On the Dramatic Tradition in Kagura

A study of the medieval Kehi songs as recorded in the Jōtōkubon

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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 miko⁴ (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 Shrine⁶ in the old province of Izumo, and which consists of (a) torimono⁷ 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., Eنجeki hyakka daijiten 演劇百科大聖典, 1, Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1960, pp. 557–559; Honda Yasuji, Kagura 神楽, Tōkyō: Mokujisha, 1966 (Nihon-no minzoku geinō 日本の民俗芸能. 1), pp. 28–148. However, in Honda’s contribution to Geinōshi kenkyūkai 芸能史研究会, ed., Kagura. Kodai-no utamai-to matsuri 神楽. 古代の歌舞とまつり, Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1969 (Nihon-no koten geinō 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.
(b) dramatizations of myths done in the style of no plays.  (3) kagura of the Ise tradition. This group comprises all types of kagura based upon the yudate ritual. It thus includes miko dances as well as dancing of the torimono type. The yudate-kagura which had been performed by the priests of the Outer Ise Shrine until the Meiji reform is considered to be the most prominent member of the group. (4) shishi-kagura, i.e., kagura in which lion masks and/or other elements of the old gigaku tradition play an important role. (5) "Other dances", i.e., bugaku or dengaku 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 systematic one by Misumi Haruo, who disclosed his views in the introduction to the kagura volume of the important new series Nihon shomin bunka shiryō shisei. Misumi describes only three main types: "(1) torimono-no kagura: torimono dances, and the arrangements of dance (bukyoku) or no 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 no 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 no or kyōgen, which go with them—e.g. daikagura of Ise and Edo, yamabushi-kagura and bangaku of the Tōhoku 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
indivisible entity, Misumi’s approach is based upon an analysis of its constituent parts. The no or kyōgen 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 (Tōkyō 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 no, kyōgen 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, no and kyōgen, had an impact upon kagura. For example: the kagura traditions of Chūgoku (where the Sada Shrine is situated) and, partly, Kyūshū or the Tōhoku region, in which no-like dramatizations of myths play the central part, apparently did not take this form until the 16th century, that is at least one hundred years after Zeami’s productions in Kyōto 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 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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23. For a short survey of the traditions and documents relating to the shinnō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 Shōtoku 正徳 5 = 1715, but has not been preserved. The textbook edited in Nihon shomin bunka shiryō shūsei, 1, pp. 53–70, a manuscript the first half of which is dated Tenbō 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. Like the Gōke shidai, Ōe-no Masafusa’s (1041–1111) handbook of courtly ceremonies, 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 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), 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). 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.) 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 no and kyōgen 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

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 shiryō shusei, 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 zenshū 日本古典全集, Kayōshū 歌謡集, 1, Tōkyō: Nihon koten zenshū kankōkai, 1932, pp. 11–30.

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

28. 祭.
29. 前張.
30. 神上.
ON THE DRAMATIC TRADITION IN KAGURA

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 Jōtokubon koyōshū\(^{36}\) (because of the dating: Jōtoku 3, 3, 5 = 29. 3. 1099\(^{37}\)) or simply Koyōshū. 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:\(^{38}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[1] KEHI-NO KAGURA</th>
<th>sue:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Michi-no kuchi</td>
<td>kusu-no ha-no</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kumasaka yama-no ya</td>
<td>ayukeru</td>
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<tr>
<td>kusu-no ha-no ayukeru</td>
<td>ware-wo</td>
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<td>ware-wo</td>
<td>yoru hitori</td>
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<td>yoru hitori</td>
<td>nayo-toya</td>
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<td>nayo-toya</td>
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32. 猿楽 (alternative writings: 散楽 and 申楽).
35. 介比乃神楽.
36. 承徳本古謡集.
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:
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, 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:
vaka 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:
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]
ON THE DRAMATIC TRADITION IN KAGURA

