depicted among the casualties of the Sanjō forces, and they are not the uppermost "court nobles [and] high-ranking courtesans" mentioned in the Yōmei Bunsho's text. Rather they are lower-class courtesans dressed in hunting robes (barigawa) and shown with high cheekbones and "lower-class" eyes and noses.

Thus, returning to the group of court ladies depicted as the victims in the Night Attack on the Sanjō Palace scroll, their sexualized bodies were undoubtedly seen and enjoyed by the viewers of this handscrew from two angles: first, they provided sexual pleasure for the men who viewed them; second, they helped emphasize the barbarity and Otherness of the warriors. In other words, they represent the enshrining of two different power relationships: one is the gender relationship between male and female; the other is the class relationship between aristocrat and warrior. In this scene, the warriors' atrocity is visited without mercy on the bodies of the women. That image shows the construction of power by means of the gaze of the commissioner of the work, who stands outside of the work and its predicates.

Conclusion

The sexualized bodies of the women portrayed in the Illustrated Scrolls of the Taira of the Heiji Era, separate from the context of the narrative that takes as its subject the historical event known as the Heiji Disturbance, were, I have argued, provided for the viewing pleasure of "the intended audience of the Scrolls. The commissioner of the Night Attack on the Sanjō Palace handscrew has skillfully removed himself from the battle, locating himself in a safe place, to gaze upon the women and the warriors from afar and above. A careful analysis of the composition and expression of the figures represented and displayed in the scene reveals the commissioner's and the viewer's gaze on the Other.

Even today, from which perspective we view this handscrew, "women" are depicted and discussed in all manner of discourses. When faced with movies, photographs, images, and other such visual media, we must repeatedly seize the opportunity to pose the questions: "Who does this woman turn towards? Why is this woman shown naked?" And while the majority of Japanese alive today have never directly experienced war, through visual imagery war has become something that they too view as if from afar and on high. In the same manner as the battle scrolls created in the Kamakura period, the images we create today are mirrors reflecting our gaze on the Other, a gaze that lies within our hearts.

Over the last decade shunga (literally, "spring pictures"), which might be translated as "premodern Japanese pornography," has been promoted by certain Japanese scholars as an essential component of a transhistorical Japanese cultural identity. Roughly the same period has seen the increasing acceptence of male homosexuality in Japanese media. These two trends find a point of contact in the discussions of premodern Japanese "homosexuality," a discussion that involves scholars both in Japan and outside it, publishing in both Japanese and English. There are many groups with differing agendas involved in this discussion. Yet all approach the topic of Tokugawa-period gender and sexuality through the framework of modern, "Western" sexuality.

One of the first problems with the contemporary presentation of Tokugawa-period onnagata (literally, "male-colors"; that is, sexual passion for males) is its translation as "homosexuality." This problem is not unique to the Japanese context and has even been discussed in terms of nineteenth-century England. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, for example, criticizes those who would read Oscar Wilde's pedantry as twentieth-century homosexuality; whereas the latter stresses "sameness" (homo)—same sex, same age, same power—Wilde, like most of his nineteenth-century countrymen, envisioned male same-sex relations as basically asymmetrical and between an older man and a younger man.

This criticism was voiced by many reviewers of Stephen D. Miller's Partings at Dawn: An Anthology of Japanese Gay Literature, which included writing from the twelfth through twentieth centuries. The same weakness vitiates the self-proclaimed "first" history of Tokugawa "homosexuality," Gary Leupp's Male Colors: The Construction of Homosexuality in Tokugawa Japan.
Gender/Sexuality Systems

I start with what might be called a late-twentieth-century, North American, white, liberal, bourgeois and heterocentric, pre-Foucauldian Creed of the trinity of sex, gender, and sexuality:

We believe in two biological sexes, male and female. We may also recognize a biological third sex, such as hermaphroditic. We believe gender is socially constructed but nonetheless imagine only two possibilities, masculine and feminine, by which all sexualities are made. We believe in three possible sexualities, which proceed from sexual difference and gender, and which are understood to be innate: heterosexual, homosexual, and bisexuality. People are one or the other. We believe that the most correct sexual relationships are equitable, that is, between individuals of roughly the same age and socioeconomic power. In fact, we criminalize what are labeled as pedophilia, and statutory rape, on one hand, and any sexual relationship based on power imbalance—labeled prostitution and sexual harassment—on the other. We believe that all relationships, regardless of sexual orientation, should be monogamous (and “forever and ever, amen”).

