READING THE KÔWAKA-MAI
AS MEDIEVAL MYTH: STORY-PATTERNS,
TRADITIONAL REFERENCE AND PERFORMANCE
IN LATE MEDIEVAL JAPAN

VOLUME I

DISSERTATION

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Todd Andrew Squires, M.A.

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Dissertation Committee:

Dr. Shelley Fenno Quinn

Dr. Charles J. Quinn

Dr. Patrick B. Mullen

Approved by

[Signature]

Advisor

Department of East Asian
Languages and Literatures
ABSTRACT

This dissertation uses the concept of myth as a critique to analyze five pieces of the kôwaka-mai, a genre of recited narrative that flourished in fifteenth and sixteenth century Japan. While definitions of myth in previous scholarship have revealed the complexity of this universal yet culturally and historically specific concept, I suggest that structural and performative approaches to myth can be used to unlock the possible range of meanings in texts of medieval "vocal literature."

In Chapter 1, I explicate how traditional story-patterns that are found in the oldest collections of myth and in the foundation myths of temples and shrines during the medieval period, are the building blocks of what I term "medieval myth." In performance, reference is central to meaning as story-patterns facilitate communication between the performer and the audience. The
kōwaka-mai developed from the felicitous performances of shōmonji (temple and shrine menials), suggesting that the contexts in which they performed served as frames for story-patterns recreating the lives of historical and legendary figures as myth.

Chapter 2 looks at how Fujiwara no Kamatari was reinterpreted as mythic hero in the pieces Iruka and Taishokan. By referencing traditional story-patterns, the kōwaka-mai narrates Kamatari as a hero who restores both divine right (ōbō) and the Buddhist law (buppō).

Chapter 3 reexamines the Yuriwaka legend framed as a question of methodology. The analysis here rejects both the Odyssey-origins and continental-origins interpretations of the transmission of this legend, and suggests that the significance of the Yuriwaka legend is its reference to traditional story-patterns and the Hachiman belief system. As an expression of the “Return Song,” Yuriwaka subjugates foreign enemies and returns to restore cosmos to the world.
Chapter 4 looks at the piece *Shida* and its traditional reference, the "Wandering Noble" story-pattern. This story-pattern ties themes of loyalty and restoration of legitimate succession to the hero’s symbolic death and rebirth.

Chapter 5 examines the retelling of the Minamoto no Manjû legend in the language of medieval myth, and reinterprets "religious awakening" as the hero’s rebirth.

Finally, the appendices contain original translations of the *kôwaka-mai* texts analyzed in this dissertation.
Dedicated

to

Luo Li Zhong
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VITA

January 28, 1965 . . . . . . . . Born - Des Moines, Iowa

1987 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . B.A. Political Science,
Iowa State University

1992-1993 . . . . . . . . . . Teaching Assistant,
University of Minnesota

1993 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . M.A. Japanese,
University of Minnesota

1993-1995 . . . . . . . . . . Teaching Assistant,
Ohio State University

1995-1996 . . . . . . . . . . FLAS Fellowship,
Ohio State University

1996-1997 . . . . . . . . . . Teaching Assistant,
Ohio State University

1997-2001 . . . . . . . . . . Monbushō Scholarship,
Ritsumeikan University
Kyoto, Japan

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: East Asian Languages and Literatures
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INTRODUCTION

At the Shimo goryō 下御霊 shrine on the thirteenth day of the intercalary third month of 1580 (Tenshō 天正 8), the performer Kôwaka Hachirô Kurô 幸若八郎九郎 met with Yoshida Kanemi 吉田兼見 for a discussion on the mai 舞. After the end of this meeting, Kanemi copied down the piece Tsukuyomi 月読 and was captivated by the kôwaka-mai 幸若舞 master’s performance of the piece Soga jûban-qire 曽我十番切 (Kanemi gyōki 兼見卿記 qtd. in Ichiko 297). This meeting between Hachirô Kurô and the head of the Yoshida school of Shinto theorists is intriguing for our inquiry into the possible influences upon the formation and performance of what we now refer to as the “kôwaka-mai.” Although nothing is known of the piece Tsukuyomi, this episode reminds us that it was common for the Kôwaka and other troupes who performed the kusemai to have intercourse with influential persons of the late medieval period. These encounters
and the possible web of patronage created by the performers of the kusemai 曲舞 in the years when the texts took shape had profound influence upon the content and style of performance.²

As I develop my argument in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, I will show the various permutations of myth had a profound influence upon the formation as well as the content of the scripts of the kôwaka-mai and their performance. Originally, the kôwaka-mai performers were members of a class known as shômonji 唱門師, or temple and shrine menials who, in addition to more mundane tasks, performed the kusemai and other ritual-like performing arts.

It is likely that the kusemai developed indirectly from the dances of the shirabyôshi 白拍子 (lit. “white beat”) of the late Heian 平安 and Kanakura 鎌倉 periods.³ While the main troupes of kusemai had disappeared by the early fifteenth century, the shômonji took up this performing art and introduced pieces from the genre of texts known as engi 緣起, or temple and shrine histories. Even by the early fourteenth century, the original form of the shirabyôshi had
developed from performances of short song and dance to the recitation of these foundation myths. In the late fourteenth century, the sarugaku (Noh) patriarch Kan’ami 観阿弥 studied under the tutelage of the last surviving troupe of kusemai performers. Both Kan’ami and his son, Zeami 世阿弥, incorporated what the elder had learned into their revitalized sarugaku. The modified forms of these recited narratives as they appear in the kuse section of the sarugaku are the only remaining vestiges of the early kusemai.

However, Kan’ami and Zeami’s appropriation of the kusemai and the introduction of its structure into the sarugaku did not strike the death knell for the old style of kusemai. In fact, in the early and mid-fifteenth century the popularity of the kusemai increased in both Kyoto and Nara (Ogasawara 41). The performers of the new kusemai were not from the ranks of the professional groups of performers, but included men of the shōmonji class as well as women (nyōbō 女房) and young boys (chigo 稚児). Nor was the kusemai of this period a mere resuscitation of the old style of kusemai that
Kan’ami had learned, rather, in the hands of the shōmonji, it was restructured to fit the unique contexts in which it was performed. The kusemai of this period would go on to flourish during the remainder of the medieval period, becoming, along with the sarugaku, the most popular and widely loved performing art of the period.

Although beset by fighting among local daimyō 大名, feudal lords, and general upheaval, we cannot say that the Sengoku 戦国 period was devoid of its own unique and vibrant culture. Speaking of the culture of the capital city in the decades following the Ōnin 応仁 war, Mary Elizabeth Berry remarks that there were two conflicting feelings that pervaded the landscape. The first of these was “revolt.” As one of the traditionally accepted terms that encapsulate the mood of the latter half of the medieval period, gekokujō 下克上 (supplanting one’s master) seems to be synonymous with the Sengoku period, a time when a vassal usurping his master was commonplace. This term, however, refers not only to the internecine battles between daimyō for regional hegemony, but can also signify
the rise of the townsmen who, freed from the bonds of vassalage, began to create new political, social and economic realities.

The second aspect that Berry points to appears to be the exact opposite of gekokujo: “restoration.” The battles of the Ōnin war utterly devastated the capital and in the years following the cessation of fighting, the citizens of the capital sought to rebuild the symbols of authority. The performing arts played a key role in the reconstruction efforts, its performers lending their skills to religious institutions in kanjin 勧進 (subscription) performances. The sarugaku caught up in this mood of “restoration” turned to mythic themes and grand displays not witnessed in the previous century.

The ritual-like contexts in which the shōmonji performed the kusomai were significant in restructuring this performing art. The ritual-like performances at the New Year developed from their gradual appropriation of the senzumanzai 千秋万歳；their rhythmic stomping and chanting was believed to exorcize potentially harmful demons and insure peace and prosperity during the coming year. Their
performances soon captured a large following, and they were employed to perform in liminal spaces of the capital where the souls of the dead were pacified to insure that they would not interfere in the restoration of the capital.

Likewise, temples and shrines employed them to perform at events where their performances garnered subscriptions for the rebuilding of religious edifices destroyed by the wars. In these venues, the mood of restoration took upon a sense of urgency and immediacy. Soon the popularity of what later generations would consider to be the Kōwaka-style of kusemai exploded, and the shōmonji found themselves invited into the homes of influential courtiers and even in to the most hallowed of spaces in the land, the imperial palace.

In terms of patronage, the late-sixteenth century marked a turning point for the Kōwaka troupe of shōmonji. Favoried by some of the most powerful warriors of the time, the Kōwaka-style of kusemai was sought out by local daimyō that sent shōmonji working in their
fiefdoms to study the performance of the Kōwaka troupe and copy down its texts. Although the popularity of the kōwaka-mai among the warrior class reached a high point in the early-seventeenth century, its favor with the common folk who had been its original patrons had died out. Instead, they turned to new forms of recited narrative such as the sekkyō-bushi 説経節 and later to the jōruri 净瑠璃. While the mood of “restoration” gave way to a new social mood in the seventeenth century, the kōwaka-mai symbolized the values of a different time.

The Sengoku period and its mood of restoration will provide the backdrop for our rediscovery of the kōwaka-mai not as a performing art that was created specifically for the warrior class, but rather as a form of recited narrative that took shape in an era that sought to recreate a world that had been destroyed. The New Year and subscription performances provided the ritual-like contexts in which the art form was recreated in the hands of the shōmonji who had contact with many different types of thought and theology.
Central to reconstructing a lost world was the language of myth. As performers connected to the shōdō 唱導 preaching circuit, the shōmonji refashioned the kusemai, structuring it according to the mythic pattern of inversion and restoration. In addition to its influence upon the performative aspects of the art, the various expressions of what we may call “medieval myth” had a profound influence upon the content of the pieces that were introduced at the turn of the fifteenth century.

In this dissertation, I look at how the various aspects of myth underlie the performance and textual development of the kōwaka-mai. I begin by defining what I mean to be “myth,” first by looking briefly at how the term has been used in Western scholarship and then turning to discuss in detail what myth was in the context of medieval Japan. “Medieval myth,” I argue, has two important features relevant to the understanding of the kōwaka-mai: structure and function. The first of these, structure, we can understand to be embedded in story-patterns. These story-patterns are the largest
units of meaning in the pieces of the kōwaka-mai. The use of these common story-patterns facilitated communication between the performer and the audience.

Function has two aspects in this dissertation. First, function relates to performance not as a means or medium of transmission but as meaningful contexts in which performers employ story-patterns. Second, function is tied to larger social, political and economic practices and institutions that give myth culturally constructed meanings as explanations and descriptions of the world.

In Chapter 2, I turn to an analysis of the origins and development of the kōwaka-mai and its performance texts, using the concept of “medieval myth” as an analytical framework. The kusemai was popular not only because it drew upon popular themes, but because of the contexts in which it was performed. Warrior themes are replaced by the notion of “restoration” that permeated the entire repertory.
Finally, in Chapters 3 through 6, I analyze in detail five pieces of the kōwaka-mai. I show how myth structures each of these pieces in a similar way, setting up binary oppositions and then mediating them. In doing so each of the pieces reinterprets the lives of legendary and historical figures from the Japanese tradition according to a mythic archetype: a child who suffers some setback before returning to the world and restoring order to society. Unlike the foundation myths of the medieval period, however, these heroes are firmly grounded in this world; their return to it brings prosperity to them and their descendants as well as to the nation.
1 The piece Tsukuyomi is not extant. Given that Kōwaka Hachirō-kurō was discussing the piece with Kanemi, we can imagine that it might have been a piece about the moon deity Tsukuyomi-no-mikoto 月読尊.

2 In Chapter 2, I discuss in further detail the wide range of audiences for the kusemai during the Sengoku period, including mass performances for the common folk, as well as performances in the homes of aristocrats and at the imperial palace. From the mid-sixteenth century onward, the Kōwaka troupe received the patronage of leading warriors, such as Oda Nobunaga.

3 As with many of the performing arts of pre-modern Japan, the performers and the performing art are both referred to with the same term. The nature of the relationship between the kusemai and the shirabyōshi has yet to be established, yet it appears that both kusemai and enkyoku 宴曲 borrowed from the shirabyōshi. Asahara surmises that there were several performers of shirabyōshi even during its height in the late twelfth century, including miko, itinerant entertainers, prostitutes and chigo. Courtiers and other aristocrats employed shirabyōshi from all of these groups to perform at banquets. Most likely as tastes for variety in performance, various other types of performers took up the shirabyōshi adding new types of songs and narratives over time (Kōwaka-bukyoku kō 44).

4 In her introduction, Berry speaks eloquently about the notion of “rupture” that encapsulates both the idea that old forms of government and society have been swept away while at the same time rupture necessarily holds out the need for return to normalcy. Thus, for Berry the “linkage to the past” is what most clearly defines the era (xix).

5 For an overview of shōdō preaching and the medieval performing arts and literature, see Fukuda (Chûsei 9-18), Abe (“Shōdō”) and Sekiyama
20-30. For an English overview of the topic, see Matisoff (*Semimaru* 46-52).
CHAPTER 1

DEFINING MEDIEVAL MYTH: STRUCTURE, PERFORMANCE
AND TRADITIONAL REFERENCE

1.1 Introduction

Working on the margin between two cultures, Japan and the United States, I have, over the four years that this project has taken shape, become sensitive to the difficulties of transferring terms and categories from one culture to the other. While I have conducted the bulk of my research in Japan, I am submitting this document in the United States. For this reason, it is necessary to recontextualize my research into the traditions of Western scholarship. As will become apparent in this chapter the genre of myth in the Japanese tradition shares many points of commonality with Western traditions, while at the same time the myth in the
Japanese context has its own unique characteristics. As this
document is written in English for a Western audience, I will begin
by discussing briefly some of the major contours that delineate the
study of myth in the Western tradition before I turn to my discussion
of myth in medieval Japan.

In general, it is agreed that myth has some universal
characteristics across diverse cultures. It is a “sacred story”
that employs symbolic language, taking place at some time that is
outside of ordinary human experience, and is more often than not
inextricably tied to religious belief. Although universal
definitions often strike us as “sounding right,” when we set out
to isolate those features of myth that are universal, we often find
that those features that we assume to be present in all cultural
expressions of myth can differ vastly. In addition, the expressions
of myth are quite particular to the society in which they are
embedded.
I set out to do two things in this chapter. First, I look at some of the culturally specific manifestations of these universals. I begin this by looking at some of the turns that universal definitions have taken the study of myth through, beginning with those definitions that view myth as part of the human animal’s predetermined development from a stage of savagery to civilization. In this universalistic analysis, myth is human society’s way of understanding and controlling the world. In exchange for the inadequacies of the evolutionary approach, other analyses have offered psychological approaches to the study of myth. These scholars have equally argued for the universal in myth, yet instead, they begin with the individual psyche.

Second, I turn to two of the most significant theoretical approaches to the universals of myth, structuralism and formalism. By looking at the Japanese cultural tradition, I restore cultural specificity to Lévi-Strauss’ approach to the universal phenomenon of myth and consider the possibility of “medieval myth” in the
Japanese context. Instead of a natural evolution of myth into legend, folktale and literature,\textsuperscript{2} I argue that societies actively draw upon mythic patterns in a process of creating culturally meaningful stories. Performers and audience actively use mythic patterns found in the foundation myths of the medieval period to create narratives in performance, what John Miles Foley has dubbed “traditional reference.”

1.2 Defining Myth: Universal Explanations of Myth

When setting out to define or even to talk about “myth,” we are encumbered by the weight of the modern association of myth with false interpretations of the world and society. Scholars of myth in the early modern era equated myth with the backward, the unenlightened, and the rural. As with the study of other forms of folklore, early scholars studied myth in contrast to modern society; they saw myth and the preservers of myth as reflections of society
that had undergone rapid and disorienting change. The existence of myth and tellers of myth was also a reassurance of the validity of the theories proposed by science; they were interpreted as the proof of cultural evolution and its claims of universal patterns of development in human societies.

Even as early as the fifth century BCE, the historian Herodotus considered myths to be nothing more than lies and fictions (Yoshida and Matsumura 5). Earlier Greek philosophers, however, did not make the distinction between truth and falsehood when speaking of myth. Originally, myth came from the word for “muttering” (Yoshida and Matsumura 6). The great teller of tales, Homer, distinguished between mythos and epos: the former he saw as being the “story” or “words” while the later he saw as being “actions” (Kirk 8). Greek philosophers who followed in the tradition set by Herodotus contrasted mythos with logos, the latter of which originally only meant “words.” However, they contrasted it to mythos, giving logos the significance of “true stories” (Yoshida and Matsumura 10).
Interestingly, “mythology” is a combination of the two terms that the later Greeks contrasted: eighteenth-century scholars conceived of it as the “study of the truth (logos) present in myth (mythos).”

Thus, when scholars studied the myth of the ancient world and the myth that continued to be passed down in the oral tradition among the “folk,” they understood these myths as being a spiritual tie between modern and ancient man. While the folktale and legend were amusing stories, underneath the shroud of the unenlightened falsehood of myth there was the essence of truth (revealed in the scientific construct of cultural evolution) of human existence. The myth was a false story that purported to explain the beginnings of the world, while at the same time the study of these myths by the newly invented mythology made it possible to find universal truths about man’s existence, his relationship to the world and his evolutionary development.

We can see this early bias toward viewing myth as false stories or mistaken explanations of the origins of the world and natural
phenomena in the works of Sir James Frazer (1854-1941). His work on the relationship of myth and ritual to nature and cultural practices is representative of the early scholarship on mythology. Frazer saw myths as being explanations for rituals that developed out of the natural agricultural cycle. Each spring, the corn spirit was reborn and grew to be harvested in the autumn. In the winter, the corn spirit died only to return in the spring and begin the cycle again. Human societies developed rituals that coordinated with the natural cycle to which their lives were necessarily tied. The return of the corn spirit in the spring had to be accompanied by imitative magic or homeopathic rituals to lure the spirit back to life. In the winter, the spirit was believed to die and so was buried in the ground to insure that the soil would be fertile for the coming year when the cycle would begin again (The Golden Bough 440).

Frazer saw cultural variation as local expression of the universality of man’s physical tie to nature: Osiris and Adonis were ultimately the same as the deities of Scandinavia and the gods of
the islands of the Pacific Ocean (The Golden Bough 280). While Frazer
saw ritual as a dramatization of the natural relationship between
man and nature through physical action, he saw myth as an explanation
of the relationship between society and nature. Myth, therefore,
was an integrative and didactic tool for the community that had no
scientific means for understanding the world. Myths functioned to
explain natural and supernatural phenomena in the world and human
society’s relationship to them, but in the light of modern science
myths were essentially and by definition false. They are, as Frazer
pronounces,

founded on ignorance and misapprehension [;] they are always
false, for were they true they would cease to be myths. The
subjects of myths are as numerous as the objects which present
themselves to the mind of man; for everything excites his
curiosity, and everything he desires to learn the cause
(Appolodorus xxvii).

Jane Harrison (1850-1928), a representative scholar of the
myth-ritual school, also saw myth as having an etiological function.
Harrison extended myth's explanatory function to rites of passage or rites of initiation that she saw as being analogous to the cycle of birth, death and rebirth that is nature. Rather than symbolically dramatizing the relationship of man to the cycle of nature, ritual is a reenactment of the social rites of initiation. Myths then "reflect any form of the initiation rite" (75). Myth was a contemporaneously arising explanation of ritual.

They probably arose together. Ritual is the utterance of an emotion, a thing felt, in action, myth in words or thoughts. They arise pari passu. The myth is not at first etiological [...] it is representative, an other form of utterance, of expression. When the emotion that started the ritual has died down and the ritual though hallowed by tradition seems meaning, a reason is sought in the myth (71-72).

In Harrison's view, myth is coeval with the development of ritual; its explanatory function is secondary. Both ritual and myth arise as emotional responses to nature, the former being a physical response, the latter being a narrative response. This also entails
for Harrison, as well as many other scholars of myth, that myth must be historically prior to other genres of narrative, the legend or the tale.

In *Primitive Culture*, Sir Edward B. Tylor (1832-1917) traces the progressive development of human societies from original savage groupings to civilized states. Tylor pictures primitive humans as early philosophers applying their reason to explain events in the human and natural worlds that were beyond their control, even though their scientific ignorance produces erroneous explanations. *Primitive Culture* also elaborates upon a theme that became a central concept in Tylor’s work: the relation of the life of primitive cultures to that of modern populations.

Among evidence aiding us to trace the course that the civilization of the world has actually followed, is that great class of facts to denote which I have found it convenient to introduce the term ‘survivals.’ These are processes, customs, opinions, and so forth, which have been carried on by force of habit into a new state of society different from that in which they had their original home, and they thus remain as proofs and examples
of an older condition of culture out of which a newer has been evolved (16).

Thus, “culture” should be studied not only in the artistic and spiritual achievements of civilizations but in man’s technological and moral accomplishments made at all stages of his development. Tylor notes how customs and beliefs from a distant, primitive past seem to have lived on into the modern world in “survivals.” His evolutionary view of human development was endorsed by most of his colleagues and, of course, by Charles Darwin (1809-1882), who had established biological evolution as the key to human development. Myth in Tylor’s view represented primitive man’s science and by studying the myths of primitive man, he sought to trace the “history of the laws of mind” (275). Thus, both Frazer and Tylor find that the universal quality of myth was simply this: in every society, myth is man’s way of understanding the world and bringing it under his control.

In contrast to the universalism espoused by Frazer and Tylor, the approach introduced by psychologists places the origins of myth
in the individual psyche. Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) had a particularly negative attitude toward myth and conceived of myths as distorted wish dreams of entire cultures (151). In arguing that myth originated not in the desires of primitive man to come to know his world and control it by that knowledge, Freud did what no one had done before: he claimed that myth was not dependent upon cultural history.

Carl Jung (1875-1961) as well saw myth as emerging from the individual psyche; however, he argued that these individual psyches converged into a "collective unconscious" (Collected Works IX, vol. 2 105). These mythic archetypes (also referred to as "primordial images" or "motifs") are the basic building blocks of the collective unconscious (Essays 72). They are similar images and symbols that are most apparent in dreams but are also present in cultural phenomena such as the motifs of myth, legend and fairytales.

One major drawback in Jung’s analysis is that he fails to show us how these archetypes are patterned in culturally specific ways
or how they are used to structure narrative. By locating myth in
the first instance within the individual psyche, the psychological
approach fails to situate myth within a specific cultural dynamic.
Joseph Campbell (1904-1987) tried to make up for this shortcoming
by positing some universal functions of myth based upon Jungian
archetypes. For Campbell these archetypes are universal in all
human cultures. Myth has two seemingly contradictory aspects: on
the one hand myth supplies the symbols that “carry man forward,”
while on the other hand they constantly “tie it back” to the past
(The Masks 11). The hero of myth is eternal man who, in his role
as hero, breaks out of his personal and historical limitations and
does what all human cultures aspire to, control death and the cycle
of nature by dying a physical or symbolic death and being reborn
(The Masks 20).

Underlying the study of myth in the nineteenth century and up
through the mid-twentieth century has been the presupposition that
myth is universal in human cultures. Writers arrived at many of their
conclusions through speculation and analogy—the human animal
everywhere develops in the same way and his thought processes are
identical underneath the distorting configurations of specific
cultures. Informed by biological and cultural evolutionism,
scholars stripped away the rich diversity of expressions of myth
in cultures around the world.

In folklore studies from the mid-twentieth century, scholars
sought to show how myth was a specific, yet universal, genre of folk
narrative. Because myths are an integral part of the community’s
spiritual life, it is commonly agreed that myths can be defined as
“sacred stories.” Many scholars suggest that we can distinguish
“myth” from “legend” and “folktale” by using a set of distinctive
features or characteristics.

The folklorist William Bascom (1912-1981), for example, sets
up a system for distinguishing these three types of prose narrative
genres based upon five features: truth, time, place, attitude, and
principal characters (5). The strength of this generic checklist
is its emphasis on myth as a form of prose narrative. Yet, two examples illustrate the shortcomings of a generic description of folklore items based upon a feature system. First, Bascom’s proposed system claims that “myth” and “legend” are stories that the community holds to be “true” in contrast to the “folktale,” which the community holds to be not true. The truth conditions of the “myth” and the “legend,” however, are clearly different. The “truth” of myth derives from its being imbedded in a system of belief, and the claims that it makes about a higher or abstract truth, what we might term transcendent or absolute Truth. Legends, on the other hand, are considered “true” because they originated in reality, the life of a historical figure.

A second problem arises when Bascom introduces the related feature of “time.” “Myth,” he contends, takes place in a vague, pre-historical time, whereas the “legend” is set in the present world. The “folktale” in contrast, is timeless; it does not take place within historical time and can take place at any time. As both the truth
conditions and time conditions show, the classification of folklore
genres by features relies upon conditions external to the narratives
themselves and each feature is often not consistently applied. In
addition, the feature system that Bascom proposes soon shows its
weaknesses in the many narratives that come to mind that do not fit
neatly into any one of the categories.\(^5\) We are forced, in the end,
to conclude with Bascom that each society has its own culturally
specific system of categorizing the genres of myth, legend and
folktale.

If we return then to our original definition of myths as sacred
stories that explain the beginnings of a belief community and its
culture, it follows that we might give historical priority to myth
over the legend and the folktale.\(^6\) Given that the myths are set in
a pre-historic or temporally distant world, could it be that myths
were the first narratives and the legend and the folktale developed
out of these sacred stories?\(^7\)
The weaknesses of a synchronic system of distinctive features are bypassed if we see myth as the source of the legend and the folktale: legend retains myth's claims of truth, while the folktale retains myth's timelessness. In order to account for their coexistence within a particular tradition we could say that mythic narratives continue to have significance in two ways--their patterns shape the narratives of the legend while they continue to be a reference for the community. While there are certain problems with giving historical priority to myth, provisionally, we will say then that as narrative genres, legends and folktales create their story-patterns by referring to the myths of a culture. It is hard to deny that part of myth's timelessness is its persistence in all cultures and in all historical periods as the root of literary expression (Frye 139).
1.3 The Structural Approach to Myth

1.3.1 Lévi-Strauss and Myth

Lévi-Strauss' (b. 1908) structural analysis of myth has shown us the binary logic behind the vast diversity of myths found in the cultures of the world. He begins by posing the same question that has been beneath my discussion in the previous section. Why is there such similarity in myths around the world? Although many scholars before him had answered this question, their rationalizations and constructions of myth as a primitive mode of science are unsatisfactory.

Tylor, for example, suggests that myths represent the stage of the primitive mind that he likens to a child trying to make sense of the world. The myth-making stage, Tylor argues, was the earliest movement of the human species out of savagery and toward civilization as science began to replace myth as man's explanation of the world (284). Beginning with Tylor's construct of the primitive man,
Lévi-Strauss upsets this notion by showing how myths, no matter how diverse in their content, are all structurally similar. Likening myth to both language and music, Lévi-Strauss argues that myth, like language, consists of both “langue” and “parole”; language has both synchronic structure and specific diachronic details remain within the structure.

In a chapter of his work *Structural Anthropology* entitled “The Structural Study of Myth,” Lévi-Strauss adds a new element to Saussure’s concepts of *langue* and *parole*, pointing out that *langue* belongs to what he calls “reversible time,” and *parole* to “non-reversible time” (209). What he means here is that *parole*, as a specific instance, example, or event, can only exist in linear time, which is unidirectional; *langue*, on the other hand, since it is simply the structure itself, can exist in the past, present, or future. A myth then, according to Lévi-Strauss, is both historically specific--its content is particular to is context of performance--and ahistorical, meaning that its story is timeless.
As history, myth is *parole*; as timeless, it is *langue*. Yet, he goes further. Lévi-Strauss says that myth also exists on a third level, in addition to *langue* and *parole*, and says that myth is a language of its own. He explains that level in terms of the story (*histoire*) that myth tells. That story is special, because it survives any translation. Lévi-Strauss says that while poetry is that which cannot be translated or paraphrased, myth, on the other hand, can be translated, paraphrased, reduced, expanded, and otherwise manipulated without losing its basic shape or structure.

He thus argues that, while myth as structure looks like language as structure, it is actually something different from language *per se*—he says it operates on a higher, or more complex level. Myth shares with language the following characteristics. First, myth is made of units that are put together according to certain rules. Second, these units form relations with each other, based on binary pairs or opposites, which provide the basis of the structure. Myth differs from language (as Saussure describes it)
because the basic units of myth are not phonemes (the smallest unit of speech that distinguishes one meaningful unit from another, like a letter), but rather they are what Lévi-Strauss calls "mythemes." His process of analysis differs from Saussure’s because Saussure was interested in studying the relations between signs (or signifiers) in the structure of language, whereas Lévi-Strauss concentrates on sets of relations, rather than individual relations—or what he calls "bundles of relations."

He concludes that the structural analysis of myth brings order out of chaos, as it provides a means to reveal for widespread variations on a basic myth structure, and it “enables us to perceive some basic logical processes which are at the root of mythical thought” (224). This idea is important to Lévi-Strauss because his project is to make the study of myth logical and “scientific” in all of its aspects, and not to have to rely on any subjective interpretive factors. Yet, this is the point upon which detractors such as Mary Douglas have criticized his methodology.
In Douglas’ opinion, Lévi-Strauss tells us much more about his own methodology than about the cultures that he is studying. For Douglas, the structural analysis of myth must come only when one has a firm grasp of the culture that one is studying. The structural analysis should only follow a rich description of the culture being studied; otherwise, a structural analysis is doomed to become another study in generalizations and universals. In particular, she criticizes Lévi-Strauss for doing what he explicitly sets out to do: he looks beyond the variety of content of myths and uncovers their abstract structure. Lévi-Strauss’ concludes that the function of myth is to lay bare the contradictions in a society. Yet, he says little about the societies in which he finds the myths that he uses for his analysis, and thus his purported analysis of the diachronic aspects of myth leaves much to be desired.

Myth, Douglas argues is a form of art that is imbedded in a context of communication. As speech acts, the performance of myth has content and form, “histoire” and “discours.” While a
Lévi-Strauss-inspired analysis of myth begins with content, it is inherently reductionist. For Lévi-Strauss, the real meanings of myths lies not in their context of performance, but rather, that the entirety of their significance lies in their structure alone (Implicit Meanings 167). While valuable as a starting point for the study of myth, a structural analysis of myth should be paired with a deep knowledge of the culture in question (Implicit Meanings 169).

Both Lévi-Strauss analysis of myth and Douglas' critique of his methodology reveal the biases of continental traditions and those of England and America. The continental approach to the study of myth has focuses upon this genre of narrative through the lens of language. Thus, scholars such as Lévi-Strauss emphasize the structure of myth as analogous to that of language. The negative aspect of this type of analysis is that it privileges the theoretical framework over the cultural phenomena that it takes as its subject.

Douglas, on the other hand, is more concerned with description of myth as a cultural phenomenon. Yet, this approach can be deceptive
in that its practitioners often claim to be or assume to be neutral mediums through which myth reveals itself. Description, of course, cannot, or should not, be done without a sound theoretical framework. A presupposed vision of the world and cultures that populate it often underlies the methodology of this descriptive method, and so, neutral description is a posture that is untenable. Thus, I propose that Lévi-Strauss' idea of myth as a system is significant in that it proposes that myth is a system that cultures shape and use to communicate. Underlying the narrative structure is a system of binary oppositions that reveal the basic oppositions in a specific culture. These oppositions, while culturally specific, also show remarkable similarities to the systems of myth in all cultures.

How we set about to interpret the universal appearance of myth and its universal similitude is that question that has been at the forefront in the study of myth since the nineteenth century. Frazer and Tylor saw myth as a remnant from our primitive past. Frazer saw myth as a fundamental flaw in the reasoning processes of primitive
societies, which was only remedied with the light of scientific method. Tylor did not differ in his view that myth was a survival of our pre-enlightened past, yet he saw in myth the first light of human's progress toward scientific mastery of the world. Like Frazer and Tylor, Lévi-Strauss also proposes a universal explanation of myth, however, he does not assume that so-called primitive cultures are any different than our own. On the contrary, he implies that all human societies structure their cultures on similar oppositions, which they creatively use in forming their myths.

1.3.2 Propp and Narrative Structure

While criticized by Lévi-Strauss, Vladimir Propp has added to our understanding of the formal structure of the folktale and by extension, he has enriched our understanding of the narrative structure of myth. Although not dealing with myth specifically,
Propp assumes that we must see myth as having a historical priority to the folktale, the latter having developed or “evolved” following certain stages in human social history (History 12-13).

Propp builds upon the notions set forth by the Russian Formalists. Tzvetan Todorov introduces the major elements in the approaches to literature of the Russian Formalists. First, they placed the study of the text at the center of literary scholarship, rather than looking for authorial and biographical links or sociological influences, which they considered as peripheral to the text (8). Second, they problematized Jakobson’s idea of “literariness,” or the poetic function of language, and argued that form is more important than content in both writing and reading (10-11). Third, they viewed literary history and the evolution of literary genres as a genre-internal dynamic process (9). Finally, they provided analytical techniques for characterizing a range of discursive styles and different modes of storytelling (13).
Propp extends the Russian Formalist approach to narratology, the study of narrative structure. Where, in the Formalist approach to language, sentence structures have been reduced into analyzable elements—morphemes—Propp uses their method by analogy to analyze folktales. By breaking down a large number of Russian folktales into their smallest narrative unit, what he terms “functions,” Propp is able to arrive at a typology of narrative structures (21). By analyzing types of characters and kinds of action, Propp concludes that there were thirty-one generic functions in the Russian folktale (26–65). While not all are present, he finds that all the tales he analyzes display the functions in unvarying sequence. Narratives, then, are made up of a series of functions that carry the narrative along similar (the sequencing of functions is always similar) yet different paths (the number and kind of functions actually employed may differ) (22–23).

I argue below that Propp’s formula for identifying the structure of the Russian folktale is also applicable to a formal
analysis of Japanese folktale, and by extension, to Japanese myth. Proppian analysis shows that in the Russian folktale there are identifiable basic components whose combination into complex wholes is governed by equally identifiable rules. While it is necessary to modify the catalogue of Propp’s functions (both adding and subtracting elements) in analyzing Japanese myth, I retain the idea of a formal system.

1.4 Structural and Formal Analyses of Medieval Myth in Japan

It is the two concepts of structure and form specific to the Japanese tradition that is the focus of the remainder of this section. I begin first with the notion of the folktale and how, in the Japanese scholarship, its formal and structural analysis led by extension to a similar analysis of Japanese myth. The two scholars that stand out not only because of the similarity of their conclusions, but more perhaps so for the subtle differences that emerge in their
approaches are Yanagita Kunio 柳田国男 (1875–1962) and Orikuchi Shinobu 折口信夫 (1887–1953).

Beginning with Yanagita’s analysis of the folktale, we see how he argues that all folktales derived from an earlier tripartite form. Orikuchi’s gaze is also toward the past. He begins with tales of the late medieval period and ties them back to the myths of the ancient world. For Orikuchi this exercise in the reading of texts has a singular purpose, to recapture the spirit of the Japanese as it existed in its purer state in the ancient period.

I show how his concept of myth as structure has certain affinities with Lévi-Strauss’ structural analysis. In particular, Orikuchi’s singling out of the “tale of the wandering noble” (kishururitan 貴種流離譚) as most closely revealing the structure of myth is central to our understanding of the process of transmission of tale types, or “story-patterns,” themes and motifs across generations and geographic areas.
In addition, his analysis of this story-pattern suggests how the use of these tale-types and themes are the building blocks for meaning in performance. Finally, I turn to an analysis of the structure of what I will term “medieval myth.” Here I look at two aspects of myth in the medieval period: first, those elements of medieval myth that bind them to their ancient counterparts so that we can refer to them both as “myth,” and second, those distinguishing characteristics of the medieval expression of myth. I focus my discussion on the structural and formal aspects of medieval myth before turning briefly to a re-evaluation of some of the traditional functions of myth.

1.4.1 Yanagita and the Tripartite Structure of Mukashi Banashi

The borrowing of theoretical terms and the comparison with Western traditions has dominated construction of a theoretical basis for the study of the genres of “oral language arts” (kōshō bungei
While the terms "mukashi banashi" (folktale), "densetsu" (legend), and "shinwa" (myth) appear in the Japanese lexicon only after the Meiji Restoration, as a response to efforts to civilize and Westernize the study of Japanese culture, it has been a less than exact fit.

We can see some of the problems of using the categories of an unrelated tradition when we look at how folklore items have been classified. For example, Japanese folklore scholars, having adopted many of the terms from West scholarship, consider Yuriwaka daijin 百合若大臣, Jōruri-hime 綾理璃姬 and Urashima Tarō 浦島太郎 to be "legends." Japanese folklorists and literary scholars consider these stories "legend" because of their setting in historical time even though legends are supposed to have purely fictional attitudes. Momo Tarō 桃太郎, on the other hand, despite having many formal features that liken it to both legend and myth, is most often considered to be a "folktale" (Nomura 46).
As with Bascom’s system of classification, the terms in Japanese ethnology are imprecise because different types of criteria, both internal and external to the narrative itself, are used to distinguish the stories as belonging to different genres. Although the artificiality of these categories is present in Yanagita Kunič’s opus, I focus here upon what he has to tell us about the underlying structure of Japanese myth, legend and the folktale.

In his Kōshō bungeishi kō 口承文芸史考, “A Study of the History of the Oral Literary Arts,” Yanagita argues that the underlying and original (honraiteki 本来的) pattern of the folktales about humans (honkaku setsuwa 本格説話) is tripartite. The protagonist of these tales is an unnatural or extraordinary (hibon 非凡) human with an unnatural birth. He or she has particularly close relation with a guardian deity that gives him or her prosperity and fortune beyond that of ordinary human beings. Following this auspicious beginning, he or she suffers a dramatic setback, losing this good fortune, and is sent to suffer and overcome some great obstacle. Once this is
overcome, the protagonist is restored to his or her original position.

The birth of the protagonist is often introduced by using the "strange birth tale-type" (ijô tanjô tan 異常誕生談) in which the protagonist is either the heaven-sent child of a kami or a Buddhist deity, or has an unnatural birth from a snake, peach or bamboo. This tripartite structure can thus be simplified as:

1. Strange or miraculous birth
2. Adventures and/or trials
3. Prosperity (TYKZ VI 110-112)

Yanagita's analysis of the original form of the mukashi banashi reveals to us several things about the early development of a "structural" or "formal" approach to the study of the genres of oral literature in Japanese ethnology. First, Yanagita assumes the development of complex forms from simplex forms. The original form of the folktale was much simpler and remained simple over time as the form spread to different communities throughout the Japanese
archipelago. The form became more complex as audiences demanded narratives that were more interesting.

Second, Yanagita offers us a formal analysis of the folktale. He shows that larger narratives are made up of smaller constituent parts, such that the original form of the folktale is made up of various motifs (strange birth, trials and prosperity). In this configuration, the second phase is an inversion of the first: the protagonist suffers some downfall or is forced to go through a trial or series of trials before he returns to his or her original position. Since he assumes that this is the original form of the folktale, later developments in the process of transmission are assumed to have expanded the number of constituent parts, increasing the variety of tale types. At the same time as there was a tendency for these tales to diversify over the centuries, newer tale types continued to have a relationship with the original form, as outlined above.
Finally, his analysis of the folktale is suggestive in relation to performance. As these tale types are made up of separate motifs, they would lend themselves to use as building blocks for the performer to create new tales.

As with many ethnologists and scholars of national learning (kokugaku 国学), Yanagita’s gaze is seemingly backward-looking -- he is seeking a singular origin of the folktale and the path of the tale’s diffusion throughout Japan. Yet, by tracing this path of diffusion backward, his goal was not to capture the shifts in meaning as these tales were told in different historical times and social milieux. Rather, he sought to isolate what was the core essence of pure Japanese culture. With diffusion came a weakening and decline of the original structure and its evolution into “higher” forms of literature and more secular forms of narrative. Although we note that Yanagita does not associate the original structure of the folktale with “myth,” I will return to Yanagita’s tripartite
structure and compare this structure with Orikuchi’s thoughts on myth.

1.4.2 Orikuchi’s Kishururitan

Simply defined, the kishururitan story-pattern narrates the life of a deity. The kami, or a kami-like person of noble lineage for some reason sets about wandering and continues this life of travel suffering many hardships. There are many stories of this type in the Japanese tradition that existed before literature (i.e. in the oral tradition). Orikuchi noted their existence early and called them “kishururitan,” or the “tale of the wandering noble.”

He begins by looking at one of the five sekkyō-bushi pieces of the early seventeenth century, Aigo no waka 愛護若. This tale, which was later adapted into jōruri and kabuki 歌舞伎 versions, recounts the life of a heaven-sent child of the Hasedera Kannon 長谷寺観音. When Aigo no waka is three years old, his mother
dies—just as the Hasedera Kannon had foretold—and his father, Kiyohira 清平, remarries. When Aigo no waka reaches puberty, his stepmother falls deeply in love with the boy and sends him many letters professing her desire for him. The boy pays no notice of these missives, and in doing so, he angers his stepmother.

In her anger, she devises a plan for revenge. She frames the boy by stealing the family treasures and hiding them among Aigo no waka’s things. Once Kiyohira finds out about Aigo no waka’s theft, he ties the boy to a cherry tree as punishment. His dead mother appears as a weasel and chews through the knots telling the boy to go to Mt. Hiei 比叡山 to a certain Buddhist teacher. On his way, he is frightened by a demon and loses his way. Even though he receives aid from several people on the way (brothers who give him chestnut rice at Awazu 粟津), in despair he bites off his finger, writes his final words on his sleeve, and throws himself into a pond. The Buddhist teacher from Mt. Hiei overhears the boy and goes to tell Aigo no waka’s father what has happened. Kiyohira, his stepmother
and the teacher go to the pond and worship Aigo no waka as an avatar of Sannō gongen 山王権現 (Muroki Sekkyōshū 299-344).

The first thing that catches Orikuchi’s eye is that the tale of Aigo no waka resembles in many ways the tale of Emperor Tenmu’s 天武 wandering as recounted in the medieval tale collection, the Ujishū monogatarishū 宇治拾遺物語集 (1221), and draws parallels between several of the motifs and patterns common to both of these works. Orikuchi approaches the kishururitan from the viewpoint of the medieval tale literature, which he sees as the final development in the evolution of the tale-type, and focuses upon its transmission from the ancient world. What Orikuchi is primarily concerned with in comparing the Ujishū story to Aigo no waka is the linkage he demonstrated between the two and his intention to understand antiquity better through their comparison.

In citing the importance of this story-pattern, he notes that it exists in various modified forms all of which are essentially the same story, from Yamatotakeru-no-mikoto 日本武尊, 18
Susanowo-no-mikoto 素戋呜尊 to Karu-no-miko 軽皇子, the son of Emperor Ingyō 児恭, who was caught in an act of indecency with a sister-in-law and exiled. The latter appears to be prototypical, but other similar stories appear in the Man’yōshū 万葉集 (late eighth century) with Isonokami-no-maro 石上麻呂 and other travelers.

The Karu-no-miko version of the story-pattern holds significance for Orikuchi. For example, he states that the wandering of Susanowo-no-mikoto, Yamatotakeru-no-mikoto and Isonokami-no-maro were variations or transformations of a singular form (I 122). While the specific details are different in each of the stories, essentially they are the same story. Orikuchi summarizes this story as the “tale of the wandering noble,” which he shows as having the following elements. First, the lives of the kami are the prototype. Second, the kami commits some crime and is forced to come to the earth and experience hardships. Third, these hardships culminate in death of the kami who is then reborn as a great kami. Although the prototype is found in the lives of the kami,
the lives of nobles as well follow this pattern; they too commit some crime and are forced to leave the capital and wander out in the provinces and experience hardships. At the end of these hardships, those whose lives are about to end have a reversal of fortune and return to the capital. Ultimately, as I will show below, Orikuchi argues that the structure of Japanese culture underlies this prototype.

1.4.3 Orikuchi’s Theory of Myth and Its Transmission

Underlying Orikuchi’s theory as expressed in his analysis of the kishururitan is his notion of how essential story-patterns are transmitted over time. Taking Orikuchi’s most significant contribution to our understanding of Japanese culture, his marebito 稀人 theory, we see how this model is based upon the binary opposition between this world and the Otherworld. According to Orikuchi, this basic opposition can be found in all forms of culture in both the
ancient world and in the contemporary world, most notably in transformation of this configuration in the structure of language, performance and literature (I 23). Tradition or transmission (denshō 伝承) functions within Orikuchi’s model as a channel through which these oppositions are generated (hassei 発生) in any historical period. Specific literary genres emerge through the mediation of this binary opposition that Orikuchi views as existing sui generis.

Orikuchi figures this mediation as a speech event, in which the dyad of this world and the Otherworld is brought together and unified as a communication between humans and the kami. Historically, he says, the interaction between the mundane and the spiritual gave rise to specific genres of literature, which are historically determined expressions of the eternal opposition between the world of humans and the world of the kami. Ritual and the performing arts as well are structured upon this binary opposition. Through “re-enactment” (fukuen 復演) of these
structural oppositions specific genres of performing arts arise by the enduring structure of Japanese culture, while at the same time taking shape according to historical realities. Thus, literature, ritual and drama emerge in human society's quest to reunite with the sacred realm.

Orikuchi points out that "myth" (shinwa) does not exist in the Japanese literary tradition as it does in the Western sense. As with other theoretical terms in folklore scholarship, "shinwa," he notes, is not attested in the classical lexicon, and this alone is reason enough for Orikuchi to caution its use. On one of the rare occasions that Orikuchi uses the term, he places shinwa not at the beginning of his chronological development of Japanese literary genres, but rather, he conceives of it as existing at all points in literary development. He states:

"Myths" are closely tied to society; they are monogatari that were produced in an age when man had a close relationship with the kami; myth is close to the origin of all things. It was also [a form of] narrative poetry (jojishi 叙事詩). When
literature became fixed, this marked the beginning of the end for the dignity that was originally present within the myth. Japanese myth is different from that which exists in the West. Myth [in Japan] is the relationship [emphasis added] between the kami and human beings. The folktale deals with the events within the world of humans. Whereas myth is timeless, the folktale is bound to the changes in society and it is from this relationship [between humans and the kami] that it [the folktale] derives its authority. (XV 20-21)

Extending beyond narrative genre, myth as a cultural construct is rooted in the connection between the spiritual world of the kami and the quotidian world of humans. While Orikuchi notes that myth takes on the specific generic form of narrative poetry, he sees myth as being closest to the speech event of jugon 叩言 that is at the center of his marebito, “visitor” theory. Orikuchi sees the relationship between the spiritual and phenomenal as underwriting all of Japanese culture. The kami from the Otherworld (tokoyo no kuni 常世国) take the form of marebito and come to the human community. There they subjugate the potentially harmful spirits (shōryō 精霊) of the community by engaging them in a verbal exchange that Orikuchi
calls *jugon*, or “felicitous words.” In response, the spirits give their promise (*ukehi* 締約) to refrain from harming the community during the coming year. The *marebito* then return to the Otherworld.

Myth, in the sense of a verbal exchange, is not a historically attested genre; rather, it is linked to the relationship between the *kami* and human beings.²⁰

Like Lévi-Strauss, Orikuchi sees myth as an underlying structure of binary relationships, giving us the possibility of unique insight into the most fundamental aspects of culture since it is within the basic structure of mythic patterns that the oppositions within culture become apparent. As Lévi-Strauss states, “the process consists of structures which are undergoing transformation to produce other structures, so that structure itself is a primordial fact (emphasis in the original)” (*Naked Man* 627).

Myth is structurally no different than poetry, drama and *monogatari*, and their structure is a common thread that links all of these cultural forms. Later genres such as the *honji monogatari*,
"Buddhist origin tales," engi, "foundation myths" and otogizōshi 御伽草子 are only re-enactments of this early and more pristine form of "myth"—the basic opposition between this world and the Otherworld.

In Nihon bungaku no naiyō 日本文化の内容, "The Substance of Japanese Literature," Orikuchi reiterates his position on myth in the Japanese tradition. Here he says that because "myth," as it is constructed in Western folklore studies, originates in the doctrines and theologies of a particular religion and its sectarian divisions the term "myth" cannot capture the essence of ancient Japanese society (XVI 360-364). Orikuchi argues that within Japanese folk belief, theology and doctrine do not exist. The communities of the ancient past that were organized by common belief, he continues, used monogatari as charters for behavior; the people of ancient Japan constructed their society on the pattern of jugon. Pre-literate Japanese society believed that these monogatari, as narrated by the kataribe 語部, were true. As village communities tired of hearing
these truthful stories, Orukuchi continues, they desired to have fictional or more fanciful stories. And these “lies,” in the sense that these fictional stories obscured (but do not erase) the original structure, spread and became the monogatari that have passed down to us today. The true stories (those most closely approaching “myth”) were “guaranteed” or “authorized” by the belief in the kami; these “myths” depended upon belief in the existence of the kami and the model of communication (jugon) between them and the spirits of the community. People in the ancient age were satisfied with the joy brought by hearing truthful stories precisely because they could rely upon these stories (narrative versions of the relationship between the kami and human community) to be expressions of the true nature of society.

We can see then that Orukuchi views myth as being closely tied to the essence of the Japanese culture and the relationship between humans and the kami (the spiritual world). Orukuchi sees the development of narrative poetry and monogatari as the result of
“deterioration” from this perfect relationship between the kami and the community. Noting the higher and more abstract relation of myth to culture, Orikuchi parallels Lévi-Strauss’ view that the folktale develops out of a “weakening” of mythic structure. In Orikuchi’s thought, then, the process of transmission or tradition is both progressive—literature and society develop and become more complex—and at the same time, regressive—man and his cultural products become more distant from their roots in that simple and pure relationship with the kami.

Based upon Orikuchi’s theory of Japanese culture, we can enhance our understanding of “myth” by looking for the underlying structure we find abstracted in the marebito theory. Ōbayashi Taryō 大林太良, a Japanese scholar of myth, argues that this idea of inversion is essential to mythic structure. He sees travel to a foreign land as prototypical of mythic structure: it is a turning of the narrative inside out, with the possibility of redemption of the protagonist (19-21). Examples of this structure can be found
readily in the Japanese Rock Cave myth, Ôkuni-nushi’s 大國主 travel to the underworld (ne no kuni 根國), Hikohohodemi-no-mikoto’s 彦火火出見尊 travel to the dragon palace at the bottom of the sea and most of the other myths of the ancient Japanese world.

Following Orikuchi’s marebito theory, Fujii Sadakazu 藤井貞和 suggests that myth exists at the level of ideology: it is prior to both langue (language as structure) and parole (language as utterance/communication) (34). Although Fujii fails to clarify what he means by ideology, he suggests to us that there is a relationship between myth, ideology and Orikuchi’s marebito theory. I argue that we can think of ideologies are institutionalized systems of belief or values by reference to which a person or society comprehends the world.

Lévi-Strauss says that myth, like language, creates structures by means of its own signs. As Lévi-Strauss’ methodology reveals, there are basic oppositions that are common to all human groupings, yet each society through its concrete human activity,
orders these oppositions into a socially and historically specific system. Thus, myth, like all forms of discourse, carries ideological meaning. It encodes culturally significant oppositions into its language, which in its practice is a powerful influence on how people perceive and adjust to the world.

We can use Orikuchi’s maribito theory not as a standard that we can use to identify the unchanging essence of Japanese culture, but rather we can use it as a tool to find the underlying structure of ideology that is encoded in social institutions, ritual, performance and narrative. As Jorge Larrain reminds us, “ideology in a text is a relationship between the textual and the extra-textual, between context and the conditions of production, which are external and rooted in historical and social reality” (140). Actualization of the text through reading or performance, then, is the space in which these ideologies become apparent.

Here I suggest that we use Lévi-Strauss’ notion of myth as a language to read Orikuchi’s theory of Japanese culture. For example,
in Orikuchi’s theory, origination (hassei) plays an important role in the transmission of culture over time. It is different from seisatsu 成立, or “one time origin,” which he sees as the historical formation of specific works of literature. Hassei is part of a deeper process that ties historically distant works to each other as well as with the life of the ancients that present in contemporary cultural practices (seikatsu no kodai 生活の古代). If we are to succeed in finding myth at the level of ideology, searching for myth in the presence of subjectively defined surface features such as characters, settings and time may lead us to overlook how societies construct myths. These myths are based upon significant oppositions in society. For Japan, Orikuchi would argue, this is the opposition between this world and the Otherworld. With this structure, society actively constructs social and economic relations as well as literature and performing arts.

In this section, I have argued that universal interpretations of myth fail to capture the significance of myths in specific cultural
contexts. Lévi-Strauss' structural analysis of myth seeks to unlock the universal logic behind this form of narrative that is present in every culture. While we must keep the bias of Lévi-Strauss' method in mind, we must also note that Lévi-Strauss' project has value: it insists that myth forms a logical system that is built upon significant oppositions.

Orikuchi and Yangita fill out our understanding of some of the cultural specificity that Lévi-Strauss' analysis lacks. Although both of these scholars' approaches are colored by their desire to recapture an essence of Japanese culture, they still provide us with a rich storehouse of information on how Japanese culture is constructed upon significant oppositions. For Orikuchi, these oppositions are structured upon the disjunction between the mundane and the sacred, which is mediated through narrative, ritual or artistic acts. In other words, Orikuchi suggests that Japanese culture is a coded language that individuals use to create and interpret the world. His method also suggests to us a mode of reading
that elucidates these fundamental oppositions. The practice of reading Japanese culture, therefore, will elucidate the ideological foundation upon which cultural practices are constructed.

I also suggest that myth is more than a systematized logic or structure. Even Lévi-Strauss must admit that myth is a culturally relevant narrative genre, for he uses these narratives as the raw material for his structural analysis. As I will argue below, along with a specific oppositional logic, myth’s sacredness is fundamental to its definition. Myths are defined by the contexts in which these stories are performed rather than merely on internal features of the narrative. Myth is embedded in the belief system of the community and in performance their sacredness as well as specific ideologies emerge. It is for this reason that Bascom’s feature system for distinguishing genres of prose narrative fails. Along with Bascom, however, I will argue that prose narratives in the Japanese tradition do not fall into three distinct types (myth, legend and folktale),
rather myth-legend more closely captures the significant generic distinctions made in types of narrative.

Yanagita has shown us that this myth-legend narrative has a specific shape, and Propp’s analysis of the formal structure of narratives suggests to us that in the Japanese tradition, as well, functions are ordered into a system. These functions, however, are not archetypes in the Jungian sense. Jung (and therefore Campbell) argues that these archetypes or motifs are part of the human psyche; they are products of the human animal’s innate way of viewing the world. Myths, as I have argued above, are cultural constructs, and therefore, they are not transparent windows upon the human condition. Rather, they are structured systems of how specific cultures construct the world.

In the next section, I will explore the idea of medieval myth in the Japanese context. First, I will show how the tripartite structure of myth was significant in the lives of those people living in the medieval period as society constructed narratives about the
world. Second, I will take up the issue of transmission as a way of introducing a discussion of the performance contexts that gave myths their quality of sacredness. I argue that these contexts, as the arenas in which myths were performed, must be understood in order to fully grasp the meaning and significance of medieval myth. As the sites in which texts are actualized, performance opens up the space between text and context in which the ideologies of the narratives become apparent. The story-patterns give culturally significant shape to narrative through traditional reference by facilitating communication between the performer and the audience. Finally, I will reconsider some of the functions of myth.

1.5 Defining "Medieval Myth"

To the medieval world, the "Age of the Kami" in the Nihon shoki 日本書紀 (720) represented the essence of Japanese mythology. As narratives recounting national origins and the heroic deeds of the
deities of the Japanese pantheon, in practice, however, the Nihon shoki was at best the first among many other texts that dealt with mythology. Even as early as the ninth century several texts—such as the Kogoshūi 古語拾遺 (807) and the Kujihongi 旧事本義 (ninth century)—had come to rival the Nihon shoki. Medieval mythmakers at times emphasised the “variant writings” of the Kujihongi over their “originals” as recorded in the Nihon shoki. Moreover, the texts of the Ryôbu 両部 Shintô sect along with the thought of the Ise 伊勢 Shintô, Hie 日吉 Shintô and Yoshida 吉田 Shintô sects had increasing authority in the medieval world.

Thus, the status of mythology in the medieval period was complex and difficult to encapsulate in a single phrase. Seen from the viewpoint of the number of studies that have analyzed the intricacies of Buddhist thought and the influence of its doctrine and institutions on the cultural life of this diverse period that spanned more than four centuries, it is unfortunate that this important discourse of the medieval period has all but been forgotten.
Although the whole of the medieval period has been commented upon as being dominated by Buddhist thought, it would be hasty to resign the polyphony of “Shintō” voices to merely reactionary background noise.\(^{31}\)

The term “medieval myth” refers to three types of discourse.\(^{32}\) The first of these, as we have noted, are the commentaries on the Nihon shoki. In the medieval period, these texts included, in addition to the ones I have already mentioned, the Shaku nihonji 釈日本紀 (late-thirteenth century) and the Ruiju jingihongan 飛魂神祇本源 (1320) both of which gradually came to surpass the original work in importance.\(^{33}\) Next, we have the body of texts that were produced by clerics writing at temples and shrines. These men sought to reconcile the mythic explanations of the genesis of the Japanese archipelago and the formation of the Japanese state with the teachings of Buddhism.\(^{34}\) Finally, there are the popular narratives that explain the origins of temples and shrines, and honji monogatari that explain the appearance of Buddhist deities in the form of kami.
to lead sentient beings to enlightenment. Although these three types of medieval myth are closely interrelated, the focus of my discussion here will be on the third type of discourse.

In this section, I consider how temple and shrine histories (engi) and the related genre of honji monogatari are “medieval myth." First, I look at how the structure of these narratives relies upon the traditional story-patterns of ancient myths, both of which reveal an opposition between this world and the Otherworld. The structure of myth, as outlined in the previous section, may be understood in terms of the progression of narrative as a movement of inversion and restoration, which can underlie the entire narrative as well as the independent subsections of the narrative.

Second, I consider how mythic structure in the form of story-patterns is transmitted through the enabling context of performance, and how myth structures the musical conventions of recited narrative genres. In addition, I show how ritual and ritual-like performance contexts gave these narratives their element
of “sacredness” within the medium of shōdō, “performative preaching.”

1.5.1 The Structure of Medieval Myth

We begin by returning to where Orikuchi began, the early seventeenth century sekkyō-bushi piece Aigo no waka. We followed Orikuchi’s argument about the structural similarity between the young acolyte’s (chigo ‘s) trials in this seventeenth century piece, and the wanderings of Emperor Tenmu as recorded in the thirteenth century work of anecdotal literature. He took us back to the structure of the earliest recorded myths where he shows us how all of these tales, no matter how complex, are structured upon the oppositions of this world and the Otherworld--the crossing over by a kami or kami-like figure and restoration to his or her initial or even higher position. Aigo no waka is not unique in its mythic structure; other works of the sekkyō-bushi genre such as Kérukaya

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Sanshō dayū さんせい太夫 and Shintokumaru しんとく丸 are structured upon binary opposition and inversion. Each of these pieces ends with restoration of the world to its original or even higher state.

As Susan Matisoff has noted, all of the pieces of the sekkyō-bushi are honji monogatari, or tales of the lives of buddhas who take the form of humans, and suffer in this world before dying and revealing their true forms. As she notes, these pieces are all patterned on symbolic rebirth (257). Instead of a kami who suffers trouble and hardships in a separated world before “dying” and being elevated to an eternal status as a revered kami, in honji monogatari, the buddhas take the form of human beings, suffer in this world, and in the end, reveal themselves in their true form. Underlying the narrative structure of the honji monogatari, then, is the belief that Buddhist deities take the form of kami to lead sentient beings to enlightenment. As Tsukudo Reikan 筑土鈴観 points out, Buddhist-Shintō syncretism was the single most influential
factor in changing the face of myth during the medieval period (VI 53).

Tokuda Kazuo 徳田和夫 examines some of the reasons why the honji monogatari, particularly the tales of lost children, are what we can call "medieval myth." While the tales contain many elements of myth, including themes or motifs that tell of the origins of deities, in general what defines this genre as "medieval myth" are two things. The first of these necessary elements, which I discuss in more detail below, is what Tokuda and others have dubbed the "function" of myth--specifically defined by the contexts in which these tales were transmitted, the Buddhist shōdō circuit.

The second of these two necessary elements is their common narrative structure. Originally, Tokuda says, these honji monogatari were "foundation myths." Later generations of preachers and performers who traveled to different communities around the Japanese archipelago reinterpreted these foundation myths by adding a honji framework onto the original foundation myth. Tokuda directs
our attention to the process of modification from foundation myth
to honji monogatari in a number of works such as the Dōjōji engi
emaki 道成寺縁起絵巻 and Suwa honji 試訪本地，as well as the
sekkyō-bushi piece Shintokumaru.

Following the footsteps of scholars such as Yanagita, Orikuchi
and Araki Yoshio 荒木良雄, Tokuda finds that foundation myths have
the following structure:

(1) The protagonist is a heaven-sent child (mōshigo 申し子) with an unusual birth (ijō tanjō 異常誕生)

(2) He or she is ruined by some tragedy and suffers hardships

(3) He or she is saved by the protection of a kami or Buddha
    and becomes a kami or Buddha in the end (“Chûsei shinwa
    ron” 36).

In other words, the protagonist begins as a kami, becomes a human
and then returns to being a kami.

We see a clear example of the process of development from a
foundation myth into a honji monogatari by comparing the foundation
myth of the Kashiigū 香椎宮 shrine that is recorded in the Hachimangū junpaiki 八幡宮巡拝記 (early 1260s) to its honji monogatari version that dates from a century later (Kondō 25–29; Yokoyama and Matsumoto X 377–406). If we lay these two texts next to each other, the we note how strikingly similar the two narratives are, save that the later version appends a honji framework to the beginning and the end of the earlier foundation myth. The honji framework recasts the original foundation myth as a Buddhist tale that demonstrates the mercy of the Buddhist deities as they lead sentient beings onto the path of enlightenment. Although the original foundation myth of the Kashiigū shrine is already structured on mythic oppositions of this world and the Otherworld, the honji framework doubles this mythic structure creating a new and transcendent meaning for the original foundation myth.36

The structural and formal approaches to myth that I outlined in the previous sections suggest that we can view myth as having regular and systematic aspects beyond the surface differences. A
structural analysis argues that generations of Japanese formed their myths on the same structural framework as did their forbearers in the eighth century. Because Japanese society continued to pattern narratives on the mythic prototype even in the seventeenth century, we can assume that this pattern had significance for society. As we have seen in the preceding section, folklorists such as Yanagita and Orikuchi, as well as scholars of medieval literature who are writing in the late twentieth century, interpret the persistence of mythic structure of narrative as meaningful only because of its unchanging qualities. They are saying, in effect, that the meaning of medieval myth comes from its ahistorical or transcendent aspect. Myths have significance because they reveal in their structure something essential and immutable about Japanese culture.

The attitude of Yanagita and Orikuchi has much in common with cultural evolutionists of the nineteenth century: they view the customs or cultural traits of a specific time as residual artifacts of cultural history. They see these myths as particular cultural
facts not as myths that had specific meanings in the historical
contexts in which they occurred, but rather they see myths in terms
of what they stand for in reference to what had formerly been the
case. In other words, myths are only significant when seen as part
of a predetermined path of development. Likewise, scholars working
in the tradition of Orikuchi’s philological method continue to have
a diffusionist view of culture, they are primarily concerned with
locating the source and route of diffusion outward from a singular
point of origin. Context for these scholars has significance only
as it explains how certain forms differ from the original form
influenced by geographical and historical nexi.

Rather than viewing structure as revealing the enduring
essence of culture, I have argued that cultures actively use
structure to pattern their narratives. These structures persist
because they contain the oppositions that society holds to be
meaningful. The structural analysis suggests that there are endless
possibilities for change and transformation: oppositions are set
up and mediated, and new oppositions are created. As with other languages, myth has its own system of rules that must be learned. These rules allow the performer or storyteller to create an infinite number and variety of narratives, but these regularized rules also allow the audience to understand each narrative. Thus, performance is the arena in which the performer and the audience engage in a heightened form of artistic communication, where the structures and patterns of myth become the language in which meaning is created.

1.5.2 Performance and Transmission of Mythic Story-Patterns

I argued in the previous section that structure underlies the narrative patterns of medieval monogatari not because structure transmits the essence of Japanese culture, but rather because structure is an active component in the creation and interpretation of cultural products. Performance, which is the theme of this section, has been a useful concept for Japanese folklorists and
performing arts scholars in their efforts to recreate the path of diffusion of Japanese culture.

The concept of shōdō has over the last decades become an important concept used by many scholars to understand how mythic structures, story-patterns, themes and motifs spread to nearly every corner of Japan during the medieval period. While the study of the popular preaching activities has given us a fuller understanding of the complexities of the types and modes of performance that existed in the medieval period, the academic construct of shōdō has yet to enlighten us on the most intriguing aspect of performance, how meaning was constructed.

We can see an example of where the diffusionist leanings of the ethnological approach to vocal literature leads us in the work of Fukuda Akira and his interpretation of the transmission and spread of "medieval myth." Along with Yanagita and Orikuchi, Fukuda sees the development from "pure myth" into monogatari taking place as the religious quality of the myth fades away and the stories begin
to take on qualities that are more “literary.” For example, writing on the connection between myth and ritual, Fukuda notes that myths have a strong element of religious belief, and these myths were transmitted via the oral tradition in rituals that were connected with religious institutions. Once these myths were performed outside of their ritual contexts, they became literature, yet retained traces of their mythic origins (Shinwa 6).

When Fukuda speaks in detail about the origins of myth and their transmission into the medieval period, he begins with the evidence from Okinawa. The origins of these medieval myths (i.e. honji monogatari) were the ancient myths that recounted the origins of the various kami and their lives. Mythic stories, Fukuda argues, were born from the performances of shamans and in the trances of religious practitioners and miko 巫女 (female shamans). In the Okinawa tradition, communities refer to the trances of the miko as an “illness” or comment on their trances as “suffering of illness of a shaman.” These shamans leave the ordinary world, go into a
trance, proceed to the Otherworld where they suffer hardships and finally return to this world. These experiences, Fukuda argues, are “sublimated” as saimon 祭文 (Shinwa 9). The psychological illness of female shamans, Fukuda continues, is the original source of the stories of the kami who are born in this world, and these saimon become the basis upon which the lives of other kami are patterned. After this, tales of the origins of the world, ethnicities (minzoku 民族) and culture are added to them and it is from their performance that myths were systematized (Shinwa 183).

Fukuda reiterates the importance of the connection between myth and ritual, stating that myths were necessarily recited and transmitted in “ritualistic” settings (Shinwa 9). The tie to the performance context gives myths their quality of “sacredness,” and it is in this context that myths are most closely associated with rituals. In the ancient period, the performances of the kataribe in contexts of the national community were called “furukoto” 古詞 and were performed like norito 祝詞. Rituals that were associated
with “medieval myth” were performed at temples and shrines. During the medieval period, these religious institutions were firmly grounded in the syncretic thought of honji-suijaku ("original ground/flowing traces"). Thus, the qualifier “medieval” in the term “medieval myth” must be linked to the syncretic thought of honji-suijaku. These honji monogatari, as a form of “medieval myth,” were often recited by priests in front of the deities of shrines or in front of the Buddha at large temples. The occasions on which these honji monogatari were performed were on festival days by the shrine priests or shōdō preachers. Stories take on the quality of sacredness during their performance in ritual or ritual-like contexts.

We see that in the Muromachi 室町 period these honji monogatari ("honji" or "sōshi" 草紙 or 草子) were also read by private persons in their homes, yet these texts retain traces of their religious functions in phrases such as "kono sōshi yomu hito gose ni wa bukka wo seitoku su" 此草子読む人後世には仏果と成徳す ("...as for those who read..."
this sōshi, they will enter enlightenment in the next world without dying”). Again, what is central to these honji monogatari, Fukuda argues, are their “sacredness,” which comes from the context of their performance. Fukuda gives historical priority to myth. As narratives were taken out of their performance contexts, they lost their “sacredness” and consequently their status as myth (Shinwa 6). These secularized versions of myths (including folktales and monogatari) are what Matsumura Takeo 松村武雄, for example, means by “popular myths” (zokusei shinwa 俗性神話) (27).

The way that this mythic structure found its way into diverse and isolated communities is explained by the second essential element of myth, what Tokuda calls its “function” ("Chūsei shinwa ron" 35). The term “function” (kinō 機能) does not mean “function” in the strict functionalist sense (i.e. the notion that a part contributes to the maintenance of a larger whole), rather, as the term function has been used in Japanese folklore and literary studies it entails the method or mechanism by which story-patterns, folktales, rituals
and even material culture is transmitted from one generation to the next. Transmission of the structure of myth, Japanese scholars such as Fukuda have noted that the performance of these myths by itinerants or wandering performers in the medieval age is a direct tie to the *kataribe* of the ancient age. The *bikuni* 比丘尼 “itinerant female performer,” *biwa hōshi* 琵琶法師 “blind lute players,” *shōmonji*, *etoki* 絵解き “picture narrators,” and other itinerant performers who were the descendants of these ancient performers.

Orikuchi called these people “*hokaibito*” 乞食者 or 寿い人 (beggars/chanters of felicitous words) and says that they later became the *shōmonji*, *bikuni* and other traveling performers and played an important role in the history and spread of Japanese religion. When society became more fixed, they stopped their wanderings and became a part of society. In the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* we find transpositions of this mythic pattern in the narratives of *Susanowo-no-mikoto*, *Yamatotakeru-no-mikoto*, variant versions of the *Izanaki-no-mikoto* and *Izanami-no-mikoto* myth, as well as the
later quasi-historical myths of emperors Jinmu, Ingyō and Empress Jingū 神功. Seen in light of the transmission of myth by these itinerants, Tokuda notes it is only natural that the structure of myth is analogous to the structure of ritual, in particular kami matsuri 神祭り: the calling down of the kami (kami oroshi 神降ろし), the entertaining of a kami (kami asobi 神遊び) and the sending off of the kami (kami okuri 神送り) (“Chūsei shinwa ron” 36).

Orikuchi’s thought on the relationship between myth and ritual brings us full circle. He suggests that the origin of these mythic narratives is translations of the original relationship between the kami and the human world. His theory also points to the ahistoric or atemporal dimension of myth that he explicates in his theory of origination (hassei). As we have seen, Orikuchi suggests that there does not exist any genre that can be singled out as “myth,” for “myth” is present at the origin (in both its synchronic and diachronic dimensions) of all literary products, though at varying degrees of distance from its original and ideal form. Myth is the closest to
the “pure” relationship between the kami and the human community as idealized in Orikuchi’s abstract concept of the ancient world (kodai 古代), which is not limited to a specific historical period, but is present at all points in history. Ritual, therefore, is necessarily conservative because it maintains this structure.

The diffusionist perspective of the development of Japanese culture and the geographical and historical spread of the structure of myth argues that the performance of specific rituals links these performers not only with the institutions and contexts in which they performed their tales, but it also ties them to the pre-historic world where it is argued myth was an integral part of the ritual process. Tokuda begins with the assumption that myths played an important role in all ritual communities before the modern age. Tokuda uses the term “medieval myth” to refer to the elements of myth that exist in setsuwa, monogatari and the foundation myths of temples and shrines during this period.
Tokuda views structure as being important for our understanding of both the origination (hassei) and spread of myth through its function in ritual (“Chûsei shinwa ron” 39). In the ancient period, myths asserted the prerogative of the emperor (ôken shinwa 王権神話), however, these myths lost this function during the medieval period when the myths came to live in the belief systems of the folk (zaichi shinwa 在地神話). Buddhist proselytism during the medieval period is a bridge between the religious and quotidian worlds; it is the medium through which myths gradually lost their sacred quality (“Chûsei shinwa ron” 39).

The vehicle of transmission of the structure of myth in the medieval period was in the performance context of shôdô. Although this term encompasses a diverse number of activities, shôdô can be glossed as “performative preaching” since the term is used in contemporary writings on many occasions interchangeably with the term “sekkyô.” In turn, “sekkyô” is written with two character combinations, meaning either “explain the sutras” or “explain
the doctrine” 説教 and so, the activity that it designates in general is instruction in the Buddhist doctrine or explanation of the sutras to the laity (Matisoff The Legend 47).

Shōdō was introduced from the continent into Japan along with Buddhism during the ancient period; however, little documentary evidence survives from the period that can tell us what it was like. The first description of what the earliest type of shōdō preaching is in the pages of the Shoku nihongi 続日本紀. Here we find glimpses of the legendary preacher Gyōki 行基 proselytizing to the masses and enlisting his followers in the construction of some of the institutions of state power (Aoki et al. 433).

In addition to performance, shōdō was also important in the compilation of setsuwa collections in early Heian period, such as the the Nihon ryōiki 日本童記 (822) and Nihon kanreiroku 日本感應録 (ninth century), both of which were used as sourcebooks for preachers. Likewise, the tales recorded in the setsuwa collections of the later Heian period, such as the Konjakumonogatarishū 今昔物語集 (late Heian
period), were gleaned from the shōdō preaching circuit. In addition, there are other less known works that were also produced for shōdō preaching during the Heian period including such works as the Hoke shūhō hakuza kikigaki shō (early twelfth century), the Uchikiki-shū (1134) and the Shingon-shū dangi kikigaki-shū (mid-twelfth century) all of which had some direct and some indirect influences on the development of the vocal literature of the medieval period.

What the shōdō preaching of the Heian period was like can be seen in the pages of the first of these works. In the second month of 1110 (Ten’ei 天永 1) a shōdō preaching event began that lasted for twenty-eight days. There were many people present at this large-scale sekkyō event, with several famous preachers taking the platform, explaining the sutras, their overall meaning, individual verses, and chapter titles, often explaining at length using anecdotal literature.
One of the most famous comments on shōdō of the classical period comes from Sei Shonagon who records in her Makura no sōshi what shōdō was like during the height of the Heian period and duly pronounces that it is the appearance and the voice of the preacher rather than his depth of learning that attracts the audience (Ikeda et al. 73-74). At the end of the Heian period, the most renowned of the shōdō preachers were those men of the Agui school, including Chōken (1126?-1203) and his son Shōkaku (or Seikaku) (1167-1235). With the popularization of Buddhism that began in the Kamakura period, ritual performances gradually were recontextualized in secular contexts and developed into the performing arts.

In general, there were two types of shōdō. The first type of shōdō we might describe as exposition, faithfully adhering to the structure of the sutras and explaining the meaning of words and phrases in relationship to the entire sutra. The second type of shōdō, which will concern us here, was performed by a preacher (kōshi...
who acted as a substitute for the Buddha, preaching from a platform while looking down upon the common people from on high. We might say that the preacher as a spokesman for the Buddha could be said that the preacher became “possessed” when he was performing, for he spoke from a subjective point of view, as the voice of the deity (Hyōdō 111). The shōdō preaching event was structured upon what Orikuchi has called “mikotomochi” 祭, the political act of the emperor facing his closest ministers giving them orders, which the ministers in turn took to the provinces and handed down to the people (II 439). These ministers were the representatives of the emperor taking on his power and authority.

From the Insei 院政 period (1086-1185) onward, Buddhism became increasingly associated with the state as the priests of both exoteric and esoteric sects were appointed to official positions within the court. Religious services were undertaken on orders of the imperial court, and thus the officiating priest represented to the audience both ecclesiastical and political authority. From this
time forward, the three great festivals—the Yuimaé 維摩會, Misaié 御齋会, and Saishōe 最勝会—were originally performed for the peace and prosperity of the nation, took on even greater significance as imperial rituals. Thus, Abe Yasurō 安部康郎 argues that shōdō 王道 marks the strengthening of the connection between imperial law (ōhō 王法) and Buddhist law (buppō 仏法) and reveals how the religious institutions became closely tied to the idea of nation (kokka 国家) (“Shōdō” 11).42

In the medieval period, he notes, there was no distinction between imperial law and Buddhist law, and consequently the act of preaching at Buddhist institution or under its auspices was a constant reminder of the synthesis of secular and sacred authority. Thus, when the priest took to the platform he carried with him the words of sacred authority that he in turn passed down to the people. 绵貫隆司 suggests then, that the structure of shōdō had the same structure as the enthronement ceremony when the emperor
took his place on his throne and gave his orders to his ministers/subjects (117).

The foregoing view of shōdō preaching is intriguing, for it opens up a new way of conceptualizing the performance arena as one that inhered hierarchical oppositions and performance as a site where ideological meanings were created. Buddhist institutions used and sanctioned the language of medieval myth, and shōdō as the performance context legitimized this discourse. The ritual contexts of shōdō circumscribed the range of meanings that could be drawn from this discourse.

The following tale had wide currency in the medieval period and shaped the popular notion of shōdō preaching. Upon completion of the main edifice of a temple, the emperor seeks a priest to conduct a service of blessing. Unable to find an appropriate priest to conduct the service, at an opportune moment there appears a itinerant priest who takes to the platform and performs the hyōbyaku 表白 (an opening statement that is read to the Buddha explaining the purpose
of the service). His style of performance is so moving that the audience submits to his preaching. In the end, the priest forgoes the collection of donations, ascends to heaven, and takes on his true form as a deity.

This story suggests that there was a direct relationship between imperial authority and shōdō during the medieval period, an assertion that is likely true since the tale became the prototype for other preachers that we find in literature. For example, one of the most widely spread legends of the medieval period, is that of Sabauri Okina 鱊虎翁. During the Kegon’e 華厳会 ceremony held at the Tōdaïji 東大寺 temple, the main priest descends from the platform and leaves through the back door. At this time a great miracle happens, Sabauri Okina plants his staff in the ground near the Great Buddha Hall and suddenly the staff sprouts leaves. The anecdote concludes by saying the tree prospers when the temple prospers, and this miraculous event is the reason why priests always leave through the back door (Watanabe and Nishio 251-252).
This tale also appears in the Konjaku monogatarishū where it is transposed as a tale of the dedication ceremony for the Great Buddha (Yamada et al. III 139-140). The Sabauri Okina legend becomes the pattern for both the dedication ceremony and the ritual of the Kegon’e. This type of tale reinforced the closeness between the nation-state and Buddhism, as the Great Buddha Hall becomes the “performance context” for this miraculous performance. Moreover, the legend of Hōnen (1133-1212), perhaps one of the most famous preachers of the early medieval period, was also fashioned upon this tale. At the rebuilding of the Great Buddha Hall after its destruction in the Genpei 源平 wars, it was Hōnen who took the platform at the dedication ceremony where he preached on the efficacy of the nenbutsu 念仏. His preaching style became the form for shōdō and popularized the performance of shōdō.

I have already noted that in addition to vocal delivery, the text played an important role in shaping the performance of shōdō during the medieval period. Textual analyses of medieval literature
reveal that many genres originated in the world of shōdō preaching. Fukuda notes that when we look at some of the framing devices employed in these texts, such as the opening phrases and the concluding phrases, these textual clues reveal the intent of the author or performers (Fukuda Shinwa 67). These textual clues are the link between the performance context and the stories that were disseminated throughout the medieval period.

For Japanese scholars these textual traces are seen as a means for recreating a path of development of mythic narratives (Fukuda Shinwa 96). Myths, these scholars argue, have an invariant structure and thus, there is the possibility for an infinite number of stories to be told. Employing methods which resemble the historical geographic method, Japanese scholars have recreated how, through the performance of shōdō, the kami of one locale were instantiated into the same structure. Itinerant performers in this configuration, then, served only as bearers (ninaite 担い手) of mythic structure.
Fukuda argues that the opening and closing formulaic expressions of *honji-mono* and *engi* not only reveal the origins of these narratives in the *shōdō* preaching of the medieval period, but these stock phrases also tie the performances of medieval myths to the myths that were performed by the original mythmakers, the kataribe of ancient Japan (Chūsei 8, and personal communication). Fukuda cites the opening phrases of *engi* and *honji-mono*, “*sore*” それ，or “*somosomo*” 抑 (roughly glossed as “well then,” or “to begin with”) and “*wo kuwasiku tadunuru ni*” を委しく尋ぬに (“when we look closely into the [history] of this deity...”) or “*to mōsu ha*” と申すは (“as for [the history of] this deity...”) as keys to performance.

In addition to their opening formulas, these stories conclude with phrases that tie them directly to the *shōdō* activities of the medieval world. The happy-ever-afters so common in European oral narratives are here replaced by phrases that praise the efficacy of these stories. If the narratives are read or heard just once,
they assure that one need not make a pilgrimage or perform the nenbutsu to receive the benefits of the deities.

Although the above discussion of context and framing devices shows us how texts reveal the contexts in which these “medieval myths” were performed and how these contexts are necessary for a definition of “medieval myth,” how these contexts have been interpreted by Japanese scholars tells us little about the possible range of meanings that they had in the contexts of their performance. Not only do these opening phrases provide clues to their context of performance in the medieval period, but more importantly they are the evidence for scholars such as Fukuda that medieval myths are tied to the entire history of verbal art beginning before the dawn of history in the performances of the asobi 遊び in front of the graves of the dead (Chûsei 2-18).

Japanese scholars view the “meaning” to be derived from shôdô contexts in how story-patterns or tale types changed from one locale to another. The framing devices are textual signs of the rituals
in which performers transmitted story-patterns. Both context and text create a map of the evolutionary course of change from an original source and reveal an underlying structure that supports its transmission.

I argue that structural and formal features of myth are important for understanding myth, but neither as a means for our contemporary understanding of a process of evolution, nor as a way to use cultural phenomena as a means to grasp some ultimate truth about Japanese culture as embodied in its myth. Rather, meaning comes from the actual performance in specific historical and social contexts. Structure must be seen as an important base upon which historically situated actants consciously create stories. The structural similarity of foundation myths, whose performance flourished during the medieval period, reveals a common language through which performance was enabled and had meaning.

The constructionist approach to culture argues that all understanding is historically and culturally relative. Cultural
products are specific to particular cultures and periods of history; they are products of that culture and history and are dependent upon the particular social and economic arrangements prevailing in that culture and at that time. Thus, the study of "medieval myth" in the tradition of Yanagita and Orikuchi has had a particular contemporary bias toward viewing structural similarities of medieval myth and ancient myth as revealing something essential about Japanese culture or Japanese spirit that transcends time, rather than seeing the myths as they were actively constructed in their specific historical contexts. By beginning with structure as a significant element for those performers who created myths in the medieval period, we are saying that they used these structures actively, seeing these structures as having significance in their own time and social situation.

Language must be seen as a form of social action. It is more than a way of expressing oneself; the world is constructed through speaking. As a body of written and verbal texts, discourse refers
to a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories and statements. Its meaning depends upon the discourse context, the general conceptual framework in which words are embedded. Building upon the insights into the structural and formal aspects of myth elucidated by the studies of these scholars, we can look at how myth is a powerful discourse not in terms of what it tells us about an essentialized Japanese spirit or diffusion of that spirit over time, but rather what it reveals to us how these structures, narrative structures, story-patterns, themes and motifs were used in performance to create medieval myth.

We can begin a re-evaluation of the structural analyses by considering what “tradition” really entails. For Orikuchi, Fukuda and others working with medieval myth, tradition is synonymous with transmission; it is a means whereby we can retrace the course of change leading from a singular point of origination. For scholars working in denshō bungaku (traditional or “transmitted” literature), individual performances cannot have a range of meanings.
within their specific contexts, but rather they only have significance as they have a place in the process of textual evolution, in the creation of textual genealogies and the reconstruction of hypothetical origins.

Thus, finding the route of transmission is an end unto itself. It is a project that treats performers and artists as passive conduits for the flow of traditional tales, themes and motifs. For Japanese scholars, the context--including geographical, social and economic--have been considered static. For this reason, performance-based studies of vocal literature have been focused upon the performer as a bearer of tradition. Instead of seeing performers as conduits and audiences as passive recipients, we should begin by considering how performers and audiences construct and employ tradition to create meaning in social contexts.46

In contrast to the static definition of “tradition,” John Miles Foley conceives of tradition as being an “enabling referent,” which he defines as the “resonance between the singular moment and
the traditional context” (Homer’s xiv). Traditional context encompasses a wide range of things, including story-patterns, themes and motifs that form the core of what remains in textual form. The language of traditional reference includes framing devices that may or may not still be encoded in the texts and provide us with the only textual evidence of their linkage to performance contexts. Some of these traces include conventionally accepted modes of delivery, those things that are considered as elements of “texture,” as well as social, political and institutional contexts.

A performer taking the stage appeals to all of these elements of tradition as a means to empower his or her performance (Abrahams “Personal Power” 29). Tradition then is an active, vibrant and necessary element in performance in that it provides a common foundation or background against which individual performers can create specific meanings in exchange with the audience. Foley restores the important position of the audience as a participant in the creation of meaning. As a form of discourse, the performers
employ patterns and these “traditional units” are “read” by the audience to create meaning.

Lévi-Strauss’ use of music as a metaphor to explain the complexities of myth is instructive for our understanding of myth as a form of narrative discourse. First, like music, myth is historical; it is irreversible and situated in the moment of performance. So, with functionalists such as Malinowski, who I will discuss below, we must acknowledge that the meaning of myth has a relationship with the time and space in which it is performed. Context gives myth, as with all other performances, meaning by embedding it in a local context (the relationship between the audience and performer) as well as locating it in the larger socio-political and economic context. As a type of prose narrative, myth is also like music because it uses in a specific code. These codes are based upon cultural models that are presupposed by individuals of a community and shape the way they understand the
world and communicate with other members of the community (Holland and Quinn 4).

In performance, frames, formulas and story-patterns guide the hearer just as the conventions of music guide the expectations of the audience (Homer’s 17). These conventions do not come from the immediate moment of performance, but rather they come from socially constructed notions of tradition. Foley notes that performance and tradition are both essential elements in oral narratives. While performance is the “enabling context,” tradition is a mode of traditional reference, and so, tradition encompasses all of the conventions of genre empowering the performer as well as guiding the audience.

Like language, reference to tradition makes communication possible in each specific context. Performance as a type of communication relies upon the traditional expressions that Lord delineates as story-patterns, typical scenes, themes and motifs. The oral-formulaic theory shows that the performer uses these
ready-made expressions as tools for composition; they enable the
performer to create new works of "oral literature" in performance.

In response to scholars who built upon Lord's insightful, yet
one-sided focus upon composition by the performer, Foley looks
instead to how the audience uses these "traditional units" to create
meaning. The largest of these traditional units is the
story-pattern (or "tale type") that gives the overall contour to
the story. The story-pattern is made up of linked stages through
which the narrative must pass before coming to its conclusion. We
will see structure as providing the underlying patterns upon which
a society creates its cultural expressions from its rituals,
narrative and all types of social interaction. This structure is
also the basic building block for story-patterns, as well, which
encode this structure in discursively meaningful ways.

Although not mentioned by Foley, Propp's analysis of the
functions (or motifsemes according to Dundes) of the folktale must
be mentioned here for its subtle difference. In my discussion of
Propp’s analysis of the Russian folktale, I showed how he argues that there is only one tale type that is made up of a series of linked functions which can be either present or absent, but are always identically sequenced. What Foley adds to Propp’s formal analysis of the folktale is a careful description of how the sequencing of functions has meaning for the audience as the story unfolds in performance.47

The story-pattern is the common cultural knowledge shared between the performer and the audience, it provides the background of expectations against which particular story can develop in different ways (Homer’s 125). In other words, the audience knows where the story is going and how it will end, but the path that it will take them to that end may be different in each retelling of the story-pattern. Foley’s approach to performance also gives us a fresh perspective on diffusion and development of myth into the folktale and legend that are not seen as evolutionary processes but
rather as actively created through irony and parody both of which rely upon the shared cultural knowledge of story-patterns.

We can also see how through tradition as an enabling referent, societies can construct myth as timeless or eternal and use myth as a “charter” to justify specific ideologies and the practice of ritual. The participants in the performance construct tradition as unchanging; they imbue myth with an aura of immutability that gives each performance its authority. The traditional side of myth is both a part of society as well as something greater than society, binding all members together. It is the basic oppositions in society and their mediation, the most basic of these being the opposition between nature and culture (The Raw 27).

Yet, myth has a defracted relationship to reality. In contrast to painting that refers to reality directly, both myth and music do not; they refer instead to patterns that are inherent in their systems of significance. We see the world through these
patterns of significance and in this way, myth is an ideology mediating how we view and relate to reality (Althusser 36).

1.5.3 Re-evaluating Some of the Functions of Myth

Thus far, we have seen how myth exists in the first instance at the level of structure that we can define in the Japanese context as being a structure of inversion, an opposition between this world and the Otherworld. This underlying structure gives shape to narrative in the form of story-patterns of which the prototypical mythic narrative is that of the lives of deities who descend to this world, suffer hardships or trials before returning to the Otherworld.

As these myths were transmitted in ritual or ritual-like contexts, the creators of these narratives used specific forms with characteristic opening and closing phrases that set them off as myth. It is their performance in these ritual contexts that gave myths their “sacredness.” Although this latter aspect of myth, its
transmission, has been labeled a "function," I would like to turn now to discuss briefly some of the other possible functions that myths had.

Traditional functionalist perspectives have emphasized the necessity for understanding any cultural phenomenon in its immediate context. Thus, functional analyses examine the social significance of phenomena in relation to how they serve a particular society in maintaining the whole. For Malinowski, these functions fulfill a series of different needs. These needs range from psychological needs, which social institutions develop to meet, to instrumental needs, which develop in order to satisfy the need for social control, education and political organization. In addition, there are also cultural needs that must be satisfied just as any other need must be satisfied. Culture is that aspect of behavior that is learned by the individual and which may be shared by pluralities of individuals and transmitted to other individuals along with the
physical objects associated with such learned patterns and activities.

Radcliffe-Brown, on the other hand, focuses upon social structure. He sees society as a system of relationships that maintains itself through what might be described as feedback (198). Institutions are orderly sets of relationships whose function is to maintain the society as a system (181). Social structure is the principle on which the forms of social relations depend. Social organization refers to the directional activity, to working out of social relations in everyday life. He emphasizes how phenomena contribute to maintaining social order disregarding individual needs. Both schools of functionalism view society as structured into a working unity in which the parts accommodate each other to maintain the whole.

The first of the functions of myth is intimately tied to ritual—myths whose performance plays a significant role in healing the sick, or in renewing the world. For example, the yuta of Okinawa
perform a sacred cosmology that includes the origins of the world as well as the origin of the patriarch of the *yuta* tradition as part of the ritual in which a new initiate becomes a *yuta* (Fukuda Shinwa 178). Fukuda argues that there is a natural relationship between the structure of myth and the structure of this rite of passage, the later being a template upon which myths were constructed by analogy.

As we have seen above in our discussion of *shōdō*, religious ceremony was the context in which myths were performed in the medieval period. While scholars such as Tokuda have noted the homology between the structure of myth and the structure of ritual, they fail to show how these rituals had significance and relevance for the performance of myth outside of their function to transmit story-patterns.

John Skorupski argues that ceremony creates an image of how things should be in the real world, rather than as a reflection of reality. They reveal a world in which there is harmony and order
(91). Myths performed in the context of shōdō, therefore, reinforce the vision of a world that is harmonious and governed by order. Thus, Malinowski's idea of myth as a charter that "expresses, enhances and codifies belief; safeguards and enforces morality [and] vouches for the efficiency of ritual" (Myth 19) helps us to understand how myths when employed in the context of ritual reinforce the basic oppositions within a culture and strengthen the ideologies that create a society's vision of reality.

Functional approaches also suggest that the central function of myth is explanation--myths explain the origins of the universe, races and cultural items (Yoshida and Matsumura 12). While this may be true of some of the myths of the ancient period, setting up "origins" as the definitive criterion would be hasty. Even within eighth century chronicles of Japan, there are many myths that do not deal with origins at all. One of the foremost scholars of myth in Japan, Yoshida Atsuhiko 吉田敦彦, however, places explanation as the main element in myth, saying that myths are stories (monogatari)
that are modeled upon the lives of humans which take the present
world as the standard against which to explain the origins of the
world, humans and culture. Malinowski, on the other hand, rejects
the etiological function of myth; it is a bias of modern scholarship
that posits myth as a substitute for science. Myths are not
rationalizations for the unknown; rather they are “explicit acts
of faith from the innermost instinctive and emotional reactions”
(Myth 92).

A constructionist reading of the explanatory function of myth
suggests that myths are historically situated constructs of the world
as it is now, using the language of myth as a source of authority.
As we have seen, the mythmakers of the medieval period tapped into
traditional story-patterns to create myths of the origins of local
temples and shrines. It is here that the foundation myths took on
significance as myth. The deities of these myths became a concrete
part of the community as explanations of the origins of the community,
given authority by reference to traditional story-patterns (Furuhashi 19).

Similarly, scholars of the myth and ritual school, such as Jane Harrison, argue that myths emerge as explanations of ritual, the origins of which the community have forgotten over time. The scholarship on the relationship between myth and ritual is at best mixed. On the one hand, we can cite many myths that are intimately related to ritual either as their source (the Eucharist, for example) or myths that are created as explanations of rituals. Yet, there are still many societies in which myths and rituals coexist without any obvious relationship. At best, the relationship between the two is at the level of structure (Lévi-Strauss Structural 240). New cultural forms are always created and molded in relationship to pre-existent cultural matrix, determined by a myriad of social factors both internal and external to society.

Clyde Kluckhohn argues that it is futile to argue the primacy of myth over ritual or vice versa. Instead, following the
functionalist approach, he states that myth and ritual must be seen through the lens of their functions in a particular society, how they are “vitally important elements in the day to day lives” of the people. Both myth and ritual, like all cultural phenomena, are symbolic representations. They are tied to the “dominant configurations” of society (321).

As Kluckhohn summarizes the relationship, myth and rituals serve the same functions, be they psychological, societal or cultural. He cautions us, however, that each culture is different in how it relates myth and ritual stating

the specific adaptive and adjustive responses performed by myth and ritual will be differently phrased in different societies according to historical experience of these societies [...] in accord with prevalent configurations of other aspects of culture, and with reference to pressures exerted by other societies and by the physical and biological environment (339).

Naturally, there is a relationship between myth and ritual just as there are relationships between all cultural phenomena, but
what is intriguing is that many cultural and religious systems relate
the two. Myths are the legitimizing narratives for ritual practice
and together these two support the system of authority within a
society.

Rather than viewing myth and rituals as being parts of an
organic whole as is the traditional functionalist approach, it may
be better to see the cultural process of constructing myths as the
origins of ritual as historically situated. As we have seen,
foundation myths sought to explain the origins of the community and
its central unifying institution, the Buddhist temple or shrine.
These myths relied upon reference to traditional story-patterns
present in mythic narratives while at the same time their performance
as part of a Buddhist service tied them to the structure of imperial
and state authority. Throughout the medieval period religious
institutions that had lost the financial support of the imperial
family, the court and wealthy aristocrats, sought to strengthen their
ideological hold over the fiefs that provided them with income by
appealing to the masses. Tying annual rituals to mythic narratives gave the practice of these rituals the aura of authenticity.

Typical of the reworking of myth as narratives justifying the continuance of ritual is the one-day reading of the entire Hoke-kyō (Hoke hakkō 法華八講) that was performed at the Shidoji 志度寺 temple that I discuss in depth in the next chapter. Whether or not the foundation myth that serves as an explanation for the origins of this ritual did in fact precede it or not is not important for our understanding of the relationship between myth and ritual, rather it reveals to us that cultures and their institutions view myth as a powerful justification for the continuance of ritual practice.

Likewise, I will also show how ritual is incorporated into the structure of many of these medieval myths, such as in the kōwaka-mai reworking of the Fujiwara no Kamatari 藤原鎌足 (614-669) legend in Iruka 入鹿. The final scene of the piece being set not in its historically attested time of summer, but at the time of the
enthronement ceremony, and thus, imperial ritual practice is imbedded within the structure of myth and gives the narrative an added layer of meaning. I will show in my analysis of all the kōwaka-mai pieces how myth and ritual are intricately woven in similar ways.

Another function of myth is that of description. Myths encode the physical landscape with significance by painting a symbolic picture of the known world, unknowable regions that lay beyond everyday existence, and the relationship between these two worlds. Foundation myths are in the sense of their function to provide a narrative description of the world in historical terms, inscribes this history onto physical geography. This function is present in the myths of the ancient world that imbue the landscape with mythic meaning and this function is present in medieval myth as well. Many of the myths recorded in the Shintōshū, for example, inscribe their mythic narratives onto the mountains, seas and rivers that serve as the boundaries and sacred spaces of the community. This
description can take on “national” significance as can be seen in the myths that chart the boundaries between the Japanese archipelago and the continent. We will see how myth as a kind of cartography plays a significant part in the narratives of the kōwaka-mai, specifically Yuriwaka daijin, Taishokan 太職冠 and Shida 信太.