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

[5] moto:
muma-ni nori
koma-ni nori
arukitsutsu
kitsutsu ki mireha
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:
Ashikita waraha-no
funate suru
ya-ha ware kachi torite ya
nose
watatsamu
Ahe-no shima-
matemi
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:
Mitow-ka saki
wataru
hayafusa
tori toraha
sena-yawo
toraha
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,\textsuperscript{41} i.e. Echizen—through explicit statement; the time of the year through allusion: kuzu\textsuperscript{42} is a creeper with autumnal connotations; and the time of the day—yoru\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{44} and looking out for a boat which is due to return. Furthermore, in both no. 1 and no. 2 the sue\textsuperscript{45} song is a repetition of the moto\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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”\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{39.} Endress 1976, see above note 37.
\textsuperscript{40.} 気比神宮, 敦賀市, 福井県 (formerly 越前国).
\textsuperscript{41.} 見千乃久千, i.e. 道の口.
\textsuperscript{42.} 久須, i.e. 葛.
\textsuperscript{43.} 頭留, i.e. 夜.
\textsuperscript{44.} 古之乃宇見, i.e. 越の海.
\textsuperscript{45.} 末. The second piece in a pair of songs.
\textsuperscript{46.} 本. The first piece in a pair of songs.
\textsuperscript{47.} 能登, nowadays part of Ishikawa-ken 石川県.
\textsuperscript{48.} 於保支見蕨川加部末川良元見吉太千蕨川加部末川良元, 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",\textsuperscript{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"\textsuperscript{50} in the end of no. 6 ("Keta" in all probability points to the Keta Shrine,\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Kehigú shaki}\textsuperscript{53} as its basis. This is a collection of various docu-

\textsuperscript{49} ighthirty, i.e. 誰か行く.

\textsuperscript{50} 介比介多, alias 気比気多.

\textsuperscript{51} 気多神社, 石川県羽咋 (Hakui) 郡.

\textsuperscript{52} 歌垣.

\textsuperscript{53} Kanpei taisha Kehigü jingu 官幣大社気比神宮, ed., \textit{Kehigú shaki} 気比宮社記, Tōkyō 1940. The manuscript was copied in 1897 on the initiative of Tanaka Yo-shinari 田中義成 (Tōkyō teikoku daigaku shiryō hensanjo 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, during the years 1759–61. There are two chapters on festivals, 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 Jōtoku songs.

This festival, called so-no mairi 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 Jōgū Shrine. This shrine had been the abode of a local female deity called Ame yaoyorozu-no hime in Engi shiki times, but was later dedicated to Jingu Kogo and her husband, Emperor Chuai. 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 Jōgū. (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 Jōgū Shrine. Its song, which is carefully recorded, is different from the Jōtoku songs, and in keeping

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54. 平松周家, born Kawabata, but adopted into the Hiramatsu family.
55. Nenjū saishibū 年中祭祀部 “Section of annual festivals”.
57. 常宮神社, alias Tsune-no Miya 常宮, cf. Kehigū shaki, 2: Gūsha shindenbu (2).
59. 神宮功壇, alias Okinagatarashi hime-no mikoto 氣長足壇, 仲哀天皇 alias Tarashinaka-tsu hiko-no sumeramikoto 足仲彦天皇. Kehigū shaki, 2: Gūsha shindenbu (2), p. 46 (discussing the eleven shrines and fourteen deities of the Jōgū in Kutsunoura 沓浦) says: “Main shrine, two deities: The Great Deities of the Jōgū. (They look southward, since the Middle Ages we address them as The Great Manifestations of the Jōgū, or we say The Majesties of the Jōgū, the old tradition calls them [her!]常宮皇后, this is to be read Tsune-no miya-no ohokisahi-no kami 恒之宮二上神.) Okinagatarashi hime-no mikoto. (It is this one who is called Her Majesty on the Main Seat 御本座 of the Jōgū.) This is the so called Ame yaoyorozu hime-no kami of Engi-shiki and Montoku jitsuroku 文徳實録. Tarashinaka-tsu hiko-no sumeramikoto. (It is this one, who is called the Fellow Hall 相殿 of the Jōgū.)"
with the ceremonial readings of the day, which draw on the *Nihon shoki* reports of the seafaring Jingū Kōgō, and glorify her mainly for granting a calm sea, rich catches, and a safe return. A *kagura* performed by the dancing girls of the Jōgū 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 *Batō* and *Genjō-raku* had been performed; whether 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.” It is part of a manuscript dated *Kaho* 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 *Shōhō* 2, 2 = c. March 1645. This second description of *sō-no maiiri* 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). If the alleged date of the original manuscript—about four years before *Jōtoku* 3—may be taken for granted, the source might contain valuable background information for the *Jōtoku* 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 Jōgū Shrine a *mikogami* or “filial deity” of Kehi. The juridical basis of this statement is uncertain.