Here, I would like to consider gender along more or less grammatical lines, that is, in terms of rules of combination. The American Heritage Dictionary defines gender as “a set of two or more categories, such as masculine, feminine, and neuter, into which words are divided according to sex, animation, psychological associations, or some other characteristics, and that determine agreement with or selection of modifiers, referents, or grammatical forms” (emphasis added). The Shigakokan Random House English-Japanese Dictionary makes things even clearer for my purposes: “[Grammar] See Chiefly, the classificatory pattern of nouns as seen in their inflection, it has no relation with biological sex (sex); the number differs, based on each language, but there are many that have the three of masculine, feminine, and neuter, or the two of masculine and feminine” (emphasis added). In other words, put very loosely, I want to consider gender in terms of the rules for object choice—who can select whom, who “agrees” with whom, or, bluntly (if grammatically), who can conjugate with whom. In Japanese, grammatical agreement is called “koto,” which suggests a kind of Althusserian “interpellation,” which is precisely my interest here. Such an approach is basically in line with those developed from the work of the feminist anthropologist Gayle Rubin, such as the approach of Julia Epstein and Kristina Seraub, who define sex/gender systems as


“historically and culturally specific arrogations of the human body for ideological purposes. In sex/gender systems, physiology, anatomy, and body codes (clothing, cosmetics, behaviors, mien, affective and object choices) are taken over by institutions that use bodily difference to define and coerce gender identity.” Needless to say, historically the most common purpose of such definition and coercion is social control by male elites.

The “common-sense” credo above would indicate a paradigm something like that shown in Chart 1. The solid lines between arrowheads indicate the relationships most sanctioned by society, while dotted lines indicate those relationships understood to be possible, but to which some stigma adheres, with dashes indicating some stigma and dots even more. Thus, we look more positively on relationships where the partners are of similar age than those between youths and adults. This is not symmetrical, and our society presently looks upon relations between an older man and a younger woman with less commitment than those between an older woman and a younger man. We are more tolerant, I believe, of same-sex relations between relative equals than such relations where there is a large age difference. In fact, over-large discrepancies in power tend to be labeled presently as “sexual harassment,” while too-large age differences are associated with pedophilia. To be complete the diagram should also include bisexuals of both genders and age levels. Regardless, this diagram, with its strong horizontal arrows, shows that our “common-sense” ideas stress the “homo” aspects of these relationships—the sameness of age and power; that is, like some latter-day gay readers of Wilde, we put a premium on the “sameness” of sex partners, their “equality,” and attempt to deny or suppress the erotic attraction inherent in unequal power relations.

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**Chart 1:** The “Common-Sense” Gender/Sexuality System

- Gay Adult Male → Gay Adult Male
- Gay Adult Male → Straight Adult Male
- Gay Adult Female → Straight Adult Female
- Gay Adult Female → Gay Adult Female
- Gay Young Male → Gay Young Male
- Gay Young Male → Straight Young Male
- Gay Young Female → Straight Young Female
- Gay Young Female → Gay Young Female
The gender/sexuality paradigm in early-seventeenth-century Edo, however, was very different, as I shall attempt to demonstrate. To give my conclusions first, I present the paradigm in Chart 2. Note that equitable relationships in the homosexual realm are largely absent; moreover the lynchpin of the whole system is the structural denial of the possibility of female homoeroticism. Desire, too, is much less bilateral than in Chart 1, with a clearer distinction between the desiring subject and the object of desire (as indicated by the direction of the arrowheads). Finally, note that there is little need to identify individuals as "homosexual" or "heterosexual/bisexual"—only "pansexual" males (though, in fact, proscribed from other adult men and children of other sex), exclusively homosexual males, and exclusively heterosexual females are understood to exist.

The Perfumed Pillow of Youngman-Play

I offer Chart 2 only provisionally; I want to extrapolate the gender/sexuality system that seems to underlie one specific text. The *Wakashu-aoi hana no makura, or Perfumed Infra Pillow of Youngman-Play*, is an anonymous "picture-book" (eigo) of twenty-four pages, in the obi format. It was published in Edo in Eiroku 3 (1674) by Urokoji, and its pictures are firmly attributed to the early *ukiyo-e* artist Hishikawa Moronobu. The date of publication puts the appearance of this work one year before the completion of *Ranzan*, a collection of homoerotic poetry compiled by Kitamura Injun in Kyoto, three years before Fuzimori Kanzei's *Shikishi* *oakogami* (Great mirror of the way of eros), and a full twelve years before Ivan Saikaku's *Nuzushoku okogami*. Only one copy seems to remain in existence, a rare survivor from the Tenno fire of 1642. In fact, this book may be the earliest extant example of homoerotic *ukiyo-e*. Moreover, the *Wakashu-aoi* provides an important example of a self-proclaimed early *shoku* text, which has recently been translated as "homosexual."

The first sentence of the preface seems to announce that the book is designed for followers of the "Way of Youngmen," or *shoku*: "Like the sales lover when he sees the announcement of the new year's vintage, when the man who has a taste for young men sees some forelock, his heart is stirred." An imaginary lineage of this Way from India and China is described in lines that will be echoed at the close of Saikaku's *Nuzushoku okogami*: "In India it is called "the Way of the Child" (jido) in China it has been named... 'the flower of the rear garden' (shôtei). In our country, it is said that Kôbô Daishi of Kôya, from Kishû, promoted this Way in order to establish pure monks and designed to call it 'the Way of Youths' (shûdo)."

