GOOD BAD GIRLS: MALE WRITERS' ROMANTICIZATION OF PROSTITUTES IN THE POST WAR ERA

by

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B.A., Hiroshima Women's University, 1996

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

(Department of Asian Studies)

We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

December 2002

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Abstract

This thesis explores four Japanese male writers' romantic representations of prostitutes during the post-war period, specifically the period of the U.S. occupation of Japan (1945-1952). Literary works examined here exemplify the writers' adherence to idealized versions of femininity in the form of female prostitutes. The works were selected both for their notoriety as popular literature in the post-war period, and for their focus on female Japanese prostitutes and comfort women.

The main body of this work consists of six chapters. The discussion begins with an overview of how prostitutes are seen as 'akujo' or 'bad girls' in post-war Japanese society. This section includes an overview of the 'tradition' of Japanese prostitution and of the systematic public stigmatization of prostitutes, including the perception of pan-pan prostitutes as akuyo. Citing the scholarly works of Saeki Junko and Liza Dalby, the second chapter discusses male writers' interest in these prostitutes (as akuyo), and the tradition of romanticizing these women in their novels in the modern era (1868 and onward).

The bulk of analysis in this work draws from individual writers' portrayals of prostitutes. In particular, the analysis argues that post-war male writings share a similar theme: that of recovering one's humanity from Japan's wartime mentality. The writers emphasize physical and sexual desires as key aspects in their notion of humanism. For example, in Chapter Three, Sakaguchi Anjo's works "Sensô to hitori no onna" (The War and a Woman, 1946) and "Zoku, sensô to hitori no onna" (The War and a Woman, the Sequel, 1946) are shown to share a similar plot that includes portrayals of ex-prostitutes as akuyo. These portrayals are grounded in what Sakaguchi refers to as 'degradation theory' in his essay "Darakuron" (On Decadence,
1946), which argues that regaining one's post-war humanity requires sexually
liberating acts— including creating connections to prostitutes.

In Chapter Four, Tamura Taijirō's "Nikutai no mon" (Gate of the Flesh, 1947)
and "Shunpu-den" (The Story of a Prostitute, 1947) provide further examples of the
tendency to equate sex with humanism in their depictions of both pan-pan prostitutes
and comfort women. These portrayals of women support Tamura's theory of 'flesh.'
Tamura suggests that sexual and physical awakening will revive Japan's post-war
society by portraying pan-pans' and comfort women as saviours of regular Japanese
soldiers. Both Sakaguchi and Tamura's theories are linked to the post-war ethos.

In Chapter Five, I explore Ishikawa Jun's portrayals of prostitutes using the
literary techniques yatsushi and mitate, both of which imagine transformation through
masquerade, in "Ôgon densetsu" (The Legend of Gold, 1946) and Kayoi Komachi
(1947). Through their transformations, Ishikawa's female characters transcend both
time and stereotypical female imagery.

In Chapter Six, Yoshiyuki Junnosuke's Genshoku no machi (The Town of
Primary Colours, 1951) and "Shôfu no heya" (The Prostitute's Room, 1958; trans. as
In Akiko's Room, 1977), contain portrayals of prostitutes' lives in the red-light
districts, and explicitly depict female characters' sexual behaviour. Yoshiyuki
characterizes prostitutes as outcasts from society and romanticizes the bonds between
these women and male characters.

To conclude, this paper suggests that the post-war male writers discussed
romanticize prostitutes in their texts as part of a desire for social change and concern
for humanity.
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Acknowledgements

I would like to express thanks to those to whom I owe in completing the M. A. programme. My primary thanks goes to Dr. Sharalyn Orbaugh, my supervisor, for her inspirations, for her suggestions, and for encouragement. I would also like to thank my committee members, Dr. Tineke Hellwig and Dr. Joshua Mostow, as well as Chair, Dr. Catherine Swatek, for their interest, feedback, and encouragement.

I would like to express special thanks to Hanako Masutani and David Sadoway, who have proofread all the chapters, showing interest and giving me reliable advise and suggestions. Also, I appreciate the help of Angie Gerst who has proofread the earlier version of Chapter 1 and 2. I have been emotionally supported by many friends, but I would especially like to thank a group of friends in Kokubunka, Jason Burns, Beverly Lee, Eun-Kyong Lee, Kazumi Nagaike, William Stone, Shiho Sugahara, Tomoko Ueyama and Kaori Yoshida.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents who allowed me to pursue my studies in Canada and who have supported me the entire way. I dedicate this thesis to my parents.
Introduction

Prostitution exists worldwide. How and why prostitution emerged is a question that has been researched and analyzed across different eras, cultures, and societies as well as between different genders; however, discussions of prostitution as something more complex than the exchange of sex for money are few and far between. Prostitution is an intricate system that involves numerous elements such as capital, politics, power, sex, gender, class, culture, race, and ethnicity. In most cases, women sell sex and men buy sex. Does this illustrate sex and gender imbalances? It is clear that sex and gender imbalances exist within the system; yet, female prostitution is more complex than even this consideration allows for. The societal rules that govern a particular type of prostitution vary according to the context in which the sex trade takes place. Here I will primarily discuss Japanese prostitution in terms of its romanticized depiction in modern times, specifically by Japanese male writers during the post World War II period of U.S. occupation (1945-52).

Prostitutes are stigmatized in many cultures. For instance, in Western English-speaking societies, the words used to describe prostitutes and sexually active women retain negative connotations: whore, hooker, slut, harlot, loose women, fallen women, pig, tramp, bitch, ho, nympho, hussy, bimbo, hoochie mama, tart, floozy, vixen, minx, vamp, wench, slattern, Jezebel, strumpet, skank, sleaze, slag, and sexpot (Tanenbaum 7). In Japan prostitutes do have negative reputations as 'akujo.' The Japanese word, akujo, literally means 'a bad girl' or 'an evil woman.' The akujo is often portrayed as an attractive woman who seduces men and harms or destroys their lives. Tanaka Takako, a Japanese scholar who specializes in classical Japanese literature, states that the Japanese meaning of
akujo has gradually changed from the medieval period to the modern, from 'an ugly woman' to 'an attractive woman who seduces men' (5-11). The concept of 'a bad girl' is derived from the ideology of patriarchy. In other words, the 'bad girl' is a construct derived from a male worldview. For example, a socially independent woman is often considered 'a bad girl,' since she challenges Japan's conventional gender ideology, the gender ideology of Confucianism, and the gender ideology of the West imported by modern Japanese society. In particular, female sexual autonomy and economic independence are unwelcome in a male-centered society, as both privileges are considered part of the male domain. A sexually autonomous and economically independent woman is considered 'a bad girl' and 'an evil woman' since she rejects or challenges institutions traditionally associated with women's roles and ideals of femininity such as marriage and motherhood. The image of a 'bad' girl is often in stark contrast with that of a 'good' girl and an 'ordinary' woman. For instance, sex trade-workers such as prostitutes, call girls, strippers, and go-go dancers have negative images, while housewives, virgins, and schoolgirls are considered virtuous. Nonetheless, the sex-trade, prostitution, and comfort women have long been prevalent in societies, albeit publicly stigmatized and often interpreted through the idea of the akujo.

Many male Japanese intellectuals and writers publicly adopted negative images of female prostitutes such as that of the akujo in the modern era. While some male writers depicted prostitutes as 'bad girls' in fictional novels, as I show in this paper, a group of male writers created positive images of or held sympathetic views toward prostitutes. I illustrate how these sympathetic images of prostitutes are also often romanticized. When I briefly compare the representations of
prostitutes by male writers with those images provided by female writers, I find that the portrayals differ significantly.

In the first chapter I would like to discuss how female prostitutes were viewed as 'bad girls' in mainstream culture during the post-war era, particularly in the occupation period from 1945 to 1952. I briefly discuss the historical background of prostitution in Japan, and analyze how and why negative images of prostitutes have prevailed in Japanese society. I go on to analyze how, in contrast with their negative image in the mainstream, female prostitutes are romanticized in fictional works by male writers. Later, in chapters three to six, I will analyze the romantic image of prostitutes depicted in the works of male writers Sakaguchi Ango (1906-55), Tamura Taijirō (1911-83), Ishikawa Jun (1899-1987), and Yoshiyuki Junnosuke (1924-94). Their writings thematize similar notions of retrieving one's humanity — including its physical and sexual desires — from Japan's wartime mentality. Sakaguchi's notorious theory of 'decadence,' "Darakuron" (On Decadence, 1946), suggests that one's degradation, including "liberating" sexual acts, is fundamental to regaining Japan's lost humanity. In Chapter Three I will argue how Sakaguchi employs his theory to romanticize prostitutes as *akujo* in his works "Sensô to hitori no onna" (The War and a Woman, 1946) and "Zoku, sensô to hitori no onna" (The War and a Woman, the Sequel, 1946). In Chapter Four I will discuss how Tamura applies his 'flesh' theory to portray prostitutes' physical and sexual desires in his works "Nikutai no Mon" (Gate of the Flesh, 1947) and "Shunpu-den" (The Story of a Prostitute, 1947). In Chapter Five I will discuss the ways in which Ishikawa uses the writing techniques of transformation — *mitate* and *yatsushi* — to romanticize images of prostitutes and *geisha* in "Ôgon densetsu" (The Legend of Gold, 1946) and *Kayoi Komachi*
(1947). In Chapter Six, I will discuss Yoshiyuki's romantic portrayals of prostitutes in red-light districts in Genshoku no machi (The Town of Primary Colours, 1951) and "Shôfu no heya" (The Prostitute's Room, 1958; trans. as In Akiko's Room, 1977).
Officially, Japan was occupied by the Allied Forces. However, in fact, the occupation of Japan was run entirely by the U.S.

Leora Tanenbaum lists words of "positive or negative expression for sexually active women and men."

Prostitutes in Japan, however, are perceived differently from prostitutes in Western societies. Although prostitution is viewed negatively in both societies, sex and the role of sex does not carry the same 'sinful' connotation in Japan as it does in the West. This itself provides interesting questions of difference in cultural, political, gender, and historical spheres.

In 'Akujo'-ron [The Theory of 'Akujo'] Tanaka Takako defines the word akujo and explains the changes in its definition from the medieval to the modern period.
Chapter One: Prostitution in Japan (Pan-pan Prostitutes as Akujo)

The U.S. Occupation Period (1945-52)

The war ended for Japan after the Showa emperor Hirohito's (r. 1925-89) announcement of surrender was broadcast by radio on 15 August 1945. The occupation of Japan by the Allied forces (predominantly those of the United States) officially began on 1 September 1945 and remained in force until 1952 (Bailey 20-4). U.S. General Douglas MacArthur and an American-staffed military bureaucracy (referred to as the Supreme Command for the Allied Powers, SCAP) ran the occupation. SCAP initiated various political reforms, including the promulgation of a new constitution that promoted equal rights for women. The new constitution enfranchised women as full legal citizens for the first time. Meanwhile, the Japanese government immediately established 'comfort stations' and attracted Japanese women to serve as prostitutes for American soldiers.

Before and during the U.S. occupation period, voluntary street prostitutes were officially illegal. However, a system of women sex-trade workers was institutionalized by the Japanese government with the U.S. government's tacit acceptance during the occupation period. Now ironically colonized itself, Japan previously had colonized other Asian countries and established forms of military-oriented prostitution in the pre-war period. Thus, the Japanese government was prepared to support the U.S. military's tacit need for prostitution during the occupation period.

In the section that follows I describe first the system of licensed prostitution in pre-war Japan; second, the U.S. military-oriented prostitution during the occupation period, how the systems worked, and why prostitution was 'needed'; and third, how the negative image of prostitutes reflected in the attitudes of the
Japanese public developed in part as a result of the Japanese government's ambiguous stance toward institutionalized prostitution. Finally, I examine why prostitutes during the occupation period were considered *akujo*.

**The History of Prostitution and the Emergence of 'Pan-pan' Prostitution**

Prostitutes probably existed in ancient Japan. The existence of prostitutes is suggested in literature. For instance, the first prostitutes, called *yūkō jōfu* (literally, vagabond or playful women), *shirabyōshi* (cross-dressing female dancers and singers) and *kugutsu* (puppeteers) appear in the collection of poems *Manyōshū* (presumed to have been edited by Ōie Yakamochi) in the Nara period (C.E.710-894; Kim 7). These women performed dances at parties and likely practiced prostitution. In the middle of the Heian period (894-1192), some madams (referred to as *chōja*) owned lodging houses where courtesans or 'high-class' prostitutes operated. Eventually, at the end of the Heian period, different categories of courtesans, called 'daki onna' (embracing women), including *miko* (shaman women) and *uneme-kuzure* (meal-servers) appeared (Kim 7).¹ Most of these women had other occupations and practiced prostitution on the side. The establishment of comfort institutions began to emerge during the long feud between two warrior families, the Genji and the Heike, that took place from 1051 to 1199 (Kim 8).

The first form of licensed prostitution occurred in the old capital, Kyoto, in 1589 (National 1). Later, a rigid system of licensed prostitution was established in Yoshiwara, Edo, in 1617 under the Edo feudal system (1603-1868; Kim 12). The idea behind the system was to relieve the sexual desires and frustrations of the rural samurai and their entourage during their annual visit to Edo (Kim 17-9)² in order to maintain the security of cities, and to encourage economic development (Kim 18;
Sone Hiromi 387-413). Inevitably, licensed prostitution arose in other districts in Japan during the Edo period. While initially licensed prostitution was instituted for the samurai class, it eventually opened to the merchant classes around the end of the seventeenth century (Kim 34-5). In 1678 the Edo feudal government allowed teahouses the opportunity to hire two chatate-me (tea servers), as a front for illegal prostitution. Similarly, two iimori-me (female meal-servers) were allowed to stay in each inn in 1718. Both chatate-me and iimori-me provided sex to male customers and were semi-official, licensed prostitutes (Kim 34-5).

Private prostitutes referred to as inbai-me remained outside official licensed prostitution in the Edo era. Most inbai-me were controlled by owners or pimps such as gangs or street people. These prostitutes regularly used rented rooms to service customers from the street or a small boat to pick up customers from pleasure houseboats (Sone Hiromi 392). These inbai-me were strictly forbidden once licensed prostitution was established. If they were discovered, their pimps received the death penalty in public executions (gokumon; Sone Hiromi 392).

After the early eighteenth century, however, restrictions on private prostitution loosened enough for extremely poor women to practise as inbai-me (Sone 392). Other types of private prostitutes also emerged such as wata-tsumi (cotton pickers), hasuha-me or -onna (receptionists in wholesale stores), sagejū (lunchbox sales women), suai (clothing sales women), and kumano-bikuni (nuns; Sone Hiromi 392-4). Cotton pickers, for example, would set up a front for illegal prostitution (Sone Hiromi 392-3). All retained their main occupations while practicing prostitution on the side to obtain luxuries or pocket money from their customers. The characteristic which distinguished these private prostitutes from
licensed prostitutes and even from *inbai-me* is that they had no contract or pimps, and were not forced into prostitution (Sone Hiromi 392).

The system of licensed (public) prostitution continued after the Meiji restoration of 1868. The Meiji government officially liberated licensed prostitutes when an 1872 order promised "the abolition of traffic in humans." The government believed that 'civilized' countries did not condone licensed prostitution and that "the existence of a modern Japanese licensed prostitution system demonstrated Japan's backwardness and pre-modernity" (Fujime 136). However, the system was abolished in name only, and was in fact reorganized under the new guise of business. The 'modern' system of prostitution in Japan restricted unlicensed prostitutes during the Meiji period; yet the government tacitly permitted private prostitutes to continue their business with the justification that women earned extra income and were engaged in prostitution of their own free will. Many licensed prostitutes also became private prostitutes because they owed heavy debts and had no other way to survive.

During the Meiji restoration (post-1868), the Japanese government adopted elements of Western-style licensed prostitution to 'modernize' the sex-trade industry. Finally, after the Sino-Japanese (1894-5) and Russo-Japanese (1904-5) wars, the Japanese imperial government expanded licensed prostitution domestically and internationally. Japan established military-orientated prostitution in colonized areas such as Korea, China, and Southeast Asian countries (Kim 6-7). The sex slaves forced to work for the Japanese military were called 'ianfu' or 'comfort women' in order to hide the existence of institutionalized prostitution.

The idea of establishing licensed prostitution that 'serviced' military troops in colonized countries was developed by Western nations such as Britain.
Although domestic licensed prostitution was abolished in the West, prostitution remained in its colonies; thus, Japanese modern licensed prostitution was a by-product of imperialism. The Japanese government apparently followed the Western model in order to catch up with the "civilized countries of the West" (Fujime 136). Scholar Fujime Yuki explains that the licensed prostitution system was both an outgrowth of colonial modernity, the world capitalist system, and Meiji political and economic class formations, and a vehicle for the extension of these systems through state regulation of national and class boundaries.

After World War II, however, instead of being the colonizer, Japan became the colonized. The Japanese government assumed that the sex crimes Japanese soldiers had perpetrated in their colonized countries might also occur in Japan; as a result, it supported a prostitution system to serve the occupying U.S. military forces.

**U.S. Military-Prostitution in Occupied Japan**

The Japanese government institutionalized a system of prostitution from 1945-52. First, according to law scholar Wakao Noriko, immediately after Japan lost the war, on August 18, 1945 the Japanese government voluntarily discussed the establishment of 'comfort institutions,' a form of systematized brothels for the U.S. military (Wakao 72). These institutions were eventually called 'organized houses' and were venues in which private prostitutes gathered in licensed areas (National 1). The Japanese government also established the Recreational Amusement Association (R.A.A.) to recruit prostitutes to serve U.S. military personnel. The R.A.A. placed advertisements in newspapers with texts such as, "Need NEW Japanese Women! Work for post-war transactions in urgent national institutions" (Nishi 35). All the
above was put into place with the sanction of the Allied Forces, who acknowledged the need to have prostitution for soldiers.

Meanwhile, the U.S. General Headquarters (GHQ) ordered the abolition of licensed prostitution on January 21, 1946, as it was seen to violate human rights and to contradict U.S. policies concerning democracy and 'civilization' (Wakao 79). A. Oppler, an official who held a position within the legal section of SCAP wrote *The Legal Reform In Occupied Japan*. In this work he displays SCAP's ambivalent attitude by suggesting that considering prostitution a crime was not acceptable (Katsuo 112-3; Wakao 122). For one, despite its emphasis on human rights, the GHQ's abolition of licensed (public) prostitution did nothing to relieve prostitutes of their heavy debts, thereby increasing their hardship. The Japanese government seemed to take Oppler's side, accepting the U.S. abolition, but leaving it to individual brothel owners to enforce the law (Wakao 81-2). As a result, brothel owners retained prostitutes in licensed areas under the Japanese government's jurisdiction.

On the other hand, private prostitutes, who illegally practised prostitution under the Japanese law, were not prohibited by the GHQ. Paradoxically, SCAP required the abolition of the system of pre-war licensed prostitution, yet willingly accepted Japanese government offers of prostitutes and 'organized houses' which flourished in red-light districts. The geography of private prostitution was called *akasen chitai* (red-light districts), since the police drew red lines on the map around these areas in Tokyo, such as Shin-Yoshiwara, Sumida, Mukōjima, Kamedo, Susuki, Shinjuku, and Shin-koiwa (Isomura 68-9).

In May 1948, however, GHQ needed to replace the Minor Offence(s) Law in order to regulate private and street prostitution, as the spread of venereal diseases became a serious problem (Katsuo 112). In fact, an 'off limits' edict was issued
prohibiting American soldiers from frequenting 'organized houses' at the U.S. military base camp in Okinawa in 1953. The main reason for the law was to protect soldiers from venereal diseases (Wakao 76). Thereafter, a system of signs using the letter A promoted not only 'organized houses' but also grocery shops (black A), restaurants (red A), and bars and cabarets (blue A). An A indicated that institutions were free of venereal diseases as approved by the U.S. military (Wakao 76). Not only were prostitutes viewed as sexual commodities, but they were further stigmatized under the law, which associated them with spreading venereal diseases.

While institutionalized prostitution did not exist within the U.S., it was nevertheless sanctioned overseas by the U.S. military. Referring to situations in the 1960s-1990s, Katherine Moon comments, "the U.S. military's chain of overseas camptowns... thrived on prostitution in Asia (Vietnam, Thailand, Okinawa, and the Philippines, in addition to South Korea)" (15). Moon's point is relevant even today. One of the colonizing policies for the U.S. military was to establish prostitution for its soldiers. Thus, the Japanese prostitution system during the occupation period, while illegal (dejure), was accepted (defacto) by GHQ, and the Japanese government of the day was viewed as supplying a 'need' to the U.S. military.

Although the U.S. military–oriented prostitution in Japan was 'needed' to satisfy American soldiers, it appears that prostitution was necessary for other reasons as well. The idea that male sexual desire and aggression are part of human nature seems to be taken for granted in military-related prostitution. The military is often male-centric and heterosexuality typically assumed. Moon states, The very maintenance of the military establishment depends on promoting gendered notions of femininity and masculinity, weakness
and strength, conquered and conqueror. Such feminists critiques [as that of Cynthia Enloe] point to the linkage between military prowess and male (hetero)sexual prowess as the basis of discrimination against, subordination of, and violence toward women. (10-1)

In addition, the belief that 'men need women' has rarely been questioned. Victory in war extended to sexual domination of conquered women, and women's bodies were regarded as "spoils of war" (Yuki Tanaka 118). Tired male soldiers are seen as consoled by sex with women, and isolated husbands away from their wives as fulfilled by sex with surrogate wives. The belief in 'male lust as human nature' is socially accepted and often undisputed (Hesselink 208-9). Fundamentally, the Japanese government assumed that the U.S. soldiers 'needed' to exploit local women. Thus, the compliance of the Japanese government in this matter demonstrated the imbalance in power relations between the U.S. and Japan during the occupation period. Also, within occupied Japan, the power relations between Japanese men and women were already asymmetrical, and pan-pan prostitutes were categorized as the worst and lowest women in the social hierarchy.

The notion that U.S. soldiers needed sex also reinforced the Japanese government's belief that the system of prostitution protected 'ordinary' Japanese women from American soldiers' sexual aggression and rape, while it also—according to the government of the day—served to protect and maintain pure blood Japanese heredity (Wakao 72-4). In 1945-6 the minister of Finance Ikeda Hayato, who eventually became Prime Minister, said, "Even if it would cost ten billion yen for prostitution, it would be still little to pay to protect the chastity of pure yamato-nadeshiko (virtuous Japanese women)" (Wakao 73). Prostitutes were
marginalized and dehumanized, and were apparently considered a sacrifice in the national interest to protect 'chaste' women.

**Types of Pan-pan Prostitutes**

Private street prostitutes, *pan-pan* girls, were even more stigmatized than the private prostitutes in organized houses. *Pan-pan* prostitute is a "post-war term for a street-walking private prostitute, such as 'women of the dark' and 'women of the night' [which] are also used frequently by the Japanese" (National 1). Writer Morosawa Yôko asserts that the original word "*pan-pan*" was adopted from 'perempuan,' meaning 'a woman,' in Indonesian (Morosawa 55). During the occupation period, the social image of private prostitutes was that they were impure or 'bad' in contrast to 'ordinary' women who were seen as 'good.' These images reflected public attitudes of the day.

*Pan-pan* girls were ranked according to the hierarchy of the social status of their clients (Isomura 68, 226-7). Some for example, having a single client, were called *onri,* which means 'only.' This category often included women exclusively bound to an American GI. Others, who had many anonymous clients, were called *batafurai,* meaning 'butterfly.' Another group, whose clients were people displaced by the war and other wanderers, were called *jiki-pan* (Morosawa 53). According to feminist historian Takamure Itsue, another term for *pan-pan* prostitutes was 'ao-kan' (*ao-tenjô kankan*) which meant 'sleeping under the great blue sky' (Takamure 569).

Most *pan-pan* girls were categorized as *batafurai* and were considered 'different' and 'special' women who had been denied a conventional life in Japanese society (Morosawa 53). Despite negative images, *pan-pan* prostitutes were to some extent free from conventional gender ideology and morality and, from a
feminist perspective, they were seen as active, strong, and independent women (Morosawa 53-4).

**Public Opinion about Pan-pan Prostitutes**

Next, I would like to discuss how pan-pan prostitutes and private prostitutes in organized houses (red-light districts) were viewed by the public during the occupation period. The National Public Opinion Research Institute (NPORI) conducted a survey in January 1948, interviewing 1,372 adults over the age of twenty regarding their opinion on prostitution in the Kantō areas (regions around Tokyo). According to the survey, Japanese people made a clear distinction between prostitutes in 'organized houses' and pan-pan prostitutes. For instance, 58 percent of the people polled considered pan-pan prostitutes morally evil, whereas only 35 percent felt the same about prostitutes working in organized houses (National 4, 18). The majority of the Japanese public tended to think that prostitutes in organized houses were a 'necessary evil' that could be tolerated; however, pan-pan prostitutes were viewed as a definite social evil that should not be condoned. I speculate that one of the ways people justified their support of prostitutes in organized houses was due to the Japanese government's policy of sanctioning prostitution in organized houses in red light districts. The government likely encouraged the public to support its policy regarding the preservation of 'respectable women,' and the prevention of sex crimes and illegitimate prostitution (National 7). Pan-pan prostitutes, however, were working outside the sphere of the government-sanctioned prostitution system and the bounds of public morality. They were therefore stigmatized by the public for voluntarily selling their own bodies or willingly initiating sex. In contrast, women in organized houses were seen as performing a necessary service for society as a whole. Furthermore, the
public rejected what they perceived as the *pan-pan* girls' aggressive forms of sexual expression along with their Western appearance and mannerisms.

