On the Dramatic Tradition in Kagura

A study of the medieval Kehi songs as recorded in the *Jôtokubon*

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Popular *kagura*,[1] as it can be seen today all over Japan, is rich in varieties of obviously different age and origin. For the purpose of systematic description, specialists in the field used to differentiate between five groups, which had been established by Honda Yasuji.[2] They were based upon distinctive features, allowing also for some standard combinations, and may be defined as follows:[3] (1) *kagura* performed by *miko*[4] (young supplementary priestesses at shrines), a nowadays rather ceremonial *kagura* dancing which is traditionally understood to bring about the *miko*'s possession by the gods. (2) *kagura* of the Izumo tradition,[5] i.e. *kagura* stemming from the bipartite form which is said to have been created at the Sada Shrine[6] in the old province of Izumo, and which consists of (a) *torimono*[7] dances followed by

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1. 神楽.
2. 本田安次, *1906.
3. The definitions are based upon Honda's own condensations of his views. See for example Waseda daigaku Tsubouchi-hakase kinen engeki hakubutsukan 早稲田大学坪内博士記念演劇博物館, ed., *Engeki hyakka daijiten* 演劇百科大事典, 1, Tôkyô: Heibonsha, 1960, pp. 557–559; Honda Yasuji, *Kagura* 神楽, Tôkyô: Mokujisha, 1966 (*Nihon-no minzoku geinô* 日本の民俗芸能. 1), pp. 28–148. However, in Honda's contribution to Geinôshi kenkyûkai 芸能史研究会, ed., *Kagura. Kodai-no utamai-to matsuri* 神楽. 古代の歌舞とまつり, Tôkyô: Heibonsha, 1969 (*Nihon-no koten geinô* 日本の古典芸能. 1), pp. 59–119, the last group (no. 5) is abandoned (see especially pp. 82 f.).
4. 巫女の神楽.
5. 出雲流の神楽.
6. 佐太神社.
7. 採物. The objects which the dancers carry in their hands. For a discussion of *torimono* and their meaning see my thesis: Gerhild Müller, *Kagura. Die Lieder der Kagura-Zeremonie am Naishidokoro*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971 (*Veröffentlichungen des Ostasiatischen Seminars der J. W. Goethe-Universität Frankfurt / Main. B, 2*), pp. 37–41.

(b) dramatizations of myths done in the style of *nô*[8] plays.   (3) *kagura*
of the Ise tradition.[9]   This group comprises all types of *kagura* based
upon the *yudate*[10] ritual.   It thus includes *miko* dances as well as danc-
ing of the *torimono* type.   The *yudate-kagura* which had been per-
formed by the priests of the Outer Ise Shrine[11] until the *Meiji* reform[12]
is considered to be the most prominent member of the group.   (4)
shishi-kagura,[13] i.e., *kagura* in which lion masks and/or other elements
of the old *gigaku*[14] tradition play an important role.   (5) " Other dances ",
i.e., *bugaku*[15] or *dengaku*[16] pieces which are used as *kagura* in the sense
of dances as an offering to the gods.

This classification has been developed recently into a more sys-
tematic one by Misumi Haruo, who disclosed his views in the intro-
duction to the *kagura* volume of the important new series *Nihon shomin
bunka shiryô shûsei*.[17]   Misumi describes only three main types: " (1)
torimono-no kagura: *torimono* dances, and the arrangements of dance
(*bukyoku*[18]) or *nô* which go with them—e.g. *miko* dance, *kagura* of the
Izumo tradition.   (2) *yudate-no kagura*: *torimono* dances with *yudate*
as the central performance, and the *nô* which go with them—e.g. *yudate-
no kagura* the center of which is the Outer Ise Shrine.   (3) *shishi-
kagura*: the dances in which lion masks play a central role, and the
nô or *kyôgen*,[19] which go with them—e.g. *daikagura* of Ise and Edo,[20]
yamabushi-kagura and *bangaku* of the Tôhoku region."[21]

At first glance the difference between the two classifications seems
to be a mere question of precision in typology.   It is, however, a basic
one.   While Honda treats each *kagura* as one fully integrated and

8.   能.

9.   伊勢流の神楽.

10.   湯立. For a short description of the *yudate* ritual and some remarks on
the *yudate* tradition in courtly *kagura* see Müller 1971, pp. 90 f.

11.   Gekû 外宮, alias Toyuke Daijingû 豊受大神宮.

12.   明治: 1868–1912. The " reforming " of the traditional Ise ceremonies
took place in 1873. For a short evaluation of the event see Eta Harich-Schneider,
A history of Japanese music, London: Oxford University Press, 1973, pp. 582 f.

13.   獅子神楽.

14.   伎楽.

15.   舞楽.

16.   田楽.

17.   三隅治雄, *1927, in: Geinôshi kenkyûkai, ed., *Kagura, bugaku* 神楽・舞楽,
Tôkyô: San'ichi shobô, 1974 (*Nihon shomin bunka shiryô shûsei* 日本庶民文化史料集
成. 1), pp. 5–10, see especially p. 9.

18.   舞曲.

19.   狂言.

20.   伊勢の代神楽, 江戸の大神楽.

21.   東北の山伏神楽・番楽.

indivisible entity, Misumi's approach is based upon an analysis of its constituent parts.   The *nô* or *kyôgen* nowadays to be found with nearly every performance of *kagura* are singled out as additional elements. He thus establishes three "main types" meant to represent " pure " *kagura*: *torimono*, *yudate*, and *shishi*.   It is worth mentioning that this is the classification used in preparing the *kagura* maps of *Nihon-no sairei chizu*[22] (Tôkyô 1976ff.), a new publication intended to become a standard reference work.   As a means to describe in a simple way what is performed nowadays under the name of *kagura*, it serves the purpose fairly well.   Nevertheless, much can be said against Misumi's levelling treatment of these types, for each of them has a history of its own. That they are uniformly considered to be " pure " *kagura*, is even more problematic.   A detailed discussion of this issue, however, goes beyond the scope of this paper.   The main concern of the present study is the dramatic tradition in *kagura*.   Therefore, it is Misumi's treatment of *nô*, *kyôgen* and the like as phenomena attendant upon *kagura*, which shall be given special attention here.

It is a well known fact that the classical dramatic forms, *nô* and *kyôgen*, had an impact upon *kagura*.   For example: the *kagura* traditions of Chûgoku (where the Sada Shrine is situated) and, partly, Kyûshû or the Tôhoku region, in which *nô*-like dramatizations of myths play the central part, apparently did not take this form until the 16th century,[23] that is at least one hundred years after Zeami's[24] productions in Kyôto and elsewhere.   (Some of them are even younger and known to have reached their present state in the early 19th century under the influence of the *kokugaku*[25] movement.)   On the other hand, courtly *kagura*, the oldest variety attested by written sources, was obviously of a non-dramatic character in Heian times, as it is today.   Some of the song books which are preserved as Heian manuscripts and contain slightly differing versions of the standard repertory include instructions

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22. 日本祭礼地図, Tôkyô: Kokudo chiri kyôkai, 1976 ff.