1.6 Conclusion

I began this chapter by considering universal definitions of myth in some of the most influential studies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The structural approach to the study of myth emerged from this milieu, asking the same question posed by Frazer, Harrison and Tylor. Why does myth exist in all cultures? The structural approach differs from earlier approaches in that it treats myth as a type of language. As such, myth is a system that is built oppositions. These oppositions may take upon universal characteristics, yet their significant can only be apprehended when
examining their systemization within a particular culture. The structure of myth is not passive; rather, individuals actively use these structures in communication and to construct reality. These structures underlie a socially and historically situated language that is organized as discourse, the context in which language is used.

“Medieval myth” is one type of discourse that had wide currency throughout the medieval period in Japan. The structure of medieval myth is a culturally specific genre. It has as its most basic component a series of oppositions that are defined as the binary opposition between this world and the Otherworld. Through the process of transposition, this dyad can take on a variety of shapes, the opposition between the kami and humans, the opposition between sovereign and subject, or the opposition between nature and culture.

Medieval myth also has formal aspects, a narrative structure that plots a movement from harmony through its inversion and finally to restoration. This narrative structure forms the basis of
story-patterns that performers and audiences use to facilitate communication and create meaning. The idea of reference in performance is inherently intertextual. It argues that both performer and audience share a common knowledge of the structure of other texts and this knowledge makes sense of the communication that takes place in the enabling event of performance. As a form of language, myth always presents a specific point of view, or ideology that reinforces conceptions of the world and the relationship between institutions and individuals.

In the next chapter, I will reevaluate the origins and development of the kôwaka-mai in Sengoku Japan. I will show how in felicitous contexts, performers and audiences used the language of medieval myth to narrate the lives of historic and legendary figures.
1 See, for example, Alan Dundes who defines myth as “a sacred narrative explaining how the world and man came to be in their present form” (Sacred 1).

2 Andre Jolles, a scholar of the early twentieth century, for example, argues that genres develop from the simple to the complex. See Ben-Amos for a discussion of Jolles (Folklore Genres xxviii–xxix).

3 This school of literary criticism enjoyed popularity during the first half of the twentieth century. Its members produced an immense (yet, speculative) body of scholarship that sought to show how myths and rituals were inextricably linked. There are two versions of the theory: that societies create myths as explanations for rituals, or that societies create their rituals as enactments of myths. For a brief overview, see Segal.

4 Although Bascom’s construction of features for to be used in distinguishing between myth, legend and folktale has the appearance of being structural (i.e. based upon distinctive features with a plus or minus value) it is not structural in the sense of either Lévi-Strauss or Propp’s approach. He calls these features a “series of steps to be followed in differentiating myth, legend and folktale” (6).

5 The myth-ritualist Walter Burkert (following Kirk) likewise argues that all three genres fall under the rubric “traditional tales” and the distinction between the three—legend, folktale and myth—is at best “fuzzy” (Homo Necans 30).

6 One of the continuing assumptions of scholars of myth is that myth is an explanation of the beginning of the world. This assumption is true in many cases, but there are many other myths in which origins
are not. Malinowski, who I will discuss later, does not include "explanation of origins" in his functions of myth. As I develop my argument below, I will argue that societies do use mythic story-patterns to narrate beginnings. Context also plays an essential role in the power of narratives. Belief that the stories are true or sacred, strengthens their authority in the community as a "vital ingredient of human civilization" (Malinowski Myth 19).

7 In contrast to Jolles approach to the evolution of genres, de Vries suggests that the development from simple to complex forms is conditioned by the historical, social and economic environment. See Ben-Amos' discussion of de Vries, as well as de Vries (Heroic Song 264-265).

8 Lévi-Strauss remarks upon the possible criticism that might be leveled upon him by ethnographers in The Raw and the Cooked (6-9).

9 In Alan Dundes introduction to the second edition of Propp's Morphology of the Folktale, he calls these functions "motifemes" (xiv).

10 One of the problems that Japanese folklorists have faced is defining Japanese folklore genres in terms of categories set up by Western scholars. Densetsu, the gloss for "legend" implies the importance of transmission of stories historically whereas in English it does not. Minwa, as with its English equivalent are stories that are transmitted among the "folk." "Shinwa" (as well as other technical terms such as legend, folktale and tale) was a term created after the Meiji Restoration to correspond to Western "myth."

11 Yuriwaka Daijin is a legend because it is set in the historical reign of Emperor Saga. On the other hand, as I argue in Chapter Three, we can consider it a "myth" because it is modeled on the myth of
the pacification of the land that is first recounted in the mythic narrative of Amewaka-hiko 天稚彦 and the myth of Takeshiuchi-no-sukune 武内宿禰.

12 Vladimir Propp (History) offers an excellent critique on classification systems of folklore items.

13 Momotarō, for example, goes to defeat a demon on Onigashima 鬼ヶ島, where he receives a treasure before returning to this world. Issun Bōshi, as well, defeats a demon and then grows to normal human size.

14 As I will argue below, story-patterns, or tale-types, are used actively by cultures to create narratives. Where Japanese scholars, such as Yanagita and Orikuchi, have looked at the bulk of folktales, myths and literature to recreate mode of transmission and development of genres, I argue that this exercise is meaningful only to the extent that it supports a particular view of cultural development from simple to complex forms. Instead, we should look at story-patterns as being actively used by historically situated beings to create meaningful narratives.

15 Kokugaku originated in the Edo period as a reaction to Sino-centric, Confucian-based rationalist scholarship. The kokugaku scholars of the Edo period used the ancient classics (Kojiki 古事記, Nihon shoki 日本書紀 and Manyō’shū 万葉集) to study the unique characteristics of Japanese culture. While Yanagita was not a student of kokugaku, much of his work has been influenced by such thought.

16 Yanagita encapsulates the idea of a transcendant and ahistorical Japanese cultural essence in his concept of the jōmin 常民, which we might gloss as the “folk,” however, the term as used by Yanagita is tied directly to his methodology. The jōmin were both present and transcendent; they were the folk who were hidden away in the
corners of the Japanese countryside, seemingly untouched by modernization, while at the same time, all Japanese were jōmin, in that every member of Japanese society shared a timeless and immutable essence. See Hashimoto for a critique of Yanagita’s concept of jōmin.

17 The tale can be found in Watanabe and Nishio (410-413).

18 Throughout this dissertation, I use the names for kami following the Nihon shoki.

19 Orikuchi first explains the meaning of “marebito” in Part 2 of Kodai no kenkyū saying, “The word ‘marebito’ has a deep meaning. The marebito are thought to have been kami who having taken on the identity [of humans] and visited occasionally to perform murohoqi. After these visitors had chanted their jugon, they were welcomed to a seat at a banquet” (I 79). Yet, neither the marebito nor the kami were the creation of Orikuchi both of which Orikuchi shows to be firmly grounded in Japanese cultural history. In his discussion of the etymology of the word “marebito,” Orikuchi also refers to classics such as the Nihon ryōiki, Tsurezuregusa, showing that the term “mare” was originally derived from the word “mara,” and was used from earliest times, though becoming common after the medieval period. Later, he more completely articulates his theory in Part Three (that is, the introduction) of “Origins of National Literature” where he gives the following definition of the term:

“Mare” to the extent that its ancient meaning has come down to us today, has the meaning of some phenomenon that has a low number of frequencies, or also “to visit.” The meaning of the word “hito” before it was fixed seems to have had the meaning of “kami” or a “successor” (keishō-sha). Seen from this angle [of etymology] “marebito” means “a kami that comes to visit.” The easiest inference about “hito” is that this
indicates that the kami came in the form of people. "Hito" is the name given then to the kami disguised as human beings. (I 5)

To be more faithful to Orikuchi's thought, we must note that Orikuchi saw the kami as phenomenal manifestations of the tama, or metaphysical soul of which I will speak below. The kami was the positive manifestation of the kami, and mono物 the negative. Culture begins when man is separated from the spiritual world (recall that all humans have a tama that links him to the spiritual world) and the visitation of the kami in the guise of marebito is man's desire for redemption. We note that Orikuchi does not give historical priority to either ritual or myth—their similitude derives from their common origin the relationship between the spiritual and phenomenal realms. Affinities between literature, ritual, material culture and the performing arts we can see as manifestations of the jugon, speech event between the kami and the spirits of the community.

This idea of myth as a "charter" for behavior has affinities with Malinowski's functional analysis of myth that I discuss below.

Here, Orikuchi, whose approach is in the first instance philological, echoes the thoughts of Max Muller. The philological method that Orikuchi uses is rooted in the Japanese writing system that employs Chinese graphs to indicate Japanese nouns and the roots of verbals and ajectivals. A number of Chinese graphs can be used to express the same verb. Borrowing of Chinese compounds directly in to Japanese and given Japanese reading (onyomi 音読み), also produced an endless number of homonyms. For example, Orikuchi premises his discussion on shōdō on a pair of homonyms, shōdō 聖道 "the way of ascetics," and shōdō 唱導 "chant leading." He argues that the former was the original meaning of the term and gradually
as outcastes took on the clothing and appearance of priests, this came to be written as the latter. This practice is seen as early as medieval dictionaries that use the existence of multiple ways of writing the same word as revealing something essential about the multifaceted meaning of the word, or something about its historical development.

23 For a overview and critique of the search for origins and reverse cultural evolution, or “devolution,” see Dundes (The Study 53-56).

24 Orikuchi saw that there are two aspects to life. One was conditioned by the urgencies of modern life. The other was the classical (kurasikku クラシック). “That is what remained hidden in the hearts of the modern Japanese of the old practices and cultures that made up the essence of Japanese life. It transcends metaphor and is imprinted directly on the heart. We can get at the reasons why these customs arose by directly studying the ancient past” (XVI 483-484). Orikuchi’s project, it must be remembered, was not folklore directly. He sought to more accurately read the works of the ancient age, in particular the Man’yōshū, by observing what he saw as the more “ancient” (kodai 古代) way of life. By “ancient,” he means not only a historical period, but also a way of life that more transparently reflected the essence or characteristics of Japanese culture. It is easy to overlook the complexity of Orikuchi’s opus by focusing upon his descriptions of folk practices (which it must be admitted are quite lacking in detail compared with Yanagita) that he observed in his travels, rather than seeing them as dialogues between current practice and his abstract concept of Japanese culture he articulates in his marebito theory. The understanding of all cultural practices required peeling off layers using folklore and linguistic accumulation to find common structure.

25 From the Nara period onward, the Nihon shoki (or Nihongi 日本紀)
symbolised what we can call "national myth" for it was interpreted as providing the foundation for imperial legitimacy. This exalted position was partly due to the intent of the compilers of the work and more importantly because it was written in Chinese. While the Kojiki was almost completely ignored until the late-Edo period, the myths of the Nihon shoki and those myths that came from its commentaries represented "national myth" for Chinese learning (kangaku 漢学), poetics and literature. For two and a half centuries following the compilation of the Nihon shoki, the imperial court held lectures (kōsho 講書) on the text as well as banquets (kyōen 祭宴) at which both Japanese and Chinese poems were composed and recited on themes of the Nihon shoki. Many of the poetic and literary works of the Heian period reflect the level of understanding of this text by members of the court and aristocracy. In the medieval period, knowledge of the Nihon shoki and the ability to understand it gradually lessened giving to rise in commentaries on the work that began simply as the Japanese reading of the Chinese characters (kundoku 訓讀) or explanations of words or phrases (goshaku 語釈) but gradually developed into commentaries that drew upon a number of other texts.

[26] Annotated texts of these works can be found in Iida and Onoda.

[27] Whether or not the versions of the myths recorded in the Nihon shoki or those recorded in the Kojiki (or those of the Fudoki) are closer to the "original" has been an ongoing question for Japanese scholars of mythology. I suggest that this is an inappropriate question for the study of mythology for it places the significance of these myths are as they are and had meaning in the historical context in which they occurred but rather in terms of what they stand for in reference to a preconceived notion of evolution and textual development.
Ryōbu Shinto developed within the Shingon sect of Buddhism paralleling yet not completely corresponding to the idea of the two mandalas. As a form of Buddhist-Shinto syncretism, it developed along the same lines as the Yoshida Shinto however as it was closely tied to the Shingon and Tendai Buddhist sects it maintain the priority of the Buddhist pantheon over the native deities specifically in the relationship between the inner and outer shrines at Ise.

The Yoshida Shinto (also known as Urabe 卜部 Shinto or Ui’itsu 唯一 Shinto) was a school of Shinto theorists who descended from the Urabe family. Throughout the medieval period they increasingly lost power as Buddhism gained strength. Opposing the hegemony of Buddhist thought, the Yoshida asserted the purity of Shinto interpreting Japanese mythology with Confucian and Taoist thought. Their rise coincided with the decline of the Muromachi Shogunate in the late fifteenth century (beginning during the reign of Gotsuchimikado 後土御門), at which time they gave instruction to the emperor, aristocrats, military leaders, and Zen priests, on the priority of the Japanese kami over the Buddhist deities. The main texts that they explicated were the myths of the Nihon shoki 和魂 and the Nakatomi no harae 中臣藪. The Yoshida increased their political power during the Sengoku period not only in their compilation of these theoretical texts, but also through their support for the revival of religious rites and reconstruction of religious edifices. To support his family’s claims to ascendancy in the realm of ritual, the Urabe Kanekata 卜部兼方 (dates unknown, mid Kamakura period) writes in the Shaku nihongi (compiled 1274-1301) that their mythic ancestor was Amanokoyane-no-mikoto as well and that Taishokan’s cousin, the minister of the right Kiyomaru 清麻呂 (702-788) was of the Nakatomi 大中臣 family. Four generations after Kiyomaru was Nakatomi no Hiramaro 平麻呂 (dates unknown) who was the first of the Urabe (32). After unification, the Yoshida family successfully revived belief in many of the kami that had been overlooked in the
Annotated texts of the major works of these schools of thought can be found in Tanaka and Nishikawa, and Murayama.

See LaFleur on Buddhism as the dominant paradigm of the medieval period (9-14).

This classification is based upon Yamamoto (5-8).

Annotated texts of these two works can be found in Onoda and Nakamura, Makabe and Akiyama.

The sheer volume of texts dealing with Buddhist/native syncretism precludes an exhaustive listing of the works, however a number of them are included in the Shintōtaikei and GR, ZGR.

As I have noted above, Japanese scholars have coined the terms "shinwa," "densetsu," "setsuwa" and "minwa" among a host of others, in the years following the Meiji Restoration in large part to as a way to compare Japanese genres with Western genres, and also means to give the Japanese tradition "importance" by equating traditional genres with those of the West.

Instead, I propose that we turn to the terms that were employed by the Japanese for centuries when talking about their own literary tradition. Here I single out engi, or "foundation myths" as a significant category throughout Japanese history as referring to a large body of works that were originally produced by clerics at temples and shrines to give legitimacy to their local religious institutions. In turn, these written documents were used in shōdō or "performative preaching" throughout the medieval period. "Monogatari" on the other hand has currency in the scholarship of the West particularly as it refers to the vernacular literature that
reached its height in the Heian period.

The term engi in the original Sanskrit pratitya-samutpada might be roughly glossed as "foundational teaching." When translated into Chinese a two-character compound was used to express this concept. The first of these two characters, 綿, refers to the original principles behind all living things. The second character, 起, refers to the specific occurrence. Together they imply the principle of cause and effect. The engi then reveals the underlying principles behind specific occurrences.

Unfortunately, there exist no earlier texts of the founding myth of the Kashi'i shrine. The only extant texts that predate the thirteenth century Hachiman junpaiki are the Kojiki and Nihon shoki. Here Kashi'i is one of two imperial residences. While in residence at the Kashi'i palace, Emperor Chüai plays the koto, causing Empress Jingū to be divinely possessed by Amaterasu-no-Ōkami 天照大神. She delivers the oracle that she is to conquer the Kumaso.

Yanagita began the use of the traditions of Okinawa as evidence for the original practices of the Japanese in antiquity. The lives of the people of Okinawa also inspired Orikuchi, as well, who journeyed there twice during the 1920s. Their use of the Okinawa data as a living laboratory and window upon the ancient Japanese past, continues to influence scholarship and popular conceptions of Okinawa culture today. See Harootunian for a discussion of Okinawa in Yanagita and Orikuchi's projects (156).

Orikuchi, as well, envisions the beginnings of literature in the performances of epic poetry (jojishi) by miko who suffered psychological illness overcome by the spirit of the kami whose words they transmitted.

Saimon were words of praise chanted in the presence of Buddhist or Shinto deities during a Buddhist service or festival. In addition
to these public contexts, saimon were also read by onyōshi performed for private individuals as prayers to cast out misfortune and pray for blessings. Sei Shōnagon includes the performers of saimon in her classification of words that sound impertinent (kotoba namege naru mono ことばなげなるもの). Here again the felicitous performances are described as "yomi" (Ikeda et al. 272).

40 "Hoku" 寿く meaning to sing words of blessing so that evil will be cast out and good fortune will be invited in, is used often in the ancient period in texts dealing with Court ritual. We find several examples in the Engishiki 延喜式 (early tenth century) where the graph is used in a compound with the graph for words, yogoto 寿詞. In this text, yogoto indicates the ritual words that are spoken wishing the emperor’s reign would be long and prosperous (III 318).

Orikuchi sees hokaibito as wandering missionaries. As the their travels took them away from ritual contexts, they became minstrels, itinerant performers and traveling poets. He explains their development as follows:

When the aboriginal peoples settled down, these groups whose lives were governed by the belief in strange kami (ijin 異人), within the cycle of life, while visiting the various regions, stations (posts) and ports sprang up along with those people who settled down at these points of passage. Often times these were women who were employed in performing arts as well as prostitution and they became known as the “masters [aruji 主] of the lodging.” At these points those people with fixed abodes mixed with those people who were wanderers. These people are hokaibito.” (I 108-109)

41 Lorinda Kiyama has proposed the gloss.

42 Mikael S. Adolphson defines őbō buppō sōi during the medieval
period as the “ideological foundation for the participation of Buddhist institutions in government, while linking togeterh the realms of the kami, the buddhas, and the living” (15).

43 This episode is included in the Enkyōbon Heike and other versions of the Heike.

44 See Bauman for a discussion on the keys of performance (15-24).

45 See Handler and Linnekin’s critique of definitions of “tradition” that see it as “bounded”

46 Handler and Linnekin’s definition of “tradition" as a “model of the past [...] inseparable from the interpretation of tradition in the present,” (276) underlies my reading of story-patterns as actively used by performers.

47 Roland Barthes also suggests how narratives are read using a “grammar” of narrative. Meaning is actively created by the reader through deciphering indices, those elements in the narrative that do not have specific signifieds. Their reading of the indices implies the knowledge of a culturally understood structure (94-97).
CHAPTER 2

THE KÔWAKA-MAI AND THE CULTURE OF SENGOKU JAPAN

2.1 Introduction: Society and the Performing Arts during the Sengoku Period

The culture of fifteenth and sixteenth century Japan remains an anomaly to students of Japanese literature. In the popular imagination, countless television dramas and manga depictions attest to its continued popularity among Japanese both old and young. One need only visit a local bookstore to discover that many volumes are dedicated to mapping out the strategic plans of legendary battles between regional warlords, adding liberal doses of the detail that explains the behind the scenes political intrigues.

For Western scholars of Japanese culture, this period has been less than inviting as a theme for research. Studies that have attempted to capture the essence of this historical period have tended
to brush over the one hundred years that began at the end of the Ōnin war in 1477 and came to an end following the drive toward unification led by such colorful military leaders as Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–1582), Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537?–1598) and Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1542–1616).²

At best, these studies are overviews of general literary and cultural trends that lead up to unification in the late sixteenth century and the emergence of an ethos in which the popular arts of the Edo period flourished. In other words, the very stuff that makes this era so appealing to contemporary Japanese society—the rise of the merchants as being a prelude to a new economic structure under the new regime in Edo, and the heady rise of regional centers of power being a necessary condition for centralized government under the Tokugawa Shoguns—we have characterized as “transitional.”³ The literature and the performing arts of the period have been conceived of as being a bridge from the austere world of Zeami (1363?–1443?) and Zenchiku 禅竹 (1405–?) to the opulent and oftentimes garish world
of the Momoyama period (latter half of the sixteenth century) and popularization of the Edo period (1603-1867).

Yet, when not seen through the lens of constructing literary history, this era was no more transitional than any other period. The people living at this time certainly did not view their lives as part of a greater pattern of social evolution. Even though it is true that the hundred odd years of the Sengoku period were marked by frequent warfare, as scholars of Japanese history have pointed out this warfare was not continual and it allowed for vibrant developments in the social and cultural life of the Japanese of the late-medieval world. Indeed, the political and social strife allowed this period to bloom with its own unique and vibrant culture.

The diaries of those people living in the capital city of Kyoto are the best testament we have of the life and culture in the capital and the provinces. These documents attest to the fact that life continued and the finer things in life were still enjoyed by those living in the capital. One of the leading personages in the cultural
life of the Sengoku period was Yamashina no Tokitsugu 山科言継 (1507-1579). As both a resident of the devastated capital and a courtier, Tokitsugu provides us with valuable insight into the variety of performing arts that were staged at public venues and in the highest halls of the imperial palace during the greater part of the sixteenth century. The performing arts that Tokitsugu describes took root in the particular soil of Sengoku Japan, often nourished by its destruction.

For example, Tokitsugu notes a common occurrence in his diary. On the evening of the twenty-eighth day of the eighth month of 1553 (Tenbun 天文 22) kusemai performers visited the imperial palace. He records that on this night, as on many other occasions, shōmonji performers from the sakuramachi 桜町 area of Kyoto danced two kusemai pieces: Taishokan and Jūbangire (Tokutsugu gyōki 言継卿記 qtd. in Ichiko 292).

The first of these pieces, which marks the starting point in my discussion of the kōwaka-mai in Chapter 3, is a narrative based
on an episode in the life of Fujiwara no Kamatari, the seventh-century quasi-mythical founder of the Fujiwara family. Throughout the Sengoku and Momoyama 桃山 periods and well into the next century, Taishokan was the most often performed piece of the kusemai repertory. Yet, it strikes us as odd that in an epoch that scholars on both sides of the Pacific have defined by terms such as “suki” 好き (often glossed as either “amateurization” or “popularization”) and “gekokujō” (“supplanting one’s superior”), the performance of a kōwaka-mai piece that champions the heroes and values of an ancient age seems on the surface to be out of step with other literary and social trends that were aimed at the subversion of traditional power centers. The culture of this period, the Tenbun era (roughly from the end of the Ōnin war to 1568), however, was not defined solely by the rising merchants’ efforts to overthrow what they saw as outdated modes of social structure.

We can locate the vitality of this era in the basic incongruity of its major actors—the regional daimyō, on the one hand, who sought
to usurp ever widening expanses of political and cultural territory; and the emerging merchant class, on the other hand, who sought to transform the basic economic and social structure of the nation. In terms of the literary products of the age, there were two competing dreams of this era; those of the latter sought to effect a change by parody and farce in the works of fiction, while the former looked for restoration in the mythic world of the pre-classical era on the stage.

Yet, in the previous chapter I argued that myth, as with other cultural products, such as literature and the performing arts, should not be considered as mere reflections of the realities of the ages in which they are produced. My assertion about culture as being a systematic and coded language must lead us to question the appropriateness of using literature as anthropological or historical data. In the post-war era, Realism has informed many of the studies of “popular” or “non-elite” (Muromachi period monogatari, gunki monogatari 軍記物語 as just a few examples) medieval culture and is
evident in the work of scholars based not only in Japan and abroad as well. However well intentioned many of these studies purport to be, their methodologies are firmly grounded in distinctions of class and levels of literacy.

The functional approach to medieval popular culture has served to confirm and reinforce the social, economic and class division, by suppressing readings of these cultural products as potentially subversive or conversely inscribing specific ideologies. The picture that these studies paint for us reveal a people who enjoyed seeing their own lives reflected in oral narrative and drama, or who used literature as a psychological outlet for their hopes and fears. Particular types of formalism have also encouraged the continued prejudice toward reading themes, motifs and story-patterns as indices of how the people lived and loved in the real world.

I argue, however, that what most studies of the culture of the common folk in medieval Japan have clearly revealed is our own desire to find and recover the lives of people in another historical age.
or in an Other culture. The veiled desire that underwrites many of our studies of Japanese culture is a reflection of our own perceived sophistication and desire to vicariously participate in a culture that we have constructed as more in tune with nature or the spiritual. In our own times, we see desire something greater than representation in the artworks that we enjoy, while conversely concluding that people in a less-enlightened age were content to see their own lives lived out before their eyes on the stage and narrated on the pages of their books. This indictment of the use of works of art as anthropological data rings even truer for the works of scholars who write upon the literature and performing arts of the popular or common folk.

I argue here the opposite: the relationship between works of art and the real world is much more complex and sophisticated precisely because the appreciation and interpretation of verbal works of art involves not only the relationship between reader and the text, but necessarily involves a web of institutionalized meanings that reveal themselves in the text through the mode of performance. The reading
of literature and the performing arts guided by Formalism and Functionalism leaves many questions unanswered. If the “folk” or “common people” truly enjoyed representational literature and theater, as historical approaches to literature entail, why were the “unrealistic” themes and story-patterns of myth and folklore so popular? In this chapter, we will be forced to question these two approaches to literature, and instead I propose one that has the ability to reveal the narrative power of myth.

2.2 Kōwaka-mai and Kusemai Research

Along with the sarugaku, the most popular performing art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the kusemai, a form of recited narrative that had been revitalized by the groups of shōmonji that included the members of the Kōwaka troupe in the last half of the fifteenth century. The performers of the kusemai under the leadership of the legendary figures such as “Kōwaka-maru” had
succeeded in refashioning their dance and narrative art after it had been appropriated by Kan’ami and Zeami in the late thirteenth century, and they added new pieces to their repertory that were largely based upon war tales (gunki monogatari). While the extant pieces of the kōwaka-mai that are based upon medieval works such as the Heike monogatari 平家物語, Gikeiki 義経記 and Soga monogatari 曽我物語 have been singled out as most representative of what would be later known as kōwaka-mai, it was the works that originated in the world of shōdō preaching that were the first works of the new style of kusemai and hold the key to our understanding of the genre as a whole.11

Typical of the “vocal literature” of the medieval period, new style of kusemai introduced by the shōmonji in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had an intimate, yet complex relationship with the world of written texts from its inception. The genealogies of the Kōwaka and Daigashira 大頭 troupes attest to the literary beginnings of their performing art.
At the same time, however, these genealogies paint a romantic picture of the ancestry and life of the legendary patriarch of the kōwaka-mai, Kōwaka-maru. These documents that were written in the seventeenth century, claim that their patriarch, Kōwaka-maru was a descendant of the Momonoi 桃井 warrior family. When he was still a boy, Kōwaka-maru was hidden at a temple on Mt. Hiei after his father escaped from a defeat in battle and took refuge there. After studying under a mai master on that sacred mountain, Kōwaka-maru was invited into the imperial presence to perform. The legend ends with Kōwaka-maru adding musical notation to thirty-six booklets that later became the main scripts of the kōwaka-mai repertory.

Following Sasano Ken’s 鈴野健 publication of his definitive study of the history and scripts of the kōwaka-mai, or kōwaka-bukyoku 幸若舞曲, in 1943, scholars in folklore and performance arts history studies have spent several decades and countless reams of paper to deconstruct the genealogies written by various branches of the Kōwaka family during the early Edo period. Three decades of research on the
kōwaka-mai reversed many of the presuppositions held by Sasano’s predecessor, the performing arts historian, Takano Tatsuyuki 高野辰之. Beginning with Orikuchi Shinobu’s declaration that the performers of the kusemai were no less than members of a slave class (dorei 奴隷) of workers attached to temples during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, scholars such as Muroki Yatarō 室木弥太郎, Iwahashi Koyata 岩橋小弥他 and Hayashiya Tatsusaburō 林屋辰三郎 replaced earlier presuppositions with new assumptions based upon a branch of mai performers during the seventeenth century.

In effect, research from 1945 to 1980 substituted alternative Edo period documentation for the genealogies proffered by Sasano and Takano without giving any substantial refutation of the major points made in the Kōwaka family documents. James T. Araki’s early work on the kōwaka-mai gives voice to the frustration that we are left with when faced with fragmentary and suspicious documentary evidence—he ultimately concedes that no conclusion is possible (The Ballad 71).
The late 1970s saw two major developments in the study of the kōwaka-mai history and development.¹³ The first of these was the launching of what would become a twenty-year project of textual annotation and research by the Kansai 関西 (Western Japan) regional branch of the “Association of Folklore Studies” (Denshô bungaku kenkyû-kai 伝承文学研究会). Over three decades they have produced ten volumes of annotated texts, research essays and variant text reproductions that have significantly enhanced our understanding of the sources and development of the kōwaka-mai as a performing art.

The second major development was taking place in the Kanto (Eastern Japan) area. In 1980, Asahara Yoshiko 麻原美子 published a major study of the kōwaka-mai, its history and development, as well as the kōwaka-mai’s place in the evolution of Japanese performing arts. Asahara’s research on the kōwaka-mai that has spanned over twenty years culminated in the inclusion of the Mai no hon 舞の本 (1994) in the new Iwanami koten bungaku taikei 新岩波古典文学大系
series, paying tribute to decades of scholarship on the kōwaka-mai
by entering it into the canon of Japanese pre-modern literature.

Both Asahara and the scholars associated with the Denshō
bungaku kenkyū-kai have given careful consideration to the
genealogies of the Kōwaka family as well as to other historical
documents. They have chiseled out a middle ground between the
positions held by Sasano and Takano on the one hand and those positions
held by performing arts specialists and folklorists, on the other
hand.

The main thrust of Asahara’s most controversial research
provides evidence to support the historical plausibility of the
pedigree offered by the writers of the Kōwaka genealogies. Although
I consider the main tenets of her thesis below, here I would like
to point out that restoring “authorship” and respectability in the
face of the arguments posed by those in the performing arts and
folklore disciplines is not unrelated to the process of canonization.
Joseph Grigely has correctly seen attempts to fix the text as an immutable work of art as part of the canonization process and a means to render text as an object of scientific study. Thus, the transmission of works of art “given the record of unending change physically altering artworks, that many people continue to believe that art is immutable, that the artist’s intentions are paramount, and that original works would be ‘preserved’ from various agents of change” (6). Where Noh had its Zeami and jōruri had its Chikamatsu近松, kōwaka-mai lacked a legitimizing patriarch that would lend itself to easy acceptance into the canon. Creating a patriarch of the performing art and producing the definitive text could remedy this situation.

The research undertaken over the past two decades by members of the Denshō bungaku kenkyū-kai, in contrast, has been less concerned with the personage of Momonoi no Naoakira 桃井直詮 as the legendary founder of the Kōwaka style of kusemai. Instead, research has focused upon texts and their possible modes of transmission. Since it is only
the texts that remain today (outside of the performance tradition in Kyushu), it is natural that these scripts should be our starting points. The relationship between the scripts (daihon 台本) of the kōwaka-mai and their possible source texts, gives us a clearer picture of what the kōwaka-mai was as a performing art and what relationship it had to other performing arts, including Noh, sekkyō-bushi, and Heike biwa 平家琵琶. Thus, any re-reading of the genealogies and other historical documents must take into account not only what information is included in those texts, but also it must also be consistent with what we know about the scripts and their sources.

I begin with re-examination of the historical records on the origins and development and performance of the Kōwaka style of kusemai with a look at the early Edo period genealogies of the various branches of the Kōwaka family. Even though these foundation legends of the kōwaka-mai and its description of the development of the kōwaka-mai are in large part fictions, they do tell us something about how the new style of kusemai was performed in the Sengoku period.
Next, I look at some other historical documents that indicate that the performing art that has come to be known as "kôwaka-mai" was known as "kusemai" during the Sengoku period. Moreover, the kusemai was performed by various groups of shômonji of which the Kôwaka troupe was but one of these troupes. The members of the shômonji gradually took over the performance of senzumanzai, a short performance of chant and dance that was believed to have felicitous or magical powers, and incorporated elements of it into the restructuring of the kusemai. In the mid to late sixteenth century, the performers of the Kôwaka troupe gained favor with powerful warriors in the mid-sixteenth century, and they alone survived into the Edo period. Because scholars have viewed the kôwaka-mai as that performing art that was performed by the various branches of the Kôwaka family and patronized by the warriors of the period of unification and subsequently the Tokugawa shoguns, the term "kôwaka-mai" glosses over the historical development of the genre and its richness as it was performed in the Sengoku period.
Zeami's descriptions of both the old and new styles of kusemai begin my discussion of the performance of the kusemai. In addition to Zeami's treatises, I look at descriptions of the new kusemai recorded in diaries and other works of the late-fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. As a performing art that developed from the felicitous performances of senzumanzai, the kusemai was heavily rhythmic with chanting in a staccato-like fashion known as "romi" 読み.

Finally, I look at how the felicitous contexts influenced the musical and narrative structure of the kusemai daihon. I show how mythic oppositions and the structure of inversion and restoration are basic to the performing art that would come to be known as "kōwaka-mai."
2.3 Creating a Legend: Kōwaka-maru and the Early "Kōwaka-mai"

Sasano compiles several genealogies produced by the various branches of the Kōwaka family as well as genealogies by the Daigashira troupe. The most often quoted of these documents is the Kōwaka kezu 幸若家図. This early Edo period genealogy cum legend includes information on the patriarch, Kōwaka-maru, and his descendants. The following is an abbreviated translation of the entry for Momono no Naoakira.

Naoakira. He is the founder of kōwaka [...] His father was Naokazu 直和 who left his son as an orphan at the age of one [...] He [Naokazu's son] secretly climbed Mt. Hiei where he became a priest [hōshi 法師] at the Kōrinbō 光林坊 [...] Here, Naoakira had an awakening of faith and traveled to several provinces performing austerities and praying for the enlightenment of those souls that had passed away [...] He was called "Kōwaka-maru" when he was a child. Surpassing all others, day and night he did not neglect his studies [...] There was no one who could equal the quality of his chanting of shōmyō 声明, he excelled all others [...] At this time, he learned the pieces Chōryō 長良 and Manjū 藤仲 from the Mai-dayū Jifuku 地福 who was regularly performing in Kyoto. Kōwaka-maru's style was not like a human's [...] Once, Kōwaka-maru performed the piece Manjū in the
presence of Ōmiya Gongen 大宮権現 at the Hiyoshi 日吉 shrine [...] After his highly-praised performance, it was impossible to keep his skill a secret and the imperial palace heard about it [...] Retired Emperor Go-Hanazono 後花園 sent an order for him to attend the imperial palace [...] Kōwaka-maru came and first he performed shōmyō, after which he recited the piece Manjū [...] He received thirty-six booklets [sōshi] to which he added fushi フシ, tsume ツメ and kotoba コトバ; following the expression and reason he added sixteen types of fushi to them, including sashi サシ, iro イロ, kudoki クドキ etc. Afterwards, he added titles to them and called these thirty-six pieces the Kyoku fushi shū 曲節集 (217-218).

Other versions of the Kōwaka-maru legend exist in documents that offer us only minor variants on the above account. Kōwaka kezu no koto 幸若系図事 (1705), for example, relates the following about the patriarch:

Now, when we inquire into the origins of the Kōwaka family [...] because he [Naoakira] was the child of a rebel family [...] he was sent to Mt. Hiei where he studied. The current Tendai High Priest [zasu 座主] took Kōwaka-maru under his wing. On one occasion, Kōwaka-maru accompanied him to the imperial palace where the boy was praised for his beautiful appearance. Kōwaka-maru was ordered to remain there in service to the palace. There, after excelling in the way of poetry, he was charged with collecting books. About this time, there were several
books [hon 本] of the Heike circulating in the capital with Kōwaka-style musical accompaniment. Kōwaka-maru was performing short felicitous [shūgen 祝言] and yūgen 幽玄 pieces and becoming one of the performers of the time his voice was unequalled [...] With his great skills, he began performing pieces other than those that his teacher had passed down to him, and because of this his fame spread. Before long the Retired Emperor Go-Hanazono heard of him, and summoned him to perform one piece [...] First, he performed a felicitous piece after which was the melody [ongyoku 音曲] Yashima 八島. After adding fushi to the Heike monogatari that he had received from the imperial palace, he considered how to pass on this rare style of melody, and he chose booklets [sōshi] with good expression and added fushi to them at imperial orders. There were twelve pieces each of long, medium and short length; these formed a volume of melodies [ongyoku] that were passed down to his descendants (191–193).

The author of this history, Chômei 長明, gives an outline here that is the similar to the early Edo period lineage, albeit he paints the young Kōwaka-maru as being more than a performer of shōmyō chanting: Chômei firmly embeds the patriarch of the Kōwaka family into the classical tradition of waka poetry. Kōwaka-maru's superior ability in the refined art of waka serves as the foundation for the Kōwaka-style of recitation. In this genealogy, the piece Yashima 八島.
is Kōwaka-maru’s signature piece, the one that moved the Retired
Emperor Go-Hanazono to bestow upon Naoakira thirty-six sōshi to which
the patriarch added his style of fushi. These thirty-six pieces
became the core repertory of the kōwaka-mai.

Another mid-Edo period genealogy corroborates the histories
contained in the above documents:

Kōwaka-maru from the time that he was a young boy excelled at
poetry surpassing ten thousand men. He added fushi to
thirty-six booklets [sōshi] and these became the thirty-six
melodies of the Kōwaka family […] with pure heart and mind,
barefoot he made thirty-three pilgrimages to [the shrine cf]
Hakusan Dai-gongen 白山大権現 […] once at Mt. Hakusan he
performed the piece Yashima […] the Retired Emperor Go-Hanazono
heard of his performance and on the eighth day of the third
month of 1448, he summoned Kōwaka-maru. He came along with
several tayū and announced himself as “Naoakira.” Kōwaka-maru
then performed the piece Nihonki 日本記 (212-3).

As with Chômei’s history of the Kōwaka the author of this lineage
claims that not only was Kōwaka-maru a skilled performer, but he was
also a peerless poet. In addition to the patriarch’s skill at writing
and chanting Japanese verse, this genealogy relates how Kôwaka-maru used this skill in applying it to his recitation of thirty-six sôshi.

This genealogy, while it agrees on the essential points of the other genealogies, complicates the sequence of events in Kôwaka-maru's life and the formation of the core thirty-six pieces. While the first two genealogies that I have presented here state that Kôwaka-maru lived at Mt. Hiei, gained fame initially for his shômyô chanting, and then later tell of his recitation of sôshi in the presence of Sannô Ômiya gongen, this genealogy claims that Kôwaka-maru was a poet whose renown reached the ears of Go-Hanazono from a performance at Mt. Hakusan in Echizen province.

The genealogies of Kôwaka Hachirô kurô branch also state that their patriarch was a poet, claiming that the place at which he gained his renown was the foot of Mt. Hiei. The following is the second genealogy in a series of five documents produced by the Hachirô kurô branch of the Kôwaka family. (The other four genealogies in the series provide the same information and are not included here.)
Naoakira. His childhood name was "Kōwaka-maru." At times, he recited poetry. At other times, he sang. He chanted the sōshi Yashima on the shores of Lake Biwa. The emperor heard about this and summoned him to perform one piece. The emperor was moved and ordered that other books [chō 様] be gathered and given to Kōwaka-maru [...] Afterwards Kōwaka-maru went to Echizen province and secluded himself at Mt. Hakusan. Here he had a mysterious revelation where he received the melodies.

Afterward he went to the imperial palace where he presented these pieces. The emperor was moved and bestowed Kōwaka-maru with the pawonia and chrysanthemum crest (232).

While the particulars contained in the genealogies and histories of the various Kōwaka branch families may differ, they are all consistent on three major points, beginning with the earliest document, that of the early Edo period. Anzako Iwao 塩津雄 points out the essential elements that he feels are the most salient. First, Kōwaka-maru, an acolyte (chigo) at Mt. Hiei, was renown for his shōmyō chanting. Because of the fame that he received while performing this religious style of chant, an itinerant mai performer, Jifuku, took the boy under his wing and taught two pieces to him, Chōryō and Manjū.
Second, Kōwaka-maru performed the latter of these two pieces in the presence of Sannō Ōmiya Gongen who was moved by the performance and spoke in an oracle foretelling of the prosperity of Kōwaka-maru’s descendants. The rumors of the performance at Hiei shrine eventually reached the ears of Retired Emperor Go-Hanazono who summoned him to perform Manjū/Yashima at the imperial palace. Along with the praise of the emperor, he received thirty-six small narrative booklets (sōshi) to which he added musical notation (fushī).

Anzako notes that these are the three most important points made by the genealogies; yet like earlier scholars he is caught up in the details rather than focusing on the more general information that we can glean from the documents. We can conflate the second of Anzako’s two major points and divide his first to come up with the following three essential claims about the early stages of the Kōwaka-style of kusemai that the genealogies make. First, all of the genealogies point out that Kōwaka-maru was skilled at chanting either shōmyō or poetry. Kōwaka-maru’s performance, particularly his
uniquely superior chanting or singing talent, was his claim to fame.

His style of chanting when applied to prose works, was what catapulted
him into stardom and into the lofty halls of the Court.

Second, the introduction of prose works, sōshi, or other bound,
booklet-type texts distinguished the kōwaka-style from other
contemporary performances. The genealogies suggest that sōshi were
readily available during the mid-fourteenth century, and at some point,
several volumes came into the hands of the Kōwaka performers, either
through their performance at the imperial palace, or in some other
way.

Finally, we can see that the performers of the kusemai were
in some way attached to or employed by religious institutions,
pointing us back to their skill at performing chanting. When we
remove the polish added by the genealogy makers of the Edo period,
we can find elements of truth in the documents which Orikuchi, Iwahashi
and Muroki dismissed outright as fabrication.
Diary records from the mid-fifteenth century suggest that the appearance of performers such as those of the Kōwaka troupe changed the face of kusemai as a performing art. The first record of the kōwaka-mai is an entry in 1442. On this day, the diarist records that Kōwaka-dayû visited and performed (Kanmonyoki 看聞御記 qtd. in Ichiko 275). The Kōwaka-dayû mentioned by the diarist here might have been the model for “Kōwaka-maru” (a name that only exists in the Kōwaka genealogies) who at the time would have been a middle-aged man.

The only inconsistency with the general narrative found in the genealogies is that in these documents Kōwaka-maru is said to have achieved fame when he was a young man, not as a forty-year-old “master.” The same “Kōwaka-dayû” appears on three other dates in contemporary diaries. These three entries fall within the various dates supplied by the genealogies for the life of Kōwaka-maru: 1450 (Hōtoku 宝德 2), 1452(Kyōtoku 亨德 1), 1454(Kyōtoku 3), and 1479 (Bunmei 文明 11) (Ichiko 275-79). We find the name “Kōwaka-dayû” appearing throughout the sixteenth century, but we must assume that
this “Kôwaka-dayû” was a different person, most likely the current head of the Kôwaka troupe.

The “Kôwaka-dayû” of the mid to late-fifteenth century performed at various venues. On the seventh day of the third month in 1452, he took to the stage at the Senbon Emma-dô 千本間魔堂, a center for performing arts in the capital at the time. The great open space at the Emma-dô catered particularly to mass audiences rather than the more refined nobles and warrior elites (Muroki Katari-mono 88). Kôwaka-dayû’s last performance was on the twenty-third day of the fifth month of 1479 in the eastern garden of the Jigokudô 地獄堂 temple (Haretomi suku neki 晴富宿極 qtd. in Ichiko 279).

Unfortunately, for the writers of the Kôwaka genealogies, there seems to be no evidence of a person performing at the imperial palace who could have been Kôwaka-maru. Moreover, a 1362 (Teiji 貞治 1) diary entry citing that members of the Kôwaka family performed along with mai performers complicates the historical accuracy of the Kôwaka genealogies even more. Moreover, the 1387 (Kakei 嘉慶 1) diary cited 161
above indicates that the Kōwaka were participants in a ritual at a village shrine in Echizen (Muroki Chūsei 14). According to this document, Kōwaka family, seem to have been active since the late fourteenth century employed to do odd jobs at temples and shrines and to perform from time to time with mai artists. Sometime in the mid-fifteenth century they emerged as a major group of kusemai performers, often traveling to Kyoto to perform at both the homes of the nobility as well as for popular audiences.

A diary entry in 1450 (second month, eighteenth day) indicates that the performer Kōwaka-dayû was from Tanaka village in Echizen 越前 province (Yasucomi 康富記 qtd. in Ichiko 275). Some one hundred and thirty years later, the Kōwaka family head, Kohachirō 小八郎, was said to be a resident of Tanaka 田中 district. A gazetteer of Echizen province indicates that the Nishi-Tanaka 西田中 village was called “Innai-mura” 院内村 from ancient times. Innai-mura was an area that was inhabited by outcastes such as the shōmonji. Muroki argues that the Kōwaka family hailing from this area belonged to this caste.
of people who did odd jobs at temples and were involved in the performing arts (Chûsei 81). If Kôwaka-maru was a member of the Kôwaka family, Muroki continues, then his name was not conferred upon him by the Retired Emperor Go-Hanazono, rather it was his name from birth.

The Kôwaka family, keenly aware of its own history, sought in the Edo period to erase their roots in the outcaste group of shômonji performers by creating elaborate historical documents and genealogies to present to the Tokugawa Bakufu. In an age of strictly enforced class divisions, it was imperative that the Kôwaka family create a respectable family history that claimed descent not from an outcaste group, but rather the legendary founder of the kôwaka-mai was from an honorable warrior family whose own genealogy ends at the point that the Kôwaka-style of kusemai was on the rise.

Even in light of the discrepancies among the various genealogies about the dates and parentage of Momono no Naoakira, circumstantial evidence continues to fuel efforts to confirm the
relationship between the Momonoi family and the Kōwaka. The rationale behind efforts to reconstruct the Momonoi and Kōwaka relationship seems to be scholars’ doubts that a group of occasional performers could have created an art form with deep intertextual connections and complex musical structure such as the kōwaka-mai.

Again, Asahara has been influential in the general trend to reconsider the genealogies from a positive standpoint. Faced with the evidence showing that the Kōwaka family was originally a group of shōmonji who traveled to the capital to perform kusemai, Asahara has reconstructed the Momonoi-Kōwaka connection hypothesizing how Kōwaka-maru could have been Momonoi no Naoakira.

As James T. Araki pointed out earlier, the genealogies that were compiled by Sasano give various dates for the life of Momonoi no Naoakira (1402-1480, 1393-1470 and 1418-1480) (The Ballad 21). The earliest date given for the birth of Naoakira still records his birth twenty-three years after the death of his father Naokazu who we know to have been killed in battle in 1370. At the time of Naokazu’s
death, having escaped the fate of his son disappeared from the battlefield as well as from the pages of history.

Naokazu’s ultimate whereabouts and activities after his defeat provide Asahara with the connection needed to the Kōwaka family. Asahara notes that Naotsune's brother had been given a fief in Echizen province earlier by the bakufu. The Tendai establishment also had several shōen 庄園 (manors) in Echizen as well and Tanaka may have been a fief of Mt. Hiei. As a shōen of a major temple institution, it would have employed members of the shōmonji to do various odd jobs. In addition, we know that during this period, warriors often enlisted the services of the shōmonji to fight as foot soldiers, vastly increasing their numbers in military campaigns (Kōwaka-bukyoku kō 126).

Naotsune, having used the shōmonji in his various military battles, found their village in Tanaka to be a friendly place to hide himself. There he could have himself or his son Naotomo 直友 (a younger brother of Naokazu whom the writer of the Hachirō Kurō branch
of the Kōwaka posits as Naoakira’s father) produced an heir who would later become “Kōwaka-maru.” As a member of the shōmonji or a manor located in Echizen, Kōwaka-maru would have had access to the Mt. Hiei complex where he could have studied shōmyō chanting as well as poetry recitation (Kōwaka-bukyoku kō 127).

The importance of Asahara’s reconstruction of the connection between the Momonoi family and the patriarch of the Kōwaka family seems to have significance only in light of what twentieth-century scholars wish the kōwaka-mai to have been. As I have noted above, two historical documents show that the Kōwaka family had been working as shōmonji as early as 1387 and performing mai as early as 1362. Whether or not the Kōwaka family needed an infusion of blue blood to refine their art seems to be the question that Asahara’s reconstruction and the Edo period genealogies raise.

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2.4 Shômonji and the Development of the Kusêmai as a Felicitous Art

2.4.1 Foundation Myths and the Kusêmai

In 1455, the Zen priest Ikkyû 一休 (1394-1481) wrote the Jikaishû 自戒集. In this work, he describes the origins of the kusêmai and gives us a glimpse at what the performing art was like as he witnessed it during the mid-fifteenth century. He writes:

In China, the blind stand at gates and read aloud [yomu] histories [shi 史]. In Japan, this is like kusêmai 口宣舞. Now, those persons suffering some physical handicap are not allowed into the imperial palace and because of this from the time of the Cloister of Go-Fukakusa 後深草, shômonji were ordered in attendance and read aloud histories. Because they were following imperial orders 宣旨, that is why it is called “kusêmai” (148-149).

Despite the questionable etymology of the term “kusêmai,” Ikkyû’s description of this performing art as the reading aloud (yomu) of histories, or prose works, has the ring of truth about it.
Not only is Ikkyū's description of the kusenai similar to the history of Kōwaka-maru that is given in the genealogies of the Edo period, but it is in accord with other documents and works from this period. One of these documents is the Ryōshuku mondō 旅宿問答 (1508). It offers two explanations of the origins of the kusenai:

As for the maimai 舞々 performed today, the shōmonji who travel out among the people and chant the origins [innen 因縁] of buddhas and bodhisattvas as a means of instruction. After the Gempai wars, they soothed the hearts of people who were lamenting over the battle between the two families. This is now called maimai. Another explanation is as follows. On Mt. Tōnomine 多武峰, there was a priest with broad talents and wisdom called High Priest Gen’yu 源瑜. This high priest composed the story of the battle of Minamoto no Yoshimasa 源義経 and Yoshihira 義平 in the Hōgen and Heiji (monogatari). I have heard that this is true. Now, there was a performer of innen-mai 因縁舞 called "Kuji-waka" 久見若 from Kankaiyu no Koji Karasuma 勤解由ノ小路烏丸. He heard about this and climbed Mt. Tōnomine, and asked Gen’yu about his sōshi. He added several types of fushi to the sōshi. His performance impressed the emperor who bestowed upon him the name "Ninnen-dayū" 任晩大頭 (157–58).
While the author of the *Ryoshuku mondō* provides two alternative histories of the *kusemai*, together they are consistent on several points with the genealogies of the Kōwaka family and the *Jikaishū*.

The first of these similarities is the content of the *kusemai* performances. The Kōwaka family genealogies claim that the patriarch of the family first performed *sōshi*, or stories that were contained in booklet form. Both accounts in the *Ryoshuku mondō* affirm that it was not short songs or even dance that formed the core of the *kusemai* performing art. Moreover, the *Ryoshuku mondō* reveals that the claims by twentieth century performing arts scholars were correct, the members of the Kōwaka family were not descended from an illustrious warrior of the fourteenth century, but rather they were but one of many groups of *shōmonji* performers active in the capital during the late-medieval period.
2.4.2 Shūgen and the Performance Contexts of the Kusemai

In addition to these two works, the diary records of the period provide us with glimpses of the activities of the shōmonji and their performance of other arts during this period. The Oyudono no ue no nikki 御湯殿の上の日記, for example, gives us valuable insights into the performance of the kusemai during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The successive authors of this ongoing diary of the happenings at the imperial palace diligently note the performances that occurred annually at the beginning of the year in the presence of the emperor.

On the nineteenth day of the first month of Bunmei 17 (1485), for example, the diarist records that sensumanzai—with chigo and other performers among their ranks—attended the palace and danced. Their performance, as the diarist notes, gave all present the keen sense that good fortune was to come their way (qtd. in Ichiko 280). The diary is punctuated by these annual performances of sensumanzai.
that marked the beginning of the year. Again, a few years later, the diarist records that on the sixth day of the first month of Meiō 5 (1496) the Kitabatake 藤原 troupe of shōmonji came to the imperial palace and performed the senzumanzai (qtd. in Ichiko 286). Likewise, in several other diary records of the period we see that several different troupes of shōmonji, including members of the Kōwaka troupe were performing the senzumanzai and the kusemai well into seventeenth century.

The performance of the senzumanzai had significant influence upon how the new kusemai developed during the Sengoku period. The senzumanzai took shape as a ritual type of performance during the Heian period. At the beginning of the year, the senzumanzai would visit the imperial palace as well as homes of aristocrats to pray for blessings and good fortune in the coming year. Their performances were not limited to the New Year, but included occasions such as the brewing of sake 酒 and the beginning of constructions of buildings (Shinsarugakuki 4). In the Kamakura period, the shōmonji took over 171
their performances introducing it into such contexts as fund raising events held at temples and shrines (Morimatsu 75).

Originally, the *senzumanzai* performers held a pine branch and stood at the gates of homes while chanting, but later the *shōmonji* took upon the style of *maï* performers who were popular with aristocratic patrons. By the Muromachi period, the dress of the *shōmonji* was nearly indistinguishable from other *maï* performers (Morimatsu 72). A priest of the Shōkokuji 相国寺 temple in Kyoto remarked upon the *senzumanzai* of the time in which the Kōwaka-dayû was performing on the stages of the capital. He says that *senzumanzai* are a certain type of beggars who perform annually at the beginning of the year. They visit homes and sing (*utau* 歌う) felicitous words (*shūgen*) (*Gaun nikken roku* 歌雲日件録 qtd. in Morimatsu 72).

While *senzumazai* appears to have been performed by specialists from its beginnings before the Nara period until the middle of the medieval period, by the mid-fifteenth century *shōmonji* had begun to perform the *senzumanzai*, as well (Morita 146). As the performing art
changed hands, the style also evolved, most likely because the shōmonji were also performing the kusemai. Diary records from the period indicate that the senzumanzai was “standing and dancing” and on other occasions it was “sitting and singing.” Both of these styles relied upon the beating of a drum to set the rhythm (Morita 157). Therefore, there seems to have been cross-fertilization between the kusemai and the senzumanzai. The shōmonji brought the felicitous mood that infused their New Year’s performances to other occasions on which they entertained audiences (Morita 158).

Their felicitous performances often included the chanting of written documents as a dictionary from the mid-fifteenth century indicates. The author of this dictionary makes a distinction between two types of shōmonji thus providing a rationalization for the use of two different graphs for the term. The original way of writing shōmonji was with the graphs for “voice” 声 and “listen” 聞, meaning that they stood at the gates of the homes of ordinary citizens and beat a metal drum while singing the praises of the Buddhist dharma.
or chanting petitions for enlightenment. The way it had come to be written with the graphs for “chant” 唱 and “gate” 門 indicates that they stand at the gates of homes and chant sutras (Ainôshô 信行抄 qtd. in Asahara Kōwaka-bukyoku kô 118).

While diary evidence such as that above has caused some consternation to those scholars who have attempted to reconstruct the origins and development of the kōwaka-mai, what the evidence shows us is much more interesting and instructive for our understanding of how the texts of the kōwaka-mai took shape over several decades as part of the vibrant culture of Sengoku-period Kyoto.

The diary evidence first tells us that several troupes of shōmonji were active during this period. They performed not only the kusemai, but also the senzumanzai (not to mention sarugaku). The Kōwaka troupe, while active from the mid-fifteenth century, only gained its favored stature in the late sixteenth century when it was patronized by such influential warriors such as Oda Nobunaga and later by the Tokugawa shoguns. By the beginning of the Edo period, the
members of the Kōwaka troupe stood alone as the preserver of the kusemai tradition of a century earlier while the other troupes of shōmonji had turned to other types of performing arts to suit the tastes of their audiences.

Second, once we dispense with the assumption that the new style of kusemai was the exclusive creation of the Kōwaka troupe that was then adopted by other performers, we can assume that the creation of the repertory took place over several decades, years in which the various troupes of shōmonji competed in a very small circle, the capital, hoping to gain financial reward. Their performance of the senzumanzai allowed them into the halls of the imperial palace and into the homes of courtiers, and was an important context for the performance and composition of the repertory. Most likely in this environment of competition for patronage, the shōmonji shared (perhaps obtained surreptitiously) pieces that they were regularly performing. By the 1530s, these pieces had been written down into daihon and books for reading. At this point, the Kōwaka troupe of
shōmonji found favor with those in power producing a division among the performers of decades before. The kusemai, then, developed from the performances of the shōmonji who were performing in addition to the kusemai, senzumanzai a felicitous and ritual performance at the beginning of the year.

Many scholars have noted the importance of the shōmonji on the development of medieval performing arts. Yanaçita, for example, describes the shōmonji as menials in service at large temples. At the same time, these temples employed these shōmonji as mediators with the Otherworld, as performers of felicitous performing arts. The shōmonji commonly took the suffix “-tayū” to their names hinting at the true profession of the early Kōwaka-dayū (XI 437).

Orikuchi as well saw the shōmonji as vital to the culture of late medieval Japan. He describes the shōmonji in reference to his theory of Japanese culture, stating that I the spring these shōmonji would appear and perform for the blessing of the community and then return (XII 178). By tying the performances of the shōmonji to the
spring, Orukuchi implies that the shômonji performed the same function as the senzumanzai. Later he makes this connection explicit in its relationship to the kôwaka-mai. “It is best,” he writes, “that we consider that the kôwaka-mai chanted [tonaeru 唄える] the manzai and narrative poetry. In fact, the kôwaka-mai has the same fixed structure as the senzumanzai that was performed by the shômonji. While it is called ‘mai,’ there is little about it that could be called ‘dance’” (XII 178). Orukuchi describes the structure of manzai as “jitate 言い立て, stating, “The form of manzai is naming [jitatateru 言い立てる] one by one the items in a house such as the pillars and in doing so the entire household is blessed” (XII 227).

A word that is often used when speaking about the performances of the shômonji and the senzumanzai is “shûgen” which we can gloss as either “felicitous“ or “celebratory.” In the ancient period, the idea of shûgen was closely connected with the concept of the kotodama 言霊, or the belief that the tama resided in all living things and could be called upon to bring about good fortune or to avert disaster.
In the Heian period, the idea of shūgen was incorporated into waka poetry often appearing as a separate category of poems in the imperial anthologies. In the Kamakura period, shūgen was connected with the performing arts, especially with senzumanzai. The author of the Myōgoki 明語記 (1279) echoes the definition of the senzumanzai given by the Ainōshō. The author of this dictionary describes the performance of senzumanzai in the following way. “As for the senzumanzai, recently at the new year, a beggar from an outcaste area dressed in the robes of an ascetic appeared. In his hand he carried a small twig of a pine tree and chanted all kinds of felicitous words [shūgen]” (qtd. in Morimatsu 72).

By the Muromachi period, shūgen had become an integral part of the performing arts. Zeami’s use of the term shūgen gives us an idea of what the concept meant for the performing arts of the fifteenth century. In the Go’on, Zeami contrasts shūgen with another type of vocal quality, bōoku 亡意, or “inauspicious.” The shūgen style of vocal delivery, he describes as “forceful” (tsuyoki onsei 強き音声).
and “joyful” (yorokobu koe 喜ぶ声) (Omote and Katô 76). Later, in the same work, Zeami gives examples of some of the phrases that are commonly used in the shûgen style. These words include the concluding phrases such as “...the protection of the nation in this reign (...kokudo anzei no tōdai nari 国土あんぜゐの当代也) and “...the sun in heaven spreads its light wide, the nation prospers and pacifies the hearts of its people. The emperor’s reign will be blessed!” (amaterasu hi mo kage hiroki, mizuho no kuni wa yutaka nite, tami no kokoro mo isami aru. Miyo no osame ha arigataya arigataya 天照らす日も影広き、みづほの国は豊かにて、たみの心もきさみある、御代のおきめはありがたや、ありがたや) (Omote and Katô 79). Moreover, as part of the jo-ha-kyû 序破急 structuring principal of the sarugaku, shûgen pieces commonly were performed at the beginning of a program, creating the appropriate mood for a performance.

In addition to characterizing the performances of the shômonji as felicitous, the Jikaishû and the Ryoshuku mondô indicate that the content of the pieces were not short lyric songs, but rather the main
fare of the kusemai of the Sengoku period were the histories of temples and shrines, in other words foundation myths. One of the possible performing arts from which the kusemai developed was the shirabyōshi of the late Heian and early Kamakura periods. The performances of the shirabyōshi of the Heian period were short song and dance pieces, however by the early fourteenth century, performers had incorporated the foundation histories of temples and shrines into their performance. Likewise, the author of the Ryoshuku mondō also described the kusemai of the early fifteenth century as “the origins of the buddhas and the bodhisattvas.”

Along with their performances at the New Year, one of the most prominent venues for the new kusemai was the subscription (kanjin) performance. Temples and shrines officials faced with destroyed or deteriorated temple structures, employed the shûmonji to perform in order to solicit funds for the building or repair of religious edifices. From the mid-fifteenth century and well in to the later half of the
sixteenth century, the shōmonji were actively performing at various temples and shrines in the Kyoto and Nara area.

Of the many temples and shrines that solicited the services of the shōmonji and their performance of the kusōmai during this period, the great centers of political power and popular belief in Nara stand out as exemplary. Beginning in the 1460s and continuing through the early years of the 1510s, the Gangōji 元興寺 temple employed the shōmonji, including the Kōwaka troupe, to perform the kusōmai at kanjin campaigns (Ichiko 276-289). One can imagine the sense of longing on the part of all participants at these kanjin campaigns, held within the precincts of the Gangōji, a monument to the ancient past, that had been destroyed by ikki 一揆 uprisings and natural disasters.17

Kanjin campaigns, of course, were not new to Sengoku Japan, having begun soon after the Buddhist religion entered Japan. While temples and shrines could rely upon patronage of the aristocrats and courtiers during the ancient and classical periods, with the demise 181
of the old order and the establishment of a military government in
Kamakura, the old shōen system began to decline. With the decline
in state and court funds, temples and shrines saw the steady and
reliable stream of money that they had enjoyed for many centuries
slowly disappear (Goodwin 62, Hyōdō 123).

In order to establish new sources of funding, religious
institutions turned to preaching and subscriptions performances as
new avenues to ensure their buildings and clerics were adequately
provided for. Moreover, to gain new converts and establish their
authority over the surrounding districts, religious institutions
produced written documents that included the narratives of the
founding of the temple or shrine, descriptions of its buildings, its
treasures and the miracles that had occurred there (Goodwin 57). Itinerant preachers and performers in turn spread these works
throughout the Japanese archipelago.

To create the mood in which audiences would readily part with
their money, the shōmonji performed the foundation myths highlighting
the miraculous beginnings of the temple or shrine in which the audience stood (Tokuda “Chûsei no kanjin” 9). The increase in the number of kanjin performances in the post-Önin period pressed temples and shrines to offer more interesting and exciting performances to attract paying audiences (Ogasawara 36-37). The troupes of the sarugaku offered fantastic and large-scale pieces (Yamanaka 51), the kusemai introduced pieces from the shôdô preaching circuit and later pieces based on the war tales of the medieval period.

2.5 Performance of the Kusemai in the Sengoku Period

2.5.1 Zeami on the Kusemai

In addition to historical records and genealogies, Zeami’s treatises on the sarugaku, or Noh, give us a glimpse at the kusemai in its years of decline. The appearance of kusemai performers such as Kôwaka-dayû in the mid-fifteenth century dramatically changed the fortunes of the kusemai, a performing art that seemed to be on the
verge of extinction. The popularity of the style of kusemai that the legendary patriarch of the kōwaka-mai founded lasted well into the early years of the Tokugawa Shogunate and became a particular favorite of the warrior class elite nationwide.

What brought about the decline and rebirth of the kusemai was the relationship between this mai genre and the dramatic genre of sarugaku. In the late-fourteenth century, Kan’ami and his son Zeami brought about a renaissance in the sarugaku in large part by appropriating the structure of the kusemai. Consequently, our twentieth-century view of the early kusemai has been filtered through the lens of Zeami’s treatises on the sarugaku’s history and development, dramaturgy and performance.

In his discussions on the sarugaku, Zeami frequently refers to the influence that the kusemai had upon the development of his art. His descriptions, we should note, were written during a period when his own art form had nearly eclipsed the popularity of the kusemai. Yet, diary records from the mid-fifteenth century indicated that in
the post-zeami era there was a boom in performance of kusemai, a phenomenon that we have seen was directly connected with the appearance of new performers of shōmonji such as the Kōwaka-dayū who appears frequently in the performance records of the fifteenth century. The artists of the various shōmonji troupes transformed the kusemai from an art that was noted for its two-part song and dance performances into longer, unified narrative and dance performances. These new kusemai performance pieces were largely based upon the tales of the Heike, the Soga monogatari and the Gikeiki, but they also included narratives that were taken from the world of shōdō preaching.

In the Shikado 紫花道 (1420), Zeami states that the two basic elements of a sarugaku performance are chant and dance: “nikyoku to mōsu ha buga nari” 二曲と申は舞歌なり (Cmote and Katō 112). We find throughout the body of his works that Zeami places importance upon these two elements. One of the most important performing arts that influenced the restructuring of the sarugaku was the kusemai. In several treatises, Zeami defines for us what the kusemai was during
the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Rhythm, Zeami explains, is the essential element of the kusemai with the body setting the rhythm for a performance as it is accompanied by music (Ongyoku kuden 音曲口伝 in Omote and Katô 77). Indeed, it was not the vocal melody that was the essential element of the kusemai of the fourteenth century; rather, it was the rhythm that was set by the beating of a fan or even the rhythm that the sound of a flute produced that guided physical movements (Kakyô 花鏡 in Omote and Katô 87).

In explaining how rhythm was essential to the kusemai, Zeami contrasts the kusemai with other types of singing that existed at the same time, most notably the ko-uta 小唄. It was the blending of these two popular forms, the kusemai and the ko-uta, that became one of the new arts that were performed by the sarugaku performers during the late fourteenth century; and even though it was still called “kusemai,” it was so completely different from the kusemai of former days that Zeami, writing in the 1420s, doubts that one could really call it “kusemai” at all (Omote and Katô 150).
In his *Ongyoku kuden* (written in the 1420s sometime after the Sandô in 1423), Zeami writes of the *kusemai*, comparing it to other types of melody. He calls attention to performers to have a clear understanding of the differences (Omote and Katô 77). The "kuse" of *kusemai* infers that the melody of the *kusemai* is just ordinary melody. Zeami warns, on the contrary, that the melody of the *kusemai* has special characteristics. Indeed it differs from other types of melody as black is different than white. The melody "kuse" of the *kusemai* is accompanied by the character for dance, "maï." Since it is written as a compound word, the melody of the *kusemai* is of a very different order than that of other melodies. The rhythm of the body directs the melody of the performance. The primacy of the body can also be seen in his explanation of the character for "maï." In the *Sarugaku dangi* 申楽談義, Zeami points out that "maï" means to "stand and dance" (Omote and Katô 276), a point he echoes in the *Ongyoku kuden* where he calls *maï* "standing and singing" (Omote and Katô 77). Thus, we can conclude that the *kusemai* of Zeami's time
was a combination of dancing (mai) and singing (kuse) that was distinguished by its rhythmic quality.

The dance style that Zeami’s father Kan’ami introduced into his restructuring of the sarugaku owed a great deal to the kusemai as well. Kan’ami himself was intimately familiar with the kusemai, having studied and performed it with a troupe in the Yamato region. Zeami writes of his father’s relationship with the kusemai performers in the Go’on, stating that Kan’ami studied with the kusemai performer Otozuru 乙鶴 of the Kagajo 賀歌女 troupe (Omote and Katō 223). Alongside this troupe of female kusemai performers were four others that had ceased to exist: Kamidō 上道, Shimodō 下道, Nishinotake 西岳 and Tenjiku 天竺.

Zeami implies that the troupes of male performers of kusemai had all disappeared and that the final surviving troupe of kusemai performers was the female performers of the Kaga troupe kusemai who had descended from the older Hyakuman 百万 troupe of the Nara area. Yet, this was not the case. Zeami here is talking about what he terms
“michi no kusemai” 道ノ曲舞 or professional performers of kusemai.

Although at the time of the writing of the Go’ on, completed sometime before 1432, all of the kusemai performers had disappeared, kusemai was flourishing in the hands of the shômonji.

Examples from diary evidence give us an idea of the continued and growing popularity of kusemai in the early fifteenth century. For example, in 1427 the Myôhôin 妙法院 and the Daigoji 醍醐寺 temples in the outskirts of Kyoto held kanjin kusemai on two consecutive days, featuring a young boy of the shômonji class. Two years earlier, the same boy had performed kusemai at the Rokkakudô 六角堂 and the Kiyomizudera 清水寺 temples. (Manzaijugô Nikki 滝渓准後日記 qtd. in Ichiko 274-275). Five years later, the Kitano 北野 and Inari 稲荷 shrines held kanjin kusemai as well, which were noted for featuring chigo as the main performers (Kanmongyoki qtd. in Ichiko 275).

The most notable performance during these lean years for the kusemai was held at the Rokkakudô 六角堂 on the first day of the tenth month of 1423 (Ôei 30). Nakahara no Yasutomi 中原康富 (1399-1457)
records on this day that several shōmonji from the surrounding provinces of Ōmi 近江, Kawachi 河内, and Mino 美濃 descended upon the Rokkakudō and performed kusemai over several days. Those in charge of the event set up several stands to seat the large number of people that the performances drew.

Given the popularity of the kusemai performances such as this one in 1423, we can conclude that it was only the professional troupes of kusemai when Zeami and Kan’ami appropriated the kusemai into their new sarugaku. Kusemai continued to develop independently of the sarugaku increasing in popularity throughout the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The increasing popularity in the kusemai seems to be accompanied by the audiences’ preferences for seeing a variety of performers as well including men, women, and young boys.

Although we know that the shōmonji continued to perform the kusemai in the capital during the early fifteenth century what they were performing remains unclear. Zeami, writing in the years marked by increased activity of shōmonji performing kanjin kusemai notes,
“in former ages, the kusemai was an independent art form; it was not performed by other artists. Recently it has been taken up by others who have added to the original kusemai other types of song, which is quite enjoyable” (Omote and Katô 77).

Interpretation of Zeami’s comments on the kusemai has been wrought with difficulties: it is often impossible to know whether he is referring to the kusemai before it was appropriated by the sarugaku or to the sarugaku as it was modified by him and his father. Zeami uses two Chinese characters for the term “kusemai.” The first of these consists of two characters: “kuse” written with the graph meaning “melody” or “bend,” and “mai” meaning “dance.” He uses this compound in the Sandô (1423) when talking about the female roles of the sarugaku, saying, “Then there are Hyakuman, Yamamba 山姥, and the like, characters in the kusemai style [...] write with detailed attention to the authentic kusemai [michi no kusemai] style [...]” (Quinn 72). Here, as Quinn’s translation suggests, Zeami uses the two-character compound to refer to the kusemai as it was before he
and his father modified it. In his later work, the Go'on (prior to 1432), he uses the term "michi no kusemai" with the same two-character compound when talking of the five troupes of kusemai performers that existed during his father's lifetime. The discussion of structure of the classical kusemai in the Sarugaku dangi (1430) also uses the two-character compound.

Zeami uses the same compound term when discussing the etymology of the word "kusemai" in the Ongyoku kuden (early 1420s) and in the Fushizuke shidai 曲付け次第 (early 1420s, after Ongyoku kuden). In the former, he contrasts this two-character "kusemai" with what he calls "kokusemai," a concatenation of "kusemai" and "koutabushi." He states, "As for the authentic kusemai [kusemai no todō 曲舞の当道], it was not widely sung [utau]; but in recent years the kusemai has been softened and now that it is sung combined with the koutabushi, it is now particularly interesting. This is what has become widely performed today and is known as ‘kokusemai’ 小曲舞" (Omote and Katō 77). In the latter quotation, he contrasts the authentic kusemai with
the new, modified kusenmai, here called "kusenmai" but compounding the two-character term with the character "fushi" meaning "melody" or "knot" (Omote and Katō 150).

The meaning of this substitute character is clearly different from the former two-character compound that Zeami uses to refer to the authentic kusenmai. Zeami speaks here of the new style of kusenmai stating, "Today, what is called koutabushi-kusenmai is kusenmai that is sung as tadauta. This style can be heard everywhere these days. It is graceful, in the style of yugen. This style, even though it is called kusenmai, it is difficult to call a melody of the kusenmai" (Omote and Katō 150). The two-character compounds for "kusenmai" here suggest that these two terms refer to the same thing.

Omote Akira notes that these two orthographic renderings of the term "kusenmai" are leveled in other variant texts, and goes on to argue that the contrast that Zeami makes is between the koutabushi-kusenmai (kokusenmai) and the kusenmai (Omote and Katō 449).
Zeami’s treatises reveal to us that from the 1420s through the early 1430s there was a new type of *kusemai* that was being performed. Even though it was called "*kusemai*," it was quite different from the *kusemai* that was performed by his father in the late fourteenth century. The new *kusemai* was a combination of *koutabushi* and *kusemai*, and this new style was widely popular during the early fifteenth century.

We recall that Ikkyū, writing two decades later, described the *kusemai* as performances of prose works such as the *Heike* and *engi* of temples and shrines. From Zeami’s own record of the *kusemai* pieces of his father and the *kusemai* master Ebina no Namuamidabutsu 老名の南無阿弥陀仏 (also known as "Na’a" 南阿), we know that the content of the *kusemai* pieces *Shirahige* 白髭 (an *engi* piece), *Yura no minato* 由良湊 (a *monogatari* piece), *Jigoku* 地獄 (a description of hell), *Tōgoku kudari* 東国下 (based upon the *Heike monogatari*) and *Saikoku* 鬼国下 were all narratives, not short songs. Thus, we can be certain that both the authentic *kusemai* as well as the *kusemai* of
the early to mid-fifteenth century were performing similar if not the same pieces.

2.5.2 "Reading" Performance: *Yomi* and the *Kusemai* Style

The *Yasutomi*ki describes the competitive nature of *kusemai* during the early fifteenth century. The diarist notes that members of different *shōmonji* groups and other performers came to the capital and competed with each other in 1423 (qtd. in Ichiko 274). As the leader of the Kōwaka group of *shōmonji* from Echizen province, Kōwaka-dayū became a leading figure performing *kusemai* in the capital region. His possible connection to Mt. Hiei gave him access to new *sōshi* and brought him into contact with other performing arts including *shōmyō*. Having connections with either the major temples of the time or members of the nobility, the *shōmonji* gathered around them a certain number of *sōshi* that would have been available at the time. Their own particular style of performance was what
distinguished him from the other performers. By the end of the fifteenth century, the pieces that the Kôwaka troupe performed became the core of the kusemai.

We know from the diary evidence of the fifteenth century that the Kôwaka-dayû and other shômonji performers' style placed less stress on the physical movements of mai. In diary entries before 1442, no reference is made to the vocal quality of kusemai performance. In 1423, at the great competition held for kusemai performers, the performance of the kusemai is described as a spectacle (Yasutomiki qtd. in Ichiko 274). In other words, the kusemai was something to be seen. Again in 1427, at a subscriptions performance at the Myôhôin temple in the capital, a diarist describes the kusemai as a spectacle or an event: the dress of the men and child kusemai performers are much more important for the diarist (qtd. in Ichiko 275). Concurrent with Kôwaka-dayû's emergence onto the stages of the capital, we find that audience cum diarists of the latter half of the fifteenth century
became interested in the vocal quality of the kusenmai performances as well.

Kôwaka-dayû’s own performance was noted for its deeply moving musical style and his beautiful appearance. The performance was so moving that Kôwaka-dayû was summoned to perform over the next three days. Kôwaka-dayû’s four-day stint seems to have had a great impact on how the kusenmai was performed and appreciated. The Yasutomi-ki records a performance of “kôwaka” that is described as “singing.”

Again, the Oyudono no ue no nikki records several performances of kusenmai at the imperial palace throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. On the twelfth day of the first month of 1477, a kusenmai performance was held for the emperor. The diarist describes the performance as “singing” (qtd. in Ichiko 278). Again, on the twentieth day of the same year, another performance of kusenmai was “sung” (qtd. in Ichiko 278). Later, on the eighth day of the first month in 1481, another performance of the kusenmai was held at the
imperial palace that the court lady describes as “speaking/reciting” (mōsu) (qtd. in Ichiko 279). \(^{20}\)

Throughout the 1480s, several kusemaï performers, including members of the Kōwaka troupe, were regularly featured on the stages of the capital and Nara. In each of these cases, the performers are not described by their appearance or physical dancing ability, rather they are noted for their singing or chanting ability. Likewise, diarists describe the reception of the kusemaï by audience in similar terms; they are people who “listened” to the performance. Aural rather than visual reception had become the definitive mode of appreciation by this time, the former of which is more common in the pre-1442 diary entries.

The new style of performance introduced by the various troupes of shōmonji in the capital under the leadership of performers such as Kōwaka-dayū, then, captured the ears of audiences in the late fifteenth century. Yet, what pieces, what they were actually “singing” is not recorded by diarists. Until the performance of Tada
no manjū 多田満仲 in 1498, there are no records of what kinds of pieces the shōmonji were performing, and even its inclusion in this diary record seems to be an anomaly: there are no other instances of the titles of pieces being cited until the Tenbun era (1532-1555).

Yet, accounts by Ikkyū and by the author of the Ryoshuku mondō, tell us that the pieces were not short songs. The repertory of the kusemai included prose pieces that were either pieces based upon the events of the Genpei wars, or pieces that were derived from the vast number of foundation myths in wide circulation during the medieval period. The Jikaishū suggests that before the Ōnin war, the art of the shōmonji was probably the recitation of histories (shi). Scholars, such as Fukuda, have understood “shi” to be a term referring to stories of the Genpei wars, including the Heike (Kôwaka-bukyoku 153). The shōmonji introduced a new style of recitation of the Heike, gained access to other works, and added their style of recitation to those works as well. The Kôwaka genealogies some two hundred years later describe Kôwaka-maru’s performance style in a similar way,
either stressing his superior singing style or pointing to the unique melodies that he added to existing booklets.

When we compare the descriptions of the kusemai in the Jikaishū and the Ryoshuku mondō taken along with the legends contained in the Edo period genealogies of the Kōwaka family as well as contemporary audiences’ descriptions of the performances and the scripts of the Kōwaka-mai, it is clear that the kusemai of the Sengoku period developed from an art of reading aloud, or a style that was like reading aloud, to an art of recitation. As a form of “vocal literature,” the written text was central to this performing art.

In summation, we can say that while there is reason to doubt the historical accuracy of these genealogies that were written in order to erase any trace of the kōwaka-mai’s roots in the performances of the shōmonji, we can see that they still hold much truth about the early performance of the kōwaka-mai. Historical documents of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries corroborate much of the general outline of the Kōwaka-maru legend. The Kōwaka-dayū that appears so
regularly on the stages of Kyoto throughout this period was most likely not an individual person rather it signifies the master performers who headed the entire troupe.

As the leader of the Kōwaka troupe of shōmonji who were based in Echizen province, the first Kōwaka-dayū became one of several leading figures performing kusemai in and around the capital. The shōmonji had connections to religious institutions and the homes of courtiers, where they had access to new sōshi. As traveling performers, the shōmonji were brought into contact with other performing arts including shōmyō and other types of performance. What we have now come to know as the Kōwaka-mai style placed less stress on the physical movements that are suggested by the term “mai” and the appearance of the performers, and instead the essential quality of the performance centered on the voice.

In diary entries before 1442, I have noted that diarists make no mention of the vocal quality of kusemai performance. After the Kōwaka-dayū's debut on the stages of Kyoto, we find that diarists...
of the latter half of the fifteenth century were charmed by the vocal quality of the kusemai performances, as well. Kōwaka-dayū’s own performance was noted for its deeply emotional musical style in addition to his graceful appearance that audiences had come to expect. Word soon spread of his excellent performance, and Kōwaka-dayū was summoned by the emperor to perform over the next three days. Kōwaka-dayū’s four-day engagement at the imperial palace seems to have had a great impact on how the kusemai was performed and appreciated.

Together, the Edo period genealogies, the Jikkaishū, and the Kyoshuku mondō tell us that the Kōwaka troupe took the existing booklets and performed from them, adding their own unique melodies. After time this reading aloud (yomi) style became fixed and the texts were edited into scripts (daihon).²² At this point, their art form could be described as recitation (katari). The distinction between the two styles of performance yomi and katari may seem to be fine to the point of insignificance, but it allows us to trace the origins
of the kusemai through the development of their scripts from shōdō, or proselytizing. Evidence of the origins of the kōwaka-mai scripts in the shōdō texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries can be seen in the opening phrases of the extant kōwaka-mai pieces.

Both performance and content of the kōwaka-mai style were originally based upon a style of "reading aloud" or recitation of sōshi (Suda Katarimono 316-317). Fukuda writing on the distinction between yomi, katari, and hanashi states that "yomi" is a type of tonaeru (Shinwa 122-124). Although yomi originated in the same context as katari, its relationship to the audience is quite different. Katari originated in the possession of a miko who delivered the words of the kami in the oracle. In other words, the miko speaks first in the third person and gradually this third-person narrative switches into a first-person narrative. The narrator in effect becomes one with the narrated.

"Yomi" on the other hand, is directed toward the kami with the narrator remaining in the third person. The narrator or performer 203
is thus speaking on behalf of the audience to praise the kami and
insure that the kami looks favorably upon the audience. In the
context of shōdō, the yomi sections were originally those sections
in which the sponsor of the service is being conducted as well as
the intoning of sutras or other written documents.

Fukuda proposes a structural model of literary genres suggested
by his reading of Orikuchi. Kangoto 神言 (the words of the kami) are
analogous to langue, the unspoken, structure of language (Fukuda
Shinwa 123). Utterance and genre are determined first by the context
in which these words are transmitted and on the style of delivery.
Each of the three major genres of literature (utai and katari) is
a “medium” through which the words of the kami are given expression.
Utai is the lyric expressed in the first-person in metered, short
form. Katari is placed at the opposite end of the continuum. It is
narrative expressed in the third-person in long form. Yomi differs
from both katari and utai in that originally katari and utai were
forms of speech that were directed to an audience, transmitting the will and thoughts of the kami.

Yomi, on the other hand, were those utterances that were said to the kami on behalf of the audience, to bring about the blessings of long life and prosperity. In other words, they were felicitous utterances. The shōmonji as descendants of the hokaibito, also performed words of blessings at the imperial palace and at homes of the community, in contrast to the katari of the biwa hoshi, for example, that originated in the pacification of the souls of the dead at chinkon (requiem) services. The style of performance of yomi was more staccato-like, according to Fukuda, coming from the original meaning of "yomi" as the ability to call upon the kotodama (spirit existing in words) (Shinwa 127).

The origins in a yomi type (performed in felicitous or celebratory contexts) of narrative form can be seen in opening phrases "somosomo" or "sore"—phrases that pose many challenges for the translator, being formulaic phrases. These opening phrases, or
"keys," are often followed by "...no yurai wo tadunuru ni" の由来を
尋ぬるに or "when we trace the origins of..." Unfortunately, the
appearance of these phrases are less than consistent in the corpus
of the kōwaka-mai repertory, but they give us a clue to source of
the texts that came into the possession of the kōwaka-mai performers.

The shōmonji having access to temple and shrine foundation
myths, in either written or oral form, took written texts and reworked
them into performance scripts. The renown that followed their
successful performance of pieces such as Manjū (based on a fourteenth
century foundation myth) soon allowed them access to the homes of
influential warriors and courtiers. It is likely that in
"respectable" society the performers of the kusemai had access to
the stories of the gunki monogatari genre that they initially
performed then subsequently revised and added musical notation.

As diaries from the post-Ōnin era indicate, the pieces of the
kusemai repertory became fixed, yet the styles of performance and
variety of artists of the kusemai varied considerably, from women
to young boys and itinerant temple and shrine laborers. While the performances of members of the Kōwaka and Daigashira troupes became restricted to the halls of the Bakufu and regional daimyō from the late-sixteenth century onward, the repertory soon evolved into the other forms as these other performers created new and interesting styles for their audiences.23

Typical of the “yomi” style of performance were the foundation myths and the honji monogatari of the medieval period. These genres conventionally begin with the opening formulas sososomo or sore which are frequently followed by the set phrase “...no yuishō wo shi kuwashiku tazunuru ni...” or other such phrases that indicated that what was to follow was the noble lineage and history of the deity being honored. These performances were before Shinto or Buddhist deities facing the deity itself rather than the audience. For this reason “yomi” demanded both reverence and dignity of the audience.

Because the style of narration was chronicle-like, being the history of the events in the life of a deity, it appealed to the
audience’s sense of reality, the somosomo introductory phrase being commonly used in historical narration as well. Thus, yomi originated in furugoto, or a way of speaking about the past. The significant difference between yomi and katari was the narrator’s relationship with the story being narrated. In yomi, the narrator always maintains distance between himself and the narrated, while in katari the narrator displays an oneness or sympathy with the protagonist or narration. The kōwaka-mai then, stands somewhere between these two types of narrative stance, it maintains respectful distance during much of the narration while slipping only occasionally into modes of oral delivery in which the he assimilates (dōka) with the narrated.

2.5.3 Writing and the Performance Scripts of the Kōwaka-mai

Although I have not discussed directly the relationship between writing and performance of the kōwaka-mai, we can see from the genealogies and historical records that the new style of kusemai
introduced by the shōmonji in the fifteenth century was intimately tied to the world of written texts from the formation of the repertory to its dissemination through the medium of writing. In terms of performance textual evolution, writing was an essential part of the kusemai as indicated by the Jīkaishō and the Ryoshuku mondō. In addition to these works, some evidence from the diary record shows the complex relationship between the worlds of writing and performance.

The Tōshōji nezumi monogatari 東勝寺鼠物語 (1537) writes that there were thirty pieces of the kusemai (qtd. in Kobayashi 217) indicating, to Kobayashi, that the repertory became fixed from the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries.

Yet, it was not only through performance that the pieces of the kusemai were enjoyed. Texts that were meant for reading were also in wide circulation by the middle of the sixteenth century. The Shishinki 私心記 records, for example that in 1559, the piece Yashima, in book form was read (qtd. in Ichiko 292). Again, Yamashina Tokitsugu records in 1567 records that he read the kusemai book
Atsumori to the emperor (qtd. in Ichiko 293). Likewise, aristocrats were also writing down and transmitting the kusemai pieces in manuscript form. In 1544, Tokitsugu writes that he borrowed the Yūgao 夕顔 and Kiritsubo 桐壇 chapters of the Genji monogatari 源氏物語, as well as pieces of the kusemai to copy (qtd. in Ichiko 291).

In writing on the relationship between writing and performance, Nelson Goodman argues that the script with its system of notation contains the basic features of its identity as a work of art (209). This system of notation, both the language of the script itself and its musical notation, provides the guarantee that each performance is a performance of a specific work of art (129). On inspection of the extant texts of the kōwaka-mai, we find that there are no major differences between either of the major troupes of performers, nor between the scripts and the yomihon (versions for reading).

In a world of writing where texts (manuscript or printed) exist in large numbers such as it was in the sixteenth century due to both decentralization and increased growth in the merchant class, the
performance becomes more closely tied to the text (script) itself. A script licenses performance. It gives authority to the performer, in many ways supplanting the role of tradition as an “enabling referent.” The importance that contemporaries placed upon the texts as necessary for performance becomes apparent when we recall that when the Mōrike warrior family in Kyushu sent performers to Echizen to learn the art of the kōwaka-mai, one of the primary tasks given to them was to copy down the texts of the performing art (Asahara Kōwaka-bukyoku kō 131).

Along with the words themselves, an essential part of the kusemai scripts were their musical notation. Hirano Kenji 平野健二 writes of the relationship of the text to the music of “vocal literature,” saying that it is the words or libretto that has a great influence upon the musical aspects of all these genres of recited narrative. The words, he argues, have been “made musical” (33).

We can extend Hirano’s analysis of katari-mono genres to an analysis of the musical composition of the texts of the kōwaka-mai.
Again, James T. Araki's analysis of the contemporary performance of the kōwaka-mai precedes much of the work that was later done by Japanese scholars. Given that Araki's audience in the early 1960s was a scholarly readership outside of Japan, it is not surprising that in his analysis of the musical structure of the kōwaka-mai he emphasizes two aspects of its music and vocal delivery. The first of these is the relationship he constructs between the music of the kōwaka-mai and other Japanese performing arts. On the second of these he places much greater emphasis, the explanation of various musical terms used in the kōwaka-mai and possible equivalents in the Western musical tradition. Although his section entitled the "Melodies of the Kōwaka" includes much description of the tones and melodies used in the pieces, there is little about the relationship between the types of melodies and the relationship between the musical and narrative structures.

The most complete analysis of the musical structure of the kōwaka-mai again focuses upon the kōwaka-mai as performed in Kyushu.
today. Gamo Mitsuko 藤生美津子 and Kumada Susumu 久万田晋 correlate the three main types of vocal delivery with the structure of the narrative. Gamo and Kumada seek to systematize or standardize the various forms of *kyoku-fushi* 曲節 (melodies) that are used in the *kōwaka-mai*. These *kyoku-fushi* compromise the basic units of the musical composition of the *kōwaka-mai*. Within each of the *kyoku-fushi*, there are typical types of melodic structures, each of which does not stand independent of the other forms, but combine with other types of *kyoku-fushi* to form a "dan," a term that the authors borrow from the structure of Noh. Unfortunately, there are no extant primers on performance that indicate how the *kōwaka-mai* was performed, or how performers during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries view their art. *Dan* implies that there is a level of regularity in progression within each section of the piece, which is in general true, overstates the importance of the musical structure over the narrative structure. Instead, I prefer a more neutral term such as cycle, which emphasizes the idea that each section begins at a common
point progresses to a conclusion and then begins again. This nature of general similitude is important for the overall structure of the piece while allowing for variation within each section. Several dan together form a piece (kyoku). Some pieces have an intermediate division of the maki, of which there are typically two and can be performed independently of each other. Thus, Gamo and Kumada plot the structural composition from the macro to the micro levels as the following:

Senritsu 旋律 (melodic structure) > kyoku-fushi (melodies) > dan (sections) > maki 卷 (volume/chapter) > kyoku 曲 (piece) (20)

All the texts are constructed upon a regular musical structure based upon three major divisions in narration. Exposition is narrated with the kotoba (speech) narrative. The kotoba sections are make up the first part of each cycle describing the characters' actions, introducing new developments in the narrative or containing dialogue.
between the characters. Even though delivered in a chanting style, the rhythm approaches that of natural speech and the narrative itself reflects this style being nearly indistinguishable from expository prose.

The **kakari** and **iro** modes of delivery are the shortest of the three component parts of the cycle, being passages from the **kotoba** to the **fushi** or **tsume**. Reflecting their intermediate status, the **kakari** and **iro** display both narrative and lyric qualities being versified in 5/7 meter. When the **iro** occurs at the end of a cycle, the contents of the narrative are lyric, but the narrative is not verse-like as it is in **fushi**. It is here that we see the significance of Hirano's comment that **katari-mono** are words that have been made musical. Because the narrative content does not fit the conditions for **fushi**, this is the reason why **iro** is used in its place. When the **iro** is followed by **kotoba**, the **iro** functions as the conclusion of that cycle. As a marker of the cyclical structure, **iro** is rather weak.
when compared to the fushi and the tsume, yet when considered musically, it is sufficient to constitute the end of a cycle.

The fushi and the tsume make up the final section of a complete cycle both being versified in 5/7 meter and their content expressing pathos or tenseness. Of these two types of delivery, the tsume are the most numerous and are accompanied by the beating of a drum and a stomping-style of dance in which the main performer moves between the four corners of the stage. The tsume typically contains battles or felicitous types of narrative. When compared with the other types of kyoku-fushi, the fushi and the tsune are the most highly determined when compared with the types of narration. Each piece necessarily ends with the tsume; thus, the tsume marks a major break in the narration. It is also the most highly used type of kyoku-fushi in the kōwaka-mai. The tsume has an even stronger sense of a cyclical break than the fushi. The tsume also includes kakegoe, which the fushi does not.
While each kōwaka-mai piece progresses in a cyclical fashion from its beginning in the kotoba mode of delivery to either the fushi or the tsume mode, the importance of narration becomes apparent when we look at particular pieces. For example within one cycle, the kotoba recitation may be interrupted by a few lines in sashi or iro, and then return to the kotoba style of narration. Likewise, a few lines of kotoba narration may interrupt a longer fushi style of delivery, depending again on the content of the narration.

Differences among the variant texts are minimal, and all agree in regards to how each piece is divided up into cycles. In terms of the kotoba, for example, all of the texts on this type of kyoku-fushi agree. Some of the texts do not even mark the notation for kotoba since it is considered a matter of course, and is obvious by the type of narration. In the kakari and the iro (i.e. the development section) there is the most variety among the texts. Many use different terms, which may or may not refer to the same type of vocal delivery, or it may indicate the difference between the various
troupes, but we will never know. The fūshi and tsume sections, like the kotoba, are generally the same in all of the variant texts. Other terms used in the texts indicate how the piece was likely performed. For example, dōn 同音 refers to sections that are performed in unison, but are not specified for tsume or fūshi. However, from the narrative content it is perhaps obvious what type of vocal delivery is used in the section.

One major section can contain several cycles of speech-lyric alternations, but the final cycle necessarily ends with a rhythmic intonation. The tsume marks a major break in the narrative as well, either as the end of the entire piece, or as a major break in the narrative. In pieces, with more than one tsume cycle, the tsume divides the piece into major sections. With this basic musical vocalization, there is room for unlimited expansion or contraction, depending upon the content of the narrative itself.

With the tsume as the focus of the performance of the kōwaka-mai, the high point of each major section is the rhythmic chant and
stomping-like dance of the main performer. The musical structure is also tied closely to narrative development. The cyclical musical and narrative structure reflects the mythic character of the kōwaka-mai pieces: they are plotted on a harmony-inversion-restoration mythic pattern, which concludes with a tsūme returning the narrative to a harmonious plain. At this point of restored harmony, the piece reaches a conclusion or begins a new cycle again.

The tsūme is important for our reading and understanding of the kōwaka-mai as myth. By looking at the pieces and their narration through the performative structure, we can see its many layers of mythic significance: how basic oppositions are set up and mediated through each of the major sections. It also allows us to see the affinities that each section has with the other sections on the structural level.

Formulas and motifs are fitted into these layers of mythic structure. As a means of understanding, themes, formulas, story-patterns, musical structure all served as keys for the audience,
facilitating communication with the performers that is essential for
meaning in performance. For example, the formula *ara itawashi ya* あら労はしや is understood by the audience or reader to presage some ill
that will befall the main character, likewise the formula *tozensa
no amari ni* 徒然さの余りに leads into a section that will bring a major
twist into the plot.

Characters within the narrative also have certain functions
in the narrative as well. Misawa 三澤 (1969) has shown how
characterization follows the simple opposition between the
protagonist and the antagonist or deuteragonist, Kamatari and Iruka
in *Iruka*, Shida no Kotarô 信太小太郎 and Oyama no Tarô
小山大郎 in *Shida* and Yuriwaka and Beppu 別府 in *Yuriwaka daijin*, for
example. Her analysis clearly shows affinities with Orikuchi’s
analysis of folklore, the performing arts and mythic narratives.

Anonymous figures such as servants, innkeepers, and itinerants
appear at opportune moments when there is some seemingly unavoidable
crisis in the narrative.30 Within the structure of the narrative,
these characters are *marebito*; they are nameless figures that appear to mediate between the conflicts between two binary oppositions. For example, the innkeeper in the piece *Shida* who appears out of nowhere to stop the young Shida from taking his own life is an example of how these characters function to move the plot forward beyond a seemingly insoluble point. In other pieces, entire major sections are constructed around the mediation of a dilemma. In *Iruka*, for example, Kamatari’s nameless, “beautiful daughter” is a *marebito* that crosses over to become Iruka’s wife in order that Kamatari can lure Iruka close to him and assassinate him. And in *Manjū*, Fujiwara no Nakamitsu substitutes his own son for Minamoto no Manjū’s in order that he can fulfill his loyalty to his masters: father and son.

2.5 Reading the *Kōwaka-mai* as Medieval Myth

Stith Thompson argues that the distinction between myth and the folktale is artificial. He notes that there is little agreement
in the use of the term myth, yet maintains that myth can certainly be regarded as one branch of the folktale. In contrast to the folktale, myth concerns the world as it was in some past age before the present conditions were established. It treats creation and origins, and therefore may be identical with creation and origin legends. When it handles adventures of the gods, it may well be identical with the fairy tale (The Folktale 9). In the preceding sections, I have endeavored to bring several threads of these theories about myth together to suggest that myth is not limited to "primitive" or "undeveloped" societies, but rather it is an important element in how societies come to know themselves and their culture.