The *pan-pan* girl, with her brazen painted face and manners, her frizzy hair, her garish Western clothes, is unfamiliar, obtrusive, conspicuous, an eyesore, a disorderly element. Because she is clearly visible, she forces people to be inconspicuous [sic]. (National 4)

Since the *pan-pans* had rejected traditional womanly virtues, they were seen by the public as the most evil type of women in society.

The public stigma against *pan-pan* prostitutes continued to build throughout the post-war period and gradually became a justification for the existence of organized houses or brothels. One rationalization for the existence of prostitutes in the state-approved organized houses in the pre-war system was that the girls came from poor village families and were fulfilling their filial duty by sending money home. In essence, they sacrificed their own bodies for the sake of their families (Morosawa 53). Thus, government-sanctioned prostitutes in the post-war period were similarly viewed as 'good' women who were responsible for filial duties. In contrast, *pan-pan* prostitutes in the urban environment were viewed as choosing prostitution out of curiosity, pleasure, and a desire to make their own living independent of duty (National 11).

Further evidence of *pan-pan* prostitutes' motivation was provided by an investigation conducted in August 1947, in which police in the Tokyo district questioned 839 *pan-pan* prostitutes that they had arrested (Morosawa 54). Interestingly, many *pan-pan* prostitutes were found to be highly educated women: 30 percent had graduated from *jogakkō* (women's colleges; Morosawa 54). As to their motivations for entering prostitution, 43.5 percent said it was for pleasure, 37
percent for financial survival, and 34 percent for curiosity. 17 percent added that they were seduced by American soldiers, while 9 percent explained they were desperate after being raped by American soldiers (Morosawa 54).\(^{20}\) It should be noted that the unmarried victims of rape were considered filthy and shameful by society at large (Wakao 86-7). While this investigation revealed that a large number of women were motivated by pleasure and curiosity, a significant 63 percent entered prostitution for reasons other than pleasure or curiosity.\(^{21}\) Many pan-pan prostitutes saw prostitution as the only way to earn enough money to support their families (Morosawa 53).

Public opinion shown by the NPORI survey was divided on who was to blame for prostitution. According to the survey of public opinion, 56 percent of the Japanese felt that society in general was to blame for the phenomenon of prostitution; 20 percent felt that both society and prostitutes were equally to blame; and 18 percent felt that the prostitutes themselves were solely to blame (National 10). While a majority of people felt that prostitutes were the victims of society (National 10), those who felt that prostitutes were fully or partially to blame still considered pan-pan girls social 'evils,' and emphasized the necessity of legal punishment for these women (National 10-1). This attitude could have much to do with government policy as discussed earlier.

**Studies on Pan-pan Prostitutes**

In this section I will discuss how the institutional studies of pan-pan prostitutes adopted a public bias toward their subjects. Two Japanese sociologists, Takenaka Katsuo and Sumitani Etsuji, researched the state of two-hundred street prostitutes in Kyoto in 1948, producing a study that reinforced the pan-pan's image as obscene and immoral. According to their findings, street prostitutes (pan-pan) are an
anomalous phenomenon in Japanese society. Takenaka concludes that "street prostitution is easier and freer than any other occupation and these women are insensitive to morality" (7). He postulates that "on the whole, street prostitutes hate restraints and yearn for freedom, and they lack the motivation to be hard-working [...] [and] only want to live with ease and pleasure" (Takenaka 8).

In addition, Sumitani categorizes women according to three different types: first, wives (widows), second, professional women, and third, women selling immoral sexual favours. He elaborates on the typologies, saying that "the first and second types are socially acceptable and a phenomenon of human nature. However, the third type is an abnormal phenomenon" (12). Takenaka and Sumitani further summarize seven characteristics of street prostitutes, exposing their inherent bias:

First, they are liars [...] Second, most prostitutes [...] are impatient.

Third, they lack self-control. Fourth, their lives are transitory [...] Fifth, they are pleasure seekers, but they lack productivity and social ability as members of the community [...] Sixth, they [...] have no sense of shame [...] Seventh, they are unaware of their place in society and isolated from the workforce. (Takenaka and Sumitani 18)

As I discussed above, pan-pan prostitutes appeared as deviants (akujo) during the post-war period. Takenaka and Sumitani's analysis reveals their research bias toward pan-pan girls, which sees them as social evils in order to verify the findings of their study and simultaneously to reinforce public stigma attached to pan-pan prostitutes.

Though only a mere 10 percent of prostitutes reported that they entered prostitution due to their love of the profession, Takenaka and Sumitani's analysis puts undue stress on the pan-pan's pleasure-oriented mind and immorality.
Another Japanese sociologist, Enomoto Kishio, analyzed differences between street prostitutes (pan-pan girls) and shakufu (waitress; shakufu were private prostitutes working in organized houses) using an analytical model known as "The Social Health of Prostitutes" (1948-49; Enomoto 45; See Appendix 1). Enomoto's analysis shows some sympathy for shakufu, due to their family situation and also to their losses during the war. In contrast, he suggests that pan-pan street prostitutes lack morality, sex education, and a sense of traditional femininity, and finally, that they are unintelligent. One clearly problematic aspect of Enomoto's study was his generalization about prostitutes' poor education, which contradicts the police survey showing that thirty percent of pan-pan prostitutes were educated in college. Pan-pan prostitutes tended to be labeled mentally ill, as they symbolized the social illness of the post-war period. Since these sociological studies tended to confirm the pre-conceived notions of pan-pan prostitutes' behaviours, I remain skeptical about their reliability in assessing the lives of pan-pan prostitutes. Consequently, I do not know to what degree the national public opinion research, the police investigation, and institutional studies are reliable.  

**Prostitution as a Shameful Occupation**

I would now like to discuss the reasons why pan-pan prostitutes were largely stigmatized as akujo or deviants who existed outside of society and the political system. One of the key reasons for pan-pans' stigmatization was that they willingly commodified their own bodies, whether to earn a living or to pursue sexual pleasure. According to cultural anthropologist Anne Allison, the public took offence at this casual exchange of sex for money, and associated pan-pan prostitutes with dirtiness and impurity (Allison 173).
The idea of the commodification of women's bodies has been considered shameful since pre-modern Japan. In the Edo era, private prostitutes were strictly prohibited by the feudal government; however, *kikatsu no mono* (starving women) were allowed to prostitute themselves. Nonetheless, discrimination against prostitutes was embedded in society and shaped the perception that prostitution was a 'shameful occupation' in both pre-modern and modern Japan (Fujime 153). This belief endured into the U.S. occupation period, when material poverty forced a large number of women to enter prostitution to survive. *Pan-pan* prostitutes were no exception: although many did not originally come from the lower class, many became poor in the immediate post-war period. Fujime states that "the demand that prostitutes and red light district business people be dealt with as *senmin* (base, or low class, or slave) was a repeated expression of [the] discriminatory thinking which amplified public hatred of prostitutes" (155). Thus, both private prostitutes in organized houses and *pan-pan* prostitutes were condemned as 'low class,' akin to *senmin*, by Japanese society.

In addition to being discriminated against because they were considered lower class, *pan-pan* prostitutes were viewed as 'dirty' or 'impure.' The concept of impurity is culturally constructed. In a misogynist view, unmarried, non-virgin women in Japanese society were regarded as impure (Allison 186). Even the victims of rape were condemned as impure, filthy, and shameful by communities; they were often no longer considered innocent, respectable, and chaste women (Allison 169). These victims of rape often faced a dead-end choice about their future lives. Morosawa states that during the U.S. occupation period 17 percent of arrested *pan-pan* prostitutes said that they were tempted by American soldiers, and 9 percent were desperate because they were raped by American soldiers.
Notably, in the modern period, the significance of 'chastity' marginalized rape victims due not only to traditional gender ideology influenced by Confucianism, but also to modern gender ideology influenced by Judeo-Christianity. According to Fujime, "imported Western values... saw sexual relations outside of marriage as a vice and stigmatized women who were not 'pure'" (154). Women who threatened these gender ideologies were considered dirty. This 'dirtiness' was often specifically associated with *akujo* and included all *pan-pan* prostitutes as well as victims of rape.

In addition to *pan-pan* prostitutes, single non-virgin women in general were condemned as impure because they did not conform to the traditional roles of chaste wife and mother. Sex workers were often targeted as dirty or bad women and were considered ineligible for marriage. For example, Allison, in discussing *mizu shōbai* women (*mizu shōbai* refers to female sex-trade workers such as hostesses, dancers, and prostitutes) states, "all of this sexual dirtiness, in turn, makes the woman who works in this world ineligible for respectable marriage, ineligible therefore to become a respectable mother with legitimate children" (Allison 173). The perception of prostitutes and unmarried non-virgins as dirty, impure, and unqualified as potential wives and mothers, is constructed from a male-centric perspective. By targeting these women — to use Allison's words, "women made dirty by the dirtiness of men" (183) — men could justify their use and abuse of them as prostitutes or sex slaves. This view of *pan-pan* girls further isolated them and perpetuated their alienation from mainstream society.

In addition, *pan-pan* prostitutes were considered impure *akujo* not only by the general public but also by some feminists and prostitution abolitionists. During the modern period, Western values about marriage and gender relations were
introduced to Japan. For instance, Japanese intellectuals appropriated the Western concept of monogamous marriage as the ideal of love in order to advocate gender equality for women. Many feminists and married women advocated monogamy since their husbands frequently had mistresses or visited prostitutes. Hence, they condemned adultery and relationships outside traditional marriage. As a result, single women, including prostitutes, who did not conform to this ideal were often marginalized and considered immoral (Hesslink 210).

The 'prostitution abolition' movement began in the Meiji period, partly due to abolitionists' desire to liberate prostitutes from their heavy financial debts. A similar movement appeared during the post-war period. Wakao points out that the post-war prostitution abolitionists, like some feminists, actually regarded pan-pan prostitutes as women who needed to correct their evil ways (85). For example, Nihon Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfū Kai (NKFK), the Japanese Christian Women's Temperance Union (Wakao 85), which energetically advocated prostitution abolition, blamed pan-pan prostitutes for their morals. In Opinions about Measures against Public Morals, the NKFK stated, "in particular, the foul attitudes of street-walking 'women of the dark' toward the U.S. soldiers cause us deep sorrows. It is doubtful whether they are women like us, who have keenly studied women's virtues and chastity for a long time" (Wakao 85). The NKFK had advocated the idea of chastity and monogamous marriage — 'a husband and a wife' — as virtuous since the Meiji period (Wakao 42). I believe that under the influence of Western values the NKFK viewed monogamy as a way in which women could fight against the Japanese patriarchal system, which sanctioned a husband's concubines and mistresses outside of marriage. Nonetheless, NKFK propaganda contributed to the social ostracizing of prostitutes from society, as is
evident from Fujime's belief that, "prostitution abolitionists detached themselves from women's suffering" (163). Although prostitution abolitionists publicly advocated saving government-sanctioned prostitutes from sexual slavery, they viewed pan-pan prostitutes as a different kind of woman. This attitude further separated educated, virtuous women from prostitutes, just as the pan-pan prostitutes' willingness to initiate and sell sex separated them from government-sanctioned prostitutes.

Even though many if not most pan-pan girls actually needed to prostitute themselves in order to survive, many feminists and anti-prostitution activists believed the stereotype that they were 'bad' women. One member of the Japanese Diet, Kamichika Ichiko (the Socialist Party), argued against the idea that prostitutes were a necessary evil used to shelter 'ordinary respectable women' from sex crimes (Wakao 124-6). She pointed out how sex-trade workers were exploited by pimps and brothel owners and promoted an anti-prostitution law that was enacted in 1956 (Wakao 125-6). Like the NKFK, Kamichika believed that women who had fallen into prostitution had to be rehabilitated to a new life as 'proper' women (Wakao 127). Many feminists and anti-prostitution activists sympathized with prostitutes because they saw prostitutes as coming from poor families and having no opportunities. Ironically, this labeling by prostitution abolitionists and some feminists made it even more difficult for pan-pan prostitutes to escape dead-end choices.

Primarily, the stereotypes of pan-pan prostitutes remained and the women were blamed for failing to conform to socially-accepted norms of female sexuality. For instance, according to the previously-mentioned Tokyo police investigation of pan-pan girls, 43.5 percent of pan-pan prostitutes entered for pleasure and 34
percent out of curiosity. Although 37 percent of *pan-pan* girls turned to prostitution for survival, many prostitutes did so because of their interest (Morosawa 54). This stereotype likely served to increase the stigma against them. According to the male perspective on gender ideology, women did not have sexuality; thus, their pursuit of sexual pleasure was seen as wrong (Hesselink 211). The Kantō public opinion survey also reveals that it was considered an evil activity for women to initiate sex with men or to seduce them. One fifty-five-year-old farmer in Chiba Prefecture commented in the survey, "men are seduced by the women, so the women are worse" (National 12).

Indulgence in sexual pleasure and sexual promiscuity, both of which were associated with female evil and *pan-pan* prostitutes, was thought of as social transgression (Allison 181). *Pan-pan* prostitutes' pursuit of sexual pleasure revealed their sexuality as well as economic independence; however, they remained socially isolated from most groups in society, as has been explained above. Why was female sexual autonomy as manifested in the *pan-pan* girl's behaviour considered evil? As Hesselink points out, "implicitly it is assumed that women were indifferent to sex, that they have no sexuality" (211). This image of the 'proper' woman was clearly a social construct. Female sexual autonomy endangers conventional ideas of what is appropriate for women and the idea of what it is to be a woman. Thus, labeling *pan-pan* prostitutes as evil was one way of upholding traditional gender roles. This gender ideology was greatly influenced by Confucianism, which embedded itself in people's minds. For instance, the well-known Confucian slogan: "ryōsai kenbo" (good wife, wise mother) defines what it is to be a proper woman. The emphasis on marriage and motherhood limits female sexuality. Within the ideology, unmarried women were to be chaste virgins during
premarital life. Married women were also to stay faithful to their husbands. *Pan-pan* prostitutes fit into the image of neither unmarried or married women; and since they openly rejected this ideology, they were labeled 'evil' women.

**Summary**

To conclude, the post-war Japanese belief that prostitutes are *akujo* stems from power imbalances, manipulation by the U.S. allied forces and Japanese government, gender differences, and discriminatory stereotypes. *Pan-pan* prostitutes were largely stigmatized as *akujo* in public due to interconnected factors such as their status as single women; a perceived lack of filial duty; flirtatiousness; the perception of rape victims; association with 'American' soldiers; and other factors such as Confucian values that were historically embedded in Japanese society. These last factors include the Japanese government's policy to support prostitution as a 'service' to the U.S. soldiers, the legitimization of the occupation, concern over the commodification of prostitutes' bodies, stigma against the lower class, issues with non-conformity to traditional gender roles and 'traditional' chastity, negative views of female sexual autonomy, and images of impurity and dirtiness.

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1. *Uneme* (*unebe*) (采女) — women selected from the beautiful daughters of vice-ministers — originally served meals to the emperor at court. *Kuzure* (くずれ/くずれ) means literally a crumb, to collapse, or to lose shape. The word, *uneme-kuzure* later referred to prostitutes. (*Shin meikai kogo jiten* 141; 331)

2. According to Kim, samurai (*tozama daimyō*) made an annual visit to Edo called *sankin kōtai*. *Sankin kōtai* was one strategy for controlling *daimyō* by the Edo feudal system. *Daimyō* from rural areas had to spend considerable money for their travel. At the same time, the journey meant prolonged periods away from family for the *daimyō* and his samurai's retainers. In order to prevent backlashes and to console
the retainers, licensed prostitution in Yoshiwara was instituted. The samurai class, too, had to spend a great deal of money to visit prostitutes. As a result, samurai could not save the money necessary to govern powerfully in their home provinces.

3 In the Genroku period (1688-1704) economic conditions for the samurai class degenerated and many private prostitutes entered the Yoshiwara district. Thereafter, licensed prostitution became popular among townspeople such as merchants and craftsmen.

4 Inbai (隠売) literally means hidden selling.

5 These private prostitutes (inbai-me) were commonly referred to as "funa-manjū" (literally, sweet ship buns), "pinsho" (?), "yotaka" (night hawks), and "sōka" (all brides).

6 Sone Hiromi mentions that inbai-me were prohibited in the early Edo period but, though officially punishment was harsh, none received the death penalty after the early eighteenth century.

7 According to Sone, in 1733, the order ruled such that "after a husband and a wife have agreed on the wife's prostitution, these poor are not to be accused of prostitution unless they are also convicted of theft or other crimes" (kikatsu no mono fūju mōshiawase baijo itasase sōrōmadenite, nusumi tō no akuji kore nakisōro wa, kyūmei oyobazarukoto).

8 Watatsumi (綿摘み), hasuha-onna (薬葉女), sagejū (提げ重), suai (すあい), Kumano-bikuni (熊野比丘尼). Kumano-bikuni traveled to sell the charms (papers) of the Kumano go'ō seal and collected donations while teaching the illustrations of hell and heaven belonging to the Kumano shrine. (Shin meikai kogo jiten 2nd ed. 337)

9 According to Fujime Yuki in "The Licensed Prostitution System and the Prostitution Abolition Movement in Modern Japan," "most research on the licensed prostitution system and the Prostitution Abolition Movement in Japan has understood the modern Japanese licensed prostitution system as a continuation of the pre-modern
prostitution system" (136). As she mentions, the system of licensed prostitution after the Meiji period merely reorganized pre-modern licensed prostitution.

During this same period, a movement was made by the Japanese government under a policy known as fukoku-kyōhei (wealthy country, strong troops) to increase the national population. Consequently, women were encouraged to reproduce. More children meant more potential Japanese soldiers. Abortion was legally prohibited in 1880. (According to Fujime, in 1880 population control failed to enter the consciousness of the general public. Abortion was illegal under the penal code, but the enforcement was lax. Abortion was, at first, labelled an issue for poor people who had too many children and could not feed them. The government became aware of population control and enforced the penal code for abortion only after the Sino-Japanese War (in 1894-5).) The fukoku-kyōhei policy disadvantaged poor women and put prostitutes into a difficult situation, causing the death of many who were forced to abort illegally or to deal with undesired pregnancies.

During the occupation period, the U.S. GHQ made great contributions to improve women's rights by promoting human rights, equal education, and equal opportunities for working women.

The Japanese government restated the GHQ's prostitution abolition notes ambiguously. The GHQ originally stated, "The imperial Japanese Government is directed to forthwith abrogate and annul all laws, ordinances, and the other enactments which directly or indirectly authorize or permit the existence of licensed prostitution in Japan, and to nullify all contracts and agreements which have for their object the binding or committing, directly or indirectly, of any woman to the practice of prostitution" (AG 726.7, 21 Jan 46 PH) (Notes 548-9). The Japanese government translated, "Brothel owners must voluntarily waive all contracts including debts and pensions with women in licensed prostitution" (Minister's of Internal Affairs and Security on Notice Licensed Prostitution: Art.3, 2 Feb 46). (Kōshō seido ni kansuru naimushō keihokyokuchō tsuchoō: 3. kōshō seido ni yoru maeshakkin, nenkin tō tokushu keiyaku ni kanshite wa kakaenushi o shite jihatsuteki ni kore o hōki seshimuru...) (550). See Nihon fujin mondai shiryō shūsei: jinken [An Encyclopaedia of Japanese Women's Issues: Human Rights]. Vol. 1.
The RAA was also winding down on 10 March 1946. However, this caused an increase in the number of street-walking prostitutes. Thereafter, the SCAP allowed them to voluntarily conduct prostitution in limited districts (*akasen chitai*: the red-light district). See also *Gendai fūzoku-shi nenpyō: Shōwa 20 nen–Heisei 9 nen* ([Chronology of Modern Manners and Customs: 1945-1997](#)).

Since the post-war era (1945-), 211 sexual assaults by American soldiers were reported in Okinawa, and many other incidents not reported. Many incidents went unresolved, since the Japanese police and the public prosecutor's office have no authority to investigate incidents within the American military camps. In 1949 a nine-month old baby was raped; in 1955 a five-year-old girl was sexually assaulted and murdered. In 1995, three soldiers sexually assaulted a twelve-year-old (elementary school) girl. Okinawan civilians' rage culminated in demands to the U.S. military and the Japanese government to remove the U.S. military base from Okinawa, a movement that failed.

Moon refers to the writings of feminist critic Cynthia Enloe.

Yuki Tanaka's wording. Tanaka says that "it appears that U.S. soldiers began viewing local women as 'the women belonging to the enemy' as soon as the battle against the Japanese forces took place on the soil of Japan's national territory" (110).

According to social psychologist Isomura the districts frequented by illegal private street prostitutes, generally called *aosen chitai* (blue-light districts), included at least six neighbourhoods (Imado, Asakusa, Narihira, Iriya, San'ya, and Ueno) in Tokyo (68). *Hakusen* (white-light districts) were considered potential prostitution districts (including *doya-gai*) by the police (226-7).

According to the NPORI's calculation, although the gap between the expected ratio and the actual ratio of male-female respondents was small, overall women seemed more hesitant to offer their opinion than did men. The NPORI results are seemingly controlled.
The police survey on pan-pan prostitutes could be inaccurate, as the prostitutes were questioned under arrest.

The police survey allowed for multiple responses to the questions.

This result also allowed for multiple responses to the questions.

Hesselink also argues, "Historical source material [printed sources: newspapers, magazines, brochures and books; unprinted sources: private and government correspondence] on prostitution is generally scarce and biased" and contributed to society's view on prostitution" (205).

Yuki Tanaka also states, "One GHQ report on crimes committed by US troops in Tokyo between October 4 and November 17 [in 1945], says that 'of approximately 100 reported cases of rape of Japanese women by US servicemen, only six have been substantiated'" (124). See Tanaka's Table 5.1, pp.125.

Mizu shōbai literally means "water business," and indicates an unstable business relying on popularity with customers, such as service trades like the hotel and restaurant industries. (The definition in Iwanami Japanese Dictionary 1070) However, mizu shōbai also refers to female sex-trade workers such as hostesses, dancers, prostitutes, and so forth.

The Japanese Christian Women's Temperance Union is translated from Nihon Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai (NKFK) in Japanese. The NKFK was likely established in the Meiji period. The NKFK significantly contributed to the Prostitution Abolition Movement. Wakao quotes from Opinions about Measures against Public Morals (Fūki taisaku ni kansuru ikensho) in Nihon fujin mondai shiryō shūsei: jinken Vol.1.: 577-82.

The NKFK began a campaign to collect signatures of those who agreed with the idea of monogamy between "a husband and a wife." The collected signatures were put on record in Jogaku zasshi in 1889. Jogaku zasshi was founded by Iwamoto Zenji and often included feminist theory (1885-1904).
Chapter Two:

The History of The Male Romanticization of Prostitutes in Modern Japan

In Chapter One I discussed how prostitutes (pan-pan) were stigmatized as 'bad girls' in public. Most male intellectuals tacitly accepted this idea during the post-war period. Some intellectuals, however, have taken a deep interest in *akujo* since the modern era, particularly male writers who used 'bad girls' as characters in their works of fiction. These writers believed themselves more capable of understanding the badness of prostitutes than ordinary people, and more cognizant of the social problems of modernization. Male writers tried to observe stigmatized prostitutes differently, in many cases, unfortunately, resorting to an idealized male point of view. In this section, I will provide an overview of how male writers have romanticized prostitutes in their works during the modern period (post 1868).

During the Meiji period (1868-1912), the government supported Western ideals in an effort to herald in 'civilization': it promoted industrialization, with the aim of achieving modernization. Male intellectuals and novelists were also influenced by Western ideologies. For instance, many looked to the Western ideal of romantic 'love,' (*ai, ren-ai* ¹), to idealize equal relations between Japanese men and women. In addition, many feminists promoted the concept of 'love' to acquire equal rights.

The concept of 'love' imported from Judeo-Christian values included various ideas such as *agape* (love of God), *eros* (lust love), *philos* (fraternal love), and *stroge* (family love; Chiyozaki 74).² Scholar Saeki Junko states that the English word 'love' was translated only with difficulty as 'ai' or 'ren-ai' in modern Japan because the Japanese language had different connotations for *ai* (Saeki 1-3). For example, 'ai' (愛) previously signified such terms as 'caress,' 'attachment,' or 'charm.' None of these meanings encompassed the Western meanings of *agape* and *philos*. The character
'koi (恋), on the other hand, meant only longing or affection. Alternatively pronounced 'ren' (恋)³ koi was eventually joined with ai to create the new word, 'ren-ai,' to mean 'love' (Saeki 346-8). The Japanese would come to understand ai and ren-ai as 'love' in the Western sense during the Meiji and Taishō (1912-26) periods.

