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Between Coquetry and Gallantry
Masculinities in the Bunka and Bunsei eras (1804–1830)

Introduction
This paper deals with aspects of Edo city urban life, modes of identification, and habitus as reflected in and influenced by a contemporary discourse in the popular culture of the late Edo period (late 18th to mid 19th century) in Japan. Edo demography was characterized by a surplus of men from the military, craftsmen, and merchant classes until around 1800 (Sand and Steven 2012; Zöllner 2013, 59). This is not to suggest that urban identity centered solely on ideas of masculinity, but that the circumstances allowed for specific representations of masculinity unique to place and time.

Naturally, concepts taken from Gender and Queer Studies pose certain difficulties when dealing with matters of the social and cultural history of Japan where native ideas relating to sex, gender, and sexuality existed that may or may not be translatable into notions such as ‘masculinity’ and ‘heterosexuality.’ Therefore, this paper does not aim at any definition of the masculine, but rather discusses some Japanese terms that served partially as aspects of a specific urban and male urban identity in 19th-century Edo city.

1 Modern day Tokyo was renamed as Tokyo (‘Eastern capital’) in 1868. The former military base of the first Tokugawa Shogun Ieyasu (1543–1616, r. 1603–1605) was the military political center during the Tokugawa, or Edo, period.
I argue that the aesthetics of urban sophistication developed in reaction to the changing perceptions of social order and public morale via dialogue and demarcation between the civilian and military society. New modes of identification enabled a habitus that was grounded in a surplus of economic and cultural capital available to new groups of urban commoners that were not as much confined to the social class system as before. At the same time, those that were not part of the economic success developed different modes of identification with regard to currents of contemporary popular culture. Stories of social outlaw and rebel characters in novels and on stage met a fascination with the morally ambiguous. Partial aspects of the outlaw persona slowly found their way toward the center of established culture as carpenters, palanquin bearers, messengers, and firefighters fashioned tattoos that they modeled after the anti-heroes whom they knew from stage and prints.

**Chōnin, Iki, and Edokko**

During the late 18th and early 19th century, the urban culture of Edo was very much formed by the *chōnin* (lit. townspeople) population of house-owning merchants and craftsmen that were responsible for the organization of the urban quarters (called *machì* or *chō*), as well as the remaining quarter dwellers of tenant day laborers.

*Chōnin* had developed modes emerging from the interrelation between the merchant and the craftsmen classes and between the civilian and military society, which allowed for the development of a unique culture that saw the emergence of new modes of identification (Nishiyama 1997, 43). It should be mentioned that within that development, female commoners played an important role. Ambitious merchant *chōnin* families sent their daughters to serve in influential warrior households in the hopes of a prosperous marriage opportunity. These women helped bridge the gap between commoner and warrior language varieties, which would ultimately form a rather specific Edo commoner language unique to the warrior capital (Nishiyama 1997, 45).

One of the key ideals developing in Edo during the 18th century is that of *iki*, a form of sophisticated elegance, most famously discussed by the philosopher Kuki Shūzō (Kuki 2015) in his 1930s work *Iki no kōzō* (The structure of Iki). Although the concept of ‘coquetry’ as part of *iki* is
taken from his study, *iki* is more than a coquette play between the sexes and should be understood as a concept of ‘being not boorish (*yabo*),’ ‘not from the countryside,’ ‘not military,’ and ‘not from the Kamigata (Osaka/Kyoto) region’ (Nara 2004b, 2, 27–29; Fujisawa 2013, 6).

Closely associated with the Edo *ukiyo* (floating world) spirit of the day, *iki* was a behavioral code in the pleasure quarters as well as daily life (Nishiyama 1997, 44). It was a desirable habitus for all those who wished not to be *yabo*. With this, *iki* was a form of pre-modern dandy or hipster aesthetic of socio-economic prosperity, available to those having accumulated a certain amount of economic, social, and cultural capital.

