

ภาพลักษณ์พ่อแม่ลูกในบทละครโนต่างสมัย*

สรีมนพร สุริยะวงศ์ไฟศาล**

วันย จำรงสุริยา***

บทคัดย่อ

งานวิจัยนี้ศึกษาภาพลักษณ์ของพ่อแม่ลูกในบทละครโนต่างสมัยอื่นซึ่งหมายถึงเรื่องที่แต่งหลังสมัยมุโรมะชิและเรื่องที่ยังไม่มีหลักฐานแสดงว่าแต่งในสมัยมุโรมะชิ โดยเป็นเรื่องที่แสดงความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างพ่อแม่กับลูก จำนวน 146 เรื่อง และเปรียบเทียบกับภาพลักษณ์ของพ่อแม่ลูกในบทละครโนต่างในสมัยมุโรมะชิ (คริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 14-16) ซึ่งเป็นผลงานวิจัยของ เสาร์ลักษณ์ สุริยะวงศ์ไฟศาล งานวิจัยนี้จึงให้ภาพรวมของภาพลักษณ์ของพ่อแม่ลูกในบทละครโนต่างสมัย

การวิจัยได้พบว่าภาพลักษณ์ของลูกและแม่ในบทละครโนตั้งสองกลุ่มเป็นภาพลักษณ์ด้านบวก โดยเรื่องที่แต่งในสมัยมุโรมะชิ มีภาพลักษณ์ที่โดดเด่นของลูกคือ การเสียสละชีวิตเพื่อพ่อ ภาพลักษณ์ที่โดดเด่นของแม่คือ การปกป้องลูกโดยเฉพาะลูกชาย ขณะที่เรื่องที่แต่งในสมัยอื่น มีภาพลักษณ์ที่โดดเด่นของลูกคือ การดูแลพ่อแม่อย่างดี ภาพลักษณ์ที่โดดเด่นของแม่คือ การมีอาการวิกฤตและเดินทางตามหาลูกซึ่งส่วนใหญ่เป็นลูกชาย ในทางตรงกันข้าม ภาพลักษณ์ของพ่อในเรื่องที่แต่งในสมัยมุโรมะชิเป็นด้านลบมากกว่า ด้านบวก ภาพลักษณ์ด้านลบที่โดดเด่นคือ การเป็นเหตุให้เกิดภัยแก่ชีวิตลูกหรือเป็นเหตุให้เสียชีวิตซึ่งส่วนใหญ่เป็นลูกสาว แต่เรื่องที่แต่งในสมัยอื่นมีภาพลักษณ์ของพ่อด้านบวกมากขึ้นโดยเฉพาะต่อลูกสาว ภาพลักษณ์ด้านบวกที่โดดเด่นของพ่อในเรื่องที่แต่งในสมัยอื่นคือ การปกป้องลูก

คำ สำคัญ

บทละครโน, บทละครโนที่แต่งในสมัยมุโรมะชิ, ภาพลักษณ์ของพ่อแม่ลูก, บทละครโนที่ไม่อยู่ในรายการแสดงในปัจจุบัน

* ขอขอบคุณ Professor Robert Borgen, Professor Emeritus, University of California, Davis, ที่กรุณาให้คำแนะนำสำหรับคุณค่าเรื่องและตรวจสอบความถูกต้อง

** ศาสตราจารย์ ดร., คณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 254 ถนนพญาไท, ปทุมวัน, กรุงเทพมหานคร 10330, อีเมล: sirimonpornnoh@gmail.com

*** อาจารย์ ดร., คณะมนุษยศาสตร์และสังคมศาสตร์, มหาวิทยาลัยราชภัฏนครราชสีมา, 340 ถนนสุรนารายณ์, โนเมือง, นครราชสีมา 30000, อีเมล: winaitaiyo@hotmail.com

IMAGES OF CHILDREN AND PARENTS IN NOH PLAYS FROM DIFFERENT PERIODS*

Sirimonporn Suriyawongpaisal**
Winai Jamornsuriya***

Abstract

This research compares the images of children and parents in Noh plays of different periods. It studies the images of children and parents in Noh plays either written after the Muromachi period or of uncertain date (for convenience, “plays from other periods”), a total of 146 plays. It then compares the images with those found in Noh plays written during the Muromachi period (C14th -16th), a total of 133 plays. The research thus gives a comprehensive picture of the images of children and parents in Noh plays of all periods.

