The *Okuni sōshi* manuscripts as testimony of a point of fracture in classical Japanese theatre

Ivan R. V. Rumánek

Habilitační práce

Masarykova univerzita

2019

CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

The illustrations used in this study are from the following sources:

"Bkk":

Bunkakan fragmetnts: Hattori Yukio 1968 "Shoki kabuki no ichigashō ni tsuite – Yamato Bunkakanbon 'Okuni kabuki sōshi' kō" in *Yamato Bunka XLIX*, November, p. 7. Nara: Yamato Bunkakan.

"Kd":

Kyōdai scroll: *Kuni Jo-kabuki Ekotoba – Kotobagaki oyobi kaisetsu kyō I, II.* 1993, with Prefaces by Izui Hisanosuke dated 1951 and Asao Naohiro dated 1993, and unsigned Japanese and English introductory afterwords. Kyoto: Library of Kyoto University.

"Ss":

Kabuki no Saushi: Geinōshi Kenkyūkai (eds.) 1973 *Nihon shomin bunkashi-ryō shūsei VI*, 442-452. Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō.

Kabuki Zukan 歌舞伎図鑑, available at (as of 13 February 2019): http://izucul.cocolog-nifty.com/balance/cat6037786/

"Shijō-gawara yūraku zubyōbu" 四条河原遊楽図屏風 1966 in *Rakuchū rakugai zu* 洛中洛外図, edited by Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館, p. 63. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten.

1. *Chaya no asobi* – Bkk (Bkk pic. 2)
2. *Chaya no asobi* - Kd (Kd pic. 11)
3. *Chaya no asobi* – Ss (Ss pic. 10)
4. *Bōrei* image – Bkk (Bkk pic. 1)
5. *Bōrei* image – Kd (Kd pic. 7)

6. *Bōrei* image - Ss (Ss pic. 8)

7. *Saruwaka* and kaka - Ss (Ss pic. 10)

8. *Chaya* figures – Bkk (Bkk pic. 2)

9. Sanza (left) and Okuni (right) – Ss

10. *Chaya no asobi* I - Kd (Kd pic. 8)

11. *Chaya no asobi* II - Kd (Kd pic. 9)

12. *Chaya no asobi* III - Kd (Kd pic. 11)

13. Sitting spectator (?) – *Kabuki Zukan* Okuni picture

14. Sitting spectator (?) – *Shijō-gawara yūraku zubyōbu*

15. *Nenbutsu* – Bkk (Bkk pic. 1)

16. Two female figures – Ss (Ss pic. 4)

17. Okuni with a cap – Ss (Ss pic. 10)

18. Nagoya figure with a fiddle (or pipe?) – Kd (Kd pic. 8)

19. Narihira - Ss (Ss pic. 6)

20. Sanza and *saruwaka* (left) and Okuni (right) – Ss (Ss pic. 11, 12)

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, nō was the predominant form of theatre patronized by the powerful samurai class. Since nō, with its two centuries long tradition, was what represented "Japanese theatre", the emergence of a new fashionable skit-and-dance performance called *kabuki odori* in the first years of the Edo shogunate was an event which noone could foresee and the development of which led to the formation of an alternative to nō. Kabuki was a vibrant new performance, while nō was soon to become the exclusive, and conservative art for the shogunate. After the Battle at Sekigahara in 1600, followed by the siege of Osaka in 1615, Japan enjoyed relative peace. With peace came the rise of new entertainments, especially in the capital, Kyoto, and the two newer cities of Osaka and Edo. Kabuki was the most important product of this new realm of entertainments.

There was a considerable gap between the new theatrical genre of kabuki and the previous tradition of nō. While Zeami (1363 or 4 – c.1443), the founder of classical nō, emphasized adhering closely to one's source, the popular theatre of the Edo period was more ahistorical, distorting "facts" by adding auspicious endings, and inventing characters and situations. Zeami intended his work to please the highly literate and elite community surrounding the Muromachi shoguns, whereas Chikamatsu (1653-1724), the icon of mature kabuki, addressed popular audiences in urban Kyoto and Osaka. The townspeople wanted stories that related to their own lives: the crucial difference from pre-Tokugawa oral-narrative tradition was that the audiences came to want the stories reflecting contemporary life. "The fundamental principle of oral performance [...] remains the same. The difference in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is the will to bring the past to the present."[1]

It is not the purpose of this study to give a full account of the genesis of kabuki. What this study focuses on is a group of four manuscriptal materials called *Okuni sōshi* in which the transition process between nō and kabuki is textually and

[1] Gerstle 2000 p. 53.

pictorially encapsuled. Nō is certainly not the only, and probably not the closest model for developments within early kabuki. Nevertheless, it is the aim of this study to identify *the point of fracture* when nō virtually changes into early kabuki within the texts themselves, and the further question is what information can be drawn from these materials about the particular form of the performances and staging of early kabuki.

My methodology is hermeneutical and comparative. It is based on an analysis of primary sources. *Okuni sōshi,* the manuscripts pertaining to early kabuki are historical monuments which have their narrative and informational value as testimonies to the particular phase in the development of the performing arts. By comparing several versions of texts and illustrations I shall endeavour to make as clear a picture as possible of the character that early kabuki might have had and in which aspects it differed from nō.

The methodology includes transcription of the illustrated texts into digitized format and procuring column numbers that make it easier to handle the texts. I translated these texts into English, which makes it possible to interpret them in order to get as much information as possible about the form of early kabuki they refer to. To the best of my knowledge, it is for the first time in Western scholarship that they are analysed in detail. Their full text with the English translation can be found in the **Appendix** at the end of this study.

This study chronologically integrates and contextualizes the *Okuni sōshi* with the known development in the performing arts of the period, in order to decode the course taken by early kabuki, and thus to complement the existing picture of the process of kabuki genesis. As we cannot know for certain the musical or performative aspects of these sources, it is the textual and visual aspects that I focus on here, and they will also be analysed by comparing them with general genre characteristics of nō texts.

Both Japanese and Western research literature have been used in this research. Nō experts are represented, on the Japanese side, by Yokomichi Mario, Omote Akira, Nishino Haruo, Takemoto Mikio, Yamanaka Reiko and Ikai Takamitsu; and on the Western side, Royall Tyler and Thomas D. Looser. For

kyōgen and kabuki, I referred to Japanese experts like Tsubouchi Shōyō, Ogasawara Kyōko, Hattori Yukio, Oda Sachiko, and Western authorities like C. Andrew Gerstle, Charles J. Dunn, Thomas F. Leims, Laurence Kominz, Stanca Scholz-Cionca and Katherine Mezur.

Japanese scholarly works offer detailed insights into the matter studied, while Western scholarship often provides broader perspectives and contexts, both complementary dimensions providing a solid basis for further research. Japanese nō scholarship brings information on various historical aspects (e.g. Yokomichi, Omote, Takemoto) including biographical data of playwrights, the status quo of performances in various eras (e.g. Yamanaka, Ikai) as well as analyses of nō plays with their intertextuality (e.g. Omote, Nishino). This knowledge helped to concretely delineate the context into which new developing forms entered and allowed me to assess their possible interactions in the proces of kabuki genesis.

The research article by Tsubouchi, in which he identified the early kabuki materials, helped me to orientate my research of primary source materials in reference to early kabuki. Ogasawara presented a remarkable overview of Japanese performing arts by means of her theory of *marebito* ("guests"). According to her, welcoming the visitors from the netherworld into this world, and, especially, entertaining them and seeing them off has become what "has been the theatrical convention [in Japan] from old."[2] Her thesis was applied in the evaluation of the figure of the *kabukimono* Nagoya Sanza.

Gerstle and Kominz outlined the common contours shared by kabuki and nō, providing the fundamental tenet on which to construct my nō-kabuki hypothesis. I also examined research results provided by Looser, who had presented an important analysis of nō in the Edo period and its connection with Tokugawa power.

Additional useful sources have been the German studies *Entstehung und Morphologie des klassischen Kyōgen im 17. Jahrhundert: vom mittelalterlichen Theater der Außenseiter zum Kammerspiel des Shogunats* (*Rise and Morphology of classical kyōgen in the 17th century: from the medieval theatre of the outsider to the chamber play of the shogunate*) by Stanca Scholz-Cionca, and *Die Entstehung des Kabuki* (*Rise of Kabuki*) by Thomas F. Leims. Scholz-Cionca

[2] Ogasawara 1975 p. 143.

provided valuable information from the sphere of kyōgen in both its official (the kyōgen of nō) and unofficial (e.g. the *Nanto negi kyōgen*) forms. Leims's study was relevant to my research because of its alternative approach to the genesis of kabuki, which is complementary to my own. Leims offers the concept of *Potenzierungseffekt* (potentializing effect)[3] in the context of the rich scale of pre-kabuki performing arts of 1500s. Leims's research and mine meet at certain points, including the issue of supposed Christianity of Izumo no Okuni. My theories on this subject develop ideas set down in Leims' work.

The initial step of this research was my own monograph on nō, *Japonská dráma nó, žáner vo vývoji* (Bratislava: Veda 2010) in which I examined nō as a powerful tradition within Japanese culture and its metamorphoses during the long centuries of its development. This led me to the ambition to enquire to what extent nō informed the later development leading to the genesis of kabuki. *Okuni sōshi* provide one of the answers to this complex research question. They became the core material for this research. *Okuni sōshi* have been studied and analysed in Japan, but have not – to my knowledge – been treated to any full extent in the Western scholarship literature yet.[4]

Okuni sōshi represent a handful of manuscripts pertaining to the performances of Izumo no Okuni. They offer documentation of the earliest phase of kabuki, particularly because, besides the textual aspect, they also provide some pictorial information to complement the data regarding Okuni's *kabuki odori* dance. In the beginning of the 20th century, at a time when Japan reevaluated its cultural heritage vis-à-vis Western culture, Tsubouchi Shōyō wrote in the *Waseda Bungaku* magazine about the only four known remaining sources offering information on the earliest possible phase of kabuki. There are occasional references to these materials in the Western publications, e. g. Kominz's study, which discusses that women's kabuki had mostly consisted of dance numbers, but had also involved the performance of two semi-dramatic skits; these skits were centred on the activities of the pleasure district and were called *keiseikai* or *furo-agari* (procuring a courtesan and conversations with bath house girls).[5] Kominz had founded this data on studies

[3] Leims 1990 p. 7.
[4] Barth 1972 p. 195 mentions the translation of one of them, *Kuni Jo-kabuki ekotoba* into German in Ortolani: *Das Kabukitheater*, Tokyo 1964, p. 69 onward.
[5] Kominz 2002 p. 17.

by Ogasawara Kyōko, especially her *Kabuki no Seiritsu* (Rise of Kabuki). Delving deeper for more information, I found out that Ogasawara mentioned *Okuni sōshi*, literally "the books (or texts) of Okuni". Initially, it was quite hard to establish to what this term referred, and subsequently Tsubouchi Shōyō's study helped me identify them exactly. Tsubouchi, a key figure of early 20th century theatrical studies, and the founder of the magazine in which he published his articles, searched for fragments pertaining to early kabuki of Okuni's times. His paper in which he announced the results of his research appeared in *Waseda Bungaku* in January 1925. It revealed that the *Okuni sōshi* was an umbrella term, as he wrote: "As far as I know, there only exist four materials containing old pictures pertaining to Okuni. And *yūjo* kabuki – kabuki of women who imitated her – is depicted [...] in only four further ones."[6] I focused on the former four *Okuni (kabuki) sōshi* pertaining to Izumo no Okuni as the founder figure of kabuki. During field work in Japan, I found out where they were located and whether and in what form they had been published in modern publications. I procured copies of the *Okuni (kabuki) sōshi* and notably, their transcriptions into the modern printed type, which is an immense help in the study of old literary monuments. As far as I have been able to establish, no further documents have been identified since Tsubouchi's day regarding early kabuki.

Terminologically, the former four materials will, from now on, be termed *Okuni sōshi*, as pertaining to the earliest, Okuni phase of early kabuki, while the other term, *kabuki sōshi*, usually more-or-less synonymous with *Okuni sōshi*, will be taken as a term referring to the broader body of all the materials pertaining to the early kabuki, including the Tokugawa Bijutsukan scroll of *Kabuki Zukan* which is believed to reflect the performances not of Okuni but of one of her later followers or imitators.

These texts have been studied in Japan ever since their re-discovery by Tsubouchi at the start of the 20th century. Tsubouchi, Ogasawara and Hattori have described and analysed them from various angles and I critically use the results of their research to reach the goals of this study. My placing the *Okuni sōshi* within the chronological axis and the broadest context of the genesis of kabuki as one particular link in the chain of development leading up to the appearance of a

[6] Tsubouchi 1925 p. 13.

completely new theatre form, will, I trust, lead to their full appreciation in Western scholarship.

Basic concepts and terminology

The very concept of "*nō*", when speaking about the 1500s, is a broad one. Its facets include the classical nō, founded by Zeami and his family. It was greatly beloved with and amptly supported by the highest section of the society, including shōguns and the national unifiers in the Warring States period. In its alternative name "*sarugaku*", however, nō includes numerous side-branches which, besides the official nō, operated both in the countryside and the cities, looking for their place in the sun, with differing levels of success. This spectrum of forms will be further discussed below.

The word *kabuki* is a deverbial noun formed from the verb *kabuku*[7]. According to the *Kōjien* dictionary, this verb was popular in the last decades of the 16th century (the Tenshō era) in the meaning of "frolicing, jesting, dissipation" [8]. One of the oldest references to this particular meaning is in an entry of the *Vocabulario da Lingua de Iapam* (*Nippo Jiten*) of 1603[9], the same year from which we have the first record pertaining to *kabuki odori*. The compilers of the *Vocabulario* were active in Kyushu and probably could not follow the most recent goings on in Kyoto, yet the dictionary gives a fifth definition of "cabuqi" as *losing one's control or taking more liberty than is given in something or in trying to answer more quickly or hastily than appropriate*; furthermore, "cabuqimono" and "cabuita fito" is a person with these characteristics, adding "*or is happy more than appropriate when hearing news etc*"[10]. This corresponds to the eccentric properties for which *kabukimono*, the representatives of the *kabuki* life style, seem to have been known. The word *kabuki* became the trademark of the new popular dancing performances of Izumo no Okuni.

[7] Matsumura et al. 1993 p. 316-7, Shinmura (ed.) 1991 p. 522-3
[8] Shinmura (ed.) 1991 p. 522
[9] Shinmura (ed.) 1991 p. 523
[10] Leims 1990 p. 68.

The term "*early kabuki*" is used here to refer to the first century of the development of this new theatrical form, from its beginnings with Okuni till the "mature kabuki" stage was reached in around 1700, with the figure of Chikamatsu Monzaemon as the latter´s first great dramatist.

Besides nō, it is especially *kyōgen* whose role in the formation of kabuki must not be disregarded. It is a performing art tightly bound with nō as its comical counterpart and the both forms are referred to by the modern term *nōgaku* which expresses the union and correlation of nō and kyōgen in their entwined livelihoods and joint performances.

I.

KABUKI´S PREDECESSORS

The emergence of kabuki as a mature theatrical tradition is usually dated to late 1600s. However, there is a certain paradox regarding its genesis: on the one hand, it appears as an elaborate all-male actor theatre (in contrast to the *jōruri* puppet theatre) in a fully established form in around 1700 thanks to the playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1724). Yet, when the beginnings of kabuki come into question, the founder role is traditionally ascribed to the remarkable dancer Izumo no Okuni nearly a century earlier – early 1600s. She became acknowledged as the founder of kabuki very early on: for example, the work *Kabuki jishi*, compiled in the mid-1700s, says "Okuni is *the ancestor of* the theatre ["*shibai*"] which developed into the monomane kyōgen-zukushi"[11]. The term *monomane kyōgen-zukushi* refers to kabuki which had not been pinned down terminologically yet. Although *kyōgen* is the farce—comical counterpart to nō—it was long used as a designation of the newly-born kabuki, too, and still can refer to it today; *monomane* is an ancient term referring to theatre and acting, and *–zukushi (tsukushi)* denotes, in general, the body of plays that are being enacted.

Izumo no Okuni was a seemingly isolated phenomenon, and this study is intended to break this isolation, and to place Okuni in close context within the innovative developments in Japanese theatre in early 1600s which led to further phases of kabuki. Okuni came to Kyoto and reportedly swept away the city's audiences with her dances as early as 1603. Her impact was such that the shogunate had to issue a whole series of bans regarding the new kind of performing art which imitated Okuni's *kabuki odori*. The bans were aimed to stop what the authorities regarded as improprieties, not only during the *kabuki* performances themselves but especially offstage. During the 17th century, the shogunate regarded popular theatrical performances which did not fall under the umbrella of the dignified

[11] 於国ハ芝居の祖にして、今物真似狂言尽と成しも. *Kabuki jishi I.* 1973 p. 89.

tradition of *nōgaku* as "dens of sin" which the moralistic Neo-Confucianist government of the first Tokugawa shoguns would not tolerate: for them, the performances were at the same time a panoply of beautiful girls and boys who were available as prostitutes, and also, as Mezur points out, were too free and independent[12].

What happened in the sphere of kabuki in the course of the 17th century is a matter of terminology as much as theatrical history: things were changing while their designations remained unchanged. "*Kabuki*" as a word, a lexical unit, naturally changed its content, and while the term remained the same, its meaning changed significantly during the 17th century. Words do change their meanings, and this happens not only with the modifications in their usages but also due to the objective changes in the real world to which the lexemes refer. This study attempts to pin down this problem too, emphasizing where necessary this discrepancy between the terminological form and its content. The same form (name, term) can mean something different in various periods or in the work of different authors, whereas several forms can refer to a common denotate.

This is the question of the change of meaning and change of naming. Not only did the names develop and change (*sarugaku – sarugaku nō – nō, kabuki – (monomane) kyōgen (zukushi)* etc.), so did—and especially so—the semantic meanings behind them, referring to the ever changing theatrical realities in their respective periods. Japan's traditional sense of cultural continuity has its counterbalance in a steady flux of innovations, sometimes hardly discernible due to their slow pace. An entity might remain the same but it still evolves. Although the changes are not obvious day to day or month to month, when looking at the entity over a longer period—decades or centuries—one can clearly see it is no longer the same as before.

There were also times when change was relatively rapid and decisive, particularly when completely new genres were created. This case is exemplified by kabuki, fostered in an entirely new commercial context. The metamorphosis behind the term kabuki is descernible within one century and the generally accepted subdivision of early kabuki's phases are as follows:

1. *ONNA KABUKI* (also taken as synonym to *yūjo kabuki odori* below)

[12] Mezur 2005 p. 61.

a, *Okuni kabuki odori*

b, *yūjo kabuki odori*

2. *WAKASHU KABUKI*

3. *YARŌ KABUKI*

4. *GENROKU KABUKI*

The division distinguishes the kabuki phases according to their gender characteristics. *Onna kabuki* is usually considered a synonym for *yūjo kabuki* and might be placed as an independent phase following the initial *Okuni kabuki odori*. *Wakashu* is the designation of young boy dancers who replaced female dancers after a series of bans excluded the latter from public activities. What is known about the further development within kabuki is that when further bans were issued by the shogunate curtailing the boys' performances, the *yarō* (or mature men's) kabuki developed. It is possible that some of the *yarō* were the former *wakashu* who simply grew up, which naturally influenced the gender character of their performances. On the other hand, the appearance of *yarō* on the stage was an endeavour to meet the limitations stipulated by the shogunal bans. This process led to the formation of a full-fledged theatrical kabuki drama which is generally believed to appear in around 1700, the Genroku era. *Genroku kabuki* is the beginning of the mature phase of kabuki's development, brought to its climax by Chikamatsu Monzaemon. This crucial dramatist, over a long career writing for both kabuki and jōruri puppet theatre, became the leading figure who gave both kabuki and jōruri their firm dramatic platform which they continued to have from then on.

In order to fully comprehend early kabuki, it is necessary to give a brief overview of the condition of performing arts in the century immediately preceding it.

1. Transformations in *(sarugaku) nō*

It is important to point out that the nō drama has radically changed over the centuries. The nō that is discussed in this study is not necessarily the form known from the stage today. In the first two centuries of its existence – the time span that comes into question in this chapter – nō appears to have been a much livelier, more dynamic and a melodically richer performance.[13] Many of its present-day characteristics, like the slowness of its tempo, both in dance and speech, owe to the adjustments to the tastes of shoguns in the Edo (or "Tokugawa") period (1600-1867) while its special "stomach-produced" (*hara kara*) voice has its roots in the samurai-like diction. When thinking of nō as one of the main sources of the new theatre forms of the Edo period, it is this pre-1600 nō that must be kept in mind. *Onna sarugaku, Taikō nō, sarugaku, kanjin nō, gunshō sarugaku, chigo sarugaku, kosarugaku* and others are the forms and aspects that characterize nō in the century before Izumo no Okuni came on the stage.

Sarugaku is the original name by which *nō* was alternatively known until the 19th century. There are references suggesting that there were non-codified and unofficial nō-style performances spanning the period of what is now considered as classical, official or orthodox nō, and some of them still existed as late as in the Edo period. Retaining the older name *sarugaku*, these might have been either continuations of the former *sarugaku* and *dengaku* troupes of the 14th century mentioned by Zeami (in around 1400) as more or less died out, or—more probably—they were lay imitators of the mainstream nō. There are references to *onna sarugaku* (female sarugaku), *gunshō sarugaku* 群小猿楽 (minor s.), represented by the legendary figure of Miyamasu (fl. 1478)[14], and later (in the 16th century), *tesarugaku* (laymen s.)[15] and *chigo sarugaku*. The latter were parodies on

[13] Takakuwa 2004 video.
[14] Takemoto 1999b p. 402. Nevertheless, he leaves open the question if and how *gunshō sarugaku* and Miyamasu were connected (Takemoto 1999b p. 615).
[15] Nevertheless, the term *tesarugaku* appears as early as the Kamakura period (Geinōshi kenkyūkai 1985 p. 34).

nō done by young male (*chigo*) performers who originally worked for Buddhist temples.[16] These, along with kyōgen actors, might represent the first seeds that later grew into the new theatrical development of *kabuki* in the first century of the Edo period. *Tesarugaku* (laymen s.), a term which sometimes also includes the above-mentioned *onna sarugaku* and is alternatively called *kosarugaku* (小猿楽 "small s." or 子猿楽 "chidlren s.")[17], refers to lay sarugaku performances and performers active from the late 15th till the 17th century. They operated mainly in Kyoto (where they were called *"Kyō(to) no mono(domo)", "Kyōshū"* (Kyoto fellows) or "*Miyako kosarugaku"* (kosarugaku of the Imperial Capital))[18] but *sarugaku* like *Hie sarugaku* and *Kasuga sarugaku*, bearing the names of other regions surrounding the central province of the Imperial Capital, are also documented.[19] One of the first mentions comes from 1457, and by the second half of the 15th century, they were already seen performing at the Imperial palace and high status residences. In the 16th century, they were even allowed to hold *kanjin sarugaku*, i. e. public performances for profit.

A special group had origins in Nara festive sarugaku performances played by priests of the Kasuga shrine; they were called *Nanto negi* (or "priests from the Southern Capital, i. e. Nara") [20] who engaged in *Nanto negi sarugaku* and *Nanto negi kyōgen*. They had strong troupes in the 1530s to 1550s but as the power of the grand religious institutions in Nara, the Kasuga shrine and Kōfukuji temple, declined in the latter half of the 1500s, the *negi* had to look for other ways to make their living. They began to leave the Kasuga shrine and perform elsewhere, thus establishing themselves gradually as performers for the common people, playing *tesarugaku*. They started performing at other shinto events, refining their art and gradually replacing the traditional four troupes of nō (*yoza*) in Nara.[21] From the period 1573-92 onwards, they reached a level enabling them to expand to Kyoto where, similar to other *tesarugaku* groups, they performed at palaces in the early

[16] Barth 1972 p. 104.
[17] Kobayashi, Nishi and Hata 2012 p. 603.
[18] Geinōshi kenkyūkai 1985 p. 37.
[19] Ikai 2007 p. 110.
[20] According to Amano, the oldest mention of them was the record of 1349 when Kasuga priests and priestesses performed the sacred *Okina* dance and additional nō (Amano 1999 p. 266-7), but other scholars regard this event a religious ritual which should not be confused with *onna sarugaku* or *tesarugaku* which was chiefly amusement (Kobayashi, Nishi and Hata 2012 p. 159).
[21] Kobayashi, Nishi and Hata 2012 p. 661.

Edo period.[22] In 1593, Hideyoshi incorporated them into the Konparu troupe, one of the *yoza* - four established nō troupes.[23] The role of *Nanto negi kyōgen* actors as the seminal factor in the development of new theatrical forms is discussed in detail in section 2. below.

In the narrower sense, *tesarugaku* also refers to individuals who came from a lay background but performed nō professionally outside the four official troupes. The *tesarugaku* generation from before the Ōnin wars (1467-77) died out, but after the war a whole new set of performers appeared from the military and urban sections of society, and these were active till late 1500s, performing at palaces and temples and often doing *kanjin* (public) *nō* too.[24] Although, being professionals, some of them even performed in the residences of the cultural elite, they did not unite with any of the four official sarugaku troupes[25]. Leims suggests that it was the *tesarugaku* through which the nō stage was introduced into the early kabuki.[26]

As far as the central nō of the traditional four troupes (*yoza*) is concerned, it can be classified according to the main underlying theme of the plot and the character of the main *shite* figure, yielding the division into *genzai nō* and *mugen nō*. Unlike the real-world *genzai nō*, the *mugen nō* (which, as we will see, will have an immense impact on the nascent kabuki) have a supernatural character appear and reveal its identity to a pilgrim who is usually a Buddhist monk on a pilgrimage. If the main *shite* role type is a suffering ghost, the monk is often asked to carry out a mantra chanting ritual for the ghost to be liberated from its imprisonment in either hell or the inter-space between this and that world in which they have been stuck. Zeami codified *mugen nō* as the representative type of nō but the genre's beginnings are already traceable back to the time of his father Kan'ami. Nevertheless, within the bulk of the archaic, pre-classical (pre-Zeami or *kosaku*) plays, the *mugen* type is rather rare. Similarly, in the post-classical period, the number of *mugen* plays decreased again, replaced with *genzai nō* forming the majority of the production.

[22] Kobayashi, Nishi and Hata 2012 p. 604
[23] Kobayashi, Nishi and Hata 2012 p. 661-663.
[24] Amano 1999 p. 266-7.
[25] Lim 2004 p. 118.
[26] Leims 1990 p. 120.

The classical nō production of Zeami and his generation (*Zeami-kei nō*, early 1400s) is furthermore characterized by the concept of *yūgen* (charm related to dance and music). A lack of what is termed "Zeami style *shite*-centrism" could be seen in the pre-classical or ancient (*kosaku*) nō. It can even be supposed that in the so-called "non-Zeami nō" (*hi-Zeami-kei nō*), both before and after Zeami's day, there were multi-focused plays with many figures appearing on the stage. As Yamanaka points out, what is seen in later nō is perhaps no more than just *a return to the previous*, generally dramatic, practice not connected with Zeami and his circle. Nevertheless, the ancient nō and the nō after Zeami do differ. The post-Zeami plays exhibit a refinement which would not have been there without the previous Zeamian phase. All the figures are "effective" because their place in the play had been strictly defined and elaborated"[27]. *Geki nō*, *furyū nō* and *shinji no nō* are prevalent in the post-classical nō of the 1500s, still partly connected with the tradition of Zeami´s plays, but there also appears a completely new nō lacking the traditional *yūgen* charm, termed *hi-yūgen nō* or non-*yūgen* nō.

Some of the innovations appeared in the production within the core nō clans - works by dramatists like Kanze Nobumitsu, Konparu Zenpō and Kanze Nagatoshi, some again by other, often anonymous, authors and producers. The classical *shite*-centrism in the style of Zeami's *mugen* nō, with the role of *waki, kokata* and *ai-kyōgen*, is disappearing, and many plays called ***furyū nō*** focused on the visual effects of multitude of figures and special stage tricks with elaborate *tsukurimono* props. Konparu Zenpō created a special group of plays which included a fighting scene – these were called ***kiriai nō*** 切合能. These new nō genres reflected the necessity of attracting new target audiences at a time when the established pre-Ōnin war system of patronage of nō troupes had collapsed.[28]

Geki ("dramatic") ***nō*** developed by Kanze Nobumitsu and his son Nagatoshi, represented an influencial new style which has "a high level of conflict, rich characterization, and a strong narrative quality"[29]. This contrasted with the previous ideal of *mugen nō* with its otherworldly quality of ghosts-of-the-dead appearing, engaging in elegant dances and subdued chants reinforcing the rich lyrical moods. Zeami-style classical *shite*-centred plays (the principle termed *shite*-

[27] Yamanaka 1998 p. 189.
[28] Lim 2004 p. 124.
[29] Tsubaki 2002 p. 5.

ichinin shugi) of *shite* as the only real character had not allowed conflict to fully develop.

Some of Nagatoshi´s plays even "are said to cross the boundaries of nō", as Ikai says[30], while Tsubaki goes even further to argue that Nobumitsu and Nagatoshi, indicating the sensitivity to conflict and characterization, produced *geki nō* which is the *earliest prototype of the kabuki*[31]. Yamanaka points out, too, that with the new topics and figure styles, acting requirements must have changed as well. For example, there start appearing works in which an element important from the point of view of theatre semantics is expressed by action rather than by words. In the acting of this period, there appear a sense of speed, vertical movements and quick costume changing (*haya kawari*), i. e. elements different from the characteristics of the previous nō acting and, seen from today's perspective, *rather reminiscent of kabuki*.[32]

Yamanaka suggests that there might have been a tendency in latter Muromachi (1500s), together with the traditional themes, to push away the traditional themes and write a lot of various plays in which the interests to regional shrines and festivals supported the notion of piece.[33] The countryside, once an absolute unknown to the people of Kyoto, was now a much closer entity. One could travel there, or come into close contact with it, and then encounter various festivals. This kind of curiosity was reflected in the production of plays which Yamanaka terms ***shinji no nō*** (神事の能).[34] They include plays celebrating the current era's good governance, or being blessed by the deities.[35] We will see this element of praise to the blessings of the current era present in Okuni kabuki.

The spectacularity that came into fashion included *horror* and the psychological intensity of the classical era was replaced by "a clever succession of stories that bring the audience from one physical landscape to another, and subsequently to the psychological landscapes of the characters."[36] The novelty of the dramatic (*geki*) and visual (*furyū*) type of nō included showcasing scenes full of

[30] Ikai 2011 p. 143.
[31] Tsubaki 2002 p. 5.
[32] Yamanaka 1998 p. 190.
[33] Yamanaka 1998 p. 144.
[34] Yamanaka 1998 p. 163.
[35] Yamanaka 1998 p. 144.
[36] Lim 2005 p. 46.

bizarre and elaborate stage props and dramatic mass scenes with an array of characters. Towards the end of the Muromachi era, the scale and functions of props increased. Examples included shrines in wakinō or opening props: the figure coming out of such a prop was the highlight (*miseba*) of the play.

In addition to the increasing use of elaborate props, shrine props and the like, it is the grand-scale *henshin* (transfiguration) inside the prop that can be considered the new stage trick from the 1500s. The staging of such grandiose *henshin* first became possible, together with the strength of the technique of developing various elaborated props, by the elaboration of the costumes and the way of putting them on.[37] The transfiguration itself, not seen in the previous period, happened inside the prop and added to the visuality of nō. This practice spread, and this grandiose change of costume was inserted into older plays in which, as Yamanaka points out, it probably had not been applied originally because the logic of the plot (such as in *yūrei* ghost plays) does not seem to have required it.[38]

Kiriai nō was another experiment in the history of nō. It is represented by a group of fighting plays which were a product of the increasing demand for action. *Kiriai nō* were not "plays made to show the fighting on the stage" as is, according to Ikai, generally thought. The important thing was not only for the main character to develop into an ideal hero while showing his prowess, but also to show both the circumstances before the fighting, which became just as relevant, and the very moment when the hero reached death.[39] This craze culminated in a couple of nō plays which even had *seppuku* as their final scene, termed ***harakiri no nō*.**[40]

Taikō nō were specially developed for the *Taikō* which was the high title used by Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536(7)-1598), the second in the line of three national unifiers of the Warring States period (1500s). Besides the never-ending fighting, the figure of Hideyoshi and the arrival of Europeans were major factors that influenced the general atmosphere in Japan in the latter half of the 16th century. The overwhelming presence of Hideyoshi, a focused, cruel and vain conqueror but also a great lover of arts, combined with the foreign influences encountered through Portuguese and Spanish missionaries and tradesmen, to give a decisive touch to the

[37] Yamanaka 1998 p. 139.
[38] Yamanaka 1998 p. 140.
[39] Ikai 2007 p. 216.
[40] Ikai 2007 p. 199.

rich, intricate and multifaceted developments within the performing arts of this era. The years from 1593 (Bunroku 2)—the last six years of his life[41]—meant a fruitful season for nō society, similar to the times of Kan'ami and Zeami[42], when Hideyoshi used the representational potential of nō to build an image of himself as the pinnacle of state power. [43] Hideyoshi continued in his notorious "addiction"[44] to nō when taking "the unique step of commissioning new noh plays that [...] presented his own colonizing exploits. Such plays portrayed him as a great warrior who is nonetheless also a god, victor in Japan but over Korea and China as well; [...] he in fact also often acted in those plays in the role of his deified self."[45] These plays were written by the writer and poet Ōmura Yūko and the music was composed by Konparu Yasuteru in around 1594. Allegedly there were ten *Taikō nō* plays but only six are extant, and Hideyoshi, on whose command they were written, was to play the *shite* in them. Hattori Yukio points out that these *Taikō nō* had a "*kabukitaru*" (kabuki-like) touch in comparison to the original classical nō,[46] by which he probably means the atmosphere of exaggeration and visual bombasticity.

Much as he danced and commissioned nō, however, Hideyoshi was also fascinated by the western culture. The appeal it had for him, and through him for the highest strata of the warrior class, "*potentialized*", according to Leims, the reception of foreign culture still more[47]. Nagasaki, as the main port and the doorway to the west, played the leading role in the popularity of the things western; there were even tailors there sewing western-style clothes, that probably provided for the outfit of the retinue of Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

[41] Scholz-Cionca 1998 p. 110.
[42] Omote 1994 p. 212.
[43] Scholz-Cionca 1998 p. 110.
[44] Amano 1999 p. 266-7.
[45] Looser 2008 p. 16-7.
[46] Hattori 2003 p. 80.
[47] Leims 1990 p. 128.

Aragoto and ***wagoto*** style in nō

What later developed in kabuki as the histrionic opposition of *aragoto* and *wagoto* acting styles might, according to a study by Kominz,[48] have foundations in nō (and in *kōwakamai* dances) as early as the 16th century. As this crucially pertains to the core topic of this study, a closer attention is devoted here to Kominz's hypothesis.

Similar to *kiriai nō*, meeting the audiences' expectation of *effect* might have been the immediate impetus for the appearance of the new histrionic opposition in plays dealing with the historical topic of the Soga brothers. Kominz sees the tendency already starting in nō plays about the popular medieval hero Yoshitsune and his retainer Benkei, like the famous *Funa-Benkei* by Kanze Nobumitsu (?1435-1516). These plays provide a juxtaposition of Yoshitsune - Benkei in which Yoshitsune is very much in the background and played by a *kokata* (nō child actor). This juxtaposition was further used in the two Soga brothers Gorō and Jūrō, who epitomize the new pattern of *paired heroes* with sharply contrasting personalities.

Kominz argues that the main heroes of the *Gikeiki* (The Tale of Yoshitsune) and *Soga monogatari* (The Tale of the Soga Brothers) had, by the 16th century, become clear prototypes of the *wagoto* and *aragoto* characters who would later populate "the thousands of kabuki and puppet plays based on the two tales". In the nō plays written through the mid-1400s, the two brothers are *both* strong, virtuous samurai and there is no striking difference between them in personality or physical strength. During the Muromachi period (1392-1600), over a dozen nō plays were written about the Soga brothers, and according to Kominz, three mid- to late-Muromachi period plays point clearly toward the juxtaposition of *wagoto* and *aragoto* acting styles. This would have become sharply distinguished by the mid-17th century when, in the popular version (*rufubon*) of the Soga tale, Gorō appears

[48] Kominz 2002 p. 18 passim.

as a superhuman strong man ever spoiling for a fight, while Jūrō is a cautious, sensitive man, best known for his love affair with the prostitute Tora Gozen.

The three Muromachi plays in which Kominz observes the beginning of this bipolarity are adaptations of an episode added to the core of the Soga story in the late 15th or early 16th century, an episode that is only found in the popular version of the narrative. It is called *Wada sakamori* (Wada's saké party). Scenes from *Wada sakamori* would "inspire numerous *aragoto* creations for kabuki, both dances and dramatic scenes."[49]

The nō *Wada sakamori*, judging from the unorthodox aspects of its dramatic and musical structure, must be from the late, post-classical period. This can be seen from the fact that the *shite*, Gorō, appears only at the end of the play while the three *tsure* (*shite´*s companions) who play Jūrō, Tora and her mother each have more lines than the *shite*. A comparison of the nō and kōwakamai versions of the story showed that the relationships between Jūrō, Tora and her mother are the same in both, but it is the nō play which has Jūrō a more consistently *wagoto*-like character. The *waki* and *wakitsure* (*waki´*s companion) characters (Yoshimori and his retainers) make a remarkably large cast for nō, representing the typical aspect of post-classical nō - the *furyū* element. Also, most of the play is taken up by dialogue—the *geki nō* feature—with only a few snatches of song and poetry before the concluding felicitous dance performed by Gorō and Asahina: the lyric sung for that dance is the only significant choral part in the play. Furthermore, the play uses none of the *shōdan* units normally employed to structure a nō play. All these point to post-classical characteristics. "The reader of Wada sakamori feels that the anonymous author has written a work that is *not in fact a nō play*, but that he described the roles in the terminology of the nō and made it about as long as most nō plays so that nō actors could perform it on a nō stage." All this led Kominz to argue that *Wada sakamori* is in many ways *an anomaly*. He presumes that it was the kōwakamai, not the nō, version which might eventually contributed "an exaggerated display of physical strength, exactly the appeal of *kabuki aragoto*" while "[a] *wagoto* character in *kabuki* is not merely gentle and meek; invariably he

[49] Kominz 2002 p. 14, 25.

is a sensitive lover, beloved of the most beautiful courtesan in the pleasure district"[50].

Nevertheless, it is a nō play in which he sees the beginnings of the contrast between a violent, martial character and a meek, sensitive one: it is in the nō play *Hitsukiri Soga* (Soga slices the chest) coming from no later than the first years of the 16th century. Although much more orthodox than the nō *Wada sakamori*, *Hitsukiri Soga* still "exhibits the inventiveness, delight in character contrasts, and *novelty typical of kabuki*"[51]. In his opinion, the author of *Hitsukiri Soga*, perhaps the (presumably *gunshō sarugaku*) playwright Miyamasu, wrote the first nō play in which a violent male hero is *paired* with a gentle counterpart.[52]

The first act is one of the most romantic scenes between a prostitute and her lover in nō drama. It is also the *only nō play with a love scene set in a brothel*. This point is crucial for future development because, as will be shown, brothels will become a common setting for early kabuki plays. Thus, the setting, along with the play's concern with the feelings of a prostitute neglected by the man she loves, *presages the locales and concerns of kabuki*. In this way, Kominz shows how some of the future characteristics of kabuki were to be found in nō plays as early as the first years after 1500. In this light, Kominz argues, *Hitsukiri Soga* can be regarded as transitional drama, a nō play *clearly pointing in the direction of kabuki.*[53]

The division of roles in *Hitsukiri Soga* is highly unorthodox. According to Kominz, there is no other play in which the relationship between *waki* (Jūrō) and *tsure* (Tora) would be so important. Traditions in actor training and responsibilities necessitated this strange pairing. Also, the play concludes with a paired dance for *waki* and *shite*, a very rare phenomenon in nō.

> The chest-slicing scene, which establishes Gorō as an *aragoto*-like hero, is an invention not found in any previous work of Japanese literature. Theatre scholars have called it a *shukō*. Normally the term is used to describe a bizarre and

[50] Kominz 2002 p. 16, 27.
[51] Kominz 2002 p. 16; italization Rumánek.
[52] Miyamasu, in contrast to the classical nō, predominantly wrote *genzai nō*, only two of the 34 plays attributed to him are *mugen nō*. Takemoto points out that Miyamasu's authorship of many of the plays regarded as his is doubtful and that only two titles agree in two separate sources enumerating his alleged works (Takemoto 1999b p. 402). They both being on the Soga is probably behind Kominz's inference on Miyamasu's possible authorship. Moreover, Takemoto points out that there were most probably *several* persons by the name of Miyamasu (Takemoto 1999a p. 613).
[53] Kominz 2002 p. 16, 27.

> original plot twist invented by a kabuki or puppet playwright for a play set in one of the standard thematic *sekai* (worlds) of Edo drama. To use the word *shukō* in reference to a nō play is to imply that the author was working under one of the important constraints of Edo playwrights, namely, an audience that craves novelty and excitement. Many of the nō plays written in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries suggest that such was the case, for that was when the most spectacular nō plays were produced. [...] A major appeal of [...] [this] nō play must have been its novelty. [... I]t would have been a new experience to see a dramatic contrast in characters on stage. The plot would have been a total surprise.[54]

Kominz's study has indicated further elements which, typical of a later period in the development of Japanese theatre, were already present in post-classical nō of the 16th century.

[54] Kominz 2002 p. 10.

2. *Kyōgen*

Kyōgen was not yet completely canonized at the time of the birth of kabuki. The correlation of nō and kyōgen, expressed in the term *nōgaku*, had many forms. In Kan'ami's day, it was not always kyōgen that was inserted between the nō plays in a programme – a flute or other musical insertion was the alternative. Kyōgen as an interplay between individual nō was probably established in the 15th century.[55]

Until its formalization in the 17th century, *kyōgen* seems to have had a rather spontaneous character. Nomura Mansaku writes that still towards the end of the 16th century, kyōgen pieces had only basic storyline which was improvised[56] but Scholz-Cionca[57] opposes this opinion, arguing that the repertoire as seen in the extant materials seems pretty stable, which is hardly thinkable if the playlets had been improvised. As much as 80 percent of the storylines recorded in *Tenshō kyōgenbon* list of kyōgen plays of Tenshō 6 (1578) are those seen in kyōgen plays today. "All the evidence seems to confirm the hypothesis of a conservative, if only orally transmitted, repertoire"[58].