Harootunian (1989, 172) has attested commoners of the 18th to 19th century as possessing a form of “social surplus” and “blurred identities” that was also marked by the concept of *asobi*, which may, but not necessarily, be part of *iki*, and “referred to a form of subjectivity that existed outside the ‘four classes’ that operated within the space of the ‘great peace’.” According to the famous historian Amino Yoshihiko, *asobi* was the demand for “freedom from fixed positions as a condition for endless movement, best expressed in excursion narratives and tales of travel” (cited in Harootunian 1989, 172, for the original citation see Amino 1978). The concept of *asobi* was used to justify crossing the established geographical and social boundaries fuelled by the boom of the widespread tourism around 1800, especially among young men, as a ‘gap-year’ experience before entering work life (Zöllner 2013, 107). Simultaneously, travel had not only become a market in itself, but travel guides, accounts, and fictional stories like the *gesaku* (humorous literature) work *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* (Travels on the eastern seaboard, Jippensha 1911/2002) had entered the book market in great numbers, influencing the way people thought about the countryside and other cities.

Starting from the mid-18th century, *iki* seems to have been especially strong with the *edokko*, third-generation Edo-born and Edo-raised ‘children of Edo,’ the acclaimed true Edo *chōnin* in comparison to Edo

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2 *Iki no kōzo* has to be regarded in the context of Kuki’s background in Husserl’s and Heidegger’s philosophy and Japan’s nationalistic intellectual discourse of the 1930s (Nara 2004a, 98–103, 113–121). However, due to Kuki’s aesthetic fascination with the Bunka and Bunsei eras, he manages to reconstruct important aspects of its complexity as a cultural phenomenon in the early 19th century (Nara 2004a, 122).
dana shopkeepers from the Kamigata region, for instance. Considerably small in number—approximately 10 percent of the Edo population—edokko still became a popular subject matter for fictional works in literature and theatre (Jansen 1989, 66). With that, Jansen (1989, 66–67) has identified a significant shift from the core idea of taste (tsū) of the urban dandy who had starred in 18th-century romances to the vitality (iki) of the “irreverent and cocky commoner, who had grown up witness to warrior poverty, punctilio, and pomposity and thus, had become more disrespectful towards them.”

Edokko were first mentioned in a senryū (Jap. form of short poetry) of 1771: “Edokko no waranji o haku rangashisa—The noise [nuisance] of the edokko as they put on straw sandals” (Nishiyama 1997, 41–42).³ The first significant description of edokko then appears in Santō Kyōden’s Tsūgen Somagaki (Stars of the Brothel), which was paraphrased by the cultural historian Nishiyama as follows: “An Edokko receives his first bath in the city’s aqueduct, grows up in sight of the Edo castle gargoyles; [2] [is] not attached to money, not stingy, funds do not cover the night’s lodging; [3] [is] raised in high-class and protected manner, unlike warrior or country bumpkin; [4] [is a] man of Nihonbashi to the bone; [5] has iki (…)” (Nishiyama 1997, 42).

Although, this image of iki changed somewhat throughout the following decades and became applied more generously to a larger part of Edo population than just the edokko, I suggest to discuss it as a term confined to the social cultural life of chōnin, a term that developed in connection and contrast to warrior identity. Iki remained a habitus that was not easily available to day laborers and social outcasts. The second section of this paper aims to introduce another cultural current that better served the desires of these groups.

**Kyōkaku, Otokodate, and Horimono**

In the early 19th century, a new subject matter boomed in popular fiction: the (honorable) outlaw and gallant. Especially popular were translations and adaptations of the Chinese novel Water margin (Chin. Shuìhǔ zhuàn, Jap. Suikoden). The novel was translated into Japanese by

³ Nishiyama (1997) does not cite the original senryū, but only mentions it.
Okajima Kanzan (1674–1728) in 1728. Half a century later, a widely accessible yomihon (pre-modern Jap. novel book format) version was published by Takebe Ayatari (1719–1774) under the title Honchō suikoden (Suikoden of our land, 1773). The most widely read and most popular versions, however, were those of Takizawa Bakin (1767–1848) (Takizawa 1990a): Shinpen suikogaden (New version of the Suikoden, 1805–1838) and Keisei suikoden (The Suikoden of the beautiful courtesans, 1825–1835)—popular also because of the illustrations by prominent artists such as Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) (in the first case), and Utagawa Toyokuni (1769–1825) and Utagawa Toyoyasu (1794–1832) (in the latter). Simultaneously, Bakin wrote somewhat more ‘Japanese’ stories such as The chronicles of the eight dogs (Nansō satomi hakkenden, 1814–1842) (Takizawa 1990b), which was also made into several kabuki plays.

