



## The traditional city of Osaka and performers

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### ABSTRACT

The social and physical space of temples and shrines is an indispensable point for thinking about the connection between Osaka's urban space and entertainers. I illustrate this by discussing examples from three separate angles. First, temple/shrine precincts were spaces for the performance of kabuki, *jōruri*, and other arts. Second, several entertainers' groups came under the jurisdiction of temples or shrines – the sermonizers' troupe that was organized under the auspices of Seki's Semimaru Shrine is one such example. A number of musical performers that were newly formed during the diversification of performance styles and entertainment locations resulting from the Tenpō Reforms were subsumed within this sermonizers' troupe. Third, entertainment was often connected to offerings to temples and shrines or the movement of earth (*sunamochi*). For example, various entertainers' groups or social groups made offerings at either the festival celebrating the 1200th memorial of the death of Prince Shōtoku held at Shitenōji Temple, or during the transfer of the Sumiyoshi deity to its new shrine. Additionally, during the dredging of the Ajikawa River, a line formed to move the silt, and this line took on the form of a festival parade. Thus, while the social and physical spaces of temples and shrines were places for performances, they also provided a route which allowed the manifestation of cultural desires for social groups forming in urban Osaka.

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### Introduction

As research on urban Osaka has advanced, scholars have uncovered the development and activities of its performers. In recent years these scholars have discussed entertainers' connections to the development of urban space or they have investigated the relationships between the various entertainers' groups in particular. These recent trends are based on work done starting in the 1990s by scholars such as Suyama Akinobu (1993) and Aoki Shigeru (1993), who have researched theaters<sup>1</sup> inside temple precincts (also known as “shrine-land theaters,” *miyachi shibai*); or by Aoki (1994), Nakagawa Katsura (1994), and Norizuki Toshihiko (1998), who have depicted the regulations of performers

stemming from the Tenpō Reforms (1830–1844). Additionally, the continual conflict between the effects of political reforms, as represented by the Tenpō Reforms, and the cultural desires of the urban masses has been an important theme.

Recently, Tsukada Takashi (2009, 2010) has considered both the spatial makeup of Dōtonbori's theater neighborhood and the problem of the formation of performers' groups in Osaka City. I have also discussed the relationship between the expansion of Osaka's urban space and the spread of *jōruri*<sup>2</sup> culture amongst the “amateurs” (*shirōto*) of Osaka's townspeople Kanda (2010). Recent research such as this has not diminished the number of questions concerning early modern performers; rather it has attempted to elucidate the elements that connect performers to various phenomena in urban society. If we expand our gaze to the macro-level, we are able to perceive the spread of performance culture to Osaka's surrounding areas. For example, Kubori Hiroaki's research on the relationship between Osaka and the Awaji puppet theater (Awaji *ningyōza*), (2010), Saitō Toshihiko's (2009) work on performances in Sakai and my scholarship on the connections between Osaka and performances in other areas of western Japan Kanda (2006 and 2011) show this trend. On the

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<sup>1</sup> Editor's note: performance venues in early modern Japan varied widely and included grand permanent wooden buildings, large rooms in patrons' homes, teahouses in the pleasure quarters, temporary tents set up only during a festival, or even open-air street corners. Following the author's lead, I have translated these all as “theater” (*shibai*) or “performance venue” (*kōgyō no basho*, etc.) with the aim of being as inclusive as possible. Additionally, the English term “theater” can signify both the venue and the performance itself, which the Japanese *shibai* also does. It is for this reason that I have chosen to translate *shibai* as theater. I do understand that the word “theater” in English conveys a sense of size or permanence that some of these venues lacked, and that it may convey a sense of formality that some of the early modern performances lacked, and so I apologize for any confusion this may cause.

<sup>2</sup> Editor's note: *jōruri* is a form of entertainment in which a chanter (*tayū*) is accompanied by a shamisen player. Often there is a puppeteer as well. As with other types of well-known Japanese performances, such as *nō*, *kabuki*, and so on, I have left *jōruri* untranslated throughout this article.

other hand, if we focus on the micro-level, it is possible to reexamine the work on performances and townspeople's culture that highlighted the relationships between groups and sermonizers (*sekkyōsha*)<sup>3</sup> and shrine-land theaters, such as the works by Nakagawa Sugane (1994), Saitō Toshihiko (1999, 2002), or Takenouchi Emiko (2000).

