him historical immortality, has only regrets in his dying thoughts: "I . . . I wanted to do something . . . something more. I wanted to read Kawabata Yasunari, I wanted to watch movies, I wanted to date girls, I wanted to drive a car fast, I wanted to learn mahjong, I wanted to drink Johnnie Walker just once. . . . What will be left after I die? Nothing at all" (another series of anachronisms, here darkly humorous, increasing pity for the king by evoking all the familiar things modern people like the reader wish to do in life). His last words are the aphorism "Stupidity is only cured by death."[50] Kiyomori, as well, has found a reason for living in the phoenix, because its blood will allow him to transcend his own life and ensure the prosperity of the Heike clan; if his clan falls with his death, then the life he spent elevating it will have been wasted. The promise of transcendentalism has become his only hope, his reason for living. However, the text here uses a dialogic anachronism to compare this belief in the transcendental to belief in overblown TV and newspaper advertisements. The reader's knowledge of modern advertisements, with their inflated and exaggerated claims and their thinly veiled desire to part people from their money, is evoked and dialogically juxtaposed with a transcendental "reason to live." The text equates belief in the transcendental with credulous belief in transparently overstated advertising—something only the most inept members of a consumer society actually fall victim to, objects of pity. Furthermore, the manipulative nature of advertisements is, in the intertext, superimposed on transcendental belief. Again, Tezuka grew up in an era when transcendental belief was used to manipulate populations into dying and killing, and this anachronism associates the discourse on the well-known manipulativeness of TV and newspaper advertisements with transcendentalism, exposing it as another means for power to exercise control.

These are the most significant examples of anachronism in the history volumes of *Hi no tori*. There are many other anachronisms in the text, sometimes used for a more straightforward comic effect. For example, when pressed on why the Heike armies have been pushed out of Kyoto by the Genji, Taira no Munemori (平宗盛, 1147–85) equivocates, "well you see, that is, the Yen is very strong right now," humorously evoking contemporary evasive excuses by ineffectual CEOs.[51] All these anachronisms are gags, unexpectedly intruding on the diegetic space of the narrative for comic effect (sometimes darkly comedic). However, while the humor of these anachronisms might disarm the reader and preclude them from being considered seriously, we should not assume that they are innocent fun. *Hi no*

tori unquestionably has a philosophical and political project it is impressing on history, and the pastiche of past and present that anachronism creates is clearly significant in such a text. Tezuka, who grew up in an education system that appropriated history to instill a wartime militarist ideology in citizens, attempts to dismantle that entire historical edifice with his "life's work." *Hi no tori* is, in a sense, similar to Ōe Kenzaburō's *Man'en gannen no futtobōru* (Football in the first year of Man'en), although the two works come from vastly different genres and literary contexts and would not normally be considered together. Both, however, represent the past with an element of Bakhtinian buffoonery, carnivalizing history to open it up to new meanings, to inversions and profanings. Both resist authoritative, monological representations of history in order to open up history to new possibilities, new voices in dialogue with other historical representation. While *Hi no tori* employs humor and gags, its own historical project is ultimately quite serious. The next chapter turns to works that are (presumably) less invested in historical critique, but whose anachronistic representations of history nevertheless put past and present in dialogic juxtaposition.

4

Speaking the Same Language

Anachronisms of Interoperability in Contemporary Popular Culture

The works I examine in this chapter are related to popular culture or subculture in one way or another, and they all anachronistically juxtapose their present with the past, usually the Edo period. Although these texts each have their own projects and agendas, they all try to suggest *interoperability* between the present and the Edo period (or in a few cases, the medieval period). Interoperability is a term from computer science and information technology that means that two (or more) systems which are distinct and different can nonetheless interface, communicate, and exchange information seamlessly. The systems are not identical to each other, but they can speak the same "language" to communicate and convert exchanged information to native formats. Their own formats might be *incompatible*, but they are still *interoperable*. I use this term because it describes well what the anachronistic texts in this chapter attempt: to suggest that the past and the present are interoperable while acknowledging that they are very different, incompatible systems.

The texts examined in this chapter all attempt to draw the past closer to the present, to open up the past as a source of legitimation for the present. In that sense, their projects are similar to those of "Abe ichizoku" (The Abe clan) and *Kamui-den* (The legend of Kamui), examined in chapter 2. Those texts both impute contemporary subjectivity or ideology into the past. In doing so, they draw the past closer to the present by showing that the past already

attested modern ideology. The difference, however, is that the works examined in this chapter attempt to draw the past closer through dialogic rather than monologic anachronism. By highlighting their anachronistic work, they foreground the inherent incompatibility of past and present, allowing their voices to remain distinct, in dialogue, rather than monologically rewriting the past. Yet they propose that past and present—thought distinct and incompatible—might be interoperable. They might be able to communicate or interact with each other productively, even as they remain distinct.

In these texts it is not the narrative but the settings of the depicted worlds that bear scrutiny for their anachronisms. The visual works examined in the last section of this chapter have no narrative at all. But, as Fredric Jameson writes: "The strangely active and pulsating vitality of the 'world' of romance, much like Stanislaw Lem's sentient ocean in *Solaris*, tends to absorb many of the act- and event-producing functions normally reserved for narrative 'characters.' . . . We might say that in romance the category of Scene tends to capture and to appropriate the attributes of Agency and Act, making the 'hero' over into something like a registering apparatus."[1] The plot and characters of the works examined in this chapter are certainly important to their readers and evoke strong affective responses. But for my purposes they mostly serve as a "registering apparatus" that leads readers through the anachronistic speculative worlds realized in the texts.

The work the texts perform on history is accomplished more by scene and setting than by protagonists. Those scenes and settings are fine examples of pastiche. Linda Hutcheon, arguing against an interpretation of pastiche (by Jameson and others) as a dehistoricizing mixture of past images into present spectacle that is empty of critical content, writes that pastiche is "rummaging through the image reserves of the past in such a way as to show the history of the representations their parody calls to our attention. . . . But this parodic reprise of the past of art is not nostalgic; it is always critical . . . [it] signals how present representations come from past ones and what ideological consequences derive from both continuity and difference."[2] The pastiches of the present and the past examined in this chapter are certainly spectacle—often comedic spectacle—but they also draw attention to the ideologically charged representations of both past and present. By creating a pastiche out of incongruous elements that somehow has a paradoxical internal congruity, these texts simultaneously inscribe possibilities for interoperability and draw attention to the projects in which such representation is necessarily engaged.

THE CITY OF THE FUTURE IS EDO: SEIBĀ MARIONETTO J

Seibā marionetto J (セイバーマリオネットJ, Saber Marionette J), directed by Shimoda Masami (下田正美), is a television anime that ran from 1996 to 1997. It enjoyed enough popularity to spawn another anime series, as well as several direct-to-video projects, manga, and novels. Briefly, the series depicts a distant future where a colony spaceship encounters an accident on its journey to a new planet, Teratsū テラツー (Terra Two), and the only survivors that make it to the new world are six men. Unable to reproduce normally, the colonists populate their new planet through cloning. Inexplicably, even with their advanced genetic manipulation technology, they cannot produce a female from male genes, so the colonists produce only male descendants, instead creating robots—the titular marionettes—with a female appearance for companionship. Obviously, there are myriad gender issues in this text that could be addressed. However, the most significant feature of the text for the purposes of this study is that each of the original six colonists proceeds to found his own nation, and they reproduce their original Earth cultures in an Epcot-esque caricature of national culture, with national costumes, national architecture, and so on meticulously reproduced and conspicuously displayed. Even centuries later, in the narrative present, there is apparently none of the cosmopolitan exchange of fashions and styles that marks our own globalized world. The Japanese colonist—named Ieyasu after the first Tokugawa Shogun, naturally—founds a nation called Japo'nesu that faithfully re-creates Edo Japan. This is a fantasy of re-creating the past, but it cannot quite be a retreat into the past. The constraints imposed by the narrative framework mean that Japo'nesu needs the advanced technologies of cloning and robotics in order to survive, along with the industries that support them. It is impossible for Japo'nesu to abandon modernity, and modernity is on display right next to Edo visual styles.

Seibā marionetto J is comedic and adolescent in tone, and will probably never be remembered as great art. However, it does bear the distinction of being one of the only works of Japanese pop culture that has drawn critical attention for its anachronisms. Azuma Hiroki, in his study of otaku (fan) culture, singles out *Seibā marionetto J* as an example of the creation of a pseudo-Japan in popular culture and subculture. He writes that in Japanese pop culture since the 1980s there has been a move to revitalize or rehabilitate Japanese identity by creating "Japanese" themes. However, "Japan's cultural traditions have been severed twice: during the Meiji Restoration

and following defeat in World War II. In addition, memories of the period from Meiji to the 1945 defeat have been subject to political repression in the postwar period. If the narcissistic Japan of the 1980s was to forget defeat and remain oblivious to the impact of Americanization, it was easiest to return to the image of the Edo period."[3] Popular culture and subculture sought to "return to Edo" as a way to revitalize Japanese identity, but Azuma argues that the "'Japanese' themes and modes created by otaku [fans] are in fact all imitations and distortions of U.S.-made material," because in the wake of postwar Americanization, "'a pseudo-Japan manufactured from U.S.-produced material' is now the only thing left in our grasp. We can only construct an image of the Japanese cityscape by picturing family restaurants, convenience stores, and 'love hotels.'"[4] This revitalization of Japanese identity in popular culture, then, is necessarily somewhat ironic, permeated by a sense of anxiety, since it has become impossible to depict a "Japan" that might serve as a reserve of identity without incorporating American elements that acknowledge the occupation and postwar economics.

Azuma perhaps overstates his case; the myriad samurai movies and period dramas on TV with (relatively) accurate depictions of the Japanese cities of the past seem to demonstrate that it is not, after all, impossible to imagine the Japanese cityscape without convenience stores and love hotels. Anachronistic texts like *Seibā marionetto J* are rather driven by a deliberately productive and imaginative interaction with the past, not a lack of imagination. In any case, Azuma points to a desire to revitalize Japanese identity as the motivation for interacting with the Edo period in this way. At first blush, this project is problematic. After all, if "Japanese identity" needs revitalizing, it is because the models for Japanese identity constructed and active in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were discredited and rejected after Japan's failed expansionist wars and disastrous defeat. Revitalizing this identity might mean rehabilitating those earlier models, as Japanese ultranationalists desire. Forming connections between the present and the past might be a way of establishing an ethnocentric identity based on the unbroken continuity of the Volk. Certainly, pop culture has been fertile ground for the labors of nationalists attempting to reconstruct such identity. However, texts like *Seibā marionetto J* that employ playfully obvious anachronisms in their engagement with the past are engaged in a more subtle project. *Seibā marionetto J* does not attempt to transform Edo into a golden age. It does not offer an agrarian myth of pastoral utopia, and its vision is far too urban and commercial to hark back to an imagined bucolic past of community unity.[5]

The text cannot be said to be manufacturing a gemeinschaft, an imagined idyllic community of wholesome human relationships that existed before society was invented to mediate them.[6] Nor does it envision Edo as a refuge from the late capitalist alienation of humans from the products of their labor.[7] In the very first episode, one man remarks that he has paid a small fortune merely to rent the latest model of marionette for a while. Human labor is mediated by capital, and humans are estranged from both the products of labor and basic human companionship. If the text opens up the Edo period as a source of revitalized Japanese identity in the present, it rather does so with ironic distance by highlighting and foregrounding the vast differences and incompatibilities between the Heisei production present and the Edo past. It suspends the past and present in dialogue, suggesting that they might be interoperable rather than monologically insisting that they are just the same.

If Edo offers a source of Japanese identity and cultural tradition untouched by America or defeat, it is also extremely unsuited to technoscientific society. The anachronisms of *Seibā marionetto J* and similar pop texts can be read as an attempt to infuse Edo with recognizable artifacts of the technoscientific culture of comfortable, familiar, present-day Japan, thereby defusing its alienness and rehabilitating it as a source of identity. While the diegetic world technically forms a postleptic anachronism (the Edo past in the future), the visual impression the series creates much more strongly evokes a proleptic insertion of Heisei modernity into a recreated Edo past. The anachronisms in *Seibā marionetto J* all summon elements recognizably sourced from the 1990s, despite the fact that the series takes place centuries in the future. For example, the first episode features a long series of establishing shots of the city-state of Japo'nesu, drawing attention to its anachronistic nature. In one such scene, wooden buildings line a typically Edo dirt street (dirt streets having been established as a card that belongs to the Edo register). Workers wearing topknots and Edo-appropriate garb carry bundles wrapped in cloth, while others drink sake from earthenware bottles on a restaurant's street veranda. Across the street, an electronics store sells rice cookers and cathode-ray tube (CRT) televisions, one of them displayed in a wooden frame.[8] This anachronistic incongruity is deployed for comic effect. Significantly, however, the anachronistic items are native to the 1990s and not centuries hence: CRT televisions appear in place of flat screens, holographic displays, or something even more exotic. The text specifically summons the discourse on the Heisei present day in order to juxtapose it with

the discourse on the Edo period and allow new possibilities to open up between them in an intertext; the far-future setting is almost incidental to its discursive work. It creates a connection between the Edo past and Heisei electronics, opening up that distant, alien past to the accoutrements of modern technoscientific society. The text creates the possibility that Edo culture is interoperable with the familiar consumer culture of late modernity, even as it highlights the absurd incompatibility between Edo streets and rice cookers.

By using dialogic anachronism, *Seibā marionetto J* explicitly polices the boundary between the past and the present, even as it juxtaposes and superimposes these eras. After all, anachronism only works as a comic device precisely because Edo dirt streets and televisions are so obviously incongruent. Modernity is never allowed to completely dissolve into the Edo setting. Nearly every scene carries some sly incongruity that foregrounds (however subtly) the discomfort of the mixed setting. Aerial shots featuring broad swaths of the city include high-rise apartments (built in an Edo-esque architectural style) along with historical wooden buildings, and an otherwise perfectly Edo market scene might include a single modern cash register.[9] In one telling scene the characters approach the shogun's castle—a Japanese castle—which has a Western-style sculpture fountain in front of it. One character stops to gaze up at the statue quizzically, halting the narrative action for several seconds to draws the viewer's attention to the incongruity of a (modern) Western artifact in a Japanese castle, which is perhaps not as obvious to viewers as the incongruity of televisions in Edo. Even as the text creates a plane of juxtaposition showing that the Edo period *could have been* compatible with modern technology and late capitalism in some hypothetical alternate history, it enforces the distance between the two in our lived history by constantly reminding the viewer of the absurdity of these eras coexisting. And the text focuses its anachronistic efforts on the urban landscape, which has undergone dramatic visual change since the Edo period, making a connection between the urban spaces of the past and present difficult. Consider Tokutomi Sohō's (徳富蘇峰, 1863–1957) thought experiment, written in 1886, to emphasize the changes brought about by modernity:

> Suppose we were to take the people of Edo who died when the Tokugawa shōgun Ienari was in his heyday, bring them back from the tomb, and let them stand in the Ginza today. Show them the houses lining the sides of the street, the goods displayed in the shop windows, the passers-by on

> the street, and the people chatting to each other. No matter what, they certainly could not comprehend even in their dreams that this is what was known to them as Edo.[10]

This was published not even two decades into the modern period. How much truer this would be today! This profound difference is a functional barrier that might prevent Edo from being used as a source of identity and genetic cultural connection to the past. Instead of rewriting the past to change this fact (in the manner of monologic anachronism), dialogic anachronism creates the possibility of interoperability. Edo and the present are allowed to remain completely distinct and foreign systems, but the texts suggest through their visually anachronistic cityscapes that there is a mode or interpretive layer by which these two systems with their mutually alien logics can communicate and operate with each other.

In another scene, a beauty contest takes place in the Japo'nesu Dome. The beauty contest is clearly derived from the 1990s equivalent, with a panel of judges behind microphones, costume and talent segments, and so forth. The Japo'nesu Dome also evokes modern stadiums, notably Tokyo Dome. However, the inside of the dome is laid out like a Kabuki theater, complete with box seats, a wooden stage, a pine-tree backdrop, and a *hanamichi* (runway) running through the audience.[11] The bright, modern, steel-and-concrete Tokyo Dome is superimposed on a traditional wooden Kabuki theater. Here two architectural manifestations of mass culture are summoned and comically juxtaposed, creating an intertext in which they are, if not equivalent, not totally different either. The text of *Seibā marionetto J* creates the possibility that mass cultural events of the Edo period and contemporary mass cultural events are interoperable, and therefore opens up Edo culture as a progenitor of contemporary mass culture. This is similar to the project of the many monologic anachronistic texts that attempt to write modern narratives into the Edo period, claiming that contemporary pop idols and manga are *just the same* as similar Edo phenomena. However, while those texts earnestly try to create equivalencies between Edo and late modernity—overwriting the text of history, as it were—*Seibā marionetto J* constrains its project to juxtaposition, creating equivalence only on the level of the intertext, while leaving the historical discourses surrounding these two mass cultures intact. The anachronistic juxtaposition is, after all, immediately obvious as such, reminding the viewer of the fundamental incompatibility between Tokyo Dome and the Kabuki stage even as it creates a link

between them on another plane. The text does not conflate the discourses on these two mass cultures, but instead creates interoperability between them. The text slyly suggests (even as it highlights the impossibility of such) that Edoites would have been comfortable with the Tokyo Dome and modern beauty contests, and that both are interoperable with the urban and cultural landscape of Edo Japan.

The text performs a similar function when the protagonist gets a part-time job at a hamburger stand: the restaurant is an open-air, wooden building in the style of an Edo *dango* (団子, dumpling) stand, complete with *noren* (暖簾, hanging curtains). Inside, however, the protagonist cooks Western food (hamburgers) on a modern griddle.[12] Here the food culture, employment practices, and economic systems of the Edo and modern periods are summoned and juxtaposed. The juxtaposition is comical because these discourses are so discordant, but at the same time it creates a new possibility that there is perhaps some interoperability between the two. Viewers are presented with the counterfactual idea that Edo Japanese might have enjoyed eating hamburgers like modern Japanese, and modern Japanese could be comfortable buying food from wooden stands on dirt streets just like Edo Japanese. This text does not attempt to erase the distance between past and present, but rather exploits the ridiculousness of the juxtaposition between Edo and hamburgers for comic effect. For one thing, the Buddhist injunction against eating meat means that hamburgers would never have been a popular food in the Edo period, and the hamburger is a Western, modern cuisine with a Western name. Because of this, the Edo period and the contemporary period are allowed to remain distinct from each other, two very different food and commercial cultures, and the juxtaposition is acknowledged as absurd. Nonetheless, the text creates the possibility that these two systems may be interoperable, that the Japanese people of one system could function—not natively, perhaps, but serviceably—in the logic of the other system.

The dialogic anachronisms in *Seibā marionetto J* suggest that meaning and identity can be transferred between past and present even though they are mutually foreign systems. Although the two eras (and their attendant ideologies, cultural norms, and social institutions) are not *compatible*—and their incompatibility is exploited for comic effect—the dialogic anachronisms in the text playfully, counterfactually suggest that contemporary Japanese people could operate in the Edo period and that an Edo-period Japanese person could understand the present. Even as it reminds readers of

the comic ridiculousness of its juxtaposition, *Seibā marionetto J* does indeed execute that juxtaposition, constantly summoning the discourse on the two eras and opening up the possibility of interoperability between them. The juxtaposition of household electronics and an Edo street scene, as mentioned above, summons the mutually alien discourses on the Edo period and modern technoscientific consumer culture and superimposes them. By anachronistically showing the accoutrements of these two powerful discourses coexisting, the text creates the possibility that they are not so alien or incompatible after all. The two consumer cultures may be quite different, but ultimately they are interoperable. The text plays a Lyotardian language game for the pleasure of the reader, and this language game exists alongside that other pleasurable language game: history.

Azuma concludes that *Seibā marionetto J* attempts to revitalize Japanese identity by creating a pseudo-Japan from U.S.-made material. The text certainly offers a compelling engagement with the past, drawing it closer while still policing the boundaries between past and present. This identity project, such as it is, is therefore overtly textual and fictionalized. The recuperative connection with the past it proposes—between technoscientific late capitalism and Edo culture—can only exist as interoperability. The text does not rewrite the discourse on the past to make it congruent with the present, but instead suggests that Edo and Heisei might somehow be able to communicate in a highly anachronistic fiction, even as it maintains them as foreign systems. It never lets viewers forget the problematic history of modernity between Edo and Heisei, but through counterfactual anachronistic juxtaposition it playfully suggests the possibility that Edoites would have understood and approved of Heisei Japan.

ANACHRONISTIC INTEROPERABILITY OF STATE INSTITUTIONS IN NARUTO

Naruto (ナルト) is a manga by Kishimoto Masashi (岸本斉史, b. 1974), serialized from 1999 to 2014. It has enjoyed immense popularity, with over two hundred million sales and multiple spin-off movies, novels, and long-running television series. It is one of the best-selling manga of all time. *Naruto* is a manga about ninja, and so it necessarily lives in the shadow of the giant of ninja manga, *Kamui-den*, discussed in chapter 2. In *Kamui-den*, the Edo period is depicted as harsh and inhumane; Japan is ruled by capri-

cious daimyō and their sadistic samurai henchmen, who brutalize commoners and cleverly pit them against one another to ensure that no power ever rises that could challenge their vicious rule. This is the legacy that *Kamui-den* has left for subsequent ninja manga. In contrast, *Naruto* is engaged in a very different historical project. Like *Seibā marionetto J*, *Naruto* attempts to create the possibility of interoperability between the present and the Edo period. It is trying to shorten the distance between past and present.[13] However, it must do so within the conventions of a genre where the brutality of the Edo period has been emphasized. Therefore, *Naruto* accomplishes its project with dialogic anachronism, conspicuously and counterfactually mixing the twenty-first-century present with the Edo past. Ninja are an artifact of the past, native to the medieval and Edo periods, a card incompatible with the register of twenty-first-century life. *Naruto*, however, takes place in a meticulously crafted fantasy world that is not historical Japan, but is clearly meant to suggest it. It is a world that resembles the past but that is severed from history, much like the many fantasy worlds in Western fiction that resemble medieval western Europe with knights and princesses, but that are not actually situated in the continuity of European history. The world of *Naruto* consists of *kuni* (国, countries or feudal domains) ruled by daimyō, who maintain hidden villages of ninja for their military needs. This world, though fantasy, clearly evokes Edo Japan. Within it, however, are many accoutrements of twenty-first-century life.

Visually, the text lovingly renders its world with exquisite detail. The very first panel signals the text's anachronistic project, with a wide shot of the titular protagonist's home village. Buildings roofed with wooden slats line the signature dirt streets of Edo, clearly built for pedestrians, not automobiles. The buildings are fantastically whimsical but still grounded in Edo "wood culture" logic. Yet overhead there is the tangle of electrical wires characteristic of modern residential neighborhoods in Japan. The old-fashioned architecture is interrupted by water towers and snaking pipes, much like modern cities.[14] Later, the protagonist eats bread and drinks milk for breakfast (typically Western—and therefore modern—foods) before setting off for the day into that same anachronistic city, here depicted as crowded with advertising billboards just like a modern Japanese downtown.[15] In the same manner as *Seibā marionetto J*, this anachronistic architecture summons discourses on the Edo period and the present and juxtaposes them, allowing a suggestion of interoperability between the eras to form in the intertext. It does not really contest the brutality of the Edo period so strongly encoded

by generic convention. Its world is obviously impossible, and so it can never convince its readers that it offers a perspective on the *historical* Edo period. By reflexively drawing attention to its anachronisms, *Naruto* allows the unromanticized, Marxist discourse on the Edo period to remain intact. The text does not attempt to overwrite this discourse, but instead juxtaposes it with modernity. Again, this juxtaposition implies a certain interoperability between the Edo period and the present—the idea that a person living in a world governed by the Edo logic of daimyō and ninja could be perfectly at home with bread, milk, electrical wires, and billboards.

More significantly, *Naruto* also engenders intertextual interoperability between the Edo period and certain modern institutions. While the characters of *Seibā marionetto J* are educated in the *terakoya* (寺子屋, temple schools) of the Edo period, *Naruto* prominently features modern schools.[16] The text is largely the titular protagonist's coming-of-age story, and so the first part of the narrative sees him shepherded through various state-run educational institutions. The village school Naruto attends is immediately recognizable as a modern Japanese school, complete with blackboard, *kyōdan* (教壇, teaching platform), desks, and the ubiquitous Japanese school architecture that places windows along one side of a classroom and a hallway on the other. Students quarrel and play pranks in a way completely familiar to anyone who has been through a modern educational system.[17] Students also bully and exclude their peers. School bullying is an issue of major national concern in Japan, recently the focus of many newspaper columns, television news segments, and variety shows. Therefore, this aspect of student behavior in *Naruto* immediately summons the contemporary, modern discourse on educational institutions into its Edo-esque setting.

Even when the students move out of the classroom and on to practical learning, they do so under the tutelage of a state-appointed teacher. However, this recognizably modern educational system anachronistically teaches children to be ninja in order to serve an Edo-period political structure in a pseudo-Edo world. By summoning the discourse on modern educational institutions and juxtaposing it with the discourse on the Edo period, the text opens up the possibility of interoperability between the two. Perhaps the modern educational institutions that are such an important shared mass experience in Japan could operate in the Edo period, and perhaps Edo-period Japanese—ninja—could function and receive educations in them. Again, the anachronism of the modern school in the Edo period is too obvious to rewrite or overwrite the past, so the historical and genre discourses

on the Edo period are left intact, and the pleasure of the language game is not truncated. The database elements (the cultural discourses on the past and present) are not changed, but a new possibility is created at the moment of their extraction and admixture. While the present is quite foreign to the past, the text suggests that it might be interoperable with that past, and that therefore the Edo period can still be a source of identity in the postwar, late-capitalist present. The text creates the momentary possibility (however ahistorical) that Edoites could understand and operate comfortably—even unremarkably—in modern educational institutions, thereby opening up Edo as a "past" that Heisei Japanese in present-day educational institutions can look to as a legitimating source for their own world, even as it acknowledges that this compatibility is absurd. The conspicuous dialogic anachronisms draw attention to how the text is constructing interoperability and the absurdity of its project. Identity is formed not on the belief that the past was actually just like the present, but on the basis of a counterfactual hypothetical that if Heisei and Edo were somehow mixed, they would be perfectly interoperable.

The school in *Naruto* is that of a hidden ninja village, and the ultimate goal of the education and training it provides is to prepare students to serve the state in a military role. However, that state and its military are portrayed anachronistically as well. While the daimyō is the putative political head of the *kuni* in which the protagonists live (and is presumably freighted with all the historical baggage of that feudal position), in practice he is a distant authority figure, hardly even mentioned until late in the narrative. The civilian and military power structures in which the characters are enmeshed and to which readers are exposed are much more anachronistic. At the local level, the village is run as a meritocracy, where ninja skill is the only relevant metric for advancement in the ranks. Both men and women can climb to any position of leadership, and indeed the village leader and ninja commander is a woman for the majority of the narrative. This is an anachronistic insertion of modern gender equality into the past. At one point a student even complains of her overly solicitous teacher's *sekuhara* (セクハラ, sexual harassment), a thoroughly contemporary word and concept.[18] The text shows present-day gender ideology and the bureaucratic institutions enmeshed with it operating in an Edo-esque world. However, the text does not imply that the historical Edo period was actually so forgiving to gender equality. The word *sekuhara*, for example, is derived from English (a concatenation of the unwieldy *sekushuaru harasumento*), and invoking it is a speech

act that inevitably summons up modernity and Western influences on Japanese society. The use of such a Western, modern word is too obviously anachronistic to be written into the past. As well, while the village leader is a woman, the village she presides over is the aforementioned fantastic anachronistic landscape, shot through with electric lines, water tanks, and other reminders of modernity. The members of the military she oversees are the ninja of the premodern period, but they wear a uniform that is strikingly similar to modern military body armor (figure 3). It is certainly something never worn in Edo-period Japan. This highly visible anachronism reflexively reminds readers that the military force here, despite its putative claim to being a ninja (and therefore premodern) army, is modeled on more modern militaries. The text never lets readers believe that its depiction of ninja is an accurate portrayal of the past, and so never attempts to rewrite that past. The past and the present are allowed to remain separate, the discourses surrounding each that point to their inherent mutual alienness allowed to remain intact. Yet on the plane of juxtaposition *Naruto* playfully opens up the past to the possibility of interoperability—the idea that twenty-first-century gender equality, and its manifestations in the personnel policies of large institutions, could operate in an Edo world, even as the text acknowledges that such ideology is foreign to Edo. Indeed, the ninja military is even more equitable than twenty-first-century Japanese corporations or bureaucracies.

The use of modern military uniforms is fraught with other associations as well, namely, nationalist associations with Japan's modern military. However, the ninja uniforms in *Naruto* do not resemble the uniforms of the Imperial Japanese Army. Instead, they conspicuously resemble the body armor employed by modern militaries beginning in the 1980s: vests bulky from armor plates, with many pockets for storing field supplies. The text therefore summons the discourse on more recent militaries—specifically, in the Japanese context, the Jieitai (自衛隊), or Self-Defense Forces (SDF). The SDF is deeply entangled with the politics and ideology of postwar Japan. It was formed as a result of the postwar constitution, which renounces Japan's right to engage in state belligerency and to maintain military forces. Therefore, the SDF, as the name suggests, maintains military potential only for the defense of Japan. The governing principle of the SDF—*senshu bōei* (専守防衛, exclusive self-defense), the use of military power exclusively for self-defense—has become a deeply ingrained doctrine as well as a moral imperative. There are many in Japan who object to this arrangement, and it is a topic of ongoing contestation, as conservative politicians have pushed through-

Figure 3. Kishimoto Masashi, *Naruto*, volume 1. Ninja armor resembling modern military body armor. Copyright 1999 Shueisha.

out the postwar period for a more active role for the SDF, a move resisted by the Left. In general, however, the doctrine that Japan's military power should only be used for defensive purposes reflects major trends in postwar philosophy and political ideology. It is this tangle of associations that *Naruto* inserts into an Edo-esque world. By juxtaposing the entire discourse surrounding the SDF (and by extension the politics of postwar Japan) with the Edo period, the text opens up the Edo past to the possibility of interoperability with postwar political philosophy. The text shows a contemporary Japanese military force—which is not named as the SDF but strongly evokes it—functioning in an Edo world, and the people of that world functioning comfortably in its postwar ideology. In other words, *Naruto* slyly suggests (however counterfactually) that there might be interoperability between the Edo past and *senshu bōei*. Modern body armor in the Edo period is too noticeable an anachronism to ever transparently rewrite the history of the Edo period, and the discourses on Edo—both generic and historical—that portray it as a brutal military dictatorship quite at odds with postwar pacifism remain intact, but the possibility that despite this foreignness the Edo

past could interoperate with the postwar present is created in the intertext of juxtaposed discourses. This dialogic anachronism allows the Edo period to be appropriated for modern identity formation, even with the full knowledge that it was distant indeed from twenty-first-century Japan.

SAMURAI WHO READ SHŌNEN JUMP *IN* GINTAMA

Seibā marionetto J sets its anachronistic world in the future, while *Naruto* creates anachronism in a fantasy world. Sorachi Hideaki's (空知英秋, b. 1979) hit manga *Gintama* (銀魂, Silver soul, serialized in the magazine *Shōnen Jump*, 2003–19), however, uses alternate history to formulate its anachronistic version of Edo. In this comedy manga, extraterrestrials appeared in the skies over Edo and quickly conquered Japan twenty years before the narrative begins. In the narrative present, Japan is an occupied nation and aliens swagger through Edo's streets. However, thanks to their arrival, Japan rapidly acquired advanced technology, even as the cityscape remained Edo-esque. Above the signature dirt streets and wooden buildings of Edo Japan, alien aircraft fly back and forth and alien skyscrapers loom in the distance. Meanwhile, humans employ more recognizable twenty-first-century technologies: cars, mopeds, cell phones, and other familiar artifacts of the reading present.[19]

This text effectively conflates two watershed events in Japanese history: Commodore Perry's arrival in Edo Bay with a fleet of technologically advanced warships in 1853, and the Allied occupation of Japan after World War II, from 1945 to 1952, under the leadership of Douglas MacArthur. The aliens show up in Edo with advanced technology just like Perry did, and they occupy Japan just like America did. Crucially, the conflation of these two historical foreign incursions effectively erases the ninety years of history between them. The text deftly creates a history of Japan that moves directly from Edo to the postwar era, skipping Meiji modernization and westernization, Shōwa aggression and imperialism, and the devastation of war. To paraphrase Ōe Kenzaburō (discussed in chapter 2), the Edo period and the postwar era are made to face each other over a century of darkness and interilluminate each other. The visible anachronisms—like mopeds and cell phones—serve as a constant reminder that this comedy narrative rests on an alternate history that completely elides the history that stretches between Perry and MacArthur. Significantly, *Gintama* does not erase the US

occupation. The occupation has become a crucial part of postwar identity, and one main theme of the text is finding a way for (imagined) Edo ideology to accommodate foreign occupation.

One leitmotif of *Gintama* is concern over the disposition of the samurai; less the samurai caste itself than samurai philosophy and identity. The *haitōrei* (廃刀令), the law banning swords that was passed in 1876 as part of early Meiji efforts to dissolve the Edo caste system, is reproduced here as a mandate imposed by extraterrestrial occupiers. Historically, samurai struggled to find a new place for themselves in the emerging industrial society of the nineteenth century, after the caste was abolished and their rice stipends and swords were taken away. However, in *Gintama* the dissolution of the samurai caste that took place in Meiji is now thrust into the twenty-first century, and therefore rather than adapting to nineteenth-century modernity, Edo samurai must find a way to live with Heisei technology and postwar occupation. As the text opens onto the narrative present, the first words of the narrator are, "'A nation of samurai' [*samurai no kuni*, 侍の国] . . . it's been a long time since our country was called that."[20] Right from the beginning, the text signals that samurai will be one of its major focuses. More specifically, the identity of Japan as a nation of samurai will be interrogated, as well as, implicitly, the identity that this national regime of representation affords to individuals. The next lines contrast the dreams of Edo samurai with the occupied present, where "foreign" (*ikyō*, 異郷) ships occupy the skies over Edo, and "foreigners" (*ijin*, 異人) walk its streets.[21] Significantly, the text here, in establishing the narrative world, does not use terms that specifically point to extraterrestrials; rather, it uses words that could point to terrestrial foreigners just as easily as extraterrestrial beings. The extraterrestrials here are clearly linked to Americans (and other foreigners) who occupied Japan, and whose aircraft still fly over Japan in the present of the text's production. *Gintama* indicates that its principal concern is the contrast between the identity afforded by a "nation of samurai" and that of a nation occupied by foreigners.

At this point, the text's project might seem to have an alarming similarity to imperial Japan's infamous project to import samurai ethics into the modern world. The samurai ethical code, *bushidō* (武士道), was used by the imperial Japanese military to instill desirable character in its servicemen and provide moral guidance. The *Gunjin chokuyu* (軍人勅諭, Imperial Precepts to Soldiers and Sailors), an imperial rescript promulgated in 1882 that became the source document for imperial Japanese military ethics, admonished sol-

Figure 4. Sorachi Hideaki, *Gintama*, volume 1. Gintoki's first appearance, highlighting his mixture of modern and premodern costume elements. Copyright 2003 by Sorachi Hideaki / Shueisha.

diers to cultivate values derived from *bushidō*.[22] *Bushidō* and *yamato damashii* (大和魂, Japanese spirit) became fundamental to the identity of the Japanese military, especially the Imperial Japanese Army, even to the detriment of its ability to fight a modern war.[23] As the war worsened, this same samurai code was twisted to legitimate some of Japan's most notorious war crimes.[24] The postwar era has seen sporadic attempts by nationalist groups to revive samurai ethics, *bushidō*, and *yamato damashii* as a central feature of Japanese identity. Mishima Yukio's *Yūkoku* (憂国, Patriotism, 1960), a paean to the imperial morality of the war years, depicts an idealized imperial soldier and his wife as perfect beings, afforded complete certainty by their moral grounding in *bushidō* and their loyalty to the emperor. The soldier commits a perfect samurai suicide, cutting open his abdomen with no qualms. Mishima's ideal military couple has none of the uncertainty or frivolity of post-

war Japanese. "Even in bed they were so terribly, solemnly serious," the text enthuses, reflecting the fetishization of the seriousness of both the samurai and the imperial military man.[25] (Ten years after this publication, Mishima himself infamously went on to cut open his own abdomen in samurai fashion.) Even outside of explicit nationalist attempts to revive militarism and imperialism, there have been sporadic calls for a revival of samurai ethics or mentality—if only in the service of the modern businessman.[26]

Any attempt to somehow rehabilitate *bushidō* or the samurai ideal certainly has the potential to promote nationalism. *Gintama* does, to an extent, participate in nationalist discourses that claim the samurai as a source of present-day Japanese identity and uniqueness. Yet, *Gintama* maintains ironic distance from this discourse even in the act of evoking it. The manga does this by strictly portraying samurai anachronistically, alienating readers from its depiction of interoperable samurai. When the protagonist of *Gintama*, Gintoki, is first introduced, he is shown in a head-to-toe full profile that is not bounded by panels, but rather is layered over top of three panels to take up the whole height of the page (figure 4). By placing this portrait not only outside but also over top of the bounded boxes of the narrative, the text freights Gintoki's profile with importance. That his appearance is anachronistic can be discerned in a glance. He wears a high-collared short-sleeved shirt, pants, and boots (modern, Western clothes), visible because the kimono (Japanese clothes) he wears over them has been removed from the right shoulder to free up his sword arm. Over the kimono he wears a belt (Western) to hold it closed, rather than a Japanese sash or cord. The outfit is completed by motorcycle goggles, a distinctly modern accessory.[27] The appearance of this text's principal samurai is a layering and intertwining of East and West, past and present. The Japanese clothing and the wooden sword he holds summon the discourse on Edo-period samurai, while the modern clothing and motorcycle goggles summon the discourse on postwar Japan, juxtaposing them in an absurd pastiche of past and present.[28] In thus introducing the protagonist, the text immediately implies that he is not an Edo samurai, but rather some sort of new breed formed by the intersection of Edo with the postwar present. This dialogic anachronism enforces the distance between past and present even as it playfully violates this distance, forcing viewers to acknowledge that such a modern samurai can only exist as an absurd fiction.