This trend was followed by an increase in the publication of stories about outlaws called kyōkaku. These gallants were celebrated as heroes in books and on stage; they were vigilantes acting against power oppressions, bore subversive potential for criticizing official bakufu (the military government) policy and its disability to deal with social issues, and could be politically dangerous. Frequently, writers and artists were arrested for endangering public morale via distributing dangerous thoughts (Tsuji 1991, 469; see also Fujisawa 2013, 14). Another term used synonymously with kyōkaku was that of yūkyō. Both notions were the Sino-Japanese readings of its characters. The origin of yūkyō (or rather Chin. yóuxiáxià) can be traced back to the Yóuxiá lichuán (Jap. Yūkyō reiden) of the Chinese Han dynasty (206 BC to 220 AD) record Tàishīgōng shū (also known as Shíjì Jap. Shiki, Engl. Records of the Grand Historian, ca. BC109) by Sīmā Qiān (Jap. Shiba Sen, ca. BC145–BC90). Nitō (2004, 138) defines Sīmǎ’s yóuxiá (Jap. yūkyō) as “a state of having no roots,” or in other words, “wandering swordsman” and “master-less warriors.” Sīmǎ admits that their actions are unlawful, but he admires their resolve to be men of “virtue [rén, Jap. jin]” who “save those in distress” and “help those who are in need of money or goods,” and to be men of “righteousness [yì, Jap. gi]” who “do not betray [others’] trust” and “do not break their promises” (Nitō 2004, 138). Accordingly, jin and gi became the two key concepts that defined yūkyō gallantry.

4 Most of these terms are interpretations made by Nitō and do not appear in the Chinese original.
The terms later appeared again in the Yóuxiá chuán (Jap. Yūkyō-den) section of the Hànshū (Jap. Kanjo, Engl. Book of Han, AD111). Here, the ambiguity of the term, which was already apparent in the Shiiji, seems to have further increased: In the Sīmā Qiān chuán (Jap. Shiba Sen-den), the biographical section on Sīmā Qiān in the Book of Han, yóuxiá is referred to as jiānxióng (Jap. kanyū), cunning heroes, thus, changing the generally positive notion of yóuxiá from the Shiiji into a rather critical one (see Nitō 2004, 138). These morally ambiguous yóuxiá fascinated the audience of popular fiction in China, and at the same time they were popular reading material among (Confucian) scholars in Japan from the 18th to 19th century.

Chinese notions for gallants based on kyō such as kyōkaku and yūkyō were then met by Japanese notions for gallants such as otokodate and dateotoko in the late 18th to early 19th century. As a general rule (with certain exceptions), kyōkaku was used for fictional gallants with Chinese origin, whereas otokodate was the expression for historical gallants as they appeared in records and fictional adaptations of actual events. Also, historical real-life ‘gallants’ were called otokodate rather than kyōkaku, as can be seen in a historical account by low-ranking samurai Buyō Inshi:

Those who were admired as gallants [otokodate] in the past, such as Banzuiin Chōbei (…), sacrificed themselves to shoulder others’ burdens. I have heard that they let people with no place to live stay for free in houses they controlled. They challenged the strong and helped the weak. When others requested them to do something, they willingly took on the task if only it accorded with the way of loyalty and filial piety [chūkō], and they did whatever was required to accomplish it, regardless of the cost. (Buyō, et al. 2014, 300)

Little is known about Inshi’s background and life because he writes not much about himself. Inshi had at least some basic knowledge of Chinese classics as he often refers to The book of rites (Chin. Lǐjì; Jap. Raiki), The great learning (Chin. Dà xué; Jap. Daigaku), and Mèngzǐ (Jap. Mōshi) (see introduction by Mark Teeuwen in Buyō et al. 2014, 21). Inshi also cites the Shiiji as well as the Hànshū at times (Buyō et al. 2014, 242), but neither the Yóuxiá lìchuán nor Sīmā Qiān chuán directly. Instead of kyō terminology, he used date expressions to describe these gallants.
The latter half of the Edo period saw both the emergence of (Chinese) fictional kyō outlaws and (Japanese) historical date outlaws. The above-mentioned Banzuin Chōbei (1622–1657) was probably the most famous among the early otokodate. He had been the leader of a 17th century vigilante group of machiyakko fighting groups of violent samurai called hatamotoyakko. Chōbei was killed by his rival gang leader and hatamotoyakko Mizuno Jūrōzaemon (died 1664). The ongoing gang wars between those two parties came to an abrupt end, as the bakufu violently and permanently struck them down in the late 17th century (Hill 2003, 38; Kaplan and Dubro 2003, 5–6).