From its inception, myth structures our understanding of our culture, our place in society and our society's place in the world. A structural analysis suggests that while myths may take the form of origin tales or epics of heroes, myth is much more powerful in its simplicity. The structures of myth lay bare the fundamental and culturally significant oppositions in a society constructed by that
society at a specific historical context. As such, myth is related not only to ritual but also to all other expressions of culture, as Orikuchi has shown us, the mythic opposition can be found in the arts, gardening social structures as well as in folk culture. Mythic narratives then are narratives that most are structured upon the fundamental oppositions in society, are set off by opening and concluding phrases and are performed in ritual contexts that give the narratives their “sacred” quality.

Seen in this way, myth is not necessarily limited to “primitive” society rather it can exist in any culture at any historical period, in mythic narratives which we can think of a those narratives that most closely lay bare the oppositions in a culture. This informing structure is significant for a culture, which creates its literature, folklore and other cultural forms in reference to these basic oppositions and the story-patterns that develop from them. Mircea Eliade suggests that it is only through a process he calls “mythicization” that historical figures become fully integrated into
a culture. This is a process of transformation of history into myth where myth serves as the “exemplary standard” by which a society constructs its heroes.

Underlying Eliade’s idea of mythicization is his assumption that myth precedes ritual, the latter being a reenactment of the former. We approach Truth by reenacting the lives of the deities. Although I have argued that it is not a prerequisite that myth precede ritual, however Eliade gives us some useful insights into the construction of myth.

Renewal of the world, Eliade reminds us, is culturally specific. It is always the world that one knows and in which one lives; it differs from one type of culture to another; hence, there are a considerable number of “Worlds” (Images 39). This being the case, Eliade finds that in most cultures the New Year rituals include destruction and recreation, the end of the last cycle and the beginning of the next cycle. These cycles are perhaps the strongest structuring principle in culture, yet even though the underlying principle is the same in
every culture, how it is enacted and expressed in each culture will be different. This is similar to structural analysis: all myths or languages are universally the same at a high level, but on the surface, they appear to be quite different.

Although I will not make universal claims, the importance of death and renewal associated with the turn of the year is an important element in Japanese culture from the construction of rituals of power associated with the cult of the imperial family, to the conception of the relationship of life and death as a continuous cycle. This emphasis on the eternal regeneration of life was not only an important part of both myth and ritual, but it was also a fundamental structuring principle in the oral traditions the performing arts and in literature.

Thus, it is that we find the ideology of myth lurking in the structure of the various genres of katari-mono to Noh and joruri. These mythic structures are tied in the primary instance to the origins of the performing arts in ritual contexts where their performance
was believed to have either felicitous or magical efficacy, or were believed to appease the souls of the dead. Rebirth seems, as Gerstle points out, to be the ultimate goal of all of the performing arts in the Japanese tradition (5).

While structural and formal analyses address both the forms and method of transmission, it does not address the question of content. As Eliade’s notion of mythicization suggests, the lives of historical personages become real only when their reality is erased and replaced by their reconstruction according to cultural archetypes. Through the process of mythicization, the cultural figures became a part of cultural Truth; their legends conform to archetypes that are constructed upon the basic oppositions in society (43).

It is in this vein, that I approach the analysis of five pieces of the kōwaka-mai. First, I show how each of the five pieces is structured both musically and narratologically upon basic oppositions and their mediation. As this performing art originated in the felicitous performances of the shōmonji in the fifteenth
century, their art was tied to contexts that determined their structure and form. From the late-fifteenth century through the mid-sixteenth century these felicitous contexts were primarily New Year performances and kanjīn performances, both of which I argue stressed the idea of renewal and restoration. Although the contexts in which the kōwaka-mai was performed gradually became more diverse, the contexts in which they took shape determined the fixed form of the pieces as well as the performing art’s ultimate patrons, the warrior class.

Second, I consider what story-patterns the performers/authors of the kōwaka-mai texts drew upon and how in reworking them into the musical structure of the kōwaka-mai drew linkages to rituals associated with rebirth enhancing the felicitous functions of the pieces. In relating the performance of these pieces to the culture of the Sengoku period, I show how their performance in felicitous contexts (New Year and kanjīn performances) gave a sense of “restoration” so needed by society at that time.
As an essential element in medieval myth, the pieces functioned to explain the current social, political and economic conditions in terms of its origins in the ancient world, or what Mary Elizabeth Berry has called a view of the world as it should be, “inspired by a normative past, that includes a confident vision of restoration” (132-133). The matters of a vision of a correct world and its restoration are reflected in the kōwaka-mai’s concern for proper relations between ruler and subject, master and vassal, rights of succession and heredity and an understanding of Japan as a unique ration.
Works in the Western scholarship on the Sengoku period have been cursory at best. This is especially true of the culture and the literature of the period. For a general overview of the period, see Elison and Smith.

See Varley for a discussion of the sources of the Ōnin war.

Donald Keene, for example, has proclaimed that this period was a time of "beginnings and ends" (in Elison and Smith 113). In his essay on the renga 連歌 poet Jōha Keen voices some of the standard interpretations of the arts in the Sengoku period. Of the performing arts born in the period many did not survive into the next century, however they "evolved" into the flower of Edo culture, the jōruri and Kabuki. Even Muroki Yatarō in his thorough study of the performing arts of the late-medieval period, frames his study as "transitional" or a "turning point" (tenkanki 転換期). Konishi Jin’ichi 小西甚一, on the other hand, has called the period "Japan's Renaissance and Baroque" noting that what was truly remarkable about the period was the spread of culture to all corners of society (IV 26).

For a valuable reinterpretation of the culture of the Sengoku period, see Mary Elizabeth Berry. She finds that the locus of meaning in the culture of the period is located in the lack of coherence in politics and social organization (13). The atmosphere of lawlessness, in fact, allowed new types of culture to flourish. In the introduction to his tome on the literature of the Azuchi-Momoyama period, Araki questions the traditional view of the literature and culture of the period as being the "beginnings of the pre-modern period" (17). His work challenges the views that the period was one of barrenness in comparison to the classical and high medieval periods. For a Marxist interpretation of the literature and culture of the medieval period,
see Marra.

5 The first chapter of vol. 4 of Nihon geinô-shi deals with the culture of this period, the Tên bun era, which roughly encompasses a hundred year period from the mid-fifteenth century to the Azuchi-Momoyama period.

6 Arnesen discusses the regional aspects of the Sengoku daimyô. He argues that the loss of central authority during this period led daimyô to seek ways of fortifying their grip on their local domains (190). The spread of culture from the center to the provinces was certainly one way in which daimyô could legitimate their rule over these territories. Culture, in this way, was a symbol of power reinforcing the importance of the cultural center, the capital.

7 See, for example, Marra’s reading of otogizôshi as parody, or in political terms, as the townsman class increased their economic power sought to appropriate the cultural capital (170-171). The kusemai, on the other hand, can be read as a reverse trend toward centralization, re-creating a mythology at a time when the world had lost its traditional center. The new sarugaku plays of this period introduced themes from the world of myth, as well (Yamanaka 52).

8 Ruch, for example, claims that all cultural products of the medieval period “preserve a realistic depiction of the period’s life. Through these works we are able to look in on the common culture of medieval Japan and to perceive it as it was experienced by men and women from all levels of society” (The Other Side 500-1). In another article, Ruch talks of the function that literature has for a nation saying, “[t]his literature [...] served basic needs that were shared by all classes equally: the desire to know about the conflicts and troubles that were afflicting the world, and the need to learn how to come to grips with or how to escape from the fear and depression such
calamities brought (Medieval 307).

9 For a study on the emergence of the kōwaka-mai (kusemai), the sarugaku and their dominance of the subscriptions performances in Kyoto from the post-Ōnin era through the Sengoku period see Ogasawara 38-48.

10 Scholars have pointed to the introduction of pieces based upon the gunki monogatari (war tales) genre of literature as the key revolution made by the Kōwaka troupe of kusemai performers that distinguished their art from that of the earlier kusemai performances. In particular, see Asahara 130, James T. Araki 14, and Konishi 131. Classification schemes have stressed the centrality of the gunki-mono in the kōwaka-mai repertory. Contrary to these assertions is the diary evidence that suggests that shōdō-mono (or, pieces that originated in the preaching activities at temples and shrines during the early part of the medieval period) or non-gunki-mono were the earliest performed pieces for the kōwaka-mai artists.

11 Unfortunately, there is no direct evidence that the shōdō-mono were the first pieces being performed by the shōmonji during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. We can, however, assume that they were deduced from the descriptions of kusemai by writers of the period and by the 1498 diary entry that records that shōmonji performed Tada no Manjū (Pokuo nichiroku 鹿苑日錄 qtd. in Ichiko 287).

12 Sasano reprints the various genealogies of the Kōwaka and Daigashira troupes in his study of the kōwaka-mai. I have taken all my quotations of the kōwaka-mai genealogies from this work.

13 As is already apparent, this dissertation struggles with the terms that the scholarship has forced it to use. I use the term kōwaka-mai
in deference to its acceptance in the Western scholarship. In the Japanese scholarship, "kōwaka-mai" refers to the performing arts aspect, including its performance in Kyushu. "Kōwaka-mai bukyoku" 幸若舞曲, however, refers to the texts and their analysis. Its "survival" in Kyushu prejudiced influenced the use of these terms--kōwaka-mai in Kyushu seen as the endpoint in evolution of the performing art. Interpretation of the origins and development of the kōwaka-mai in the period under consideration here have also biased use of the term. Here, as I will argue below, the "kōwaka-mai" as during the Sengoku period was performed by a number of troupes, not just the Kōwaka family. Although they received patronage in the late sixteenth century, the historical record paints a different picture: the popularity of kusemai during this period was truly phenomenal, enjoyed by all classes of people. Even though scholars have struggled with the historical records, consistent non-use of the term "kōwaka-mai" it is precisely because it was not "kōwaka-mai" during this time. Since scholarship uses this term, however, to refer to the kusemai as performed after the 1420s, I will use it interchangeably with "kusemai."

14 As with the Kōwaka genealogy two conflicting hypotheses have emerged in the scholarship on the Daigashira troupe. The first of these argues that the shōmonji performers of the kusemai traveled to Echizen to learn the new style of kusemai from the Kōwaka masters. See Matsuda. Having learned the new pieces, they returned to the capital and wrote these down into their own scripts (daihon). The second of these hypotheses comes again from Asahara who argues that we should not rush to doubt the Edo period genealogies produced by the kusemai performers. The Daigashira troupe, she states, was a branch of the Kōwaka troupe that then moved permanently to the Kyoto area. Thus, we can account for the closeness of the Kōwaka and the Daigashira texts by positing that this member of the Kōwaka family
had direct access to the texts of the Kōwaka family. See Inoura and Asahara 1968 and 1981 on this topic. Whichever position one wishes to take, both agree that unlike the texts of the Kōwaka troupe, the texts of the Daigashira were not kept secret. The culture in Kyoto during the sixteenth century begged for the texts to become published as yomi-mono, and consequently we find both yomi-mono texts and katari daihon coexistent during this period in Kyoto. On a related note, we see that the Mai no hon and the otogizoshi have no stories in common which suggests the contemporaneous existence of these two yomi-mono genres.

15 The term shōmon (Skt. sravaka) was originally a Buddhist term indicating the three vehicles (sanjō 三乗) by which sentient beings can achieve enlightenment. Shōmon, as the graphs suggest, means "gaining enlightenment through hearing the voice of the Buddha." Engaku 縁覚 is achieving enlightenment relying only upon one's own power. Bosatsu 菩薩 is achieving enlightenment while helping others to achieve enlightenment.

16 This interpretation is following Omote and Katō (80-81). They note here that Zeami is making a distinction between two types of vocal styles or melodies. They direct our attention to the Go' on where Zeami quotes upon a poem by the early Han poet Mao Xiang 毛亨 (J. Mōkō) drawing from this that shūgen is the sound of the world ruled by the way of heaven and thus living in peace. Bōoku, on the other hand is described as the ruin of the nation, full of sadness and suffering for its people (202).

17 See Davis for a discussion of the activities of the ikki movements during the Sengoku period.

16 These documents usually were called engi. Another term that we often find to refer to such documents is rukizaijō 流記資財帳, or
simply *ruki*. These were documents that each Buddhist temple prepared for annual court inspection. The common practice during the Nara and Heian periods was for temple officials to gather along with the provincial governor and other officials and record one by one the assets of the temple. In addition to *engi*, this record would have included the statues, sutras, ritual implements as well as the names of the priests and monks living there. The *engi* normally was the first item that was recorded in the *ruki*, adding prestige and authority to the temple.

On the development of the sarugaku during the years after Zeami and during the sixteenth century, see Takemoto 9-15, Yamanaka 42, and Yamanaka 52-52.

Although "*mōsu*" can also be a humble verb for "do," Suda (1995) suggests that it means "speak" or "say" in these diary entries (309-11).

As the *Jikajishō* and the *Ryoshuku monogatari* indicate, the performers of the *kusemai* during this period, the *shōmonji*, had access to the imperial palace unlike any other group of performers, and even recited the *Heike monogatari* before the emperor, prohibited to the blind *biwa-hōshi*. Having connections with either the major temples of the time or with members of the nobility, *Kōwaka-dayū* gathered around him a certain number of *sōshi* that would have been available at the time. Kawasaki argues that it was the Kōwaka-dayū's own particular style of performance that distinguished him from the other performers (82).

For a discussion of the creation of performance scripts, see Fukuda 1991 and 1996.
23 See Hoff 1985 for a discussion of how katari has developed in the Japanese scholarship as an alternative to Western genre and performance theories.

24 For a discussion of the different types of vocal performance and their historical sources, see Sakakura 7-13.

25 For the connection between these phrases and the origin in performance context especially the use of formulaic phrases, see Fukuda Chūsei 82-88, 124-140 and Fukuda Kōwaka-bukyoku 135-45. These phrases are keys to performance and were parts of the Buddhist service to expound through narrative example upon the sutra that was chosen for the specific occasion. See Konishi on the structure of Buddhist services (III 125-126).

26 Bauman, borrowing Goffmann's idea of frames, argues that performance is a "mode of language use, as way of speaking" (11). As a language, performance, or "verbal art," has its own discourse rule including formulas that set off, or frame, performance. The kōwaka-mai as a form of verbal art employs many keys. Here, opening phrases not only signal to the audience that a performance is beginning, but by using formulas from the genre of foundation myths, the performer indicates to the audience that a myth is going to be told. In response, the audience draws upon story-patterns of myth to guide their understanding of the recited story as the performer tells it.

27 For more on the relationship between the kōwaka-mai and the Noh, see Asahara Kōwaka-bukyoku kō 421-31, O'Neill Early 42-52, and James T. Araki (The Ballad 57-72).

28 As I have mentioned above, by the early part of the Tenbun period
(1530s) the texts of the kōwaka-mai were in general circulation in manuscript form. Kobayashi Kenji has also introduced this subject in a handful of articles in which he lists all of the non-script forms that the kōwaka-mai texts took from the early sixteenth century to the late Edo period, including painted screens, hand-painted scrolls and woodblock printed books. The illustrated printed editions of the Mai no hon that began to appear in the early seventeenth century lend support for the theory that I outline below on the structure of the kōwaka-mai. Identical or slightly modified wooden plates were used to illustrate similar scenes that occur in different kōwaka-mai pieces showing how the printers if not the audiences as well viewed these scenes as being analogous.

29 See Gerstle on the use of musical conventions as guides to understanding works that originated in vocal literature (62).

30 See, for example, Yuriwaka Daijin in which the marebito figure is a mysterious fisherman who appears on the shores of Genkaigashima 玄海ヶ島 to take Yuriwaka back to the mainland.

31 Shida provides an interesting comparison with Taishōkan. On the surface, these two pieces seem to be quite different, Shida is the story Shida Kotarō who is rightful heir to his father’s land but whose land rights have been given away by his mother. After many trials, he recovers his land rights and his descendants prosper.

Structurally, these two pieces are strikingly similar. In the second section of each of these pieces, for example, it is a female who bridges the two worlds: Shida’s sister secretly handing over the deeds to the manor and the Dragon Girl who steals the jewel. In the first and third sections of Shida, as well we see a similar structure. In the first section, Shida’s elder sister is given in marriage to Oyama Tarō (who is given the rights to the land) and in the third
section; Shida's sister takes the tonsure and travels over the breadth of Japan in search of her brother.

32 Kirk finds that the difference between the folktale and the myth lies in the forms of logic that they use. The logic of myth, he argues, "is paradoxical [and] operates independently of supernatural components, which apply to both myth and the folktale" (39-40).

33 Here, I borrow Abraham's notion of performance as "enactment." He explains that even though performances are set off by frames that license performers and participants to act in ways different from everyday life, this does not mean that there is no relationship between these two modes. Enactments bring "the motives and scenes of the everyday [...] into some new perspective, allowing us to see them as part of some larger patterns of existence" ("Toward" 80-81).
CHAPTER 3

IRUKA AND TAISHOKAN:

THE KAMATARI LEGEND IN THE KÔWAKA-MAI

3.1 Introduction

The focus of Chapter 3 through Chapter 6 will be my analysis of five pieces of the kôwaka-mai that are set in the world of the ancient and early classical periods. Scholars, basing their division of the kôwaka-mai pieces on different criteria, have variously classified these pieces as "pieces set in the ancient world" (kodai-mono 古代物), "setsuwa/monogatari" pieces, or simply as "miscellaneous pieces." While the three modes (based upon historical period or main characters) of classification that are proposed in the foregoing configurations stress the narrative or internal aspects of the pieces, others have used source texts and
their possible route of transmission as the primary factors in determining the classification of pieces.

While the majority (nearly eighty percent) of the extant works of the kōwaka-mai trace their sources to the war tales (gunki monogatari) that narrate events of the late twelfth century, the five pieces that I will analyze here are set in a much earlier period. In addition, all of these pieces have sources in the world of shōdō preaching.²

The first scholar to point out the relationship of this group of pieces to the world of performative preaching was Araki Shigeru. He notes that Takano Tatsuyuki’s 高野辰之 original classification of the pieces of the kōwaka-mai suffers from internal inconsistency: some of the pieces Takano groups together because they have the same source text (heikyoku-mono 平曲物, derived from the vocal performances of the biwa-hōshi), others Takano groups together because of the appearance of the same main characters (tokiwa-mono, featuring Tokiwa Gozen 常盤御前; hōgan-mono 判官物, featuring
Minamoto no Yoshitsune 源義経). Takano places pieces that are left out of this classification under the heading "peculiar pieces" (tokuyū-monō 特有物). Araki notes that these five pieces "have a comparatively strong religious coloring to them; they either draw upon the lineage of shōdō literature, or they have motifs in common with katari-monō of the sekkyō [tradition]" ("Kowaka-mai nōto" 31).³

Asahara as well finds several deficiencies in the classification schemes constructed by previous scholars, but she hesitates to create a unique category of "shōdō-monō" since this label implies that the remaining forty-five extant pieces of the repertory have no relationship to shōdō. In fact, this was not the case. Shōdō had direct influence on major portions of pieces such as Fue no maki 笛の巻, Tobiwa mondō 常盤問答, Atsumori 敦盛, and Takadachi 高嶋. Likewise, she cautions that we should not limit our view of the influence of shōdō to textual influences. As discussed in the previous chapter, the performance contexts and the origins of the kōwaka-mai clearly indicate that the performative aspects
of shōdō, as well as other ritual-like contexts, shaped its musical and narrative structures. More importantly, these contexts were key to the creation of meaning in performance (Kōwaka-bukyoku kō 394).

In the Chapter 2, I argued that the musical and narrative structures of what would later be called “kōwaka-mai” were tied to the contexts in which the pieces were performed in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. The formative contexts were the ritual-like performances at the beginning of the year and the kanjin venues at which the early performers of the kōwaka-mai received both favor and patronage. The felicitous mood of these contexts is clearly tied to the development of the kusemai during the Sengoku period, the performance of which was believed to bring about fortune and prosperity and recreate a world that was restored to its proper order.

In one of his many remarks on the kōwaka-mai, Orikuchi states that these five pieces are ōdai-mono 王代物, or “pieces from the age of the kings” (I 176). While Orikuchi does not give a full
classification for the pieces of the kōwaka-mai, I argue that we can draw out several salient points in his writings about the kōwaka-mai to justify the use of this term. Like Asahara, Orikuchi agrees that the entire repertory is strongly influenced by shōdō. From its beginnings in the felicitous performances of shōmonji, the kōwaka-mai (i.e. kusemai) was performed in contexts in which it was believed that their words and ritual-like dancing would foster good fortune in the coming year. We find traces of these phrases in all of the pieces of the kōwaka-mai, not only in the so-called shōdō-mono. Thus, while the five pieces that form the basis of my inquiry here are, as we will see, more closely related to shōdō, their source in "performative preaching" is not sufficient to warrant our classification of them as "shōdō-mono" on this basis alone.

Asahara rejects the importance of creating classification schemes given the lack of evidence from any of the troupes of performers during the late medieval period or in the genealogies of the Kōwaka families during the early Edo period. Instead, she

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proposes a classification based solely upon the texts themselves. Roughly, the texts fall into two categories, ones with war tale related themes and ones with setsuwa or monogatari related themes (Kôwaka-bukyoku kô 396). Broken down in this way, the latter fall neatly into Orikuchi's ōdai-mono, or what Takano calls pieces with "classical elegance" (koga 古雅) (Kabu ongyoku kôsetsu 227). Thus, it is the setting of these five pieces which first sets them apart from the other pieces of the repertory more that does the vague term shôdô-mono (Asahara Kôwaka-kô 394).

With the idea of "restoration" and "rebirth" being central to the performance context and the musical and narrative structure of the pieces of the kôwaka-mai, the pieces of the ōdai-mono draw our attention back to the functions that the performance of these pieces had and the possible meanings constructed in performance. Shôdô here, then, will be a point of departure in our understanding of this group of pieces, first in regard to what shôdô implies about their musical and narrative structures and second in what it implies
about the possible influence that origins and performative aspects had upon meaning.

While the notion of shôdô in the foregoing respect has implications for the entire corpus, the ôdai-mono do, as we will see, have closer links to the world of shôdô. My analysis will, therefore, highlight the connective points between religion and the performing arts, between performance and ideology. Moreover, as the label ôdai-mono suggests, these pieces are a significant group in terms of content, they are all set in the ancient or early classical period, a pseudo-mythic past that came to be understood by the medieval world as the locus classicus of Japanese culture and society. As my discussion of the functions of myth in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 implied, in felicitous contexts, these pieces created an image of a world restored, basing this recreation on the lives of ancient heroes.

Looking at these pieces from this viewpoint raises many questions not only about their individual sources, but it also raises
more general questions about the method of transmission from their possible source texts to the scripts of the shōdō and the relationship between vocal literature and written texts. A related issue to textual transmission is the medium of transmission, performance, which, as I discussed in Chapter 1, is held by many scholars to contain the meaning of these pieces.

For the performers of the medieval period the text along with other written discourses were of vital importance. While shōdō preaching was aurally appreciated, the performers relied upon written texts in two ways. The first of these was the world of written texts that the composers drew upon for anecdotes they used to highlight the significance of the Buddhist scriptures. As my discussion of the performance style of the kusenmai during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries suggests, the shōmonji had access to a variety of texts as they traveled between Buddhist institutions and the homes of influential courtiers.
The second relationship between performance and writing is more complicated, drawing the issue of identity into performance as an “art work.” The relationship between prompt book, performance and script development is further problematized by issues of literacy and orality, assumptions about the audiences of these works, and scholarly projects to recover a lost history of the common people and efforts to create an idealistic and egalitarian world in which all levels of society enjoyed a “national literature.”

In my analysis of the ōdai-mono of the kōwaka-mai, I will restore significance to “national” in terms of the pieces construction of historical and legendary heroes according to mythic archetypes found in the foundation myths of the medieval period and in doing so show how these pieces create a unified vision of “nation” in tune with the mood of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

I will look at these five pieces of the kōwaka-mai beginning first with their cultural antecedents, drawing upon both textual
sources and non-textual sources. I will show how story-patterns that are found in the earliest written works continued to be a fountainhead that informed the literature of the classical period and temple and shrine histories of the medieval period. Traditional story-patterns continued to fashion narratives from the earliest times, and explain not only the transmission and spread of story-patterns throughout the Japanese archipelago over the centuries, but it also tells us how legend and experience were given cultural meaning by their referencing of these traditional story-patterns.

Next, I will show how the mythic structure of the kōwaka-mai reveals a level of similitude that is clear in all the pieces at the most basic level, and how the legends contained in the foundation myths of temples and shrines were inscribed into this structure. Finally, my analysis of the texts will give rise to questions about the sources and development of the kōwaka-mai as a performing art. How did its origins in the shōdō preaching define the way its style
and contents developed, and what was the effect of its performance context on the way its scripts were fashioned and how meaning was created in performance? The informing story-patterns and musical and narrative structures will guide my analysis of the texts. I will suggest how meaning was created in these texts and in their performance.

The first two pieces that I will discuss are late-medieval narrativizations of the Fujiwara no Kamatari legend. Although the legend of the patriarch of the Fujiwara family was recorded in many works of the classical and medieval period, it was not until the late-medieval period when his legend was brought to life on the stages of the capital.

The kusemaï performers fashioned a piece from the legend of Kamatari’s birth and assassination of Soga no Iruka 蘇我入鹿 (–645), who threatened the stability of the imperial house, its right of succession, and authority as rulers of the Japanese isles. The kōwaka-mai version of the legend, recasts Kamatari as the son of
a noble, Mikeko 御食子 (dates unknown), who having been betrayed at court, is exiled to a far-off province. Mikeko is “reborn” through his son Kamatari who ascends to one of the highest ranks at court. Through the aid of the kami, Kamatari is able to kill Iruka, restore the authority of the emperor and usher in an endless age of peace and prosperity for the nation.

_Taishokan_ continues the legend of Kamatari, recounting how he created a dynasty by recovering a jewel from sea. The _tamatori_ story-pattern, which is the traditional reference of _Taishokan_, has a long history in the Japanese cultural tradition, appearing in the earliest pages of the eighth century compilations of myth. This story-pattern was first fused to the history of the Fujiwara family at the Shidoji temple on the northeastern coast of the island of Shikoku 四国.

_Shômonji_ performers refashioned this legend into a mythic narrative that tells the founding of the Fujiwara dynasty and brought this foundation myth to the capital. This piece would become one
of the most popular kōwaka-mai pieces, translated into written texts for reading, picture scrolls, and folded-screen paintings well into the Edo period. Both pieces of the Kamatari legend reveal aspects of the history and development of the kōwaka-mai as a performing art that originated in the felicitous and semi-magical performances of the shōmonji and evolved into a performing art that was patronized by the warrior class in the sixteenth century.

The next two pieces of the kōwaka-mai repertory that I will analyze in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 do not have any readily apparent textual sources that we can rely upon to guide our inquiry. The first of these two pieces, Yuriwaka daijin, has been steeped in controversy since the beginning of this century. Many scholars have argued that Yuriwaka daijin is a translation or retelling of the Odysseus legend of ancient Greece. The Portuguese, these scholars argue, brought the Odyssey to Japan in the mid-fifteenth century and recited it to their hosts. The performers of the kusemai carefully listened to the story of their foreign visitors and refashioned the Greek
epic into a kōwaka-mai piece. On the other side of this continuing
debate are those scholars who argue that we can find the “Return
Song” story-pattern that underlies the Yuriwaka legend in almost
every culture. They conclude, therefore, that the source was more
likely the story-pattern as it has developed in central Asia.

I begin my analysis of Yuriwaka daijin with a discussion of
this controversy, framing my inquiry as a question of methodology.
I will ask, “How are story-patterns transmitted?” Ultimately, I
leave this question unanswered. Instead, I will favor looking at
text of Yuriwaka daijin and how the universal story-pattern of the
“Return Song” as it appears in the Japanese cultural tradition serves
as a reference by which several meanings become apparent in the text
and hint at the possible meanings that could have been created in
performance. In particular, a structural analysis of the first
section of the piece, Yuriwaka’s birth, growth and defeat of the
Mongols, makes it clear how a parallel discourse on the creation
of the Japan by the kami and the subsequent creation of the world
from the “seed” that is Japan, ties the discourse of the hero’s birth, symbolic death and “rebirth” to the medieval rhetoric of the “national” uniqueness of Japan. Using the discourse of medieval myth, the text reveals an ideology of nation that is symbolized by kami and the hero’s repetition of the mythic act of “creation.”

In contrast to the first three pieces of the kówaka-mai that I will discuss, Shida on first glance appears to be firmly grounded in the world of the medieval warrior, although it is set in the early ninth century. While the worlds of the kami and humans do not intersect as they do in the Kamatari and Yuriiwaka legends, when we look at the structure, guided by the musical notation of the kówaka-mai scripts, we see how Shida references the kishururitan story-pattern to create a narrative with culturally significant meaning. We will see that this pattern is present in the earliest myths of the Japanese tradition, in the epic journeys of Susanowo-no-mikoto and Yamatotakeru-no-mikoto, as well as in many of the medieval myths of temples and shrines.
In discussing the structure of these four pieces, I will also show how ritual is integrated into the structure of the narratives, constructing myth as overt explanation of the origins of specific rituals and as an informing referent for the meaning of story-patterns. I suggest that we must entertain a new reading of the relationship between myth and ritual. One of the earliest cultural anthropologists to speak about the relationship between myth and ritual was Leach who argues "myth [...] is the counterpart of ritual; myth implies ritual, ritual implies myth, they are one in the same [...] Myth regarded as a statement in words 'says' the same thing as ritual regards a statement in action" (12-13).

What binds ritual and myth is, however, that they are both imbedded in a system of belief. As such, both ritual and myth are constructs of culture and are given significance by ideology. The myth and ritual school of literary criticism sought to clarify the relationship between ritual and myth, finding myth as either an explanation for the mysterious and inexplicable rituals that had
been passed down in cultures as diverse as those of Europe and the islands of Southeast Asia. Yet, the relationship between myth and ritual is complex, escaping the possibility of making any general or universal claims (Kirk 16, 18).

As we have seen in the late-twentieth century, folklorists have rejected the historical priority of myth as the source of other genres of folklore as well as any overt relationship between myth and ritual, the latter being a form of human action and the former being a genre of prose narrative. Orikuchi, for example, implicitly rejects assumptions of the myth and ritual school. Instead, he sees that both “myth” and ritual have a common source in the basic oppositions of a culture. Both ritual and myth are based upon the basic oppositions and the mediation, between the sacred and the profane, inversion of the mundane and “rebirth.”

Myth actively draws upon the world of ritual practice to give an added layer of significance to mythic narratives. In my discussion of the kōwaka-mai pieces as myth, I will show how ritual
signals the "rebirth" of the hero in the final section of the piece. In Iruka, for example, rebirth of the hero is tied to the legitimacy of the emperor, the imperial court and its cycle of ritual, specifically as the origins of the enthronement ceremony. Later, in Yuriwaka daijin, Shida and Manjū we find that the final scenes are all set during specific ritual times. The narrative draws the audience in to a world of ideological signification by referring to specific rituals in the Japanese cultural tradition.

The final piece of the kówaka-mai that I examine, Manjū, holds an important place in the legendary beginnings of the kówaka-mai Kówaka-maru, the legendary founder of the kówaka-mai performed this piece before the deity at the Hiei Shrine. The emperor summons Kówaka-maru to perform at the imperial palace after hearing word of his moving performance at the shrine. In addition to this fictive account, Manjū is the first title of the kówaka-mai to be recorded in diaries of the late-medieval period, at that time most likely close to its source text Tada no manjū, an engi of the Shōdōji

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小童寺 temple in Settsu 摂津 province. The kōwaka-mai version of the piece closely follows the extant text of the shōdō piece, adding popular religious theories and doctrines that originated in the Tendai sect and its shōdō efforts to spread belief in the power of the Hoke-kyō and nenbutsu. Yet, I will show that on closer examination of the structure of the kōwaka-mai script there is concatenation of two story-patterns.

One of these we will have already encountered in our analysis of Shida and Iruka, the kishururitan story-pattern. The other major story-pattern that informs this work is chigo monogatari 稚児物語 or tales of male-male sexual relationships that were popular in the medieval period. These two pieces story-patterns turn on motif of the vicarious substitute (migawari 身代わり) that is the highlight of this piece. Through the sacrifice of the chigo, Kōju-maru 幸寿丸, Bijo Gozen 美女御前 is allowed to be “reborn” after the world is thrown into chaos by his disobedience. The death of Kōju-maru affects both the “rebirth” of the hero, Bijo Gozen, as well as the
enlightenment, religious “rebirth,” of Bijo Gozen’s father, Manjû. The religious awakening of Manjû is said to be the source of the eternal prosperity of the Minamoto family. While the piece is framed and structured on the discourse of medieval myth, the expository sections that are based in Tendai hongaku 本覚 theory deconstruct the hero of medieval myth.

3.2 The Kamatari Legend

“Taishokan,” the highest court rank in ancient Japan, in later ages would become synonymous with Fujiwara no Kamatari. Given Kamatari’s prominence as patriarch of the Fujiwara dynasty, it is surprising that it was not until the late-medieval period that the Kamatari legend would become the part of the popular consciousness as the basis for two pieces of the kôwaka-mai, Iruka and Taishokan.

In spite of the legend’s late appearance, the performance records of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries indicate that these two pieces were the most popular of the more than fifty extant pieces
of this recited narrative genre. The first of these pieces, *Iruka*, retells the story of the founding of the Fujiwara family in ancient Japan, recounting the rise to power of Kamatari from his humble beginnings in Hitachi province to his defeat of Soga no Iruka.

In its sequel *Taishokan*, Kamatari, having restored the world and ensured the continuance of the unbroken line of imperial succession, solidifies his political power by adorning the Kōfukuji temple with many treasures, foremost among which is a jewel that he rescues from the clutches of the dragon king who lives at the bottom of the sea. Kamatari’s safe delivery of the jewel and his heir, born to a lowly diver, to the capital not only brings prestige to himself and his family, but his return to the capital ushers in an era of prosperity for the Japanese nation.

In this section, I show how successive generations reinterpreted the historical Kamatari rewriting his life as an archetypal mythic hero. The *kōwaka-mai* version of the Kamatari legend represents the final stages of mythicization of Kamatari as
the prototypical loyal subject who faithfully serves the Crown by protecting the nation and the inviolability of the imperial house.

3.2.1 The Kamatari Legend in the Ancient and Classical Periods

Modern historians note the important role that Fujiwara no Kamatari had in the political reforms of the mid-seventh century that marked the emergence of the Nara nation-state. During the years leading up to the coup d'état of 645 and the subsequent reforms of the late seventh and early eighth centuries, the Nakatomi 中臣, the family from which Kamatari emerged, was one of several families that was embroiled in the bitter battles for political hegemony of the embryonic Japanese nation-state.

The medium by which the Fujiwara asserted political power had already become firmly entrenched in cultural practice and would become the standard for generations--forming alliances and manipulating the line of succession of the Yamato imperial clan that claimed legitimacy through the perpetuation of the myth of its direct
descent from the foremost of the Japanese kami, Amaterasu-no-ôkami. The Nakatomi themselves derived their political power from their role as ritualists to the Yamato clan, claiming Amanokoyane-no-mikoto 天児屋命, the kami that the mythic narratives of the eighth century record luring the sun goddess out of the Heavenly Rock Cave and restoring light to the world, as their heavenly ancestor.

Given the Nakatomi’s investment in the preservation of power in the hands of the Yamato kings, it is natural that we would find that the Nakatomi were bitterly opposed to the Soga family whose members sought to usurp power from other powerful families.

Emerging into prominence during the reign of Empress Suiko 推古 (r. 592-628) when Soga no Mumako 馬子 (?-626) rose to ministerial position in the court, the Soga family’s ascension to political dominance ushered in a century of political intrigue. As the crisis reached a head, the Nakatomi under Kamatari (also known as “Kamako” 鎌子) allied themselves with Prince Naka no Ōe 中大兄 and
disaffected members of the Soga family to oust the then de facto ruler of the nation, Soga no Iruka.

As we see in the more historically accurate accounts of the ancient period, from the late sixth to mid-seventh century the Soga family had increasingly become a threat to the authority of the reigning Yamato family. Even though the ancient compilations of myth that were commissioned by the imperial house present the Soga as ruthless, their primary tactic for controlling governmental policy was through the practice that is repeated throughout pre-modern history, the marrying daughters to successive generations of emperors.

At the zenith of Soga power, during the time of Iruka and his father Emishi 蛭夷 (?-648), the Soga family had begun to assert their power over accession disputes, insuring that emperors who were favorable to their family's cause would be enthroned. Finally, Iruka embarked upon what would become the biggest affront to the
authority of the imperial family--he began construction of two tumuli for himself and his father that dwarfed those of any previous emperor.

The Nihon shoki, commenting on the rule of Soga no Iruka, describes a world that had turned its back on reason and normalcy, the onus of which the history places directly upon Iruka who “took control of the nation for himself; his power was greater than his father’s; and because of this, thieves and robbers feared him and things were not picked up in the roadways” (236).

Faced with such atrocities, the members of the imperial family and their collateral families who were being slowly shut out of power no doubt felt that appeasement was out of the question and began a plot against Iruka. While the details of the plot are interesting in themselves, we will limit our discussion of them to Kamatari’s role in the assassination of Soga no Iruka and how this episode in Japanese history was remolded in the medieval period.

Again, the pages of the Nihon shoki provide us with the most historically accurate account of how the plot unfolded. Kamatari
having become an intimate of Prince Naka no Ōe, the heir apparent to the throne who had been pushed aside by the machinations of Iruka and his father, conspired with Soga no Kurayamada no Maro 倉山田麻呂 (?-649), the head of a subsidiary branch of the Soga family, to put an end to the influence of the main branch of the Soga family. Upon Kamatari’s suggestion, Prince Naka no Ōe took Soga no Kurayamada no Maro’s daughter as his wife in order to get closer to his enemy. Sensing the true intentions behind this union, Iruka was increasingly on guard against his enemies, retiring to the seclusion of his mansions (254-255).

Finally, in the sixth month of 645, Iruka was unable to refuse an imperial summons for the courtiers to be present to hear the reading of memorials sent from the three kingdoms of Korea. Although Kamatari and his co-conspirators had readied several armed men, in the end it was Prince Naka no Ōe himself who cut open Iruka’s head and shoulder and pronounced before Iruka’s death that authority had been restored to the descendants of the sun goddess (261-263).
Following the defeat of the Soga family, history tells us that the three leaders of the coup d’ état began a program of reforms to restructure the government on the model of Tang China and culminating in the establishment of the nation-state and its first capital of Nara (Mistusada and Brown 193-201).

The assassination of Iruka at the feet of the sovereign in whose name he had served would, in later generations, be viewed as the definitive act that marked the beginning of the nation-state centered in the Yamato region under the rule of the imperial family whose inviolable claim to power lay in the myth of the unbroken line of succession from the age of the gods. In the years following the defeat of Soga no Iruka, Kamatari appears to have taken an active role in forming and codifying the laws and regulations that would be known as the ritsuryō律令 system. As a reward for his service Kamatari received the title “Taishokan.” So great was his service to the realm that in later generations this court rank was never bestowed again, and “Taishokan” would become synonymous with
Kamatari throughout Japanese history. In the decades after
Kamatari’s death, his descendants replaced their former rivals and
increased their political and cultural domination over the nation
for centuries.

During the height of the classical period, the most prominent
place that Kamatari held in the cultural consciousness of the nation
was in two literary works of the late Heian period. The first of
these was in the pages of the Ōkagami 大鏡 (early twelfth century),
the romantic history of the Fujiwara family that chronicles the rise
to power of the most influential of the Fujiwara Regents, Michinaga
道長 (966-1027). This work appends the legendary beginnings of the
Fujiwara Regency to the life of Michinaga. It states that Kamatari
who, although born in the distant land of Hitachi, rose to become
the first Fujiwara to serve the Crown. As we will see repeated and
developed in later medieval versions of the legend, the Ōkagami
places the importance of Kamatari’s service to the nation on the
close relationship he had with “Emperor” Tenji 天智. Thus we read:

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From the reign of Emperor Jimmu, for thirty-seven generations until the reign of Emperor Kōtoku 光德, many Great Ministers have been appointed. During the reign of Kōtoku, Nakatomi no Kamako became Minister of the Middle [chūnagon 中納言]. This minister was born in Hitachi province, and during the reign of the thirty-ninth emperor, Tenji, Kamatari’s family name was changed to “Fujiwara” [...] From this time onward, the majority of the emperors, empresses, ministers, and courtiers came from this family. Kamatari was particularly favored by Emperor Tenji who gave his daughter to Kamatari. She was no ordinary woman, and when she became pregnant this was the emperor’s oath, “If the child is a boy, he will become the son of Kamatari. If it is a girl, she will become my child.” This was Kamatari’s oath, “If the child is a boy, he will become a great minister. If the child is a girl, she will become the emperor’s child.” And since the child that was born was a boy, he became Kamatari’s son (226-227).

The chronicle continues, giving us an account of how Kamatari’s son, Fuhito 不比等 (659-720), perhaps one of the most important political figures in the early years of the Nara state and architect of the Fujiwara’s bases of political power, was in reality Emperor Tenji’s son whom the sovereign had given to Kamatari (229). Fuhito’s own four sons would go on to establish the four houses of the Fujiwara, with his second son, Fusasaki 房崎 (681-737),
founding the most powerful of these, the northern house (hokke 北家).

The second place where Kamatari appears in the classical canon is in the Konjaku monogatari. Here, as in the Okagami, the anecdotes paint Kamatari, here called by his posthumous title “Taishokan,” as a superior minister noted for his loyalty to the “Emperor” Tenji. Echoing the history written by Kamatari’s grandson in the mid-eighth century that I will discuss in detail below, Kamatari becomes intimate with the future Emperor Tenji at a kemari 蹲鞠 match. During the match, the emperor loses his shoe. Even though the then ruling minister Iruka feels too proud to bend down and pick it up, Kamatari rushes to pick up the shoe and humbly returns it to the emperor. From this time on, we are told that the relationship between Kamatari and Tenji was close.

Later, the emperor takes Kamatari into his confidence and the two men plot to kill Iruka, a minister whose lack of manners only forebodes ill for the nation. At an official court ceremony (sechie
Kamatari reads a congratulatory document (hyō 表) with Iruka and the other courtiers in attendance. Tenji summons Iruka forward into the imperial presence at which time Kamatari pulls out a sword, rushes up behind Iruka and slashes him in the shoulder. Tenji delivers the final blow cutting off the head of the injured Iruka. Afterwards, Kamatari was made the minister of the middle (naidaijin 内大臣) and rules the nation on behalf of Emperor Tenji. Kamatari’s three children also prosper. His daughter becomes Emperor Tenji’s empress, his first son becomes a priest at Tōnomine 多武峰, and his second son, following in his father’s footsteps, becomes minister of the middle (Yamada et al. IV 226-228).

As these two literary treatments of the Kamatari legend indicate, Kamatari was an important political and bureaucratic figure in the early years of the Japanese nation. In the popular consciousness, however, Kamatari and his legend never gained a
stature that was on par with such figures as Sugawara no Michizane
菅原道真 (845-903) and Minamoto no Yoshitsune (1159-1189).

While the lives of these men and their heroic feats were tinged
with tragedy, Kamatari’s own life was anything but tragic, rising
to ever-loftier heights of power until his death and immortalization
as “Taishokan.” In retrospect, his legend was by all accounts an
exception to what twentieth-century scholars have dubbed to be the
prototypically ideal “hero,” defined by what Ivan Morris calls these
heroes’ “nobility of failure” (xxi). Thus, while Kamatari would
seem to be an unlikely candidate for heroic narratives, it is truly
remarkable that his legend would become the basis for two of the
most popular pieces of the kōwaka-mai of the late-medieval period,
Iruka and Taishokan.

Although not stated in the historical annals of ancient period,
Kamatari’s birthplace would come to have central significance in
the formation of his legend. The earliest record of Kamatari’s life,
the Nihonshoki, is singularly silent on the birthplace of Kamatari.14
In the centuries following the compilation of the myths that justified the rule of the imperial house, two explanations of Kamatari’s birthplace emerged. The first of these two explanations locates Kamatari’s birthplace as the Takaichi 高市 district of Yamato, the seat of government and culture during the Yamato and Asuka periods. This interpretation reflects the important place Kamatari that held in the formation of the political and administrative foundations of the Nara nation-state. A second explanation, and one that would gain currency from the late Heian period onward, was that Kamatari was born in Hitachi 常陸 province in the environs of the Kashima 鹿島 shrine.

In the legend, the importance of Kamatari’s birth is intimately tied with the myths of the Kashima deity and the relationship between this provincial shrine and the Kasuga 春日 shrine in Nara. According to the mythic narratives recorded in the Hitachi fudoki 常陸風土記 (early eighth century), Amaterasu-no-ókami called upon Takemikazuchi-no-kami 武甕槌神 to descend to the
Central Land of the Reed Plain and prepare the way for the descent of her grandson, Amatsuhikohikchononinigi-no-mikoto.

天津彦彦火瓊柎尊. When Takemikazuchi-no-kami descended to earth, he became the kami of the Kashima shrine (Akimoto 65-66).

From the earliest days of the Yamato court, a branch of the Nakatomi family has been in service at the Kashima shrine. Later medieval treatments of the mythic founding of the Kasuga shrine note that the deities of the Kashima shrine moved from Hitachi and took up residence at the Kasuga shrine at the foot of Mikasayama山 in the newly established capital.16 From this time forward, Takemikazuchi-no-kami, the most revered of the four deities of the Kasuga shrine, is said to protect the nation and the Throne.

Under the ritsuryô system of government set up during the half century following the coup d’etat and the subsequent series of reforms known as the “Taika Reforms,” the Kashima shrine as well as the Kasuga shrine became the protectorate shrines of the Fujiwara family, but more importantly they played a central role in the system.
of ritual and court ceremonies that were an integral part of the absolute power held by the imperial house and underwritten by the sacred sanction of myth.

Even though Kamatari's birth in Hitachi has the ring of truth, the provincial birth of the patriarch of the Fujiwara family had meaning beyond that of historical fact. In the century following Kamatari's death, we witness the first steps toward his reinterpretation as an archetypal mythic hero. The Kamatariden 長尾伝, the first half of the Kaden 家伝, a Nara-period history of the early years of the Fujiwara family written by Kamatari's grandson Fujiwara no Nakamaro 仲麻呂 (706-764), marks the first steps toward recasting Kamatari as the mythic patriarch of the Fujiwara family.

Although the motives behind the writing of this work were undoubtedly political in nature given that at the time Nakamaro was editing this history of founding of his family (760-764) he was firming his political grip on the nation, the text does provide us with a hint of the shape that the legend will take in subsequent
centuries. Writing of the birth of his grandfather in the far off province of Hitachi, Nakamaro states that while Mikeko’s wife is still pregnant, she has a miraculous vision that the child in her womb is no ordinary child. She prophesies, “The child with whom I am now pregnant is no ordinary human. It is not a common child. He will certainly perform meritorious deeds” (689). These deeds would take central importance in the medieval transformation of the Kamatari legend.

3.2.2 The Kamatari Legend in the Medieval Period

Later medieval interpretations pick up the theme of Kamatari’s miraculous birth and embellish it with an episode that would become a central, if somewhat late, motif of the Kamatari legend—the sickle given to Kamatari by a fox. In the works of the Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子 (674–622) legend, the earliest extant version of which is the Shōtoku Taishi kokon mokoroku shō 聖徳太子伝古今日録抄 (1227), this
motif first appears in a brief an explanation for Kamatari’s name. “Kamatari,” it explains, was a name that was given to him because a fox had placed a sickle, kama 鎮, at his side when he was still an infant (Dainihon bukkyō zensho Shōtoku taishi-den sōsho 82).

This episode, as we will see, is tied to the assassination of Soga no Iruka, whose head Kamatari is said to cut off with his divinely granted sickle. While the generally more accurate accounts in the Nihon shoki and Kamatariden reveal that Kamatari only played a supporting role in the actual assassination of Iruka, medieval interpreters of the legend linked the motif of the sickle given to Kamatari by a fox to the defeat of Soga no Iruka, placing Kamatari at the center of the plot to rid the nation of the most evil of its enemies.

The creators of the Shōtoku Taishi legend, of course, had reason to look with favor upon Kamatari, for it was he who they saw as exacting revenge upon the Soga rulers who had ensured that Shōtoku’s son would not become heir to the throne. Thus, it is not
surprising that we find in the fourteenth-century Shôtoku Taishi eden 聖徳太子絵伝 (colophon dated 1324) not only the narrative of how Kamatari cut off Iruka’s head with the sickle, but we are faced with a graphic depiction of “Taishokan” striking the fatal blow that sends Iruka’s head flying into the air (reprinted in Abe “Iruka” 18).

As centuries passed, the birth and youth of Kamatari as a prelude to his defeat of Iruka took on key significance in the legend, shaping Kamatari as an archetypal mythic hero. Most importantly, the medieval interpreters reshaped the Kamatari legend according to mythic patterns that were common to medieval temple and shrine histories, and in doing so, these hierophants distanced the culturally constructed Kamatari from the historical Kamatari.

The earliest example of this process is apparent even in the decades after Kamatari’s death. The history of the religious mountain of Tônomine, for example, opens with Kamatari’s unnatural birth. Picking up the legend as it appears in the Kamatariden, the narrative tells us how Kamatari’s mother presages that her son will
be no ordinary child and that he will certainly rise to perform meritorious service to the nation (116). All of the later medieval interpretations of Kamatari's birth echo these early interpretation so Kamatari's birth.

As expressed in the language of myth, Kamatari's birth in the remote region of Hitachi here takes upon another level significance within the legend--it is takes on cultural meaning as the eternal story of the unknown, yet remarkably astute country boy, who comes to the capital, defeats the archenemy of the Crown and brings prosperity to the realm. His birth in the distant province of Hitachi not only places him outside of the political intrigues of the court but more importantly for the shaping of the legend along the lines of medieval myth, Kamatari appears as a god-like figure from an Otherworld, quickly rising to the highest levels within the court.

By tying Kamatari to the myths of the Kashima and the Kasuga shrines, the Fujiwara family is placed in a central position as defenders of the imperial house. In an age thought to be in decline
(masse 末世), the medieval world saw the Fujiwara family as model servants to the throne, particularly in their role as the traditional ritualists at court and through the myths that were created to legitimize their position. Thus, Kamatari’s own “descent” to the Yamato region from Hitachi and service to the crown and nation was fashioned as a retelling of the descent of Takemizuchi-no-mikoto who pacified the land and became the central deity of the Kasuga shrine that continues to protect the nation.

Later versions of the legend would also greatly simplify the details of the assassination of Soga no Iruka. In all the medieval versions of the coup d’ état, Prince Naka no Ōe, seen retrospectively as “emperor,” orders Kamatari to destroy the evil minister Iruka. On the whole, the medieval interpretations gloss over the details of how the plot actually unfolded, but in general, they follow the same narrative pattern. Iruka is an evil minister who rules the nation according to his own whims and seeks to usurp the throne. Prince Naka no Ōe, the future Emperor Tenji, having been overlooked
as the successor to the crown, arranges a secret meeting with Kamatari at Mt. Tōnomine, a mountain located at the southern edge of Sakurai city in present day Nara prefecture. Deep in this secluded mountain, the prince charges Kamatari with the task of assassinating Iruka. Kamatari fulfils his duty as a servant of the Crown using the sickle given to him by the deity of the Kashima shrine to cut off the head of Iruka.

For medieval mythmakers the importance of the assassination of Iruka was not in its paving the way for a new system of government, rather they interpreted the defeat of Iruka as restoring of the right of imperial succession and preserving the unbroken line since the age of the kami. The medieval world looked upon Kamatari as the prototypical mythic hero who appears at a critical moment to bring the world out of chaos. Kamatari as an archetypal mythic hero regenerating the world through his cosmogonic act had much more cultural significance for the medieval audience than his role as
a bureaucrat working to frame the new laws and regulations of the
nation-state. 17

Another episode that is central to the Kamatari legend
corns various schemes that Kamatari uses to get close to Iruka.
As we see the scene unfold in the Nihon shoki and Kamatariden versions,
Kamatari, having gotten close to Prince Naka no Ōe at a kemari match,
suggests to the that he take Soga no Kurayamada no Maro’s daughter
as his wife and thus securing an ally among the Soga family. 18

Foiled in his attempts to kill Iruka through his own human
powers, Kamatari turns to the kami for help by making a pilgrimage
to the Kasuga shrine where he offers up petitions in return for the
divine assistance in killing Iruka. Foremost among his offerings
to the Kasuga deity is Kamatari’s commission of a statue of Sakya
釈迦 to be enshrined in the Kōfukuji temple.

Although this religious institution would become a symbol of
Fujiwara power in coming generations, it was originally constructed
not by Kamatari, but rather at the request of Kamatari’s wife upon
her husband’s illness in 669 and given the name “Yamashina-dera” 山階寺. In 673, the temple was moved to Asuka and renamed the “Umayasaka-dera” 扁坂寺; and finally, Fujiwara no Fuhito, Kamatari’s second son, had the temple moved and expanded in the new capital of Nara under the new name “Kōfukuji.” Later this temple together with the Kasuga shrine became the central symbols of power of the Fujiwara, not only in their prominent position in the realm of court ritual, but also as protectors of the Buddhist faith.

Neither the statue of Sakya that was said to have been commissioned by Kamatari nor the Central Golden Hall that is said to house the jewel survives today; however, texts associated with the Kōfukuji temple intimate the importance of the statue in the Kamatari legend. The Kōfukuji ruki 興福寺流記, for example, states that Fuhito built the Central Golden Hall in 710 to house the statue of Sakya that commissioned by Kamatari as his pledge to destroy Iruka and bring peace and harmony to the world (Dainihon bukkyō zensho 14). Other works of the medieval period attest to the
existence of the statue and the importance of Kamatari’s. The Shunya shinki, for example, states that Kamatari made the donation of this statue (now enshrined in the Golden Hall of the Kōfukuji temple) and thereafter killed Iruka during the reading of a letter from the Tang Empire (Kasuga 192).  

One motif that becomes central to the kōwaka-mai version of the legend is Kamatari’s feigned blindness. Having made pledges to the Kasuga deity, Kamatari falls asleep. In a dream, the Kasuga deity drops before him a cane made of the wood of the sacred sakaki tree. With this cane, Kamatari is able to feign blindness, gain the sympathy of Iruka, and at the right moment strike Iruka down.

Although this motif is prominent in the medieval legends of Shōtoku Taishi, such as the Shōtoku Taishi den shūishō, one of the texts to which the kōwaka-mai version is directly connected is the Yoshida Shinto text, the Shinto sóden kikigaki, in which we find the basic outline of Kamatari’s attempts to trick Iruka first with his daughter and then with his
feigned blindness. Kamatari pretends to be blind for three years using the cane to guide his footsteps. Much like the later kôwaka-mai version of the legend, the “emperor” orders that all of the courtiers are ordered to be present for a reading of an official letter from the three kingdoms of Korea. Passing by Iruka to approach the imperial presence, Kamatari cuts off the head of Iruka who is bowing down in respect.

The setting for this final scene is crucial for our understanding of the meaning of kôwaka-mai piece. A text from the Ryôbu Shinto school, the Tenshô daijin kuketsu 天照大神口決 (1327) explains that the assassination of Iruka by Kamatari was the foundation for the enthronement ceremony (sokui 即位) (Shingon shintô I 499). Enthronement of a new emperor was linked from an early time with the harvest festival that is known as the ni’inamesai 新嘗祭, or the “Ritual of the First Fruits.”

Death that was associated with the harvest of the year’s crops was analogous to the death of the former emperor while at the same time it also was
associated with rebirth and fertility associated with the accession of the new emperor to the throne.\textsuperscript{25}

It is also not insignificant that in this period under the new government set up by the Nara court, was part of a cycle that began with the harvest, pacification of the spirits of the dead (chinkonsai or tamashizume) and ending with the New Year festival. For the twentieth-century critic Orikuchi Shinobu, these three rituals constituted a whole—the death of the emperor was followed by the need to pacify his soul (tama), and once this was completed, the new emperor could take his place at the head of the nation at the beginning of the New Year when all of his subjects would bow down and pledge their loyalty to him (chôga 朝賀) (III 198–203).

Reflecting the ritual significance of Kamatari’s legend, the Tenshô daijin kuketsu goes further to link the birth of Kamatari and his gift of the magic sickle as meaningful parts of the origins of the enthronement ceremony. The fox, it says, was the sun goddess, Amaterasu-no-ôkami, who took the form of the Buddhist deity Dakiniten
and bestowed power in the form of a magic sickle on Kamatari. For the author of the Tenshō daijin kuketsu, Kamatari’s legend was the model on which the enthronement ceremony was based: the sickle was bestowed upon Kamatari by the Kashima deity, and with this sickle, he destroyed Soga no Iruka, ascended to the highest rank, and restored the rule of law to the imperial line.

Similarly, the Shunya shinki argues that it was with this sickle that Kamatari gained prosperity for himself as well as his descendants. The deity of Kashima, it continues, is Dakiniten who is one and the same with the deity of Kasuga. The initiation ceremony (kanjō灌頂) which is part of the enthronement ceremony, it claims was derived directly from this legend. Thus, not only was Kamatari’s birth in the hinterlands the makings of a traditionally meaningful narrative, it was also politically charged: the legend provided a mythic explanation for the restoration of the imperial line as well as giving an explanation for the current practice of enthronement as a ritual empowered by mythic origins.
3.3 Analysis of Iruka

3.3.1 Analysis of Section I

Compared to other works of the kōwaka-mai that I will discuss in this and in later chapters, Iruka is somewhat of a challenge. Even though we have seen that there are multiple works dating from the late Heian period that narrate the Kamatari legend, it is difficult, if not impossible, to single out any one of these works as the direct source for the kōwaka-mai piece. Yet, at the same time the lack of a clear antecedent for this piece allows us to look more closely at how the composers/performers of the kōwaka-mai reshaped legends and fit them into the overall mythic pattern that is characteristic of the genre.

Using the musical conventions that structure the piece, we have the following outline:

Section I

(1) The history of Fujiwara Kamatari’s ancestors. His father Mikeko is banished to Hitachi province, and
there he takes up residence at the Kashima shrine. Mikeko and his wife begin farming and eventually they have a child.

(2) One day while working in the fields, a fox leaves a sickle by the pillow of their infant son. At the age of sixteen, Kamatari becomes a gardener at the imperial palace. One day a courtier notices the boy’s remarkable physiognomy and enters Kamatari into the imperial University to study. He prospers and is appointed to Ministry of Letters.

(3) At that time, the evil Iruka plots to overthrow the emperor and become “king.” At a secret meeting, it is decided that Kamatari is to be given the task of assassinating Iruka. Day after day, he waits. Iruka, however, knows something is afoot, and attends court only when his men accompany him. Kamatari decides to trick him by giving his daughter in marriage to Iruka. He exchanges letters with Iruka.

(4) Finally, Iruka accepts her as his wife. Kamatari one day summons Iruka to bring his daughter as Kamatari is feigning terminal illness.

(5) Iruka stops the carriage mid-way and recites an Indian tale illustrating a similar trick.

Section II

(6) His plot having been thwarted, Kamatari goes to the Kasuga shrine and prays to the deity for aid in killing Iruka. In exchange, Kamatari promises to
build beautiful buildings inlaid with jewels. In a dream, the Kashima deity comes to him and gives him a cane that will make him appear to be blind.

(7) In this way, Kamatari will be able to lure Iruka near to him. Returning home, Kamatari requests Iruka’s presence. Yet, Iruka does not come. One cold winter morning while sitting in front of the hearth, Kamatari asks to be handed his infant son. He drops the baby into the fire to convince Iruka of his blindness.

(8) Iruka hears of this horrific incident and is convinced of Kamatari’s blindness. The emperor summons all the ministers to the palace on the pretense of reading a letter recently received from a foreign land. Kamatari comes in last groping his way. Iruka bows to let him pass ahead of him and at that point Kamatari takes out the sickle and strikes off Iruka’s head. The entire land prospers after the death of Soga no Iruka.

Section I is divided into five cycles, the final cycle including a long telling of a tale set in ancient India. The first two cycles narrate Kamatari’s birth in the hinterlands, his youth, and rise within the ranks of the imperial palace. The second three cycles of the first section introduce Soga no Iruka as a threat to the legitimacy of the imperial line of succession and the stability
of the nation. Kamatari’s first attempt to draw near to his enemy through marriage is unsuccessful due to the suspicious nature of Iruka who finds a parallel to his own situation in the precedents of a foreign land.

The first cycle opens with the formula “somosomo Kamatari no senzo o kuwashiku tazunuruni,” a typical opening phrase of the shōdō style of preaching when the preacher introduces the history of the deity whose story he is about to tell. This formula signals to the audience that the tale they are about to hear will sing the praises of the Fujiwara family and the Fujiwara dynasty’s founding in the ancient world.

Iruka begins by introducing the history of Kamatari’s ancestors and how it came to be that Kamatari was born in the far off province of Hitachi. As we have seen already in our discussion of the major motifs of this piece, there are many classical and medieval sources that give Kamatari’s birthplace as Hitachi. Although historians argue that he was most likely born in the Yamato
region. Whether or not this explanation is historically accurate is beyond the scope of our inquiry here. Later interpreters of the Kamatari legend no doubt linked the mythic founder of the Fujiwara dynasty with the Kashima shrine and by extension to the Kasuga-Kōfukuji religious complex in Nara.²⁹

We recall from our reading of Japanese mythic narratives that the principal deity of the Kashima shrine was sent down to pacify the land before the grandson of Amaterasu-no-ókami descended to rule over the Central Land of the Reed Plain. Later this deity was said to have moved to Mt. Miwa in Nara and taken up residence in the Kasuga shrine. Thus, in terms of myth, the Kashima shrine in Hitachi was important symbolically for the Fujiwara family.

In the kōwaka-mai version of the legend, it is said that Kamatari’s father, Mikeko, was exiled to Hitachi province due to slander that reached the ears of the emperor. There are, however, no historical documents that we can find as evidence for Mikeko’s exile. In contrast, the genealogies of the Fujiwara family as well
as the Nihon shoki describe Mikeko as an official who presided over rituals and ceremonies, a hereditary office held by the Nakatomi family.

In order to fit into the mythic structure of the kōwaka-mai, the legend is retold by referencing the traditional kishururitan story-pattern. The narrative begins on a high plain of the world of the kami. Mikeko, it is said, is a descendant of the kami Amanokoyane-no-mikoto, who is highly favored by the emperor and rules the nation according to his own will. As with the narrative of Susanowc-no-mikoto, Mikeko as well is banished from a “heavenly realm,” i.e. the capital, and forced into a life of exile.

Mikeko was a subject that could not remain hidden [from public life]. Because Lord Mikeko was blessed with the favor of the emperor, he conducted affairs of state at his own will and incurred the enmity of the people. Plotting how to make him become estranged from the emperor, a slanderer reported an act of treachery to the Throne. Consequently, the emperor no longer relied upon Mikeko’s services. Even if Mikeko was exiled with a group of other courtiers who were alleged to be his co-conspirators, was it that this sentence would not
appease the emperor? And so it was that the faultless Lord Mikeko was censured.

To affect a descent into an Otherworld, the narrative continues with the banishment of Mikeko to the distant province of Hitachi, where he is reduced to farming and cultivating mulberry trees for sericulture. The typical pattern of inversion sets up various oppositions between the capital and the provinces and its logical transposition, the opposition between the slanderer (illegitimate rule) and slandered (legitimate rule).

Having become accustomed to life in the countryside, Mikeko and his wife settle down and eventually are blessed with a son. This child, having been given a sickle by a kami that takes the shape of a fox, grows up, returns to the capital, and is employed as a menial laborer in the gardens of the imperial palace.

While weeding the garden of the imperial palace an Administrator of Ceremonies caught sight of the boy and said, "Among all of the men doing odd-jobs around here, here is a young boy. He has the look of someone who as fallen on hard
times, but I think he has the look of greatness. One who has this look about him; this is the physiognomy of a minister. He must not be sent back to the countryside. He will remain at the palace and will protect the emperor."

His “adoption” by the courtiers and entrance into the university system sets in motion the revenge of the betrayal and signals to the audience the path toward restoration.

In the kōwaka-mai piece Iruka, it is not Kamatari himself who suffers banishment from the capital; rather it is his father Mikeko who having risen to the highest position in the court is exiled because of slander. Mikeko is set up as the hero, yet it is not Mikeko returns to the capital in the narrative, rather it is his son who takes his place being “reborn” in the capital to revenge his father’s death. Thus, in order to make the legend of Kamatari conform to a traditional story-pattern, the performers of the kōwaka-mai add the reversal of fortune motif to introduce the heroic return and triumph of Kamatari using the traditional story-pattern to give cultural meaning to the Kamatari legend.
In mythic fashion, the return of Kamatari to the capital is effected within the narrative by the mediation of a *marebito* figure, the fox. As an incarnation of a *kami*, the fox bestows a magical object, the sickle, upon the infant Kamatari. We note here that in the world of folktales, female demons take the form of foxes to fool men. In the Japanese cultural tradition, the fox often takes the form of a woman and marries a man, usually a hunter, as repayment for being saved. The woman gives birth to a son and they live happily together as a family, yet one day the woman shows her true form as a fox and suddenly disappears leaving the child behind. The boy often is given either supernatural powers or is bestowed with a magical object that he holds dear and because of which he grows and prospers. Here the fox takes on a similar narrative significance as it bestows upon Kamatari the sickle with which he is raised and ultimately defeats his enemy.

The fox has significance on another level, as well. In the Shinto pantheon, the fox is most closely related with the deity Inari
Originally, this kami was the deity of farming and grain and later became the protector deity of all agricultural pursuits including sericulture. As a kami tied closely with farming, Inari was one of the oldest deities in the Japanese culture, intimately linked with early Japanese belief systems. The narrative notes that Mikeko took up farming, in particular tending mulberry trees, for the raising of silk worms from which he and his wife fashioned garments.

Here, the narrative makes implications about the aristocratic roots of the Fujiwara family. For example, in ancient Japan, it was the Hata family who were descendants of Chinese immigrants who were experts in both sericulture and the weaving of silk. In service to the crown, they rose among the ranks of courtiers, one branch becoming the Sukune family. Most likely because of the rarity of silk, the Hata family prospered. Their wealth was likely supported by the belief in Inari as well, who was believed to be their protector. Moreover, as we mentioned in the preceding section, in Buddhist
syncretic thought, Inari was associated with Dakiniten. Thus, Cycle 2 of the Iruka narrative draws upon the constellation of meaning that the fox has in the Japanese cultural consciousness. Not only does it foreshadow Kamatari’s rise to power at the court, but it also intimates the death of Iruka by the sickle that has been given to Kamatari.

At the age of sixteen, Kamatari becomes a gardener at the imperial palace. In the garden, a courtier notices the young man. Because of his remarkable physiognomy, Kamatari is allowed to enter the university system where he studies in the college of letters.

Saying this, he entered the boy as a student in the Ministry of Letters. The boy rose to the Directorship of Affairs for the western section of the city, he associated with the members of the court, and soon he was allowed to have audience with the emperor in the Seiryōden. His fortune was truly great.

Although the university system had yet to be established during Kamatari’s lifetime, the narrative creates a larger-than-life figure. Although not explicitly invoked, the use of the kishururitan
story-pattern (the extraordinary rise of the hero) prefigures the
final "deification" of Kamatari as restorer of peace and prosperity
to the nation.

As I noted in Chapter 1 in my discussion of some of the main
characteristics of medieval myth as represented in temple and shrine
histories, the typical narrative structure of the foundation myth
begins with the birth of a heaven-sent child. The child grows and
prospers, yet then suffers a reversal of fate. A rich and influential
man in the provinces often adopts the child. After death, the adopted
child becomes the protector not only of the descendants of his family,
but of the entire village. Here Iruka, too, draws upon this important
structural element of medieval myth, yet local meaning is replaced
by national significance. Kamatari is "adopted" by the court and
made the child of the nation, who then goes on to kill the evil minister
Iruka, restore the right of succession to the imperial house, and
give the crown absolute power. 33

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Thus, several elements are brought together in the opening two cycles of the kōwaka-mai version of the Kamatari legend. The first of these is the kishururitan story-pattern that is drawn upon as a common cultural code to reshape the life of Kamatari, giving it significance as a story of the heroic return from exile to be “reborn.”

Second, it is the figure of a fox as a marebito that mediates between the opposition set up between the capital and the provinces. Through the “gift” given by this god-like creature, Kamatari grows up to become a high-ranking courtier, prospering and being allowed to have audience with the emperor himself. Finally, Kamatari’s adoption by the court also references the traditional pattern that we find in the myth of the medieval period.

In the third through fifth cycles that conclude Section I of Iruka, the character Soga no Iruka appears setting up the structural opposition between Kamatari who represents legitimate rule and Iruka who represents illegitimate rule. Iruka is introduced, in contrast
to the loyal Kamatari, as an evil minister who has committed all 
sorts of treacherous acts, usurping courtly rank and threatening 
to become emperor himself.

Now then, at the same time there was a subject named Minister 
Soga no Iruka who committed great acts of treachery. He 
plotted to snatch the highest rank in the land and become 
emperor himself.

Compared with the historical background presented above, the 
version narrated in the kōwaka-mai version of the legend differs 
in tone from that of other sources. In the kōwaka-mai piece, Kamatari 
and Iruka are set up as archrivals: Iruka as a threat to the nation 
and Kamatari as its savior. As with the majority of the kōwaka-mai 
pieces, Iruka is constructed upon the simple opposition of two 
characters.34 In the piece Taishokan, as we will see below, Kamatari 
is opposed by the Dragon Kings and uses a woman, the diver, to retrieve 
the jewel that has been stolen. He also uses his daughter in the 
opening section to mediate between the Japanese court, of which he 
is a representative, and the Chinese court.
In the third and fourth cycles of *Iruka*, Kamatari again uses a woman to mediate between him and his enemy. Unable to kill him, Kamatari “adopts” a woman and soon rumors of her beauty get out. Kamatari offers the woman to Iruka in a series of letters. Although reluctant, Iruka eventually accepts Kamatari’s proposal and takes Kamatari’s daughter as his wife and the two prosper.

The fourth cycle opens with Kamatari’s first attempt to trick Iruka by luring his enemy into his home. Once his enemy is inside, Kamatari hopes to cut off his head with the sickle. Feigning sickness, Kamatari begs that Iruka bring his daughter to him so that he can see her one last time before his imminent death. Iruka finally assents and gets into a palanquin with his wife.

On the way to his father-in-law’s mansion, Iruka suddenly recalls a story that puts him off the idea of seeing Kamatari. He recounts this tale set in ancient India to his wife. Two countries in a foreign land (ikoku), Ryōginkoku 龍吟国 and Genkoku 還国, share a common border. The two countries battle each other for several
years without any conclusion. The king of Ryōginkoku is served by
two great warriors. The king of Genkoku wishes to use these two
warriors to defeat his enemy, and so he offers his beautiful daughter
to the eldest of the two brothers who accept and goes over to the
enemy side along with his brother. The king of Genkoku commands that
the brothers, now having become his sons, show their loyalty by
returning to Ryōginkoku and killing the king. Upon the brothers’
return, the king of Ryōginkoku suspects what the two are plotting
and kills himself before their eyes, charging the brothers to build
a mausoleum and leave his bones undisturbed. They do as their former
master requests and return to Genjō.

Having his desires fulfilled, the king of Genkoku turns his
army on the brothers. Fighting a losing battle, the brothers rush
to the grave of the king of Ryōginkoku and lament their fate. From
within the burial mound the voice of the king of Ryōginkoku is heard,
which commands the brothers to carry his bones into battle. They
do as the voice tells them, and they are able to battle the enemy
forces. At dusk, the battle appears to be coming to a successful conclusion. Unable to prolong the battle to victory if the sun sets, the brothers rush to the top of a hill and shout at the sun to stop. The sun returns and shines its light as if it were midday. The brothers are successful against their enemy and soundly defeat the army of Genjō. Taking this story as a precedent, Iruka returns home and once again eludes death.

As Iruka states in his conclusion, that this story is the origin of several performance pieces in the bugaku tradition, “Batô,” “Genjôraku,” and “Ran ryô-ô.” The first of these is tied to the name of the daughter of the king of Genjō, Batô-nyo. As Eta-Schneider notes, the piece that remains in the bugaku tradition today is performed by a single dancer who represents a son lamenting for his father who has been killed by a tiger. Having revenged his father, the son dances in triumph (160). “Genjôraku” was originally a snake charm dance, but it was later interpreted by the Chinese to mean “return to the castle,” and the piece represents the return of a
warrior from battle (161-162). Finally, the piece “Ran ryō-ō” is most directly connected with the narrative in the kōwaka-mai piece. The bugaku piece follows the same plot as outlined here, the final gestures by the dancer symbolizing the command of the sun to stop its descent (167-169).

Asahara argues that this version of the Genjōraku story had passed down within the oral tradition among the performers of bugaku that were attached to the two main religious institutions that were centers of the bugaku tradition, the Shitennōji 四天王寺 temple (now known simply as “Tennōji”) and the Kōfukuji temple (Kōwaka-bukyoku kō 477). In addition to the orally transmitted version preserved in the kōwaka-mai piece, there are at least three other extant versions of the tale, one found in the Kyōkunjō, one found in the bugaku miscellany, the Bugaku zatsuroku, and one found in the medieval monogatari, Genjōraku monogatari. Even though there are many variations between these accounts of the story, in general they conform to the pattern that is outlined in the kōwaka-mai version.
sharing the following elements (KBKK X 148-151). One of the opposing kings uses his daughter to create a bond between him and the retainers of the enemy king. Then the King of Ryōginkoku dies and comes back to life leading the forces of his retainers on to victory. The final battle is prolonged by commanding the sun not to set.

As the kōwaka-mai version of the Genjōraku story is not directly connected to any of these pretexts, Asahara suggests that the early performers of the kusemai, who were menials in service to temples and shrines throughout the country but especially in the Kansai region, had contact with other performers at the temples and shrines. The close connection with performers at religious institutions was the context in which the oral version of the tale passed down into the kusemai version during the Sengoku period (Kōwaka-bukyoku kō 476). As competition between these groups of kusemai performers increased, they were brought into contact with each other. What likely followed was that the Kōwaka troupe as well as other troupes of shōmonji adapted the most popular of the
narratives performed at that time, and restructured them to fit into their own particular style of performance (Kawasaki 82-83).

As in the capital and the provinces of Echizen and Settsu, there was also a large contingent of shōmonji performers active during the fourteenth century in the city of Nara. As the Daijōin jisha zatsuji ki 大乗院寺社随事記 indicates, in the late fifteenth century the area was a major center for shōmonji who performed the kusemai (qtd. in Asahara Kōwaka-bukyoku kō 64). At this time the shōmonji of Nara performed the kusemai with five dancers, which was in contrast to the style initiated by the Kōwaka troupe in the middle of the fifteenth century.

This does not mean that all of the shōmonji were performing the kusemai, rather a certain segment of these menial workers were performing while others continued to perform senzumanzai as well as the less than desirable work around the temple and shrine complex. Most likely, it was the Nara shōmonji who performed and transmitted the legend of Kamatari as a miraculous story explaining the efficacy
of the Kasuga deity and the history of the Kōfukuji-Kasuga complex. Asahara surmises that the shōmonji of the fourteenth century added the Genjōraku story to make their performance more exciting for the audiences (Kōwaka-bukyoku kō 472).

As we have seen in our discussion of Orikuchi’s marebito theory in Chapter 1, it is the hokaibito who are fundamental to Orikuchi’s idea of transmission of story-patterns throughout the country. The hokaibito originated in the felicitous performances at the New Year, during which they sang the praises of the kami. Through the power of their words (tonae-goto), prosperity and blessings were bestowed to the community.

In the medieval period, the descendants of these hokaibito performed senzumanzai at the imperial palace at the New Year (I 93-107). They were also practitioners of divination and purification, and so their function in performance was to bring blessings upon the houses and to the audiences for whom the performed. The real lives of the hokaibito find their analogue in the
kishururitan story-pattern (I 445). Like the protagonists in these stories, the hokaibito too, were outcasts of society, forced to travel from village to village (I 103-106).

Within the structure of medieval Japanese society, they were also considered marebito. Communities considered them kami in disguise who came into the community and performed felicitous words and caste out potentially evil demons and brought blessings and prosperity to households and the village as a whole. For Orikuchi’s theory of transmission, the medieval descendants of the hokaibito were essential mediums of culture, their performances resulting in the nation-wide spread of story-patterns and belief systems and tapped into the original structure of myth as represented in the marebito theory.

3.3.2 Analysis of Section II

Having moved through the Otherworld, symbolized in the story of a foreign land, the narrative moves to Kamatari’s redoubled
efforts to defeat Iruka in Cycle 5. Kamatari makes a pilgrimage to the Kasuga shrine, the protectorate shrine of the Fujiwara family.

It was beyond Kamatari’s power, so he made a pilgrimage to the Kasuga shrine. “Following the law of reason that states, “One evil man is killed to save many,” although it is a sin to kill, the minister Iruka is a rebellious fellow who not only treats the realm frivolously but also wastes the nation’s wealth.

At the Kasuga shrine, Kamatari makes a pledge to commission a statue of Sakya to be enshrined in the Kōfukuji temple. Falling asleep in the holy precincts of the shrine, the Kasuga deity drops a cane in front of him. This “cane of darkness” allows Kamatari to become blindness. Having been given another magical object by the kami, Kamatari pretends to be without sight.

Although Kamatari takes on the characteristics of a marebito, it is not Kamatari who is the mediating element in the seventh cycle. Like Yuriwaka in Yuriwaka daijin and Shida Kotarō in Shida, as well as Yoshitsune on many occasions in the hōgan-mono cycle of pieces,
the main character in the kōwaka-mai often goes through some type of physical transformation before being restored to his original identity.\textsuperscript{36} The mediating elements in the mythic structure of the kōwaka-mai do not go through any such transformation: their efficacy as mediators come from their essential identity that allows them to be instruments for the main character to solve the opposition between two conflicting oppositions. In the seventh cycle, it is Kamatari’s son who is sacrificed in the fire to convince Iruka that Kamatari is truly blind.

It was the late in the eleventh month. Kamatari requested Iruka’s presence. He had the hearth lit and both he and Iruka were warming their hands at the fire. The wet nurse came in cradling Kamatari’s still infant son. As she passed near Kamatari, the child became fussy. “Why, is the child crying?” Kamatari asked. “Give him to me!” As she was placing the child in his hands, what could have happened? Kamatari dropped his son into the raging fire.

Sure of Kamatari’s blindness, Iruka fatefully lets down his guard in the final cycle of the piece. The setting for this final
section is significant. In the later pieces that I analyze, particularly *Yuriwaka daijin* and *Shida*, the final scene is tied to a specific time in the ritual calendar. Here in *Iruka*, the latter half of section five is set in the cold of winter, or as one variant explicitly opens this scene late (*gejun* 下旬) in the eleventh month.

We recall that the medieval Shinto text, the *Tenshō daijin kuketsu* explains that this episode is the foundation for the enthronement ceremony. The enthronement ceremony was linked from an early time with the harvest festival that is known as the *ni’inamesai*, or Ritual of the First Fruits. Death and the harvest were associated with the death of the former emperor while at the same time it was also connected with rebirth and fertility associated with the accession of the new emperor to the throne (Ebersole 105). It is also not insignificant that this period under the new government set up by the Nara court, was part of a cycle that began with the harvest, pacification of the spirits of the dead (*chinkonsai* or *tamashizume*) and ended with the New Year festival.
For Orikuchi, these three series of rituals are most clearly understood as a whole. The death of the emperor was followed by the need to pacify his soul and once this was done, the new emperor could take his place at the head of the nation at the beginning of the New Year, when all of his subjects would bow down to him (III 198-203). Thus, the enthronement of the new emperor was structured upon the harmony-inversion-restoration pattern that underlies all of Japanese culture.

The medieval world interpreted the Kamatari legend as being closely tied with imperial succession and the right of kings (ôbô). In Iruka, the final section is set in the halls of the imperial palace. All the courtiers are present, save for Kamatari. After an urgent message is sent to Kamatari, he arrives at court, poking his way to the front of the chamber with his cane. Kamatari passes near to Iruka who gets up to let him by. At this point, Kamatari takes the symbol of the harvest, the sickle, which is a culturally significant

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as a symbol of Dakiniten, the conqueror of enemies; and strikes down
Iruka.

His eyes that had been closed for the last three years were
suddenly opened. With his right hand, he reached inside his
cloak, pulled out the sickle and swinging it around lopped
off the head of the minister Iruka with one skillful stroke.
Iruka’s headless body bounded up where he had been seated,
shoved Kamatari aside, reached inside its cloak with its left
hand, and pulled out a sword like ice. The headless body ran
after Kamatari striking at the cushions exhausting all of his
strength and fell with his head pointed to the north. The
emperor, however, had gotten up and hid behind the blinds;
he was not in the least injured.

Now that the illegitimate ruler of the land has been killed,
the emperor is “reborn” and the world prospers.

After Iruka was killed, the entire land prospered and the
hearth of the people were abundant.

In summary, the kōwaka-mai piece Iruka reflects the several
layers of significance that the Kamatari legend had for Japanese
medieval culture. First, as the legend evolved within the texts of
the schools of medieval Shinto theorists, Kamatari as patriarch of the Fujiwara dynasty was responsible for setting the world aright. Into this world that had devolved into chaos, Kamatari appears on the political scene, empowered by the commission of the future emperor Tenji, brings peace to the nation and restores the authority of the imperial house and its myth of the unbroken line of succession. While much of the realpolitik of the time has been reduced to a mere outline of the events surrounding the Taika Reforms, the medieval mythmakers created a larger than life figure of Kamatari.

Yet, reinterpreted as the archetypal mythic hero, Kamatari emerges from obscurity, rises quickly at court, and becomes the most intimate and loyal retainer of the would-be emperor, fulfilling his duty by subjugating the evil minister Iruka. His rise to power and successful defeat of Iruka is accomplished not by cunning alone, but through the intercession of the kami who bestow upon him the sacred implements that not only insure defeat of his enemy, but also
restore the sacred line of inheritance to the throne and insure the prosperity of the nation and his descendants.

Second, while the legend is ultimately a tale of restoration of absolute power to an enlightened ruler, the power of both of these houses becomes intimately bound to the constructed interpretations of contemporary ritual practice, namely the enthronement ceremony, a ritual that was often postpone due to the conflict of the Sengoku period. The Kamatari legend in the writings of the medieval theorists of the Yoshida and Ryôbu Shinto schools saw in the legend the representation of an ideal world, one in which loyalty between emperor and subject are firmly bound.

Rupture of this the most essential of all relationships ultimately leads to chaos and threatens the unity of the nation, underwritten by the emperor and the myth of his divine pedigree. Thus, for the medieval world the events of the mid-seventh century were not understood as a series of political and administrative reforms following the coup d’état initiated by Kamatari and his
fellow architects as move towards centralization of power in the hands of the imperial house, rather what made this episode culturally meaningful was its reinterpretation as a tale of the bonds of power that were created between the imperial family and Fujiwara in the annual cycle of court rituals.

These ceremonies became the foundation for the nation, resting upon both divine right and ecclesiastical authority. We see in Iruka how politically and socially significant rituals are woven together with mythic narratives. Myths were not only constructed as explanations of origins of society, they were also interpreted as sacred. These myths legitimated the ritual that structured their world. While twentieth century commentators such as Orikuchi have argued that the rituals such as the enthronement ceremony originated in the prehistoric world in the rebirth of the tama of the emperor, the medieval world saw myth as being inextricably linked with rituals of legitimization and political power.
3.4 Taishokan: The Mythicization of Kamatari

In the late-twelfth century, the Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa 后白河 records an imayō 今様 that extols the Shidoji temple 志度寺 as one of several temples at which miracles (reigen 霊騫) have occurred (Kawaguchi and Shida 399). This temple, which is situated on the southern shore of Shido bay that opens up into the Seto Inland Sea (setonaikai 瀬戸内海), although achieving fame in the performing arts of the late-medieval period, had an unclear beginning. The seven-part temple history, the Shidoji engi 志度縁起, along with six (of an original seven) large narrative paintings, recount the origins, miraculous events and reconstruction efforts of the temple complex over a seven-hundred-year period (Hiroshima 45-138).37

The first engi, the Misogi no engi 御衣木之縁起, states the Shido temple in Sanuki 鳴岐 province (present-day Kagawa 香川 prefecture) was constructed in the thirty-third year of Empress Suiko’s 推古 reign (625). Its principal deity is the eleven-faced Kannon (Skt. Ekadasamukaha [J. jūichimen kannon 十一面観音]) that
was fashioned from driftwood in only one day by a young boy, who was afterwards revealed to be the incarnation of Emma-ō 間魔王, the ruler of the underworld. Yet, despite this auspicious beginning, the Shidoji temple had fallen upon hard times by the early Kamakura period. As was the case with so many other temples and shrines in the medieval period, jongleurs such as etoki used both the narratives and the narrative paintings in subscriptions efforts to solicit funds for the reconstruction of the temple edifices singing the praises of the temple that had miraculous healing powers (Umetsu 222).

3.4.1 The Tamatori Story-Pattern in the Japanese Tradition

By tapping into the rich store of traditional story-patterns, the wandering performers wove tales of their temple or shrine’s beginnings that were unique, yet had a transcendent meaning for all who heard. No doubt influenced by the local geography and the relationship of the community to the sea, the story-pattern that is the traditional reference for the Shido dojō engi is the tamatori
story-pattern that tells of the miraculous recovery of a jewel from the sea.

The Kojiki and the Nihon shoki record this story-pattern in several forms, the earliest being the mythic narrative of Hikohohodemi-no-mikoto set to sea in a basket by his elder brother. Hikohohodemi-no-mikoto travels to the palace of the sea god Watatsumi 海神 and there he weds Toyotama-hime 豊玉姫 who bears him a son. In addition, Watatsumi bestows upon Hikohohodemi-no-mikoto two jewels with which he brings his brother under submission, controlling the water supply necessary for agricultural fertility (Sakamoto et al. I 162-187; Kurano and Takeda 135-145).

Transpositions of this mythic narrative are prominent in subsequent episodes during the reigns of Emperor Ingyô and Empress Jingû, who obtain jewels from the sea in order to restore fertility, bring prosperity to this world and conquer foreign enemies. With the introduction of Buddhist culture, continental tales of jewels recovered from the sea enriched the native tamatorì story-pattern.
Foremost among these legends is the parable of Daise Taishi, an Indian prince who travels to the palace of the Dragon King to procure a jewel that brings blessings to his land and abundant prosperity to its people. From the earliest time in China, the tale of Daise Taishi was used as a parable in Buddhist tale collections and sutra commentaries to explain the bodhisattva virtue of diligence (shōjin 精進).

Japanese writers from the Heian period onward employed this parable in similar fashion in Buddhist setsuwa 說話 collections, most notably the Konjaku monogatarishū 宝物集 and the Hōbutsushū 宝物集. Even though the continental story-pattern appears to have developed independently, the Daise Taishi legend has a structure that is identical to the tamatori story-pattern in the ancient Japanese mythic narratives—the present world suffers from disorder (poverty and famine) and it is only by bridging the divide between This World and the Otherworld that harmony and prosperity can be restored. Possession of the jewel here as in the
ancient Japanese mythic narratives allows man to dominate and control natural phenomena showering the land with abundance and restoring harmony to society.

In traditional Japanese belief, "tama" was the spirit or life force that imbued all things. When the tama takes physical form, it does so in either the shape of a kami with benevolent intentions or in the shape of mono with malevolent intentions (III 261).43 In the myths of the ancient period, a jewel (either a pearl or magatama 勾玉) was the reification of this spirit or tama that was thought to possess magical powers concomitant with its intrinsic value as a rare object.44 In the mythic narratives of the ancient world, we find that as a reification of the spirit of the kami the jewel was imbued with mystical powers from the Otherworld giving the person who possessed it absolute political authority by its symbolic association with agricultural and sexual fertility.45

Examples of the symbolic power of jewels abound in the works of the ancient world, particularly in the Man’yōshū and the Kojiki
that attest to these complementary meanings of the word “tama.”

In the language of lyric poetry, for example, “tama” was an integral part of the figure of speech known as the makura kotoba 枕詞, or “pillow words.” From earliest times, “tama” was grammaticalized as a prefix that expressed a sense of adoration, admiration, or wonder.

We are reminded that Murasaki Shikibu, in the eleventh century, uses “tama” as a metaphor for Genji when he is born saying: “Is it that they [the Emperor and Kiritsubo] had a deep bond from a previous life? She gave birth to a pure-jeweled prince [kiyorakanaru tama no miko 清らかなる玉の御子]” (Yamagishi I 28).

The tamatori story-pattern gives narrative expression to the mythic pattern of mediation between this world and the otherworld— one is able to physically possess the tama, and by acquiring this jewel, society transcends the need for the cyclical visits of the kami. Where once the community needed to enlist the power of the kami to ensure prosperity and safety of the coming year, narratives that tell of the transfer of jewels or treasures from
the Otherworld mark society’s first acts toward domination of nature and the unknown.

The *tamatori* story-pattern originates in the mythic divide between the world of humans and the world of the Other, and possession of an all powerful jewel is a metaphor for society’s quest to control the cycle of birth, death and rebirth. The *tama* symbolically gives one the power to control the essential ebb and flow of the seasons and ultimately symbolic power over the cosmic cycle of life, death and rebirth (Eliade *Patterns* 440).

3.4.2 The *Shidoji engi* and the *Tamatori* Story-Pattern

In creating the illustrious history of the Shido dōjō, or the “Shido Buddhist Training Hall,” the *Shido dōjō engi* uses the *tamatori* story-pattern as its traditional reference and grafts onto this template the history of the founding of the northern house of the Fujiwara family. The *Shido dōjō engi*, the second *engi* of this
collection, recounts how Fujiwara no Fuhito, the son of Fujiwara no Kamatari, built the Shido dōjō during the early eighth century. Fuhito has a daughter whose beauty is heard of as far away as Tang China. The then reigning emperor of China enchanted by the tales of her beauty sends an envoy to the Japanese court to ask that she become his empress.

Upon arrival at the Tang court, Fuhito’s daughter sends three treasures to adorn the Kōfukuji temple in Nara. Foremost among these is the jewel, a reliquary holding a statue of Sakya. On the journey to Japan, a sudden wind blows the jewel off the boat as it nears the shore of Shido in northern Shikoku. The Dragon King, living in the sea quickly, scoops up the jewel and takes it to his water palace. Fuhito lamenting the loss of the jewel travels to the shores of Shido where he marries a diver and begets a son, Fusasaki.47

After three years pass, Kamatari reveals his identity to the diver and asks that she dive down and recover the jewel. Fuhito ties a rope around the diver’s waist and gives her a sword. She retrieves
the jewel, but on the way back to the surface, the Dragon King mortally wounds her. Before perishing, however, the diver cuts open her breast, hides the jewel and is pulled to the surface. Fuhito, in turn, returns to the capital with the jewel and his son, and places the jewel in the forehead of the Sakyā statue that his father commissioned when he made pledges to the Kasuga shrine to enlist the deity’s aid in defeating Soga no Iruka. Fuhito builds the Shido dōjō in honor of the diver. Fusasaki later returns with the priest Gyōki to pray for the repose of his mother’s soul.

As one of the many foundation myths that were created and performed during the medieval period, the Shidoji engi was a sacred narrative that explained the origins of the community and cosmos that was centered on its central unifying symbol, the Shidoji temple. Not only did the engi explain the mysterious beginnings and miraculous events that had occurred at the temple, it also tied the founding of the temple to the most politically powerful family of the classical world, the Fujiwara. Although it was common practice
for temples and shrines to create histories that tied their religious institutions to powerful families, the creators of the Shido dōjō engi boldly wrote the founding of their Buddhist Training Hall with the central figure of Fujiwara no Fuhito, whose son, the engi goes on to state, initiated the annual reading of the Hōke-kyō in honor of his mother the diver.

Underwritten by its mythic narrative of origins, the annual re-enactment of this ritual reinforced the Shidoji temple’s tie with the Kōfukuji temple that, along with the Kasuga shrine, ruled over the semi-autonomous region of Yamato which was declared not only a land of the kami, “shinkoku” 神國, but also was conceived to be a manifestation of the Pure Land in Japan (Graphard 107). Sakya, who is said to reside in the sacred realm of the Kōfukuji-Kasuga complex that protects the nation, is enshrined in the Central Golden Hall, and in the statue’s forehead is a jewel that a lowly diver from on the shores of northern Shikoku sacrificed her life to retrieve from the dragon palace. Moreover, this diver also gave an heir to
the guardians of the Kōfukuji-Kasuga complex and protectors of the nation since time immemorial.

3.5 Analysis of Taishokan

3.5.1 Analysis of Section I

The きわもの再解釈 of the Shido dōjō engi completes the process of mythicization of Kamatari that had taken place in the medieval period. The following outline elucidates how the performers of the くせま再解釈 restructured the Shido dōjō engi according to the mythic pattern of harmony-inversion-restoration typical of medieval foundation myths.

Section I

(1) In seventh-century Japan, Fujiwara Kamatari has a daughter called Kohaku-nyo こうはく女, whose beauty is heard of as far away as Tang China, whose emperor desires to have her.

(2) The emperor of China laments of his desire to have Kamatari’s daughter.
(3) The Chinese courtiers proclaim that the emperor’s desire must be fulfilled and send a messenger to Japan. Kamatari at first declines, but at Emperor Shōmu’s urging, he agrees to the marriage. Taishokan’s fortune was truly great.

Section II

(4) Her new subjects greet Kohaku-nyo. The glories of Tang China are praised. Having arrived in Tang China, Kohaku-nyo causes the nation to prosper.

(5) Once on the throne, she sends a myriad of treasures for the Kōfukuji temple in Nara. The most precious of these treasures is the jewel, which is locked in a stone box.

(6) The emperor entrusts all these treasures to Wanhu, the most valiant Chinese general. The Chinese fleet sets off for Japan.

(7) Under the sea, the Eight Dragon Kings desire the jewel, which they hope will enable them to attain immediate enlightenment.

(8) At Chikura-ga-oki, the sea barrier between China and Japan, the Chinese and asura battle. The strength of the asura seems to be unbeatable.

(9) Aided by the Buddha, Wanhu is superior and defeats the asura.
The Dragon Girl is sent in disguise to seduce Wanhù and to steal the jewel. The Chinese ships arrive in Sanuki province, just off FusaSaki.

The Dragon Girl appears in a hollowed out boat. The crew of Wanhù’s ship argue over whether or not to drown the Dragon Girl. The Dragon Girl tells them that she was exiled by a jealous stepmother.

Touched by her story, Wanhù allows her onboard. Wanhù falls in love with the Dragon Girl and tries to seduce her. The Dragon Girl engages Wanhù in a discussion of the Buddhist precepts. The Dragon Girl rejects Wanhù’s advances saying that to violate the prohibition against sexual relations will cause her to be reborn in a lower level of samsara.

Wanhù argues that there is no difference between enlightenment and samsara. They are one in the same thing. It is only through living in the world of desire that one can understand what enlightenment is.

The Dragon Girl counters this argument by citing the lives of Sakya-muni and the arhats who practiced strict asceticism. If they gave up all worldly desires, she asks, how can we hope to achieve buddhahood by violating the commandments?

Wanhù lashes out at her continued stubbornness causing her to break down into tears in submission. She asks to see the jewel as a sign of their love,
and being granted this wish, she steals the jewel away.

(16) Wanhu presents the treasures to Kamatari, but the jewel is not be found. Kamatari goes with Wanhu to Fusasaki to look for the jewel, but without any means of going to the Dragon Palace, Kamatari returns to the capital empty handed.

Section III

(17) Kamatari goes to Fusasaki. He weds the strongest of the divers that he observes there.

(18) After three years, she bears him a child. Kamatari divulges his identity. The diver, ashamed of being married to a court official, is overcome by thoughts of killing her self.

(19) Kamatari stops her and entreats her to go to the Dragon Palace and retrieve the jewel. She dives under the waves and disappears without a trace for seven days. On the seventh day, she returns and tells Kamatari about her journey to the Dragon Palace.

(20) Kamatari tells of his plan to lure the Dragon Kings away from the jewel while the diver goes and retrieves the jewel.

(21) Kamatari reassures the diver that even if she perishes, he will build a temple complex for her in Nara and make her son a courtier. Kamatari lures
the Dragon kings to the surface with a **bugaku** concert.