The study finds that the image of children and mothers in both groups of plays is a positive one. In plays from the Mu-

romachi period, the most salient image of children is life sacrifice for the father, whereas in those from other periods the focus is usually on filial care of parents. As for mothers, in plays from the Muromachi period, they are mostly shown protecting their children especially the son; in other periods, they are driven even to insanity as they search for lost children, mostly the son. In contrast, in Muromachi plays, fathers have negative images, as they threaten the life of or actually cause the death of children. In plays from other periods, however, fathers are portrayed more positively. The most salient one is as protectors of their children.

Key words

Noh plays, Images of children and parents, Noh plays of the Muromachi period, Non-current Noh plays

* We would like to show our gratitude to Professor Robert Borgen, Professor Emeritus, University of California, Davis, who kindly gave suggestions and helped revise the paper.

** Professor Dr., Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, 254 Phyathai Road, Patumwan, Bangkok 10330, Thailand, e-mail: sirimonpornnoh@gmail.com

*** Dr., Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Nakhon Ratchasima Rajabhat University, 340 Suranarai Road, Naimuang, Nakhon Ratchasima 30000, e-mail: winaitaiyo@hotmail.com

1. Introduction

This research analyzes images of children and parents in Noh plays written after the Muromachi period (1336-1573) or of uncertain date (for convenience, “plays of other periods”), a total of 146 plays.¹ It then compares the images with those from Noh plays written in the Muromachi period as presented in Saowalak Suriyawongpaisal, 2006, “The Parent-Child Image in Noh Plays”². This paper thus gives a comprehensive picture of parent-child images in Noh plays of all periods.

2. Methodology

The research follows the same methodology and terminology used in Saowalak’s work, which can be summarized as follows:

1. The Noh plays studied are “any plays that portray the image of the father, or the mother, or the child/children, or the relationship between them, no matter whether such character appears as the main or minor character, or is simply referred to in the plays, no matter whether parent-child relationships is the main theme or story-line or not” (Saowalak Suriyawongpaisal, 2006:4)

2. The study focuses on the image of the child, father, and mother only as a child, father, and mother, and not as a person playing any other role in society that may also appear in the play.

3. The judgment as a positive or negative image is determined by the person’s deeds or intentions as the play narrates them that benefits or harms the other party.

3. Results

Among the 146 plays in scope of the research, 12 plays include a parent-child bond but do not show any positive or minus image. The remaining 134 plays portray the image of the child, father, and mother as follows.

3.1 The Child

3.1.1 Positive Images

A positive image of the child is more conspicuous than a negative image. This is the same result as found from the Muromachi plays, but there are both similar and different expressions of filial piety. The similar ones are sacrifice of life, revenge, rescue, visiting, making merit for a dead

¹ It is rather difficult for scholars to specify or agree on the date and author of a particular play especially those outside the current repertoire. In many cases, scholars have no evidence to rely on. Takemoto Mikio, Hashimoto Aso, ed., *Noh Kyogen hikkei*, Gakutousha, 1995, provides a list of non-current plays that have strong evidence as written in the *Muromachi* period. The term “Muromachi period” in this book does not necessarily refer to the historical Muromachi period of c. 1338-1573, but rather vaguely around that time. In this research, any play not listed in this book falls under the category of “plays of other periods”.