The term "wakashu," the author relates, is generally defined as a male from the ages of eleven to twenty-two or twenty-three (in Japanese count). Yet he goes on to note that at Kôya there are wakashu sixty years old and at Nachi there are wakashu as old as eighty. The definition of *wakashu*, he says, does not rely on age. For his own part, the author defines it as a "love" or "attachment" (renbu) that he describes in hyperbolic terms:

When the feelings are deep, and no distinction is made between rich and poor, and one treasures loyalty and has a tender heart; when one draws blood from one's arm to seal a pledge, pierces one's thighs, rips off one's nails, is branded by an iron, goes against the will of one's master, is disowned by one's parents, one makes one's way through distant fields, spreads the dew on a grass pillow for oneself alone, makes a pillow of the rocks in the rugged mountains, and a mattress of moss—one is bitter against the morning bird and resents the ringing of the dawn bell—this is surely true love (shôtei no renbu).

*Shoku*, then, would seem to be defined by the degree—the absoluteness—of its practitioners' affections, rather than by the age or gender of their significant others. As such, a relationship with a *wakashu* is declared to be more intimate than that between parent and child, or between brothers; and the author explains that the practice of following one's master in death (obi-kun) "also had its meaning in this Way."

He concludes his preface in the guise of a proselytizing tract, with the words (no doubt a pun): "All should enter here, enter here!" (mappa honsen no utsu-tamashiteki, utsu-tamashiteki). Is this really a missionary tract, or is the author "preaching to the converted"—and, if the latter, is their faith really a kind of...

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sexual monotheism, that is, exclusively "homosexual," or nuns-gai ("woman-hating"), and, if so, in what sense?

The devotion supposedly distinctive to this Way is demonstrated in the first scene of the picture-book (Figure 4.1). Surprisingly, the first exemplar is not from the warrior class, as is seen in The Great Mirror of Male Love, but is rather a samurai, or male prostitute.

Although everyone says that there is nothing as flirty (midou-kasuki) as a male actor, that is not so. Even among those such as pages (kasubi), who polish the Way of Youngmen, many have not truly realized sincerity. A certain man (a samurai) had a relationship (umagen) with a male entertainer and, finding him especially lovable, was visited by him in deepest secrecy so that no one knew. The years passed, and their relationship continued. Truly this was a laudable sincerity on the entertainer's part.

The tone here seems to be tongue-in-cheek, indeed, almost sarcastic, as seen, for instance, in the honorifics applied to the samurai (kazuburetsu, an honorific passive). The overly polite phrasing matches the hyperbole of the introduction. Yet, the lauded virtue of this Way seems to be largely undercut by the very next scene (Figure 4.2), which presents a man with two wakahbu. In other words, the "devotion" of the Way of Youngmen seems to be unilateral, that is, the wakahbu should be devoted, but the man (master, perhaps best understood as "subject") need not be.

Yet, this scene of a man's divided affections is immediately followed by betrayal clearly condemned (Figure 4.3):

A certain insincere man (shishiki samurai) had a relationship with a certain young man. Although the man's devotion was weak, the young man could not, it seems, bring himself to end the affair, and things continued this way, until one time, he suddenly visited, and when he looked, the man was doing it with another young man. The first young man sat on the veranda, and when he listened, they sounded like they were having intercourse. He thought again and again that he need not verify it. Truly, with that kind of man, one gets angry with even the chance encounter of an evening. You should make a close inspection when having an affair.

The exhortatory phrasing of the text might even be understood to be addressed to wakahbu, rather than men. Yet the picture is presumably designed for the viewer's pleasure rather than for condemnation. The phrasing also suggests that if the man were not insincere to begin with, the young man might be able to overlook a one-night stand. Again, this kind of forbearance is clearly not reciprocal, as seen in the next scene (Figure 4.4):
no matter what happens to the awakshi in this text, no matter how forcefully or suddenly they are being taken, their faces register no emotion but maintain their almost "archaic smile." As I shall show later, the visual depiction of the seamstress is part of a general disparagement of older, married women.

Women are also active in the sixth scene, though this time neither they nor their relationship with the awakshi receive criticism, verbally or visually (Figure 4.5):

When a group of ladies (jite) from a certain mansion went to a certain temple, they stayed overnight together...there was no one else there but the pages. These ladies, thinking there must be something worth seeing in the temple's garden, had the pages guide them and accompany them here and there. After a little while, they emerged from the shadow of a hill, with their faces flushed and their hair disarrayed. What pleasant thing were they doing, I wonder?

As in the previous scene, awakshi are here engaged in heterosexual acts. Moreover, it is clearly the ladies who are presented as the active agents. What is most important about this example, however, especially when paired with the previous one, is that it presupposes that the reader will find this situation titillating. In other words, these episodes seem to be responding to some presumption of heterosexual desire in the reader, with the awakshi serving as the man's substitute (as we shall see more literally later).

Both young women and a awakshi are presented in scene 8 (Figure 4.6):

A certain man had too much wealth: he employed many pages and concubines (omukashi), and spent his time in various amusements. This is something about which it goes without saying: no one would find this unpleasant; however, it is the way of this floating world not to fulfill our desires, and all one can do is simply be envious (unayashib).

