

## Performance as Metaphor:

### The Location of Performances in *The Tale of the Heike*

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#### 1. The Location of Performances in *The Tale of the Heike*

In addition to serving as a performance script (in the broad sense of the term) that performers such as *biwa hōshi* both relied upon and transformed, *The Tale of the Heike* can also be seen as an open text that developed as various people wrote into it. One may thus consider *The Tale of the Heike* itself to be a highly performative text. This point has been stressed repeatedly in previous scholarship, and needs no reiteration here. In this paper, then, I will take up the hitherto neglected subject of the location of performances in *The Tale of the Heike*. This approach will, I believe, offer an extremely interesting means of expanding and reforming the widely held perspective on the performative nature of the *Tale*.

The text of *The Tale of the Heike* contains references to a variety of performing arts, and the modes of describing them seem to share certain features or tendencies. This becomes most apparent through an analysis not of the Kakuichi version, an abridged version which has circulated widely as the standard text, but rather of representative expanded texts, the Engyō version and the *Genpei seisuiki*. Whereas the Kakuichi version shows relatively little interest in performances, the Engyō version and the *Genpei seisuiki* tend to describe them in eloquent terms, and thus appear to be much more performance-centered texts. While this difference may be interpreted as a reflection of the divergent characteristics of the abridged and expanded texts, it also suggests the possibility that the Engyō version and the *Genpei seisuiki* were composed in close proximity to performers, and thus incorporated a great variety of concrete images from the medieval performing arts.

Rather than explore these conditions, however, in this paper I intend to examine in detail how the Engyō version and the *Genpei seisuiki* depict performances that are not mentioned in the Kakuichi version. This discussion leads me to make the following two points. First, despite the fact that the performances in question are only minor episodes in the grand narrative of *The Tale of the Heike*, they nonetheless call to mind the social environment that produced texts like the Engyō version and the *Genpei seisuiki*. And second, these performances may have functioned as metaphors that inhered in the unique stylistic dynamic that formed those texts.

Given the impossibility of analyzing all of the diverse performances appearing in *The Tale of the Heike*, I will focus in particular on two examples, the *ō no mai* (king's dance) and *hifu*. Because the details of these performances long remained unclear, they have received only limited attention from scholars in the field of performance history. Nonetheless, both are deeply rooted in the spiritual landscape of the medieval performing arts world, and are thus perfectly suited to the purposes of this paper.

#### 2. The Location of *Ō no mai* in *The Tale of the Heike*

The name *ō no mai* (king's dance) may evoke a variety of images in readers' minds. Taken literally, the term could refer to a noble dance performed by a king; if given a mysterious nuance, it could signify an esoteric performance linked to the core of royal power. In reality, until recently, little was known about the details of *ō no mai* — even its very existence remained obscure. Few sources exist that shed light on this performance, and research has been limited to only a handful of studies.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the following discussion will necessarily be limited by the paucity of available information.

*Ō no mai* was performed mainly at festivals of large temples and shrines in the Kyoto and Nara area from the late Heian

through the Kamakura periods. In a festival program, *ô no mai* preceded other performances such as *dengaku* or *shishimai*. Today, *ô no mai* can still be seen in many localities, including the Wakasa region of Fukui Prefecture, which is home to sixteen examples of this performance. The first known reference to *ô no mai* is in the *Inokuma kanpaku ki*. In the entry for the ninth day of the fifth month of Shôji 1 (1199), it is noted that *ô no mai*, *shishimai*, *dengaku* and *kagura* were performed at the Kosatsukie festival at the Imahie Shrine. To get a sense of the atmosphere at such performances, it is useful to examine the *Nenjû gyôji emaki*, an illustrated record of annual events produced at the behest of the retired emperor Go-Shirakawa-In, in the latter half of the twelfth century. In the ninth volume, which concerns Gion Goryôe festival, and in the twelfth volume, devoted to the Inari festival, *ô no mai* performers, wearing vests, headpieces in the form of a bird, and masks with long noses, are shown along with performers of *dengaku*, *shishimai*, and other entertainments. *Ô no mai* appears to have been originally performed in order to purify the site of festival performances.