23. For a short survey of the traditions and documents relating to the *shinnô* 神能 of the Sada Shrine, which is supposed to have served as a model for dramatic *kagura* in many other places, see Honda 1966, p. 42 with p. 43 (note 2), and pp. 434–437.   The oldest textbook reportedly dated from *Shôtoku* 正徳 5=1715, but has not been preserved.   The textbook edited in *Nihon shomin bunka shiryô shûsei*, 1, pp. 53–70, a manuscript the first half of which is dated *Tenpô* 天保 15=1844 (see p. 61), seems to be the oldest collection extant of the repertory as a whole.

24. 世阿弥, 1363–1443.

25. 国学.

for the actual performing.[26]   Like the *Gôke shidai*, Ôe-no Masafusa's (1041–1111) handbook of courtly ceremonies,[27] they show clearly enough that courtly *kagura* had been a musical program of isolated songs in which no direct connections between the single numbers are to be found—at least no direct connections in the sense of any coherent action.   There is no underlying plot, although the basic structure of the arrangement may be called dramatic in the same sense as *matsuri*[28] in general: The first part (*torimono*) consists of songs nowadays understood to invite the gods (the old meaning was probably to bring the emperor health and good luck).   The second part (*saibari*[29]), is of an entertaining nature.   The third and last part, seemingly the youngest, contains rather different songs rich in feeling, which create the mood of early morning, parting, and everlasting blessings (meant to indicate a formal " sending home the gods " *kamiage*[30]).   Furthermore, musical principles must have played an important part in the arrangement and structure of courtly *kagura*.   (Unfortunately we know next to nothing about them, because the versions of today have been—as Eta Harich-Schneider puts it—" remoulded " during the 19th century.[31])   If the characteristics of courtly *kagura*, especially its basically non-dramatic nature, should represent the essence of early *kagura* in general, while the influx of the classical *nô* and *kyôgen* is a late addition to still more or less " pure " traditions or, at least, a late replacement of likewise secondary elements, it would be necessary indeed to draw a sharp line between " pure " *kagura* and the dramatic tradition which goes with it.

These two suppositions are, however, hard to prove.   There is evidence of the dramatic tradition in *kagura* as early as the late 11th century, and traces of it show up at court even earlier.   This does not

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26.   Especially rich in detailed information on the actual performing of courtly *kagura* is the supposedly 12th-century manuscript known as *Nabeshimakebon* 鍋島家本.   The *kagura* part of this collection has been edited by Ueda Masaaki 上田正昭 in *Nihon shomin bunka shiryô shûsei*, 1, pp. 7–24.   A facsimile printing of the whole manuscript, edited by the late Hashimoto Shinkichi 橋本進吉 and published by Koten hozonkai 古典保存会 appeared in 1938.   Cf. the less informative but also valuable source of about the same age called *Shigetanebon* 重種本, which has been edited by Shida Nobuyoshi 志田延義 in: *Nihon koten zenshû* 日本古典全集, *Kayôshû* 歌謡集. 1, Tôkyô: Nihon koten zenshû kankôkai, 1932, pp. 11–30.

27.   大江匡房, 江家次第.   The *Gôke shidai* contains two slightly different descriptions of *Naishidokoro-no mikagura* 内侍所御神楽, for further details see Müller 1971, pp. 131–142, especially pp. 132f.

28.   祭.

29.   前張.

30.   神上.

31.   Harich-Schneider 1973, pp. 507–510 and pp. 579–582.

refer to the *sarugaku*[32] interludes[33] or to dramatic aspects in single songs of the old courtly repertory,[34] but to a whole *kagura* performance proceeding along the lines of one and the same underlying plot, revealed in a sequence of seven pairs of songs which show a coherent thread of action.

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The sequence in question bears the title *Kehi-no kagura*[35] and is to be found in an old manuscript believed to be a Heian original, which is generally known as *Jôtokubon koyôshû*[36] (because of the dating: *Jôtoku 3, 3, 5=29. 3. 1099*[37]) or simply *Koyôshû*. The source is available in type-set editions since 1932, and the songs are well known to *kagura* specialists. They have been treated, however, as a kind of collection rather than a sequence of common origin. They read as follows:[38]

[1] *KEHI-NO KAGURA*	*sue:*
Michi-no kuchi	*kusu-no ha-no*
Kumasaka yama-no ya	*ayukeru*
kusu-no ha-no ayukeru	*ware-wo*
ware-wo	*yoru hitori*
yoru hitori	*neyo-toya*
neyo-toya	*kami-no*
kami-no	*yoru hitori*
yoru hitori	*neyo-toya*
neyo-toya	*oke*
oke	

32. 猿楽 (alternative writings: 散楽 and 申楽).

33. A famous example is the *Uji shûi* 宇治拾遺 story *Beijû Ietsuna Yukitsuna tagai-ni hakaritaru koto* 陪従家綱行綱互謀事, see Watanabe 渡辺, Nishio 西尾, eds., *Uji shûi monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語, Tôkyô: Iwanami shoten, 1960 (*Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系. 27), pp. 178-180. Cf. D. E. Mills, *A collection of tales from Uji. A study and translation of Uji shûi monogatari*, Cambridge: The University Press, 1970 (*University of Cambridge Oriental Publications*. 15), pp. 240-242: "How the musicians Ietsuna and Yukitsuna tricked each other".

34. See for example nos. 31/32, 44/45, and 49/50 in Tsuchihashi 土橋, Konishi 小西, eds., *Kodai kayôshû* 古代歌謡集, Tôkyô: Iwanami shoten, 1957 (*Nihon koten bungaku taikei*. 3), pp. 309, 317-319, 322-324. Cf. Müller 1971, pp. 14, 17-19, 63-65, 75 f., and 78f.

35. 介比乃神楽.

36. 承徳本古謡集.

37. For a critical evaluation of the date see Gerhild Endress, "Die Kehi-Lieder des Koyô-shû von 1099", *Oriens Extremus* 23, 1 (1976), p. 39.

38. Cf. the plates, which are reproductions from the facsimile edition of 1930 (see note 98). The versions which are given here contain some minor corrections, especially in no. 3. For a detailed study of the original manuscript see Endress loc. cit.