Unlike the picture of the seamstress, here both the awakshi and the concubines are portrayed as attractive. The text's assumption is that all male readers would enjoy this situation—if only they could afford it. The virtue of deep feeling in general and the feelings of awakshi in particular seem to have been forgotten. This scene clearly portrays the presumed pansexual fantasies of the adult male reader, and it is in a sense paradigmatic of the libidinal structure of this work.

The text of the following scene, however, presents women as competitors for the affections of awakshi (in contrast to the seamstress episode, which concerns the fickleness of awakshi) (Figure 4.7):
A certain man constantly visited Yoshiwara. His young man was jealous of this and went with him. A prostitute (jirō) of the place fell in love with the page, and they talked about many things. His "older brother" ignored this, and the page started secretly visiting constantly. The prostitute, looking to come together with him, went out to the road leading to the teahouse and was met by the page behind a brushwood fence. Truly, the expression "inattention is the greatest enemy" refers to this kind of case. How dreadful!

Again, the text makes no presumption or condemnation of the older man visiting the Yoshiwara licensed district. And while the text seems straightforward in its condemnation of the prostitute's actions, again, the visual depiction is quite another matter: the women are clearly presented as desirable, and the fornicatees provide a poetic backdrop of autumn flowers such as bush clover and Chinese bellflowers. Indeed the depiction of their action is endearing, with the young man clinging to the woman's more supportive posture. Nor does the young man's posture provide a point of access for a male viewer who would "insert" himself into the action. Nonetheless, we must assume that the picture was meant to arouse the male viewer, despite the verbal text's condemnation. Since the "older brother" is not depicted, this picture serves as a direct contrast to the seamstress episode, and the young man is presumably serving as the male reader's surrogate, possessing a desirable young woman.

Several other scenes present men and women as competitors for the affections of awashiba, calling the women "cunning enemies," as in the following (Figure 4.8):

The honored son of a virtuous man and an amply affective awashiba of around the same age were always intimate with each other, but suddenly the...
two went together secretly to Yoshiwara. They looked around here and there, when two people they did not know rushed out and had an intense conversation with the young men. After that, the day passed, and the ladies (juri) fell deeply in love with the young men and took them out to a small lodge, where they came together. Truly, [such ladies] are cunning (yudan narera) [opponents] for the esteemed wakashu (u-wakashu) of these times.\(^\text{11}\)

In other words, the ladies compete with adult men for the affections of worthy wakashu. Nonetheless, the ladies in this scene are not depicted visually in a degrading fashion. Nor, however, is their "coming together" explicitly depicted.

The issue, not surprisingly, appears to be power and class. In fact, rather than using the term "woman" as I have been, I should make a distinction between "women" (onna) and "ladies" (juri). "Onna" is in this text synonymous with "wife" (yukoba). "Women" are depicted visually two different ways: (1) negatively, with shaved eyebrows and their hair up, or (2) with their hair long, in the meiji-choe-wakashu style, with or without eyebrows (eyebrows were shaved on women after they had borne their first child).\(^\text{12}\) Juri are high-class prostitutes, concubines, or maids. Those from Yoshiwara are typically shown with their hair up; those who are established concubines (mukeko) in residences have their hair down. Juri from residences are allowed in the text to become involved with wakashu and are condemned neither verbally nor visually for it. Juri in Yoshiwara are seen as direct competitors for the affection of wakashu and termed "enemies." Yet the fundamental structuring contrast is between wives and wakashu.\(^\text{13}\) There is not one scene of an adult man engaged in sexual intercourse with his wife—obviously, this text is not designed to offer what its readers took for granted but rather purveys fantasies. Moreover, wakashu and woman can sexually join, as long as it is under the direction and control of a man (Figure 4.9):

Toward a certain man’s house, from a certain mansion, came a good-looking woman (mimei yuki onn). The man had her couple all day with his devoted wakashu. The wakashu too was happy and battled with her to the point of crisis. The man, thinking to make a good end to a good beginning (shoto), engaged the wakashu, when a sincere wakashu (makoto no wakashu) arrived and tried to pull the man away. But when the lady’s maid also rubbed her hands [in supplication] toward the second wakashu, he too had a good idea and took her like that. Truly, it was a great arrangement! (makoto ni, yuki shikomi nari).

The text here mirrors but exceeds the controlling direction of the man within it: the expression "shikomi" might even suggest a theatrical event, here staged ultimately for the reader—the "omniscient consumer," he might be called.

However, if the man in the text is not in control, the judgment of the text, both visual and verbal, is reversed (scene 11, Figure 4.10):
A certain man lined up his woman (musa) and a wakashu, gazed at this one and that one, and when he attempted at first to take the wakashu, his wife could not bear to watch and embraced the wakashu just like that, pleased with him, with her mouth and eyes screwsed up tight, and seemed very happy. Truly, even something that feels good is something that raises one's ire (mukù na, kusachù yoku koto moio no hara no tatsu koto nite hureru).

In other words, here the wife's pleasure, while not physically interfering with that of the man, is angering because it is unauthorized.