Temple and shrine precincts are one angle from which the connection between performance and Osaka's urban space can be considered.<sup>4</sup> Osaka had many temples, similar to other large cities such as Kyoto and Edo; however, Osaka temples' and shrines' connections with performance were unique. In particular, the following three features stand out: (1) the flourishing of performances held on temple precincts or shrine land, (2) shrine-land performers groups' acceptance of control by a temple or shrine, and (3) the regular connection of performance to both offerings to temples/shrines and the movement of earth (*sunamochi*).<sup>5</sup>

As I argue in this paper, the connections of performance to temples and shrines are indispensable if we are to understand performance within Osaka's urban society. I will mainly focus on the 19th century.

### Shrine-land theaters and the sermonizers' Sango troupe

If we divide representative performance locations in 19th-century Osaka by their locations, origins, and so on, we can place them into the following four categories: (1) the Dōtonbori theaters, which included the Naka, Kado, Ōnishi, Wakatayū, and Takeda Theaters; (2) shrine-land theaters including those at Inari Shrine, Zama Shrine, and Goryō Shrine; (3) "New-land" (*shinchi*) theaters at Kitano-shinchi (otherwise known as Sonezaki shinchi), Kita-Horie Ichinokawa, and the Tenma Tenjin Shrine; and 4) newly reclaimed-land (*shin tsukiji*) theaters such as Nishiyokobori Unagidani-hama or Nishi Yokobori Shimizumachi-hama.

The theaters at Dōtonbori focused either on kabuki or puppet *jōruri* performances. Shrine-land theaters were, as the name implies, theaters within shrine or temple precincts. While Tenma Tenjin Shrine Theater activities were also held on shrine grounds, the theater itself was originally allowed to be built on the block of Kita-Horie Miike Street Yonchōme (prior to that it was on Minami-Horie Sanchōme) which had just been opened for development. For this reason, I have grouped it with other theaters that were given permission to build in order to stimulate development on new land, such as Kitano-shinchi and Kita-Horie Ichinokawa. Theaters on newly reclaimed land are those theaters that were approved during the Tenpō Reforms under the pretext of "preparing the ground at the waterfront." Under these reforms performances at shrine-land theaters were banned in 1842, and although performances at new

land theaters and Dōtonbori theaters were allowed to continue at that time, new land theater performances were banned the following year.

Aside from these, many other venues also existed. For example, small-scale variety shows (*yose*) were held on temple grounds, and invited performances were held in patrons' homes (*zashiki*). The variety-show huts on the grounds of Hōzenji Temple are one example of the former. Variety-show theaters and patrons' homes became more popular performance venues after the Tenpō reform banned shrine-land theaters.

Of the various theater groups, the sermonizers' Sango troupe (*sekkyōsha sangoza*) was the one with the deepest ties to shrine-land theaters. The Sango troupe was a group of performers organized under the auspices of Seki Semimaru Shrine, which was controlled by a sub-temple of Miidera Temple called Kinshōji Temple (the *bettōjiof* Semimaru) (Muroki and Sakaguchi, 1987). Research into the Sango troupe has rapidly advanced. For example, Sakaguchi Hiroyuki (2001) has written about the late 17th-century activities of Higurashi Kodayū and Hachitayū. Kodayū and Hachitayū were famous throughout Japan as sermonizers and could be considered the founders of the Kyoto and Osaka branches of the Sango troupe. Tsukada (1992a,b) has discussed the Sango troupe from two points of view, including (1) the formation of their organization under Kinshōji Temple (Semimaru Shrine) and (2) their acquisition of begging rights. Furthermore, as I mentioned above, both Saitō and Takenouchi have concentrated on the Sango troupe's connections to shrine-land theaters.

The full-fledged connection between sermonizers and entertainment performances is thought to have originated in 1712 when Higurashi Hachitayū was given performance rights<sup>6</sup>. He received permission to perform in temple and shrine precincts the following year. In 1798, Shimizu Kindayū asked for permission to perform on the grounds of Osaka's temples and shrines; after he received the permission in 1819, his connection with shrine-land theaters there deepened. While the Sermonizers' Sango troupe maintained a strong connection to Miidera Temple (the groups' requests for permission to perform were sent to the Osaka City Magistrate through Miidera, for example), their name came to be used to signify Osaka's shrine-land kabuki performances (Saitō 1999, 2002).

In 1837, the Sango troupe attempted to expand their influence by asserting that all shrine-land performances in Osaka came under their purview. This assertion led to a conflict with the chanters and shamisen players of the chanted (*gidayū*) *jōruri* theater group who were performing at the Inari Shrine puppet theater (Inarisha Bunrakuza, one of the theater troupes led by Uemura Bunrakuken<sup>7</sup>). While the Sango troupe's assertion was recognized for a time, the chanters filed a suit with the Osaka City Magistrate. The Magistrate ruled in favor of the chanters, stating that the Sango troupe and the various chanted *jōruri* groups were different, and therefore, even when chanted *jōruri* was performed at shrine-land theaters it did not fall under the purview of the Sango troupe.

