A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE STORYTELLING TRADITIONS OF CENTRAL ASIA AND JAPAN

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INTRODUCTION

Long before writing came into existence and became the main method of preservation and transmission of knowledge, a 'text' was handed over from generation to generation orally by special groups of people, storytellers. Often these groups were responsible not only for the transmission of the history, genealogies, traditions and wisdom of their ancestors, but also performed the function of ritualists who engaged in various religious practices. Some of these people became a central figure in the spiritual life of a certain society, while others mostly spent their lives entertaining people. For shamans, priests and other spiritual figures, developing the skills of a storyteller was often an essential part of their occupation. A close relation between the functions of ritualist and storyteller can be observed in different regions and cultures all over the world (Veselovsky 1940; Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947).

Storytelling played an important role in many religions and cults. Buddhism was no an exception. One of the oldest sources on the history of early Chinese Buddhism *Gao Seng Tan* 高僧伝,[1] known in its English translation as *The Memoirs of Eminent Monks*, contains a whole chapter dedicated to Buddhist storytellers (preachers). In his conclusion to the chapter, Hui Jiao notes that teachers of Buddhist sutras and Buddhist storytellers played an important role in enlightening commoners.[2] In the chapter about storytellers he introduces a number of famous monks and describes the qualities that were essential for preaching.

> There are four important things in preaching: voice, eloquence, erudition and knowledge… If he possesses these qualities he will be able to attend to any man and adapt to any situation. When he meets Buddhist priests he should be able to talk about the vanity of life and sins. When he is with lords and wealthy men, he should make quotations from other classical literature and compose refined sentences. When he talks to the common people, he should create images using concrete things, things that they commonly hear and see. When he meets some villagers who live in the fields and mountains, he should teach them using colloquial words… Really good preaching is the one that is delivered depending on the situation and the audience. (Hui Jiao 2010: 396 (translated from Japanese))[3]

This note by Hui Jiao is of great importance to the content of the current thesis. Two

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[1] *Gao Seng Tan* is a compilation of biographies of monks by Hui Jiao 慧皎 (497-554) of Jiaxiang Temple on Mt. Kuaiji.
[2] This is the reason why Hui Jiao extended the length of the compilation. He initially planned a compilation that would contain only eight chapters, but eventually added two more chapters on teachers of Buddhist sutras and Buddhist storytellers (preachers).
[3] All the translations from the Uzbek, Russian and Japanese languages introduced within the framework of the current thesis are made by the author.

storytelling traditions, the Central Asian tradition of *bakhshi* and the Japanese tradition of blind *biwa* players, are the main objects of the comparative research and analysis conducted. Both storytelling traditions are related to Buddhism to some extent. Hui Jiao's comments can provide us with some clue to the nature of Buddhist storytelling, or preaching, in the past.

Storytelling, a tradition of oral narration created, maintained and transmitted by specially trained groups of ritualists or entertainers, or in some cases only the traces of such a tradition, can be found all over the world. Unfortunately, there remain only a few regions today where the tradition of storytelling in the form of a folk tradition still exists, or existed until recent times. While storytelling is a genre common to many peoples of the world, the history of its formation, its relation to written sources, and the function it bears in each given society differs from culture to culture. This is why a comparative approach revealing similarities and individual characteristics of storytelling as a genre of folklore representing oral traditions of different regions, and results gained through a comparative study of data of an ethnographic character and linguistic analysis of oral narrative texts, can deepen our understanding of the nature of oral culture in general, and reveal in each tradition some new aspects that have failed to be noted before.

Many definitions have been made and many different terms have been employed in the study of oral traditions. Here I would like to make some clarification in the use of terms, in order to avoid any ambiguity and express more precisely the nature of the oral traditions studied in the framework of the current research. Such terms as oral narrative, oral epic, oral poem or song are commonly used. In the current thesis, 'oral story' or 'oral narrative' will be used to refer to narratives performed by storytellers of both Central Asia and Japan, since 'oral narrative' best describes the textual characteristics of pieces in the repertory of storytellers of both regions.[4] Some specific terms used in Central Asia and Japan to refer to 'oral narrative' and other pieces in the repertory of storytellers will also be introduced. I would also like to identify the main feature that distinguishes an oral narrative performed by a professional storyteller in Central Asia and Japan from other genres of folklore, such as tales, legends, riddles, songs and others. Oral narrative in the repertory of a professional storyteller is not a classification based on the content of the story performed, but a specific form of transmission, in which one of the essential elements of performance is the presence of rhythm created with the aid of a musical instrument. The content of the story can be a tale or a legend, fiction or even a real story taken from life. As to the maintainer of the oral tradition, such terms as 'singer of tales,' 'oral poet' or 'bard' are commonly used. However, in the current thesis we will give preference to 'storyteller' and 'performer' together with some

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[4] In both Central Asia and Japan texts of oral narratives are mostly a combination of rhythmical prose and verse.

specific terms used in Central Asia and Japan, such as *bakhshi* or blind *biwa* players.

The possibility that some changes might occur in the oral narrative text each time a story is performed or retold is very high. Faithful multiple reproduction of an oral narrative is only possible if the storyteller has memorized the oral text verbatim and is able to reproduce it faithfully without missing any of its elements. However, word-for-word memorization of long texts is hardly possible, unless the storyteller has a phenomenal memory. Even in the cases when the oral text is memorized, some changes might still occur. In general, when an oral narrative is not memorized verbatim, its text changes each time it is performed. In other words, the text is re-created in each performance: some parts of it may be reproduced faithfully, while others may be re-composed. In the case of this re-composition, or oral composition during performance, different degrees of improvisation might play a particular role in the formation and transmission of an oral narrative text.

A single transcription of such an oral narrative represents only a single example of one of the possible versions of the story. It is for this reason that the study of genres oral in their nature should start from the understanding of mechanisms of formation and transmission of an oral text. Characteristics of the oral language of storytellers and techniques that make oral composition of long narrative texts possible, peculiarities of the text born as a result of reproduction or composition in performance, and repetitions found in the text have been an object of interest for folklorists and literary scholars for many decades. One of the most influential and discussed theories in the study of oral traditions is the Oral-formulaic theory.

The Oral-formulaic theory, formulated and developed by Milman Parry and Albert Lord, was born as a result of Homeric scholars trying to determine whether the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were originally orally composed or not. One of the fundamental issues of the Oral-formulaic theory was whether a storyteller memorized a given story word for word or composed it anew during performance. Fieldwork and scrupulous analysis of abundant data on the Yugoslav oral tradition led Parry and Lord to conclude that storytellers composed the narrative text anew during each performance, using traditional formulas, formulaic expressions, clusters of formulas and themes (Foley 1985; Lord 1960; Parry 1980).

The formula, an essential element of the Oral-formulaic theory, was defined by Parry as "a group of words regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea" that "makes composition easier under the necessities of rapid composition in performance" (Parry 1930: 80).[5] It has become a key term in almost all

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[5] Such concepts as 'formula,' 'formulaic expression' (a formula where one or more words are replaced with some other words or expressions) and 'theme' (a typical scene) have been developed within the Oral-formulaic theory to refer to repetitions of different level found in oral texts.

research undertaken on orally transmitted texts. While some scholars doubted the possibility of the universal application of the Oral-formulaic theory, its proponents have attempted to apply its basic concepts to oral traditions in many different parts of the world. Many researchers, including Lord himself, applied themselves to the study of repeated phrases by textual analysis. By counting repetitions and classifying them, they tried to find answers to such questions as whether every repetition in the narrative text is a formula, or whether or not formula density in the narrative text is a necessary requirement of an orally composed text. As a result, extensive analytical research has been carried out in the study of oral traditions. Meanwhile, some of the fundamental questions still remain unanswered. Is the Oral-formulaic theory universally applicable? Or how exactly is a formula in the narrative text born?

The main purpose of the current thesis is to reconsider or elaborate on some of the theoretical aspects of the Oral-formulaic theory, such as, for instance, the degree of stability and possibility for change in an oral tradition, and the origin of formulas in the orally composed narrative text. Based on a comparison of storytelling traditions of Central Asia and Japan, the thesis will argue that the Oral-formulaic theory should be applied 'locally' with the consideration of socio-cultural factors that could have influenced each given storytelling tradition. Even though the Oral-formulaic theory provides us with an important theoretical base in the study of oral narratives, its laws should be applied in consideration of different factors that could have influenced the nature and state of every given oral tradition, such as, for example, the historical, geographical and cultural environment in which the tradition developed, the evolution of the tradition and its relationship with other folk genres or written sources, socio-cultural peculiarities of each given group of storytellers and many other issues. Universal laws, theories and concepts can only be formulated after all possible research in different parts of the world is completed, analyzed and properly classified.

Central Asian and Japanese storytelling traditions are of particular interest in this case, since both have some relationship to Buddhism and may represent expressions of the same cultural phenomenon, namely a tradition of storytelling maintained in the past by Buddhist storytellers (preachers), but which developed in two geographically separated regions of Asia, in different socio-cultural environments.

Structurally the thesis is divided into three parts. Part I, Chapters I and II, is dedicated to the Central Asian storytelling tradition of *bakhshi*. Part II, Chapters III and IV, deals with the Japanese tradition of blind *biwa* players. Part I and Part II focus on such issues as the historical development of the tradition of storytelling in Central Asia and Japan from its origin to the present day, socio-cultural characteristics of its maintainers, and the characteristics of oral narrative texts transmitted by storytellers in each tradition. Part III,

Chapter V, is centered on the problem of the origin of *Alpomish* in Central Asia and *Yuriwaka* in Japan, and explores the possibility of transmission of the story from Central Asia to Japan.

The current thesis does not aim at formulating any universal principles, but the results of comparative research on the characteristics of oral narrative texts in the traditions of Central Asian *bakhshi* and Japanese blind *biwa* players may shed some light on the origin of formulas in the oral language and uncover some new facets in research on oral traditions in general. My hypothesis on the origin of *Alpomish* and *Yuriwaka* might not only facilitate further comparative research in the study of folklore and literature, but also contribute to a better understanding of the history of cultural exchange between Central Asia and Japan.

PART I

THE CENTRAL ASIAN STORYTELLING TRADITION

CHAPTER I

THE ORAL TRADITION OF CENTRAL ASIA: *BAKHSHI*

Chapter I is a general introduction to the tradition of Central Asian *bakhshi*. It is divided into two sections. Section 1 focuses on the history of the tradition maintained by *bakhshi*, its past and present. Information on the past of *bakhshi* is mostly a review and summary of research undertaken by other researchers, while information on the current state of the tradition was collected during my 2009 and 2011 fieldtrips. Section 2 deals with the issue of transmission of the tradition from *bakhshi* teachers to their students. The concept of *terma*, a short improvised song that forms the basic piece in the repertory of *bakhshi*, will be introduced together with several *terma* recorded during the 2011 fieldtrip.

1. Bakhshi *in the past and today*

Origins of *bakhshi*

The oral narrative in the Central Asian storytelling tradition is called *doston*. The content of *doston*, just as in the case of other genres of folklore such as tales, legends or riddles, can be retold by anyone. But *doston* in their traditional form of transmission, as stories composed of prose and verse and rhythmically enriched by the accompaniment of a string instrument, such as the *dombra*,[1] are performed only by professional storytellers called *bakhshi.* The major difference of *doston* is not in their content but in the specific form of transmission. The content of any legend or tale can become a *doston* if performed by a *bakhshi*.

The word *bakhshi* can be found not only in the Uzbek language, but also in the Turkmen, Kazakh and Kirghiz languages. The meaning of the word, however, differs from country to country. For example, in Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan *bakhshi* is used only in the case of professional storytellers, while in Kazakhstan it is mostly used to refer to sorcerers or shamans.

According to Victor Zhirmunsky and Hodi Zarifov, in the past some *bakhshi* used their string instruments to perform rites (Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 25). But *bakhshi* today have nothing to do with shamanism. The only role they play in society today is that of entertainers. According to the famous Turkologist Vasily Radlov, *bakhshi* is a word used in

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[1] The *dombra* is a type of two stringed long-necked lute popular in Central Asia. See Appendix, Figs. A.1 and A.2.

most of the Turkic languages. In the Uighur language the word *bahkshi* was used in the nineteenth century for teachers and Buddhist scholars (Radlov 1888-1911). The word *bakhshi* comes from the Sanskrit word *bhikshu*,[2] which means 'teacher' (Korogli 2015). It is thought that *bakhshi* came to Central Asia with Buddhism (Uspensky & Belyaev 1928: 39). Even though Uighur is the only language which maintained the direct connection to the original meaning of the word, we can assume that the tradition of *bakhshi* is related in some way to Buddhism and might have originated in the days when Buddhism was one of the major religions of Central Asia, and the cultural ties between the civilizations of India and Central Asia were stronger. Words similar to *bakhshi*, such as *bahsih, paksi, paksu,* and *baksi*, can be found not only in Central Asia, but also in Manchuria, Mongolia and Korea (Hori 1982).

Even though today *bakhshi* have no relation to religious practices, it is common for storytellers to tell stories of the sacred origins of their talent. Some *bakhshi* maintain that the ability to make up stories was given to them in a dream by a saint. Today nobody believes in stories of this kind, but the talent of traditional storytellers, who can tell long stories for hours and make up verses on any given topic, strikes the imagination of any listener.

Bakhshi in the past

Partial compilation of folklore of the Central Asian peoples by professional and amateur folklorists was attempted from the nineteenth century. However, it was not until the Soviet era that the systematic compilation of and analytical research on folklore began in earnest. Three hundred *doston* from different storytellers, including such tales as *Alpomish, Yodgor, Yusuf va Akhmad, Murodkhon,* and *Rustamkhon*, have been recorded. Thanks to materials collected and research conducted by Zhirmunsky, Zarifov and To'ra Mirzaev, the names of about three hundred *bakhshi* are known today (Mirzaev 1998: 5). But even though researchers tried to gather all available information on the lives and activities of *bakhshi*, the data is very limited and fragmentary, and is mostly based on oral accounts given by *bakhshi* during interviews. Most of the data is currently preserved in the archives of the Department of Folklore of the Academy of Science of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

The tradition of storytelling in Uzbekistan still flourished in the middle of the twentieth century. Despite the attention the government of the Republic of Uzbekistan pays to traditional culture and attempts to preserve and pass it on to the next generation, the tradition of storytelling is under threat of extinction. There are no statistical data on the

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[2] The original word could be *bhikchu,* or *bhikkhu*, which means a mendicant scholar or a follower of Buddha. It is transliterated into Chinese as *biqiu* 比丘, and translated as *seng* 僧 (Eitel 1904: 31).

current state of the tradition of storytelling, but based on fieldwork I conducted in August 2009 and August 2011 we can conclude that the tradition today is still alive in a very limited area, mostly in the Kashkadarya and Surkhandarya regions of Uzbekistan. The number of *bakhshi* known for their ability to create improvised verses and tell *doston* is decreasing, and according to storytellers interviewed during the 2011 fieldtrip only totals about sixty to seventy people throughout Uzbekistan.

In order to better understand what the tradition was like in the past, we will survey the lives and activities of several renowned *bakhshi* of the twentieth century.

Till the mid-twentieth century *bakhshi* were active in the Tashkent, Samarkand, Bukhara, Fergana, Surkhandarya and Khorezm regions of Uzbekistan. Compared to other regions, Tashkent had fewer *bakhshi* than other regions. In fact, there are two *bakhshi* representing the region. The first storyteller is Berdi-bakhshi (?-?) from the Pskent district. Berdi-bakhshi was engaged in storytelling in the first half of the twentieth century. One version of *Alpomish* was recorded from Berdi-bakhshi. The second storyteller representing the Tashkent region is Pirmat-bakhshi (?-?). He was born in the city of Kokand of the Fergana region and lived in Tashkent at the end of the nineteenth century. He is known for his performances of *Alpomish, Gyoro'g'li* and *Yusuf va Akhmad* tales (Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 43). Samarkand gave birth to a great number of famous *bakhshi*.

1. Ergash Jumanbulbul O'g'li

Qorg'on village of the Samarkand region was known as one of the centers of storytelling in the past. In the middle of the nineteenth century the village was comprised of seven families, each of which had at least three or four storytellers (Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 45). Storytellers were still active in Qorg'on village in the middle of the twentieth century, but by the time of the 2009 fieldtrip there was not a single *bakhshi* active in the village.

One of the most famous *bakhshi* of the past, Ergash Jumanbulbul O'g'li (1868-1937), was born in the village of Qorg'on, in the Nurata district of the Samarkand region. Among his ancestors were such famous *bakhshi* of the past as Yodgor, Lapas, Mulla Tosh, Mulla Holmurod, and Juman. Ergash Jumanbulbul's father Juman was one of the best storytellers of his days. His spectacular voice earned him the nickname *bulbul,* which means 'nightingale.' Juman's brothers Jasoq and Yarlaqob were also famous storytellers. Besides, Jasoq was known as a famous teacher in the tradition, who trained many younger storytellers. Juman was a student of Kichik Buron, and his brother Jasoq was trained by Mulla Abduqodir. Mulla Abduqodir was a student of the *bakhshi* Katta Buron. Not much is known about the life and activities of Katta Buron, except that he was famous for storytelling

in the eighteenth century. Ergash Jumanbulbul O'g'li learned storytelling from his father Juman. And Juman's brother Jasoq trained the famous storyteller Po'lkan-shoir (Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 44).

Unlike most *bakhshi*, who were illiterate, Ergash Jumanbulbul O'g'li received education at a religious school. His great-grandfather and grandfather were also educated, which is why they were called *'mulla*,' which means 'educated person.' Ergash Jumanbulbul's father Juman was illiterate, but it was important for him to educate Ergash, which is why not only he made his son attend a religious school, but also hired private teachers for him. Ergash Jumanbulbul O'g'li started to show interest in storytelling at an early age. As a child he listened to stories told by *bakhshi* as entertainment, and later decided to become a *bakhshi* himself.

Ergash Jumanbulbul O'g'li was a farmer for most of his life. Ergash Jumanbulbul O'g'li lost all of his family and property, and spent his later years wandering from village to village. After the Great October Revolution of 1917, folklorists recorded and published a number of tales performed by Ergash Jumanbulbul O'g'li, such as *Rovshan, Qunduz va Yulduz, Dali, Kuntugmish* and *Hushkeldi*. He was one of the most talented storytellers, who not only could retell in an improvised form the tales which already existed, but could also create his own tales using traditional techniques of the storytelling tradition. Ergash Jumanbulbul O'g'li composed such stories as *Lenin va Stalin, Sovetlar, Oktyabr*, which described the events of his times. Ergash Jumanbulbul O'g'li is the only *bakhshi* of the past who created and was able to leave in a written form a versified autobiographical account about his own life, *Kunlarim* (Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 45-46).

2. Po'lkan-shoir (Mukhammad Jamrat O'g'li)

Another famous representative of Qorg'on village is Mukhammad Jamrat O'g'li (1874-1941), commonly known as Po'lkan-shoir. Po'lkan-shoir was born into a farmer's family in the village of Katagon of the Samarkand region. Katagon was a settlement formed by a nomadic tribe of the same name. Po'lkan-shoir lost his father as a child and had to earn his living on his own from his early years by serving at houses of wealthy men and by grazing livestock. He had to spend most of the time in the pastures, where he learned to play the *dombra* from other shepherds. Po'lkan-shoir acquired the basic skills of the *dombra*, learned some stories he heard from other shepherds, and spent his days practicing storytelling.

Jasoq-bakhshi of Qorg'on village heard that there was a young man who was showing interest in storytelling and offered to teach the young Po'lkan-shoir storytelling professionally. Po'lkan-shoir accepted Jasoq's invitation and became his official student.

Po'lkan-shoir spent four years learning and practicing storytelling before he became a professional *bakhshi*, a *bakhshi* whose ability to tell stories would be acknowledged by other *bakhshi* and audiences accustomed to their performances. Po'lkan-shoir kept visiting his teacher Jasoq in order to learn from him as many tales as possible even after becoming a professional *bakhshi*. At the age of twenty-five Po'lkan-shoir was already known as one of the best storytellers.

During World War I Po'lkan-shoir was mobilized by the government of the Russian Empire together with many other people from the region and sent to Russia. Po'lkan-shoir had a negative attitude towards the politics of the government of the Russian Empire, which he was able to express through the tales he created during his years in Russia. He was only able to return to Central Asia after the Great October Revolution of 1917. On returning home Po'lkan-shoir finished his tale *Mardikyor*, in which he described the successful ending of the revolution. Many of Po'lkan-shoir's tales were dedicated to the description of the revolution and of all the changes taking place in society. One of the tales he created, *Olimkhon*, tells the story of the fall of the last of the Bukhara Khanate rulers, Olimkhon, after the uprising that took place in Bukhara in 1920. Another of his tales, *Hasan-batrak*, deals with such social problems as the influence of the revolution on the villager's lives and the emancipation of women.

In the years of the Soviet Union Po'lkan-shoir became a manager of a kolkhoz farm organized in his own Katagon village. Po'lkan-shoir was officially acknowledged by the government of the Soviet Union as one of the representatives of traditional folklore and received a special pension. Po'lkan-shoir was able to perform about seventy tales including *Alpomish* and *Sheibanikhon*. Even though Po'lkan-shoir was one of the storytellers who actively worked with folklorists, only nineteen of the seventy tales in his repertory were recorded (Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 46-48).

3. Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li

The Bahmal district of the Jizzakh region was also known as one of the centers of traditional storytelling. The most famous representative of the region is Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li (1872-1955), the author of the version of *Alpomish* which is considered to be the most elaborate form of the tale ever recorded. Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li was born in the village of Loiqa of the Bulungur district in the Samarkand region (known today as the Bahmal district of the Jizzakh region) and belonged to the half-nomadic tribe called Qirq. At the end of the nineteenth century there were three famous *bakhshi* brothers in this village, Yuldosh-shoir, Kuldosh and Suyar. Yuldosh-shoir, the teacher of Fozil Yo'ldosh O'g'li, learned storytelling

from Yuldosh, another famous *bakhshi*. Yuldosh-bakhshi also had the nickname *bulbul*, which he too earned for his beautiful voice, just like Jumanbulbul. Yuldoshbulbul was a student of Mukhammad-shoir, who lived in the second half of the eighteenth century. The relationship of the line of storytellers is shown in the following diagram.

Mukhammad-shoir

Yuldoshbulbul

Yuldosh-shoir
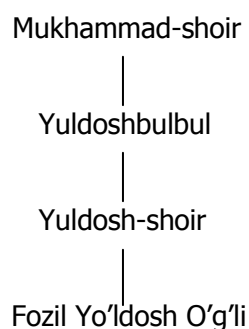
Fozil Yo'ldosh O'g'li

Fozil Yo'ldosh O'g'li was born into a poor family. He lost his father at the age of five and had to earn his living by grazing the livestock of wealthy men. He heard his first tales and learned to play the *dombra* from other shepherds. During his days in the pastures Fozil Yo'ldosh O'g'li learned tales and songs and tried to tell stories himself by mimicking the manner of other shepherds. After turning nineteen, Fozil Yo'ldosh O'g'li, who had previously lived moving from village to village, returned to Loiqa village and settled down on land he inherited from his father. The three *bakhshi* of Loiqa village became interested in Fozil Yo'ldosh O'g'li. Yuldosh-shoir accepted Fozil Yo'ldosh O'g'li as his student and started to teach him storytelling. Fozil Yo'ldosh O'g'li had a sharp memory and a special talent. It only took him about three years to learn all the tales his teacher knew and become *bakhshi*. Fozil Yo'ldosh O'g'li was one of those *bakhshi* who could not only tell stories he had learned from others but could also create tales of his own, using the traditional compositional techniques (Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 48-50). There were around forty tales in the repertory of Fozil Yo'ldosh O'g'li, such as *Alpomish, Yodgor, Yusuf va Akhmad, Rustam, Farkhod va Shirin* and *Shirin va Shakar*. About thirty of these tales were recorded (Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 50; Mirzaev 1998: 9).

Even though Fozil Yo'ldosh O'g'li was illiterate, his repertory included many tales based on works of classical literature such as *Farhod va Shirin* by Alisher Navoi,[3] or *Rustam* by Ferdowsi.[4] It is not clear how the content of classical literature was incorporated into a folklore tradition maintained by illiterate storytellers. But taking into consideration the fact

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[3] Alisher Navoi (1441-1501) is one of the greatest poets, writers, and politicians of Central Asia.
[4] Ferdowsi (940-1020) is a Persian poet, author of *Shahnameh*, the national epic of Iran.

that most of the storytellers could adapt any story they heard, even only once, to the traditional way of delivering the content to the audience, it is easy to imagine that any piece of classical literature heard by any storyteller from a literate person could easily travel from written sources to the repertory of storytellers. Fozil Yo'ldosh O'g'li's version of *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* is a very good example of the possibility of influence of written literature on folklore. *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* is a Georgian medieval epic poem written in the twelfth century by the famous Georgian poet Shota Rustaveli. Fozil Yo'ldosh O'g'li once visited an event dedicated to the memory of Shota Rustaveli in Tashkent. During the event Fozil Yo'ldosh O'g'li saw illustrations to *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* and got interested in the story. Later he asked some friends to tell him the content of *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* and, based on that, he adapted the story of the epic poem to the traditional way of storytelling (Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 50).

4. Islom-shoir

Another famous *bakhshi* of the past is Islom-shoir (1874-1953). Islom-shoir was born in the village of Oqtosh of the Narpai district of the Samarkand region. Islom-shoir spent his childhood in the pastures with his father, who was a shepherd. Islom-shoir was apprenticed with Er-Nazar-bakhshi who lived in Oqtosh village. Islom-shoir's talent for storytelling brought him fame, not only with the villagers but also with the other *bakhshi*. Islom-shoir's official teacher was Er-Nazar-bakhshi, but he also tried to learn from the other *bakhshi*. Islom-shoir named Ergash Jumanbulbul O'g'li as one of his teachers (Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 52). Islom-shoir became a professional *bakhshi* at the age of twenty-six but kept actively learning from other *bakhshi* throughout his life.

There were around thirty tales in the repertory of Islom-shoir, including *Orzigul*. Even though Islom-shoir was illiterate not only he became a professional storyteller but was also known as a poet. He created three collections of poems during Second World War which expressed his patriotic feelings. Islom-shoir's activities were acknowledged by the government of the Soviet Union. From 1940 Islom-shoir received a special governmental pension, and in 1941 he became a member of the Union of Writers of the Republic of Uzbekistan (Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 52-53).

As we can see, most *bakhshi* in the past were peasants or shepherds. They belonged to nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes. Most of them were poor and illiterate, and made their living by grazing the livestock of wealthy men in the pastures of Central Asia. The nature of Central Asia, with its broad pastures, picturesque mountains and rivers, became a

school for storytellers that not only inspired them but also created an environment for learning and practicing storytelling. *Bakhshi* had to spend a lot of time in the pastures, and storytelling became one of their ways of entertaining themselves and their fellow shepherds. They learned from each other how to play the *dombra*, sang songs and shared with each other different tales and stories. Some of them later chose or were chosen to become professional storytellers and dedicated their lives to the transmission of the tradition of storytelling. Only those who had a special talent were chosen by the teachers of the tradition. Young *bakhshi* were taught traditional techniques of composition and versification, and learned many different tales and ways of delivering those tales to their audience. For *bakhshi* storytelling was a vacation or a hobby, rather than a source of income. *Bakhshi* remained peasants or shepherds for the rest of their lives, spending their free time entertaining people, most of whom were also common peasants and shepherds.

The tradition of storytelling of Central Asia is known for its tendency to be open to any new knowledge. Most *bakhshi*, even the most respected *bakhshi* teachers, keep learning and improving their skills throughout their life. They listen to other *bakhshi's* stories and readily accept and adapt anything they find interesting or useful to improve their storytelling. *Bakhshi* actively share with each other their knowledge and experience. The tradition of storytelling is based on improvisation, and in most cases the text of any story is composed during performance. New scenes and descriptions can be found in every new retelling of the same story. A new scene in the story of one *bakhshi* can immediately become a part of the performance of those who heard it even only once.

Bakhshi today

The systematic study of Central Asian folklore started in the first half of the twentieth century. A lot of work on collecting and preserving information about storytellers and their repertory has been done by researchers and folklorists. However, the publications of Zhirmunsky, Zarifov and Mirzaev still remain the main sources on the tradition. Their works contain a lot of data, but the information in these sources only elucidates the state of the tradition in the past up until the middle of the twentieth century.

The socio-cultural environment underwent drastic social and economic changes in the second half of the twentieth century. The increase in the literacy rate, urbanization, globalization and other socio-cultural processes have influenced people's life greatly, and to some extent the tradition of storytelling as well. Today the tradition is gradually disappearing in many regions of Central Asia, but there is still a chance to accumulate information on the tradition, its maintainers the *bakhshi*, and their repertory. Faced with a lack of information on

the current state of the storytelling tradition, I organized two fieldtrips (2009, 2011) to the regions of Central Asia, famous for storytelling in the past. Unfortunately, few people today are even acquainted with the storytelling tradition, even in Central Asia. For example, in the big cities such as Tashkent, Samarkand and Bukhara, the storytelling tradition today is only known as a part of the traditional culture, which can only be seen on TV or in big national concerts held a couple of times a year. This tendency is gradually reaching even the less urbanized regions of Central Asia. During the 2009 fieldtrip it became obvious that in some places once famous for storytelling, such as Qorg'on of the Samarkand region, the tradition does not exist anymore. But, surprisingly, it is still flourishing in some regions such as Surkhandarya and Kashkadarya. There is no simple explanation as to why these regions have become the last to keep the tradition alive. But a lot of people here not only know about the existence of the tradition, but also know the most famous *bakhshi* by names and take great pleasure in listening to their stories. During the 2011 fieldtrip, with the help of the Folklore Department of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Uzbekistan, and especially Shovkat Ikhlasov, the Chief of the Department, I got in touch with one of the 'authorities' among *bakhshi* today, Qakhor Rakhimov (Qakhor-bakhshi). With the cooperation of the local representatives of the Ministry of the Culture and Qakhor-bakhshi, the main goal of the fieldtrip was attained. I managed to establish contact with seven *bakhshi* active today. Due to the lack of time I did not have a chance to interview all of them. But it was a valuable experience for me as a researcher not only to talk to *bakhshi*, but also to observe *bakhshi* in a natural environment, in the villages where they live and work, surrounded by the people they live and spend time with. I even had a chance to participate in a local celebration to which Qakhor-bakhshi had been invited as an entertainer.

Through the interviews and recordings I made I found out a lot about the current state of the storytelling tradition. During the fieldtrip I interviewed five *bakhshi*, namely Qakhor-bakhshi, Boyqul-bakhshi, Mukhammad-bakhshi, Shodmon-bakhshi and Zulkhumor-bakhshi, and made recordings of multiple performances of *Alpomish*, which will be analyzed in the next chapter. Since the material of the interviews is essential in understanding the current state of the tradition, here I will give more details on each *bakhshi*.[5]

1. Qakhor-bakhshi

Qakhor-bakhshi (Figs. A.5 and A.9) was the first storyteller interviewed during the fieldtrip.

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[5] The information about *bakhshi* given below is a summary of what I learned from them during the interviews. The interviews were conducted in the Uzbek language.

He is a son of a famous storyteller of the past, Qodir-bakhshi, and one of the most respected storytellers who not only actively engages in storytelling but also contributes greatly to the process of preservation of the tradition through organizing monthly meetings of local storytellers in his own district.

1. Name: Qakhor Rakhimov.
2. Year of birth: 1957.
3. Place of birth: Khuja Makhmud, Dekhkonobod district, Kashkadarya region.
4. Occupation: Qakhor-bakhshi is a school teacher. He teaches Uzbek language and literature.
5. Reason for becoming a storyteller: Since Qakhor-bakhshi was born into the family of a famous storyteller, for him the process of learning started naturally. He started acquiring basic knowledge about the tradition as a child in his own house. At the age of fourteen he could already perform some stories as an amateur. He became a professional storyteller (a storyteller, who after a certain period of training performs in front of the audience and other *bakhshi* and receives their acknowledgement) at the age of twenty. At first, Qakhor-bakhshi told stories accompanying himself on the *dombra* only for his own amusement. But later, encouraged by the people around him, he decided to become a professional storyteller like his father and started professional training.
6. Family: He has six children. Only one of them, his youngest son Salakhiddin, who is in seventh grade at school, is interested in storytelling. Qakhor-bakhshi has seven siblings, four sisters and three brothers. All of them can tell stories accompanying themselves on the *dombra*. The activities of Qakhor-bakhshi and his younger brother Abdumurod-bakhshi (Fig. A.9) have been highly appraised and acknowledged by the government of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Both of them receive a special pension from the government (the amount of which they declined to disclose) and also have the status of the 'People's *bakhshi*' (a status which is conferred on its holders by the government).
7. Teachers: Qakhor-bakhshi's father Qodir-bakhshi was his first teacher. Qodir-bakhshi learned storytelling from Shernov-bakhshi and Umr-bakhshi. Qodir-bakhshi's father disappeared during World War II, and he was raised by his mother. Qodir-bakhshi received education in Bukhara, and later became an elementary school teacher. For some time he worked at the Regional Cultural Center. Qodir-bakhshi actively taught storytelling during his life and had about thirty students. But only few of them became professional storytellers. Practice is not enough to make a professional storyteller. The person has to have a great natural talent. In the past teachers in the tradition had

dozens of students, but only four or five of them became professional storytellers. If the person does not have a voice, a sense of rhythm, or the ability to act during performance, he will never be able to become a *bakhshi*.

8. Acquisition of storytelling skills: Qakhor-bakhshi had a chance to listen and learn from an early age, since his father was a storyteller. The only way of learning in the tradition of storytelling is listening. *Bakhshi* never memorize anything from written sources. They learn storytelling through listening. They live with their teachers, spend as much time by their side as possible, and keep listening. Nowadays storytellers also use books and audio-video sources in order to gain more information. Sometimes they learn new stories through reading. For example, Qakhor-bakhshi learned one of the stories as a child through reading a transcription of a tale. There was a man in his village by the name of Yusuf-bobo. And Qakhor-bakhshi used to read the transcribed tale aloud for Yusuf-bobo. Qakhor-bakhshi can perform around sixty long stories including *Rustamkhon, Gyorog'li, Avazkhon, Qirq Qasamiyot* and *Alpomish*.

9. Students: Qakhor-bakhshi has ten students.

10. Occasions and events: Most common occasions and events for performances are celebrations such as weddings or circumcision ceremonies.

11. On improvisation: *Doston*, the long stories that *bakhshi* tell, are never memorized. A *bakhshi* recreates a *doston* during performance. He never learns the text by heart. This is the main feature of professional storytelling. Those who memorize the text are not professionals. *Doston* is a story that should be performed taking the atmosphere and the situation into consideration. Every time a *bakhshi* tells a story he has to adjust its content to the age and gender makeup of the audience. He should pay attention to the reaction of the audience and constantly try to keep them interested in the development of the story. He may even include some of the people present in some of the episodes of the story or at least mention them. He can also make some changes in the development of the story, if this helps him to get a reaction from the audience. *Bakhshi* should be able to make up an unlimited number of *terma*, verses of unrestricted length on any given topic.

2 Boyqul-bakhshi

1. Name: Boyqul Mirzaev (Figs. A.8 and A.9).
2. Year of birth: 1959.
3. Place of birth: Dekhkonobod district, Kashkadarya region.
4. Occupation: Boyqul-bakhshi is currently unemployed but previously worked as a driver.

5. Reason for becoming a storyteller: Boyqul-bakhshi learned to play the *dombra* as a child, but got interested in storytelling when he turned twenty.
6. Family: Boyqul-bakhshi has five children, and only his eldest son is interested in storytelling. He is learning to play the *dombra*.
7. Teachers: Boyqul-bakhshi's teacher is Qodir-bakhshi. Boyqul-bakhshi has known him since he was a child. Later, when he got interested in storytelling, he became Qodir-bakhshi's student and spent five years by his side.
8. Acquisition of storytelling skills: Boyqul-bakhshi learned storytelling by listening to his teacher's and other storytellers' performances and practice sessions. Boyqul-bakhshi also learned the content of some stories by reading books. He can perform six long *doston*, including *Gyorog'li, Alpomish, Yakka Akhmad, Kuntugmish* and *Avazkhon.*
9. Students: Boyqul-bakhshi has one student.
10. Occasions and events: Mostly weddings. Boyqul-bakhshi also regularly participates in *bakhshi* meetings organized up to fifty to sixty times a year. During the meetings storytellers perform *doston* and challenge each other in the creation of *terma*.
11. On improvisation: Boyqul-bakshi always performs paying attention to the atmosphere of the venue.

3 Mukhammad-bakhshi

1. Name: Mukhammad Daminov (Figs. A.6, A.7 and A.9).
2. Year of birth: 1963.
3. Place of birth: Khoja Makhmud village, Dekhkonobod district, Kashkadarya region.
4. Occupation: Mukhammad-bakhshi is currently unemployed but previously worked on a farm.
5. Reason for becoming a storyteller: Mukhammad-bakhshi always enjoyed listening to stories told by *bakhshi* but started learning storytelling at twenty five after returning from compulsory military service.
6. Family: Mukhammad-bakhshi has five children, but none of his children is interested in storytelling.
7. Teachers: Mukhammad-bakhshi's teacher was Qodir-bakhshi. Mukhammad-bakhshi met his teacher at a wedding. He only had a chance to learn from him for six months because of Qodir-bakhshi's unexpected death. Even though Mukhammad-bakhshi lost his official teacher, he kept learning by listening to other storytellers. He can perform more than ten *doston*, including *Alpomish, Oybarcha, Kuntugmish, Rustamkhon, Khondali, Jorkhun* and *Oychinor.*

8. Acquisition of storytelling skills: Mukhammad-bakhshi learned storytelling by listening to the performances and practice of his teacher and other storytellers. He also used audio tapes and books to get acquainted with the content of some stories.

9. Students: Mukhammad-bakhshi has one student.

10. Occasions and events: Mukhammad-bakhshi performs at weddings and celebrations of *Navruz* (the Vernal Equinox).

11. On improvisation: Storytellers never memorize the text. They only need to know the content of the story. They make up the text every time they tell a story.

4 Shodmon–bakhshi

1. Name: Shodmon Khujamberdiev (Figs. A.12, A.14, A.15 and A.16).

2. Year of birth: 1967.

3. Place of birth: Kallamozor village, Boysun district, Surkhandarya region.

4. Occupation: Shodmon-bakhshi is a farmer.

5. Reason for becoming a storyteller: Shodmon-bakhshi had several relatives who were professional storytellers. He always took a great interest in storytelling.

6. Family: Shodmon-bakhshi has three children, two sons and one daughter. Shodmon-bakhshi's elder son wants to become a professional storyteller.

7. Teachers: Shodmon-bakhshi learned storytelling from several famous storytellers, such as Chori-bakhshi and Hushboq Mardonaqul-O'g'li from the Surkhandarya region, and Qodir-bakhshi from the Kashkadarya region. He apprenticed with Qodir-bakhshi at a very young age, when he was still in the seventh grade at school. He learned storytelling from Qodir-bakhshi for ten years but still keeps learning, since most *bakhshi* keep learning throughout their life. Shodmon-bakhshi can perform more than twenty long *doston*, including *Alpomish, Kuntugmish, Bolquvon, Suluvkhon* and *Malla Savdogar.*

8. Acquisition of storytelling skills: Nowadays there are storytellers who use audio tapes and books to memorize texts by heart. Those cannot be considered professional storytellers. Professional storytellers never learn anything by heart; they only need to know the content of stories and how to play their instruments. Storytellers learn by listening to their teachers and other storytellers.

9. Students: Shodmon-bakhshi has two official students.

10. Occasions and events: Mostly weddings.

11. On improvisation: A *bakhshi* can never tell the same story in the same words. He constantly improvises and makes up new texts. Shodmon-bakhshi once heard a story called *Bolquvon*. He liked it, learned the content of the story, and immediately included it

in his own repertory.

5 Zulkhumor-bakhshi

1. Name: Zulkhumor Shenazarova (Figs. A.13 and A.15).
2. Year of birth: 1971.
3. Place of birth: Jarqorg'on district, Surkhandarya region
4. Occupation: Zulkhumor-bakhshi is an elementary school teacher.
5. Reason for becoming a storyteller: Zulkhumor-bakhshi has been interested in storytelling since she was a child. She started learning storytelling at twenty, after marrying and obtaining her husband's permission. Today Zulkhumor-bakhshi is the only female storyteller in Uzbekistan.
6. Family: Zulkumor-bakhshi has five children, two sons and three daughters. The younger son Nurlanbek is in his second grade now. Zulkhumor-bakhshi wants him to become *bakhshi*, since he is showing interest in storytelling.
7. Teachers: Zulkhumor-bakhshi's uncle and elder brother were both professional storytellers. She had a chance to learn some basic skills from them. Zulkhumor-bakhshi is still learning from Qakhor-bakhshi, Shodmon-bakhshi and Abdunazar-bakhshi. Zulkhumor-bakhshi has been acknowledged as a *bakhshi*, but she still considers herself to be a student. Zulkumor-bakhshi can only perform parts of long stories such as *Alpomish, Gyorog'li* and *Kuntugmish*. She mostly composes *terma*.
8. Acquisition of storytelling skills: Zulkhumor-bakhshi learned by listening to her teachers' performances. She also uses audio tapes and books to learn some stories.
9. Students: Zulkumor-bakhshi has one female student and two male students. Since Zulkhumor-bakhshi is a female herself and knows that such a hobby as storytelling might be disapproved of by the family of a future husband of a woman student, she has doubts about the future of her female student as a storyteller.
10. Occasions and events: Mostly weddings.
11. On improvisation: Storytellers never memorize the texts of stories they tell. When you memorize stories by heart, you get used to it and lose the ability to improvise.

Conclusion

As we can see from the interview material above, *bakhshi* today still live in small towns and villages. Unlike *bakhshi* of the past, most of whom were either peasants or shepherds, today *bakhshi* are engaged in different occupations and work activities. Some of them are still

farmers like *bakhshi* decades ago, but some of them have received higher education and work as a teacher, like Qakhor-bakhshi. Just as it was decades ago, storytelling for *bakhshi* is a way to entertain themselves and the people around them. *Bakhshi* today are educated and have access to written sources, which helps them to enrich their repertory. However, listening is still the traditional method of acquiring the tradition, and improvisation is its main feature. As all the storytellers interviewed maintained, the only right way to learn is to listen, and to do so as much as possible to performances of others.

2 Acquisition of storytelling skills and **terma**

In this section we will consider such aspects of the Central Asian storytelling tradition as apprenticeship and training. These two aspects are essential in understanding not only of the role of improvisation in the performance and transmission of a single *doston*, but also the possibilities for variation in a single story and the limits of such variation.

Normally, in any tradition, be it an art or craft, the student is the one who looks for a teacher in order to acquire knowledge or a specific skill. In case of Central Asian *bakhshi*, however, professional storytellers often searched for talented successors themselves. It was important for *bakhshi* to transmit their knowledge to the next generation and keep the tradition of storytelling alive. During so-called 'wandering seasons' when, moving from a village to village, *bakhshi* had a chance to meet new people, they asked if there were any young men in the villages with good voices and a certain interest in storytelling. If they found such a man, the *bakhshi* got acquainted with him and observed him for a while. The *bakhshi* wanted to check whether the man had the potential to become a professional storyteller and could be entrusted with such an important task as preserving the tradition. If the man was good enough, *bakhshi* asked him to become his student. In the past the student often moved to his teacher's house and spent a few years there in order to learn every aspect of the tradition. During his stay the student became a part of his teacher's family. He helped his teacher with housework and farming, and in his spare time he listened to his teacher's performances and practiced storytelling. It is interesting to note that *bakhshi* did not receive any money from their students either for teaching them storytelling or for living expenses. Moreover, when the student was finally ready to become an independent performer, the teacher sent the student home after presenting him with a new set of clothes (Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 35-37). The relationship between teachers and students in the tradition of *bakhshi* is not based on economic interest but more on enthusiasm and a strong feeling of kinship for each other.

As to the process of acquiring storytelling skills, the basic method of learning is listening to performances of the teacher and other storytellers. The student listens to stories, learns their content and through listening absorbs the principles of rhyme and verse making. In a while the student tries to tell stories himself. The teacher in turn listens to his student, corrects his mistakes and gives advice on how to improve his technique. The process of learning happens naturally; the students do not memorize stories. They learn to compose. The ability to create during performance is one of the most important aspects in the tradition of *bakhshi*. That is why the teacher's main goal is to develop in his students the ability to compose during performance. Only those students who are able to improvise become

well-respected *bakhshi*. These *bakhshi* are also called '*shoir,*' which means 'poet.'

Terma

The Central Asian storytelling tradition requires a storyteller *bakhshi* to create the text during performance using traditional methods of composition. Not only the text, but the content of the story itself or of some episodes can be created during the performance depending on the circumstances and the demands of the audience. There is a storytelling tradition in Central Asia based on reproduction of memorized material, namely the tradition of the Khorezm region. But in the case of Khorezm storytelling, memorization is a requirement, which makes possible performance by several storytellers at the same time (Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 55).

In the past the performance by a storyteller could last for a few days. During this period the storyteller could perform one story elaborating and recomposing every episode, or could perform episodes of several different stories. For example, in the case of one of the most famous storytellers of the past, Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li, it usually took about two nights to tell the story of *Alpomish* from beginning to end. But in those cases when the audience demanded that the performance continue, the storyteller could keep telling the same story for a longer time, elaborating every episode and adding new details. Improvisation is not only encouraged in the tradition, but, moreover, the ability to add elaborate details, add new episodes or even create new stories based on the traditional methods is highly appreciated by the audience and other storytellers (Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 30-31).

During an interview in August 2011, Qakhor-bakhshi, one of the most authoritative storytellers of Uzbekistan today, stressed that the ability to improvise, to create a new text of the story or add some new details to the storyline, is an essential part of being a real storyteller. Qakhor-bakshi admitted that there are storytellers who memorize the text. But according to Qakhor-bakhshi only those storytellers who can improvise during performance can be called professional storytellers. He told me a story about his performance at a concert organized a few years ago in the USA, emphasizing again the importance of improvisation and his own competence as a professional *bakhshi*. There, before the concert, all of the performers including the representative of the traditional genre of storytelling were asked to submit to the organizers the text of the part they would perform during the concert in order to prepare a translation from Uzbek into English. Qakhor-bakhshi repeatedly stressed that for a real professional storyteller it is impossible to perform the same part of the same story in the same way twice. Every time the professional storyteller tells the story, he creates a new version of the story, a new text of the story. So in the case of Qakhor-bakhshi, even

though the text of the passage performed at the concert was eventually submitted for translation, the text that was produced during performance on stage was completely different from the one on paper. The text of a story in the tradition of Central Asian storytellers is born out of inspiration in a certain situation, under the influence of the atmosphere and of the audience.

To better understand the tradition of storytelling of Central Asia we must understand what *terma* are. *Terma* are verses composed by storytellers. There is no strict definition of the word; *terma* are rhymed lines on any topic and any possible situation. *Terma* can be called a basic and an essential part of the storytelling tradition. They can be comprised of only four lines or can count up to dozens of lines. It all depends on the ability of a storyteller to compose. The more skillful at handling words the storyteller is, the more elaborate are his lines. Competitions or games between storytellers, when two or more *bakhshi* demonstrate their ability to improvise, composing *terma* on a given topic or situation with wit and humor, are very popular among storytellers. Unfortunately, at present traditional storytelling is not popular in most parts of Uzbekistan. But in some villages, such as Kallamozor of the Surkhandarya region, storytelling remains an important part of people's life. Not only do people take great pleasure in occasional performances of *terma*, but weddings and celebrations of national holidays are not planned without traditional performance by a professional storyteller.

Below a few examples of *terma* will be analyzed. These *terma* were recorded during a fieldtrip to Kallamozor village in August 2011, from performances by Shodmon-bakhshi and Zulkhumor-bakhshi. Shodmon-bakhshi is one of the most renowned and respected storytellers in the Qashkadarya and Sukhandarya regions. Zulkhumor-bakshi is one of his students, and at the moment she is the only female storyteller active in Uzbekistan. Even though Zulkhumor-bakshi is a professional storyteller, she is still less experienced than the other storytellers interviewed during the fieldtrip. On the last day of the fieldtrip after all the planned material had been recorded, people from the neighborhood gathered to the sound of the *dombra* played by Shodmon-bakhshi and Zhulhumor-bakshi to enjoy some time with two renowned storytellers and their guests. Shodmon-bakhshi and Zulkhumor-bakhshi sat in front of each other and composed several *terma*. They both tried to make up *terma* which would not only concord with the situation and the atmosphere of the evening but would also draw a reaction from the audience.

A Shodmon

1. *Mard yi/git/ning av/val bo'l/sin hu/na/ri*

2. [1]Xu/[2]do [3]sol/[4]gan [5]ish/[6]ga [7]yi/[8]git [9]ko'/[10]na/[11]r (-i)

3. [1]Bir [2]ko'/[3]xli/[4]toy [5]bo'y/[6]la/[7]ring/[8]dan [9]ay/[10]la/[11]nay

4. [1]Ban/[2]di/[3]xon/[4]ni [5]ay/[6]la/[7]nay/[8]in, [9]Zul/[10]xu/[11]mo/[12]r (-e)

5. [1]Do'm/[2]bi/[3]rang/[4]ni [5]dav/[6]ra/[7]lar/[8]da [9]cha/[10]lib [11]qo'y

6. (Ei) [1]Os/[2]mon/[3]da/[4]gi [5]oy/[6]lar [7]mi/[8]sol [9]to'/[10]lib [11]qo'y (-ay-ay-ey)

7. [1]Sa/[2]i/[3]da/[4]xon [5]kel/[6]di [7]Ya/[8]po/[9]ni/[10]ya/[11]dan (-ay)

8. [1]Qa/[2]va/[3]ti/[4]da [5]Oy/[6]bar/[7]chin/[8]day [9]ku/[10]lib [11]qo'y (-ay-ay-ey)

1. A brave young man should give first priority to his work

2. A young man should follow the will of God

3. Your dear appearance

4. My dear Zulkhumor from Bandikhon

5. Play your dombra

6. Oh, shine as the moon in the sky

7. Saida arrived here from Japan

8. Smile like Oybarchin sitting next to her

The above *terma* is made up of eight lines. Seven of the eight lines are comprised of eleven syllables.[6] The second line has eleven syllables, but the last syllable can be called 'artificial,' since the last vowel was added by Shodmon-bakhshi for versification purposes only. It does not bear any semantic meaning and is used only for creating rhythm. The vowel *(-i)* at the end of *ko'nar,* and *(-e)* added at the end of *Zulkhumor*, help the storyteller to keep the rhyme of the verse. Shodmon-bakhshi also used several interjections, such as *(Ey)* at the beginning of the sixth line or *(-ay-ay-ay)* at the end of the sixth and eighth lines. These sounds have no meaning and are added by the storyteller in order to make the verse more expressive.

B Zulkhumor

1. [1]Ban/[2]di/[3]xon/[4]ni [5]Kal/[6]la/[7]mo/[8]zor [9]tu/[10]ma/[11]n (-a)

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[6] The Uzbek language can be written in both the Cyrillic and Latin scripts. All the recordings made during the 2011 fieldtrip were transcribed into the Latin script. The Latin script used for the Uzbek language has several specific signs such as *g´* or *o´* but can easily be read by anyone. Each vowel is counted as a syllable. The number of vowels in the word is always equal to the number of syllables. If a syllable is comprised of several sounds it always starts with a consonant, except for cases when the previous syllable ends with –y (which has the sound ii in Uzbek). Interjections are not included in the count. The syllabic count is shown for the first two *terma*.

2. ^{1}Qadr ^{2}bo/^{3}shing ^{4}bo'l/^{5}sin ^{6}a/^{7}ka ^{8}o/^{9}mo/^{10}n (-a)

3. ^{1}Qan/^{2}day ^{3}qi/^{4}lib ^{5}ay/^{6}ta/^{7}sha/^{8}man ^{9}siz/^{10}mi/^{11}n (-a) (-ey)

4. ^{1}A/^{2}ka/^{3}jo/^{4}nim ^{5}us/^{6}to ^{7}bi/^{8}lan ^{9}Shod/^{10}mo/^{11}n (-a) (-ey)

5. ^{1}Qay ^{2}el ^{3}o/^{4}ra/^{5}lab ^{6}yu/^{7}ra/^{8}miz/^{9}mi

6. ^{1}Dav/^{2}ru ^{3}dav/^{4}ron ^{5}su/^{6}ra/^{7}miz/^{8}mi (-ey)

7. ^{1}Bo/^{2}bay/^{3}lab ^{4}as/^{5}ta-^{6}as/^{7}ta ^{8}ay/^{9}ti/^{10}shib ^{11}ko'/^{12}ra/^{13}miz/^{14}mi (-ey)

1. *Kallamozor of Bandikhon*
2. *I wish for you, My dear brother, be always well*
3. *How can I exchange rhymes with you?*
4. *With you my brother, the master, Shodmon*
5. *Which lands shall we walk on?*
6. *How long shall we live?*
7. *Shall we try to exchange rhymes?*

Zulkhumor-bakhshi in turn composed a seven-lined *terma*. She tried to versify her *terma* by making up lines with eleven syllables in each. Zulkhumor-bakhshi started the verse with a line made up of eleven syllables. But her second line lacked two syllables. She added an *(-a)* sound at the end of the second line to make up for the loss of one syllable in the line. In other words, she created an 'artificial' syllable. In the third and fourth lines she managed to create lines of eleven syllables. But in this case she also added the sound *(-a)* at the end of the lines, which helped her to create one 'artificial' syllable in each line. She also added an interjection *(ey)* at the end of the third, fourth, sixth and seventh lines; this has no semantic meaning and is used for versification only. Even though Zulkhumor-bakhshi was unable to make up *terma* with the same number of syllables in each line, she managed to create a verse through concordance of the ending sounds in the lines. While the fifth, sixth and seventh lines differ in length, with the fifth line made up of nine syllables, the sixth eight syllables and the seventh, or last, the longest, made up of fourteen syllables, all three lines end with the same sound *(-mizmi)*, the ending of three verbs *yurmoq* ('to walk'), *surmoq* ('to live'), *ko'rmoq* ('to try') that can be literally translated from the Uzbek language as 'shall we.' *(-mizmi)* is a combination of *(-miz)*, a third person plural form, and of an interrogative particle *(-mi)*. Zulkhumor-bakhshi also added an injection *(-ey)* at the end of the sixth and seventh lines, thus connecting the third, fourth, sixth and seventh lines of the verse.

C Shodmon

1. *Moydan kirsan, bilagingni turib qo'y (-ey)*
2. *Yaxshilarman davru davron surib qo'y (-ay-ey)*

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3. *Kokilingdan aylanayin Zulxumor (-ay-ey)*

4. *Vaqting bo'sa do'mbirangni chalib qo'y (-ay)*

5. *Do'mbirangni bugun oqshom chalasan*

6. *El ichida bilsin qolsin donosan (-ay-ay-ay-e)*

7. *Singiljonim, bir oy tushgan bo'yingdan (-ey)*

8. *Bu davrada endi g'ayrat qilasan*

1. *There is some oil on your sleeve. Turn it up!*

2. *Spend your lifetime with good people*

3. *Your dear braid, Zulkhumor*

4. *If you have some time, play your dombra*

5. *This evening you will play your dombra*

6. *People will know that you are a wise woman*

7. *My sister, your beauty is like a shining moon*

8. *Here you will show what you can do*

The above *terma* is made up of eight lines. Each line is eleven syllables long. Shodmon-bakhshi actively uses interjections in this verse. The first, second, third, fourth, sixth and seventh lines end with interjections. All the interjections bear no semantic meaning and are used only as an additional rhythmical component. Not only did Shodmon-bakhshi manage to make up all the lines with the same number of syllables, he also created rhyme through using the same sounds at the end of each line. The first four lines of the verse are versified through the use of the word *qo'y*. Shodmon-bakhshi ended the first, second and fourth lines with a word *qo'y*, which can be translated as 'do.' *Qo'y* is normally the imperative mood of the verb *qilmoq* ('to do'). But in this case *qo'y* is an auxiliary verb used together with the verbs *turmoq* ('to turn up'), *surmoq* ('to spend'), *chalmoq* ('to play'). In combination with other verbs it indicates an order or encouragement. The fifth, sixth and eighth lines are also versified through the use of the same ending *(-san)*. *(-san)* of the fifth and eighth lines is a verb ending, the second person future tense, which can be translated as 'you will.' But in the line sixth *(-san)* is the ending of a different part of speech, not of a verb but of the noun *dono*, which can literally be translated as 'a wise woman.' In this case *(-san)* is the ending of the second person singular noun.

D Zulxumor

1. *Akajonim, kuxlilarim qush bo'ldi*

2. *Tamara opam davramizga esh bo'ldi*

3. *Yaponiyadan singlim kepti ko'rgani (-i)*

4. *Ikki bakhshi bir maydonga jup bo'ldi (-i)*

5. *Ertalabdan kechga yaqin yozdida (-ey)*

6. *Aka bilan, juda yaxshi ish bo'ldi (-i)*

1. *Oh, my dear brother, I am so happy and excited*

2. *My sister Tamara joined us*

3. *My little sister came here from Japan to see*

4. *Two storytellers meet in one place*

5. *She has been recording from the morning till the evening*

6. *With my brother… Such a great job!*

The above *terma* is made up of six lines with eleven syllables in each line except the second line, which contains twelve syllables instead of eleven. The first, second, fourth and sixth lines are versified through the use of the word *bo'ldi*, the past tense of the verb *bo'lmoq*, which is literally translated from the Uzbek language as 'became.' Zulkhumor-bakhshi also uses interjections in the third, fourth, fifth and sixth lines to make the verse more expressive. This verse demonstrates a pattern of enjambment in the fifth and sixth lines. Even though rhythmically the fifth and sixth lines are clearly divided into two, semantically the two lines are conjoined. This part of the verse can be divided into two separate sentences. The first one ends with the word *bilan* of the sixth line. That is, the first sentence is *ertalabdan kechga yaqin yozdida aka bilan*, and the second sentence is *juda yaxshi ish bo'ldi*.

E Shodmon

1. *Opajonim Tamara (-ey)*

2. *Tilidan bol tomar (-a) (-ey)*

3. *(Ey) Singiljonim Saida bilan kepti xumor (-a)*

4. *Zulxumorxon bir aytsa endi bir mehri qonora (-ay-ey)*

5. *Zulxumor, Zulxumor (-a)*

6. *Tikka qarasang akajoning sinar (-a) (-ey)*

7. *Zulxumorxon, birnimaga hayronman (-ay-ey)*

8. *Qorongida ko'zing o'tday yonar (-a) (-ay-ey)*

1.   *Oh, my sister Tamara*
2.   *Her words are sweet as honey*
3.   *With my little sister Saida came the inspiration*
4.   *And if you mention Zulkhumor, there are no limits to her kindness*
5.   *Zulkhumor, Zulkhumor*
6.   *Your look is so strong, that you could easily break me with a look like that*
7.   *Zulkhumor, there is only one thing I cannot understand*
8.   *Your eyes shine like flame in the darkness*

The above *terma* is comprised of eight lines. The first and second lines are the shortest and are made up of seven syllables. The first and second lines are versified through the same number of syllables. But the last syllable in the second line lacks a vowel, which is why Shodmon-bakhshi adds a sound *(-a)* at the end of the line to create an 'artificial' syllable. Not only does the *(-a)* help the storyteller in this case to reach the same number of syllables in the line, but also creates a word rhyming, with the rhyming usage of the words *Tamara* and *tomar (-a)*. The first word, *Tamara*, is the name of a woman who participated in the fieldtrip and was among the guests. The second word *tomar (-a)* is a part of a phraseological unit *tildan bol tomadi*, which can literally be translated from the Uzbek language as 'honey drips from the mouth.' In this verse the phraseological unit is used in the present tense, and the verb *tommoq* ('to drip') has the ending *(-ar)*, which creates a homophonic effect. The third and fourth lines are twice as long as the first and second lines, made up of fourteen and fifteen syllables but ending with the same sound *(-ra)* as the first and the second lines. The third line lacks a final vowel to create the same rhyming effect with the *(-ra)* sound, which is why Shodmon-bakhshi adds *(-a)* at the end of the third line to create an 'artificial' syllable. In this verse, Shodmon-bakhshi fails to keep to the same number of syllables throughout the verse but manages to versify lines through the ending sound *(-ra)*. In the fifth, sixth and eighth lines he uses words ending with a consonant *(-r)* and adds *(-a)* in all three lines, thus again creating 'artificial' syllables at the end of each line. Even though the fifth, sixth and eighth lines contain different numbers of syllables, the endings of the last word in all three lines concord with each other. All three final words, *Zulkhumor (-a)*, *sinar (-a)* ('breaks') and *yonar (-a)* ('burns'), end with the same sound *(-ra)*. Additional rhythmical components used by Shodmon-bakhshi in this verse are interjections such as *(Ey)* in the third line or *(-ay-ey)* in the fourth and eighth lines.