Inversely, the text takes great pleasure in frustrated women: while there is one scene of a woman who finds her husband in bed with a youngman and discreetly withdraws "so as not to interrupt his pleasure" (Figure 4.11), the more frequent scene is of women leaving in a jealous rage (Figure 4.12) or panting with desire (Figure 4.13). In this latter case, the man insists on having them watch—he is "guarding both gates well," we are told, and the situation is described as "amusing" (wakushibukuran).

Despite what is said in the preface about wakashu status not being determined by age, the visual text gives no examples of aged wakashu (and the few aged onna are objects of ridicule). And despite what the text says about deep feeling and devotion, sex is largely a commodity, as seen most clearly in scene 21 (Figure 4.14), where the youngmen promise to satisfy the tearawase dealers' desires if they get the price being asked for the tearawase. Paul Schalow argues that "Saikaku depicts two types of men in the pages of Nanshoku tsukagumi: connoisseurs of boys (shijo-zoku) and women-haters (onna-gura). Yet the Wakashu wakushi gives no suggestion of connoisseurship, in tea or sex.

The wakashu are all portrayed as attractive, but so are young women—only older women are portrayed in an unflattering manner. (Interestingly enough, truly absent here are virginal young girls—there is not one example of a daugh-

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screwed up tight" (see Kashi wa shibamen), but actually she looks no different from the seamstress or other nonprofessional women. And the idealized aukashu and prostitutes show no emotion in the faces at all. In other words, onna are degraded visually by showing them as aged, frustrated, and, when they dare to be proactive, disfigured by their (inappropriate) pleasure.

The text, then, is typically misogynistic, in a general patriarchal way, but it is far from exclusively homosexual, and presupposes both "heterosexual" and "homosexual"—or "bisexual"—desires on the part of its readers. Hence, aukashu should be understood as a gender: both men and aukashu are assumed to have bisexual desires (just as it is implicitly assumed in the text that women's desires are exclusively heterosexual), but there is seen to be an explicit structuring competition between men and women for the third gender, aukashu. Or rather, this paradigm suggests that we must think of at least four genders: men (otoko), wives (onna), prostitutes (jirō), and young men (aukashu) (see Charts 3 and 4). Even in our own society, it has been suggested that mature women and young women—given how men respond to them (or, rather, don't)—are in essence different genders23 and in general they are distinguished by differences in dress and, for instance, hair style. In addition, the chart should factor in class, as it is clear that, at least from the standpoint of the chōnin reader apparently posed by the Wakashu-aukashu, socially superior women are allowed behavior that is condemned in women of lower classes (that is, high-class jirō are permitted aukashu and a proactive sexuality, while other women are condemned for it).

**Shunga as Historical Documents**

Regardless of how many genders exist, the more important issue is that of representation. Any suggestion that there is in such a text as the **Wakashu-aukashu** a representation of either the female viewpoint in love or that of the aukashu is, if I may be excused the pun, phallacious. I have offered the **Wakashu-aukashu** not as a document of social reality but as a representation of social ideology or fantasy. Robert Darnton writes on the question of how we are to read books published hundreds of years ago:

The problem does not concern the availability of the forbidden best-sellers; they can be found in most research libraries. Nor is it a matter of accessibility; they are no longer, funnier, bolder, or briefer than most of the books on the best-seller list today. The difficulty lies with reading itself. We
hardly know what it is when it takes place under our nose, much less what it was two centuries ago when readers inhabited a different mental universe. Nothing could be more misleading than the assumption that they made sense of typographical signs in the same way that we do. But they left little record of how they performed that feat. Although we have some information about the external circumstance of eighteenth-century reading, we can only guess at its effects on the hearts and minds of the readers. Inner appropriation—the ultimate stage in the communication circuit that linked authors and publishers with booksellers and readers—may remain beyond the range of research.22

There is an even stronger tendency, however, to view pictures as self-explanatory. Several scholars have used fictional texts, both visual and verbal, as evidence of historical realities. Paul Schalow, for instance, uses tales from a collection of humorous stories, Today's Tales of Yesterday (Kiasu wa kiyi no monogatari) from the seventeenth century, to extrapolate how women of the era felt about nanbioku. Many of the tales he discusses are similar to those in the Wakaoba: the jealous wife, the accepting wife, the female prostitute who must compete with boy-prostitutes, the woman who herself desires wakashu. Yet Schalow ends his article (published in Japanese, the translation below is mine) with a specific discussion of ménage à trois as seen in scene 2 (Figure 4.9), under the heading “Women and Nanbioku as Portrayed in Ukiyo-e” (ukiyo-e no kutsu ni nanbioku):

In ukiyo-e, there are many shunga that take the scene of a man and woman joined together as their theme. Occasionally one sees shunga that depict a man and wakashu joined together. Although there is a difference in taste, I think we can pretty easily understand either image. However, how should we interpret shunga that have three people—a female, a man, and a wakashu—joined together? The positions of the three are pretty much determined: the woman on the left faces the wakashu directly. The “sex” [penis] of the wakashu has been inserted into the woman’s body, while the man embraces the wakashu from behind, and the man is inserting his “sex” into the wakashu. Somehow it seems that the wakashu and his experience have become the focus of the shunga. The wakashu receives pleasure from both directions—the fact that he is an object at the same time he is being a subject is fascinating.

