

## Modes of Reception: *Heike Monogatari* and the Nō Play *Kogō*

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The present paper is part of a study of the *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 and its reception.<sup>1</sup> “Reception” is here defined in broad terms to include all types of appreciation and understanding, from the time the work was first read or heard up to the present. The reception history of the *Heike monogatari* for which we have written evidence will include all the variant versions of the narrative as well as works written about it or inspired by it.

The numerous variant versions of the *Heike monogatari* are the product of productive reception by readers turned writers.<sup>2</sup> From the Muromachi period onwards there survive hand-written commentaries which were circulated in printed form during the Edo period. Apart from these versions of the story as a whole, there survive numerous texts based on individual episodes or characters from the work. These texts represent a number of literary and dramatic genres for reading, for recitation, and for dramatic performance. Incidents or characters from the *Heike* are the basis of works in the repertoire of the major dramatic forms in pre-modern Japan: nō, kōwakamai, jōruri and kabuki. There is even at least one play in the comic genre of kyōgen.

The second half of this paper consists of a translation of the nō play *Kogō* 小督, which is based on part of the section “Kogō” in book 6 of the *Heike monogatari*. Many words and phrases from the narrative work have been borrowed by the presumed playwright, Konparu Zenchiku 金春禪竹 (1405–?), who also added poetic quotations from the imperial anthologies and *Genji monogatari*, and references to famous incidents in Chinese history that were seen as analogous. A number of different kinds of reception are thus present in the same work, the intertextual allusions adding a complex counterpoint to the simple incidents in the plot.

Some further comments about the play and its relation to the *Heike* story will be given below, but a full analysis of the reception of the *Kogō* story will not be attempted here. Instead, in view of the interdisciplinary scope of this journal and the nature of this special issue, it seems more appropriate to begin by discussing the theoretical background to this kind of reception study. I shall explain in more detail what is meant here by the term “reception” and how it can be applied to *Heike* studies, and then look at an example from *Kogō*.

### The history of the term “reception” in English

In the long entry for “reception” in the 1982 supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary, there is no trace of the specific meaning it now has as a technical term in literary theory.

As a loan-translation from the German *Rezeption*, “reception” could be said to have entered the language of Anglo-American criticism with the publication of an important collection of essays by Hans Robert Jauss (1982). The key theoretical writings by Jauss and other German theorists date from the late 1960’s (for a survey with annotated bibliography see Holub 1984).

Even though some usages of the term have not yet become full naturalized to the English ear, the word “reception” qualified by adjectives such as “favourable” has been used since the seventeenth century to mean the “kind or manner of reception” of people or ideas (OED, “reception” 5a, 5b). Almost half a century ago, for example, a literary historian wrote of the “Victorian reception of foreign contemporaneous literature”, describing English reactions to Balzac, Zola and Ibsen varying from “friendly tolerance” and “warm approval” to “vituperation” and “indignation” (Litzenberg 1950, 192).

The phrase “foreign contemporaneous” illustrates another aspect of the older concept of reception: formerly the word tended to be used most often when there is some form of gap—temporal, geographical or cultural—between subject and object. In Litzenberg’s example they are separated by language and culture, though not time. The term reception is frequently used when all three elements differ, such as with the reception of Dante in England or Shakespeare in Japan. Subject and object need not necessarily be reader and author (text). Classicism, Orientalism and Medievalism are in this sense also complex forms of reception.

However there is no reason, *per se*, why “reception” should be restricted to cases where subject and object are separated by time, geography, language or culture. If one can talk of the cool reception given to a new play or novel, then it is possible to study both its reception at the time of publication and its reception over time. Reception history will take as its object both plays and playwrights, novels or novelists, as well as all other literary categories. There always exists a gap between writer and audience, even when they share the same cultural time and space. The problems of reception merely become more pronounced as the distance between them widens.

How the Western literary term “reception” as defined by Jauss stands in relation to the terms *juyō* 受容 and *kyōju* 享受 which are widely used by Japanese literary historians remains the subject of further investigation, but it seems likely that while the terms overlap in meaning and usage, they are not completely synonymous.

## Types of reception

In the broad sense in which I propose to use the term, reception in the case of the *Heike monogatari* can be summarized as follows:

- (1) primary reception of oral and written forms of the work by its various audiences, public or private, who heard versions of the *Heike monogatari* sung, recited and read aloud, or who read it in manuscript and (from the seventeenth century) in printed texts;
- (2) productive reception by readers turned writers, who made new redactions of the story

after comparing existing variant texts, often with the addition of new material from historical or literary sources;

(3) academic reception by the scholars from medieval times to modern who have studied the work, produced commentaries and other auxiliary materials (e.g. geneologies), and prepared critical editions;

(4) creative reception by artists who used its subject matter for screen and fan painting or book illustration, for example, or by writers who adapted episodes or characters from the narrative into other literary genres (prose, poetic or dramatic).

Jauss suggests a range of different possible modes for primary reception: “Admiration and Emotion vs. Entertainment and Instruction vs. Astonishment and Reflection” (Jauss 1982: 86). This model is a useful one, as it begins to move beyond the polarity of “aesthetic” vs. “didactic” that was traditional in Western teaching on rhetoric since Horace.

Without looking outside the *Heike monogatari* itself, one way to study the modes of primary reception would be to examine closely the elements in the work itself that call on the reader or listener to admire, empathize, consider, or reflect. Such an analysis, if systematic and thorough-going enough, offers the promise of revealing what narrative and stylistic techniques were used to ensure what response. The approach could never establish beyond doubt how a particular passage was received by audiences in general, let alone how an individual might have reacted. Nevertheless, it could clarify general trends linking stylistic features with modes of reception.

What effects are created by a specific stylistic feature is something that we can best gauge by comparing different retellings of the same story where such a feature is present in some versions, absent in others. This is the case with the story of *Kogō*, where, as mentioned before, the text for the nō theatre makes use of several poetic allusions not present in the most widely read version of the *Heike*, the *Kakuichi* 覚一 version for biwa recitation. One of these references is to the grief of the Tang Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗皇帝 on the death of Yang Guifei 楊貴妃, the story best known in Japan through the retelling by Bo Juyi 白居易 (772–846) in “The Song of Everlasting Sorrow” 長恨歌 (J. *Chōgonka*).<sup>3</sup> As in the case of all references to familiar *topoi*, the analogy of Japanese emperor and the Chinese emperor could easily have occurred to the playwright Zenchiku independently. *Yōkihi* 楊貴妃, one of his best plays attributed to him, is based closely on Bo Juyi’s poem (trans. Sesar in Keene 1970, 207–217). As we shall now see, there are a series of direct and indirect allusions to the Yang Guifei story in the section which precedes “*Kogō*”, which may have given Zenchiku an additional hint for the analogy.