F   Zulxumor

1. *Jaranglaydi bir maydonga ovozim*
2. *Tamara-opa, sayrasin so'zim bir so'zim*
3. *Bahonacha mayli bir gap aytayin*
4. *Shodmon akam dong'i ketgan ustozim*
5. *Sozimdan (-a), Ustoz, qarang so'z keldi*
6. *Yozlar o'tib, qaraversam, kuz keldi*
7. *Chertib-chertib aytmasam bo'lmaydi*
8. *Yapon eldan Saidadey qiz keldi*
9. *Men ko'rmadim bu kunlarni bo'libdi*
10. *Ko'rdim bu davrada qolgan mardlikni*
11. *Tamara-opam bilan Saida mehmon bo'ldida*
12. *Aka, bir pas qilg'aiqqa qiziqdi*

1. *My voice echoes through the space*
2. *Sister Tamara, let my words flow*
3. *I shall take this chance and tell a story*
4. *My brother Shodmon is a renowned master*
5. *Look, My master, words are coming out of my instrument*
6. *The summer is over, and the autumn has come as I can see*
7. *I have to tell something pulling the strings*
8. *A girl like Saida came from Japan*
9. *I have never seen anything like this*
10. *There are still brave people in this world*
11. *My sister Tamara and Saida were our guests*
12. *My brother enjoyed all this for a while*

The above *terma* is made up of twelve lines. Nine out of twelve lines are eleven syllables long. Only three, the second, seventh and eleventh lines contain a different number of syllables. The second line has two extra syllables, but has the same ending sound *(-zim)* as the first and fourth lines. This sound *(-zim)* is a combination of the last consonant of the words *ovoz* ('voice'), *so'z* ('word'), and *ustoz* ('master') with the first person personal ending *(-im)*. The fifth line lacks one syllable, but the lack of the syllable is compensated for by the additional sound *(-a)* at the end of the first word in the line *sozimdan* ('out of my instrument'). Grammatically, the word *sozimdan* does not require a vowel at the end; *(-a)* is only added to make up for the lack of a vowel in the line. The seventh line lacks one syllable but has the same ending *(-di)* as the fifth, sixth, eighth, ninth and twelfth lines. *(-di)* is the

third person past tense ending in all the lines except the seventh line, where *(-di)* is a part of a negative affix *(-maydi)*, which can literally be translated from the Uzbek language as 'should not' or 'must not.' Zulkhumor-bakhshi used the same verb *keldi* in different contexts in the fifth, sixth and eighth lines, which helped her to create verse not only through the same quantity of syllables in the line, but also through concordance of the last words in the lines. In all three lines besides the last word *keldi* we can see the concordance of ending consonants in the previous words *so'z* ('word'), *kuz* ('autumn') and *qiz* ('girl'). Zulkhumor-bakhshi managed to keep to the same number of syllables almost through the whole verse. The eleventh line, however, is fifteen syllables long and has an affix *(-da)* at the end of the word *bo'ldida*, which is not only grammatically unnecessary but also prevents her from versifying the eleventh and twelfth lines.

G   Shodmon

1. *Singiljonim Saida (-ey)*
2. *Yaponda qanday qoida (-ey)*
3. *Saidaxon, Saida*
4. *Javob berar joyida (-ey)*
5. *Qavatida opajonim Tamara*
6. *Qahrlansa tilidan bol tomar (-a) (-ey)*
7. *Shoperinga uhlash bo'ldi hunar (-a) (ay-ey)*
8. *Opajonim, aylanayin, Tamara (-hay-ya-hay)*
9. *Qovoq so'lsa yulduzlar ham so'nar (-a)*
10. *Shoper-aka, nasiyangiz naqd bo'sin*
11. *Tamara-opam, Saida ko'ngli chog bo'sin (-ay)*
12. *Sheralijon, ne bo'ldi o'zgaranga (-ehei)*
13. *Va'da bergan narsalaring besh bo'lsin*
14. *(Hay) Sherka (-ya), Sherka (-ya), endi elkalaring tirka (-ya)*
15. *Opajonim, Saida, shunday bo'lar qoida (-ay-ey)*
16. *Senga aytay, Opajon, Kallamozor joyida (-ay-ey)*
17. *Zulxumor ham aytyapti akasining uyida (-ay-ey)*
18. *Tilla mo'nchoq taqib (-a)*
19. *Qiligi elga yoqib (-a) (-ay)*
20. *Tuz (-u)-tuz (-u) ko'ylasin*
21. *El xalqiga boqib (-a) (-ay-ey)*
22. *Tamara-opa, shoperingiz*

23. *Ketmasin-a bizni so'kib (-a) (-ay-ey)*

1. *My sweet little sister, Saida*
2. *What customs do you have in Japan?*
3. *Dear Saida, Saida*
4. *She replies right away*
5. *Right beside her sits my dear sister Tamara*
6. *When she gets angry, her words are sweet as honey*
7. *It seems your driver's work is sleeping*
8. *My dear sister Tamara*
9. *When she makes an angry face, even stars start fainting*
10. *Driver, may all your debts be paid off*
11. *Sister Tamara, let Saida be satisfied with everything*
12. *Dear Sherali, why has your face changed its color?*
13. *May all your promises be accomplished*
14. *Hey, Sherka, Sherka, raise your shoulders and cheer up!*
15. *My dear sister, Saida, this is our custom*
16. *Let me say these words here in Kallamozor*
17. *Zulkhumor is also telling things here in her brother's house*
18. *With a golden necklace around her neck*
19. *Everyone likes what she is doing*
20. *May her words be meaningful*
21. *To her people she sees*
22. *Sister Tamara, hope your driver*
23. *Does not leave scolding us*

The above *terma* was the longest among those composed by Shodmon-bakhshi and Zulkhumor-bakhshi on that evening. It was the last *terma*, which is probably why Shodmon-bakhshi made it longer and tried to mention as many people as he could. He brought up the names not only of Zulkhumor-bakhshi, whom he addressed constantly during the little competition between teacher (Shodmon-bakhshi) and student (Zulkhumor-bakhshi), as well as of the researcher and those who accompanied the researcher on the fieldtrip (Tamara and the driver), but also of some villagers who gathered there to listen to the *terma,* such as Sherali and Sherka.

The last *terma* is made up of twenty-three lines with a different number of syllables. The first, third and fourth lines are made up of seven syllables each. The second line has one

extra syllable, but all four lines are versified through the usage of the sound *(-da)* at the end of the line. The first and third lines end with a personal noun, the name *Saida*. *(-da)* in the second line is a part of the of the word *qoida* ('rule' or 'custom'). The fourth line ends with *(-da)*, which is the ending of the word *joy* ('place') in the locative case. In the part of the *terma* starting from the fifth line Shodmon-bakhshi tried to make up lines of eleven syllables. The fifth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, twelfth and thirteenth lines are made of eleven syllables. Shodmon-bakhshi failed to create eleven syllables in the sixth and eleventh lines. The sixth, seventh and ninth lines lacked one vowel, which is why the sound *(-a)* was added in the end of the line. From lines six to nine Shodmon-bakhshi versified lines not only through the number of syllables in the line but also through the use of interjections such as *(-ey)*, *(-ay-ey)* and *(-hay-ya-hay)* and concordance of the last sounds in the line. As we can see, all the lines end with the sound *(-ra)*. In the fifth and sixth lines Shodmon-bakhshi used the same word rhyme as he used earlier, the personal noun *Tamara* and the phraseological unit *tildan bol tomadi* in the present tense. He tried to versify two lines through the concordance of *(-ra)* in the end, but this time he made a mistake that affected the correct meaning of the sixth line. The literal translation of *qahrlansa tilidan bol tomar (-a)* is 'when she gets angry, her words are sweet as honey.' This contradicts the meaning of the phraseological unit *tildan bol tomadi*, which is used only in positive contexts. An additional word, such as the adverb *xam* ('also' or 'even') could be added appropriately after *qahrlansa*. This would change the meaning into 'even when she gets angry' and make the meaning of the line semantically correct. In this case Shodmon-bakhshi must have failed to put in the adverb under the pressure of performance. From line ten Shodmon-bakhshi changed the rhythm. The tenth, eleventh and thirteenth lines are versified through the usage of the same word *bo'lsin* at the end of the line, the future tense of the verb *bo'lmoq* ('to become') in all three cases. Lines fifteen, sixteen and seventeen are not only made of the same number of syllables but also versified through concordance of the ending sound *(-da)* in the words *qoida* ('rule' or 'custom'), *joyida* ('in the place') and *uyida* ('in the house'). In the case of *qoida*, *(-da)* is a part of the root, while in *joyida* and *uyida (-da)* is an affix of the locative case in the Uzbek language. Line fourteen stands separately in this case. It is not versified either with line thirteen or fifteen but has an 'inner' rhythm. It can be divided into two parts: the first is *(hay) Sherka (-ya), Sherka (-ya)* and the second is *endi elkalaring tirka (-ya)*. *Sherka* is the name of a man. *Endi elkalaring tirka* can literally be translated as 'raise your shoulders.' *(Hay)* and *(-ya)* are interjections used in the line to attain a rhythmical effect and make it more expressive. Shodmon-bakhshi started composing the ending of the *terma* in seven syllables but could not sustain it. Lines twenty-two and twenty-three are nine syllables long. Shodmon-bakhshi tried to versify lines eighteen, nineteen, twenty-one and twenty-three

through the concordance of the ending sounds at the end of the line. In all four cases the last sound *(-iba)* is 'artificially' made through combination of an affix *(-ib)* of the gerund form of *taqmoq* ('to wear'), *yoqmoq* ('to be liked'), *boqmoq* ('to be meaningful') and *so'kmoq* ('to scold'), and the sound *(-a),* which has no meaning, and in this case is only used for versification. It is interesting to note that lines twenty-two and twenty-three are semantically mixed. Both lines are made up of nine syllables, but the word *shoperingiz* ('your driver') of line twenty-two is semantically part of line twenty-three, since it is the subject who performs the action *ketmasin* ('does not leave').

Based on the interviews and the analysis above, we can conclude that *terma* are groups of versified lines of any number. The number of lines in a *terma* is unlimited and, depending on the ability and mood of the storyteller, they can be only a few or dozens of lines long. *Terma* are completely improvised and can have any content. A *terma* should be able to affect the audience with its content, and as to its formal characteristics it should be versified and rhythmical. The most common method for versification of lines is using the same number of syllables. Versification is also attained through the usage of the same words or sounds in the middle or at the end of lines. Certain interjections can be used to create a specific rhythm. As the analysis showed, it is hard to compose flawless improvised lines each time. Storytellers might fail sometimes in creating the rhythm or even make semantic mistakes under the pressure of performance.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have attempted to provide a general survey of the tradition of *bakhshi*, namely where it came from and what the current state of the tradition is.

It is possible that the tradition of *bakhshi* is in some way related to the Buddhist storytelling tradition that was practiced in Central Asia many centuries ago, before Islam became the main religion of the region and suppressed all other religions. Based on the evidence of other researchers and the materials obtained during my fieldtrips, we can conclude that the tradition of *bakhshi* is based on enthusiasm of its maintainers rather than any economical interest. Storytelling is a vacation or a hobby for *bakhshi*, rather than a source of income. It is difficult to explain though what exactly could have shaped this kind of approach to the tradition.

Terma, a basic unit of storytelling, was introduced in this chapter. In the next chapter, longer pieces, multiple performances of a part of *Alpomish*, will be analyzed in order to determine the degree of improvisation in storytelling and the possibility of variation in the

transmission and reproduction of *doston*.

CHAPTER II

MEMORIZATION AND IMPROVISATION IN THE TRADITION OF *BAKHSHI:* ANALYSIS OF MULTIPLE PERFORMANCES OF *ALPOMISH*

In order to better understand what the essence of the Central Asian storytelling tradition is, in Chapter I we tried to clarify the roots of its maintainers, the *bakhshi*. The current state of the storytelling tradition of Central Asia was illustrated through the introduction of several *bakhshi* actively engaged in storytelling activities today. Such aspects as the relationship between *bakhshi* and the acquisition of storytelling skills were introduced and considered as essential elements influencing the character of the tradition. Furthermore, the analysis of several *terma* poems attempted in Chapter I demonstrated that improvisation during performance plays a significant role in the tradition of the *bakhshi,* and illustrated basic techniques used for versification.

In Chapter II we move further in our attempt to understand the particuliarities of the Central Asian storytelling tradition. Chapter II is divided into four sections. Section 1 is a short review of the study of epic language conducted by such scholars and researchers of folklore and literature as Victor Zhirmunsky, Hodi Zarifov, To'ra Mirzaev, Karl Reichl and Walter Feldman. The history of research on the Central Asian storytelling is long, and a detailed introduction would take a lot of time and space. Most of the research is not directly related to the issues of memorization and improvisation, which is why only research dealing with the application of the Oral-formulaic theory, or its basic principles, to the oral tradition of Central Asia is introduced. In Section 2 several episodes from four variants of *Alpomish* recorded at different times from different storytellers are analyzed in order to show the possibility for variation within the story of *Alpomish*. Section 3 focuses on the analysis of multiple performances of the same part of *Alpomish* recorded from the same storyteller within a short period of time. Nine performances of the same part of *Alpomish* demonstrate the degree and possibilities of improvisation in the tradition of the *bakhshi*. And finally, in Section 4, based on the results of comparative analysis of multiple performances of *Alpomish,* a new perspective on improvisation in the tradition and on the origin of repetitions in the narrative texts of the *bakhshi* is introduced.

The reasons for selecting *Alpomish* as a subject for study and analysis are as follows. *Alpomish* is one of the most famous narratives of Central Asia, which unlike most other stories has been studied and recorded many times. Not only are the printed versions of *Alpomish* available today, but the story still can be heard in live performance: most *bakhshi*

active today are well acquainted with the content of *Alpomish*. This fact makes the comparative analysis of versions and multiple performances of the same story possible. The story of *Alpomish* can provide us with sufficient evidence to clarify issues related to improvisation during performance in the tradition. But we also should note that even though *Alpomish* is famous and well known among both storytellers and listeners, the degree of improvisation during performance is still very high. The content of *Alpomish* does not change drastically and demonstrates certain degree of stability, but the narrative text itself is not stable and changes from performance to performance.

1 Application of the Oral-formulaic theory to the study of the Central Asian storytelling tradition

Compilation of folklore from Central Asian peoples and research on it started in the nineteenth century. But there is still a lot of work to be done in the field, such as, for example, further compilation of stories, research on the origin of stories and their relation to written sources. Unlike many other countries or regions, Central Asia is one of the parts of the world where folklore in its original form, as a form of wisdom and knowledge orally transmitted from generation to generation, still exists today. A lot of material can still be collected and studied by both folklorists and literary scholars. Storytelling, an oral tradition maintained by *bakhshi*, is one of the most researched areas of Central Asian folklore. The oral tradition of Central Asia has been a target of interest for those acquainted with the Oral-formulaic theory or its principles for a long time.

Victor Zhirmunsky was one of the first scholars who applied some of the principles developed within the framework of the Oral-formulaic theory to the study of the oral tradition of Central Asia. Zhirmunsky was born in Saint-Petersburg, Russia, in 1891. A briliant linguist and literary scholar who majored in Germanic languages and literature, Zhirmunsky moved to Central Asia during the occupation years of World War II. In Central Asia he had a chance to study the folklore of Central Asian peoples applying his broad knowledge of world folklore and theoretical research conducted in other countries. In Central Asia Zhirmunsky started learning the Turkic languages, and working together with local folklorists and scholars, he published many articles and books on Central Asian storytelling. Zhirmunsky collaborated with local specialists who majored in Turkic studies and folklore, namely, Sergey Malov, Alexandr Borovkov, Hodi Zarifov, Andrey Kononov, and Mukhtar Auezov. In 1947 he published a book written in collaboration with Zarifov, *Uzbekskiy Narodniy Geroicheskiy Epos*, which became one of the first major publications on the oral traditions of Central Asia. The book covered such aspects of the Central Asian storytelling as life of the *bakhshi* and their

repertoire. In this book, Zhirmunsky also paid special attention to such theoretical aspects of the tradition as motifs of *doston* commonly seen in world folklore,[1] or the language and style specific for storytelling in general. The book did not focus on the analysis of narrative texts created by the *bakhshi*. It gave general information on the tradition and introduced general tendencies seen in the narrative text, such as, for example, the existence of cliché or repeated phrases.

> From this point of view, the epos of all peoples is characterized by the existence of typical 'common points,' the so-called epic cliché or patterns, such as saddling or horse riding etc. seen in Russian *bylina*. In the practice of the Uzbek storytellers these 'common points' are the most stable and elaborate. They are learned by heart by a young *bakhshi* at the initial training stage, while the rest of the text of *doston* is more flexible. It is created or changed as the result of less restrained improvisation. (Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 428; italics added (translated from Russian))

According to Zhirmunsky 'common points' are seen in both prosaic and versified parts of the narrative text. Many of those 'common points' are seen in the description of saddling, horse riding, and praising of the horse, as well as in the description of a fight, the introduction of characters. Such 'common points' can be found both in the tradition in general and in the case of one single story. In other words, there are 'common points' typical for only one particular story. They can be seen in the narrative text of many different versions of the same story. Zhirmunsky divided such 'common points' into typical scenes (generally known in folklore studies as 'themes') and epic cliché ('formulas'). Zhirmunsky stated that in the case of typical scenes the narrative text is unstable, but contains versified parts which remain stable. Zhirmunsky cited a description of the hero before his departure in *Alpomish* as an example:

> *Ostimda bedavim o'ynar yuz alvon*
> *Olmas po'lat belda, enigma qalqon.*[2]

> My horse is playing under me in various ways
> My diamond sword is on my belt, and my shield is behind my shoulders.

Zhirmunsky added that the verse can be transformed and found in the narrative text in slightly changed forms, such as, for example, *ostimda yuz alvon o'ynaydi oting* ('your horse is playing under me in various ways') or *ostimda o'ynasa arabi to'lpar* ('if the arab horse

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[1] This aspect of Zhirmunsky's research will be introduced in Chapter V in relation to a hypothesis on the origins of the story of *Alpomish*.
[2] The passage is from Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li's version of *Alpomish* (1939). See Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 431.

were playing under me'). It can be used in different ways: by the hero when he is talking about himself, or when some other character is being described. Zhirmunsky gave another example, a line often used for the description of anger: *qaxri kelib, ilonday zaxri kelib* ('he got angry, just like a snake he was about to burst with poison'). This line appeared in the narrative text of such narratives as *Gyorog'li* and *Rovshan* to describe an evil king and a witch (Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 431). He pointed to one important particularity of the Central Asian *doston* in the existence of lines that appear in the narrative text randomly. They are not related to the content of the described scene and can be found in different parts of the narrative text, used in different situations. Sometimes these lines can simply be a versified description of nature, and sometimes they are aphorisms or proverbs used in everyday life. They might be used by a storyteller in those cases when he tries to switch to a new rhyme or scene during his improvised performance (Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 428-433).

Zhirmunsky's observation on the nature of the narrative text of *doston* was an important step in the study of the Central Asian storytelling tradition. Not only was Zhirmunsky the first to apply the general theory on epic languages to the tradition of the *bakhshi*, but he also prompted further research in the field. However, in his attempt to apply the general theory to the study of Central Asian *doston*, Zhirmunsky made one assumption that should be questioned. He pointed out that 'common points' were learned by heart by *bakhshi* at the initial stage of training. But according to the *bakhshi* themselves,[3] they do not memorize the text. The *bakhshi* claim that when learning how to tell stories they listen to their master's performances and performances of others but do not try to learn stories or their pieces verbatim.

To'ra Mirzaev, one of the famous local (native Uzbek) folklorists, went further in his attempt to understand the particularity of the oral narrative texts composed by the *bakhshi* and the problems of variability within *doston*. Mirzaev contributed greatly to the study of *Alpomish* and its variants. In his monograph *Alpomish Dostonining O'zbek Variantlari* (1968), he introduced a list of existing variants (versions) of *Alpomish* recorded at different times from different *bakhshi* and gave a brief characterization of each of them. Mirzaev made some important observations on the nature of differences between versions born during performance as a result of improvisation. He classified these differences into two groups: random mechanical differences and differences born as result of a creative approach to text generation (Mirzaev 1968: 140). According to Mirzaev, random mechanical differences, such as different order of scenes, loss of some episodes or details, are born mechanically in the process of rapid text generation during performance. Unlike random mechanical differences, differences born as a result of creative approach are intentional and brought about by the

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[3] See Chapter I, summaries of the 2011 fieldtrip interviews.

individual approach of each storyteller, by his creativity, worldview, esthetic values and ability as a performer (Mirzaev 1968: 140). Talking about improvisation within one story, Mirzaev signified the importance of epic cliché and versified lines, which he referred to as 'stylistic formulas.' Based on the analysis of texts recorded from different storytellers, Mirzaev gave ten examples of versified lines often seen in different versions of *Alpomish* performed by different storytellers, or even in other *doston*. Since repetitions and formulaic features of the narrative text are the main concerns of this research, some of the examples will be introduced below.

> *Xazon bo'lmay bog'da gullar so'ldimi?*

> Did flowers fade in the garden that still has not changed its color?[4]

> (Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li)

This line was often employed by Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li in *Alpomish*. It can be found on pages 24, 27, 28, 34, 45, 47, 54, 74, 75, 89, 91, 104, 116, 162, 171, 179, 188, 200, 209, 227, 236, 252, 265, 267 and 273 of *Alpomish* (Mirzaev 1968: 141). Similar expressions or variations of this line can be seen in the narrative texts of other *bakhshi* as well.

> *Xazon urdi, bog'da gulday so'lasan.*

> You will fade like a flower in the garden, now that it has changed its color.

> *Bog' ichinda xazon urgan gul ekan.*

> (He/she) was a flower that changed its color in the garden.

> *Xazon urmay, qizil gullar so'lmasin.*

> Do not let the red flowers fade before nature changes its color.

> *Xazon urib so'ldi ochilgan bog'im.*

> Nature changed its color, and my blooming garden faded.

> (Bekmurod Jo'raboy O'g'li, pages 22, 32, 172)[5]
> (Saidmurod Panoh O'g'li, pages 37, 95)[6]

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[4] The passage is from Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li's version of *Alpomish* (1957). See Mirzaev 1968:141.

[5] See Mirzaev 1968: 141. Bekmurod Jo'raboy O'g'li's version of *Alpomish* was recorded in 1944 by M. Afzalov (Qo'tir village, Nurota district). Manuscript No.191.

[6] See Mirzaev 1968: 141. Saidmurod Panoh O'g'li's version of *Alpomish* was recorded in 1938

Another longer example of versified lines seen in the narrative texts of different storytellers is as follows:

> *Bek o'g'liday mening aytar tarzim bor*
> *Bir olloga jon bermoqqa qarzim bor*
> *Quloq solgin Boysarining tiliga*
> *Qisqagina aytadigan arzim bor.*
>
> I have something to say as a son of the lord
> I have to give my life to one God
> Listen to the words of Boysari
> I have something to say.

This kind of versified lines can be seen in *Alpomish* by Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li: pages 34, 41, 64, 84, 144, 189; Egamberdi-bakhshi[9]: pages 19, 23, 59, 71, 79, 104, 113, 212, 282, 299, 322; Berdi-bakhshi[10]: pages 9, 18.

The research conducted by Jirmunkiy and Mirzaev showed that the narrative texts of the *bakhshi* were generated during performance and contained 'common points.' But even though 'common points,' themes and repeated versified lines, epic cliché and stylistic formulas, could be found in the narrative text composed by *bakhshi*, both Zhirmunsky and Mirzaev paid special attention to the role of improvisation in the tradition.

Research on the characteristics of the language and style of the Central Asian storytellers was further developed by Karl Reichl in his many publications dedicated to Turkic oral tradition.[11] Reichl's article "Uzbek Epic Poetry: Tradition and Poetic Diction" (1989) gave general information on the oral tradition of the *bakhshi* covering all the major aspects of the tradition and applied the Oral-formulaic theory to the analysis of the language of *doston*.

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by Shamsi Murodov (Kenagas village, Qiziltepa district). Manuscript No.847. It was partially recorded in 1940 by Munisxon Toshpo'latova (Kenagas village, Qiziltepa district). Manuscript No.733.

[7] See Mirzaev 1968: 141. Umir-shoir's version of *Alpomish* was recorded in 1956 by O. Sobirov (Qorashina village, Dehkanabad district). Manuscript No.1254.

[8] See Mirzaev 1968: 141. Zohir Qo'chqo'r O'g'li's version of *Alpomish* was recorded 1955 by M. Afzalov and Zohir himself (Shahrisabz). Manuscript No.1220.

[9] See Mirzaev 1968: 142. Egamberdi-bakhshi's version of *Alpomish* was recorded in 1962 by M. Murodov and To'ra Mirzaev (Yonbosh village, Xatirchi district). Manuscript No.1530.

[10] See Mirzaev 1968: 142. Berdi-bakhshi's version of *Alpomish* was recorded in 1926 by Abdulla Alavy (Evalak village, Pskent district). Manuscript No.46.

[11] Karl Reichl is one of the major researchers of the Central Asian storytelling tradition in modern western scholarship. His publications cover many different aspects of oral traditions.

Reichl stated that the language of *doston* is highly formulaic with its many repetitions at different levels, repeated themes, formulas and a certain system of text generation.

> There are refrain-like repeated lines, marking the semantic focus of a passage (e.g. 'Give advice…'), and '*leitmotif-verses*,' similarly used in refrain-like fashion, which are typical of specific type-scenes such as the parting of the hero ('Be safe…'). The poetic texture of the *dāstān* is enriched by formulaically expressed nature images (e.g. 'When autumn comes…'), often found, as in the Turkic popular lyric, at the beginning of a stanza. There is finally a series of formulaic phrases which are associated with certain concepts such as parental love or love in general (e.g. 'You are the rose of my garden'). Although these various formulaic lines and formulaic phrases are comparatively stable in their concrete linguistic form (e.g. *džānu dilim, tābutimniŋ čegasi),* there is yet a certain amount of variability also present. (1989: 105)

Reichl paid special attention to 'refrain-like' repeated phrases. According to Reichl, these 'key verses,' a type of repetition seen in different parts of the same part of *doston* delivered in verse, "function as the semantic focus of the passage" (1989: 100). Also underlying the formulaic character of the oral tradition of the *bakhshi*, Reichl mentioned the role of the individual in the tradition:

> Formulaic diction is not restricted to the cases discussed so far (repeated *leitmotif*-lines and refrain-like lines in general; formulaic expression of specific motifs, especially in type-scenes), but is a pervasive stylistic trait of the Uzbek *dāstān*. It is partly conditioned by the morphological structure of the language, partly by the predilection of the Turkic-folk-poetry for parallelism… The imaginative and skilful use of the riches of traditional poetic diction does, of course, depends on the singer's talents. (1989: 110)

An extensive study of *doston* and the character of its narrative texts was accomplished by Walter Feldman. In his doctoral dissertation "The Uzbek Oral Epic: Documentation of Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Bards" (1980), Feldman gave an extensive review of the history of Central Asian storytelling and introduced the results of analytical research on the narrative texts of *doston*. Feldman attempted to prove the validity of the Oral-formulaic theory in the case of the Central Asian storytelling tradition, and explored such problems as inter-relationships between written literature and oral narrative texts, characteristics of the narrative texts and the techniques for versification and text generation used by *bakhshi*:

> The internal construction of the texts, the testimony of both field-researchers and the bakhshis themselves, as well as the rather scanty material available on performance practice, indicate that the dastan (outside of Khwarezm) was composed orally and altered in various performance situations. (1980: 189)

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Feldman operated actively with such categories as formula and theme developed within the framework of the Oral-formulaic theory, and concluded that the narrative texts of *doston* were composed in the manner similar to that described by Albert Lord:

> However, oral composition is not necessarily equivalent to improvisation. The work of most bards exhibit a strong tendency toward prior composition. Much of the dastans could be and were verbally prearranged. Individual bakhshis and their students evolved various solutions to the problem of where to insert prearranged compositions and where to rely on the oral-improvisatory technique. Prearrangment is less dominant, but still significant in the tiradic form of recitation, which was becoming extinct by the late nineteenth century. The more improvisatory tiradic style bears a rather close resemblance to the Serbo-Croation epic in its use of formulas which facilitate the divisibility of individual lines into recombinable components. The verses in the lyrical sections of the strophic dastans are more fixed than the stock themes, which can be altered and manipulated according to highly schematic syntactic rules. (1980: 190)

In his later publication "The Motif-Line in the Uzbek Oral Epic" (1983) Feldman continued his research on *doston*. Feldman paid special attention to the repetitions found within versified parts of the narrative text. He referred to these repetitions as 'motif-lines'[12] and considered them to be one of the most important techniques in the composition of *doston*. The problem of 'motif-lines' was further developed and considered within the context of flexibility of textual material in multiple performances of the same *doston*.

One of Feldman's publications directly related to the problems of improvisation and memorization, and stability and flexibility of the narrative texts of *doston,* is the article "Two Performances of the "Return of Alpamiş": Current Performance-Practice in the Uzbek Oral Epic of the Sherabad School" (1997). Based on fieldwork in the Kashkadarya and Surkhandarya regions and comparative analysis of two narrative texts recorded in 1990 and 1991 from the same *bakhshi,* Qakhor-bakhshi,[13] Feldman attempted to clarify some issues of text generation and improvisation during performance. This kind of approach to the study of the narrative texts, namely analysis of multiple performances of the same part of *Alpomish,* had not been undertaken prior to Feldman: "Due to the fact that researchers within Uzbekistan and other former Soviet republics of Central Asia have paid little attention to issues of "improvisation" and "memorization," even such a modest attempt at multiple

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[12] 'Motif-lines' is the term used by Feldman. Reichl refers to the same kind of repetitions as 'key verses.'

[13] Qakhor Rakhimov or Qakhor-bakhshi is the same *bakhshi* I met during my 2011 fieldtrip. During my fieldtrip Qakhor-bakhshi mentioned several times that a few years ago he had a chance to work with a researcher from the USA. He could not remember the name of the researcher during our meeting though.

recordings can help to state the relevant questions more clearly" (1997: 337). Feldman's analysis focused on two performances of the same part of *Alpomish*, the part in which the hero returns home from captivity. The first recording was made in May 1990, and the second one was made in June 1991, both during Feldman's visits to the Kashkadarya region. From information obtained by Feldman from Qakhor-bakhshi it is clear that at present it is one of the more frequently performed parts of the story:

> Qahhar stressed that everyone in these parts, most of whom are Qungrads, knows the story of Alpamiş. For a Qungrad not to be familiar with "Alpamiş" is considered a disgrace. However, he said, in the present day it is usually impossible to perform the entire *doston*. If he were to begin it at the beginning, he would never reach the end by the end of the wedding or other celebration (*toy*). Therefore, he and other *bäxşis* begin in the middle, with the return of Alpamiş from the Qalmyqs. (1997: 341)

In his article Feldman introduced the results of detailed comparative analysis of two scenes from *Alpomish*, the scene in which Alpomish meets his father Boybo'ri on the way home, and the scene in which Alpomish witnesses his son Yodgor being abused by the cook. Feldman examined the flexibility in performance of the two scenes from the macro-level (flexibility at the level of content and composition) and micro-level (flexibility of line construction). According to Feldman, *bakhshi* expand or shorten their stories according to the demands of the audience:

> For almost two hours he told me the main features of the story, those that every *bäxşi* had to mention in his performance. However, in performance, a *bäxşi* might not have the time to perform each section with its own melody and new poetic text. In that case he could tell a section briefly in prose, and then go on to sing the next section. Although the bard could not rearrange the order of the sections, he could substitute one abridged variant of a section for a more elaborate one. When time is very short, a *bäxşi* will present only selected scenes from the epic. (1997: 341)

Thus, Feldman hinted at the restriction of the flexibility of the narrative text at the macro-level by the existence of a strictly observed compositional scheme. In analyzing the text, he gave an example of one of the compositional elements that cannot be omitted from a performance. According to Feldman, the scene in which Alpomish meets his father Boybo'ri "is one of the essential sections in the *doston*, and cannot under any circumstances be omitted" (1997: 348). As to the micro-level flexibility of the narrative text, Feldman's analysis revealed some correspondence only at the level of 'motif-lines,' such as, for example, *öz ataňdi tanimadiň aydahar* ('you did not recognize your own father, o mighty dragon') (1997: 346). Feldman stated that Qakhor-bakhshi "constructs his *doston* text in an essentially performance-generative manner, with no evidence of a previously learned text" (1997: 361).

He concluded that the narrative text of *doston* shows a small degree of text-reproduction:

> … the Uzbek *doston* would appear to be the only form of oral epic in Turkic Central Asia that practices significant performance-generation, without "text-orientation" or "memorization." (1997: 362)

Feldman concluded that the Uzbek *doston* is created in a performance-generative manner unlike other storytelling traditions of Central Asia. However, he did not disallow the possibility for further research that would uncover some other characteristics of the texts created by *bakhshi*:

> A much larger sample, especially from the same region, would very likely unearth many other verbal resemblances with other versions. Nevertheless, the type of rearrangement of essentially text-oriented material that predominates in the Karakalpak and Kazakh epic, not to mention the direct text-reproduction of the Turkmen or other Oghuzic traditions, does not seem to be present here. (1997: 361-362)

Feldman's observations and conclusions are well-founded and persuasive, but there are a few statements in his work that will be verified or elaborated in the framework of this research:

1. <u>Macro-level flexibility</u>: in those cases when time is very short, *bakhshi* present only selected scenes from the epic.

2. <u>Micro-level flexibility</u>: there is no evidence of a previous memorization of textual material, and the narrative text of *doston* is constructed during performance.

3. <u>The macro- and micro-level flexibility</u>: when the time for a performance is limited *bakhshi* would tell some sections briefly in prose.

All the researchers mentioned above, namely Zhirmunsky, Mirzaev, Reichl and Feldman, mentioned in their publications the major characteristic of the narrative text of *doston*. Each of them pointed to the existence of repetitions and stressed the Oral-formulaic nature of the generated text. This thesis will attempt some further clarification of the nature of the narrative text of *doston* and its characteristics.

2 Analysis of variants of Alpomish *recorded from different storytellers*

In this section, in order to show the variability within the story of *Alpomish,* we will analyze two episodes from four versions of *Alpomish* recorded from different storytellers at different times. The first *Alpomish* (1979) is the version of the story told by Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li. It is considered to be one of the longest and most elaborate versions of the story known today. Since Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li was born and grew up in Bulung'ur village of the Samarkand region, this version can be called a 'Samarkand' version. Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li's *Alpomish* was taken down from for the first time in 1922 by G'ozi Olim Yunusov, but the record was lost. Next it was written down for the second time in 1928 by Makhmud Zarifov (Mirzaev 1968: 161). It was then edited by Hamid Olimjon, a famous Uzbek poet, folklorist and researcher of literature, and published in 1939. The second version of *Alpomish* (1999) is told by Po'lkan-shoir and Ergash Jumanbulbul O'g'li. It was recorded from Po'lkan-shoir and Ergash Jumanbulbul O'g'li in 1926 by Iso Ernazar O'g'li (Mirzaev 1968: 152). Even though Ergash Jumanbulbul O'g'li composed only some parts of the text, the version is still considered to be a collaboration between the two famous storytellers. Since both Po'lkan-shoir and Ergash Jumanbulbul O'g'li came from Qorg'on village of the Samarkand region, this version is also a 'Samarkand' version. The third version of *Alpomish* (1999) belongs to Berdi-bakhshi, a representative of the Tashkent region. It was recorded in 1926 by Abdulla Alavy (Mirzaev 1968: 152). The fourth version of *Alpomish* (1998) is the creation of Hushboq Mardonaqul O'g'li, a representative of the Surkhandarya region. It is a relatively new version of *Alpomish* since it was recorded in 1990, decades later than the three earlier versions. It was published in 1998. The story of *Alpomish* can be summarized as follows:

Birth and growth of the hero

> The lord of the tribe called Qo'ng'rot has two sons. The name of the elder son is Boybo'ri and the younger is Boysari. Boybo'ri and Boysari are both lords and possess a huge amount of wealth but both are childless. Soon Boybo'ri and Boysari have children through the intervention of a supernatural power. Boybo'ri has a son Hokim and a daughter Qaldirg'och, and Boysari has a daughter Barchinoy. Boybo'ri and Boysari agree on the betrothal of Hokim and Barchinoy.

Quarrel of Boyb'ori and Boysari and departure of Boysari to the land of the Kalmyks

> One day the two brothers Boybo'ri and Boysari get into a fight. Boysari decides to

leave the lands of his brother together with all his family and people. After a long trip Boysari, his family and his people arrive in the land of the Kalmyks. Barchinoy's beauty attracts the unwanted attention of the Kalmyk men. They force Barchinoy to choose one of them as her husband. Barchinoy sends a courier with a letter to her motherland asking Hokim to save her. Barchinoy announces later that she will only marry a man who wins a tournament.

Victory of Alpomish and trap

Hokim, now known by his nickname Alpomish, arrives in the land of the Kalmyks to save his promised wife Barchinoy. In the land of the Kalmyks he becomes friends with one of the heroes of the Kalmyks, Qorajon. Qorajon helps Alpomish to win the tournament and kill all the heroes of the Kalmyks. Alpomish and Barchinoy are married and go back to Boysun Qo'ng'rot. But her father Boysari, still angry with his brother, decides to stay. Later the mother of the killed Kalmyk heroes devises a plan for revenge. With the help of the king Toychaxon she builds a castle, and fills it with beautiful young women and food. Then she makes Boysari send a letter to Alpomish asking for help. Soon Alpomish arrives in the land of the Kalmyks for the second time. Here he gets lured into the castle together with his people. His people are all caught and killed while asleep. Alpomish does not die since he has a supernatural power. The Kalmyks place him in a deserted prison.

Release and return of Alpomish

A few years have passed since Alpomish left his country. One day in prison he meets a shepherd who helps him to win the affection of the Kalmyk princess. The princess releases Boychibor, Alpomish's horse. Boychibor helps Alpomish to break out of the prison by pulling him out with its tail. Then Alpomish fights the Kalmyks, and after beating them all he returns to Boysun Qo'ng'rot. Here he meets his old servant Qultoy, disguises himself as an old man in order not to be recognized by anyone and returns home. He sees his family being abused by his stepbrother Ultantoz and his people. Barchinoy is being forced to marry Ultantoz. Then there is a big celebration for the wedding and a tournament. At the tournament Alpomish releases an arrow from his own heavy bow, which nobody else is able to string. He punishes Ultontoz and his people, reunites with his family and they all, including Boysari who has returned home by then, live happily ever after.

2.1 Birth of the hero

The first episode to be analyzed in this section is 'Birth of the hero.' This episode was selected for comparative analysis for two reasons. Firstly, the description of the birth of a hero is one of the motifs commonly seen in folklore in general. Many legends and folk tales begin with the birth of the hero, who is often born to childless parents through the intervention of some supernatural power. In his *Morphology of the Folktale*, Vladimir Propp introduced typical elements in the description of the initial situation in a folktale, such as the childlessness of

parents, prayer for the birth of a son, a miraculous birth and prophecies (1968: 119). It would be interesting to see how the story *Alpomish* treats the commonly seen motif 'Birth of the hero,' and how this motif varies in different versions of the same story about the hero Alpomish. Secondly, this episode will also be analyzed in Chapter V in relation to a Buddhist tale about two princes and the Japanese tale about Yuriwaka. Since the tradition of the *bakhshi* allows significant flexibility, a thorough analysis of 'Birth of the hero' in this chapter will contribute to understanding of the possibilities for variation within the framework of one orally transmitted story. Analysis of 'Birth of the hero' will show which elements of the episode remain stable, and which can accordingly be used in comparison with other tales possessing similar motifs.

All versions of *Alpomish* analyzed below describe 'Birth of the hero' in detail, most probably because this is the part of the story in which we find out who the hero is and why he is a special invincible man. Surprisingly, even though the story of *Alpomish* is widely known both among storytellers and the audience (both readers and listeners), the content of the episode varies greatly from storyteller to storyteller. The length of 'Birth of the hero' varies in the different versions, and its narrative texts do not contain repetitions, except for proper names, in any of the four versions. 'Birth of the hero' can be summarized as follows:

A) 'Birth of the hero' in the version of Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li:

> One day two lords Boybo'ri and Boysari come to a feast, but nobody there pays them the respect and attention due their status and fortune. The lords ask people around why they are being treated this way, and people answer that the reason is that the two are childless. Boybo'ri and Boysari get upset and have no choice but to leave the feast. At home they both fall asleep. A saint appears in their dream and predicts that Boybo'ri and Boysari will soon have children. Indeed, the wives of the two lords become pregnant just as the saint predicted. Boybo'ri's wife gives birth to a son and a daughter, and Boysari's wife has a daughter. There is a big celebration for the birth of the children. There the saint from the dream appears in reality to greet the newborns. He chooses the names for the children. The son of Boybo'ri is called Hokim, and his daughter is named Qaldirg'och. The saint calls the daughter of Boysari Barchinoy and then announces the betrothal of the son of Boybo'ri and the daughter of Boysari. He touches Hokim's back with his palm, and the place turns into a birthmark, a sign of the saint's blessing.

B) 'Birth of the hero' in the version of Po'lkan-shoir and Ergash Jumanbulbul O'g'li:

> One day two lords Boybo'ri and Boysari come to a feast, but nobody there pays them due respect and attention. One man tells them that the reason they receive such treatment is that they both are childless. Boybo'ri and Boysari get upset and

have no choice but to leave the feast. They call upon their friend Holdorbek and hold a discussion. The three men decide to visit the grave of Saint Shohimardon and ask Shohimardon for children. Then they go to the grave of the saint and spend forty days there. On the last day of their visit Boybo'ri falls asleep. In his dream the saint appears and predicts that Boybo'ri will soon have a son and a daughter. He also tells Boybo'ri that Boysari will have a daughter and Holdorbek will have a son. The three men, inspired by the prophecy, return home, where their wives soon give birth just as the saint predicted. Boybo'ri sends Holdorbek to Boysari as his representative to agree on the betrothal of their children. This time Saint Hazrati Hizir appears in reality. He takes the son of Boybo'ri in his arms. The embrace of the saint leaves on the shoulder of the boy a birthmark, a sign of the blessing of Saint Shohimardon and Hazrati Hizir. Then there gather a lot of lords and religious people. They name the son of Boybo'ri Hokim, the daughter of Boysari Barchinoy, and the son of Holdorbek Dong'uqora.

C) 'Birth of the hero' in the version of Berdi-bakhshi:

One day two lords Boybo'ri and Boysari come to a feast where nobody pays them due respect and attention. One man tells them that the reason they receive such treatment is that they are childless. Boybo'ri and Boysari get upset and have no choice but to leave the feast. On the way home they happen to pass the steppe where they catch a gazelle. The gazelle is pregnant, and the two lords decide to release her, wishing that their wives become pregnant, just like the gazelle. Soon after this event the wife of Boybo'ri gives birth to a son. The saint Hazrati Hizir comes to the celebration and names the son of Boybo'ri Hokim. He blesses the boy and gives him the nickname Alpomish. In a while the wife of Boysari gives birth to a daughter. Again the saint comes, blesses the daughter and calls her Barchinoy. Then Boybo'ri and Boysari announce the betrothal of their children.

D) 'Birth of the hero' in the version of Hushboq Mardonaqul O'g'li:

The two lords Boybo'ri and Boysari are childless, which is a cause for deep grief. One day the two decide to ask God to send them children. They mount their horses and set off on a trip. In a while they get tired, get off their horses and fall asleep. Three saints appear in Boybo'ri's dream and predict that Boybo'ri will soon have children. Soon after this event Boybo'ri's wife gives birth to a son and a daughter, and Boysari's wife has a daughter. Again the saint appears in the dream of Boybo'ri and tells him to call his son Hokim. Then the saint appears in the dream of Boysari and tells him to call his daughter Barchinoy and to agree with Boybo'ri about the betrothal of their children.

As we can see, 'Birth of the hero' in all four versions contains typical elements, some of which correspond to the elements described by Propp, such as childlessness, miraculous birth and prophecies. But even though the episode in each version is made up of the same structural elements, the content of each element varies from version to version. 'Birth of the hero' in the version of Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li begins with a feast which the two lords leave after

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being mistreated. The version of Po'lkan-shoir and Ergash Jumanbulbul O'g'li also starts with the description of a feast but shows a slightly different development. Namely, in this version Boybo'ri and Boysari decide to visit the grave of the saint and ask him to send them children. There also appears a new character called Holdorbek who does not only accompany the two lords on their visit to the saint's grave but also becomes a go-between in the betrothal of the children of Boybo'ri and Boysari. 'Birth of the hero' by Berdi-bakhshi describes a scene in which the two lords catch a pregnant gazelle on their way home. This scene is not mentioned in the two previous versions. The version of Hushboq Mardonaqul O'g'li does not contain the description of either the feast or the gazelle-catching scene. Moreover, this version, like the version of Berdi-bakhshi, does not contain a scene which describes the origin of the birthmark on the body of the hero. The common structure of the episode 'Birth of the hero' and the major differences and similarities between the four versions can be readily seen in TABLE 1 (see page 50).

As we can see from the this table, even though there are differences in the content of the episode, 'Birth of the hero' in all four versions of *Alpomish* is made up of the same basic structural elements, namely childlessness, prophecy (or sign), birth of children, and betrothal. But one detail should be noted: the version of Berdi-bakhshi does not have the scene in which the birth of children is predicted by the saint. The dream scene is replaced with a scene where the two lords catch a gazelle. The scene is not a 'direct prophecy' delivered by the saint as in the other three versions, but it still fulfills the same role in the narrative development. It informs the listener (or reader) that some major change is about to happen in the story.

2.2 Origin of the bow and the nickname

In the story of *Alpomish* the bow of the hero plays a significant role. All versions of *Alpomish* end with an episode where the hero, disguised as an old man, strings his bow, which nobody else but the hero can string. This final episode is one of the distinctive and most famous parts of the story. It will be analyzed both in Section 3 of this chapter and in Chapter V in relation to the *Odyssey* and *Yuriwaka*. This section, however, will focus on an analysis of the episode where the bow of the hero first appears, 'Origin of the bow.' The episode not only serves as a description of the supernatural strength of the growing hero, but also explains the origin of both the bow and the nickname of the hero, Alpomish. The episode can be found in Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li's version. But, as will be shown below, not all the versions of *Alpomish* contain this episode.

TABLE 1 (CHAPTER II)

'Birth of the hero' in four versions of *Alpomish*

	Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li	Po'lkan shoir, Ergash Jumanbulbul O'g'li	Berdi-bakhshi	Hushboq Mardonaqul O'g'li
Childlessness	Boybo'ri and Boysari come to a feast where they are mistreated because of being childless and get upset.	Boybo'ri and Boysari come to a feast where they are mistreated because of being childless andget upset.	Boybo'ri and Boysari come to a feast where they are mistreated because of being childless and get upset.	Boybo'ri and Boysari are upset because they have no children.
Prophecy	Boybo'ri and Boysari fall asleep at home. In their dream the saint appears and predicts that they will soon have children.	Boybo'ri, Boysari and Holdorbek visit the grave of the saint and ask him to send them children. The saint appears in a dream to Boybo'ri and predicts that soon the three men will have children.	Boybo'ri and Boysari catch a pregnant gazelle and release her wishing their wives will get pregnant just like the gazelle.	Boybo'ri and Boysari fall asleep while on a trip. Three saints appear in Boybo'ri's dream and predict that the two lords will soon have children.
Birth of children and Name giving	Three children are born. The saint from the dream appears in reality and gives names to the children.	Four children are born. Many lords and religious people gather and give names to the children. (Note: the only child named by the saint is the daughter of Boybo'ri, Qaldirg'och.)	Three children are born. The saint appears and gives names to the children. He also gives to the boy the nickname Alpomish.	Three children are born. The same saint who predicted the birth of the children appears in a dream again and gives them names.
Betrothal	The son and the daughter of Boybo'ri and Boysari are betrothed.	The son and the daughter of Boybo'ri and Boysari are betrothed.	The son and the daughter of Boybo'ri and Boysari are betrothed.	The son and the daughter of Boybo'ri and Boysari are betrothed.
Birthmark	The palm of the saint leaves	The palm of the saint leaves a mark	✖	✖

	a mark on the back of Hokim.	on the shoulder of Hokim.		

A) **'Origin of the bow' in the version of Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li:**

> Hokim has a very heavy bronze bow which he inherited from his grandfather. One day the seven-year-old Hokim picks up the bow, pulls the string and releases an arrow. The arrow flies like lightning and brings down the top of a mountain. Hokim has been known as a man possessing extraordinary strength ever since. People are convinced that one day he will become a great hero. They start to call Hokim Alpomish.

B) **'Origin of the bow' in the version of Hushboq Mardonaqul O'g'li:**

> Hokim is learning how to string a bow from a man called Hoshim. Hokim inherited a very heavy bow from his grandfather, who was known as an *alp* (a man possessing extraordinary strength). But Hokim is prohibited from touching the bow since he is still a child. One day Hokim asks Hoshim to let him touch his grandfather's bow. But Hoshim refuses to let Hokim touch the bow because he is afraid that the boy will get hurt trying to pick it up. Hokim tells him that he only wants to take a look at the bow. But when shown the bow Hokim swiftly picks it up, pulls the string and releases an arrow. The arrow flies far away and brings down the top of a mountain.

As we can see, while both versions describe the origin of the bow, that of Hushboq Mardonaqul O'g'li gives a more detailed depiction of the episode than that of Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li. According to Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li and Hushboq Mardonaqul O'g'li, the bow was very heavy and belonged to the grandfather of the hero. The ability to string the bow is linked to the possession of extraordinary strength. Stringing the bow in the story becomes a sort of initiation for the hero, the proof that the boy will become a hero or a man possessing an extraordinary power, or *alp*. Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li even gives a clear explanation of the origin of the nickname Alpomish, while Hushboq Mardonaqul O'g'li only mentions that the grandfather of Hokim was an *alp*. The episode is clearly of great importance in the story of *Alpomish*, since not only it explains the origin of the bow but also functions as a proof that the growing boy is meant to become a hero. Surprisingly, it cannot be found in the versions of Po'lkan-shoir (Ergash Jumanbulbul O'g'li) or Berdi-bakhshi.

As to the origin of the nickname Alpomish, it is interesting to note that not all versions of *Alpomish* distinguish clearly between the name of the hero Hokim and his nickname Alpomish. In some versions the hero is called Hokim, while in others he is called Alpomish. For example, in the version of Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li, Hokim receives the nickname after stringing the heavy bow. Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li calls the character both Hokim and Alpomish. In the version of Po'lkan–shoir (Ergash Jumanbulbul O'g'li) there is no explanation of why the hero, called Hokim at birth, at some point became Alpomish. But the character starts appearing as Alpomish in the text after Boysari arrives in the land of the Kalmyks. Unlike in the version of Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li, in *Alpomish* by Berdi-bakhshi Hokim receives the

nickname Alpomish just after he is born, as a blessing from the saint who knows that Hokim is meant to become a great hero in the future. In the text of Berdi-bakhshi, Hokim is called Alpomish after Boysari arrives in the land of the Kalmyks just as in the version of Po'lkan-shoir (Ergash Jumanbulbul O'g'li). In the version of Hushboq Mardonaqul O'g'li the hero is called Hokim almost throughout the whole story.

This analysis of two episodes, 'Birth of the hero' and 'Origin of the bow,' shows that even though the content of *Alpomish* composed by different storytellers is generally the same, there are significant differences in the description or development of the episodes. Even though one of the most important episodes in the story, 'Birth of the hero' differs from storyteller to storyteller in the description of scenes. But, at the same time, in all four versions analyzed, 'Birth of the hero' has the same basic structure. In addition, it is clear that in some cases some of the episodes seen in one of the versions are not found in other versions of the story. For example, as we can see from the analysis of 'Origin of the bow,' even though seemingly important, the episode is only mentioned in the versions told by Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li and Hushboq Mardonaqul O'g'li. It is difficult to explain why these two versions describe 'Origin of the bow' while others do not. We might suggest that Hushboq Mardonaqul O'g'li may have been acquainted with the version of Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li, which is the most popular version of the story at present. However, the differences in the development of 'Birth of the hero' show that even though the two versions describe one of the episodes in a very similar way, they differ significantly in the description of other parts of the story.

More fundamental comparative research is needed to establish major differences and similarities between different versions of *Alpomish* and determine the relations between the existing versions recorded at different times from different *bakhshi* from different regions of Central Asia. The current research will refrain from attempting to establish relations between the recorded versions. But in the framework of this research, basic knowledge about the character of the differences between the versions of *Alpomish* introduced in this section is essential for an understanding that, despite the differences between the versions of different storytellers, we are still dealing with basically the same story.

3 Analysis of variants of Alpomish recorded from the same storyteller

In this section we will examine variants of *Alpomish* recorded from the same storyteller within a short period of time. The analysis will demonstrate the extent of improvisation possible during performance and the changes taking place in the narrative text when the length of the story is adjusted to the demands of the listener.[14] The part of *Alpomish* which will be referred to as 'Return of the hero'[15] has been selected for the analysis. 'Return of the hero' in *Alpomish* has many common motifs with the return of Odysseus in the *Odyssey*. Namely, in both stories the hero returns home disguised in order not to be recognized by anyone and strings his distinctive bow. This ending can also be seen in *Yuriwaka*. The possibility of mutual influence between the *Odyssey*, *Alpomish* and *Yuriwaka* is the subject of Chapter V. A more detailed examination of this part within one of the oral traditions will contribute to the research in multiple ways. Firstly, understanding the changes that happen in performance in the process of oral transmission of *Alpomish* will be useful when discussing the possibility of story transmission from one oral tradition to another. Secondly, unlike the *Odyssey* and *Yuriwaka*, *Alpomish* still exists as an oral narrative at the present day, and can be studied from different perspectives and provide us with the necessary conceptual basis for understanding mechanisms commonly employed by storytellers when dealing with compositional elements.

Since the time of my 2011 fieldtrip was limited, it was impossible to record *Alpomish* from beginning to end. I had to select a certain part of the story, long enough to provide me

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[14] In this particular case I was the listener setting the time limit and choosing certain scenes. This might be considered to be an artificial setting, but the fact is that in the tradition of *bakhshi* it is common for listeners to ask for certain pieces or certain changes during performance. We can see this kind of story 'adjustment' in the case of Er-Nazar-bakhshi, who once introduced a new episode to his story in order to satisfy the emir. A more detailed introduction of the story about Er-Nazar-bakhshi will be given below. Or let us take a look at another example from my own experience. During the 2011 fieldtrip I had a chance to be present at an event where Qakhor-bakhshi performed for an audience of around twenty people. When performing, Qakhor-bakhshi shortened one of the episodes of *Alpomish* (the episode where Boychibor saves Alpomish). One of the guests asked Qakhor-bakhshi to elaborate the episode, pointing out the lack of some descriptions. Unfortunately, I did not have a chance to make a recording of this performance.

[15] As mentioned above, the same part of *Alpomish* was analyzed by Feldman, based on two recordings made in 1990 and 1991. According to Feldman, at present *Alpomish* is well known in the Kashkadarya region and the part chosen for the analysis is frequently performed, due to the fact that the time dedicated to *bakhshi* at weddings has become shorter. Feldman referred to the part as 'Return of Alpamiş' but we refer to it as 'Return of the Hero' in order to generalize the name of the part and be able to apply it to other stories. The possibility of the story's transmission will be considered in the framework of the current research, which is why a more general use of terms is necessary.

with sufficient evidence to support my hypothesis. 'Return of the hero' is a part of the story with a relatively rich, dynamic scene structure, with many characters appearing and dialogs taking place within a relatively concise narrative content. As the research of Walter Feldman showed, this part of *Alpomish* is frequently performed. We might suppose that the fact of frequent performance would increase the degree of text fixity. And if any degree of text fixity is to be found within the tradition of Central Asian *bakhshi*, 'Return of the hero' would probably show it best. If, on the contrary, there is no evidence of text fixity even in the case of the most frequently performed part of the most well known story, namely *Alpomish*, then it would probably be hard to find any in the case of any other story told by the *bakhshi*.

In the case of the Central Asian storytelling tradition, the degree of improvisation is high. Every time the story is performed, its narrative text is created during performance. The tradition is not only open to improvisation; as already discussed in detail in Chapter I, it requires a storyteller to be creative both with the content of the story and its narrative text. Traditional performances by *bakhshi* could last for several days. Sometimes they could even be continued for up to one week. During this time storytellers could perform several different stories or could just keep telling one long story. For instance, it usually took about two nights to perform *Alpomish* from beginning to end. But when the audience showed special interest and wanted to hear more, the *bakhshi* could continue his performance elaborating details and descriptions of the scenes (Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 30-31). The *bakhshi* can add new episodes or even mention people from the audience in order to make the performance more interesting. Here we may cite the famous historical episode which is indicative of the degree of improvisation in the tradition of the *bakhshi*. One day the famous storyteller Er-Nazar-bakhshi was performing in front of the emir.[16] Er-Nazar-bakhshi told the story up to the point when the hero Alpomish becomes a prisoner in the land of the Kalmyks, and then continued telling the same part of the story for a very long time. Six months passed but Er-Nazar-bakhshi still did not reach the part where the hero is released from captivity. There is a famous scene in *Alpomish* in which the horse of the hero, Boychibor, pulls Alpomish out of the prison where he is confined. Eventually, the emir got bored and irritated. He ordered his own horse to be released from the stable. Er-Nazar-bakhshi sensed the mood of the emir and immediately reacted to that by adding a new scene to his performance. In this new scene, the horse of the emir ran away to look for the place where Alpomish had been kept (Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 32).

During my 2011 fieldtrip I asked five *bakhshi* I had the chance to work with about

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[16] See Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 32. According to Zhirmunsky and Zarifov, Er-Nazar-bakhshi, who was also known as Kaban, was in service in the court of the emir Nasrulla (r. 1827-1860) of the Bukhara Khannate.

the role of improvisation in the tradition. When asked about improvisation, all of the interviewed emphasized the importance of improvisation in the tradition in general and in their own performances. Below are some extracts from the interviews, which in a few sentences can characterize the essence of the tradition of Central Asian storytelling and its main features.

Qakhor-bakhshi

When you tell an oral narrative you always improvise. This is the distinctive characteristic of the genre. Those storytellers who memorize texts are not professionals.

Mukhammad-bakhshi

A storyteller memorizes only the content of stories. He composes the narrative text during performance.

Shodmon-bakhshi

Even if the content is the same, the narrative text must never be the same. When you tell stories you always improvise. For example, I heard a story called *Bolquvon* from Qodir-bakhshi only once. I memorized its content immediately and included it in my own repertory.

Zulkhumor-bakhshi

Storytellers do not learn texts by heart. If they do, texts will get fixed in their memory, and then they will lose the ability to improvise.

As mentioned above, the nine performances of *Alpomish* which will be examined in this section were recorded during my 2011 fieldtrip. 'Return of the hero' was recorded three times each from three storytellers, Qakhor-bakhshi, Mukhammad-bakhshi and Shodmon-bakhshi.[17] I asked each storyteller to tell 'Return of the hero' three times within a

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[17] During the fieldtrip I recorded *Alpomish* from four storytellers: Qakhor-bakhshi, Muxammad-bakhshi, Boyqul-bakhshi and Shodmon-bakhshi. All the storytellers commonly use the Qipchak-Uzbek dialect. Unfortunately, in the case of Boyqul-bakhshi the dialect was very strong. This made a detailed transcription and translation of the text impractical. One more important detail should be mentioned. Zulkhumor-bakhshi mostly composes *terma* poems and still does not attempt long stories. She is younger than the other *bakhshi*, and has less experience. During the last day of the fieldtrip after all the planned recordings were made, she offered to tell the same part of *Alpomish* as had previously been told by her teacher, Shodmon-bakhshi. She told him about it and asked him to tell her in brief the

different time frame (approximately one hour, thirty minutes and fifteen minutes) mentioning in each performance the following scenes: Alpomish meeting his loyal servant Qultoy; Alpomish meeting his son Yodgor; Alpomish meeting his wife Barchinoy and; finally, Alpomish stringing his distinctive bow. However, I did not describe any of the scenes to the storytellers in any degree of detail.

My approach to the study of the problem of improvisation and memorization and of the processes of creation of the narrative text was to a considerable degree inspired by research conducted by the Japanese literature scholar Hyōdō Hiromi. According to Hyōdō, in the case of the Japanese narratives there are parts in the narrative text which cannot be omitted, no matter to what extent the story is shortened.[18] The reason for choosing a different time frame for each performance was to check if the same tendency could be seen in the case of the Central Asian storytelling tradition. In other words, the goal was to see if any parts of the text would be repeated from performance to performance, if there were any parts that would remain unchanged and appear in the same form even in the shortest of the performances, and if the length of the performance in any way influenced the proportion of prose and verse in the narrative text.