Before long, the two terms were all the rage.⁴

Naturally, many male authors would use the new terms when referring to love. Saeki suggests,

The adoption of the word 'love' in Japanese culture has a complex cultural background. It came with the worship of the 'West' during the Meiji period. It came with ideas of the self-made man, ideas of 'civilizing' society, and with the popularization of modern humanism that used evolutionary theory to see humans as superior over the earth.

There were changes made to the concepts of sex and the sacred. (349)

Many male intellectuals promoted the Western-influenced notion of 'love' because it was considered one of the means to achieve modernization. In particular, the male intellectual Kitamura Tōkoku⁵ advocated the discourse of ai and ren-ai. The first line of his famous poem on love was written in "Ensei shika to josei" (A Pessimist-Poet and Womanhood, 1892): "Love [ren-ai] is the secret key to life. Only after love came into being did human society exist."⁶ Tōkoku's ideal 'love' was platonic and sacred; he emphasized 'spiritual' love rather than 'lustful' love (Saeki 15-8, 82).

Consequently, Tōkoku's 'love' reinforced the division between the idea of 'spiritual' love and 'lust' in society; it drew a clear line between ai / ren-ai and 'iro' (lust; Saeki 11)⁷ iro is considered dirty in its modern Japanese sense. Therefore, the separation reinforced the negative image of prostitutes who practise iro and commodify their bodies for sex. The binary division between ai and iro also allowed many male
intellectuals to justify making a clear distinction between the 'spiritual' love for their wives and their 'lust' for prostitutes. The male novelist Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859-1935) — the critic and dramatist considered the 'father' of modern Japanese literature — depicted a prostitute in his novel, Tōsei shosei katagi (The Way of Modern Students). He suggested,

Though you are captivated by 'lust,' do not let yourself be captivated into feelings of pity by it. Your total absorption in 'lust' is fascinating, and you shall love the looks and figures of women. But because this pleasure (lust) is fleeting, it is equal to the sexual desires that birds and animals have rather than those that humans do, and you will lose yourself in its superficiality if you are not careful. Doting on women you will drown in passion [love]. You will wander your entire lifetime, unable to escape from this fascination. (qtd. in Saeki 11)

This excerpt describes men seeking 'lust' with prostitutes, yet withholding affection for these women. If any became infatuated with prostitutes, they would have miserable lives, the author ultimately argues. Tsubouchi teaches men to divide the spiritual 'love' toward their wives from their 'lust' for prostitutes. By separating the 'love' for their wives in their real lives from the 'lust' for prostitutes in their 'secret' lives, male intellectuals and writers allowed themselves the freedom to romanticize the image of prostitutes. In addition, some authors were able to visit prostitutes under the guise of research in the erotic.

Kitamura advocated romantic (platonic) love and marriages of 'free-will.' As a result, many intellectuals, Christians, feminists, and upper-middle-class people accepted his ideal of love in order to support gender equality for women (Saeki 37-8, 90, 349; Nakayama 351). However, these Christian values of the modern period
actually served to further stigmatize prostitutes (Saeki 19-20; Fujime 154).

Prostitution, especially licensed prostitution found in districts like Yoshiwara, was accepted in pre-modern Japan. However, prostitution came to be considered morally evil in modern Japan largely because of imported Judeo-Christian values that saw sex as sinful and prostitution, which is not modern, as exploiting women (Fujime 151, 154-5). Consequently, a prostitution abolition movement developed in the Meiji period. However, the movement overlooked the big picture of licensed prostitution and served to further isolate prostitutes from mainstream society, as well as to exclude the prostitutes' own perspectives on prostitution. According to Fujime Yuki, "the Japanese Prostitution Abolition Movement... [was] fettered by class and ethnic limitations as to its social base, ideology, and goals" (Fujime 137). She suggests that this prostitution abolition movement ostracized lower-class women and comfort women as well as prostitutes in the Japanese colonies. Also, despite promotion of the Western ideal of love by the abolition movement, most male intellectuals desired the freedom to visit prostitutes. Consequently, while they promoted the Western ideal of 'love' to the public, they longed for prostitutes in their writings.

Moreover, according to Saeki, some male intellectuals shifted between the ideals of iro and ai. During the modern period, the idea of love was in transition from iro to ai, as reflected in writings of the period. Male intellectuals believed that ai (Western concept of love) was more ideal than iro; yet they felt a conflicting tendency to appreciate iro. For example, the early experimental modern novelists Ozaki Kōyō (1867-1903) and Futabatei Shimei (1864-1909)11 lauded both ai and iro throughout their careers (Saeki 36-8).12 Ozaki's writings display an ambiguous attitude toward iro and ai. Saeki explains that Ozaki emphasized 'love' and men's commitment to one woman in Two Nuns' Confessions of Love. In the story, the male protagonist
Munesada commits suicide for his lover Yoshino after he is forced to marry another woman due to his master's order (Saeki 36-40). Both Ozaki's novels Kvara-makura (literally, Scented Pillow, meaning Extravagant Luxury, 1890) and Sannin-zuma (Three Wives, 1892), however, returned to the world of iro. Later, in Konjiki yasha (The Golden Demon, 1897-1902) Ozaki returned to an idealization of monogamy and 'love' between a husband and a wife. Ozaki tried to adopt the Western concept of 'love' (ai); yet he continued to value iro in his writings on prostitutes and geisha (Saeki 35-64).

In addition to confusing the concepts of ai and iro, male intellectuals often pursued the subject of prostitution in order to separate themselves from the 'real' world of their marriages (Saeki 55-8). Because prostitutes were isolated from the rest of society, male authors considered visiting prostitutes an act which separated them from reality, an exciting, unusual event. Hence, they looked to prostitutes for 'iro-koi' meaning 'lustful love,' or sexual passion between men and women. This experience of unusually intense love led them to romanticize prostitutes in their works.

While some male intellectuals encouraged the idea of ai and ren-ai in the early modern period, others reacted against this discourse and reminisced about iro in pre-modern Japan. These viewed prostitutes as an enticing cultural remnant of pre-modernity. The anthropologist Liza Dalby explains how geisha were romanticized during the Meiji period in terms of iki (chic). Iki is the concept that promotes romantic images of geisha and courtesans.

An important development from out of this urban merchant-artisan mélange was an aesthetic of understatement: a certain type of chic that, of all people, geisha came to exemplify best. In a word, their manner was iki, a bold yet alluring sense of style that implied a whole
philosophy of life. *Iki* fused human emotion with aesthetic ideals, touching all the arts of the period profoundly and indeed, refashioning life itself into an artifact of taste. Geisha were the heroines of this cultural ideal. (271)

Dalby suggests that during the 1890s novelists Ozaki Kôyô and Izumi Kyôka (1873-1939) popularized the image of *geisha* and some prostitutes as 'romantic heroines' and as symbolic of 'the spirit of Japan' (68). Nostalgia for the pre-modern ethos helped make the image of *geisha* appealing to some writers. Dalby locates the source of the geisha's *iki* in a change that occurred in the 1920's.

Geisha vied with one another for novelty and chic display—within the traditional Japanese mode... For a decade or so geisha tried to keep their position as fashion leaders, even as the forms of fashion were changing radically. This era of experimentation, the 1920's and the early 1930's, finally led them to the realization that, in trying to be modern, they were in danger of losing that which made them special as geisha. During this period, then, their profession underwent a crucial change in its nature and social meaning: geisha ceased being fashion innovators and became curators of tradition. This conservative function has been vital to the existence of their profession today. (74)

In addition, because the practice of *iro* was regarded as *iki* (chic) in pre-modern Japan, visiting prostitutes was considered a sophisticated cultural practice and even an enlightened act. For pre-modern Japan, the prostitute was considered a sacred figure. Saeki states that courtesans were often viewed as 'kabu no bosatsu' or *Bodhisattva* in songs and dances (18-9).15 Evidently, courtesans and prostitutes were
considered skilled singers and dancers, and also sacred providers of sex for men in pre-modern Japan. Also, the images of geisha and Bodhisattava are closely linked in terms of the concept of ukiyo ('grievous world' in the medieval era, 'the floating world' after the Edo era). Hence, the return in vogue of the pre-modern, particularly of iro, enabled men (including authors) to yearn for prostitutes and to romanticize prostitutes' images.

I suggest that there are three elements contributing to the idealization of prostitutes in the early modern period: first, male intellectuals' and writers' conflicting desire for ideal love and for prostitutes, which signifies the separation between their minds and bodies; second, the writers' equal appreciation for both love (ren-ai/ai) and lust (iro), which allowed them to experience sexual passion with prostitutes as a separate reality from their marital lives; and third, the writers' nostalgia for iro or pre-modern times.

Nostalgia for Pre-Modern Feminine Qualities in Pre-war Times: Nagai Kafū

The idealization of prostitutes continued throughout the modern period. For example, one of the modern Japanese male writers known for romanticism, Nagai Kafū (1879-1959), wrote several stories about prostitutes and geisha. Of particular interest is his work Bokutō kidan (A Strange Tale from East of the River), written in 1936. In this work, the protagonist, Ōe Tadasu, a fifty-eight-year-old single man and a writer, visits the prostitute O-yuki (Yukiko) after meeting her unexpectedly when she asks him to share his umbrella on a rainy day. Within this story, the protagonist Ōe writes a novel (the inner novel; Snyder 133) called Shissō (Whereabouts Unknown; Seidensticker 284), in which he hopes to use his experience of visiting a prostitute as source material. Ōe anticipates that O-yuki will be his idealized character.
Kafū's *A Strange Tale from East of the River* depicts Ōe's reminiscing about pre-modernity, and his search for both comfort from prostitutes and an escape from his life. Kafū adored old Edo city, *geisha*, and prostitutes and despised modernized Japan and its imitations of the West. A *Strange Tale from East of the River* reflects on this. In the story, Ōe wishes that he could isolate himself from 'modern' Japan during the early Shōwa period (1926-89) by visiting a prostitute. He indicates his disgust with modern Japan in his desire to escape from technological products such as the radio, and his dislike of major metropolitan areas like Marunouchi, in Tokyo (310). In order to shun modernity, he fantasizes that he is returning to pre-modernity through his contact with O-yuki, her old-fashioned hairstyle, clothes, and manners, such as her way of eating *chazuke* (a bowl of boiled rice doused in tea) (303), satisfying his nostalgia. Also, O-yuki lives in Tamanoi Quarter (Tokyo), an old-fashioned *shitamachi* (retail district) area of town. The protagonist deems her a pre-modern woman with an element of 'iro' or erotic love, since she is a prostitute living in a bubble secluded from mainstream modern culture. Ōe obsesses over O-yuki's pre-modern qualities: "Her hair always in one of the old styles, [... ] called up visions of a past now dead some thirty or forty years. I must... state my thanks to her who was the agent for these strange, insubstantial visions" (Seidensticker 303). The protagonist regards O-yuki's looks and mannerisms as 'the art' of pre-modernity and is attracted to her practices of *iro*. As well, when he describes her as a 'silent' artist, he evokes traditional ideals of Japanese femininity. "O-yuki was the skilful yet inarticulate artist with power to summon the past" (Seidensticker 303).

The protagonist Ōe reveals his notions of the ideal prostitute and women. First, the prostitute O-yuki has been isolated from the modern social norm of loving male-female relationships. Ōe is critical of the ideal of 'romantic' love. For instance,
he expresses his annoyance when people refer to their partners as *kareshi–kanojo* (boyfriend–girlfriend) and refer to their co-habitation as *'ai no su'* (literally 'love nest'; 303). In addition to reminiscing about *iro* in pre-modern Japan, the educated middle-class and ex-samurai class reminisced about the 'good old days' when 'love' (*ai*) between men and women conformed to the morals of orthodox Confucianism. Ōe is portrayed as a character who eroticizes and romanticizes prostitutes according to this tendency.

Ōe also reveals his preferences in referring to *ninjō-bon* (in this case, romantic novels of the Edo period) writer Tamenaga Shunsui (1789-1843). Tamenaga wrote romances about prostitutes' lives during the late Edo period. Tamenaga's notion of the ideal prostitute is that she be not only sexually attractive and aggressive, but paradoxically also possess innocence and purity. He writes, "a woman of the licensed quarters encounters a friend from her youth, and Shunshui reminds us that at such times the professional woman can blush and squirm like a maiden" (Seidensticker 292). Tamenaga's ideal prostitute should have two sides: one a sexual beast, the other pure, innocent, and docile. To compare the behaviour of prostitutes and innocent girls, he gives an example of a virgin who became sexually excited after she lost her virginity.

A girl in love for the first time forgets all demureness and thrusts herself upon the man whom her heart demands, and Shunsui warns the reader that her acts and words in such circumstances are not grounds for calling her wanton — the cloistered damsel, when she opens her heart, can be voluptuous as not even geisha can. (Seidensticker 291-2)

In the case of a virgin girl, Tamenaga argues innocence is retained, as the girl is blindly in love with a man.
Kafū adheres to Tamenaga's axiom of "aggressiveness-innocence" in both the characterization of O-yuki and women in general. Ōe explicitly categorizes women as professional (prostitutes) and non-professional (ordinary women). From his perspective, a non-professional woman is unattractive, hypocritical, and conceited, that is, aggressive. By contrast, the desirable O-yuki is innocent. Ōe expresses anger toward the sort of superficially virtuous wife whom he feels hides from her vanity and pretends to do activities to better society (310). In addition, Ōe believes that ordinary women including housewives drastically change their attitudes toward their lovers after reaching a stage of comfort in their relationships. Ōe says,

Under the pressure of circumstances, I had more than once followed the wishes of a woman and brought her into my house and set her at broom and dustpan. Always the experiment had been a failure. When such a woman leaves behind her old surroundings and no longer thinks herself lowly, she soon becomes unmanageable, either the slovenly wife [ranpu] or the fiery wife [kanpu]. (Seidensticker 321)

Ōe's notion of housewives, as seen in the quote above, shows that he believes O-yuki's innocence will give way to latent aggressiveness and will become either an extremely lazy woman (ranpu) or a violent-tempered woman (kanpu; 321). By perpetually portraying O-yuki as a prostitute in his mind, he is able to maintain his idealized stereotypes of her, thereby objectifying her. Once O-yuki shows a desire to be Ōe's wife, he gradually loses interest in her. When O-yuki is a prostitute outside of mainstream culture Ōe is able to enjoy the relationship and allow himself to romanticize her. When this is no longer the case, he reacts to O-yuki's unexpected demands by running away, and making excuses for not becoming her husband.
The inner novel, *Whereabouts Unknown*, illustrates the male protagonist's desire to seek comfort from prostitutes or mistresses in his escape from life. In Ōe's novel the female character Sumiko is a maid as well as somebody else's mistress. This character is characterized in a similar manner as is O-yuki, that is, as a housewife-prostitute. The author Kafū and the fictional author Ōe agree on the character of 'loose' women. The male main character, Taneda, overlaps with Ōe's as well. Taneda escapes from his fiery wife (*kanpu*) to Sumiko's house after they meet by chance. Taneda seeks refuge from the outside world by staying at Sumiko's place, much as Ōe regularly does at O-yuki's brothel. When Taneda sees Sumiko drying her underwear he feels an intimate connection with her and romanticizes Sumiko as if she were his fleeting secret lover. Since there is no ending to this inner novel, readers do not know what will happen to either Taneda or Sumiko. However, if the inner novel were to progress, Taneda would presumably return to his reality like Ōe, when Sumiko expresses her desire to be his wife (akin to O-yuki).

Nagai Kafū describes the prostitutes in *A Strange Tale from East of the River* as both source material for the male character's research as well as a source of excitement outside of his marriage (Saeki 21). Furthermore, Kafū's male characters romanticize prostitutes so that they can return to the 'good old days.' This may reflect Kafū's nostalgia for pre-modern *iro*. Scholar Donald Keene argues that texts such as Kafū's "consider women as the object of men's dalliance and no more" (389). Keene goes on to postulate: "perhaps, that is why the successfully drawn women in Kafū's stories are *geisha*, prostitutes, and kept women, rather than wives and mothers" (389). However, I believe that Kafū did not successfully write realistic portrayals of prostitutes or *geisha*; instead, he 'successfully' conveyed only nostalgic romanticized images of prostitutes in his texts.
'Realist' Portrayals of Prostitutes by Higuchi Ichiyô

In contrast to male writers, most female writers did not romanticize female characters such as prostitutes in modern Japan. For instance, during the Meiji period, Higuchi Ichiyô (1872-96) represented the reality of prostitutes (courtesans) and their struggles for survival. Scholar Yukiko Tanaka argues that Ichiyô's work "concentrates on the lot of women who are filled with pain rather than joy, [and] who are resigned to accepting such a lot as their fate" (32). Such a concentration is exemplified in Ichiyô's short works "Takekurabe" (Child's Play, 1895-96) and "Nigorie" (Troubled Waters, 1896).

Ichiyô had a reputation as "the last woman of the old Meiji" literati (Yukiko Tanaka 63, 80) by (mostly male) literary critics (Yukiko Tanaka 173). Her work also shows a sense of nostalgia. In fact, her writing was accused of being conservative by the first wave of feminists such as Hiratsuka Raichô (1886-1971). Meiji and Taishô era (1912-26) feminists felt that "most of her work is filled with pessimism and devoid of any significant ideas about women's lives and their place in society" (Yukiko Tanaka 63). However, feminists and literary critics in the 1980s and 90s have reread Ichiyô's writings and reinterpret these narratives as 'realistic' representations of women's lives and of the male-dominated society of Japan at that time.

In "Child's Play" Ichiyô portrays a female character Midori, an adolescent girl who will eventually become a courtesan in Yoshiwara, a licensed prostitution quarter in Tokyo. Part of the realism employed by Ichiyô describes Midori's farewell to the innocence of her childhood and her sorrow in becoming an adult, accepting her fate as a courtesan. Ichiyô also illustrates Midori's childhood reality as a popular figure among the child gangs of the area. Ichiyô portrays Midori as cheerful and good-
natured, helping other children. When her adolescence comes, Midori favours Nobu who is destined to be a priest like his father. The impossibility of Midori and Nobu's relationship due to their fates is symbolized by Midori's 'elaborate coiffure.' One day, she comes out with an 'elaborate coiffure' and wearing a bright kimono; she seems confused and is bad-tempered. Midori's transformation comes after either her first menstruation or her hatsu-mise experience ("the first tasting of a prostitute-to-be by an important patron"; Yukiko Tanaka 173).

Sata Ineko (1904-1998), a female proletarian novelist and social critic, associates Midori's dramatic transformation into a beautiful woman with the hatsu-mise. Midori's coiffure is a significant sign of hatsu-mise, since it is not obligatory to change one's hairstyle after the first menstruation. Tanaka states,

Sata's more realistic reading changes the meaning of the work: instead of a poignant story of a girl growing up, it reveals a darker side of reality, hinting at the sexual exploitation and greed observed around Midori. Her resignation and sadness are only suggested, however, enhancing the rare, subtle beauty of the story. (73)

Midori is displeased when her former playmate Shōta compliments her on her elaborate coiffure. She realizes she is facing the reality of needing to say farewell to her childhood and to her first love, and that she must fulfill her filial obligation by becoming a courtesan. According to Sata's theory, Midori's experience of the hatsu-mise changes her perception of becoming a courtesan.

In contrast to the hatsu-mise theory, Midori's change due to her first menstruation is the original and most popular interpretation held by scholars who argue that her change happens too early be her first experience of a customer as Sata's discussion suggests. For instance, literary critic Seki Reiko favours the original
reading with the argument that menstruation is the greatest change for women, and that Midori's age is suitable. Seki points out that Midori would not start her life as a courtesan without her first menstruation and before a farewell to her childhood (Seki 22-3). Instead of choosing between two conflicting interpretations, other critics suggest that Ichiyō planted potential for alternative readings of Midori's change. For example, all of Midori's changes — the first menstruation, the hatsu-mise, or a body check-up — suggest her inescapable future life as a courtesan: a reality for women of her class (Takeda 24).

The very first sentence, *Ohaguro dobu* (moat) implies Midori's life remains inside a moat (inside the licensed prostitution quarter). The quarter has lingering qualities of the pre-modern era and thus Midori's life as a courtesan will not change despite the fact that the modern (the Meiji) era has arrived. Ichiyō's classical Japanese writing style reinforces the sense of pre-modernity.

In Ichiyō's "Troubled Waters," the protagonist, Oriki, who is a popular prostitute in a brothel, has a regular customer, Genshichi, and a new customer, Yūki Tomonosuke. Tanaka Yukiko points out that "In depicting the complex mind of a woman who feels she is in a double bind, 'Troubled Waters' is remarkably modern" (75). Ichiyō deliberately portrays Oriki's complexity and the dilemma of being a woman. Oriki has accepted the reality of her life as a prostitute rather than becoming a wife or mother like Genshichi's wife. Tanaka suggests that "if they [Oriki and Genshichi's wife] become dependent upon men, they must give up their sense of self-identity (as the wife has done, and as Oriki is unwilling to do); without men, however, they can hardly exist" (75). Being a prostitute allows Oriki to maintain her sense of self-identity.
Ichiyō shows how male societal values govern the reception of Oriki's death. While Genshichi's harakiri (seppuku) is talked about as an honorable death as a warrior (samurai) rather than because of his love for Oriki (Seki 18), Oriki's death is seen as meaningless. Literary critic Usami Takeshi argues that Oriki's life is shaped by rumors in the end. He points out that Ichiyō adopts the male gaze to describe Oriki's death in terms of mortification and isolation. This is how her life would be judged by standard male values: first by male chauvinist values (Genshichi's seppuku is honourable) and second by financial values (Oriki is the most profitable prostitute in the Kikunoi house; Usami 19-20). Ichiyō's "Child's Play" and "Troubled Waters" are writings representing the grim, brutal reality of prostitutes' lives.

Kafū and Ichiyō's portrayals of prostitutes are diametrically opposed: 'romantic' versus 'realistic.' However, I must mention that Ichiyō's works (1895-6) are written forty years before Kafū's (1936). Ichiyō (1872-96) was writing about prostitutes thirty years after the Meiji restoration and lived herself just outside the licensed prostitution quarter, Yoshiwara, where elements of pre-modern culture lingered. In contrast, Kafū (1879-1959) wrote about prostitutes or geisha who had come to symbolize 'nostalgia' after the 1920s through their pre-modern fashions and qualities. Ultimately, however, Ichiyō focuses on women's 'realistic' lives which remained under the patriarchal order during the Meiji period.

**Female Writers in the 1920s**

During the same period as Kafū's *A Strange Tale from East of the River* was published modern women writers Hayashi Fumiko (1903-51) and Hirabayashi Taiko (1905-72) were writing about women who wander from man to man, using their bodies to survive. Both Hayashi's and Hirabayashi's characterizations of women are depressing and sorrowful; yet the female protagonists retain their subjectivity. For
instance, Hayashi's *Hôrôki* (Dairy of a Vagabond, 1928-30) and Hirabayashi's "Azakeru" (Self-Mockery, 1927) portray women who while providing money to their male lovers or husbands remain independent and promiscuous. Hayashi's autobiographical *Dairy of a Vagabond* depicts a female character who earns and saves money for her lover and their future married life while her lover is a student. Afterward, her lover abandons her and returns to his home. Hayashi provides a detailed portrait of the female character's misery, a misery that, nonetheless, cannot interfere with the character’s passion to become a writer. Overall, *Dairy of a Vagabond* is "repeatedly capturing with compassion, the poverty, darkness, despair, and misery [...] , especially of women moving from place to place, from job to job, from man to man" (Lippit and Selden 274). Hayashi’s protagonist rejects conventional life as a housewife or mother and wanders to find her own comfortable place, much as Hayashi herself lived outside conventional society, wandering since her childhood. In *Dairy of a Vagabond* Hayashi portrays one's woman's reality.

In Hirabayashi's "Self-Mockery" the female protagonist and narrator Yoshiko also wanders from man to man, trying to survive day by day. Her self-mocking sense of humour supports her in this struggle, allowing her to keep her subjectivity and emotionally cope with difficult situations. For instance, when a young man on a streetcar glances at Yoshiko, he shows disappointment and "takes the empty seat in a ungentlemen-like way, pushing [her] away with his elbow" (77). Yoshiko intentionally leans on this young man and puts her hand on his thigh when the streetcar jolts. This man gets off at the next station and runs away. Yoshiko's little revenge on the man refreshes her. Yoshiko also finds comfort in revenge against the streetcar conductor. When the conductor looks suspiciously at Yoshiko as if to say she may cheat on the streetcar fare, she reacts, "that [sir,] was a legitimate one yen
bill, properly issued by the Bank of Japan,' I tell the conductor silently as I get off the streetcar. Instead of verbalizing it, I smile at him" (78).32

Yoshiko's inner voice and self-reflexive sarcasm (self-mockery) shows her complexity of mind. In particular, Yoshiko mocks herself as she sells her body to another man (Yada) to support her lover Koyama. This is a painful and humiliating experience for Yoshiko. Nevertheless, she keeps a sense of humour in describing her life. "Who could stop a boulder rolling down from the top of a mountain?' (75)[...]

The conductor comes around to sell tickets; I give him the crumpled one yen bill Yada gave me, muttering to myself, 'I wonder if you know how this bill came to me'" (78). Later Yoshiko whispers a confession to the sleeping Koyama, "I've sold a mourning band." Yoshiko's metaphor for selling her body includes a reference to her husband's death and her mourning of abandoned past and potential babies. Hayashi and Hirabayashi portray the 'realistic' lives of women who do not comply with traditional femininity or conventional society in the 1920s.

