

Note: Electronic version as of 2000.10.14. The printed version of this paper was published in *International and Regional Studies* [Kokusaigaku kenkyû (Meiji Gakuin University)], No. 16 (March, 1997), pp. 275-303. This electronic version may be cited provided that the original publication data is given. In references to or quotations from this document, please add reference to the following url:

<http://www.meijigakuin.ac.jp/~watson/heike/kogo.html>

In preparing this electronic version, a number of errors have been corrected and other minor changes have been made. All Japanese characters have been omitted, and the circumflex has been substituted for the macron in romanized words such as Kogô. The original version contains a full romanization of the Japanese text facing the translation. This has been omitted here.

Modes of Reception: *Heike monogatari* and the Nô play Kogô

Michael Watson

The present paper is part of a study of the *Heike monogatari* (Tale of the Heike) and its reception.¹ “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.² From the

¹ I would like to thank my *utai* teacher, Murayama Saburô of the Kanze school of nô, who taught me to sing *Kogô* in 1994. My interest in the *Heike* episode “Kogô” 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 *yôkyoku*.

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

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: nô, kôwakamai, jôruri and kabuki. There is even at least one play in the comic genre of kyôgen.

The second half of this paper consists of a translation of the nô play Kogô, which is based on part of the section “Kogô” in book 6 of the *Heike monogatari*. Many words and phrases from the narrative work have been borrowed by the presumed playwright, Konparu Zenchiku (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 Kogô 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 Kogô.

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 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 writes 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 *juyô* and *kyôju* 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. genealogies), 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 Kogô, where, as mentioned before, the text for the nô theatre makes use of several poetic allusions not present in the most widely read version of the *Heike*, the Kakuichi version for *biwa* recitation. One of these references is to the grief of the Tang Emperor Xuanzong on the death of Yang Gueifei, the story best known in Japan through the retelling by Bo Juyi (772-846) in “The Song of Everlasting Sorrow” (J. Chôgonka).³ 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. Yôkihi, 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 Gueifei story in the section that precedes “Kogô”, which may have given Zenchiku an additional hint for the

³ Chinese names are romanized by the *pinyin* system. Bo Juyi is perhaps still better known as Po Chü-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.

analogy.

Two-fold reception

The story of Lady Kogô is one of a number of episodes related to life of Retired Emperor Takakura (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 singled out like this include Shigemori (book 3), Yorimasa (4) and Kiyomori (6). The section (shôdan) before "Kogô" is entitled "Aoi-no-mae," and describes a situation much like the opening of *Genji monogatari* (Tale of Genji), 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 Gueifei. The woman with whom Emperor Takakura falls in love is Aoi-no-mae, a young servant girl (*shôtô*) in the attendance of a lady-in-waiting (*nyôbô*) of Takakura's principal consort, the Empress (*chûgû*). 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 Gueifei, quoting from Bo Juyi's poem to suggest that Aoi may even become Empress (*kisaki*) 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 Gueifei 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*) 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.⁴ Saying that she does not feel well, Aoi

⁴ The word *soshiri* is repeated twice, one in reference to the people's criticisms (*yo no soshiri*), once by the Emperor in explaining why he wants to avoid the condemnation of

returns home where she dies after five or six days of illness. Again the parallel with Genji's mother is clear.⁵

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 "Kogô" 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 Myôbu 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 Gueifei gave a hairpin to the messenger sent by Xuanzong to the Penglai isle of the immortals (J. Hôraisan). 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 Kogô: 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, Kogô is herself a *nyôbô*, serving the Empress directly. As daughter of a Middle Counselor (*chûnagon*), incidentally, she is still lower in social position than the fictional Kiritsubo lady, whose father was a Major Counselor (*dainagon*).

Kogô's life with Takakura is only obliquely handled. Instead we have

future generations (*kôtai no soshiri*). 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).

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*.⁶ She incurs the wrath of Taira no Kiyomori father-in-law of both Takakura and Takafusa, who sees Kogô as a threat to his daughters. Kogô runs away from the Palace, taking refuge in Saga.⁷ Not knowing where she is, the Emperor is once again stricken with grief. The Enkyô (or Engyô) text of the *Heike* at his point makes explicit the analogy with Xiangzong, with a reference to how the Chinese Emperor sent a Taoist priest in search of her.⁸ One night Takakura summons the attendant on duty, Nakakuni, and sends him to find Kogô. When Nakakuni finally succeeds in finding Kogô'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 dramatization.