² Saowalak is the former given name of Sirimonporn Suriyawongpaisal, the first author of the present paper.

parent/s, care giving, and being obedient. Three categories are found only in the Muromachi plays: selling oneself, willingness to take over suffering, and continued love for a stepfather. Categories found only in plays of other periods are praying for a parent/s' longevity, doing super-human deeds, helping cause reincarnation as a human, helping to earn a living, extended love for a stepmother, protecting a family's name, caring for feelings, and meeting expectations. In addition to the above different types of filial categories, the focus of filial acts is also different. For example, eighteen Muromachi plays feature a child's life sacrifice for parent/s, whereas only three plays of other periods have this element. In the plays from other periods, the category of care giving appears most frequently. In summary, the study finds that the image of children in both groups of plays is a positive one. In plays from the Muromachi period, the image of self-sacrifice is most common, whereas in those from other periods the focus is usually on filial care of parents.

3.1.2 Negative Images

Negative images of the child are overshadowed by the positive ones in plays of all the periods both in the number of plays and nature of unfiliality. Similar negative images in the two groups of plays are disobedience, and neglect of one's studies. Plays of later periods feature new categories: giving trouble, causing a mother

to commit sin, and not returning parents' benevolence.

3.1.3 Sons vs Daughters

As is the case with the Muromachi plays, plays of other periods feature the son far more than the daughter. One difference is that the son in plays of other periods has a stronger positive image than the daughter whereas in the Muromachi plays their positive image is more or less the same. As for the negative image, the daughter in plays of other periods has a negative image in about one eighth of all the plays featuring the daughter, a higher figure than the son. This is the opposite of the Muromachi plays in which the daughter almost never has a negative image. In summary, the overall image of the son got better as time passed, which is the opposite of the daughter.

3.1.4 The recipient of filial piety

In the Muromachi plays, the father appears almost twice as often as the mother as the recipient of the child's, particularly the son's filial piety, but as time passed, the situation changed dramatically. In plays of other periods, they are equal in this respect. One interesting point is whether the father and mother enjoy filial piety when he or she is still alive or only after death. In the category of revenge, the son seeks revenge against an enemy who killed his father, and so it is the dead father who is the recipient of this act of filial piety. The ratio of dead to living father as recipient of

all categories is about half and half in plays of both groups, but the mother in plays of other periods not only enjoys her child's, particularly her son's, filial piety more than in the earlier plays, she also enjoys it during her lifetime much more often than after death.

3.1.5 The recipient of unfiliality

In Muromachi plays, the father enjoys a son's filial piety more often than does a mother and he is also affected by a child's unfiliality less than a mother. In plays featuring the son's revenging his dead father's enemy, which is quite common, it is the mother who suffers. In plays of other periods, as already seen, the mother equally enjoys the child's filial piety, but when it comes to suffering from unfiliality, the mother still has to endure this.

3.2 Fathers

3.2.1 Positive images

Unlike what is found in the Muromachi plays, in plays of other periods, positive images of fathers are more common than negative ones. Categories of positive images shared with the Muromachi plays include seeking revenge, protecting, searching as an insane person or otherwise, and creating merit for a dead child. New categories are giving priority to a child over duty, caring, forgiving, and giving encouragement, while the category of sacrificing life is not found in plays of other periods. The

father in the play *Sekido* belongs to two categories: protecting and giving priority to the child over duty. He indeed stands out among all the plays in both groups as he is the only samurai who ever surrenders to an enemy in order to save his son's life.

3.2.2 Recipients of the fathers' benevolence

In plays of other periods, sons appear far more often than daughters as recipients of a father's benevolence. The situation did not change much in later periods.

3.2.3 Negative images

The categories of threatening the life of or actually causing the death of children, deserting, and causing long separation are found in both groups of plays. Another point of similarities between the two groups is that there are plays that feature the fathers' positive and minus images in the same play. Furthermore, all these plays always depict the minus images first. For example, the father in *Kitano kazuraki*, of other periods, goes out to search for his daughter after deserting her because of the stepmother's slander.

3.2.4 The child who suffers

Daughters suffer more than the sons from harm done by fathers in both groups of plays, but in plays of other periods, the picture looks a little brighter. The gap between the daughters and sons becomes smaller. Moreover, in plays of

other periods, there is no father who actually intends and succeeds in killing his own daughter with his own hand as in *Nureginu*, a Muromachi play.