(22) The diver swims to the Dragon Palace and retrieves the jewel. The diver is mortally wounded on her return to the surface, but she hides the jewel in her breast and the jewel is saved. The jewel is placed in the forehead of the statue of Sakya in the Kōfukuji temple.

The piece begins by recounting the mythic origins of the Fujiwara family and its protectorate shrine.

Now, as for what is known as our imperial dynasty, when the deity Amatsukoyane-no-mikoto pushed open the door of the Heavenly Rock Cave the rays of sun shone forth, was simultaneously manifested in the form of the shrine at Kasuga, and has from that time protected the nation.

Summarizing the events that are recounted in **Iruka**, the opening cycle of **Taishokan**, introduces the hero, Kamatari, saying,

Among the members of the Fujiwara family, the one who was called "Taishokan," was Lord Kamatari. At first, he entered the University and was a student in the Department of Letters, but having subjugated the minister Iruka, Kamatari became
“Taishokan.” Now, as for this minister, in ancient times there was no one equal to him, and certainly it would be impossible to find one of equal stature in these latter days. He was a high-ranking government official and was greatly favored. He always carried a sickle with him, and that is why he is also called “Minister Kamatari.”

The fusion of Kamatari and his son Fuhito raises the figure of Kamatari above his importance as an historical figure. It gives his acts meaning that transcends their historical dimension.

Following the themes developed in *Iruka*, the kōwaka-mai piece *Taishokan* transforms Kamatari’s life and actions into mythical actions based upon archetypes and thus his legend becomes culturally meaningful as, what Eliade would call “an expression of Truth” (*The Myth* 41-42). In order to understand the lives of historical figures, Eliade argues, cultures reinvent the lives of these culturally important figures according to the archetypal patterns that express something greater than their lives might entail at the specific time that they lived. It is only within myth, therefore, that the lives of legendary figures become true (46).
By fusion with his son Fuhito, Kamatari is an archetypal hero, and as patriarch of the Fujiwara family he represents all of the qualities that a loyal subject standing pars pro toto for the generations of Fujiwara men who served the nation and the crown. Writing in the same era as the Shido dōjō engi was created, Kitabatake Chikafusa 北畠親房 (1293-1354) in the Jinnō shōtōki 神皇正統記 gives his reinterpretation of the unbroken line of imperial descent from Amaterasu-no-ōkami, what the medieval world understood to be meaningful in this relationship. As in other medieval versions of the legend, Chikafusa begins by restating that Kamatari was descended from Amanokoyane-no-mikoto, a kami originally of the Kashima shrine, who among all the myriad kami was charged to carry out the orders of Amaterasu-no-ōkami (Tenshō daijin no mikotonori wo ukete fusa no kami ni mashimsu 天照大神の詔を受けて輔佐の神にます) (Iwasa, Tokieda and Kidō 97).

"Fusa" here has dual significance for Chikafusa, first in its literal sense as "carrying out the orders of a superior" and more
importantly as an alternate term for “regent” (kampaku 関白).

Chikafusa locates the legitimacy of the political domination of the Fujiwara in the world of myth, saying that Amanokoyane-no-mikoto’s grandchild, Amanotaneko-no-mikoto 天種子命, likewise was charged with conducting rituals (matsurigoto 祭事) which affairs of state (matsurigoto 政). The duality in the orthographic renderings of the term “matsurigoto” Chikafusa interprets as reflecting the complementary roles of the Fujiwara Regents that correspond to the dual identity of the emperor as both kami (object of worship) and sovereign (object of loyalty). It is in this lineage to which Kamatari is born and has cultural significance, exemplary of his family’s hereditary position as faithful servants and implementers of the will of the divine emperor.

While the kōwaka-mai version of the Kamatari legend incorporates many of the thoughts of medieval Shinto theorists, reinterpreting his life following archetypal patterns that have their basis in the common language of myth, the kōwaka-mai piece
Taishokan incorporates myth on several levels beyond the narrative itself. On the most elemental level, binary oppositions underlie and structure the piece. These oppositions are matched at the level of musical convention with each of the three major sections setting up dyads that are then mediated progressing from harmony to inversion and finally to restoration. Thus, the performance of “myth” while “project[ing] man into the realm of Great Time” derives originally from its relationship to the sacred (Eliade Images 58).

As a close reading of the early works of the literary critic and folklorist Orikuchi tells us, myth is not a representation of the sacred, rather it is a cultural construct that is rooted in the connection between the spiritual world of the kami and quotidian world of humans. As a structuring element, mythic patterns, the opposition between this world and the Otherworld permeates all facets of culture, from the language that is structured upon “double codes,” to the structuring of ritual, narrative and performance.
Thus, myth as structure is in its various forms a totalizing discourse. As narrative discourse we see that characters are constructed within this system of oppositions. Within myth, archetypes reveal the Truth beyond the historical “reality” of the lives of historical figures. As an ideology, myth pervades all aspects of culture through which mythicization of historical figures is their signification within what Althusser calls an “ideological system” (47). The Kamatari legend as a construct of the medieval world is informed by the ideology of the family system, or ie 家.

In her study of the history of women in medieval Japan, Wakita Haruko 藤田晴子 argues that throughout the medieval period all aspects of culture, political, social and economic life were structured on the ideology of the family. Of course, in order to perpetuate a direct line from father to son, the biological role of female as procreator was essential given that it was through her that a male heir was born, thus preserving the continuity of the family. It is not surprising, then, that in the world of the medieval
myth, the family system is the central ideology of most medieval
temple and shrine engi.

The most obvious correspondence between the ie and the
community are in the foundation myths where the protagonist is a
foundling taken in by a community and becomes in essence the
community’s child. Upon death and apotheosis, the child is revealed
as a kami that is believed to preserve the peace and prosperity of
the community (Furuhashi 17-18). Thus, in medieval myth, the
relationship that obtains between the kami and the community is a
fictive kinship that is analogous to those relationships in a
household. Extending this analogy a step further, we see that the
notions of “community” and “nation” are logically linked with the
ideology of the ie. The importance of the role of the female as mother
within the ie system, consequently extends beyond that of the private
realm of the immediate family, as procreator her role and identity
are constructed in relation to the community and ultimately to the
nation as a whole.
The mythicization of Kamatari as an archetypal mythic hero in Taishokan is tied to the institutions that perpetuate this ideology of the family system. As we have seen, the legend of Kamatari is intimately linked with the Kōfukuji-Kasuga complex and the Fujiwaras’ role as protector of the nation-state symbolized in the restoration and guarantee of imperial succession. The Fujiwara dynasty was in turn perpetuated by the production of male heirs in their own house and the production of imperial heirs through the mediation of women. Thus the link between the Fujiwara and the imperial family was not only exemplary of the relationship between master and subject, but it was also linked by the ideology of the family system and its rhetoric of legitimate heredity through the procreative act of women.

In the kōwaka-mai piece Taishokan, the ideology of the family system comes into clear focus in the second cycle of Section I where we see that Kamatari’s progeny take central importance. First, his
daughter, Kōmyō 光明 (701-760), the narrative tells us, was wed to the Emperor Shōmu (r. 724-749).

He had many children. His eldest daughter was known as “Empress Kōmyō” who occupied the position of the wife of Emperor Shōmu. The one who was his second daughter was named “Kōhaku-nyo,” and she was the most beautiful woman in the three countries [of India, China and Japan].

The narrative clearly delineates the roles of male and female children in the ideology of the family. The first two major sections of the piece define the role of female children as tools to create political ties with other families. Male children, on the other hand, are likened to jewels that insure the continuation of the family name. Thus, the piece not only references the tamatorī story-pattern, but it also ties the image of the jewel to medieval ideology of power, the synthesis of ōbō and huppō.

Here we must not overlook the significance of the compression of history in Iruka and Taishokan that together recreate Kamatari as restorer of the imperial line and father of the first of the Yamato
emperors to successfully wield “national” power. It was Emperor Shōmu, we recall, who solidified the power of the imperial house in the mid-eighth century by building a network of national shrines (kokubunji 国分寺) as well as the most important symbol of imperial hegemony—the Great Buddha at the Tōdaiji temple 東大寺. After the death of her husband, Empress Kōmyō saw the enthronement of her daughter, Empress Kōken (r. 749-759) after which she expanded the Kōfukuji temple complex. As the patriarch’s daughter, her union with the emperor sets a mythic precedent for succeeding generations and practice of marriage politics.

As the kōwaka-mai piece continues, we see the hand of Kamatari’s power extend beyond national borders, for it is Kamatari’s beautiful daughter Kōhaku-nyo, we are told, that becomes the empress of the most powerful of the emperors of the Tang dynasty who was the bane of Japanese ambitions on the Korean Peninsula. By wedding his daughter to Gao Zong 高宗, Kamatari mediates the binary opposition of This World and the Otherworld. The politics of
marriage tie back into the narrative we found in Iruka--Kamatari’s
defeat of Soga no Iruka and restoration of the imperial line for
Kamatari’s role as the descendant of the deity Amanokoyane-no-mikoto
to protect the nation and the enthronement of legitimate heirs.

The Kōfukuji temple as well is an institution upholding the
legitimacy of the state in that it is the statue of Sakya that was
carved as one of the vows made to the Kasuga deity. It is “because
of this,” the final lines of the first section conclude that “fortune
fell from the heavens like rain; his influence over the country was
like rain watering the land, like the wind bending the grass.”

3.5.2 Analysis of Section II

Sections II and III of the kōwaka-mai piece incorporate the
plot of the Shido dōjō engi, telling how the jewel was sent along
with a myriad of other treasures to adorn the Kōfukuji temple as
Kōhaku-nyo’s legacy to the Japanese nation. Both of these sections
are transpositions of the mythic structure that underlies the first
339
section, the mediation between this world and the Otherworld through the body of a woman.

Although Section II is unique to the kōwaka-mai, its mythic structure is the most prototypical of the three. While the jewel travels from China to Japan guarded on by the Chinese envoy Wanhu (J. manko 万戸), the Dragon Kings living under the sea become aware of its presence above them on the waves. "We will surely attain perfect enlightenment once we have stolen the jewel!" and having said this, they call on the asura (J. ashura 阿修羅) to attack the Chinese ships. Aided by the bodhisattva Kannon, the Chinese forces prevail. Yet, as the ships are nearing Shido Bay, the Dragon Kings transform one of their minions into the Dragon Girl. Mediating between this world and the Otherworld, the Dragon Girl uses her feminine charms as a seductress to bewitch Wanhu and steal the jewel away.

We can find two possible analogues to this section of the kōwaka-mai piece in Ama, the Noh drama rendition of the engi. In
Ama, the diver’s true self is revealed as the Dragon Girl in the second half of the play. This interpretation of the identity of the Dragon Girl seems to have had common currency in the medieval period. For example, Sonshin makes the link between the Dragon Girl and the loss of the cintamani in the Hoke-kyō jūrinshūyōshō 法華経鶴林拾葉抄 where he notes that in the Daise Taishi legend it is the Dragon Girl who takes the form of a woman and steals the jewel away from the Indian prince (Sonshin II 306-307). The Dragon Girl in Taishokan disguised as a princess who has been betrayed and banished by her evil stepmother is closely allied to Ōrikuchi’s notion of a marebito (a kami in the guise of a human being). It is in this section, in contrast to the first and third sections that the medieval view of woman as a seductress is played out.\textsuperscript{49}

The kōwaka-mai text builds upon the theme of the diver being an incarnation of the Dragon Girl of the Hoke-kyō that was introduced in the earlier Noh drama Ama and fits the Daise Taishi legend into Section II where we see the jewel lost on its journey from China.
to Japan. The Dragon Girl, transformed by the Dragon King into a beautiful woman, uses her sexual charms to trick Wanhu.

Interestingly, she is introduced into the narrative by the motif of the "sealed hollow boat" (utsubo-bune 空舟) that brings her form the dragon palace under the sea into This World. This motif is most often likened to an egg that holds life that after a period of time breaks out of its shell and emerges into this world. In Japanese folk traditions, the motif of the hollow boat is a symbol of the kami or non-human life. Even though she is recognized as such by the men on the ship that urge their captain to sink the Dragon Girl and her ghostly craft into the sea, Wanhu is deceived from the beginning and allows her on board.

Drawing Wanhu into a discussion of the sanctity of the Buddhist commandments and the doctrine of non-duality, the Dragon Girl tricks Wanhu into giving her the jewel for one night. Having obtained the jewel, she promptly disappears with it to the dragon palace.
3.5.3 Analysis of Section III

In the final section of the piece we see the transposition of the mythic structure with the diver mediating between this world and the Otherworld, the dragon palace at the bottom of the sea. The promises that Kamatari makes to the diver bring together the two themes of this piece, the unity of the Buddhist Law and Imperial Law.

If you should perish, I will build a large Buddhist complex in the capital of Nara in order to honor you. And as far as this child goes, even if he might still be young I will take him with me to the capital and have him admitted into the presence of the emperor, name him “Lord Fusasaki,” and he will certainly become the patriarch of the Fujiwara family.

With the aid of Kamatari who distracts the Dragon Kings by holding a bugaku performance on a floating stage, the diver swims to the dragon palace and retrieves the jewel. On her way back to the surface she is mortally wounded by a dragon and cuts open her breast and hides the jewel there. Reaching the surface, she is laid out on the beach and the jewel is taken from her lifeless body as
Kamatari pushes Fusasaki to his dead mother’s breast. Kamatari returns with the child and the jewel re-establishing the Buddhist law by placing the jewel in the forehead of the statue of Sakya in the Kōfukuji temple and making Fusasaki his heir.

Although the diver perished, through the expedient means of goodness, she safely took back the priceless jewel that had been stolen away to the Dragon Palace. There was really no way to express thanks for this. This jewel, as stipulated in the accompanying letter, was placed in the forehead of the patron statue of Sakya the Kōfukuji temple. As for the statue of Buddha depicting him as he was born, it was placed in a red sandalwood box and was five-sun [15 cm] high, with a carved opening in which the flesh-colored relic was placed; this was put inside an eight-sun [24 cm] high crystal pagoda. It was called “the Priceless Jewel,” the most precious treasure in all of the three lands, which the Dragon Kings dearly wanted to possess. This, indeed, is the truth as it has come down to us.

The Kamatari legend as developed in the two pieces of the kōwaka-mai is tied by the motifs of the Kasuga-Kōfukuji, being the central symbol of the Fujiwara’s claims to power, their descent from the kami Amanokoyane-no-mikoto and the destruction of enemies of
the nation who threatened the integrity of the imperial house. The medieval interpretations of the legend drew Kamatari as the archetypal "mythic hero" by using the language of the temple and shrine histories that were in wide currency throughout the medieval period.

As with all mythic heroes, Kamatari has an unnatural birth undergoes trials is symbolically "reborn." Not only is he descended from the kami, but also he is aided by the kami who gave him the symbols of divine authority in the form of magical objects that he uses to destroy the enemies of the crown. After suffering trials, he is "reborn" and restores cosmos to the world. His power and prosperity extends not only to his children but to the nation as well, the people prospering and living in abundance.

Taishokan enhances Kamatari’s legendary stature making him “father” of the Japanese and Chinese nations. The jewel symbolic of the power of an enlightened ruler and the control nature and supreme enlightenment, completes the legend of Kamatari as the master
of this world, leaving his legacy as patriarch of the Fujiwara dynasty and protector of the nation symbolized in the inviolability of imperial descent.
For the major classification systems, see Takano, Sasaki (qtd. in Fukuda Chūsei 104-6), James T. Araki The Ballad 120-144, Araki, Ikeda and Yamamoto Kōwaka-mai I 350-52, and Asahara Kōwaka-bukyoku kō 394.

Araki, Ikeda and Yamamoto were the first to stress this connection in contrast to the other works of the kōwaka-mai (354).

In fact, many of the pieces incorporate religious themes. See Asahara

The only classification that appears in the Edo-period genealogies divides the pieces into short, medium and long.

Ruch, for example, calls this literature “vocal” rather than “oral” literature (“Medieval” 286-288).

For a discussion of the identity of art works, see Nelson and Wollheim. Scripts rely upon a system of notation to insure that each performance is a performance of a specific work of art. For recited narratives, such as the kōwaka-mai, identity is established both by the language of the text itself and its system of musical notation. Thus, the seihon 正本, or “officially certified copy,” includes both of these necessary elements. I have argued elsewhere, that the decline of kōwaka-mai as a performing art was tied to the general increase in literacy and availability of texts during the sixteenth century. The kōwaka-mai scripts by the mid-sixteenth century were in circulation allowing a wide variety of performers as well as readers access to the kōwaka-mai.

Ruch’s of vocal literature as a national literature in the following way: “A national literature is a certain core of literary works the content of which is well known and held dear by the majority of people across all class and professional lines, a literature that is a reflection of a national outlook. Such literature never shocks or
revolutionizes; it is constituted of favorite themes that recur again and again" ("Medieval" 291-292). While she reduces national to a geographical notion, the idea of "nation" is intriguing and its possibilities and implications will be examined below.

6 My reading of the development of the kōwaka-mai differs from that of previous scholars who argue that the kōwaka-mai was created as performing art to appeal to the warrior class. See, James T. Araki in particular (The Ballad Drama 4-5). As I have argued in Chapter 2, the kōwaka-mai developed first as a felicitous performing art that appealed to a wide cross-section of society.

9 For a critique of the methodology of the myth-ritual school, see Ackerman.

10 Even though Iruka and Taishokan are considered companion pieces, in performance there is only one recorded instance of the two being performed consecutively. See Ichiko 299. Even individual "chapters" (ku 句) of a work such as the Heike monogatari, for examples, were not performed in sequence by the biwa hōshi except on special occasions. Disparate episodes of the epic were performed in one program as a rule. This style of performance reminds us of the importance of the shared knowledge of the cultural tradition in constructing meaning in performance.

11 For an overview of this period in history, see, for example, Mitsusada with Brown 163-220.

12 Similar accounts can be found in the Tōnomine engi 416-419, and the Kamatariden 689-690.

13 Joan R. Piggott suggests that Kamatari’s absence from the post-coup events as recorded in the Nihon shoki implies that he was a less important figure than his medieval interpreters drew him (108).
When "Kamako" makes his appearance in this semi-historical work, it is upon his reluctant appointment as kamutsukasa 神祇伯, or the head of the Ministry of Court Rituals. See the Nihon shoki (Sakamoto et al. II 253).

The Kōfukuji temple also had many estates in this region.

See, for example, the Kasuga shashiki 春日社私記 (1275) (Shintō taikai Kasuga 6).

Recall that Eliade calls mythicization the last stage in the creation of a hero (The Myth 42-44).

For earlier accounts of this episode, see Nihon shoki (254-256); Kaden (689-690); and Tōnomine engi (117).

An episode in the Konjaku monogatari relates that Kamatari built a Buddhist temple to house a six-jō 丈 statue of Shaka in penance for committing the grave sin of murder. His eldest son, "Tankaikō" 浄海公 (Fuhito's posthumous name) moved the temple to the capital at Nara in 710 and in later years it was called the "Kōfukuji" (Yoshida et al. III 89-90).

This anecdote is also found in the Tōnomine engi (119).

A manuscript copy of this text is in the National Diet Library.

This unpublished text is a Yoshida Shinto commentary on the Nakatomi no harae. It is reprinted in Abe "Iruka" 27-28.

The Kamatari legend is framed here as an explanation of the mythic origins of the Regency.
The ni'inamesai was held every year as a celebration for the first fruits of the harvest. The emperor offers cooked grain to his ancestral deity, Amaterasu-no-ōkami, at the Ise shrine. In years in which there is a transfer of power to a new emperor, the ni'inamesai becomes the daijōsai, or enthronement ceremony.

On the relationship of death and the enthronement ceremony, see Ebersole 105.

Dakiniten was originally a demon god that tormented sentient beings but was later joined the Buddhist pantheon as a protector of the Buddhist law. In temples today, Dakiniten is represented as riding on top of a fox, and is often enshrined as the protector of the temple storehouses. On the association between Dakiniten and foxes, see Smyers 82-85.

In "Kashima daimyōjin no koto" 鹿島大明神事, Kamatari is said to be the first of the Fujiwara, the family from which most of the emperors and empresses were descended. The kami of the Kashima shrine gave Kamatari a sickle with which he defended the palace from threats against the imperial dynasty (Shintōshū 79). In the Rōkudō zen'in nyoihōjuiki 鹿王禅院如意宝珠記 (late fourteenth century) states that a fox (yakan 野干) that was an avatar of Amanokoyane-no-mikoto gave the sickle to Kamatari (636).

The Inariki 稲荷記 (late thirteenth century) also states that Kamatari was given a sickle by a fox. The subjugation of Iruka and his father was, according to the Inariki, the reason for the prosperity of the Fujiwara Regents (6).

The Keiran shūyōshū 溪嵐拾葉集 (early fourteenth century), a text of the Tendai sect, in an interpretation of the myth of the Heavenly Rock Cave, states that when Amaterasu-no-ōkami confined herself in the cave, she took on the form of a fox, being the only animal to emit the rays of light. It goes on to state that the fox
is also an avatar of Cintamani-cakra (J. nyoirin kannon 如意輪觀音). In the tail of the fox is said to be the nyoihōju 如意宝珠 that shines as the light of authority of the kami. In one sutra, it concludes, the ruler of a kingdom reveres the fox, that is why Amaterasu-no-ōkami is the first of patriarch of the emperors of the nation (320-321).

The Keiran shūyōshū ties the origins of the enthronement ceremony to Kamatari legend particularly in the ritual of “dakini kanjō” 吨积灌頂 (633). This interpretation, along with an episode recounting the rise of Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 in the Genpei jōsuiki 源平盛衰記 (Ichiko et al. 25-26) indicate that Dakiniten was symbolically tied with the granting of the right of kings during the medieval period.

Bauman calls these devices “keys.” As a form of communication, performance relies upon these keys as signals to the audience the type of story that is being told. In other words, the use of opening phrases common to shōdō preaching, signal to the audience that they are now to hear about the history and heroic feats of a kami or kami-like hero. Many diary records of the sixteenth century refer to this piece as “Kamatari” See for example, the Ietada nikkō 家忠日記 (qtd. in Ichiko 298).

For a discussion on the background on the relationship between the Kashima and Kasuga shrines and the Fujiwara family, see Grapard 23-40.

The only works that give an account of Mikeko’s exile postdate and were likely influenced by the kōwaka-mai version of the legend. See, for example, the Ryoshuku mordō 177.

For a discussion of the fox in the Inari belief system, see Smyers. See especially her discussion of the link with Dakiniten (82-85)
and the fox as a symbol of fertility (115-116). For a discussion of the “fox wife” (kitsune nyobō 狐女房) folktale, see Orikuchi (II 279-285).

The Sukune family was an early family that was close to and served the imperial Family. They were one of the families that claimed direct descent from the kami, and this divine lineage gave them the authority to serve the emperor and enter into his presence.

One of the key linkages between all of the pieces of the kōwaka-mai that I analyze here is the ideology of the ie system. As in other engi, the fallen kami is adopted by a powerful family and finally reveals who he is before coming a kami and protector of the community. Here the pattern takes upon national proportions: Kamatari is adopted by the court, made a servant of the emperor and restores the right of kingship. See, for example, Hara’s discussion of gender roles in Taishokan (104).

For a discussion of the opposition of main characters to subordinate characters in the structure of the kōwaka-mai, see Misawa “Kōwaka-bukyoku no kōzō to jinbutsu.”

For the monogatari version of the tale, see Yokoyama and Matsumoto IV 387-399.

For a discussion of the common motifs in the kōwaka-mai, see Asahara and Kitahara 605-607. Other pieces that have the motif of “disguise” include Taishokan, Yuriwaka Daijin, Shida, Manjū, Eboshi ori, Kagekiyo and Yashima.

The paintings are reproduced in Umetsu 209-218.

The myth of Emperor Ingyō can be found in the Nihon shoki (Sakamoto
et al. I 446). The myth of Empress Jingū can be found in the Nihon shoki (Sakamoto et al. 322-327; 330-340). The tamatori story-pattern became an important element in the Hachiman engi 八幡経起 as well. Empress Jingū setting out to conquer the three kingdoms of Korea retrieves two jewels from the sea off the coast of Kyushu. With these jewels she controls the ebb and flow of the sea and drowning the Korean forces. Having been victorious in battle the kings of Korea bow down in submission. Upon returning to the shores of Kyushu, Empress Jingū gives birth to Emperor Ōjin 忍神, an incarnation of the kami Hachiman (Kondō Chūsei 104-117, and in the Sumiyoshi engi 住吉経起 (Yokoyama and Matsumoto VIII 72-111).

39 This parable is found in the Kengu-kyō 賢愚経 (Chapter Eight), Hō'on-kyō 報恩経 (Chapter Four), Rokudojikkyō 六度集経, and the Kyōritsu isō 経律異相 (Chapter Thirty-two).

40 See Yamada et al. III 90-95.

41 See Izumoji 17-22.

42 See Koizumi et al. 20-21.

43 In an essay written in English, Matsudaira Narimitsu writes that the tamashii is central concept in Japanese religion. He makes the distinction between the tamashii and the kami. The tamashii, he tells us, exists in all phenomena (194). Ontological questions aside, the association of the tama (jewel or pearl) with abstract spirit, sexual fertility or agricultural and economic prosperity is almost universal. My discussion here makes claims only about how the concept was constructed in language and literature.

44 The magatama were originally made of the teeth of a wild boar and worn on garments as an adornment and were used in rituals. In later periods, they were carved of precious stones such as amber, crystal,
jadeite, and talc. (The jewel was also one of the three items in
the imperial regalia.) Orikuchi cites several examples from
folktales and literature of the tama being incarnations of the kami
in the above-cited essay. Again, in a 1931 essay, he looks at the
variety of folk belief in divine births from rock, bone, jewels,
and bamboo and concludes that they are all structurally the same
(XV 212-255).

45 In the Buddhist tradition, the nyoihōju (Skt. cintamani) was a
mythic jewel that fulfills all the desires of those who could possess
it, alleviating all forms of human suffering.

46 For examples of tama used with the meaning of “jewel” or “treasure”
see Manyōshū No. 803 (Ichinosuke et al. III 63) and No. 1003
(Ichinosuke et al. II 168). Early dictionaries, as well, attest to
the dual meaning of the term “tama.” For example, the Puiju myōgishō
(late-Heian period) glosses the graph for “spirit” as “tama” as well
giving the examples mizu no tama 水魂 “crystal,” hi no tama 火魂
“spirit of the fire.” (785)

In the Kojiki version of the Hikohohodemi-no-mikoto myth, when
Toyotama-hime first encounters Hikohohodemi-no-mikoto, she offers
him water but he spits upon her jewel that she is wearing around
her neck, symbolic of the desecration of one’s spirit. (mizu wo
tamawareba, mizu wo nomasazu shite, kono tama wo tsukaki ire tamahiki
水を賜れば、水を飲まずして、此玉を唾入れ給ひき “When I offered him water
he did not drink it, he spit upon this jewel” (Kurano and Takeda
138) We note that here it is the idea of tama as a jewel being an
objectification of one’s spirit. Along with its physical beauty and
symbolic meaning jewel also became a prefix for beautification with
aesthetic allure as well as mystical attraction, tama kushi 玉梳
“jeweled comb” (a comb with magic powers because the kami are believed
to reside in it), tama gaki 玉垣 “a jeweled fence” (usually a fence
surrounding a sacred place, such as a shrine).
Possession of the tana was like possessing the spirit of another person, as is reflected in the use of tama with expressions of sexual relations. See, for example, Manyōshū No. 3000 (Ichinosuke et al. III 287). Of course, at the end of a love affair or on the occasion of parting, the tama become “tears” of sadness that are shed. See Wakan rōeishū ryōjin hisshō No. 214 (Kawaguchi and Shida 101).

47 Fusasaki was the second son of Fuhito. His mother was the daughter of Soga no Murajiko 連子 (?-664).

48 See Sugimoto (An Introduction 26). Sugimoto argues that the cultural emphasis on binary oppositions gave rise to the complex system of honorific expressions and deixis.

49 Sherry B. Ortner also speaks to the ambiguous position of women between binary oppositions of nature and culture and public and private (83-87).

50 We find this motif in the medieval interpretations of the Empress Jingū myth as well. See, for example, the Hachimangū engi (Kondô Chūsei 108-110).
CHAPTER 4

YURIWAKA DAIJIN AND THE RETURN SONG STORY-PATTERN

4.1 Introduction

The kōwaka-mai piece Yuriwaka daijin recounts the story of a foreign invasion of Japan led by forces from Mongolia (mōko 蒙古) in the early ninth century. As the first lines indicate, the attack came during the first half of the ninth century during the reign of Emperor Saga (r. 809-823). The Minister of the Left, Kinmitsu きむみつ, makes thirty-three pilgrimages to the Hasedera Kannon and prays for a child who will carry on his name. The deity promptly grants Kinmitsu a son. The Minister of the Left names his child “Yuriwaka.” The boy grows and prospers, outshining all others, and at the age of seventeen Yuriwaka rises to the position of Minister of the Right.
At this time, news reaches the capital that the Mongols have attacked Tsukushi 筑紫. A divine oracle instructs Yurimaca to lead the Japanese forces into northern Kyushu and expel the invaders. Before the Japanese warriors reach Tsukushi, a divine wind that blows from the precincts of the Ise 伊勢 shrine frightens the Mongols who scurry back to the mainland, fearing the power of the Japanese forces led by the kami. Concerned about the security of the nation, the court sends Yurimaca to be the provincial governor of Tsukushi.

Yurimaca dutifully follows these orders and goes with his wife to take up his post.

A council of nobles decrees that at least one of the Mongol generals is to be killed. This will be a sign that the Japanese have been victorious. Yurimaca, therefore, prepares eighty thousand ships and sails into the boundary sea of Chikura-ga-oki. There, forty thousand Mongol ships meet them, but neither the Japanese nor the Mongols attack for three years. The Mongols blow a thick fog that plunges everything into an eternal night for one hundred days.
Yuriwaka prays to Amaterasu-no-Okami for assistance, and again a divine wind blows from Ise to Chikuragacki and clears the fog. Yuriwaka attacks the enemy forces with eighteen men, shooting one general and disemboweling another. He then sends a message to the capital that Japan has won the battle.

While stopping to rest on Genkai-ga-shima 玄海が島, Yuriwaka is betrayed by the Beppu brothers who abandon him on the island, thinking that they will receive the rewards intended for their master. The brothers return to Japan, but the elder brother only receives the post of governor of Tsukushi formerly held by Yuriwaka. The elder Beppu brother makes overtures to Yuriwaka’s wife. She, however, delays her suitor, saying she will agree to marriage only after three years have passed and she has completed her vow at the Usa Hachiman 宇佐八幡 shrine. At the shrine, she prays for her husband’s return, promising to build various edifices at the shrine and then renounces the world and all her husband’s possessions. One of these possessions is the treasured falcon, Midori-maru 緑丸, who quickly
flies to his master on Genkai-ga-shima. Yuriwaka writes a poem in blood on a leaf and sends it with the bird back to his wife. Having received an indication that her husband is still alive, Yuriwaka’s wife sends an ink stone, brush and paper with Midori-maru so that husband and wife can communicate. Unfortunately, weighted down by the ink stone, Midori-maru perishes in the sea. Responding to the pledge given by Yuriwaka’s wife, the kami blow some fishermen to Genkaigashima. They return with Yuriwaka to Tsukushi.

Yuriwaka arrives in Hakata, his appearance having changed from his sojourn on the island, his skin blackened and body covered with hair. Rumor quickly spreads that a strange beast has been brought to Japan. Beppu takes Yuriwaka and entrusts his care to an old man, Kadowaki, who had been in service to Yuriwaka. One night, Yuriwaka overhears the old man recounting a story of how Beppu had been angered by Yuriwaka’s wife’s continued resistance and ordered that she be drowned. As a service to his master, Kadowaki gave his own daughter as a vicarious substitute.
At the New Year, a ceremonial archery competition is held at Beppu’s palace. Yuriwaka, now given the name “Koke-maru”, is charged with gathering the arrows that had been shot. He ferociously criticizes the skill of the other archers. Beppu then challenges Yuriwaka to shoot an arrow to see if he can do any better. Yuriwaka chooses his own bow and arrow that are enshrined in the Usa Hachiman shrine, and preparing to shoot, points the arrow at Beppu. Yuriwaka announces who he is. Hearing this, all the vassals come to their master’s side, including Beppu. Yurikawa executes Beppu and is reunited with his wife. Afterwards, the nation is blessed with peace and prosperity.

While the structure and motifs of the kôwaka-mai piece in many respects resemble the epic battles and wanderings of Odysseus in Homer’s epics, its seemingly uncanny similitude begins to fade into insignificance when we look at the narrative traditions of other cultures and note the universal occurrence of the story-pattern.
Something about Yuriwaka’s heroic story strikes a cord with the human consciousness, appealing to audiences in different cultures.

While universal interpretations of culture and human society will always be alluring, it has had two impacts on scholarship in the modern era. Since the early days of the nineteenth century, many Japanese writers and critics have been more than eager to find similarities between Japanese literary achievements and their Western counterparts. Similarly, Western scholars have participated in this convenient, yet misleading, endeavor, as well. In order to relate Western readers to an unfamiliar tradition, Western scholars have often made analogies between Japanese literature and the Western literary tradition.

When Tsubouchi Shōyō 坪内逍遥 (1859–1935), author and scholar of English literature, commented on the similarities between the Odyssey and the Yuriwaka legend (140–141), he ignited a controversy over the source and transmission of the tale of Yuriwaka, a debate that continues today. On one side of the controversy, there are those
scholars who maintain that the motifs and themes of the Yurikawa legend are unique in the Japanese tradition. They maintain, therefore, that it was most certainly the Portuguese, who had only been in Japan for three years, who recited the tales of Odysseus to Japanese audiences.\(^4\) The kōwaka-mai performers who are supposed to have been present at this performance, in turn fashioned their own "Odyssey" based upon the oral recitation of the Portuguese. To the basic structure of the Odyssey, the kōwaka-mai added themes and motifs from the Japanese tradition. On the other side of the controversy are folklore scholars who maintain that the Odyssey tale type spread from ancient Greece, through central Asia and the subcontinent, until it eventually appeared in the Japanese tradition.\(^5\)

The most vocal supporter of the theory of the Odyssey’s direct transmission into sixteenth century Japan has been the American scholar James T. Araki. His argument rests upon two types of evidence: historical documents of the mid-sixteenth century and a
limited number of parallels between the narratives of the Odyssey
and the kōwaka-mai piece Yuriwaka daijin. The reading he gives to
the scanty historical record is colored by his own imaginary
wanderings. He paints for us a romantic scene in which the Portuguese,
having mastered the Japanese language are able to recite both the
Iliad and Odyssey to their Japanese hosts.6

Araki reduces the points of similarity between Yuriwaka daijin
and the Odyssey to twenty-one parallels. The abridged version that
the Portuguese would have likely performed for their Japanese
audience, he maintains, could have been structured on these parallels
(“Yuriwaka” 20). Araki speculates that a performer of the
kōwaka-mai would have been present at one of these performances,
and having heard the story distilled these parallels, filled in the
basic outline with Japanese deities, characters and themes, and in
the space of a few weeks were performing the piece on the stages
of the capital (“Yuriwaka” 33-35). Araki finds additional hints
about the foreign origin of the Yuriwaka legend in many of the motifs

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and themes in *Yuriwaka daijin* that he considers anomalies when compared to other contemporary works of Japanese vocal literature. He argues, in conclusion, that we can tie these new motifs and themes directly to parallels with its source in the ancient Greek epic, the *Odyssey*.

Those views on the other side of the debate have been equally strident. They maintain that *Yuriwaka daijin* could not be a translation of the *Odyssey* based upon reason and sound folklore methodology. First, they argue that common sense tells us that the Portuguese traders and missionaries would not have been able to or intent upon reciting this epic to their Japanese hosts. Second, Japanese folklorists have given an almost unending list of variants gleaned from Japanese folklore and many Asian traditions showing that the tale type of the *Odyssey* is not unique to the European tradition. Beginning with the great Sanskrit epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, extending to the Buddhist scriptures and the traditions of Central and Southeast Asia, China and Korea, we see
that the only thing unique about this tale type is it universal currency. Even beyond Asia, we find the story of Odysseus retold in the traditions of Europe and the Americas as well. We can read epics as Beowulf, the Song of Roland, and the Epic of Gilgamesh as variants of the tale told by Homer in the seventh-century BCE.

While each of these "versions" of the Odyssey varies in their degree of elaboration, we note that they are structurally alike. Albert B. Lord in his study of the oral traditions of Yugoslavia, called this story-pattern the "Return Song" and configures it as: Absence-Trials-Return-Retribution-Wedding (Reunion) (121). While varying in its use of themes and motifs, this story has spread from its origin in the ancient world being taken up by performers in disparate cultures. Radiating out from the Mediterranean, the Return Song has taken on particular characteristics depending upon the culture in which it was told. Yet, while performers modified the story to appeal to particular audiences, the themes and motifs both bound them to the original tradition of the Odyssey. Thus,
diffusion of the underlying story-pattern enabled performances, supplying performers with motifs, formulas and themes, and spread of the Return Song around the globe.⁹

We immediately notice, however, that the Return Song story-pattern has affinities with what Yanagita Kunio saw as the basic form of mukashi banashi, or "old tales," in the Japanese tradition. In his study of the oral tradition, Yanagita in the 1930s noted that almost without exception the heroes of mukashi banashi are individuals that are in some way different from the average human (hibon). These characters usually have a strong bond with the kami, and who having undergone some kind of trial or hardship, in the end are rewarded and prosper. We can then reduce most tales to the tripartite structure that begins with the protagonist’s mysterious birth followed by adventures or hardships and concluding with prosperity and wealth (TYKZ VI 110-112).

I showed in Chapter 1 that this tripartite pattern is identical to the underlying narrative structure that we find the histories
of medieval Japanese temples and shrines. The Return Song expands
the basic structure of the tale by setting in motion the downfall
of the protagonist, most often by betrayal, and his or her absence
from this world and travail in the Otherworld. The hero’s movement
to another world creates two parallel worlds that must be bridged
in order for the hero to return to this world and restore order.

In this respect, Yuriwaka and Odysseus are similar—both of
these heroes are helpless to bring about their return to this world,
and rely upon divine intervention to bring them back. While the hero
is suffering in the Otherworld, in this world disorder and chaos
abound, the order (his house and society in general) being reversed.
The natural order of society having been reduced to chaos by the
absence of the hero, is restored to its proper order once the hero
has returned.

Looking at the similarity among the varieties of the Return
Song that we find in so many diverse cultures, we are presented with
what is the essential issue in the debate over the Yuriwaka legend.
Supporters on each side present the Yuriwaka legend as a choice between a diffusionist theory, that sees story-patterns arising only once and spreading outward from its culture of origin, or a universalist theory that embraces the notion that myth and story-patterns arise independently and naturally in different cultures.

Universalists subscribe to the theory of polygenesis. They argue that the similarities we find between the story-patterns in any two cultures may seem to be coincidental, but they arise from basic patterns in the human psyche and common needs of society. The argument goes something like this. Genetically and physiologically, humans are remarkably the same despite their outward and superficial cultural differences. Because all human groups structure their society around basic needs, it is not surprising that they develop in more or less similar ways, creating rituals, myths and material culture, which may on the surface appear to be quite distinct, but on the structural and functional levels have remarkable affinities.
In literature as well, universalists hold that cultures develop similar types of poetic and narrative expression. As story-patterns are told repeatedly through the centuries, their development tells us something important about how human groups structure experience within a specific culture. Though these stories may vary and take on new hues over generations, structurally they remain the same.

Those who subscribe to the monogenesis theory of story-pattern diffusion, also engage in a particular reading of the evolution of culture. The original story, they argue, was a unique creation at one point in history. From its genesis, the story-pattern spread out from its original source, and was translated by performers as they passed it on from one culture to the next. Thus, cultural products begin in much the same way as did the species *Homo sapiens*. Mirroring biological evolution, a story-pattern diffuses over time, being shaped by particular regions and times as it passes through, with new textures being overlaid upon old ones that fade into a
distant memory. Structural similarities that we find between the same story-patterns in two distant cultures are a matter of course—they are the same story.

I will argue here that our answer to the origins of the Yuriwaka legend in Japan will be found in both the monogenesis and the polygenesis theories. As one of many cultures, the Japanese share basic wants and desires of all human beings. At the core of all cultures we find the mythic patterns that are basic to society’s search for meaning, an endless journey in which cultures are guided by the cosmologies they create, expressing humankind’s need for both domination of and reconciliation with nature and the spiritual world. Cultures create story-patterns that they continually reconstruct along specific cultural trajectories—social, economic, and political tangents that eventually intersect with the traditions of other cultures. The mirror of discovery brought by the intercourse with other cultures and their traditions no doubt reflects a different image according to the historical exigencies.
expressed by specific patterns of cultural domination. But contact with different cultures causes one to reflect upon self by finding comforting similarity faced by the horror of endless difference.

In Chapter 1, Orikuchi reminded us that the significance of mythic patterns is not only in their expression of our relationship to the spiritual world, but they also underlie the narrative structure of story-patterns and the structure of ritual within any culture. His view of the origins of these cultural expressions as recurring (in his theory of generation, or hassei) captures the central paradox of myth: they purport to have happened only once, while at the same time myths happen over and over. Mythic patterns generate not only those narratives that explain the unique origin of the world; they also bind generations together by meaningfully integrating the past with the present and the future. Its power to generate is what makes myth timeless. Thus, our search for sources of the Yuriwaka legend should not take us on journeys to distant
lands; rather our first area of research should be the myths of the ancient Japanese.

4.2 The Return Song Story-pattern in the Japanese Tradition

We find the prototype for the Return Song and the Yuriwaka legend in the most ancient of all collections of Japanese myth, the Kojiki and Nihon shoki. The mythic narrative of Amewakahiko 天照彦 and his descent to the Central Land of the Reed Plain, has many similarities with the Yuriwaka legend. First, we see the prototypical structure of absence or descent from a high position (heaven) to an Otherworld. In the Nihon Shoki version of the myth, Amewakahiko 天照彦 is sent by the counsel of the kami to pacify the land in order to make way for the descent of Amaterasu-no-ōkami’s grandson, Amatsuhikohikohononinigi-no-mikoto. Having been charged with this duty, Amewakahiko is given a magical bow and arrow to subdue the rebellious tribes that inhabit the Otherworld.
After making his descent, nothing is heard from him for eight years. The kami again hold council and send a pheasant to look for him. At this point, the mythic narrative diverges from the Yuriwaka legend, but we can see that sources for later story-patterns begin to take shape here in this ancient myth. Amewakahiko shoots the pheasant at the behest of his earthly wife, and the arrow arrives in heaven covered with blood. Amaterasu-no-ōkami casts the arrow back to the Central Land of the Reed Plain killing Amewakahiko. His wife laments her husband’s death. The kami in heaven send a second envoy, Ajisukitakahikone-no-ōkami. Mistaken for Amewakahiko, Amewakahiko’s wife believes her husband has returned from the dead. Offended by being mistaken for a dead man, Ajisukitakahikone-no-ōkami cuts down the mortuary house that falls to earth and becomes a mountain (Sakamoto et al. 1 134-136).

Another prototype for the Yuriwaka legend is recorded in the annals of ancient Japan during the reign of Emperor Ōjin (who is now enshrined as one of the principal deities of the Usa Hachiman

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shrine). The emperor sends a servant of the court, Takeshiuchi-no-sukune, to Tsukushi to inspect the people who are living there. While Takeshiuchi-no-sukune is away, his younger brother Umashiuichi-no-sukune 甘美内宿禰 slanders his brother, telling the emperor that his elder brother intends to usurp the power of the throne and become emperor. Upon hearing this, the emperor sends men to kill Takeshiuchi-no-sukune. Understandably distraught at this turn of events, Takeshiuchi-no-sukune laments that he should lose his life for disloyalty, a crime of which he is innocent.

At this time there happens to be a man living in Iki who resembles Takeshiuchi-no-sukune named Maneko 萬根子. Hearing of the inevitable fate of this innocent man, he approaches Takeshiuchi-no-Sukune and offers to take his place in Tsukushi while Takeshiuchi-no-sukune returns secretly to the court and pleads his innocence before the throne. Maneko promptly throws himself on his sword and kills himself as a substitute for Takeshiuchi-no-sukune. Traveling by sea, Takeshiuchi-no-sukune arrives at a southern port
in Ki’i province, and quickly makes his way to court. He pleads his innocence to the emperor who in turn questions both Takeshiuchi-no-sukune and his brother Umashiuchi-no-sukune, but is unable to determine who is telling the truth. He orders that the kami make clear who is guilty by an ordeal of boiling water. Takeshiuchi-no-sukune wins this divine test, and is about to slay his younger brother, when the emperor stops him and allows Umashiuchi-no-sukune to be freed (Sakamoto et al. I 366-368).

In the Buddhist sutras, we can find story-patterns similar to those in the ancient mythic narratives of Japan. The Ho’onkyō 報恩経 tells the story of Zenji Taishi 善事大使 and his younger brother Akuji Taishi 悪事大使 who are the heaven-sent children of a king in ancient India. The elder brother, seeing the suffering of the people opens up his father’s storehouses and gives away all that the throne has. Though he empties the royal storehouses, it is not enough to relieve his subjects’ hunger and poverty. The prince has heard of a jewel, the nyoishu, that is in the dragon palace at the bottom
of the cosmic sea. Zenji Taishi enlists the aid of his brother and five men and together with them sets out on a journey to recover the jewel. The ship is lead by a blind man who tells Zenji Taishi how he can get to the dragon palace and recover the jewel. Led alone by the blind man, Zenji Taishi eventually arrives at the palace and obtains the jewel. In their quest of the jewel, however, the blind man dies. In honor of the man’s loyalty, Zenji Taishi holds memorial services.

Meanwhile, his younger brother, instructed by local traders, has obtained many treasures from the sea. Akuji Taishi loads the ship to overflowing. Zenji having returned to the ship with the nyoishu gives the command to sail back. However, because of the weight of the treasures, the ship sinks. Zenji and Akuji alone are spared, saved by the power of the jewel. Having returned to the island, Zenji tells Akuji about the power of the jewel. While his older brother is sleeping, he gouges out his eyes with a sword and escapes with the jewel. Zenji gropes around in the dark and
eventually crawls to the kingdom of Rishi Batsuda 梨師跋陀. He is assisted by some herdsmen, and entertains the people of the capital with his songs. Because of his talents, Zenji is employed to sing and shoo away birds in the orchards.

In the meantime, Akuji returns to his own country and tells everyone that his brother and the other men have drowned at sea. His father, lamenting the death of his son, releases Zenji Taishi’s prized goose. The bird hears the voice of his master and flies to Zenji. Overjoyed, Zenji writes a letter and attaches it to the neck of the goose that promptly flies away.

Now, the king of Rishi Batsuda has a beautiful daughter who from time to time goes to the orchard. One day, she meets Zenji with whom, though blind and dressed in rags, she falls in love. Soon the two are married. Through the power of his wife’s prayers, Zenji regains his sight, reveals his identity, and sets out to return to his homeland. His father, having been informed that Zenji Taishi still lives, locks up his brother in prison. The king rejoices upon
Zenji's return and rewards the people who had helped him. Zenji seeing his brother in prison asks that his father have lenience, and Akuji is released. Zenji receives the jewel from his brother and the royal storehouses are filled to the brim with treasures of all kinds (qtd. in Fukuda Chōsei 167-169).

An anecdote that is related to the Daise Taishi legend is the Chinese legend of Suwu 蘇武 (J. sobu). This tale originated in the Chinese history Hanshu 漢書 (J. kansho) and appears as an anecdote in several Japanese texts of the medieval period. Though departing from the short (twenty-one characters in all) original, the compiler of the Genpei jōsuiki offers us an interesting rendition of the classic tale. In the early Han 漢 period, the warriors Li Shao Qing 李少卿 (J. rishōkei) and Suwu are sent to attack the Huns in the kingdom of Hu 胡 (J. ko). Both warriors are captured and are given their lives in exchange for loyalty to the king of Hu. Li Shao Qing agrees, but his deputy general, Suwu, refuses to betray his king. The king of Hu has Suwu tortured for two years and afterward locks him in
a cage with nothing to eat. Yet, Suwu still refuses to pledge his
loyalty to the foreign sovereign. Angered by Suwu’s obstinacy, the
king of Hu banishes Suwu to a northern shore to tend a flock of sheep.
There Suwu lives for nineteen years, using the sheep to quench his
hunger and thirst, and fashioning their hides into a tent and blanket
as protection from the cold. (Ichiko et al. II 135-138).

One day he observes some geese flying south for the winter.
He wishes that he could send a message with one of them and
mysteriously, as if heaven has heard his plea, two geese drop down
and stand before him. He bites of the tip of one of his fingers and
writes a letter. Attaching it to the feathers of one of the geese,
he sends them off.

Now, in the imperial garden on the outskirts of Chang’an
長安 (J. chōan), the emperor is viewing the autumn foliage when two
goose alight in his presence. He notices that they are carrying a
note. He quickly takes it and finds that it contains two poems by
Suwu whom he had thought was dead. The emperor, realizing that Suwu
is still alive, sends an envoy with gold and silver to buy Suwu’s freedom. When Suwu finally returns to his homeland, his hair has become white, though he is only thirty-five. He is reunited with his wife and children and is given an official position (Ichiko et al. II 135-138).

As these examples from the Japanese, Buddhist and Chinese traditions show us, the pattern of absence-trials-return is the prototype for the Return Song story-pattern. As Orikuchi repeatedly shows us, this mythic pattern of opposition and inversion is central to epic poetry and monogatari as well as other expressions of culture. Yet, it is not unique to the Japanese tradition. The Return Song as it developed in Asia and Europe no doubt had the same origins as the Japanese tradition: the myths of conquering Otherworlds and return to this world. The underlying similarities between the Yuriwaka legend and other Return Songs in Greece and India bear this out.
In medieval Japan, the Suwa engi 諏訪縁起 also uses the Return Song story-pattern as its traditional reference. This foundation myth is the history of the upper and lower Suwa shrines in Shinano 信濃 province. While this shrine history is more complex than the mythic narrative of Amewakahiko as well as the later Yuriwaka daijin, its structure is fundamentally the same. Suwa Saburō 諏訪三郎, betrayed by his two elder brothers, is absent from this world. He travels in the underworld, defeats a demon, and then returns to this world only after traveling through successive worlds. After thirty-three years in the Otherworld, he emerges due to the intercessions of his wife at the Kannon-dō. Yet, his form has changed into that of a large serpent. After praying for divine help at the Kannon-dō, his brothers, fearing their younger brother’s revenge, kill themselves.

Having revenged his betrayal, Saburō is restored to his human form and reunited with his wife. Saburō becomes the lord of Koga and after death his spirit flies to Shinano, where he becomes Suwa
Daimyōjin. Suwa engi is more complex than the mythic narratives we have discussed to this point, for it doubles the mythic pattern. His marriage in the Otherworld and subsequent journeys there give the foundation myth a nested effect that strengthens the overall mythic quality of the narrative (Kondō Shinshū 295-235).\textsuperscript{14}

Yuriwaka daijin is, perhaps, in its simplicity a closer reflection of the mythic patterns that were the sources of the Return Song in the Japanese tradition and its intersection with similar traditions of central Asia (particularly in Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan) than to the Return Song that we find in the Odyssey.\textsuperscript{15} In terms of its surface forms, one major point of contention that Araki makes in his analysis of the parallels between Yuriwaka Daijin and the Odyssey is the modification that Japanese scholars have made to the Indian and Southeast Asian versions of the Return Song to make it closer to the kōwaka-mai version.

Yet, Araki himself cannot be found innocent of these charges of manipulation either. Take for example the parallel he finds
between the “trials” of Yuriwaka and reunion with his wife and that of Odysseus and Penelope.

Parallel 17: Yuriwaka’s wife is placed in extreme peril when Beppu, exasperated by her persistent obduracy, decides to have her put to death by drowning. Yuriwaka still does not disclose his presence to his wife (Yuriwaka 10).

When we compare the reunion between Penelope and Odysseus, however, we find that the narrative does not proceed in the straightforward fashion that Araki presents.16 Yuriwaka only finds out about his wife’s torment and rescue through Kadowaki’s relating this story to his wife one evening. This motif as we find it in Yuriwaka dainen, while being similar in both the Greek and Japanese traditions, is closer to the Suwa engi than it is to the Odyssey.

Thus, looking only at the structural similarities between the Odyssey, Yuriwaka dainen, and the myths and story-patterns in the Japanese tradition, we can conclude that the kōwaka-mai piece Yuriwaka dainen originated in the universal Return Song as it has
developed within the Japanese tradition and was interwoven with similar story-patterns from the Buddhist and Chinese traditions. This analysis is much less romantic, but more accurately reflects how meaning is created by reference to the traditional story-patterns of a specific culture.

Yuriwaka daijin develops the traditional story-pattern by adding to it the mythic narratives of the defeat of barbarian nations and the subjugation of foreign lands that we first find in the tenson-kōrin 天孫降臨, or “The Heavenly Grandson’s Descent” as well as the kuni-yuzuri 国取り, or “The Transfer of the Land,” myths telling of the pacification of the Central Land of the Reed Plain (asihara nakatsukuni 芦原中国) in the age of the gods. To this, the narrative adds the mythic narrative of invasion of the Korean peninsula by Empress Jingū in the ancient world. The kōwaka-mai fits these mythic patterns into its musical and narrative structure.
4.3 Analysis of Yuriwaka daijin

4.3.1 Section I

The following is an outline of the structure of the piece:

Section I

(1) Yuriwaka is a heaven-sent child. He grows up and prospers. The creation myth of Japan is narrated.

(2) The Mongol forces attack Tsukushi. The origin of the three treasures is narrated. At Ise, an oracle is delivered and Yuriwaka is sent as general to fight the Mongols.

(3) At Hakata, the forces of the Mongols are blown back by a kamikaze 神風.

(4) Yuriwaka is ordered to stay in Kyushu as the provincial governor, and he sets out to attack the retreating Mongols.

(5) At Chikura-ga-oki, Yuriwaka faces the Mongols. There he receives divine protection.

(6) He drives back the Mongols into Korea. Yuriwaka kills two of the Mongol generals.
Section II

(7) At Genkai-ga-shima, Yuriwaka rests from his exploits. The Beppu brothers betray him and abandon him there.

(8) At Hakata, the Beppu brothers return and inform Yuriwaka’s wife that her husband has perished in battle.

(9) The brothers and are lauded as heroes and the eldest is made provincial governor of Tsukushi. He sends a letter of courtship to Yuriwaka’s wife who tears it up and is about to kill herself.

(10) A lady in waiting stops her mistress, and composes a reply to Beppu, stating that she must first finish he pledge to Usa Hachiman before consenting to the union. Yuriwaka’s wife gives away all her husband’s possessions including a falcon, Midori-maru.

(11) At Genkai-ga-shima, Yuriwaka is visited by his pet falcon, Midori-maru.

(12) Yuriwaka writes a poem to his wife and gives it to the bird.

(13) Yuriwaka’s wife sends an ink stone and writing implements. Yet, Midori-maru drowns because it is too heavy to carry.

(14) At Genkai-ga-shima, Yuriwaka laments the death of Midori-maru.

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(15) At Usa, Yuriwaka’s wife goes to Usa Hachiman shrine and offers a petition, promising to build beautiful edifices.

(16) At Genkai-ga-shima, a fisherman appears.

(17) The fisherman takes Yuriwaka to Hakata.

Section III

(18) At Hakata, Yuriwaka, transformed into the demon “Koke-maru,” is cared for by an old couple. One night, the old woman recounts the trials of Yuriwaka’s wife.

(19) The old man reveals that he has substituted his daughter for Yuriwaka’s wife.

(20) At Beppu, Yuriwaka reveals himself at an archery match, and kills the eldest Beppu brother and exiles his younger brother.

(21) Yuriwaka is reunited with his wife. Yuriwaka goes to Usa Hachiman shrine to pay his respects. He is made generalissimo.

The first section recounts Yuriwaka’s birth as a heaven-sent child, his rise in the world and defeat of the Mongol forces during a decisive sea battle. The first cycle records his birth after his
father journeys thirty-three times to the Hasedera temple\(^8\) where he prays to Kannon for a child who can carry on his name. The piece opens in the traditional style of medieval myth, *somomo mukashi*, or "Now then, long ago"

Now, long ago, in our imperial dynasty, during the reign of Emperor Saga, there was a man called the “Minister of the Left Kinmitsu きんみつ” who was a wise man without equal. However, this Kinmitsu had no child to carry on his name. Pondering what he should do, he made a pilgrimage to the Hasedera temple in the land of Yamato, and there he prayed, seeking a miracle from the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara of boundless compassion. Journeying there thirty-three times, it was for a heaven-sent child that he prayed.

Kinmitsu’s wish having been promptly granted, he names the boy “Yuriwaka.” The name of the protagonist in the *kōwaka-mai* and the Odyssey has been one of Araki’s main points in tying the Yuriwaka legend to the Odyssey (*Yuriwaka* 12-17). However, not one classical or medieval dictionary gives the reading “yurikusa” for the three character compound that Araki sees as positive evidence that the *kōwaka-mai* piece was taken directly from the name Ulysses, the Latin
pronunciation of Odysseus. More salient is the cultural signification of the “yuri” and its meaning within the narrative world of Yuriwaka daijin. “Yuri,” or “lily,” is a flower that is traditionally offered to Kannon.

The lily is also associated with Hachiman who plays a prominent role in the latter half of the piece, being the kami to whom Yuriwaka’s wife makes pledges in return for the safe return of her husband. One fact that Araki Shigeru has drawn our attention to is that the lily was believed to have magical healing powers. Traditionally, shamans used the lily during rituals of purification (harae 祭え) at the beginning of summer (Kōwaka-mai I 366). Note here that the opening of Yuriwaka daijin states, “Thinking to raise the child in the mid-summer tenderness, Kinmitsu adorned the boy with flowers and called the boy ‘Yuriwaka-dono’.”

The first cycle ends by recounting of the birth of Japan and the unbroken line of imperial descent from the two kami, Izanaki-no-mikoto and Izanami-no-mikoto. This section again is set
off from and juxtaposed to the the rest of the narrative with the
opening formula "somo waga chô to mûsu."

Now, speaking of the imperial dynasty of our country, it began
with Kunitokotachi-no-mikoto 国常立尊. When Izanaki and
Izanami descended from the heavens to this land and became
the kami of the two pillars, their first-born was the sun.
This is the kami of Ise. Next, they gave birth to the moon.
The Niu 丹生 deity of Mt. Kôya 高野 , Tsukuyomi-no-mikoto 月読尊 is this. After that, they gave birth to the sea. This
is the Leech Child of the land of Tsu, Ebisu Saburô-dono 大三郎殿 . After that, next they gave birth the kami.
Susanowo-no-mikoto of the land of Izumo lives in the Grand
Shrine. Besides that, the other kami at all the subordinate
shrines, are all under this kami. Saying that is the buddhas
that are original ground of the kami, these are words that
are not widely understood. It is the kami who are the original
ground, and continually take the form of buddhas in order to
guide sentient beings to salvation.

Having given birth to the sun and the moon, the kami prosper
and fill the isles of the Japanese archipelago. The efficacy of the
kami is further praised in an overt statement of the reverse suijaku
theory found in many of the Shinto theoretical treatises of the
medieval period. It is the kami, so the narrative goes, that take

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the form of buddhas and bodhisattvas and lead people to salvation. Thus, the narrative makes a statement of the uniqueness of the imperial line in contrast to the imperial lines of Other countries. Yuriwaka’s trials serve as an example of how the kami positively intervene in the world. Furthermore, the narrative of Yuriwaka’s heroics are also wedded to a discourse of imperial descent in an unbroken line from the kami who appeared at the dawn of time.

A related piece of the kōwaka-mai recounts the mythic narrative of how Izanaki-no-mikoto and Izanami-no-mikoto created the world. Nihonki 日本記 is one of a handful of short kōwaka-mai that is felicitous or celebratory (shūgi 祝儀). The felicitous pieces do not have the inversion structure that is so characteristic of the other works in the repertory, being constructed of only one major section that concludes in the tsume, or the rhythmic vocalization. According to one of the seventeenth-century kōwaka-mai genealogies, Nihonki was the piece that the legendary
patriarch of the Kōwaka troupe, Kōwaka-maru, performed for the Retired Emperor Go-Hanazono.\textsuperscript{22}

Though the piece is derived from the mythic narratives of the ancient world, the direct source for this text is neither the Kojiki nor the Nihon shoki. The piece is firmly rooted in the world of medieval Shinto theorists who reinterpreted the myths of creation borrowing terms and concepts from continental theories of Taoism and Confucianism. While the piece is heavily colored with many concepts from these foreign philosophies, it does so in order to give primacy of the Japanese \textit{kami} over the Buddhist deities, a logical method used by most of the medieval Shinto schools of thought. While the myths of the creation of the world that are narrated in the Kojiki and the Nihon shoki make no overt statements about the continent, Nihonki asserts that Japan, as the land where the sun rises, is where creation began. Only after the islands making up the archipelago of Japan were formed and the various deities became manifest, were the lands of China and India created.
The first cycle of Nihonki opens with a scene that is familiar to us from the ancient Japanese mythic narratives. Izanaki-no-mikoto and Izanami-no-mikoto stand on the floating bridge of heaven and hoping to find islands beneath them, Izanaki-no-mikoto dips down his jeweled spear from “above the clouds” and stirs up the pre-cosmic brine. He is unable to touch upon anything, and so he lifts his spear back up toward heaven. At this point in the ancient mythic narratives of the Nihon shoki and the Kojiki, a drop of the brine congeals and becomes the island of Awaji.

Here, however, the narrative of the kōwaka-mai shows the influence of medieval Shinto works such as the medieval commentaries on the Nihon shoki: the Shaku nihongi (1274-1301) and the Nihon shoki sanso 日本書紀纂練 (mid fourteenth century), as well as the Jinnō shōtōki and the Jinnō shōtōroku 神皇正統総 (fourteenth century). The closest work to the kōwaka-mai piece is the Shinto denjushō 神道伝授鈔 (mid fourteenth century) that relates the five elements to various parts of the human body:
Because human beings born receiving the ki 気 of heaven, their bodies are with the kami of both heaven and earth. Their eyes are in the shape of the sun and the moon, and what makes their bodies warm is fire. Those things that are moist such sputum and sweat, they are types of water. Breath is wind. Flesh is earth. The muscles and bones are gold and stone. Hair is modeled on the plants and trees. There is no way that we can deny that the body contains the five elements and the principles of Yin and Yang. The island of Awaji 淡路 was the beginning of Japan. (unpublished manuscript, qtd. in KBFK X 107)

The line of thought in the Shintō denjushō seems to have originated in the Buddhist theology of the esoteric Shingon sect. Buddhist-Shintō syncretic thought in the Shingon sect during the medieval period placed Mahavairocana at the center of the Buddhist cosmology. The notion that the Sanskrit graph symbolizing Mahavairocana was on the seafloor is also an important and recurring theme throughout several texts of the medieval period. Not only did creation begin with the Japanese islands, many of the anti-syncretic treatises of the time argue, but Japan was the singular source from which all other nations appeared, in particular India and China.
The Shintō tai’i 神道大意 (1486) and the Shintō shindai-shō 神道神代抄 (late fifteenth century), two works by the Yoshida Shintō (or Yui’itsu shintō 唯一神道) theorist Yoshida Kanetomo 吉田兼倶 (1435-1511), present very similar accounts of the origination of India and China from Japan. To quote briefly from the first of these two works,

Now, when heaven and earth were created [lit. “opened”], at the same time the kami appeared. This is the reason that this land is called the “land of the kami.” The way is called “shintō,” [“the way of the kami”]. It was at this time when the various countries broke up into separate pieces and that is why Japan is called the land of the sun. India is the land of the stars, and China is the land of the moon (Shintō taikei Urabe shintō I 5).

In the kōwaka-mai version of the creation myth, it is the divine body of Izanaki-no-mikoto and Izanami-no-mikoto that splits and becomes the various parts of the world. Their head becomes Mt. Sumeru (the center of the Buddhist universe), their four limbs become the four continents, and the eyes become the sun and moon.
As with the Shinto denjushô, the narrative in Nihonki continues with an exhaustive explanation of the Chinese five elements (go-gyô 五行) theory. Beginning with the corresponding five parts of the body, the chain of association runs through the five directions, the five colors, the five flavors, the five rhythms, and finally the various buddhas.

Now, in Cycle 2, Izanaki-no-mikoto lifts up his spear again in order to create the Yin 險 (J. in) principle on earth to match the Yang 陽 (J. yô) principle in heaven. Lifting up the spear, a drop of the brine drips down and forms an island that takes the shape of the words of Izanami’s exclamation, “aha ji” あは地, or “that is land!” Looking down at the island that had formed, the heavenly couple sees that the seal of Mahavairocana that had been on the bottom of the sea, has floated to the top and is bouncing around upon the waves. It was this seal of Mahavairocana, the central Buddha in the cosmology of the Womb and Diamond mandalas, which took the form of the Japanese archipelago.
As the piece continues, it makes a series of statements that are typical of the Shinto theories of the medieval period.

What is more, when they looked to see how the drips from the spear had hardened, on the surface of the great ocean, the Sanskrit character for “Dainichi” had floated up and was being tossed about by the waves. Above the letter, the dew from the spear hardened and became the earth. Above the Sanskrit character for Dainichi, a new land was formed and this is why it is called “Dai Nippon Koku.” The strength of a poppy seed from Awaji-shima in Japan created India as well. Furthermore, China was formed at this time as well. India, so vast, is a land which symbolizes the moon, and that is why it called the land of the moon people. Although China is also a vast land, they gave it the name “Shintan-koku,” a land that symbolizes the stars. Our land of Japan, although it is said to be a small land, being called “The Land of the Sun;” it symbolizes the sun. Of these three countries, our land will be eternally blessed with prosperity for as long as it endures.

Because the islands of Japan originated in the seal of Mahavairocana, the nation is called “Dainipponkoku” 大日本国 or, literally translated, “the land that is the source of Mahavairocana.” Japan being one in the same as this central Buddha, is placed at the beginning of time. Here the kami are the source of the whole
of creation and they directly protect its people. The islands of Japan, though being as small as a poppy seed (J. keshi 芥子), gave birth to both India and China that, as metaphors for the moon and the stars, are only a reflection of the light of the sun, Japan.

Although this piece is shot through with hyperbole, the theories upon which it is based had gained currency throughout the medieval period. Some of the medieval commentaries on the classics of Japanese literature also participate in this reaction to the nearly hegemonic influence that Buddhism had exerted in Japanese medieval culture. For example, a commentary on the preface to the Kokinshū, the Kokin waka shû jo kikigaki 古今和歌集序聞書, gives a similar account of the founding of the Japanese islands beginning with the formation of Awaji Island. But the literary genre in which this topos found its most welcome home was in the gunki monogatari of the period. The Yashiro-bon Heike monogatari 大昔本平家物語, for example, gives the following account of the creation of Japan:
[...] Izanaki plunged his spear into the great sea in search of land, and lifting up the spear a drop fell and became land. This would become our nation [wagachō]. On the surface of the great sea, the characters of Mahavairocana [dainichi] took shape. And because these characters appeared, that is the reason why this nation is called “Dainipponkoku” (Asahara, Haruta and Matsue III 189).

Similar passages can be found in the Hyakunijū-ku bon 百二十句本 as well as the Genpei jōsuiki, while it is conspicuously absent from the Kakuichi-bon 覚一 version.

The second and third cycles of Yuriwaka daijin introduce a theme that is seen in many of the gunki monogatari and engi of the medieval period: the threat posed by foreign armies that attack the island of Kyushu. The episode in the kōwaka-mai piece is no doubt taken from the collective memory of the invasions of the Mongols in the late-thirteenth century. Yet, here the narrative makes an aside saying that Japan has been protected from invasion because it is a land where the imperial line has remained unbroken, preserved by the integrity of the three items of the imperial regalia that have been passed down from generation to generation. Again, this
section is set off from the rest of the narrative by the formula

“somo waga chō to mōsu.”

Now speaking of our imperial dynasty, being a land is the size of a grain of millet, although it is said to be small, since the time of the kami, the three treasures handed down are these. One of these is called the jewel, bearing the seal of the demon king of the sixth heaven. The second of these is the “Naishidokoro” 内侍所, the sacred mirror of Amaterasu. The third treasure is the sacred sword that was taken from the tail of the great snake of Mt. Hikami 鵜上 in the land of Izumo. These are the three great treasures under heaven. Generation after generation evil men from foreign lands despised us, but because this continues to be a land of the kami, it has never come to ruin.

The Mongol invasion episode in the kōwaka-mai piece was no doubt taken from the collective memory of the invasions of the Mongols in the late-thirteenth century. Yet, here the narrative makes an aside saying that Japan has been protected from invasion because it is a land of where the imperial line has remained unbroken, preserved by the integrity of the three items of the imperial regalia that have been passed down from generation to generation. The three
treasures of the imperial regalia as symbols of “nation” as a “land of the kami” was widely spread throughout the medieval period and theories of the divine right of the emperor were based upon the passing down of these treasures. Thus, it not surprising that we find this theme in expository works such as the Gukanshō (1220) and the Jinnōshōtōki but also in the world of monogatari such as the Heike monogatari and Taiheiki. The appearance of the exact phrase “Dainihonkokoku ha shinkoku nari” 大日本国は神国也 (the graphs are also read “Ōyamato ha shinkoku nari”) in both the Jinnōshōtōki and Yuriwaka daijin is not mere coincidence, but rather the kōwaka-mai reflects the common context of increasingly heightened awareness of national uniqueness in which both of these works were produced.

In order to proceed according to the will of the kami, a miko serves as a bridge between the worlds of the kami and humans. Possessed by the spirit of Amaterasu-no-ōkami, the shaman reveals that the kami have taken counsel. The kami announce that it will be Yuriwaka who will lead the imperial forces against the barbarian
invaders. As the forces of the Otherworld possess great and supernatural powers, Yuriiwaka is commanded to face the Mongols with a bow and arrow made of the purest iron.

As the third cycle opens, we find that the Mongol forces have already arrived at Hakata. Yuriiwaka readies his troops and fashions his iron bow and arrows. They set out to protect the capital, aided by Amaterasu-no-O-kami who causes a divine wind to blow. This wind blown from the holy shrine of Ise, through the pines of Sumiyoshi, frightens the Mongols who retreat to the Korean Peninsula. The withdrawal of the barbarians in the face of this kamikaze is said to be an indication of the divine powers of the kami that are the protectors of the nation and its people.

A structural analysis of the introductory three cycles of the first major section of Yuriiwaka daijin reveals how the kōwaka-mai narratives are created of mythic patterns of oppositions. These dyads, or as Lévi-Strauss would call them, “binary operators,” structure not only the three major sections, but they also work within
each of the major section and within smaller bundles of cycles and within each cycle. We see that Section I is divided into two sections composed of three cycles each in which oppositions are set up and then mediated. The first three cycles of Section I create two parallel discourses, one being the narrative of Yuriwaka’s birth, rise to power and commission to lead the Japanese forces against the foreign invaders.

The other discourse is that of the creation of Japan, the right of succession guaranteed by the transmission of the three treasures of the imperial regalia and the divine protection of the nation by the kami. As I have argued, the main narrative of the piece is informed by its traditional reference not to an unknown epic from the classical world of the Greeks, rather it is in the patterns that we find repeatedly in the texts of medieval Shinto theorists who reinterpreted the mythic narratives of the ancient world. This reference gives these two discourses import as narrative constructions on “nation” or “national identity” that is derived
from the uniqueness of the Japanese islands and rule by a sovereign
whose line of succession has been unbroken from time immemorial.

The juxtaposition of these two discourses creates a subtext
that is present in many of the kōwaka-mai pieces: the right of
succession and heredity. Firmly grounded in the genres of gunki
monogatari, we wind many motifs and themes that derive from the times
in which these pieces were created and performed. The other pieces
of the kōwaka-mai that I discuss here--Taishokan, Shida and
Manjū--are also concerned at many levels with preserving the right
of legitimate succession narrated in the language of mythic patterns.

In Taishokan, for example, we saw that one of the two central
guarantees for political authority is the birth of a male heir. In
creating a political dynasty, Taishokan ties parturition with the
recovery of a jewel, representing enlightenment as well as the power
to symbolically control agricultural fertility. By extension, the
narrative ties political and ecclesiastical authority in the symbols
of the jewel and child, both brought into this world through the
mediation of the female body. Yuriwaka as well has a divine birth as a heaven-sent child and in this respect, he and Fusasaki both have divine births.

Despite similarities on the structural level, these two pieces differ in how the mythic patterns are translated into the language of narrative, and as we will see in our discussion of the piece Shida, Yuriwaka has many similarities with the hero, Shida Kotarō, who also is driven from his rightful inheritance and forced to suffer trials before returning to his rightful place as heir to the Shida fief. The preservation of the right of succession is characteristic of the ideology of the family system of the medieval period.

Orikuchi often speaks of the manifestation that the marebito theory takes in Japanese culture. The basic opposition between the kami and the shōryō—the shōryō are pacified and pledge loyalty to the kami—extends by analogy to the relationship between master and vassal. The vassal pledges his loyalty to the master just as the loyal subject faithfully serves the emperor. In Yuriwaka daijin,
we can see the same ideology behind the relationships that obtain between superior and subordinate. In the first three cycles of the piece, Yūriwaka receives his divine commission through an oracle delivered by a miko who is a mediator of the will of the kami. Setting out to defeat the Mongols who threaten the nation—understood by analogy to the unbroken line of imperial succession symbolized in the three treasures of the imperial regalia—Yūriwaka is serving as both loyal subject to the crown and servant of the will of the kami. Preceded by a divine wind blown by Amaterasu-no-ōkami, the Mongols are swept away from the islands of Japan, and thus the integrity of the nation, which has never been invaded by a foreign foe, is preserved.\(^{30}\)

The second grouping of three cycles that makes up the second half of the first major section, finds Yūriwaka again displaying his loyalty to the nation. This time he takes his orders not from the kami, but from their earthly representative, the imperial court. In the fourth cycle, the narrative again references mythic narratives
of the ancient world. This time it is the invasion of the Korean peninsula that is first recounted in the mythico-historical reign of Empress Jingū.\textsuperscript{31}

Drawing from this mythic narrative, Cycle 4 tells of the court’s decision to send Yuriwaka to kill the generals of the Mongols. If even one can be killed, it will be a sign that Japan (wagachō 我朝) has been victorious. This section mirrors the first three cycles, both in its underlying structure as well as its narrative. The first opposition that is set up is between this world and the Otherworld, figured as the opposition of the capital (ōjō 王城) and the continent. Yuriwaka leaves his wife and sets out in ships that have been ritually purified and lavishly adorned with Shinto decorations. Here the opposition is explicitly configured as Japan (hi no kuni 日の国) and foreign lands (ikoku 異国).\textsuperscript{32}

The fourth cycle ends with an overt reference to the mythic narrative of Empress Jingū’s invasion and subjugation of the Korean Peninsula. As one of the deities enshrined in the Usa Hachiman
shrine, it seems more appropriate that the kōwaka-mai piece creates meaning by its reference to culturally relevant mythic narratives rather than to Odysseus’ attack on Troy in the Iliad. Yet, its web of reference goes even deeper into the mythic patterns that make up the Return Song story-pattern in the Japanese tradition. To take two obvious prototypes we have discussed above, we can see that the commission to go to Tsukushi clearly echoes the commission given by Emperor Ōjin, the principal deity of the Usa Hachiman shrine, to Takeshiuchi-no-sukune, as well as the much earlier mythic narrative of Ametsuchi and his pacification of the Central Land of the Reed Plain.\textsuperscript{34}

The clearest tradition that informs Yuriwaka daijin James T. Araki overlooks—the Hachiman cult. Although the deity Hachiman does not appear in the earlier compilations of myth recorded in the Kojiki and the Nihon shoki, from an early point in the history of the Japanese nation, this kami was tied to the preservation of the nation-state and sovereignty of the imperial clan. Early in the
eighth century, Hachiman is recorded as giving an oracle that aided the imperial forces in subduing an uprising of the Hayato 難人, a rebellious tribe in Kyushu. In the mid-eighth century, as the imperial house and its supporters were unifying the country, Emperor Shōmu erected the Tōdaiji temple in the capital of Nara as a symbol of the authority of the imperial clan. Hachiman was said at this time to have delivered an oracle commanding that this great temple was to be built.

During the reign of Empress Kōken 孝謹, the Buddhist priest Dōkyō 道教 (?-772) endearing himself with the Empress, was appointed to high positions at court. Seeking to take the throne for himself, he traveled to the Usa Hachiman shrine to ask for an oracle that would legitimize his right to imperial succession. Unfortunately for Dōkyō there were others at court, most notably the Fujiwara, who were not keen on seeing this former mountain ascetic ascend the throne. They, in turn, sent their own envoy to the Usa Hachiman shrine to receive another oracle. This time, Hachiman was not
favorable to Dōkyō who was demoted after the Empress died. One outcome of these political intrigues was the tradition of sending an envoy from the court to Usa Hachiman shrine to receive an oracle at the beginning of each new reign (hachiman zukai 八幡使). Thus, Hachiman was closely associated with political legitimacy and succession.

In the ninth century, the Hachiman cult took on a new interpretation that would affect its development in the medieval period. Though Hachiman was a relatively "new" kami to the Japanese nation-state, in the early-Heian period, the kami was interpreted as Emperor Ōjin and Empress Jingū. In several versions of the Hachiman history that developed in the Heian and medieval periods, suppression of the rebellious tribes of Kyushu transformed into narratives of national importance.

Fusing with the myths of the ancient world that tell of Empress Jingū's subjugation of the Korean Peninsula, medieval interpretations of Hachiman narrate how this deity appeared in this
world as Emperor Ōjin who is born on the shores of Kyushu after his mother returned from her victory over the forces of the kingdoms of Silla and Koguryō. For example, in the Hachiman daibosatsu go in’ihon engi 八幡大菩薩御因緣本縁起, the Empress sets out to do battle with the warriors of the Korean Peninsula stopping at northern coast of Kyushu. Here, Toyohime 豊姬 dives into the sea and brings back two jewels from the dragon palace, the hosu-tama 乾玉 and the mitsu-tama 漱玉, and gives them to the Empress. Taking them into battle, Jingū controls the ebb and flow of the waves and sinks the enemy ships. In a later interpretation of the myth, the deity Sumiyoshi appears as an old man who accompanies Jingū and her royal troops to the shores of Kyushu. Sumiyoshi dances on a floating stage, while Toyohime dives down to the dragon palace to retrieve the jewels.35

From the late-thirteenth century, the Hachiman cult took on increased importance in defining the nation-state, eclipsing its significance in legitimizing imperial succession by delivering
oracles. In 1274 and again in 1281, the forces of the Mongols attempted to conquer Japan attacking the northern coast of Kyushu. It is because of the power of Hachiman that the Mongols were blown back to the continent and the integrity of the Japanese nation was preserved. The *Hachiman gudōkin* 八幡遇童訓, a text that was used to teach children about the wonders of Hachiman, concludes with a section that explains how it was through the power of Hachiman that the Mongols were defeated (402-410). Throughout the late-medieval period, the Hachiman cult spread nationwide, serving as a discourse on “nation” defined as controlling the sea boundary between Japan and the continent.  

In the fifth and sixth cycles, the narrative of *Yuriwaka daijin* turns to the battle between the forces of the Japanese under Yuriwaka and the Mongols under the four generals that takes place at the mythic sea boundary between Japan and the continent, Chikura-ga-oki. This mythic region between Japan the Otherworld appears in many monogatari of the medieval period and is particularly noticeable in the
kōwaka-mai repertory. “Chikura” itself was the ancient name for Kyosaitō 巨濟島, a small island that is located between Tsushima Island and the Korean Peninsula. 37

By analogy to its location, in the medieval period “chikura” came to refer, not only an ambiguous geographical location between Japan and the mainland, but also denotes things and ideas that are an amalgam of continental and Japanese styles. For example, “chikura kotoba” 筑羅言葉 meant words that were a Chinese and Japanese mishmash and therefore unable to be deciphered. Similarly, a “chikura-mono” 筑羅物 was someone whose parentage was unknown, specifically in regard to their being of either Chinese or Japanese extraction. “Chikuragaoki” is said to be a place where one becomes confused. The early Edo period writer, Ogyū Sorai 萩生徂徠 (1666–1723) states in his Naru beshi 南留別志 (mid-Edo period): 38

The writing of the Nihongi is chikura. The writing of the Buddhist scriptures is chikura. The reading of Confucian classics while adding marks is chikura. Scholars in this world are floating in the seas of Chikuragaoki, it is neither
China nor Yamato (Japan), ships wander about without finding a place to land in this painful sea of life and death (29)

Thus, Chikura-ga-oki is a fitting site for a battle between the native forces and the forces of the Otherworld.

After the two opposing forces have been stalemated here for three years, the Mongol generals cause a thick and impenetrable fog to descend shrouding the Japanese warriors, making it impossible for them to distinguish anything around them. Yuriwaka prays to Amaterasu-no-ökami who causes a divine wind to blow from the precincts of the Ise shrine, through the pines of Sumiyoshi and over the waves to Chikura-ga-oki, clearing the air and making it possible for Yuriwaka and his men to attack the Mongols. Having shot and killed two of the generals and taken the other two as prisoners, Yuriwaka sends a message back to the capital that the “Land of the Sun” has been victorious.
4.3.2 Analysis of Section II

Having defeated the Mongols at Chikura-ga-oki, Yuriwaka decides to rest, tired from grappling with the Mongol generals. The two Beppu brothers make their appearance here, finding a suitable island for their master to rest. Having prepared a bed for their master and seeing him fall into a deep sleep, the brothers take this opportunity to devise a plan whereby they will gain the rewards that are due to their master.

Here the narrative has many parallels with the medieval shrine history, the Suwa engi. Like Yuriwaka, Suwa Saburō is betrayed by his two elder brothers. Having been sent to defeat a demon in the underworld, the two brothers cut the rope that is to serve as a life line, being pulled up when Saburō has completed his task and tugs on it. This tie to the Otherworld having been severed, Saburō begins a journey through several worlds, each accessed through a fumarole. While the Suwa engi is more detailed than the kōwaka-mai piece, as
Return Songs, they display similar formal structures upon which meaning is created.

While Yuriwaka’s abandonment on the deserted island has significance in reference to the Return Song story-pattern, it also points toward other variants that were in currency during the medieval period. As we have seen in the Chinese legend, Suwu as well is charged with a mission to destroy the Huns. While captured, he refuses to pledge his loyalty to the enemy and instead suffers a series of tortures before being exiled to an abandoned shore. The Buddhist parable of Zenji Taishi, as well as the ancient mythic narrative of Takeshiuchi-no-sukune, turn on the motif of betrayal by a brother.

In contrast, the kōwaka-mai narrative, which no doubt influenced by the mood of the times, recast the villains as retainers, rather than brothers. In narratives that are closer to the original mythic pattern (Frye’s “undisplaced myth”), the sanction against marrying one’s brother’s wife takes importance, whereas, in the
kōwaka-mai, this family concern is translated to that of master and vassal loyalty, aligning it with the discourse on loyalty to the nation as symbolized in the imperial house.

Abandonment of the hero in the Otherworld, the desolate island of Genkai-ga-shima, sets into motion complete inversion in this world. The Beppu brothers return to the capital hoping that they will receive all the glory and rewards having assisted their master to the end. However, in return for his scheming, all that the elder Beppu brother receives is the post of governor formerly held by his master.

After Beppu takes his master’s post, the situation in this world continues to deteriorate. Like the elder Suwa brother in the Suwa engi, Beppu proposes marriage to Yuriwaka’s wife. His proposal of marriage is inappropriate, for as Yuriwaka’s wife says herself, three year’s have not yet passed since her husband’s death. Furthermore, she insists that she must complete the pledge she made to the deity of the Usa Hachiman shrine to copy out one thousand sutras. While she bides her time, Yuriwaka’s entire household
disintegrates. His wife, unable to keep Beppu at bay, sees renunciation of this world and suicide as the only solution to her plight and gives all of Yuriwaka’s possessions away.\textsuperscript{39} Thus, Beppu’s illegitimate rule of the province of Tsukushi is complemented by complete chaos in this world.

Section II mirrors Section I by contrasting two worlds, one that is governed by the principle of correct rule and one that is shaped by illegitimate rule. The inversion that is prominent in the mythic pattern is set up in order to be bridged by two mediating figures. The first of these mediating figures is the prized falcon, Midori-maru, that has been set free by Yuriwaka’s wife. Midori-maru flies to Genkai-ga-shima, crossing the waves that separate this world from the Otherworld, and there is reunited with his master.

Yuriwaka is warned by the loyalty shown by Midori-maru and wonders whether this falcon can serve as a courier between him and his wife. In a scene that is drawn from the legend of Suwu,\textsuperscript{40} Yuriwaka bites off the tip of a finger and writes out a poem in blood
on a leaf. He attaches the message and charges Midori-maru with delivering it safely to his wife. Midori-maru successfully delivers the message, but on his return trip to Genkai-ga-shima, his wife and her attendants burden the falcon with an ink stone, brush and paper which the bird is unable to carry. Before he can make it back to Yuriwaka, the heavy load along with the reply written by Yuriwaka’s wife sinks into the sea.

In the meantime, Yuriwaka’s wife, tormented by Beppu’s ultimatum that she consent to marry him or be drowned, decides to pray for divine help one last time at the Usa Hachiman shrine. For seven days, she prays, pledging to build lavish edifices adorned with a myriad of treasures if the deity will allow her to see Yuriwaka again. Unbeknownst to her, the prayers that she has lifted up to Hachiman have been answered—a fisherman is blown in his boat to the shores of Genkai-ga-shima.

The fisherman, arriving at this desolate island, encounters a hideous being on the shore. In the time that Yuriwaka has suffered
on the island, he has been transformed beyond recognition. Yuriwaka reassures the fisherman that he is a man, but he conceals his identity, saying that he is one of the many warriors who had defeated the Mongol forces, but through some bad luck was left behind as the ships sailed back to Japan. The fisherman, moved by Yuriwaka’s story agrees to take him back to Tsukushi. Boarding the boat, Yuriwaka prays to the kami that they favor him and the fisherman and blow a favorable wind to fill their sails. The seas are calmed by the Eight Dragon Kings while a host of demigods ride along with the boat, bringing Yuriwaka back to Japan.\textsuperscript{41}

As with all the kōwaka-mai pieces we have seen so far, the fisherman functions in the narrative to mediate between an opposition that has been created that is seemingly impassable. In Taishokan and Iruka, we see that it is a female in the roles as daughter, wife and mother who mediates these oppositions to confer political power on Kamatari and produce heirs to carry on the family name. The fisherman and the falcon, Midori-maru, in this second major section
function similarly to bridge the gap between Genkai-ga-shima and Japan. On the structural level, the mediating positions of all these figures are the same: they are mediating terms between the opposition of this world and the Otherworld.

In Taishokan, both the dragon palace and China are set up as opposites bridged by Kamatari’s daughter, the Dragon Girl and the diver. In Iruka as well, the opposition that is set up are the capital (as metonym for the emperor) and Hitachi province. In the first section, a fox mediates between these opposites, granting Kamatari a sickle and bringing him back to the capital. The opposition is then transposed to the contrast between illegitimate rule by Iruka and the correct and legitimate rule by Kamatari as representative of the emperor, an opposition that is first bridged by Kamatari’s un-named daughter.

Yet, the role of mediator need not be filled only by these “marginal” or “ambiguous” characters, rather as we have seen in Iruka the mediating factor can also be main characters that take on
temporary characteristics of a marebito. In Iruka, Kamatari becomes blind in order to get close to Iruka so that he can assassinate him and return the world to correct rule. In many of the Bōgan-mono, as well, we find Yoshitsune taking on disguises only to return to his "normal" state at the end of the piece. Thus, while structurally all marebito are similar, there are certain distinctions that are made between main character (the hero) and supporting characters.

4.3.3 Analysis of Section III

In the final section of Yuriwaka daijin the main character, Yuriwaka, returns to Tsukushi in a transformed state. One of the main functions of the Return Song story-pattern is the transformation of the main character while he is absent from this world, suffering trials and hardships in the Otherworld. For example, in the legend of Suwu, he returns to his homeland twenty years after his capture, with hair that has turned white. Likewise, Yuriwaka has been
transformed into "Koke-maru," skin blackened by the sun and covered with hair. In Beppu's words, "This is an amusing creature! When you take him for human, he is not quite a human. When you take him for a demon, he is not quite a demon. It's just as if what's called a hungry demon or such--is this what it is?"

Beppu, amused by Yuriwaka's appearance, places this creature in the care of Kadowaki, intending to take him to the capital and entertain the people there. As a marebito, Yuriwaka's transformed appearance as "Koke-maru" functions to mediate between the oppositions in this final section--legitimate rule and illegitimate rule. The final scene is the stage where Yuriwaka reveals his identity to the lords and retainers of Tsukushi, having gathered for a New Year's ritual archery contest. Like the sickle and the cane in Iruka, the bow and arrow serve as the magical implements whereby Yuriwaka shows his true self to his former vassals, who, once they are aware that their master is still alive, quickly run to his side. Beppu also bows down to Yuriwaka, but receives the awful
fate of having his head slowly sawed off over several days. Once Koke-maru has been transformed to Yuriwaka he is reunited with his wife, Yuriwaka rewards those who have showed loyalty to him while he was on the island. The nation having been returned to legitimate rule is safe and prospers.

When Yuriwaka announces himself to the lords and warriors gathered at the archery contest, he enjoins them to follow the “law of reason” (dōri 道理). The men come to their master’s side rather than turning their backs upon reason and supporting the illegitimate rule of the usurper Beppu. The scripts of the kōwaka-mai on one level are narratives that turn upon the “law of reason,” or doing what is correct. In Iruka, the “law of reason” is invoked on two occasions. The first of these is following Iruka’s telling of the Genjōraku story. It is through the “law of reason” that informs the story that Iruka understands that Kamatari is plotting to kill him. Only a few lines later, as the second major section opens, Kamatari makes a pilgrimage to the Kasuga shrine. Lifting his voice to the deity there,
he invokes the "law of reason" that states that it is a virtue to kill one in order to save many. Following the law of reason, the deity of the Kasuga shrine bestows upon Kamatari the power to become blind and gives him a magic tool, the "cane of darkness," with which he can kill Iruka and return the world to correct rule.

In Yuriwaka daijin, characters also invoke the "law of reason" on three occasions. A lady-in-waiting speaks the first of these to Yuriwaka's wife. Tormented beyond all resistance, Yuriwaka's wife sees the only option to avoiding Beppu's advances is to throw herself into a pond and drown. Her lady-in-waiting stops her mistress saying that certainly it is according to the law of reason that she kill herself in this situation, but she urges that she can devise a way to avoid Beppu's advances. In the final scene as well, Yuriwaka, having announced to all that he is still alive and the legitimate ruler of Tsukushi, invokes the "law of reason," calling upon his former vassals to turn away from Beppu and follow him.
The final setting for the rebirth of the hero, has symbolic significance. We will see how ritual is used to give an added layer of meaning to the restoration of the world in my analysis of the following two pieces as well. In Yuriwaka daijin, as in Iruka, ritual time is used as a backdrop for the “rebirth” of the hero in Yuriwaka daijin. The daijōsai (ni’inamesai) is the informing ritual linked to the restoration of imperial succession in the Kamatari legend. Here it is the New Year. Recalling Orikuchi’s prototype for the exchange between the kami and the shōryō, we are struck by the affinities that it has with the final cycle of this piece. Yuriwaka appears in disguise and reveals his identity. Having done so, all of his former retainers as well as Oyama bow down in submission. Again, we see the cultural significance that ritual has in the creation of meaning in medieval myth.

Rewards meted out to those who have been faithful and followed the “law of reason” include the faithful falcon, Midori-maru, and the fisherman who brought him back to Japan. Midori-maru is
enshrined in Jingoji temple,\textsuperscript{43} in the mountains north of the capital.

The fisherman is given charge over the nine provinces of Tsukushi. One more person who receives rewards is the daughter of Kadowaki who has given her life as a vicarious substitute for Yuriwaka’s wife.\textsuperscript{44}

As we have seen above, Yuriwaka finds out about the sacrifice of Kadowaki’s daughter while being cared for as Koke-maru. The motif of sacrifice in the place of one’s master is a common motif in the kōwaka-mai pieces, which is in its most elaborated form in the piece Manjū. Here it is the nameless daughter of Kadowaki who gladly gives her own life so that her master’s wife may live.

Though I will be discussing this motif later in my analysis of the piece Manjū we must note that this motif of giving one’s life in place of one’s master did not appear suddenly in the medieval period. We saw that in the mythic narrative of Takeshiuchi-no-sukune, a man from the province of Iki gives his own life as a substitute for Takeshiuchi-no-sukune, who then returns to the capital to plead his innocence to the emperor. Even in the mythic
narrative of Amewakahiko we find this motif in its embryonic form. Having been killed the Heavenly deities send a deity whose uncanny resemblance fools even Amewakahiko’s grieving widow that her husband has returned from the grave. The belief that by wailing at the grave of the recently deceased would bring back life into the body of the dead no doubt has some relationship with genesis of this mythic narrative. Here I suggest that the origin and persistence of this story-pattern indicates that it had significance for audiences over the centuries. As the Return Song, Yurewaka daijin references the rich Japanese tradition and not a foreign story.

While built upon the same mythic structure of oppositions as Taishokan, Yurewaka daijin translates this structure into a story-pattern of death and rebirth. The main character that is sent out to fulfill some task or quest and is removed from this world and held to be dead by those still living. The main character’s absence from this world causes the law of reason to be turned upside-down. By bridging the gulf that exists between the
Otherworld and this world, the hero can return, take his revenge, and restore the world to its proper order.

At the level of story-pattern, the Return Song differs in many ways from the tamatori story-pattern. While the latter is tied to political authority through obtaining a jewel that gives its possessor absolute power over fertility, the former is a story-pattern that is tied to rituals grounded in the belief that spirits of the dead can return to their bodies and live again. The Return Song story-pattern is a narrative of the interrelatedness of life and death, the belief that order can be restored to a world that is in chaos by a return to the principle of the “law of reason.”
For an extensive listing of the variant versions of the Yuriwaka legend, see Fukuda (Shinwa 162-175). See also Kanaseki for a discussion of the Chinese variants of the legend (47-58).

Atsumi Kaoru makes this claim in a review of the history of Heike monogatari studies (Atsumi et al. II 20). See, for example, Iwano 13.

See Keene's critique of late nineteenth century Japanese scholars' efforts to recreate Chikamatsu as the "Japanese Shakespeare" (The Major 1).

In addition to Tsubouchi, see Tsuda, Morihiko, Ichiba, Nakayama, James T. Araki ("Yuriwaka") and Hibbard.

See, for example Watsuji, Muroki (Katari-mono), Kanaseki, Maeda, Iwamoto, Ohabashi, and Fukuda (Shinwa). Often the scholars on this side of the controversy engage a discourse of national uniqueness that informs certain schools of ethnology.

Francisco Xavier (1506-1552), arrived in Kagoshima 鹿児島 on the southern edge of Kyushu in 1549. In 1550, he moved on to the domain of the daimyo Ōuchi Yoshitaka 大内義隆. He was expelled from Japan in 1552, a year after the first recorded performance of Yuriwaka daijin. In addition the numerous assumptions that James T. Araki is forced to make in support of his theory of transmission, his most seriously flawed error is that he assumes that it is only in the 1550s that the repertory of the kōwaka-mai became fixed because the "names of pieces performed begin to receive notice in the diaries of courtiers and high-ranking Buddhists" (34). Following Araki's logic, we can also assume that the pieces of the sarugaku did not exist since their titles do not appear in diaries until the
mid-sixteenth century, which certainly was not the case. The Jesuits did, however, introduce many works (such as Aesop’s Fables) at the turn of the century when they opened their presses.

The Yuriwaka legend as it has been transmitted on the island of Iki 岩岐 in the “Yuriwaka sekkyō.” Note that on this island, the motif of Momo Tarō has been added to the original work. The following outline was made from a transcript of the “Yuriwaka sekkyō” made by Fukuda Akira:

(1) Yuriwaka Daijin was born from a peach and thus given the name Momo Tarō.

(2) After several years pass, he heard that the king had a beautiful daughter, and he became kindler for a bath and lived there (in the palace).

(3) Although they become betrothed, the king sends Momo Tarō to Onigashima 鬼ヶ島 to defeat a demon, if he does he will be able to marry the princess.