Earlier studies of *ô no mai*, while treating it as a derivative of the continental performances of *gigaku* and *bugaku*, argued that it came to absorb a variety of elements over time. Any discussion of the origins of *ô no mai*, however, is bound to pile conjecture upon conjecture. In my view, the period in which *ô no mai* first appears in the historical record follows the establishment of rites in which performances were constituted around a central triad of *ô no mai*, *dengaku*, and *shishimai*. Related sources, while not mentioning the origins of *ô no mai*, do suggest the possibility that it became established as an independent performance form within these rites. Hidden in the background of this development is the process in which Go-Shirakawa-In, a great lover of the performing arts, either reorganized existing rites related to the Goryôe ceremony or created new rites, and thus consolidated the constituent structure of performances.<sup>2</sup> Given that *ô no mai* was accorded the major role of appearing first to purify the performance site, it is not unreasonable to assume that it helped to underpin the spiritual dimension of the *insei* system, a peculiar form of rule in which power was held by a retired emperor. While it is important to refrain from excessive speculation, the name *ô no mai* may very well have included some sort of meaning in relation to royal, i.e., imperial power.

*Ô no mai* was eventually transmitted to various regions along with other performance forms. This transmission took place along a number of routes, the best known of which was through manors (*shôen*) and the shrines dedicated to manorial deities. From the mid-Heian period, manors ruled by the major shrines and temples in Kyoto and Nara were established across the country. In order to reinforce their authority, manorial lords established temples or shrines dedicated to the manors' tutelary deities, and furthermore introduced miniature versions of the rites and performance programs conducted by the ruling temples and shrines at the center. The *ô no mai* found in the Wakasa region can be considered a prime example of *ô no mai* performances transmitted along such channels. Judging from related historical sources and contemporary performances, the characteristics of *ô no mai* appear to be as follows.

- (1) *Ô no mai* is believed to have led the festival processions.
- (2) During festivals, performances of *ô no mai* are believed to have preceded performances such as *dengaku* and *shishimai*.
- (3) In many cases, the dancer wears a vest, a headpiece in the form of a bird, and a mask with a long nose.
- (4) Holding a halberd during the first half of the performance, and with empty hands in the latter half, the performer dances as if to pacify the four directions. This can be understood as the translation of certain magical ritual steps (*henbai*) into performance.
- (5) The dancer's index and middle fingers are aligned and extended, and the thumb is folded over the ring and small fingers, to form the symbolic image of a sword.
- (6) The dance is accompanied mainly by drums and flutes.

*Ô no mai* appears in the section on "Gôun" in the first volume (section 37) of the Engyô version of *The Tale of the Heike*, and in the section entitled "Gôun's assembly" in the fourth volume of the *Genpei seisui*. In these passages, Gôun, a monk from Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei, explains to the retired emperor Go-Shirakawa-In that the monks assembled to prepare their collective appeal covered their heads in tattered surplices and issued a strange voice in unison, and likens this voice to that issued by an *ô no mai* dancer who squeezes his nose under his mask. In the *Genpei seisui* in particular, Gôun explains that the monks' voice differs from voices issued when reciting poems, chanting sutras, or engaging in face-to-face conversation. While references to Gôun also appear in the Kakuichi version of *The Tale of the Heike*, the latter text contains no passages likening the voice of the monks on Mt. Hiei to the voice in *ô no mai*. The medieval historians Katsumata Shizuo and Amino Yoshihiko have pointed out that for monks to issue a strange voice at their assembly was a manner of symbolizing a metamorphosis. Katsumata further argues that the assembled monks' practice of covering their heads and changing their voices was closely related to the fact that the assembly was a site in which participants in the appeal could express their unanimity of purpose. Katsumata writes:

The condition of unanimity of purpose (*ichimi dôshin*) inevitably entailed the conception that the partici-

pants' state of being was transformed. These practices [i.e., covering one's head and changing one's voice] were a unified form of symbolizing that transformation.<sup>3</sup>

Amino agrees with this analysis, writing that the voice in question, "like other manifestations of the extraordinary, followed from a metamorphosis into an other than human condition."<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, both Katsumata and Amino treat *ô no mai* as simply "an ancient dance," and seem unaware of the particular forms and characteristics of this type of performance. However, one can argue that the references to *ô no mai* in the above episodes were incorporated as a metaphor that effectively explained the particular process of symbolizing metamorphosis.

