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Adaptation as a Strategy for Participation: The *Chikusai* Storyworld in Early Modern Japanese Literature

Laura Moretti

Works are created by works, texts are created by texts, and all together they speak to and with one another independently of the intentions of their authors.

—Umberto Eco, 1985.

Don Quixote, *Robinson Crusoe*, *The Lord of the Rings*, *Harry Potter*, *Star Wars*: likes or dislikes aside, few would dispute that these are cult narratives, which have generated adaptations across time, space, and media. Equally, few would object that fictional characters like Don Quixote and Robinson Crusoe have become some sort of “unkillable protagonists.”¹ Many, though, would raise an eyebrow if the name Chikusai were to be added to the list. Students of early modern Japanese popular prose might have encountered him cursorily in their readings, but hardly anyone else is likely to have heard of the wandering quack doctor Chikusai and his fictional story, which was printed for the first time in Kyoto in the 1620s under the title of *Chikusai*.

Admittedly, we are not dealing with anything like the overwhelming number of *quixotalia* or *robinsonades*.² Yet, in early modern Japan (1600–1868; also known as the Edo period) Chikusai occupied a prominent position in the universe of readers, writers, and publishers of popular culture. We can glimpse the popularity encountered by this character and his story from mentions in a number of Edo-period texts. For instance, the collection of ballads (*kayō* 歌謡) recorded anonymously in 1676 under the title *Sabishiki za no nagusami* 淋敷座之慰 (Recreations for lonesome



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parties) includes a humorous song about an incurable disease.³ The text enumerates the names of various doctors who were summoned, in vain, to offer remedies, starting with the historical physician Manase Dōsan 曲直瀬道三 (1507–94) and ending with the fictional Chikusai.⁴ Similarly, the prominent *haikai* poet Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644–94) mentioned Chikusai in the opening of one of his well-known *kasen* 歌仙 (36-verse sequence). *Fuyu no hi* 冬の日 (Winter’s day; 1684) sets in motion with a comparison between Bashō himself and Chikusai: “mad verse: in the withering gusts a wanderer— / how much like Chikusai / I have become!” (*Kyōku: kogarashi no / mi wa Chikusai ni / nitaru kana*).⁵ Again, in 1834 the leading writer and intellectual Takizawa Bakin 滝沢馬琴 (1767–1848) noted that in the past two hundred years the city of Edo had witnessed many writers of playful literature (*gesakusha* 戯作者); among emblematic texts he mentions *Chikusai monogatari* 竹齋物語 (The tales of Chikusai).⁶

These examples suggest that *Chikusai*—the text—and Chikusai—the fictional character—must have struck a chord at the time in order to get this kind of broad and enduring recognition. This article probes how the story of Chikusai successfully inspired early modern publishers, authors, illustrators, and readers for almost three centuries, resulting in a rich group of texts that kept re-inventing Chikusai and his storyworld. In the first section, after sketching the poor scholarly treatment of the subject to date, I delve into why the time is ripe to approach the same corpus from a new angle. More precisely, I explain how the idea of transmedia storytelling has fueled theoretical work around the aesthetic of proliferation and I reflect on how engagement with this concept allows us to limn a more nuanced and dynamic study of this corpus. The second section explores why the text known under the title *Chikusai* had the potential to become a cult narrative, focusing on how we should conceive it as a *storyworld*, rather than a *story*.⁷ The subsequent sections examine how Chikusai was creatively appropriated across genres and media. The close reading of a number of primary sources investigates the adaptational strategies that were put in place to foster the expansion and modification of the *Chikusai* storyworld to fit the changing fashions in the publishing world.

The Aesthetic of Proliferation

While previous scholarship on the story of Chikusai indicates the existence of a number of early modern texts inspired by the source text, studies to date, however, tell us almost nothing about these textual spin offs. Scholarship on the subject normally consists of brief remarks that list a

few titles and indiscriminately bunch them together as “imitations” of the 1620s *Chikusai*. Noda Hisao lists nine titles and qualifies them as *mohōsaku* 模倣作 of *Chikusai*, in other words “imitations” that “copy” the source text. He notes that these imitations either deal with doctors, emulating the fact that *Chikusai* was a quack, or mimic the idea of travelling from Kyoto to Edo.⁸ Noma Kōshin and Ichiko Teiji give eight titles, following Noda in labelling them as imitations (*mohōsaku*), and introducing the collective appellation of *Chikusaibon* or “*Chikusai* books” for this group of texts.⁹ Ichiko Teiji, Maeda Kingorō, Asano Satoshi, and Watanabe Morikuni do not go much beyond rehearsing the same information.¹⁰ The only variation is in the choice of *Chikusai mono* (*Chikusai* things) over *Chikusaibon*, with no real explanation as to why the wording needs amendment. Fukuda Yasunori moves away from the idea of *mohōsaku* and talks about *aryū sakuhin* 亜流作品, which we can translate as “epigones.” The underlying message remains more or less the same: the twelve titles that Fukuda lists are framed as something that are at best “similar to” the source text *Chikusai*—the first meaning of *aryū*—and at worst, copies lacking in originality—the second meaning of the same word. As his predecessors, Fukuda does not delve into any further analysis of this corpus of texts.¹¹ The most recent reference material that mentions *Chikusai* confirms that almost nothing has changed in 2019: “*Chikusai* gave birth to subsequent texts (*kōzokusaku* 後続作).”¹² Some of them are described as “sequels” (*gojitsudan* 後日談) that “imitate” (*mohō*) textual features of *Chikusai*. Some others are seen as “modelling after” (*nazoraeru* なぞらえる) it or having “aspects in common” (*kyōtsūten* 共通点) with it. In sum, when discussing the early modern cultural legacy of *Chikusai*, Japanese scholarship so far has portrayed the image of a specific source or urtext—the *Chikusai* of the 1620s—as having led to the publication of a number of look-alikes that slavishly copy an original text, teleologically putting emphasis on the passive reception of a single source.

To date, the limited English scholarship on the subject has uncritically endorsed the same approach. Edward Putzar mentions in passing the rise of “numerous imitations” and pins them down to the “century following its [*Chikusai*’s] publication” (i. e., the eighteenth century).¹³ Laurence Bresler is even more strident when writing:

The popularity *Chikusai* enjoyed as soon as it was published gave rise to a large group of imitations in the same vein which are today known collectively as “*Chikusai* Books” (*Chikusaibon*). Most are unoriginal attempts to cash in on the market created by *Chikusai*.¹⁴

What we are left with is a lamentable state of affairs. Whilst being alerted to *Chikusai*'s cultural power in inspiring a number of early modern texts, these texts are dismissed as mere "imitations" and, as such, as something derivative and secondary, worthy of no or little scholarly attention.¹⁵ This has resulted in the dearth of in-depth research about the rich intertextual rhizome of texts connected to *Chikusai* that early modern readers enjoyed for almost three centuries and that this article intends to explore. Recent developments in literary theory enable us to study the same materials as creative revisionings and to reflect on the intellectual implications of this approach.

What are these theoretical developments? Working on twentieth- and twenty-first-century cultural products like *The Matrix*, Henry Jenkins has inaugurated the idea of "transmedia storytelling," which he defines as follows:

Transmedia storytelling represents a process where integral elements of a fiction get dispersed systematically across multiple delivery channels for the purpose of creating a unified and coordinated entertainment experience. Ideally each medium makes its own unique contribution to the unfolding of the story.¹⁶

This describes a deliberate, top-down design to make media converge around shared narrative contents and to create a coherent, integral storyworld. Jenkins's research is firmly anchored in the contemporary entertainment industry and its franchise model of business, but he admits ancient roots to this phenomenon, going back to the stories of Jesus as told in the Middle Ages or to the *Odyssey*.¹⁷ This observation remains a kernel of an idea, though, as Jenkins has yet to pursue this line of inquiry further. More recently he has acknowledged the existence of a bottom-up form of transmedia storytelling: "The concept of multiplicity paves the way for us to think about fan fiction and other forms of grassroots expression as part of the same transmedia logic—unauthorized extensions of the "mother ship" which may nevertheless enhance fan engagement and expand our understanding of the original."¹⁸ This remark has the potential to stretch Jenkins's definition of transmedia storytelling but fails to go beyond the idea of fan-fiction, thus precluding any application to cases where fans are not part of the equation. As a result, Jenkins's ruminations on transmedia storytelling seem hardly germane to anything that is temporally and culturally removed from the here and now. Yet, the concept of transmedia storytelling has prompted reflections in two fields—that of adaptation

studies and that of narratology—and we can fruitfully apply such reflections to the study of early modern Japan.

A story is told again in a different medium or genre. The pleasure of the text comes from repetition with variation. Recognition of the story and changes to that same story work in tandem to provide readers with a fulfilling reading experience. This is the core of adaptations, as generally understood. Linda Hutcheon—the pioneer of adaptation studies—has worked over the years to debunk the stigma often attached to adaptations as derivative and secondary products. In doing so, Hutcheon has noted the positive contribution that transmedia storytelling can give to our understanding of adaptations:

The “success” of an adaptation today, in the age of transmedia, can no longer be determined in relation to its proximity to any single “original,” for none may even exist. Perhaps it is time to look instead to such things as popularity, persistence, or even the diversity and extent of dissemination for criteria of success.¹⁹

More than ever before, we are reminded of adaptation as “a transcoding process that encompasses recreations, remakes, remediations, revisions, parodies, reinventions, reinterpretations, expansions, and extensions.”²⁰ In light of this, Hutcheon extends the very definition of adaptation: “adaptation is how stories evolve and mutate to fit new times and different places.”²¹

Jenkins’s work has equally inspired Marie-Laure Ryan, leading scholar in the field of narratology, and has led her to examine two concepts that complement transmedia storytelling. The first is “transfictionality,” which refers to “the migration of fictional entities across different texts, but these texts may belong to the same medium, usually written narrative fiction.”²² Ryan explains that texts like *Don Quixote* and *Robinson Crusoe*—which I have mentioned at the outset—and their many adaptations are apt examples of this technique. She also explains the three operations involved in transfictionality. Extension “extends the scope of the original storyworld by adding more existents to it, by turning secondary characters into heroes of the story they experience, by having characters visit new regions of the storyworld, and by prolonging the time covered by the original story though [*sic*] prequels and sequels.” Modification implies “a counterfactual sequence of events by giving a different destiny to the characters, one that in effect answers the question What if?” Transposition locates the story in a new temporal and spatial

setting.²³ In line with Hutcheon's assessment of the nature of adaptations, the study of transfictionality asks us to think in terms of variation, change, and mutation, rather than repetition, retelling, and fidelity. The second concept is what Ryan calls the "snowball effect."²⁴ Inspired by the idea of bottom-up form of transmedia storytelling, Ryan pushes the grassroots model beyond fan fictions and explains that in the snowball effect "certain stories enjoy so much popularity, or become culturally so prominent, that they spontaneously generate a variety of either same-medium retellings or crossmedia illustrations and adaptations."²⁵ The examples she offers are *The Lord of the Rings* and *Harry Potter*, which I have also mentioned at the beginning. Although one might object as to how the snowball effect differs from transfictionality, both concepts ask us to think about the cultural power of stories that engage readers so much as to inspire the growth and spread of new stories that are similar and yet inherently different. Stories sprout "branches in many directions, like a rhizome" and storyworlds grow organically.²⁶ Appreciation of these rhizomatic storyworlds comes only when we embrace the "aesthetic of proliferation," as Ryan calls it. Differently from Jenkins's definition of transmedia storytelling, the aesthetic of proliferation admits textual snowballing that is bottom-up, multi-authored, and often transmedia or cross-genres. Ryan notes that this remains the norm today even in transmedia storytelling, with top-down design of the *The Matrix* still being the exception, thus challenging Jenkins on this.

In the field of East Asian studies, Barbara Wall has recently called into question the rigidity of Jenkins's model.²⁷ Wall argues that *The Journey to the West*, a famous tale originally from China, is a transmedia story that has occupied a prominent place in Korean cultural history as well across centuries and media. She does so by complementing the idea of transmedia storytelling with that of "dynamic texts," as discussed by Roland Barthes. As noted by Wall, in Chinese studies Wilt L. Idema has done groundbreaking work on similarly dynamic texts.²⁸ In Japanese studies, Joshua S. Mostow and Gergana Ivanova have convincingly explored how Heian-period texts found new lives in subsequent centuries by way of reinventions and appropriations.²⁹ Michael Emmerich has pushed this line of inquiry, by introducing the idea of "replacements."³⁰ Working on the nineteenth-century *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* 修紫田舎源氏 (A fraudulent Murasaki's bumpkin Genji), Emmerich questions the "simplistic notion" that this is a textual adaptation of *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji), talks of it as a "reincarnation" or a "replacement" of

the Heian tale, but in the end equates the idea of “popular replacement” with “adaptation, translation expansively defined.”³¹

What does all this mean for the study of *Chikusai* and the texts that it generated over three centuries? While Japanese and English-language research to date has dismissed these texts as second-rate imitations of the “original” text, we are now in a position to approach them from a new angle, as an exciting corpus of revisionings that ensured *Chikusai*’s survival and success over time, adapting its story to new cultural environments by virtue of mutation. The present article participates in the ongoing critical discourse by fully engaging with the potential unleashed by the idea that textual proliferation can be unplanned, spontaneous, and moved by a desire to produce more of what readers like.