[Do you tell me that I—trembling like *kuzu* leaves on the Kumasaka hills, *ya*, in (Koshi-no) Michinokuchi—shall sleep alone tonight, shall sleep alone (this) divine night? *oke.* —Do you tell me that I—trembling like *kuzu* leaves—shall sleep alone tonight, shall sleep alone (this) divine night? *oke.*]

[2] *moto:*   *sue:*
Koshi-no umi-wo   *funate shite*
arumi-to   *kaheru-ni ya*
shirate   *oki-ni saha=*
funate shite   *reru-ya*
kaheru-ni   *oke*
oki-ni saha=
reru-ya
oke

[Without knowing what a rough sea the Koshi sea is, they put out to sea, and on their way back—did they meet with difficulties out in the offing? *oke.* —They put out to sea, and on their way back, *ya*—did they meet with difficulties out in the offing? *oke.*]

[3] *moto:*   *sue:*
wa-ka fune-ha   *tori-nareya*
Noto-no hayafune   *Misaka koete*
tori-nareha   *ohokimi-ni*
Misaka koete   *tsukahematsuramu*
ohokimi-ni tsukahematsuramu   *mikotachi-ni*
mikotachi-ni   *tsukahe=*
tsukahematsuramu   *matsuramu*
oke   *oke*

[Our boat, a fast boat from Noto—if it is a bird, we shall cross (the steep road of) Misaka and humbly serve the Great Lord, and humbly serve His Children. *oke.* —Isn't it a bird? We shall cross (the steep road of) Misaka and humbly serve the Great Lord, and humbly serve His Children. *oke.*]

[4] *moto:*   *sue:*
miko-to iheha   *miko-to iheha*
tete-no miko-kaha   *Surakami-wo*
Surakami-wo   *shi-no miko-ha*
shi-no miya-   *iro-no*
to heru ki-no   *ito-no miko ya*
miko ya   *oke*
oke

[As we call you ' the Son ', are you really father's Son? Oh, Surakami! The youngest Son, called the Fourth Prince, *ya*! *oke.* —As we call you ' the Son ', oh, Surakami! The fourth Son, the beloved infant Son, *ya*! *oke.*

The translation differs from my earlier German rendering of the song.[37]

In the version given above the addressee is supposed to be Emperor Ôjin; see below, section 3 of this paper. In that case, *ki* in line 5 should be 季 denoting the youngest or last one. Accordingly the meaning of *ito* in line 12 changes slightly. Emperor Ôjin actually was Emperor Chûai's fourth and last son, who was born after his father's death.]

[5]   *moto:*   *sue:*
muma-ni nori   *muma-ni hashiri nori*
koma-ni nori   *watareto watararenu*
arukitsutsu   *Seta-no karahashi*
kitsutsu ki mireha   *woyuka tare-ka yuku*
kamioho-no
Kehi-no mikake-ni
masu kake-ha
nashi
oke

[If you come and have a look as they go up and down, as they keep coming, riding on horses, riding on ponies: there is no shelter like the divine and great Shelter of Kehi. *oke.* —Even if you go over galloping on horseback, you cannot get over it, over the Chinese Seta bridge. *oyuka,* somebody is passing by.]

[6]   *moto:*   *sue:*
Ashikita waraha-no   *wa-ka kokeha-koso*
funate suru   *nana ya-no fune-mo*
yo-ha ware kachi torite ya   *kure mari satamete*
nosete   *koi tahe*
watasamu   *Kehi Ke=*
Ahe-no shima-   *ta oke*
mateni
oke

[Tonight, when the young people of Ashikita put out to sea, I shall pull the oars, *ya,* have them get on board, and take them over to Ahe island, *oke.* —When we are rowing, indeed, there are seven or eight boats which come. The anchorage has been set, (now) let us row, if you please. Kehi, Keta! *oke.*]

[7]   *moto:*   *sue:*
Miwo-ka saki   *Achimamera-wo*
wataru   *sote-ni kakirete*
hayafusa   *isa mairamu*
tori toraha   *Keta-he mai=*
sena-yawo   *ramu ya*
toraha   *oke*
Seta ya
oke

[You peregrine falcon, flying over the headland of Mio! If I caught the bird, if I caught you, my dear lord, in Seta, *ya! oke.* —We put

our sleeves around the girls from Ajima, (now) come on, let us go, let us go to Keta, *ya! oke.*]

In an earlier essay on this group,[39] in which I examined the songs relying purely on the texts themselves (and also tried a translation into German), the following points were made: The songs very probably come from the *kagura* repertory of the Kehi Shrine, now in the city of Tsuruga, Fukui-ken (formerly province of Echizen),[40] as the title *Kehi-no kagura* suggests. No. 1 shows the typical features of an introductory piece: It names place and time (the place—*michi-no kuchi*,[41] i.e. Echizen—through explicit statement; the time of the year through allusion: *kuzu*[42] is a creeper with autumnal connotations; and the time of the day—*yoru*[43] " night "—explicitly again). The implied motif of waiting serves as a thematic link between no. 1 and the following piece, although the setting is different; no. 2 is meant to be sung by somebody standing on the shore of the Koshi sea[44] and looking out for a boat which is due to return. Furthermore, in both no. 1 and no. 2 the *sue*[45] song is a repetition of the *moto*[46] song's second part, a fact which reveals that they must have been close to each other in musical form. The same thing is also true of no. 3, a song which starts with the self-introduction of a crew just arrived—apparently from Noto[47] across the Koshi sea. The outward correspondence seems to hint at correspondence in meaning as well: the boat having just arrived in no. 3 is most probably the boat which had been awaited in no. 2. No. 3 is also connected with the following piece. Its final announcement " we shall humbly serve the Great Lord and His Children "[48] is actually carried out in no. 4, a song in praise of a deity declared to be one of the children. Taking into account that the *sue* song of no. 4, even if it does not repeat part of the *moto* song literally, follows its wording rather closely, things add up to a sequence of four songs. No. 5, however, seems to open a new section, because nos. 5–7 are different in form. Their *sue* parts are textually independent, although connected with the respective *moto* parts in other ways. With regard

39. Endress 1976, see above note 37.
40. 気比神宮, 敦賀市, 福井県 (formerly 越前国).
41. 見千乃久千, i.e. 道の口.
42. 久須, i.e. 葛.
43. 与留. i.e. 夜.
44. 古之乃宇見, i.e. 越の海.
45. 末. The second piece in a pair of songs.
46. 本. The first piece in a pair of songs.
47. 能登, nowadays part of Ishikawa-ken 石川県.
48. 於保支見爾川加部末川良无見古太千爾川加部末川良无, i.e. 大君に仕へまつらむ御子達に仕へまつらむ.

to the meaning, however, there is no discontinuity. The *moto* part of no. 5 more or less carries on the worship theme of nos. 3 and 4. It is a song which praises the Kehi Shrine. The last line of the *sue* part, " somebody is passing by ",[49] serves as a direct link between no. 5 and the following piece, which starts with the self-introductory remarks of an oarsman. He leads a crew of young people seemingly ready to participate in a boat race: the *sue* part of no. 6 looks very much like expressing the feelings of a contesting party. As to the outcry " Kehi, Keta "[50] in the end of no. 6 (" Keta " in all probability points to the Keta Shrine,[51] the old main shrine of Noto), I am still uncertain of the meaning. Some general remarks on the relationship between the two shrines will be found in section 4 of this paper. A close connection with the last piece of the sequence, however, is beyond doubt: It is Keta, where the singers of no. 7 intend to go, as they declare at the end of the *sue* part. This last song is composed in the *utagaki*[52] style as an exchange between a single female, who stays behind, and a group of male singers about to leave. It is a typical closing piece. No. 6, apart from its primary meaning, already served the purpose to indicate that a cycle tends towards its end. Its setting as well as its wording took the reader (or spectator) back to the scene of no. 2. No. 7 in its turn, with its flirting and joking tone, points back to the theme of song no. 1. The mood, however, is quite different: no. 7 expresses cheerfulness at the end of a happy *matsuri* night.