The play ends lyrically with Kogô watching Nakakuni's figure disappear on his journey back to the Palace. In the *Heike*, Nakakuni leaves men to prevent her from going to Ôhara 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 Ôe Asatsuna. The mood is reminiscent of the scene in *Genji monogatari*, when Myôbu returns late at night from the lady's house to find the Kiritsubo emperor still sitting up, taking about Chinese and

⁶ The origins of this episode are found in the poetry collection of Takafusa (*Takafusashû*), eighty poems of which are also included in the illustrated scroll *Takafusa-kyô koikotoba emaki*, 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 Enkyô version (Kitahara and Ogawa 1990, 1:583; Sugiyama 1974, 60-61).

⁷ Saga is in present-day Ukyô-ku on the north-west edge of Kyôto, next to the Ôi River and opposite Arashiyama. The play also refers to a place called Sagano, which was an area next to Saga. As an *utamakura*, 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, Engyô and other texts. The *Enkyôbbon* (or *Enkeibon*, *Engyôbon*) is a "readerly" version of the *Heike*, one of the so-called *yomihonkei* lineage, as opposed to texts like the Kakuichi for recitation (*kataribonkei*).

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 Kogô that very night. The narration summarizes the rest of her story: return to the palace, renewed attentions of Takakura, birth of an princess (historically attested)⁹, 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).¹⁰

Visual reception of the Kogô story

The key moments in the "Kogô" 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 Kogô
- (2a) Emperor Takakura writes to Kogô
- (2b) Nakakuni sets off for Saga
- (3a) Nakakuni searches the Shakadô
- (3b) Nakakuni and party head for the Hôrinji Temple
- (3c) Nakakuni plays flute as he rides
- (3d) Kogô plays the koto as Nakakuni on foot questions her maid
- (4a) Nakakuni hears Kogô's answer

⁹ Sugimoto quotes the relevant diary entries. *Gyokuyô* for 1177.11.4 mentions the birth of a daughter to Kogô, who is called "the daughter of Lord Shigenori". *Sankaiki* for 1180.4.12 describes the lustration ceremony (*misogi*) for the Saiin. "Her mother is the daughter of Gon-chûnagon, Lord Shigenori, called Lady Kogô" (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." The diary *Kenshunmon'in chûnagon nikki* kept by a daughter of the famous poet Fujiwara Shunsei 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. See Sugimoto 1974, 6:83-84, for quotations and comment.

- (4b) Nakakuni gallops back to the Palace
- (5) Takakura reads the reply brought by Nakakuni
- (6) Nakakuni brings Kogô back to Palace in a carriage
- (7a) Kogô weeps as she is forced to take the tonsure
- (7b) Kogô 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 Kogô'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*.¹¹ In total five different scenes in the "Kogô" 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 Kogô's blinds, and Nakakuni summoned by Takakura. Some versions show the emperor in the act of writing the letter.

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

koshi yori yôjô 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 Kogô (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

¹¹ In accordance to recent Japanese scholarly usage, I will refer to this type of illustrated book simply as *ehon*. [For a study of the *Heike ehon* tradition, see Watson 1998.]

most frequently illustrated in pictures outside of the book or scroll tradition. One recent example is given here (fig. 1), an *ukiyo-e* by Ogata Gekkô (1859-1910).¹² An attendant holds Nakakuni's horse outside Kogô's gate. He plays the flute, while she can be glimpsed inside, playing the koto to the light of a lamp.

The next illustration in the ehon tradition corresponds to a moment after (6) in the chart above: Kogô 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.

The nô play Kogô

Kogô is attributed to Komparu Zenchiku, a leading early playwright and the most important nô 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 Kogô, which is said to be characteristic of Zenchiku.¹³ One other play attributed to Zenchiku is drawn from the *Heike monogatari*: *Senju*. Like Kogô, this play centers around 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).¹⁴ It is typical of Zenchiku's genius to have found inspiration in a entirely different side of *Heike monogatari*.