(4) He changes his name to Yuriwaka Daijin, and with seventy ships, he sets out to the island of Iki

(5) At this time, Iki Island was called Onigashima, and the demons seeing Yuriwaka coming break stones apart and hurl them at him.

(6) Yuriwaka lifts up his fan painted with the rising sun into the wind and deflects the stones.

(7) One little demon is left as a souvenir, and by the wind that the little demon stirs up; Yuriwaka is unable to sail home.

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(8) Using the little demon, he gathers things from the sea and boils them in the belly button of the demon.

(9) Later, a sardine fishing boat is washed ashore and Yuriwaka boards it and sails home.

(10) The little demon, asks for the fan with the rising sun and Yuriwaka gives it to him.

(11) Yuriwaka arrives at the palace, but he is not recognized.

(12) Yuriwaka's prized horse recognizes him.

(13) Finally, Yuriwaka takes the princess as his bride and he becomes king.

8 I have presented the "Return Song" here as simplified in Foley (Homer's 121).

9 The scholar of myth, Yokoyama Atsuhiko, in particular has forwarded the following argument on the transmission of story-patterns from the Asian continent. The reason for the striking similarities between the myths of the Kojiki and the Nihon shoki and the myths of ancient Greece, he argues, is that the Japanese myths originated in Greece, spread through central Asia and finally arrived in Japan. Whether or not this is true is an issue that I purposefully avoid, instead I look at how this story-pattern had significant for Japanese culture and performance in the late medieval period (132).

10 See Dawkins for a unique reinterpretation of cultural evolution (189-191). For universalist interpretations of ritual, myth and other cultural phenomena see the works of Eliade, Campbell and
scholars of the myth-ritual approach to literature compiled in Segal. For a criticism of the latter, see Ackerman. The danger, of course, is then tying social and cultural development to biological evolution. Some social phenomena may be universal. See Zimbalist Rosaldo’s introductory essay.

11 Both positions hold that humans are similar in the way they organize society and develop culturally. Those who ascribe to the theory of monogenesis hold that all societies and cultures are similar because of a common ancestor. With the assumption of a common source, the tale in its original Ur-form spread out to other societies. In these communities the original tale was adapted to the specific geography or local circumstances of that area through substitution (Krohn 58).

Those who ascribe to the theory of polygenesis, on the other hand, would argue that all cultures are similar because all humans and their societies have the same basic needs that will give rise to similar expressions of culture. Others, such as von Sydow, maintain that elements of both polygenesis and monogenesis are present in the origin and transmission of tale types (228). Scholars such as Fukuda in Japan, who have trained in ethnology, rely upon a historic-geographic method, particularly in their approach to the diffusion and spread of story-patterns throughout the Japanese archipelago. See, for example, Fukuda’s (Shintōshū) discussion of the setsuwa of the Shintōshū.

12 He was the ancestor of the Iki no Atahe. They are said to have descended from Amanokoyane-no-mikoto, who would later become the Nakatomi.

13 The legend of Kōga Saburō was connected with the Okayamadera 岡山寺 temple at the post town of Minakuchi 水口 (present day southeast Shiga Prefecture). His legend was spread by shugendō who spread the legend around the country. See Fukuda (Shinwa 186-187).
According to Lévi-Strauss, one of the qualities of myth is the repetition of the mythic structure at several levels. It would be best to call these repetitions, "transformations" in that they can be inversions as well (Naked Man 100). In the kōwaka-mai, we can see the structure of myth on the atemporal level—the repetition of oppositions and their mediation—as well as on the level of musical structure and narrative structure.

In support of his theory of transmission, Yoshida Atsuhiko notes that Herodotus records a tale that was performed by nomads of central Asia. This tale, he argues, is similar to one found in the Japanese tradition.

Compare Yuriwaka’s return and reunion with his wife with that of Odysseus and Penelope in the Odyssey (344-354).

Tenson-kōrin, is the traditional appellation for the episode of Amewakahiko that I discussed above. The kuni-yuzuri myth also involves pacification of the land before Amatsuhikohikohoninigi-no-mikoto descent, this time by Ōkuni-nushi 大大国主, the son of Susanowo-no-mikoto.

This temple was established in 686 on ground that was believed to be holy. It was moved to its present location by the Buddhist saint Tokudō 徳道 (656-735) in 733 funded by Fujiwara no Fusaasaki and given imperial sanction by Emperor Tenmu. The principal deity is the eleven-faced Kannon. In the Heian period, the temple became a destination for aristocratic women. In the medieval period, it was the destination of pilgrims of all classes. It is now one of the thirty-three Kannon temples in the Kansai area.

The mid-thirteenth century Teikin ōrai 庭訓往来, lists "yuri" as the reading of the three-character compound (Yamada, Iriya and Sanae
Shinhon hutsujaku 神本仏迹 theory reverses of the Buddhist formulation holding that the kami are manifestations of buddhas and bodhisattvas. This thought is attributed to the Yoshida school of Shinto theorists, but gained wide acceptance by the end of the medieval period. This thought is found, for example, in the Hokeyo jikidansho, “Above all, when Sakyamuni appeared in the world the life span of humans was one hundred years, he lived long after our imperial line was founded. It [his birth] was in Emperor Jimmu’s reign, the twelfth generation. The kami existed before the Buddha and therefore it is the kami who are the original ground of the buddhas” (Eishin I 12).

See Muroki for a discussion of the shugi-mono of the kowaka-mai repertory. He includes the pieces Hamaide 浜出, Kuketsunokai 九穴員, Umasoroe 馬磐, Yumeawase 夢合, and Nihonki. He sees these works as praise for the patronage of members of the warrior class when the kowaka-mai performers would appear before their benefactors to perform (Katari-mono 163).

Today, performance of the kowaka-mai begins with Nihonki as a felicitous piece. The only recorded performance of this piece (1602) is called “felicitous” (shugen) by the author of the diary (Tokiyoishi kyoki 時慶卿記 qtd. in Ichiko 304).

This work was written by Ichijō Kanera 一条兼良 (1402–1481), a courtier and scholar. As head of the Ichijō family, Kanera held several posts in the shogunal regency.

The Akizuki-bon and the Kansaidai-bon state “this blessed Awajishima.”
The kōwaka-mai piece Fue no maki 笛の巻 similarly states, "Although this country is small, it was given the name 'The Region of the Sun.' It is a country that symbolizes the sun. Although China is said to be a vast country, it was given the name 'Shintan koku;' it is a country that symbolizes the stars. Although India is a celebrated country, it is called 'Gatsushi koku' 月氏国; it symbolizes the moon. Countries are both large and small, but it is wisdom that is the principle for their greatness" (Asahara and Kitahara 298).

See the Hōgen monogatari, Taiheiki 太平記, Enkyō-bon Heike monogatari, and the Genpei jōsuiki for medieval interpretations of threats of foreign invasions. In particular we note that these are tied to discourses on the unique origins of the “nation” of Japan as a "Land of the kami" (Kami no kuni) (Kitahara and Ogawa II 342, Gotō and Kamada 451-458).

Several texts recount invasions of Japan. The Hachiman engi states, "Although there have been many times that Japan has defeated foreign lands in battle, there is no other example except in Empress Jingū’s reign of a defeated country pledging an oath" (Kondō 106).

The Taiheiki states, "As for foreign countries [ikoku] attacking our country [waga chō], since heaven and earth were created, there have been seven occasions" (Gotō and Kamada III 450) As for the nation of Japan being a land of the kami see Hōgen monogatari, "This is said to be the latter days of the law, and therefore the fate of the Imperial Prince, this is up to the discretion of Brahman. It is due to the will of Amaterasu and Shō-Hachiman. As for our nation, it is a remote land the size of a poppy seed; but it is a land of the kami, with some seven thousand deities. Thirty kami in rotation protect our nation every day of the month. (Nagazumi and Shimada 74) Again in an earlier section it states, "As for Japan, it is a land of the kami. For this reason, the waters of the Mimososo River never cease to flow [...] In the past, during the reign of Emperor Sujin, the shrines for both the heavenly and earthly deities were
established. Miracles flourished in this land. It is because of these divine works that the Imperial family has lasted through the ages. There are some seven thousand kami. Is this why they can protect the nation day and night?” (Nagazumi and Shimada 88). All of these texts argue that it is the unbroken line of descent from the kami through to the rule of the earthly emperors. It is this unbroken line of descent that gives them the authority to rule. At the same time, Japan is land of the kami with the Emperor at its head that protects the nation and its people.

28 Araki’s parallels here as well do not hold up when we look at the myths of the ancient world as related in the Nihon shoki and the Kojiki. On several occasions we see that the kami hold counsel before deciding on a course of action. See, for example, the kuni-yuzuri episode (Sakamoto et al. I 135).

Again the parallel between Yuriwaka and Empress Jingû is striking. In the Nihon shoki, it is only on two occasions that Amaterasu-no-ôkami speaks directly in an oracle, once to Emperor Jimmu and once to Empress Jingû. In both of these cases, it is upon the occasion of conquering a foreign land or subduing barbarian tribes that Amaterasu-no-ôkami speaks.

29 The three kami (Sokotsutsunowo-no-mikoto 底筒男命, Nakatsutsunowo-no-mikoto 中筒男命, and Uwatsutsunowo-no-mikoto 上筒之男命) that are enshrined in the Grand Shrine at Sumiyoshi were born when Izanaki-no-mikoto returned from the Underworld and purified himself (Kurano and Takeda 71). They are believed to be the protectors of sea. In the Nihon Shoki, the three kami protect the fleet of Empress Jingû who subjugates the Korean Peninsula (Kurano and Takeda 231).

30 Following the logic of the medieval engi, in which the community becomes the protector of its child, the kami, the idea of nationhood
is an extension by analogy of the parent-child relationship. The adopted child protects the community from harm after death. As with the emperor/subject or master/vassal relationship, there is reciprocity between the _kami_ and the people. Orikuchi notes the importance of this relationship in his _marebito_ theory: in exchange between the _kami_ and the people. From the establishment of the Nara state in the seventh century, this relationship extended to the emperor (as descendant of the _kami_ of the sun, Amaterasu-no-ôkami) and the nation.

As a whole, the works of the _gunki monogatari_ genre are concerned with the notion of correct descent and preserving the line of inheritance as symbolized in the unbroken descent of the emperor from Amaterasu-no-ôkami. As we saw above, the three items of the imperial regalia and their central place in the right of succession. The late-fourteenth century _Taiheiki_, as well, contains the "Tsurugi no maki" 剣巻 that explains how there came to be multiple items in the regalia. For example, while the sword was never recovered from the sea after it was lost in the final battle of the Genpei wars, there were two other swords that still existed.

31 This myth is found in both the _Nihon shoki_ and the _Kojiki_. It is also central to the Hachiman cult. See in particular the _Hachiman engi_ (105-17). The episode is also included in many of the works of the _gunki monogatari_ genre.

32 The narrative works through many terms that we might gloss as "nation" or "Japan." "Wagachô" of "honchô" is an antonym for other nations and their dynasties (_ichô_), particularly China though powerful did not have a rule of succession based upon blood relations or mythological descent from a prehistoric deity. (We note several works that are given the title beginning with "honchô" such as _Honchô Ōjōden_ in which tales of religious enlightenment are given importance in reference to a Chinese work.) When Yurikawa sets out to defend
the nation; it is “ōjō” or the capital (the seat of imperial power) that is evoked as a metonym for the “nation” that is headed by the emperor who rules in the capital. “Ikoku” is a simple term of difference. It includes all other lands and nations that are outside of Japan. The final term for “Japan” is “hi no kuni,” or the land where the sun rises, and by extension the source of Mahavairocana, the central Buddha from which the world itself originates. This term also reminds us that Japan and its kami are the true beginning point of the world.

33 The Usa Hachiman shrine was moved to its present location in 727. The three principal deities enshrined there are Emperor Ōjin, Empress Jingū and Ōjin’s wife Hime-Ōkami. It is the central shrine for a nation-wide network of shrines dedicated to Hachiman, the kami of war and protector of the nation.

34 The significance of Hachiman belief as well as the engi and related texts of this sect were overlooked by James T. Araki in his quest to find similarities between the Odyssey and the Yurikawa legend based upon motifs and themes. While I have argued here that we must begin with the mythic structure of the piece to understand its significance in the Japanese tradition, in terms of the recurrence of the themes of the creation of Japan and defeat of foreign enemies are closely connected in the many texts. Certainly, this should be a caution to others that would base their analyses of texts merely upon motifs and themes.

35 The influence of medieval foundation myths of the Kashi’i shrine are also seen in the third section of Taishokan.

36 The Hachimangū gotakusenshū and the Hachiman gudōkin list Jingū’s subjugation of Korea, the commission of the Great Buddha, the Dōkyō affair and Wake no Kiyomaro’s oracle as key events that demonstrate Hachiman as a deity that protects imperial succession and the nation.
Kyosaitō (K. Kōje-do) served as a stopping point as envoys from Silla came from and went to Japan. In 1422, the Japanese bakufu took the island and began a program of forced settlement of fishermen from Tsukushi. During the period of unification, Toyotomi Hideyoshi gave the island to the daimyo of Tsukushi.

This work is a mid-Edo period miscellany, giving the etymologies, linguistic corruptions, and Japanese readings for about four hundred words.

The disintegration of one’s house and dispersal of possessions is significant of the fall into chaos of the world under the illegitimate rule of Beppu. See Campbell for a universalistic and psychological explanation of the pattern of inversion and return (28-29). Both Campbell (19-20) and Eliade (The Myth 35) see common patterns in all human cultures. While the former sees the psychological value of archetypes as a means whereby man is reborn, the latter views the repetition of archetypes as the way that “primitive” man viewed reality and the regeneration of time. Eliade is particularly concerned in how modern society’s linear view of history as opposed to “primitive” man’s cyclical view of history.

The text overtly references this legend, “Like Suwu who wrote a letter in the kingdom of Hu and tied it wing of a wild goose, it is now that one is reminded of this example.”

Recall that in Japan the spirit, “tama”, can have both good intentions (nikimitama) and evil intentions (aramitama). The ambiguity of the kami can be seen here in contrast with Taishokan. In the former piece, the Eight Dragon Kings controlled the sea and stole the jewel away from the Chinese general. Here, they also control the sea, but favorably for the hero. In the language of myth, ambiguity is neither good nor evil, rather it functions as a mediating
term.

42 Kamatari also reveals his identity in Taishokan. The piece concludes with Kamatari’s return to the capital with the jewel that he restores to the forehead the Sakyamuni statue.

43 The Jingoji temple (originally, it was called the Jiganji 神願寺 temple) is located on Mt. Takao, north of Kyoto. It was built by Wake no Kiyomaro 和気清麻呂 (733-799) during the Enryaku 延暦 era (782-806) and moved to its present location in 824. It was set up as a Shingon temple and a Buddhist training center (dōjō) was built on the site by Kūkai (774-835). Under Shinzei 信西 (800-860), Kūkai’s disciple, the reputation of the temple greatly increased.

44 The same migawari motif is found in Taishokan, Manjū, Shida, and Yashima. For discussions of this motif, see Anzakē. Here he interprets the motif as reflective of the times and audiences for which the piece was written, i.e. the warrior class (4). Rōju-maru sacrifices his own life for his master and thereby shows his loyalty. Asahara as well sees that the migawari motif is a reflection of feudal society and devotion that vassals have for their masters (627-628). As reflections of reality, the migawari motif is the opposite of the betrayal (uragiri 裏切り) motif. Oftentimes these two motifs are pair or juxtaposed in one piece, such as Yuriwaka Daijin and Shida (629-630). I suggest here that we look first at how these motifs fit into the structure of each of the pieces and from there proceed to what they tell us about how reality is constructed within the narrative.
READING THE KÔWAKA-MAI
AS MEDIEVAL MYTH: STORY-PATTERNS,
TRADITIONAL REFERENCE AND PERFORMANCE
IN LATE MEDIEVAL JAPAN

VOLUME II

DISSERTATION

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By

Todd Andrew Squires, M.A.

*****

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Dissertation Committee:

Dr. Shelley Fenno Quinn

Dr. Charles J. Quinn

Dr. Patrick B. Mullen

Approved by

Dr. Shelley Fenno Quinn

Advisor

Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures
ABSTRACT

This dissertation uses the concept of myth as a critique to analyze five pieces of the kōwaka-mai, a genre of recited narrative that flourished in fifteenth and sixteenth century Japan. While definitions of myth in previous scholarship have revealed the complexity of this universal yet culturally and historically specific concept, I suggest that structural and performative approaches to myth can be used to unlock the possible range of meanings in texts of medieval "vocal literature."

In Chapter 1, I explicate how traditional story-patterns that are found in the oldest collections of myth and in the foundation myths of temples and shrines during the medieval period, are the building blocks of what I term "medieval myth." In performance, reference is central to meaning as story-patterns facilitate communication between the performer and the audience. The
kówaka-mai developed from the felicitous performances of shômonji (temple and shrine menials), suggesting that the contexts in which they performed served as frames for story-patterns recreating the lives of historical and legendary figures as myth.

Chapter 2 looks at how Fujiwara no Kamatari was reinterpreted as mythic hero in the pieces Iruka and Taishokan. By referencing traditional story-patterns, the kówaka-mai narrates Kamatari as a hero who restores both divine right (ôbô) and the Buddhist law (buppô).

Chapter 3 reexamines the Yuriwaka legend framed as a question of methodology. The analysis here rejects both the Odyssey-origins and continental-origins interpretations of the transmission of this legend, and suggests that the significance of the Yuriwaka legend is its reference to traditional story-patterns and the Hachiman belief system. As an expression of the “Return Song,” Yuriwaka subjudgets foreign enemies and returns to restore cosmos to the world.
Chapter 4 looks at the piece *Shida* and its traditional reference, the "Wandering Noble" story-pattern. This story-pattern ties themes of loyalty and restoration of legitimate succession to the hero's symbolic death and rebirth.

Chapter 5 examines the retelling of the Minamoto no Manjū legend in the language of medieval myth, and reinterprets "religious awakening" as the hero's rebirth.

Finally, the appendices contain original translations of the *kōwaka-mai* texts analyzed in this dissertation.
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CHAPTER 5

SHIDA AND THE WANDERING NOBLE STORY-PATTERN

5.1 Introduction

In the three pieces that I have discussed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, specific religious institutions and belief systems figure prominently in the narratives. In the Kamatari legend, the Kōfukuji temple and the Kasuga shrine distinctly emerge from the text and infuse the retelling of Kamatari’s birth and rise to power with ideology of divine right and religious authority. Similarly, in Yuriwaka daijin the narrative retells the eternal tale of the hero who goes off to battle, is lost for many years and returns to restore the world to its proper order. A careful reading of the text of Yuriwaka daijin points us toward the informing belief system that gave this piece is cultural significance, the Hachiman cult.
In contrast to these three pieces, *Shida* lacks overt references to any one religious belief system of the medieval period. As I have shown in my analyses of these three pieces, the fates of the principal characters rest in the hands of the merciful *kami* and buddhas who come to their rescue at key moments in the narrative. *Shida*, however, lacks the direct intervention of deities in the lives of the characters.

In spite of the absence of ubiquitous presence of the *kami* in the lives of the main characters, I will show how, like the other pieces of the *kōwaka-mai* that we have examined so far, myth structures the narrative of those pieces that do not have miraculous occurrences that take place by the will of a merciful deity. The mythic pattern of oppositions and their mediation shape even this narrative that seems to closely reflect the reality of late-medieval society and the warrior ethic.

*Shida* is the story of the doomed heir of Lord Sōma 相馬 in Hitachi province, Shida no Kotarō. Lord Sōma has already passed
away when the piece opens. His widow, still mourning the death of her husband, is at a loss for what to do, and in her confusion over the proper course of action to take, she gives her daughter’s hand in marriage to one of Sôma’s retainers, Oyama no Tarô.\(^1\) Tricked into believing her son-in-law’s loyalty, she hands over the deeds to the Shida fief to Oyama. Having received what he most desired, Oyama hurries to the capital to get imperial approval for his inheritance of the Shida estate, and upon his return, he banishes young Kotarô and his mother.

Wandering toward the capital, Kotarô’s mother is struck down by a secret ritual that Oyama has commissioned. Alone, Kotarô wanders to the capital, but with no one to turn to for assistance, he returns to Oyama for mercy. Again, Oyama expels Kotarô. He has a felicitous reunion with a former retainer of Lord Sôma, Ukishima Tayû, who hides Kotarô. Once word of Kotarô’s hiding place becomes known, Ukishima is drawn into a spectacular battle with Oyama. Oyama defeats Ukishima and his family and captures Kotarô.
Saved from execution by Chihara 千原, Lord Sōma’s loyal retainer who is now in service to Oyama, Kotarō begins his wanderings again, however this time he falls into the hands of slavers and is sold repeatedly around the islands of Japan. He finally arrives in Ōshū 奥州 and is adopted by a local administrator. He reveals his identity to the provincial governor and is given charge over several districts in the northern territory.

Meanwhile, Oyama learns of his wife’s treachery—she secretly gave Kotarō the deeds to the Shida estate—and expels her. She travels all over Japan in search of her younger brother, and finally is reunited with him in Ōshū. Shida returns to Hitachi, revenges his banishment, and rewards those who assisted him. He is given the eight provinces to rule over, and he and his descendants prosper.

On several occasions, the narrative of Shida refers directly to the legend of Taira no Masakado 平将門 (?–940), a general of the mid-Heian period.² The power of Masakado’s branch of the Taira family was in Shimōsa 下総 province. When his father died, there was
an inheritance dispute. In order to preserve his own claim, Masakado was summoned to the capital to defend himself in a suit. Although Masakado was successful, counterclaims escalated into the Jōhei disturbance, begun when Masakado murdered his uncle, Taira no Kunika 平国香 (?-935). A number of battles in Hitachi province led to Masakado successful capture of the provincial administration. Encouraged by his success, he continued to battle local officials until he was in control of the eight provinces of the Kantō region, his center of power being the three provinces of Hitachi, Kōzuke 上野 and Shimotsuke 下野. A measure of his success is evident in his own arrogance, for he set up his own palace in Shimōsa province and declared himself the new emperor.

Only a few years later, however, court forces under the command of Taira no Sadamori 平貞盛 (dates unknown) and Fujiwara no Hidesato 藤原秀郷 (dates unknown) brought an end to his short-lived reign. Though defeated, the descendants of Masakado continued to live and thrive in the Kantō area. One of these families was the Sōma family.
The descendants of Fujiwara no Hidesato also remained in the area, and it was this illustrious patriarch from which the Oyama family claimed to have descended.

The author of the Shōmonki concludes his tale with an evaluation of Masakado’s rise and fall.

In view of these developments, it can be said that, although Masakado erred by harboring excessive ambitions and, as a result, was carried away on the river of death, his downfall brought official promotions to others. For his part, Masakado felt no resentment. How can this be? Is it because he believed that, just as a tiger’s skin lives on after it, so his own fame would live on too? But the tragic irony of it was that he himself died and it was the others who received fame [...] Masakado’s soldiers, once numerous as the clouds dispersed undetected beyond the mists [...] Parents and children who had parted unwillingly in the turmoil now looked for each other within the province and beyond (Rabinovitch 135-136).

As Masakado’s family and retainer dispersed and continued their lives in their former master’s domain, they no doubt continued to tell the tale of Masakado’s glorious, yet short-lived, reign. Thus, a
primary source for the Shida legend was in the stories passed down in Hitachi province by the descendants of Masakado.

The second half of the kōwaka-mai piece reveals an additional source of the Shida legend. Today, the legends of Shida’s wanderings still haunt the western coast of Japan. Although distant from the main action of the events of the mid-tenth century, the Shida legend could have been transmitted to this area in two possible ways. The first of these theories argues that the legend spread from the capital to the Kantō as the popularity of the kōwaka-mai spread. The second possible route of transmission holds that the legend spread via the performances of itinerant performers who traveled up and down the coast of western Japan, performing and modifying the legend over the years.

Muroki Yatarō holds that the latter is more likely to have been the case. He begins by noting that Echizen province, in particular a village on the Noto peninsula, was a center for the performers of the Kōwaka troupe of kusemai performers (218).
Thus, while it is possible that the pieces were first composed in
the kôwaka-mai and then spread through performance and were made
into legend, this process, for Muroki, is unlikely. The legend as
it exists in the Noto area today, Muroki argues, is highly colored
by belief that the spring water of the region has efficacy to insure
safe childbirth (Katari-mono 217-218). Most likely this easy
delivery (anzan 安産) belief was spread by wandering female mediums,
arukimiko 歩神子 or bikuni 比丘尼. These performers, we recall,
had connections to the Kumano 熊野 shrine in the Ki‘i 紀伊 peninsula
that was noted for its power to protect and ensure long life.

Historical documents appear to support Muroki’s claims about
the activity of arukimiko in the Noto peninsula. In particular,
these documents reveal that a local daimyô had set up a residence
to house the bikuni. Muroki concludes, based upon this evidence,
that the Shida legend was likely passed down within groups of female
shamans, originally active in the Kanto region, who had contact with
fellow performers from the Hokuriku 北陸 area. Through this channel
of transmission, the legend passed to western Japan and then was adapted by the shōmonji of the Echizen province into a kusemai piece (217-219).

5.2 The Wandering Noble Story-Pattern in the Ancient and Medieval Periods

As we saw in Chapter 1, the Wandering Noble story-pattern is found in the myths of the ancient world as well as narratives from medieval Japan. Here, I will discuss in detail some of these narratives, pointing out the similarities between these stories that together form the Wandering Noble story-pattern. The first of these narratives is the myth of Susanowo-no-mikoto, the younger brother of the sun goddess Amaterasu-no-ōkami. Susanowo-no-mikoto, the third child of Izanaki-no-mikoto and Izanami-no-mikoto, has been banished to the Netherworld (ne no kuni), but seeks to see his elder sister one last time before departing. His behavior, however, is
deplorable—having flayed alive the piebald horse and thrown it into the fields of Heaven, and broken down the divisions between the rice fields, he torments his elder sister into seclusion in the Heavenly Rock Cave. Only through the performances of Amanokoyane-no-mikoto and Amazume-no-mikoto, is the sun goddess lured out of the cave to restore light to the darkened world.

Because of Susanowo-no-mikoto’s unforgivable acts, he is banished from heaven to the land of Izumo 出雲. Here he happens upon an old man and woman who he sees are lamenting. Having inquired into the reason for their sadness, Susanowo-no-mikoto learns that a serpent has eaten the old man and woman’s eight children and is about to eat their youngest, their daughter Kushinada-hime 奇稲田姫. Tricking the serpent into drinking a tub of wine, Susanowo-no-mikoto slays the beast and cuts it into small pieces. In the tail of the serpent, he finds a sword that is called “Kusanagi” 草薙. He marries Kushinada-hime and they have a son. Susanowo-no-mikoto builds a
palace in the land of Izumo, and then proceeds to the Netherworld (Kurano and Takeda 85-91; Sakamoto et. al. I 121-133).

Another well-known myth from the ancient world is also structured on the same principles as the Susanowo-no-mikoto myth. Yamatotakeru-no-mikoto was youngest of two twin sons born to the Emperor Keikō 景行. In the Kojiki account of this myth, Yamatotakeru-no-mikoto kills his elder brother. In the winter of the seventh year of his father’s reign, he is sent to subdue the Kumaso 熊襲 in the untamed Eastern border regions of the country. He disguises himself as a woman, draws near to the Kumaso leader, and kills him.

After defeating the Kumaso, Yamatotakeru-no-mikoto is bestowed with the emperor’s highest favor. Praised by the emperor for his courage and strength, he is commissioned to take control of the east. His wife, Yamatchime-no-mikoto 倭姬尊, gives him the sword “Kusanagi” and sees him off. Yamatotakeru-no-mikoto’s first encounter with the barbarians is at Suruga. Here, the barbarians
trap him in a moor. Yamatotakeru-no-mikoto successfully escapes by setting a counter fire with his “fire drill” (hiuchi 火打).

Traveling onward, he comes to the land of Sagami 相模 . As he is crossing the water, a storm arises. At this time, Ototachibana-hime 第橘媛 offers herself as a sacrifice and dives into the sea. Pushing onward to Ashigara 足柄 , he kills a white deer with a clove of garlic. When he loses his way, a white dog suddenly appears and guides him into Mino. Yamatotakeru-no-mikoto returns to Owari 尾張 and marries Miyazu-hime 宮賀媛.

Hearing of a serpent on Mt. Ibuki 伊吹 , he goes there and transforms himself into a serpent, and thus, he is able to pass safely through. Yet, he becomes ill and returns to Owari, and then travels on to Nobono 野褒野 . There, Yamatotakeru-no-mikoto meets his end. Though the emperor orders him to be buried at Nobo, Yamatotakeru-no-mikoto takes the form of a white bird and flies off to Yamato, and then, off to heaven (Kurano and Takeda 207-225; Sakamoto et. al. I 298-311).
Later, in the mythico-historical reign of Emperor Ingyō, we find a similar story. Prince Kinashikaru-no-miko 木梨綏皇子 desires to have an incestuous relationship with his sister, the Princess Karunoōiratsume-no-himemiko 軽大郎女皇女. The prince’s passion for his sister becomes uncontrollable, and he thinks that the only thing he can do to suppress his passion will be to take his own life.

Now, the emperor notices one day that his food had become frozen like ice. Consulting a diviner, he is told that there is domestic disorder in his house, an illicit love relationship between near relations. The emperor orders that the Princess Karu no Ōiratsume be banished to the province of Iyo 伊予. Following Ingyō’s death, a dispute over succession ensues between Prince Anaho-no-miko 穴穂皇子 and Prince Kinashikaru-no-miko. The rumors of the latter having been in an incestuous relationship with his sister spread throughout the country. Because of this rumor, Prince Anaho attacks Prince Kinashikaru-no-miko. Though Prince
Kinashikaru-no-miko hides in the house of a loyal retainer, he is surrounded and forced to commit suicide (Sakamoto et al. I 435-436).

A similar tale is present in a cycle of three poems in the eighth-century poetry anthology, the Man’yōshū. When Maetsukimi Isonokami no Otomaro was exiled to the province of Tosa in 739, three poems were composed that express the desolation upon his separation from the capital and the hope for his return. The first of the series of three poems lyrically recounts the circumstances under which Isonokami was banished. Because of a love affair, he is bound and surrounded by guards, following the orders of the emperor, who escort him to a land that was remote from the capital. The second poem voices the hope that Isonokami will someday with the help of the kami return to his home (Takagi et al. IV 177).

Ivan Morris has written in detail about the figures in Japanese history whose legends conform to a singular archetype. From the scholar Sugawara no Michizane and warrior Minamoto no Yoshitsune, there is an endless array of historical figures, who having reached
the heights of power, are suddenly banished or exiled from society.

“Our red-toothed, red-clawed world, attuned to the struggle for survival and dominance, reveres success, and its typical heroes are men and women whose cause has triumphed. Their victory is never without travail, and often its price is the hero’s life. Yet, whether he survives to bask in the glory of his achievements [...] or proudly dies [...] the effort and sacrifice will, in the most pragmatic sense, have been worthwhile” (xxi). As with many celebrated figures from Japanese classical history, Yamatotakeru-no-mikoto is a melancholy anti-hero who exemplifies what Morris calls “the nobility of failure.” Like so many other heroes in the Japanese cultural tradition, in his failure, he becomes deified.

In our reading of the kōwaka-mai so far, a slightly different type of hero has emerged. This hero is not Morris’ prototypical tragic hero; rather, the hero of the kōwaka-mai defies death. Traveling to another world, he returns in triumph to this world,
and his return brings prosperity and abundance to the nation, as well.

Orikuchi argues that the meaning of the Wandering Noble story-pattern comes from their reference to the pattern of jugon. As with the other story-patterns discussed here, the Wandering Noble story-pattern follows the same mythic pattern of harmony-inversion-restoration. First, the biographies of the kami are the prototype for the lives of the heroes. Second, the protagonist commits some crime and is forced to come to the earth or an Otherworld and experience hardship. Third, these hardships culminate in death and then he is reborn as a great kami. When the protagonist is a human, it is often a noble who, following this pattern is forced to leave the capital, wander out in the provinces, and experience hardships. At the end of these hardships, the hero experiences a reversal of fortune and return to the capital.

Drawing upon the cultural tradition of heroes who suffered hardships in this world and in the end were reborn to became deities
themselves, the medieval mythmakers had a convenient set of motifs and story-patterns that they could draw upon to create the histories of their religious institutions. More importantly, the discourse of medieval myth used a language that consisted of these well-known story-patterns. Using these story-patterns as their reference, performers opened a channel of communication between themselves and their audiences. In other words, traditional story-patterns, themes, and motifs licensed their performance. Calling upon these culturally accepted forms, the performers empowered their creations by using a language that made communication possible, drawing the audience into this arena of cultural communication by the use of these traditional reference. It was only through the significance of these traditional story-patterns that the medieval myths could have meaning for the audience.

The Wandering Noble story-pattern, like the tamatori story-pattern and the Return Song story-pattern, is constructed on oppositions and their mediation. In the tamatori story-pattern, we
see that the boundaries between this world and the Otherworld are mediated by a *marebito* figure who travels to the Otherworld and brings back a jewel that gives its possessor the power to control the agricultural cycle—the "natural" process of death and rebirth—and brings peace and prosperity to this world.

The Return Song story-pattern as well narrates the opposition between This World and the Otherworld. The hero of the Return Song defeats the forces of the Otherworld, is transformed by his sojourn in the Otherworld, and returns to restore order to a world plunged into chaos because of his absence. The Wandering Noble also narrates this fundamental opposition, albeit in this case the hero is cut off from his inheritance often because of some personal act of disobedience. The hero then travels in the Otherworld before being restored to his original position.

We have seen how this story-pattern informs mythic narratives of the ancient world. The Wandering Noble story-pattern is also the informing referent in the earliest *monogatari* and folktales of Japan.
For example, in the *Taketori monogatari* 竹取物語, Kaguya-hime かぐや姫 is sent to this world after committing a “crime” in the heavenly realm. The old bamboo cutter finds her concealed in a bamboo stalk one day. He takes Kaguya-hime home where she grows rapidly, becoming a beautiful young woman. Many suitors, including the emperor himself, come to vie for her hand in marriage, yet in the end the heavenly warriors descend to this earth and return Kaguya-hime to heaven. The wandering noble story-pattern can also be found in the tales of Momotaro, Issun Bōshi 一寸法師 just to name a few.

All of these narratives have the same structure based upon the opposition of this world and the Otherworld. The hero must travel through the Otherworld before being reborn in this world aided by a magical object. Revealing his or her true self, the hero and the world prosper. The model of the hero in Japanese culture takes it prototype in the mythic narratives of the ancient world, the birth, hardships, death, and apotheosis of the *kami*. In the myths of the
medieval period as well, the deities of local shrines and temples descended from heaven, took the form of humans, suffered, died, and after death were worshiped. The life of the secular hero is also informed by this mythic pattern suffering a symbolic death and rebirth into the world were he and his descendants prosper.

One of the works that is closely related to the kōwaka-mai piece Shida is the seventeenth century sekkyō-bushi piece Oguri hangan 小栗判官. The piece has a familiar ring to it: Oguri has a miraculous birth, is banished and suffers many hardships before being killed. Later he is reborn and prospers. Ariwaka 有若 is the heaven sent child of Bishamonten 観音童 and his wife, a descendant of the Dainagon Kaneie 二条大納言兼家 and his wife, a descendant of the Hitachi Genji. When he becomes an adult, Ariwaka becomes “Hitachi Oguri.” He falls in love with the Dragon Girl of Bosatsu-ga-ike 菩薩が池 and because of this crime is banished.

Oguri meets a merchant in Sagami who introduces him to Terute-hime, the heaven-sent daughter of the deity of Mt. Nikkō 日 461
Oguri falls in love with Terute-hime and travels to Yokoyama's mansion, and becomes Terute-hime's husband. Yokoyama is angered and plans to kill Oguri. He has Oguri put on an untamed horse. In the meanwhile, Saburō, a retainer of Yokoyama, prepares poisoned wine. Beckoning Oguri to drink it, Saburō kills Oguri and his ten retainers. Following the instructions of a diviner, Oguri and his retainers are cremated. Yokoyama commands the brothers Oni-ō and Oni-ji to drown Terute-hime in a pool. Instead of killing her, they spare her life and secret her into a boat and set it afloat on the sea.

The boat arrives at a distant shore, where a villager finds her and takes her in. Unfortunately, this villager has a jealous wife who sells Terute-hime to a merchant. Terute-hime is sold repeatedly into slavery until she is sold as a menial to a house in Mino province. She is re-named "Kohagi". Now, Oguri and his ten retainers plead for mercy with Emma-ō, the ruler of the underworld, and are returned to this world.
Meanwhile, an ascetic named "Fujisawa" 藤沢 hears the cries of birds wanders to Uenogahara 上野が原. There, Fujisawa finds Oguri whose appearance had changed to that of a demon, Gaki-ami 鰻鬼阿弥. The ascetic places Oguri in a two-wheeled cart and heads toward Kumano no yu 熊野の湯. Meeting with Terute-hime, she agrees to pull the cart for three days (in order to receive the benefits of this deed).

At Kumano, Oguri is placed in a palanquin and taken to the waters of the main shrine. For four hundred and forty-four days, he remains in the waters and in the end returns to his original form. Oguri travels around the three mountains of Kumano, is given a staff by the Kumano deity, and comes down from the mountain.

He arrives at his father's home upon the anniversary of his own death and reveals himself as their son by demonstrating the skill with the bow and arrow that had been passed down in the family. The emperor hears his story and gives Oguri rule of the five home provinces. Oguri takes three thousand mounted warriors to Mino and is there reunited with Terute-hime. Oguri intends to kill her
masters, but Terute-hime persuades him not to and instead Oguri gives the administration of eighteen villages in Mino to the couple. Oguri also intends to kill Yokoyama but again Terute-hime intercedes and because of his mercy, Yokoyama gives Oguri reward of gold. Oguri builds a temple with the money and installs the deity Batô Kannon 馬頭観音 (S. Hayagriva). He executes Yokoyama no Saburô and the jealous wife by sawing off their heads. In the end, Oguri and Terute-hime return to Hitachi and live out their lives there. After death, Oguri becomes Shō-Hachiman 正八幡 and Terute-hime the deity of lovers (musubi no kami 結びの神, i.e. Cupid) (Muroki Sekkyō-shū 211-298).

Comparing the variant texts of this story, Fukuda Akira concludes that the basic elements of the story are as follows. First, there is a character named “Oguri” who lives in Hitachi province. Second, Oguri suffers hardships in Sagami province. Third, Oguri, in the face of these difficulties, receives the help of Teru(te)-hime and mounts an untamed horse and calms it down. Fourth, although
Terute-hime suffers hardships, narrowly escapes death. Oguri is aided by the ascetic of Fujisawa and is revived. Fifth, Oguri and Terute-hime are reunited (Chūsei 203-204). Again, we see that the informing mythic pattern for the Oguri legend is the Wandering Noble story-pattern. On the structural level as well, this story-pattern is similar to both the tamatorī story-pattern and the Return Song story-pattern in that oppositions are set up and then mediated by marebito figures, most notably the ascetic who functions as the magical object that brings Oguri back to life.

Another piece of the sekkyō-bushi genre, Sanshō-dayû, is most closely related to the kōwakamai piece Shida. This is the story of the Kanayaki (branded) Jizō 金焼地蔵 who lived for a time as a human. In Ōshû, the General Iwaki no Hangan Masauji 岩城の判官正氏 and his wife are blessed with two children a daughter and a son, Tsushiō つし王. After some time, the family falls upon hard times after the father is exiled to Tsukushi. Longing for his father, Tsushiō, his mother and sister set out to find Masauji.
Slave traders capture them along the way, the mother is taken away in one boat, and the two children are placed in the other. Before heading off in opposite directions, the mother gives her children two amulets that she says will protect them. Tsushio’s amulet contains the genealogy that proves his lineage and right to his father’s inheritance and land. The children are sold repeatedly until they are sold to Yamaoka-dayû in Tango province. Tsushio’s elder sister is made to work as a salt dipper and Tsushio as a woodcutter. In their despair, they intend to commit suicide but are dissuaded by a fellow slave. Yamaoka-dayû orders his son, Saburô, to confine the two in a hut without food. The two plot an escape where one of the two will flee while the other causes a distraction. Upon his sister’s insistence, Tsushio flees so that he can perpetuate the family line.

Unfortunately, their plan is overheard by Yamaoka-dayû who has them branded on their foreheads and abandoned on a beach underneath an overturned boat. Yamaoka-dayû’s second son comes to
their rescue by bringing them food so that they can prolong their lives. Surprised to see that the two are still alive, Sanshō-dayū has them sent back to work as woodcutters in the mountains. One day as they are at work, Tsuchiō’s elder sister prays to Jizō. Miraculously, their brands disappear. Tsuchiō, spurred on by his sister, flees alone, taking the Jizō amulet. Yamaoka-dayū tortures Tsuchiō’s elder sister when he finds out that Tsuchiō has escaped. Eventually she dies without betraying her brother.

Tsuchiō finds sanctuary in the Kokubunji 国分寺 temple where a priest hides him in a leather basket hung from the ceiling. When Yamaoka-dayū’s retainers arrive at the temple, the priest fools them for a while but Sanshō-dayū spies the basket and cuts it open. The Jizō amulet blinds his pursuers and Tsuchiō escapes. Afterward, Tsuchiō reveals his identity to the priest and asks the priest to take him to the capital so that he can sue to have his lands reinstated. Hiding Tsuchiō in the leather basket, he sets out toward the capital. Stopping at Shushaka Gongen-dō 朱雀権現堂, Tsuchiō parts with the
priest. Unfortunately, having been confined in the basket, Tsushiō is unable to walk. Some children put him onto a cart and take him to the Tennōji temple, where he is placed in the care of the priests there. A wealthy man, Umezu no In 梅津の院 comes to the temple to search for a child that Kannon has assured him he would find. Seeing Tsushiō, he makes him his child and heir.

Afterwards, Tsushiō goes to the imperial palace and persuades the emperor to pardon his father. Masauji returns to the capital and father and son go to Tango and behead Yamaoka-dayû and his son, Saburô. The priest of the Kokubunji temple, as well as the fellow slave, are rewarded. Tsushiō’s mother is found in Ezu, but she has gone blind. Her eyesight is restored when Tsushiō presses the amulet to her head. The family having been reunited builds a Jizô temple in memory of Tsushiō’s elder sister (Muroki Sekkyô-shû 81-152).

On the structural level, we see that, as expressions of myth the three story-patterns are identical. All of them set up binary oppositions whether it be the prototypical this world/Otherworld
opposition, or public/private, correct rule/incorrect rule, sightedness/blindness, childlessness/having children. All of these oppositions are in some way mediated in the narrative by a *marebito* figure or magical object, a diver, a genealogy, an amulet, or the *kami*. At the narrative level, these story-patterns are constructed upon inversion: movement from a high place (a heaven-sent child) to a low place (hell or some Otherworld), and rebirth or apotheosis.

The striking similarity of these story-patterns on the structural level begs us to ask whether these diverse story-patterns developed originally from one single myth. Eliade would argue that the superficial variety of the heroes could be reduced to their re-enactment of the original myth of creation. While we can find many affinities between story-patterns and the myth of creation, this line of inquiry will lead us in an opposite direction from where we should be going.
While we find identical structures in the story-patterns that we are discussing here, their meaning arises from tradition and not from reduction to origins. The kōwaka-mai piece Taishokan for example, references the traditional story of recovery of jewels from the sea and their culturally symbolic power to bestow power and prosperity. It is at the level of story-pattern that the kōwaka-mai piece had significance for its audiences.

On the level of myth, the story-patterns are held together by their similarity. As expressions of culture, they are patterned on, or perhaps more accurately stated, they are analogs of the most fundamental oppositions that we find in a culture. Defined as a structure of opposition and mediation, we see that myth cuts across genres of legend and folktale extending into the structuring of monogatari and the performing arts such as drama and dance as well. The "undisplaced myth" is the mythic narrative that closely bears these oppositions open in their raw and untamed form. The illogicality of the many ancient mythic narratives can be understood
by looking at them as through a structural analysis (Lévi-Strauss Structural 208).

These mythic structures are passed down in a culture in their narrativized forms, in story-patterns that become significant and meaningful for a culture. We do not learn language by learning its structure, but rather we first learn the patterns of language that we then generalize and make productive. Our discussion of the antecedents of the tamatorì story-pattern is meant to show how this recurrent story-pattern had significance for the Japanese from the earliest times through to the late medieval period. The legend of Kamatari, while based in history, only takes upon cultural significance as it is structured on mythic patterns and historically reshaped in the language of narrative. Yurìwaka has posed a similar difficulty for scholars. Yet, within the narrative itself, the piece references traditional story-patterns (the myth of Empress Jingù and the legend of Suwu) and suggests that Yurìwaka is perhaps not as unique to the Japanese tradition as it has been portrayed.
I framed my discussion of the Yuriwaka legend as a problem of methodology and the obsession that early folklorists and literary scholars have had with finding the origins and path of transmission of story-patterns and motifs.

Instead, I suggest that we look at the story itself to see how it references traditional story-patterns to create a meaningful narrative, one that would have significance for the audiences of the sixteenth century by placing it within the cultural tradition, as well as situating it historically. In conclusion, I suggested that though the question of origins of this piece will never be fully known, the piece is interesting not for its possible source in the epics of ancient Greece, rather it is how the legend had cultural significance by encoding traditional story-patterns built upon the structure of myth. Beginning with structure, we can see how the piece inscribes ideologies of nation and family into the mythic pattern of opposition between this world and the Otherworld, while
simultaneously casting the narrative of imperial succession and
rights based upon genealogy into the legend.

5.3 Analysis of Shida

5.3.1 Analysis of Section I

As with the Kamatari legend and the Yuriwaka legend, the legend
of Shida no Kotarō is also concerned with heredity and preserving
the correct line of descent from father to son. This motif of
heredity is retold in mythic form in the kōwaka-mai piece Shida,
using the traditional story-pattern of the Wandering Noble. The
following is the structural outline of the piece, using the musical
notation as a guide:

Section I

(1) At Shida, the widow of the recently deceased Lord
Sōma, the mother of Shida Kotarō, decides to

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transfer the estate to her son-in-law, Oyama no Taró.

(2) Shida no Kotarō on the request of his mother gives half of the Shida manor to Oyama no Tarō. Dissatisfied with this situation, Lord Sōma’s loyal retainer, Ukishima Tayū, retires.

(3) Shida’s mother decides to leave the deeds to the estate with Oyama for safe keeping. Oyama no Tarō goes to the capital and receives the seal of rightful ownership to the Shida manorial fiefs from the emperor.

(4) Oyama no Tarō returns and banishes both Shida no Kotarō and his mother outside of the province to the desolate village of Itagaki.

(5) At Itagaki, on the suggestion of their vassals, Kotarō and his mother go up to the capital to lodge a lawsuit against Oyama.

(6) At Shida, on the demands of the Kashima shrine priest, Oyama offers a service to put down the enemy Shida family.

(7) At Bamba, Kotarō’s mother dies because of the secret ritual. The retainers of the Shida family flee.

(8) The owner of a lodge stops Kotarō from committing suicide. Shida then goes up to the capital, but he is unable to advance his suit against Oyama.
Kotarō returns to ask Oyama for mercy, but is again banished by Oyama. He then proceeds from the capital to his father’s grave at Shida.

At his father’s grave, Kotarō is met by Ukishima, who takes the boy and hides him at his fortress. At Kawachi 阿內, Oyama attacks Ukishima Tayū who is in seclusion there.

Ukishima’s wife instructs her five sons in the various techniques of combat.

Ukishima tells Kotarō that he, like Taira no Masakado, will one day rule all of the Eight Eastern Provinces.

Ukishima, his wife and five son’s fight Oyama’s men, but in the end all perish.

Section II

Oyama orders Chihara Tayū to execute Kotarō. Kotarō’s elder sister, Senju no hime 千寿姫 gives the title to the manors to Kotarō.

Chihara helps Kotarō to flee.

Oyama tortures Chihara and he dies. The wife of Chihara endures the torture. Shida is sold into slavery.

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(17) At Oya on the Noto peninsula, Kotarō is attacked by villagers who mistake him for a burglar. He is spared by a woman who offers Kotarō’s attackers wine. Again, Kotarō is sold into slavery and taken to Ōshū. Finally, a provincial official in Ōshū adopts him. At a feast, Kotarō’s genealogy is announced and he is made provincial governor of Ōshū.

Section III

(18) During the Tanabata festival, Oyama sets out all of his treasures, yet his most prized possessions, the deeds to the Shida estate, are missing. Suspecting his wife, he banishes her.

(19) A retainer of Chihara brings some letters that Kotarō had written to Senju. She and her wet nurse take the tonsure and begin their search for him, traveling from the capital, to Tsukushi.

(20) The search continues from the Chūgoku region through the capital.

(21) They continue their search in northeastern Japan.

(22) At Taga 多賀, Shida visits the Jibutsudō 持仏堂, performs a memorial service, and has a reunion with Senju.

(23) Shida Kotarō travels from Taga through Tsumakoi, the capital, Ōtsu, Bamba and to Shida where he takes his revenge on Oyama. The proprietor of the Bamba
lodge who saved his life is repaid for his kindness. Kotarō and his sister Senju no hime prosper.

The first major section of the piece narrates Shida no Kotarō’s fall from legal heir to the Shida estates. He first loses the legal rights to the estates; then his mother is taken from him and his loyal retainers flee. In the final scene, Kotarō’s final hope for redress is placed with Ukishima, the last loyal retainer of Lord Sōma, who battles Oyama no Tarō.

The first three cycles follow the transfer of half of the Shida fiefs to Oyama no Tarō after he marries the daughter of the late Lord Sōma. After Oyama shows his loyalty to Lord Sōma by holding memorial services for the repose of his soul, his widow wishes to give half of the fief to his daughter and Oyama, considering this retainer to be someone on whom she can rely in the future, even though this act goes against the will of her late husband. While threatening to renounce the world, she is placated by Kotarō who agrees to her plan and gives half of the estates to Oyama. Oyama builds a lavish
mansion on his estates, and the former retainers of Shida now serve their new master.

In the first three cycles of the piece, we see the rights of inheritance upset. Instead of the rightful passing of lands to the son, they are given to the daughter and her new husband. This act turns the world on its head: Oyama becomes the new lord of the Shida estates rather than Lord Sôma’s son and rightful heir. As we have seen, the source for this legend comes, in part, from the political and military intrigues of the mid-tenth century. The “Lord Sôma” of the kôwaka-mai narrative was likely based upon the son of Taira no Masakado. The Oyama family, descended from the Fujiwara family line, trace their lineage to Fujiwara no Hidesato who killed Masakado and brought an end to his reign as “emperor” of the eight eastern provinces.

Thus, the kôwaka-mai casts the opposition of correct rule/illegitimate rule as a replaying of the Masakado historical episode. The daughter of Lord Sôma serves in these first two cycles
as the bridge between the two families. By becoming the wife of Oyama, she forms a tie between the two families, hastens the transfer of the fief, and mediates the opposition to an unfavorable outcome.

The world having been transformed into chaos, Shida no Kotarō first attempts to regain his legal rights to his inheritance by going to the capital and filing a counter suit. It is because the "law of reason" is on Kotarō’s side that he should be granted the fief that is rightfully his, as he is the only son of Lord Sōma. As Lord Sōma’s retainers discuss how to proceed, it is through legal channels that they decided to pursue justice, just as Taira no Masakado did. While one of Lord Sōma’s retainers suggests they meet Oyama in battle, he is rebuffed by another retainer who argues on the side of the law of reason.

Having a rough discussion such as this while the law of reason is on our side, this is unthinkable! It is not that we have confronted the accused in litigation time and again. A lawsuit is not an affair for three sides. Even if after the first, second and third inquiry sessions have ended in the failure of a case, it is given the name of an “appeal for
retrial." That is the law. Moreover, [this is a case in which] the rights to the certificates were given on the basis of the arbitrary maneuverings of our enemy’s supporters without even one suit filed. Oyama’s claims are not based upon true relations. That Lord Shida is Lord Sōma’s rightful heir cannot be obscured. For example, if the deeds are in Oyama’s hands, and you have evidence that he has stolen them, why wouldn’t they be returned?” Having finished speaking of the rights and wrongs of his case, together they said, “You are quite right, we agree with your argument.”

The first section, then, is structure on the law of reason. The narrative progresses through a series of setbacks suffered by the hero when, following the advice of characters who remark upon Kotarō’s redress as the correct course of action, the law of reason fails to work as it should.

“Dōri” refers to things as the way they should be or how actions should follow according to logic. For example, in the Genji monogatari, we find in the “Waka Murasaki” 若紫 chapter that “death is the natural outcome of the way of the world” (shi ha seken no dōri naredo 死は世間の道理ならど). In the kōwaka-mai, the “law of reason” figures prominently in the actions of the characters. When,
for example, Yuriwaka reveals his identity at the New Year’s archery competition, he calls upon his former retainers to follow him rather than Beppu saying, “Will you follow the law of reason and consider me master, or do you turn your back on reason and consider Beppu your master?”

Yet, in a world that has been turned on its head, making one’s actions accord with the “law of reason” is doomed to fail. Though Kotarō finally makes his way to the capital, his efforts to regain his inheritance fail. In Cycle 6, Oyama hears word of Kotarō’s plan to go to the capital aided by ten of his father’s former retainers, and sets about to destroy Kotarō by engaging a priest at the Kashima shrine to conduct a secret ritual to defeat his enemy. In a world of chaos, even a priest of a shrine who “prays for nothing other than the eternity of Heaven and Earth, the fulfillment of imperial desires, and good health and long life,” can be persuaded to conduct such an evil ritual.
At first, the priest is unsuccessful. The narrator
interrupts to comment upon the reason for the failure of the priest’s
efforts,

He pursued the prayers with great ferocity. However, since
it was not following the law of reason, there was no indication
of the ritual’s efficacy, and the ascetic having lost face,
performed incantations for seven days.

Though against the law of reason, the priest continues on,
redoubling his efforts in detail that must have been a truly shocking
for audiences of the Sengoku period.

He wore out and broke the cord of his rosary, took a
five-pronged mace and beat his knees. With a three-pronged
mace, he beat his chest, and with a single-pronged mace, he
beat his head. He smashed the top of his head and blood ran
down his face, with which he smeared Acalanatha’s sword. This
is the blood of his intended victim, he said, and concentrating
deeply, he shook heaven and earth with his urgings, so that
so urgently were the five protector kings shook that Kundari
waved the single-pronged mace. Vajra Yaksa wielded his spear.
The steer ridden by Yamantaka tossed its horned head and
bellowed. Seeing the fresh blood on the tip of the sword of
the central figure of Acalanatha, he said that his efforts had been accomplished and he broke the platform.

In this world governed by chaos, the chōwa seipuku 調和制伏 (Skt. Abhicarika) ritual, normally a ritual performed to defeat evil people that were a hindrance to the Buddhist law or an impediment to one’s enlightenment, is conducted for an ill-intentioned purpose.

This horrifying ritual ends in the death of Kotarō’s mother in Cycle 7 at the station town of Bamba where mother and son have stopped to rest. Unfortunately for Kotarō, even his loyal retainers see the impossibility of regaining his legal rights to the inheritance to the his father’s lands in a world ruled by chaos, and together they cut off their topknots, renounce the secular world and desert their master, each man going his separate way.

In Cycle 8, Kotarō awakens and finds that his retainers have abandoned him. Seeing no solution to his plight, he draws a dagger and prepares to take his own life. At this moment, the proprietor of the inn appears and stops the young Kotarō.
The proprietor having listened to his story said, “If the law of reason is so much on your side, why do you not go to the capital and file a lawsuit?”

Lord Shida replied, “If I only had someone to travel with me! Even so, living in this world, there is nothing that can be done. If anyone were to perchance come and ask about me, tell them what has become of me.” As he said these words, he intoned the nenbutsu, unsheathed his sword and prepared to take his own life.

The proprietor, overcome with pity, grabbed the sword. “Give up this idea of suicide! If you wish someone to go with you to the capital, I am your man. Give up this idea of suicide! It is said that the turtle, which has a seemingly endless life, eventually ends up at Mt. Penglai 濮莱. Even for those who suffer, it is by living that they can completely see into things. What can be the interest upon dying?

As in many other pieces of the kōwaka-mai, when characters are about to commit suicide, a marebito figure appears to stop what would otherwise bring an abrupt and incomplete conclusion to the story. Here it is the proprietor of the inn who urges Kotarō to follow the law of reason that is on Kotarō’s side. Kotarō begs the proprietor to take him to the capital. Once there, however, Kotarō
is unable to do anything since there is no one who will assist him in advancing his case at court.

The final four cycles of the first section narrate the battle between Ukishima and Oyama and are one of the major highlights of the piece. Having lost all hope for redress in the capital, Kotarō decides to return to Shida and ask his sister to act as intermediary to beg Oyama for mercy. In a world ruled by the law of chaos, even the familial ties with his sister are not strong enough. Oyama has no pity on his brother-in-law and banishes Kotarō from the Shida estate.

Wandering aimlessly, Kotarō finds himself at his father’s grave. Calling out to his father for help, his pleas are only met by “the sound of the wind whistling through the pines.” At the moment of despair and sunken in tears, a mysterious figure again appears at the beginning of Cycle 10. This marebito in a braided straw hat reveals himself as Ukishima Tayû. Lord Sôma’s former retainer takes in Kotarō and prepares for the inevitable battle with Oyama once
news that Ukishima is protecting Kotarō is out. The battle rages on until Ukishima’s forces are reduced to his immediate family members, his wife, and his five sons. Facing the final battle, Ukishima and his wife ascend a tower of the fortress and watch their five sons set out for the final battle. Ukishima urges his sons on as they head out to the battlefield but is reduced to tears, telling his sons that this will be their final battle.

Ukishima’s wife, unmussed by her husband’s tears, criticizes Ukishima for speaking to their sons in such defeated tones, and instead she offers the young men advice on military strategy. In a scene that is unusual in the Japanese tradition, Ukishima’s wife teaches her children the secret maneuvers and techniques for attacking their enemy, rousing them by beating on the window paneling and laughing heartily. Thus invigorated, the sons set out to the shore of the river. Their mother strips off her outer garment to reveal that she is wearing armor underneath. She announces herself as the “Mida Female Demon” 辿陀夜叉女.
Muroki suggests that this section was based upon the legend of Masakado’s daughter who fled to Ōshū after the assassination of her father. There, she became a nun and lived out her life in a hermitage. She was later called “The Female Demon of the Falls” (taki yasha hime 瀧夜叉姫). More likely, this section of the kōwaka-mai draws upon the tradition of female warriors who battle alongside men.

For example, in the mythic narrative of Empress Jingū’s attack upon the Korean Peninsula, the empress takes on the outward appearance and manners of a man as she sets out into battle (Sakamoto et al. I 334). Again the most legendary of the female warriors in the Japanese tradition is Tomoe 巴 who fought alongside Kiso no Yoshinaka 木曽義仲 in the epic Heike monogatari. Though there are precedents for female warriors in Japanese myth and literature, for the most part women who accompanied men into battle were usually employed as shamans who would chant curses and deliver oracles.
(Iwasaki 58). Even in the kôwaka-mai piece Shida, Ukishima’s wife reveals herself a “demon” before setting out to do battle.

In Cycle 12, before the final battle, Ukishima confides with Kotarô that he is destined to regain the lands that were taken by Oyama. The reason is that Kotarô, like his ancestor, has a double pupil in his eye. Because of this “mark,” he will become the ruler of the eight eastern provinces just as Masakado did. Pledging his loyalty to the young boy, Ukishima sets out to join his wife and children in their final battle. This section is particularly graphic, narrating how the family fights together in service of their master, cutting down their enemy in teams, twisting off their heads, and splitting their heads open. Though they fight valiantly, in the end, the children of Ukishima are killed, leaving only Ukishima and his wife. The section ends with husband and wife committing suicide, simultaneously plunging their swords into their spouse’s belly.
5.3.2 Analysis of Section II

The second major section of the piece narrates Kotarō’s “death” and “rebirth.” Having been captured by Oyama after the battle, Oyama commands Chihara Tayû to take Kotarō and drown him in the “Inland Sea” (i.e. Kasumi-ga-ura 霧ヶ浦). While Kotarō is waiting for his execution, his elder sister mysteriously appears and hands over to him the deeds to the Shida fief. Like the fox in Iruka that gives Kamatari the sickle, Kotarō’s elder sister functions similarly to give the hero the magical object (the deeds to the Shida estate) that will later serve him when he is “reborn” at the end of the second section. On the functional level, Kotarō’s elder sister serves to bring this “treasure” from the Otherworld that is Oyama’s mansion (the locus of opposition).

The scene unfolds in the following manner.

She took out some rolled up papers from her sleeve and handed them to Lord Shida. Shida took them. He unrolled them and saw that they were the title and deeds to the Shida fief.
"These are the most valuable things passed down in our house, what good would it do for me to have them? Take them and return home!"

His sister, hearing this, said, "What you say has its merits, but when you die and appear before the lord of hell, if you have an offering for the two kami that have recorded all your deeds in life, then by virtue of what is right, why shouldn’t you be rid of all sins and impediments? Just take them!"

She hands over the deeds to the Shida estate, Kotarō’s proof to his rightful claim to his father’s inheritance while at the same time reminding Kotarō and the audience that Kotarō has lived according to the law of reason. Yet, it is because he has done so in a world that no longer is governed by the principles of dōri that he has failed.

In terms of the structure of the piece, the medial position of Kotarō’s elder sister is identical to that of the diver that we encountered in the last section of Taishokan, who dives down to the Otherworld, and brings back the jewel. Kamatari, taking this jewel returns to the capital, is symbolically "reborn," and restores the world to its proper order, bringing prosperity to himself and his
descendants. Likewise, in Shida, Kotarō’s eldest sister moves between two opposing worlds: Oyama’s mansion that symbolizes the Otherworld governed by illegitimate rule, and this world that symbolizes legitimate rule. Like the diver in Taishokan Shida’s elder sister will also suffer a “death” at the beginning of the final major section of the piece when she is thrown out of Oyama’s house.

Kotarō’s sister takes her leave and returns to Oyama’s mansion. Though death for Kotarō seems inevitable, Chihara has mercy on the boy in Cycle 15, and though he goes through the motions of throwing Kotarō overboard, it is only the sinking stone that plunges to the bottom of the sea. Oyama is suspicious that Chihara has betrayed him and sets to torturing him until he confesses.

While Chihara perishes “as the morning dew,” Oyama turns to Chihara’s wife and children. Though he questions them, the only information that Oyama is able to get is that they heard the voices of Chihara intoning the nenbutsu and the splash that they assumed to be the body of Kotarō. Unsatisfied with their explanation of the
events of that night, Oyama summons the residents of the area who can only tell them that nothing out of the ordinary happened on that night.

Thus, Kotarō has become “dead” in the eyes of Oyama and the world. Setting out to wander he thinks to go to the capital again. With nowhere to turn, he relies upon the assistance of a merchant who takes him to the capital and turns him over to slave traders. Kotarō is sold repeatedly from Shikoku to Kyushu and finally ending up as a manual laborer on a farm in Kaga 加賀 province.

Kotarō’s wandering has meaning as it references the Wandering Noble story-pattern. Enduring a symbolic death, the hero must travel through an Otherworld before being reborn. Having been given the magical object that will ensure his rebirth, as well as the predictions of Ukishima that Kotarō will one day rule the eight eastern provinces, we already know that Kotarō will eventually be reborn and prosper. His future glory that is part of his real identity is contrasted with his outer appearance as a slave. In Cycle 492
16, the owner of the farm sets Kotarō out into the fields. He did not know even what a “hoe” was and "it was only his tears that he sowed." Because of his uselessness as a farm laborer, no other manor will buy him and he is again kicked out and set on a road of wandering, eventually arriving at the harbor of Oya in Noto province.

There, Kotarō is forced to beg at the gates of houses in order to survive. Cycle 17 again centers upon the possible death of the hero and his salvation by the appearance of a marebito character. Word soon spreads about a burglar who is threatening the unity of the village. In order to put an end this potentially destabilizing figure in the community, an old man leads a group of young men to deal with Kotarō. They begin beating Kotarō with fishing paddles and sticking him with fishing spears.

When all seems to be useless for Kotarō, an old woman appears and offers sake to the young men. Kotarō is taken in by the old woman and treated warmly. When a traveling merchant arrives from Mutsu province, the old woman hands Kotarō over to the merchant who
takes the young man to Mutsu where he is set to boiling seaweed for making salt. There, he is spied by a local administrator who notices that Kotarö is "a refined boy with sparkling eyes [...] (with) an elegant manner." He adopts Kotarö and makes him his heir.

As we have seen, the motif of adoption is common element in the discourse of medieval myth. As an element in the narrative, it has significance on many levels. The most obvious of these is that this motif reflects reality in some way. Narratives such as Shida helped to alleviate anxieties that the audience members actually had about becoming detached from their families and sold into slavery. Kotarö's adoption by the local administrator of Mutsu, so a psychological analysis would hold, reassured the audience that there was some hope if this would happen to them.7

This type of analysis appeals to us because we assume that we can make empathize with the feeling of other persons based upon our common humanity. Readings that emphasize that folklore or literature had a psychological function for the audience or had some
therapeutic value for the people of the time are based upon several assumptions. The most obvious of these is that folklore and the literature of the lower classes (senmin 賤民) reflect reality more accurately than do literary products of the elite. In essence, it is less “art” than works of elite members of society. Following this assumption, scholars have then used the lore and literature of the lower classes as another tool to recreate the lives of the people living at that time—literature and lore are given the status of historical documents.

We note that Kotarō’s adoption by the local administrator comes at a point in the narrative when all hope has been exhausted. Kotarō’s attempts to find redress following the “law of reason” fail in the first major section of the piece because the world as he knows it has been turned on its head. He has lost his inheritance and his rightful place as his father’s lawful descendant. In a world that should have rightfully been his to rule, instead there is Oyama who has usurped the rights that Kotarō was to have inherited. The world
plunges into chaos. Little by little, Kotarō’s house disintegrates. His mother perishes due to the secret ritual conducted by the priest at the Kashima shrine, his ten retainers desert him, and finally his last hope, Ukishima Tayū and his family, die in battle.

We have seen that the adoption of the hero at the point when all hope is lost is a common pattern in the discourse of medieval myth, as well. In the Shintôshû, for example, we find the narrative of Tama-ō 王王 who is abducted by a large bird and is taken to a faraway land. There he is adopted by a couple and later is adopted by the provincial governor, marries a daughter of the emperor and becomes a Middle Counselor. In death, he is revealed as a Mishima Daimyôjin 三嶋大明神, who protects the nation and brings its peace and prosperity (Kondô Shintôshû 173-191).

Likewise, as we have seen in the later works of the sekkyô-bushi, the hero oftentimes finds himself abandoned or separated from his family and at an opportune moment, he is rescued by adoption. In Sanshô-dayû, a work that is closely related to the
kōwaka-mai piece Shida, Tsushio flees from his captor, the salt merchant, and wanders until he is taken to the Tennōji temple. There, crippled by his journey in the small leather basket, he is adopted by Umezu no In. Later, at the imperial palace, Tsushio announces his identity and he is reunited with his family. In the sekkyō-bushi Aigo no waka as well, Aigo no waka is left for dead by his stepmother and is adopted by an ascetic. Though he is not reunited with his family in this life, following the pattern of the medieval myth found in the histories of temples and shrines, he is deified after death as Sannō Gongen.

The motif of adoption functions within the narrative to advance the plot and guide the audience toward the inevitable and expected revelation of the hero’s identity and restoration of his position. If we are to read these narratives as reflections of reality then it is on the structural level that we can see how they may “reflect” the structure of society. Again, we must remember that myth and ritual derive from the same cultural nexus. The opposition
between this world and the Otherworld is not only the structural pattern that can be found in poetry, literature and ritual, but it is also the informing pattern for the basic oppositions that we find in society.

Again, the family, or "ie" was a central ideology during the medieval world, underwriting society as well as literature and performing arts of the time. In the kōwaka-mai piece Taishokan, we saw that the image of the female body is constructed as being ambiguous. Kamatari's daughter, the Dragon Girl, and the diver are all marebito figures that mediate between the binary oppositions that are set up by the narrative.

In Iruka, we also saw how Kamatari is "adopted" by the court having been noticed for his noble countenance. He then goes on to become the "child" of the nation defeating the evil Soga no Iruka and restoring the world to its rightful order and bringing peace and prosperity to the land.
Finally, the kōwaka-mai piece Yuriwaka daijin is also concerned with the ideology of the family system. On the surface, it is a narrative of the reunion with his wife and restoration of his family and his position as governor of Tsukushi province. We also saw how Yuriwaka’s birth and life are juxtaposed with a discourse on the creation of the islands of Japan and imperial succession and legitimacy. “Nation,” symbolized by narratives of mythic descent of the imperial house from the kami is defined with in the ideology of the family system.

Likewise, Ukishima notes that Shida no Kotarō has “sparkling eyes,” a physical sign that allows him to be noticed by the local administrator (structurally identical to Kamatari’s countenance). Having become the manor administrator’s heir, Kotarō serves in place of his new father in his official (public) functions. On one occasion, the provincial governor returns to the provincial capital of Taga. There he hears arguments on a dispute that has erupted in Hitachi province.
While all the important officials of the province attend the governor, Shioji sends his son, Kotarō, in his place.

Since Shioji, the provincial administrator, was an old man, he sent his adopted son and heir, Lord Kotarō. The other officials present saw this and said, "This cannot be allowed," and tried to prevent it.

The command of the provincial governor was this: "Why didn't the Shioji not come himself? Does he think so lightly of his superiors? If that is how he honors me, then I will take his fief."

Seeing this meeting as a fortuitous opportunity to reveal his identity, Kotarō takes out the genealogy that he has carried throughout his journeys proving that he is a descendant of Taira no Masakado and the true heir to the Sōma estate.

Shida thought, "I want to tell them who I am!" But he reconsidered, "No, no. One of Gyama’s family or retainers might be present." Though he refrained from divulging his identity he thought, "If I do not announce myself, this is a disgrace to my adoptive parents, yet it is also a shame to be thrown out. I will announce myself." And he took out his genealogy and placed it before the provincial governor.
The provincial governor looked at it. “What is this? The sixth generation from Imperial Prince Kazurahara, descendant of Masakado, the true son of Sōma, Shida Kotarō.” And having read the meritorious achievements, occupations and origins that were outlined in the genealogy he said, “In the fifty-four districts, there is no one of higher stature.” He allowed Shida to take a seat directly in front of him. It was truly auspicious, Lord Shida having been restored to his station. It is said that the party lasted seven days. The attending officials took their leave and returned to their respective homes.

Having been “reborn,” Kotarō is honored by the governor and given rule over Ōshū.

5.3.3 Analysis of Section III

The final major section of the piece is a transposition of the structure of the narrative in Section II. It narrates the banishment of Kotarō’s elder sister from her husband’s home, her wanderings throughout Japan and the reunion of Senju and Kotarō in Ōshū. The informing pattern for this section we find in many of the
medieval engi and katari-mono of the period and the wanderings of
the heroine are given meaning by their reference to the Wandering
Noble story-pattern.

More interesting for the reading that I will give the piece
as medieval myth is that this section is overtly set within the ritual
period that spans from Tanabata, the festival that commemorates the
reunion of star-crossed lovers. The piece concludes at the time of
the Urabon 孟蘭盆 festival, when the dead are welcomed back into the
community.

Cycle 18 opens on the seventh day of the seventh month, the
evening of the Tanabata festival. Though this festival by the
medieval period was a commemoration of the once a year reunion between
the Weaver Maiden and the Herdsman, originally it was a festival
that paralleled the New Year, signaling the beginning of the second
half of the year.

Orikuchi ties this festival to several myths of the ancient
age and shows that the later interpretation was most likely imported
from Chinese legend in the classical era. For example, in the Fudoki it is noted that the yahirodono 八尋殿 was a large edifice in which the looms for weaving the sacred robes used by the priests at the Ise shrine (Akimoto 439). The same Yahiroden is also found in the creation myth, as well. In the Kojiki, Izanaki-no-mikoto and Izanami-no-mikoto descend to the island that formed when foam congealed from the tip of the jeweled spear and created an island. On this island, there is a yahiroden, the marriage palace. It is here that the islands of Japan are conceived (Kurano and Takeda 53).

Later in the “Descent from Heaven” episode, a yahiroden is set up in which a maiden is set to weaving at a loom (hata 機). At the same time, the low tables that are set out are to lure the kami to come to this world. Finally, in the Nihon shoki, when Susanowo-no-mikoto goes to kill the serpent, he sets out eight tables (Sakamoto et al. I 122). As with the visitation of the kami at the beginning of the year, society believed that the kami visited the community in the summer. Like its New Year parallel, during the
Urabon festival, communities invited the kami by setting out tables and worshiped the deities when they arrived.

Oyama as well sets out tables on the night of the Tanabata festival. This custom, kikōden 乞巧祭, originated in China and was imported into Japan and made one of the cycle of festivals celebrated at the imperial palace from the Nara period onward. It was tied into the Tanabata-tsuma 七夕妻 legend and rituals of purification, celebrated among the general populace from the medieval period, as well. In the narrative, this custom is incorporated to prefigure the rebirth of the hero, Kotarō, and the reunion between Kotarō and his elder sister, Senju. Oyama brings out all of the treasures from his storehouses, his gold, silver, and the finest fabrics but cannot find his most prized possession, the deeds to the Shida fief. Suspecting his wife of betraying him and stealing them, he banishes her.

Heading toward the same sea in which she believes that her younger brother was drowned, Kotarō’s elder sister is met suddenly
by a retainer of Chihara. He hands over to her a bundle of letters that Kotarō had written to his elder sister. Upon reading them, she is overjoyed at the news that Kotarō is still alive and pledges to search for her brother so that he can take the deeds to the capital and regain his stolen inheritance.

To make the journey, she goes to a nearby temple and takes the tonsure. Together with her maid, they travel to the capital. Unable to find his whereabouts there, they head south to Kumano, then to Shikoku and then to the southernmost island of Kyushu (Cycle 19). Still unsuccessful, they travel on to the Chūgoku region and return to the capital (Cycle 20). Traveling again northward, they return to Hitachi and proceed onward, farther north into the province of Ōshū (Cycle 21).

When they arrive in the provincial capital of Taga, it is the festival of Ūrabon, when the souls of departed loved ones return to this world. Following custom, Kotarō as governor of Ōshū offers charity to the needy at the Jibutsudō temple.
The Jibutsudō differs from other temples. It is a temple that houses family mortuary tablets. During the medieval period, believers venerated these mortuary tables and used them as mediums through which they could call upon the kami to appear (yorishiro). Thus, the Jibutsudō is fitting place for a reunion between the long parted brother and sister.

Among the din of ringing bells and voices chanting sutras, Senju offers up a final plea to the gods that she be allowed to see her younger brother one last time. Kotarō is at the temple praying, too, and overhears the prayers of his elder sister. Searching for the source of the prayer, he thrusts open the door of the temple and finds his sister there. Reunited the two are reduced to tears of joy.

In the final cycle, Kotarō returns with three thousand mounted warriors to Hitachi. Hearing rumor of this, Oyama flees toward the capital but is stopped by the provincial governor of Ōshū who plotted and captured Oyama and delivered him to Kotarō. At Tsumagoi in
Musashi province, Kotarō cuts off his head. He proceeds to capture and kill all those who had assisted Oyama and then travels to the capital. There he has an audience with the emperor.

Following the prediction of Ukishima, the emperor gives Kotarō rule of the eight eastern provinces. He returns to his Hitachi, repays those who had been loyal to him, including the proprietor of the inn at Bamba who stopped him from committing suicide, the three grandsons of Ukishima Tayû, and the children of Chihara who had given their own lives to protect Kotarō. At the age of twenty-five, Shida no Kotarō begins his reign as lord of the eight eastern provinces and together he lives with his sister, the nun “Ôkata-dono,” and their family and descendants prosper having both power and fortune.

The life and death of Shida no Kotarō is given cultural significance by its interpretation in the traditional story-pattern of the Wandering Noble. We can find similar expressions of this story-pattern in most human societies, yet what gives this story
significance for its audience, the Japanese of the sixteenth century, was not its universal currency, but rather its significance in the Japanese cultural tradition and within the context of performance.

The mythic narratives of the prehistoric world are the first expressions of this story-pattern that continued to inform the interpretation of the heroes of the medieval period. The creators of the kōwaka-mai interpreted this narrative story-pattern as being an analogy to the cycle of life-death-rebirth that informs the ritual cycle as well. The Tanabata-Urabon festival/ritual period provides the key to understanding the final major section of the piece—the connection between ritual and mythic patterns are made explicit in the symbolic rebirth of the hero and the reunion between sister and brother.
According to the Sōma genealogy, the members of the Sōma family were residents of Shimōsa province, Sōma District. They claim to be descendants of Taira no Masakado—the patriarch the Sōma family is said to be the adopted son of Masakado (227–228). According to this genealogy, Masakado’s alternative name was Sōma Kotarō, a name that was passed down for six generations. Masakado’s grandson, Fumikuni, was the first Sōma Kotarō to reside in Shida. The Oyama family, on the other hand, was a family in Shinano province that claimed lineage from Fujiwara no Hidesato, the leader of the forces that defeated Masakado’s uprising (197–199).

The Masakadoki (or Shōmonki) is considered by Japanese literary historians to be the first gunki monogatari. It was most likely written soon after the Jōhei 承平 Disturbance (931–947) by a priest in service to Taira no Masakado in Hitachi and Shimōsa provinces.

Arukimiko, or female “wandering shamans,” were miko who were not in services to a particular Shinto shrine. Instead, they would wander around the country praying for blessings of the kami, and delivering oracles in exchange for donations. See Ruch (“Medieval” 305).

See Yanagita (TYKZ VIII 19–21) and Orikuchi (III 55–61, 263–72) for discussions of the Momo Tarō legend. On the Issun Bōshi legend, see Orikuchi (II 357).

Some examples of female warriors can be found in the ancient world. In the myth of Yamatotakeru-no-mikoto, for example, his wife, Tachibana-hime follows her husband into battle, and crossing the sea from Sagami to Kazusa, she throws herself into the sea to calm it (Kurano and Takeda 225). In the early history of Japan, wives
occasionally follow their husbands into battle. Ada-hime 吾田媛, the wife of the warrior Takehyasubiko 武埴安彦 accompanied her husband onto the battlefield. (Sakamoto et al. I 244-246). Kamitsukeno kimikatana 上毛野君形名, took his wife into battle with him when he was sent to subjugate the Emishi in eastern Japan. (Sakamoto et al. II 232). Orikuchi notes that the females accompanied the troops into battle as miko (II 151-152).

6 I use "functional" in terms of the functions that characters play in the narrative (Propp Morphology 21).

7 This psychological reading is suggested by Matisoff ("Holy" 261).

8 See for example Ruch "Sekai" 186.

9 Here, "birth" from the leather basket is analogous to births of kami from peaches (Momo Tarô), stones, and bamboo (Kaguya-hime in the Taketori monogatari). These are symbols of the hero’s divinity (III 261-3). This motif is also found in Taishokan with the Dragon Girl’s birth from the hollow log. In Taishokan, the narrative plays on the cultural knowledge of divine births and the Chinese generals ignorance of this symbol.

10 For example, the family system was fundamental to the transmission in the performing arts. This is commonly referred to as the iemoto 家元 system.

11 The Urabon festival (Skt. Ullambana) was held on the fifteenth day of the seventh month. During this festival, dead ancestors came back to their homes. Families would give them offerings before sending them off on the sixteenth day. It is culturally significant as the summer equivalent to the New Year. It was celebrated for the first time during the time of Empress Suikó and was made a court
ritual during the reign of Emperor Shōmu.
CHAPTER 6

MANJŪ: RELIGIOUS AWAKENING AS “REBIRTH”

6.1 Introduction

Minamoto no Mitsunaka (also pronounced “Manjū”) (913-997) was a mid-Heian period warrior who served the emperors Murakami 村上 (r. 946-967), Reizei 冷泉 (r. 967-969), Enyū 円融 (r. 969-984), and Kazan 花山 (r. 984-986), and acted as governor of several provinces during these four reigns. In history, Mitsunaka is most famous for an incident that took place in the second year of Anna 安和 (969). At this time, Mitsunaka gained the confidence of the ruling Fujiwara when he tipped them off about a conspiracy against the crown prince led by a branch family of the Minamoto.

Afterwards, Mitsunaka lived in the province of Settsu in the village of Tada and thus also was known as “Tada no Manjū.” In 987,
he took the tonsure and the Buddhist name “Mankei” 満慶. In response
to his religious awakening, Mitsunaka constructed the Tada-in 多田院 at the center of his manor in Settsu province.¹

By the late Heian period, Manjū’s awakening of faith and
renunciation of the world appeared in semi-fictionalized versions
in the Konjaku monogatarishū. On the day that he did so, sixteen
men and thirty women joined him in making vows to obey the Buddhist
commandments. The officiating priest was none other than Eshin Sōzu
恵心僧都 (942-1017), better known to history as Genshin 源信, who
traveled from Mt. Hiei to the village of Tada in order to perform
the ceremony.

After the ritual concluded, Mitsunaka went secretly to Eshin
and confided to the priest that if he, Manjū, were to uphold the
prohibition against killing living things, his retainers, who relied
upon him for protection, would scorn him. Thus, in his place Manjū
sent his son to Mt. Hiei with Eshin. There, Manjū’s son prayed for
his father’s soul, and in later years received the title “Dharma
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Eye Genken” (kōin genken 法院源賢) During Genken’s time at Mt. Hiei, he occasionally returned to Tada in order to hold Buddhist services and to preach. Finally, through the efforts of Genken, Manjū took the tonsure. At that time, he freed three hundred falcons and burned his fishing nets (Kobayashi 27-28).

We know little about Manjū’s son Genken apart from the anecdotes that are related in this anecdote. The Seiwa Genji genealogy in the Sompi bunmyaku 尊卑文脈 (a Nambokuchō work) states that Manjū’s son, Genken, was also known as the “Tada Dharma Eye” or the “Settsu Dharma Eye.” The document also notes that Genken was also a poet of some renown, for he had two of his poems chosen for inclusion in the Goshūishi 後拾遺集 (1086), the fourth imperial anthology compiled on the orders of Emperor Shirakawa 白河 (r. 1072-1086). The Sompi bunmyaku records his death as the fourth year of Kanna 寛和 (988), nearly a decade before his father.

Not appearing in either the Konjaku monogatari version or the later Kojidan version of the story, the source of the childhood
appellation “Bijo” 美女 seems to be the genealogies of the branch families of the Minamoto. For example, the genealogy of the Ogasawara 小笠原 family in Kai 甲斐 province (present day Yamashina 山科 prefecture) states the following about Genken,

In his youth, he was called “Bijo.” While at the temple, he was the most violent of the priests. Afterwards, he became the student of Eshin Sōzu. He studied the depths of the Buddhist law and became “Tada Dharma Eye” (79).

In the genealogy of the Seiwa Genji, the Seiwa genji kezu, Genken is also given the childhood name of “Bijo,” stating that he was an evil priest without equal at Mt. Hiei where he grew up (265). Later, the genealogy continues, he would become the Tada Dharma Eye.

Taira no Yasuyori 平康頼 (dates unknown), writing in his Hōbutsushū (1179), records the same anecdote that is found in both the Konjaku monogatarishū and the Kojidan. Here Yasuyori ties the anecdote to his commentary on the Eighth Chapter of the Hōke-kyō, specifically quoting, “The poor, the angry, the anxious, the
suffering all have the chance to enter the way of the Buddha” (Koizumi et al. 320). The Hōbutsushū, Kojidan and the Konjaku monogatarishū all reflect the meaning of the Manjū legend as it was assimilated into the central culture of Japan by the end of the classical age. Manjū’s life was instructive as an anecdote on the awakening of faith of a warrior, who caught between the ethical obligation to serve his retainers and the nation, must, if called upon, take human life. The wonder of the teaching of the Eighth Chapter of the Hoke-kyō is that this sutra holds out hope that even the man who commits the most evil acts of killing can be saved because all sentient beings have the buddha-nature within them.

The Manjū legend developed in a slight different direction in the area surrounding the Tada manor. Today, in the Nakayamadera 中山寺 temple in Hyōgo 兵庫 prefecture, there is a mandala called the Nakayamadera sankei mandara 中山寺参詣曼茶羅. At the center of this is a child who is identified as “Bijo Gozen.” This temple is located close to Tada village, and the principal deity enshrined there is
the eleven-faced Kannon (Skt. *Ekadasamukha*). The temple is now one of the thirty-three stops on the circuit that pilgrims make visiting and worshipping at the major temples in the Kinki region dedicated to the bodhisattva of mercy. One of the main rituals at the temple is the custom of intoning the nenbutsu by priests, and over the centuries, it has gained the reputation for being the “Eastern Gate to the Pure Land.” Both the enshrined Bijo Gozen and the importance of the nenbutsu were key in the local development of the legend throughout the medieval period.

Another central figure in the Manjū legend is Fujiwara no Nakamitsu 藤原仲満 and his son Kōju-maru 幸寿丸. According to the *Setsuyō gundan* 揖陽郡談 (1698), the graves of Nakamitsu, Kōju-maru and Bijo-maru 美女丸, are found in several locations around the Tada area. However, neither Fujiwara no Nakamitsu nor his son are historically attested persons. It is likely, therefore, that their graves were erected following the spread of the legend of Nakamitsu’s loyalty to his master and Kōju-maru’s sacrifice of his own life for
Bijo-maru. Muroki compiles a list of several temples in the former
Tada estate at which Kōju-maru’s legend has spread. He notes that
at each of the temples, the legend was important for the emotional
power of the story of Kōju-maru’s sacrifice of his life in exchange
for his master’s son (Katari-mono 151-5).

Moreover, we must also note that the Tada-in was a center for
the training of practitioners of the nenbutsu during the medieval
period. The Setsuyō gundan goes on to state that at the Tada-in there
was a grave dedicated to Taira no Atsumori 平敦盛 (1196-1184), who
we recall, was killed by Kuamgai no Naozane 熊谷直実 (1141-1208) at
the battle of Ichinotani 市の谷 during the Genpei wars. According
to the Heike monogatari, Naozane took Atsumori’s remains to Mt. Kōya
and there prayed for the boy’s soul. The legend of Atsumori was
likely spread by nenbutsu practitioners of the Kōya 空也 sect, which
was noted for its “dancing nenbutsu” (odori nenbutsu 踊念仏) or the
Ippeiken 伊本能 sect, which stressed that sentient beings need rely solely
upon the power of the nenbutsu for their salvation. In the medieval
period, both of these sects were involved in shōdō preaching efforts. Since the Tada-in was a center for training, the Manjū legend was likely absorbed into the works that these itinerants performed (Muroki Katari-mono 154).

The shōdō text, Tada no manjū is closely related to the late-medieval performing arts versions of the legend, Nakamitsu in the Noh, and Manjū in the kōwaka-mai. This source book (tanebon 種本) is undated, but it is included in a 1216 work that explicates the Eighth Chapter of the Hoke-kyō by drawing upon setsuwa that deal with tormented stepchildren. All of the setsuwa included in this work were most likely sourcebooks or prompt books that shōdō preachers used when teaching about the wonders of the Hoke-kyō. By using emotionally moving stories from the legendary tradition, the preachers not sought to convert souls, but also hoped to collect funds for the construction and repairing of religious institutions.

Thus, while the anecdote of Manjū’s awakening of faith spread out from the capital, a different legend was developing at the same
time in the province of Settsu at temples that were within the former Tada estate, such as the Nakayamadera and the Tada-in. As with the legend in the capital, this local legend stressed the awakening of faith (hosshin 発心) of Manjū through the intercession of his son and the priest Eshin. In contrast, Tada no manjū reflects the local ethos, interpreting loyalty of retainers and fillial piety as acts that follow the law of reason. This discourse on the way of the warrior is set within the framework of explaining the efficacy of intoning the Hoke-kyō and the exemplary act of selfless loyalty shown by Kōju-maru who gave his own life as a vicarious substitute (migawari) for Bijo-maru (Okami 86).

The kōwaka-mai version of the legend follows closely the outline of the thirteenth-century source book, often word for word. It begins by recounting the beginnings of the world, when heaven and earth separated. Manjū is born in a distinguished line that claims descent from Emperor Seiwa. He is a renowned warrior who protects the nation and settles legal disputes. Yet, he is overcome

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by the pathos of life and decides to visit an ascetic. The holy man
instructs him to study the *Hoke-kyō* and begins to instruct the warrior
in the way of the Buddha.

Manjū, overcome by the difficulty of this holy scripture, orders his son, Bijo Gozen, to go to Nakayamadera temple and learn the scripture. Having been born in a warrior family, Bijo Gozen forsakes his study of the *sutra* and instead practices his martial skills. His father, angered at his son’s failure to learn the *Hoke-kyō*, commands his retainer, Nakamitsu, to kill the boy.

Nakamitsu takes the boy to another part of Manjū’s mansion to carry out his master’s orders, but overcome by the pleas of Bijo Gozen, substitutes his own son’s head for that of Bijo Gozen.

Having been given his life, Bijo Gozen goes to Mt. Hiei. There, Eshin takes the boy under his wing and instructs him in Buddhism. One day, Bijo Gozen reveals his identity to his master. Eshin, determined to correct this injustice, disguises Bijo Gozen as a priest and leads the boy to Manjū’s home. After preaching on the
sutras, Bijo Gozen recites a poignant verse from the Hoke-kyō, and his words miraculously open the eyes of his mother who has lost her sight. Bijo Gozen reveals his identity to his parents. His father rewards Nakamatsu and builds a temple for the soul of Nakamatsu's son.

Though there are no major differences between the thirteenth-century shōdō work and the sixteenth century kōwaka-mai texts, the latter embellishes the general outline drawn by the prompt book. Most notably, in the first and third major sections of the piece, the kōwaka-mai text adds expository sections that frame the narrative, elucidating meaning of the Hoke-kyō and the efficacy of placing one's complete faith in its power. These two sections draw heavily upon passages of the scripture itself, and also include thought that can be traced to the tradition of popular commentary (dangi 論義) the Tendai sect.

Like sekkyō 說教, dangi was one of the many proselytizing activities that took place under the auspices of Buddhist
institutions throughout the medieval period. In contrast to popular preaching that began in the early years of the Japanese state, dangi flourished from the middle of the fifteenth century in all sects of Buddhism, but by the Edo period only the dangisho of the Pure Land sect remained. From the beginning, sekkyō preachers appealed to a diverse audience, including aristocrats and common folk alike. Dangi, on the other hand, was directed toward a much narrower slice of society: men who desired to become monks or priests at Buddhist institutions. Thus, the dangisho served as gateways to the great Buddhist complexes of Mt. Hiei and Mt. Kōya, and the preaching of the dangisho served to introduce the basic tenets of Buddhism in readily understandable terms. The dangi also influenced the development of literature and the performing arts during the late medieval period.

The dangisho were located on highly traveled roads, often close to post stations. Their convenient location allowed for easy access to men who wanted gain a better understanding of the esoteric
teachings of Buddhism. Large numbers of men, sometimes reaching three hundred, would congregate to hear exposition on passages of the Buddhist sutras. Location along major arteries also allowed preachers/lecturers to travel freely and quickly between various dangisho that dotted the roadways. Thus, popular commentaries, dangimono, quickly spread up and down the length of the Japanese archipelago. The institutions under the auspices of the Tendai sect, such as the Kashiwabara 柏原 dangisho at Bamba 鳥場, spread popular interpretations of Tendai hongaku theory that espoused the unity of phenomenal and ultimate reality. The Hoke-kyō was the ultimate expression of this teaching and thus, it was the main focus of the dangimono, such as the Hoke-kyō jikidanshō 法華経直談抄 and the Hoke-kyō jurinshūyōshō 法華経鶴林拾葉抄.

An example of the influence of the dangimono on the kōwaka-mai is apparent in the text’s interpretation of Kōju-maru’s sacrifice. Here the framing expository section explains Kōju-maru’s sacrifice
as an example of the Buddhist tenet that there is no difference between subjectivity and objectivity:

Above all else, we must understand the Hoke-kyō and the nenbutsu. Samsara is like a dream on a spring night. The moon of absolute reality is evident from the beginning. With the help of the lives of others, we can extend our own existence. When in the world of illusion this is all wrong, after enlightenment all becomes right. There is no discrimination between self and other. This is what is clear: Kōju-maru died before, Bijo Gozen died after. Now, only their names remain.

The initial discussion between Manjū and the ascetic also contains much more detail than the shōdō text about the assurances of the Hoke-kyō. The ascetic, preaching with words whose tone and tenor is drawn from medieval commentaries on the Eighth Chapter of the Hoke-kyō, tells Manjū that those who commit sins, especially the sin of killing sentient beings, can be saved by relying on the power of the Hoke-kyō. Though the text does not quote directly from medieval commentaries on the Hoke-kyō, the parallels evident between the shōdō text and the kōwaka-mai text indicate that the performers...
of the kusemaiz in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century had access to the teachings of preachers on the dangisho circuit.\textsuperscript{8}

6.2 Chigo monogatari

Although the sources for the characters of Fujiwara no Nakamitsu and his son are unclear, one interesting fact for our analysis of this piece is that the kōwaka-mai version of the legend draws upon the tradition of chigo monogatari.\textsuperscript{9} Originally, the chigo was a young boy who served as an acolyte in Buddhist temples. By the medieval period, within the warrior class and the priestly class, the wakashu 若衆, or young boy, was the object of sexual desire. A wakashu, or chigo, was normally a boy who had not gone through the coming-of-age ceremony (genpuku 元服), a ritual that did not necessarily correspond with puberty.
Thus, it was often the case that *chigo* were physically adult males while their appearance and dress remained that of children. As was the common practice during the time, male and female children dressed in similar fashion, with long hair and feminine robes. Thus, as the object of desire, the *chigo* had much of the same physical allure as women. Their physical development as adult males made them somewhat of a paradox, yet, as we will see, in the literature of the medieval period, their sexual objectification was constructed precisely upon this ambiguity.

Some examples of the construction of male-male sexual relationships in the literature of the time will shed light upon the significance of the characters of Kôju-maru and Bijo Gozen in the *kôwaka-mai* piece. The *chigo monogatari* are a group of loosely related works, all of which have at the center of their narratives a relationship between an older male, *nenja* 念者, and a young boy, *wakashu*. 
Margaret H. Childs has convincingly argued that Japanese scholars have haphazardly categorized these works based on the shared chigo theme alone. We note, however, that there are similarities in how the works are structured. We must note first, that, unlike male-female relationships, the male-male sexual relationship between an older man and a younger boy is doomed to failure from the beginning because of the unstable identity of the chigo. Once having gone through the genpuku ceremony, the boy is no longer considered an appropriate object of desire.

For example, in Matsuho monogatari 松帆物語, a thirty-year-old courtier falls in love with a young boy he sees viewing cherry blossoms in the Kitayama 北山 area, north of the capital. The boy has already gone through the genpuku ceremony at the age of fourteen, yet the Councilor (chûjôdono 中将殿) falls deeply in love with him and sends the young man several missives. The young man accepts the Councilor’s advances, and joins his elder in a deep and emotional relationship. After three years have passed, however,
word of this unseemly relationship begins to spread in the capital. Because of these rumors, the Councilor is banished to the island of Awaji where he soon becomes ill.

The Councilor’s young lover travels with a priest as a companion to the shore of Matsuho no ura 松帆の浦 where the Councilor is in exile, but upon their arrival they are informed that the Councilor has died seven days ago. After holding memorial services for his dead lover, the young man takes the Councilor’s remains to Mt. Kōya, where he takes the tonsure. This piece is unique to the chigo monogatari genre in that the young man is not considered an appropriate object of desire. He has become an adult in the eyes of society, and therefore the Councilor receives what turns out to be a death sentence (Yokoyama and Matsumoto XII 614-625).

While the male-male sexual relationship presented in Matsuho monogatari is unique to the genre, similar fates befall the relationships between nenja and chigo in the fiction of the medieval period. In Saga monogatari 嵯峨物語, for example, we find the story
of Matsuju 松寿, the son of Chûnagon Yasumichi 中納言康道. At the age of thirteen, Matsuju goes to a temple, and while studying there, he is spied by a lay priest, Ichijô-rô 一条郎, who falls madly in love with the boy. The two exchange letters, but nothing comes of the relationship.

The boy returns to his father's home in the capital and goes through the genpuku ceremony. Ichijô-rô, still in love with the boy, travels to the capital in search of him. He sends the boy letters but to no avail. Matsuju is moved, though, remembering how he had received the love letters from Ichijô-rô when he was a young boy. Finally, the two meet and have a close, yet platonic, relationship (Yokoyama and Matsumoto V 336-352).