## Two-fold reception

The story of Lady *Kogō* is one of a number of episodes related to life of Retired Em-

peror Takakura 高倉院(1161–1181), and which form a sequence in the Kakuichi version of the *Heike*, although not all variants (Sugimoto 1974, 6:54). Several times in the course of the *Heike*, the account of a character's death is followed by a narration of one or more stories of incidents in their life. Other characters who are singled out like this include Shigemori (book 3), Yorimasa (4) and Kiyomori (6). The section (*shōdan* 章段) before "Kogō" is entitled "Aoi-no-mae" 葵前, and describes a situation much like the opening of *Genji monogatari*, where the Kiritsubo Emperor is criticized for his attachment to a low-ranking concubine. That fictional story in turn, of course, was written in conscious parallel to Bo Juyi's poetic treatment of a true story, the relations between Tang Emperor and Yang Guifei. The woman with whom Emperor Takakura falls in love is Aoi-no-mae, a young servant girl (*shōtō* 上童) in the attendance of a lady-in-waiting (*nyōbō* 女房) of Takakura's principal consort, the Empress (*chūgū* 中宮). Aoi is thus much lower in rank than Genji's mother, however, as in her case, people at court draw the obvious parallel with Yang Guifei, quoting from Bo Juyi's poem to suggest that Aoi may even become Empress (*kisaki* 妃) or the mother of a future Emperor. The comments are not censorious as such, praising her good fortune, but the parallel is hardly auspicious (the Chinese Emperor's infatuation with Yang Guifei was blamed for corruption at court and his neglect of government that resulted in a major rebellion). The Japanese Emperor takes the remarks as criticisms and immediately ceases to summon Aoi. The Regent (*kanpaku* 関白) offers to adopt Aoi, which would give her the position in society necessary to become a consort, but the Emperor can find no precedent to justify it, saying that he would be condemned by future generations.<sup>4</sup> Saying that she does not feel well, Aoi returns home where she dies after five or six days of illness. Again the parallel with Genji's mother is clear.<sup>5</sup>

The "Aoi-no-mae" section ends with a reference to a different Bo Juyi poem and to the story of another Tang Emperor. What happens next in the Kakuichi *Heike* can be read as a conflation of elements from *Genji monogatari* and the Chinese poem. The "Kogō" section opens with a description of the Emperor "sunk in thoughts of love" for Aoi, "renbo no on-omoi ni, shizumase-owashimasu" (Ichiko 1994, 1:431; cf. McCullough 1988, 201 "heartsick for Aoi"). His situation parallels that of the grief-stricken emperors, Kiritsubo and Xuanzong. The Kiritsubo Emperor sends a messenger called Myōbu to the lady's house. She returns with *katami* or keepsakes of the dead lady, including a hairpin (*kanzashi*). The Emperor has been reading an illustrated scroll of Bo Juyi's poem, so he is reminded of how the dead spirit of Yang Guifei gave a hairpin to the messenger sent by Xuanzong to the Penglai isle of the immortals (J. Hōraisan 蓬萊山). He desires to see the young child Genji, another *katami*. This search for substitutes only ends several years later when the Emperor takes a new consort, Fujitsubo, after hearing how she resembles the Kiritsubo lady.

### The story of Kogō: historicity and literary fiction

In the *Heike*, it is the Emperor's principal consort, the Empress, who finds him a substitute for the woman he has lost. Whereas Aoi was servant to an attendant, Kogō is herself

a *nyōbō*, serving the Empress directly. As daughter of a Middle Counselor (*chūnagon*), incidentally, she is still lower in social position than the fictional Kiritsubo lady, whose father was a Major Counselor (*dainagon*).

Kogō's life with Takakura is only obliquely handled. Instead we have a curiously dangling episode in which she refuses the letters of a former lover Takafusa, an incident based on poems which pre-date the *Heike*.<sup>6</sup> She incurs the wrath of Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛, father-in-law of both Takakura and Takafusa, who sees Kogō as a threat to his daughters. Kogō runs away from the Palace, taking refuge in Saga 嵯峨.<sup>7</sup> Not knowing where she is, the Emperor is once again stricken with grief. The Engyō 延慶 text of the *Heike* at his point makes explicit the analogy with Xuanzong, with a reference to how the Chinese Emperor sent a Taoist priest in search of her.<sup>8</sup> One night Takakura summons the attendant on duty, Nakakuni 仲国, and sends him to find Kogō. When Nakakuni finally succeeds in finding Kogō's house, he delivers the Emperor's letter and obtains an answer from her. The narration here is detailed, with extensive use of conversation and description, as we shall see in the translation of Zenchiku's dramatisation.

The play ends lyrically with Kogō watching Nakakuni's figure disappear on his journey back to the Palace. In the *Heike*, Nakakuni leaves men to prevent her from going to Ōhara and taking the tonsure, as she threatens (Ichiko 1994, 1:438; McCullough 1988, 205). He then returns to the palace where he finds the Emperor still awake, reciting a Chinese poem by the Japanese poet Ōe Asatsuna. The mood is reminiscent of the scene in *Genji monogatari*, when Myōbu returns late at night from the lady's house to find the Kiritsubo emperor still sitting up, talking about Chinese and Japanese poetry with his ladies-in-waiting. What is different, of course, is that Nakakuni has brought back more than a keepsake. Takakura's receipt of the letter is not described, instead after praising Nakakuni he orders him to return for Kogō that very night. The narration summarizes the rest of her story: return to the palace, renewed attentions of Takakura, birth of a princess (historically attested),<sup>9</sup> and Kiyomori's renewed anger which resulted in her being forced to take vows at the age of twenty-three and returning to Saga (again historically attested).<sup>10</sup>

### Visual reception of the Kogō story

The key moments in the "Kogō" episode can be summed up in another way, through their reception into narrative art. The only surviving illustrated scroll of the *Heike*, the mid-seventeenth century *Heike monogatari emaki*, shows the following scenes (Komatsu 1995, 6:27–51) :

- (1) Takafusa secretly visits Kogō
- (2a) Emperor Takakura writes to Kogō
- (2b) Nakakuni sets off for Saga
- (3a) Nakakuni searches the Shakadō
- (3b) Nakakuni and party head for the Hōrinji Temple

- (3c) Nakakuni plays flute as he rides
- (3d) Kogō plays the koto as Nakakuni on foot questions her maid
- (4a) Nakakuni hears Kogō's answer
- (4b) Nakakuni gallops back to the Palace
- (5) Takakura reads the reply brought by Nakakuni
- (6) Nakakuni brings Kogō back to Palace in a carriage
- (7a) Kogō weeps as she is forced to take the tonsure
- (7b) Kogō prays in front of an altar in Ogura-yama
- (8) Go-Shirakawa weeps on hearing of Takakura's death.