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61. 62. *Shaden kyūkibu* 社伝旧記部, the chapters 7–9 of *Kehigū shahi*. 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.


64. To give but one example: the version of *Nenjū saishibu* (1), p. 117, has 如意 michihi (or *nyoi*) denoting the famous pearl of the Jingū Kōgō legend, the distorted version of *Shaden kyūkibu* (1), p. 229, is 如何. Cf. Kurita Hiroshi 栗田寛, *Koyōshū 古調集*, in: Kokugakuin 国学院, ed., *Kokubun ronsō 国文論叢*, Tōkyō: Dainihon tosho kabushikigaisha, 1903, p. 1183, where the same song is recorded. The last part, however, differs remarkably from both versions of the *Kehigū shahi*, which means that Kurita used yet another source.

daijiten treats the Jōgū as an independent shrine that became a sessha of Kehi only in Meiji 10 = 1877.66 There are other passages in Kehigū shaki which call the Jōgū a “filial deity” (mikogami or miko-no miya), and “the first ranking subordinate shrine (sessha)” of the Kehigū.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. Therefore, the date given in Shintō 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 Jōryaku 2, 1, 16=2. 3. 1078 which deals with “all the shrines of Kehi Daijingū, the taisha of Hoku-rikudō ”68 is reported as having included the Jōgū complex. Unfortunately, only the first two lines of the part concerned with the Jōgū Shrine have been preserved, and they do not include any classification, or definition of the relationship between Jōgū and Kehi.

Had there really been an ancient tradition of calling the Jōgū a mikogami of Kehi, the seemingly not too well defined relationship between the two shrines would serve to explain the line tete-no mikokaha69 “are you really father’s son?” in the difficult fourth song of the Jōtoku sequence. “Father” in that case might be understood to point to the original deity of Kehi, the male Isasawake-no mikoto.70 (Kojiki and Nihon shoki report a visit paid to him by Emperor Ōjin when he was still the Crown Prince.71) However, the Jōgū 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

69. 天々乃見古加者.
70. 伊奢沙別命.
shrines counted as the “fourth filial deity” or *shi-no mikono miya*, may equally be considered an appropriate setting for the song mentioned above, which is directed at a deity called *shi-no miya*. Furthermore, Emperor Ôjin, the fourth son or *shi-no miya* 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”. 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* 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.

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 mikono miya*).

74. 之乃見也.

75. Cf. Nihon shoki, loc. cit., p. 363: 舐田天皇, 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 kyûkoku (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 referred to as 尼宮母帝尊神.
the passage directly preceding the second description of sō-no mairi mentioned above. It is concerned with the banquet of the fifth month, held in joyful commemoration of Jingū Kōgō's Korean enterprise and contains the following remark:77

"During the holy ceremony... Ryōō, Battō in taishikichō, Nōsori (ichi-kotsuchō), and Genjoraku 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 family79 to have a music in banshikichō80 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, Batō and Genjoraku, have also been mentioned in one of the descriptions of sō-no mairi. If the "music" in banshikichō, 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 Jōtoku sequence. This becomes a possibility which has to be taken into account only by the closing remark of Jōtoku bon which says:81

"These songs, unlike the usual kagura songs, are tunes in banshikichō."