The text also quickly distances Gintoki from stereotypical samurai characteristics. Far from the ideal samurai, who was supposed to lead a spartan

life ("supposed to" being the operative phrase, as many historical samurai failed to live up to such ideals), Gintoki is introduced eating a chocolate parfait, and is constantly eating sweets throughout the narrative. Far from possessing samurai *makoto* (誠, sincerity) and honesty, Gintoki flees from a fight shortly after he is introduced, planting his wooden sword on someone else to implicate him as the perpetrator of the conflict.[29] And rather than being serious and responsible, Gintoki enjoys reading *Shōnen Jump*, a delicious bit of anachronistic self-reference that juxtaposes the received discourse on samurai (the fetishized seriousness, a model for the wartime generation) with the discourse on contemporary manga readers (unserious and vaguely countercultural) and creates an intertext that superimposes them.[30] This superimposition—the *Jump*-reading samurai—is too absurd to allow one image to overwrite the other. It cannot rewrite the past, and the discourse on samurai and the discourse on manga readers are allowed to remain distinct. It does not try to monologically claim that Edo samurai were just like present-day Japanese, erasing difference to make the past speak with the voice of the present. But in that moment of superimposition the text creates the possibility that the two are interoperable, that samurai and manga readers are quite different but could still understand and operate in each other's worlds.

Far from possessing samurai dignity, Gintoki makes his living (barely) at a *yorozuya* (万事屋, jack-of-all-trades store or, more pointedly, a do-anything store), where he sells his samurai skills to anyone willing to pay for them, for any task, no matter how petty or beneath the perceived station of a samurai. This new form of samurai employment—created by the anachronistic world, with its mix of postwar peace, late capitalism, and Edo samurai—effectively commercializes and commodifies the samurai. His preferred means of transportation on these jobs is a moped, the mode of choice for penurious youth and restaurant delivery part-timers. This highly visible anachronism juxtaposes samurai with twenty-first-century *furītā* (フリーター, youth who string together a living from a series of part-time jobs), a word that is at one point even used in the text.[31] Although the juxtaposition highlights its own absurdity through the visibly anachronistic moped, it nonetheless creates a moment of possibility that *furītā* culture and samurai ethics might be interoperable, perhaps suggesting (absurdly) an interoperability between *furītā* and samurai rōnin (浪人), the masterless samurai romantically imagined in popular movies and novels.

Despite shedding nearly all the supposed characteristics of the samurai,

especially those that the imperial Japanese military revered, Gintoki uses his samurai strength to subvert and resist the power of the (foreigner) aliens. Upon his introduction he gets into an altercation with a group of aliens who are using Japan's subordinate status to cause trouble in a restaurant and humiliate its workers.[32] The aliens all wear some kind of uniform, strongly suggesting contemporary interactions with US military personnel. Gintoki beats the aliens with his wooden sword, a symbol of the samurai (or at least as close to that symbol as is allowed under this foreign occupation). Later, a rich alien loan shark comes to collect the mortgage on the bankrupt family dojo of another character, Shinpachi. With the family unable to pay, Shinpachi's sister is taken to work in the alien's flying *no-pan* (no-panties) shabu-shabu restaurant, a slightly sanitized but still obvious reference to the sexual appropriation of Japanese women by foreign men through prostitution or otherwise in the postwar era. Gintoki again intervenes, eventually bringing down the entire flying restaurant by striking its power core with his wooden sword.[33] He is no nationalist or xenophobe, however. He accepts an alien (foreigner) as an employee, and calls a group of former samurai devoted to expelling foreigners and returning Japan to a nation of samurai "terrorists." When an alien mocks Japanese samurai for their inability to protect the nation, Gintoki responds, "The nation? . . . You can have it. I have my hands full protecting what's right in front of me."[34] Quite unlike imperial soldiers and sailors, who invoked the ethical code of the samurai in pursuit of defending and securing the interests of the nation, Gintoki has no use for the nation or any other collective body. His samurai skills are rather used for more humanistic ends, defending his friends and family. The alien calls this philosophy a "miserly *bushidō*" (*shimittareta bushido*, しみったれた武士道), and from the perspective of imperial Japanese ideology he is right.[35] Gintoki extends his protection only to his immediate world, not to the nation as a whole. But this is a samurai that is interoperable with the Heisei era, and so the target of his aegis has shifted from the discredited transcendental to the humanistic. Later, he declares, "I don't care one whit if the government is destroyed or the nation is destroyed! I'm just going to keep living with my head held high until my body gives out!"[36] Again, the nation means nothing to Gintoki as an entity worthy of protection. But note here the complete inversion of the imperial admonition in the *Gunjin chokuyu* that "duty is weightier than a mountain, while death is lighter than a feather."[37] This anachronistic samurai, interoperable with the Heisei present, recognizes no

duty—or indeed even a nation to which he might have duty—but fights to live on for humanistic values.

These anachronisms summon up the cultural discourse on the past and juxtapose it with those on the present. In this case, the text calls on the *modern* discourse on samurai and *bushidō*, constructed in Meiji and used heavily in the prewar and wartime state's construction of Japanese identity.[38] Actual Edo samurai owed their loyalty to their daimyō, the shogun, or other feudal superiors, and might well have shared Gintoki's lack of concern for the fate of the nation (although not his humanistic values), the "nation" as an ideological identity apparatus not even having been invented yet. The text does not evoke and open up Edo-contemporary discourse on samurai so much as it does the modern discourse that constructed samurai as the model of Japaneseness, and *bushidō* as morality for the imperial Japanese military, emphasizing loyalty to and self-sacrifice for the nation and emperor. *Gintama* playfully puts this discourse into contact with the discourse on contemporary youth, in a juxtaposition that operates bidirectionally as the discourses interanimate each other. On the one hand, the suggestion of interoperability between the two might ennoble contemporary *furītā*, manga readers, and postwar pacifist Japan with the valorized prewar discourse on samurai. At the same time, contemporary discourse on *furītā* and manga readers bleeds back into the prewar discourse on samurai and *bushidō*, deflating their perceived seriousness. The suggestion of interoperability, after all, means *both* that *furītā* have a little samurai in them, and that samurai had a little *furītā* in them.

Gintoki is too absurdly anachronistic—with his moped, parfaits, and manga—to overwrite the fraught discourse on Edo samurai in order to appropriate them for the Heisei publishing present. The reader understands that samurai ideology (at least as it was imagined in the modern period) is completely foreign to the Heisei present, but the text creates the momentary possibility—however absurd—that there might have been a way for a samurai to operate within the Heisei value system. Upon their first meeting, Shinpachi remarks that Gintoki is "too crude for a samurai, but the look in his eyes is too forthright for a *chinpira* [thug]."[39] Gintoki is neither a duty-bound Edo samurai nor an honorless modern *chinpira*, but something between them, an anachronistically formed new breed that can operate in the moped-filled streets of modern Japan like a *chinpira* and is not locked in to antiquated notions of duty to nation, but at the same time will fight

selflessly like an ideal(ized) Edo samurai to protect friends and resist ongoing foreign humiliations. The text's project, in its idealization of Gintoki, is not to rehabilitate samurai ethics as a tool for social control in the present (Gintoki even explicitly rejects *bushidō* as an antihumanist ideology that just gets people killed), nor to revive the grand narratives of imperial Japan, nor even to flatter Japanese pride by finding equivalencies between samurai and modern social customs.[40] Rather, it highlights the absurdity of such manipulations of history through its highly visible anachronisms. As Linda Hutcheon says, it signals the continuity and difference between past and present representations, and the ideological consequences of that continuity or difference. At the same time, however, it creates a counterfactual interoperability between Edo samurai and the postwar present, in the form of a samurai who reads manga and believes in no grand narratives. However improbable, this juxtaposition of discourses allows the text to reclaim the much-abused discourse on samurai from imperial history—superimposing Edo on Heisei while completely deleting Shōwa—and create a plane where it can be used instead as a source of identity for twenty-first-century Japan. The anachronism thus creates the possibility for a Japanese identity that accommodates both samurai strength and twenty-first-century humanistic ideology and consumer culture.

HIP-HOP AND ANACHRONISTIC MARGINALITY IN SAMURAI CHANPURŪ

In the works examined so far, anachronistic worlds have been created by taking Edo outside of history: placing it in the future, a fantasy world, or an alternate time line. But the next text performs its anachronistic play within historical Edo itself. Director Watanabe Shin'ichirō's (渡辺信一郎, b. 1965) dramedy anime *Samurai chanpurū* (サムライチャンプルー), which aired on television in 2004, takes place during the seventeenth century, sometimes even including historical figures. Yet it is an anachronistic tour de force, with sunglasses, mohawks, graffiti, bars, and, above all, hip-hop inserted into the Edo past. The text signals its playful irreverence for such things as narrative history with its title. *Samurai chanpurū* can be taken as a pun on samurai *chanbara* (samurai sword fight), a classic trope in popular fiction set in the Edo period. But this generic expectation is betrayed, the second word replaced with *chanpurū*—an Okinawan stir-fry dish that can include any

number of components thrown together and mixed up. Before the narrative even begins, then, the text has signaled that it will betray conventional expectations and instead offer an irreverent mixture of tropes.

The text playfully draws attention to its own anachronisms. It begins in medias res, with two protagonists apparently about to be executed as criminals in the early Edo period. An intertitle is then displayed with the text "one day earlier," after which it cuts to a present-day street scene, complete with a train, cars, graffiti-strewn concrete architecture, and, in the foreground, a young man dancing to music on his headphones as he strolls by.[41] Then a second intertitle comes up, simply adding an insistent exclamation mark to the previous statement: "one day earlier!" There is then a rewind effect, as the scene cycles backward through time: the young man with headphones walks backward out of the scene, which then flows into a brief view of that same street in the Meiji (or perhaps Taishō) era, with a wooden station building, unpaved streets, and old-fashioned clothes. The rewind continues to the same street in late Edo, with passersby wearing characteristic Edo clothing and Japanese buildings built up in the background, before finally flowing into the narrative present, early Edo, where there is only a path through an open field. The text thus signals the essence of its anachronistic approach from the outset. The "one day earlier" of the narrating instance and the "one day earlier" of the narrative moment are deliberately, slyly confused. This is the text's historical stance throughout the narrative, confusing the Edo narrative present with the Heisei reading present in absurd ways. Yet, the rewind effect illustrates a historical connection between the portrayed past and the present. It is not an alternate history, but actual history, which eventually leads to the present in smooth continuity. The text here acknowledges the history that leads from Edo to Heisei—it is the history we all know and understand, and that history will not be rewritten. The text will juxtapose eras, but received history will remain as an inviolate discourse. That history will merely be set aside for a moment to playfully confuse the two eras at either end of the rewind. And the text is rife with anachronisms that conflate the narrative present of early Edo and the reading present of Heisei. One of the two male protagonists always wears shorts, and the other always wears modern, semi-rimless glasses. As Amy Fitzgerald notes, this anachronistically satisfies the modern anime convention of a quiet, stoic character wearing glasses.[42] A classic *moe yōso* (moe element, to use Azuma's term), this convention has here been extracted from the database and mixed with the database elements of the Edo period and samurai. These are per-

sistent anachronistic elements, always injecting a sense of alien discomfort into this historical narrative, ensuring that it is never received as a transparent representation of the past. Other characters wear sunglasses, have dyed mohawks, or spray graffiti (a distinctly modern variety).

Despite the title, the text is largely unconcerned with samurai—or, rather, it is unconcerned with samurai officialdom, official samurai discourses, or *bushidō*. Unlike *Gintama*, it is not especially concerned with the modern disposition of samurai. One protagonist, Jin, has samurai status, but is a penniless rōnin. Aside from him, the only samurai to make an appearance are meddlesome, pompous shogunal officials or the corrupt warriors who do their bidding. Samurai in the anime are an officious manifestation of the law, and are rarely portrayed positively. Instead, the text is very much concerned with the margins of society, with disaffected or disenfranchised minorities and subgroups. One protagonist, Mugen, is a Ryukyuan. In the course of their journey from Edo to Nagasaki, the three protagonists—Mugen, Jin, and Fū (an orphaned teenage girl)—encounter a man with a mental disability, indentured prostitutes, a gay European, an Ainu man, a blind woman, and Christians, all of whom are depicted sympathetically. The protagonists always help these marginalized people, acts that anachronistically insert progressive Heisei moral stances not likely or—in the case of Europeans and Christians—even legally possible into the Edo past. Here *Samurai chanpurū* might seem to be in danger of, like "Abe ichizoku," making the past speak with a unitary voice by monologically imposing Heisei morality onto it. However, as the protagonists perform these acts they are always wearing their anachronistic clothing and accessories. These highly conspicuous anachronisms, in Brechtian fashion, remind viewers that this is a creative rendering of the past that reflexively inserts the present into it, and that the protagonists' humane treatment of marginalized groups is ultimately as anachronistic as their clothing. Yet at the same time, it shows the protagonists (who are naturally both strong and bold enough to defy shogunal authorities) acting with Heisei compassion toward the dispossessed, in a way that is portrayed as diegetically natural. The text summons up historical discourse about the margins of Edo society and puts it in dialogue with discourse on modern, postwar morality (heavily informed by Meiji thinkers, the European Enlightenment, and postwar democracy and liberalism), creating the possibility of interoperability between them.

Mugen, promised wealth and power by a yakuza boss who tyrannizes his town and entraps women into prostitution, rejects the proposal, saying,

"this power you're talking about, it's the power to rule other people? . . . I have no interest in that, I don't like ruling or being ruled."[43] The text inserts postmodern suspicion of the will to power into the past as well, showing it to be interoperable with Edo. The protagonists are too anachronistic to write a moral and social stance so compatible with Heisei sensibilities into the discourse on the past. But the text creates a possible way for Heisei morality to operate in the past, and for the past to accommodate that morality at the margins of society (even if the corrupt instruments of power cannot), opening up Edo as a source of Heisei identity. Again, the text creates the momentary possibility—on the plane of counterfactual anachronistic juxtaposition—of interoperability, suggesting that Edoites could have understood and even embraced Heisei morality and liberal Heisei values, allowing Edo to become a source of moral tradition and identity for Heisei Japanese readers, even as the text never lets viewers forget that this is a fiction and that the historical Edo was quite different.

By far *Samurai chanpurū*'s most noteworthy anachronism is its repeated and conspicuous insertion of contemporary hip-hop into the Edo past. The opening sequence is set to a hip-hop song, and the title screen displays the title on a vinyl record, as if the narrative is actually recorded on that medium, so central to hip-hop performance. The background music is frequently hip-hop, and sometimes hip-hop itself anachronistically makes its way into the diegetic space. At one point the protagonists encounter a man wearing a *yankī* (ヤンキー, rebellious youth) hairstyle who is a caricature of boastful youthful ambition. He proclaims that he is going to become *biggu* (ビッグ, big) one day, an anachronistic use of language that signals that his ambitions do not belong in this era. Indeed, he claims he will one day challenge the Tokugawa shogun himself. More notably, in order to inflate his own importance he has a hanger-on beatbox into a "microphone" (the end of a sword hilt) every time he makes an appearance.[44] This is patently absurd, and precisely because of that absurdity it creates a successful comic effect. At the same time, it also summons up the discourse on contemporary hip-hop and juxtaposes this discourse with the discourse on the Edo period. Neither discourse is overwritten, as the anachronism is too obviously counterfactual to create the impression that hip-hop actually existed in the seventeenth century. As Fitzgerald notes, "The worlds of hip-hop and samurai do not override one another—they *blend*."[45] However, this blending reflexively maintains the mutual foreignness of its two component elements: they are not allowed to dialectically merge into a single monologic narrative, but are

dialogically juxtaposed or superimposed. Nevertheless, the intertext of this juxtaposition suggests the possibility that hip-hop and the Edo period might be somehow interoperable. Ian Condry notes that Japanese hip-hop is an outlet for disaffected youth unwilling or unable to conform to mainstream culture's hegemonic norms: the school-to-salaryman pipeline. Hip-hop serves as a subversive alternative culture that rejects and critiques dominant cultural narratives. Condry writes that "Japanese hip-hop can be seen as a sphere of public debate, oriented towards youth . . . [it] functions as part of a public debate questioning mainstream political values."[46] By anachronistically juxtaposing hip-hop with the discourse on the Edo period, *Samurai chanpurū* creates a possibility—absurd and counterfactual, only in the realm of intertext—that the two are interoperable, opening up Edo as a source of identity for hip-hop youth. The text transgressively appropriates the source material of the dominant culture's narratives of Japaneseness (the samurai as Japaneseness, *ie* [household] society as Japaneseness, etc., all sourced from the Edo period) and turns it to the text's own ends, inserting hip-hop culture into the deep past of cultural identity. Viewers understand that this is not possible, and the dialogic anachronism does not try to monologically warp the past to meet the needs of the present. Rather, it playfully juxtaposes the two, allowing the possibility of interoperability to suggest itself.

In a related anachronism, Jin, the down-and-out samurai, calls on an old dojo master he is acquainted with, only to find that the latter has died. Rather than inherit his dojo and continue his tradition, his two sons have let the building fall into ruin, and instead have taken up graffiti as their new passion. Although historically there was graffiti in the Edo period, the graffiti depicted here is unmistakably the stylized word art of the present day (figure 5). The text literally transcribes postwar youth culture onto Edo spaces, but again the anachronistic nature of this transcription is too obvious to rewrite the discourse on the Edo period. When Jin questions the sons' unfilial behavior, they respond, "this isn't the kind of era where people inherit [their fathers'] house or art."[47] However, the seventeenth century was just such an era. This is clearly an anachronistic reference to the Heisei present. The two sons (who have anachronistic body piercings that solidify their image as modern and countercultural) can be taken as representative of contemporary youth who have no desire to follow in their parents' footsteps in the employment system that ensured prosperity for previous generations. However, the sons have "put everything we have" (*inochi kaketen*, 命かけてん) into graffiti, which they believe makes it "just the same as dad's

Figure 5. *Samurai chanpurū*, 2004. Two brothers fight over a floor tagged with modern graffiti while Jin watches. Copyright Shimoigusa Champloos.

art of the sword" (*oyaji no ken no michi to kawanne*, 親父の剣の道と変わんね). The brothers are engaged in an intractable rivalry, and so, since neither has the sword skill to settle their differences in a duel, Jin accepts a graffiti competition in place of a sword competition (*ken ni kawaru mono*, 剣に代わるもの). The two strive to tag ever more difficult or outrageous places, finally defacing Hiroshima Castle itself. Jin explains that this is "their own brand of revenge" (*yatsura nari no fukushū*, 奴らなりの復讐) against the daimyō who forced their father to commit suicide.[48]

This is a characteristic anachronistic juxtaposition of the discourse on samurai and the discourse on contemporary hip-hop culture. The samurai's heavily mythicized devotion to the art or way (*michi*) of the sword is juxtaposed with contemporary youth devotion to the art of graffiti. Even Jin, a more conventional samurai, agrees that graffiti can be a suitable replacement for the sword. Samurai duels, mythologized extensively in drama, novels, manga, television, and movies, are juxtaposed with graffiti competitions. And the famous samurai commitment to pursuing a vendetta to the ends of the earth is transposed onto the brothers' tagging of the daimyō's castle—significantly the castle of the daimyō who caused their father to kill himself, evoking the well-known *Kanadehon Chūshingura* (仮名手本忠臣蔵, The copybook storehouse of loyal retainers, better known in English as the Forty-seven samurai story) revenge story. It is absurd that Edo samurai

would accept graffiti as equivalent to their swords, or tagging as a replacement for their bloody vendettas. While the text draws these equivalencies between samurai and contemporary countercultural youth, it does so with a wink. The foregrounded, visually obvious anachronism of modern word art in the Edo world acknowledges the absurdity: graffiti cannot be monologically written into the Edo past. Yet the juxtaposition of graffiti and hip-hop culture with the various discourses on samurai creates an intertextual possibility of interoperability. Although these discourses are so obviously foreign, there might be a way for them to operate with each other. *Samurai chanpurū* thus destabilizes existing cultural associations with Edo and opens it up as a source for contemporary countercultural identity. The text subversively claims (even as it unabashedly acknowledges the absurdity of its claim) the revered icon of the most conservative strain of the dominant culture—the samurai—and deploys it instead as a source of identity for the counterculture. *Samurai chanpurū*'s irreverent play with history is farcical and preposterous, but its dialogic anachronisms accomplish real cultural work.

RIFFS ON TRADITION: INTEROPERABILITY IN VISUAL ART

The narratives I have examined in this chapter so far all rely heavily on visual elements to convey and register their anachronisms. In the remainder of this chapter, I turn away from narratives to the visual arts. Several notable contemporary artists have gained critical attention for combining modern and premodern styles and themes in a way that might be called anachronistic. I examine three such artists here: Murakami Takashi, Tenmyouya Hisashi, and Noguchi Tetsuya.

The Severing of Tradition in the Works of Murakami Takashi

Murakami Takashi (村上隆, b. 1962) has become one of the most prominent contemporary Japanese artists, with exhibitions in New York, Paris, Rome, London, and, of course, many cities throughout Japan. Due to this his works have garnered a great deal of critical attention and theorization. A significant portion of that theorization comes from the artist himself. Murakami holds a PhD in *nihonga* (日本画), a genre of painting formulated after the Meiji Restoration to formalize and protect painting in traditional Japanese styles with traditional materials. Murakami is fully versed in the language

of art theory and uses it to describe his own works to the critical establishment, sometimes earnestly, sometimes with a detectable strain of playfulness. Nina Cornyetz notes that

> [Murakami's] "discursive support" constitutes a sort of metafictional discourse in which the artist-creator is simultaneously his own interpreter, short-circuiting other ways of reading his artworks. Not only does his work proclaim "Look at this!" It also tells the spectator how to read the visual presentation; it firmly anchors the visual (image) within a symbolic frame. Moreover, much of his work interprets and comments on popular culture and otaku subculture. Critics reviewing Murakami's installations often quote or cite these interpretations—of his own and others' work. One might dub this a sort of masculinist discourse in which a master narrative by the authorial authority lays out the critical trajectory, indeed controls, or attempts to control, the terms of the critical discourse about himself, in place of a willingness to dispense with the fantasy of total self-knowledge.[49]

One of Murakami's self-interpretations that critics often quote or cite is his evaluation of himself as inheriting or continuing traditional Japanese art styles, particularly that of a group of Edo-period painters. A glance at any of Murakami's works—with his use of bright colors and cartoon figures—should invite suspicion of this claim. Murakami understands well the gaze that the West (and the Western art world in particular) directs at Japan, and it is possible that his claims of continuity between himself and premodern art tradition are an ironic send-up of orientalist expectations of a synchronic Japanese culture with essential, transhistorical traditions.[50] Dick Hebdige remarks that claims by the artist that his "superflat" style (discussed below) is a transhistorical indigenous Japanese phenomenon are "no doubt part of the deadpan serious joke that inheres within the project and is intrinsic to the paradoxical character of 'Superflat' as a 'Japanese' conceptualist conceit."[51]

And yet, Murakami sometimes seems quite serious about historical continuity. In his influential early essay "Superflat Manifesto" (2000), Murakami introduced his key critical term *super flatness*, a synchronic "sensibility that has contributed to and continues to contribute to the construction of Japanese culture, as a worldview, and . . . [that] is an original concept that links the past with the present and the future." He draws on art critic Tsuji Nobuo's theory that various overlooked "eccentric" (*kisō*, 奇想) painters of the Edo

period had similarities to contemporary manga and poster art.[52] He goes on to claim that the same "eccentric" composition style, especially the lack of depth and perspective, was brought to Japanese anime, although he is careful to note that this "is not to say that they were consciously molding their images after these models from the history of Japanese art," just that "the compositional dynamics of their works resembles that of the 'eccentric' artists to a startling degree."[53] Presumably, these animators, very much in dialogue with Western animation and modern art styles, were somehow also influenced by a hidden, transhistorical, essential predilection toward flatness in Japanese culture. Nevertheless, having established a connection between Edo art and anime, Murakami can claim an Edo connection for his own work, heavily informed as it is by modern otaku subculture. We can detect a nativist strain in Murakami's self-theorization. As Dong-Yeon Koh argues:

> The close linkage between otaku and Edo-style painting may demonstrate an alternative historical narrative in Japanese art. According to the dominant view, the tradition of ukiyo-e prints and the 17th-century Edo painting style (1614–1688) by the renowned Kano painters were replaced by modern or Western arts after the Meiji restoration (1868–1912). Therefore, to resurrect the connection between Edo arts before the Meiji restoration and the arts of contemporary Japan enables Murakami to provide an alternative interpretation of the origin and development of contemporary Japanese art.[54]

Hebdige similarly notes that "the excavation of forgotten or overlooked continuities like this one, between otaku and earlier Japanese art traditions, forms an important part of Murakami's national-historical redemption project: his battle with the demons of Americanization. Murakami's goal [is] to establish an organic line of connection across the centuries in Japanese representational aesthetics."[55] Murakami, then, seems to be attempting to create an actual organic continuity from Edo painters to himself through otaku culture, and posit himself as the natural inheritor of Tsuji's eccentrics. Furukawa Hiroaki notes that Murakami's super flat idea situates manga, anime, and otaku subculture at the end of a "legitimate and traditional" (*seitō de dentōteki na*, 正統で伝統的な) history of Japanese art.[56]

Tsuji's book on eccentrics was first published in 1970 but was republished in 1988, at the height of the 1980s "Edo boom," when popular interest in the Edo period suddenly exploded. This discourse centered on finding

similarities and equivalencies between Edo and 1980s Japan. Azuma Hiroki dismisses much of this discourse as part of "the narcissism that permeated Japanese society in the 1980s." Writing of the claim, popular in the eighties, that the Edo period was already postmodern, Azuma says this was merely a way to claim that Japan would be "easily able to embrace the process of post-modernization . . . [and] in this way Japan will emerge in the twentieth century as a leading nation."[57] The connections between Edo and the present day discovered in the eighties, then, are part of a pre-bubble-collapse triumphalism that explained Japan's economic success in terms of its unique cultural history (although these theories continued to be popular in the 1990s, after the economic bubble burst). Especially popular were theories that otaku culture somehow inherited the consumer culture of the Edo urban commoner. Okada Toshio has claimed that otaku are the true inheritors of Edo urban culture because they possess *tsū*, *takumi*, and *iki*. *Tsū* (通) in the Edo period meant a kind of "coolness" in the pleasure quarters, and was used to refer to those who were knowledgeable enough about pleasure quarter culture to navigate it successfully. Okada finds this quality in the modern otaku cultural connoisseurship and deep knowledge about popular culture. *Takumi* (匠), a penchant for examining and appreciating the skillful construction of objects, is reflected in the critical eye otaku cast on the construction of their favorite cultural objects. Finally, *iki* (粋) is similar to je ne sais quoi, referring to a certain ineffable stylishness possessed by those who have *tsū*. According to Okada, *iki* is reflected in the otaku's personal appreciation of style, which allows them to find value in cultural objects.[58] Okada is reaching here; *tsū* and *iki* in the Edo period point to a kind of romantic skill or competence that leveraged cultural knowledge. Nevertheless, such claims are typical in the search for equivalences between the Edo period and the late twentieth century. Murakami's declaration of a lineage between Edo painters, otaku culture, and himself partakes of and is authorized by this discourse.

As Azuma indicates, this discourse on Edo is due some reconsideration, as are Murakami's claims to be an inheritor of Edo art styles by virtue of imbibing of otaku visual culture. Murakami's works, rather, tend to highlight the absolute discontinuity between Edo art and contemporary pop culture. Murakami certainly interacts with the art of the past, but rather than inherit a continuity of themes and styles of Japanese tradition he reflexively appropriates and parodies them. His compositions summon up styles and techniques of the past only to emphasize their ultimate incompatibility with present-day culture. Murakami, in a word, uses the techniques of dia-

logic anachronism to juxtapose the visual styles of past and present, playfully putting them in contact while simultaneously drawing attention to the absurdity of the juxtaposition and thereby denying the possibility of monologic compatibility or continuity between the two. Murakami's works are not usually anachronistic in the subjects they depict, but they often layer styles or themes anachronistically to create this effect.

For example, take his massive painting *Kawaii—Vacances: Summer Vacation in the Kingdom of the Golden* (2008). Spread over six panels, the painting features myriad flowers painted in acrylic over gold leaf. The use of a polyptych canvas (in keeping with traditional Japanese paintings on doors and folding screens) and the use of the traditional Japanese craft of gold leaf evoke the art of the past. Yet painted over top are dozens of flowers in bright colors, with modern cartoon eyes and faces. Most are smiling with a wide-open mouth, while a few appear sad or angry, but all are unmistakably cute (the *kawaii* of the title), drawing on both contemporary cartoons and the iconography of cute mascot characters like Hello Kitty. Murakami's work features a recurring motif of flowers, which some have tried to locate in premodern painting traditions.[59] But visually these flowers belong firmly in the cartoon art of the present day. The painting therefore layers and juxtaposes art styles of the past and present, the traditional and contemporary. The juxtaposition of traditional (and valuable) materials and cute pop styles also mixes the valorized and the vulgar, the high and the low. This is probably not incidental, as Murakami's doctoral dissertation criticized *nihonga* as an art form that used precious mineral pigments to valorize certain themes, such as images of nature or the countryside.[60] Here and in his other works that use precious materials, Murakami uses the techniques of *nihonga* (usually associated with high art) ironically, in order to valorize low art or pop culture.

At the same time, the painting layers and juxtaposes past and present in a manner that is familiar to the discussion of anachronism here. The past and present exist simultaneously in the composition, summoned through their divergent art styles and juxtaposed. That anachronistic juxtaposition is apparent because the gold leaf and cartoon flowers are so incongruous. The painting does not monologically dissolve the past into the present or the present into the past to claim a continuity of Japanese visual art, but carefully separates the two styles and maintains their distinctiveness. It puts them in dialogue while maintaining them as mutually alien. This means that despite the *visual* flatness of the image (its lack of dimensionality),

it fails to achieve the flatness of *discourses* Murakami claims characterizes super flat, like "the moment when, in creating a desktop graphic for your computer, you merge a number of distinct layers into one . . . the moment when the layers of Japanese culture, such as pop, erotic pop, otaku, and H.I.S.-ism, fuse into one."[61] Despite this claim, past and present never fully merge into a single layer here; we can still perceive them as distinct, and therefore the image is dimensional on the level of the discourses it summons. The composition thus puts past and present in contact. Though distinct and incompatible, they interilluminate each other in the same manner as the narrative anachronisms examined in this chapter, opening each other up to new possibilities. *Kawaii—Vacances* ultimately suggests an interoperability between the art of the past and that of the present. Although the painting acknowledges the vast differences between Edo painting styles and modern anime-inspired pop art, it asks the viewer, with a wink, to consider whether they might not be interoperable—whether Edo artists might not be able to understand and appreciate cartoon flowers, and whether contemporary viewers might not understand and appreciate traditional flower compositions if updated with pop iconography. The painting cannot dialectically synthesize Edo and pop into a transhistorical Japanese visual style, but by layering and juxtaposing past and present it puts them into contact and mischievously suggests a paradoxical interoperability.

Marc Steinberg is thinking along similar lines in his analysis of Murakami's *Manji Fuji* (卍富士, 2001). The work consists of a traditional composition of two pine trees in front of a backdrop of Mount Fuji. Standing on one of the pine trees, however, are two cartoon monsters (one of which is Oval, one of Murakami's recurring characters) that are unmistakably native to modern pop culture. Steinberg notes the disjunction between the styles:

> Murakami establishes productive analogies between images separated by centuries, in some cases, and by decades, in others. . . . What Murakami ultimately does in his superflat catalogue is establish multiple series of double-articulations. In other words, he finds commonalities in compositional elements or content between two historically disparate works of art (these common elements can be on the level of figure, line or theme) and draws these elements out through the compositing of the works. . . . What he ultimately establishes, however, is not formal continuity between eras, but rather compositional or "elemental" continuity between two works of art. He also displays, on a meta-

> level, the dominance of [Azuma's] database mode of consumption. Thus we find again an element-based mode of reading-writing whereby Edo works are folded into works from Japan's present. . . . Edo is a database of elements capable of being composited with elements from the contemporary work with which it is juxtaposed.[62]

Steinberg identifies in Murakami's work the same apparatus that drives anachronism in the pop cultural works examined in this chapter, namely, the database mode of consumption described by Azuma. Elements of the Edo period and elements of the present day are extracted from a cultural database of affective elements and combined for pleasurable consumption without any narrative connection between them. Indeed, the lack of narrative continuity is what leads to the pleasure of consuming their unexpected juxtaposition. As Steinberg argues, this creates not continuity between eras—what I would call a monologic rewriting of history—but only continuity between certain artistic elements.

I largely agree with Steinberg's analysis, but with additional nuance: *Manji Fuji* does not create elemental continuity at all, but rather suggests artistic interoperability. The modern and traditional styles are too jarringly disjunctive to create a real sense of continuity between their elements. Even constitutive elements like lines or figures clearly belong to radically different registers. The anachronistic juxtaposition here actually rejects any continuity. Even as it playfully puts Edo painting and modern cartoon pop art together without the narrative history between them, their mutual foreignness constantly reminds viewers of their history of discontinuity. But *Manji Fuji* does suggest a kind of interoperability, which, again, maintains past and present as two foreign systems but suggests some sort of communication between them. In other words, the composition creates two paradoxical impressions: that there is no possible continuity between Edo art and contemporary pop art, and, at the same time, that they might have a point of commonality. While the painting forces viewers to acknowledge the deep discontinuities in Japanese art history, it also suggests with an ironic wink that Edo painters might be able to understand and operate in modern *yōkai* (妖怪, monster) anime, and that modern anime might be able to operate with backgrounds from Edo painting.

In *Kawaii–Vacances*, *Manji Fuji*, and many other of Murakami's earlier works, the dimensional layering of past and present is literal, a stylistically modern foreground layered over a stylistically traditional background. In

the 2010s, however, Murakami began moving away from inserting pop characters into traditional compositions and started imitating traditional styles more directly. Yet, despite the lack of visually clear layers of premodern and modern styles, his works still blend styles in a way that engenders unease or alienation, an effect that keeps the past and present in dialogue rather than synthesizing them into a monologue. His most significant work in this style is probably his 2012 painting *Gohyaku rakan*, (五百羅漢, *The 500 Arhats*). It was made in response to Japan's 2011 "triple disaster," the earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear meltdown that cost thousands of lives. The work is also inspired by the arhat scrolls of Kanō Kazunobu (狩野一信, 1816–63), which happened to be on display in Tokyo in spring 2011. Kanō's scrolls were informed by his own experience in the great Ansei earthquake of 1855, and they depict images of hell similar to disaster scenes in order to encourage Buddhist devotion.[63] Murakami's arhat painting is his effort to culturally mediate the tragedy by drawing on past artistic responses to disaster.