I would like to add one final methodological remark before I move onto the exploration of *Chikusai* and the many branches sprouted from it. Namely, I wish to draw attention to the participatory nature of the adaptations snowballed from *Chikusai*. By “participation” I mean that commercial publishers, in collaboration with authors and illustrators, took an active part in morphing *Chikusai* into something more than one text. Over the course of three centuries, they played a crucial role in expanding *Chikusai* into a complex storyworld, at times adding new facets to it and at times recalibrating its very nature. Publishers are not admirers moved by a desire to perpetuate the storyworld they love. Their main drive is financial profit. Regardless of their motive, however, they participate in keeping the storyworld alive, feeding the addiction of their audiences while filling their coffers.

A Cult Narrative and its Storyworld

Attributed to the physician Isoda Dōya 磯田道治 (1585–1634), *Chikusai* was first published in moveable type in the Genna era (1615–24).³² As it is often the case for premodern Japanese texts, *Chikusai* displays a rich intertextual nature, playing with a number of pre-existing styles and motifs.³³ Yet the storyworld inaugurated by *Chikusai* was something fresh at the time of its publication.³⁴ Its popularity is readily evinced from the number of different editions produced throughout the seventeenth century in Kyoto and Edo.

In the Kan’ei era (1624–44) a revised edition was issued anonymously, with the addition of several half-folio illustrations and the insertion of a lengthy story witnessed by *Chikusai* at the Kurodani temple. In the Kanbun era (1661–73) the text surfaced in Edo where it was issued by the

publisher Urokogataya 鱗形屋.³⁵ New double-page illustrations replaced the old ones, and the text, now in three rather than two volumes, was marketed under three variant titles.³⁶ In the Enpō era (1673–81) Urokogataya had a new set of blocks cut, and had the popular *ukiyo-e* artist Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣 (1618–94) produce illustrations. The existence of a 1683 facsimile of this edition, also issued from Urokogataya, attests to *Chikusai* as a bestseller.³⁷ It also remained a steady item in book-trade catalogues from 1666–1667 to 1715.³⁸

The narrative of *Chikusai* is constructed as a neat chiasmic structure, yet very little happens in terms of storyline. The narration begins in *media res* with Chikusai being described as a poor quack who feels alienated in Kyoto and therefore decides to move east in search of a better life. Accompanied by his servant Niraminosuke, he visits several famous spots in Kyoto, using them as the occasion to compose humorous *kyōka* poetry (also known as *kyōku*). The two men then travel along the Nakasendō and the Mino Road, to reach Nagoya. There Chikusai features as the protagonist of nine semi-independent, short narratives that describe his chronic inability to cure illnesses. Despite his attempts to cover up his mistakes through wit, Chikusai emerges as a negative personality within the story; he is subsequently forced to leave Nagoya as well. The men’s travels resume along the Tōkaidō until they reach Edo. The text ends with Chikusai unchanged—a poor, exhausted quack—but with a poem that suggests all is not lost: “Encountering / such an upright age / as upright as a tall black bamboo / even a quack / can have hope!” (*kuretake no / sugu naru miyo ni / ainureba / yabu kusushi made / tanomoshiki kana*).³⁹ Here is where the story ends, with no conclusion.

As I have argued elsewhere, *Chikusai* is constructed as an apparently unitary fiction, yet narrated in such a way that easily fragments into a multiplicity of potentially self-sufficient narratives.⁴⁰ The reader, moved by what eighteenth century English literature scholar Eve Tavor Bannet describes as “purposive curiosity,” would focus on how Chikusai’s story develops, skipping all the bits of narrative that are irrelevant.⁴¹ The insubstantial nature of the plot, however, suggests that this mode of reading might not be the most rewarding one. A different reader, one moved by what Bannet describes as “digressive curiosity,” would tarry wherever the plot falters and savor the digression. When seen in this light, one is reminded of what Umberto Eco has identified as a prerequisite for a “cult object:” “one must be able to unhinge it, to break it or take it apart... a disconnected series of images, of peaks, of visionary icebergs.”⁴²

Chikusai is endowed with the “glorious incoherence” celebrated by Eco as a *sine qua non* condition for a cult movie (or a cult narrative in our case). As seen so far, *Chikusai* hardly pitches a plot, but it certainly pitches a character. Chikusai is a two-dimensional character, who is denied any psychological transformation. No superhero, he can perhaps be seen as a tragi-comic anti-hero. He is poor, unskillful (as a doctor), unlucky, but redeemed to a certain extent through wit, his poems, and his ability to play with language. He is less a person than a symbol, a representation of failure tempered by wit. This is precisely the type of character that Marie-Laure Ryan defines as “memorable” and able to “inspire one story after another.”⁴³ The central Nagoya section is itself constructed as a collection of short, discrete stories that follow a repeated pattern: Chikusai is summoned by a patient, tries a cure, usually fails, and covers up by using his wit. The interest lies in the repetition of a pattern played out in different ways as well as in the humorous nature of the stories, some of which are inspired by contemporary jestbooks, mainly *Seisuishō* 醒睡笑 (Laughs to banish sleep; Kan’ei era edition, 1624–44). Once this kind of character has been set, the stories that can be told are virtually endless. As Ryan notes, “the storyworld gets bigger and bigger, but it does not really change in meaningful ways.”⁴⁴ In the next sections, I will discuss how this is true to some degree. I will show how in fact the *Chikusai* storyworld grows, but also changes.

Chikusai equally pitches a world or a storyworld. What is the storyworld of *Chikusai* made of?⁴⁵ There are two core protagonists (or “existents” as narratologists call them): Chikusai and Niraminosuke, master and servant, catalyst and foil. Chikusai’s personality is defined by poverty, unskillfulness, and wit; Niraminosuke is marked by subservience. These are the static components. The dynamic components of this world are in essence travel and medicine. Call them tropes or motifs, they are the two only meaningful actions that engage the pair. One could also add stylistic components, comprising the *michiyukibun* 道行文 style applied when recounting the journey from one point to another, the endemic presence of humorous *kyōka* poems, and the extensive use of linguistic humor in the prose narration.⁴⁶ The charm of a storyworld is that each of its components can have a life of its own—disjointed from the storyline or plot—supporting multiple characters and multiple stories across multiple genres or media. This is even more so because the storyworld of *Chikusai* is constructed like a block of Swiss cheese, to borrow Ryan’s apt image: full of holes.⁴⁷ Who is Chikusai? Do we know anything about his life other

than he is a poor quack? Does he have a family? What happens after he settles down in Edo? Is his future truly *tanomoshi*, “full of hope?” Will he continue his profession? Will his fortunes change? Do we get a second-generation Chikusai at any point? There is no evidence for claiming that the collective authorship of *Chikusai* (including Isoda Dōya but also the anonymous editors who worked on the subsequent editions well after Isoda’s death) or its publishers purposefully designed *Chikusai* as a narrative full of gaps to be filled by someone else. But the fact is that these gaps existed and others were willing and able to fill them.

The Snowball Effect

As early as the Kanbun era (1661–73), the story of *Chikusai* as it was recounted in its many editions had become so popular that it generated a variety of retellings, in a fashion similar to the snowball effect discussed by Ryan. Publishers saw an opportunity to commercially exploit *Chikusai*’s success by issuing adaptations. This astute business decision, in turn, led to the appropriation, expansion, and modification of the *Chikusai* storyworld. Since no copyright was in place and intellectual property was not an issue, all this could be achieved without guilt or fear of legal repercussions. Publishers may have well had a desire to claim some sort of ownership on their works and even created booksellers guilds in 1722 to enforce some sort of control, but the reality was that appropriating existing stories was a common practice, something at times praised as good writing.⁴⁸

As Table 1 (Appendix) shows, works inspired by *Chikusai* span two centuries and were published in Kyoto, Edo, and Osaka.⁴⁹ The majority belong to the same medium, namely verbal narratives published as woodblock-printed books with or without illustrations. The shift from one medium to another takes place only at the very end of the Edo period, with the story appearing in the form of *nishiki-e* 錦絵 (brocade prints, or polychrome woodblock prints). The move from one genre to another was more common. The issue of genre is problematic when it comes to early modern Japanese literature, but for the purpose of this article I will identify two types as fully-fledged genres: *hanashibon* 噺本 (or 咄本; jestbooks) and *kusazōshi* 草双紙 (picturebooks) that include the subcategory of *kibyōshi* 黄表紙 (yellow-cover picturebooks). Both *hanashibon* and *kusazōshi*, in fact, were associated with a set of conventions that writers were asked to follow and that readers expected to recognize. *Hanashibon* were collections of short stories revolving around humor, mainly in the

form of puns, and were conceived as a form of storytelling performance. *Kusazōshi* were multimodal texts where the verbal and the visual collaborated to deliver a story within a relatively short space (ten or fifteen folios).⁵⁰ They would normally require a happy ending, partly due to the fact that they were issued to be read at New Year. They were also characterized by linguistic humor, often at the expense of a coherent plot.⁵¹

While Table 1 lists works inspired by *Chikusai* chronologically, the following pages organize the same works around the ways in which they expand and transform the *Chikusai* storyworld.

Poaching Chikusai's Wit

The first component of the *Chikusai* storyworld that is chosen and magnified is Chikusai's wit. The jestbook *Chikusai banashi* 竹齋はなし (Chikusai's stories, 1672) is exemplary in showing how this aspect of Chikusai's personality was singled-out and used to transform him into something new.⁵²

In the Northern part of Kyoto there is the quack called Chikusai, an eccentric skinny monk, whose learning surpasses everyone else's and who is proficient in the Way of Medicine. Because he likes being facetious [*kokoro no odoketareba*], he spends his life making merry [*kokoro wo ukarakashi*] and has got the reputation of a jester [*hyōkin*] who just drifts along [*uki ni uitaru*]. Buzzing around, even though without wings, he cheers people's hearts, making us forget our sorrows and misery. This monk is unparalleled in his ability to entertain.⁵³

The opening of *Chikusai banashi* asks us to view in Chikusai someone whose *raison d'être* is to prompt laughter. The same introduction continues promising a collection of “funny stories” (*okashiki monogatari*) that will provide amusement during the nights one spends alone.⁵⁴ *Chikusai banashi* is structured as a collection of ninety-four short sections divided into three volumes. The only common denominator is the presence of Chikusai in all of them. Other than that, the episodes are independent from each other, as was typical for any jestbook at the time. Despite the fact that the name Chikusai comes coupled with the word quack in the quotation above, the episodes dealing with medicine constitute a tiny fraction.⁵⁵ His cures are often depicted as excessive—for example treating the macrocephaly of a young boy by making the head come off or treating the fear of thunder in another patient by making him unable to hear and see.⁵⁶ But the majority of his treatments revolve around a clever pun.

Being witty or simply silly, playing with words or indulging in smutty humor, the new Chikusai is nothing but the golden thread that tenuously unifies a cornucopia of humorous sketches. It happens to be Chikusai because the publisher decided to cash in on the growing popularity of this fictional character. But it could have easily been someone else. A couple of sections from the first volume showcase well how linguistic divertissement is at the heart of the reading experience.

Chikusai was on his way to a patient when his loincloth started to unravel. As a result, it began to trail behind him. A passing dope [*bakamono*] trod on it. Whereupon the loincloth parted company with its owner. The dope then proceeded to pick it up. Because it looked as if it had not been washed in the last century, he held it out at arms' length, while grimacing. He shouted: "Hey, monk! Your underwear has fallen off." Chikusai stopped, looked behind at the underwear, and exclaimed: "That can't be mine! It's so smelly!" Unlike the smell of his underwear, the dope's reaction really got up his nose. So, then what Chikusai did was to look down his nose at the dope and say: "Underwear? Don't care!" And off he went.⁵⁷

The humor released by the scatological nature of the episode combines with the wit generated by the wordplay around the sound *fundoshi*. On the one hand, *fundoshi* means "loincloth," which in a way is the real protagonist of the story. The passage closes with the expression *hana o fundo shite*, which contains the sound *fundoshi*. This sentence is by no means straightforward, as three different meanings are at play. First, *fundo-suru* (憤怒する) signifies "to be enraged." Second, *fundo* (糞土) indicates something "filthy." Third, *funto* (ふんと, normally in *hiragana* only) in association with "nose" refers to the action of "sniffing in contempt." The use of phonetic *hiragana* in the text activates all these meanings. My translation above has tried to capture the essence of the wordplay, but I wish to stress that it is precisely for the linguistic challenges involved in translating this kind of story that texts like *Chikusai banashi* have seldom been studied in English-language scholarship, let alone been effectively translated.