The puppet theater chanters and shamisen players mentioned above were affiliated with a *jōruri* occupational

<sup>3</sup> Editor's note: as we will see below, "sermonizers" may have started out as people who explained religious doctrines, but some of them began to focus more on performances from the medieval period.

<sup>4</sup> Editor's note: Kanda is drawing upon Yoshida's concept of how social relations played out in physical space (see Daniel Botsman's article in this issue for more on Yoshida's concept of space=society). Here Kanda is taking Yoshida's suggestions one step further by examining the ways in which space was shaped not only by status groups, but also by performances.

<sup>5</sup> Editor's note: *Sunamochi* was carried out during the construction of temples or shrines, especially in the three cities of Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto. Parishioners or believers would form groups to haul earth away, move it to a site, or pack it down for construction. People also performed *sunamochi* when a river or port was dredged.

<sup>6</sup> Editor's note: owners of these performance rights were known as *nadai*.

<sup>7</sup> Editor's note: Uemura was a puppet theater manager. The first Uemura lived from 1751 to 1810; his name was passed down through five successors.

group known as the Chinami Confraternity (*Chinami kō*) (Kanda, 1999, 2000, 2001). The Chinami Confraternity was founded in 1797 when Toyotake Tokitayū and others submitted a petition requesting that professional *jōruri* chanters and shamisen players be made to enter the Confraternity. The petition was approved and the Confraternity became an exclusive occupation-based organization. Performers who had similar talents were constantly appearing on the peripheries of groups like the Sermonizers' Sango troupe or the Chinami Confraternity, and conflicts over performance rights and interests regularly arose – even though the specifics of development differed from group to group.

### The development of various performers

Incidentally, the Sermonizers' Sango troupe itself was also fluid in that the performers within the troupe were not limited to sermonizers. For example, in 1795, Semimaru Shrine submitted "The Procedures and Origins of the Sermonizers' Performance Group" (*sekkyōsha kumi yuishotetsuzukigaki*) to the Kyoto City Magistrate's office (Muroki and Sakaguchi, 1987, 419–421). From this document we can deduce the following five points: (1) amongst professional musicians, some who had received "certification as a member of the Sermonizers' Sango Beggars' group" had forgotten the "old formalities" of the sermonizers, and so there were only a few who came to Semimaru Shrine at that time. (2) There were those who took the title "–tayū" without permission, which meant that there was an increase in the number of illegitimate (from the shrine's point of view) sermonizers in every province. (3) Some performers authorized by the shrine "distanced [themselves] from Semimaru Shrine" and "behaved as if they were unlicensed begging performers (*kawaramono*)."<sup>8</sup> (4) The shrine had issued "certification as a member of the group" to Osaka's Shimizu Kondayū and others in various provinces. (5) The shrine expected that those who had also received these certificates from "disciple" sermonizers in the various provinces would also make a pilgrimage to the shrine. From these points we can see that on the one hand, there were sermonizer-performers who had distanced themselves from Semimaru Shrine; on the other, there was a trend in which performers who were not sermonizers came to use the emblem of sermonizers through activities such as taking the title "–tayū" on their own. It is within these conditions that inroads were made into shrine-land theater in Osaka.

Semimaru Shrine sought to advance its control over sermonizers again in the late 1850s. The owners of performance rights for kabuki in shrine and temple precincts had to declare that they were under the control of the Sango troupe. These owners of performance rights and people who had "–tayū" titles were required to pay the shrine 100 gold *hiki* coins<sup>8</sup> as a "licensing fee" (*menkyoryō*) in addition to yearly

shrine duty fees and votive fees. Actors or students had to pay a "certification fee" (*menjoryō*) of one silver *monme* coin and pay yearly votive fees to the shrine (ibid. 458–459).

What I would like to draw attention to here is that this was a movement to bring in various types of performers. I have listed the names and numbers of the performers who received licenses and certificates as of the fifth month of 1858 in Table 1. Most likely these performers were not brought under the shrine's control from the beginning as sermonizers, but rather represented a range of performers such as Okamoto-style chanters (*Okamoto fushi no tayū*) or farcical *kyōgen* performers (*niwakashi*) who had mainly performed in townspeople's houses, variety shows, or on the street. That the shrine licensed and certified not only entertainers at theaters on shrine-land or newly reclaimed land but also *saimon*<sup>9</sup> singers and farcical actors as "new" sermonizers were characteristic of this period. Why did they attempt to bring these various entertainers into their fold on such a large scale? We can clearly point to the fact that performances in temple and shrine precincts were banned during the Tenpō Reforms but were resumed in 1858. During the Reforms, authentic shrine-land performances were banned; however, new venues and performance styles were formed, which actually stimulated the growth of a variety of types of entertainment. This in turn led to the birth of a great number of various entertainers. In this environment, Semimaru Shrine began bringing these "sermonizers" under their control.