Murakami's use of line and figure in the massive, hundred-meter-long (328-foot-long) painting evokes traditional styles very strongly, with the exaggerated wrinkles, sharp musculature, and distended bellies often used to depict monsters and the elderly in traditional painting. Gone are the cute, pop-inspired characters of his earlier works. Many of the themes are traditional as well, depicting arhats in traditional activities such as praying and reading scrolls. Yet the painting is still very clearly modern. He uses bold, bright colors; arhats wear robes with iridescent, gradient colors and stand over a bright primary red background in one portion. Blue branching lines seem to radiate across this red background, recalling the line or lightning screen tone backgrounds used in manga to convey intensity or emotional weight. Elsewhere a bright blue demon opens its mouth to reveal a rainbow maw. These are colors and effects that are alien to the Edo past and clearly evoke the "register" of modern pop art. Closer inspection reveals that the background is made up of countless colored dots that resemble Ben Day dots, which were used in early comic art to simulate shading (and most notably used in pop art by Roy Lichtenstein, 1923–97). Finally, among all the arhats and folkloric monsters in the painting, Murakami includes a fictional monster from Miyazaki Hayao's (宮崎駿, b. 1941) animated film *Mononoke hime* (もののけ姫, Princess Mononoke, 1997).[64]

Gohyaku rakan evokes the styles of past and present clearly and deliberately. There is no definitive distinction between layers here: the Ben Day dots may be relegated to the background, but the figures drawn in a traditional

style are permeated with present-day colors. Yet on the level of discourse, the two layers—past and present—remain distinct. The painting is anachronistic, as both past and present are easily discernable in it. The use of modern color and pop expression with traditional lines and themes means that the viewer is always reminded of the incongruity between them. We cannot help but always be aware that Murakami is mixing incompatible styles. We see the work he is doing with his juxtaposing of Edo and contemporary pop art. The painting can never (and does not seek to) monologically rewrite art history to convince viewers that Edo painting used such colors, or that traditional Buddhist figures are perfectly natural in contemporary art. And yet, the painting is compelling. Even as it calls attention to the incompatibility of the two styles, it juxtaposes them for the viewer to show how they work together. In other words, it hints at interoperability, at the possibilities for contact and exchange between Edo and modern painting, even as it highlights the discontinuity between them, the ruptures in Japanese art history.

Therefore, despite Murakami's claims that he represents a lineage of traditional Japanese art that he has inherited in smooth continuity from the Edo period, his works often highlight the impossibility of such continuity. He never simply retraces old styles. His works put past and present in contact in a way that foregrounds disjuncture, anachronistically. His impulse is dialogic, putting past and present in dialogue rather than establishing a monologic continuity of Japanese art. Michael Dylan Foster writes of Murakami that "his is a particularly sophisticated citational practice, a cross-genre, intertextual game that quotes not only from art but also from religious iconography, folkloric imagery, and popular and commercial cultural products. He is a hip-hop deejay, in a sense, sampling widely but with impeccable taste, suturing together modern pop tunes, rap, classical music, religious chants, and folk songs into something completely derivative but wholly original, completely traditional but wholly contemporary. He is, as it were, a master of allusion."[65] Such allusion or sampling is interesting precisely because the sources are recognizable, and the finished whole is discernable as a bricolage. Murakami shows us his work. We see how he draws on past and present in his compositions, and for this reason they maintain the mutual foreignness of past and present. But they also playfully suggest the interoperability of Edo and contemporary pop art styles, indicating points where these styles can productively exchange ideas even as the disjuncture between them is left in place.

Defiantly Appropriating the Past in the Paintings of Tenmyouya Hisashi

Tenmyouya Hisashi (天明屋尚, b. 1966) has not enjoyed the international acclaim of Murakami but has had a productive career in Japan. In a way he is Murakami's complement. Both come out of a *nihonga* tradition that they have largely rejected, and both heavily allude to the past, but while Murakami slyly quotes from cute mascots and otaku stylings, hiding social commentary behind the emptiness of consumer culture, Tenmyouya's art is defiant, sarcastic, challenging, and often overtly political. Tenmyouya is a proponent of an art movement he founded called *neo-nihonga* (ネオ日本画), which rejects the carefully protected styles and hierarchical world of *nihonga* to paint new themes, with new materials like acrylic. He writes that *neo-nihonga* "quotes from the classical essence [*essensu*, エッセンス] of Japanese art to portray the present, and aims to be a modern *nihonga*."[66] Like Murakami, he seeks to create continuities between art styles of the past and present. He is a proponent of what he calls the BASARA style (he uses capitalized, Latin script letters), a reference to the *basara* (婆娑羅) aesthetic of the early medieval period, which emphasized ostentatious stylings that flouted social propriety and hierarchy.[67] Representative of this aesthetic were the *basara daimyō*, warlords who came to power in the sociopolitical instability of the Northern and Southern Courts period (*Nanbokuchō*, 南北朝, 1337–92), after the collapse of imperial and shogunal authority. These daimyō embraced a gaudy and ostentatious aesthetic and had little respect for social or political niceties. Tenmyouya proposes a lineage "connecting the gorgeous and ostentatious art of the Northern and Southern Courts period *basara*, to the wild eccentrics [*kabukimono*, 傾奇者] at the end of the Warring States period, to *ukiyo-e* [pictures of the floating world] artists at the end of the Edo period, to modern decorative culture and *yankī* [rebellious youth] culture." This lineage is the polar opposite of Zen culture *wabi-sabi* (medieval preference for the asymmetrical, aged, and understated) aesthetics, which has become the authoritative representation of "Japanese culture."[68] Tenmyouya therefore tries to connect to a transhistorical lineage of ostentatious and defiant art with his own BASARA style, which often features tattooed bodies and countercultural themes.

Tenmyouya often uses techniques similar to Murakami, mixing traditional and modern styles, techniques, and subjects in ways that are visually and obviously anachronistic. However, the effect he creates is often quite

different from Murakami's. Take, for example, his *Japanese Spirit* (2000, titled in English) series of paintings, which Tenmyouya says he made to be viewed by foreigners, whose "stereotyped misconceptions" (*sutereotaipuna gokai*, ステレオタイプな誤解) about Japan the paintings magnify. The paintings are done in acrylic on gold leaf, evoking and layering traditional and modern art techniques much like Murakami's *Kawaii—Vacances*. The paintings all feature tattooed figures in loincloths, piloting bizarre, fantastical machines powered by foot pedals (yet spouting fiery exhaust), with one or more weapons attached. The machines are weirdly modern, yet clearly unrelated to any modern, westernized aesthetic. They are adorned with Japanese motifs like dragons, divination wheels, lanterns, and slips of paper with Japanese words. *Japanese Spirit #5* (*Japanese Spirit gogōki*, 五号機, 2002), for example, features a man in an Edo-style topknot and loincloth, with tattooed arms, who hangs suspended from a strange, insectile, six-legged robot (figure 6). He powers it with bicycle pedals and aims what looks like a machine gun from his perch. Japanese lanterns hang from spindly arms displaying slogans like "number one" (*ichiban*, 一番) and "Japanese spirit" (*yamato-damashii*, 大和魂). Paper slips pasted to the machine sport slogans like "invincible" (*tenka muteki*, 天下無敵). The painting is unmistakably anachronistic, mixing traditional techniques (gold leaf) and subjects (figures with topknots) with modern techniques (acrylic) and themes (machines) in absurd ways. If we take the artist at his word (with his claim that this painting is supposed to exaggerate the stereotypes foreigners hold about Japan), we can detect a sarcastic attempt to transhistorically incorporate orientalist essentialisms of Japaneseness—an affinity for technology or engineering and a samurai-informed warrior spirit. The painting envisions what it would look like if these synchronic essentialisms were actually true, if an affinity for technology and a warrior spirit compatible with modern militaries really were attested synchronically, across time, in the Edo (or medieval) period and in the present. The highly visible anachronism, then, the juxtaposing of past and present in such a way as to highlight their incompatibility, sarcastically highlights just how ridiculous it is that such "Japanese" characteristics might be attested transhistorically. Its mixture of the past and present is designed not to engender compatibility between them, but precisely to show just how preposterous such a compatibility would be. A "Japaneseness" that attests technical affinity and soldierly devotion throughout history would look like this, the painting says, and this is ridiculous. Therefore, the composition forces viewers to acknowledge the absurdity of such orientalist essentialisms.

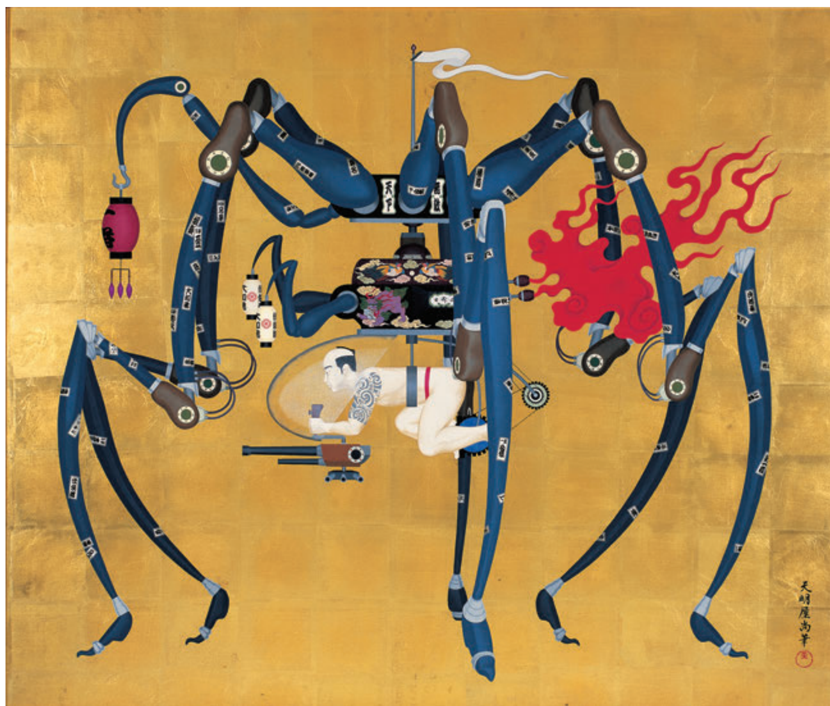


Figure 6. Tenmyouya Hisashi, *Japanese Spirit #5*, 2002. A man in a loincloth pilots a fantastical spider machine with guns and traditional Japanese motifs. Copyright Tenmyouya Hisashi.

In certain other works, Tenmyouya does seem to suggest an interoperability between past and present in the same way that Murakami does. However, he tends to suggest an interoperability between the past and contemporary counterculture, rather than otaku cuteness. For example, his *Basara B-Boy B-Girl* (婆娑羅B-BOY B-GIRL編, 2002) features a man wearing a skirt of samurai armor and a bow and arrows on his back, standing with arms crossed below a hip-hop-esque gold chain and hoodie; the hoodie sports the *tatemono* (立物, crest) of a samurai helmet. In front of him kneels a woman in a kimono, her stance aggressive. One arm is bare, removed from its sleeve, while with the other she shoulders a boom box. The points of a katana sprout from the sides of the boom box (figure 7).

As the title suggests, the painting mixes discourses on *basara* samurai of the medieval period with discourses on modern hip-hop youth. The anachronism is dialogic, as the hoodie with a samurai *tatemono* and the boom box

Figure 7. Tenmyouya Hisashi, *Basara B-Boy B-Girl*, 2002. Tenmyouya imagines a modern B-Boy and B-Girl anachronistically in the ostentatious medieval *basara* style. Copyright Tenmyouya Hisashi.

with katana points are too ridiculous and too obviously from incompatible registers to rewrite either the discourse on *basara* samurai or that on contemporary hip-hop. This painting shares similarities with the hip-hop anachronisms in *Samurai chanpurū*. The juxtaposition of past and present maintains the elements of both as distinct, impossible to synthesize into a new monologue. Yet, with a wink at its own paradoxical absurdity, it nonetheless puts past and present into contact to suggest interoperability between these foreign systems. It acknowledges—even highlights the fact—that hip-hop b-boys and b-girls are not compatible with *basara* samurai. But by juxtaposing the two, it also highlights the points of commonality between them, in their defiance of authority and their ostentatious stylings, and suggests that *basara* samurai might have been able to operate in present-day hip-hop cul-

ture, and that present-day countercultural youths might have been at home in the *basara* culture of the medieval period. Despite Tenmyouya's stated desire to highlight a lineage or continuity leading from *basara* daimyō to *kabukimono* to modern *yankī* and hip-hop youth, his dialogic anachronisms actually highlight the impossibility of smooth continuity. They rather suggest interoperability, putting discourses in dialogue to interilluminate each other—opening up the discourse on the past by suggesting that there is precedent for a defiant, flamboyant, counterculture, for example—while carefully maintaining the juxtaposed discourses as distinct, and not rewriting them into a monologic unitary voice.

Displacing the Samurai in the Works of Noguchi Tetsuya

If Noguchi Tetsuya (野口哲哉, b. 1980) has not enjoyed quite the level of renown as Murakami or Tenmyouya, his playfully anachronistic paintings and sculptures are a natural subject for the present study. Noguchi's works nearly all depict mournful-looking samurai in full armor. Often, however, something in the composition is obviously and humorously anachronistic. For example, his *The Tap* (2020) from his *21st Century Light Series* (titled in English) is a painting of a samurai wearing armor and helmet, face illuminated only by the light of the smartphone screen on which he is tapping (figure 8).

Noguchi's samurai sculptures are often quite whimsical, populated by armored samurai listening to earphones, flying with a rocket backpack, or riding playground equipment. His 2013 sculpture *The Ring Ring Armour* features a samurai wearing a helmet made from a classic black rotary telephone, and armor decorated with various circle motifs that evoke the rotary dial (figure 9). The figure reaches up to his own head as if to answer the phone there. Again, the iconic black corded telephone is used to summon up the discourse on modernity and recent technology and juxtapose it for effect, just as in Tezuka Osamu's *Hi no tori* (Phoenix) and even, as discussed in the introduction, *Star Trek*. The anachronistic juxtaposition is silly but entertaining, and puts together past and present in unexpected and ingenious combinations, suggestively allowing them to form new connections.

Unlike Murakami and Tenmyouya, Noguchi does not seem to have a stated agenda to create continuities between themes or styles of the past and present. Indeed, his largest exhibit to date is titled *This Is Not a Samurai* (in English), foregrounding the way that his works offer not a historical

Figure 8. Noguchi Tetsuya, *The Tap*, 2020. A samurai's face illuminated by the smartphone he is using. Copyright Tetsuya Noguchi, courtesy of Gallery GYOKUEI.

representation of samurai, but rather a whimsically playful fiction.[69] Makino Yūji compares Noguchi to Tenmyouya, noting that they both focus on depictions of samurai with detailed realism. The difference between them, according to Makino, is the absence of *yankī*-ness in Noguchi's work, which gives it a completely different character.[70] Noguchi, it seems, is not interested in connecting samurai of the past to contemporary countercultural youth and juvenile delinquents.

That is not to say that his anachronistic renderings of samurai are devoid of pointed sociopolitical commentary. For example, his 2009 sculpture *Shaneru samurai chakkō zō* (シャネル侍着甲像, A Chanel samurai wearing armor) features a seated man wearing samurai armor, but the word CHANEL is written on the helmet, and the logo of the Chanel luxury brand lines the skirt and neck armor and appears in relief on the breastplate. The sculpture and accompanying painting put the discourses on samurai and contemporary luxury consumerism in anachronistic contact in entertaining yet productive ways. On the one hand, discourses on samurai seriousness, moral aloofness, and disdain for lucre are punctured by the association with modern consumerism. Simultaneously, the discourse on late capital-

Figure 9. Noguchi Tetsuya, *The Ring Ring Armour*, 2013. Another example of the black Bakelite telephone used as a symbol of modernity, this sculpture features a samurai anachronistic armor with a telephone motif. Copyright Tetsuya Noguchi, courtesy of Gallery GYOKUEI.

ism that criticizes conspicuous consumption of luxury goods is deflated by contact between consumption and the valorized discourse of the samurai. The sculpture puts modern and premodern emblems in contact, and forces the viewer to consider them together despite their belonging to normally incompatible registers. Noguchi says about this piece, "samurai's lives were measured in salaries that were determined by the success of their efforts on the battlefield according to third-party witnesses . . . they needed something that would be recognizable by anyone at a glance as their 'individual identification design.'"[71] The emblems on samurai armor, then, are designed to advance a samurai's social position through third-party recognizability. The anachronistic juxtaposition here allows brand logos and samurai crests and designs to interilluminate each other, and cleverly suggests that perhaps conspicuously visible logos of luxury brands serve the same function as samurai armor designs, advancing the wearer's social position with symbols easily recognizable to third parties. The anachronism does not suggest a continuity between samurai *kamon* (家紋, house crests) and modern luxury branding, as the paradoxicality of the anachronistic juxtaposition ensures that the two discourses stay separate. Yet it puts them in dialogue, opening each up to new considerations and implying a kind of interoperability. Despite the vast differences between medieval or Edo samurai and modern luxury consumers, in this one area of conspicuously displaying emblems for social advantage, the two might be able to understand and operate in each other's worlds.

• • •

The narrative and visual works in this chapter attempt to answer a difficult question: how can the past be engaged with productively and be reclaimed as a source of identity for the present when there are so many discontinuities between past and present, to the extent that "the past is a foreign country," in L. P. Hartley's oft-quoted phrasing?[72] How can one form a connection but acknowledge that distance, and at the same time avoid the fascist impulse to, as Linda Hutcheon writes, "order the present through the past or make the present look spare in contrast to the richness of the past . . . to void or avoid history?"[73] The answer these works offer is dialogic anachronism, a juxtaposition of past and present that highlights its own impossibility even as it puts their respective discourses into contact. This means that they necessarily abandon any attempt to reinterpret history monologically. They show us—with a wink—the ways they distort history. The most they

can do, then, is suggest interoperability, a possibility that past and present have some language in common, some way of communicating or exchanging ideas, affect, and symbols, even though they are two completely incompatible systems that will never be resolved into synthesis.

There is, perhaps, a possibility of slippage here between the dialogic and monologic. If the project of these anachronisms is to suggest interoperability between past and present, then if they succeed in convincing readers or viewers of this interoperability, hasn't the past been rewritten? Might not a less well-informed viewer who has encountered few other representations of the past accept these texts as an accurate representation of that past, without the benefit of access to other historical discourse? But even such a viewer would not be convinced of a rewritten historical *narrative*: that Edo really had televisions, dome stadiums, and rimless glasses. And those highly visible, comedic, ironic anachronisms also create alienation from the text and estrangement from its representation of the culture of the past. We know these texts are up to something; their representation of history is clearly playful rather than accurate, and therefore we reflexively doubt their representations of any cultural *compatibility* between past and present. This is why I have developed the idea of *interoperability* in this chapter instead, to describe a process by which two systems that remain vastly different and incompatible (think of Macs and PCs, for example) can still share information between them (e.g., through modern networking protocols). One cannot be mistaken for the other or replace the other, but meaningful exchange is still possible. The obvious anachronisms call attention to the fundamental incompatibility of past and present, juxtaposing without synthesizing them, but the texts playfully suggest a protocol that could connect past and present with a commonality: dining culture, perhaps, or youth counterculture. Unlike Mori Ōgai, who could convince readers that Edo samurai really possessed a subjectivity *no different* from modern subjectivity, these texts are too noticeably counterfactual to convince readers or viewers that Edo samurai really ate hamburgers, drove mopeds, performed hip-hop, or partook of any of the other absurdities presented in this chapter. Instead, these texts open up history to reconsideration and the possibility of connections with the present that are unexpected in the discourse of received history. While the past is allowed to remain a foreign country, the possibility of exchange with it is opened up: past and present are shown to be dialogically interoperable rather than monologically consistent. These texts may seem to lack the seriousness and spiritual weight of traditional techniques to create a

national or cultural identity, what Ernest Gellner calls the "phenomenon of *Gesellschaft* using the idiom of *Gemeinschaft*."[74] Interoperability cannot monologically construct an organic, wholesome community in the past that can become the origin of present-day mobile society. Yet, it is perhaps precisely for this reason that these works engage with the past in this way, as a responsible way to reclaim history while avoiding the monologic pitfalls of fascist and nationalist history.

5

Playing with Samurai

Anachronism in Edo Literature

In his 1816 social commentary *Seji kenmonroku* 世事見聞録 (An account of things seen and heard in the world), the pseudonymous Buyō Inshi (武陽隠士) writes:

> Recently there have been a lot of so-called popular authors [*gesakusha*, 戯作者] who distort people's sentiments. They take true history and proper interpretations [*jitsuroku shōsetsu*, 実録正説] and twist them out of shape, mix them with various groundless rumors, and rewrite them according to the emotions of the present day. Their innovations [*shukō*, 趣向] are, first of all, rooted in relations between men and women, mixing in popular dramas, arts, and prostitutes. They weave in monsters and ghosts. They make the customs of the ancients and their moral and filial deeds into farce. These are innovations that twist people's emotions and encourage debauchery. This popular literature has spread widely in the world, and there are few people who seek out proper Confucian classics and respectable books even when they are cheap. On the other hand, many people buy these popular books even when they are more expensive than the classics. Every year when new books are published they spread to every domain. They are written to please women and girls especially.[1]

Buyō is referring to the fairly well-known narrative technique, among authors and playwrights of the Edo period, of inserting new innovations (*shukō*, 趣向) into received narratives and their settings (*sekai*, 世界). Here

he complains of popular authors who have written commercially successful books that innovate historical narratives by incorporating elements of contemporary popular culture, the theater, and the pleasure quarters. In other words, they produce anachronistic works. Buyō speaks to both the popularity of anachronistic texts and their subversive potential. Therefore, in this chapter I turn to the texts of the Edo period as a fruitful space for examining the function of dialogic anachronism. Edo-period authors and playwrights were capable of historicizing their own practice, and could deploy dialogic anachronism to make past and present interanimate each other, just like any modern author, painter, or manga artist.

Buyō Inshi was likely a low-ranking samurai, and thus a peripheral member of the politically dominant class, whose dominance was legitimated by both history and Confucian ideology. It is no wonder, then, that there is a detectable crankiness in his writing about authors polluting good old stories and outselling Confucian classics. Katsuya Hirano writes that the samurai political masters of the Edo period sought to discipline the body away from excesses of desire and toward productive labor in the rice economy. Therefore, "the shogunate swiftly discerned that the body—especially that of the common person—should be understood exclusively in terms that were both moral and utilitarian: the body was valuable only as an instrument satisfying through its productive function the moral imperative to preserve social unity."[2] Consequently, the spectacle of unproductive bodies, of people at play, was a form of resistance against the dominant ideology. Harry D. Harootunian notes that a popular culture of play "was a system of signification that recognized that the fixed boundaries and social identities established to guide people had become increasingly uncertain as society grew larger and more complex."[3] Play itself, in other words, was a way to dispute the hegemonic sociopolitical order. It flouted the disciplinary regime, even if it did not contain a political dimension, in the modern sense of potential to reform or alter power. And this contestatory power of play extended to textual forms of play as well, to the playful literature (*gesaku*) that Buyō bemoans. As Glynne Walley writes, "the play offered . . . on the pages of *gesaku* constituted a temporary reprieve from Tokugawa society, with its all-pervasive ideology of noble self-sacrifice in service of an oppressive, morally determined class system. And like the theater and the licensed quarter, *gesaku* constituted a challenge to that system, regardless of whether *gesaku* texts satirized it or not. Play itself, and particularly the existence of people who subsisted on play, was an affront to the system."[4] No wonder, then, that

Buyō is unhappy with popular literature that punctures the solemnity of history and turns it into play.

In addition to the subversiveness of play writ large, there is also the specific danger represented by the carnivalization of history, an important discourse for samurai and Tokugawa legitimation. Much intellectual work was done to justify the political ascendancy of samurai and their appropriation of wealth and productivity. As Hirano writes:

> The only way the shogunate could legitimize the idea of this fundamental unevenness in wealth and its distribution and consumption was to naturalize it by transposing hierarchical social relations onto a cosmic plane and representing them as immune from forces of historical change. In other words, it could justify the disproportionate economic relations only by supplying a normative dignity (cosmic-human unity) to the hierarchical arrangement of social relations. Furthermore, what enabled the shogunate to reinforce its claim on "natural" or "inevitable" unevenness was the official discourse that moralized the observation of the given hierarchies.[5]

This moralization of hierarchical power relations occurred, at least in part, in the discourse of history. The Tokugawa *bakufu* (shogunate) was as invested as any modern nation in legitimating its rule and power through history, and it enforced a politically congenial interpretation of history through censorship. This legitimizing discourse had two main focuses, the first of which was the immediate history of the Tokugawa clan itself. A strict publishing ban on depicting or discussing any shogun past or present, as well as daimyō and samurai officials, protected the Tokugawa regime and the *bakuhan* (幕藩, *bakufu* and domains) system from caricature or unflattering portrayals, although such portrayals seem to have nonetheless circulated relatively widely in manuscript form.[6] The Tokugawa regime knew that its legitimacy was vulnerable, since Tokugawa Ieyasu (徳川家康, 1543–1616) had betrayed Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣秀吉, 1537–98) in order to seize the power the latter had consolidated. Therefore, in the early seventeenth century the *bakufu* undertook several projects to legitimate itself, most importantly securing the patent of authority from the emperor in 1603 and having Ieyasu declared *seii taishōgun* (征夷大将軍, barbarian-subjugating great general), the title that had been given to Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147–99) in 1192, securing his legitimacy as the first shogun.[7] In addition, the *bakufu* estab-

lished a shogunal academy of Confucian studies headed by Hayashi Razan (林羅山, 1583–1657), a scholar who did important intellectual work in adapting Chinese Neo-Confucian thought to Japanese institutions and equating the Tokugawa *bakufu* with Chinese emperors.[8] It furthermore used tools of diplomacy to establish itself as the internationally recognized ruler of Japan, legitimating itself at home.[9] The *bakufu* also heavily censored and controlled portrayals of the Tokugawa rise to power in the late sixteenth century, when the regime's legitimacy was most fragile. The shogunate understood the power that history has to legitimize or delegitimize political hegemony, and deviations from approved interpretations of Tokugawa history were harshly punished, often with execution.

The other focus of the legitimizing discourse of history centered on the legitimacy of warrior rule in general. The shogunate always had to contend with a rival center of power: the imperial court. Although the emperor was effectively powerless long before the seventeenth century, formidable discourses of legitimation—especially the Shinto discourse of divine descent—still afforded the emperor sovereignty. In these discourses the shogunate was only legitimated by the transparent political fiction that the emperor had willingly yielded the tiresome governance of the country to the shogun. Therefore, samurai historians created a new historiography that framed the samurai rise to power as an inevitable and legitimate process. Although official historians took different stances on the institution of the emperor, they were all invested in legitimizing the existing Tokugawa sociopolitical order by using Confucian historical philosophy, which postulated a Mandate of Heaven that would fall on virtuous rulers (and that unvirtuous rulers would lose).[10]

These histories largely claimed that the imperial institution had lost the Mandate in the fourteenth century.[11] The *Ōdai ichiran* (王代一覧, Summary of rulers, 1652), edited by samurai scholar Hayashi Gahō (林鵞峰, 1618–80), for example, proposed that Emperor Go-Daigo (後醍醐, 1288–1339) had lost the Mandate through moral degeneracy. As Kate Wildman Nakai notes, Hayashi "describes Godaigo in the terms standardly used for one whose actions bring about the loss of the dynasty's mandate: Godaigo was shortsighted in his governmental decisions, arbitrary in meting out punishments and rewards, receptive to the suggestions of a scheming consort but resistant to the remonstrances and advice of loyal associates. Consequently, the 'realm viewed buke [samurai] rule as preferable.'"[12] John Brownlee notes the same stance in Arai Hakuseki's (新井白石, 1657–1725) *Tokushi yoron* (読史余論, Supplemental discourses on the reading of history, 1712). In the Confu-

cian framework, "put to the test, the Emperors failed, and therefore power inevitably passed from their hands. 'One cannot say,' writes Hakuseki, 'that Emperor Go Toba exercised virtuous government.' Emperor Go-Daigo also failed: 'Emperor Go Daigo was lacking in virtue. Thus when the time came to destroy the Hōjō, despite his repeated attempts to establish a restoration of the imperial government, the empire fell into disorder.'"[13] Consequently, in these histories imperial rule was delegitimized from the time of Go-Daigo's reign in the fourteenth century, and the samurai rise to power thereafter was a natural and legitimate process, actually preferred by the nation in Hayashi's claim. Hakuseki even creates a new periodization, with nine stages of imperial rule ending with Go-Daigo, and five stages of samurai rule culminating in the present.[14] Thus, as Brownlee notes, "his nine stages of imperial rule constitute a chronicle of decline of imperial power, whereas the five stages of military rule are a tale of glorious rise of the new rulers of Japan," culminating in the establishment of the Tokugawa regime, "the auspicious culmination of all historical development."[15]

During the Edo period, therefore, historiography was a major force in legitimating samurai rule in general and the Tokugawa shogunate in particular. Special emphasis is placed on virtue and morality in this discourse: the imperial institution lost the right to rule because of a lack of moral character, and samurai gained that right because they had it in abundance. Samurai morality was thus a cornerstone of power legitimation, especially the Confucian values of filial piety and loyalty, mixed with the virtues of martial prowess more particular to Japanese samurai. Cultural products that highlight samurai immorality, in turn, can be read as sites of resistance against samurai power. Edo-period novels, plays, comic books, and comic dialogues set in the Edo present are rife with the sorts of impoverished, petty, overbearing, boorish, vain, quick-tempered samurai that people might be all too familiar with, and this can and has been read as *ugachi* (穿ち, drilling or digging), subversively poking holes in the official ideology of samurai morality and the power it legitimated (even if such texts rarely offered an alternative to that power).[16]

Narratives with historical settings, however, required more careful negotiation. The history of the *sengoku jidai* (戦国時代, Warring States period, ending with the Tokugawa consolidation of Japan) was, again, a sensitive area for the regime, and accordingly literary treatments of this era are fraught. Earlier history, however, was distant enough to be mined more comfortably. The histories and semihistorical narratives of the medieval period—*Heike*

monogatari (Tale of the Heike), *Gikeiki* (The Chronicle of Yoshitsune), *Soga monogatari* (曽我物語, Tale of the Soga brothers), *Genpei jōsuiki* (源平盛衰記, Rise and Fall of the Genji and Heike), *Taiheiki* (太平記, Tale of Great Peace), *Ōninki* (応仁記, The Chronicle of the *Ōnin* War), and so on—are full of riveting stories of samurai courage, valor, loyalty, and martial prowess. As such they naturally make for engaging entertainment, but they were also important sources of moral legitimation for the samurai class, propping up the historical narrative of the legitimate samurai takeover of political power and the continued dominance of the samurai caste in the present. In the Edo period there was generally a move toward playful reworkings and pastiche, but reworkings had to be careful not to rewrite history in such a way as to undermine this narrative, at least not overtly. Unlike Tezuka Osamu, Edo authors and playwrights could probably not have portrayed Minamoto no Yoshitsune (1159–89) as an immoral, duplicitous manipulator.[17]

This is, perhaps, one reason anachronism appears so frequently in Edo narratives: dialogic anachronisms are so obviously ahistorical that they cannot rewrite history. Texts that deployed dialogic anachronisms placed themselves firmly in the realm of the absurd and fictitious. They could never claim to actually represent history, and so they could never undermine official history or run afoul of the censorious samurai regime (although what, exactly, counted as undermining official ideology was a shifting line, with periods of leniency punctuated by strict reforms). Nonetheless, while the anachronisms in Edo literature could not rewrite history, they could do work on it by constructing a new intertext with the present and creating a new reading of the past. Anachronisms in Edo culture, even as playful and absurd as they are, can be read as a site of resistance against the historical discourses that legitimated samurai sociopolitical supremacy. The Edo period certainly had tendencies toward playful pastiche and intertextuality—*naimaze* (綯交ぜ, the admixture of disparate things for the sheer pleasure of the incongruous juxtaposition) was a recognized feature of Edo aesthetics and is evident in most of the texts discussed in this chapter. The pleasure found in this kind of unlikely bricolage is similar to Fredric Jamesons' example, discussed in Chapter 1, of the pleasure of a narrative describing Schinkel visiting Manchester. It is quite possible that Jean-François Lyotard is applicable here: that Edoites found pleasure in language games, and that any attempt to rewrite history would be a form of terror that would truncate the pleasure of the language game by removing one of the discourses available for play. While this may have been part of the reason for the prevalence of dialogic anachronism

in Edo narratives, the realities of power also likely played a significant role. Dialogic anachronism allowed texts to play with history, superimpose the present onto it, and create a new text that left official history in place rather than risk upsetting power by rewriting the history that legitimated it.

ŌMU-GAESHI BUNBU NO FUTAMICHI

Ōmu-gaeshi bunbu no futamichi (鸚鵡返文武二道, Parroting back, the two paths of pen and sword, 1789) by Koikawa Harumachi (恋川春町, 1744–89) is a *kibyōshi* (黄表紙, "yellow cover" comic book), a usually humorous subcategory of *kusazōshi* (草双紙, illustrated prose writings).[18] Like the verbal-visual narratives of the postwar era studied in previous chapters, this and other *kibyōshi* are rife with gag anachronisms. The *bunbu no futamichi* of the title, which I have rendered as "the two paths of pen and sword," references the contemporary samurai ideal. Ideologically the samurai reimagined themselves as Confucian scholar-gentlemen during the long Pax Tokugawa, when educated administrators were needed more than warriors. However, samurai were still expected to be warriors, even if there were few opportunities for battle. Therefore, samurai were supposed to master the "two paths" of both scholarly and martial arts. This was a demanding ideal that many samurai failed to live up to, leading to periodic reforms. *Ōmu-gaeshi bunbu no futamichi* was published amid one such movement, the sweeping Kansei reforms (1787–93), and takes as its topic a comically inept effort to restore training in the twin paths to an indolent samurai caste. The text cannot directly comment on current affairs, so it is set during the Engi era (延喜, 901–23). However, the text is shot through with dialogic anachronisms, and the change in era does more than merely dodge censorship.

This text features the son of Sugawara no Michizane (菅原道真, 845–903), a well-known historical figure who was posthumously deified as Tenjin (天神), the god of learning. The fictionalized eldest son of Michizane, Kan Shūsai (菅秀才), while perhaps based on Michizane's historical son Sugawara no Takami (菅原高視, 876–913), became an established character in Kabuki and *ningyō-jōruri* (puppet theater) plays. By including him, *Ōmu-gaeshi bunbu no futamichi* intertextually references the tropes and characters of the Edo popular theater. In this text, Kan Shūsai, reasoning that no one could better reform the decadent samurai of his day than the great men of "ancient times," summons them. Historical figures like the twelfth-century

Minamoto no Yoshitsune show up from Kan Shūsai's future. This is completely anachronistic, a fact that is acknowledged by none other than Yoshitsune himself: "I'm terribly pleased that you have selected people as unworthy as ourselves. However, we are from a much later era than you. Since you wanted people of old, perhaps there has been some mistake." In response, someone says, "I know the era is wrong, but this is a comic book, so just go with it" (the statement is unattributed; it may be Kan Shūsai's response, or it may be the implied author responding to his character's criticism).[19] This overtly acknowledged anachronism slyly implies that the narrative present of the text is actually the Edo present day, from the perspective of which Yoshitsune and his fellows really would be ancients. However, it also signals that this is a text where historicity is suspended, and where various eras will be juxtaposed and allowed to interilluminate each other, opening up the possibility of a new intertext between them. Glynne Walley notes this particular anachronism as an example of *fukiyose* (吹き寄せ, the "blowing together" of random disparate elements for comic effect). He writes,

> most readers would have noticed the incongruity created by bringing into an early tenth century imperial audience a figure from the late twelfth century (Yoshitsune), his uncle from the early/middle twelfth century (Tametomo), and another figure thought to be modeled after early fifteenth-century personages (Oguri). But just in case, Harumachi has Yoshitsune call attention to the fact. . . . The fun of the scene lies precisely in the anachronism, in how the wind of authorial convenience has swept these . . . figures into proximity. The arbitrariness or improbability of the connection between hypertext and a multiplicity of hypotexts was a point early modern readers were expected to appreciate.[20]

Edo readers noticed ahistoricity and anachronism and appreciated their comic effect, a fact authors were careful to exploit. However, while the text relies on the seeming arbitrariness or improbability of the assemblage of eras and historical figures for its comedy, the clever use of these figures to open up historical discourses to new interpretations suggests that their inclusion is hardly random or arbitrary.

The various training regimens that these "ancients" implement are farcically incompetent. Oguri no Hangan Kaneuji (小栗の判官兼氏), a legendary horseman, reasons that his disciples should learn the feel of many different mounts, so he has his students take turns being horse and rider. The

Figure 10. Koikawa Harumachi, *Ōmu-gaeshi bunbu no futamichi*, 1789. Oguri no Hangan Kaneuji's students bridle and ride each other as part of his horsemanship training. Tokyo Metropolitan Library.

students bridle and ride one another, an arrangement as comically sexual in image as it sounds in text (figure 10). Indeed, in search of ever more mounts to train on, the students eventually visit all the prostitutes in the city, both female and male, to "mount" and "ride" them.[21] The text obliquely references the degeneracy of the samurai caste, whose members are legitimated by their supposed moral superiority but in practice frequently visit brothels. They have turned a reform that was supposed to restore moral integrity into just another excuse to buy prostitutes. Meanwhile, Yoshitsune tries to teach his own disciples his sword techniques, which he originally learned from *tengu* (天狗, goblins). No *tengu* being available, however, he has students dress in *tengu* masks and wear feathers, and assigns other students to use large fans to produce the *tengu* levitation technique.[22] Later, when training in the scholarly arts is directed by the Heian scholar and courtier Ōe no Masafusa (大江匡房, 1041–1111), his students take the metaphorical idiom that "ruling a nation under Heaven is like raising up a kite" (*Tenka kokka o osamuru wa, ikanobori o aguru yōna mono to iu*) to mean that kite flying will literally lead to better governance, creating a kite-flying craze.[23]

To the extent that the tenth-century narrative present can be taken as a

transparent signifier for the Edo reading present, *Ōmu-gaeshi bunbu no futamichi* is a stinging satire of the ruling samurai class. It implies that samurai of the present can only muster an inferior imitation of the great warriors and scholars they claim as progenitors, whose greatness still legitimates power. If the appropriation of yet another postmodern term for the study of Edo can be forgiven, the text shows that only a simulacrum of martial and scholarly (and moral) greatness is available in the present. Real martial and scholarly greatness has been completely lost: even when the great men of old are summoned, present-day samurai are too corrupt or inept to learn from them.

