

The Dance of the Herons in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano : History, Present Practice and Transmission of a Medieval Performing Art

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The Dance of the Herons in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano

History, Present Practice and Transmission of a
Medieval Performing Art

Andrea Luise Kahlow
Revised Version 2020

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Through this study of the heron dance, I have gained a profound insight into various aspects of Japanese culture and history. With this dissertation, I hope to share my knowledge and experience on the heron dance, and make information on this remarkable performance accessible to a non-Japanese audience.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Preface

1.1.1 The First Encounter

I first encountered the heron dance of Tsuwano in 2009 in the seminar “Culture and Identity in East Asia: Tsuwano—*Kyoto en miniature*” held by Prof. Dr. phil. Klaus Kracht at the Centre for Japanese Language and Culture of Humboldt University of Berlin. Tsuwano is the birthplace of Mori Ōgai, a writer and army surgeon who was sent to Germany from 1884 to 1888 as a state-funded student to continue the studies of hygiene and military sanitation that he had started at the Medical Faculty of Tokyo Imperial University.¹

The seminar focussed on Ōgai’s birthplace Tsuwano. Searching for a connection between my minor, musicology, and the castle town, I discovered the heron dance. I graduated from Humboldt University with a Bachelor thesis on the heron dance in Tsuwano: its performing practice, meaning and transmission.

In 2012, I entered the graduate school at Hosei University in Tokyo and graduated once more with a thesis on the heron dance in Tsuwano. During my doctoral studies, I have expanded my research to cover the heron dances of both Yamaguchi and Tsuwano. Since my first visit in 2010, I have conducted field research four times in Tsuwano (2012, 2014, 2016, 2017) and twice in Yamaguchi (2016, 2017).

1.1.2 Objectives and Methodology

This dissertation seeks to determine to what extent the heron dances of Yamaguchi and Tsuwano nowadays resemble their medieval precursor. In order to clarify this question, the subject is approached in four themed chapters.

The first chapter gives a brief overview of the geography and history of the former castle towns of Yamaguchi and Tsuwano. The performing practice of the

¹He was active as a novelist, critic, and translator: his most famous work is *Maihime* 舞姫 (The Dancing Girl, 1890), which is about a love affair between an elite Meiji Era bureaucrat who travels to Berlin as an exchange student and a German dancing girl. The story was inspired by the author’s experiences in Berlin, where he worked and studied at Robert Koch’s Hygiene Institute from 1887 to 1888.

heron dance seen in both places is introduced briefly. Following that, significant former research regarding the heron dance in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano is reviewed.

The second chapter examines historic sources of the heron dance in Kyoto, Yamaguchi and Tsuwano. Here, written documentary materials such as shrine chronicles, official annals and diaries, and pictorial materials such as folding screens are investigated. Essential extracts are introduced, transcribed, translated and interpreted.

An overview of the elements of performance is given in the third chapter, followed by an analysis of the music and song of the heron dance in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano. The connection between the medieval performing art of the *furyū hayashimono* 風流囃子物 or *furyū hyōshimono* 風流拍子物 and the music of the heron dance is examined in detail. The results are compared with the music and song structure of the related kyogen play *Senjimonno* 煎物.

Finally, the fourth chapter discusses the preservation practices and strategies of Yamaguchi and Tsuwano and touches upon common transmission concepts such as the *miyaza* 宮座 or the *tōya* 頭屋 system of the folk performing arts of Japan. Based on former research, historical sources are correlated to the results of intensive field studies, including interviews with the performers and a documentation of the present transmission practice.

As the survey of former research shows, there has been little discussion of the music and song of the heron dance viewed in a historical context, nor have researchers dealt with the question of degree of the preservation of medieval performance practice seen in the present heron dance of Yamaguchi and Tsuwano.

Taking into account historical sources, music analysis as well as an ethnological approach, this study aims to shine new light on the degree of preservation and further offer insights into the historical and present cultural meaning of the dance. I hope this comprehensive approach will contribute to the field of (historic) folk performing arts and help to draw an even more tangible picture of the heron dance in history and the present.

1.2 The Heron Dance in Yamaguchi

The folk performing art of the “Dance of the Herons” is a dance which is performed every year by two dancers in full-body heron costumes. It is part of the Gion festival, which takes place annually from July 20 to 27 in Yamaguchi city (Yamaguchi prefecture) and in the neighbouring castle town Tsuwano (Shimane prefecture).

In Yamaguchi, the heron dance is called *sagi no mai* 鷺の舞. It is performed once on July 20 and features two heron dancers, who represent a male and female heron. They are joined by two rod wielders, and two drum dancers. They are protected by ceremonial guards: two rod carriers, two spear carriers, one lantern carrier and one man carrying a big decorative umbrella halberd with a pine-tree twig decoration on top. The dance performance is accompanied by three instrumentalists: two flutes and one drum. The total number of performers is fifteen.



Figure 1.1: Heron dance at the Yasaka Shrine in Yamaguchi (July 20, 2016)

1.2.1 Geography and History of Yamaguchi

Geography The prefecture of Yamaguchi is located in the south-western corner of Honshu, largely surrounded by the ocean. Its neighbours are Shimane to the north-east and Hiroshima to the east. Not only is Yamaguchi connected to Kyushu by the Kanmon Bridge and Kanmon Tunnel that underpass the Kanmon Straights, but it is also situated near the Korean peninsula—a strategic location that led to its early development (JIE 1993, “Yamaguchi Prefecture,” p. 1728).

Yamaguchi has the largest limestone tableland in Japan, Akiyoshidai 秋吉台, which also features limestone caverns beneath. Yamaguchi is also famous for its hot springs, such as the Yuda Hot Springs. Other attractions are the Xavier Memorial Church located in the prefecture’s capital Yamaguchi city, which was built in 1952 in remembrance of Saint Francis Xavier (1506–1552), a Roman Catholic missionary who introduced Christianity to Japan among other countries. The church burnt down in 1991 but was rebuilt in 1998.

History Yamaguchi prefecture was formerly divided into the two provinces of Suō 周防 and Nagato 長門 under the rule of the Ōuchi 大内 family, and later became known as Chōshū 長州 in the Edo period under the rule of the Mōri 毛利 family, who replaced the Ōuchi in 1555 (JIE 1993, “Yamaguchi,” p. 1728).

The famous historic castle town Hagi 萩 is located in the northern part of Yamaguchi prefecture. Hagi became a major local center when Mori Terumoto 毛利輝元 (1553–1625) built his castle in the former fishing port in 1604, making it

the capital of the Chōshū domain. More than two hundred years later, it was the birthplace of leaders of the Meiji Restoration (1868) such as Itō Hirobumi (JIE 1993, “Hagi,” p. 485).²

The modern capital of the prefecture is Yamaguchi city (Yamaguchi-shi 山口市)³ which—similarly to Hagi—retains traces of its history as a former castle town. The roots of this city reach back to the middle of the fourteenth century, when the clan of the Ōuchi built Yamaguchi on the model of Kyoto. The Fushino river (Fushinogawa 榎野川), for example, resembles the Kamogawa of Kyoto⁴, while the streets were laid out like those of Kyoto, divided into main streets (*ōji* 大路) and minor streets (*kōji* 小路). The cultural achievements of the Ōuchi (*Ōuchi bunka* 大内文化) are represented by architectural monuments such as the five-storied pagoda of Rurikōji 瑠璃光寺, which was completed in 1442 and is now designated a National Treasure. Therefore, Yamaguchi is often called the “Kyoto of the West” (Nishi no Kyōto 西の京都).

The Ōuchi clan also ceremonially transferred many temples and shrines from Kyoto, such as the Yasaka Shrine (Yasaka jinja 八坂神社). Nowadays, the Yasaka Shrine is situated in Kami-Tatekōji 上壜小路, northwest of Kami-Yamaguchi station in the middle of the old town centre, near the ruins of the Tsukiyama villa (Tsukiyama yakata ato 築山館跡). Some say that the shrine was first built in 1369 in Tatekōji 壜小路; others say that it is not clear where the shrine was first located. In 1459, it was transferred to Kami-uno ryōmizu 上宇野令水 (Yamaguchi-shi Kyōiku linkai 1981, p. 3; *Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, p. 454; Inada, “Yamaguchi no Gion matsuri,” p. 126).

In 1519, the spirit from Ise Grand Shrine was ceremonially transferred to the newly built grand shrine Kōnomine Daijingū 高嶺大神宮 at the foot of the mountain Kōnomine 高嶺 (or 鴻の峰) to the north-west of Yamaguchi city.⁵ In 1864, when the Mōri clan moved its administrative headquarters from Hagi to Yamaguchi, the Yasaka Shrine was finally transferred to its current site (NRCT 1980, vol. 36, “Yasaka jinja,” p. 311; *ibid.* “Tsukiyama yakata ato,” pp. 310–11; Inada, “Yamaguchi no Gion matsuri,” pp. 125–26).

²Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841–1909), born in Hagi, was a preeminent statesman of modern Japan who played a crucial role in building the modern Japanese nation-state. He created Japan’s constitution.

³Yamaguchi city has an estimated population of 195,000 (status as of December 2019, “Jinkō idō tōkei chōsa,” *Yamaguchi prefecture* (online), Jan. 2020).

⁴Some say that the river Ichi no sakagawa 一の坂川 resembles the Kamogawa of Kyoto.

⁵Four deities are enshrined in the Yasaka Shrine: Susano-o, his wife Inada hime, and her parents Tenazuchi and Ashinazuchi. There are usually many different ways to write the names of Shinto deities. Susano-o is written 須佐之男, or 素戔嗚, and his wife is also called Kushi-inada hime 櫛稲田姫. Instead of her parents Tenazuchi 手名槌, and Ashinazuchi 足名槌, the eight children of Susano-o and Inada hime can sometimes be found in the records as being enshrined in Yasaka Shrine, as is also the case with the Yasaka Shrine in Kyoto (Inada, “Yamaguchi no Gionmatsuri,” p. 126).

1.2.2 Performance Practice in Past and Present

The Gion Festival The heron dance is part of the Gion festival in Yamaguchi, which is held every year from July 20 to 27. It has been transmitted in the district of Dōnomae-machi 堂の前町, in the southwest of the old town Yamaguchi, near the station Kami-Yamaguchi. The center of religious faith in this district is a temple called Manpukuji 万福寺, which has a black Jizō bodhisattva (Kurojizō 黒地蔵) as its object of worship.⁶ It is said that the heron dance was introduced to Dōnomae-machi from the Mibu temple in Kyoto, where Jizō is worshipped (Okamura Hideo in: *Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, p. 469).



Figure 1.2: Umbrella halberd (*kasaboko*) in front of the Manpukuji (July 20, 2016)

The props for the heron dance used to be stored in the Yasaka Shrine, and were brought to the temple Manpukuji on the first day of the festival.⁷ Nowadays, they are stored in a storeroom behind Manpukuji (*Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, p. 460).

⁶Jizō (Skt. Kṣitigarbha) is one of the most popular bodhisattvas in Japanese Buddhism, who is usually portrayed as a monk with a jewel in one hand and a staff in the other. He is assumed to have originated in India and worshipped as savior of children, travelers, and those fallen into hell (JIE 1993, “Jizō,” P. 688; Horton, “Review,” pp. 155–59; Moto-Sanchez, “Jizō, Healing Rituals, and Women in Japan,” pp. 310–13).

⁷The entry on the homepage of Yamaguchi, where the heron dance is listed as an Intangible Folk Cultural Property, says the props are transferred on July 15 from Yasaka Shrine to the temple Manpukuji (“Yamaguchi-ken no bunkazai,” *Yamaguchi prefecture* (online), 2020.1.16).

On the day before the main festival, preparations such as the transferral of the four deities into three portable shrines are undertaken. The portable shrines are similar to those of Kyoto’s Gion festival: one is quadrangular, one is hexangular, and one is octagonal. The portable shrines contain sacred objects.



Figure 1.3: Portable shrines at the Yasaka Shrine in Yamaguchi (July 20, 2016)

On the evening of July 20, the first day of the festival, these three portable shrines are transferred in a lively procession (*go-shinkō* 御神幸) down the Rail Station Street (Eki-dōri 駅通り) to the temporary lodging (*otabisho* 御旅所) of the Yasaka Shrine. Before the procession departs, first a dance called *Urayasu no mai* 浦安の舞⁸ is performed by four shrine maidens. After that the heron dance is performed in front of the portable shrines within the Yasaka Shrine precincts.

The procession of the heron dance takes a different route from the portable shrines, but finally catches up with the portable shrines at the temporary lodging, where the *Urayasu no mai* and the heron dance are performed once again.

Apart from the portable shrines, two big decorated floats, named *Shinguruma yama* 真車山 and *Kikusui hoko* 菊水鉾, are pulled through the streets of Yamaguchi. In the 1990s, the musical accompaniment of the floats for the Gion festi-

⁸ *Urayasu no mai* was newly created in 1940 in commemoration of the two thousand six hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the imperial house. It was performed on November 10 throughout the empire of Japan (then including Taiwan and the Korean peninsula). The dance is performed by girls, carrying fans and bell trees (NKD 2001, vol. 2, “Urayasu no mai,” p. 480; “Miko and their Dance,” *Encyclopedia of Shinto* (online)).

val, the *Gion-bayashi* 祇園囃子, was revived with the cooperation of musicians in Kyoto. In addition, two floats were repaired and revived, so that the Gion festival is conducted vividly nowadays (*Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, pp. 481–84).

On July 24, in the middle of the festival week, approximately one thousand participants, residents of Yamaguchi city, perform a dance (*shimin sō odori* 市民総踊り).

On the last day, July 27, the portable shrines and floats are transferred back to the Yasaka Shrine. The *Urayasu no mai* is shown at the temporary lodging.

Present Performance Practice and Interpretation Apart from the two heron dancers, there are two rod wielders, called *shaguma* 赤熊⁹ or *sagi bō tsukai* 鷺棒使い, and two drum dancers called *kanko* 羯鼓¹⁰, performed by children. They are protected by ceremonial guards: two rod carriers (*bōmochi* 棒持), two spear carriers (*hineri mochi* ひねり持), one lantern carrier (*chōchin mochi* 提灯持) and one man carrying a big decorative umbrella halberd with a pine-tree twig decoration on top (*kasaboko* 笠鉾).¹¹

The herons are nowadays widely interpreted as divine messengers that dance in a garden, when two hunters come and try to shoot them. The hunters are represented by the *sagi bō tsukai* and use a symbolic rifle (lit. ‘switch,’ *shimoto* 楯). The two drum-playing boys see that and beat their drum to warn the herons of danger. They intrude on the hunters’ attempt and rescue the herons. Other interpretations include, for example, a protection from epidemics and fire, deriving from the Gion festival, or a prayer for rain (Ema, “Yamaguchi sagimai,” pp. 13–14). Sometimes the white heron is seen as an omen for a good harvest (Kanai, “Sagimai,” p. 423).

The heron dance in Yamaguchi was designated as an Intangible Cultural Property in 1973 by the prefecture and then, due to a revision in regulations, reclassified as an Intangible Folk Cultural Property in 1976.

Music of the Heron Dance The musical accompaniment for the heron dance in Yamaguchi comprises two flutes and one drum. Two flutists each play a transverse bamboo flute with six finger holes (*shinobue* 篠笛) and one percussionist beats a rope-tensioned drum (*taiko* 太鼓). The heron performers flap their wings in a repetitive rhythm. However, the wings are made of Japanese cypress planks and therefore not movable, so they do not make a clapping sound like the ones in Tsuwano. The whole piece is repeated in the same way two and a half times for approximately two minutes at every performance place.

It is not certain whether a song existed for the heron dance in Yamaguchi. Sources show that the musical accompaniment originally included a gong and a *kotsuzumi* drum.

⁹Often also written in hiragana or katakana.

¹⁰Dialect for *kakko*.

¹¹Props of this kind can often be seen at festivals: a halberd is combined with an umbrella, which often carries various decorations.

History of the Gion Festival and Heron Dance The first transmission of the Gion Shrine and its festival is said to have taken place under the rule of Ōuchi Hiroyo 大内弘世 (?–1380), who controlled the western half of the Chūgoku region with its headquarters in Yamaguchi. Whether the heron dance was introduced at this time, however, is not clear (Yatomi 1973, p. 16).

The earliest surviving source recording the Gion festival in Yamaguchi is the *Ōuchi-ke kabegaki* 大内家壁書, a domanical law code enacted by the Ōuchi family between 1459 and 1495. An entry dating 1491 records prohibitions concerning the viewing of the festival during the reign of Ōuchi Masahiro 大内政弘 (1446–1495); no mention is made of the heron dance.

After his stay in Kyoto, Masahiro's son Ōuchi Yoshioki 大内義興 (1477–1528) transferred the Gion shrine from its original site at the upper part of the Ichi no sakagawa to the foot of Mount Kōnomine in Yamaguchi at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Details such as construction of the shrine Kōnomine Daijingū, the schedule and the participating floats are recorded in detail for the Gion festival of the year 1520 in the *Kōnomine Daijingū go-chinza denki* 高嶺太神宮御鎮座伝記 (abbr. *Chinza denki*).

Records on the heron dance first appear after the overthrow of the Ōuchi during the reign of the Mōri family in the late sixteenth century. The oldest record of a heron dance performance in Yamaguchi dates to 1583 and was written by a townsman of Yamaguchi. The source *Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto* 祇園毎年順勤人数之事 lists the people who were in charge of conducting the Gion festival, the materials needed for the floats, as well as the number of persons that were involved in the heron dance performance. It also gives a short entry on the instruments that were used for the heron dance.

In the Edo period (1603–1867), the number of records on the heron dance increases. The *Yamaguchi Gion go-sairei no oboe* 山口祇園御祭礼之覚 of 1699 served as a model for numerous other records on the heron dance, such as the *Gion-e yuraiki* 祇園会由来記 (later than 1872), the *Suō no kuni Yamaguchi Gion-e sagi no ikkan* 周防国山口祇園会鷺之一巻 (1714), which discusses the heron dance in a well organised form, and the *Yamaguchi Gion-e ikkan* 山口祇園会一巻 (probably 1885). In these sources, details such as the date and the places of performance, the number of performers, and the costumes are recorded. Further, it is reported that the heron dance was originally performed by the people of Ōichi, a district in south-east Yamaguchi city. In the Edo period, it shifted to the people in the neighbouring district Dōnomae-machi.

From the middle of the nineteenth century on, the performing practice of the heron dance becomes increasingly similar to the present one, as an entry in the investigative report *Bōchō fūdo chūshin'an* 防長風土注進案 (abbr. *Chūshin'an*) shows. The *Chūshin'an* comprises 395 volumes and was compiled in the 1840s. The entry contains information on the shrine sanctuary and its buildings, the annual Gion festival, and remarks on the heron dance. The performance was conducted on the seventh day of the sixth month as part of the Gion festival and comprised two men with a fuzzy red wig carrying a rod (probably the *sagi bō tsukai*), two young boys in formal dress and headwear who followed the herons beating their waist drums (probably the *kakko mai*), and decorative umbrella halberds. The

performance was accompanied by flute and drums.

A costume box, first made in 1784 and replaced by a new one in 1898, records the names of the *tōya* and gives information about the costumes.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the source *Yamaguchi meishō kyūseki zushi* 山口名勝旧跡図誌 (1893), compiled by a local historian, depicts the origin of the Yasaka Shrine and describes the Gion festival in detail, closely resembling the account in the *Chūshin’an*. A transcription of the above-mentioned records can be found in the compilation of historical sources on the heron dance in Yamaguchi entitled *Sagi no mai*, edited by the Board of Education of Yamaguchi (Yamaguchi-shi Kyōiku Iinkai) in 1981.

On the occasion of a renewal of the costumes of the heron dance at the beginning of the twentieth century, an inventory entitled *Sagimai kiroku* 鷺舞記録 (dated 1924) was drawn up, listing the props, costumes, instruments, and the order of the *tōya*. A reprint and transcription can be found in the compilation of historical sources on Yamaguchi published by the city of Yamaguchi in 2015 (*Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, pp. 462–67). This source shows how the heron dance gradually took on its present form.

In the last twenty to thirty years, the town of Dōnomae-machi has changed considerably. A shift from trade—especially blacksmiths—to a noticeable number of vacant lots, and the increase of high-rise condominiums can be seen (*Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, pp. 456–57). At the same time, the number of inhabitants is decreasing. Hence, the number of participants in the Gion festival and the heron dance has decreased over the last few decades, although recently a resurgent interest can be observed. To protect the transmission of this performing art, a preservation committee was founded in 1973, which numbers about twenty members (*Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, p. 461).

1.3 The Heron Dance in Tsuwano

In Tsuwano, the heron dance is known as *sagimai* 鷺舞. It is performed annually, on July 20 and 27, the first and the last days of the Gion festival procession. On July 20, a sacred object is transferred in a portable shrine from its place of enshrinement to its temporary lodgings for the duration of the festival. The journey back to the shrine is undertaken on July 27. Two heron dance performers dance in circles around each other at certain places in the town. They are accompanied by flutes, drums, gongs and singers. Walking around the dancers, two rod wielders with fuzzy red wigs wave their rods to keep bad spirits away. Behind the herons two drum dancers perform their dance. The whole group is protected by ceremonial guards. The approximate number of performers is thirty.

The Agency of Cultural Affairs first classified the heron dance in Tsuwano as an Intangible Folk Cultural Property in 1973, and then as an Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property in 1994. This recognition has strongly encouraged its preservation. The dance was even chosen to be performed for the emperor’s eightieth birthday in 2014.



Figure 1.4: Heron dance at the Yasaka Shrine in Tsuwano (July 27, 2016)

1.3.1 Geography and History of Tsuwano

Geography Tsuwano 津和野 is an old castle town in Kanoashi county (Kanoashi-gun 鹿足郡), at the western edge of Shimane prefecture in western Honshu, which attracts many tourists with its beautifully preserved Edo townscape. Old samurai residences with white mortar walls adorn the town centre; carps swim in canals on both sides of the main street, called Tonomachi dōri 殿町通り. In early June, numerous irises bloom and give white and purple colour to the scenery. The street is lined with gingko trees which shine bright yellow in autumn.

The former castle town of Tsuwano is located in the district Ushiroda 後田, which is subdivided into several smaller districts, such as the main town centre, called Honmachi 本町, and western, eastern and northern parts.

Tsuwano represents many features of Kyoto in miniature and is therefore often called “Little Kyoto in the shade of the mountains” (*San'in no shō-Kyōto* 山陰の小京都). The name of the town often is associated with a kind of chrysanthemum, the *tsuwabuki*, which is an evergreen perennial herb that blooms with loose clusters of composite yellow flowers from fall to early winter around the region.¹²

Like the Kamogawa in Kyoto, the Tsuwano river (Tsuwanogawa 津和野川) or “Brocade river” (Nishikigawa 錦川) flows through the basin in which the town is

¹² *Tsuwabuki* is written in katakana or different characters, one combination of which is 石 蓆. *Farfugium japonicum*, *Ligularia tussilaginea*; Japanese silverleaf (JIE 1993, “Tsuwabuki,” p. 1636).

located. Tsuwano is surrounded by hills of which the extinct volcano Aonoyama 青野山 is the tallest, more than nine-hundred meters in height. The people of Tsuwano see in this mountain a representation of the famous mountain Hieizan in Kyoto. To the west, on top of the mountain ridge of the two-hundred meter castle mountain (Shiroyama 城山, also Reikisan 靈龜山, 367 m), the old castle ruins overlook the town centre. In autumn, when crimson foliage covers the maple trees, the castle mountain resembles Arashiyama in Kyoto. It is said to be the second highest castle in Japan.

Tsuwano is famous for its townsman Mori Ōgai 森鷗外 (1862–1922), an army surgeon and writer who not only translated many important works such as Goethe's *Faust* but also initiated a shift in Japanese literature towards biographical writing and modernization. His works are still widely read and appreciated. Together with Ōgai, Nishi Amane 西周 (1829–1897) is often named as a representative of Tsuwano. Nishi was an educator and governmental official, but he is probably better known as a philosopher who introduced Western philosophy and culture to Japan.

Nowadays, the Mori Ōgai Memorial Museum (Mori Ōgai Kinenkan 森鷗外記念館), his nearby former residence, as well as the old residence of Nishi Amane commemorate the achievements of both figures. In this way, Tsuwano offers a wide range of alternatives for tourists to enjoy both nature and culture. It can be easily accessed by train. JR Tsuwano station is widely known as the terminus of the SL Yamaguchi.

Over the last 150 years, Tsuwano was consolidated with surrounding smaller municipalities in several steps, leading to a renaming as Tsuwano-chō 津和野町. Nowadays, Tsuwano-chō numbers almost forty municipalities. Most recently the neighbouring Nichihara 日原 was consolidated in 2005. Over the last six decades, Tsuwano-chō has shown a dramatic decrease in population; while it used to be three times the number—more than 21,000 inhabitants, taking Nichihara into account—today only 7,700 inhabitants remain in the whole municipality. Forecasts project a further decline in population to even less than 5,000 inhabitants in 2035.

History The Yoshimi samurai clan probably moved from Noto 能登 (present-day Ishikawa prefecture) to Tsuwano in the thirteenth century, following the order of the Kamakura bakufu that feared a Mongol invasion of Kyushu and the San'in coast from the Sea of Japan. The castle was first built in the thirteenth century and completed in the fourteenth century. Probably by the end of the fourteenth century, the Yoshimi became vassals of the Ōuchi clan of the neighbouring Suō and Nagato provinces. In the sixteenth century, the eleventh head of the family was Yoshimi Masayori 吉見正頼 (1513–1588), who returned from monastery life to secular life in 1540. He married the widow of his brother, Ōuchi Yoshioki's daughter Ōmiyahime 大宮姫. After the Ōuchi were overthrown in 1551, the Yoshimi became vassals of the Mōri clan during the Warring States period (1467–1568).

In 1600, Yoshimi Hironaga 吉見広長 (1582?–1618?) was defeated at the side of Mōri at the Battle of Sekigahara, and was forced to leave Tsuwano castle by Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616). He fled to Hagi, where he died shortly after. The

Yoshimi clan ruled over Tsuwano for fourteen generations, until the Tokugawa finally took over (Kracht 2011, p. 31).

In 1601, Ieyasu designated Sakazaki Naomori 坂崎直盛 (?–1616) the new ruler of Tsuwano in reward for his services. Due to the confusion of the war years, the heron dance was probably lost at this point, and there is no sign that Sakazaki revived it. Before long Sakazaki instigated a rebellious plot and was thus forced to commit suicide (Kuwabara, “Sagimai ni tsuite,” pp. 48–49 et al.).¹³ He is known for his accomplishments—he expanded and reinforced the castle, and constructed much of the stonework that remains on the mountaintop. He also installed moats, and planted mulberry trees for paper production, which Tsuwano is still famous for (Kracht 2011, p. 35).

After that incident, the Kamei 亀井 samurai clan was transferred to the castle town as vassals of the Tokugawa shogun, and ruled over Tsuwano from 1617 to 1871. The culturally informed Kamei Koremasa 亀井茲政 (1617–1681) is said to have given two men the task of reintroducing the heron dance from Kyoto.¹⁴ In the middle of the seventeenth century, a system for sharing the burden of the festival, the *tōya* system (*tōya-sei* 頭屋制), was established (Kuwabara “Sagimai ni tsuite,” pp. 49–51 et al.).

The Kamei resided in the castle until 1871, in the early Meiji period. The castle was dismantled in 1873. Today, only the ruins remain (NRCT 1995, vol. 33, “Tsuwano-jō ato,” p. 786).

1.3.2 Performance Practice in Past and Present

The Gion Festival and Yasaka Shrine The heron dance is performed as part of Tsuwano’s annual Gion festival, which is held annually from July 20 to July 27 as the main festival of the Yasaka Shrine (Yasaka jinja 弥栄神社). The Yasaka Shrine is situated in the south of Tsuwano (Ushiroda district), but seen from Tsuwano castle the shrine is located in the north-eastern direction, on the bank of the Tsuwano river. The shrine was established to protect the castle from evil spirits entering from the north-east (*kimon* 鬼門). There are many legends about the origin and history of the shrine. It is not known for certain when it was built, but it is said that a spirit was ceremonially transferred (*kanjō* 勧請) in 876. Thereafter, the shrine was moved by Yoshimi Hironobu 吉見弘信 in 1428 (or 1437) from Taki no moto 滝の本 (Taikodani 太鼓谷) to its current site, Ōtani no shita no hara 大谷の下の原.

It is said that Yoshimi Masayori ceremonially transferred the spirit of the Kyoto Gion Shrine to the Gion Shrine (Gionsha 祇園社) in Tsuwano in 1528. The shrine building was lost to fire in 1853 and rebuilt in 1859. The shrine was renamed Yasaka Shrine in 1867.

From early on, the Kuwabara 桑原 family served as priests for the Yasaka Shrine; records such as the *Kanemigi kyōki* 兼右卿記 (most of the originals are

¹³The Senhime incident. In order to marry the daughter of Tokugawa Hidetaka, Senhime 千姫, Naomori planned to capture her, but failed.

¹⁴Two dates for this transmission can be found in the sources, namely 1643 and 1668.



Figure 1.5: Portable shrine at Gion festival parade in Tsuwano (July 27, 2016)

held by Tenri Central Library) mention the name Kuwabara as early as 1572. At that time, a priest of the Kuwabara family was initiated by the head of Yoshida Shintō, Yoshida Kanemigi 吉田兼右 (1516–1573). Nowadays, the shrine is managed by a descendant of the Kuwabara family.

In Tsuwano, the Gion festival begins with a procession (*togyo* 渡御) on July 20: the sacred object (*shintai* 神体) is transferred in a portable shrine (*mikoshi* 神輿) from its place of enshrinement in the Yasaka Shrine to the *otabisho* for the duration of the festival. The procession back to the shrine (*kangyo* 還御) is undertaken on July 27, the last day of the festival. The heron dance is performed at the shrine and the *otabisho*, as well as several places in the town. Apart from these performers, there is also a parade, which takes a different route from the heron dancers. The parade includes a portable shrine (*mikoshi junkō* 神輿巡行), a lion dance (*shishimai* 獅子舞), a Shinto deity with a *tengu* mask, men carrying halberds, and other festival elements.

Present Performance Practice and Interpretation The heron dance in Tsuwano shows a more complex structure than the one in Yamaguchi. In the Tsuwano heron dance performance, two dancers, who represent a male and female heron, dance in circles around each other at certain places in the centre of the town. They are accompanied by flutes, drums, gongs and singers. Walking around the dancers, two rod wielders (*bōfuri* 棒振り) with fuzzy red wigs wave their rods



Figure 1.6: Yasaka Shrine in Tsuwano (July 27, 2016)

to keep bad spirits away. Behind the herons two drum dancers (*kakko mai* 羯鼓舞) perform their dance. The whole group is protected by ceremonial guards (*keigo-gata* 警固方).

In the past, researchers have often associated the heron dance with rice planting (*taue* 田植え), *taasobi* 田遊び and *dengaku* 田楽.¹⁵ Therefore, it is sometimes interpreted as a prayer for a bounteous harvest (Orikuchi 1957, pp. 366–67; Yatomi 1973, pp. 1–9). As mentioned earlier, the heron dance is usually seen as representative of the *furyū hayashimono*, or *furyū hyōshimono*, performances that seek protection from illness by driving out evil spirits.¹⁶

Sometimes the heron dance is connected with the story of a heron that was granted a title by Emperor Daigo 醍醐 (885–930) for being obedient to him (*goi sagi* 五位鷺). Katō assumes that the symbolic meaning of the *goi sagi* might

¹⁵According to Honda’s classification, *taue* is a form of actual rice planting that takes place in spring or early summer. It involves musical accompaniment. *Taasobi* is a performing art to pray for a good harvest. It represents farming activity in theatrical form and is conducted usually in the early months of the year. *Dengaku* originally was a ritual performed to pray to the gods of the field for a rich harvest and developed into an art form. It is a vibrant instrumental dance, which, at times, seemingly has no connection with farming (Lancashire 2016, p. 10; “Dengaku,” *The-Noh.com* (online)). Also refer to section 3.2.1 on “Categorization of *Furyū* and *Hayashimono*” on page 154.

¹⁶In Honda’s report *Sagimai shinji*, the heron dance is classified as an animal-costumed *furyū* dance (*dōbutsu kasō furyū* 動物仮装風流) (Honda and Yamaaji 1974, p. 5).



Figure 1.7: *Otabisho* in Tsuwano (July 26, 2016)

have been a reason for the transmission of the heron dance to this day, while the *kasasagiboko* disappeared. According to the legend, Emperor Daigo 醍醐 grants a heron the fifth court rank (*goi* 五位). This is the origin of the term *goi sagi* 五位鷺, which is used for the night heron, or *Nycticorax nycticorax*. Katō interprets the heron as a divine messenger, stressing that the heron dance at the Kyoto Gion festival aimed to send off evil spirits and bad fortune, and thus functioned as a prayer against epidemics (Katō, “Sagimai kō,” pp. 61–66). Kanai interprets the heron as a symbol of purity, or even as a divine messenger. It is for this reason that the heron is often used as a symbol in Shinto ceremonies (Kanai, “Sagimai,” pp. 415–18).

Other researchers interpret the heron dance as a magic practice which was originally conducted by low-ranked scholars of yin and yang (*onmyōji* 陰陽師), who took over the heron as a symbol and omen from China and established it as part of the yin and yang principles of the Heian period. However, when ordinary people adopted this performance, they interpreted it differently from the yin and yang masters and adjusted it to their sphere of life (Issiki, “Nōkō girei ni mieru sagi,” p. 56).

The heron dance is further associated with the Tanabata Festival, which is held on July 7 (or August 7 in some places). The festival originates in a Chinese folk legend concerning two stars: the Weaver Star (Vega, or Orihime in Japanese) and the Cowherd Star (Altair, or Hikoboshi in Japanese). These two stars are said to

be separated from each other by the Milky Way but can meet only once a year, on the seventh night of the seventh lunar month. When it rained on that day, magpies would fly by and spread their wings to build a bridge on which the two lovers could meet. The heron dance is seen as a courtship dance of a male and female heron symbolizing fertility, so the Tanabata story can be easily adapted to the setting. Moreover, the keywords heron, magpie, bridge, and rain can be seen in the song text, as explained below.

Music of the Heron Dance The instrumentation of the musical accompaniment for the heron dance in Tsuwano comprises two flutes, two shoulder drums (*kotsuzumi* 小鼓) played with the hands, two rope-tensioned drums (*shimedaiko* 締太鼓) struck with two wooden sticks, and two gongs (*surigane* 摺り鉦). The flute is a transverse bamboo flute with six finger-holes (*shinobue*). A chorus (*jiutai* 地謡) of about six men accompanies the performance. Additionally, the heron performers clap their wings, which are made of slats of Japanese cypress, in a repetitive rhythm.

History of the Gion Festival and Heron Dance According to the shrine chronicles *Shake Kuwabara yuisho hikae* 桑原社家由緒控 (abbr. *Yuisho hikae*, 1611) held by the Kuwabara family, the heron dance was probably introduced to Tsuwano by Yoshimi Masayori in 1542. The story goes that his mother was especially eager to have the heron dance performed. As a protection from pestilence, Yoshimi adopted the dance from Yamaguchi when he married the daughter of Ōuchi Yoshioki (Kuwabara, “Sagimai ni tsuite,” p. 46 et al.).

The shrine chronicle *Yuishoki* 由緒記 (dated 1847) records that the heron dance was reintroduced from Kyoto to Tsuwano by Kamei Koremasa in 1643 or 1644 after a discontinuation of about thirty years. Since that time, it has been handed down to the present without interruption (Yasaka jinja shamusho, “Sagimai,” p. 22; Katō, “Sagimai kō,” pp. 48–49; Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 15). The source *Gionsha go-sairei no setsu sagimai oboegaki* 祇園社御祭礼之節鷺舞覚書 (abbr. *Sagimai oboegaki*, 1848) dates the reintroduction of the heron dance to 1668.

However, it is important to bear in mind that the heron dance is likely to have disappeared from the Gion festival of Kyoto during the Ōnin War (1467–1477). It was not part of the revival of the Gion festival in 1500. Therefore it is questionable whether the dance was performed in Kyoto at the time of its reintroduction to Tsuwano. Due to a lack of reliable sources, caution must be applied to this story with regard to its historical accuracy.

1.3.3 Other Heron Dances

Yamaji points out that the dance was not only performed in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano, but that it also spread to many other places around Japan (Yamaji, “Tsuwano no sagimai,” pp. 128–29). The source *Kyōgaku shiyōshō* 経覚私要鈔 (1450), a clerical diary written by the priest Kyōgaku 経覚 (1395–1473) of the temple Kōfukuji 興福寺 in Nara, records three heron dance performances including two rod wielders for the years 1450 to 1467. The evidence from these entries

shows that the heron dance was included as a part of a *furyū* parade for the Bon Festival in Nara, and therefore attests to its transmission to regions outside Kyoto at an early stage.¹⁷

A modern example of a heron dance performance—outside of Kyoto, Yamaguchi and Tsuwano—can be found in Kumano 熊野 shrine in Nakoso 勿来, Iwaki city, Fukushima prefecture. The present festival is conducted every year on the first day of August and comprises numerous other performances, for example *dengaku* and *taue*. The heron dance is performed on a stage among other performances that imitate animals and mythological creatures, such as dragons and lions. The festival is intended to pray for a good harvest (Honda and Yamaji 1974, pp. 6, 31–32; “Gohōden Kumano jinja sairei no shisetsu jōhō,” *Itsumo Navi* (online), Sept. 2019).

Another example is the heron dance performance conducted on the fifth of May as part of the Kōnomachi 国府祭 festival of the Hachiman Shrine in the town of Ōiso 大磯, Kanagawa prefecture. The dance is performed by one man on a float in the shape of a boat, among other performances, such as a dragon and a lion dance. Instead of full-body heron costumes like the ones in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano, the performer wears a white summer kimono and a wooden hat in the shape of a heron. Accompanied by drums and flute, he waves a white paper fan in front of his body and above his head. With this dance, people pray for peace, a good harvest, and protection from calamities (Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 32; Kanai, “Sagimai,” pp. 415–18; material gained in field research such as the pamphlet *Sagami no kuni sōsha Rokusho jinja: Kōnomachi o tazuneru* by the volunteer association of Oiso town, Ōiso Gaido Borantia Kyōkai, 2008).

The temple Sensōji 浅草寺 in Asakusa, Tokyo, conducts a heron dance performance called “White Heron Dance” (*Shirasagi no mai* 白鷺の舞) three times a year: on the second Sunday in April, at the Sanja festival (*Sanja matsuri* 三社祭) in May, and on November 3. A group of children are dressed up in full-body heron costumes, wearing blue trousers tied with leg compresses (*tattsuke-bakama* たっつけ袴), a white top and straw sandals. White plumage is attached to their shoulders; they wear a decorative hat that resembles a heron’s neck. This performance was revived in 1968 by the Asakusa Tourist Federation (Asakusa Kankō Renmei 浅草観光連盟), as a part of a commemorative celebration to mark the 100th anniversary of the Meiji Restoration and the 100th year since Edo became Tokyo. The revival was based on a depiction in the picture scroll *Kanbun engi emaki* 寛文縁起絵巻 (late seventeenth century) held by Sensōji (Katō, “Sagimai kō,” p. 69; “Shirasagi-no-Mai (White Heron Dance),” 2019.9.12.).¹⁸ Like the heron dance of the Kōnomachi festival, the Asakusa performance differs significantly from the ones of Yamaguchi and Tsuwano.

¹⁷Refer to section 2.2.3 on “*Kyōgaku shiyōshō*” on page 62.

¹⁸The titles *Sensōji engi* 浅草寺縁起 and *Sensōji Keian engi emaki* 浅草寺慶安縁起絵巻 (1652) can be found as well for the picture scroll (Katō, “Sagimai kō,” p. 69; “Nenjūgyōji: Shirasagi no mai,” *Asakusa Kannon Sensōji* (online)).



Figure 1.8: Heron dance at the Kōnomachi festival in Ōiso (May 5, 2017)

1.4 Review of Former Research

Most academic research on the heron dance in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano was conducted and published in the twentieth century. It is now apparent that this research includes some misinterpretations, and that it overlooks a number of important issues, thus making comprehensive revision necessary. The following is a short survey of important researchers who adopted a primarily folkloristic or ethnological approach, as well as compilations on local history, which have been commissioned and carried out by official bodies of the prefecture or the city.

1.4.1 Former Research on the Yamaguchi Heron Dance

Although most of the research on the heron dance in Yamaguchi has been conducted by local historians, some of the studies were also carried out by leading researchers in the academic world of Japan. One of the earliest articles on the heron dance in Yamaguchi was written by the historian Ema Tsutomu 江馬務 (1884–1979), who laid the foundations for a history of customs in Japan. He is also known for his achievements in the field of folklore, represented by publications on traditional hair styles, the history of clothing, and images of ghosts and monsters (NSD 1992, vol. 1, “Ema Tsutomu,” p. 927; NJD 2001, “Ema Tsutomu,” p. 313). Ema’s article “Yamaguchi sagimai” was published in 1932 and describes its history in connection to the Kyoto Gion festival, as well as its schedule and route.