3.3 Mothers

3.3.1 Positive images

Mothers in plays of other periods maintain the strong positive images seen in Muromachi plays, although the degree of their love and dedication may seem less commendable or extreme. In later periods they no longer sacrifice their lives nor do they sell themselves for the sake of the children. The most frequently found stories about the mothers' attachment depict how they become deranged while searching for their lost child. New categories of mothers' positive images are how they give encouragement to their son, ask a priest to educate the son, and successfully urge the father to leave his priesthood in order to go home and support his son.³

3.3.2 Recipients of the mothers' dedication

The situation did not change as time passed. Less than one tenth of all the plays in both groups that portray mother-daughter relations feature how daughters receive benevolence from their mothers. Almost all

of the motherly love and dedication went to the son.

3.3.3 Negative images

Only one Muromachi play portrays a negative image of a mother. In that play, the parents cause the death of the daughter's partner. A negative image of a mother is also rare in plays of other periods. One play, *Chihiro no hama*, narrates how the mother, together with the father, obstruct their daughter's love, causing her to drown herself. In *Kosodegoi*, the mother disowns her son causing him to roam the country, but she does it for the sake of the son in the hope that he will give up his intention of revenge, which would finally bring him a death sentence.

4. Discussion

In comparison with fathers, sons, and daughters, mothers have the best images in both groups of plays. They are more attached and dedicated than the fathers to their children. This conclusion may reflect the reality of Japanese society, or, for that matter, most societies. Another possibility would be that the plays present an idealized image of a mother's role, which may not reflect the reality of how mothers actually behaved. Whichever is the

³ To a Buddhist, making someone leave the priesthood is not a positive image. But as stated before, the judgment as a positive or negative image is determined by the person's deeds or intentions as the play narrates them that benefits or harms the other party. In this case, the mother's deed will benefit the child. Even if it harms the father, this is not within the scope of this research which studies only the child – parents' relations.

case, it is interesting to note this finding in Noh plays. All the playwrights, actors, chorus, musicians were male. The significant patrons were also males and so the plays were products of a predominantly male world. This situation may partly explain why both groups of plays depict father-son relations more often than father-daughter, mother-son, or mother-daughter relations. Confucian and Buddhist misogyny may also be a factor. Male playwrights, however, did not try to present more positive images of fathers than of mothers, or perhaps they chose not to distort the real picture. The male Noh playwrights had and expressed their faith in women, or, more precisely, in their mothers. Unlike modern writers, they consistently present idealized images of mothers.⁴ Naturally, in all societies neither mothers nor fathers are perfect all the time. Unfortunately we are all human, which means we all make mistakes. It's interesting to note that modern writers are more willing to discuss flawed mothers than were the authors of the Noh plays.

The above finding about the mothers' images is common to the two groups of plays, but, in fact, there are quite a few interesting differences worth discussing. The first issue is the element of religion and miracles. Approximately 40% of plays of other periods, but only around 16% of Muromachi plays depict this element. There

may be two possible explanations. One would be that belief in miracles became more common and so the plays reflected this new reality. The other would be that, in later periods, religions, both Buddhism and Shintoism, played a lesser role in Japanese society, and so Noh plays, which had been one kind of tool for spreading faith in religions, came to place even more emphasis on this function.

If we further analyze the element of religion and miracles in plays of other periods, we find that the plays probably reflect the Japanese society after the 17th century when Buddhism was overshadowed by Shintoism and Confucianism. Compared with Muromachi plays, there are more plays of other periods that depict miracles of reunion and resurrection that are connected to divine power of Shinto deities. There are also more stories about rewards for filial children that have origins from China, including stories about the sage Mencius (孟宗), Emperor Shun (舜).

In this regard, we find this element of religion and miracles differs from the "this-world thinking and realistic sense of the merchant townsmen" (Kawatake Toshio, 1971:7) in the Kabuki and Bunraku theater of the Edo period.