However, anachronistic juxtaposition is not unidirectional. The text also allows the ineptness of samurai of the (presumed) Edo present to flow into the past. It is, after all, Yoshitsune who comes up with the harebrained scheme to replicate *tengu* training with masks, feathers, and fans, and it is Oguri no Hangan Kaneuji who designs the ridiculously sexual horse training. Language from the Edo present is superimposed on the great men of old as well. For example, one of Yoshitsune's students calls out advertisements for toothpaste and stomach medicine during his training, juxtaposing the popular, urban, commercial consumer market with the great samurai general of yore. Similarly, Minamoto no Tametomo's (源為朝, 1139–77) archery training is punctuated by the sales calls of Edo-modern doll sellers.[24] The decidedly unglamorous present is allowed to permeate the sanctified past. Here the text creates a heteroglossia of past and present voices, high and low speech. Hirano calls such burlesque "the playful use of words and images . . . [which] made full use of the polysemic and fluid quality of linguistic and visual signs as the foremost artistic principle. Such practices drew a sharp contrast with the official and intellectual discourse that . . . insisted on the univocality of language by suppressing its equivocal or multivocal possibilities as a disruptive excess."[25] *Ōmu-gaeshi bunbu no futamichi* punctures the seriousness of Yoshitsune, Oguri, and Tametomo, creating a multivocal intertext where they are associated with the grubby commercialism and incompetent, profligate samurai of the familiar Edo present. The anachronisms here create a dialogic heteroglossia of voices that disrupts the unitary, monologic representation of official discourse. They simultaneously delegitimize power in the present by showing contemporary samurai unable to live up to their own legitimating myths, and destabilize those very myths as sources of legitimation.

That is certainly one layer of the text, but it is not at all clear that we

can assume that the narrative present is a transparent signifier for the Edo present. That reading is complicated by people and references specifically located in the tenth century, especially the Engi emperor (Emperor Daigo, 885–930). It is possible to read Engi as a signifier for the shogun, which is the stance that editors of the *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (New Complete Collection of Premodern Japanese Literature) take.[26] However, Engi is often mentioned by name and uses language particular to an emperor, preventing him from monologically melting into the shogun.[27] Engi is a somewhat hapless ruler in the text; when an advisor discusses the Confucian principle of "administering the country and succoring the people" (*keizai*, 経済), Engi apparently doesn't know the term and misconstrues it as "light vegetable dish" (*keisai*, 軽菜).[28] He also wears the anachronistically fashionable (Edo-contemporary) *naga-baki-baori* (長羽き羽織り, long coat) of a *daitsū* (大通), a romantic playboy of the pleasure quarters.[29]

Engi is thus not a virtuous Confucian sovereign but rather someone given to diversions, dressing in the latest fashions and concerning himself more with the evening meal than with the administration of the country. This fits neatly into the Tokugawa regime's historical narrative of increasing imperial decadence and decreasing imperial power, eventually resulting in the loss of the Mandate of Heaven to the samurai caste (although the first shogun would not appear until a couple of centuries after Engi). However, the text is hardly toeing the party line. The anachronisms mean that Engi is superimposed on the shogun, just as the *naga-baki-baori* that Engi wears (a fashion contemporary to the Edo present) superimposes the discourse of the present on the tenth-century ruler. Engi therefore evokes—as the SNKBZ editors indicate—the present-day ruler, the shogun. However, this means that Engi's haplessness and decadence are also superimposed on the shogun. Anachronistic juxtaposition allows the text to poke fun at the shogun without ever explicitly doing so. More importantly, the anachronism allows the text to turn the Tokugawa regime's own narrative of legitimation back on itself. The text conforms to the official history of imperial delegitimization through moral decadence, but through anachronism also creates an intertext where that official narrative is superimposed on the present shogun. While not ultimately critiquing the will to power or the narratives that legitimated power through moral probity, *Ōmu-gaeshi bunbu no futamichi* subversively appropriates those narratives and shows that their delegitimation of the emperor can be applied to the shogun as well.

It is perhaps not surprising, then, that despite the attempts to work on

history only through anachronism, this text sparked official ire. The author, Koikawa Harumachi, was summoned by the authorities to answer for it, and died shortly thereafter without responding. Possibly he committed suicide to forestall an unfavorable judgment that would have adversely affected his family.[30] It is possible that the samurai government perceived this text as a monologic anachronism, that its censure was triggered by a perceived attempt to rewrite the past and a legitimating history. But this is unlikely, since the absurd comedic elements create an elaborate estrangement from history, preventing a reader from thinking that the text is representing the past in any faithful way. Instead, it seems that in a time of increased political sensitivity, the use of the past to critique the present, and the present to *critique* a sanctified past, was a little too apparent, and censors saw through the textual buffoonery to a political critique.

DAIHI NO SENROKUHON

Shiba Zenkō's (芝全交 1750–93), *Daihi no senrokuhon* (大悲千禄本, The thousand arms of merciful profit, 1785), another *kibyōshi*, features the bodhisattva of mercy, Kannon, who is often depicted with a thousand arms, able to reach out to anyone in need. In the text, Kannon has fallen on hard economic times and decides to rent out her surfeit of arms. Drawn to this new supply of arms, a whole cast of one-armed characters, both past and present, appears to rent her wares (so too do characters whose needs are more pun based, such as courtesans who "need a hand" with their customers).[31] Among the renters are courtesans and illiterates from the Edo present as well as various people from the past, such as Taira no Tadanori (平忠度, 1144–84). Tadanori was a poet and samurai who deposited a poem in Kyoto to be included in an imperial poetry anthology before leaving to fight in the Battle of Ichinotani (he would die there, losing an arm in the process). He is a legendary samurai, a master of both elegant aristocratic art and martial skill. He can be seen as a model of a samurai mastering the "twin paths" (although his achievements lie in Japanese poetry rather than Confucian learning), situated right at the first major collapse of imperial power, the Genpei civil war.[32] As such he legitimates samurai power both through moral example and through the regime's historical narrative of power. In *Daihi no senrokuhon* this ideal samurai is anachronistically depicted mingling with people of the present. In a detailed two-page spread he is shown

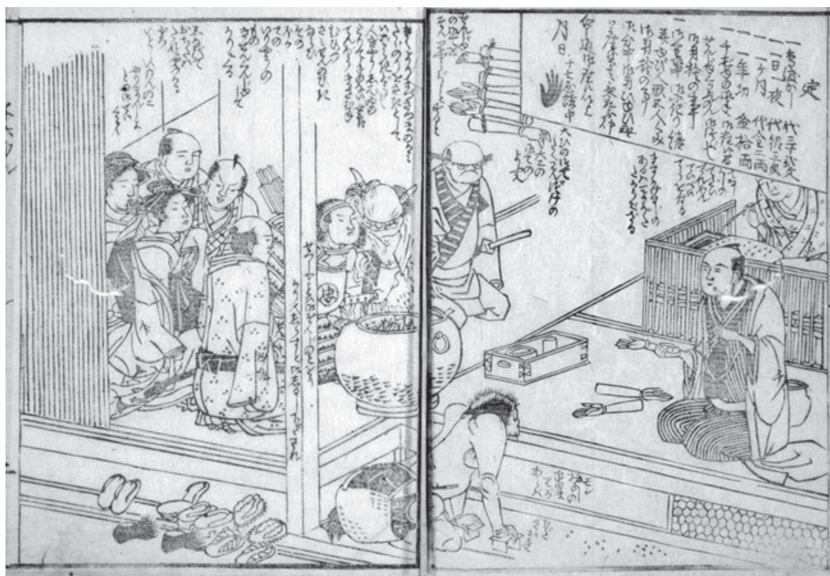


Figure 11. Shiba Zenkō, *Daihi no senrokuhon*, 1785. Taira no Tadanori sits behind the pillar, surrounded by Edo-present courtesans, merchants, beggars, and others. Waseda University Library.

in the arm rental shop, decked out in full armor and with his old-fashioned hairstyle, sitting with Edo-present courtesans, shop clerks, and beggars (and the demon Ibaraki Dōji, for good measure) (figure 11).[33]

The text calls attention to this class mixing, noting that "people who needed a hand came to rent them, gathering together regardless of station [*kisen kunju*, 貴賤群集]."[34] This can be read as, if not quite class transgression, at least a blurring of the boundaries between classes. However, the use of anachronism means that Edo-period commoners are mingling not only with samurai, but with a major historical figure that features in narratives of samurai cultural cultivation, moral superiority, and power legitimation. Thanks to the anachronism, that source of legitimation is juxtaposed with the common, the commercial, and the vulgar. Visually he is depicted as lined up with a crowd of Edo-present commoners, including prostitutes—technically *hinin* (非人, nonpeople), the lowest social caste. He also remarks to the clerk, "as you know, put me down as 'renter unknown' [*kari-bito shirazu*]."[35] This is a reference to Tadanori's final poem, which, because of the politics of the time, could not be attributed to him in the imperial anthology

and was instead labeled "poet unknown" (*yomi-bito shirazu*), although the actual provenance of the poem was and is well known. Tadanori's artistic and aristocratic accomplishment is here juxtaposed with Edo consumer culture in the form of commercial rentals. The text does not (and dares not) rewrite the historical Tadanori, but by anachronistically placing him in an Edo-present rental shop the text creates a new intertext that dialogically superimposes the crass, common, and commercial on Tadanori's aristocratic refinement and high stature, puncturing his samurai solemnity. The text uses anachronism to reduce—in the intertext, at least—the power of Tadanori as legendary samurai to legitimate samurai rule.

Later we learn that "while it was his right arm that Tadanori had lost, he was so happy and excited that he rented a left arm instead."[36] Far from a stolid, solemn samurai, Tadanori is depicted as an Edo-present consumer, given to overexcitement when a sensational new product hits the market. He is not a particularly competent consumer at that, buying the wrong product amid his burst of enthusiasm, and ending up stuck with a product he does not want when the shop cannot exchange it (a tale of consumer woe as familiar then as it is now). Armed with the wrong arm, Tadanori tries to write his famous poem, but it comes out backward. Giving up, he says (in Edo-modern colloquial diction that reinforces the subversive effect), "this looks shameful. I'll just say it's 'poet unknown.'"[37] Again, anachronistic juxtaposition has transformed Tadanori's final aristocratic act from one of elegant pathos to that of a careless consumer and superficial poet. The use of the colloquial language of the writing present foregrounds the heteroglossia of past and present the text has created here, allowing Tadanori—a figure from the closed past—to be reconsidered in the light of Edo-present discourses.

Eventually Sakanoue no Tamuramaro (坂上田村麻呂, 758–811), another historical and legendary warrior (although this time from the height of imperial power), needs Kannon's thousand arms to carry out his storied slaying of a demon (based on a Nō play's poetic hyperbole that the thousand arms of mercy turned his arrow into a thousand arrows).[38] Rather than praying, however, he shows up looking to rent the arms just like any other consumer. Previously Kannon had received one *ryō* (gold coin) per arm, but Tamuramaro asks for the whole lot for two silver coins per arm, about one-eighth the original price.[39] In other words, like any good consumer Tamuramaro tries to negotiate a lower unit price for buying in bulk. Once again, closed, authoritative history about the exemplary samurai of the past is opened up

through a dialogic anachronism that absurdly puts the past and present into contact without overwriting either. The anachronism intertextually opens up the past to Edo-present consumerism and mercantilism, but it is too ridiculous to convince anyone that this is an accurate representation of history or that such modern things really existed in the eighth century just as they do in the Edo present. *Daihi no senrokuhon* leaves the accepted (mytho-) history of Tamuramaro unadulterated, but creates an intertext where he is juxtaposed with the common and vulgar of the present, deflating his seriousness and sanctity, and thereby subverting the use of great samurai of the past as a legitimator of present samurai power.

NISE MURASAKI INAKA GENJI

Many late-Edo *kusazōshi*, far too many to treat here, use the device of updating some classic in one way or another. The best-selling, most widely read, and most enduring of these texts is undoubtedly Ryūtei Tanehiko's (柳亭種彦, 1783–1842, commonly called just Tanehiko) *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (偐紫田舎源氏, A fake Murasaki's country Genji). By far the most successful *gōkan* (合巻, a type of heavily illustrated novel), the work came out in installments over the course of fourteen years, from 1829 to 1842. It was not a flagging of reader interest that ended *Inaka Genji*'s long run—it was more popular than ever—but rather the draconian Tenpō reforms (1841–43), which included strict bans on publishing anything deemed frivolous or licentious. Although publishing numbers are unreliable from this period, by some estimates installments of *Inaka Genji* regularly sold three times as many copies as other popular *gōkan*.[40] For most late Edo readers, *Inaka Genji* was likely by far the most familiar version of *The Tale of Genji*, the celebrated eleventh-century romance often called the world's first novel. Meiji critics would later decry *Inaka Genji* as a vulgar imitation of the monumental original, but Michael Emmerich has argued that *Inaka Genji* played a crucial role in recycling the narrative of *Genji* (as opposed to its poetic situations) and thus helped facilitate its eventual canonization.[41]

As the title implies, Tanehiko's text is a retelling of the great Heian classic *The Tale of Genji*, but updated for contemporary Edo tastes and sensibilities. The action is moved from the Heian period to the Muromachi period, just prior to the fifteenth-century Ōnin War. *The Tale of Genji* is a *shukō* inserted into the *sekai* of the Ōnin War, or perhaps it is that the Ōnin War is a *shukō*

inserted into the *sekai* of *The Tale of Genji*.[42] In any case, Genji—now Mitsuuji—is not an imperial prince but the wayward son of an Ashikaga shogun, and the action surrounds the shogunal palace instead of the imperial palace. Tanehiko's text was accompanied by sumptuous illustrations by the popular *ukiyo-e* (woodblock print) artist Utagawa Kunisada (歌川国貞, 1786–1865). These illustrations were certainly a major selling point of the text, although we can detect more than a few sour grapes when Kyokutei Bakin (曲亭馬琴, 1767–1848), Tanehiko's rival author, declared the illustrations to be the only good feature of the work.[43] Significantly, there was a long tradition of *ukiyo-e* illustrations that used *mitate* (見立て, intentional visual confusion) to superimpose scenes from *The Tale of Genji* on contemporary illustrations; an exchange of fans between a courtesan and her customer might allude to the fan exchange in the "Yūgao" (evening faces) chapter of *The Tale of Genji*, for example.[44] *Inaka Genji* certainly builds on that legacy, but it also adds a textual component and a carefully controlled narrative.

The text is a meticulous superimposition of three different time periods: the Heian era of the source text, the Muromachi period of the setting, and the Edo present of the writing. The opening offers a revealing foregrounding of the text's anachronistic project. It begins:

> In the middle of Ōedo, there's a place called Shikibu Lane near Nihonbashi, where an extremely lovely girl lived. Her name was Ofuji. . . . She always tied her hair up with a lavender [*murasaki*] string, so people never called her Ofuji, but rather by the nickname Murasaki Shikibu [also the name of the author of *The Tale of Genji*]. When she discovered this, she thought she might as well write a modern book [*sōshi*, 双紙] like *The Tale of Genji*, which she had a connection to through her name. But she only ever read *kusazōshi* and only knew [popular songs], and had never even chewed on a red makeup brush [much less a writing brush]. But someone told her "there's something called the *Wakakusa Genji monogatari* that grasps the gist of it, even if it doesn't have the depth of *Kakaishō* or the breadth of *Kogetsushō* [works of *The Tale of Genji* scholarship]. If you read it along with *Kōhaku Genji*, *Hinazuru Genji monogatari*, *Genji binkagami*, and *Genji okagami*, you should be able to understand it a little."[45]

It is Ofuji who will go on to become the putative author of *Inaka Genji*. We see here an authorial stance of self-deprecation, typical in *kusazōshi* (and, indeed, most *gesaku*). Tanehiko posits himself (whom everyone under-

stands to be the "real" author) as an inexperienced writer not actually very knowledgeable about *The Tale of Genji*, or indeed life, foolishly undertaking a fumbling attempt to write a modern take on *The Tale of Genji*. However, this opening passage also subtly frames the story. Tanehiko is not rewriting *The Tale of Genji*; he is writing an Edo-present young woman's (*musume*, what we might now call *shōjo*) inexpert reimagining of the tale within the milieu of the popular novels she reads and the popular songs to which she listens. Furthermore the intertextual references will not be to the text of *The Tale of Genji* itself or to weighty, pedantic volumes of scholarship on it, but rather to Edo-period popularizations of *The Tale of Genji*. *Wakakusa Genji* is an early eighteenth-century abridged version translated into contemporary novelistic (*ukiyozōshi*) style, and the other texts mentioned are similar.[46] The text of *Inaka Genji*, therefore, is always contained within the frame of the present and the popular. We see here a careful, reflexive double framing; the Heian source text is self-consciously framed within the Muromachi setting, which is in turn framed within the Edo-present implied authorship and intertextual web. Every chapter of *Inaka Genji*, therefore, evokes, layers, admixes, and superimposes the three different eras.

The next two pages also carefully layer eras. The first is an illustration of the historical Murasaki Shikibu in front of a writing desk in Ishiyama Temple, composing *The Tale of Genji*. The print is done in an old-fashioned style, with simple lines and ample white spaces, and it carefully re-creates the Heian era. Murasaki is wearing a *jūnihitoe* (十二単衣, twelve-layered kimono suitable for courtly Heian ladies-in-waiting). She has long, unbound hair and sports *kurai-boshi* (位星, false eyebrows painted on the forehead), both styles appropriate to Murasaki's era. The room she is in sports not tatami mats (which were not available at the time), but rather historically accurate wood-plank floors, on which straw mats are spread, with mat skirts illustrated with Heian styles. Into this carefully constructed Heian image, an Edo-contemporary writing desk, with Edo-modern drawers and rounded corners, is anachronistically inserted.[47] Yamaguchi Takeshi, in his examination of the *Inaka Genji* manuscript, notes that "the layout of buildings, the construction of buildings, even the types of furnishings, were given detailed attention in the rough sketch [*shitae*, 下絵, Tanehiko's sketch for Kunisada]. The written instructions [from Tanehiko to Kunisada] were also fairly strict."[48] It is therefore unlikely that this is a simple oversight by either author or illustrator. Each element of the picture, including small details like furnishings, was carefully weighed and considered. The text thus meticu-

lously creates an authentic Heian space, then disrupts it with a recognizable artifact from the Edo present. This anachronistic juxtaposition signals, from the very first image, that the text's project is a superimposition of eras, and a disruption of the discourses of knowledge that separate them. Just as an object familiar to readers is inserted into Murasaki's sacred (if apocryphal) space of authorship, so too will the text of *Inaka Genji* insert the familiar into her great classic. The next page contains a mirroring image of Ofuji at her own writing desk, this time done in a lusciously illustrated Edo-present style, with many accoutrements from the Edo present. However, the image also features *yamatokumo* (大和雲, thin clouds along the border of the image). While not exactly anachronistic, these clouds are certainly out of date for nineteenth-century *ukiyo-e*. They are far more appropriate for old-fashioned paintings and prints, and are a visual trope in illustrations of *The Tale of Genji*. Visually, then, the past and the world of *The Tale of Genji* disrupt the representation of the present and its discourses. These first two illustrations work as a pair, using anachronistic juxtaposition to signal that the text will disrupt both the "pastness" of the past and the "presentness" of the present: the very discourses of history and historicity that distance the past from the present, including those official discourses that would proclaim the present a new era, different from a benighted past. But the past really was different, and here that difference is acknowledged, not overwritten. Murasaki's studio does look quite alien, old-fashioned, and uncomfortable. The past is not being deployed as a gemeinschaft or lost golden age that emphasizes the poverty of the present in the manner of fascist history. Rather, precisely because the writing desk and the clouds are so disruptive, the past and present are dialogically juxtaposed, superimposed in a way that allows both images to remain detectable and distinct, but also creating a third image that is the combination of the two.

Inaka Genji updates *The Tale of Genji* for Edo-present sensibilities, but does so in a way that metafictionally calls attention to its own project. The most alien aspect of the Heian source text for Edo readers (and indeed, for many readers today) was its morality. As Andrew Lawrence Markus has noted:

> The knottiest difficulty confronting Tanehiko was not style or pace or unfamiliarity, however, but the uncongenial spirit of the original work. *Genji* portrays a world where good and evil coexist in a universally sorrowful setting; the *gōkan*, however, demanded a strict segregation of

> good and evil forces, and presumed an essentially orderly, positive, and benevolent world. The spiritual and irrational elements so prominent in the Heian world view were unpalatable to more pragmatic moderns. Equally unacceptable was the selfish, frequently immoral conduct of principals in the *Tale of Genji*; a drastic revision of motivations was the compromise required to present recognizably *Genji*-like scenes and unimpeachable moral orthodoxy on the same pages.[49]

Although many scholars have written about the political motivations behind Genji's romantic adventures, to nineteenth-century readers living in a completely different political system these motivations were opaque.[50] Changing social norms (from polygamous to putatively monogamous marriages) and the Edo Neo-Confucian moral system meant that to contemporary readers Genji's actions now seemed adulterous, licentious, and immoral.[51] *Inaka Genji* gives Mitsuuji (Genji) motivations in line with Neo-Confucian expectations of an upright samurai. For example, for the first several chapters Mitsuuji is searching for an heirloom sword that has been stolen from the shogunal palace, a typical motivation in contemporary drama, especially Kabuki plays. The narrative of *Inaka Genji* still follows the narrative of *The Tale of Genji* closely, but now all of Mitsuuji's immorality can be explained as *yatsushi,* a Kabuki device of a noble character dressing or acting in a low or vulgar manner for some greater moral purpose. For example, the forty-seven samurai of the Kabuki megahit *Kanadehon chūshingura (*仮名手本忠臣蔵*, The copybook storehouse of loyal retainers)*—samurai of unimpeachable morality—pretend to be drunkards and dilettantes in order to throw off suspicions and eventually carry out their revenge. Mitsuuji's immoral dalliances with many women, therefore, are just a familiar means to the ultimate moral end of recovering the sword, a samurai mission freighted with great moral virtue. In *Inaka Genji*'s rendition of the "Yūgao" chapter, for example, Mitsuuji's short but poignant love affair with Tasogare (née Yūgao) now begins because he suspects Tasogare's mother of stealing the sword and wants to get closer to her. Although Mitsuuji's affairs still happen more or less in accordance with the source text, the motivation behind them has been updated to reflect Neo-Confucian morality.[52]

Inaka Genji therefore updates the Heian past, but does so reflexively. The text calls attention to the fact that it is doing work on history: with its double framing technique, it explicitly "reads" *The Tale of Genji* through the lens of the Muromachi period, which is in turn read through the lens of

Edo-period discourses (the implied *shōjo* author and intertextual web). By reflexively reading Heian through more recent eras it does not pretend, in the manner of monologic anachronisms, that Heian-era motivations were actually so comprehensible to Edo moderns: it does not rewrite Heian. It does not claim to translate or to transparently and accurately represent the source text, but rather calls attention to its own fictionality, textuality, and intertextuality. *The Tale of Genji* and the Heian era are acknowledged to be alien and quite distant from the past. This history is not rewritten, but a new text is written that exists as the intertext of the past and the present.

In addition to the framing technique, *Inaka Genji* also includes several explicit anachronisms, of which both author and readers were well aware. We know this because one chapter introduction calls attention to them:

> There are no plums in the *Songs of Chu*, no chrysanthemums in the *Man'yōshū*, and no prefaces in the *kusazōshi* of old. There are no mosquito nets in *Genji*, nor is there male love. Although they might have taken baths they had no medicines, only prayers and spells. . . . I've spent all my effort worrying about the shapes of lanterns and screens and armrests, and I've ended up drawing things like silk pillows and double sleeping mats that were undreamt of in the Higashiyama period [late fifteenth century]. A summer bedroom would be too exposed and lonely without a mosquito net, so now I've drawn mosquito nets not found in *Genji* in place of stand curtains. I thought I would explain myself in something like one of these prefaces, which did not exist in the *kusazōshi* of old.[53]

Tanehiko (or at least the implied Tanehiko, the introduction bears his name) signals that he is fully aware of what a historicized representation would be, and chooses anachronistic representation instead. His stance in this preface is that of an author explaining himself to his critics, justifying his representation to the hypothetical reader who will notice his anachronistic inclusion of mosquito nets and criticize him. Certainly, there were readers familiar enough with *The Tale of Genji* and the Heian period to notice the anachronism, but *Inaka Genji* was an enormously popular book with mass appeal. If we follow Emmerich in considering what "a paper maker, wet nurse, a maker of roof tiles, or two siblings enjoying the book together might have seen in its pages," it is questionable whether most of Tanehiko's readers would have noticed the anachronism or why he feels the need to justify himself.[54] More likely this is a pose, a bit of tongue-in-cheek self-deprecation that actually

calls attention to the inaccuracy for which he apologizes. Emmerich notes that "time and again, Tanehiko calls attention to the mixed-up, factually inaccurate, not entirely possible, anachronistic hybridity of the work that he is composing."[55] In other words, the text here points to its own anachronism, just in case readers might have missed it. Emmerich argues that *Inaka Genji* effectively replaced *The Tale of Genji*, becoming for many contemporary readers the main, most well-known, most significant *Genji* text.[56] If contemporary readers had not read *The Tale of Genji* as a hypotext for *Inaka Genji* or were unable to perceive its anachronistic project, then the text had to take pains to point out those anachronisms, which is accomplished by this preface and other metatextual devices. The text thus reveals rather than conceals its work on history. This bit of paratextual framing forestalls the synthesis of past and present into a monologue (a representation of the past as always attesting mosquito nets, fundamentally the same as the present) that readers might have mistakenly fallen into. It forces past and present to remain in dialogue, their mutual difference acknowledged and preserved.

The text highlights this anachronism because it is a significant textual element, not a random or thoughtless inclusion. This is the introduction to the pivotal chapter in which Genji's dalliances with Oborozukiyo (now Katsuragi) are caught by the Minister of the Right (now Biwanosuke), when the latter sees Genji's sash as Oborozukiyo hurries out through a curtain behind which they had been in flagrante delicto, eventually leading to Genji's exile to Suma, a major turning point in the plot. It is this very curtain that *Inaka Genji* replaces with a mosquito net (figure 12).[57] Far from an incidental replacement caused by the author's aesthetic whimsy (a bedroom without a mosquito net being too lonely), this anachronism conspicuously switches one of the story's major set pieces for a fixture recognizable from the Edo present.[58] It summons the present into both the Heian era of the source text and the Muromachi period of the setting. This anachronism creates an intertextual association with Edo-present discourses on mosquito nets, especially their appearance in bawdy or romantic narratives featuring the boudoirs of the pleasure quarters. The anachronism transgresses not only time but class, penetrating the aloofness of both Heian aristocrats and Muromachi shogunal scions with a familiar object that brings with it all the discourse on commoner life and literature. The anachronism is too conspicuous (thanks to the author pointing it out) to monologically rewrite history and convince anyone that Heian aristocrats or Muromachi princes were really, historically, no

Figure 12. Ryūtei Tanehiko, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, 1829–42. Katsuragi emerges from the anachronistic mosquito net where she and Mitsuuji had been together. Waseda University Library.

different than Edo-present commoners. Rather, the dialogic anachronism allows past and present to interilluminate each other, creating an intertext where such a transgressive—if fictional—possibility is possible.

Emmerich notes that the text inserts into the past "an abundance of elements from Tanehiko's own time, including such sophisticated, stylish items as a sizable aquarium, a mechanical fountain, 'a kind of drinking vessel known [in Dutch] as a "kop" [cup] or something,' and furnishings imported from the Netherlands."[59] These Edo-modern accoutrements puncture the closed discourse of history, thus opening it up to the present. They also insert recognizable items of fashion and urban culture into a closed and rarified class strata. Much of Edo literature and art relied on the juxtaposition or blending of *ga* (雅, elegance) and *zoku* (俗, vulgarity), which always had subversive potential.[60] Therefore, it is not surprising that many anachronisms in *Inaka Genji* deploy this class transgression. The poem that Tasogare passes to Mitsuuji on a fan outside her house is, in *Inaka Genji*'s rendering, not an elegant *waka* but a *nagebushi* (投節). This was a popular

type of commoner song from the seventeenth century, old enough by Tanehiko's time to be quaint, but decidedly Edo modern and—with lines of four and three syllables—very different from the courtly *waka*, with its five- and seven-syllable lines.[61] With the *nagebushi* anachronistic to both the Heian and Muromachi periods, its presence here transgressively (but reflexively) inserts popular, commoner culture into the storied courtly romance of both Heian aristocrats and Muromachi elite samurai. Furthermore, Lady Rokujō, Genji's jealous mistress, becomes in *Inaka Genji* Aogi, a famous courtesan of (appropriately) the Rokujō pleasure quarters. This is an anachronism; pleasure quarters are a post-Heian development, and the Rokujō quarters in particular were not founded until the early seventeenth century.[62] Not only is Lady Rokujō, like Yūgao, a subject of courtly romance, she is a lady of the highest aristocratic pedigree, former wife of a prince. Changing her into an Edo-modern courtesan transgressively superimposes her with a commoner, a *hinin*, who was a familiar fixture of urban life and popular narrative. Furthermore, she is a woman who is romantically and sexually available to a man of any class, provided he has the money and *tsū* (playboy) charm to make his way into her boudoir. The use of a dialogic anachronism here acknowledges the ahistoricity of such a juxtaposition, but also calls attention to it, reflexively highlighting its transgressive project.

That being said, the most anachronistic aspect of the text is certainly the images. The characters are depicted in nineteenth-century dress, usually the latest fashions and hairstyles. Kunisada is meticulous in his drawings of highly detailed kimono styles and intricate fabric patterns. Each fascicle cover, furthermore, features a portrait of a character (or occasionally multiple characters) done in gorgeous full color, showing off their fashionable attire to full advantage. *Inaka Genji* not only closely followed the latest fashions, but, as a wildly popular text, it created some fashion trends as well.[63] While these sorts of character portraits have a long history in Edo visual arts, *Inaka Genji* transgressively depicts Muromachi high-ranking samurai—who are also Heian high-ranking aristocrats—from the past in the garb of the Edo urban street and the pleasure quarters. It punctures the closed space of power and the frozen sanctity of the past by inserting the popular, common, and highly fluid world of Edo-modern fashion. It transforms imperial princes and shogunal scions alike into people one could well imagine seeing on the street, or at least in the fashionable pleasure quarters. This is a dialogic rather than a monologic anachronism, and most readers were probably aware that these fashions were anachronistic since, unlike mosquito nets,

the latest fashions are widely understood as new and recent. For the same reason, modern viewers of Watanabe Shin'ichirō's *Samurai chanpurū* are aware that fashionable rimless glasses are anachronistic in the Edo period, even if they are not aficionados of early modern history. *Inaka Genji* does not overwrite history, but that does not preclude enjoyment of the deliciously transgressive juxtaposition.

Historical class transgression was not the only project in which *Inaka Genji* was engaged. A narrative about a person close to the shogun filled with anachronistic items that evoke the Edo-present necessarily (if slyly) suggests a connection with the Edo-present shogun. It has long been claimed that *Inaka Genji*, with its politically charged romantic intrigues, was a commentary on the shogunal politics of the day, specifically the political maneuvering inside the *ōoku* (大奥, quarters of the shogun's concubines). No less esteemed a figure than Katsu Kaishū (勝海舟, 1823–99), an important Meiji reformer and statesman, promoted the idea that Tanehiko was writing about the specific conditions of the *ōoku*, which he (Tanehiko) knew about because he was a *hatamoto* (旗本, direct vassal of the shogun) and could enter the *ōoku* apartments at will. This reading has attracted adherents over the years.[64] However, Markus and others have pointed out that this is extremely unlikely; although Tanehiko did possess a fairly respectable samurai rank, he was nowhere near the upper echelon, and access to the *ōoku*, especially by men, was tightly restricted and controlled. Even information about the *ōoku* was kept strictly secret.[65] Furthermore, *Inaka Genji* closely follows the text of *The Tale of Genji*, chapter by chapter and sometimes line by line. While such a textual project might have occasionally been able to satirize contemporary politics, it is too beholden to its source text and lacks the flexibility to be a straightforward political allegory for contemporary events.

However, even if it does not exactly follow the contemporary machinations of the *ōoku*, the text can certainly be read as having more general elements of political commentary or satire. The ruling shogun through most of the *Inaka Genji*'s authorship was Tokugawa Ienari (徳川家斉, 1777–1841), who was famously obsessed with the *ōoku*. He maintained a large number of concubines, and they (along with the various factions that backed them) became significant players in political intrigue. *Inaka Genji* is a reworking of a major text about, at its heart, sexual politics at court. It alters that text to feature the shogunal palace rather than the imperial court, then anachronistically dresses all its characters in Edo-present clothing and inserts Edo-present accoutrements into its world. These anachronisms dialogically

evoke the discourses of the present and superimpose them on the past. Therefore, *Inaka Genji* can hardly help but evoke the shogun of the Edo present, at least as an intertextual referent summoned by the anachronistic superimposition of Edo fashions and fifteenth-century shoguns. It can certainly be read as a general commentary on the state of late Edo shogunal politics, which is not to say that it is necessarily a critique. If the romantic and heroic Mitsuuji is a metaphor for Ienari, then the shogun is portrayed very positively (some sources even claim that Ienari himself was delighted by *Inaka Genji* and recommended it to everyone at court).[66] *Inaka Genji* generally portrays the Ashikaga shogunate favorably, and through anachronistic allusion it therefore portrays the Tokugawa shogunate positively as well. It is possible to read a subtle critique here: that by showing Mitsuuji's sexual dalliances motivated by such upright samurai morals, *Inaka Genji* is calling attention to the dearth of such respectable motivations in Mitsuuji's counterpart, the present-day shogun. This is subtle indeed. The more obvious project here is that, again, of class transgression, this time aimed at the shogun himself. The text uses dialogic anachronism to illuminate the Edo-present shogunate in a new light. It depicts shoguns and samurai (who themselves evoke emperors and aristocrats) wearing fashionable, familiar urban clothing. Since the anachronistic juxtaposition at work evokes the Edo-present shogunate in the Muromachi world, that transgression spreads to Edo Castle. The cloistered world of the *present* shogun, his concubines, and his highest advisors becomes shot through with the vulgar, popular world of urban commoners. While the blending of Heian *ga* and Edo *zoku* is apparent in other Edo *Genji* art, the anachronistic intertext being deployed here allows *Inaka Genji* to disrupt not only the *ga* discourse of the Heian past, but that of the Edo present. It punctures the aloofness of the shogun and his government even as it flatters him.

• • •

This is only a small illustrative sample of the countless anachronistic texts in the Edo period.[67] Much like the modern texts examined earlier, these texts use reflexive, dialogic anachronisms to put their own past and present into contact and allow them to interilluminate each other for critique, comedy, or other projects. If there is one notable difference between these texts and the anachronistic texts of the modern era studied in the previous chapters, it is the absence of a critique of the will to power. Ōe Kenzaburō's *Man'en gannen no futtobōru* (Football in the first year of Man'en) dismantles all legitimation

of violence, while Tezuka Osamu's *Hi no tori* (Phoenix) depicts every system of power throughout Japanese history as brutal and corrupt. It is rare, by contrast, to find such deconstruction of the will to power itself in Edo works. Baba Bunkō (馬場文耕, 1718–59), a popular lecturer and essayist, produced biting critiques of the government and was executed for his efforts. Yet even he couched his critiques within the framework of Neo-Confucianism, denouncing power for its failure to live up to its own legitimating ideals. The anachronistic texts examined here do not critique the will to power or offer a political alternative to the *bakuhan* system, which seems to have had virtually no exteriority in Edo writing. They do, however, call attention to all the contradictions inherent in the systems of power. They point out the disconnection between the discourses that legitimated samurai power and the actual samurai exercising power in the world. Most importantly, they disrupt official history with a dialogic of argumentative, conflicting voices that subversively undermine history as a univocal discourse that legitimates power. This dialogic, which inserts anachronistic voices from the urban, vulgar, plebian present into the closed past, could serve a variety of projects. It could be used, as in *Inaka Genji*, to flatter power even as it subtly denatures and demythologizes that power. Or it could be used to appropriate the *bakufu*'s narratives of legitimation, as in *Ōmu-gaeshi bunbu no futamichi*, or to undermine samurai moral rectitude, as in *Daihi no senrokuhon*. These texts use dialogic anachronism to playfully carnivalize official history, rather than rewrite it monologically, in each case undermining the power of these discourses to legitimate samurai ascendancy. Another strategy of anachronistic texts is to claim those legitimizing discourses for commoners, rather than destabilizing them. This is the strategy that will be most evident in the following chapter.