As already mentioned above, it is the version of Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li that is considered to be the longest and the most elaborate among the existing records of *Alpomish*. It is also the most popular version of the story, known among both Uzbek and Russian speakers due to the existence of a translation into the Russian language.[19] For this reason we will first take a look at the composition of 'Return of the hero' in *Alpomish* as told by Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li. 'Return of the hero' in Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li's version can be divided into main scenes as follows:

1. Alpomish returns to Boysun Qo'ng'rot from the land of the Kalmyks. After returning to Boysun Qo'ng'rot he meets several people:

A) Alpomish meets his sister Qaldirg'och.

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content she should describe in performance. This recording has not been included in the current research and will be studied more closely later.

[18] See Hyōdō 1993. Hyōdō designated these parts of the text *teikeiku*. A more detailed review of Hyōdō's research will be introduced in Chapter IV.

[19] Translation of *Alpomish* was started in 1943 by Lev Penkovsky (1894-1971), a famous translator, who introduced *Alpomish, Manas, Kiz-Jibek* and other stories to Russian speakers of the former Soviet Union. Translation of one part of *Alpomish* by V. Derjavin, A. Kochetkov and Penkovsky was published in 1944. Penkovsky's translation of the full text of Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li's version of *Alpomish* was published in 1949.

B) **Alpomish meets his loyal servant Qultoy.**[20]

C) Alpomish meets a woman who asked Qultoy to take care of her goats.

D) Alpomish meets several women going to the wedding.

E) **Alpomish meets his wife Barchinoy.**

F) **Alpomish meets his son Yodgor.**

G) Alpomish meets his parents.

H) Alpomish meets his stepbrother Ultontoz.

I) Alpomish meets Bodom.

2. **Alpomish strings his bow.**

3. Alpomish punishes Ultontoz and all his servants.

Below we will analyze the nine performances recorded during the 2011 fieldtrip in order to see the degree of flexibility and fixity in multiple performances and see how improvisation works in the tradition of the Central Asian *bakhshi*. First 'Return of the hero' will be analyzed from the point of view of its structural composition, or its composition by scenes. We will see which of the scenes remain as the core elements of the structure from performance to performance, and to what extent *bakhshi* are able to shorten 'Return of the hero' during performance. Then we will check the textual material of scenes with similar content and analyze the degree of flexibility and fixity of the textual material, based on the presence of repeated lines, if any are to be found within the text of any of the performances. Based on the results of the comparative analysis undertaken in the following sections, we will then attempt to clarify, or in some cases reconsider some of the issues related to text composition in the tradition of Central Asian storytelling mentioned in previous research. Furthermore, I will check if some of Hyōdō's observations are valid in the case of the Central Asian storytelling tradition.

3.1 Analysis of 'Return of the hero' in three performances by Qakhor-bakhshi: macro-level flexibility

First we will examine the structure of 'Return of the hero' and its composition by main scenes[21] in the three performances of Qakhor-bakhshi.[22] In order to avoid unnecessary use

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[20] The scenes marked in bold are the parts of the story which I asked the *bakhshi* to include in the performances recorded during the 2011 fieldtrip.

[21] Each new encounter of the hero Alpomish with a new character and the action following is counted as a scene. In other words, every major character mentioned in the narrative text appears in the table.

of name Qakhor, below we will refer to the version of Qakhor-bakhshi as VQ. A number will be added to VQ in order to distinguish the three versions of *Alpomish* with different lengths: VQ1, VQ2 and VQ3.[23] VQ1, performed in about 85 minutes, is the longest and the most elaborate. VQ2 took about 45 minutes to perform, while the shortest version VQ3 is only about 26 minutes long. All three versions of 'Return of the hero' told by Qakhor-bakhshi can be summarized as follows:

> Alpomish returns to Boysun Qo'ng'rot. There he first meets his servant Qultoy. Qultoy does not recognize him at first. Alpomish learns about everything that has happened while he was away. Then he disguises himself as Qultoy in order not to be recognized by his enemies and goes home. There he witnesses his son Yodgor being abused by the cook of Ultontoz. He first visites Ultontoz and then his wife, Barchinoy. There is a tournament where Alpomish strings his distinctive bow. The distinctive bow is brought to him by Yodgor. Finally, Alpomish kills Ultontoz.

Even though the performance times of VQ1, VQ2 and VQ3 differ significantly in length, in each of his performances Qakhor-bakhshi managed to tell the story with the above content and described all the scenes which he had been asked to mention. Moreover, Qakhor-bakhshi delivered each of the versions in the traditional mixed verse-prose style. The detailed structure of each version can be seen in the following table.

TABLE 2 (Chapter II). The content and structure of *Alpomish* performed by Qakhor-bakhshi

VQ1 (85:00)	VQ2 (44:45)	VQ3 (26:20)
Alpomish is coming back. Alpomish meets Qultoy. Alpomish shows Qultoy a mark on his body to prove that he is Alpomish. Then he changes his clothes and sets off home.	Alpomish is coming back. Alpomish meets Qultoy. He changes his clothes and sets off home.	Alpomish is coming back. Alpomish meets Qultoy. Alpomish shows Qultoy a mark on his body to prove that he is Alpomish. Then he changes his clothes and sets off home.

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[22] Feldman uses the term 'macro-level flexibility' (1997) to refer to the flexibility of the narrative at the level of structural composition of the story, and the term 'micro-level flexibility' to refer to the flexibility of the narrative text at the level of line construction. Both terms will be employed in this research.

[23] A DVD of this performance is provided as a sample recording. Publication of all of the recordings made during the 2009 and 2011 fieldtrips, together with transcriptions and translations into English, is planned.

On the way home Alpomish meets a woman named Xadicha who asked Qultoy to take care of her goats. She invites Alpomish to be a guest at her house.	On the way home Alpomish meets a woman named Xadicha who asked Qultoy to take care of her goats. She invites Alpomish to be a guest at her house.	On the way home Alpomish meets a woman named Xadicha who asked Qultoy to take care of her goats. Alpomish becomes a guest at her house.
On the way home Alpomish meets a group of women carrying big bowls with food to the wedding of Ultontoz and Barchinoy.	✘	✘
✘	Alpomish meets his mother who is cleaning intestines of cattle. His mother recognizes her son by his voice but Alpomish does not reveal his identity.	✘
Alpomish returns home. There he witnesses a boy being abused by one of the cooks. Barchinoy comes and complains. Alpomish finds out that the boy is his son.	Alpomish returns home. There he witnesses a boy being abused by one of the cooks. Barchinoy comes and complains. Alpomish finds out that the boy is his son.	Alpomish returns home. His son Yodgor is being abused by a cook.
Yodgor wants to approach Alpomish telling his mother that the man looks like his father whom he saw in a dream.	✘	Yodgor starts clinging to Alpomish. A woman named Omon asks him if the reason is that the man resembles his father. The boy says that he saw his father in a dream.
Alpomish meets Ultontoz. He offers to convince Barchinoy to marry Ultontoz.	Alpomish meets Ultontoz. Ultontoz asks Alpomish to convince Barchinoy to change her attitude towards Ultontoz.	Alpomish visits Ultontoz.
Alpomish meets a woman by the name of Bodom and exchanges songs with her.	✘	✘
Barchinoy has a premonition that her husband has returned. Alpomish has a conversation with Barchinoy. To check his wife's loyalty, Alpomish tries to convince his wife to marry Ultontoz. Alpomish reveals his identity by giving Barchinoy his wedding ring.	Alpomish has a conversation with Barchinoy. To check his wife's loyalty, Alpomish keeps telling her that she should not be with any other man. Barchinoy agrees. Alpomish tries to reveal his identity to his wife.	Alpomish has a conversation with Barchinoy. Alpomish tells Barchinoy that her husband has returned, but does not reveal his identity to his wife.
Alpomish tells Ultontoz that Barchinoy will only marry the man who wins the	Alpomish tells Ultontoz that Barchinoy will only marry the man who wins the	Alpomish tells Ultontoz that Barchinoy will only marry the man who is able to string

tournament at riding a horse and stringing a bow.	tournament at riding a horse and stringing a bow.	Alpomish's bow.
Alpomish punishes a man by the name of Qoralochin for approaching Qaldirg'och, his sister.	✘	✘
Yodgor is ordered to bring Alpomish's bow.	Yodgor is ordered to bring Alpomish's bow.	Yodgor is ordered to bring Alpomish's bow.
Alpomish's bow is buried in the ground. Yodgor pulls the bow out and brings it. Alpomish convinces his son to bring the bow.	Alpomish's bow is buried in the ground. Yodgor pulls the bow out and brings it. Alpomish convinces his son to bring the bow.	Alpomish's bow is buried in the ground. Yodgor pulls the bow out and brings it. Alpomish convinces his son to bring the bow.
Alpomish strings his distinctive bow and kills Ultontoz.	Alpomish strings his distinctive bow and kills Ultontoz.	Alpomish strings his distinctive bow and kills Ultontoz.

As we can see from the above table, in his three performances Qakhor-bakhshi described not only the scenes he was asked to perform but also some other scenes which had not been mentioned before the performance. For example, in all the three versions we can find the scene where Alpomish meets a woman named Xadicha and becomes a guest at her house. We should note that for some reason the scene where Alpomish meets his father Boybo'ri is not mentioned in any of the three performances. It cannot be found even in the longest VQ1, which otherwise contains some scenes not found in VQ2 and VQ3, such as, for example, the scene where Alpomish meets a woman named Bodom, or the scene where Alpomish punishes a man named Qoralochin. This fact contradicts Feldman's statement about the overwhelming importance of some scenes in the performance of 'Return of the hero' (1997: 348). Even though the meeting of Alpomish with his father is not mentioned in any of the performances of Qakhor-bakhshi, we can find the scene where Alpomish meets his mother in VQ2. This scene is not described in either VQ1 or VQ3. Surprisingly, the shortest VQ3 contains a dialog between Yodgor and a woman named Omon. This scene is not found in either VQ1 or VQ2. In VQ1 it is his mother Barchinoy who Yodgor tells about the dream. And in VQ2 the dream of Yodgor is not mentioned at all.

Apparently, the *bakhshi* is conscious of the general structure of the story. He can mention some of the scenes, or can omit or add some of them if he finds it necessary. The *bakhshi* chooses scenes to perform under the pressure of performance, which explains the fact that some scenes, such as, for example, the meeting of Alpomish with Boybo'ri, a scene of greater importance, is not mentioned in any of the versions. In contrast, a scene of lesser importance, such as the meeting of Alpomish with a woman named Bodom, is mentioned. We should note, however, that the scene where Alpomish exchanges songs with Bodom actually exists in the version of Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li, but it is seen in a different place of 'Return

of the hero.' In Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li's version Alpomish, disguised as Qultoy, exchanges songs with Bodom, who is the mother of Ultontoz in his version, after having a conversation with Barchinoy and stringing his distinctive bow. We can only assume that in VQ1 the scene appeared randomly as the result of rapid composition of the narrative text under the pressure of performance.

3.2 Analysis of 'Return of the hero' in three performances by Qakhor-bakhshi: micro-level flexibility

We will next examine the narrative text of the three performances in order to gauge the micro-level flexibility of the narrative text in multiple performances of the same story. 'Meeting of Alpomish and Qultoy' was selected for this purpose. The reason for choosing this scene is that it can be found in all versions recorded during the 2011 fieldtrip. Also, compared to the other scenes, its content is the longest and most stable in all nine performances.[24]

The length of 'Meeting of Alpomish and Qultoy' differs in VQ1, VQ2 and VQ3. The length of the scene in the longest version is about 19:35 minutes. But despite the difference in total length of the two versions, in VQ2 and VQ3 it is almost the same length: in VQ2 the scene lasts about 9 minutes, and in VQ3 it is about 8:47 long. In all three versions the scene can be summarized as follows:

> Alpomish is coming back from the land of the Kalmyks riding his horse. He comes to one place and sees an old man trying to make a bonfire. Alpomish recognizes his old servant Qultoy. Alpomish tells Qultoy that his master Alpomish has returned home, but Qultoy does not believe him. Qultoy finally recognizes his master and treats him with a dish of goat meat. Then Alpomish disguises himself as Qultoy and leaves Qultoy's place with fourteen sheep and one goat.

We will further divide the scene in all three versions into smaller parts, sub-scenes, in order to see the general composition of and main differences between each version.

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[24] As already mentioned, the Uzbek language can be written in both the Cyrillic and Latin scripts. All the recordings made during the 2011 fieldtrip were originally transcribed into the Cyrillic script for the analysis and only the parts introduced in this account, namely the scene where Alpomish meets his servant Qultoy, have been re-transcribed into the Latin script. The Latin script used for the Uzbek language has several specific signs such as *g´* or *o´* but can easily be read by anyone. While transcribing the recordings I did not try to create a purely literary text of the story. Instead of creating a grammatically correct written version of the oral narrative text I tried to retain its oral nature. Many of the words in the narrative text are in colloquial style. At the same time I did not reflect the specificity of the Qipchak-Uzbek dialect spoken in the Kashkadarya and Surkhandarya regions. The main difference between the colloquial dialect of the Tashkent region and the Qipchak-Uzbek dialect lies in the vocalic system.

TABLE 3 (Chapter II). Sub-scene composition of *Alpomish* in performances of Qakhor-bakhshi

VQ1 (19:35)	VQ2 (9:00)	VQ3 (8:47)
Alpomish is coming home on the back of his horse Boychibor after spending seven years in the land of the Kalmyks. On his way he is thinking about his parents, his wive Barchinoy and his son Yodgor.	Alpomish is coming home on the back of his horse Boychibor from the land of the Kalmyks. Boychibor runs in a wrong direction, which is why Alpomish guesses that something caught his horse's attention.	Alpomish is coming home on the back of his horse Boychibor.
Alpomish reaches a place called Ko'k Qamish and sees an old man. The old man happens to be his old servant Qultoy. They were very close in the past. They even resembled each other in looks, though the two were of different ages. Alpomish sees Qultoy failing to make a bonfire. He thinks that the man has gotten old.	Alpomish reaches a place and sees an old man there. The man is trying to make a bonfire. He happens to be Alpomish's old servant Qultoy. They were very close in the past.	Alpomish reaches a place called Ko'k Qamish and sees an old man there. The man is trying to make a bonfire. Alpomish is very happy to see his old servant.
Alpomish offers to make the bonfire and sings a song in which he tells Qultoy that his master has returned and asks him to give him a present for delivering the good news.	Alpomish tells Qultoy that Alpomish has returned and asks him a present for delivering good news.	Alpomish tells Qultoy that Alpomish has returned and asks him a present for delivering the good news.
On hearing this Qultoy gets angry. He tells Alpomish that many men have come with the same news and asked for presents before but none of them told the truth. He does not recognize Alpomish, saying that the man does not look like Alpomish. Then he throws a stone at Alpomish.	Qultoy does not recognize Alpomish, because his looks have changed during his years of captivity. He does not believe Alpomish and tells him that many men have come with the same news and asked for presents before.	Qultoy does not believe Alpomish.
Alpomish asks Qultoy if there was any mark on the body of Alpomish. Qultoy tells him that Alpomish had a mark left by the saint on his shoulder. Alpomish shows Qultoy the	Qultoy sings a song, in which he expresses his joy for the return of his master.	Alpomish asks Qultoy if there was any mark on the body of Alpomish. Qultoy tells him that Alpomish had a mark left by the saint on his shoulder. Alpomish shows Qultoy the

mark on his shoulder. Qultoy sees the mark and finally believes Alpomish. He sings a song in which he expresses his joy for the return of his master.		mark on his shoulder. Qultoy sees the mark and finally believes Alpomish. He sings a song in which he expresses his joy for the return of his master.
Qultoy asks Alpomish to stay for a while and entertains him. Alpomish asks Qultoy what has happened in his absence. Qultoy tells him that the country is not the same anymore, that those who were poor now have become rich. He informs Alpomish that Ultontoz is going to marry Barchinoy, the wife of Alpomish. Alpomish gets angry on hearing this. Qultoy tries to pacify Alpomish and tells him that they two should exchange clothes, and Alpomish should return home disguised in order to know his friends and enemies.	Qultoy asks Alpomish to stay for a while.	Alpomish asks Qultoy what has happened in his absence. Qultoy tells him that the country is not the same anymore and that Ultontoz has become the lord. He informs Alpomish that Ultontoz is going to marry Barchinoy, the wife of Alpomish. After hearing this, Alpomish wants to leave. But Qultoy asks him to stay for a while.
Qultoy brings a goat, kills it and cooks its meat. Alpomish eats all the meat since he has not eaten meat for seven years. Then Qultoy gives Alpomish fourteen sheep and one goat, disguises Alpomish as himself and sends him home.	Qultoy brings a goat, kills it and cooks its meat. Alpomish eats all the meat since he has not eaten meat for seven years. Then Qultoy disguises Alpomish as himself so that his enemies will not recognize him. He makes a mustache and a beard for Alpomish from the goat's hair. Then he gives Alpomish fourteen sheep and one goat and sends him home.	Qultoy brings a goat, kills it and cooks its meat. Alpomish eats the meat, disguises himself as Qultoy, makes a mustache and a beard from the hair and tendons and leaves with fourteen sheep and one goat.

As we can see from the above table, the sub-scene composition generally is the same in all three versions of Qakhor-bakhshi. All three versions have the following structure:

A) The hero is on the way home

B) The hero meets his old servant

C) The hero tells the servant that his master is back and asks for a present

D) The servant does not believe the hero

E) The servant recognizes the hero

F) The servant entertains the hero

G) The servant helps the hero to disguise himself and sends him home.

The content of the sub-scenes, however, is not strictly fixed and differs slightly from performance to performance. The longest of versions (VQ1) is the most precise in sub-scene description. But in the case of VQ2 and VQ3, even though 'Meeting of Alpomish and Qultoy' in both performances is almost of the same length, approximately 9 and 8:47 minutes respectively, the sub-scene content is not the same. For example, in VQ2 there is no description of the recognition sub-scene where Alpomish shows Qultoy his birthmark. Qultoy starts singing the song where he expresses his joy for the return of his master immediately after he doubts the words of Alpomish. VQ1 gives a precise description of the events happening at the moment in the country due to the absence of Alpomish. A similar description of the sub-scene can be found in VQ3. And again, despite the fact that VQ2 is almost the same length as VQ3, this description is omitted in VQ2.

Even though the general content of 'Meeting of Alpomish and Qultoy' is similar in all three versions of Qakhor-bakhshi, the sub-scene content differs, and the textual material of VQ1, VQ2 and VQ3 has little in common. All three versions are delivered in the traditional verse-prose style. As mentioned above, VQ1 and VQ3, despite being different at length, have some sub-scenes very similar in description. In these scenes we can find a few parts rendered in very similar words. Below we will examine more closely some of the repeated parts found in the narrative text of the performances.

The first example is the scene where Alpomish shows Qultoy the mark on his body in order to prove his identity.[25]

EXAMPLE A (VQ3 on the DVD starts at 2:00)

VQ1

Shunda Alpomish aytdi: "Bobojon, juda achchig'ingiz kelganga o'xshaydi. Ayting, qani, Alpomishning **qanday belgisi bor edi***?" "Bolam!" – dedi, "***Alpomishning elkasida Shohimardon pirining besh panjasining izi bor edi.***" "Bo'lmasa, ko'ring qani! Mening elkamda yam* **shu** **Shohimardon pirimizning besh panjalari bormikan***?" – dedi. Shunda* ----- *elkasini ko'rsatdi. Alqissa,* ----- *Shohimardon*

VQ3

"Alpomishni ko'rsatsam nima berasiz?" – dedi. "Alpomishni ko'rsatsang, mana shu ----- *qo'zilarni barini senga beraman, bolam" – dedi. "Alpomishni bilasizmi? Ko'rsatsam taniysizmi?" – dedi. "Taniyman!" – dedi.* **Qanday belgisi bor edi***?" – dedi. "Oh,* **Alpomishning elkasida Shohimardon pirining besh barmog'ining izi bor edi***," – dedi.* **"Bo'lmasa, ko'ring, qani! Mening elkamda yam besh Shohimardon pirining**

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[25] The parts repeated in both texts are in bold. Those parts of the text that proved impossible to elucidate are boxed.

pirimizning besh panjalarining izi turgan ekan
-----. *"Bolam, men bilmapman. Zindonda yotib etlaring tushib ketgan ekan. Dushmanlaring shuning uchun cho'chib ketgan ekan. Kel, Bolam, qaytadan ko'rishaylik!" – deb, Alpomishga qarab, oyog'ini erga tirab: "Ko'zimdan oqqan yoshim keldi. Xudoga qilgan nolam keldi. Tag'dirimdan aylanayin, Alpomishday bolam keldi!" – deb, qichqirayotgan eri ekan.*

besh barmog'ining izi bormikan?" – deb, *shunday ustidagi ko'ylagini orqaga* -----, *elkasini shunday tutib ko'rsatib berib, boboning… Alpomishning elkasidagi izini ko'rib: "Attanga, Bolam kelgan ekanda, bilmagan ekanman," – deb, Alpomishning bo'yniga osilib: "Omon-eson keldingmi, Shunqorim?" – deb, so'zlayotgan eri ekan.*

VQ1

Then Alpomish said: "Old man, it seems that you are very angry. Tell me, then. **What kind of mark did Alpomish have**?" "Son!" he said, "**On the shoulder of Alpomish there a mark left by five fingers of Saint Shohimardon." "Then look! Come! Are there five fingers of the saint Shohimardon on my shoulder**?" he said. And then he ----- showed his shoulder. And then ----- there was a mark left by five fingers of our Saint Shohimardon. "Son, I did not know. You lost all your muscles while you were in prison. That is why your enemies were scared of your appearance Come here, My son, let us greet each other one more time." After saying this he looked at Alpomish, stood on the ground (and said): "The reason for my tears has returned! The reason for my prayers to God has returned! My dear son, Alpomish, has returned," he was crying out these words…

VQ3

"If I show you Alpomish, what will you give me?" he said. "If you show me Alpomish, I will give you ----- all these goats, my son" he said. "Will you know Alpomish? If I show you, will you recognize him?" he said. "I will recognize him!" he said. **What kind of mark did he have**?" he said. "Oh, **on the shoulder of Alpomish there was a mark left by five fingers of Saint Shohimardon**," he said. **"Then look! Come! Is there a mark left by five fingers of (five) Saint Shohimardon on my shoulder**?" saying this, he turned back his clothes ----- and showed his shoulder. And on the shoulder of the old man… Alpomish he saw the mark (and said): "Oh! My son has returned, but I was unaware of that. After saying this he threw himself on the neck of Alpomish with the words: "Have you returned back safely, My falcon?"

We can see from the example above that the content of this sub-scene in both VQ1 and VQ3 is very similar. But the text is quite different, except for the parts in bold. In both VQ1 and VQ3 Alpomish asks Qultoy *Qanday belgisi bor edi?* ('what kind of mark did Alpomish have?'), and Qultoy describes the mark on the body of Alpomish with almost identical sentences: *Alpomishning elkasida Shohimardon pirining besh panjasining izi bor edi* ('on the shoulder of Alpomish there was a mark left by five fingers of Saint Shohimardon') in VQ1, and *Alpomishning elkasida Shohimardon pirining besh barmog'ining izi bor edi* ('on the shoulder of Alpomish there was a mark left by five fingers of Saint Shohimardon') in VQ3. In VQ1 Qakhor-bakhshi uses *besh panja* ('five fingers'), while in VQ3 he uses a different expression with the same meaning, *besh barmoq*.

The next example is the scene where Qultoy describes to Alpomish the events happening in the country due to the absence of the lord Alpomish.

EXAMPLE B (VQ3 on the DVD starts at 7:41)

VQ1

*"Qani, **Bobo, Boysun Qo'ng'irotda nima gap?"** – dedi. "**Ey, Bolam, odamlar sho'x bo'p ketgan, avvalgi saltanat yo'q bo'p ketgan**. Oh, avvalgi ochlar hozir to'q bo'p ketgan, uyqulari sog' bo'p ketgan. Sening **o'rninga Ultontoz** degan bir qul **bek bo'p ketgan. Olti oydan beri ----- Oybarchinni olayin deydi**. Qayta-qayta sovchi qo'yadi. Shu kecha kunduzda, Bolam, agar borsang, to'y ustidan borib qolasan," – dedi.*

VQ3

*"**Bobo, Boysun Qo'ng'irotda nima gap bor?"** – deganda. "**Ey, Bolam, odamlar sho'x bop ketgan, o'rninga Ultontoz bek bo'p ketgan. Avvalgi saltanatlar yo'q bo'p ketgan**. Xotining Oybarchinni olti oydan beri olaman deb, to'y qilib yotgan. Qozon ----- o'choqlar qo'yilgan, ----- serkalar so'yilgan, Bolam" – dedi.*

VQ1

"So, **Old man, tell me what is going on in Boysun Qo'ng'rot**?" he said. "Oh, My son, **its people have become uncontrollable, the kingdom is not the same anymore**. Oh, those who were hungry back in the day are now full. They sleep well at present. A slave by the name **Ultontoz became the lord instead of you. For six months ----- he has been trying to marry Oybarchin**. Again and again he sends his people. If you go now, you will probably arrive at the wedding celebration," he said.

VQ3

"**Old man, tell me what is going on in Boysun Qo'ng'rot**?" he said. "Oh, My son, **its people have become uncontrollable, Ultontoz became the lord instead of you. The kingdom is not the same anymore. For six months he has been holding a wedding celebration in order to marry your wife Oybarchin**. There are large pots -----, there are bonfires ----- and goats are killed, My son," he said.

In the two passages above we see word-for-word repetitions of several sentences, such as *Bobo, Boysun Qo'ng'irotda nima gap* ('Old man, tell me what is going on in Boysun Qo'ng'rot'), *odamlar sho'x bo'p ketgan* ('its people have become uncontrollable'), *avvalgi saltanat yo'q bo'p ketgan* ('the kingdom is not the same anymore'). We also see that there is a partial repetition of the sentence in which Qultoy informs Alpomish that Ultontoz is trying to marry Alpomish's wife Barchinoy.[26]

Both examples analyzed above are taken from sub-scenes in VQ1 and VQ3, with very similar content and obvious text repetitions. In both VQ1 and VQ3 the sub-scenes are rendered in prose. As mentioned above, there is a scene in all three versions in which Qultoy expresses his joy for the return of his lord. Below we will examine the textual material of the 'song,' the versified part of the narrative text in VQ1, VQ2 and VQ3, more closely.

EXAMPLE C (VQ3 on the DVD starts at 3:18)

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[26] Oybarchin is an alternative form of the name 'Barchinoy.'

VQ1

1. Bolam ----- bo'lsa mayliya
2. Qanotimdan qayrildim
3. Etti yildan bermagan
4. Men -----
5. **Jasadingdan aylanay**
6. Alpomisha, Bolama
7. Etti yildan bermagan
8. Men bolamdan ayrildim
9. Yoshligimda ot ayladim
10. Joyi bo'lsa cho'pon ketar podaga
11. Bunin omon esom bolam keldingmi
12. Bo'ylaringgan menday bobong sog'indi
13. Oyog'imni mana erga tirayman
14. Elkanga, Bolajonim, qarayman
15. **Jasadingdan aylanay**, Jon bolam!

VQ2

1. Obod bo'lsin -----
2. Xudoga etsin nolama
3. Etti yildan beri man
4. Suyakka etdi alama
5. **Kel** bo'ynima **isqayina**
6. **Jasadingdan aylanayin**, Bolama
7. -----
8. Uzoq bo'lsin umringiz
9. Odamzoddan qolsinda
10. Otajonim, nega unday dedingiz
11. **Boylayingdan aylanayin**, Shunqorima
12. Etti yilda bo'ldim seni -----
13. Otni haydayman to'daga
14. Tovushi kelsin har erga
15. Qo'ymaymana, Shunqorima!

VQ3

1. Kuyganimdan -----
2. Yigit o'lsa vayron bo'ladi -----
3. Bu dunyoda mening yana kimim bora
4. **Bo'ylaringdan aylanayiney**, Jon Bolam
5. O'z elingni izlab keldingmi
6. Dushmanlarga qavog'imni o'yain–
7. -----
8. Oyog'iga tuyalardan so'yaymi
9. O'z elingni izlab keldingmi, Shunqorim
10. Kel menam bir senga to'yain
11. Cho'ponlarga davlat keldi, duch keldi
12. Qariganda men sho'rlikka ish keldi
13. **Kelgin**, Bolam, bir **isqayin** izingni
14. Bolajonim, qora ko'zimga yosh keldi
15. Kim chidaydi bolasining yog'iga?

VQ1

1. It is fine if my son -----
2. My wings were broken
3. For seven years I was devoid of
4. I -----
5. **Oh, your dear appearance**
6. Alpomish, My son!
7. For seven years I was devoid of
8. I was separated from my son
9. When I was young I would play with horses

VQ2

1. May ----- prosper!
2. May my prayers reach God!
3. For seven years
4. My pain reached my bones
5. **Let me smell** your neck
6. **Oh, your dear appearance**, my son
7. -----
8. May you live long!
9. May it remain from a man…

VQ3

1. From the one I loved -----
2. When a young man dies, ----- turns into ruins
3. Who else do I have in this world?
4. **Oh, your dear looks**, my dear son!
5. Have you come back looking for your motherland?
6. I will frown at my enemies
7. -----
8. Shall I throw camels to his knees?
9. Have you come back looking for your

10. A shepherd grazes his herd when he can
11. Have you returned safely, my son?
12. I missed your dear looks
13. I will stand on the ground
14. I will look at your shoulders
15. **Oh, your dear appearance**, my dear son!

10. My dear father, why did you say so?
11. **Oh, your dear looks**, my falcon!
12. For seven years I have been ----
13. I rode a horse among herds
14. May the voice be heard everywhere?
15. I will not let you go, my falcon!

motherland, my falcon?
10. Come, let me rely on you once!
11. Shepherds prospered
12. Poor me! When I got old something finally changed
13. Come closer, my son, **let me smell** you!
14. My son, tears came to my black eyes
15. Who would bear his child's absence?

As we can see, even though rendered in verse in all three cases, the texts of VQ1, VQ2 and VQ3 show little in common. Unfortunately, some parts of the text are missing since it was not possible to identify some of the words in the recordings. But we can still see the general structure of all three verses. Most of the text is different in all three passages. The exceptions are the so-called 'motif-lines' or 'key verses,'[27] parts in bold, such as, for example, *jasadingdan aylanay* ('oh, your dear appearance') or *boylaringdan aylanay* ('oh, your dear looks').

Conclusion

Based on the analysis of the three performances by Qakhor-bakhshi we can conclude that Qakhor-bakhshi creates the narrative text of the story anew each time he performs *Alpomish*, although he clearly follows a basic structure in each case. Analysis of the composition by scenes of the three performances shows that Qakhor-bakhshi chooses scenes in an improvised way, around the framework of the scenes that he is specifically asked to perform. This is the reason why in some of the recorded performances Qakhor-bakhshi mentioned some scenes, and in others he did not, regardless of the length of the performance. In the case of Qakhor-bakhshi, the performance time in each case was longer than the time frame which had previously been agreed on. Instead of 60, 30 and 15 minutes, Qakhor-bakhshi performed for about 85, 44:45 and 26:20 minutes. The time was longer than requested, but even the longest of his performances was shorter than the time generally spent on that part of the story. The fact that Qakhor-bakhshi managed to tell 'Return of the hero' without

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[27] Feldman considers 'motif-lines,' repetitions found in the versified part of the narrative text, to be one of the most important techniques of the Uzbek *doston*. He gives a detailed analysis of this kind of repetition in his doctoral dissertation (1980)*,* and articles (1983, 1997). The problem of 'motif-lines' was also studied by Reichl. He terms these repetitions 'key verses.' See Reichl 1989.

disrupting its general composition and in the traditional mixed verse-prose way in all three cases provides evidence that Qakhor-bakhshi's performance is not dependent on a fixed text, and that the story Qakhor-bakhshi performs, *doston*, can be adjusted and changed at both the macro-level (the level of the general composition) and the micro-level (the level of the text), according to the situation. The narrative texts of the three versions of *Alpomish* with different length showed some repetitions in both their versified and prosaic parts. But the number of repetitions was very limited compared to the length of the performance in each case. Even though repetitions of some textual material were found, the differences between versions in the sub-scene content and in the narrative text suggest that the text in all three cases was generated during performance.

3.3 Analysis of 'Return of the hero' in the three performances of Mukhammad-bakhshi: macro-level of flexibility

Next we will look at the structure, or composition by scenes, of 'Return of the hero' in the three performances by Mukhammad-bakhshi. The three performances by Mukhammad-bakhshi will be named VM1, VM2 and VM3. VM1 is the longest of the three recordings. It is about 59:12 minutes long. VM2 is about 44 minutes long. And the shortest version took only about 15 minutes. All three versions of 'Return of the hero' performed by Mukhammad-bakhshi can be summarized as follows:

> After seven years Alpomish returns to Boysun Qon'ng'rot. There he meets his old servant Qultoy. Alpomish reveals his identity to Qultoy. He learns about everything happening in his country. He disguises himself as Qultoy and heads home. Alpomish has a conversation with his wife Barchinoy. Barchinoy decides to remarry the man who wins a tournament. At the tournament Alpomish strings his bow and kills Ultontoz.

The lengths of the three performances differ greatly but in each of them Mukhammad-bakhshi managed to convey the general content of the story featuring most of the scenes we had previously agreed on. Each of the versions is rendered in the traditional mixed verse-prose style.

TABLE 4 (Chapter II). The content and structure of *Alpomish* performed by Mukhammad-bakhshi

VM1 （59:12）	VM2 （43:58）	VM3 （15:09）

Alpomish meets Qultoy. Qultoy does not recognize Alpomish. He chases after Alpomish, falls into a hole, and then after being rescued he finally recognizes his master. He changes his clothes and sets off home.	Alpomish meets Qultoy. Qultoy does not recognize Alpomish. Alpomish shows him the mark on his body and proves his identity. Then he changes his clothes and sets off home.	Alpomish meets Qultoy. He changes his clothes and sets off home.
On the way home Alpomish meets a woman named Xadicha who asked Qultoy to take care of her goats. The woman invites Alpomish to be a guest at her house.	✘	✘
Alpomish returns home. There he witnesses his son being abused by one of the cooks. Barchinoy comes, and trying to defend her son, she argues with the cook. Then the wife of the cook appears. She tells her husband that if Alpomish returns he will punish the cook for everything he just did.	Alpomish returns home. There he witnesses his son being abused by one of the cooks. Barchinoy comes and trying to defend her son she argues with the cook. Then the wife of the cook appears. She tells her husband that if Alpomish returns he will punish the cook for everything he just did.	✘
Alpomish meets Ultontoz. He promises to propose to Barchinoy on behalf of Ultontoz.	✘	✘
Alpomish has a conversation with Barchinoy. To check his wife's loyalty, he tries to convince her to marry another man. Alpomish does not reveal his identity to Barchinoy, but after their talk she guesses that her husband has returned.	Alpomish has a conversation with Barchinoy. To check his wife's loyalty, Alpomish tries to convince her to marry another man. Then he reveals to her his identity.	Alpomish has a conversation with Barchinoy. He reveals to her his identity. He meets his son Yodgor.
Barchinoy decides to marry the person who wins the tournament. The person must compete at stringing a bow and horse riding.	Barchinoy decides to marry the person who wins the tournament. The person must compete at stringing a bow and horse riding.	Barchinoy decides to marry the person who wins the tournament. The person must compete at stringing a bow and horse riding.
Alpomish's bow is buried in the ground. Yodgor is able to pull the bow out of it and bring it to Alpomish. Alpomish convinces his son to bring the bow.	Alpomish's bow is buried in the ground. Yodgor is able to pull the bow out of it and bring it to Alpomish. Alpomish convinces his son to bring the bow.	✘
Alpomish wins the tournament and kills Ultontoz.	Alpomish wins the tournament and kills Ultontoz.	Alpomish wins the tournament and kills Ultontoz.

As we can see from the above table, even though different in length all three versions start with the scene describing the meeting of Alpomish and his servant Qultoy and end with the scene where the hero strings his bow and kills Ultontoz. VM1 is the longest of the three versions and is composed of more scenes than VM2 and VM3. Some of the scenes, such as the meeting of Alpomish with Xadicha or the meeting of Alpomish with Ultontoz, are not seen in versions VM2 and VM3. The three versions do not only differ in length but partly in content. For example, despite the fact that VM1 is the longest of the three and more detailed, Alpomish does not reveal his identity to Barchinoy when the two have a conversation. But this scene is described in both VM2 and VM3. While the general content of 'Return of the hero' by Mukhammad-bakhshi does not change much from performance to performance, there are still some differences between the three performances, such as differences in content of some scenes. This kind of difference might have been born as the result of improvisation during performance.

3.4 Analysis of 'Return of the hero' in three performances by Mukhammad-bakhshi: micro-level flexibility

Next we will examine 'Meeting of Alpomish and Qultoy' in VM1, VM2 and VM3. The length of 'Meeting of Alpomish and Qultoy' in VM1, VM2 and VM3 differs: 8:40, 6:00 and 3:08 minutes respectively. In all three versions the scene of the meeting of the hero with his old servant can be summarized as follows:

> After seven years Alpomish returns and meets his servant Qultoy. There he learns about everything happening at present in his country. He disguises himself as Qultoy and heads home.

We will next divide 'Meeting of Alpomish and Qultoy' into sub-scenes and see how the narrative text changes from performance to performance both in content and wording.

TABLE 5 (Chapter II). Sub-scene composition of *Alpomish* in performances of Mukhammad-bakhshi

VM1 (8:40)	VM2 (6:00)	VM3 (3:08)
After seven years Alpomish is coming home on the back of his horse Boychibor.	After seven years Alpomish is coming home.	✘

Alpomish visits Qultoy, tells him that Alpomish has returned and asks him for a present for delivering the good news. Qultoy does not recognize him and throws a stick at him. He runs after Alpomish and falls into a hole. Alpomish pulls him out, and Qultoy recognizes him. He sings a song in which he expresses his joy for the return of his master.	Alpomish visits Qultoy, tells him that Alpomish has returned and asks him for a present for delivering the good news. Qultoy does not believe him saying that there have been many men before delivering the same news. He hits Alpomish with a stick and the stick breaks. Alpomish asks Qultoy about the mark onhis body. Then he shows Qultoy the mark left by the hand and proves his identity.	Alpomish visits Qultoy after seven years, and reveals his identity.
Alpomish and Qultoy drink *kumis* (horse milk) together to celebrate their meeting. Alpomish asks Qultoy about the events happening in his absence. Qultoy tells Alpomish that his slaves have become lords, and his father Boybo'ri has become a shepherd. Alpomish disguises himself as Qultoy and leaves.	Alpomish asks Qultoy about the events happening in his absence. Qultoy tells Alpomish that his father Boybo'ri is not the lord of the country anymore, and that Ultontoz who is the lord now is marrying Barchinoy today. Alpomish disguises himself as Qultoy and leaves.	Alpomish asks Qultoy about his family and his country. When he finds out about everything, he disguises himself as Qultoy and leaves.

As we can see from the above table, the three versions of 'Meeting of Alpomish and Qultoy' performed by Mukhammad-bakhshi generally convey the same content, and in all the three performances we have a similar sub-scene structure:

A) The hero visits his servant
B) The servant recognizes the hero
C) The hero asks about changes in his country
D) The hero disguises himself and leaves.

At the same time, VM1 and VM2, which do not differ much in length, show significant difference in the description of some sub-scenes. For example, in VM1 Mukhammad-bakhshi does not mention the mark on the body of Alpomish. Since most of the recorded versions existing today as well as those narrated by other *bakhshi* introduced in the current research mention the mark, the scene of recognition of the hero by the mark on his body is clearly an important element in the story. But for some reason in VM1 the scene of recognition by the mark on the body is substituted with a different scene. In this scene

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Qultoy falls into a hole, chasing after Alpomish, and then gets rescued by the latter. As to the absence of any of these scenes in VM3,[28] it is only 3:08 minutes long, which is probably why it only gives the most important information. In VM3 there is no a precise description of the recognition scene but we can find the line *o'zini tanityb,* which is translated into English as 'introducing/ revealing himself.' It briefly gives the audience the general idea of the action more precisely described in the longer versions of the story. We can assume that this kind of 'extreme' shortening can only happen in cases when the audience is well acquainted with the story and its characters.

We will next compare the narrative texts of VM1, VM2 and VM3 in order to see how the text changes from performance to performance. 'Meeting of Alpomish and Qultoy' in all three versions is composed in mixed verse-prose style. But VM1, VM2 and VM3 demonstrate a significant difference in the use of versified and prosaic textual material in the description of scenes. There is no textual correspondence between the three versions. In VM1 the part of the description of the scene from the point when Alpomish arrives at Qultoy's house to the point when Qultoy gets angry with Alpomish and throws his stick at him is rendered in verse. In this sense, Mukhammad-bakhshi's use of versified and prosaic textual material differs significantly from that of Qakhor-bakhshi, who in all his performances describes the meeting of Alpomish with Qultoy in prose, except for the part where Alpomish asks for a present.

EXAMPLE A

VM1

1. *Baland tog'lar qormikan*
2. *Bu yigitlar keng jahonda zo'rmikan*

3. *Yurgin demak, Boychibor*
4. *Boysun elim bormikan*
5. *Yurgin demak, Boychibor*
6. *Boysun elim bormikan*
7. *Yollariga qaragan*
8. *Yollariga qaragan*
9. *Bolam degan yig'lagan*
10. *O'tgan-ketgan karvonchidan so'ragan*
11. *Boybo'ri otam bormikan*
12. *Tikka taylab borarey*
13. *Tikka taylab borarey*

VM1

1. Is there snow on the tops of high mountains?
2. Are these men really this good in this big world?
3. Let us go ahead, Boychibor
4. Does my country Boysun still exist?
5. Let us go then, Boychibor
6. Does my country Boysun still exist?
7. The one who kept observing the road
8. Who kept observing the road
9. Dropping tears about his son
10. Asking all the travelers who were passing by
11. Is my father Boybo'ri still alive?
12. Let me go ahead
13. Let me go ahead

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[28] A DVD of this performance is provided as a sample recording. Publication of all of the recordings made during the 2009 and 2011 fieldtrips, together with transcriptions and translations into English, is planned.

14. *Belin boylab borarey*	14. Let me go on tying the belt around my waist
15. *Ketayotir jonuvar*	15. So was he going on
16. *Ko'yni o'ynab borarey*	16. Getting excited
17. -----	17. -----
18. *Yurtni shamoli tegdi*	18. The wind of his motherland touched him
19. *Quvat keldi beliga*	19. Energy started filling his body
20. *Oralab taylab keldi Alpomish Boysun degan eliga*	20. So he finally reached the land called Boysun
21. *Kani o'sgan tog'iga, archa o'sgan tog'iga*	21. Its mountains covered with *kani-*trees, its mountains covered with fir-trees
22. *Tikka taylab jo'nadi Qultoy-qulning o'toviga*	22. He went straight to the house of Qultoy
23. *Belin tortib boylanib*	23. With his back tied up firmly…
24. *Alpomishdan ayrilib*	24. Missing Alpomish
25. *Yurgan edi qiynalib*	25. He has been suffering
26. *O'tirgan erida Qultoy-bobo o'ylanib*	26. Sitting there, Qultoy-bobo was deep in his thoughts
27. *Etib keldi Alpomish lochin qushday taylanibey*	27. And there came Alpomish just like a falcon
28. ----- *nurga to'lsin xonaya*	28. ----- let the room be filled with the sunlight
29. *Alpomishing keldi*	29. Your Alpomish has returned
30. *Suyunchi bergin*	30. Give me a present
31. *Joyingdan turgin, Qultoy-bobo*	31. Stand up, Qultoy-bobo!
32. *Chaqirmasang yiglayman*	32. I will cry if you do not call me
33. *Etgan so'zinga ko'nmayman*	33. I will not agree to what you say
34. *Suyunchi bergin, Boboya*	34. Give me a present, old man!
35. *Bergan to'ninga ko'nmayman*	35. I will not agree to the clothes you give me
36. *Olatog'ning qiyasi qizning bo'lsin hayosi*	36. The slopes of the Olatoy mountains, may young women have a sense of shame!
37. *Saratonda salqine majnuntolning soyasi*	37. On a summer day it is pleasantly cool in the shade of a weeping willow
38. *Joyidan turib tayoqni Alpomishga otib berdi bobosi*	38. His old man stood up and threw his stick at Alpomish
39. *Belini tiyga berdiey*	39. With all the strength he had
40. *Kuchini erga berdiey*	40. With all the strength
41. *Berma, qora go'rso'xta! - deb Alpomishni quvib berdi…*	41. I will not. Damn you! – he said and chased after Alpomish…

As we can see from the above example from VM1, not only the part where Alpomish asks for a present, but both the part describing how Alpomish came to the house of Qultoy, and also the part where Qultoy throws his stick at Alpomish are delivered in verse. In VM2 the part of 'Meeting of Alpomish and Qultoy' up to the point where Alpomish asks for a present is described in prose.

EXAMPLE B

<div align="center">

VM2

</div>

<div align="center">

VM2

</div>

Lekin Qultoy-qul Alpomish bilan ikkovi bir biri bilan   But Qultoy-qul and Alpomish, these two used to

ayrilmay yurar edi. Alqisa, yana "Alpomish keladi!" - deb, Qultoy-qulga kelib, necha suyunchi olib, qirqta serkasini olib ketgan edi. Yana bir serkasi qolganda yana Alpomish etib kelib, Qultoy-qul-boboga kelib: "Alpomish kevotdi," – deb, "Suyunchi bering, Bobo!" – deb, ikki og'iz qichqirib turgan joyi edi.

be unseparable. And then again (they came) saying: "Alpomish is coming back!" They came to Qultoy-qul, received so many presents and took from him forty of his goats. And when there was only one left, again… Alpomish arrived, came to Qultoy-qul-bobo: "Alpomish is on his way!" So he was shouting and saying: "Give me a present, Old man!"

The passage is followed by the song in which Alpomish asks for a present. The versified part in VM2 ends with the description of Qultoy getting angry with Alpomish, but the text of this description in VM1 is completely different from the text of VM2.

EXAMPLE C

VM1

35. **Suyunchi bergin, Bobo***ya*

36. *Bergan to'ninga ko'nmayman*
37. *Olatog'ning qiyasi qizning bo'lsin hayosi*
38. *Saratonda salqine majnuntolning soyasi*
39. *Joyidan turib tayoqni Alpomishga otib berdi bobosi*
40. *Belini tiyga berdiey*
41. *Kuchini erga berdiey*
42. *Berma, qora go'rso'xta! - deb Alpomishni quvib berdi…*

VM2

15. *Joyingdan turib* **suyunchi bergin, Bobo***jon*

16. *Keldi Boysun Qo'ng'irot egasi*
17. *Gap gapga tizildi*
18. *Doim bir ko'nglim yozildi*
19. *Qorin boboning pinaki buzildi*

20. *Achig'i kelgan Qultoy-qul*
21. *Senam* [-----] *dedi*
22. *Qo'lidagi tayag'i Alpomishga cho'zildi…*

VM1

35. **Give me a present, old man!**

36. I will not agree to the clothes you give me
37. The slopes of the Olatoy mountains, may young women have a sense of shame!
38. On a summer day it is pleasantly cool in the shade of a weeping willow
39. His old man stood up and threw his stick at Alpomish
40. With all the strength he had
41. With all the strength
42. I will not. Damn you! – he said and chased after Alpomish…

VM2

15. Stand up and **give me a present**, my dear **old man!**

16. The lord of Boysun Qo'ng'irot has returned
17. Many words were exchanged

18. There was a chance to relax

19. The old man was completely awake

20. Qultoy-qul who got angry
21. You too [-----] he said
22. And his stick was thrown at Alpomish…

As we can see from the example above, even though the versified parts of VM1 and

VM3 describe a similar scene, the line structure in two versions is different and contains no repetitions. The versification is not absolutely perfect throughout the performance, but as we can see in most cases Mukhammad-bakhshi manages to create rhyme. In the case of VM1 the rhyme is produced through the concordance of ending sounds. The same sound *-si* is used in the last position of lines in the words *hayosi*, *soyasi* and *bobosi*. In VM2 we can see that lines are versified through the sound *-zildi* in the last position of lines with the words *tizildi*, *yozildi*, *buzildi* and *cho'zildi*. We should note that the 'motif-line' *suyunchi bergin, Bobo!* ('give me a present, old man!') is shared in common.

As to the textual material of VM3, the whole scene is extremely curtailed. It contains a versified part in which Alpomish asks Qultoy about the well-being of his relatives and his land. Among the performances recorded during the fieldtrip, VM3 is the one that best demonstrates the ability of *bakhshi* to convey the content of certain scenes in an extremely short time. The part of the performance in prose describes the whole scene in only a few sentences.

EXAMPLE D (VM3 on the DVD starts at 0:15)

VM3

Alpomish Qultoy-buvasining qavatiga etti yil deganda yetib kelib, mana shunda quchoq ochib ko'rishib, o'zini tanitib, Qultoy-buvasiga qarab, o'z elini so'rab, yurtini elini so'rab turgan joyi edi (a song of Alpomish)... Mana shunday elini xalqini so'rab, xamma gapni bobosidan eshitib, Boysun Qo'ng'irot mamlakatiga Qultoy-qul libosida, o'zining Qultoy-qul kiyimini kiyib, soqol mo'ylov qo'yib, belini tuyib, o'z eliga oralab...

VM3

After seven years Alpomish reached the house of his Qultoy-*buva*.[29] And then they greeted each other with open arms, he revealed his identity and asked about his land, his motherland... And then after he asked about his land and his people, and heard about everything from his old man, he put on the clothes of Qultoy, and Qultoy put on his, made for himself a mustache and a beard and headed to his land...

Even though extremely short, the scene contains a versified part, the song of Alpomish, which does not show any textual correspondence with either VM1 or VM2. The versified part has basically the same content as the part of the text delivered in prose previously but this time in the form of a song.

EXAMPLE E (VM3 on the DVD starts at 1:21)

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[29] Mukhammad-bakhshi used the word *buva* instead of the commonly seen *bobo*. Both words can be translated into English as 'old man' or 'grandfather.' In this case *buva* has been left in the English translation on purpose.

VM3

1. *Boysun* ----
2. *Boqdida qo'yin qo'zini*
3. *Etti yillarda ko'rdima, Qultoy-bobo, o'zingni!*
4. *Bir pasilga javob bergin, Bobo, eshitay so'zingni!*
5. *Tog'larni boshi tumanmi?*
6. *Maydonda turgan polvonmi?*
7. *Etti yilda elga keldim, Bobo, yurtim omonmi?*

8. *Qarayman, Bobo, garayman*
9. ----
10. *Bobo, elim omonmi?*
11. *Qarindoshimni so'rayman.*

It is clear from the three performances of Mukhammad-bakhshi VM1, VM2 and VM3 that Mukhammad-bakhshi composes the narrative text each time he tells the story. All three performances VM1, VM2 and VM3 generally convey the same content but show some difference at the level of sub-scene content. The textual materials of VM1, VM2 and VM3 are completely different in each performance, with no evidence of textual correspondence even in versified parts.

Conclusion

Based on the analysis of the three performances by Mukhammad-bakhshi, we can conclude that Mukhammad-bakhshi creates the narrative text of the story anew each time he performs *Alpomish,* based on an understanding of the basic structure of the story. Analysis of the composition by scenes suggests that Mukhammad-bakhshi can adjust the length and the content of the story to the demands of the audience. As to the extent of the adjustment possible in performance, the three recorded performances with different lengths, each of which conveys the general content of the story in the traditional mixed verse-prose way without breaking its narrative structure or failing to mention its major scenes (those previously agreed on), demonstrates that the story told by Mukhammad-bakhshi is not restrained at either the macro-level (the level of the general composition) or the micro-level (the level of the text). Moreover, in the case of Mukhammad-bakhshi, the three texts have no textual correspondence in either the versified or prosaic textual material. This suggests that even though Mukhammad-bakhshi uses traditional techniques for versification and text

reproduction and narrates the story within a certain commonly known framework, his performances are completely improvised.

3.5 Analysis of 'Return of the hero' in three performances of Shodmon-bakhshi: macro-level of flexibility

Next we will examine the structural composition of 'Return of the hero' in the three performances of Shodmon-bakhshi. The first performance is about 55:15 minutes long, the second one is about 27:50 minutes long, and the shortest is about 15:45 minutes long. The three versions will be referred to as VS1, VS2 and VS3.[30] All three versions of 'Return of the hero' performed by Shodmon-bakhshi can be summarized as follows:

> Alpomish meets Qultoy. Alpomish shows Qultoy the mark on his body to prove his identity. Then he changes his clothes and goes home. On the way home Alpomish meets a woman named Xadicha who asked Qultoy to take care of her goats. Alpomish becomes a guest at her house. Then Alpomish meets Umtontoz. He offers to try to convince Barchinoy to marry Ultontoz. Alpomish has a conversation with Barchinoy and gives her his ring. Barchinoy says she will only marry the man who wins a tournament at riding a horse and stringing Alpomish's bow.

The lengths of the three performances differ, but in all three performances Shodmon-bakhshi manages to convey the content of 'Return of the hero' mentioning the scenes we had agreed on beforehand. Below we will compare the composition of the three performances.

TABLE 6 (Chapter II). The content and structure of *Alpomish* performed by Shodmon-bakhshi

VS1 (55:15)	VS2 (27:50)	VS3 (15:45)
Alpomish meets Qultoy. Alpomish shows Qultoy the mark on his body to prove that he is Alpomish. Then he changes his clothes and goes home.	Alpomish meets Qultoy. Alpomish shows Qultoy the mark on his body to prove that he is Alpomish. Then he changes his clothes and goes home.	Alpomish meets Qultoy. Alpomish shows Qultoy the mark on his body to prove that he is Alpomish. Then he changes his clothes and goes home.
On the way home Alpomish meets a woman named Xadicha who asked Qultoy to	On the way home Alpomish meets a woman named Xadicha who asked Qultoy to	On the way home Alpomish meets a woman named Xadicha who asked Qultoy to

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[30] A DVD of this performance is provided as a sample recording. Publication of all of the recordings made during the 2009 and 2011 fieldtrips, together with transcriptions and translations into English, is planned.

take care of her goats. The woman invites Alpomish to be a guest at her house.	take care of her goats. Alpomish becomes a guest at her house.	take care of her goats. Alpomish becomes a guest at her house.
Alpomish meets his mother, who is cleaning the intestines of cattle. She recognizes Alpomish but he does not reveal his identity.	✖	✖
On the way home Alpomish meets his son Yodgor. Yodgor complains of his fate.	✖	✖
Alpomish returns home. There he witnesses Yodgor being abused by one of the cooks. Barchinoy appears, complains and consoles her son.	Alpomish returns home. There he witnesses Yodgor being abused by one of the cooks.	✖
Alpomish meets Ultontoz. He offers to convince Barchinoy to marry Ultontoz.	Alpomish meets Ultontoz. He offers to convince Barchinoy to marry Ultontoz.	Alpomish meets Ultontoz. He offers to convince Barchinoy to marry Ultontoz.
Alpomish has a conversation with Barchinoy. Alpomish tries to convince his wife to marry Ultontoz. Alpomish reveals his identity by giving Barchinoy his ring.	Alpomish has a conversation with Barchinoy. Alpomish tries to convince his wife to marry Ultontoz. Alpomish reveals his identity by giving Barchinoy his ring.	Alpomish has a conversation with Barchinoy. Alpomish tells his wife that she should not marry Ultontoz. Alpomish gives Barchinoy his ring.
Alpomish tells Ultontoz that Barchinoy will only marry him if he wins a tournament at riding a horse and stringing Alpomish's bow.	Alpomish tells Ultontoz that Barchinoy will only marry him if he wins a tournament at riding a hose and stringing Alpomish's bow.	Barchinoy says she will only marry the man who wins a tournament at riding a horse and stringing Alpomish's bow.
Alpomish strings the bow and kills Ultontoz.	Alpomish strings the bow and kills Ultontoz.	Alpomish strings the bow and kills Ultontoz.

As we can see from the above table, even though different in length all three versions start with the scene describing the meeting of Alpomish and his servant Qultoy and end with the scene in which the hero strings his bow and kills Ultontoz. VS1, the longest of the three versions, is composed of more scenes. For example, the scene where Alpomish meets his mother on the way home cannot be found in VS2 and VS3. In the case of Shodmon-bakhshi we can see that the shorter the version is, the fewer scenes it contains. Moreover, the scenes in all the versions (VS1, VS2 and VS3) are very close in content. Obviously, in the case of Shodmon-bakhshi a certain degree of fixity can be seen at the level of general composition. This is even more evident when compared to the performances of Qakhor-bakhshi and Mukhammad-bakhshi.

3.6 Analysis of 'Return of the hero' in three performances of Shodmon-bakhshi: micro-level of flexibility

We will next examine 'Meeting of Alpomish and Qultoy' in the performances by Shodmon-bakhshi. The length of 'Meeting of Alpomish and Qultoy' in VS1 is about 5:42 minutes. Surprisingly, in the shorter VS2, 'Meeting of Alpomish and Qultoy' is longer, about 6:13 minutes, and in VS3 it is about 4:40 minutes long. The content of this scene in VS1, VS2 and VS3 can be summarized as follows:

> Alpomish meets Qultoy. He tells him that Alpomish has returned and asks him for a present for delivering the good news. Qultoy gets angry saying that there have been many men who came with the same news before. He gets angry and throws a stone at Alpomish. Alpomish asks Qultoy if Alpomish has any marks on his body. Then he shows Qultoy the mark on his body left by the hand of the saint in order to prove his identity. Alpomish disguises himself and leaves.

We will next divide 'Meeting of Alpomish and Qultoy' in the three performances into sub-scenes and see how the narrative texts changes from performance to performance both in content and wording.

TABLE 7 (Chapter II). Sub-scene composition of *Alpomish* in performances of Shodmon-bakhshi

VS1 (5:42)	VS2 (6:13)	VS3 (4:40)
Alpomish reaches the place called Ko'k Qamish and there sees a senile old man. The man happens to be his old servant Qultoy. Alpomish sings a song in which he tells Qultoy that Alpomish has returned and asks him for a present for delivering the good news.	Alpomish reaches the place called Ko'k Qamish, and there he sees Qultoy. Alpomish sings a song in which he tells Qultoy that Alpomish has returned and asks him for a present for delivering the good news.	Alpomish sees Qultoy. Alpomish sings a song, in which he tells Qultoy that Alpomish has returned and asks him for a present for delivering the good news.
Qultoy gets angry and tells Alpomish that many men have come with the same news and asked for presents. He tells Alpomish that he might be one of those men. Then he throws a stone at Alpomish.	Qultoy gets angry and tells Alpomish that many men have come with the same news and asked for presents. He tells Alpomish that he might be one of those men. Then he throws a stone at Alpomish.	Qultoy gets angry and tells Alpomish that many men have come with the same news and asked for presents. He tells Alpomish that he might be one of those men. Then he throws a stone at Alpomish.

Alpomish asks Qultoy if there is a mark on the body of Alpomish. Then he shows Qultoy the mark on his body and proves his identity.	Alpomish asks Qultoy if there is a mark on the body of Alpomish. Then he shows Qultoy the mark on his body and proves his identity.	Alpomish asks Qultoy if there is a mark on the body of Alpomish. Then he shows Qultoy the mark on his body and proves his identity.
Alpomish disguises himself as Qultoy and leaves.	Alpomish disguises himself as Qultoy and leaves.	Alpomish disguises himself as Qultoy and leaves.

As we can see from the above table, the three versions of 'Meeting of Alpomish and Qultoy' performed by Shodmon-bakhshi convey the same content, and in the case of all three performances we have the following sub-scene structure:

A) The hero meets his servant and asks for a present
B) The servant does not recognize the hero and attacks him
C) The hero shows the servant the mark on his body and proves his identity
D) The hero disguises himself and leaves.

The content of sub-scenes is very similar in all three performances. The sub-scenes show a comparatively high degree of fixity and differ only in length. The three versions show correspondence even in terms of the use of versified and prosaic textual material. In the case of both verse and prose we can find repetitions. Shodmon-bakhshi performs in a strongly accented form of the Qipchak-Uzbek dialect, which made transcription of the performances difficult in some cases, especially those parts performed in verse. Despite this fact, it is clear that versified parts of VS1, VS2 and VS3 contain repetitions which are not only 'motif-lines.'