Most forms of *ô no mai* preserved today as folk performances contain no vocal elements. However, a few examples either include voice parts or suggest the earlier use of such elements. The most typical of these is the *onomai* (i.e., *ô no mai*) performed at Yamagami Shrine in Nôge, Kutsuki Village, Takashima-gun, Shiga Prefecture, which is close to the Wakasa region. This version of *ô no mai* was traditionally performed at the Nyonyo[n] Festival on May 5th, but performances ceased over a decade ago. Fortunately, I was able to observe actual performances during two trips to the village in 1993 and 1996, thanks to the hospitality of the villagers. The performer wore a reddish-brown long-nosed mask and a reddish-brown jacket with a bell attached to the back, and carried a metal halberd. Only a drum (*byô uchi daiko*) was used as musical accompaniment. When the dancer waved his halberd as if to clear the four directions, participants chanted in a low voice, "Nyonyon, nyonyo," which is said to mean "a good world."

Another example is the "dragon king's dance" (*ryûô no mai*) performed at Kibune Shrine in Amafune, Yachiyo-chô, Taka-gun, Hyôgo Prefecture. At a festival held at the shrine on October 10 by participants from four villages, *ryûô no mai* (*ô no mai*), *kagura no mai* (*shishimai*), and *gêgê* (*dengaku*) are performed. The same performances are held at the *yomiya* preliminary rituals on the night of October 9. *Ryûô no mai* is referred to as *ryôon ryôon no mai*. The dancer wears a red long-nosed mask with bits of red and white paper attached to the chin, a rectangular paper hat covered with bits of red and white paper, a light-brown jacket and reddish-brown hakama trousers, and carries a halberd. First, the dancer advances before the shrine's deity and draws three lines on the ground with the halberd. He then runs around the shrine precincts while waving the halberd, and after this makes great thrusts of the halberd in the four directions. To the accompaniment of the drum, the audience chants, "Ryôon ryon, ryôon ryon, ryôon ryon, ryôon ryô-n." *Ryûô no mai* is said to derive from an ancient legend in which Sarutahiko, the guide of the gods, descended to this region bearing a torch and surveyed the paddies and fields. The *kagura* dance represents the clearing of the land by the villagers.

Similar examples can be seen in the *jômai* (*ô no mai*) performed at two locations in Fukuzaki-chô, Kanzaki-gun, Hyôgo Prefecture: Ôtoshi Shrine in Yachigusa, and Kumano Shrine in Nishitahara. In both cases, the dance is performed during festivals held on October 10, and is called *ryûô no mai*. At Ôtoshi Shrine, the dancer wears a red long-nosed mask and headpiece in the form of a bird, dresses in reddish-brown clothing, and wears a thick, white and reddish-brown *tasuki* cord around his shoulders. The stomach section of the dancer's clothing is thickly stuffed with cotton, and gives him a somewhat bizarre appearance. The dancer carries a halberd in the first half of the performance, and is bare-handed in the latter half. A drum (*shimedaiko*) and flute provide musical accompaniment. At the start of the dance, the accompanists chant, "Tôiro tôrairo jyômai jyômai jyo jyô ni jyômai jyomaijyohegôhegôhe henhegohe;" and once this song is finished, they pick up their instruments and begin to play. At appropriate intervals, the accompanists intone, "Sôrai." At Kumano Shrine, the dancer wears a red long-nosed mask and headpiece in the form of a bird, dresses in red clothing, and wears a thick red *tasuki* cord around his shoulders. Here as well, the dancer carries a halberd in the first half of the performance, and is bare-handed in the latter half; and is accompanied by a drum (*shimedaiko*) and flute. During rehearsals, the musicians chant, "Jyô jyômai jyômai jyô (sôrai)," or "He hego hego he (sôrai)"; however, they do not chant during the actual performance.