We must also note the ways in which the pleasure quarters gave rise to related forms of entertainment. For example, Kobayashi Shinsuke received a license from the shrine in the sixth month of 1859 as a male "drummer" (*taikomochi*)<sup>10</sup> in Osaka's officially licensed pleasure district of Shinmachi even though he was not listed in Table 1 (ibid., 469–470). Additionally, in the eighth month of 1860, 19 members of a women's *jōruri* troupe, directed by Igaya Gisuke and including Nozawa Futagyoku, received licenses and certificates to form "the troupe of women *tayū*" (*onna tayū ichiza*) (ibid., 471).<sup>11</sup> This is particularly interesting since the sermonizers' Sango troupe lost its suit against the professional *jōruri* confraternity in 1835, yet it was successful in bringing one portion of women's *jōruri* under its control.

We can catch a glimpse of the state of these various performers through a broadsheet entitled *Enumerating the Jewels of Various Arts*<sup>12</sup> which was printed in 1840. This introduces the names of superior performers of "various arts" (*shogei*) as well as the contents of those arts. I have arranged the contents of this in Table 2. In addition to listing the arts by heading, I have also given the names of performers affiliated with each of those arts (narrowly defined) in Table 3. From this chart we can see that people of the early-

<sup>8</sup> Editor's note: there were various currency systems in use in early modern Japan. The most common were gold, silver, and copper coins. Gold was based on the *ryō*, a *bu* was 1/4 of a *ryō*, and a *shu* was 1/16 of a *ryō*. There were also *hiki* coins where 1000 *hiki* = 2.5 *ryō*. Further complicating matters, there were also gold *ōban* and *koban* (1 *ōban* = 7 *koban*, and a *koban* was equal to 1 *ryō* but slowly became devalued throughout the period). Silver was based on *kan*, *monme*, and *fun* with 1 *kan* = 1000 *monme* and 1 *monme* = 10 *fun*. It was also measured in *mai* which were worth 43 *monme*. For copper coins the units were *kanmon* and *mon*: 1 *kanmon* equaled 1000 *mon*. Exchange across the three types of currency varied considerably, but 1 *ryō* of gold equaled approximately 4 copper *kanmon* or 50–60 silver *monme*.

<sup>9</sup> Editor's note: *saimon* are messages read to one or more Shintō deities. Some of these were accompanied by musicians. These were sung by not only Shintō priests, but yin-yang diviners, mountain ascetics, and so on in the late medieval period. Taking the recitations of these mountain ascetics as an example, some performers later came to sing *saimon* or tales sung in the style of a *saimon* as a form of popular entertainment.

<sup>10</sup> Editor's note: drummers performed in various parts of the pleasure quarters to raise the moods of clients.

<sup>11</sup> Editor's note: although women were banned from becoming *kabuki* actresses in 1629, women could be *jōruri* performers. They were banned from doing so in Osaka in the second month of 1831 by the Town Magistrate.

<sup>12</sup> *Shogei tama zukushi*. Held at the Osaka Prefectural Nakanoshima Library, in the "Osaka-related broadsheet collection" (*Ōsaka kankei surimonoshū*).