As the numbered scenes and subdivision above indicate, the eight large scenes include some that show a sequence of events with the same character reoccurring two or more times, as usual in illustrated scrolls. It is interesting to note that there is nothing corresponding exactly to the composition we always find elsewhere: a picture showing Nakakuni answering Kogō's koto with the sound of his flute.

There also survive at least five complete hand-illustrated books of the *Heike* of the kind traditionally referred to as *nara-ehon* 奈良絵本.<sup>11</sup> In total five different scenes in the "Kogō" section are illustrated in these texts, although no one text has more than four illustrations. The first two scenes correspond to (1) and (2a) above, showing Takafusa outside Kogō's blinds, and Nakakuni summoned by Takakura. Some versions show the emperor in the act of writing the letter.

Nakakuni's discovery of Kogō is shown by pictures illustrating the moment in the narrative when he answers her koto by pulling out his flute and playing a few notes—

腰より横笛ぬきいだし、ちっとならいて  
 koshi yori yōjō nuki-idashi, chitto naraite

—before using it to knock on the door (Ichiko 1994, 1:436). The first illustrated printed edition of 1656 (Meireki 2) has a double-page scene here, the right-hand side showing this moment and the left the subsequent conversation between Nakakuni and Kogō (Ichiko 1994, 1:436–427). Curiously, the "single-door" is open in both scenes, although it would make much better sense for it to be closed in the first scene. This is the moment most frequently illustrated in pictures outside of the book or scroll tradition. One recent example is given here (figure 1), a ukiyoe by Ogata Gekkō 尾形月耕 (1859–1910). An attendant holds Nakakuni's horse outside Kogō's gate. He plays the flute, while she can be glimpsed inside, playing the koto to the light of a lamp.<sup>12</sup>

The next illustration in the *ehon* tradition corresponds to a moment after (6) in the chart above: Kogō kneels before Takakura in the Palace, while Nakakuni sits outside the room. Some *ehon* show a final scene, apparently representing grief at court after Takakura's death.



Figure 1

## The nō play *Kogō*

*Kogō* is attributed to Komparu Zenchiku, a leading early playwright and the most important nō theorist after his father-in-law Zeami. The evidence for his authorship is partly based on documentary evidence and partly stylistic: the *tsure* plays an major role, that of *Kogō*, which is said to be characteristic of Zenchiku.<sup>13</sup> One other play attributed to Zenchiku is drawn from the *Heike monogatari: Senju* 千手. Like *Kogō*, this play centres on a lyrical episode involving a woman, *Senju-no-mae*, from the section of that name in book 10. Zenchiku's father-in-law Zeami wrote many great plays of the second category about Genpei warriors, declaring "If, for example, the play is to be created around a famous general of the Genji or the Heike, you should take special care to write the story just as it appears in the *Heike monogatari*" (tr. Hare 1986, 186).<sup>14</sup> It is typical of Zenchiku's genius to have found inspiration in an entirely different side of *Heike monogatari*.

As explained above, only the central part of the *Heike* episode has been dramatised: from Nakakuni receiving the Emperor's command to the end of the scene in Saga. There is one major change: the Emperor does not appear directly. The first scene takes place in Nakakuni's house. The imperial messenger (*waki*) brings the command to Nakakuni. One reason for this change may be to avoid portraying the Emperor directly in what would be a subsidiary role, although whether this is for primarily technical reasons or out of respect for the status of the Emperor is not clear.<sup>15</sup> In any case, the Emperor's feelings are well conveyed by other means, through direct quotation in the first half, and through the medium of the chorus in the second.

The play has been shorn of its political dimensions. There is only a brief mention in the *waki*'s opening speech to Kiyomori, the Chancellor. There is no hint of the fate that awaits *Kogō*, and she makes no threat to take the tonsure of her own accord as in the prose narrative. After Nakakuni expresses his joy by calling for wine to celebrate, and performs a vigorous dance, he leaves the stage, watched by *Kogō*. This final scene brings the play to an end on a quieter note.

The play *Kogō* now part of the repertory of all five schools of nō. It belongs to the fourth category (*yobanme* 四番目) which includes plays of diverse types.

## Notes to this translation

To my knowledge no full modern translation of this play has been published in a Western language.<sup>16</sup> Recent Japanese anthologies of nō texts do not include this work, which is perhaps one reason for its relative neglect outside of Japan, although Komparu Zenchiku is highly regarded, both as a playwright and critic.<sup>17</sup>

The base text used for this translation was Sanari (1930, 2:1095–1109), checked against the annotated edition of Tanaka (1953, 2:286–293). Sanari's edition contains a full paraphrase of the text and details of stage action. References were also made to the notes in Haga and Sasaki (1914, 1:728–733) and the current *utaibon* 謡本 of the Kanze school (Kanze 1995).

I have followed usual conventions of recent nō translations. In performance there would be an interlude (*ai*) involving a conversation between *Kogō* and the woman in whose house



in Sagano she is taken refuge, but as usual the interlude is of little importance and I have merely summarized it.<sup>18</sup> The difference between recited passages (*katari*) and sung passages (*tsuyogin* or *yowagin*) is shown by the smaller or greater amount of indentation, respectively. One departure from convention is that the passages of recitation are not set out as prose, but divided into lines according to the punctuation (*maru*) of the texts for singing (*utaibon*). The Japanese names for the segments of the play (e.g. *nanori*, “naming speech”) are given in italics and are not translated.

The stage-directions are based on Sanari (1930, 2:1097 ff.), with some additions, such as explanation when characters change from first-person speech to third-person narration as they do at several points. Information on costumes is based on from Sanari (1930, 2: 1095), and Kanze (1995, 4 verso). English terms generally follow Yasuda (1989).

The romanized text of the play is based on the text edited by Sanari. In the case of certain passages of *yowagin* like the following from the final chorus

isogu kokoro mo isameru koma ni

the two units of seven syllables have been visually separated to make the rhythm easier to scan. Additional technical terms are given with the romanization in italics. These deal with matters such as the rhythm and speed of singing, for example. I have also added a few explanatory expressions in English based on instructions for nō singing (Kanze 1995).

Quotation marks in the translation indicate phrases borrowed from poems in the imperial anthologies or *Genji monogatari*. Rather than attempt a fully annotated translation at this stage in my research, I have decided to do without notes entirely for the translation.

#### CHARACTERS IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE

- waki*: Imperial messenger of Retired Emperor Takakura
- shite*: Nakakuni, Senior Assistant President of the Board of Censors<sup>19</sup>
- tsure*: Lady Kogō (*Kogō no tsubone*)
- tomo*: Attendant to Kogō

#### COSTUMES

The *waki* wears a court hat (*utsuro eboshi*), a heavy silk kimono, broad white divided skirt, a lined hunting robe with an embroidered waistband.