Although Ema only names the *Chinza denki* as a historical source, his descriptions also show parallels to the *Chūshin'an* and the *Suō no kuni Yamaguchi Gion-e sagi no ikkan*. He further describes the dance movements in detail, stating that it had not changed since old times (Ema, “Yamaguchi sagimai,” p. 13). He also touches upon the heron dance in Tsuwano, giving an overview of its history and song text. Ema stresses the fact that there is no song in Yamaguchi, and probably never has been (Ema, “Yamaguchi sagimai,” pp. 13–14). One major limitation of Ema’s work is that he fails to indicate clearly what historical sources he looked at. Moreover, his statements about the existence of changes in performance practice must be interpreted with caution. Nevertheless, as one of the earliest articles on the topic, Ema’s work provides a well-researched and solid introduction to the heron dance in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano.

Kanai Kiyomitsu 金井清光 (1922–2009) discusses the heron dance of Yamaguchi and Tsuwano in two separate chapters, both entitled “Sagimai” in his monograph *Minzoku geinō to kayō no kenkyū* in 1979.¹⁹ Referring to historical sources, Kanai examines the performance practice and the props of the heron dance in both places in history and the present. He indicates that the heron dance was also shown as a part of the *sagichō* New Year’s bonfire performance. However, the heron dance was discontinued in Kyoto, and only revived recently (Kanai, “Sagimai,” pp. 404–07). As a well-known researcher in the field of Japanese literature as well as a noh and kyogen theatre scholar, he points out that the symbol of the heron can also be found in the noh play *Sagi* 鷺 and in the kyogen play *Senjimonō*. Accordingly, his research will be referred to in the third chapter below when examining the connection between the heron dance song and *Senjimonō*. His findings have been adopted by many other researchers in the field, such as the widely recognized kyogen scholar Ikeda Hiroshi 池田廣司 (1922–1994). Nevertheless, a weakness of his article is the small number of historical sources that he refers to.

In 1981, the Board of Education of Yamaguchi (Yamaguchi Kyōiku Iinkai 山口教育委員会) published a compilation, entitled *Sagi no mai*, of historical sources on the heron dance in Yamaguchi, in cooperation with Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs and the prefecture of Yamaguchi. The volume comprises transcriptions of six relevant historical sources and an extract of a magazine article. The historical sources are the *Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto*, the *Gion-e yuraiki*, the *Suō no kuni Yamaguchi Gion-e sagi no ikkan*, the *Yamaguchi Gion-e ikkan*, the *Bōchō fūdo chūshin'an*, and the *Yamaguchi meishō kyūseki zushi*. The magazine article by Ogawa Gorō 小川五郎 (1902–1969) carries the title “Meibutsu hyōbanki” and was published in *Shumi no Yamaguchi* in 1931. The sources are presented with a comprehensive introduction by Tamura Tetsuo 田村哲夫 (1924–), who has explored the local history of Yamaguchi in various other studies. Tamura gives an overview of the performance practice, the costumes and instruments, and summarizes the most important insights gained from the historical sources, such as the change in the instrumentation, the route and the time schedule of the performance. He also

¹⁹The chapter on the heron dance in Tsuwano carries the full title “Sagimai: Shimane-ken Kanoashi-gun Tsuwano-chō, Yasaka jinja,” whereas the chapter on the heron dance in Yamaguchi has the full title “Sagimai: Yamaguchi-shi, Tatekōji, Yasaka jinja.”

touches on the heron dance in Tsuwano.

On the occasion of the amalgamation of Yamaguchi city with its surrounding towns²⁰ in 2005, the Education Board of Yamaguchi Prefecture (Yamaguchi-ken Kyōiku Iinkai 山口県教育委員会) conducted a survey to gather and preserve data on the intangible folk performing arts found in the enlarged Yamaguchi city area. The chapter “Sagi no mai,” which contains a short introduction and summary of the history referring to relevant historical sources, the performing practice including a dance-step diagram, and the props of the heron dance in Yamaguchi, can be found in their report *Yamaguchi-shi no minzoku geinō* of 2009.

Only a little later, the Editorial Board of the Prefectural History of Yamaguchi (Yamaguchi-ken Shi Hensanshitsu 山口県史編さん室) began to publish a series of forty-one volumes on the history of Yamaguchi prefecture. The series is divided into four parts: six volumes represent an overview of the history (*Tsūshi hen* 通史編), one volume focusses on customs and folklore (*Minzoku hen* 民俗編), thirty-three volumes contain historical sources and materials (*Shiryō, shiryō hen* 史料・資料編), and one special volume serves as a chronological table (*Betsu hen* 別編). The series is not yet complete. For this review of former research, use was made of the 31st volume on medieval history, entitled *Yamaguchi-ken shi: Tsūshi hen: Chūsei* (2012).

To develop the interest and broaden the knowledge of the cultural heritage of its inhabitants even further, from 2008 to 2016 Yamaguchi city compiled a series of eight extensive volumes on its local history under the title *Yamaguchi-shi shi*. Not only do these volumes describe the local history of the city in detail, from ancient times to the present, but they also comprise edited historical sources that are of significant value for the current study. Several sources introduced in the second volume *Shiryōhen Ōuchi bunka* (2010) are considered below.

Another reputable researcher of kyogen, Inada Hideo 稲田秀雄 (1957–), contributed the chapter “Yamaguchi no Gion matsuri” to the volume *Daigakuteki Yamaguchi gaido* (2011) on the heron dance in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano. Based on an evaluation of relevant historical sources, Inada introduces the history and present state of the Gion festival in Yamaguchi, focussing on the heron dance as an important part of it. He further examines its origins in the Gion festival of medieval Kyoto, citing some of the most important sources. After that, Inada gives a short overview of the transmission from Yamaguchi to Tsuwano, comparing the performance practices of both places. He stresses that the heron dance is a typical representative of *furyū* performances that accompanied the floats of the Gion parade, which served as a vehicle to carry evil spirits out of the city to protect the people from pestilence. Finally, he suggest that the heron dance embodies the Tanabata story (Inada, “Yamaguchi no Gion matsuri,” pp. 128–36).

Further, this study reviews the findings of the kyogen actor Yoshimatsu Takatoshi 吉松高敏 (Yamaguchi Sagi school) and the editor of the chapter on the folklore of Yamaguchi, Itō Akira 伊藤彰 (1934–). Their articles concerning the history and present state of the Yamaguchi Gion festival, the heron dance, and the Yasaka Shrine can be found in the first part “Minzoku” of the sixth volume

²⁰The towns of Aiochō 秋穂町, Ajisuchō 阿知須町, Ogōri 小郡, and Tokujichō 徳地町.

Shiryōhen Minzoku, kinsekibun (2015) of the *Yamaguchi-shi shi* series.²¹ The authors introduce relevant research on the Gion festival and its heron dance, and compare the current performance with the descriptions in the sources. Attention is drawn to changes, for example, in the number of performers and the instrumentation. Whereas two *kotsuzumi* drums, a gong, and nine persons carrying decorative umbrella halberds were originally part of the performance, they have disappeared, except for one umbrella halberd carrier. Useful material such as a dance-step diagram is given. Despite providing important insights on the heron dance, more secondary sources could have been incorporated into this study.

Besides the above-mentioned research, material such as pamphlets and a DVD produced by the preservation committee of Yamaguchi in 2013 is available. There are two pamphlets: a short version and a long version, which contains a map of the route of procession, and an introduction to the history and transmission of the heron dance, including an interview with a representative of one of the oldest *tōya* families. The texts found in the materials are written by the recently deceased Okamura Hideo 岡村秀夫, second head of the preservation committee (compare *Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, p. 461).

1.4.2 Former Research on the Tsuwano Heron Dance

One of the first articles on the heron dance in Tsuwano was published by the Yasaka Shrine office in the journal *Minzoku geijutsu*, under the title “Sagimai.” The article dates to 1930 and presents a short introduction to the topic, mainly focussing on the history, the performance practice, the props as well as the transmission of the heron dance. The article also refers to historical sources regarding the heron dance in Yamaguchi.

In the same year, a member of the family of shrine keepers of the Tsuwano Yasaka Shrine and head teacher of the Tsuwano Girl’s High School, Kuwabara Hidetake 桑原秀武 (1898–1945), provided in his article “Sagimai ni tsuite” a detailed introduction to the heron dance: its history, the *tōya* system, decoration and elements of the performance, the song and its meaning. This article is one of several published in the journal *Shimane hyōron* on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of Tokyo’s Meiji Shrine in November 1930, when the heron dance was among the performing arts staged at the shrine. Kuwabara gives interesting insights into pre-war interpretations of the heron dance perhaps forgotten in post-war Tsuwano. It seems likely that he had access to old handwritten sources, some of which have gone missing in the succeeding years.

The connection between the heron dance and the kyogen play *Senjimonno* was first pointed out by the researcher of literature and editor Nakayama Yasumasa 中山泰昌 (1884–1958), whose findings were published in his article “Sagimai no denrai” in the same journal. It seems clear that the heron dance was incorporated into the kyogen play *Senjimonno* in the sixteenth century. Nakayama gives the

²¹The volume is divided into two parts: while the first part “Minzoku” discusses the folk customs of Yamaguchi in the past and present, the second part “Kinsekibun” deals with epigraphs on stone monuments.

complete text of the play, comparing it to the song text of the heron dance in Tsuwano. He shows in his excellent study that the song texts are almost identical.

The heron dance performance at the Meiji Shrine attracted the attention of the famous ethnologist Orikuchi Shinobu 折口信夫 (1887–1953), who records his impressions and thoughts on the heron dance—some rather unique, if hard to verify—in his 1957 monograph on the history of Japanese performing arts, *Nihon geinōshi nōto*. He associates it with *taue*, *taasobi* and *dengaku* (Orikuchi 1957, pp. 366–67).

From the 1960s, several approaches were made to the heron dance in Tsuwano by local historians. Two representative studies are introduced here. Wakamori Tarō 和歌森太郎 (1915–1977), who promoted the development of ethnology and folklore studies as academic subjects, defending a historical approach to them, edited a compilation on folk performing arts in the Western Iwami region, called *Nishi-Iwami no minzoku* (1962). Here, Ishizuka Takatoshi 石塚尊俊 (1919–2014) and Okimoto Tsunekichi 沖本常吉 (1902–1991) contribute one chapter each on the heron dance in Tsuwano. First, Ishizuka gives a short overview of the historical background, lists some of the major historical sources, and introduces the *tōya* system for the transmission of the heron dance. The second half of his chapter is devoted to the performance of the heron dance: the costumes, the arrangement of the parade, the venues of the performance, and the text of the song. He illustrates his findings with a dance-step diagram which is often cited in later research. Ishizuka’s work is notable for its detailed description of the dance and its history. It is a good introduction to the topic, even though some points, such as the quotations of historical sources, need some revision.

Okimoto discusses the *tōya* system in his chapter “Sagimai shinji no tōya-sei” in the same volume. He was probably the best-informed; he collected and copied much valuable material also used by later researchers. The article begins with a short outline of the Gion festival in Tsuwano, and the heron dance and its performers. Okimoto then describes the *tōya* system in detail, giving a comprehensive timetable for the rites and ceremonies of the *tōya* throughout the year. His study presents a sound basic reference, especially with regard to the *tōya* system and its history.

From 1970 to 2005, the town of Tsuwano compiled four volumes on local history under the title *Tsuwano-chō shi*, edited by Okimoto. In his chapter “Gionsha” on the Yasaka Shrine and the heron dance in Tsuwano, Okimoto bases his overview of the history and the transmission of the performance on various historical sources. Okimoto contributed further articles on the heron dance in 1970 and 1989, as discussed below.

Following the lead of these pioneers, in 1968 the Shintō priest and local researcher Katō Takahisa 加藤隆久 (1934–) published the introductory article “Sagimai kō” on the heron dance, mainly on the one in Tsuwano, but also touching upon the one in Yamaguchi. Katō’s article covers the history of the heron dance and its connection to the Kyoto Gion festival, with quotations and interpretation of historical sources and old records. It provides a detailed description of the elements of the performance, with an explanation of the costumes, and of how the dance is done today, illustrated with a dance-step diagram a sketch of the lay-

out of the performers. He concludes that the prosperity and decline of the town has directly affected the performance. Katō describes the transmission system of the *tōya*. Furthermore, he examines the heron as a living bird, even citing an ornithologist in what is quite a unique approach. Finally, he suggests various interpretations for the heron and its embodiment in a performing art. Although not an expert on the heron dance, he nevertheless wrote a well-researched article on the topic.

The series *Tsuwano monogatari* (1968–1976) comprises ten volumes of illustrated booklets, dedicated to a certain—often historic—topic related to Tsuwano. The fifth volume of this series, *Sagimai to Tsuwano odori*, published in 1973, is written by Yatomi Izuō 矢富巖夫 (1929–) and mainly deals with the heron dance, although it also touches upon Tsuwano’s *bon odori* 盆踊り. The booklet is divided into six chapters that give an introduction to the topic, including a discussion of the historical background, the elements of the performance, and the children’s heron dance (*kosagi odori* 子鷺踊り). Yatomi’s work is probably most widely known because anyone who visits Tsuwano will find his booklet on sale throughout the city. Representing a comprehensive digest of previous research, his volume is a good introduction to the topic. However, it is marred by some misconceptions and methodical weaknesses, such as insufficient references and misquotation of the historical sources, so that some aspects of his findings need to be revised.

Probably the most reliable research has been conducted by the ethnologist Yamaji Kōzō 山路興造 (1940–), who studied at Waseda University and soon became a student of the famous ethnologist Honda Yasuji 本田安治 (1906–2001), who is widely known for his thoughts on Japanese festivals and their categorization. Under Honda’s supervision, Yamaji wrote his first report on the heron dance, *Sagimai shinji*, in 1974. This was followed by the article “Tsuwano no sagimai (Shimane)” in 1988, and, more recently, by a monograph on the folk culture of Kyoto (*Kyōto: Geinō to minzoku no bunka-shi*, 2009). Although much time has passed since his first encounter with the heron dance, Yamaji still visits Tsuwano frequently, conducting research on the history of this performing art. In September 2016, he gave a presentation in Tsuwano.

The report *Sagimai shinji* comprises four chapters which report on the history and present performance of the heron dance in Tsuwano, Yamaguchi, and Kyoto. Honda and Yamaji make extensive use of historical sources to uncover the history and the transmission of the heron dance. Moreover, the present performance practice of the heron dance in Tsuwano is described, providing illustrations and photographs as well as a transcription of the song in Tsuwano by the musicologist Higuchi Akira 樋口昭 (1938–), whose research is discussed below. Honda and Yamaji point out that the present performance is likely to represent how the heron dance used to be performed in the Muromachi period (Honda and Yamaji 1974, pp. 5–6). The heron dance in Yamaguchi is introduced briefly, focussing on the participants, the location, the *tōya* system and the costumes. Honda and Yamaji provide a dance-step diagram (Honda and Yamaji 1974, pp. 26–30). Honda and Yamaji’s work is a sound introduction, well researched and offering new perspectives to the topic. However, the historical part appears to fall a bit short, and the music could have been discussed in more detail. Nevertheless, it is one of the most

reliable studies of the topic.

Following the above-mentioned report, Yamaji contributes another short article on the heron dance in Tsuwano in 1988, with the title “Tsuwano no sagimai (Shimane).” Based on historical sources, he introduces the origins of the performance in Kyoto, highlighting that it was originally conducted by outcasts, so-called *shōmonji* 声聞師 of Kitabatake 北畠, who carried decorative umbrella halberds. The *shōmonji* also performed the heron dance for the New Year’s bonfire performance for purification (*sagichō* 左義長) held in the middle of the first month of the year (*koshōgatsu* 小正月) (Yamaji, “Tsuwano no sagimai,” pp. 128–30).

Isshiki Hideki 一色英樹 published the article “Nōkō girei ni mieru sagi” in 1981, where he explores agricultural rites that make use of the heron motif. He examines the history of the Gion festival and the heron dance as a part of it, connects the song of the present heron dance in Tsuwano to the kyogen plays *Kujizainin* 鬮罪人 and *Senjimonō*, and discusses the heron as a symbol of fertility.

In 1988, the Tsuwano town magazine *Kōhō Tsuwano* published the article “Sagimai to kosagi odori” by the local historian Yamaoka Kōji 山岡浩二 on the heron dance in Tsuwano. Along with an overview of basic information on performance practice, Yamaoka describes the origin of the Yasaka Shrine, the heron dance and the evolution of the *tōya* system. Comparing it with what Ishizuka recorded in the 1960s, he further gives an updated outline of the chronological course of the festival program. He quotes a schematic illustration of the dance movements, first given in the article by Ishizuka in 1962. Finally, Yamaoka introduces the children’s heron dance, *kosagi odori*.

Focussing on Japan’s cultural heritage and compiled under the supervision of the Agency for Cultural Affairs, the monthly magazine *Gekkan bunkazai* gives a short overview of the place, date, performers, costumes, dance movements, song text and historical background of the heron dance in Tsuwano in its article “Tsuwano Yasaka jinja no sagimai” of 1994. The anonymous author stresses that Tsuwano hands down the old, traditional form of the dance. The article mentions the connection to the kyogen piece *Senjimonō*, as well as the entry on a heron dance performance in Kyoto in 1438 seen in one of the earliest historical sources, the *Kanmon nikki*. The author concludes that the heron dance of Tsuwano transmits the old performing art of *furyū* of the Gion festival in Kyoto well and is therefore a particularly valuable tradition.

The pamphlet *Sagimai* was issued in 2003 by the preservation committee of the heron dance in Tsuwano (*Tsuwano sagimai hozonkai* 津和野鷺舞保存会) and comprises basic information on the dance, a short introduction on the history, characteristics, and transmission, as well as an illustrated map of the procession. The pamphlet carries colour photographs and illustrations such as a dance-step diagram. Interestingly, a photograph of the heron dance of the year 1917 or 1918 is reprinted on the pamphlet cover. This photograph shows that the umbrella halberds were still carried in the procession at that time (Tsuwano Sagimai Hozonkai 2003, p. 12). Nowadays, they are displayed in front of the community center.

This survey of former research has touched upon its strengths as well as points requiring revision. Accordingly, the following chapter seeks to remedy problems concerning the interpretation of historical sources by dealing with them in detail.

Based on these findings, the origins of the heron dance of Kyoto and its transmission to Yamaguchi and Tsuwano are discussed.

Chapter 2

The Heron Dance in Historical Sources

This chapter examines the historical sources regarding the heron dance of Kyoto, Yamaguchi, and Tsuwano. Most academic research concerning the transmission of the performance from Kyoto via Yamaguchi to Tsuwano was conducted in the last century. It is now apparent that significant new evidence as well as some previous misinterpretations make a comprehensive revision of the historical sources necessary. Based on former research, this study therefore introduces, translates and interprets historical sources regarding the heron dance, such as diaries, shrine chronicles, official annals, textbooks, guide books, law codes and investigative reports. They come in different format types, such as manuscripts, hand scrolls, hanging scrolls, folding screens, maps and drawings.

2.1 The Origins of the Heron Dance in Kyoto

The heron dance originates in the Gion festival of medieval Kyoto, and was transmitted via Yamaguchi in southwest Honshu to neighbouring Tsuwano. The beginnings of the Gion festival date to the ninth century, or early Heian period (794–1185), when it was celebrated to placate evil spirits that were believed to bring pestilence to the people. It was originally financed by and carried out on the will of the court and aristocracy in Kyoto, who feared the revenge of disgraced persons who had met unnatural ends.

In the Muromachi period, the festival was usually conducted from the seventh to the fourteenth day of the sixth month, comprising portable shrines, colourfully decorated floats, and various performances accompanied by dance and music. These performances sought to encourage the movement of the large, heavy objects of the float parade. The heron dance is a typical representative of a *furyū hayashimono* 風流囃子物 (also *furyū hyōshimono* 風流拍子物) that accompanied medieval festival parades, competing in extravagance combining elaborate costumes, colourful dances, and music and song. The essential function of these *furyū hayashimono* was to placate and send off gods of pestilence or vengeful spirits.

The heron dance was performed by outcasts, so-called *shōmonji* 声聞師¹ under the patronage of the weaver guild (*ōtoneri za* 大舍人座), a group of lower-ranked bureaucrats who also formed a guild for manufacturing twilled fabrics.² The heron dance centered around two decorative umbrella halberds, called *ōtoneriboko* 大舍人鉞 and *kasasagiboko* 笠鷺鉞.

The first record of the *kasasagiboko* dates to 1365, and can be found in the diary *Moromoriki* 師守記, which notes its absence in the parade for that year. Following this entry, other diaries, such as the *Kanmon nikki* 看聞日記, record a heron dance performance and the presentation of the *ōtoneriboko* and the *kasasagiboko* for the years 1436 to 1438. The first mention of the “heron dance” (*sagimai* 鷺舞) can be seen in the diary *Kennaiki* (also read *Kendaiki*) 建内記, dating to 1443. Other sources, such as the textbook *Sekiso ōrai* 尺素往来, record that the *kasasagiboko* is connected to the *ōtoneri*. The only extant historical illustrations of a heron dance and its decorative umbrella halberds can be seen on the *Tsukinami saireizu (mohon)* 月次祭礼図 (模本), which was probably created in the middle of the fifteenth century, and the *Keiraku tsukinami fūzokuzu senmen nagashi* 京洛月次風俗図扇面流, which gives a detailed depiction of the performance in the first month in the front garden of the imperial palace. This screen probably dates to the middle of the sixteenth century. Due to the Ōnin War (1467–1477), the Gion festival was discontinued for thirty-three years. However, sources imply that the heron dance was not brought back to life when the festival was revived in 1500.

While the earliest reliable source mentioning a heron dance performance in Yamaguchi dates from 1583, it might have been part of the Gion festival, which was already conducted at the end of the fifteenth century. It is said that the heron dance was introduced from Yamaguchi to Tsuwano in 1542 as a protection from pestilence. Due to political changes in Tsuwano, the heron dance was discontinued for some thirty years, probably in the early seventeenth century. It was revived in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

Nowadays, the Gion festival takes place annually from July 1 to 31 in the area around the Yasaka Shrine in Kyoto. Although many different ceremonies are held during July, the highlights are parades on July 17 and 24, when elaborate floats are pulled by festival participants through the city district. Most of the thirty-three floats are decorated with tapestries and life-size figures of historical personages. The heron dance was reintroduced from Tsuwano to Kyoto in 1956 and is nowadays performed irregularly.

¹A discriminatory term with a number of variants in orthography and pronunciation (e.g. *shōmoji* or *shōmonshi* and the characters 唱聞師 and 唱門師).

²The *ōtoneri* were imperial attendants who stayed at the court overnight and handled routine chores at festivals (NKD 2001, vol. 2, “Ōtoneri,” p. 958; KD 1980, vol. 2, “Ōtoneri za,” pp. 651–52).



Figure 2.1: Heron dancers at the Gion festival in Kyoto (July 16, 2013)

2.1.1 Sources from the Heian Period

The beginnings of the Gion festival (*Gion goryō-e* 祇園御霊会)³ date back to the ninth century, the early Heian period (794–1185), when it was celebrated to placate evil spirits that were believed to bring pestilence to the people. It was originally financed by and carried out on the will of the court and aristocracy in Kyoto (then Heian-kyō 平安京), who feared revenge by the “departed spirits” (*goryō* 御霊) of disgraced persons who had met unnatural ends.

The Gion festival is based on the Gion cult, which is rooted in the belief that disease, specifically epidemics, are caused by pestilent spirits (*ekijin* 疫神) with conflicting natures who not only brought harm but also prevented people from contracting disease.⁴ The deity honoured at the Gion festival is Gavagrīva (Gozu Tennō 牛頭天王), a god of good health and the guardian deity of the Jetavana monastery (Gion Shōja 祇園精舎) in India (JIE 1993, “Gion Festival,” p. 456). The festival is sponsored by the shrine Gionsha 祇園社, otherwise known as Yasaka jinja 八坂神社,⁵ which was established in the Jōgan 貞観 era (859–877). The shrine is located at the foot of the “Eastern Hills” (Higashiyama 東山) of Kyoto.

Nihon sandai jitsuroku (858–887)

While it is generally stated that the Gion festival first took place in 869, the oldest surviving record concerning the beginning of the festival dates to 863 and can be found in *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* (abbr. *Sandai jitsuroku*) 日本三代実録 (Veritable Records of Three Reigns of Japan). *Sandai jitsuroku* is the last in the series of the *Rikkokushi* 六国史 (Six National Histories).⁶ It was begun at the command of Emperor Uda 宇多 (867–931) in 892 and completed under Emperor Daigo 醍醐 (885–930) in 901, covering the period from 858 to 887 in fifty volumes that have all survived.⁷ It provides copious citation from official documents and detailed accounts of court ceremonies and folk festivals, such as the Gion festival. Natural

³A precursor of the Gion cult can be found in the ancient Chinese belief that the political activities of a ruler had cosmic consequences, such as disease and other calamities. Hence, these disasters were interpreted as a barometer of political injustices. In order to repel diseases, malevolent spirits of the dead were placated and exorcized from the community by means of “departed spirit rituals” (*goryō-e* 御霊会) (McMullin, “On Placating the Gods,” pp. 272–73).

⁴Due to the increasing number of peasants who abandoned their land in hopes of finding better living conditions in Kyoto, the population of the city grew rapidly. Simultaneously, epidemics broke out, caused by poor hygiene and famine. The floods that often affected the city were another source of pestilence.

⁵The name was changed to Yasaka jinja in 1868 during the Meiji Restoration.

⁶*Rikkokushi* is a general term for the *Nihon shoki*, *Shoku nihongi*, *Nihon kōki*, *Shoku Nihon kōki*, *Nihon Montoku Tennō jitsuroku*, and *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*, which cover the mythology and history of Japan from the earliest times to 887. The histories were compiled between the seventh and tenth centuries under imperial edict by ministers of state and scholars (such as Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903), whose name was removed from it after he was exiled) (JIE 1993, “Rikkokushi,” p. 1266; Hurst, “Review of The Six National Histories,” p. 1266).

⁷This covers the reigns of the emperors Seiwa 清和 (r. 858–876), Yōzei 陽成 (r. 876–884), and Kōkō 光孝 (r. 884–887), from 858, the year of Seiwa’s accession, to 887, the year of Kōkō’s death (JIE 1993, “Rikkokushi,” p. 1266).

phenomena, such as earthquakes, are carefully noted. While it is generally judged to be a mature and trustworthy compilation, Brownlee points out that it can be criticized by modern standards for its concentration on the emperor and the court and for the absence of any discussion of historical causes (Brownlee 1997, p. 81; JIE 1993, “Rikkokushi,” p. 1266).

At the time when the Gion festival was first carried out, members of the Fujiwara family dominated the court, controlling the imperial line as regents. The following entry records how the regent Fujiwara Mototsune 藤原基経 (836–891) and Fujiwara Tsuneyuki 藤原常行 (836–875) first performed the “departed souls festival” on the twentieth day of the fifth month of 863 at the behest of the emperor, in order to placate the malevolent spirits of six deceased persons that were believed to cause pestilence. The festival took place in the emperor’s garden Shinsen’en, which was dominated by a pond. The Buddhist monk Etatsu 慧達 (796–878) presided over the festival and recited sutras. Apart from making various offerings, music and dance were performed. For a reprint of the original source, refer to A.1.1 on page 283 in the first appendix.⁸

⁸An annotated version is available in vol. 4 of *Nihon dentō ongaku shiryō shūsei*, published by Kyōto Shiritsu Geijutsu Daigaku Nihon Dentō Ongaku Kenkyū Sentā in 2004, p. 57. Also see *Kokushi taikai*, vol. 4. Eds. Kuroita Katsumi and Kokushi Taikai Henshūkai, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1966, pp. 112–13.

Transcription

Hatsuka mizunoe uma. Shinsen'en ni oite goryō-e o shusu. Choku shite, Sakon'e no chūjō jushi-i no ge Fujiwara no Ason Mototsune, Ukon'e no Gonchūjō jushi-i no ge ken gyō kura no kami Fujiwara no Ason Tsuneyuki ra o yarite, e no koto o kanzeshimu. Ōkōkeishi, omomuki tsudoite tomo ni miru. Ryōza mutsu no mae ni kien o mōke hodokoshi, kaka o mori narabete kugyō kunju su. Risshi Etatsu o hikite kōji to nashi, "Konkōmyō kyō" ichibu, "Hannya Shingyō" rokukan o enzetsu seshimu. Utaryō no reijin ni meijite gaku o nasashime, Mikado no kinji no warawa oyobi ryōka no chigo o motte maibito to nasu. Daitō, Koma, komogomo idete mau. Zatsugi, sangaku, kisoite sono nō o tsukusu. Kono hi, senji arite, en no shimon o hiraki, toyū no hito no shutsunyū shōkan o yurusu.

Translation

Twentieth day of the fifth month, nineteenth of the sexagenary cycle. In Shinsen'en [Imperial garden] the festival of departed souls is held. At the behest of the emperor, Fujiwara Mototsune, Middle Captain of the Left Division of Inner Palace Guards, junior fourth rank, lower grade, and Fujiwara Tsuneyuki, Middle Captain of the Right Division of Inner Palace Guards, junior fourth rank, lower grade, [serving in the] additional [post as] Head of the Bureau of Palace Storehouses conduct the ritual. The court nobles gather to see [the festival] together. In front of six deceased souls, tables and a straw mat are laid out, onto which fruits and flowers are arranged and respectfully offered with incense. The monk Etatsu holds the rite and reads sutras, the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra* (Golden Light Sutra) once and six scrolls of the *Prajñāpāramitā Hṛdaya Sūtra* (Heart of Perfect Wisdom Sutra). Musicians of the Bureau of Music are ordered to perform music and dance. Children of noblemen related to the emperor and children from good families perform dances. Chinese and Korean dances are performed in turn. There is competition in showing performances such as acrobatics and *sangaku*.⁹ On behalf of the emperor, the four gates of the garden are opened on this day and the entrance of people is allowed.

⁹*Sangaku* had reached Japan from China by the eighth century. Its repertory comprised various types of performances, such as acrobatics, juggling, conjuring, and pantomime (JIE 1993, "Sarugaku," p. 1318; "Roots (Origin)," *Invitation to Nohgaku* (online), 2018.

Iwayuru goryō to wa, Sudō Tennō [Sawara Shinnō], Iyo no Miko, Fujiwara no Bunin [Iyo Shinnō no seibo Yoshiko], oyobi kansatsushi [Fujiwara no Hirotsugu], Tachibana no Hayanari, Fun'ya no Miyatamaro ra kore nari. Narabi ni koto ni zashite tsumiserare, enkon oni to naru. Kindai irai, eyami shikiri ni okorite, shibō suru mono hanahada ōshi. Tenka omoeraku, kono wazawai wa goryō no shōzuru tokoro nari to. Keiki yori hajimete koko ni gekoku ni oyobu. Katen shūsetsu ni itaru goto ni, goryō-e o shusu. Ōō ni shite tatazu. Aruiwa hotoke o raishi kyō o toki, aruiwa utai katsu mau. Dōkan no ko o shite seishō, chisha shi, ryoryoku no shi o shite tanseki, sumai seshimu. Kisha gei o arawashi, sōba kachi o arasou. Shōyū mangi, tagai ni aihokorite kisou. Atsumarite miru mono, ten'etsu sezarunaku, kaji injun shite yōyaku fūzoku o nasu. Kotoshi haru no hajime, shiwabuki, eyami to narite, hyakusei ōku taoru. Chōtei tame ni inori, kore ni itarite sunawachi kono e o shusu. Mote shukutō ni mukuyuru nari.

The so-called “departed spirits” belong to the following persons: Emperor Sudō [Sawara Shinnō], Iyo no Miko, Fujiwara no Bunin [his mother Yoshiko] and the Inspector General [Fujiwara no Hirotsugu], Tachibana no Hayanari and Fun'ya no Miyatamaro. They were wrongly sentenced, and their souls turned into evil spirits. Recently, many pestilences have occurred, and many people have died. It is thought that these pestilences are caused by malevolent spirits. It spread from Kyoto to other regions. In summer and autumn, we hold a departed spirit festival each year without interruption. Also, the Buddhas are praised and sutras are read, and songs are sung and dances are shown. Eunuch boys with beautiful make-up shot arrows with a bow from horseback, [and] wrestling matches of physically strong men with naked upper bodies [were held]. Archery on horseback was shown, and a horse race [was held]. Actors competed in merry-making, boasting of themselves against each other. The people who gathered to watch had to crowd together. Gradually, people from near and far became attached to it, so that it became a tradition. At the beginning of spring this year, many died of cough and pestilence. The court conducted this ceremony to pray for them. And so the prayers were answered.

The entry above shows that the beginnings of the Gion festival derive from the belief of harmful spirits who bring pestilence to the people. To soothe these spirits, sutras were read, music and dance was performed, and competitions were held on the order of the emperor.

***Gion-sha hon'enroku* (19th c.?)**

In addition to the above-mentioned source, several other sources are commonly quoted concerning the origin of the Gion festival. Probably that most commonly quoted is *Gion-sha hon'enroku* 祇園社本縁録, which gives the year 869 as the date

of the first performance of the Gion festival. The original source of this record has been lost, but a quotation of it can be found under the heading *Gion-e chōshi no koto* 祇園会張弛の事 in the first volume of *Yasaka shi*, compiled by Yasaka Shrine in 1906, pp. 111–42. This source is usually quoted as the basic source recounting Yasaka Shrine’s history and is widely relied on by encyclopedias. Researchers such as Katō introduce this account in their work on the heron dance (Katō, “Sagimai kō,” p. 43). For a reprint of the original source, refer to A.1.2 on page 284 in the first appendix.¹⁰

Gion-sha hon'enroku (19th c.?)

Transcription

Seiwa Tennō no Jōgan jūichi nen ekibyō tenka ni ryūkō shi, Urabe no Hiramaro mikotonori o uke, naka ni jōbakari no hoko rokujūroku hon o tate, rokugatsu nanoka goryō-e o okonau. Kore Gion onkoshi mukae no kōshi nari. Dō jūyokka rakuchū no danji to kōgai no hyakushō to o hikiite shin'yo o Shinsen'en ni okuri, sairei o okonau. Kore Gion goryō-e no ranshō nari.

Translation

In the eleventh year of Jōgan [869] of Emperor Seiwa, an epidemic broke out in the country. On behest of the emperor, the minister of rites Urabe no Hiramaro erected sixty-six halberds on the seventh day of the sixth month, to conduct a festival for the deceased souls. This was the beginning of the of the Gion portable shrine festival. On the fourteenth day of the same month, men of Kyoto and peasants from the suburbs carried the portable shrines to the Shinsen'en, and held a festival. This was this beginning of the Gion departed soul festival.

However, various researchers have questioned the reliability of this source. Most notably, the historian Kubota Osamu 久保田収 (1910–1976), who promoted research in the field of Shinto history, explored the sources on the history of the Gion festival in his monograph on the Yasaka Shrine in Kyoto, *Yasaka jinja no kenkyū* (1974). In this study, he reconstructs how the common assumption of the origin of the Gion festival evolved. He identifies four records and related interpretations that are usually cited regarding the beginning of the Gion festival. He points out that it is not clear when the original record was written—indeed, it even may only have been in 1865—so it cannot be counted as a reliable primary source (Kubota 1990, pp. 59–66).

Nenjū gyōji emaki (12th c.)

The first pictorial depiction of the Gion festival dates to the twelfth century, or the late Heian period, and can be seen in the *Nenjū gyōji emaki* 年中行事絵

¹⁰ *Gion-sha hon'enroku*. Alternative title: *Gion-e chōshi no koto*. In *Yasaka shi (kan)*, vol. 10. Ed. Yasaka Jinja, Kyoto: Yasaka Jinja, 1906, pp. 111–13.

卷 (Picture Scrolls of Annual Festivals and Ceremonies). The picture scroll is attributed to Tokiwa Mitsunaga 常盤光長 (?–?) and originally comprised sixty scrolls which mainly portray important annual ceremonies conducted at the court, and occasionally festivals of the commoners. It was commissioned by Emperor Go-Shirakawa 後白河 (1127–1192). Although the original was lost to fire in 1661, sixteen scrolls remained which were copied on imperial order by Sumiyoshi Jokei 住吉如慶 (1599–1670) and his son Gukei 具慶 (1631–1705).¹¹ The depiction of the Gion festival includes halberds, parasols, and lion dances (*shishimai*). The heron dance is not yet part of the procession (JE 2002, “Nenjū gyōji emaki,” p. 702; Kim 1994, pp. 28–31; KD 1990, vol. 11, “Nenjū gyōji emaki,” p. 333).

2.1.2 Sources from the Kamakura Period

In the Kamakura period (1185–1333), political power shifted from the emperor and the Fujiwara regents to the warrior class, who had established their power in the provinces and served the noble houses, gaining influence at the court.

Among these warriors, the family branch deriving from Emperor Seiwa 清和, the Minamoto 源, and the family branch of the Taira 平 who descended from Emperor Kanmu 桓武, were most dominant. The two families had been old rivals who eventually fought each other for predominance in the Genpei War (*Genpei gassen* 源平合戦, 1180–1185). The Minamoto thoroughly defeated the Taira at the final sea battle at Dannoura in western Honshu, and thereafter built a military government (*bakufu* 幕府) in 1192 in Kamakura under the leadership of shogun Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147–1199). The primacy of an independent warrior class over the emperor and court nobles lasted until the Meiji Restoration of 1868 (JIE 1993, “Kamakura period,” pp. 720–24; BA (online) “Japan,” 2019.9.6).

Azuma kagami (1180–1266)

Azuma kagami 吾妻鏡 (Mirror of Eastern Japan) is a historical account of the Kamakura shogunate in fifty-two scrolls, covering eighty-six years from 1180 to 1266. Its authorship is generally attributed to unnamed shogunate scribes and archivists. It was compiled between 1266 and 1301, while its content is based on a variety of contemporary materials. The work was intended to be an official history in the manner of the official histories of the imperial court, but due to its heavy reliance on non-shogunate documents and materials, the work is generally classified as a semi-official history. It is a chronicle in mixed Chinese and Japanese style recording events of military society, and represents a valuable source of information regarding the political history of the Kamakura period (Brownlee 1983, p. 7; Keene 2003, p. 143; Shinoda 1960, p. 8; JIE 1993, “Azuma kagami,” p. 91).¹²

¹¹Sumiyoshi Jokei was a Tosa family artist who split from that lineage on imperial decree and took the surname Sumiyoshi in 1662. He went on to establish a painting school of the same name in the capital of Edo. He painted for the shogunate and elite daimyo retainers (Graham 2007, p. 139; “Sumiyoshi Jokei,” *The British Museum* (online), 2019).

¹²An annotated typographical reprint is available in *Kokushi taikēi*, vol. 33, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1965. *Azuma kagami* has been partly translated by Minoru Shinoda in *The Founding*

The following entry is often cited in former research regarding the heron dance. Two preceding entries of the fifth and sixth day of the sixth month record a gathering of white herons on the roof of the bakufu residence, which is discussed by seven yin-yang diviners who are invited to the residence the day after. They decide that it is not necessary for the shogun to leave his residence (Ikeda, “Azuma kagami’ no dōbutsu kai to dōran yochō,” pp. 202 (5), 187 (20)). The entry of the seventh day records a heron rite which was conducted by the yin-yang diviner Harukata, probably to avert any imminent misfortune. Details of the ritual, however, are not recorded. For a reprint of the original source, refer to A.1.3 on page 284 in the first appendix.¹³

***Azuma kagami*, Kangi 寛喜 2 (1230), 6th month, 7th day**

Transcription	Translation
<p><i>Nanuka hinoto-u. Kon’ya, sagi no matsuri o okonawaru. Harukata kore o hōshi su.</i></p>	<p>Seventh day, fourth of the sexagenary cycle. This night, a heron festival is held. [The yin-yang diviner] Harukata performs it.</p>

Ikeda examines entries on mysterious happenings caused by or related to animals, especially butterflies and herons, in *Azuma kagami*. His analysis shows that four entries record the appearance of white and grey herons, which in all cases is interpreted by yin-yang diviners as an ill omen. The above-mentioned entry is taken as an omen of the famine that occurred in the following year (Ikeda, “Azuma kagami’ no dōbutsu kai to dōran yochō,” pp. 190 (17), 185 (20)).

This entry is quoted by Ishizuka, who misquotes “*sagi matsuri*” 鷺祭 as “*sagimai*” 鷺舞, which is then again mistakenly cited by Yatomi (Ishizuka, “Sagimai,” p. 294; Yatomi 1973, p. 11). On the other hand, Katō cites the *Azuma kagami* correctly, but reads a heron dance performance into the entry, an interpretation that needs to be viewed with caution (Katō, “Sagimai kō,” p. 43). Yamaji correctly quotes this entry and points out that the date is of some interest: sixth month, seventh day—namely the day when the Gion festival is usually held (Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 10). While the coincidence with the date of the Gion festival is certainly interesting, it does not appear likely that this is connected to the heron dance.

of the Kamakura Shogunate 1180–1185 (1960).

¹³*Azuma kagami*. In *Kokushi taikai*, vol. 33. Ed. Kuroita Katsumi and Kokushi Taikei Henshūkai, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1965, p. 96.