As might be expected, in most kabuki plays of the later Edo period, the commoner Chōbei appears as the heroic victim and the samurai Jūrōzaemon is portrayed as the treacherous villain. Other famous (semi-) historical gallants were the likes of Ono Sadakurō, Sawai Matagorō, Gosho no Gorozō, Kenkaya Gorōemon, and Asahina Tōbei (both from the Osaka region), Hige no Ikyū (Ikyū, the bearded, nicknamed in the famous story of Sukeroku), Kasagawa Higezō, Kiyotaki no Sashichi, and most prominently in the late Edo period Kunisada Chūji.  

Not surprisingly, the co-emergence and co-existence of these two different gallants made it increasingly hard to distinguish between the two because in the Bunka and Bunsei eras, the historical otokodate merged with the fictional kyōkaku until they became somewhat interchangeable. Linguistically, this manifested by applying ateji to the Sino-Japanese terminology, namely, applying date-favored Japanese transcriptions of Chinese characters kyō compounds as can be seen below.

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5 Appearing e.g., in kabuki, jōruri, and bunraku puppet plays of Kanadehon chūshingura (from 1748 onward).
6 The list of characters and plays was taken from a visit to the Edo no aku exhibition at the Ōta Memorial Museum of Art in Tokyo in June 2016 for which no publication exists. For a list of exhibits, see: http://www.ukiyoe-ota-muse.jp/wp-content/uploads/exhibition/2015_edonoaku/file.pdf (last accessed October 1, 2016). See also Abe (1999) and Ochiai (2002).
7 Ateji refers to the completely or partially incorrect or uncommon usage of either Chinese characters with the same reading but different meaning, or—as in this case—of Japanese transcription for Chinese characters.
8 As listed in the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books (Nihon koten seki sōgō mokuroku dētabēsu) by the National Institute of Japanese Literature (Nihon bungaku kenyū shiryō-kan).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese characters⁹</th>
<th>Romanization of the Japanese transcription</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>浪速烏梅／俠夫 [1] 湊花</td>
<td>Naniwa no ume / <strong>Otokodate minato no hana</strong></td>
<td>Jippensha Ikku</td>
<td>1805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>伉俠 [5] 双蝦蝶</td>
<td><strong>Otokodate futatsu chōchō</strong></td>
<td>Santō Kyōden</td>
<td>1808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>任俠 [4] 中男鑑</td>
<td><strong>Otokō no naka no otoko kagami</strong></td>
<td>Shikitei Sanba</td>
<td>1816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>俠客 [5] 諏安堂</td>
<td>Otokodate ikiji no yasuuri</td>
<td>Takarada Jusuke</td>
<td>1829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>花川戸名物俠客 [6]</td>
<td>Hanakawado meibutsu otoko</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>花舞台丹前俠客 [7]</td>
<td>Hanabutai yoshiya otoko</td>
<td>Takarada Jusuke</td>
<td>1835</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This form of wordplay, which is common for all forms of gallantry, confers additional meaning to certain words or characters and increases their complexity. For all the other publications listed above, kyō gallantry is somewhat associated with *otokodate* via direct transcription as in the *Otokodate ikiji*¹⁰ no yasuuri (Bargain sale of the gallant’s pride, 1829) or indirect reference via terms like *tateire* (push through a sense of duty or self-respect; *Uzura Gonbē tateire banashi*, The story of the gallant Uzura Gonbē, 1810), or simply *otoko* (man/male/masculine; *Hanakawado meibutsu otoko*, The male attraction of Hanakawado, 1834; *Hanabutai yoshiya otoko*, The indifferent man of the flower stage, 1835).