In all of the above examples, the dance is accompanied by phrases such as "nyon," "ryôon," "ryô," and "jyô," a fact which suggests that *ô no mai* originally entailed a peculiar vocal element based on the sound "ô," and that the name *ô no mai* itself derived from this peculiar voice.<sup>5</sup> Actually, if one were to squeeze one's nose and utter the sound "ô" while wearing a mask, the sound could very easily be interpreted as "nyô," "jyô," or "ryô." In any case, it is conceivable that this voice was a crucial, symbolic feature of *ô no mai*, and even bore upon the name given to the dance. Elsewhere, I have written that "Ô no mai was originally a highly incantational performance whose purpose was to drive away evil spirits and pacify the path of a procession."<sup>6</sup> If this character were invested in the dance not only through particular gestures but also through a peculiar voice, then that voice itself can be considered to have served as an effective medium for evoking the incantational image associated with *ô no mai*.

Let us now return to the Engyô version of *The Tale of the Heike* and the *Genpei seisuki*. What aspects were added to the style of *The Tale of the Heike* through its incorporation of the particular voice of *ô no mai*? The episode in question implies

the possibility that *ô no mai* originally included a vocal element, and that it was to a great extent marked by a symbolic meaning akin to that in the strange voice issued by the monks in their assembly. Thus, one can argue that the Engyô version and the *Genpei seisui* used the symbolic effect invested in the voice of *ô no mai* as a supporting element in the construction of their literary styles. One could not hope to achieve such a symbolic effect today, due to a lack of adequate knowledge of *ô no mai*. However, one can easily imagine that in the period when *ô no mai* was frequently performed at festivals in numerous locations, the incorporation of such episodes into *The Tale of the Heike* had a certain effect on the text's audience. Thus, in terms of style, by borrowing the metaphor of *ô no mai*, the Engyô version and the *Genpei seisui* incorporated the sites in which *ô no mai* was performed, thus achieving an enhanced sense of immediacy; and also used the peculiar voice symbolizing metamorphosis to appropriate the incantational image associated with the dance.

### 3. The Location of *Hifu* in *The Tale of the Heike*

The second example is that of *hifu*. The Heian and Kamakura periods witnessed the enormous popularity of a bizarre type of performance called *dengaku*. Awareness of *dengaku* has increased recently, following the appearance of such performances in NHK's dramatized version of the *Taiheiki*. *Dengaku*, however, subsumes a complex tangle of meanings, and this makes it quite difficult to trace its historical development. In fact, throughout its history, *dengaku* has absorbed new elements and undergone a series of dizzying transformations. For example, Yamaji Kôzô offers the following categorizations of *dengaku*.

- (1) Performances to accompany rice planting. Such types of performance had long existed, and are believed to have been danced by peasants themselves.
- (2) *Dengaku* performed by professional *dengaku* dancers. This category included *dengaku odori*, a dance that was related to *sangaku* performances, and acrobatic performances (*kyokugei*).
- (3) "*Furyû dengaku*," in which amateurs engaged in lavish imitations of professional performances. This type, however, was only a temporary fashion that spread primarily among urban residents.<sup>7</sup>

Because the relationships among these three categories are unclear, extreme care is required when discussing *dengaku*. To avoid confusion, readers should bear in mind that the present discussion assumes as its object *dengaku* in the narrow sense of the term, that is, *dengaku* performed by professional *dengaku* dancers. The latter played flutes, drums and other percussion instruments (*binzasara*) while dancing, and these types of performance have been transmitted to the present as folk performances found throughout Japan. *Dengaku* is said to have generated a wave of wild enthusiasm that defies the modern imagination, and consequently to have thrown society into turmoil on numerous occasions. In attempting to comprehend the dramatic imagination spun on the sites where performing arts were presented, one could not hope for better clues than those gained from such accounts.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, whereas *nô* and *kyôgen* achieved a universality that transcended particular historical time, *dengaku* was a purely medieval form of performance. If one follows Moriya Takeshi's incisive remark that "That which can truly be called 'medieval' must be sought above all in the performing arts whose destiny was intertwined with that of the medieval period, and which died with it,"<sup>9</sup> then *dengaku*, which declined completely from the start of the early modern period and today barely survives as a folk performing art, must be taken as representative of medieval performing arts.