Even this short summary reveals textual and formal interrelations which can only be explained by assuming that the group stems from one hand and has been composed as an integrated unity. There seems to be a thread of action running through the whole sequence, although the underlying plot is not perceptible down to the details. It would seem that there can be no hope of further clarification unless the festival into which the sequence fits were to be found.

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Any search for a certain festival of the Kehi Shrine will have to take *Kehigû shaki*[53] as its basis. This is a collection of various docu-

49.　太礼加由久,　i.e. 誰か行く.
50.　介比介太,　alias 気比気多.
51.　気多神社,　石川県羽咋 (Hakui) 郡.
52.　歌垣.
53.　Kanpei taisha Kehi jingû 官幣大社気比神宮,　ed.,　*Kehigû shaki* 気比宮社記, Tôkyô 1940. The manuscript was copied in 1897 on the initiative of Tanaka Yo-shinari 田中義成 (Tôkyô teikoku daigaku shiryô hensanjô 東京帝国大学史料編纂所), who was interested in the old documents included in the collection, and (after some revisions) printed in commemoration of a shrine rebuilding on the occasion of the 2600 anniversary of Japan.

ments, diary excerpts, and other records, relating to the shrine, its history, and ceremonial performances. It was compiled by Hiramatsu Chikaie, a priest of the Kehi shrine,[54] during the years 1759–61. There are two chapters on festivals,[55] arranged in chronological order. As a matter of fact, the first one contains a description of a festival rich in details which are reminiscent of the *Jôtoku* songs.

This festival, called *sô-no mairi*[56] and nowadays held on the 22nd of July, appears to have been one of the most popular ceremonies of the Kehi Shrine through the centuries. On the festival day, a boat, selected from the fishing and trading vessels of the port of Tsuruga carries a delegation from Kehi to the Jôgû Shrine.[57] This shrine had been the abode of a local female deity called *Ame yaoyorozu-no hime* in *Engi shiki* times,[58] but was later dedicated to Jingû Kôgô and her husband, Emperor Chûai.[59] Having been towed by four other boats towards its destination about 8 km northwest of Kehi, the festival boat casts anchor in front of the Jôgû. (The towing is done by members of the co-operatives which belong to the Kehi Shrine. They also sweep the path from the shrine down to the shore.) The delegation disembarks and proceeds to the shrine where a ceremony is held. It includes a *kagura* performed by dancing girls of the Kehi Shrine. The description points out that it is the same *kagura* as performed on the festival boat on its way to and fro the Jôgû Shrine. Its song, which is carefully recorded, is different from the *Jôtoku* songs, and in keeping

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54. 平松周家, born Kawabata 河端, but adopted into the Hiramatsu family.

55. *Nenjû saishibu* 年中祭祀部 " Section of annual festivals ".

56. 惣之参 or 左右之参, cf. *Kehigû shaki*, 3: *Nenjû saishibu* (1), pp. 114–118.

57. 常宮神社, alias Tsune-no Miya 常宮, cf. *Kehigû shaki*, 2: *Gûsha shindenbu* (2) 宮社神伝部下, p. 46.

58. 天八百万比咩, see *Engi shiki* 延喜式 in *Kuroita Katsumi* 黒板勝美 [et al.], eds., *Enryaku kôtaishiki* 延暦交替式 [etc.], Tôkyô: Yoshikawa kôbunkan, 1965 (*Shintei zôho kokushi taikei* 新訂増補国史大系. 26), p. 264, cf. *Kehigû shaki*, 6: *Kyakushiki narabi-ni shosho-no Hokurikudôbu, hyôshutsu* (2) 格式並諸書北陸道部, 標出下, p. 185.

59. 神宮功皇 alias *Okinagatarashi hime-no mikoto* 気長足姫尊, 仲哀天皇 alias *Tarashinaka-tsu hiko-no sumeramikoto* 足仲彦天皇. *Kehigû shaki*, 2: *Gûsha shindenbu* (2), p. 46 (discussing the eleven shrines and fourteen deities of the Jôgû in Kutsunoura 沓浦) says: " Main shrine, two deities: The Great Deities of the Jôgû. (They look southward, since the Middle Ages we address them as The Great Manifestations of the Jôgû 常宮大権現, or we say The Majesties of the Jôgû 常宮御前, the old tradition calls them [her!] 常宮皇后, this is to be read *Tsune-no miya-no ohokisahi-no kami* 津禰乃美屋乃於保基佐比乃嘉美.) *Okinagatarashi hime-no mikoto*. (It is this one, who is called Her Majesty on the Main Seat 御本座 of the Jôgû). This is the so called *Ame yaoyorozu hime-no kami* of *Engi-shiki* and *Montoku jitsuroku* 文徳実録. *Tarashinaka-tsu hiko-no sumeramikoto*. (It is this one, who is called the Fellow Hall 相殿 of the Jôgû.)"

with the ceremonial readings of the day, which draw on the *Nihon shoki* reports of the seafaring Jingû Kôgô,[60] and glorify her mainly for granting a calm sea, rich catches, and a safe return. A *kagura* performed by the dancing girls of the Jôgû shrine follows, but its text is not included. In the afternoon the delegation returns home. The closing remark says that " in the old days " the *bugaku* pieces *Batô* and *Genjô-raku* had been performed:[61] wether in addition to or in place of one of the *kagura* dances mentioned, is not clear.

There is a second description of the same festival to be found not in the festival chapters but among the " Ancient records of the shrine traditions ".[62] It is part of a manuscript dated *Kahô* 2, 11=c. Dec. 1095, the undamaged, readable parts of which—according to the colophon—have been copied *Tenji* 2, 3, 10=15. 4. 1125 and recopied *Shôhô* 2, 2=c. March 1645.[63] This second description of *sô-no mairi* is shorter, summarizing rather than reporting the sacred readings of the day said to underlie the ceremonial performances, but gives in full length the same *kagura* song as the first one (with only very few variants which, however, prove the superiority of the other version[64]). If the alleged date of the original manuscript—about four years before *Jôtoku* 3—may be taken for granted, the source might contain valuable background information for the *Jôtoku* songs, should there be any connection between them and the festival under consideration. Unfortunately, it is not rich in detail. There is only one thing worth noting: the fact that it explicitly calls the Jôgû Shrine a *mikogami* or " filial deity " of Kehi.[65] The juridical basis of this statement is uncertain. *Shintô*

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60. See Sakamoto 坂本, Ienaga 家永, Inoue 井上, [and] Ôno 大野, eds., *Nihon shoki* (1) 日本書紀上, Tôkyô: Iwanami shoten, 1967 (*Nihon koten bungaku taikei.* 67), pp. 322–325, cf. W. G. Aston, transl., *Nihongi. Chronicles of Japan from the earliest time to A.D. 697*, London, 1896, repr. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1956, pp. 218 f.