2.2 The Heron Dance and the Gion Festival in the Muromachi Period

2.2.1 The Muromachi Bakufu and its Culture

After the death of Minamoto no Yoritomo in 1199, his wife Hōjō Masako 北条政子 (1157–1225) gradually became involved in shogunate politics. She remained powerful until her death, but due to their low social rank, the leaders of her family could not aspire to become shogun themselves. Instead, they held the position of regent for the shogun until 1333.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, the rise of the Mongols led to the predominance of Kublai Khan (1215–1294) in China. Kublai first launched a Mongol invasion of Japan in 1274 to force an acknowledgement of his suzerainty, but his fleet was destroyed by a storm. For the second invasion in 1281, Kublai dispatched an even greater invasion force, but again a fierce storm destroyed his fleet. The immense warfare expenses entailed in defeating the Mongol invasion undermined the stability of the Kamakura bakufu. In addition to many other problems, the lack of reward land in the aftermath of the Mongol invasion led to growing dissatisfaction among the warriors, which in turn nurtured further uprisings.

In 1321, Emperor Godaigo 後醍醐 (1288–1339) planned to overthrow the weakened shogunate in order to reinstall an imperial government. Even though he did not succeed in doing so, the rebellion spread quickly and put an end to the Hōjō regency in 1333.

Takauji Although a vassal of Emperor Godaigo, Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305–1358) turned against his leader when Godaigo denied him the title of *seii tai shōgun* 征夷大將軍.¹⁴ The conflict eventually led to war, which was won by Takauji in 1336. He then founded the second military government in Kyoto, later called the Muromachi bakufu, named after the district where the Ashikaga residence and administrative headquarters were located from 1378 on.

Meanwhile, the imperial house at Kyoto split into two rival lines which constantly competed for the throne between 1336 and 1392. When Godaigo became emperor, he resolved to keep the succession in his own line and restore direct imperial rule. After a failed coup d'état against the shogunate in 1331, Godaigo established his own court in the Yoshino Mountains to the south of Nara in 1336, rivaling the Northern Court in Kyoto, which was held by the senior branch of the imperial house and supported by Takauji (JIE 1993, “Northern and Southern Courts,” p. 1115; Encyclopedia Britannica online, “Go-Daigo”).

In 1338, Takauji was finally appointed *seii tai shōgun* of the Northern Court by Emperor Kōmyō 光明 (1321–1380), whom Takauji had previously enthroned when the emperor was still a child. The two courts were reconciled in 1392, when a settlement was arranged by the third shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満

¹⁴Often translated as “barbarian-subduing generalissimo;” compare Hall, “The Muromachi Bakufu,” p. 184.

(1358–1408). In the following years, this led to the extinction of the Southern Court and its imperial lineage.

By that time, the Ashikaga shogun was able to claim a relatively secure authority. While the imperial institutions of local control declined, administrative and judicial authority was assigned to vassals of the shogun, who governed the provinces militarily as constables (*shugo* 守護). The *shugo* system had already been established in the Kamakura period, but in the Muromachi period (1333–1568) these *shugo* extended their local authority. In the course of time, this in turn weakened the authority of the shogun.

The shogunate had to rely on newly posted *shugo* in provinces, regardless of whether the *shugo* had a power base in that province. In time, the *shugo* gained a considerable amount of local power based on an administrative, judicial, and fiscal authority assured by the bakufu. Gradually, the *shugo* attained the status of semiautonomous lords ruling over one or more provinces, and turned into provincial military lords (*shugo daimyō* 守護大名) (JIE 1993, “Shugo daimyō,” p. 1424).¹⁵

Yoshimitsu By the time of Yoshimitsu’s rule, most of the *shugo* took up residence in Kyoto, where they ruled in council (*kanrei* 管領) with the shogun. It became practice to pass appointments among the three foremost *shugo* houses of the Shiba 斯波, Hosokawa 細川, and Hatakeyama 畠山. The *shugo* were obliged to administer their provinces through subordinates (*shugodai* 守護代), who weakened their influence in the provincial areas. Many of the *shugo* became absorbed in aristocratic life in Kyoto, often in admiration of Yoshimitsu (BA (online) “Japan,” 2019.9.6.).

Yoshimitsu was not only a strong leader of the warriors, but also assumed an active role in imperial policy. In 1381, Yoshimitsu managed to entertain Emperor Goen’yū 後円融 (1358–1393) in his own residence, which confirmed his status as courtier (Jansen 1995, p. 108).

After advancing rapidly from the position of inner minister to minister of state (*daijō daijin* 太政大臣) in 1394, he withdrew from the shogunal office and appointed his son Yoshimochi 義持 (1368–1428) as his successor while remaining in control. Assuming the post of *daijō daijin* meant that he stood supreme over both the warriors and the nobility. In 1401, he opened formal diplomatic and trade relations with Ming China, and signed himself “King of Japan” in a letter to the Ming court (Nagahara, “The Decline of the Shōen System,” p. 277; JIE 1993, “Ashikaga Yoshimitsu,” p. 67; BA (online) “Ashikaga Yoshimitsu,” 2019.9.6.).

Kitayama Culture In addition to his political achievements, Yoshimitsu was also known as a leading patron of the arts who shaped Kitayama culture, which expanded from 1369 to 1408. During this time, Yoshimitsu ruled as shogun until he relinquished the shogunal office to his son Yoshimochi in 1395. Kitayama culture is named after Yoshimitsu’s villa at Kitayama 北山 (lit. “Northern Mountain”), which was located in northern Kyoto. His villa, the “Golden Pavilion” (Kinkakuji 金閣寺), was a concrete expression of the essence of Kitayama culture, where

¹⁵ *Shugodai* took over the rule of *shugo* and eventually became *sengoku daimyō* 戦国大名.

Yoshimitsu surrounded himself with artists and learned priests, and lived in a lavish style. Yoshimitsu sought to combine both the military and civil elements of rule within himself. This is apparent, for example, in his endeavour to imitate the calendar of the court: formal events such as visiting the Gion festival were institutionalized. Eventually, Yoshimitsu even had Emperor Gokomatsu 後小松 (1377–1433) visit him at his villa in 1408, where he was entertained for twenty days (JIE 1993, “Ashikaga Yoshimitsu”, p. 67; JIE 1993, “Kitayama culture,” p. 796; BA (online) “Japan,” 2019.9.6.; Varley, “Cultural life in medieval Japan,” pp. 447–99; Kawauchi 2012, p. 66; Futaki, “Gion-e onari,” pp. 18–60).

During his reign, Yoshimitsu helped broaden the formally accepted scope of higher culture and allowed the inclusion of various new art forms, notwithstanding their—at times—plebeian origin. He further contributed to a highly social variety in the arts. On the basis of their talents, low-ranked people could now assume (quasi-)professional status as artists, e.g. in poetry or acting. With the prompt granting of patronage after his first attendance at a *sarugaku* performance at the Imakumano Shrine in Kyoto in 1374, Yoshimitsu provided Kan’ami and Zeami with the opportunity to transform *sarugaku* into *noh*, an epochal development in Japan’s cultural history. Apart from *noh*, Chinese learning such as Neo-Confucianism, Zen literature of the Five Mountains (*Gozan bungaku* 五山文学), which was sponsored by the Japanese imperial family and military rulers, and monochrome ink painting were some of the wide-ranging cultural and artistic accomplishments that found expression in Kitayama culture (Varley, “Ashikaga Yoshimitsu,” p. 184, 198; JIE 1993, “Kitayama culture,” p. 796; BA (online) “Japan,” 2019.9.6.).

The Decline of Ashikaga Power After Yoshimitsu’s death, the power of the Ashikaga declined rapidly. His son Yoshimochi did not continue the policies of his father; he refused to trade with Ming China, and to associate with the nobility at court. He resented his father for the greater love he gave to Yoshimochi’s brother Yoshitsugu, whom he assassinated in 1418. Eventually, Yoshimochi’s son succeeded his father as shogun, but due to his premature death, he was followed some years later by Yoshinori 義教 (1394–1441), the brother of Yoshimochi, who was chosen by lot in 1429 as successor after Yoshimochi’s death.

Yoshinori reasserted shogunal authority briefly, by means of changing the administrative procedures of the bakufu and interfering in *shugo* domestic affairs. He put down a revolt by the Kamakura branch of the Ashikaga, whose leader was in charge as deputy shogun (*kubō* 公方) of the Kanto area. Ashikaga Mochiuji 足利持氏 (1398–1439) was punished for his attempt to form independent rule in the Kanto region by Yoshinori, and killed himself in 1439.

The turning point of the Ashikaga hegemony was in 1441, when Yoshinori was assassinated by his vassal Akamatsu Mitsusuke 赤松満祐 (1373–1441), whose appointment of his chosen heir had been blocked by the shogun. This incident is known as the “Kakitsu affair” (Kakitsu no Ran 嘉吉の乱).

His successor Yoshikatsu died shortly after his appointment, so the eighth shogun Yoshimasa 義政 (1436–1490) took over power in 1449. He had more interest in culture than in politics, and left the state in chaos. Even though Yoshimasa was

ineffective as shogun, he is known as a great patron of the arts who built the Silver Pavilion (Ginkakuji 銀閣寺) in the Higashiyama 東山 (lit. “Eastern Mountain”) area of Kyoto. He sponsored many artists, such as the ink painter Sesshū, and noh (BA (online) “Ashikaga Yoshimasa,” 2019.9.6.; JIE 1993 “Ashikaga Yoshimasa,” p. 67).

The Ōnin War and the Period of Warring States In 1465, Yoshimasa appointed his younger brother Yoshimi as his successor, but before it could be effected, his wife Hino Tomiko 日野富子 (1440–1496) unexpectedly bore him a son, Yoshihisa 義尚 (1465–1489). This led to a succession dispute which caused the Ōnin War (Ōnin no Ran 応仁の乱), which lasted from 1467 to 1477 (BA (online) “Ashikaga Yoshimasa,” 2019.9.6.; JIE 1993, “Ashikaga Yoshimasa,” p. 67, “Hino Tomiko,” p. 536).

The conflict was mainly carried out between the families of the Hosokawa, who supported Yoshimi, and the Yamana 山名, who supported Tomiko. Although the commanders of both families died in 1473, the war continued despite being locked in a stalemate. In the same year, Yoshihisa was appointed shogun, but the destruction of the bakufu and the city of Kyoto had progressed too far. The withdrawal of the troops in 1477 could not prevent the war from spreading to the whole country, where it continued for a century. This was the beginning of the period of Warring States (Sengoku jidai 戦国時代), a fight for the territorial hegemony of daimyo and *shugo* which eroded all pretense of central control, lasting from 1467 until Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–1582) entered Kyoto in 1568 (BA (online) “Ōnin War,” 2019.9.6.; *ibid.* “Ashikaga Yoshimasa,” 2019.9.6.; JIE 1993 “Ashikaga Yoshimasa,” p. 67; *ibid.* “Hino Tomiko,” p. 536; *ibid.* “Onin War,” pp. 1151–52; Yamamura 1990, p. 225).

In the time of the Warring States, many powerful *shugo* were overthrown by their own deputies (*shugodai* and *kokujin* 国人), who held the key to real military power. The *shugo* had to adapt to the situation or were replaced by stronger provincial leaders. These local lords (*sengoku daimyō* 戦国大名) gained a considerable independent control of their land, displacing the *shugo* (BA (online) “Japan,” 2019.9.6.; Hall, “The Muromachi Bakufu,” p. 229; JIE 1993, “Sengoku daimyō,” p. 1345).

Higashiyama Culture Higashiyama culture, which flourished during the rule of Yoshimasa from 1483 to 1490, blended the aristocratic traditions of the Heian court nobility, religious influences from Zen Buddhism, and the tastes and ethos of the dominant warrior society. Yoshimasa’s “Silver Pavilion” (Ginkakuji 銀閣寺) became a centre of the arts, similar to Yoshimitsu’s Kitayama villa. However, it stood in sharp contrast to the ostentation of the Golden Pavilion since it was never covered, as initially planned, with silver. Despite the ongoing war, Yoshimasa abdicated from political responsibility and devoted himself entirely to aesthetic pleasures, eventually retreating to his villa in 1483. Although he is not known as a master of painting or poetry, Yoshimasa was highly competent in the latter. According to Keene, his “greatest gift was his exceptional ability to detect talent

in other people and his readiness to employ them, regardless of their social station” (Keene 2003, pp. 71–73).

Unlike the preceding Kitayama culture, the Higashiyama style was supported by the wealthy merchants of Kyoto, who were willing to pay for their sophisticated cultural life. Thus, people ranging from daimyos to outcasts participated in creating Higashiyama culture under the ultimate guidance of Yoshimasa (Hayashiya, “Kyoto in the Muromachi Age,” p. 25; Keene 2003, pp. 54; JIE 1993, “Higashiyama culture,” p. 528; BA (online) “Japan,” 2019.9.6.).

Due to the war, many members of the civil and religious aristocracy left the capital, moving to Sakai or Nara or taking up residence in more distant castle towns under the protection of local daimyos. This migration functioned to diffuse the higher culture of the capital to the provinces. Old traditions were destroyed, but at the same time new ones were born (BA (online) “Japan,” 2019.9.6.).

The *shugo* in the provincial domains aspired to transplant the world of cultural prestige defined by Yoshimitsu and Yoshimasa to their own castle towns. Provincial cities, such as Yamaguchi in Suō Province under the rule of the Ōuchi, and even Tsuwano in Iwami Province, were turned into “Little Kyotos.” Characteristic of such cities was the similarity of the natural and cultural surroundings: both places have their own “Mount Hie,” a “Kamogawa,” as well as replicas of Kyoto’s architecture: shrines and temples such as the Gion Shrine. Further, these towns were the centers of rule over their domains, just as Kyoto was ideally the locus of authority over the entire country (Hayashiya, “Kyoto in the Muromachi Age,” p. 24).

2.2.2 The Gion Festival in the Muromachi Period

In the Muromachi period, the Gion festival underwent a wide-ranging transformation. Whereas the *Gion goryō-e* of the Heian period was executed mainly under the control of the court and the aristocracy, who sought to pacify the spirits of the deceased, the focus shifted to the warrior class and the townsmen of the city of Kyoto in the Muromachi and Edo periods. This also led to a change in the interpretation of the festival: now soothing evil spirits that harm the living by causing pestilences (*ekijin* 疫神) in general was more important than praying for certain deceased persons. High-ranking persons, such as the emperor, the retired emperor, and the shogun, attended the Gion festival on a regular basis, raising the status of the festival. Its growing significance is underlined by the appearance of picture scrolls and screens depicting Kyoto and the Gion festival.

The festival was usually conducted from the seventh to the fourteenth day of the sixth month of the lunar calendar.¹⁶ Sources of the early fourteenth century record the innovation of large floats that could be pulled through the city. The dual structure of the Gion festival evolved: a portable shrine procession of three types of portable shrines (*mikoshi togyo* 神輿渡御) which reaches back to the

¹⁶It is not clear when the float parade started to be held on *both* days, but sources imply the year 1365 at the latest. Sometimes the Gion festival was shifted to another date. As Kawauchi points out, date changes were especially common from 1449 on. A table of date changes that can be seen in records from 1321 to 1602 is provided by Kawauchi (Kawauchi 2012, pp. 33–54).

beginnings of the *Gion goryō-e* in the Heian period, and a float parade which is known as *yamaboko junkō* 山鉾巡行 originating in the late Kamakura to the early Muromachi periods. Over time, the parade and its costumed participants, dance and music and other performing arts, became increasingly elaborate (Ueki 2001, p. 46; KD 1984, vol. 4, “Gionmatsuri,” pp. 20–21).

Over the past few decades, most research has emphasized that the Gion festival was revived by the townsmen (*machishū* 町衆) of Kyoto in 1500 after a thirty-three-year break due to the Ōnin War.¹⁷ The *machishū* comprised different social groups, mainly merchants, craftsmen, as well as manufacturers, who were often seen as the creators of Muromachi culture, acting as patrons and practitioners of the arts. After the Kakitsu affair of 1441, they took on responsibility for internal security and defense against incursions of armed peasants, at times even representing the effective power in Kyoto of the mid-sixteenth century (Hayashiya, “Kyoto in the Muromachi Age,” p. 28; Hayashiya 1955, pp. 189–214, 228; Hayashiya 1964, pp. 124–136; JIE 1993, “Machishū,” p. 905).

In this way, attention has focused on the *machishū* taking sole charge of the Gion festival—that is the *yamaboko* float parade in particular—independent of the bakufu or religious institutions. Apart from a number of studies highlighting various aspects of the portable shrine procession¹⁸, the *machishū* concept has recently been challenged by the historian Kawauchi Masayoshi 河内将芳 (1963–), who seeks to remedy the imbalance of research conducted on the float and the shrine procession resulting from an overestimation of the *machishū* concept. Kawauchi surveys numerous historical records regarding the Gion festival to shine new light on the exact details of its execution and participants. He demonstrates that not only were the townsmen of Kyoto involved, but also the bakufu, and religious institutions such as the temple Enryakuji 延暦寺 (Kawauchi 2012, pp. 19–22).¹⁹

Kawauchi has found that the Gion festival attracted the attention of the Ashikaga bakufu during the Muromachi and Warring States period: a few records survive

¹⁷This interpretation was first established by the cultural historian Hayashiya Tatsusaburō 林屋辰三郎 (1914–1998) in the 1950s. His first account of the *machishū* can be found in his article “Machishū no seiritsu,” (1950), followed by his article “Gōson seido seiritsu-ki ni okeru machishū bunka” (1951), which was later republished in his monograph *Chūsei bunka no kichō* (1955). He further wrote the monograph *Machishū: Kyōto ni okeru ‘shimin’ keisei shi* (1964).

¹⁸Shibata Minoru 柴田実 discussed the evolution of the Gion festival in his article “Gion goryō-e: sono seiritsu to igi” in 1959. Most notable are the studies by Wakita Haruko 脇田晴子 (1934–2016) and Seta Katsuya 瀬田勝哉 (1942–), who have dealt with the burden-sharing system for the portable shrine parade of the Gion festival (*bajōyaku* 馬上役). As Wakita points out, wealthy families had to pay a tax to support the shrine and its portable shrine parade (Wakita, “Chūsei no Gion-e,” pp. 14). On the other hand, Seta stresses that the *bajōyaku* were not only chosen by the shrine, but also supported by the people (Seta, “Chūsei Gion-e no ichikōsatsu,” p. 49). Recently, Shimosaka Mamoru 下坂守 (1948–) examines the role of the *bajōyaku* in his monograph *Chūsei jin shakai no kenkyū* (2001).

¹⁹Kawauchi has compiled an extensive collection of historical records on the Gion festival which he examines in a series of publications: *Chūsei Kyōto no toshi to shūkyō* (2006), *Gion matsuri to sengoku jidai* (2007), and *Gion matsuri no chūsei* (2012). He further analyzes illustrations of the Gion festival seen, for example, on folding screens, in his work *Kaiga shiryō ga kataru Gion matsuri* (2015). Also compare Shimosaka Mamoru on the connection between Enryakuji and the Gion festival in *Chūsei jin shakai no kenkyū* (2001).

indicating that the first shogun Takauji and his son Yoshiakira 義詮 (1330–1367) attended the Gion festival parade, watching it from viewing-stands set higher than their surroundings (*sajiki* 栈敷). A greater number of records show that the third shogun Yoshimitsu also viewed the Gion festival, making it a habit to visit the daimyo Kyōgoku Takamitsu 京極高光 (1375–1413) at his residence located on Shijō 四条 to watch the festival parade. It became established practice among the bakufu leaders to watch the Gion festival—not only they, but also the emperor, the retired emperor, and delegates from Korea and China attended the Gion festival parade. Thus, the festival was of great significance, and watching it a political act (Kawauchi 2012, pp. 104, 125–29, 177–23; *ibid.* 2015, pp. 128–31).²⁰

The habit of viewing the Gion festival lasted until the eighth shogun Yoshimasa, whose rule ended in a succession dispute which led to the Ōnin War. After the war, the eleventh shogun Yoshizumi 義澄 (1481–1511) wished to view the festival but power had shifted to the Hosokawa family, which made it impossible for him to view it officially. Records documenting the attendance of the shogun and the emperor at the festival grow scarcer until the end of the Ashikaga bakufu in 1573. During the Warring States period, the focus of the *yamaboko* float parade gradually shifted to the commoners and townsmen. Consequently, the connection to the shogun and the court sank into oblivion (Kawauchi 2012, pp. 95–98).

Portable Shrines and Procession Route Kawauchi reconstructs the procession route of the portable shrines during the Muromachi period based on pictorial historical sources.²¹ The three portable shrines are (Kawauchi 2007, pp. 78–79; Kawashima 2010, pp. 20, 120–21; Yamaoka 2012, pp. 29, 68):

- Ōmiya 大宮, of hexagonal form, with a phoenix on top, nowadays called Nakagoza 中御座;
- Hachijōji 八王子, of rectangular form, with a wish-fulfilling jewel on top, nowadays called Higashigoza 東御座;
- Shōshōi 少将井, of octagonal form, with a phoenix on top, nowadays called Nishigoza 西御座.

The route of the portable shrines on the first day of the festival (*shinkō* 神幸 or *mikoshi mukae* 神輿迎), the seventh day of the sixth month of the lunar calendar, was as follows: all three portable shrines left the Gion Shrine in the evening, proceeding along Shijō street. At the Higashi no tōin 東洞院 crossing, the Shōshōi portable shrine turned right and headed towards the *Shōshōi otabisho* 少

²⁰Futaki Ken'ichi 二木謙一 (1940–) showed in his article “Gion-e onari” (1970) and later in his monograph *Chūsei buke girei no kenkyū* (1985) that the Muromachi bakufu acknowledged the Gion festival in their yearly schedule of ceremonies (*nenjū gyōji* 年中行事).

²¹Folding screens such as *Rekihaku kōhon Rakuchū rakugaizu byōbu* 歴博甲本洛中洛外図屏風 (probably 1525, held by the National Museum of Japanese History), *Uesugibon Rakuchū rakugaizu byōbu* 上杉本洛中洛外図屏風 (1574, held by Yonezawa City Uesugi Museum), and *Hie sannō Gion saireizu byōbu* 日吉山王・祇園祭礼図屏風 (16th c., held by the Suntory Museum of Art).



Figure 2.2: Portable shrines at the Gion festival in Kyoto (July 16, 2013)

将井御旅所 on Reizei 冷泉 street (nowadays Ebisugawa 夷川 street). It was kept in the *Shōshōi otabisho* for one week. Similarly, the Ōmiya and Hachijōji portable shrines first proceeded along Shijō but turned left at the Karasuma 烏丸 crossing. Both portable shrines were then kept at the *Ōmandokoro otabisho* 大政所御旅所 (Kawauchi 2007, pp. 78–79; *ibid.* 2012, pp. 147–50; Wakita 1999, pp. 26–31).²²

Seven days later, all three portable shrines proceeded from the *otabisho* back to Gion Shrine (*kankō* 還幸).²³ Whereas the *Shōshōi* portable shrine proceeded along Nijō 二条 street, turning left at the Ōmiya 大宮 crossing, the Ōmiya and Hachijōji portable shrines turned right on Gojō street. Similarly, they proceeded up Ōmiya street towards Sanjō street, where they met up with the *Shōshōi* portable shrine. Together, they followed Sanjō street back to Gion Shrine.

Festival Floats and Procession Route In the same vein, Ueki Yukinobu 植木行宣 (1932–)²⁴ discusses the evolution of the floats of the Gion festival based on historical sources. Whereas the basic form of the present Gion festival originates

²²Unlike today, two *otabisho* existed in the Muromachi period. During the reign of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598), these two *otabisho* sites were amalgamated and newly installed at Shijō Kyōgoku 四条京極 (Kawauchi 2007, p. 79).

²³The procession back to Gion Shrine is also called *Gion goryō-e* or *Gion-e*, because originally the procession was conducted on this date during the Heian period (Kawauchi 2007, p. 79).

²⁴Ueki’s findings are discussed in Chapter 3.2.1, section “Characteristics of *Furyū Hayashimono*,” on pages 157 to 158.

	Kushige kōji	Ōmiya	Inokuma kōji	Horikawa kōji	Abura no kōji	Nishi no tōin	Machijiri kōji	Muromachi kōji	Karasumaru kōji	Higashi no tōin	Takakura kōji	Made no kōji	Tomi no kōji	Kyōgoku
Ichijō														
Ōgimachi kōji									Retired Emperor's Palace	Fushimi Palace				
Tsuchimikado										Imperial Palace				
Takatsukasa kōji														
Konoe														
Kageyu kōji														
Naka no midako														
Kasuga kōji														
Ōi no mikado														
Reizei kōji									Shōshōi otabisho					
Nijō														
Oshi kōji														
Sanjōbōmon														
Ane no kōji														
Sanjō														
Rokkaku kōji														
Shijōbōmon														
Nishiki no kōji														
Shijō														
Aya no kōji														Kyōgoku Residence (?)
Gojōbōmon														
Takatsuji kōji									Ōmando koro					
Gojō														

Figure 2.3: Portable shrine procession route in medieval Kyoto of 1500 (Kawauchi 2012, p. 148)

in the Muromachi period, the earliest record of a group of persons carrying a festival float can already be confirmed for the late Kamakura period in the diary of Emperor Hanazono, *Hanazono Tennō shinki* 花園天皇宸記, dating 1321.²⁵ The form of the floats was variable at first but became gradually stable over time until they found their final form in the fifteenth century. These floats served as a carriage onto which the evil spirits would descend and could thus be entertained and eventually carried out of town, protecting the people from another epidemic (Ueki 1996, p. 109; *ibid.* 2001, p. 57; *ibid.* 2016, p. 11; Yamaji 2009, p. 41).

Kawauchi suggests that the float parade of the fifteenth century was conducted twice: on the seventh and the fourteenth day of the sixth month of the lunar calendar. On the first day of the parade, the floats proceeded from west to east along Shijō street, turned right and followed Kyōgoku 京極 street (nowadays Teramachi 寺町 street) close to the river Kamogawa, and finally proceeded along Gojō 五条 street from east to west. On the last day of the parade, they proceeded along Sanjō 三条 street from west to east, again followed Kyōgoku street in a southern direction, and turned into Shijō street, which they followed from east to west. This route was taken until 1956 when the route was changed dramatically (Kawauchi 2007, p. 171; *ibid.* 2012, pp. 23–24; *ibid.* 2015, pp. 88–89).

By the beginning of the fifteenth century, four different types of floats had evolved. Ueki distinguishes them as follows (Ueki 2001, pp. 25, 62; Honda, “Chūsei Kyōto no sairei ni okeru hoko to sono hen’yō,” pp. 1–15; Yamaoka 2012, p. 34):

- *Hoko* 鉾: The name *hoko* indicates that the image of this float originates in the halberd, an antique weapon. These halberds were presented and carried around as exhibits at festivals. Over the centuries, the halberds changed their shape, grew bigger, and eventually evolved into a wheeled festival float with tall pole carrying a spearhead, which is called *shingi* 真木 nowadays.
- *Yama* 山: This richly decorated float is pulled or carried on the shoulders and displays a certain theme represented by dolls. Since the themes usually contain the image of a mountain, these floats are called “mountains” (*yama* 山). Floats carrying dioramas of this kind are also referred to as “(hand)made mountains” (*tsukuriyama* 作山). Various models can be seen, such as pulled floats (*hikiyama* 曳山), carried floats (*kakiyama* 昇山) or floats in the shape of a boat (*fune* 船). Nowadays, the pulled *yama* floats look similar to the *hoko* but can be distinguished by their decoration: while *hoko* carry a pole with a spearhead, *yama* are decorated with a pine tree.
- *Kasaboko* 笠鉾: The name of this float derives from its form, which resembles a parasol or umbrella. Elaborate decoration is mounted on top of the umbrellas which are carried around in the hands, worn as a hat, or pulled as a wheeled float. *Kasaboko* are the centre of *hayashimono* performances and appear in various sizes and models, such as *kasayama* 笠山 or *yamakasa* 山

²⁵The *Hanazono Tennō shinki* is the diary of Emperor Hanazono 花園 (1297–1348), covering the years 1310 to 1332. It is an important source for the study of relations between the court and the shogunate at the end of the Kamakura period (JIE 1993, “Hanazono Tennō shinki,” p. 498).

笠 taking the shape of a mountain, and *kasasagiboko* 笠鷺鉾, which is decorated with a heron carrying an umbrella on its head, resting on a bridge. This particular decoration is modeled on the Tanabata story.²⁶

- *Gei-yatai* 芸屋台: This float is a portable stage which can be pulled or carried on the shoulders. Sometimes these stages carry a festival music ensemble (*hayashi*). Various models can be seen, such as *maikuruma* 舞車, or *kusemai-guruma* 久世舞車²⁷ on which dance performances are shown.



Figure 2.4: *Yamaboko* parade in Kyoto at the Gion festival (July 17, 2013)

The folding screen *Tsukinami saireizu* (discussed below) represents the oldest depiction of the Gion festival floats, probably dating to the middle of the fifteenth century. The fifth panel shows a *kakiyama* with the theme of a Chinese sage feeding a crane. In front of the float, a *hayashimono* performance of the heron dance can be seen. The sixth panel shows three floats: a *hoko* in shape of a boat and one with a spearhead on top of a tall pole, carrying musicians; and a crowd

²⁶Compare section 3.1.3 on “Tanabata” on page 145.

²⁷*Kusemai* 久世舞 is a type of simple dance accompanied with drums and song which flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Kyoto and Nara (O’Neill, “The Structure of Kusemai,” p. 100).

carrying a *kasasagiboko* decorated with the heron motif as well as a *kasaboko* with a cock on a drum.²⁸

Before the Ōnin War, the number of floats had increased to up to thirty-two on the seventh day, and twenty-eight on the fourteenth day, a total of sixty floats. Due to the destruction of the city during the Ōnin War, however, many floats were destroyed. After the revival of the Gion festival in 1500, twenty-six floats were shown on the seventh day, and ten on the fourteenth, so the number of floats was reduced to just over half their original number, a total of thirty-six (Kawauchi 2012, p. 24; Ueki 2001, pp. 80–81).

The Creation of the Heron Dance The heron dance was conducted as an ‘encouragement’ for the floats of Kyoto’s Gion festival (*hayashimono* 囃子物 or 拍子物, sometimes also read *hyōshimono*) and was of such importance that high-ranking persons such as aristocrats and imperial princes took note of the presence of its performers and their umbrella halberd at the parade. The oldest extant record documenting the heron dance dates to 1365 and can be found in the diary of a courtier. Following this record, further records of the heron dance can be seen not only in a number of diary entries by courtiers but also entries in textbooks, as well as pictorial illustrations on picture scrolls and folding screens, as examined below. These sources indicate that the heron dance was performed until the beginning of the Ōnin War in 1467. Subsequently, the Gion festival was not held until 1500—after its revival, the heron dance was no longer part of the parade.

Two groups can be identified as being involved in the performance of the heron dance: these are, on the one hand, a group of outcasts called *shōmonji* 声聞師, and, on the other hand, a guild of textile manufacturers called *ōtoneri* 大舎人. The *shōmonji* were a group of entertainers of low social status, mainly located in medieval Kyoto and Nara.²⁹ They are often regarded as descendants of the ancient “yin-yang masters” (*onmyōji* 陰陽師) performing divinations and rituals of exorcism (Araki 1964, p. 70).

The *shōmonji* belonged to the vast social group of outcasts in medieval Japan, mainly of Kyoto and surrounding regions. Former research in the field of social history especially of the 1970s to 1980s dealt with various subgroups within the social stratum of people suffering discrimination (*hisabetsumin* 被差別民). Many attempts have been made to categorize them by occupation, or the ideology forming the basis for the discrimination. One encounters terms such as *hinin* 非人 (lit. “non-humans”), or *eta* 穢多 (lit. “much filth”)—a term which derived from taboos regarding impurity. Other terms were of topographical origin, such as *kawaramono* 河原者 for those who lived on the riverbeds. These discriminated people took defilements upon themselves and thus facilitated the purification (*kiyome* 清め) of temples and other locations.

²⁸There is probably a fourth float hidden behind the boat float. Refer to section 2.2.3 on “*Tsukinami saireizu (mohon)*” on page 65.

²⁹The term *shōmonji* is somewhat discriminatory and shows slight variants in both pronunciation and orthography, such as the reading *shōmoji* or *shōmonshi* and the characters 唱聞師 and 唱門師.

Some groups of *shōmonji* lived close to the imperial palace in the so-called *sanjo* 散所 of Kitabatake 北畠 and Yanagihara 柳原, which were affiliated with the temple Shōkokuji 相国寺, whose precincts the *shōmonji* kept clean.³⁰ Both the Kitabatake and Yanagihara *sanjo* were located to the southeast of Shōkokuji, close to the imperial palace and in the vicinity of the temple Bishamondō 毘沙門堂.³¹ The outcasts were more numerous in Kyoto than anywhere else, owing to the need for their services at large institutions like the court, temples, and shrines, whose taboos were especially strong. Apart from Kyoto, there were also settlements of *shōmonji* in Nara, where they were affiliated with the temple Kōfukuji 興福寺 (Gay 2001, p. 30; KD 1986, vol. 7, “Shōmoji,” pp. 631–32; NRCT 1979, vol. 27, “Yanagihara,” p. 566; Genjō, “Kitabatake sanjo to Sakuramachi sanjo,” p. 19).³²

In addition to their regular duties, the *shōmonji* also conducted seasonal performing arts of an auspicious nature, such as *senzu manzai* 千秋万歳, *matsubayashi* 松囃子, and a performance for the New Year’s bonfire *sagichō* 左義長.³³ They visited people’s houses in the first month to give them benediction and to purify them from the ritual pollution which they had accumulated during the preceding year. They performed at the imperial palace and at nobles’ houses. Historical records indicate that they even performed in Fushimi in the south of Kyoto (Yamaji, “Matsubayashi,” pp. 81–82).

The *shōmonji* were costumed, wearing ceremonial robes, and putting small pine tree branches on their heads. They accompanied their performance with music, e.g. by beating the drum. As a reward for their services, the *shōmonji* received money or food (NKD 2001, vol. 8, “Senzu manzai,” p. 101).

After the period of the Southern and Northern Courts (Nanboku-chō 南北朝, 1336–1392), the *shōmonji* adopted other performing arts and focussed on entertaining their audiences, eventually developing into professionals. But even if the audience was more interested in seeing *kusemai*, traditional handball (*temari* 手鞠), *sarugaku*, or drum dance (*yatsubachi* 八撥), the *shōmonji* probably conducted the auspicious *matsubayashi* at the beginning of performances of these other performing arts (Yamaji, “Matsubayashi,” pp. 81–83).

³⁰The term *sanjo*, literally “scattered places,” originates in the late Heian period and was used to denote scattered possessions of aristocratic landed estates (*shōen* 莊園). It distinguished these from the main residence and headquarters (*honjo* 本所) of a *shōen* proprietor. In the Kamakura period, the term was used for non-agricultural areas of a *shōen*. The service population congregated in these areas and were themselves often called *sanjo* (JIE 1993, “Sanjo,” p. 1309; Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 11; Yamamura 1990, p. 697). The term *Kitabatake sanjo* can be confirmed as early as 1447, in an entry of the *Kennaiki* (1447.1.18) (Genjō, “Kitabatake sanjo to Sakuramachi sanjo,” p. 20).

³¹Nowadays, this Bishamondō is located in Yamashina ward, to the east of Kyoto. Until the seventeenth century, it was located in Izumoji 出雲路, in Kamigyō (NDZ 1988, vol. 19, “Bishamondō,” p. 513).

³²They formed a kind of guild, *gokasho* 五ヶ所 and *jūza* 十座, at the temple Daijōin 大乗院, a temple where male clerics of imperial family descent resided (*monzeki* 門跡), affiliated with Kōfukuji (Wenderoth 2008, p. 123; Graham 2007, p. 46).

³³*Sagichō* is a New Year’s event that featured ritual bonfires and dancers wearing crane or heron costumes. It was originally restricted to the imperial house, court aristocracy, or the shogunate, and held on the fifteenth and eighteenth days of the first month (McKelway 2006, pp. 32, 140). It can still be seen in remote places all around Japan.

On the other hand, the medieval guild of weaver-craftsmen (*ōtoneri za* 大舍人座)³⁴ supported the Gion festival, probably by having the *shōmonji* perform the heron dance under a big decorative umbrella halberd called “umbrella-heron halberd” or “magpie halberd” (*kasasagiboko* 笠鷺鉞).³⁵

Originally, the *ōtoneri* were weaver-craftsmen who belonged to the imperial government in the Heian period, and thus were lower-ranked bureaucrats, but as the ancient order declined they reorganized themselves as a guild for manufacturing twilled fabrics. Aristocratic houses like the Madenokōji 万里小路, as well as the Kitano 北野 and Kasuga 春日 shrines were clients of the *ōtoneri* guild. In order to protect their privileges, the *ōtoneri* became low-ranking functionaries (*jinin* 神人)³⁶ of the Gion Shrine. Participating in the Gion festival was a means of maintaining their status. With the outbreak of the Ōnin War, they fled to Nara and Sakai, but came back to Kyoto after its conclusion. They settled in the Nishijin 西陣 district in Kyoto, which has since been famous for fabrics (Gay 2001, p. 209; Wakita 1980, pp. 651–52; Toyoda 1977, pp. 133, 140; Berry 1997, p. 331; KD 1980, vol. 2, “Ōtoneriza,” pp. 651–52; Yamaji 2009, p. 108; Tai 2010, p. 5).

2.2.3 Sources from the Muromachi Period

Moromoriki (1339–1374)

Some forty years after the first record of the festival floats in the *Hanazono Tennō shinki* of 1321, the first entry on a *kasasagiboko* can be found in the diary *Moromoriki* 師守記. This diary was written by the courtier and senior secretary (*daigeki* 大外記) Nakahara Moromori 中原師守 (?–?), whose family inherited the post of *geki* 外記 and thus drafted all sorts of administrative documents for the court.

The *Moromoriki* comprises more than sixty scrolls, covering the years 1339 to 1368, as well as parts of 1371 and 1374 in some copies. Most parts are held by the National Diet Library. It is a valuable document for understanding various problems that led to the division of the imperial house into the Northern and Southern Courts. Moromori wrote his diaries in the margins and on the reverse sides of calendars; his contemporary memoranda on the military and social affairs are among the best sources available for late fourteenth-century Japan (JIE 1993, “Moromoriki,” p. 1008; “Rare Books of the National Diet Library”, *Rare Books of the National Diet Library* (online), 2008.).

The *Moromoriki* offers several entries on the Gion festival, among them an

³⁴Guilds began to appear during the last decades of the eleventh century and throughout the twelfth, first in and around the capital and then elsewhere. These guilds were sanctioned by powerful temples and court nobles. Affiliated with the Gion Shrine were guilds of cotton-batting, cloth, lumber, tangerines etc. Guilds were even formed within the *sanjo* (Yamamura, “The Development of Za in Medieval Japan,” pp. 438–42, 448; Wakita 1999, pp. 114–26).

³⁵In the case of the “umbrella-heron halberd,” the term splits up into the words *kasa-sagi-boko*. In the case of the “magpie halberd,” the term splits up into the words *kasasagi-boko*.

³⁶*Jinin* or *jinnin* are subordinate to the head priest, and originally responsible for miscellaneous support services related to religious ceremonies or to the administration of the shrine. Religious functions were only a part of their duties; some *jinin* were tradesman, artisans, and theatrical performers (Gay 2001, pp. 68–69; JIE 1993, “Jinin,” p. 685).

entry for the fourteenth day of the sixth month in 1365 which documents the absence of the *kasasagiboko*. For a reprint of the original source, refer to A.2.1 on page 285 in the first appendix.³⁷

Moromoriki, Jōji 貞治 4 (1365), 6th month, 14th day

Transcription	Translation
<p><i>Kyō, Gion goryō-e, rei no gotoshi. Tsukuriyama ichiryō, kore ari to unnun. Kotoshi, kasasagiboko kore nashi to unnun. Miyuki, Tori no itten, bui, shinbyō. Shōshōi no mikoshi, buke no sata tari. Ōsete enta ni hōyo se-shimu to unnun. Mottomo sono osore aru mono ka, shinryo hakari gatashi. Kusemai-guruma, kore nashi. Daimyō kenbutsu sezu to unnun.</i></p>	<p>Today, the Gion festival was held as usual. Evidently, there was one [decorated] “(hand)made mountain” float (<i>tsukuriyama</i>). There was no umbrella-heron halberd [proceeding in the parade] this year. The procession was held in the first quarter of the hour of the cock [5:30 p.m.]. [It was] uneventful and impressive. The military aristocracy was responsible for the Shōshōi portable shrine and ordered the outcasts to carry it. It is difficult to foresee the reaction of the gods to the portable shrine being carried by them. There was no <i>kusemai</i> float [in the parade this year]. The daimyo did not watch [the parade].</p>

Moromori recorded this entry for the fourteenth day of the sixth month of the lunar calendar, which indicates the day of the Gion festival when the portable shrines return from the *otabisho* to the shrine (*kankō*).