Many *kyōgenshi* (kyōgen actors) who did not form firm ties with the official nō in the latter half of the 16th century shifted to financially more lucrative new genres without renouncing their experience in professional entertainment. On the contrary, it is supposed that *the non-dance element of the earliest kabuki originated in kyōgen*, and this transfer happened through kyōgen actors.[59] The medieval (1200-1600) materials also testify to non-professional kyōgen performances being done, with as many as eleven kyōgen given at one occasion.[60] The last years of the 16th century see scarce yet important references to the *Nanto*

[55] Koyama, Taguchi and Hashimoto 1987 p. 10-13.
[56] Nomura 1999 p. 244.
[57] Scholz-Cionca 1998 p. 24.
[58] Scholz-Ciona 1998 p. 24.
[59] Leims 1990 p. 152. This process is also testified to by the emergence of the word *"kyōgen"* as a synonym for the banned kabuki in the 17th century.
[60] Koyama, Taguchi and Hashimoto 1987 p. 10-13.

negi kyōgen, whose origins date back to the kyōgen groups performing for the Kasuga Shrine in Nara, thus sharing their ancestry with the above-mentioned *Nanto negi sarugaku*. They are recorded to have performed with other kyōgen actors like the Konparu-connected Ōkura Toramasa (1533-1598) at Hirao in 1592 and with the latter's grandson Ōkura Toraakira in Sakai in 1655.[61] Some of them came under the control of the *yoza* (four nō troupes) masters, gradually integrating into the Edo period system of *shikigaku* (official nō for the shogunate),[62] others participated in various performances like female nō and *furyū odori*.[63]

The activity most important to this narrative is their distinct appearance, at the end of the 16th century, in connection with the newly established performances of young boys and young girls (*yayako odori*). *Yayako odori* was a dance popular in around 1600 in which Izumo no Okuni herself might have danced as a young girl. They organized joint performances in which *yayako* dance numbers alternated with dramatic dialogue-oriented scenes with a touch of humour which was provided by the *Nanto negi*. Thus, *Nanto negi* became *a decisive element in the early kabuki troupes in around 1600*. As Ogasawara writes, the historic idea of Okuni's to insert into her dance the theme of *chaya kayoi* (see below in Chapter II) was certainly caused, according to popular lore, by the fact that the dances of girls had shared the performances with the *kyōgenshi*. It is supposed that these *kyōgenshi* belonged to the *Nanto negi* and that their kyōgen had an extremely modern, unconventional style connected with the female sarugaku and *odori* dance.[64] The role of the *Nanto negi* in the formation of early kabuki will be particularly discussed in the section "Interpretation of the sōshi" in Chapter II.

As mentioned above, there existed women's sarugaku in which women played the main roles of sarugaku plays, with men doing the kyōgen, as many two-act nō plays included an intermezzo part (*ai-kyōgen*) played by a kyōgen actor. Nevertheless, there are references showing that by 1557, women had dared to challenge further the realm of men, by doing women's kyōgen called *nyōbō kyōgen*. Its existence is mainly attested from an event in 1557, 2nd month, when the courtier Yamashina Tokitsugu (1507-1579) visited Suruga and experienced a *kanjin* (public)

[61] Scholz-Cionca 1998 p. 131-3.
[62] Kobayashi, Nishi and Hata 2012 p. 604.
[63] Kobayashi, Nishi and Hata 2012 p. 662. Nevertheless they still continued perfoming nō at shinto festivals in the central Kinki area around the Capital well into the Meiji era (ibid. p. 604).
[64] Ogasawara 1975 p. 143.

performance of *nyōbō kyōgen* on the premises of the Shin-Kōmyōji temple; he writes in his diary that six plays were done in front of well over five hundred spectators on the 12th day,[65] with an increase of audience up to over fourteen hundred on the following day.[66] Except for this one, there are no historical documents, which according to Kobayashi, Nishi and Hata might be due to the ineffectiveness of women in kyōgen. They suggest that the humour did not fit women so well as the effect of female beauty in *onna sarugaku* when set off by the male background of instrumentalists and kyōgen actors.[67] Thus, *kyōgenshi* are known to have played in combined performances with female dancers, creating the contours of the image encountered in full in the performances of Izumo no Okuni. The concrete role of kyōgen in the nascent kabuki, including the *saruwaka* role type, will be analysed in Chapter II which will show how the *nyōbō kyōgen* troupe set-up is reflected in the structure of the Izumo no Okuni's troupe, as far as can be inferred on the basis of the early kabuki textual and pictorial materials. *Nyōbō kyōgen* can thus be said to have stood at the very foundations of early kabuki either because we can identify the place of Izumo no Okuni as the *nyōbō kyōgen* woman, or just because *nyōbō kyōgen* was the form where women danced while males produced the other tasks in the performance, creating a combination of *Nanto negi kyōgen* with female dancers.

[65] 於寺之庭女房狂言六番有之、勧進也、五六百人見物有之 (Yamashina Tokitsugu 1914 p. 261).
[66] 十三日 (...) 女房狂言見物 (...) 今日者見物衆千四五百有之 (Yamashina Tokitsugu 1914 p. 261).
[67] Kobayashi, Nishi and Hata 2012 p. 671.

3. Genres outside *nōgaku*

As C. A. Gerstle wrote, "[t]he transition from the medieval period [...] to the early Tokugawa [=Edo] period [...] was a change of medium and style, not content."[68] The corpus of topics and stories remained the same. Yet there were substantial changes in the formal aspect of performing arts, while at the same time, continuity was the predominant factor. I would categorize the various genres outside *nōgaku* into six categories:

1. Theatrical traditions: *puppetry*, *dengaku.*

2. Individual dance-based traditions : *shirabyōshi*, *(onna)kusemai*, *kōwakamai*, *kouta odori, komai.*

3. Storytelling: *biwa-hōshi*, *sekkyō*, *ko-jōruri.*

4. Buddhist-based performances: *ennen.*

5. Group dances of Buddhist origin: *nenbutsu odori, furyū*.

6. *Kirishitan* plays and parades based on the newly introduced Christianity.

7. Acrobatic-based arts: *nezumi mawashi, saru mawashi, kyokugei*.

All seven categories can be said to be connected in one way or other with the genesis of kabuki and most of them with the developments within nō as well. Besides, all of them are marked by two short-lived but highly specific phenomena that we have already encountered in the sphere of *sarugaku nō*. One is that they were no longer limited to professionals, as had been customary before, but *laymen* contributed to the formative processes; there was a whole range of professional, semi-professional and amateur performing arts with various organizational forms. Leims outlines the probability of a connection between early kabuki and the amateur, rather than professional, currents, emphasizing their humorous side as the shared element.[69] The other conspicuous feature is the emergence of several branches of activities of *female* performers. After the male-

[68] Gerstle 1986 p. 13.
[69] Leims 1990 p. 170.

dominated period, the female beauty came to the fore at the end of the Middle Ages, and mixed troupes became more prominent in which the female was emphasized and set off against the male background of orchestra and masculine by-roles. The women's roles were based on imitation of the previous forms, e. g. *onna kusemai*.[70] We have seen both these characteristics present within the realm of *nōgaku* as well – the lay *tesarugaku*, the female *nyōbō sarugaku, nyōbō kyōgen* and others.

Although being part of the context in which kabuki was born, these forms did not all play a vital role in its genesis. Only the most relevant ones will be now examined from the point of view of their contribution to the formation of kabuki, namely the individual dances of *shirabyōshi* and *kouta odori/komai,* group dances of *nenbutsu odori* and *furyū*, and the influence of the *Kirishitan* boom.

Shirabyōshi female dancers, the first references to which are from the 1100s, would sometimes perform in male clothes, in which case the dance was called *otokomai* (male dance). Unlike nō, in which the gender characteristic is played out without any insinuation of eroticism, shirabyōshi emphasized the gender differences as one of the main elements of the action. This contrubuted eroticism which became the component in the future *yūjo kabuki* to which it might possibly be linked.

Nenbutsu odori had its direct share in the formation of kabuki. Izumo no Okuni became famous for her own version of *nenbutsu odori*, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter II.

Nenbutsu odori was originally a religious dance of Buddhist origin, danced on the Indo-Sino-Japanese mantra (*nenbutsu*) "*Namu Amidabutsu*"[71] but the religious element gradually retreated and the dance got secularized during the Muromachi period (1392-1600), giving way to a pleasure-focused dance.

From diaries of monks and aristocrats we know that after the ending of the Ōnin war in 1477, ***furyū*** processions started to be organized in towns of the central Kinki area around the capital Kyoto as performing art accompanying the religious ceremonies of the *Bon* ("*Urabon'e*") festival[72] dedicated to the deceased forefathers and falling on the middle of the seventh lunar month. *Nenbutsu* used to

[70] Hattori 1997 p. 5-6. *Kusemai* was a medieval genre of dance which was one of the crucial genres upon which early nō was founded.
[71] From Sanskrit *Namō'mitābāya-buddhāya* = Bow to Buddha of Immesurable Light.
[72] Hattori 1997 p. 1.

be the prominent part of the celebrations as well. *Bon* originally had the form of *a ring dance* and was later incorporated into *furyū* processions[73] at which the original Amida invocations got replaced by various *kouta* songs. These group dances were also believed to ward off epidemic spirits and, in the Warring States period, also represented prayers for the souls of those who died in these wars that marked the long period from the Ōnin war (1467-77) till 1600. High popularity in the 16th century led to abandonment and trance accompanying the dancing of *nenbutsu*.

Another great transformation came when *nenbutsu odori* was taken up by professional dancers who, under the pretense of religious motivation, made it their means of living, as alms were expected for the performance of the "blessing" which was the dance itself. The leader of a nenbutsu group was called *oshō,* which is connected with the Buddhist origins of this dance[74] as it was originally the title of the highest nun in a Buddhist convent. The *oshō* title appears later in *onna kabuki* as the title or designation of the greatest "star" of the troupe. That the Amida invocation had not disappeared completely can be seen in one of the early kabuki texts, in which the lyrics to Okuni's *nenbutsu odori* consists of the Buddhist Sino-Japanese mantra as an integral part of the libretto, as will be shown in Chapter II.

Furyū grew out in close connection with *nenbutsu odori* as a continuation of the important medieval tradition of processions and group dances, often described as the "womb" from which *onna kabuki* was born[75]. They were based on the attractiveness of a big assembly of people moving in the same way at the same time, at which the display of the beauty of youth became an important element.[76]

Furyū were a vital factor in the formation period of early kabuki because they produced both the background and performance genres which found their way directly into the structure of Okuni kabuki performances. According to Ogasawara, kabuki sprang from dances which belonged to the *furyū*-type mass dance and that is why kabuki remained "on this, popular side of the spectrum"[77] of performances, unlike nō.

[73] Shinmura (ed.) 1991: *Nenbutsu* and information tables, Theatre Museum of Waseda University.
[74] Hattori 1968a p. 179.
[75] Hattori 1997 p. 1.
[76] Leims 1990 p. 4.
[77] Ogasawara 1975 p. 141.

Furyū appeared in the 16th century as a mass movement, and there seems to have been, especially after the end of the Warring States period and simultaneously with early kabuki, a fashion in towns and residences to set up collective events at various festivals by permanent or temporary groups, often vying with each other. Fashionable dances were shown in as gorgeous a manner as possible[78]. It involved music (*hayashimono*) and visual effects including displaying various gorgeous objects called *tsukurimono*[79]—spectacular carried objects like decorated carriages and huge colourful silken "parasols" (*furyūgasa*): they were the centre of each of the successive groups the procession consisted of. According to Hattori, the *furyūgasa* would be decorated with flowers or would even carry another *tsukurimono* on the top of the parasol, e.g. a figurine, and a lot of people would dance in circles around it, in the same colourful costumes, all with the same lantern or basket on their heads and the same *mochimono* "held object" in their hands. This could be a fan or a flowering twig, into which the *kami* spirit was believed to enter during the dance, and by swinging it in the same rhythm and, uniting their movements, the dancers enjoyed the frenzy of such a mass dance. *Furyū* were often accompanied by outbreaks of mass ecstasy, regardless of the class of the participants. Though originally a common folk entertainment, military and court aristocrats, and monks, quickly joined. Such festivals could last for days or even weeks, and the route of the processions often started at the residence of a samurai or a courtier, heading towards the Imperial Palace or another residence in Kyoto. Courtiers would often join in, in disguise, or even compose the lyrics to the dance songs at the request of the organizers.[80] Later on, mechanical curiosities and various performing skits were added,[81] including *sarugaku* numbers.

The aesthetics of *furyū*, according to Leims, made possible the transcultural processes leading to kabuki.[82] The *furyū* movement is said to have culminated in the "Seventh Remembrance" (七回忌) of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's death, the *Toyokuni* (or *Hōkoku*) *daimyōjin rinjisai* Festival. The impetus for it was issued by Tokugawa Ieyasu, who succeeded to Hideyoshi's position and was

[78] This seems to have an echo in the present-day *Bon odori* troupes which compose new songs and dances and design costumes to perform on summertime stages.
[79] The same word is used to term the stage prop in nō.
[80] Hattori et al. 1997 p. 1 passim.
[81] Leims 1990 p. 171.
[82] Leims 1990 p. 4.

subsequently appointed shogun. The event was held in Kyoto at the Mid-Autumn Festival (in the 8th month) of 1604, one year after the first reference to Izumo no Okuni's *kabuki odori*, and the ample extant description of the *Rinjisai* complements our idea about the atmosphere in the years when kabuki was born.[83] It included four nō schools performing at the close of the 14th day of the 8th month. The archaic pre-nō piece *Okina*, which traditionally opens the most auspicious nō performances, was performed by the four school heads, accompanied by four *ōtsuzumi* and sixteen *kotsuzumi* drums. The 15th day saw the culmination of the event - *furyū odori* of 1500 participants. They were divided into sections of a hundred and, at the front, each group carried a big fan bearing the name of the Capital ward it represented. At the centre, riders carried a huge *furyūgasa* - a parasol – or a *hitotsumono* - decorated auspicious symbol - like a pine branch, figures of a tiger or a peacock, or themes from popular epics like *Soga monogatari* or *Gikeiki*. These symbols were to display, and secure, the welfare of the ward they came from. The dancers formed a double or triple circle around this central object and all the members of each group wore the same costume, dancing frantically to the rhythm of the *taiko* drums and *hayashi* music.[84] The term *hayashi* denotes the orchestral set-up usual in nō, comprising the *fue* flute, the handdrums *kotsuzumi* (smaller) and *ōtsuzumi* (bigger) and the big batton drum called *taiko*.[85] Five hundred townspeople served as guardians with golden batons in their hands, and *numerous foreigners* were among the spectators.

The scale and proportions of this event, then the largest ever seen in Japan, demonstrates the great popularity events of this kind enjoyed in the period. It was an all-people entertainment in which "high and low, rich and poor, men and women" took part. (*"High and low"—kisen*—was also the designation of the audiences of Izumo no Okuni's dance, as will be shown in the following chapter.) It represented, symbolically, separation from the Middle Ages - performing arts were no longer seen as primarily an offering to deities or exclusive entertainment for the privileged class; the townspeople felt that they might have a part in it, too. The

[83] The records about this festival are the fullest for any festival of the times thanks to two painted folding screens depicting the panoply, and to a written document called *Records of the Festival of the Great Shining Deity Toyokuni* (*Toyokuni daimyōjin saireiki* or *Toyokuni daimyōjin rinji gosairei kiroku*) (Leims 1990).
[84] Hattori 1997 p. 4.
[85] Kobayashi, Nishi and Hata 2012 p. 732.

grand peaceful times of the Tokugawa shogunate were launched by such events, and this was the ambience into which Izumo no Okuni entered with her dance. I have presented the content of this particular festival in order to illustrate in detail the milieu that prevailed in the period of the first recorded performance of Izumo no Okuni's *kabuki odori*, which had happened only one year and a half before this Rinjisai event.

The mass, joyful and ecstatical character of *furyū* led to what Leims calls the *cumulative potentializing effect*, a kindling or catalyst phenomenon which played a vital part in the process of the birth of kabuki by provoking fantasy. The character of these activities shows, according to Leims, strong influence from the side of the western Christian processions which became very popular and gave, or at least contributed to, the form *furyū* had assumed by around 1600.[86] Processions of this ***Kirishitan*** culture included European Christian-inspired elements like the monstrance and scattering of rose petals on the road and having the interiors of churches lit with precious candles imported from Europe, besides elements of Japanese traditions. A phenomenon identical to that seen today in the Gion Festival in Kyoto is reported: the allegoric carriages carrying boys. They were dressed as angels and the main guardian angel was represented by the son of the local lord. Traditional Japanese performances were included, too. The Azuchi-Momoyama (the culture period before 1600) craze for the exotic was well catered for by these western Christian festivities and Leims formulates the possible *western influence* they might have had on *furyū*, and subsequently on kabuki as well, as a *subconscious motivation* rather than a conscious act. The milieu enabling this influence to enter was characterized by spontaneous outbreaks of mass celebrations, with some of the artists simply making use of the new western fashion to enrich the vernacular *furyū*.[87]

Hattori also points out the importance of *furyū odori* in the history of Japanese theatre in its *visual* aspect. The art of *furyū odori* was directly shifting towards a performing art designed for *viewing*[88] and the general tendency toward mass scenes and elaborate spectacle was shared with the development seen in nō in the same period, as discussed above.

[86] Leims 1990 p. 171.
[87] Leims 1990 p. 182.
[88] Hattori et al. 1997 p. 1.

Furyū generated various dance (*odori*) genres, the ones relevant for this narrative being ***kouta odori*** and ***yayako odori*** and, in the 1600s, it was even incorporated into some of the official kyōgen plays[89]. *Kouta odori* represents dances based on ***kouta***, medieval "popular songs" which were later enriched with dance accompanying them. It is supposed that they were dances of the *furyū* and *nenbutsu* types and Tsubaki, based on Hattori, writes that *yayako odori* might be just an alternative name to *kouta odori*.[90]

Yayako odori had a direct bearing on early kabuki. Their concrete form is unknown but they started some time before 1592 as *kouta odori* performances done by several women; later, in around 1592, kyōgen actors, probably *Nanto negi*, joined up: *yayako* dances actually formed a cooperative performance with kyōgen, termed *odori kyōgen* (kyōgen combined with the *odori*-type dance) with a somewhat dramatic structure.[91] They made successful troupes which wandered from one province to another and this led to a reinterpretation of *odori* as something not to be *done* but to be *looked at*. "Perhaps the *odori* was regarded as a new nō, with kyōgen as the art which accompanied it."[92] This means that pleasure *activity* turned into *spectacle*.[93]

The combination of *kouta* with an individual dance was called *komai* when the focus was on the *mai* type of dance. The difference between *odori* and *mai* consists in the dimension they are based upon, *odori* being a folk-based dance including the vertical dimension while *mai* is of a more dignified, Capital-based character and chiefly maintaining the horizontal level of movements. *Kouta* and the dance accompanying it will both be further discussed in Chapter II in connection with several *kouta* forming a sequence of dances documented for *Okuni kabuki* performances in the *Okuni sōshi* materials.

Hattori writes that the times towards the end of the 16th century were "getting hued" by the kabuki thought; kyōgen-based performing arts were in vogue, with varieties like *nyōbō kyōgen* in full swing; and the *odori* type of dance assumed new social quality, as will be discussed in the next part.

---

[89] Scholz-Cionca 1998 p. 224.
[90] Tsubaki 2002 p. 12.
[91] Tsubaki 2002 p. 12.
[92] Ogasawara 1975 p. 142.
[93] A universal development which can also be observed in showbusiness in our own era, both in the West as in the East.

II.
NŌ AND OKUNI KABUKI

Though the historical existence of Izumo no Okuni can be doubted, the performances connected with her, and named after her, cannot. In connection with the nō lineage of kabuki, Yamanaka notes that

> considering Japanese performing arts, it is interesting, nay enigmatic, to see how the role which nō had carried out in this [late 16th century, IR] period by presenting [on stage, IR] everything one would wish to see—wonders, fightings, devices—how this role was overtaken by new performing forms which were coming to existence one after another, and to see that the group of plays, exluded from nō in the process of its ripening into the position of text-based performance (*serifu geki*), **did not** directly develop into kabuki. The latter wrote its own independent history from the scratch, starting from the *kabuki odori* dances of Okuni.[94]

Nevertheless, kabuki as a new current in Japanese performing arts did come about in the context of the previous performing forms, and I will attempt to identify the role of nō in this process, as well as outline the links to other previous forms, based on study and analysis of the *Okuni sōshi*.

The *Okuni sōshi* include four materials: *Kuni Jo-kabuki Ekotoba*, *Kabuki(no) Saushi*[95]*, Okuni Kabuki Sōshi* and *Okuni Kabuki Kozu*.

From the manuscriptal point of view, they are part of the genre of *e-sōshi* or "illustrated books" in which a light and simple text (*kotobagaki*) is combined with pictures (*e*). Within this category, they belong to the body of *Nara-e-hon*, richly decorated illustrated books.

Each of these sources has several names by which they have been referred to by various scholars. Many of those names, when collated in a list, are too similar to be useful, and that is why I prefer referring to some of them by

[94] Yamanaka 1998 p. 184.
[95] The title apears in both versions, *Kabuki Saushi* and *Kabuki no Saushi*, usually spelled in hiragana.

descriptive names in order to bring out their respective identity and origin more clearly.

Probably the oldest of the four is ***Kuni Jo-kabuki Ekotoba***. Its name - 国女歌舞妓絵詞 - can be translated as 'Pictures and text on the Female Kabuki of Kuni'. It is a scroll which has, for the past century, been in the possession of the *Kyōdai* (Kyoto University) Library, and that is why it will also be referred to here as "Kyōdai scroll" and its text as "Kyōdai play" (abbreviation **Kd**).

Its relative age within the four materials as a work (or – if not the original - a copy in a manuscript lineage reaching back to the original) which is the oldest among the four, was, however, challenged by Hattori (see below). It contains drama-like *kotobagaki* sections alternating with pictures. The pictures will be analysed and compared with those in the other *Okuni sōshi*, and so the Kyōdai scroll pictures represent for us the *first illustration set*.

Kabuki (no) Saushi かぶき（の）さうし means 'A Book on Kabuki' (abbreviation **Ss**). Originally, it was a scroll which was folded to make the form of a sewn book or album. It is thought to be several years younger than the previous Kyōdai scroll. I preserve the historical spelling of the diphthong - "s***au***shi" - for two reasons: firstly, to reflect the fact that its name, if given in kana, is even nowadays written in the historical spelling さうし (i. e. s**au**shi) rather than the modern そうし (s**ou**shi); and secondly, to distinguish this work clearly from the generic umbrella term *kabuki sōshi*. (For the same reason, I use the version with *no* – *Kabuki no Saushi*.) The pronunciation is, nevertheless, modern, i. e. [so:śi]. Its *kotobagaki* has the character of a *monogatari* prose and is interspersed with pictures which represent the *second illustration set* for our analysis.

Okuni Kabuki Sōshi 阿国歌舞伎草紙 or 'A Book on Okuni's Kabuki' is in the possession of the Yamato Bunkakan museum, and that is why it is referred to here as "Bunkakan fragments" (abbreviation **Bkk**). It is comprised of one panel (page) of *kotobagaki* text and two pictures. The *kotobagaki* corresponds almost exactly to a portion of the Kyōdai play, but the two pictures are independent from either of the preceding two illustration sets and thus represent the *third illustration set* for our analysis.

Okuni Kabuki Kozu 阿国歌舞伎古図 or 'Old Item of Okuni's Kabuki' is a part of a book series called *Kottōshū* published by Santō Kyōden (1761-1816) between 1813 and 1815 in which the material contained in the preceding Bunkakan fragments was reprinted in woodblock. It will be referred to in this study by the name "Kottōshū fragments", abbreviated **Kt**. Its manuscriptal identity is not clear; it might have been made as a copy directly from the Bunkakan fragments or from some other copy which shared its origin with the Bunkakan fragments.

The *Okuni sōshi* provide two separate pieces of literature. One is the Kyōdai play contained in the Kyōdai scroll (*Kuni Jo-kabuki Ekotoba*). The other is a prose-with-poetry text we find in the *Kabuki no Saushi*. Two passages from the Kyōdai play, slightly alternated, are the textual parts of the remaining two materials.

As far as the visual part of *Okuni sōshi* is concerned, they provide three sets of pictures: The Kyōdai scroll, *Kabuki no Saushi* and the Bunkakan fragments. The fourth document, a chapter in the *Kottōshū*, is a woodblock copy identical to the Bunkakan fragments.

It is important to approach these texts with a reading that allows one to unveil as much as possible about the earliest kabuki. Not only the texts themselves, but the background information, the ambience, the stylistic and rhythmical structure of the texts, as well as scant suggestions about the musical properties of the performed passages—can all help detect literary and dramatic methods underlying the materials, as well as extraliterary information about how the rhythmically and musically marked lines were delivered in performance. They also reveal important elements of their nō inheritance. As Gerstle writes:

> Each tradition has its own means of addressing the common concerns of the human condition. Learning to read and to criticize a work competently demands that the reader try to understand the conventions that artists have either *followed* or *abandoned*. We must not attempt to bring the work within our own literary experience. Rather, we must ourselves enter the complexities of the unfamiliar text. To achieve that, the reader must explore the conventions of the art and learn to respond to and appreciate the alien forms and styles. The critic's task is continually to learn new reading techniques for each new genre and style encountered. Too often readers approach this task without considering that the work is of a different tradition based on unfamiliar conventions.[96]

[96] Gerstle 1986 p. XV.

YEAR 1600

-THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA FOR LIFE AND ARTS-

Shortly before the advent of kabuki, the year 1600 drew a bold line underneath the previous period of the Warring States (*sengoku*). The civil wars came to an end at the Battle of Sekigahara (1600), at least that was what people believed[97]; and the wars definitively ended by the siege of Osaka castle in 1614 and 1615. The country, reunited under Tokugawa Ieyasu started a new era of internal peace: the daimyō lords, who, until then, had not yielded, were crushed by the yoke of shogunal order and the country would not again experience war for over two centuries. "[P]eace was restored to the land. An atmosphere of freedom and liberation pervaded the masses. This afforded an opportunity for Okuni and her troupe to appear openly before the masses of the capital."[98]

How people appreciated peace - a new and welcome condition - can also be seen in the way in which the Kyōdai scroll emphasizes the *tenka taihei no miyo*[99] ("*these peaceful times"*). This stylistic trope, however, was not new, but had an older ancestry from previous time. It was also connected with the *medetai* (congratulatory, auspicious) element shared with nō and kyōgen. Nomura Mansaku mentions the kyōgen *medetai* wording "*Tenka osamari medetai miyo de gozareba...*" (*"We are having happy times of good governance"*)[100]. He also notes, however, that this congratulatory element might stem from the long period of kyōgen's existence as *shikigaku*.[101], which was from early 1600s onwards. This would make the *medetai* element one of nō origin, passed down to both kabuki and official kyōgen. As late as 1692, readers of Nishikawa Joken are reminded that "the last hundred years has been an age when the realm is at peace"[102] thanks to which

[97] Moriya 1976 p. 100.
[98] Kawatake Toshio 1971 p. 88.
[99] Kyōdai scroll column 6, 7.
[100] Nomura 1999 p. 245.
[101] Nomura 1999 p. 246.
[102] Quoted in Shively 1991 p. 724.

even the *chōnin* (townsmen) had enough leisure to devote themselves to pursuing various arts.

Such was the perceived change of times, and it brought about fertile soil on which early Edo culture could start to grow. In this new social atmosphere, people sought out the pleasures in life; hedonism and eroticism rapidly flourished. The rise in population this new wave generated was a welcome change from the long period marked by prayers for those who had died violent deaths in the warring period. The religion-based *nenbutsu odori* was one custom developed to find solace, organizing Buddhist processions with the aim of appeasing the souls of those fallen in the wars, both warriors and civil victims alike. These *nenbutsu odori* had become an important part of life in many communities before 1600, as mentioned in Chapter I, yet organizing them did not stop even with the ending of hostilities. Though originally an expression of Buddhist piety, very soon *nenbutsu odori* assumed a joyous, positive, spectacular, even erotic character, and broadened the range of *furyū* processions which became communal performances. Thus, *kabuki odori* did not enter a void.

Samurai and mercenaries returned from warfields to cities, eager to spend their money on entertainment of which they had previously been deprived. One of them was Nagoya Sanza, the epitome of the *kabukibito* who were brazen and dissolute young men of the era. He appears as the figure in one of the Okuni kabuki skits just three years after the first phase of peace (1600) had been restored.

HISTORICAL REFERENCES TO IZUMO NO OKUNI

Okuni was said to have come up to the Capital (Kyoto) from Izumo – hence her name Izumo no Okuni or 'Okuni of Izumo'. Izumo with its centuries long tradition of the cult of the deity Susanoo and his descendants, is a region situated on the northern coast of the the western part of Honshū. Okuni, thus, was from the "Western country" or *Saikoku* which was traditionally known as the source of new female forms of performances. This history can be traced back down to the times of classical nō, when, in 1432, we have a reference in *Kanmon gyoki*, the diary of prince Fushiminomiya Sadafusa, who records seeing a *kanjin* ("public") performance of *onna sarugaku* in winter 1432 (10m 10d). *Kanjin* was the term for public nō performances, and *sarugaku* at that time referred to nō and its sister branches. *Onna sarugaku* means a female nō performance and it was at that time a relatively new phenomenon which enjoyed quite an interest in Kyoto, judging from *kanjin* performances being allowed there. As the diary says, the troupes of *onna sarugaku* came to the Capital from Saikoku or the western regions.[103] The orchestra and kyōgen (comic) roles were taken up by males. This was the set-up of troupes we see in the times of *kabuki odori* and this early diary reference testifies to its antiquity and long tradition. Hattori supposes that the style of sarugaku (= nō) did not change, and the women probably followed the nō model as drawn up by the previous male tradition. Later we even see all-female troupes of kyōgen, called *nyōbō kyōgen*; not being allowed to wear the revered nō masks, their beauty was all the more apparent,[104] thus introducing a new quality in the spectatorial experience.

Okuni kabuki was generally taken as the start of kabuki as early as Okuni's own century, and her performance must have been partly a descentant of these female lineages. The launch of Okuni kabuki was pre-dated by dances performed either by young girls or boys, which probably stem in the *furyū* and *nenbutsu* tradition outlined in Chapter I. An important new element was the dance,

[103] 自西国方上洛云々。(Fushiminomiya 1959 p. 63).
[104] Hattori 1997 p. 6-7.

which was no more the elegant *mai* dance of nō and kusemai, but the leaping and vivace *odori* which moved from the streets and market places onto the stage. It became the centre of attention as something to be viewed by people, instead of being *done* by them as previously.

As already mentioned in Chapter I, an important role in the whole process leading up to kabuki is believed to have been played by the *Nanto negi kyōgen* actors. Though not satisfactorily attested in written materials, their influence is believed to be found in various aspects of performances, as the *Nanto negi* formed combined troupes with female dancers. In the ongoing process of development of new performances, some of the troupes might have included *Nanto negi* actors. Scholz-Cionca gives an example of the *Nanto negi* influence, mentioning Hattori's hypothesis that monologue kyōgen (*hitori kyōgen*) might have initially been the speciality of *Nanto negi*. They may have introduced *hitori kyōgen* to the early kabuki, from which, later on, it might have been, in turn, adopted to the official kyōgen of nō.[105]

Young boys might have been included in the pre-kabuki process, too. Takei mentions young boys doing kyōgen called *tesarugaku kyōgen* "before the Edo period started"[106] (i. e. before 1600). Moreover, the temple archive *Rokuon nichiroku* 鹿苑日録 of the Rokuon'in ward of the Shōkokuji temple in Kyoto[107], records visiting performances of boys during the period 1600-1602[108] at the **Fifth Street river bank**, the **Sixth Street**, and at the archivist's temple. The geography is of some importance here, so let it be explained that the Kamo River (*Kamogawa*) runs across the eastern part of Kyoto from North to South. Kyoto was traditionally, and still is to some extent, divided into nine East-West zones called wards (*jō*), numbered from North to South as 'The First Ward' (*Ichijō*) etc. Nine streets flanking these wards (usually at their northern side) bridged the river by bridges bearing the name of the particular street (e.g. 'Fifth Street Bridge' - *Gojōbashi*). The respective river banks and dry islands in the river were also designated by their position toward the wards.

[105] Scholz-Cionca 1998 p. 101.
[106] Takei 1999 p. 6.
[107] Rokuon'in was founded at the Shōkokuji temple in Kyoto by Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (Shinmura (ed.) 1991 p. 2737).
[108] from Keichō 5, 3m 10d (*Rokuon nichiroku* 1935 p. 313 passim).

It is obvious that the boys not only danced, but also played music and kyōgen, performed the "*mai*" dance (probably kōwakamai) and one entry even indicates that they should have been involved in enacting some sort of nō (或ハ能、或ハ舞). From different references, it seems certain that the boys were available for male-male love, and their performances might have been organized as a means of income for *iroko yado* (boy prostitutes brothels).[109] What is important for our narrative is that this practice of boy dancers would, in three decades' time, provide young male artists ready to take over the popular dance of kabuki following the ban on women from the public stage. The experience of performing some sort of nō and kyōgen in these boys' dancing groups at the start of the century might have contributed to the dramatic element which was later present in the *wakashu kabuki* period in the mid-1600s much more than in onna kabuki. It is not surprising that this would be the case, taking into account the fact that nō dance and chanting was becoming increasingly popular as an amateur art among samurai and wealthy merchants in the period around 1600, and its wider presence in the performing world can well be supposed. Thus, the performances of boys were, apparently, based on nō, kyōgen and kōwakamai, but nothing is certain about the character of the boys' dances, not even how they were called (they are referred to merely as *warawa* "boys"and *odoriko* "dancers" in the sources of that time).

The entry in the above-mentioned *Rokuon nichiroku* temple archive is helpful in confirming the credibility of another source for early kabuki, the *Tōkaidō meishoki* 東海道名所記 ('Records of Famous Places along the Tōkaidō Road') published in around 1660. It is a book in the popular *kanazōshi* format and one of the three famous guidebooks written by the prolific early Edo writer Asai Ryōi (1612?-91)[110]. It was published half a century after Okuni's era, apparently without much reference to the ample earlier popular material on Okuni, and, therefore, probably little influenced by it, adding to its relative independence, and thus reliability[111]. For the reason of the time span, Asai Ryōi starts his account with the words 'Long, long ago' (*Mukashi mukashi*) and writes that kabuki was started by

[109] Geinōshi Kenkyūkai 1986 p. 32.
[110] Asai Ryōi is also the author of *Ukiyo monogatari* (about 1665) in which he introduces the word *ukiyo* in its new Edo period meaning where *uki* is taken as lightness and pleasure, in contrast with the original meaning of suffering and misery. Cf the word *ukiyo* in the Kyōdai scroll.
[111] Hattori 2003 p. 11.

a *kamiko* (sacred child) from Izumo called Okuni who engaged in what is called *yayako odori*. Asai gives the location of her performances at the **east end of the Fifth Street bridge**,[112] although later Okuni is known to have danced farther north, at the **Fourth Street river bank**. The mention of the Fifth Street in two apparently independent sources might be taken as a confirmation that this location is not just Asai's error, and that the original birthplace of kabuki might indeed have been at the Fifth Street bridge before the centre of entertainment (*moriba*) had by 1603 (the year of the first reference to *Okuni kabuki odori*), for some reason, shifted north to the Fourth Street.

That Okuni started her early career as a *yayako odori* dancer is supported by several contemporaneous sources which mention this kind of dance and even the name "Kuni". Not much is known about the precise character of the *yayako odori* (lit. "baby dance"); it might be identical with (or perhaps a more fashionable name of) *musume odori* ("girls' dance") that was often performed during the Bon festival at the end of the summer, celebrating a communion with the dead ancestors; this would mean that the *yayako/musume odori* might have been a spin-off of the *nenbutsu odori*, the type of dance connected with the Bon festival. Alternatively, '*yayako odori*' might have been the name of a particular dance piece while *musume odori* was a more generic term, close to that of *kouta odori*[113]. In Okuni's dance, as Ogasawara defines it, "the *furyū* [medieval processions] form representing the arrival of the visiting deity was pulled into the human society"[114], following the social tendency for more feminization in performing arts towards the end of the civil wars. It was an expression, supposedly, of the nascent inclination to life, which brought about the great fashion and popularity of *furyū odori*. These provided a convenient setting for the new type of troupe in which women played the main role.

[112] Asai 1979b p. 178.
[113] Ogasawara 1975 p. 142.
[114] Ogasawara 1975 p. 142.

MAI AND *ODORI*

It was also the time when the *odori* began to appear on the stage, as until then only the older *mai* (nō and kōwakamai) had done. Japanese performing arts distinguish between these two types of dances. *Mai* is connected with the older elegant or court-based dances, in which the movements are predominantly carried out in horizontal line, while *odori* is based in the folk dance and makes use of both the vertical and horizontal dimensions.[115] Moreover, the *mai* were done for ceremonial purposes as prayers to the deities, which is also one of their main roles as the constituent parts of nō plays; they were studied and performed by professionals, who also taught amateurs.

Odori, on the other hand, did not have the religious aspect of praying to deities and were typically mass activities danced by common people, thus being an expression of the renewal of vital energy in the society—or, rather, the testimony that vitalism had not ceased even during the one century long samurai wars. It was by around 1580 that *odori* were combined with *kouta* songs, and danced by small girls: *yayako odori* would be the first *odori* which was designed for display rather than just for the mere pleasure of dancing. This was the fracture between *furyū* and kabuki, the point at which kabuki split off from the *furyū* movement. It was also the first known case in the history of Japanese performing arts that *odori* dance was done by professionals earning a livelihood.[116] Mass, communal dancing was transformed into a dance *show*. This aspect brought it closer to nō and kyōgen. The character of these *odori* approximated *mai* in that this was no more a crowd of dancers shifting down the street or moving in circles, but a small group, two or three dancers, performing on a stage.

[115] Lectures of Prof. Nishino Haruo at Hōsei University, 2008, and private Kanze nō dancing lessons, 2008-2009.
[116] Ogasawara 1975 p. 142.

YAYAKO ODORI

According to Hattori, the vogue for the *odori* show may have started in Kyoto with the arrival of a nameless *yayako odori* group of young girls from the province of Kaga. Lady Oyudono was a lady-in-waiting at the Emperor's residential pavillion of Seiryōden. In her diary *Oyudono no ue no nikki* 御湯殿上日記, she kept a record of the various performances and occasions at the Palace, thus offering a precious account of the situation of performing arts in her day. Her diary, according to Hattori, probably offers us the first reference of the name *yayako odori* in the year **1581**. In this year, on the 9th month, 9th day, two *yayako odori* dancers are reported to have been presented with fans[117], presumably as a gift from the Emperor.[118] The diary, kept until 1603, records well over ten further occasions of *yayako odori* being performed in the Palace.[119] The 16th century female *nenbutsu odori* had thus found a new attractive and fashionable alternative, by having young girls dance on stage.

After lady Oyudono's diary, the second reference to *yayako odori*, one year later, was by the monk *Tamon'in Eishun* 多門院英俊 who writes that *yayako odori* was performed at the Kasuga Wakamiya shrine in Tenshō 10 - **1582**[120], on the 5th month, 18th day. The dancers he mentions were in their eighth to (or "and", see below) eleventh year of age and the entry 加賀・国 can be interpreted either that they were from the "Kaga province" (*Kaga (no) kuni*) or they were called "Kaga and **Kuni**". He (and *only* he) also mentions an alternative name for the dance - *Kaga odori*.[121] Kaga is a province on the Sea of Japan coast of central Honshu.

It is impossible to ascertain whether the two performances mentioned (of 1581 and 1582) were done by the same girls. However, it cannot be excluded,

---

[117] や>こおとり。 (...) おとりふたりに御あふきたふ。(Oyudono 1958 p. 406).
[118] Hattori et al. 1997 p. 8.
[119] Hattori 1997 p. 11.
[120] Barth 1972 p. 193 gives the wrong year 1576.
[121] 於若宮拝屋、加賀・国八才十一才ノ童ヤ>子ヲトリト云法楽在之、カ>ヲトリトモ云 (Tamon'in Eishun 1939 p. 222).

either: *Lady Oyudono's Diary* speaks of two girls and the 1582 entry includes two numerical references in regards to age: "*hassai jūissai* (八才十一才) *eighth year—eleventh year*" preceded by an expression which can be interpreted as *two* names. This could mean that in the latter entry, too, the story is about *two* girls and the age information could well indicate their ages "eighth *and* eleventh" respectively, rather than an indefinite group of girls in their "eighth *to* eleventh" years of age. This means that the younger performer could well be as young as six according to Western age system[122], which would also account for the name of the dance - *yayako* means a baby or a very little child. It follows, then, that it is not impossible that both earliest references of *yayako odori* should refer to *the same girl by the name of Kuni who was born in around 1570.*

After that, more references to *yayako odori* follow in various documents up until its last reported occurrence in 1603 – an important date concerning Izumo no Okuni, as will be discussed below. Some of the references contain further hints suggesting that the girls might indeed have danced in pairs, but not much more is known about the concrete form of the performance. It is also supposed that in around 1592, kyōgen (most probably *Nanto negi*) actors joined up, so the *yayako* performances were actually *odori kyōgen* – combined performances where the *yayako* dancers and the *kyōgenshi* alternated.[123] "The fact that *yayako odori* did not combine with nō – an equally singing-and-dancing genre, but with kyōgen, helped prepare the foundation for the genesis of kabuki."[124] This led to the eventual reinterpretation of *odori* as something not to be *done* but to be *looked at*. "Perhaps the *odori* was regarded as a new nō," Ogasawara hypothesizes, "with kyōgen as the art which accompanied it."[125] This means that pleasure *activity* turned into *spectacle*.[126]

Ogasawara thus emphasizes that it is this combined performance that should be regarded as the immediate predecessor of theatrical kabuki. She views

[122] The age was counted as to in *which year* of their age the person was. Theoretically, a person was in their *first year* (*issai*) on the first day of their birth, but could be in their *second year* on the following day if that was the beginning of the new lunar year, therefore the gap in the Eastern and Western age counting systems.
[123] Tsubaki 2002 p. 12.
[124] Ogasawara 1975 p. 142.
[125] Ogasawara 1975 p. 142.
[126] A universal development which can also be observed in showbusiness in our own era, both in the West as in the East.

this early development through her theory of *marebito*, according to which the traditional nucleus—or the traditional staging model—of Japanese performing arts shared not only with nō but all other dramatic genres, lies in the depicting of the *marebito* ('rare person'). This *marebito* is a welcome visitor from afar (including the other world) who is invited to come in, is entertained and then seen off. This nucleus is also connected with another frequent element in Japanese performing arts, the pacification of angry spirits. Ogasawara argues that *yayako odori* as the predecessor of kabuki split off from the centuries long folk tradition by replacing *marebito* with a beautiful young woman, while the spirits to be appeased were replaced with spectators who would be entertained. The discarding of the religious and of the purifying was crucial and, according to her, this can be seen as *the point of divide* between nō and kabuki as well. The medieval procession tradition of *furyū odori*, which previously belonged to common people and was connected with annual events, crossed over to the realm of the professional, shedding its connection with the cyclical calendar rituals and magic and becoming a performance for the stage (*butaigei*) or the banquet room (*zashikigei*) intended for a paying audience. "Once the *furyū odori* started to take turns with numbers of *kyōgenshi*, the this-worldly matter started to be treated on the stage along with the other-worldy one, and so, the stage, originally a sacred garden, had become the place for the common man."[127] The *odori* not only split off from the previous tradition. By becoming professional and for display, it approximated nō and kyōgen, as well as the *mai*, by assuming the above-mentioned aspect of performance.