Male Writers' Romanticization of Prostitutes in the Post-war Period

In contrast to the above women writers, during the post-war period male intellectuals and writers romanticized prostitutes in the same way as writers during the modern (pre-war) period did; however, the style of this later romanticization is closely connected to post-war propaganda. For instance, Victor Koschmann explains that literary groups focused on "the values of humanism, democracy, and liberalism" (1996 165) during the occupation period. Alan Wolfe adds that the immediate postwar period specifically "focus[ed] on the body as a metaphorical vehicle for philosophy" (366). In particular, immediately after the war ended, a member of the 'après guerre' (sengo-ha) and 'libertine' school (burai-ha) of writers (Tyler 1998 203)33 Sakaguchi Ango (1906-55)34 wrote in "Darakuron" (On Decadence): "ikiyo ochiyo
Sakaguchi suggests that degradation is an essential step in regaining one's humanity in the immediate post-war days, since people lost their humanity during wartime. 'Falling (degradation) can be good' is the central theme of his discussion, as he believes conscious degradation can liberate one from social constraints and promote social mobility for all Japanese people. Sakaguchi intentionally represents prostitutes as 'bad girls' or 'fallen women' who are free from conventions and who are able to infuse a new vitality into the post-war era. These women are 'essential' and 'good' because degradation can be good for survival and regaining humanity. Although Sakaguchi represents prostitutes as social outcasts, he idealizes and romanticizes the 'badness' of these women in his works.

During the same post-war period that Sakaguchi wrote, Tamura Taijirō (1911-83)—of the nikutai bungaku ('flesh' literature) school (Sone Hiroyoshi 239-40; Tyler 217, 279)—wrote stories about prostitutes and their explicit sexual behaviour through his 'flesh' theory, in which he argues that 'flesh' (lust) is essential to recovery from the destruction of war. Like Sakaguchi, Tamura believes that 'outsiders' are necessary catalysts for social change in the immediate post-war era. He represents 'pan-pan' prostitutes positively as social outsiders in the short story "Gate of the Flesh."

Tamura also portrays comfort women as racial, ethnic, and social outcasts in "Shunpu-den." Tamura consciously depicts prostitutes as 'bad' social outcasts, especially from the elite Japanese soldiers' perspective. Through their practice of 'iro,' however, these prostitutes are shown to satisfy the basic human desire for 'flesh' and to thereby bring a new spirit of liberation.

Another modern writer, Ishikawa Jun (1899-1987), who influenced Sakaguchi, was known as an existentialist. 35 Key aspects of post-war writers' humanistic notions relate to existentialism, articulating the individual's freedom to choose and take
responsibility for his/her actions (Lavine 365-70).\textsuperscript{36} Post-war writers' emphasis on physicality (sexual desire and instinct desire) was also influenced in part by these European existentialist ideas. The idea of physicality was useful for post-war Japanese writers in recovering from the embarrassing defeat and destruction of the immediate post-war period. For instance, Sartrian existentialism purports that "human existence precedes essences" and "[human] existence as a conscious being is significant" (Lavine 330). Humans are aware of their existence through consciousness of anxiety, fear, nausea, anguish, or nothingness (Lavine 330-4). In Sakaguchi\textsuperscript{37} and Tamura's revision of existentialism, humans seem to become aware of their existence as conscious beings through the body and through the satisfaction of physical desires, rather than through an understanding of the mind, as Sartre would have. Wolfe, who specializes in the study of the U.S. occupation of Japan, states,

The effort to posit a thinking body without a mind inevitably leads to a more acute depiction of the aporetic gap between mind and body.

But it also, at this particular juncture, produces an allegory of existence itself that resonates not only with the latter's [Sartre's and Camus'] philosophy but also with the literature of existentialism, from Sartre's \textit{Nausea} (1938) and \textit{No Exit} (1947) to Camus' \textit{The Stranger} (1942). The existential dilemma lies not only in the individual's sense of a distance between him or herself and such external abstractions as time, history, society, or the more mundane "otherness" of objects, people, and everyday reality; it also stems from a difference within one's own self, a heightened awareness of an alienation between one's own body and mind. It is not surprising, then, that the instrumental means appealed to in order to overcome this gap are the sword and the
pen, those tools/weapons whose very juxtaposition symbolizes the Japanese example of alienation seeking to overcome itself [...] (366-7)

This existentialist idea (alienation between mind and body) also applies to Sakaguchi's (in the essay, "Nikutai jittai ga shikō suru," 1946) and Tamura's (in the essay, "Nikutai ga ningen de aru," 1947) argument that the Japanese lost their humanity during the war due to the emperor-centred ideology of imperialism.

According to Sakaguchi and Tamura's theories, a woman or a pan-pan prostitute who practises sex in exchange for money and who is regarded as unusual or 'bad,' could, in fact, save society from destruction and transform social restraints and ideology. At the same time, these writers, including Ishikawa, write about pan-pan prostitutes and prostitutes in brothels in such a way as to render them elements of pre-modernity. (Prostitutes, in all events, symbolize pre-modernity since they practice iro.) These two ideas regarding prostitutes — nostalgia for a pre-modern woman and admiration for an extraordinary new woman — are seemingly contradictory; however, prostitutes are portrayed in both ways. Both images of prostitutes are romantic representations in Sakaguchi's, Tamura's, and Ishikawa's works.

Ishikawa differs from his fellow 'burai-ha' writers predominantly in his introduction of the writing technique of transformations—mitate and yatsushi. He uses these devices to elevate images of the prostitute and geisha as nostalgically chic and gloriously new to female icons and to shift universal images of women.

Also in the post-war period, Yoshiyuki Junnosuke (1924-94), one of the dai-san no shinjin (The Third New Writers), characterized prostitutes as social outcasts. He wrote about prostitutes in akasen chitai (the red-light districts) five to ten years after Sakaguchi, Tamura, and Ishikawa. Both The Town of Primary Colours (1951)
and "In Akiko's Room" (1958) are his memoirs of experiences with these prostitutes. Yoshiyuki shows some sympathy toward the plight of prostitutes, yet romanticizes them through his nostalgia for the red-light districts. He insinuates that these prostitutes often return to the quarter as they are unable to leave the realm of their 'natural' subculture. Furthermore, customers find these prostitutes comforting and healing. The entertainment quarter and prostitutes are the salvation and the saviours, respectively, for intellectual men due to the isolation of the area and to nostalgia for 'ukiyo' (the pleasure quarters). Yoshiyuki portrays his prostitutes with stereotypes based on his own experiences of prostitution.

The post-war modern novelist Mishima Yukio (1925-70) suggests that from the post-war period to contemporary times, a gap between novelists and intellectuals has developed, but that the gap between novelists and common people has been shortened (Mishima 38-9). Therefore, the romanticization of prostitutes by male writers and males in general has converged, especially since the development of mass communication. Thus, the romanticization of prostitutes has gradually spread from intellectuals and writers in the early modern era to writers and the public following the post-war era (contemporary). Interestingly, many writers romanticize prostitutes in the same way from the modern period into post-war and contemporary periods. When the male writers in the post-war period characterize prostitutes, they romanticize them as 'akujo' and are nostalgic for pre-modern feminine qualities.

'Realistic' Lives of Prostitutes Portrayed by Post-war Female Writers

As I discussed earlier, differences between male and female authors' portrayals of prostitutes in their texts may be exemplified by Kafū's romantic and Ichiyō's realistic portrayals of courtesans. Similarly, I will briefly discuss post-war female writers' portrayals of prostitutes as a foil for post-war male writers' portrayals. For
instance, Hayashi Fumiko's (1903-51) "Hone" (Bones, 1949) and Hagiwara Yôko's (1920-) Okizari ni sareta Maria (Left Behind Maria, 1987) portray prostitutes' lives from a realist woman's perspective. Unfortunately, aside from Hayashi Fumiko, only a small number of female writers wrote stories about prostitutes during the Allied occupation period of Japan.

In Hayashi's work "Bones," the war widow protagonist Michiko chooses to become a street prostitute in order to make a living for her daughter, crippled father, and diseased brother in the immediate post-war period. She does not receive her departed husband's bones but keeps an empty bone box. Michiko keeps the money earned through her profession in the bone box. When her younger brother dies from pulmonary tuberculosis, Michiko wishes her father would soon follow.

Michiko is haunted by her pre-war life. She keeps her husband's empty bone box and asks herself, "Hadn't her own life changed completely ever since her husband's empty bone box came back?" (133). She experiences emptiness, and loses her sense of identity as a wife. However, Michiko tries to replace her emptiness (her husband's empty bone box) with the profits of prostitution: money, self-identity, and sexuality.

Michiko sometimes experiences feelings about her pre-war life as an illusion-like "woman in the white apron standing near the baby buggy" (139). I believe that Michiko projects herself onto 'the woman in the white apron,' imagining she is a happy wife and mother in the past or present. Michiko's ideal family has gone, but the image of it lingers. Her illusion of an ideal family life allows her to escape her predicaments emotionally in order to survive and cope with her present life. Scholar Noriko Mizuta describes Hayashi's writing:
Hayashi Fumiko depicted women trying to survive within the roles of housewife and prostitute—the two publicly acknowledged roles for women within the established social order. Even while remaining within the system, these women nurture a dream of escaping. Hayashi’s narratives, by embracing the illusionary dream of escape as a central symbol in the female protagonists’ internal landscape, reveal women to be drawing their tenacity to survive from the contradictions of the system itself. (Mizuta 347)

Michiko’s illusion helps her adapt to her current life as a prostitute.

Michiko copes with her new life as a prostitute and tries to regain self-identity. For instance, she fills in her emptiness with aspects of her present life. She reminisces about her first client. Although she feels guilt at her unfaithfulness to her departed husband, she rationalizes that "her present situation was unavoidable" (137) and adopts her new life. Her first day in 'the life of a prostitute,' while not sweet, is memorable for her, since it marks the beginning of her independence. Hayashi’s "Bones" is depressing; yet it explicitly shows the complexity of Michiko’s position as a prostitute in her 'realistic' new life.

**Reviving Forgotten Pan-pan Stories**

The Japanese woman writer Hagiwara Yôko (known as the Japanese modern poet Hagiwara Sakutarô’s daughter) was motivated to write the pan-pan girl’s story Left Behind Maria forty years after she read four pan-pan girls' journals in "Nihon no teisô: gaikokuhei ni okasareta josei tachi no shuki" (Japanese Chastity: Writings by Women Raped by Foreign Soldiers, 1953)39 and first wanted to manifest these girls' sorrow and pains (Hagiwara 1990 97-8). Referring to the title, Left Behind Maria, Hagiwara says she focuses on portrayals of "women who became victims of war and
whom war left out of society" (Hagiwara 1990 102). In her work, she presents the
*pan-pan* prostitute Toshiko who has fallen into an extravagant 'only' (*onri pan-pan*)
life with an American soldier after she is raped by other U.S. soldiers. In the end,
Toshiko becomes an old beggar *pan-pan* (*jiki-pan*) and commits suicide. Toshiko's
miserable life emphasizes the fact that *pan-pan* were neglected by society and
suffered from their emotional wounds.

Hagiwara emphasizes that *pan-pan* were victims of war and society, focusing
in particular on notions of 'chastity' tied up with rape victims. After the rape,
Toshiko's uncle attempts to rape her since she is no longer a 'chaste' or 'pure' woman.
Similarly, Hayashi's female protagonist Yukiko in *Ukigumo* (Drifting Clouds, 1949-
50) is raped by her uncle Iba for three years and leaves for Dalat, Indochina to escape
from the abuse. (She becomes a Japanese agricultural engineer's mistress in Dalat and
Japan, and later a *pan-pan* for a short time after returning to Tokyo). Toshiko and
Yukiko, both young, unmarried, 'unchaste' women earn little respect and are bound to
become either a mistress or a prostitute (Mizuta 338). Hagiwara shows how painful
and unrespectable *pan-pan* girls' lives were during the post-war period, deliberately
reviving their forgotten stories.

**Male Romanticization of Female Characters as Akujo (Bad Girls) in Contemporary Times**

Male writers, meanwhile, continue to idealize female characters in
contemporary literature. The *akujo* is a current archetype of male romanticization.
Watanabe Jun'ichi (1933-) a contemporary writer and the author of the number one
bestseller *Shitsuraku-en* (Lost Paradise) in 1995-6⁴⁰ and writer/ lyricist, Nakanishi Rei
(1938-) address the topic of sensuality in literature together. Their discussion "Kannô
ni kagiri nashi" (No Limitations on Sensuality) was published in the magazine Ōru
The two writers exchange views on female roles and characterizations in ren-ai shōsetsu (romances or erotica). Watanabe speaks of how "male writers' portrayals of female icons may be over-romanticized from a female point of view" (78). Watanabe and Nakanishi differentiate between love romances portrayed by male authors and female authors.

Nakanishi: What I think is fantastic about the way romance is portrayed in your novel, A Lost Paradise, as well as in those of Kawabata and Tanizaki is that the reader is taken on a spiritually-elevated journey. With female writers, though their portrayals of romance are admirable and convincing in a realistic manner, I find the works largely unimpressive.

Watanabe: What you called 'spiritual elevation' corresponds to the ultimate of sex (sensuality) or love. This probably originates in the nature of male physiology. There is something in male physiology that is fundamentally philosophical, isn't there? After ejaculating desires at the end of intense sexual acts, men experience nothingness, as if a swamp without bottom comes to them [...] Forgive me if I exaggerate, but I believe that one cannot speak of a man's love without thinking philosophically. Women's physiology perhaps, does not work in the same manner. (77-8)

The two male writers suggest that female characters in Watanabe, Kawabata, and Tanizaki's romances are aesthetically portrayed and that their novels are more philosophical because of their sexual nature; this is in contrast to depictions by female authors, which are unsophisticated because they are excessively realistic. Joan E.
Ericson points out that realistic writings such as Hayashi's may be easily dismissed, as a "female author could be labeled joryû-sakka rashii (a typical woman writer)" (95).

Watanabe and Nakanishi continue to discuss male authors' romances and their characterizations of woman as akujo:

Watanabe: I suppose that a virtuous woman transforms into an akujo, rather than fundamentally being an akujo. Over time the woman discloses her true character (laugh) [...] And I am impressed with my discovery of her eccentric personality.

Nakanishi: Even if a woman possesses perfect characteristics such as beauty, a good figure, kind-heartedness, obedience, and good sex appeal, she gradually reveals her vices. These are perhaps woman's true colours. (81)\

The ideal akujo's inner qualities are conflicting: she is virtuous, feminine and attractive, but also salacious and evil. Such an akujo is embodied in Sakaguchi's writings on prostitutes. The male romanticization of female characters as akujo continues. In the conclusion to their discussion, both Watanabe and Nakanishi agree that the akujo archetype is necessary for male writers to write romances.

**Romanticization of Masculinity**

Contemporary Japanese novelist Murakami Haruki (1949-), romanticizes female characters in *Nejimakidori kuronikaru* (The Wind-Up Bird Chronicle) (1994-95). The protagonist's (Okada Tôru)'s wife Kumiko has become a 'prostitute of the flesh (nikutai no shôfu)'. She cannot resist her sexual desire for men ever since her brother (Wataya Noboru) raped her in her dream (her subconscious mind). Tôru does not know that his wife is a prostitute until she disappears. He is very naive in the beginning of the story because he is ignorant of his wife's struggle. Once he finds out
that Kumiko is a prostitute of the flesh, he believes she must have a good reason to sell her body. He eventually learns that Kumiko lives in a different dimension of the world because of her older brother, Noboru. Tôru tries to find and save Kumiko from this other dimension.

Another female character, Creta, is a prostitute of the flesh who never experiences sexual sensation until she has Wataya Noboru as a client. After this experience she becomes a prostitute of the mind (seishin no shôfu) who serves sex to clients in their dreams (subconscious). In this text, women's pursuit of sexual desire and female promiscuity are accepted but only in conjunction with the reification of male sexuality.

Finally, Tôru meets a female sex therapist, Nutmeg, and becomes a sex therapist himself, a prostitute of the mind who is able to heal and comfort clients through sex in clients' dreams. The protagonist's position reverses, since female prostitutes often comfort male customers through sex. However, in the end the protagonist becomes a hero by saving his wife from being a victim of rape (incest) by her older brother and from her position as a prostitute of the flesh. The protagonist's role is a fantasized proof of masculinity.

Conclusion

During the modern period all the above male writers consistently romanticized prostitutes in their texts in their own way: through nostalgia, longing for akujo qualities, and through ideas of Japanese masculinity. In contrast, female authors tended to portray the realistic lives of prostitutes in their texts. I will elaborate how and why four post-war male writers romanticized prostitutes in the following chapters.

\footnote{Ai (愛), ren-ai (恋愛).}
Chiyozaki Hideo describes the four types of 'love' found in the New Testament. He explains that 'ai' (love) has a negative connotation in both Buddhism and Confucianism. Especially in the Buddhist sense, where love could refer to self-love, 'ai' was a negatively-charged term. Buddhism emphasizes mercy, while Christianity affirms 'love.'

Since modern times 'koi' has meant 'love' in Japan. 'Koi' meant affection / longing for the opposite sex in pre-modern Japan. (Shin meikai kogo jiten 2nd ed. 417) 'Koi' joined with 'iro' (色) in pre-modern Japan to produce 'iro-koi' which describes the rare occurrence of sexual passion between men and women.

Although the social norms of loving relationships seemingly promoted equality, the idea was practiced only by upper-middle-class people. Furthermore, the 'love' idea propagated problematic attitudes towards women. For instance, it ignored the core idea of monogamy, and used nationalism as a justification to restrict access to abortion. See also Ōgoshi Aiko's Kindai nihon no jenda: gendai nihon no shisōteki kadai o tou [Gender in Modern Japan: Questioning Philosophical Issues in Contemporary Japan].

Kitamura Tōkoku (1868-1894) was a romantic poet (considered an initiator of the romantic movement in Japanese literature) and a libertarian in modern Japan. He joined a movement for democracy and taught in a women's college. Kitamura also wrote articles in Jogaku zasshi (journal for women students) and the essay "Ensei shika to josei" (The Pessimist-Poet and Womanhood). Kitamura promoted the idea of 'ren'ai' and advocated marriages of 'free-will.'

The famous excerpt from Kitamura's essay: "Ren'ai wa jinsei no hiyaku nari, ren'ai arite nochino jinsei ari." I use Donald Keene's translation here (195).

'Iro' literally means 'colour,' but it meant sexual passion, lust, or eroticism in pre-modern Japan.

Tsubouchi Shōyō wrote the work of literary criticism Shōsetsu shinzui (The Essence of the Novel) in 1885. His radical ideas on the novel were very influential to Japanese modern literature and especially for genbun' itchi (unification of the spoken
and written languages). He argued that the realistic form of expression in novels was essential, and that use of the colloquial language provided more realism. See Nanette Twine, Language and the Modern State: the Reform of written Japanese.

9 Tôsei shosei katagi was written in 1885-86 and published in Jiyūtō [Light of Freedom].


11 Futabatei Shimei's Ukigumo (The Drifting Cloud, 1886-89) is considered the first polished novel to use the colloquial style of language. The written form of language in the novel agreed with the spoken form of the Japanese language (genbun'itchi). Ozaki Kôyô also experimented with the use of the colloquial style in written forms. These two authors are regarded as significant 'modern' writers.

12 Futabatei remains in an uncertain position concerning iro and ai, shifting between an idealization of one and then the other. According to Saeki, in his earlier works, Futabatei depicted 'educated' and modern women (bunmei fujin). Futabatei's The Drifting Cloud, however, reveals a dichotomy between iro and ai: chic (iki) versus the unrefined (yabo); the false (kyo) versus the true (jitsu). In the text, Futabatei shows the protagonist's desire for 'love' with non-professional women, but also his hesitancy toward non-professional women. The equal relationships with women found outside the quarters were still intimidating for male intellectuals. Finally, Futabatei returned to iro in writing about geisha and prostitutes. Its relationships with professional women remain idealized and limited to the quarters (65-102).

13 Kyara-makura was published by Shunyôdo. In Kyara-makura, a prostitute Sen has a relationship with eleven patrons. Ozaki depicts Sen as brave but also as
promiscuous and deceptive (teren-tekuda). (Teren-tekuda refers to tactics that deceive and manipulate or skills that seduce. Here teren-tekuda refers to one of the prostitute's essential skills.) (Kogo dai jiten; 1123, 1135) Furthermore, she has kokoro-iki, which means she acts in a manly fashion or behaves with good grace (Saeki 40-7). In short, a conflict occurs in that her promiscuity and her skill in dealing with male customers are viewed as sinful, while her behaviour and attitude are positively portrayed to readers.

14 'Iki' refers to a sophistication that stems from an acknowledgement of traditional Japanese culture. I refer to Liza Dalby's explanation of iki (chic). Kuki Shûzô was the first person to theorize 'iki' in 1930 to authenticate Japaneseness. According to Kuki, 'the structure of 'iki' displays the three transformational moments of 'coquetry' [bitai/薫態], 'brave composure' [ikuji/意気地], and 'resignation' [akirame/幡め]' (11). Examples utilized by Kuki involve viewing courtesans, prostitutes, and geisha as possessing these three qualities. Haori (Tatsumi) geisha, for example, possess the quality of 'brave composure.' Haori ('a Japanese half-coat normally worn with hakama trousers'; Clark's wording 33) or Tatsumi (literally, dragon and snake; the South East; Clark 9) geisha were unlicensed prostitutes in Fukagawa, Edo in the Bunka (1804-17) and Bunsei (1818-30) periods.

15 In the medieval era (around the Muromachi period), prostitutes were given a Bodhisattva image. For example, the term 'sotoba komachi' or 'eguchi komachi' usually refers to prostitutes who have this religious image. Sotoba (卒都婆/卒塔婆/卒塔婆) komachi appeared in a Noh play written by Kan'ami (1333-84), where a Buddhist monk in Kôyasan rebukes an old beggar woman for sitting on sotoba (stupa). In response, the old woman preaches Buddhist ethics to the monk. The old woman was actually the courtier Ono no Komachi. (Kôjien 4th ed. 1516). Eguchi (江口) komachi also appeared in a Noh play that was originally written by Kan'ami and then subsequently rewritten by his son Zeami (1363-1443). In the new version, a courtesan in Eguchi (in Osaka) exchanges poems with the famous poet and monk Saigyô (1118-90). The courtesan transforms into Fugen Bodhisattva (Kôjien 4th ed. 277).
According to Dalby, the concept of *ukiyo* (浮き世) around the medieval era was based on the perception of the world in Buddhist thought. For instance, the world we perceive is grievous but "it is fortunate that the world is [...] illusion, and that true reality lies elsewhere" (Dalby 269). The concept of *ukiyo* (浮き世) altered to mean 'floating world' in the Edo period. "The floating world of the Edo period was the world of the theater and the pleasure quarters" (269). Geisha were a part of the *ukiyo*’s sophistication. For some modern Japanese, geisha are a nostalgic hangover from the *ukiyo* as well as from the art of pre-modern culture (270).

Keene characterizes Nagai Kafū’s writings as "colored by two seemingly disparate tastes, his love for French literature and his nostalgia for the city of Edo as it had survived in corners of Tokyo" (386).

*Bokutō kidan* was written in 1936, published by Uyūdō in April 1937, and serialized in Tokyo’s and (Osaka’s) Asahi newspaper from Apr. 16-Jun. 15 in the same year.

Translations of *Bokutō kidan* are all from Edward Seidensticker’s *Kafū the Scribbler: The Life and Writings of Nagai Kafū, 1879-1959*.

The writing style of *Bokutō kidan* is called "the novel-within-the novel."

Kafū earlier wrote about his experiences in the West in such novels as *Amerika monogatari* (Tales of America, 1908) and *Furansu monogatari* (Tales of France, 1909).

O-yuki’s hair is done in either the *shimada* or the *marumage* style. The *shimada* is a woman’s hairstyle from pre-modern Japan. The hair is tied like a chignon and side locks are stuck out around after 1764-72. Courtesans often wore this hairstyle in the Edo period, as did unmarried young women. The *marumage* is another hairstyle from pre-modern times and is a simple chignon. Married women often wore this hairstyle. (*Iwanami kokugo jiten* 4th ed. 486, 1062) See the original *Bokutō kidan*. 
23 Ninjō-bon is a genre of the Edo novel which became popular from the Bunsei period (1818-30) to the Meiji period. It depicted love in the Edo period through complex structures and sophisticated dialogues. (Shin meikai kogo jiten 2nd ed. 1197) Ninjō-bon are also called cyūgata eiri tokuhon (medium-size illustrated reading text) or chūbon (literally, medium-size books; mostly reading text for amusement) which means a mixture of tokuhon (reading text) and share-bon (erotica).

24 Tamenaga's most popular novel, Shunshoku umegoyomi (Voluptuous Plum Calendar) of 1832 depicts love triangles between a man and three prostitutes based on giri and ninjō.