**Table 1**  
Performers licensed or certified by Seki Semimaru Shrine.

Sermonizers <i>saimon</i> Okamoto troupe	Nishiyokobori hut actors	Teriha <i>kyōgen</i> actors	Farcical <i>kyōgen</i> performers	Goryōsha actors	Wakōji actors	Tenma Tenjin actors	New reclaimed land hut actors
Okamoto Minetayū	Nakamura Masajirō	Hayashi Kosato	Jōsen	Ichikawa Gyokuen	Ichikawa Danjirō	Ichikawa Koyone	Kataoka Gazō
Okamoto Mitsutayū	Nakamura Jakunosuke	Hayashi Komika	Nanchō	Mimasu Yoshisaburō	Nakamura Shibamaru	Ichikawa Yonezō	Ichikawa Koisaburō
Okamoto Miotayū	Nakamura Shibanosuke	Hayashi Kochū	Jōmaru	Arashi Yoshisaburō	Nakamura Umenosuke	Ichikawa Ichihei	Onoe Tsurumatsu
Okamoto Misakidayū	Onoe Tamiichi	Hayashi Kogen	Fumimaru	Nakamura Tominojō	Nakamura Jakuroku	Ichikawa Kurizō	Kataoka Kōnosuke
Okamoto Miharadayū	Yamashita Kyōjūrō	Hayashi Kouno	Ishimaru	Nakamura Matsunosuke	Arashi Kakuzō	Nakamura Umezō	Nakanoyama Miyoshi
Okamoto Minatodayū	Kataoka Gaichi	(Leader) Hayashi Jusaburō	Otomaru	Nakamura Masanosuke	Jitsukawa Ensaku	Arashi Gakujūrō	Nakayama Isshi
Okamoto Miyatodayū	Kataoka Fukumatsu		Kayu	Arashi Eijirō	Asao Tabito	Kanō Fukusuke	Nakamura Komajūrō
Okamoto Misaodayū	Arashi Kitahachi		Shōtarō	Ichikawa Kōzaburō	Nakayama Yoshie	Onoe Taizō	Nakamura Shikisaburō
Okamoto Misumidayū	Ichikawa Jutarō		Shōraku	Ichikawa Sumimatsu	Fujikawa Tomoe	Segawa Michinosuke	Ichikawa Jugorō
Okamoto Miyoshidayū	Yamashita Kunisaburō		Someki	Ichikawa Yoneji	Onoe Baishō	(Leader) Ichikawa Sukegorō	Kataoka Masajirō
Okamoto Miyatayū	Yamashita Rikō		Chōraku	(Leader) Onoe Chōroku	(Leader) Fujikawa Motogorō		Arashi Wakitsu
(One unidentified leader)	(Leader) Nakamura Tomoji		Uoman				(Leader) Kyōya Jisuke
In addition to the above leaders, there were 77 regular members.			Uoriki (Leader) Ichimaru				
89	12	6	16	11	11	10	12

to mid-1800s understood a wide variety of jobs to be “arts.” We should note that at this time, “tayū” (which in this case means the “tayū” of chanted *jōruri*) and comic story tellers (*hanashika*) have been divided into finely differentiated genres, and that the broadsheet specifies individuals who excelled at each genre. This is a clear indicator that interest in the spoken “arts” such as storytellers (*hanashigei*) and orators accompanied by music (*katarimono*) had grown. Additionally, these spoken performers overlapped in many areas with the various performers, such as the comic *kyōgen* or *saimon* performers whom Semimaru Shrine tried to bring under its control as sermonizers in the late 1850s. We can draw two conclusions concerning this development of a broad range of entertainers who performed in variety halls, townspeople’s homes, or the pleasure districts. First, Osakans recognized these performers as masters of “various arts” and recorded their names and arts on broadsheets like *Enumerating the Jewels*. Second, this expansion also became an object for the control of Semimaru Shrine.

### Offerings and carrying earth, temples and shrines

While the precincts of Osaka’s temples and shrines served as performance venues, they were also the cores (*kaku*) around which townspeople’s cultural groups coalesced, particularly through the acts of donation or carrying earth. The performing arts were also tightly connected to these acts. In 1819, the 1200th memorial of Prince Shōtoku’s death was held at Shitennōji Temple. Side shows

(*misemono*) and performances were concurrently held on the temple’s land (*jiryō*) (Tanahashi, 1996). The offerings made to Shitennōji from various so-called social groups, such as wholesalers and artisans’ organizations, are recorded in “A list of offerings to Shitennōji on the 1200th memorial of Prince Shōtoku’s death.”<sup>13</sup> The list describes offerings including the following: 30 *kan* (approximately 112.5 kg) of candles and 15 *kan* (~56.25 kg) of paper from the raw wax wholesalers and brokers; 10 bales of rice from Doshimahama rice market; 100 copper *kanmon* coins from the Tenma Vegetable Market wholesalers and brokers; 100 copper *kanmon* coins from the Zakoba fish market wholesalers; and 50 copper *kanmon* coins from the plasterers’ guild of Osaka’s three districts. Amongst these is a donation of “350 copper *kanmon* coins from five *jōruri* groups.” This donation was made by five groups of amateur *jōruri* performers (the Sakae group, Higashibori group, Fukuju group, Chitose group, and Minami group), who collected this amount from corner performances in Dōtonbori from the twentieth day of the eleventh month of 1818 to the twenty-ninth day of the same month (Tanahashi, 1996, 75–85). Amateur *jōruri* often performed on shrine and temple precincts with the declared aim of “making offerings,” but when these groups planned to make a large offering to Shitennōji, they rented out a Dōtonbori playhouse in an attempt to get greater than usual profits.