Wordplays and puns do not always imply the multilayered nature seen in the previous passage. Another section can be instructive.

Chikusai's name before becoming a doctor was Yamamoto Matazaemon. Once a nobleman summoned him and inquired about his first name and family name. Chikusai had forgotten the latter and, under pressure for an answer, had a look around. He saw a pond in the garden and a frog jumping

into the water, making a splash. So he answered: “My name is Splash Matazaemon.” “What an unusual surname,” replied the nobleman. “Which characters do you use to write it down?” he asked. And Chikusai replied: “I use three characters: ‘frog’, ‘enter’, and ‘water’.”⁵⁸

The comedic nature of this passage hinges on two elements. On the one hand, we sneer at Chikusai’s mindlessness in forgetting his own surname. On the other hand, we take pleasure in the unexpected association between the adverb *tonburi* (splash), which would normally be rendered in phonetic script only, and the idea that it might be written with the three characters for “frog” (蛙), “enter” (入), and “water” (水), whereby it would make a “splash.”

In the second half of the third volume, Chikusai’s identity undergoes a further change, from being the *protagonist of* to becoming the *narrator of* humorous stories. For example, in the thirteenth section Chikusai becomes the *voice* that offers readers a number of riddles and their answers. An unnamed man notes that Chikusai “is very skilled at those riddles that are all the rage in Kyoto,” and asks Chikusai to entertain him and his guests with some. At that point, the narrative stops to leave space to about four folios of just riddles.⁵⁹ When perusing this section, we are not engaging with any narrative. We are, rather, busy making sense of 104 riddles. In the next section, Chikusai’s voice continues to be employed to perform a tongue twister (known in early modern Japan as *haya monogatari*) that depicts the battle between illnesses and medications.⁶⁰ As promised in the introduction, by the end of the text Chikusai is reconfigured into a successful entertainer, who performs for his intradiegetic audience (i. e., the audience within the story) as well as for the extradiegetic readers (i. e., the readers of the book). In its entirety, this collection of humorous stories successfully domesticates the storyworld of *Chikusai* to fit the rules of the *hanashibon* genre. What would happen if we looked at Chikusai only for his wit? *Chikusai banashi* effectively explores this alternative journey in the *Chikusai* storyworld, offering a powerful modification of the figure Chikusai. He is not an unskillful doctor anymore. He is a resourceful quack and, above all, a pseudo-comedian whose main activity is to entertain his audience. The magnitude of the modification at play is such that in the third volume Chikusai is reconfigured into a proficient performer. The nature of our reading experience also changes. When confronted with this new *Chikusai*/Chikusai, we are first and foremost asked to make sense of the multilayered humor that imbues every section. What is more, the second half of the third volume becomes a show staged by Chikusai’s

voice. All of a sudden, a printed book becomes the vehicle for what is a vocal performance that we enjoy as if we were part of Chikusai's intradiegetic audience.

Scattered randomly in the text are also fresh pieces of information about the *Chikusai* storyworld, which keeps expanding. His wife, referred to generically as *o-baba* (old missus), appears extensively in the first volume and is often used by the narrator to poke fun at Chikusai. We also hear that they had a child, but we do not hear anything more about him.⁶¹ We read that before taking the tonsure (something shared at the time by both monks and physicians) he “studied a little bit of the *Great Learning* and learned the Way of Medicine alongside.”⁶² This detail ties in with another important change in the figure of Chikusai: he is not unskillful anymore. With the exception of a brief remark, nothing in the text suggests that Chikusai is an unfashionable doctor or a detested charlatan.⁶³ His treatments, albeit few in number, normally end positively, no matter how extreme his remedies are. We are progressively moving away from patients being dissatisfied or even angry at Chikusai's professional inaptitude as a doctor. We are also leaving behind the negative depiction of Chikusai's miseries as a result of his failures. What we are left with is an improved image of Chikusai. His inadequacies as a physician are papered over to bring to the fore his talent in making people merry. We laugh less *at* him and more *with* him, in a storyworld that starts being filled with auspiciousness.⁶⁴

Redeeming Sons

As seen in the previous section, *Chikusai banashi* granted Chikusai the birth of a son but the anonymous author chose not to develop any narrative around him. The 1687 *Shin Chikusai* 新竹齋 (The new Chikusai) and the 1695 *Bokusai banashi isha hyōban* 木齋咄医者評判 (Bokusai's stories and physicians' critiques; hereafter *Bokusai banashi*), on the other hand, are entirely focused on expanding Chikusai's story in time and are packaged as sequels that stage the adventures of his sons.⁶⁵ *Shin Chikusai* features Junsai, whose name retains the second character of Chikusai (*sai* 齋) but changes *chiku* or “bamboo” (竹) into *jun* or “a bamboo sprout” (筍). *Bokusai banashi* presents Bokusai, whose name substitutes “bamboo” with “tree” (*boku* 木). Junsai and Bokusai are not brothers. They are the products of two distinct creative processes. Yet they both promise a change of fortunes in the *Chikusai* storyworld. *Shin Chikusai* lays out clear expectations at the outset:

The crown jewel of the Capital is its eastern part, but it is in a thicket of the shady west that we find the doctor [*kusushi*] Junsai, born among the warblers as the offspring of Chikusai. The fame [*meiyo*] obtained by his treatments is unrivalled in the whole of Japan.⁶⁶

In *Bokusai banashi* we need to wait until Chikusai's son Chikusaburō 竹三郎 starts his studies with Master Hakoku and takes the tonsure, changing his name into Bokusai, to read about his resolution to redress his father's fate:

My father Chikusai was an unskillful doctor, doomed to poverty. I intend to put in place a drastic change and to become a competent physician. It is like patching together things that are incompatible, like a bamboo and a tree.⁶⁷

Both texts fulfil the hope of redemption, ushering the optimism ignited by *Chikusai banashi* into new directions. As the two passages quoted above promise, Bokusai and Junsai succeed where their father failed by way of performing as capable healers.

The seven stories narrating Bokusai's therapies follow a pattern that is almost the opposite of how the central part of *Chikusai* was conceived. If in *Chikusai* initial success gradually turns into ever increasing failure, now fledgling attempts become wondrous performances. We start with Bokusai having trouble in taking the pulse on two different occasions. First, he mistakes a man for a woman and suggests pregnancy.⁶⁸ Then he confuses the hand of a male patient with that of his wife who was sitting behind him.⁶⁹ In both cases, Bokusai finds a clever way to justify his mistake.⁷⁰ While the humorous side of Bokusai's treatments is never fully jettisoned, it is their miraculous nature that is progressively highlighted. The final episode well illustrates the extraordinary nature of Bokusai's accomplishments. He is summoned to Mogami (present-day Yamagata prefecture) by the wealthy Terui Tarōemon. This man is deeply afflicted by the physical defect of his daughter, who has no female genitals. Bokusai quotes a famous episode in which the physician Hidenari performed surgery to solve a similar case. Bokusai nonchalantly uses a razor to cut the skin of the girl. Despite the extensive bleeding and with some aftercare, the girl heals completely and is given in marriage to Bokusai as a trophy for his medical prowess. The narrator reminds us that, at this point, Bokusai's ambition is fully realized: "Indeed he [Bokusai] was the

opposite of his father Chikusai, like a tree is different from bamboo, and became extremely popular.”⁷¹

Shin Chikusai also chronicles success. In volume one, Junsai treats a number of patients and the outcome of his treatments are generally positive. For example, when visiting the son of a sake brewer in Kameyama, Junsai uses an incantation that the parents believe cured their little one.⁷² Or when treating a wealthy councilor suffering from impotence, Junsai’s pills end up solving the problem.⁷³ In both episodes, Junsai gains financial reward and is freed from the poverty that defined Chikusai.

While rehabilitating the second generation Chikusai as a successful quack, both Bokusai and Junsai are also portrayed as accomplished performers.

Bokusai acts as a knowledgeable voice that expounds on a variety of medical themes in the non-narrative parts that punctuate *Bokusai banashi*.⁷⁴ Such didactic interest might have been inspired by the 1685 *Chikusai ryōji no hyōban* 竹齋療治之評判 (A critique of Chikusai’s treatments) that I have discussed at length elsewhere.⁷⁵ The author of this text—a certain Enpyōshi 圓瓢子 about whom nothing is known to date—used *Chikusai* as a pretext for elucidating his own views regarding medicine, claiming that *Chikusai* had in fact been conceived as a vernacular counterpart to the Chinese medical treatise *Xuanqijiu zheng lun* 軒岐救正論 (Jp. *Kenkikyū seiron*).⁷⁶ *Bokusai banashi* shares the same desire to provide readers with reliable medical knowledge, and Bokusai acts as the lecturer who instructs his intradiegetic audience as well as the readers.⁷⁷

While Bokusai performs to instruct, Junsai does so to amuse. The text draws the reader’s attention to Junsai’s gift with the language early on, in the very first volume. When describing the treatment of the aforementioned councilor, the text glosses over what medications Junsai administered but lingers at length on an exchange of clever poems. The patient praises Junsai for being “a great talker” (*kuchi no karui mono*).⁷⁸

I contend that Junsai’s career as an amusing talker owes much to *Chikusai banashi*.⁷⁹ This is in itself significant, as it suggests that by the 1680s what inspired new adaptations of the *Chikusai* storyworld was not the text *Chikusai* itself—as argued by the scant scholarship on the subject to date—but rather subsequent adaptations. This tallies with what Hutcheon has noted about adaptations in general and Ivanova about the circulation of *Makura no sōshi* (The pillow book): in time adaptations end up substituting the source text that inspired them in the first place and they

themselves turn into source texts that generate further adaptations.⁸⁰ At the same time, though, *Shin Chikusai* explores novel ways to construct Junsai's persona as a funny storyteller. Firstly, Junsai brands himself as a zany spectacle, by displaying a human-size doll that accentuates his own distorted human shape (fig. 1, Appendix). In doing so, he rebrands himself as a sort of freak show that attracts curiosity and an audience. Once in front of his public, Junsai narrates tales of sensational cures that he allegedly performed in Kyoto, packed with wit. We hear, for example, that a man had his legs eaten off by a wolf but Junsai gave him back his mobility by attaching two branches of a plum-blossom tree in lieu of his lower limbs. The man recovers and leaves his work as a farmer to become a courier in the western provinces.⁸¹ This story makes sense when Junsai reminds us of a famous poem by Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903): *kochi fukaba / nioi okoseyo / ume no hana / aruji nashi tote / haru o wasuruna*, “When the east wind blows, / send me your fragrance, / plum blossoms: / although your master is gone, / do not forget the spring.”⁸² Michizane's poem allegedly had the power to make the plum-blossom tree fly to reunite with its master. Junsai plays on this anecdote to claim that the branches of plum-blossom trees can turn into legs that can fly. Because the word *hikyaku* 飛脚, which literary means “flying legs,” is also the word for “courier,” the protagonist not only regains mobility but decides to take up this job. Here, Junsai's performance as a wondrous healer is doubled by his *performativity* as a storyteller whose words produce the phenomena they recount. It is in the fifth volume that Junsai's new persona as an artist who entertains by virtue of his linguistic virtuosity is magnified. He becomes known as a liar, that is true, but because of his resourcefulness (*saikaku*) people keep wanting more of his art.⁸³ Deception becomes an enticing show. The final volume takes the form of a jestbook that offers a parade of linguistic amusements unrelated to the plot: riddles, visual riddles (*hanjimon*), puns, and humorous dialogues exchanged with people who try to challenge Junsai's wit.⁸⁴ Similarly to what I have noted for *Chikusai banashi*, *Shin Chikusai* asks readers, back in the seventeenth century as now, to make sense of the humor elicited by these passages. For example, among the visual riddles (fig. 2, Appendix) we find the picture of a cart pulled by an ox on top of which is a big fan. The caption reads “A big fan on a cart.”⁸⁵ We can try to solve the puzzle ourselves. After all, previously in the text the narrator had introduced some riddles but left them unsolved on purpose, “so that they become a pastime for the little ones.”⁸⁶ Alternatively, we can turn the page and find the answer, which, if

adjusted to sound humorous in English, would sound like “It’s a cold wind that blows no good; you wouldn’t want it any more that you’d want a bull in a China shop.”⁸⁷

Altogether, *Shin Chikusai* transforms the *Chikusai* storyworld into a sort of toy that we can play with outside the constraints of the book. As much as Junsai is praised as a “medicine for the spirit” (*ki no kusuri*), *Shin Chikusai* is designed to lift the spirit of its readers/audience.⁸⁸ In all this Junsai thrives:

At the beginning Junsai was the most unskilled doctor in the three worlds, but thanks to the strangeness of his appearance and the humor of his stories, he was invited to several rich households as somebody to be entertaining [*naburimono*]. He was busy telling nonsense [*adaguchi*], without a single moment of rest... He became rich and prosperous, with many people at his service.⁸⁹

Bokusai banashi and *Shin Chikusai* extend in time the *Chikusai* storyworld to the second generation and in the process, they infuse it with hope as the trope of the quack is radically transformed. We move further away from the image of a dreadful and impoverished charlatan, heading towards that of a wondrous healer who enjoys social kudos and financial reward. Stretching the trajectory started by *Chikusai banashi*, both texts are also reconceptualized from stories *about* a healer to stories *performed* by him. Staging didactic lectures on medicine or comic interludes, they extend the *Chikusai* storyworld beyond medicine into the world of vocal performances.