The Saga monogatari ends in a state of happy melancholy, both men bound by their former relationship but unable to enter into a male-male sexual relationship. In the majority of the chigo monogatari, however, the fate of the couple is not as pleasant. For
the most part, the *chigo monogatari* end with the death of one of the two partners, most likely the death of the *chigo*.

In *Toribeyama no monogatari* 鳥部山物語, for example, the two lovers meet in the Kitayama area. Tamibe 民部, a priest from Musashi province visiting the capital with his master, spies Fuji no ben 藤の弁 gazing at the cherry blossoms. When Tamibe returns to Musashi with his master in the spring, Fuji no ben becomes physically ill with grief. His parents, worried about his ability to live much longer, summon Tamibe to the capital. Setting out to be at his lover’s side, Tamibe is met halfway by a messenger who tells him that Fuji no ben has died. At the home of his lover’s parents, Tamibe receives the keepsakes of Fuji no ben. In his grief, Tamibe is determined to take his own life, but on the request of Fuji no ben’s father, he fashions a hut in Kitayama and prays for the soul of Fuji no ben (Yokoyama and Matsumoto X 160-174).

Conventional readings of *chigo monogatari* have stressed the relationship between the lives of the assumed authors of these tales,
Buddhist priests, and the function that these tales had in justifying their particular sexual desires. Childs correctly criticizes Araki Yoshio for misreading these tales as justifications for the priests’ “unethical and unnatural” behavior (128). Yet, Childs fails to offer us a satisfying alternative to the accepted theory. Like the Japanese scholars that she singles out for criticism, she looks for the meaning of these tales in the lives of the authors. Peering into the minds of the authors, she argues, is the only way in which we can understand these tales not as love stories, but rather as stories of religious awakening.¹⁰

She concludes, however, saying, “The tales should be judged according to their motivations that inspired their composition, for the priests who wrote them were creating a literature relevant to their own experience, stories that depict a religious response to the tragedies of life” (131). In effect, what she offers us is not a new way of reading these tales, but rather she uses the same methodology that is used by Japanese scholars to arrive at a different
reading of these works of literature: they are reflections of the authors’ life or as a psychological outlet for the pathos of life.

Her short essay is a critique not of methodology, but rather of the term “homosexuality,” which, as a modern construct, fails to capture the constructed world of sexuality in the literary tradition. As she correctly notes, there was no cultural censure of male-male sexual relationships that involved an elder man and a young man who had yet to have his coming-of-age ceremony. We must, then, disentangle the relationship between these tales and reality through a more sustainable critique.

In comparing the sekkyō text Aigo no waka and Aki no yo no naga monogatari 秋夜長物語, Orikuchi argues that these two works are similar in their reference to the honji monogatari pattern: the chigo is born into a family of courtiers, and having suffered hardships, dies and is revealed to be an incarnation of a bodhisattva (II 319). Like the foundation myths of the medieval period, the chigo monogatari, as well, are structured on the pattern of inversion--the
main character begins from a state of harmony, travels down to the depths of trials and suffering and apotheosis. While many of the chigo monogatari are not specifically narratives that explain the origins of local deities, mythic patterns inform these works to create a story that had meaning for their audiences and readers. The religious awakening story emerges from the discourse of medieval myth, where awakening of faith is equated with the notion of rebirth.

Given that the chigo is a figure constructed within a narrative world, our readings of these works must begin with the structure of the narratives themselves. Like the female figures in Taishokan, we note that the chigo, too, are objects of male desire. The chigo or wakashu is always constructed as the passive partner in the narrative, with the nenja being someone of higher, but not necessarily older, status. In other words, male-male sexual relationships are constructed as being between a male who has gone through the genpuku ceremony and become an adult male in the eyes
of society (public) and a male who has not undergone the same rite of passage, but is physiologically an adult male (private).

The chigo is an ambiguous category, treading the boundary between male and female, between childhood and adulthood and between public and private. Precisely because of this ambiguity, the chigo are the objects of desire. Take, for example, the later musings of a nenja on the joys of loving a chigo who had hair on his shins. (Pflugfelder 32). The coming-of-age ceremony marked a boy’s coming into manhood in the public realm, and having done so his days as a passive partner in a male-male sexual relationship had come to a close. In Saga monogatari, the former chigo and his nenja rekindle a relationship after the former had come of age, but only a platonic relationship bound by nostalgia. Matsuho monogatari casts a different fate upon those male couples who would venture into a sexual relationship in which both partners were adults in the eyes of the public: banishment from the capital and death for the nenja partner in the relationship.
The ambiguity of the chigo has prompted Pflugfelder to categorize the chigo as a third gender, neither male nor female. As a cultural construct, however, both females and the chigo were constructed as the object of desire of an adult male. In the world of the medieval performing arts, to take an example, there was a distinction between male performers on the one hand and female and chigo on the other hand. The latter were usually noted for the appearance of their performance, while the former were praised for their skillful vocal delivery. We recall, as well, that the shirabyōshi were females who dressed in male attire, singing and dancing to entertain their male audiences. For the chigo, it was the play between nature and culture that was their allure. The opposition between nature and culture was inscribed upon their bodies.

As constructed in the narratives of the chigo monogatari genre, the chigo had an affinity with their female counterparts, as well. Orikuchi explains the structure of male desire (irogonomi 色好み)
as originating in his abstract world of the ancient Japanese.¹¹ Beginning with his structure of Japanese culture, jugon, he argues that as communities developed as political centers of power there was the need to bring the kami of other lands under control.¹² By bringing these "foreign" kami into one's own land, or by absorbing them into one's cultural system, one could bring these kami into submission. Orikuchi cites the myths of Okuninushi and emperors Nintoku and Yūryaku as examples from myth of this practice. The miko, female shamans, as well were brought into the land and married and thereby the kami were controlled through the physical possession of the mediating figure of the miko (XIV 220). Since the female body is the mediator between this world and the Otherworld, sexual relations are a way to control nature or the unknown. Males, circumscribing females' status as marebito, construct gender roles in Japanese culture.

Likewise, the chigo were objects of adult male desire because of their ambiguous gender and the mediating role they held in society.
While I do not wish here to be drawn into a discussion of the appropriateness of using the term “homosexual” to characterize the male-male relationships between a chigo and a nenja, needless to say that today sexual orientation is an issue of identity, whereas for the Japanese of the medieval and Edo periods, this behavior was not considered to be unusual or unnatural. The love of chigo was, along with the love for women, part of culturally constructed male sexuality. In the narratives of the chigo monogatari genre, we see that chigo also have a medial position; it is through them that the main character of the narrative has a religious awakening. The very ephemeral nature of the chigo makes them marebito, or briefly visiting figures that mediate between this world and the Otherworld.
6.3 Analysis of Manjū

6.3.1 Analysis of Section I

The kōwaka-mai piece Manjū meshes two seemingly different story-patterns. One is the chigo monogatari pattern. Kōju-maru the beautiful young son of Fujiwara no Nakamitsu, must die in order that his master may live. The second of these is the Wandering Noble story-pattern that is the traditional reference for the story of Bijo Gozen’s banishment, “death,” and “rebirth” as the monk Engaku円覚. The following is an outline of the piece based upon the musical notation of the script.

Section I

(1) The narrative begins with the origins of world (way of heaven and earth), and the history of the Minamoto line from Emperor Seiwa to Manjū of Tada village in Settsu province.

(2) Manjū overcome by the ephemeral nature of life goes to an ascetic to ask how he can be assured of salvation. The ascetic tells him to study and understand the Hoke-kyō.
(3) Manjū asks the ascetic to teach him about the Hoke-kyō, but hearing the words of the saint, he decides to make his son, Bijo Gozen study at a temple and pray for his father’s salvation. Bijo Gozen goes to Nakayama temple to learn the sutra, but instead practices sword fighting and archery tormenting all those at the temple.

(4) Manjū calls his son from the temple and commands him to recite the sutra. Unable to do so, Bijo Gozen flees, as his father is about to strike him down.

**Section II**

(5) Manjū commands his retainer Nakamitsu to execute Bijo Gozen and bring back his head. Bijo Gozen takes refuge at Nakamitsu’s mansion and pleads for mercy.

(6) Nakamitsu decides to have his own son act as a substitute.

(7) Kōju-maru comes down from the temple where he has been living for seven years. Kōju-maru agrees to be the substitute.

(8) Kōju-maru asks to be allowed a final meeting with his mother. He tells his mother a story of a man who returns from battle to face his mother who has aged.

(9) He then goes to a small room and writes a poem and letter to his master and fellow monks at the temple.
Kōju-maru goes to Nakamitsu and faces his death. Drenched in tears, Nakamitsu cuts off his son’s head.

Nakamitsu takes his son’s head to Manjū and is charged to fulfill his duty to bury the boy’s remains. Both mother and father grieve over Kōju-maru’s death.

Bijo overhears what has happened and is determined to pray for Kōju-maru’s soul by going to Mt. Hiei. Nakamitsu takes Bijo to the foot of Mt. Hiei, leaves him there and returns home.

Nakamitsu tries to kill himself, but his wife stops him and instead they agree to pray together for the repose of their son’s soul.

Shift in scene to Mt. Hiei where Bijo roams and is taken in by Eshin as a disciple. He reveals his identity and Eshin decides to take him to Tada and set up a reunion.

First, they go to Nakamitsu’s home to ask him for an introduction to Manjū’s mansion. Nakamitsu secures their entry. There, they perform religious services and preach about the wonders of the Lotus Sutra. Bijo chants a verse from the Hoke-kyō.

Eshin announces that he will return to Mt. Hiei, however Manjū asks that Eshin leave the young priest there to continue services over a seven day period.
Through the power of Bijo Gozen’s prayers, his blind mother regains her sight.

Section III

(17) Engaku reveals his identity.

(18) Manjū is overjoyed because of Nakamitsu’s actions in substituting his own child for Bijo Gozen. He gives Nakamitsu half of his lands and erects Shōdōji temple for the repose of Kōju-maru’s soul.

(19) The piece ends with an exposition of the basic doctrine of non-duality as explicated in the Hoke-kyō. Manjū’s descendants, the Seiwa Genji line, prosper for eternity. There is no precedent for the heart of Kōju-maru.

The first major section of the piece sets up a conflict between fulfilling obligation to one’s master and obeying the Buddhist commandment against killing other living beings. Having consulted with an ascetic, Manjū is reassured of his salvation in the life to come, rejoicing in the promise of the Hoke-kyō that even men who commit evil deeds can be assured of salvation. The famous verse that
is attributed to Genshin, “Evil desires are enlightenment, samsara is nirvana” is the axis upon which this section is constructed.

The first cycle opens with a short preface that draws upon two medieval sources, the opening of the Taiheiki and the Ruiju jingi hongen on the mythological creation of the world. At the beginning of time, the cosmos divides into two separate spheres. The law of heaven guides the ruler of the nation to be wise and benevolent. The law of the earth, or “the way” infuses all things. “The way” was preordained at the beginning of the universe when the original cosmic unity separated into the pure and clear substance that formed heaven, and the dirty and heavy element that sank down and became the earth. Man, being placed in the middle of this cosmic structure, has no choice except to follow “the way.”

Minamoto no Manjū is then given as an example of a warrior who faithfully serves the nation. The piece begins with the typical opening formula somosomo that tells the audience they will now hear a tale of the origins of a deity or hero.
Now, the Emperor Seiwa is said to be the fifty-sixth in the line of earthly emperors. He had six princely sons—Yōzei' in the Imperial Prince Sadahide, the Imperial Prince Sadamoto who lived in the village of Katsura who played the biwa and was called "The Imperial Prince of Katsura," the Imperial Prince Sadahira, the Imperial Prince Sadayoshi, and the Imperial Prince Sadazumi. Speaking of Sadazumi, he had six sons of whom it was his youngest that was called "Tada no Manjū." During this time, he received the surname "Minamoto," and being called the "Lord of Kōzuke," he took up the bow and arrow and had no rival under heaven. As the protector of the throne, he destroyed its enemies. His first-born son became the governor of Yamato province. His third son, the "Tada Dharma Eye," built the Hachiu-in on Mt. Hiei. As for his rule of the land, it was like a falling rain that wets the land. With the healing medicine of correct reason, he settled the illness of lawsuits. Raising the light of the law, he illuminated the pains of injustice.

The genealogy given here of Manjū's descent from Emperor Seiwa is paralleled in the closing lines of the piece as well, "His children and descendants prospered and ruled the world, this was the root of the Minamoto family's eternal prosperity."

When we compare the kōwaka-mai version of the Manjū legend
with the shōdō piece Tada no manjū, we note that while the latter is clearly an anecdote that was used to explicate the efficacy of the Hoke-kyō and the practice of the nenbutsu, the kōwaka-mai structures the legend on mythic patterns. The truth revealed by the ascetic in the next two cycles as well as the anecdote of selfless sacrifice that is the main gist of the narrative, are recast as examples of the unity of the cosmos. Buddhism and its theory of non-duality within this framework are only one of the manifestations of this ultimate reality that is expressed in the relationship between master and vassal.

In Cycle 2, Manjū is overcome with pathos visits a holy man in order to find out whether or not a warrior, such as himself, who had killed many men could have hope for the next life.

Now, being the way of life and death, the law of mutability says that this world is all dreams and illusions. The span of a man’s life in this world is merely sixty years. As uncertain and fleeting as a dream at daybreak is the life of a human. As for a man’s future, isn’t it too like a dream? The green hue of the thousand-year-old pine, too, in the end
wakens from a dream after the frost. No matter what we say, it is difficult for the Rose of Sharon, which thrives one day, to outlast the dew. In the morning, with rosy cheeks one is the pride of the world; in the evening, one is turned to rotting bones in an abandoned field. In the evening, although one amuses oneself in the clear moonlight, at the dawn, [the moon] is hidden by the parting clouds. In this transient world, what can we put our hearts on? Is it that we live our days in vain? Even though I have taken up the bow and arrow and terrified men in this way, when I want to proceed down the true path, of all my thousands of retainers, not even one would follow me. Being pursued by a transient demon and tortured by raksasa, how vexing! Thinking to approach the Buddhist law and revere the three treasures, it is that I must consider loosening my ties to the way of the warrior." Though he had set his mind on doing this, it was hard to get rid of these feelings. He visited a revered saint at his hermitage and asked, "Sentient beings like us, by what means will the next life be rescued?

The ascetic explains to him that it is necessary to kill in order to protect the law of secular government embodied in the right of kingship (ôbô) and the law of Buddhism (buûpô).

However, the way of warriors is not a private matter. Protecting the imperial law and the Buddhist law, you desire to defend the nation and nurture its people. Killing one to save many is certainly a virtue. According to one sutra,
it is also stated that the Buddha, too, forced the evil demons to submit.

The ascetic assures Manjū that if he places his trust in the Hoke-kyō and forms a close tie with it, he will be saved in the next life.

This section is structure like a commentary. It begins with a verse from the Hoke-kyō, explicates this verse using symbolic imagery from the Buddhist tradition, and then concludes with concrete anecdotes that explain in simple terms the meaning of the verse. The ascetic begins with a verse from the “Expedient Means” Chapter of the Hoke-kyō, “there is no other law equal to this [Hoke-kyō] muni musan no nori 無二無三法. Manjū asks the ascetic to explain the main teaching of this sutra, the division between ultimate reality (hon 本) and phenomena (jaku 迹).

Taking the lotus as an example, the ascetic states that even the most beautiful and pure blossom emerges from dirty water. From the distinction between dirty water and the beautiful lotus, the ascetic moves through a series of similar oppositions—buddha-nature
and evil desires, evil passions and enlightenment. Just as the cosmos emerged from a great unity, the ascetic states, both evil and good emanate from the same source. Evil acts, therefore, can lead directly to enlightenment. This doctrine, the ascetic concludes, is explained most clearly in the Devadatta chapter of the Hoke-kyō, and the words of this section of the most holy of sutras assure warriors, who protect the nation just as the Buddha defeated evil demons who threatened the Buddhist law, can reverse these evil deeds with the invocation of the nenbutsu.

Placing Buddhist thought within a constellation of other ideologies and doctrines that radiate out from the primal separation of the world into heaven and earth is not unique to the kōwaka-mai. While the creator of the kōwaka-mai piece Manjū quotes heavily from the Hoke-kyō, the interpretation that he gives to these passages has many parallels in contemporary works.

For example, two of the important commentaries on the Hoke-kyō in the late-medieval period, the Hoke-kyō jikidanshō and the Hoke-kyō
jurinshūyōshō, voice many of the same views about the ability for sentient beings to become buddhas in their physical bodies (sokushin jobutsu 即身成仏). In his preface to the former work, Eishin first explains that the Hoke-kyō is the direct way for sentient beings to become buddhas. Sakya-muni first appeared to teach this direct way to humans. Understanding of what he was really preaching goes beyond any human’s capacity to understand. Thus, we should seek knowledge within our own hearts where the source of our buddha-nature resides. Crossing from ignorance to understanding can take place in an instant, Eshin concludes, and this tenet is explained as the direct way (jikidō 直道) in the Hoke-kyō. Listening to the Hoke-kyō alone is necessary for this enlightenment to occur.

In Cycle 3, the narrative turns from this long discourse on medieval Buddhist theory, and begins in earnest. Making the recitation of the Hoke-kyō his primary goal, Manjū gives the following task to his twelve-year-old son, Bijo Gozen, “You will enter a temple and study there, become a priest and pray for my
salvation [...] First learn and memorize the Hoke-kyō, then find out about all of the other sutras as well.” Though disheartened by this order, Bijo Gozen must obey his father, and he goes to Nakayamadera temple. Yet, forsaking the words of his father, Bijo Gozen practices military arts, tormenting the priests and other monks. Although ordered by his father to learn the Hoke-kyō, Bijo Gozen fails to learn even one word.

The fourth cycle presents Bijo Gozen with the order that he violates and undermines the ideology that underwrites this piece: the relationship between father and son, master and vassal, emperor and subject. Summoning his son from the temple, Manjū commands his son to recite the sutra. Unable to do so, since he has spent three years at the temple honing his fighting skills, Bijo Gozen sits, staring blankly at the sutra that has been laid out in front of him. Manjū strikes out at the boy intent upon killing him, but the boy defends himself against his fathers sword by using the rolled up scroll of the Hoke-kyō as a sword and flies out of the room.

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Having escaped, Bijo Gozen begins his journey that involves his “death,” wandering in the mountains of Mt. Hiei, transformation into the monk Engaku, and “rebirth” when he is reunited with his parents in the last major section of the piece. For the medieval audience, the story of Bijo Gozen’s flight and return had cultural significance; it uses the Wandering Noble story-pattern as a traditional reference. Like Kotarô in the kōwaka-mai piece Shida, Bijo Gozen is expelled from his father’s house, “dies,” wanders in a world governed by chaos, and is then “reborn.” Kotarô’s world is turned to chaos by the stealing of his rightful inheritance by Oyama no Tarô. The inverse world in Manjû is created Bijo Gozen’s disobedience.

6.3.2 Analysis of Section II

At the beginning of the second major section, Manjû summons his loyal retainer, Fujiwara no Nakamitsu. He commands Nakamitsu
to take his sword, kill Bijo Gozen, and bring back his head. In a world that has now been plunged into chaos, the law of reason can no longer be relied upon. Nakamitsu returns to his mansion and finds Bijo Gozen waiting for him there. The boy begs for sanctuary, but having been told of Manjū’s order, Bijo Gozen throws himself on the mercy of his father’s vassal.

Confused, Nakamitsu cannot distinguish between right and wrong. Should he follow the order of his master, Manjū, and kill Bijo Gozen, or should he follow the request of his other master, Bijo Gozen, and spare the boy’s life? In a world of chaos, there is no way to solve this dilemma; the law of reason no longer governs the workings of the world.

The dilemma is solved when Nakamitsu remembers that he has a son who is about the same age as Bijo Gozen. The narrative structure becomes complex with the introduction of Nakamitsu’s son, Kōju-maru, as the vicarious substitute (migawari). On to the Wandering Noble story-pattern that is developing with Bijo Gozen’s banishment from
his father’s house and disinheritance, we also have Bijo Gozen’s religious awakening that takes place because of the mediation of Nakamitsu’s son. This religious awakening pattern is common in many of the chigo monogatari that we examined above, and it is the chigo as mediator and the religious awakening of his socially superior that is referenced here in the kōwaka-mai piece.

In the shōdō sourcebook Tada no manjū Kōju-maru is also described as a “chigo,” yet the kōwaka-mai piece develops the character of Kōju-maru as a chigo fully. Kōju-maru’s description has many similarities to Aki no yo no nagamonogatari. For example, Kōju-maru, in addition to being the most learned of the scholars at the temple, is described in the following way.

He particularly excelled in poetry and music. At banquets and other amusements, he bettered all others. At these times, all of the monks at the temple, there was not one who did not pin his heart on the moon of a high mountain peak, or dash his thoughts against the shore of Shiga. When they gazed upon the flower of this singular tree, it was like each one of them was vying to make this boy his own personal light.
Similarly in *Aki no yo no nagamonogatari* the *chigo* is described in the following way.

Priests both young and old at the temple passing their spring days underneath this singular tree blossom, they did not begrudge the falling scattering of the petals; under the mid-autumn moon unobscured by the clouds, each one of them vied to make him their own personal light [...] He did not come out to join in the playing of music, rather he stayed deep within his rooms and wrote Chinese and Japanese poetry, passing his days in his cell (Yamamoto and Murakami I 294).

As the objects of male desire, both Kōju-maru and the *chigo* in *Aki no yo no nagamonogatari* are unobtainable, they are ephemeral as the reflection of the moon and the cherry blossoms in spring. Yet, their fleeting beauty is a powerful allure.

Like the Dragon Girl in *Taishokan*, Kōju-maru is constructed as an object of desire. The Dragon Girl appears mysteriously in the hollowed out boat. Her beauty is described as such.
There was nothing to compare with the elegant and gentle appearance of this princess. Her cinnamon tree-eyebrows were the deepest green, resembling the haze shimmering over a distant mountain. Holding a hundred charms, the corners of her eyes had the appearance of the crescent moon peeping through the fog at twilight. Her hair was long and of the blackest green, no different in appearance than the branches of the willow tree combed by the spring wind.

Describing Kōju-maru’s countenance after he had been killed by his father’s sword the narrator says, “his charming face, his figure envied by the blossoms blown by evening wind, his graceful black eyebrows, the moon jealous of their shape covered by the clouds at dawn.” Both Kōju-maru and the Dragon Girl function similarly to mediate between two opposites, as marebito their positions are ambiguous in the narrative.

A comparison with the Noh version of the Manjū legend will be instructive for us here in contrasting how the kōwaka-mai reworks the narrative of the shōdō piece by fitting it into a musical structure that is based upon the mythic pattern of inversion. The
Noh piece Nakamitsu begins with Fujiwara no Nakamitsu leading Bijo-maru from the temple where he has been sent by his father to study. The drama unfolds much the same way as the kōwaka-mai version, save that it is Nakamitsu who stops Manjū from killing his son.

Because of his retainer’s defiance, Manjū orders Nakamitsu to kill the boy and bring back his head. Bijo-maru pleads for his life and Nakamitsu moved by this boy’s pleas kills his own son instead.

Bijo-maru retreats to Mt. Hiei whilst Nakamitsu takes his son’s head to his master. While still grieving the loss of his son, Nakamitsu is forced by Manjū to give him Nakamitsu’s own son to replace Bijo-maru. Nakamitsu explains that filled with grief upon seeing Bijo-maru killed, he will take the tonsure. Manjū insists though saying that no one can go against his command. Eshin appears with Bijo-maru. He tells Manjū of what really happened and overjoyed Manjū dances an otoko-mai 男舞. Nakamitsu’s own sadness transforms into happiness upon seeing the joy of his master. Eshin and Bijo-maru
return to Mt. Hiei. Nakamitsu requests that Bijo-maru pray for the repose of Kōju-maru’s soul.

Sanari Kentarō attributes the Noh version of this legend to Zeami, although the first recorded performance of this piece was not until 1552, well after his death. Nakamitsu is classified by Sanari as a dramatic Noh piece (genzai-nō 現在能), or a drama that progresses in linear time without using the “dream” (mugen 夢幻) format that is representative of Zeami’s style.

The mugen/genzai dichotomy is a modern categorization; constructed mainly to distinguish plays that fit Western notions of drama from plays that were unique to the Japanese tradition. When we look at writings on the Noh from the medieval period, we note that this distinction had no relevance for performers and audiences of that period. What was more relevant to the structuring of Noh plays was jo-ha-kyū. For example, in Zeami’s treatise on composing Noh plays, he instructs that a play should be constructed upon the jo-ha-kyū progression, roughly glossed as “introduction-
development-denouement.” This paradigm structures the Noh drama from the macro to micro levels. Here, however, I wish to only discuss how it structures the progression of the narrative.

The narrative movement of story follows the principle of jo-ha-kyū that in turn is made up of groups of sequences (dan 段). The jo is made up of one dan and functions to introduce the site where the drama unfolds. The waki ワキ appears, announces his name, and travels to the scene where the play will develop. The ha is minimally made up of three dan. The shite シテ appears and makes statements that indicate that he or she knows some famous incident associated with the place he or she inhabits. In the third dan, the waki and the shite have a verbal exchange in which the shite recounts the events of the famous incident from the perspective of an observer. In either the third or fourth dan, the shite reveals his or her identity and recounts and/or re-enacts the events of the incident. Finally, the kyū is reserved for the dance and resolution.24

While the “dream” section of the mugen Noh is noted for its
re-enactment of a past event, the Noh drama as a whole has a frame that progresses along linear time—the waki goes to the famous site, has an encounter with a shadowy resident who reveals his or her identity. The waki falls asleep, and in a dream, the mysterious being returns, appearing in his or her true form and in the end is released from his or her torment or comes to some realisation about that torment.

The focus of these types of Noh plays is on the narrative, the retelling of stories by the shite in a reflective mode. The Noh plays that progress along real time are perhaps more familiar to us in comparison with drama in the Western tradition. Even though these plays diverge from Zeami’s model based upon the two-act mugen configuration, they are still structured on the principles of jo-ha-kyū.

In the jo, Nakamitsu travels from Nakayamadera temple with Bijo-maru on the command of Minamoto no Manjū. In the ha, Nakamitsu arrives at the mansion of Manjū and the drama progresses as outlined...
above until Nakamitsu kills Kōju-maru and Bijo-maru flees. The interlude (ai-kyōgen 間狂言) is not retelling of the background of the story in simpler language, but here it plays an active role in the unfolding drama--Eshin leads Bijo-maru to the temple complex at Mt. Hiei. As the ha progresses in the second half, the waki, Eshin, finally appears. He reveals to Manjū what truly has transpired, and he announces that Bijo-maru is still alive because of Nakamitsu. In the jo, Manjū dances, Eshin and Bijo-maru return to Mt. Hiei as Nakamitsu calls out to Bijo-maru asking him to pray for the soul of his dead son.

Though Nose Asaji has suggested that the kōwaka-mai also has a jo-ha-kyū structure (“Shirabyōshi” 28-35), a comparison of the Noh dramatization of the Manjū legend and the kōwaka-mai narrativization of the legend makes his analysis problematic. We have seen that the kōwaka-mai is structured using the language of medieval myth: harmony-inversion-restoration. The narrative begins with harmony, is broken and plunged into inversion (the length 560
of which depends upon the source story), and finally there is
restoration in the final section.

In Manjû, the informing traditional story-pattern is the same
as that we have seen in Shida. Using the Wandering Noble
story-pattern, the Manjû legend is matched to the three major
sections delineated by the musical notation. The first section ends
with the banishment of the "hero," the second section narrates the
world in chaos and the hero's death and wandering in the Otherworld,
and finally the third section brings the hero back to life. Within
this outline, motifs and formulas are the signposts to the reader
or audience, creating expectations about what will come next. On
the level of language, formulas signal certain types of developments
in the narrative, resolution, or reversals. The appearance of
certain characters or motifs also allows the audience to participate
and follow along with the progression of the story.

Looking more closely at Nakamitsu, we see that although the
plot of the play develops linearly, the necessity of performing
within the language of the genre becomes apparent. In the opening
jo, Nakamitsu travels to Tada, the site where the drama will take
place. Though his travel does not include the conventional
michiyuki 行き (lyric journey) section, Nakamitsu moves from
Nakayamadera temple to Manjū's mansion at which he arrives at the
beginning of the ha section.

The development of the piece proceeds in real time in front
of the eyes of the audience instead of being recalled by shite
following the encounter with the waki. However, when we look at the
drama carefully, we see that it closely approximates what Zeami sets
forth in his Sandō. The famous incident, the sacrifice of Kōju-maru
in place of Bijo-maru, is enacted rather than retold.

The revelation, which is a key turning point in the mugen Noh,
in Nakamitsu takes place at the end of the ha, when the priest Eshin
returns with Bijo-maru, tells Manjū what has really transpired and
reveals that the child at his side is not Kōju-maru but Bijo-maru.
The final section, the kyū, in typical Noh fashion includes a dance
by the shite. The play ends with the pledge of Bijo-maru to pray for the repose of Kōju-maru’s soul.

We can see the close linkage between form and content in our comparison of these two versions of the Manjū legend. The kōwaka-mai its history closely linked to the world of medieval myth retells the legend using traditional story-patterns that are fitted to its cyclical structure. The Noh, having a language of its own, retells the legend according to its progressive steps toward revelation and resolution.

Returning to the analysis of Manjū, in Cycle 7, Nakamitsu calls Kōju-maru down from his temple and presents his dilemma to his son that he has not seen for three years. Though Nakamitsu is moved by his son’s adult appearance and manner, he is undeterred and requests Kōju-maru to give his life for Bijo Gozen. Kōju-maru tells his father that he understands the duty that a vassal must show to his master, and as the son of Nakamitsu, he too is the vassal of Bijo Gozen. The only emotion that the boy expresses is that of joy when asked
to sacrifice his own life for that of his master. Faced with death, Kōju-maru asks to be allowed to see his mother one last time. Having been granted this last request, he goes to his mother’s room.

Upon seeing his mother, Kōju-maru is silent. He can only shed tears. When asked by his mother about his sadness, Kōju-maru tells her a story set in ancient China that expresses the sadness at seeing one’s parents grown old. His mother accepts his explanation, and is heartened to know that she will have a filial son who will pray for her soul after she dies. The irony of the situation is that it is he who must be unfilial and die before his mother. In a world in which the “law of reason” has been upset, even filial duties cannot be fulfilled.

Kōju-maru retreats to a small room in Cycle 9 and writes a letter to his masters and fellow monks at the temple. He explains that his master, Bijo Gozen, was executed by his father, Manjū, for disobeying him. From here, he explains, he will take the remains of Bijo Gozen to Mt. Kōya and pray for the repose of his soul before
returning to the temple. Being an accomplished poet, he writes a final poem, "Sacrificing my life that you, my master may live; the moon over the edge of the mountain shines upon the darkness of the next life."

This poem brings together the symbolic imagery that is found throughout the piece, the distinction between light (enlightenment) and darkness (evil desires). The moon is the mediating symbol this dyad, it regularly fluctuates between light and dark in its monthly cycle. As the vicarious substitute, Kôju-maru is the moon, through him, Nakamitsu is able to overcome his dilemma and both Bijo Gozen and his father have religious awakenings. Thus, structurally the chigo motif and discourses on religious awakening and rebirth of the hero are brought together in the character of Kôju-maru.

The imagery of the moon begins early in the piece. The first reference to this symbol is in the musings of Manjû who, pondering the transience of the world, laments, "Although in the evening one amuses oneself in the clear moonlight, at the dawn, the moon is hidden
by the parting clouds." The contrast between light and dark is particularly striking here. It sets up for the audience the central theme of the piece; enlightenment can only come within darkness.

Kôju-maru is linked directly with the imagery of the moon in Cycle 6. As an object of desire of the other monks at the temple, the narrative describes him, as we saw above, saying "there was not one who did not pin his heart on the moon of a high mountain peak, or dash his thoughts against the shore of Shiga." The poem that Kôju-maru writes confined in the small room while awaiting his death, ties the language of medieval myth to his mediating position. The poem begins by explicitly stating that the sacrifice of his life will allow his master to live. Thus, his death will allow the "rebirth" of Bijo Gozen. The spiritual implications of this selfless act are also made clear in the second half of the poem. Here the image of the moon points to the religious awakening and enlightenment of Manjû. It is with the image of the full moon of autumn that Kôju-maru kneels before his father (Cycle 10). Raising
the blade with tears in his eyes, Nakamitsu strikes off his son’s head.

Taking the head of Kōju-maru to Manjū, Nakamitsu announces that he has fulfilled his duty. Manjū cannot bear to look at what he believes to be the head of his son and orders Nakamitsu to take it and give his son the proper memorial service. He takes the head of his son to his wife and confesses what he has done. She takes the head of Kōju-maru in her arms and curses her husband for being heartless.

Meanwhile, Bijo Gozen hears what has transpired (Cycle 12). He comes into the room and is about to take his own life out of shame, but is stopped by Nakamitsu and his wife. Charging Bijo Gozen with the duty of praying for the repose of Kōju-maru’s soul, Nakamitsu secretes the boy from Tada village and to the foot of Mt. Hiei. Having “died” to his family and the world, Bijo Gozen listens intently to Nakamitsu’s explanation for what has happened:
Now, in India, the thing called a “lion” is the king of all beasts. This lion gives birth to three cubs in one year. Three days after the cubs are born, the lion drops them from a high cliff. If a cub not injured, it becomes the child of the lion and the others are left to die. Even among the beasts, there are examples of those who test their children. Son of Manjū, do not grudge your being disinherited!

With these words, Nakamitsu leaves Bijo and returns to Tada village.

The guilt of what he has done firms Nakamitsu’s resolve to take his own life. His wife, however, stops him, saying that they must pray for their son’s soul.

Far away, in a world separated from Tada village, Bijo Gozen wanders about the foot of Mt. Hiei not knowing where to turn (Cycle 14). The Tendai priest Eshin happens to be passing by when he catches sight of the boy. The beauty of Bijo Gozen strikes him immediately, “Ah, what a graceful young boy (chigo)! I have never beheld such a splendid boy on this mountain before.” Bijo replies that he is an orphan and not worthy of being taken in at the most holy of mountains.
Eshin insists and they climb to the temple at the top of the mountain where he has the boy stay with him in his own cell.

Under the watchful eye of Eshin, Bijo Gozen studies diligently all of the essentials teachings of the Tendai sect. Though he studies its precepts diligently, he is found by Eshin one day, in tears over the thoughts of his former life. Eshin presses the boy to tell him what was wrong. Bijo Gozen narrates to his master the entire story of how he disobeyed his father but was saved by the sacrifice of Kōju-maru. Eshin, determined to reconcile the disinherited son with his father, devises a plan.

In the light of the clear moon, the narrative tells us, the clarity of the "Middle Way" become apparent. The imagery of the moon, again points back to Kōju-maru’s sacrifice. The text uses the phrase ichijitsu chūdō 一実中道, or "the middle way to absolute truth.” This phrase points our attention in two directions. The first of these directions is the mediating role of Kōju-maru whose sacrifice
mediates between duty and human feeling. The second direction is that of the Buddhist concept of reality. Thus, Kôju-maru’s sacrificial act expresses the basic tenet of the Hoke-kyô, the unity of phenomena and ultimate reality.

Eshin gives the tonsure to Bijo Gozen, who now understands fully the teaching of the Tendai sect. He cuts off the boy’s long hair and gives him the name “Engaku,” or “complete understanding.” Bijo Gozen returns to his hometown transformed in the garb of a priest.

We note here that Bijo Gozen’s sojourn at Mt. Hiei parallels the wanderings of Kotarô in Shida. Informed by the Wandering Noble story-pattern, Bijo Gozen, like Kotarô, is adopted and begins a new life in an Otherworld. Likewise, he returns to his home in a disguise, in the same way as Yuriwaka returns from Genkai-ga-shima transformed into “Koke-maru.” This disguise motif signals to the audience that he will eventually reveal his identity and be “reborn.”

While story-patterns were essential tools for performers of
stories in creation of their orally delivered tales, equally important were these patterns in creating a common language between performer and audience, allowing the audience to appreciate the deeper cultural meaning of these works. Manjū has far more meaning that a tale of loyalty to one’s master, it is a tale about human hopes and aspirations. It is a story that, through the reference to greater cultural patterns, says something about Truth itself. Though couched in Buddhist terminology, like the other works of the kōwaka-mai repertory, it is a tale about restoring order from chaos; it is a story of redemption.

On the night of the harvest moon, Engaku and Eshin arrive at Nakamitsu’s mansion. Immediately recognizing his master, Nakamitsu is overjoyed. Nakamitsu rushes to his master’s residence and announces to Manjū that the revered priest Eshin has arrived to have a meeting with Manjū. Led into Manjū’s mansion, Eshin begins to preach on the topic of becoming a buddha, even while one is engaged in the way of a warrior (būdō 武道). Manjū is filled with joy at
hearing these words. At this point, Enagaku chants in a resonant voice a passage from the Hoke-kyō. His voice moves all to tears.

Now, Eshin announces that he and Enagaku are to return immediately to Mt. Hiei. Yet, Manjū persuades Eshin to leave the young monk, Enagaku with him so that he can hear a reading of the sutras for seven days. Manjū calls to his wife. Enagaku notices that his mother has become blind. Manjū explains that he ordered his son killed for being disobedient and his wife, in her grief, cried until she became blind. Chanting a verse from the introduction of the Hoke-kyō, “The Buddha that enlightens the darkness of self and truth, the original light is like this,” his words open the eyes of his mother.

6.3.5 Analysis of Section III

Having returned to the house from which he was expelled so many years ago, Bijo Gozen in the guise of a monk prays fervently
for his mother’s eyesight to return. Her miraculous healing sets the stage for the “rebirth” of Bijo Gozen at the beginning of the final major section. Getting up to leave, Engaku is stopped by Manjū who asks the monk where he is going. Engaku alludes a story about Sakya-muni who, when preaching on the Hoke-kyō, left his seat in deference to his father when he came out to see the Buddha preach.

Realizing that he has confused his father by these filial words, Engaku reveals that he is their son, Bijo Gozen. Overjoyed, Manjū praises the compassion of Nakamitsu, his loyal retainer. The final cycle of the piece begins with the rewards given to those that have shown their loyalty to Manjū. Nakamitsu is given half of the Tada estate. For the repose of Kōju-maru’s soul, Manjū erects the Shōdōji temple and enshrines a statue of the child Manjusri riding atop a lion.

The piece ends with a commentary on the meaning of the piece in terms of Buddhist doctrine. The exposition draws upon various works of the Tendai tradition, from the fundamental sutras and
theoretical treatises written on the continent to those works that expound upon the central theory of ultimate reality beyond the phenomenal world, hongaku, written by the early leaders of the sect in Japan.

Like the opening section of the piece, this section is structure as a dangi, yet this time spoken not by one of the characters, but by the narrator. The Hoke-kyō is the direct path to enlightenment. The teachings of the Hoke-kyō, moreover, are symbolized by the six characters of the nenbutsu. The teaching of the unity of Amitabha and the Hoke-kyō is a central teaching of Tendai hongaku theory. The exposition continues, however, to claim supremacy of this viewpoint: the teachings of all Buddhist sects, as well as their views of the relationship between phenomena and ultimate reality are the same.

The image of the moon again concludes this commentary, interceding between phenomena and ultimate truth. All phenomena are empty, and even though Kōju-maru died to spare the life of Bijo Gozen,
in the end only their names remain.

The final lines of the piece introduce an unexpected conclusion to the kōwaka-mai piece, an unraveling of the mythic narrative of the hero. Using the language of medieval myth, the piece ends singing the praises of the hero. Manjū’s heart was opened by the workings of the Buddhist law—it was precisely by living the life of a warrior that the knowledge of the way to enlightenment was made clear. And the Minamoto family has prospered from generation to generation protecting the nation.

Yet, here the narrative offers an alternative interpretation.

Or was it that thinking highly of duty and considering life lightly, that there is no precedent for the name of Kōju-maru in ancient times, now and in the future. People dispute over which is correct.

These final lines set the rebirth of the hero with the framework of Tendai hongaku theory. The prototypical hero, as one manifestation of phenomena, has significance only as it clarifies
the true meaning of ultimate reality. Thus, the text deconstructs its own narrative by arguing that the life of Manjū, the patriarch of the illustrious Seiwa Genji family, is nothing more that an expression of transcendent truth.

The commonly accepted interpretation of motifs such as the migawari motif here in Manjū is that they are reflections of the society in which they were created and performed (Ansako 31). While this interpretation certainly has the ring of truth about it, the reading of motifs and themes as mirrors on society has its limitations. Literary works, even those that are based upon historical events, are not historical documents. As my discussion of the story-patterns of the Wandering Noble, the religious awakening pattern of the chigo monogatari, and relation of these two patterns to the construction of male desire has shown in my analysis of Manjū to be narrative constructs.

The migawari motif has a strictly narrative function; the substitute is a marebito, defined as an ambiguous and ephemeral,
floating between the societal oppositions of public and private. In the sense of the functions of narrative, the chigo and the female are equally acceptable objects of male desire since they are both ambiguous. Their allure comes from their ambiguity. The female is seen as a mediator between nature and culture in her culturally constructed role of procreator. The chigo as well is positioned between nature and culture being physically an adult male at the same time as having the appearance of a female. Both the female and the chigo are mediators in narrative as well. The chigo monogatari hinge upon the chigo’s ambiguous sexuality, male desire being transformed into religious faith.

In Manjū, the chigo Kōju-maru as well brings about not only the rebirth of the hero, but also his sacrifice causes a religious awakening in both Manjū and Bijo Gozen. Of the five pieces that I have analyzed here and in previous chapters, Manjū alone creates a level of tension between the language in which its story is told and the Buddhist theory that not only frames the piece, but is woven
into the very fabric of the narrative in the imagery of the moon. This tenuous weave of two discourses gradually comes undone in the last cycle of the piece, revealing the constructed nature of the discourse of medieval myth.
1 The Seiwa Genji genealogy states that Mitsunaka was attained fourth rank allowing him to attend the emperor at the imperial palace. He was also a poet and built the Tada-in temple (261).

2 One cautionary word is in order here. When using the Kompi bunmyaku, one must be aware that the author of this work often used monogatari and other fictional works when reconstructing genealogies.

3 Genken’s poems are nos. 374 and 1126 (Kawamura 89, 282).

4 According to the Seiwa Genji genealogy, Bijo-maru was the Buddhist priest “Genken.” He grew up on Mt. Hiei where he was the most evil monk on the holy mountain (265).

5 Minamoto no Akikane 源顕兼 (?-1215), the compiler of the Kojidan (1212-1215), includes the Hōbutsushū version of the Manjū legend (176-177).

6 For comparisons between the Noh and kōwaka-mai versions of the legend, see Muroki (Katari-mono 145-146), Anzako 27-28, and Araki, Ikeda and Yamamoto (Kōwaka-mai I 375-376).

7 This text is reprinted in Okami 86-92.

8 The dangisho were located along the central highways of medieval Japan. Usually they were associated with nearby temples, but their names, such as the Kashiwabara dangisho 柏原談義所, referred to locations. Here, those who aspired to take the tonsure or to become preachers would learn about Buddhist doctrines and the sutras. The lectures at these dangisho were often written down and passed among the lecturers at other dangisho. For an introduction to the dangisho,
see Hirota 65-73.

9 Other pieces of the kōwaka-mai draw upon this tradition, as well. See for example, the story of young Yoritomo in Ibuki伊吹.

10 Orikuchi also argued earlier that the chigo monogatari were primarily tales that told of the active partner’s religious awakening (II 326). While this true of many of the tales, it fails to fully explain works such as Matsuho monogatari and Saga monogatari in which there is either no specific religious awakening or the chigo continues to live on after his lover’s death, having a religious awakening himself.

11 For his thoughts on irogonomi, see Orikuchi (I 228, 307, and 315-317)

12 Originally, Orikuchi defined “irogonomi” as “the love relations between man and woman” (I 241). Irokonomi included not only romantic love, but also the seeing of things that were beautiful and was related to the concept of “sui” or an enhanced appreciation of the finer things in life.

13 Emperor Seiwa was the fifth son of the Emperor Montoku 文德 (r. 850-858). Seiwa reigned from 858, and was the first of the Seiwa Genji, the Seiwa branch of the Minamoto family.

14 According to the Sompibunmyaku専卑文脈, Emperor Seiwa had a total of ten sons, there are six sons listed in the genealogies of the Seiwa Genji however, who Sadayoshi and Sadahito were remains unclear (qtd. in Araki, Ikeda and Yamamoto I 265).

15 Chōka朝家.

16 No other text has the preceding two lines. The Hachiin-in is 580
unclear.

37 Kokudo 国土.

18 A kundoku 剣踊 quotation from any number of works, for example the Kongô hannya haranitsu-kyô 金剛般若波羅蜜経 and the Ôjôyôshû 往生要集.

19 This is similar to a poem in the Wakan rôeishû by Bo Chu-i. 松樹千年終は朽、槿花一日自為栄, the kundoku of this verse is shôju sennensuis ni kore kuchinu, kinka ichijitsu onozukara ei wo nasu “The one-thousand year old pine, in the end it withers; the glory of the Rose of Sharon, it lasts but one day” (Kawaguchi and Shida 121 [#291]).

20 This is a quote of the poem in the Wakan rôeishû by Fujiwara no Yoshitaka 藤原義孝 (954–974). 朝有紅顔誇世路、暮為白骨朽郊原. The kundoku of this poem is ashita ni kôgan atte seiro ni hokoredomo, yôbe ni hakukotsu to natte kôgen ni kuchinu “In the morning one walks proudly through the streets of this world with rosy cheeks; in the evening one is dried up bones rotting in a lonely field” (Kawaguchi and Shida 255 [# 793]).

21 Abô rasetsu 阿防羅刹 is a demon with the head and legs of a cow and the arms and body of a human. This demon is said to be strong enough to decimate a mountain. They are said to be jailers in hell that capture humans and throw them into a boiling pot.

22 We can trace this thought to the Nehan-gyô 涅槃経 and the Yugashijiron 瑜伽師地論.

23 Sokushin jôbutsu is the central thesis of the fourth chapter of the Hoke-kyô, the Devadatta chapter. Here the eight-year-old Dragon Girl is said to attain buddhahood in her own, phenomenal body. All
of the major sects of Buddhism in Japan have accepted this doctrine in one form or another.

24 Though in many of the _ashura_ plays, the soul of the warrior is released from its torment in hell, in a number of plays of the _mugen_ variety, the _shite_ 's soul does not receive expiation, such as _Semimaru, Seki-dera Komachi, Matsukaze, Aya no tuzumi_ and _Izutsu_. Kenneth Yasuda reservedly characterizes the final section of the plays as "the full force of the character's emotional-spiritual situation is revealed [...] point[ing] toward greater peace for the character and perhaps greater harmony for the universe" (8).
CONCLUSION

In January of 1998, I had my first opportunity to experience the kōwaka-mai performed in the village of Ōe in Kyushu. It was a particularly cold and blustery day, which I would find out from my successive visits, was typical for the annual performance. As I approached the local shrine at which the performance takes place, I passed by a large building that stood out from the surrounding scene of rice fields that were dotted by the occasional farmhouse. Next to the building that was called the Mai no kan 舞の館, several tour busses were parked.

The Terman 天満 shrine was several hundred meters away and it was there that I met up with the passengers of those busses, who had filled the small grounds of the shrine to overflowing. The stage itself was new, having been rebuilt in recent years, and had in front
of it several rows of folding chairs. Lined up behind the seating were several rows of video and still cameras, some perched high above the audience on ladders or other makeshift platforms. Further back still were two steel drums in which fires were burning for people to warm themselves between performances.

The shrine itself had faded into the background. Those onlookers who had been unable to get a seat or who merely wanted to stretch were standing on the verandah that encircled the main house of the shrine. Meanwhile, a lonely worshipper occasionally made his or her way through the crowd to pay respects to the deity, pray, and then make a hasty exit.

As the day’s program began, the announcer recounted for the audience the history of the kōwaka-mai. He duly noted the legendary beginnings of the art in the fourteenth century, recounting with pride how Kōwaka-maru entertained audiences in the capital and made his debut before the most hallowed audience of all, Retired Emperor Go-Hanazono. The kōwaka-mai, he informed us, descended from the 584
earliest forms of dance beginning with Amanouzume-no-mikoto’s performance in front of the Heavenly Rock Cave and continued through the bugaku and shirabyōshi performances of the late Heian and early Kamakura periods.

The program began, as is the custom, with a performance of Nihonki, the mythic origins of the creation of the Japanese archipelago. As in the fifteenth and sixteenth century performances, this piece is still performed as a felicitous piece, setting the mood for the entire day’s program. Following the performance of Nihonki, different performers came to the stage to recite the legends of such famous heroes as the Soga brothers, Minamoto no Yoritomo and Minamoto no Yoshitsune. At the end of the program, the performers sat down for the naorai, a tradition at Shinto shrines following rituals, in which ritual time is ended and life is restored to the everyday.

My experiences in Ōe gradually shaped my approach to reading the texts of the kōwaka-mai as they were performed during its
formative years. As I became more deeply involved in a close reading of the texts that form the core of this dissertation, I began to see the importance of both ritual and myth in the structuring of the pieces. While many of the pieces revealed their mythic qualities on my first reading, others did so only after I began to sense that underneath these tales of very different Japanese heroes, there were some unifying principles that connected them.

One day in Professor Fukuda Akira’s office at Ritsumeikan University, I was discussing this very issue with him. It was then that he suggested I read Orikuchi Shinobu’s Kodai no kenkyû. I spent nearly half a year reading through and delighting in Orikuchi’s interpretation of Japanese culture. At many times, I empathized with Orikuchi’s lifelong project to find the connective and transcendent elements of Japanese culture. His own search inspired my research and sent me to places where I would not have gone on my own.
I have argued in this dissertation that we can more fully understand the performance and textual development of the kōwaka-mai by reading the texts as medieval myth. The term “medieval myth” connotes several aspects of the kōwaka-mai. The first of these mythic aspects I discussed in Chapter 1 are textual, the structuring of narratives on the principle of inversion and restoration. As a language, performers and audiences use structure as a channel of communication encoded in the largest units of narrative, the story-pattern. For medieval performers and audiences, the most common story-patterns were those of temple and shrine histories that constituted a “national language.” It was through this language that a large body of the narrative developed during the period, as traveling artists spread their stories around the Japanese isles.

Medieval myth also connotes, then, elements of the sacred. I argue that the sacred nature of myth comes from the performance context. In my reevaluation of the origins and development of the kōwaka-mai, I answer many of the questions that James T. Araki had
left unanswered ground-breaking study of the genre. During the Sengoku period, the kōwaka-mai, as we have come to know it, was performed by a number of groups of shōmonji in and around the capital area. The contexts in which these shōmonji performed, New Year and kanji benefits, influenced the development of the kusemai both in terms of the style of their performance and the content of their texts. Most notable is the homology between the cyclical structure of the kōwaka-mai texts and the tri-partite structure of foundation myths of the medieval period.

Finally, the greater social context of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century provided the backdrop against which the shōmonji performed the kusemai. The tales of ancient heroes, their trials and rebirth no doubt struck a chord with audiences of the time who saw only destruction and chaos in their everyday lives. Themes of restoration and renewal of the world were certainly an important element in the popularity of the kusemai during this period.

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In Chapter 2 through Chapter 5, I analyzed the legends of four heroes in five pieces of the kōwaka-mai. I began my discussion of each of the texts with an analysis of their sources. In doing so, a similar story-pattern began to take shape. Basing my reading of the text upon these story-patterns, I showed how the legend was reworked using these patterns as a traditional reference and was worked into the overall musical structure of the genre. Readings of the texts as expressions of medieval myth, revealed not only successive levels of similitude, but a surprising depth of meaning made possible by understanding the language that was used by performers and audiences. The recreation of legendary or historical figures in the present, does not diminish their stature, it makes them even greater. As Eliade suggests, heroes only become real once they have become myths.

This dissertation is a record of my own journey. These heroes have led me on an intellectual, spiritual and physical journey. Standing in the places where that were the sites of their greatest
feats, from Tōnomine to the shores of northern Kyushu, I have felt the power of their myth. Though the kōwaka-mai has faded along with its heroic legends and has taken on new life and meaning in its performance today. Yet, just for one moment, as I stood on the shores of Shido Bay, I saw the diver break the surface of the waves.
APPENDIX A

IRUKA

<Cycle 1>³

<kotoba>³ when we inquire fully into the ancestors of Kamatari,⁴ we find that he was the son of Lord Mikeko, born in the thirty-eighth generation descended from the deity Amatsukoyane-no-mikoto. Mikeko was a subject that could not remain hidden [from public life]. Because Lord Mikeko was blessed with the favor of the emperor, he conducted affairs of state at his own will and incurred the enmity of the people. Plotting how to make him become estranged from the emperor, a slanderer reported an act of treachery to the Throne. Consequently, the emperor no longer relied upon Mikeko’s services. Even if Mikeko was exiled with a group of other courtiers who were alleged to be his co-conspirators, was it that this sentence would not appease the emperor? <iro> And so it was that the faultless Lord
Mikako was censured. His place of exile was far off on the eastern road, in the province of Hitachi.\textsuperscript{5} Galloping into the evening clouds of Mt. Gansan,\textsuperscript{6} led by tears from this road to exile to its end, he traveled this unaccustomed eastern road to Hitachi and took up lodgings in a hut near the shrine. As he was spending his days and nights there at the Kashima shrine and the locals observed him there,\textsuperscript{7} they called him “Shrine Attendant of the Fourth Rank.”\textsuperscript{8}

Before long, he had fallen down in the world, living there. He kept company with the country peasants farming according to season in the mountains, plains and riverbanks. Taking up the plow, he turned the soil in his small field; picking the leaves from the branches of the mulberry, he made silk fabric. It was not a splendid existence, but as one year turned into the next, he lived unaware of the passage of time.
<Cycle 2>

<koroba>
Having spent his years in this way, his relations with his wife were close and they had a son. Even in their home that was so different from what they had known, they raised the child lovingly and soon that year passed by as well.9

<iro>
Now, summer was passing. In the heat of the fifteenth day of the sixth month, he and his wife went out to weed grasses. How heartbreaking! They took the child out onto a footpath that ran between the fields, and placed him on some green foliage they had gathered. “Do not cry! Sleep!” his mother said as she held him to her breast. Having weeded out all kinds of grasses by hand, husband and wife were gladdened to find the young seedlings thriving. And so they spent all day gathering them.

While they were doing this, a fox came from out of nowhere carrying a sickle in his mouth. It placed the sickle next to the pillow of the baby and quickly disappeared. Both father and mother rushed to the boy and picked up the sickle. It was a sickle that
shone with an icy coldness. They raised the boy with this sickle
thinking that it might be a treasure someday. Lovingly doted on by
his parents, the boy matured and soon it was his sixteenth year.
This was when the capital was at Tachibana no kyō 橘卿. Because
it was farm work as a country peasant, the boy was called on to be
a gardener at the imperial palace, and with tears in his eyes he
went up to the capital.

While weeding the garden of the imperial palace an
Administrator of Ceremonies caught sight of the boy and said, “Among
all of the men doing odd-jobs around here, here is a young boy. He
has the look of someone who has fallen on hard times, but I think
he has the look of greatness. One who has this look about him; this
is the physiognomy of a minister. He must not be sent back to the
countryside. He will remain at the palace and will protect the
emperor.” Saying this he entered the boy as a student in the Ministry
of Letters. The boy rose to the Directorship of Affairs for the
western section of the city, he associated with the members of the
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court, and soon he was allowed to have audience with the emperor
in the Seiryōden.13 His fortune was truly great.

<Cycle 3>

<kotoba>
Now then, at the same time there was a subject named
Minister Soga no Iruka who committed great acts of treachery. He
plotted to snatch the highest rank in the land and become emperor
himself. This was a serious situation for the realm, and therefore
a secret meeting was held under the wisteria-laden branches deep
in the eastern mountains.14 The following order was given, “The
minister Soga no Iruka must be killed by the Director of Affairs
for the western city.” It was an imperial edict so it was impossible
for Kamatari to ignore it. He agreed and returned to the palace.

Under his arm he carried the sickle that he had received from
the fox when he was a child and waited for the chance to strike.

The minister Iruka, however, had been apprised of what was afoot,
and for three years, he carried a sword and a spear whenever he was
at court. He also had guards in the front and the rear, thus clearing the way for him and making it impossible for him to be killed.

This is what Kamatari thought in his heart. "When plotting against someone, if you can not get close to him, you will never succeed." While he was pondering his dilemma, he found an attractive woman, called her his daughter, and attended to her every need. She could not be called a beautiful woman, but even so there was no way that she would be ignored. Both the highborn and the lowborn in the capital knew about her. There was no one who did not yearn for her, either those men who might have her or those men who had no chance of having her.

Now at this time, Kamatari sent a letter to Iruka. "As a result of having been born in this transient world, I have been blessed with a child. Was it, however, that I have completely exhausted my good fortune that I was given a worthless daughter? Many men desire to have her as their wife, yet there has not yet been anyone who has been given consent. \(<i>\text{iro}\)> Now given the present state of the world, 596
if it is not you, then there is no one to whom I can give her. Although you will think her a homely woman, if you accept her, I will be deeply honored.” And he sent this letter to Iruka.

<Cycle 4>

<kotoba>
Iruka was a serious man, but he soon warmed to the idea of taking Kamatari’s daughter to be his wife. “This has been my desire for a number of years,” was the reply that he sent. “I would be happy to grant your wish.” And he received Kamatari’s daughter and they became as husband and wife. In no time, they had a child and their family prospered. They rejoiced, believing that they could not attain any joy greater than this.

This is what Kamatari thought. “Now I can finally bring this to a conclusion. With some plotting, I can easily kill him.” He pretended that he had come down with a cold and that the days of his life were numbered. Of those in the palace both high and low there was no one who did not come to visit him. Iruka, however, was

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not to be seen. Kamatari seemed impatient and sent a letter to Iruka.

<kudoki>
“Now, my remaining days in this transient world are numbered,”
</kudoki>
he wrote. “I must see my daughter one last time. Both the Minister
Iruka and his wife must come.”

<Cycle 5>

<kotoba>
Iruka was greatly alarmed upon reading the letter. “Bring
round the carriage, driver! Make haste, wife!” and they set off
without hesitation, but halfway there, Iruka had second thoughts.

“Just a minute, driver! Stop the carriage! Come here, wife. I have
decided not to go. If you ask me the reason why, there is an example
in the past, in a foreign land.\textsuperscript{15} Everyone else listen as well. I
will tell you the story.

“The king of Ryûginkoku 藍銀国, Ryûô 龍王, and the king of
Genkoku 還國, Gen’ô 還王, were continually at war over their border.
Genkoku had a large number of troops while Ryûginkoku had only a
few. Even so, the kingdom of Ryûginkoku had two fierce warriors:
Ginson 吟蹤 and Ginraku 吟落. When they galloped across the heaven, running across the floating clouds was like going along level ground. When they passed over the earth, cutting through huge rocks was like slicing through thin ice. Riding their horses over the surface of the sea, and hiding themselves in a raging fire, they surrounded their enemy as they pleased, reducing the number of the Genkoku warriors.

"Before long, they were threatening to kill the king of Genkoku himself. The king, however, was a clever man and he found a beautiful woman and made her his daughter calling her ‘Batō-nyo’ 馬頭女. And he made the elder brother, Ginson, his son-in-law. Although Ginson was a fierce warrior, he readily warmed to the idea of her and pledging to make her his wife, he went to the kingdom of Genkoku. His younger brother Ginraku, too, thinking there was nothing he could do, went with his brother.

The king of Genkoku was overjoyed. He approached the brothers and said, ‘This princess is my very own daughter. You, who are about
to form a bond with her, is it not the case that you will become my children as well? Since the relationship between parent and child is close, you will kill the king of Ryūginkoku. If you do so, then you will be grateful to the kingdom of Ryūginkoku. Was it because he spoke to them so warmly, the brothers found it impossible to refuse? They secretly returned to Ryūginkoku and waited for an opportune moment to kill the king.

"The king of Ryūgin observed what was happening and said, 'There is something strange about your behavior. You two have gotten close to me and your flattering words hide some evil intent. If I should even think not to be struck down, then, no matter how you try, I won’t be. Even so, you served me for many years, defeating many evil enemies, and it is because of your meritorious deeds that I am now ruling over this kingdom. Your loyalty has been deep all these years, and so I will give you my life. Yet, it is hard for them who do not have all of their limbs to become a buddha. Do not disturb my corpse after death, construct a mausoleum at Mt. Kinsan.
金山 and place my body there. Here is my spirit!’ He pulled out a Chinese falchion from his inside his cloak and twisted it around in his chest three times and then gave it to Ginson. These were his last words. ‘My life is no longer precious to me. It is pitiful that you two do not realize that it is only the ruse of a foreign country. You will certainly regret it!’ After speaking these, his last words, he immediately died.

“Following his last wishes, the brothers built a mausoleum on Mt. Kinsan and buried his body there. They took the falchion back to Genkoku and showed it to the king. The king of Genkoku was overjoyed. ‘The king of Ryūgin has been killed,’ he thought, ‘and since I’ve got what I wanted from Ginson and Ginraku, now I will kill both Ginson and Ginraku and rule the entire realm.’

“He gathered the entire strength of his forces. What a pitiful situation! It was when they were under the command of the king of Ryūgin that they were brave and skilled warriors, able to easily suppress the other regional lords, but after the death of the king
of Ryūgin, they had exhausted all of their super-human powers and could not even devise any sort of stratagem. They could not brandish a sword, much less could they hurl a spear. It was the case that they were likely to be slain, but thanks to their knowledge of military tactics, they broke through the enemy forces and escaped to the kingdom of Ryūgin. The Genkoku forces pursued them. Having exhausted all possibilities, they went to the mausoleum of the king of Ryūgin. ‘What should we do?’ they lamented.

A voice from within the mausoleum said, ‘It is only now that you have come to realize the truth of my final words! Your enemies have drawn near. How pitiful that they now will try to kill you. Now, now, if this is so, I will help you and spare your lives this one time. Dig up my body, place it on a four-colored deer\textsuperscript{17} and give me a spear. I will defend you!’ These were the orders that he gave.

“The mausoleum shook terribly and the tumulus split in half. While thinking it strange, part of his lower jawbone was missing, so they took his left kneecap and fit it to his jawbone.\textsuperscript{18} Now, all
the flesh had rotted away. When piecing the bones together, they
realized there was no way to mend it. They placed his remains on
a four-colored deer and placed a spear with them. They charged ahead
or drew back to the beat of a drum. There was no one who could face
them straight on. They shot and killed the Genkoku forces in endless
numbers.

"However, the day was already growing late, and at dusk they
said, 'It is a corpse whose bones are joined together. If the sun
sets, then the bones will come apart, and we will certainly not
prevail.' They went to the top of a high hill and beckoned the sun,
'Do not set for a bit!' Truly, the sun pitied them, for it stopped
just as it was at the edge of the mountains and the sun returned
to its mid-morning position. Their enemies saw this and their anger
left them, they stopped the battle and fled home.

"This story, passed down to us through the ages, was made into
a bugaku piece. The dance for 'Returning the Setting Sun' originated
in this era." The secret piece of the 'King of the Mausoleum' was
based on this legend. The piece ‘Batō no mai’ 馬頭の舞 was based on the Genkoku princess. Ginson and Ginraku are memorialized in the pieces ‘Rakuson’ 楽譜 and ‘Nasori’ 納蘇利. Genjōraku was recreated as ‘Yataina genjōraku’ やたいな源城楽.

“When he heard this story, I too have taken a wife and am plotted against by Kamatari into marrying his daughter. When I have regrets in the morrow, it won’t do to lament past mistakes. Let us not go today. Tomorrow, too, is an inauspicious day.” Again, without revealing this to anyone, Iruka slipped free from Kamatari’s plot and was not killed, it is said.

***

<Cycle 6>

<Kotoba>

It was beyond Kamatari’s power, so he made a pilgrimage to the Kasuga shrine. “Following the law of reason that states, “One evil man is killed to save many,” although it is a sin to kill, the minister Iruka is a rebellious fellow who not only treats the
realm frivolously but also wastes the nation’s wealth. Nevertheless, if you make it so that I can easily kill this Iruka, I will commission a one-jō, six-shaku high [4.82 m] statue of Sakya and place it in the Golden Hall at the Kōfukuji temple in the capital city of Nara. I will recite the most splendid of the sutras and protect the nation.” Having made this great vow, he dozed off. Not knowing whether it was a dream or reality, a bunch of leaves of the sakaki tree fell upon his sleeve. When he looked about him, he found a thin cane made of sakaki.

“Now as for this thing they call a cane, what is the reason for it? In general, there are many kinds of canes. The cane of the Buddha is called the ‘cane of great bodhisattva enlightenment;’ it leads those sentient beings that know the suffering of spiritual wandering out of this eternal darkness of evil passions. The cane of the bodhisattva is called a ‘crosier;’ it expresses the greatness of virtue. As for the bamboo cane that gives one freedom from evil passions, the cane of the King of ancient Baranasi—[these are used...
by those] Zen monks of deep insight who are on pilgrimages. This sakaki cane, is the 'cane of blindness.' This is the cane that the blind use. Although the sun and the moon are bright, it is like the empty void of an eternal night and they make their way lead by this cane. It is because of this that it is called the 'cane of darkness.'

<Cycle 7>

<kotoba>

Though I am not blind, while using this cane, I will pretend to be blind and thereby strike when I've softened the heart of my enemy. Thinking this, he took the cane and returned, and saying that his recent illness had caused his blindness, he used the cane to lead him around.

Iruka seeing this was cautious, "How is he conspiring to fool me? How dreadful!" Everyone was saying, "Kamatari is the son of 'Shrine Attendant of the Fourth Rank,' in the land of Hitachi. Even though he was just a peasant farmer, as a punishment for besmirching the highest circles of the land, he could not live up to his station.
and went blind."³⁴ Iruka thought, "This is truly so," and he appeared to be more relaxed.

It was the late in the eleventh month. Kamatari requested Iruka’s presence. He had the hearth lit and both he and Iruka were warming their hands at the fire. The wet nurse came in cradling Kamatari’s still infant son. As she passed near Kamatari, the child became fussy. "Why, is the child crying?" Kamatari asked. "Give him to me!" As she was placing the child in his hands, what could have happened? Kamatari dropped his son into the raging fire.

Stepping back, Iruka observed this. "Truly, this is when we can determine whether he is faking or is truly blind. How can I disregard this?" Kamatari, perceiving this, raised his arms in the wrong direction, and while his son was suffering in agony from his burns, the boy died. The child’s remains were taken up and placed on his lap. Kamatari held the child, "What is this? Is it his face? What is this, his front or his back?" Feeling for his arms and legs and turning the child around said, "Oh, how dreadful! Was there no
one near? Why did no one rescue him? Oh, is it not the practice of bodhisattvas to save others before they themselves enter enlightenment? Alas, among all handicaps, blindness is especially hateful. He was my only child, and with a miserable, disabled body like min, I had thought that I would go first so he could pray for my enlightenment. Oh, the horror of not being able to help the child that fell into the fire right before my eyes! There is no reason for me to live. Someone please kill me!" He looked up to the heaven and prostrated on the ground weeping. There was no one who did not wring tears from his sleeves.

<Cycle 8>

<kotoba>
Truka saw this and thought, "Oh, how pitiful! He must truly be blind! I have suspected that he who has been telling the truth was trying to deceive me. From now on I will stop doubting him and make friends with him." His temperament eased toward Kamatari.

"Now is the time," thought Kamatari and said to the emperor, "It
appears to be an opportune moment. We must be cautious!” The emperor replied adroitly, “We have received a congratulatory letter from an emissary of a foreign land. We must hold a counsel on this matter. All officials will attend without exception.” And he sent out the order. All the officials went to the imperial palace. Not one was absent save Kamatari who did not appear. “Even if he is blind, this counsel concerns an important matter, and his absence cannot be tolerated,” it was said. Again, an imperial messenger was dispatched, and Kamatari came.

As always, Kamatari’s official costume was in order. He carried under his court robes the sickle that the fox had given to him when he was a child. He rode in a palanquin decorated with the eight-petal lotus crest,\(^\text{35}\) and he stopped in front of the Yômei Gate\(^\text{36}\) of the imperial palace. He was led by a servant, but when he approached the imperial presence, there was no longer anyone to aid him. Holding a mace, Kamatari ascended the stairs to the Shishinden groping about, he came to the bamboo blinds where the emperor was
seated and sat upright with his mace in hand. He sat with the imperial presence at his back, and he bowed in the wrong direction. Those who knew what was afoot realized that his was a crucial moment. Those who did not, lamented, “How sad, he was such a splendid minister.”

The emperor said, “Now then, what is this? Kamatari, come here and sit in your old place,” he ordered. Without exception he was told by the other nobles, too, to take his former seat. Following the direction of their voices, he groped his way forward and soon he approached Iruka’s place. Iruka got up on one knee took Kamatari’s hand and tried to raise him as an act of courtesy. Kamatari returned the politeness. Now, where he sat, Kamatari was overcome with fear; his hairs were standing on end, and he was uneasy. “If my enemy detects anything, all will go wrong,” he thought.

His eyes that had been closed for the last three years were suddenly opened. With his right hand, he reached inside his cloak, pulled out the sickle and swinging it around lopped off the head
of the minister Iruka with one skillful stroke. Iruka’s headless body bounded up where he had been seated, shoved Kamatari aside, reached inside its cloak with its left hand, and pulled out a sword like ice. The headless body ran after Kamatari striking at the cushions exhausting all of his strength and fell with his head pointed to the north. The emperor, however, had gotten up and hid behind the blinds; he was not in the least injured. After Iruka was killed, the entire land prospered and the hearths of the people were abundant.
1 The Naikaku bunko-bon provides titles for all of the pieces discussed here ending with the graph ki, “annal” or “chronicle.” Iruka is Iruka daijin taishi ki, or “The Chronicle of the Destruction of Minister Iruka”; Taishokan is Taishokan Kamatari-kō nittō ki, or “The Chronicle of Taishokan Lord Kamatari and the Journey to China”; Yuriwaka daijin is Yuriwaka daijin ichidai ki, or “The Chronicle of the Life of Minister Yuriwaka”; Shida is Shida no Tarō gunkō ki, or “The Chronicle of Shida no Tarō’s Meritorious Deeds”; and Manjū is Tada no Manjū ichidai ki, or “The Chronicle of the Life of Tada no Manjū.” The texts that I have used for the translation in the appendices are those of the Daigashira troupe (Daigashira-bon 大頭本) and those of the Mōrike-bon. The text used for Iruka is from the Daigashira-bon, reproduced in Sasano (II 19-27). The musical notation also follows this text.

2 Each cycle begins with kotoba vocal delivery and concludes with either fushi (lyric) or tsume (rhythmic). The tsume sections always concluded the final section of the piece or each major section. In the translation, I have indicated the breaks between the major sections with three asterisks. Although there is no paragraph breaks in the original, I have inserted them for ease of reading.

3 Somoso, a typical phrase used in shōdō. The Tōdai-bon and the Fujii ichi-bon have “sarai aida” ざるあいだ “meanwhile” instead.

4 Senzo 先祖. The Tōdai-bon and the Fujii ichi-bon have “yurai” ゆらい “history” or “origin” instead.

5 Mikeko’s banishment to the province of Hitachi cannot be found historically accurate. Two works give this story. The Shunyajingi (early Muromachi period) states simply that they were living among the natives of Kashima District in Hitachi province. The Ryoshoku
mondō states that Kamako’s (Kamatari) father suffered the slander of Iruka and was exiled to the Kashima shrine in Hitachi province (177).

The quote is from a poem by Ōe no Asatsuna 大江朝綱 (886-957) in the Wakan rōeishū. This poem expresses the feelings of a difficult future that is far off. “The road is long that stretches out for you who think of returning home; along the way your thoughts gallop toward the clouds at dusk over Wild Goose Mountain, yet your journey of hardship will continue. Even if a second meeting is possible, that is far off. This morning, we moisten hat strings in tears” (Kawaguchi and Shida 212, [#632]).

The Kashima shrine is located in present day Ibaraki 茨城 prefecture. The Kashima deity descended with Futsunushi-no-kami 糸津主神 who preceded Amatsuhikohikohoninigi-no-mikoto, the grandson of Amaterasu-no-ókami. This is one of the clan deities of the Fujiwara family, and is associated with military strength. When the Fujiwara family moved the capital to Heijō 平城 (Nara), a portion of the ritual was given to the Kasuga shrine and another portion to the Kashima shrine incorporating the power of the Kashima deity. In the medieval period, Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147-99) also received protection from the Kashima deity and from that time on, it became the protector deity of warrior families.

Negi 四郎補宣 was a middle-ranking Shinto priest. The title referred to priests that were in charge of dispersing religious implements.

The Kohachirō-bon and Kyōdai ichibon both add “...they had a son. Yet, since they had no wet nurse, they took care of him in their small shack, his father holding him on his knee and his mother holding
him at her breast."

10 During the reigns of Emperor Jomei 舒明天皇 (r. 629-664) and Empress Kōgyoku 皇極 (r. 642-645), the capital was located in Asuka 飛鳥, Takaichi district. Kamatari would have been sixteen when Jomei was emperor.

11 Monjō-shō 文章生, within the University system, this was a student who studied letters. Those who had yet to pass the university exam were called "gi-monjō-shō" 擬文章生 and were granted full status after passing the exam at the Ministry of Letters. This system was put into place in 730.

12 Ukyō no tayō 右京の太夫. As director he was in charge of the legal, political and law enforcement of the western half of the capital. The easternmost boundary was Suzaku-dōri 朱雀通り. Whether or not his position existed in Kamatari’s time is unclear.

13 Unkaku 雲客, a term that was used from the mid-Heian period onward to indicate those allowed to enter the Seiryōden 清涼殿.

14 Higashiyama 東山, the region known as Tōnomeire Kurahashi 多武峯倉橋.

15 The following episode is based upon a bugaku setsuwa that was passed down in the family of performers in Nara. Related tales are found in the Kyōkun-jō 教訓状, Bugaku zatsuroku 舞楽雑録 and the Muromachi monogatari, Kanjōraku monogatari (Yokoyama and Matsumoto IV 387-399).

16 Gotai fugu 五体不具 refers to the absence of one of the major limbs of the body. Gotai fugu e 五体不具絵 is one of several types of
uncleanliness caused by death caused from the loss of one of these limbs. Those who have come into contact with a body that has died in this manner must refrain from public ceremony for a specified period of time.

17 Shijiki no shika 四色の鹿 . The four colors are blue, yellow, red and white. Other texts have shishi, "lion."

18 The meaning and significance of this passage is unclear.

19 This is one dance section of the bugaku piece “Ryō-ō” 陵王 also known as “Botsunichi kangoraku” 没日還午楽 .

20 This is the bugaku piece “Raryō-ō” 羅陵王 . In this dance the main dancer who is costumed with a dragon’s head and a skull-like mask.

21 In this dance, the main dancer has disheveled hair and a mask carrying a black lacquer drumstick.

22 "Rakuson" is performed by one dancer wearing a skull mask and dressed in a green costume.

23 "Nassori" is performed by two dancers who wear costumes resembling dragons (also pronounced "assori" or "nasori")

24 In this dance, the masked dancer holds a batchi with a long decorative cord while dancing around a wooden snake. The meaning of yataina is unclear.

25 Ichisetsu tashō 一殺多生 .

26 Ōkyō 王経 , the most revered of all the sutras such as the Hore-kyō .

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The meaning of this passage is not clear, however, the sakaki is a evergreen that is commonly used in Shintō rituals.

Makasatsujo 魔額藤杖.

Shakujō 錫杖, a staff that has at the top end a ring to which several smaller rings are attached.

Hakudaō 白駝王, the king of Baranasi (J. haranashi 波羅奈斯) who is said to have killed demons.

Shiyuhanjō 死活杖 or 死繁昌, used as a magic object in rituals to dispel demons or as a object to call down the kami.

Mōrō no meianjō 盲髄の冥闇杖.

Meianjō 冥闇杖.

This is not included in the Naikaku bunko-bon or the Mōrike-bon.

Kohachiyō no kuruma 小八薬の車 is one type of ox-drawn carriage used by courtiers of the fourth or fifth rank, in contrast to those used by ministers or the regent. It is decorated with a small eight-petal flower (usually lotus) design.

陽明門, one of the twelve outer gates of the imperial palace during the Heian period.

This sentence is not included in the Naikaku bunko-bon or the Mōrike-bon.
<Cycle 1>¹

<kotoba>
Now, as for what is known as our imperial dynasty,² when the deity Amatsukoyane-no-mikoto pushed open the door of the Heavenly Rock Cave the rays of sun shone forth, was simultaneously manifested in the form of the shrine at Kasuga, and has from that time protected the nation. Now, might this be the reason why the word “Kasuga” is written as it is? The summer sun is extremely hot. The autumn sun is fleeting. The winter sun feels cold. The spring sun is gentle and fully nurtures the whole of creation. It is far superior to the other seasons. It is because the sun is bright that “Kasuga” is written as spring and sun and is known as “Kasuga.”³
The Fujiwara family was under the special protection of this shrine. Among the members of the Fujiwara family, the one who was called “Taishokan,” was Lord Kamatari. At first, he entered the University and was a student in the Department of Letters, but having subjugated the minister Iruka, Kamatari became “Taishokan.” Now, as for this minister, in ancient times there was no one equal to him, and certainly it would it be impossible to find one of equal stature in these latter days. He was a high-ranking government official and was greatly favored. He always carried a sickle with him, and that is why he is also called “Minister Kamatari.”

While in seclusion at Kasuga shrine he offered up many petitions. Among the vows that he made was the one to build the Golden Hall at the Kōfukuji temple, and inlaying it with the seven precious jewels, he erected a solemnly decorated edifice. Because of this,
fortune came down from the heavens; his influence over the country was rain watering the land, like the wind bending the grass.

He had many children. His eldest daughter was known as "Empress Kōmyō" who occupied the position of the wife of Emperor Shōmu. The one who was his second daughter was named "Kōhaku-nyo," and she was the most beautiful woman in the three countries [of India, China and Japan]. Consequently, there was nothing to compare with the elegant and gentle appearance of this princess. Her cinnamon tree-eyebrows were the deepest green, resembling the haze shimmering over a distant mountain. Holding a hundred charms, the corners of her eyes had the appearance of the crescent moon peeping through the fog at twilight. Her hair was long and of the blackest green, no different in appearance than the branches of the willow tree combed by the spring wind. Her form had the thirty-two aspects; her disposition had no equal under the heavens.
A splendid figure such as this was rumored of even in foreign lands.

Emperor Tai Zong,¹⁶ ruler of the seven lands of China, having heard of her beauty, yearned for this yet unseen love, so that even his lofty palace was clouded and even his “friends of the moon”¹⁷ lost their brightness.

<Cycle 2>

<kotoba>
His ministers assembled to report to the emperor, and said

“We believe that a woman so jewel-like is not the normal thing in this world. What is it you should keep hidden? Let such feelings as are on your mind be proclaimed to your retainers and ministers.”

<sashi>
When they had spoken in such a manner, the emperor replied, “Alas, how embarrassing! Like the fragrance of blossoms that cannot be concealed, once it has leaked out people will know. Now, what should I hide? Insofar as I happened to hear, Taishokan who dwells in the
capital of Nara, several thousand ri across the Eastern Sea, is it that I am to deal with not being able to forget the unseen visage?“

<Cycle 3>

<kotoba>
Having heard this, the courtiers replied, “How wonderful a thing the emperor’s wish is! Now then, let it be decreed that an imperial messenger be designated to go and take possession of the princess so that there may be an imperial inspection of her!” Having made this decree, they sent the warrior Yunhe 運動 18 as the imperial messenger. Yunhe, having received the imperial letter 19 from Emperor Tai Zong, crossed several thousand ri across the sea, arrived in the Japanese capital of Nara, and presented Emperor Zao Gong’s letter at the feet of Taishokan. Taishokan looked at it and said, “As a minister of the king of a small country called ‘the Land of
the Sun,’ how can I simply take the great king of a foreign land as my son-in-law?”

<tsune>
With these words, he at first declined the imperial messenger.

The imperial messenger took his leave, returned to China, and reported what Taishokan had said. Emperor Tai Zong, longing for Kamatari’s daughter very much, sent an imperial messenger a second time. Emperor Shōmu heard of this and said, “Love knows no distinction between the high and the low. Although she is but the child of a minister of a small country, you must not have such deference. I will send a reply.” Having said this, he affixed his imperial seal, and quite overwhelmed, the messenger quickly returned to China and presented the reply. Emperor Tai Zong was very pleased and choosing an auspicious day, quickly dispatched a ship to send for her. This time it was Lord Tachibana, Hōgen Minister of the Right who was sent.20
“Now, although our kingdom is called a small country, it is a country first in wisdom. Any send-off less than the best will not do. Let the preparations be made!” Having made this declaration, his [the emperor of China] principal vassals prepared three hundred large ships. The pair of ships that were to be for the new empress were called “Dragon Bow”\textsuperscript{21} and “Bird of Paradise-Head.”\textsuperscript{22} They were painted crimson and red. As a pair, the bow resembled a parrot’s head, and the stern dipped down like a peacock’s tail.\textsuperscript{23} Their decks were covered with brocade, and scented with sandalwood incense. The ships were polished so that they sparkled like phoenix mirrors. Their jeweled sails fluttered in the wind; their golden tiles shone in the sun. One would have to say that it must be like the boat that sentient beings will board to cross over to the Pure Land. More than three hundred costumed court ladies and servants to be attendants for the empress were sent on the decorated boat to attend her. They
were dressed in large-hemmed robes and wore heavenly crowns that dripped with jewels. To console her on the long sea journey from Japan to China, celebratory dances were to be performed and so more than one hundred young boys were dressed up, costumed, and placed on the ship.

Before long, it was the end of the fourth month, and the ship was unmoored and set sail. Although it was not the Milky Way, they raised the sails of the ship, like the hikoboshi as if setting out to meet his beloved. The wind and waves were calm, and as the ship arrived in the Bay of Nanta in the province of Tsu, the messenger arrived in the capital city of Nara. Taishokan received him thinking, “On the one hand, there is the reputation of this foreign land to consider. On the other hand, it is for the sake of the influence of our country!” He piled up a mountain of delicacies gathered from the land and sea and entertained the five thousand
Chinese visitors of high and low rank who had been traveling from
the middle of the eighth month to the beginning of the fourth month.
The extent of Taishokan’s fortune was remarkable, indeed!

***

<Cycle 4>

As the end of the fourth month had finally drawn near, they chose an auspicious day, and sent the carriage carrying Taishokan’s daughter forth, so that she progressed to the Bay of Nanba. From there, she boarded the “Dragon Bow” and “Bird of Paradise-Head,” and before long, the ships had arrived at the harbor at Ming Zhou in China. The imperial palace heard of their arrival.

“Oh! The empress is coming! Quickly go and bring her to me!”

When the emperor said this, the ministers of the left and right,
court ladies, all kinds of officials, state ministers, officials
all the way down to the civil officers, not one missing, all went
to greet her.

Now, as for the number of provinces in China, there are 1,440;
the number of villages is more than 98,000; the number of temples
is 12,600; and the number of markets is 12,800. The market-city of
Chang-an 長安* had one million homes, and the number of people living
there was 5,900,180,000. As for the number of roads, there were ten
radiating out from the castle town of Chang-an. The Xianlu xiannan
陰路陰南† was a road going out toward the southeast, which divided
into thirty-six arterial roads. The Aonandao 奥南道* was a road
going out toward the southwest, which divided into fifty-nine
arterial roads. The Xijingdao 西徑道* was a road going out toward
the west, which divided into twenty-six arterial roads. The
Xiangbeidao 向北道* was a road going out toward the north, which ended
in two places. The Dongyangdao 東陽道 was a sea route that continued to its end in Japan. From the various regional roads, the people brought tribute and bowed down before the empress. Ah, how felicitous! Even those who bowed down but once, escaped hardships and poverty, and instantly their households attained wealth and honor. Was it because of this the emperor had looked an angel in the face, and having come to know her, healed his various ailments, feeling as if he had suddenly met with a great healer of sickness, while he reigned, his entire realm was at peace and the hearths of the people were abundant.

<Cycle 5>

As time passed in this way, the empress thought, "Even though I am from a small country, I have become the empress of a great country; I wish to leave a legacy of that honor in Japan! In
keeping with my father, Taishokan’s having erected the Golden Hall at the Kōfukuji temple, and having enshrined there a statue of Sakya, I wish to send donations of religious implements to the temple as a remembrance for later ages.”

Of the treasures included, first there was a gong made of stone from Sha’anxi 陝西 province and fine stone from Shangdong 山東 province. The gong called the “Huayuan” 華原 gong, once it is rung, its resonance does not end. When one wishes to silence it, what one does is cover it with a priest’s surplice that is made of nine pieces of cloth. The stone from Shandong province was for ink stones. The virtuous merit of those ink stones was that one could use an ink stick as one wanted just by rubbing it on the stone without water. There was a seven-quire Sanskrit copy of the Hoke-kyō written by Ananda 阿難陀 on fatsia leaves, a lapis lazuli water flask, a red sandalwood gong pedestal, a lapis lazuli flower vase, a
sandalwood armrest, and one rosary made of the wood of the Indian Banyan tree. There were three skins: one yellow skin of a tiger, one golden skin of a lion, and one skin of the mythical fire rat. Of all the treasures, the most prized was a six-sun [18.18 cm] statue of Sakya made of red sandalwood containing a flesh-colored relic of the Buddha. The statue was placed inside an eight-sun [24.24 cm] square, crystal reliquary, and as the precious treasure it was, it is said to have been presented with an accompanying letter placed in a stone box. This letter was presented with this inscription, “This jewel is to be fitted into the forehead of the main statue, of Sakya, at the Kōfukuji temple.”

<Cycle 6>

"<kotoba> " Now, who could protect such a precious jewel as this and safely deliver it? Choose someone of the highest virtue and
ability.” Now, when drafting soldiers it is the custom of a great country [China] when one hundred men are commissioned to a general, that general is called “Baihu” 百戸；
when one thousand men are commissioned to a general, that general is called “Qianhu” 千戸；
and when ten thousand men are commissioned to a general, that general is called “Wanhu” 萬戸。
At the farthest end of the Xiangbeidao Road in the land of Yun Zhou 雲州 there was one warrior of great strength, General Wanhu Yun Zong 萬戸雲宗。He took on three hundred superior warriors, and they left the capital city and set out to sea from the Tang port of Ming Zhou, poling a single boat, and raising their sails in the wind astern, made a journey of tens of thousands of ri.
<Cycle 7>

<kotoba>
Deep beneath the waves, the sovereign leader of the Eight Dragon Kings, using his supernatural powers, became aware of the jewel that was being transferred to Japan, and he called together the many other Dragon Kings. What he told them was this. “Although we are verily Dragon Kings living at the bottom of the sea, we suffer incessantly the five signs of decay and three sufferings, and it is hard for us to live forever. A jewel such as a rare six-sun statue of the miraculous Buddha made of red sandalwood is now above us on the waves. We should steal it now, and we will surely attain perfect enlightenment once we have stolen the jewel!”

“Yes, that’s quite right!” Having said this, the Eight Dragon Kings caused the waves and wind to become rough. The ship was tossed about, forced to slow, and the sea route did not grow calm. However, because the ship was carrying the Buddha with unfathomable power,
the heavenly beings who held back the clouds, and since the yakṣa and rāksa who protect the Buddhist Law calmed the wind and waves, the ship was saved from harm, and like a three-feathered battle arrow that shoots through the sky, flew on with still more of a tailwind.

The Dragon King was angered. "If we can't stop them with the wind and waves, when the time is right, let's stop them with force and steal the jewel! These men from a foreign land, we must absolutely stop them with all our might! Among the dependants of the Dragon Kings, there is no one up to the task. Since the asura are fierce warriors, let's try asking them."

Having said this, it was the evil asura that he summoned. The general of the asura was, Mahesvara, who came forward bringing his minions. Since it was battle, which they loved from the start, they roused their non-human compatriots, armed them with spears and swords and charged them, "Even if our enemy has over a million men, since
war is our thing, let us chase them down and steal away the jewel!”

Having said this they massed and lay in wait for Wanhu’s ship at Chikura-ga-oki, the sea border of China and Japan.

<Cycle 8>

Wanhu, unaware of what was going on, hoisted sail with a favorable wind, and let it blow them along as they pleased. Not thinking that the day [of their arrival] had come [so soon], an island appeared. Looking more closely, he saw the ends of flags fluttering, and from between iron shields, the flash of swords and spears, and the glint of the sabers were like clouds and haze. Wanhu thought uneasily, “What is behind that? What could it be?” Feigning he noticed nothing, he sailed along, when the great asura general, Mañesvara, stepped forward and said in a loud voice that shook the heavens, “What kind of beings do you think we warriors are, who have
right now set a barrier in this offing? We are those beings called asura. We have come as allies of the Dragon Kings who live at the bottom of the sea, and what do you think our object is? It is nothing other than the six-sun statue of Sakyamuni made of red sandalwood that you hold in your ship. We do not want any of the other treasures. Hand over the crystal jewel immediately! If you do not do as we say, not one of you will pass."

Immediately upon hearing this, Wanhu said, "Oh, how pompous your power! Now you must be those asura we’ve heard about. It is the custom of a great country when one hundred men are commissioned to a general, that general is called ‘Baihu,’ when one thousand men are commissioned to a general, that general is called ‘Qianhu,’ and when ten thousand men are commissioned to a general, that general is called ‘Wanhu,’ and a generalissimo refers to this. Although I am not powerful myself, I am the general of 10,000 men. I am this
general, Wanhu the generalissimo Yun Zong. You are following the
desires of the Dragon Palace, but even if you want to take away the
crystal jewel, since the day that I was chosen to be the imperial
emissary to Japan from among the seven provinces because of my virtue
and ability, my life is in the service of my emperor’s will.

Therefore, as I consider my life to be an insignificant thing, I
will certainly not let you take the jewel, as long as I have life.

<\text{<kakaru>}}
<\text{I assure you that if it is the jewel that you want, shoot me and take it!}>\text{<tsume>}

He said this and laughed loud and cheerfully.

The asura having heard this replied, “If that is so, then we
will show you our skill!” And having said this they approached to
attack like the clouds and haze, brandishing spears of metal,
rough-hewn swords and sabers.

Since there was nothing to be done, Wanhu went right down into
the ship and put on his armor. As for the armor that Wanhu was wearing
that day, he had bracers held together with brackets with supernatural powers allowing free movement, shin guards of the Primary Shingon Vow, shoes of the mysterious Dharma of the Lotus, armor of forbearance and mercy, with long outer skirts, long-necked five-layer armor neck plates of perfect supreme enlightenment tied with a hidden cord. He had at his side Acalanatha’s great demon-subduing sword. With the sword called "Taitōren" 大たおれん tied low on his hip, he carried a spear called "Kenmyōren" 剣明連 and stood up firm on the bow. Over three hundred warriors, taking this to heart rose up and set the lighters afloat, and in an instant, they were prepared to attack. In the Chinese way of warfare, there is no advance in a disorganized manner. By beating out music, they establish a rhythm, and joining with the beat, they make their maneuvers. The drum to put in order the entire forces beat in the ranjo 乱序 and jojo 序序 rhythms; the drum that beat
out the call to charge, they beat *sasōsasō* さそうさそう.\(^74\) When the drums beat out to retreat, it was in the lowest of tones. When grappling with their opponent intent on taking their heads, it was the *tsurute* つるて\(^75\) and *ukotsu* うこつ\(^76\) that was beat. When all seemed impossible, they fired their cannons\(^77\) in all directions beating in the *midare byōshi* 乱れ拍子\(^78\) and *kiri byōshi* きり拍子.\(^79\) In times of crisis, they beat the drums as if to urge the bloodletting to flow like a waterfall and pile up the heads in a mound.

There was no precedent of a battle between the Chinese and *asura* either in the past or in recent times. As for the fighting style of the *asura*, they cause a firestorm to fall; they blow an evil wind and they cause huge stones to fall like snowy petals scattering in the breeze. They throw swords, they fling spears, and they shoot poison arrows like scattering sand. When they want to hide themselves, they mix in with poppy seeds; when they want to
make themselves appear, their size can be compared to Mt. Sumeru.

With this awesome supernatural power of the asura now manifested before their eyes, they fought desperately, and so, although the Chinese warriors' hearts were fiercely fired up, pressed by such powerful forces, it would be difficult for them to escape.

(Cycle 9)

<i>Meanwhile, Wanhū called his troops together, and said, “If our back's against the wall, we must shoot the four or five generals of the asura and turn them into waste on the sea floor, so that their defeat will be known of in other lands. Those of you who think you’re up to it, follow me to the end!” He had on a large defensive cape, which the wind blew back, with the one thousand two hundred buddhas of the combined Diamond and Womb mandalas written on it. Many fine horses were led from the bowels of the ship. Wanhū’s prized horse,</i>
named “Jintsū Ashige” 神通草毛, was four-shaku, seven-sun and eight-fun tail [1.5 m], and six years old. The hair of its tail and mane was thick. Seen from the back or the front the horse had great girth. The base of its tail, its flanks, its hoof joints, the muscles of its forelegs, its bone structure, its front knee joints; all these features taken together, it was as if someone had fashioned the perfect horse. He placed on its back a mother-of-pearl saddle, with a bordered matting of Sichuan brocade. The stirrups were of lapis lazuli painted with gold and silver and the stirrup straps were dyed with the blood of the mythic orangutan. The bridle was also attached and a gold bit to which twisted brocade reigns were attached was firmly placed in the horse’s mouth. Wanhū leisurely mounted his horse. He placed each leg of the horse into “water shoes” so that he would not sink into the sea and so running on the waves was like going across a level road. Each of the three
hundred warriors mounted his own horse and put water shoes on his horse’s legs. Like geese flying across the sky, all in one flock they descended and broke into the asura’s camp.

When the asura saw this, they were astounded. “It’s not only one or two horses, but there are 300 horses, each galloping atop the waves! What an amazing sight!” The asura who had been so brave now had fear in their eyes. The general of the asura came forward and said, “Ah, what is this? Things don’t differ in the least what was said before. Taking advantage of your opponent’s weakness, and turning up spiteful eyes—in such a trivial battle as this, isn’t it an unsuitable thing to put up resistance? Unless you try what you can, how do you think you can fight a fight that you’ll know fame or failure? Let us do battle!” When he spoke thus and set out, his attire was as such that he had on armor of slander and greed, a helmet of ignorance and stubbornness tied on, blandishing a
spear unrepentant of battle,\textsuperscript{86} and raising a flag of wrath\textsuperscript{87} and
foolhardiness.\textsuperscript{88} Rousing his minions of asura to action, he
continually gave the battle cry. They broke across the blue sky,
and dropped down onto the waves, moving the sea floor they raised
up waves, they shook the whole sky, so that even the moonlight was
obscured and it became a long night.

"Just as [they] said. We would see General Wanhu Yun Zong
of whom we have recently heard!" They surrounded some warriors with
Wanhu among them. His troops fought their way out of this, resigned
to fight to the death. They did whatever it took, and killed three
hundred Rago Asura 罗猴阿修羅\textsuperscript{89} and five hundred Karakonra Asura
仏羅麁駄阿修羅. Wanhu, mounting his prized horse, and the reins with
which he rode on the sea, the two whips, "Sōkaifu" 渤海浮\textsuperscript{90} and
"Ryūbaifu" 龍背浮,\textsuperscript{91} the legs of his horse that he floated on the
waves—when he attacked someone on his left hand side, he was sure
to rein his horse to that side. When attacking someone on his right hand side, he gave a good crack with his flying whip. When in pursuit of someone in retreat, he drew close, in the stirrups and with the reins of skilled expedient means he rode his mount forward and backward. When he decisively moved from west to east, he followed three hundred men and cut them, fighting to the death. One after the other they stepped up in place of the fallen so the asura fighting weakened, and it did not at all appear as if they could win.

The asura general Mahesvara, shook his eight heads and eight arms, brandished his eight-tongued spear, and cried out, “Here is where you will be shot dead!” Wanhua saw this, and since there was no way it could be handled, he scooped up seawater, washed his face with it, and prayed fervently to the gods in heaven.92 “If possible, Avalokitesvara,93 do not break your merciful vow! On the field of battle, when trembling from fear at facing a threatening enemy, if
one puts his trust in Avalokitesvara, the enemy will be dispersed.  