What, according to Hattori, "is believed to be the first mention"[128] of Izumo no Okuni's name can be found in *The Records of Tokiyoshi* (*Tokiyoshi ki* 時慶記) as of **1600**. In his writing, *Nishinotōin Tokiyoshi* (1552-1639) includes references to *yayako odori* at the Konoe palace, Kyoto, for a period of a little over one month, from the 6th month, 26th day to 8th month, 1st day. The dancers were reportedly from Izumo and the entry from the 7th month, 1st day goes: "One is called **Kuni**, there are two whose names are Kiku, and the rest of the troupe counts

[127] Ogasawara 1975 p. 142.
[128] Hattori et al. 1997 p. 9, 10.

about ten people, men and women".[129] Regarding the dancers' origin from Izumo, it can be linked to the data we have of earlier female troupes of *onna sarugaku* coming from 'the western provinces' - Saikoku[130] and speculated that the tradition of female dancers might have been alive in these regions for the whole period from the first reference (1432) till the *yayako* dancers from Izumo.

There is also another reference to Izumo in connection with *yayako odori*. It is an entry to be found in the diary of *Yamashina Tokitsune* who, in the 2nd month, 16th day of **1588**, was on government business in the province of Settsu (approximately the seacoast of the Osaka Bay) and witnessed there "priestess(es) from the Grand Shrine of the province of Izumo" dancing (*mai*, not *odori*!) various "divine songs and small songs"[131]. While the term "small song" is 小歌 and almost certainly means *kouta*, the wording 神歌, generally "divine song" or "song for the deity", could designate a song based on the Izumo shinto ritual, or could equally refer to the archaic and archetypal *Okina* ritual piece which opened nō performances, since its alternative title reads *Kamiuta* 'divine song' written with the very same characters as appearing here.

It is obviously not certain if there is any connection between the Izumo priestess(es) (女神子) of 1588 and Kuni and her fellow Izumo *yayako odori* dancers twelve years later (1600). Hattori writes that they might be regarded as belonging to the same kind of performing art, yet in my opinion, there might be a difference. Based on the records, two different performances can be imagined: the 1588 dancers were priestly performers of Shinto ritual pieces and are reported as *mai* (舞)-dancing, while the dance of the 1600 group is written with 跳 which nowadays means "leap" and would thus rather refer to the *odori* kind of dance (" ヤ > ヤコ跳 " and " ヤ > 子跳 "). The truth is that *mai* and *odori* sometimes did get mixed up, or were blurred intentionally. For example, there were forms of *odori* which, claiming a higher status, pretended to be a *mai*[132]. Nevertheless, here we

[129] 近衛殿ニテ晩迄雲 ... [州?]ノヤ>コ跳、一人ハクニと云、菊ト云二人、其外座ノ衆男女十人斗在之 (Nishinotōin Tokiyoshi 2005 p. 79).
[130] Hattori 1997 p. 6.
[131] 出雲国大社神子色々神歌[-only the right half of the character]、又小歌[-right half]と舞之間(...) (Yamashina Tokitsune 1962 p. 22-23).
[132] E.g. the *odori* called *Ayako-mai* in Kashiwazaki city, Niigata, formerly also called *Ayako-odori* (Hattori 1997 p. 9).

have the opposite situation, with the earlier being a *mai* and the later an *odori*, which would indicate a considerable difference in the choreographic character of the two performances. Even if we are dealing with the same troupe, their repertoire might have undergone the same genre change as suggested above by Ogasawara.

In any case, the appearance of a Shinto "priestess" of Izumo as early as 1588 in the province of Settsu testifies to the mobility of the performers and the fact enhances our understanding of the practical aspects of performers' lives. The appearance later of Okuni of Izumo in Kyoto would not be an exceptional phenomenon if there had been Shinto dancers from Izumo performing in Settsu, not so far from Kyoto, a dozen years before her. Based on the materials, it can be imagined that the performers built their stages (*koyagake*) on the river bank at the Fifth and Fourth Street, or were invited to the Imperial Palace and high ranking samurai residences.

Whether the previous dancers from Izumo were in any way connected with the later dancer Izumo no Okuni or not, Izumo dancers' tours of the central provinces and Kyoto nevertheless seem not to have been a rare phenomenon in those years. In **1603**, three years after the first mention of the name of Kuni by Nishinotōin Tokiyoshi, we have further references of yet another occasion at which "*yayako odori*" was performed at the Imperial Palace by "(the?) women from Izumo". It is documented by at least three sources (including Tokiyoshi again)[133] as taking place on the 5th month, 6th day and the women are often regarded as the same dancers Tokiyoshi had written about three years earlier. This testifies to the Izumo dancers being considerably popular. The performance was designated "***kabuki odori***" (かふきをとり) by the scholar *Myōgyō-hakase Funabashi Hidekata* in his *Keichō nikkenroku* 慶長日件録 entry of 1603 ("Keichō 8"), 5th month, 6th day (於女院かふきをとり有之、出雲国人云々)[134]. The importance of this entry lies in the fact that it is the first recorded occurence of this term and thus regarded the beginning of *Okuni kabuki odori*, as (O)Kuni might have been one of the dancers.

At the same time, this is also the last occasion at which the dance referred to as "*yayako odori*" is mentioned. This indicates a decisive moment in the history of kabuki because, as Hattori suggests, the dancers (perhaps Okuni herself)

[133] ヤ>コ跳也、雲州ノ女楽也 (Nishinotōin Tokiyoshi 2008 p. 52).
[134] Funabashi Hidekata 1981 p. 37.

were old enough not to be referred to as *yayako* ("baby") any longer, and, as the performers aged, not only did the way people referred to the dance change, but also its content might have shifted onto other topics.

One of the new themes was probably the depiction of *kabukibito* and their ways, which, according to some scholars, was the nucleus - the *kabuki* itself, as can be inferred from various sources. One of the earliest references depicting the content of Izumo no Okuni's *kabuki odori* is contained in the *Tōdaiki* chronicle of unknown authorship, covering the years 1532-1615. The entry is sometimes regarded as referring to the *fourth* month of 1603, rather than the *fifth*, thus pre-dating the above-mentioned earliest references to the *kabuki odori*. Nevertheless, at a closer look, the entry is not clear as to the date: it immediately follows a short entry of 4m 16d, which comes after a long list of the members of the procession taking place in 3m 25d as a part of the Kyoto celebrations of Tokugawa Ieyasu being declared "*sei-i taishōgun*". It is in this, supposedly festive atmosphere, that ensues the remark, without a date, and starting "*Kono koro...*": "At the moment, there is this *kabuki dance*. A shrine maiden from the country of Izumo (her name is Kuni, yet she is not pretty)[135] was the first to dance it, coming to the Capital." And then comes the important comment on the content (I am translating in plural but it can be taken as singular, too): "They imitate outrageous/strange men (異風なる男), with their strange clothes and swords and the way they flirt with women in the *chaya* tea house (茶屋の女), and it is very amusing. All, high and low, in the city are thrilled about this and it has even been performed in the Fushimi Palace"[136]. So this is the earliest depiction of what was enacted in the earliest *kabuki odori*.

[135] 名は国、非好女 – this remark is in smaller letters, presumably a later comment [IR]
[136] Tōdaiki 1911 p. 81. The Fushimi Palace was built by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in southeastern Kyoto.

EMERGENCE OF *KABUKI* AS A LIFESTYLE

The "outrageous men with strange clothes and swords", frequenting tea houses, are *kabukibito*. Tsubaki translates kabuki as *wild,* and takes Okuni dressing as a man for a reflection of the "wild" (*kabuki*) spirit that became the heart of kabuki itself. He maintains that the early kabuki era was marked by this wild kabuki spirit, which was taken up by the *machishū*, Kyoto's new townspeople with commercial wealth, and became one of the driving forces behind the early modern culture.[137] It seems that this driving force of modern culture had a negative, violent aspect to it; in around 1600, *kabukimono*, "dressed in outrageous clothes and carrying overly long swords, swaggered about the streets of Kyoto causing trouble"[138] and making the life in the cities, chiefly in Edo, insecure before the Tokugawa shogunate took over[139]. This meaning for the word *kabuki* is also found in the Portuguese dictionary *Vocabulario da lingoa de Iapam*[140] as early as 1603, which is the same year as the first record of *kabuki odori*. The compilers of the *Vocabulario* were active in Kyushu and obviously could not follow the most recent goings on in Kyoto, yet in its fifth meaning, "cabuqi" is characterized as *losing one's control or taking more liberty than is given in something or in trying to answer more quickly or hastily than appropriate*; "cabuqimono" and "cabuita fito" describes a person with these characteristics, with the addition "*or is happy more than appropriate when hearing news etc*" which corresponds to the eccentric properties *kabukimono* seem to have been known by. The *Jidaibetsu kokugo daijiten* for the Muromachi period basically follows this Portuguese definition, adding the meaning of "attracting unnecessary attention with conspicuous speech or loud dress".[141] Many of the *kabukimono* were even executed for their subversive behaviour.[142] The troubles *kabukimono* caused lasted a considerably long time;

[137] Tsubaki 2002 p. 1.
[138] Shively 1991 p. 749.
[139] Barth 1972 p. 194.
[140] Leims 1990 p. 67.
[141] Muromachi-jidai-go-jiten Henshū Iinkai 1989 p. 310.
[142] Ortolani 1990 p. 164-165.

Barth[143] mentions that the battle of Osaka Castle in 1614-15 contributed to the worsening of the situation because after it, rōnin who had lost their occupation went to Edo and other cities, seeking to vent their war frustration and aggression. The *kabukimono* had been characteristic for wearing exotic western-style clothes, nevertheless with the limitation of foreign trade, western goods became unavailable and the new circumstances found expression in the ways of a new generation of young men who started to be called *(otoko)date* and *(machi/hatamoto)yakko*. Similar to the former *kabukibito*, they proudly defied all subordination.[144] They roamed the streets in shocking apparel and with unconvetional hairdos and often engaged in acts of violence, riots and indecencies.[145] It was not until the end of the 17th century that the shogunate finally managed to get these gangs under control.[146]

Gramatically speaking, *kabuki* is the second stem (*ren'yōkei*) of the verb *kabuku*, the etymology of which is uncertain. It is often regarded as a form (perhaps dialectal?) of *katamuku* and believed to mean "strange ways"[147]. As to the term *kabuki*, "Okuni's dances came to be called *kabuki odori* dances, the word being an adjective describing *avant-garde*, new things which go beyond the normal range of life. To write the word with three Sino-Japanese characters meaning song (*ka*), dance (*bu*) and skill (*ki*), as is done today, did not come until later."[148] Whatever its original prehistory, the word appears as a full-fledged verb in the *Okuni sōshi*: *Izaya kabukan!* – "So let's *kabuku*" (or "let's dance *kabuki*"), so it was a designation – the period's fashionable slang perhaps – referring to the new dance of Izumo no Okuni. It can be imagined that its semantic also included the lifestyle of *kabukimono* as depicted in her skits.

It is possible that Okuni kabuki, besides being inspired by *kabukimono*, might have influenced the *kabukimono* vogue as well. In connection with the new kabuki performances, the word *kabukibito*, presumably identical with *otokodate*[149], seems to have changed meaning, informed by Okuni kabuki skits: the verb *kabuku* came to mean "to walk about in unusual outfit, to behave (speak and act) in a

[143] Barth 1972 p. 194.
[144] Kawatake Toshio 1981 p. 74.
[145] Ortolani 1990 p. 164.
[146] Barth 1972 p. 194.
[147] 異様な風俗 (Kawade 1956c p. 334).
[148] Kawatake Toshio 1971 p. 89.
[149] Hirano et al. p. 509.

sensual, erotic (好色めいた) manner"[150]. This is the meaning obviously connected with the kabuki tea house skits of Okuni kabuki, and the *kabuki sōshi* also use it in the sense of "dancing (the specific dance called) kabuki". Whether the previous references to the name Kuni actually referred to the founder of *kabuki odori* herself or not, the later reference from 1603 marked her performance as distinct from both the previous *yayako odori* and boys dances by *introducing the figure of kabukimono* and basing her skits on it.

Ogasawara writes that the epoch-making idea for Okuni to include the topic of *chaya kayoi* – frequenting the "tea house" (presumably one of the various kinds of brothels) in her performance might be connected, as the folk rendering has it, with the fact that she shared the stage with *kyōgenshi*. She gained eternal fame for herself by adopting what represented the "the climax of the times"[151]– the *chaya asobi* which became the most topical theme of fashionable amusement. According to Ogasawara's *marebito* theory, *marebito*, the visiting deity, was for the first time in history united with the *chaya* customer as a hero, while the shrine maidens who had formerly welcomed the deity were transformed into the *chaya* women or prostitutes. These four character types met in a single skit and decided the basic structure kabuki would comprise from that point on.[152] The *chaya* setting can be first seen as early as the nō *Hitsukiri Soga* coming from no later than the first years of the 16th century and subsequently, brothels would become a common setting for early kabuki plays.

[150] Hirano et al. p. 509.
[151] Ogasawara 1975 p. 142.
[152] Ogasawara 1975 p. 142-3.

DESCRIPTION OF THE *OKUNI S SŌSHI*

The Kyōdai scroll, one of the *Okuni sōshi* materials that will be analysed below, describes Izumo no Okuni's arrival at Kyoto in the springtime: the reader (and would-be spectator) witnesses her starting to dance at sakura (cherry blossom) viewing parties. From the calendary point of view, the season of cherry blossoms is in the 2nd or 3rd lunar month, but, as mentioned above, other sources mention the 4th or 5th month of 1603 as the time when *kabuki odori* was danced in Kyoto. This is a seasonal discrepancy which can be explained either as a poetic licence in Kd, or that the first references we have were not really the *first* ones and that Izumo no Okuni had performed in Kyoto before - her first Kyoto spring mentioned in the Kyōdai scroll might have happened a couple of years before. This would also mean that she might really have started her Kyoto career with what was generally perceived as *yayako odori*, only gradually her performances became distinct from other dances, winning fame under the name of *kabuki odori*.

It seems that 1603 was a fateful year for Okuni. Nihon Rekishi Daijiten sums up the results of the research of various historical documents which more or less confirmed the account contained in the Kyōdai scroll, namely that Nagoya Sanzaburō—the *kabukimono* and Okuni's lover—died in a skirmish in that year, 4th month 10th day (or 5m 3d)[153]. It might be this date and this occasion which marked Okuni's special addition to her previous kabuki skits. It can be hypothesized that initially, her performances contained the life-acclaiming tradition of *furyū*, the mirth of *yayako odori* and the erotic flavour connected with the *kabukimono* figure, yet after Nagoya's untimely death, she might have decided to mix in yet another flavour— the macabre topic of the spirit of the dead Nagoya appearing on the stage. She would quite naturally choose the nō model of a *mugen* play for this topic, with the reportedly tantalizing effect on her Kyoto's audiences. The first documented dates of two of her performances immediately follow - 3 days and 1 month, respectively - a grand *sarugaku nō* occasion which Tokugawa Ieyasu held in Kyoto,

[153] Kawade 1959 p. 128 "Nagoya Sanzaburō".

at the Nijōjō castle in the 4th month, on the 4th, 6th and 7th days. The number of nō plays was nine to eleven per day and kyōgen two, seven and seven, respectively[154]. As Yamanaka pointed out, nō by this time had become a suitable medium for depicting intriguing (*fushigina*) experiences like wonders, encountering non-human beings and other unusual things, not as something interesting to read or witness, but to present it on the stage – three-dimensional, with some kind of storyline. There was actually no other way but to do it as nō (or kyōgen) and "put a new thing which one would like to express, in a *receptacle* of nō", as both the playwrights and spectators were naturally used to traditional nō methods including the repetitive structure of *mugen nō*.[155] Into this context Okuni's *kabuki odori* entered, but it provided both a novel "receptacle" for the classical *mugen* element, and a new content, too.

The source allowing us to get a more or less concrete idea about this groundbreaking new skit is its libretto contained in the Kyōdai play (*Kuni Jo-kabuki Ekotoba*), as well as, partly quoted, in *Kabuki no Saushi*. Both the authenticity of these texts and their authorships are questionable. Nevertheless, for the lack of evidence to the contrary, they will be considered as largely based on the very texts that were uttered in Okuni kabuki performances, as being a record of them, more or less precise, from the memory of the authors of the *Okuni sōshi*. We might never know if Okuni wrote the extant libretto herself, whether it was a member of her troupe, or a later author who put down in writing what they had remembered from their visits of the performances; at this stage of research, this is impossible to establish. The important fact is that what the *Okuni sōshi* present as the libretto of Okuni's performance has much in common with nō, as will be shown below.

It can be said that Okuni kabuki returned to the religious—the topic probably abandoned by the *yayako odori* dancers in the last years of the 16th century. Rather than being seen as "religious", however, the new performance must have been perceived as a new, popular kind of "nō", coloured by what Hattori characterized as a "*kabukitaru*" touch which perhaps included a distant reflection of the *Kirishitan* idea of resurrection.

[154] Scholz-Cionca 1998 p. 113.
[155] Yamanaka 1998 p. 201.

The *Okuni sōshi* stand at the crossroads of book production in Japan. They appeared in the middle of a process of tremendous change in the material practice of the written word when the movable-type printing technology, introduced from Korea a decade or two before, caused a boom in the production of books.

This production differentiated *hon* and *sōshi*. The former were publications for higher classes, called "mono no hon", and were published and sold by *hon'ya* workshops. *Sōshi* were published and sold by *sōshiya* for common people.[156] They included *kanazōshi*, a book format which, in the early 17th century, propagated written stories among vast sections of the ever more literate populace. *Nara-e-hon*, the manuscript format to which *Okuni sōshi* belong, were designed for the wealthy with their richly decorated pages of "Nara style pictures" (*Nara-e*). The character of the stories began to change and, unlike the medieval prose, they started to be specific with regards to time and space. They also reflected the changes in the contemporary society, with the young gallant being a samurai rather than a courtier, and the beautiful lady of the court being replaced by a prostitute.[157] *Kabuki no Saushi* exemplifies this – the heroine of the story is the actress Okuni, who is rich, gorgeous and irresistible. This work also reflects the ever growing demand at the beginning of the Edo period for prose, or *monogatarisei* (monogatari-like rendering). The *Kabuki no Saushi* is a monogatari written on the topic of the founder of the early kabuki and her theatre success, although, as will be shown, it might also be an oral storytelling material. Later in the Edo period, the development continued towards realistic depiction of everyday life, which became common both in fiction and drama.

Following is the analysis of the *Okuni sōshi*. As romanization (transcription into Latin script) of illustrative passages is necessary in some cases, I will transliterate based on the original Japanese spelling but also reflecting, where necessary, obvious cases of the probably contemporaneous pronunciation of the letters, for example I will provide voiced consonants even if no *nigori* is present in the manuscript, and I will treat the spelling of the classical /φ/ phoneme according to its allophones: **f** (initially before /u/), **h** (initially before other vowels), **w**

[156] Geinōshi Kenkyūkai 1973 p. 14.
[157] Shively 1991 p. 728.

(intervocalically before /a/) and zero intervocalically before other vowels. Allowing these few adjustments, I will try to preserve the relationship between the romanization and the original spelling, thus いてふ is transliterated *ideu* (and not *ijō* or *ideyō*).

Nō in early kabuki
-nō structure in the text of *Kuni Jo-kabuki Ekotoba*-

When "nō" is mentioned in this and the subsequent sections, I am referring to the classical nō or the mainstream product of the *sarugaku nō* which got under direct governmental patronage from Hideyoshi's time onwards. In cases of other, non-mainstream versions of (sarugaku) nō, they will be duly specified as to the particular sub-genre.

The Kyōdai scroll starts in a perfectly nō-like way, both in content and form. Classical nō plays, and later kyōgen plays as well[158], are structured in particular sections called *shōdan* (小段). Some of the *shōdan* are of general character, e.g. *ageuta* (higher-register song) and *sageuta* (lower-register song). Some are specific as to their theme or location within the overall structure of the play, e.g. *nanori*, which, placed in the opening part of the play, is the portion of text, as well as action, in which the arriving *waki* figure introduces himself. The nō *shōdan* are furthermore characterized for their musical properties – whether they are sung (*fushi*) or just recited (*kotoba*), and, if sung, whether their singing rhythm is *hyōshi-awazu* - independent from that of the drums, or *hyōshi-ai* – sharing the rhythm with them.

It is almost impossible to get an idea of some past performances if no historical material survives. In the case of early Okuni kabuki, we are fortunate enough to have the *Okuni sōshi* materials to rely on. They can be considered a record, more or less exact, of the action on the stage, and are regarded as such in this chapter.

Kuni Jo-kabuki Ekotoba (Kyōdai scroll) is the earliest kabuki text known to us. It has the literary form of a play text - a libretto. Ogasawara acknowledged that the performance is depicted in nō-style[159] and my close formal analysis of the *Okuni sōshi* has indeed revealed that *Kuni Jo-kabuki Ekotoba* starts

[158] Scholz-Cionca 1998 p. 212.
[159] Ogasawara 2006 p. 158.

with an exact nō (and possibly kyōgen[160]) *shōdan* structure. It cannot be said in what way the individual *shōdan* were declaimed, and the acting style of the performance is only suggested by a dozen pictures accompanying the text; nevertheless, the nō structure of the opening part can be identified very clearly. The *shōdan* are arranged in a sequence typical for nō, and their rhythmical syllabic characteristics also fall exactly into those of nō – melodical *fushi shōdan* are in the particular syllabic 7-5 rhythm (the "stage *ku*") typical for performing arts. Moreover, the pictures show what we know today as the regular nō orchestra – two hand drums, one baton drum and a flute, and it can be inferred from these indices that the orchestral and melodic quality of the early Okuni kabuki performance was based on nō as well.

Formal analysis of *Kuni Jo-kabuki Ekotoba* will show this libretto in light of comparison with classical nō plays. The names of the "*shōdan*" of the kabuki text are given in quotation marks to distinguish them from regular nō *shōdan* names. For easier orientation, the numbers of columns in the original manuscript are given and, when necessary, the transcription of Japanese passages is given, too.

I. The libretto of the *Kuni Jo-kabuki Ekotoba*—starts with the verses:

1. Miyako no haru no hanazakari [word repetition mark]
2. kabuki odori ni ideu yo.

1. The springtime blossoming in the Capital -
2. let's go to kabuki odori.

This section reflects perfectly the characteristics of the opening nō *shōdan* called *shidai* by which most classical nō plays typically start: it has the nō *shidai* metre – a repetition of the 7-5 *ku* ("stanza"), i. e. twice 7-5, followed by an incomplete *ku* of 7-4 syllables. The *shidai* in nō is a song with a distinct melodic pattern even today, in contrast to most vocal parts at present which tend to be rather monotonous. Although nothing of this sort can, obviously, be ascertained for this Kyōdai "*shidai*", it can be hypothesized that the Kyōdai play also opened with a melodically interesting song intended to attract the attention of the awaiting audience.

II. As in nō, the initial "*shidai*" song in the Kyōdai play is followed by a part which corresponds to the nō/kyōgen *shōdan* of self-introduction – *nanori*

[160] The classical kyōgen as known from the collection compiled by Ōkura Toraakira in mid-1600s is closely following this *shōdan* structure introduced in the classical nō (Scholz-Cionca 1998 p. 215; also Koyama, Taguchi and Hashimoto 1987 p. 311, 320-3).

(columns 2.-8.). In classical nō, *nanori* follows immediately after the opening *shidai* song; the *waki* character uses this to declare his identity and intentions. In nō, it is very often a wandering Buddhist monk who, on his pilgrimage, has "reached this distant place". In the Kyōdai play, the character is Okuni, a Shinto priest's daughter who has come all the way to dance kabuki. The nō pattern has, thus, been maintained in this section as well.

It is hard to give an exact translation here, because, after the introductory "**Somosomo**" (c. 2), there are three possible translations of columns 3.-6. These translations depend on the position of commas and in view of different possible syntactic interpretations:

3. kore wa Izumo no kuni (no?) ōyashiro ni tsukaemōsu
4. shanin nite sōrō (,) soregashi ga musume ni
5. kuni to mōsu miko no sōrō wo, kabuki odori
6. to mōsu koto wo narawashi, [...]

> A. *I am a priest(ess) of the Izumo Shrine* (shanin nite sōr**ō, s**oregashi ga musume)*, I am someone's daughter and they call me Kuni the holy maiden. To teach kabuki odori and to...*
> B. *I am the daughter of a certain priest* (shanin nite sōr**ō s**oregashi ga musume) *of the Izumo Shrine and they call me Kuni the holy maiden. To teach kabuki odori and to...*
> C. *A certain priest of the Izumo Shrine* (shanin nite sour**ō s**oregashi **ga, m**usume) *had a daughter* (musum**e ni,** kuni to mōsu miko no sōrō wo, *kabuki odori* to mōsu koto wo narawashi)*, whom they call Kuni the holy maiden, and **he taught to her** kabuki odori.*

The remaining "*nanori*" words translate:

(c. 6-8) *[...] Because the times of the Heavenly rule [of the Emperor] are so peaceful, I humbly went up to the Capital, thinking I would try and dance there.*

Unlike the *shidai*, the *nanori* is metrically free in nō. Melodically, it is *kotoba*, which means that it follows the natural intonation of the spoken Japanese utterance – only ignoring the accentual falls. The Kyōdai play "*nanori*" is metrically free, too, and it can be surmised that it was declaimed in a nō *kotoba*-like intonation.

III. The *nanori* is followed by a song in the "5 : 7-5" rhythm which exactly follows the nō rules. It contains a flowery depiction of the pilgrim's route. Generally, this trope is called *michiyuki* and in nō, it is often the *ageuta* song in the

higher register. We can imagine that the Okuni kabuki singing might have been a variation of this nō singing style. I give the full Japanese original of the "*ageuta*" in transcription, in order to show the syllabic metre of "5 : 7-5", below.

A clear, unambiguous translation of these lines is very difficult to give. They are, as indeed are many passages of the *Okuni sōshi* texts, full of poetic allusions and puns – especially the traditional poetic tropes of classical poetry; *kakekotoba* ("pivot words" – puns based on homophony), *makurakotoba* ("pillow words" similar to ornate epithets) and *utamakura* ("pillow of the poem" – poetical toponyms). These features indicate that nō conventions clearly underlie and determine the *Okuni sōshi* texts.

9. Furusato ya
Izumo no kuni wo ato ni mi=(10.)=te,
sue wa kasumite haru no hi no,
naga=(11.)=to no kō wo suginureba,
kakaru miyo (12.) ni mo au no shuku,
michi sebakaranu hiro=(13.)=shima ya,
toiyoru miya wa Itsukushima,
14. fune no tomari ni narata no hama,
tsuri suru (15.) waza wa ushimado no,
tsuki ni akashi no ura=(16.)=zutai,
nao yuku sue wa yo no naka no,
nani=(17.)=wa no koto mo yoshi-ashi no,
wakaba ni kaze (18.) no fuku shima no,
minato no nami no osamare=(19.)=ru,
miyo ni wa ima zo ausaka ya,
isogu (20.) kokoro no hodo mo naku
miyako ni hayaku tsuki=(21.)=nikeri.

9. My birthplace, the province of Izumo, I left
10. behind, in the hazed-over distance of a spring day, I passed Nagato[161]
11-2. the provincial capital, stayed at[162] *Ōno = "the vast* [*Ō*] *plain where one meets* [*au*] *with" such* [=excellent] *times,*
12-3 Oh, Hiroshima with no narrow roads! – there the shrine to visit is Itsukushima
14. the ship stopped at the beach of Narata, the fishing
15-6. skills at Ushimado[163]*, the moon there linked the Akashi shore, and the further goal of my journey – the centre of the world*[164] *– Naniwa*
17. the words of leaves, good? bad?[165] *the young leaves in the wind*

[161] Province on the northern coast of the westernmost part of Honshu, west of Izumo.
[162] A series of puns follows.
[163] A port in the southeast of Okayama prefecture.
[164] A makurakotoba, perhaps an allusion or a quotation from a tanka.
[165] *Yoshi-ashi no* - a refrain famous from Zeami's *Yamamba*.

18. blowing through the Island of Happiness[166] *whose port waves calm down*
19. in this fair era with which we now meet at the Meeting Slope! With a hurry
20. in my heart, in no time did I quickly reach the Capital.

IV. There follow lines corresponding again to the style of nō where the "*ageuta*" michiyuki is followed by the *shōdan* called *tsukizerifu* (lit. "words about arrival"):

22. *And here – as I came to the Capital, (23-4) I felt like viewing the imperial city cherry blossoms with a peaceful mind.*

From this spot onwards, the obvious structure of a sequence of nō-like *shōdan* is gradually lost, as the performance continues with a portion of text (c. 24-43) and the *nenbutsu odori* (c. 44-65), before another nō-like *shōdan* identified as "*issei*" by Tsubouchi Shōyō[167] ensues. In *mugen* nō, *issei* is the preparatory *shōdan* designed to evoke the mood of expectation of the supernatural. It usually marks the arrival of the *bōrei*, the spirit-of-the-dead, and this is exactly what happens in the Okuni kabuki play:

66. Attracted by the voice of the nenbutsu,
67. let me leave the sphere of sin-caused barriers. Hey, Okuni,
68. allow me to humbly talk to you. Do you not recognize me?
69. In the longing for our past, have I
70. come all the way here.

To sum up, the Kyōdai play starts with a *shōdan* structure identical with that of a nō play: *shidai, nanori, ageuta* and *tsukizerifu*. The opening *shidai* and *nanori* are followed by the *ageuta* and *tsukizerifu* which introduce the travelling theme - geographical dimmension generally called *michiyuki*, a conventional feature throughout classical Japanese theatre. By this initial *shōdan* group, the clear nō-like *shōdan* list is exhausted and the text of the Kyōdai play continues in its own independent way - the *nō* turns into a new style which I would define as the core of the kabuki play.

[166] Pun through pivot *fuku.*
[167] Tsubouchi 1925 p. 8.

Okuni Sōshi texts

Kuni Jo-kabuki Ekotoba has the form of a libretto. That is why it might be assumed it conveys an image possibly very close to what actually happened at Okuni kabuki performances. Kawatake Toshio puts the time of its publication around 1614-1628[168]. On the other hand, *Kabuki no Saushi* is in the form of an objective, third-person observer's rendering of Okuni's life. It narrates about the popularity of kabuki and offers impressive insights into her performances. It is a *monogatari*, i. e. work of prose with a focus different from that of the Kyōdai scroll. The account is about Okuni's life, followed by what seems to be a spectator's observation of Okuni's performance, and the ending is also different. *Kabuki no Saushi* makes evident that, during the several years that presumably divide the creation of the Kyōdai and *Kabuki no Saushi* texts, Okuni had become a legend; a character not only of the dramatic form of early kabuki but also one of early Edo prose (perhaps even storytelling). This is one of the reasons why *Kabuki no Saushi* is regarded as a historically less reliable source in which the original historical reality was literarily reshaped to make the story of Okuni a legend. It indeed has the aura of reminiscence of a time long gone—gone for ever perhaps: "*Among the people of old, some went to see the kabuki theatre to console their hearts*" (Ss c. 212-3). This might reflect the atmosphere after the series of bans had started, when kabuki felt like something gone forever, and the author comments, toward the end, on the composition of the text in what is a conventional way of ending a monogatari: "[...] *and what has remained is the story of foolish-words-and-colourful-speech, that has been retold and written down in a picture book.*" (c. 209, 210).

The tale of ***Kabuki no Saushi*** starts with Okuni coming to Kyoto, a figure more amazing than all the beauties of literature, and shows her dance. She is invited to the Imperial Palace and gets a court title as a reward. Rich daimyō lavished gold and silver on her and she has a residence built next to the Kitano

[168] Kawatake Toshio 1981 p. 70.

shrine in northern Kyoto. However, she cannot bear the idle life and starts dancing again. Crowds came to see her performance in the same way as they flocked to the Kitano deity. There follows a description of the crowded auditorium and of the suspense and expectation before Okuni finally appears on the scene. Her pose, her costume and dance are described in sumptuous detail (e. g. Ss columns 55-59, 124-136). After a detailed rendering of the performance(s?) which will be analysed below, there comes the leave-taking of Okuni and Nagoya Sanza. They wake up after a night together and she sees off her lover who is returning - supposedly to the other world. The ensuing words "waking up from a dream" evoke, in a nō-like style again, the authorial intention that not only Okuni's sleep but perhaps the whole performance was a dream, one in which Okuni was reunited with the deceased Sanza. "*Finally, she and Nagoya became husband and wife and what has remained is this theatre story which has been retold and put down to writing in this illustrated book*". The closing words of *Kabuki no Saushi* tell what great benefit can be drawn from kabuki, how the spirit is consoled and how it all "okashi! okashi!" ("is amusing/funny").

The Kyōdai play *(Kuni Jo-kabuki Ekotoba)* and *Kabuki no Saushi* share a lot of identical passages and other similar ones which only slightly deviate. It is these discrepancies, together with the style of the illustrations, that have led Japanese scholars to presume that *Kabuki no Saushi* is younger than the *Kuni Jo-kabuki Ekotoba* (or its original, if the preserved material is a copy).

As far as the ***Bunkakan*** document is concerned, its text is a fragment corresponding to columns 116-136 of the Kyōdai scroll. It seems to have been extracted from a longer manuscript, because, though representing the first *jōruri modoki* song with its introductory words, it ends with the first two syllables of the second *jōruri modoki* song, which suggests the text originally went on, continuing in several more columns at least. There are ten differences between the Bunkakan text and the Kyōdai text; Hattori only writes of six differences, five of which seem to him rather copying *mistakes*[169].

My analysis of the textual discrepancies between the Kyōdai scroll and the Bunkakan fragments has yielded results which could indicate the possibility

[169] Hattori 1968b p. 8.

of the Bunkakan text being older, and thus perhaps closer to the original Okuni kabuki version than the Kyōdai text. Although, semantically or grammatically, these discrepancies do not allow us to establish clearly and unambiguously which of the two texts is older, my argument is based on rhythmical properties of the texts.

Most of the differences are to be found in the metrically bound lines of the first *jōruri modoki* song, which are mostly in the 5 or 7 syllabic metre, with three *ji-amari* (more syllables than regular) cases of 8 syllables and one *ji-tarazu* (less syllables than regular) of 4 syllables. Two of the differences can be interpreted as violating the regularity of the rhythm:

I. *kouta* (Bkk) – *uta* (Kd)

II. *0... haru bakari* (Bkk) – *shidareyanagi no... haruba* (Kd)

Let us study these cases in detail:

I. *kouta / uta:*

The one extra syllable, (*ko*-) in the Bunkakan text does suggest a wrong rhythm, so it could be considered a copying mistake, which would make the Bunkakan fragment younger. Nevertheless, the word *kouta* might refer to an original word which was sung in synizesis as two, rather than three, syllables (*kou* - *ta*). This would make the Kyōdai *uta* an *additional adjustment*, or a *correction* to regulate the rhythm, which would make the Kyōdai text younger.

II. *0... haru bakari / shidareyanagi no... haruba:*

Here we have a difference of one whole 7-syllabic line. The Kyōdai text has "*shidareyanagi no*" (weeping willows) while this line is absent in the Bunkakan fragment. The Kyōdai line makes the logical connection with the wording "*haruba*" (springtime leaves) while in the absence of the "willows" motif in the Bunkakan fragment, the absence of the motif of "leaves" is quite logical. It would be improbable for a later copyist to delete one whole line, and yet accommodate the followng passage so that it made sense without the deleted text. This implies that the Bunkakan version might be the original version.

Furthermore, the Bunkakan line *kono haru bakari ni to*, with its 9 syllables, is outside the rhythmical scope. 8-syllabic lines do occur, and many of them allow synizesis which can reduce the actual pronounced count to the regular 7.

The line *kono haru bakari ni to*, however, does not allow any synizesis, so it is quite exceptional. It is, however, the closing line of the first *jōruri modoki* song, so such an irregularity is conceivable; it can even be presumed that the song ended in "*kono haru bakari*", with the regular 7-syllable count, making "*ni to*" just a syntactical quotational comment added at the end of the song.

It can be concluded that the Bunkakan text could possibly be the older version to which additional adjustments were made, like inserting another line about weeping willows, a typical spring seasonal motif, and consequently changing "haru bakari" into "*haru-ba*" (springtime leaves). It is also hard to imagine that a whole line (in Kd), a very apt one topicwise, would be intentionally deleted (in Bkk), or that an absence of the quotational *to yo* (in Kd) would call for its insertion (in Bkk)—it is hardly something a scribe could think up for any obvious reason. All these discrepancies in the manuscript and their indications would oppose Hattori's conclusion[170].

Furthermore, Hattori's analysis of the pictures of the Bunkakan fragments showed that they might actually be the closest to the real Okuni performance (more on this below). All the above indicates that the Bunkakan fragments might be the older version.

[170] Hattori 1968b p. 8.

Okuni Sōshi images

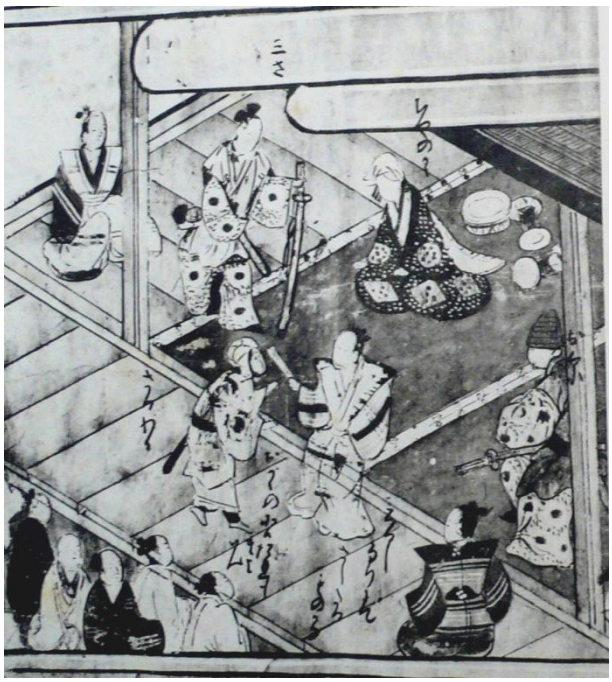
How the skits and numbers mentioned in both texts were enacted and staged is a mystery to which the images can provide some clues. Unlike the texts, for which we basically have two versions, there are as many as three sets of images. This is because the Bunkakan fragments contain another set consisting of two images, very distinct stylistically from those contained in *Kabuki no Saushi* and the Kyōdai scroll.

The Kyōdai scroll contains eleven illustrations (some of them extending the size of one "page"). *Kabuki no Saushi* has five pictures[171], plus there are the two pictures belonging to the Bunkakan fragments. The content of the pictures and their placement within the *kotobagaki* texts in the individual *Okuni sōshi* is described in the Appendix. The different styles of the three sets are best demonstrated by the three *chaya no asobi* ("entertainment at the tea house") depictions:

1. *Chaya no asobi* - Bkk (Bkk pic. 2)

[171] Or six - the wide last but one picture, divided into two facing pages, can be taken as two pictures with a mirror-like structure of two groups of figures facing each other.

2. *Chaya no asobi* - Kd (Kd pic. 11)



3. *Chaya no asobi* – Ss (Ss pic. 10)

The images give us some idea about the possible staging of Okuni kabuki. We see in them several actors, male and female figures acting on a stage (except the Ss) which resembles the present-day nō stage.

The list and description of the pictures in the *Okuni sōshi*

1. *Okuni kabuki ekotoba dankan* ("Bunkakan book")

Picture 1 - *nenbutsu* scene
Picture 2 – *chaya no asobi* scene

2. *Kuni Jo-kabuki Ekotoba* ("Kyōdai scroll")

Picture 1 (following the introductory inscription) - figures in front of the *nezumikido* theatre entrance.

Picture 2 (column 8) – a *torii* (probably Izumo Taisha) and two male figures, probably seeing Kuni off.

Picture 3 (column 20) - Okuni's travel – horseback figures, sea boat at the background beyond the clouds.

Picture 4 (column 29) - preparations for cherry blossom viewing.

Picture 5 (following Picture 4, preceding column 31) - cherry blossom viewing. A standing woman, most probably Okuni, in a dance-like posture with a fan in her hand.

Picture 6 (column 65) - a figure dancing *nenbutsu* on the stage with four musicians at the background.