The phrase “*rei no gotoshi*” indicates that the festival was held in accordance with an existing custom. The formula “*unnun*” implies that Moromoriki did not see the procession himself but recorded information he gained by hearsay or that he abbreviates further details. He comments on both parts of the Gion festival: the float parade and the portable shrine procession. Regarding the float parade, Moromori records the presence of one *tsuriyama* float, and, more significantly, the absence of the umbrella-heron halberd (*kasasagiboko*) and the *kusemai* float. This not only implies that it was common practice for the latter two to proceed in the parade, but also that it was so popular that its absence was worth recording (Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 10). Yamaji suggests that their absence was due to the death of Yoshiakira’s mother, resulting in the *furyū* elements being canceled for the parade that year (Yamaji 2009, p. 108).

Former research has found that the float parade was usually conducted in the morning and the portable shrine procession in the evening (Kawauchi 2012, p. 141;

³⁷An annotated typographical reprint is available in *Moromoriki* (vol. 8) of *Shiryō sanshū: Kokiroku hen*, published by Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai in 1974, p. 279.

Kawauchi 2015, p. 8). Moromori notes that the parade took place in the evening; one may wonder whether he meant the float or the portable shrine procession considering that both interpretations seem possible. The portable shrines were thought to be sacred and pure, so Moromori records fear of the ill will of the gods, who might be upset about the military aristocracy having outcasts (here explicitly given the reading *enta*) carry the portable shrine of Shōshōi. Based on an earlier entry of the *Moromori* for 1342, which shows that the bakufu ordered outcasts to carry the Shōshōi portable shrine which was then polluted (*kegare* 穢れ), Wakita argues that this indicates a growing ideology of discrimination against the outcasts, considering that having outcasts carrying portable shrines was of no concern until the fourteenth century (Wakita 1999, p. 167).

Regarding the note “*daimyō kenbutsu sezu*,”³⁸ it seems likely that the death of his mother kept the second shogun Yoshiakira from viewing the Gion parade in 1365. Kawauchi shows that Yoshiakira watched the portable shrine and float processions three times in total during his reign from 1358 to 1367: three entries recorded in the *Moromoriki* imply that Yoshiakira viewed the parade on both days (*shinkō* and *kankō*), the seventh and fourteenth day of the sixth month in 1364, and the *kankō* parade on the fourteenth day of the sixth month in 1367. They further indicate that Yoshiakira saw the *kusemai* float, and the decorative [umbrella] halberd *shizumeboko* 定鉾 amongst other floats (Kawauchi 2012, pp. 113–15). It seems likely that he saw neither the *kasasagiboko* nor the heron dance.

In any case, the *Moromoriki* shows that the *kasasagiboko* and, assumingly connected to it, the heron dance were already part of the Gion festival parade earlier than 1365.

***Kanmon nikki* (1416–1448)**

The *Kanmon nikki* 看聞日記 (Record of Things Seen and Heard) is a diary written by imperial prince Fushiminomiya Sadafusa 伏見宮貞成 (1372–1456), consisting of forty-two volumes and a supplement of thirteen volumes.³⁹ The diary chronicles the period from 1416 to 1448, and its topics range from personal matters, court affairs, and gossip, to political events at the height of the Muromachi shogunate, mainly during the reign of the sixth shogun Yoshinori from 1429 to 1441 (JIE 1993, “Kammon gyoki,” p. 728; KD 1983, vol. 3, p. 943).⁴⁰

Born as the second son of Prince Yoshihito 榮仁 (1351–1416), Sadafusa⁴¹ was adopted and brought up by Imadegawa Kinnao 今出川公直 (1325–1396), a promi-

³⁸Usually other terms such as *kubō* 公方 are used for the shogun.

³⁹Also known as *Kanmon gyoki* 看聞御記. Held by the Imperial Household Agency. A typographical reprint is available in volumes five and six of *Zushoryō sōkan*, published by the Archives and Mausolea Department of Imperial Household Agency in 2010 and 2012.

⁴⁰As Brock points out, Sadafusa’s diary shows significant lacunae: “[t]he first ten years, 1416–1425, were entirely recopied (and modified?) by Sadafusa, who himself noted that he had kept no diary prior to 1416. The major gaps in the record are the years 1426–1428, 1439–1440, 1442, and 1444–1446. Whether the diary was lost, deliberately destroyed, or never written for these critical years is an open question” (Brock, “The Shogun’s ‘Painting Match’,” p. 435).

⁴¹He officially took the name Sadafusa at his long-delayed coming-of-age ceremony at forty. His posthumous name is Gosukō-in 後崇光院 (KD 1985, vol. 5, “Gosukō-in,” pp. 796–97).

ment member of the court aristocracy whose family is also known as Kikutei 菊亭. Sadafusa grew up in the turbulent times of the Northern and Southern Courts, when the two rival imperial courts that existed in Japan between 1337 and 1392 entangled themselves in a succession dispute over the legitimate right to rule. Although Sadafusa seems to have shared his real father's hope of becoming emperor and restoring the imperial succession to the Fushimi branch of the northern lineage, he ordered the imperial regalia to be transferred to the northern-court Emperor Gokomatsu (r. 1382–1412) when Ashikaga Yoshimitsu forcibly unified the northern and southern courts in 1392. Thus, he never ascended the throne (JIE 1993, “Northern and Southern Courts,” p. 1115; Brock, “The Shogun’s ‘Painting Match’,” p. 438).

Gokomatsu abdicated in favor of his young son Shōkō 称光 (1401–1428) in 1412. But when Shōkō died early without leaving any children in 1428, the bakufu arranged for Sadafusa's eldest son Gohanazono 後花園 (1419–1471) to be adopted by the then Retired Emperor Gokomatsu in order to avoid any possibility of a descendant of the Southern Court succeeding to the throne. In 1428, Gohanazono was enthroned as emperor, which gave Sadafusa the defacto status of a retired emperor (Kawauchi 2012, pp. 90–91, 270–71).⁴² For a reprint of the original source, refer to A.2.2 on page 285 in the first appendix.⁴³

⁴²Brock outlines Sadafusa's eagerness to be named retired emperor and the resulting difficulties when the sixth shogun Yoshinori refused to do so (Brock, “The Shogun’s ‘Painting Match’,” pp. 433–48).

⁴³*Kanmon nikki*. In *Zushoryō sōkan*, vol. 5 and 6. Ed. Kunaichō Shoryōbu. Kunaichō Shoryōbu, 2010, p. 284 (1436) and 2012, pp. 57 (1437), 173 (1438).

Transcription

Gion-e kekkō to unnun, kubō go-kenbutsu nashi. Sōtan, Kitabatake no kasasagiboko mairu. Hei no chūmon no uchi ni oite mawashimu. Nerinuki hitotsu, tachi hitotsu tamō. Ōjaku, Kikutei ni oite kenbutsu su. Saikai me ni mezurashiku, me o yashinau. Sono ato ōtoneriboko mairu. Nerinuki hitotsu, tachi hitotsu kudasaru. Kenbutsushū kosō nari. Dairi kinjo ni tsuite kaku no gotoku hayashimono suisan su. Katsu chinchō nari.

Translation

Evidently, the Gion festival was magnificent. The shogun Yoshinori did not watch it. The umbrella-heron halberd of the Kitabatake arrived early in the morning. They were made to dance inside the gate [of the palace]. They were given one piece of silk fabric and a sword [as payment for their performance]. I [once] saw [this dance] at the Chrysanthemum Residence in the past. I was happy to see it again. After that, the [umbrella] halberd of the *ōtoneri* arrived. They were offered a piece of silk fabric and a sword. The watching crowd was excited. They paid an unannounced visit to the imperial palace [of Emperor Gohanazono] and performed dance and music. It was highly appreciated.

Sadafusa begins his entry with information that he either gained by hearsay or that he abbreviated, indicated by the term “*unnun*”. As Brock notes, Sadafusa “(...) seldom left his residence, relying instead upon his visitors and family members to inform him of the world outside his walls” (Brock, “The Shogun’s ‘Painting Match’,” p. 435). Therefore, the former interpretation appears more likely.

The term “*kubō*” presumably points to the shogun Yoshinori, as Sadafusa used this term in other writings such as his family history, the *Chin’yōki* 椿葉記 (Record of Camellia Leaves) which he authored in the 1430s (Murata 1984, p. 213; Brock, “The Shogun’s ‘Painting Match’,” p. 443). According to Kawauchi, Yoshinori had given up his habit of watching the return of festival procession on the fourteenth day in 1432, limiting his viewing of the festival from the Kyōgoku residence on Shijō street to the seventh day (Kawauchi 2012, p. 90). This explains why the entry records the absence of the shogun at the Gion festival in 1436.

Sadafusa notes that the umbrella-heron halberd (*kasasagiboko*) arrived in the morning, which matches the general schedule of the float parade in the morning and the shrine procession in the evening as stated above. The umbrella halberd was carried by people of Kitabatake; according to Yamaji this is a term indicating the *shōmonji* of the *Kitabatake sanjo*. Sadafusa knew about the *shōmonji* of Kitabatake, due to their customary *sagichō* performance every year in the first month at the Fushimi palace (Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 11; Yokoi 1979, p.

209). These *shōmonji* were made to dance inside of a gate, probably indicating the gate of the Fushimi palace where Sadafusa had lived from 1435.⁴⁴ Yamaji suggests that the *kasasagiboko* was accompanied by the heron dance, performed by the *shōmonji* of Kitabatake. They were patronized by the guild of the *ōtoneri*.

Additionally, Sadafusa reports on a second [umbrella] halberd of the *ōtoneri*.⁴⁵ As later sources⁴⁶ imply, these two umbrella halberds were shown as a set (Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 11; Yamaji, “Gion goryō-e no geinō,” pp. 23–24; *ibid.* 2009, pp. 53–54; Kawauchi 2006, pp. 163–64; *ibid.* 2012, pp. 270–71).

While Honda and Yamaji note that Sadafusa watched the Gion festival at his new residence for the first time (Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 11), it seems more likely that he did not view the complete parade but only the performances that were shown at his residence. This assumption is supported by usage of the term “*unnun*” regarding the description of the Gion festival at the beginning of the entry, and by the route of the float parade on the fourteenth day of the sixth month, which usually comprised Sanjō street, Kyōgoku street, and Shijō street, but not necessarily Ichijō street. Kawauchi argues that only the two umbrella halberds of the Kitabatake and the *ōtoneri* paid an unannounced visit (“*suisan*”) to the imperial palace of the incumbent Emperor Gohanazono, and the Fushimi palace. One reason might be that Sadafusa—following the example of the Retired Emperor Gokomatsu, who had the floats proceed alongside his residence—wanted to see the heron dance, familiar to him from his days in the Chrysanthemum Residence (Kikutei), as he records in the entry. It seems likely that Sadafusa recorded the first visit to the two residences of the two umbrella halberds of the Kitabatake and *ōtoneri*, which thereafter became customary for a limited period of time (Kawauchi 2012, pp. 90–91, 270–71).

⁴⁴Former research has found that Sadafusa spent his life mainly in three places: first at the Chrysanthemum Residence (Kikutei) of the Imadegawa’s, from 1411 at the Fushimi residence in the south of Kyoto close to Mt. Fushimi—a place that had largely been destroyed by fire in 1401 but was rebuilt in 1409—and from 1435 at the residence Higashi no tōin-dono 東洞院殿, located close to the imperial palace on Ichijō 一条 street. Therefore it is also called Ichijō Fushimi-dono 一条伏見殿 (Brock, “The Shogun’s ‘Painting Match’,” P. 438; Kawakami 1967, pp. 107–18, KD 1979, vol. 1, “Ichijō Fushimi-dono,” pp. 643–44; KD 1985, vol. 5, “Gosukōin,” pp. 796–97).

⁴⁵Sometimes also read *ōtonoe* or *ōtone*.

⁴⁶Refer to 2.2.3 “*Gion-e yamaboko no koto*” of 1507 discussed on page 75.

Kanmon nikki, Eikyō 永享 9 (1437), 6th month, 14th day

Transcription

Gion-e rei no gotoshi. Asa, ōtonoe-boko, Kitabatake kasasagiboko tō mairu. Hiru, mairu beki no yoshi ōsu. Dairi ni mairu koto dōzen. (...) Hiru, ōtonoe mairu. Hei no chūmon no uchi ni mawashimu. Nerinuki hitotsu kudasaru. Sono go, kasasagi mairite shibaraku mau. Nerimono hitotsu onajiku tamō.

Translation

The Gion festival was held as usual. In the morning, the [umbrella] halberd of the *ōtonoe* and the umbrella-heron halberd of Kitabatake arrived. They were told to come [again] at noon. They also paid a visit to the imperial palace. (...) At noon, the *ōtonoe* came [again]. They were made to dance inside the gate. They were given one piece of silk fabric [as payment for their performance]. After that, the umbrella-heron [dance performers] entered and danced for a while. They were also given a piece of silk fabric.

Sadafusa again makes notes on the Gion festival procession back to the shrine on the fourteenth day of the sixth month of the following year. The umbrella halberds of the *ōtonoe* and the Kitabatake arrived in the morning, but this time they were told to come again later, at noon. The order of appearance of the umbrella halberds is reversed: Sadafusa first mentions the *ōtonoe* halberd, and then the umbrella-heron halberd of the Kitabatake. Similar to the first record, both umbrella halberds pay a visit to the imperial palace. The *ōtonoe* came back at noon. They were made to dance inside the gate (probably of the Fushimi palace), and offered a piece of silk fabric as payment for their services. After that, the umbrella-heron dancers arrived and a performance was shown. They were also offered a piece of silk fabric.

Kanmon nikki, Eikyō 永享 10 (1438), 6th month, 14th day

Transcription	Translation
<p><i>Gion-e rei no gotoshi. Yūdachi furi, raimei. Shinkō iran suru ka. (...) Kasasagi ame no naka mairu. Nurenure mai, sono kyō ari. Rokumotsu nerinuki hitotsu, tachi hitotsu tamō. Sono go, ōtonoe mairu. Roku dōzen.</i></p>	<p>The Gion festival was held as usual. In the evening, [there was a sudden] rain shower [accompanied by] a thunderstorm. Did the parade call down the disturbance? (...) The umbrella-heron [dance performers] arrived in the rain. [They] got wet while dancing, which was interesting. [They were given] one piece of silk fabric and a sword as payment [for their performance]. After that, the <i>ōtonoe</i> arrived. [They were given] the same payment.</p>

The third entry, which also records the Gion festival procession back to the shrine on the fourteenth day of the sixth month of 1438, shows that rain and thunderstorm caused Sadafusa to worry about the festival procession.⁴⁷ Interestingly, the umbrella halberds of the Kitabatake and the *ōtoneri* arrived in the evening this time, and not in the morning as in the other entries. The performers got wet from the rain while they performed. Yamaji puts forward the idea that this dance in the rain was interesting because of the song they sang, which has been transmitted to present-day Tsuwano. It includes the line (Yamaji, “Tsuwano no sagimai,” pp. 128–29; Yamaji 2009, p. 109):

時雨の雨にぬれ鳥

shigure no ame ni nure tori

The birds got wet in the drizzling rain

This line matches the situation of the heron dancers in the rain so well that Sadafusa probably felt compelled to write it down.⁴⁸ However, no mention is made of a song in the entry, so it remains speculation as to whether a song existed at that time.

⁴⁷The typographical reprint in the fifth volume of *Zushoryō sōkan*, p. 169, gives the characters 神幸遣乱歟 for the phrase *Shinkō iran suru ka*. The Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo, however, also provides the character *i* (Sino-japanese reading) or *chiga-u* (Japanese reading) 違 instead of *ken* (Sino-Japanese reading) or *tsuka-u* (Japanese reading) 遣. Here, the transcription is based on the revised reading, which makes up the compound word *iran* 違乱, here translated as ‘disturbance.’

⁴⁸Refer to section 3.1.3 “Tsuwano Song Text Analysis” for a detailed heron dance song analysis on page 144.

Sekiso ōrai (15th c.) and *Shinsatsu ōrai* (1367)

Sekiso ōrai 尺素往来 (Correspondence on a Piece of Silk) is a textbook containing commentary on contemporary culture which can be found in the collection of Japanese literary classics and historical records *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従, a monumental anthology of old Japanese sources.⁴⁹ *Sekiso ōrai* belongs to the genre of educational literature (*ōraimono* 往来物, often translated ‘textbooks’) and consists of one formal short inquiry which can be seen as “correspondence.” Concerning the origins of these texts, they may be understood as written lectures or variants of what were once scholarly epistles (Rüttermann, “An Examination on the Japanese Genre Term *ōraimono*,” pp. 148–49).

Sekiso ōrai was written by Ichijō Kaneyoshi 一条兼良 (1402–1481)⁵⁰, probably at about the time of the Ōnin War, in the mid-fifteenth century (Ueki 2001, p. 63). Kaneyoshi became grand minister of state (*dajō daijin* 太政大臣) in 1446, and regent (*kanpaku* 関白) and head of the Fujiwara family in 1447. After the outbreak of the Ōnin War, he had to take refuge in Nara. Due to financial difficulties, he resigned the regency in 1470, and finally returned to Kyoto in 1477. Keene states that Kaneyoshi was probably “one of the most fortunate members of society. He enjoyed universal respect for his scholarship, had a large and distinguished family, and owned perhaps the finest library of the time” (Keene 2003, pp. 13–14).

In *Sekiso ōrai*, Kaneyoshi comments on many different aspects of life and culture, such as contemporary evaluations of taste, standing, literary heritage, imported medicines, and terminology (Goble, “Review of Regent Redux,” p. 188). Kawauchi points out that the entry regarding the Gion festival is based on the source *Shinsatsu ōrai* 新札往来 (New Epistle on a Tablet). *Shinsatsu ōrai* is a kind of lexicon cum encyclopedia in fifteen sections, each dealing with the vocabulary of New Year’s greetings, the tea ceremony, incense burning, scrolls, horse-riding, poem anthologies, calligraphy, and other topics common to the socio-cultural life of the times. It comprises two volumes and was written in 1367 by Sogan 素眼 (?–?), a well-known calligrapher and priest of the temple Konrenji 金蓮寺 (NKD 2001, vol. 7, “Shinsatsu ōrai,” p. 600; Ramirez-Christensen 2008, p. 268). For a reprint of the original sources, refer to A.2.3 on page 286 for the entry in *Shinsatsu ōrai*, and A.2.4 on page 287 for the entry in *Sekiso ōrai* in the first appendix.⁵¹

⁴⁹Compiled by Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一 (1746–1821); completed in 1819. Hokiichi was a scholar of “National Learning” (*kokugaku* 国学) and textual editor of the late Edo period (JIE 1993, “Hanawa Hokiichi,” p. 497).

⁵⁰Also read Ichijō Kanera.

⁵¹*Shinsatsu ōrai*. In *Zoku gunsho ruiju*, vol. 13 (*ge*), Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1926 (1990), p. 1160. *Sekiso ōrai*. In *Gunsho ruiju*, vol. 9, Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1928 (1960), p. 507.

Transcription

Gion goryō-e. Kotoshi yama saisai, tokorodokoro no shizumeboko, ōtoneri no kasasagiboko. Zaichi chijin no yaku, mottomo shinryo ni kanai sōrō ya. Ban ni oyobite, Shirakawa hoko, juraku subeki no yoshi, fūbun sōrō.

Translation

The Gion festival. Many floats [proceed] this year. The *shizumeboko* float of various places, the umbrella-heron halberd of the *ōtoneri*. This service of the locals will surely answer the divine will. I hear that the Shirakawa halberd will enter the city in the evening.

Sekiso ōrai, mid-15th c.

Transcription

Gion goryō-e, kotoshi koto ni kekkō. Yamazaki no shizumeboko, ōtoneri no kasasagiboko, tokorodokoro no odoriboko, ieie no kasakuruma, furyū no tsukuriyama, yatsubachi, kusemai, zaichi no shoyaku, sadamete shinryo ni kanau ka. Bangoro ni wa, Shirakawa hoko juraku subeki no yoshi, fūbun sōrō.

Translation

The Gion festival is truly magnificent this year. The *shizumeboko* float of the Yamazaki, the umbrella-heron halberd of the *ōtoneri*, the dance floats of various places, the umbrella floats (*kasakuruma*) of various houses, the elaborate handmade mountain floats (*furyū tsukuriyama*), drum dances (*yatsubachi*), and *kusemai*. This service of the locals will surely answer the divine will. I hear that the Shirakawa float will enter the city in the evening.

Ueki points out that *ōraimono* do not necessarily reflect historical facts (Ueki 2001, p. 63). Yet these entries depict the Gion festival well, throwing light on its appearance in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. While the *Sekiso ōrai* lists a number of *furyū* performances, the *Shinsatsu ōrai* provides a briefer account.

Former research has shown that the *shizumeboko* of Yamazaki indicates the floats conducted by the Ōyamazaki oil merchants, who were organized as the Ōyamazaki oil guild (*Ōyamazaki abura za* 大山崎油座), located in Otokuni-gun 乙訓郡, Ōyamazaki machi 大山崎町, to the south-west of Kyoto. The Ōyamazaki oil guild was a prosperous medieval guild that mainly produced oil from wild sesame. They achieved an exclusive right for its production and selling; their monopolies included whole provinces or more. Other oil guilds were put under their protection. They belonged to the shrine Rikyū Hachimangū 離宮八幡宮, and as lay affiliates (*jinin* 神人) they were in charge of various festivals at the shrine. The Ōnin War

had a considerable impact on them, disrupting their transregional commercial operations. Therefore, Ōyamazaki oil merchants' main significance to economic history lies in the two centuries before the war (NDZ 1988, vol. 4, “Ōyamazaki aburaza,” p. 44; Wakita 1969, p. 81; Kanai 1979, pp. 404–05; Wakita 1999, pp. 175–76; Ueki 2001, p. 63; Gay 2001, p. 58; *ibid.* “The Lamp-Oil Merchants of Iwashimizu Shrine,” pp. 4; Kawauchi 2007, pp. 172–75; *ibid.* 2012, p. 115; *ibid.* 2015, pp. 74–75; Yamamura, “The Development of Za in Medieval Japan,” p. 443).

Yamaji points out that unlike the entries of the *Kanmon nikki*, the *Sekiso ōrai* entry implies that the *ōtoneri* were in charge of the umbrella-heron halberd (*kasasagiboko*) instead of the *shōmonji* of Kitabatake. It is conceivable that the **dancers** were *shōmonji*, but the **carriers** of the umbrella the *ōtoneri* patrons (Yamaji, “Gion goryō-e no geinō,” pp. 15–29; *ibid.* 2009, pp. 53–54; compare Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 10).

Danjō interprets the *odoriboko* as an [umbrella] halberd similar to that used in the performing art of *Yasurai-bana*. The phrase “*ieie no kasakuruma*” probably indicates umbrella halberds that were decorated on wheeled floats, dedicated by the military and court aristocracy, whereas *Yatsubachi* is a performing art that makes use of *kakko* drums. It becomes clear that even people from places outside of the center of Kyoto took part in the Gion festival (Danjō, “Kasaboko,” p. 15).

Agreeing with Danjō, Kawauchi suggests that “*zaichi no shoyaku*” indicates the participants of the parade who resided locally in Kyoto (Kawauchi 2007, pp. 174–75).

As stated above, former research has found that the float parade was usually conducted in the morning.⁵² However, Wakita argues that not all floats moved at the same time; the [umbrella] halberd of Shirakawa⁵³ only entered the city in the evening (compare the line “*bangoro ni wa shirakawa hoko juraku subeki*”). She further suggests that the Shirakawa float was conducted by shrine maidens of the Gion Shrine who lived in Shirakawa (Wakita 1999, pp. 115, 178).

Unlike the previously examined sources, the *Sekiso ōrai* lists various participants of the Gion festival in detail. The *ōtoneri* are given as the leaders of the umbrella-heron halberd; it remains speculation as to whether they were dancers or carriers of the umbrella halberds as entries of other records imply. Perhaps Kaneyoshi only copied this part from the *Shinsatsu ōrai* without making further inquiries. However, the umbrella-heron halberd was probably part of the Gion festival parade at the time that *Shinsatsu ōrai* and *Sekiso ōrai* were written.

***Kennaiki* (1414–1455)**

The diary *Kennaiki* (also read *Kendaiki*) 建内記, by the courtier and inner minister Madenokōji Tokifusa 万里小路時房 (1394–1457) of the Fujiwara Kajūji line (Kajūjiryū Fujiwara-shi 勸修寺流藤原氏), covers the years 1414 to 1455, but only fifty volumes survive, for the years 1428 to 1447. The title *Kennaiki* is an abbreviation of its full title, *Kenshōin naifuki* 建聖院内府記, bearing Tokifusa's posthumous

⁵²Refer to section 2.2.3 on “*Moromoriki*” on page 51.

⁵³Shirakawa is located in Sakyō ward, north-east Kyoto. It belonged to the *rakugai* 洛外 area.

title Kenshō 建聖 and his government post as an inner minister (*naidaijin* 内大臣 or *naifu* 内府), which he attained in 1445. The diary is an important source for the study of courtier society in the Muromachi period (JIE 1993, “Kennaiki,” p. 773). For a reprint of the original source, refer to A.2.5 on page 287 in the first appendix.⁵⁴

***Kennaiki*, Kakitsu 嘉吉 3 (1443), 6th month, 14th day**

Transcription	Translation
<p><i>Gion-e nari. (...) Saru no koku, Bishamondō no sagimai ushi no se ni koshite, watarikudarite Hōmon o sugu. Isasaka ukagaimi-owannu.</i></p>	<p>The Gion festival is held. At the hour of the monkey [from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m.], the heron dance[r] of the temple Bishamondō rides on the back of an ox and passes the mugwort gate. [I] saw a little bit [of it].</p>

The keyword ‘*sagimai*’ (heron dance) appears for the first time in historical sources in this entry of the *Kennaiki*. Kawauchi suggests that Tokifusa saw the heron dance passing the mugwort gate of his residence, which was located close to the imperial palace (Kawauchi 2012, p. 268; McKelway 2006, p. 8). Tokifusa records the heron dance as being connected to the temple Bishamondō 毘沙門堂. The Bishamondō was formerly located in the street Izumoji 出雲路, in present Kamigyōku, north of the imperial palace and east of Shōkokuji. Genjō argues that the term ‘Bishamondō’ probably indicates the *shōmonji* of Kitabatake, based on an entry in *Gogumaiki* 後愚昧記⁵⁵, eleventh month, eleventh day of 1369, which contains the keywords ‘Bishamondō Kitabatake’ 毘沙門堂北畠. He states that a later entry of 1447, recorded in the *Kennaiki*, shows that the *shōmonji* of Kitabatake conducted a *sagichō* performance at the imperial palace in the first month. Kawauchi adds that the term *sagimai* indicates the *Kitabatake kasasagiboko* as recorded in the *Kanmon nikki* (Kawauchi 2012, pp. 268–69; Genjō, “Kitabatake sanjo to Sakuramachi sanjo,” pp. 19–21). Therefore, it seems likely that the *Kanmon nikki* and the *Kennaiki* point to the same group of performers, who conducted the *kasasagiboko* and the heron dance.

An entry of the fourteenth day of the sixth month of Bunki 文龜 1 (1501), recorded in the *Sanetaka kōki* 実隆公記⁵⁶, sheds light on the ox:

⁵⁴An annotated typographical reprint is available in *Dai Nihon kokiroku: Kennaiki*, vol. 6, Ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo. Iwanami Shoten, 1974, p. 79.

⁵⁵The diary written by the courtier Sanjō Kintada 三条公忠 (1324–1383), which covers the years 1361 to 1383 and mainly contains information on court rites (KD 1985, vol. 5, “Gogumaiki,” p. 687).

⁵⁶The diary of the courtier Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆 (1455–1537), which covers the years 1474 to 1536 and contains information on his family as well as courtier culture (JIE 1993, “Sanetaka kō ki,” p. 1307). A typographical reprint is available in the third volume of *Sanetaka kōki*, Taiyōsha (1933).

祇園会、人々又今日成群歟、乗牛之者北苗拍子、近所徘徊

*Gion-e, hitobito mata kyō mure o nasu ka, ushi ni noru [no] mono,
Kitabatake hayashi, kinjo haikai su*

Many people gathered at today's Gion festival, a person on an ox, accompanied by the instrumentalists of Kitabatake, walked around the neighbourhood.

A person on an ox (*ushi ni noru [no] mono* 乗牛之者) takes part in the Gion festival parade on the fourteenth day of the sixth month of 1501.⁵⁷ He is accompanied by music performers (*hayashi* 拍子) of Kitabatake 北苗 (probably a misspelling of 北畠). Izumi states that the term Kitabatake refers to the *shōmonji* who lived in Kitabatake, and who performed ox-riding—apart from the heron dance—as one part of their repertoire. Whereas the heron dance was probably no longer conducted after the Ōnin War, it seems likely that the ox-riding was revived but eventually vanished over time as well (Izumi, “Tsukinami saireizu mohon,” pp. 13–14). The set of heron dance and ox-riding performance is depicted on the *Tsukinami saireizu*, which is discussed below.

***Kyōgaku shiyōshō* (1415–1472)**

There is evidence that the heron dance was performed not only in Kyoto, but also in Nara. As former research states, one of the oldest examples of a heron dance outside of Kyoto can be seen in the clerical diary *Kyōgaku shiyōshō* 経覚私要鈔 (Private Writings of Kyōgaku), also called *An'iji dono go-jiki* 安位寺殿御自記 (Private Writings of An'iji-dono). Its author Kyōgaku 経覚 (1395–1473), also known as An'iji-dono 安位寺殿, was the eighteenth high priest of the Hossō sect (Hossōshū 法相宗)⁵⁸ at the temple Kōfukuji 興福寺 in Nara.

The diary comprises sixty-five volumes, with sixteen supplementary volumes, and is kept at the National Archives of Japan. The extant part of the diary includes entries from 1415 to 1472, although some parts of the record are lost. Its content concerns activities at the temple, politics during the turbulent years leading to the Ōnin War, and the economy as well as society of the time (NDZ 1988, vol. 6, “Kyōgaku shiyōshō,” p. 816).

The heron dance—probably chosen due to its popularity at Kyoto's Gion festival—was included as a part of a *furyū* parade for the Bon Festival in Nara. This festival was established by Furuichi Insen 古市胤仙 (?–1453), a dominant political and military figure at the local level (*kokujin* 国人) of the province Yamato, who was also a monk-soldier (*shuto* 衆徒) of the temple Kōfukuji. In 1447, Kyōgaku moved to the headquarters of the Furuichi family, a village of the same

⁵⁷Kawauchi reads this term “*ushi no nori*” (Kawauchi 2012, pp. 262, 269).

⁵⁸The Hossō school is one of the six schools of Nara Buddhism. It was introduced to Japan by monks from China during the period 653 to 735 (JIE 1993, “Hossō sect,” p. 568).

name, located close to Kōfukuji. Kyōgaku and Insen were dependent on each other for the maintenance of power in Nara. Insen and his sons In’ei 胤栄 (?–?) and Chōin 澄胤 (1452–1508) were famous as “*furyū* generals” (*furyū bushō* 風流武将).⁵⁹ Kyōgaku’s diary provides insight on the Furuichi family and their extensive *furyū* parades of that time (Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 12; Ogasawara 1972, p. 24; Kanai 1979, p. 416; Inada, “Yamaguchi no Gion matsuri,” p. 134; *Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, p. 476; Yamaji, “Tsuwano no sagimai,” p. 129; NRCT 1981, vol. 30, “Furuichi-jō ato,” pp. 645–46; KD 1991, vol. 12, “Furuichi Chōin,” p. 357; SDJ 2009, vol. 25, “Furuichi uji,” p. 192; Tanaka, “Kokujin Furuichi-uji,” p. 63). For a reprint of the original source, refer to A.2.6 on page 287 in the first appendix.⁶⁰

***Kyōgaku shiyōshō*, Hōtoku 宝徳 2 (1450), 7th month, 18th day**

Transcription	Translation
<i>Saru no koku, furyū kore ari, saki ni bōmochi futari, tsugi ni sagimai futari, sagi o tsukurite hito ni kisete kore o mau.</i>	At the hour of the monkey [from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m.], the <i>furyū</i> [parade] takes place: first two rod wielders [proceed], followed by two heron dancers, who wear a heron [costume] and dance.

Former research points out that the term *bōmochi*, recorded in the entry of 1450, can be interpreted as rod wielders (*bōfuri*). This implies that the heron dancers and the rod wielders probably performed together as a set at that time in Nara (*Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, p. 476).

⁵⁹The younger brother Chōin took over as the head of the family in 1475.

⁶⁰*Kyōgaku shiyōshō*. In *Shiryō sanshū: Kokiroku hen: Kyōgaku shiyōshō*, vols. 2, 4 and 7. Revisors Takahashi Ryūzō and Koizumi Yoshiaki. Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1973 (vol. 2), p. 141 (1450); 1977 (vol. 4), p. 44 (1458); and Yagi Shoten, 2008 (vol. 7), p. 203 (1467).

Kyōgaku shiyōshō, Chōroku 長禄 2 (1458), 7th month, 16th day

Transcription	Translation
<i>Yo ni irite, Sotobadō no monodomo furyū seshime kitari-owannu, saki ni kasa ari, tsugi ni sagi futari kore o mau.</i>	In the evening, the people of Sotobadō [town] were prompted to proceed in the <i>furyū</i> [parade]: first there are umbrellas, followed by two heron dancers who perform their dance.

According to Shimizu's findings, the village of Furuichi consisted of five towns, Sotobadō being one of them. These five towns were involved in this most important Bon Festival from the fifteenth day to the eighteenth day of the seventh month.⁶¹ It is likely that about five thousand people watched these *furyū* dance parades (Shimizu, "Muromachiki Kinai ni okeru machiba no kōzō," p. 4). The entry of 1458 shows that the people of Sotobadō took part in the *furyū* parade. It seems that they performed the heron dance with an umbrella, probably resembling the performance at the Gion festival in Kyoto.

Kyōgaku shiyōshō, Ōnin 応仁 1 (1467), 7th month, 15th day

Transcription	Translation
<i>Furyū kitarite, sagi niwa, odori no mono saisai, kyō o moyōshi-owannu.</i>	The <i>furyū</i> [parade] arrived, two herons, many dancers. They were interesting.

The entry of 1467 records the arrival of the *furyū* parade, including two heron dancers among many other dancers.

Unlike the records of the heron dance in Kyoto examined above, the dates of the entries seen in the *Kyōgaku shiyōshō* vary. Perhaps the date of the heron dance performance was not so important, as long as it was performed on one of the Bon Festival days.

In summary, the evidence from these entries, such as two rod wielders, and two heron dancers and their costumes, and an umbrella connected to the dance, suggests that the heron dance was taken from the Gion festival of Kyoto. Hence, these records bear witness to the transmission of the heron dance performance to regions outside Kyoto at an early stage.

⁶¹Shimizu only gives the sixteenth and seventeenth day, but as the entries show, the *furyū* parade was conducted over an even longer time span.

Tsukinami saireizu (mohon) (mid-15th c.?)

There is only little pictorial historic material on the medieval heron dance performance surviving to the present day. The oldest extant depiction of the heron dance as part of the Gion festival can be seen on the fifth and sixth scrolls of the *Tsukinami saireizu* 月次祭礼図 (Festivals of the Twelve Months), held by Tokyo National Museum. The six extant hanging scrolls are copies of panels making up one of a pair of folding screens, each of six panels. According to the inscriptions “left one” to “left six” on the upper part of the scrolls, it seems likely that the copies are of the original left screen of the pair. The copies were probably made in the Edo period and appear to be unfinished, as they vary in quality. Some parts show fine details, whereas other parts are roughly abbreviated and only partially coloured. Nevertheless, the copies give a good idea of the original screen (Takeda, “Zuhan kaisetsu,” p. 80). The original is attributed to Tosa Mitsunobu 土佐光信 (1434–1525), an artist of the Tosa school.

Takeda suggests that the *Tsukinami saireizu* may be a painting mentioned in an entry on Tosa Mitsunobu in one of the earliest histories of Japanese painting, *Tansei jakubokushū* 丹青若木集 (Collection of Young Trees of Painting), which was written in about 1650 by Kanō Ikkei 狩野一溪 (1599–1662), a painter and student of Kanō Mitsunobu.⁶²

有洛中月並祭礼画屏、一々濃細誠精妙也、惜哉其片々者散失、件画屏
台徳院殿入于庫蔵矣

*Rakuchū tsukinami sairei gabyō ari, ichichi [no] nōsai makoto ni seimyō
nari, oshiki kana sono katakata [no] mono sanshitsu su, kudan [no]
gabyō Taitoku-in dono kozō ni iru.*

There is a painted screen [which shows] the festivals of the months in Kyoto. It is minutely detailed and truly exquisite. Unfortunately, one half [of the pair] is lost. Lord Taitoku-in [Tokugawa Hidetada] put the [remaining] screen in his storehouse.⁶³

The entry implies that one of the original pair of folding screens had already been lost in the early seventeenth century. The remaining screen was evidently owned by shogun Tokugawa Hidetada 徳川秀忠 (1579–1632) (McKelway 2006, pp. 32–33, 241; Takeda, “Josetsu,” p. 8; KD 1988, vol. 9, “Tansei jakubokushū,” p. 344).

Regarding its date of creation, Tsuji suggests that the depictions on the *Tsukinami saireizu* are no older than the fifteenth century (Tsuji 1976, p. 27). Other researchers have dated the work to the sixteenth century. Historians of the performing arts have proposed some time after 1500 for its creation, based on how

⁶²Ikkei’s work comprises the biographies of 153 Japanese painters in one volume (“Tansei Jakubokushū 丹青若木集,” *Jaanus* (online), 2001). A reprint of the original source can be found in *Nihon gadan taikan (ge)*. Ed. Sakazaki Shizuka, Mejiro Shoin, 1917, p. 1016.

⁶³Compare translation by McKelway (McKelway 2006, p. 33).

it depicts the Gion festival. Izumi examines the depictions of each festival shown in the paintings in detail, linking them to historical records. She compares the painting style to other works, concluding that the *Tsukinami saireizu* is likely to have been created in the middle of the fifteenth century, suggesting some time before the Ōnin War (Izumi, “Tsukinami saireizu mohon,” pp. 13, 20).

Depictions on the Scrolls As *tsukinami-e* 月次絵 generally depict activities associated with the months of the year, the *Tsukinami saireizu* shows monthly activities in Kyoto. It presents a vision of both everyday life and special events, joined together in an imaginary, geographically unspecified setting. The work simply links together various scenes from different times of the year. Characteristic of the *Tsukinami saireizu* is the use of scalloped-edged clouds which originally were applied in gold leaf, gold wash, or a combination of the two, to break up the composition into individual scenes. Further, the scale of the motifs is reduced from the foreground to the background, and urban scenes are shown in the lower half against the backdrop of rural scenes and mountains in the upper half of the screen (McKelway 2006, pp. 4–5, 13–14, 32–33).⁶⁴

The six scrolls (originally the six panels of the left folding screen) of the *Tsukinami saireizu* show the first six months of the year, spring and summer; the missing right screen must have covered activities of autumn and winter. The first two scrolls show New Year’s archery (*yumihajime* 弓始) at the shogun’s residence. Further, a *matsubayashi* performance, featuring a dance in crane and turtle costumes, is shown at the imperial palace (Tsuji 1976, p. 27; McKelway 2006, p. 32).⁶⁵ On the upper left side of the scroll, people visit the Fushimi Inari Shrine on the first “day of the horse” of the second month (*hatsuuma* 初午); merchants’ stalls line the road (McKelway 2006, p. 32; Satō 2006, p. 25).

The upper part of the third scroll features plum blossoms, wisteria and cherry trees. It further shows a bush warbler contest (*uguisu awase* 鶯合) for the second month and cockfighting (*tori awase* 鶏合) for the third month. Next to these scenes, there is a big willow tree with green leaves. The fourth month is illustrated by a depiction of the Kamo festival (Aoi festival), followed by a house decorated with iris leaves on the roof, representing the Boy’s Festival on the fifth day of

⁶⁴McKelway states that the *Tsukinami saireizu* might be seen as one kind of visual ancestor of the Kyoto screens *rakuchū rakugaizu* 洛中洛外図, often translated literally as “scenes in and around Kyoto.” *Rakuchū rakugaizu* screens were produced from the late Muromachi to the early Edo period and show famous sites, festivals and activities in Kyoto and its surroundings. They are typically depicted from an aerial vantage point, combined with a detailed presentation of the content. By their selective depiction of generic scenes in actual places, the *rakuchū rakugaizu* screens reflect the desire for political legitimacy rather than a neutral representation of life (McKelway 2006, pp. 4–5, 13–14, 32–33).

⁶⁵McKelway interprets the performance as *sagichō*, but due to an absence of a bonfire, it is better understood as *matsubayashi*, as demonstrated by Japanese scholars. According to Tsuji, the big cherry blossom tree indicates that the performance was probably conducted in front of the Seiryōden 清涼殿 (Tsuji 1976, p. 27). However, the big cherry blossom tree *sakon no sakura* 左近桜 stood in front of the Shishinden 紫宸殿, so it seems likely that the performance took place in front of the Shishinden. It is likely that the New Year’s archery was conducted at the Yubadono 弓場殿, which is located close to the Shishinden.

the fifth month. Above this house, a parade of warriors of the Fujinomori Shrine (Fujinomori jinja 藤森神社) takes place. On the left side of the parade, rice is being planted and *dengaku* performed. Below the houses, children play a mock battle: a game once played on Boy's Festival in which boys—divided into two groups—threw pebbles at each other (*inji-uchi* 印地打). The fifth and sixth scrolls show the Gion festival, representing the sixth month (Takeda, “Zuhan kaisetsu,” p. 80; McKelway 2006, p. 32; Satō 2006, p. 25; JIE 1993, “Injiuchi,” p. 605).