25 I discussed earlier in Chapter Two how prostitutes are used as male writers' 'research' materials.


27 According to Yukiko Tanaka's notes, "the last woman of the old Meiji" was a comment made by Baba Kochō, a member of the Bungakkai group who frequently visited Ichiyō. Ichiyō was considered a successful 'keishū' ("lady writers," 閣秀) writer in the Meiji era.

28 Hayashi Fumiko was often considered an anarchist writer.

29 Hirabayashi Taiko was considered a socialist and proletarian writer and joined a left-wing group in the post-war era.


31 Translations of "Azakeru" [Self-Mockery] are all from Yukiko Tanaka.

32 Hirabayashi's original text conveys more sarcasm. ("Aredatte, dōdotaru Nihon Ginkō hakkō no shihei nandesukara").

33 William J. Tyler refers to decadence writer Sakaguchi Ango among others.
Sakaguchi Ango was influenced by Ishikawa Jun (1899-1987). The two exchanged letters that were later published in Shinchô in Oct. 1954.

Ishikawa was influenced by Sartre's idea. In his essay "Chinmoku ni tsuite" [On Silence, 1952], Ishikawa suggests that it is valid for the individual to see Sartre's idea of resistance to society and as a gaining of freedom and excercize for the soul (59).

Sartre gave a lecture on 29 Oct. 1945, in Paris at the Club Maintenant where he said, "Existentialism Is a Humanism," which he later claimed was a mistake. However, Sartre stated that "existentialism is a moral philosophy which offers no principles for the guidance of action" (Lavine xv) and humans are free to choose and take responsibility for their lives (Lavine 365-7).

Sakaguchi was also influenced by Sartre. In his essay "Nikutai jitai ga shikôsuru" [Flesh Itself is Thinking, 1946], Sakaguchi states that Sartre's short story "Intimité" (1939) emphasizes the individual's freedom in his/her life and the existence of this life as related only to 'flesh' (237-8).

In 1959, May 22nd, Mishima Yukio, Ito Sei, and Takeda Taijun discussed "Kafû bungaku no shinzui" [The Essence of Kafû's Literature] in Yaoizen, Kafû's favourite place. The discussion was published in Chûô kôron in July 1959.


Shitsuraku- en was dramatized for television in 1997.

The original text: Watanabe: Boku wa akujo to iu yori Ikken teijo no akujo gawari to iu ka. Onna ga dandan honshô o arawashite kitene. (warai) Konna hazu ja nakatta no ni ... to aite no ekisentorikku na seikaku o hakken shite iku katei ga kandô nanda nê. Nakanishi: Bijin de sutairu ga ii, kidate mo yokute jûjun de, sekkusu mo ii to iu kanji de, mō nanbyôshi mo sorotte iro no ni, dandan waruku naru no wa, onna no honshô kamo shirenai.
Chapter Three: Sakaguchi Ango: The Romanticization of 'Akujo' (Bad Girls)

According to the Theory of Decadence

Sakaguchi Ango (1906-55) is considered part of the 'burai-ha' school of writers, a group literally considered 'roués,' a school of 'libertines' (Tyler 1998 203-4). The burai-ha school opposed the Allied occupation (1945-52) reforms, a general part of the political landscape in Japan at that time. According to Alan Wolfe, burai-ha writers were "labeled nihilistic or 'decadent' as much for their styles of life and death as for their writings. [They were] also characterized as 'intellectual outlaws' for their iconoclastic irreverence" (360). Sakaguchi's 'theory of decadence' exemplifies writing that questions the way in which the war represses people and their sexuality. His theory explains how people consciously undertake 'bad' or 'immoral' acts in order to survive and to recover from the loss of humanity incurred during wartime. In particular, prostitutes became a good symbol for the degradation of society, as they were seen as immoral.

The propaganda produced during the Allied occupation period emphasized humanism, democracy, and liberalism (Koschmann 1991 165). Literary groups advocated U.S. values like 'individual autonomy,' but simultaneously had anxieties about American-initiated democratic reforms. The Japanese Communist Party strongly supported democratic reforms during the American occupation (Wolfe 360). Sakaguchi was skeptical of the post-war reforms and asserted, "[both] American-style democracy and Communism are rubbish" (Wolfe 360). In order to express his own philosophy in the post-war period, Sakaguchi wrote down his theory of 'decadence' in "Darakuron" (On Decadence) in 1946. The essay suggests that one's degradation is a positive thing, as it enables one to regain one's humanity, something forgotten during the war. Scholar William Tyler, in commenting on "On Decadence," explains
that "only through consciously and actively embraced acts of demoralization [...] can the social hierarchy and moral constraints of the past be abandoned and a spirit of creative liberation unleashed in the post-war era" (Tyler 1998 203).

In another of Sakaguchi's essays, "Nikutai jitai ga shikōsuru" (Flesh Itself is Thinking, 1946), he says that "we should find morality in 'flesh' "(238) referring here specifically to post-war days. Sakaguchi believes that indulgence in 'flesh' (nikutai)—sexual sensation—is a 'real' human need. In two other works, exploration of the 'flesh' is developed in the female character Onna ("a woman") and the male character Nomura. These works are "Sensō to hitori no onna" (The War and a Woman) and "Zoku, sensō to hitori no onna" (The War and a Woman, the Sequel), both written in 1946. These works by Sakaguchi develop around the same material: representations of the female character as a 'bad girl,' and examples of the theory Sakaguchi outlined in "On Decadence."

Sakaguchi's portrayal of women characters differs depending on whether he is using a male or female perspective. I would like to compare the representation of female characters in "The War and a Woman" (W.W.) and "W.W., the Sequel" and to discuss the ways in which female characters' images are romanticized. The two texts differ in that the former work uses a male character (Nomura, limited omniscient) to describe a female character called 'Onna' (literally, "a woman") who was previously a prostitute; by contrast, the latter work is narrated by the female first person, Watashi, (literally, I). Watashi expresses her feelings and ideas from her point of view.

The Male Narrator's Perspective on Women (Onna)

From the beginning of "The War and a Woman," the character Nomura describes his relationship with Onna as being a temporary one not suited to romantic or familial love (261). For one, Onna is not considered a serious partner in the
relationship, tainted as she is by her history as a mistress. Nomura remarks that Onna is not a 'good girl' or a virtuous housewife (263). From the beginning of the story, he makes it clear that her character will be depicted as bad or unusual (261); however, because it is wartime, he chooses to stay with her rather than to look for a 'model wife' (269).

According to literary critic Kawamura Minato, Onna represents a distinct feminine 'other' from male eyes (389). 'Otherness' offers Nomura diversionary experiences. The 'bad' aspect of her character intrigues him. Sakaguchi portrays Onna's 'strangeness' in her innately lustful nature: she has sex with men whenever she has the opportunity (261). He suggests that her lust is similar to hunger, representing a human need for survival (262), and concludes that she is naturally seductive and flirty. Despite this, Nomura believes that Onna is unable to achieve orgasm. Evidently, she only aims to fulfill her sexual desire, but never achieves this in actuality (262).

At one point in the story, Nomura becomes dissatisfied with Onna's sexual frigidity and tries many different positions to help her 'break-out' of her sexual 'disability' or 'imperfection' (263). Her imperfection ultimately becomes her charm, however, and he remains excited, growing to think her frigidity makes her somehow different from other women. Nomura sees Onna's impassive face during an act of sexual intercourse and, while she still dissatisfies him, he pretends to accept Onna, since he loves this unusual sexual 'disability'.

Her sexual orgasm has not come, after all. On the edge of her sexual desire, hatred lies in her eyes when she looks at Nomura. When he looks at her, he feels she is thinking of something else, because her face has no expression of sexual pleasure... He could not forget this
face. Loving her impassive face meant loving her dysfunctional sexual sensibility. (270)

Nomura goes on to perform violent acts such as holding Onna's arms toward her back in order to alter her sexual frigidity. Nomura describes how "his lust and hate toward her united and his sexual manner became violent" (269). Onna remains incapable of reaching an orgasm, however, despite Nomura's insecurity and violent form of lovemaking (270).  

The concept of asobi (play or entertainment) is introduced by Sakaguchi in "The War and a Woman" and illustrated in the form of lust, gambling, dance, and travel during wartime (268). At the war's end, these types of pleasure were considered immoral or bad, while austerity was socially condoned. Onna derives pleasure or indulges in asobi in witnessing the damaged Japanese landscape. For example, she likes to watch explosions and to see the destruction of cities and damaged people. Her pleasure in observing destruction is represented as unusual and lacking in humanity, which reinforces Sakaguchi's image of her as a 'bad girl' with no sense of morality. Another example of Onna's connection to asobi is when she treats her body as a sexual toy and plaything. Onna comments:

You think play is dirty [...] that is, you think I am dirty, and you hate me, too. But, surely, you think you are dirty, too. And yet you want to escape from your filthiness and to be purer and more spiritual [...] Why don't you think that play is not dirty [...] Why don't you make an effort to make me purer?[...] I have been a toy of men. That is why I like the game. However, I do not think the game is dirty. I am not a good woman; yet, I want to be good. Why don't you make me a virtuous woman? You aren't even trying to reform me. Why don't
you want to escape from the filthiness. Anyhow, you have thought I
am a dirty person and you despise my past. (276)\textsuperscript{5}

Having heard the above condemnation of his thoughts and actions, Nomura continues
to believe that Onna is unable to cease using her body as the toy-like object of her
ongoing promiscuity.

**The Female First Person's Perspective: Being Akujo**

In contrast to Sakaguchi's first story, the female protagonist Watashi (I) in
"The War and A Woman, the Sequel," a character corresponding to Onna in "The War
and a Woman," recognizes herself as a 'bad girl,' but retains her independence in order
to remain outside conventional societal rules. Watashi comes to terms with being a
'bad girl,' as is evident in her claim to being "a woman from hell" (292). Watashi acts
as a 'bad' and 'immoral' woman according to this claim. For instance, Watashi
knowingly acts coquettishly in order to keep Nomura's heart (290). Watashi also has
promiscuous thoughts: she reflects, "I have never forgotten there are more good-
looking and gorgeous men than Nomura. While making out with Nomura, I am
actually thinking of them or of my childhood" (295-6). In addition, Watashi says,
"the war is beautiful" (286). She likes to watch fires and destruction and feels
nostalgic for fires. Watashi also states, "I wish everything would be burnt down... I
wish all things I hate would burn away" (288). The narrator exhibits hatred toward
her parents, men, and society. If all these should burn, Watashi would not have to
hate anymore. Watashi's apocalyptic attitude toward the world is suggestive of
Sakaguchi's theory of 'degradation.'

Moreover, Watashi refers to two middle-aged men, Kamakiri (a mantis) and
Debu (a fat man), from the beginning of "The Sequel." The two old men are
contrasted, as their nicknames suggest, by their differing physical characteristics.
Watashi prefers Debu to Kamakiri because Debu calls her 'oku-san' (madam) while Kamakiri calls her both oku-san and 'nē-san' (literally means a young woman; but has the objectifying connotations of chick). The label 'nē-san' implies that Watashi is objectified by Kamakiri's lust or iro. The narrator also hates Kamakiri for sharing her ideas and attitudes about destruction. For instance, Kamakiri also likes to observe the cities and people wounded by bombings. When Kamakiri hears about a bomb, he goes to see the destruction the same day; Watashi sees him there. Finally, Watashi hates middle-aged men's attitudes toward women since they have lost notions of romantic love and, skillfully seeing women as teren-tekuda (wantonly deceiving men). As a result, Watashi wants Kamakiri to have a hard life, as is evident in her comments, "Let him be a beggar [...]" (282) and "I contemplated Kamakiri's family, and how I would make him and his aged wife die in agony" (294).

**Sakaguchi's Theory of Decadence: Part of Survival in The Post-war Era**

Sakaguchi's theory emphasizes the human need to obtain fulfillment, in this case through sexual liaisons. In the end of "The War and a Woman," when Onna and Nomura realize that the war has ended, Onna says "you really loved me" (274). Her use of the past tense implies an end to their relationship that corresponds with the end of war. Nomura responds that he had a hunger for iro (sexual passion) and was a profiteer. His lover replies with understanding, "people are like that" (275). All humans are hungry for iro and use each other to some degree to fulfill their sexual desires, or so he implies in the main slogan of "On Decadence": "ikiyo, ochiyo (Live! Degrade Yourself!)." Ultimately, Onna wants love, but she ends up living the life of a prostitute, which is in a sense a manifestation of Sakaguchi's notion of 'degradation.'
Sakaguchi's Idealized Prostitutes

In Sakaguchi’s novel *Izuko e* (Where; Ogino 83-110), the male character says, "a real prostitute is not lustful," and "an excellent professional prostitute [...] should not be satisfied with sexual pleasure for herself" (Ogino 100). These statements suggest that a talented prostitute is capable of controlling her sexual energy and will not cede power to her customers. This is considered a prostitute’s teren-tekuda (spirit-essence). In other words, restraining her own sexual pleasure from customers gives the prostitute sexual autonomy. Thus, although Sakaguchi seems to give this female character strength and the possibility of sexual freedom, he actually limits her attainment of sexual pleasure by following an idealized image of prostitutes. Another example of a prostitute character is Onna. In "The War and a Woman" she too is portrayed as an ideal woman who has strong sexual passion, but no orgasm to provide her with pleasure.

Feminist writer Ogino Anna interprets the female characters in Sakaguchi’s novels according to two contrasting categories: one combines sexual frigidity with emotional ecstasy; the other category pairs physical orgasm with a lack of emotion (Ogino 101). Onna in "W. W." fits into the first category, where Onna has no physical orgasm but rather an emotional one. For example, Onna is devious, sexually passionate, but lacks faith in relationships because she is unable to have a physical orgasm. The second category of women who lack emotions in Sakaguchi’s writing is exemplified by the mentally-challenged woman in "Hakuchi" (The Idiot), who, though mute, remains indulgent in her lust. Ogino questions these characterizations and suggests that Sakaguchi is using stereotypes to characterize these two types of women and of female sexuality.
In the personal essay "Yokubô ni tsuite: Purebô to Rakuro" (On Desire: Prévost and Laelos), Sakaguchi states, "I like prostitutes like Manon Lescaut. I like a natural born prostitute" (215), illustrating once again his preference for prostitute characters. The author idealizes Manon Lescaut for the deviousness that gives her social mobility, especially during wartime. Onna in "W. W." is Sakaguchi's ideal prostitute because she has no potential to be a wife.

**Nostalgia for Pre-war Femininity**

Sakaguchi uses the word onna (which means a woman) to give his female character a sense of anonymity and a sense of the "essential" woman-ness. In "W. W.," Nomura, the male protagonist, refers to his lover as onna. In this case, the author allows the female character to be anonymous. The dictionary clinically defines onna as an adult woman, a member of the sex who has the function of bearing children, and as something having the quality of female appearances and features (Iwanami kokugo jiten 150). The word onna also signifies woman as a male possession, and connotes an ideal of femininity that is kind or softhearted, perhaps indecisive, and nonviolent (Iwanami kokugo jiten 150).

In "The War and a Woman," Nomura sees Onna as a loveable woman because she acts honestly, modestly, and naively. He also sees Onna's elegance when she cooks and then watches him eat with amusement. Though he complains about Onna's sexual frigidity, Nomura remains attracted to her. He views her body with lustful appreciation:

She has beautiful limbs with appropriate amounts of fat. When she is naked, she is attractive. Her body mysteriously stimulates his appetite (262) [...] he has never tired of watching her nude, which wonderfully
shows her agility of body movement even when she moves slowly.

Her body is full of freshness, which provokes his lust. (263)

Clearly, Nomura cannot resist Onna's mysterious attractiveness and elegance.

Onna also acts modestly by apologizing to Nomura while in tears about her sexual frigidity. In this scene, she reveals how her emotions may have been numbed by her former life as a prostitute (265): "forgive me! It's because my past is bad. Sorry, I am truly sorry" (265). Nomura feels Onna is lovely because of her feminine manner and because of qualities that give her potential as a housewife, but he is simultaneously cool toward her because of her flirtatious nature, which he associates with her past as a prostitute. Kawamura Minato says Sakaguchi's portrayal of a female-like religious icon Miroku Bodhisattva (Maitreya) in the short story "Kigi no sei, tani no sei" (Nymph of the Trees, Nymph of the Valley, 1939) symbolizes "a mysteriously beautiful [woman]... a woman who is innocent but cruel, who trifles with men, and who has the contrary qualities of a saintly virgin and a 'bad' prostitute" (380). Onna and Miroku share Sakaguchi's idealized imagery for women. In Sakaguchi's text, Onna acts like an innocent virgin but simultaneously generates income as a flirtatious prostitute. Nomura knows Onna cannot change her promiscuous nature or her sexual frigidity. Nomura romanticizes Onna for fulfilling his ideal of femininity and elegance, while remaining disgusted by her past life as a prostitute. I will discuss later how in Ishikawa's text the geisha Someka's mitate transformation links to Bodhisattva imagery. Both Sakaguchi and Ishikawa discuss prostitutes' characters in terms of Bodhisattva iconography.

Conclusion

Sakaguchi's portrayal of 'bad girls' in both "The War and a Woman (W. W.)" and "W. W., the Sequel" becomes a vehicle by which he expresses his philosophy of
'decadence.' However, it remains problematic that Sakaguchi's ideas of 'decadence' are contradicted by his romanticized portrayal of prostitutes. Wolfe points out the contradictions in Sakaguchi's "On Decadence":

As Nakamura Mitsuo later characterized Japan's postwar, 'It was human desire rather than humanity itself that was liberated here.' Such a view of liberation is not unrelated to Ango's [Sakaguchi] conception of decadence, in which animality becomes the object of human desire whose realization would negate desire, consciousness, and thus humanity itself. Ango's statements— even his use of the word decadence (daraku)— are described as illogical and contradictory: 'At one point he calls for daraku, or falling off, from the old morality, at another insists that Japan is in fact sunk in daraku.' Yet, as in the use of a homeopathic remedy for a disease, the treatment of a diseased state by recognizing and modulating the pathogenic element rather than violently trying to extract or destroy it is a familiar approach to peoples around the world. (368)

Sakaguchi's idea of 'decadence' tends to contradict itself and emphasizes human desire rather than humanity. His theme in "On Decadence" — "the bad can be good" — seems plausible, and his characterization of women and their relations challenges the post-war political reforms and social restraints. However, his intended portrayal of prostitutes as 'bad girls' is highly romanticized and leads one to suspect contradictions in his theory.

Sakaguchi wrote about his impression of pan-pan prostitutes in the essay "Pan-pan garu" (Pan-pan Girls, 1947) after having a chance to interview them. He confirms his image of ideal prostitutes after the interview, asserting that "the pan-pan is a
symbol of Japanese culture" (349). In the post-war period, the romanticization of prostitute's image changed. Sakaguchi and other male writers in the post-war exemplify this change in their tendency to romanticize prostitutes according to the concept "the bad can be good." Tamura Taijirō (1911-83), a 'flesh literature' (nikutai bungaku) writer discussed in the next chapter, similarly romanticizes prostitutes in his immediate post-war works.

1 Sakaguchi Ango is also considered a member of the 'sengo-ha' (après guerre) school, but is most often included in the burai-ha with other notable post-war writers like Dazai Osamu (1909-1948), Oda Sakunosuke (1913-1947), and Ishikawa Jun (1899-1987). See Tyler's "On 'The Legend of Gold' and 'The Jesus of the Ruins','" pp.203.

2 Tyler explains in his notes that "the libertinism of these writers was reflected in their shared pattern of obstreperousness and iconoclasm toward authority and traditional values as well as lifestyles characterized by hard drinking and sexual liberality" (272). These writers are also called 'shin-gesaku-ha' (The new burlesque school) since they were interested in the Edo gesaku fiction and championed 'frivolous' writing in modern days (272).

3 Sakaguchi's "Darakuron" appeared in April 1946 in Shinchō magazine.

4 Presumably, Nomura cannot accept his inability to give Onna an orgasm. I assume that the hatred in her eyes, her blunt facial expression, and lack of orgasm suggest her hatred of Nomura's patriarchal mindset.

5 Most quotations from "The War and a Woman" and "The War and a Woman, the Sequel" are my translations.

6 Teren-tekuda refers to tactics that deceive and manipulate or skills that seduce. Here teren-tekuda refers to one of the prostitute's essential skills.

7 "Anata wa watashi o kawaigatte kudasatta wa ne."
8 "Sore de ii no yo." This passage implies that people live with sexual passion and take advantage of one another.

9 Ogino Anna quotes from Sakaguchi's novel, *Shinsen na kumo no su* [The Fresh Spider's Web]. She also discusses Sakaguchi's characterization of women in *Shinsen na kumo no su* and *Izuko e* (Where) included in *Ai rabu Ango* [I Love Ango].

10 Sakaguchi's original passage is written in Japanese: "hontō no yōfu wa nikuyokuteki de wa nai. Sugureta shōfu wo […] tsune ni mizukara mitasarete wa ikenai."

11 One of Sakaguchi's most famous work, "Hakuchi" (The Idiot) was first published in Shinchô Magazine (Vol.43-6) in June 1946.

12 "Watashi wa Manon Resukô no yôna shōfu ga suki da. Tensei no shōfu ga suki da" (215).

13 The novel, *Manon Lescaut* (1731) was written by French writer Abbé Prévost (1697-1763). The characterization of Manon Lescaut is as a 'bad girl.' She is an attractive, beautiful, and lustful young woman. Because of her attractiveness, Manon ruins many men's lives. Sakaguchi states in "On Desire" that Manon is naturally promiscuous. She feels no guilt over her promiscuity and excites men incredibly.

14 I believe both Onna and Nomura role play for one another. For example, Onna sometimes acts coquettishly, and Nomura, who enjoys her feminine performance, acts in response as a male who can protect and take care of her. However, while Nomura thinks Onna is unaware of her own lustful and flirtatious nature, she is, in fact, highly conscious of what he thinks of her as becomes clear in "The War and a Woman, the Sequel." The lovers enjoy their roles within both performances.
Chapter Four: Tamura Taijirō: 'Flesh' Is Essential

Tamura Taijirō's (1911-83) works portray prostitutes and their sexuality during the Allied occupation period. According to Alan Wolfe, Tamura's 'flesh' literature shares several ideas with Sakaguchi Ango's 'decadence' literature:

Both [...] tend toward a revealing transcendence, to portray women allegorically in a manner highly suggestive of misogyny, and to lend themselves to generic, ahistorical, and universalizing critical categories. (262)

Tamura's work "Nikutai no mon" (Gate of the Flesh) portrays pan-pan prostitutes (young Japanese women serving American soldiers) sympathetically, while his other work, "Shunpu-den" (The Story of a Prostitute) portrays the Korean comfort women who served Japanese soldiers in China. Both stories were written in 1947. I argue that Tamura's writings, particularly "Gate of the Flesh" and "Shunpu-den" are works subscribing to the 'bad girl' school of literature. Representations of women characters in both stories intentionally focus on depravity, a focus that leads to an unconventional image of femininity in Japanese society. Tamura, like Sakaguchi, indicates that these bad girls and their indulgence in sexual pleasure are useful in reviving a corrupt post-war Japan that lacks humanity. Also like Sakaguchi, Tamura creates romanticized images of prostitutes.

Tamura believes that 'flesh' (the body) is the most fundamental component of humanity. In this assertion he opposes imperialistic notions of modernism ('modern thoughts'/ ideology; 223-3). In the essay "Nikutai ga ningen de aru" (The Human Being Is the Body, 1947), he explains:

Our bodies are the only truth. Pain, desire, anger, ecstasy, agony, and sleep—these are the only things that are real. Only through these can...
we become aware of the nature of human existence. (Kerkham 329; Kerkham trans.)

Tamura's work argues that Japanese nationalism promoted by both intellectual and bureaucratic classes led to the war and ultimately to Japan's destruction, thus his distrust of 'modern thoughts.' He believes that understanding 'flesh' is essential to recovering from destruction in the post-war period (Nikutai ga ningen de aru 220-3). Tamura's themes in "Gate of the Flesh" include life-desire, instinct-desire, and sex-desire during the post-war period. He puts particular emphasis on the prostitute's sexual desires.

"Gate of the Flesh"

"Gate of the Flesh" explicitly depicts the life of young prostitutes from their own perspective. This point of view illustrates how the author sympathizes with young women to some extent. In the story, four late teen pan-pan prostitutes, Borneo Maya, Komasa no Osen, Jeep no Omino, and Fûten no Oroku, each within their own district, solicit customers on the street in order to ensure their daily financial survival. A widow, Machiko, joins their group, but they are offended by her feminine behaviour and attitude, as well as by her worries about saving face as a housewife. In order to maintain their business freedom, the four prostitutes adhere to two key rules about selling sex: solidarity must be maintained for self-defense and survival; no sex with men without charging money. Should one girl break the rules, the group will inflict some form of cruel punishment on her. Machiko and Maya, for instance, are tortured later in the story. Both Machiko and Maya are punished by their fellow pan-pan prostitutes for breaking the second rule.

One-day a petty thief, Ibuki Shintarô, escapes from the police and visits the pan-pans' hangout to recover from a wound incurred during his escape. While the
pan-pans grow to like him, Ibuki grows increasingly revolted by what he learns about the intricacies of the professional prostitution world. He favours the newcomer Machiko because he is attracted to her inexperience as a prostitute, her mature femininity, and her lusty passion for sex. When the group finds out about Machiko's 'cheating,' they torture her by crucifying and beating her with a bamboo broomstick. Although they pretend the attack is just, in fact, the women punish Machiko out of their own fondness for Ibuki and out of fear for the dissolution of the group. Ibuki remains sexually excited by Machiko's punished body.