EXAMPLE A (VS3 on the DVD starts at 1:05)

VS1	VS2	VS3
1. `-----`	1. *Omon bo'lsinda boshing*	1. `-----` *piringiz*
2. `-----`	2. *Yuzga etsinda yoshing*	2. `-----`
3. **Suyunchi bering, Bobojon!**	3. **Suyunchi bering, Bobojon, keldi Alpomish**	3. **Suyunchi bering**, *Qultoy-bobo*, **keldi** *Boysunning* **zo'ringiz**
4. **Keldi** *Qo'ng'irotning* **to'rasi**	4. **Nomuslari og'grimas**	4. **Meni gapimni bilsangchi**
5. **Meni gapimni bilsanchi**	5. *Chiqsin deyman sheringiz*	5. **Aytar gaplarga ko'ngsangchi**
6. *Osmonda oyday to'lsanchi*	6. **Suyunchi bering, Bobojon, keldi** *elatga* **zo'ringiz**	6. **Alpomish keldi, Bobojona, endi suyunchi bersangchi**
7. **Alpomish keldi, Bobojon!**	7. `-----` *soqoli tuyguncha*	7. *Bek Alpomish bildi*
8. *Uzima* **suyunchi**	8. *Qovoq boshini o'yguncha*	8. *O'zbek elining holini*

bersanchi

9. **Nomuslaring og'rimas**

10. *Qatarda* `-----`
11. **Suyunchi beringa, Bobojon keldi** *Qalmoqdan* **zo'ringiz.**

9. **Alpomish keldi, Bobojon, bering endi suyunchi!**
10. *Jonamga bir* `-----`
11. `-----`

12. **Alpomish keldi**, *Bobojon,* **bering endi suyunchi!**
13. *Xudoga etdi nolangiz*

14. `-----`

15. **Suyunchi bering, Bobojon, keldi elatga to'rangiz**
16. *Nomuslar* `-----`

17. *Bilaginda* **zo'ring keldi**
18. *Uloqchang bilan norin keldi*
19. **Suyunchi bergin, Bobojon, Alpomish** *sh'ering* **keldi**
20. **Mening gapimga ko'nsangchi**
21. **Davru davronni sursangchi**
22. *Indamay turib,* **Bobojon, endi suyunchi bersangchi!**

9. *Kimga aytay chiqarib*

10. *Yuragimni sirini?*
11. **Suyunchi ber**, *Qultoy-bobo!*

12. *Ko'rgin o'zbekning* **zo'rini!**

13. *Bobo, kelganimni* **bilsangchi!**
14. **Davru davronni sursangchi**
15. **Alpomish keldi, Bobojona!**

16. **Endi suyunchi bersangchi**
17. *Shirindir shakar tilingiz*
18. *Qo'ng'irotday elingiz*
19. **Suyunchi bering, Bobojona!**

20. *Ochildi bugun to'ringiz.*

VS1

1. `-----`
2. `-----`

3. **Give me a present, my dear old man!**

4. **The lord** of Qo'ng'rot **has returned**
5. **Know my words**
6. Grow as the moon in the sky

7. **Alpomish has returned,**

VS2

1. May you be well
2. May you reach the age of one hundred
3. **Give me a present, my dear old man! Alpomish has returned**

4. **No reason for you to be ashamed**
5. I wish your lion appears
6. **Give me a present, my dear old man! Your hero has returned to his land**

7. `-----`

VS3

1. `-----` old man
2. `-----`

3. **Give me a present, Qultoy-bobo! Your hero, hero of Boysun has returned**
4. **Know my words**

5. **Listen to what I say**
6. **Alpomish has returned, my dear old man, give me a present!**

7. Lord Alpomish has found

my dear old man!
8. **Give me a present!**

9. **No reason for you to be ashamed**

10. ⬚-----
11. **Give me a present, my dear old man**! **Your hero has returned** from the land of the Kalmyks.

8. While he made a sad face

9. **Alpomish has returned, my dear old man, give me a present!**

10. ⬚-----
11. ⬚-----

12. **Alpomish has returned, my dear old man, so give me a present!**
13. Your prayers have been heard by God
14. ⬚-----
15. **Give me a present, my dear old man! Your lord has returned to his land**
16. The shame ⬚-----
17. Know, **your hero has returned**
18. Your goat and your camel has returned
19. **Give me a present, my dear old man**! **Alpomish**, your lion **has returned**
20. **Listen to my words**
21. **Spend your time**
22. Do not say a word, and **give me a present, my dear old man!**

out
8. What is happening in the Uzbek land?
9. Who else can I share with?

10. The secrets of my heart
11. **Give me a present**, Qultoy-bobo !

12. See the Uzbek hero

13. Old man, know that I have returned
14. **Spend your time**
15. **Alpomish has returned, my dear old man!**

16. Now **give me a present!**
17. Your speech is so dear

18. Your land as Qo'ng'rot

19. **Give me a present, my dear old man!**

20. Today you will be treated with respect.

It is clear from the above example that there is some text correspondence in the versified part of the three performances. Not only can 'motif-lines,' such as *suyunchi bering, Bobojon!* ('give me a present, my dear old man!'), be found in all the three performances, but we can also find some other lines used repeatedly. For example, the line *nomuslari og'grimas* ('no reason for you to be ashamed') is used in both VS1 and VS2. The line *meni gapimni bilsanchi* ('know my words') is used in both VS1 and VS3 while in VMS it can be seen in a slightly different form: *meni gapimga ko'nsangchi* ('listen to my words'). Moreover, the line *davru davron sursangchi* ('spend your time') can be found in VS2 and VS3. It is clear that the text of the song part is recomposed in each of the performances because we can see that many lines have no textual correspondence in other versions. At the same time some lines are repeated. This kind of text correspondence in multiple versions might suggest that the

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textual material of the part is fixed in the memory of Shodmon-bakhshi to some degree.

In VS1, VS2 and VS3 repetitions can be found not only in the versified part but also in the case of the prosaic textual material. Below we will compare two scenes: the scene in which Qultoy gets angry and the scene in which Alpomish reveals his identity by showing the mark on his body.

EXAMPLE B (VS3 on the DVD starts at 3:27)

VS1	VS2	VS3
*Shunda **boboni qaxri keldi, ilonday zaxri keldi.** "Alqissa, **O'lgur!"** – dedi. "----- **Senga o'hshagan suyunchihor sakson sakkiztasi keldi, shuncha serkamni oldi,"** – dedi. **"Sen, O'lguram, shunday suyunchihorni biri bo'lasan. Mendan suyunchi so'rab turasan. Endi mana buni olasan!"** – deb, qo'lidagi tosh bilan* ----- *yubordi.*	***Boboning qaxri keldi, ilonday zaxri keldi.*** "----- *qilig'ingni qo'ymiysan.* **Har kuni** *birorin kelasan,* **suyunchi ber** *deb, qo'ymiysan. Alpomish Qalmoq mamlakatiga ketganiga oradan etti yil o'tgan. Uni suyagi ham chirib ketgan.* ----- *kelasan, davru davronni surasan,* ----- *suyunchi o'rniga* **mana buni olasan!"** *– deb, qo'lidagi* **tosh bilan** ----- *berdi.*	*Qultoy-**boboning qaxri keldi, ilonday zaxri keldi.*** "----- *kuygin battar!"* – dedi. **"Alqissa, har kuni** *bittasi kelib,* **suyunchi ber**gin *deydi.* **Senga o'hshagan suyunchihor sakson sakkiztasi kelib ketdi.** *Ana* **shuncha serkamni oldi,"** – dedi. **Sen, O'lguram,** *ana* **shunday suyunchihorni biri bo'lasan. Mendan suyunchi so'rab turasan. Endi mana buni olasan!"** – **deb,** *bobo* **qo'lidagi tosh bilan** ----- **yubordi.**

VS1	VS2	VS3
Then the old man got angry, just the way a snake bursts with poison. "**Be damned**!" he said. "**There have been eighty eight men like you who came asking for some presents**. ----- **this many goats from me**," he said. "**You, be damned, are one of those men. You are asking for a present**. **But you will receive this!"** saying this he ----- **with a stone in his hand.**	**Then the old man got angry, just the way a snake bursts with poison.** "You will not give up. Everyday one of you comes and **asks for a present.** You will not leave me alone. Seven years have passed since Alpomish left for the land of the Kalmyks. Even his bones have rotted by now. ----- you come, spend your time, ----- instead of a present **you will receive this!" saying this, he** ----- **with a stone in his hand.**	**Then old** Qultoy **got angry, just the way a snake bursts with poison.** "----- burn even worse!" he said. "Every day someone comes asking for a present. **There have been eighty eight men like you who came asking for some presents**. They took **this many goats from me**," he said. **"You, be damned, are one of those men. You are asking for a present. But you will receive this**!" saying this, he ----- **with a stone in his hand.**

From the above example we can see that the textual material of the three versions has a lot in common. Especially in the case of VS1 and VS3 a number of lines, as shown in bold, are repeated word for word, including one of the expressions often used in the tradition of the *bakhshi* to describe anger: *qaxri keldi, ilonday zaxri keldi* ('he got angry, just the way a snake bursts with poison'). It should be noted that the same expression is also used by Qakhor-bakhshi in VQ1 in description of the anger of both Qultoy and Alpomish. In the case of Shodmon-bakhshi the expression is used in all three versions.

The same tendency is seen in the scene in which Alpomish proves his identity by showing the mark on his body.

EXAMPLE C (VS3 on the DVD starts at 4:08)

VS1

*"**Qani, Bobo, Alpomish qanday belgisi bor edi? Alpomishning tosh jovrusida Shohimardon** boboning **besh qo'l panjasini izi bor edi**," –* dedi. *"**Shuni ko'rsatsam, berasizmi?" "Bachag'ar, ko'rsatib** bo'l!" –* dedi. *"Bo'lmasa **mening orqamni ko'ring, qani**!" –* dedi. ***Bobo oldiga kelayotib***, `-----` ***ko'rayin*** `-----`*: "**Besh qo'l panjasini izi** bo'lsa bilayin, **bo'lmasa, bilganimni qilayin**. Lekin suyunchi* `-----`*," – **deb, asta-asta oldiga kelaverdi**. **Shunda** lekin Qultoy-bobo Alpomishning oldiga etdi* `-----` *ochib ko'rdi. Haqqattan, **besh qo'l panjasining izini** bildi. "**Aylanayin, keldingmi? Orgilayin, keldingmi? Senday qadrni, senday sultonni menday bobo*** `-----` ***jonimni qurbon qilsamchi. Senga sakkiz ming sakkiz yuz sakson sakkiz*** `-----`*," – deb, Qultoy-bobo bilan Alpomish **topishib...***

VS2

*"**Qani, Bobo**!" - dedi, "**Alpomishning qanday belgisi bor edi? Alpomishni tosh jovusida Shohimardon boboning** piring **besh panjasini izi bor edi. Shuni ko'rsatsam, berasizmi**?" "**Bachag'ar, ko'rsat**!" "Qani, **meni orqamni ko'rin**!" "Qani!" - dedi, **bobo oldiga kelayotir**, orqani* `-----`*. Bobo: "Qani, **besh qo'l panjani izi** ko'rayin! Agar besh qo'l panja izi **bo'lmasa, bilganimni qilayin**!" – **deb, asta-asta oldiga kelaverdi. Shunda** Alpomish elkasini **ko'rsatdi. Besh qo'l panjaning izini** Qultoy-bobo **ko'rdi: "Aylanayin, keldingmi? O'rgilayin keldingmi? Sengay qadrni, senday sultonni menday bobo** bilsanchi* `-----` ***jonimni qurbon qilsamchi. Senga sakkiz ming sakkiz yuz sakson sakkiz*** serkani...""*

VS3

*"**Qani, Bobo, Alpomishning qanday belgisi bor edi?**" – dedi. "**Alpomishning tosh jovuzida Shohimardon** buvaning **besh qo'l panjasining izi bor edi. Shuni ko'rsatsam, berasizmi?" "Bachag'ar, ko'rsat**!" – dedi. **Shunda** engashib ko'rsatdi, **beshta panjasining izini ko'rdi**. Ikkovi **topishib...***

VS1	VS2	VS3

VS1

"**So, old man, what kind of mark did Alpomish have? There was the mark left by the hand of Saint Shohimardon on the shoulder of Alpomish,**" he said. "**If I show you that, will you give me something then?" "So show me, fellow!**" he said. "**Then look at my back**, come!" he said. **The old man was getting closer**, ----- **in order to see** -----: "**If** he really has the hand then I should know, but if **there is nothing, then I should do what I want**. But the present -----," **saying this, he was moving closer and closer. And then** Qultoy reached Alpomish ----- opened and looked. Indeed, **he recognized the mark left by the hand. "Oh, my dear, have you returned? Oh, my dear, have you returned? Such a friend like you, such a lord like you, an old man like me** ----- **I am ready to sacrifice my life for you. For you eight thousand eight hundred eighty eight of my** -----," after saying this, Qultoy-bobo and Alpomish **greeted each other…**

VS2

"**So, old man**!" he said. "**What kind of mark did Alpomish have? There was the mark left by the hand of Saint Shohimardon on the shoulder of Alpomish. If I show you that, will you give me something then?" "So show me, fellow!**" "So **look at my back!**" "So!" saying this, **the old man was getting closer**, his back -----. The old man: "So, **the mark of the hand**… let me see it! If the mark of the hand… **there is nothing, I should do what I want**!" **saying this, he was moving closer and closer. And then** Alpomish **showed** his elbow. Qultoy-bobo **recognized the mark left by the hand: "Oh, my dear, have you returned? Oh, my dear, have you returned? Such a friend like you, such a lord like you, an old man like me**… you should know ----- **I am ready to sacrifice my life for you. For you eight thousand eight hundred eighty eight of my** goats…"

VS3

"**So, old man, what kind of mark did Alpomish have?**" he said. "**There was the mark left by the hand of Saint Shohimardon on the shoulder of Alpomish. If I show you that, will you give me something then?" "So show me, fellow!**" he said. **Then** he bent down and **showed**, (he) **recognized the mark left by the hand.** The two **greeted each other…**

As we can see from the example above, the prosaic textual material describing the scene in which Alpomish shows the mark on his body in all the three versions performed by Shodmon-bakhshi shows a substantial degree of correspondence. Most of the lines in bold are word-for-word repetitions. In VS3 this scene is the shortest and does not contain a precise description of Qultoy's joy, while VS1 and VS2 both describe Qultoy's joy in very similar words: *aylanayin keldingmi orgilayin keldingmi senday qadrni senday sultonni menday bobo* ----- *jonimni qurbon qilsamchi* ('have you returned, my dear? have you returned, my dear? an old man ----- such a friend like you, such a lord like you, I am ready to sacrifice my life').

Based on the analysis of textual material of VS1, VS2 and VS3 we can conclude that in the case of Shodmon-bakhshi the text shows a certain degree of fixity. Some parts of the text are repeated from performance to performance in both the verse and prose, which can only suggest that the material is fixed in the memory of Shodmon-bakhshi.

Conclusion

Based on the analysis of the three performances of Shodmon-bakhshi we can conclude that Shodmon-bakhshi produces the text of the performance anew each time but strictly follows a basic structure even at the level of sub-scenes. The content of similar sub-scenes in the performances of Shodmon-bakhshi is almost the same and only differs in length and details. The longer the performance is, the more detailed its content. But despite being relatively fixed at the level of composition, the length of the performances of Shodmon-bakhshi is easily adjusted to the demands of the audience.

Shodmon-bakhshi's performances show a significant degree of correspondence in both the versified and prosaic parts of the narrative text. The fact that many word-for-word repetitions can be found even in the prosaic part of the text from performance to performance suggest that the textual material of the story is fixed in the memory of Shodmon-bakhshi to a certain degree. The possible reason for such fixity will be discussed in the following section.

4. On the degree of improvisation in multiple performances of *Alpomish*, and on the origin of formulas in the tradition of bakhshi

A thorough comparative analysis of the versions of *Alpomish* was undertaken in Sections 2 and Section 3 of this chapter in order to establish the degree of improvisation allowed and possible in the tradition of the *bakhshi*. Based on the analysis we can make two major conclusions on the degree of fixity and flexibility of textual material in *Alpomish:*

Alpomish recorded from different *bakhshi* at different times:

The analysis showed that the general content of *Alpomish* does not differ greatly from *bakhshi* to *bakhshi*. Hovewer, each version of *Alpomish* shows a significant difference at the level of smaller compositional units, the content of its episodes. In addition, the narrative text of each version differs significantly in the case of each *bakhshi*.

Alpomish recorded from the same *bakhshi* within a short period of time:

Nine performances of *Alpomish* by three *bakhshi*, Qakhor-bakhshi, Mukhammad-bakhshi and Shodmon-bakhshi, were analyzed. The analysis showed that the narrative text changes from performance to performance. The story follows a basic common structure, but the content of sub-scenes fluctuates in each case. However, the degree of fixity and flexibility of both the general structure and the narrative text is different from *bakhshi* to *bakhshi*.

Of the three *bakhshi,* Mukhammad-bakhshi's performances showed the highest degree of flexibility. In the case of Shodmon-bakhshi, the degree of fixity was the highest. It is interesting to note that even though the exact time frame was not followed in each case, an approximate time frame was still mantained by each *bakhshi*. In the case of Mukhammad-bakhshi and Shodmon-bakhshi especially, the time of actual performances was very close to the time frame requested. An extremely short time frame did not influence the general content of the performances; even in those cases when the performance was extremely short *bakhshi* described the part of the story which had been asked for. They managed to deliver the story within the required time frame without leaving out any of the scenes. Clearly, even under the pressure of rapid composition during performance *bakhshi* manage to control the process of text production. It is interesting to note that they can easily return to the process of performance even after being interrupted. There were several pauses during the recording process, especially in the case of Qakhor-bakhshi's

performances: there were several phone calls, while once the recording was interrupted by a power failure. In all these cases, Qakhor-bakhshi resumed his performance after only briefly repeating the content of the last few sentences. Even though the length of each performance was extremely short, and the same part of the story was delivered several times within a short period of time, Qakhor-bakhshi, Mukhammad-bakhshi and Shodmon-bakhshi composed the narrative text in the traditional mixed prose-verse style in each of their performances. And in all cases the text was generated anew in each new performance.

As already mentioned, one of the goals of the analysis undertaken in this chapter was to see if there were any parts in the narrative texts of multiple performances that remained unchanged and appeared in the same form even in the shortest of the performances, and if the length of the performance in any way influenced the relative proportion of prose and verse in the narrative text. The analysis showed that in the case of two of the three *bakhshi*, Qakhor-bakhshi and Mukhammad-bakhshi, multiple performances of the same part of the story are completely performance-generated. No evidence of any degree of memorization or fixation of the textual material was found. There were almost no textual repetitions, and the length of the performances did not influence the proportion of prose and verse in the narrative text. Compared to the performance-generated, flexible at both the macro- and micro-level performances of Qakhor-bakhshi and Mukhammad-bakhshi, Shodmon-bakhshi's multiple performances showed a certain degree of fixity. A possible reason for this is as follows.

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, Shodmon-bakhshi is one of the renowned storytellers of the Surkhandaryo region today. He has been learning and practicing storytelling for a very long time: he apprenticed with Qodir-bakhshi for more than ten years. We should note that all three *bakhshi*, Qakhor-bakhshi, Mukhammad-bakhshi and Shodmon-bakhshi, are students of the same teacher, Qodir-bakhshi, the father of Qakhor-bakhshi. As a performer and a teacher Shodmon-bakhshi has earned the respect of other *bakhshi* active today. In the previous chapter we saw how easily he improvised when making up *terma*, how skillfully he handled words and versified lines from the material introduced. During his interview Shodmon-bakhshi repeatedly emphasized that *bakhshi* never memorize the text of *doston*. Shodmon-bakhshi stated that when performing, a real *bakhshi* never describes the same content with the same words. The fact that in the case of Shodmon-bakhshi the narrative text of his three performances showed similarity, and to some extent was fixed at both the macro- and micro-level, can probably be explained by unintentional fixation in the memory of the text as the result of multiple repeated performances. 'Return of the hero' is the most frequently performed part of *Alpomish*. We may suggest that some of the parts of the narrative text of Shodmon-bakhshi have become

fixed with time but were not learned by heart from the beginning. However, further consideration and research based on analysis of other performances of Shodmon-bakhshi and their multiple versions is required in order to establish this. As to why the same fixity did not take place in the case of Qakhor-bakhshi and Mukhammad-bakhshi, we can assume that the degree of fixity might reflect the differences between storytellers as individuals with different memory capacity, age, and time spent on practice and performance of certain pieces.

Undoubtedly, Qakhor-bakhshi, Mukhammad-bakhshi and Shodmon-bakhshi generate their texts during performance. Even in the case of Shodmon-bakhshi, whose performances showed the highest degree of fixity of textual material, the narrative text was relatively flexible. We should not forget that in the case of 'Return of the hero' we are dealing with one of the most widely known and frequently performed pieces in the repertory of the *bakhshi*. The fact that even in this case the narrative text demonstrated an extreme degree of flexibility on the macro- and micro-level indicates that in the case of Central Asian *bakhshi* we are dealing with oral composition centered on improvisation. Considering the fact that the *bakhshi* themselves talk about the originality of each of their performances, and the emphasis they make on the ability to compose original *terma* and adapt to the audiences they perform for, we might even term the kind of oral composition we witness in the case of *bakhshi* as 'pure improvisation.'

Researchers and scholars who have studied the Central Asian storytelling tradition, Victor Zhirmunsky, To'ra Mirzaev, Karl Reichl and Walter Feldman maintained that even though improvised during performance the narrative text created by *bakhshi* contained some repetitions at different levels. They pointed to the formulaic structure of the poetic language used by *bakhshi*. Feldman was the first to work with multiple performances of the same part of a *doston*. He came to some important conclusions based on the analysis of two performances of the same part of *Alpomish* by Qakhor-bakhshi. However, some clarifications need to be made on the nature of the Central Asian storytelling tradition maintained by *bakhshi,* based on the analysis of more extensive material undertaken in this chapter and on the interviews.

<u>Macro-level flexibility</u>:

Feldman stated that in those cases when time is very short *bakhshi* present only selected scenes from the epic. In the case of *Alpomish*, a full performance might take three nights, and a short one might take five to six hours (1997: 341). 'Return of Alpomiş' recorded by Feldman in 1991 took about three hours. However, the analysis undertaken in this chapter

has demonstrated that *bakhshi* can adjust (shorten) the length of the story to a significant degree. Qakhor-bakhshi, Mukhammad-bakhshi and Shodmon-bakhshi performed the same part of *Alpomish* that was analyzed by Feldman in an extremely short time, featuring the main scenes in such a way that the main content of the part performed was not lost. Apparently, within the same time frame a skilled storyteller can do both: he can perform one story briefly, or he can perform one or several of its episodes in a more elaborate manner with many details.

Micro-level flexibility:

Based on the analysis of two performances of the same part of *Alpomish,* Feldman showed that there is no evidence of a previous memorization of textual material. He concluded that the narrative text of *doston* is generated during performance. The analysis presented in this chapter confirmed that in most cases the narrative text is generated anew with almost no repetitions to be found. But there might be cases, such as the case of Shodmon-bakhshi, when repetitions of comparatively long parts of textual material take place from performance to performance in both the versified part and the part delivered in prose. Concerning these repetitions we may only suggest that they were born as the result of reproduction from memory of partially fixed narrative material. As to how this material got fixed in the memory of such a highly skilled storyteller as Shodmon-bakhshi, the only possible explanation at this stage of research is that it could have been unintentionally memorized as the result of frequent performances of the same part of the story. Long *doston* like *Alpomish* are not learned at the initial stages of training and require a certain level of skill, which is why intentional memorization of the narrative text should be discounted in the case of Shodmon-bakhshi. In the tradition of the *bakhshi* described there exist textual repetitions in both the versified and prosaic textual material which can be viewed as formulas. The proportion of these formulas in multiple performances of even a highly skilled storyteller might be higher than it was supposed until now. However, they are not born as the result of intentional memorization, but rather become fixed with repetition with time.

Macro- and micro- level flexibility:

Feldman stated that when the time of performance is limited, *bakhshi* would narrate some sections (referred to as scenes in the current research) briefly in prose. However, the textual analysis of multiple performances of *Alpomish* presented in this chapter showed that even in those cases when the time is extremely limited and some parts of the performance are

shortened, the text can still be delivered in verse. The part of the text delivered in verse in the shorter performances can be delivered in prose in the longer versions of the same performance, and vice versa. In other words, there is no a direct connection between the length of the part being performed and its textual characteristics. It is obvious that there are no strict limitations which control the *bakhshi* at either the macro- or micro-level. Both the macro- and micro-level flexibility depend purely on the ability of the *bakhshi* to improvise, and his intentions in the individual performance contexts, which might depend to some extent on the audience.

The tradition of the *bakhshi* is a distinctive example of what we might term 'pure improvisation.' There exist traditional techniques for text composition, some techniques for versification, some words or expressions that can be used more often than others, and some stories that are widely performed. However, all of these are just commonly used tools that enable the individual *bakhshi* to create his own style within a general tradition. The tradition of *bakhshi* in general is based on improvisation, it constantly demands the *bakhshi* to be creative and original, and does not strictly restrain him either in term of the content or words. From the very beginning *bakhshi* teachers try to develop in their students the ability to be creative. They do not demand that their students faithfully reproduce stories they memorized verbatim. They want them to learn how to express their thoughts, their knowledge and wit using the traditional compositional techniques. *Terma*, an important element of the tradition, are completely improvised. For some reason, *terma* have not gained much attention from researchers, even though they might be one of the most important parts of the tradition of the *bakhshi*. The more creative, the more original the content of *terma* is, the more respect and appraisal the storyteller will receive. The tradition of the *bakhshi* has always welcomed improvisation. Those storytellers who were the most creative, original, improvised the most and were able to create their own *doston* using traditional techniques for text composition were the most respected. People called them *shoir* (poet). All of the *bakhshi* interviewed during my 2011 fieldtrip emphasized the role of improvisation and creativity in the reproduction of the narrative text. Apparently, even though providing a storyteller with some tools, the tradition does not restrain him from being an individual with his original style and repertory. It gives him freedom not just to reproduce something that was created by others. Not only does a highly skilled *bakhshi* transmit the knowledge accumulated by previous generations, he also contributes to the development of the tradition. It is hard to say what could have shaped such a tradition of storytelling where the contribution of each individual is highly valued. One thing is clear: the tradition welcomes a creative approach, seeks for original ways of expression and prompts improvisation. A creative approach is the general

tendency. However, the degree and quality of that approach might be conditioned by many factors, such as the ability, experience, age and health of a storyteller.

Storytelling is a way of life for the *bakhshi*, their hobby rather than a source of income. They do not pursue an economic interest when they decide to learn storytelling. Of course, they profit from storytelling but profit is not what they pursue. They are clearly born with the talent to tell stories which they sharpen by training under the supervision of their more skilled fellow performers during their lifetime. *Bakhshi* communicate with each other, teach each other, and help each other, willingly sharing their stories and knowledge with younger generations of *bakhshi*. The tradition of *bakhshi* is probably one of the very few sources still existing in its original form today that can provide us with some answers about oral cultures of the past.

Even though some of the issues on the degree of improvisation in the tradition of *bakhshi* have been clarified above, there is still a lot work to be done and research to be made in order to obtain clearer answers about improvisation, text generation and story transmission in the tradition. Possibilities for further research include the following.

✓ Only nine multiple performances of *Alpomish* (three performances each from Qakhor-bakhshi, Mukhammad-bakhshi and Shodmon-bakhshi) were analyzed within the framework of the current research. Analysis of the performances of the same part of *Alpomish* from the same three storytellers recorded several years subsequently (the first recording was made in 2011) might uncover some other aspects of the tradition.

✓ The current research was focused on analysis of *Alpomish*. Comparative analysis of *Alpomish* performed by Qakhor-bakhshi, Mukhammad-bakhshi and Shodmon-bakhshi with other stories performed by the same three *bakhshi* would also contribute to a better understanding of the tradition.

✓ In the framework of the current research only the performances of highly skilled storytellers were examined. Further research focusing on performances of younger *bakhshi* is essential, especially in comparison to those of their teachers.

✓ The current research focused on the analysis of performances from the point of view of their textual characteristics. While the narrative texts of the performances were analyzed, the musical characteristics of the performances were not examined. The goal this time was to show the changes taking place in the narrative texts of multiple performances during reproduction of textual material, to demonstrate the tendencies seen in general,

and, clarify some of the issues related to improvisation at the level of text generation. The analysis of musical characteristics and research focusing on the issues of improvisation in the music of *doston* is still to be undertaken.

PART II

THE JAPANESE
STORYTELLING TRADITION

CHAPTER III

THE ORAL TRADITION OF JAPAN: BLIND *BIWA* PLAYERS FROM KYUSHU

Chapter III is a general introduction to the tradition of blind *biwa* players. It is divided into three sections. Section 1 focuses on the origins of the tradition of blind *biwa* players. Two representatives of the tradition of blind *biwa* players, Yamashika Yoshiyuki and Ōkawa Susumu, whose repertories have already been analyzed and examined by Hyōdō Hiromi and Hugh de Ferranti in contexts directly related to the issues dealt with in the current research, are introduced in Section 2. Such aspects as the training of storytellers, their performing practice and lifestyle are considered in this section. Section 3 focuses on the repertory of blind *biwa* players; the content of several tales is introduced in the section in order to give a general idea about the tradition.

Unfortunately, the tradition of blind *biwa* players from Kyushu ceased to exist at the end of the twentieth century. Further research of ethnographic character including fieldwork interviews or recordings of live performances is no longer possible.[1] Accordingly, the content of the chapter is mostly a review and summary of research conducted by other scholars and does not possess any originality of its own. However, its inclusion is necessary, since it provides us with a theoretical basis for the interpretation of aspects of the tradition undertaken in the following chapter.

1 Origins of blind biwa *players*

There are many different terms in Japanese scholarship associated with blind *biwa* players, such as *biwa hōshi* 琵琶法師, *mōsō* 盲僧, *zatō* 座当, *biwa hiki* 琵琶弾き and *zatō biwa* 座当琵琶. In general blind *biwa* players are referred to as *biwa hōshi*, which literally means 'teacher of the Buddhist law with *biwa*.' This word is well known to most Japanese, since the medieval Japanese narrative *The Tale of the Heike* (*Heike Monogatari*, 平家物語),[2]

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[1] Even though the tradition of blind *biwa* players does not exist in its original form at present, I found it necessary to become acquainted with the environment in which blind *biwa* players lived and engaged in their activities. In August 2013, during a two-week trip to Kyushu, I visited Fukuoka, Kumamoto and Kagoshima prefectures, and was able to visit most of the locations mentioned in the current chapter.

[2] *Heike Monogatari* is a medieval epic account describing the twelfth-century war between the Taira and Minamoto clans. The tragic content of the epic, and its many characters, had a great impact on the cultural life of Japanese society of the middle ages, and has been

commonly associated with *biwa hōshi*, is included in the high school Japanese literature curriculum. *Zatō* is a term generally used for blind men of low status, while *mōsō* was originally used to refer to blind priests affiliated with some religious organization. Hugh de Ferranti, who gave a detailed historical review of the terminology and its development in *The Last Biwa Singer: A Blind Musician in History, Imagination and Performance,* notes:

> It is reasonable to interpret *mōsō* as a designation for *biwa hōshi* who gained affiliation from the late seventeenth century with regional and national institutions, both Buddhist and "Shintoist" in nature. (2009: 11)

In her "Higobiwa saihōroku," Ga Machiko introduced the term *biwa hiki,* which was used in the Kumamoto region of Kyushu (1972). The term was adopted by Kimura Rirō and de Ferranti. In his "Zatō biwa no katarimono denshō ni tsuite no kenkyū," Hyōdō Hiromi used the term *zatō biwa* to refer to the same group of *biwa* players (1991; 1993). Regardless of the diversity of terms used by scholars and slight differences between them, all of them are clearly interrelated and in a broader sense represent the same cultural phenomenon, an oral tradition maintained by blind *biwa* players, who "had in common: blindness, maleness, a degree of association with sacred and supernatural phenomena, and various degrees of engagement in performance of narratives for entertainment" (de Ferranti 2009: 20).

The *biwa*, a short-necked lute, is an essential element of the tradition of blind *biwa* players. The instrument was used to accompany the recitation of sutras and tales performed for entertainment. The Japanese four-stringed *biwa* existing today originated in Western Asia, supposedly somewhere in Ancient Persia, and after undergoing certain transformations in China, it was brought to Japan during the Nara period (A.D. 710-794) (Kishibe 2005; Tanabe 1947: 186). Researchers of Japanese music and literature have classified *biwa* into several types, such as *gagaku biwa* 雅楽琵琶, *mōsō biwa* 盲僧琵琶, *heike biwa* 平家琵琶, *chikuzen biwa* 筑前琵琶 and *satsuma biwa* 薩摩琵琶, based on specific characteristics of each type of the instrument.

The hypothesis of Tanabe Hisao about the routes of transmission of the *biwa* influenced the research of many scholars. According to Tanabe, *gagaku biwa* and *mōsō biwa* arrived in Japan through different routes. *Gagaku biwa*, which came to China during the Han dynasty and was called *han pipa* 漢琵琶 in China, was brought to Japan, supposedly to the old capital, during the Nara period. The *mōsō biwa*, which was used by blind priests in India to accompany the recitation of sutras, was brought to Kyushu directly from the continent passing through on its way the southern part of China. As for the *heike biwa*, it appeared much later, in the Kamakura period, through a combination of features of the *mōsō biwa* and

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reflected in many different genres of literature and performing arts.

gagaku biwa (Tanabe 1947: 188). However, Hirano Kenji contested this hypothesis and postulated that the *mōsō biwa* could have appeared as a result of modification of the *gagaku biwa,* rather than being a different type of *biwa* that came to Japan via a different route (Tanabe & Hirano 1989: 291). Komoda Haruko later developed Hirano's ideas and proposed her own theory based on the examination of historical sources and surviving instruments. According to Komoda, *biwa hōshi* started to use the *gagaku biwa*, and then at some point it was transformed into the *heike biwa*. Later the *heike biwa* was modified to give birth to a new type of the instrument called the *mōsō biwa* (Komoda 2003: 318).

> The direct ancestors of today's *mōsō* are those *biwa hōshi* who refused to join the *tōdō-za*[3] in the early modern period, when the *tōdō-za* was gradually expanding its influence over the whole country. These *biwa hōshi*, even though oppressed, independently succeeded in organizing the *mōsō-za*[4] based in Kyoto's Shōren-in in the Tenmei era at the end of the eighteenth century. We should consider the possibility that the *biwa* used by *mōsō* was born some time around the eighteenth century, when the *mōsō-za* was formed. (Komoda 2012: 4; italics added (translated from Japanese))

Komoda rejected the possibility of direct transmission of the *mōsō biwa* from the continent to Kyushu. However, regardless of the origin of the *biwa*, the fact remains that the instrument originally came to Japan from the continent. That appears to be the main reason why some scholars assume that not only the instrument, but also the oral culture the instrument carried, could have been brought to Japan from the continent.

In his attempt to find the roots of the Japanese oral tradition maintained by blind *biwa* players, de Ferranti considered the possibility of influences from Chinese oral cultures.

> It remains subject to debate whether the earliest biwa narrative arose through innovative use of the *gagaku biwa* (or a smaller version of the instrument), development of a tradition of tales on Buddhist themes by ritualists later known as *mōsō*, or imitation of Continental Asian narrative performance with lute accompaniment, such as various precursors of Chinese *tanci*. Records of a performance genre called *tanci* date back only to the late Yuan dynasty, that is, the mid fourteenth century, long after the time of the first records of oral recitation with biwa in Japan. (de Ferranti 2009: 41)

Hyōdō, one of the scholars influenced by the hypothesis of Tanabe about the origin

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[3] *Tōdō-za* 当道座, a professional guild of *biwa hōshi* mostly specialized in performances of Heike tales, was established in the fourteenth century and remained active until the Meiji era. The guild was hierarchically structured with many ranks within its organization: *kengyō* 検校, *bettō* 別当, *kōtō* 勾当 and *zatō* 座頭.

[4] *Mōsō-za* 盲僧座 was a guild similar to *tōdō-za*, but active in the western part of Japan.

of the *mōsō biwa*, also tried to link the oral tradition to that of Continental Asia. In his monograph *Biwa hōshi – ikai o kataru hitobito* (2009), Hyōdō postulated that the culture of oral narration maintained by blind *biwa* players could have been brought to Japan together with the instrument, and in order to support this hypothesis Hyōdō introduced several examples of *biwa* traditions seen in China.

> Performances of songs, historical events (not official historical sources), tales by the blind to the accompaniment of lute had been practiced on the continent from early times. We can postulate that this tradition of lute performances by the blind could have come from the continent and the Korean peninsula to Kyushu and the Chūgoku region directly (without passing through Kyoto) together with the instruments they used. (Hyōdō 2009: 24 (translated from Japanese))

It is not clear how stories accompanied by *biwa* first came to be performed in Japan. Literary and historical sources mention *biwa hōshi* only starting from the Heian period. Taira no Kanemori 平兼盛, a poet of the second half of the tenth century, composed a *waka* describing *biwa hōshi* as a person who wandered with his four-string *biwa* (Taira no Kanemori).[5] *Biwa hōshi* also appear in several entries of the diary of Fujiwara no Sanesuke, *Shōyūki,*[6] as entertainers of low status. Other sources, such as *Daigoji Shin'yōroku,*[7] *Shinsarugakki,*[8] *Tokitsugu Kyōki*[9] and *Kanmon Nikki,*[10] contain entries describing the activities of *biwa hōshi* and their performances. From these sources and other records made subsequently it is surmised that *biwa hōshi* were mostly blind entertainers and ritualists who performed oral narratives, including *Heike Monogatari* and *Soga Monogatari* 曽我物語,[11] to the accompaniment of *biwa,* and participated in different kinds of religious rites (Hyōdō 2009; de Ferranti 2009).

Hyōdō paid a special attention to the ritualistic side of *biwa hōshi*'s activities related

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[5] This *waka* is included in *Taira no Kanemori shū* 平兼盛集, a collection of poems by Taira no Kanemori.

[6] *Shōyūki* 小右記 is the diary of a government official of the mid-Heian period, Minister of the Right, Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資. It depicts political and social events of the period 978 to 1032.

[7] *Daigoji Shin'yōroku* 醍醐寺新要録 is a collection of records related to the history of Daigo temple, and dates from the early Heian period to the thirteenth year of the Keichō era (1608).

[8] *Shinsarugakki* 新猿楽記 is a collection of *zuihitsu* (essays) of the late Heian period, written by Fujiwara no Akihira 藤原明衡.

[9] *Tokitsugu Kyōki* 言継卿記 is the diary of an aristocrat, Yamashina Tokitsugu 山科言継, of the late Muromachi period.

[10] *Kanmon Nikki* 看聞日記 is the diary of Prince Sadafusa 貞成親王 of the Muromachi period.

[11] *Soga Monogatari* 曽我物語 is a medieval tale about the Soga brothers, who sought out their father's murderer in order to revenge their father's death.

to worshipping and pacifying deities, and characterized them as being shamanistic in nature.

> Performing different stories, such as *Heike* and *Sōga*, they also practiced worshipping and fortune-telling, pacified the Earth Spirit, and venerated the Gods of Water and Earth as the gods of their craft… The *Jijin-kyō,* which was brought to the western part of Japan in the Heian period, was recited by low status ritualists and shamans in the areas surrounding Kyoto. It is possible that those shamans could have included blind *biwa hōshi.* (Hyōdō 2009: 18; italics added (translated from Japanese))

The *Jijin-kyō* 地神経, a sutra that was a part of the ritualistic work of blind *biwa* players, is associated with the activities of the blind on the continent, namely with Korean shamans (Araki 1979; Nagai 2002). It is thought that the sutra existed at the latest from the Heian period, since it is mentioned in *Higashiyama Ōrai.*[12] But it is clear from the account in *Higashiyama Ōrai* that the *Jijin-kyō* was thought to be an apocryphal sutra, which is the reason why the Buddhist priest depicted in the record was against its recitation (Hyōdō 2009). Apparently, the sutra was brought from the continent and spread within Japan at some point prior to or during the Heian period. In his *Heike monogatari no keisei to biwa hōshi,* Sunagawa Hiroshi set out the following hypothesis concerning the origin of the sutra:

> Based on the fact that the *Bussetsu Jijin Darani-kyō* performed by Korean shamans called *tokkyon* and the sutra of blind priests from Kyushu are almost identical, and that, moreover, *Mōsō Yurai*, the record of blind priests from Kyushu, mentions that the ritual pacifying spirits of the Earth by playing the *biwa* came with a blind priest who was sent to Hyūga from Paekche, we can postulate that it was transmitted from the Korean peninsula. (Sunagawa 2001: 295; italics added (translated from Japanese))

Regardless of the exact route of transmission, the *Jijin-kyō* undoubtedly came from the continent. The sutra was an important part of the repertory of *biwa hōshi*, especially of those who were active in Kyushu and the Chūgoku region of Japan. Today there exist two versions of the sutra: one of them is the text that belongs to the Gensei Hōryū 玄清法流 sect and the other is the text of the Jōrakuin Hōryū 常楽院法流 sect (Hyōdō 2009: 38-39). Even though initially the sutra was performed by all blind *biwa* players, at some point, most probably after the establishment of the *tōdō-za* and introduction of various rules and restrictions concerning the activities of *biwa hōshi*, the sutra gradually lost its popularity among the majority of *biwa* players and became a part of peripheral *biwa* culture represented by blind *biwa* players from the Kyushu and Chūgoku regions. Two separate

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[12] *Higashiyama Ōrai* 東山往来 is a collection of records by Jōjin 定深 (?~1119), a head of Kiyomizu temple.

groups of blind *biwa* players, sometimes referred to as *heike zatō* 平家座当 and *jijin mōsō* 地神盲僧, were eventually formed. Katō Tomoaki described the differences between the two groups as follows:

> *Mōsō* specialize in the recitation of the *Jijin-kyō* to the accompaniment of the *biwa*; they function as shamanistic or religious figures who worship Kōjin and perform rituals, such as *kamado-barai*. They resemble *biwa hōshi* who perform *heikyoku*, since they have the appearance of priests and carry the *biwa* with them. It is believed that both come from the same source. While activities of *biwa hōshi* in the atmosphere of the town culture evolved into a performing art, in the case of *mōsō*, who stayed in villages, they retained their shamanistic or religious character. (Katō 1974: 82; italics added (translated from Japanese))

In the Edo period, some of the blind *biwa* players officially became *mōsō* through affiliation with religious institutions, while the rest continued to spend their lives as independent wandering entertainers and ritualists (Hyōdō 2000: 192-193).

In the past, when farming was an important means of supporting life for the majority of the population, for the blind who could not participate in this activity due to their physical limitations the path of entertainer and ritualist was one of the few possibilities they had in order to survive. A record of the early modern period, *Mōsō Yurai*,[13] mentions that ritual performances played an important role in the life of the blind as a source of income. It describes a story of a man who, due to being blind, suffered from a lack of food and clothing. He had to become a priest, and only after he had started to perform rituals was he able to support himself. In *Nihon mōjin shakaishi kenkyū*, Katō Yasuaki considered the range of possibilities for the blind to participate in farming, but noted that due to physical disability they could only be involved in a limited number of activities.

> Relatively simple things, such as fodder and firewood gathering, threshing, processing straw and making cotton threads, were performed by the blind... We can assume that this type of participation in agricultural production was possible in the early modern period. However, be it day labor, or work done in one's own household, it was only supplementary... When talking about the position of blind peasants, we can say that in general in feudal society the blind were alienated from agricultural production. (Katō 1974: 33; italics added (translated from Japanese))

In other words, the blind could not secure their livelihood independently without the help of other members of the agricultural society. Katō's research is mostly concerned with the early modern period (*kinsei*), but we can assume that the life of the blind in earlier periods would have had a lot in common with that of the early modern period. From ancient

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[13] *Mōsō Yurai* 盲僧由来 purports to have been written in 1301 by a priest of the Gensei Hōryū sect, but this is clearly apocryphal.

times the blind, devoid of any common source of income due to their physical disability, participated in the religious and social life of society as shamans, ritualists and entertainers. In his *Nihon mōjin shi,* Nakayama Tarō postulated that the *biwa* had become an important tool that helped the blind to support themselves.

> The *biwa* that was a part of *gagaku* from the Nara period separated from *gagaku* in the Heian period and entered the world of folk music, in this way becoming a possession of the blind. This is how *biwa hōshi* appeared. This became a means of securing the life of the blind, and in the next period, the Kamakura period, *heike biwa* emerged, and for a long time it was a major occupation for the blind. (Nakayama 1976: 50; italics added (translated from Japanese))

Nakayama formulated this hypothesis about the origin of the tradition of blind *biwa* players and their life as low status entertainers and ritualists, but noted that none of the historical sources gave detailed information about their life in the past. As mentioned above, the blind could not lead the life of an ordinary peasant. Most of them had to look for shelter under the roofs of temples and shrines.

> *Biwa hōshi,* just like *shōmonji,*[14] were subordinates of temples and shrines and were engaged in various performing arts and rituals. Recitation of the *Jijin-kyō* for pacification of *Jijin* and *kamado-barai* was one of their major occupations. (Kami 1986: 118; italics added (translated from Japanese))

Nakayama and Kami Hiroshi paid special attention to the role of religious institutions in the development of the tradition of blind *biwa* players. Nakayama considered that temples were the environment that made the contact between *biwa* music and the blind possible (Nakayama 1976: 74). According to Kato religious institutions exerted a strong influence on the activities of *biwa hōshi* in the past, and even played a certain role in the formation of their professional organization, the *tōdō-za*.

> Based on the fact that in the early modern era *tōdō* participated in religious festivals of Hiyoshi, Kamo, Inari and Gion shrines, and there performed *kagura,*[15] *dengaku*[16] and *heike*, we can make an assumption about the historical connections between the shrines and *tōdō*... *Biwa hōshi* wandered around the country, having their centers in Tsukushi, Akashi, Yasaka and Bandō,[17] but they eventually formed a guild centered on a group of powerful *heike* performers. (Kato 1974: 135; italics added (translated from Japanese))

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[14] *Shōmonji* 唱門師 are entertainers and ritualists known from the middle ages. A guild of *shōmonji* was formed in the Muromachi period at the Nara temple Kōfuku-ji. In the Edo period they were categorized as *senmin*, people of the lowest class.
[15] *Kagura* 神楽 is a type of sacred music and dancing performed at shrines.
[16] *Dengaku* 田楽 is a type of dancing and music originally performed at agricultural festivals.
[17] Bandō 坂東 is an old name of the Kantō region.

The connection between the religious institutions and *biwa hōshi* was maintained even after the establishment of the *tōdō-za*, which controlled the activities of blind *biwa* players. Regardless of their affiliation with a religious institution or professional organization, blind *biwa* players were mostly men of low status. However, some *biwa hōshi* had the chance to perform in front of representatives of the aristocracy and ruling elites. Not only did *biwa hōshi* entertain them, but they also sometimes gained their patronage and support. In *Nihon mōjin shi (zoku)*, Nakayama postulated that this kind of contact between *biwa hōshi* and the elite was not common at first, and only became possible not earlier than in the Kamakura period.

> I believe that the blind could only approach the aristocrats and lords in the period between the end of the Kamakura period and the beginning of the Muromachi period, when *heike biwa* was created. Of course, blind men called *biwa hōshi* were invited by lords in the Heian period as well; however, for those meetings they were only invited as *biwa* performers. Thus, they only received payment for each time they performed. (Nakayama 1976: 5; italics added (translated from Japanese))

According to Nakayama, starting from the Kamakura period *biwa hōshi* could be seen in the residences of lords, and even participated in important court events, such as *gyōkō* 行幸, excursions of the Emperor. Hyōdō suggested that performances of the blind *biwa* players were at the height of their popularity in the days of Akashi Kakuichi.[18]

> Some time between the Nanbokuchō period and the Muromachi period, *heike* reached the peak of its popularity as a medieval performing art. Diaries and records of aristocrats especially mention the name of Kakuichi. Performances of *heike* by *biwa hōshi* became very popular among people of a high social class in the days of Kakuichi. (Hyōdō 2009: 144; italics added (translated from Japanese))

Performances in the houses of wealthy people of a high social status not only provided *biwa hōshi* with income, but also helped them to increase their popularity and eventually gain higher ranks (Kajiwara 1994: 21). However, it is unlikely that the blind of extremely low social status would have had access to the court or houses of feudal lords. It was not possible unless *biwa hōshi* were performers of a higher rank, such as one of the famous *kengyō*. In the entry dated the eighteenth day of the eighth month of the fourth year of the Eikyō era (1432) of *Kanmon Nikki*, there is a record about a *biwa hōshi* named Kyūichi 求一, who was allowed to perform only after being recommended by several people (*Kanmon*

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[18] Akashi Kakuichi 明石覚一 is a famous blind *biwa* player of the early Muromachi period, a member of the *tōdō-za*, also known as Akashi *kengyō*. He is acknowledged as the principal author of the version of *Heike Monogatari* known as the *kakuichi-bon*.

Nikki 2004). Forty *biwa hōshi* performed *heike* in the period between the twenty third year of the Ōei era (1416) and the fifth year of the Bun'an era (1448), and most of them received their chance to perform in the same way as Kyūichi through recommendation of someone of a higher status (Kajiwara 1994: 21). It is possible that contact with literate aristocrats influenced the nature of performances of *biwa hōshi* and contributed to the development of *heike* as a performing art.

> It is written in *Kanmon Nikki* (*Gyoki*) that Prince Sadafusa often invited *biwa hōshi* to perform *heike*. From the same diary we find out that the retired Emperor and Ashikaga Shogun also listened to *heike*. This kind of contact with people of a high social status might have improved the technique of playing, singing and even the instrument *biwa* itself. (Hyōdō 2009: 144; italics added (translated from Japanese))

Not only individual *biwa* players, but the whole organization of the *tōdō-za* had strong connections with the ruling elite. According to Hyōdō, from the early fourteenth century *biwa hōshi* were controlled by the Nakanoin 中院 family of the Murakami Genji 村上源氏 clan that held the title of *Genji no Chōja*.[19] At the end of the Nanbokuchō period, the Ashikaga family of the Seiwa Genji 清和源氏 clan took the title of *Genji no Chōja*, and became the head of the whole clan. As a result, the activities of *biwa hōshi* fell under the control of the new *Genji no Chōja*, the Ashikaga. It is known that Akashi Kakuichi received strong protection and support from Ashikaga Takauji. In the sixth year of the Ōei era (1399), Kakuichi's version of *Heike Monogatari*, which had been developed as a symbol of authority within the *tōdō-za*, was presented to the Ashikaga shogun by a student of Kakuichi, Keiichi 慶一. Hyōdō considered that this action had a special symbolic meaning.

> The authoritative book that was presented was kept by the shogun family at least till the mid fifteenth century… Conservative transmission of the book helped to exert control inside the organization of the *tōdō-za*, and the fact of possession of the book by the shogun family meant that the power and the right to supervise and control the guild was in the hands of the shogun family. (Hyōdō 2009: 149; italics added (translated from Japanese))

Performances accompanied by *biwa* were extremely popular among both aristocrats and commoners. However, from the end of the sixteenth century *biwa* performances started to lose their popularity. Most of the blind engaged in ritual practices and entertainment found a new source to support their living, such as massage and acupuncture. Katō noted that massage and acupuncture were practiced by the blind before the early modern period as well, but due to having lesser popularity among the population did not provide blind practitioners

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[19] *Genji no Chōja* 源氏長者 is a title held by the family that was head of the Genji clan.

with sufficient income.

> Activities of ritualists and shamans continued for a while after that. However, it is thought that the blind could separate themselves from ritual practices and approach medicine only after practical medicine had separated from magic, reached a certain level of development, and a social basis for medicine as a separate field was established… And from the mid-early modern period acupuncture and massage replaced performing arts as the main source of income for the blind. (Katō 1974: 125 (translated from Japanese))

Hyōdō also mentioned social changes in the Edo period that had a significant impact on the performing arts and described another factor that brought about a certain transformation of the nature of performances of blind *biwa* players: most blind *biwa* players switched from *biwa* to *shamisen*.[20] Hyōdō described this process as follows.

> In the Edo period *heike* continued to be performed, but as an entertainment of the samurai class rather than popular amusement for commoners. Most of the performers belonged to the higher ranks of *kengyō* and *kōtō*. Ordinary blind performers gave up the *biwa* for *shamisen*, *koto* or *kokyū*. After the Genroku era massage and acupuncture became their main source of income. (Hyōdō 2009: 160; italics added (translated from Japanese))

New genres of oral narrative, such as *jōruri*[21], *okujōruri*[22] performed in Miyagi and Iwate, and *gundan*[23] of Niigata prefecture evolved and developed from performances by *zatō* with the new instrument *shamisen*. This new or renewed oral culture rapidly spread all over Japan. Even after the Edo period it was only in Kyushu that the *biwa* was not replaced with *shamisen* during the period until the second half of the twentieth century. In this region the *biwa* maintained its role of a ritual tool in religious practices and performances of secular tales for as long as the blind *biwa* players tradition was alive (Hyōdō 2000: 192).

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[20] The *shamisen* 三味線 is a three-stringed Japanese musical instrument derived from the Chinese instrument *sanxian*.

[21] *Jōruri* 浄瑠璃 is a genre of storytelling in which the *shamisen* is used to accompany recitation. It is thought that the genre originated in performances of a love story involving Ushiwakamaru (Minamoto no Yoshitsune) and Jōrurihime.

[22] *Okujōruri* 奥浄瑠璃 is a type of *jōruri* that was performed by blind performers of the Tohoku district starting from the early modern era.

[23] *Gundan* 軍談 is a narrative genre of war-related stories that developed in the Edo period.

2 The last blind biwa players of Kyushu

The traditional account of the origin of blind *biwa* players tells that in the second year of the Empō era (1674) Funahashi *kengyō* 舟橋検校 came from Kyoto to Kumamoto at the request of Lord Hosokawa. In Kumamoto, Funahashi *kengyō* gave a performance of *heike*, and then composed several tales on local historical themes, such as *Kikuchi Kuzure* 菊池くづれ and *Miyako Gassen Chikushi Kudari* 都合戦筑紫下り, and taught them to blind *biwa* players from Kyushu (de Ferranti 2009: 95). However, no reliable documentary evidence for this account of origin exists.

> Primary evidence is lacking for this account of origin and for the putative Edo-period lines of transmission and early divisions into *ha*. In post-war writings these accounts of Edo-period schools of performance based in Kumamoto were given in publications by the local historian Hirakawa Atsushi, but with references to only a single source, an otherwise unknown text of 1925. (de Ferranti 2009: 95-96)

Not much is known about the activities of blind *biwa* players from Kyushu in the past. During the twentieth century many researchers and folklorists, such as Tanabe Hisao, Kimura Yūshō, Kimura Rirō, Nomura (Ga) Machiko, Narita Mamoru, Hyōdō Hiromi and Hugh de Ferranti, collected data on the tradition of blind *biwa* players from Kyushu, made recordings of their performances and conducted detailed research on the history and nature of the tradition. Despite the fact that some efforts to popularize the tradition of blind *biwa* players through introduction of its representatives and their repertory were undertaken, the tradition ceased to exist at the end of the twentieth century.

> There were 345 registered professionals in 1907... In 1963, Kimura Yūshō documented 12 men in Kumamoto Prefecture who were still capable of performance. In 1978 a total of 16 living former practitioners were listed by Hirakawa, but few among them could still play... Three of those 16 remained alive in 1992, of whom 2 were capable of performance... Provision of welfare and education to the blind in rural areas, moreover, has meant that no blind people have learned *higobiwa* in the post-war era, and in 2007 only the *chikuzenbiwa* player Katayama Kyokusei is able to perform a small number of pieces he learned during the last years of Yamashika's life. (de Ferranti 2009: 106)

Yamashika Yoshiyuki, who is the subject of de Ferranti's monograph (2009), became one of the most popular *biwa* players of Kyushu due to his many public performances organized by local and central organizations, and publications that elucidated some aspects of the performer's life and the tradition he represented and practiced throughout his life. Yamashika was even called *saigo no biwa hōshi* ('the last *biwa hōshi*') for

his ability to perform and for the abundance of his repertory (Hyōdō 2009; de Ferranti 2009).

A short description of the life and activities of the two performers, Yamashika and Ōkawa Susumu, is given below.

Yamashika Yoshiyuki 山鹿良之

Yamashika was born in 1901 in the family of a farmer living in Ōhara of Tamana District (Kobaru of Nankan), Kumamoto Prefecture. Yamashika lost the sight in his left eye at the age of four. At the age of twenty two Yamashika apprenticed with a *biwa* player named Ezaki Shotarō 江崎初太郎 from Amakusa. The professional name of Ezaki was Tamagawa Kyōsetsu 玉川教節 (Hyōdō 2000: 194). Yamashika's mother was from the same district where Ezaki's teacher, Hori 掘, known by the professional name Tamagawa Kyōjun 玉川教順, used to live. That is apparently the reason why Yamashika's grandfather asked Ezaki to teach Yamashika (Ga 1972: 26). The name of the lineage of Tamagawa was granted to Hori by Lord Hosokawa of Higo himself (Ga 1972: 26). In the past there were over twenty members in the lineage. In the days of Yamashika's apprenticeship, Ezaki had several students, including Hamaguchi Kamesaku 浜口亀作, also known as Tamagawa Kyōraku 玉川教楽 (Ga 1972: 26).

Yamashika learned how to handle the *biwa* from Ezaki, and then he learned several *hauta* 端歌, short songs. Since Yamashika apprenticed with Ezaki at the age of twenty two, he only learned three *hauta* pieces. After that he was taught the shortest and simplest piece among the narratives, *Ono no Komachi*.[24] According to Ga, Yamashika first memorized the text of the tale, *monku* 文句, and then learned how to accompany the text with *biwa*. The method of learning the first piece, a method of direct transmission of the repertory, is called *kuchi-utsushi* 口移し, which literally means 'mouth–to-mouth transferral.' When learning a piece of the repertory, *gedai* 外題, a student repeats the words of his teacher until they get fixed in his memory. The rest of the student's repertory is usually acquired through indirect transmission. *Kiki-oboe* 聞き覚え literally means 'learning by listening.' It is a method of transmission that involved learning the outline of the story performed by other storytellers and then constructing one's own version of it (de Ferranti 2003: 135).

Yamashika learned to play the *biwa* for about a year, and during that year only one out of ten practice sessions was supervised by the teacher. Yamashika practiced the *biwa* twice a day on his own. In one day, Yamashika was evidently able to memorize about one

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[24] A more detailed description of the acquisition process of *hauta*, *Ono no Komachi* 小野小町 and *Dōjōji* 道成寺 is given in Chapter IV in relation to the issue of memorization and oral composition in the tradition of blind *biwa* players.

third of a one-hour-long narrative piece. We should note, however, that each student had a different memory capacity and memorized new material at a different speed. For example, Kamesaku had difficulty in remembering new narratives. However, once he remembered something, he did not forget it. Another student, Hori Matami 掘又巳 memorized narratives very quickly, but failed to keep them in memory for very long (Ga 1972: 28).

The wife of Ezaki was a local midwife. She was busy with her work, so most of the housework was done by students (Ga 1972: 28). When a student memorized some of the repertory, he became able to accompany his teacher on *kadozuke* 門付け, or *kadobiki* 門びき, performances, when *biwa* players moved from household to household performing pieces of their repertory in exchange for such things as rice or tea, or sometimes money. Sometimes students undertook *kadozuke* on their own. However, students never received from villagers the same things their teacher did (Ga 1972: 28).

Yamashika apprenticed with Ezaki for three years. During those years he learned such narratives as *Miyako Gassen Chikushi Kudari* 都合戦筑紫下り, *Kikuchi Kuzure* 菊池くづれ, *Kugami Gassen* くがみ合戦, *Owari Sōdō* 尾張騒動, *Sumidagawa* 隅田川 and *Mochi Gassen* 餅合戦. One of the most famous tales in his repertory, *Anchin Kiyohime* 安珍清姫 (also known as *Dōjōji* 道成寺), Yamashika learned from his fellow student Kamesaku. Yamashika had to leave Ezaki only after three years of apprenticeship because of an incident that affected his relationship with his teacher. According to common rules that regulated the relationship between students and teachers, all students had to give everything they received during *kadozuke* performances to their teachers. One day Kamesaku and Yamashika did not follow the rule and kept the profit gained from a *kadozuke* performance. This became a matter of friction between the teacher and the student (Ga 1972: 28).