As explained above, only the central part of the *Heike* episode has

¹² Picture is reproduced in print version of paper. For image see online at:

http://www.meijigakuin.ac.jp/~watson/heike/6d_kogo.html

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 n sugata. keryô, Genpei no meishô no jintai no honsetsu naraba, koto ni koto ni Heike no monogatari no mama ni kakubeshi" Zeami's advice comes from *Sandô* (1423), a work of advice to his son (Hisamatsu and Nishio 1961, 475). For a study of

been dramatized: 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.¹⁵ 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 Kogô, 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 Kogô. This final scene brings the play to an end on a quieter note.

The play Kogô now part of the repertory of all five schools of nô. It belongs to the fourth category (*yobanme*) 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.¹⁶ Recent Japanese anthologies of nô texts

Zeami's warrior plays see Hare 1986, 185-224.

¹⁵ Writing in the pre-war period, Sanari suggests the change is due to the nô playwright's deep feeling of reverence (Sanari 1930, 2:1097): "sakusha no kinshin-bukai kokorogake kara deta mono de arô."

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). Since publication of this paper, an annotated translation has appeared: Chifumi Shimazaki, *Troubled Souls: From Japanese Noh Plays of the Fourth Group*. Cornell East Asia Series Number 95 (Ithaca, New York: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1998), pp. 89-131.

do not include this work, which is perhaps one reason for its relative neglect outside of Japan, although Konparu Zenchiku is highly regarded, both as a playwright and critic.¹⁷

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. Punctuation largely follows Tanaka. References were also made to the notes in Haga and Sasaki (1914, 1:728-733) and the current *utaibon* (chanting texts) of the Kanze school (Kanze 1995).

I have followed usual conventions of recent *nô* translations. In performance there would be an interlude (*ai*) involving a conversation between Kogô 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. The difference between recited passages (*katari*) and sung passages (*tsuyogin* or *yowagin*) is shown by the smaller or greater amount

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 Itô Masayoshi, with selected references to English translations (Itô 1986, 757).

(1) most certain to be the work of Zenchiku

Bashô (tr. Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkôkai 1955, 1:127-141)

(2) likely (“Zenchiku-saku to mite sashitsukaenai”):

Teika (tr. Satô in Satô and Watson, 1986, 241-253),

Oshio

(3) possible (“Zenchiku-saku no kanôsei ga aru”):

Ugetsu,

Kamo monogurui

Kogô

Shôki

Senju (tr. Shimazaki 1981, 74-99)

Tatsuta (tr. Tyler 1992, 293-308)

Tamakazura (tr. Goff 1991, 120-124)

Yôkihi (tr. Sesar in Keene 1970, 207-217).

Itô Masayoshi has also attributed to Zenchiku the plays *Nonomiya* and *Kakitsubata*, both important examples of reception from earlier literature (tr. Tyler 1992, 205; Brazell 1988, 64). Tyler has suggested two more possible attributions: *Kantan* and *Kasuga ryûjin*. (Tyler 1992, 133; 142).

of indentation, respectively.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹

The stage-directions are based on Sanari (1930, 2:1097ff.), 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 long lines 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 this passage easier to read. 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 *nô* 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 entirely without notes for the translation.²⁰

CHARACTERS IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE

waki: Imperial messenger of Retired Emperor Takakura

shite: Nakakuni, Senior Assistant President of the Board of Censors

tsure: Lady Kogô (*Kogô no tsubone*)

tomo: Attendant to Kogô

¹⁸ [See romanization in print version of this paper, or that in the Shimazaki 1998.]

¹⁹ 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.

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 ôgi*). 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 ôgi*). 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 Kogô, in Sagano, outside the capital

Reign of Takakura [d. 1181], fifteenth of the Eight Month

KOGO

(1)

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

MESSENGER (*nanori*)

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

Now there is a lady called Kogô

who is much loved by His Majesty.

The Empress is the daughter of his Excellency the Chancellor

so Lady Kogô may have been afraid,

for she has vanished in the night.

²⁰ [See now Shimazaki 1998 for an annotated translation.]