Picture 7 (column 80) – (a two panel broad picture) Nagoya standing in front of the stage on which Okuni stands in the *nenbutsu* costume.

Picture 8 (column 115) – spectators under sakuras and the stage with four actors and five musicians. The figures include a blue kimono figure with the laquered hat (Nagoya), two sitting ones (*saruwaka* and *chaya no kaka*?) and a yellow kimono figure at the centre, with a sword and his (her, if Okuni) head wrapped with a cloth.

Picture 9 (column 123) - spectators watching the scene of four musicians and four characters, the blue kimono figure with the laquered hat (Nagoya) at the centre.

Picture 10 (column 164) - blossoming sakura trees and clowds.

Picture 11 (following Picture 10) – (a broad two panel picture) spectators (on the right) watching the performance on the stage (on the left) where the four figures stand in a circle in dance-like positions.

3. *Kabuki (no) Saushi*

Picture 1 (column 49) – a torii, *figures* and pines.

Picture 2 (following Picture 2) – front of the theatre fence, figures.

Picture 3 (following Picture 3) – the *engawa* terrace of a wooden palace with an *ume* apricot tree in front.

Picture 4 and 5 (column 65) - a stage with two figures (right, pic. no. 4) in woman's clothes standing on it. Inscribed are columns 61-64. Left (pic. no. 5) - the *hashigakari* of the stage, with two male figures, one sitting and one standing.

Picture 6 -7 (column 82) a stage with (on the left, pic. 6) three male figures, the central one in the Narihira outfit, flanked by the two figures which were seen in pic. 5 on the bridgeway. Picture 7 shows the *hashigakari*.

Picture 8 (column 102) – a bridgeway which looks like an *engawa* terrace, Nagoya Sanza stands outside it, three male figures sit on the *engawa*, and inside the building stands a female figure (probably Okuni), with two more female figures peeking out of the window.

Picture 9 (column 112) - an *engawa* (similar to the one in pic. 8), three men are sitting on it and another man sitting inside facing them. Three female figures seen in the neighbouring room.

Picture 10 (column 157) – an *engawa* with onlookers seen outside below it, the *saruwaka* seen in conversation with two other men on the *engawa*. Inside the room, Nagoya Sanza is talking to "*cha no kaka*", and on the right, stands Okuni, leaning against the column, with a sword and cap.

Picture 11 – **12** (column 180) **-** open countryside with pine trees, the entourage of Okuni and that of Sanza walk towards each other.

Picture 13 (column 202) **-** people sitting on the ground facing left toward what seems to be two wooden columns standing on a flat stone – apparently the corner of a wooden building. The continuation to this picture seems missing, the following page (leaf 17 front) being blank.

Probably the oldest of the illustrations are the two surviving images contained in the Bunkakan fragments. Tsubouchi Shōyō[172] wrote that, judging by their style, they were designed for the aristocracy. Hattori Yukio[173] hypothesized that they might be of the Tosa school lineage. He valued them highly as documentary evidence that might reveal the most about the status quo of Okuni kabuki, being the closest to it in time. The other two sets are generally considered to belong to the Nara-e-hon style (see paragraph below). The *Kabuki no Saushi* was labelled by Shōyō as the coarser, and probably the latest of the three, in terms of both their social class orientation and age, with the Kyōdai images placed in the middle.

The generally accepted view of the Nara-school style of the two larger sets of images is expressed in the alternative names of the two books – *Nara-e-hon*. Nara-e-hon were books mass-produced in both the folded and scroll formats popular between the 15th and 18th century. They were not printed, but were hand-written and hand-painted by, as has been generally believed, a group of painters called *Edokoro* in Nara's religious centres like the Kasuga shrine[174] and Kōfukuji[175]. The connection with Nara, of some of them at least, has been challenged,[176] as there are indications of cooperation with artisans of Kyoto *e-sōshi* (illustrated books) and fan workshops[177]. They produced richly illustrated and predominantly ornamental books, with lavishly coloured, gold and silver painted pictures intended for display

[172] Tsubouchi 1925 p. 1.
[173] Hattori 1968b p. 9 passim.
[174] *Kuni jo-kabuki ekotoba* 1993 p. 4 – Unsigned explanatory afterword to the 1951 edition of *Kuni jo-kabuki ekotoba*, republished in its 1993 publication.
[175] Tokuda 2002 p. 89.
[176] Kimbrough 2013 p. 167.
[177] Tokuda 2002 p. 90.

on the book shelf, rather than for reading. Nara-e-hon is also the form in which most of the medieval prose has been preserved.[178] Similar to the individual *kotobagaki* texts, the pictures, too, seem to provide more questions than answers. Besides being interesting pieces of art, they certainly do convey an idea of what the Okuni *kabuki odori* might have looked like and of the general staging of the performances. It is vital to examine whether the idea they give is *true* in terms of whether they correspond with the historical reality of Okuni's performance. An important point has been raised by Kimbrough who argues that the depictions of performances may not always be true. He specifically mentions Nara-e-hon which, in the case of *ko-jōruri* (the "old" jōruri before mid-1600s) and *sekkyō* stories (*shōhon*), sometimes exhibit "a surprising inconsistency between the text and illustration". Irregularities of this sort are typically ascribed to the division of labor between illustrators and calligraphers.[179] This circumstance must be taken into consideration when interpreting *Okuni kabuki sōshi*, too.

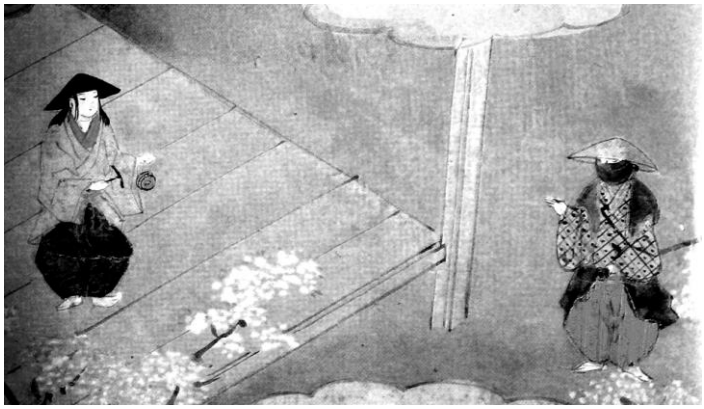
The Kyōdai pictures do seem to correspond to the text, showing its individual scenes. The first is of Okuni parting from her father, travelling to Kyoto and then dancing for the cherry blossom viewers; further pictures show scenes on a nō-like stage surrounded by the audience. In *Kabuki no Saushi*, some pictures show the stage, whilst others are set on the *engawa* verandas and in adjoining inner rooms of what resembles the palaces as seen previously in pictures like the illustrated *Genji monogatari emaki*, perhaps referring to the residence Okuni had reportedly built in Kitano. The two Bunkakan pictures show a performance going on, one with (supposedly) Okuni on the stage and a *kabukimono* (Nagoya Sanza?) standing below the stage and leaning against its front edge. The other picture shows the *chaya no asobi* scene with the visiting *kabukimono*, the "tea house lady" (*chaya no kaka*) and the *saruwaka* joker.

The images thus reveal the number of actors on the stage during the performance, valuable data which could not otherwise be inferred from the texts alone. Based on the *kotobagaki* only, and perhaps on some contemporary Kyoto reports or rumours concerning Okuni having the *bōrei* ghost of Nagoya Sanza appear in her performances, we could hardly make out how this was staged to

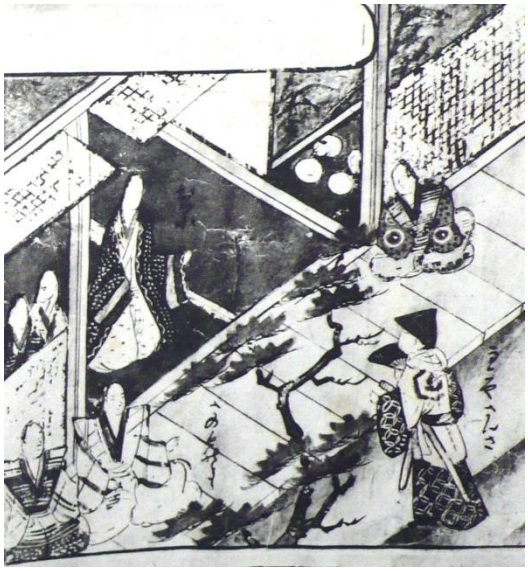
[178] Nara-e-hon Kokusai Kenkyū Kaigi 1982 p. 16, 27.
[179] Kimbrough 2013 p. 11.

produce a performance. We are fortunate to have what is believed to be the depiction of the core scene of *nenbutsu odori* in as many as three versions, in each of the three illustration cycles:

4. *Bōrei* image – Bkk (Bkk pic. 1)



5. *Bōrei* image – Kd (Kd pic. 7)



6. *Bōrei* image - Ss (Ss pic. 8)

In all three of them, a male figure is seen in front of the stage (or, in the case of *Kabuki no Saushi*, in front of the *engawa* veranda) upon which Okuni stands. This represents a break from the nō staging since in the *mugen* nō plays, at least in the modern day staging, the appearing spirit or ghost comes onto the stage over the *hashigakari* bridge. In early kabuki, he apparently came from the side of the audience; not only do we see him do so in the pictures, but the *kotobagaki* says so, too:

Who is it amidst the gathered crowd of high and low? Should I know you? Who would you be? (Kd c. 71-73)

The Bunkakan picture has Sanza in what looks like western clothes, in contrast with the Japanese outfit and a hat in the other two sources, and in the Kyōdai scroll he has his face wrapped around with a brown cloth. Examining the subsequent pictures, we can see that *Kabuki no Saushi* is not very helpful as far as staging is concerned, because due to its narrative monogatari character, the scenes are populated by other figures who apparently bear no direct connection to the storyline. Additionally, the setting of some of the pictures is not the stage but, as mentioned above, a palace. The other two sōshi do show the stage; the second Bunkakan picture and the following Kyōdai pictures seem to show the same scene – that of *chaya no asobi*.

Kabuki terminology

Okuni sōshi show a specific literary style connected with the individual approaches of their authors and vocabulary that can be termed as *early kabuki terminology*. For example, the expression usually meaning "learn"—*onna wa otoko no manabi wo shi* (Ss c. 141-142), *furo-agari no manabi wo shite* (Ss c. 188)—is used here in a specific semantic shift and means "play, enact"[180].

Another significant word is *kaka*. For the immediately preceding Muromachi period, this lexeme is attested to have meant either I. "mother" (as a nursery word) or II. "the lady of the house, when talked about without the *enryo* reserve".[181] For the Edo period, the *Edo-go daijiten* only gives the form *kakā*, with the meaning similar to the above II.: "one's own wife, in the middle to lower classes".[182] The *Kogo daijiten* adds that, from the mid-Edo period, it started also to be used of "someone else's wife among the lower classes of the society".[183] It is not clear if the meaning of "wife" developed from that of "mother", or whether the two words are independent (in which case the former meaning ("wife") may have developed among the middle and lower classes from *kata*, which was used for "wife" in the higher class).[184]

Chaya in the Muromachi period meant either a "teahouse" for preparing tea for travellers or temple pilgrims, or the tea-ceremony "tea hut" (*chashitsu*).[185] In the Edo period, the Muromachi usage developed into various kinds of inns and geisha houses depending on the town and locality, including proxy services between customers and courtesans (*hikite-jaya* 引手茶屋).[186] This last meaning fits best the image of the "tea house" as presented in the *Okuni sōshi*.

---

[180] This semantic development must be traced back via *manebu* down to the verb *maneru* (originally "imitate"); the latter was used in the meaning close to that of "playing" as far back as by Zeami himself who around 1400 used it in the form *monomane* to designate "the acting itself" as distinguished from dancing and singing. More on this below.
[181] Muromachi-jidai-go-jiten Henshū Iinkai 1989 p. 73.
[182] Maeda 2003 p. 235.
[183] Nakamura, Okami and Sakura 1982 p. 692.
[184] Nakamura, Okami and Sakura 1982 p. 692.
[185] Muromachi-jidai-go-jiten Henshū Iinkai 1994 p. 1180.
[186] Maeda 2003 p. 629 and 838.

In the *Okuni sōshi* texts, it is not clear if *kaka* means the main lady of the "tea house" - its manager (perhaps owner), or whether it should be taken in plural to mean the prostitutes. It is probably the second meaning in the *Muromachi-jidai-go-jiten* - that of a "wife" – which is behind this usage – as *a woman* rather than *mother*, though the owners of later geisha houses were styled as "mothers", too, so this meaning cannot be excluded either. Moreover, Watanabe Tamotsu explains *kaka* as "an older *onnagata*" in terms of the later kabuki terminology.[187] The setting in a brothel, seen already in *Hitsukiri Soga,* one of the late nō plays, was thus applied in Okuni *kabuki odori* and later became an established kabuki theme.

[187] 老け女形 (Watanabe 1993 p. 63).

"*Mugen* humour"

One of the outstanding traits of the *Okuni sōshi* is what can be taken as *irony*: "*how could the dance of the four nō schools equal this?*" (Ss c. 139-140) The connection with nō, and perhaps opposition to it, is expressed here in an ironical tone. The fifth *Kita* school was not established yet and Okuni kabuki is praised here as excelling and surpassing even the art of the old four nō schools.

Irony is accompanied by *parody*: "*Though it is humble, please do deign to come in, she invites master Sanza in. And so, you a kabukibito <u>of old</u>, tell us, please, how the world <u>used to be then</u>"* (Ss c. 115-117) A slight mockery can be imagined here as the tea house lady is actually talking to someone who has been dead and by this kind of speech she seems to distance herself from the past reality of the deceased person's life. This attempt at humour adds to the general light tone and thus counters the common and supposedly natural awe felt at the appearance of a ghost.

It is nowadays difficult to appreciate fully how enthralling Okuni's *kabuki odori* must have been when it gained sensational acclaim from Kyoto's audiences, as can be inferred from *Kabuki no Saushi*. One can imagine how novel, fresh and attractive were her performances, sensual and amusing at the same time. The *Okuni sōshi* give us an idea how the new genre used the nō pattern and how interesting it must have been for the audiences. Although *Tōdaiki* stated she was not pretty, Okuni must have been an exceptionally gifted actress, with a stage presence that, perhaps, made her attractive to the audience. *Kabuki no Saushi* depicts in quite a detailed way how popular, successful and rich kabuki made her and the work ends with the statement "okashi okashi".

The word *(w)okashi* used to be an epithet of appraisal of a fine piece of art or something cute in the Heian period, but had approximated its modern meaning of "funny" as early as the time of Zeami (ca 1400). This can be judged from the fact that, in his own-hand manuscripts, Zeami designated the part of *ai-kyōgen*, the humorous interlude between the two acts of a two-act nō play, by the

word "wokasi (ヲカシ)"[188]. At the end of *Kabuki no Saushi*, this word immediately follows the description of pleasure-seeking hedonism, and therefore can hardly mean a lyrical kind of appreciation of the Heian times. On the contrary, it probably reflects the nascent Edo-period sense of humour, an emotional reaction imaginable after the ending of the wars. The official kyōgen of the 17th century would distance itself from laughter as such, degrading it as a lowly appreciation of the unclean "vulgar kyōgen"[189] and kabuki. The codifier of official "kyōgen of nō" Ōkura Toraakira did use the word "*okashi*" in his theory, but tried to define it through aesthetic concepts like *omoshiroshi* (interesting, attractive) or *sunao* (gentle).[190] This redefinition in mid-17th century official kyōgen was a conscious distancing from the broader usage clearly connected with humour, though of a different kind from what Ōkura Toraakira would have in mind.

In the light of this atmosphere of humour, one can speculate whether the nō style of the first part of the Kyōdai play was a *parody* on the venerated tradition of nō. If so, this aspect must have struck a note for the contemporary spectators. Scholz-Cionca writes that parodying nō was one of kyōgen's popular creative approaches[191], and taking into consideration the close ties of kyōgen and early kabuki, the same approach can be indentified in the case of the latter. The sentimental motif of parting with someone who returned to the realm of the dead could be, instead of the traditional maudlin style common in nō, rendered in a light, rather humorous way. One can only rely on one's imagination to try and make out from the silent text and still pictures the style in which the topic was played out on the stage and whether, instead of tears of pathos it provoked a lively spirited mood, perhaps even laughter. This "*mugen* humour" of *Okuni sōshi* would thus be a torch signaling the arrival of one of the most prominent features of Edo culture – humour and parody.

[188] Zeami's *jihitsu* (own-hand manuscript) exhibition, National Noh Theatre, Tokyo 2012. Zeami´s autographs were published in *Zeami jihitsu nōhon shū I.(Eiinhen), II (Kōchōhen).,* edited by OMOTE Akira, as part of the series Nihon Shisō Taikei 24, Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 1997.
[189] Scholz-Cionca 1998 p. 177.
[190] Scholz-Cionca 1998 p. 180.
[191] Scholz-Cionca 1998 p. 28, 140 passim.

INTERPRETATION OF THE SŌSHI

The nō structure of the Kyōdai play can be considered, on the one hand, as an indication of an earlier date of production. It might, on the other hand, be the opposite – the recollection of Okuni kabuki performance may have been refashioned at a later date according to nō structures. If, however, the latter were the case, the purpose of giving the play a nō-like character would mean subjugating the whole text to this purpose. The fact that the nō structure is only the starting strategy of the play, evolving into something completely new, un-nō-like, could be taken as an indication that it is the original design, probably very close to how Okuni's performance had been conceived.

Mezur regards the nō element in Okuni kabuki as "enlivening the nō form with erotic appeal".[192] It was certainly exciting for common people to witness a performance in which the highly-esteemed art of nō combined with the post-Sekigahara new wave of *joie de vivre*. Even the nō travelling monk was turned into a female figure. The hyperbole contained in this new performing art perhaps verged on parody; however, it remains questionable whether the common spectator could recognize the difference and to what extent they responded to it.

Kabuki no Saushi is a tale in which poetic language narrates the story of both Okuni's life and performance, inseparably entangled together. It could be imagined that, originally, it was an *oral storytelling piece* in which the narrator depicted everything in a colourful storyteller's style, later put down in writing and complemented with illustrations to make an attractive *Nara-e-hon*.

The most important structural difference between the Kyōdai and *Kabuki no Saushi* performances as presented by the manuscripts is the lack of *nenbutsu* in the latter. *Nenbutsu odori* was, as mentioned in Chapter I, one of the core elements of *furyū* processions and the leader of the female dancers was called *oshō* (lit. "the highest nun") **[193]**. The invocations of the Amidist mantra was

[192] Mezur 2005 p. 56.
[193] Shinmura (ed.) 1991: *Nenbutsu* and information tables, Theatre Museum of Waseda University.

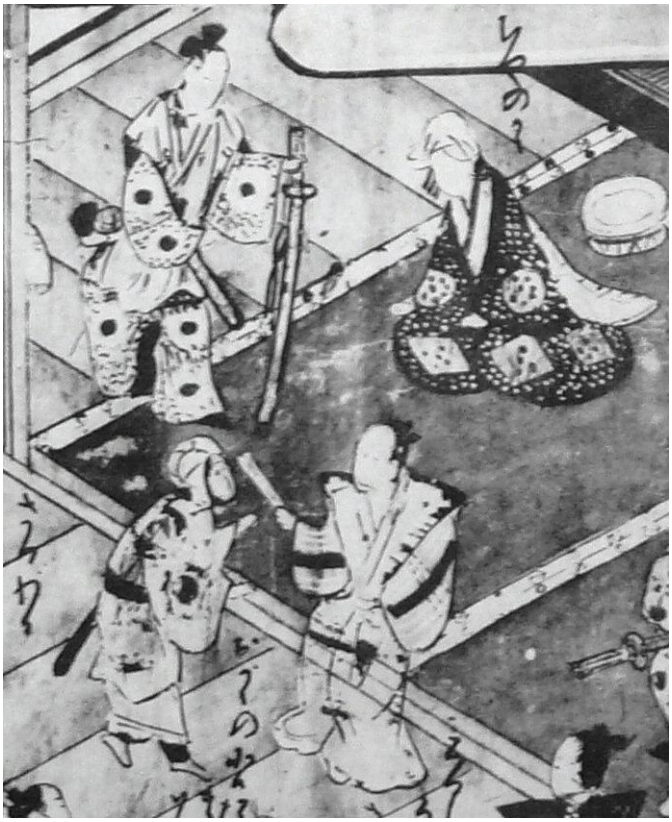
combined with life-acclaiming mood towards the end of the 16th century and the Kyōdai *nenbutsu* part provides a good illustration of such a combination. As has already been discussed, *Kabuki no Saushi* has been considered as the younger of the two, based on its diction and pictorial style (Shōyō, Hattori). However, the fact that *nenbutsu* is not mentioned here does not necessarily mean that it *was* not there—the author might just have chosen not to mention it. Nevertheless, the absence of the *nenbutsu* skit and Nagoya appearing without any previous religious ritual could lead us to hypothesize that this was an older form. In this phase, *nenbutsu* might not yet have been integrated into the kabuki performance but Nagoya was already appearing as returning from the afterworld "*feeling attachment to Okuni's kabuki*" (Ss c. 88-89). The described Saushi performance, if we can consider it a single performance at all, is rather incoherent in comparison with the Kyōdai play. The latter would thus reflect a newer, more mature version with some further revisions and additions, including that of the *nenbutsu*, a dramatic element relating to Nagoya's return from the afterworld.

IDENTITIES OF FIGURES IN THE *OKUNI SŌSHI*

The three sets of images show a discrepancy between each other in regards to the number of actors involved in particular scenes. Hattori writes that it has been taken for granted[194] that the *chaya no asobi*, visit in a "tea house", was the most favoured and typical skit of early kabuki and that its attraction consisted in a gender reversal ("the woman learns how to be the man and the man imitating the woman", Ss 141-143) with Okuni enacting the *kabukimono* visiting the *chaya* and a *kyōgenshi* playing the *chaya no kaka*. The combination of male *kyōgenshi* and female dancers, seen in late 1500s, is further reversed here gender-wise—the male *kyōgenshi* enacting a female role and the female dancer, here Okuni, impersonating the very masculine male figure. This gender reversal was not new, though, as it could be seen already in *shirabyōshi* with emphasis on the difference between the sexes and making use of its erotic implications. Mezur terms the gender reversal in kabuki *transformative gender acts*[195] and regards them as one of the features that would become most recognized in kabuki.

The cast in the set-up as mentioned by Hattori is probably based on the *chaya no asobi* scene as depicted in the Bunkakan fragments. It shows three characters which are consider to be: 1. Okuni playing the *kabukimono*, 2. a *kyōgenshi* playing the *chaya no kaka*, and 3. the *saruwaka* as the *joker*.
They are depicted in *Kabuki no Saushi*, too:

[194] Hattori 2003 p. 76.
[195] Mezur 2005 p. 77.



7. *Saruwaka* and kaka - Ss (Ss pic. 10)

And here are the Bunkakan *chaya no asobi* figures:

8. *Chaya* figures – Bkk (Bkk pic. 2)

Hattori writes that in the Bunkakan *chaya no asobi* picture, the figure in male costume sitting on the *kyokuroku* chair at the centre of the stage (*kabukimono* – Nagoya Sanza) is *the* oshō*, the starring female performer*; to the left of her is the *chaya no kaka* with a *yurai* headdress on her head. She is concealing her face behind a *kara uchiwa* ("Chinese fan") with a *hinomaru* design, in an effeminate posture, impersonating the "tea house lady" – this is the character played by the male *kyōgenshi*. On the right, behind the pillar, stands a man with a round Chinese fan in an outlandish *shakuhachi idetachi* costume – it is the *saruwaka*, the joker. Out of the three sets, the Bunkakan images are considered as the earliest, and thus this cast is supposed to be the original one.

The Kyōdai scroll provides a different configuration: in its picture of *nenbutsu*—the scene preceding the *chaya no asobi*—we can see the figure on the stage who is considered to be Okuni (see Fig. 5). She is striking the Buddhist bell, apparently chanting the *nenbutsu*, as this picture corresponds to the *nenbutsu* mantra in the accompanying text, and the spirit of Nagoya Sanza is evoked by the mantra. In the ensuing *chaya no asobi* pictures, the Kyōdai scroll shows four (rather than three) dancing figures (see Fig. 2). The Nagoya figure wears the same blue kimono, the same hat and the same brown cloth around his face as seen in the previous *nenbutsu* picture, so the Nagoya of the *nenbutsu* scene and the *kabukimono* of the *chaya no asobi* are, apparently, one and the same actor. This brings about two questions:

1. Which one of the four *chaya no asobi* figures is Okuni, and
2. If, based on gender reversal, Okuni as a woman played the man Nagoya, who was playing Okuni-the-*nenbutsu*-dancer?

These questions raise another issue: the dichotomy between Okuni - the actress and Okuni - the character. The Kyōdai scroll, being basically a libretto, does not deal with Okuni as the actress (except what looks like an authorial comment from c. 143 onw., see Appendix). In it, Okuni is predominantly the stage figure – in nō terms she is the *waki* type of role who evokes the *shite* Nagoya in the *nenbutsu* scene based on the *mugen* nō model. On the other hand, *Kabuki no Saushi*, being a prose (*monogatari*) account on a theatrical topic, has its scope of vision broadened to include the actress, too. Here, Okuni is both the actress and the character on stage. The borderline between them is gradually blurred as the story

evolves: the hero of the monogatari, referred to as Okuni, is an actress who is extremely popular and rich; and when dancing on the stage, she is continually referred to as Okuni. It is "Okuni" who dances on the stage, along with other characters like *Nagoya* "of old" and *Narihira*. *Narihira*, based on the historical poet and womanizer Ariwara no Narihira (825-880), is certainly a character, a hero of one of the skits. Nevertheless, Nagoya has a dichotomy similar to Okuni's: he starts as a stage character, but as the story gradually shifts from a performance into the "real" story of Okuni's offstage life, Nagoya and Okuni remain on the same narratological level. Previously characters on the stage, they are now heroes of the story of the monogatari, which continues behind the scenes.

The transformation of actress Okuni to character Okuni happens in line Ss c. 123-124: *allow me to dance with a kabukibito of old, let us kabuku and show to people! thinks Okuni...*

Here Okuni - the tale's heroine - joins Nagoya the stage character and they "*kabuku*" together. Since it happens on the same stage where Narihira has danced a while ago, this is obviously the transformation of Okuni—the prose heroine into Okuni—the performance character.

In the tea house scene, Okuni, Nagoya and *saruwaka* are mentioned as characters on the stage (c. 136-138), with Nagoya *dressing up for the lady of the tea house* (Ss c. 143), which is another narratological shift – the figure Nagoya impersonating another dramatic character (Conslusion: Nagoya undergoes a triple transformation – from a character "Nagoya" into "Nagoya impersonating the lady of the tea house" to "real life Nagoya").

After the whole performance is over and spectators have left, the narration returns from theatre to reality again as Okuni and Nagoya still go on conversing together: (Ss c. 199-202)

The dance being now over, master Nagoya [said?], for how much longer shall I be like this? I will take leave, good-bye... Much as one looks, one does not tire of it, the dance of Okuni, and my heart retains the attachment.

After Okuni and Nagoya have turned from performance characters into heroes of the main monogatari storyline, the apparition of Nagoya fizzles out only gradually and the borderline between the "dream" of the performance and the reality of Okuni-the-actress's narrated life is very thin indeed.

This was obviously the literary purpose of *Kabuki no Saushi*'s author, however it does not help us define what historical reality might be drawn from this book as one of the few records of early kabuki. In the *Kabuki no Saushi* picture 10 (Fig. 3), the *chaya no asobi* is indeed depicted with both the "(Nagoya) Sanza" and "Okuni" figures present – they are identified specifically by means of name-label inscriptions inside the picture. Furthermore, they both appear in the last but one double picture, apparently a dancing scene, with figures in the right half of the picture facing left and vice versa. What is remarkable in this picture is that Okuni and "Sanza", identifiable again through name labels, are robed in the same outfit, that of a male samurai with a long sword:

9. Sanza (left) and Okuni (right) - Ss

This brings us back to the two questions raised above. The first question is - Which one of the four *chaya no asobi* figures is Okuni? From the point of view of the *Kabuki no Saushi* story, the answer is clear: there are Okuni, Nagoya, *chaya no kaka* and the joker, and this is also the cast as depicted in the illustrations in both *Kabuki no Saushi* and the Kyōdai scroll. The Kyōdai scroll represents this scene, with the same configuration but different postures, in as many as three consecutive images (Fig. 10, 11 and 12 below). Nevertheless, there is the second question - If, based on gender reversal, Okuni as a woman played the man Nagoya, who played Okuni the *nenbutsu* dancer?

10. *Chaya no asobi* I - Kd (Kd pic. 8)

11. *Chaya no asobi* II - Kd (Kd pic. 9)

12. *Chaya no asobi* III - Kd (Kd pic. 11)

Hattori writes that, in the real performance, Okuni impersonated the *kabukimono* interpreted by the spectators as the spirit of Nagoya Sanza and it is not impossible that she herself used the name Nagoya Sanza. In this sense, this scene would thus have the form as seen in the Bunkakan *chaya* picture and the fact that there is no second *kabukimono* added in this picture, is in itself, according to Hattori, all the more valuable pictorial proof of the greater authenticity of this Bunkakan picture. Hattori hypothesizes that either its painter had a strong visual awareness that superseded literary fabrication, or he was just being realistic, and painting something he had actually seen.[196]

Compared with the Bunkakan *chaya* picture, which only has three acting figures, the later two renderings have one figure too many. According to Hattori, they can be interpreted as basically following the narration of the *kotobagaki*. Yet there is a further discrepancy Hattori did not write about. According to the *Kabuki no Saushi* text, for the *chaya* scene, Nagoya in the gender reversal dresses up as the lady of the teahouse (*chaya no kaka ni mi wo nashite* Ss c. 143), yet the picture does not correspond to the text because *Kabuki no Saushi* picture 10 (Fig. 3) shows, among others, a figure name-labeled "*Sanza*" in conversation with a figure name-labeled "*chiya* [sic] *no kaka*". Additionally, the

[196] Hattori 1968b p. 8, 9.

"Okuni" figure is seen at the right side of the image. Thus, here we have the same four characters as seen in the Kyōdai pictures (Fig. 10, 11 and 12):

1. *Okuni* in male costume with a sword (with a cap in Ss, with a facecloth in Kd),
2. *Sanza* in male costume (with a sword in Ss, with a facecloth and hat in Kd),
3. *cha(ya) no kaka*, supposedly enacted by a *kyōgenshi*, and
4. *saruwaka* as the *joker*

Since the *Kabuki no Saushi* picture does not attempt to correspond to its text, it could be excluded as a true depiction of any real historical cast. By the same token, the Kyōdai depiction with the same model could well be put aside, too, although it does not directly contradict any extra-theatrical narration since, being a libretto, its main body does not contain any behind-the-scenes account. We not only do not see Nagoya dressed up as the *cha(ya) no kaka* in these depictions, but we do not even see Okuni enacting Nagoya, which, according to Hattori, was the basis for kabuki. Okuni *is* in a male costume, but as an extra figure *in addition to* Nagoya.

On the basis of the above, a conclusion would be that the two illustration sets of *Kabuki no Saushi* and Kyōdai scroll cannot be taken as trustworthy documentation of the earliest form of kabuki. Even with this conclusion, however, one would have to concede that the illustrations are a depiction of the general "image" the readers of these books were expected to imagine in their minds based on what they read in the *kotobagaki*; the rational and realistic was abandonded in the name of the emotional and artistic which either followed or guided the prospective reader's imagination.

Nevertheless, I would like to suggest an alternative solution to the above. I will argue that the two-*kabukimono* configurations (with four figures) of the *chaya no asobi* skit, as seen in the *Kabuki no Saushi* and Kyōdai images, could actually pre-date the single-*kabukimono* one (with three figures) of the Bunkakan image.

Apparently a crucial moment for Okuni's theatrical career was the death of Nagoya Sanzaburō - the 1603 references to her performance seem to suggest a time very shortly after this had happened. There are indications that they had performed together, even that they *were married*, and that he was a *kyōgenshi* himself. *Sadoshima's Diary*, compiled by the kabuki actor Sadoshima Chōgorō (1700-1757), mentions a rumour that the rōnin Nagoya Sanzaemon, who *had*

married the priestess Okuni from Izumo, was doing theatrical performances with her at Kitano in Kyoto.[197] Although Gunji Masakatsu thinks that one cannot place reliance upon some of the later documents pertaining to Nagoya,[198] this is the information that was apparently circulating in later kabuki circles. Moreover, *Tōkaidō meishoki* also says that Okuni had *married* a certain "Sanjūrō" who was a *kyōgenshi* in around 1603.[199]

His first name appears in several forms: Sanza(n), Sanzaburō, Sanzaemon, San'(u)emon ("山三、山三郎、三左衛門、三右衛門など"), later also as Kūemon (九右衛門),[200] as well as Sanjūrō (三十郎)[201] (the *san* (3) – *ku* (9) change in his name might be connected with the love pledge with Okuni, see my hypothesis in "The ending" section below). According to research results published in Nihon Rekishi Daijiten and by Gunji Masakatsu[202], the historical Nagoya (or Nagoshi) Sanza(burō) belonged, on the maternal side, to the Oda family, his mother being a niece of Oda Nobunaga. His father was the ancestor of the Nagoshi clan of the Kaga domain. Sanzaburō served as a lower income samurai (*shōbyaku*) to daimyō Gamō[203] Ujisato, winning fame for himself by his prowess. He was 15 years old when his lord died unexpectedly in 1596 (allegedly poisoned on Hideyoshi's order). After the death of his lord, Nagoya became a rōnin and started the dissolute life of a handsome dandy - *kabukimono*, with no steady livelihood. One of the legends surrounding his figure links him to Okuni. In 1600, he should have entered the service of his younger sister's husband Mori with whom, in 1603, 3rd month, he went to Mimasaka where Mori was rebuilding the castle. There, Sanza suffered injury in a skirmish with Ido Uemon and died in 4m 10d (but one version states the next year, 1604, 5m 3d[204]). This would make him 22 or 23 years old at the time of death.

It does not seem possible that a samurai in service could, or was allowed to, combine his duty with a life of dissipation, as a *kabukimono* and

---

[197] Renchibō (Sadoshima Chōgôrō) 1969 p. 214 (original), p. 138 (transl.).
[198] Gunji 1984 p. 423.
[199] 三十郎といへる狂げん師を、夫にまうけ。(Asai 1979b p. 178).
[200] Dōmoto 1934 p. 18.
[201] Asai 1979b p. 178.
[202] Gunji 1984 p. 423.
[203] *Kabuki jishi I.*, a work from mid-1700s, gives Sasaki as the name of the house for which "Nagoya Sanzaemon" had served before becoming a rōnin (*Kabuki jishi I. 1973* p. 90).
[204] Gunji 1984 p. 423.

kyōgenshi. Scholars have raised obvious doubts concerning this problem; the sceptical explanation is that Sanza was the name of the character of the early kabuki skits which got confused with the real person, or even more persons – at least one handsome *kabukimono* and one samurai.[205] Should, however, the historical Nagoshi be by any chance the Nagoya of early kabuki, his career as a performer would most probably be during the four years between the death of his first lord in 1596 and 1600 when his service to Mori began. There is also the issue of his being reported a *kyōgenshi* which is, again, hardly imaginable for a samurai. He might have learned nō or kyōgen as a samurai child, but would not be a professional actor unless a "*kyōgenshi*" of some unorthodox, perhaps *Nanto negi* kind. With this background, it is possible that he joined up with Okuni and that they did indeed perform together for some time. Dōmoto argues that Nagoya Sanza transmitted the *monomane* (acting based on imitation of reality) from kyōgen and, similarly to kyōgen, he inserted it into Okuni's nenbutsu odori.[206] Should this be the case, the two-*kabukimono* configuration, as seen in the *Kabuki no Saushi* and Kyōdai images, cannot be excluded as inaccurate documentation. It is by no means impossible to imagine Nagoya enacting a *kabukimono* – basically playing himself - and Okuni playing the second *kabukimono* using the gender-reversal trick. Another male *kyōgenshi* played the tea house lady, while the *saruwaka* probably made various jokes. Also, there might have been a progressive variation with a double gender-reversal - with only three characters involved. In this case, Okuni would have enacted the *kabukimono* and Nagoya the tea house lady, without the second *kabukimono* involved in the action.

In this way, the two kinds of *chaya no asobi* depiction – quadruple and triple – can be brought together without any clash as to the historical value of any of the pictorial documents. When Nagoya entered the service of his brother-in-law in 1600, he likely left the *kabukimono* activity and Okuni continued her performances without him, cooperating with the second *kyōgenshi* of her troupe. After Nagoya died, the loss might have led Okuni to the clever idea of interconnecting the *nenbutsu* and *chaya no asobi* numbers with a plotline based on a real story. The *bōrei* ghost of Nagoya Sanza might then have been enacted by the

[205] Gunji 1984 p. 423.
[206] Dōmoto 1934 p. 21.

second *kyōgenshi*. Acquainted with the true story behind the drama, people would have been startled by this novel and fascinating application of the *mugen* nō model in the new 'kabuki' performance.

We will probably never know for sure if the appearance of the ghost of Nagoya Sanzaburō during Okuni's performance was believed to be a reflection of a real event in Okuni's life, which she recreated into a dramatic skit, or if it was taken as a mere invention of the author – be it "Okuni" herself or someone later writing *about* her. Ogasawara[207] posits that the spread of the rumour about the apparition during the performance should be seen as chiefly due to Okuni's own achievement in making use of the fact Sanzaburō had already been the central figure in one of her numbers. Okuni dancing *nenbutsu odori*, the spirit of the dead Sanzaburō appearing, and them dancing together – this all reminded people of nō, more specifically the *mugen* nō plays in which events of this kind were the central motif. In them, the spirit appeared and danced, either alone or with the main witness of the apparition, sometimes in a dream, and sometimes in a daylight "half-reality".

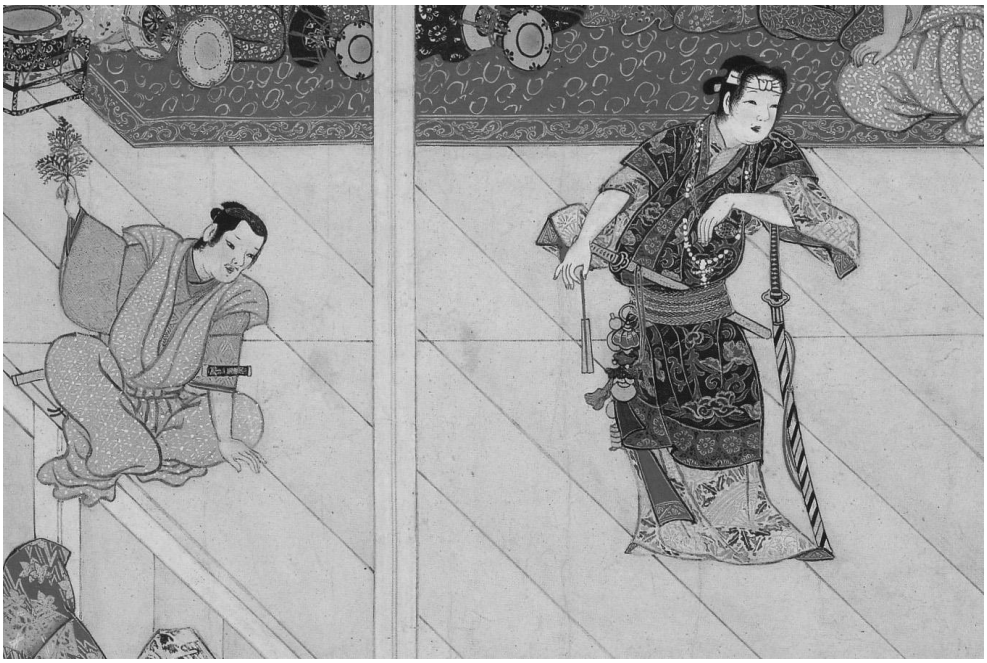
My above hypothesis would also account for the otherwise rather unclear spot in both sōshi, where Nagoya's kabuki songs are called "antiquated" (*furukusaki*): (Kd c. 116-118)

Ikani Okuni ni mōshi-sōrō, kore wa haya furukusaki uta nite sōrō hodo ni
I beg to talk to Okuni: this is an already antiquated song

The pre-1600 kabuki songs which Okuni and Nagoya used to dance together might indeed have gone out of fashion by 1603, the time of Okuni kabuki's great success. This "furukusaki" remark can be perceived in the light of my presumption of the humour included in Okuni kabuki. It is not clear in the sōshi texts which part is spoken (or sung) by whom, but it would seem that, because Nagoya spoke to Okuni here, the previous kabuki songs might have been sung and danced by Okuni, or by both of them. The "furukusaki" remark could thus have the flavour of a humorous, perhaps teasing, comment. I could speculate that this alluded to a phrase which real *kabukibito* might have used to mock what was not fashionable anymore, or render it so by such a remark. The humour could have been enhanced by subsequently having Nagoya perform the *jōruri modoki*—a *bōrei* coming from the other world to show what is new and fashionable.

[207] Ogasawara 2006 p. 108.

I agree with Hattori when, analysing the two Bunkakan pictures,[208] he warned that they are usually considered in terms of the full Kyōdai scroll which is informed by the structure of nō plays as the story of Sanzaburō's ghost appearing by Okuni's *nenbutsu*. This, in Hattori's view, is constraining and he attempted an interpretation independent from the Kyōdai scroll: he suggested that the two Bunkakan pictures (Fig. 4 and Fig. 1) might actually be in reverse order, or they might be completely disparate, not linked by any shared storyline. He hypothesized that, in the *nenbutsu* picture, the figure in front of the stage is not Nagoya Sanza but rather a *kabukimono* of reality. I concur with Hattori here: a similar scene of what looks like a spectator sitting at the edge of the early kabuki stage can actually be seen in other pictorial materials too: for *Okuni kabuki odori* in the *Kabuki Zukan* Okuni picture, and for the *Sadogashima kabuki* in one of the illustrated folding screens (*zubyōbu*), the *Shijō-gawara yūraku zubyōbu*. They suggest that such a situation might have been a common sight:



13. Sitting spectator (?) – *Kabuki Zukan* Okuni picture

[208] Hattori 1968b passim.