Yamashika returned home, but he was not capable of any farm work because his eyesight had deteriorated further by then. Yamashika decided to become a professional *biwa* player and dedicate his life to storytelling. However, in order to do so he had to increase the number of pieces in his repertory. For about a year Yamashika followed a performer named Mori Yoichi 森与一, known by the professional name Tamagawa Kyōzan 玉川教山 (Ga 1972: 28). From Mori Yamashika learned such narratives as *Ichi no Tani* 一の谷, *Ko-Atsumori* 小敦盛, *Azekakehime* あぜかけ姫, *Shuntokumaru* 俊徳丸 and *Oguri Hangan* 小栗判官. However, the circumstances for the acquisition of these pieces of repertory remain unclear (de Ferranti 2009: 260). Yamashika kept learning stories and pieces of ritual performances from other *biwa* players and ritualists through his performing life. For example, Yamashika learned *hashira-date* 柱立て, which is performed during the *watamashi* わたまし rite, from a performer named Kyōbutsu 教仏. And he learned *sanjū hotoke* (or *sanjū-butsu*) 三十仏 from Sakamoto Saichi 坂本さいち (Ga 1972: 28-29).

Yamashika became a professional *biwa* player under the name Tamagawa Kyōen 玉川教演 in 1927, after going through *nabiraki* 名開き, a ceremony through which a student acquired his professional name and was officially accepted by the community as a *biwa* player. De Ferranti describes two types of qualification, the conclusion of an apprenticeship and *nabiraki,* as important events in the performing career of blind *biwa* players.

> As a formal declaration of one's professional status under a given professional name, this public event was considered important for legitimate members of a *ha*. While the conclusion of an apprenticeship usually yielded an actual certificate from one's teacher, the successful conclusion of a *nabiraki* was in effect the means by which *biwa hiki* acquired their professional license in the eyes of their fellow musicians and the patronage communities that would sustain them. (de Ferranti 2009: 256)

Yamashika supported himself and his family through performances of the *watamashi* and *Kōjin-barai* 荒神祓い rites and secular tales during *kadozuke* and *zashikibiwa* 座敷琵琶, pre-arranged performances of tales given in the *zashiki* of private houses. Yamashika was active in such areas of Kyushu as Ōmuta, Setaka and Yanagawa. Yamashika was one of the most popular representatives of the tradition of blind *biwa* players both among researchers and the popular media. And the tradition of blind *biwa* players received designation as an Intangible Cultural Asset in 1973 (Hyōdō 2000: 195; de Ferranti 2009: 280). De Ferranti describes Yamashika's last few years as follows:

> Although his career as an active performer had effectively ended by 1990, he continued to be asked to perform in occasional events instigated by researchers and aficionados of local culture. In the first week of July 1992 he performed in Tokyo… A few months after returning from Tokyo, he fell from steps and was hospitalised. Although he recovered,… he was absolutely incapable of holding the *biwa*… His health failed again in 1995, so that he entered a nearby old people's home where he died on June 24, 1996. (de Ferranti 2009: 16)

Ōkawa Susumu 大川進

Ōkawa was born in 1918 in Izumi, a city located in Kagoshima Prefecture. Ōkawa lost his eyesight soon after birth. For about six years from the age of twelve, Ōkawa apprenticed with Nakano Kōemon 中野幸右衛門, known by the professional name Miyagawa Kyōgaku 宮川教学, and Tanaka Motarō 田中モタロウ. Both *biwa* players belonged to the Miyagawa lineage and were trained by the sighted first-generation Miyagawa Kyōgaku (de Ferranti 2003: 136).

From his teacher Ōkawa learned ritual performances such as the *watamashi* and *Kōjin-barai,* and tales such as *Azekakehime* あぜかけ姫, *Ishidōmaru* 石童丸, *Oguri Hangan* 小栗判官, *Futaba Gunki* ふたば軍記 and *Kumagai Atome Sōdō* 熊谷跡目騒動 (Hyōdō

2000: 277). Ōkawa did not acquire any *hauta* during his years of apprenticeship. In the Miyagawa lineage the first piece learned through the *kuchi-utsushi* method was *Azekakehime*.[25] Ōkawa learned this piece by rote at the initial step of training, which is why he could reproduce it from memory word for word in his later years. His *gei-gatame* 芸がた め, a tale learned as the final practice piece of training, was *Futaba Gunki*. Ōkawa's repertory also included such tales as *Amakusa Junrei* 天草巡礼 and *Shiga Danshichi*[26] 志賀団七. These tales Ōkawa learned from other performers through *kiki-oboe*[27] (Hyōdō 2000: 277). It is known that Ōkawa was actively engaged in ritual performances and storytelling in Izumi, Akune and Ōkuchi in the pre-war years, but the focus of his livelihood gradually switched to massage in his later years. From the mid-seventies Ōkawa had to give up practicing his *biwa* because of paralysis (Hyōdō 2000: 277). Two recordings of Ōkawa's performances of *Shiga Danshichi* were made in 1975; Ōkawa had not performed tales to the accompaniment of the *biwa* for more than ten years prior to the day of the recordings (de Ferranti 2003: 140). Ōkawa passed away in 2000 (de Ferranti 2003: 133).

The tradition of blind *biwa* players as seen in the twentieth century can be briefly summarized as follows. Most *biwa* players were blind males of extremely low social status. Becoming a professional *biwa* player, who performed both *harai* rituals, such as the *watamashi* or *Kōjin-barai*, and entertained the public with tales and songs, was a way for them to secure a livelihood (Ga 1972; Hyōdō 2000; de Ferranti 2009). *Biwa* players entertained the public during *kadozuke* and *zashikibiwa*.

It was common for a student to live with his teacher, dedicating most of his time to housework rather than training. Those who wanted to become professional storytellers apprenticed with and had to stay with their teachers for up to eight years. Those students who mastered *hauta*, short songs, could participate in *kadozuke* performances. Any profit from such performances was always given to the teacher. Teachers only taught their students new material unwillingly, so that it was difficult for students to become independent performers. Students were not allowed to disobey in any way or leave their teacher until the

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[25] A more detailed introduction to the tale and a review of Hyōdō's research on the issues of stability and variability of the tale in performances of different *biwa* players is given in Chapter IV.

[26] A more detailed introduction to the tale and a review of de Ferranti's research on the issues of stability and variability of the tale in performances of different *biwa* players is given in Chapter IV.

[27] De Ferranti described *Shiga Danshichi* as a piece acquired through *kuchi-utsushi,* not *kiki-oboe.* De Ferranti's statement is based on fieldwork interviews accomplished after the completion of his PhD dissertation, in which Okawa insisted that *Shiga Danshichi* was acquired through *kuchi-utsushi.* See de Ferranti 2002: 69; 2003 : 140.

teacher decided that a student was ready to become an independent performer. Those who failed to follow the rules were punished. Students were a source of income for teachers. That is the reason why strict control over their activities was necessary. The only way for young performers to increase their repertory was to listen to the performances of others (Hyōdō 2000).

3 The repertory of blind biwa players from Kyushu

As already mentioned above, blind *biwa* players were both ritualists and entertainers, and accordingly their repertory included both ritual narratives and secular tales and songs.

Ritual performances

Blind *biwa* players performed rites such as the *watamashi* わたまし,[28] *Jijin-barai* 地神祓い and *Kōjin-barai* 荒神祓い, which is also called *kamado-barai* 竈祓い. These rites were performed in order to pacify a deity or spirit, and in the past played an important role in the life of rural society.

> A variety of ceremonies, including the above mentioned *harai*, exorcism or blessing rites for the hearth (*kamado-barai*), earth (*Jijin-barai*), wells (*Suijin-barai*) and for new houses and buildings (*watamashi*), as well as rainmaking ceremonies (*amagoi*), continued to be carried out by some *biwa hiki* as an integral part of their livelihoods until the 1960s. (de Ferranti 2009: 126)

The secular repertory of blind *biwa* players

The secular repertory of the blind *biwa* players is represented by *hauta*, short songs delivered in the traditional seven-five-syllable meter, and *danmono* 段物, long narratives. The repertory of blind *biwa* players included over eighty *hauta* songs and tales (Narita 1985). However, even though the narratives are mentioned in some records, blind *biwa* players active in the second half of the twentieth century could not perform even a half of that repertory. According to Narita Mamoru, some of the pieces from the repertory of blind *biwa* players were later included in the repertory of *chikuzenbiwa* and *satsumabiwa* (1985: 164). Narita divided the repertory of blind *biwa* players into two groups: old pieces that appeared before the Meiji era, and new pieces composed after the Meiji era. Narita classified the old repertory into several smaller groups, such as *kodenmono* 古伝物 (old tales), *gundanmono* 軍談物 (tales about battles from different parts of Japan), *kokkeimono* 滑稽物 (humorous stories), *mukashibanashi* 昔話 (tales about cunning or foolish people) and *hauta*. According to Narita, the content of most of the pieces was unstable and could change depending on occasion or the audience (1985: 165).

De Ferranti introduced a different classification of the repertory based on his interviews with Ōkawa Susumu. De Ferranti divided tales into *heikemono* (tales about the

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[28] A more detailed description of this ritual is given in Chapter IV in relation to the issue of fixity of textual material in performances of the *watamashi* rite.

Genpei war), *bushimono* (tales about famous warriors), *kassenmono* (tales favored for their scenes of fighting or battle), *sanjakumono* or *tōzokumono* (tales about criminals of the Edo period underworld), *Bukkyō biwa* tales (tales with a specifically didactic intent), *zokumono* (tales about the lives of commoners, either farmers or townspeople), *ureimono* (tales favored for scenes of personal tragedy and suffering) and *charimono/ kerenmono/ kokkeimono* (tales enjoyed for their humorous scenes) (de Ferranti 2003: 138). However, de Ferranti noted that in some cases it was difficult to put a tale into a certain category.

> Some of these categories clearly overlap; for example, the attributes of *kassenmono* and *ureimono* are also applicable to pieces within the categories of *zokumono* and *sanjakumono*, and a tale such as *Shiga Danshichi*, about an itinerant samurai of ill-repute, might be categorized as *ureimono*. (2003: 139)

Ga Machiko gave a different classification (1972). Her classification, together with the content of some of the pieces of the repertory, is introduced below.[29]

1. *Genpeimono* 源平物

Genpeimono (or *heikemono*) is a category of tales about the war between the Heike and the Minamoto clans. Such tales as *Kurama Nobori* 鞍馬上り, *Kurama Kudari* 鞍馬下り, *Ishibashi Gassen* 石橋合戦, *Ko-Atsumori* 小敦盛, *Yashima* 屋島, *Ichi no Tani* 一の谷, *Kumagai Atome* 熊谷跡目, *Dan no Ura* 壇ノ浦 and *Yoshitsune Ochiyuki* 義経落ち行き are included in this category.

Ichi no Tani

> Taira no Atsumori, the sixteen-year-old son of Taira no Tsunemori, is married to a lady named Tamaorihime. Tsunemori gives Taira no Kagekiyo an order to prepare ships to leave for Yashima. Atsumori has to say goodbye to his wife Tamaorihime. During their meeting Atsumori finds out that his wife is expecting a child. Atsumori leaves, but on the way he realizes that he forgot his flute and goes back. The ship leaves without Atsumori. In a desperate attempt to reach the ship Atsumori swims toward it on the back of his horse. Kumagai no Jirō Naozane spots the young Atsumori and challenges him to a fight. Kumagai kills Atsumori, but regrets taking the life of the young man. After this event Kumagai becomes a monk, and spends his days praying for the soul of Atsumori.

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[29] This summary is mostly based on that given by Ga in "Higobiwa saihōroku" (1972), Narita in *Mōsō no denshō: Kyushū chihō no biwa hōshi* (1985) and narrative texts included in Nomura (Ga) *Higobiwa katari-shū* (2007).

Ko-Atsumori

Tamaorihime finds out about the death of her husband Atsumori. She gives birth to a boy, but being afraid that the Minamoto clan will kill her son as well, she decides to leave her child. A priest by the name of Hōnen finds the boy on returning from a pilgrimage to Kamo shrine. The boy lives with the priest. Kumagai, who became a monk in the same temple, meets the boy. The boy reminds Kumagai of Atsumori, the young father of the boy Kumagai had to kill. One day the boy falls sick, and Hōnen in his prayers talks about the sorrowful destiny of the boy. Tamaorihime, who happens to hear the words of Hōnen, reveals her identity and meets her son. The boy finds out that Kumagai is the one who killed his father Atsumori and decides to get his revenge, but Hōnen stops him. The boy visits his father's grave and later becomes a priest. Tamaorihime becomes a nun.

2. *Sogamono* 曽我物

Sogamono is a category of tales that tell the story of the Soga brothers' revenge. These tales are roughly based on *Soga Monogatari*, the story of Soga Sukenari and Soga Tokimune, who find and eventually kill their father's enemy Kudō Suketsune.

3. *Sekkyō* 説教

Sekkyō is a category of tales with didactic content. Such tales as *Oguri Hangan* 小栗判官, *Yuriwaka Daijin* 百合若大臣 and *Shuntokumaru*[30] 俊徳丸 are included in this category.

Yuriwaka Daijin

There was a man in Bungo province. One day he loses a competition that is supposed to show who is the richest of all the men, simply because he is childless. He prays to Kiyomizu Kannon and asks the Goddess to send him a child. Later the Emperor finds out that devils living in a country named Kimankoku, which is far away from Japan, are plotting to destroy Japan. He sends a messenger to inform Yuriwaka Daijin, who is at that moment marrying Terutenomai, that he has to go to Kimankoku to destroy the devils. Yuriwaka Daijin leaves the country and goes to Kimankoku. After a long trip he reaches Kimankoku, where with the help of a girl who was sent to the island from Japan at the age of five, he manages to win the battle against the devils. However, after the celebration for the victory over the devils, Yuriwaka Daijin falls asleep, and his two servants Beppu Tarō and Beppu Jirō leave him alone on the island. The Beppu brothers return home and become lords of the castle of Yuriwaka Daijin. They mistreat Yuriwaka Daijin's parents and want to marry Yuriwaka Daijin's wife. Terutenomai refuses, which is why the Beppu brothers order her to be thrown into the lake. Terutenomai does not die, because her servant

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[30] The content of *Shuntokumaru* and a detailed analysis of two versions of the tale are introduced in Chapter IV.

Manjuhime takes her place. Meanwhile, Yuriwaka Daijin's falcon sets off to look for his master. Terutenomai sends the falcon to Kimankoku. The falcon brings a letter back from Yuriwaka Daijin. But the letter gets wet on the way, and Terutenomai cannot read it. She sends the falcon back to the island together with an ink stone. On the way the falcon falls into the sea exhausted because of the weight of the ink stone. The loyal servant of Yuriwaka Daijin, Kadowaki, finds Yuriwaka Daijin with the help of Usa Hachiman and brings his lord back to Japan. Yuriwaka Daijin does not reveal his identity, and his wife Terutenomai only recognizes her husband by the sound of the flute he plays. Yuriwaka Daijin then comes to Bungo province and with the help of the spirit of Manjuhime he meets his parents. Then he becomes a servant of the Beppu brothers. One day during a celebration there is a competition at stringing bows. Yuriwaka Daijin laughs at Beppu Jirō, whose arrow fails to reach the target. Then Yuriwaka Daijin receives an order to ride an untamed horse. He manages to ride the horse perfectly because the horse in reality belonged to Yuriwaka Daijin. It was his favorite horse, Onikage. On seeing all these things people realize that their master Yuriwaka Daijin has returned. Yuriwaka Daijin takes his revenge and kills the Beppu brothers.

4. *Chihō no katari* 地方の語り

Chihō no katari (regional tales) is a category of tales related to historical events of Higo province. Such tales as *Kikuchi Kuzure*[31] 菊池くずれ, *Miyako Gassen Chikushi Kudari*[32] 都合戦筑紫下り, *Shimabara Junrei* 島原巡礼, *Tenryūgawa* 天竜川 and *Yanagawa Sōdō* 柳川騒動 are included in this category.

Miyako Gassen Chikushi Kudari

In the days of Emperor Kammu, there lived a man named Tsunemoto. Tsunemoto was a minister and had a daughter Tamayorihime. One day Tamayorihime asks her father for permission to go on a pilgrimage to Takaoka. Tsunemoto sends Tamayorihime with his loyal vassal Kuroda Michiyasu. One of the lords, Munetsugu, meets Tamayorihime during her trip and falls in love with her. He sends her messages but does not receive anything back. Munetsugu gets angry and decides to force Tamayorihime to meet him, but Michiyasu protects Tamayorihime from Munetsugu. When Tamayorihime and Michiyasu return to their castle Takakura, Michiyasu informs Tsunemoto about the incident, and they start to prepare for war. In a while Munetsugu arrives in the land of Tsunemoto with an army. The battle starts, and in seven days the castle of Tsunemoto falls. Munetsugu's vassals capture Tsunemoto and some of his people, and send off Tamayorihime in a boat. The boat eventually arrives at an unknown place. An old man named Tōta tells people that the young woman is a creature who brings bad luck and offers to kill her. But a

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[31] The content of *Kikuchi Kuzure* and a detailed analysis of two versions of the tale are introduced in Chapter IV.

[32] *Miyako Gassen Chikushi Kudari* is also known by other names, such as *Tamayorihime Ichidaiki* 玉依姫一代記, *Chikushi Kudari Tamayohime* 筑紫下り玉依姫, *Botan Chōja* 牡丹長者 or *Takayasu Chōja* 高安長者.

family saves Tamayorihime and adopts her. Tamayorihime marries the third son of Takayasu Chōja. Her sisters-in-law and their servants ridicule Tamayorihime. One day at a feast Tamayorihime plays the *koto*, and while performing she reveals her real name. People find out who Tamayorihime really is, and soon her story reaches the emperor. The emperor sends off his army to capture Munetsugu and release Tsunemoto. Then the emperor executes Munetsugu, punishes Tōta, and rewards the people who saved and helped Tamayorihime. He makes Tsunemoto the lord of Higo. Tsunemoto returns to Higo with Tamayorihime and her husband and builds a castle called Kikuchi.

Shimabara Junrei

In the days of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, a man named Sōma Denzō lived in Shimabara of Kyushu. After he dies his wife Okane, who does not have any relatives left, decides to go on pilgrimage. She visits Kiyomizu Kannon of Yanagawa, Yamato, and then comes to Senshū. In a place called Komatsubara she meets a man named Inuzuka Dankurō. The man stabs Okane. Okane dies, and a child appears from her womb. A childless man from Owari Province, Takajima Seisaburō, saves the boy and gives him the name Ochie. When Ochie turns thirteen, he finds out who he really is. Ochie learns how to use a sword, and later with the help of Kiyomizu Kannon and his mother's spirit he manages to find his enemy in Mino province. People are sent from Owari and Shimabara to help Ochie, but he kills the enemy on his own. Ochie becomes the heir of Takajima Seisaburō.

Yanagawa Sōdō

After the death of Katō Kiyomasa, people start to avoid approaching his castle, since there are rumors that ghosts have been seen there. However, after Lord Hosokawa becomes the owner of the castle the ghosts disappear. One day Ishida Mitsunari attacks Lord Hosokawa. Yanagawa Muneshige participates in the battle on the side of Lord Hosokawa. Yanagawa defeats Ishida's army, but then Sagara from Hitoyoshi arrives. Lord Yanagawa kills Lord Sagara, and Yūkirokurō, the vassal of Yanagawa, kills the vassal of Sagara, a man by the name of Hachizaemon. Hachizaemon had a son of eight. When the boy grows up, he starts looking for the man who killed his father. He arrives in the castle town that belongs to Yanagawa and starts scaring people disguised as a ghost. The daughter of Yūkirokurō, Hagino, is sent to slay the ghost. Hagino meets the son of Hachizaemon. Hagino finds out that he came to get his revenge and brings him to the lord. The lord tries to make the son of Hachizaemon give up his plan for revenge. The son of Hachizaemon follows the advice of the lord and returns home, but later he kills Yūkirokurō. Then Hagino follows the son of Hachizaemon in order to get her revenge and eventually kills him.

5. *Charimono* or *kokkeimono* チャリ物・滑稽物

Charimono or *kokkeimono* is a category of tales with humorous content. Such tales as *Mochi Gassen* 餅合戦, *Io-zukushi* 魚づくし, *Garakuta Gassen* がらくた合戦, *Yasai-zukushi* 野菜づくし and *Ono no Komachi* 小野小町 are included in this category.

Mochi Gassen

> One day Sake and Mochi[33] have an argument over which one of them is better. Sake insists that *sake* is better, and Mochi insists that there is nothing better than *mochi*. The argument evolves into a real battle between representatives of *sake* and *mochi*. Each side attracts supporters, and many different kinds of *sake* and *mochi* participate in the battle. Eventually, the argument is settled by the intervention of Misozuke.[34]

Io-zukushi

> In the era of the Horse Mackerel, the year of the Sea Bream, a fish by the name of Jūrō Tainosuke (Kanetaka) (Sea Bream) decides to get married. He puts on *haori* and *hakama*[35] made from sea tangle, with *haori* cords made of sardines. His headwear is made of shells of a scallop. Then he rides his Jellyfish horse and escorted by several thousands of different sea creatures he heads off to the castle of his future wife. He arrives at the castle of Minister Whale. Many servants of the minister, different types of mackerel, welcome Jūrō Tainosuke. There he meets his future father-in-law Minister Whale and his daughter Ofuku (Globefish). Ofuku expresses her joy in a dance. Everybody is happy that Jūrō Tainosuke and Ofuku are getting married.

6. *Other tales* and *hauta*

Anchin Kiyohime 安珍清姫, *Sumidagawa* 隅田川, *Ikaruga Genji* いかるが源氏, *Azekakehime* あぜかけ姫, *Izari Katakiuchi* いざり敵討, *Kugami Gassen* くがみ合戦, *Hirayama Gassen* 平山合戦, *Shiga Danshichi* 志賀団七 and *Hazama Jūjirō* はざま十次郎 are categorized by Ga as 'other tales' (1972: 39).

Conclusion

In this chapter we have attempted to provide a general survey of the tradition of blind *biwa* players, where it came from and what it was like in the last decades of its existence.

It is possible that the tradition came from the continent and is somehow related to some older oral cultures of continental origin, such as the Buddhist storytelling tradition that was practiced on the continent prior to the days when the *biwa* first appeared in Japan. The

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[33] *Mochi* 餅 is a Japanese rice cake.

[34] *Misozuke* 味噌漬け is a type of Japanese pickles prepared with *miso* (soybean paste).

[35] *Haori* 羽織 and *hakama* 袴 are formal Japanese male wear consisting of a coat and a long pleated skirt.

tradition of blind *biwa* players was a trade, a way to secure a livelihood for the blind, who due to their disability were not able to engage in other trades. The tradition was clearly based primarily on economic interest. This fact could have influenced not only the approach of the *biwa* players to performance practice, but also shaped the tradition as a whole.

CHAPTER IV

MEMORIZATION AND IMPROVISATION IN THE TRADITION OF BLIND *BIWA* PLAYERS: ANALYSIS OF MULTIPLE PERFORMANCES OF *WATAMASHI, KIKUCHI KUZURE* AND *SHUNTOKUMARU*

In the previous chapter we reviewed accounts of the history of the tradition of blind *biwa* players from Kyushu, and through consideration of some of its aspects, such as, for example, the lifestyle of blind *biwa* players and acquisition of storytelling skills, we obtained a better understanding of what the essence of the tradition is.

Unlike many other oral traditions, which are either completely based on memorization or completely on improvisation, the repertory of blind *biwa* players consists of both completely memorized and orally composed narratives. From this point of view, the tradition of blind *biwa* players is a valuable source that can provide us with clues to understanding the mechanisms of oral composition and the origin of formulas in the language of storytellers in general.

Chapter IV is devoted to the issue of memorization and improvisation in the tradition of blind *biwa* players. It is divided into three sections. In Section 1 we review the history of application of the Oral-formulaic theory to the tradition of blind *biwa* players from Kyushu, namely research conducted by Hyōdō Hiromi and Hugh de Ferranti on the characteristics of the oral text and problems of fixity and variability in the tradition. Section 2 focusses on a textual analysis of multiple performances of three pieces from the repertory of Yamashika Yoshiyuki: *Watamashi, Kikuchi Kuzure* and *Shuntokumaru*.[1] Finally in Section 3, based on the research conducted by Hyōdō and de Ferranti, and the results of the analysis of multiple performances of *Watamashi, Kikuchi Kuzure* and *Shuntokumaru* undertaken in Section 2, we attempt to re-evaluate some of the theoretical issues in the understanding of oral composition and the role of memorization and improvisation in the tradition. A new perspective on the origin of formulas in the narrative language of blind *biwa* players is introduced at the end of this chapter. This might also shed some light on the origin of formulas in other epic traditions.

Three pieces from the repertory of Yamashika, a performer known for his rich repertory and prominent compositional skills, were chosen for the analysis in this chapter for

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[1] Since only one recording each of *Watamashi, Kikuchi Kuzure* and *Shuntokumaru* was available, the transcriptions made by other researchers and the single recording were used in the research.

the following reason. Although *Watamashi*, *Kikuchi Kuzure* and *Shuntokumaru* were acquired by Yamashika through indirect transmission, each piece demonstrates a different degree of fixity and variability of textual material. As it will be shown, the textual material of *Watamashi* is highly stable from performance to performance, while that of *Shuntokumaru* is unstable from performance to performance, with few repetitions. In terms of stability and variability of textual material, *Kikuchi Kuzure* stands between *Watamashi* and *Shuntokumaru:* the general structure is highly fixed and the text contains many word-for-word repetitions, but some parts are completely orally composed with no sign of prior memorization.

1 Application of the Oral-formulaic theory to the study of the blind biwa *players' tradition*

Hyōdō Hiromi was the first scholar to apply the Oral-formulaic theory to the study of the tradition of the blind *biwa* players of Kyushu. In his works he introduced a rich body of data on the tradition of the blind *biwa* players, mostly accumulated during his field research in Kyushu, and the results of scrupulous research on the characteristics of narrative elements in performances of blind *biwa* players. Hyōdō's observations and conclusions are of great importance to the current research, which is why a more detailed introduction of some of its aspects is essential.

"Zato biwa no katarimono denshō ni tsuite no kenkyū" (1991) is Hyōdō's first major publication related to issues of oral composition, stability and variability in the tradition of the blind *biwa* players of Kyushu.[2] Even though Hyōdō did not make specific reference to the Oral-formulaic theory, he was obviously well acquainted with the research conducted by Milman Parry and Albert Lord, and developed his own hypothesis based on the methodology and theoretical principles of the Oral-formulaic theory. In his article Hyōdō considered such aspects of the tradition of the blind *biwa* players as the process of acquisition of storytelling skills, the characteristics of melodic patterns and textual material, based on his interviews and analysis of such narratives as *Ono no Komachi*[3] and *Dōjōji*[4] recorded from Yamashika

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[2] Hyōdō approached the tradition of blind *biwa* players of Kyushu in an attempt to clarify some of the issues related to *Heike Monogatari*, especially the differences between the existing versions of *Heike Monogatari*.

[3] This is one of the many versions of the legend about Ono no Komachi, a famous poet of the early Heian period, which describes her cruel treatment of Fukakusa no Shōshō. Komachi promised that if he visited her for a hundred nights she would become his lover, but on the last night he was tricked by Komachi, fell into a river and drowned.

[4] The story is one of many versions of the tale, which dates back at least to the late-eleventh- or early-twelfth-century collection *Konjaku Monogatari-shū*. It tells the story of Kiyohime, a young lady who was deceived by a priest called Anchin-bō. Desperate to find him, Kiyohime transformed herself into a giant snake and eventually killed Anchin-bō, who was

Yoshiyuki.

Yamashika learned both *Ono no Komachi* and *Dōjōji* at the initial step of training after the acquisition of basic *kotoba* and *nagashi* melody patterns[5] and short *hauta* songs. As already mentioned, Yamashika apprenticed with Tamagawa Kyōsetsu (Ezaki Shōtarō) at the age of twenty two. When teaching Yamashika, the teacher used to sit behind him, and by controlling the movements of Yamashika's hands he showed him how to touch the strings and use the plectrum. Yamashika started learning *hauta* almost at the same time as the melody patterns. From his teacher Tamagawa Kyōsetsu he learned three *hauta*, namely *Kiyotanigawa, Ikka Hiraite* and *Ginitsubane* (Hyōdō 1991: 181).[6] A student only needed to know *kotoba* and *nagashi* melody patterns to be able to perform *hauta*. Hyōdō noticed that sometimes when performed the texts of *hauta* contained some mistakes, such as the reversed order of lines or their absence, which sometimes even affected the content of the song (Hyōdō 1991: 180). These mistakes could only be explained as failures in the process of reproduction from memory of textual material memorized verbatim.

After a student learned two or three *hauta,* he could start learning longer pieces. *Ono no Komachi* was the first long narrative learned by Yamashika. It was about thirty minutes long, and only *kotoba* and *nagashi* melodic patterns were used in its performance. After mastering *Ono no Komachi* Yamashika learned *Dōjōji*, which was also about thirty minutes long, but performed using a wider variety of melodic patterns. Yamashika did not learn *Dōjōji* from his teacher, but from one of his elder fellow students, Tamagawa Kyōraku (Hamaguchi Kamesaku). According to Hyōdō, *Dōjōji* was learned by all the representatives of the Tamagawa lineage as *gei-gatame*, a test piece, which is why the melodic and textual material of *Dōjōji* did not vary much from performer to performer within the same lineage. Once *Dōjōji* was mastered, students could learn the content and wording of other narratives on their own (Hyōdō 1991: 176). Based on the analysis of multiple performances of *Dōjōji* recorded from Yamashika at different times, Hyōdō concluded that melodic components and textual material of the performed pieces were closely interrelated and inseparable.

The texts of Yamashika's narratives are composed of *shichi-go-ku*

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hiding from her in a large temple bell.

[5] *Fushi* are melodic patterns common to the analysis of most genres of Japanese historical music. These patterns are also referred to as *kyokusetsu* ('musical joints') or *senritsukei* ('melodic patterns'). Yamashika Yoshiyuki used the following patterns: *kotoba, kotoba-bushi, serifu, nori, urei, nagashi, okuri* and *kiribushi*. See de Ferranti 2009: 196. In the case of Ōkawa Susumu terminological distinctions between *fushi* are more extensive and clearer than in the case of other blind *biwa* players. See de Ferranti 2003; 2009.

[6] However, later Hyōdō states that Yamashika learned from his teacher *Kiyotanigawa, Ikka Hiraite* and *Ume wa Nioide.* See Hyōdō 2000. Ga gives *Kiyotanigawa, Ginitsubane* and *Ano Yamakage* as the three *hauta* learned. See Ga 1972: 26.

(seven-and-five-syllable lines) and not simply of words. These are usually bound to certain melodies and melodic patterns. Moreover, they are usually memorized in association with a certain situation and story. (1991: 171; italics added (translated from Japanese))

Hyōdō pointed out that even though the performance was fixed to some extent, some variability of both melodic and textual material could be found in each new performance of the same narrative.

> We can say that *Dōjōji* and *Ono no Komachi* are the most fixed pieces in the repertory of Yamashika at the level of both wording and melodic patterns (in general, the longer a section of text is, the more variable it is; the shorter, the more fixed). There is a certain principle in combination of melodic patterns. You could even say that there is some kind of style (fixity). However, even in the case of *Dōjōji,* from the examples of actual performances, we can see that the degree of variability is considerable. (1991: 167; italics added (translated from Japanese))

Hyōdō paid particular attention to repetitions found in the analyzed material, structural elements of the narrative text. He referred to these repetitions as *jōtō-ku* 常套句 ('clichés' or 'stock phrases') and *kan'yō-ku* 慣用句 ('idioms' or 'idiomatic phrases').

> As to the characteristics of the text, the conventional or idiomatic phrases draw our attention. This must be related to the fact that Yamashika's narrative is not based on a script, but his lines, made up of seven-five syllables, are often performed within a framework of eight beats, sometimes with two syllables in one beat (especially in the recited parts, such as *kotoba* and *nori*). Such a sequence seems to be memorized in association with a certain situation and story, and forms a stock of fixed phrases. (1991: 173; italics added)

Hyōdō introduced many examples of this kind of fixed phrases, in other words formulas, such as 声をかぎりに○○ *koe o kagiri ni* ('as loud as possible') or はるか○○を眺むれば *haruka ___ o nagamureba* ('(he/she) looking at a far away ___'), and some longer lines from *Ono no Komachi*, *Dōjōji*, *Ishidōmaru*, *Shuntokumaru* and *Oguri Hangan*. For example, しばらく思案をいたせし *shibaraku shian o itaseshi* ('(he/she) thought for a while') and ようやく思いついたのか *yōyaku omoitsuita no ka* ('has (he/she) finally thought of ___') can often be seen in *Dōjōji*. There is a scene in *Ono no Komachi* in which Komachi prepares a trap. The scene is similar to one in *Dōjōji*, in which Anchin-bō is being hidden inside the bell. In both *Ono no Komachi* and *Dōjōji* Yamashika used such lines as このまましておけば大丈夫 *kono mama shite okeba daijōbu* ('like this it will be fine') or ○○を今やおそしと待ちたまふ *___ o ima ya ososhi to machitamō* ('(he/she) was impatiently waiting for ___'). According to Hyōdō, such a line from *Ono no Komachi* as 器量姿は世にもすぐれ、何にとりても暗からず *kiryō sugata wa yo ni mo sugure/ nani ni torite mo kurakarazu* ('(he/she) excelled everyone

in appearance and everything else') can also be used in other stories when describing some other character. The line 硯ひき寄せ墨すり流し *suzuri hikiyose sumi surinagashi* ('(he/she) drew up the ink stone and ground some ink') can be used in a similar situation, when somebody is writing something down. Another example is from *Ishidōmaru:* the line うがい手水で身を清め、あなたの鰐口打ち鳴らし、とおの蓮華をもみ合せ、南無や申さん *ugai chōzu de mi o kiyome/ anata no waniguchi uchi narashi/ tō no renge o momiawase/ namu ya mōsan* ('(he/she) purified (himself/herself) by gargling and washing (his/her) hands, rang the *waniguchi* gong, rubbed (his/her) ten fingers together and with the words "I worship…"') can be used in the description of a prayer offered in a temple in other narratives (Hyōdō 1991: 172).

Hyōdō further developed his ideas about fixity and variability in the tradition of *biwa* players in his article "Zato (mōsō) biwa no katarimono denshō ni tsuite no kenkyū" (1993). In this article, Hyōdō focused on textual and melodic-pattern analysis of multiple performances of *Azekakehime*[7] recorded from six different *biwa* players, Ōkawa Susumu, Hashiguchi Keisuke 橋口桂介, Kitamura Seiji 北村清次, Murakami Mansaku 村上万作, Tanaka Tōgo 田中藤後 and Yamashika. Hyōdō made one interesting observation: even though some parts of the story and even the names of the characters varied from performer to performer, some parts of the text remained unchanged and were repeated in performances of different *biwa* players. For example, the growth of the heroine Sayoteruhime was described in absolutely the same way in the performances of Ōkawa, Hashiguchi and Kitamura. Another example is the scene in which Sayoteruhime forgets one of the forty-eight stitches. This description was repeated in the performances of all six *biwa* players in a fixed form. Hyōdō termed these repetitions *teikei-ku* 定型句. *Teikei-ku*, fixed-form passages or lines, are the parts unique to a given tale which occur in all of its performances at the same point. Hyōdō stated that *teikei-ku* could not be omitted from the narrative text, no matter how shortened the performance was, and functioned as *shihyō bubun* 指標部分 ('indexical parts') of a given tale. Hyōdō suggested that *teikei-ku* identified within multiple performances of *Azekakehime* recorded from the six performers reflected the geographical ranges of professional practice of performers, their professional experience and their exchange with other performers.

Hyōdō later summarized all his observations and conclusions in *Heike monogatari no rekishi to geinō* (2000). According to Hyōdō, blind *biwa* players, including *biwa hōshi* who

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[7] *Azekakehime* is a tale about a young woman named Sayoteruhime. Sayoteruhime was married, and everything went well in the beginning. But soon her mother-in-law and sister-in-law, envious of Sayoteruhime's talents, put a curse on her, which is why Sayoteruhime forgot one of the forty-eight types of stitches and failed to make a garment. Sayoteruhime left her house and became a nun, but in the end was reunited with her husband.

performed *heike*, composed their stories during performance using oral composition techniques. In other words, they did not learn the textual material word-for-word, but composed the narrative text anew each time they performed, actively using *jōtō-ku, kan'yō-ku* and their stock of such phrases, adjusting the story to the preferences of the audience or other such conditions.

> No matter how good the memory of the blind in the medieval times was, it is unlikely that the performance was simply a reproduction from memory of the word-for-word memorized text. We can assume that its major part, except for the storyline and proper names, such as the names of the characters and geographical names, was left to the discretion of the performer. We can assume that the narrative was composed depending on the situation with the use of a stock of memorized narrative phrases. However, it is probable that in this case the degree of flexibility of the narrative content was conditioned by the occasion and place of the performance... There might have existed storytellers of different levels: from those who could learn the narrative text close to the content of the scripts existing today to those who remembered only the general content and composed their narrative orally. (Hyōdō 2000: 237; italics added (translated from Japanese))

Drawing an analogy between performances of blind *biwa* players from Kyushu and *biwa hōshi* who performed *heike,* Hyōdō suggested that the differences between the many existing versions of *Heike Monogatari* might have been born as a result of oral composition during performance. By applying the principles of the Oral-formulaic theory, Hyōdō linked the tradition of blind *biwa* players of Kyushu to the body of scholarship centered on the issues of oral traditions. Hyōdō's conclusions not only shed light on the nature of texts produced by Japanese storytellers, but also prompted further research in the field.

Hugh de Ferranti took up the research initiated by Hyōdō, further developing his ideas and clarifying some of the other aspects of the tradition. In his doctoral thesis, "Text and music in *biwa* narrative: the *zatō biwa* tradition of Kyushu," de Ferranti introduced materials on the blind *biwa* players' tradition gathered during his own field research in Kyushu, and applied both the Oral-formulaic theory and the *senritsukei* 旋律型 theory to the analysis of performances by Ōkawa. Based on the results of detailed analysis of two performances of *Shiga Danshichi*[8] and *Azekakehime,* de Ferranti concluded that the narrative structure of *Shiga Danshichi* was highly stable. Even though some variability within the textual and melodic elements of the narrative was observed, its general structure was highly fixed. Approximately seventy one percent of the textual material of the two

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[8] *Shiga Danshichi* is a tale describing a tragic encounter of Shiga Danshichi, a reckless, cruel *rōnin* (a masterless samurai), and Yōtaro, a former samurai, who had to work in the field with his two daughters and was killed by Shiga Danshichi. Both performances were recorded from Ōkawa in 1975 on the same day. Ōkawa had not played *biwa* for nearly ten years, which is why he had to practice for several days prior to the recording. See de Ferranti 1997: 206.

performances was identical (de Ferranti 1997: 289). Moreover, portions of text common to both performances of *Shiga Danshichi*, both formulas and formulaic expressions, also appeared in *Azekakehime*. De Ferranti suggested that if recordings of *Shiga Danshichi* by other performers were available, it might also be possible to identify *teikei-ku*, or fixed-form passages, in the narrative text. In his research, de Ferranti also considered the performance practice of Yamashika, but he did this in contrast to that of Ōkawa. De Ferranti re-examined multiple performances of *Dōjōji,* and, based on the comparative analysis of performances recorded from Yamashika and Ōkawa, he concluded that, even though both performers composed their narratives orally, Yamashika's performances were less fixed textually and melodically, and there was some ambiguity in the distinction between melodic patterns and their combination (de Ferranti 1997: 338-345).[9] De Ferranti stressed that the difference between the two performers' practices was significant.

> Ōkawa's and Yamashika's oral compositional practices are conspicuously different in their degree of text fixity. Whereas Ōkawa clearly does not present an unchanging, memorized text for *Shiga*, his two performances contain approximately 71% identical or nearly identical text material, much of it within basic *katari* segments. For any given two performances of *Dōjōji,* however, there is a smaller quantity of common text. (1997: 344; italics added)

De Ferranti suggested that Yamashika's and Ōkawa's performance practices represented different 'modes' or 'stages' in the development of oral tradition. De Ferranti attributed the fixity of melodic and textual material in the performance practice of Ōkawa to the fact that the lineage to which the performer belonged used a fixed text composed by a literate non-blind player.

> … the comparison between Yamashika's and Ōkawa's practices is suggestive of 'earlier' and 'later' stages of medieval period *katari* practice. If Yamashika's performances exemplify oral composition in which text is only fixed at the level of overall narrative framework, and the identity of *senritsukei* is often ambiguous, Ōkawa's performances are illustrative of oral composition in an environment where written texts with markings of pattern segments' distribution (*fushizuke*) have begun to exercise a degree of influence on a blind performance tradition. (1997: 356; italics added)

According to de Ferranti, the emergence of fixed texts might have played an

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[9] De Ferranti noted that generally in the tradition of blind *biwa* players "most formulas and formulaic expressions occur as part of performance segments whose text is syllabically regulated, most commonly in sung *fushi* that have a high degree of verbal and musical fixity between performances," and "formulaic materials are usually performed as the same type of *fushi* in different narrative items." See de Ferranti 2003: 145.

important role in the development of the tradition of blind *biwa* players. It brought about transformation of performance practices, changing them from orally composed to 'text' oriented. De Ferranti further deepened his investigation into the character of differences between the performance practices of Yamashika and Ōkawa in his later publication "Transmission and Textuality in the Narrative Traditions of Blind *Biwa* Players" (2003) and made some elaborations on his hypothesis on the influence of literacy on the tradition of blind performers. He termed the approach of Ōkawa to oral composition 'residually text-based,' since the actual texts of performances did not exist, and suggested that imagined or idealized textualisation only existed in the tradition as a concept, which was introduced by a sighted, literate performer along with the core repertory, and which was then "passed on in a performance lineage, even if written forms of narrative texts and notations were not" (de Ferranti 2003: 136).

The research of Hyōdō and de Ferranti is of great importance not only to the study of the Japanese oral traditions but also to the whole body of the scholarship developed under the influence of the Oral-formulaic theory and concerned with problems of text composition and transmission in oral cultures in general.

2   Analysis of multiple performances by Yamashika Yoshiyuki

2.1   Analysis of **Watamashi**

Watamashi is one of the *harai* rites performed by blind *biwa* players in the Chikugo region of Fukuoka Prefecture and in the Amakusa region of Kumamoto prefecture until the mid 1970's (Kimura 2007: 12). The origin of the rite is not clear. The narrative part of the rite is comprised of the following elements. Three short narratives, *misogi-harai*, *rokkon-barai* and *kan no maki*, are recited at the beginning of the rite. They are followed by a threefold recitation of the *Heart Sutra*. The main element of the narrative is a piece that, like the ritual as a whole, is also called *watamashi*. Unlike the *Heart Sutra*, which is chanted in Sino-Japanese, *misogi-harai, rokkon-barai, kan no maki* and *watamashi, yashiki no ji-gatame, hashira-date* and *sanjū-butsu* (*sanjū hotoke* or *hi-wari getsu-wari*),[10] are in Japanese.

One can question the relevancy of including *Watamashi* in this research on the grounds that it is a ritual performance, and should be treated as a sacred text. As Albert Lord in *The Singer of Tales* stressed, "It should be clear from this and from what follows that sacred texts which must be preserved word for word, if there be such, could not be oral in any except the most literal sense" (1960: 280). But despite the fact that *Watamashi* is a ritual performance, it still is an essential part of the repertory of blind *biwa* players. Memorization of a ritual text, such as *Watamashi*, and its subsequent reproduction from memory can develop a certain behavioral pattern that blind *biwa* players might unconsciously follow in the case of other narratives. Presence of memorized text in the repertory of blind *biwa* players is evidence that memorization was practiced in the tradition, and may lead us to certain conclusions about the nature of the tradition.

Two text transcriptions of performances by Yamashika have been analyzed in this paper in order to measure the degree of fixity in the narrative text of *Watamashi,* focusing on the part after the recitation of the *Heart Sutra*. The first recording was made in July 1963 under the supervision of Kimura Yūshō and Tanabe Hisao, and was transcribed by Kimura Rirō for the 2007 Japan Traditional Cultures Foundation CD, and the second was recorded some time between 1970 and 1972 and transcribed by Nomura (Ga) Machiko. The first *Watamashi* performance will be referred to as WV1, and the second performance will be referred to as WV2. Below we will examine the narrative text of WV1 and WV2 both from the level of composition and line construction.

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[10] Nomura (Ga) (1972) divides the part of the *watamashi* ritual after the recitation of the *Heart Sutra* into *iwato-biraki, yashiki no ji-gatame, hashira-date* and *sanjū-butsu* (*sanjū hotoke* or *hi-wari getsu-wari*). Kimura (1994) and de Ferranti (2009) divide it into *watamashi, jibiraki, hashira-date* and *hi-wari getsu-wari* (or *sanjū hotoke*).

We will first examine the general composition of *Watamashi*. Both WV1 and WV2 demonstrate a high degree of fixity of its components. We will divide WV1 and WV2 into smaller scenes in order to view the similarities and differences between WV1 and WV2 at the level of composition. The content and structure of WV1 and WV2 are absolutely identical.

1. In the old days Japan was called Asihara-no-kuni. Izanagi churned the sea with a white spear. One of the drops congealed and was called Great Japan. There were sixty six provinces and five hundred twenty eight counties back then.

2. One day a great disaster occurred. The Sun Goddess, Amaterasu-ōmikami hid herself in a cave in Hyūga province. The sixty six provinces plunged into complete darkness. All the deities and bodhisattvas gathered. For three days and three nights they performed *Chiyo-no-kagura*, but the cave did not open. Then Benzaiten brought an instrument, the sound of which helped to lure out Amaterasu-ōmikami.

3. The instrument was called the *biwa*. It was an embodiment of Amaterasu-ōmikami. The five finger positions represented the twenty five virtues of the Kannon. The tuning pegs were representation of the heavenly gods, and the lower bridge took the form of the rock before the heavenly cave. The sound board was in the shape of the earth, and the four strings cleansed the impurities of the four seasons of the year.

4. From the very beginning the era of human sovereigns was blessed, and the blessings of the sovereigns have shone on the islands ever since.

5. The spring is in the East. The summer is in the South. The autumn is in the Western sky. The winter is in the North. Water is the real treasure of the house.

6. At the very beginning the incantation for the building should be uttered. The site should be roped off in all four directions, and the permission of the Jijin and Kōjin gods should be received. The foundation of the building should be laid and other preparations made. Then the master carpenter should be invited. He should choose a lucky day. A lot of workers should come, and after all the rituals are performed, they should set up all the pillars. All the pillars are protected by gods and bodhisattvas. Then after the rest of the work is done, and the construction is completed, The God of Happiness, Kōjin, Imasato-no-kami, and Suijin come from the four directions. And in the middle Dainichi daishō fudō myoō and Sanbō daikōjin are present. After the framework of the house is set up, the Seven Gods of Fortune enter. From the very beginning the evil spirits are driven away, and prayers are offered.

7. The purification ritual is held to ward off misfortunes of the twelve months and hardships of the three hundred sixty five days. Each day and month is protected by the deities and bodhisattvas.

8. This is the prayer for the building of a new house, pacification of all deities and protection against all misfortunes.

WV1 and WV2 start with the myth of creation of the Japanese islands, and are followed by the myth about Amaterasu-ōmikami and the heavenly cave. These two stories

are well known through the *Kojiki*[11] and *Nihon Shoki*.[12] Interestingly, the myth about Amaterasu-ōmikami and the heavenly cave is reinterpreted in *Watamashi:* the instrument used by the *biwa* players plays a significant role in this version of the story. Unlike in the classical version of the myth, Amaterasu-ōmikami is lured out of the cave with the help of the *biwa* brought by the Goddess Benzaiten.[13] The myth is followed by a description of the *biwa:* each part of the instrument is interpreted in relation to the myth and its role in the ritual performance. The mythological part of the performance in both WV1 and WV2 ends with a short passage, a sort of blessing. The part of the performance up to this point is referred to as *watamashi* (or *iwato-biraki*). *Watamashi* is followed by *yashiki no ji-gatame* and *hashira-date*. The former describes the process of building of the house from the initial step, and the latter introduces all the deities and bodhisattvas who protect houses. The next part is known as *hi-wari getsu-wari* (or *sanjū hotoke*). It names the protectors of all the days and months of the year. The *Watamashi* performance ends with a prayer for protection from all possible misfortunes, and the recitation of a *mantra* for accomplishment, *on kenba ya kenba ya sowaka* (Skt. aum kenba kenba svāhā).

Even though the two performances were recorded almost ten years apart, a comparison of the two transcriptions suggests that the narrative text of the *Watamashi* performance was fixed in the memory of Yamashika, since the textual material is, with few exceptions, almost identical. Apparently, it was memorized verbatim by Yamashika and then was faithfully reproduced from memory. Below we will examine several parts of WV1 and WV2 in order to see what kind of differences we can find in the textual material of the two performances.

The following examples are taken from the very beginning of *Watamashi*, the part called *watamashi* (or *iwato-biraki*).[14]

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[11] The *Kojiki* 古事記 is the oldest extant chronicle in Japan recorded from oral histories by Ō no Yasumaro at the request of Empress Genmei, and presented to the emperor in 712.

[12] The *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀 is the second oldest chronicle of classical Japanese history. The *Nihon Shoki* was finished in 720 under the editorial supervision of Prince Toneri and with the assistance of Ō no Yasumaro.

13 Benzaiten 弁財天 is a Buddhist goddess originated from the Hindu goddess Sarasvati. She is often depicted holding a *biwa*.

[14] The text transcriptions reflect the preferences of researchers. For example, the text of WV2 indicates long sounds at the end of many words. This kind of difference between the two texts is disregarded in the analysis. All the examples are given in both Japanese transcription (the text as given by the researchers) and romanized transcription. All shared lines in the Japanese transcription are underlined. All shared lines in romanized transcription and the English translation are in bold. The boxed parts in bold are either words that are not found in the other version, or words or expressions that differ in grammatical form. Highlighted parts of the text are the parts which demand special attention.

EXAMPLE A

WV1

そもそも日本は葦原国、天の浮橋に天の白鉾をさし降ろし、三度の大海を探しにみ給えば、ひとつのしたたれ固まりてそれを大日本と称するなり。島のはじまりは淡路島、国のはじまりは大和の国、郡のはじまりは大和の郡、国の数は六十六国、郡の数は五百二十八郡、その頃天神七代、地神五代のおんみよに天照大神は災いありて筑紫に日向の国、天の岩戸に隠れ給う。そのとき日本六十六国は暗の闇、月日の流れは光陰の矢を射る如く三年三月は暗の闇。

WV2

そもそも一日本葦原国天のう浮橋に、天のう逆鉾さし下ろし三度のう、大海をう探しい見給えーばあ一つの滴れ固まりいて、それを大日本と表ずうなりいー。島の始まりいは淡路島、国のう始まりはあ大和のう国、郡のうー始まりはあ大和のう郡、国の数は六十六国郡の数はあ五百二十八郡、其の頃、天神七代地神五代のう御代に、天照大神は災い、ありてえー筑紫日向のう国天の岩戸にい隠れえー給うー。端穂のう国はあ暮れのう闇、月日はあ次第にい流れ行うくう。月・年の経つのは光陰の矢を射るごとくう三年三月は暮れのう闇。

WV1

somosomo nihon wa ashihara no kuni ama no ukihashi ni ama no shirahoko o sashioroshi sando no ōumi o sagashimitamaeba hitotsuno shitatare katamarite sore o dainihon to shōsuru **nari shima no hajimari wa awajishima kuni no hajimari wa yamato no kuni koori no hajimari wa yamato no koori kuni no kazu wa rokujūrokkoku koori no kazu wa gohyakunijūhachi koori sono koro tenjin shichidai jijin godai no** on**miyo ni amaterasu ōmikami wa wazawai arite tsukushi ni hyūga no kuni ama no iwato ni kakuretamō sono toki** nihon rokujūrokkoku wa **kure no yami tsukibi** no nagare wa **kōin no ya o iru gotoku sannen sangatsu wa kure no yami.**

WV2

somosomoₒ **nihon wa ashihara no kuni ama noo ukihashi ni ama noo shirahoko sashioroshi sando noo ōumi oo sagashimitamaeebaa hitotsuno shitatare katamariite sore o dainihon to** hyōzuu **nariii shima no hajimarii wa awajishima kuni noo hajimari waa yamato noo kuni koori nooo hajimari waa yamato noo koori kuni no kazu wa rokujūrokkoku koori no kazu waa gohyakunijūhachi koori sono koro tenjin shichidai jijin godai noo miyo ni amaterasu ōmikami wa wazawai ariteee tsukushi hyūga noo kuni ama no iwato nii kakureeetamōu** mizuho noo kuni waa **kure noo yami** tsukibi waa shidainii nagareyuukuu tsuki toshi no tatsu no wa **kōin no ya o iru gotokuu sannen sangatsu wa kure noo yami.**

WV1

In the old days Japan was called Ashihara-no-kuni. Standing on the heavenly bridge of Ama-no-ukihashi he (Izanagi) churned the sea three times with a white spear. One of the drops congealed and was called **Great Japan. Awaji-shima is the first of all the islands, Yamato is the first of all the provinces, Yamato is the first of all the**

WV2

In the old days Japan was called Ashihara-no-kuni. Standing on the heavenly bridge of Ama-no-ukihashi he (Izanagi) churned the sea three times with a white spear. One of the drops congealed and was named **Great Japan. Awaji-shima is the first of all the islands, Yamato is the first of all the provinces, Yamato is the first of all the**

counties. There were sixty six provinces and five hundred twenty eight counties back then. In those days in the seventh generation of the heavenly gods and the fifth generation of the earthly gods a great disaster occurred. Amaterasu-ōmikami hid herself in a cave in Hyūga Province of Tsukushi. And the sixty six provinces of Japan **plunged into complete darkness.** Time flew by like an arrow**, and three years and three months (passed by) in complete darkness.**

counties. There were sixty six provinces and five hundred twenty eight counties back then. In those days, in the seventh generation of the heavenly gods and the fifth generation of the earthly gods, a great disaster occurred. Amaterasu-ōmikami hid herself in a cave in Hyūga Province of Tsukushi. Mizuho-no-kuni **plunged into complete darkness.** Time gradually flew by. Months and years flew by like an arrow**, and three years and three months (passed by) in complete darkness.**

We can see from the example above that the text of WV2 is almost identical to that of WV1, with the exception of the boxed parts. For example, in WV1 we find the following line: *nihon rokujūrokkoku wa kure no yami* ('sixty six provinces of Japan plunged into complete darkness'). However, in WV2 *nihon rokujūrokkoku wa kure no yami* becomes *mizuho-no-kuni wa kure no yami* ('Mizuho-no-kuni plunged into complete darkness'). The two sentences *nihon rokujūrokkoku wa kure no yami* and *mizuho-no-kuni wa kure no yami* are very close semantically: both *nihon rokujūrokkoku* and *mizuho-no-kuni* denote Japan. Otherwise, there are some word substitutions in the text. For example, *shōsuru nari* ('was called') in WV1 is replaced by *hyōzu nari* ('was named') in WV2. However, this does not affect either the meaning of the sentence or its structure.[15]

The myth of creation is followed by the story about Amaterasu-ōmikami and the heavenly cave.

EXAMPLE B

<table>
<tr><th>WV1</th><th>WV2</th></tr>
<tr><td>末社の諸神諸菩薩、天の浮橋におん集まりて、千代の御神楽を三日三夜舞い給えども岩戸 開かざる 。そのときにここに またシオン 弁財天は虚空よりも鳴り物を天下し給う。 この 鳴物をもちいりて十二の音楽を 弾じ給う 。天の岩戸にもれ聞え、天照大神は ああ 珍しや鳴物の音色、如何なること なるかと 天の岩戸を少しお開きありて顔をましまさば、手力おん神は 琴をかつぎながら 進み出で、</td><td>末社のう諸神諸菩薩天の浮橋に御集まりて、千代の御神楽をう三日三夜舞い給えどもう 天の 岩戸 を開く気色は更にい無し 。其の時に、ここにいー 妙音 弁財天は、「 此は如何せんー 」と、「どうがな致してえ天の岩戸をう開かねえば、世上のうー人々、助からぬうー」、五日の間はあご思案なさりけえる。ある日のうことうに、 虚空よりもう鳴り物天下しいー給う。 かの 鳴り物用いーてえー、さ</td></tr>
</table>

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[15] We should take into consideration, though, that in some cases this kind of substitution may reflect a difference in the transcriptions made by researchers. Moreover, there might be some mistakes in the transcription likely due to the fact that some of the sounds in the performance may have been difficult to distinguish.

てもう一十二のう音楽をう初め、舞をうなされ給う。鳴り物の音色は、天の岩戸に漏り聞こえ天照御神はあ、「此は珍らしや、如何なるう鳴り物、如何なる事ならん」とう天の岩戸をう少し、お開きありて、観音坐しまさあば手力男命はあ進みい出でえ、もう一度助け給わあれ」と、御手を取りてお迎えあるうー。

WV1

massha no shoshin shobosatsu ama no ukihashi ni on atsumarite chiyo no mikagura o mikka miyo maitamaedo mo iwato hirakazaru **sono toki ni koko ni** mata shion **benzaiten wa kokū yori mo narimono o amakudashitamō** kono narimono o **mochiirite jūni no ongaku o** danjitamō **ama no iwato ni mo morekikoe amaterasu ōkami wa** aa **mezurashi ya** narimono no neiro **ikanaru koto** naru ka **to ama no iwato o sukoshi ohiraki arite kao o mashimasaba tajikarao no mikoto wa** koto o katsuginagara **susumiide mō ichido** kuni o **tasuketamaware to onte o torite omukae aru.**

WV2

massha noo shoshin shobosatsu no ama no ukihashi ni on atsumarite chiyo no mikagura oo mikka miyo maitamaedo moo ama no iwato o hiraku keshiki wa saranii nashi **sono toki ni koko niii** mion **benzaiten wa** kore wa ikaga sen to dōgana itashitee ama no iwato oo hirakaneeba sejō nooo hitobito tasukaranuuu itsuka no aida waa goshian nasarikeeru aru hi noo kotoo ni **kokū yori moo narimono o ama kudashiiitamō** kano **narimono mochiiriteee** sate moo **jūni noo ongaku oo** hajime mai o nasaretamō narimono no neiro **wa ama no iwato ni mo morikikoe amaterasu onkami waa** kore wa **mezurashi ya** ikanaruu narimono ikanaru koto naran **too ama no iwato oo sukoshi ohiraki arite kao o mashimasaaba tajikarao no mikoto waa susumiiide mōo ichido tasuketamawaare to onte o torite omukae aruuu.**

WV1

And on the heavenly bridge of Ama-no-ukihashi there gathered all the gods and bodhisattvas of all the shrines. They performed *Chiyo-no-kagura* **for three days and three nights but the cave** did not open. **At that time** Shion **Benzaiten brought an instrument from heaven. Using this instrument she** played **twelve melodies. The sound of it was heard in the cave. Amaterasu-ōmikami** (thought): "**Such a rare timbre. What could that be?**" **And when she opened the heavenly cave a little bit and peeped out, Tajikarao-no-mikoto moved forward** carrying a zither on his shoulders **and welcomed her, taking her hand and saying: "Please, save** the country **again!"**

WV2

And on the heavenly bridge of Ama-no-ukihashi there gathered all the gods and bodhisattvas of all the shrines. They performed *Chiyo-no-kagura* **for three days and three nights but** there was no sign of the heavenly **cave** being opened yet. **At that time** Mion **Benzaiten** thought: "What can we do?" "If somehow the heavenly cave does not open, the people of the world are not going to be saved," she had been thinking this over for five days, and then one day she… **brought an instrument from heaven.** Then **using this instrument she** started playing **twelve melodies** and dancing. **The sound of it was heard in the cave. Amaterasu-ōmikami** (thought): "This… **such a rare timbre.** What instrument could that

be? What could that be?" **And when she opened the heavenly cave a little bit and peeped out, Tajikarao-no-mikoto moved forward and welcomed her, taking her hand and saying: "Please, save (us) again!"**

As we can see from the above example, even though this passage is one of the parts of WV1 and WV2 which shows some degree of flexibility, the textual material is mostly common for WV1 and WV2. The passage starts with the description of a scene in which all the gods and bodhisattvas gather on the heavenly bridge in order to lure Amaterasu-ōmikami out of the cave. The text in both versions is almost identical, except for the addition of an attribute *ama no* ('heavenly'), and the expression used to describe the final condition of the passage: the cave was not open. In WV1 we find *iwato hirakazaru* ('the cave did not open'), while in WV2 a different expression *ama no iwato o hiraku keshiki wa sarani nashi* ('there was no sign of the heavenly cave being opened yet') is used. This part is followed by the appearance of Benzaiten, who brings an instrument from heaven: *sono toki ni koko ni… benzaiten wa kokū yori mo narimono o amakudashitamō*. This scene is described in both WV1 and WV2 in almost identical words, except for *mata shion* in WV1 and *mion* in WV2, which might be a different transcription of what were originally the same sounds, and a relatively long passage, interpolated into a single sentence of WV1.