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 Kogô is living somewhere in Sagano
has now reached the Emperor.

I bring an imperial order commanding Danjô-no-Taihitsu Nakakuni
to go at once in search of Lady Kogô
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?

MESSENGER [*bowing*]

I bring an Imperial Order.

Word has reached his Majesty
of Lady Kogô's whereabouts in the area of Sagano.

He commands that you go at once, find Lady Kogô 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?

MESSENGER

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

NAKAKUNI

Such humble houses have what are called single-doored gates.
As tonight is the fifteenth of the Eighth Month,
Lady Kogô 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 Kogô’s house in Sagano. The Lady Kogô (tsure) enters with her attendant (tomo). In the interlude, the woman who has lent the house to Kogô urges her to play on the koto.

KOGO (*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.

KOGÔ, 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.

CHORUS (sage-uta)

Come now, to comfort my feelings of longing I will play on the koto.
 Comfort me, at least for a while, *age-uta*
 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

but just in case I will ride closer here and there,

reining 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 Hôrin 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?

“Sôburen”, that is what is called,

“Yearning thoughts of my husband” oh joy.

NAKAKUNI (katari)

There is no doubt that is Lady Kogo’s way of playing.

I’ll ask admittance without further delay.

standing in front of the door

Excuse me! Please open this door.

KOGO (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*

This is the Imperial Messenger *kakaru*

Nakakuni who has come this far
to deliver a message to your mistress.

KOGÔ

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.

KOGÔ

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

NAKAKUNI

I would have the honour of playing the flute.

KOGÔ

The moon familiar to us then was like that today.

NAKAKUNI, KOGÔ

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 hedgewill be fine.
Tonight I will spread out one sleeve
and lie gazing at the moon until dawn. *ageuta*

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 Kogô)

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.

KOGÔ

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 was in strength, and suffering from
worry.

To learn where you were, at least, 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 Kogô and bows.

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

KOGÔ

Truly 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.

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

to be asked after like this. *kuri*

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.

KOGÔ (*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

KOGÔ

He saw her only for an instant.

When love is so sad

CHORUS

it would be better

never to have exchanged vows at all.

Likewise in ancient Tang we learn what it was *kuse*
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.

KOGÔ

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.
 Grief-stricken, 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?

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

KOGÔ

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.

Kogô is downcast.

CHORUS (for NAKAKUNI)

“Those tears will soon dry when you are together.

Now you are like the star lovers who can rarely meet,”

KOGÔ

but a meeting is at last...

CHORUS (first speaking 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*)

he held a banquet

issei

and strings and bamboo

CHORUS

sounded clear across

the moon-lit night

NAKAKUNI

“The moon-lit night is fine”

Nakakuni dances otokomai.

NAKAKUNI (for Kogô)

When the sound of the flute

and the autumn wind

blow together,

CHORUS (for Kogô)

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

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 [that I have found you]?
Make the Chinese robe large!”

Works Cited

Abbreviations

NKBT = Nihon koten bungaku taikei (Iwanami shoten)

NKBZ = Nihon koten bungaku zenshû (Shôgakukan)

- Abe Akio, Akiyama Ken and Imai Gen'ei (1970). *Genji monogatari*. Vol. 1. NKBZ 12. Tokyo: Shôgakukan.
- Birch, Cyril, ed. (1965), *Anthology of Chinese Literature from Earliest Times to the Fourteenth Century*. New York: Grove Press; reprint, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin.
- Bohner, Hermann (1956). *Die Einzelnen Nô*. Tokyo: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens.
- Brazell, Karen, ed. (1988). *Twelve Plays of the Noh and Kyôgen Theaters*. East Asia Papers Number 50. Ithaca, New York: China-Japan Program.
- Goff, Janet (1991). *Noh Drama and The Tale of Genji: The Art of Allusion in Fifteen Classical Plays*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Haga Yaichi and Sasaki Nobutsuna (1914). *Kôchû yôkyoku sôsho*. 3 vols. Reprinted 1987. Tokyo: Nozomigawa shoten.
- Hare, Thomas Blenman (1986). *Zeami's Style: The Noh Plays of Zeami Motokiyo*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru (1961). *Karonshû Nôgakuronshû*. NKBT 65. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten.
- Holub, Robert C. (1989). *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction*. London: Methuen, 1984; reprint, London and New York: Routledge.
- Ichiko Teiji, ed. (1978). *Heike monogatari kenkyû jiten*. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin.