6

Acting Out the Past

Anachronism in Edo Theater

Theater flourished in the Edo period, and by the eighteenth century an urban resident could enjoy everything from riverbed dances to streetside spectacle shows to comedic storytelling, and even such outlandish things as the skilled performer of flatulence immortalized by Hiraga Gennai (平賀源内, 1728–80). This study, however, focuses on narrative theatrical forms of the period that became major cultural influences, both because of their contemporary popularity and because of their reinscription as official national culture during the Meiji period: *ningyō-jōruri* (人形浄瑠璃, puppet theater, now called Bunraku, 文楽) and Kabuki (歌舞伎).[1] These popular theaters were full of anachronisms. As mentioned earlier, one main feature of Kabuki narratives (and of *ningyō-jōruri* narratives as well, since plays were frequently adapted from one form into the other) is the interplay of *sekai* (世界, world) and *shukō* (趣向, variation).[2] The *sekai* here is the well-known world of some shared text (of history or literature, or even gossip about an event), and the *shukō* is the new, innovative approach taken to that world by the individual play or performer. For playwrights, *sekai* and *shukō* made up the "warp and weft" of a plot.[3] Many of the *sekai* in Kabuki and *ningyō-jōruri* are the worlds of historical texts—*Heike monogatari* (Tale of the Heike), the *Taiheiki* (Tale of Great Peace), *Soga monogatari* (Tale of the Soga brothers), *Gikeiki* (The Chronicle of Yoshitsune), and so on. Often the *shukō* of a play is the insertion of some Edo-modern material into that world of the past. Barbara Thornbury identifies three categories of *shukō*: rewriting the *sekai*, joining a *sekai* with a contemporary setting or story, and combining two or more

sekai.[4] The last two innovations are clearly anachronistic, while the first is at least ahistorical. A popular theater that takes the rewriting of historical texts as one of its basic playwriting tools, while not always anachronistic, is at least fertile ground for anachronism.

In the sections below, I examine anachronistic elements in Kabuki and *ningyō-jōruri* plays. Much like in the previous chapters, I find that the juxtaposition of eras (and especially of the discourses surrounding eras) constitutes a discursive resistance to the sociopolitical hegemony of samurai and the authority of the Tokugawa regime. Recently, Satoko Shimazaki has argued against reading Kabuki as a site of resistance to samurai rule. Observing that the idea of oppositional Kabuki gained prominence in the 1970s, she notes that this idea champions "a view that positions culture in opposition to authority and thus seems to reflect the concerns of the late 1960s and the 1970s more than it does . . . early modern contexts."[5] Instead, she argues, "it is time to move away from the notion that early modern kabuki was a subversive institution that allowed townspeople to express their opposition to the ruling class or fomented . . . opposition in its content or subject matter."[6] She notes, for example, that theaters were licensed and authorized by the samurai authorities, that samurai were important customers of theaters, and that there are very few incidents of plays being censored for content, with incidents of censorship of costumes deemed too luxurious far more common.[7] Shimazaki argues that "kabuki in fact celebrated and drew on paradigms from samurai history and culture, gradually enabling a wider segment of Edo to internalize them both and thus contributing to the production of a new popular culture."[8] This was particularly enabled by the anachronistic interweaving of historical *sekai* and contemporary *shukō*. She argues that

> Kabuki focused on military plots celebrating the world of the samurai, but not in a way that emphasized the distinction between the samurai and the other classes. Instead, it consciously presented stories of the samurai past through the lens of the landscapes, customs, and conventions of early modern Edo in a manner calculated to appeal to a broad audience, across class demarcations. Military figures who had lived centuries earlier were presented in early modern commoner dress and would keep popping up in the pleasure quarters and neighborhoods of Edo, where they behaved in accordance with familiar early modern customs.[9]

In the end, “this process of superimposition rendered communally accessible the narratives that had been the provenance of the ruling class,” ultimately disseminating samurai narratives of legitimation by making them comprehensible and accessible in an Edo-modern urban setting.[10]

I agree that locating in Kabuki (or *ningyō-jōruri*, for that matter) a kind of counterculture, or a reflection of a commoner culture with a Marxist class consciousness that opposed itself to authority, is ill considered. While there were plenty of samurai villains onstage, many of the heroes were samurai as well. It seems clear that audiences admired *good* samurai—that is, those that lived up to their own standards of moral legitimation. I agree with Shimazaki that history plays disseminated narratives of samurai historical legitimation to the masses, as it were. However, I would argue that the interpenetration of discourses inherent in the *sekai/shukō* dynamic necessitates a multidirectional flow of ideas. Ideology did flow from samurai narratives to the imaginations of the commoner masses, but at the same time a route was opened that allowed commoner imagination to flow back into narratives of past samurai. This is where we can locate resistance in Kabuki plays: in commoner *appropriation* of samurai narratives of power legitimation. While commoners may have accepted the narratives of moral superiority that legitimated samurai hegemony—particularly the morality of great samurai from a heroic past—they could claim that moral superiority and those historical heroes for themselves, thus delegitimating samurai political supremacy. Commoner culture might not be exterior to samurai ideology, but it could still offer resistance from within. The use of anachronism in history plays is a prominent site where such resistance was attested.

This is not to say that every anachronism in Edo theater is doing significant work on the past, as historical settings were often used to escape censorship and restrictions. For example, *Kanadehon chūshingura* (仮名手本忠臣蔵, The copybook storehouse of loyal retainers, 1748, often discussed in English as simply “Chūshingura,” “Treasury of loyal retainers,” or “Forty-seven rōnin”), the hit play about forty-seven samurai who took revenge for the death of their daimyō, is set in the *sekai* of the *Taiheiki*, a historical tale about the fourteenth century.[11] However, everyone—playwrights, actors, audience, even censors—understood that this play was really about the Akō incident of 1703, in which the former retainers of Asano Naganori ((浅野長矩, 1667–1701) killed a shogunal councillor in revenge for their master’s death. The setting in the past is understood to be merely a transparent for-

mality, required to overcome the shogunate's ban on portraying current events, politics, or high-ranking samurai. There may be things in the play anachronistic to the fourteenth century, but since the setting is understood to be merely a legal convenience these anachronisms fail to evoke anachronistic juxtaposition or do work on history (at least in the play's original text, as I will discuss further). However, many plays deploy the *sekai* of the past in ways that are not primarily designed to avoid censorship, and Edo-modern *shukō* in these worlds can create anachronisms that evoke and juxtapose the past and the present in provocative combinations.

METADRAMATIC ANACHRONISM

Kabuki plays often feature Brechtian moments that call attention to themselves as constructed works of fiction, metadramatically reminding audiences that they are watching a play and thereby disrupting the naturalized diegetic world. Richard Hornby, discussing metadrama through literary references, states:

> There are many ways in which a play can refer to other literature. In each case, the degree of metadramatic estrangement generated is proportional to the degree to which the audience recognizes the literary allusion as such. When they do recognize it, the result is like an inset type of play within the play in miniature; the imaginary world of the main play is disrupted by a reminder of its relation, as a literary construct, to another literary work or works.[12]

This description applies to theatrical anachronism as well, if we simply amend it to include not just references to specific literary works but references to the discourse on history in general. Therefore, anachronisms in period dramas disrupt the imaginary world of the play by reminding the audience of their relation, as representations of history, to other representations of history. This is quite in line with the metatextual functions of anachronisms in textual fiction.

Metafictional references often work by breaking a diegesis and inserting reminders of the world outside the frame text. Hornby argues, however, that there is a type of metafictional reference that is unique to theater:

> In the theatre, . . . there is always readily available a special type of real-life reference that does not require any insertion at all. On stage, real life is omnipresent, as the ordinary "backstage" reality of the actors, their costumes, properties, etc. In painting, paint on the canvas is transformed into images, while in writing, words are transformed into concepts, but in the theatre, people are "transformed" into people and things into things. . . . A star actor may not change his voice or appearance in any way when taking on a role. Nevertheless, there is a change in our relationship to the table or the actor on stage that corresponds exactly to the change of paint into images or words into concepts; their ordinary reality is swallowed up into the dramatic world, taking on a different significance for us than they would in real life. On the other hand, since the ordinary, real-life selves of the table and the actor are still *there*, unchanged in essence, the potential for easily shifting back to the real-life mode is always there as well. It is not necessary to insert real life . . . but only to drop the pretense of the performance. . . . For a moment, the entire imaginary framework of the role and play is stripped away. This is not real-life insertion, but real-life *acknowledgment*.[13]

Kabuki plays feature many such metadramatic moments of "real-life acknowledgment" in performance. A character may "accidentally" present a leaflet for the play itself instead of a prop document, or refer to the names of actors (often the very actor playing the character). For example, the saintly Narukami (鳴神) in the eponymous play, usually played by Ichikawa Danjūrō (市川團十郎) (whoever happens to hold the inherited name), at one point jokes that he will give up religion and take the secular name "Ichikawa Danjūrō the pervert" (Ichikawa Danjūrōsukebe).[14] In the case of history plays such as this one, such references to the reality of the actors—who live in the performing present—conspicuously insert the present into the diegetic world of historical representation, creating a dialogic anachronism.

Act 7 of *Kanadehon chūshingura* features a brothel scene where courtesans entertain some of the principal characters during a night of revelry. One way they liven up the party is by playing a *mitate* (見立て, intentional visual confusion) game; a game somewhat reminiscent of charades, where nearby familiar objects are "confused" with other objects, viewing them from a new perspective in a humorous and entertaining manner. Traditionally, the performance of this game was ad-libbed by the actors, although modern per-

formances tend to be scripted.[15] At a performance of *Kanadehon chūshingura* at the Shinbashi Enbujō in January 2013, one courtesan used a smartphone (*sumaho*, スマホ) in the *mitate* game.[16] This performance (though not the text itself) was both an anachronism and a "real-life acknowledgment," in that it acknowledged the everyday life of the actors outside of the semiotic frame of diegesis—one might imagine that the actor has secreted a phone into his costume, and rediscovered it while casting about for objects to ad-lib with, even though this was almost certainly planned. Such Brechtian metadramatic moments disrupt the diegetic world of the play—and of the past—estranging or alienating the audience from it. This is a moment of comedic self-reference, but Hornby argues:

> However playful a moment of self-reference may seem . . . it always has the effect of drastically realigning the audience's perception of the drama, forcing them to examine consciously the assumptions that lie behind and control their response to the world of the play. Since these assumptions, the drama/culture complex, are also the means by which the audience views the world at large, self-reference has the effect of challenging, in a sudden and drastic manner, the complacencies of the audience's world view.[17]

In the January 2013 performance, the self-reference was also anachronistic, challenging the audience's historical worldview. The insertion of twenty-first-century technology into either the Edo period (if the *Taiheiki sekai* setting is taken to be merely a sly disguise for Edo) or the fourteenth century (if it is not) conspicuously highlights the estrangement between the past and present, acknowledging with its absurdity just how out of place the twenty-first century is in the past, but at the same time mischievously putting a smartphone into the hands of a courtesan anyway. This performance playfully familiarizes the past by showing someone from the past using a familiar and unmistakably present-day object, even while paradoxically acknowledging the impossibility and preposterousness of such a thing. In the intertext created by the anachronistic juxtaposition, courtesans are associated with smartphones and all the things that attend them, such as late capitalist commodification, information society, and youth culture. This allows both the past and the present to be reconsidered in the new light of illumination from the other era; perhaps the past was more advanced than we are used to thinking, if we can see the connections

between courtesans and smartphones; or, alternatively, perhaps we have not progressed as far as we like to think from the feudal past. The interillumination opens up multiple new possibilities, rather than closing them down to a single conclusive reading.

The anachronistic work done on history here is dependent on performance and context. The objects used in the *mitate* game change from production to production, or even from performance to performance, according to fashions and fads and the contemporary cultural discourse; in 2013, smartphones were still relatively new and their cultural impact was a popular topic of conversation. Crucially, the anachronism's success in consciously juxtaposing past and present is entirely dependent on the historical distance between the era of the setting and the instance of performance. An eighteenth-century production of the play that used an Edo-present object in a similar fashion would not have been anachronistic (if, again, we assume everyone understood that the "real" setting is the Edo period). The potential for anachronistic work changes over time, as the moment of performance moves away from the setting, and each instance of performance partakes of its own contemporary discourses about history. A Meiji-period production of the play that had a similarly anachronistic *mitate* might have been engaged in a very different project. While I focus on plays as texts in the remainder of this chapter—mostly analyzing playscripts as literary objects—it is important to note that, as C. Andrew Gerstle argues, each "performance should also be viewed as a 'text,' one that has a physical existence in sound and movement, but which dissipates as it passes through time, continuing to exist only in the memory of the participants."[18] Each instance of performance is a text that contains its own possibilities for anachronism, and every performance has the potential to be a unique site of radical historical instability.

APPROPRIATING SAMURAI HEROES IN SUKEROKU YUKARI NO EDO-ZAKURA

Sukeroku yukari no Edo-zakura (助六由縁江戸桜, Sukeroku, the cherry blossom of Edo, first performed as early as 1713, but with many iterations and a complicated authorship) is one of the Kabuki *jūhachiban* (歌舞伎十八番), or the eighteen favorite plays of the Ichikawa lineage of actors.[19] The titular Sukeroku is a representative example of the acting style known as *aragoto* (rough style) and a signature role of Ichikawa Danjūrō. Gerstle has stated

that "the essence of *aragoto* is defiance toward the samurai," and Sukeroku certainly seems to be an exemplar of this tradition. The play mainly consists of him romping through the Yoshiwara pleasure quarters, taunting and provoking samurai. He is "the townsmen's townsman," both a vigorous street brawler and a great lover—a *tsū* (playboy) connoisseur of the pleasure quarters—who puts to shame officious samurai who try to lean on their status in Yoshiwara.[20] In his entrance scene, after he dramatically comes in via the *hanamichi* (花道, runway), all the smitten courtesans of Yoshiwara rush to give him their pipes, while the pompous samurai Ikyū (意休) receives none. Sukeroku then condescends to give Ikyū one of his pipes, insultingly passing it to him with his foot.[21]

It might seem that a portrayal so blatantly disrespectful of samurai would run afoul of state censorship, but Sukeroku is actually Soga Gorō (曽我五郎, 1174–93), a well-known twelfth-century samurai and subject of a popular vendetta story. Soga Gorō's father was killed by Kudō Suketsune (工藤祐経, 1147–93). Gorō and his brother, Soga Jūrō (曽我十郎, 1172–93), were only children at the time, but they never forgot their filial duty to their father and, after eighteen years of growing and waiting, finally succeeded in killing Suketsune. This story has been told and retold countless times in myriad formats: textual, oral, and dramatic.[22] It constitutes a *sekai*, a shared textual world, subject to the intervention of *shukō*, which is apparent in *Sukeroku* (although perhaps it is more correct to say that the addition of the Soga story was a *shukō* in the Sukeroku story; the story of Sukeroku and his lover, Agemaki, existed as a love suicide for some time before the Soga element was added).[23] The result is that in this play Sukeroku is actually a *yatsushi* (high disguised as low) Soga Gorō, disguising himself as a commoner street brawler. The conceit is that he needs a precious sword (given to his father by Yoshitsune but now in the possession of Ikyū) in order to legitimate himself as its heir and carry out his famous revenge. Therefore he must go around provoking samurai into drawing their swords so that he can inspect whether they have the sword he seeks. So while audiences could enjoy the delicious appearance of a commoner insulting and defying samurai, in the end no class boundaries have been transgressed because Sukeroku is actually a samurai—in fact a samurai of the most unimpeachable moral quality.[24]

Most significantly for this study, the play is supremely anachronistic. It anachronistically mixes the *sewamono* (contemporary, Edo-present) story of Sukeroku and Agemaki with the twelfth-century Soga *sekai*. Significantly, the text does not change the setting to a more historically appropriate loca-

tion, such as the Gion pleasure quarters in Kyoto, where much of *Kanadehon chūshingura* is set.[25] In this other play, Gion was understood to be a stand-in for Yoshiwara, but it was also historically appropriate for the *Taiheiki* setting. *Sukeroku*, however, explicitly calls its setting Yoshiwara, a location in the Edo-modern city of Edo that belongs in the register of the Edo present. To pick just one example: in provoking the arrogant samurai Monbei (門兵衛), Sukeroku mockingly (because Monbei is unimportant) asks, "is there anyone who does not know this gentleman? He can't hide anywhere in this Edo, let alone this Yoshiwara," establishing that the play is set in the Yoshiwara pleasure quarters in Edo. During his bold *nanori* (名乗り, declaring one's name), Sukeroku says, "listen, any lowlife setting foot in these five blocks [*gochōmachi*] should know my name."[26] *Gochōmachi* (五丁町) refers specifically to the new Yoshiwara built after the original burned down in 1657. There can be no mistake that this play is set in the Edo present—and it must be, for Sukeroku, with his trademark "Edo lavender" headband and *aragoto* brashness, is a celebration of the *edokko* (江戸っ子, child of Edo), a term proudly adopted by Edoites to describe the characteristic rough-and-ready personality of the Edo urban commoner.[27] This pride was intimately tied up with a sense of place: the Edo-present city of Edo. A proper celebration of the *edokko* must be set in the city of Edo. Yet Sukeroku is also Soga Gorō, the historical twelfth-century samurai. This is not a forgotten artifact of iterative playwriting; it is front and center in the story. The plot revolves around Gorō and Jūrō acquiring their father's sword, which they succeed in doing. We assume that once the play ends they go off to take their famous revenge, which will eventually be remembered in the Yoshiwara quarters in the Edo present. There is no narrative explanation for this temporal paradox; it is a conspicuous, unresolved anachronism.

This anachronism juxtaposes the twelfth century and the Edo period, superimposing them—and superimposing Sukeroku on Soga Gorō—in a way that keeps the narrative of history that separates them intact, yet allows surprising new connections to form between them. It is a dialogic anachronism that does not rewrite history, but playfully opens up history to new possibilities even as it calls attention to that project and its historical impossibility. The superimposition of Sukeroku on Soga Gorō (or vice versa) juxtaposes a commoner and a samurai—but not just any commoner, and not just any samurai. Sukeroku is an exaggerated caricature of an *edokko*, engaging in extremes of behavior deemed immoral by official samurai ideology: brawling in the street, insulting samurai, and frequenting the pleasure quarters.

Soga Gorō is not just any samurai, but a legend, and a major historical model of samurai moral superiority. The shogunate viewed revenge for a feudal master or family member as a moral good, exemplary of the Confucian virtue of filial piety, and even had bureaucratic systems in place to approve and investigate revenge killings.[28] The willingness of samurai to go to the ends of the earth to carry out a vendetta was a major edifice in the construction of a samurai moral superiority that legitimated samurai status and political hegemony. The Soga brothers were a famous historical example of this samurai moral action, easily the best-known vengeance story until the sensational Akō incident of 1703.

Anachronistically, this historical exemplar of samurai morality is juxtaposed with an exemplar of Edo-present commoner immorality. The combination seems unlikely, but this playful juxtaposition—the dialogic mixture of seemingly disparate *moe yōso* (moe elements) in Azuma's terms, or the pleasurable combination of incongruous "cards" in Fredric Jameson's—allows the connections between the two to become visible.[29] The text invites viewers to reconsider the street-tough Sukeroku in light of the discourse on historical moral samurai. It creates the possibility that Sukeroku is in fact morally righteous, and morally righteous in all the same ways that morally impeccable samurai heroes of the past are righteous. He is forthright and fair, devoted to his moral goal of revenge rather than enjoying his rank. In his discussion of the subversive potential of carnival, Mikhail Bakhtin mentions the "comic crownings and uncrownings" that enable the "peculiar logic of the 'inside out' (*à l'envers*), of the 'turnabout,' of a continual shifting from top to bottom."[30] If comic uncrownings of power have subversive potential, then so too do comic crownings: the jester made king. Resistance in *Sukeroku* is located not in the deconstruction of samurai hegemony, but in the suggestion that a commoner street tough could just as well be a venerable historical samurai, one who punishes the immoral samurai of the present. Sukeroku is uncouth and rude at times, but his scorn is reserved for samurai who have strayed from their moral path and use their status to tyrannize commoners in the pleasure quarters, forgetting the "two paths" of literary and martial virtue. Monbei and Ikyū are exactly two such samurai.

The anachronism here claims a twelfth-century samurai for the urban commoners of the Edo present. By creating an impossible, anachronistic connection between the twelfth and eighteenth (or nineteenth, in later productions) centuries, it implies that Edo urban commoners are the true inheritors of Soga Gorō and other legendary historical figures. At the same

time, by showing Sukeroku chastising Edo-modern samurai in Yoshiwara, it effectively uses a celebrated samurai of the past to criticize the samurai of the present, showing that the rulers of the Edo present do not live up to their own historical legitimators. Samurai narratives of moral legitimation may be accepted, but *edokko* are better exemplars of samurai morality, not the venal samurai that claim Soga Gorō as legitimating precedent. Again, despite the sometimes violent belittling of samurai apparent in the play, it should not be read as an example of class struggle against samurai narratives. As Nakano Mitsutoshi argues, Sukeroku does not struggle against samurai ideology; he exemplifies it.[31] His scorn for and punishment of Monbei, Ikyū, and other samurai in the play fulfill the righteous samurai's duty to punish those who have strayed from samurai moral virtue. *Sukeroku* does not undermine samurai narratives, but appropriates them for *chōnin* (町人, urban commoners) to question the rule of the particular venal, boorish, decadent samurai that happen to be in charge. It uses anachronism to create a connection between Soga Gorō and *edokko* that is obviously ahistorical, yet now somehow plausible; *edokko* are closer to Soga Gorō's moral virtue than Edo-present samurai. They better represent samurai virtue than do samurai themselves.

However, the work of the anachronism is as ever not unidirectional. The new intertextual connections formed by juxtaposing past and present not only newly illuminate Edo-present *edokko*, they also do work on history. The text associates Soga Gorō with Sukeroku—again, a larger-than-life caricature of supposedly immoral commoner behavior.[32] A great gulf of history, class, and ideology separates the twelfth-century samurai from an Edo-present commoner, and it is clearly ahistorical to suggest that they were similar. Yet the use of anachronism playfully opens up the possibility of a connection. Furthermore, Furuido Hideo argues that Kabuki's mixing of eras made divine or heroic figures from mytho-histories seem to have the same emotions as ordinary Edo-period humans, effectively bringing their heroic statures down to earth.[33] The text effectively denatures Soga Gorō as a paragon of samurai morality, and therefore as a part of the cultural apparatus for the legitimation of samurai rule. For Edo theatergoers, Soga Gorō is associated with Sukeroku—even though said theatergoers know there is no actual, historical connection. History, in other words, is not rewritten into a monologue that speaks with the same voice as the present. Nonetheless, the use of Soga Gorō to legitimate samurai caste status and hegemony has been undermined because he has become palimp-

sested with immoral or uncouth aspects of the commoner castes. This is paradoxical, as Soga Gorō's moral surety legitimates the Edo-present *edokko* even as that moral surety is simultaneously undermined. Edo literature, however, is no stranger to paradox.

THE MAGO DESHI *OF THE ANCIENTS:* SUGAWARA DENJU TENARAI KAGAMI

Written by the hit playwriting team of Takeda Izumo II (竹田出雲, 1691–1756), Namiki Senryū (並木宗輔, 1695–1751), and Miyoshi Shōraku (三好松洛, 1695–1771), *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami* (菅原伝授手習鑑, The mirror of the transmission of Sugawara's calligraphy, 1746) is one of the *sandai meisaku* (三大名作, three great works) of Edo popular theater.[34] Written as a *ningyō-jōruri* play, it proved so immensely popular that it was adapted to Kabuki barely a month after it premiered.[35] The play is set in the *sekai* of the titular Sugawara no Michizane (菅原道真, d. 903), in the Heian court. Michizane was a courtier who was banished from the capital due to political machinations and died in exile and disgrace. After a series of natural disasters subsequent to his death were blamed on his vengeful spirit, he was posthumously exonerated and enshrined as Tenjin (天神), the god of learning. The play centers on the transmission of Sugawara's secret calligraphy techniques, and invents many dramatic situations and a host of characters, including Kan Shūsai, Michizane's son and heir (this play, in turn, is the *sekai* for Koikawa Harumachi's *Ōmu-gaeshi bunbu no futamichi* [Parroting back, the two paths of pen and sword], discussed in the previous chapter).

Sugawara denju tenarai kagami contains several anachronisms. Naturally, the visual presentation of the play, the costumes worn, the properties used, and so forth are all very anachronistic. Although Michizane himself wears a costume that at least attempts to approximate a Heian aristocrat's robes, the other characters wear costumes contemporary to the Edo present. However, this contrast fails to create an anachronistic juxtaposition of past and present. Kabuki costume was and is highly stylized and formalized—signaling the ranks and professions of characters, differentiating lead roles from supporting, or indicating character type (such as an *aragoto* hero or comic buffoon)—and this is especially true as the temporal or social distance from the audience increases. The dress of Edo commoners was well known to Edo-contemporary audiences, but that of Heian aristocrats was not very

accessible, and so those costumes tended toward the fanciful and formulaic, allowing the practiced theatergoer to instantly recognize the social positions and character types onstage by observing the costumes.[36] Furthermore, some dramatic characters would have an individually formal costume, developed through centuries of performance across many different plays featuring that character—sometimes even adapted from Nō theater—which was recognizable as distinctive to that (usually historical) character.[37] Although many Kabuki plays feature realistic contemporary costumes (allowing, among other things, actors to set fashion trends and advertise the clothing and cloth of local businesses), many other Kabuki costumes are not at all mimetic. Actors are dressed in flamboyant, highly structured clothing that bears only a passing resemblance to real styles—witness the Kabuki standby *Shibaraku* (暫, Just a moment), performed every year, in which a host of characters parade across the stage in fantastic, architectural costumes.[38] When such costumes are used in *jidaimono* (時代物, history plays), they are understood not as representations of the past but as part of the spectacle of Kabuki; they take as their intertextual referent not history, but rather other Kabuki performances. They do not evoke anachronistic juxtaposition any more than does the anachronistic language used in nearly all the works examined here, as both are understood to be a convention of representation.[39]

However, other anachronisms in *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami* do succeed in juxtaposing past and present, placing their cards or elements next to each other to allow for new possibilities to form between them. The first is the inclusion of triplets—Matsuōmaru, Umeōmaru, and Sakuramaru—as major characters. A month before the play debuted, triplets were born in Osaka. The very unusual event was deemed auspicious, and officials even granted the family some money. This birth became a topic of contemporary discussion and gossip.[40] Therefore, for audiences watching the play close to its debut the triplet brothers unmistakably summoned the present-day discourse about the triplets into the Heian past. Significantly, the three brothers in the play are all of low social rank, mere grooms. Nevertheless, they serve and interact with high-ranking courtiers or, in the case of Sakuramaru, even an imperial prince. The conspicuous insertion of the discourse of the Edo-present birth of triplets into the past slyly suggests—not in the text itself, but in the intertext—that these brothers are Edo-present commoners of low wealth and station. Yet they have access to and are trusted servants of the brokers of power.

Furthermore, their masters are members of the imperial court at a time

when, according to the shogunate's own official histories (discussed in the previous chapter), it still had legitimacy to rule. Edo-present commoners are projected into a period before the samurai political supremacy of the Edo present. In this fiction, Edo-present commoners are able to escape the totalizing hegemony of Tokugawa rule and samurai authority (although not the regime's Neo-Confucian ideology of loyalty and piety, which is central to the play). They are furthermore depicted as intimates with the top echelons of the imperial court, the politically sovereign superiors of samurai during the tenth century. The anachronistic juxtaposition here is subversive, creating the possibility (however fictional and impossible) that the Neo-Confucian caste system and its totalizing social ideology, as well as samurai rule itself, were not teleological and could be escaped by *chōnin*. This anachronistic juxtaposition would only have been summoned up for those watching in the months or years immediately following the play's debut. As the 1746 birth of triplets faded from contemporary discourse, the triplets in the play became merely unusual. Still, for those initial audiences the juxtaposition of Edo-present commoners with the Heian past was a subversive project.

The other clear anachronism is the central presence in the play of a *terakoya* (寺子屋), literally a "temple school" but in practice any school that educated commoners, including those not necessarily associated with temples. Although the practice of gathering local children and teaching them basic letters had spread to even country temples by the Muromachi period, it wasn't until the Edo period that *terakoya* became a major fixture of commoner life.[41] The high rate of literacy in the Edo period was due in no small part to the *terakoya*. The schools, which often taught basic math, history, and literature in addition to reading and writing, had such a large impact on the culture, economy, and even politics of the Edo period that Ishikawa Ken has called the Edo period the "*terakoya* era" (*terakoya jidai*, 寺子屋時代).[42] The *terakoya*, therefore, was a conspicuous feature of Edo-present commoner life, certainly anachronistic to the Heian era. Samuel L. Leiter explains this anachronistic contradiction by calling the *terakoya* scene in act 4 "an example of the sewamono" within a history play, although he allows that there are "a number of elements suggestive of the history classification."[43] However, the anachronism should be read as a productive feature of the text, not merely a case of difficult classification. It summons the discourse about Edo-present education and commoner life into the play's representation of the past.

Significantly, one major character, Takebe Genzō (武部源蔵), is a *terakoya* teacher. He is a former student of Michizane's who was disowned

for his romantic indiscretions. Reduced to penury, he turns to teaching at a country *terakoya* to make ends meet. Nonetheless, his calligraphic skills never atrophy, and it is Genzō to whom Michizane passes his acclaimed calligraphy secrets. Although Genzō is depicted with the two swords indicating samurai rank, at least in modern productions he does not wear his long sword on the street to advertise his rank.[44] He is an impoverished samurai much closer to commoner life than the higher ranks of samurai power, and he treats the peasant children whose education he is entrusted with "just as if they were my own children."[45] Genzō is the perfect image of the down-on-his-luck *terakoya* teacher—maybe a samurai with only a nominal stipend trying to leverage his education into income—that many audience members might have been familiar with from their own educations.

The *terakoya* and *terakoya* teacher are familiar aspects of Edo-present commoner life inserted anachronistically into the Heian era. They reflexively superimpose the present onto the past, creating a dialogic juxtaposition of the two eras. The discourse surrounding Heian (courtly elegance, imperial politics, princes, courtiers, etc.) is summoned and juxtaposed with the discourse surrounding Edo-present commoner life (urban culture, commoner education, samurai hegemony, etc.). This creates the possibility of subversive (if counterfactual) connections between the two discourses held in dialogue. Not only does the text write urban commoners into a valorized past, allowing them to participate in the heroic narratives of history, it cleverly admixes and conflates Edo-present commoner life, dominated by samurai hegemony, with a political system that is outside of and predates that hegemony. This effectively suggests the possibility of an Edo-contemporary commoner society, culture, and economy existing quite without the samurai rule that was supposed to be the lynchpin of the nation's peace and prosperity. History here is not rewritten to suggest Edo urban commoners really existed in the pre-Tokugawa past. There is no narrative of escaping samurai hegemony—no narrative of revolution—but this intertextual playing with history creates the suggestion that samurai hegemony is not as totalizing as official ideology would claim.

Crucially, although Michizane transmits his calligraphy secrets to Genzō, he does not welcome his former student back into the fold as his disciple: "The transmission is the transmission, the disownment is the disownment. This was a special circumstance. Although you are reprehensible, I couldn't ignore your calligraphy skills," Michizane spits at Genzō.[46] Michizane creates a distinction here between the transmission of the secrets and the mentor-

disciple relationship. It is not likely that someone would transmit his artistic secrets to another who is not even his disciple, but this conceit, however unlikely, means that Genzō receives the most valuable aristocratic cultural capital imaginable but will nonetheless continue teaching at his school. Because that school is a *terakoya*, precisely the site of radical juxtaposition of the commoner Edo present with the past, the text claims that cultural capital for the commoners of the present, notably transmitted straight from the Heian court to Edo commoners, bypassing samurai who imagined themselves as Confucian scholar-gentlemen and cultural curators. It is unlikely Genzō will actually transmit those secrets to any of his child pupils, but those commoner students (and by extension Edo commoners) can claim to have been taught by the recipient of the great Michizane's calligraphy secrets. Commoner *terakoya* students are, in effect, Michizane's *mago deshi* (孫弟子, grand-disciples, a teacher's pupil's pupils). By anachronistically inserting a *terakoya* into the Heian era, the text has—however playfully, however intertextually—disrupted the teleology of Tokugawa and samurai rule by putting commoners in direct contact with an aristocratic culture that predates samurai hegemony.

It might seem unlikely that a play that so prominently features and valorizes loyalty to one's master could be doing such subversive work. The *terakoya* scene, in particular, is a tour de force of the conflict of *giri* (義理, feudal duty) and *ninjō* (人情, human emotion), a staple of Kabuki and *ningyō-jōruri* psychodrama in which *giri* must usually win out, as it does here. In the scene, several people make extreme sacrifices that are emotionally devastating in order to fulfill their feudal duty. Genzō and his wife, Tonami, decide to sacrifice a beloved student so that his head might stand in for that of their young master, Kan Shūsai, whom the evil lord Fujiwara no Shihei (藤原時平) is hunting down. Unbeknown to them, Matsuōmaru (in Shihei's service, but having realized an original feudal obligation to Michizane) and his wife have already decided to sacrifice their own son and brought him to the school for just this purpose. Genzō, not knowing of their intentions, selects Matsuōmaru's son for death with great grief and guilt. Genzō must behead a child: Matsuōmaru must inspect his own son's severed head and pronounce it that of Kan Shūsai. Although the plot of sacrificing a child for one's lord was a Kabuki trope, the churning emotion created by this situation (highlighted by several *mie* [見栄], or dramatic poses) is a major draw for audiences. The play shows characters repressing the most powerful emotions of parental love and enduring terrible grief in service of their lord, which could

be plausibly read as a valorization of feudal loyalty. However, Kawatake Toshio has written that this scene precisely highlights the absurdity of a feudal system that required such terrible sacrifices from its subjects: "The real theme of *Terakoya* is emphasizing the anger, resignation, sadness, etc., at an inhuman system that even required one to substitute one's own child for one's lord. Genzō's line when he and his wife decide that they have no other choice but to kill their brand-new student Kotarō, not knowing that he is Matsuō's child, as a substitute for their lord, expresses this clearly: 'one should never serve a master' [*semajiki mono wa miya-zukae*]."[47] Japan's censors during World War II certainly thought that this line (which has become idiomatic) subverted the loyalty they wanted to instill in citizens, as the line was amended during wartime performances. But while Kawatake finds resistance in the *terakoya* scene in the very extremeness of the acts of feudal loyalty depicted, commoner audiences often internalized those same samurai values of loyalty, courage, and sacrifice and tried to claim them for their own (since so many real samurai seemed to lack them), rather than reject or propose alternatives to samurai values.[48] If resistance is to be located in this play, then, it seems more plausibly found in the anachronism, a dialogic juxtaposition that does not reject or overwrite samurai values, samurai hegemony, or the history of samurai ascendance, but instead creates deliciously subversive new possibilities of Edo commoner culture existing in and gaining cultural legitimacy from the Heian past.

SEXY HEROES IN YOSHITSUNE SENBON ZAKURA

Also written by Takeda Izumo II, Namiki Senryū, and Miyoshi Shōraku, *Yoshitsune senbon zakura* (義経千本桜, Yoshitsune and the thousand cherry trees, 1747) is another masterpiece of the puppet theater.[49] Like *Sugawara* and *Kanadehon chūshingura*, it is one of the *sandai meisaku* or three great works of Edo popular theater, and like those plays it was also quickly adapted to Kabuki. It follows Yoshitsune's flight from the capital in the twelfth century, shortly after his victory in the Genpei War, when his brother Yoritomo deemed him a threat and tried to have him arrested. The play takes inspiration from the tradition of representation of the "Yoshitsune shitsuijidai" (義経失意時代, Yoshitsune's downfall) story, especially the Nō play *Funa Benkei* (船弁慶, Benkei on a boat).[50] However, it updates the story for Edo tastes, with plenty of intrigue and hidden identities, including the innovation that

several Heike warriors survived the Genpei War and are in hiding, appearing in the play as living people rather than ghosts, as they do in *Funa Benkei*.

One Heike warrior, Taira no Koremori (平維盛, 1158–c. 1184), happens to be hiding out in a sushi shop anachronistic to the twelfth century, where he is preparing to marry the owner's daughter and inherit the shop. Indeed, he enters the relevant scene diligently carrying sushi tubs delivered to customers.[51] Sushi restaurants were a familiar part of the urban milieu surrounding commoners of the Edo present, now inserted centuries into the past. It is true that sushi existed in various forms before the Edo period, but it was during the Edo period that it became a popular snack. Furthermore, the sushi being prepared in this particular shop is *haya-zuke* (早漬) sushi, in which fish is pressed with vinegared rice and made ready for eating in just a few days, an innovation of the seventeenth century.[52] More noticeable, however, is that the sushi shop in the play is an actual restaurant, Tsurube Sushi Yasuke (釣瓶鮓弥助), which was founded in the seventeenth century and had by the 1740s become a prosperous business in Shimoichi, near Osaka, where the play was first staged.[53] Rather than featuring a generalized fixture of the modern urban landscape—like the *terakoya* in *Sugawara* (or indeed the hamburger stand in *Seibā marionetto J* [Saber Marionette J])—*Yoshitsune senbon zakura* thus inserts into the deep past a specific Edo-present business, a place that theatergoers at the time of the play's first performance might well have visited.