14. Sitting spectator (?) – *Shijō-gawara yūraku zubyōbu*

Also, the differences in the setting of the two Bunkakan pictures support Hattori's disparity hypothesis. When compared to each other, the stages in the two pictures are different: what looks like the beginning of the hashigakari bridge leads to the left in the *nenbutsu* picture, but to the right in the *chaya* picture; the back curtains have different patterns. The full-fledged nō-style *hayashi* orchestra seen in the *chaya* picture is not present in the other, in which two people do sit at the back, yet only one of them looks like a musician, with a handdrum placed in front of him, while the figure to the left has not got any musical instrument: he holds a folded fan in his left hand while his right hand rests on his knee; and thus he might be a kind of chanter. These important details all give the impression that the two pictures might indeed have been painted at different occasions and/or depict different performances. On the other hand, the Kyōdai pictures also have some slight discrepancies, yet they follow in sequence in one scroll and are integrated into the text, so they are definitely linked to each other as illustrations to the *kotobagaki*.

As mentioned above, it has, according to Hattori, been taken for granted[209] that the *chaya no asobi* was the most typical skit of early kabuki, with its gender reversal of the *kabukimono* and *chaya no kaka* characters. In an endeavour

[209] Hattori 2003 p. 76.

to extract as much information as possible from the available sources, this premise will now be set aside and it will be asked – what if this obvious point of view is incorrect and consists in a legend just like the *Kabuki no Saushi* and Kyōdai renderings do? For a close reading, let us compare the two sōshi *kotobagaki* with two 17th century texts, *Nozuchi* dating from 1619, of unknown authorship, and the already mentioned *Tōkaidō meishoki* written in around 1660. *Nozuchi* is probably very close in time to the *kotobagaki* of the *Okuni sōshi*, if not even predating them—*Kabuki no Saushi* anyway. Of Okuni kabuki, *Nozuchi* says:

> Several years ago, a shrine maiden from Izumo came to the Capital. She wore the Buddhist robe and struck a hand gong, chanting Buddha's name; at the beginning it was called *nenbutsu odori*, but later,when [she/they] put on male clothes, with a sword attached at the side, and when it was combined with singing and dancing, the people started to call this kabuki.[210]

The latter part has been translated so that it does not contain the grammatical subject, in order to indicate that the person, or indeed number, is unclear, and so, being written some fourteen years after Okuni's last recorded performance, the rendering of what happened ***later*** could as equally refer to Okuni's subsequent imitators as to herself.

The later work, *Tōkaidō meishoki,* says:

> Long long ago, kabuki started in Kyoto, when the sacred child of Izumo called Okuni did the so-called *yayako odori* at the eastern end of the Fifth Street Bridge; after that, she put up a stage to the east of the shrine at Kitano, mixed in songs to the *nenbutsu* dance, with a lacquered umbrella hat (*nurigasa*) and a red koshimino skirt and with the Fu bell hanging from her neck, danced to the rhythm of flute and drums. At that time, there was no shamisen.[211]

Hattori proposes a "time reversal" explanation, hypothesizing as follows:

The earlier work (*Nozuchi*) which, according to him, was subsequently repeated and adapted by many later texts, mentions *male clothes,* a sword and a phrase which can be taken as meaning that it was this gender reversal that had led to the performance getting called *kabuki.* The later text (*Tōkaidō meishoki*)

[210] *Nozuchi* quoted in Hattori 1968b p. 9.
[211] Asai 1979b p. 178.

mentions a dance with a lacquered umbrella hat in a crimson *koshimino* skirt, with the Fu bell hanging on her neck. This is the *nenbutsu odori* which, as Hattori writes, fits the *nenbutsu* picture of the Bunkakan fragments (below). He proposes, therefore, that *Tōkaidō meishoki* might be the more trustworthy rendering[212] and the Bunkakan fragments the closest source to the real form of the *nenbutsu odori* of the early kabuki period, because the Kyōdai scroll represents it differently. He concludes that the *nenbutsu odori*, as seen in the Bunkakan picture, could thus have been depicted either on the basis of the memory of those who had witnessed it in the early days of kabuki, or based on references in works of the *Tōkaidō meishoki* type. That is why Hattori believes it is a more trustworthy source for the nenbutsu *odori* than the Kyōdai scroll.

I would not go as far as Hattori does for three reasons. His comparison did suggest some direct correspondence between the *Tōkaidō meishoki* description and the Bunkakan picture. Yet, firstly, out of the three items listed as the outfit mentioned in the *Tōkaidō meishoki*, only two can be identified in the Bunkakan picture – the Fu bell and a crimson skirt. There is no trace of the *nurigasa* hat in the picture. Secondly, out of the two options regarding the character of the painter – eye-witness or reader of texts like *Tōkaidō meishoki*, only the former supports the thesis that it should be closer to the historical reality of Okuni kabuki. Thirdly, Hattori tries to hypothesize that the *Tōkaidō meishoki*, written 55 years after Okuni kabuki, could be more trustworthy because the Bunkakan picture seems closer to what the *Tōkaidō meishoki* says, but this "time reversal" is a pure speculation which cannot be supported by any other source and, therefore, I leave it open, as indeed did Hattori himself in his acknowledgement that this is only one of the possibilities. He concludes that, should it ever prove true, the time of the creation of the Bunkakan images might well be as early as around Keichō 10 (1605), which is the year of Okuni's last documented performance:

[212] Hattori 1997 p. 14.

15. *Nenbutsu* - Bkk

If we oppose Hattori's proposals, it could be argued that it is also the *nenbutsu* dancer in the Kyōdai scroll (Fig. 5) which bears traits identifiable to those in the *Tōkaidō meishoki*[213] rendering: she has got the *nurigasa* hat on her head, and wears a skirt the colour of which is—unlike the Bunkakan image—dark brown. The hue of the paint, however, can change in old manuscripts. Thus, her costume can be considered as corresponding equally to the *Tōkaidō meishoki* as does the Bunkakan image, by representing two of the documented three items. The striking difference is that, rather than the Fu bell on her neck, she holds a gong in her left hand and a hammer in her right hand—which feature is to be found in *Nozuchi*. Hattori proposed that the Bunkakan image (above) might show not Nagoya's *bōrei* appearing, but just a *kabukimono* – a frequent *kabuki odori* specator who, charmed and attracted by the female star, jokingly came up to the stage and, leaning against or sitting down on its edge, shows her his appreciation.[214] Should it be so, it would definitely testify to Okuni's success. Nevertheless, in that case the Fu bell and red skirt she wears would indicate that this is not necessarily the *nenbutsu* scene—and thus without any direct connection with the *Tōkaidō meishoki* which particularly mentions *nenbutsu.* The Kyōdai image would then be the *only* existing early depiction of Okuni's *nenbutsu odori*. The reference in *Nozuchi* that she would have

[213] Asai 1979b 178.
[214] Hattori 1968b p. 12.

worn a Buddhist monk's robe at the very beginning would thus remain without pictorial documentation. At the same time, it would mean that the Kyōdai images come from a later period when *nenbutsu odori* had "gone through some development and Okuni no longer wore the Buddhist monk's robe"[215].

The discrepancies between the individual outfit descriptions do not disqualify any of the texts. Various costumes can be seen not only across the three cycles of images but in the *kotobagaki* texts as well, testifying to a rich scale of wardrobe used. *Kabuki no Saushi* is especially eloquent in giving detailed descriptions of the various costumes Okuni wore during the particular skits and numbers of her performance. We have seen above that the Kyōdai *nenbutsu* image corresponds well to both the *Nozuchi* and *Tōkaidō meishoki* renderings. We also have a *Nozuchi* description of the kabuki skit costume: "*male clothes, with a sword attached at the side*".

Further costume descriptions are provided by *Kabuki no Saushi* (Ss 55-59):

> *Okuni comes out, wearing a crimson-patterned hat pressed down in the middle, a kosode with a pattern of an autumn field upon a deep crimson-plum background, a hakue robe bound with a broad obi, a gold-brocade* maidare, *a crimson tassel at the side, with a golden fan tucked in her hair as decoration, thus clad she came out on the stage and danced.*

The *Kabuki no Saushi* image that follows after these lines shows two female figures, the garments of which only distantly resembles the one just mentioned, but each holds what could indeed be the golden fan identifiable in the text:

[215] *Kuni jo-kabuki ekotoba* 1993 p. 6. Explanatory afterword to the 1951 edition of *Kuni jo-kabuki ekotoba*, republished in its 1993 publication.

16. Two female figures – Ss (Ss pic. 4)

Thus, the above *Kabuki no Saushi* picture 4 shows the costumes of an unidentified dance.

The following description tells us about the outfit worn during the kabuki dance (Ss 124-136):

> *Her costume on that day consisted of an under-kosode the colour of red plum and an outer kosode of a colourful Chinese Wu style; on that she put a haori of gold-embroided red brocade, its lining had the colour of fresh green shoots, and she girded herself up with a purple* sugoki obi*; she wore an* irataka *rosary on her neck, held a two shaku six sun long sword with a gold guard and in a* shirasame *("white horse") sheath, wielding with it masterfully a big two shaku long wakizashi with a gold sheath, and whatever is it dangling from her waist? An* inrō *lacquered in the "pear skin" style, a big money pouch of gold-embroided indigo brocade and a gold gourd. This unpretentious sober figure looked like a colt [or a chessman?] moving, her braided hat low over her eyes.*

This costume can be seen in the corresponding image of the scene in which the name label "Okuni" identifies her:

17. Okuni with a cap – Ss (Ss pic. 10)

One would suspect Nagoya to be in the same outfit in the kabuki skit as the one he wore when appearing as a *bōrei* in the *nenbutsu* scene. This unity,

however, is only to be seen in the Kyōdai scroll. *Kabuki no Saushi* makes his identity known by means of name labels only, his outfit being different in each image. The same holds for the two Bunkakan images: the difference of the outfit of the male figure in each was probably one of the reasons that led Hattori to his proposal that the two might actually not form a series. While the Bunkakan (supposed) *bōrei* wears outlandish, western clothes, in *Kabuki no Saushi* he has a Japanese costume, a *nurigasa* hat and a fan. The Kyōdai scroll is the only one in which he wears the same dress throughout: the *bōrei* here has a cloth hiding his face, thus apparently prepared to visit the brothel, and he has the same apparel in all the successive images. This, too, might convey the sense of humour embedded in early kabuki: while in nō, ghosts return to settle their unresolved fetters binding them to this world, the ghost of Okuni's *nenbutsu* returns prepared for yet another visit at his favourite place of pleasure.

We can also see three depictions in three different styles of the *chaya no kaka* character (Fig. 1, 2, 3). The uniting element is the *yurai* headdress in each, and two of them have a folding fan in front of their faces. This figure was probably played by former *kyōgenshi.*[216] In the *Kabuki no Saushi* and Bunkakan images, the *chaya no kaka* is apparently in lively conversation with Nagoya, whereas the Kyōdai scroll shows a different, and intriguing configuration of as many as four figures: Nagoya (in blue kimono), the second *kabukimono* (in yellow), the tea house lady and the *saruwaka*. In the first of the three serial pictures of these four figures in the Kyōdai scroll (Fig. 10), the two *kabukimono* seem in conversation and Nagoya has in his hands something reminiscent of a small fiddle—perhaps an exotic instrument – (European or Asian):

[216] Watanabe 1993 p. 62.

18. Nagoya figure with a fiddle (or pipe?) – Kd (Kd pic. 8)

He holds it in a posture as if he was playing it. He might as well be lighting a pipe. Smoking was also a habit inherited from the *Kirishitan* era, which the Edo bakufu tried to suppress.[217] In *Kabuki no Saushi*, a figure labeled "*chiya* [sic] *no kaka*" has three drums behind her on the floor (including one baton drum), perhaps as indication of a pending dance.

As we have seen, it is this *chaya no asobi* skit that clearly distinguished *kabuki odori* from its predecessor *yayako odori*. *Nozuchi* writes that kabuki got its name only later, but the *Okuni sōshi* gave the impression it had been the favourite pastime of Okuni and Nagoya long before the dance was performed for the public, with Nagoya being the famous kabukibito of old (*Satewa, mukashi no kabukibito, Nagoyadono nite mashimasu (ka)?* ("So you are the kabukibito of old, master Nagoya!") Ss c. 107/Kd c. 87-8). Okuni, in the Kyōdai opening scene, says she had been taught (or had come to teach) kabuki. Was kabuki, then, what Okuni and Nagoya used to do in the past, before 1600, or was it the designation of the Kyoto performances documented from 1603 onwards? Perhaps this seeming discrepancy points at the truth. Okuni and Nagoya did "kabuku" together before and Nagoya really was a famous "kabukibito"—or "*kabukimono*", the alternative designation which *Kabuki no Saushi* uses interchangeably. Later, by means of Okuni's Kyoto performances, the term kabuki was picked up, gaining currency and popularity in

[217] Okada 1942 p. 254.

connection with the specific dance performed by Okuni and her later imitators, and became the term well known among the populace.

The orchestra as seen in the *sōshi* depictions is identical with the nō orchestra: comprising the fue flute, the big batton drum and the big and small hand drums. In this respect, too, Okuni kabuki can be regarded as an heir to nō. There was no shamisen yet, as is often pointed out by later references, which leads to a presumption that the shamisen started to be used in kabuki only later. On the other hand, the nō-style stage arrangement as well as the nō orchestra may reflect later painters' idea of the Okuni kabuki stage having a nō character. Kabuki illustrations from later into the 17th century will often show the same orchestra set-up with one or two shamisen players added.[218] There is, however, no mention of the enigmatic "fiddle" seen in the Kyōdai picture above. Perhaps, rather than playing it (if it indeed is a fiddle at all), Nagoya just showed it off to add to his eccentricity.

Although we might never be able to know with certainty the circumstances behind the three sets of early kabuki depictions, it must be admitted that, be they accurate to history or not, they still convey much of the atmosphere which early kabuki performances might have had. The stage, the audiences, the costumes—all these aspects could not possibly be a mere invention of the painters; rather, they relate to Okuni kabuki, being a reminiscence of it, the closest possible we have, and as such they do not cease to be a valuable source of knowledge of the visual form, appearance, staging and attractivity the earliest phase of kabuki might have possessed.

[218] Takei 2013 p. 38-47.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PERFORMANCES DEPICTED IN THE *OKUNI SŌSHI*.

The two texts of *Okuni sōshi* depict not one single performance. From the content, it is obvious that they refer to two (or even more) different performances. Though some of the numbers of the programme are similar, most of them actually differ. The springtime performance described in *Kabuki no Saushi* is longer and more composite, and the vital difference is that the nō structure seen in the Kyōdai text is only represented in the former by the opening *shidai*: (Ss c 41-2) *"The springtime blossoming in the Capital - let's go to kabuki odori."* Ogasawara called the nō structure in the Kyōdai text as a "stitching together in a nō-like manner"[219] of individual skits: this would mean that they were originally independent skits – *nenbutsu odori, chaya kayoi* (alternative title for *chaya no asobi*) and *furo-agari,* additionally connected to each other to form the integral plot of the early kabuki play. The Kyōdai scroll presents the succession of scenes as one performance, whereas the rendering in *Kabuki no Saushi* does not allow us to establish whether it is a realistic description of a real performance as it uninterruptedly proceeded on, or just a collection of impressions of individual scenes not necessarily in the order of the original performance. This latter option would also account for the absence of the *nenbutsu* number, which, for some reason, might just have been ommitted by the author of the text even if they might have seen it.

A comparison of the two *Okuni sōshi* texts presents the possible structure of the Okuni kabuki performance as follows (the corresponding parts are underlined):

[219] Ogasawara 2006 p. 108.

Kyōdai scroll (*Kuni Jo-kabuki Ekotoba*)

1. nō-like opening:

   shidai,

   nanori,

   ageuta (= michiyuki),

   tsukizerifu,

2. Okuni starts dancing

   issei

3. *Nenbutsu odori*

4. Sanza appearing

5. *Kabuki odori:*

   I.-V.

6. *Kaze mo fukanu* passage

7. *jōruri modoki*

   I., II.

8. leavetaking (offstage?)

9. *honjimono* style ending

Kabuki no Saushi

1. nō-like opening:

   shidai

2. *yayako odori* style *musume odori*

3. kyōgen: *Narihira kyōran*

4. Sanza appearing

5. Inviting Sanza in

6. *Kabuki odori:*

   I., V., IV., III., II., + three more (VI., VII., VIII.)

7. audience joins in dancing, 12 more songs

8. (as an encore) *furo-agari* dance

(offstage:

9. leavetaking

10. "*okashi!*" ending)

In the *Kabuki no Saushi,* Okuni's dance starts amidst the cheerful and breathtaking atmosphere of blossoming cherry trees. Similarly, it is in this season that the Kyōdai scroll has Okuni come to Kyoto and start dancing there. As Shively writes, it is evident from popular stories and Kyoto guides that visiting temples and shrines on days of special events were favourite forms of entertainment[220], and the cherry tree season was the best.

In the Kyōdai scroll, Okuni starts performing on the 25th day of the 1st month: (Kd c. 41-43) *this is the gathering of all people, high and low, on the 25th day of the New Year, visiting the shrine, and at this occasion, I would like to start kabuki odori*. In *Kabuki no Saushi*, on the other hand, the opening *shidai* comes after quoting the famous tanka by Sosei Hōshi (Kokinshū 56) in which the springtime Kyoto of the cherry blossom season is metaphorized as brocade.

It has been mentioned above that one of the possibilities is that *Kabuki no Saushi* is based on an oral storytelling tradition, perhaps of the *ko-jōruri* or *sekkyō* style. Most of the book is prosodic, in the 5-7 or 7-5 syllabic rhythm, and not only the quotations of the songs on the stage, but even the narrator's words are often prosodic, which might indeed point in the direction of the storytelling tradition. A lot of the narrator's attention has previously been given to Okuni's life in Kyoto, her success, recognition and the fortune she achieved. As the plot progresses towards her performance, the verses assume more and more the 7-5 structure, which is what I term the *stage ku*, typical of performing arts from the *shirabyōshi* times (12th century), if not earlier.

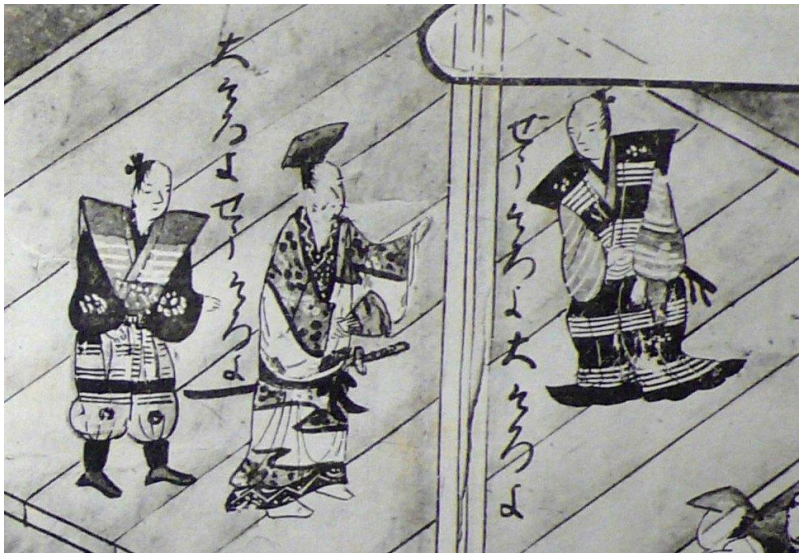
Thus, Okuni starts dancing at a cherry blossom viewing venue in the most gorgeous atmosphere imaginable, with classical verse by Sosei quoted. This is when the words about the spring time in the Capital are sung – which is the opening *shōdan* of the Kyōdai nō-style beginning. In *Kabuki no Saushi*, however, these are not the opening words of the performance because they are followed by another narratological rupture when performance quotation returns to narration again. It offers detailed description of the atmosphere before the performance, the suspense of the expecting audience, in contrast to the nō-like straightforward dramatic pace with which the Kyōdai play progresses. *Kabuki no Saushi*, it seems, makes free use of the original libretto for its storytelling purposes, choosing from it freely

[220] Shively 1991 p. 739.

according to the author's (perhaps narrator's) preference. At last, Okuni appears and performs her first dance in *Kabuki no Saushi*, after which she disappears into the dressing room again.

As pointed out above, the Kyōdai scroll mentions "peaceful times". Although this was a conventional opening trope, in a text produced within one or two decades (or, indeed, only three years, if they are Okuni's authentic words) from the preliminary ending of civil wars at Sekigahara, it also expresses aloud the general atmosphere of genuinely enjoying the peace (to be interrupted once again a dozen years later).

Kabuki no Saushi continues with a part called "kyōgen" (termed as "*mai*-kyōgen of Narihira's love *monogurui*"[221]) which is a (presumably dancing) piece about *Narihira*. Ariwara no Narihira was a 9th century prince-made-commoner and poet, famous for his (often highly scandalous) love affairs. The narrator comments that Narihira's heart was in frenzy because of his dissipation and his figure is being described with the belt worn very low, wound around a womanish kimono. From the description, it can be imagined that this piece was done in a humorous, parodic way when Narihira "*sings about all forms of love in all sorts of kouta, dancing along*," and this parody is designated *Narihira kyōran* ("Narihira´s raving or madness"). The corresponding picture in the *Kabuki no Saushi* shows three male figures, the central of whom is apparently Narihira.



19. Narihira - Ss (Ss pic. 6)

[221] Geinōshi Kenkyūkai 1986 p. 34. *Monogurui* is a nō term referring to raving scenes of figures who are being troubled by very strong emotions.

Based on the picture, the two accompanying figures are probably *kyōgenshi* whose arguing in a dialogue about the calendary month's *dai-shō* is accompanied by the *hayashi* orchestra.[222] In his analysis of *Kabuki no Saushi*, Hattori[223] maintains that it was written as an impression of seeing the wakashu kabuki performance. Moriya Takeshi, on the other hand, sees the appearance of the beautiful Narihira as projection of a trend in the Kan'ei era (1624-1630). It was a return to classical topics.[224] Narihira, the renowned figure of court poetry, prose and drama, replaced the once popular *kabukimono* Nagoya Sanza and found his way into the nascent new genre of kabuki. Narihira kyōran is the number in which gender reversal, the typical feature of Okuni kabuki, starts. The narration depicts his outfit as half male (*kazaori* cap and a sword) and half female (coloured *kosode* kimono). In fact, the latter might be a subversive reinterpretation of the Heian courtier's garment which, in the popular entertainment that kabuki was, got reinterpretated as womanish and thus used humorously: (Ss c. 70-72) *which was an outfit which puzzled everyone – you saw a woman and then realized it was a man, or vice versa, thinking you saw a man you then saw a woman*.

Narihira's effeminate air was a tradition reaching back to times long before Okuni kabuki. Already as the hero of the classical nō *Izutsu*, Narihira wears a special kind of costume, combining the courtier's hat and specially patterned coat that identify Narihira with the female kimono of the female character, Aritsune's daughter. "*It is a "half-man, half-woman" combination, which shows that while she is still Aritsune's daughter, she is also now Narihira. "Wearing his hat and robe, A woman it cannot be, a man it is indeed, Narihira's image--," the woman then adds, "I see with deep yearning".*"[225] Thanks to this representation of Narihira as a person between genders, he was also a welcome character in later performances of wakashu kabuki and this way of representation of the famous 9th century personage did not leave the stage of early kabuki well into the yarō kabuki period.[226]

The Narihira of *Kabuki no Saushi* is a messenger: a parallel can be drawn between him and the figure of Nagoya Sanza who is to appear next and who,

[222] Geinōshi Kenkyūkai 1986 p. 34.
[223] Hattori Yukio *Umetamahon "Kabuki no Saushi" no bunkatsu* cited in Geinōshi Kenkyūkai 1986 p. 34.
[224] Moriya 1979 p. 152-153.
[225] Looser 2008 p. 186.
[226] Mezur 2005 p. 167 note 87.

similar to Narihira, is (c. 84-90) *a womanizer of exquisite taste [...] A kabukimono of excellent figure, he had arduously led the lifestyle of falling in love, sent messengers with notes to women regardless of their social statuses and had them at his wish; they called him the kabukimono who knew how to flow through life, but now, it is only his name that has remained in the world.* Thus, it can be summed up that the main signs which unite the figures of Nagoya and Narihira are such aspects as lifestyle of falling in love (*irogonomi*) and sending messengers with notes to women regardless of their social status.

"*Mugen* kabuki" with *nenbutsu odori*

1. Nenbutsu

As pointed out above, *Kabuki no Saushi* does not contain the "*mugen* kabuki" element typical of the Kyōdai play, when Okuni dances the *nenbutsu* dance, chanting the Amidabutsu mantra (the *nenbutsu*). This was the start of the dramatic plot of the Kyōdai play.

The *nenbutsu* itself was not a new element at all. *Nenbutsu odori* dances became popular parts of the *furyū* processions in the decades preceding the formation of Okuni kabuki, and it can be traced back to the roots of sarugaku nō. Takemoto writes that there existed plays in Zeami's time which made use of the *nenbutsu* as their central motif[227] and that the influence is yet older: The famous Zeami's play *Hyakuman* (including its later "spin-off", the still more famous *Yamanba*) is his adaptation of *Saga no dainenbutsu no onna monogurui no monomane* in which Kan'ami had excelled. Zeami's innovation (*shukō*) was that he combined the *kusemai* dance and the acoustic effects of *nenbutsu*. Mere enacting *nenbutsu*, Takemoto supposes, might have been a still older method, and it can be also seen in later plays, including its probably best known application in Kanze Motomasa's *Sumidagawa*. This is probably a reflection of the great popularity of *yūzū nenbutsu* (regular rituals based on the chanting of the salvation *nenbutsu* mantra) in Zeami's, and his son Motomasa's, day.[228] "Perhaps it would have been seen as unnatural in those days to have a play without a religious element, not least considering the *waki* was often a monk on his *nenbutsu shūgyō* training. Most nō reflected some faith, the most influential being the *nenbutsu* faith which produced a broad range of various "*nenbutsu no sarugaku*"[229].

The insertion of *nenbutsu* in Okuni kabuki was novel in combining the previous *nenbutsu* tradition with the nō-style *bōrei* appearance. "*Nenbutsu odori* was used as a novelty to the otherwise familiar theme of entertaining the ghosts of

[227] Takemoto 1999a p. 445.
[228] Takemoto 1999a p. 445-452.
[229] Takemoto 1999a p. 458.

men from the other world."[230] What was novel here was that Okuni, a female, enacted a Buddhist priest. By dancing the *nenbutsu odori* dance, Okuni assumed the role close to that of the *waki* in a nō play.

Thus, in Okuni kabuki, we can speak of "nenbutsu-*mugen*-kabuki".

2. *Mugen*

Suddenly, "attracted by the voice of the *nenbutsu*", the *bōrei* of Nagoya Sanza appears in the Kyōdai play. *Kabuki no Saushi* has him come from the other world for a different reason: "*Feeling attachment to Okuni's kabuki, he reincarnated himself into this Jambu world*" (Ss 90-91).

Based on the illustrations in both books, we can see that he probably approached the stage from the auditorium. This is another surprising stage trick which might have stood behind the later development of the *hanamichi* bridge across the auditorium at right angles to the stage in classical kabuki. Tsubouchi Shōyō designated this part of the performance as "*issei*", the *shōdan* used in nō to signal the arrival of the supernatural. Okuni hesitates, she cannot believe her eyes until, finally, she recognizes the visitor as the "kabukibito of old". They then both share in the common memory "of old" when together they "learned kabuki", an art in which vanity intermingles with Buddhist wisdom.

This is the *mugen nō* motif. In nō, Buddhist and Shinto priests carry out sacred rituals by rubbing the rosary or chanting sacred syllables, in an endeavour to put in order matters between heaven and earth, and especially to appease an angry or obsessive revenant ghost. In Okuni kabuki, *nenbutsu* - the Amidist mantra is, apparently, the gate through which the ghost of the dead Nagoya Sanzaburō appears on the stage to spend some time in this world. The *marebito* (mystical visitor) and the *bōrei* ("spirit of the dead") of *mugen nō* fuse here into one character. The *mugen*-nō *bōrei* comes back to this world to sort out his or her past, often getting rid of karmic fetters preventing them from attaining Buddhahood; the Okuni kabuki *bōrei* comes back to Okuni to dance with her their favourite dance, to visit the "tea house" and talk to the "tea house lady" (*chaya no kaka*) about love.

[230] Ogasawara 1975 p. 142.

Thus, in the images, Nagoya as a ghost is placed outside the stage (or room, in Ss), among the spectators, appearing there and coming to the stage to join Okuni – in this, the bringing together of the stage and auditorium can be seen, the predecessor of the transition between kabuki dance towards kabuki *drama* (*geki*). The text testifies to this, too: (Ss c. 160-165) *from among the crowd of high and low, they invite women who seem especially interested, and have them dance along, which changes the mood of the people, and even monks and priests come and join, forgetting shame or the gaze of people, and the theatre is full of spirited dancing*.

After recognizing Nagoya, Okuni— through allusion, classical pivot words and a highly poetical text whose meaning is nearly lost under all the metaphors, expresses the sadness caused by the "unclear/strange duel" (*fushigina kenkwa/taimen*) because of which she had lost her lover, and Nagoya apologizes for it. Kyōdai columns 94-96 say *Let's forget everything now, let us sing, let us* ***kabuku***. The original says "*Izaya* ***kabukan***": this is another morphological form which testifies that "kabuki" really was based on a verb – *kabuku* having the sense "to dance kabuki, to amuse oneself in the kabuki style", from which *kabuki* was a deverbal noun. The form *kabukan* here is the conjectural and inviting form of the verb expressing the meaning „let us...".

3. The "*kabuki*"

This is the point at which we can see a stylistic rupture in the Kyōdai play, through which its nō-style opening transforms into "kabuki". It is strikingly evident as an abrupt change of the literary diction after the "*issei*" *shōdan*. The columns 81-95 are heavily poetic lines in the nō style including a special figure based on the classical trope called *kanmei-zukushi* (listing of names of the Tale of Genji chapters) – this time it is what I would call "*yōkyokumei-zukushi*" (listing of names of nō plays), e.g. *Yūgao*. Suddenly, the line c. 96 *let us sing, let us kabuku* opens the second half of the play in which the style changes into the *kouta*[231].

Kabuki no Saushi now has a passage for which the speaker is not clear. Nonetheless, from a staging point of view, it is quite important: (Ss c. 115-122) *Though it is humble, please do deign to come in, [she] invites master Sanza in. And*

[231] Beginning of the *kouta* (Tsubouchi 1925 p. 9).

so, you a kabukibito of old, tell [us], please, how the world used to be then. We too will tell you our stories – young women call out [or: they call out young women], and other members of the troupe came out too and entertained master Nagoya, saying: we have very many songs which console man's heart.

This can be read as Okuni enacting the lady of the teahouse and the other actors enacting other *wakaki onnadomo* – young women. It is from this point the true core of the performance begins, the real *kabuki*. This was the dance and song (or songs) the lyric of which was probably a rhythmically powerful sequence of often apocryphal or esoteric syllables, carrying two, or even three homophonic meanings simultaneously and expressed to the period's audiences many allusions which today are hard to decipher. It is also difficult to work out how the particular scenes were staged. The above-quoted passage is followed by *someone* saying (Ss c. 119-123) *especially this is one kabuki dance song which has enjoyed much popularity. And so, allow me to dance with a kabukibito of old, let us* ***kabuku*** *and show to people! thinks* ***Okuni and her*** *costume on that day consisted of an under-kosode [...]*. This can lead us to understand that it is Okuni who has a strong share in these scenes, and, after the description of her rich costume, the text (Ss c. 136-140) says: *and Nagoya – the famous kabuki indeed – accompanied her, equally good, and from the dressingroom behind, the saruwaka came out at the due moment to join them, and the way [they/he] strode quietly along the bridgeway – how could the dance of the four nō schools equal this?* This seems to provide a description of the cast of the following "kabuki" scene, including Okuni, Nagoya and *saruwaka*; whether the young women mentioned earlier took part can only be speculated. Nevertheless, the important aspect is the gender reversal, which is made known presently by the already discussed passage (Ss c. 141-144): *the woman enacts the man and the man imitating the woman, dressing as the lady of the tea house, turning away with an ashamed face, looking worried [...]* What with Okuni's typically feminine costume described in the immediately preceding passage, this is a bit misleading. It can be imagined that it was the *saruwaka* who played the *chaya no kaka*, but which woman enacted the man if Okuni has just been introduced as wearing a rich female costume? Since what follows are the kabuki songs, there seems to be nothing to clear up this discrepancy except the supposition that here we have a rupture in the text and that Okuni's female costume as

described previously in Ss c. 124 onward had no direct connection with her enacting a man in the following kabuki scene. The Ss column 144 could be taken as an indication of this: *Now first the kabuki song* (*Sate mazu kabuki no uta ni wa: [...]*) This could mean that what follows is a listing of the kabuki songs, implying that they might not necessarily follow the previous scene immediately, but that the narrator chose to quote the kabuki songs here, one after another (Ss c. 146-157). This could also account for their different number (*eight*) and order from those given in the Kyōdai play (*five*, Kd c. 97-109).

There is a fundamental difference here from *mugen* nō in the fact that Sanza does not relate his own story, and therefore we do not learn more about his life, unlike the situation of the *shite* characters in *mugen* nō plays. What he does is just dance: (Ss 158-160) *So, let's dance! inviting the tea house lady, in a still smarter outfit, they dance quietly, their turns strike the eyes of people.* The inviting figure and the tea house lady are probably the gender-reversed actors, perhaps Okuni dancing with Nagoya, and the *kyōgenshi* and *saruwaka* singing the kabuki songs. The meaning of the lyrics is difficult to identify exactly. Nevertheless, it can be imagined that they were sung to an attractive melody and were intensely rhythmical so as to excite the spectators to such an extent that, in the end, they rose from their seats or, at least, clapped their hands, as can be seen in the Bunkakan images and read in *Kabuki no Saushi* columns 160-165 quoted in the previous section (*from among the crowd of high and low, they invite women who seem especially interested, and have them dance along...*).

At first sight, the main difference between the atmosphere common in nō and that of the *Okuni sōshi* is that the latter was set in the *chaya* brothel, a topic which was generally rare in nō. The already mentioned nō *Hitsukiri Soga,* written in the first years of the 1500s, was designated by Kominz as the *only nō play with a love scene set in a brothel*, a crucial point in the theatrical development leading towards kabuki.[232] Also, a remote resemblance to this kind of ambience can be found in the nō play *Eguchi* about female entertainers, centred around a famous poetic exchange of a brothel owner with the monk Saigyō. The core of the play *Eguchi* is a song piece known to have been composed by Kan'ami, with further Zeami's adjustments. The ambience was, to be sure, different between Saigyō´s

[232] Kominz 2002 p. 16, 27.

lifetime in the 12th century, the creation of the nō play in around 1400, and Edo brothels of early 17th century. Several researchers write that the *chaya no asobi* or "*chaya* play/amusement" included what is termed as *keiseigai* or *keiseigoto* – accosting (engaging) a prostitute[233], which became "the nuclear scene for later kabuki plays"[234]. Dōmoto depicts *keiseigoto* of *Okuni kabuki* as based on Sanza wearing the female costume and women enacting ("becoming") men.[235] Shively writes that "[t]he dramatization of a customer's first meeting with a courtesan, its protocol and witty banter, emerged as the ultimate refinement of the prostitute-accosting skits of primitive kabuki"[236]. It is true that later kabuki would indeed contain skits where, typically, the brothel owner welcomes the male guest, offers him sake and has one of the courtesans dance before him. Nevertheless, the Okuni kabuki material that has come down to us does not make it possible to establish whether the *Kabuki no Saushi chaya no asobi* already had this structure or whether it only developed later. Nihon Rekishi Daijiten only defines in most general terms the erotically charged character of Okuni's *chaya no asobi* in which a man amuses himself with a woman of the *chaya* and which became the main stream called *keiseigoto no kyōgen*.[237] In his *Tōkaidō meishoki*, Asai Ryōi explained, in around 1658, the origin of the designation *keisei*.[238] It comes from Chinese poetry where the most renowned beauties in history were linked to "destroying the capital, destroying the country" (*keisei keikoku*) because the emperors would forget their duties for their sake, and the country would end in ruin. The expression "*keisei*" came to mean a fatefully beautiful courtesan.

The second part of *chaya no asobi* in *Kabuki no Saushi* is *furo-agari* (bathhouse scene) which follows as an encore. The Kyōdai play has the *jōruri modoki* songs at this point, not as an encore but integral continuation of the play's plot. Someone (Nagoya perhaps) says to Okuni that these songs are rather old now and that they will sing something new – *jōruri modoki* to the rhythm of the drums.

[233] Kominz 2002 p. 17.
[234] Mezur 2005 p. 55.
[235] "女が男となりて" (Dōmoto 1934 p. 19).
[236] Shively 1991 p. 760.
[237] Kawade 1956a p. 310 "Izumo no Okuni".
[238] Asai 1979a p. 30.

4. Kabuki *kouta* songs

A general division of the body termed as "kabuki songs" can be found in Nihon Rekishi Daijiten[239] which divides *kabuki uta* songs into three groups:

I. Odori uta,

II. Deha uta, and

III. Shosa uta.

The songs we are dealing with here, contained in the *Okuni sōshi*, make up most of the first group—*Odori uta*. These start with Okuni's *nenbutsu odori* song, followed by the songs sung in the ensuing parts of the Okuni kabuki performance. Those without a special designation will be referred to as *kabuki kouta* songs in the following discussion.

The dancing and singing core of the Kyōdai play consists of five *kabuki kouta* (I.-V.) and two *jōruri modoki* songs. *Kabuki no Saushi* has as many as twenty *kouta*. The first five correspond to the five Kyōdai *kouta*, though in a different order (I., V., IV., III., II.). For a clearer orientation, these will be termed as the "*first cycle*". The "*second cycle*" are three ensuing *kouta* of *Kabuki no Saushi* (VI., VII., VIII.). After the audience have joined in the dance, there are twelve more *kouta*, representing the "*third cycle*" and covering most of the second part of *Kabuki no Saushi* (c. 165-180). The *jōruri modoki* songs seen in the Kyōdai play are not present in *Kabuki no Saushi*.

The kabuki *kouta* songs are short forms based on the double *ku* (stanza) metric pattern "7-5, 7-5", besides some *ku* which are in the form of the Edo period song – "7-7". Some words do not fall into the rhythm, like the obvious interjections *nau* (probably pronounced [no:]), *to nau, yo nau*.

Textually, these kabuki *kouta* songs represent adaptation of medieval popular songs contained in the *Kanginshū* 閑吟集 collection compiled in 1518 and containing 311 songs, predominantly *kouta* and *yamatobushi*.[240] As Scholz-Cionca emphasized, several dozen of its songs correspond to those known from later

[239] Kawade 1956c p. 135.
[240] Shinmura (ed.) 1991 p. 571.

kyōgen as well, and two *kouta* are utterly designated as kyōgen songs.[241] In this respect, the use of *Kanginshū* songs in early kabuki is part of this overlap.

The first *kouta* cycle in the order seen in the Kyōdai play gives the impression of a more logical sequence, especially in view of songs I. and II. which obviously belong together, while the *Kabuki no Saushi* order seems more haphazard.

Although the number of *kouta* songs in the third cycle is twelve, one of them (X^{th}) is a repetition of the *kouta* III. of the first cycle, probably for the poetic parallelism with the preceding *kouta* (IX^{th} of the third cycle):

(Ss c174-177)

IX:

Why are you weeping, oh willows flanking the river?

We are weeping after the fresh scent of water.

X. (= IIIrd of the first cycle):

In the rapids of the Yodo river, the water wheel –

whose arrival is expected? - coming-coming - turning-turning.

The kabuki song lyrics consist of predominantly lyrical motifs. They are typically lacking any clear message behind the metaphors and poetic diction, which are problematic to define nowadays, though they might represent abundance of connotations and allusions recognizable to the contemporary audiences. In contrast to the classic-based nō diction in the first part of the Kyōdai play, the *kouta* style consists of a series of puns which are of a different kind—popular, humorous, even nonsensical. Nonsensical passages would live on in kabuki, appearing also later, in mature kabuki. Looser mentions them in connection with scenes devoted to sheer exchanges of "akutai, abusive insults and self-aggrandizing bravado, or even menacing-sounding syllables that in fact are nonsense".[242]

Some of what seem to be nonsensical passages might in fact be erotic allusions. They would be characterstic of the political change when peaceful times took over after a century of civil wars, as well as corresponding to the topic. The lyric probably tended towards erotic, even sexual ambiguities when the action of the performance was transposed from the initial (nō style) pomp to the *chaya* and to playful conversation with the *chaya no kaka* - the tea house lady, or perhaps, if in

[241] Scholz-Cionca 1998 p. 26.
[242] Looser 2008 p. 114 footnote 120.

plural, the prostitutes of the brothel. This kind of topic can be speculated, hidden, for example, behind the sequence Kd c. 109-113 that contains expressions like:
c. 109 ***nokori itsutsu***[243] ***mina renbo ja*** (*the remaining five [times?]- falling in love*)
c. 110 ***Kaze mo fukanu niwayado wo saita*** (*no wind blows, and still the house in the garden got broken*),
c. 111-112 ***sasaba sasu to te toku ni mo ojaraide*** (*thinking of pushing/pointing (at)/drawing, coming early/being fast/smart/sharp*)

The wording *sasaba sasu* in particular seems very ambiguous and, together with its textual ambience, might represent a relatively clear sexual allusion.