When the other four prostitutes discover that Ibuki and Machiko are having an affair, they become jealous of Machiko's maturity. Thus, when the pan-pans and Ibuki are having a beef eating party, and while her other fellow prostitutes are drunk, Maya sneaks away and also sleeps with Ibuki. In the end, Maya too is punished by her fellow prostitutes, not only because she broke their rules about charging for sex, but also because she obtained sexual gratification. Maya remains content and retains the physical euphoria gained from sleeping with Ibuki in spite of the torture.

The Independence of Pan-pan Girls

The four pan-pan prostitutes in Tamura's work are portrayed as strong and independent women. For example,

The eyes of the pan-pans' clients look hesitant when they unexpectedly meet the girls' cool eyes. Pan-pan prostitutes put their hearts into the business end of things. They have never known the mystery of true sensual indulgence. Their clients flinch a little at this [...] The women hold their clients tightly until the clients lose themselves in arousal again. This is the pan-pan girl's daily battle—the battle for survival. (66)
These *pan-pan* prostitutes take a clear-cut attitude toward sex, thinking of it as a business where emotions are unnecessary. They believe they should remain in control of their clients' sexuality. Even though the women have no choice but to sell their bodies to men due to the loss of their families, the *pan-pans* remain defiant and independent. However, their cold professionalism and independence intimidates male clients or johns, as Tamura mentions in his writings.

The *pan-pan* prostitutes are impassive to the point of being nihilistic in their worldview, due to their distrust of other people. For example, they curse everyone and everything except for themselves (69), partly out of an awareness of their need to remain independent due to the loss of their families. Since it involves neither pimps nor brokers, the girls' business is directly connected with their survival. This independence, group solidarity, and skill in survival are why *pan-pan* prostitutes remain so alive and free of conventional society.

At the end of "Gate of the Flesh," one of the *pan-pan* characters, Sen exclaims,

> It's funny that human bodies and beef cost the same! Isn't it funny, girls? We ate forty-yen of beef and sell our bodies at forty-yen. What does this mean? Do we sell bodies to eat or do we eat to sell bodies? What do our lives mean? (93)

Sen poses fundamental questions about the meaning and value of her life.

Nonetheless, she remains optimistic and confident that she will survive regardless of the answers implied by her rhetorical questions. Scholar Victor Koschmann explains that "survival [for the *pan-pan* prostitute] is the ultimate value and goal" (1991 177). In contrast, the licensed prostitutes resign themselves to their fate as a sacrifice for the sake of their families. *Pan-pan* prostitutes remain ignorant of Japanese post-war family and gender roles partly due to their independent desire for sexual freedom,
partly because of professional attitudes, and partly because of their philosophical nihilism.

Moreover, the sexual autonomy of these prostitutes is unconventional by Japanese standards. For instance, they are self-employed prostitutes and retain more control than those in pimp-john-prostitute relations. Machiko follows her natural passions, rather than treating customers as just business, something that would be unlikely if she retained a pimp. In the film Nikutai no mon (Gate of the Flesh, 1965) directed by Suzuki Seijun, Machiko's sexual passion is explicitly depicted. Machiko's regular customer asks her to be his wife, but she is hesitant since she might lose her pleasure, freedom, and sexual autonomy. This characterization illustrates how pan-pan prostitutes are free from conventional ideology and indifferent to public mores about prostitution.

In summary, "Gate of the Flesh" contains portrayals of pan-pan prostitutes that challenge their negative label as 'bad' girls. However, these images remain part of a male fantasy originating from a male writer's perspective.

**The Romanticization of Pan-pan Girls' Eccentricity**

The pan-pan girls in "Gate of the Flesh" are romanticized for their unusual characteristics and abilities. For instance, Sen has tattoos on her left arm that read "Kantō Komasa" (her nickname resembles a gangster's). Although tattoos on women are often eroticized, Sen's tattoo symbolizes her eccentricity as a woman with the tolerance for the pain of being tattooed, and for her battle for daily survival. Even gangsters are surprised with Sen's strength and patience in enduring the tattooing. Despite their popularity with gangs and prostitutes, tattoos are not considered appropriate for ordinary people, and a woman with a tattoo is seen as a social outcast. The text implies that Sen's tattoo is related to immaturity, a lack of education, and
primitiveness, despite the fact that it gives her a sense of power. In fact, Sen feels the tattoo gives her super-human powers and she uses it to stand up to other pan-pan prostitutes.

When she thought about the fancy pan-pans from Yamanote who sometimes invaded her turf, and how she would now be able to pull one into an alley and startle her by baring the "Kantō Komasa" tattoo in the light of the moon and neon signs, Sen's breast tingled with fighting spirit. (Koschmann 1996 59; 1991 178; Koschmann trans.)

From a male writer's perspective, an unsophisticated, even animalistic woman is good for recovering a man's humanity, as is outlined in Tamura's own 'flesh' theory. Tamura, like Sakaguchi, represents pan-pans taking on animal-like qualities.

Just as primitives have to turn themselves into something superhuman in order to stand up against tigers, alligators, or bears, in Sen's life of daily struggle she had an instinctual desire for a mystical, robust power beyond her natural strength. (Koschmann 1991 178; Koschmann trans.)

The author portrays women as returning to a primitive or wild state. The pan-pans are romanticized as wild animals collectively preying upon clients, eating, and having sex in the outdoors (65-7). This characterization supports the image of pan-pan prostitutes as evil, primitive, uncultured, and uneducated about public life. In fact, the narrator explicitly compares women with animals: "When near the women you feel as though you're standing outside a zoo, such is the unwholesome, urine stained smell of caged animals that their bodies exude" (70-1). Since the women did not often go to the public bath and frequently sweat during sex, they smelled like animals. Other descriptions enforce the idea that pan-pan prostitutes are uncivilized: "They hang
around the city from dusk to dawn due to their strong desire for living. They are like possessed animals wandering the jungle in the dark of night" (65). The commercialization of sex contributes to the characterization of *pan-pans* as lacking cultural and social sophistication.

**Nostalgia for Pre-war Japanese Femininity**

Tamura's representation of Machiko constitutes a romanticization of pre-modern feminine qualities. In "Gate of the Flesh," Ibuki contrasts Machiko with the other *pan-pan* girls. Ibuki's perspective reveals a moral repugnance towards the four *pan-pan* prostitutes. Sen, Maya, Omino, and Oroku are perceived as 'bad' girls, whereas Machiko's character has the qualities of a 'good' woman. Ibuki detests the *pan-pans* first because they are so playful in their lives and since they claim to understand the world (76). Ibuki believes his experience as a soldier during the war gives him greater insight into and understanding of the world. He also loathes the fake sexual performance associated with being professional prostitutes as well as their habit of using dirty words and slang; he dislikes their renouncement of or indifference to sensual pleasure in their relations (82). Presumably, Ibuki possesses an idea of ideal femininity constructed by male conventions that includes the distinction between 'good' and 'bad' women. Consequently, Ibuki favours Machiko, the prostitute portrayed as still possessing what is conventionally considered 'femininity.' Within Machiko's character, the author contrasts two ideas of woman: woman as having conventional qualities of femininity such as an innocent and bashful attitude toward sex, versus woman as possessing unconventional attitudes, such as Machiko's great enthusiasm (82). Machiko's innocent surface combined with her actual lusty behaviour makes for an ambivalent representation; yet, these contradictory aspects of femininity allure male suitors.
In terms of the *pan-pan* prostitutes' points of view, the widow, Machiko, is impure: "sin is indulgence in the pleasure of the sensual mystery without taking money. It is a widow's infidelity" (80). Machiko's 'unfaithfulness' triggers loathing influenced by conventional gender ideology in the other *pan-pan* prostitutes. That a wife remain faithful to her deceased husband was particularly important in the Confucian worldview.

From Maya's perspective, Machiko is seen in an ambivalent manner. On the one hand, Maya hates Machiko; on the other hand, she admires her body and sexual passion. Maya aspires to be Ibuki's ideal woman just as Machiko is.

Ibuki's fondness of Machiko's paradoxical femininity indicates nostalgia for pre-war days. This nostalgia is typical in the representation of female characters by male writers of the modern period such as Nagai Kafū. These authors' writings appear to be nostalgic for prostitutes who embody traditional pre-modern femininity. Ibuki, for instance, is unable to totally accept the new type of women represented in the characters of the four prostitutes. The 'new woman' may be seen as a symptom of the presence of the U.S. General Occupation Force.7

Kafū uses an approach parallel to Tamura's in his portrayal of pre-war femininity. Writer Yoshiyuki Junnosuke discusses Kafū's *A Strange Tale from East of the River* stating, "fundamentally, being romantic means 'an inability to tolerate reality.' In the case of our novelists since they do not wish to face reality, they ground their subject and plot in the past or in foreign countries" (1981 55). The male protagonist Ōe of *A Strange Tale from East of the River* and the antagonist of "Gate of Flesh," Ibuki, both see women prostitutes as characters from pre-modern or pre-war times. Women prostitutes possessing characteristics associated with the past are easily visible in both works. In Suzuki's film (*Gate of the Flesh*), for instance, only
Machiko wears a kimono and acts as a superficial and submissive housewife who is ashamed of discussions of sexual acts. This kimono represents the pre-modern feminine qualities Ibuki longs for.

**Nostalgia for Pre-war Japanese Masculinity**

Ibuki's character hints at and conveys the anxiety, uncertainty, and inferiority of a defeated Japan during the U.S. occupation period. In Suzuki's film Ibuki stabs a U.S. GI. This rebellious act is meant to show that Japanese masculine power still exists, and emphasizes Japanese women's weakness as the *pan-pans* become victims of rape (Maya in the film) while adulating U.S. GIs.

During a time when most Japanese males had an 'inferiority complex' when compared to the U.S. GIs, Ibuki's masculine character represents an empowered Japanese manhood. In the novel and the film, his masculine body is viewed as desirable to the prostitutes. Prostitutes are also impressed with the way Ibuki skillfully butchers a cow, splattering the blood (87-90), as well as with the way he eats beef, emphasizing his masculinity. Maya also remarks of Ibuki's body "he must be God-like and omnipotent, with supernatural powers, to make a devil like Machiko prostrate" (85). Tamura romanticizes Japanese male power over women, to the point of having his male character worshipped by women.

Maya and the other *pan-pan* prostitutes also emphasize Japanese masculinity since they only service Japanese clients in Tamura's text. In Suzuki's film, Maya will only accept Japanese clients because of her memory of rape at the hands of American GIs.

Ibuki eventually becomes the adored centre of all four prostitutes' attention. In the text, Ibuki Shintarō is 'the sun' amongst these four prostitutes represented as four revolving stars (85). Later in the story, his behaviour and attitudes exert a strong
influence over the 'stars,' resulting in a change in their group solidarity and a strain in their relationships. The group superficially unites to attempt to win his heart, but the members keep tabs on one another so that no one can win it on her own (85). In the film, everybody buys canned pineapple to please Ibuki after they learn that pineapple is his favorite food.

Ibuki's attempt to reform the prostitutes through sexual intercourse is compared with serving the nation as a soldier. Toward the end of Tamura's story, when Maya bites and attempts to choke Ibuki, her irrational behaviour makes him disgusted but at the same time sexually excited. This particular scene depicts Maya's body as frog-like. When she opens her legs like a frog, Ibuki has a cruel idea: to have sex with her as if he were tearing off her legs like those of a frog (95-6). In this case, Ibuki sees intercourse as an act of punishment or form of rehabilitation for Maya. Moreover, intercourse causes Ibuki to have feelings of control analogous to those he feels over a machinegun during the war when overcoming his instinctive fear of death (97).

**Maya's Crucifixion: Sacred Imagery**

Maya's 'rebirth' suggests she has just entered the new world of 'flesh.' Her first experience of sexual sensation is created by Ibuki. That is, he is portrayed as a hero opening 'the gate of flesh' for Maya. In Tamura's writing, she is depicted as follows:

Borneo Maya is a completely white animal. In her groaning, howling body hide all the mysteries of sorrow, pleasure, and pain. She feels her waist burn, melt, and flow like wax. It is the first time she has felt such self-fulfillment—as if she were born for the very first time. (97)

In "Gate of the Flesh," Ibuki opens the gate of 'flesh' to Maya, who essentially learns sexual sensuality and pleasure for the first time from him. Sex becomes a ritual by
which one enters the world of 'flesh.' The other prostitutes also begin to seek sexual pleasure from Ibuki and make him a heroic character that fills their sensations and who can convert them into 'real' women. This heroism in Ibuki's characterization is romanticized from a male writer's point of view.

In the end of the text, Maya is portrayed hanging from a white cross. "The body of Borneo Maya is shrouded with a white glowing halo and is solemn like a prophet on the Cross" (100). This image suggests that Maya has received a sort of enlightenment in knowing a deep sexual pleasure with Ibuki. Also, Maya's feelings of rebirth and her crucifixion suggest the image of Christ. According to Wolfe, the post-war period itself is a metaphor for "death and rebirth, a phoenixlike national resurrection" (365). The imagery depicting Maya replaces a prostitute with a religious icon. As I mention in Chapter Two, Saeki states that because sex was considered holy and prostitutes were regarded as Bodhisattva (enlightened beings) in pre-modern Japan, in post-war times (influenced by Western Christianity) Maya may be compared by the author to Christ. Hence, the sacred image of Maya illustrates nostalgia for pre-modernity and pre-war days as it attempts also to focus on the regaining of a lost humanity through the knowing of intimate sexual pleasure. This character's development is closely connected to Tamura's 'flesh theory' and Sakaguchi's 'decadence theory,' both articulating that sex is essential to human existence. Sakaguchi in "Flesh Itself Is Thinking," argues that "[o]ne should write novels which express an idea of 'flesh' [carnality] as an escape from the intellect into a high form of 'mindfulness'[...] We should find morals from thinking of 'flesh' " (237-8). Maya, who learns to experience sexual pleasure, becomes a symbol for that which can save a corrupt Japan, and represents the new ideal of freely expressed sexual pleasure in the post-war era.
A different reading of Maya's image on the cross might see her crucifixion as a symbol of the occupation of Japan by the U.S. Allied Forces and the sacrifices and sufferings caused by it. The cross was associated with the initial act of claiming land in the colonization process, symbolic of how Christianity was used by past conquerors. U.S. Christian missionaries also came to Japan and tried to spread Christianity in the post-war era. Thus Christian imagery is associated with violence during the occupation period. According to Wolfe,

The transcendence, described as a form of resurrection (shinsei or "new life") that is achieved by one of the young women, Borneo Maya, as she is strung up and tortured for engaging in sex that is forbidden because it is pleasurable and not commercial, is intriguingly likened to that of Christ on the cross [...] The suggestion here, enhanced by the reference to the crucifixion, is an internalization not of autonomous democratic values, but of an oppressive social code. To find gratification and "new life" through suffering her does not lead Borneo Maya to social action but to a lingering attachment to the instrument of her suffering, familiar in the Western tradition as romantic or illicit love. (367)

Although Maya's 'rebirth' and 'crucifixion' suggest the image of Christ or the Virgin Mary, she is reborn to 'flesh.' Therefore, Maya's crucifixion as punishment suggests Tamura's cynicism or anxiety toward Christianity.

"Shunpu-den": The Representation of Comfort Women

[The] Japanese organization and control of Korean women's sexuality reached their climax with the recruitment and deployment of approximately 200,000 girls and young women as members of the
chongsindae (Women's Volunteer Corp), today known as comfort women. (Moon 46)

Tamura Taijirō's "Shunpu-den" (The Story of a Prostitute, 1946) portrays the life of Korean comfort women in occupied Manchuria during the Fifteen-Years War (1931-45). The relation between the Korean comfort women and the Japanese soldiers has some parallels with the relation between Japanese prostitutes and occupying American soldiers, in terms of the dynamic between women of the colonized country and occupying soldiers (Sone Hiroyoshi 241). It is significant that a Japanese male writer wrote a story about comfort women at the end of the Fifteen-Years War (W. W. II), since few works by Japanese writers represent comfort women characters, and in fact, Japanese people, especially women, did not know about comfort women until the 1960s. According to Sone Hiroyoshi's commentary, the author Tamura states "I wrote this story with admiration for the young 'women's volunteer corps' (chongsindae) [Korean comfort women] and with feelings of revenge toward Japanese women (Sone Hiroyoshi 241)". Tamura represents Korean comfort women's characters with great sympathy and nostalgia and with his 'flesh theory' strongly in mind. In this work, comfort women are portrayed with sympathy for their plight under the colonial administration; the Japanese 'elite' soldiers, — generals and aides-de-camp — are critically portrayed. Korean comfort women are seen as 'bad girls' /'sex objects' from the elite soldiers' perspective, while they are viewed as 'goddesses' or 'angels' by conscript Japanese soldiers. Tamura's attempt to portray the realistic lives of Korean comfort women includes how the women were treated by Japanese conscript and elite soldiers. However, the tone of Tamura's writing is neither dark nor heavy, and his portrayal of Korean comfort women is at times romanticized, seeing the women as 'saviours' to the regular-duty Japanese soldiers. Also, Tamura attempts to criticize
Japanese nationalism by illustrating how the elite soldiers use patriotism as a form of brainwashing to control soldiers during wartime. The author experienced the battlefield as a conscript soldier himself.

The protagonist in "Shunpu-den" is a Korean comfort woman, Harumi, who takes on a Japanese name while working in a Japanese military camp in occupied Manchuria. She is recruited to the chongsindae to provide sex for Japanese soldiers. In the text, we learn that Harumi had originally been sold to a brothel in Tianjin, China for the sake of earning money for her family. The Japanese elite soldiers are contemptuous of her as a prostitute because she is Korean and considered low class.


The author romanticizes Korean comfort women with his 'flesh' theory since he believes 'flesh' is essential for human beings. Scholar Eleanor Kerkham points out,

Contemporary accounts of the experiences of survivors of the military camps suggest that Tamura has projected his own fantasies and theories onto what was undoubtedly a far more violent, crude, and joyless existence. The profound irony with which Tamura does not deal is the fact that these young women were there on the bloody Chinese front lines presumably because of the vital forces of nikutai that Tamura so admires—that he believes he must be properly nourished by women's flesh. (334)

Tamura's characterization of pan-pan prostitutes in "Gate of Flesh" emphasizes female physicality and attributes Maya's sexual awakening to male heroism. A similar heroism scapegoats Japanese soldiers' violent actions toward Korean comfort women in "Shupu-den." Kerkham explains:
Tamura's fictional vision is colored... by a fantasy that he and other contemporary Japanese government officials and former military men have used to justify their own actions and attitudes—that these women were 'prostitutes.' (335)

In addition, Tamura believes that the comfort woman's indulgence in her sexual passion is essential for their humanity even if being a comfort woman was not her chosen occupation.

These women felt no pleasure from their work because their bodies [nikutai] were abused and numb with overwork[... ] However, in just the same manner that the worker does at times experience an instant of unbearable pain in his labor, these women too feel periodically a moment of erotic pleasure in their bodies. And this, after all, is not an evil thing. It comes of itself from the unconscious waves of their own bodies and is, finally, intertwined with emotions evoked upon contact with the vital physicality of their male customer's own flesh [nikutai].
(Kerkham 333; Kerkham trans.)

From the aide-de-camp Narita's perspective, Harumi is not even a person. Hesselink reflects on the relationship between local prostitutes in Indonesia and European men: "perhaps Europeans romanticized prostitution in the Indies somewhat as an excuse for participating in it on such a large scale. Thus there was no need to feel guilty toward the indigenous prostitutes" (213). The relationship described by Hesselink would seem to correlate to that between Japanese soldiers and Korean comfort women. Narita treats Harumi as his pet or glamorous sex machine. After he and other soldiers find out that she is in love with a corporal, Mikami, and that she has joined him in a double suicide, they consider her an akujo, and totally ignore her
existence as a person in order to hide the disloyal incident (the suicide) from the army. Hence, Harumi is seen as a 'bad' girl who seduced an innocent Japanese solider and ruined his life. However, the suicidal soldier Mikami is also portrayed as a dishonourable soldier who was previously saved by his Chinese enemy after being injured.

The author also writes that Harumi is excited to have sex with Japanese soldiers on the front line because their well-built physiques provoke her lust. Even though Harumi is unwilling to provide sex to the aide-de-camp Narita, her body spontaneously responds to his well-built masculine body. The masculine bodies of soldiers including Narita's never fail to evoke sexual pleasure in her.

She [Harumi] hated the filth of her own body that cursed Narita's lust and at the same time responded to it even against her will. His power pressed in on her. The aide-de-camp's violence, which at most was pure bodily lust, could not be opposed. If one resisted with the body, defeat was certain. Thus she was given that pleasure about which she felt such shame and, unable to know what to do, she felt in a numb stupor, feeling as if her body were being forced to swim in dirty slime. (Kerkham 334; Kerkham trans.)

Tamura invokes stereotypes of Korean comfort women. For instance, the women are shown to have strong passions and intense ways of expressing their feelings.

With a customer they disliked, they were apt to curse fouilly and wave him out, but with guests they liked, they would entertain lavishly, even spending money of their own. These women lived in innocent naivete; when happy, they would belt out a song, and when sad they
would cry out loud. They possessed an extraordinary passion.

(Kerkham 333; Kerkham trans.)

Their intensity and unusual behaviour are seen as 'exotic' and tend to excite the Japanese soldiers who think Korean comfort women are quite different from the quiet and ordinarily obedient Japanese women. Japanese men want to use Korean comfort women as their sex objects for entertainment and flirtation; however, these women are not suitable wives, since they are ultimately seen by society as being lower-class, inferior (foreigners), and prostitutes. Eventually, the men want to have Japanese wives, for they need to preserve the race's 'pure blood' through their progeny. Indeed, the Korean scholar Yi mentions that the Japanese government attempted to initiate a tacit policy of Japanese eugenics and thus the recruitment of Korean and Chinese comfort women was used as a tool to eliminate reproduction by non-Japanese ethnic groups (349). In Tamura's "Shunpu-den" the Japanese cotton merchant Tomoda Kan'ichi does not consider Harumi a potential wife but rather an exciting, entertaining fantasy that fulfills his short-term sexual desires (105). In contrast to Japanese housewives, Harumi is passionate and has an intense temper. Korean comfort women's strength and instinctive wisdom suggest the humanity of Tamura's 'flesh' theory:

It [an extraordinary passion] was not something that came from logical reasoning or from knowledge found in books. It was intense life ideology that they hammered out with their bodies [nikutai][...]

The intensity of their expression revealed the intensity of this life force within their bodies. (Kerkham 333; Kerkham trans.)

Harumi falls in love and becomes devoted to Tomoda in Tianjin, China. After Tomoda returns with his Japanese wife, Harumi falls into despair and gets drunk
nearly every day. She hopes to force Tomoda into a double suicide, but he is not
home and instead, Harumi threatens his wife with a dagger, ultimately thrusting it
harmlessly onto a tatami mat. Later, when Tomoda returns to apologize to Harumi,
she angrily bites his tongue until he faints (105-6), displaying her intense, almost mad
depth of love and devotion. In a sense, Harumi's crazed passion is a manifestation of
the stereotype that Japanese men appreciated in Korean comfort women. Tamura
attributes Korean comfort women's intensity and passion to the fact that they eat hot,
spicy, and smelly 'exotic' food.

The bodies [nikutai] of these women who ate garlic and red hot
peppers, their very flesh and bones, were sharp, containing a willful
intelligence. And even after strong emotions that might flare up within
that willfulness, they experienced no remorse. Perhaps this was a
special ethnic characteristic of these women. (Kerkham 333; Kerkham
trans.)

Harumi's strength and strangeness are contrasted with other comfort women's when
she goes to the front line. Other comfort women, for instance, are scared of the front
line soldiers' tenacious sexual appetites stimulated by the wild, crude battlefield.

**Romanticization: Criticism of Elite Soldiers and Japanese Patriotism**

In Sone's commentary on "Shunpu-den," he suggests that Tamura criticizes
Japanese imperialism and nationalism, including the idea that the emperor is absolute,
an idea prevalent amongst Japanese soldiers of the time (241-2). The cult of the
emperor, along with the development of Japanese modernization — which included
the pursuit of "Western imperialist activity in Asia" (Bailey 11) and the development
of an expansionist military government — was promoted by bureaucrats, local elites,
and intellectuals. Presumably, Tamura's actual experience as a soldier led to his
criticism of imperialism and emperor-centred ideology among the Japanese military elite. Ironically, Korean comfort women in Tamura's work acknowledge the effectiveness of the term 'emperor' on Japanese soldiers, though they do not understand loyalty to him. For instance, Harumi knows the power of the phrase 'the emperor' is useful to control the violent nature of Japanese soldiers who are brainwashed to be highly nationalistic. Tamura's representations of the Korean comfort women's ability to assess the soldiers thinking illustrates both his respect for their intellect and his own understanding of the dynamics of Japanese expansionist nationalism during the Second World War.