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 Gotoba82 (1183–1198). The passage contains direct textual evidence for two of the Jōtoku songs and calls them saibara83, 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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78. 陵王, 敵頭 (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. Battō and Nōsori are better known as "Batō" and "Nasori".
79. 楽人家.
80. 盤涉調, gagaku mode with a ritsu 律 scale built on B.
81. 此歌不似例神楽番之支条乃音振也. hono uta-wa rei-no kagurauta-ni nitsu banshikichō-no nefuri-nari; cf. the plates.
82. 後鳥羽天皇.
83. 偈馬楽.
end of the section, which reads as follows:84

"Emperor Gotoba. Kenkyū 7, 6, 14 [=11. 7. 1196]. The [shrine-] halls are built. Presumably the reason was that in Kenkyū 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, Tenpyo-jingo 1 / kinto-mi, 9, 7 [=26. 9. 765], the Tsurugi Shrine, a filial deity of this shrine,65 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 Könin 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 Noto86 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 Jōtoku versions]:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{(Noto-no hayafune)} \\
&\text{toru-nadoya} \\
&\text{Misaka rauwete} \\
&\text{wakakimi-ni} \\
&\text{tsukahematsuran} \\
&\text{mikototachi} \\
&\text{arakita wara-no} \\
&\text{tsunate yuramaru} \\
&\text{ware kadji torite} \\
&\text{tsukahematsuran} \\
&\text{shiha-tsu shima shite} \\
&\text{ahi-tsu shima shite).}^{89}
\end{align*}
\]

84. Kehigū shuki, 7: Shaden kyūkibu (1), p. 230. The nengō 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 Kehigū, its deity is called Hime ōkami-no mikoto 姫大神尊.
86. This time the characters 能川 (Noshu) are used. In the preceeding sentences "the province of Noto" was referred to by 能登国 (Noto-no humi).
87. hayafune 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 Kehigū shaki) may be looked on as a slightly distorted variant of the Jōtoku version, which lost the first and the last line, but not all of the discrepancies are necessarily 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 (róete) in the place of koete is not meaningful and appears to be an acoustical misunderstanding; the same may be true of torunadoya in the place of tori-nareha "if it is a bird", although the first two lines of the Kehigū shaki version could be taken as a variant meaning "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 Jōtoku 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 Jōtoku version, but they are completely different 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 Kehigū 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 Jōtokubon.)

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 Kehigū shaki. Unfortunately, the sources from which this section was compiled are not evident. The second passage begins with "The ancient
records of traditions state “records of the shrine’s traditions” in the first line of the chapter. The same source is referred to in other places as “the shrine’s records of Tengi 3”, “an ancient book, the so called records of Tengi 3”, and “the copies of the shrine’s records from Tengí, Kahó, and Jóryaku” (Kahó: 1094–96, Jóryaku: 1077–1081). However, it appears to have not only been recopied but also completed and continued in much later times as well. Accordingly, the informations given in the passage under consideration cannot be trusted. They can only partly be verified even in the corresponding parts of Kehigá shaki itself. Chapter 5, which is a collection of Hokurikudó excerpts from the Rikkokushi and other early sources, contains only the quotation of Jingo-keiun 4. The quotation dated Tenpyó-jingo 1, 9, 7 has no true counterpart—there is only an excerpt which says that in Tenpyó-jingo 2 “the deity of Keta in the province of Noto was endowed with 20 taxable households and two cho of paddy.” With regard to the Kónin quotation, there is nothing similar to it either in chapter 5 or anywhere else in Kehigá 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 Jótokubon he cited the passage as an explanation for hayafune “fast boat” in Kehi song no. 3, and named a Kehi shaki as his source.) Had the variant of no. 3 been attached to it in his source as it is in the printed Kehigá shaki, he would have excluded the song from his somewhat later collection of Jótokubon pieces “to be seen nowhere else”.