Parent-Child relations appear in several forms in Japanese literature. For example, parent-child relations in *Nihon*

⁴ For example, we find novels depicting how the wives had affairs, or left their husbands. See Osawa Machiko, 2010.

Ryōiki, a collection of Buddhist stories, of the early Heian period (794-1185) are quite different from those in Noh plays. According to Naitō Ayako (2000:70-78), in *Nihon*

Ryōiki, holding memorial services for ones, deceased parents is the normal form of filial piety. Neither care giving nor financial support are expected. Naitō explains that this is because during that period parents and grown-up children were financially independent. Naitō concludes that, at that time whereas living parents supported and protected their children, after death a child's debt to parents was repaid by holding memorial services for them. This form of filial piety is different from Confucianism, which requires children to both take good care of the parents while living as well as make merit for the deceased parents.

As this research demonstrates, filial behavior in Noh plays of both groups is in accordance with Confucian teachings. However, to be more accurate, it goes beyond Confucianism. Children in Noh plays are filial even after their own death. In one play of other periods, *Hyakumanben*, the spirit of a young son pleads for a priest's assistance in revenging his father's death. He had tried to do it during his own lifetime but died before the task was accomplished. This lingering attachment causes him to

agonize further in the afterworld. Thanks to his posthumous filial devotion, he is finally successful. His spirit actually cuts off the enemy's head.⁵

Having compared parent-child relations in Noh plays of different periods, the research will be more meaningful when we take one step further to compare those images with practices in the present globalized Japanese society. At first glance, one might think that present-day Japanese society is almost totally different from that of the time when Noh plays were written in the Muromachi period and later, and so the nature of filial piety must also be very different. That may not be totally wrong, but a closer look reveals some continuities.

Filial practices continue in modern Japan. Japanese still value creating merit for deceased parents and visiting family. The massive return home during the Obon festival shows how Japanese carry out these practices. The globalized world of fast and convenient technology makes filial piety easier to perform. Making phone calls or showing one's face through skype can also be counted as forms of filial piety. As for taking care of aged parents, working children are aided by the alternatives of day care centers and long-term old people's

⁵ In Muromachi plays, we see this kind of child in *Tomoakira* and *Nagara no hashi*. The spirit of the son in *Tomoakira* who died sacrificing his life for his father comes to beg a priest to pray for his father's salvation. The spirit of the daughter in *Nagara no hashi* says she is willing to take over the sufferings of his deceased father.

centers. Just because children no longer sacrifice their lives for their parents or seek revenge on a father's enemy, we should not conclude that present-day Japanese are less filial than in the past. Forms of filial piety naturally changed with time as did the nature of parents' benevolence. Parental love may be universal and not bound by time, but today Japanese parents may not expect to rely on their children for financial support during their old age. They are content to live on their savings and pensions so as not to become burdens on their children.

5. Conclusion

This paper is a comprehensive study of the parent-child relations and images in the Noh plays that also compares those of the Muromachi period with ones from other times. An old Japanese proverb adopted from China says, *furuki wo tazune atarashiki wo shiru*, (or *onkochishin* 溫故知新), which means we must study the past in order to understand the present. The images of the children, fathers, and mothers in the Noh plays may, to some extent, give us a better insight into the Japanese families in the contemporary globalized Japan. The research should also be a significant contribution to the field of gender, which has become one of the significant foci in the study of Japanese literature. The paper gives a picture of differences in moth-

er-son relations, mother-daughter relations, father-son relations, and father-daughter relations. It also offers a vivid picture of Japanese women from the Muromachi through the Tokugawa periods. Japanese women have been said to be subordinate and submissive to men, playing an inferior role in society, but this paper offers a somewhat different picture. We see mothers who are brave enough to help their sons fight or fight seeking revenge for their sons, and mothers who roam the country for years, in one play of other periods for thirty years, to look for their beloved children. We also see brave daughters who fight, sacrifice their life, sell themselves, or dare to challenge the authority, all for the father or mother or both.