Healing Incurable Diseases

From the 1670s the *Chikusai* storyworld had been reshaped into something that had the potential to fire the imagination of publishers, authors, and illustrators based in Edo and engrossed in the production of *kusazōshi* (picturebooks). It is in the 1750s that they start contributing to the *Chikusai* storyworld.

In 1756 Urokogataya, who had already issued two editions of *Chikusai* back in the seventeenth-century, published *Tōsei isha / Chikusai-rō saji kagen* 当世医者／竹齋老匙加減 (Doctors of today: Old Chikusai and his potions), but unfortunately no copies seem to have survived.⁹⁰ He subsequently released two picturebooks: *Chikusai* ちくさい (*Chikusai*; hereafter “the picturebook *Chikusai*”) and *Chikusai Junsai / Nidai no homare isha* 竹齋笥齋／悻褒医 (Chikusai Junsai: The glory of a second-

generation doctor; hereafter *Nidai*) around the 1770s.⁹¹ Both of these works present a pastiche of motifs and/or passages from a number of sources. The picturebook *Chikusai* uses *Nippon eitaigura* 日本永代蔵 (The eternal storehouse of Japan; 1688) written by Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴 (1642–93), and I would suggest that it also draws inspiration from *Bokusai banashi*.⁹² *Nidai*, as the title aptly suggests, uses *Shin Chikusai* as a starting point and splices sections from it together with others from *Saikaku oritome* 西鶴織留 (Some final words of advice; published posthumously in 1694).⁹³ Once again, new adaptations are inspired by previous adaptations, not by the 1620s *Chikusai*.

When viewed as part of the extended *Chikusai* storyworld, the greatest merit of both texts has been to further enhance accessibility and participation thanks to the very nature of the genre they belong to. Being early *kusazōshi*, these works offer short snippets of simplified text written only in *kana*, which are inserted in the blank spaces of illustrations that translate the narration into images. The *Chikusai* storyworld welcomed anyone with limited literacy—be it children or adults, males or females.

Regarding the contents, both texts firmly anchor the changes made to the *Chikusai* storyworld in the second half of the seventeenth century. The picturebook *Chikusai* is conceived as a tale of financial redemption. Chikusai starts out from utter indigence—he has no money to dye his clothes or to buy rice for the new year’s rice cakes—but manages to turn around his fortunes.⁹⁴ He first decides to worship the God of Poverty and then concocts a medication that heals people’s financial woes.⁹⁵ This, in turn, allows him to gain popularity and wealth. Chikusai’s opulence is celebrated in the illustrations. The last double-page spread displays a cornucopia of gifts presented to him by grateful patients: sea bream, gold coins, fine fabrics, and barrels of the renowned Tsuru no ike sake are paraded in a space that is designed to impress the viewer.⁹⁶ *Nidai* is less adventurous because of its adherence to *Shin Chikusai*. The episode where Junsai cures the mild depression of O-Run, the daughter of a certain Kichimonjiya Sahei in Kyoto, stands out as a newly designed adventure of our wondrous physician. This time Junsai lifts the girl’s spirits by providing entertainment with a fashionable man named Hamashichi, who is paid to flirt with the girl and ends up marrying her.⁹⁷

One scene in the picturebook *Chikusai* deserves particular attention in order to appreciate how the *Chikusai* storyworld is being steered in new directions. Chikusai is portrayed in his surgery sitting in front of a ledger

and lecturing, as Bokusai did before him. The text explains what is happening:

[Lower part of the page] Many different patients came to Chikusai's house for treatment. Because everyone was healed, Chikusai became known as the living Buddha Yakushi. [Upper part of the page] In the evening he would deliver lectures [*kōshaku*] about medications to improve one's finances and miraculous treatments to become rich.⁹⁸

This new Chikusai is quite different from Bokusai in that his lectures do not revolve around dispensing medical knowledge but are a means to publicize his medications. His servant Niraminosuke appears in the image busy preparing medicines, suggesting that they might be available for purchase. The dialogues that accompany the people sitting in front of Chikusai are intriguing. A man with an oddly shaped head is sitting at the back and asks: "Is there a way to turn this hump into horns?" As horns are a sign of jealousy or virility, the man apparently wants to turn his unattractive lump into a sign of masculinity. The woman on his left, drawn with a slightly wider face than usual, says: "When the swelling on my face is fixed, I can myself become a beauty." The old woman playing with a young child asks Chikusai to rejuvenate her: "If you give me a medication to become young, I intend to marry once more." What is clear is that for the first time our protagonist is being asked to cure incurable diseases, or *nanbyō* 難病. By the 1770s Urokogataya's picturebooks have elevated Chikusai to a legendary physician able to fix all sorts of conditions, no matter how extreme. The new Chikusai is at a considerable remove from Chikusai as he was conceived at the beginning of the seventeenth century, because his story has been re-conceptualized into a fantasy of professional success, social elevation, and economic reward. This fits comfortably with the readers' expectations towards early *kusazōshi*, as good reads for the beginning of the New Year and as texts that allow readers to dream of a better life. This then paves the way for yet further developments in the later *kibyōshi* (yellow-cover book) genre, a good example being *Chikusai-rō takara no yamabuki iro* 竹齋老宝山吹色 (Old Chikusai and his yellow treasures; hereafter *Chikusai-rō*) of 1794.⁹⁹

Conceived by Tsukiji Zenkō 築地善交 (1754–1810, also known as Morishima Chūryō 森島中良), illustrated by Kitao Shigemasa 北尾重政 (1739–1820), and issued by Tsuruya Kiemon 鶴屋喜右衛門, this yellow-cover book offers a successful recipe combining a number of ingenious ingredients. First, it adopts the motif developed in the picturebook

Chikusai of a physician who can cure all sorts of ailments, from a simple cold and phlegm, to more challenging conditions such as paralysis.¹⁰⁰ Second, it retrieves the wit that permeated late seventeenth-century adaptations by describing the cures being successful not so much because Chikusai has mastered medical science but because he is very sagacious. Third, it reintroduces a penchant for puns, of the kind seen in *Chikusai banashi* and *Shin Chikusai*. In doing so, the beauty of the reading experience provided by *Chikusai-rō* lies in the pleasure of solving verbal puzzles and fully grasping the linguistic humor at play. All this is spiced with the addition of objects associated with Dutch Studies (*rangaku*), including the telescope and the electric generator (*erekiteru* or *elektericieit*), which owes much to Morishima Chūryō's well-known involvement with *rangaku*.¹⁰¹

The two double-page spreads that deal with two women who wish to reduce the size of their buttocks are instructive (figs. 3, 4, Appendix). Ridiculed for their bottoms that stick out (*tanatchiri*) as big as pumpkins (*kabocha-shiri*), the two women are welcomed by Niraminosuke. He reassures the ladies that “this is something very easy to fix” and asks them to eat plenty of potatoes and butternut squash, accompanied by tea. The result is depicted in an earthy manner:

The more they ate the more they laughed; the more they laughed the more they ate. And they felt so heavy! They couldn't do anything but stare at the wall. After a little while, their bellies began to make strange noises and they squeezed their buttocks together as strongly as possible in order to avoid farting.¹⁰²

It is at this point that Chikusai makes an appearance and starts the “cure,” which consists in placing the two women in a room in front of an audience made of leading *kabuki* actors (fig. 4, Appendix). The narrator mentions Ichikawa Komazō III (1764–1835) and Ichikawa Monnosuke II's son, Ichikawa Omezō I (1769–1833), as among the spectators. The storyline, such as it is, is full of smutty humor, at times bordering on nonsense: the women cannot possibly break wind in front of their idols and keep their buttocks so compressed that they appear tiny, at which moment Chikusai fixes their reduced size by binding them with a bamboo rope.¹⁰³ What was supposed to be a medical treatment turns into a carnivalesque spectacle, a farcical show carried out in front of professional performers. The nub of the scene, however, is in the dialogues and their riddles. On the right Chikusai says: *Shiritaga shiritaga suta-suta suta-suta* (The bamboo ropes

on the waist! The bamboo ropes on the waist! Up! Up!). These words makes sense only if the reader understands the reference to a *suta suta bōzu*, a mendicant monk covered with nothing but bamboo ropes with sacred straw festoons around his waist, chanting “suta-suta” and promising good luck to anyone who gives him alms.¹⁰⁴ The text—both in its visual and verbal components—prompts a connection between two things that are unrelated: the woman standing within the picture, on the one hand, and a mendicant monk whose image is conjured up outside the printed page, in the readers’ imagination. Such unexpected juxtaposition works as a form of *mitate*.¹⁰⁵ The next dialogue on the left asks the reader to engage with a different riddle: *Kinshō wa kotsubu demo nomarezu* (*Kinshō*: even a small grain can’t be swallowed). The reference is to the *kabuki* actor Matsumoto Kōshirō V (1764–1838), whose stage name was *Kinshō* and who is the first actor on the right in the illustration. His name is evoked as part of a sentence that parodies the saying *sanshō wa kotsubo naredemo karashi* (Japanese pepper: even a small grain is hot). The proverb has no particular function within the story. What we are asked to enjoy is the twist from *sanshō* to *kinshō* and the connection of the latter with the actor sitting among the intradiegetic audience. Solving this puzzle is the point in question. As the close reading of this episode shows, *Chikusai-rō* transforms Chikusai’s story into a multimodal text designed as a clever, amusing game. Once again the *Chikusai* storyworld is domesticated to fit the genre logic, in this case of a *kibyōshi* as defined by Uda Toshihiko: “literature of wit” (*kichi no bungaku* 機知の文学).¹⁰⁶

The question of whether *Chikusai rō* took inspiration from *Chikusai rō saji kagen* will have to wait until the latter is re-discovered, if ever. What is certain is that a number of *kibyōshi* applied similar textual strategies, by depicting Chikusai absorbed in his *tonchi ryōji* 頓知療治 or witty (and miraculous) treatments (see Table 1 and Chart 1, Appendix). What is more, both the picturebook *Chikusai*, in particular the section examined above, and *Chikusai rō* enjoyed considerable popularity until the end of the Edo period, and inspired two *nishiki-e* issued around that time. The anonymous, undated diptych *Kogarashi Chikusai / Nanbyō ryōji* こがらし竹斎／難病療治 (Withering gusts Chikusai / Curing Intractable Diseases, fig. 5, Appendix) evokes in its title Matsuo Bashō’s poem mentioned in the introduction as well as the idea of incurable diseases. More specifically, the composition of the image re-enacts Urokogataya’s picturebook *Chikusai*. The triptych *Kitaina meii / Nanbyō ryōji* きたいなめい医／難病療治 (Extraordinary famous doctors / Curing intractable

diseases, fig. 6, Appendix), signed by the renowned Utagawa Kuniyoshi 歌川国芳 (1797–1861) and issued probably around 1849, offers something similar. For the first time we are presented with Chikusai's daughter, Kogarashi, who is introduced as a famous physician (*meii*) herself. She is confronted with a number of odd conditions that owe much to *Chikusai-rō* among the other *kibyōshi* mentioned in Table 1 (Appendix).¹⁰⁷ This triptych even inspired a sexually-explicit revisioning in the series of twelve printed known under the collective title of *Kōgō no meii / Nannyo no ryōji* 交合の名医／男女の療治 (The famous doctor of intercourse / The cure for men and women) attributed to Utagawa Kuniyoshi.¹⁰⁸ These *nishiki-e* use a different medium to enhance the visual tropes that began being associated with Chikusai in the Edo-based eighteenth-century *kusazōshi*. They make sense only if we have engaged with the *Chikusai* storyworld as it was shaped two centuries after the 1620s *Chikusai* was published.

Conclusions

In the first half of the seventeenth century, one text, *Chikusai*, made its appearance in the world of commercial, popular prose. Pitching a two-dimensional tragi-comic anti-hero and a storyworld full of holes, *Chikusai* soon turned out to be a publishing hit and a cult narrative. Not only was it re-issued in both Kyoto and Edo for almost one century, it also sparked a snowball effect, with an impressive number of adaptations being released until the second half of the nineteenth century. We are not dealing with imitations that passively rehearsed the 1620s *Chikusai*, as scholarship has claimed to date, but with creative reinventions that kept expanding and modifying the *Chikusai* storyworld.