The Heron Dance The heron dance depicted on the fifth scroll is performed by two men wearing white trousers tied with blue leg compresses (*tattsuke-bakama* たっつけ袴) and a short-sleeved red top (probably a *han juban* 判襦袢 or an unlined garment worn in summer, *katabira* 帷子), *tabi* socks and straw sandals. They each carry a sword. Their faces are covered with a dark cloth. Their heads support a heron head with a small umbrella with red decorative cords on its top. The beaks of both herons are closed.⁶⁶ The dancers bear white plumage made of long strips; it seems likely that they were threaded together and struck while dancing. The people around them are watching them and seem pleasantly entertained.

Ishizuka was the first to point out that the heron dance in Tsuwano of today resembles the one depicted on the *Tsukinami saireizu* (Ishizuka, “Sagimai,” p. 294). Unlike Ishizuka, Katō emphasises the differences between the heron dance in Tsuwano and the one depicted on the screen; he points out that the heron costumes have little umbrellas on their heads on the *Tsukinami saireizu* (Katō, “Sagimai kō,” p. 56). There are certainly differences from the modern performance, but the similarities are probably more striking.

Okimoto comments that a group playing the gong, the flute, and the drums can be seen, as well as a rod wielder with a fuzzy wig, who is waving a stick. He concludes that this kind of performance seems to resemble the heron dance in the times of Yoshimi (Okimoto 1970, p. 719). However, re-examining of the scroll shows that a rod wielder is not depicted.⁶⁷

Honda points out that the heron dance must have made an impression on the painter, so that he felt the need to depict this performance (Yamaji, “Tsuwano no sagimai,” p. 129). This supports the assumption of a certain popularity of the heron dance.

Inada lays emphasis on the unit of the heron dance and the umbrella-heron halberd (*kasasagiboko*) which carries a bridge and heron on its top (Inada, “Yamaguchi no Gion matsuri,” p. 134). The umbrella halberd is depicted at some distance from the heron dance performance, at the back of the crowd (*kachibayashi* 徒囃子) that encourages the float. Izumi argues that their mouths are open as if they were singing a song. Some of the people wear high hats and carry a sword on their left shoulder, and a fan in their right hand, perhaps used to beat the rhythm. Izumi speculates that this musical accompaniment could be the one known from the kyogen play *Senjimonō*. Proceeding in front of the crowd, instrumentalists

⁶⁶Nowadays, one heron has an open beak at the performances in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano.

⁶⁷Okimoto calls the rod *shimoto*, a term that is usually only seen in connection with the heron dance in Yamaguchi.



Figure 2.5: *Tsukinami saireizu (mohon)*, sixth scroll (1), TNM
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Figure 2.6: *Tsukinami saireizu (mohon)*, fifth scroll (r), TNM
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Figure 2.7: *Tsukinami saireizu (mohon)*, detail of fifth scroll (r), TNM

playing shoulder drums (*kotsuzumi*), waist drums (*kakko*), flute, and gong are depicted. Further, another umbrella halberd is depicted in front of the *kasasagiboko*: it is decorated with a cock that is seated on a drum (*kankoboko* 諫鼓鉞). Unlike the *kasasagiboko*, the *kankoboko* was revived after the Ōnin War (Izumi, “Egakareta chūsei Gion-e furyū,” p. 8).

The Floats The fifth and sixth scrolls show four floats: three can be identified clearly, and one seems to be hidden behind the boat float, since only its mast can be seen. The mast is decorated with a figure drawing water (*katsura otoko* 桂男).

The fifth scroll shows a round float carried on the shoulders (*kakiyama* 昇山). This kind of float, with a diorama mounted on its top, is often referred to as *tsukuriyama* 作山 in historical records.⁶⁸ The float is wrapped with two layers of drapery. It is decorated with two old pine trees (*oimatsu* 老松), each on a miniature mountain. Against this backdrop, the common motif of the Chinese sage Lin Bu 林逋 (967–1038)⁶⁹, a noted Northern Song poet and literatus, is portrayed. He feeds a crane, accompanied by a child. It is said that due to his affection for plum blossom and cranes, he had a plum tree as his wife and a crane as his son, a

⁶⁸Ueki notes that this round form evolves into a rectangular form in later times (Ueki, “Zuzō ni miru,” p. 500).

⁶⁹Posthumous name Lin Hejing 林和靖 (lit. “Grove of Harmony”). He is referred to as Rinnasei in Japanese.

metaphor for a life of fulfillment and serenity (Ueki, “Zuzō ni miru,” p. 490; *ibid.* 2001, p. 87).⁷⁰

The lower right corner of the sixth scroll shows a wheeled float decorated with tiger fur, which is pulled by a number of men (*hikiyama*); its mast (*shingi* 真木) pierces the sky with its small umbrellas at the top, and cords carried by the crowd at the ground support the construction, preventing it from overturning. The float carries a musical accompaniment which comprises a shoulder drum, a waist drum, and a big drum as well as a flute. The player of the big drum wears a fuzzy wig (*shaguma*), attracting the viewers’ attention. The music played by these instrumentalists seems to be intended to encourage the heron dancers. A similar instrumentation is depicted for the *matsubayashi* on the first screen. This instrumentation is strikingly similar to the one found in Tsuwano today. Ueki stated that this was the *hōkaboko* 放下鉾 in his earlier findings. Reviewing this position, he argues that it is impossible to identify this float (Ueki, “Zuzō ni miru,” p. 500; *ibid.* 2016, pp. 51–53; 59).

The middle of the sixth scroll depicts a float in the shape of a boat (*funaboko* 舟鉾) with a red halberd mounted on its deck. This boat float carries a roofed stage on which a suit of armour is displayed. A sword is fixed to the roof, which is a unique aspect of the depiction of this float compared to other folding screens, as Izumi states. She further points out that the use of functional objects such as a sword and armour as decoration implies a creation date in the Kamakura to the early Muromachi periods. Other studies have found that this boat float probably existed before the Ōnin War (Matsuda 1990, p. 162).⁷¹ Izumi found that the *Kanmon nikki* (1416–1448) is the latest source that mentions the boat float, which is why Izumi concludes that this depiction shows the Gion festival before the Ōnin War (Izumi, “Tsukinami saireizu mohon,” pp. 14–15).

The Ox-Rider Former research points out the connection of the man in a black dress with protruding sleeves on an ox proceeding in front of the heron dancers, with an entry in the *Sanetaka kōki* of the fourteenth day of the sixth month of 1501, regarding a man on an ox (“*ushi ni noru [no] mono*”) accompanied by performers of Kitabatake (*Kitabatake hayashi*).⁷² It is conceivable that the *shōmonji* of Kitabatake performed both the heron dance and ox riding as a part of their repertoire. This assumption is supported by the entries of other historical records, such as the *Kennaiki* analyzed above (Izumi, “Tsukinami saireizu mohon,” pp. 13–14; Kawauchi 2012, p. 268; Takeda, “Keiraku tsukinami fūzokuzu,” p. 18).

⁷⁰A discussion of the decoration of this *kakiyama* can be found in the kyogen play *Kujizainin*. At the time of the creation of the play, the float’s decoration was discussed and determined anew every year by the groups responsible for it (Ueki, “Zuzō ni miru,” p. 490; *ibid.* 2001, p. 74).

⁷¹According to Ueki, the first mention of this float can be found in an entry of the fourteenth day of the sixth month of 1422 in the *Yasutomiki* 康富記, a diary written by the Confucian scholar and court official Nakahara Yasutomi 中原康富 (1400–1457). The entry notes that the *funaboko* is as elaborate as always, which implies that this float was already established as a part of the Gion festival parade at this time (Ueki 2016, pp. 41, 58).

⁷²Refer to section 2.2.3 regarding “*Kennaiki*” on pages 60 to 62.

Conclusion Taking into account Tsuji's and Izumi's findings, it seems likely that the *Tsukinami saireizu* was created before the Ōnin War. This assumption is supported by evidence discussed below which suggests that the heron dance was not part of the Gion festival after its revival in 1500.⁷³ Therefore, the *Tsukinami saireizu* shows a rare and valuable depiction of the heron dance as it was probably performed in Kyoto of the fifteenth century.

Taken together, it can be said that the *Tsukinami saireizu* is a significant pictorial source revealing the shape of early forms of the floats as well as the *furyū* performances of the heron dance and the ox-rider in procession at the Gion festival. It matches well the accounts of the historical records analysed above.

Keiraku tsukinami fūzokuzu senmen nagashi (mid-16th c.?)

Another depiction of the heron dance can be found in a fan on the screen *Keiraku tsukinami fūzokuzu senmen nagashi* 京洛月次風俗図扇面流 (Flowing Fans of Famous Sights in the Capital), held by the Kyoto temple Kōenji 光円寺 (abbr. Kōenji screen). It carries the signature of Kanō Motonobu 狩野元信 (1476–1559), implying that it was painted by him or an artist of his school. The work is one of a pair of folding screens with twenty-four fans on six panels showing famous places and monthly activities in Kyoto. The extant screen covers spring and summer, whereas the lost screen probably covered autumn and winter. Each panel carries four fans which seem to drift over the surface of the screen. The underpainting shows waves, reeds, and darting plovers. The screen is preserved in excellent condition, painted with rich mineral pigments. Screens of this type were highly valued (Izumi 2006, pp. 31; McKelway 2006, pp. 37–38, 242).

Takeda suggests that the screen underpainting dates to the late Muromachi period, probably sixteenth century, due to its spatial and compositional complexity and its skilful execution using silver wash and mineral pigments (Takeda, “Keiraku tsukinami fūzokuzu,” p. 18; McKelway 2006, pp. 37, 242). Izumi points out that the screen depicts Kyoto of the sixteenth century, noting that the images were drawn after the Ōnin War, probably by the middle of the 1500s.

The first panel shows New Year's activities at the imperial palace, such as a *sagichō* performance, an archery contest, and cockfighting. The second panel presents battledore and shuttlecock, a bush warbler contest, the Gion festival and its shrine procession. The third panel shows the temple Shōkokuji, Inabadō Byōdōji 因幡堂平等寺 with plum blossoms, the ox-rider at the Gion festival, and fish at the Rokkaku fish market. The fourth panel depicts traditional football (*kemari* 蹴鞠), the Kamo (Aoi) festival, the Kamo horse race and the festival *kosatsuki-e* 小五月会 conducted at the Hie Shrine (Hiesha 日吉社). The fifth panel shows the Kitano Shrine, the Gion Shrine, the Moon-traversing Bridge (Togetsukyō 渡月橋) of Arashiyama with timber rafts, and the Hirosawa pond (Hirosawa no ike 広沢池). The sixth panel comprises depictions of the shrine Iwashimizu Hachimangū 石清水八幡宮, a warrior procession of the Fujimori Shrine, a rock fight on Boy's Day, and the popular theme of the Chinese classic *Twenty-four Filial*

⁷³Compare section 2.2.3 on “*Gion-e yamaboko no koto* (1507)” on page 75.



Figure 2.8: *Keiraku tsukinami fūzokuzu senmen nagashi* (detail), Kyoto temple Kōenji

Exemplars (*Nijūshi kō* 二十四孝). As Izumi states, the depictions do not follow any temporal flow (Takeda, “Josetsu,” p. 23; McKelway 2006, p. 38; Izumi 2006, pp. 32–79).

The depiction of the heron dance can be found on the second fan of the first panel. The performance is conducted as a part of the *sagichō* performance in the front garden of the imperial palace: a bonfire made of straw and decorated with bamboo twigs is depicted in the middle of the fan.⁷⁴ Two heron dancers in white costumes, comprising a *katabira* and a *tattsuke bakama*, spread the wings attached to their arms and dance in front of the bonfire. Their faces are covered with a

⁷⁴An entry for the eighteenth day of the first month of 1488 in the *Chikanaga kyōki* 親長卿記, a diary of the courtier Kanroji Chikanaga 甘露寺親長 (1424–1500) covering the years 1470 to 1498, records that the *sagichō* performance at the imperial palace was discontinued due to the Ōnin War, but revived in the year of the record (Izumi 2006, pp. 31, 34). In later depictions the *sagichō* performance is usually situated at the imperial palace, for the court aristocracy, or the shogunate. An exception can be seen on the Uesugi screen (*Uesugibon Rakuchū rakugaizu byōbu*, completed in 1565) by Kanō Eitoku 狩野永徳, where it is performed in front of the residence of the warrior family Matsunaga 松永 (McKelway 2006, p. 120, 129, 140).

green cloth. On their heads they wear a heron head with an open beak. There are neither decorative umbrellas attached to the heron's heads, nor do the dancers carry swords as depicted on the *Tsukinami saireizu*. Behind the heron dancers, two *kakko mai* dancers perform in a colourful dress, comprising a blue vest, an orange short-sleeved kimono (*kosode* 小袖), and a red *hakama*. They wear blue hats with red decorative cords. Behind the heron dancers, one rod wielder (*bōfuri*) waves a stick with tassels at both ends while he is dancing. He wears a red *hakama*, and a green jacket. A fuzzy red wig covers his head. The instrumentalists are colourfully dressed, playing two *kotsuzumi* shoulder drums, one *taiko* drum, one gong, and one flute.

Comparing the depictions of the heron dance in the Kōenji screen and the *Tsukinami saireizu*, the following notable differences can be observed: the latter depicts the plumage as consisting of long sticks with supple joints which seemingly can be opened and closed like a fan. In contrast, the heron plumage on the Kōenji screen presents the plumage as composed of many small feathers that probably made it difficult to open and close. The costumes of the dancers in the *Tsukinami saireizu* comprise two colours, red and white, whereas the depiction in the Kōenji screen shows a completely white heron costume, except for the facial cloth. Moreover, the beaks of the herons in the *Tsukinami saireizu* are closed, whereas they are open in the Kōenji screen. The heron dancers perform their dance proceeding as a part of the Gion festival parade in the *Tsukinami saireizu*, yet the Kōenji screen depicts the heron dance as a single performance at a certain place. These differences partly derive from the distinct nature of both performances: whether the heron dance performance is depicted as part of the Gion festival in summer, or as part of the *sagichō* performance of the first month. As shown above, both performances were probably conducted by the *shōmonji* of Kitabatake.⁷⁵

The following aspects can be observed comparing the depictions of the *Tsukinami saireizu* and the Kōenji screen to the modern heron dance performances in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano: The plumage in both depictions seems to consist of two parts, the wings and the tail. The wings with supple joints as depicted in the *Tsukinami saireizu* appear to be similar to the ones used in Tsuwano today. The modern costume, however, does not include a tail. The depiction in the Kōenji screen probably resembles the plumage construction they use in Yamaguchi today, which is made of three fixed wooden planks.

Regarding the colours of the heron costume, red and white can be found in the *Tsukinami saireizu*. The same colour scheme is used in Tsuwano. In contrast, the heron costume only uses white in the Kōenji screen. The modern performance of Yamaguchi only uses white colour for its heron costumes. The heron's beak is depicted closed in the *Tsukinami saireizu*, and open in the Kōenji screen. At the modern performances in Tsuwano and Yamaguchi, one beak is open, and one is closed.

⁷⁵As discussed above, the author of the *Kanmon nikki*, Imperial Prince Sadafusa, witnessed both the heron dance at the Gion festival as well as the *sagichō* performance in the first month. An entry of his diary for the fifteenth day of the first month of 1416 records the *sagichō* performance and its decoration (Takeda, "Keiraku tsukinami fūzokuzu," p. 18; Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 11; Yamaji, "Tsuwano no sagimai," p. 130).

Finally, it should be pointed out that the modern heron dance is rather complex, so it is performed at one fixed place after another, rather than danced while proceeding in the parade. The performances of Yamaguchi and Tsuwano are part of the Gion festival in summer, so a comparison with the depiction of the *sagichō* performance on the Kōenji screen might fall short in some aspects.

Both depictions, however, show the main elements of the heron dance: two heron dancers, two *kakko mai* dancers, rod wielders, musical accompaniment comprising drums, flutes, gongs and song, decorative umbrella halberds (only in the *Tsukinami saireizu*), and spectators.

Gion-e yamaboko no koto (1507)

Due to the outbreak of the Ōnin War in 1467, the Gion festival was discontinued for thirty-three years. The source *Gion-e yamaboko no koto* 祇園会山鉾事 (held by the Kyoto Yasaka Shrine) is the only available record that contrasts the floats taking part before the Ōnin War and after the festival's revival in 1500. It is therefore highly valuable. The original was probably written by Matsuda Yorisuke 松田頼亮 in 1507. His grandson Yoritaka 頼隆 copied Yorisuke's writings in 1560. It can be found as the fifteenth volume of the *Gionsha-ki* 祇園社記, which was compiled by the priest Gyōkai 行快 (?-?) of the Yasaka Shrine from 1716 to 1736 (Kawauchi 2006, p. 149).⁷⁶

Not much is known about Yorisuke and Yoritaka except that the former worked for the Muromachi bakufu as the Deputy Chief of the Board of Retainers (*samurai-dokoro kaikō* 侍所開闔). He recorded information regarding the Gion festival before the Ōnin War based on what he had heard from older officials. His grandson Yoritaka also worked for the Muromachi bakufu administration and was on good terms with Ashikaga Yoshiteru (Kawauchi 2006, pp. 175–77; Wakita 1999, p. 162).

The typographical reprint of the *Gion-e yamaboko no koto* found in the *Yasaka jinja kiroku (jō)* of 1923 lists the floats participating in the Gion festival parade before the Ōnin War and in 1500. Regarding the heron umbrella halberd, the reprint lists the following for the parade on the fourteenth day (p. 742):

一、かさほく 大との房

Hitotsu, kasahoku, ōtonobō

- Umbrella halberd, [conducted by] the *ōtonobō* (sic)

⁷⁶A typographical reprint is available in the compilation *Yasaka jinja kiroku (jō)*, edited by the Yasaka Shrine office in 1923, pp. 736–47. The Cultural Properties Protection Department of the Fine Arts Division of the Agency for Cultural Affairs conducted a survey on the Yasaka Shrine records (*Yasaka jinja monjo* 八坂神社文書, held by Yasaka Shrine) in 1989 and published their results in *Yasaka jinja monjo mokuroku* in 1990. Kawauchi notes that photographs of the *Yasaka jinja monjo* taken on that occasion and thereafter kept by the Kyoto Prefectural Library and Archives show that the typographical reprint does not always correspond to the original. Kawauchi therefore provides a typographical reprint of the float list in his work *Chūsei Kyōto no toshi to shūkyō*. Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 2006, pp. 151–62).

On the other hand, a photograph taken by the Agency for Cultural Affairs reveals that the original additionally contains an entry for the heron halberd (here: *sagihoku*) which was conducted by the Kitabatake, omitted in the typographical reprint of 1923:

一、かさほく 大とのゑ

Hitotsu, kasahoku, ōtonoe

- Umbrella halberd, [conducted by] the *ōtonoe*

一、さきほく 北はたけ

Hitotsu, sagihoku, Kitabatake

- Heron halberd, [conducted by] the Kitabatake

This underlines what has already become clear from the record in the *Kanmon nikki*: two umbrella halberds were part of the Gion festival parade before the Ōnin War, one conducted by the *ōtoneri* and one by the *shōmonji* of Kitabatake (Kawauchi 2006, pp. 163–64). The record lists neither the former nor the latter for the Gion festival after its revival in 1500. This suggests that both umbrella halberds disappeared from the Gion festival parade as a result of the Ōnin War.

Muromachi bakufu bugyōsho an (1500–1507)

The *Muromachi bakufu bugyōsho an* 室町幕府奉行書案 (abbr. *Bugyō sho an*) are directive drafts with joint signatures of the Muromachi bakufu administration (*Muromachi bakufu bugyōnin renshōsho an* 室町幕府奉行人連署書案) that mainly transmitted orders of the shogun and his government.⁷⁷

Kawauchi provides a list of ten directive drafts issued during the fifth and sixth months from 1500 to 1507, recording the absence of the *ōtoneri* at the Gion festival parade (Kawauchi 2012, pp. 272–73). The drafts are mostly issued by Kiyofusa 清房 and Motoyuki 元行, members of the Inō 飯尾 family, who provided members of the bakufu administration until the end of the Muromachi period. The content of the ten directive drafts is similar: since the revival of the Gion festival in 1500, the *ōtoneri* have not taken part in the festival parade and therefore failed to meet their obligations. They were ordered to pay their share for the festival but are in arrears with payment, which is critically appraised. One typical directive draft of 1501 is examined here. For a reprint of the original source, refer to A.2.7 on page 288 in the first appendix.⁷⁸

⁷⁷A typographical reprint is provided in vol. 3 of the compilation of shrine chronicles *Yasaka jinja sōsho: Yasaka jinja monjo (jō)*, edited by the Yasaka Shrine office in 1939. Refer also to the typographical reprint available in the compilation *Yasaka jinja kiroku (jō, ge)*, edited by the Yasaka Shrine office in 1923.

⁷⁸*Muromachi bakufu bugyōsho an*. In *Yasaka Jinja sōsho*, vol. 3. Ed. Yasaka Jinja Shamusho,

Muromachi bakufu bugyōsho an.
Bunki 文龜 1 (1501), 6th month, 7th day

Transcription	Translation
<p><i>Gion-e no koto, kinnen taiten no jō, kyonen saikō no tokoro, ōtoneritomogara shin'yaku ni shitagawazu to unnun. Motte no hoka no shidai nari. Shosen, tōnen ni oite wa, yakuzen o aikakete, shinji no yōkyaku ni mochiu. Shoshikishō ni gegyō seraru beki no yoshi sōrō nari. Yotte, shittatsu kudan no gotoshi.</i></p>	<p>The Gion festival was discontinued in recent years but revived last year [1500]. Evidently, the <i>ōtoneri</i> did not fulfill their obligation to serve the gods. This is certainly improper behaviour. Eventually, those [responsible] this year [<i>ōtoneri</i>] are made to pay a contribution [for the Gion festival] which is used as budget for [the execution of] the ritual. The division for price control shall do that. The statements above were made [by the shogun].</p>

Kawauchi suggests that the bakufu did not collect enough money for the festival, so they tried to cover the expenses by raising funds among the festival participants. In view of the number of directive drafts expressly criticizing their absence, the *ōtoneri* were of special concern to the shogunal deputy Hosokawa Masamoto 細川政元 (1466–1507). Masamoto probably played a vital role in the revival of the Gion festival which fell within his administrative remit. When he saw the floats of the Gion festival—probably led by a person on an ox—the first time in 1501 from the viewing-stands, he may have thought that the heron umbrella halberd of the *ōtoneri* should also be part of the parade, as records like the *Kennaiki* and the *Tsukinami saireizu* imply. His request, however, was not answered. No further drafts can be found for the years after 1507; Kawauchi links this to the assassination of Masamoto after the Gion festival on the twenty-third day of the sixth month in 1507 (Kawauchi 2012, pp. 271–73; *ibid.* 2015, pp. 138–40).

The two records *Gion-e yamaboko no koto* and *Bugyō sho an* show that the heron umbrella halberd of the *ōtoneri* and its accompaniment, the heron dance, were not revived after the Ōnin War and thus no longer took part in the Gion festival from 1500 on. In this way, the heron dance was lost from its original context.

Kyoto: Yasaka Jinja Shamusho, 1938, pp. 230–31.

2.3 The Heron Dance and the Gion Festival in the Edo Period

2.3.1 The Extinction of the Kyoto Heron Dance in the Edo Period

Subsequent to the downfall of the Ashikaga bakufu, Oda Nobunaga initiated the unification of the country, which was completed by Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536–1598) in the 1590s, and formalized by Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543–1616) at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Unlike the rulers of the Muromachi bakufu, these figures did not show much interest in the Gion festival (Kawauchi 2015, p. 166).

In the Edo period, the carrying out of the float parade depended completely on the *machishū*. To finance the floats, a system called *yorimachi seido* 寄町制度 was established by 1601 at the latest. This system ensured that the financial burden was shared among a number of towns (*machi* 町) within the Shimogyō district, mostly inhabited by the parishioners of the Gion Shrine. There were about 210 towns in the Shimogyō district, each of which supported a particular float. The *naginataboko* 長刀鉾 float, for example, was supported by seven towns. Some floats had up to nineteen towns as supporters. The people who pulled the floats were from Shimogyō district, but the building of the floats was left to carpenters who lived outside of the district. The *yorimachi* system brought stability to the execution of the Gion festival during the Edo period (Kawashima 2010, pp. 22–26; Yamaji 2009, pp. 38–39).⁷⁹

With the Meiji Restoration, the *machishū* were relieved of their responsibility for the Gion festival. The newly renamed Yasaka Shrine, which was formerly the Gion Shrine, was now put in charge of the festival (Yamaji 2009, p. 38).

2.3.2 Sources from the Edo Period

Gion-e saiki (1757)

The *Gion-e saiki* 祇園会細記 comprises three volumes: the first is called *Yamaboko yuraiki* 山鉾由来記, and the second and third *Gion goryō-e saiki* 祇園御霊会細記.⁸⁰ It was first published in 1757 in Kyoto as a comprehensive travel guide to the Gion festival. The author and illustrator are not known.⁸¹ Other guides had been

⁷⁹As pointed out above, sixty floats proceeded in the Gion festival parade before the Ōnin War. This number was reduced to thirty-three after its revival in 1500, during the period of Warring States. Their number consequently settled at thirty-three in the Edo period (Ueki 2001, pp. 76, 80, 94; Kawauchi 2006, pp. 173–74; Kawashima 2010, p. 74).

⁸⁰The title *Gion-e saiki* follows Ueki's naming. A partial reproduction and typographical reprint based on a copy held by the Kyoto University Library is provided by Ueki, "Gion-e saiki," pp. 397–441. It can be accessed online at Kokugakuin University Digital Library.

⁸¹Three names of Edo period publishers can be found in the colophon of the third volume: Metokiya Kanbei めと木屋勘兵衛, Yoshinoya Tamehachi よしのや為八 and Yamamoto Chōbei 山本長兵衛. The name 'Metokiya' was chosen because they not only sold books, but also fortune telling utensils, which were made of a sort of bamboo called *metoki*. Further, in 1780

published previously to this version, but none was as detailed and extensive as this one. These guides satisfied a demand brought about by a rise in the number of visitors coming from outside Kyoto. They came to see the float parade and its rich decoration—rather than for religious purposes—probably from the period of the Warring States on (Kawashima 2010, pp. 72–73, 77).

The first volume contains annotated illustrations of thirty-four floats, while the second and third volumes provide information on the Gion festival in general, including a detailed description of the origins of the floats. The descriptions are subdivided into sections on decoration, participants, origins and old precedents. Ueki remarks that this source shows the transition from the medieval to the early modern period when the form of the Gion festival gradually became fixed (Ueki, “Gion-e saiki,” pp. 397–98).

A column on the ‘umbrella halberds’ (*kasaboko* 傘鉞) in the second volume of *Gion goryō-e saiki* refers to the umbrella-heron halberd (*kasasagiboko*) of the *ōtoneri* when explaining their origins.⁸² For a reprint of the original source, refer to A.3.1 on page 288 in the first appendix.⁸³

Gion goryō-e saiki, ch. *Gion yuraiki*, col. *Kasaboko*.
Hōreki 宝曆 7 (1757)

Transcription	Translation
<p><i>Engi. Hoko ni wa arazaredomo kasaboko to iu. Kore korai hoko no katchi nari. Sekiso ōrai ni ōtoneri no kasasagiboko to ari. Korera no sugata naran ka.</i></p>	<p>Origins. Although these are not halberds, they are called ‘umbrella halberds.’ Originally, these [floats] took the form of a halberd. [An entry of] <i>Sekiso ōrai</i> records the umbrella-heron halberd of the <i>ōtoneri</i>. It probably looked like [the umbrella halberds of today].</p>

This entry shows that there was some knowledge about the *ōtoneri*’s umbrella-heron halberd transmitted by textbooks such as the *Sekiso ōrai*. Yet, it was unclear what this parasol looked like, due to the extinction of the umbrella-heron halberd and its heron dance performance from the Kyoto Gion festival of the Edo period.⁸⁴

Yoshinoya Tamehachi published the illustrated topography of Kyoto *Miyako meisho-zue* 都名所図会, which was well received due to its easy language and detailed depictions. Yamamoto Chōbei published song books for noh (*utaibon* 謡本) (Ueki, “Gion-e saiki,” pp. 393; SNKJ 2011, Ikai, “Yamamoto Chōbē,” pp. 452–53).

⁸²Apart from the floats, two umbrellas accompanied by dance and music participated in the festival parade: the *shijō-kasaboko* 四条笠鉞, decorated with a pine tree, and the *aya-kasaboko* (or *aya-gasaboko*) 綾笠鉞, decorated with a cock.

⁸³*Gion-e saiki*, transcribed by Ueki Yukinobu. In vol. 2 of *Nihon shomin bunka shiryō shūsei*, ed. Geinōshi Kenkyūkai. San’ichi Shobō, 1974, p. 425.

⁸⁴Former research points out that a crane dance is depicted in the *Gion sairei emaki* 祇園祭礼絵巻 (early Edo period) (Yamaji, “Tsuwano no sagimai,” p. 130; Shibata, “Gion sairei



Figure 2.9: *Gion goryō-e saiki* (vol. 2, 1757), Kokugakuin University Digital Library

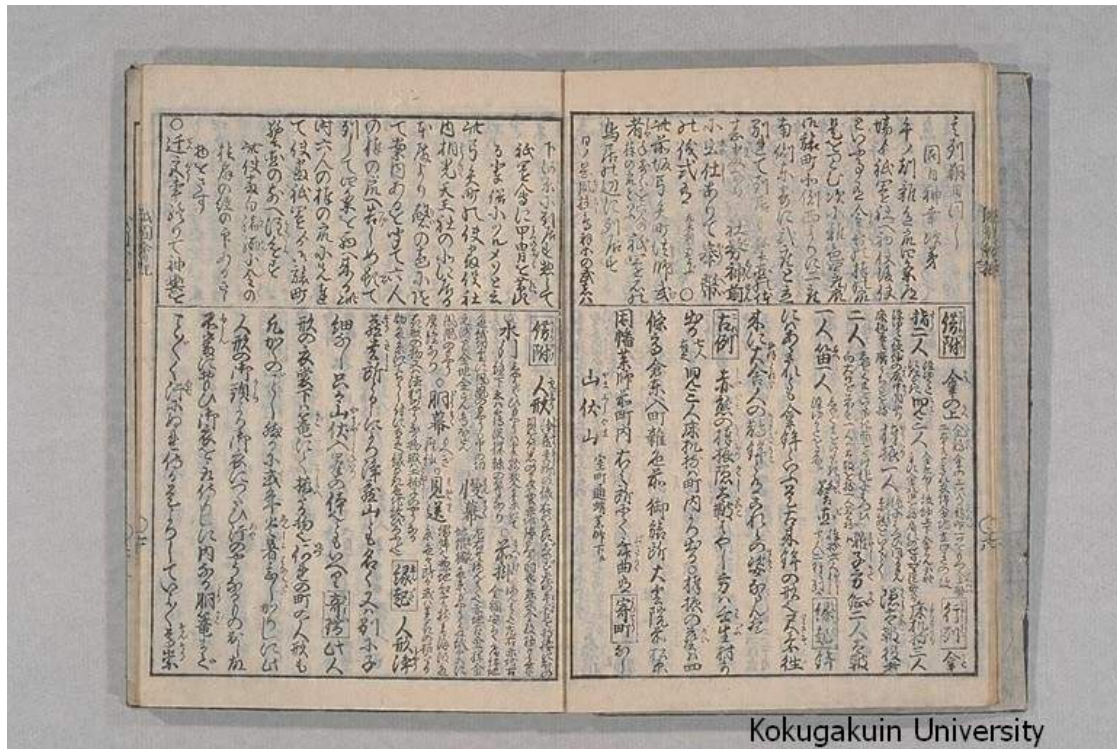


Figure 2.10: *Gion goryō-e saiki* (vol. 2, 1757), Kokugakuin University Digital Library

Shokoku zue nenjū gyōji taisei (1806)

The compilation *Shokoku zue nenjū gyōji taisei* 諸国図会年中行事大成 (abbr. *Taisei*), published in 1806, comprises four volumes made up of six books.⁸⁵ It was written by the painter and illustrator Hayami Shungyōsai 速水春暁齋 (1767–1823), who was born in Kyoto as a son of a kimono fabric dealer, whom he succeeded when he was thirteen. Shungyōsai was a gifted artist; his repertoire extended from practical guides, to picture books and ukiyoe. He was active in Kyoto and Osaka (Watanabe, “*Shokoku zue nenjū gyōji taisei*,” pp. 5–6).

The compilation contains information and illustrations on shrines and temples and their festivals, as well as annual events of the court and ordinary people. The entries for every month start with a listing of the festivals which are explained thereafter in detail, sorted by date. Most of the entries concentrate on Kyoto, but both Osaka and more distant places, such as Edo, are included (Watanabe, “*Shokoku zue nenjū gyōji taisei*,” pp. 5–6).

The Gion festival is portrayed in detail in two entries in the fourth volume: one for the first day of the parade, the seventh day of the sixth month, and one for the second day of the parade, the fourteenth day of the sixth month. Both entries give detailed information on the festival: they describe the venue, the history, and how the festival is conducted.⁸⁶ The floats shown at the parade are listed and explained.

Further, the *Taisei* provides an illustration of the heron dance and the ox-rider in front of a float which is decorated with tiger fur and staffed with a musical accompaniment. For a reprint of the original source, refer to A.3.2 on page 289 in the first appendix.⁸⁷ The legend (*kotobagaki* 詞書) reads as follows:

emaki,” pp. 52–54). Kawashima introduces further illustrative guides on the Gion festival, such as the *Gion no go-honji* 祇園御本地 of the Enpō 延宝 era (1673–1681), containing depictions of the *aya-kasaboko* and the *shijō-kasaboko* (Kawashima 2010, p. 74). Neither of the sources contains depictions of the heron umbrella halberd or the heron dance.

⁸⁵A typographical reprint based on an original held by the National Diet Library was published by Watanabe Nobuo in 1979; Fukuhara Toshio published a new reprint in 2003. Photographs of the *Taisei* can be accessed online at Tokyo National Museum (TNM), Waseda University and the National Institute of Japanese Literature (NIJL).

⁸⁶The above-mentioned entry of *Sekiso ōrai* is quoted, suggesting that an “old depiction” (*kozu* 古図) probably shows the umbrella-heron halberd of the *ōtoneri* (Watanabe, “*Shokoku zue nenjū gyōji taisei*,” p. 134). The expression “old depiction” presumably points to the *Tsukinami saireizu*.

⁸⁷Hayami Shungyōsai. *Shokoku zue nenjū gyōji taisei*, typographical reprint by Watanabe Nobuo. In vol. 22 of *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryō shūsei*, ed. Tanigawa Ken'ichi. San'ichi Shobō, 1979, p. 136.

Shokoku zue nenjū gyōji taisei.
 Vol. 4, sect. on the 6th month, col. *Gion-e*
 Bunka 文化 3 (1806), 6th month, 7th day.

Transcription

Gion-e no kozu. Kono zu wa aru ie no shozō ni shite, inishie Gion-e no zu naru yoshi iitsutau. Shikaredomo jidai, hoko no na tō funmyō narazu. Ima, kono hoko nashi. Kasaboko no tai, anzuru ni Sekiso ōrai ni iu, kasasagiboko naran ka. Mata, ushi ni noritaru wa hōmen no tsukemono nado ieru mono ni ya, nochi no kangae aru beshi.

Translation

An old illustration of the Gion festival. This illustration is held by a certain family. It has been passed down that it is an illustration of the old Gion festival. Neither the date [of origin] nor the name of the halberd [float] are known. Nowadays, this halberd [float] does not exist [any more]. The form of the umbrella apparently resembles the umbrella-heron halberd mentioned in the *Sekiso ōrai*. Further, [the man] on the ox wears decorations similar to that of a lower-grade official of the imperial police. This should be subject to further consideration.

The legend gives neither concrete information on the owner of the original, nor on its title or date of origin. However, examining the illustration, it becomes clear that it closely resembles what is depicted on the *Tsukinami saireizu*. Yet some differences can be distinguished: while Shungyōsai reproduces faithfully the individual elements found in the *Tsukinami saireizu*, he rearranges their composition in the *Taisei*. Unlike the depiction in the *Tsukinami saireizu*, where the heron dancers are situated between the pulled float (*hikiyama*) which carries a musical accompaniment, and the float carried on the shoulders (*kakiyama*), they follow behind the pulled float in the *Taisei*. Next to them, one umbrella halberd—instead of two—proceeds in the parade: it is the *kasasagiboko*, decorated with a heron on a bridge, wearing a small umbrella on its head. The umbrella halberd is accompanied by instrumentalists, playing drums and flutes. Shungyōsai chose only a few representatives from the original to portray the crowd accompanying the pulled float in the *Taisei*. Whereas the float is pulled by several people in the *Tsukinami saireizu*, it stands still in the *Taisei*. Further, the tall mast, decorated with a figure drawing water (*katsura otoko*) behind the boat float (*funaboko*) in the background on the left side of the *Tsukinami saireizu*, is not attached to a float but carried by a person on the right side in the *Taisei*. Next to it, the legend explains:



Figure 2.11: *Shokoku zue nenjū gyōji taisei* (1806), TNM Image Search

心木末之図

shingi sue no zu

illustration of the top of the mast

This shows how Shungyōsai blended together various elements of the *Tsukinami saireizu* in the *Taisei*. The legend further implies that his knowledge of the heron dance and the ox-rider was limited. Nevertheless, it confirms what could already be seen in the record of *Gion-e saiki*: namely that the textbook *Sekiso ōrai* was widely known and generally referred to. The ox-rider closely resembles the depiction in the *Tsukinami saireizu*: Shungyōsai explains this figure as wearing the decoration (*tsukemono* 附け物) of a lower-grade official of the imperial police (*hōmen* 放免) who helped the police with their experiences as former criminals (KD 1991, vol. 12, “Hōmen,” p. 652).

Later publications, such as the guide *Zōho Gion-e saiki* 増補祇園会細記 (1812) by Fujita Sadahide 藤田貞栄 (?-?), contain a similar depiction with explanatory text.⁸⁸ The composition of the individual elements is different from the *Taisei*: the

⁸⁸Held by the Iwase Bunko Library, accessible online at the National Institute of Japanese Literature (NIJL). A typographical reprint is provided by Hayashiya Tatsusaburō and Uno Hideo in vol. 10 of *Shintō taiki: Jinja hen*, 1992, pp. 292–472.

heron dancers perform in front of the pulled float, as depicted in the *Tsukinami saireizu*. The musical accompaniment follows close behind the dancers. There is neither a umbrella halberd, nor an ox-rider. Apart from a few small differences, the legend gives the same text as in the *Taisei*.

The evidence from these sources suggests that the former existence of a umbrella halberd and its heron dance performance at the Gion festival parade was probably widely known. This knowledge was sustained by copying and transmission but the performing practice had been lost in the Edo period.



Figure 2.12: *Zōho Gion-e saiki* (1812), NIJL Database of Pre-Modern Japanese Works

Conclusion

The results of the investigation on the heron dance show that its origins can be traced back to the fourteenth century, the Muromachi period. The heron dance accompanied the *kasasagiboko*, and was conducted as an ‘encouragement’ for the floats of Kyoto’s Gion festival. The Gion festival derives from the *Gion goryō-e* of the early Heian period, which aimed to soothe departed spirits of deceased people that would otherwise bring harm to the living. During the Muromachi period, the focus of the Gion festival shifted from the aristocracy to the warrior class and the townsmen of Kyoto. Floats were invented at the beginning of the

fourteenth century. Likewise, *hayashimono* performances centering on decorative umbrella halberds came into existence, the heron dance of the *kasasagiboko* being one of them. The historical records examined above imply that a group of social outcasts, the *shōmonji*, were in charge of the heron dance performance. The *shōmonji* were probably under the protection of the weaver-craftsmen guild of the *ōtoneri*. Despite the low status of the performers, they nevertheless performed at palaces in front of the nobility, such as Imperial Prince Sadafusa. Textbook entries, transmitted over centuries, provide information on the heron umbrella halberd, notwithstanding the extinction of the performing practice in the early sixteenth century. The sources further imply that the heron dance was introduced to Nara in the fifteenth century. This shows the significant cultural value of the umbrella-heron halberd and its dance to the people in and outside Kyoto.

2.4 The Transmission of the Heron Dance to Yamaguchi and Tsuwano

The Historical Background of Yamaguchi

The Ōuchi Clan The Ōuchi were a warrior family who controlled the western part of the Chūgoku region from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. They were centered in the provinces Suō 周防, with Yamaguchi as its capital, and Nagato 長門 (present-day Yamaguchi prefecture). In the Muromachi period, they were powerful vassals of the Ashikaga shogunate. The Ōuchi clan played a significant role in the patronage of art and literature, as well as in overseas trade with Korea and China (Arnesen 1979, p. 23).