If Avalokitesvara's vow is not meant for a situation such as this, then when? Open and cover me with your kemon 華鬘⁹⁵, the banner that the asura fear! Open it and cover me now!” Having given this order, a kemon with a phoenix design as well as a jeweled banner⁹⁶ were thrust in front of him. Feeling invincible, he sprang to the attack.

Wanhu's troops rode the winning momentum, the Chinese forces pursued and pursued the enemy and cut them down.

The asura having used up their supernatural power, and no longer being able to rely upon their flying power, became nothing more than refuse at the bottom of the sea. Those asura that were still living each hid himself in his dwelling. Wanhu gave out a victory cry, returned and boarded the ship. "Have the asura defeated the Chinese? Have they?" he proclaimed full of spirit. And they sailed past China and Korea and drew near to Japan.

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Meanwhile, the Dragon Kings considered the situation, “What shall we do about this?” Among the Dragon Kings, Nanda-nagaraja said, “Well, if we are to deceive the reason of men, there’s probably nothing better than a beautiful woman. So for a plan, we can trick them with the Dragon Girl and take the jewel.” Now, a young princess at the Dragon Palace named “Koisai-nyo” was a beauty without peer, and they dressed her up and fashioned a hollowed-out log, placed her in it and set it upon the waves.

Unaware of these events, Wanhu raised his sails into the favorable wind and let it carry them on. The sea is vast, vast, and the waves are calm. The wind blowing from the blue sky of the offing is refreshing, yet in what trees and grasses will its voice harbor? Kashiranashi 頭なし, Ōkawara おふ河原, Kitonoshima きとの嶋, Moromi no shima もろみの嶋, Momeijima もめいしま,
Kikaigashima 鬼界ヶ嶋 in Satusma province, Iki no Moto’ori 壌岐のもとほり, Tsushima no Nai 対馬の内院 they sailed passed without any incident. Seeing Kyushu on the left, they passed through the offing of a place known in Sanuki province as Fusasaki.

<Cycle 11>

<kotoba>
It was at this place that a piece of driftwood came floating by. The helmsman and crew saw this and people wondered about it saying, "Look here! Now that’s a type of wood I have never seen before. Could it be an aromatic tree from India or China that was blown here during the great wind whipped up in our recent battle?"

Hearing their suspicious talk about this driftwood, Wanhu ordered, "What is there to be suspicious about? Bring it up!" Following his orders, they let down a lighter. Having a look at the driftwood, they saw that it was not the wood of a rare aromatic tree. "Ah, how
strange! Try splitting it open!” They split it open and looking inside, to their surprise there was a woman so beautiful she could not be described in words. The helmsman and crew saw this, threw away their hatchets and axes, and could only say, “Ah!”

Wanhu looked at her, “What in the world are you, an incarnation of a deva-mara papayas? You intend to be an impediment, don’t you? How awful! Suspicious, very suspicious.” To this, the woman said nothing; her eyes only filled with tears. Wanhu spoke a second time. “No matter how much you try to fool me, I will be suspicious. Just drown her in the sea! Make her sea rubbish!” Wanhu was emboldened, and some less rough warriors grabbed her by the hand and were about to throw her into the sea.

<ki>Dragon Girl became increasingly despondent, “Oh, how hateful people’s words are! I hear that even species of wild wolves who lie down in the fields and take the mountains for their home
have feelings. Speaking of myself, though I am a princess and the
daughter of the king of Kittan 契丹，由于被某个奸臣的诽谤，I was cast adrift on the deep-blue sea in this hollowed-out
log. Having by some miracle met with other members of humanity, what
offence have I committed that you must drown me under the bitter
waves? How rueful!” she pleaded her case.

<fushi>
Running down her disheveled tresses, her dewdrop tears were
like strung jewels. Her appearance was like a patrina 觉木 touching by
frost, like lower leaves that have wilted. 由于寒冷而枯萎。It was now that the
abandoned Xi-shi 西施 came to mind, her sleeves were a damp carpet; due to
there was not one day that they were dry. This woman’s ink-black
eyebrows drawn like a katsura 桂 tree, her lotus lips, and her smile
with a hundred charms: she had the air of a lady deep in thought
who was dampened by both waves and tears. Her weakened form was
pitiful to behold.
"Indeed, it must be just as you say. Now then, come on board." Saying this, he let her board the same ship. Since it was the workings of the Dragon King, the wind blew out of the direction they were headed in; they were forced to remain off the coast at Fusasaki for ten days. Even without that, the journey was especially dreary, and Wanhu, unable to bear it, was led by the wind to where the Dragon Girl lay dozing in a transient sleep, so that any sound whatever would resound. To startle the sparrow awake to its dreary existence would be all too pitiful, so he opened a fan while gently stirring a breeze. Though it broke his heart to surprise her in this way, he opened a fan and gently caused a breeze. "When the moon is hidden by Mt. Zhong shan 重山, a fan imitates this; when the wind dies down in the vast emptiness, the moving of the trees shows this."
When in love with a woman one sees routinely, while no letters travel back and forth, as per the custom of love, I have come to take your heart. Now, what do you think of this?”  With these words, he awakened her. The Dragon Girl from the first had not been asleep. Even so, she pretended to be dozing, “Who is it there? Words spoken at the moment when one is dreaming are not a part of reality, for this reason they are the enemy of the floating world of dreams, and so the words of men are not reliable, either. The Asuka River that changes in the night, 116 the transient droplets of foam, like words that disappear in the wind, they cannot be relied on to the end. And also, having become the subject of gossip, what’s one to do?

Undoubtedly, at first if one is not courted by a potential lover there is naturally resentment. Moreover, since the time that I was born, I have never broken the Buddhist precepts. Since time began till now, I have taken up many lives, once being born in to this
world of six desires and the four modes of birth, enduring the five signs of decay of heavenly beings and eight sufferings, or falling into the three lower levels of existence and the four evil rungs of samsara, of the four great elements of physical being. I have fallen into the hellfire. Having passed through the karma of sin such as this in previous lives, it is because I have upheld the five Buddhist precepts that I have now been born as a human. 

"The first of these is the prohibition against killing living things, if kept, this becomes the organ of the heart. The prohibition against theft, if kept, this becomes the organ of the liver. The prohibition against lust, if kept, this becomes the organ of the spleen. The prohibition against lying, if kept, this becomes the lungs. The prohibition against drinking alcohol, if kept, this becomes the kidneys. Here are the five musical scales, which together with the two semitones make the seven scales. What are
known as kyû 宮, shô 商, kaku 角, chi 徵, u 羽 or sô 双, ô 黄, ryô 平, ban 盘, ichi 一, kotsu 越 these are unfathomably superior teachings; they are the sound of the five kinds of wisdom. These are the five spirits: These are kon 魂, shi 志, haku 魄, i 意, and shin 神. When endowed with the five forms, this is called a buddha. Lacking the five forms, we are like beasts covered in the darkness of ignorance. People who by all means wish to attain perfect enlightenment must uphold the five commandments. If one breaks even one of these, one will become one of the creatures that crawl on the ground and is unlikely to become a buddha for ages.

<Cycle 13>

<kotoba>
Your words are spoken in sincerity, but how can I think to break the third prohibition against lust?“ In a contemplative mood, she sat there, her eyes filled with tears.
Wanhu too having been raised in China, a land where Buddhism was widely known, was surprised and said, "Oh, how admirable! Well, is it that for the sake your next life you observe these prohibitions?

Among these precepts, there is the austerity of paramita. One of these is the virtue of forbearance that states that you should not break another's heart. No matter how well you keep these five commandments, if you break another's heart, you will certainly find it hard to become a buddha. Perhaps that's why the Buddha has the three powers and the six supernatural powers. In the past, the virtue from having earnestly practiced all the forms of paramita has revealed itself and he has become a buddha. For example, even the water of a fall, once was dirty and impure, in the end it will become pure and clear. As for love, isn't it true that people die because of it? And if one were to die for love unfulfilled, and resentment is deep through the countless times one was reborn within
the cycle of continuous rebirth, and one also becomes a serpent-like
dragon, one will not become a buddha and certainly fall into the
realm of serpents. There are many kinds of commandments. If you
keep the five commandments, what happens is that you will be reborn
as a human with the five limbs. If you keep the ten commandments,
what happens is that you will be reborn as a heavenly being with
the five signs of decay. Even if you keep the two hundred fifty
commandments and are reborn as one who strives to become an arhat,
it will still be difficult to become a buddha. If you keep the five
hundred commandments, this is what is called ‘self
enlightenment.’ Even then, one cannot attain buddhahood. There
are the three commandments of the bodhisattva, even if one upholds
these commandments and thereupon becomes a bodhisattva, it will still
be difficult to go on and become a buddha. Upholding the
commandment of the Great Vehicle, then you will become a buddha.
"The physical body originally has no features, one’s heart is originally empty. We are not held captive by the cycle of life and death; nor do we reside in the state of Nirvana. If you become pure and transcend the distinction between right and wrong, there will be no dirt that needs to be rinsed away. There are no evil passions that require quelling; there is no buddha who comes when you pray. One follows the one thought of seeing the Buddha as the Law, and takes hearing him as the Law. Not knowing this, we take it to be illusion. As for the harmony of Ying and Yang, and the relations between man and woman, husband and wife, they are not to be dismissed as foolish; these are the source of the Buddhist Law. Submit to my will! What do you say?"
<Cycle 14>

<kotoba>
The Dragon Girl attended his words. "This is the Dharma Body; it is among the most secret teachings in Buddhism. If you do not pray for it, you will find it more difficult to become a buddha.

<kudoki>
In ancient times, receptivity to the Buddhist teachings was of the superior kind, and both ordinary wisdom and the greater wisdom could develop. Today, in these latter days of the law, openness to the teachings is low; there are few people with even ordinary wisdom. In ancient times, even those with the greater wisdom left their homes, abandoned their wives and children, and practiced difficult austerities for the Buddhist Law. Prince Sakyamuni threw away the highest rank. Looking on his wife, Yasodhara, with whom he had the deepest of bonds, as a stranger, at the age of nineteen he renounced the world and relied upon the ascetic Alara Kalama on Mt. Dandaka. On the peaks of Mt.

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Grdhra-kuta (Eagle Peak), he chopped firewood and scorched his body. Every time he scooped up holy water in the valleys, and dipped it from cracks in the ice, his tears turned to icicles on his sleeves. Night after night, he sat on the floor of the hermit’s hut and meditation became his bed. Truly, he became a buddha because he accumulated merit from pain and suffering. In the three worlds, he is the most revered, and he has become a guiding light for all sentient beings of the four modes of birth, and expounded a lifetime of holy teachings. When pondering this, it is said, ‘Desire is nothing but enlightenment, samsara is nothing but nirvana.’ Yet, if one can easily become a buddha while still keeping one’s wife and children, why would Prince Sakya-muni discard his royal rank and make his wife suffer? In addition, each of the ascetic arhats kept wives and children and there are those among them that achieved buddhahood. Nanda Taishi, the disciple of the
Buddha, was unable to rid himself of habits of evil passions, and loved women, so the Buddha said to him, ‘If you continue this way, it’s not likely that you will become a Buddha,’ and showed Nanda both heaven and hell in his earthly body and finally had him renounce the world, and made him ‘Nanda the Beggar.’

“Teaching that the love of the sick ways we like so much are good, this is an attitude that blindly teaches an evil path. Given that in so far as I speak in this way, it is because I was originally a buddha. ‘Void is one and the same with a lifetime,’ it is said. The head is Bhaisajyaguru. The ears and nose are Amitabha. The chest is Maitreya. The stomach is Sakya. The hips are Mahavairochana. Moreover, the buddhas of the Ten Directions, as the myriad bodhisattvas, are in my body and exist in accordance with the Law in the space of all worlds. It is the Dharma Body of the Buddha that neither comes nor goes, and does not cease. It is in
his Reward Body\textsuperscript{165} that the buddha reveals himself in physical form, establishes the Pure Land, and makes his abode there. It is in his Accommodative Body that the Buddha explains the eight important events in his life and thus benefits all sentient beings.\textsuperscript{166} If one singles out and believes in one of these bodies, this is being a buddha before enlightenment. If one realizes that the Three Bodies are actually one and believes in any one of them, this is what being a buddha before enlightenment is. Those who would practice difficult and painful asceticism\textsuperscript{167} in order to become a buddha, how can they confuse good with evil? Even if my own body were to be destroyed, I could not allow it!"

\textit{<Cycle 15>}

\textit{<Kotoba>}

On hearing this, Wanhu was exceedingly angered. "What’s that? Listen to me. Those who seek to become a buddha, if they
neglect even one of these three things—the true way, wisdom or the practice of mercy—it is hard for them to become a buddha. The way of the Buddha, it takes disciplined practice. As for wisdom, it is the enlightened heart. And as for the practice of mercy, it is compassion for all sentient beings, following the human heart. Most important, if you neglect mercy in the first instance, it will be hard for you to become a buddha. Now! When I really have something to say to you, then my words will be many. But for now, I’ll not say much. Even if I throw myself down here like this and die tormented, the binds to this world indeed being shallow, I will be reborn and die in the realms of hell, the Hungry Demons, the Beasts, Warrior Beings, Humans, and Heaven and following round in a circle through the Six Realms of samsara and the Four Births, in the next life I will make you understand.” After this, he said nothing else.
The Dragon Girl had intended from the start to be thus treated, and having led him along perfectly, she placed her beautiful hand on Wanhu’s sleeve and said, “Oh, please do not hate me so. If it is truly your will, be so kind as to fulfill my desire. Let us pledge/share a bed just a dream’s worth, alone like the dew on a grass traveler’s pillow.” Overcome with joy, Wanhu sat up and holding her in his arms said, “Oh, is this really true? The one life I have I’ll give to you.” The Dragon Girl, hearing these words said “No, no. I will not go as far as that. Is it true what I have heard, that you have within this ship a five-sun [15.15 cm] statue of Sakya encased in a red sandalwood reliquary? This crystal jewel, let me take it for one night. Of course, you must follow the emperor’s orders!”

“Am I in my right mind? While I felt sure that you had some other desire, I never imagined that it would be the crystal jewel,”
he thought resignedly, but then rethought things and said, “No, no. What could be the matter with that?” He turned to her and said, “I do not know by what methods you found out about the jewel, but what a simple request. If that is what you want, then I will bow to your request.” Saying this he took out the stone box that was sealed and secured with an iron chain, drew from it the crystal jewel and handed it over to the Dragon Girl. As for a beautiful woman, the characters can also be read as “the city fell,” and it was at this time that these words hit home. And so, she disappeared, rubbing out what had seemed a bond tied in deep love and endearment, before three days had passed. When asked by people to show them the jewel, Wanhu would say, “It has been taken and lost.” He was dumbfounded and just folded his arms helplessly.
<Cycle 16>

<kotoba>
"Alas, how regrettable! How mortifying that, unaware that I was being hoodwinked by the Dragon Palace. Even so, that’s all I can say." Giving the remaining treasures precedence, the hurried and went to the capital, got them out and presented them to Taishokan. Taishokan looked it over and asked, "In the accompanying letter, it is stated that the most precious of all these treasures is the crystal jewel, yet I do not see it here. Why is that?"

Since there was no way to conceal things, Wanhu told Taishokan what had happened. "Intending to take the jewel, the Dragon King repeatedly desired it, yet not being able to produce it, he engaged to the asura to engage in battle. Being difficult to explain in our own words, how we could have killed the minions of asura exhausted the power of the Dragon King and now placated when we passed through Fusasaki in Sanuki province, a single floating log surfaced. The
helmsman saw this and said that it was a dangerous tree. The others were suspicious of this aromatic tree from India and China, and Wanhū hearing their words said ‘What suspicious thing is this?’ and ordered them to bring it up. Following his desire, they brought it up and looking at it saw that it was not an aromatic tree. How strange! Saying to cut it open and looking inside there was an angel, peerless under heaven. When I ordered her to be thrown back into the sea, looking at the miserable woman drowned in tears, I wanted only to be with her loveliness for one night, and stealing into her chambers, she took the jewel and it was lost. Kamaṭari listened to this and said, “Pondering this well, it is mortifying. At the least, take me with you and show to me that bay.”

“As you wish,” Wanhū replied and helped him on board the returning ship. Making their way to the offing of Fusasaki, Wanhū announced, “Here is the place.” Taishokan just looked absently over
the waves, and disappointed, returned to the capital. On the way back he thought to himself, "There are things like this! What a mortifying affair! The most precious jewel in the three countries, instead of becoming ours, we've let it become, to no good end, the treasure of the Dragon Palace. How vexing! Now, if one considers the matter carefully, in the Six Paths of samsara, the Dragon Palace is in the path of the Hungry Demons, and their wisdom should be far inferior to that of humans, but... given that kind of situation, how strange that we should have been taken in! In turn, I must devise a strategic plan, and work out some way, when it comes to that jewel, to steal the jewel back," he thought. He returned to the capital. Day and night, he pondered what trick he could use to get the jewel back. "Of course, the Dragon Palace is separated from this world by the sea, and yet is unlike going to another land or to a distant island. If only there were a way to travel there
by ship! That's how it is, but perhaps if I had the winged feet of a deity... Daise Taishi, so peerless, seeking to obtain the jewel that granted all desires, used a shell to scoop up all the water in the vast sea, and in the end, he obtained the jewel. If I offer up vows, certainly they will not be in vain. If I make pledges, it should not come to naught in the end. I too vow, then: I pray that I may, in all the realms of birth, death and rebirth, make this jewel mine.”

Thinking this, he secretly left the capital, disguised as a poor man, and went down to Fusasaki.

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<Cycle 17>

<kotoba>
He arrived at the bay, and looking around, he saw a large number of women divers. The harvest of their diving was tremendous. Of these divers, he caught sight of one that seemed to be about twenty
years old. She had an ordinary appearance, but when she dove under the water, it was as if she were moving across level ground. Kamatari was convinced that she would be the one who could return the jewel, and it was in this diver's thatched hut that he took lodging. When he had spent some time there, he saw that this diver, too, had no mate. Was it from the loneliness of sleeping alone on a journey that Kamatari increasingly spent his days there? Her will was firm--rooted as a pine tree, but she bent to the gusting bay wind.172

"No matter how hard a life..." yes, he commingled like the reeds and grasses on the shore of Naniwa Bay,173 they told each other, and because they were two, they were cheered.

The floating sleep of a sea journey with only an oar for a pillow, when the wave-filled night falls, no companion save the cries of the little plovers on the shore. The blast of the wind off the sea, the sound of the waved in chorus--with the snowy herons174
in the pines of Susaki 須崎, it seems as if the waves have washed over their branches. The sea breeze, mingling with the smoke from the salt huts, trails off and disappears in the mist, scented.

Transient as the foam on the water, like a dream world, where, over the far off waves, a passing ship is faintly visible, and the sound of its scull barely heard. Is it the sound of the wild geese winging toward spring blossoms? I, too, in my longing for the capital, join my cries with theirs. Though he pined away, he spent his days and nights behind those cypress doors, and it was not long before three years had passed.

<Cycle 18>

<kotoba>
Thus are the relations between a man and a woman that when they have pledged themselves in exceptional union to each other, a child is born. Now that there was no sign of reserve between them,
Kamatari saw that it was time to reveal his identity to her. Kamatari said to her, “Now, what should I hold back from you? It is I whose name is known everywhere, Taishokan. Following my deepest wishes, this is what has transpired! If it’s possible, you can then grant me my wish.”

<kudoki>
Hearing his words, the diver asked, “Is this true? Oh, how shameful! I have been intimate with a nobleman, whose name is known throughout the four seas! For one thing, it is the end of the Buddha’s protection! For another, I am of humble birth, my skin roughened like the shore by the waves, my movements like driftwood tossed among the rocks, my voice like the sound of the waves crashing on the shore; <fushî>
my hair is like the rushes disheveled by the tides. Having risen and lain down in the same bed with a noble from the capital in all intimacy, I am truly ashamed. I would rather throw myself into the sea and die!” Thus, did she complain and lament.
Kamatari replied, “That life you want to end, first entrust it to me. Dive and make your way into the Dragon Palace and see where the jewel that I seek is being kept,” he ordered. The diver consented saying, “I have heard about the place called the Dragon Palace, but have yet to see it. Having gone there, it is sure to be difficult to return. Yet, no matter what kind of order you give, how could I turn my back on it?” She took leave of Kamatari and poled out into the offing in a small boat. The diver entered the waves, and after one day had elapsed, she did not come back up. Three, four days passed, and soon it was the seventh day.

Kamatari thought, “Alas, how wretched! Has she become food for the fishes at the bottom of the sea? How strange. How worrisome.” When he was at his wits’ end, then, like a person who has come back to life, the diver climbed back aboard the boat she
had left. "What happened?" he asked, but for a bit she did not say
anything. After a while, what she said was, "Now, the way leading
from this world to the Dragon Palace is not ordinary in the least." With my eyes on a dark place, I made my way to the bottom of the
abyss, and where the tidal current runs out, there is crimson water.
Passing farther down toward the bottom, I arrived at a golden beach.
There were five-colored lotuses growing there, and many blue serpents,
that were coiling around the stems. Looking out further, there was
a beautiful river streaming out in five colors between two towering
mountains. Across the river, there was one bridge. It was inlaid
with the seven jewels, and jewel-studded standards billowed in the
wind. Crossing the bridge, my legs trembled; I was astonished
and didn’t know if I was dreaming or awake. Looking out further,
the tower gate poked up into the clouds, the top of the jeweled gate
was covered in mist, and the golden roof tiles sparkled in the sun,
glittering up to the azure sky. Built with three-fold corridors and four-fold gates there stood the palace. This, then, I realized was the Dragon Palace. Lapis lazuli columns rose, agate beams were fitted with crystal walls. Four-fold jeweled canopies hung side by side, with damask curtains hanging on their frames, the floor was covered with brocade cushions, the smoke of burning aloes [agalloch] and sandalwood mingled together, and a mirror was polished and placed there. In this marvelous palace, from Sagara-nagaraja down to Vyadya-nagaraja and the rest of the Eight Dragon Kings that protect the Buddhist Law sat on jeweled seats. Several lesser dragons and poisonous dragons, wearing gold helmets and armor guarded the four gates. Now, the jewel that you seek is housed in a specially built hall where jeweled banners stand side by side, and there are picked flowers and heaped incense. All day long a guard stands watch.\(^{177}\)

I cannot express how highly it is revered and worshipped by the Dragon
Kings. The Eight Dragon Kings are guarding this jewel around the
clock, so as for stealing it, in this life, at least, it is unlikely!

Much more will it be difficult in the future. Give up the thought,
my master.” These were her words.

<Cycle 20>

<Kotoba>
Kamatari, having listened, spoke. “Now then. Did you truly
see the place were the jewel is? Now that we know that the jewel
is there, it’s decided: we will get it. The Dragon Kings plotted
and stole the jewel, so I too will devise my own trick, plot, and
<irosashi>
take the jewel. Now as far as the Dragon Kings are concerned,
they have no relief from the five signs of decay and three sufferings,
they are creatures with many agonies. There is nothing better to
escape these pains that the sound of music. With this as my plan,
I will trick the Dragon Kings with dance and music. On the surface
of the sea, I will create an imitation of the Pure Land. I will have one hundred jeweled standards in a row, and on the left and right, off stage, I'll set up pavilions for the musicians, and I’ll have the various instruments play their parts, and around the stage, I’ll gather an array of beautiful chigo, and when they perform, they will be just like angels. At about that point, the high priest will ring the sacred bell, awaken all the dragons in heaven and earth, and the Eight Dragon Kings from the Dragon Palace, with all their minions, will come out. During this time, there will certainly be no dragon left in the Dragon Palace. While they are away, slip in, steal the jewel and bring it to me!”

<kudoki>
The diver agreed, “How ingenious of my august lord! Without a good strategy like this, how could one manage to get it from them? But even if it’s an interval when no one’s there, it will surely be securely protected. Even if I should perish, when it comes
to the jewel, I will with no objections retrieve it and, of course, present it before my lord. But if I should by chance die, a nursing child must not be separated from the breast. If not you, who is there who will pray for the repose of my soul?" There was nothing she could do but weep.

<Cycle 21>

<kotoba>
Kamatari heard this and comforted her, "Be assured. If you should perish, I will build a large Buddhist complex in the capital of Nara in order to honor you. And as far as this child goes, even if he might still be young I will take him with me to the capital and have him admitted into the presence of the emperor, name him 'Lord Fusasaki,' and he will certainly become the patriarch of the Fujiwara family." Reassured by his detailed promises, there was no limit to the diver's joy. Kamatari sent a messenger to the capital,
and ordered a maî master to come down. He gathered boats from nearby bays, and put up a stage painted red. One hundred standards ten-jô [30.3 m] in height were lined up, and let to blow in the wind, and the blue sea became the Pure Land. In the musicians’ pavilions on both sides of the stage there were large drums set out and a surrounding curtain put up, beautifully painted jeweled blinds were hung, and both sides of the dharma seat were decorated. A high priest who was virtuous and wise, rang the sacred bell, awakened all the dragon spirits in heaven and earth and called them to be present.

The Eight Dragon Kings gathered and their deliberations were various. “In the southern sea near the shore of Mt. Sumera, at Fusasaki Bay, there is a dharma seat set up and decorated, so let us attend and listen.” And with that, the Dragon Kings led all of their minions out from the Dragon Palace. When the Dragon Kings arrived, all of the chigo from around the country, all in costume,
danced as if for a prize. They were just like angels. The Dragon Kings, suddenly free of the five signs of decay and three sufferings, forgot themselves and watched the dance, and spent the day at Fusasaki.

<Cycle 22>

<kotoba>
“Quickly, now is the right time,” the diver thought, and she prepared to set out. She tied a five colored damask rope around her, placed a night-glowing jewel on her forehead, stuck a sword of good steel in her belt and tied the end of a woven rope to her hips. Then she went out in the waves and went under. Even if one is a man, to go into the sea alone, there are the terrors of poison fish, dragons, turtles, and large serpents, but--how to tell you?--now this diver, while a mere woman, dove into the sea alone. What rare heart she had! Passing over tens of millions of ri of ocean, she arrived at
the capital of the Dragon Palace. Lit by the night-glowing jewel, there were no dark places. Since she had already had a good look before, there was no way she would become lost. Just as planned, she stole the crystal jewel that was enshrined in the Dragon Palace, and when she pulled on the cord tied around her waist, the men in the boat said, "Ah, that's the signal--pull her up!" and they all pulled up the rope hand over hand.

Since she had dived so courageously, they pulled from above for all they were worth. When it looked like just a bit more to the ship, a lesser Dragon King who had been guarding the jewel saw what was happening, swam after her with the speed of arrows in flight. The men on the boat saw that there was only a little bit more of the rope to pull up. "Quick! She can just be seen faintly. Pull her up!" Just then, close behind the diver was a huge serpent coming up on her. It was about ten-jō [30.3 m] in length. It had a dagger
at its side. Its eyes were like the setting sun reflected on the water. It flicked the tip of its crimson-like tongue, and was almost upon her. The diver thought, "There is no way that I can escape," and she drew her sword. The men on the ship seeing this wrung their hands and gripped each other, falling all over each other in a panic, as Kamatari urged them, "Quickly! Quickly!" When he saw this, he drew his sword as well as the sickle that the fox had given him as a child, and was about to jump into the water when the men of the boat, grabbed both of his hands saying, "What are you doing?" and stopping him. When it looked as if little of the rope was left, the large serpent caught up, and with no mercy, bit off the two legs of the diver and then disappeared in a trail of foam.

<kudoki>

The lifeless corpse of the diver was lifted from the water, and set down among them. They all cried out together. Kamatari looked at her and said, "Because you did not succeed in recovering
the jewel, our chances of another life together have run out. There is a wound in her breast. It’s not just where the serpent bit her.”

He was suspicious, and having looked closely at the wound, from it drew the crystal jewel. “Now, when she was being pursued by the large serpent, she pulled out her sword, and when she appeared to be about to strike the serpent and defend herself, it seems what she in fact did was to turn it on herself and hide the jewel. If I could have suffered only a little of wound, myself, I would not feel so bad. Women’s lot is a precarious one. Intent upon not disregarding an order of a man, to throw one’s life away—how transient! It’s said of insects that disappear into a flame in the night, that they scorch themselves on account of their mate. During the autumn, the deer that draws near the hunter’s flute looses it life for this empty bond. While these are all senseless bonds of attachment and love, the misery that I feel now is certainly exceptional. For me, since
there's a bond of two lifetimes, we will see each other again in
the next life. As for you, it ends now. Look well at her parting
figure," he said. Taking their small child, Kamatari pressed the
young lord to the corpse’s breast. The child, unaware its parent
had died, was happy to see her after being apart, and suckled his
dead mother’s breast, while striking at it. The others—both of high
and low birth—seeing this were moved to tears.

<tsume>

Although the diver perished, through the expedient means of
goodness, she safely took back the priceless jewel that had been
stolen away to the Dragon Palace. There was really no way to express
thanks for this. This jewel, as stipulated in the accompanying
letter, was placed in the forehead of the patron statue of Sakya
the Kōfukuji temple. As for the statue of Buddha depicting him as
he was born, it was placed in a red sandalwood box and was five-sun
[15 cm] high, with a carved opening in which the flesh-colored relic
was placed; this was put inside an eight-sun [24 cm] high crystal pagoda. It was called "the Priceless Jewel," the most precious treasure in all of the three lands, which the Dragon Kings dearly wanted to possess. This, indeed, is the truth as it has come down to us.
1 The text used for this translation is the *Daigashira sahyōe-bon* that is reproduced in Sasano (II 28-50). The original text does not contain musical notation. To give the reader a general idea of the probable musical and narrative shape of the piece, I have added notation based upon the *Mōrike-bon*.

2 *Waga chō* 我朝 is a term used to distinguish Japanese dynasties from those of the continent.

3 The *Shunya shinki* states, “Amaterasu is Mahavairochana (*J. dainichi*) of the Womb Mandala, The Kasuga Deity is Mahavairochana of Diamond Mandala. More precisely stated, Kasuga is an expression of the profundity of the non-duality of these two worlds. Of the four seasons, it is the spring sun that is the most pleasant and nurtures living things. Amaterasu gave Kasuga the order to protect the nation, and that is why Kasuga is the guardian deity of both the Buddhist and imperial law. As for the characters for 'Kasuga,' the character for sun is used twice in the compound when we write it. This is none other than the significance of the dual Vairochana in the two mandalas. One is written in the character for 'spring;' it has the meaning of the non-duality of the Vairochana in the two mandalas” (195).

4 *Ujiko* 氏子.

5 See *Iruka*, note 11.

6 The *Shido dōjō engi* states, “Now, Kamako was the son of Mikeko Ōmuraji [an official post in the governmental system prior to the
revisons of the Taika Reforms]. The reason why he was called 'Kamako' was due to the following. In the first year of the reign of Emperor Kōgyoku [642], the son of Soga no Emishi, Iruka, usurped rank and had his own way with the nation and sought to overthrow the imperial family. In 644, [the future] Emperor Tenji being of the same heart as Kamako, commanded that prayers be offered up to Sakya-muni and his four attendant deities. Because of this, it was able to defeat Lord Iruka" (Hiroshima 53-54).

7 In 602, a two-level system of ranks for courtiers was established. Both cap and dress were distinguished by color. By the time of Temmu’s reign, the system had grown to crown prince at the highest level followed by twelve levels for the other princes, and finally forty-eight levels for lords. In 647, there were thirteen levels of which “Taishokkan” was the highest. In 669, Emperor Tenji conferred this rank upon Kamatari, and afterwards no one else held this rank.

8 Most other versions add, “And because of this, he was also called ‘Fuhito’ [without equal].”

9 Kamatari no yatsuko 長足の臣.

10 The Kasuya shinki states, “Now, Emperor Tenji wished that Lord Iruka and his entire clan be defeated. The task was given to Kamatari. Together they devised a plot to achieve this and commissioned a statue of Sakya-muni to which they offered up prayers. (This statue is now in the Golden Hall of the Kōfukuji temple)” (192). The Kōfukuji ruki, which gives details on the various buildings of the temple complex, states, “First, the Central Golden Hall. It is a four-sided building
with seven pillars. The Buddha enshrined there is six-じょ [18.18 metres] Sakya-muni. On either side are the Four Heavenly Kings. This is the same statue that was commissioned when Lord Taishokan restored peace to the realm when Iruka rebelled. He restored the emperor and made many great petitions. After Iruka was assassinated, he constructed many edifices. Tankaikô [Fuhito’s posthumous title] built the Central Golden Hall in 710. The construction was assisted by the Kasuga Deity” (4-5).

Kamatari commissioned a statue of Sakya-muni in 669 and enshrined it in the Yamashinadera temple in capital of Ōtsu in Ōmi province. When Emperor Temmu moved the capital to Kiyomihara, it was located in Umayasaka District of Asuka and was known as Umayasaka-dera temple. The statue of Sakya-muni was moved (sometime between the years of 719 to 724) to the new capital at Nara and it was at that time that it was built up as a large temple complex and given the name “Kōbukuji.” The central building was the Chūkondō that was built by Fujiwara Fuhito between the years 710 and 720.

11 Sapta-ratna (J. shichihō 七宝), the seven precious stones are (with many variations) gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, red pearl, amber and shell.

12 Shakon 在金, literally “to be decorated gold.”

13 She was, of course, Fuhito’s daughter. Yet, the kōwaka-mai is consistent. For example, in the piece Togashi 富樫, a similar passage is found, “The wife of Emperor Shōmu was called ’Empress Kōmyō.’ She was the daughter of ‘Taishokan,’ and was the incarnation of the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara” (Asahara and Kitahara 387).
14 The Daikyō teiyōshō 大鏡底容鈔 (late Kamakura period) has the following, “Kōhaku-nyō was the Empress of China. She was the daughter of ‘Taishokan.’ He had two sons, Tankaidō and the Dharma Eye Jōe. His second daughter became the Empress of China. When the emperor of China heard of Kamatari’s daughter in Japan he sent an envoy. He sent over a peerless minister along with three thousand garments of the finest material” (qtd. Abe “Taishokan” 120). The Shido dōjō engi states, “Fuhito was the successor of ‘Taishokan.’ Now this minister had a daughter [...] Emperor Gao Zong 高宗 (J. Kōsō) heard a rumor of her. Not being able to bear [his longing for her], he sent an envoy to go and obtain her. Fuhito was silent and the envoy was sent back. Emperor Gao Zong still could not bear it and out of his affection for her, she was given the rank of Empress along with three thousand robes” (Hiroshima 55). In the Noh drama Ama, the name of Fuhito’s daughter is not given but the account of her marrying the emperor of China is the same.

15 Sanjū-sansō 三十三相, the thirty-three aspects of a peerless beauty.

16 太宗 (J. Taisō) was the second emperor of the Tang dynasty (r. 626-649). He was responsible for the enactment of the ritsuryō code in China. In both the Shido dōjō engi and the Noh drama Ama, the Chinese emperor that is mentioned is Gao Zong, the third emperor of the Tang dynasty (r. 649-683).

The Taiheiki relates an episode when Tai Zong is said to have attacked Japan. “Since the beginning of the world there have been seven times when Japan has been attacked by foreign countries. In both 1275 and 1291 the emperor of Taiyuan 太元 (J. taigen), Hu Bi Lie 忽比烈 (J. fubirai) (1215-1294) during the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty,
his forces were subjugating the heavens and the earth. Although it was difficult to defeat his forces with only the power of a small country, the reason that our country was able to easily destroy the forces of Taiyuan was because of the divine protection of the revered kami who work miracles. Now the way that they were subjugated was like this. First, The general of the Taiyuan forces prepared to attack the five home provinces of the Japanese Kingdom crossing forty-three thousand seven hundred ri. He lined up his warriors one next to the other without any space between them. There must have been three million seven hundred men. The forces boarded more than seventy thousand large ships and set sail. Since their plans were rumored of in Japan, we had already undertaken preparations. Riders from Shikoku and Kyushu assembled in Hakata, Tsukushio province. Riders from Sanyō 山陽 and San’in 山陰 went to the capital. The warriors from Tōsandō 東山道 and Hokurikudō 北陸道 fortified the defenses at Tsuruga Bay in Echizen province. Now, on the third day of the eighth month of the second year of Bun’ei 文永 (1265), the seventy thousand ships carrying Taiyuan’s warriors approached Hakata Bay [...] Beating a drum they slashed their blades to the rhythm. As for their guns, their iron bullets shot out like they were wheels rolling down a hill. In one round, two or three thousand shots were fired off so that it was like a thunderbolt. Many of the Japanese warriors were scorched to death. The watchtowers were burned. There was no opportunity for them in which they could fight back” (Gotō and Kamada III 451-453).

17 The meaning of this phrase is unclear. The idea expressed here is that the emperor is, likened to the moon, and his ministers are, as the “stars,” reflections of that light. Recall that in Nihonki, India is said to be the moon and China is said to be the stars.
J. unga.

Kinsatsu 金札 is a letter or document sent from the emperor.

Tachibana no ason udairin hōgen 橘朝臣右大臣法眼, the text gives a Japanese name and title to this Chinese official.

Ryūtō 龍頭.

Gekishu 鳥首.

Ships with the dragon and heron heads were symbolic of the emperor.

Happi 法被, a costume in the Noh theater with large hems about six centimeters in length. Warriors and demons usually wear it.

Tengan 天冠, a headpiece worn in the Noh theater. The main part resembles golden clouds from which is suspended a symbolic moon. From the main part of the head piece jewels are suspended.

Sūsen man ri 数千万里, literally “several millions of ri.”

Chigo 稚児, young boys who had not undergone their coming-of-age ceremony. Usually they were employed as acolytes at Buddhist temples, but during the late-medieval period they were also performers.

Literally, tsunakoshibune no ho wo agetari 妻越船の帆を上げたり. The reference is to the Tanabata legend, when the altair (hikoboshi) intersects with vega (shokujosei 織姫星). In popular custom, this
was the one time during the year that the herdsman could meet the weaver maiden.

29 Ming Zhou 明州 (J. myōshû), the former name of the port city of Ningbo 南关, Zhejiang 浙江 province. Since the Tang dynasty (618-907) it was the main port of trade on the East China Sea. In the southern Song dynasty 南宗代 (1127-1279) there was a boom in trade between China and Japan through this port.

30 J. chôan, the capital of China during the Tang dynasty.

31 “The Steep Southern Road.”

32 “The Deep Southern Road.”

33 “The Western Road.”

34 “The North-Facing Road.”

35 “The Eastern Road.”

36 What follows is an exhaustive list of the treasures sent to Japan. The Shido dōjô engi only lists three treasures (of many).

37 J. senshi.

38 J. santô.

39 J. kagen.

40 Kujô no kesa 九条の袈裟 .
Ananda was the cousin of Sakya-muni and one of the Buddha's disciples. He is said to have begun the practice of the tonsure for women.

Mizugame 水瓶.

Keitai 磐台.

Hanatate 花立.

Kyōsoku 賛息.

Kasu 火鼠 was a mythic fire rat that was believed to live in a volcano in southern China. Its coat protected it from being burned.

The meaning of this phrase is unclear.

Mukehōju 無価宝. The Shido dōjō engi states, "Finally, there was the eight-sun jewel. Within it was contained a triptych with Shaka in the center. There was neither a front nor a back, neither was there a top or bottom so that from no matter which direction you faced it, you could always worship it. It was called the Fukōhaiju 不向背珠 [the jewel with a statue of the Buddha that never turns its back]. It was this jewel that Emperor Gao Zong cherished but entrusted immediately to his Empress so that she could send it to Japan. Her earnestness had no bounds" (Hiroshima 56).

J. hyakko.
50 J. senko.

51 J. manko.

52 J. unshū, in Datong 大同 (J. daitō) province, Shanxi 山西 (J. sansei) prefecture.

53 J. manko unsō.

54 Nagaraja (J. hachiryūō 八龍王), who according to the Hoke-kyō inhabit the heavenly realm and protect the Buddhist Law. Naga are one of eight gods and demi-gods that protect the Buddhist law. In Buddhist legend, it is a snake-like creature that is believed to have supernatural powers to form clouds and cause it to rain. According to the Johon 序品 Chapter of the Hoke-kyō, "The Eight Dragon Kings are: Nanda Ryūō 難陀龍王, Batunannda Ryūō 步難陀龍王, Shakara Ryūō 姆伽羅龍王, Washukitsu Ryūō 和修吉龍王, Tokushaka Ryūō 德叉迦龍王, Anabadatta Ryūō 阿那婆達多龍王, Manashi Ryūō 摩那斯龍王 and Uhatsura Ryūō 優鉢羅龍王等. Each of these Dragon Kings has one-hundred thousand Nyakkan 若干 in attendance" (Sakamoto and Iwamoto I 14).

55 Gosui 五衰, the five signs of decay of heavenly beings are (with variations): the "withering of their floral hairpiece" (keman ji‘i 華冠自萎), "dirtying of their garments" (ishō kufun 衣裳垢污), "sweat under their arms" (ekika ryūkan 腋下流汗), "becoming dizzy" (shinshitsu ikō 身失威光) , and "bewailing their life in the heavenly realm" (furaku honza 不楽本座) (it is no longer enjoyable).

56 Sannetsu 三熱, the three sufferings of a dragon are: a burning
wind that scorches their flesh, a windstorm that blows away their jeweled clothes, and their flesh being eaten by garuda (J. konjichô 金翅鳥), the mythic bird-like beast, while they are enjoying their life in the palace. This border region of suffering is often called the serpent realm (jadô 蛇道).

57 Okkô 億劫, one-hundred million kalpas.

58 Shôkaku 正覚, “perfect and complete enlightenment” is often an equivalent term for a buddha in whom reality is manifestly revealed.

59 Tennin 天人, those beings who live in the upper realm. In Buddhist thought, the world is divided into the upper realm, jôkai 上界 and lower realm, gekai 下界. The lower realm is said to be in the sea where the Dragon Palace is said to be located.

60 Yasha 夜叉, the eight attendants of Vaisravana (J. bishamon 昴沙門) who protect the true Buddhist law (J. shôbô 正法).

61 Rasetsu 羅刹, evil demons that torment human beings and eat their flesh. They also protect the Buddhist law, and are said to be the jailers of hell.

62 Ashura 阿修羅.

63 Makeishura 魔醯首羅, one of the highest Hindu gods who is said to inhabit the upper-most heaven within the realm of form (nishikikai 二色界). He is often identified with Siva, and he is said to have three eyes and eight arms. He rides on a white ox.
Chikura-ga-oki is the mythical sea border between the Korean Peninsula and Japan. In common usage, “chikura” refers to the unbridgeable gap between those things that are Japanese and those things that are Chinese. It can also refer to things that are vague. This mythic border between Japan and the continent is also seen in Yuriwaka daijin.

Jintū yūge 神通遊戯, the supernatural power that gives one total freedom of movement.

Kusazurinaga 草槻長.

Gomai kabuto 五枚甲.

Anokudara sanmyaku sanbodai 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提, the most supreme enlightenment of a Buddha, in which all is perfect and equal.

Gōma riken 降魔利劍, Acalanatha (J. Fudō 不動) is depicted with this sword that he uses to repel enemies that would harm the Buddhist Law.

This is the sword carried by the demon kami who lives on Mt. Suzuka 鈴鹿.

As with the Taitōren and the Gōma riken, this is a sword that Acalanatha uses to repel evil beings.

In gagaku this is a quadruple-time rhythm, heavily accented on the first beat.
In gagaku this is the rhythm used in the introductory section.

The meaning of this phrase is unclear.

The meaning of this word is unclear.

The meaning of this word is unclear.

Teppō 鉄炮, a type of cannon that shot out large metal cannonballs.

This rhythm accompanied a special type of footwork and circling movements.

In the Noh, kiri is the final rhythm used in a piece.

Horo 母衣 was a large cape that billowed in the wind to fend off arrows from behind. The back plate of the helmet was to protect the neck by deflecting arrows coming from the rear.

Shōjōhi 猩猩緋, a shade of scarlet that warriors of the late Muromachi period particularly favored. In Chinese legend, the color originated in the color of blood of an orangutan that was smeared on the face.

Ukukutsu 浮沓, with these shoes it was believed that a horse could move freely upon the surface of the water.

Akkō 悪口 and shin’i 瞑恥 are two of ten evils (J. jūaku 十悪) They include: “killing living beings” (sesshō 殺生), “stealing” (chûdô 偷盜), “lust” (jain 邪淫), “lying” (bôgo 妄語), “betrayal” (ryôzetsu 背反).
両舌），“slander” (akkō), “flattery” (kigo 綺語), “covetousness” (tonyoku 貪欲), “greed” (shin’i), “heresy” (jaken 瞑惑）.

84 Avidya (Jp. mumyō 無明) is the ignorance of phenomena and reason.

85 Kengo 堅固, there are five types of stubbornness in Buddhism (go kengo 五堅固).

86 Tōjō muzan 閑諤無漸.

87 Shin’i, one of the three poisons, sandoku 三毒. The “three poisons are “covetousness” (tonkyoku), “greed” (shin’i), and “delusion” (guchi).

88 Guchi is one of the three poisons as well as one of the six sources of desire, rokkan 六根.

89 These demons were believed to cover up the sun and moon.

90 “Floating on the deep blue sea.”

91 “Floating on the dragon’s back.”

92 A similar scene is found in Yuriwaka daijin when Yuriwaka is fighting the Mongol forces.

93 Kanzeon 觀世音.

94 The quotation is from the Hoke-kyō (Sakamoto and Iwamoto III 266).
A kemon is used in Buddhist services. It is wooden and shaped like an apricot leaf upon which is carved either birds and flowers or a celestial maiden.

Hata 幡 is used in Buddhist services. It represents the dignity and grace of a bodhisattva.

Nanda ryo 阿陀龍王 is one of the eight Dragon Kings with seven dragon heads attached to his own head.

According to the "Devadatta Chapter" (J. daibadatta-hon) 提婆達多品 of the Hoke-kyō, the Dragon Girl offered a jewel to the Buddha and thereby achieved enlightenment. She was the daughter of Baketsura 婆竭羅 Dragon King. In the Hoke-kyō jikidanshō he is said to have three daughters the first of whom is called Toyotama-hime 豊玉姫 or Takaranshiki-hime 宝錦姫. The second daughter is Tamayori-hime 玉依姫, and the third daughter is Gion-nyo 祇園女.

Utsubo-bune 空舟, a ship fashioned out of a hollow log. This is a common motif in legend especially in legends of mononoke 物怪 evil spirits, or of Hachiman. Kami and demons are said to ride in them.

Taken from the poem "Kaimanman" 海漫漫 by Po Chu-i. It also appears in the Noh play Ama.

Unknown island.

Unknown island.

Unknown island.
Unknown island.

Unknown island.

This is an island off the southern coast of Kyushu.

This is an island off the coast of Saga prefecture.

This is an island off of the coast of Nagasaki.

*Jinkō* 沈香, agalloch, an aromatic tree used primarily in the manufacture of high-quality articles.

*Tenma hajun* 天魔波旬, demons that inhabit the highest heaven of the world of desire and keep humans from obtaining wisdom or doing good.

*Kittan* was a country created in the tenth century when the Mongols joined Inner and Outer Mongolia with Manchuria. The Kitaï ethnic group was originally composed of nomads who began gaining strength by the Tang dynasty.

*Ominaeshi* 女郞花, a flower that blooms in the autumn especially in sunny fields and mountains.

*Shimo wo oitaru ominaeshi* 霧を帯びたる女郞花 “A patrina wilted by the frost” is uncommon in the waka tradition, yet it is a common topos associated with the Dragon Girl and the five hindrances against
enlightenment that the female body is said to have. See Kamens.

Xi-shi (J. shise) was one of the most beautiful women during the Spring and Autumn period (722-491 BCE). When the king of Yue 越 lost to the forces of Wu 吳 he presented Xi-shi to the king of Wu 誰 who was overcome by her beauty.

Shikimono 敷物, a “carpet” or “mat,” is a pun on hijiki-mo ひじき藻, a kind of seaweed.

J. chōzan.

The source of this poem is the Makashikan 摩可止観 via the Wakan rōeishū. The original is 月陰重山兮, 擎頭喻之, 風息太虚兮, 動樹教之. The quote here is a kundoku reading of this verse (Kawaguchi and Shida 200, [#587]).

This image is from the Kokinwakashū poem No. 933. Yo no naka ha, nanika tsune naru, Asukagawa; kinō no fuchi zo, kyō ha se ni naru 世の中は、何か常なる、飛鳥川、きのうの淵ぞ、今日は瀬になる “In this world, what is lasting? Asuka River—yesterday’s pools, become today’s rapids” (Saeki 291).

Rokuyokuten 六欲天, the six heavens that restrain desire (shidaiōshuten 四大王衆天, sanjūsannten 三十三天, yamaten 夜摩天, toshitaten 観史多天, rakahengeten 楽変天, and tagejizaiten 他化自在天).

Shijō 四生 are the four types of birth (of sentient beings) “egg birth” (ranshō 卵生), “live birth” (taishō 胎生), “birth from foam”
(shisshō 湿生), and “spontaneous birth” (keshō 化生).

121 Hakku 八苦, the four sufferings, soku 四苦 (“birth” [shō 生], “old age” [rō 老], “sickness” [byō 病], “death” [shi 死]) in addition to “parting from a loved one” (aibetsuri 愛別離), “hatred” (onzōe 怨憎会), “suffering from seeking but not finding what one desires” (gufutoku 求不得), and “suffering from living in a world made of the five essential elements” (go’onjō 五陰盛).

122 San’akudō 三悪道, the three lowest levels of samsara.

123 Shiaku 四悪, an abbreviation of “shia-kudō” which are the three lowest levels of samsara plus the next higher level of the asura.

124 Shidaimotsu 四大物, the four basic elements from which all living things are made: earth, water, fire, wind.

125 J. gokai 五戒 are those precepts which are to be upheld by laymen: “do not kill living beings” (fusesshō 不殺生), “do not steal” (fuchō 不偷盗), “do not have sexual relations” (fujain 不邪婬), “do not slander” (fumō 不妄語), and “do not drink alcohol” (fujonju 不飲酒).

126 This begins a long exposition on the gogyō 五行 theories that were popular during the medieval period.

127 Go’on 五音, the five basic tones in Chinese music.

128 Shissei 七声, the five basic tones plus two semi-tones.
Gochi 五智, the five kinds of wisdom of Mahavairocana as explained within mikkyō 密教 teaching are: “unclouded, reflected wisdom” (daienkyōchi 大円鏡智), “impartial wisdom” (byōdōshōchi 平等性智), “intuitive wisdom” (myōkanzatchi 妙観察智), “behavioral wisdom” (jōshosachi 成所作智) and “wisdom to clarify the original nature of the world of true reality” (hōkaitaishōchi 法界体性智).

The five forms, itsutsu no katachi 五つの形 are the five basic elements in mikkyō: earth, water, fire, water, and space.

Musoku tasoku 無足多足, creatures without legs such as snakes, and creatures with many legs such as centipedes.

Rokuharamitsu 六波羅蜜, are the six virtuous practices of a bodhisattva: “support” (fuse 布施 [including “monetary support” (zaise 財施) “support of the Buddhist law” (hōse 法施) and “allaying fear” (muise 無畏施)], “defend the commandments” (jikai 持戒), “endure suffering” (ninniku 忍辱), “diligence” (shōjin 精進), “contemplation” (zenjō 禅定), and “wisdom” (to attain perfect enlightenment [chie 智慧 [般若]]).

Sanmyō 三明, the three powers are: the “power to see anything” (tengentsū 天眼通), the “power to see past lives” (shukumyōtsū 宿命通), and the “power to destroy evil desires” (rojintsū 漏尽通). Added to these three are the powers of omnipotence, omniscience and the power to hear anything. These make up the six supernatural powers of a buddha.

Rokutsū 六通 are the three powers of sanmyō, in addition to the power to the “power to hear all” (te nnitsū 天耳通), the “power to
know what others think” (tashintsu 他心通), and the “power to change one’s physical appearance” (jinsokutsu 神足通).

135  Jodo 蛇道.

136  Sramanera-samvara (J. jikkai 十戒), the ten commandments in Theravada Buddhism that an apprentice monk (from age seven to nineteen) must uphold. These commandments are the five commandments plus the prohibitions against “adorning the body” (futoshokukomankai 不塗飾香鬘戒), against “watching song and dance” (fukabukanchokai 不歌舞観聴戒), against “using elegant beds or chairs” (fuzakokodaishokai 不座高大牀戒), against “eating outside of the prescribed times” (fuhijishokukai 不非時食戒), and against “holding property” (fuchikukonginhokai 不畜金银宝戒).

137  Those commandments in Theravada Buddhism that must be upheld by those who have renounced the world (biku 比丘 or bikuni 比丘尼).

138  Literally, sravaka 声聞 (J. shomon) which in Theravada is a person who has renounced the world and devotes himself to his own salvation, equivalent to an arhat 阿羅漢 (J. arakan).

139  Those commandments that must be upheld by biku and bikuni who are striving to attain Nirvana.

140  Engaku 緣覚, enlightenment that one achieves by one’s own efforts, without being taught.

141  Bodhisattva trividham silam (J. bosatsu sanju isshin kai 菩薩三聚一心戒) is the commandment of a bodhisattva to help humans (who
are categorized according to their corresponding three destinies: those who are certain to attain Nirvana, those who are certain to fall into one of the evil realms of transmigration, and those whose destinies are not certain).

142 In Mahayana Buddhism, the bodhisattva forgoes achieving enlightenment to help sentient beings. The bodhisattva-sila (j. bosatsu-sai 布薩戒) are those commandments that foster self awareness (whether or not one has taken the tonsure) to endeavor in the Buddhist austerities. The three commandments are to "refrain from evil" (shaku 止惡), "do good" (shuzen 修善), "refrain from selfishness" (rita 利他). There are also the "three commandments of purity" (sanju-jo-sai 三聚淨戒) that are: "upholding the law" (setsuro-bai 樂律儀戒), "upholding the dharma" (setsuzen-bai 撰善法戒), and "upholding sentient beings" (setsu-shu-bai 撰衆生成).

143 Daijo-endonkai 大乗円頓戒 was preached by Saichō (767-822) 景澄. Once one has taken the tonsure while remaining a layman (zaike shukke 在家出家), it can never be lost for all eternity.

144 The Buddha's body has three aspects (sanjin 三身): the "dharma body" (hosshin 法身) is the body of ultimate reality, the "reward or enjoyment body" (hōjin 報身) is the body the Buddha received as a result of his meritorious practices, the "accommodative or corresponding body" (ōjin 应身) is the body of the Buddha manifested according to the different needs or capabilities of living beings.

145 Ki (or kikon 機根), the inherent ability in all humans to be receptive to the teachings of Buddhism.
166 Jōkon 上根 (or jōkikon 上機根), “superior inherent ability.”

147 Chie 知恵.

149 Daichie 大知恵, the wisdom of a buddha.

149 Yashudaranyo 耶輸陀羅女.

Ararasennin 阿羅邏仙人.

Dandokusen 堃德山, the mountain on which Sakya-muni practiced strict asceticism before becoming the Buddha.

Ryōjusen 霞鷲山, is a mountain located in the middle of the Himalayas of India. This is the mountain where the Buddha preached the Hoke-kyō, the Muryōju-kyō 無量寿経 and other sutras of Mahayana tradition. The top of the mountain is flat and in the shape of an eagle.

Aka 闍伽, holy water offered at a Buddhist altar.

Zazer 座禅, or Zen meditation.

Sankai 三界, the three worlds are: the “world of desire” (yokukai 欲界), the “world beyond desire yet still in the material world” (shikikai 色界), and the “world beyond the material world,” i.e. the spiritual world (mushikikai 無色界).

He was the younger half-brother of Sakya-muni. After he took the tonsure, he continued to love his wife, unable to get rid of these thoughts he suffered pain.
Jikke bonnō 習気煩惱, habits that remain imprinted on the heart even after one has rid oneself of evil passions.

See note 137 above.

Kokū isshō dō ittai 虚空一生同一体. The source for this quotation is unclear.

Yakushi 藤師.

Amida 阿弥陀.

Miroku 弥勒.

Dainichi 大日.

See note 144 above.

See note 144 above.

Hassō jōdō 八相成道, the eight events in the Buddha’s life are “descent from tosotsuten 兜率天” (gōtosotsu 降兜率), “life in the womb” (takutai 托胎), “birth” (shutsutai 出胎), “tonsure” (shukke 出家), “defeating demons who tried to impede his austerities under the tree of bodhi” (gōma 降魔), “achieving enlightenment and becoming a Buddha” (jōdō 成道), “preaching to his disciples” (tenbōrin 転法輪), and “death” (nyūmetsu 入滅).

Nangyō kugyō 難行苦行.
169 Gyōtai 形体．

169 Kusa makura 草枕 is a common makura kotoba used in waka. It is often used with travel (tabi 旅).

170 Keisei to kaite ha, miyako katabuku to yomareshimo 倾城と書いては、都傾くと読まれしも are the actual lines here. “It is written 'keisei' [beautiful woman], but it can also be read as the city fell.”

171 In continental Buddhist thought, the dragons live in the heavenly realm, however in Japanese Buddhism, they lived in the realm of demons.

172 Negatai 検固い puns negatai 寂難い The wind bends the grasses as Kamatari bends (or “woos”) the diver.

173 Naniwa 難波 was a famous site for reeds in the waka tradition. A reed as a plant that sinks its roots in the water yet protrudes above the surface, is an ambiguous image linking this world and the Otherworld.

174 The snowy heron (sagi 鶴) and images of the sea or waves are connected in the Japanese waka tradition.

175 Susaki is a place name as well as the name for a sand spit that juts out into the sea. Images that are ambiguous are seen here to connect the land and the sea emphasizing the distinction between this world and the Otherworld. Like the snowy heron and sand spit, the diver links these two worlds.
The Shido dōjō engi does not give the details of the diver's travel to the Dragon Palace.

In the Shido dōjō engi it is the Dragon Girl who guards the jewel.
APPENDIX C

DAIJIN

<Cycle 1>

<kotoba>
Now, long ago, in our imperial dynasty, during the reign of Emperor Saga, there was a man called the “Minister of the Left Kinmitsu きんみつ who was a wise man without equal. However, this Kinmitsu had no child to carry on his name. Pondering what he should do, he made a pilgrimage to the Hasedera temple in the land of Yamato, and there he prayed, seeking a miracle from the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara of boundless compassion. Journeying there thirty-three times, it was for a heaven-sent child that he prayed.

When the tide of Avalokitesvara’s eternal promise was full, he received a child. Moreover, the child was a boy. Because he was an infant [born in] mid-summer, Kinmitsu thought to raise him with the flowers, and so he called the boy “Yuriwaka-dono.” At the age of
of seven, the boy first wore hakama 禸. At thirteen he had his coming-of-age ceremony and was given the fourth rank of Shōshō-dono 少将殿 of the fourth rank. When he was seventeen, he promptly became Minister of the Right. He was known as "Yuriwaka Daijin [The Lord Minister Yuriwaka]," still likened to the name of his childhood. He took as his wife the daughter of the Sanjō Mibu Dainagon Akitoki 三条壬生大納言あき時 and it was heard that the couple’s relationship was as congenial as two mandarin ducks: it was not shallow.

This is how things progressed. Now, speaking of the imperial dynasty of our country, it began with Kunitokotachi-no-mikoto 国常立尊. When Izanaki and Izanami descended from the heavens to this land and became the kami of the two pillars, their first-born was the sun. This is the kami of Ise. Next, they gave birth to the moon. The Niu 丹生 deity of Mt. Kōya 高野, Tsukuyomi-no-mikoto 月読尊 is this. After that, they gave birth to the sea. This is the Leech Child of the land of Tsu, Ebisu Saburō-dono 夷三郎殿. After that, next they gave birth the kami. Susanowo-no-mikoto of the land
of Izumo lives in the Grand Shrine. Besides that, the other kami at all the subordinate shrines, are all under this kami. Saying that is the buddhas that are original ground of the kami, these are words that are not widely understood. It is the kami who are the original ground, and continually take the form of buddhas in order to guide sentient beings to salvation. Be that as it may. Now, as for our imperial dynasty, rather than this world of desire, truly as a land the kami founded this country to protect the Buddhist law. The great demon resting in Takejizaiten ponders various expedient means. Above all else, he contrived to make our dynasty the land of the demons, and therefore there were many mysteries in the land.

<Cycle 2>

<kotoba>
At this time, this was one of the mysteries was that it was heard that the people of Mongolia revolted and set to attack our land. It is said that in 40,000 ships many Mongols boarded,
and under the four generals, Ryôzô, Kasui, Tobu Kumo and Hashiru Kumo, brought their ships to Hakata in Tsukushi to attack. Shouting loudly, they set sail, and it was lighting signal fires, beating drums and shooting poison arrows it was heard that they attacked.

20 The archers on hand in Tsukushi fought back, but [the Mongols] shot poison arrows that fell like the spring rain, let spears fly, hurled swords, shot forty thousand cannons, 21 and shook the heavens and earth, as if they were no match, and the [Tsukushi forces] retreated to the Chûgoku region. 22

Now speaking of our imperial dynasty, being a land is the size of a grain of millet, 23 although it is said to be small, since the time of the kami, the three treasures handed down are these. 24 One of these is called the jewel, 25 bearing the seal of the demon king of the sixth heaven. The second of these is the “Naishidokoro” 内侍所, the sacred mirror of Amaterasu. 26 The third treasure is the sacred sword that was taken from the tail of the great snake of Mt. Hikami 箕上 in the land of Izumo. These are the three great treasures 709
under heaven. Generation after generation evil men from foreign lands despised us, but because this continues to be a land of the kami, it has never come to ruin.

<tsume>
Now they went to the shrine at Ise, where even now the great deity Amaterasu resides and the Isuzu River has no end, and made offerings. Following several oracles of the sacred mirror, saying that a punitive force was to be ordered, offerings were made at all the shrines in the land as well as special performances of kagura.

Among the oracles of the Naishidokoro, a particularly felicitous one was heard. Entering the sleeves of a seven-year-old medium, the jangling bells in her hands were waved upward, and there was an oracle. “On the day that the forces of the Mongols attacked, the kami in the Heavenly Plain assembled and discussed various issues of military import. Nevertheless, the general of the Mongols, Ryōzō 両蔵 shot his poison arrows at many imperial holdings and pierced the leg of the sacred horse at the Sumiyoshi shrine. In order to heal the wound a holy war of the kami has been deferred.
By this, the evil barbarians were encouraged and have been emboldened to attack. However, their actions are but flowers while the wind is calm. Now hasten the earthly attack. The kami will advance with you! The general for this battle will be the eldest son of the Minister of the Left, Yuriwaka. If this man heads the punitive force, all of the kami will give their assistance, accompanying them with supernatural powers. If you go down to face them, you must carry with you bows and arrows made of iron. Do not delay, the situation can only worsen. Hurry! Hurry!” This was the oracle; and once it had been given, the kami ascended.

<Cycle 3>

<kotoba>
Since this was a divine oracle, the Minister of the Left, Kinmitsu, summoned his son, the Lord Minister Yuriwaka. “Go down and face the enemies!” he ordered. Since the order was not only an imperial mandate and a divine oracle, but also an order of his father, the Lord Minister Yuriwaka chose an auspicious day and went to face
the Mongol warriors. Now, trusting in the words of the oracle and
thinking it necessary to take with him iron bows and arrows, he
summoned a skilled ironsmith, cleansed one place and made this a
smithy, and had bow and arrows made of the highest purity. Both the
bows and the arrows were of iron. So that once they were shot they
would not return, oil of a mermaid was applied to them. The length
of the bows was eight-shaku and five-sun [2.57 m]. Their
circumference was six-sun and two-fun [9.6 cm]. The length of the
arrows was three-shaku and six-sun [1.09 m]. The arrowheads had
eight eyes bored into them. The number of arrows was three hundred
sixty-three.

Now, on an auspicious day, the eighth day of the second month
of the seventh year of Kōnin 弘仁 (816), they left the capital. No
fearless warrior from any of the provinces was left behind. It is
recorded that the Lord Minister had with him thirty thousand mounted
troops. There were also foot soldiers under them whose numbers did
not exceed one million. They departed from the capital. That day they made camp at the mountain in Yawata 八幡. 35 On the next day, they made camp at Koyano 昆陽野 on Naniwa 难波 Bay in Tsu province. 36

Meanwhile, beginning the protection of the royal capital, 37 they changed robe and headdress to armor. Out of colors pure and delicate, the form of the protective demons appeared, riding on the clouds, riding on the mist, in order to protect the country for one, and also its people. 38 Oh, scion of the gods, he stepped forward, his protectors with him like his very shadow. Now, according to the customs of the kami, the winds of the gods blew refreshingly, and the forces of the Mongols that were camped at Tsukushi heard of this and, saying this time they would pull back, they boarded 40,000 ships, and they retreated to Mongolia. 39 And it was thus that all under heaven became tranquil and the land became happy.
The Lord Minister reported to the emperor, and there was a decree from the imperial court. "The meritorious services of the Lord Minister, have secured for him the governorship of Tsukushi. Hurry and take up your post!" The Lord minister, depressed by the thought of living in Kyūshū, declined the post, however, a messenger was sent again with the message, "Since it is in order to protect the province, if you do not live there, this will not do." Since there was nothing he could do about it, he took his wife, hurriedly went to Tsukushi, and setting up the provincial capital at Bungo, lived there in a no less inferior capital.

Now, in the capital, there were various discussions among the nobles. "Although we have heard that there are four generals of the Mongol forces, truly it would be a sign that we have defeated them if one of them could be killed. Because the infidels have the supernatural power of knowledge of both the seen and unseen," what were they thinking sneaking away? And it is hard to know what is
in their hearts. First cross to Koguryō and the go and conquer the seven hundred and sixty-six provinces. Afterwards, having subjugated Paekche, and leading the troops into Mongolia, what problem should there be?” Saying this, troops were sent down to Tsukushi. The Lord Minister Yuriwaka too, choosing an auspicious day, set off to face the Mongol forces.

To attack the Mongols, they had one hundred newly constructed great ships, and the number of longboats was countless. Fishing vessels, and flatboats, in all the number of boats was eighty thousand that went out to face the Mongol forces that had forty thousand ships, and, how tremendous an undertaking it was, they were faced by twice as many ships. Now, the Lord Minister’s own ship was decorated in brocade, and as for the kami enshrined in the stern and the bow, the light [reflected off] the shrine fences, torii and the branches of the sakaki trees of the shrines of the sixty-six provinces threw penetrated the clouds. Meanwhile, signal fires
blazed and large drums were played, and thus, it was a scene that made one’s hair stand on end.

In the middle of the fourth month, the Lord Minister quickly boarded his ship. His wife, who was heartbroken at the thought of parting, said “Let me go with you in the same ship!” But the Lord Minister stopped her forcibly saying, “It is unthinkable!” Now, five-colored streamers were joined together on the stern and the bow of the ships, and a divine wind blew refreshingly; and so, the devils in hell would fear the sight of these ships. When we look for similar examples in the past, when Empress Jingū set off to attack Silla accompanied with a divine host, it was a scene like this that comes to mind.47

<Cycle 5>

<kotoba>
The Mongols had the two supernatural powers, and looking closely at the colors of the heavens, they immediately perceived that punitive forces had started out toward them, and said, “We cannot
allow this horde to near our land. Let us go to the tidal boundary and try to prevent this!” Saying this, the great Mongol forces boarded their forty thousand ships and called out in a loud voice and set sail. They sailed out to the ocean boundary between Japan and China, Chikura-ga-oki. The Lord Minister’s ship set out toward the waters of Chikura-ga-oki, as well. Filled with fear, he, too, did not approach. Both sides were afraid, and did not approach. They stayed some fifty-chō [5.5 km] distance, and there, they passed three springs.

At this point, the general of the Mongol forces, Ryôzô, stood up on the bow and called out in a loud voice, “Among our ways of making war, it is making mist descend [that we’ll employ], mists descend!” “Very good.” The general of the land of Kirin replied, and he stood up on the bow of his ship and blew out a blue breath. What kind of magic could this have been? It was as a fog that his breath fell. At first, it fell thinly, but gradually it thickened, making it impossible to distinguish between the sun and
the moon. Being plunged into something that was like an eternal
inght, on the first day, the second day it did not clear; it was
for one hundred days and nights that it fell. Even such courageous
warriors lost nerve in the bewildering mists; they could not even
see the tips of their bows, and so there was no way that they were
dale to shoot. Wholly at the mercy of the mists, they lamented how
miserable it would be to become as debris on the "blue waves."

The Lord Minister thinking how truly regrettable it was,
thought "If not now, when can I call upon the power of the kami?"
He scooped up some seawater and said, "Hail Amaterasu, and the
other greater and lesser kami of the sixty provinces of Japan,
together lend me your strength and clear this mist!" As he prayed
this, how auspicious, there was right away a sign that his prayers
had been fulfilled. A storm blew the reeds in the land of Ise, and
because the wind blew refreshingly through the pines of Sumiyoshi,
the snows of Mt. Hakusan that know
not the darkness of delusion. In no time at all, the Kashima helmsman raised the sails of joy.

<Cycle 6>

<kotoba>
Cheered, the Lord Minister had a lighter lowered onto the sea and boarded it. Thinking it unnecessary to use his entire forces, he took with him eighteen men and set out toward the Mongols’ ships. The generals Ryôzô and Kasui saw this and became enraged, and even though it was like throwing straws against the wind, they threw spears, brandished swords and shot cannons in all directions, shaking the heaven and earth, but the Lord Minister was not in the least disturbed and continued his advance upon the Mongol forces.

An iron shield that was fixed onto the bow of the ship had the words of the Hannya and Avalokitesvara sutras written on its face. In gold paint, the words of the sonshô darani 尊勝陀羅尼 “Jaya Jaya Vijaya” 悉耶悉耶毘悉耶 became the arrowheads of the wonders of the three poisons that shot out the eyes of the Mongols. The two
Sanskrit characters of the Fudō mantra “kan” 喎 and “man” 成 became the swords that flew and cut off the heads of many Mongols. The wonderful words of the Avalokitesvara sutra that says, “Through the power of Avalokitesvara, you will escape fear,” became golden shields that repelled the arrows of the Mongols, and not one of the allies suffered a loss. And it was in this way that everyone gained power, and they crushed the defensive forces. The Lord Minister observed this and thought, “When, if not now?” The sound of a vibrating bowstring was heard even as far away as in the heavens. He shot three hundred and sixty-three arrows, leaving only a few, and he shot the Mongol general Ryōzō. The general Kasui cut open his belly. The other two generals, Tobu Kumo and Hashiru Kumo, were captured alive. The rest of the Mongol troops cut their bellies or drowned in the sea. Of the Mongol troops that were aboard the forty thousand ships, the majority of them were shot and the number of ships was reduced to ten thousand. “Such being the case, this would certainly be a sin.” The Lord Minister thought this and wrote out a pledge to the
gods sparing them, returned to the mainland, and said, "Japan has
won the battle!" There was no limit to the joy expressed by those
on board the eighty thousand ships.

***

<Cycle 7>

<kotoba>
In the meantime, the Lord Minister thought that if he
returned directly home, there would be many happy developments, he
summoned his guardians, the Beppu brothers,\textsuperscript{57} and said, "This
prolonged battle has drained my spirits. Is there an island
somewhere? I wish to go up and rest."

The Beppu brothers obeyed this order, and let down a lighter
to search for a suitable island. Out of the waves, a small island
appeared. This was Genkai-ga-shima.\textsuperscript{58} They secreted their lord and
put him onto this island. They laid out a fur cushion, gave him a
stone for a pillow, and the Lord Minister slept there. The Lord
Minister must have exerted much strength, for he fell into a deep
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sleep, undisturbed by the goings on about him. He slept for three
days and nights.\textsuperscript{59}

During this time, the Beppu brothers in their boredom began
to talk to each other. The younger brother said, “How fortunate,
our master has already received the nine provinces of Tsukushi, and
like an eagle, who does not anticipate any foe stronger than himself,
however, now that he has defeated the Mongol troops, nothing could
prevent him from getting the entire sixty-six provinces of Japan!
If one were to pray for good fortune, it is like our master that
he would become!”

The elder Beppu brother heard this and said, “Alas, that’s
the case! If our master has such fortune, how horrible for us, two
brothers who will return to the pain of our former life and wither
away into obscurity! Okay, let us kill our master here on this island,
and then we will surely be enfeoffed with his lands.”

Hearing this, the younger brother replied, “Oh, what a
regrettable scheme! It is because of our having received our lord’s
722
kindness that we have come so far! If we forget his kindness of the past and take his life with our own hands, how can we escape the retribution of heaven? Think this over carefully!"

The elder brother heard him and said, "Now, are you united with our master? In the end, if this is heard of, then certainly I will be blamed. There is no other enemy. I will fight with you and die." Saying this, he gripped his sword by the hilt, and made to fly at his brother. The younger brother saw this and said, "Have you gone mad? Truly, if you think that way, even if we do not kill him, if we leave him here on this island alive and return home, on a small island how can he survive even ten days?"

The elder brother thought about this some time and said, "Now, that's an interesting plan you have. Truly, truly, let's do it!"

How pitiful, they left their master, the Lord Minister, on Genkai-ga-shima and rowed back to the ship. "My fellow warriors, the arrow of the Mongol general Ryōzō struck our master through a crack in his armor. As it seemed like a slight wound, we expected
it to get better and had no indication that we should ask for help, and he at last perished. We laid his corpse upon the land, and would have liked for his wife to have the opportunity to behold his body, but since it was a boat that had been a shrine to the myriad kami, how pitiful, we sunk it to the bottom of the sea. Since there is nothing that can be done about it, set sail!” they ordered. The troops all in a dream state set sail, not one of them wanting to be outdistanced. It was not one or two ships, all together there were 80,000 ships. When they all raised the sails and pulled in the oars, both heaven and earth shook.

Yuriwaka was wakered from his dreams by their voices, and said, “Who is there?” Yet, there was no one there to answer. “What is going on?” he thought, and he jumped up and looked about him, but no one was to be seen. Looking toward his ship, it was with a raise of the sails that the ships moved away. “Now, the Beppu brothers had a change of heart? Even if it is the Beppu brothers that have had a change of heart, why would the other men under him not take
me with them? Hey, bring that ship over here!” But no one could
hear him over the loud noise of the ships. Without thinking, he dived
into the sea, held his breath, and tried to swim until out of breath,
but the ship, made of wood, was too fast as it was blown by the wind.

Being beyond his power, Yuriwaka returned to that desolate island
and stared after the ships as they sailed away, and stood appalled.
Although one is reminded of Sōri 早離 and Sokuri 速離 who in the past
were abandoned on a deserted island, however, in their case, at least,
since they were two men, they had a way to comfort each other. 60

This was a small island, and there were neither trees nor
grasses of any kind. The blue sky stretched out above, far and wide,
and there were no mountains from which the moon could emerge. The
morning sun rose from the sea and set again into the same sea. His
dew-like body was his only reliance. The night deepened, and the
only thing he could hear was the roar of the waves. He took refuge
between the rocks. Both awake and asleep he got wet. Occasionally,
there would be visitors—the seagulls brought in by the waves—and
when there was the chirping of the plovers at the water’s edge, he longed even more for a companion. The nights were long, and the setting of the sun was late. His dew-like life seemed as if it would take shelter in the leaves of the grasses, yet he gathered gulfweed to extend his life and passed a number of days in misery. There is no way to completely describe his pitiful situation.

<Cycle 8>

<kotoba>
In the meantime, the Beppu brothers sailed into Hakata in the land of Tsukushi, and rumor of their joyous return was heard. The Lord Minister’s wife at the provincial capital in Bungo was beside herself with joy. She prepared novel diversions and waited, thinking he was late, whereupon the Beppu brothers were led into the official residence. The Lord Minister saw them and thought, “They have come to lead the way for my husband.” She truly thought that they had been asked to do so, and she approached the screen. “How unexpected. Why is my husband late?” The brothers did not
reply for some time. The Lord Minister’s wife again asked, “What is it?”

At that moment, the brothers appeared to be overcome with tears, “How awful! When we speak, we are drowned in tears. Yet, if we do not speak, then you will never know. Our master grappled with the general of the Mongols, Ryōzō, and both were drowned at the bottom of the sea. Afterwards, he did not appear again. Preoccupied by the painful thought [of his loss], there was no sign that we had defeated the Mongols. Although this was the case, he gave us these keepsakes. Please look at these.” And they offered to her the Lord Minister’s armor, iron bow and sword.

<kakaru>
Yuriwaka’s wife looked at these things and thought, “How incomprehensible! If he was grappling with the enemy, when did he have time to entrust the brothers with these keepsakes before sinking beneath the waves. These are words I cannot understand. I want to have these brothers seized and tortured until they confess,” she thought, yet, because she was in a weak position as a woman, she
restrained her emotions, and retreated deep inside of the blinds.

As she held these things, her flowing tears burned, and her
ladies-in-waiting wept together with their mistress. How pitiful it was to see them wringing their sleeves that were wetted with tears, even people not directly involved.

<Cycle 9>

<kotoba>
Meanwhile, the Beppu brothers led many troops to the capital, and there they reported to the emperor. A joy-filled world under heaven, having prosperity—what could have been better?—both high and low were cheerful. Yet, many wondered why the Lord Minister had not returned, and because of this, the land was as if it had been plunged into darkness. His father, the Minister of the Left, and his mother lamented, "We are both advanced in years and having been preceded in death by our child in his prime, we are like a tree without branches. Would that we could exchange our useless lives for his!" Yet, it was no use.
<kotoba>
There was a proclamation from the imperial palace. “If the Lord Minister Yuriwaka had returned, he would have been given rule over the entire land of Japan, but since he has been killed, there is nothing that can be done. The Beppu brothers are to be the governors of the land of Tsukushi. Proceed there immediately, take care of the Lord Minister’s bereaved widow, and hold proper services for the Lord Minister Yuriwaka.”

“Alas, this is a proclamation that is contrary to my expectations. It was the entire land of Japan that I had hoped to gain by leaving my master on that island. All I got was the miserable land of Tsukushi.” Complaining in this way, he proceeded to Tsukushi. Meanwhile, on the way, Beppu pondered these things, “Well, now, since my master’s wife is a peerless beauty, I will send her a letter, and if she accepts my proposal, this will be wonderful. If she refuses me, I will find a deep pool, tie her up and throw her into it.” And following this plan, he drew up a cordial letter and gave it to the Lord Minister’s wife.

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The Lord Minister's wife, hearing that it was a letter from the capital, quickly opened the letter and read it. Contrary to her expectations, it was a letter from Beppu. In a wretched state, she tore up the letter into twos and threes, and threw it in all directions. "Truly, this is the case, my husband was killed by the hand of Beppu. I don't care if I die!" Saying this, she took a sword she kept for self-defense and was about to kill herself.

<Cycle 10>

<ktoka>
Her lady-in-waiting came and wrested the sword from her. "This is following the law of reason. Yet, surely, you will be someone to meet you from the residence of Sanjō Mibu. I beg you to fulfill your life!" And she wrested the dagger from her mistress' hand. "There is no telling what kind of scheme the shameless Beppu will hatch if he has no reply." And the lady-in-waiting wrote a reply herself.
"Remarrying [as allowed] after three years—this is not only myself alone, and it is the way of the world that, when pulled, one bends. Serving another master may be simple, yet when the Lord Minister went to Mongolia, I made a pilgrimage to the Usa shrine, beseeched the deity, and vowed to copy one thousand sutras. I have already copied seven hundred. I have yet to complete copying out more than two hundred. After the fulfillment of my pledge, then, as you wish." Saying, "This is my lady’s reply," the lady-in-waiting gave it to the messenger.

The messenger took the letter, quickly returned, and handed it over to Lord Beppu. He opened and read it. "Oh, how wonderful! Now, she will yield to me! How long will it be, I wonder, before she finishes her vow?" He spent his days and nights, feeling as if he was living for a hundred years.

Afterwards, the Lord Minister’s wife gathered her ladies-in-waiting. "It is only because I am alive, that I have resigned myself to this sort of thing, and right now I want to throw
myself into the water, shallow or deep, and to disappear, but when
the image of my husband stands by me, he does not appear as someone
who has died. I heard that love is something that [is fulfilled]
on the basis of prayer. Until we meet, I don’t want to give up my
life. If my husband does not return, I, too, will throw myself into
a pool and die. When this happens, rather than my husband’s keepsakes
becoming as dust in the fields and mountains, I’ll offer them to
an exalted person, so that they may pray for his enlightenment.”
She gathered up all the things that she commonly used: biwa, koto,
<fusii>
Japanese koto,\textsuperscript{65} sho 笸, hichiriki 箏篿 and books, and gave them to
a noble person. Forty-two prized horses were taken to various
temples. Thirty-two hawking dogs had their tethers cut and were
released. The falconers who had been in residence were [released
from duty and] dispersed, each man going his own way. The cords of
twelve falcons were loosened, and they were set free. Among the
twelve falcons, there was a large Japanese goshawk named
"Midori-maru" who, perhaps longing for his master, refused to fly away.

<Cycie 11>

<kočoba>
Yuriwaka's wife observed this, "You, the Lord Minister's prized falcon, Midori-maru, is it because you are hungry that your wings droop and you lie lifeless? Look here, feed him something and then free him."

"Very well," they replied, they were all ladies-in-waiting and they did not know, so they rolled up some rice and gave it to him. At that time, the falcon, appearing to be gladdened, took the rice into his beak and flew off up into the clouds, and in three days and nights, he arrived at Genkai-ga-shima where the Lord Minister was abandoned. He placed the rice ball on top of a stone, and rested his wings on a nearby rock. Alas, how pitiful it was! The Lord Minister, appearing as a thin shadow, emerged from the rocks and started out toward the shore where there was the unaccustomed

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sight of a falcon resting its wings. The Lord Minister, thinking this strange, stood there for some time. Yes, it was his loyal Midori-maru! Overcome with joy, he rushed over, "Oh, how unexpected Midori-maru! How did you know about my being on this island? Truly, this is what is meant when it is said that birds have the five supernatural powers. Now, this rice ball was made by my wife, was it not? Rather than giving me this rice ball, why is there no message? Is she still there in the land of Bungo? Has she left and returned to the capital? Is it a case of a deep pool turning shallow?\textsuperscript{66} What has happened? What has happened?" He appeared to be in agony, tears welling up in his eyes.

He thought, "Having been reduced to this, eating this rice ball, how long will my life be prolonged? Although he is just a bird, being seen in this condition by Midori-maru is shameful. I must eat it. Even so, Midori-maru has taken the pains to fly over the waves some 10,000 ri.\textsuperscript{67} Now then, if this is so, I must eat it." When he touched it, Midori-maru happily beat its wings and scratched its
talons. He came to his master’s knees and prostrated himself. It was a scene that left one speechless.

<Cycle 12>

<kotoba>
“Alas, there is no recourse, Midori-maru? Because this is an island without even tree leaves, I cannot write my inner thoughts. What can I do? How about it?” <kudoki>
At that time, where was it that the falcon flew back from? He had the leaf of an oak tree in his beak, which he gave to the Lord Minister. Like Suwu 蘇武 who wrote a letter in the kingdom of Hu 胡 and tied it wing of a wild goose, it is now that one is reminded of this example. Thinking himself worthy of such acts, he bit off his finger and even though it was an oak leaf, he wrote one verse, folded it up, and attached it to Midori-maru’s tail feathers. “Go home right away,” he urged, and the falcon happily arrived in the provincial palace of Tango after three days and nights.
<Cycle 13>

<kotoba>
    In that it was still early in the morning, the Lord Minister’s wife was busy with her religious austerities. Upon seeing Midori-maru, she said, “What land have you come from? Since you can fly across the sky, there must be nowhere that you cannot reach. If you were able to speak, why wouldn’t you be able to tell me the whereabouts of the Lord Minister?” She was overcome with tears.

    At that time, Midori-maru approached her, raised his tail feathers, and sat down beside her. She thought it odd, but looking more closely at the tail feathers, she saw that there was a leaf with blood on it was attached to its tail feathers. Quickly she took it and saw a message in a form of a poem that had been composed by the person from long ago. She read the following poem:

    “Only this trace brought by a flying bird--it alone believe, love--a message borne on the wind through uncertain skies.”

As she read this, she thought, "If this is so, then the Lord Minister still lives on in this world! This indeed is certain proof of his existence. It is a place without any paper, so he used the leaf of a tree. It was that he had no ink stone, ink, or brush that he used his own blood. Let's give him an ink stone and have him write what he is feeling in detail." A purple crystal ink stone, carbon black ink, and five-ply paper with a brush rolled up inside were brought to her. A writing stand was placed in front of her. Several ladies-in-waiting, thinking themselves not to be outdone, wrote letters. The rolled-up package was foolish. They prepared the letter lovingly and attached it to its tail feathers. "Now, this time, too, carry this swiftly, Midori-maru." The Lord Minister's wife said this, and rolled up some rice and gave it [to the bird]. At that time, the falcon, appearing happy, took the rice in his mouth, spread his wings and flew off, yet, since he had exerted all of his strength recently, and because of the weight of the ink stone,
following the ebb and flow of the waves at times it was quiet heavy, and he was eventually pulled down. When he knew he had to try and fly upward, the many missives and the paper had gotten heavier with the dew, and try as he might he was pulled down, and pitiably submerged in the sea, where he drowned. On the island, the Lord Minister lamented if not even the falcon came, from what would he take comfort?

<Cycle 14>

"Now, as for this falcon not returning, I wonder if Beppu has heard of this and killed it." He used up much of his strength with thoughts such as this, and at times, it seemed as each breath would be the last. But this life being a hard thing to give up, thinking to gather various types of seaweed, he staggered out to the shore, and between the rocks where the waves broke, some bird feathers were visible. The Lord Minister, thinking the worst, rushed to pick them up, and looking at them, he saw that they were
those of his prized falcon that had recently been here. Overcome with sadness, he thudded down on the ground and placed the falcon on his knee. “Alas, what a wretched sight!” Looking carefully at the body, there was a good reason why it had sunk. The purple ink stone, the carbon-black ink, those many letters rendered illegible by the salt water—with quieted concentration, what a miscellany there was.

“This is the vanity of women. Paper, a brush and some ink, would have been enough. Among so many massive rocks here, I should to be able to write with not limit; what were they thinking to attach an ink stone? Even so, this falcon did not go as far as Kikaigashima, Koguryo or Keitan 契丹,” but he was carried back to this island and it makes me ponder anew. Haven’t I heard that those who are given life have two spirits? There is one that goes to hell, and there is another that remains in this world. My life too has been shortened and now I am on the verge of death. Guide me to hell! Take me with you, Midori-maru! I don’t care whose hands I am in or what happens.”
He held Midori-maru and wept bitter tears of yearning. Would that we could show his grief to his wife.

<Cycle 15>

<kotoba>
This was the sorrow of the Lord Minister on that island.

There are no words to describe the grief of his wife back in Tango.

<iro>
Perhaps out of her desperate thoughts, she made a pilgrimage to the Usa shrine, and there, for seven days, she confined herself and wrote out petitions.

“Ancestral deities! If my master returns and I can see his smiling face again, I will construct a shrine at Usa. I will make the jeweled treasure house gleam—opened with golden doors and a railing embedded with lapis lazuli surrounding it, decorated with fittings of shakô [one of the seven jewels].” I will strew the surrounding sand with gold, inlay the walls with the seven jewels, and over the pond I will set a bridge of jewels. The sanctuary fence will sparkle like a mirror, and I will make the corridor and the
outer shrine, the four tower gates and the jeweled crossbeams shine.

I will make the ridgepoles and beams as if on air, make the eaves of the main shrine spacious, and truly, I will hang all manner of decorations; the magnificent standards will part the clouds, and I will make the paper streamers. The guardian stone dogs will gleam. I will build the great pagoda and the belfry ever so tall, so that they will radiate light above the clouds. The seasonal and special rituals will certainly attract the kami. I will raise a lofty torii and take the Pure Land for a model. It will be nothing other than Paradise. The various kami make the Pure Land their abode. This is what is meant by the Expedient Means whereby one approaches the kami, and as a result come back to the Way of the Buddha rather than the Way of the Kami. Nor does the seal of Mahavairochana at the bottom of the sea decay even now; it is there anew. Worshipping the kami in praise for having our prayers answered holds the seed of enlightenment. Now, what we call the kami, they take whatever form they wish, whenever and however, and highly value the virtue of
honesty.” Mingling with the dust of this world, they have bonded with us. If it is with the extent of your primary vow, do not let me slip through. In all reverence.” Having written this, she rolled up the scroll, placed it before the kami, and not so much as falling into a doze for seven days and seven nights, it was with pure devotion that she prayed. Truly, it must have been the vow of the kami, for fishermen from the bay of Yuki who had set out to the offering to fish, were set off course by southerly wind, drifted to the north, and were blown to Genkai-ga-shima where the Lord Minister was.

<Cycle 16>

<kotoba>
The fishermen walked up onto the shore, and just when they were feeling low, they saw the Lord Minister. “What a bizarre creature!” The fishermen ran off, hither and yon, afraid, and made no move to approach him.
The Lord Minister thought, “What kind of figure do I have that I do not appear to be a human? What kind of state have I been reduced to?” The Lord Minister choked on his tears. Seeing his tearful expression, the fisherman was emboldened. “Anyway, what kind of being are you?” he asked. Yuriwaka was happy and thought to tell the fisherman his story just as it had happened, but reconsidered, thinking that he might be one of Beppu’s men, he lied, and it was in this way that he spoke. “As for me, one year ago, when the Lord Minister Yuriwaka set out to defeat the Mongol forces, I was made to serve as a ship hand, and so I set out [with the troops]; however, strangely, I missed boarding the ship. Now, I believe three years must have passed already since the Lord Minister returned to his homeland. If it is possible, bring me to Japan.”

The fishermen listened and said, “Alas, what an unfortunate situation! For those in service to the nation, whatever it may be, there are many hardships. Since we can’t feel it’s no business or
ours, we will help you, and, if that’s how it is, return you, but it’s not as if we know the wind’s mind.

<Cycle 17>

<kotoba>

With favorable karma between us, we should meet with a favorable wind. Even so, if we totally run out of luck, we will be cast all the farther away. Just pray for good fortune!"

Thinking this was indeed so, the Lord Minister scooped up some seawater, washed his hands and face, and prostrating himself in the direction of Japan said, “Alas and alack! For what reason could the buddhas and kami of Japan forsaken me? Who can they think I am?

<iru>

In a famous passage of the Avalokitesvara sutra it states, ‘Entering the cosmic ocean, a messenger is blown by the land of the rasetsu demons.’ Even if we be headed for landfall, storm-blown, in the land of the rasetsu demons, through my prayers alone, deign to land us safely on the shore of my homeland!” When he prayed in this way--was it that the kami and the buddhas that
took pity?—the Eight Dragon Kings calmed the waves and the wind, and suddenly the wind blew in a favorable direction. On the mast pulleys, each and every Eight Dragon King sat lined up, face to face. On the bow was Acalanatha, with his demon-felling sword slung at his side; [in his left hand] he held his all-powerful rope, protecting, ready to repel demons. The two-characters that make up the Acalanatha mantra, “kan” and “man,” formed the outside corner of each of his eyes. On the stern were Virupaksa, Isana, Maha-prabhasa, Rakṣas, Vayu, Varunu and Agni in order to calm the rain, wind and waves, the Dragon Kings of both heaven and earth stopped the venom of the serpent kings, and after three days and nights, blew them to Hakata in the province of Tsukushi. Even though they thought this was marvelous, they had no words capable of expressing it.
<kotoba>
The fishermen said, "Since we have done our duty by bringing you as far as this, please show us your gratitude by making us imperial messengers." The Lord Minister thought this a matter of course, and took unprecedented action, and gave the positions to the fishermen.

In the land, rumors of this soon spread, and Beppu heard them from a commissioner, as well. He gave this order to a messenger.

"Word has it that fishermen from the bay of Yuki picked up a peculiar being and they have been caring for him. Hurry and bring him here!"

At this time, there was no grass or tree that did not bend to him, and before long, the commissioner brought the Lord Minister to Beppu.

Beppu came out to meet them, and looked him up and down. "This is an amusing creature! When you take him for human, he is not quite a human. When you take him for a demon, he is not quite a demon. It's just as if what's called a hungry demon or such--is this what
it is?! Entrust him to me for awhile, I will take him to the capital
and make him the source of much amusement." He said this and placed
the creature in the care of an old man, Kadowaki, to whom he gave
an allowance for his care. This old man, Kadowaki, had been in
service to the Lord Minister for several years, but—as alas, poor
Yuriwaka—his face, his hands and feet, while his own were covered
with dirt and grime; his voice was weak and his skin was black; his
appearance had completely changed, and so, how was he to recognize
an appearance so altered? Kadowaki and his wife, however, were
compassionate people, and said, "Alas, what a miserably thin and
weakened demon this is!" And [Beppu] increased the allowance.

One night, awakened from sleep, the old man said to the old
woman, "Now, mother, you recall that our former master, the Lord
Minister, set out to defeat the Mongols, and when he did not return
home again, thinking deeply about this, I have grown so old. Even
so, my master's lady is here in the provincial capital, isn't she."

747
Upon hearing these words, the old woman said, “That’s just the situation! That’s it! I heard that Beppu, being taken with our lady, sent her a letter [of proposal]; but since she would not bend to him further, he felt beside himself with frustration, tied her up, and drowned her in Mannō-ga-ike まるわが池 only two or three days ago. It is only because this miserable life has stretched out so long only to hear such things as this.” Saying this, she burst into uncontrolled tears.

The Lord Minister, having overheard this, thought, “Alas, what was that she said? Till now I have wanted to live because I have thought I might meet my wife. Now, I won’t regret dying. When it becomes light, I will go to Mannō-ga-ike, throw myself into it, and in the next life we can be reunited.” He brooded over things such as these.
<Cycle 19>

Afterwards, the old man spoke up, "Now, mother, from now on you must not cry so inauspiciously." When the old woman heard this, she said, "Alas, how miserable! Truly, in this world, it is men that have strong hearts. It is your heartlessness, old man, that allows you not to mourn the loss of his master? I remember his kindness of the past as if they were now. No matter what you say, I will cry." And again, she wept silently.

The old man heard this and said, "Ah, how kindhearted you are, mother. If you think so kindly about our master, I want to tell you this story." Be sure not to tell, mother. To explain what I mean, since the personal attendant of Beppu, Chûta 忠太, is my nephew, I had heard that the Lord Minister’s wife was to be tied up and drowned, and thought, ‘What should I do?’ I took our dear only daughter who was the same age as our master’s wife and asked her, ‘Will you give your life in her place?’ Our daughter was completely overjoyed saying, ‘Obligation makes no distinction between men and women. If
it is a question of giving my life for my master, I will gladly go!

Let us avoid people’s eyes!’ Our daughter went by the Lord Minister’s wife’s name and we drowned her in Mannô-ga-ike, and hid the Lord Minister’s wife in our daughter’s rooms. Her keepsakes are these.”

Saying this, he took out a number of keepsakes, and it was in the old woman’s hands that he placed them.

<kudoki>
She took them, saying, “Is this a dream? Or is it reality?

It is that we could help our master’s wife that I rejoice within my sadness. Although I say so, not just humans, but for all living things. Is there not one that does not think dearly of one’s own child? Even Sakya-muni, the most revered person to have lived in this world, taught his own child, Rahula, about closely observing the commandments. The great bird suparnas lamenting for its child poked its beak into the head of the asura. The night crane, lamenting for its child, would not dwell in the branches of the entwined pines. The cow licks its young and lies down outdoors.
Of all living beings, is there not one that does not think dearly of one’s child? That this child of my flesh sacrificed herself for her master does not make me at all bitter, yet how painful it is!”

Saying this, she wept scorching tears, and the old man also wept.

The Lord Minister heard this, and nothing could be done to hold back his muffled tears.

<Cycle 20>

<kotoba>
He thought that he wanted to announce himself to them now, saying, “It is I, Yuriwaka” make the couple happy, but he thought it best to wait for a better occasion.

Now, he spent the rest of the year with the old couple, and at the New Year, the provincial officials of the land of Tsukushi gathered for an ceremonial archery tournament to congratulate their lord, Beppu. At that time, Beppu was puffed up with pride, while poor Yuriwaka’s face as well as his hands and feet had sprouted [hair that looked like] moss; because of this, he was called “Koke-maru”

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[moss boy] and was designated to retrieve the shot arrows that lie on the ground.

The Lord Minister stepped out to the archery ground thinking, "Let me try my luck here!" He criticized the archers mercilessly, saying, "A stance such as this lord's is bad! That lord's draw is terrible!" Beppu heard this and said, "When did you learn archery that you can criticize others? If they are so irritating, shoot an arrow yourself!" "I have never taken up the bow before, however, I speak because the shooting form of these gentlemen is just too hard to watch." "To the extent that you have never shot any arrows, how is it that you can criticize others so impertinently? If you will not agree to shoot an arrow right now, then may Usa Hachiman know it! I won't hand you over to another. I will do away with you directly. You must shoot! Hurry up and shoot!" he ordered.