The mutations at play are mighty. First, Chikusai underwent a major transformation from a wretched poor quack into a wondrous healer. In the process, he was also subjected to a more radical reconceptualization: as the ability to entertain intradiegetic and extradiegetic audiences with his wit slowly supersedes his pseudo-medical prowess, Chikusai gradually turned into a full-scale performer. His identity shifted from that of a quack to that of a jester. This metamorphosis went hand in hand with a variation in the type of stories in which he was featured. When transplanted into *hanashibon* (jestbooks) and *kusazōshi* picturebooks, Chikusai was not so much the protagonist of a narrative that readers perused to find out what happens next. Rather, he acted like a foil for linguistic play, humor, and

wit to star as the real focus of the reading experience. Riddles, puns, jokes: savoring them is where the pleasure of the text most lay.

To lead this powerful reconfiguration of the *Chikusai* storyworld were early modern publishers, who worked in tandem with authors and illustrators of their own choice. They creatively appropriated the storyworld to make it fit genre conventions and more broadly the fashions of the publishing industry. There was no concerted top-down design; after all publishers worked years and miles apart from each other. It was a grassroots movement, not of fans but of savvy businessmen whose desire was to participate in the construction of an ever-changing *Chikusai* storyworld in order to cash in on its enduring popularity. Financial profit was their ultimate goal. The case study of the *Chikusai* storyworld alerts us to an economic dimension to the aesthetic of proliferation that, it seems to me, Ryan fails to discuss in her theoretical treatment of the subject.¹⁰⁹ This also complements work done on Japanese literature. Ivanova, for instance, has convincingly argued how a number of factors played a key role in continuously transforming *Makura no sōshi*: gender, cultural identity, school curricula, and translations. The present study brings into the picture an additional but equally central element, namely the logic of the publishing market.

What we are left with is a complex rhizome of texts, where each sprout is not germinating from the common underground stem (the 1620s *Chikusai*) but from the adventitious roots that have developed along the way (the many adaptations, as seen in Chart 1, Appendix). There is no coherence in this ensemble of texts. Contradictions, repetitions, and confusion are an intrinsic feature of this rhizomatic universe. We might be puzzled, for example, by the co-existence of Junsai and Bokusai as two distinct sons of Chikusai, who have been conceived independently and never join up. That suddenly a daughter surfaces in 1850s *nishiki-e* prints is even more baffling. We might wish for a more coordinated entertainment experience. Yet, this is no transmedia storytelling as theorized by Henry Jenkins. It is a wonderfully incoherent body of adaptations that celebrate invention, playfulness, plurality, and diversity (Chart 2, Appendix). Readers can approach this body in a number of ways. They can peruse each text as a standalone entity, with no concern for the adaptational stance at play. They can savor the repetition with difference that takes place between a text and its immediate source-text. They can enjoy how the 1620s story of *Chikusai* keeps being transformed text after text. They can read each text as a different facet of the same storyworld,

as if they were rabbit holes or dispersed entry points to the same storyworld. The way in which the *Chikusai* storyworld is constructed invites all these modes of reading.

Why should this matter at all to us in the twenty-first century, beyond offering a contribution to the study of adaptations in a global context? First, as Nakano Mitsutoshi has aptly noted, when working on early modern materials we are asked to study Edo-period literature from within, on its own terms, with a view to recover an often-lost early modern aesthetic.¹¹⁰ Early modern readers cared for *Chikusai* for almost three centuries precisely because commercial publishers kept him alive by constantly morphing his story. The present article has retrieved the aesthetic of proliferation that made this possible and has shown how *Chikusai* was given a place of pride in the canon of early modern popular literature. Second, the close reading of selected primary sources has shown synergies that ask us to rethink some of the dichotomies that inhabit our histories of early modern Japanese literature. We tend to view the seventeenth and the eighteenth century as intrinsically different. We consider *hanashibon* and *kusazōshi* as genres with very little in common. We view Kamigata (Kyoto/Osaka) literature as neatly separate from Edo literature. The analysis of *Chikusai banashi* (*hanashibon*, 1672, Kyoto or Edo), *Shin Chikusai* (no specific genre, 1687, Kyoto), and *Chikusai-rō* (*kusazōshi*, 1694, Edo), among others, has brought to light textual strategies that appear striking in their resemblance.

What if we were to actively explore continuities rather than discontinuities in our study of early modern Japanese literature? This methodological question is prompted by engagement with the *Chikusai* storyworld. Third, and finally, the study of the *Chikusai* storyworld asks us to rethink what we view as a “text.” *Chikusai* is not so much one text as much as a beautifully discordant ensemble of ever-changing variants.

NOTES

¹ Unkillable protagonists are defined as fictional characters “who at their first public appearance, resonated within and beyond their ordinal narratives to create a cult of personality that invited narrative extensions to keep them ‘alive’.” See

Paul Budra and Betty A. Schellenberg, eds., *Part Two: Reflections on the Sequel* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 8.

² For a discussion and a list of *quixotalia* see Ilan Stavans, *Quixote. The Novel and the World* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2015), 85–204, 213–23. On the *robinsonades* and a number of other adaptations of *Robinson Crusoe*, with a focus on children’s literature and popular culture, see Andrew O’Malley, *Children’s Literature, Popular Culture, and Robinson Crusoe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

³ I used the manuscript held at the National Diet Library and originally owned by the writer Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬 (1776–1822) (shelf-mark: 寄別 5-5-1-2). The song in question was popular in the 1660s. For more details see Nakajima Jirō 中島次郎, “*Sabishiki za no nagusami no Chikusai*,” *Kinsei bungei* 76 (2002): 15–29.

⁴ The song is entitled *Isha kudoki kiyari* 医者くどき木やり, and it is the thirty-seventh in the collection.

⁵ The English translation is in Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998), 146–49.

⁶ Takizawa Bakin, *Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui*, ed. by Tokuda Takeshi 徳田武 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2014), 149.

⁷ On the concept of storyworld see Marie-Laure Ryan and Jan-Noël Thon, eds., *Storyworlds across Media* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2014).

⁸ Noda Hisao 野田寿雄, *Kanazōshi-shū* (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 1960–62), 10.

⁹ Noma Kōshin 野間光辰 and Ichiko Teiji 市古貞次, eds., *Otogizōshi – Kanazōshi*, in vol. 26 of *Kanshō Nihon koten bungaku* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1976), 145–46. Noma’s list is kept unchanged in the more recent Tanaka Hiroshi 田中広, “*Chikusai kyōka monogatari ni tsuite – Chikusai oyobi Zeraku monogatari to no kanren*,” *Bungaku kenkyū* 90 (2002): 37.

¹⁰ Ichiko Teiji 市古貞次, entry on *Chikusai* in vol. 7 of *Koten no jiten: seizui o yomu. Nihonban*, ed. by Koten no jiten hensan iinkai 古典の事典編纂委員会 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1986), 32. Maeda Kingorō 前田金五郎, entry on *Chikusai* in vol. 4 of *Nihon koten bungaku daijiten*, ed. by Nihon koten bungaku daijiten henshū iinkai 日本古典文学大辞典編集委員会 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1986), 225. Asano Satoshi 浅野聡, “*Kinsei shoki shōsetsu no ningen zōkei – Chikusai no baai*,” *Kinsei repōto* 6 (1988): 30. Watanabe Morikuni 渡辺守邦,

- “Kanazōshi,” in vol. 1 of *Kōza genroku no bungaku*, ed. by Asano Akira 浅野晃 (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1992), 72.
- ¹¹ Fukuda Yasunori 福田安典, “Chikusai to geinō,” *Edo bungaku* 4 (1995): 23–24.
- ¹² Satō Yukiko 佐藤至子, entry on *Chikusai* in *Ki to myō no Edo bungaku jiten*, ed. by Nagashima Hiroaki 長島弘明 (Tokyo: Bungaku tsūshin, 2019), 286–91.
- ¹³ Edward Putzar, “Chikusai monogatari: a Partial Translation,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 16/1–2 (1960): 161.
- ¹⁴ Laurence Bresler, “The Origins of Popular Travel and Travel Literature in Japan” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1975), 201.
- ¹⁵ Linda Hutcheon well summarizes the biased attitude vis-à-vis adaptations: “The manifest ubiquity of narrative adaptations in contemporary culture notwithstanding, the critical tendency has been to denigrate them as secondary and derivative in relation to what is usually (and tellingly) referred to as the ‘original.’ Adaptation theory has rarely challenged this dismissive evaluation.” See Gary R. Borlotti and Linda Hutcheon, “On the Origin of Adaptations: Rethinking Fidelity Discourse and ‘Success’—Biologically,” *New Literary History* 38.3 (2007): 443. Work has been done in the last twenty years to redress this bias. See Thomas Leitch, “Adaptation Studies at a Crossroads,” *Adaptations* 1.1 (2008): 63–77; Linda Hutcheon with Siobhan O’Flynn, *A Theory of Adaptation*, Second Edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2013).
- ¹⁶ Henry Jenkins, “Transmedia Storytelling 101,” web log post, March 21, 2007, retrieved July 20, 2019, http://henryjenkins.org/blog/2007/03/transmedia_storytelling_101.html. See also Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture. Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2006), 97–98.
- ¹⁷ Jenkins, *Convergence Culture*, 121–22.
- ¹⁸ Henry Jenkins, “The Revenge of the Origami Unicorn: Seven Principles of Transmedia Storytelling,” web log post, December 12, 2009, retrieved July 20, 2019, http://henryjenkins.org/blog/2009/12/the_revenge_of_the_origami_uni.html.
- ¹⁹ Hutcheon with O’Flynn, *A Theory of Adaptation*, xxvi.
- ²⁰ Hutcheon with O’Flynn, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 181.
- ²¹ Hutcheon with O’Flynn, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 176.

- ²² Marie-Laure Ryan, “Transmedial Storytelling and Transfictionality,” *Poetics Today* 34.3 (2013): 366. The same concept is explored in Marie-Laure Ryan, “Transmedia Storytelling. Industry Buzzword or New Narrative Experience?” *Storyworlds: A Journal of Narrative Studies* 7.2 (2015): 3. The concept of transfictionality (as *transfictionnalité*) was first formulated by Richard Saint-Gelais, *Fictions transfuges: La transfictionnalité et ses enjeux* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2011).
- ²³ Ryan, “Transmedial Storytelling,” 366–67. These techniques are based on Lubomír Doležal, *Heterocosmica: Fiction and Possible Worlds* (Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 1998). Adaptation studies have identified a wider number of techniques. See for example Hutcheon with O’Flynn, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 181; Julie Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 3, 17–25.
- ²⁴ Ryan, “Transmedial Storytelling,” 363; Ryan, “Transmedia Storytelling,” 2.
- ²⁵ Ryan, “Transmedia Storytelling,” 2. See also Ryan, “Transmedial Storytelling,” 363.
- ²⁶ Marie-Laure Ryan, “The Aesthetics of Proliferation,” in *World Building*, ed. by Marta Boni (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 43.
- ²⁷ Barbara Wall, “Dynamic Texts as Hotbed for Transmedia Storytelling: A Case Study on the Story Universe of *The Journey to the West*,” *International Journal of Communication* 13 (2019): 2116–2142.
- ²⁸ Wall, “Dynamic Texts,” 2118.
- ²⁹ Joshua S. Mostow, *Courtly Visions. The Ise Stories and the Politics of Cultural Appropriation* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014); Gergana Ivanova, *Unbinding the Pillow Book. The Many Lives of a Japanese Classic* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018).
- ³⁰ Michael Emmerich, *The Tale of Genji: Translation, Canonization, and World Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013). Emmerich writes that canonization is “the continual replacement of canonical texts by new, different versions of themselves” (11).
- ³¹ Emmerich, *The Tale of Genji*, respectively 112, 172, 383.
- ³² For information on Dōya’s life in English, see Bresler, “The Origins of Popular Travel,” 199.
- ³³ On the intertextual use of *Ise monogatari* see for example: Tanaka Hiroshi 田中宏, “Chikusai to Ise monogatari,” *Bungaku kenkyū* 29 (1969), 37–51; Laura Moretti, “Kinsei shoki, zenki no sanbun bungaku ni okeru *Ise monogatari* no

kakinaoshi, parodi oyobi shin tenkai,” in *Ise monogatari: sōzō to hen'yō*, ed. by Yamamoto Tokurō 山本登朗 and Joshua Mostow (Osaka: Izumi shoin, 2010), 269–301. On the use of the motif of the quack doctor from medieval *kyōgen* texts see: Maeshiba Ken'ichi 前芝憲一, “Chikusai to kyōgen”, in *Nihon bungaku dentō to kindai. Wada Shigejirō hakushi koki kinen*, ed. by Wada Shigejirō hakushi koki kinen ronshū kankōkai 和田繁二郎博士古稀記念論集刊行会 (Osaka: Izumi shoin, 1983), 335–351. On the use of the motif of the *azuma kudari* see Hanada Fujio 花田富二夫, “Chikusai azuma kudari kō,” *Ōtsuma joshi daigaku kiyō* 23 (1991): 43–55.