*Hifu*, a form of juggling using assorted objects, was one of the main elements constituting *dengaku*.<sup>10</sup> Originally one of the great assortment of performances in *sangaku*, *hifu* was also known as *rôgyoku* or *shinadama*; together with *takaashi*, an acrobatic performance on stilts,<sup>11</sup> it served to form the general image associated with *dengaku*. The name *hifu* is believed to have derived from the fact that the performer would say, "Hii, fuu" (one, two) while juggling. While *rôgyoku* and *shinadama* have long been known to scholars as elements in *dengaku*, *hifu*, due to its strange and apparently unintelligible name, has been largely overlooked by historians of the performing arts. For example, the first volume of *Futsû shôdôshû*, written by Ryôki in the fifth year of Einin (1297), contains the following passage on *dengaku*: "Three one two, five one two: A performer who never drops anything is said to be talented." This passage most likely indicates that jugglers would use three or five objects at a time. However, the historian Itô Isojûrô, in his study of *dengaku*, takes the passage to be a score for flute.<sup>12</sup> Ueki Yukinobu is also completely mistaken when, in his discussion of the references to *hifu* in the *Dengaku maishiki narabini fushidai*, produced at Rinnôji Temple in Nikkô in Eishô 15 (1518), he treats this performance as "something like a ribbon twirling exercise."<sup>13</sup>

*Hifu* is the specialty of Tomoyasu, a particularly odd character who appears in *The Tale of the Heike*. Tomoyasu was a police officer (*kebiishi*), but as his nickname, "the *tsuzumi* lieutenant," indicates, he was also a skilled *tsuzumi* hand drummer. As a source of laughter, Tomoyasu's narrow-minded, foolish behavior is a significant element in the *Tale*.<sup>14</sup> In the Kakuichi version, Tomoyasu provokes the battle at Hôjûji by bringing false charges against Yoshinaka to Go-Shirakawa-In, but after his disgraceful behavior is exposed and he is stripped of office, he disappears from the text. However, the Engyô version and the

*Genpei seisui*, in an effort to preserve this unique character, give him one more chance to act. “Tomoyasu goes to the Kantô and Tomoyasu performs hifu,” in Volume 4 of the Engyô version, and “Kintomo and Tokinari go to the Kantô and Tomoyasu performs,” in Volume 34 of the *Genpei seisui*, both describe in detail Tomoyasu’s trip to Kamakura, where he desperately attempted to dissuade Yoritomo from dismissing him for his role in causing the Hôjûji battle. The text of the Engyô version reads as follows.

Tomoyasu, seeking to plead his case, hastened to Kamakura and, requested a personal audience (*genzan*) with Hyôenosuke [Yoritomo]. However, since no one would relay his request, Tomoyasu called upon Hyôenosuke from a distance, in the position of a person of lowly status (*suisan*). Hyôenosuke, peering out from behind his screen, said to his young son . . . Yorie, “Look here, that Tomoyasu is said to be the ultimate performer of *hifu*. Give these to him and tell him to juggle them for us,” and handed the child several bags of gold dust amounting to twelve *ryô*. The young prince having done as his father asked, Tomoyasu responded, “This gold dust is a great treasure of the court; how could I possibly juggle with it?” and, putting the gold in his pocket, instead gathered three stones from the garden. He then climbed onto the veranda and performed several hundred, even a thousand or more, juggling tricks with one hand or both hands, dancing wildly, and crying out “Woah.” The performance greatly pleased [Hyôenosuke] behind his screen, as well as all the assembled lords of higher and lower rank. Hyôenosuke, declaring that “This is proof that Tomoyasu has truly earned his reputation,” later accorded him a personal audience.

The text of the *Genpei seisui* essentially resembles that of the Engyô version, except that Yoritomo tells Yorie to request performances of both *tsuzumi* drum and *hifu*, and Tomoyasu thus begins his performance with a show of acrobatic drumming that deeply impresses the assembled audience.

In this episode, Tomoyasu is asked to display his talents as “the ultimate performer of *hifu*,” and his performance is splendid enough to impress Yoritomo. However, Tomoyasu’s dismissal is not overturned. Thus, this episode is nothing but a secondary, peripheral moment within the overall plot of *The Tale of the Heike*. Nonetheless, I have focused on the episode because, by casting Tomoyasu as a master *hifu* performer, the Engyô version and the *Genpei seisui* not only succeeded in depicting humorous elements more clearly than did the Kakuichi version, but also developed their own styles as narrative tales. In this regard, Abe Yasurô offers the following analysis.