This anachronism injects Edo-modern mercantilism, consumerism, food culture, and urban life into the twelfth century. The conspicuousness of putting a present-day, well-known business in the past ensures that this insertion is dialogic, reflexively calling attention to the absurdity of the anachronism. Rather than rewriting the past into a monologue that attests modern urban life, the text instead playfully draws attention to its anachronistic representation, a joke that playwrights, actors, and audience are all in on. At the same time, it puts the plebian Edo urban present and the heroic twelfth century in juxtaposition, allowing them to interilluminate each other and opening up both to new possibilities without rewriting the discourse on either. Here, again, we see the text suggesting interoperability. Since Koremori seems perfectly comfortable helping out with the modern sushi business, the text suggests the enticing possibility that perhaps storied twelfth-century generals like Koremori are interoperable with the cultural logic of Edo-period mercantilism. We know that Koremori and sushi shops belong to two very different registers, and that knowledge is not overwrit-

ten, but it is pleasurable to reflexively suspend that knowledge for a moment and imagine that twelfth-century Koremori and eighteenth-century sushi shops might be able to operate in each other's cultural logic.

There is again an aspect of class transgression here, as Koremori, a samurai (the highest caste) is depicted as the adopted son and heir of a merchant family (the lowest caste). This sort of class movement was real enough, as penurious samurai did in fact take up merchant occupations. In this case, however, a twelfth-century samurai, a general whose name has been passed down in histories, is running a merchant business in the Edo present, thanks to the anachronism. This juxtaposition punctures a closed past that legitimated samurai power, refamiliarizing Koremori and claiming him for urban commoners by showing him running a familiar merchant business. Furthermore, Koremori is depicted as handsome and fashionably dressed in Edo-modern styles. He is the perfect modern young man, someone who is both a hard worker and a good looker. Koremori is transformed into an object of Edo-modern sexual desire, and indeed Osato, the shop owner's daughter, is anxious to begin their wedding night. This anachronistic representation of a twelfth-century general as an eighteenth-century beau allows sexual desire to be projected onto men of the past. While this effectively makes a valorous samurai of the past desirable, perhaps retrenching the heroism that legitimated samurai rule, Koremori belongs to closed history, which is now opened to base desire. One was supposed to desire to imitate the loyalty and courage of samurai heroes, not to possess the sexualized bodies of the heroes themselves. In a very different context, Sharon Kinsella argues that the production of sexualized parodies of masculine manga heroes means that "while on the one hand [they] are positively celebrated, on the other hand, their authority and aloofness is punctured."[54] The same dynamic is present here. Koremori is celebrated, true, but in the process he is associated with the carnal and the base, reducing his lofty stature. In the case of the Kabuki version of the play, Koremori's attractiveness is represented by an actor in a theater, and fans (female and male alike, certainly) paid to have access to the attractive bodies of star actors. Here there is the commodification of sexuality ever-present in the theater world, but now Edo-modern sexual commodification is being projected onto the twelfth century. This is true to some extent of any attractive actor playing a historical figure, but the anachronistic sushi shop in the twelfth century has signaled that history is being suspended, and eras are being superimposed while characters, fashions, and ideas move between them. Not only in the extradiegetic world of

the theater then, but also in the diegetic world of the play onstage where Koremori is wearing modern styles, sexuality is being commodified and sold to eager theatergoers, effectively (if dialogically) pressing sexual commodification onto a monumental past.

After a series of convoluted events involving people-substitution and purposely misidentified severed heads (standard tropes in the popular theater), the shop owner, Yazaemon, fatally stabs his own son and witnesses his grandson and daughter-in-law being taken away by the authorities. As he sobs with grief, he and Koremori exchange one of the most striking pieces of dialogue in the play. Rather than rage at the proximate cause of his misfortune, Yazaemon says, "this is all the doing of the pursuers from Kamakura," where the new shogunate was headquartered. In response, Koremori remarks with angry tears, "You're right. Immorality has spread under the rule of Yoritomo. How I regret that I cannot chastise him with a stroke of my sword."[55] Here Koremori expresses a desire to kill the shogun. This is not that remarkable in and of itself, since quite aside from the immediate tragedy Koremori is a Heike samurai, sworn enemy of the Minamoto clan and Yoritomo. However, these words are being spoken in an anachronistic, Edo-present sushi shop. As the twelfth century and the eighteenth century are superimposed here, the shogun in Kamakura is superimposed on the Edo-present shogun in Edo Castle. The dialogic anachronistic juxtaposition here allows the characters to criticize (if only indirectly) the *current* shogun for his immorality and convey a desire to cut him down. This statement almost certainly would have been censored and punished if it had been expressly directed at the current ruler. *Yoshitsune senbon zakura* has Koremori purportedly direct that sentiment toward a past shogun of a different regime, but then redirects it through subtle, reflexive superimposition of the past on the present, and of Yoritomo on the present Tokugawa shogun. Not only is rage and dissatisfaction with Tokugawa hegemony given rare voice here, but it is a great samurai of the past who is voicing it. A hero of the past who legitimated samurai rule in the present through his courage and moral rectitude effectively criticizes the present shogun as immoral and expresses a desire to kill him. This is a bold condemnation of the shogun, and it is only saved because it addresses the Tokugawa shogunate indirectly in an intertext that puts the twelfth and eighteenth centuries in contact, allowing them to interilluminate each other and drawing attention to the similarities between them; one of those similarities was certainly the arbitrary rule of samurai overlords. Therefore, dialogic anachronism in *Yoshitsune senbon zak-*

ura not only opens up the monumental past of the twelfth century by creating an interoperability between it and the Edo present, but also slyly enables political speech by allowing characters to voice criticism of the power structures and rulers of the juxtaposed eras.

• • •

There are many anachronisms in Edo theatrical works that are not major plot or character elements, but merely small references in otherwise historical works. Nonetheless, these small anachronisms can do significant work. For example, *Tōkaidō Yotsuya kaidan* (東海道四谷怪談, Yotsuya ghost stories on the Tōkaidō, 1825) by Tsuruya Nanboku IV (四代目鶴屋南北, 1755–1829) is set in the *sekai* of *Kanadehon chūshingura*, but weaves in a shocking *shukō*. Following the late Edo taste for villainy and the macabre, *Yotsuya kaidan* focuses on Iemon, one of the forty-seven retainers, and depicts him as the polar opposite of the moral, loyal retainer. He is, in fact, morally reprehensible. He kills the father of Oiwa, a woman he is interested in, and uses a promise to find the killer and avenge the murder to entice her to marry him. After showing a complete disregard and lack of affection for Oiwa and his newborn child, Iemon agrees to have her poisoned so he can marry a younger woman from a wealthy family. The spectacle of the play focuses on the transformation of Oiwa into a vengeful ghost after the poison horribly disfigures her and she is killed.

Clearly this text can be read as subversive, taking one of the forty-seven loyal retainers that successfully carried out a vendetta for their master, a paragon of samurai virtue, and transforming him into the worst kind of criminal. The anachronism here is small and subtle, but telling. As he refuses to avenge Oiwa's father's murder, Iemon remarks, "nowadays, avenging one's parents is so old-fashioned" (*ima jibun, oya no kataki mo anmari kofū da*).[56] Significantly, this is quite untrue of the period in which the *sekai* is set: revenge was important in both the fourteenth and early eighteenth centuries. This rather refers to the nineteenth-century present of the play's debut performance, when the number of vendettas by samurai had been falling precipitously since the mid-eighteenth century.[57] The anachronism here reflexively inserts the present into the past to call attention to the fact that present-day samurai would not likely pursue a vendetta as the Akō samurai did. Past and present are juxtaposed to suggest that present-day samurai would not live up to their own historical heroes and legitimating myths. Furthermore, by the play's anachronistically putting the (likely) words of a

nineteenth-century samurai into Iemon's mouth, the intertextual *sekai* connections with other *Kanadehon chūshingura* plays suggest that Iemon is representative of present-day samurai. If the forty-seven retainers are supposed to be loyal and moral (as shown in so many other representations), Iemon's criminality and moral degeneration in this particular manifestation of the *sekai* must be the result of samurai no longer caring about vendettas (and, by implication, the samurai moral order), much like the samurai of the present. This anachronism is just one line, not a major plot device like Sukeroku's double identity. However, when the play first debuted in 1825, its scenes were performed on alternate days, with scenes from *Kanadehon chūshingura* performed between them, allowing the classic story of eighteenth-century samurai loyalty to be juxtaposed with nineteenth-century samurai perfidy and contrasted strongly against it.[58] This anachronistic line, then, reinforced the comparison with the representative work of the *sekai*, metadramatically calling attention to the larger project of exposing the moral gap between eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century samurai.

This study presents major anachronisms in representative works of Edo theater that are doing significant work on history and the historical legitimation of power. But Edo theater is peppered with countless small anachronisms that may not quite challenge sociopolitical systems and yet still evoke and juxtapose past and present for some (often comic) effect. When Sehei (瀬平) in *Kenuki* (毛抜, Tweezers, another of the Kabuki *jūhachiban*, set in the Heian era), mentions buying "a mansion as big as a horse racetrack in Kōtsushinchi," he is referencing a district in Osaka that was newly developed with mansions and teahouses only three years prior to the play's 1742 debut, a contemporary topic of gossip.[59] This anachronism does less work than, say, *Sukeroku's* appropriation of a historical hero, but it does metafictionally superimpose the cityscape of the present onto that of the past, creating new connections between the two, as it playfully pokes fun at the oversize houses of the wealthy. There are far too many such small anachronisms in Edo theater to treat here, and the text of each new performance introduces the opportunity for more.

The goal of this chapter is not to catalog every anachronism in Edo theater (an impossible task, given that so many are created in the unique instance of performance), but rather to show, through a close reading of anachronisms in several prominent plays, that anachronisms are both interesting and meaningful in Kabuki and *ningyō-jōruri*. The interweaving of a historical *sekai* with a contemporary *shukō* may have been a standard plot

device, even clichéd to some extent. This might be taken as evidence that history was irrelevant to Edo playwrights and audiences, that no one cared enough about history to bother separating out people from different eras, and that therefore history was inoperative in the semiotics of the play.[60] However, while history as a discipline might be a modern invention, the examples from the previous chapter demonstrate that readers of popular literature in the Edo period were quite capable of understanding the historical sequence of events, precedence and antecedence, the distance of the past from the present, and so forth, and could recognize and enjoy that sequence being humorously broken. Rather than repeat the mistake of Shakespearean studies of assuming that Shakespeare and his audiences were incapable of historicizing their own past, then, we would be better served by understanding Edo audiences as practiced consumers of historical play.[61] Anachronisms in Edo theater may not have been novel, but they are also not insignificant to a play's sociopolitical commentary. Anachronisms, especially those that are prominent and unresolved in the plot, could summon past and present reflexively and conspicuously, putting them into dialogue without rewriting either, allowing them to interilluminate each other to interesting, sometimes subversive effect.

Conclusion

In his discussion of the literary chronotope, Mikhail Bakhtin writes that in literature “spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history.”[1] In a sense, then, the discussion of dialogic anachronism is a subset of the larger discussion of literary chronotope. As Bakhtin notes, time stretches and distorts in the novel, speeding up or slowing down to accommodate the dramatic needs of the plot. Anachronism is another literary manipulation of time, except that it stretches and distorts *historical* time rather than the chronology of diegetic characters and dramatic events. Chronotope admits paradox—protagonists can adventure for years without aging, for example—and anachronism is a chronotopic paradox in which historical time folds back on itself, bringing distant eras into contact. If a chronotope makes time “artistically visible,” as Bakhtin claims, then dialogic anachronism makes history artistically visible, highlighting the discourses that surround and demarcate eras, and signaling that they are being played with.

In an even more basic sense, anachronism can be taken as yet another form of defamiliarization, the “device” of art identified by the Russian formalists. Viktor Shklovsky wrote in 1917, “the goal of art is to create the sensation of seeing, and not merely recognizing, things; [defamiliarization] increases the duration and complexity of perception.”[2] Dialogic anachronism defamiliarizes historical time, makes readers see it rather than recognize it, and complicates its perception. By making history seen, anachronism can reveal the hidden contradictions in the discourses surrounding history,

forcing their assumptions to the surface. Monologic anachronism, on the other hand, must carefully avoid this artistic defamiliarization; to make the past speak with the present in a unitary voice, it must count on historical time merely being recognized, not "seen" and considered. From that perspective, dialogic anachronism is the *artistic* manipulation of history.

In another sense, anachronism is a specialized kind of intertextual allusion, a quotation of the "text" of history, of the discourses surrounding past and present, that makes up the "mosaic of quotations" from which Julia Kristeva argues all texts are constructed.[3] Anachronisms are also what Gérard Genette calls a hypertextual palimpsest, after the medieval documents in which traces of earlier text are visible under the most recent writing.[4] As we read through an anachronism—or at least a dialogic anachronism—we read through the layering of visible traces, a mode of engagement Philippe Lejeune calls "palimpsestuous."[5] Sarah Dillon describes the texts in a palimpsest as "involuted . . . [a] phenomenon where otherwise unrelated texts are involved and entangled, intricately interwoven, interrupting and inhabiting each other."[6] The function of anachronism, then, is well described by these theories of relationships between texts. The only difference is that anachronisms quote from or contain traces of discourses rather than specific texts. When a text depicts Yoshitsune using a telephone it quotes not from a specific text about telephones, but rather from the entire complex of knowledge surrounding telephones—their origin, the scientific knowledge that is prerequisite to them, the era in which they belong, the infrastructure required to support them, the types of communication and social intercourse they enable, and so forth. This "text" of knowledge about telephones becomes involuted with the "text" of knowledge about the twelfth century, so that they interpenetrate, "interrupting and inhabiting each other," and therefore opening both to new possibilities.

Bakhtin's discussion of parody, too, is informative for the consideration of anachronism. He contrasts stylization with parody, writing that stylization is characterized by:

> an intention on the part of the author to make use of someone else's discourse in the direction of its own particular aspirations. . . . The author's thought, once having penetrated someone else's discourse and made its home in it, does not collide with the other's thought. . . . The situation is different with parody. Here, as in stylization, the author again speaks in someone else's discourse, but in contrast to stylization parody intro-

> duces into that discourse a semantic intention that is directly opposed to the original one. The second voice, once having made its home in the other's discourse, clashes hostilely with its primordial host and forces him to serve directly opposing aims. Discourse becomes an arena of battle between two voices. In parody, therefore, there cannot be that fusion of voices possible in stylization.[7]

If both stylization and parody as compositional forms reference other texts and other discourses, stylization seeks to seamlessly imitate those other discourses. Parody, on the other hand, violently clashes with the other discourse, twisting it around in a way that is reflexive and apparent. The parodic voice does not (or cannot) hide within the discourse it summons, while the stylized voice can. In parodic texts, therefore, the presence of two voices is always perceptible, while stylized texts strive to create the perception of a single voice. What I call monologic anachronism, then, is the stylized representation of the past, a representation that tries to stylize contemporary ideas in the voice of the past, thus hiding those ideas as a separate voice and making them merge seamlessly into the past. Dialogic anachronism, on the other hand, is parody of the past, inserting contemporary ideas into a representation of the past in a way that foregrounds their paradoxicality and preserves past and present as two distinct, competing voices. But in their competition—which cannot resolve into a synthesis in a dialectical manner—new considerations of both past and present might be opened up, just as parody opens up texts to new considerations.

Literary anachronism, then, is closely related to established devices of defamiliarization and estrangement, quotation and allusion, parody and pastiche. The main difference is that anachronisms defamiliarize, quote from, or parody entire discourses on history rather than specific texts. They summon and juxtapose entire edifices of knowledge about other eras and either monologically rewrite them or dialogically denature the assumptions inherent in those regimes of knowledge. Anachronisms, therefore, can be powerful literary devices, rhetorical tools that texts can use to comment on any historical issue. Anachronisms are *interesting*. While some literary anachronism may be mere error and others might be simple gags, all anachronisms are doing some kind of work on history. Even anachronisms introduced as thoughtless errors by authors, playwrights, or directors still end up juxtaposing past and present in the text. And those monologic anachronisms not noticed as such by readers can have the most wide-ranging effect

on historical discourse (how many people came to assume Romans used stirrups thanks to *Spartacus*?).

However, dialogic anachronism reflexively brings the paradoxical mixture of past and present to a reader's attention for critical reexamination. Linda Hutcheon has identified "the presence of the past" as important in metafiction, but writes that "this is not a nostalgic return; it is a critical revisiting, an ironic dialog with the past of both art and society."[8] Historiographic metafiction calls attention to history as a human construct, available to us only through textuality.[9] And as a text, history becomes susceptible to the textual play of anachronism. But this play is rarely innocent. It is one of Bakhtin's "buffoon spectacles," an example of the "heteroglossia of the clown" that contests the forces of national and socio-ideological unification and centralization.[10] If dialogic anachronisms are occasionally humorous and buffoonish, they are engaging in a productive Bakhtinian buffoonery.

Time travel shares some similarities with the anachronistic juxtaposition of eras, but in other ways it is a very different device. To give one example, in the film *Chonmage purin* (ちょんまげぷりん, Topknot pudding, 2010), directed by Nakamura Yoshihiro (中村義洋, b. 1970), an Edo-period samurai is brought to the twenty-first century through divine intervention.[11] The first half of *Chonmage purin* follows the time-traveling samurai's struggles to comprehend the very alien twenty-first-century Japan, including not only its new technology but also its economics, social structures, and gender norms. After a period of personal struggle, the samurai does eventually find a way to fit in by becoming a chef. The incompatibilities between Edo and Heisei are addressed, and possibilities for resolution and compatibility are introduced. Like dialogic anachronism, the time travel in this film juxtaposes the discourses on past and present: the things we know about the Edo period, the things we know about the Heisei period, and the differences between them. But because the device that juxtaposes the two is diegetic (here a god, but in other texts things like time machines might be used) the interillumination between the eras can be controlled within the diegesis. In this case, the film shows that despite the gaps between Edo and Heisei, the time traveler is able to apply his samurai seriousness and dedication to modern culinary arts. The film, therefore, does not allow the past and present to interilluminate each other freely in the minds of viewers but imposes a single interpretation of the compatibilities between past and present, namely that modern Japan inherits the legacy of the samurai through dedication to trades in the modern economy. The film is closer to message fiction; it closes

down meanings by insisting on a single reading. Dialogic anachronism, on the other hand, opens up meanings by allowing for multiple potential readings at the moment eras interilluminate each other in anachronistic juxtaposition. Monologic anachronism makes the past speak with the voice of the present, but only by hiding its anachronistic work and making the attestation of past ideas in the present seem plausible. *Chonmage purin* and other time travel films do something different. They reflexively summon and juxtapose past and present, but at the same time insist on a certain way of reading that juxtaposition. They force a synthesis: a dialectic rather than a dialogic.

But time travel, at least, is not in danger of being dismissed as mere error or unimportant gag. This study has tried to show that while anachronism is often playful, comedic buffoonery, it is never innocent or devoid of consequence. It rather breaks open what Bakhtin might call an "epic past" that is "absolute and complete."[12] A dialogic anachronism might be a gag deployed for a quick laugh, the result of mixing two textual worlds, or even an error the author did not notice, but it still has the effect of slyly juxtaposing the discourses on the past and the present in a way that had not been considered before. The cards of the past and present are put together in delightfully fresh ways; they are *moe yōso* (moe elements) extracted from the cultural database and reassembled in new combinations without their original narrative—not erasing that narrative but setting it aside. History can be denatured, it can be repurposed for the projects of the present even when that purposing is ahistorical, its ability to legitimate power can be undermined, or any variety of other historical work can be done. Anachronism is occasionally unintentional, often absurd, and sometimes humorous, but it is always a radical site of historical instability that works to destabilize, open up, juxtapose, reconsider, and ultimately play with the highly contested and vital discourse on history.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Fredric Jameson, *Brecht and Method* (London: Verso, 1998), 40.

2. Alexander Singer, dir., *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, season 6, episode 26, and season 7, episode 1, "Descent," aired June 21 and September 20, 1993, Paramount.

3. Patrick Stewart, dir., *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, season 7, episode 6, "Phantasms," aired October 25, 1993, Paramount.

4. Of course, it is not impossible that they would recognize it, since the future depicted exists on a historical continuum that stems from our present, and therefore the characters might have knowledge of the technology of centuries prior. This is one reason postleptic anachronisms are difficult to treat: see below.

CHAPTER 1

1. Tezuka Osamu, *Hi no tori* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1992), 8:134–35. Except where otherwise indicated, all translations from Japanese sources are mine.

2. Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *The Past within Us: Media, Memory, History* (London: Verso, 2005), 16.

3. Phyllis Rackin, *Stages of History: Shakespeare's English Chronicles* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 88.

4. Rackin, 88.

5. Rackin, 88, 91.

6. Rackin, 92.

7. Sigurd Burckhardt, *Shakespearean Meanings* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 89.

8. Rackin, *Stages of History*, 92–93.

9. For example, Rackin notes that "in *1 Henry IV* Hotspur, historically three years older than the king, is made the contemporary of Prince Hal so that he can serve as a foil to the heir apparent, and thus Henry VI's Queen Margaret (dead in France in

1482) is kept alive in the England of Richard III to rail at the Yorkists and remind the audience of the past crimes that make their present sufferings justified." Rackin, 93.

10. I will take up the applicability of this theory to Edo in chapter 5.

11. Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 294.

12. Michael Holquist, glossary, in Bakhtin, 276–77.

13. Bakhtin, 270.

14. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist and Caryl Emerson (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 147.

15. It is worth noting that the successful partitioning of voices is not entirely a function of the text, but depends on the reader and their conception of historiography. It is possible to imagine that for readers a century or two hence, everything that came before, say, quantum brain computers will seem like a barely differentiated dark age, and Yoshitsune using a telephone will fail to attract notice as an anachronism juxtaposing incompatible discourses, much the way that most present-day readers fail to notice the anachronism in Richard II using benevolences or Romans using stirrups. Still, it is safe to say that for readers contemporary to the text's publication, and for today's readers, Yoshitsune using a telephone is quite obviously an anachronism, metatextually superimposing incompatible modern and premodern discourses.

16. Katsuya Hirano, *The Politics of Dialogic Imagination: Power and Popular Culture in Early Modern Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 223.

17. To return to the example mentioned in the introduction of a representation of the early twentieth century almost devoid of smoking: when I show students films from the same era, they immediately notice and are shocked by the amount of tobacco use. They cannot believe people really smoked that much, because anachronistic insertion of modern health regimes into the past has been very effective at rewriting that past.

18. Michael Holquist, *Dialogism: Bakhtin and His World* (London: Routledge, 2002), 89.

19. Julia Kristeva, "Word Dialog and Novel," in *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. Toril Moi (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 37.

20. Julia Kristeva, "Revolution in Poetic Language," in *The Kristeva Reader*, 111.

21. Roland Barthes, "Theory of the Text," in *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, ed. Robert Young (Boston: Routledge, 1981), 39.

22. Here I use *intertext* to mean the ephemeral text created at the moment of the juxtaposition of two texts: the text between texts, rather than the text that performs the act of summoning the two texts (the actual narrative work in question).

23. Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), xxiv.

24. Paul A. Bove and William V. Spanos, "A Conversation with William V. Spanos," *Boundary 2* 17, no. 2 (1990): 23.

25. Axel Honneth, "An Aversion against the Universal: A Commentary on Lyotard's *Postmodern Condition*," *Theory, Culture and Society* 2, no. 3 (November 1985): 151.

26. Jürgen Habermas, "Modernity—An Incomplete Project," in *Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (London: Pluto Press, 1985), 5.

27. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, xxiv.

28. Hiroki Azuma, *Otaku: Japan's Database Animals*, trans. Jonathan E. Abel (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 35.

29. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, xxiv.

30. Lyotard, 10.

31. Lyotard, 10.

32. Azuma, *Otaku*, 32.

33. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, 10.

34. In this, we see similarities with Bakhtin. For more on the similarities between Bakhtin and Lyotard, see David Carroll, "Narrative, Heterogeneity, and the Question of the Political: Bakhtin and Lyotard," in *The Aims of Representation: Subject/Text/History*, ed. Murray Krieger (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 69–106.

35. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, 63.

36. Linda Hutcheon, *The Politics of Postmodernism* (London: Routledge, 1989), 1–2.

37. Fredric Jameson, "Postmodernism and Consumer Society," in Foster, *Postmodern Culture*, 120.

38. Jameson, 125.

39. Jameson, 125.

40. Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), 370–71.

41. Jameson, 372.

42. Fredric Jameson, "Regarding Postmodernism—A Conversation with Fredric Jameson," by Anders Stephanson, *Social Text*, no. 21 (January 1989): 4–5.

43. Tezuka, *Hi no tori*, 7:248.

44. Linda Hutcheon, *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 5.

45. Hutcheon, 118.

46. Azuma, *Otaku*, 94.

47. Hutcheon, *A Poetics of Postmodernism*, 126, 110.

48. Azuma, *Otaku*, 22.

49. Azuma, 11. Azuma traces the US origins of many characteristically "Japanese" aspects of *otaku* culture at length, for example, the use of "limited animation" in anime. Ultimately, "if . . . we perceive a Japanese aesthetic in the composition of anime and special effects, it is also necessary to recall that neither anime nor special effects existed in Japan prior to a few decades ago and that their process of becoming 'Japanese' is rather convoluted" (11).

50. Azuma, 13, 11.

51. Azuma, 13.

52. Watanabe Kenji, ed., *Edo bunka to sabukaruchā* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 2005).

53. I will examine this work more closely in chapter 4.

54. Azuma, *Otaku*, 20.

55. Linda Hutcheon, *A Poetics of Postmodernism*, 118.

56. For a much more nuanced discussion, see John R. Bentley, "The Search for the Language of Yamatai," *Japanese Language and Literature* 42, no. 1 (April 2008): 1–43.

CHAPTER 2

1. Mori Ōgai, *Mori Ōgai zenshū* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1973), 7:106–7.

2. Ueda Masayuki, "Ōgai rekishi shōsetsu no jirenma—'rekishi sonomama' toiu shinwa kara no kaihō," *Kokugakuin Zasshi* 114, no. 7 (2013): 3.

3. *Mori Ōgai zenshū*, 7:105.

4. Tsubouchi Shōyō et al., *Seiji shōsetsu, Tsubouchi Shōyō, Futabatei Shimei shū* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1971), 195.

5. Karatani Kōjin, "Rekishi to shizen—Ōgai no rekishi shōsetsu," *Shinchō* 71, no. 3 (March 1973): 138.

6. Contradictions may be evident in the historical record, but they might not have been perceived as such by people of the era if they did not see fit to record them as such.

7. Ueda, "Ōgai rekishi shōsetsu no jirenma," 9.

8. Yamamoto Hirofumi, *Junshi no kōzō* (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1994), 19–34.

9. *Mori Ōgai Zenshū*, 3:114–15.

10. Kuritsubo Yoshiki, "Mori Ōgai 'Abe ichizoku' no soshikiron—'Junshi' toiu ichidai kōgyō no yukue," *Aoyama gakuin joshi tanki daigaku kiyō* 48 (December 1994): 3–4.

11. Sharalyn Orbaugh, "The Problem of the Modern Subject," in *The Columbia Companion to Modern East Asian Literature*, ed. Joshua S. Mostow (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 24.

12. Katsuya Hirano, *The Politics of Dialogic Imagination: Power and Popular Culture in Early Modern Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 200, 208.

13. Hirano, 223.

14. James A. Fujii, *Complicit Fictions: The Subject in the Modern Japanese Prose Narrative* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 20.

15. *Mori Ōgai Zenshū*, 3:117.

16. *Mori Ōgai Zenshū*, 3:121.

17. Matsumoto Isako, "Mori Ōgai 'Abe ichizoku' o yominaosu—nihon no otoko no shutai to wa," in *Koten o yominaosu*, ed. Matsuoka Mitsuharu (Nagoya: Nagoya daigaku daigakuin kokusai gengo bunka kenkyūka, 2005), 163.

18. *Mori Ōgai Zenshū*, 3:119.

19. *Mori Ōgai Zenshū*, 3:120.

20. Paul Gravett, *Manga: 60 Years of Japanese Comics* (London: Laurence King, 2004), 42.

21. Carol Gluck, "The Invention of Edo," in *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, ed. Stephen Vlastos (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 270.

22. Nobuhiko Nakai and James L. McClain, "Commercial Change and Urban Growth in Early Modern Japan," in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 4, *Early Modern Japan*, ed. John Whitney Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 538–39.

23. Tanaka Yūko, "Kotoba kara mieru Edo jidai no tayōna hitobito," in *Nihongaku to wa nani ka: Yōroppa kara mita Nihon kenkyū Nihon kara mita Nihon kenkyū* (Tokyo: Hōsei daigaku Kokusai Nihongaku kenkyū sentā, 2007), 185–86.

24. Shirato Sanpei, *Kamui den zenshū: ketteiban* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2006), 9:186.

25. Tanaka Yūko, *Kamui den kōgi* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2014), 313–14.

26. Shirato, *Kamui den zenshū*, 7:335–62, 7:365–70.

27. Shirato, 7:403.

28. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International, 1971), 333.

29. Friedrich Engels, "Labour Movements," in *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels*, vol. 4, *1844–45* (New York: International, 1975), 507.

30. Robert Daglish, ed., *V. I. Lenin Collected Works*, trans. George Hanna (Moscow: Progress, 1963), 19:245, (original emphasis).

31. Susan Napier, *Escape from the Wasteland: Romanticism and Realism in the Fiction of Mishima Yukio and Oe Kenzaburo* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 9.

32. Duantem Saihom, "Man'en gannen no futtobōru to 'bōryokutekina gunshū'—mongatari to gunshū no yakuwari," *Hyōgen to sōzō* 2 (June 2001): 17–26.

33. Murase Ryōko, "'Man'en gannen no futtobōru' ron: 'hontō no koto' o megutte," *Kindai bungaku shiron*, no. 36 (December 1998): 54.

34. Woraluck Klawploadtook, "'Man'en gannen no futtobōru' ron: Mitsusaburō to Takashi no jikan ishiiki nitsuite," *Senshū Kokubun* 76 (January 2005): 72–84.

35. Ōe Kenzaburō, *Man'en gannen no futtobōru* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1967), 105.

36. Ōe, 105.

37. Ōe, 105–6.

38. Ōe, 108–9.

39. Ōe, 110.

40. Ōe, 110–11.

41. Ōe, 112.

42. Ōe, 214.

43. Ōe, 215.

44. Ōe, 216.

45. Ōe, 260–61.
46. Ōe, 275–76.
47. Klawploadtook, "'Man'en gannen no futtobōru' ron," 83.
48. Kobayashi Tokiaki, "(Katari) Aruiwa han kyōdōtaiteki kyōdōtai no koe—Ōe Kenzaburō to Nakagami Kenji," *Shinchō* 105, no. 10 (2008): 203.
49. Ōe, *Man'en gannen no futtobōru*, 315–16.
50. Ōe, 267.
51. Ōe, 268.
52. Ōe, 350.
53. Ōe, 373–74.
54. Ōe, 374.
55. Michiko Wilson, *The Marginal World of Ōe Kenzaburō* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1986), 99. See also Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), 370–71.
56. Ōe Kenzaburō, "Dōseiji no futtobōru," in *Jizokusuru Kokorozashi*, by Ōe Kenzaburō (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 1968), 408, my translation; passage is partially quoted in Wilson, *The Marginal World of Ōe Kenzaburō*, 48.
57. Ōe, *Man'en gannen no futtobōru*, 210.
58. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 11, 10.
59. So Myeongseong, "Ōe Kenzaburō no jikan ishiki: shinwateki shikō to rekishi ninshiki no kitei ni aru mono," *Comparatio* 7 (April 2003): 12.
60. Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, vol. 2, *Mythical Thought*, trans. Ralph Manheim (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1955), 111.
61. Wilson, *The Marginal World of Ōe Kenzaburō*, 50.
62. Ōe, *Man'en gannen no futtobōru*, 149–51.
63. So, "Ōe Kenzaburō no jikan ishiki," 14–15.
64. Tagusari Kazuma, "Ōe Kenzaburō 'Man'en gannen no futtobōru' ron: 'saisei e no shidō' to kako no keishō," *Kokugo kokubun* 88, no. 10 (October 2019): 33–34.

CHAPTER 3

1. Sharon Kinsella argues that Tezuka's historical role was emphasized by the state and cultural institutions that were trying to draw certain kinds of manga closer to official culture in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and that found in Tezuka's intellectual, apolitical (or at least not overtly oppositional) manga an acceptable origin for this newly embraced art form. Kinsella, *Adult Manga: Culture and Power in Contemporary Japanese Society* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 99.
2. Paul Gravett, *Manga: 60 Years of Japanese Comics* (London: Laurence King, 2004), 42.
3. Ishikawa Jun, "Tezuka Osamu no 'Hi no tori' Nitsuite," *Eiga Hyōron* 28, no. 2 (1971): 85.
4. Rachael Hutchinson, "Sabotaging the Rising Sun: Representing History in

Tezuka Osamu's *Phoenix*," in *Manga and the Representation of Japanese History*, ed. Roman Rosenbaum (New York: Routledge, 2013), 18.

5. Hosokawa Shūhei, "Tezuka Osamu, Indo ni deau: Bukkyō, Ganjī, 'Hi no tori,'" in *Aja shinjidai no minami ajia ni okeru Nihonzō: Indo, SAARC shokoku ni okeru Nihon kenkyū no genjō to hitsuyousei*, ed. Takao Uno (Kyoto: Okusai Nihon bunka kenkyū sentā, 2011), 195.

6. Ozawa Tomomi, "Tezuka Osamu 'Hi no tori' ron: Hi no tori to junkan (rūpu) to wa nani ka," *Ferisu jogakuin daigaku nichibun daigakuin kiyō* 17 (February 2016): 42–43.

7. Hutchinson, "Sabotaging the Rising Sun," 18.

8. Miura Sukeyuki, "Tezuka Osamu 'Kodaishi no Riariti' [Tezuka Osamu 'Hi no tori'']," *Bungei Shunju* 87, no. 7 (June 2009): 296.

9. Tezuka Osamu, *Hi no tori* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1992), 1:115–17.

10. Tezuka, 1:94. This sequence is also mentioned in Mark MacWilliams, "Revisioning Japanese Religiosity: Osamu Tezuka's *Hi no tori* (*The Phoenix*)," in *Global Goes Local: Popular Culture in Asia*, ed. Timothy J. Craig and Richard King (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002), 183. MacWilliams notes this as a deconstruction of Amaterasu's sanctity, but—probably like most readers of Tezuka—doesn't comment on the anachronism.

11. Tezuka, *Hi no tori*, 1:89.

12. Tezuka, 1:100–101.

13. J. Edward Kidder, *Himiko and Japan's Elusive Chiefdom of Yamatai: Archaeology, History, and Mythology* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 16.

14. Tezuka, *Hi no tori*, 1:102–3.

15. Tezuka, 1:103.

16. I am indebted here to Rachael Hutchinson's discussion of this topic in "Sabotaging the Rising Sun," 26–27.

17. Tezuka, *Hi no tori*, 3:6.

18. For example, what I have rendered as "In the ancient islands of Japan, in the kingdom of Yamato" is originally "Akitsushima / Yamato no kuni no / Mahoroba ni," a poetic verse of five-seven-five syllables containing flowery poetic names for Japan.

19. Tezuka, *Hi no tori*, 3:8.

20. Tezuka, 3:9 (original emphasis).

21. Tezuka, 3:9.

22. Tezuka, 3:11.

23. Ozawa, "Tezuka Osamu 'Hi no tori' ron," 50.

24. Tezuka, *Hi no tori*, 3:12.

25. Tezuka, 3:15.

26. Tezuka, 3:23.

27. Tezuka, 3:22.

28. These advertisements read, for example, "For food and sake, it's got to be Kumaso" and "Win our quiz game and get a trip to Kumaso!" Tezuka, 3:23.

29. Miura, "Tezuka Osamu 'Kodaishi no Riariti,'" 295.

30. Tezuka, *Hi no tori*, 3:76.

31. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (London: Penguin, 1990), 100.

32. Yoshimura Tokuzō traces the use of these country-founding myths in education; see Yoshimura, *Shinwa to rekishi kyōiku* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1973).