- ³⁴ I would like to thank one of the anonymous readers for highlighting the need to clarify whether *Chikusai* and its storyworld were something new.
- ³⁵ On Urokogataya see Laura Moretti, *Recasting the Past: An Early Modern Tales of Ise for Children* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016).
- ³⁶ The printed title slip *Kudari Chikusai banashi* 下り竹齋はなし appears on the copy held in the Richard Lane Collection (Honolulu Museum of Art); that of *Chikusai kyōka banashi* 竹齋狂歌はなし is in the copy housed by the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo; and that of *Chikusai shokoku monogatari* 竹齋諸国物語 on the cover of the copy in the Akagi Bunko.
- ³⁷ Photographic reproductions of different editions can be found in Maeda Kingorō 前田金五郎, ed., *Chikusai monogatari shū*, vol. 11 of *Kinsei bungei shiryō* (Tokyo: Koten bunko, 1970), and *Kinsei bungaku shoshi kenkyūkai* 近世文学書誌研究会, ed. *Chikusai monogatari-shū*, in vols. 30 and 31 of *Kinsei bungaku shiryō ruijū Kanazōshi-hen* (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1978). A partial translation of the Kan'ei era edition can be found in Putzar, “*Chikusai Monogatari*.” A complete translation of the movable type edition can be found in Bresler, “The Origins of Popular Travel.” I used the Kan'ei-era woodblock edition housed at the Waseda University Library, Tokyo (shelf-mark: ~13-4187) and the critical edition in *Kanazōshi shū*, ed. by Maeda Kingorō 前田金五郎 and Morita Takeshi 森田武, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 90 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965), 89–159. Hereafter cited as *Chikusai*.
- ³⁸ On book-trade catalogues see Laura Moretti, “The Japanese Early-Modern Publishing Market Unveiled: A Survey of Edo-Period Booksellers’ Catalogues,” *East Asian Publishing and Society* 2 (2012): 199–308.
- ³⁹ *Chikusai*, 159.
- ⁴⁰ Laura Moretti, *Pleasure in Profit: Popular Prose in Seventeenth-Century Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, forthcoming).

- ⁴¹ I borrow the definition of *purposive curiosity* and of *digressive curiosity* from Eve Tavor Bannet, *Eighteenth-Century Manners of Reading* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 210–11.
- ⁴² Umberto Eco, “‘Casablanca’: Cult Movies and Intertextual Collage,” *SubStance* 14.2.47 (1985): 4.
- ⁴³ Ryan, “Transmedial Storytelling,” 382.
- ⁴⁴ Ryan, “Transmedial Storytelling,” 383.
- ⁴⁵ This analysis is inspired by the core features of a storyworld theorized by Marie-Laure Ryan. See Ryan, “Transmedia Storytelling,” 364; Marie-Laure Ryan, “Story/Worlds/Media: Tuning the Instruments of a Media-Conscious Narratology,” in *Storyworlds across Media*, 34–37.
- ⁴⁶ *Michiyukibun* refers to a frequently encountered form of journey narration in 5-7-5-7 syllables that predates early modern literature. On the *michiyukibun* see for example Jacqueline Pigeot, *Michiyuki-bun: poétique de l’itinéraire dans la littérature du Japon ancien* (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1982). Static and dynamic components are suggested by Ryan, but the addition of stylistic components is mine.
- ⁴⁷ Ryan, “Transmedia Storytelling,” 7.
- ⁴⁸ For example, the eighteenth-century Kyoto writer Miyako no Nishiki reminds us that “to create the new out of the old is what all brilliant writers do.” Miyako no Nishiki 都の錦, *Genroku taiheiki* (Kyoto: Aoyama Ihei, 1702), critical edition in *Miyako no Nishiki-shū*, ed. by Nakajima Takashi 中嶋隆, *Sōsho Edo bunko* 6 (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1989), 100. As discussed by Nakamura Yukihiko with regards to early-modern Japanese *gesaku* literature (playful literature), an author was expected to take a well-trodden *sekai* (world, or storyworld) and turn it into something fresh, unexpected, and exciting by putting in place a series of twists (*shukō*). Nakamura Yukihiko 中村幸彦, *Gesakuron* (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1981), 170–230. For a study of these concepts in the world of *kabuki* see Katherine Saltzman-Li, *Creating Kabuki Plays: Context for Kezairoku*, “Valuable Notes on Playwriting.” (Leiden: Brill, 2010). See also Satoko Shimazaki, *Edo Kabuki in Transition: From the World of the Samurai to the Vengeful Female Ghost* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 66–72.
- ⁴⁹ For the purpose of this article I have include only texts that contain a direct reference to the protagonist Chikusai.
- ⁵⁰ For an introduction on *kusazōshi* see Michael Emmerich, “Illustrated Fiction: From Akahon to Kibyōshi and Gōkan,” in *Cambridge History of Japanese*

Literature, ed. by Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki, with David Lurie (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 734–50.

- ⁵¹ Mizuno Minoru talks about the technique of *muda* as nonsensical jests or idle talk. Mizuno Minoru 水野稔, *Kibyōshi, sharebon no sekai* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1976), 75. On *kibyōshi* see also Adam L. Kern. *Manga from the Floating World: Comicbook Culture and the Kibyōshi of Edo Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006).
- ⁵² Author unknown, *Chikusai banashi* ([Kyoto or Edo]: Tsuruya Kiemon, 1672), photo-graphic reproduction in Maeda, *Chikusai monogatari shū*, 103–209; diplomatic transcription in *Hanashibon taikai*, vol. 3, ed. by Mutō Sadao 武藤禎夫 and Oka Masahiko 岡雅彦 (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō shuppan, 1976), 203–246. Hereafter cited as *Chikusai banashi*. I give first the position in the original printed book and then the page number in the diplomatic transcription.
- ⁵³ *Chikusai banashi*, vol. 1, 10r–10v; 211.
- ⁵⁴ *Chikusai banashi*, vol. 1, 10r–10v; 211.
- ⁵⁵ 1.18, 2.1, 2.4, 2.22, 2.30, 2.31, 2.32, 2.34, 2.37, 2.38, 3.1, 3.2, and 3.7 (volume number followed by section number).
- ⁵⁶ *Chikusai banashi*, respectively vol. 2, 14r; 228–29 and vol. 2, 15v; 230–31.
- ⁵⁷ *Chikusai banashi*, vol. 1, 1r; 203.
- ⁵⁸ *Chikusai banashi*, vol. 1, 8r; 208.
- ⁵⁹ *Chikusai banashi*, vol. 3, 5v–9v; 236–42.
- ⁶⁰ *Chikusai banashi*, vol. 3, 9v–13v; 242–46.
- ⁶¹ *Chikusai banashi*, vol. 1, 15r; 215.
- ⁶² *Chikusai banashi*, vol. 1, 16v; 216.
- ⁶³ “In a certain year Chikusai’s treatments were not popular and in particular his medicines to cure worms did not sell.” *Chikusai banashi*, vol.1, 8v; 209.
- ⁶⁴ A similar treatment of Chikusai and his storyworld can be found in the 1680 *Sugiyōji* 杉楊枝 (The cedar toothpick). See Nomoto Dōgen 野本道玄, *Sugiyōji* (Edo: Hayashi Bunzō, 1680), diplomatic transcription in *Hanashibon taikai*, vol. 4, ed. by Mutō Sadao 武藤禎夫 and Oka Masahiko 岡雅彦 (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō shuppan, 1976): 91–173. In there, Chikusai features together with the monk Ikkyū, an early modern figure that embodies the quintessence of sagacity. On Ikkyū in the Edo period see Oka Masahiko, *Ikkyū banashi. Tonchi kozō no raireki* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1995) and exhibition catalogue Gotō bijutsukan 五

島美術館, ed., *Ikkyū tonchi kozō no shōtai* (Tokyo: Gotō bijustukan, 2015), 70–100, 131–41. The introduction to *Sugiyōji* describes both *Ikkyū banashi* 一休噺 (1668) and *Chikusai monogatari* 竹齋物語 as works that “have circulated widely” (*yo ni hiromeshi*) and praises their “skillfully crafted language” (*bunzai no takumi naru tokoro*), promising readers so much laughter that they will end up showing their teeth (as when using a toothpick). *Sugiyōji*, vol.1, 1v; 91. The text is constructed in twenty-four short stories arranged in six volumes, featuring Chikusai and Ikkyū in a number of adventures together and apart. Chikusai is introduced at the outset not as a quack but as someone clever and sharp, just like Ikkyū: “Chikusai, whose name has become widely known in recent times, has gained fame as an eccentric (*soge mono*) in both capital and countryside. He is clever and quick-witted (*rikon hatsumeï*), with a learned disposition.” *Sugiyōji*, vol.1, 4r; 93. This recalls *Ikkyū banashi*, where we find a similar wording: “It is said that the Abbot Ikkyū, since he was a kid, was no ordinary person (*tsune no hito ni wa kawaritamaiete*) and that he was clever and quick-witted (*rikon hatsumeï*).” See *Ikkyū banashi*, critical edition in *Kanazōshi-shū*, ed. by Taniwaki Masachika 谷脇理史 et al., Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku taikai 74 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1991), 227.

⁶⁵ Author unknown, *Shin Chikusai* (Kyoto: Nishimura Ichirōemon and Sakanoue Shōhei, 1687), housed in the private collection Suzuran Bunko (Cambridge, U.K.). Hereafter cited as *Shin Chikusai*. Author unknown, *Bokusai banashi* (n.p.: publisher unknown, 1695), diplomatic transcription in Laura Moretti, “Kyōto daigaku fuzoku toshokan shozō *Bokusai banashi isha hyōban*: honkoku to kaidai,” *Bungaku kenkyū* 90 (2002): 101–136. Hereafter cited as *Bokusai*.

⁶⁶ *Shin Chikusai*, vol. 1, 1r.

⁶⁷ *Bokusai*, vol. 1, 13r.

⁶⁸ *Bokusai*, vol. 2, 7r–7v.

⁶⁹ *Bokusai*, vol. 2, 8r–8v.

⁷⁰ The motif of getting the pulse wrong was in itself widely exploited in jestbooks. For example, in the 1681 *Tōsei kuchi mane warai* 当世口まね笑 (Laughing at present days’ mimicry), we find a story similar to the former (vol. 3, 7v). Diplomatic transcription in CD-ROM of Mutō Sadao 武藤禎夫 and Oka Masahiko 岡雅彦, eds., *Hanashibon taikai*, 20 vols. (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō shuppan, 1975–1979).

⁷¹ *Bokusai*, vol. 5, 22r. *Bokusai* closes with an auspicious ending: “Bokusai retired from the medical profession and took the name of Tokuzaeemon as part of a wealthy town residence. He was blessed with many children, both males and

females. Tokuzā[emon] lived until 100 and his wife Oteru until 99. Long life and endless comfort: this is a truly propitious story.” (vol. 5, 22r).

⁷² *Shin Chikusai*, vol. 1, 14r–16r.

⁷³ *Shin Chikusai*, vol. 1, 17v–9r.

⁷⁴ The origins of medicine (vol. 2, 4v–5v), why doctors appear like monks (vol. 2, 6r–7r), how alcohol can be both a medicine and a poison (vol. 2, 12v–13r), how doctors can be skillful or unskillful (vol. 2, 13v–15v), the five types of doctors (vol. 3, 3v–5v), the qualities of a good doctor (vol. 4, 1v–3v), the forms of bad doctors (vol. 4, 3v–4v), what happens when a patient changes doctors (vol. 4, 5r–12r), why medicines have effect (vol. 5, 5v–6v), whether one should stick to one doctor / one medicine (vol. 5, 7r–7v), what happens to doctors after they die (vol. 5, 7v–8r), advice on the preservation of health (vol. 5, 8r–10r), how good doctors are a rarity (vol. 5, 11v–13r), how to become a good doctor (vol. 5, 13r–13v), and how in medicine there is a bad and a good way (vol. 5, 13v–15r).

⁷⁵ Laura Moretti, “*Bokusai banashi isha hyōban*-ron (jō). Chikusaimono no hitotsu to shite,” *Bungaku kenkyū* 91 (2003): 59–78 and “*Bokusai banashi isha hyōban*-ron (ge). Chikusaimono no hitotsu to shite,” *Bungaku kenkyū* 92 (2004): 29–38; Laura Moretti, “*Chikusai ryōji no hyōban*-ron. Hyōban no keitai to sono imi,” *Kinsei shoki bungei* 18 (2001): 47–68.

⁷⁶ This treatise was written around 1644 by Xiao Jing 蕭京. A copy of the original edition is available at Naikaku Bunko (Tokyo).