Some of these ‘gallants’ were more evil and villainous than others; some might not even be called gallants at all. Fandom and fascination with the portrayal of antagonists and anti-heroes on stage, however, was without a doubt a great phenomenon. The fact that outlaw characters turn into heroes, might pose certain moral difficulties. In recent years, communication psychology has started investigating reasons for the

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¹⁰ It should be mentioned that according to Kuki Shūzō *ikiji* (pride) is one of *iki*’s internal key concepts (Nara 2004, 20).
fascination of such morally ambiguous characters, which can be found plentifully in popular movies and TV-shows, especially of today. It has been suggested that this fascination with morally ambiguous characters is greatest when one's vices are made salient. In other words, those feeling secure about their own virtues tend to turn toward more good characters, while those being made insecure about their own morality tend to equally enjoy reading or watching stories about morally ambiguous characters (Krakowiak and Tsay-Vogel 2015).

Returning to the context of urban society in the late 18th and early 19th century, the boom of outlaw fascination coincided with the aftermath of the well-known series of morality reforms known as the Kansei reforms initiated by the Shogunal chief counselor Matsudaira Sadanobu (1757–1829) in the last two decades of the 18th century. The third generation of Edo dwellers had distanced themselves significantly from their grandparents and parents' understanding of social order and morality. Almost two centuries of peace—apart from several unrests—on the one side, and more or less aggressive display of power and symbolic capital by the bakufu on the other, had had consequences for the hegemonic morality with its roots in Neo-Confucian thought and its strict separation of social classes; it had partly become outdated, among other things, due to the fact that the classes had become more permeable (Zöllner 2013, 93–94).

This is not to say that social boundaries did not exist. Outcast groups such as hinin and eta were generally excluded from participating in the social life of the members of the class system. At the same time, they served an important role in performing these borders and executing juridical duties within the punishment apparatus (Groemer 2001; Botsman 2005, 41–58). As Botsman (2005, 20–28) has shown, the latter was a complex system of power relations and strategies. Punishment served as a display of authority over laws, life, and death as well as the social and physical body. By parading convicts through the city and placing corpses or just heads at the gates of the execution grounds that commoners had to pass when entering the city, the bakufu's power over law and morale would have been quite present in everyday life.

Bakufu strategies, however, were not always met with satisfaction among contemporaries. In fact, discontent with governmental policies and jurisdiction was often expressed, even among members of the warrior
class. The previously mentioned quote by Buyō Inshi may be contextu-
ized within such a current at the turn of the century, as the passage
continues:

They [= otokodate today] devote themselves to illegal matters such as gambling. In addition many become what are known as undercover agents or informants. (...) Since the officials depend on these agents to help them carry out their tasks, they tend to connive at the latter’s unlawful acts, and as a consequence the agents engage in wrongdoing all the more freely. (...) Such lowly deeds hardly befit the name of “gallant [ninkyō].” (Buyō, et al. 2014, 300)

From the latter part, it is clear that Inshi condemns the official policy for enabling such a structure of illegal agencies. The gallants of his time—still being called otokodate—were indeed different from those in the fictional stories in print and on stage, but they somewhat followed the discontinued tradition of the machiyakko and their antagonists, especially gamblers, consisting of former convicts, vagabonds—called mushuku-mono11—and outcasts, who operated and organized themselves in similar ways (Kaplan and Dubro 2003, 7). These otokodate were as much present as the ones on stage, but their social position made their status less desirable for chōnin and other civil groups. One group, however, was rather popular among the Edo dwellers. The urban firefighters machibikeshi, who employed day laborers such as steeplejacks, were celebrated as heroes and became a popular subject matter for woodblock prints and kabuki.

Fire was a constant threat in the fast-growing city of Edo. Buildings were made of wood, and the streets were narrow; if one building burned, many others would catch fire. In 1657, Edo saw its first devastating fire, the great fire of Meireki. Shortly afterwards, the first organized group of firefighters was formed: the jōbikeshi, a military fire brigade responsible for the protection of daimyō (local feudal lords) residencies. At that time, civil firefighting groups already existed but were not yet officially recognized and administered by the town magistrates. Sixty years later, in 1718, groups of civil firefighters, the machibikeshi, were officially

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11 Those without official family registration at their local temple – out of various possible reasons (Abe 1999).
established and civilly organized and administrated from within the machi, receiving about a sixth of a living quarter's budget. Often, groups of firefighters would compete against each other promoting their skills and strengths (Kuroki 1999; also see Miyamoto 1998).