61. 古代有抜頭還城楽之舞楽, cf. section 4 below.

62. *Shaden kyûkibu* 社伝旧記部, the chapters 7–9 of *Kehigû shaki*. They present official documents, excerpts from various shrine legends or " histories ", excerpts from diaries, etc., which add up to a report in chronological order from " the Age of the Gods " to the 18th century.

63. *Kehigû shaki*, 7: *Shaden kyûkibu* (1), pp. 228–230. 嘉保, 天治, 正保.

64. To give but one example: the version of *Nenjû saishibu* (1), p. 117, has 如意 *michihi* (or *nyoi*) denoting the famous pearl of the Jingû Kôgô legend, the distorted version of *Shaden kyûkibu* (1), p. 229, is 如何. Cf. Kurita Hiroshi 栗田寛, *Koyôshû* 古謡集, in: Kokugakuin 国学院, ed., *Kokubun ronsô* 国文論纂, Tôkyô: Dainihon tosho kabushikigaisha, 1903, p. 1183, where the same song is recorded. The last part, however, differs remarkably from both versions of the *Kehigû shaki*, which means that Kurita used yet another source.

65. Loc. cit., p. 229a, line 6: 御子神常宮, and p. 229b, lines 3f.: 当太神の御子神常宮御前.

daijiten treats the Jôgû as an independent shrine that became a *sessha* of Kehi only in *Meiji* 10=1877.[66]   There are other passages in *Kehigû shaki* which call the Jôgû a " filial deity " (*mikogami* or *miko-no miya*), and " the first ranking subordinate shrine (*sessha*) " of the Kehigû.[67] Although they do not seem to belong to the older components of the source, they had certainly been written down by 1761 at least.   There-fore, the date given in *Shintô daijiten* cannot be accepted without certain modifications.   As far as ceremonial matters are concerned, the existence of an old and close relationship between the two shrines is beyond doubt, anyway.   Moreover, even the survey of *Jôryaku* 2, 1, 16=2. 3. 1078 which deals with " all the shrines of Kehi Daijingû, the *taisha* of Hoku-rikudô "[68] is reported as having included the Jôgû complex.   Unfor-tunately, only the first two lines of the part concerned with the Jôgû Shrine have been preserved, and they do not include any classification, or definition of the relationship between Jôgû and Kehi.

Had there really been an ancient tradition of calling the Jôgû a *mikogami* of Kehi, the seemingly not too well defined relationship between the two shrines would serve to explain the line *tete-no miko-kaha*[69] " are you really father's son? " in the difficult fourth song of the *Jôtoku* sequence.   " Father " in that case might be understood to point to the original deity of Kehi, the male *Izasawake-no mikoto*.[70] (*Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* report a visit paid to him by Emperor Ôjin when he was still the Crown Prince.[71])   However, the Jôgû Shrine, if *mikogami* at all, is by no means the only one.   Several of the numerous subordinate shrines of Kehi, among them the highest ranking " filial deities of the seven shrines " and the " filial deities of the two shrines ", are understood to be *mikogami*.[72]   The group of seven, including a

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66.   Shimonaka Yasaburô 下中弥三郎, ed., *Shintô daijiten* 神道大辞典, Tôkyô, 1937, repr. Kyôto: Rinsen shoten, 1969, v. 2, p. 185.

67.   *Kehigû shaki*, 2: *Gûsha shindenbu* (2), p. 47: 気比宮第一摂社之御子神, and p. 51: 気比太神宮第一之摂社王子宮.

68.   *Kehigû shaki*, 7: *Shaden kyûkibu* (1), p. 226: 北陸道大社気比太神宮諸社御 事, dated 承暦二(戊午)年正月十六日.

69.   天々乃見古加者.

70.   伊奢沙別命.

71.   古事記; see Kurano 倉野, Takeda 武田, eds., *Kojiki. Norito* 古事記 祝詞. Tôkyô: Iwanami shoten, 1958 (*Nihon koten bungaku taikei*. 1), pp. 234–237, cf. D. L. Philippi, transl., *Kojiki*, Tôkyô: University of Tôkyô Press, 1968, pp. 268 f.; *Nihon shoki*, loc. cit., pp. 350/1, cf. Aston, loc. cit., pp. 243f. 応神天皇 alias *Homuta-no sumeramikoto* 誉田天皇 is officially considered the 15th Emperor.

72.   See *Kehigû shaki*, 1: *Gûsha shindenbu* (1), pp. 36–40.   Cf. also *Shintô daiji-ten*, v. 1, p. 499.

shrine counted as the " fourth filial deity " or *shi-no miko-no miya*,[73] may equally be considered an appropriate setting for the song mentioned above, which is directed at a deity called *shi-no miya*.[74] Furthermore, Emperor Ôjin, the fourth son or *shi-no miya*[75] of Jingû Kôgô and Emperor Chûai, is worshipped together with his parents at the Kehi Shrine. He is often referred to simply as " the son ". To give but one example: the passage from 1210 (concerned with the rebuilding of their common shrine in the innermost sanctuary) in the " Ancient records " chapter speaks of Emperor Ôjin and Jingû Kôgô as *Kehi-no ôkami-no miko* " the son of the Great Deity of Kehi [Emperor Chûai] " and *miya-no mikoto-no haha-no kami* " the Deity, His Mother ".[76] Even if the line " are you really father's son ? " at first glance does not seem to make much sense in this context, that possibility will also have to be taken into consideration when the *shi-no miya* of no. 4 is discussed further. Careful consideration of the whole " Jingû Kôgô and Ôjin " complex in its religious and historical dimensions, however, is beyond the scope of this paper.

It is obvious that there are no easy solutions to the remaining problems of the *Jôtoku* songs. As to the two descriptions of *sô-no mairi* in *Kehigû shaki*, they failed to provide a framework into which the whole cycle would really fit. The repeated mentioning of Keta, for example, which has no counterpart whatsoever in *sô-no mairi*, shows that the songs did not depict this festival (at least not its form preserved by *Kehigû shaki*). Notwithstanding that, the investigation of *sô-no mairi* served to illuminate some details of the songs. This is quite plausible, because the *Jôtoku* sequence and *sô-no mairi*, both of them reflect the geographical and theological situation of the same Kehi shrine.

4

The festival chapters of *Kehigû shaki* do not hold another description which may be called reminiscent of the *Jôtoku* songs. The " Ancient records of the shrine traditions ", however, surprisingly show some true evidence of the sequence. The first hint comes from

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73. *Kehigû shaki*, loc. cit., p. 38: 鏡神社 *Kagami-no jinja* (. . . 第四之王子宮 *daishi-no mikoto-no miya*).

74. 之乃見也.

75. Cf. *Nihon shoki*, loc. cit., p. 363: 誉田天皇, 足仲彦天皇第四子也. The traditional reading of 第四子 in this place, however, is (*Tarashinaka-tsu hiko-no sumeramikoto-no*) *yohashira-ni ataritamafu miko* (*nari*), see loc. cit., p. 362.