33. Tezuka, *Hi no tori*, 3:12.

34. Tezuka, 3:14.

35. Tezuka, 3:84. This passage is also mentioned in MacWilliams, "Revisioning Japanese Religiosity," 187–88.

36. Tezuka, 3:94.

37. Some portions of this section appear in Christopher Smith, "A Benkei for Every Age: Musashibō Benkei as Palimpsest," *Japanese Language and Literature* 55, no. 1 (April 2021): 65–103.

38. Tezuka, *Hi no tori*, 7:92.

39. Tezuka, 7:248. Rokuhara is the location of the Heike clan headquarters.

40. It is worth noting that more than a decade passed between the publication of volume 3 and this volume. This volume was serialized between 1978 and 1980, after the protest movement in Japan had collapsed and had been largely discredited due to the increasingly violent tactics of certain groups. So while student protestors are portrayed as a peaceful force opposed to power in volume 3, this volume treats them quite differently. Here the text evokes student protestors in the form of the revolting warrior monks of Enryaku-ji, who are armed and uniformed and march on Kyoto in orderly ranks, closely resembling soldiers staging a coup, not peaceful protestors. The text explicitly calls them *gakushō* (学生), which has the same ideographs as the modern word for "students." As the text notes, the term was in use in the Heian period, but it cannot help but evoke student protestors for the modern reader. Tezuka, 7:252–55.

41. Tezuka, 7:244–46.

42. James R. Brandon, *Kabuki's Forgotten War: 1931–1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 103.

43. Brandon, 186.

44. Later in the production process, censors withdrew their approval, calling the film a corruption of *Kanjinchō*, a sacrosanct piece of traditional Japanese culture. Presumably this is because the porter, a comic character played by a popular comedian, detracted from the solemn, dignified gravity of the story. See Rachael Hutchinson, "Kurosawa Akira's *One Wonderful Sunday*: Censorship, Context and 'Counter-Discursive' Film," *Japan Forum* 19, no. 3 (2007): 372.

45. Jay Rubin, "From Wholesomeness to Decadence: The Censorship of Literature under the Allied Occupation," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 11, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 93. Multiple sources claim that the occupation government censored the film, and in fact the incident is fairly well known as an example of US censorship in Japan. However, in his autobiography, Kurosawa claims that the film was not censored for

content. Rather, he claims that a Japanese censor, in a personal act of petty revenge against Kurosawa, purposefully left *Tora no o* off a list of films in production that was handed over to the US authorities, and it merely became an illegal film by default. See Akira Kurosawa, *Something like an Autobiography* (New York: Vintage, 1983), 143–44.

46. Tezuka, *Hi no tori*, 7:113.

47. The term *shōsetsu* is also used for works that are not expected to be *substantially* fictional—namely, the popular *shishōsetsu*, or fictional autobiography, which is acknowledged to be somewhat fictionalized but still expected to closely follow the facts of the author's life. This is true, but here Myō'un uses the term *taiga shōsetsu*, which is a category of fiction, and explicitly states that he is inventing a fictional protagonist.

48. Tezuka, *Hi no tori*, 7:282.

49. Tezuka, 1:193.

50. Tezuka, 3:148.

51. Tezuka, 8:143.

CHAPTER 4

1. Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), 112.

2. Linda Hutcheon, *The Politics of Postmodernism* (London: Routledge, 1989), 89.

3. Hiroki Azuma, *Otaku: Japan's Database Animals*, trans. Jonathan E. Abel (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 22. Azuma finds the beginning of the *otaku* phenomenon in the 1980s.

4. Azuma, 20.

5. Carol Gluck discusses the use of the agrarian ideal in early Japanese identity formation; see Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 178.

6. I am referring to the dichotomy between gemeinschaft and gesellschaft proposed by Ferdinand Tönnies in 1887. See Tönnies, *Community and Civil Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

7. Here, I am alluding to Marxist alienation. See Nicholas Churchich, *Marxism and Alienation* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1990), 61–62.

8. Shimoda Masami, dir., *EMOTION the Best Seibā Marionetto J*, TV series (Tokyo: Bandai Visual, 2010), episode 1.

9. Shimoda, episode 15.

10. Iichiro Tokutomi, *The Future Japan*, trans. Vinh Sinh (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1989), 16, quoted in Carol Gluck, "The Invention of Edo," in *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, ed. Stephen Vlastos (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 271.

11. Shimoda, *EMOTION the Best Seibā Marionetto J*, episode 14.

12. Shimoda, episode 7.

13. As discussed in chapter 2, *Kamui-den* could be said to be attempting to shorten the distance between class struggles of the past and present, while making the political, social, and economic structures of Edo seem distant from the present since they are further back in the timeline of Marxist development.

14. Kishimoto Masashi, *Naruto* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2003), 1:9.

15. Kishimoto, 1:86–87.

16. Shimoda, *EMOTION the Best Seibā Marionetto J*, episode 3.

17. Kishimoto, *Naruto*, 1:11–12, 1:91.

18. Date Hayato, *Naruto shippūden kazekage dakkan no shō*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Aniplex, 2007). This line only appears in the anime version.

19. Sorachi Hideaki, *Gintama* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2004), 1:6–8.

20. Sorachi, 1:8.

21. Sorachi, 1:8.

22. Robert B. Edgerton, *Warriors of the Rising Sun: A History of the Japanese Military* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), 323.

23. Edward J. Drea, *In the Service of the Emperor: Essays on the Imperial Japanese Army* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 13.

24. Edgerton, *Warriors of the Rising Sun*, 324.

25. Mishima Yukio, *Ketteiban Mishima Yukio zenshū* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 2002), 20:15.

26. Gluck, "The Invention of Edo," 278.

27. Sorachi, *Gintama*, 1:14.

28. Because of the short-sleeved shirt—plus Gintoki's unkempt hair—the image does not evoke an imperial Japanese soldier or sailor (which might be the first thing that comes to mind based on the description of a booted and belted samurai), but rather someone of a later era, with laxer standards of appearance.

29. Sorachi, *Gintama*, 1:18.

30. Sorachi, 1:88.

31. Sorachi, 1:62.

32. Sorachi, 1:10–13.

33. Sorachi, 1:55–56. The main draw of these *shabu-shabu* restaurants (an icon of male-centric, sexualized entertainment culture) was the waitresses, who wore short skirts without underwear.

34. Sorachi, 1:147, 1:54.

35. Sorachi, 1:54.

36. Sorachi, 1:80–81.

37. Ryūsaku Tsunoda, William Theodore De Bary, and Donald Keene, eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 706.

38. For a discussion of the construction of *bushidō* in modern Japan, see Oleg Benesch, *Inventing the Way of the Samurai: Nationalism, Internationalism, and Bushido in Modern Japan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

39. Sorachi, *Gintama*, 1:16.

40. Sorachi, 1:163.

41. Watanabe Shin'ichirō, *Samurai Chanpurū*, TV series (Tokyo: Manglobe, 2011), episode 1.

42. Amy Fitzgerald, "'In the Way of the Samurai': Difference and Connection in Samurai Champloo," *Virginia Review of Asian Studies* 10 (2008): 174. While some spectacles had made their way to Japan by the seventeenth century, the semi-rimless glasses worn here are unmistakably modern and anachronistic.

43. Watanabe, *Samurai Chanpurū*, episode 4, quoted in Fitzgerald, "In the Way of the Samurai," 175.

44. Watanabe, *Samurai Chanpurū*, episode 8. Beatboxing is the hip-hop technique of vocally imitating various percussion instruments.

45. Fitzgerald, "In the Way of the Samurai," 172 (original emphasis).

46. Ian Condry, *Hip-Hop Japan: Rap and the Paths of Cultural Globalization* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 97–98.

47. Watanabe, *Samurai Chanpurū*, episode 18.

48. Fitzgerald also discusses this scene; see her "In the Way of the Samurai," 178.

49. Nina Cornyetz, "Murakami Takashi and the Hell of Others: Sexual (In)Difference, the Eye, and the Gaze in ©*Murakami*," *Criticism* 54, no. 2 (2012): 191.

50. Murakami remarked in an interview that his "Superflat Manifesto" was a kind of "packaging" to get New York art critics interested in his work. "Truth or lies, you have to have the packaging." Anne Nishimura Morse, *Takashi Murakami: Lineage of Eccentrics* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2018), 185.

51. Dick Hebdige, "Flat Boy vs. Skinny: Takashi Murakami and the Battle for 'Japan,'" in © *Murakami*, by Takashi Murakami (Los Angeles: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2007), 18.

52. Murakami Takashi, *Super Flat* (Tokyo: Madara, 2000), 5, 9.

53. Murakami, 13.

54. Dong-Yeon Koh, "Murakami's 'Little Boy' Syndrome: Victim or Aggressor in Contemporary Japanese and American Arts?," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 11, no. 3 (September 2010): 397.

55. Hebdige, "Flat Boy vs. Skinny," 16–17.

56. Furukawa Hiroaki, "Sekai No Furattoka to Nihon No 'Orību No Ki': Murakami Takashi 'Warewara Wa Kikeishita Kaibutsu,'" *Papers of the Research Society of Commerce and Economics* 59, no. 2 (February 2019): 61.

57. Azuma, *Otaku*, 17.

58. Toshio Okada, *Otakugaku nyūmon* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 2000), 118-132. Cited in Marc Steinberg, "Otaku Consumption, Superflat Art and the Return to Edo," *Japan Forum* 16, no. 3 (2004): 453.

59. Paul Schimmel, "Making Murakami," in Murakami, © *Murakami*, 74.

60. Chelsea Foxwell, "The Total Work of Art: Takashi Murakami and Nihonga," in *Takashi Murakami: The Octopus Eats Its Own Leg*, by Takashi Murakami, ed. Michael Darling (New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2017), 39–50.

61. Murakami, *Super Flat*, 5.

62. Steinberg, "Otaku Consumption, Superflat Art and the Return to Edo," 467.

63. Gary Carrion-Murayari, "Takashi Murakami: The 500 Arhats," in *Murakami: Ego*, by Takashi Murakami (New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2012), 120–21.

64. Michael Dylan Foster, "Murakami's Monsters and the Art of Allusion," in Murakami, *Takashi Murakami: The Octopus Eats Its Own Leg*, 148.

65. Foster, 148.

66. Tenmyoya Hisashi, *Masterpiece: Tenmyoya hisashi sakuhinshū* (Kyoto: Seigensha, 2014), 4.

67. Hyōdō Hiromi, "Basara to akutō—Kojima hōshi o megutte," *Kokubungaku* 36, no. 2 (1991): 53–55.

68. Tenmyoya, *Masterpiece*, 4.

69. While the title does seem to abjure historical representation, it is worth noting that the artist's own explanation for this title is his desire to depict samurai as human, with all the normal shared human emotions. "This is not a samurai," then, perhaps reflects a desire not to depict samurai according to their stereotypes. Tetsuya Noguchi, *This Is Not a Samurai* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 2021), 185.

70. Makino Yūji, "Noguchi Tetsuya to Wa Nani Ka," in *This Is Not a Samurai*, by Tetsuya Noguchi (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 2021), 250–53.

71. Noguchi, 88.

72. L. P. Hartley, *The Go-Between* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1913), 9.

73. Linda Hutcheon, *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 118.

74. Ernest Gellner, *Nationalism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997), 74.

CHAPTER 5

1. Buyō Inshi, *Seji kenmonroku*, ed. Honjō Eijirō and Takikawa Masajirō (Tokyo: Seiabō, 2001), 267–68.

2. Katsuya Hirano, *The Politics of Dialogic Imagination: Power and Popular Culture in Early Modern Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 32.

3. Harry D. Harootunian, "Late Tokugawa Culture and Thought," in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 5, *The Nineteenth Century*, ed. John Whitney Hall (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 172.

4. Glynne Walley, *Good Dogs: Edification, Entertainment, and Kyokutei Bakin's "Nansō Satomi hakkenden"* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University East Asia Program, 2017), 91.

5. Hirano, *The Politics of Dialogic Imagination*, 39.

6. P. F. Kornicki, "Manuscript, Not Print: Scribal Culture in the Edo Period," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 31, no. 1 (2006): 23–52.

7. Conrad D. Totman, *Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu, 1600–1843* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 39.

8. Herschel Webb, *The Japanese Imperial Institution in the Tokugawa Period* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 143–44, 168–69.

9. Ronald P. Toby, “Reopening the Question of Sakoku: Diplomacy in the Legitimation of the Tokugawa Bakufu,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 3, no. 2 (1977): 323–63.

10. J. Victor Koschmann, *The Mito Ideology: Discourse, Reform, and Insurrection in Late Tokugawa Japan, 1790–1864* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 45.

11. Parts of the discussion in this paragraph also appear in a chapter from a book forthcoming from Routledge.

12. Kate Wildman Nakai, “Tokugawa Confucian Historiography: The Hayashi, Early Mito School and Arai Hakuseki,” in *Confucianism and Tokugawa Culture*, ed. Peter Nosco (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 80.

13. John Brownlee, *Political Thought in Japanese Historical Writing: From Kojiki (712) to Tokushi Yoron (1712)* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991), 125.

14. Brownlee, 123–24.

15. Brownlee, 124.

16. In order to avoid confusion with the “present” contemporary to this writing, or the “modern” as located starting with Meiji, I use “Edo present” and “Edo modern” to denote the perspective of Edo-period readers (i.e., their present, and “modern” from their perspective).

17. Authors and playwrights could, however, reduce Yoshitsune’s martial image by making him more elegant and refined. In plays such as *Yoshitsune senbon zakura* (Yoshitsune and the thousand cherry trees) and *Kanjinchō*, for example, Yoshitsune is portrayed as refined and aristocratic, elevating his status in one sense, but at the same time eliding his history as an aggressive general. See Christopher Smith, “A Benkei for Every Age: Musashibō Benkei as Palimpsest,” *Japanese Language and Literature* 55, no. 1 (April 2021): 65–103.

18. It would be incorrect, however, to directly equate *kibyōshi* with modern comic books. See Adam L. Kern, *Manga from the Floating World: Comicbook Culture and the Kibyōshi of Edo Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 129–32. *Ōmu-gaeshi* has been studied in a different context by Robert Borgen, who also notes how the text “puts aside” history. Borgen, “Ōe no Masafusa and the Spirit of Michizane,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 50, no. 3 (1995): 357–84.

19. Tanahashi Masahiro, Suzuki Katsutada, and Uda Toshihiko, eds., *Kibyōshi, Senryū, Kyōka* vol. 79, Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1999), 154. What I have rendered as “comic book” is *kusazōshi* (草双紙) in the original.

20. Walley, *Good Dogs*, 146.

21. Tanahashi, Suzuki, and Uda, *Kibyōshi, Senryū, Kyōka*, vol. 79, Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1999), 157, 162–63.

22. Tanahashi, Suzuki, and Uda, 155.

23. Tanahashi, Suzuki, and Uda, 171.

24. Tanahashi, Suzuki, and Uda, 155–56.

25. Hirano, *The Politics of Dialogic Imagination*, 107.

26. The SNKBZ (Tanahashi, Suzuki, and Uda, *Kibyōshi, Senryū, Kyōka)*, annotates

most references to imperial words or places as references to the shogun. The word *kamiichinin* (上壱人), for example, typically a word for emperors, "here refers to the Tokugawa shogun" (159n20). *Kugyō* (公卿), a term that normally refers to the aristocracy, is annotated as referring to the daimyō and *hatamoto*, who can receive an audience with the shogun (160n1). And the quarters of the emperor's concubines in Kyoto, the *jōneiden* (常寧殿), are equated with those for the shogun's harem in Edo Castle, the *ōoku* (大奥) (165n21).

27. One example of such language is the first-person pronoun *chin* (朕), reserved forthe emperor. Tanahashi, Suzuki, and Uda, 153.

28. Tanahashi, Suzuki, and Uda, 166. *Keizai* now means "economics," but the contemporary meaning is different.

29. Tanahashi, Suzuki, and Uda, 155.

30. Andrew Lawrence Markus, *The Willow in Autumn: Ryūtei Tanehiko, 1783–1842* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992), 207.

31. Suzuki Katsutada, Mizuno Minoru, and Hamada Giichirō, *Kibyōshi, Senryū, Kyōka* Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 46 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1971), 140. *Daihi no senrokuhon* is available in English translation as Shiba, Zenkō. *In the Soup, Hand Made: The Thousand Sliced Arms of the Bodhisattva of Mercy = Daihi no senrokuhon, 1785*. Translated by Joel Cohn. Hollywood, CA: Highmoonoon, 2003. And Shiba, Zenkō. "Thousand Arms of Goddess, Julienned: The Secret Recipe of Our Handmade Soup Stock." Translated by Adam L. Kern. In *An Edo Anthology: Literature from Japan's Mega-City, 1750–1850*, edited by Sumie Jones with Kenji Watanabe, 124–36. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013.

32. It hardly matters that he was on the losing side of the Genpei War. Many people have pointed out (most notably Ivan Morris) that the pathos of the losing side has often had more appeal than the victory of the winners in Japanese cultural products. See Morris, *The Nobility of Failure: Tragic Heroes in the History of Japan* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975).

33. Suzuki, Mizuno, and Hamada, *Kibyōshi, Senryū, Kyōka*, 141.

34. Suzuki, Mizuno, and Hamada, 140.

35. Suzuki, Mizuno, and Hamada, 141.

36. Suzuki, Mizuno, and Hamada, 142.

37. Suzuki, Mizuno, and Hamada, 142.

38. Suzuki, Mizuno, and Hamada, 144n13.

39. Suzuki, Mizuno, and Hamada, 140, 144.

40. Markus, *The Willow in Autumn*, 145–46.

41. Michael Emmerich, "The Splendor of Hybridity: Image and Text in Ryūtei Tanehiko's Inaka Genji," in *Envisioning the Tale of Genji: Media, Gender, and Cultural Production*, ed. Haruo Shirane (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 211–13. Emmerich argues that for contemporary readers, "*The Tale of Genji* probably existed, insofar as it existed at all, as a reflection of *Inaka Genji*" (213).

42. Michael Emmerich, *The Tale of Genji: Translation, Canonization, and World Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 89.

43. Markus, *The Willow in Autumn*, 157.

44. Keiko Nakamachi, "Genji Pictures from Momoyama Painting to Edo Ukiyo-e: Cultural Authority and New Horizons," in Shirane, *Envisioning the Tale of Genji*, 191–92.

45. Ryūtei Tanehiko, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, ed. Utagawa Toyokuni and Suzuki Jūzō, Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei 88 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995), 6.

46. This has been taken by some, including Kyokutei Bakin, as evidence that Tanehiko did not really know or understand the original text of *Genji*, and relied entirely on later translations and commentaries. Emmerich, however, argues that this is unlikely, given the number of specific and close quotations from the original. Emmerich, "The Splendor of Hybridity," 224–25.

47. Ryūtei, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, SNKBT vol. 88, 7.

48. Yamaguchi Takeshi, "Tanehiko to kōhon Inaka Genji," in *Yamaguchi Takeshi chosakushū* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1972), 4:442.

49. Markus, *The Willow in Autumn*, 141.

50. Yamaguchi Masao, for example, reads Genji as an archetypal prince who must negotiate with those on the margins, those left out of the king's consolidation of power at center; see Yamaguchi Masao, *Chi no enkinhō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1978), quoted in Kōjin Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, trans. Brett de Bary (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 162. Haruo Shirane, meanwhile, reads *Genji* as challenging the *sekkan* (regency) system, since Genji returns in triumph to the capital after being exiled, winning a power struggle with the emperor's maternal relatives that similarly exiled real-life figures could not. See Shirane, *The Bridge of Dreams: A Poetics of the Tale of Genji* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987), 4–8.

51. Many Edo narratives focused on *tsū* (playboy) lovers and their romantic exploits, but Genji—a prince—had different moral responsibilities from a Confucian moral standpoint. He also seduces not professional courtesans but the daughters of noble houses, who were supposed to protect their chastity.

52. It should be noted, however, that such fine samurai motivations did not help when the Tenpō reforms came around, and authorities only saw *Inaka Genji* as a bawdy story full of sex and immoral behavior. Publication was halted, the woodblocks were confiscated, and Tanehiko was summoned before the authorities. He promptly died, possibly by suicide. Markus, *The Willow in Autumn*, 199–202.

53. Ryūtei, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, SNKBT vol. 88, 538.

54. Emmerich, *The Tale of Genji*, 52–53.

55. Emmerich, 93.

56. Emmerich, "The Splendor of Hybridity," 213.

57. Ryūtei, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, 550–51.

58. According to the *Nihon dai hyakka zensho* (日本大百科全書, Encyclopedia Nipponica), while there are a few attestations of mosquito nets in earlier works, they were not in common use until the Edo period. Miyamoto Mizuo, "Kaya," in *Nihon*

dai hyakka zensho (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1994), https://japanknowledge.com/lib/display/?lid=1001000053033.

59. Emmerich, *The Tale of Genji*, 92–93.

60. For a concise discussion of *ga* and *zoku* in Edo, see Mitsutoshi Nakano, "The Role of Traditional Aesthetics," in *18th Century Japan: Culture and Society*, ed. C. Andrew Gerstle (New York: Routledge, 2012), 124–31.

61. Ryūtei, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, SNKBT vol. 88, 131–32.

62. Markus, 130.

63. Markus, 150.

64. Markus, 203. Markus notes that Ōhashi Shintarō, editor of a major Meiji edition of *Inaka Genji*, cites Katsu Kaishū and treats Tanehiko's access to the *ōoku* as established fact. However, Mitamura Engyo, writing a few years later, dismissed the idea and tried to show that *Inaka Genji*'s illustrations did not resemble the *ōoku* (204).

65. Markus, 204–5.

66. Aeba Kōson, "Bunka Bunsei no Shōsetsuka," *Shikai* 14 (July 1892): 36. I found this article thanks to Markus's citation of it in *The Willow in Autumn*.

67. Other interesting examples include Hōseidō Kisanji's *Kagekiyo hyakunin isshu* (景清百人一首), about a comical search for the twelfth-century samurai Taira no Kagekiyo in an Edo-modern urban pleasure quarters, and Shiba Zenkō's *Hayari yasui wacha Soga* (時花兮鸚茶曽我), in which the twelfth-century Soga brothers start a business establishment like an Edo-modern *chōnin (urban commoner)*. See Suzuki, Mizuno, and Hamada, *Kibyōshi, Senryū, Kyōka*, 105–16; Koike Masatane et al., eds., *Edo no parodii ehon* (Tokyo: Shakaishisōsha, 1980), 1:149–88). Hirobe Shin'ya has argued that Tenmei (1781–89) *sharebon* (books of fashion) and *kibyōshi* followed a trend of conflating ancient Chinese sages with Edo-modern *tsū* playboys; see Hirobe, "Seidai o egaku kibyōshi," *Edo no bunji*, April 2000, 198–213.

CHAPTER 6

1. Plays were often adapted from Kabuki to *ningyō-jōruri* or vice versa, despite these forms' unique characteristics. The theaters were in dialogue and adopted each other's techniques, aesthetics, and conceits, at least to an extent. See Stanleigh Jones, *Bunraku Puppet Theatre: Honor, Vengeance, and Love in Four Plays of the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012), 3–4. For example, by 1745 real mud and water were being used to give verisimilitude to fight scenes in the *ningyō-jōruri* play *Natsu matsuri Naniwa kagami (Summer festival, mirror of Osaka)*. See James R. Brandon and Samuel L. Leiter, eds., *Kabuki Plays on Stage* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 1:199. For a further account of these changes, see Donald Keene, *World within Walls: Japanese Literature of the Pre-Modern Era, 1600–1867* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976), 275–79.

2. While this interplay was a noted feature of Edo-period theater, the *sekai* and *shukō* technique was also used in other kinds of art, such as *gesaku* (textual fiction) and *ukiyo-e* (woodblock prints).

3. Helen Parker, *Progressive Traditions: An Illustrated Study of Plot Repetition in Traditional Japanese Theatre* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 34–35.

4. Barbara Thornbury, *Sukeroku's Double Identity: The Dramatic Structure of Edo Kabuki* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1982), 27–28. *Shukō* also encompasses innovations on the part of actors or productions that do not involve rewriting a script. For example, an actor might play a role in a different style, thereby changing the meaning of the play.

5. Satoko Shimazaki, *Edo Kabuki in Transition: From the Worlds of the Samurai to the Vengeful Female Ghost* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 20.

6. Shimazaki, 93.

7. Shimazaki, 90–92.

8. Shimazaki, 22.

9. Shimazaki, 66.

10. Shimazaki, 67.

11. This play is available in translation as Izumo Takeda, Shōraku Miyoshi, and Senryū Namiki, *Chūshingura (The Treasury of Loyal Retainers): A Puppet Play*, trans. Donald Keene (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).

12. Richard Hornby, *Drama, Metadrama, and Perception* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1986), 88.

13. Hornby, 97–98 (original emphasis).

14. Gunji Masakatsu, ed., *Kabuki jūhachiban shū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965), 224. The name is changed when other actors play the role.

15. Takeda Izumo, *Kanadehon chūshingura*, ed. Hattori Yukio (Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1994), 198–99.

16. *Gion Ichiriki Jaya*, performance, Shinbashi Enbujō, Tokyo, January 25, 2013.

17. Hornby, *Drama, Metadrama, and Perception*, 117.

18. C. Andrew Gerstle, "The Culture of Play: Kabuki and the Production of Texts," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 66, no. 3 (October 2003): 358–59.

19. This play is available in translation as Jihei Tsuuchi II and Hanemon Tsuuchi, "Sukeroku: Flower of Edo," in *Kabuki: Five Classic Plays*, trans. James R. Brandon (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992), 49–92.

20. C. Andrew Gerstle, "Eighteenth-Century Kabuki and Its Patrons," in *A Kabuki Reader: History and Performance*, ed. Samuel L. Leiter and C. Andrew Gerstle (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2002), 91, 96.

21. Gunji, *Kabuki jūhachiban shū*, 94.

22. For an overview of the development of the Soga story, see Laurence Richard Kominz, *Avatars of Vengeance: Japanese Drama and the Soga Literary Tradition* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1995), 16–78.

23. Thornbury, *Sukeroku's Double Identity*, 58–65.

24. This is not to say that those audiences consisted entirely of commoners. Shimazaki discusses the importance of samurai audiences, especially in the early Edo period; see *Edo Kabuki in Transition*, 86–90. Gerstle has also shown that samurai were very involved in the Kabuki world, both as audience members and patrons. How-

ever, Gerstle concludes that this presence of the samurai was what gave Kabuki its distinctive irreverent flavor, as it always had something to react against. The essence of Kabuki was in the performing of defiance of the samurai for an audience that included samurai. See Gerstle, "Eighteenth-Century Kabuki and Its Patrons."

25. Gion was just outside Shimabara, a licensed prostitution quarter.

26. Gunji, *Kabuki jūhachiban shū*, 99, 102.

27. Gunji, 102; Thornbury, *Sukeroku's Double Identity*, 60. Edo Lavender is a color of purple created by dye made from the root of a variety of gromwell native to the region around Edo, a local specialty product.

28. David Atherton, "Valences of Vengeance: The Moral Imagination of Early Modern Japanese Vendetta Fiction" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2013), 30–31.

29. See Hiroki Azuma, *Otaku: Japan's Database Animals*, trans. Jonathan E. Abel (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009); Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), 370–71.

30. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 11.

31. Nakano Mitsutoshi, *Edo bunka hyōbanki: gazoku yūwa no sekai* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1992), 28–29.

32. Such behaviors might have been considered lower class in nature, but of course samurai participated in them as well.

33. Furuido Hideo, *Kabuki, toikake no bungaku* (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1999), 15.

34. The other two great works are *Kanadehon Chūshingura* and *Yoshitsune senbon zakura*, discussed elsewhere in this chapter. *Sugawara* is available in translation as Izumo Takeda, *Sugawara and the Secrets of Calligraphy*, trans. Stanleigh H. Jones Jr. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

35. Takeda, 2.

36. Ruth Shaver, *Kabuki Costume* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1966), 24–25.

37. Helen Parker discusses the formalized costumes used through various iterations of the *Kanjinchō* plot; see her *Progressive Traditions*, 118–19.

38. Margaret Young, "Japanese Kabuki Drama: The History and Meaning of the Essential Elements of Its Theatre Art Form" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1954), 203–4.

39. That said, a word or phrase that is too obviously contemporary—fashionable present-day idioms or celebrity quotes, for example—would be recognized as anachronistic and thereby succeed in creating metadramatic estrangement.

40. Takeda, *Sugawara and the Secrets of Calligraphy*, 13.

41. Ishikawa Ken, *Terakoya* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1960), 58.

42. Ishikawa, introduction.

43. Samuel L. Leiter, *The Art of Kabuki: Famous Plays in Performance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 61.

44. For example, although Genzō wears two swords during the inspection of Kan Shūsai's supposed head, he is only wearing a short sword when he enters from the

street via the *hanamichi* in the *terakoya* scene. See Nihon Haiyū Kyōkai, *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami*, vol. 8, disc 9, of *Kabukiza, sayonara kōen* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2010).

45. Yokoyama Tadashi, ed., *Jōrurishū* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1971), 611.

46. Yokoyama, 515–16. Note also that Genzō receives the transmission in recognition of his skills, not his social position.

47. Kawatake Toshio, *Kabuki no sekai: kyozō to jitsuzō* (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1974), 141.

48. Kawatake, 141.

49. This play is available in translation as Izumo Takeda, Senryū Namiki, and Shōraku Miyoshi, *Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherry Trees: A Masterpiece of the Eighteenth-Century Japanese Puppet Theater*, trans. Stanleigh H. Jones Jr. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

50. Parker, *Progressive Traditions*, 64–100.

51. Uchiyama Mikiko and Tsunoda Ichirō, eds., *Takeda Izumo Namiki Sōsuke jōrurishū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1991), 473.

52. Uchiyama and Tsunoda, 472.

53. Kubori Hiroaki, "Tsurube sushiya tsukiyama no zu kaidai honkoku," in *Yoshitsune senbon zakura*, ed. Ōsaka Shiritsu Daigaku and "Kamigata Bunka Kōza" Kikaku Iinkai (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 2013), 239.

54. Sharon Kinsella, *Adult Manga: Culture and Power in Contemporary Japanese Society* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 120.

55. Uchiyama and Tsunoda, *Takeda Izumo Namiki Sōsuke jōrurishū*, 491.

56. Tsuruya Nanboku, *Tōkaidō Yotsuya kaidan*, ed. Gunji Masakatsu (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1981), 170.

57. Tsuruya, 170n4.

58. Brandon and Leiter, *Kabuki Plays on Stage*, 4:136.

59. Gunji, *Kabuki jūhachiban shū*, 262.

60. Furuido Hideo, for example, argues that Edo audiences did not feel distance from ancient peoples, at least in a modern sense; see *Kabuki, toikake no bungaku*, 16. See also Shimazaki, *Edo Kabuki in Transition*, 40–41.

61. Phyllis Rackin, *Stages of History: Shakespeare's English Chronicles* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 88.

CONCLUSION

1. Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 84.

2. Viktor Shklovsky, *Viktor Shklovsky: A Reader*, ed. and trans. Alexandra Berlina (New York: Bloomsbury, 2016), 78.

3. Julia Kristeva, "Word Dialog and Novel," in *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. Toril Moi (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 37.

4. Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 5.

5. Cited in Genette, 398–99.

6. Sarah Dillon, "Reinscribing De Quincey's Palimpsest: The Significance of the Palimpsest in Contemporary Literary and Cultural Studies," *Textual Practice* 19, no. 3 (January 2005): 245.

7. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, ed. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 193.

8. Linda Hutcheon, *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 4.

9. Hutcheon, 16.

10. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, 273.

11. Nakamura Yoshihiro, *Chonmage purin*, comedy film (Tokyo: J Storm, 2010), called *A Boy and His Samurai* in English.

12. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, 16.

Bibliography

Aeba Kōson. "Bunka Bunsei no Shōsetsuka." *Shikai* 14 (July 1892): 35–44.

Atherton, David. "Valences of Vengeance: The Moral Imagination of Early Modern Japanese Vendetta Fiction." PhD diss., Columbia University, 2013.

Azuma, Hiroki. *Otaku: Japan's Database Animals*. Translated by Jonathan E. Abel. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Edited by Michael Holquist. Translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. Edited by Caryl Emerson. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and His World*. Translated by Helene Iswolsky. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*. Edited by Michael Holquist and Caryl Emerson. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986.

Barthes, Roland. "Theory of the Text." In *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, edited by Robert Young, 31–47. Boston: Routledge, 1981.

Benesch, Oleg. *Inventing the Way of the Samurai: Nationalism, Internationalism, and Bushido in Modern Japan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Bentley, John R. "The Search for the Language of Yamatai." *Japanese Language and Literature* 42, no. 1 (April 2008): 1–43.

Borgen, Robert. "Ōe no Masafusa and the Spirit of Michizane." *Monumenta Nipponica* 50, no. 3 (1995): 357–84.

Bove, Paul A., and William V. Spanos. "A Conversation with William V. Spanos." *Boundary 2* 17, no. 2 (1990): 1–39.

Brandon, James R. *Kabuki's Forgotten War: 1931–1945*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009.

Brandon, James R., and Samuel L. Leiter, eds. *Kabuki Plays on Stage*. 4 vols. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002.

Brownlee, John. *Political Thought in Japanese Historical Writing: From Kojiki (712) to Tokushi Yoron (1712)*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991.

Burckhardt, Sigurd. *Shakespearean Meanings*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968.

Buyō Inshi. *Seji kenmonroku*. Edited by Honjō Eijirō and Takikawa Masajirō. Tokyo: Seiabō, 2001.

Carrion-Murayari, Gary. "Takashi Murakami: The 500 Arhats." In *Murakami: Ego*, by Takashi Murakami, 119–22. New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2012.

Carroll, David. "Narrative, Heterogeneity, and the Question of the Political: Bakhtin and Lyotard." In *The Aims of Representation: Subject/Text/History*, edited by Murray Krieger, 69–106. New York: Columbia University Press, 1987.

Cassirer, Ernst. *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*. Vol. 2, *Mythical Thought*. Translated by Ralph Manheim. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1955.

Churchich, Nicholas. *Marxism and Alienation*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1990.

Condry, Ian. *Hip-Hop Japan: Rap and the Paths of Cultural Globalization*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.

Cornyetz, Nina. "Murakami Takashi and the Hell of Others: Sexual (In)Difference, the Eye, and the Gaze in *©Murakami*." *Criticism* 54, no. 2 (2012): 181–95.

Daglish, Robert, ed. *V. I. Lenin Collected Works*. Vol. 19. Translated by George Hanna. Moscow: Progress, 1963.

Date Hayato. *Naruto shippūden kazekage dakkan no shō*. Vol. 3. Tokyo: Aniplex, 2007.

Dillon, Sarah. "Reinscribing De Quincey's Palimpsest: The Significance of the Palimpsest in Contemporary Literary and Cultural Studies." *Textual Practice* 19, no. 3 (January 2005): 243–63.

Drea, Edward J. *In the Service of the Emperor: Essays on the Imperial Japanese Army*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.

Edgerton, Robert B. *Warriors of the Rising Sun: A History of the Japanese Military*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1997.

Emmerich, Michael. "The Splendor of Hybridity: Image and Text in Ryūtei Tanehiko's *Inaka Genji*." In *Envisioning the Tale of Genji: Media, Gender, and Cultural Production*, edited by Haruo Shirane, 211–42. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008.

Emmerich, Michael. *The Tale of Genji: Translation, Canonization, and World Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2015.

Engels, Friedrich. "Labour Movements." In *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels*, vol. 4, *1844–45*, 501–29. New York: International, 1975.

Fitzgerald, Amy. "'In the Way of the Samurai': Difference and Connection in Samurai Champloo." *Virginia Review of Asian Studies* 10 (2008): 171–84.

Foster, Michael Dylan. "Murakami's Monsters and the Art of Allusion." In *Takashi Murakami: The Octopus Eats Its Own Leg*, by Takashi Murakami, edited by Michael Darling, 139–52. New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2017.

Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*. Translated by Robert Hurley. London: Penguin, 1990.

Foxwell, Chelsea. "The Total Work of Art: Takashi Murakami and Nihonga." In *Takashi Murakami: The Octopus Eats Its Own Leg*, by Takashi Murakami, edited by Michael Darling, 39–50. New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2017.

Fujii, James A. *Complicit Fictions: The Subject in the Modern Japanese Prose Narrative*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Furuido Hideo. *Kabuki, toikake no bungaku*. Tokyo: Perikansha, 1999.

Furukawa Hiroaki. "Sekai No Furattoka to Nihon No 'Orību No Ki': Murakami Takashi 'Warewara Wa Kikeishita Kaibutsu.'" *Papers of the Research Society of Commerce and Economics* 59, no. 2 (February 2019): 33–67.

Gellner, Ernest. *Nationalism*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997.

Genette, Gérard. *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*. Translated by Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.

Gerstle, C. Andrew. "The Culture of Play: Kabuki and the Production of Texts." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 66, no. 3 (October 2003): 358–79.

Gerstle, C. Andrew. "Eighteenth-Century Kabuki and Its Patrons." In *A Kabuki Reader: History and Performance*, edited by Samuel L. Leiter and C. Andrew Gerstle, 88–111. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2002.