- Ichiko Teiji, ed. (1994). *Heike monogatari*. Shinpen NKBZ. Tokyo: Shôgakukan.
- Itô Masayoshi (1986). "Konparu Zenchiku." In *Nihon koten bungaku daijiten kan'yakuban*, 757. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten.
- Jauss, Hans Robert (1982). *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, tr. by Timothy Bahti. Theory and History of Literature, Volume 2. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Keene, Donald, ed. (1970). *Twenty Plays of the Nô Theatre*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kitahara Yasuo and Ogawa Eiichi, eds. (1990). *Enkyôbon Heike monogatari*. 2 vols. Tokyo: Benseisha.
- Komatsu Shigemi (1988). *Hatsuki monogatari emaki, Makura no sôshi ekotoba, Takafusa-kyô koikotoba emaki*. Nihon no emaki 10. Tokyo: Chûô Kôron.
- Komatsu Shigemi (1995). *Heike monogatari emaki*, vol. 6 (*fukyûban*). Tokyo: Chûô Kôron.
- Litzenberg, Carl. "The Victorians and the World Abroad." In *The Reinterpretation of Victorian Literature*, ed. Joseph E. Baker, 169-196. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1950.
- Mair, Victor H., ed. (1994). *The Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- McCullough, Helen Craig (1988). *The Tale of the Heike*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- McCullough, Helen Craig (1994). *Genji & Heike: Selections from The Tale of Genji and The Tale of the Heike*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- Miner, Earl, Hiroko Odagiri, and Robert E. Morrell (1985). *Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkôkai, tr. (1955). *Japanese Noh Drama*. Vol 1. Tokyo: Nippon gakujutsu shinkôkai; reprinted as *The Noh Drama: Ten Plays from the Japanese*. Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle, 1965.
- Nogami Toyochirô, ed. (1980). *Nôgaku zensho*, vol. 3. Tokyo: Sôgensha.
- Sanari Kentarô (1930). *Yôkyoku taikan*. Tokyo: Meiji shoin.
- Satô, Hiroaki and Burton Watson, ed. and tr. (1986). *From the Country of Eight Islands: An Anthology of Japanese Poetry*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Seidensticker, Edward G., tr. (1976). *The Tale of Genji*. Reprinted Rutland, Vermont

and Tokyo: Tuttle.

Shimazaki, Chifumi (1981). *The Noh: Volume III Woman Noh*. Tokyo: Hinoki Shoten.

Shimazaki, Chifumi (1998). *Troubled Souls: From Japanese Noh Plays of the Fourth Group*. Cornell East Asia Series Number 95. Ithaca, New York: East Asia Program, Cornell University. [Reference added 10.2000.]

Sugimoto Keizaburô (1974). *Heike monogatari (6) zenyakuchû*. Tokyo: Kôdansha gakujutsu bunko.

Takemoto Mikio and Hashimoto Asao, eds. (1995). *Nô Kyôgen hikkei*. Bessatsu kokubungaku 48. Tokyo: Gakutôsha.

Tanaka Mitsuru and Nogami Toyochirô, eds. (1953). *Yôkyokushû*. Nihon koten zensho. Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha.

Tyler, Royall (1992). *Japanese Nô Dramas*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin.

Watson, Michael (1998). “*Heike monogatari no kaigaka: Purinsuton daigakuzô Heike monogatari ehon o chûshin ni*” [“The Pictorialization of *Heike Monogatari* and the Princeton Illustrated *Heike monogatari*”] in Yamashita Hiroaki, ed., *Heike Monogatari: Hihyô to Bunkashi*, vol. 7 of series *Gunki Bungaku Kenkyû Sîsho* (Tokyo: Kyôko Shoin) 277-298. . [Reference added 10.2000.]

Yasuda, Kenneth (1989). *Masterworks of the Nô Theater*. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.