The head of a minor branch of the Ōuchi clan, Washizu Nagahiro 鷲頭長弘 (?-?), assisted the Ashikaga cause in 1336 in recapturing Kyoto, and gained the province of Suō as a reward. He was overthrown by a member of the main branch of the Ōuchi clan, Ōuchi Hiroyo 大内弘世 (?-1380), who laid the foundation of the Ōuchi territory. Hiroyo successfully revolted against Takauji's appointment of Nagahiro as the first *shugo* of Suō. Hiroyo invaded Nagato and declared himself *shugo* of both provinces, eventually gaining the shogun's acknowledgement in 1363. Hiroyo is known for his efforts to pattern Yamaguchi's architecture and culture on those of Kyoto. It is said that he established the Yasaka Shrine in 1369 (Yamaguchi-shi Kyōiku Inkai 1981, p. 5; Yamamura 1990, p. 196; Hall and Toyoda 1977, p. 79).

Hiroyo's son Ōuchi Yoshihiro 大内義弘 (1356-1399), who was *shugo* from 1380, proved his loyalty to the bakufu when he assisted in suppressing unrest in Kyushu in the 1370s and the Meitoku rebellion of 1391.⁸⁹ As a reward, he gained the six provinces of Suō, Nagato, Iwami, Buzen, Izumi, and Kii.⁹⁰ Yoshihiro also played a crucial role in the reunification of the Southern and Northern Courts in 1392.

From 1389 to 1398, the Ōuchi resided in Kyoto, playing an active role in the group of *shugo* that governed not only their own provinces but also, together with the shogun, the whole country. Yoshihiro was among the most devoted vassals of Yoshimitsu (Arnesen 1979, p. 82).

Due to growing diplomatic and trade relations with Korea and China, Yoshihiro acquired a considerable amount of wealth. Meanwhile, Yoshimitsu increasingly strived to secure his predominance over the *shugo* by restraining their power. Yoshihiro became one of the main objects of this oppression and feared assassination. When Yoshihiro was called to Kyoto in 1399, he refused to go and instead took up a defensive position in Sakai with five thousand men. Yoshimitsu declared

⁸⁹The Meitoku Rebellion (Meitoku no ran 明徳の乱) was an unsuccessful attempt in 1391 to 1392 to overthrow the shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, who thereafter was able to consolidate shogunal dominance of Japan (JIE 1993, "Meitoku Rebellion," p. 954).

⁹⁰The former province of Iwami (Iwami no kuni 石見国) was located in the western part of present-day Shimane prefecture. The former province of Buzen 豊前 was located in north-eastern Kyushu. The former province of Izumi (Izumi no kuni 和泉国) was located in southern Osaka. The former province of Kii (Kii no kuni 紀伊国) was located in the present-day prefectures of Wakayama and Mie.

Yoshihiro an enemy of the bakufu and defeated him in a battle at Sakai, the Ōei Rebellion (Ōei no ran 応永の乱). Yoshihiro is known as a literatus with a talent for *waka* and *renga* (KD 1980, vol. 2, “Ōuchi Yoshihiro,” pp. 517–18; Arnesen 1979, p. 82; Bowman 2005, p. 136).

After Yoshihiro’s rebellion, four of the six provinces were taken over by the bakufu, so that only Suō and Nagato remained under the control of his successor, Yoshihiro’s younger brother Morimi 盛見 (also read Moriharu, 1377–1431). In 1404, the bakufu officially recognized Morimi as *shugo* of both provinces (Hall and Toyoda 1977, p. 79). Morimi intensified trade with China. He is also known as a patron of the arts. He resided in Kyoto for twenty years, where he kept company with the shogun, high officials (*kanrei* 管領), and the Zen priests of the “Five Temples” (*Gozan* 五山).⁹¹ Morimi was active in literary circles surrounding Ashikaga Yoshimochi, even though he was a relative latecomer to the ranks of the most important *shugo daimyō*. He is said to have built the five-storied pagoda of the Yamaguchi temple Rurikōji for his brother Yoshihiro. In 1425, he was ordered to suppress an uprising in Kyushu, and was given the provinces Buzen and Chikuzen⁹² as a reward. He died on the battlefield in 1431, when he fought the Shōni 少弐 family⁹³ in Chikuzen, Kyushu (KD 1980, vol. 2, “Ōuchi Morimi,” p. 514; Parker 1999, p. 102; Hall and Toyoda 1977, p. 79).

A succession dispute arose between Morimi’s sons, which was won by Ōuchi Mochiyo 大内持世 (1394–1441), who then in 1433 became *shugo* of the four provinces Suō, Nagato, Buzen and Chikuzen. After several years of campaigning against enemies of the bakufu, he finally took up residence in Kyoto. On close terms with the shogun, he served as a personal attendant to Ashikaga Yoshinori. When Yoshinori was assassinated in 1441 in the Kakitsu Incident, Mochiyo was sitting with him at the banquet and was fatally wounded. This incident was a turning point in the relationship between the *shugo* and the shogunate (Arnesen 1979, p. 88).

Mochiyo was succeeded by his cousin Ōuchi Norihiro 大内教弘 (1420–1465). In addition to the four provinces he inherited from Mochiyo, he fought various battles with the Shōni and extended his sphere of influence to seven provinces. After his campaign against the Shōni, he declined to return to the capital, choosing to reside in his own capital, Yamaguchi in Suō, and thus showed his growing autonomy from the bakufu, which itself became weaker after Yoshinori’s death (Arnesen 1979, p. 88).

Norihiro directed the first compilation of Ōuchi house laws, the *Ōuchi-ke kabegaki* 大内家壁書, a domain law code (*bunkokuhō* 分国法) which aimed to strengthen contact between Yamaguchi and the outlying districts of the province. With these

⁹¹A ranking system of officially sponsored Zen Buddhist monasteries organized in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by the Kamakura and Muromachi shogunates. It originally included three monasteries in Kyoto and two in Kamakura, but was soon expanded (JIE 1993, “Gozan,” pp. 472–73).

⁹²The former province of Chikuzen (Chikuzen no kuni 筑前国) was located in north-western part of the modern prefecture of Fukuoka, Kyushu.

⁹³A warrior family of northern Kyushu from the twelfth to the mid-sixteenth centuries (JIE 1993, “Shōni Family,” p. 1410).

laws, the “houseman” status of Ōuchi’s vassals was emphasized, and political authority was centralized in the hands of the Ōuchi (Hall and Toyoda 1977, p. 80).

Norihiro played a major role in trade between Japan and the Asian continent, especially Korea, rivalling the Hosokawa predominance. The bakufu was then dominated by the Hosokawa, who managed to get approval for a campaign against the Ōuchi, which again led Norihiro to open rebellion in 1465 (Arnesen 1979, pp. 196–98, KD 1980, vol. 2, “Ōuchi Norihiro,” p. 512).

Norihiro’s son and successor Ōuchi Masahiro 大内政弘 (1446–1495) ended the rebellion in 1466. Due to the highly developed provincial lordship that Norihiro had left to his son, Masahiro was free to proceed to Kyoto after the outbreak of the Ōnin War (1467–1477) and take leadership after the death of the leader of the Yamana. During the Ōnin War, Masahiro spent much time with the nobility and literati of the capital. Promoting the rise of “Ōuchi culture,” he introduced elements of Kyoto’s culture, such as noh, then called *sarugaku* 猿楽 (Arnesen 1979, pp. 199, 205; Hall and Toyoda 1977, p. 84; KD 1980, vol. 2, “Ōuchi Masahiro,” p. 513).

In the late fifteenth century, Kyoto lay in ruins as a result of the Ōnin War, and many of its literati, noblemen and their retainers sought refuge in Yamaguchi. They brought the sensibilities and the taste of the capital to Yamaguchi (Mansfield, “Of Zen, scriptures and fireflies,” Japan Times, 2000.9.13.).

In 1464, one of the most famous Japanese ink painters, Sesshū Tōyō 雪舟等楊 (1420–1506), moved to Yamaguchi, where the Ōuchi family became his patrons. He had spent twenty years in Kyoto as a monk in the temple Shōkokuji, where he studied painting. From 1467 to 1469, Sesshū travelled to China as an art expert, taking part in Japanese trading missions dispatched by the Ōuchi. After his return, he established his studio Unkokuan 雲谷庵 in Yamaguchi, which gave rise to an alternative name for the city, Unkoku 雲谷. Originally from Bitchū 備中 (present-day Okayama prefecture), he was also active in other parts of Japan, such as in Bungo province (present-day Ōita prefecture). He is best known for his landscapes.

Sesshū’s fame lasted well beyond his death; the ink painter Unkoku Tōgan 雲谷等顔 (1547–1618)—adopting the name of Sesshū’s studio, Unkoku—established himself as an artistic descendant of Sesshū and founded a school of painters, the Unkokuha 雲谷派 (JIE 1993, “Sesshū Tōyō,” p. 1350; *ibid.* “Unkoku Tōgan,” p. 664).

In 1494, Masahiro was succeeded by his son Yoshioki 義興 (1477–1528), who took over reign in the provinces Suō, Nagato, Bizen, Chikuzen and Iwami. Later, Yoshioki also gained control over Yamashiro (now central and southern Kyoto prefecture) and Aki (present-day Hiroshima prefecture). Unlike his father, Yoshioki was more interested in military than cultural aspects; nonetheless he had social intercourse with officials, priests, and scholars, and enjoyed poetry. He actively participated in shogunal affairs, assisting in regaining the position of the deposed shogun Ashikaga Yoshitane 足利義植 (1466–1523) in 1508. Yoshioki gained the position of deputy *kanrei* as reward, and thus gained a reputation as one of the central figures in Kyoto politics (KD 1980, vol. 2, “Ōuchi Yoshioki,” p. 515).

Yoshioki returned to Yamaguchi in 1518, finding the formerly tight adminis-

tration of his territory weakened. Facing rebellions in several areas, Yoshioki tried to regain control. In 1521 he dispatched his troops to fight the Amako of Aki province, gaining help from Mōri Motonari 毛利元就 (1497–1571). He returned wounded to Yamaguchi in 1528 and died in the same year (KD 1980, vol. 2, “Ōuchi Yoshioki,” p. 515; Hall and Toyoda 1977, p. 85; Olah 2009, pp. 104–09; Berry 1997, p. 51).

As the thirty-first head of the Ōuchi clan, Ōuchi Yoshitaka 義隆 (1507–1551) succeeded his father Yoshioki in 1528. He was *shugo* of seven provinces in a time when war dominated all regions of the country, except Yamaguchi, which flourished peacefully. Yoshitaka is known as culturally informed, and led Yamaguchi to even more flourishing trade and culture.

Moreover, Yoshitaka encountered foreign missionaries, among them the Roman Catholic missionary and founding member of the Society of Jesus Francis Xavier (1506–1552), who entered the port of Kagoshima in 1549. In letter no. 86 to the Society of Jesus in Europe, Xavier set down his impression of Yamaguchi as “an immense city containing more than ten thousand houses” (Costelloe 1992, p. 335). In sharp contrast, he described the city of Kyoto, where he requested permission to preach throughout Japan, as being “a great part in ruins and waste” in letter no. 84 from Japan to the Society of Jesus at Goa in 1551 (Costelloe 1992, p. 298). Due to the war, Xavier’s wish was not fulfilled, and he went back to Yamaguchi. He left Japan in 1551 and returned to India, where he had evangelized before (Kracht 2011, pp. 26–27).

In the same year, the reign of the Ōuchi came to a sudden end, when Yoshitaka was overthrown by his vassal Sue Harukata 陶晴賢 (1521–1555). Yoshitaka had relied on his ally Mōri Motonari 毛利元就 (1497–1571), who decided to side with Sue Harukata. Yoshitaka committed suicide, caught up in the vortex of a rebellion of his principal vassals (Conlan, “The Failed Attempt to Move the Emperor,” p. 195; Elisonas, “Christianity and the daimyo,” p. 315).

The suicide of Yoshitaka led to the extinction of the Ōuchi line.⁹⁴ But the Sue could not maintain control, and an outbreak of violence followed. The Ōuchi archives, artefacts, and other treasures were lost in the turbulence. The ensuing political vacuum was filled by the Mōri clan (Hall and Toyoda 1977, pp. 79–80; Conlan, “The Failed Attempt to Move the Emperor,” p. 194).

The Mōri Clan Before they achieved prominence as a powerful daimyo in southwestern Honshu, the warrior family of the Mōri 毛利, descending from Mōri Suemitsu 毛利季光 (1202–1247)⁹⁵, had been vassals of the shogunate during the Kamakura bakufu, holding territory mainly in Aki province. Even though the Mōri were temporarily in control of other regions such as Echigo and Kawachi, they forfeited these holdings in order to consolidate a stable power base in Aki. In

⁹⁴As Conlan points out, this development stems from an unsuccessful attempt to move the emperor to Yamaguchi, and thereby transform the city into a new capital (Conlan, “The Failed Attempt to Move the Emperor,” p. 185).

⁹⁵Suemitsu was the fourth son of Ōe no Hiromoto 大江広元 (1148–1225), adviser to the founder of the Kamakura bakufu, Minamoto no Yoritomo.

1336, Mōri Tokichika 毛利時親 (?–1341) was appointed estate steward (*jitō* 地頭) of Aki province.

In 1523, Mōri Motonari 毛利元就 (1497–1571) became the head of Aki province. With the help of the Ōuchi, Motonari defeated the Amako in 1540, beginning to expand his sphere of influence. As the Ōuchi began to lose their grip on Suō and Nagato, Motonari grew to become the most powerful daimyo in the region. To avenge his ally Yoshitaka, who had been forced to commit suicide, Motonari annihilated Sue Harukata in 1555 on the island of Itsukushima, eventually inheriting and expanding upon the position formerly occupied by the Ōuchi. By the time of his death, Motonari had brought ten provinces under his control, including the lands of the Ōuchi (JIE 1993, “Mōri family,” p. 1004; JIE 1993, “Mōri Motonari,” p. 1004; Arnesen, “Provincial Vassals,” pp. 112–19; Hall and Toyoda 1977, pp. 80–86).

On the early death of Motonari’s son Takamoto, it was his grandson Mōri Terumoto 毛利輝元 (1553–1625) who succeeded him. Terumoto became an ally of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and was defeated by Tokugawa Ieyasu at the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600. The family’s domain was reduced to the two provinces of Suō and Nagato (commonly known as Chōshū 長州). Chōshū’s last daimyo, Mōri Takachika 毛利敬親 (1819–1871)⁹⁶, allowed his domain to become a center for the movement that overthrew the Tokugawa shogunate in 1867 to 1868 and paved the way for the Meiji Restoration (JIE 1993, “Mōri family,” p. 1004).

2.4.1 The Transmission of the Heron Dance to Yamaguchi

The earliest surviving sources regarding the Gion festival in Yamaguchi date to the end of the fifteenth century. The festival was probably transmitted during the reign of Ōuchi Masahiro. After his stay in Kyoto, Masahiro’s son Yoshioki transferred the Gion Shrine from its original place at the upper part of the river Ichi no sakagawa to the foot of Mount Kōnomine in Yamaguchi at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Details such as the schedule and the participating floats are recorded for the Gion festival of the year 1520.

The heron dance first appears in the sources after the overthrow of the Ōuchi, during the reign of the Mōri family in the late sixteenth century. In the following centuries of the Edo period, sources on the heron dance increase in number. Details such as the date and the sites of performance, the number of performers, and the costumes are recorded. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, the heron dance has become increasingly similar to the present-day performance.

In the following section, sources regarding the heron dance in Yamaguchi are introduced and analysed; in addition, parts relevant to this study are translated. Some of the sources concerning the heron dance in Yamaguchi can be perused in the Yamaguchi Prefectural Library, the Yamaguchi City Library, and the Yamaguchi Prefectural Archives, while some may still be stored in private hands. Other materials were taken from (typographical) reprints, or—when there were no reprints available—from former research.

⁹⁶Also known by his initial name Yoshichika 慶親.

2.4.2 Sources in Yamaguchi

Ōuchi-ke kabegaki (1459–1495)

The *Ōuchi-ke kabegaki* 大内家壁書 (held by Chōfu Hakubutsukan 長府博物館, abbr. *Kabegaki*) is a domainal law code of the period of Warring States, enacted by the heads of the Ōuchi family between 1459 and 1495. This code was compiled over three generations and by the sixteenth century included fifty articles. It is one of the earliest compilations of daimyo law made during the Warring States period. Most of these clauses are injunctions to vassals and subjects, and provisions concerning domainal government, taxation, and commercial regulations (JIE 1993, “Ōuchike Kabegaki,” p. 1174; Arnesen 1979, pp. 204–20).⁹⁷

The entry for the year 1491 dates to the reign of Ōuchi Masahiro, who lived in Kyoto after the outbreak of the Ōnin War. As mentioned above, he introduced elements of Kyoto’s culture to Yamaguchi, creating the “Ōuchi culture.” The entry is the first existing reference to the Gion festival held in the province’s capital, and records prohibitions concerning the viewing of the festival. For a reprint of the original source, refer to A.4.1 on page 289 in the first appendix.⁹⁸

Ōuchi-ke kabegaki, Entoku 延徳 3 (1491), 11th month, 13th day

Transcription	Translation
<i>Tsukiyama tsuiji no ue ni oite, Gion-e sono hoka shizen no kenbutsu, kore seishi o kuwae owannu. Koto ni gohōden, dō chinju atari ni shonin kunju shi, amatsusae ishi tsuiji no ue ni oite sajiki o kamauru koto, kengo ni go-kinsei nari.</i>	The viewing of the Gion festival or the scenery from the Tsukiyama castle wall is prohibited. It is strictly forbidden for people to gather especially around the sanctuary and the shrine, or to construct viewing-stands upon the stone castle walls.

As this entry shows, people from the town gathered at the side of the castle to see the festival. It appears that they even tried to construct viewing stands (*sajiki*) there, so the Gion festival must have been very popular. Inada has surmised that the people were probably observing floats (*dashimono* 出し物) being pulled along the streets (Inada, “Yamaguchi no Gion matsuri,” pp. 127–28). However, since it

⁹⁷Other research says the orders and judgements were issued over a period extending from 1439 to 1529 (Arnesen 1979, p. 204; Iwasaki 2002, p. 1). Four different compilations purporting to be the *Kabegaki* make interpretation difficult. It is possible, however, to deduce that the original selection and compilation of judgments must have been made shortly after the death of Ōuchi Masahiro in 1495. They are likely to have been carried out at the instance of Masahiro himself (Arnesen 1979, p. 205). A reprint of the *Kabegaki* can be found in the anthology *Gunsho ruijū* (vol. 22, ch. 402, pp. 84–100) as well as in the historical compilation *Ōuchi-shi jitsuroku* by the local historian Kondō Seiseki 近藤清石 (1833–1916), a feudal retainer of the Hagi domain who was entrusted with a survey on the domain’s historical records. *Ōuchi-shi jitsuroku* was first published in 1885, and reprinted by Matsuno Shoten in 1974. An annotated translation into modern Japanese is provided by Iwasaki in 2002, pp. 244–45.

⁹⁸*Ōuchi-ke kabegaki*. In *Gunsho ruijū*, vol. 22, Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1928, p. 97.

was thought that the daimyo's dignity could be affected even by the minutest of matters, such as climbing the walls of the castle, viewing of the Gion festival from the elevated castle side was prohibited.⁹⁹ Another reason for the prohibition might have been security concerns regarding precious buildings, such as the treasure house, as Iwasaki suggests (Iwasaki 2002, pp. 243–44).

Although it is not clear when the festival was first held, the *Kabegaki* proves that the Gion festival was already being conducted in the late fifteenth century; however, no entry can be found on the heron dance. Whether the heron dance was performed at that time remains a matter for speculation.

Kōnomine Daijingū go-chinza denki (1520)

The Gion festival is recorded in more detail in the *Kōnomine Daijingū go-chinza denki* 高嶺太神宮御鎮座伝記 (abbr. *Chinza denki*, held by Yamaguchi Daijingū 山口大神宮), which first records the return of Ōuchi Yoshioki to Yamaguchi in 1518 after a long stay in Kyoto. It notes the construction of the shrine Kōnomine Daijingū 高嶺太神宮, following the example of the Ise Shrine (present-day Yamaguchi Daijingū 山口大神宮), at the foot of Mount Kōnomine.¹⁰⁰

The *Chinza denki* records various details such as the selection of the location of the shrine, the transferral of the Gion Shrine on the eighteenth day of the sixth month, and the supervision of the construction. It continues with the construction and transferral of the inner and outer shrines (*gekū* 外宮 and *naikū* 内宮), the building materials, the transferral ceremony, and the offerings.

It is also noted that the Gion Shrine of Yamaguchi, formerly located at the upper part of the river Ichi no sakagawa, was transferred to the site of the Kōnomine Daijingū in 1519. The Gion festival was held from the seventh to the eighteenth day of the sixth month in the following year of 1520. Three floats proceeded in the parade: the *naginataboko* 長刀鉾, the *mikazukihoko* 三日月鉾, and the *momo no hoko* 桃の鉾.¹⁰¹ They were supported by the people of Ōmachi 大町.¹⁰²

Inada states that the *mikazukihoko* and the *naginataboko* could be seen in Kyoto before the Ōnin Wars, whereas the *momo no hoko* originated in Yamaguchi (Inada, “Yamaguchi no Gion matsuri,” p. 129).

Previous research has often referred to the *Chinza denki* regarding the Gion

⁹⁹As Arnesen points out, the *Kabegaki* implies that lacking “an external source of legitimacy capable of offering a credible guarantee of the daimyo's authority, it was crucial that he be able to suggest that both the dignity and the authority of an absolute prince were vested in his person” (Arnesen 1979, pp. 205–06).

¹⁰⁰*Chinza denki* is provided in typographical reprint in the collection of historical documents *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 9/11, ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, pp. 105–14. Tōkyō Daigaku, 1956. Also refer to *Yamaguchi-shi shi: Shiryō hen: Ōuchi bunka*. Vol. 2. Yamaguchi-shi, 2010, pp. 340–45. For an introduction to the source, refer to Yamamuro, “Kōnomine Daijingū,” pp. 32–34.

¹⁰¹The parade proceeded from the Gion Shrine towards the street Tatenokōji, crossing the bridge over the Ichi no sakagawa, proceeding down Tatenokōji towards Ōmachi, and finally heading to the *otabisho* on the street Imamichi 今道.

¹⁰²Ōmachi comprises the districts Ōichi 大市, Nakaichi 中市, and Komeyachō 米屋町 (Masaoka, “Edo-ki no Yamaguchi Gion-e,” p. 25).

festival and its floats¹⁰³, but, as this examination of the source has shown, no mention is made of the heron dance.

Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto (1583)

As former research points out, the source *Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto* 祇園毎年順勤人数之事 is the oldest record of a heron dance performance in Yamaguchi (Ishizuka, “Sagimai,” p. 294 et al.). It was written in the sixth month of 1583 by a townsman of Ōichi in Yamaguchi called Yokoya Yajirō Masanobu 横屋弥次郎昌信. The original source is stored at the Yamaguchi Prefectural Archives, Taga Shrine Collection (Tagasha Bunko 多賀社文庫).

The source is divided into two parts: the first part lists nine groups of seven to nine men from Yamaguchi who were in charge of conducting the Gion festival. These nine groups are represented by nine decorative umbrella halberds (*kasaboko*). Moreover, the term *tōnin* 頭人 can be seen for the first time in this source (*Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, p. 475).¹⁰⁴

The second part lists what materials are needed for the floats, followed by a list of men associated with the Gion festival. The source further shows the number of men that were involved in the heron dance performance; it also lists in detail the food offered to the performers. For a reprint of the relevant part of the original source, refer to A.4.2 on page 289 in the first appendix.¹⁰⁵

Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto, Tenshō 天正 11 (1583), 6th month

Transcription	Translation
<i>Sagimai [no] koto</i>	Concerning the heron dance
<i>Sagi futari</i>	Two heron performers
<i>Tsue futari</i>	Two stick wielders
<i>Kakko futari</i>	Two <i>kakko</i> drum performers
<i>Shōko hitori</i>	One gong player
<i>Kotsuzumi hitori</i>	One shoulder drum player
<i>Taiko hitori</i>	One drum player
<i>Fue fuki futari</i>	Two flute players

A *kotsuzumi* drum and a gong are recorded; these are no longer seen in present-day performance. Yamaji points out that the entry contains almost the same instrumentation as the heron dance in Tsuwano (Yamaji, “Tsuwano no sagimai,” p. 130). There is no mention made of ceremonial guards. The stick wielders are probably akin to the present-day *shaguma* (*Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, pp. 475–77).

¹⁰³Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 12 et al.

¹⁰⁴The floats (*kuruma* 車) appear to be equipped with a halberd (*shinbashira* 真柱), similar to the construction of those of Kyoto (Inada, “Yamaguchi no Gion matsuri,” p. 129).

¹⁰⁵Refer to the typographical reprint *Yamaguchi Gion-e mainen junkin ninzu no koto*. In *Sagi no mai*, ed. Yamaguchi-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, pp. 17–21 (esp. p. 21). Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, 1981.

Interestingly, after this entry a list follows of the food served, probably to the heron dancers. It seems that exquisite food was served.

Despite the brief nature of the examined entry, the *Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto* is the first surviving record of a heron dance performance in Yamaguchi, so it can be said that the heron dance was performed at the Yamaguchi Gion festival from the sixth month of 1583 onwards, at the latest. As the previously discussed sources show, the Gion festival was conducted from 1491 onwards, at the latest, comprising similar floats to those of the Gion festival in Kyoto.

Flourishing of the Heron Dance in the Edo Period A number of more detailed sources dealing with the Yamaguchi heron dance are extant from the seventeenth century onwards. In his article “Yamaguchi Gion go-sairei no oboe’ keifu no shohon ni tsuite,” Momota Masao 百田昌夫 examines three relevant sources that are introduced and typographically reprinted in the volume *Sagi no mai*, compiled by the Board of Education of Yamaguchi in 1981. Momota introduces, summarizes and analyses the sources *Gion-e yuraiki* 祇園会由来記 (later than 1872), *Suō no kuni Yamaguchi Gion-e sagi no ikkan* 周防国山口祇園会鷺之一巻 (1714; abbr. *Sagi no ikkan*), and *Yamaguchi Gion-e ikkan* 山口祇園会一巻 (prob. 1885).¹⁰⁶ Momota’s investigation shows that, although the titles and the content of each copy vary, they all derive from the original source *Yamaguchi Gion go-sairei no oboe* 山口祇園御祭礼之覚 (held by Yamaguchi Prefectural Library), which dates to 1699 according to its cover (Momota, “Yamaguchi Gion go-sairei no oboe’,” p. 111). The copyists and editors of these sources are members of the family Yokoya 横屋, alternatively Nanba 難波, who passed down and altered the sources as necessary.

In the following, the source *Sagi no ikkan* is summarized as a representative example, as it appears to be the oldest of the three sources. It focuses on the heron dance and is presented in a well organised form of twenty-one paragraphs. Serving as a manual that sets out the heron dance of the Edo period in detail, it also aims to transmit associated customs and traditions connected to the performance to later generations. It was compiled and written by the Yamaguchi townsman¹⁰⁷ Yokoya (Nanba) Rokuemon Yoshinori 横屋 (難波) 六右衛門栄徳.¹⁰⁸ The original was formerly kept by the Tsumori 津守 family; its current location is not known. However, a surviving copy is stored in the Yamaguchi Prefectural Archives (Yamaguchi Kyōiku Inkaikai 1981, p. 46).¹⁰⁹

As stated above, some parts of the text overlap with the *Gion-e yuraiki*¹¹⁰, and

¹⁰⁶All held by Yamaguchi Prefectural Archives.

¹⁰⁷Also translated as town magistrate (*machi bugyō* 町奉行).

¹⁰⁸Yoshinori was the grandchild of the above mentioned author of *Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto*, Yokoya Yajirō Masanobu. He collected material from 1684 to 1699, which was compiled in 1701 into a fair copy (*seisho* 清書) with the title *Yamaguchi Gion go-sairei no oboe*. Further corrections were added in 1720. The source contains some other materials, for example the history of the establishment of the Gion Shrine at the mountain foot of Kōnomine by Ōuchi Yoshioki (Momota, “Yamaguchi Gion go-sairei no oboe’,” pp. 114–18).

¹⁰⁹As Momota points out, this copy was probably made after the Meiji Restoration (Momota, “Yamaguchi Gion go-sairei no oboe’,” p. 125).

¹¹⁰One example of the similarities and differences between the *Gion-e yuraiki* and the *Sagi no ikkan* are the venues of the heron dance performance: while almost all of the venues can be found

some parts were taken from older sources such as the *Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto* (1583). It can be surmised that its compiler Yoshinori made use of various sources from different decades or even centuries.

Suō no kuni Yamaguchi Gion-e sagi no ikkan (1714)

The record begins with a foreword by Yoshinori, where he expresses his aim to preserve knowledge regarding the heron dance, so that the performance will be carried out correctly by later generations. He further summarizes the history of the Gion Shrine, how it was located at the upper—that is northern—part of the river Ichi no sakagawa (*mizu no ue* 水の上), and that the festival was conducted every year on the seventh and fourteenth days of the sixth month. In the Eishō 永正 era (1504–1521), the shrine was moved close to the Ise Shrine at the foot of Kōnomine by Ōuchi Yoshioki, to overcome an epidemic in Yamaguchi. A festival parade comprising seventeen floats (*yama* 山) and three wheeled floats (*kuruma* 車) proceeded to the *otabisho* on the street Imaichi. Further, the legend surrounding the origin of the heron dance is noted: when the god of Gion made a prayer, a heron appeared over a pond and was thereafter taken as a symbol of good fortune.¹¹¹

The foreword is followed by a table of contents. Subsequently, the main body of the text, organised in twenty-one paragraphs in total, is given. The following represents a summary of the text. For a reprint of the original source, refer to A.4.3 from page 290 in the first appendix.¹¹²

1. Preceding the heron dance performance on the seventh day of the sixth month, a meeting of the managers (*tōnin* 頭人) is held on an auspicious day (*kichijitsu* 吉日) in the third month. An annotation requests them to purify themselves throughout the period of the festival.
2. It is a custom of the *tōnin* to visit the tea house on the first day of the fifth month. An annotation explains that the town magistrate is informed who will oversee the performance of that year.
3. The schedule of the festival: on the seventh day of the sixth month, the parade proceeds to the *otabisho*, and returns seven days later on the fourteenth day. The portable shrines are kept at the *otabisho* for seven days. If it rains, the schedule can be shifted to another day.
4. Information is provided on the order of the floats and the schedule of the festival. The order of the floats was first determined by lot in 1676, and thereafter rotated among the four districts that maintained floats for the

in both sources—such as the Gion Shrine, the Ise Shrine kagura hall, temples etc.—it is only the temple Rurikōji that is not listed in the *Gion-e yuraiki*.

¹¹¹Emperor Daigo granted a heron the fifth court rank as a reward for its obedience to his command. Compare section 1.3.2 on “Present Performance Practice and Interpretation” of the heron dance in Tsuwano on page 14 and section 2.4.4 on “*Gionsha go-sairei no setsu sagimai oboegaki* (1848)” on page 115. Also refer to section 3.1.3 “Noh Play *Sagi*” on page 148.

¹¹²*Suō no kuni Yamaguchi Gion-e sagi no ikkan*. In *Sagi no mai*. Ed. Yamaguchi-shi Kyōiku Iinkai. Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, 1981, pp. 47–57.

festival. Moreover, a detailed schedule of the seventh day of the sixth month is given.

5. The participants in the heron dance gather at the house of the *tōnin* in Dōnomae-machi on the evening of the sixth day of the sixth month. An annotation remarks that the nine decorative umbrella halberds (*kasaboko*) are provided by the *tōnin* of the next year. They should ask the town magistrates whether the pine tree used for the *kasaboko* is appropriate. If so, the teahouse gives permission to the *tōnin* of the next year to make use of it.
6. The participants in the parade on the seventh day of the sixth month (such as a long-nosed goblin, *shishimai*, drummers, portable shrines etc.) are listed. Those of the heron dance are set out in detail: two heron dancers, two rod wielders, two *kakko* drums, two gongs, two flutes, two *kotsuzumi* shoulder drums, one *taiko* drum, and nine decorative umbrella halberds carried by nine men.
7. The venues where the heron dance is performed: Gion Shrine, Ise Shrine, Taga Shrine, Yamaguchi magistrate's viewing stands, Hikamisan 氷上山, as well as the temples Jōeiji 常栄寺, Myōjuji 妙寿寺, Taiunji 泰雲寺, Shūkeiji 周慶寺, Daitsūin 大通院, Rurikōji 瑠璃光寺, in front of the viewing stands of the town administration and the three district administrators, at Dōjōmonzen and the crossing in Imachi, and finally at the *otabisho*.
8. Until the heron dancers return to Dōnomae-machi, the floats (*tōrimono*) wait on Shimotatekōji street. Once the heron dancers return to Dōnomae-machi, the *tōrimono* move towards Ōichi. The parade has been conducted in this way since ancient times, so the heron dance is performed properly at various places. It is important to return to the town [Dōnomae-machi] quickly.
Annotation. Concerning the procession and return of the heron dancers from Dōnomae: the heron dancers follow the portable shrine procession from Ise gate to Imaichi via Tsukiyama, Shimotatekōji street, Ōichi, Nakaichi, and Komeyachō. The procession back is conducted from Imaichi, via Komeyachō, Nakaichi, Ōichi street to Dōnomae-machi.
9. Since it was decided in Enpō 4 (1676) that the *tōrimono* of the four districts have to draw lots, a dance of large scale is performed in Honmachi. Shitamachi appears with decorative flowers, and performances are shown on the streets. The floats carrying dance performers of Honmachi pass first, after which the dance performances on the floats from Shitamachi proceed. They do not enter Dōnomae-machi in between. This is how the ceremony is conducted on the seventh day of the sixth month.
10. The heron dance is performed as a part of the float parade on the seventh day of the sixth month, and as a reward for their services, other performances are shown at Shimotatekōji street and the crossing in Ōichi. It is annotated

that the three districts of Komeyachō, Ōichi, and Nakaichi would play the *kakko* drums at the crossing of Shimotatekōji street and Ōichi as a reward for the heron dance.

11. The remuneration of the heron dance performers and the nine carriers of the decorative umbrella halberds (*kasaboko*) is provided by the *tōnin*.
12. The *tōnin* are divided into four groups, with eight to ten people listed for each of them; the size of the house of each person is listed. These groups were in charge in alternation from 1711 until 1714.
13. Thirteen people are involved in the heron dance; they are given saké at the gathering of the *tōnin* in the third month, on the evening of the sixth day of the sixth month, as well as on the morning of the seventh day of the sixth month. The remuneration of the heron dancers is provided by the *tōnin*. An annotation remarks that the amount of the remuneration is connected to the size of the house of the *tōnin*; that is why the size was listed in the preceding paragraph.
14. The costs of repairing the props for the heron dance are covered by the people of Dōnomae-machi, depending on the size of their house. It is annotated that the costs of repairing the feathers of the heron costume are covered by the *tōnin* of that year.
15. The origin of the heron dance goes back to the time of Ōuchi Yoshioki. Since then, the dance has been part of the Gion festival. It is performed on the seventh day of the sixth month, whereas two wheeled floats from Ōichi proceed in the parade on the fourteenth day. The text of the *Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto* by Yokoya Yajirō is provided, referred to with the expression *kyūki* 旧記.¹¹³
16. The heron dance was probably first shifted from Ōichi to Dōnomae-machi in the Keichō 慶長 era (1596–1615). Even the oldest residents do not know the [exact] date. Referring to the sections above, and having asked the shrine, the assumption stated above seems to be correct.
17. The heron head and wings [that have been used] until this day were made in the past by Unkoku Tōgan (whose common name was Hara Jihei, and who lived in the Keichō era [1596–1615]). He lived in a house in Dōnomae-machi. Since that time, the wings of Tōgan’s self-made [costume] have been prepared every year. It is used for the Shinto ceremony.

However, a fire broke out on the twenty-third day of the intercalary twelfth month in the first year of the Manji era [1658], spreading from Ushirogawara 後河原 to Enseiji-machi 円政寺町 in Dōnomae. But the old hall of the black Jizō of the town was covered with tiles and located next to a storehouse. The heron [costume] was stored on the right site under the roof [of the hall],

¹¹³Compare section 2.4.2 on “*Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto* (1583)” on page 93.

and therefore protected from the fire. It has fortunately been [used] for a long time [now]. The other props were stored at the *tōnin*'s house and were therefore lost to the fire.¹¹⁴

18. As stated above, people from Ōichi went to Dōnomae-machi to support the heron dance, because both were closely connected in the past. Until the Jōō 承応 era (1652–1655), young people from Ōichi would guard the heron dance performance on the seventh day of the sixth month, and in return young people from Dōnomae-machi would guard the floats on the fourteenth day of the sixth month. In the first year of the Meireki 明暦 era (1655), however, a dance performance took place in the seventh month in Yamaguchi-city, in which both Ōichi and Dōnomae took part. They had a consultation at the temple Jōsenji 浄泉寺. Yamanaka Kakubei 山中角兵衛 of Dōnomae reported that Tsumori Tarōemon 津守太郎右衛門 and Hasumi Chōemon 羽隅長右衛門 of Dōnomae did not take part in it. Therefore, there should not be a dance performance in Ōichi either. Yokoya Yazaemon 横屋弥左衛門, Hasegawa Jirōbei 長谷川次郎兵衛 and Terado Yoemon 寺戸与右衛門 of Ōichi reported that they received Kakubei's message, but since this kind of request was never heard of outside of Ōichi, they decided that the dance performance was to be held in Ōichi as a special exception. The people of Ōichi were consulted and accepted. So in Ōichi they skillfully danced the *Miidera-odori* [a type of *nenbutsu-odori*?] accompanied by suspended gongs. It was praised in all the districts, and even danced in Dōnomae-machi. Songs were sung with *koto* (zither) accompaniment, and the skillful dances were praised by all the residents. [Accordingly] from the sixth month of the following year, the tradition of the young men of each district guarding each other on the seventh and fourteenth days was discontinued.

Annotation. Yamanaka Kakubei had lived in Dōnomae since old times and was a town magistrate for a long time. Tsumori Tarōemon and Hasumi Chōemon were skillful [performers]. Chōemon was especially skilled in *kouta* singing. Kakubei was proud [to have them in his] district, which explains the story above. Regarding Yokoya Yazaemon, Terado Yoemon, and Hasegawa Jirōbei, [it can be said that] they were of special vigor among the twenty-two town officials. In a word, one could not pass them over. There was a competition between both districts, but no bad [intention] in the hearts of the people. Nowadays, there is no conflict between the districts.

19. As described in the preceding paragraph concerning the seventh day of the sixth month, the guards for the heron dance wear formal attire (*kamishimo*), and a pair of swords when sent from Ōichi as a support. The people of Dōnomae-machi carry a sword, but no hat. When they guard the wheeled floats (*kuruma*) on the fourteenth day, they carry a pair of swords and also wear a hat. Until the Enpō era (1673–1681), they carried a big pair of swords. However, the guards stopped carrying swords with the sword confiscation initiated by Tokugawa Tsunayoshi in the Tenna 天和 era (1681–1684). Even

¹¹⁴Compare section 2.4.2 on “The Costume Storage Box (1784, 1898)” on page 102.

so the townspeople carry a small sword under their *kamishimo* dress. If there were officials in the town, they would certainly carry the pair of swords.

20. A list containing the number of years that have passed by since the era-names mentioned in the text.

21. A list that names the town magistrates of Yamaguchi since the Keichō era.

The *Sagi no ikkan* provides extensive information mainly on the heron dance but also on the Gion festival in general. First, several meetings of the *tōnin* take place in advance of the festival. Next, the participants of the parade on the seventh day of the sixth month are listed. The heron dance shows almost the same line up as the *Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto* of 1583, except that the latter records only one player for the gong and the *kotsuzumi* shoulder drum rather than two of each. Both sources note that nine *kasaboko* were carried around.

Unlike other sources, the *Sagi no ikkan* records the venues of the performance of the heron dance and the number of the performers.¹¹⁵ The structure of the *tōnin* system becomes clearer: four groups with eight to ten people are in charge of the heron dance. The *tōnin* provide the remuneration for the heron dance performers, and they take care of the maintenance of the costumes. The *tōnin* rotate every year. The source further notes that the heron dance was first performed by the people of Ōichi but shifted to Dōnomae-machi during the Keichō era (1596–1615).

The detailed record of the performance seen in the *Sagi no ikkan* supports the idea that the heron dance entered a relatively stable phase in the Edo period.

***Bōchō fūdo chūshin'an* (1840s)**

To put reforms into effect, the domainal government of Chōshū (present-day Yamaguchi prefecture) prevailed upon its villages to report on their economy, size, water usage, climate, geography, cattle, and customs and festivals. The investigative reports were compiled in the 1840s in the *Bōchō fūdo chūshin'an* 防長風土注進案 (abbr. *Chūshin'an*), which comprises 395 volumes. Originally, it carried the title *Fūdo chūshin'an*, but when it was published by the Yamaguchi Prefectural Archives in 1960s, the name of the region “*Bōchō*” was added. This edition contains twenty-three volumes (KD 1991, vol. 12, “*Bōchō fūdo chūshin'an*,” p. 636).