As day laborers, firefighters lived in the backhouses of the machi, close to the social spheres of the chōnin who fashioned iki as aesthetic value. Considering that iki required a certain economic leisure and social surplus, it remained unavailable to groups such as the machibikeshi. Instead, firefighters turned toward concepts of date and kyō identity, most prominently seen in their elaborate tattoos with motifs taken from illustrated stories of gallants, as did palanquin bearers and messengers, for instance (Yamamoto 2008, 59).

Initially, it is said that firefighters applied tattoos, horimono, out of esoteric belief in their protective power as well as their need for identification in case of death at the site of fire (see e.g., Gulik 1982, 68–69). However, it is highly reasonable to say that the tattoo played a major role in firefighting identity, as it became symbolic especially for the tobi-gashira, the head of a firefighting group. Horimono were not only popular among firefighters but also palanquin bearers, messengers, and other groups, mostly from the dayworker craftsmen. In the 19th century, they became so popular that the bakufu banished them in 1811 and 1842—without much effect, however (Yamamoto 2008, 60).

By applying tattoos to their bodies, these groups incorporated the spirit of outlaw gallantry on a more abstract and socially acceptable level. Especially through its association with irezumi, punishment tattoos (Yamamoto 2008, 59), and coming from visual models of the fictional outlaws, the horimono was charged with the spirit of rebellion and reflected the power struggle between commoners and warriors as well as iki chōnin and non-chōnin day laborers. And lastly, sharing such a strong visual culture, horimono also helped to form a homosocial team spirit and create cohesion amongst the members of machibikeshi.

**Conclusion**

I have argued that iki has developed as a form of sophisticated habitus for chōnin commoners who strived for modes of identification different than that of boorish countrymen, West-Japanese Kamigata commoners, and
the warrior elite. At the same time, it could only develop within a setting of exchange and demarcation between the military and the civilian social classes. *Iki* was said to be especially present within the group of *edokko*, the ‘true’ children of Edo, and less available to groups lacking the required socio-economic standing.

Day laborers from the craftsmen class—namely, carpenters, roofers, steeplejacks, palanquin bearers, and messengers—who lived in the same quarters as the house-owning *chōnin*, did not find the social and economic surplus to engage in the leisure of *iki* and *asobi*, but rather turned toward other role models. *Kyōkaku* heroes taken from (Chinese) fictional stories and revived *otokodate* gallants from the Japanese past appeared strong and valorous on stage. Prints with heroes that bore elaborate *horimono* served as models for real-life tattoos. And while contemporary *otokodate* would not pose as suitable examples, *machi-bikeshi* lived as close to the original *machiyakko* gallantry of Banzuiin Chōbei and his fellow *otokodate* as no other group could. *Horimono* strengthened those homosocial bonds that Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1985) analyzed in different settings.

At the same time, the ideals of *otokodate* and *kyōkaku* bore subversive and dangerous potential for *bakufu* authorities. Naturally, incorporating certain aspects of gallantry identity directly reflected upon the power conflict of the time. Historian and specialist in fascist masculinities, Klaus Theweleit (1977, 321–325), discusses in his *Männerfantasien* the forceful invasion of the body of the individual as a biological entity and the control of sexuality and reproductive potential—something that Foucault would call bio-politics (vgl. Ruoff 2013, 22–25, 92–93). Starting with Norbert Elias’ idea of distancing the self, Theweleit assumes (1977, 322) that inner boundaries emerge, which are imposed onto the subject to counter the inner social mobility. As the body is exposed to forces of civilization, it becomes the *armor*—an entity reflecting struggles between in- and outside forces. Within the context of late 18th- and early 19th-century Japan, Elias’ *armor* manifests in the form of ‘skin’ quite literally, which serves as the venue for power conflicts about the control over the individual body. Punishment tattoos represent outside forces, whereas the act of covering a punishment tattoo with a *horimono* or even just reinventing a tattoo as a decorative expression effectively becomes a defiant act of inside forces or—in the Foucauldian sense—a counter discourse (Ruoff 2013, 205–208).
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