Harumi Befu (1971:167-8) states that the “genesis of the *on* (恩) relationship is found in the parent-child relationship, where parents give life to the child, provide nurturance, and socialize him. The child is then forever indebted to the parents... Insofar as parents expect the child to repay the debt in socially accepted forms, the child must behave accordingly if he is not to hurt the parents' feelings and consequently alienate himself from them.” Befu (1971:170) also states *ninjō* (人情) refers to a person's natural feelings and inclinations, which may or may not be in accord with *giri* (義理) [meaning social obligation]. If conflict arises “there are three alternatives:

one, to suppress one's private feelings and honor moral principles; two, to close one's eyes from moral obligations and follow the dictates of one's feeling; and three, to annihilate oneself through committing suicide, being able neither to ignore the society's moral obligations nor suppress one's moral desires."

In all the Noh plays studied in this research, those three terms, *on*, *giri*, and *ninjō*, almost never appear, the only exception being the use of *on* in the plays *Sakurai*, *Sakurai no eki*, and *Shigemori*. Although the terms are not used, we find children repaying the debt they owe to their parents. They strictly carry out their *giri* without hesitation. Conflicts between *giri* and *ninjō* are presented only in the plays *Manjū* and *Sekido*. In *Manjū*, the father obeys his lord's command, even though it means killing his own son. In contrast, the samurai father in *Sekido* surrenders to the enemy in order to save his son's life. Thus, in the former, the father chooses *giri*, whereas in the latter, he takes the opposite course, choosing *ninjō*.

Because every one of us must be some parents' child, and many of us become some child's father or mother, reading about other children, fathers, and mothers from the past and in a different culture is interesting and potentially inspiring. It may provide good models to follow,

or even offer hints to help solve problems within one's own family. Modern films that take family life as topics always seem to attract a good audience. Synopses of the 279 Noh plays studied in this research are in this manner valuable. We are not surprised to read about vicious stepmothers who make plans to take the stepson's life in such plays as *Katana (no shou)*, *Meimeichō*, but at the same time we are impressed by the stepmother in *Shōgiseishu* who asks the executioner to take the life of her own son so as to save her stepson.⁶ Her action finally brings about pardon to both sons.

One final conclusion we may draw from this research is that it has shown at least the following three points that remained consistent throughout the span of approximately 600 years from the Muromachi period. First, the strongly positive image of the child and mother remains unchanged. Second, father-son relations are featured most often. Finally, the family member most often portrayed is the son, followed by the father, and the mother. Daughters appear least often. These three features seem to reflect Japanese society of the past and help understand the formation of modern society.

⁶ We may be reminded of the stepmother and biological mother in the modern film "Stepmom" by Chris Columbus (starring Julia Roberts), in which they move us to deeply appreciate motherly love and dedication.

6. Appendix

List of the 146 plays of other periods showing images in 134 plays

Play title	Fathers' images in 48 plays		Mothers' images in 33 plays		Children Images in 84 plays	
	34 positive images	21 minus images	32 positive images	1 minus image	77 positive images	12 minus images
Akutagawa monogurui			/			
Asukagawa (kou)	/					
Batourui					/	
Biragata					/	
Bugaku shoujou					/	
Chihiro no hama		/		/		
Chikurou	/					
Chiyozuruhime					/	
Chuujouhime		/			/	
Fuefukikawa			/		/	
Fue no maki			/		/	/
Fumi monogurui	/	/	/			
Funamodoshi		/				
Futatabi no waranbe					/	
Genzai doujouji		/				
Goetsu	/					/
Gyoushun		/			/	
Hadaka oni		/				
Hakozaki monogurui					/	
Hanamaru	/					
Hanami Soga					/	
Harutoki					/	/
Hatsuse monogurui			/			
Hikonoyama	/					
Hira	/				/	
Horo (kou)	/					
Hotokezakura					/	
Hyakumanben					/	
Ichiya Kagekiyo					/	
Ikuta monogurui			/			
Ikuta Tadanori					/	
Imaizumi					/	
Inaba shoujou					/	
Isozaki (kou)						
Isozaki (hei)						