However, when we think of the man’s experience as the focus of the shunga, he is embracing the wakashu directly, but isn’t at the same time embracing the woman, through the body of the wakashu. Savoring the flesh of two people at one time, the man’s pleasure is surely doubled. Then, when we think about it from the standpoint of the woman’s experience, she is clearly holding the wakashu’s “sex” in her body, but she must also be feeling the man’s “sex” from the wakashu’s body. The woman is being embraced by two men at the same time, so isn’t it the woman’s pleasure that is doubled? A woman is someone who cannot help colliding with nanbioku with her own body. It is this that is probably the female “discourse on nanbioku” in the early Edo period. Woman, wakashu, man, and this colliding together, isn’t this the distinctive feature of Japanese nanbioku?23

Schalow starts with the assumption, which I hope I have gone some way already to refute, that the visual images in Japanese premodern pornography are easily read and interpreted. In fact, such images very often include a written text, which can radically change our understanding of the action depicted. Regardless, Schalow is ready to admit that at least in the case of ménages à trois there may be some interpretive ambiguity. However, he claims that the composition of these images is relatively set, an assertion I would again dispute, based on what we have seen in the Wakaoba: In addition, Schalow’s use of verb forms in this description is very interesting—something I have attempted to maintain in the translation. While seeming determined to allow agency or subjectivity for the women and wakashu in these pictures (he is speaking in the generic, and without a specific image it is difficult to engage him at a visual level), Schalow grammatically denies them any subject position at all: “The sex [penis] of the wakashu has been inserted [note the passive] into the woman’s body, while the man embraces [active] the wakashu from behind, and the man is inserting [active] his ‘sex’ into the wakashu.” Yet he suggests that somehow the wakashu “has become the focus of the shunga.” As I have argued above, this is clearly an anachronistic reading, since the text seems to be designed for an adult male reader/viewer, who, being an adult, would not want to imagine himself being penetrated by another man.24 However, while Schalow’s reading here is anachronistic, his use of the grammatical concepts of subject and object seems entirely appropriate: indeed, the penetrator is the grammatical subject and the penetrated always the grammatical object here. Moreover, it is clear, at least in the Wakaoba, that the wakashu’s insertion serves as no more than an extension of the adult male: when a wakashu is being penetrated by a man (Figure 4.11), the young man’s penis (erect or flaccid) is never depicted, unless it is serving as an extension of the controlling man. Wakaoba equations not author-
ized by an older man are without exception condemned by the verbal text. The discrepancies between the verbal and visual texts allow the reading aiko to identify with a visual surrogate in penetrating, while the verbal text provides the "proper" patriarchal judgment.

The same kind of anachronistic reading is seen in Hayakawa's interpretation of scene 11. The last sentence of this text is ambiguous: "Truly, even something that feels good is something that raises one's ire" (makoto ni, kokoichi yoku koto misu no bara no tatsu koto site hureru). Hayakawa asks who it is that has "something that feels good" and who it is who criticizes and whose ire is raised. While admitting that the wakasuri in the picture is essentially functioning as a sex toy for the couple, Hayakawa nonetheless believes that this final statement should be attributed to the aiko.

However, the picture gives absolutely no evidence of any pleasure on the wakasuri's part: his penis is not visible, and he holds himself up with one hand while stimulating the wife with his other hand. There was in fact no assumption on the part of Edo-period readers that the wakasuri would find his situation arousing. As Pfaffelder has documented: "In contrast to vaginal coitus, however, popular discourse construed only the inserter role in anal intercourse as intrinsically pleasurable, while taking it for granted that the anal inserter allowed himself to be penetrated only out of duty, affection, coercion, or the prospect of material reward." Such an attitude is not unique to Japan or even East Asia: as John R. Clarke has written: "Modern authors repeatedly point out the 'phallic' construction of sexual activity in ancient Rome: all the texts that come down to us frame sexual experience in terms of the freeborn, elite male who inserts his penis into the body of another, whether that other be male or female.'"

Finally, Chart 4 shows how wives are excluded from the triangle of desire formed by men, prostitutes, and young men. The phallocentric pleasure of the text is predicated on the absolute blindness to the possibility of female homoerotic pleasure. As Hitomi Tomomura has said in regard to medieval Japan: "The sexual experiences of women are portrayed as limited, singular, and dependent on men." This view is reconfirmed in another rare work of Moronobu's Toko no okimono (Display-piece for the bedroom—a work set in the imperial harem): all of its main twenty-four scenes depict women masturbating (Figure 4.16), but only one is shown masturbatting without a dildo (bategata), and there is not one example of either cunnilingus or mutual masturbation without a dildo. In fact, the text is so anxious about even the possibility of women having sexual pleasure without men that each page has an upper register—completely unrelated to the main picture—showing a man and a woman in coitus, serving as a kind of normative talisman to counteract the exclusion of the phallic in the lower register. In Moronobu's pornography, the phallos is the sole source of pleasure, and, as in most Edo-period texts, masturbation is considered a very poor, and inherently demeaning, substitute. This phallocentrism, then, accomplishes two interdependent things: first, it allows for the degradation of mature women, showing their "comic" frustration when displaced from the role of inserter by wakasuri; and second, it precludes the possibility of female-female sexual gratification, which would render the phallos redundant.