76. *Kehigû shaki*, 7: *Shaden kyûkibu* (1), p. 231, a document of *Jôgen* 承元 4, 2, 9=6. 3. 1210, which is entitled 気比太神御子並宮尊母神遷宮注文之事. In the last passage of the same document the two deities are referrred to as 児宮母帝尊神.

the passage directly preceeding the second description of *sô-no mairi* mentioned above. It is concerned with the banquet of the fifth month, held in joyful commemoration of Jingû Kôgô's Korean enterprise and contains the following remark:[77]

> " During the holy ceremony . . . *Ryôô, Battô* in *taishikichô, Nôsori (ichi-kotsuchô)*, and *Genjôraku* are performed,[78] but although it is customary with grand ceremonies that these four musics are performed, at this shrine it is a secret tradition of the *gakunin* family[79] to have a music in *banshikichô*[80] as the first *bugaku* piece."

The four " musics " mentioned are well known *bugaku* numbers, and it goes without saying that they were never danced in combination with songs. Incidentally, two of them, *Bat(t)ô* and *Genjôraku*, have also been mentioned in one of the descriptions of *sô-no mairi*. If the " music " in *banshikichô*, a secret tradition of the *gakunin* family of the Kehi Shrine, was of exactly the same nature, it would seem a little far fetched to take the statement as a reference to the *Jôtoku* sequence. This becomes a possibility which has to be taken into account only by the closing remark of *Jôtokubon* which says:[81]

> " These songs, unlike the usual *kagura* songs, are tunes in *banshikichô*."

If the hypothesis proves to be correct, the songs must have been performed in a way similar to courtly *bugaku*. They would then serve as a rare example of *bugaku* consisting not only of instrumental music and pantomimic dance but also of songs, or—to put it the other way round—of a *kagura* arrangement combining songs, instrumental music (*gagaku*), and dance in accordance with an underlying plot.

Support for this hypothesis is found in a second passage from the same " Ancient records " chapter, namely in the section assigned to the reign of Emperor Gotoba[82] (1183–1198). The passage contains direct textual evidence for two of the *Jôtoku* songs and calls them *sai-bara*[83], that is, songs in the courtly *gagaku* style. The songs are recorded in full length, although differing considerably in detail, at the

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77. *Kehigû shaki*, 7: *Shaden kyûkibu* (1), p. 229.

78. 陵王, 祓頭 (cf. note 61, the writing is different here) in 大食調 (*gagaku* 雅楽 mode with a *ryo* 呂 scale built on E), 納蘇利 in 一越調 (*gagaku* mode with a *ryo* scale built on D), and 還城楽. Four famous *bugaku* pieces. *Battô* and *Nôsori* are better known as " *Batô* " and " *Nasori* ".

79. 楽人家.

80. 盤渉調, *gagaku* mode with a *ritsu* 律 scale built on B.

81. 此哥不似例神楽哥番之支条乃音振也. *kono uta-wa rei-no kagurauta-ni nizu banshikichô-no nefuri-nari*; cf. the plates.

82. 後鳥羽天皇.

83. 催馬楽.

end of the section, which reads as follows:[84]

"Emperor Gotoba. *Kenkyû* 7, 6, 14 [=11. 7. 1196]. The [shrine-] halls are built. Presumably the reason was that in *Kenkyû* 2, 12, 8 the treasure hall, several shrine buildings, etc. had been destroyed by fire. The ancient records of traditions state: In the old days, *Tenpyô-jingo* 1 / *kinoto-mi*, 9, 7 [=26. 9. 765], the Tsurugi Shrine, a filial deity of this shrine,[85] and the Keta Shrine in the province of Noto on the same day were endowed by Imperial command with ten taxable households each. *Jingo-keiun* 4 [=770] an imperial messenger was dispatched to the province of Koshi; he presented ceremonial offerings to this Great Deity and to the Great Deity of Keta in the province of Noto. They furthermore say: In *Kônin* 1 [=810], on the occasion of a rebuilding of this shrine, kettles (two pieces) and tripods (two pieces) decorated with ceremonial bast-pendings were presented from the province of Noto[86] by fast boat.[87] History of the same province: As regards the sea coast, it is the estates of this shrine which produce the offerings. Until today it is the god's estates. In former times the divine maiden sang *saibara*. The songs run thus [on the right are the corresponding lines of the *Jôtoku* versions]:

[3] *moto* [adjusted][88]:
wa-ka fune-ha

(*Noto-no hayafune*   *Noto-no hayafune*
toru-nadoya   *tori-nareha*
Misaka rauwete   *Misaka koete*
wakakimi-ni   *ohokimi-ni*
tsukahematsuran   *tsukahematsuramu*
mikototachi   *mikotachi-ni*
    tsukahematsuramu

[6] *moto* [adjusted]:

arakita wara-no   *Ashikita waraha-no*
tsunate yurumaru   *funate suru yo-ha*
ware kadji torite   *ware kachi torite ya*
tsukahematsuran   *nosete watasamu*
shiha-tsu shima shite   *Ahe-no shima-mateni*
ahi-tsu shima shite).[89]"

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84. *Kehigû shaki*, 7: *Shaden kyûkibu* (1), p. 230. The *nengô* 年号 to which the text refers are 建久, 天平神護 (乙己), 神護景雲 and 弘仁.

85. 当社御子神剣神社. The "shrine of the sword" today is the first ranking subordinate shrine of the Kehigû, its deity is called *Hime ôkami-no mikoto* 姫大神尊.

86. This time the characters 能川 (*Nôshû*) are used. In the preceeding sentences "the province of Noto" was referred to by 能登国 (*Noto-no kuni*).

87. *hayabune* 早船.

88. Regarding the adjustments, cf. the versions given in section 2 of this paper.

89. In the printed text the songs appear single spaced and, unlike the preceeding passage which is *kanbun* 漢文, in pure *katakana* writing.