⁷⁷ In its combination of humorous narrative prose and didactic sermons on medicine, *Bokusai banashi* paves the way to texts that will fully develop only almost one century later, starting with *Isha dangi* 医者談義 (A doctor’s sermons, 1758). On *Isha dangi* see Alessandro Bianchi, “Introduction to Medicine or Satire on Doctors. Approaching the Protean Nature of *Isha dangi*,” *East Asian Publishing and Society* 4.1 (2014): 65–114. On the inside of the cover of the only surviving copy of *Bokusai banashi*, an anonymous reader jotted down a few titles that they saw connected to *Bokusai banashi*: *Isha dangi* 医者談義 (1758), *Shōdan isha katagi* 笑談医者氣質 (1774), and *Isha furige* 医者風流解 (1821). For a study of the relation between early modern literature and medicine see Fukuda Yasunori 福田安典, *Igakusho no naka no ‘bungaku.’ Edo no igaku to bungaku ga tsukuriageta sekai* (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2016).

⁷⁸ *Shin Chikusai*, vol. 1, 19v.

⁷⁹ There are also specific passages in *Shin Chikusai* that bear great resemblance with portions of *Chikusai banashi*: Junsai is abducted by two men who turn out to be thieves (vol. 2, section 1) in an episode that recalls *Chikusai banashi* (vol.

1, section 25); Junsai offers riddles (vol. 5, section 1) as Chikusai did in *Chikusai banashi* (vol. 3, section 13); Junsai recounts the battle between illnesses and medication (vol. 2, section 2) in an abridged version of the tongue twister recited by Chikusai in *Chikusai banashi* (vol. 3, section 14).

⁸⁰ “If a narrative is adapted into many different media, we might use this proliferation of forms as a measure of success. These new versions would in turn allow other opportunities for future adaptations and thus insure longevity...,” Borlotti and Hutcheon, “On the Origin of Adaptations,” 450–51. Ivanova notes: “[I]t was not the work that Sei composed in the eleventh century but later versions of it that were deemed the most authoritative, accessible, or convenient for specific purposes. These later versions served as source texts for consequent rewritings.” Ivanova, *Unbinding the Pillow Book*, 150.

⁸¹ *Shin Chikusai*, vol. 4, 11r–14r.

⁸² Translation of the poem by Robert Borgen in Haruo Shirane, ed., *Traditional Japanese Literature: An Anthology, Beginnings to 1600* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 88.

⁸³ *Shin Chikusai*, vol. 5, 1r.

⁸⁴ *Shin Chikusai*, respectively vol. 5, 2r–3v; vol. 5, 9v–10v; vol. 5, 5r–7r; vol. 5, 4r–5r.

⁸⁵ *Shin Chikusai*, vol. 5, 10r.

⁸⁶ *Shin Chikusai*, vol. 3, 10v.

⁸⁷ In the Japanese the answer is “A mighty cold [*ōkaze*] is a nasty thing [*monoushi*].” *Shin Chikusai*, vol. 5, 10v. The word *kaze* can mean “cold” (風邪) or “wind” (風). The word *ushi* can mean “ox” (牛) or “heavy of spirit” (in the compound *monoushi* 物憂).

⁸⁸ *Shin Chikusai*, vol. 1, 13v.

⁸⁹ *Shin Chikusai*, vol. 5, 5r. It is no surprise that when Junsai is evoked in the 1698 *Hatsunegusa hanashi ōkagami* 初音草咄大鑑 (The great mirror of new grass stories), he is introduced as a skilled performer, an *otogi* who entertains with his sagacity. I used the 1698 edition kept at the National Diet Library (shelf-mark: 京乙-5). The section in question is entitled: ‘Kuchi no hiroki shūkuzume’ 口の広き秀句詰 (vol. 2, 12v): “In the area of Shitaya in Edo there was a doctor called Junsai. No one used his pills but he composed *haikai* and entertained people [*togi ni nari*] by telling comic and amusing stories. For that he was hired by many daimyo.”

- ⁹⁰ The title is recorded in the 1756 book catalogue (*zōhan mokuroku*) of Urokogataya appended at the end of his *Banshū sone no matsu* 播州曾根松 (The Sone pine tree in Harima Province; British Museum, shelf-mark: 1979,0305,0.85). The illustrated title slip (*e-daisen*) of the last volume survives in the collection of picturebooks entitled *Haishisō* 稗史叢 assembled by the essayist Hachiya Mokitsu 蜂屋茂橘 (1795–1873), kept at the Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library (shelf-mark: 蜂-特 616).
- ⁹¹ Torii Kiyotsune 鳥居清経 (illustrator), *Chikusai* (Edo: Urokogataya, n.d.), photographic reproduction and semi-diplomatic transcription in vol. 4 of *Edo no ehon*, ed. by Koike Masatane 小池正胤 and Sō no kai 叢の会 (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1989), 245–59; Torii Kiyotsune 鳥居清経 (illustrator), *Chikusai Junsai / Nidai no homare isha* (Edo: Urokogataya, 1772), photographic reproduction and semi-diplomatic transcription in vol. 1 of *Edo no ehon*, ed. by Koike Masatane and Sō no kai (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1987), 157–71.
- ⁹² The picturebook *Chikusai* uses the following sections from *Nippon eitaigura*: vol. 4 section 1; vol. 3 section 1. From *Bokusai banashi* I have identified the use of vol. 1 section 2 and vol. 2 section 6.
- ⁹³ The following sections from *Shin Chikusai* are used: vol. 1 section 1; vol. 1 section 4; vol. 1 section 4. From *Saikaku oritome* only section 3 from volume 4 is used. On the use of *Saikaku oritome* in picturebooks illustrated by Torii Kiyotsune see Udō Yutaka 有働裕, “Torii Kiyotsune ga kusazōshi to *Saikaku oritome*: kusazōshi ni okeru Saikaku juyō,” *Kinsei bungei* 42 (1985): 1–10.
- ⁹⁴ The picturebook *Chikusai*, respectively 1v–2r and 2r–3v.
- ⁹⁵ The picturebook *Chikusai*, respectively 4v–5r and 6r–7v. These sections adapt *Saikaku oritome* (see note 93).
- ⁹⁶ The picturebook *Chikusai*, 9v–10r.
- ⁹⁷ *Nidai*, 7v–10v.
- ⁹⁸ The picturebook *Chikusai*, 6v–7r. The picture recalls a similar image in *Bokusai*, vol. 4, 2v–3r.
- ⁹⁹ Tsukiji Zenkō 築地善交 (author), Kitao Shigemasa 北尾重政 (illustrator), *Chikusai-rō takara no yamabuki iro* (Edo: Tsuruya Kiemon, 1794), original housed at the National Diet Library (shelf-number: 207-333); annotated diplomatic transcription in Laura Moretti, “*Chikusai-rō takara no yamabuki iro*. Honkoku, chūshaku, itariagoyaku,” *Kokusai koraborēshon ni yoru Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō jōhō no soshikika to hasshin* (Tokyo: Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan, 2003), 1–52. Hereafter cited as *Chikusai-rō*.

- ¹⁰⁰ *Chikusai-rō*, respectively 3v–4r, 11v–12r, and 7v–8r.
- ¹⁰¹ On Morishima see William Fleming, “The World Beyond the Walls: Morishima Chūryō (1756–1810) and the Development of Late Edo Fiction” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2011).
- ¹⁰² *Chikusai-rō*, 6r.
- ¹⁰³ On how Edo-period *kabuki* actors enjoyed popularity as celebrities, see Taguchi Akiko 田口章子, *Edojin to kabuki. Naze hitobito wa muchū ni natta no ka* (Tokyo: Seishun shuppansha, 2002).
- ¹⁰⁴ On *suta-suta bōzu* see for example the description in vol. 7 of *Morisada mankō* 守貞謄稿 (1837), critical edition in *Kinsei fūzoku shi (Morisada mankō)*, ed. by Usami Hideki 宇佐美英機 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1996), 1: 349.
- ¹⁰⁵ On *mitate* see Nakamura, *Gesakuron*, 214–19.
- ¹⁰⁶ Uda Toshihiko 宇田敏彦, “Kaisetsu,” in *Kusazōshi-shū*, ed. by Kimura Yaeko 木村八重子 et al., vol. 83 of *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1997), 613.
- ¹⁰⁷ For example the cure for a face pockmarked from smallpox acne and that for a protuberant bottom are inspired by *Chikusai-rō*, that for a long-neck woman (*rokurokubi*) by *Naburu mo yomi to uta jizukushi*, that for a skin diseases that causes faces to appear on a knee by *Ichikawa Sanshōen*. On the political satire at play in this print see Iwashita Tetsunori 岩下哲典, “Bakumatsu fūshiga ni okeru seiji jōhō to minshū: Utagawa Kuniyoshi *Kitaina meii / Nanbyō ryōji no iseisha zō*,” in *Kinsei Nihon no bunka to shakai*, ed. by Ōishi Shinzaburō 大石慎三郎 (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1995).
- ¹⁰⁸ Photographs of this series can be found on the website of the “Kuniyoshi Project,” accessed 13 February 2020, [http://www.kuniyoshiproject.com/Nan-nyo%20no%20ryoji%20\(shunga\).htm](http://www.kuniyoshiproject.com/Nan-nyo%20no%20ryoji%20(shunga).htm).
- ¹⁰⁹ Hutcheon mentions a “financial appeal” in film adaptations of bestselling books but does not develop her analysis further. Hutcheon with O’Flynn, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 5.
- ¹¹⁰ Nakano Mitsutoshi, “Saikaku gesakusha setsu saikō. Edo no manako to gendai no manako o motsu imi,” *Bungaku* 1–2 (2014): 148.

APPENDIX

	Title	Publication history	Medium	Genre
1	<i>Chikusai kyōka monogatari</i> 竹齋狂歌物語 (The humorous verses and the tales of Chikusai)	[Manji era, 1658–61, Kyoto?] 1713, Osaka, Yasui Yahei 安井弥兵衛	Verbal narrative, woodblock-printed book, with illustrations	
2	<i>Chikusai banashi</i> 竹齋はなし (Chikusai's stories)	1672, Kyoto or Edo, [Tsuru]ya Kiemon [鶴]屋喜右衛門	Verbal narrative, woodblock-printed book, with illustrations	<i>Hanashibon</i>
3	<i>Sugiyōji</i> 杉楊枝 (The cedar toothpick)	1680, Edo, Hayashi Bunzō 林文蔵 1720, Osaka, Kichimonjiya Ichibei 吉文字屋市兵衛 (reprint of 1680 edition)	Verbal narrative, woodblock-printed book, with illustrations	<i>Hanashibon</i>
4	<i>Chikusai ryōji no hyōban</i> 竹齋療治之評判 (A critique of Chikusai's treatments)	1685, Kyoto, Hon'ya shorin Shōtarō 本屋書林庄太郎	Verbal narrative, woodblock-printed book, with illustrations	
5	<i>Shin Chikusai</i> 新竹齋 (The new Chikusai)	1687, Kyoto, Nishimura Ichirōemon 西村市郎右衛門 and Sakanoue Shōhei 坂上勝兵衛 1727, reissued with the new title of <i>Chikusai angya bukuro</i> 竹齋行脚袋	Verbal narrative, woodblock-printed book, with illustrations	

6	<i>Bokusai banashi isha hyōban</i> 木齋咄医者評判 (Bokusai's stories and physicians' critiques)	1695, pub. unknown (probably Kyoto)	Verbal narrative, woodblock-printed book, with illustrations	
7	<i>Tōsei isha / Chikusai-rō saji kagen</i> 当世医者/竹齋老匙加減 (Doctors of today: Old Chikusai and his potions)	1756, Edo, Urokogataya 鱗形屋	Verbal narrative, woodblock-printed book, with illustrations	Early <i>kusazōshi</i> (picturebook)
8	<i>Chikusai Junsai / Nidai no homare isha</i> 竹齋箭齋/俸褒医 (Chikusai Junsai: The glory of a second-generation doctor)	1772, Edo, Urokogataya 鱗形屋, illustrated by Torii Kiyotsune 鳥居清経 (?-?)	Verbal narrative, woodblock-printed book, with illustrations	Early <i>kusazōshi</i> (picturebook)
9	<i>Chikusai</i> ちくさい (Chikusai)	ca. 1770s, Edo, Urokogataya 鱗形屋, illustrated by Torii Kiyotsune 鳥居清経 (?-?)	Verbal narrative, woodblock-printed book, with illustrations	Early <i>kusazōshi</i> (picturebook)
10	<i>Ichikawa sanshōen</i> 市川三升丸 (The Ichikawa Sanshō pill)	1782, Edo, Iseya Jisuke 伊勢屋治助, written by Sakuragawa Tohō 桜川杜芳 (?-1788) and illustrated by Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761-1816)	Verbal narrative, woodblock-printed book, with illustrations	<i>Kibyōshi</i> (picturebook)
11	<i>Sanshōen kōnō kōhen / Yoku kakimasu</i> 三升丸功能後編/能時花升 (The Beneficial Effects of the Sanshōen pill part two: It works well)	1783, Edo, Iseya Jisuke 伊勢屋治助, written and illustrated by Sakuragawa Tohō 桜川杜芳 (?-1788)	Verbal narrative, woodblock-printed book, with illustrations	<i>Kibyōshi</i> (picturebook)

12	<i>Chikusai-rō takara no yamabuki iro</i> 竹齋老宝山吹色 (The old Chikusai and his yellow treasures)	1794, Edo, Tsuruya Kiemon 鶴屋喜右衛門, written by Tsukiji Zenkō 築地善交 (1754–1810), illustrated by Kitao Shigemasa 北尾重政 (1739–1820)	Verbal narrative, woodblock-printed book, with illustrations	<i>Kibyōshi</i> (picturebook)
13	<i>Hitori musume futari muko / Naburu mo yomi to uta jizukushi</i> 一人娘二人婿 / 鬪訓歌字尽 (One girl two grooms / Mocking readings and poems with list of characters)	1805, Edo, Izumiya Ichibei 和泉屋市兵衛, written by Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬 (1776–1822), illustrated by Utagawa Toyohiro 歌川豊広 (1773–1828)	Verbal narrative, woodblock-printed book, with illustrations	<i>Kibyōshi</i> (picturebook)
14	<i>Kitaina meii / Nanbyō ryōji</i> きたいなめい医 / 難病療治 (Extraordinary famous doctors / Curing intractable diseases)	ca. 1849, Edo, Enshūya Hikobei 遠州屋彦兵衛 illustrated by Utagawa Kuniyoshi 歌川国芳 (1797–1861)	Fully-colored woodblock print	<i>Nishiki-e</i>
15	<i>Kōgō no meii / Nanmyō no ryōji</i> 交合の名医 / 男女の療治 (The famous doctor of intercourse / The cure for men and women)	Attributed to Utagawa Kuniyoshi 歌川国芳 (1797–1861)		
16	<i>Kogarashi Chikusai / Nanbyō ryōji</i> こがらし竹齋 / 難病療治 “Withering gusts Chikusai / Curing Intractable Diseases”	[Date unknown, end of the Edo period]	Fully-colored woodblock print	<i>Nishiki-e</i>

Table 1. The snowball effect of *Chikusai*.