<sup>13</sup> *Shōtoku Taishi sennihyaku kai goki Shitennōji agarimono bantsuke*. This is included in the *Hōgōchō*, held at the Osaka Prefectural Library’s Nakanoshima branch.

**Table 2**

List of various arts.

Confucians in training	Sencha tea masters	Geomancers for houses/buildings
Singers	Flower arrangers ( <i>ikebana</i> )	Practitioners of Physiognomy
Writers of comic short poems ( <i>kyōka</i> )	Flower arrangers ( <i>tachibana</i> )	Ink painting ( <i>sumi-iro</i> ) <sup>a</sup>
Haiku poets	Doctors	Go players
Writers of comic verses ( <i>senryū</i> )	After birth doctors	<i>Shōgi</i> players
Poetry critics ( <i>tensha</i> )	Doctors for infant care ( <i>shōni</i> )	<i>Chūshōgi</i> players
Artists who drew scenes from kabuki or <i>jōruri</i> performances ( <i>ezukushi</i> )	Eye doctors	<i>Ken</i> players ( <i>ken</i> is general name for games like rock-paper-scissors)
Don'e <sup>b</sup>	Doctors of external wounds	Heath advisors ( <i>yōjō</i> )
Painters ( <i>gashi</i> )	Acupuncturists	Calligraphers
Painters of portraits	Dentists	Instructors ( <i>terakoya</i> )
Masters of tea ceremony ( <i>chajin</i> )	Yi-jing diviners ( <i>ekisha</i> )	

<sup>a</sup> Editor's note: could also be "ink fortune telling".<sup>b</sup> Unknown.**Table 3**

Arts and their performers.

Arts	Performers	Arts	Performers
Nō	Koharu Emon	Skilled Chanters ( <i>kōsha</i> , one part of <i>tayū</i> )	Takemoto Nagatodayū
Flute ( <i>fue</i> )	Shōda Yohē	Melodious chanters ( <i>fushi</i> , one part of <i>tayū</i> )	Takemoto Ujitayū
Small hand drum ( <i>kotsuzumi</i> )	Komatsu	Shamisen (to accompany <i>tayū</i> )	Tsurusawa Seishichi, Tsurusawa Hirotsuke
Large hand drum	Tanaka Matasaburō	Puppeteers	Yoshida Tatsugorō, Yoshida Heikichi, Kiritake Monzō
<i>Taiko</i> drum	Oginōjō	Amateur <i>jōruri</i>	Ikōsai, Isshi, Buppōnishi
<i>Kyōgen</i>	Mori Genroku	Contemporary amateur <i>jōruri</i>	Rokurakusai, Rokaku,
Reciters of Nō verses	Sakurai, Takenouchi, Ōnishi	Amateur <i>jōruri</i> comedic roles ( <i>chari</i> )	Shimagiku
Biwa players ( <i>hōshi</i> )	Nakagawa, Kikuchi, Toyoga, Kikuzaki, Kikunami	Past amateur <i>jōruri</i>	Buemon
Blind female performer ( <i>goze</i> )	Ikue	Musicians who traveled to clients' homes ( <i>hakoya</i> )	Kanjirō
Singing Shamisen players ( <i>utasangen</i> )	Kawaya, Yaoyo, Shimizu Mago, Okana, Ohana	Shamisen	Daisuke, Kazasen, Komakichi
<i>Shakuhachi</i> flute	Toyoshima Man'ei, Uemachi Kachiku	Farcical <i>kyōgen</i> performers ( <i>niwaka</i> )	Yodogawa, Nangyoku, Shinchō
Lecturer ( <i>kōshi</i> )	Shūzō, Enrin, Usai	Writers of farcical <i>kyōgen</i>	Honzō
Variety performers ( <i>hitoyose</i> )	Donryū, Ichidō, Keizan	Comic story teller ( <i>hanashi</i> ) in the folk song style ( <i>yoshikono</i> )	Kikue
Edo songs	Nakamura Komatsu, Kada Koharu	Comic story teller in the <i>tocchiriton</i> style <sup>a</sup>	Enba
Dance ( <i>mai</i> )	Seyama Ryū, Sadoshima Samon	Comic story teller in the <i>su</i> style <sup>b</sup>	Katsura Bunji, Baseki
Accompaniment ( <i>mai no chi</i> )	Nakamura Shikō	Comic story teller in the <i>osakuji</i> style	Gochiku
<i>Maikō</i>	Tenma Yoshidaya	Improv comic story teller ( <i>hanashi sokuseki</i> )	Sankō, Shunchō
Singing	Kōzu Tomofuji, Kawanishi Komasa, Senba Arachachi	Amateur comic story teller	Awasan, Yodochū
Shamisen <sup>c</sup>	Senba Manchō, Senba Kikaku, Uemachi Kyōmasa	Mimics ( <i>monomane</i> )	Uosa, Nushitoku,
Chanters ( <i>tayū</i> )	Takemoto Fudetayū, Takemoto Tsunatayū	<i>Shinnai saimon</i>	Okamoto Minetayū, Edoshin, Getatoku
Excellent chanters ( <i>kotoba</i> , one part of <i>tayū</i> )	Takemoto Kumitayū		

<sup>a</sup> Editor's note: a style where shamisen players finish their introduction with the sound "tocchiriton".<sup>b</sup> Unknown style.<sup>c</sup> Perhaps meaning amateur shamisen players in this case.