The *shite* wears a mask (*chokumen*), high hat (*kaze ori eboshi*), either broad divided skirt or *sashinuki* trousers, an unlined hunting robe with striped patterned waistband, and bears a “god fan” (*kami ōgi*). In the second half of the play, the *shite* carries a letter and horse whip.

The *tsure* wears a mask (*tsuremen*), wig, white collar, under-kimono with painted gold or silver patterns, a brocade waistband, and bears a “wig fan” (*katsura ōgi*). The *tomo* wears the same costume as the *tsure*, except that her collar is red rather than white.

#### SETTING AND TIME

- Part 1. Home of Nakakuni in the capital
- Part 2. refuge of Lady Kogō, in Sagano, outside the capital
- Reign of Takakura [d. 1181], fifteenth of the Eight Month

## KOGŌ

(1)

WAKI (*nanori*)

kore wa Takakura no in ni tsukae-tatematsuru shinka nari  
 sate mo Kogō no tsubone to mōshite  
 kimi no gochōai no gozasōrō  
 chūgū wa mata masashiki shōkoku no on-sokujo nareba  
 yo no habakari wo oboshimeshikeru ka  
 Kogō no tsubone kure ni use-tamaite sōrō  
 kimi no on-nageki kagiri nashi  
 hiru wa yoru no otodo ni iri-tamai  
 yoru wa mata nanden no yuka ni akasase-tamai-sōrō tokoro ni  
 Kogō no tsubone no on-yukue  
 Sagano no kata ni gozasōrō yoshi kikoshimeshi-oyobare  
 isogi danjō no taihitsu Nakakuni o meshite  
 Kogō no tsubone no on-yukue wo  
 tazunete maire to no senji ni makase  
 tadaima Nakakuni ga shitaku e to isogi sōrō  
 [*last words sung emphatically*]

ika ni Nakakuni no watari sōrō ka

SHITE

tare nite watari sōrō zo

WAKI

kore wa senji nite sōrō [*change of tone*]  
 sate mo Kogō no tsubone no on-yukue  
 Sagano no kata ni gozasōrō yoshi kikoshimeshi-oyobase tamai  
 isogi tazune-ide kono gosho wo atae yo to no senji ni te sōrō

SHITE

senji kashikomatte uketamaware sōrō [*emphatic*]  
 sate Saga ni te wa ika yō naru tokoro to ka mōshi sōrō

WAKI

Saga nite wa tada kataorido shitaru tokoro to koso kikoshimesarete sōrae

## KOGŌ

(1)

*The waki, Imperial Messenger of Retired Emperor Takakura, enters bearing letter to the music of the "naming flute."*

MESENTER (*nanori*)

You have before you an official in the service of Takakura-no-in.

Now there is a lady called Kogō

who is much loved by His Majesty.

The Empress is the daughter of his Excellency the Chancellor

so Lady Kogō may have been afraid,

for she has vanished in the night.

His Majesty is grieved beyond measure,

spending his days in the Night Chamber

and his nights until dawn on the veranda of the Southern Palace.

The news that Lady Kogō is living somewhere in Sagano

has now reached the Emperor.

I bring an imperial order commanding Danjō-no-Taihitsu Nakakuni

to go at once in search of Lady Kogō

and to bring news back to the Emperor.

I am now hurrying on my way to Nakakuni's home.

*Messenger goes to the First Pine and faces the side curtain.*

Is Nakakuni at home?

NAKAKUNI [*enters to the Third Pine*]

Who is there?

MESENTER [*bowing*]

I bring an Imperial Order.

Word has reached his Majesty

of Lady Kogō's whereabouts in the area of Sagano.

He commands that you go at once, find Lady Kogō and give her this letter.

*Messenger takes letter from his breast and hands it to Nakakuni.*

NAKAKUNI

It is a great honour to receive this Imperial Order. [*raises letter to face*]

But may I enquire what manner of place is it?

MESENTER

The Emperor has heard only that it is a place with a single-doored gate.

## SHITE

sayō no shizu ga ya ni wa kataorido to mōshi mono no sōrō  
 kon'ya wa hachigachi jūgo ya nite sōrō aida [*emphatic*]  
 koto hiki-tamawanu koto araji  
 Kogō no tsubone no on-shirame wo ba  
 yoku kiki-shirite sōrō aida  
 on-kokoro yasuku oboshimese to

NAKAKUNI (*kakaru, tsuyoku, awazu*)

kuwashiku mōshi-agekereba

## WAKI

kono yoshi sōmon mōshikereba  
 gyokan no amari katajikenaku mo  
 ryō no onma wo tamawaru nari

## SHITE

toki no menboku kashikomatte

JI

(*abge-uta, yowaku, au*)

yagate izuru ya	aki no yo no
yagate izuru ya	aki no yo no
tsukige no koma yo	kokoro-shite
kumoi ni kakere	toki no ma mo
isogu kokoro no	yukue kana
isogu kokoro no	yukue kana

*naka iri*

(2)

## TSURE

(*sashi, yowaku, awazu*)

geni ya ichiju no kage ni yadori  
 ichiga no nagare wo kumu koto mo  
 mina kore tashō no en zo kashi

## TSURE, TOMO

akarasama naru koto nagara  
 narete hodo furu noki no kusa  
 shinobu tayori ni shizu no me no  
 me ni furenaruru  
 yo no narai  
 akanu wa hito no kokoro kana

NAKAKUNI

Such humble houses have what are called single-doored gates.  
 As tonight is the fifteenth of the Eighth Month,  
 Lady Kogō is sure to play the koto.  
 I know well the sound  
 of her touch on the instrument,  
 so please reassure the Emperor.

*Nakakuni bows to official and sings the next line out of character, as third person narrative, indicating the passage of time.*

NAKAKUNI (*kakaru*)

When he had reported in detail...

*The Messenger bows to the main stage to signify that the report has been made.*

MESSENGER

I have reported this matter to the Emperor,  
 and he is so very grateful  
 that he has given you a horse from the Imperial Stables.

*Messenger gestures with fan to indicate the presentation of the horse. Nakakuni bows in gratitude.*

NAKAKUNI

This is a great honour.

CHORUS (*age-uta*)

He leaves at once as the autumn moon rises.  
 He leaves at once as the autumn moon rises.  
 "Take heed, you moon-dappled roan,  
 and fly to the clouds without a moment's delay."  
 My heart is racing toward the destination.  
 My heart is racing toward the destination.