2 Tamura Taijirô mentions his 'theory of flesh' in the following three essays: "Nikutai ga ningen de aru," "Nikutai bungaku no kiban" [The Foundation of Flesh Literature], and "Ningen o aisuru" [Loving Humanity].

3 Tamura states that 'modern thoughts' from the Meiji period to the post-war days —especially nationalism— ignored 'flesh.' Intellectuals and bureaucrats promoted these 'modern thoughts.' Especially as Japanese nationalism was linked to disasters of war, Tamura came to distrusts 'modern thoughts.' See Tamura's "Nikutai ga ningen de aru."

4 This passage is my translation. Some of translations of "Gate of the Flesh" are Koschmann.'s.

5 The film Nikutai no mon [Gate of the Flesh] was directed by Suzuki Seijun in 1964. Suzuki adapted the novel by Tamura Taijirô but came up with his own version of the ending. Suzuki also produced the film version of Shunpu-den [The Story of A Prostitute] in 1965.

6 Sen's immature thin body is contrasted to Machiko's mature, fleshy body, one woman apparently knowing and the other not knowing sexual pleasure. "Even if she
sells her body, she has no sensual pleasure, as if the early bloomed flower were scentless" (64). The description of Sen and the other three prostitutes' bodies' immaturity as "a green plum" (66) is symbolic of the pan-pans' inexperience with sexual sensations. The narrator portrays the women as insensitive to sexual pleasure due to the daily selling of their bodies.

7 See Chapter One.

8 Wolfe states that Tamura's and other post-war writers' works are influenced by Christianity. He suggests, " 'Gateway to the Flesh' [Gate of the Flesh] and... Kurosawa's film Drunken Angel [1948] with their hell and heaven symbolism, one may also take note of Ishikawa Jun's 'Yakeato no Jesu' (Jesus of the Bombed-Out Ruins, 1947), with its evocation of Jesus in the postwar black market, and Dazai Osamu's Shayô (The Setting Sun, 1947) with its underlay of Christian-Marxist dialectic syncretized in the titular symbol of 'the setting sun' " (367-8).

9 The title "Shunpu-den" literally means "story of a 'spring woman' " and by extension, "story of a 'prostitute'." In this text the reference is specifically to 'comfort women.' The story portrays the life of the Korean comfort woman, Harumi. The title is also probably taken from her name, the prefix of which means 'spring' (haru-mi (春美)).

10 Kerkham also quotes from Tamura's preface to an unpublished, censored version of "Shunpu-den": "I dedicate this story to the tens of thousands of Korean women warriors [Chôsen joshigun] who, to comfort ordinary Japanese soldiers deployed to the Asian mainland during the war, risked their lives on remote battlefields where Japanese women feared and disdained to go, thereby losing their youths and their bodies [nikutai]" (311).

11 I will explain one of the ways in which imperial nationalism (emperor-centred ideology) developed. After the Meiji restoration in 1868, many of the samurai class remained the upper class or became business entrepreneurs. These business/samurai classes were closely linked to the government and held onto the ethos of the Edo feudal system. Samurai shifted their loyalties from the shôgun (feudal lord) to the emperor, continuing to support the ideology of authoritarianism. See Bailey, pp.9.
Chapter Five: Ishikawa Jun: Two Diverging Representations of the Feminine From a Romanticizing Male Perspective

Ishikawa Jun and The Burai-ha School

Ishikawa Jun (1899-1987) occupies a somewhat confused position in literary history: sometimes considered part of the 'sengo-ha' (après guerre school) but at other times included in the 'burai-ha' (school of libertinism; Tyler 1998 203-4) along with Sakaguchi Ango (1906-55) and other writers of the post-war era (Tyler 1998 19). Ishikawa is also often regarded as slightly removed from the burai-ha school (Keene 1087-8) as his writing style is influenced by the writings of the socialist and communist movements. Ishikawa wrote resistance literature, for instance, to oppose aggressive Japanese militarism and nationalism, and he employed "a rigorous anarchism, [...] antiestablishment novels, and a multilayered construction combining literary parody, allegorical farce, and social satire" (Tyler 1990 xi).

Ishikawa's work in the immediate aftermath of war, however, resonates with the humanistic writings of the burai-ha school, his use of female icons in particular recalling Tamura Taijirō's work. Sakaguchi Ango argues that 'flesh' or 'body' itself precedes essence (mind) and was necessary in rebuilding the humanity lost during the war. His writing conveys the idea that prostitutes who use their bodies for sex and survival will salvage Japanese society from ruin, and that their 'degradation' will liberate people from accumulated social restraints in the immediate post-war period. In Sakaguchi's text, prostitutes are portrayed as devious or unconventional.

Ishikawa's own writing conveys ideas on prostitutes similar to those Sakaguchi presents in his work: for one, both concur with the Sartrian existentialist concept that human existence precedes human essence. To further illustrate Ishikawa's burai-ha affinities, I discuss Ishikawa's "Ôgon densetsu" (The Legend of Gold, 1946) and its...
representation of a pan-pan prostitute, along with depictions of a geisha in a brothel in Kayoi Komachi⁴ (1947).

"The Legend of Gold"

In an opening scene in "The Legend of Gold" a businesswoman speaks about her guilt in serving white rice, and her satisfaction in serving "white bread, a cup of coffee with cream and sugar, a piece of sponge cake with ham, and doughnuts made with eggs (56)."⁵ These latter foods are associated with the presence of the American military during the occupation period. "The Legend of Gold" was actually censored by the American GHQ and banned by Japanese state agencies after its publication (Keene 1099). In "The Legend of Gold," one scene suggests that an American GI is unlawfully selling contraband or military provisions as black market goods with the help of his Japanese girlfriend (a pan-pan girl). Such portrayals may have unnerved the U.S. authorities.

The banned "The Legend of Gold" is an adaptation of a sacred allegory, *Legenda aurea* (Golden Legend), which depicts saints from Christian legends. *Legenda aurea* was first recorded by Jacques de Varazze (Jacobus de Voragine) in 1255-66 (The New Encyclopedia Britannica 29:1067, 6: 466:1b).⁶ Critic Noguchi Takehiko explains that this legend is said to have healed the spirits of citizens during the dark times of the medieval era. Varazze wandered through several countries to trace the legendary story back. Ishikawa likely draws on Varazze's wandering in his characterization of the protagonist Watashi (I), who wanders post-war Japan in search of his friend's beloved widow (Noguchi 229).

Watashi (I) wanders all over Japan in a quest for three things during the immediate post-war period: a professional watch repairman to fix his watch, a touring
cap, and his friend's former wife, now widowed. Watashi desperately searches for this woman out of his nostalgia for a past romance with her.

One day, Watashi suddenly feels confident with his health and thinks he does not have to fix his watch as he can adjust time to whatever "his inner chemistry" (Tyler 1998 205) dictates. On the same day, he finds his "brand-new touring cap" (Tyler 1998 65), which rekindles pre-war feelings. Later, Watashi serendipitously meets the beloved widow in Yokohama near an American base when he stops for a cup of coffee. Evidently, the woman's life has changed dramatically, since she is now working as a pan-pan prostitute. In one scene, the widow suddenly runs into the arms of a black American GI without saying good-bye to the protagonist; Watashi decides to leave, feeling embarrassed and insecure. Does the writer intentionally give the widow power over Watashi and does her love with the American GI affect this? This episode with the widow and the GI not only illuminates Watashi's fears, but also illustrates aspects of the psyches of Japanese men in the post-war period including anxiety, humiliation, and embarrassment.

The protagonist's first desire to find his watch serves as a metaphor for the search for 'normalized time' following the war. In a sense, time does not exist for post-war civilians. Ishikawa's character comments on this notion of timelessness:

Indeed were one to compare my time with the precision clocks at the observatory in Greenwich, surely he would find—would he not?—there was no significant deviation. In short, given the way things had worked out according to my new definition of time, what need had I to spend a minute more searching for a reliable watch repairman or an honest human being? (65)
In this representation, the concept of time depends on an individual's perspective and circumstances; thus, time becomes ambiguous.

The second wish, that of having a sporty touring cap, signifies a desire to return to ordinary appearances and to cast off the army cap worn during wartime (Tyler 1998 60). In the story, Watashi successfully achieves his second wish by chance (Tyler 1998 65). Watashi's third wish to meet his friend's beloved widow, also occurs by chance. Tyler points out that the widow is "the woman in red" (akazukume no yōsō; 1998 67), with her vividly coloured dress hinting at her new life as a pan-pan prostitute. The widow's speech, mannerism, and appearance, have dramatically changed from Watashi's memories of her pre-war. The protagonist describes the widow during the pre-war time as a 'lady.'

That was all she said. But her directions were so patient and full of care, and she tendered them in the politest and most elegant of voices.

It was almost as though I had been her lover that night, and having plighted our troth in a grand and secret affair, we were sharing the sweetness and sorrow known only to those who love but are destined to part. (69)

The former courtesy of the women's speech, her kindness, and her elegant mannerism aroused Watashi's romanticism and desire for a traditional Japanese woman.

Watashi also discovers the widow's 'exotic' new nature and speech. An easy familiarity, her modern appearance and ways, as well as Lucky-Strike cigarettes and chocolates in her bag, all indicate her connections with the American soldiers and their way of life. The widow as a pan-pan prostitute is carefully observed by Watashi.
She is dressed entirely in red from head to toe, and her powdered bosom fills the air with its oily perfume. Like a ripe flower ready to drop its petals, it comes perilously close to spilling into my lap...

Opening her handbag and producing a pack of Lucky Strikes, she took out a cigarette and put it to her lips. The large purse [...] was stuffed with packs of cigarettes, bars of chocolate, as well as other items not produced on the domestic market. (67)

Watashi is bewildered at the widow's friendly and intimate manner; yet simultaneously he is energized by her exotic transformation. This dramatic change in the 'life of the widow in red' symbolizes transcendent time and may be called "yatsushi" (disguise or masquerade; Tyler 1998 212).

**Yatsushi as a Technique for Transformation**

Andō Hajime mentions that Ishikawa often employs "tenkan no sōsa," a writing technique of transformation (transmigration; 45). Examples of types of transformation are 'yatsushi' and 'mitate' (transfiguration) of characters in his work. Tyler explains how yatsushi and mitate are employed in pre-modern Japanese typologies. "Yatsushi, which refers to [...] a highborn person travelling incognito—implies an aristocratic, noblesse-oblige descent into the plebeian" (1990 148).

Noguchi also defines yatsushi as "originally meaning that a noble person transforms into a low-born figure and joins popular conversation" (213). This yatsushi transformation is essential to Ishikawa's existentialist concept that human existence precedes essence (Tyler 1998 205). The widow's change in Ishikawa's story may be called a yatsushi transformation since the widow changes from a traditional 'lovely wife' into a widow and a pan-pan prostitute. Japanese women of any status served the American GIs as survival prostitutes in this era. The widow's yatsushi shift (from a
wife to a pan-pan prostitute) is necessary for the woman's survival, and links to Sakaguchi's notion of recovering humanity during the timeless post-war period. Two images of the widow in "The Legend of Gold," one as a traditional feminine woman and another as an exotic, vulgar woman, shift between past and present through the medium of the yatsushi.

*Mitate* as an Imitative Technique

Another technique used in "The Legend of Gold" is *mitate*, described by Tyler as

A technique reminiscent of conceits of the seventeenth century English metaphysical poetry. In ordinary Japanese parlance, *mitate* refers simply to identifying like-sets: comparing objects, diagnosing a disease, or parodying a topic. Often it is a game, played at the geisha party perhaps [...] (1990 148)

Noguchi also explains the philosophical use of *yatsushi* and *mitate* in literature.

"'Mitate' is the reverse of the 'yatsushi' process [...] 'Mitate' is a procedure by which reality goes through a fictional world, and one rediscovers self and [holistic] reality" (213). Ishikawa uses a *mitate* transfiguration in order to bring out a more idealized image of the widow. By the end of "The Legend of Gold," the widow is juxtaposed with the geisha woman Cio-Cio-san from *Madama Butterfly* (1904). The image of the widow running into the GI is linked to that of a butterfly in Ishikawa's text:

And there, cling[ing] to the thick chest of the powerful man, were the arms of the woman dressed in red [widow]. She was like a butterfly resting on the trunk of a tree, and she clung to it as securely as she could... There would be no final 'adieu'. (Tyler 1998 70)
The technique of *mitate* is used as the image of the woman in red (the widow) is transformed into *Madama Butterfly*, an idealized image of a woman. In Puccini's *Madama Butterfly*, an adolescent Japanese woman, Cio-Cio-san, falls in love, marries, and has a son with Lieutenant Pinkerton of the United States Navy in Nagasaki. She desperately misses him while he is on leave to the U.S. Finally, Cio-Cio-san kills herself and left her son after Pinkerton's new American wife comes to Japan visit. Cio-Cio-san dies for her devotion to an American man. The image of *Madama Butterfly* superimposed onto Ishikawa's widow represents a *mitate* transfiguration in the shift from *pan-pan* prostitute to the ideal woman (Tyler 1998 209-10).

**Ishikawa's Use of Mitate in Kayoi Komachi**

In "The Legend of Gold," Ishikawa's image of a *pan-pan* prostitute exhibits 'nostalgia' for a beautiful woman with pre-modern sensibilities. The widow's transformation through the literary techniques of *yatsushi* and *mitate* represents Ishikawa's 'idealizing' approach to female imagery. Ishikawa also uses *mitate* in the novel, *Kayoi Komachi*. To summarize the story briefly, the protagonist Watashi (I) tags along behind the *geisha* Someka⁹ and sees her enter a milkmaid's (Yotchan's) shop. Someka finally comes to a brothel where Watashi buys sexual favours from her. After Watashi finds a red mark on Someka's breast—indicative of her Hansen's disease—he asks her to marry him and to convert to Catholicism. Someka casually accepts Watashi's marriage proposal.

Ishikawa employs the technique of *mitate* to represent women, like Someka and Yotchan in a universal manner. One feature of *mitate* techniques includes naming women to represent their transcendent qualities (timeless and placeless). Examples of *mitate* figure in Ishikawa's writings include the following: Ono no Komachi, the Virgin Mary, bodhisattva, a milkmaid, and a communist activist. Employing the
technique of *mitate*, Ishikawa instantly superimposes sacred images onto Someka and Yotchan. The substitutability of these characters in his work implies that status or title is unimportant, and that his women share similar qualities, albeit his idealized ones.

Ishikawa employs the technique of *mitate* when he introduces the image of Someka as Ono no Komachi\(^1\) (a courtier of the early Heian period) or as a symbol of komachi-hood. In Ishikawa's text, Komachi was the educated women at court who served deities. In *Kayoi Komachi*, Watashi explains that Komachi was good at composing *tanka* (Japanese poems) and men were expected to reply to Komachi with a *tanka* themselves if they wanted to have liaisons with the Komachi (266). Ishikawa creates a parallel here between modern prostitution with its money-sex exchange and the Komachi system with its poetry-sex exchange (258). For example, Watashi explains that buying Someka's sexual favour is like winning over a Komachi with a clever poem (259). At the same time, Ishikawa's image of Komachi is gradually degraded and shifts to objectify women's bodies, as Ono no Komachi also reputed to be a promiscuous woman. Someka's characteristics as a *geisha* in a sophisticated, yet pre-modern manner, thus idealizes a traditional and sexually aggressive Komachi-like femininity. Watashi instinctively sees Someka as a *geisha* since her kimono symbolizes *geisha*:

Her appearance is that of an ordinary girl. She has permed hair and wears the laced fillet trendy among women these days. She wears a deep blush kimono with a delicate pattern, the conservative type meant for 23-24 year olds. (257)\(^1\)

When Watashi follows Someka on the train and watches her, she skillfully changes her *tabi* (traditional socks to accompany a kimono). This scene illustrates Watashi's
attention to Someka's refinement and mannerism, which create 'nostalgia' for pre-modern femininity.

Ishikawa's characterization of Someka uses *mitate* to draw parallels between her and the image of a Bodhisattva. In Ishikawa's text, a *geisha* is referred to as a Bodhisattva, a sacred figure in pre-modern Japan. His images of *geisha* and Bodhisattva are closely linked in terms of the concept of *ukiyo* ('grievous world' in the medieval era or 'the floating world' after the Edo era). The concept of *ukiyo* during the medieval era described the world as an illusion. By the Edo period the concept altered to denote theatrical roles and pleasures (*Geisha*-houses). The protagonist comments:

In Buddhism, the Bodhisattva freely goes to the world of the dead and returns to this world. This movement is the 'play' in Buddhist philosophy [...] Like the Bodhisattva's, Someka's movement is limited to the repetitive travel between the second floor of the *Geisha-ya* and a series of different entertainment rooms (*zashiki*). The back street behind the farmland might be a secret commuting street for an elegant 'playing' Bodhisattva with a 'fresh body.' (273)

Ishikawa's idea of the Bodhisattva becomes an extended metaphor for Someka's travel between two worlds, her own private room and the entertainment room (*zashiki*). Also, Someka's movement (her commute) is significant since *kayoi* (commuting) from the title *Kayoi Komachi* indicates a connection between the image of Komachi and the Bodhisattva. In Buddhism, there is no bodily resurrection after death as there is in Christian theology, but rather rebirth according to karmic merit. In Ishikawa's text, Watashi sees Someka and apparently cannot distinguish between her diseased body affected by Hansen's disease and her soul (273-4).
Someka's conversion illustrates Ishikawa's use of *mitate* in two respects. First, she is 'transformed', at least in the mind of Watashi (I), from being a geisha to being a Catholic wife. Second, she undergoes a *mitate*-like transformation in that Watashi believes she can be saved from the flesh-disfiguring Hansen's disease. Ishikawa uses the sacrifice of Christ's flesh (represented in their conversions and in the eating of bread) to symbolize Someka's rebirth (274-77).

Someka's transformation through *mitate* consists of a romanticization by Watashi. Watashi chooses to live with Someka because he romanticizes himself as comforting her in her journey of decay. Finally, in the end of the story Watashi's romantic image of Someka reaches a climax when he kisses Someka envisioning her Hansen's disease as a semi-sacred sign.

*Mitate* Using Sacred and Universal Imagery

Yotchan, Someka's friend, is characterized by *mitate* as a milkmaid, communist, and the Virgin Mary. When Watashi and Someka talk about Yotchan, for example, the scene naturally conveys Watashi's dream-like pastoral world set on a farm. It is a sunny morning, and two cows wander by that are later milked by a milkmaid (264). Across from the pasture, there is a church with bells ringing (265). The scene Ishikawa creates has illusionary and transcendent qualities. The lack of a boundary between illusion and reality is manifest in Watashi's explanations:

Why does this pastoral scene speak to my heart? Perhaps, this ubiquitous scene exists from ancient times and connects with the universal pasture [...] However, nothing can obstruct my illusions of a church, a cross, and the sound of ringing, [...] and I see and hear this scene as actually existing. (265)
The images of Yotchan and Someka as the Virgin Mary, Bodhisattava, and Komachi have strong parallels as they are all idealized 'religious icons.' Through mitate, the author suggests that they represent universal women.

Yotchan is also seen as a communist activist by the other characters (284-87). For instance, Someka explains to Watashi that Yotchan has a communist boyfriend; however, Watashi believes that she is not really in love with him but rather with the red communist flag (i.e. communism). He explains:

There is the only girl who is unique among the communist comrades, and she is a mad-spirited girl. She is energized from the cow's milk that she has absorbed and he can feel her energy pulsating through her skin and passing through her kimono. Her hair is wrapped with red worker's cloth like the red fluttering, shiny communist flag. (286)

The vitality of Yotchan as a communist activist links to her image as a milkmaid, since Ishikawa's idealized image of a female communist activist like Yotchan is transcendent. Why is a communist activist used as an idealized figure for the writer? Apparently, "many of [Ishikawa's] ideas resonate with the thinking of this progressive, left-wing group that advocated social revolution" (Tyler 1998 280).

Ishikawa's concept of communism is explained in Utau Ashita no tameni (Prepare for Tomorrow of a Song, lendemains qui chantent, 1952). Ishikawa's idea of communism links to the humanist ideas of the immediate post-war era. At the same time, he mentions that any kind of social or political movement that improves human life may be essential. Yotchan's character represents the kind of activist that promotes humanity. Watashi sees Yotchan's absorption in the red communist flag as being a suitable substitute for one in the cross of Christianity. Noguchi suggests that "if necessary, Ishikawa would write a completely different work. In Kayoi Komachi, the
characters convert to communism but not to Catholicism" (256). I argue that Ishikawa's image of women in any characterization is transcendent.

In Ishikawa's text, the sacred female icons, komachi and bodhisattva from the medieval era, and the Virgin Mary and a communist activist from the post-war era, are chronologically transformed from a geisha and a milkmaid, respectively, when Ishikawa employs the literary device of mitate.

In sum, Ishikawa's works tend to romanticize women's imaginary using spiritual stereotypes. In his work Kayoi Komachi the images of women are conveyed using the iconic stereotypes of Komachi, bodhisattava, and the Virgin Mary via the technique of mitate. Essentially, Ishikawa's women characters are interchangeable and transcendent. The author challenges the usual negative images of woman by elevating them to sacred status. These images, however, are highly romanticized ones from a Japanese male writer's perspective.

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1 William J. Tyler explains that 'burai-ha' literally means "a school of 'ruffians' and 'roués,' but is often translated as a school of the 'libertine.'" Tyler explains in his notes that "the libertinism of these writers was reflected in their shared pattern of obstreperousness and iconoclasm toward authority and traditional values as well as lifestyles characterized by hard drinking and sexual liberality." (272) These writers are also deemed "shin-gesaku-ha" (The school of the new burlesque) since they were interested in Edo gesaku fiction and championed 'frivolous' writing in modern days (272).

2 According to Tyler, Sakaguchi and Ishikawa exchanged opinions on literature. Sakaguchi was actually influenced by Ishikawa's earlier writings. The two exchanged letters. Their letters were published in Shinchô in Oct 1954.

3 In Marusu no Uta [The Song of the War God, 1938]. Ishikawa wrote about an incident during the early invasion of China in 1937 in an unfavourable light.
'Komachi' often refers to Ono no Komachi. Ono no Komachi (unknown date; see note 10), one of the six or thirty-six best poets, was considered one of the most beautiful women who ever lived. The word, 'komachi' consequently often implies a beautiful woman. (Iwanami kokugo jiten 4th ed. 399)

Translations of "The Legend of Gold" are all from Tyler.

Jacobus de Voragine (Jacques de Varazze) was also called Jacob of Voragine (b. 1228/30, Varazze, near Genoa [Italy] -d. July 13/14, 1298, Genoa). Varazze's "works include sermons Gospel readings, Saints' days, and the Virgin Mary; a chronicle of Genoa; and the Legenda aurea (Golden Legend, also known as the Lombardica historia). This book is a collection of saints lives, of accounts of events in the lives of Christ and of the Virgin Mary, and of information about holy days and seasons, the whole arranged as readings (Latin: legenda) for church year. Immensely popular in the Middle Ages, it was translated into all Western European languages and gradually much enlarged. William Caxton's translation was one of first books printed in English (1483). Medieval artists found the Golden Legend a storehouse of events and persons to be illustrated. But the miraculous stories it contains and its natural historical perspective rendered the book unacceptable at the Reformation and after the rise of the new learning, so it then went completely out of fashion" (The New Encyclopedia Britannica 6: 466:1b).

Tyler mentions that "the post-war age is one of do-it-yourself-existentialism, and in the days and weeks that follow near the end of war he [Watashi] develops a feel or approximation for a sense of time that is distinctly his own by comparing the 'state of his inner chemistry' with the external world."

I refer to Giacomo Puccini's operatic work, Madama Butterfly (1904). In 1898 Madama Butterfly, written by John Luther Long (1861-1927), was adapted for the stage by David Belasco. Puccini's later version of Madama Butterfly caught more attention from the public.

Ishikawa's geisha character Someka exemplifies geisha in the post-war period. The term geisha came to denote an ambiguous status somewhere between that of entertainer (artist performer) and prostitute.
10 Ono no Komachi (unknown) was a daughter of Ono no Takamura. She was believed to have lived around the period of Emperor Ninmyō (833-49) and Montoku (850-57). She exchanged poems with Fun'ya no Yasuhide (unknown) and Shōjō Henjō (816-90) (Kōjien 4th ed. 374). Komachi perhaps refers to 'sotoba komachi' or 'eguchi komachi' in the medeival era. Sotoba (卒都婆) komachi appeared in a Noh play written by Kan'ami (1333-84), where a Buddhist monk in Kōyasan rebukes an old beggar woman for sitting on sotoba (stupa). In response, the old woman preaches Buddhist ethics to the monk. The old woman was actually the courtier Ono no Komachi. (Kōjien 4th ed. 1516). Eguchi (江口) komachi also appeared in a Noh play that was originally written by Kan'ami and then subsequently rewritten by his son Zeami (1363-1443). In the new version, a courtesan in Eguchi (in Osaka) exchanges poems with the famous poet and monk Saigyō (1118-90). The courtesan transforms into Fugen Bodhisattva (Kōjien 4th ed. 277).