(benzaiten wa) koko wa ikaga sen to dōgana itashite ama no iwato o hirakaneba sejō no hitobito tasukaranu itsuka no aida wa goshian nasarikeru aru hi noo koto ni.

(Benzaiten) thought: "What can we do?" "If somehow the heavenly cave does not open, the world is not going to be saved," she had been thinking this over for five days, and then one day…

This part is followed by the description of a scene in which Amaterasu-ōmikami hears the sound of an instrument and peeps out of the cave. The texts in WV1 and WV2 are largely identical; *jūni no ongaku o danjitamō* ('played twelve melodies') of WV1 becomes *jūni no ongaku o hajime mai oo nasaretamō* ('started playing twelve melodies and dancing') in WV2. Another example is the scene in which Tajikarao-no-mikoto approaches Amaterasu-ōmikami: *tajikarao no mikoto wa susumiide* ('Tajikarao-no-mikoto moved forward'). In WV1 we can also find a line, *koto o katsuginagara* ('carrying a zither on his shoulders') after *tajikarao no mikoto wa,* that is not included in WV2.

We will next examine two passages from *hashira-date,* which also show some textual flexibility compared to other parts of WV1 and WV2.

EXAMPLE C

WV1

そばやまだちの木を切りて、運びよせ大工棟梁招き寄せ、棟梁の位には聖徳太子の位を蒙り、修理の守と奉る。棟梁きわには木の守を奉る。棟梁は吉日を選び、今日はいざ吉日とあまたの人夫招き寄せ、吉方に御幣を振って再拝し、一度にどっとちゅうのう立て、げにも威勢に見えにける。一々削りあげたるはし柱、曲（尺）を当てて墨をひく。いとねんごろに仕上げ立てたる柱を第一番に立て初めに立てたる柱は大黒柱と清め奉る。月天子の守らせ給う。

WV2

杣山立の木を切り運び寄せ、大工棟梁招き寄せ、棟梁の位にはあ聖徳太子の位をう蒙りい修理の守と奉る。棟梁ぎわにはあ木の守と奉るう。ある日のうことにいー棟梁はあー、数多の人夫を招き寄せ、今日はいざ吉日と、其の日のう棟梁のう出で立ちはあ儀にも派手やかなにい、吉方に向かってえ御幣を振って采配し、一度にどっとチュウノウ立てえ儀にも威勢にい見えにけえる。一々削り上げたるうはし柱、矩をう当てては墨を引くう。いと懇ろに仕上げ立てたる柱を、第一番に立て初めに立てたるう柱をう、大黒柱とう浄め奉るう。月天子のう守らせえ給う。

WV1

sobayamadachi no ki o kiri te hakobiyose daiku tōryō manekiyose tōryō no kurai ni wa shōtoku taishi no kurai o kōmuri shuri no kami to tatematsuru tōryō kiwa ni wa moku no kami o tatematsuru tōryō wa kichijitsu o erabi kyō wa iza kichijitsu to amata no ninpu o manekiyose kippō ni gohei o futte saihai shi ichido ni dotto chūnō tate ge ni mo isei ni mienikeru ichiichi kezuriagetaru hashibashira kane o atete sumi o hiku ito nengoro ni shiagetatetaru hashira o dai ichiban ni tate hajime ni tatetaru hashira wa daikokubashira to kiyometatematsuru gattenshi no mamorasetamō.

WV2

sobayamadachi no ki o kiri hakobiyose daiku tōryō manekiyose tōryō no kurai ni waa shōtoku taishi no kurai oo kōmurii shuri no kami to tatematsuru tōryō giwa ni waa moku no kami to tatematsuruu aru hi noo koto niii tōryō waaa amata no ninpu o manekiyose kyō wa iza kichijitsu to sono hi noo tōryō noo idetachi waa gi ni mo hadeyakana niii kippō ni mukattee gohei o futte saihai shi ichido ni dotto chūnō tatee gi ni mo isei niii mienikeeru ichiichi kezuriagetaruu hashibashira kane oo atete wa sumi o hikuu ito nengoro ni shiagetatetaru hashira o daiichiban ni tate hajime ni tatetaruu hashira oo daikokubashira too kiyometatematsuruu gattenshi noo mamoraseetamō.

WV1

The trees from the forest should be cut and brought to the place. Then a master carpenter should be invited, who should be received as Prince Shōtoku himself and worshiped as the god of building. Then next to master carpenter should be worshiped as the god of wood. The master chooses a lucky day. When the day is lucky, he invites a lot of workers. After *gohei* paper (strips of white paper) is shaken in lucky directions,

WV2

The trees from the forest should be cut and brought to the place. Then a master carpenter should be invited, who should be received as Prince Shōtoku himself and worshiped as the god of building. Then next to master carpenter should be worshiped as the god of wood. Then one day the master invites a lot of workers when the day is lucky. And on that day the master looks marvelous. **After *gohei* paper (strips of white**

and the rituals are performed, at once they set up the pillars. The scene is very impressive. The pillars, each already cut, are measured, and the lines are drawn. The pillars, made with extreme care, are set up then. The first pillar is the central *daikokubashira* pillar. It is protected by Gattenshi.

The passage above describes preparations made for the erection of pillars. The texts of WV1 and WV2 are almost identical, except for the part in which the master carpenter chooses the day for the erection of pillars. The expression *kichijitsu o erabi* ('choosing a lucky day') is substituted in WV2 by *aru hi no koto ni* ('then one day'). It is interesting to note that the order of the same textual elements in this part of WV1 and WV2 is different: (*tōryō wa*) *kyō wa iza kichijitsu to amata no ninpu o manekiyose* ('when the day is lucky, he invites many workers') is turned into (*tōryō wa*) *amata no ninpu o manekiyose kyō wa iza kichijitsu to* ('invites many workers when the day is lucky') in WV2. In addition, WV2 contains a description of the looks of the master on the day of the construction: *sono hi no tōryō no idetachi wa gi ni mo hadeyakana ni* ('on that day the master looks marvelous').

In the passage below we also find difference in the order of textual elements.

EXAMPLE D

WV1

第十五番の柱は水神の守らせ給る。第十六番の柱を床柱と浄め奉る。もったいなくも三社の神の守らせ給る。伊勢天照皇大神宮、春日大明神、春日大権現守らせ給る。そのほか下柱、間柱に至るまで諸神諸菩薩の守らせ給る。大梁結んで桁を打つ、男ザス、女ザスを立て込んで、子孫繁昌と、長木の棟木を打渡し、黄金のコンマイ垂木を打ち、ムラス男ザス女ザス棟木コンマイ垂木に至るまで鞍馬大天狗小天狗の守らせ給る。水も漏らさぬ屋根裏を打ち、十の瓦を百枚、百の瓦は千枚、千は万にと広げ、四方一度にほめ上ぐる。御家見事に新築成就し、世は安全と祝いこめたる墨壺の宝はここに三つ目ギリ鋸切りくずもかずかずと浜の真砂と君が代は数え尽きせぬ面白や。ムラサン近くムロムクの東の方より福の神の御入りで御家繁昌と守らせ給る。南より荒神の御入りで悪魔を吉方に切り祓い、家内安全と守らせ給る。西よりも今里の神の御入りで火難除けと守らせ給る。北

WV2

第十五番の柱は水神の守らせ給る。第十六番の柱をう、床柱と浄め奉るう。かの床柱はあ弓矢のう神のう守らせえ給る。伊勢天照皇大神宮、八幡大菩薩、春日大明神三社のう神のう守らせえ給る。甲張り結んでえ桁をう打つう。其の他ギ柱、間柱にい至るまでえ諸神諸薩の守らせえ給る。男ザス女ザスをう組み立てて、長く子孫繁盛と、長木の棟木をう打ち渡しい事厳重にい黄金の木舞、垂木をう打ち上げたあー、女ザスー男ザスー棟木木舞垂木に至るうまで、鞍馬大天狗小天狗の守らせ給る。水もう漏らさぬう屋根裏をう打ち、事厳重にいジブクをう致しい、其の上にはあ十の瓦はあ百枚百の瓦をう千枚、千は万にと広げ四方一度に褒め上ぐるうーご家新築見事に成就し、祝椀膳と祝い込めたる墨壺のソラサンー近くモロモクーの、浜の真砂とう君があ代はあ数え尽きせぬう面白や、鋸屑も数々と、宝はあここに三つ目切りいー、東のう方よりいー福の神の御入りでご家繁盛と守

より水神の御入りで家内安全守らせ給う。中央には大日大小不動明王、三宝大荒神の守らせ給う。

らせ給う。南よりい荒神のう御入りで、悪魔は吉方に切り祓い一家内安全と守らせえ給う。西より今里の神、御入りでえ火難除けえと守らせ給う。北より水神の御入りで、家内安全に守らせえ給う。中央にはあー、大日大小不動明・三宝大荒神の守らせ給う。

WV1

daijūgoban no hashira wa suijin no mamorasetamō dai jūrokuban no hashira o tokobashira to kiyometatematsuru mottainakumo **sansha no kami no mamorasetamō ise tenshōkōtaijingū kasuga daimyōjin** kasuga daigongen **mamorasetamō sono hoka** ge**bashira mabashira ni itaru made shoshin shobosatsu no mamorasetamō oobari musunde keta o utsu** otokozasu onnazasu o tatekonde **shison hanjō to nagaki no munagi o uchiwatashi kugane no konmai taruki o uchi** murasu **otokozasu onnazasu munagi konmai taruki ni itaru made kurama daitengu shōtengu no mamorasetamō mizu mo morasanu yaneura o uchi jūno kawara** o **hyakumai hyaku no kawara** wa **senmai sen wa man ni to hiroge shiman ichido ni homeaguru goie migoto ni shinchiku jōju shi yo wa anzen to iwaikometaru sumitsubo no takara wa koko ni mitsu megiri/ nokogiri kuzu mo kazukazu to/ hama no masago to kimi ga yo wa kazoetsukisenu omoshiro ya/ murasan chikaku muromuku no higashi no kata yori fuku no kami no on'iri de goie hanjō to mamorasetamō minami yori kōjin no on'iri de akuma** o **kippō ni kiriharai kanai anzen to mamorasetamō nishi yori imasatono kami** no **on'iri de kanan yoke to mamorasetamō kita yori suijin no on'iride kanai anzen** to **mamorasetamō chūō ni wa dainichidaishōfudōmyōō sanbōdaikōjin no mamorasetamō.**

WV2

daijūgoban no hashira wa suijin no mamorasetamō dai jūrokuban no hashira oo tokobashira to kiyometatematsuruu kano tokobashira waa yumiya **noo kami noo mamoraseetamō ise tenshōkōtaijingū** hachiman daibosatsu **kasuga daimyōjin sansha noo kami noo mamoraseetamō oobari musundee keta oo utsuu sono hoka** gi**bashira mabashira nii itaru madee shoshin shobosatsu no mamoraseetamō** otokozasu onnazasu oo kumitatete nagaku **shison hanjō to nagaki no munagi woo uchiwatashii** koto genjū ni **kugane no konmai taruki oo uchi** agetaa **otokozasuu onnazasuu munagi konmai taruki ni itaruu made kurama daitengu shōtengu no mamorasetamō mizu mo morasanuu yaneura oo uchi** koto genjū nii jibuku oo itashii sono ue niwaa **jū no kawara** wa **hyakumai hyaku no kawara** oo **senmai sen wa man ni to hiroge shiman ichido ni homeaguruuu goie shinchiku migoto ni jōju shi iwa anzen to iwaikometaru sumitsubo no sorasann chikaku moromokuu no/ hama no masago too kimi gaa yo waa kazoetsukisenuu omoshiro ya/ nokogiri kuzu mo kazukazu to/ takara waa koko ni mitsu megiri higashi noo kata yoriii fuku no kami no on'iri de goie hanjō to mamorasetamō minami yorii kōjin noo on'iride akuma** wa **kippō ni kiriharaii kanai anzen to mamoraseetamō nishi yori imasato no kami on'iri dee kanan yokee to mamorasetamō kita yori suijin no on'iri de kanai anzen** ni **mamoraseetamō chūō ni waaa dainichidaishōfudōmyō sanbōdaikōjin no mamorasetamō.**

WV1

The fifteenth pillar is protected by Suijin

WV2

The fifteenth pillar is protected by Suijin

(the god of water). The sixteenth pillar is set as the *tokonoma* pillar. The three Great Gods, Tenshō-kōtai-jingū of Ise, Kasuga-daimyōjin, Daigongen of Kasuga, protect it. **Besides that the lower pillars and middle pillars are protected by many other gods and bodhisattvas. Then the girders and ridgepoles are set,** *otokozasu* and *onnazasu* **joints are fixed, and in a prayer for future generations, the rafters are nailed up.** *Murasu, otokozasu, onnazasu*... **everything is protected by the big and small Tengu of Kurama. Then the waterproofing roof is lined. Ten tiles turn into a hundred, a hundred tiles turn into a thousand, a thousand turn into ten thousand, in this way tiles are spread in all directions. And the construction of the new house is successfully completed. The ink pot/ there are three treasures here** *megiri*/ **there is an uncountable quantity of saw dust/ may you live as long as there are grains of sand on the beach. How interesting this all is/** *muromuku* **near** *murasan*... **From the East comes the God of Happiness and protects the prosperity of the house. From the South comes Kōjin, who drives away all the evil spirits in a good direction and protects the safety of the family. From the West comes the Imasato-no-kami and protects it from fire. From the North comes Suijin and protects the safety of the family. And in the middle Dainichi daishō fudō myōō and Sanbō daikōjin rest.**

(the god of water). The sixteenth pillar is the *tokonoma* pillar. This *tokonoma* pillar is protected by Yumiya-no-kami. The three Great Gods, Tenshō-kōtai-jingū of Ise, Hachiman-daibosatsu and Daigongen of Kasuga, protect it. **Then the girders and ridgepoles are set. Besides that the lower pillars and middle pillars protected by many other gods and bodhisattvas.** *Otokozasu* and *onnazasu* **joints are fixed, and in a prayer for future generations, the rafters are nailed up** properly. *Otokozasu, onnazasu*... **everything is protected by the big and small Tengu of Kurama. Then the roof is lined.** *Jibuku* is made properly, and then on it **ten tiles turn into a hundred, a hundred tiles turn into a thousand, a thousand turn into ten thousand, in this way tiles are spread in all directions. And the construction of the house is successfully completed. The ink pot/** *moromuku* **near** *sorasan*/ **may you live as long as there are grains of sand on the beach. How interesting this all is/ uncountable quantity of saw dust/ there are three treasures here** *megiri*... **From the East comes the God of Happiness and protects the prosperity of the house. From the South comes Kōjin, who drives away all the evil spirits in a good direction and protects the safety of the family. From the West comes the Imasato-no-kami and protects it from fire. From the North comes Suijin and protects the safety of the family. And in the middle Dainichi daishō fudō myō and Sanbō daikōjin rest.**

The textual material of the two passages is mostly identical, except for those parts which are circled or highlighted. For example, in WV2 we find the line *kano tokobashira waa yumiya noo kami noo mamoraseetamō* ('This *tokonoma* pillar is protected by Yumiya-no-kami'). Besides, the line *ise tenshōkōtaijingū kasuga daimyōjin kasuga daigongen* ('Tenshō-kōtai-jingū of Ise, Kasuga-daimyōjin, Daigongen of Kasuga') seen in WV1 becomes *ise tenshōkōtaijingū hachiman daibosatsu kasuga daigongen* ('Tenshō-kōtai-jingū of Ise, Hachiman-daibosatsu and Daigongen of Kasuga') in WV2. The two sentences following this part are absolutely identical, but in reverse order. In WV1 *sono hoka ni gebashira mabashira ni itaru made shoshin shobosatsu no mamorasetamō* ('besides that the lower pillars and middle pillars protected by many other gods and bodhisattvas') is followed by *oobari*

musunde keta o utsu ('then the girders and ridgepoles are set'), while in WV2 *oobari musunde keta o utsu* comes first. We can observe a very interesting rearrangement of order in the following passage.

> **(A)** *takara wa koko ni mitsu megiri/* **(B)** *nokogiri kuzu mo kazukazu to/* **(C)** *hama no masago to kimi ga yo wa kazoetsukisenu omoshiro ya/* **(D)** *murasan chikaku muromuku no*

> … there are three treasures here *megiri*/ there is an uncountable quantity of saw dust/ may you live as long as there are grains of sand on the beach. How interesting this all is/ *muromuku* near *murasan*…

In WV2 the sentences of this passage are in a completely different order. Instead of ABCD we find DCBA.

> **(D)** *sorasann chikaku moromukuu no/* **(C)** *hama no masago too kimi gaa yo waa kazoetsukisenuu omoshiro ya/* **(B)** *nokogiri mo kazukazu to/* **(A)** *takara waa koko ni mitsu megiri*

> … *moromuku* near *sorasan*/ may you live as long as there are grains of sand on the beach. How interesting this all is/ uncountable quantity of saw dust/ there are three treasures here *megiri*…

Clearly, the passage is a verse memorized verbatim, but for some reason the lines are out of order.

The final part of the performance is the least fixed. The textual material of WV1 and WV2 contains many common words and expressions, but the order varies. Moreover, WV2 is greater in length and has some parts that cannot be found in WV1. Clearly, even though the passage was memorized to some extent, it was not reproduced from memory word for word but was rather orally recomposed during performance.

EXAMPLE E

WV1

もったいなくも御家新築、悪魔祓い、火伏せの祈念とし、十二仏を十二カン、三十仏を三十カン、日本六十余州の神仏集合し給うて十二仏、十二カン、三十仏、三十カン、十二ヶ月の悪事災難、一切の難を大難は小難、小難は無難に逃がらんことを。もったいなくも、御家大広間にて、伊勢天照大神宮、八幡大菩薩、春日大明神を始め、地神、荒神、三方大金神。この鳴物をもっておさめ奉る

WV2

年に代わり日に代わり、年十二ヶ月の悪事災難三百六十五ヶ日の一切の難を、日本六十余州の神と仏集合し給うて、十二仏を十二巻、三十仏を三十巻、宵の守り日の守り月の守り采配給えて守らせ給う。勿体無くもご家新築悪魔祓いフウシュウの祈念、この鳴り物を持って納め奉れば八方金神・四方金神・月金神・日金神・裏門・鬼門の金神に至るまで、鎮まり坐します勿体無くも、当家ご家

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は、八方金神、四方金神、月金神、日金神、まわり金神、裏門、鬼門の金神、いかなる神も鎮まりましますことを、悪魔祓い、火伏せの祈念。オンケンバヤ、ケンバヤソワカ、オンケンバヤ、ケンバヤソワカ。三宝大荒神様。

新築悪魔祓い、病難・災難・火難・水難・盗難・剣難・幾難の大難、重ねて今日この社会に、大災難思わぬ大事故を守らせ給わらんことを、交通大災難を無難に逃らん。ましてここに集まりのう皆のう人様にも病気・災難・火難・水難・盗難・剣難、難逃れんそのために、勿体無くも家族一同、久遠長久を共に悪魔祓いフウシュウの祈念、納め奉る。オンケンバヤケンバヤソワカ、オンケンバヤケンバヤソワカ、伊勢天照皇大神宮・八幡大菩薩・春日大明神・地神・荒神・三宝大荒神、当家先祖代々の御仏もご一緒に願い奉りてご家繁盛・商売繁盛・病難災難、一切の災難逃らんことを祈願奉りて、勿体無くも地鎮三宝大荒神、オンケンバヤケンバヤソワカ、オンケンバヤケンバヤソワカ。

WV1

mottainaku mo goie shinchiku akuma-barai hi-fuse no kinen to shi jūni butsu o jūni kan sanjū butsu o sanjū kan nihon rokujū yoshū no shinbutsu shūgōshitamōte jūni butsu jūni kan sanjū butsu sanjūkan jūnikagetsu no akuji sainan issai no nan o dainan wa shōnan shōnan wa bunan ni nogaran koto o mottainaku mo goie ōhiroma ni te ise tenshōtaijingū hachiman daibosatsu kasuga daimyōjin o hajime jijin kōjin sanbō daikōjin kono narimono o motte osametatematsuru wa happōkonjin shihō-konjin gakkonjin nikkonjin mawarikonjin uramon kimon no konjin ikanaru kami mo shizumarimasu koto o akuma-barai hi-fuse no kinen on kenba ya kenba ya sowaka on kenba ya kenba ya sowaka sanbō-daikōjinsama.

WV2

toshi ni kawari hi ni kawari toshi jūnikagetsu no akuji sainan sanbyakurokujūgonichi no issai no nan o nihon rokujū yoshū no jinbutsu shūgōshitamōte jūnibutsu jūni kan sanjū butsu sanjūkan yoi no mamori-bi no mamori-tsuki no mamori saihaitamaete mamo-rasetamō mottainaku mo goie shinchiku akuma-barai fūshū no kinen kono narimono o motte osametatematsureba happōkonjin shihōkonjin gakkonjin nikkonjin uramon kimon no konjin ni itaru made shizumarimasu mottainakumo tōke goie shinchiku aku-ma-barai byōnan sainan kanan suinan tōnan kennan ikunan no dainan kasanete kyō kono shakai ni daisainan omowanu daijiko o mamo-rasetamawaran koto o kōtsū daisainan o bunan ni nogaran mashite koko ni atsumari noo minanoo hitosama ni mo byōnan sainan kanan suinan tōnan kennan nan nogaran sono tame ni mottainakumo kazoku ichido kuon chōkyū o tomo ni akuma-barai fūshū no kinen osametatematsuru on kenba ya kenba ya sowaka on kenba ya kenba ya sowaka ise tenshōkōtaijingū hachiman daibosatsu kasuga daimyōjin jijin kōjin sanbōdaikōjin tōke senzo daidai no mihotoke mo goissho ni negaitatematsurite goie hanjō shōbai hanjō byōnan sainan issai no sainan nogareran koto o kigan tatematsurite mottainakumo jijin sanbō-daikōjin on kenba ya kenba ya sowaka on

kenba ya kenba ya sowaka.

WV1

In prayer for **the building of this new house, pacification from the evil spirits and pacification of fire, twelve scrolls for twelve buddhas, thirty scrolls for thirty buddhas. The deities and buddhas from the sixty provinces of Japan have gathered here... Twelve scrolls for twelve buddhas, thirty scrolls for thirty buddhas... so that misfortunes of the twelve months,** all the big difficulties become small, and the small difficulties disappear, **be successfully avoided**. **Tenshō-tai-jingū of Ise, Hachiman-daibosatsu and Daigongen of Kasuga, Jijin, Kōjin, Sanbō daikonjin** are in the main room of the house. **With this instrument I passify Konjin of the eight directions, Konjin of the four directions, Konjin of the moon, Konjin of the sun,** Konjin of the surroundings, **Konjin of the back gate and of the unluck direction. I pray so that all the deities are pacified, the evil spirits have gone away, and fire is pacified. Aum kenba kenba svāhā, aum kenba kenba svāhā, oh, Sanbō daikōjin!**

WV2

Years and days, **misfortunes of the twelve months, all the difficulties** of the three hundred sixty five days **the deities and buddhas from the sixty provinces of Japan have gathered here... Twelve scrolls for twelve buddhas, thirty scrolls for thirty buddhas...** They protect the evening, protect the sun and protect the moon. **In prayer for the building of this new house and pacification of fire. With this instrument I passify** all the deities, **Konjin of the eight directions, Konjin of the four directions, Konjin of the moon, Konjin of the sun, Konjin of the back gate and of the unlucky direction. This is the prayer for the building of this new house and protection from evil spirits.** All diseases, disasters, fires, floods, robberies, sword cuts, all the big troubles... Again, here today I pray for protection from all disasters and all big troubles. Let all traffic accidents **be successfully avoided**. And I offer this prayer so that all the people who gathered here could avoid diseases, disasters, fires, floods, robberies, sword cuts, difficulties... So that all members of this family could escape **evil spirits and fire** from now on for all ages. **Aum kenba kenba svāhā, aum kenba kenba svāhā! Tenshō-kōtai-jingū of Ise, Hachiman-daibosatsu and Daigongen of Kasuga, Jijin, Kōjin and Sanbō daikonjin...** I pray to all the buddhas of all the generations of this family wishing for the prosperity of this family and prosperity in trade, wishing for all the diseases and disasters to be avoided. **Oh, Jijin, Sanbō daikōjin, aum kenba kenba svāhā, aum kenba kenba svāhā!**

We can see that, even though the two text transcriptions contain many common words and expressions, they are found in different parts of the two texts, and the order of the expressions is different in WV1 and WV2. For example, *jūnikagetsu no akuji sainan* ('misfortunes of the twelve months') in WV1 comes before *nihon rokujū yoshū no jinbutsu shūgōshitamōte jūni butsu jūni kan sanjū butsu sanjū kan* ('the deities and buddhas from the

sixty provinces of Japan have gathered here... Twelve scrolls for twelve buddhas, thirty scrolls for thirty buddhas'), while in WV2 the order is reversed. Another example is the set of god names which appeares in both WV1 and WV2, but in different parts of the textual material. The line *ise tenshōtaijingū hachiman daibosatsu kasuga daimyōjin o hajime jijin kōjin sanbōdaikōjin* ('Tenshō-kōtai-jingū of Ise, Hachiman-daibosatsu and Daigongen of Kasuga, Jijin, Kōjin and Sanbōdaikonjin') is combined in WV1 with *mottainaku mo goie ōhiroma ni te* ('are in the main room of the house') and appears in the text before the part *kono narimono o motte* ('with this instrument'). The same set of god names appears in WV2 but after *kono narimono o motte*. In this case the line *ise tenshōkōtaijingū hachiman daibosatsu kasuga daimyōjin jijin kōjin sanbōdaikōjin* appears after the first recitation of the *mantra,* without *mottainaku mo goie ōhiroma ni te*. It should be noted that the line *jūni butsu jūni kan sanjū butsu sanjū kan* appears in WV1 twice. Apparently, the first appearance of the line in the text was a mistake, a result of inaccurate reproduction from memory of the memorized text.

Conclusion

Two text transcriptions of the *Watamashi* performances were analysed above. The analysis shows that the two texts are largely identical, not only at the level of general construction, but also at the level of line construction. Most of the text of WV1 is repeated in the second performance word for word. In some cases, some lines appear in a reversed order. In other cases, words or their parts are substituted with words similar in meaning or with slightly different grammatical structures. However, these kinds of substitutions do not affect the overall structure of the sentence or the narrative text as a whole. Some of the parts show that a certain degree of oral composition during performance might have taken place in reproduction of the text, namely the final part of WV1 and WV2, which is less fixed compared to other parts of WV1 and WV2. This suggests that the text of *Watamashi* was memorized by Yamashika verbatim and he intended to reproduce it faithfully from memory every time he performed it. Indiscrepancies in the texts of WV1 and WV2, such as the reversed order of lines, only reinforce this interference, since most of them clearly occur mechanically, as a failure in the reproduction of memorized textual material.

2.2 Analysis of Kikuchi Kuzure

Kikuchi Kuzure is a narrative related to historical battles between warriors of Kyushu in sixteenth-century Japan. It is centered on the depiction of the tragic destiny of Saburōmaru, a young son of Lord Kikuchi Akahoshi, who, due to his beauty and talents, became a target of the hate of Kumajūmaru and his father, Lord Kumabe. The story starts with an explanation of the reasons why Saburōmaru left his home castle and went to Lord Takanobu's. Lord Takanobu, who was the ruler of Hizen, Higo and Chikugo, was afraid of treason, which is why he ordered all of his vassals to send one of their children as a hostage to his castle. Soon Saburōmaru's nine-year-old sister Yasohime became a hostage of Lord Takanobu as well. The lord murdered both Saburōmaru and Yasohime, and this brought about a war between Satsuma and Hizen Provinces. Eventually, the death of Saburōmaru and Yasohime was avenged. Lord Akahoshi killed the plotters, Lord Kumabe and his son Kumajūmaru.

Kikuchi Kuzure is comprised of 10 to 12 parts called *dan*,[16] and as a *danmono* was one of the longest pieces in Yamashika's repertory. Yamashika learned *Kikuchi Kuzure* together with such narratives as *Kugami Gassen*, *Owari Sōdō* and *Sumidagawa* from his first teacher, Ezaki Shotarō (Ga 1972: 28).

Here, the first to third *dan* of two versions of *Kikuchi Kuzure* have been analyzed in in order to establish the degree of fixity in performances of Yamashika, based on characteristics of the textual material, centrally its stability and variability from performance to performance. The first text is a transcription of the performance recorded by Nomura (Ga) some time between 1970 and 1972, and included in 2007 *Higobiwa katari-shū*. It will be referred as KV1. The second text is a transcription of the performance recorded on September 26 1974 at RKK Kumamoto Broadcasting Studio and transcribed by Kimura Rirō for the 2007 Japan Traditional Cultures Foundation CD. It will be referred to as KV2. We will first examine the two texts at the macro-level, the scene composition and general content of scenes. In order to facilitate comparison of the two texts, we will divide KV1 and KV2 into scenes. Not only the general structure of the two performances KV1 and KV2, but also the content of the scenes are almost identical. The content of both performances can be summarized as follows.

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[16] A *dan* is a section of a narrative piece presenting a major episode in the tale. A *dan* lasts from thirty to ninety minutes. Tales are reconstructed as different numbers of *dan* in each performance. *Dan* are made up of extendable chains of *shōdan* performative units. See de Ferranti 2009. The results of comparative analysis of multiple performances of *Dōjōji* accomplished by Hyōdō demonstrated considerable flexibility in the *shōdan* structure. The longer the *danmono* is, the more flexible and variable it is. See Hyōdō 1991; 2000.

First *dan*

1. **Lord Takanobu demands hostages**

   Lord Oda Nobunaga has a cousin, a man by the name Oda Takanobu. Lord Takanobu is the governor of Yamashiro and resides in the castle of Saga in Hizen province. One day he summons all his vassals and announces that each of his vassals should send one of his children as a hostage to his castle.

2. **Vassals send hostages to Lord Takanobu**

   All the vassals who have families hurry to send their children to the lord. Among them are the son of Tajiri Naozumi, Chiwakamaru, and the son of Gojō Kumabe, Kumajūmaru. Kumajūmaru is fifteen years old and excels everyone in appearance and everything else. He becomes an attendant of the lord and lives happily in his realm.

3. **Lord Takanobu sends Lord Tajiri to the castle of Lord Kikuchi**

   Kikuchi Akahoshi of Higo province has two children, a son by the name of Saburōmaru and a daughter by the name of Yasohime. Since he has not sent any of them to Lord Takanobu, Lord Takanobu sends Lord Tajiri to the castle of Kikuchi Akahoshi.

Second *dan*

4. **Lord Tajiri arrives at the castle of Lord Kikuchi and delivers the order of Lord Takanobu**

   Lord Tajiri arrives at the castle of Lord Kikuchi Akahoshi. Lord Tajiri explains the reason for his visit, and Lord Kikuchi tells him that as soon as he recovers he will accompany one of his children to the castle of Lord Takanobu. Lord Tajiri complains of the fate that makes him give away his own son.

5. **Saburōmaru hears the conversation between Lord Tajiri and his father, asks his father for permission, and leaves his home**

   Saburōmaru hears the conversation between his father and Lord Tajiri. He asks his father for permission to leave for the castle of Lord Takanobu. Lord Kikuchi gives his permission and Saburōmaru starts preparations in order to leave with Lord Tajiri. Saburōmaru has a servant, Takewakamaru, who helps him to prepare for his trip. When Saburōmaru is ready to leave, Lord Kikuchi gives Saburōmaru his blessing and admonishes him on the dangers of women and alcohol. Then Lord Kikuchi asks Lord Tajiri to take care of his son.

6. **Lord Takanobu welcomes Saburōmaru**

   After a long trip Lord Tajiri and Saburōmaru arrive at the castle of Lord Takanobu. Lord Takanobu welcomes Saburōmaru and thinks that nobody exceeds Saburōmaru in appearance. Then Saburōmaru takes a pledge of loyalty to the lord.

7. **First competition between Saburōmaru and Kumajūmaru**

One day Lord Takanobu gets bored, and orders Saburōmaru and Kumajūmaru to compete at singing songs, composing poems and playing games. Although Kumajūmaru is fifteen, he loses to twelve-year-old Saburōmaru at composing poems and in all the games.

8. **Second competition between Saburōmaru and Kumajūmaru**

Then one day Lord Takanobu orders the two to practice *kendō*. All the vassals gather to see Kumajūmaru and Saburōmaru competing. In the end Kumajūmaru is badly beaten by Saburōmaru. Losing at *kendō* is a complete disgrace for Kumajūmaru. But after the practice is over, Lord Takanobu praises Kumajūmaru for letting Saburōmaru win on purpose. Then Kumajūmaru and Saburōmaru exchange *sakazuki*.

9. **Kumajūmaru decides to kill Saburōmaru, but changes his plan and decides to go home**

One day Lord Takanobu gets extremely angry with Kumajūmaru for a slight misuse of words. He sends Kumajūmaru off to become a doorkeeper, and makes Saburōmaru his attendant. Kumajūmaru decides to kill Saburōmaru and commit suicide. In the middle of the night he creeps into the building where Saburōmaru is sleeping. At the last moment he changes his mind and instead of killing Saburōmaru and commiting ritual suicide he decides to tell his father about everything that has happened. The next day he pretends to be sick and goes home.

Third *dan*

10. **Kumajūmaru tells his father Lord Kumabe about everything that has happened, and Lord Kumabe promises to kill Saburōmaru**

Kumajūmaru returns home and there, with tears in his eyes, he tells his father about everything that has happened to him because of Saburōmaru. He describes how he lost at composing poems and playing games, how he was beaten at *kendō* practice, and, finally, how he became a doorkeeper. Then he tells his father that he did not kill Saburōmaru or himself only because he thought of what his father would think. After hearing all this, Lord Kumabe promises his son to get rid of Saburōmaru and restore his son's position. He also tells him that he bears a grudge against the family of Saburōmaru. Then he sends a messenger to Lord Hanada. Lord Hanada rushes to the house of Lord Kumabe on the back of an unsaddled horse, since he does not have time to prepare.

Analysis showed that the content of scenes does not change from performance to performance and is stable. Some scenes are longer and contain more details in one of the versions: for example, in the case of 'Second competition between Saburōmaru and Kumajūmaru,' the scene in VK2 is more elaborate and describes the two characters practicing *kendō*. VK1 gives information about the practice between the two characters in a shorter form, but the general content of the scene does not change: the order of all events described,

all characters mentioned and actions taken are the same. Moreover, the textual material of KV1 and KV2 is very similar: not only phrases and sentences, but whole parts of the text are repeated word for word. We will next analyze the textual material of KV1 and KV2 and examine what kind of similarities and differences can be found between the two versions.

The first example is taken from the scene 'Lord Takanobu demands hostages.'[17]

EXAMPLE A

KV1

日本の兵を切鎮め従う武士を味方に付け、己がままに天下の位を受け、石山城に御座据え給う。その頃九州吟味のそのために、下しおかるる大名にはあ、信長公の従兄弟に あたられる 織田竜造寺山城守隆信公 と申されましてえ、九州 肥前の国佐賀の城に御座据え給う。

KV2

日本の兵を切り鎮め、従う武士を味方につけ、おのがままに天下の位をうけ、音にも聞こえし 石山城に御座すえ給う。その頃九州吟味のその為に下しおかるる大名には信長公の従弟に 当たり 織田竜造寺山城守隆信公 とて、音にも 聞こえし 肥前の国佐賀の城に御座すえ給う。

KV1

nihon no tsuwamono o kirishizume shitagau bushi o mikata ni tsuke ono ga mama ni tenka no kurai o uke ishiyama jō ni goza suetamō sono koro kyūshū ginmi no sono tame ni kudashiokaruru daimyō ni waa nobunaga kō no itoko ni atarareru **oda ryūzōji yamashiro no kami takanobu kō** to mōsaremashitee kyūshū **hizen no kuni saga no jō ni goza suetamō.**

KV2

nihon no tsuwamono o kirishizume shitagau bushi o mikata ni tsuke ono ga mama ni tenka no kurai o uke oto ni mo kikoeshi **ishiyama jō ni goza suetamō sono koro kyū-shū ginmi no sono tame ni kudashiokaruru daimyō ni wa nobunaga kō no itoko ni** atari **oda ryūzōji yamashiro no kami takanobu kō** to te oto ni mo kikoeshi **hizen no kuni saga no jō ni goza suetamō.**

KV1

He pacified the warriors of Japan, turned into his allies those who followed him, made himself the lord of the country and resided in the castle of Ishiyama. In those days among the lords appointed to control Kyūshū there was a man by the name of Oda Ryūzoji Takanobu, the Governor of

KV2

He pacified the warriors of Japan, turned into his allies those who followed him, made himself the lord of the country and resided in the renowned **castle of Ishiyama. In those days among the lords appointed to control Kyūshū there was a man by the name Oda Ryūzoji Takanobu, the Governor**

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[17] In the Japanese version of *Kikuchi Kuzure,* parts of the text that are repeated are underlined. In the Romanized and English versions, parts that are repeated are in bold. And the parts that demand special attention are boxed: these parts are either paraphrased in the second version, or missing in a similar sentence in one of the versions. There are some highlighted parts that indicate that this part of the text in almost identical form can be found in a different part of the same, or the other version.

Yamashiro. He was a cousin of Lord Nobunaga and resided in the castle of Saga in Hizen province of Kyūshū.

of Yamashiro. He was a cousin of Lord Nobunaga and resided in the renowned castle of Saga in Hizen province of Kyūshū.

From the above example, we can see that the text of KV1 is essentially repeated in KV2 word for word, except for minor differences. For example, in KV2 we find the expression *oto ni mo kikoeshi* ('renowned'), which is not used in KV1. The expression is used twice in the same passage in KV2 as an attribute of the castles of Lord Nobunaga and Lord Takanobu. In KV2 it functions as a formula used in the description of castles. But since it is not seen in KV1 we can suggest that it was probably either added by Yamashika later or, for some reason, was not actively employed in his first performance. The difference between the two passages can also be seen in the usage of the grammatical form of verbs. *Ni atarareru* ('was') in KV1 is replaced with *ni atari* ('was') in KV2. But this substitution does not affect either the meaning of the sentence or the general structure of the passage. The same can be said about *to mōsaremashite* ('called' or 'by the name of') and *to te* ('called' or 'by the name of'). Even though the former is a combination of a particle and a verb, and the latter a combination of two particles, both express the same meaning, with the only difference that the former contains a nuance of politeness.

The passage above is followed by an enumeration of the names of the vassals of Lord Takanobu. Even though this part in KV2 is more elaborate and mentions more names, most of the names and titles are the same in both texts and appear in the same order. There is a line in KV2 that is repeated twice word for word, even though there is no need for such a repetition.

蒲池仁左衛門、同じく重純、本庄ナノルカンザエモン、ミズシマカイシマ、オガワノムサシ、入江入船のロッカの右近、橘左近蓮の池、蒲池仁左衛門同じく重純、本庄ナノルカンザエモン。

gamaikejinzaemon onajiku shigezumi honjōnanorukanzaemon mizushima kaishima ogawa no musashi irienyūsen no rokka no ukon tachibanasakonhasunoike gamaikejinzaemon onajiku shigezumi honjōnanorukanzaemon.

Apparently, *gamaikejinzaemon onajiku shigezumi honjōnanorukanzaemon* was repeated by Yamashika mechanically under the pressure of performance, and can only be explained as a result of reproduction out of memory of memorized material.

We will next examine the scene 'Vassals send hostages to Lord Takanobu.'

EXAMPLE B

KV1

謀叛を起こす世の中なれば、旗下家老、士席以上の人々で人質持ちし人々より、余が御前に一人づつうの人質を取って置くならば、たとえ反逆起すとも、親は子の煩悩に絆されて止まるがいつでも世の習いと覚えたり。この段廻状回されよ」、仰せにはっと人々は早速御前で墨摺り流し、認めたる廻状を家中に回すなら人々廻状見るよりも、「我は、御前に差し上げて日を豊かに送らん」「我も君様に差し上げん」「我も御殿に差し上げん」と、人質持ちいし人々はあ、我が子我が子、君の御殿と送らるる。まず一番にジンバヤ殿の世の末に虎若丸と申して十と五歳、次には、小川の武蔵が世の末にい、菊若丸と申して十歳なり。蒲池左衛門の世の末に千代若丸と申して八歳なり。その次には田尻直純の世の末に、千若丸と申ししましてえ天にも地にも代え難したっうた一人息子、本年僅か三歳でございますが、今だ御前の勤めも叶いません。御乳や傅を相添えましてえー御前の勤めに差し出づる。ましては五条隈部の世の末にクマジュウ丸と申してえ十と五歳、君の御前と差し上ぐる。その他数多、数万の人々は俺も我もと、姫は姫に、男子の子は男子の子と思い思いの持ちいし人々を差し上げられたるが、中に目に立つは五条隈部の世の末にクマジュウ丸と申して本年十五歳、器量姿は世に優れ何に取りても暗からず発明な男、この由をご覧に相成りましたる隆信公は、「ああー器量優れし玉ものなるか、またとこいう男子はあるまいものを」とう御前傍役にジュンぜられ、月日を円満に送らせ給うが。

KV2

謀叛を起す世の中なれば、人質を一人ずつ、人質持ちし人々からとっておくならば、例えば本逆起すとも親は子の煩悩にほだされて、とどまるのが世の習い。この段回状廻されよ」仰せにはっと御家来衆はさてもそのとき御前で墨摺り流す。にわかに回状したためて家中に回状めぐすなら、人々回状見るよりも、我も君のつとめに捧げん、我も君のつとめにいださんと、我も我もと送る人質は、まず一番にジンバヤビゼン・タケオノトウ世の末に虎若丸十五歳、オガワノムサシが世の末に菊若丸とて十歳なり。蒲池左衛門の世の末に千代若丸と申して八歳。田尻直純の世の末に千若丸と申してわずか三歳なり。未だ御前の勤めもかなわわぬゆえ、お乳やメノウトあい添えて御前の勤めといださるる。そのたあまたの人々、われもわれもという君の御前に上げらるる。

KV1

muhon o okosu yo no naka nareba hatamoto karō shiseki ijō no hitobito de **hitojichi mochishi hitobito** yori yo ga gozen ni **hitorizutsu** no hitojichi o totte oku naraba tatoe hongyaku okosu to mo oya wa ko no bonnō ni hodasarete todomaru no ga itsudemo **yo no narai** to oboetari **kono dan kaijō mawasare yo ōse ni hatto** hitobito wa sassoku **gozen de sumi surinagashi** shitatametaru **kaijō o kachū ni mawasu nara hitobito kaijō miru yori mo ware** wa goten ni sashiagete hi o yutaka ni okuran **ware mo kimi** sama ni sashiagen ware mo gozen ni sashiagen to hitojichi mochiishi

KV2

muhon o okosu yo no naka nareba hitojichi o hitorizutsu hitojichi mochishi hitobito kara **totte oku naraba tatoeba hongyaku o okosu to mo oyawa ko no bonnō ni hodasarete todomaru no ga yo no narai kono dan kaijō mawasare yo ōse ni hatto** gokerai shu wa sate mo sono toki **gozen de sumi surinagasu** niwaka ni **kaijō** shitatamete **kachū ni kaijō megusu nara hitobito kaijō miru yori mo ware mo kimi** no tsutome ni sasagen **ware mo kimi** no tsutome ni idasan to ware mo ware mo to okuru hitojichi wa **mazu ichiban ni jinbaya** bizen takeo no tō **yo no sue ni torawakamaru**

hitobito wa wagako wagako kimi no goten to okuraruru **mazu ichiban ni jinbaya** tono no **yo no sue ni torawakamaru to mōshite jyū** to **gosai** sono tsugi ni wa **ogawa no musashi ga yo no sue nii kikuwakamaru** to mōshite **jūsai nari gamaikezaemon no yo no sue ni chiyowakamaru to mōshite hassai** nari sono tsugi ni wa **tajiri naozumi no yo no sue ni chiwakamaru to mōshimashitee** ten ni mo chi ni mo kaegatashi tatuta hitori musuko honnen **wazuka sansai** de gozaimasu ga **imada gozen no tsutome mo** kanaimasen **ochi ya menoto** o aisoemashiteee **gozen no tsutome** ni sashiizuru mashite wa gojō kumabe no yo no sue ni Kumajūmaru to mōshite jū to gosai kimi no gozen to sashiaguru **sono ta amata** suman **no hitobito** wa ore mo ware mo to hime wa hime ni onoko no ko wa onoko no ko to omoiomoi no mochiishi hitobito o sashiagetaru ga naka ni me ni tatsu wa gojō kumabe no yo no sue ni Kumajūmaru to mōshite jū to gosai **kiryō sugata wa yo ni sugure nani ni torite mo kurakarazu** hatsumei na otoko kono yoshi o goran ni ainarimashitaru takanobu kō wa aaa kiryō sugureshi tamamono naru ka mata to ko iu onoko wa aru mai mono o to gozen sobayaku ni junzerare tsukihi o enman ni okurasetamō ga.

jūgosai ogawa no musashi ga yo no sue ni kikuwakamaru to te **jūsai nari gamaike-zaemon no yo no sue ni chiyowakamaru to mōshite hassai tajiri naozumi no yo no sue ni chiwakamaru to mōshite wazuka sansai** nari **imada gozen no tsutome mo** kanawanu yue **ochi ya menoto o** aisoete **gozen no tsutome** to idasaruru **sono ta amata no hitobito** ware mo ware mo to iu kimi no gozen ni ageraruru.

KV1

... in days like these, when treason can happen at any minute, I will take a hostage from every each and everyone of you who have families. Even if someone wants to plot treason, the love for his children will stop him from doing so. I think this is always **the way of the world. Let my will be known to everyone!" Surprised by the lord's order,** people **immediately put the order into writing, prepared and circulated it among the vassals. On seeing the letter the vassals** who had families hurried to send their children to the lord, thinking: "If I send my child to the lord, I will be able to live in prosperity." "I will send my child to our ruler!" "I will give my child to His Grace!" **First was sent the son of the lord Jin-baya**, **a youth of fifteen named Torawakamaru. Next was the son of the lord of Musashi of Ogawa, a youth of ten named Kikuwakamaru. Gamaikezaemon**

KV2

... in days like these, when treason can happen at any minute, I will take a hostage from every each and every one of you who have families. Even if someone wants to plot treason, the love for his children will stop him from doing so. I think this is the way of the world. Let my will be known to everyone!" Surprised by the lord's order, servants and vassals **immediately put the order into writing, prepared and circulated it among the vassals. On seeing the letter the vassals** sent hostages thinking: "I will send my child to our ruler!" "I will send my child to our ruler!" **First was sent the son of the lord Jinbaya** Bizen Takeo no tō, **a youth of fifteen named Torawakamaru. Next was the son of the lord of Musashi of Ogawa, a youth of ten named Kikuwakamaru. Gamaikezaemon had a son of eight named Chiyowakamaru. The lord Tajiri Naozumi had a son named**

had a son of eight named Chiyowakamaru. Next the lord Tajiri Naozumi had a son named Chiwakamaru. There was nothing dearer either in heaven or on earth to the lord. He was only three and was not yet able to serve the lord properly. He was sent to the lord together with his wet nurse and attendant. The son of Gojō Kumabe named Kumajūmaru, a youth of fifteen, was sent to the lord. A lot of... tens of thousands of people sent their children to the lord: those who had daughters sent their daughters, those who had sons sent their sons. Particularly noticeable among them was the son of Gojō Kumabe named Kumajūmaru, a youth of fifteen who excelled everyone in appearance and everything else. Lord Takanobu saw him and thought: "There will probably not be another one with such a great appearance." And so Kumajūmaru became an attendant of the lord and spent his days happily in his realm.

Chiwakamaru who was only three and because he was not yet able to serve the lord properly, he was sent to the lord together with his wet nurse and attendant. A lot of people hurried to send their children to the lord.

The passages from KV1 and KV2 are very similar, with a high proportion of word-for-word repetitions. Not only words or expressions, but also whole parts of the text are repeated in both KV1 and KV2. However, in some cases the repeated part in one version contains some words, or even sentences, not seen in the other version. For example, the line *ko no bonnō ni hodasarete todomaru no ga yo no narai to oboetari* ('The love for his children will stop him from doing so. This is the way of the world') can be seen in both KV1 and KV2. But in KV1 it contains such words as *itsudemo* ('always') and *oboetari* ('I think'). These two words do not affect the essential meaning of the sentence, which has arguably been memorized word for word. Another example is the description of the son of the lord Tajiri Naozumi. In both KV1 and KV2 we find the line *tajiri naozumi no yo no sue ni chiwakamaru to mōshite wazuka sansai* ('the lord Tajiri Naozumi had a son named Chiwakamaru (he) was only three'), but in KV1 the line is divided into two by the expression *ten ni mo chi ni mo kaegatashi tatta hitori musuko* ('an only son... there was nothing dearer either in heaven or on earth').

There are also some substitutions of words, expressions or grammatical forms that do not affect the general meaning of sentences in the passages. For example, *to te*, a combination of two particles, is used in KV2 in the sentence describing one of the hostages sent to Lord Takanobu, the son of the lord of Musashi Ogawa, instead of *to mōshite*, a combination of a particle and a verb, as seen in KV1. Another example is *gozen no tsutome ni mo kanaimasen* ('(he) is not able to serve the lord'), which is used to describe the young age

of the son of the lord Tajiri Naozumi. In KV2 *kanawanu yue* ('because he was not able to serve the lord'), a combination of a negative form of the verb *kanau* and the conjunction *yue* ('because') is used instead of *kanaimasen*. One of the major differences between KV1 and KV2 is the final part of the passage. KV1 gives a precise introduction to the antagonist of the story, the son of the lord Kumabe Kumajūmaru. First we see a sentence that simply mentions Kumajūmaru as one of the hostages sent to the lord: *mashite wa gojō kumabe no yo no sue ni Kumajūmaru to mōshite jū to gosai kimi no gozen to sashiaguru* ('The son of Gojō Kumabe named Kumajūmaru, a youth of fifteen, was sent to the lord'). The sentence is followed by a passage describing the vassals of Lord Takanobu sending their children, which is similar to that seen in KV2. And then we find a passage in KV1 that gives a more precise description of Kumajūmaru: *gojō kumabe no yo no sue ni Kumajūmaru to mōshite jū to gosai kiryō sugata wa yo ni sugure nani ni torite mo kurakarazu hatsumei na otoko* ('the son of Gojō Kumabe named Kumajūmaru, a youth of fifteen who excelled everyone in appearance and everything else'). It is interesting to note that even though the two sentences mentioning Kumajūmaru in this part of the text are interrupted by another passage, in both Kumajūmaru is described as *gojō kumabe no yo no sue ni Kumajūmaru to mōshite jū to gosai*. The description was undoubtedly memorized word for word and repeated the second time mechanically. In this passage we can also find a line that was used in another performance of Yamashika and learned at the initial step of training through direct transmission together with the text of *Ono no Komachi*. As already mentioned in the previous section *kiryō sugata wa yoni sugure nani ni torite mo kurakarazu* ('(he/she) excel everyone in appearance and everything else') was a part of *Ono no Komachi*, and can be used in the description or introduction of characters in other narratives.

The next passage is taken from 'Lord Tajiri arrives at the castle of Lord Kikuchi and delivers the order of Lord Takanobu.'

EXAMPLE C

KV1	KV2
ああ一珍しや<u>直純様</u>、肥前の佐賀より使者とあってお越しの段、遥々のところご苦労千万忝う存じ候」「ああ一珍しゅうございますう赤星殿、今日直純罷り越したる事は、只今申したる通り斯様な次第に候」「なる程なる程、貴殿の仰せの通り、この赤星もう二人の子供は生み候えども、某は<u>病気</u>中、回りし<u>廻状</u>は<u>披見</u>致し然りながら、今日までご<u>無沙汰</u>仕って日暮しておりまする。それによってえ、<u>病気平癒次第</u>に、<u>兄三郎なりと、妹八十</u>姫な	「<u>ああ珍しや直純様</u>か」「ああ赤星殿、確かに御病気とのお話」「いや、長な床について。しかしながら直純、〇〇や今日、御身のお出では何か仔細あってのことと受け賜わるが」「ほかではござりません。この頃人質をもち、人質は一人ずつの人質を差し上げねばならん。ご承知のとおりと存じますが。君の仰せにはご貴殿一人、何のおとずれもなき故に、この度君のお言葉には肥後菊池は二人の子供を生みながら、<u>一人の人質を出さぬは主に二</u>

りと二人に一人、召し連れましてえ肥前の佐賀の城に参り、君に万事を頼むそれまでは、差し控え候」と申し上ぐれば、直純は公思わず両眼にい涙を浮かべ、「あーなる程なる程赤星殿、御身は二人の子供でさえも斯くの通り、斯く申す直純は天にも地にも代え難したった一人の倅、本年数えて僅か三歳、今だ御前の勤めも叶わねば、御乳や傳相添えて御前に差し上げ候が、『今日はお手討にはあうまいか、あるいは無礼咎にはなるまいか』と、親が子には煩悩限りはござりません」、互いに二人の人は涙を流して物語っておるところう。

挺の弓引くか但しは謀反の兆しがあるか、きっと聞き届けて参れとの御意にて候」「あいやもし直純様。なるほど貴殿の仰せのとおり、回状は披見候えども病気中のことなればただいままで承知ながら無沙汰をいたして候。これより病気平癒次第に兄三郎丸なりと妹のヤソなりとどちらかなりと召し連れて君の御前に参り、君に万事をよろしく頼むうえからは、しばらくの間差し控え下さるようどうぞお伝え下さりませ」「なるほどなるほど、赤星殿はお二人の子供でさえもその通り。かく申す。直純は杖にもたよりにもならない子供じゃが、たった一人の倅、年を数えてわずか三歳、御前の勤めもかなわぬ故、お乳やメノウト御前に差し上げ候が、今日は御手討ちにはなるまいか、明日は無礼、咎があるまいか、赤星様、親の子供に煩悩は限り御座りません」直純、赤星の話のところに。

KV1

aaa mezurashi ya naozumisama hizen no saga yori shisha to atte okoshi no dan harubaru no tokoro gokurō senban katajikenō zonji sōrō aa mezurashū gozaimasuu akahoshidono kyō naozumi makarikoshitaru koto wa tadaima mōshitaru toori kayō na shidai ni sōrō naruhodo **naruhodo kiden no ōse no tōri** kono akahoshi mo futari no kodomo wa umisoraedomo soregashi wa **byōki chū** mawarishi **kaijō wa hiken** itashi sarinagara kyō made go**busata** tsukamatsutte higurashi shite orimasuru sore ni yottee **byōki heiyu shidai ni ani saburō nari to imōto yaso**hime **nari to** futari ni hitori **meshi-tsuremashite** hizen no saga no jō **ni mairi kimi ni banji o tanomu** sore made wa sashihikae sōrō to mōshiagureba naozumi kō wa omowazu ryōgan nii namida o ukabe aa **naruhodo naruhodo akahoshidono** onmi wa **futari no kodomo de sae mo** kaku **no toori kaku mōsu naozumi wa** ten ni mo chi ni mo kaegatashi **tatta hitori no segare** honnen **kazoete wazuka sannen** imada **gozen no tsutome mo** kanawaneba **ochi ya menoto** aisoete **sashiage sōrō ga kyō wa oteuchi ni wa** au**mai ka** aruiwa **burei togame** ni wa naru**mai ka** to **oya ga ko ni** wa **bonnō kagiri wa gozaimasen** tagai ni futari no hito wa namida o nagashite

KV2

aa mezurashi ya naozumisama ka aa akahoshidono tashika ni gobyōki to no ohanashi iya naga na toko ni tsuite shikashinagara naozumi… ya kyō onmi no on'ide wa nanika shisai atte no koto to uketamawaru ga hoka de wa gozarimasen kono koro hitojichi o mochi hitojichi wa hitori zutsu no hitojichi o sashiageneba naran goshōchi no tōri to zonjimasu ga kimi no ōse ni wa gokiden hitori nan no otozure mo naki yue ni kono tabi kimi no okotoba ni wa higo kikuchi wa futari no kodomo o uminagara **hitori no hitojichi o idasanu wa nushi ni nichō no yumi o hiku ka tadashi wa muhon no kizashi ga aru ka kitto kikitodokete maire** to no on'i ni te sōrō aiya moshi naozumisama **naruhodo kiden no ōse no toori kaijō wa hiken** sōraedomo **byōki chū** no koto nareba tadaima made shōchi nagara **busata** o itashite sōrō kore yori **byōki heiyu shidai ni ani saburō**maru **nari to imōto no yaso nari to** dochiraka nari to **meshitsurete** kimi no gozen **ni mairi kimi ni banji o** yoroshiku **tanomu** ue kara wa shibaraku no aida sashihikae kudasaru yō dōzo otsutae kudasaimase **naruhodo naruhodo akahoshidono wa** o**futari no kodomo de sae mo** sono **toori kaku mōsu naozumi wa** tsue ni mo tayori ni mo naranai kodomo ja ga **tatta hitori no segare** toshi **o kazoete wazuka sansai gozen no tsutome o** kanawanu yue

monogatatte oru tokoroo.

ochi ya menoto gozen ni **sashiage sōrō** ga **kyō wa oteuchi ni wa** naru**mai ka** ashita wa **burei togame** ga aru**mai ka** akahoshisama **oya** no kodomo **ni bonnō wa kagiri gozarimasen** naozumi akahoshi no hanashi no tokoro ni.

KV1

"**It is so unexpected to see you, Lord Naozumi.** You must be exhausted to have travelled all this way from Saga of Hizen as a messenger!" "It is unexpected, Lord Akahoshi! The reason for me to come here today is just as I explained previously." "I see. **I see. As you say,** I do have two children. I am sick, and even **though I saw the letter**, **I have not sent** either to the lord. **As soon as I recover, I will accompany** one of the two, **my eldest son Saburō or his younger sister Yaso** hime to the castle of Saga in Hizen. **Then I will ask our lord to take care of everything**. But until then let me refrain from doing anything!" he said, and Lord Naozumi found himself starting to cry. "**I see, Lord Akahoshi**. You feel this way **even though you have two children**. **And I, Naozumi who is telling you this, have only one child of only three.** There is nothing dearer either in heaven or on earth to me than this child. **Since he cannot even serve the lord properly I sent him with his wet nurse and an attendant**. Ever since, I keep wondering: "**Will he be killed or blamed for something? There are no limits to parental love!**" The two of them were conversing with tears in their eyes, when…

KV2

"**It is so unexpected to see you, Lord Naozumi**. Is that you?" "Indeed, I heard you were sick." "I had to lie in bed for a long time. I have heard you are here for some special reason." "That is true. There was an order that those who have children have to send one of them. I think you have heard about it. The lord said, since you were the only one whom the lord had not heard from, the lord said: "**Lord Kikuchi has two children but he has not sent me either of them. Is he going to string two bows at the same time? Is he plotting treason? Go and find out!**" Lord Naozumi, I see. **I see. As you say,** because **I was sick,** even **though I saw the letter**, **I have not sent** either to the lord. **As soon as I recover, I will accompany** one of them, **my eldest son Saburō** maru **or his younger sister Yaso** to the castle of the lord. **Then I will ask our lord to take care of everything**. But until then, please, refrain from doing anything! Please, tell the lord everything I said!" "**I see. Lord Akahoshi** feels this way, **even though he has two children**. **And I, Naozumi who is telling you this, have only one child of only three.** The son who is too young to be my stick or support. **Since he cannot even serve the lord properly I sent him** to the lord **with his wet nurse and an attendant**. Ever since, I keep wondering: "**Will he be killed or blamed for something? There are no limits to parental love!**" When the two of them were conversing…

As we can see from the example above, the two passages contain many word-for-word repetitions: words, expressions and even parts of the text are repeated. In some cases expressions or sentences are repeated with slight changes. For example, some words in the line *byōki heiyu shidai ni ani saburō nari to imōto yasohime nari to futari ni hitori meshitsuremashite hizen no saga no jō ni mairi kimi ni banji o tanomu* ('As soon as I recover, I will accompany one of the two, my eldest son Saburō or his younger sister Yasohime, to the

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castle of Saga in Hizen. Then I will ask our lord to take care of everything') from KV1 are replaced in KV2. Even though almost the whole line is repeated word for word, *dochiraka nari* ('one of them') is used in KV2 instead of *futari ni hitori* ('one of the two'), and *kimi no gozen ni* ('to the lord') is used instead of *hizen no saga no jō ni* ('to the castle of Saga in Hizen'). The expression *ten ni mo chi ni mo kaegatashi* ('there is nothing dearer either in the heaven or on the earth'), which is seen only in KV1 in the part describing the son of Lord Tajiri, appears in the text of KV1 for a second time. The first time it appeared in the scene 'Vassals send hostages to Lord Takanobu' *chiwakamaru to mōshimashite ten ni mo chi ni mo kaegatashi tatta hitori musuko honnen wazuka sansai* ('… an only son named Chiwakamaru. There was nothing dearer either in heaven or on earth (to the lord). He was only three'). In other words, this expression serves as an attribute of the son of Lord Tajiri. It is a formula used to describe him in KV1. The scene in KV2 does not contain the expression *ten ni mo chi ni mo kaegatashi*. In KV2 the expression is replaced by *tsue ni mo tayori ni mo naranai kodomo ja ga* ('the son who is too young to be my stick or support').