*Exit Nakakuni*

( 2 )

*The interior of Kogō's house in Sagano. The Lady Kogō (tsure) enters with her attendant (tomo). In the interlude, the woman who has lent the house to Kogō urges her to play on the koto.*

KOGŌ (*sashi*)

They say that even to take shelter under the same tree  
 or to drink from the water of the same river  
 is a tie from another life.

KOGŌ, LADY-IN-WAITING

Although we came here for temporary refuge,  
 the grasses on the eaves have grown up while we have been here.  
 We have come to depend on this humble woman for companionship  
 growing fond of her as we become accustomed at her sight.  
 This is the way of the world.  
 And so is the heart of one who cannot forget.

JI (sage-uta)  
 iza iza saraba koto no ne ni tatetemo shinobu kono omoi  
 (age-uta)  
 semete ya shibashi nagusamu to  
 semete ya shibashi nagasamu to  
 kakinasu koto no onozukara  
 akikaze ni tagueba naku mushi no koe mo kanashimi no  
 aki ya uramuru koi ya uki  
 nani wo ka kuneru ominameshi  
 ware mo uki yo no saga no mi zo  
 hito ni kataru na kono arisama mo hazukashi ya

NOCHIJITE (sashi, tsuyoku, awazu)  
 ara omoshiro no ori kara ya na [sung in a bright voice]  
 sangoyachū shingetsu no iro  
 jisen ri no hoka mo tōkaranu  
 eiryō kashikoki choku wo ukete  
 kokoro mo isamu koma no ashi nami  
 yoru no ayumi zo kokoro-se yo (yowaku)  
 oshika naku  
 kono yamazato to nagamekeru

JI (yowaku, kaete, au)  
 Sagano no kata no sora  
 sa koso kokoro mo sumi wataru kataorido wo shirube ni te  
 meigetsu ni muchi wo agete koma wo hayame isogan

## SHITE

JI  
 shizuga ie no kari naredo  
 moshi ya to omoi koko kashiko ni  
 koma wo kake-yose kake-yosete hikae hikae kikedomo  
 koto hiku hito wa nakarikeri  
 tsuki ni ya akugare ide-tamō to  
 Hōrin ni maireba koto koso kikoe kinikere  
 mine no arashi ka *forcefully*  
 matsukaze ka sore ka aranu ka  
 tazunuru hito no koto no ne ka gaku wa  
 nani zo to kikitareba  
 otto wo omoite  
 kouru na no sōburen naru zo ureshiki *slower towards end*

CHORUS (*sage-uta*)

Come now, to comfort my feelings of longing I will play on the koto.

(*age-uta*)

Comfort me, at least for a while,  
comfort me, at least for a while,  
notes plucked on the koto.

You sound like the autumn wind, making the insects cry more  
piteously—do they hate the autumn?

Does he weary of me, that I am so wretched in my love?

Why are you sulking, you maidenflowers?

My fate here in Sagano is so miserable,

don't tell a soul, I would be so ashamed if anyone saw me.

*To issei music, Nakakuni enters to first pine, dressed as before in hunting costume. He is understood to be riding a horse.*

NAKAKUNI (*sashi*)

What a beautiful time this is.

“The radiance of the newly-risen full moon  
appears close, though two thousand leagues away.”

So far would I ride under the sovereign's gracious command.

My spirit moved, my horse gallops faster,

but take care as you go by night

to “the mountain village

where the stag bells”—

CHORUS

towards Sagano,

where the autumnal sky brightens, like my heart, I raise my whip to  
the bright moon that guides me to the single-doored gate.

Gallop faster, my horse!

*Nakakuni looks across the stage, raising his whip.*

NAKAKUNI

These houses here are but humble, temporary abodes

CHORUS

yet just in case I will ride closer here and there.

I rein in my horse again and again to listen,

but no one is playing the koto.

Wondering if she has gone out, carried away by the moonlight,

I have come the Hōrin Temple to listen for the sound of the koto.

Is the storm on the mountain-tops that I hear

or is it the wind through the pines?

Or is the sound of the koto of the one I seek?

What piece is it that she is playing?

“Sōburen”, that is what is called,

“Yearning thoughts of my husband”—oh joy.

SHITE (katari, tashika ni)  
 utagai mo naki Kogō no tsubone no onshirame ni te sōrō  
 yagate annai wo mōsōzuru nite sōrō  
*betsu ni*  
 ika ni kono to akesase tamae  
 TSURE  
 ta so ya kado ni hito oto no suru wa kokoroete kiki sōrae  
 TOMO  
 naka naka ni tokaku shinobaba ashikarinan to  
 mazu kono toboso wo oshi-hiraku

SHITE  
 kado sasarete wa kanōmaji to  
 toboso wo osae  
*kakaru, yowa, awazu*  
 kore wa senji no on-tsukai  
 Nakakuni kore made mairitari  
 sono yoshi mōshi tamōbeshi  
 TSURE

*forceful reply  
 emphatic*

SHITE  
 iya ika ni tsutsumase-tamō tomo  
 hitome-zutsumi mo more-izuru  
*kakaru, yowaku, awazu*  
 sode no namida no tama koto no  
 shirame wa kakure naki mono wo  
 TSURE  
 ge ni hazukashi ya Nakakuni wa  
 tenjō no gyoyū no oriori wa

*with emphasis*

SHITE  
 fue tsukamatsure to meshi-idasarete  
 TSURE  
 nareshi kumoi no tsuki mo kawarazu  
 SHITE, TSURE  
 hito mo toi-kite ai ni au  
 sono ito take no yoru no koe  
 JI  
*sage-uta, yowaku, kaete, au*  
 hisoka ni tsutae mōse to no  
 chokujō wo ba nani to sa wa  
 hedate-tamō ya nakagaki no  
 mugura ga shita ni yoshi saraba  
 koyoi wa katashiki no  
 sode furete tsuki ni akasan  
*age-uta*



NAKAKUNI (katari)

There is no doubt that is Lady Kogō's way of playing.

I'll ask admittance without further delay.

*standing in front of the door*

Excuse me! Please open this door.

KOGŌ (to LADY-IN-WAITING)

Someone is calling from the gate. Go and see who it is, but take care.

LADY-IN-WAITING

To pretend we did not hear would be worse still.

(And she pushes the door open.)

*third person narration*

NAKAKUNI

It would not do if this gate were locked

(he thought and held the door open).

*third person narration*

*kakaru*

This is the Imperial Messenger  
Nakakuni who has come this far  
to deliver a message to your mistress.

KOGŌ

Can this be true? What kind of imperial command  
could be intended for this mean and humble house?

You must surely have come to the wrong door.

NAKAKUNI

I have not. However you may try to hide from men's eyes,  
you cannot stop things leaking out,

*kakaru*

like teardrops from a sleeve,  
your koto playing could not be hidden.