Conclusion

Limiting discussion to the Waka-shi and extrapolating from it for only one particular milieu in Edo in the first half of the 1770s, one can say that the rhetoric of shishi loyalty was hyperbolic window dressing for a phallocentric pantexu-
ality. It does not seem useful to “insert” this text into the discourse of modern homosexuality, or even “bisexuality,” if the latter term is understood as opposed to a mandatory bimorphic structure of sexuality; for the actions and desires it portrays are clearly meant to be taken as normative. Yet the Wakashu-awashi represents only one dialect of the grammar of desire, limited by time, location, and class. For instance, Shirakura Yoshliko has remarked that the appearance of such menage à trois as Scholow discusses is limited to shido texts produced in Edo, and he has seen no example of such “bisexual” scenes in shido texts produced in the western, Kamigata region.22

We need to try to bracket our own binary thinking and to approach Tokugawa-period “sexuality,” if we may call it that, in a more holistic or systemic fashion. While there are obvious and important present-day historical and political reasons why the scholarly study of the sexual activity of the Tokugawa period has developed the way it has—political reasons that I support in the context of antihomophobic education—I think we now need studies that look critically at the whole range of sexual activity and desire in the Tokugawa period.

David Pollack

Marketing Desire: Advertising and Sexuality in Edo

Literature, Drama, and Art
4. The Gender of Wakanushi and the Grammar of Desire

This essay was originally delivered at the 1996 Association for Asian Studies annual meeting held in Honolulu. I was able to present an expanded version at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken) and at Columbia University in 1998, where I benefited from the comments of many people. Much of the Wakanushi kuso-krurara-makura tezukuri has been subsequently reproduced by Hayakawa Motomi in her Ukyōto shunga hanmaruki (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo, 1998).

Typically, this is suggested by positioning a liberated Edo-period brothel economy against a “Western”-derived puritanism started in the Meiji period. For instance, Haga Tōrō: “In the thrill and ecstasy of their [Edo-era] puerile love, the lovers experienced the fullness and joy of life haunted by a remembrance of death, which had no hope of achieving any kind of expression in Westernized, hence accidentally puritanical, Meiji Japan” (“Purposlessness of Love, Places of Love,” in Sumie Jones, Imaging Reading Eros, 98), or Ueno Chizuko, on the back blurb of a recently published series of shunga books: “One cannot help being delighted to learn that the barbarian age, when the ‘private parts’ of richly expressive shunga were bleated out, is at long last over” (Ueno Chizuko, shunga no “basho” o, kawara motobishibana suzoku ni yoru ga yūkaku yuzurai o tokorete kure o, sanbun-kei ni ii inorezam). Hayashi Yoshikazu and Richard Lane, eds., Katagira Usanji Edo no Konshō-e Shunga Mekabi: [The complete Ukyō-e shunga], vol. 2 (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 1996). Like its Chinese and Greek counterparts, “barbarian” (basho) suggests foreignness, not homogenizing indigence.


6. See, for example, the review by Keith Vincent in Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese 31, no. 2 (October 1997): 109–116.


10. Hayashi Yoshikazu, in his Edo e rokksayu: Memono [Research on erotic books: Momono] (Tokyo: Yuko Shobo, 1998), gives the date of publication as Espan 6 (1678) as a two-volume large-format book (shoki) with no publisher listed (p. 61). This information seems based on an entry in Ryutte Tanihiko’s Kōraka-tei-ken wakura (Catalog of erotic books) and the Hōshuki Momono 51 (Hoshikiwara Momono’s picture books) [p. 101]. Nonetheless, the coeloposis of the edition on which I am basing my discussion is quite clear. The discrepancy suggests the possibility that the work was reprinted at least once, in 1679, in a slightly different format. Clearly it was known and in some kind of circulation in late as Tanihiko’s day (d. 1842).


12. For a partial English translation of one part of this work, see Lawrence Rogers, "She Loves Me, She Loves Me Not: Shiroy and Shōhōe Ogasawara," Monumenta Nipponica 49, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 31–60.


14. In fact, an expression similar to ‘Kōya 60, Nachi 80’ had a long history, perhaps originally unconnected to anything having to do with sex. See Gregory M. Ptiginal, Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourses, 1600–1930 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 14. In the Seven Casteal Tasks on Monkeys and Cucumbers (Furuyu shichi kitan jotaku) of 716, the numbers are made to refer not to the age of the practitioners but to the number of techniques taught at each respective place. See Timon Sereech, ‘Shōya kōva ni de yoru Edo no [Shōya Edo pictures read with one hand],’ (Tokyo: Kodomba, 1998), 279, or in English, by the same author, Sex and the Floating World: Erotic Images in Japan, 1700–1868 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 210.