Note the highlighted part in the beginning of the passage in KV2: *hitori no hitojichi o idasanu wa nushi ni nichō no yumi hiku ka tadashi wa muhon no kizashi ga aru ka kitto kikitodokete maire* ('(Lord Kikuchi) has two children but he has not sent me any of them. Is he going to string two bows at the same time? Is he plotting treason? Go and find out!'). Even though these lines cannot be found in KV1 in the dialog between Lord Tajiri and Lord Akahoshi, there is a very similar part in the passage preceding the dialog between Lord Tajiri and Lord Akahoshi, in which Lord Tajiri explains the reason for his visit to another character.

一人の子供も人質に出さぬ上からは主に二挺の弓引くか、但しは謀反の兆しがあるか、きっと聞き取って参れ。

hitori no kodomo mo hitojichi ni idasanu ue kara wa nushi ni nichō no yumi hiku ka tadashi wa muhon no kizashi ga aru ka kitto kikitotte maire.

(Lord Kikuchi) has not sent me any of his children. Is he going to string two bows at the same time? Is he plotting treason? Go and find out!

The last example to be introduced is from the scene 'Kumajūmaru tells his father Lord Kumabe about everything that has happened, and Lord Kumabe promises to kill Saburōmaru.'

EXAMPLE D

KV1   KV2

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病気と偽って帰って来ました。「父上様、倅の身の上一通りご推量下さりませ」と申し上ぐれば、「おー、なる程なる程そうであったか。必ず心配するな。たとえばたとえ、傍役致せし其の方を玄関役とは何事なるか。この上からは阿蘇山の遺恨のあるを幸いに、あーれなる赤星を亡き者にして、必ず其方を再び傍役と致す事は父の胸にある。万事任せておけ、心配するな」。「如何にも女房、必ず必ずこれよりもどうじゃ、早く、花田民部時純に急に参れと使いを致されよ」「心得ました」と女房が早速花田民部時純に注進致せば、時純は如何なる兄上様のご用なるかと早取るものも取り敢ず、身は軽々の支度を致し駒屋をさして跳び込んだり。駒屋になれば明珍鍛えの轡を噛ませ、そのまま裸馬にて引き出だし、鞍置く間もあらばこそ裸馬に身はそろり、兄の屋敷と駆け付くる。

病気と偽って屋敷に下ってきた。「倅の身の上を父上、どうぞご推量くださりませ」「おう、そうか、よしよし。その方が武士の第一に負けたにせよ、昨日までも今朝までも側役いたせしその方を、玄関役とは何事じゃ。世にも憎っくきは赤星三郎。さー、心配するな。かねて赤星とは阿蘇山の遺恨がある。このたび阿蘇の山の遺恨、無念払しは幸いなり。このうえからは哀れなる三郎丸を亡き者にして、重ねてそなたを御前側役に出すことなら、この父が胸のうち心配するな大船に乗った気持で安心せよ。やあ、女房、早くこれより妹婿花田の民部卿に参れと使いをいたされよ」はっとばかりに女房が花田の民部時純に使いを立つれば、花田の民部時純はいかに兄上のいかなるご用なるか。時遅れては一大事と駒屋を指して飛んで行く。駒屋になれば明珍鍛えの轡を噛ませ、本馬屋より引出す時純は鞍おく暇もあらばこそ、裸馬にはゆらりと乗り、○○隈部屋敷と宙飛ぶごと。

KV1

byōki to itsuwatte kaette kimashita **chichiue**sama **segare no mi no ue** hitotoori **gosuiryō kudasaimase** to mōshiagureba oo naruhodo naruhodo sō de atta ka kanarazu **shinpai suru na** tatoeba tatoe **sobayaku itaseshi sono hō o genkan'yaku to wa nanigoto** naru ka **kono ue kara wa asosan no ikon** no aru o **saiwai** ni **awarenaru** akahoshi o **nakimono ni shite** kanarazu **sonata o** futatabi **sobayaku** to itasu koto wa **chichi** no **mune** ni aru banji makasete oke **shinpai suru na** ikani mo **nyōbō** kanarazu kanarazu kore yori mo dō ja **hayaku** hanada minbu tokizumi ni kyū ni **maire to tsukai o itasare yo** kokoroemashita to **nyōbō ga** sassoku **hanada minbu tokizumi ni** chūshin itaseba **tokizumi wa ikanaru aniue**sama **no goyō naru ka** to haya toru mono mo toriaezu mi wa karugaru no shitaku o itashi **komaya o sashite** tobikondari **komaya ni nareba myōchin kitae no kutsuwa o kamase** sono mama hadakauma ni te hikiidashi **kura oku ma mo araba koso hadakauma ni** mi wa sorori ani no **yashiki to** kaketsukuru.

KV2

byōki to itsuwatte yashiki ni kudatte kita **segare no mi no ue** o **chichiue** dōzo **gosuiryō kudasarimase** oo sō ka yoshi yoshi sono hō ga bushi no daiichi ni maketa ni se yo kinō made mo kesa made mo **sobayaku itaseshi sono** hō **o genkan'yaku to wa nanigoto** ja yo ni mo nikkuki wa akahoshi saburō saa **shinpai suru na** kanete akahoshi to wa **asosan no ikon** ga aru kono tabi **asosan no ikon** munen-barashi wa **saiwai** nari kono ue kara wa aware naru saburōmaru o **nakimono ni shite** kasanete **sonata o** gozen **sobayaku** ni idasu koto nara kono **chichi** ga **mune** no uchi **shinpai suru na** oobuneni notta kimochi de anshin se yo yaa **nyōbō hayaku kore yori** imōtomuko hanada no minbu kyō ni **maire to tsukai o itasare yo** hatto bakari ni **nyōbō ga hanada no minbu tokizumi ni** tsukai o tatsureba **hanada no minbu tokizumi wa** ikani **aniueno ikanaru goyō naru ka** toki okurete wa ichidaiji to **komaya o sashite** tondeyuku **komaya ni nareba myōchin kitae no kutsuwa o kamase** hon komaya yori hikiidasu tokizumi wa **kura oku ma mo araba koso hadakauma ni** yurari to nori kumabe **yashiki to** soratobu.

"I **pretended to be sick** and returned home. **Father**, **please imagine what things were like for me**!" "I see. So this is what has happened. **Do not worry**. **How is it possible to demote someone who served as an attendant to a doorkeeper**? If so, **I am glad I have borne a grudge about Mount Aso. I will get rid of that pitiful** Akahoshi and **restore your position as an attendant**. Let me take care of everything and **do not worry**. **Wife, quickly send a messenger to** Hanada Minbu Tokizumi **to tell him to come here** quickly." "Straight away," said the wife and sent a message **to Hanada Minbu Tokizumi. Wondering about the reason, Tokizumi** hastened **to the stable** and prepared himself as quickly as possible. **At the stable he put a bit of the Myōchin brand in his horse's mouth and since he did not have the time to do it**, he pulled the horse out without even saddling it, and rushed to **the house** of his brother skilfully riding **his unsaddled horse**.

"I **pretended to be sick** and returned home. **Please imagine what things were like for me, Father**!" "Oh! Is this so? I see. Even if you lost at the most important thing for a warrior, **how is it possible to demote someone who served as an attendant to a doorkeeper** a day ago and even this morning? That hateful Akahoshi Saburō! Well, **do not worry**! **I have** long **borne a grudge about Mount Aso. I am glad** this time I will be able to get revenge for **Mount Aso. I will get rid of that pitiful** Saburōmaru and **restore your position as an attendant** of the lord. Let me take care of everything and **do not worry**. Relax as if you were on board the huge ship. Hey, **wife, quickly send a messenger to** my brother-in-law Hanada Minbukyō to **tell him to come here** quickly." Straight away the wife sent a messenger **to Hanada Minbu Tokizumi. Wondering about the reason, Hanada Minbu Tokizumi** rushed **to the stable** as fast as he could. **At the stable he put a bit of the Myōchin brand in his horse's mouth and since he did not have the time to do it**, he left the stable, and hastened to **the house** of Kumabe riding effortlessly **his unsaddled horse**.

We see from the passage above that the scene in which Lord Kumabe promises his son Kumajūmaru to restore his position and calls his brother-in-law is very similar in KV1 and KV2: there are many word-for-word repetitions in the two texts. For example, the part in which Tokizumi receives the message and leaves for the castle of Lord Kumabe contains many word-for-word repetitions. Some of the words are replaced by similar words or expressions, such as, for example, in KV2 *tobikondari* in *komaya o sashite tobikondari komaya ni nareba myōchin kitae no kutsuwa o kamase* ('… hastened to the stable… At the stable he put a bit of the Myōchin brand in his horse's mouth') is replaced by *tonde yuku* ('rushed' or 'hastened') in KV2. *Tobikondari* is a combination of the verb *tobikomu* and the auxiliary verb *-tari*, while *tonde yuku* is a combination of two verbs. The substitution of *tobikondari* with *tonde yuku* does not affect the structure of the sentence or its meaning. Note the highlighted part *yo ni mo nikkuki* ('hateful') in KV2. This expression is not seen in the same part of KV1, but appears in KV2 several times in different scenes as an attribute of Saburōmaru. Both Kumajūmaru and his father use this expression when mentioning the name of Saburōmaru. In other words, *yo ni mo nikkuki* functions as a formula describing

Saburōmaru.

Conclusion

Based on the comparative analysis of the two transcriptions of performances of *Kikuchi Kuzure,* we can conclude that *Kikuchi Kuzure* was memorized by Yamashika verbatim and was on the whole reproduced faithfully from memory both times it was performed. The text of *Kikuchi Kuzure* is highly fixed: many words, expressions and even whole passages are repeated word for word. There are some parts which are not included in one of the performances, and there are some that are paraphrased or replaced with other words or expressions in one of the versions, but the structure of the text and the majority of passages are clearly memorized. We can find some expressions or lines repeated word for word in almost every passage of the two performances. These lines are not necessarily long enough to bear any semantic value for the content of the whole passage or scene, but there are many such lines. They probably served as key words or key lines of each passage of the narrative text learned by heart by Yamashika as a structural component, the basic element of a long text. Undoubtedly, all these words and lines existed in the memory of Yamashika as one complete entity of strictly fixed elements arranged in a certain order. They are memorized and are used in fixed combinations, in a certain arrangement and only in certain parts of *Kikuchi Kuzure*, which is why they should be referred to as 'memorized' or 'strictly fixed' parts rather than formulas, formulaic expressions or even clusters of formulas. It is interesting to note that there are some repetitions which are seen only in one of the versions, such as, for example, *oto ni mo kikoeshi* or *ten ni mo chi ni mo kaegatashi*.[18] The existence of this kind of formula means that even though the text is memorized and fixed, it may still change with time and be rearranged. And the formulas, words and expressions actively employed in description of the same scene or condition in one of the performances, will not necessarily be used in the other performance. Even though we found some differences between the two performances and some parts were obviously orally composed during performance, the majority of the text shows a high degree of fixity. The differences between the two texts can be thought to occur mechanically, as a result of reproduction from memory of the fixed text under the pressure of performance.

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[18] Only several examples have been introduced here, but full analysis of the available material revealed many other repetitions, such as, for example, 両の手をついてはつもりを下げ *ryō no te o tsuite wa tsumori o sage* ('putting his palms together and lowering his head'), 涙に暮れて *namida ni kurete* ('covered in tears') or 遠慮、気兼ねいるものか *enryo kigane iru mono ka* ('is there any need for reserve or contraint?').

2.3 Analysis of Shuntokumaru

Shuntokumaru tells the story of a boy of that name, born as a son of a wealthy man, Inoue Nobuyoshi from Kawachi prefecture, and his wife Sayoteruhime. After Sayoteruhime died, Shuntokumaru's father remarried a woman named Osuwa. Osuwa gave birth to a son, Otogorōmaru. One day Osuwa, who wanted her own son to become their heir, took forty nine cursed nails and went to the temple Kiyomizu-dera. There she prayed to the Goddess of Mercy, Kannon, for several days, asking her to kill Shuntokumaru. During her visits to the temple Osuwa cursed Shuntokumaru and drove the cursed nails into a doll representing Shuntokumaru. The blacksmith who had made the cursed nails for Osuwa went on a pilgrimage with his wife in order to cleanse their sin. Meanwhile, pus and blood started to come out of the body of Shuntokumaru, and he turned into a blind leper. Shuntokumaru also went on a pilgrimage. On his way, he met Hatsugikuhime, who happened to be his promised wife. She followed after him on pilgrimage. One night Hachiman appeared in front of Hatsugikuhime and revealed to her a way to cure Shuntokumaru. The two, Shuntokumaru and Hatsugikuhime, came to Kiyomizu-dera, found the doll, and, following the instructions of Hachiman, they pulled out the cursed nails using dove feathers. Shuntokumaru recovered and returned home with Hatsugikuhime, the blacksmith and his wife, and his step-brother, whom he had met at Kiyomizu-dera. On returning home, Shuntokumaru gave the cursed nails to Osuwa. This time Osuwa turned into a blind leper and went on a pilgrimage.

Shuntokumaru is a *danmono* narrative. According to Hyōdō Hiromi the whole story can be performed in four, five, six or seven *dan*. In the case of Yamashika, the performance of a seven-*dan* version of Shuntokumaru took approximately six and a half hours. Hyōdō referred to this version as 'the version with the most standard development' (2009: 197). Yamashika learned *Shuntokumaru* from Mori Yoichi, whose professional name was Tamagawa Kyōzan (Ga 1972: 28; de Ferranti 2009: 260).

> The *gedai* Yamashika said he had learned from Mori were to be tremendously important for his earning capacity: *Ichi no Tani, Ko-Atsumori, Azekakehime, Shuntokumaru,* and *Oguri Hangan*. All were among the most often performed tales in Yamashika's repertory, but the circumstances for their acquisition remain unclear: With the exception of *Azekakehime*, during *kadobiki* these tales would have been performed only in very concise versions or as sequences of excerpted highlights. Even if requests for extensive performances of certain of these *gedai* were made, acquisition of the longer tales (one of which, *Oguri Hangan*, is over six hours long in performances that include "all" *dan*) from hearing only occasional performances of certain sections would have been effectively impossible. If Mori did teach these *gedai* to Yamashika, his willingness to transmit such key repertory outside a formal teacher-apprentice relationship is puzzling, given the competition among narrative performers for diminishing patronage in rural Kyushu. (de Ferranti 2009: 260)

Texts of two different performances of *Shuntokumaru* have been analyzed in order to see how its textual material changes from performance to performance.[19] The first text is a transcription by Nomura (Ga) of the performance recorded some time between 1970 and 1972, and included in 2007 *Higobiwa katari-shū*. It will be referred to as SV1. The second text is a transcription of the performance recorded at Yamashika's house on March 14 1989 and transcribed by Hyōdō. This version will be referred to as SV2.

Unlike the case of *Watamashi* and *Kikuchi Kuzure*, where text fixity and stability of structure is clear at first sight, the textual material of SV1 and SV2 shows little similarity. Even though in the case of *Shuntokumaru* the textual material analyzed is relatively short compared to *Watamashi* and *Kikuchi Kuzure*, it still can provide us with hints as to what extent the narrative material may vary from performance to performance in some cases. We will first examine the structure of the episode and its content in SV1 and SV2, dividing it into smaller scenes.

TABLE 1 (Chapter IV). **The content and structure of *Shuntokumaru***
(a part of the third *dan*)

SV1	SV2
Holding seven nails in her hands, Osuwa comes to the main hall of the temple. She purifies herself, rings the *waniguchi* gong and then in a prayer asks the Kiyomizu Kannon to take away the life of Shuntokumaru.	Holding seven nails in her hands, Osuwa comes to the main hall of the temple. She purifies herself, rings the *waniguchi* gong and then in a prayer asks the Kiyomizu Kannon to take away the life of Shuntokumaru.
After that Osuwa goes to the back garden of the temple. She finds there a huge camphor tree, puts a doll in the form of Shuntoku-maru on the tree, and starts to drive into the doll the nails she brought with her. Every night she comes with the nails and does the same thing.	After that Osuwa goes to the back garden of the temple. She finds there a huge camphor tree, puts a doll in the form of Shuntoku-maru on the tree, and starts to drive into the doll the nails she brought with her. Every night she comes with the nails and does the same thing.
On the last night Osuwa comes again. She is standing in the middle of the Kannon's horse enclosure, when an ox appears. The ox is frightful, and it is staring at Osuwa. But Osuwa is not scared, she is happy. She thinks that the appearance of the ox is a sign that her prayers have been received.	×

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[19] Only a part of the third *dan*, an episode in which Osuwa puts a curse on Shuntokumaru, was available for examination of the two versions of *Shuntokumaru*.

Finally it is the last night. Osuwa is extremely happy. She purifies herself, prays and starts to drive in the nails. And when she drives in the last nail something happens…	Finally it is the last night. Osuwa is extremely happy. She purifies herself, prays and starts to drive in the nails. And when she drives in the last nail something happens…
The sky becomes overcast. There is thunder and lightning. And then a huge snake appears. Frightened, Osuwa throws herself on the ground, losing her senses. In a while everything, the huge snake and the clouds, disappear.	The sky becomes overcast. There is thunder and lightning. And then a huge snake appears. Frightened, Osuwa throws herself on the ground, losing her senses. In a while everything, the huge snake and the clouds, disappear.

As we can see from the above table, the structure of the episode in SV1 and SV2, and even the content of the scenes, are very similar. Both SV1 and SV2 describe in detail how Osuwa attended the temple at the hour of the Ox for seven days in order to curse Shuntokumaru. The climax of the episode in both SV1 and SV2 is the scene in which a heavy storm starts and a huge snake appears from the heavens. The only major difference between SV1 and SV2 is in the presence in SV1 of the scene in which Osuwa encounters an ox. This scene is omitted in SV2.

Both SV1 and SV2 describe the same overall content, but the textual material of the two performances differs greatly.[20] Only few identical phrases can be seen in the two texts. For example, the scene in which Osuwa visits the temple to offer a prayer is described in SV1 and SV2 in a very similar way.

EXAMPLE A

SV1	SV2
清水様と急いで行くう。清水観世音になりけれえば、今やあ一嗽手水でえ身を清めえ一あなたの鰐口を知らせに打ち鳴らす。十の蓮華を揉み合わせ、「南無や大師の京[21]清水観世音様、只今これにい参りしはあ河内のう国、讃良郡上中村、井上信吉のう妻にてえ候。この度参詣致すのは、このお諏訪の願いが候。今年十三歳になります先のう俊徳丸、春からはあ我が子七つになるう一乙五郎丸	観世音の本堂さして急ぎゆく一の鳥居を越えてゆく欄干橋を越えては本堂の横庭に音羽が滝に立ち寄りさても音羽が滝で身を清め本堂前に参りしあなたの鰐口を打ち鳴らすとおの蓮華をもみ合わせ南無や大悲の清水観音様ただ今これに参りしは河内の国上中村井上信吉の後妻おすわと申しますあなた様に願いは先妻の子どもは本年十三歳になる俊徳丸と申しますまたわれが腹を痛め

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[20] In the Japanese version of *Shuntokumaru*, parts of the text that are repeated are underlined. In the Romanized and English versions, parts that are repeated are in bold. And the parts that demand special attention are boxed: these parts are either paraphrased in the second version, or missing in a similar sentence in one of the versions. There are some highlighted parts that indicate that this part of the text in almost identical form can be found in a different part of the same version.

[21] This transcription is probably a mistake. A bodhisattva is often referred to with *daihi* 大悲, while *daishi* 大師 is not used in this way.

て生んだるその子は乙五郎丸いまだ七つでござり
ますがわれも女に生まれ男の子を産んだ上から
はさても井上の家督を継がせんそれを継がするも
のならば長男俊徳丸が継ぐのが当然でござります
さりながら我も親として我が子に継がせたいが
やまやまでございますゆえに先妻の俊徳丸いては
それはかないませんあなた様にお願いして俊徳丸
の一命をどうぞとらせくださりませ思うどおり
に申し伏し拝む十三返の寺めぐりかずの礼儀も
あいすめばさても本堂の裏横にめぐり来る。

に、跡相続が叶いませんー。この子相続させんー
ため、俊徳丸の一命を御身のう利益でどうぞ一命
打ち取りい下さりませ。それが偏のう願いでえ
候」と、いとう懇ろにい伏し拝みい、さてもうー
左手の、裏手の方にいー回る。

SV1

kiyomizusama to isoide ikuu kiyomizu kanzeon ni narikereeba ima yaaa ugai chōzu dee **mi o kiyome**ee **anata no waniguchi o** shirase ni **uchinarasu too no renge o momiawase namu ya** daishi no kyō **kiyomizu kanzeonsama tadaima kore ni mairishi waa kawachi noo kuni** sasara kōri **kaminakamura inoue nobuyoshi no**o tsuma ni tee sōrō kono tabi sankei itasu no wa kono osuwa no negai ga sōrō kotoshi jūsansai ni narimasu saki noo shuntokumaru haru kara waa wa ga ko nanatsu ni naruuu otogorōmaru ni ato sōzoku ga kanaimasenn kono ko sōzoku sasenn tame shuntokumaru no inochi o onmi noo riyaku de dōzo ichimei uchitorii kudasarimasee sore ga hitoe noo negai dee sōrō to itoo nengoro nii fushiogamii sate mooo yunde no urate no kata niii mawaru.

SV2

kanzeon no hondō o sashite isogiyuku ichino torii o koete yuku rankanbashi o koete wa hondō no yokoniwa ni otowa ga taki ni tachiyori sate mo otowa ga taki de **mi o kiyome** hondō mae ni mairishi **anata no waniguchi o uchinarasu too no renge o momiawase namu ya** daihi no **kiyomizu kanzeonsama tadaima kore ni mairishi wa kawachi no kuni kaminaka-mura inoue nobuyoshi no** gosai osuwa to mōshimasu anatasama ni negai wa sensai no kodomo wa honnen jūsansai ni naru shun-tokumaru to mōshimasu mata wa ga hara o itamete undaru sono ko wa otogorōmaru imada nanatsu de gozarimasuru ga ware mo onna ni umare otoko no ko o unda uekara wa sate mo inoue no katoku o tsugasen sore o tsugasuru mono naraba chōnan shuntokumaru ga tsugu no ga tōzen de gozarimasu sarinagara ware mo oya to shite wa ga ko ni tsugasetai ga yamayama de gozarimasu yue ni sensai no shuntokumaru ite wa sore wa kanaimasen anatasama ni onegai shite shuntokumaru no ichimei o dōzo torase kudasari-mase omou doori ni mōshi fushiogamu jūsanpen no tera-meguri kazu no reigi mo aisumeba sate mo hondō no urayoko ni megurikuru.

SV1

... hurried to Kiyomizu. Upon reaching the Kiyomizu Kanzenon **she purified her body** by gargling and washing her hands and **rang the *waniguchi* gong** to announce her presence. She **rubbed her ten fingers in supplication, with the words**: "**Oh, Great Merciful Kanzeon of Kiyomizu** of the capital! **The one standing here in front of You** is **the** wife **of Inoue**

SV2

... hurried towards the main hall of Kanzenon. She passed by the first *torii*, passed by the *rankanbashi* and reached the Otowa waterfall in the side garden of the main hall. Then **she purified her body** in the Otowa waterfall, entered the main hall of the temple, **rang the *waniguchi* gong and rubbed her ten fingers in supplication, with the words**: "**Oh, Great**

Nobuyoshi from Uenakamura, Sarara district, **Kawachi prefecture**. I have come here to worship, because I have a wish. There is Shuntokumaru from a previous marriage who will turn thirteen this year, and my own son, Otogorōmaru, who will turn seven this spring. He will not become our heir. Please, take away the life of Shuntokumaru. Please, show your benevolence, so that this boy will become our heir. This is my only wish." She fervently bowed, and going to the left behind the temple…

Merciful Kanzeon of Kiyomizu! The one standing here in front of You is named Osuwa, **the** second wife **of Inoue Nobuyoshi from Uenakamura, Kawachi**. I have a wish. The son of my husband's first wife will turn thirteen this year; his name is Shuntokumaru. I also have a son Otogorōmaru, who I went through the pains of labor for. He is only seven, but I was born a woman, and since I had a boy I would like him to become Inoue's heir. But according to common practice, our heir will be the eldest son, Shuntokumaru. But as a parent, I want my son to become our heir. But no matter how much I wish for it, this will not happen as long as Shuntokumaru, the son of my husband's first wife, is alive. So I make a wish. Please, take away the life of Shuntokumaru." She said what she wished to say, bowed fervently, circled the temple thirteen times, and after all the due rituals were observed, she went behind the main hall. When she reached the back garden…

In both SV1 and SV2 the scene starts with Osuwa coming to the main hall of the temple, contains a prayer, in which Osuwa introduces herself and asks Kannon to take Shuntokumaru's life, and ends with Osuwa going to the back garden of the temple. However, only several lines, those which describe the ritual preparation and the self-introduction of Osuwa, are identical in the two texts. The part from *mi o kiyome* ('she purified her body') to *inoue nobuyoshi no* ('of Inoue Nobuyoshi') is largely repeated in SV2 word for word. One exception is the inclusion of the expression *shirase ni* ('to announce her presence') in the phrase *anata no waniguchi o uchinarasu* ('she rang the *waniguchi* bell'). Apart from these few repeated lines, the text differs significantly, even though the content described is very similar in SV1 and SV2. The scene of ritual preparation before the prayer is a theme, that is, a situation or setting, often described in narratives (Lord 1960). The lines repeated in both SV1 and SV2 can be used in similar situations in other stories: Hyōdō refers to them as *jōtō-ku* and *kan'yō-ku.* For example, some lines similar to those found in SV1 and SV2, such as *ugai chōzu de mi o kiyome anata no waniguchi narashi tō no renge o momiawase namu* ('(he/she) purified (himself/herself) by gargling and washing (his/her) hands, rang the *waniguchi* gong, and rubbed (his/her) ten fingers in supplication, with the words "Oh…"') can also be seen in *Ishidōmaru* (Hyōdō 1991: 172).

Our final example is the last scene of the episode in which the weather suddenly changes and a huge snake appears, frightening Osuwa almost to death.

EXAMPLE B

SV1

変わる話は、折も折かな時も時俄に一転かけ曇る。鳴るやら、来るうやら光るやら、大の鳴り音ハゲマッショ、雨は車軸を流すがごとうく四方たなびく嵐はあ、立っても居ても居られぬ有様、車軸を流す風雷かあ、次第次第にい真黒な黒雲、お諏訪の上に押し掛かる勢いなり。次第次第に低くなる。落ちて来るかと思うその途端に、間の雲中よりもうー、大蛇現れ角を振り立て歯を鳴らあし、真っ逆様にい、お諏訪に落ち掛かり一飲みに、飲まんの勢いー、「はっ」と驚く彼のお諏訪、そのまま倒れ伏しいー前後正体、無かり、けえーるうー。暫くうすれば不思議やな、雨は小降りとなる。空は晴れ渡っうーてしまう。大蛇も雲も消え果て、漸く気が付いたその時は、何の影形も無い。「あれ有難い嬉しや。これで鎮まりたり」と。

SV2

おとにも変わる話ぎゃあーっとなにやら怒鳴り出すなんであろうと見るまもなくにわかに一天かき曇る八方くらんでだい闇どちらが西やらさっぱり西東も見分けがつかない黒雲さてもどっと吹き出す大嵐鳴るやら光るやら雨は天から車軸をながすがごとくざっとばかり雷の音雷の音ばかりか観世音の本堂まで音高く地震であろうかなんのあるものかとところに大木の上ぎゃあーっと火の玉さても燃えるばかり大雨その中まっさかさまにどっと落ち来る三十八尋の大蛇はっとばかりにおすわはその場に打ち倒れ前後正体なかりけるさてもしばらくすれば大蛇の姿もかき消すごとく雷の音も静まり今まで車軸をながすがごとく降りくる雨も小降りとなりさても上の空も晴れわたるはるか日本晴れよおよのことに気がついたるおすわ。

SV1

kawaru hanashi wa ori mo ori ka na toki mo toki **niwaka ni itten kakekumoru naru yara** kuruu yara **hikaru yara** dai no narioto hagemasho **ame wa shajiku o nagasu ga gotooku** shihō tanabiku arashi waa tatte mo ite mo irarenu arisama shajiku o nagasu fūrai kaa shidai shidai nii makkuro na **kurokumo** osuwa no ue ni oshikakaru ikioi nari shidai shidai ni hikuku naru ochite kuru ka to omou sono totan ni ma no unchū yori mooo **daija** araware tsuno o furitate ha o naraashi **massakasama nii** osuwa ni ochikakarii hitonomi ni noman no ikioii hatto odoroku ka no osuwa sono mama taorefushii **zengo shōtai nakarikeeeruuu shibarakuu sureba** fushigi ya na ame wa koburi to naru sora wa harewatatte shimau **daija** mo kumo mo kiehate yōyaku ki ga tsuita sono toki wa nan no kage katachi mo nai are arigatai ureshi ya kore de shizumaritari to.

SV2

oto ni mo **kawaru hanashi** gyaaatto nani yara donaridasu nande aroo to miru ma mo naku **niwaka ni itten kakikumoru** happō kurande daiyami dochira ga nishi yara sappari nishi higashi mo miwake ga tsukanai **kurokumo** sate mo dotto fukidasu ōarashi **naru yara hikaru yara ame wa** ten kara **shajiku o nagasu ga gotoku** zatto bakari kaminari no oto kaminari no oto bakari ka kanzeon no hondō made oto takaku jishin de arō ka nan no aru mono ka to tokoro ni daiboku no ue gyaatto hi no tama sate mo moeru bakari ōame sono naka **massakasama ni** dotto ochikuru sanjūya hiro no **daija** hatto bakari ni osuwa wa sono ba ni uchitaore **zengo shōtai nakarikeru** sate mo **shibaraku sureba daija** no sugata mo kakikesu gotoku kaminari no oto mo shizumari ima made shajiku o nagasu ga gotoku furikuru ame mo koburi to nari sate mo ue no sora mo harewataru haruka nihon-bare yōyo no koto ni ki ga tsuitaru osuwa.

SV1

The scene changes. Just at that moment **the**

SV2

The sound of **the scene changes** (here).

sky suddenly clouded over. **There was thunder and lightning**. The sound of the thunder was extreme, **the rain came down in torrents**, the storm raged in all directions, it was impossible to stay still, the wind and the thunder in torrents… A **pitch black cloud** gradually started to thicken over Osuwa. It gradually came lower and lower. And just when she thought it would fall upon her, **a huge snake** appeared out of the cloud. It started to brandish its horns, bared its teeth and **moved straight down** towards Osuwa as if it were about to swallow her. The scared Osuwa threw herself on the ground, **losing her senses**. **In a while,** strangely enough**, the rain slackened off**, and **the sky cleared up**. **The huge** snake and the cloud disappeared, and when she finally came back to her senses, everything was gone. "I am so thankful. I am so happy. Everything is still."

"Aagh!…" There was an awful sound. She looked around wondering what it could be and. And soon, **the sky suddenly clouded over**, darkness fell in all directions, the kind of **pitch black cloud** in which it was absolutely impossible to tell west from east. And then a storm started raging. **There was thunder and lightning**. **It was raining in torrents,** from heaven. And there came the sound of thunder, but it was not just the sound of thunder. The sound reached the main hall of the Kanzeon temple. Was it the sound of an earthquake? And just when she was wondering what it could be, "Aagh…," a fireball struck the top of a huge tree. A fire blazed up, and **a huge snake**, a hundred seventy feet in length, appeared out of the torrents of rain and **moved straight down**. Osuwa was caught in fear. She threw herself on the ground **losing her senses**. **In a while the huge snake** disappeared, and the sound of thunder weakened. **The rain** that had been falling in torrents **slackened off**. **The sky cleared up**. The day was perfectly fine, and coming back to her senses Osuwa…

As we can see, the two texts contain only a few lines repeated word for word, such as *kawaru hanashi* ('the scene changes'), *niwaka ni itten kakekumoru* ('the sky suddenly became overcast'), *naru yara hikaru yara* ('there was thunder and lightning'), *ame wa shajiku o nagasu ga gotoku* ('the rain came down in torrents') and *zengo shōtai nakarikeru* ('losing her senses'). Obviously, these lines are memorized and used in reproduction of the text in both SV1 and SV2. Apart from these lines there are some words and slightly changed expressions, which can be found in both SV1 and SV2, but mostly the textual material is different. There are some words repeated only within one of the performances. For example, in SV1 we can find the expression *shidai shidai ni* ('gradually') repeated twice, in combination with *ochikakaru* ('started to thicken over') and *hikuku naru* ('came lower'). And in SV2 we can find *gyaaatto* ('Aagh') in combination with *nani yara donaridasu* ('there was an awful sound') and *hi no tama* ('a fire ball'). It is interesting to note that in SV1 there is a line describing a snake *tsuno o furitate ha o narashi* ('brandishing its horns, baring its teeth'), which can be found in multiple performances of *Dōjōji* in the scene where Kiyohime turns into a snake and crosses the river. In *Dōjōji* performed in June 1986 Yamashika used *ha o narasu tsuno o furitate* ('baring its teeth, and brandishing its horns'), and in October 1989 he used *ha o narashi tsuno o furitate* ('baring its teeth and brandishing its horns') (Hyōdō 1991). The expression is obviously one of Yamashika's formulas. Apparently, it was initially memorized as

a part of *Dōjōji*, and then employed in description of a similar situation in other stories. For some reason, in the later 1989 performance SV2 Yamashika did not use this line in the description of the snake.

Conclusion

Based on this comparative analysis of the two performances of *Shuntokumaru* recorded at different times from Yamashika, we can conclude that both texts were composed orally during performance. Even though the overall contents of the two performances are similar, their textual material shows significant differences at the level of line construction. There are some words and expressions repeated, but their number is very limited. It is unlikely that the text was memorized verbatim and reproduced from memory. However, when orally composing the text of *Shuntokumaru,* Yamashika used some expressions and sentences which he had clearly acquired as a part of other pieces in the past. For example, in the description of the snake in *Shuntokumaru* Yamashika used the same lines as he used in multiple performances of *Dōjōji*. There are several other lines in other parts of the text of *Shuntokumaru* that can be seen in multiple performances of *Dōjōji,* such as in SV2 女の念力 岩を通すとは *onna no nenriki iwa o tōsu to wa* ('female willpower can penetrate even a stone'), or 恐ろしや *osoroshi ya* ('frightful'), used in description of a desperate woman. Since *Dōjōji* was learned by Yamashika as *gei-gatame*, it is most probable that these lines were memorized as a part of the text of *Dōjōji*. In other words, the texts Yamashika memorized at the initial stage of his training became part of Yamashika's vocabulary, his stock of formulas. Later Yamashika used the formulas and formulaic expressions that he had acquired through memorization in his performances of other pieces.

3   On the degree of improvisation in performances by Yamashika, and the origin of formulas in the tradition of blind biwa players

In their research both Hyōdō Hiromi and Hugh de Ferranti pointed to such characteristics of the narrative material composed by blind *biwa* players as instability and variability born as a result of oral composition during performance. At the same time they demonstrated that in some cases a certain degree of fixity was present. This can be observed in the case of all storytellers both researchers worked with: repetitions of words, expressions and even larger parts of the text can be found in multiple performances by the same performer and even in the case of multiple performances of the same piece by different performers.

Yamashika Yoshiyuki's performances are said to show a high degree of flexibility and to be orally composed during performance, depending on the situation and the audience. However, analysis of multiple performances of *Watamashi, Kikuchi Kuzure* and *Shuntokumaru* recorded from Yamashika Yoshiyuki at different times has demonstrated that *Watamashi* and *Kikuchi Kuzure*, even though comparatively long, were on the whole reproduced faithfully from memory in a fixed or nearly fixed form, while *Shuntokumaru* was clearly re-created, or composed orally during performance.[22]   In his performances Yamashika used many fixed expressions and even large sections of texts, strictly arranged and combined in a certain order. Many of his expressions and text sections were clearly memorized verbatim as a part of a certain story, and kept in the memory as strictly structured entities faithfully reproduced each time the story was performed. Some of the words and expressions, *kan'yō-ku* and *jōtō-ku*, were memorized verbatim as part of a different narrative learned by Yamashika at the very beginning of his performing life, and then used in composition of other stories in description of similar situations.

In the case of the blind *biwa* players' tradition, it is clear that memorization was not only the basic principle in the process of the acquisition of basic skills, but was also an important technique used by blind *biwa* players. It might have been instilled at the initial step of training, and then practiced by blind *biwa* players as a major method of transmission and reproduction of the text. From the material presented in this chapter it is apparent that, even in the case of Yamashika, some of the material (not only *hauta* and those pieces learned by Yamashika during the initial step of training, such as *Ono no Komachi* and even *Dōjōji*) was faithfully reproduced from memory in a fixed form or nearly fixed form, and some of the material was composed orally, but with the active use of words and expressions acquired

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[22] However, even in the case of *Shuntokumaru* the general structure of the story and its smaller components, scenes, is still clearly fixed, and some repetitions can be found in the description of the same scene in multiple performances.

through memorization at some point in Yamashika's performing life. If even in the case of such a skilled performer as Yamashika memorization was a common practice, we can assume then that it could be a part of the tradition of blind *biwa* players as a whole.

For blind *biwa* players storytelling was a source of income, one of very few possible ways to earn their livelihood. Developing skills to memorize a story and be able to retell its content in front of the public was their primary goal. That is probably why the textual material of the narratives performed is highly stable and shows little variability. The high density of repetitions, formulas, formulaic expressions and clusters of formulas, is a result of the reproduction from memory of the memorized textual material. Clearly, most of these formulas and formulaic expressions came into being as a result of intentional fixation in memory of parts of textual material at some point. While variability of textual material is born as a result of oral composition, that is, improvisation during performance, the observed variability of textual material is primarily a result of the circumstances of rapid composition of the text in performance.

The comparative analysis of multiple performances of *Watamashi, Kikuchi Kuzure* and *Shuntokumaru* undertaken above has led us to certain conclusions on the issue of variability and fixity in the tradition of blind *biwa* players. However, there are aspects in the process of transmission and reproduction of oral narrative in the tradition of blind *biwa* players that should still be clarified. Further research addressing some of the following points should be conducted.

✓ The current research focused on the analysis of performances from the point of view of their textual characteristics: the narrative texts of the performances were analyzed, while the musical characteristics were not examined. The main purpose this time was to examine changes taking place in the narrative texts of multiple performances during reproduction of textual material, to demonstrate the tendencies seen in general, and to clarify some of the issues related to improvisation at the level of text formation. The analysis of musical characteristics and research focusing on the issue of improvisation in the musical component of the oral narrative is still to be undertaken.

✓ Further analysis of multiple performances of the same piece recorded from the same and different storytellers, a detailed examination of their general structure, textual and musical characteristics (in those cases when recordings exists) may uncover some other aspects of the tradition. However, we should note here that since the tradition of blind *biwa* players does not exist today, new material is impossible to obtain from the primary source, the storyteller, and the research must hence focus on those pieces that have not

been studied in any previous research, and re-examination of some of the material that has been studied already.

- ✓ Comparative research focusing on determination of interrelationships between the pieces in the repertory of blind *biwa* players, written sources and other oral genres is also a future goal. Such research might not only clarify some issues on the origin of some of the pieces in the repertory of blind *biwa* players, but also contribute to a better understanding of oral traditions as a whole.

PART III

ALPOMISH AND *YURIWAKA*

CHAPTER V

ALPOMISH AND *YURIWAKA*: ON THE POSSIBILITY OF THE STORY'S TRANSMISSION

The Central Asian story *Alpomish* and the Japanese *Yuriwaka* not only share remarkable motivic similarities, but also demonstrate a parallel in the sequence in which the motifs occur. In both stories the hero, who leaves his land to fight an enemy, is betrayed and has to stay alone in a deserted place for many years. He returns home after years of seclusion only to find his family being harassed by traitors. The hero's appearance has changed beyond recognition, which is why no one, not even his loyal servant, can recognize him. For a time the hero observes what has occurred during his absence, finally revealing his identity by stringing his distinctive bow, punishing the traitors and reuniting with his family.

In Chapter V we attempt to explore possible connections between *Alpomish* and *Yuriwaka* based on principles of the hypothesis of dissemination of folk motifs. The possibility of transmission of *Yuriwaka* from the continent to Japan by means of oral narration, a continental tradition of storytelling accompanied by a musical instrument, will be considered. The chapter is divided into two sections. A new hypothesis on the origin of *Alpomish* will be presented in Section 1. Section 2 focuses on a comparative analysis of *Alpomish*, the story about Yuriwaka and two other stories, the *Odyssey* and *The Tale of 'Good Prince' and 'Bad Prince,'* which have long been considered to be the sources of *Yuriwaka* in Japan. A new hypothesis on the origin of *Yuriwaka* and the possible route of transmission will be proposed at the end of the chapter, based on the results of comparative analysis and some observations presented in the framework of the current research.

1. On the origin of Alpomish

Alpomish is one of the most famous narratives of Central Asia today.[1] It is known that the story has been transmitted orally for centuries by professional storytellers, *bakhshi*, but the origin of *Alpomish* remains unclear.

1.1 The Odyssey and Alpomish

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[1] The content of *Alpomish* and a detailed comparative analysis of several versions of the story performed by seven different storytellers are introduced in Chapter II of the current thesis.

There exist two theories on the origin of *Alpomish*. Both were proposed by Victor Zhirmunsky. According to the first theory, the story about *Alpomish* was born among the Turkic peoples of Central Asia prior to the eleventh century A.D. According to the second theory, the story was born in Altay, the region inhibited by the Turkic peoples between the sixth and eighth centuries A.D. This theory is based on the fact that a story similar in content to *Alpomish* was collected from this region. However, Zhirmunsky leaves open the possibility that the story was brought to Altay from Central Asia (Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947: 78).

The proposed approximate time of its origin is the eleventh century A.D. at the latest, and this dating is explained in relation to the story of Bamsi Beyrek. The story of Bamsi Beyrek, the content of which resembles *Alpomish* in detail and contains proper names similar to those found in *Alpomish*, is included in the compilation of epic stories named the *Book of Dede Korkut*.[2] The book includes oral stories that circulated among the Turkic peoples from the ninth to fourteenth centuries. Some of the stories are very old and supposedly date back to the days when the Turkic peoples lived in Central Asia. It is known that the Turkic tribes migrated westward and spread into Western Asia and Eastern Europe during Turkic migrations between the ninth and twelfth centuries. It is possible that some oral stories emerged in Central Asia and were then transmitted by the Turkic peoples from Central to Western Asia. *Bamsi Beyrek*, or its prototype, *Alpomish*, is considered to have a Central Asian origin, and to have been born not later than the eleventh century A.D. (Bartold 1930; Zhirmunsky & Zarifov 1947; Zhirmunsky 1960; Zhirmunsky 1962).

Regardless of the exact place of origin, be it Altay or Central Asia, Zhirmunsky believed that the story emerged among the Turkic peoples. At the same time, Zhirmunsky pointed out that *Alpomish* shared remarkable motivic similarities with the Ancient Greek story the *Odyssey*, which already existed in written form near the sixth century B.C. Indeed, in both stories, the *Odyssey* and *Alpomish*, we can find many common motifs, such as 'the hero returns home and saves his wife,' and 'the hero returns home disguised and strings his distinctive bow.' These similarities appear in the second half of the story, in the part where the hero returns to his country after years of adventures and captivity in an isolated place. In both stories we find many common details: the hero has a loyal servant, he has a mark on his body, he is recognized by an animal, and he has a son. Of course, these motifs are not unique to the *Odyssey* and *Alpomish*. We can find many folk tales and legends with similar motifs in

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[2] The *Book of Dede Korkut* is one of the most famous literary works among the epic stories of the Oghuz Turks. It exists today in two versions, two sixteenth-century manuscripts. The first manuscript is kept in the Royal Library of Dresden, and the second is in possession of the Library of the Vatican. The compilation of the stories was finished in the fifteenth century, but the stories in the book are considered to be much older.

different parts of the world. Such famous researchers as Ivan Sozonovich, Georgy Potanin and Ivan Tolstoy collected dozens of Western and Eastern tales with similar motifs. According to Zhirmunsky, only two of them, the *Odyssey* and *Alpomish*, demonstrate remarkable similarity of motifs and their order within the story in the part where the hero returns to his homeland. It can be referred to as 'Return of the hero.' However, Zhirmunsky maintained that these similarities could not be attributed to mutual influence between the *Odyssey* and *Alpomish*, since any direct contact between the two stories was difficult to explain either historically or geographically.

> Even though there are significant similarities between the two stories, the *Odyssey* and *Alpomish*, it is hard to believe that these similarities could have emerged as a result of direct contact between the two stories. It is unlikely that *Alpomish* could have been influenced by the *Odyssey* at the initial stage of formation. It would be impossible to explain this kind of contact historically. It is more probable that these two oral stories included some old motifs that in the past were popular among many different peoples. (1974: 317; italics added (translated from Russian))

In other words, Zhirmunsky postulated that the two stories developed based on some ancient motifs that circulated among different peoples who lived in different parts of the world, and that the *Odyssey* and *Alpomish* were born in Ancient Greece and Central Asia independently. Zhirmunsky's theory has never been questioned before. However, in his statement Zhirmunsky clearly ignored one important historical fact: Greek culture long influenced the geographical area in which *Alpomish* is disseminated.

It is not clear why Zhirmunsky disregarded this fact in his research: was it because the contact between the two cultures, Central Asian and Greek, was something that happened back in the past, many centuries ago, or was it just because he underestimated the role of Greek influence on the culture of the Central Asian peoples?

Central Asia, which is sometimes called the crossroad of civilizations due to its geographical location, experienced many expansionist wars. Throughout its history the region has been conquered and ruled by many different nations and was a part of many great empires. A number of cultural and trade routes passed through the region on their way from West to East and from South to North, contributing to the development of the distinctive multifaceted culture of Central Asia. In the fourth century B.C. the region was conquered by Alexander the Great,[3] and later became a part of the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom.[4] It is thought that during this period Central Asia experienced a significant Greek

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[3] The northeasternmost part of Alexander the Great's kingdom, Alexandria Eskhata (lit. 'Alexandria the Farthest'), was established in the southwestern part of the Fergana Valley (Uzbekistan) at the location Khujand (Tajikistan).
[4] The Greco-Bactrian Kingdom was the easternmost part of the Hellenistic world that

influence. Even though Central Asia lost direct connection to the Greek civilization with the fall of the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom, the influence of Greek culture did not cease completely. There is much historical evidence that reveals the presence of Greek culture in the region in later centuries.

Most of the discovered objects represent material culture of the past. However, there are some related to nonmaterial culture as well. For example, some manuscripts, supposedly parts of *Aesop's Fables*,[5] written in the Old Turkic, Parthian and Sogdian languages were discovered in Xinjiang. The manuscripts are thought to have been written some time between the eighth and twelfth centuries A.D. (Henning 1945). Some murals depicting scenes from the same *Aesop's Fables* were discovered in Penjikent, located in Tajikistan (Compareti 2012). Unfortunately, evidence of this kind is very limited: due to many wars in the region much evidence, remnants of the material and non-material culture of the past, has been lost or destroyed on purpose.

The *Odyssey* is a symbol of Greek culture and one of the most famous epics of Ancient Greece, telling the story of a man who had to leave his home for war and wander for years till he finally got a chance to return home. It is a type of story that warriors who have left their homes and families would want to hear during their long campaigns to faraway countries. The *Odyssey* could easily have been brought to other regions by storytellers who entertained the armies of the Greeks. Otherwise, the story could have come to the region as a part of Greek culture that spread in the conquered territories. Later it could have been incorporated in the folk traditions of local peoples, and going through some changes or adaptation in a different cultural environment, could have been reborn as *Alpomish*. Even though there is no any material evidence at the moment to prove the presence of the story in Central Asia in the past, we cannot disregard the possibility that it could have been brought to the region at some point: either during the days of the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom, or later, in the days when the trade between West and East prospered, and the roads of Central Asia were the routes on which not only goods, but also knowledge and wisdom travelled.

1.2 The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince *and* Alpomish

Alpomish not only shares similarities with the *Odyssey*, but also has motifs similar to a

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included Bactria, a historical region between the Hindu Kush mountain range and the Amu Darya river, and Sogdiana, and occupied the territory between the Amu Darya and Syr Darya rivers from 250 to 125 B.C.

[5] *Aesop's Fables* is a collection of stories attributed to Aesop, a slave and storyteller, who is believed to have lived in ancient Greece around the sixth century B.C.

Buddhist tale, *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*,[6] which can be found in two Buddhist sutras, *Da Fang Bian Hong Bao En Jing* 大方便仏報恩経 and *Xian Yu Jing* 賢愚経. The latter is known in its English translation as *The Sutra of the Wise and the Foolish*. And even if in the case of the *Odyssey* there is no material evidence to prove the possibility of the story's dissemination in Central Asia, in the case of the Buddhist tale such evidence exists. There is a manuscript of the tale written in the Old Turkic language, the language which was commonly used by the Turkic tribes of Central Asia in the past. The manuscript was discovered by Paul Pelliot in Gansu.

Da Fang Bian Hong Bao En Jing is thought to have been compiled or translated from the original language some time around the third century, or partly even later around the sixth century. It is not clear whether the Chinese version of the sutra known today is a translation of the version that originated in India, or just a compilation and editorial version of some different Buddhist texts that came to China separately, or even a Buddhist apocrypha written in China (Supalaset 2009).

If the exact date and place of origin of the first sutra is not clear, in the case of the second sutra the date, place of origin and even the circumstances of the sutra's compilation are evident.

Seng Yu 僧祐 (445-518), a Buddhist monk, gives precise information on the origin of the sutra in his *Chu San Zang Ji Ji* 出三蔵記集, known in its English translation as *Collected Records on the Making of the Tripitaka*. This source, "the first and the most important catalog of Chinese Buddhist texts," was compiled between 505 and 515 (Mair 1993: 3). According to *Collected Records on the Making of the Tripitaka* there was once an assembly in the Great Monastery in Khotan.[7] Eight monks from Liang-chou travelled there and listened to various followers of the teachings, who "preached on the sutras and lectured on the *vinaya*, teaching according to their specialties" (Mair 1993: 3). Later the monks returned to Liang-chou and put into writing everything they heard at the assembly during the time of Emperor Wen (reigned 424-452). This is how the sutra came into existence.

> The Chinese monks seem to have made preliminary translations, based on their notes, in Khotan and then took these back to Kocho at the other (eastern) end of

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[6] The name *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* is a title that will be used in the current research to refer to the tale about two princes. The title is a translation based on a Chinese translation of characters' names 善友悪友 seen in *Da Fang Bian Hong Bao En Jing*, and 善事悪事 seen in *Xian Yu Jing.* In his *L'histoire des princes Kalyanamkara and Papamkara,* Paul Pelliot uses the names Kalyanamkara and Papamkara.

[7] The Kingdom of Khotan is an ancient Buddhist kingdom located in the territory of modern Xinjiang, China. The kingdom existed for about a thousand years, from the first to eleventh centuries. In 1006 it was conquered by the Muslims.

the Tarim basin where they apparently polished them and assembled them into a single volume. From there, they returned to their home monastery in Liang-chou where the sūtra was recompiled and given a strictly Chinese title by their local supervisor. (Mair 1993: 5)

The original content of sermons and lectures at the assembly is thought to have been delivered in one of the Central Asian languages, possibly Khotanese.[8] It is also possible that the content of sermons and lectures was originally oral, and only took physical form at the hands of the Chinese monks.

> … even when a Chinese Buddhist bibliographer speaks of a *hu-pen*, there are no assurances that a physical, written text in an Indian or Central Asian language necessarily existed and that, more often than not, there was none because of the Indian Buddhist emphasis on memorization and oral transmission. It was the Chinese monks and pilgrims who were fixated on and demanded written scriptures; there are documentable cases in which these were created to meet the wishes of textually-minded Chinese Buddhists. (Mair 1993: 5-6)

In this way, even though the origin of the first sutra including the tale about the two princes remains unclear, we can say that the origin of the second sutra is evident. Thus, we can surmise that *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* could have circulated among Central Asian Buddhists in written or oral form prior to the fifth century A.D.

The content of *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* can be summarized as follows.

> There lives a king in India. The king does not have children, which is the reason for his grief. One day a deity appears in the king's dream and teaches him what he should do in order to have children. Soon after the dream two wives of the king give birth to sons. Good Prince is born to the first wife of the king, and Bad Prince is born to the second wife. The two princes grow up. Good Prince sees the life of the poor and starts feeling sorry for them. Good Prince gives away his fortune in order to help the poor, but soon he loses most of his fortune. He finds out about *chintamani*, a magical treasure that can accomplish any wish, and decides to find it. Good Prince leaves his home country and starts his adventure together with his brother, Bad Prince. Good Prince easily gets the treasure. Tired after all his adventures he decides to take a rest: Good Prince and Bad Prince agree to sleep in turns. But when Good Prince falls asleep, Bad Prince, envious of his brother's success, strikes out Good Prince's eyes with a wooden stick, takes the *chintamani* with him and runs away. Blinded Good Prince remains alone in a faraway country, where he came looking for the *chintamani*. Soon a local shepherd meets Good Prince and gives him a string instrument. Good Prince plays the instrument so beautifully that soon his fame spreads all over the country. One day the gardener of the local king hires Good Prince to work at the king's garden. Meanwhile, Good Prince's father cannot believe news of his son's death and sends Good Prince's goose away to look for his master.

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[8] Khotanese is a dialect of the Saka language.

Good Prince works in the king's garden, and one day he meets a princess, the daughter of the king of the faraway country. The princess does not know who the blind man really is, but falls in love with him. She persuades her father to let her marry Good Prince. The king blesses them. The goose sent by Good Prince's father finally finds Good Prince. Good Prince sends with him a letter, in which he describes everything that happened to him. Good Prince's father receives the letter, orders his men to arrest Bad Prince and sends messengers to the king of the faraway country asking him to send his son back. Good Prince regains his eyesight and reveals his identity to the king and his wife. He returns home with his wife and finally meets his parents. He forgives his brother, Bad Prince, despite everything he did, and with the help of the *chintamani* accomplishes many miracles.

The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince has long been considered as one of the possible sources for *Yuriwaka* and has been mentioned in almost every study on the origin of the story.[9] Indeed, both stories share motifs such as 'the hero is born to childless parents through intervention of some supernatural power,' 'the hero is betrayed by a close person and left alone in a deserted place' and 'the hero communicates with his family with the help of a bird.' However, someone who knows the content of *Alpomish* will immediately realize that *Alpomish* not only has all the motifs mentioned above, but also shares with *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* such motifs as 'the hero meets a shepherd who helps him,' 'a music instrument helps the hero to meet the princess' and 'the princess falls in love with the hero.' These motifs cannot be found in the story about Yuriwaka.

To my knowledge, the similarity between *Alpomish* and *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* has never been noticed or pointed out by any researcher before. The motivic similarity between the two stories only attracted my attention because I was acquainted with the comparative research on the story about Yuriwaka conducted by Japanese scholars.

According to Dmitriy Tikhonov, *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* was one of the stories widely spread among the Buddhists of Central Asia. Several manuscripts of the tale exist (Tikhonov 1966: 218). One of them is the manuscript collected by Paul Pelliot from Gansu during his expedition to Central Asia. The manuscript is known as *La version ouigoure de l'histoire des princes Kalyanamkara et Papamkara*, or the Uighur version of the story about princes Kalyanamkara and Papamkara (Pelliot 1914; Huart 1914). The manuscript is written in Old Turkic, and preserved in the archives of the National Library of France under the number 3509. The manuscript is considered to have been written sometime between 801 and 1000. It only contains a part of the tale: from the part where Good Prince feels sorry for the poor and starts to give away his fortune to the part where the prince becomes famous due to his talent on the instrument. We should note one important fact here: the manuscript is written in Old Turkic, a language that was used for verbal communication rather than for

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[9] A short review on the history of research on *Yuriwaka* is introduced in the next section.

writing among the Uighurs. Chinese was the language for writing, while Turkic was the language of communication (al-Kashgari 1072-1074).

There is a possibility that the manuscript was translated from Chinese (Pelliot 1914). However, as already mentioned, the Chinese version of *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* was originally translated from texts obtained in Khotan, either written or orally transmitted in one of the Central Asian languages (Mair 1993). Some questions about the origin and circulation of the two sutras containing *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* and the manuscript still have to be clarified. However, it is clear that *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* was known by Central Asian Buddhists prior to the mid-fifth century A.D. In addition, the fact that it was translated into the Old Turkic language not only means that it could have been known by the Turkic-speaking population, which is considered to be the creator and maintainer of the story about Alpomish, but also suggests that the story could have been popular among Central Asian Buddhists.

Discussing creators and maintainers of the story, we cannot avoid mentioning *bakhshi*. *Bakhshi* are storytellers that have some relationship to Buddhism. However, due to lack of information on their tradition in the past, at the moment it is difficult to tell exactly how their tradition developed. The word *bakhshi* comes from the Sanskrit, and is thought to have come to Central Asia with Buddhism (Uspenskiy & Belyaev 1928).[10] In the Uighur language the word *bahkshi* was used in the nineteenth century for Buddhist scholars or preachers (Radlov 1888-1911). As for the Uighurs, Xinjiang, the territory inhabited by the Uighurs, was under the influence of Buddhism for a longer period of time than the rest of Central Asia, which might give us some clue concerning the tradition of *bakhshi* in the past.

Today Xinjiang is an autonomous region of China, but it is a part of Central Asia as well. Sometimes the territory is referred to as East Turkestan (lit. 'land of the Turks'). The Uighurs, the major population group of Xinjiang, have close ethnic, linguistic and cultural ties with other Turkic speaking peoples of Central Asia, such as the Uzbeks, the Kazakhs, the Kyrgyz and the Turkmens. Unlike other regions of Central Asia, where Islam suppressed all indigenous religions and beliefs, the territory occupied by the Uighurs prospered as a cultural center, where different religions, languages and cultures coexisted and intermixed. For a longer time than any other part of Central Asia the territory of modern Khotan and Gansu, which were inhabited by the Uighurs, were centers of Buddhist thought.

> Buddhism in Khotan was thus very much an Indian (especially a northwest Indian) phenomenon... In a very real sense, Khotan for several centuries before and after the beginning of the Common Era was an Indian colony in Central Asia. At the same time, Indian Buddhism in Khotan had a very close and special relationship to

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[10] The origin and history of *bakhshi* is discussed in Chapter I.

Buddhism as it was developing in China. Chinese pilgrims in search of texts often stayed in Khotan for long periods of time instead of going all the way to India and studied with Indian scholars settled there… Although the distances (both physical and cultural) separating northwestern China from Khotan and Khotan from northwestern India were great and the terrain was forbidding, contact and exchange were essentially ongoing until Islam began to overwhelm the Buddhist statelets of Central Asia in the eighth century. (Mair 1993: 7)

The Uighurs, who lived in the region, not only translated original sutras and created Buddhist apocrypha, but also contributed greatly to the transmission of Buddhist doctrine in the region. The Uighur Buddhists are thought to have spread the content of sutras and sermons in a form that commoners, who were mostly uneducated, would be able to understand.

Buddhist literature of religious content that was widely spread in the state of the Uighurs, was represented by variety of genres: there were legends, sermons and poems. *Avadānas* and *jātakas* contributed significantly to the spread of Buddhism among the Uighurs. Their heroes of those were not only Buddha, bodhisattvas and arhats, but also commoners, such as peasants, warriors and others. In *jātakas* we can also find animals. A specific atmosphere of this type of literature, which was close to folk traditions, simplified difficult concepts and notions making them easier to be understood by uneducated commoners… They did not just create literature by analogy, but tried to 'adapt' canonical literature to the realities of Central Asia. This is how Buddhist apocrypha of Mahāyāna came to existence. (Bartakhanova 1999: 17; italics added (translated from Russian))

According to Bartakhanova, poetry was used by the Uighurs as one of the ways to spread Buddhism.