The basic identity of the two versions is not to be questioned in
both cases. The first song's six lines (according to *Kehigû shaki*) may
be looked on as a slightly distorted variant of the *Jôtoku* version, which
lost the first and the last line, but not all of the discrepancies are neces-
sarily mistakes: *wakakimi* " young lord " (if not *wa-ga kimi* " our
lord ") in the place of *ohokimi* " great lord " may be called a possible
variant in this context; *mikototachi* in the place of *mikotachi* (meaning
probably the same) is more difficult to defend, for the old positive *mikoto*
as a personal noun was not used independently; on the other hand:
rauwete (*rôete*) in the place of *koete* is not meaningful and appears to
be an acoustical misunderstanding; the same may be true of *toru-
nadoya* in the place of *tori-nareha* " if it is a bird ", although the first
two lines of the *Kehigû shaki* version could be taken as a variant mean-
ing " a fast boat from Noto/we fetch and all that . . . " The case of
the second song is somewhat different. It is not easy to prove that
the Kehi Shrine version is a direct descendant of the corresponding
Jôtoku song, although there are no doubts about their being closely
connected. The first two lines, for example, sound very much like
the first two lines of the *Jôtoku* version, but they are completely dif-
ferent in meaning. The main point, as it seems, is *tsunate* " towing-
rope " instead of *funate* " departure of a ship ", expanded to *tsunate
yurumaru* " the towing-rope may come loose ", and *funate suru* " (when
they) put out to sea " respectively. Although *arakita wara-no*—with
arakita " newly tilled paddies " instead of *ashikita*, to be understood
as a place name, and *wara* " straw " instead of *warawa* " the young
people "—may also be based upon acoustical misunderstanding, its
meaning " of straw from the newly tilled paddies " certainly is an
appropriate introduction to *tsunate* " towing-rope ". The third line,
lit. " I take the oar ", reads nearly the same in both versions, but the
last part differs widely again. However, it is worth mentioning that
the basic structure is almost identical: the fourth line expresses an
action intended, the rest is syntactically inverted and concerned with
islands in both. (The last two lines of the second song according to
Kehigû shaki are still a problem. The interpreting romanization is
based upon the fact that they run parallel—only the first two syllables
are different—and upon the supposition that the expression *ahi-tsu
shima* is somehow related to *ahe-no shima* in *Jôtokubon*.)

The state in which the two songs survived shows that they must
have been transmitted orally for some time until they were written
down as an appendix to the Gotoba section of chapter 7 in *Kehigû
shaki*. Unfortunately, the sorces from which this section was com-
piled are not evident. The second passage begins with " The ancient

records of traditions state "[90]. This seems to quote from a collection introduced as " records of the shrine's traditions " in the first line of the chapter.[91] The same source is referred to in other places as " the shrine's records of *Tengi* 3, 5 [=June 1055] ",[92] " an ancient book, the so called records of *Tengi* 3 ",[93] and " the copies of the shrine's records from *Tengi, Kahô,* and *Jôryaku* "[94] (*Kahô*: 1094–96, *Jôryaku*: 1077–1081). However, it appears to have not only been recopied but also completed and continued in much later times as well.[95] Accordingly, the informations given in the passage under consideration cannot be trusted. They can only partly be verified even in the corresponding parts of *Kehigû shaki* itself. Chapter 5, which is a collection of Hokurikudô excerpts from the *Rikkokushi* and other early sources,[96] contains only the quotation of *Jingo-keiun* 4. The quotation dated *Tenpyô-jingo* 1, 9, 7 has no true counterpart—there is only an excerpt which says that in *Tenpyô-jingo* 2 " the deity of Keta in the province of Noto was endowed with 20 taxable households and two *chô* of paddy."[97] With regard to the *Kônin* quotation, there is nothing similar to it either in chapter 5 or anywhere else in *Kehigû shaki*. (The late Sasaki Nobutsuna, however, seemingly came across it in a place where it was not connected with the songs. In his introduction to the first printing of *Jôtokubon*[98] he cited the passage as an explanation for *hayafune* " fast boat " in Kehi song no. 3, and named a *Kehi shaki* as his source.[99] Had the variant of no. 3 been attached to it in his source as it is in the printed *Kehigû shaki*, he would have excluded the song from his somewhat later collection of *Jôtokubon* pieces " to be seen nowhere else ".[100])

This means that, on the whole, the facts quoted are not trustworthy

90. *kodenki iwaku* 古伝記曰.

91. loc. cit., p. 213: *yashiro-no denki* 社伝記.

92. loc. cit., p. 221, in the Kanmu 桓武天皇 section: 天喜三年五月社記曰.

93. loc. cit., p. 222, in the Saga 嵯峨天皇 section: 古書所謂天喜三年記曰.

94. loc. cit., p. 222, in the Montoku 文徳天皇 section: 天喜嘉保承暦之社記写本.

95. See for example the Horikawa section cited above (see note 63). It apparently comes from the same body of text. The heading is " Emperor Horikawa, *Kahô* 2, *kinoto-i* [=1095], early winter: An excerpt from the shrine's records says 堀河天皇喜保二年(乙亥)初冬社記抆書曰 ". The colophon shows the following three dates: *Kahô* 2, 11 = Dec. 1095, *Tenji* 2, 3, 10 = 15. 4. 1125, and *Shôho* 2, 2, auspicious day = ca. March 1645.

96. *Kehigû shaki*, 5: *Kokushi-no Hokurikudôbu, hyôshutsu* (1) 国史北陸道部標出上.

97. loc. cit., p. 166. (The excerpt has *Hôki* 宝亀 1 instead of *Jingo-keiun* 4.)

98. 佐佐木信綱, *Jôtokubon koyôshû-no kaisetsu* 承徳本古謡集解説. Supplement to the facsimile printing of the scroll by Kichô tosho eihon kankôkai 貴重図書影本刊行会, Tôkyô 1930.

99. loc. cit., p. 17 (original manuscript of 1924).

100. loc. cit., p. 21 (appendix of 1929).

from a historical point of view. They rather seem to have been put
together in order to serve a particular purpose, namely: to give evidence
of a time-honoured special relationship between Kehi and Keta. It
is not immediately obvious why the compiler of the section chose to
enlarge upon this topic in connection with the short statement that
there was a rebuilding of Kehi under Emperor Gotoba. The only
possible explanation is that the quotations were meant as a kind of
introduction to the songs which follow. Support comes from the
second quotation, concerning the shrine's rebuilding in 810. This is
the occasion on which the Keta shrine is reported to have dispatched
a *Noto-no hayafune* with congratulatory offerings. It reveals a com-
mon basis for the first statement, concerning the rebuilding of the Kehi
Shrine in 1196, and the various references which follow, concerning a
close relationship between Kehi and Keta in the 8th and early 9th
century. Unfortunately, the printed version of *Kehigû shaki* does not
contain any clue to the question when and how the parts of the Gotoba
section came together. Probably, the songs were part of the source
from which the first statement was taken. In that case, the compiler
may have added an introduction to the songs for they were no longer
sung (cf. " In former times the divine maiden sang . . . ") and the
special relationship certainly did not exist in his time. If the songs
had not been transmitted in connection with the shrine's rebuilding
under Gotoba, the compiler may have substituted the second passage
as a whole (i.e. quotations and songs) for an earlier remark concerning
the *kagura* of the rebuilding ceremony.[101] Due to the secrecy of the
musical tradition, this supposed earlier remark probably was rather
short or unclear. To conclude: The section translated above cannot
be older than 1196. That means that the *Kehigû shaki* version of the
kagura songs under discussion have been written down about one
hundred years after *Jôtoku* at least. They may, however, prove to be
very much younger, if a reexamination of the sources reveals that the
second passage of the section was put together in the 18th century by
Hiramatsu Chikaie himself. In any case, they were regarded a pro-
perty of the Kehi Shrine until then.