Gion Ichiriki Jaya. Performance. Shinbashi Enbujō, Tokyo, January 25, 2013.

Gluck, Carol. "The Invention of Edo." In *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, edited by Stephen Vlastos, 262–84. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Gluck, Carol. *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Edited by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International, 1971.

Gravett, Paul. *Manga: 60 Years of Japanese Comics*. London: Laurence King, 2004.

Gunji Masakatsu, ed. *Kabuki jūhachiban shū*. TokyoNihon Koten Bungaku Taikei 98. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965.

Habermas, Jürgen. "Modernity—An Incomplete Project." In *Postmodern Culture*, edited by Hal Foster, 3–15. London: Pluto Press, 1985.

Harootunian, Harry D. "Late Tokugawa Culture and Thought." In *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 5, *The Nineteenth Century*, edited by John Whitney Hall, 168–258. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Hartley, L. P. *The Go-Between*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1913.

Hebdige, Dick. "Flat Boy vs. Skinny: Takashi Murakami and the Battle for 'Japan.'" In *© Murakami*, by Takashi Murakami, 14–51. Los Angeles: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2007.

Hioki, Kazuko. "Japanese Printed Books of the Edo Period (1603–1867): History and Characteristics of Block-Printed Books." *Journal of the Institute of Conservation* 32, no. 1 (March 2009): 79–101.

Hirano, Katsuya. *The Politics of Dialogic Imagination: Power and Popular Culture in Early Modern Japan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014.

Hirobe Shin'ya. "Seidai o egaku kibyōshi." *Edo no bunji*, April 2000, 198–213.

Holquist, Michael. *Dialogism: Bakhtin and His World*. London: Routledge, 2002.

Honneth, Axel. "An Aversion against the Universal: A Commentary on Lyotard's *Postmodern Condition*." *Theory, Culture and Society* 2, no. 3 (November 1985): 147–56.

Hornby, Richard. *Drama, Metadrama, and Perception*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1986.

Hosokawa Shūhei. "Tezuka Osamu, Indo ni deau: Bukkyō, Ganjī, 'Hi no tori.'" In *Aja shinjidai no minami ajia ni okeru Nihonzō: Indo, SAARC shokoku ni okeru Nihon kenkyū no genjō to hitsuyousei*, edited by Takao Uno, 195–203. Kyoto: Okusai Nihon bunka kenkyū sentā, 2011.

Hutcheon, Linda. *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction*. New York: Routledge, 1988.

Hutcheon, Linda. *The Politics of Postmodernism*. London: Routledge, 1989.

Hutchinson, Rachael. "Kurosawa Akira's *One Wonderful Sunday*: Censorship, Context and 'Counter-Discursive' Film." *Japan Forum* 19, no. 3 (2007): 369–89.

Hutchinson, Rachael. "Sabotaging the Rising Sun: Representing History in Tezuka Osamu's *Phoenix*." In *Manga and the Representation of Japanese History*, edited by Roman Rosenbaum, 18–39. New York: Routledge, 2013.

Hyōdō Hiromi. "Basara to akutō—Kojima hōshi o megutte." *Kokubungaku* 36, no. 2 (1991): 51–57.

Ishikawa Jun. "Tezuka Osamu no 'Hi no tori' Nitsuite." *Eiga Hyōron* 28, no. 2 (1971): 84–92.

Ishikawa Ken. *Terakoya*. Tokyo: Shibundō, 1960.

Jameson, Fredric. *Brecht and Method*. London: Verso, 1998.

Jameson, Fredric. *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981.

Jameson, Fredric. *Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991.

Jameson, Fredric. "Postmodernism and Consumer Society." In *Postmodern Culture*, edited by Hal Foster, 111–25. London: Pluto Press, 1985.

Jameson, Fredric. "Regarding Postmodernism—A Conversation with Fredric Jameson." By Anders Stephanson. *Social Text*, no. 21 (January 1989): 3–30.

Jones, Stanleigh. *Bunraku Puppet Theatre: Honor, Vengeance, and Love in Four Plays of the 18th and 19th Centuries*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012.

Karatani Kōjin. "Rekishi to shizen—Ōgai no rekishi shōsetsu." *Shinchō* 71, no. 3 (March 1973): 132–59.

Karatani, Kōjin. "One Spirit, Two Nineteenth Centuries." In *Postmodernism and Japan*, edited by Masao Miyoshi and H. D. Harootunian, translated by Alan Wolfe, 259–72. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1989.

Karatani, Kōjin. *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*. Translated by Brett de Bary. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993.

Kawatake Toshio. *Kabuki no sekai: kyozō to jitsuzō*. Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1974.

Keene, Donald. *World within Walls: Japanese Literature of the Pre-Modern Era, 1600–1867*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976.

Kern, Adam L. *Manga from the Floating World: Comicbook Culture and the Kibyōshi of Edo Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Kidder, J. Edward. *Himiko and Japan's Elusive Chiefdom of Yamatai: Archaeology, History, and Mythology*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007.

Kinsella, Sharon. *Adult Manga: Culture and Power in Contemporary Japanese Society*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000.

Kishimoto Masashi. *Naruto*. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2003.

Klawploadtook Woraluck. "'Man'en gannen no futtobōru' ron: Mitsusaburō to Takashi no jikan ishiiki nitsuite." *Senshū Kokubun* 76 (January 2005): 71–94.

Kobayashi Tokiaki. "(Katari) Aruiwa han kyōdōtaiteki kyōdōtai no koe—Ōe Kenzaburō to Nakagami Kenji." *Shinchō* 105, no. 10 (2008): 200–217.

Koh, Dong-Yeon. "Murakami's 'Little Boy' Syndrome: Victim or Aggressor in Contemporary Japanese and American Arts?" *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 11, no. 3 (September 2010): 393–412.

Koike Masatane, Uda Toshihiko, Nakayama Yushō, and Tanahashi Masahiro, eds. *Edo no parodii ehon*. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Shakaishisōsha, 1980.

Kominz, Laurence Richard. *Avatars of Vengeance: Japanese Drama and the Soga Literary Tradition*. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1995.

Kornicki, P. F. "Manuscript, Not Print: Scribal Culture in the Edo Period." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 31, no. 1 (2006): 23–52.

Koschmann, J. Victor. *The Mito Ideology: Discourse, Reform, and Insurrection in Late Tokugawa Japan, 1790–1864*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

Kristeva, Julia. "Revolution in Poetic Language." In *The Kristeva Reader*, edited by Toril Moi, 89–136. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.

Kristeva, Julia. "Word Dialog and Novel." In *The Kristeva Reader*, edited by Toril Moi, 34–61. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.

Kubori Hiroaki. "Tsurube sushiya tsukiyama no zu kaidai honkoku." In *Yoshitsune senbon zakura*, edited by Ōsaka Shiritsu Daigaku and "Kamigata Bunka Kōza" Kikaku Iinkai, 239–42. Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 2013.

Kuritsubo Yoshiki. "Mori Ōgai 'Abe ichizoku' no soshikiron—'Junshi' toiu ichidai kōgyō no yukue." *Aoyama gakuin joshi tanki daigaku kiyō* 48 (December 1994): 1–23.

Kurosawa, Akira. *Something like an Autobiography*. New York: Vintage, 1983.

Leiter, Samuel L. *The Art of Kabuki: Famous Plays in Performance*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.

Lyotard, Jean-François. *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984.

MacWilliams, Mark. "Revisioning Japanese Religiosity: Osamu Tezuka's *Hi no tori* (*The Phoenix*)." In *Global Goes Local: Popular Culture in Asia*, edited by Timothy J. Craig and Richard King, 177–207. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002.

Markus, Andrew Lawrence. *The Willow in Autumn: Ryūtei Tanehiko, 1783–1842*. Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992.

Matsumoto Isako. "Mori Ōgai 'Abe ichizoku' o yominaosu—nihon no otoko no shutai to wa." In *Koten o yominaosu*, edited by Matsuoka Mitsuharu, 159–72. Nagoya: Nagoya daigaku daigakuin kokusai gengo bunka kenkyūka, 2005.

Mishima Yukio. *Ketteiban Mishima Yukio zenshū*. Vol. 20. Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 2002.

Miura Sukeyuki. "Tezuka Osamu 'Kodaishi no Riariti' [Tezuka Osamu 'Hi no tori']." *Bungei Shunju* 87, no. 7 (June 2009): 294–96.

Miyamoto Mizuo. "Kaya." In *Nihon dai hyakka zensho*,. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1994, https://japanknowledge.com/lib/display/?lid=1001000053033.

Mori Ōgai. *Mori Ōgai zenshū*. 9 vols. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1973.

Morris, Ivan. *The Nobility of Failure: Tragic Heroes in the History of Japan*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975.

Morris-Suzuki, Tessa. *The Past within Us: Media, Memory, History*. London: Verso, 2005.

Morse, Anne Nishimura. *Takashi Murakami: Lineage of Eccentrics*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2018.

Murakami Takashi. *Super Flat*. Tokyo: Madara, 2000.

Murase Ryōko. "'Man'en gannen no futtobōru' ron: 'hontō no koto' o megutte." *Kindai bungaku shiron*, no. 36 (December 1998): 51–65.

Nakai, Kate Wildman. "Tokugawa Confucian Historiography: The Hayashi, Early Mito School and Arai Hakuseki." In *Confucianism and Tokugawa Culture*, edited by Peter Nosco, 62–91. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Nakai, Nobuhiko, and James L. McClain. "Commercial Change and Urban Growth in Early Modern Japan." In *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 4, *Early Modern Japan*, edited by John Whitney Hall, 519–95. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Nakamachi, Keiko. "Genji Pictures from Momoyama Painting to Edo Ukiyo-e: Cultural Authority and New Horizons." In *Envisioning the Tale of Genji: Media, Gender, and Cultural Production*, edited by Haruo Shirane, 171–210. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008.

Nakamura Yoshihiro, dir. *Chonmage purin*. Comedy film. Tokyo: J Storm, 2010.

Nakano Mitsutoshi. *Edo bunka hyōbanki: gazoku yūwa no sekai*. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1992.

Nakano, Mitsutoshi. "The Role of Traditional Aesthetics." In *18th Century Japan: Culture and Society*, edited by C. Andrew Gerstle, 124–31. New York: Routledge, 2000.

Napier, Susan. *Escape from the Wasteland: Romanticism and Realism in the Fiction of Mishima Yukio and Oe Kenzaburo*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991.

18 (October 2011), article 1.

Nihon Haiyū Kyōkai. *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami*. Vol. 8, disc 9, of *Kabukiza, sayonara kōen*. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2010.

Noguchi, Tetsuya. *This Is Not a Samurai*. Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 2021.

Ōe Kenzaburō. "Dōseiji no futtobōru." In *Jizokusuru Kokorozashi*, by Ōe Kenzaburō, 403–11. Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 1968.

Ōe Kenzaburō. *Man'en gannen no futtobōru*. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1967.

Orbaugh, Sharalyn. "The Problem of the Modern Subject." In *The Columbia Companion to Modern East Asian Literature*, edited by Joshua S. Mostow, 24–35. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.

Ozawa Tomomi. "Tezuka Osamu 'Hi no tori' ron: Hi no tori to junkan (rūpu) to wa nani ka." *Ferisu jogakuin daigaku nichibun daigakuin kiyō* 17 (February 2016): 42–54.

Parker, Helen. *Progressive Traditions: An Illustrated Study of Plot Repetition in Traditional Japanese Theatre*. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

Rackin, Phyllis. *Stages of History: Shakespeare's English Chronicles*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990.

Rubin, Jay. "From Wholesomeness to Decadence: The Censorship of Literature under the Allied Occupation." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 11, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 71–103.

Ryūtei Tanehiko. *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*. Edited by Utagawa Toyokuni and Suzuki Jūzō. Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei 88. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995.

Saihom, Duantem. "Man'en gannen no futtobōru to 'bōryokutekina gunshū'—mongatari to gunshū no yakuwari." *Hyōgen to sōzō* 2 (June 2001): 17–26.

Schimmel, Paul. "Making Murakami." In *© Murakami*, by Takashi Murakami, 52–79. Los Angeles: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2007.

Shaver, Ruth. *Kabuki Costume*. Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1966.

Shiba, Zenkō. *In the Soup, Hand Made: The Thousand Sliced Arms of the Bodhisattva of Mercy = Daihi no senrokuhon, 1785*. Translated by Joel Cohn. Hollywood, CA: Highmoonoon, 2003.

Shiba, Zenkō. "Thousand Arms of Goddess, Julienned: The Secret Recipe of Our Handmade Soup Stock." Translated by Adam L. Kern. In *An Edo Anthology: Literature from Japan's Mega-City, 1750–1850*, edited by Sumie Jones with Kenji Watanabe, 124–36. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013.

Shimazaki, Satoko. *Edo Kabuki in Transition: From the Worlds of the Samurai to the Vengeful Female Ghost*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2016.

Shimoda Masami, dir. *EMOTION the Best Seibā Marionetto J*. TV series. Tokyo: Bandai Visual, 2010.

Shirane, Haruo. *The Bridge of Dreams: A Poetics of the Tale of Genji*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987.

Shirato Sanpei. *Kamui den zenshū: ketteiban*. 12 vols. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2006.

Shklovsky, Viktor. *Viktor Shklovsky: A Reader*. Edited and translated by Alexandra Berlina. New York: Bloomsbury, 2016.

Singer, Alexander, dir. *Star Trek: The Next Generation*. Season 6, episode 26, and season 7, episode 1, "Descent." Aired June 21 and September 20, 1993, Paramount.

Smith, Christopher. "A Benkei for Every Age: Musashibō Benkei as Palimpsest." *Japanese Language and Literature* 55, no. 1 (April 2021): 65–103.

So Myeongseong. "Ōe Kenzaburō no jikan ishiki: shinwateki shikō to rekishi ninshiki no kitei ni aru mono." *Comparatio* 7 (April 2003): 9–18.

Sorachi Hideaki. *Gintama*. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2004.

Spanos, William V. "De-Struction and the Question of Postmodern Literature: Towards a Definition." *Par Rapport* 2, no. 2 (1979): 107–22.

Steinberg, Marc. "Otaku Consumption, Superflat Art and the Return to Edo." *Japan Forum* 16, no. 3 (2004): 449–71.

Stewart, Patrick, dir. *Star Trek: The Next Generation*. Season 7, episode 6, "Phantasms." Aired October 25, 1993, Paramount Pictures.

Suzuki Katsutada, Mizuno Minoru, and Hamada Giichirō. *Kibyōshi, Senryū, Kyōka*. Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 46. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1971.

Tagusari Kazuma. "Ōe Kenzaburō 'Man'en gannen no futtobōru' ron: 'saisei e no shidō' to kako no keishō." *Kokugo kokubun* 88, no. 10 (October 2019): 22–40.

Takeda Izumo. *Kanadehon chūshingura*. Edited by Hattori Yukio. Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1994.

Takeda, Izumo. *Sugawara and the Secrets of Calligraphy*. Translated by Stanleigh H. Jones Jr. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.

Takeda, Izumo, Shōraku Miyoshi, and Senryū Namiki. *Chūshingura (The Treasury of Loyal Retainers): A Puppet Play*. Translated by Donald Keene. New York: Columbia University Press, 1971.

Takeda, Izumo, Senryū Namiki, and Shōraku Miyoshi. *Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherry Trees: A Masterpiece of the Eighteenth-Century Japanese Puppet Theater*. Translated by Stanleigh H. Jones Jr. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

Tanahashi Masahiro, Suzuki Katsutada, and Uda Toshihiko, eds. *Kibyōshi, Senryū, Kyōka*. Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 79. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1999.

Tanaka Yūko. *Kamui den kōgi*. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2014.

Tanaka Yūko. "Kotoba kara mieru Edo jidai no tayōna hitobito." In *Nihongaku to wa nani ka: Yōroppa kara mita Nihon kenkyū Nihon kara mita Nihon kenkyū*, 175–87. Tokyo: Hōsei daigaku Kokusai Nihongaku kenkyū sentā, 2007.

Tenmyoya Hisashi. *Masterpiece: Tenmyoya hisashi sakuhinshū*. Kyoto: Seigensha, 2014.

Tezuka Osamu. *Hi no tori*. 13 vols. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1992.

Thornbury, Barbara. *Sukeroku's Double Identity: The Dramatic Structure of Edo Kabuki*. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1982.

Toby, Ronald P. "Reopening the Question of Sakoku: Diplomacy in the Legitimation of the Tokugawa Bakufu." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 3, no. 2 (1977): 323–63.

Tokutomi, Iichiro. *The Future Japan*. Translated by Vinh Sinh. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1989.

Tönnies, Ferdinand. *Community and Civil Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Totman, Conrad D. *Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu, 1600–1843*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Tsubouchi Shōyō, Futabatei Shimei, Miyazaki Muryū, and Yano Ryūkei. *Seiji shōsetsu, Tsubouchi Shōyō, Futabatei Shimei shū*. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1971.

Tsunoda, Ryūsaku, William Theodore De Bary, and Donald Keene, eds. *Sources of Japanese Tradition*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958.

Tsuruya Nanboku. *Tōkaidō Yotsuya kaidan*. Edited by Gunji Masakatsu. Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1981.

Tsuuchi, Jihei, II, and Hanemon Tsuuchi. "Sukeroku: Flower of Edo." In *Kabuki: Five Classic Plays*, translated by James R. Brandon, 49–92. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992.

Uchiyama Mikiko and Tsunoda Ichirō, eds. *Takeda Izumo Namiki Sōsuke jōrurishū*. Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei 93. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1991.

Ueda Masayuki. "Ōgai rekishi shōsetsu no jirenma—'rekishi sonomama' toiu shinwa kara no kaihō." *Kokugakuin Zasshi* 114, no. 7 (2013): 1–13.

Walley, Glynne. *Good Dogs: Edification, Entertainment, and Kyokutei Bakin's "Nansō Satomi hakkenden."* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University East Asia Program, 2017.

Watanabe Kenji, ed. *Edo bunka to sabukaruchā*. Tokyo: Shibundō, 2005.

Watanabe Shin'ichirō, dir. *Samurai Chanpurū*. TV series. Tokyo: Manglobe, 2011.

Webb, Herschel. *The Japanese Imperial Institution in the Tokugawa Period*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1968.

Wegerif, Rupert. "Dialogic or Dialectic? The Significance of Ontological Assumptions in Research on Educational Dialogue." *British Educational Research Journal* 34, no. 3 (2008): 347–61.

Wilson, Michiko. *The Marginal World of Ōe Kenzaburō*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1986.

Yamaguchi Masao. *Chi no enkinhō*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1978.

Yamaguchi Takeshi. *Yamaguchi Takeshi chosakushū*, vol. 4, Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1972.

Yamamoto Hirofumi. *Junshi no kōzō*. Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1994.

Yokoyama Tadashi, ed. *Jōrurishū*. Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 45. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1971.

Yoshimura Tokuzō. *Shinwa to rekishi kyōiku*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1973.

Young, Margaret. "Japanese Kabuki Drama: The History and Meaning of the Essential Elements of Its Theatre Art Form." PhD diss., Indiana University, 1954.

Index

"Abe ichizoku" (The Abe clan), 6, 17, 35–46, 51, 97, 120
Akō incident, 171, 178, 189
Allied occupation of Japan, 111. *See also* US occupation of Japan
Amaterasu, 78–79, 81, 83, 89, 203n10
Americanization, 30–32, 100, 126
anachronism: and class consciousness, 49–50; comic effect of, 95, 101, 104, 141, 150; countercultural aspects, 115, 122, 124, 137, 141; as error, 9–12, 194, 196; and gender, 3–4, 108–9; monologic and dialogic, 6, 13–14, 18–19, 32, 35, 141; metadramatic, 8, 172–75, 190, 214n39; metafictional, 1, 172, 190; proleptic, 12–13, 15, 101; postleptic, 13, 101, 197n4; and race, 3–4; Shakespearean, 2, 10–12, 191; typologies of, 2–6; work on history, 5, 10, 12–13, 17, 44–45, 161, 163, 172, 179, 190. *See also* dialogic anachronism; monologic anachronism
anime, 7, 31, 99, 118; aesthetics, 126, 199n49; conventions, 119; and Edo art, 126, 129–30; and manga, 1, 2, 33; samurai, 118, 120
Anpo demonstrations, 52, 70–71
aragoto (rough style), 175–77, 180
Azuma, Hiroki, 26, 69, 119, 130, 178, 205n3; on contemporary Japanese discourse
on Edo, 30–32, 99–100, 105, 127, 199n49; on postmodern narrative, 21–22, 29–30

Bakhtin, Mikhail, 6, 199n34: buffoonery, 96, 195–96; carnival(esque), 67, 178; and heteroglossia, 14, 18, 195; literary chronotope, 192; parody, 193–94; "unitary language," 15
bakufu. *See* Tokugawa shogunate
bakuhan system, 145, 168
Barthes, Roland, 18
basara (aesthetic), 133, 135–37
Benkei, 92–94, 185
Brechtian alienation, 1, 75, 120, 172, 174
Buddhism: in art and fiction, 76, 131–32; beliefs, 104, 131
Bunraku. *See ningyō jōruri*
burakumin, 46–47
bushi (warriors), 46, 48–49
bushidō, 112–14, 116–18, 120, 206n38
Buyō Inshi, 143–45

capitalism: late, 102, 105, 115; modern, 17, 42–44, 47

Cassirer, Ernst, 67
censorship, 12; under the Tokugawa *bakufu*, 7, 145–46, 148, 149, 154, 170–72, 176, 188; under Allied occupation, 93, 204n45; during World War II, 185. *See also* wartime Japan
chōnin (urban commoners), 179, 192, 212n67
Chonmage purin (film), 195–96
comic books, 26, 33. *See also kibyōshi*
Commodore Perry's arrival in Edo Bay, 111
Confucian: filial piety and loyalty, 41, 147, 178; ideology, 144, 146–47, 149, 153, 211n51; learning, 146, 149, 154, 184; texts, 143–44. *See also* Neo-Confucianism
consumer culture, 105; Edo, 127, 156–57, 186, 191; modern and contemporary, 31, 102, 118, 133, 138–40
countercultural themes (in art and fiction), 133–37. *See also under* youth culture; anachronism
chronotope, 192

Daihi no senrokuhon (The thousand arms of merciful profit), 7, 154–57, 168, 210n31
daimyō, 49, 106–8, 117, 123, 133, 137, 145, 171, 209n26
database (Azuma's conception of), 22, 26, 29, 69, 108, 119, 130, 196
dialogic anachronism, 35, 51, 114, 137; scope and definition, 6–8, 13, 15–19, 24, 26, 28–30, 32, 140, 193–96; in Edo literature, 144, 148–49, 157, 164–65, 167–68; in Edo theater, 177, 188; in *Hi no Tori*, 77–79, 87, 89, 91, 93–95; in *Man'en gannen no futtobōru*, 65, 70–71, 73; in *Naruto*, 106, 108, 111; in *Samurai chanpurū*, 122, 124; in *Seibā marionetto J*, 102–4. *See also under* anachronism
diegetic: action, 48–49, 120; characters, 56, 192; mechanism/device, 4, 6, 34, 195; space, 79, 91, 95, 121; world, 1, 50, 75, 101, 172–74, 188

Edo painting, 125–26, 129–30, 132
Edo literature, 5, 143–45, 148, 164, 166, 180, 191
Edo popular theater, 5, 7, 149, 188; and anachronism, 169–71, 190–91; *sandai meisaku* (three great works), 180, 185; theatergoers, 179, 181, 186, 188. *See also* Kabuki
Edo Japan: 99, 104, 106, 111
Edoite, 104, 105, 108, 121, 148, 177
edokko, 177, 179–80
Emmerich, Michael, 157, 162–64, 210n41, 211n46
Engels, Friedrich, 25–26
Engi era, 149, 153
European Enlightenment, 11, 20, 42, 86, 120

Forty-seven rōnin. *See Kanadehon Chūshingura*
Fujii, James A., 43–44
furītā, 115

gag: and anachronism, 7, 78–79, 81, 95, 149, 194; manga and comics genre, 74–75; as narrative device, 75, 77, 84, 96, 196
gekiga, 46, 75
Gikeiki (The Chronicle of Yoshitsune), 93, 148, 169
gemeinschaft, 101, 142, 160, 205n6
Genji monogatari. *See The Tale of Genji*
Genpei War, 16, 91–92, 154, 185–86, 210n32
Gerstle, C. Andrew, 175–76, 213n24
gesaku (playful literature), 144, 158, 212n2

Gintama (Silver soul), 7, 111–14, 117, 120
Gohyaku rakan (2012), 131–32
gōkan (illustrated novels), 7, 33, 157, 160
Gramsci, Antonio, 49
Gunjin chokuyu (Imperial Precepts to Soldiers and Sailors), 112, 116

Hebdige, Dick, 125–26
heteroglossia, 16, 18, 19, 23, 29, 45, 152, 156. *See also under* Bakhtin, Mikhail
Heian Japan, 91, 151, 157–63, 165, 167, 180–85, 190, 204n40
Heike monogatari (Tale of the Heike), 91, 147–48, 169
Heisei Japan, 101–2, 105, 108, 112, 116–22, 195
hinin (outcast), 47–49, 155, 165. *See also burakumin*
hip-hop, 7, 118, 121–24, 132, 135–37, 141, 207n44
Hirano, Katsuya, 17, 42, 144–45, 152
Hi no Tori (Phoenix), 9, 168; and anachronistic technology, 1, 3, 9, 137; cultural significance, 75–77; and historical representation, 91–96; and postmodern discourse, 27–28, 92; and Japanese history, 6–7, 27–28, 76–77; and national myth, 78–90, 137, 168; uses of gag, 7, 78–79, 81, 84, 96
Hornby, Richard, 172–74
Hutcheon, Linda, 23; on historiographic metafiction, 28–30, 32, 118, 140, 195; on pastiche, 98

Ichikawa Danjūrō, 173, 175
Imperial Japanese Army, 109, 112–13, 116–17
interoperability: scope and definition, 7, 8, 97, 98, 103, 140–42; in manga and anime, 104–5, 106–10, 115, 117–18, 120–22, 124; in visual art, 129–30, 132, 135–37, 140; in Edo theater, 186, 189
intertextuality, 17, 18, 29, 148, 162

Jameson, Fredric, 24, 98, 148; "cards," 25–27, 69, 79, 178; "comic-book juxtaposition," 25–26, 65
Japanese identity, 48, 77, 205n5; "return to Edo," 99–101, 105; and *bushido*, 113–14, 117–18
Japanese nationalism, 32, 41–42, 71, 76–77, 100, 109–10, 113–14, 142
Jieitai. *See* Self-Defense Forces
junshi, 39–41, 43–46

Kabuki, 8, 149, 169; adaptation to, 180, 185, 187, 212n1; anachronism in, 179, 190; formal elements of, 161, 169, 172–73, 180–81; *jūhachiban*, 175, 190; as site of resistance, 170–71, 213n24; theater space, 103; common tropes, 184; and wartime Japan, 93
Kamui-den (The legend of Kamui), 6, 35, 51, 77, 97; aesthetics, 46, 74; diversity in, 48; legacy of, 105–6; Marxist ideology in, 46–50, 206n13
Kanadehon Chūshingura (The copybook storehouse of loyal retainers), 123, 161, 171, 173–74, 177, 185, 189–90, 214n34
Kanjinchō, 93, 204n44, 209n17, 214n37
Kawaii—Vacances: Summer Vacation in the Kingdom of the Golden (2008), 128–30, 134
kibyōshi (comic books), 7, 33, 149–54, 209n18, 212n67
Koikawa Harumachi, 149, 154, 180
Kojiki, 78, 84, 86, 88
Korean settlement (postwar), 55, 56, 62
Kristeva, Julia, 18, 193
Kurosawa, Akira, 93, 204n45
kusazōshi, 149, 157–58, 162, 209n19

Lenin, Vladimir, 50
Lyotard, Jean-François, 19, 199n34; language game, 21–23, 29, 105, 158

MacArthur, Douglas, 111
Mandate of Heaven, 146–47, 153
manga, 7, 31, 46, 103, 131, 144, 187; and art history, 126; comedy, 111, 114; media adaptations, 91, 99, 123; and anime 1, 2, 33; ninja, 105–6; readers, 115, 117–18; Tezuka's innovations, 74–76, 81
Man'en gannen no futtobōru (Football in the first year of Man'en), 6, 35, 51–73, 96, 167–68
Manji Fuji (2001), 129–30
Marxism, 46, 107, 205n7; class consciousness, 48–49, 171; historiography, 20, 47, 50, 206n13; teleology, 18
Medieval Japan, 91, 97, 106, 133–37, 140, 147
Meiji Japan, 112, 119–20, 157, 166, 169, 175, 209n16, 212n64; modern statehood, 17, 41–42, 83; modern subjectivity, 41-42, 117; periodization, 30, 100, 111; visual art, 124, 126
Meiji Restoration, 6, 30, 41, 65, 99, 124, 126
metafiction, 8, 24, 28–30, 195
Minamoto no Yoshitsune, 93: depictions of, 77, 148, 150–52, 176, 185, 209n17; using a telephone, 9, 12, 16–17, 24, 26–27, 33, 193, 198n15
Mishima, Yukio, 113–14
modernity, 62, 86; educational institutions, 107–8; Heisei and Edo, 99, 101–9; Heisei and Meiji, 112; Jürgen Habermas on, 20–21, narrative engagement with history, 19–22; periodization, 5, 28, 30–32, 60; and the supermarket, 61; and the telephone, 3, 16, 137, 139; Tokutomi Sohō on, 102–3
modern nation, 42, 83, 92, 145
modern subjectivity, 35, 41, 43–45, 72, 141. *See also under* Meiji Japan; Mori Ōgai
moe yōso (moe elements), 22, 119, 178, 196
monadic subject, 17, 43–45
monologic anachronism: scope and definition, 6, 13, 17–18, 20-21, 26, 32, 193–94, 196; in "Abe ichizoku," 6, 17, 39, 45–46; in *Kamui-den*, 49–50; in *Man'en gannen no futtobōru*, 51, 72; in *Ōmu-gaeshi bunbu no futamichi*, 154; in *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, 162; versus dialogic anachronism, 26, 79, 98, 103, 165. *See also under* anachronism
Mori Ōgai, 6, 17, 35; historical fiction, 35–41, 45; interiority, 39–41, 45; Karatani Kōjin on, 38; modern subjectivity, 141; verisimilitude, 36–37
Murakami, Takashi, 7, 124–35, 137; "Superflat Manifesto" (2000), 125, 207n50
Murasaki Shikibu, 158–60
Muromachi period, 157–59, 161, 163–65, 167, 182
Musashibō Benkei. *See* Benkei

nagebushi (popular song), 164–65
Naruto, 7, 105–11
nihonga, 124, 128, 133
Neo-Confucianism, 42, 146, 161, 168, 182
neo-nihonga, 133
ni-niroku jiken (February 26 incident), 28, 92
ningyō-jōruri, 149, 169–71, 180, 184, 190, 212n1
ninja, 46, 105–110
ninja manga, 105–6
Nise Murasaki inaka Genji (A fake Murasaki's country Genji), 7, 157–68, 210n46, 211n44, 211nn50–52, 212n64
Nō (drama), 91, 156, 185
Noguchi, Tetsuya, 7, 124; *The Tap* (2020),

137–38; *The Ring Ring Armour* (2013), 137, 139; *Shaneru samurai chakkō zō*, 137, 140
novel. *See shōsetsu*

Ōe, Kenzaburō: 6, 35, 72, 167; commonly used narrative devices, 51, 59–62, 70; and the carnivalesque, 65–67, 96; on history, 66, 111; *Me mushiri ko uchi* (Nip the buds, shoot the kids), 59
Okada, Toshio, 127
Ōmu-gaeshi bunbu no futamichi (Parroting back, the two paths of pen and sword), 7, 149–54, 168, 180, 209n18
ōoku, 166, 209n26, 212n64
otaku (fan), 30–31, 99–100, 125–27, 129, 133, 135, 199n3

pastiche, 96, 98, 114, 148, 194
period drama (TV), 100, 172. *See also taiga* drama
play (conceptual), 7, 32, 118, 124, 144–45, 148, 195,
pleasure quarters, 127, 144, 153, 163, 165, 170, 176–78, 212n67, 214n25
prolepsis, 2–4, 6
pop art, 129–32
postlepsis, 2–4
Postmodernism: culture and tendencies, 86, 88, 92, 121; theory and terminology, 6, 19–32, 152
postwar Japan, 33, 149; and Edo, 31, 108–18, 120, 122; Hiroki Azuma on, 30–31, 100; manga, 74; nationalism, 113–14; pacifism, 77. 109–10, 117; sexual economies, 116
power: will to, 20, 29 71, 73, 78, 92, 121, 153, 168; and violence, 6, 52, 65
propaganda, 74, 84
prostitutes, 120, 143, 151, 155
pseudo-Japan, 31–32, 99–100, 105

"Rekishi sonomama to rekishi-banare" (Faithful to history and departing from history), 35–37
ritual suicide. *See junshi*
rōnin, 44, 46, 115, 120
Ryūtei Tanehiko, 157–60, 162–66, 211n52, 212n64

samurai caste/class, 7, 26, 112, 148–49, 151–53, 179. *See also bushi*
samurai hegemony, 171, 178, 183–5
Samurai chanpurū (*Samurai Champloo*), 7, 118, 120–24, 136, 166
"Sanshō dayu" (Sansho the Steward), 35–37
Seibā marionetto J (Saber Marionette J), 7, 31, 99–107, 111, 186
sekai, 212n2; in literature, 143, 157–58; in drama, 169–72, 174, 176, 180, 189–90
senshu bōei, 109–10
Self-Defense Forces (SDF), 109–10
Shiba Zenkō, 154
Shimazaki, Satoko, 170–71, 213n24
Shimoda, Masami, 99
Shinto, 78, 79, 146
Shishigatani *no inbō* (Shishigatani conspiracy), 27–28, 91–92
Shirato Sanpei, 6, 35, 74; and Marxism, 46
Shklovsky, Viktor, 192–93
shōjo, 31, 159, 162
Shonen Jump, 111, 115
shōsetsu (modern novel), 37, 93–94, 205n47
Shōsetsu shinzui (The essence of the novel), 37
Shōwa Japan, 32, 111, 118
shukō, 212n2; in literature, 143, 157; in drama, 169–72, 176, 189–90, 213n28
Sleepy Hollow (TV), 3–4
So, Myeongseong, 67, 70
Soga monogatari (Tale of the Soga brothers), 148, 169

Spartacus (film), 10, 195
speech act, 14, 21
Star Trek: The Next Generation, 2, 4, 137
Steinberg, Marc, 129–30
student movements (1960s), 46, 71, 89, 204n40. *See also* Anpo demonstrations
subjectivity, 21, 97. *See also* modern subjectivity
Sugawara denju tenarai kagami (The mirror of the transmission of Sugawara's calligraphy), 7–8, 180–85, 186, 214n34
Sugawara no Michizane, 149, 180, 182–84
suicide: in fiction, 51–54, 64, 113, 123, 176; in history, 114, 154, 211n52. *See also junshi*
Sukeroku yukari no Edo-zakura (Sukeroku, the cherry blossom of Edo), 7, 175–80, 190
superflat, 125–26, 129

taiga drama (TV), 94, 205n47
Taiheki (Tale of Great Peace), 148, 169, 171, 174, 177
The Tale of Genji (*Genji monogatari*), 91; and *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, 157–63, 166, 210n41
Tanaka, Yūko, 31, 48
tengu, 151–52
Tenmyouya, Hisashi, 7, 124, 133–34, 138; *Basara B-Boy B-girl* (2002), 135–37; BASARA style, 133; *Japanese Spirit* (2002), 134
Tenpō reforms, 157, 211n52
terakoya (temple school), 107, 182–86, 214n44
Tezuka, Osamu, 6–7, 9, 78, 137, 148, 168, 202n1, 203n10; style and innovation, 74–75, 81, 84; wartime education, 1, 76–77, 94–96
time travel, 4, 6, 34, 195–96
Tokugawa *bakufu* (shogunate), 42, 144–47, 167, 172, 178, 182
Tokugawa Ienari, 102, 121, 167
Tokugawa Ieyasu, 99, 145
transcendentalism, 94–95
Tsuji Nobuo, 125–26

ukiyo-e, 126, 133, 158, 160, 212n2
US occupation of Japan, 93, 100, 111–12, 204n45

vendetta story, 123–24, 176–78, 189–90

Walley, Glynne, 144, 150
Warring States Japan, 133, 147
wartime Japan, 79, 83, 115, 117, 185; education and state-sanctioned history, 1, 76–77, 88–89, 90, 93–94, 96
Watanabe Shin'ichirō, 118, 166
woodblock print. *See ukiyo-e*
World War II, 6, 30–32, 71, 84, 100, 111, 185
yamato damashii (Japanese spirit), 113
yanki (rebellious youth), 121, 133, 137–38
Yoshitsune senbon zakura (Yoshitsune and the thousand cherry trees), 8, 185–86, 188–89, 209n17, 214n34
youth culture, 117, 121–23, 133, 135, 174; countercultural, 124, 137–38, 141