Poetry with Buddhist content was sophisticated and explained basic concepts of the Teachings in a simple manner. It was one of the most effective tools for Buddhist propaganda among the Uighurs. Taking the form of a folk poem, it could touch peoples' souls, unlike canonical treatises, which were meant for the reason of the reader and demanded a certain level of knowledge and erudition. (Bartakhanova 1999: 18; (translated from Russian))

We can assume that *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* could have shifted from religious sermons to folk poetry in the process of dissemination of Buddhist thought, and become one of the sources for the story of Alpomish. Considering the fact that the *bakhshi* were a group of storytellers who had some relationship to Buddhism, Buddhist dissemination can be regarded as one of the possible routes of transmission of the story's

content into the repertoire of the *bakhshi*.[11]

1.3 Hypothesis on the origin of Alpomish

The story of Alpomish could have emerged as a result of combination of two independent stories, the *Odyssey* and *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*, in the tradition of the Central Asian *bakhshi*. The similarities and differences between the *Odyssey*, *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* and *Alpomish* are shown in TABLE 1 (see page 178) of the current chapter.

As we can see from the table, in *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* and *Alpomish* we can find common motifs, such as 'Birth,' 'Sleep,' 'Shepherd,' 'Instrument,' 'Messenger bird' and 'Foreign princess.' These motifs appear in both stories in the same sequence. It is clear also that at some point the story about Alpomish evolves into the *Odyssey*. In *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* the hero returns home, reunites with his family, forgives his brother Bad Prince and they all live happily ever after. In contrast, in the *Odyssey* the hero disguises himself, returns home hiding his identity from everyone, strings his bow and punishes those who were mistreating his family in his absence. In this part of the *Odyssey* we find such motifs as 'Stealing the hero's wife,' 'Servant,' 'Recognition by a mark,' 'Recognition by an animal,' 'Son,' 'Bow' and 'Revenge and punishment.' All these motifs can be seen in *Alpomish* as well. Moreover, in *Alpomish* they appear in the same sequence as in the *Odyssey*.

There are some motifs that should be discussed separately, since they either do not appear in the story in the same order as shown in the table, or differ to some extent. These motifs are highlighted in the table.

A) Betrayal

The hero in *Alpomish* is betrayed by his brother, born to the second wife of his father. But unlike in *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* Alpomish's brother appears in the story only after Alpomish was captured by the Kalmyks, or has returned home. In Alpomish's absence his brother has become the lord and is forcing Alpomish's wife to marry him.

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[11] We should note here that narratives called *doston*, which are very similar in form and sometimes content to those found in other regions of Central Asia, were also performed by the Uighurs. See Reichl 1989.

TABLE 1 (Chapter V)

Similarities and differences between the *Odyssey*, *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* and *Alpomish*

Motif	The *Odyssey*	*The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*	*Alpomish*
BIRTH (The hero is born through the intervention of some supernatural power to childless parents.)	✕	○	○
SLEEP (The hero goes to a far away country in order to accomplish a great deed. After successfully reaching his goal, he falls asleep. While deeply asleep, he is left alone in a deserted place.)	✕	○	○
SHEPHERD (A local shepherd helps the hero.)	✕	○	○
INSTRUMENT (The sound of the instrument that belongs to the hero attracts the attention of the local princess.)	✕	○	○
FOREIGN PRINCESS (The local princess falls in love with the hero and wants to marry him.)	✕	○	○
BETRAYAL (The hero is betrayed by his brother.)	✕	△	○
MESSENGER BIRD (The hero, while away from home, communicates with his family with the help of a bird.)	✕	○	○
STEALING THE WIFE (The wife of the hero, who he left at home, is being forced to marry someone else while the hero is away.)	○	✕	○
CHANGE OF APPEARANCE (The hero's appearance changes, which is why no one can recognize him when he returns home.)	○	△	○
SERVANT (The hero has a loyal old servant, who helps him when he returns home.)	○	✕	○

RECOGNITION BY A MARK (The hero has a mark on his body. The servant recognizes his master on seeing the mark.)	○	✕	○
RECOGNITION BY AN ANIMAL (Some animals recognize the hero despite his changed appearance.)	○	✕	○
SON (The hero has a son, who helps him when he returns home.)	△	✕	○
BOW (The hero strings his distinctive bow.)	○	✕	○
REVENGE (The hero kills his enemy and becomes the lord.)	○	✕	○

B) Change of appearance

The hero in both the *Odyssey* and *Alpomish* changes his appearance intentionally in order to return home unrecognized and punish his enemies. In *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* we can find the motif 'Change of appearance,' but it appears in a different part of the story and does not serve the same purpose as in the other two stories. Good Prince turns into a blind musician after his brother leaves him in a faraway country, but when Good Prince returns to his country he looks the same as before. In the *Odyssey* and *Alpomish* 'Change of appearance' is a necessary condition for the development of the story. Without this motif many other motifs, such as 'Recognition by a mark,' 'Recognition by an animal' and even, one of the most distinctive motifs of the story, 'Bow' would lose their meaning.

C) Son

In both the *Odyssey* and *Alpomish* the hero has a son. Alpomish's son only appears in the story after Alpomish returns to his country and is still a young boy, while Odysseus's son is an adult and plays a more important role in the story.

It is clear from the above that *Alpomish* combines features of both the *Odyssey* and *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*. The part of *Alpomish* preceding the return of the hero to his country shares motifs with *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*, and the rest of the story resembles the *Odyssey* in detail. When talking about *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*, we should note one important characteristic of the story related to its origin. Researchers usually refer to the general content of the tale omitting one important fact: the tale is a framed story. There is a short introduction and conclusion to the tale about the two princes. The tale about two princes is not just a story about the adventures of a prince, but is a metaphor of the relationship between Buddha and his cousin and brother-in-law Devadatta. Buddha, who appears in the introduction and conclusion of the tale, says that despite all the bad things Devadatta has done to him, Buddha always forgives him. The tale about the two princes was included in the sutras for a reason: it is a didactic Buddhist tale that teaches followers about love and forgiveness. Even if the tale was one of the sources for the story about Alpomish, the essential meaning of the tale has clearly been lost at some point. This could have happened through combination of *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* with some other story about war and revenge, such as the *Odyssey*. At this point it is impossible to determine an approximate date and the route of transmission of the story about Odysseus. However, it is a fact that the territory of Central Asia was under the

influence of the Greek culture in the past. For this reason we cannot disregard the possibility of transmission of the story about Odysseus to the region along with the transmission of Greek culture. As to *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*, the content of the tale could have entered the repertory of *bakhshi* as one of the didactic tales preaching about the teachings of Buddha. And then, within the oral tradition of the *bakhshi* the story may have undergone some changes, and gradually evolved into the *Alpomish* that we know today.

2. On the origin of Yuriwaka

The Japanese story about Yuriwaka is commonly known today through two recorded versions: *Yuriwaka Daijin* 百合若大臣, a story in the repertory of *kōwakamai* 幸若舞, one of the performing arts of the Muromachi period, and *Yuriwaka Sekkyō* 百合若説経, a narrative from the repertory of the *ichijō* イチジョウ ritualists from the Iki islands. The story about Yuriwaka also appears to have been a piece in the repertory of blind *biwa* players from Kyushu.[12] It is known that the text version of *Yuriwaka Daijin* appeared in the Muromachi period (1392-1573), while *Yuriwaka Sekkyō* was recorded at the end of the eighteenth century (Araki 1976; Hibbard 1946; Fukuda 1989). Even though the written version of the story *Yuriwaka Daijin* existed prior to that of *Yuriwaka Sekkyō*, the content of *Yuriwaka Sekkyō* is considered to be older.

> The oldest form in which the tradition appears is that of the *sekkyō*, or narrative chanted with musical accompaniment by professional ballad singers and soothsayers. In some districts these chants were part of a religious ceremony, as in the case of the Iki version. Many of the early writers are either anonymous or identified merely by the name of the founder of a school of composition, such as Kōwakamaru, a priest living in the vicinity of Kyōto, whose descendants perpetuated for centuries the style which he originated. With the raise of the puppet drama in the seventeenth century, the Yuriwaka tradition passed from the realm of pure folklore into that of literary composition. (Hibbard 1946: 227; italics added)

The story about Yuriwaka in Japan has a long history of research. In 1906 Tsubouchi Shōyō suggested that the story about Yuriwaka was an adaptation of the *Odyssey* (1906). Tsubouchi's hypothesis was questioned by many famous scholars, such as Tsuda Sōkichi, Yanagita Kunio and Takano Tatsuyuki. In his 1917 essay *Bushi bungaku no jidai*, Tsuda asserted that the story about Yuriwaka could have developed without any influence from foreign literature (1964). In 1954 Watsuji Tetsurō expressed a similar view, suggesting that the story about Yuriwaka was born in Japan independently (1963). Kanaseki Takeo first approached Indian literature in an attempt to find the source of *Yuriwaka* in 1959. He introduced many Indian and Chinese stories that shared motifs with *Yuriwaka: Rāmayāna*, *Mahabhārāta* and *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* found in *Xian Yu Jing* were

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[12] The story is mentioned as a piece of the repertory of blind *biwa* players by Origuchi Shinobu in "Iki Minkan Denshō Saihōki" (1975) and later by Narita Mamoru with reference to Origuchi's record (1985). The content of the story can be found in the fieldtrip notes of Ga (1972). A translation of the summary made by Ga is introduced in Chapter III. We should note, however, that the original text of the story in the repertory of blind *biwa* players has never been published or mentioned by any researcher. Further research on the story and the tradition of blind *biwa* players might reveal more information on the relationship between *Yuriwaka* and what may be its continental prototype.

mentioned among these stories. However, in *Mokuba to Sekigyū* Kanaseki suggested that similar stories could have developed in different parts of the world based on universal motifs common to different peoples (1975). Unlike Kanaseki, Maeda Hajime considered the possibility of the Indian origin of the story: the tale of Yuriwaka could have been influenced by *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* found in another sutra *Da Fang Bian Hong Bao En Jing* (1959). Other scholars postulated that *Yuriwaka* could have been born as a result of fusion between the *Odyssey* and the tale about two princes.

> We may conclude that the Japanese, Indian, and Greek stories share common elements, that the narrative lines of the Japanese and Indian stories are vague approximations of each other, that the narrative lines of the Japanese and Greek stories parallel each other closely, and that *Yuriwaka Daijin* is essentially the story of Ulysses in a Japanese setting, but embellished with several motifs from an Indian story in the Buddhist Scriptures. The fact that there should be a common denominator in an Indian story points to the possibility, first suggested by Tsuda among Japanese scholars, of a fusion in early times of Greco-Roman and Mahāyāna-Buddhist traditions that might have taken place in Gandhara. (Araki 1976: 23)

In his 1977 "Yuriwaka densetsu to nairiku ajia," Ōbayashi Taryō introduced *Alpomish* as one of the continental stories that shared motifs with *Yuriwaka*. Fukuda Akira also mentioned the similarities between the two stories in "Chūsei no shinwateki densō: kōga saburō yuriwaka daijin o megutte" (1989). In the same article Fukuda suggested that *Yuriwaka* could have had two sources of origin: one of them was a story related somehow to the tale about Good Prince, and the other was a story about the hero's beautiful wife, who was being stolen from her husband (1989). Fukuda introduced a number of different tales and legends in his article, but he did not consider any of the stories to be a direct source for the story of Yuriwaka.

Even though the content of *Alpomish* was introduced in Japan decades ago, and the possible continental origin of Yuriwaka's story has long been a matter of discussion among scholars, a thorough comparative analysis and research aimed at establishing possible connections between Central Asian *Alpomish* and Japanese *Yuriwaka* has never been undertaken, possibly due to the lack of information available in Japanese on Central Asian narratives. As shown in the previous section of the current thesis, it is clear that *Alpomish* combines characteristics of both possible sources of origin of *Yuriwaka*. Thus, *Alpomish* may be the continental prototype of *Yuriwaka* that appeared as a result of fusion of the *Odyssey* and the Buddhist tale about the two princes.

2.1 Alpomish, Yuriwaka Daijin *and* Yuriwaka Sekkyō

We will first attempt to determine which of the Japanese versions of the story about Yuriwaka is closer to *Alpomish*. TABLE 2 (see page 185) is a comparative table of common motifs seen in *Alpomish*, *Yuriwaka Daijin* and *Yuriwaka Sekkyō*. Highlighted parts in the table indicate differences between the two versions of the story about Yuriwaka.

As we can see, Central Asian *Alpomish* and Japanese *Yuriwaka* share remarkable motivic similarities. Moreover, these motifs appear in the story in a similar order. However, some of the motifs seen in both *Alpomish* and *Yuriwaka Sekkyō* cannot be found in *Yuriwaka Daijin*. For example, in *Yuriwaka Daijin* there is no motif of recognition of the hero by the mark on his body. It is apparent that *Yuriwaka Sekkyō* is closer to the continental version of the story than *Yuriwaka Daijin* is.

2.2 The Odyssey, The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince, Alpomish *and* Yuriwaka

As already mentioned, the *Odyssey* and *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* have long been an object of special interest in Japanese scholarship as stories that share a number of motifs with *Yuriwaka*. We will next compare four stories: the *Odyssey*, *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*, *Alpomish* and *Yuriwaka* as seen in both versions. TABLE 3 (see page 187) shows similarities and differences between the four stories.

Analysis of motifs

We will first analyze some of the motifs mentioned in TABLE 3. Based on the analysis of the motifs, their combination and function within the plot, we will try to understand the nature of similarities and differences between the four stories.[13]

1. Birth of the hero

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[13] In order to avoid any ambiguity in usage of terms, some clarifications have to be made. 'Plot,' or narrative structure, is a combination of narrative elements, or motifs, that make up a story. 'Motif' is a recurring narrative element that has a symbolic significance. I will use this term to refer to an event or situation described in the story that has significance in the plot and narrative development. The term 'sub-motif' will be used to refer to a smaller element within a motif. 'Story' is used for the general content of each narrative. 'Episode' is a separate significant element of a story, an event or situation described. Episodes are divided into 'scenes,' smaller elements, and scenes are divided into sub-scenes.

TABLE 2 (Chapter V)

Common motifs in *Alpomish*, *Yuriwaka Daijin* and *Yuriwaka Sekkyō*

Motif	*Alpomish*	*Yuriwaka Daijin*	*Yuriwaka Sekkyō*
The hero's father is a lord. He is powerful and rich, but childless. This is the reason why he is mistreated at a big event.	○	✕	○
The hero is born through the intervention of some super-natural power to childless parents.	○	○	○
One day the hero has to go to a country far away. There he encounters and defeats a powerful enemy.	○	○	○
After the battle the hero falls asleep. His enemies leave the sleeping hero alone in a deserted place.	○	○	○
The hero becomes friends with one of the enemies.	○	✕	○
The wife of the hero is being forced to marry the person who took advantage of the hero's absence and became the lord.	○	○	○
The person who betrayed the hero and became the lord in his absence was someone close to the hero (one of his relatives or his subordinate).	○	○	○
The hero, while in a deserted place, communicates with his family with the help of a bird.	○	○	○
The hero's appearance changes, which is why no one can recognize him when he returns home.	○	○	○
The hero has a loyal old servant, who helps him when he returns home.	○	○	○
The hero has a mark on his body. The servant recognizes his master by seeing the mark.	○	✕	○
Some animals recognize the hero despite his changed appearance.	○	✕	○

The hero strings his distinctive bow.	○	○	○
The hero kills his enemy and becomes the lord.	○	○	○

TABLE 3 (Chapter V)

Similarities and differences between the *Odyssey*, the *Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*, *Alpomish* and *Yuriwaka*

Motif	The *Odyssey*	*The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*	*Alpomish*	*Yuriwaka Daijin* and *Yuriwaka Sekkyō*
CHILDLESS LORD and BIRTH THROUGH THE INTERVENTION OF SUPERNATURAL POWER (The hero is born through the intervention of some supernatural power to childless parents.)	✕	○	○	○
GREAT DEED (The hero goes to a far away country in order to accomplish a great deed. After successfully reaching his goal, he falls asleep. While deeply asleep, he is left alone in a deserted place.)	✕	○	○	○
BETRAYAL (The person who betrays the hero and leaves him is someone close to him, his relative or subordinate.)	✕	○	○	○
HELP OF A LOCAL (A local man (or some creature) becomes the hero's friend and helps him.)	✕	○	○	○
SHEPHERD and AN INSTRUMENT (A local shepherd helps the hero. He gives the hero an instrument. The sound of the instrument attracts the attention of a local princess).	✕	○	○	✕
LOCAL PRINCESS (The local princess falls in love with the hero and wants to marry him.)	✕	○	○	✕
MESSENGER BIRD (The hero, while away from home, communicates with his family with the help of a bird.)	✕	○	○	○
STEALING THE HERO'S WIFE (The hero's wife, who he left back home, is being forced to marry someone else while the hero is away.)	○	✕	○	○
CHANGE OF APPEARANCE (The hero's appearance changes, which is why no one can recognize him when he returns home.)	○	✕	○	○

SERVANT (The hero has a loyal old servant, who helps him when he returns home.)	○	✕	○	○
RECOGNITION BY A MARK (The hero has a mark on his body. The servant recognizes his master by seeing the mark.)	○	✕	○	○
RECOGNITION BY AN ANIMAL (Some animals recognize the hero despite his changed appearance.)	○	✕	○	○
HERO'S SON (The hero has a son, who helps him when he returns home.)	○	✕	○	✕
BOW (The hero strings his distinctive bow.)	○	✕	○	○
REVENGE AND PUNISHMENT (The hero kills his enemy and becomes the lord.)	○	✕	○	○

Yuriwaka in its *kōwakamai* version, *Yuriwaka Daijin,* begins with the description of the hero's birth. Yuriwaka's father in *Yuriwaka Daijin* is the Minister of the Left, named Kinmitsu. The minister does not have children. One day he visits Hase temple and asks Kannon, the Goddess of Mercy, for a child. Kannon sends the minister a son.

> 抑むかし我朝に、嵯峨の帝の御時、左大臣きんみつと申て並びなき臣下一人おはします。しかれ共、きんみつに御代を継ぐべき御子なし。かくてはいかゞ有るべきと、大和の国初瀬の寺に詣でして、悲願尽きせぬ観音の利生を仰ぎ、三十三度の歩みを運び、申し子をこそし給ひけれ。今に初めぬ観音の、願ひの潮もはや満ちて、程なく御子をまうけ給ふ。しかも男子にて御座ある。(Asahara 1994: 43)

> Long ago time ago in our country, in the days of Emperor Saga, among the subjects there was a man by the name Kinmitsu, who was the Minister of the Left. However, Kinmitsu did not have an heir. He thought: "What should I do?" He went on pilgrimage to Hase temple of Yamato Province. His earnest wish was accepted. He received the blessing of Kannon. He performed the ritual thirty three times, and then was sent a child. Kannon fulfilled the wish, and soon after a child was born. Moreover, it was a son.

In the other version of the story, *Yuriwaka Sekkyō*, the hero's birth is preceded by the sub-motif *takara kurabe* 宝くらべ (lit. 'comparing treasures').[14] In *Yuriwaka Sekkyō* the hero's father is not a minister, but a rich man named Man no Chōja. One day at a big event he loses at 'comparing treasures' to another man simply because he is childless. Yuriwaka's father has everything except for children, which is why people fail to show him the respect due his status and mistreat him.

> けんしは此由聞召れ萬の長者を是に召せとの仰なり召れて程なく参らるるやけんしは萬の長者を御覧していかに申さん萬の長者御身は萬の寶を持たる迚てじまん顔にて候へべしが一人の世の末なきと云ふならば萬の寶は頓て他人にゆづらるべし夫でじまんは無用也（中略）其上老若男女の口に諷はれ一人の世の末なきと云ふならば今日此座において寶にまけ候へしは西國二條の主し萬の長者にまがいなし急いでこの座を罷立よと大きにいからるる萬の長者は扨も無念とおぼせども老若男女の口に諷はれ増てけんしの上意なればいなと云ふ事成がたく御前静に罷立。(Yamaguchi 1934: 15)

> The adjudicator heard about this and ordered Man no Chōja to come. He arrived

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[14] Fukuda Akira in "Chūsei no shinwateki denshō: kōga saburō yuriwaka daijin o megutte" (1989) undertook a precise comparative analysis of *Yuriwaka Daijin* and *Yuriwaka Sekkyō* and gave titles to major motifs seen in both versions of the story. His titles will be mentioned when necessary in the current thesis. In the case of *takara kurabe* it is more appropriate to use the term sub-motif than the term motif, since this element cannot be separated from 'Birth of the hero,' and only functions to add some dramatic nuance to the situation being described, namely childlessness.

soon after. The adjudicator looked at Man no Chōja and said: "What can you say, Man no Chōja? You must be proud of having ten thousand treasures. But if you do not have a single child, you will have to leave them to someone else. There is no reason for you to be proud…" Moreover, men and women of all ages were extremely angry and were all telling him off: "If he does not have a child… Here today… There is no doubt this is Man no Chōja, the lord of Saikoku Nijō who lost at (comparing) treasures. Go away!" Man no Chōja was mortified. However, since men and women of all ages were telling him off, and the adjudicator himself ordered so, the lord had nothing to say and left quietly.

According to *Yuriwaka Sekkyō,* a child is the greatest of all treasures. This thought is expressed in the following sentence.

古よりのたとえにも寶が物云ふたるためしなし寶は誰も持つ物より只持べき物は子ども也。(Yamaguchi 1934: 14)

For from days of old they have never once heard a treasure itself say a word. Anyone can possess treasures, but what you really should have is children.

Takara kurabe is followed by another sub-motif, a short scene, in which a saint appears in the dream of the hero's father and informs him that he will soon have a child. Unlike *Yuriwaka Daijin*, the hero's father in *Yuriwaka Sekkyō* does not visit a temple in order to ask the goddess to send him a child. Obviously, there is some difference between the two versions. However, in both cases we are dealing with a variation of the same motif: the hero is born to childless parents through the intervention of some supernatural power.

This motif can also be found in *Alpomish*. The part of *Alpomish* describing the hero's birth can be summarized as follows.

One day two lords Boybo'ri and Boysari come to a feast, but nobody there pays them the respect and attention due their status and fortune. The lords ask people around why they are being treated this way, and people answer that the reason is that the two are childless. Boybo'ri and Boysari are upset, but have no choice but to leave the feast. At home they both fall asleep. A saint appears in their dream and predicts that Boybo'ri and Boysari will soon have children. Indeed, the wives of the two lords become pregnant just as the saint predicted (*Alpomish* version of Fozil Yo'ldosh O'g'li).[15]

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[15] The above summary is based on the version of *Alpomish* told by Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li. A detailed analysis of this motif in other versions recorded from different storytellers at different time was undertaken in Chapter II. Three out of the four versions examined, those of Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li, Po'lkan-shoir (Ergash Juman-bulbul O'gli) and Berdi-bakhshi, begin with an episode resembling *takara kurabe* from *Yuriwaka Sekkyō*. Besides, in three versions out of four, those of Fozil Yoldosh O'g'li, Po'lkan-shoir (Ergash Juman-bulbul O'gli) and Hushboq Mardonaqul O'g'li, we can find a motif of prediction by a saint. When comparing the structure or other motifs in *Alpomish*, we will refer to the structure and motifs common to the

In *Alpomish* we can see not only the motif of birth to childless parents, but also an episode resembling *takara kurabe* of *Yuriwaka Sekkyō*. Moreover, there is also a scene in which a saint appears in the father's dream to inform him that he will soon have a child.

The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince also begins with the motif 'Birth of the hero.' The part of *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* that describes the hero's birth can be summarized as follows.

> There is a king in India by the name of Ratnashastra. He is upset because he does not have children. One day a deity appears in his dream and teaches him what he should do in order to have children. Soon two of the king's wives give birth to two boys, Good Prince and Bad Prince.

The birth of a hero to childless parents is one of the motifs commonly seen in folklore in general. Many legends and tales begin with an episode that describes the miraculous birth of the hero. In his *Morphology of the Folktale,* Vladimir Propp mentions some typical elements in the description of the initial situation in a folk tale. According to Propp, in many folk tales we can find such common elements as the childlessness of parents, prayer for the birth of a son, a miraculous birth and prophecies (1968: 119). 'Birth of the hero' informs the listener (or the reader) of the uncommon origin of the hero and functions as an introduction to the story. The three stories mentioned above, *Yuriwaka* in its two versions, *Alpomish* and *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*, begin with 'Birth of the hero.' Two out of the three stories, *Yuriwaka* in its *Yuriwaka Sekkyō* version and *Alpomish,* also have similarities at the level of sub-motifs.

A) Childlessness (The lord is wealthy and powerful, but he is childless.)
B) Disrespect (That is why the lord is mistreated and disrespected by people.)
C) Prophecy (A saint appears in the lord's dream and informs him that he will soon have a child.)
D) Birth (The long-awaited son is born.)

Unlike *Yuriwaka*, *Alpomish* and *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*, the *Odyssey* starts with the description of the hero's captivity on Calypso's island and his release. After seven years of captivity the hero is finally released at the order of Zeus. He leaves the island on a raft in order to return to Ithaca, but on the way his raft is wrecked by Poseidon, and he has to swim to the island of the Phaeacians, his last destination on his ten-year-long

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majority of versions.

journey. There Odysseus is welcomed by the king and the queen, and at the feast at their court he starts telling a long story about all his adventures, which becomes the body of the *Odyssey*.

2. Great deed, hero's sleep and isolation

In *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*, *Alpomish* and *Yuriwaka* we find the motif 'Hero's sleep.'[16] In all the three stories the hero goes to a faraway country, accomplishes a great deed and then falls asleep. His sleep is unusually deep and becomes the reason for the hero's isolation: the hero cannot be harmed, captured or killed when he is awake, but this is possible when he is asleep. The part of *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* describing hero's sleep and subsequent isolation goes as follows.

> Good Prince decides to get a treasure called *chintamani*, which can fulfill any wish. He leaves his country together with his brother, Bad Prince, in order to find the *chintamani*. Good Prince eventually finds the *chintamani* and decides to rest before they set on a trip home. Good Prince falls asleep. Bad Prince, who envies the success of his brother, strikes out Good Prince's eyes with a stick and runs away with the treasure, leaving behind the blinded Good Prince.

Yuriwaka in *Yuriwaka Daijin* is left in a deserted place in a very similar way. He is left alone while he is deeply asleep. It is interesting to note that in *Yuriwaka Daijin* an unusually deep sleep is attributed to the hero's extraordinary strength.[17]

> 大力の癖やらん、寝入て左右なく起きさせ給はず、夜日三日ぞまどろみ給ふ。
> (Asahara 1994: 50)
>
> Probably, because he was a man of great strength, once he fell asleep he would not wake up easily. So he slept for three days and nights.

In *Yuriwaka Sekkyō,* the reason for Yuriwaka's deep sleep is a drink that one of his enemies, a *ko-oni* by the name of Hibara Dōji, gives him. This situation is very similar to that seen in *Alpomish*. Alpomish also falls asleep after drinking wine given to him by one of his enemies, Surkhail.

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[16] 'Hero's sleep' is often found in Russian folklore as an attribute of a hero who possesses supernatural power, and called *bogatirskiy son* (lit. 'hero's dream'). In Russian, an expression deriving from this folk motif is used in everyday life to refer to a person who sleeps deeply.
[17] We should note that Yuriwaka is a man of extraordinary strength just like the hero of *Alpomish*, whose nickname is *alp* ('a man of extraordinary strength').

Surkhail, whose children were killed by Alpomish, wants to get her revenge. She devises a plan and persuades the king of the Kalmyks, Toichahon, to help her. They make Alpomish's uncle send a letter asking for help, build a castle and wait for Alpomish's arrival. Alpomish and his forty men win the battle against the Kalmyks and then get lured into the castle. Surkhail and forty Kalmyk beauties give Alpomish and his people wine containing sleeping drugs. While they sleep everyone, except Alpomish, is killed. Alpomish is the only one who survives, because he is an extraordinary man: he cannot be pierced with an arrow or sword, and he does not burn in fire. The Kalmyks decide to leave him alone in a deserted prison, hoping he will die one day.

As we can see, *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*, *Yuriwaka* and *Alpomish* not only share such motifs as 'Hero's sleep' and 'Isolation,' but they also demonstrate a similarity of narrative structure.

A)   Great deed (The hero accomplishes a great deed in a faraway country.)
B)   Sleep (The hero falls asleep.)
C)   Isolation (The hero is left alone in a deserted place.)

We should note that in the *Odyssey* there is a similar motif of 'Isolation,' when the hero is kept on the island for a long time. The major difference between the *Odyssey* and *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*, *Yuriwaka* and *Alpomish* is in the sequence of motifs and their grouping within the plot. In the *Odyssey* the motif 'Isolation' precedes the motif 'Great deed' and is of lesser importance in the plot than in the other three stories.

3.   Betrayal and stealing the hero's wife

In *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*, *Yuriwaka* and *Alpomish* we find a motif of betrayal by someone who the hero trusts. Good Prince is betrayed by his brother, Bad Prince, who envies his success. Bad Prince leaves Good Prince alone on the island and leaves with the treasure *chintamani*. In *Yuriwaka* the hero is left on the island by his two subordinates. Unlike *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* and *Yuriwaka*, in *Alpomish* the hero is left in a deserted place not by his brother or subordinate, but by an old witch, Surkhail, who he trusts.

Surkhail deceives Alpomish: she tells him that she is being abused by the Kalmyks and asks him to protect her. Alpomish fights against the Kalmyks, and after winning the battle against them he gets lured into the castle of Surkhail and drinks poisoned wine.

In *Alpomish* we find the motif of betrayal by the brother as well, but in this case the

motif 'Betrayal' is linked to the motif 'Stealing the hero's wife.'

Alpomish has a brother Ultontoz, the son of Alpomish's father's second wife. Ultontoz becomes the lord in Alpomish's absence, abuses his family and tries to force Alpomish's wife to marry him.

The motif 'Stealing the hero's wife' can also be found in *Yuriwaka*. In *Yuriwaka* the two brothers, subordinates of Yuriwaka, return home and try to force Yuriwaka's wife to marry them. Unlike *Yuriwaka* and *Alpomish*, in *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* Good Prince this motif cannot be found: Good Prince does not have a wife when he leaves. He meets his future wife in a faraway country. However, 'Stealing the hero's wife' is a well known motif of the *Odyssey:* the wife of Odysseus, Penelope, is forced to choose one of Ithaca's aristocrats while her husband is absent.

As we can see, *Yuriwaka* and *Alpomish* combine the two motifs 'Betrayal' and 'Stealing the hero's wife,' which can be found separately in *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* and in the *Odyssey*. The difference between *Yuriwaka* and *Alpomish* lies in the fact that in *Yuriwaka* the person who left the hero in a deserted place and the one who is trying to steal the hero's wife is the same person. The hero in *Alpomish* is betrayed twice: in the first case he is betrayed by an enemy who pretends to be his friend, and in the second by his brother.

4. Enemy turns into an ally

The motif of an enemy turning into the hero's friend can be found in *Yuriwaka* and *Alpomish*. In both stories one of the creatures the hero went to fight against turns into his ally or friend. In *Yuriwaka Sekkyō,* a *ko-oni* by the name Hibara Dōji helps Yuriwaka to survive on the island.

> 五萬の小鬼の其中にひばら童子と申小鬼にて候（中略）比茨童子御前に畏り申上ける様には御いたわしの事共や此島と申は火なき島にて候へは御糧とては更になし然しとは申せども最前六献ほさせ給ふかん露の酒にて六年の間は御喰物なふしても御命に少しも御懈怠はましまさず島の案内は某存て候也某を譜代の下人と思召いつきかしつき奉んと申上けれは大臣殿もふは心もよはらせ給ひて鬼と主下の約束召れける。(Yamaguchi 1934: 64-70)

> And among those fifty thousand demons there was one by the name of Hibara Dōji… Hibara Dōji sat (before Yuriwaka) and ceremoniously said: "It is very unfortunate, but since there is no fire on the island, there is no food to be found. However, since you just drank six cups of *amrita*,[18] for the next six years you will be able to live without any food. And I will be your guide to the island. Treat me as your

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[18] *Amrita* is a drink or nectar which confers immortality.

old servant!" When he said this, Yuriwaka's heart melted, and he and the demon took an oath to become lord and vassal.

This motif is not found in *Yuriwaka Daijin*, but resembles the friendship between Alpomish and Qorajon. The part of *Alpomish* describing the friendship between Alpomish and Qorajon can be summarized as follows.

Qorajon is one of the Kalmyk's greatest heroes. He is the son of Surkhail and the brother of the other six greatest heroes of the Kalmyks. He wants to marry Barchinoy, the promised wife of Alpomish, which is why he wants to kill Alpomish. But when Alpomish arrives in the land of the Kalmyks, Qorajon meets him and becomes his friend. Not only does he become Alpomish's friend, but he also joins Alpomish in his fight against the Kalmyks and even kills his own brothers.

The motif 'Enemy turns into an ally' can be seen in *Alpomish* twice. Another episode in *Alpomish* describes his friendship with an enemy. It can be summarized as follows.

Alpomish is left in a deserted hole alone. One day a shepherd by the name of Qoyqubod approaches the hole because one of his goats has fallen into it. Qoyqubod is in love with the Kalmyk princess Tafkaoim. Alpomish promises to help Qoyqubot win the princess's heart in exchange for food. Everyday Qoyqubot gives Alpomish one of his goats, sheep or horses, but Alpomish does not fulfill his promise. Qoyqubot complains. Then Alpomish starts to make instruments out of the bones of the animals he ate, and Qoyqubot sells them at the market. Using one of the instruments they eventually lure the princess to the hole where Alpomish lives, and the princess falls in love with Alpomish.

This episode resembles *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*.

Good Prince, who is left on the island by his brother, meets a shepherd. The shepherd gives Good Prince an instrument. One day the princess hears its sound, meets Good Prince and falls in love with him.

However, unlike the case of *Alpomish*, in *The Tale about Good and Bad Prince* the shepherd is essentially not an enemy, since Good Prince comes to a faraway country to find the *chintamani,* not to fight against enemies. The shepherd only appears once, in order to give Good Prince the instrument.

5. Messenger bird

The hero, while in isolation, communicates with his family with the help of a bird. The motif 'Messenger bird' can be found in *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*, *Yuriwaka* and

Alpomish. In Japan the motif 'Messenger bird,' *taka no fumizukai* (lit. 'messenger falcon'), has long been cited as a reason for comparing *Yuriwaka* to *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*. The part of *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* describing communication of the hero through a messenger bird can be summarized as follows.

> Good Prince had a goose. The king does not believe that his son has died. He sends the goose to look for Good Prince. The goose flies to a faraway country and finds Good Prince there. Good Prince finds the letter his father sent with the goose. Good Prince describes in a letter everything that happened to him and sends the goose back to his father. The king finds out about everything from the letter he received. He punishes Bad Prince and sends messengers to bring Good Prince back.

In *Alpomish* 'Messenger bird' accomplishes the same function: it helps the hero to inform his family that he is alive. However, unlike *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*, this does not lead to the hero's return.

> One day Alpomish notices a goose flying over the hole where he is being kept. The goose falls into the hole: one of its wings is pierced with an arrow and its leg is broken. Alpomish heals the goose and then sends it to his family with a letter. Alpomish's sister, Kaldirg'och, receives the letter and sends Alpomish's friend, Qorajon, to bring Alpomish back home. Qorajon finds Alpomish and wants to release him, but Alpomish refuses to be rescued by anyone. Qorajon returns home alone.

In *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* and *Alpomish,* the bird fulfils its function of informant and then disappears. The story does not mention what happened to the bird after the message was delivered. But in both versions of *Yuriwaka*, *Yuriwaka Daijin* and *Yuriwaka Sekkyō*, the motif is treated as a short tragic story about the messenger bird that has a beginning and end.

> One day Yuriwaka's wife releases his falcon. The falcon flies to the island where Yuriwaka was left. Yuriwaka writes a letter with his own blood and sends the falcon back home. Yuriwaka's wife finds out that her husband is alive. She sends the falcon to Yuriwaka's island again, but this time she binds an ink pot to the falcon's leg. The falcon grows exhausted from the weight of the ink pot, falls into the sea and drowns, unable to reach his master.

In *Yuriwaka* the message that was brought by the bird indirectly leads to the release of the hero. Yuriwaka's wife starts praying for his return after she receives the message, and the prayer helps Yuriwaka leave the island.

Unlike *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*, where the story ends soon after the hero's father sends messengers to the faraway country, in *Yuriwaka* and *Alpomish* the

narrative evolves into a story about the revenge of the hero, who returns home with his appearance changed. This development is similar to the ending of the *Odyssey*.

6. Hero's changed appearance and recognition by an animal

In the *Odyssey*, *Alpomish* and *Yuriwaka* we find the motif 'Hero's changed appearance.' In all three stories the hero returns home unrecognized by anyone and for a while does not reveal his identity on purpose, in order to see what has been happening in his absence. However, in each story we find a different explanation for the change of the hero's appearance. In the *Odyssey* the appearance of Odysseus is changed by Athena. In *Alpomish* the hero disguises himself with the help of his servant Qultoy: he puts on the clothes of Qultoy and makes a beard and moustache from animal hair. Unlike Odysseus and Alpomish, who despite years of wandering and all their adventures remain as brilliant and handsome as they were before, Yuriwaka returns home with his appearance changed. In *Yuriwaka* the hero's appearance is not changed on purpose, but because he has had to spend years in extremely severe circumstances.

No one can recognize the hero whose appearance has changed, except for an animal that used to know him in the past. The motif 'Recognition by an animal' can be seen in the *Odyssey*, *Alpomish* and *Yuriwaka*, and it is clear that it is closely related to 'Hero's changed appearance.' When Odysseus returns home, his old dog recognizes him. Alpomish is recognized by an old camel. And Yuriwaka in *Yuriwaka Sekkyō* is recognized by his horse Onikage.

> 血の泪を流し馬なきしてこそ居たりけり大臣殿御覧して汝は生ある馬ぞかし我を見付て嘸や嬉しく思ひ覧んかまはで我もしりたる風情を申なよ今日時も移らぬ其内に六條内裏に乗行ぞ鬼かげいかにと有ければ鬼かげを撫させ給へは本の鬼かげとばひをなし八方に繋たる金の鎖を六方一度に責放したつた二方を今放れんとはひをなす。(Yamaguchi 1934: 95)

> He (the horse) was crying bitter tears of blood. Daijin saw this and said: "You are a tenacious horse! You saw me and got so excited. Do not let anyone know you recognize me. Today, very soon, I will be riding you in Rokujō Dairi. How have you been, Onikage?" He stroked Onikage, and Onikage became twice the Onikage he used to be. At once he broke six of the eight golden chains that were keeping him, and was taking a breath in order to break the other two.

In *Yuriwaka Daijin* the motif of recognition by the hero's horse cannot be found.

7. Loyal servant and recognition by the mark

The hero returns to his country and meets his old servant. This motif can be found in the *Odyssey*, *Alpomish* and *Yuriwaka*. The motif 'Loyal servant' is in close relation to the motif 'Recognition by the mark.' The appearance of the hero changes so that even his loyal servant cannot recognize him. Even so, he recognizes him by the mark on his body. In the *Odyssey*, two of his loyal servants, Odysseus's housekeeper Eurycleia and his servant Eumaeus, recognize Odysseus by the scar on his foot. Alpomish proves his identity to his servant Qultoy by showing the mark on his body. In both *Yuriwaka Daijin* and *Yuriwaka Sekkyō* we find the motif 'Loyal servant,' but 'Recognition by the mark' can only be seen in *Yuriwaka Sekkyō*.

> つく／＼と見たりしが扨も古よりの若君様に似たる人にてましますよなそれをいかにと申にはほふがいかつて小髪がちぢしんて御目本が猿眼左りの法にゑくぼの有かしと見へさせ給ひしが若君様にまがいなしとは見得たれども若君様は奥に木ばと違へてましませしが此木ばを如何はして見届け参らせん案じ出したる事がある誕生召れて七歳の春迄は此ばばがひざの上にて守り育て参らせしに御機嫌それさせ給ふ其時に此ばばが姥舞まふて御目に懸参らすれは御機嫌直らせ給ひて笑はせ給ふ其時に奥の木ばこそ見えにけり何となふ姥舞まふたる物ならば笑はせ給はで叶まじと案じすまいて（中略）笑はせ給へばばゝは気を付て見奉るに何の疑ひ有べきぞ奥に牙を違ておはしますばゝは此由を見るよりも扨も嬉しの事共や若君様にまがひなし一先つ輝日の御前に御知らせ申さんと是に休みましまし給へやと八丁原へと急ける。(Yamaguchi 1934: 91)

She was looking at him carefully. "The man resembles the young lord. How is it possible?" His hair was shrunken. He had a furtive look. He had a dimple on his left cheek. She looked at him and thought that there was no doubt the man was her young lord. She thought: "The young lord had a fang in his mouth. What can I do to see that fang?" Until he was about seven years old this old woman took care of him. He used to sit on her knees. Once he was in a bad mood. This old woman danced in front of him. When he saw this, his mood changed and he started laughing. She could see his fang then… She thought: "If he sees the dance, he will definitely laugh!" When he was laughing, the old woman watched him carefully. "There is no doubt! He has a fang in his mouth!" She saw this and thought: "I am so happy! There is no doubt that is our young lord! I should inform Lady Teruhi! I should take my leave now." She said: "Please, take a rest," and ran to Hatchōbaru.

Yuriwaka Daijin describes the meeting of the hero with his old servant, but the story does not mention any marks on the hero's body that the old servant recognizes.

> 彼門脇の翁と申は、年比大臣殿に召し仕へし者なれども、御顔にも御足手にも、さながら苔のむし給ひ、御背も小さく色も黒く、有しに変る御姿を、いかでか見知り申べき。され共、情深き夫婦にて、「あら、無残と痩せ衰へたる餓鬼や」とて、重ねて扶持をぞ加へける。(Asahara 1994: 64)

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The old man named Kadowaki was an old servant of Daijin. However, there was moss growing on (Daijin's) face, arms and legs. He was short and dark. How could he (Kadowaki) recognize him? However, he and his wife were warm-hearted people. They thought: "Look at him, such a terribly emaciated boy!" And then they started taking care of him.

8. Hero's son

A major difference between *Yuriwaka* and two other stories, the *Odyssey* and *Alpomish*, lies in the fact that Yuriwaka does not have children, unlike Odysseus and Alpomish. Odysseus was absent for about twenty years, and when he returns home, his son Telemachus is a grown man. Telemachus plays an important role in the *Odyssey*. The story starts with an episode in which Telemachus looks for his father: Telemachus meets his father's friends in an attempt to find out something about his father's whereabouts. When Odysseus returns to Ithaca, Telemachus actively participates in his father's plan for revenge. In the case of *Alpomish*, the hero's son Yodgor only appears after Alpomish returns from captivity. Alpomish was absent for only seven years and does not even know he has a son. When Alpomish returns home Yodgor is only seven years old. He does not play an active role in the hero's plan for revenge, but pulls Alpomish's bow out of the ground, which is something that even a grown man cannot do.

9. Distinctive bow

In all three stories, the *Odyssey*, *Yuriwaka* and *Alpomish*, the motif 'Distinctive bow' is of great importance. The hero's bow is a symbol of his supernatural power, a proof of his extraordinary nature. The hero returns home disguised, and by stringing his distinctive bow he shows everyone that he has returned. It is interesting to note that the hero's bow happens to be at his home when he returns, even though it is one of the most important attributes of a warrior. In the *Odyssey* there is an explanation for this: Odysseus only used his bow when he was in his country, and did not take it with him on campaigns. It is not clear why Alpomish's bow is left somewhere on the steppe and is half buried in the ground when he returns. In *Yuriwaka Daijin* we find the most reasonable explanation: the Beppu brothers take Yuriwaka's bow while he is asleep and leave with it.

The motif 'Distinctive bow' that appears in the end of the story is described in *Yuriwaka* and *Alpomish* in a very similar way. Unlike the *Odyssey*, where Penelope demands all the suitors to compete at stringing her husband's bow, in *Yuriwaka* and *Alpomish* the hero participates in an event. His bow is only brought to him after he breaks all of the other bows

he is given. This part of the story in *Alpomish* can be summarized as follows.

> There is a competition at stringing bows as a part of the wedding celebration. Alpomish, disguised as his servant Qultoy, tries to string a bow. All the bows break under his unusual strength. Then Alpomish asks to be brought Alpomish's bronze bow. Yodgor brings the bow, and Alpomish strings it. On seeing this everybody realizes that their master has returned.

In the *Odyssey*, *Yuriwaka* and *Alpomish* the hero kills the suitor after stringing his bow, reunites with his family and lives happily ever after.

As we can see from the analysis above, the *Odyssey* and *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* are two completely different stories. They have almost no common motifs, except for one: the hero leaves his home and goes to a faraway country looking for adventures. This motif is common to dozens of other stories, which is why it should be disregarded as a similarity in this particular case. It is clear, though, that the two stories, the *Odyssey* and *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*, both share motifs with the Central Asian story *Alpomish*. Moreover, motifs are grouped within the story and appear in the same sequence. The first half of *Alpomish* is similar to *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*. In both we can find common motifs, such as 'the father of the hero is a lord but he is mistreated because of his childlessness,' 'the hero is born through the intervention of supernatural power,' 'the hero accomplishes a great deed in a faraway country and then falls asleep,' and 'the hero communicates with his family with the help of a bird.' The second half of *Alpomish* resembles the *Odyssey* in its details, for example, 'the hero's appearance changes,' 'the hero has a loyal old servant,' 'the hero has a mark on his body,' 'the hero has a son,' and 'the hero strings his distinctive bow at the end of the story and kills his enemies.' As for *Yuriwaka*, it has similarities with both the *Odyssey* and *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince*, but clearly shares more motifs with *Alpomish*. The similarities are even more obvious in the case of *Yuriwaka Sekkyō*. In the case of *Alpomish* and *Yuriwaka* we are dealing not just with random motivic similarities, but with the similarity of the general plot. The two stories have a similar structure: all motifs common to both stories appear in a very similar sequence. The general structure of the two stories can be shown as follows.

A) CHILDLESS LORD

B) DISRESPECT

C) PROPHECY

D) BIRTH THROUGH THE INTERVENTION OF SUPERNATURAL POWER

E) GREAT DEED

F) SLEEP

G) BETRAYAL

H) ISOLATION

I) HELP OF A LOCAL

J) STEALING HERO'S WIFE

K) MESSENGER BIRD

L) CHANGE OF APPEARANCE

M) SERVANT

N) RECOGNITION BY A MARK

O) RECOGNITION BY AN ANIMAL

P) BOW

Q) REVENGE AND PUNISHMENT

Clearly, *Alpomish* and *Yuriwaka* have significant similarities. It appears unlikely that the two stories were born independently in Central Asia and Japan.

2.3 *Hypothesis on the origin of* Yuriwaka

In folklore studies there are various theories on the origin of similar tales in different parts of the world. Most popular among them are the theory of the universal origin and the theory of transmission or diffusion of tales. In his *Istoricheskaya Poetica* (1940), the famous Russian scholar of literature, Alexander Veselovsky introduced major theories on the possible origin of folk tales, such as the theory of universal origin, the theory of diffusion and the ethnic theory. According to Veselovsky, when studying tales, we should make a clear distinction between such categories as motif and plot.

> Motif is the smallest unit of a tale that was born as an answer to the doubts of the primitive mind and daily observation… Plot is made up of a combination of different motifs… In those cases when the number of motifs is multiple and their combination within the plot is complex, it is unlikely that similar folk stories of different peoples could have emerged naturally in the process of comprehension of the world and life common to all humanity. It is possible that simple motifs could have emerged in different parts of the world, but the similarity of plot that is made up of their combination suggests the possibility of transmission. (1940: 500 (translated from Russian))

Veselovsky further developed his hypothesis and suggested that in some cases routes of transmission are possible to trace. Veselovsky stated that in those cases when similar tales appear in regions that have no connection, the route cannot be determined and

the connection is difficult to explain, but in the case of the regions connected through any cultural phenomenon, such as Buddhism, the possibility of transmission should not be disregarded (1940: 510).

In the case of *Alpomish* and *Yuriwaka,* the territories of dissemination of the stories have the connection mentioned by Veselovsky, namely Buddhism. It is hard to determine exactly how the story of Alpomish, or its prototype, could have been brought to Japan. But we can assume that the route of transmission is likely to have been storytelling, an oral tradition that had a connection with Buddhism, rather than some written source. The story could have travelled from one language to the other as some structure, or a plot made up of motifs.

As we could see in storytelling, especially in the case of Central Asia, there are possibilities for variation even within one plot. At some point when cultural exchange with the continent was still vigorous, the plot of the story could have been brought to Japan with Buddhism, as an oral story in the tradition of storytellers that is also thought to share a continental origin. And after being brought to Japan the story may have been adapted to the new realities and been reborn as the story of Yuriwaka.

Conclusion

As already mentioned, the possibility that *Yuriwaka* was brought from the continent has been considered in Japanese scholarship for a long time. Many stories of continental origin that had common motifs with *Yuriwaka* have been introduced. *Alpomish* has also been mentioned among those stories, but possible connections between *Alpomish* and *Yuriwaka* have never been explored. It is possible that Japanese scholars have not paid enough attention to *Alpomish* because they did not have chances to work with the text of *Alpomish* or the considerable bulk of research conducted by Uzbek, Russian and other scholars abroad. They were unfamiliar with both the precise content of the story and the tradition this story represented.

Alpomish, unlike many other tales and legends compared with *Yuriwaka* throughout the history of its research, combines characteristics of two possible sources of *Yuriwaka*'s origin. Moreover, there is a possibility that the story about *Alpomish* emerged as a result of fusion of these two sources, an Ancient Greek story about Odysseus and a Buddhist tale about Good Prince, in the tradition of *bakhshi*, storytellers who might have played a role in the transmission of Buddhist doctrine in the past, and have been active in a region that experienced the influence of both Greek and Indian cultures.

It is common knowledge that Central Asia and Japan were connected in the past

through cultural routes. Buddhism, which has had a great impact on the historical and cultural development of Japan, came to Japan passing on its way through territories known today as Central Asia. It is for this reason that we cannot disregard the possibility that Central Asia, known as a crossroad of civilizations, was the place where the prototype of *Yuriwaka* was born.

In the current chapter we attempted to determine the origin of two stories, Central Asia's *Alpomish* and the Japanese *Yuriwaka*. A hypothesis on the origin of *Alpomish* was proposed in Section 1. In Section 2 we considered the possibility of transmission of *Alpomish* to Japan. Some issues have been clarified in the framework of the current thesis. However, further comparative research needs to be conducted in order to strengthen the theory. Issues for further consideration include the following.

✓ Not all versions of *Alpomish* are introduced in the current research. There exist Altay, Kazakh, Tajik and Arabic versions of *Alpomish*. In the current research we examined the most popular version of *Alpomish* known in Central Asia. Other versions should be included in further research as well. These were not included in the current research due to lack of information on their texts and history of research.

✓ At the moment *Alpomish* is the only story from Central Asia known to share significant similarities with a Japanese story. More evidence, including other stories from both the repertory of *bakhshi* and the Japanese storytellers, should be gathered in order to reinforce the hypothesis on the transmission of *Alpomish* to Japan.

✓ Further research on the history of storytelling of Central Asia and Japan in the past should be conducted in order to better understand processes or circumstances that made the transmission of a story from one region to the other possible.

✓ Many tales of continental origin, from India, Nepal, China and Korea, have been introduced as stories sharing motifs with *Yuriwaka*. However, none of them contains as many common motifs as *Alpomish*. If *Yuriwaka* is an adaptation of *Alpomish*, or an older continental version of the story, and comes from Central Asia, then there is a possibility that a story very similar to *Alpomish* exists in either China or Korea. Further research aimed at the analysis and research of the background of tales found in China and Korea should still be undertaken.

✓ As mentioned in the current chapter, tales similar to *Alpomish* and *Yuriwaka* can be

found in many different regions of the world. Collecting, comparing and establishing possible connections between these tales based on the study of the historical and cultural backgrounds of the areas of dissemination will also be a part of further broader research on the history of a story about the return of a wandering husband.

CONCLUSION

Learning about the history and nature of those who create, receive, maintain and transmit oral stories, be it myth, legend, folk tale or an epos, is essential in understanding each single story within a certain tradition and the tradition in general. Each oral tradition, both in its content and form, is shaped by individuals and the environment those individuals live in. This is why all research related to orally transmitted texts should start with an approach that aims to clarify the socio-cultural characteristics of individuals representing the tradition and the stages of its evolution in historical and geographical context.

In this thesis we considered two oral traditions, the Central Asian storytelling tradition of *bakhshi* and the Japanese tradition of blind *biwa* players. The two storytelling traditions are of particular interest, since both have some relationship to Buddhism and may represent diverse outgrowths of an originally common cultural phenomenon, namely a tradition of storytelling maintained in the past by Buddhist storytellers (preachers), but which developed in two geographically remote regions of Asia, in different socio-cultural environments.

As we can see from the material introduced and analyzed in the thesis, even though the two storytelling traditions are completely oral, they differ greatly in their approach to the transmission and reproduction of the text. It is possible that the approach of each group of storytellers to the tradition is determined by the role storytelling plays in the lives of its maintainers.

For example, in the tradition of *bakhshi,* improvisation plays an important role in the process of text generation. Analysis of several pieces of *terma* verses composed by Shodmon-bakhshi and Zulkhumor-bakhshi, and *Alpomish* recorded from three storytellers, Qakhor-bakhshi, Mukhammad-bakhshi and Shodmon-bakhshi, demonstrated the degree of improvisation and possibilities for variation of both the structure and text of an oral narrative in its multiple performances. The narrative text created by *bakhshi* constantly evolves, and in general it is difficult to identify repeated parts, formulas and formulaic expressions, in multiple performances of the same piece. Only one out of the three cases examined, the three texts of *Alpomish* recorded from Shodmon-bakhshi, showed some degree of fixity at the level of both general structure and text construction: some parts in both verse and prose were repeated from performance to performance. However, it is unlikely that Shodmon-bakhshi intentionally memorized the text at any point of his performing life. The text could have been remembered by Shodmon-bakhshi to some extent as a result of multiple repeated performances.

Bakhshi in their performances seek originality; they try to improvise and make each of their performances unique. The ability to adapt to the atmosphere or situation, to be able to deliver the knowledge or information in the most expressive and at the same time understandable way, is most important for *bakhshi*. It is difficult to find an explanation as to why and how exactly this kind of traditional approach has developed in Central Asia. For *bakhshi,* storytelling is not a source of income, but one of their ways to entertain themselves and the people around them. This might be one of the possible reasons that explains their creative approach to storytelling. Another possible explanation we might think of is the relationship of the tradition of *bakhshi* to Buddhism. Storytelling (or preaching) in Buddhism valued an ability to improvise and to adapt to various situations in order to spread the doctrine among peoples of different social and cultural backgrounds. It is easy to imagine that the ability to adapt to any audience and environment could be of special importance in a region like Central Asia, where various ethnic groups with different worldviews and cultures coexisted for centuries. Could the creative approach to the process of text reproduction have developed as a result of necessity and then been passed on from generation to generation of storytellers to the present day?

The result of analysis of multiple performances recorded from Yamashika Yoshiyuki demonstrated that the narrative texts of the same piece produced by the storyteller orally contain many word-for-word repetitions: not only some expressions, but whole parts of the text are repeated from performance to performance. Even in the case of *Shuntokumaru*, the narrative among those examined that shows the highest degree of variability of textual material, the general structure is still fixed and repetitions can be identified. If even in the case of such a skilled performer as Yamashika, who was able to compose his narrative texts orally depending on the audience and situation, evidence of prior memorization can be found, we might assume that memorization and faithful reproduction of fixed narrative structure and text must be a part of the tradition in general.

This tendency for fixity might be interpreted in relation to the role storytelling played in the life of blind *biwa* players. For blind *biwa* players, storytelling was a source of income, one of few possible ways to earn their livelihood. Developing skills to memorize a story and to be able to retell its content in front of the public was their primary goal, which might be the reason why the textual material of the narratives performed is highly stable and shows little variability. High density of repetitions, formulas and formulaic expressions, in the narrative texts is a result of the reproduction from memory of the memorized textual material. While variability of textual material was born as a result of improvisation, it appears to have been prompted primarily by the necessities of circumstance under the pressure of performance.

The two storytelling traditions are both completely oral, but each demonstrates a certain tendency in the general approach of storytellers to text transmission and reproduction. This becomes especially obvious when the two traditions are compared. We can see that while in the tradition of *bakhshi* the general tendency is variability born as a result of improvisation, in the tradition of blind *biwa* players, the general tendency is fixity, resulting from memorization of narrative material.[1]

Characteristics of the oral language used by storytellers, particularities of the narrative text born in performance of long narratives, repetitions seen in textual material, formulas, formulaic expressions and their clusters, have been an object of interest for folklorists and literary scholars for many decades. The Oral-formulaic theory provides us with an important theoretical base in the study of oral traditions; however, it is clear that its principles should be applied in consideration of different factors that could have influenced the nature of each oral tradition, and the transmission of its distinctive repertory and mode of performance.

The second issue the thesis attempted to clarify is the origin of two oral narratives, *Alpomish* and *Yuriwaka*. Based on the comparative analysis of the *Odyssey* and *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* and *Alpomish* we can conclude that the possibility that *Alpomish* was born as a result of fusion between the *Odyssey* and *The Tale about Good Prince and Bad Prince* in the tradition of Central Asian storytellers can be entertained. As the analysis showed, even in the case of Central Asian storytelling, where improvisation plays an important role, one tendency can be observed: in the case of *Alpomish* there exists a general structure made up of motifs that are reproduced from performance to performance, even though the narrative text changes significantly. This structure could have played a certain role in the transmission of the story from the oral tradition of one region to the other. With the spread of Buddhism, or possibly as a part of some other cultural phenomenon, the story about Alpomish could have travelled to Japan, where it was adapted to new realities and was reborn as *Yuriwaka*.

Many centuries have passed since the days when Buddhism was one of the major religions in Central Asia and played an important role in its social and cultural life. With time countries and regions of Asia that were united by cultural and trade routes in the past grew

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[1] We should also note that in each tradition an individual approach might play a certain role. The individual approach is determined by the individual abilities of each storyteller, such as his memory capacity, eloquence, worldview, intellect, experience, age and health. When approaching an oral tradition, both the general tendency and an individual approach should be considered, since they may both influence the processes of reproduction and transmission of the narrative material in a certain way and contribute to the development of the tradition as a whole.

apart. Today Central Asia and Japan are two geographically remote regions with completely different linguistic and cultural environments, which is why the possibility of transmission through storytelling can be difficult to imagine or entertain. A lot of evidence still needs to be collected in order to support the hypothesis proposed in this thesis. Further research on both Central Asian and Japanese oral traditions, their development and interrelationships with storytelling traditions of other regions, especially China and Korea, is needed. The comparative research undertaken in this thesis is only a first step in a long journey to be undertaken in pursuit of the realities of history.

APPENDIX

A.1 *Dombra*.

Photograph by the author (August 2011).

A.2 *Dombra*.

Photograph by the author (August 2011).

A.3 Kashkadarya

Photograph by the author (August 2011).

A.4 Kashkadarya.

Entrance to the village of Qodir-bakhshi.

Photograph by the author (August 2011).

A.5 Qakhor-bakhshi performing *Alpomish*.
Photograph by the author (August 2011).

A.6 Mukhammad-bakhshi performing *Alpomish*.
Photograph by the author (August 2011).

A.7 Mukhammad-bakhshi.
Photograph by the author (August 2011).

A.8 Boyqul-bakhshi.
Photograph by the author (August 2011).

A.9 Evening at the house of Boyqul-bakhshi
(from left to right:
Boyqul-bakhshi's wife, Tamara Radjapova,
Qakhor-bakhshi, Mukhammad-bakhshi,
Boyqul-bakhshi, Abdumurod-bakhshi.)
Photograph by the author (August 2011).

A.10 Boyqul-bakhshi's house.
Photograph by the author (August 2011).

A.11 Surkhandarya. Shodmon-bakhshi's village.
Photograph by the author (August 2011).

A.12 Shodmon-bakhshi performing *Alpomish*.
Photograph by the author (August 2011).

A.13 Zulkhumor-bakhshi performing *terma*.
Photograph by the author (August 2011).

A.14 Interviewing Shodmon-bakhshi.
Photograph by Tamara Radjapova (August 2011).

A.15 Evening at the house of Shodmon-bakhshi.
Shodmon-bakhshi and Zulkhumor-bakhshi are
composing *terma*.
Photograph by the author (August 2011).

A.16 Shodmon-bakhshi composing *terma*.
Photograph by the author (August 2011).

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