KOGŌ

Truely, I am ashamed, Nakakuni.  
Many times at concerts at the Palace—

NAKAKUNI

I would have the honour of playing the flute.

KOGŌ

The moon familiar to us then was like that today.

NAKAKUNI, KOGŌ

To meet the very person who would visit  
when string and bamboo in harmony spoke by night—

CHORUS

*sage-uta*

"Give this message to her secretly"  
was the imperial command to me  
and yet why is there such a barrier between us?

The grasses under this hedge will be fine.  
Tonight I will spread out one sleeve  
and lie gazing at the moon until dawn.

*age-uta*

tokoro o shiru mo      Saga no yama  
 tokoro o shiru mo      Saga no yama  
 miyuki taenishi      ato nagara  
 chiyo no furumichi      tadori koshi  
     yukue mo kimi no      megumi zo to  
 fukaki nasuke no      iroka wo mo  
 shiru hito nomi zo      hana tori no  
 ne ni dani tate yo      azumaya no  
 aruji wa isa shirazu  
 shirame wa kakure yo mo araji

*slower*  
*normal speed*

## TOMO

Nakakuni onme ni katarazaran hodo wa kaerumajiki tote  
 ano shibagaki no moto ni tsuyu ni shiorete on-iri sōrō

*kakaru, yowa, awazu*

chokujō to mōshi itawashisa to ii  
 nan to ka shinobase tamōbeki  
 konata e ya ire mairase-sōrawan

## TSURE

Geni geni ware mo sayō ni wa omoedomo

*kakaru, yowaku, awazu*

amari no koto no kokoro midare ni  
 mi no okidokoro mo shiranedomo  
 saraba konata e to mōshi sōrae

## TOMO

saraba konata e on-iri sōrae

## SHITE

kashikomatte sōrō

*betsu ni*

chokujō ni makase kore made kitarite sōrō  
 sate mo kayō ni narase-tamaite nochi wa  
 gyokutai otoroe eiryō nayamashiku miesase-tamaite sōrō  
 semete no on-koto ni on-yukue wo tazunete maire to no senji wo kōmuri  
 katejikenaku mo gosho wo tamawatte kore made mochite mairite sōrō

*kakaru, yowaku, awazu*

osorenagara jiki no on-penji wo tamawarite  
 sōshi mōshi sōrawan

## TSURE

moto yori mo katajikenakarishi on-megumi  
 oyobinaki mi no yukue made mo  
 tanomu kokoro no mizuguki no  
 ato sae fukaki onnasuke

This is the place, the mountains of Sagano,  
 This is the place, the mountains of Sagano,  
 where the ancient imperial hunt has left its traces still—  
 on the road a thousand generations old that has brought me here  
     and that will bring you back to the Emperor's love.  
 There is but one person who knows the depth of his passion,  
 who understands "blossoms' colour and fragrance, the song of birds".  
 Strike up at least that tune and let me in.  
 I know little of "the mistress of this Eastern Cottage"  
 but her way of playing cannot be disguised.

LADY-IN-WAITING (*to Kogō*)

Nakakuni says "Unless I see her, I may not return".  
 He is waiting drenched by the dew under the brushwood fence

It is an imperial order, and I feel sorry for him, too.  
 Must you really hide like this?  
 Do let me bring him in.

KOGŌ

What you say is true. I feel the same,

yet so many things trouble me  
 that I do not know what to do.  
 But tell him to enter.

*Lady in waiting stands up, goes to gate, and speaks to Nakakuni.*

LADY-IN-WAITING

Please come in this way.

*She opens door for him, then returns to sit in the same place.*

NAKAKUNI

I thank you.

*He enters main stage area and bows.*

I have come this far in accordance with imperial order.  
 Let me tell you now what happened after you disappeared:  
 His Majesty was visibly weaker in strength, and suffering from worry.  
 To learn at least where you were, he commanded me go in search.  
 Although unworthy of the honour,

I have come here bearing a letter from His Majesty

*He hands letter to Kogō and bows.*

Please be so good as to grant me with an immediate answer  
 that I may present to His Majesty.

KOGŌ

Truely His Majesty has favoured me beyond my deserts,  
 in worrying about the whereabouts of one like me,  
 his deep compassion showing even in the traces of his writing brush.

- JI  
*sage-uta, kaete, au*  
 kawaranu kage wa kumoi yori  
 nao nokoru mi no tsuyu no yo wo  
 habakari no kokoro ni mo  
 tou koso namida narikere  
*kuri, awazu*  
 ge ni ya toware zo  
 mi ni shiratama no onozukara  
 nagaraete uki toshi tsuki mo  
 ureshikarikeru sumai kana
- TSURE  
*sashi*  
 tatoe o shiru mo kazu naranu  
 mi ni wa oyobanu koto naredomo
- JI  
 imose no michi wa hedate naki  
 kano Kan'ō no sono mukashi  
 Kansenden no yoru no omoi  
 taenu kokoro ya mune no hi no  
 kemuri no nokoru omokage mo
- TSURE  
 mishi wa hodo naki  
 aware no iro
- JI  
 nakanaka narishi  
 chigiri kana  
*kuse*  
 Tōtei no inishie mo  
 Risankyū no sasamegoto  
 moreshi hajime wo tazunuru ni  
 ada naru tsuyu no asajiu ya  
 sode ni kuchinishi aki no shimo  
 wasurenu yume wo tou arashi no  
 kaze no tsute made mi ni shimeru  
 kokoro narikeri
- TSURE  
 hito no kuni made tomurai no
- JI  
 aware wo shireba tsune narade  
 naki yo wo omoi no kazukazu ni  
 amari warinaki koigokoro  
 mi wo kudakite mo iyamashi no  
 renbo no midare naru to kaya  
 kore wa sasuga ni onaji yo no  
 tanomi mo ariake no  
 tsuki no miyako no hoka made mo  
 eiryō ni kakaru onmegumi ito mo kashikoki choku nareba  
 yado wa to towarete nashi to wa ikaga kotaen

CHORUS

The unchanging radiance from the heavenly palace  
reaches even here where I preserve a dewlike existence  
in hiding from the world.

It moves me to tears  
*kuri* to be asked after like this.  
My tears are like a string of white jewels  
as I remember the gloomy months and years spent here,  
yet now joy has come to this house.

KOGŌ (*sashi*)

There may have been instances of a love like this,  
but it is far beyond one of no account like myself.