The transformation from a humble visit (*suisan*) to a personal audience (*genzan*) that is accomplished through the power of the performance draws upon one typical genre of performing arts tales. . . . Descriptions of performing artists who appear as lowly supplicants and through the power of their performance are able to transcend the rules of status and the established order constituted a widely-known theme in the world of medieval narrative tales. This episode is one such case.<sup>15</sup>

Of course, as Abe points out, this episode is “nothing more than a digression from the main plot of *The Tale of the Heike*.”<sup>16</sup> Yet one can argue that it is precisely for this reason that the episode was able to function as a moment for developing the narrative style of the Engyô version and the *Genpei seisui*. Furthermore, during the time when *hifu* existed as a street performance, the abundance of acrobatic movements that it involved no doubt jolted the public’s dramatic imagination, and without exception provoked a feverish excitement among spectators. Thus, one can easily imagine that the episode concerning Tomoyasu’s performance served as a highly effective, appealing vehicle for both stimulating the imagination of and evoking a sense of immediacy among the audience of *The Tale of the Heike*. By incorporating as a metaphor the site in which *hifu*, with its extremes of acrobatic movement, was performed, the styles of the Engyô version and the *Genpei seisui* were bound to assume the characteristics not only of a narrative tale, but also of a performing art.

#### 4. Performance as metaphor

Through the above discussions of *ô no mai* and *hifu* in the Engyô version and the *Genpei seisui*, I have sought to elucidate the location of performances in *The Tale of the Heike*. This paper has dealt with only two of the many types of performances appearing throughout the *Tale*, and these two performances are but minor elements that support marginal episodes. Yet can it not be said that by intersecting the grand historical narrative of the *Tale* even fleetingly, the peculiar vocal elements and performances in question functioned as moments for the internal organization or reorganization of the text? In other words, I would like to consider the episodes related to performances as metaphors embedded in the text to allow the production or reproduction of *The Tale of the Heike*. It is particularly intriguing that this stylistic movement developed through the incorporation into the text of extreme bodily movements represented by a peculiar voice and certain types of

performance.

In an essay on the *Taiheiki*, Matsuoka Shinpei has suggested that the style of that text is an imitation of the excessively acrobatic style of *dengaku*. “*Dengaku* transposes and refines the movement of bodies engaged in guerilla warfare, the specialty of villains, into the acrobatic movement of bodies in a performing art. It seems at the same time to be the mode of movement infusing the style of the *Taiheiki*.”<sup>17</sup> With regard to the character of the eccentric lord (*basara daimyō*) Sasaki Dōyo, whose entire being personifies this dynamic, Matsuoka writes:

He always appears only in episodes that protrude from secondary plot lines, and for each scene he constructs something in an instant, only to immediately destroy it and recede into the background. Within the *Taiheiki*, Dōyo exists as a sort of “*dengaku kid*,” full of vigorous bodily movement. His powerful afterimage marks the surface of the text in many colorful ways, yet ultimately he vanishes from the *Taiheiki* without having been recuperated as a specific meaning.<sup>18</sup>

This type of stylistic dynamic should not be attributed solely to the *Taiheiki*. As this paper has shown, in the styles of the Engyō version and the *Genpei seisui*, one can delineate a similar position for *ō no mai* and *hifu*, which were embedded in these texts as metaphors functioning in their production and reproduction. In particular, the image of Tomoyasu, the *tsuzumi* lieutenant, calls to mind the particular stylistic dynamic that shaped the character of Sasaki Dōyo. In fact, these two figures are like twins, exhibiting many of the same characteristics. *Ō no mai* and *hifu* are minor presences among the many types of performances appearing in *The Tale of the Heike*. Still, episodes related to the performing arts served as metaphors for the stylistic dynamic that the Tale developed, and in particular helped to underpin the performative foundations of the Engyō version and the *Genpei seisui*.