The entry on Yamaguchi town was written by the Confucian scholar Ueda Hōyō 上田鳳陽 (1769–1854). A typographical reprint of the entry *Gionsha* 祇園社 dating to 1844 is provided in the compilation *Sagi no mai* by the Yamaguchi Kyōiku Iinkai (1981). The entry contains information on the shrine sanctuary and its buildings, the annual Gion festival, remarks on the heron dance—here termed *sagichō*. For a reprint of the original source, refer to A.4.4 from page 299 in the first appendix.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵Refer to the map of Yamaguchi city at the end of Appendix A.

¹¹⁶*Yamaguchi saiban: Bōchō fūdo chūshin'an: Kamiu no rei no ni*. In *Sagi no mai*, ed. Yamaguchi-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, pp. 85–86. Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, 1981. The typographical reprint published by the Yamaguchi Prefectural Archives can be seen in vol. 13

Transcription

*Saijitsu. Rokugatsu nanoka yori
jūyokka ni itaru.*

*Saigi. Nanoka minojōkoku shinkō nari.
Sōchō sagichō kasaboko no gyōretsu
Dōnomae-machi o hasshi, Gion no
honsha ni itari rōmon no zentei ni
mau. Shaguma o kaburi, shimoto
motaru mono futari, tsugi ni eboshi
hakama kitaru shōnen futari, yōko
o uchinagara kore o ou. Tsugi ni
kataginu hakama kitaru mono suhai
tsuranarite fue tsuzumi mote hayasu.
Ima wa sagi no kashira o itadaki,
hane tsuketaru mono futari, sagichō ni
sakidateri. Yo ni wa sagimai to zo iu.*

*(Sagichō o sagichō to omoitagaeshi, bu-
gen yori kakaru tai o nashishi ni zo
aran. Kore mo furuku yori ayamareru
koto to miete, Ōichi Yokoya ga ie ni
Tenbun no koro no hikki to iu mono
ari tote, sono utsushi o miru ni, sagi
bō tsukai (anzuru ni kore wa shaguma o
kaburi shimoto motaru mono o iu nari)
tō no na ari,*

Translation

The period of the festival extends
from the seventh to the fourteenth day
of the sixth month.

The festival. The shrine procession
is conducted during the first half of
the hour of the serpent [9–10 a.m.]
on the seventh day. The procession
of the *sagichō* [heron dance], com-
prising decorative umbrella halberds
(*kasaboko*), leaves Dōnomae-machi in
the early morning. Having arrived at
the Gion main shrine, they dance in
the front garden of the two-storied
gate. Two men with red fuzzy wigs
carrying rods, and two young boys
in formal dress and headwear follow
the herons beating their waist drums.
Further, several men in sleeveless
ceremonial dress play flute and drums.
Nowadays, two performers, wearing
a heron head and wings, go ahead of
the *sagichō* [heron dance] procession:
this is commonly called *heron dance*.

(The *sagichō* is confused with the heron
bird (*sagichō*). The form [of the
dancers] appears to be the result of this
common misunderstanding. It seems
that this has been mistaken since old
times. A document by Yokoya of
Ōichi from the Tenbun era [1532–1555]
records names such as *heron rod wielder*
(*sagi bō tsukai*) (this is probably the
one that wears a red fuzzy wig and car-
ries a rod).

of *Bōchō fūdo chūshin'an: Yamaguchi Saiban (ge)*, ed. Yamaguchi-ken monjokan, pp. 49–68. Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi Kenritsu Yamaguchi Toshokan, 1961.

ima no sagi no kashira wa Keichō no koro Tōgan (Unkoku ke zokushō Hara Jihei no jō) Dōnomae-machi ni sumishi toki ekata seshi chōkoku nari to ieri.)

(...) Sagichō Gion rōmon no zentei ni maite nochi, daijingū naoraiden no mae ni mau. Owarite sagi iwa (kore wa moto tatsu ishi to iu iwa nari, Kōnomine daijingū go-chinzaki ni kono iwa yori ue sōni noboru koto o yurusazaru yoshi o nose-tari) no ue ni sagi no kashira to hane to o nugi, onore ga yadori-dokoro yasuraite shinkō no jikoku o matsu. Sate jikoku ni mo itarinureba, mikoshi sanki shōkei daigūji kiba nari.

(...) Shake sujūhai shinkō ni shita-gau (...) Sono tsugi ni sagichō kasaboko hakkan wataru. (Kasaboko moto sagichō no gyōretsu ni wa arazu. Somosomo Dōnomae-machi yori kore o idasu koto, sono iwarenaki ni shimo arazu, Kyō Gion-e no kasaboko wa Mibu yori izureba nari.

Ōuchi Hiroyo ason Heianjō no keishō o mosareshi toki, kono Dōnomae-machi o Kyō no Mibu ni nazurae tamaishi to ieri. Sore wa Mibu ni nadataru jizō ari. Dōnomae-machi ni mo mei jizō ari, sore Dōnomae to iu koto yori nazureshi hodo no tokoro nareba Mibu ni nazuraeshi to iu mo kotowari aru ni chikakaran ka.)

The head of the heron [costume] was made in the Keichō era [1596–1615] by Tōgan (commonly called Unkoku, officer Hara Jihei no jō). It is said to be a work designed when he lived in Dōnomae-machi.)

[Long explanation of the court *sagichō* omitted.] After they have performed in front of the gate, they perform in front of the Naorai hall of the shrine. Having finished, they sit down on the “heron stone.” (This was formerly called “dragon stone.” The *Chinza denki* records that monks and nuns were banned from coming any closer [to the shrine] than this stone.) The performers take off their heron head and the wings and take a rest while waiting for the procession to arrive. When the times comes, the procession comprising three portable shrines, and aristocratic shrine priests on horses arrives.

(...) Several families serving at the shrine follow. (...) After that, eight *kasaboko* of the *sagichō* proceed. (Originally, no *kasaboko* took part in the parade. The *kasaboko* conducted by Dōnomae-machi came from the Kyoto Gion festival, where they were conducted by [the people of] Mibu.

When Ōuchi Hiroyo modeled [Yamaguchi] after Kyoto, he is said to have shaped Dōnomae-machi on Mibu in Kyoto. There was a well-known bodhisattva in both Mibu and Dōnomae-machi, so the place was named Dōnomae because it lay in front of the temple, which seems only natural because this was how it was in Mibu.

Sagichō roji no hodo hayashite toko-rodokoro o maitsumu yukunari. Kakute mikoshi Imaichi shukuin (otabimiya nari) ni go-anza arinureba, sagichō asoko no Kaguraden no mae ni mau koto honsha ni onaji.

The *sagichō* is performed at several places on the street. Once the portable shrines are put in the *otabisho* in Imaichi the *sagichō* is performed at the Kagura hall and the main shrine.

Compared to the preceding sources, it is noteworthy that the *Chūshin'an* does not record the number of the performers, the venues of the performance and the schedule in detail. However, the date of the performance is the same; the seventh day of the sixth month.

In the *Chūshin'an*, eight is given as the number of the decorative parasols, whereas preceding sources speak of nine *kasaboko*. The ensemble instrumental accompanying the heron dance is reduced to drums and flutes; no mention is made of a *kotsuzumi*, a *taiko* or a gong. Momota points out that the heron rod wielder (*sagi bō tsukai*) represents the same performing role recorded as *tsue* in the *Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto* (Momota, “Ōuchi bunka no yūga na isan,” p. 270). Inada states that the heron dance recorded here appears to resemble the present-day performance to a high degree (Inada, “Yamaguchi no Gion matsuri,” p. 135).

The author of the entry, Ueda Hōyō, uses the term *sagichō* for the heron dance for reasons unknown. One explanation might be that he sought to gain a greater appreciation of this local performance from the domainal government by linking it to an old tradition of the court and the warrior class in Kyoto. He outlines the historical background of the performance as follows: Ōuchi Hiroyo introduced the performance and its decorative halberds from the people of Mibu in Kyoto, who carried the *kasaboko* for the Gion festival of the capital. While it is not clear where he took this explanation from, it is now widely accepted and even set out on the plaque erected in front of the temple Manpukuji.

Unlike the *Sagi no ikkan*, no mention is made of the *tōnin*. However, other surviving records such as the *Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto* must have been commonly known, in the light of the references made to the Yokoya family and Unkoku Tōgan.

According to the descriptions in the *Chūshin'an*, the heron dance appears to have begun to resemble the present form of the performance more closely.

The Costume Storage Box (1784, 1898)

Nowadays, the wings for the heron costume are stored in a wooden box in the temple hall of Manpukuji. The box was first made in 1784 and replaced by a new one in 1898. The following is a translation of an inscription in black ink on the lid of this box. For a reprint of the original source, refer to A.4.5 from page 300 in the first appendix.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷The Costume Storage Box. In *Sagi no mai*, ed. Yamaguchi-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, pp. 7–9. Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, 1981.

Inscription on the costume box, Tenmei 天明 4 (1784)

Transcription	Translation
<p><i>Dōnomae-machi</i> <i>Sagi tōnin</i> <i>Shinohara Chōzaemon</i> <i>Hironaka Zensuke</i> <i>Kawamura Genshichi</i> <i>Tsumori Shin'emon</i></p>	<p>Dōnomae-machi Heron [dance] <i>tōnin</i> Shinohara Chōzaemon Hironaka Zensuke Kawamura Genshichi Tsumori Shin'emon</p>
<p><i>Kinoe Tenmei yonen</i> <i>Tatsu no rokugatsu kore o aratamu.</i></p>	<p>Tenmei era 4 [1784] Remade in the sixth month of the year of the dragon.</p>
<p><i>Machi-doshiyori</i> <i>Kawamura Genshichi</i> <i>Daiku Matsuoka (na wa yabure shirazu)</i> <i>Ijō.</i></p>	<p>Senior town official Kawamura Genshichi Carpenter Matsuoka (given name is indecipherable) <i>Finis.</i></p>
<p><i>Migi no tōri kore ari, sore yori seisō utsurinureba hako mo kore ni zui[bun] odoroki yaburinu, kore ni yotte kono tabi Harada Tsunekichi koshiraekau. Kishin shitaku no yoshi shi tō e sōdan tsukamatsuru, uchiawase no ue shirabe tsukamatsuri kishin tatematsuri tsukamatsuri sōrō. Ijō.</i></p>	<p>As mentioned above, many years have gone by since [1784], and this box has become very timeworn, so Harada Tsunekichi replaced it. After it was discussed by the four <i>tōnin</i>, [the box] was made and donated. <i>Finis.</i></p>
<p><i>Tsuchinoe Meiji sanjūichi nen</i> <i>Tsuchinoe rokugatsu kichijitsu</i> <i>Ganshu</i> <i>Harada Tsunekichi</i> <i>Sagi tōnin</i> <i>Okamura Ushinosuke</i> <i>Harada Tsunekichi</i> <i>Kawamura Genshichi</i> <i>Tsumori Shin'emon</i> <i>Ijō.</i></p>	<p>Meiji era 31 [1898] Sixth month, auspicious day Petitioner Harada Tsunekichi Heron [dance] <i>tōnin</i> Okamura Ushinosuke Harada Tsunekichi Kawamura Genshichi Tsumori Shin'emon <i>Finis.</i></p>

Machi sōdai nin
Nagatomi Zenbei

Hitotsu, tōdai made gozasōrō sagi no kashira, hane no gi wa mukashi Unkoku no ie chūkō Tōgan (zokumyō Hara Jihei nendai Keichō nenjū koro) Dōnomae-machi nai nite jūtaku nite kore ari sōrō toki, migi Unkoku Tōgan no jisaku nite sōrō. Korai yori mainen hane katawara toritsukurou toshihisashiku. Go-saiji ni idemōshi sōrō koto.

Tadashi, Manji gan tsuchinoe inudoshi urū jūnigatsu nijūsan nichī, yoru, Ushirogawara yori shukka kore ari, Dōnomae Enseiji made ruika ni oyobi sōrō. Shikaredomo chōnai Kurojizō mukashi no dō irakabuki nite kuraya no waki ni kore ari sōrō uchi no tenjō ni migi no sagi kore ari, kanan nogare sōraite, konji medetaku chōkyū tsukamatsuri sōrō, kono hoka no dōgu wa tōnin no kanai ni kore ari, shōshitsu mōshi sōrō koto.

Shichijūichi okina keibyaku.

Representative of the town
Nagatomi Zenbei

• The heron head and wings [that are used] until this day were made in the past by Unkoku Tōgan (whose common name was Hara Jihei, and who lived in Keichō era [1596–1615]). He lived in a house in Dōnomae-machi. Since that time, the wings of Tōgan’s self-made [costume] have been prepared every year. It is used for the Shinto ceremony.

However, a fire broke out on the twenty-third day of the intercalary twelfth month in the first year of the Manji era [1658], spreading from Ushirogawara to the temple Enseiji in Dōnomae. But the old hall of the black Jizō of the town was covered with tiles and located next to a storehouse. The heron [costume] was stored on the right site under the roof [of the hall], and therefore protected from the fire. It has fortunately been [used] for a long time [now]. The other props were stored at the tōnin’s house and therefore lost to the fire.

Respectfully written by an old man of seventy-one years.

Unlike the entry of the *Chūshin’an* which records that Tōgan only made the head, this inscription tells us that he made both the head and the wings for the heron costume. Due to the outbreak of a fire in 1658, all props except for the heron costume were lost. The heron costume was repaired partially every year (Tamura, “Sagi no mai,” p. 9).

***Yamaguchi meishō kyūseki zushi* (1893)**

The record *Yamaguchi meishō kyūseki zushi* 山口名勝旧跡図誌 (abbr. *Zushi*) was compiled by the local historian Kondō Seiseki 近藤清石 (1833–1916) in 1893.¹¹⁸ The part concerning the Yasaka Shrine is given as an excerpt of the original in

¹¹⁸The source can be accessed at NDL Digital Collections.

typographical reprint, in *Sagi no mai* by the Yamaguchi Kyōiku Inkaikai (1981). The source provides some illustrations of the heron dance and the Gion festival as it was conducted in the middle of the Meiji period.¹¹⁹ The heron dance illustration shows one man beating a drum, two men playing the flute, two rod wielders, two heron dancers, two boys with *kakko* drums, and two ceremonial guards. The costumes resemble what can be seen at the heron dance performance nowadays, except for some minor details, such as the swords attached to the belt of the rod wielders. Further, the rods do not closely resemble rifles as they do today; they rather appear to be some sort of stick or switch, perhaps made of bamboo.



Figure 2.13: *Yamaguchi meishō kyūseki zushi* (1893), NDL Digital Collections

The record explains the origin of the Yasaka Shrine and describes the Gion festival in detail. The description of the festival and the heron dance is similar to that of the *Chūshin'an*: The festival starts on the seventh day at about 10 am

¹¹⁹Depicted are decorated floats being pulled through the streets by several people. The floats are, for example, the *mikazukihoko* and the *ue no o-yama* 上ノ御山, decorated with a puppet that represents the god of longevity and wisdom (*Fukurokuju* 福祿寿) of the Seven Gods of Luck in Japanese mythology.

and proceeds to the *otabisho*. The heron dance is performed in the morning of this day; the author comments that the performance begins later nowadays. The performance is conducted by the people of Dōnomae-machi. Two performers wear a costume with a heron head and wings. They dance in front of the shrine altar. Two performers wear fuzzy red wigs and carry rods. Two young boys in formal dress and headwear beat their waist drum. Several men wearing sleeveless ceremonial dress stand in a row and play the flute and drums. After the performance, they take a rest and wait for the procession of the portable shrines. The heron performers then follow the portable shrines, after which eight decorative umbrella halberds are carried in the parade. The heron dance is performed on the road and at certain other venues, e.g. the *kagura* hall. The procession back takes place on the fourteenth day, showing a similar line up as the procession on the seventh day.

In addition to a listing of the floats of the parade and other performing arts, the *Zushi* examines the heron dance in detail, relying on sources such as the *Chūshin'an*. Owing to the extensive use of quotations, however, only little additional insight can be gained by examining this source.

Sagimai kiroku (1924)

A typographical reprint of the *Sagimai kiroku* 鷺舞記録 of 1924 is provided in the compilation of historical sources on Yamaguchi by the city of Yamaguchi (2015). On the occasion of a renewal of the costumes of the heron dance, an inventory was drawn up, listing the props, the costumes, the instruments, and the order of the *tōnin*.¹²⁰ In the Shōwa 昭和 era (1926–1989), the heron dance was conducted on the basis of this record (*Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, pp. 462–67).

The first part contains a description of the costumes of the two heron performers, two *shaguma*, two *kakko* drummers, two players of the flute and one of the drum, two stick carriers (*bōmochi*), two halberd carriers (*yarimochi* 槍持), and three men carrying the decorative umbrella halberd (*kasaboko*). The costumes are similar to the ones that are worn nowadays, except for the colour of the trousers of the *kakko* drum dancers, which are noted to be light pink. The props held by the *shaguma* are listed to be a pipe (*tsutsu* 筒)¹²¹, and a sword.

Further, the names of the head of the district and the *tōnin* (Okamura Ushinosuke), as well as the people in charge are listed. The shifting system of the *tōnin* among the four families of Okamura, Shimizu, Harada and Kawamura is recorded.

The second part gives details of the props used for the performance. Apart from a list of the costumes for each role, the number of wings and heads for the heron performers is specified, as well as the number of storage boxes needed.

Finally, the names of the people who supported the performance financially are recorded, along with the amount of money that was used. It becomes clear that the transmission of the performance involved significant costs.

The *Sagimai kiroku* was used over several decades, and shows corrections by later generations. Of the four families chosen as *tōnin*, all except the Shimizu are

¹²⁰The preceding sources use the term *sagi tōnin*, whereas the *Sagi kiroku* uses the terms *tōya* 当屋 and *hontō* 本頭 (*Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, p. 467).

¹²¹Usually called switch (*shimoto*) or rod (*bō*).

recorded on the preceding storage box. The responsibility for the festival rotated every year among these four families. Further, the number of performers has changed only little; today there is only one person carrying a decorative umbrella halberd. Unlike the rod wielders in *Sagimai kiroku*, nowadays switches are used instead of pipes.

Hence, the examined source illustrates once again the ongoing changes that gradually led to the form of the performance we encounter today.

2.4.3 The Transmission of the Heron Dance to Tsuwano

The Historical Background of Tsuwano

The Yoshimi Family There are no extant historical sources from before the end of the fifteenth century concerning the Yoshimi 吉見 family. However, it seems likely that they first settled in Tsuwano in 1282, moving from Noto (now Ishikawa prefecture) to Iwami no kuni 石見国, following the orders of the Kamakura bakufu, which feared a Mongol invasion of Kyushu and the western San'in coast from the Sea of Japan.

The construction of the Tsuwano castle was first started in the thirteenth century by the first head of the Iwami Yoshimi clan, Yoshimi Yoriyuki 吉見頼行. It was completed in the fourteenth century under his son, Yorinao 頼直. Probably by the end of the fourteenth century, Hironobu 弘信 had become a vassal of the Ōuchi clan of the neighbouring Suō and Nagato provinces, taking the Chinese character Hiro 弘 as a part of his name to show his vassalship to Ōuchi Yoshihiro (1356–1399). At the time when the Ōuchi family had to fight in Kyushu in the Ōnin War, the Yoshimi were subject to the command of the Ōuchi (Okimoto 1970, pp. 336, 412–13, 442; Okimoto Hiroshi 2004, pp. 17, 51–66).

The eighth Yoshimi in Tsuwano, Nobuyori 信頼 (?–1482), killed Sue Hiromori 陶弘護 (1455–1482) at a banquet held by Ōuchi Masahiro in Yamaguchi in 1482. Subsequently, Nobuyori was killed by a vassal of Ōuchi. His brother Yorioki 頼興 (1460–1532) succeeded Nobuyori and restored the loyalty of the Yoshimi towards the Ōuchi (Okimoto 1970, pp. 459, 471; Okimoto Hiroshi 2004, pp. 75, 79).

Yorioki was succeeded by Takayori 隆頼, who married Ōuchi Yoshioki's daughter Ōmiyahime 大宮姫, but soon died. The eleventh head of the family then was his brother Masayori 正頼 (1513–1588), who returned from a monastery to secular life in 1540. He married his brother's widow, Ōmiyahime. After the Ōuchi clan was overthrown in 1551, the Yoshimi became vassals of the Mōri clan during the Warring States period.

In 1600, Yoshimi Hironaga 吉見広長 (1582?–1618?)¹²² was defeated at the side of Mōri Terumoto at the Battle of Sekigahara, and forced by Tokugawa Ieyasu to leave Tsuwano castle. The Yoshimi family moved to Hagi. Hironaga, however, spent several years in vagrancy, but put an end to his life one year after his return to Hagi. When the Tokugawa clan finally took over reign in Japan, the Yoshimi family had ruled over Tsuwano for fourteen generations (Kracht 2011, p. 31, Okimoto Hiroshi 2004, pp. 114–17).

Sakazaki Naomori In 1601, Ieyasu designated Sakazaki Naomori 坂崎直盛 (?–1616)¹²³ the new ruler of Tsuwano in reward for his services. Naomori came from the warrior family of the Ukita 宇喜多, who were established in Bizen (present-day Okayama prefecture). Before entering the castle in Tsuwano, he was the daimyo of Dewa (present-day Akita and Yamagata prefectures). Before long Sakazaki

¹²²Also known by the name Hiroyuki 広行.

¹²³Many different names can be seen for Naomori. Until 1599, Naomori was also known by his Christian name Paulo パオロ (Kracht 2011, p. 34).

instigated a rebellious plot and was thus forced to commit suicide (Kuwabara, “Sagimai ni tsuite,” pp. 48–49 et al.).¹²⁴

Naomori is known for his accomplishments in expanding and reinforcing the castle, and constructing much of the stonework that remains on the mountain-top. He installed moats, and planted mulberry trees for paper production, which Tsuwano is still famous for (Kracht 2011, p. 35).

The Kamei Family The Kamei 亀井 were a warrior family originating in Kii province (present-day Wakayama and Mie prefectures); they moved to Izumo during the Warring States period. Although they were retainers of the Amako family, they eventually advanced to daimyo status. The Kamei were transferred to the castle town in 1617 as vassals of the Tokugawa shogun and henceforth ruled over Tsuwano until 1871.

Kamei Masanori 亀井政矩 (1590–1619) was the first of his family to live in the “Three Pine Trees Castle” (*Sanbonmatsu-jō* 三本松城) of Tsuwano. As a reward for his services to Tokugawa Ieyasu in the Sieges of Osaka Castle (Ōsaka no Jin 大坂の陣)¹²⁵ in 1614 and 1615, he was assigned the post of lord of Tsuwano and became considerably wealthy. Owing to his poor health, he passed away at the age of thirty (KD 1983, vol. 3, “Kamei Masanori,” pp. 596–97).

His son Koremasa 茲政 (1617–1681) succeeded him as lord of Tsuwano at the young age of three. During his reign, Koremasa defended the castles of Matsue 松江 and Hamada 浜田 of present-day Shimane prefecture, and Miyazu 宮津 of present-day Kyoto prefecture. As a culturally informed leader, he is said to have given two men the task of reintroducing the heron dance from Kyoto to Tsuwano (NJD 2001, “Kamei Koremasa,” pp. 545–46; Kuwabara, “Sagimai ni tsuite,” pp. 49–51 et al.).

Koremasa’s son Korechika 茲親 (1669–1731) became lord of Tsuwano at the age of thirteen. He studied the teachings of the Confucian scholar Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657–1725). The impact of the Confucian teachings was transmitted to the later lords of the Kamei family. Inheriting this spirit, the eighth Kamei lord Norikata 矩賢 (1766–1821) established the domainal school *Yōrōkan* 養老間 in 1786. This school was mainly dedicated to Confucian teachings, but also medicine and mathematics (Okimoto 1972, pp. 84–88).

In 1849, the eleventh lord Koremi 茲監 (1825–1885) shifted the focus of the school to textual and interpretive studies of Japanese classical literature and ancient writings (*kokugaku* 国学) and Western Learning (*rangaku* 蘭学). Famous Meiji-era figures like Nishi Amane and Mori Ōgai studied at the *Yōrōkan*.

Koremi was the last lord of Tsuwano, and resided in the castle until 1871, in the early Meiji era. The castle was dismantled in 1873. Today, only the ruins remain (NRCT 1995, vol. 33, “Tsuwano-jō ato,” p. 786).

¹²⁴The Senhime incident. Naomori planned to capture the daughter of Tokugawa Hidetaka, Senhime 千姫, in order to marry her, but failed.

¹²⁵Two campaigns in which Tokugawa Ieyasu defeated Toyotomi Hideyori 豊臣秀頼 (1593–1615), the son of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (JIE 1993, “Ōsaka no Jin,” p. 1163).

2.4.4 Sources in Tsuwano

While the first mention of the Gion Shrine in Tsuwano can be found in the *Yoshimiki* of the late fifteenth century, the Gion festival is only recorded for the middle of the sixteenth century. Based on a source dating to the beginning of the seventeenth century, the heron dance is said to have been performed first in 1542. Later sources imply that the dance was reintroduced from Kyoto in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The historical sources concerning the heron dance in Tsuwano are difficult to trace. Although a number of records existed, many of them have been lost in recent years. In former research, only few of these records are typographically reprinted in complete form; most of them are quoted only in excerpted form. In the following, the relevant sources are introduced and, whenever feasible and relevant, translated. Since most of the material referred to is taken from former research, errors of transmission and interpretation cannot be ruled out.

Yoshimiki (1482?)

The original of the *Yoshimiki* 吉見記 was probably burnt by the eighth Yoshimi Nobuyori before he left Tsuwano for a banquet held by his lord Ōuchi Masahiro in 1482, at which Nobuyori then stabbed Sue Hiromori (*Tsuwano-chō shi*, vol. 4, p. 7).

However, several copies survive to the present, including one from the Edo period. The first volume of the four-volume compilation on the town's history *Tsuwano-chō shi*, edited by the Educational Committee of Tsuwano from 1970 to 2005, provides a typographical reprint of the section of the *Yoshimiki* regarding education. Previous research quotes this source, saying that the Gion Shrine in Tsuwano was moved from Taki no moto to its current site, Ōtani no shita no hara, in 1437 (*Tsuwano-chō shi*, vol. 1, p. 714). Although this source gives information concerning the Gion Shrine, it does not mention the heron dance.

No kamiryō nakaryō shatō sairei shikihō (16th c.)

The source *No kamiryō nakaryō shatō sairei shikihō* 野上領中領社頭祭礼式法 (abbr. *Sairei shikihō*)¹²⁶ was compiled in 1552 by Kuwabara Hidetsugu 桑原秀次, a priest of the Gion Shrine in Tsuwano. The source was copied by his descendant Hideyasu 秀安 in 1583.¹²⁷ The original source belonged to the Kuwabara family, but has been lost. However, a 1943 copy of the original record is kept by the Tsuwano town's Board of Education. It provides insight into the rites and festivals held at the Washibara Hachimangū 鷲原八幡宮, a shrine that still exists in

¹²⁶The character *no* 野 stands for Nonogō 野々郷, the original name of the region that now covers Tsuwano town and Nichihara. In the Muromachi period, Nonogō was divided into two territories: *kamiryō* 上領 and *shimoryō* 下領; Tsuwano belonged to the latter (NRCT 1995, vol. 33, "Nonogō," pp. 769–70).

¹²⁷The source also shows the date 1509, eleventh month, fifteenth day, and carries the seal of Yoshimatsu Hachirōzaemon Motohide 吉松八郎左衛門基秀, perhaps a vassal of Yoshimi. The connection of Motohide to the text is not clear (Sonobe, "San'in chihō," p. 36).

the northern part of Tsuwano (Sonobe, “San’in chihō,” pp. 35–37). For a reprint of the original source, refer to A.5.1 on page 301 in the first appendix.¹²⁸

No kamiryō nakaryō shatō sairei shikihō,
Kyōroku 享祿 5 (1532), 4th month, 12th day

Transcription	Translation
<p><i>Hitotsu. Kyōroku gonen, mizunoe tatsu, shigatsu jūninichi, Yorioki go-seikyo nite, Gion wa rokugatsu jūyokka ni go-kō ari, dō hatsuka ni go-kangyo.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1532, twenty-ninth of the sexagenary cycle, fourth month, twelfth day, Yorioki’s reign ended. The execution of the Gion [festival] was changed to the sixth month, fourteenth day, and the procession back [to the Gion Shrine was conducted] in the same month on the twentieth day.

The *Sairei shikihō* records that when Yorioki died on the twelfth day of the fourth month of 1532, the first day of the execution of the Gion festival was shifted from the seventh to the fourteenth day of the sixth month. However, it remains speculation as to whether the heron dance was already part of the parade.¹²⁹

Chōsen tokai nikki (1592)

The source *Chōsen tokai nikki* 朝鮮渡海日記 is a diary kept by Yoshimi Motoyori 吉見元頼 (1575?–1594?), dating from the time of the campaign into Korea that was ordered by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1591, and acted upon one year later. Motoyori commanded his vassal Shimose Yorinao 下瀬頼直 (1567?–1642?) to record the invasion into Korea. He left behind a detailed description of daily life on the battlefield, such as troop movements and encounters with the Korean people. A number of copies survive to the present, including copies held by Yamaguchi Prefectural Archives (NRCT 1980, vol. 36, “Chōsen tokai nikki,” p. 691).¹³⁰ For a reprint of the original source, refer to A.5.2 on page 301 in the first appendix.¹³¹

¹²⁸*No kamiryō nakaryō shatō sairei shikihō.* In vol. 1 of *Tsuwano-chō shi*, ed. Okimoto Tsunekichi. Tsuwano, Shimane prefecture: Tsuwano-chō Shi Kankōkai, 1970, p. 716.

¹²⁹The transcription by Okimoto provides a comma between ‘*ari*’ and ‘*go-kō*,’ but in terms of the meaning this seems to be a mistake. Here it is read with a break after, rather than before, ‘*go-kō*.’

¹³⁰Further copies include: *Yoshimi-ke chōsen-jin nikki* 吉見家朝鮮陣日記, held by the University of Tokyo, Collection of Historical Material of Geographical Descriptions of the Ming Dynasty (Old Possessions of Okamoto Toshio); and *Chōsen-jin tomegaki* 朝鮮陣留書, held by Yamaguchi Prefectural Archives.

¹³¹*Chōsen tokai nikki.* In vol. 6 of *Bōchō sōsho*, ed. Bōchō-shi Dankai. Yamaguchi: Bōchō-shi Dankai, 1934, p. 6.

Chōsen tokai nikki, Tenshō 天正 20 (1592), 6th month, 7th day

Transcription	Translation
<i>Hitotsu. Nanoka ni mo dōsho ni go-tōryū sōrō, kunimoto no Gion domo oboshimeshi-idasare oiwai sōrō.</i>	• Our Lord stays at the same place on the seventh day. Our Lord calls to mind the Gion festival of our country and celebrates.

This entry shows that the Gion festival was firmly established among the annual festivals in Tsuwano. It was apparently of such significance that soldiers stationed in Korea would recall it on the day of its celebration. Despite the absence of any evidence, Ishizuka assumes that the heron dance was performed at that time in Tsuwano (Ishizuka, “Sagimai,” p. 295). However, this source does not reveal any information on the heron dance.

Kuwabara shake yuisho hikae (1611)

The first mention of the heron dance in Tsuwano in historical sources can be seen in the *Kuwabara shake yuisho hikae* 桑原社家由緒控 (abbr. *Yuisho hikae*), which was written by the priest Kuwabara Kichizō Fujiwara Moriharu 桑原吉蔵藤原守治 of the Yasaka Shrine in Tsuwano in 1611. Unfortunately, the original has been lost and is thus presently unavailable. However, an excerpt of the source is provided in typographical reprint in former research.¹³² Ishizuka was the first to introduce the entry that records the transferral of the spirit of the Gion Shrine to a new shrine building in 1542. The heron dance was then performed as part of the ceremony (Ishizuka, “Sagimai,” p. 295).¹³³ For a reprint of the original source, refer to A.5.3 on page 301 in the first appendix.¹³⁴

¹³²Okimoto, “Gionsha,” p. 718; Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 15; Katō, “Sagimai kō,” p. 48. All of them differ slightly, with no significant difference in meaning.

¹³³For his typographical reprint Ishizuka relies on the article “Yasaka jinja sagimai yuisho hikae” by Kuwabara Hidetake (September 1930). This article could not be obtained. Fortunately, however, Kuwabara examines the heron dance and its history in another article of the same year: “Sagimai ni tsuite.” Here, his studies are based on “a number of old handwritings” (Kuwabara, “Sagimai ni tsuite,” p. 46). The titles of these handwritten sources are not specified. Yet it seems likely that Kuwabara, as a member of the Yasaka Shrine keeper’s family, had access to the original *Yuisho hikae*.

¹³⁴This translation is based on Ishizuka Takatoshi, “Sagimai,” in *Nishi Iwami no minzoku*, ed. Wakamori Tarō, pp. 294–301, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1962, p. 295. Other typographical reprints can be seen in vol. 1 of *Tsuwano-chō shi*, ed. Okimoto Tsunekichi, Tsuwano-chō Shi Kankōkai, 1970, p. 718; as well as Honda Yasuji and Yamaji Kōzō, *Sagimai shinji*, Kankō Shigen Hogo Zaidan, 1974, p. 15. Also in Katō Takahisa, “Sagimai kō,” *Shintō-shi kenkyū* 16:5, 6 (1968), p. 48.

Kuwabara shake yuisho hikaie,
Tenbun 天文 20 (1542), 6th month, 14th day

Transcription

Tenbun jūichi nen, mizunoe tora, rokugatsu jūyokka, Gionsha shingū e gosenza, daiekibyō no toki, arata ni No-shi ni yukite, tabidono hongū no atari ni zōryū su, ichi shichi nichī shinji ari, sagimai shikkō hajimaru, Gionsha kanjō yori hyakugojūgo nen, Gionsha sai go-kanjō yori jūyonen ni ataru.

Translation

In Tenbun 11 [1542], thirty-ninth of the sexagenary cycle, fourteenth day of the sixth month. [The spirit of] the Gion Shrine was transferred to a new shrine building. Since a great epidemic occurred, an *otabisho* has been newly installed in No-shi [Tsuwano], close to the main shrine. A ceremony is held for seven days, the heron dance performance is started. One hundred and fifty-five years have passed since the first spiritual transmission from the Gion Shrine. Fourteen years have passed since the spiritual re-transferral of the Gion Shrine.

Katō assumes that the performance of the heron dance first began when Masayori transferred the Gion festival from Yamaguchi to Tsuwano in 1542. The *Yuisho hikaie* further records that Masayori re-transferred the Gion Shrine fourteen years earlier; Katō and other researchers recognize 1528 as the year of the transferral of the Gion Shrine from Kyoto to Tsuwano, which was executed upon request of Masayori's mother (Katō, "Sagimai kō," p. 48; *Tsuwano-chō shi*, vol. 1, p. 718; NRCT 1995, vol. 33, "Yasaka jinja," p. 788).

Okimoto explains that the entry records the construction of a new shrine building, and a new *otabisho* in No-shi where the heron dance was performed during the spread of an epidemic. He points out that no information is given on what the heron dance looked like (Okimoto, "Gionsha," p. 718).

Honda and Yamaji interpret the timespan mentioned in the entry as meaning that the festival was held for seventeen days (Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 15). Yet this interpretation is not correct; according to the record the timespan was seven days (lit. "one period of seven days").

This entry was made about seventy years later than the event it describes: the beginning of the performance of the heron dance in Tsuwano in 1542. Considering this, and the fact that the original source is lost, the content is difficult to verify. However, most accounts on the history of the heron dance in Tsuwano are based on this narrative account.

Yuishoki (1847)

Another record held by the Yasaka Shrine keeper's family Kuwabara is the *Yuishoki* 由緒記 of 1847. Like the above-mentioned source *Yuisho hikaie*, the present whereabouts of the *Yuishoki* are not known. Ishizuka provides a typographical reprint of

an excerpt of the source. Here, the heron dance is said to have been reintroduced by Nomura Nizaemon 野村仁左衛門 and Sakataya Tanesuke 坂田屋種助, who were sent to Kyoto in 1643 to memorize the dance. The heron dance was then performed in 1644. The entry further cites old sources saying that a new shrine building was constructed by Masayori in No-shi in 1542 to calm an epidemic. The heron dance was part of the celebration which was held for seven days. For a reprint of the original source, refer to A.5.4 from page 301 in the first appendix.¹³⁵

Yuishoki, Kōki 弘化 4 (1847), 6th month

Transcription	Translation
<p><i>Sate mata Shōhō gan kinoe saru go-sairei yori tōya nenban ni hajimaru nari. (...) Kono toshi yori aratamete sagimai no shiki hajimaru nari. Kan'ei nijū no aki, Nomura Nizaemon, Sakataya Tanesuke senzo ryōnin jōkyō shi, sagimai no shiki aratamete naraikitari. Ima tsutōru tokoro nari.</i></p>	<p>Further, in the first year of the Shōhō era [1644], twenty-first of the sexagenary cycle, the festival begins with the selection of the <i>tōya</i>. (...) From this year on, the performance of the heron dance is revived. In the autumn of Kan'ei 20 [1643], our two ancestors Nomura Nizaemon and Sakataya Tanesuke went to Kyoto, and relearned the performance of the heron dance. This has been transmitted until today.</p>
<p><i>Tsuketari, sagimai no shiki, kasaboko no shidai made imi arishi koto nare-domo, shigereba koko ni ryakusu. Ganrai, ōjaku yori arikitaru koto to miyu. Sude ni Yoshimi Masayori, Tenbun jūichi mizunoe tora no rokugatsu jūyokka yori No-shi ni oite arata ni karidono o taterare, ekibyō chinza no tame sengū ichi shichi nichi no aida shinji sagimai okonawaru to, moppara kyūki ni miyu nari.</i></p>	<p>Addendum: The performance of the heron dance and the <i>kasaboko</i> continues even today, and is well-known, so it is abbreviated here. It has existed since old times. Already on the fourteenth day of the sixth month of Tenbun 11 [1542], thirty-ninth of the sexagenary cycle, Yoshimi Masayori had a new shrine building constructed in No-shi. To calm an epidemic, the heron dance was performed at the [spiritual] transferral ceremony which was held for seven days. This can be seen in various old records.</p>

Katō summarizes this entry in his article and points out that the heron dance was revived in conjunction with the *tōya* system and has been transmitted to the present day. Whether the heron dance flourished or withered on the vine was bound to the fate of the town of Tsuwano (Katō, “Sagimai kō,” pp. 48–49).

¹³⁵Ishizuka Takatoshi, “Sagimai.” In *Nishi Iwami no minzoku*, ed. Wakamori Tarō, pp. 294–301. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1962, p. 295.

In his article, Kuwabara tells the story how both Sakataya and Nomura went to Kyoto to memorize the dance. On their way back home, they passed beautiful landscapes on their way. Yet they rushed to get back to Tsuwano, and once they had arrived, they tried to sing the song. But the song text would not fit the melody. So, they went back to Kyoto to learn the song again. They heard the missing line and finally returned to Tsuwano and introduced the correct song to their comrades. Perhaps this story was told to make fun of the ancestors of the Sakataya family (Kuwabara, “Sagimai ni tsuite,” pp. 49–50).

Ishizuka as well as Honda and Yamaji introduce the *Yuishoki* as one of two conflicting sources that record the revival of the heron dance in the seventeenth century (Ishizuka, “Sagimai,” p. 295; Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 15). The second record is examined next.

Gionsha go-sairei no setsu sagimai oboegaki (1848)

The *Gionsha go-sairei no setsu sagimai oboegaki* 祇園社御祭礼之節鷺舞覚書 (abbr. *Sagimai oboegaki*) dates to 1848 and was written by Sakataya Tanesuke 坂田屋種助. The source was transmitted by the Sakataya family¹³⁶ but, like previously examined sources, has been lost. Ishizuka, Katō as well as Honda and Yamaji provide a typographical reprint of an excerpt of the *Sagimai oboegaki* which states that Sakata Heizaemon 坂田屋兵左衛門 and Shifukuya Sango 紫福屋参吾¹³⁷ went to Kyoto in 1668 to memorize the heron dance (Ishizuka, “Sagimai,” p. 295; Katō, “Sagimai kō,” pp. 60–61; Honda and Yamaji 1974, pp. 15–16). The following transcription relies mainly on the typographical reprint provided by Honda and Yamaji, as well as a manuscript by Okimoto Tsunekichi (1938) held by the Tsuwano Town History Museum (Tsuwano-chō Kyōdōkan 津和野町郷土館).¹³⁸ For a reprint of the original source, refer to A.5.5 on page 302 in the first appendix.¹³⁹

¹³⁶Nowadays, this family’s surname is Sakata.

¹³⁷This name is read Shifukuya here in accordance with Okimoto’s transcription (Okimoto 1989, pp. 460–61). According to the local historian Yamaoka Kōji, the reading ‘Shibukiya’ is also possible (personal communication in 2019).

¹³⁸Okimoto’s text is written in brackets in the following transcription.

¹³⁹Honda Yasuji and Yamaji Kōzō. *Sagimai shinji*. Kankō Shigen Hogo Zaidan, 1974, pp. 15–16.