Play title	Fathers' images in 48 plays		Mothers' images in 33 plays		Children Images in 84 plays	
	34 positive images	21 minus images	32 positive images	1 minus image	77 positive images	12 minus images
Iwashiro monogurai			/			
Iwato shoujou					/	
Izumo shoujou					/	
Izu myoujin					/	
Juuren (kou)			/			/
Juuren (otsu)			/			/
Kagami ga ike			/			
Kanao	/				/	
Kanazawa shoujou					/	
Kanrataifu						
Kariba Soga					/	
Karukaya		/				
Kasasagi					/	
Kasatori kyoujo			/			
Katami Atsumori	/		/			
Kirikane Soga						
Kitanokazuraki	/	/			/	
Kobiragata					/	
Koshikibu	/				/	
Kosodegoi			/		/	/
Koubu 孝婦					/	
Koubu 厚婦	/				/	
Kouya Atsumori					/	
Kowata monogurai						
Kumazakishirou					/	
Kurama'iri			/			
Kuruijishi	/	/				/
Kusu no tsuyu	/					
Masegiku	/	/				/
Matsurahime					/	
Meimeichou	/					
Minatogawa (Genzai Kusunoki)					/	
Misaki		/			/	
Miyaji monogurai			/			
Morichika					/	
Mousou					/	
Myoujuukihan					/	
Nadachi	/		/			

Play title	Fathers' images in 48 plays		Mothers' images in 33 plays		Children Images in 84 plays	
	34 positive images	21 minus images	32 positive images	1 minus image	77 positive images	12 minus images
Nakayama monogurui			/			
Nanakusa						/
Nao'ie			/			/
Naritsune						/
Narumi doushin						
Ninkei	/					
Okkake Suzuki						/
Omoidegawa	/		/			
Onoe no mae						/
Orihime						/
Reishoujo						/
Rokkakudou (otsu)			/			
Rouben			/			
Ruisenkou						
Sadadera						
Sahogawa						/
Sahogawa kyoujo	/	/				
Saijaku						/
Sakurai						/
Sakurai no eki	/					/
Sakuramaki						
Sanjatakusen						
Sanninkou (kou)						/
Sanninkou (otsu)						/
Sarashina monogurui			/			
Sasayakinohashi	/	/				
Sassatsu shoujou						/
Satomeguri						
Sayoginuta						/
Sekido	/					
Senjo	/					
Serata	/					
Shichinin shoujou						/
Shigure Komachi						/
Shimameguri (otsu)			/			
Shinobuzuri						
Shiohi monogurui			/			
Shirataki no mae						/
Shishido	/					/

Play title	Fathers' images in 48 plays		Mothers' images in 33 plays		Children Images in 84 plays	
	34 positive images	21 minus images	32 positive images	1 minus image	77 positive images	12 minus images
Shitsuke no hashi	/					
Shoujoumae					/	
Shoukyuu		/	/		/	
Shutoku shoujou					/	
Sorawarabe					/	
Sotonohama nenbutsu		/				
Suhou no naiji					/	
Sumiregusa		/				
Sumiyoshigama					/	
Sumiyoshi no onna		/				
Susonozuka					/	
Suzuki monogurui			/			
Taimen Soga					/	
Taketoshi	/		/		/	
Tamahori					/	
Tamatori					/	/
Tamazaki shoujou					/	
Tametomo	/					
Tango monogurui		/				
Taoyame sennin					/	
Tateri					/	
Tatsuta monogurui			/			
Tokiwa mondou			/			
Toushimbou	/				/	
Tsukushi monogurui			/			
Unohana monogurui			/			
Ushi					/	
Wada Sakamori					/	/
Wakakusa					/	
Wasuregusa					/	
Watarai monogurui		/				
Yukibikuni	/					
Yumitsugi monogurui	/	/	/		/	
Yoroi	/					