15. The first twenty stories in Saika’s work concern exemplary menkabu among the samurai class, while the second twenty stories move the focus to the theater and kabuki actors.

16. These ‘ladies’ are the high-class concubines or maids of socially elevated men. The same sort of image is identified as a concubine (menkabu) in scene 8 and as a "masquerade lady" (menzuki nanshi) in scene 17.
17. Scene 11 also employs homonclic language toward the wakasuki, implying that his social status is superior to the narrator/reader/protagonist.
19. My discussion differs substantially from Ueno Chizuko's "Ero Literature is known for the line: it draws between those, such as courtesans, and jinna, or ordinary women. . . . Jinnin is the label for those destined to keep house and bear children, while jinja designates a category of women who are suitable for sexual activity and pleasure. . . . A jinnin is assigned to motherhood, simultaneously sanctified and cursed, whereas a jinna is denied motherhood. According to this logic, motherhood is considered incompatible with sexuality. . . . However, since no one is born a jinna, every woman begins in the category of jinnin." Ueno Chizuko, "Lusty Peignants and Erotic Mothers: Representations of Female Sexuality in Erotic Art in Edo," in Images, Imaging Reading, Essays 110.
20. Schalow, Great Mirror, 32.
21. The artist Mary Kelly explores whether "being a woman [is] only a brief part" of a woman's life. See the catalog Mary Kelly: Interiors, essays by Marcia Tucker, Norman Bryson, and Griselda Pollock; interview by Hal Forster (New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1995), 39 and 16.
24. I do not wish to deny the possibility of a female reader/viewer using this text, but such use would be an appropriation of a work that clearly addresses itself to an adult male audience. It might also be suggested that an adult male viewer, having himself been a wakasuki, could enjoy the image nostalgically, longing for his own past when he was able to take the role of the "bottom." Given class differences and the popularity of homosexual prostitution, however, it is unclear whether the supposed transition from wakasuki to noma was in fact the norm for the townsman (shibai) class to which the text seems to be addressed.
25. This image was also included in a work titled Naoe tomabashira (Treasure chest of men and women) (Pulverizer collection), though with a different text. Yet in this text as well, it is clear that the wife is interfering with her husband's pleasure, and there is no reference to what the wakasuki might be feeling. On the topic of regarding another's pleasure as an intrusion, Pfugfelder notes, "Yoshida Hanbei writes that erotic fantasists might experience an erection when they sensed their partner approaching orgasm [lit., 'when the breathing behind them gets rough' [ashite no kotonaki ni ore no tori], but describes this phenomenon as 'annoying' (marashi) for the innocence rather than pleasureable. According to the early-eighteenth-century Yori Kiuwara, it was unsuitable for male prostitutes engaging in sexual intercourse with a male client to display an erection." Cartographies, 41, 3.
26. Pfugfelder, Cartographies, 41-42. Similar thinking is apparent in early modern Chinese texts, such as "A Male Merchant's Mother" by Li Yu, where a boy earnings himself to maintain his erotic relationship with his older partner when it is threatened by the boy's increasing sexual arousal, which he believed to be the result of puberty and would render him no longer suitable as an anal inserter. See Sophie Volpp, "The Discourse on Male Marriage: Li Yu's 'A Male Merchant's Mother,'" positions and aesthetic culture critique 1, no. 4 (Spring 1992).
27. John R. Clarke, Looking at Love Making: Constructions of Sexuality in Roman Art, 100 B.C.-A.D. 210 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 84. Cf. Pfugfelder: "Shibai texts configured the wakasuki primarily from the viewpoint of its senior male admirers. . . . How the wakasuki might go about fulfilling his own desires, however, and what the nature of these desires might be, were questions that shibai texts seldom addressed." Cartographies, 54-55.
29. The "bedroom display-piece" is a hanjiro, or dildo. On this text see Tanaka Yuko, Hantetsu Edo women no en [Dilemmas: Edo women's sexuality] (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinshū, 1999), 21-41.

5. Marketing Desire

1. Part of Hōkoku's inscription for this wakasuki-ta titled Kome monte wa [Saint Kume], painted jointly by Kano Terumochi (1577-1756) and Nishikawa Sukenobu (1571-1718), making 1710 the last date by which the painting could have been done. The citation is from the "Loyen" section of the Ji (Classic of rites). Nakano Mutsuhide, Nihon no kuni [Early modern Japan], vol. 1: Bungaku to bijutsu to seisaku [The maturity of literature and art] (Tokyo: Chūōronbusha, 1993), 351 and color plate 1. The story appears in Kan-jōsha monogatari (Tales of times now past), 11-24 in "Kume no senrō ihanjime Kume dera wo sakuraboko," [Saint Kume first builds the Kume temple]. The theme is also the subject of parody in Suzuki Harunobu's Mika Kome monte [Parody of Saint Kume]; see