CHORUS

Nothing can change the love between man and woman.  
Long ago in the Ganquan Palace  
the Han Emperor yearned every night for Lady Li.  
Though he had a glimpse of her in the incense smoke,  
it failed to quench his heart-ache

KOGŌ

He saw her only for an instant.  
When love is so sad

CHORUS

it would be better  
never to have exchanged vows at all.  
*kuse* Likewise in ancient Tang we learn what it was  
that revealed the whispered secrets  
of the lovers of the Lishan Palace.  
Yang Guifei was as short-lived as a dewdrop on the reeds  
in the autumn frost that rotted the Emperor's sleeves.  
He sent a messenger on the storm wind  
in search of the dream he could not forget,  
so deep was his love.

KOGŌ

Such moving examples of other realms

CHORUS

teach us that nothing lasts.  
All their thoughts were for those no longer of this world.  
Their passion passed all bounds.  
Griefstricken, the two emperors grew ever more  
distraught in love—or so one hears.  
But for us there is yet hope.  
I still inhabit the same world as the Emperor,  
and his concern and feeling for me reaches even this far,  
where the moon rises outside the capital before dawn.  
It is a very great honour to receive an Imperial Messenger.  
How can I pretend that I do not live here?

SHITE

*rongi*

kore made nari ya saraba tote  
 jiki no o-henji tamawari  
 on-itoma mōshi tachi izuru

TSURE

tsuki ni tou  
 yadori wa kari no tsuyu no yo ni  
 kore ya kagiri no on-tsukai  
 omoide no nagori zo to  
 shitaite otsuru namida ka na

JI

namida mo yoshi ya hoshiai no  
 ima wa mare naru naka nari to

TSURE

tsui ni ōse wa

JI

hodo araji  
 mukae no fune kuruma no  
 yagate koso mairame to  
 iedo nagori no kokoro tote

SHITE

*issei*

shūen wo nashite ito take no

JI

koe sumiwataru  
 tsuki yo kana

SHITE

tsuki yo yoshi  
*otokomai*

SHITE

*waka*

kogarashi ni  
 fuki awasumeru  
 fue no ne wo

JI

*noru*

hiki todomebeki koto no ha mo nashi  
 koto no ha mo nashi koto no ha mo nashi

SHITE

*yowaku, yuttari*

koto no ha mo naki  
 kimi no mikokoro

NAKAKUNI

rongi        Then I beg you, as it is already late,  
                  to give me an answer by your own hand  
                  so I may take my leave and return.

*As Nakakuni sings these lines, Kogō places a letter on an opened fan and hands it to him. Nakakuni returns to the gate, bows to Kogō by way of farewell, and puts the letter into the breast of his hunting costume.*

KOGŌ

You have visited me here by moonlight  
 where I have taken brief refuge in this dew-like world.  
 At the thought that no more messengers will come  
 I shed tears of regret  
 and longing for the past.        *downcast.*

CHORUS (for NAKAKUNI)

“Those tears will soon dry when you are together.  
 Now you are like the star lovers who can rarely meet”.

KOGŌ

but a meeting is at last

CHORUS (first for NAKAKUNI, then narrative)

“...close at hand.  
 The carriage to bring you there  
 will be coming any moment”,  
 he said, so reluctant to part

NAKAKUNI (narrative)

*issei*        he held a banquet and strings and bamboo

CHORUS

sounded clear across  
 the moon-lit night

NAKAKUNI

“The moon-lit night is fine”  
*Nakakuni dances otokomai.*

NAKAKUNI (for Kogō)

When the sound of the flute  
 and the autumn wind  
 blow together,

CHORUS (for Kogō)

what can I play to keep you here?  
 Nothing I say will keep you here, not a word.

NAKAKUNI

There are no words to describe  
 how the Emperor will feel

JI

warera ga mi made mo      mono omoi ni  
 tachi-mōboku mo      aranu kokoro  
 ima wa kaerite      ureshishisa wo  
 nani ni tsutsuman  
     karakokomo      yutaka ni

sode uchi awase      on-itoma mōshi  
 isogu kokoro mo      isameru koma ni  
 yurari to uchinori  
 kaeru sugata no      ato harubaru to  
 Kogō wa miokuri      Nakakuni wa  
 miyako e tote koso  
 kaerikere



CHORUS (for Nakakuni)

“When even one such as myself is ‘so moved  
that I can hardly dance’,  
how can I hide my joy  
at going back now?  
“Make the Chinese robe large!”

*Nakakuni makes bows towards Kogō. The Chorus now describes his departure in third person.*

He takes his leave, joining sleeves together,  
then quickly mounts  
his high-spirited horse.  
With Kogō watching as his figure  
recedes in the distance  
Nakakuni returned  
to the capital.

*At the cue “Kogō wa miokuri” (“With Kogō watching”), Kogō stands and sees Nakakuni off, then stamps the final beat.*

## Notes

1 I would like to thank my *utai* teacher, Murayama Saburō of the Kanze school of nō, who taught me to sing *Kogō* in 1994. My interest in the Heike episode “Kogō” and its visual reception was first stimulated by conversations with Barbara Ford of the Metropolitan Gallery of Art, New York. I also wish to express my appreciation here for two grants which materially aided this research project: (1) grants over the three-year period from 1993 as part of a joint project of the Institute of International Studies, Meiji Gakuin, to investigate the reception of classical literary works into the visual arts, and (2) a Meiji Gakuin University junior faculty research grant in 1994–5 to study the reception of *Heike monogatari* into drama, especially *yōkyoku*.

2 I owe the concept of readers becoming writers to Sakurai Yōko, in her studies of the editorial work by what she refers to as *dokusha kyōjusha* 読者、享受者 (Sakurai 1996, 41). See “Works Cited” for full bibliographical references and list of abbreviations.

3 Chinese names are romanized by the *pinyin* system. Bo Juyi is perhaps still better known as Po Chū-i in the West. For English translations of this poem see “A Song of Unending Sorrow” (tr. Witter Bynner in Birch 1965, 278–284) or “The Song of Lasting Regret” (tr. Paul W. Kroll in Mair 1994, 478–485). There are considerable differences in the two versions: Bynner’s translation reads well, but Kroll’s is better annotated and appears to reflect more recent scholarship.

4 The word *soshiri* is repeated twice, one in reference to the people’s criticisms (*yo no soshiri* 世のそしり), once by the Emperor in explaining why he wants to avoid the condemnation of future generations (*kōtai no soshiri* 後代のそしり). The phrase *yo no soshiri wo habakarase-tamau* recalls a phrase in the opening of *Genji monogatari*: *hito no soshiri wo mo e-habakarase-tamawazu* (Abe, Akiyama and Imai 1970, 93).

5 There is another possible verbal echo here. Five or six days is the time in *Genji* that Lady Kiritsubo remains ill at court before she is allowed to go home (Abe, Akiyama and Imai 1970, 97; McCullough 1994, 27; cf. Seidensticker 1976, 5).