11 The passages from Kayoi Komachi are my translations.

12 According to Liza Dalby, the concept of ukiyo (憂き世) during the medieval era was based on perceptions of the world according to Buddhist thought. For instance, the world we perceive is grievous but "it is fortunate that the world is [...] illusion, and that true reality lies elsewhere" (269). The concept of ukiyo (浮き世) altered to the floating world in the Edo period. "The floating world of the Edo period was the world of the theater and the pleasure quarters" (269). Geisha were a part of the sophistication of the ukiyo. For some modern Japanese, geisha remain nostalgic qualities of the ukiyo as well as the art of pre-modern culture (270).

13 Women's breasts are illusions for Watashi: "any part of a woman's body is meticulously placed [...] I think a woman's body is not of this world [...] The kimono is the skin of the woman in this world and inside her kimono is but illusion" (270). Someka is a good model of Watashi's illusion since she has a red mark indicating a sign of Hansen's disease on her breast. Her future death reveals her breasts as illusion. Watashi also believes that women's breasts have significant links to Catholicism since breasts are the closest organs to the heart (one's core) in one's body (269-71). In Ishikawa's text, breasts suggest a faith of divine purity in a common world.
14 Ishikawa portrays the idealized image of female protagonist Yukari as a communist activist in Fugen [The Bodhisattva, 1936].

15 The excerpt from Ishikawa's "Utau Ashita no tameni," (Lendemains qui Chantent): "Since French communists don't believe in God and resist a specific crisis: the invasion of Nazism — they don't employ slogans against classism or for the liberation of proletarians. Instead, these communists trust strongly in the idea of Humanist culture. They say [...] , "Prepare for tomorrow of a song" (Préparer des lendemains qui chantent) [...] I think that humanism or one's effort to build human culture is an address to tomorrow. A continuum of human's movements in the world since the Renaissance has built humanist culture [...] Since human movements continue, we essentially create a concept of time: tomorrow in an individual life and history of culture [...] Communism or other-isms [doctrines] can be useful human movements" (281-2).
Chapter Six: Yoshiyuki Junnosuke: Romanticizing Bonds

Between Male Characters and Prostitutes

Yoshiyuki Junnosuke (1924-94) wrote numerous stories about prostitutes, particularly about those working in Japan's urban 'red-light districts' (*akasen chitai*). Many of his stories also depict a male protagonist's visits to prostitutes who live in brothels, as critic Torii Kunio points out (190-5). Yoshiyuki's work often paints the johns of his generation as being 'nostalgic' for the red-light district prostitutes. Yoshiyuki's classic male character visits or experiences these prostitutes primarily to reminisce, much like Nagai Kafû's characters discussed in Chapter Two. In addition, Yoshiyuki writes of liberating sexual acts to disturb traditional notions of sexuality that continued to prevail during the post-war period (*Life and Sex* 25). Thus, Yoshiyuki's male characters search for the meaning of their existence and for consolation in buying prostitutes' services, believing that the red-light districts are the place one prepares to enter manhood (*Life and Sex* 21-3).

In the works *Genshoku no machi* (The Town of Primary Colours, 1951) and "Shôfu no heya" (The Prostitute's Room, 1958; trans. as In Akiko's Room, 1977), psychologically-wounded male characters look for consolation from prostitutes because they are desperate for love. They are hurt and condemned by the outside world. Yoshiyuki's red-light district prostitutes are seen as a therapy for reestablishing male identity that does not involve the men's actually having to enter the real world. In this view, prostitution is more than a sex-money exchange, and men consider the red-light districts and their women prostitutes sanctuaries for regaining emotional purity.
Memoirs of Prostitutes in Red-Light Districts

His essay, "Shôfu to watashi" (Prostitutes and Me, 1960) constitutes Yoshiyuki's memoirs of visiting prostitutes before access to the red-light districts was prohibited under the 1964 Prostitution Abolition Law (Kawamura Jirô 404). In another essay Sei to sei (Life and Sex 1990) Yoshiyuki explains that experiences of 'red-light districts' are training for manhood as well as an experiment that helps deepen an understanding of the relation between mind and body (25). 4 Yoshiyuki mentions that The Town of Primary Colours came out of his personal experiences visiting prostitutes and contains his feelings of fear towards them. 5 Yoshiyuki's characters "In Akiko's Room" are based on his further experiences visiting prostitutes in the seven years following publication of The Town of Primary Colours ("Prostitutes and Me" 229). Yoshiyuki's character Akiko appears to be modeled on Girl M (M-ko), whom he alludes to in "Prostitutes and Me" (236-61). In this later work, Yoshiyuki claims to have learned the etiquette of visiting prostitutes and to have lost his fear of them, as he believes is apparent in his writings ("Prostitutes and Me" 208-9, 229).

Romanticization of Male Characters: Emotional Consolation with Prostitutes

Scholar Howard Hibbett mentions that "Yoshiyuki writes of the world of outcast women both as a refuge from the hypocrisies of ordinary society and as an irresistibly alluring setting for romantic self-degradation" (Hibbett 400). For example, prostitutes Akemi in The Town of Primary Colours and Akiko in "In Akiko's Room" stay in the red-light districts to isolate themselves from the outside world and to liberate themselves from its morals and values. As literary critic Kawamura Jirô states, Yoshiyuki writes stories with an "antisocial pathos" (404) where his characters
appeal to readers' sense of pity and are romanticized as outcasts. In the end, both his
stories, however, fail to establish a bond between male characters and prostitutes.

The Town of Primary Colours describes the perspective of a female prostitute
who works in brothels in red-light districts. The protagonist Akemi is a prostitute
who enters the red-light districts to find freedom: she sees prostitution as a simple
sex-money exchange that will allow to escape from the violent male 'gaze.' Akemi
meets a client, Motoki, who gives her sexual gratification for the first time. Akemi
cannot forget Motoki and develops affection for him. Meanwhile, Motoki is
eventually engaged to Hara Ruriko, while Akemi is proposed to by one of her
customers, a fuel merchant. In the end, at Motoki and his male friend's business
promotion cruise party, Ruriko and her mother share a cruise with a group of
prostitutes who were accidentally invited. At one point, Akemi physically attacks
Motoki due to her strong attraction to him, and both fall into the ocean. When being
rescued by the ships' crew, the two are mistaken for siblings. At the story's
conclusion, Akemi feels she will eventually return to the licensed quarter.

Motoki seeks prostitutes in the red-light district for his emotional consolation.
Motoki visits Akemi's brothel in order to cleanse his mind, for after he meets potential
fiancée Ruriko he feels dirty, as if he had committed a sin. An upper-middle class
woman, Ruriko looks like a prostitute from Motoki's point of view. For instance, she
wears an extraordinarily bright coloured dress: "Hara Ruriko wears a crimson satin
dress along with white lace and a wide velvet belt. She walks pigeon-toed, opening a
pale pink parasol" (35). Akemi, who fits poorly into the brothel town, becomes
Motoki's temporary consolation. Torii argues that in Yoshiyuki's text only men who
play the role of 'outsider' visit prostitutes in the red-light districts (192). Yoshiyuki's
male characters are shown as frequently seeking outside physical and emotional
contact with prostitutes. Sex represents a ritual for the author's male character by which he can obtain emotional purity from the prostitutes who live isolated or separate from his everyday mainstream world.

In "In Akiko's Room," the protagonist Watashi (I), ambiguously portrayed as a journalist or a student, visits Akiko, a prostitute in the red-light district, whenever he needs to heal his wounded self-confidence. Akiko tells Watashi "you look like a beaten dog" (403). Through sex, Watashi transforms the 'beaten dog' into a human. Watashi feels Akiko's clear physical desire for him manifest in their sexual relations, in contrast to the typical prostitute-john relations. Thereafter, Watashi misses Akiko's body, and her brothel room becomes a kind of sanctuary for him. Akiko is described through feminine images of comfort, such as "the sinuously curving valley between her breasts" or "the slight hollow at her collarbone when she turned her neck" (403). Watashi also explains, "In Akiko's room I would recover my virility. Once again her room became my refuge. Akiko was always kind and indulgent" (408). Watashi longs for Akiko's passionate love. One day, Akiko is tired and is unable to achieve orgasm or to connect with him. After this failed sexual encounter, Watashi becomes jealous, as it is another customer who has made Akiko tired. Watashi reflects:

I thought I had protected myself by visiting a woman who could be bought for money, a woman I realized I would have to share with many men. I had known the pain of loving a woman and wasn't ready to expose myself to that again. Foolishly, I had thought that in Akiko's room I was safe. (404)

Watashi regrets having fallen in love with Akiko when he knew she was a prostitute. Yet, he still retains a desire to possess her. For the prostitute, there remains hope that Watashi will think of her as a lover rather than as an object. However, Watashi
strives to remove himself from a romantic 'love' relationship with Akiko (an ultimately unsuccessful endeavour). Filled with struggle, Akiko's room grows uncomfortable. She disappears from town a couple times; yet she returns to the brothels in the end. During Akiko's absence, Watashi continues to wander the brothel district. Like Motoki in The Town of Primary Colours, Watashi believes that he is alienated from mainstream life due to the social degradation caused by his visits to prostitutes. He romanticizes that Akiko and the other prostitutes in the brothel district share his feelings, as they too are isolated and do not fit into the outside world.

In the old days I would slink in like a beaten dog, nestling up to a sad, sympathetic whore so that we could lick each other's wounds. I felt no difference between myself and the quarter. Later I strode around the quarter in the pose of a libertine. Straining every nerve to maintain that pose, I would scrupulously eye the women with as much passion as I could muster. (409)

In Yoshiyuki's characterization, the prostitutes in the brothel district and the johns share a romanticized kind of connection (bond) as they both belong to 'outsider' groups.

**Male Characters' Stereotypes of Prostitutes and Romanticization of Their Eccentricity**

According to Yoshiyuki's "Prostitutes and Me," while writing The Town of Primary Colours, Yoshiyuki visited a brothel and spoke with a number of prostitutes (231). He used his experience to come up with a three-pronged typology for prostitutes. His omniscient narrator alternatively adopts the perspective of all three types: first, Haruko, a sedentary character who never questions being a resident prostitute in a brothel town; second, Ranko, a flexible character who places herself...
both in the brothel town and outside of its reality, thus providing a more worldly perspective; third, Akemi, a deep thinking, reflective character who finds meaning in residing in the brothel town. Yoshiyuki explains that Haruko's (the sedentary character) type is common, adding that her lack of mobility tends to result in mental disorders. The omniscient narrator says, "I heard from a certain survey that many prostitutes have a tendency for mental delusion or fixation." Indeed, Yoshiyuki argues in his essay, "Prostitutes and Me" that "there are statistics that show quite a large percentage of prostitutes have a tendency for stupidity [...] Even if they are not actually mentally deluded, most of them in the post-war era are quite enjoying their situation as a prostitute, and do not see their environment as part of a hard life" (231). The stupidity described by Yoshiyuki is portrayed in the character Yumi, a prostitute who collects empty lubricant tubes (55), as well as in the real model for this character from "Prostitutes and Me." 'Yumi' collects the tubes as a way of calculating her earnings: one tube equals a specific number of sexual performances. Yoshiyuki argues "if we try to understand prostitutes with common sense, we cannot understand them"("Prostitutes and Me" 230-1). Yoshiyuki's argument is reasonable to the extent that most people might only see prostitutes according to (biased) social norms; however, Yoshiyuki believes that the fact that these prostitutes enjoy their lives confirms eccentricity. Some prostitutes seriously enjoy the melancholy of brothel towns, even though their consciousness is limited by them (The Town of Primary Colour 230-1). He concludes that they must have thick skins to stay in this environment.

Why does Yoshiyuki in his fictional writings and his memoirs display such stereotypical ideas about prostitutes? Prostitutes are deluded addicts who need to perpetually have sex with many different men to regularly fulfill sexual desire.
Yoshiyuki believes that if prostitutes were not deluded, they could not endure perpetually commercialized sex and residence in brothels. This belief is seemingly sympathetic toward prostitutes; however, it perpetuates his stereotypes of them. Within his worldview women are usually unable to persist in promiscuous sex or polygamous relationships, but prostitutes are able to accept this situation ("Prostitutes and Me" 230-2). Women like Haruko, belonging to the sedentary 'type,' find it easy to accept their place in the brothel town and will eventually return to it because of their nature. Yoshiyuki also believes that "persons who are mentally-deluded [prostitutes] live outside the real world, in constant state of hardship. People who enter the red-light districts are able to do freewheeling actions and to have their own places" (33). I would argue that Yoshiyuki's belief of prostitutes' mental delusion is a justification for his feelings of an 'outcast' kingdom, since Yoshiyuki himself and his male characters tend to have various kinds of 'inferiority complexes' via the outside world (55). Prostitutes' stupidity makes the red-light districts safe places, even sanctuaries, for male characters, as Yoshiyuki states that "all prostitutes in the red-light districts are the Virgin Mary though they are mentally-deluded" (33).

Ranko's 'inside-outside' type thinks of herself as a prostitute born into the profession: she has been fondled by men from early childhood (22). She accepts crossing the boundaries between the brothels and the outside world. However, Ranko's status as a prostitute is obvious to the outside world due to her prostitutes' mannerisms. For instance, she does not hesitate to use dirty words and slang (9). Also, she enjoys her profession without sorrow or agony (9). In Yoshiyuki's "In Akiko's Room," prostitutes are depicted differently in the outside world and in the red-light district.
Akemi's character is unusual, since she finds meaning from her life in the brothel town. She tells Motoki that her motivation for entering prostitution is an escape from men's 'violent' gaze both in the workplace and on the street that makes her feel sexually objectified. In order to avoid their eyes, she dares to enter prostitution to exchange her body while in the confines of a brothel town. Her sex becomes a simple exchange for money. She does not have to concern herself about men's gaze until the point in the story where she meets Motoki and has an orgasm.

Moreover, "In Akiko's room," Yoshiyuki describes prostitutes stereotypically. For example, the male protagonist, Watashi, sees prostitutes' mannerisms and their whole bodies as symbolizing their vaginas, since he thinks that their bodies and sexual needs have changed due to prostitution (334). Yoshiyuki also mentions in "Prostitutes and Me" that he feels some prostitutes look like a huge vagina and that in relation to them he must play the role of a huge penis. This view reflects Yoshiyuki's misogynistic view toward women. He generalizes, "female sexual organs are grotesque and atrocious [...] At least in my experience I have two contradictory feelings: a pleasurable feeling of orgasm through sexual intercourse and fear of women and their alienness" (Life and Sex 72). Akiko's vagina quality necessitates her restriction to the brothel towns ("Prostitutes and Me" 262). Watashi justifies this theory. When Watashi sees Akiko in a bar outside the brothel, he starts to feel sad and disappointed, for her prostitute's figure and mannerisms prevent her from fitting into the outside world. After he achieves some success in the world, Watashi wanders through the red-light district, but feels only loathing toward the prostitutes. He now feels no need to visit the red-light district and, with a degree of self-loathing, returns to the outside world, consoled by his gain in material status.
As I discussed above, Yoshiyuki uses his stereotypes toward prostitutes to justify his understanding of prostitutes in the red-light districts. Thus, prostitute characters in The Town of Primary Colours and "In Akiko's Room" are a romanticized illusion based on male characters' reflections and desire, as well as Yoshiyuki's own experience of prostitutes.

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1 According to Yoshiyuki's "Shōfu to watashi" [Prostitutes and Me], Yoshiyuki mostly used for his model prostitutes from akasen chitai (the red-light districts) in his text. "Shōfu to watashi" was serialized in Naigai taimusu [Domestic and Foreign Times] magazine in Aug.-Oct. 1960.

2 Genshoku no machi [The Town of Primary Colours] was published in Sedai [Generation] in Dec 1951.

3 Yoshiyuki's "Shōfu no heya" [In Akiko's Room] was published in Chūō kōron in Oct. 1958. All translations of "In Akiko's Room" are from Howard Hibbett.

4 Yoshiyuki says, "the red-light districts are quite convenient places for men to experiment with the changes of spirit that occur when desire is confronted yet abstained from." (Nikutai ni aru atsuryoku o ataereta baai ni, seishin to iu mono wa dōtu henka o okosuka. Sōiu jikken no basho toshite asasen chitai wa hijōni benrina basho da).

5 Yoshiyuki wrote The Town of Primary Colours based on the experiences with prostitutes he had had up to that point in his life (1951). Nine years later, he wrote the autobiographical "Prostitutes and Me" (1960) based on substantially more personal experience.

6 In Yoshiyuki's original work ("Shōfu no heya") this reads as "you look like a featherless chicken" (327).

7 Watashi's desire reflects Akiko but it is not her desire, as Anne Allison states, "the sexiness or sexuality of the mizu shōbai woman is not really hers as much as it is
that of the men whom she serves [...] She represents men in a sexual desire that even in this realm is perceived to be far more a male impulse than a female's” (183-4).

8 In *Sei to sei*, Yoshiyuki also mentions that in the post-war period statistics shows about 70 percent of prostitutes were mentally-deluded (33).

9 From Motoki’s perspective, Ruriko, his potential fiancée, is also seen as a prostitute type. Motoki imagines that her entire body represents a vagina. Motoki grows attracted to Ruriko's delusional tendencies and to her prostitute-like characteristics.
Conclusion

I have examined in detail eight works by four post-war Japanese male writers. I wish here to summarize my analysis of these writers' romanticization of prostitutes' images. The Meiji and the immediate post-war periods in Japan were a time in which massive social change occurred, and 'educated' male intellectuals, including writers, were keen to adopt and adapt to these changes. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century saw in Europe a Romantic movement in literature and arts "characterized by a rejection of rationalism and the order and restraint of classicism and neo-classicism, favouring instead inspiration, irrationality, subjectivity, and the primacy of the individual" (The Canadian Oxford Paperback Dictionary 897). The changes of Meiji and post-war Japan prompted a similar movement, and Japanese male intellectuals began to write a form of romanticism. In particular, they wrote romantic texts on prostitutes, where prostitutes were the authors' muses, as well as a good symbol of the social outcast.

The romanticization of prostitutes is in part the male writer's reaction to large social changes that occurred both in the early modern and the post-war period. As I discussed in Chapter Two, 'nostalgia' for prostitutes or geisha who have qualities associated with pre-modern culture is a common cause of male writers' romanticization. Nagai Kafū's O-yuki, a prostitute in A Strange Tale from East of the River, for example, is a product of the author's fantasy of prostitutes in licensed quarters in the 1920s and after (when they went from fashion leaders to the protectors of traditional Japanese culture). Even before Kafū, male authors were writing about prostitutes with 'nostalgia' for pre-modern Japan. Modern writers and intellectuals such as Kitamura Tōkoku promoted a new concept of 'love' and initiated a romantic movement (1893-1905 and in the 1930s) in Japan in their writings. Western notions
of 'love' and romance were adopted in society through such works. However, other writers remained skeptical of this concept, worrying instead that modernization and Westernization would annihilate Japanese traditions. As a backlash against Westernization, these male writers nostalgically wrote about prostitutes and *geisha* as ideal women who retain the aesthetic qualities of pre-modern femininity. These writers also idealized prostitutes in pleasure quarters (in the world of *ukiyo*) due to a societal exclusion they equated with their own.

Like Kafū in his 'nostalgia' for prostitutes, the four post-war writers Sakaguchi Ango, Tamura Taijirō, Ishikawa Jun, and Yoshiyuki Junnosuke continually romanticize prostitutes with ideas of pre-modern feminine qualities. Although 'bad girls,' Sakaguchi's Onna and Watashi in "The War and a Woman" and "W.W., the Sequel" have pre-war feminine qualities; they act coquettishly and sentimentally, and devoted themselves to male character. Similarly, Tamura's pan-pan prostitute Machiko in "Gate of the Flesh" acts as a traditional feminine housewife, retaining an innocent and bashful attitude toward sex yet having sexual passion. Ishikawa's widow character in "The Legend of Gold" is another virtuous wife who has become a pan-pan prostitute. The widow is endowed with courtesy of her speech, kindness, and elegant mannerisms. The *geisha* Someka in *Kayoi Komachi*, too, has aesthetic *geisha*-like qualities; she wears *tabi* (traditional socks) expertly. Finally, Yoshiyuki's Akemi in *The Town of Primary Colours* and Akiko in "In Akiko's Room" are drawn as angels of the red-light district. Prostitutes console male characters' emotional wounds from the outside world. In all the above cases, the prostitutes were associated with pre-modern qualities that constituted the 'good' girl side of their characters.

An essential aspect of romanticizing prostitutes for the post-war male writers I discuss is the recovery of Japanese humanity. Male writers were cognizant of
bureaucratic and intellectual mechanisms that functioned during the wartime and of their negative effects, having seen first hand the promotion of Japanese imperialism and patriotism that caused mass brainwashing, destruction of the nation, and a great deal of deaths and causalities. Sakaguchi ('decadence' theory), Tamura ('flesh' theory), Ishikawa, and Yoshiyuki share similar ideas on how to overcome the old ideology, though each writer wrote their humanist ideas in their own way. These writers tend to emphasize physicality and sexual desires as basic human needs. Thus, for the purpose of elaborating their own versions of humanism, they wrote works on prostitutes or sex-trade workers. In doing so, however, these male authors romanticized prostitutes' characters for their uniqueness, independence, and strength.

For instance, Sakaguchi's notorious theory of 'decadence,' "Darakuron" (On Decadence, 1946) suggests that one's degradation, including 'liberating' sexual acts, is fundamental to regaining Japan's lost humanity. Sakaguchi employs his theory to romanticize female characters Onna and Watashi are portrayed as akujo, that is, as promiscuous, immoral, and sexually frigid. The idea of the akujo is an essential component of Japanese male writers' romanticization; drawing on the general public's negative views of prostitutes, it forms the 'bad girl' side of their characterization.

One important aspect of the akujo is her otherness, or 'strangeness.' In Tamura's "Gate of the Flesh," the 'strangeness' of pan-pan prostitutes comes through in the quirky independence of Sen's tattoo, and in Maya's otherworldly identity as a martyred Christ. In "Shunpu-den" the comfort woman Harumi becomes exotic in her possession of unusually intense passions. In Ishikawa's "The Legend of Gold," a widow's otherness is highlighted by her ability to transform from a virtuous wife to a pan-pan prostitute. Similarly, in Kayoi Komachi Someka's Hansen's disease becomes symbolic of exotic transformation: she metamorphoses from a geisha to a sacred
figure such as Komachi, Bodhisattva, and the Virgin Mary. Meanwhile, Yotchan transforms from milkmaid to communist activist. Finally, Yoshiyuki's Akemi and other prostitutes in The Town of Primary Colours and Akiko in "In Akiko's Room" are portrayed as social outcasts, 'others' who are unable to leave the red-light districts. Yoshiyuki's male characters romanticize their connections to these prostitutes as they believe they belong to the same 'outsider' group. Yoshiyuki delights in prostitutes yet fears their 'strangeness,' their mental delusion, their unfathomable sexual desires, and their seductive behaviour. The novelty or 'strangeness' of prostitutes' characters completes a paradoxical paradigm for the 'perfect' prostitute who is both a 'good' and a 'bad' girl.

Finally male authors' romanticization generates an emphasis on Japanese male masculinity during the post-war period. In an effort to resolve both a Japanese male 'inferiority complex' toward American soldiers and anxiety over losing Japanese women, Tamura illustrates Japanese male characters like Ibuki as potently masculine, capable, in fact, of sexually awakening pan-pan prostitutes. Similarly, in "Shunpuden," Tamura's Japanese male character, the aide-de-camp Narita, never fails to sexually satisfy the Korean comfort woman Harumi. Masculine heroism justifies Japanese soldiers' violent actions toward Korean comfort women as well as their retaining of a 'superiority complex' toward them.

To conclude, I would like to briefly recall the works of female authors that depict prostitutes during the periods I have covered here. Portrayals of prostitutes by female and male authors differ widely: 'realism' versus 'romanticism.' Higuchi Ichiyō describes the sorrows of courtesan Midori and prostitute Oriki in their limited choices and fate; she focuses on the realistic qualities of the women's lives and the complexity of their minds. Similarly realistic, both Hayashi Fumiko and Hirabayashi Taiko's
writings during the 1920s portray female protagonists as unconventional women who choose not to conform to common ideas of motherhood and 'traditional' female sexuality. These female protagonists struggle to discover self-fulfillment and a place of their own. Later, during the post-war period, Hayashi reveals the complexity of Michiko's mind when she writes the story of Michiko's life as a prostitute, a complexity that persists despite the limited world within which the prostitute must survive. During the post-war era, Hayashi's prostitute character Michiko sees Japan's wartime defeat as justification to retain a sense of freedom that denies pre-war conventions. This approach is in stark contrast to Tamura's reaction which reverts to the pre-war glorification of Japanese masculinity. In the 80s Hagiwara Yoko revives the tale of forgotten pan-pan prostitutes and explicitly shows their misery. Female authors write the realistic lives or unidealized images of prostitutes against the tendencies of the male-centred literary tradition. I believe that the romanticizing of prostitutes remains an 'intellectual' and 'male-centric' experience.

Their Humanism included the theme of Sartrian existentialist writings: human existence precedes essence. Sartre reacted to W. W. II by emphasizing humanity, supporting French liberty from the Nazi forces, and by denouncing the massacre of the Jews. See Lavine pp.349-351.


Appendix I

Emomo's "Social Health of Prostitute Model"
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