It can be seen that there were various social groups in early-modern Osaka, and these formed due to a variety of reasons: some were organizations comprised of people engaged in the same type of labor, while others centered around the arts such as the groups of amateur *jōruri* performers discussed above. Despite their disparate origins, these groups interacted in the context of making offerings, and temples and shrines were the sites where this contact occurred.

A similar phenomenon can be seen during the 1836 transfer (*shōsengū*)<sup>14</sup> of the Sumiyoshi Shrine. A list of offer-

ings similar to that made for Shitenōji was made for this event, and it was entitled *A List of Offerings [Made during the Transfer of the Sumiyoshi Shrine]*.<sup>15</sup> From this list we can catch a glimpse of the various social groups in Osaka at the time. Donations include 8 steel water buckets for firefighting from the Edo-Osaka *higaki* shippers group, 10 golden *ryō* coins from the medicinal brokers' guild, 100 silver *mai* coins and lanterns from Utsubo dried fish market, 100 golden *ryō* coins and 100 large sea bream from the Zakoba fish market wholesalers, 5 silver *maicoins* and 1 golden *ryō* coin from the owners of

<sup>14</sup> Editor's note: *sengū* were events where the object in which the deity was thought to reside (*shintai*) was transferred from the main hall to a temporary hall or vice versa when the main hall was being constructed or repaired.

<sup>15</sup> *Sumiyoshi shōsengū agarimono bantsuke*. Held in the Osaka Prefectural Library, Nakanoshima branch's Hogochō collection.

the 30-*koku* boats,<sup>16</sup> and so on. What is particularly interesting is that these offerings provide a window through which we can see the financial situations of the social groups that developed in Osaka. The list also contains the following offerings made by groups or individuals connected with entertainment: 30 golden *ryō* coins from the Inari Bunraku theater, 100 gold *hiki* coins from Takemoto Fudetayū,<sup>17</sup> 200 gold *hiki* coins from Takemoto Fudetayū's students, and 2 gold *ryō* coins from Onoe Tamizō.<sup>18</sup> These offerings were made by individuals or groups of *kabuki* actors or *jōruri* chanters.

Additionally, although they were not seen during Prince Shōtoku's memorial event at Shitennōji, offerings from the pleasure quarters comprised a portion of the contributions made during the transfer of Sumiyoshi Shrine. We can see the following groups made offerings: the Horie entertainers (no donation listed); a complete set of hanging reed screens (*suiren*) and one large golden lantern from the Shinmachi teahouses; 10 gold *ryō* coins from the Horie teahouses in addition to musical accompaniment (*hayashi*) and a festival parade (*nerimono*); 7 gold *ryō* coins and 6 bales of rice from the Nanba Shinchi teahouses; 15 gold *ryō* coins from the Shimanouchi teahouses; 5 gold *ryō* from the Sakamachi *okiya*<sup>19</sup> and teahouses; and 100 copper *kanmon* coins from the Sakai Minamijima teahouses. Horie, Shinmachi, Nanba Shinchi, Shimanouchi, and Fushimi Sakamachi were representative pleasure quarters in Osaka; donations came from these as well as Sakai. When the shrine was transferred, the festive atmosphere was likely enhanced by Horie teahouses' offering of musical accompaniment and the festival parade.

Carrying earth (*sunamochi*) also provided opportunities for such groups. In Osaka, the great dredging of the Ajikawa River in the Tenpō era involved a large *sunamochi* line to carry the dredged earth to the mouth of the river. The result of this project is the hill near the mouth of the river called Mt. Tenpō. Although *sunamochi* was originally about moving earth from one location to another, the people in the earth-moving line frequently wore costumes, and the line came to resemble festival parades. The activities of moving earth and making offerings to temples or shrines, or the "festival parades" that occurred during such activities, were opportunities for the various social groups which developed in Osaka to make themselves visible. They also provided an outlet for people to express their cultural desires.