6 The origins of this episode are found in the poetry collection of Takafusa (*Takafusashū* 隆房集), eighty poems of which are also included in the illustrated scroll *Takafusa-kyō koikotoba emaki* 隆房卿艶詞絵巻, one of the early masterpieces of Japanese narrative art (Komatsu 1988). Two poems by Takafusa are quoted in the Kakuichi version, and a further one by in the Engyō version (Kitahara and Ogawa 1990, 1:583; Sugiyama 1974, 60–61).

7 Saga is in present-day Ukyō-ku 右京区 on the north-west edge of Kyōto, next to the Ōi River and opposite Arashiyama. The play also refers to a place called Sagano 嵯峨野, which was an area next to Saga. As an *utamakura* 歌枕, Sagano had poetical associations with autumn grasses and insects.

8 See Kitahara and Ogawa 1990, 1:584, also Ichiko 1978, 798–799, for the chart comparing the Kakuichi, Engyō and other texts. The Engyōbon 延慶本 is a “readerly” version of the *Heike*, one of the so-called *yomihonkei* 読み本系 lineage, as opposed to texts like the Kakuichi for recitation (*katari-bonkei* 語り本系).

9 Sugimoto quotes the relevant diary entries. *Gyokuyō* 玉葉 for 1177.11.4 mentions the birth of a daughter to Kogō, who is called “the daughter of Lord Shigenori”. *Sankaiki* 山槐記 for 1180.4.12 describes the lustration ceremony (*misogi* 禊) for the Saiin 齋院. “Her mother is the daughter of Gon-chūnagon, Lord Shigenori, called Lady Kogō” (権中納言成範卿ノ御女、小督殿ト号ス) (Sugimoto 1974, 6:83).

10 The *Sankaiki* entry for 1180.4.12 continues: “After the birth of this princess, she no longer came [to the Palace]. In the winter of last year she became a nun. She was twenty-three years of age. There must have been some story, but the reason is not known” (此ノ宮ヲ生ミテ後参ラス。去年ノ冬尼トナル。生年廿三ナリ。子細有ルカ。其ノ由知ラズ)。The diary *Kenshunmon'in chūnagon nikki* 建春門院中納言日記 kept by a daughter of the famous poet Fujiwara Shunsei 藤原俊成 confirms the account of her beauty in the *Heike*. It ends by describing with regret how she disappeared in her twenties, whereabouts unknown, somewhere in Saga (其後行方も知らで、二十余年の後、嵯峨にて行きあひたりしこそ、あはれなりしか)。See Sugimoto 1974, 6:83–84, for quotations and comment.

11 Details will be given in a study now in preparation. In accordance to recent Japanese scholarly usage, I will refer to this type of illustrated book simply as *ehon*.

12 The print, which is in my possession, is dated Meiji 29 (1896). Ogata Gekkō is a direct descendant of Ogata Kōrin, so has some claim to be at the end of the classic tradition.

13 The work is attributed to Zenchiku in a number of old sources, including one written by his grandson (Sanari 1930, 2:1095; Takemoto and Hashimoto 1995, 77).

14 “Guntai no nō sugata. Keryō, Genpei no meishō no jintai no honsetsu naraba, koto ni koto ni Heike no monogatari no mama ni kakubeshi” 軍体の能姿。仮令、源平の名将の人体の本説はらば、殊に殊に、平家の物語のままに書くべし Zeami’s advice comes from *Sandō* 三道 (1423), a work of advice to his son (Hisamatsu and Nishio 1961, 475). For a study of Zeami’s warrior plays see Hare 1986, 185–224.

15 Writing in the pre-war period, Sanari suggests the change is due to the nō playwright’s deep feeling of reverence (Sanari 1930, 2:1097): “sakusha no kinshin-bukai kokorogake kara deta mono de arō” 能作者の謹慎深い心掛けから出たものであらう。

16 I have not consulted *Japan Magazine*, issue 12, for what presumably more summary than translation by Mark King (Nogami 1980, 3: 321). This old reference is also given in Bohner, who includes short German translations of passages in his analysis of the play (Bohner 1956, 333–336).

17 See Miner, Odagiri, Morrell 1985, 187–188, for a short assessment in English. Compared to Zeami, there is little documentary evidence establishing what plays Zenchiku wrote. He is thought to have been a prolific writer, but the plays that can be attributed to him are these, in descending order of certainty according to Itō Masayoshi, with selected references to English translations (Itō 1986, 757).

(1) most certain to be the work of Zenchiku

*Bashō* 芭蕉 (Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai 1955, 1:127–141)

(2) likely (“Zenchiku-saku to mite sashitsukaenai” 禅竹作とみて差支えない):

*Teika* 定家 (tr. Satō in Satō and Watson, 1986, 241–253),

*Oshio* 小塩

(3) possible (“Zenchiku-saku no kanōsei ga aru” 禅竹作の可能性がある):

*Ugetsu* 雨月,

*Kamo monogurui* 賀茂物狂

*Kogō* 小督

*Shōki* 鍾馗

*Senju* 千手 (Shimazaki 1981, 74–99)

*Tatsuta* 龍田 (Tyler 1992, 293–308)

*Tamakazura* 玉鬘 (Goff 1991, 120–124)

*Yōkihi* 楊貴妃 (Sesar in Keene 1970, 207–217).

Itō Masayoshi has also attributed to Zenchiku the plays *Nonomiya* 野宮 and *Kakitsubata* 杜若, both important examples of reception from earlier literature (Tyler 1992, 205 ff; Brazell 1988, 64 ff). Tyler has suggested two more possible attributions: *Kantan* 邯鄲 and *Kasuga ryūjin*. 春日龍神 (Tyler 1992, 133; 142).

18 Three lines of text are given in smaller type by Sanari 1930, 1100. Interludes are part of a separate performance tradition and not considered part of the text proper.

19 The translation for Nakakuni’s title *Danjō no Taihitsu* 弾正の大弼 comes from the chart in Miner, Odagiri and Morrell 1985, 447. His title in *Heike monogatari* is one rank lower, *Danjō no Shōhitsu* 弾正の少弼, translated “Junior Vice-President” in McCullough 1988, 202.

## Bibliography

### Abbreviations

NKBT = Nihon koten bungaku taikei (Iwanami shoten)

NKBZ = Nihon koten bungaku zenshū (Shōgakukan)

HMKJ = Heike monogatari kenkyū jiten (Meiji shoin)

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■ As this paper was in proof, a study appeared of the visual representation of the *Kogō* and *Kenreimon'in* episodes in early seventeenth-century screens from the Burke collection: Barbara Ford, "Tragic Heroines of the *Heike monogatari* and Their Representation in Japanese Screen Painting", *Orientalism* 28: 2 (February 1997), 40–47. The screens contain allusions to *nō* and the *Genji*, as the author points out in her well-illustrated discussion.