Jōruri modoki songs

The first *kouta* songs in the Kyōdai scroll are actually made to form a "cycle", as their supposed continuation is interrupted by the voice (Kd c. 116-120) *I beg to talk to Okuni: this is an already antiquated song*, proposing to sing (the 'modern') *jōruri modoki* songs. Rhythmically, the first *jōruri modoki* usually alternates a 5-7 syllable count, while in the second *jōruri modoki*, all lines except the last one are in the typical Edo period seven syllable count; the last being four syllables. The second is much shorter than the first, from which it can be deduced that they were sung differently and to different melodies. The name of this kind of song comes from "*modoki*" which is an "ethnological concept in which parody and imitation are condensed"[244]. Scholz-Cionca notes that *modoki* can already be seen in the archetypal nō piece *Okina*, in its *Sanbasō* role (kyōgen actor with a black mask) as a parodying counterpart to the well-wishing deity played by the nō actor.[245] This humorous imitation on the stage was combined with what was named *jōruri* and probably alludes to the maudlin theme which was characteristic of the original jōruri recitation based on the love story of the *Jōruri-hime monogatari*.

The first *jōruri modoki* song is Kd c. 128-135, the second Kd c. 136-142.

From their introductory words "*So allow me to sing and play for you – and so [one] gladly heard the drum rhythm beaten to it, and the melody, too*" it can

[243] The trope called *sūji no asobi* (word-play with numbers) can be identified here as later, too.
[244] Scholz-Cionca 1998 p. 23-24.
[245] Scholz-Cionca 1998 p. 174 and 231.

be said that they were possibly accompanied with drums, perhaps even the flute (*shakuhachi* or *nōkan*) which is mentioned in the first *jōruri modoki*:

Without much preparation, I thought of some lines and a melody to them, which, blown on a whistle, provided a consolation in the evening. A kouta song sung impromptu in the middle of the night... and as the dawn approaches, paddled about by feelings, the shakuhachi flute joins you in melody.

The text in the Bunkakan fragments, containing the first *jōruri modoki* and the starting words of the second, might, rather than a fragment of the Kyōdai text, be a sample of one of the songs which Okuni actually used in her performance when the play around the songs might not have been in existence yet at all – the Kyōdai play was still to be composed (provided we take the Bunkakan fragments as the oldest of the manuscripts). According to this, it can be speculated that the *jōruri modoki* might have been one of the *nuclei* upon which further plays like the Kyōdai text and *Kabuki no Saushi* accrued.

Furo-agari

The performance has ended (Ss c. 181 *Kabuki odori no toki sugite*, Kd c. 143. *Kabuki no odori mo toki sugite*), but the *Kabuki no Saushi* audience still refuse to leave and ask for an encore, which they are given in the form of the *furo-agari* skit—"the dance after the bath" (Barth's translation[246]) or "conversations with bath house girls" (Kominz's translation[247]).

Its name indicates a bathhouse setting which included obvious erotic connotations, too, with bathhouse girls (*yuna*) also available for sexual attentions to the customers[248]. This kind of atmosphere is suggested by the *fundoshi* loincloth mentioned in the description of the costuming: (Ss c. 188-194) *all of a sudden loosened [their] hair, violently tying up the hair in the middle of the forehead, ardently tucking up the hem of his fundoshi loincloth, donning a flowery haori, and wih both the long and short swords, accompanying the tea house lady, enticing master Nagoya: the moment when they kabuku together!*

[246] Barth 1972 p. 198.
[247] Kominz 2002 p. 17.
[248] Shively 1991 p. 748.

The figure wearing the *fundoshi* might be Nagoya and the lady of the tea house is probably Okuni.

The ending

Furo-agari is the ending of the *Kabuki no Saushi* performance, while the Kyōdai play still continues with the leavetaking of Nagoya and Okuni (Kd c. 145-52) and one last dance (Kd c. 152-164). This happens in *Kabuki no Saushi*, too, and in both sōshi, the account now shifts offstage, the narration having changed into Okuni's life story.

The prosody in which this topic is delivered is again the 7-5 syllabic metre but the verses are different for both sources, except for a couple of shared glosses and the placenames *Kowata-*(or *Kohata-)yama* and *Fushimi*. These are used for their homophonic second meanings, respectively "Wooden sign" and "lie down, i. e. sleep (together)". *Kabuki no Saushi* also contains the wording "turning three into nine" (*san kyū ni kaesu* – reminding of the classical trope *sūji no asobi* or word-play with numbers) in connection with a pledge (*chigiri*) of the night's sleeping together. Taking into account the alleged alternative forms of Nagoya´s name – San'(u)emon (三右衛門) and "later also" Ku(u)emon (九右衛門),[249] containing the numerals "three" (*san*) and "nine" (*ku*), this particular trope could well refer to this, suggesting that the change of name from San'emon to Kuemon was due to a particular "pledge" connected with his love affair with Okuni.

What one would expect to be a moving scene is given a surprisingly playful tone – the tendency towards humour showing again: (Ss c. 206-7) *these words were <u>even more amusing</u> than awakening from a dream* ("*yume no samete no nochi yori mo <u>okashikarikeru</u> kotoba kana*"). This is followed by (Ss c. 208-209) *thus was reported* ("*to kotozutaeshi mo*") and the statement that they became husband and wife. The narrator here leaves unclear the grammatical subject of the phrases "*kotozutaeshi*", "*monogatari ni katarinokoshite*", "*e-sōshi ni kakinokoshitari*" (*war reported; has been retold; has been written down in a picture book*), so the words *were even more amusing* seem to be not the opinion of

[249] Dōmoto 1934 p. 18.

the narrator but someone else's statement reported by the narrator, and also the person who retold the story and wrote it down in a picture book is not expressedly stated. The Kyōdai play does not contain these narratological aspects, concentrating on the lyrical mood of parting only.

Both sōshi end in considerably different moods, the Kyōdai play having an "*arigatai*" (auspicious and thankful) ending and *Kabuki no Saushi* the "*okashi*" epilogue.

In the Kyōdai *arigatai* epilogue (Kd c. 165-171), kabuki is proclaimed a divine dance and Okuni the deity from Izumo who came with the aim to purify sentient beings from evil by deigning to show this kabuki to them. This falls into the *honjimono* style typical in late Muromachi and Edo period literary works which propagate religious topics, especially the teaching of *honji-suijaku*, the Japanese kami deities taken as emanations of Buddhist deities. *Honjimono* were designed both for reading and storytelling, including *ko-jōruri* (pre-Chikamatsu jōruri) and *sekkyō*. Thus, besides the nō-based ghost-of-the-dead, the honji teaching, too, entered the realm of early kabuki, perhaps in half-humorous hyperbole.

The ending of *Kabuki no Saushi* is wholly in the spirit of Edo period pleasure-seeking hedonism. Its epilogue (Ss c. 212-219) emphasizes the consoling and cheering properties of kabuki and even acknowledges positive Buddhist effects to entertainment (*laughing at it and not getting reborn in a place of death*). The closing words "*okashi! okashi!*" arguably encapsulated the overall humorous impression one had of the kabuki performance and are likely the key to its popularity.

The difference in the two endings might also be explained by the difference of genre of the two texts—a drama-like text and a narrative telling of Okuni's life story.

ACTORS – OKUNI'S TROUPE

Another aspect the interpretation has outlined is an approximate idea about the set-up of Okuni's troupe. Asai, the author of the *Tōkaidō meishoki*, writes in retrospect "There was no shamisen in those times" [250] indicating that the shamisen had, by his own time, become an indispensable part of the musical aspect of kabuki. Following this comment, Asai goes on and says that Okuni's husband was Sanjūrō, a kyōgen actor, plus there was a certain Densuke who played *itoyori* - female roles. They had a scene to the east of the Third Street bridge, "at the back of Gion".[251]

The name *itoyori* might be, however, from a later date. It originally comes from the occupation of a maiden waiting for her beloved – spinning, and by the time Asai wrote his *Tōkaidō meishoki*, it had become the name of female roles that might subsequently develop into *onnagata* roles, as presumed by Ortolani[252]. The reference is nevertheless relevant because it represents further evidence that such roles had been taken up by men, or at least were believed to have been, as early as the starting years of the 17th century. It is hard to find a role for Densuke in what can be gathered from the images and the only possible solution, should one try to bring to terms the opposing accounts, would be that he perhaps played *chaya no kaka* in cases when Okuni did not. He might have enacted the effeminate Narihira as well, and perhaps some of the *young women* in the *kabuki odori* scene.

The 18th century Sadoshima's Diary[253] mentions another member of Okuni's troupe, Roppō, who "was extremely fond of entertainment of all sorts and therefore left the service of his lord and went to Kyoto. This was the time when the *rōnin*, Nagoya Sanzaemon, who had married the priestess O-Kuni from Izumo, was doing theatrical performances with her at Kitano in Kyoto. So he joined up with

[250] Asai 1979b 178.
[251] Asai 1979b 178. As he mentions this location after the information about Okuni dancing *nenbutsu odori* on a scene to the east of the Kitano shrine, Okuni's troupe seems to have been active all around Kyoto, according to Asai's account.
[252] Ortolani 1990 p. 91.
[253] Dunn and Torigoe 1969 p. 138.

Sanzaemon" and thus likely became the founder of a spectacular dancing element at exits or entrances. These were called *roppō* after him and performed "when visiting the Edo *sancha* girls"[254]. One could speculate whether Roppō was the actor who took up the *saruwaka* role in Okuni's performances.

It cannot be said with certainty what exactly the role played by the *saruwaka* consisted of, but he probably was the main joker impersonated by a male kyōgen actor. This role might have been yet another surviving element from the late 1500s *Nanto negi kyōgen*. *Saruwaka*'s action is referred to as *monomane*, lit. *imitation*. This is an archaic theatrical term used in various senses oscillating between theatricals (early 7th century), neutral acting (in Zeami) and – probably - humorous pantomime. While it is seen in Zeami's treatises in the meaning of "acting", it presumably assumed the meaning of "humorous imitation" or pantomime in the case of *saruwaka*. According to the Portuguese dictionaries *Vocabulario da lingoa de Iapam* and *Arte da lingoa de Iapam*, referring to the language around 1600, *monomane* was considered as a typical feature of kyōgen, in contrast to the *yūgen* elegance of nō. Thus, *monomane* seems to have reached the stage of denoting imitation in the sense of "aping", humorous exaggeration of human actions.[255] This development is testified by later classical kyōgen where *monomane* in the sense of "imitation" belonged among the traditional *shukō* or "plot twists".[256]

Hattori supposes that *saruwaka* did comical entries;[257] there is only one reference to this role in *Kabuki no Saushi* (c. 138): *the saruwaka came out at the due moment to join them*. This turn comes during the first kabuki dance of Okuni and Nagoya, and he is to be seen in the *chaya no asobi* depictions in all the three illustration sets. Moreover, his figure is also present in another of *Kabuki no Saushi* pictures as a rather child-size dancing figure with a *hachimaki* cloth wrapped around his head. He can be seen in the foreground below "Sanza" on the left hand side of the double picture:

[254] Dunn and Torigoe 1969 p. 138. The *sancha* girls were prostitutes of the third rank.
[255] Barth 1972 p. 197.
[256] Koyama, Taguchi and Hashimoto 1987 p. 315.
[257] Later, there appeared a special *iekyōgen* play on the topic of *saruwaka* at the Nakamura-za theatre, called *Saruwaka* (Kawatake Shigetoshi 1595 p. 296-7).

20. Sanza and *saruwaka* (left) and Okuni (right) – Ss (Ss pic. 11, 12)

All three illustration sets agree on one feature—he has a cloth wrapped around his head, showing only his face and the ends of sideburns. He holds a fan in his outstretched right hand in the Bunkakan picture, apparently trying to say something to the *chaya no kaka*, and he holds a folding fan in the last *chaya no asobi* Kyōdai picture, joining in dance with the other three figures. In *Kabuki no Saushi*, he does not hold a fan but seems to be in lively conversation with the male figure, standing on the engawa encircling what can be both the "room" of the residence and the stage, inside which Okuni, Nagoya and *chaya no kaka* can be seen.

This brings us to the question of who Okuni was. We see her as the character in the early kabuki performances, making herself known by means of the nō style *nanori shōdan* in the Kyōdai scroll (c. 3-6). The syntax of this *nanori* is, however, so intricate and its basic meaning so ambiguous that strictly speaking it offers, in the best tradition of nō-like textual ambiguity, as many as three possible expositions as to Okuni's identity, as already mentioned:

I. *I am a priest(ess) of the Izumo Shrine, I am someone's daughter and they call me Kuni the holy maiden. To teach kabuki odori and to...*

(shanin nite sōr**ō, s**oregashi ga musume)

II. *I am the daughter of a certain priest of the Izumo Shrine and they call me Kuni the holy maiden. To teach kabuki odori and to...*

(shanin nite sōr**ō s**oregashi ga musume)

III. *A certain priest of the Izumo Shrine had a daughter whom they call Kuni the holy maiden, and he taught to her kabuki odori.*

(shanin nite sour**ō s**oregashi **ga, m**usume **ni,** kuni to mōsu miko no sōrō wo, *kabuki odori* to mōsu koto wo narawashi)

Barth wrote that Okuni learned kabuki from her father[258], so his statement is probably based on the IIIrd option. To sum up, she professes to have come to Kyoto from the Izumo Shrine where she danced kabuki, whether taught to her by her father (III.) or not (I., II.). In this connection, some scholars suppose that Okuni's troupe might have been one of the troupes just *pretending* to be from the province, while actually being *from the Kinai - central provinces around Kyoto*. "Izumo" would, in that case, only be a sort of a "trademark".[259] Hattori notes that it is not at all certain if "Izumo no" was just an epithet, or whether she really came from Izumo.[260] This would also show the continuation of the trend pointed out by Yamanaka for the late Muromachi nō, in which the regional flavour had its important place.[261] Izumo would thus have become a new literary *makurakotoba*.

Okuni calls herself *Kuni* in the *nanori* (Kd c.5), so the O- prefix in "Okuni" is really just the polite prefix added to her name by others, while her "own" name was Kuni. This *shōdan* also insinuates a certain "sacredness" of the kabuki dance, as it was learned by a maiden serving at the Grand Shrine of Izumo. This sacredness is then explicitly emphasized at the end of the Kyōdai *kotobagaki* in its *honjimono* style ending.

There are also insinuations that Okuni should have gone to Sado, in connection with the success of later *Sadogashima kabuki*, but there is no clear evidence about this, nor when this should have happened[262]. Nevertheless she does seem to travel about Japan. There are references to her performing at Kuwana near Ise in the autumn of 1604 and the final mention of her comes from 1607 when she performed in Edo Castle.

[258] Barth 1972 p. 196.
[259] Ogasawara 1984 p. 13.
[260] Hattori 1997 p. 16-18. Hattori here also gives a summary of the various hypotheses regarding Okuni and her legendary origin from Izumo.
[261] Yamanaka 1998 p. 164.
[262] Kawade 1956a p. 310. "Izumo no Okuni".

As concerns Okuni's historicity, some scholars maintain that she was no more than the *name of one of the characters* (e.g. Ishiwari Matsutarō[263]). On the other hand, the unsigned explanatory afterword to the Kyōdai scroll says: "Some Japanese scholars in this field are of the opinion that she lived the rest of her lonely life in a convent in her birthplace, *Kizuki*, *Izumo* Province, and died in 1607 or 1613, at the age of 87"[264]. This age data must be, however, taken as an extreme view, considering the references putting the prime of her art around 1603 – according to the unsigned afterword, this would make Okuni either 77 or 88 years old at the time her art was said to be at its prime, a rather improbable circumstance. The historicity of Okuni is further supported by the fact that, reportedly, there are as many as two Okuni's graves[265], one in her birthplace province of Izumo and the other in the Kōtōin ward of the Daitokuji Temple in Kyoto.

[263] Ishiwari Matsutarō, afterword to the reprint of *Nara-e-hon Okuni kabuki (Kabuki no Saushi)* 1934.
[264] *Kuni jo-kabuki ekotoba* 1993 p. 1 (pagination of the English afterword) – Unsigned explanatory afterword to the 1951 edition of *Kuni jo-kabuki ekotoba*, republished in its 1993 publication.
[265] This was not an exceptional phenomenon, e.g. Chikamatsu Monzaemon is also reported to have two graves.

THE *KIRISHITAN* ISSUE

It is particularly the Kōtōin of the Daitokuji and its contemporaneous context which have added to the hypothesis that Okuni might have been Christian. How Christianity might have informed Okuni kabuki is not certain but even if it had, any *Kirishitan* touch seems to have been lost by the time the *Okuni sōshi* were written. Nevertheless, a short stop at this hypothesis can add some contextual details concerning early kabuki.

The Kōtōin sub-temple was founded by the powerful daimyō Hosokawa Tadaoki, whose wife, Garasha, was a prominent Christian and died in 1600. The fact that the grave not only of Okuni but also of Nagoya are there, suggests their ties with the Hosokawa family. These can be imagined to have been patronage, and would explain the *Kirishitan* elements concerning Okuni kabuki.[266]

Among the aspects that support this idea is the western apparel of the Bunkakan *kabukimono* with what appears to be a rosary around his neck. If the figure in the Bunkakan picture is taken to be Nagoya, his potential Christianity can also be presumed on the basis of his first lord, Gamō Ujisato having been Christian, and so, supposedly, were his retainers. Having served a Christian daimyō, Nagoya would pass as a typical *kabukimono,* wearing an eccentric outfit and having a "exotic" Christian aura about him. Thus his *Kirishitan* background would add to his exceptionality – his "kabuki-ness". Besides the Christian radiance, however, the western attributes can also be linked to Toyotomi Hideyoshi's fondness for western clothes after 1591.[267] Wearing Christian symbols like crosses was the fashion of the day.[268] According to Okada Akio, rosaries must have been a common sight. He judges so, besides the Bunkakan image, also based on reports from the second half of the 16th century of some Christians in Kyoto wearing crosses and as many as 15 to 20 rosaries around their necks, which practice was, however, forbidden in Kyoto

[266] Based on information in the plaques of Kōtōin during my fieldwork trip in January 2012.
[267] Leims 1990 p. 108.
[268] Dōmoto 1934 p. 20.

in 1576.[269] He writes that samurai gunmen also took these symbols with them when going to war as a sort of fetishes.[270] Even *Kabuki no Saushi* speaks of a *juzu*, i. e. supposedly Buddhist or Shugendō rosary, held by Okuni: (Ss c128-129) *she wore an* irataka *rosary around her neck.* Based on the word *irataka*, an "irataka no shuzu (or "juzu")" was probably a pointed Buddhist rosary with rattling sound. However, the possibility cannot be excluded that this might have been a reference to a foreign article (Christian rosary) by means of the domestic term (Buddhist rosary), or that the term *juzu* could have referred at that time to the Christian rosary as well. Also, one of the later images, found in *Kabuki Zukan*, depicts Okuni with a cross on a rosary hanging around her neck.

Leims suggests that the cross could have been used in the earliest forms of *kabuki odori* for an associative potentializing effect as a *sign for a kabukimono character*.[271] And Komiya speculated that the cross might have either shown a hidden link between kabuki and the western theatre, or might have been a hint to show Okuni's secret connection with the Christians.[272] If Christianity was in vogue - and with the reprisals against Christians it might have well become a popular sphere for the *kabukimono* to show off their contempt of official authority - Nagoya's appearance as a *bōrei* might carry along the Christian-based idea of resurrection after death. Thus the appearing of his ghost would be a merger of the *mugen* nō and the Christian story, the religious mixture made all the more eclectic by the ending words of the Kyōdai scroll which proclaims Okuni an embodiment of the Shinto deity of Izumo.

Okuni might have been a *yayako* dancer in childhood, and she could have danced *nenbutsu* later, but what makes her the "founder of kabuki" is the generally supposed fact that, wearing male dress, she impersonated a *kabukimono*, and both the Kyōdai and Bunkakan pictures depict her as the dancer of both *nenbutsu* and kabuki. As shown above, the social phenomenon of "*kabukimono*" is testified in 1600 in the Portuguese dictionary, so it could not have been Okuni's invention; nevertheless, I propose that her performance might have *canonized the*

[269] Okada 1942 p. 61.
[270] Okada 1942 p. 66 and 151.
[271] Leims 1990 p. 108.
[272] Komiya 1935 p.151-172.

kabukimono style on the stage and inspired *kabukimono*s' demeanor in practice, adding to their aura of brazen courage and exotism. Okuni's theatrical skit might have become a hallmark for the provocative style of clothing and challenging behaviour of boisterous youngsters in Japanese cities from around 1600. *Kabuki odori*, encapsulating the *kabukimono* ways, was thus unacceptable for public order, and this might be one of the motives behind a whole series of bans on kabuki about to start soon and continuing throughout the 17th century.

CONCLUSION

The study addressed the earliest phase of kabuki represented by the erotic-based skits of Izumo no Okuni. The core part of the research based on hermeneutics consisted in textual analysis using primary sources which are four earliest kabuki materials (*Okuni sōshi*).

Before getting to the core of the research, the study has presented an overview of the rich and intricate network of various performing arts with all their genres in the last decades of the Japanese Middle Ages. The late, post-classical nō production was characterized by the dramatic (*geki nō*) and visual (*furyū nō*) effects. These experiments provided impetus for further development. Even the kabuki acting styles, *aragoto* and *wagoto*, can be traced back to this phase of post-classical nō. It was shown that the popular unofficial side lines of nō and kyōgen, including troupes only *imitating* them, were among those which contributed to early kabuki. In particular, the inclusion of *humour* in the male joker *saruwaka* and in the character of "tea house lady" demonstrate direct connections with the so-called *Nanto negi kyōgen* actors, who were not members of the more dignified kyōgen actors affiliated to the official nō troupes. A certain influence from the *Kirishitan* culture of Christian mission can be observed in one of the earliest Okuni kabuki depictions, the Bunkakan picture, containing the image of a male figure wearing what looks like Christian-based accessories. One of the later materials, *Kabuki Zukan*, contains the image of Izumo no Okuni or, more probably, someone *enacting* the role of Okuni, who also appears with Christian symbols. These circumstances might show a connection with the earliest high-class Christian convertite in Japan – Hosokawa Garasha, in whose family cemetery is located the grave of both Okuni and her lover (husband) and possibly colleague actor Nagoya Sanza. The "Okuni" image, situated at the very end of the *Kabuki Zukan* scroll without any textual comment accompanying it, appears to me as a silent *protest* against the anti-Christian reprisals, or at the very least, a remembrance of times of freedom, including the freedom of kabuki itself.

Okuni's *kabuki odori* drew both on traditional and contemporaneous sources. I analysed the *Okuni sōshi* texts and it became apparent that the *Kuni Jo-kabuki Ekotoba* (Kyōdai scroll) libretto had a clearly nō-like character, demonstrating a very concrete link in the process of kabuki genesis to the nō roots: the work starts exactly as a nō (or kyōgen) play while turning, in the course of the text, into something different and new – a dramatic text of early kabuki. Although dating from a period several years, or perhaps a decade, later than the historical 1603 Okuni kabuki performances, the nō-like structure of the Kyōdai scroll can be considered a realistic reflection of the dramatic structure existing in the period when Okuni kabuki was at the peak of its success. However, in trying to be objective, I do not exclude the alternative explanation that the Kyōdai scroll can be considered as not just its author's attempt to imitate nō, following and emulating the accepted theatre conventions codified by the nō tradition; it could actually be a *parody* of nō. Be it one way or other, as the text of the Kyōdai scroll continues, it abruptly changes from the nō form into a new one. It can be said to encapsulate *the point of birth of kabuki*. At this point, nō is still regarded as the model to be followed—or, in the vein of kyōgen, parodied perhaps—while, at the same time, new content and new audiences have demanded new ways of expression. Parodying nō was one of kyōgen's popular creative approaches, and taking into consideration the close ties of kyōgen and early kabuki, the same approach can be indentified in the case of the latter. A point of fracture between the two dramatic styles can be seen within the work itself, in the *issei* scene where Nagoya appears as a *bōrei* (spirit of the dead), after which the *nōgaku* structure vanishes. The fact that the nō structure is only the starting strategy of the play, evolving into something completely new, un-nō-like, could be taken as an indication that it is the original plan, probably very close to how Okuni's performance had been conceived.

The Kyōdai scroll retains a serious aura by stating at its end that kabuki is a dance brought about by a reincarnation of the Izumo deity. Yet in the material which is regarded several years younger, *Kabuki no Saushi*, we see the final word *okashi* by which, in my opinion, the work heralds what would become a typical feature of the Edo period literature - *humour*.

The fact that humour became an intergral part of early kabuki can be seen as a direct heritage from kyōgen via the *kyōgenshi* actors who most probably

acted in Okuni kabuki. Kyōgen, which used to be the conduit of humour in previous centuries, had penetrated into the structure of the performance, as can be established on the basis of the *Okuni sōshi*. In its opening passages, it assumed the *nōgaku* structure of *shōdan* strictly copying the opening passages of classical nō while mixing in the typically kyōgen-like parody and humour to prevail in the ensuing parts. The sensual and erotic skit about the *kabukimono* who *encapsulates a fashionable trend* combined the classical *mugen nō* device with the modern period's approach to *eroticism*. This is how the forms fused and reformulated themselves: the Middle Ages gave way to the Early Modern Era, and the "*mugen* humour" of the *Okuni sōshi* was its representative.

Eroticism and humour were interconnected, as can be guessed from the ambience of the *chaya*—"tea house"—as well as from the *furo-agari*, which probably was a bath scene, the description of which is contained in *Kabuki no Saushi* in the form of the encore. One of the clue figures in Okuni kabuki was the *chaya no kaka*. *Kabuki no Saushi* also writes *chiya no kaka*, which in the modern transcription is treated as a mere spelling mistake for "*chaya*", although it repeats this spelling several times and can even be seen in the inscription inside one of the illustrations. One wonders if it was supposed to mean "cha no kaka" (tea lady). In any case, this wording denotes the woman who entertains Nagoya Sanzaburō's ghost in what is supposedly the entertainment quarter, and I suggest that the noun could even be in plural, denoting the female inmates of the "*chaya*" brothel. The performance's erotic charge was further enhanced by the outstanding element of *transvestism* or *gender reversal*, which is an element linked to the *shirabyōshi* dancers of the Middle Ages. It was a vital element in early kabuki, as can be seen in the *Okuni sōshi* images.

My reading of the figure of Nagoya Sanzaburō is that the *Okuni sōshi* codified the "*kabukimono*" as *a type*, probably framed in the mode of Ariwara no Narihira. Both Nagoya Sanza and Ariwara no Narihira are portrayed in the *Kabuki no Saushi*. It can be concluded that the depiction of *kabukimono* contained in the *Kabuki no Saushi* might have been, due to *kabuki odori* popularity, a key source for codifying this kind of social behaviour as a *type* (first dramatic, and subsequently social), as it also appears in later kabuki. The impressive success Okuni reaped was, to a great extent, caused by spreading rumours about the apparition during the

preformance. It can be concluded that this was original—Okuni's own achievement not seen before, with Nagoya the central figure of one of her skits. Okuni dancing the previously popular *nenbutsu odori*, the spirit of the dead Sanzaburō appearing, and them both dancing together are all reminiscent of nō, in particular *mugen nō*, in which events of this kind are the central motif. That is why I regard the apparition of the "spirit of the dead" (*bōrei*) of Nagoya in Okuni's kabuki as a direct reception of the classical nō model applied in constructing the dramatic plot in early kabuki.

Although the historicity of Izumo no Okuni has not been the primary goal of this research, it seems that the *Okuni sōshi* texts deal with performances in which Okuni played herself the figure based on her own life. There has been a historical-theatrological controversy over the issue of who played Nagoya Sanzaburō and if the story of (O-)Kuni and Nagoya is *the* love story that formed the core of the libretto. The question is where the boundary lies between (O-)Kuni as the real dancer and (O-) Kuni as the theatrical character. With Nagoya dead and Okuni inviting his spirit during her performance, in keeping with the rules of the *mugen nō*, the enigma of early kabuki is - *who* was it that actually appeared. The pictures show *one* or *two kabukimono* dancing, and the question remains as to who enacted Nagoya if he was dead. The analysis of the materials has not helped to answer the question whether Izumo no Okuni was a real historical figure or just a dramatic character of early kabuki skits. There are indications that she may have danced even in Edo Castle. Nevertheless, the figure of Nagoya Sanza has been researched in Japan and a possible historical model for him was indeed found, which would add to Okuni's historicity as well. Their reported graves in the family cemetery of the Hosokawa clan in the Kōtōin of Daitokuji in Kyoto support their historicity. This could be the subject of a future field research.

My analysis of the textual discrepancies between the Kyōdai scroll and the Bunkakan fragments has yielded results which could indicate the possibility of the Bunkakan text being older, and thus perhaps closer to the original Okuni kabuki version than the Kyōdai text. My explanation of the controversial number of figures in the two different pictorial renderings of the *chaya no asobi* scene—the "triple" (Bunkakan) and the "quadruple" (Kyōdai, Saushi) is that the triple Bunkakan depiction is not necessarily the older of the two, as proposed by Hattori Yukio, but that the quadruple configuration might reflect the scene as played when Nagoya

was still a member of the troupe, before he entered the service of his brother-in-law in 1600. The triple Bunkakan depiction might be either the scene applying the gender-reversal in Nagoya, or it might show the scene as played after Nagoya's death. The scene where Nagoya's spirit appears dates the composition of the Kyōdai scroll's dramatic text to the time after the death of the presumed model for Nagoya—the historical Nagoshi Sanzaburō. This would have been after 1603 or 1605, the quadruple configuration probably being a *reminiscence* of the older cast which included living Nagoya as actor.

However, the depictions of performances may not always be true. This holds for the Nara-e-hon production, which includes *Okuni sōshi*, which, sometimes exhibit a surprising inconsistency between the text and illustration. Irregularities of this sort are typically ascribed to the division of labor between illustrators and calligraphers. This circumstance must be taken into consideration when interpreting *Okuni kabuki sōshi*, too.

Moreover, the absence of the *nenbutsu* skit in the *Kabuki no Saushi*, with Nagoya appearing without any previous religious ritual, could lead us to hypothesize that this was an older form than the other two materials, coming from a time at which *nenbutsu* might not yet have been integrated into the kabuki performance but Nagoya was already appearing as returning from the afterworld. The described Saushi performance, if we can consider it a single performance at all, is rather incoherent in comparison with the Kyōdai play. The latter could thus reflect a newer, more mature version with some further revisions and additions, including that of the *nenbutsu*, a dramatic element relating to Nagoya's arrival. At the end of the Kyōdai scroll, Okuni is venerated as a godly emanation from Izumo Grand Shrine, so the composition must come from the time when the legend of her supernatural character had started to spread. Alternatively, the legend might have been created by this very work and others like it. Since Okuni's death date is not known today, the period *post quem* cannot be exactly established. On the basis of the above, a conclusion would be that the two illustration sets of *Kabuki no Saushi* and Kyōdai scroll cannot be taken as trustworthy documentation of the earliest form of kabuki. Even with this conclusion, however, one would have to concede that the illustrations are a depiction of the general "image" the readers of these books were expected to imagine in their minds based on what they read in the *kotobagaki*; the

rational and realistic was abandonded in the name of the emotional and artistic which either followed or guided the prospective reader's imagination. Narratologically, Nagoya undergoes a triple transformation: from a stage character of "Nagoya" into "Nagoya impersonating the lady of the tea house" to "real life Nagoya".

The insertion of *nenbutsu* in Okuni kabuki was novel in combining the previous *nenbutsu* tradition with the nō-style *bōrei* appearance. What was novel here was that Okuni, a female, enacted a Buddhist priest. Textual analysis has shown that the Kyōdai image might be the *only* existing early depiction of Okuni´s *nenbutsu odori*. By dancing the *nenbutsu odori* dance, Okuni assumed the role close to that of the *waki* in a nō play. The literary properties of the *Okuni sōshi* include literary tropes and techniques known from classical poetry and nō, like *kakekotoba* (pivot words, lit. "overlapping words"), *uta makura* (toponyms with poetic connotations), *jo kotoba* (introductory words), *sūji no asobi* (wordplay with numbers) and a figure based on *kanmei-zukushi* (listing of names of the Tale of Genji chapters). The orchestra as seen in the sōshi depictions is identical with the nō orchestra: comprising the fue flute, the big batton drum and the big and small hand drums. In this respect, too, Okuni kabuki can be regarded as an heir to nō. The new performance must have been perceived as a new, popular kind of "nō", coloured by what Hattori characterized as a "*kabukitaru*" touch which perhaps included a distant reflection of the *Kirishitan* idea of resurrection.

Based on the above, it can be concluded that Okuni and Nagoya were probably real living people whose personal story gained such popularity that, after the theatrical success of Okuni herself, it started to be adapted by other troupes of female kabuki, eventually living on in literary adaptations like the *monogatari* represented by *Kabuki no Saushi*.

The *Okuni sōshi* materials indicate the approximate form Okuni kabuki might have had at the time of its greatest success around 1603: it had the form of a play consisting of a succession of enacted skits with dances and songs connected by a simple plot. It started in the *nō* style, followed by the *nenbutsu odori*, through which the spirit of Nagoya was evoked. He danced kabuki with Okuni, and his wish to visit the "*chaya*" was followed by a series of dance songs which included a sequence of *kabuki odori* and *jōruri modoki* songs. Several other dance forms could

be presented (acc. to *Saushi*) like the *musume odori* dance, the *Narihira kyōran* kyōgen piece and the *furo-agari* dance as an encore. The parting of Nagoya and Okuni ensued, concluded with an auspicious ending of an either apotheotical (Kyōdai) or amusing (*Saushi*) character.

The results of the textual and pictorial analysis were subsequently placed in a chronology based on the comparison of *Okuni sōshi* with other materials, especially the texts *Nozuchi* and *Tōkaidō meishoki.* It seems probable that at the beginning, Okuni danced *nenbutsu* at the eastern side of the Fifth Street Bridge, later moving up one stretch of the riverbank to the vicinity of the Fourth Street Bridge, which is when she enriched her performance with topical additions. Finally, she settled down at the eastern or southern edge of the Kitano shrine where she probably put up a permanent stage and where her popularity reached its peak. *Tōkaidō meishoki* mentions the Gion area east of the Kamo river, too.

It can be concluded that the use of humour and eroticism identified in the *Okuni sōshi* probably expresses and reflects the spirit of the times; on the other hand, the possibility cannot be excluded that it was also meant as a recollection of the "golden old times" when such amusements had not yet been banned. The decades between the ending of the civil wars and the implementation of the various bans were probably looked back upon nostalgically as the good old times when people used to be free to seek out pleasures. It was a time when life was – just "*okashi*", before the strong hand of the Tokugawa shogunate took hold. Thus, humour seems to be a very strong presence in the "*nenbutsu-mugen*-kabuki" which was Okuni kabuki.

SUMMARY

The study identifies a "point of fracture" in the development of classical Japanese theatre, which is the transition from nō to kabuki. Kabuki as a novel theatrical genre appeared in early 1600s into an ambience in which nōgaku (i. e. nō and kyōgen) was the established norm. The manuscripts called *Okuni sōshi* are the only surviving material dating from a period in any way near the historical performances of Izumo no Okuni. These performances are generally accepted as the start of kabuki which represented a new current in the Japanese theatre. The study analyses *Okuni sōshi*, both its textual and pictorial aspects and demonstrates how the point of fracture between nō(gaku) and kabuki can be observed within the texts and in the images.

One of the texts, the "Kyōdai play" in the manuscript *Kuni Jo-kabuki Ekotoba*, representing the earliest extant kabuki libretto, opens with the traditional nō structure of *shōdan* parts, after which, at one point, it turns into something new – the early kabuki. The second *Okuni sōshi* text called *Kabuki no Saushi* reflects to a great extent the Kyōdai libretto with various modifications which might partly be due to the latter´s different character – rather than a libretto, it is a prose or story-telling text depicting early kabuki performances.

The study tries to identify figures of the kabuki skits, depicted in the texts and pictures, with what we know about the set-up of Okuni´s actor troupe. It also addresses the dilemma between Okuni-the-actress and Okuni-the-kabuki-figure, reflected also in the similar duality of Okuni´s lover Nagoya Sanza. Having a ghost of a dead person (*revenant*) appear on the stage, in the best of the tradition of *mugen nō* (dreams and specters plays), and uniting this apparition with humour, resulted in a novel and seemingly paradoxical phenomenon of "*mugen* humour" which the study regards as epitomy of a unique combination of novelty and traditionality in early kabuki.

REZUMÉ

Studie identifikuje „bod zlomu“ ve vývoji klasického japonského divadla, který představuje přechod od nó ke kabuki. Kabuki jako nový divadelní žánr vznikl začátkem 17. století v prostředí, kde etablovanou normou bylo nógaku (tj. nó a kjógen). Rukopisy známé jako *Okuni sóši* jsou jediným dochovaným materiálem z doby blízké historickým představením tanečnice Izumo-no Okuni. Tato představení jsou všeobecně přijímána jako počátek kabuki, které bylo v japonském divadle novým proudem. Studie analyzuje *Okuni sóši* po jejich textové i obrázkové stránce a demonstruje, jak se bod zlomu mezi nó(gaku) a kabuki dá pozorovat přímo uvnitř textu i v ilustracích.

Jeden z těchto textů, „kjódaiská hra“ z rukopisu *Kuni Džo-kabuki Ekotoba*, která představuje nejranější zachované kabukiové libreto, začíná tradiční nóovou strukturou tzv. *šódanů,* a po nich se v jednom bodě hra mění na něco nového – rané kabuki. Druý text *Okuni sóši,* tradičně označován *Kabuki no Sauši,* odráží do značné míry kjódaiské libreto, ale s různými obměnami, jež částečně souvisí s jiným charakterem tohoto textu – nejde totiž o libreto, jako spíš o prozaický nebo vypravěčský text popisující představení raného kabuki.

Studie se pokouší o identifikaci postav kabukiových scének, popisovaných v těchto textech a ilustracích, s tím, co víme o složení Okuniina hereckého souboru. Řeší také dilema mezi Okuni jako herečkou a Okuni jako postavou kabuki, které se rovněž odráží v podobné podvojnosti Okuniina milence Nagoja Sanzy. Nechat na jevišti objevit se duchu mrtvého (*revenantu*), v nejlepší tradici *mugen nó* (her snů a zjevení) a spojit toto zjevení s humorem, to byly novátorské kroky, jež měly za následek nový a zdánlivě paradoxní jev „*mugenového* humoru“, a právě ten studie považuje za ztělesnění svébytné kombinace nového a tradičního v raném kabuki.

APPENDIX: *Okuni sōshi* texts

Alternative names of *Okuni sōshi*

The *Okuni sōshi* have been known under several names and some of the *sōshi* are known under the same title. That is why an overview of current designations is presented here. For the sake of conciseness and clarity, if a name occurs in a longer and shorter variants, the part which can be abridged is in brackets:

1. Kyōdai scroll: *Kuni Jo-kabuki Ekotoba*[273] 国女歌舞妓絵詞
(Kyoto University Library)
Okuni Kabuki Sōshi 阿国歌舞妓草紙,
Kyōdaibon ("Kyōto University scroll", used in Japanese scholarly circles),
(Okuni Kabuki no) Nara-e-hon （阿国歌舞妓）奈良絵本 (previous popular name).

Its copy ***Nara-e-hon (Okuni Kabuki)*** 奈良絵本（阿国歌舞妓）
(Waseda Theatre Museum), also *Okuni kabuki*, is an engraved colour woodblock print copy of the Kyōdai scroll made at Yoneyamadō in 1922. The reprint of 1934 contains the afterword by Ishiwari Matsutarō (1881-1936) dated November 1934.[274]

[273] It also appears as *Kunijo kabuki ekotoba* in Latin alphabet, but the former word division represents better the lexical structure "Kuni's female kabuki in word and picture".
[274] As Ishiwari writes, the copy's picture reproductions have a slightly different touch ("*omomuki"*) in the technique of the strokes than the original Kyōdai book (Ishiwari Matsutarō's afterword to the reprint of *Nara-e-hon Okuni kabuki* 1934).

2. *Kabuki (no) Saushi* (*pron*. [so:śi][275]) かぶきさうし (Shōchiku Ōtani Library in Ginza, Tokyo)

Nara-e-hon Okuni Kabuki 奈良絵本阿国歌舞妓 (earlier name),

Sasaki-shi-bon 笹木氏本 ("Mr Sasaki's scroll"),

Fukusuke-bon ("Fukusuke's scroll"),

Umetama-bon (Kabuki no Saushi) ("Umetama's scroll (– Kabuki no Saushi)"),

Ōtani-toshokan-bon ("Ōtani Library scroll").

Kabuki Saushi[276] (Waseda Theatre Museum) is a colotype (photograph) copy made at Yoneyamadō in 1935 from the original *Kabuki Saushi* for Waseda Theatre Museum.

3. Bunkakan text: ***Okuni Kabuki E-kotoba Dankan*** 阿国歌舞伎絵詞断簡 (Yamato Bunkakan in Nara) (in this study also referred to as "Bunkakan fragments")

Okuni Kabuki (Sōshi) 阿国歌舞伎草紙

4. *Kottōshū* fragments: *Okuni Kabuki Kozu* 阿国歌舞伎古図 (part of the *Kottōshū* publication)

Okuni Kabuki Zu 阿国歌舞伎図 ("Illustrations of Okuni's kabuki"),

Kottō Kozu 骨董古図 ("Old illustrations from the Kottō[shū]"),

Keichō Nenchū no E – Okuni Kabuki Zu 慶長年中の絵阿国歌舞伎図 ("Keichō era pictures – Okuni kabuki illustrations").

These fragments were published in the *Kottōshū*, a collection of old documents edited as a book series from 1813 to 1815, compiled and annotated by the writer Santō Kyōden (1761-1816). One whole chapter, p. 200-205, is devoted to the source pertaining to Okuni kabuki which consists of two pictures and one page of text. These are identical to the Bunkakan fragments and seem to be a copy of them.

[275] I preserve the historical spelling of the diphthong - "s***au****shi*" - for two reasons: firstly, to reflect the fact that its name, if given in kana, is spelled さうし , i. e. s**au**shi, rather than そうし s**ou**shi; and secondly, to distinguish this work clearly from the generic umbrella term *kabuki sōshi*. The pronunciation is, nevertheless, modern, i. e. [so:śi].

[276] As in *Kabuki no Saushi*, I preserve the historical spelling of the diphthong - "s***au****shi*". The pronunciation is, nevertheless, modern, i. e. [so:śi].