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

90. kodenki iwaku 古伝記日
91. loc. cit., p. 213: yashiro-no denki 社伝記
92. loc. cit., p. 221, in the Kanmu 桓武天皇 section: 天喜三年五月社伝記
93. loc. cit., p. 222, in the Saga 嘉應天皇 section: 天喜三年記日
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, Kahó 2, kinoto-i [= 1095], early winter: An excerpt from the shrine’s records says 堀河天皇嘉保二年(乙亥)初冬社記抄書日”. The colophon shows the following three dates: Kahó 2, 11 = Dec. 1095, Tenji 2, 3, 10 = 15. 4. 1125, and Shoho 2, 2, auspicious day = ca. March 1645.
96. Kehigá shaki, 5: Kokushi-no Hokurikudóbu, hyóshutsu (1) 国史北陸道部標出上.
97. loc. cit., p. 166. (The excerpt has Hóki 宝亀 1 instead of Jingo-keiun 4.)
98. 佐佐木信綱, Jótokubon koyóshó-no kaisetsu 承徳本古謡集解説. Supplement to the facsimile printing of the scroll by Kichó tosho eihon kankókai 貴重図書影本刊行会, Tókyó 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 common 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 Kehigu 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. 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 Kehigu shaki version of the kagura songs under discussion have been written down about one hundred years after Jōtoku 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 property of the Kehi Shrine until then.

101. Performances of kagura formed an important part of any rebuilding ceremony, as they still do today. To give but one example: the prescriptions for the rebuilding ceremony of Jōryaku 2, 1, 16=2. 3. 1078 (cf. the survey of Kehi Daishingū cited in note 68) speak explicitly of "kagura and music 楽音楽 " to be performed by "musicians and priestesses 楽人巫女", see Kehigū shaki, 7: Shaden kyūkibu (1), p. 228.
If the sequence of lyrics known as *Kehi-no kagura* and recorded under this heading in the *Jōtokubon* (which is believed to be a courtly manuscript, although there is no proof for this) really belonged to the secret *bugaku* piece in *banshikichō* 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 *Jōtokubon* 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 *Jōtoku* version):\(^{104}\)

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“Kehi-no uta
Ashikita waraha-no funate seru hi-ha
ware kachi torite ya ahare
ware kachi torite ya ahare”
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There is a remark added to the headline, which says:\(^{105}\)

“*The mode is banshikichō. Eight pieces in all.*”

The song, here simply called a “song of Kehi”, is already well known to us from both *Jōtokubon* and *Kehigū shaki*. The text is closer to the *Jōtoku* 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 *Jōtokubon* and the later *Kehigū 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

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102. 信義本.
103. 信義三位 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. 気比歌. 安之支太和良波乃不奈天側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., *Kayōshū*, 1, Tōkyō: Nihon koten zenshū kankōkai, 1932 (Nihon koten zenshū), p. 3.
105. 万渉調音. 合八音.
from Tachibana-no Narisue's *Kokon chomonjū* 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 *Jōtoku* 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 *Jōtoku* 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 *Nobuyoshimon* appears to be a problem of some importance. There is, however, an easy solution to the issue. In the *Nobuyoshimon*, *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 *Nobuyoshimon* collection of *kagura* did not know more but rather fewer Kehi songs than are recorded in the *Jōtoku*. *Jōtoku*, 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 *Jōtoku* 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 *Nobuyoshimon* 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 *Kehigū 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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\(^{107}\) *Nobuyoshimon*, 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 Jotokubon 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 Jōtōkubon (Kyōto, Yōmei bunko), part 1.
Kehi-no kagura from the Jōtoku bon (Kyōto, Ōume bunko), part 2.