"Following your orders, I want to shoot, yet I have no bow with which to shoot." "How gently put! Is a strong bow your wish, or a weak
bow?” “If it is all the same, it is my wish to have the same strong bow as the others.” “With pleasure.”

Ten celebrated strong bows in the province of Tsukushi were brought, and two or three of these the Lord Minister selected and drew them to the breaking point. “These bows are all weak and not up to the task.” Beppu replied, “Here’s a strange fellow! Very well, try to use the metal bow and arrow that the Lord Minister used to use!” “As you wish, that would be the most appropriate.”

The metal bow and arrow that were now enshrined in the treasure hall at Usa Hachiman shrine were taken out and brought to the Lord Minister. From long ago, he was used to the bow. He took aim at the garden pine tree and slowly pulled back the bowstring, getting a feel for it. He placed an arrow in it, and not aiming at the target, he pointed it at Beppu, saying in a loud voice, "How about it? You, master of the land of Tsukushi, who do you think I am? Yuriwaka, who you abandoned long ago on that island, now sprouts like the young spring grasses. Will you follow the law of reason and consider me
master, or do you turn your back on reason and consider Beppu your
master? How about it?” The lords of Otomo 大伴, the warriors
of Matsura 松浦, all knelt down at once and surrendered to him.
Beppu hurried to the Lord Minister’s feet as well saying, “I
surrender!” And he and pressed his hands together.

How could the Lord Minister possibly forgive him? He
instructed the Matsura warriors to bind Beppu securely and tied him
to the pine tree. “I suffered so much from your deceitful tongue!
I will show you fate!” And he reached into Beppu’s mouth, pulled
out his tongue, and threw it aside. The Lord Minister had Beppu
placed in a public place where, for seven days and nights, he let
people see at his head. Ten thousand people of both high and low
birth saw this saying, “Look at the outcome for a man who speaks
[about others] bitterly.” There was no one who did not despise him.

Beppu’s younger brother was just as guilty as his older brother was,
but when he told of his merciful words on the island, just as it
had happened, then the Lord Minister said, “For this reason, you are to be exiled,” and it was to the bay of Yuki that he was banished.

Afterwards, Yurikawa proceeded to the provincial headquarters. When Yurikawa’s wife saw this, she felt as if she were dreaming, and pressing her sleeves to her face, she met her husband in tears.

Shedding tears while they were unable to meet, this was certainly according to the law of reason. In the joy of now meeting, words failed them. What suffering now soaked their sleeves with tears?

Afterwards, Yurikawa’s wife told him how she had made a pledge to the Usa shrine, and Yurikawa was deeply moved. There were no words to express how blessed it was when all of the edifices were inlaid with gold, silver and jewels.

Afterwards, Yurikawa sent a messenger to the fishermen from the bay of Yuki. “There is something that I need to see you about. Come here quickly!” Pondering what kind of troubles there may be,
they proceeded to the provincial headquarters with dread. They knelt down in the garden. The Lord Minister himself went out to greet them. "How good to see you. As the one who saved my life, what is there that you have to fear? Come here. Come here." They were called up to the veranda. "The happy times and the hard times—why shouldn’t we feel them both?" Along with a cup of wine, he gave them the islands of Iki and Tsushima.

Yuriwaka then summoned Kadowaki, and gave to him the charge over the fiefs of the nine provinces of the land of Tsukushi. In honor of the Kadowaki’s daughter, he had a temple built at Mannō-ga-ike, and donated ten thousand—町 of land to it, it is said. For Midori-maru, he built the Jingoji 神護寺 temple to the northwest of the capital. The temple was built for the worship of a falcon, and that is the reason why it is called "Mt. Takao 高雄" to this day.

Yuriwaka’s command was this, “If we live in the land of Tsukushi, certainly there may be sadness, won’t there?” And so, he took his
wife and went up to the capital. Yuriwaka commanded the Ōtomo and the Matsura warriors to accompany the twelve wicker palanquins and one hundred open mat palanquins. Until yesterday, he had been called the lowly Koke-maru, but today that has suddenly changed, and now seven thousand warriors accompanied him as he went up to the capital. After seeing his parents, he had an audience at the palace.

The emperor looked down upon him and said, “How very strange it was. Beppu came to the capital and said that you had been killed. I thought that this was true and did not send an imperial messenger to make an inquiry. What a strange and mysterious life you have led, finally to return a second time to the palace. This is like the one-eyed tortoise finding a floating log.”\textsuperscript{100} And with these words, it was marvelous that Yuriwaka became shogun of “The Land of the Rising Sun.”

The story has it that it was because of this that all under heaven enjoyed peace and the nation prospered and was blessed with abundance and longevity!
1 Literally, "The Minister." Throughout the piece, Yuriwaka is referred to as "the Minister," however, I have used "Yuriwaka" instead. The title of this piece in other texts is "Yuriwaka daijin."

2 The text used for this translation is the Daigashira sahyōe-bon that is reproduced in Sasano (II 51-72). The musical notation also follows this text.

3 Emperor Saga was the fifty-second emperor and reigned from 809-823. He was the second son of Emperor Kammu 桜武天皇 (r. 781-806) and grandson of Fujiwara no Otomuro 藤原伊志男 (760-790). The year after his accession to the throne, a rebellion led by Fujiwara no Kusuko 藤原兼子 (?-810) broke out, but once he had been forced to commit suicide, Emperor Saga ruled in peace. Life at the palace flourished in an atmosphere of love for Tang Chinese culture. He was a noted poet and was considered one of the three great poets along with Tachibana no Hayanari 橘逸勢 (?-842) and Kūkai 空海 (774-835).

4 The Mōrike-bon has the graphs 公光 while the Kohachirō-bon has the graphs 公満.

5 Today the Hasedera temple is in Sakurai 桜井 city in Nara prefecture. The principal deity worshiped is the eleven-faced Avalokitesvara (Skt. Ekadasamukha [J. jūichimen kannon]). During the Heian period, women were the main pilgrims to the temple. In the medieval period, the Ekadasamukha of the Hasedera temple was interpreted to be the original ground of Amaterasu-no-ōkami. In the Muromachi period, the temple came under the management of the Daijōin 大乗院 of the Kōfukuji temple complex in Nara. After being destroyed in the Sengoku period, Toyotomi no Hideyoshi rebuilt it as a special honor to the Konponji 根本寺 temple, and at that time, it became affiliated with the Shingi 新義真言 branch of the Shingon sect.
Pilgrimage thirty-three times was customary when praying to Avalokitesvara. It is said that Avalokitesvara is revealed in thirty-three ways to sentient beings.

In the Yuriwaka sekkyō, Yuriwaka is a heaven-sent child of the Kiyomizudera temple. In the Yuriwaka sekkyō it states, “As for the yuri, it is a flower that is offered to Hachiman and therefore it symbolizes Hachiman. It is for this reason that Yuriwaka was given this name.” (Quotations from the Yuriwaka sekkyō are original translations from a transcription of a performance made by Fukuda Akira.)

The yuri (lily) was believed to have power to dispel plague or epidemic.

For example, in the Genji monogatari, Hikaru Genji became chujō at the age of eighteen. Yuriwaka attained the position of Minister of the Right at seventeen rising even more rapidly in rank than Genji.

“Somo” is a typical way to begin a shōdō piece. This phrase “somo waga chō to mōsu ha” is a formula that introduces a discussion of “Japan.” Compare this to a similar section at the beginning of Taishokan.

In the Shintōshū chapter “The Origins of Shinto” (“Shintōtyurai no koto” 神道由来之事) it states, “Now, as for this land of Japan, Akitsushima-nakatsukuni, when the heavens and the earth were formed, in the sky all things were undivided [the universe was an undifferentiated mass]. Its shape was like the germ of a reed plant, and there were both buddhas and kami” (Kondō Shintōshū 15).
The *kami* referred to here is Amaterasu-no-폭kami.

The Niu shrine is located in Wakayama prefecture. It is the protecting deity of Mt. Koya.

During the medieval period, the Leech Child and Ebisu were united as one *kami* in Shinto theory. Ebisu is one of the seven *kami* of fortune.

*Burui*, or “the fellowship (of kami).”

See Chapter 3, note 66.

Throughout the medieval period, a common explanation about the beginnings of the world argued that Dairokuten (often called “Takejizaiten” which is where he is said to reside) did not want Japan to be a country where the Buddhist law was proliferated. For this reason when he wanted to create the land of Japan, he made a covenant with Amaterasu-no-폭kami that Japan would be a land of the *kami* (폭kami no kuni).

See for example, the Taiheiki where it states, “Now, at the time when Japan was formed [nihon kaibyaku 日本開闢], Yin and Yang separated and became the heaven, earth and human beings. The life span of humans was twenty thousand years and Izanaki and Izanami soon became husband and wife and descended from Heaven. They gave birth to two daughters and three sons. The first daughter was Amaterasu-no-폭kami. Their three sons were the *kami* of the moon, Hiruko 蛭子 and Susanowo-no-mikoto. Their first child became the head (arujī) of this country. She appeared as the *kami* of the massive rock lying under the pure stream at the Mimosusogawa 御藻濯川 River in the land of Ise. She then became the incarnation (*suijaku*) of
the Buddha. She appeared in this world in ferocious form to lead sentient beings. The flowing traces (suigaku) are the loftiest form that the kami take and it is in this form that they open the way to enlightenment. Now, Dairokuten [the demon who lives in Takejizaiten] at this time appeared, and said that if Buddhism spread to this land he would distract people from practicing Buddhist austerities so that it would lose its strength and would impede the kami from taking on forms to lead ordinary people to enlightenment. Amaterasu-no-ōkami in order stop him made a promise to approach the three treasures of Buddhism (the Buddha, the law and the priesthood). In order to stop Dairokuten anger she dripped blood from his five limbs saying, 'Until the end of eternity Amaterasu-no-ōkami's descendants will be the rulers of this land. If anyone tries to take their lives or disturb the people of this land, I will send my eighteen thousand dependents will attack them from morning to night and will take their life.' He made this firm promise, wrote it out and gave it to Amaterasu-no-ōkami" (Gotô and Kamada II 166-167). See also the Shasekishû (Watanabe 59-61).

18 Daimao 大魔王 rules over the world of desire.

19 Several texts recount invasions of Japan. The Hachiman engi states, "Although there have been many times that Japan has defeated foreign lands in battle, there is no other example except in Empress Jingû's reign of a defeated country pledging an oath" (Kondô Chûsei 106).

The Taiheiki states, "As for foreign countries [ikoku] attacking our country [waga chô], since heaven and earth were created, there have been seven occasions" (Gotô and Kamada III 450).

For references to Japan being a land of the kami, see the Hôgen monogatari, "This is said to be the latter days of the law, and therefore the fate of the imperial Prince, this is up to the
discretion of Brahman. It is due to the will of Amaterasu-no-ôkami and Shô-Hachiman. As for our nation, it is a remote land the size of a poppy seed; but it is a land of the kami, with some seven thousand deities. Thirty kami in rotation protect our nation every day of the month. (Nagazumi and Shimada 74) Again in an earlier section it states, “As for Japan, it is a land of the kami. For this reason, the waters of the Mimosusogawa River never cease to flow […] In the past, during the reign of Emperor Sujin 崇神天皇 [dates unknown], the shrines for both the heavenly and earthly deities were established. Miracles flourished in this land. It is because of these divine works that the imperial family has lasted through the ages. There are some seven thousand kami. Is this why they can protect the nation day and night?” (Nagazumi and Shimada 88).

All of these texts argue that it is the unbroken line of descent from the kami through to the rule of the earthly emperors. It is this unbroken line of descent that gives them the authority to rule. At the same time, Japan is land of the kami with the emperor at its head that protects the nation and its people.

The Akizuki-bon adds, “The generals of the Mongol forces were Ryôzô りようざお, Kasui くはずい, Tobu-kumo とぶくも and Hashiru-kumo はしるくも. These four commanded forty thousand ships that carried the massive Mongol troops.”

20 Poison arrows are also seen in Taishokan.

21 Shihô teppô 四方鉄砲, cannons of Chinese origin.

22 The Naikaku bunko-bon adds, “At this time, the court ministers in the capital held a discussion.”

23 For similar thought see the Heixe monogatari (Takagi et al. II 435) and the Genpei jôsuiki (Ichiko et al. I 159-67). The idea in
both of these works is that Japan is small in comparison to China from which it received the Buddhist doctrines. Because of Japan’s geographical distance from the source of Buddhism, it was argued that it was weak and all men need the intervention of Amitabha to receive salvation or to be led by the flowing traces of the buddhas and bodhisattvas who take the form of kami. This belief was further compounded by the general belief that the world had entered the latter days when the teachings of the Buddha were the weakest.

24 The Taiheiki states that the three treasures of the imperial house have been passed down from the age of the kami, and these treasures protect the nation. The loss of the sword at Dan no ura 坂ノ浦 was later interpreted by medieval Shinto theorists to be one of the causes for the weakening of the authority of the emperors and a general decline in their enlightened rule (Gotō and Kamada III 64).

25 Shinji 神聖 is term for the jewel in the imperial regalia found in the Nihon shoki and its medieval commentaries. In Japan, the jewel was originally the magatama; however, emulating the Chinese tradition of passing down the jewei to one’s descendants in the imperial house began the use of this term.

26 This is the mirror that looked into when she was lured out of the Heavenly Rock Cave. Amaterasu-no-ōkami later gave this mirror to her grandson Amatsuhikoohohononinigi-no-mikoto when he descended to earth. The mirror is said to have been passed down from generation to generation in the imperial house. According to the Kogo shūi 古語拾遺, the sacred mirror was given to Emperor Sujin and passed down to Emperor Suinin 垂仁天皇 (BCE29–CE 70) who gave it to Yamatohime-no-mikoto. She took it on her journey around Japan and afterwards, arriving in Ise at Isuzugawa 五十鈴川 River it was enshrined in the Inner shrine (naiku 内宮) at Ise (32).
27 The Isuzu River flows within the precincts of the Inner shrine at Ise.

28 Other examples can be found in the Taiheiki and Hachimangū engi where kagura is performed before setting out for battle (Gotō and Kamada III 247). The "Naishidokoro" is another name for the Sacred Mirror housed at the Inner shrine at Ise. The Shintōshū notes that there are three mirrors, one housed in the Inner shrine at Ise, one at Hizen shrine in Kii and one in the imperial palace. In addition there are said to be three swords as well (Kondō Shintōshū 16).

29 Examples of seven-year-old children delivering oracles can be found in Hachimanusagū gotakusen shū 八幡宇佐宮御託宣集.

30 Other examples of the kami gathering and holding counsel can be found in the Taiheiki. "After the decision was made to attack Silla, Empress Jingū called upon all the kami to assemble in Kashima shrine in Hitachi province" (Gotō and Kamada III 456).

31 The wisdom of the Sumiyoshi when attacking the Mongols can be seen in the Taiheiki as well, "Now when prayers had been offered for seven days in this way, above Lake Suwa a five-colored cloud trailed off to the west, appearing in the shape of a large serpent. The doors of the Hachimana shrine opened, and the sound of the horses galloping and chomping at their bits filled the sky. At the Hiyoshi shrine, the mirror behind the brocade curtain shook, the Sacred Sword bent, and ritual shoes turned to the west. At the Sumiyoshi shrine, sweat flowed under the saddle of the sacred horse. With the help of all of these kami, how could they possibly not repel the foreign enemies?" (Gotō and Kamada III 453-454).
Ningyo no abura 人魚の油, or “mermaid oil,” is also found in the Hōbutshushū, where is used by the Chinese emperor Zou Shi 奏始 (J. sōshi) to light his way on his journey to the underworld (Koizumi et al. 159).

Yatsu me 八目, literally “eight eyes (i.e. holes),” however in Shinto thought the number eight indicates “several” rather than a literal eight. When shot, these arrows made a whistling sound.

The number three hundred sixty-three is an unprecedented number.

Otokoyama 男山. A subsidiary shrine of the Iwashimizu Hachiman shrine was established at Mt. Otokoyama in the year 859. The Iwashimizu Hachiman shrine is dedicated to three deities: Emperor Ōjin, Empress Jingū, and Hime-Ōkami. Hachiman is said to have assisted the imperial forces in their campaign against the Hayato rebels in Kyushu. In 823, Empress Jingū was enshrined. Hachiman is the protector of warriors and the nation.

Koyano is located in present day Itami city, Hyōgo prefecture. This was a common route in literature for troops to set up camp. See in particular the Taiheiki (Gotō and Kamada I 240).

Twenty-one shrines are said protect the capital in the Nijūichi shaki 二十一社記. They are: Ise, Iwashimizu 岩清水, Kamo 加茂, Matsuo 松尾, Hirano 平野, Inari, Kasuga, Ōmiwa 大神, Ōyamato 大和, Isonokami 石上, Ōharano 大原野, Yoshida 吉田, Sumiyoshi, Ume no miya 梅宮, Gion 祇園, Kitano 北野, Niu, Kibune 木船, and Hirose 広瀬.

Ujiko 氏子 are specific families who worship the same kami. Kami that protect specific families (ujiko), can be found in the Shintōshū.
where it states, “the kami protect the nation. Now, the Kashima Deity strongly protects its ujiko.” (Kondō Shintōshū 78)

There are several examples of the kami blowing a wind to repel foreigners. For example, the Jinnō Shōtōki states, “Mongol forces attacked Japan in many ships. There was a great battle at Tsukushi. The kami showed their power by taking the form of a typhoon. Some 10,000 rebel ships were sunk by the storm. Although they say these are the later days of the Law, the power and benevolence of the kami are wondrous.”

The Naikaku bunko-bon adds at the beginning of this cycle the following. “Yuriwaka set up camp at Hakata in the province of Tsukushi and reported to the court; all under heaven was prosperous, wondering what could have brought this about, both high and low rejoiced. The minister Yuriwaka was made the governor of the province of Tsukushi. Depressed by the thought of having to live in Tsukushi, Yuriwaka asked to be relieved of the post; however, an imperial messenger was repeatedly sent with the message, ‘Since it is an duty to protect the province, it is unthinkable that you not live in the province!’ And realizing that there was nothing that could be done about it, Yuriwaka took his wife with him, left the capital, and set up residence at the provincial capital in Bungo. Even so, life here was not inferior to that in the capital.”

Nisō 二相 is the power to know both the seen and unseen. The latter includes intentions and true feelings. This can be extended to the temporal dimension as well, the present and the future.

高麗 (J. kōrai) existed as a country on the Korean Peninsula from CE 918 to 1392.
百濟 (J. kudara) was a country in the southwestern section of the Korean Peninsula that formed in the fourth century BCE and dissolved in the seventh century CE.

Katasebune 片瀬舟 is unclear, however, it probably refers to flatbed ships that were used in the shallows.

According to the Hachiman-gū engi, when Empress Jingū led a force into the Korean Peninsula the original ground (honji) of Hachiman, Amitabha, is said to have said to lead forty-eight thousand ships against an enemy force of eighteen thousand ships (Kondō Chūsei 113).

Goshiki 五色, or the “five colors,” are blue, yellow, red, white and black.

新羅 (J. siragi) was a in the southeast portion of the Korean Peninsula that prospered from the mid-fourth century to the early tenth century.

This is the power to know both thoughts and deeds.

Ten no iro 天の色 refers to the appearance of the sky.

Chikura-ga-oki is the mythic sea boundary between Japan and the continent. It is also seen in Taishokan, Iruka and Eboshi ori 唐帽子子折.

The meaning of this word is unclear, but it is probably another name for Silla.

Kokuchōya 虚空夜, or “eternal night,” is a Buddhist term for a sleep from which one cannot awake.
Mt. Hakusan is associated with snow in the *waka* tradition. Here, the pun is on the speed with which the mist cleared as compared with the snows of Mt. Hakusan.

*Kashima kandori* 鹿島樋取. In medieval interpretations of the Empress Jingū myth, the Kashima deity is the helmsman. See for example the *Hachimangū engi* (Kondō Chūsei 112).

See *Taishokan*, note 87.

The reference is to how the Lord Minister and his men slaughtered the Mongol forces.

The names of the Beppu brothers appear in the *Chikuzen kuni zoku fudoki*. Today the tombs and the former residences of the Beppu brothers remain in five places. First, there are the tombs of the Beppu brothers in present day Oita city, Motomachi. They have been moved now to the Kongōhōkaiji temple. Second, there were originally two tombs remain in the Jissōji temple in Beppu city with the names Beppu Tarō and Beppu Jirō, however they do not remain today. Third, there are three tombs within Beppu city with the names Beppu Tarō, Beppu Jirō and Midori-maru. Fourth, the remains of the residence of Beppu Tarō and Beppu Jirō are just to the north of the Yakushidō temple in Fukuoka prefecture, Tsukiage District, Chikujō Town. Finally, there are the tombs of the brothers in present day Saga prefecture, Taku city, Beppu (Araki, Ikeda and Yamamoto I 149-150).

There is a “Genkaishima” in Hakata Bay. Whether or not this is the island that is narrated here, however, is questionable; but the Yuriwaka legend remains on this island performed by *miko*.

*Yuriwaka sekkyō* states, “As for Yuriwaka, it is said that he is the most powerful man in Japan.”
The legend of Sōri and Sokuri is found in the Kanzeon bosatu おじ
jōdo honen-kyō (362). It is also alluded to in Shida as well as other
literary works, most notably in the Heike monogatari (Takagi et al.
I 216).

From this point on in the text, only the elder Beppu brother is
mentioned as the governor of Tsukushi. The younger brother only
reappears at the end of the piece.

Mamorigatana 守刀 was a small dagger carried at all times for
protection.

A three-year wait until one remaries can be seen in several works
such as the Ise monogatari as well as in other kōwaka-mai pieces
such as Taishokan and medieval monogatari.

See Chapter 3, note 77. The kōwaka-mai piece Eboshi ori is also
heavily colored with Usa Hachiman belief.

Wagon 和琴.

In the tradition of waka poetry, the image of a flowing river is
likened to life or the relations between man and woman. Like a river
with shallows and deep pools, human life to is beset with changes.

“Ten thousand” is used metaphorically here for a long distance.

The Naikaku bunko-bon adds before this line the following. “’Do
you leave after such a short time? Are you returning so quickly?’
This, however, was not the case.”

The most famous literary work in the Japanese tradition that refers
to this Chinese legend is the Heike monogatari (Takagi et al. I 205-8).
See the *Genpei jōsuiki* (Matsuo II 43-7), as well.

70 *Murasaki suzuri* 紫硯 was the highest quality ink stone made of a type of purple crystal.

71 *Keitan* is the name of a country that the Mongols set up in Manchuria.

72 *Konpaku* 魂魄 are the two aspects that a human spirit has, *kon* is the Yang principle, and *haku* is the Yin principle.

73 *Gibōshi* 擬宝珠 are the caps on top of the posts of a bridge or railing that are decorated with an lily design. They are said to imitate the *manihōju* 摩尼宝珠, a jewel that was believed to dispel demons.

74 *Kōyō rankei* 光耀鸞鏡 is a mirror on the back of which a mythic bird, *ranchō* 鴦鳥, is engraved. It was believed that any image reflected in this mirror was supremely beautiful.

75 *Yôraku* 珊珞 are decorations made from jewels or metal that are hung around the neck or hung from a canopy.

76 The belief that the seal (in 印) of Mahavairochana was at the bottom of the sea was widespread during the medieval period.

77 The virtue of honesty, *shôjiki*, is important when making petitions of the *kami*. See the *Jinnôshôtoki*, *Soga monogatari*, and *Hachiman gudookun*.

78 See *Taishokan*, note 61.

79 The eight great dragon kings are the protectors of Buddhism. See *Taishokan*, note 54.

80 *Kongôsaku* 金剛索 is one symbol of a bodhisattva's promise to save
sentient beings. Acalanatha holds this rope left hand, and it symbolizes the power to save sentient beings for whom enlightenment it difficult.

81 Kōmoku zōchōten 広目長天 is the deity that protects the western direction.

82 Isanaten 伊舍那 is the deity that protects the northeast direction.

83 Daikōten 大光天 is the deity that protects the southeast direction.

84 Rasetsuten 羅刹天 is the deity that protects the southwest direction.

85 Fūten 風天 is the deity that protects the northwest direction.

86 Suiten 水天 is the deity that protects the north direction.

87 Katein 火天 is the deity that protects the east direction.

88 Daibu 大天 was a municipal officer in charge of various areas of administration and adjudication.

89 This passage could also be read, “He had sprouted moss.”

90 The Naikaku bunko-bon does not have Yuriwaka’s thoughts here.

91 The Naikaku bunko-bon adds, “Do not say a word. It is truly dreadful!”

92 Ragora 羅喉羅.

93 See the Hoke-kyō (Sakamoto and Iwamoto II 122-139) and the Hōbutsushū (Koizumi et al. 269).
Konjichō 金翅鳥. In Indian mythology, the suparnas is a large bird similar to the garuda (J. karura 銀桃羅) survives by eating dragons. Dragons are, along with the asura, one of the eight beings that protect the Buddhist law.

This passage means that the female crane would not form a bond with a male.

The Ōtomo, family were centered in northern Kyushu from the medieval period. Their main fief was originally in Ōtomo District of Sagami province, but later they became the hereditary magistrates of the east and the west during which time several branch families were created. The main residence was in Bungo province. From the Nambokuchō period, Ōtomo no Muneie was a strong daimyō. In the Sengoku period as well there were several branch families on the island of Kyushu. "Shokyō" refers to the several branch families of the Ōtomo family.

The Matsu'ura family was active in Hizen from the Kamakura to Muromachi periods.

The Yuriwaka sekkyō states, "His twelve nails were pulled out over twelve days. He was buried in the sand up to his head. Mushrooms and bamboo shoots were attached to his head. A placard that said, 'This fool forsook his master. Both those who are going and those who are returning [i.e. passersby] take turns at sawing off his head little by little so that by the end of seven days and seven nights his head will fall off."

Takao is written with the characters for "high" and "male," but can also be a pun for "falcon's tail" (takao 鷹尾).

The parable of the blind turtle finding a floating log originates
in the Hoke-kyô (Sakamoto and Iwamoto III 298) and is recurrent in many works of literature used to mean something that “rarely occurs.” It is also alluded to in the kōwaka-mai piece Umasore 馬揺 (Asahara and Kitahara 145)
APPENDIX D

SHIDA

<Cycle 1>¹

<kotoba>

In the seventh year of Jōhei 承平[938], the era name changed [to Tenkei 天慶].² And in the tenth month of the ninth year of Tenkei (947), the era name changed to Tenryaku 天暦. Toward the end of the third month of the second year of Tenryaku (948), Oyama no Tarō Yukishige 行重 took the daughter of Lord Sōma as his wife.³ Oyama thought, “It being what I desired, there can be no greater happiness.” He received his wife with a warm welcome, tenderly saying to her, “First, it is my filial duty is to pray for the repose of the soul of Lord Sōma who now rests in the shade of the grasses.” Having said this, he gave up the killing of animals, made offerings
to temples and copied sutras. With his whole heart, he prayed for the repose of Lord Sōma’s soul.

Lord Sōma’s wife, who was living in Shida, heard of Oyama’s actions and said, “Oyama no Tarō Yukishige, I thought that you were a coarse man, but you are a man with feeling. Even children with such feelings toward their own parents are rare in this world! Much less would a son-in-law pray so fervently for the repose of the soul of a father-in-law whom he has never seen. What a promising man you are! When you have the time, come to see me. I have some keepsakes of Lord Sōma that I would like you to see.”

On another occasion, Lord Sōma’s wife summoned Ukishima Tayū. She said to him, “Do you remember Lord Sōma’s final wish? A fief as large as Shida is not to be turned over to his daughter. Yet, if I do not give the entire fief to her, my son-in-law will be suspicious. Consider this carefully!”
Ukishima did not reply for some time and then after awhile he spoke the following startling words: “Would our late lord have left instructions that were lacking astuteness? Now, if one gives a daughter to a warrior, in the end she will become a stranger. A son-in-law, having a different surname, is not close. With the passage of time, things will change. If you think kindly of him, even if you give him all your treasures, you must not place in his hands even one portion of the Shida fief. People will lie in order to get what they covet. If greed is in one’s heart, close relations will become estranged. It is keeping distance that will bring prosperity and happiness to your children and descendants. Moreover, a meeting with Lord Oyama will have no efficacy.” And he said nothing else.

Sōma’s wife heard this and without replying stood up, “Before I realized it, I was left behind by Lord Sōma, and made light of
even by the retainers of this household and thought of as a suspect.

In this semblance of a world of hardships, there is no meaning in having a home. Oh, I want to take my leave of Lord Shida and confine myself on a holy mountain!” Saying things like this she was deeply bitter.

<Cycle 2>

Lord Shida heard this and said, “It is according to the law of reason that my mother should be bitter. What ever happens tomorrow let it happen. There is now way that I can disregard the wishes of my one and only mother.” He said this and divided the Shida manor into two parts and gave one half to his mother. His mother was beside herself with joy and gave her ownings over to Oyama. Oyama was overjoyed, because he was both adopted by his wife’s family, and because he gained a fief. He sent over eight wickerwork palanquins
and twelve thatched palanquins along with three hundred mounted warriors. Both high and low were merry; it was a splendid sight as they proceeded to the Shida manor as the "New Lord of the manor."

He built a new mansion and lived there and he flourished, the ancestral retainers of Shida were in service day after day around the clock.

Now Ukishima Tayû and his five sons, since these six men did only occasionally appear to serve; and then, because they did not they serve the new master, Lord Sôma’s wife’s feelings toward them worsened. From long ago, there had been many troubling things, and there was no way to keep his heart still. "Every time I see the way things are in this world, I realize the future is uncertain, so my time in this world will not be long." <tsume> He secluded himself at the district of Kawachi in Shida, and lived there in retirement.⁶
<Cycle 3>

<kotoba>
Shida’s widow saw this and said, “Alas, how strange Ukishima’s behavior is! Now, can one not live in the world without a retainer like Ukishima? If Lord Oyama stands alone by me, then what troubles can there be?” She cheered herself and thus prospered. Then she thought again, “Ukishima Tayû has retired. Shida Kotarô is still a young child. There is no meaning in leaving these precious deeds to the land that have been passed down from generation to generation just lying around.” Having said this, she rolled up the remainder of the deeds, leaving not one behind, and entrusted them to Oyama no Tarô.

Meanwhile, Oyama slipped away to a secluded place and looked them over carefully. There he found all the deeds that had been passed down from generation to generation since the time of Taira no Masakado. Not one was missing. “Let’s see, the area of Shida,
Tamazukuri 玉造 and Tôjô 東条 is eighty-thousand chô.⁷ What a tremendous amount of land! Even if I were to receive the stipend for a mere ten thousand-chô of this land, I could live in this world without need of anything. Now, if I had the remaining seventy thousand chô and became administrator of the Ministry of Rice Distribution of both Hitachi and Shomôsa provinces,⁸ I would excel every other [landowning warrior], would I not? Then, who could there be besides me as the master of this land?” And so, his greed became apparent. He thought, “If I were to come into possession of all these wonderful treasures exceeding all else, what a godsend it would be!”

₃tsume₃

Whereupon in order to apply for [certification of ownership], he got up immediately and hurried off in the direction of the capital, saying that he was making a pilgrimage to Kumano. Relying upon the kindness [intercession] of the Regent,⁹ he asked for an edict giving him the rights to the certificates of the entire estate.
From within the imperial palace [from the emperor] this was heard: “Who is the heir of the legacy of Sôma?”

“As for the heirs of Lord Sôma’s, there is one child.”

He took out necessary documents for the proper transfer of land inheritance\(^{10}\) and presented them to the emperor following the correct procedure.

In addition to these documents, the province was abundantly wealthy. He had used plenty of treasures to offer gifts to those people in important positions, the various governors and stewards. He exhausted himself giving treasures of gold and silver as well as the finest horses to the emperor and the courtiers. He gave gifts to the Ministers of the Left and Right, the empress, the ladies in waiting, as well as others at court. Even if an enemy wanted to disturb his plans, how could he not prevail? Especially where there
was no one to dispute him. He freely had his own way, was given the
certificates and departed.

<Cycle 4>

<kotoba>
Now  as he was traveling back, he thought, “Why don’t I give
both Lord Shida and his mother a little financial support?” But he
quickly rebuffed himself thinking, “If I were to assist such useless
people as them, they will certainly be the cause of some disaster
to me in the future. I want to get rid of them immediately, but that
is a little too heartless. Anyway, they cannot stay within the
boundaries of the fief.” When he arrived back in Shida, he sent a
messenger to Lord Shida and his mother with this order: “You cannot
be allowed to stay in either Hitachi or Shimosa  下総  province. You
must flee to some unknown village in a faraway land. Do not remain
here a moment longer and bear a grudge against me!” And he sent an
evoy to spur them on.

<kudoki>
When Shida’s mother heard this, she felt as if it were a
dream. She could not distinguish it in the least from reality, “Is
it that an evil demon\textsuperscript{11} has entered the heart of Lord Oyama?” What
is it that makes you speak in this way?” Although she urged him
bewailing, it was a rude messenger who behaved with an abandonment

<fushi>
of feeling, and it was then that she remembered the final words
of Ukishima Tayû.

Now, since they could not stay there, she took Lord Shida and
they left in tears. Even when one leaves today in the expectation
of returning, parting is depressing, but after leaving this day,
returning will be difficult. Both going and staying, the hardest
to endure is the tears that are now shed. In the town of Itagaki\textsuperscript{12}
in the province of Kai there was a person on whom they hoped that

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they could rely for assistance, yet when they fled as far as this
town, there was not even a trace of this person. There was no one
on whom they could rely. Now, where could they go? Though this place
was called "Itagaki" [wooden fence], they rented lodgings in a
run-down inn, the walls of which could not keep out the incessant
winds.

<Cycle 5>

<kotoba>
Although it is not a rare thing, those who are reliable are
one's retainers. Now among the ancestral retainers of the Shida
manor were Satsushima Hyōe 藤崎兵衛,13 Toyota Hyōe 豊田兵衛,14
Muraoka Gorō 村岡五郎,15 Okabe no Yajirō 岡部の弥次郎,16 and Tagami
Sahyōe 田上左兵衛.17 Led by these five warriors, there were eleven
men in all who, yearning to find their former master, came to Itagaki.
It is impossible to describe how overjoyed they were upon finding their master.

Now then, they had a long discussion with various opinions on what was the appropriate action to take. Among those gathered at this meeting, Satsushima Hyōe stepped forward and said, "Our ancestor Satsushima Dayū, entered into the service the Sōma family as a retainer. I am in the third generation since that time. When the battles of Jōhei¹⁸ began, we fought many times; yet, in the end, we never failed to win, but our master was young and so were we, and yet he is mortifyingly despised by Lord Oyama who usurped his fief and threw him out. How long must we endure this? Although it may be that nothing excels, is it not the trick of those faced by impossible odds to stage a sudden night attack? Now, some of us who have inside knowledge could slip into Oyama's mansion and set fire to it on three sides and force our entrance from the fourth
side. Even if among thousands and ten thousands of riders there is
only one enemy that we would set our sights on. What would get in
the way of grappling with Oyama?” And they plotted to expedite things
quickly.

Among those present was Toida Tarō, who heard this and said,
“What an unwise consultation this is! Having a rough discussion such
as this while the law of reason is on our side, this is unthinkable!
It is not that we have confronted the accused in litigation time
and again. A lawsuit is not an affair for three sides. Even if after
the first, second and third inquiry sessions have ended in the failure
of a case, it is given the name of an ‘appeal for retrial.’ That
is the law. Moreover, [this is a case in which] the rights to the
certificates were given on the basis of the arbitrary maneuverings
of our enemy’s supporters without even one suit filed. Oyama’s
claims are not based upon true relations. That Lord Shida is Lord

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Sôma’s rightful heir cannot be obscured. For example, if the deeds are in Oyama’s hands, and you have evidence that he has stolen them, why wouldn’t they be returned?” Having finished speaking of the rights and wrongs of his case, together they said, “You are quite right, we agree with your argument.” And they escorted Lord Shida and his mother up to the capital.

<Cycle 6>

<kotoba>
Now, even though they tried to keep this a secret, Oyama no Tarô learned about it said, “One who does not know obligation is just as unfeeling as a tree or stone. I took pity on him and helped him. That he became my enemy is unsettling. He cannot be allowed to go to the capital. Hunt him down on the road and kill him!” He dispatched some seventy of his finest warriors.
Now at this time Kojima no Gorō 小島五郎 came forward and said, "This is a ignoble command! If we kill him, there will be nowhere in this land where it will not be known. This plan is not following the law of reason, so if we succeed in killing him, you will certainly be deprived of the fief. Anyway, from the past until now, when one was facing an invincible foe, I have heard that one who prays to the kami or the buddhas may, in a moment, have his prayers answered. Dispatch a messenger to the Kashima shrine and request a priest to perform the special ritual for defeating one’s enemy."²⁰

Oyama was moved by these words and did as he said. He immediately sent a messenger to Kashima shrine and quickly made a request of a priest. Oyama made more than usual efforts to entertain the priest. After he had been served sake three times, one hundred-ryō 両 of gold dust was laid before the priest. A saddle was placed on the finest horse and given to him as well. The priest,
showing signs of pleasure, seemed to be buoyant and cheerful. Now
is the time, thought Oyama, and distanced the priest from the rest
of those present and earnestly requested that he conduct a ritual
to defeat Shida.

The priest’s face changed color, “What an unheard of request!
We who are employed at Kashima shrine pray for nothing other than
the eternity of heaven and earth, the fulfillment of imperial desires,
and good health and long life. We do not conduct any other secret
rituals. In particular, it is frightening that the gods may have
knowledge of the performance of a ritual that will result in the
death of a human being. Go to some high priest who can fulfill your
request!” He got up and was about to run off. Oyama, seeing this,
quickly got up from where he was sitting, pulled on the priest’s
sleeve, and stopped him. “Now, are you on the side of my enemy? I
have told you of the importance of the vicissitudes of my life, now
what is this you say about a favor that cannot be asked? There is nothing I can do, you cannot be allowed to return home!” Having said this, he was about to kill the priest. Because there was nothing that could be done about it, the priest consented.

Since this was a hasty affair, they did not even choose a felicitous day. The ritual area was cleansed, a platform was set up, and a statue was installed. The appearance of the ritual platform was awe-inspiring. The four sides of the platform were decorated. In the holy flower vase, were placed Japanese quince and deutzia. Newt’s blood was mixed with holy water. An offering bowl was filled with buds from the stumps of rice plants. Incense was made from the ground up bones of a cow. Rhododendrons were entwined into a hanging ritual ornament. Water from a white serpent was poured into the bowl for water offerings, and immediately the oil from an inuzanshô 犬山椒 was lit as a votive. He changed the food and drink [for the
deity] daily. On the first day, he prayed to Ksitigarbha facing the south. On the second day he prayed to Avalokitesvarā facing the west. On the third day, he prayed to Mahāsthama-prapta23 facing the east. And on the fourth day, he prayed to Amitabha facing the north. On the fifth day, it was to Kundari,24 and on the sixth day, it was to Vajra Yaksa25 that he prayed. Prayer to the central figure of Acalanatha fell on the seventh day. He pursued the prayers with great ferocity. However, since it was not following the law of reason, there was no indication of the ritual’s efficacy, and the ascetic having lost face, performed incantations for seven days. With no sign of effect he pressed on, intoning the darani, “On, korokoro sendaru shana makaru shana” 唔呼盧呼盧梅陀留舍那魔訶留舍那. He wore out and broke the cord of his rosary, took a five-pronged mace and beat his knees. With a three-pronged mace, he beat his chest, and with a single-pronged mace, he beat his head.26 He smashed the top
of his head and blood ran down his face, with which he smeared Acalanatha’s sword. This is the blood of his intended victim, he said, and concentrating deeply, he shook heaven and earth with his urgings, so that so urgently were the five protector kings shook that Kundari waved the single-pronged mace. Vajra Yaksa wielded his spear. The steer ridden by Yamantaka tossed its horned head and bellowed. Seeing the fresh blood on the tip of the sword of the central figure of Acalanatha, he said that his efforts had been accomplished and he broke the platform.

<Cycle 7>

<kotoba>
Alas, poor Lord Shida, even in his dreams had no idea that this was happening, and accompanying his mother, he traveled day and night toward the capital. Day after day passed and finally they arrived at the post of Kuroda 黒田 in the land of Owari. Due to the
limits of the secret ritual, Lord Shida was not stricken, but his
mother was. Though this was the case, she could not turn back and
went on, suffering.

Day after day passed and finally they arrived at the post of
Bamba in the land of Ōmi 近江. His mother's condition weakened daily,
and now that she could no longer walk, they stayed at Bamba for four
or five days. Lord Shida, followed by his eleven retainers,
approached his mother's pillow. Although they grieved, wondering
what to do, in the end on this helpless path of life and death, his
mother soon disappeared like the morning dew. There was so much [of
that thing called] pathos. There was no precedent for the degree
of Lord Shida's lamenting. Although no one can escape the law of
continual change, pathos such as this is certainly rare. Now, they
could not leave things as they were, and so having arranged things
with an itinerant, pitifully her body became nothing but smoke.
The eleven retainers, all of one heart said, "Lord Shida's bad fortune has come to an end here. How long must we to accompany him, shall it be the capital or to face hardships in the country? Or, if we were asked to go into another master's service, would not this not be a stain on the honor of the ethics of the way of the warrior? Taking this as the wisdom necessary to enter enlightenment, we will leave the secular world." They secretly cut off their topknots, and placed them at the pillow of their master. Although they wanted to take their leave of him [formally], surely that would cause him to follow after them. They left, stifling the sound of their sobs. The long years of intimacy, and his status as their lord meant there was not limit to the sorrow of parting. However, having resolve, they parted and went their separate ways.
<Cycle 8>

<kotoba>
When it became light, Lord Shida awoke, “Are you there?

Though you are grieving, it is a road that we must travel. Hurry!

Hurry!” Though he said this, there was no one who replied. “What
is this?” he thought, and jumping up, he looked around—but what
was this? How awful it was! Only the topknots of the eleven men

<kudoki>
remained. Shida looking at these thought, “What a heartless act!

If they felt so troubled by this transient world, why did they not
take me with them, instead of leaving me behind alone, still a young
boy? Where have they gone, having abandoned me to my own fate?” And
although he lamented his situation, there was no sign that indicated
what he should do. When he was about to cut his belly, the proprietor
of the inn came in and asked him what this was all about. Lord Shida
told to him his story from beginning to end. The proprietor having
listened to his story said, “If the law of reason is so much on your side, why do you not go to the capital and file a lawsuit?”

Lord Shida replied, “If I only had someone to travel with me! Even so, living in this world, there is nothing that can be done. If anyone were to perchance come and ask about me, tell them what has become of me.” As he said these words, he intoned the nenbutsu, unsheathed his sword and prepared to take his own life.

The proprietor, overcome with pity, grabbed the sword. “Give up this idea of suicide! If you wish someone to go with you to the capital, I am your man. Give up this idea of suicide! It is said that the turtle, which has a seemingly endless life, eventually ends up at Mt. Penglai. 31 Even for those who suffer, it is by living that they can completely see into things. What can be the interest upon dying?” And with these words, he stopped Lord Shida from killing himself. The next day, he left with the proprietor and it was to
the capital that they went. They settled into lodgings at Gojō, and
the proprietor gave Lord Shida instructions on filing lawsuits, took
his leave and went back to the inn at Bamba. Although Lord Shida
remained alone in the capital, he appeared to be as a duck plucked
of its feathers that can only float but not take flight. He was like
a cart missing a wheel; it was as if he could do nothing, and though
he passed his days in the capital, he did not file his suit. Since
he had no support from the country, and he could not remain in the
capital, for he had no one to rely upon.

<Cycle 9>

<kotoba>
This is what Lord Shida felt in his heart. “Thinking about
the impossible is the height of foolishness. If I traveled to the
land of Hitachi and were to ask my elder sister for assistance, after
I become an adult what problem would I have exacting revenge?” While
he thought this, it was once again that he set out from the capital to the not unfamiliar Shida. "If social station is [considered,] it is I who should be supporting others, but one must adapt with the times," he thought, and called out, "Is anyone at home?" Someone was sent out to ask, "Who is it?" Thinking to beg mercy of Lord Oyama, he went to Oyama's mansion and lingered by the gate. "It is no one suspicious!" It is I, Shida. I humbly leave everything to you. I surrender."

Oyama heard this and replied, "Ah, this is how it should be. Though I want to invite you in, I have considered this more deeply. You come with the secret intention of taking advantage of the most convenient opportunity to strike out at me to vent your rage. This is as clear as if it was reflected in a mirror. Although I want to put you to death, you ask for help according to the laws of surrender, so I will spare you. Flee to an unknown village in a land far away!"
Do not remain in this land another minute bearing a grudge against me!" With no sign that Oyama was aware of how far Shida had come, his not inviting him in beyond the gate was exceedingly thoughtless.

His return to Shida had no effect, and his resentment grew ever stronger.

<kudoki>

Ah, how pitiful! Lord Shida by chance wandered close to his father’s grave and thought, “If not now, then when will I have the chance to pray for my father’s soul.” He went to the grave, picking some flowers along the way as an offering. “Why is it that having been deserted by fate, I have been left in this transient world without you calling me to join you on the same lotus pedestal?”

And although he lamented his plight, since his father was only a departed soul, there was no reply from the grave. There was only the sound of the wind, whistling through the pines. He wrung his
hem and his sleeves that were wet from the grass thick with dew, but those things that could not be dried were his tears.

<Cycle 10>

<kotoba>
Now, as Lord Shida turned away to leave the grave, he met with a man who was wearing a braided straw hat low over his forehead and carrying a sword under his arm; he had met up with someone of strange appearance. He looked at the man wondering who he could be. It was Ukishima Tayû whom he had parted with all those years ago. Like the joy of the pines at Sumiyoshi that have waited so long, so was their joy at the unexpected meeting.

Ukishima took him and returned to Kawachi and approaching his five sons said, “Come here and pay your respects! You have all been longing so much for your master, and according to the mercy of heaven, unexpectedly meeting Lord Shida was like the one-eyed turtle that
chances upon a floating log. When we try hide you, rumor that you
are here will certainly get out. Now as for this mountain village,
from long ago it has had strong walls. No matter how much the enemy
attacks, I do not think they can be easily broken down. We will start
a battle, gradually the momentum will increase, and with the time’s
passing, news of this will leak out to the capital. In order to find
out what this regional conflict is all about, the emperor will
dispatch an envoy, at which time we will bring a supplementary suit.
We should pursue it to a fortuitous settlement. For now, ours are emergency forces; in the end, we will certainly rule the fief. Oh,
if we move in haste what will we do, I wonder! In the valleys and
on the mountain peaks, gather all the laborers and have them build
earthen fortifications. Ready logs, tree trunks and stones for
attacking the enemy at strategic points. Build bonfires! Line up
the shields in a row to form a wall and do not let the enemy break

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through!" He gave these orders and his children were beside themselves with joy, saying, "What happiness it would be if we could give our dew-like lives for our master!" It was their joy and bravery that gave hope.

Although they tried to keep their preparations secret, Oyama no Tarō’s side heard of this and said, "Now, is it that Lord Shida is relying upon his ancestral retainer, Ukishima? Having called up support from all directions, this will become a very grave matter. Attack him before he has time to arm himself!"

"Yes, sir!" was the reply, and Oyama sent out his closest steward, the general Yokosuka 横須賀 as the commander. Although they penetrated as far as the outermost gate, they fought as if this was it, but they lost many men and retreated. "Well, it won’t do for me to set out [for the battlefield]."\textsuperscript{32} Although they fought desperately, many were killed and they were forced to retreat.
Thinking, "I must go into battle myself," Oyama mounted his horse.

Not one warrior from the provinces of Hitachi and Shimōsa was left behind. Although the advancing troops of the fief fought desperately at the castle, the enemy was united as one. They had created a road by leveling out the valleys and the mountains, and with fresh troops entering the battle, how could Ukishima’s forces ever hold out? The enemy broke through the second and third gates, and they withdrew to the inner citadel of the castle.

Ukishima Tayû from the top of a tower said in a loud voice.

"Now, when it is difficult to give up one’s life in battle, it is according to circumstances. Is it when one’s master is alive and depends on one for the future that it is difficult! I have no concern for how long I live or when I should rise in the world. Do you not have any children? Die in battle! Do not worry. I, too, will cut my belly!"
While he said this, he took out his large bow, and many bows that had been in reserve, and had three boxes of arrows carried up to the tower at the front of the castle. "My dear wife, come here and pull apart the latticework. Let's show them a fight." When he had said this, his wife who was now in the fifty-sixth year since her birth, her graying hair in plaits, covered herself with a thin silk gown and ascended the tower. "What are you saying slackening in a fight that is child's play?" Receiving such constant encouragement, Ukishima Tarô ran out.

Thinking that today would be his final battle, his under garment was woven with the design of a dragon, his arm plates were decorated with figures of demons, his shin guards of polished white sandalwood, his stockings were made of bear hide, he stepped into lacquered footwear that was painted silver and bordered in gold.
The plates protecting his thighs and knees were painted with lion figures on a peony pattern; his armor was woven with scarlet thread so that between the hours of nine and eleven in the morning, his appearance would be dazzling. The shoulder straps were securely tied; he wore the plates suspended from the waist on the long side; his outer belt was securely tied with a short sword measuring nine-sun and five-fun [27.5 cm] at his right side. He wore a one-shaku eight-sun [54.5 cm] sword at his side so that it looked like a cross, a three-shaku eight-sun [115.14 cm] sword made of a gold and copper alloy he had tied at his side. He had forty-two arrows, their feathers with a faint black design, placed so they stood high in a quiver. He wore five-plate helmet with armor neck plates on top of which was a lion figure design. He wore a cape for defending against arrows coming from the back. His bows were strong enough for four men, and were wrapped tightly in rattan and lacquered. The
strings had been covered in pine resin and wrapped in cotton. He grasped his bow in the center and held it sideways. His white-shi colored horse was born in the Mito region of Ōshū and was seven-ki five-fun [1.42 m]. It was six years old. He placed on his horse a saddle with gold trimmings. Leaning against his bow he mounted his horse and positioned himself at the edge of the moat.

The five brothers each put on his favorite armor and mounted his most prized horse. Together they took up the reins and considered whether to advance. Both ally and enemy alike, seeing the brothers’ behavior, there was not one person who did not feel that they were admirable warriors.

<Cycle 11>

<kotoba>
Their father was keenly watching from the tower and said, “Look at that, my wife. Not one of them appears to be inferior! We
brought these sons into the world and, without making them feudal lords, are sending them to their deaths. Die quickly, sons. Even while saying this, since this is the end, show me your faces one more time. You will all be missed.” Even a man who was as strong as Ukishima broke down in deep sobs.

<tsume>
His wife heard this and began to laugh loudly, “What, have you gone senile, Tarō? The tearful words of parting, this. Is this a path that allows for tears? How about it? A battle is a serious matter. It is not enough to have courage; you must also have knowledge of military strategy. Having only a few number of allies you can use the following strategies when you attack your enemy:

“The Sharp Arrow Formation,”35 “The Fish Scales,”39 and “The Crane’s Wings Divided Formation.”40 “The Fish Scales” is the strategy in which the foot soldiers make a formation that resembles the scales of a fish. “The Crane’s Wings Divided Formation” resembles the
outspread wings of a crane. The enemy will easily cut down those who do not know the use of the reins. When cutting down an oncoming opponent, hit him with your whip so that his horse rears up. Then, bringing the reins right side up,\textsuperscript{41} raise up your sword and slash down. When attacking your enemy from the left side, pull up the reins, and beating the horse with the whip,\textsuperscript{42} strike! When attacking your enemy from the right, turn the hilt of your sword; and beating the horse with the whip,\textsuperscript{43} strike! Your father and I will both be here watching! Yours' will be a glorious victory as if before a gallery of spectators. Do not let your guard slip, my children!” Though it was not an unusual thing, in order to invigorate her children she beat the paneling of the wall and laughed heartily.

The invigorated sons encouraged by their mother and father's words, all raised their voices and charged. The shore of the river ahead of them was strewn with stones. Having learned the secrets
of using the reins, and having been taught how to use the whip, they
rode freely in a line, they galloped forward only to back up swiftly,
and what became more numerous than the stones in the riverbed were
the corpses. They retraced their steps only to gallop forward, and
[thus] five to six times fought on.

Ukishima’s wife, seeing this said, “Having enjoyed watching
my sons do battle, I will reinforce their rear flank!” And quickly
letting the gown that she was wearing drop to the ground, she revealed
that underneath she was wearing the garb of a warrior. She was
wearing shin guards underneath a red *hakama*. She was wearing a light,
yellowish-green suit of armor and had her hair parted and coiled
on each side of her head. Saying, “Lend me [this] for a bit!” She
took her husband’s favorite boxwood cudgel and carried it on her
shoulder. She ordered the large wooden door to be opened and brought
her steed to the edge of the moat. She raised her voice and announced,
"Well, now, warriors of Lord Oyama, who do you suppose that I am? I am the third generation from Emperor Yōzei, the fifth generation from Minamoto no Yorimitsu. The daughter of the Watanabe Taishōgun Mida no Genji, it is I, the Mida Female Demon. Having lived fifty-six years, I will serve Lord Shida, this being my only life! Those who wish to do battle with me, come forward! I will show you my skill." And she took a helmet, put it on, and was intent upon charging immediately.

<Cycle 12>

<kotoba>
Her husband watched attentively from the tower, "It is according to the law of reason for children to be strong. It is because a mother is filled with such strength. It is truly a wonder seeing three generations, parents and children, brothers, and husband and wife, all fighting together. What do you think of this,
my lord? Come this way and see how a woman does battle. There have been few precedents of this." He invited Lord Shida up to the tower and looked closely at him. "Masakado had a double pupil, and he went on to become the ruler of the Eight Eastern Provinces, ruling over them for eight years. You, too, have a double pupil in your left eye. One who has a double pupil, even if he does not rise to the rank of king, he will certainly become the master of the Eight Eastern Provinces. Even if we are to die in battle in service to you, you stay alive and wait until you are twenty-five. At twenty-five, your reign will certainly begin. "We, too, are thinking in this way. Though it is sad that my children will lose their lives, we do not intend to be disgraced at this moment and so we will serve you until death. If my wife and I die in battle, you will be taken alive by the enemy. Wait patiently during the years at Oyama’s mansion until your time comes.
<Cycle 13>

"Kotoba" I now take my leave." Having said this he jumped down from the tower and slipped into a small room where he put on a heimet that was made of large, alternating plates of iron and leather. He untied his sleeves and threw them aside, fitting on only the section that covered the torso. He outfitted himself with a small dagger that he fit in his quiver box, and a short sword for taking the heads of his enemy, as well as a third blade. On this his final battle, he had with him the following slashing weapon, a four-shaku eight-sun long spear [1.45 m], with a handle that fitted with a three-shaku five-sun [1.06 m], the straight part of which was inlaid with gold.

"With this handle long, the number of men that I will cut down may be inferior!" He slashed down about two-shaku [61 cm], suddenly wrenched it off and threw it aside. And waving it to check whether
it felt right, "What well-forged iron!" He nodded and said, "Hail, the three holy treasures! It is of no use! No matter how many of the enemy I am able to kill, I will certainly cause my wife and children sadness. Come, my wife." Having said this, husband and wife took the reins of their horses and charged into the enemy camp. Yet, there was no one who would face them in battle.

The tactics of using the cudgel are "Grass Mowing,""^48 "Stone Crushing,""^49 "Repelling,""^50 "Leaf Fluttering,""^51 and "The Waterwheel.""^52 They cut down man and horse alike. The tactics of using the long sword are "Wave Cutting,""^53 "Lightening Cutting,""^54 "Cart Overturning,""^55 and "Sword Play.""^56 His wife made the first pass, and Ukishima followed her for a second pass. When their sons charged first, father and mother followed. If we look for something to compare their fighting style with, it was like a game of Indian-style chess."^57 First, the pawns move, followed by the King
and Bishop that charge together. The Gold General and the Silver General advance, and as the Knight proceeds, the Prince follows. If their way of fighting was replayed upon a chessboard, how could there be anyone who could defeat them?

Since Ukishima Tayû’s long sword could not stand the strain and broke in three, and he attacked them with both arms raised, twisted their heads with his bare hands, and pulled them off like a pipe. He tossed them around like small stones, and split their heads right down the middle with one sword stroke. Though it seems as if it was only yesterday, it was the battle in the third month of the second year. This battle lasted for seven days and nights.

It was unknown how many men were killed. Although they had five sons, they became separated in battle and all were killed. Only Ukishima and his wife were left. "Having committed such sin as this, it will certainly be bad karma for us in the next life. Since there is no
way that we can win, how about it, my wife?” Having said this, together they unsheathed their swords; there was no one who did not lament their death as they stabbed each other.

***

<Cycle 14>

<kotoba>
Lord Shida seeing what had happened thought, “Although I remember what Ukishima said to me, seeing husband and wife die in battle, what use is there in prolonging my own life now?” And he unsheathed the sword at his waist, and was about to kill himself when a retainer of Oyama came up. “It is incorrect that you should kill yourself. Come this way!” And he captured Lord Shida and led him away.

Oyama seeing what had transpired thought, “Certainly, when luck is running in one’s way, there is nothing that does not go as
one desires. Even so, cutting off a person's head in broad daylight, I certainly could not endure word of this getting out. After evening has passed, in the dead of the night, I will drown him in the Inland Sea [Kasumi-ga-ura]." He gave the order to Chihara Tayû, a hereditary vassal of Sôma. Chihara took charge of Lord Shida saying, "You are an important prisoner! There is no way that I can let you escape." He tied Lord Shida up, and then bound him strongly a second time and confined him in a room within his mansion. As the night slowly deepened, Lord Shida waited like a sheep before the slaughter.

<\kudoki>

Shida's elder sister heard about this and thought, "How deplorable! Willingly I pledged my heart to this man; to think that he might do something like this. I will go and see my brother's hour of death." In the dead of the night, she stole out and went to Chihara's dwelling. Seeing the ropes that bound Lord Shida, she said, "Alas, what a heartless business this is! They have not put me in
bonds, why have they only tied you up? Why do you not say anything?

Is it that you deplore me? May all the gods bear witness, I hide no ill intent." She pleaded with him in this way.

Lord Shida said, "I do not consider you deplorable in the least. I am overcome with tears and I have no words. I am the most unfortunate person. Since now the end has come, if word gets out to Oyama's people that you have ventured off to see me, then you will meet with more suffering. Go home!"

Having heard this, his sister said, "If Oyama hears about this, even if we are drown in the same deep pool, I will feel no resentment. The only reason for you being in this situation are these things that I have brought. Look!" She took out some rolled up papers from her sleeve and handed them to Lord Shida. Shida took them. He unrolled them and saw that they were the title and deeds to the Shida fief. "These are the most valuable things passed down in our house,
what good would it do for me to have them? Take them and return home!"

His sister, hearing this, said, "What you say has its merits, but when you die and appear before the lord of hell, if you have an offering for the two kami that have recorded all your deeds in life, then by virtue of what is right, why shouldn't you be rid of all sins and impediments? Just take them!" So then, he took them. It was her bitter fate not to belong there, so dragging her sleeves of regret, she went home.

<Cycle 15>

<kotoba>
That very night, in the middle of the night, Oyama sent a messenger, "Is Shida drowned? Quickly, drown him!" Since there was nothing else he could do, Chihara prepared a small boat, and placed Lord Shida in the craft and tied a stone around his neck. He paddled out into the offing thinking, "Should I drown him here or over there."
He could not bring himself to drown him and so they floated about, drifting on the waves. "Alas, what wretchedness. The burdens of official service are unenviable. If I had not been in service, I would certainly not have faced such misfortune. In the past when I served Lord Sôma, did I not look up to this young lord as my master, *fushi* wasn't he not my sun and moon? Obligation that is higher than the mountains, more fragrant than flowers---I was always in attendance on my master, but before I knew it, that changed, and as for the [ultimate] misery in this transient world, if I drown you with my own hand, Lord Sôma who is now under the shadows of the grasses, will he not think me detestable? *tsune* If word of [what I am contemplating] were to get out, and I, too, were to be drowned in a deep pool tomorrow, I want to spare this lord." Chihara said, "Now is the hour of your death!" He urged [Shida to] intone the *nenbutsu*, and Shida pressed his hands together and intoned the *nenbutsu* in
a loud voice. Chihara chanted with him. While he was chanting, Chihara drew his sword, cut the rope through, and dropped only the stone into the water with a splash. “In invoke the Three Holy Treasures. I have just seen his life come to an end!” He said this in a loud voice, but there was no body that was drowned, and having saved the boy, they returned to the shore. This reminds one of a similar situation during the reign of Shi Huang 始皇 when Yan Dan 燕丹 returned to his hometown. 69

<Cycle 16>

<kotoba>
“ When it becomes light, people will see us.” He sent Shida off under the cover of darkness, and just as it was becoming light, he returned home. As soon as it was light, Oyama sent a messenger who relayed to Chihara that Oyama had summoned him. He came before
him and asked, "Is Shida drowned?" "Indeed, there is no need to ask. He is drowned."

Oyama heard this and said, "If you had drowned him as I ordered, why did you not ask for a witness to be present? Now I get it. I think that as a hereditary retainer of Lord Sōma you had a change of heart and spared him. If you are just questioned, you will insist that you did not spare him. Torture him until he tells me what happened." "Yes, my lord."

How merciless it was. The rough warriors threw Chihara onto the ground, tied his hands behind his back and then strung him up from the crossbeams. The torture of seventy lashes was certainly something awful to behold. When the whip cut his whole body and the pain was at its worst, Chihara would think, "All right then, I'll confess." But then he reconsidered, "Just wait a minute longer, this heart of mine will soon fade away with the setting sun. But Lord
Shida is like the rising sun; he is a flower in the bud. What is left of my lifespan isn’t much. Let me give my life for his!” And no matter how hard they questioned him, he did not confess.

They questioned him with water and fire torture. When he did not give in to this torture, they hung him with a rope from an old tree trunk. Raising him up, his breathing became labored; letting him down he revived a little. For seven days and nights, they tortured him endlessly. New men came to relieve those who had tired. How could he bear such torture? In the end, he disappeared as the morning dew.

Oyama was furious, “Does he not have a wife and children? Question them!” “Very well.” They brought his two young sons and their mother into the garden. Oyama went out and looked them over carefully, “Someone with such good fortune as this, to give up everything to help someone as low as Shida, this is truly regrettable.
A husband tells his family everything, surely there is nothing that
you do not know. Tell me as it is. If it seems like you are lying,
we will do to you what we did to your husband!” He was in a rage.

Chihara’s wife showed no sign of grief and replied, “Even if
you cut me up into little pieces, I cannot tell you what I do not
know. On that night, he left, saying that he was going to drown Lord
Shida. He equipped a small boat, put Lord Shida on it and hung a
stone around the boy’s neck. Then he paddled out into the offing.
I was so heartbroken myself that I went down to the beach and heard
what was going on. I heard what I understood to be Lord Shida chanting
the nenbutsu in a loud voice along with Chihara. Afterwards I heard
a splash and then there was nothing. I don’t know why, if he knew
Shida was going to die in this way, that he did not exchange his
own life for that of Lord Shida, and spare Lord Shida. If you think
that this is a lie, summon one of the people living on near the shore.”
“Very well, summon them!” A lot people were summoned and questioned in detail.

“On that night I wasn’t aware that there was anything going on in the offing. It is all this way.”

“Well, I interrogated poor Chihara although he had drowned him.” Having said this, he sent Chihara’s wife and children back to their home. Alas, how pitiful it was. Lord Shida longing for the capital traveled day and night without stopping and he arrived in the Bay of Ōtsu 大津 in the province of Ōmi. Although there were many houses standing in a row, his luck, sadly, having run out, he took temporary lodgings at a rundown place owned by a slave trader, Tsuji no Tōta 辻の藤太. Tōta had his eye on Lord Shida to sell into slavery, and so that night he laid the groundwork.

“You are so young, where is it you have come from and where are you going?”
Lord Shida replied, "If it is a companion you need on your trip to the capital, then let me be of service," he said.

Tōta replied, "It is pitiful that you must go on foot. Let us ask this fellow if he will take you along with him to the capital."

He saddled an emaciated horse and put Lord Shida on it, and set out with him.

"Since you have no one to take care of you in the capital, I will arrange for your lodgings myself." And they went to Gojō and he handed Lord Shida over into the hands of the leader of the Bakurō 博労 guild Ōsaburō 王三郎. Tōta having been given a horse in exchange for Lord Shida, left the capital. Ōsaburō sold Lord Shida to a ferryman on the Yodo River at the Toba crossing. From there he was sold at the bay at Sakai in Tsu province. He was sold over and over again, from Shikoku to Kyushu and finally at several places along the seaboard of the Hokuriku Road. From Obama 小浜 in Wakasa
若狭 prefecture, Tsuruga 建贺 in Echizen province and the port of Mikuni 三國 in Kaga province. He was finally sold at Miya no Koshi 宫の越 in Kaga province. Although the pains of living were many, he remained in Miya no Koshi.

The season was spring and he was taught the jobs of a menial and sent out into the fields to hoe. Although he set out toward a small field with a thing called a "hoe," he could not do the work in the least. In the ancient reign of the Chinese emperor San Huang 神農, the emperor himself took a spade in his hand and turned over the soil. He planted the five grains, and in response to his care, the rice plants grew tall. This was the type of enlightened and divine rule that governed by the law of reason fostered the nation. As for Lord Shida’s tilling of the soil, it may have been only his tears that he sowed. In the fields and in the mountains, Tatsuta-hime
prostrated in the wood of Sao 佐保 and could do nothing else but weep.

People who saw him said, "What a worthless fellow!" There was no one that would buy him, neither in the neighboring towns, nor in the neighboring provinces. And so, his master kicked Lord Shida out. With nowhere to go, Lord Shida set out under the white clouds of the vast sky. As if hanging in midair, the tread of his footsteps was as heavy as thunder. Like a floating bird with no fixed abode, startling were his cries as he wandered aimlessly. He was on the edge of starvation, and used his sleeves to beg. His life was as ephemeral as the dew that falls on the grass. Wandering aimlessly, letting his feet lead him, he arrived at the harbor of Oya 小屋 in the province of Noto.⁷¹
<Cycle 17>

<kotoba>
Right around then, it was said that a burglar was prowling at night. The doors of the houses were shut tightly, and the people were extremely guarded. Not knowing which way to turn, he lingered at a gate saying, “I beg you to show mercy to this person so reckless and low.”

At this point, an old man approached him. “How dreadful! The person we have been fearing has shown up. The young men who were available came out with oars, paddles and fishing spears in hand. “Where is this fool?” they asked. They found Lord Shida and beat him one by one. Lord Shida fled.72

The leader repeatedly said, “Striking him one at a time—is this some kind of game? If someone like this survives and is made to talk, someone will get hurt later. Just beat him till he expires.”
The hotheads got carried away and, poor Lord Shida, they beat him until he dropped.  

When it looked as though there would be nothing that could save him, a woman of great feeling who was in charge of the administration of a manor looked at Lord Shida and said, “How pitiful! I think he is the child of someone who, abandoned by the world, has come to this far away land in search of his father. You hand him over to me.”  

The fellows heard this and said, “Although these are the woman’s words, should we listen to them, or not? It is out of the question!” And they continued to beat Lord Shida.  

The woman said sadly, “I will pour you sake, spare him!” They heard the word “sake” and the leader, along with the youngest men, threw down their sticks and retreated. She led him into her house and treated him in the kindest of manners.
Lord Shida revived some, but not to his former self. Now after these things had passed, a salt merchant from the distant province of Mutsu 離島 came sailing into their shore. Since he was under the administrator's jurisdiction, he saw Lord Shida and said, "Give that boy to me!" And he was forced into the hands of the salt merchant and put on board his boat. In eighteen days, they arrived at Soto no hama 外の浜 in far off Mutsu province.

Now, his master was a man with no feelings. Even before one or two days had elapsed, he said, "The people who live on this shore, they can only survive by boiling salt from seaweed. So, you too, get to work making salt! Foreigner!" He made Lord Shida chop wood for boiling the water and made him tend the fire under the cauldron. This was sad. What is more, his clothes became soaked with salt water as he tended the smoldering fire under the cauldron. This was truly pitiful. He tried to alleviate the pains of his existence by watching
the smoke rise from the salt maker’s shed and trail off disappearing with the mist. Not knowing where it had gone, the white waves continued to surge toward the shore, and every night he wrung out his sleeves. His longing for his home province of Hitachi increased day after day.

Now in the middle of the autumn, the proprietor of that shore, the Shioji 塩路 manorial administrator, came out onto the shore in order to look at the moon during the night. He saw Lord Shida and said, "What a refined boy with sparkling eyes here, tending the salt burners! He has such an elegant manner! How, I wonder, did the Tayû kidnap such a fine boy as this? Having reached this age, I still do not have a child. I will make him my son." And having said this, he stole the boy away, made him his heir and lovingly raised him. He came of age and was called "Lord Shioji no Kotorô," and there was no one high or low who did not revere him.
Now it happened that the provincial governor came down to the province and arrived in the provincial capital at Taga. At the provincial headquarters, the shogunal vassals came running. The daytime guards as well as those who were now on duty were employed to stand guard.

This is what the provincial governor said: “While I was in Hitachi province, a deplorable scandal had occurred between Soma and Naiki 内木 and they have not been on good relations since. This is because there was no protocol for seating order, or toasting, while I am governor, I will settle on how the hall should be,” he said. On the left was Katsuta 勝田, the deputy manorial administrator; and on the right was Shibata 柴田, the manorial administrator. Together there were thirteen factions. In all, there were more than three hundred men present. There was no one wearing gloomy robes, so there was no limit to the gala atmosphere.
Since Shioji, the provincial administrator, was an old man, he sent his adopted son and heir, Lord Kotarō. The other officials present saw this and said, "This cannot be allowed," and tried to prevent it.

The command of the provincial governor was this: "Why didn’t the Shioji not coming himself? Does he think so lightly of his superiors? If that is how he honors me, then I will take his fief."

Shida thought, "I want to tell them who I am!" But he reconsidered, "No, no. One of Oyama’s family or retainers might be present." Though he refrained from divulging his identity he thought, "If I do not announce myself, this is a disgrace to my adoptive parents, yet it is also a shame to be thrown out. I will announce myself." And he took out his genealogy and placed it before the provincial governor.
The provincial governor looked at it. "What is this? The sixth generation from Imperial Prince Kazurahara 鶴原, descendant of Masakado, the true son of Sōma, Shida Kotarō." And having read the meritorious achievements, occupations and origins that were outlined in the genealogy he said, "In the fifty-four districts, there is no one of higher stature." He allowed Shida to take a seat directly in front of him. It was truly auspicious, Lord Shida having been restored to his station. It is said that the party lasted seven days. The attending officials took their leave and returned to their respective homes.

Lord Shida also took his leave and returned home.

The provincial governor said, "How heartrending! How heartrending! I will give him a three-year term of office as governor of Ōshū. During this time, the provincial governor will go to the capital and ask for conferral of rights to the land on Shida's
behalf.” And he set out for the capital. Meanwhile, Lord Shida who had only yesterday been making salt, his fragile body being scorched, now he was pulled away from that and made lord of fifty-four districts. He had conquered the province.

***

<Cycle 18>

<kotoba>
As for Oyama Tarō no Yukishige in Hitachi province, there was no end to his prosperity. On the Seventh day of the seventh month, he took out all of his treasures waiting for Tanabata-hime 七夕姬, the Weaver-girl.” Among the myriad of treasures—gold, silver and the finest of fabrics—there were the deeds to the Shida and Tamazukuri estates, yet no matter how hard he looked for them, they were not there.
Turning to his wife, he said, “Not many people could have known about this. I think you stole them and made them the treasure of someone else. What benefit can there be to rely upon a two-faced person such as this? Get out of here immediately!” Having said this, he mercilessly turned the woman out of his house.

<kudoki>
Alas, how pitiful! The young woman, though she had felt from the beginning that something like this would happen, thought, “This is not the first time that I have suffered,” and she took only her wet nurse and left Oyama’s mansion. “How shameful! To whom can I turn to show me the way? Where is it that I should wander? I will drown myself in the same inlet in which Lord Shida was drowned.” And saying this, she went to the shore.
<Cycle 19>

<kotoba>
At this point, a retainer of Chihara approached and said, “There is nothing to grieve about. Chihara gave his own life in exchange for Lord Shida’s life. Although he wrote many letters to you, I have not had the opportunity to bring them to you. Come here and take a look at them.” Having said this, he handed over the letters that had been written so long ago.

<kudoki>
Shida’s elder sister looked at them and said, “Oh, how happy! Shida is still in this bitter world! Although it is a hopeless case, in order to settle it he must have gone to the capital. Okay, we will go from here to the capital to look for him. If we proceed to the capital in this manner, will we not be given some scandalous name?” And so, they went to a nearby temple, and she shaved off the locks that were as long as she was tall. Her wet nurse, too, changed into the same figure, and they dressed themselves in dark,
ink-black robes and left for the capital. They passed by many famous sites and old ruins and in thirty-five days, they arrived in the capital. They searched the capital from east to west, but they were unable to locate his whereabouts.

They went to Kiyomizu temple and there they offered this deeply felt petition: “Hail, merciful Avalokitesvara! You, more than any of the other myriad buddhas, have promised to help all with your thousand arms of mercy. Now, let me meet once with Lord Shida!”

They searched for him on the road to Kumano, passing first along the Nankai 海南海Road. They passed Tennoji temple, Sumiyoshi shrine, Negoro 根来,70 and Kokawa 粉河 temple.75 Going on to Kumano, they bowed down to the three mountains of Kumano.80 Wherever they searched, they were unable to find him. Thinking to look for him in Shikoku and Kyushu, they begged to be allowed on a boat that carried worshippers and they crossed over to Shikoku, and serenely visited
the island of Awaji. They continued on to Tsukushi, searching at
the provincial capital of Nagato 長門, Akama ga seki 赤間が関, Ashiya no Yamazaki 芦屋の山崎, the Bay of Hakata, and the island of
Shiga 志賀, but they found no trace of Lord Shida. Leaving Nagoya
名護屋, they traveled to Seto 瀬戸, Hirato no おしま 平戸の大
島, Matsura 松浦, Mirokuji 弥勒寺 temple, Shizuka no sato 静の
里, Kangi かわんぎ, and the Gotō 五島 Islands—even Iō ga shima
伊王が島 neared. They passed Yuki no Moto'ori 老岐の本居, and
though they became disheartened, in the province of Hyūga 日向 they
passed the island of Tosa 土佐, Awashima 沢島 in the village of Ki
紀伊, and through the provinces of Bungo and Buzen. In Higo 肥
後 province, they passed Mt. Odoridō 踊堂, Kohiwashi こひわし, Ushinomitsushi うしのみつし. They crossed Mt. Aso 阿蘇 and in
Chikuzen 筑前 province, they went as far as Iki no sato 老岐の里.
They had exhausted all the famous sites. “Shida Kotarō such and such” they inquired, but there was no one who answered.

<Cycle 20>

"<kotoba>
There are no doubts about Tsukushi. Now then, let us go from here to Chūgoku.” So they crossed over into Suwo province and searched for him in Ōchi 大内 district,101 Asakura 朝倉102 and Gokuraku-shi 極楽市.103 They entered Harima 播磨 province and looked in all the famous places and old ruins, the riverbed of Akamatsu 赤松,104 the post at Yui 油井,105 the crossing at Takada 高田,106 and the post at Yano 八野.107 They left for the province at Sakai no matsu 境の松.108 They searched at the forest of Sōta そうた,109 Karasuzaki 鳥崎110 and Hitomatsu ga oka 人まつが岡,111 but they did not find him. Passing by the shore of Suma and hearing of the Lotus Pond,112 she thought, “Would that we could be reborn on the same lotus blossom
in the Pure Land!" Arriving in Hyōgo, they passed Minatogawa 湊川, Suzume no Matsubara 雀の松原, the post at Uchida 内田, Koyano 昆陽野, Itami 伊丹, the post at Teshima 豊島, the town of Ōda 太田, Akutagawa 荒川, Kōnai 神内, Yamazaki 山崎 and Kitsunegawa 狐川. There they crossed in a ferry to Kuga 久我.

Was it the moon that was reflected on the Katsuragawa 桂川 River?

This bitter world is just like the wheel of a cart; all things return to where they started. And they arrived in the nine-fold, capital of flowers.

<Cycle 21>

"There are no doubts about the capital. Now then, let us return the way we came." And they set out to Matsuzaka 松坂 asking, "Who are you waiting for?" Then they passed through the barrier at Osaka 逢坂 seeing the moon reflected in the Kiyomizu river they
thought that it must be the fifteenth day of the eighth month. Having
gotten used to the clatter of horse hooves, from Ôtsu and the shore
of Uchide 内田, they proceeded to Shiga, where looking out over
Karasaki they saw the men pulling in the nets on the shore of Katata
堅田 and were instantly moved to tears. Seta Karahashi 唐橋
bridge was far off. Passing by Kagamiyama 鏡山 that reflects the
visage of the one who is being sought, they crossed the waters of
Aichigawa 愛知川 river. Their hems were dew-soaked and their
sleeves were constantly wet from tears. They crossed over Mt.
Surihariyama 堆針山, and though it was rough, it was rather
graceful as they passed the barrier of Fuwa 不破, the moonlight
streaming through the opening in the roof at the post at Tarui 垂井.
Passing through, they continued on to the barrier at Kuroda
黒田 where the sprouts of rice were growing, and looking at over
autumn landscape of Narumi 鳴海, they were sunk in thought at the
crossroads of the Yatsuhashi 八橋 Bridge\textsuperscript{135} in Mikawa 三河 province. Heading on in search of Mt. Fuji 富士, they passed through Tōtōmi 遠江 and Suruga 駿河 looking for their loved one, and on to Izu 伊豆 waiting while the moon appeared through the clouds. After three years and three months of searching, they finally entered Ôshū asking, “Do you know of Shida Kotarô such and such.” But still they were unable to find him.

\texttt{<Cycle 22>}

\texttt{<kotoba>}

\textit{Now} in the middle of the seventh month, they arrived in the provincial capital of Taga. It was the fourteenth day of the month; it was the urabon festival. All the people, both high and low, were gathered. It was a day when all kinds of charity were performed. Lord Shida too, in order to fulfill his filial duties to his father and mother, placed placards on various street corners
offering charity. The two wandering nuns saw this and said, “We too must go and ask for charity.” And they went to the Jibutsudō temple. Oh, how pitiful she was! Arriving at the Jibutsudō temple, during the night there had been sutra readings, and now that it was getting light, she rang a bell and prayed in a loud voice.

“By the power of this sutra, all sentient beings will attain supreme enlightenment. In particular, Lord Sōma, his wife, and Lord Shida, they will leave this cycle of life and death and pass on into buddhahood. If Lord Shida is still in this bitter world, may the ten raksasa female demons that guard Buddhism named in this sutra hear this prayer. Let me meet Shida Kotarō just one time! Hail the three treasures! Hail the three treasures!” and she pressed her sleeves to her face. Her tears were heartbreaking.

Lord Shida, too, was there at the Jibutsudō temple showing filial piety toward his parents. Over the readings of sutras, he
he could not distinguish whether it was a dream or reality. He flung open the sliding window and looked carefully about. There, he saw the figure of his elder sister. He ran nimbly to her and clung to her sleeve. "It is I, Shida Kotarô," he said and cried weakly.

His sister as well did not know if it was reality. "Now then, is it you Kotarô? This is your long-lost sister Senju! It is according to the law of reason that you cry when times are hard. Now on such a happy occasion, what are you thinking shedding tears in this way?" And she drew close to him and wet her sleeves as well.

<Cycle 23>

<kotoba>Lord Shida said, "In a world so felicitous as this, what can there be to lament so? Be courageous, sister! I will go to
Hitachi province and cut off the head of that despicable Oyama and dispel these recent sufferings.”

“You are absolutely right.” He summoned up three thousand warriors from the fifty-four districts. Oyama heard of this and surmised that it would be difficult to bear up in his home province. Meanwhile, the provincial governor had reported to the emperor concerning certification [of Lord Shida’s rights of ownership of the lands], and was returning to the province when he met up with Oyama on the way. He got down from his horse and said, “Please spare my life.”

“Easy done.” They jumped Oyama, bound him, gave him the name “A souvenir from Kyoto,” and handed him over to Lord Shida. Lord Shida was overjoyed. He made Oyama kneel down on the fields at Tsumagoe 妻恋 in Musashi and the he cut off his head. There was no one who did not hate this man who now disappeared like the morning

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dew. Afterwards, Lord Shida went to the capital and sat before the emperor. The emperor gave the Eight Eastern Provinces to Lord Shida. Along with this, Lord Shida received Ōmi province and captured Fujita. On the tenth, he pulled out his ten fingernails, and on the twentieth he cut off each of his fingers and toes. Then he sawed off his head.

“Everyone should show mercy. Having compassion is not for the sake of others. In the end, what goes around comes around.” And there was no one who did not despise Fujita. He went on to the post at Bamba, “The spring grasses and Kotarō are budding! Why is it that I wouldn’t feel both happiness and sadness?” He gave the proprietor at Bamba the three hundred-chô manor at Ojima. He proceeded then to Hitachi where he asked, “Are there any descendants Ukishima who died in the battle at Shida Kawachi?” Three grandsons of Ukishima Tayû were called forward and they were given three-thousand-chô of land. The young children of the Chihara retainer also came forward,
and were given the administration of the Eight Eastern Provinces.

Now as for himself, Shida built a mansion at Shida Kawachi and his

glorious reign began when he was twenty-five years old. He posted
guards both day and night, and he had both power and fortune. His

elder sister the nun was given the name Ōkata-dono 大方殿 and he

lovingly took care of her. It is heard that his family and
descendents prospered.
1 The text used for this translation is the Mōrike-bon that is reproduced in Sasano (II 73-96). The musical notation also follows this text.

2 The correct reading of this era name is Tengyō (938-947).

3 In the Kantō region, in the fifth year of Jōhei (935) Taira no Masakado lead an uprising killing his uncle Kunika. He came to rule over the eight provinces of the Kantō region capturing the provinces of Hitachi, Kōzuke and Shimōzuke. He pronounced himself the new emperor and set out to overthrow the imperial court in Kyoto. He was defeated in 940 by forces that were lead by Fujiwara no Hidesato. The Sōma family descended from the Kammu 桓武 Heike. Their power was centered in Shimōsa province (222-228). The Oyama family is a family name used in the Fujiwara line from Hidesato. In Shimosuke province there was an Oyama manor in Tsuga district (Oyama keizu 197-198).

4 He was a vassal of Shida Kotarō. Ukishima was a place name. It was the name of an island in Kasumigaura Lake. According to the Shimpen Hitachi kokushi 新編常陸国史 he descended from the Mononobe family (qtd. In Araki, Ikeda and Yamamoto I 205).

5 The Mōrike-bon does not have the previous two lines. The Akizuki-bon, Ueyama-bon and Kanei eiri seihan add, “If I divided the Shida manor into two and Oyama took half of it, he will be an outstanding protector of Shida. Rather than resorting to being dependent on one hundred or two hundred nameless fighters, will be a reliable support of the family, even though there is only one of him.” The Kohachirō-bon adds only “One must also think of one’s son-in-law.”
Kawachi was at one time a portion of the Shida manor.

Tamazukuri was the northern portion of Yukikata District in Hitachi province, facing Kasumigaura. Tōjō was also known as “Shida Tōjō,” and during the medieval period, it was the name of a fief.

Ōinosuke 大炊の寮 was an administrator at the court who held local power over manors in the provinces. The scope of his powers included control of the distribution of foodstuffs from imperial lands.

Kampaku 関白, or regent to an adult reigning emperor.

The system of documentation needed to participate in the buying and selling of property was in effect from the late Heian period and throughout the medieval period. When one was transferring or purchasing land rights it was necessary to have the appropriate documentation to hand over to the new landholder. When the land had been transferred or sold repeatedly there was a series of documents that had to be attached in historical order. After many centuries, the number of attached documents could have been several. The sasaejō 支状 or an “article of support” included documentary evidence, getting its name from the list of hindrances that a petitioner submits in the litigation. “Gusho” 具書 are those documents submitted in supplement to the documents of the defendant.

Deva-mara (J. temma 天魔) is an evil demon that lives in the highest heaven that rejects the wisdom of human reality and causes all kinds of evil.
Present day Satokichi-chō 里吉町 in Kōfu 甲府 city, Yamanashi 山梨 prefecture.

The Satsushima (also pronounced “Sashima”) family stronghold was in Sashima 佐島 district, Shimōsa prefecture. As descendants of the Fujiwara no Hidesato line, they were given control over the Shimo-kawabe 下河辺 family in Sōma district.

In Japan, there were several districts and manors with the name of “Toyoda” from which several Toyoda families emerged. The Toyoda district in Hitachi province is the one that is referred to here.

The branches of the Muraoka family is also numerous. The family referred to here is most likely that coming from Sagami province.

There are branches of the Okabe family spread all over Japan. According to the Taira no Masakado legend, there is an Okabe family in Musashi province.

There are Tagami families that descended from both the Fujiwara and Ōbaku 黄檗 families. There is also a Tagami family that descended from Fujiwara no Hidesato, but this seems to be a different family than the one here.

Between 931 and 947 Taira no Masakado and Fujiwara no Sumitomo 純友 (?-941) started rebellions in the eastern and western provinces.

An osso 越訴 was an appeal for retrial. A fukan 附款 was a retrial. Under the Ritsuryō system, it was prohibited for either party to appeal for a retrial when the original trial had been judged to have
followed proper procedure. From the Kamakura period onward, the defeated party in a lawsuit could apply to the judge and if it was approved, a retrial was held.

20 Chōwa seipuku 調和制伏 originally meant to “bring the three sources of evil (body, mouth, and intent) under control.” In esoteric Buddhism, this is a ritual performed to remove or defeat evil people or one’s enemy, who are a hindrance to the Buddhist law.

21 Keman 華鬘 (Skt. Kusumamala) is a circular ornament either hung from the crossbeams or worn around the neck.

22 A Japanese prickly ash that produces a sap in the autumn.

23 Seishi 勢至.

24 Gudarigó zanze 軍茶利降三世 is one of the five great protectore deities that subjugates evil demons.

25 Kongō yasha 金剛夜叉 is one of the five great protectore deities that subjugates evil demons. He has five eyes and three faces.

26 Gogo 五鉤, sanko 三鉤 and the tokko 独鉤 are implements used in esoteric Buddhism particularly in rites that are performed to insure blessings on the nation and individuals. The gogo is said to have the power to crush evil passions. The tokko is said to represent the unity of Truth.

27 Dai itoku 大威徳 is one of the five great kings (myō-ō 明王). He is believed to subjugate the evil dragons that threaten sentient beings.
28 Kuroda was in present day Aichi 愛知 prefecture, Kisogawa-cho 木曽川町.

29 Bamba was in present day Shiga 滋賀 prefecture, Maibara-cho 米原町, Sakata-gun 坂田郡.

30 Muen 無縁 refers to persons who have had bad karma in a previous life and have therefore been born into a low position in this life.

31 J. Hōrai. This is a mountain from Chinese mythology. It is believed that an ascetic lives there who has perpetual youth.

32 The text is unclear as to whose words these are. The Naikaku bunko-bon adds here, Oyama thinking, "This cannot be allowed," sent out his younger brother, Saburō Yukimitsu, along with three thousand mounted warriors.

33 The Morike-bon does not have the preceding lines from the description of his stockings.

34 The Morike-bon does not have the preceding description of the thread of his armor.

35 This sword is used for beheading the enemy. The blade is long or often with a sword guard that made it appear like a cross. In hand-to-hand combat, it is contrasted with swords that are used for stabbing.

36 The arrows stood high on the back so that they could be well seen.

37 See Taishokan, note 80.

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38 Sugi no hoko ya kata 杉の雉矢末, or sharp as a cypress tree.

39 Gyorin 魚鱗.

40 Kakuyoku 鶴翼.

41 The meaning of this phrase is unclear in the original, omote kaeshi no tazuna o sukuhi 表返しの手綱をすくひ “scoop up the right-side up reins.”

42 The meaning of this phrase is unclear in the original, sōgō no muchi wo utte そうがらの鞭を打って.

43 The meaning of this phrase is unclear in the original, sawara no muchi wo utte さわらの鞭を打って.

44 Yōzei 陽成 was the fifty-seventh emperor. His father was Emperor Seiwa 清和. He reigned from 877 to 884.

45 Minamoto no Yorimitsu (948 - 1021) was a warrior of the mid-Heian period. He was the eldest son of Minamoto no Mitsunaka. Note that Yorimitsu lived over one hundred years after the events recounted here.

46 Mida yashanyo 弥陀夜叉女.

47 The Fujii-bon, Fujii ichi-bon and Daidōji-bon add, “This young lord’s grandfather, the Imperial Prince Masakado, was defeated in his height of power when he ruled all under heaven. I must feel just as my father did.”

48 Shiba nagi 芝薫.
Ishi zuki 石突.

Harai uchi 払打.

Ko no ha kaeshi 木の葉返し.

Mizuguruma 水車.

Nami no koshigiri 波の腰切.

Inazuma giri 稲妻切.

Kuruma gaeshi 車返.

Yaru katana やる刀.

Tenjiku shū no tatakai 天竺州の戦 is unclear, however from the following lines it appears to refer to Indian-style chess.

The Mōrike-bon does not have the preceding two lines.

Yan Dan (J. endan) lived in China during the Warring States period. He was finally allowed to return to his homeland after a miracle happened that changed the mind of his captor.

The Mōrike-bon does not have the preceding phrase.

During the Muromachi period, the Bakurō guild was one of forty-eight guilds of Shintō priests that participated in the Iwashimizu hōjōe 石清水放生会, a religious ceremony in which living creatures are released into ponds or the woods. During this ceremony
the priests would dress up as horses. The guild members would appraise horses as well as other animals. They were also involved in the buying and selling of humans.

62 At the confluence of the Yodo and Kamo 鴨 rivers in southern Kyoto, Minami-ku 南区.

63 The coastal area of Sakai 堺市, Osaka-fu 大阪府.

64 Obama city, Fukui 福井 prefecture.

65 Turuga city, Fukui prefecture.

66 The estuary harbor at Mikuni, Sakai 坂井 district, Fukui prefecture.

67 The estuary harbor at Kanaishi 金石, Kanazawa 金沢 city, Ishikawa 石川 prefecture.

68 He was one of the three great emperors of ancient China.

69 Tatsuta-hime is the deification of the kami of Mt. Tatsuta in Ikoma 生駒 district, Nara prefecture. This kami presides over the autumn. Because in the autumn the leaves change color, this kami is said to be the deity of dyeing and weaving.

70 Sao-hime is the deification of the kami of Mt. Sao to the west of Mt. Tatsuta. This kami presides over the spring.

71 Wajima 輪島 city, Ishikawa prefecture.

72 The Mōrike-bon does not have the preceding sentence.
The Kohachirō-bon, Akizuki-bon, Fujii-bon and Fujii ichi-bon add
"The old man reiterated, "What are you doing hitting him in turn
like that? Are you just playing around? If you help someone like
him, and word gets out about it, you will certainly be bad for you!
Just beat him to death!" he ordered. How could these young men go
against this order? They beat Lord Shida mercilessly to the ground."

Soto no hama refers to the beach that extends from present day
Aomori 青森 city, Aomori prefecture to the Tsugaru 津軽 peninsula.

"Marebito" is the term used here.

He was the third son of Emperor Kanmu 桂武 from whom the main
branches of the Taira family descended. According to Shida, Kotarō
is seven generations from Emperor Kanmu.

Kikkōden was held on the seventh day of the seventh month of the
lunar calendar. It was just one of the rituals in the cycle of rituals
at the imperial court. Short tables were set out in the garden of
the imperial palace and nine lamps were set out around them. On the
tables were placed all sorts of things.

A temple of the Shingi Shingon sect located in Wakayama 和歌山
prefecture. The Negoroji temple was the headquarters of a group of
warrior monks from the mid-fourteenth century.

The Kokawadera temple is located in Wakayama prefecture. It is
one of the thirty-three stops on the Kannon pilgrimage in the Kansai
area.

The three shrines of Kumano are Kumano za jinja 熊野坐神社 (hongū
本宮), Kumano hayatama jinja 熊野速玉神社 (shingū 新宮), and Kumano
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nachi taisha 熊野那智大社.

81 Yamaguchi 山口 prefecture, Shimonoseki 下関 city.

82 Yamaguchi prefecture, Shimonoseki city, Akama-chō 赤間町.

83 Northern Fukuoka 福岡 city, Ashiya. Yamazaki is unclear.

84 Northern Fukuoka city, a peninsula that juts out into Genkai-nada 玄海灘.

85 Saga province, Higashi Matsu’ura-gun 東松浦郡, Chinzei-chō 鎮西町.

86 Nagasaki prefecture, Nishisonogi 西彼杵 peninsula, across from Matsushima 松島.

87 Nagasaki prefecture, Hirato city.

88 Nagasaki prefecture, Matsura city.

89 The Mirokuji temple no longer exists in Matsura city.

90 Unknown.

91 Unknown.

92 The Gotō archipelago in Nagasaki prefecture.

93 An island in Nagasaki prefecture off of the northwest coast.
Unknown.

Unknown.

Unknown.

A shrine to the kami of water at the foot of Mt. Odoriyama in Kumano prefecture, Aso-chō 阿蘇町.

Unknown.

Unknown.

Fukuoka prefecture, Nishi-ku 西区, the shore is called Iki no Matsbara 生の松原.

Yamaguchi prefecture, Yamaguchi city, Ōuchi 大内.

Unknown.

Unknown.

Hyogo prefecture, Akō-gun 赤穂郡, Kamigōri 上郡, Akamatsu.

Akō-gun, Kamigōri, Yui.

Akō-gun, Kamigōri, Takada.

Akō-gun, Aioi 与井 city, Yano-chō.
Unknown.

Kobe city, Tarumi-ku 垂水区, Maiko 舞子 coast, near the Honshū 本州 entrance to the Akashi Kaikyō 明石海峡 bridge.

Unknown.

A pond that was once in present day Kobe 神戸 city, western Nagata-ku 長田区.

A river that starts in western Rokkō 六甲 Mountain and flows through present day Kobe city into the Bay of Osaka.

The coast that stretches from Uozaki 魚崎 to the east in Kobe city, Higashinada-ku 東灘区.

Hyogo prefecture, Ashiya 岸辺 city, Uchide-chō.

Hyogo prefecture, Itami city, Koyano.

Osaka city, Ikeda city. The post was probably in Mino-o 箕面 city, Teshima, Segawa 瀬川.

Osaka prefecture, Ibaragi 茨木 city, Ōta.

Osaka prefecture, Takatsuki 高槻 city, Akutagawa-chō.
Takatsuki city, Kōnai.

Kyoto prefecture, Ōyamazaki-chō 大山崎町.

A river that flowed through Yamazaki-chō and into the Yodogawa 淀川 River.

Kyoto city, Fushimi-ku 伏見区, southeastern Kuga-chō.

Ōtsu city, Matsumoto 松本. This was a common place for boarding ships setting out on Lake Biwa.

Northern Ōtsu city.

Ōtsu city, Katata.

The bridge that spans the Setagawa 瀬田川 River that flows into Lake Biwa.

Shiga prefecture, Gamō-gun 瀬部郡, Ryūō-chō 竜王町.

This river begins in the Suzuka mountains and flows through Aichigawa-chō into Lake Biwa.

Shiga prefecture, between Hikone 彦根 city and Maihara-chō.

This barrier was located in present day Gifu 岐阜 prefecture, Fuwa-gun, Sekigahara-chō 関ヶ原町.

Aichi prefecture, Fuwa-gun, Tarui-chō.
Aichi prefecture, Kisogawa-chō.

Nagoya 名古屋 city, Midori-ku 緑区.

Aichi prefecture, Chiryū-chō 知立町.

Among aristocrats, this was an honorific title given to mothers.
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GR  Gunsho ruijū 群書類従
KBKK  Kōwaka-bukyoku kenkyū 幸若舞曲研究
NKBT  Nihon koten bungaku taikei 日本古典文学大系
NST  Nihon shisō taikei 日本思想大系
SNKBT  Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei 新日本古典文学大系
TSD  Taishō shinshū daizōkyō 大正新脩大藏経
ZGR  Zoku gunsho ruijū 続群書類従

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