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101. Performances of *kagura* formed an important part of any rebuilding cere-
mony, as they still do today. To give but one example: the prescriptions for the
rebuilding ceremony of Jôryaku 2, 1, 16=2. 3. 1078 (cf. the survey of Kehi Daijingû
cited in note 68) speak explicitly of " *kagura* and music 神楽音楽 " to be performed
by " musicians and priestesses 楽人巫女 ", see *Kehigû shaki*, 7: *Shaden kyûkibu*
(1), p. 228.

5

If the sequence of lyrics known as *Kehi-no kagura* and recorded under this heading in the *Jôtokubon* (which is believed to be a courtly manuscript, although there is no proof for this) really belonged to the secret *bugaku* piece in *banshikichô* of the Kehi *gakunin*, this probably accounts for the fact that they never have been included in the standard repertory of the courtly *kagura* ceremony. However, there is evidence apart from the *Jôtokubon* that the songs were known to courtly circles. It is found in the *Nobuyoshibon*[102], a Heian manuscript attributed to Minamoto-no Nobuyoshi, a son of the famous musician Hakuga-no Sanmi (who died in 980).[103] This collection of *kagura* songs for courtly use includes the following item in its first part (again on the right the corresponding lines of the *Jôtoku* version):[104]

<table>
<tr><td>

" *Kehi-no uta*
Ashikita waraha-no
funate seru hi-ha
ware kachi torite ya
ahare
ware kachi torite ya
ahare "

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[6] *moto* [adjusted]:
Ashikita waraha-no
funate suru yo-ha
ware kachi torite ya . . .

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There is a remark added to the headline, which says:[105]

" The mode is *banshikichô*. Eight pieces in all."

The song, here simply called a " song of Kehi ", is already well known to us from both *Jôtokubon* and *Kehigû shaki*. The text is closer to the *Jôtoku* version, but differs in two places: it has *hi* " day " instead of *yo* " night " and the passive form *seru* (" the day when the young ones . . . are put out to sea ") instead of the active *suru*. The stability of the third line in all three versions is interesting—tradition and understanding of the text were probably backed by the living tradition of a dance, which seems to have required an oar in the dancer's hand. The last lines (in which *Jôtokubon* and the later *Kehigû shaki* version differ so much) are missing altogether. However, this is also true of several other songs in the first part of *Nobuyoshibon* and probably corresponds to the—now unknown—conditions of actual performance. (The story

102. 信義本.

103. 博雅三位 alias Minamoto-no Hiromasa 源博雅. He died in *Tengen* 天元 3, 9, 28 = 8. 11. 980 at the age of 63 (Japanese counting).

104. 気比哥. 安之支太和良波乃不奈天世留比波和礼加千止里天也安波礼和礼加千止里天也安波礼. (Cited from the to my knowledge only edition of the manuscript, by Shida Nobuyoshi. See Masamune Atsuo 正宗敦夫, ed., *Kayôshû*. 1, Tôkyô: Nihon koten zenshû kankôkai, 1932 (*Nihon koten zenshû*), p. 3.

105. loc. cit.: 万渉調音. 合八首.

from Tachibana-no Narisue's *Kokon chomonjû* about an old secret tradition of singing the first part only is related exclusively to the so-called *niwabi* song, the opening number of the classical *kagura* program.[106]

The remark which is added to the headline *Kehi-no uta* is in accordance with *Jôtokubon* as far as the mode is concerned. As to the given number of pieces, it seems to be at variance with the manuscript of 1099. *Kehi-no kagura* according to *Jôtokubon* consists of seven pairs of songs. The texts form a cycle, which could be shown (see above, section 2) to consist of fully interrelated parts, and in which nothing seemed to be missing. Therefore, a total number of eight pieces as given in *Nobuyoshibon* appears to be a problem of some importance. There is, however, an easy solution to the issue. In the *Nobuyoshibon*, *moto* and *sue* songs are generally counted as independent numbers. This can be proved by reference to a similar remark which follows the headline of the *torimono* group and reads:[107]

"16 pieces of 8 kinds in all. The melodies are all like this one."

This means that the courtly musician(s) who compiled the *Nobuyoshibon* collection of *kagura* did not know more but rather fewer Kehi songs than are recorded in the *Jôtokubon*. *Jôtokubon*, however, seems to have been written down at a later date. Which of the songs were unknown at court and for what reasons is a problem open to further research.

It is evident from the *Jôtokubon* cycle called *Kehi-no kagura* that "dramatic" *kagura*, i.e. *kagura* following a plot expressed by means of dance and songs, existed as early as the 11th century.

The fragment of this cycle which is to be found in the *Nobuyoshibon* proves that *Kehi-no kagura* was not unknown to courtly circles. The reference to eight songs rather suggests that a large part of the whole cycle was actually performed by courtly musicians of the late 10th century. From the findings in *Kehigû shaki*, despite the assumption that it drew on old documents, a source of the 18th century, we may conclude that the so called *Kehi-no kagura* was a ceremonial property of the Kehi Shrine. This does not completely rule out the possibility that the cycle may once have been introduced to the Kehi Shrine by

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106.　橘成季: 古今著聞集 (preface of the author from 1254). See Kuroita Katsumi [et al.], eds., *Kokonchomonjû Gukanshô* 古今著聞集 愚管抄, Tôkyô: Yoshikawa kôbunkan, 1964 (*Shintei zôho kokushi taikei*. 19), p. 153, and Hans Eckardt, *Das Kokonchomonshû des Tachibana Narisue als musikgeschichtliche Quelle*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1956 (*Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen*. 6), p. 111. For details on the 庭燎 and the *niwabi* song in courtly *kagura* see Müller 1971, pp. 30 and 34 f.

107. *Nobuyoshibon*, loc. cit., p. 3: 採物 (合八種十六首音振皆同之).

courtly musicians (e.g., on the occasion of an Imperial legation).   In that case, the courtly *kagura* repertory should have comprised dramatic *kagura* in the defined sense.   The sources, however, do not reveal anything of that kind.   On the contrary: despite the reference to the Kehi songs in *Nobuyoshibon* it is questionable whether at Court the cycle was ever performed in full—i.e. in full length and accompanied by the proper dances.   I wonder if it is right to judge early *kagura* in general by the standards of the courtly ceremony, just because this is the oldest *kagura* we are well informed of.   Courtly *kagura* in Heian times was mainly a musical event.   However, the repertory even of this ceremony is rich in songs which call for accompanying action.   Would it not be natural to conclude that the non-dramatic *kagura* of the independent courtly ceremony stands somewhat outside the mainstream and is a phenomenon in its own right?   To my opinion, the dramatic *kagura* of Kehi as it may be reconstructed from the *Jôtokubon* cycle of songs is much more likely to represent early *kagura* proper, i.e. " pure " *kagura*.

    (A preliminary version of this paper was presented in August, 1976 at the 30th International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa at Mexico City.)

Kehi-no kagura from the *Jôtokubon* (Kyôto, Yômei bunko), part 1.

Kehi-no kagura from the Jôtokubon (Kyôto, Yômei bunko), part 2.