## Conclusion

Just when new arts were being practiced in Osaka's variety theaters and in patrons' homes, variety theaters which functioned as strongholds of the new popular culture were born in the capital city of Edo as well. The arts performed there corresponded exactly with those performed in Osaka's variety theaters and patrons' houses: these included the spoken arts such as storytelling (*kōshaku*), tales of old

times (*mukashibanashi*), and comic storytelling (*otoshibanashi*, lit. "falling tales," the predecessor to *rakugo*), as well as musical arts (or musically accompanied arts) such as *jōruri* and sermonizing. In the case of Edo, low-status performers called the *gōmune* attempted to bring these various performers under their control by arguing that these performers were doing business that fell under the *gōmune* group's purview. As shown above, there was a movement by the Semimaru Shrine to bring various performers under their purview as "sermonizers," but in Edo, we can see that those performers who sought to escape the control of the *gōmune* came to rely on variety theaters (Yoshida, 2002). It is unclear whether the new theatrical venues in Osaka came to have such a characteristic.

One of the background conditions leading to Semimaru Shrine certifying (and thus controlling) such a large number of "new" sermonizers was the appearance of various performers in spoken and musical arts in the 19th century. However, a further premise for this was the expansion of the "amateur" level performers. Amongst these "amateurs," some became full-time performers, but as we saw with the donation to Shitennōji discussed above, they also came together to form their very own unique "amateur" performance groups. It is no exaggeration to say that these "amateur" performers themselves are the key to understanding performance culture in 19th-century Osaka.

Additionally, I would like to touch upon the effects of the rapid modernization that occurred in Japan in the last half of the 19th century. Groups and associations based on various types of work formed in Osaka between 1873 and 1876. The *Rules of [O]saka Prefecture's Merchants' and Workers' Associations* lists the rules of these groups (Ōsaka shishi hensanjo 1998, 1999). In examining this document, we can see several performers' associations: (1) various artists performing at variety theaters; (2) performers and musical accompanists at various theaters and sideshows; (3) various artists from permanent variety theaters; (4) performers of military tales; (5) spoken artists; (6) *shinnai*-style *saibun* performers; (7) *jōruri* chanters, shamisen players, and puppeteers; (8) "songs of the country" (*jiuta*)musicians; and (9) performers of tales of long ago. We can also see evidence of teahouse associations connected to theaters,<sup>20</sup> and merchants who rented props and other goods to theaters.

Between the late 1870s and the mid-1880s, these work associations were rearranged by the predecessor to the Osaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Ōsaka shōhō kaigijo. For example, the professional *jōruri* performers' group was registered with the *kaigijo* in 1880 as the "guild of the three *jōruri* professions." This group, which included *jōruri* chanters, shamisen players, and puppeteers, had the unique characteristic that it included female *jōruri* chanters (Mizuno, 1998, 2003). We can see the names of female *jōruri* chanters, including Toyotake Seigyoku and Takemoto Koden, who were certified by Semimaru Shrine as "the troupe of women *tayū*" in the late 1850s, in the *Signed and Stamped Rules and Agreements of the Guild of the Three Jōruri Professions*<sup>21</sup> which was written around 1880. Though

<sup>16</sup> Editor's note: boats capable of carrying 30-*koku* of rice. These were typically used on rivers such as the Yodokawa where they traveled between Fushimi and Osaka.

<sup>17</sup> Editor's note: Takemoto Fudetayū refers to a *jōruri* chanter. There were three successive Fudetayū active from roughly the 1770s to the early 1800s.

<sup>18</sup> Editor's note: Onoe Tamizō was a *kabuki* actor. There were three successive Onoe Tamizō's active from the mid-18th to the early 20th centuries.

<sup>19</sup> Editor's note: *okiya* were places which housed (in some form or another) geisha or prostitutes and sent them out to other establishments such as restaurants, teahouses, and so on.

<sup>20</sup> Editor's note: these teahouses were located near theaters, distributed tickets to the shows, and provided food to customers during intermission.

<sup>21</sup> *Jōruri sangyō nakama mōshiwase kisoku rema chōin bo*. Document 090-1-73 of the Kitani document collection held at Tokyo University Komaba Campus Library.

it is highly unlikely that these were the same women, it is important to note that performers who had been certified or licensed as sermonizers in the 1850s and who had focused solely on leisure arts or music were, in the end, organized under the auspices of this new association.

Finally, the status (*mibun*) of performers is a vital issue to consider, though I did not have space to touch on it above. In other words, we must consider the status-based discrimination early modern sermonizers must have faced. In what ways did the performers – whose existence in the 19th century was multifaceted – affect changes to their statuses and how did they face the changes of modernity? These are vital points for future research into the actual situations of Osaka's performers.

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