Publications used

The translations were made on the basis of the following publications:

Kyōdai scroll: *Kuni Jo-kabuki Ekotoba – Kotobagaki oyobi kaisetsu kyō I, II.* 1993, with Prefaces by Izui Hisanosuke dated 1951 and Asao Naohiro dated 1993, and unsigned Japanese and English introductory afterwords. Kyoto: Library of Kyoto University.

Kabuki no Saushi: Geinōshi Kenkyūkai (eds.) 1973 *Nihon shomin bunkashi-ryō shūsei VI*, 442-452. Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō.

Bunkakan text: Hattori Yukio 1968 "Shoki kabuki no ichigashō ni tsuite – Yamato Bunkakanbon 'Okuni kabuki sōshi' kō" in *Yamato Bunka XLIX*, November, p. 7. Nara: Yamato Bunkakan.

OKUNI SŌSHI TRANSLATIONS

The texts are full of classical Japanese figures, especially *kakekotoba* (pivot words, lit. [homonymous] "overlaps of words") and *makurakotoba* (epithets, often based on place names with poetic connotations, in which case they are termed *uta makura*). What we would call the "logical" line of story is often blurred by these tropes, in which the syntax collapses in the name of generating an explosion of multilayer, connotational aspect of the polysemantic lexemes. My translation follows this classical Japanese poetics, in an attempt to convey this play with words, a specific feature of Japanese literary texts, in the English version as well.

1. KUNI JO-KABUKI EKOTOBA ("Kyōdai scroll")

[Inscription on the outer label, attached to the beginning of the scroll, dated:]

Kaei 3 (1850) 9 m 16 d

At the end of the year Keichō 12 (1607), there was a public [nō] performance (*kanjin*) of Kanze and Komparu between the main circle (*Honmaru*) and western circle (*Nishimaru*) of Edo Castle. After that, following them, a woman called Okuni peformed kabuki. [...[277]]

Picture 1 - figures in front of the *nezumikido* theatre entrance.

[1-2] The springtime blossoming in the Capital - let's go to *kabuki odori*. So,

[3–6, three possibilities of interpretation:]

I.. I am a priest(ess) of the Izumo Shrine, I am someone's daughter and they call me Kuni the holy maiden. [I am here t]o teach *kabuki odori* and because...

II. I am the daughter of a certain priest of the Izumo Shrine and they call me Kuni the holy maiden. [I am here t]o o teach *kabuki odori* and because...

III. A certain priest of the Izumo Shrine had a daughter whose name is Kuni the holy maiden and he taught to her *kabuki odori*. Because...

[6-8] ... [because] the times of the Heavenly rule [of the Emperor] are so peaceful, I humbly went up to the Capital, thinking I would try and dance there.

[277] There follows unclear information about "*chapter and scroll number 10*".

Picture 2 – a torii (probably Izumo Taisha) and two male figures, probably seeing Kuni off.

[9-20] My birthplace, the province of Izumo, I left behind, in the hazed-over distance of a spring day, I passed Nagato[278] the provincial capital, stayed at [a series of puns follows] Ōno = "the vast [kakekotoba: Ō] plain where one meets with" such [=excellent] times/era, Oh, Hiroshima with no narrow roads! – there the shrine to visit is Itsukushima, the ship stopped at the beach of Narata, the fishing skills at Ushimado[279] the moon there linked the Akashi shore, and the further goal of my journey – the centre of the world [makurakotoba[280]] – Naniwa *the words of leaves, good? bad?*[281] the young leaves in the wind blowing through the Island of Happiness [kakekotoba] whose port waves calm down in this fair era with which we now meet [kakekotoba] at the Meeting Slope! With a hurry in my heart, in no time did I quickly reach the Capital.

Picture 3 - Okuni's travel – horseback figures, sea boat at the background beyond the clouds.

[22-29] And here – as I came to the Capital, I felt like viewing the imperial city sakuras with a peaceful mind, it is the best season for such a spring thing to do, the famous phrase – the Capital in blossom, look here – look there – flower viewing entertainment everywhere flowery sleeves one upon another, various trains dyed by them, under each tree lost [kakekotoba] sitting in a circle with others [in entertainment], and with the singing still more interesting.

Picture 4 - preparations for cherry blossom viewing.

Picture 5 - cherry blossom viewing. A standing woman, most probably Okuni, in a dance-like posture with a fan in her hand.

[31-44] So, here - the famous place for cherry blossoms outside the Capital, the colour of the blossoms at the Jishu Gongen [= Kiyomizudera], at the eagles' hill flowers do blossom – the Eagle's [=Vulture's] Peak spring is this? one wonders, and then – oh, Ōhara! The blossoming cherries at the mountain of Oshio! And now – the imperial procession is what I see? And then, on my return, I view the blossoming cherries at Ōuchiyama. At Konoedono the thread-thin [weeping] cherry trees. Amidst the blossoming alley of thousand stems of cherry trees there are no "four pains", I mused, and came to the Heaven-replenishing God. Excuse me, please, this is the gathering of all people, high and low, on the 25th day of the New Year, visiting the shrine, and at this occasion, I would like to start with *kabuki odori*.

[44-65] In the beginning, the nenbutsu odori to present to you: *kūmyō* [standard *kōmyō*] *henjō* [the shine (of Amida) spreading all across] *jippō-sekai nen-bus-shujō sesshu, fu sha* [all the sentient beings in all ten worlds around, invoking the Buddha, will be admitted to come to me, I shall refuse none][282] *namu amida butsu, namu amida* [Glory to the Buddha of Unlimited Splendor, Glory to Amida] *namu amida butsu, namu amida*. How vain! what good is it to catch [something] on a hook? catch with your heart [instead] the Name of Amida: *namu amida butsu, namu amida*.

Picture 6 - a figure dancing nenbutsu on the stage with four musicians at the background.

---

[278] Province on the northern coast of the westernmost part of Honshu, west of Izumo.
[279] A port in the southeast of Okayama prefecture.
[280] Perhaps an allusion or a quotation from a tanka.
[281] *Yoshi-ashi no* a refrain used in Zeami's *Yamamba*.
[282] C. 47 to 51 is the standard nenbutsu text, identical with, e.g., that in Zeami's nō *Atsumori.*

[66-80] Attracted by the voice of the nenbutsu, let me leave the sphere of sin-caused barriers. Hey, Okuni, allow me to humbly talk to you. Do you not recognize me? In the longing for our past, I have come all the way here.

How unexpected![283] Who is it amidst the gathered crowd of high and low? Should I know you? Who would you be? Would you deign to say your name?

Are you asking me what kind of a person I am? Why, I am your companion of long ago and I have never forgotten the kabuki that we learned, and here, with the "foolish-words-and-colourful-speech" [= theatre tradition][284], having also entered the path of the Truth of *SanButsu ten Bō Rin* [the Venerable Buddha setting the Wheel of Dharma in motion], I have appeared here in this way.

Picture 7 – (a two panel broad picture) Nagoya standing in front of the stage on which Okuni stands in the nenbutsu costume.

[81-88] So am I seeing in reality someone who is no longer in this world? I would not even think/[kakekotoba] Iwashiro [utamakura[285]] pines with their numerous leaves-of-words [=poetic diction (of the theatre)] our sleeves coming one across another [kakekotoba] in Kitano where are the Right Guard's words said [makurakotoba to yuu = say/evening] with evening faces [kakekotoba[286]] the Yūgao flowers leaving their traces in the pearly vines [kakekotoba[287]] hanging over [kakekotoba] at least sometimes, do you reminisce [on me], on the tips of the leaves-of-words? I have understood. So you are the kabukibito of old, master Nagoya!

[89-96] Well, Nagoya – I feel shame, as Nagoya [kakekotoba] peaceful were not my worldly ways... the human heart [probably a jokotoba]... the thicketed bamboo [jokotoba to fushigi = strange] – the strange fight that I did, and for a change now, to this world Nagoya has come revived [kakekotoba] the foam on the pond water, fleeting vainly how regretful! Well, everything let us shed now, and from the past one song let me sing, let me kabuku.

[97-99] Oh! in the fleeting world, to each fresh tree there is a hatchet – considering this, it is so regrettable [kakekotoba] poison of the tree / of the spirit indeed!

[100-101] Oh! in the fair land [kakekotoba] Okuni, to each citron tree [kakekotoba] bathtub there is a cat[288] [kakekotoba] - roots – considering this, it is the remedy to the tree / spirit.

[102-104] In the rapids of the Yodo river, the water wheel [kakekotoba] – whose arrival is expected? - coming-coming [kakekotoba] turning-turning

[104-106] The lady of the chaya [lit. "tea house mother"] waits [kakekotoba] till the afterworld, seven times to Ise, thirteen times to Kumano, and to the direction of Atago going in the eighth month.

---

[283] Similar to the common nō phrase "*omoi mo yorazu*".

[284] *kyōgen kig(y)o*, a term referring to the art of literature and theatre, used already by Zeami, the initial source of this wording being in a poem by Bai Juyi (Scholz-Cionca 1998 p. 173 footnote 178).

[285] The pine tree in Iwashiro in Wakayama prefecture.

[286] Name of the yūgao flower, also name of a nō play, possibly by Zeami.

[287] *Tamakazura* is also the name of a nō play, possibly by Zenchiku.

[288] *Neko* can mean shamisen, as cat's skin was used to cover its body instead the original snake skin used in the Rūchūan kingdom. However, several documents specifically mention that "there was no shamisen yet in those times" (e.g. *Tōkaidō meishoki*), so this metonymy might not have been in use yet.

[107-109] To the lady of the chaya tea house – seven fallings in love! Hey, one, two – invite her for some whispering! The remaining five are all fallings in love!

[110-115] No wind blows, and still the house in the garden got broken! thinking of pushing/pointing (at)/drawing, coming early/being fast/smart/sharp[289] how very coldhearted/composed is this lord! You look as if the chilly blizzard outside the door bites you not.

Picture 8 – spectators under sakuras and the stage with four actors and five musicians. The figures include a blue kimono figure with the laquered hat (Nagoya), two sitting ones (*saruwaka* and *chaya no kaka*?) and a yellow kimono figure with a sword and his (her, if Okuni) head wrapped with a cloth, at the centre.

[116-120] I beg to talk to Okuni: this is an already antiquated song, so I will have the chance to see the rare kabuki for a short while. Now I will sing a song called "Imitation of Jōruri", with your permission. So allow me to sing and play for you -

[120-123] - and so I gladly heard the drum rhythm beaten to it, and the melody, too. My love – as the cloud over the shining [eighth] Moon, as the wind to the flowers! creeping through a narrow path between trees, such longing is so painful!

Picture 9 - spectators watching the scene of four musicians and four characters, the blue kimono figure with the laquered hat (Nagoya) at the centre.

[126-127] Crossing the mountains, leaving the old village, I miss the person and am missed myself.

[127-135] Without much preparation I thought of some lines and a melody to them, which blown on a whistle, provided a consolation in the evening. A *kouta* song sung impromptu in the middle of the night... and as the dawn approaches, paddled about by feelings the shakuhachi flute joins you [kakekotoba] in melody, especially [kakekotoba] after parting, again we will meet [kakekotoba] the *yellow bell* tone[290], spring rain down the *weeping willows* [jokotoba] I am dejected - seeing this – a leaf of this spring...

[136-142] Should one pledge with a person from this world, pledge thinly and carry on till the end. Look at the maple leaves! – do the pale ones fall? No, it is the dark ones which fall first. After falling down, without asking, without being asked, and because their hearts are divided from each other, in their love they do not think of parting and with that, compassion is a truly important thing.

[143-150] The time for *kabuki odori* has elapsed, the gathered audience of high and low has returned home and Nagoya, sad and hesitating whether to leave - wait for a while, sing! dance! to the rhythm beating drum its roaring thunder of gods – even they should never sever a relationship of love, it is said, but vainly the time of parting came.

[150-152] Okuni, sad and hesitating, once again danced another dance.

[152-164] So you are leaving, master Nagoya. I will see you off as far as the wooden sign [kakekotoba] on the Wooden Sign [*Kowata*] mountain road they go into the dusk both lying down [kakekotoba] Fushimi with grass for their pillow, for eight thousand nights!... yet to part with master Nagoya is so infinitely sad!

Picture 10 - blossoming sakura trees and clowds.

---

[289] Perhaps sexual metaphors.

[290] *Kōshō*, the basic tone in flute playing.

Picture 11 – (a broad two panel picture) spectators (on the right) watching the performance on the stage (on the left) where the four figures stand in a circle in dance-like positions.

[165-171] Thinking well about everything, this Okuni as she is known, was – how awesome! – the [deity at the] Grand Shrine that graciously appeared impermanently, introduced the *kabuki odori*, to purify the sentient beings from evil, she has just shown one kabuki song like this. Oh what a grateful occasion!

2. KABUKI (NO) SAUSHI

(*italicized* passages show distinctly marked, metrically bound verses in the regular "stage *ku*" 7-5 syllabic rhythm)

[1-3] Looking for the origins of Okuni, tayū of the *kabuki odori* who was so popular among the people of that era, she was from the province of Izumo. [3-11] From such a distant country, across high waves, she came up to the Capital, showing dances of all sorts and kinds, even if thought of as "foolish-words-and-colourful-speech", among them the one that was called *kabuki odori* which she performed with dexterity and skill. Okuni was in her 17th-18th year of age, of common stature, she surpassed others with her features and character, perhaps even such ladies as Giō and Ginyo favoured by Kiyomori, the grand general of the Taira clan, or even his Hotoke Gozen, could hardly surpass her.

[11-13] That dance of Okuni's could not be hidden from the State, and so she was invited to the Imperial Palace. [13-14] The kabuki in such an exceptional place as the Heavenly Palace, and that which her [?] body could bear, was reasonable.[291]

[14-18] Nevertheless, in her garment strewn with gold and silver, she was found to be so amazing in her dance, that *if one tried to compare it adequately to something, it was like the threads of green willows blown through by the spring wind*, falling so pliantly down to [her] feet. It is difficult to put down in words. Aristocrats enquired after her and waited for her.

[19-20] The Emperor deigned to see her many times, and was so moved, that *finally he bestowed on the tayū the title "Governor of Tsushima".* [21-22] *And so Okuni left the palace, having gained this exceptional honour.*

[22-23] *From that time on kabuki was admired as the first – best dance of the state.* [23-26] *Great and lesser lords of various domains admired and liked her in a way not comparable to anything else, and gold and silver were lavished upon her like on a high courtesan.*

[26-33] After that she built a high ["towered"] mansion in Kitano and enjoyed her fame there for a time, thinking of leaving all the "foolish-words-and-colourful-speech" and spending her life in leisure now. However, she could not sever from what she liked, and put up a permanent [?] stage at Kitano again, she

[291] Meaning probably: it was quite a thing to bear/not an easy task.

danced again her unchanged dance day after day and did not neglect a day without performing to her audiences, high and lowly.

[33-36] *Once, it was spring time, there was the occasion of flower viewing in the temple: old and young, men and women, joined their sleeves, the hems of their clothes once hidden, once showing colours, the view was truly truly a Capital in blossom. [36-40] People were exhilarated by this, all thinking of the famous poem "*Looking down to the valley, the cherry blossoms and willows are interwoven – what amazing brocade of the spring in the Capital*", their hearts refreshed and together with the bright peaceful spring skies, it was a gorgeous view.*

[41-42] The springtime blossoming in the Capital - let's go to *kabuki odori*.

[42-47] *The spring in which the plover birds chirp is changing by this and that, yet this kabuki has still its same heart [/substance]. The eyes of the viewers add to its colour, too! The pilgrimage to Kitano has the same popularity, high and low come to see and make much of it. This is the blessing of the Heavenly Deities.*

[47-49] Now if one looks around the theatre hall, inside it is packed with myriads of people, sitting one next to the other.

Picture 1 – a torii, figures and pines.

Picture 2 – front of the theatre fence, figures.

Picture 3 – the engawa of a wooden palace with an *ume* tree in front.

[49-51] Clothes strewn with gold and silver, perfumed by famous frangrances and unknown scents, not a move of heart, not a word. [51] *And the dance starts.*

[51-59] *Yet Okuni does not come out, and the waiting for her is like a young tree, which we planted long ago and now wait for the spring for its flowers to finally open – such is the suspension in the hearts of the spectators, when suddenly the curtain in front of the dressing room is raised and Okuni comes out, wearing a crimson patterned hat pressed down in the middle, a kosode with a pattern of an autumn field upon a deep crimson-plum background, a hakue robe bound with a broad obi, a gold-brocade maidare, a crimson tassel at the side, with a golden fan tucked in the hair as decoration, thus clad she came out on the stage and danced.*

[59-60] *People's hearts got refreshed, completely forgetting about the fleeting world outside.*

[60-65] *So, the dance over, Okuni disappears into the dressing room, which looks like, if we should find a proper metaphor, a bitter*[292] *memory of the sorrow of seeing a flower torn down by a storm.*

Picture 4 and 5 - a stage with two figures (right, pic. no. 4) in woman's clothes standing on it. Inscribed are columns 61-64. Left (pic. no. 5) - the hashigakari of the stage, with two male figures, one sitting and one standing.

[66-72] Here is one kyōgen ("foolish words"). What is it about? In olden times, Narihira got dissipated in the affairs of love, consequently his heart was in a frenzy; he wore his cap in an unofficial kazaori ("blown-down by wind") style, his outerwear was a coloured kosode, which he had bound very low with an obi and *had a long sword, which was an outfit which puzzled everyone – you saw a woman and then realized it was a man, or vice versa, thinking you saw a man* you

[292] *Tsurashi to*, Tsubouchi 1925 transcribes as *tsuratsura to* "strong, keen".

then saw a woman. [72-76] Striking the sword guard, singing about all forms of love in all sorts of small songs [*kouta*], dancing along with it, it was just as if one beheld the real Narihira of old return to this world.

[76-82] And *all of a sudden, she comes out of the dresssing room, making a "void stand"*[293] *on the bridgeway and twisting her hips came out, the people, high and low, in high spirits, regardless of whether old or young, men or women, they all were exhilarated, laughing and saying this is truly a kyōgen!* and it is hard to compare the atmosphere the theatre was in.

Picture 6 -7 a stage with (on the left, pic. 6) three male figures, the central one in the Narihira outfit, flanked by the two figures which were seen in pic. 5 on the bridgeway. Picture 7 shows the hashigakari.

[83] And also, there was a magic moment. [83-85] As if a moment from old, there is the man called Nagoya Sanza, a womanizer of exquisite taste.

[85-90] *A kabukimono of excellent figure, he had arduously led the lifestyle of falling in love, sent messengers with notes to women regardless of their social statuses and had them at his wish; they called him the kabukimono*[294] *who knew how to flow through life, but now, it is only his name that has remained in the world.*

[90-95] *Feeling attachment to Okuni's kabuki, he reincarnated himself into this Jambu world, confused and* feeling miserable: *Hey, Okuni, allow me to humbly talk to you. Do you not recognize me by sight? In the longing for our past, give me a shelter for one night in this world of people.*

[95-96] How unexpected! Who is it amidst the gathered crowd of high and low? Should I know you? [96-97] *Who would you be?* [97] *Would you deign to say your name?*

[98-100] *You are asking me what kind of person I am? Why, long time ago I was your companion and I have not forgotten the kabuki that we learned, vainly spending away the days.*

[100-102] *A companion of long ago – is this reality? So am I seeing again someone who is no longer in this world?*

Picture 8 – a bridgeway which looks like an engawa terrace, Nagoya Sanza stands outside it, three male figures sit on the engawa, and inside the building stands a female figure (probably Okuni), with two more female figures peeking out of the window.

[102-112] *"[a friend who] is no more" – I shall not say, "[a friend who] is here" – really, I would not recognize* [kakekotoba] - *the white bow shooting* [kakekotoba] - *people who come in and out are numerous* [kakekotoba] - *during the miscellaneous performance our sleeves coming one across another* [kakekotoba] - *in Kitano forest where are the excuses said to* [makurakotoba to yuu = say/evening] *the Right Guard with evening flowers leaving their dew as traces in the pearly vines* [kakekotoba[295]] - *hanging over* [kakekotoba] - *at least sometimes, do you not reminisce [on me], on the tips of the leaves-of-words? I have understood. So you are the kabukibito of old, master Nagoya!*

---

[293] Probably a dance figure.

[294] From this, an etymology of kabu-uki-mono comes to my mind: kabu = singing and dance, and uki = floating, fleeting, perhaps a predecessor of the later term *ukiyo*, so typical of the Edo period. Yet the truth is the synizesis of two adjoining vowels was no longer common in Japanese of this period.

[295] *Tamakazura* is also name of a nō play, possibly by Zenchiku.

Well, Nagoya – I feel shame, as Nagoya [kakekotoba] - *peaceful were not my ways... [at which] the human heart* [probably a jokotoba to the following]... *indeed the thicketed bamboo* [jokotoba to fushigi = strange] – *the strange fight that I did, and this world Nagoya Sanza left so far far away! said people regretfully. Do they think of him still?* [simultaneously meaning:] *I still think of it – the dance of Okuni's, the time when we did kabuki – a dream or reality?*[296] *Why should one weep?*

Picture 9 - an engawa (similar to the one in pic. 8), three men are sitting on it and another man sitting inside facing them. Three female figures seen in the neighbouring room.

[113-114] *The riverside willows, the foam on the water, oh! how fleeting is man, and yet I exchange words with him – this must be a miraculous bond from our previous lives.*

[115-117] Though it is humble, please do deign to come in, she invites master Sanza in. And so, you a kabukibito of old, tell us, please, how the world used to be then. [117-122]

We too will tell you our stories – young women call out[297], and other members of the troupe came out too and entertained master Nagoya, saying: we have very many songs which console man's heart, and especially this is one kabuki dance song which has enjoyed much popularity.

[123-140] And so, allow me to dance with a kabukibito of old, let us kabuku ["do that fashionable kabuki style performance of ours"] and show it to people! thinks Okuni and her costume on that day consisted of an under-kosode the colour of red plum and an outer kosode of a colourful Chinese Wu style; on that she put a haori of gold-embroided red brocade, its lining the colour of fresh green shoots, and girded herself up with a purple sugoki obi; she wore an irataka rosary on her neck, held a two shaku and six sun long sword with a guard of gold and in a shirasame ["white horse"] sheath, wielding with it masterfully a big two shaku long wakizashi with a sheath of gold, and whatever is it hanging down at her waist? An inrō lacquered in the "pear skin" style, a big money poach of gold-embroided indigo brocade with a gourd pattern. This unpretentious sober figure looked like a colt[298] moving, her braided hat low over her eyes, and Nagoya – the famous kabuki indeed – accompanied her, equally good, and from the dressingroom behind, the *saruwaka* came out at the due moment to join them, *and the way they/he strode quietly along the bridgeway – how could the dance of the four nō schools equal this?*

[140-145] Prepared for[299] the entertainment of both high and low - oh how mysterious the ways of the world – the woman learns how to be the man and the man imitating the woman, dressing as the lady of the tea house ["tea mother"], turning away with an ashamed face, looking worried, *"That's something/What a thing!" they would think, "How amusing" they would agree, without a move of heart, or a word.*

[146] Now first the kabuki song:

[146-149*] Oh! in the fleeting world, to each fresh tree there is a hatchet – considering this, it is so regrettable.* To the lady of the chaya – seven fallings in

[296] *Yume utsutsu* - a famous phrase from Narihira's poem.
[297] Or: "they call out young women".
[298] Or "a chessman"?
[299] Or perhaps "Impersonating".

love! One, two – invite her for some whispering! *The remaining five are all fallings in love!*

[149-151] The lady of the chaya waits [kakekotoba] till the afterworld, in that case seven times to Ise, thirteen times to Kumano, and to the direction of Atago a monthly [or: moon´s] pilgrimage.

[151-152] *In the rapids of the Yodo river, the water wheel* [kakekotoba] *– whose arrival is expected? - coming-coming* [kakekotoba] *turning-turning*

[153-154] *Oh! Okuni, to each citron tree* [kakekotoba] *bathtub there is a cat*[300] [kakekotoba] *- roots - considering this, it is the remedy to the tree / spirit.*

[154-155] *Wondering "when" –* [kakekotoba] *the sky clears up, and they talk to each other on the same pillow.*

[155-156] *When the Moon has come out, do not go away!, the flowery lying together* [kakekotoba] *Fushimi – short like a dream there!*

[156-157] *How does one forget? And even so, it comes back to memory at times.*

Picture 10 – an engawa with onlookers seen outside below it, the *saruwaka* seen in conversation with two other men on the engawa. Inside the room, Nagoya Sanza is talking to "cha no kaka", and on the right, stands Okuni, leaning against the column, with a sword and cap.

[158-165] *So, let's dance! inviting the tea house lady, in a still smarter outfit, they dance quietly, their turns strike the eyes of people. Moreover, from among the crowd of high and low, they invite women who seem especially interested, and have them dance along, which changes the mood of the people, and even monks and priests come and join, forgeting shame or the gaze of people, and the theatre is full of spirited dancing.*

[165-166] *A rectangular pillar looks angular. It's nicer to get closer if there are no angles.*

[166-167] *If I think of you [/of that side] – the Eastern Hills, devoting oneself to frequent visiting the river bank.*

[167-168] *Anyway, if I secluded myself in Kiyomizu, down in the valley I could see the Capital in blossom.*

[168-169] *Always when the evening comes* [kakekotoba] *the good thing is the Iyo bamboo blinds, always the bad thing is a thin emotion.*

[169-170] *In the middle of the sea straits stands a tea house, to give shelter to those coming up and down* [from the Capital].

[170-171] *I asked the seagulls for my fortune: I am a waterbird, ask the waves!*

[172-173] *The roaring thunder of gods, heaven help us lest it strike here!*

[173-174] The oil lamp, lit in expectation of the dear one, do not come off and gleam on long, despite the roar.

[174-176] *Why are you weeping, oh willows flanking the river? We are weeping after the fresh scent of water.*

[176-177] *In the rapids of the Yodo river, the water wheel* [kakekotoba *kuru*] *– whose arrival is expected? - coming-coming* [kakekotoba] *turning-turning*

[177-178] *Anyway, If I recluded myself in Toyokuni, down in the valley I could see the Capital in blossom.*

---

[300] See footnote 572 above.

[179-180] *When I leave* [kakekotoba] *at the Hour of Pig I set out for Iyo* [puns playing with the initial sound *i*-], *and after the travel to Iyo [is finished], on to the spa town.*

Picture 11 – **12 -** open countryside with pine trees, the entourage of Okuni and that of Sanza walk towards each other.

[181-182] *The time of kabuki has elapsed, however one will not tire of looking at Okuni.*

[182-199] Go on singing, go on dancing! the people in the theatre shouted in one tempo. "Silence, please, dear guests of our theatre, high and low, well, if your hearts are still attached, we will kabuku one more piece for you" – all seem to hear. The curtain of the dressing room was raised, and they went out onto the stage in gorgeous costumes and played the *furo-agari*, all of a sudden loosened their hair, violently tying up the hair in the middle of the forehead, ardently tucking up the hem of his *fundoshi* loincloth, donning a flowery haori, and wih both the long and short swords, *accompanying the tea house lady, enticing master Nagoya: the moment when they kabuku together! the more one looks, the more gorgeous* [kakekotoba] *flower, and the hearts of the people become cheered up and they all regret that the long spring day is coming to an end, but the circle of the sun is touching the ridge of the mountains – perhaps out of tiredness they take out their fans, as if inviting, and they all return to their homes along the Kitano road. After all, the Capital is so large.*

[199-202] *The dance being now over, master Nagoya [said?], for how much longer shall I be like this? I will take leave, good-bye... Much as one looks, one does not tire of it, the dance of Okuni, and my heart retains the attachment.*

Picture 13 - people sitting on the ground facing left toward what seems to be two wooden columns standing on a flat stone – apparently the corner of a wooden building. Clouds of pine boughs. The continuation to this picture seems missing, the following page (leaf 17 front) being blank.

[203] *The roaring thunder of gods – even they cannot sever a relationship of love.*

[203-204] *So you are leaving, master Nagoya Sanza, I will see you off, The Wooden Sign [Kowata] mountain...*

[205-211] Along the road they go into the dusk, lying down [kakekotoba] *at Fushimi, a pledge during a short sleep, a troubled sleep full of thoughts of turning three into nine, and awakening from such a dream – yet more amusing were the words!*[301] thus is reported, about the Honorable lady Okuni, whose fame has spread far. At the end they became husband and wife with master Nagoya and what has remained is the story of foolish-words-and-colourful-speech, that has been retold and written down in a picture book.

[211-215] Among the people of old, some went to see the kabuki theatre to console their hearts, some went to the "village of pleasures" to cheer up their spirit – by such words all are bound in their spirit in that direction, like going for a steady trade [?].

[216-217] Or it is like laughing at it and not getting reborn in a place of death.

[217-219] Thinking of that, if something was savoury once, the same thing will be savoury again – it is this way. Amusing, amusing.

[301] A unique sense of humour.

3. OKUNI KABUKI EKOTOBA DANKAN (“Bunkakan book”)

(*italics* designate the differences from *Kuni Jo-kabuki Ekotoba*)

[1-7] I beg to talk to Okuni: this is an already antiquated song, so I will have the chance to see the rare kabuki for a short while. Now I will sing a song called “Imitation of Jōruri”, with your permission. So allow me to sing and play for you – and so I gladly heard the drum rhythm beaten to it, and the melody. too.

[8-19] My love – as the cloud over the shining Moon, as the wind to the flowers! creeping through a narrow path between trees, such longing is so painful! Crossing the mountains, leaving the old village, I miss the person and am missed myself. Without much preparation I thought of some *kouta songs* and a melody to them, which blown on a whistle, provided a consolation in the evening. A *kouta* song sung impromptu in the middle of the night... and as the dawn approaches, rowed about by feelings the shakuhachi flute joins you [kakekotoba] in melody, especially [kakekotoba] after parting, again we will meet [kakekotoba] *like* [or *“hearing”*] the yellow bell tone, spring rain [...[302]] I am dejected - seeing this – [...[303]] *only* this spring... This world –

The document contains two images:

Picture 1 – *nenbutsu.*

Picture 2 – *chaya no asobi.*

[302] Kd has “down the weeping willows” here.
[303] Kd has “a leaf of” here.

OKUNI SŌSHI ORIGINALS

with punctuation added according to the transcriptions into modern script published in the above mentioned publications. Square brackets show places not clearly seen in the particular manuscript but supposedly complemented by the modern editors on the basis of context

1. KUNI JO-KABUKI EKOTOBA (“Kyōdai scroll”)

1. みやこのはるの花さかり、
2. かふきおとりにいてふよ、そも／＼
3. これはいつもの國大やしろにつかへ申
4. しやにんにて候、それかしかむすめに
5. くにと申みこの候を、かふきおとり
6. と申ことをならはし、てんか大へい
7. の御代なれは、みやこにまかりのほ
8. り候て、おとらせはやと存候。
9. ふるさとやいつもの國をあとに見
10. て、するゑはかすみてはるの日の、なか
11. とのこうをすきぬれは、かゝる御代
12. にもあふのしゆく、道せはからぬひろ
13. しまや、とひよるみやはいつくしま、
14. 舟のとまりにならたのはま、つりする
15. わさはうしまとの、月にあかしのうら
16. つたひ、なをゆくすゑは世の中の、なに
17. はのこともよしあしの、若葉に風
18. のふくしまの、みなとの波のおさまれ
19. る、御代にはいまそあふさかや、いそく
20. 心のほともなくみやこにはやく付
21. にけり。
22. これははやみやこについて候ほと
23. に、こゝろしつかにらくやうの花を
24. なかめはやとおもひ候、おりしもはる
25. の事なれは、なにしあふたる花の
26. みやこ、こゝやかしこの花見のあそひ
27. 花のたもとをかさねつゝ、いろ／＼
28. のもすそをそめて、木の本ことに
29. まとひして、うたふもいとゝおもしろ

30. し。
31. そも／＼みやこほとりの花のめい所、
32. ちしゆこんけんの花のいろ、わしの
33.おやまにさく花は、りやうしゆせん
34. のはるかとうたかはれ、大はらやを
35. しほのやまの花さかり、いまもみゆ
36. きやあふくらん、さてまたかへりなかむ
37. れは、大うち山の花さかり、この
38. へとのゝいとさくら、せんほんのはな
39. にしくはなしとうちなかめ、あまみつ
40. 神にそまいりける／＼。いかに[申]
41. 候、今日は正月廿五日きせんくんしゆ
42. のしやさんのおりからなれは、かふ
43. きおとりをはしめはやとおもひ
44. 候、まつ／＼ねんふつおとりを
45. はしめ申さう、くうみやうへん
46. しやう
47. 十はうせかひ
48. ねんふつしゆ
49. しやうせつ
50. しゆ
51. ふしや、
52. なむあみた
53. ふつ
54. なむあみた、
55. なむあみた佛
56. なむあみた。
57. はかなしや
58. かきにかけては
59. なにかせん、
60. こゝろに
61. かけよ
62. みたの
63. みやうかう、
64. なむあみた佛
65. なむあみた。
66. 念佛のこゑにひかれつゝ／＼
67. ざいしやうの里を出ふよ、なふ／＼おく
68. にゝ物申さん、我をはみしりたまは
69. すや、其いにしへの床しさに、こ
70. れまてまいりて[304]候てそや。おもひよら
71. すやきせんの中にわきてたれ
72. とかしるへき、いかなる人にてましま
73. すそや、御なをなのりをはし
74. ませ。いかなる物ととひたまふ、我
75. もむかしの御身のとも、なれし

[304] This て is lacking in the modern transcription.

76. かふきをいまとてもわするゝこ
77. とのあらされは、これもきやうけん
78. きゞよをもつて、三ふつてんほう
79. りんのまことの道にも入なれは
80. かやうにあらはれいてしなり。
81. さては此世になき人のうつゝにまみ
82.へたまふかや、さしてそれともいは
83. しろの松のことのはかす/＼に、神を
84. つらねてきたのなる、うこんのことゝ
85. いふかほの、花のなこりのたまかつら、かけ
86. てもおも出さるや、ことはのすゑに
87. て心へたり、さてはむかしのかふき人
88. なこやとのにてましますか。
89. いやなこやとははつかしや、なこやか
90. ならぬ世のましはり、人の心はむらた
91. けのふしきのけんくわをしいたし
92. て、たかひにいまは此世にもなこや
93. かいけの水のあはと、はてにし
94. ことのむねんさよ、よし何事も
95. うちすてゝ、ありしむかしの一ふしを
96. うたひていさやかふかん/＼。
97. あたゝうき世はなま木になたしや
98. となふ、おもひまはせはきのとくや
99. なふ。
100. あたゝおくにはゆのきにねこしや
101. となふ、おもひまはせはきのくすり。
102. よとの川せの水くるま、たれを
103. まつやらくる/＼と。
104. ちや屋のおかゝにまつたひそはゝ、
105. いせへ七度くまのへ十三度、あたこ
106. さまへは月まいり。
107. 茶やのおかゝに七つのれんほよ
108. なふ、一つ二つはちはにもめされよなふ、
109. のこり五つみなれんほしや[なふ]。
110. 風もふかぬにはやとをさいた
111. なふ、さゝはさすとてとくにもお
112. しやらひて、あたゝつれなのきみ
113. さまやなふ、そなたおもへはかとに
114. たつ、さむきあらしも身にしま
115. ぬ。
116. いかにおくにゝ申[候]、これははやふるく
117. さきうたにて候ほとに、めつらしき
118. かふきをちと見申さう、いまのほと
119. はしやうるりもときといふうたをうたひ
120. 申候、さらはうたひきかせ申さんと、つゝ
121. みのひやうしうちそろへ、てうしをこそ
122. うかゝひける。
123. 我か恋は月にむらくも花に

かせとよ、ほそ道のこまかけて
おもふそくるしき、
やまをこへ里をへたてゝ、人をも
身をもしのはれ申さん、中/＼
にうたにふしとはおもひ候へと、そ
れふくふへはよひのなくさみ、こうた
は夜中のくちすさみとよ、あか
つきかたにおもひこかれてふくしや
くはちは君にいつもそふてふ、別
て後はまたあふしき、はるさめ
のしたれやなきのうちしほりたるを、
見るにつけても此はる葉にと。
世の中の人とちきらは、うすく
ちきりてすへまてとけよ、もみち
はをみよ、うすひかちるか、こきそ
まつちる、ちりての後はとはすと
はれす、たかひにこゝろのへたゝ
れぬれは、おもふにわかれおもはぬ
にそふ、なさけは大事のみのかの。
かふきのおとりも時すきて/＼、
けんふつのきせんもかへりけれ
は、なこやはなこりのおしさのまゝに、
まてしはし/＼、うたへやまへ
やひやうしにあはせてうつゝつみ
のとゝろ/＼となる神もおもふな
かはよもさけしといひしも、いた
つらにわかれになれは、お國はな
こりをおしみつゝ、また一ふし
こそおとりける。おかへりあるかの
なこさんさまは
おくり申さうよ
こはたまて、
こわた山路に
行暮て
ふたりふしみの
草まくら、
八千夜そふとも
なこさんさまに
なこりをしきは
かきり
なし。
よく/＼物をあんするに、此おくに
と申はかたしけなくも大やしろ
のかりにあらはれいてたまひ、かふき
おとりをはしめつゝ、しゆしやうの
あくをはらはんため、かゝるかふきの
一ふしをあらはしたまふはかりなり、
あらありかたのしたひかな/＼。

2. KABUKI (NO) SAUSHI

1. たうせい人のもてはやす、かふきおとりの
2. たゆうおくにかゆらひをたつぬるに、いつもの
3. くにのもの也。かゝるおんこくはたうよりもみや
4. こへのほりて、きやうけんきよとはおもひなからも
5. いろ/＼さま/＼のをとりをあらはし、なかにもかふ
6. きおとりという事を、きゆふにまかせてた
7. くみいたし、おくにかとしは十七八、すかたしんしやう
8. にして、みめこゝろ人にまさり、むかしへい
9. けの御たいしやうきよもりとやらんのてうあい
10. させ給ひしきわうきによ、又はほとけこせんと
11. 申も、これにはまさりかたし。かのおくにかおとり、
12. てんかにかくれもなきによりて、きん中へめし
13. 上る。ならはぬ雲のうへのかふき、みのおふそれも
14. ことはりなり。されとも、きん/＼をちりはめたる
15. したくにて、もてはやされておとりすかたを
16. ものによく/＼たとゆるに、あをやきのいと春
17. 風にふきなひかされ、たよ/＼としたるこしもと、
18. ふてにもつくしかたしと、くきやうせんきまち/＼也。
19. みかとゑいらんまし/＼て、きよかんのあまりに、
20. たゆうをすなはちつしまのかみとめされけり。
21. おくにもときのめんほくをほとこして、きん
22. ちうよりもかへりけり。それよりも、かふきおとりの
23. ほまれをとり、てんかにいちのおとり也。こゝやかし
24. この大みやうせうみやう、よにたくひなふそもて
25. あそひ給ふほとに、きん/＼のふりわく事は、
26. さなからちやうしやのことくなり。それよりきた
27. のに、くんてんろうかくにやかたをたて、一このゑい
28. くわたのしみもあり、いまはきやうけんきよをも
29. もうちすてゝ、よをらく/＼とくらさはやと
30. おもへとも、きられぬすきのみなれは、また/＼
31. きたのへちやうふたいをたてをき、にち/＼ふ
32. へんのおとり、きせんくんしゆのけんふつおこたる
33. 事もなし。をりしも春のころなれは、花みかてらに
34. 事よせて、らうにやくなんによそてをつらね、
35. もすそをひそめていろめくありさまは、けに
36. /＼花のみやこなり。みわたせは、やなきさ
37. くらをこきませて、みやこは春のにしき
38. なりけりと、よみをくうたのこゝろもお
39. もひあはせておもしろやと、人のこゝろの
40. うつろひて、のとけきそらのけしきなり。
41. みやこのはるのはなさかり、かふきおとり
42. にいちうよ。もゝちとり、さへつる春はもの[?]