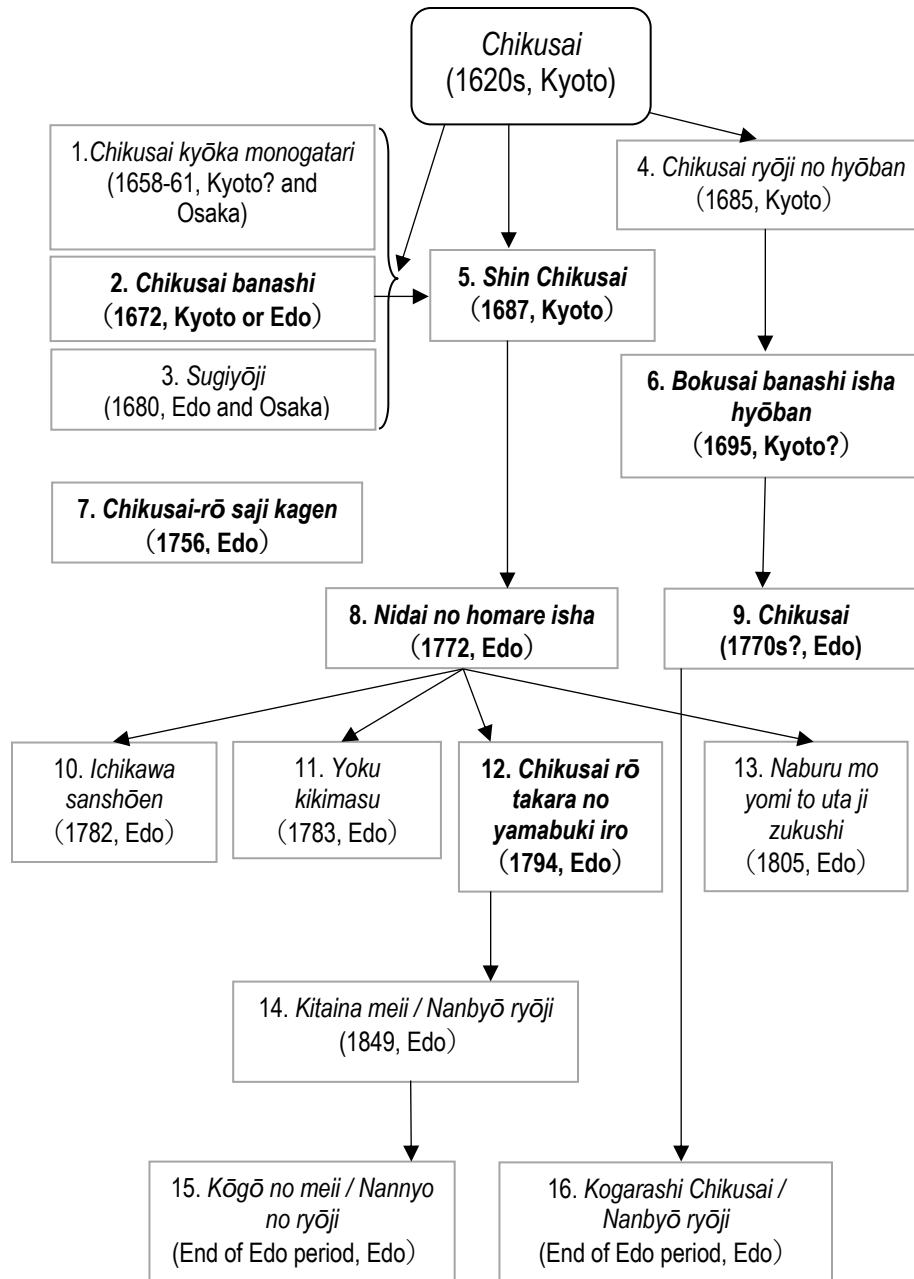


Chart 1. The *Chikusai* storyworld

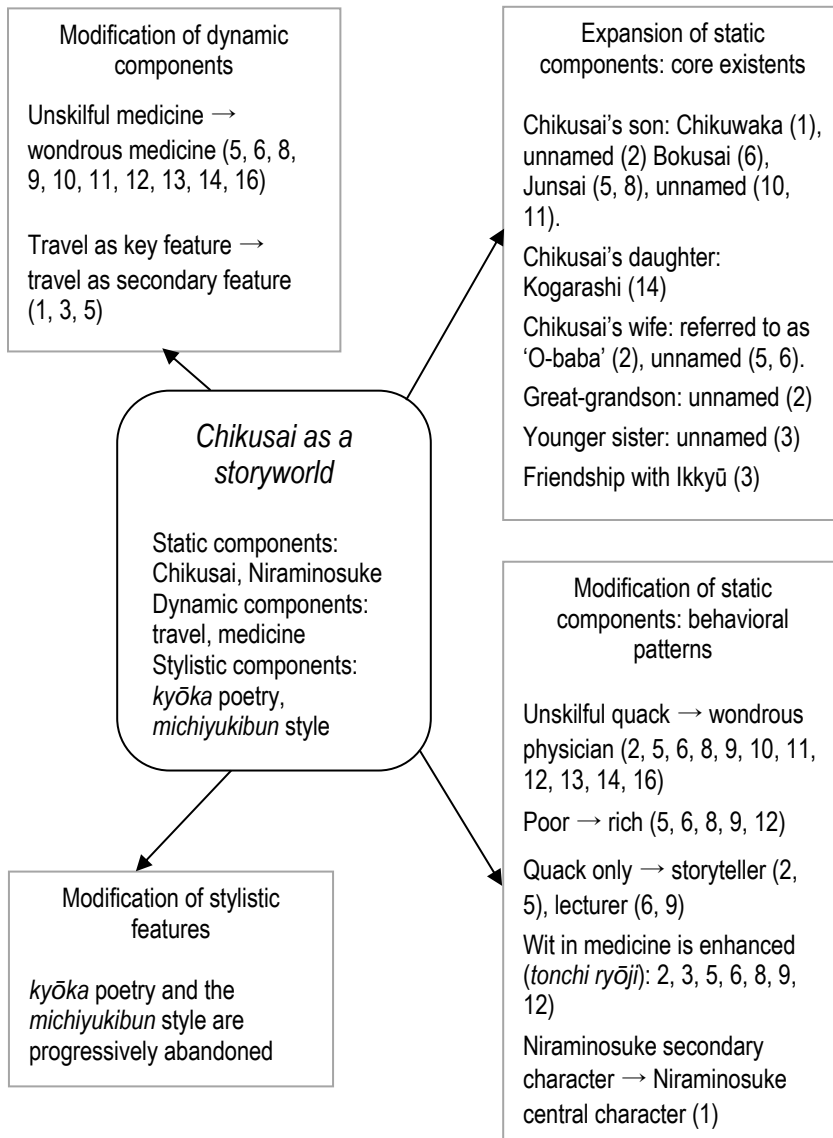


Chart 2. Multiplicity in the *Chikusai* storyworld.

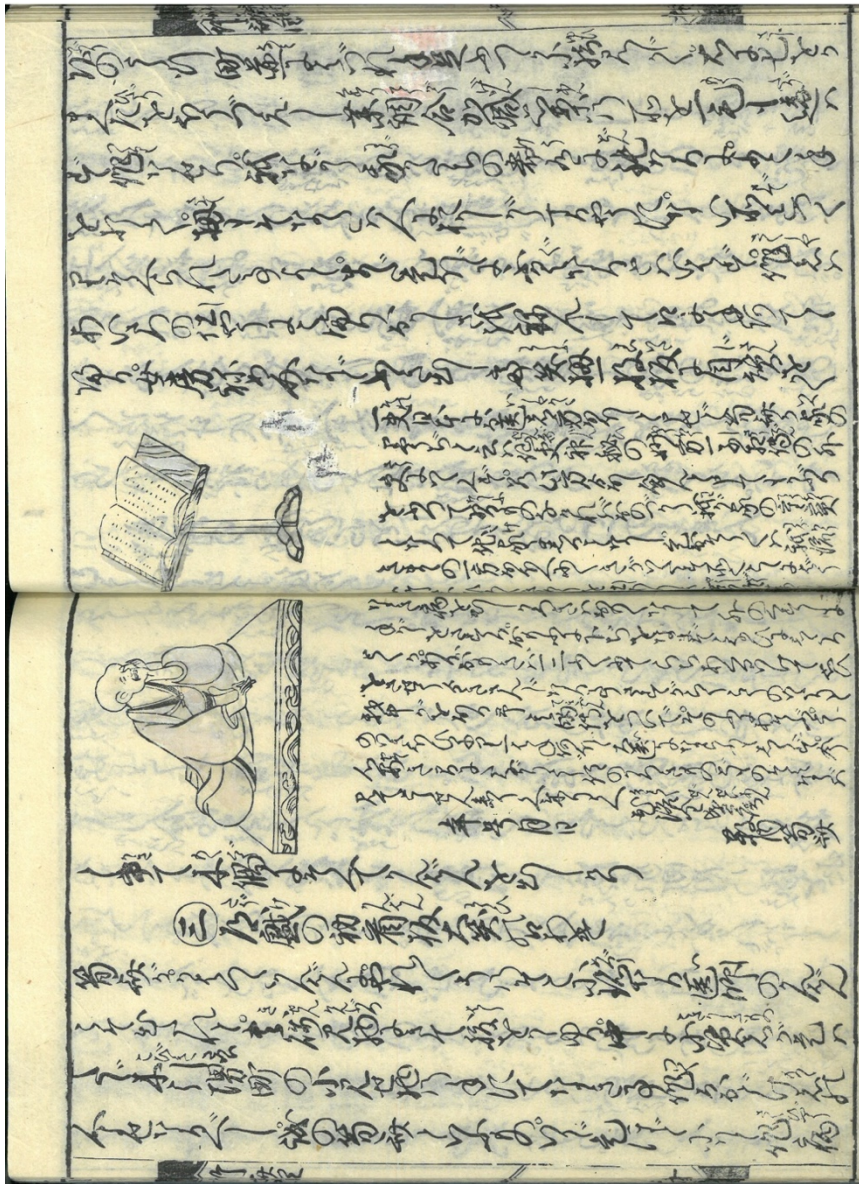


Fig. 1. *Shin Chikusai*, author's private collection. *Suzuran bunko*, vol. 4, 9v–10r.



Fig. 2. *Shin Chikusai*, author's private collection. Suzuran bunko, vol. 5, 9v–10r.



Fig. 3. *Chikusai-rō takara no yamabuki iro*, courtesy of the National Diet Library (shelf-mark: 207-333), 5v-6r.



Fig. 4. *Chikusai-rō takara no yamabuki iro*, courtesy of the National Diet Library (shelf-mark: 207-333), 6v-7r.



Fig. 5. *Kogarashi Chikusai / Nanbyō ryōji*, courtesy of the National Diet Library (shelf-mark: 寄別 8-4-2-3).



Fig. 6. *Kitaina meii / Nanbyō ryōji*, courtesy of the National Diet Library (shelf-mark: 寄別 2-8-2-6).