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- 1 Pioneering studies of *ō no mai* are: Nishiki Kōzō, “*Ō no mai no kenkyū*,” *Geinō*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Geinō Hakkōsho, 1961); and Mizuhara Ikō, *Nihon ni okeru minkan ongaku no kenkyū I (Wakasa wangan ni okeru ō no mai no sōgōteki kenkyū)* (Minzoku Bunka Kenkyūjo, 1967). For recent work, see Hashimoto Hiroyuki, *Ō no mai no minzokugakuteki kenkyū* (Hitsuji Shobō, 1997). Discussions of *ō no mai* in the present paper are based upon the articles collected in this volume.
- 2 Kuniga Yumiko, “Go-Shirakawa-In to sairei,” *Rekishi techō*, Vol. 15, No. 6 (Meicho Shuppan, 1987); and Okada Shōji, “Go-Shirakawa-In to jingi no sekai,” *Heian jidai no kokka to saishi (zoku gunjo ruijū kanseikai)*, 1994.
- 3 Katsumata Shizuo, *Ikki* (Iwanami Shoten, 1982), p.48.
- 4 Amino Yoshihiko, “Kōjō to bin,” in *Kotoba no bunkashi, Chūsei 1*, ed. Amino Yoshihiko, Kasamatsu Hiroshi, Katsumata Shizuo, and Satō Shinichi (Heibonsha, 1988), p. 36.
- 5 On the symbolic effect invested in the vocal elements in *ō no mai*, see Hashimoto Hiroyuki, “‘Menmo no shita ni te hana wo nigamuru koto’: koe o tomonau *ō no mai*”, paper presented at the sixtieth regular meeting of the Society of Folklore Performing Arts, Waseda University Theatre Museum (Tokyo), July 6, 1996. I am currently preparing an article based on this presentation.
- 6 Hashimoto Hiroyuki, *Ō no mai no minzokugakuteki kenkyū*, p. 47.
- 7 Yamaji Kōzō, *Dengaku no geitai: dengaku odori geitai kō*, in *Kyoto no dengaku chōsa hōkokusho*, ed. Kyōto-fu Kyōiku Inkaikai (Kyōto-fu Kyōiku linkai, 1978), pp. 177-178.
- 8 Hashimoto Hiroyuki, “Nekkyō no rutsubo kara: dengaku to irui igyō,” *Engi no seishinshi: chūsei geinō no gensetsu to shintai* (Iwanami Shoten, 2003).
- 9 Moriya Takeshi, *Chūsei geinō no genzō* (Tankōsha, 1985), p.221.
- 10 This discussion is based on Hashimoto Hiroyuki, “*Hifu kō*” (forthcoming). This article focuses in particular on the dramatic imagination provoked by *hifu*.
- 11 Hashimoto Hiroyuki, “*Ridatsu no pafomansu: hitoashi, futaashi, takaashi*,” and “*Takaashi no henkei*,” *Engi no seishinshi: chūsei geinō no gensetsu to shintai*.
- 12 Itō Isojūrō, *Dengakushi no kenkyū* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1986), p. 75.
- 13 Ueki Yukinobu, “*Dengaku no mura*,” in *Nihon geinōshi, Vol. 2 (kodai-chūsei)*, ed. Geinōshi Kenkyūkai (Hōsei Daigaku Shuppanyoku, 1982), p. 197.
- 14 Sasaki Kōichi, “*Tsuzumi hangan: Heike monogatari no warai*,” *Kokugakuin zasshi*, Vol.67, No.12 (Kokugakuin Daigaku, 1966); and Abe Yasurō, “‘*Okō*’ no monogatari toshite no Heike monogatari: tsuzumi hangan Tomoyasu to ‘warai’ no geinō,” in *Heike monogatari: kenkyū to hiyō*, ed. Yamashita Hiroaki (Yūseidō Shuppan, 1996).
- 15 Abe Yasurō, “‘*Okō*’ no monogatari toshite no Heike monogatari: tsuzumi hangan Tomoyasu ro ‘warai’ no geino,” p. 129.

16 Ibid.

17 Matsuoka Shinpei, "Basara no jidai: pafomansu no kôkogaku," *Utage noshintai* (Iwanami Shoten, 1991), p. 37.

18 Ibid, p. 46.