43. ことに、あらたまれともこのかふき、おなし
44. こゝろになをありて、人のなかめもいろ
45. そふや、きたのまいりもなをしけき、
46. きせんの人のみはやすも、あまみつ
47. かみのめくみかな／＼。さてまたしはゐの
48. うちをみわたせは、すまんの人々ところせ
49. きなくなみゐたり。きん／＼をちりはめたる
50. よそおひ、めいかうたきものいきやうくんし、こゝろ
51. ことはもなかりけり。すてにおとりもはしまりぬ。さ
52. れともおくにのいてぬまを、まつをものたとゆるは、
53. うへてひさしきわか木の花の、さかぬ春をまつかことしと、
54. 人のこゝろをつくすところに、かくやのまくをさ
55. しあけて、おくにかいつるそのしたく、くれないすち
56. のくひりほうし、こきこうはいに秋の野のすりつくし
57. のこそて、はくゑのふとおひむすんてかけ、きんらんの
58. まいたれ、わきにくれないのふさをひき、きんのあふ
59. きさしかさし、ふたいにいてゝおとりける。人のこゝろも
60. うつろひて、うきよの事をわすれけり。さて、おとり
61. すきて、かくやへいるおくにかすかたを、ものによく／＼
62. [...][305]たとゆるに、あらしにさそ
63. はれちる花を、つらしと
64. おしむなこり
65. なり。
66. こゝにひとつのきやうけんあり。それをいかにと申、なり
67. ひらのいにしへ、こひのこゝろにおかされて、されは
68. こゝろきやうらんし、きんのかさをりひきかつ
69. き、いろあるこそてをうはきにして、おひを
70. こしにすりさけて、たちをはきてのその
71. ありさま、おんなかとみれはおとこなり、又おとこ
72. かとおもへはにうはうなり。たちのつはを
73. たゝいて、いろ／＼さま／＼のこひのこうたの
74. こゝろをつくしておとりけるは、さなから
75. むかしのなりひらの、二たひうつゝにまみへ
76. たまへるありさま也。さて、かくやのうちをつと
77. いてゝ、はしのかゝりにそらたちして、こしを
78. ひねりていてけるを、きせんの人もいさみを
79. なし、らうにやくなんによにいたるまて、さ
80. すかにこゝろもひかされて、これをまことの
81. きやうけんなりと、こへ／＼にわらふしはいの
82. うち、たとへぬこともなかり。
83. されはふしきの事あり。一むかしの事か
84. とよ、なこやさんさと申て、なまめいたるいろ
85. このみのおのこあり。まことに、みにすくれたる
86. かふきもの、れんほのみちにみをなして、い
87. かなるくらいの人々をも、ふみたまつさをかよは
88. かし、こゝろのまゝになひかして、世になかれ

[305] two or three smeared graphs

89. たるかふきもの、いへともいまははや、なのみ
90. はかりそのこりけり。おくにのかふきにせう
91. しんありて、ふたゝひゑんふにるてんして、
92. まよふこゝろのあさましけれとも、
93. なふ/＼おくにゝもの申候はん。われをはみし
94. りたまはすや。そのいにしへのゆかしきに、一
95. 夜のやとをかし給へ。おもひよらすやきせん
96. のなかに、わきてたれともみしるへき。いかなる
97. 人にてましますそ。御なをなのりおはしませ。
98. いかなるものそとひ給ふ、われもむかしはおくにの
99. とも、なれしかふきをわすれねば、あやなくなかめ
100. くらすなり。むかしのともとはうつゝなや、さて
101. はこのよになき人の、あらたにまみへた
102. まへるや。なしともいはしありとも又、まことにたれ
103. しらまゆみ、いて入人のかす/＼に、そてをつら
104. ねてきたのゝもりの、うこんにかことにゆふ
105. 花の、つゆのなこりのたまかつら、かけても
106. おもひいてさるや。ことはのすゑにてこゝろへたり。
107. さてはむかしのかふき人、なこやとのにてましますか。
108. いや、なこやとははつかしや、なこやかならぬましわりに、
109. 人のこゝろもむらたけの、ふしきのたいめん申也。
110. いまはこの世になこやさんさの、ちり/＼なりし
111. さいこそと、人にいわれしむねんさを、いまもおもふや
112. おくにのおとり、かふきし事もゆめうつゝ、なにをなけくそ
113. かわやなき、みつのうたかたあはれいかに、きえにし
114. 人にことはをかはし、これもせんせのきゑんなり。
115. みくるしくは候へとも、まつ/＼うちへいらせ給へと、
116. 三さとのをしやうし、さてもむかしのかふき人、その
117. いにしへのありさま、このみにかたりおはしませ。われ
118. らもかたり申へきと、わかきおんなともよひいたし、
119. 又さのものともいてあひて、なこやとのを
120. もてなし、それ人のこゝろをなくさむるうたは
121. さま/＼おゝしと申せとも、ことにかふきのおとり
122. うた、よゝにもてあそひしひとふしなり。さらは
123. むかしのかふき人とつれまいらせて、かふきて人に
124. いさみせんと、おくにかそひのいてたちには、はたには
125. くうはいのこそてをき、うへにはこふくの花やかなり
126. けるこそてを、あかちのきんらんのはをりに、もよ
127. きのうらをうちたるをきて、むらさきのすこき
128. おひをむんすとしめ、いらたかのしゆすをくひに
129. かけ、きんつはのにしやく六すんなるしらさめさや
130. のかたなをさし、きんのはりさやの二しやく
131. はかりなる大わきさしをはねさしにさしこなし、
132. こしのさけものなに/＼そ、なしちまきゑのいん
133. ろうに、こんちのきんらんのおうきんちやく、
134. きんのへうたんとりませて、くすみてさけし
135. ありさまは、こまいつるほとにそみへたりけるか、あみ
136. かさまふかにひきかつき、なこやもさすかなある

137. かふきとて、おとらぬさまにてうちつれて、かくやの
138. うちよりも、よしあるさまにてさるわかをともとして、
139. はしのかゝりをねりたるは、よさのさるかくのしまい
140. も、これにはいかてかまさるへき。きせんけうをも
141. おして、さてもふしきのよのなかにて、おんなは
142. おとこのまなひをし、おとこはおんなのまねをし
143. て、ちやのかゝにみをなして、はつかしかほにうちそ
144. はめ、ものあんししたるてい、さても／＼とおもはて、
145. おもしろしともなか／＼に、こゝろこともなかりけり。
146. さてまつかふきのうたには、あたゝうきよはなま
147. きになたしやとなふ、おもひまはせはきのとくや。
148. ちやのおかゝに七つのれんほ、一二つはちはにもめさ
149. れよなふ、のこるいつゝはみなれんほ。ちやのおかゝに
150. まつたひそふならは、いせへ七たひくまのへ十三と、
151. あたこさまには月まいり。よとのかわせのみつ
152. くるま、たれをまつやらくる／＼と。あたゝおくには
153. ゆのきにねこしやとなふ、おもひまはせはきの
154. くすり。いつかおもひのそらはれて、おなしまくらに
155. ものかたり。おつきてゝからいのすやれ、花のふしみ
156. のゆめのまも。なにとしてかなわすれふやれ、
157. おもひたされてやるせなや。
158. さらはいさ／＼おとらんと、ちやのおかゝをひきた
159. てけれは、いとゝしほあるみなりにて、しと／＼と
160. おとるふり、めにつきてこそ人もみれ、ことにき
161. せんのそのうちに、ものすきとみへしおんなを
162. ひきたてゝおとらせけれは、人のこゝろも
163. うつろふや、そふもほうしもうちつれて、は
164. ちも人めをうちわすれ、しはいもさわきおとり
165. けり。しかくはしらやかとらしや、かとのなひこそ
166. そいよけれ。そなたおもへはひかし山、かはらかよひに
167. みをやつす。とてもこもらはきよみつに、はなの
168. みやこをみおろひて。かけよひはいよすたれ、
169. かけてわろひはうすなさけ。おきのとなかに
170. ちやたてゝ、のほりくたりのおやとにしゆ。おきの
171. かもめにものとへは、われは水とりなみにとへ。
172. とゝろ／＼となるかみも、こゝはくははらよも
173. おちし。人をまつよのあふらひは、きえす
174. なかかれとろ／＼と。なにをなけくそ
175. かわやなき／＼、みつのてはなをなけき
176. そろ／＼。よとのかわせのみつくるま／＼、
177. たれをまつやらくる／＼と。とてもこも
178. らはとよくにへ／＼、はなのみやこをみおろひて／＼。
179. おれかいのときやいよへいの、いよのたふ
180. この、いよのたふこの／＼ゆのまちへ。
181. かふきおとりのときすきて／＼、みれともあかぬ
182. おくにのすかた、うたへやまへとひやうしをあわせて、
183. しはいのもろ人もこゑ／＼にすゝみけれは、
184. しつまりたまへしはいのきせん、とても

185. おの／＼せうしんならは、ひとてかふきてみせ
186. まいらせんと、ゆふかとおもへは、かくやのまんまく
187. あけさせて、いてたつしたくのしをらしく、
188. ふろあかりのまなひをして、かみをはつと
189. みたし、ひたいのなかをむすとゆひ、しろきふと
190. しのすそをきつとはさみあけて、花や
191. かなるはをりをちやくし、かなたわきさし
192. さすまゝに、ちやのおかゝをつれたちて、なこや
193. とのをさそいたし、つれてかふきしそのしあ
194. い、みるほとなをもまさりくさ、人のこゝろうき
195. たちて、なかきはるひのくれゆくを、けに
196. おしめともやまのはに、いるひのかけそつ
197. かれやと、あふきをあけてまねくはかり
198. におもはれ、おの／＼かへるきたのみち、
199. さすかにみやこひろかりける。おとりもすきて
200. なこやとの、いつまてかくとありやせん、いとま
201. 申てさらはとて、みれともみあかぬおくにの
202. おとり、なをせうしんはのこりけり。ととろ／＼と
203. なるかみも、おもふなかをはさけぬものを。おかへりや
204. ろかのなこやさんささま、をくり申さんこはた山。
205. みちにゆきくれ、月をふしみのかりねのち
206. きり、三九にかへすとおもひねの、ゆめのさめての
207. のちよりも、おかしかりけることはかな／＼。と
208. 言傳しもおくに御りやうとほめちらし、ついに
209. なこやさんとふうふに成りて、きやうけんききよ
210. の物語に、かたりのこして繪草紙にかき殘し
211. たり。よみてみて心をなくさめたり／＼。
212. むかしあるひとのなかに、かふき芝居を
213. 見て心をなくさめ、あるいわ色里へいて
214. 氣をいさめんといゆことは、みなあのかたへ
215. きをむすはれ、安心の中買に行様成ものなり。
216. また、それをわらへは、とてもしぬる所へ生れて
217. こぬかましなり。それをおもへは、一度むまして
218. おなし事のものを、またむましとするどりなり。
219. おかし／＼。

3. OKUNI KABUKI EKOTOBA DANKAN (“Bunkakan book”)

1. いかにおくにゝ申候、これハゝやふるくさ
2. きうたにて候ほどに、めつらしきかふき
3. をちと見申さう、今のほとハ上るりもど
4. きといふうたをうたひ申[候]さらばうたひ
5. てきかせ申さんと、つゝ みのひやうし
6. うちそろへ、てうしをこそうかゝひ
7. けれ。
8. わがこひは月にむら雲花に風とよ、
9. ほそみちのこまかけておもふぞくるしき、
10. 山をこえさとをへだてゝ、人をも身を
11. もしのはれ申さん、なか/ \にこうた
12. にふしとはおもひ候へど、それふく
13. ふえはよひのなくさみ、こうたは
14. 夜なかのくちすさみとよ、あかつ
15. きがたにおもひこがれてふく
16. しやくはちハきみにいつもそふ
17. てう、わかれてのちハ又あふじきと
18. よ春さめのうちしほれたるを、みる
19. につけても此春ばかりにとよの

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Amano Fumio 天野文雄 1999 "Tesarugaku" in *Nō kyōgen jiten* 能・狂言事典, edited by Nishino Haruo 西野春雄 and Hata Hisashi 羽田永日[306], 266-267. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Amano Fumio 天野文雄 2012 "Onna sarugaku" in *Nōgaku daijiten* 能楽大事典, edited by Kobayashi Seki 小林責, Nishi Tetsuo 西哲生 and Hata Hisashi 羽田永日[307], 159. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō.

Asai Ryōi 浅井了意 1976 *Edo meishoki* 江戸名所記, edited by Asakura Haruhiko 朝倉治彦. Tokyo: Meicho shuppan.

Asai Ryōi 浅井了意 1979a *Tōkaidō meishoki I.* Tōyō Bunko 346. 東海道名所記 1. 東洋文庫 376, edited by Asakura Haruhiko 朝倉治彦. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Asai Ryōi 浅井了意 1979b *Tōkaidō meishoki II.* Tōyō Bunko 361. 東海道名所記 2. 東洋文庫 361, edited by Asakura Haruhiko 朝倉治彦. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Bal, M. 1997 *Narratology*. Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press.

Barth, J. 1972 *Japans Schaukunst im Wandel der Zeiten*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Basham, A. L. 1975 *A Cultural History of India*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Bethe, M. and Brazell, K. 1977 *Nō as Performance. An analysis of the Kuse Scene of Yamamba*. China-Japan Program, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University.

Claudel, P. 1926 "Lettre au Professeur Miyajima" in *Oeuvres Complètes III* (1952), 230. Paris: Gallimard.

Cocks, Richard 1883 *Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-Merchant in the English Factory in Japan 1615-1622 with Correspondence, Vol. I & II.*, edited by Edward Maunde Thompson. New York: Burt Franklin. available at (as of 11 November 2015):
http://www.gutenberg.org/files/46803/46803-h/46803-h.htm

http://www.gutenberg.org/files/48012/48012-h/48012-h.htm

[306] The last two kanji represent one composite kanji.
[307] the two latter kanji combined in one

Dōmoto Yatarō 堂本弥太郎 1934 *Kamigata engekishi* 上方演劇史. Tokyo: Shun'yōdo.

Dunn, Ch. J. and Torigoe Bunzō 1969 *The Actors' Analects (Yakusha Rongo).* Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.

Ernst, E. 1974 *The Kabuki Theatre*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.

Funabashi Hidekata (Myōgyō hakase) 舟橋秀賢 1981 *Keichō nikkenroku I.* 慶長日件録 I., edited by Yamamoto Takeo 山本武夫. Tokyo: Heibunsha.

Funabashi Hidekata (Myōgyō hakase) 舟橋秀賢 1996 *Keichō nikkenroku II.* 慶長日件録 II., edited by Yamamoto Takeo 山本武夫. Tokyo: Heibunsha.

Fushiminomiya Sadafusa, prince 伏見宮貞成親王 1959 *Kanmon gyoki II.* 看聞御記 II., edited by Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一. Tokyo: Zoku Gunshorui Jūkanseikai.

Gamō Satoaki 蒲生郷昭 1999 "Johakyū" in *Nō kyōgen jiten* 能・狂言事典, edited by Nishino Haruo 西野春雄 and Hata Hisashi 羽田永日[308], 315-316. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Geinōshi Kenkyūkai 芸能史研究会 (eds.) 1973 *Nihon shomin bunkashi-ryō shūsei VI.* 日本 庶民文化史料集成 第六巻. Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō.

Geinōshi Kenkyūkai 芸能史研究会 (eds.) 1975 *Nihon shomin bunkashi-ryō shūsei VII.* 日本庶民文化史料集成 第七巻. Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō.

Geinōshi kenkyūkai 芸能史研究会 (eds.) 1985 *Nihon geinōshi IV.* 日本芸能史 IV. Tokyo: Zaidanhōjin Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku.

Geinōshi kenkyūkai 芸能史研究会 (eds.) 1986 *Nihon geinōshi V.* 日本芸能史 V. Tokyo: Zaidanhōjin Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku.

Gerstle, C. A. 1986 *Circles of Fantasy – Convention in the Plays of Chikamatsu.* Cambridge (Massachusetts) and London: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University.

Gerstle, C. A. 2000 "Performance literature: the traditional Japanese theatre as model" in *Comparative Criticism* 22, 39-62. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gerstle, C. A. (ed.) 2001 *Chikamatsu 5 Late Plays.* New York – Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press.

[308] The last two kanji represent one composite kanji.

Gunji Masakatsu 郡司正勝 1984 *Kabuki jūrokuban shū. Nihon koten bungaku taikei 98.* 歌舞伎十六番集。日本古典文学大系 98. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten.

Hare, T. 1986 *Zeami's Style*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Hattori Yukio 服部幸雄 1968a *Kabuki seiritsu no kenkyū* 歌舞伎成立の研究. Tokyo: Kazama Shobō.

Hattori Yukio 服部幸雄 1968b "Shoki kabuki no ichigashō ni tsuite – Yamato Bunkakanbon "Okuni kabuki sōshi" kō" 初期歌舞伎の一画証について －大和文華館本"阿国歌舞伎草紙"考－in *Yamato bunka* XLIX, November, 1-12. Nara: Yamato Bunkakan.

Hattori Yukio 服部幸雄, Toyama Tetsunosuke 富山鉄之助, Hirosue Tamotsu 広末保 (eds.) 1983 *Kabuki jiten* 歌舞伎事典. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Hattori Yukio 服部幸雄 1997 "Seiritsuki no kabuki" 成立期の歌舞伎 in *Iwanami kōza Kabuki-bunraku II., Kabuki no rekishi I.* 岩波講座 歌舞伎・文楽 第２巻、歌舞伎の歴史 I., edited by Hattori Yukio 服部幸雄 et al., 1-33. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Hattori Yukio 服部幸雄, Takei Kyōzō 武井協三, Masaki Yumi 正木ゆみ, Satō Eri 佐藤恵理, Higashi Harumi 東晴美, Tsuchida Mamoru 土田衛, Mizuta Kayano 水田かや乃, Kuroishi Yōko 黒石陽子, Ueno Noriko 上野典子, Hirose Chisako 広瀬千紗子, Hayashi Kimiko 林公子, Matsuzaki Hitoshi 松崎仁 and Kodama Ryūichi 児玉竜一 1997 *Iwanami kōza Kabuki-bunraku vol. II., Kabuki no rekishi I.* 岩波講座 歌舞伎・文楽 第２巻、歌舞伎の歴史 I. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
.
Hattori Yukio 服部幸雄 2003 *Edo kabuki bunkaron* 江戸歌舞伎文化論. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Hayashiya Tatsusaburō 林屋辰三郎 1964 *Koten bunka no sōzō* 古典文化の創造. Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppansha.

Hayashiya Tatsusaburō 林屋辰三郎 (ed.) 1973 *Kodai chūsei geijutsuron. Nihon shisō taikei 23* 古代中世芸術論。日本思想体系 23. Tokyō: Iwanami Shoten.

Hirano Kenji 平野健次 et al. 1989 *Nihon ongaku daijiten* 日本音楽大事典. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Ihara Toshirō 伊原敏郎 1924 *Nihon engeki shi* 日本演劇史. Tokyo-fu: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu.

Ikai Takamitsu 伊海孝充 2007 "Hiyūgennō no shosō to chūsei bungei to no sōkansei" 非幽玄能諸相と中世文芸との相関性. *Hōsei daigaku daigakuin hakushi gakui ronbun: Jinbunkagaku kenkyū ka*, kō No 174, March.

Ikai Takamitsu 伊海孝充 2011 *Kiriainō no kenkyū* 切合能の研究. Tokyo: Hinoki Shoten.

“Ise monogatari” 伊勢物語 1972 in *Taketori monogatari. Ise monogatari. Yamato monogatari. Heichū monogatari. Nihon koten bungaku zenshū VIII*. 竹取物語。伊勢物語。大和物語。兵中物語。日本古典文学全集　ＶＩＩＩ, edited by Katagiri Yōichi 片桐陽一 et al., 122-244. Tokyo: Shōgakkan.

Ishiwari Matsutarō 石割松太郎 1934 “Kabuki kenkyū no konpon shiryō to shite no Nara-e-hon Okuni kabuki” 歌舞伎研究の根本資料としての　奈良絵本お国かぶき. Afterword to the reprint of *Nara-e-hon Okuni kabuki*. Tokyo: Yoneyamadō.

Ishiwari Matsutarō 石割松太郎 1935 “Kabuki Saushi ni tsuite” かぶきさうしに就いて. Afterword to the reprint of *Kabuki Saushi*. Tokyo: Yoneyamadō.

Izumo no Okuni 出雲阿国 (Japanese TV series in 6 installments) NHK Osaka.

“Kabuki jishi I. ” 歌舞妓事始　一 1973 in *Nihon shomin bunkashi-ryō shūsei* 日本庶民文化史料集成 *vol. 6 - Kabuki*, edited by Geinōshi Kenkyūkai 芸能史研究会, 89-102. Tokyo: San’ichi Shobō.

Kabuki Saushi かぶきさうし 1935 Tokyo: Yoneyamadō.

“Kabuki no Saushi” かふき草紙[309]1973 in *Nihon shomin bunkashi-ryō shūsei VI.* 日本 庶民文化史料集成 第六巻 , edited by Geinōshi Kenkyūkai 芸能史研究会, 442-452. Tokyo: San’ichi Shobō.

Kabuki Zukan 歌舞伎図鑑, available at (as of 13 February 2019): http://izucul.cocolog-nifty.com/balance/cat6037786/

Kalvodová, D. (ed.) 1987 *Divadelné kultúry Východu* (Theatrical traditions of the East). Bratislava: Tatran.

Kanze sōke shozō bunsho mokuroku 観世宗家所蔵文書目録. List of documents owned by the Kanze sōke, publication year not given, copy (as of 2008) at the Library of the Institute of Nōgaku Studies, Hōsei University, Tokyo.

Katagiri Yōichi 片桐洋一 et al. (eds.) 1972 *Taketori monogatari. Ise monogatari. Yamato monogatari. Heichū monogatari. Nihon koten bungaku zenshū VIII.* 竹取物語。伊勢物語。大和物語。兵中物語。日本古典文学全集　ＶＩＩＩ. Tokyo: Shōgakkan.

[309] 紙 is written by a composite character with 氏 above and 巾 below.

Kawade Takao 河出孝雄 1956a *Nihon rekishi daijiten I.* 日本歴史大事典　第一. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō.

Kawade Takao 河出孝雄 1956b *Nihon rekishi daijiten III.* 日本歴史大事典　第二. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō.

Kawade Takao 河出孝雄 1956c *Nihon rekishi daijiten IV.* 日本歴史大事典　第. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō.

Kawade Takao 河出孝雄 1958a *Nihon rekishi daijiten VI.* 日本歴史大事典　第. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō.

Kawade Takao 河出孝雄 1958b *Nihon rekishi daijiten IX.* 日本歴史大事典　第九. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō.

Kawade Takao 河出孝雄 1959 *Nihon rekishi daijiten XIV.* 日本歴史大事典　第十四. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō.

Kawarasaki Gonnosuke I. 河原崎権之助一世 1943 "Bukyoku senrin" 舞曲扇林 1943 in *Bukyoku senrin. Kezairoku* 舞曲扇林。戯財録, edited by Shuzui Kenji 守随憲治, 10-58. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Kawatake Shigetoshi 河竹繁俊 1959 *Nihon engeki zenshi* 日本演劇全史. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Kawatake Toshio 1971 *A History of Japanese Theater II Bunraku and Kabuki*. Yokohama: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai.

Kawatake Toshio 1981 *Das Barocke im Kabuki – das Kabukihafte im Barocktheater*. *Sitzungsberichte 382. Band*. Translated by Thomas Leims. Wien: Verlag der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Keene, D. (ed.) 1955 *Anthology of Japanese Literature.* New York: Grove Press.

Keene, D. (ed.) 1961 *Major Plays of Chikamatsu*. New York and London: Columbia University Press.

Kimbrough, R. Keller 2013 *Wondrous Brutal Fictions.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Kobayashi Seki 小林責, Nishi Tetsuo 西哲生 and Hata Hisashi 羽田永日[310] (eds.) 2012 *Nōgaku daijiten* 能楽大事典. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō.

Kominz, Laurence R. 2002 "Origins of Kabuki Acting in Medieval Japanese Drama" in *A Kabuki Reader – History and Performance*, edited by Samuel L. Leiter, 16-32. Armonk (NY)/London: M. E. Sharpe - An East Gate Book.

[310] the two latter kanji combined in one

Komiya Toyotaka 小宮豊隆 1935 *Nō to kabuki* 能と歌舞伎. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Koyama Hiroshi 小山弘志 et al. (eds.) 1975 *Yōkyokushū I., II. Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 謡曲集　I., II. 。日本古典文学全集. Tokyo: Shōgakkan.

Koyama Hiroshi 小山弘志, Taguchi Kazuo 田口和夫 and Hashimoto Asō 橋本朝生 1987 *Iwanami kōza nō-kyōgen vol. V. Kyōgen no sekai*. 岩波講座　能・狂言Ⅴ．狂言の世界. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Kuni Jo-kabuki Ekotoba – Kotobagaki oyobi kaisetsu I., II. 国女歌舞伎絵詞・詞書および解説共二冊 1993, with Prefaces by director Izui Hisanosuke 泉井久之助 dated 1951, and director Asao Naohiro 朝尾直弘 dated 1993, and unsigned Japanese and English introductory afterwords. Kyoto: Library of Kyoto University.

Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館 (ed.) 1966 *Rakuchū rakugai zu* 洛中洛外図. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten.

Lee, Ch. H. 2012 *Western Visions of the Far East in a Transpacific Age, 1522-1671*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing.

Leims, Th. F. 1990 *Die Entstehung des Kabuki*. Leiden-New York-Koebenhavn-Koeln: E. J. Brill.

Leiter, S. L. (ed.) 2002 *A Kabuki Reader – History and Performance.* Armonk (NY)/London: M. E. Sharpe - An East Gate Book.

Lim Beng Choo 2000 “The Nobumitsu Portrait Inscription – An Annotated Translation” in *Monumenta Nipponica,* Vol. 55, No. 4 (Winter 2000), 567-577.

Lim Beng Choo 2004 “They came to party: an examination of the social status of the medieval nō theatre” in *Japan Forum* 16 (1) 2004, 111-133.

Lim Beng Choo 2005 “Performing Furyū Nō: The Theatre of Konparu Zenpō” in *Asian Theatre Journal,* vol. 22, no. 1 (Spring 2005), 33-51.

Lloyd, A. 1908 “Notes on the Japanese Drama” in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* vol. 35 pt. II, 99-112.

Looser T. D. 2008 *Visioning Eternity*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell East Asia Series.

Maeda Isamu 前田勇 2003 *Edo-go daijiten* 江戸語大辞典. Tokyo: Kodansha.

Matisoff, S. 1978 *The Legend of Semimaru Blind Musician of Japan*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Matsudaira Yamato no Kami nikki I. 松平大和守日記　上巻 1989. Tokyo: Murakami Komonjo Kankōkai.

Matsumura Akira 松村明 et al. 1993 *Kogo jiten* 古語辞典. Tokyo: Ōbunsha.

Matsuzaki Hitoshi 松崎仁 et al. (eds.) 1995 *Chikamatsu jōruri shū Ge. Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei 92* 近松浄瑠璃集　下。新日本古典文学大系　９２. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Mezur, K. 2005 *Beautiful Boys / Outlaw Bodies: Devising Kabuki Female-likeness*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Miyamori Asatarō 1926 *Masterpieces of Chikamatsu Monzaemon, the Japanese Shakespeare.* London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.

Moriya Takeshi 守屋毅 1976 *'Kabuki' no jidai*'. *Nihon bunka 5* 'かぶき'の時代。日本文化 5. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten.

Moriya Takeshi 守屋毅 1979 *Miyako no geinō* 京の芸能. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha.

Moriya Takeshi 守屋毅 1985 *Kinsei geinō kōgyōshi no kenkyū* 近世芸能興行史の研究. Tokyo: Kōbundō.

Muroki Yatarō 室木弥太郎, Yamaji Kōzō 山路興造, Akimoto Suzushi 秋本鈴史, Araki Shigeru 荒木繁, Yasuda Fukiko 安田富貴子, Sakaguchi Hiroyuki 阪口弘之, Hayashi Kumiko 林久美子, Wada Osamu 和田修, Shinoda Jun'ichi 信多純一, and Satō Akira 佐藤彰 1998 *Iwanami kōza Kabuki-bunraku vol. 7: Jōruri no tanjō to kojōruri* 岩波講座　歌舞伎・文楽　第 7 巻 浄瑠璃の誕生と古浄瑠璃. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Muromachi-jidai-go-jiten Henshū Iinkai 室町時代語辞典編集委員会 (ed.) 1989 *Jidaibetsu kokugo daijiten – Muromachi jidai hen II.* 時代別国語大辞典　室町時代編二. Tokyo: Sanseidō.

Muromachi-jidai-go-jiten Henshū Iinkai 室町時代語辞典編集委員会 (ed.) 1994 *Jidaibetsu kokugo daijiten – Muromachi jidai hen III.* 時代別国語大辞典　室町時代編三. Tokyo: Sanseidō.

Nakabe Yoshitaka 中部義隆 1992 " 'Okuni kabuki sōshi' ni tsuite" "阿国歌舞伎草紙" について in *Bi no tayori* 美の便り. *Yamato Bunkakan*, No. 99, summer, in an internet version as of 15 January 2012: http://www.kintetsu.jp/yamato/shuppan/binotayori/pdf/99/1992_99_2_2p.pdf

Nakamura Yukihiko 中村幸彦, Okami Masao 岡見正雄 and Sakura Takayoshi 佐倉篤義 1982 *Kogo daijiten I.* 古語大辞典　第一巻. 1983. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten.

Nara-e-hon Okuni kabuki.1934. Tokyo: Yoneyamadō.

Nara-e-hon kokusai kenkyū kaigi 奈良絵本国際研究会議 (eds.) 1982 *Otogi zōshi no sekai* 御伽草子の世界. Tokyo: Sanshodo.

Nishino Haruo 西野春雄 (ed.) 1998 *Yōkyoku hyakuban. Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei 57* 謡曲百番。新日本古典文学大系 *57*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Nishino Haruo 西野春雄 and Hata Hisashi 羽田永日[311] (eds.) 1999 *Nō kyōgen jiten* 能・狂言事典. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Nishinotōin Tokiyoshi 西洞院時慶 2005 *Tokiyoshi ki II.* 時慶記　第二巻, edited by Asao Naohiro 朝尾直弘 et al. Tokyo: Honganji Shuppansha.

Nishinotōin Tokiyoshi 西洞院時慶 2008 *Tokiyoshi ki III.* 時慶記　第三巻, edited by Asao Naohiro 朝尾直弘 et al. Tokyo: Honganji Shuppansha.

Nishio Minoru 西尾実 et al. 1977 *Yōkyoku-kyōgen. Kokugo-kokubungaku kenkyūshi taisei 8.* 謡曲　狂言。国語国文学研究史大成 VIII. Tokyo: Sanseidō.

Nogami Toyoichirō 野上豊一郎 (ed.) 1981 *Nōgaku zensho II.* 能楽全書 II. Tokyo: Sogensha.

Nomura Mansaku 野村万作 1999 "Kyōgen" in *Nō kyōgen jiten* 能・狂言事典, edited by Nishino Haruo 西野春雄 and Hata Hisashi 羽田永日[312], 243-247. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Oda Sachiko 2008 "On the characteristics of newly composed *nō* plays (*shinsaku nō*)" in *Nō Theatre Transversal,* edited by Stanca Scholz-Cionca and Christopher Balme, 99-105. Munich: Iudicum.

Ogasawara Kyōko 小笠原恭子 1975 "Kabuki no seiritsu" 歌舞伎の成立 in *Kokubungaku – Kaishaku to kyōzai kenkyū* 20/VI/1975, 140-145.

Ogasawara Kyōko 小笠原恭子 1984 *Izumo no Okuni – sono jidai to geinō. Chūkō shinsho 734* 出雲のおくに・その時代と芸能。中公新書 734. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha.

Ogasawara Kyōko 小笠原恭子 2006 *Okuni kabuki zengo* 阿国歌舞伎前後. Tokyo: Iwata Shoin.

Okada Akio 岡田章雄 1942 *Nanban shūzoku kō* 南蛮宗俗考. Tokyo: Chijin Shokan.

[311] The two last kanji represent one composite kanji.
[312] The two last kanji represent one composite kanji.

"Okuni Kabuki E-kotoba Dankan" 阿国歌舞伎絵詞断簡 1968 in "Shoki kabuki no ichigashō ni tsuite – Yamato Bunkakanbon 'Okuni kabuki sōshi' kō" 初期歌舞伎の一画証について－大和文華館本「阿国歌舞伎草紙」考－, edited by Hattori Yukio in *Yamato Bunka XLIX*, November, p. 7.

"Okuni Kabuki Kozu" 1915 in *Kottōshū – zen* 骨董集・全, edited by Santō Kyōden 山東京伝, 200-205. Tokyo: Yūhōdō Shoten.

Ōkura Toraakira 大蔵虎明 1964 *Waranbegusa* わらんべ草, edited by Sasano Ken 笹野堅. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Omote Akira 表章 1994 *Kita-ryū no seiritsu to tenkai* 喜多流の成立. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Omote Akira 1997 Zeami jihitsu nōhon shū I.(Eiinhen), II (Kōchōhen). Nihon Shisō Taikei 24. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Omote Akira 表章 and Amano Fumio 天野文雄 1987 *Iwanami kōza – Nō-kyōgen* 岩波講座・能狂言 *I.* Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Omote Akira 表章 and Katō Shūichi 加藤周一 (eds.) 1974 *Zeami-Zenchiku. Nihon shisō taikei 24* 世阿弥・禅竹。日本思想体系 24. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

O'Neill, P.G. 1958 *Early Nō Drama.* London and Bradford: Percy Lund, Humphries and Company Limited.

Ortolani, Benito 1990 *The Japanese Theatre*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Oyudono, lady 御湯殿上 1958 *Oyudono no ue no nikki VII.* 御湯殿上日記 （七）. Tokyo: Zoku Gunshorui Jūkanseikai.

Renchibō (Sadoshima Chōgorō) 蓮智坊（佐渡嶋長五郎）1969 "Sadoshima nikki" 佐渡島日記 in *The Actors' Analects (Yakusha Rongo)*, edited by J. Ch. Dunn and Torigoe Bunzō, 214 (original), 138 (translation). Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.

Rokuon nichiroku III. 鹿苑日録巻三 1935, edited by Tsuji Zennosuke 辻善之助苑日録. Tokyo: Taiyōsha.

Roux, J.-P. 2007 *Dějiny Střední Asie* (History of Central Asia). Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny.

Rumánek, I. 2010 *Japonská dráma nó – žáner vo vývoji* (Japanese Nō Drama – Genre in Evolution). Bratislava: Veda.

Rumánek, I. 2012a. "Hiranori rhythm in Japanese noh drama and its possible continental roots" in *Polyvocia - The SOAS Journal of Graduate Research*, edition

4, 39-52. London: SOAS.
http://www.soas.ac.uk/research/rsp/rss/journalofgraduateresearch/edition-4/file75709.pdf

Rumánek, I. 2012b. "Nō no hiranori - sono rūtsu wa Yōroppa tairiku? " in *Kamizono* (Journal of the Meiji Jingu Research Institute) 7, 61-82. Tokio: Meiji Jingū Kokusai Shintō Bunka Kenkyūjo.

Ryndová, J. 2012 *Drama „Jošicune mezi květy sakur". Minamoto no Jošicune jako stratég, dvořan a literární mýtus* (The drama "Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherry Trees". Minamoto no Yoshitsune as a Martial Strategist, Courtier and Literary Myth). Unpublished PhD thesis. Prague: Japanese Studies Section, Far East Department, Charles University.

Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (ed.) 1915 *Kottōshū* 骨董集・全. Tokyo: Yūhōdō Shoten.

Saris, John 1617 *The First Voiage of the English to the Islande of JAPAN*. (a facsimile copy at the SOAS Library of the original manuscript in the possession of the Toyo Bunko in Tokyo as of 1941).

Saris, John 1941 *The First Voyage of the English to Japan*, edited by Ōtsuka Takanobu. Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko

Scholz-Cionca, Stanca 1998 *Entstehung und Morphologie des klassischen Kyōgen im 17. Jahrhundert: vom mittelalterlichen Theater der Außenseiter zum Kammerspiel des Shogunats.* Munich: Iudicium.

Scholz-Cionca, Stanca 2001 *Japanese Theatre and the International Stage*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

Scholz-Cionca, Stanca and Christopher Balme (eds.) 2008 *Nō Theatre Transversal.* Munich: Iudicum.

"Shijō-gawara yūraku zubyōbu" 四条河原遊楽図屏風 1966 in *Rakuchū rakugai zu* 洛中洛外図, edited by Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館, p. 63. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten.

Shibayama Hajime 柴山肇 1992 *Edo Nanshokukō* 江戸男色考. Tokyo: Hiyosha.

Shinmura Izuru 新村出 (ed.) 1991 *Kōjien* 広辞苑. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Shirane Haruo 2002 *Early Modern Japanese Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Shively, D. H. 1991 "Popular Culture" in *The Cambridge History of Japan IV*, edited by John Whitney Hall and James L. McClain, 706-769. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shively, D. H. 2002 “Bakufu Versus Kabuki” in *A Kabuki Reader – History and Performance*, edited by Samuel L. Leiter, 33-59. Armonk (NY)/London: M. E. Sharpe - An East Gate Book.

Shuhō Haruo 1974 *Kabuki shi no gashōteki kenkyū* 歌舞伎史の画証的研究. Tokyo: Asuka Shobō.

Smethurst, M. J. 1989 *The Artistry of Aeschylus and Zeami: A Comparative Study of Greek Tragedy and Nō.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Suzuki Masando 鈴木間正人 2008 *Nōgakushi nenpyō – kodai, chūsei 1.* 能楽史年表　古代・中世編　上巻. Tokyo: Tokyodo Shuppan.

Takakuwa Izumi 高桑いづみ 2004 *Hideyoshi ga mita nō - Sotoba Komachi no fukugen* 秀吉が見た能・卒塔婆小町の復元. A video in the series *Hōsō Daigaku bideo shuzai*. Tokyo: Hōsō Daigaku Kyōiku Shinkōkai.

Takeda Tsuneo 武田恒夫, Moriya Takeshi 守屋毅, Kobayashi Tadashi 小林忠, Hattori Yukio 服部幸雄 1978 *Sairei, kabuki. Nihon byōbu-e shūsei XIII Fūzoku ga* 祭礼・歌舞伎　日本屏風絵集成　第十三巻　風俗画. Tokyo: Kōdansha.

Takei Kyōzō 武井恭三 1999 *Wakashu kabuki, yarō kabuki no kenkyū* 若衆歌舞伎・野郎歌舞伎の研究. Tokyo: Yagi Shoten.

Takei Kyōzō 武井恭三 2013 “Kabuki-Jōruri no kaiga shiryō nidai” 歌舞伎浄瑠璃の絵画資料二題 in *Ukiyoe Geijutsu*, no. 166, 38-47.

Takemoto Gidayū 1975 竹本義太夫 “Jōkyō yonen Gidayū danmonoshū” 貞享四年義太夫段物集 in *Nihon shomin bunkashi-ryō shūsei VII. – Ningyō jōruri* 日本庶民文化史料集成 VII. 人形浄瑠璃, edited by Geinōshi Kenkyūkai 芸能史研究会, 130-134. Tokyo: San’ichi Shobō.

Takemoto Mikio 竹本幹夫 1999a *Kan’ami-Zeami jidai no nōgaku* 観阿弥世阿弥時代の能楽. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin.

Takemoto Mikio 竹本幹夫 1999b “Kanze Nagatoshi” and “Miyamasu” in *Nō kyōgen jiten* 能・狂言事典, edited by Nishino Haruo 西野春雄 and Hata Hisashi 羽田永日[313], 372-3 and 401-402. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Takemoto Mikio 2008 “On the principle of *jo-ha-kyū* in contemporary *nō* theatre” in *Nō Theatre Transversal,* edited by Stanca Scholz-Cionca and Christopher Balme, 69-77. Munich: Iudicum.

Tamon’in Eishun 多門院英俊 1939 *Tamon’in nikki 3* 多聞院日記　第三巻, edited by Tsuji Zennosuke 辻善之助. Tokyo: Sankyō Shoin.

[313] The two last kanji represent one composite kanji.

"Tōdaikii" 当代記 1911 in *Shiseki zassan II.* 史籍雑纂　第二, edited by Hayakawa Junzaburō et al., 1-214. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai.

Tokuda Kazuo 徳田和夫 2002 *Otogizōshi jiten* お伽草子事典. Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan.

Tsubaki, A. T. 2002 "The Performing Arts of Sixteenth-Century Japan: A prelude to Kabuki" in *A Kabuki Reader – History and Performance*, edited by Samuel L. Leiter, 3-15. Armonk (NY)/London: M. E. Sharpe - An East Gate Book.

Tsubouchi Shōyō 坪内逍遥 1925 "Jokabuki ni kansuru kozu hasshu ni tsuite" 女歌舞伎に関する古図八種に就いて in *Waseda Bungaku*, January 1925, 2-19.

Tyler, R. 2004 *Japanese Nō Dramas*. London: Penguin Books.

Uji Kaganojō 宇治加賀掾 1975 "Shichikushū" 紫竹集 (or 門弟教訓) in *Nihon shomin bunkashi-ryō shūsei VII. – Ningyō jōruri* 日本庶民文化史料集成 VII. 人形浄瑠璃, edited by Geinōshi Kenkyūkai 芸能史研究会, 134-135. Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō.

Uji Kaganojō 宇治加賀掾 1975 "Takenokoshū" 竹子集 in *Nihon shomin bunkashi-ryō shūsei VII. – Ningyō jōruri* 日本庶民文化史料集成 VII.　人形浄瑠璃, edited by Geinōshi Kenkyūkai 芸能史研究会, 125-127. Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō.

Umewaka Rokurō, Kasai Ken'ichi, Oda Sachiko, Stanca Scholz-Cionca 2008 "Talking with Umewaka Rokurō about his involvement with *shinsaku nō*" in *Nō Theatre Transversal*, edited by Stanca Scholz-Cionca and Christopher Balme, 92-98. Munich: Iudicum.

Vasiljevová, Z. 1986 *Dějiny Japonska* (History of Japan). Praha: Svoboda.

Waley, A. 1990 *The Nō Plays of Japan.* Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle Company.

Watanabe Tamotsu 渡辺保 1993 *Kabuki handobukku* 歌舞伎ハンドブック. Tokyo: Shinshokan**.**

Yamanaka Reiko 山中玲子 1998 *Nō no enshutsu – sono keisei to hen'yō* 能の演出・その形成と変容. Tokyo: Wakakusa Shobō.

Yamanaka Reiko 2008 "What features distinguish *nō* from other performing arts?" in *Nō Theatre Transversal,* edited by Stanca Scholz-Cionca and Christopher Balme, 78-85. Munich: Iudicum.

Yamashina Tokitsugu 山科言継 1914 *Tokitsugu kyōki III* 言継卿記 第三, edited by Hayakawa Junzaburō 早川純三郎. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai.

Yamashina Tokitsune 山科言経 1962 *Tokitsune kyōki III* 言経卿記 III. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Yokomichi Mario 横道萬理雄, Nishino Haruo 西野春雄 and Hata Hisashi 羽田永日[314] 1987 *Iwanami kōza – Nō-kyōgen III.* 岩波講座・能狂言 III. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Yokomichi Mario 横道萬理雄 and Omote Akira 表章 (eds.) 1960 *Yōkyokushū I. Nihon koten bungaku taikei 40.* 謡曲集 I. 日本古典文学大系 40. Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo.

Yokomichi Mario 横道萬理雄 and Omote Akira 表章 (eds.) 1975 *Yōkyokushū II. Nihon koten bungaku taikei 41* 謡曲集 II.日本古典文学大系 41. Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo.

Zeami 世阿弥 1974 "Fūshikaden" 風姿花伝 in *Zeami-Zenchiku. Nihon shisō taikei 24* 世阿弥・禅竹。日本思想体系 *24*, edited by Omote Akira 表章 and Katō Shūichi 加藤周一 , 13-65. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Zeami 世阿弥 1974 "Shudōsho" 修道所 in *Zeami-Zenchiku. Nihon shisō taikei 24* 世阿弥・禅竹。日本思想体系 *24.*, edited by Omote Akira 表章 and Katō Shūichi 加藤周一 , 233-240. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

[314] The two last kanji represent one composite kanji.

INDEX

For the sake of the reader´s convenience, all the entries are in one list, undivided into separate lists of names, of concepts etc.