Gionsha go-sairei no setsu sagimai oboegaki, Kaei 嘉永 1 (1848), 6th month

Transcription

Gion-sha go-sairei sagimai no gi.
Ōko, Honmachi, Nakachō, Hori
Kurōbei e ōsetsukeraru. Nakachō
ittō sewanin to shite, watashi senzo
godai mae Sakataya Heizaemon,
Shifukuya Sango ryōnin no mono,
Kanbun hachi nen tsuchinoe saru
shigatsu jōkyō tsukamatsuru. Kyōto
nite Higashiyama Yamato no jō-dono
toritsugi o motte, Kyōto Gion-e no
sagi no mai o sazukete kudasare sōrō
yō negai-ide sōrō tokoro, sa sōraeba
Kyōto [shira]sagi no mai to mōsu mono
wa, kami no asobi nite Yoshida ni oite
goi no [kurai] o u[ke]-sōrawadewa
ideki mōsazaru dan, mōshi kikasaru
sōrō ni tsuki, watashi-domo chōnin
fuzei no mono nite, kan'i tsukamatsuri
sōraite wa shōbai no sawari ni mo
ainari to mōshi sōrō. Iriwake no
dandan ainageki mōshi sōrō tokoro,
[sono gi ni] atawazu ideki sōrō yō,
sujitsu nyūkon ni ainari kakubetsu no
o-kokoroiri o motte, sagimai hayashi
kata tō nokoru tokoro naku go-denju
[kudasare] sōrō.

Translation

Concerning the Gion Shrine festival.
 A long time ago, Hori Kurōbei of Honmachi, Nakachō, ordered his servants Sakataya Heizaemon, who is an ancestor five generations before me, and Shifukuya Sango as representatives of Nakachō to go to Kyoto in the fourth month of Kanbun 8 [1668]. [Having arrived] in Kyoto, [they] visited Higashiyama, where they ask the Provincial Secretary of Yamato through an intermediary to teach [them] the white heron dance of the Gion festival. [The Lord] then answered: “The aforesaid white heron dance of Kyoto is a dance for the gods, and worthy of being performed only by [persons granted] the fifth rank by Yoshida.” But an official rank would affect the business of townspeople. After they made a complaint about the circumstances, they stayed some days and concentrated on the heron dance and its musical accompaniment, which they were taught in detail.

Ishizuka points out that there is a gap of about twenty years in the content between the *Sagimai oboegaki* and the *Yuishoki*. Whereas the *Yuishoki* was written by the shrine, the *Sagimai oboegaki* was written by a member of the Sakataya family who was probably involved in the transmission and performance of the heron dance. Both sources were written two hundred years after the event and are therefore not necessarily reliable (Ishizuka, “Sagimai,” p. 295).

Honda and Yamaji agree with Ishizuka’s opinion. They suggest that the problem would be solved if it were known until what time the heron dance was performed in Kyoto. However, they stress that the present heron dance seems to have been transmitted directly from Kyoto in the Edo period (Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 16).

Katō cites an even longer passage of the *Sagimai oboegaki* followed by the explanation that if the student does not carry the title of the fifth rank, he is not worthy of being taught the heron dance. This thought might derive from the story

of Emperor Daigo giving the fifth rank to a heron at the pond in the Shinsen'en garden during a banquet (Katō, "Sagimai kō," pp. 60–61).

Gion sairei emaki (1860)

The *Gion sairei emaki* 祇園祭礼絵巻 is a picture scroll which illustrates the parade of the Gion festival in Tsuwano. Its colophon dates it to 1860, of the late Edo period. It is held by the Tsuwano Town History Museum¹⁴⁰, which recently began to provide a typographical reprint of the passages of the legend (*kotobagaki*) that explain the illustrations.

From the right to the left, the scroll first depicts thirty people carrying bows and arrows, a black bundle or a stick. They are followed by a number of guards (*keigo* 警固), one long-nosed goblin (*hanataka* 鼻高), ten spear carriers, seven sword carriers, a priest who plays a conch shell (*horagai* 法螺貝), a probably high-ranking person who is shaded with a red parasol, a *shishimai*, three carriers of a drum, three persons carrying strips of white paper attached to branches (*gohei* 御幣), one horse, the shrine priest of the Kuwabara family, a number of probably high-ranking people, and a portable shrine with a red parasol attached to the roof, followed by a mixed crowd of participants, such as men and women, children, and dogs.

The heron dancers follow this crowd; the *kotobagaki* gives a list and description of the performing roles. The following performers are depicted: two heron dancers, two *kakko* drum performers, two red rod wielders, and a musical accompaniment ensemble, who are followed by a group of people carrying small umbrella halberds (*ko-kasaboko* 小笠鉾), and a number of people who carry a big red umbrella. Both the small and big *kasaboko* closely resemble the ones used nowadays. The performers are depicted proceeding as part of the parade; they are not depicted dancing in the picture scroll.

For a reprint of the original source of the *kotobagaki* of the *Gion sairei emaki*, refer to A.5.6 from page 302 in the first appendix):

¹⁴⁰Originally held by Kosaka Suizu 小坂水津.

Gion sairei emaki, Man'en 万延 1 (1860)

Transcription	Translation
<i>Sagimai yakusha</i>	Heron dance performers
<i>Sekijun wa hidari ni</i>	Seat order left at top
<i>Jōza korai yori</i>	Since early times
<i>Ichī, Sakata Heizaemon iesuji nari</i>	One, descendants of Sakata Heizaemon
<i>Ni, sagimai futari</i>	Two, two heron dancers
<i>San, kakko futari</i>	Three, two <i>kakko</i> [drum] dancers
<i>Go, fuefuki futari</i>	Five, two flautists
<i>Shi, bōfuri futari</i>	Four, two rod wielders
<i>Roku, taiko futari</i>	Six, two drum players
<i>Shichi, kane o tataku futari</i>	Seven, two gong players
<i>Taikomochi wa tōya yori</i>	The drum carriers
<i>tōjitsu hiyō nite</i>	are hired by the day by the <i>tōya</i> to
<i>kore o motsu nari.</i>	carry the drums.
<i>Zengo keigo rokunin</i>	Six ceremonial guards in front and
<i>tōgumi yori kore o tsutomu.</i>	back are sent from the group in
	charge.
<i>Jiutai wa Honmachi Nakanochō yori</i>	The chorus in charge is sent from
<i>kore o tsutomu, mottomo honke</i>	Honmachi, Nakanochō. There is,
<i>baishin yori</i>	however, an old custom of sending [the
<i>shita no ie betsu yori aitsutomu to</i>	chorus] from houses lower than the
<i>mōshisōrō kofū nari.</i>	vassal of the main house.

Behind the performers, various other attractions follow, e.g. horses, small and big floats, a portable stage on wheels, wheeled floats carrying musical accompaniment ensembles and dramatic narrative chanting (*jōruri* 浄瑠璃). An advance-guard holds a sign which carries the name of each group. The parade is richly decorated, and the people wear a great variety of costumes.

The last picture on the scroll shows the *otabisho*, which resembles the facility of today, except for a surrounding wall which has since disappeared.

There are few studies which examine the *Gion sairei emaki*. Yamaji discussed this picture scroll in his presentation “Tsuwano hyakkeizu ni egakareta ‘sagimai’ no konjaku o saguru” in *Tsuwano* in the summer of 2016. He pointed out that the Gion festival parade of the Man'en 万延 era (1860–1861) is realistically depicted, showing a *shishimai* and a portable shrine. Unlike the *Tsuwano jōkamachi ezu*, which is examined next, the *Gion sairei emaki* shows Buddhist and Shinto priests or mountain ascetics (*shugenja* 修験者), indicating the syncretism of Shintoism and Buddhism (Yamaji, presentation 2016 in *Tsuwano*).

Today, there are not as many participants in the festival parade as there are depicted in the picture scroll. The *kasaboko* are no longer carried by people, but displayed in front of the community center.



Figure 2.14: Excerpt from *Gion sairei emaki* (1860), Tsuwano Town History Museum

Tsuwano hyakkeizu (1913)

The work *Tsuwano hyakkeizu* 津和野百景図 (*Hundred Views of Tsuwano*, held by the Tsuwano Town History Museum and recognized as a cultural property) comprises one hundred drawings illustrating the history, nature, and traditions of the castle town. It was painted by Kurimoto Satoharu 栗本里治 (also Kakusai 格斎, 1845–1926) by order of Lord Kamei of Tsuwano. Kakusai was born in Tsuwano and studied the painting style of the Kanō school in his early years, and later became the tearoom attendant (*osukiyaban* 御数寄屋番) for Lord Kamei. The drawings are presented in five volumes, folded in accordion-fold format. Each volume comprises twenty illustrations. Commentary is provided on the reverse of each illustration. The illustrations and commentaries were reprinted in 2010 by the Tsuwano Town History Museum.

The first volume includes an illustration of the Yasaka Shrine (illus. no. 16), and four illustrations that show scenes from the Gion festival (illus. nos. 17 to 20). Here, the heron dance is depicted in detail (illus. no. 17): two heron dancers spread their white plumage while dancing; they wear red pants, white *tabi* socks and straw sandals. One heron's beak is open, whereas the other's is closed. The heron dancers are flanked by two rod wielders, who wear a blue patterned coat, a blue shirt and pants with a white pattern. They also wear *tabi* socks and straw sandals. Their heads are covered with a fuzzy red wig. They carry a stick wrapped



Figure 2.15: Illus. no. 17 of *Tsuwano hyakkeizu* (1913), Tsuwano Town History Museum

with white and red paper strips in their hands. Behind them, two *kakko* drum dancers in white kimono, blue vests and pants with a dark blue pattern perform their dance. Their heads are covered with *kazaori-eboshi* headgear. A small drum is fixed to their hips. They carry small sticks in their hands.

The musical accompaniment is seated in rows behind the dance performers: eight instrumentalists (discernible are two flutes, two *kotsuzumi* shoulder drums, and two *taiko* drums), who wear orange or purple kimono, blue vests and green pants, as well as white *tabi* socks and straw sandals. Their heads are covered with an *ori-eboshi*. Nine singers wear *kamishimo* in green and blue, and carry swords. This assembly closely resembles what can be seen at the heron dance performance nowadays.

The following is a translation and transcription of Kakusai's explanation on the reverse of the heron dance illustration. For a reprint of the original source, refer to A.5.7 from page 303 in the first appendix.¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹Kurimoto Kakusai. *Tsuwano Hyakkeizu*. Ed. Tsuwano-chō Kyōiku linkai. Tsuwano-chō: Tsuwano-chō Kyōdōkan, 2010, p. 124.

Transcription

Tsuwano shigai Gionsha. (Nochi Yasaka jinja to kaishō su.) Sairei wa tochi jūdai no saishiki nari. Maitoshi rokugatsu nanoka dōgetsu jūyokka hirokōji kanrō ni oite jōran ari. Sagimai wa Gionsha mae sono toshi no tōya oyobi Tonomachi, Hara, Nakajima shozai no shoka kobetsu, mata otabisho nite okonaeri. Tochū wa yokobue, daishō tsuzumi, kane nite hayashi iku nari. Sono hayashi-kata wa fue hiyaa-ri-, hiya-ho-hi-, taiko ton ton, fue hiyarariho-, hiyarariho-, hi- hiyaa-ho-hi-, taiko ton ton. Kono aida ni taiko ari. Sono sagi no mau toki ni ushiro ni aru kamishimo kitaru mono utau nari. Sono utai wa:

*hashi no ue ni oritaa-
tori wa nan do-ri-
kawasasagi- no
kawasasagi- no
ya-, kawasasagi- no
sagi ga hashi o watashita
sagi ga hashi o watashita
shigure no a-me ni nure to-ri to-ri*

Translation

The Gion Shrine of Tsuwano town (later renamed Yasaka Shrine) conducts an important local festival on the main street every year, on the seventh and fourteenth day of the sixth month. The feudal lords watch it from viewing-stands. The heron dance is performed in front of the Gion Shrine, the house of the *tōya*, Tonomachi, and the houses of Hara and Nakajima, as well as the *otabisho*. The dance is accompanied by flutes, small and big drums, and gongs [onomatopoeia used to describe the sound]. In between, the *taiko* drum is beaten. Behind the heron dancers, a chorus dressed in *kamishimo* sings:

On the bridge
What birds have landed?
The herons (magpies)
The herons (magpies)
Yah, the herons (magpies)
The herons have built a bridge
The herons have built a bridge
In the drizzling rain they got wet
The birds, the birds!

Sono mau toki wa sagi no tsugi nite kanko futari sayū nite kanko o uchi, mata nihon no buchi o mimi no tokoro ni atete tobu nari. Mata bōfuri futari ari. Sono sagi kanko no sotoga[wa] o sayū ni wakarete mawaru nari. Sono gyōsō wa sagi no ato ni ōhoko ippon, koboko hapon shitagaiiku nari. Ōhoko ni wa hoko no ue ni hōō ari. Koboko ni wa sagi ni matsu no tsukurimono ari. Ima nao kono sagimai no kyoku shikkō suru mo saijitsu wa shichigatsu hatsuka dō nijūshichi to henkō seri.

Kono sagimai no kyoku wa mukashi moto Kyōto e denshū ni Sakataya Kichibei to iu mono Kyōto nite denshū seshi mono nari to iu. Kichibei denshū o ete, kiro Tsuwano kinzai Sasayama, Kaki no ki no murazakai aza Tōjinya made kaerikitari. Mizukara fukushū shikeru ni isasaka wasureshitomo oboenutomo, ikani mai kokoromitemo, mau sono kyoku ni awazu. Yamukoto o ezu, mata hikikaeshi Kyōto e nobori, shi ni tsukite toikereba, utai no uchi ya-, kawasasagi no ya- to iu ichigo o wasuretaru ni zo arikeru to iitsutō saredo kono bukyoku ima wa Kyōto ni wa taete aru koto nashi.

Kono sagimai ni tsuki omoshiroki hanashi ari. So wa Tsuwano kingō no hyakushō tabun kono Gion sairei monomi ni tsudoiyoru nari. Sono kanro ni dōyū ni deai, kō iwaku: Gion-e no sagimai o mishiya to. Otsu iwaku: mita, mita. Ano tsuru o kaburite mōta no ka to kotau. Okashiki kotae nari.

When the dance is performed, the *kanko* [*kakko*] drum dancers stand to the left and right behind the heron dancers, beating their drums. They raise their sticks to their ears and make jumps. Two rod wielders flank the heron dancers and the *kanko* drum dancers, and walk in circles around them. This [group of dancers] is followed by one big halberd and eight small halberds. The big halberd is decorated with a phoenix on top, while the small ones have pine branches attached to the top. Nowadays, the [schedule of] the heron dance performance has changed to July 20 and 27.

It is said that the music of the heron dance was transmitted in the past from Kyoto by Sakataya Kichibei, who learnt it in Kyoto. On his way back, when he reached the Tōjinya in Sasayama, Kaki no ki, close to Tsuwano and tried to practice [the dance], he [realised that he had] forgotten [the dance] somewhat. No matter how often he tried, the dance [movements] would not fit the music. Inevitably, he went back to Kyoto. When he asked the master, he [was told that] he had forgotten the “*ya-*” in “*ya-, kawasasagi no.*” This dance has not been transmitted in Kyoto to the present day.

There is an interesting story about the heron dance: [once,] when many peasants came to Tsuwano from neighbouring villages to view the Gion festival, two friends met on their way back. A said: “Did you see the heron dance at the Gion festival?” B said, “I did, I did. You mean the one where they danced with crane on their heads?” This is an amusing answer.

Kakusai's portrayal closely resembles what can be seen at present, except for some minor details: Kakusai explains that one big decorative umbrella halberd and eight small ones are carried in the festival parade. Nowadays, one big decorative umbrella halberd and eleven small ones are displayed in front of the community center. Kakusai further notes the story of how the song text had to be learned twice in Kyoto: only one person is mentioned in this version of the story, namely Sakataya Kichibei. This name differs from those in the other sources. The last part might be a joke of some sort, pointing out a local man's confusion of herons with cranes.

Tsuwano jōkamachi ezu (1914)

In 1921, Kakusai made a map of Tsuwano, *Tsuwano jōkamachi ezu* 津和野城下町絵図 (held by the Tsuwano Town History Museum). It depicts a bird's-eye view of Tsuwano, including the heron dance: two heron dancers, flanked by two rod wielders, and two *kakko* dance performers are shown in mid performance. Further, the musical accompaniment with flutes, drums, and gongs as well as a group of singers can be seen. Behind them, twelve small umbrella halberds and one big umbrella halberd are depicted. The illustration closely resembles the one depicted in the *Tsuwano hyakkeizu* mentioned above. As stated in the foreword of the reprint of the *Tsuwano hyakkeizu*, Kakusai illustrates Tsuwano as it was at the end of the Edo period (*Tsuwano hyakkeizu* 2010, p. 4). The *kotobagaki* of *Tsuwano jōkamachi ezu* reads as follows. For a reprint of the original source, refer to A.5.8 on page 304 in the first appendix.¹⁴²

¹⁴²The text found on the map was typographically reprinted by the Tsuwano Town History Museum, but has not been published. A copy of the map is available for purchase in Tsuwano. For a typographical reprint of the excerpt, refer also to Katō Takahisa's article "Sagimai kō," p. 51.

Tsuwano jōkamachi ezu, Taishō 大正 3 (1914)

Transcription	Translation
<p><i>Sagimai</i> <i>Kamishimo o chaku-seshimono utau</i> <i>nari.</i> <i>Sono uta:</i></p>	<p>The heron dance The performers wearing formal attire sing the following song:</p>
<p><i>hashi no ue ni</i> <i>ori-ita tori wa</i> <i>nan dori</i> <i>kawasasagi no</i> <i>kawasasagii no</i> <i>yaa, kawasasagi no</i> <i>sagi ga hashi o</i> <i>watashita</i> <i>shigure no</i> <i>aame ni</i> <i>nure tōri</i> <i>tōri tōri</i></p>	<p>On the bridge What birds have landed? The herons (magpies) The herons (magpies) Yah, the herons (magpies) The herons have built a bridge In the drizzling rain they got wet</p>
<p><i>Migi o go-kenbutsu no tokoro de</i> <i>shichido,</i> <i>Yasakasha de godo,</i> <i>o-tōrisuji no yotsu kado de sando,</i> <i>sono hoka wa ichido.</i></p>	<p>[The song] above [is sung] seven times in front of the spectating [guests], five times in front of the Yasaka Shrine, three times at the major street crossings, and one time at the other places.</p>

Both *Tsuwano jōkamachi ezu* and *Tsuwano hyakkeizu* note the song of the heron dance performance. The depiction of the performance is almost the same; unlike *Tsuwano hyakkeizu*, *Tsuwano jōkamachi ezu* shows the decorative umbrella halberds behind the singers. Further, the colour and patterns of the costumes differ slightly. Kakusai seems to have chosen certain parts of the parade to show in detail rather than to illustrate the whole parade as in the *Gion sairei emaki*.

On the right side of the heron dance, a costumed parade comprising a big dice and a white snowball are depicted. The *kotobagaki* gives the names for each role without going into detail. There are no hints about how this might be interpreted. Katō points out that this costumed parade resembles a wedding parade (Katō, “Sagimai kō,” p. 51).

Beneath the illustration of the heron dance and the parade, the three shrines of Tsuwano are introduced, one of them being the Yasaka Shrine. The main festival of the Yasaka Shrine takes place on the seventh and fourteenth of the sixth month. A

shishimai and the heron dance are shown on this occasion. An explanation of the origin and how Yoshimi Masayori introduced the shrine from Kyoto to Tsuwano is given.

In this way, Kakusai left to posterity a valuable illustration of the heron dance of the early twentieth century.

Conclusion This examination of the sources regarding the Gion festival and its heron dance performance in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano has shown that the earliest mention of the Gion festival in Yamaguchi dates to 1491 (*Ōuchi-ke kabegaki*), whereas the *Sairei shikihō* dates it to 1532 in Tsuwano. The oldest record on the heron dance in Yamaguchi can be found in the *Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto* of 1583. On the other hand, the sources regarding the performance in Tsuwano are problematic, owing to the time gap between the event described and the date of the record. Moreover, since the original sources are no longer available, their contents cannot be verified. Based on judgements given in former research, the earliest source recording the heron dance for the year 1542 in Tsuwano (*Yuisho hikae*) may date to 1611.

While there is no indication of a discontinuation of the performance in Yamaguchi, sources of the nineteenth century (*Yuishoki* and *Sagimai oboegaki*) record a reintroduction of the heron dance in 1644 or 1668 from Kyoto to Tsuwano. These sources, too, show a time gap between the event described and the date of the record. They are now unavailable and therefore not verifiable.

The schedule of the Gion festival of both Yamaguchi and Tsuwano appears to be the same over the centuries: it is conducted during the period from the seventh day to the fourteenth day of the sixth month.

Whereas the central elements of the performance are stable over the centuries, comprising two heron dancers, two *kakko* drum dance performers, two rod wielders, two flutes, and a drum, the number of people involved in the heron dance changes. In Yamaguchi, the composition of the musical accompaniment shifts from one drum, two flutes, one or two *kotsuzumi* shoulder drums, and one or two gongs as recorded in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries (*Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto* and *Sagi no ikkan*), to two flutes and one drum as recorded in sources of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (*Chūshin'an*, *Zushi*, and *Sagimai kiroku*). The number of decorative umbrella halberds (*kasaboko*) fluctuates from nine in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries (*Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto* and *Sagi no ikkan*) to three in the *Sagimai kiroku* of 1924. Today, only one *kasaboko* is carried around at the performance.

The concept of festival management by the *tōnin* is recorded from the sixteenth century on in Yamaguchi: whereas nine *tōnin* groups are noted in the *Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto*, the number decreases to four in the course of time. Further, the people of Ōichi were originally engaged in the performance but this shifted to Dōnomae-machi in the Keichō era (1596–1615), as noted in *Sagi no ikkan*. Later sources, such as the costume box, also speak of four men being in charge in rotation as *tōnin*, even giving their names. Some of these families are still in charge of the heron dance today.

Although the composition of the performance is not recorded in detail as it is in Yamaguchi, the evidence from a small number of extant pictorial historical materials from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries suggest that the central elements of the performance in Tsuwano have not changed significantly over the centuries: two heron dancers, two *kakko* drum dance performers, and two rod wielders can be seen (*Gion sairei emaki*, *Tsuwano hyakkeizu* and *Tsuwano jōkamachi ezu*). Unlike Yamaguchi, it seems that the musical accompaniment has not changed in Tsuwano. Yet it becomes clear that some parts of the parade have changed dramatically over the last two hundred and fifty years. The number of participants has decreased and many of the floats and attractions have vanished. The portable shrine is no longer carried on the shoulders; neither are the decorative umbrella halberds. The portable shrine is transported on a trailer nowadays, and the *kasaboko* are erected in front of the community center. Their number has decreased from thirteen in the nineteenth century to eleven at present.

While the historical sources do not provide much insight into the *tōya*-system in Tsuwano, former research points out that one family took over the role of festival management: the Hori 堀 family. It is thought that a rotating system of twelve *tōya* houses was established in Tsuwano in the middle of the Edo period.¹⁴³ However, this system could no longer be maintained in modern times and was therefore replaced by a rotating system of influential persons living in the center of Tsuwano.

Taken together, it can be stated that a greater number of available historical sources recording the heron dance in detail survive in Yamaguchi, whereas the situation is more difficult in Tsuwano. In contrast, pictorial material survives in a greater amount in Tsuwano than in Yamaguchi. Generally speaking, the sources of both places come into being at about the same time, in the fifteenth century, record the heron dance for the sixteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century, but show a different development from then on until the middle of the eighteenth century. A considerable number of sources regarding the Gion festival and the heron dance can be found for Yamaguchi of that time, but none for Tsuwano. In the nineteenth century, the above-mentioned pictorial material comes into being in Tsuwano. Regarding the Tsuwano sources, it is important to bear in mind the time gap between the event described and the date of records, and the difficulties in verification. Therefore, it cannot be conclusively determined whether the heron dance was reintroduced from Kyoto to Tsuwano in the seventeenth century.

In view of this, it is not possible to evaluate which performance transmits the older form of the heron dance to the present based on historical sources alone. The following chapter examines the performing art of the heron dance and its music, and attempts to shed light on the question of which performance may transmit the older form of the heron dance.

¹⁴³For details, refer to the section 4.1.2 on “The Past *Tōya* System” of Tsuwano on page 214.

Chapter 3

The Folk Performing Art of the Heron Dance and its Music

3.1 The Elements of the Dance

3.1.1 Yamaguchi

In Yamaguchi, the performance comprises two heron dancers, two rod wielders, and two drum dancers. They are protected by ceremonial guards: two rod carriers, two spear carriers, one lantern carrier and one person carrying a big decorative umbrella halberd with a pine-tree twig decoration on top. The dance performance is accompanied by three instrumentalists: two flutes and one drum. The total number of performers is fifteen.

Several preparatory events are celebrated in advance of the dance performance. The festival as a whole is carried out under the supervision and patronage of the *tōya*.

The first heron dance performance is held at the temple Manpukuji. The route of the procession seems to have changed even during the last thirty years. Today, they dance at the following places:

Manpukuji in the late afternoon around 16:00 – In front of the house of the tōya – Street crossing Fuda no tsuji – Yasaka Shrine around 18:00 – Otabisho – In front of the house of next year's tōya – Again at Manpukuji when night has fallen.

The costumes are recorded in the inventory list *Sagimai kiroku* of 1924 and have not changed much since then (*Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, pp. 462–67). The following description is based on this inventory list and on field research, as well as on a survey of photographs found in former research.

The Heron Dancers The heron dancers wear a white costume which comprises a long single-layer summer kimono with short sleeves made of hemp or raw silk

(*katabira nagagi* 帷子長着)¹ as outer wear; beneath that they wear a white undergarment (*juban* 襦袢). Their legs are covered in white *hakama* 袴 trousers that are tied to their calves. They tie a white belt around their waist. The dancers further wear white *tabi* 足袋 socks and straw sandals (*zōri* 草履). As headgear they wear a heron's neck and head. The neck is straight and about 100 cm in length. White paper strips that resemble feathers are attached to it; a tassel of red paper strips is fixed on top of the male heron's head, whose beak is open. The faces of the dancers are covered with a white piece of cloth. The plumage of the heron dancers consists of three wooden planks made of white lacquered paulownia (*kiri* 桐) which are attached to the shoulders and the back.



Figure 3.1: Heron dance at the Manpukuji in Yamaguchi (July 20, 2016)

Drum Dance Two dancers with drums fixed to their hips perform their dance, the *kakko mai* 羯鼓舞, behind the heron dancers. The term *kakko*, also pronounced *kanko* in dialect, refers to the small barrel-drum they are carrying. The drum has two heads and diagonal tuning cords. In Yamaguchi, the *kakko mai* is performed

¹Tamura lists the *katabira* and the *nagagi* as two separate articles of clothing (Tamura, “Sagi no mai,” p. 1); the Yamaguchi-ken Kyōikuchō Shakai Kyōiku, Bunkazai-ka probably copied it from Tamura without checking in their report *Yamaguchi-shi no minzoku geinō* (2009).

by children, who wear a short-sleeved summer kimono (*nagagi* 長着) in deep blue² made of linen with a stylized white heron imprinted on the back. Their sleeves are tucked up with a red-white striped cord (*tasuki* 襷). They wear a blue *hakama* with three white horizontal stripes. The *kakko* drum is attached to their waists and fastened with a blue-white striped cord. In their hands, they carry the short wooden drum sticks. They wear a black *eboshi* 烏帽子 as headgear. Their feet are covered with white *tabi* socks and *zōri* straw sandals.

The *kakko mai* (or *kanko mai*) is commonly known as a lion dance using an hourglass- or barrel-shaped drum, so it is also called *kakko shishi mai* 羯鼓獅子舞. Dances of this type are usually associated with prayers for rain or a good harvest, and can be seen all around Japan (Lancashire, “What’s in a Word?” p. 42). In the case of the heron dance, the *kakko mai* is not associated with a lion dance, but derives from the medieval Gion festival of Kyoto.

Miyamoto Keizō 宮本圭造 states that the *kakko* drum derives from the court music *gagaku* 雅楽 and was originally placed on a stand as a part of an orchestra. In the medieval period, the *kakko* drum was used in festival accompaniments (*hayashimono*) and usually appeared as a set with a strung clapper made of multiple pieces of wood strung onto a cord (*sasara* 篳 or *bin-zasara* 編木). During the first half of the Muromachi period, however, it evolved into a solo instrument used for the performance of the *kakko mai* (or *yatsubachi* 八撥). The *kakko* drum was attached to the waist, so that the player could perform a dance with it. It gained popularity and spread to numerous regions as a new kind of performance. A prominent example is the *kakko mai* performance shown on the *naginataboko* of the Kyoto Gion festival, where a boy (*chigo* 稚児)³ beats the drum fixed to his waist in a ritualized way. Miyamoto points out the possibility that noh actors were involved in the formation of the *kakko mai*. Noh plays such as *Kagetsu* 花月, *Jinen koji* 自然居士, or *Tōgan koji* 東岸居士 incorporated a drum dance performance, probably some time after the plays were first written (Miyamoto, “Kakko mai no keifu,” p. 6; Ueki “Kakko chigo mai no keifu,” pp. 103–29).⁴

In 1986, Yamaji suggested that the *kakko chigo mai* performed on the *naginataboko* of the Kyoto Gion festival derives from the performing art of *kusemai* which was shown on a portable stage (*kusemai-guruma*).⁵ He states that *kusemai* was not only performed by women, but also men and boys. These boys also performed the drum dance *kakko mai* (or *yatsubachi*), which was incorporated into *sarugaku*.⁶ Performances of *kakko mai* can be found in other places such as the

²The *Sagimai kiroku* records the colour as “deep pale yellow” (*koi asagi-iro* 濃浅黄色). This is probably a mistake for “pale indigo” (*asagi-iro* 浅葱色), a colour of pale green with a touch of indigo-blue which is associated with the leaves of leek.

³*Chigo* are children (boys in particular) who were considered uncontaminated by the world, and therefore performed special functions at Shinto and Buddhist ceremonies (JIE 1993, “Chigo,” p. 184).

⁴The plays *Jinen koji*, *Tōgan koji* and *Kagetsu* include a *kakko mai* performed by a lay priest or temple boy, who beats the drum tied to his waist symbolically.

⁵Compare footnote on *kusemai* in section 2.2.2 on “Festival Floats and Procession Route” on page 47.

⁶Compare the plays mentioned above. Further the noh play *Mochizuki* 望月 includes a *kakko mai* performed by a child.

modern prefectures of Nara (Tōdaiji 東大寺), Wakayama (Kumano hongū 熊野本宮) and Aichi (Atsuta jingū 熱田神宮) (Yamaji, “Gion goryō-e no geinō: Umaosa warabe, kusemai-guruma, kakko chigo,” pp. 26–28).

However, Yamaji’s argument was questioned by a number of researchers, one of them being Fukuhara, who pointed out that the portable stage for dance performances (*mai guruma*) and the floats are probably of different origin, and so are the *kusemai* and the *kakko chigo mai*. Whereas the *kusemai* shows elements of story telling (*katarimono* 語り物) and song (*utaimono* 謡い物), accompanied by rhythmical music, the *kakko chigo mai* lacks a story as well as a song and shows a rather symbolic range of dance movements. Fukuhara states that the *kusemai* was usually performed by professionals, but the *kakko chigo mai* seems to originate from temple performances by children such as *warabemai* 童舞 or *chigo bugaku* 稚児舞楽⁷ (Fukuhara, “Sengoku shokuhō-ki ni okeru shokoku Gion-e no kakko chigo mai,” pp. 458–85).

In his revised version of 2009, Yamaji acknowledges Fukuhara’s objections, and adds his idea of two sorts of drum dance: the *kakko chigo* of the *hayashimono* appears to be of the *odori* 踊り kind of performing style, whereas the *kakko chigo* on the float probably represents a *mai* 舞 dancing style. He points out that the *hayashimono* was originally performed on the ground and therefore belonged to the *odori* type of dance. The *kakko chigo* who were part of a *hayashimono* usually formed a pair, along with a costumed performer and a *bōfuri*. In contrast, the *mai*-type drum dance was conducted as a solo performance on the float, accompanied by flute and drums. As is the custom, the *kakko chigo* of this type of dance is not allowed to touch the ground—another criterion for excluding it from the *odori* type (Yamaji 2009, p. 120).

Yamaji’s findings were further criticised by Ueki, who claimed that the *kakko chigo mai* derives from the *furyū hayashimono*. Referring to performances such as the *Yasurai-bana*⁸ of Kyoto, he suggests that the *kakko mai* and its musical accompaniment were initially part of the Gion parade on the ground, but evolved into a performance shown on the float. He assumes that this way the parade would not be interrupted by stops for drum dance performances, but could proceed smoothly through the city. In a revised study of the *chigo mai* of the Gion festival published in 2009, Yamaji points out that there are no historical sources supporting Ueki’s theory (Yamaji 2009, pp. 118–20; Ueki 2001, pp. 63, 73; Ueki, “Kakko chigo mai no keifu,” p. 125).

In 2010, Ueki discussed two kinds of *kakko chigo mai* shown at festivals: he distinguishes between *kakko mai* as a single performance, and the set of *kakko mai* and *shishimai*. Performances comprising decorative costumes together with a ritualised form of the *kakko mai* spread as *furyū hayashimono* into various regions. The Kyoto Gion festival only includes a *kakko mai* as a single performance; Ueki claims that a *shishimai* used to be part of the float parade in the past, but was discontinued in its early beginnings (Ueki, “Kakko chigo mai no keifu,” pp. 103–29).

⁷These dances are also known as traditional Japanese court dances.

⁸Compare section 3.2.1 on “Characteristics of *Furyū Hayashimono*” on pages 155 to 160.

The folding screen *Tsukinami saireizu*⁹ depicts two adult *kakko* players as part of the musical accompaniment of the festival (*hayashimono*) on the ground, as well as an apparently young man performing the drum dance on the pulled float in the lower right corner of the sixth scroll. He is depicted in the upper right corner of the float—amongst other men, who play the flute, the *kotsuzumi* drum, and a big drum, or sit leaning against the railing, viewing the festival parade. Both the young *kakko* player on the float and the *kakko* player of the *hayashimono* on the ground wear a red *kosode*. Unlike the *kakko* player on the ground, the young man does not wear a red wig. From this examination, it can be said that Yamaji’s findings of 2009 are persuasive regarding his distinction of an *odori*-type and *mai*-type drum dance. A *kakko* player pair is depicted as part of a *hayashimono* proceeding on the ground, whereas the young man performs a solo drum dance on the float, accompanied by flute and drums. Additionally, the depiction supports Tai’s assertion that the *kakko mai* of medieval times was more dynamic than the present one (Tai, “‘Gion-bayashi’ no genryū,” p. 43).¹⁰

Ueki’s suggestion that the *kakko mai* initially was part of the parade on the ground, but evolved into a performance shown on the float, appears less convincing in light of the depiction in the *Tsukinami saireizu* of both the young *kakko* player on the float, and the *kakko* player on the ground. The ones on the ground seem to have attached the drums firmly to their waists, so that they could even proceed while beating the drum or dancing. Further, there is no depiction of a *shishimai*, so it is questionable whether there used to be a performance, as he states.

Another depiction of a *kakko mai* can be seen on the screen *Keiraku tsukinami fūzokuzu senmen nagashi*, where it appears along with the heron dance, the *bōfuri* and the *hayashi* in a performance on the occasion of a *sagichō* in the garden of a noble’s residence. As discussed above, the two *kakko mai* dancers wear a colourful dress: a blue vest, an orange short-sleeved kimono (*kosode*), and a red hakama. Their blue hats are decorated with red cords.¹¹

Unlike on the screen *Tsukinami saireizu*, where the *kakko mai* dancers are on the float or in the crowd far behind the heron dancers, they dance closely behind the heron dancers, as seen from the point of view of the audience on the *Senmen nagashi*. The heron dancers, drum dancers, and the rod wielder make up the main performance and are accompanied by musicians playing *kotsuzumi* and *ōtsuzumi* drums, flute, and assumingly gong. This setting looks similar to the modern performances in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano.

Rod Wielders The rod wielders in Yamaguchi are called *shaguma* 赤熊 (also written in hiragana or katakana) or *sagi bō tsukai* 鷺棒使い (Yamaguchi-shi Kyōiku linkai 1981, p. 2 et al.). Like the *kakko* drum dancers, they wear a deep blue short-sleeved summer kimono (*nagagi*) made of linen with a stylized white heron

⁹Refer to section 2.2.3 on the folding screen *Tsukinami saireizu* on page 65.

¹⁰Originally, children used to perform the *kakko mai* on all of the floats of the Kyoto Gion festival. Today, only a single child performs a *kakko mai* on the first float of the parade, the *naginataboko*. The other children have largely been replaced by puppets (Tai “‘Gion-bayashi’ no genryū,” p. 19).

¹¹Refer to section 2.2.3 on the screen *Keiraku tsukinami fūzokuzu senmen nagashi* on page 72.

imprinted on the back. Beneath that they wear a white *juban* undergarment. The sleeves are tucked up with a blue *tasuki* cord. Their legs are covered in blue-white striped *hakama* trousers that are tied to their calves and fastened with a white belt around their waists.

Inada suggests that the *shaguma* originates from the *bōfuri* 棒振り (rod or stick wielder)¹², a performing art that is connected to the medieval *furyū hayashimono* (Inada, “Yamaguchi no Gion matsuri,” pp. 134–35). Yagi Tōru 八木透 thinks that the medieval *bōfuri* formed a professional group similar to those formed by the heron dance and the *kakko mai* performers.¹³ One of the earliest records concerning a *bōfuri* can be seen in an entry in the *Kanmon nikki* of the seventeenth day of the eighth month of Ōei 応永 23 (1416). For a reprint of the full entry of the original source, refer to A.2.2 on page 285 in the first appendix.¹⁴

次棒振鬼面ヲ着ス

Tsugi ni bōfuri, kimen o chaku-su

Next, a rod wielder; wears a devil’s mask.

A rod wielder takes part in a *furyū hayashimono* parade to the Katsura Jizō 桂地蔵, a stone statue of the bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha¹⁵ which is located in Katsura no sato 桂里, to the west of the Katsura river of Kyoto. The parade was conducted by the shogun to pray for protection from pestilences that were prevalent at that time. Prince Sadafusa, author of the *Kanmon nikki*, further notes that the Jizō, which had lain in ruins, was then rebuilt because of a miraculous manifestation of the bodhisattva.¹⁶ Thereafter it became the object of worship of the temple Jizōji 地蔵寺 (or Katsura Jizō 桂地蔵), located in the modern district Katsura Kasuga-chō 桂春日町, in the ward Nishigyō-ku 西京区 of Kyoto (KD 1997, vol. 3, “Katsura-gawa jizōki,” p. 402; KYJJD 1997, “Jizōji,” pp. 312–313; Sonobe, “‘Kanmon nikki,’ gendaigo-yaku (3),” p. 23; Nakamura, “Minzoku geinō ni miru bōfuri: Hassei to tenkai,” pp. 46–60).

¹²This term indicates the stick (*bō* 棒) which they wave (*furu* 振る; noun form *furi* 振り).

¹³“Aya-kasaboko ni tsuite: Aya-kasaboko to bōfuri-bayashi,” *Aya-kasaboko Hozonkai* (online).

¹⁴*Kanmon nikki*. In *Zushoryō sōkan*, vol. 1. Ed. Kunaichō Shoryōbu. Kunaichō Shoryōbu, 2002, pp. 55–56.

¹⁵Compare footnote on the bodhisattva Jizō in the section 1.2.2 on “The Gion Festival” on page 6.

¹⁶The ‘textbook’ (*ōraimono*) *Katsura-gawa jizōki* 桂川地蔵記 (ca. 1416), also *Katsura jizōki* 桂地蔵記, records the manifestation of the Jizō and the *furyū* parade in detail (KD 1997, vol. 3, “Katsura-gawa jizōki,” p. 402). A typographical reprint is available in *Zoku Gunsho ruijū*, vol. 33 (*jō*), ed. Hanawa Hokiichi and Ōta Tōshirō, 1927 (1984), p. 101. As Nakamura shows, the *Katsura-gawa jizōki* records a group of *bōfuri* carrying ‘hand rods’ (*tebō* 手棒) who take part in the *furyū* parade towards the Katsura Jizō. Therefore, two kinds of *bōfuri* can be seen: one with a mask leading the parade as recorded in the *Kanmon nikki*, and a group of rod wielders carrying hand rods as recorded in the *Katsura-gawa jizōki* (Nakamura, “Minzoku geinō ni miru bōfuri: Hassei to tenkai,” p. 48).

Many depictions of *bōfuri* together with the *kakko mai* can be found on folding screens from the sixteenth and seventeenth century on. Surprisingly, there is no depiction of a rod wielder on the *Tsukinami saireizu*. In contrast, one *bōfuri* can be seen on the fan of the screen *Keiraku tsukinami fūzokuzu senmen nagashi*. His costume is green and red; he has fuzzy red hair and carries the stick in his hand. As in the case of the *kakko mai*, his appearance resembles what we see in Tsuwano today, rather than the one of the modern Yamaguchi performance.

As Nakamura points out, a rod wielder is also part of the *San'yare* サンヤレ, a performance art originating in the late medieval period. Nowadays, a number of performances are conducted in Shiga prefecture. Nakamura analyses the *San'yare* of Shimogasa 下笠 of Kusatsu 草津 city, which takes place every year on the third of May.¹⁷ It is mainly carried out by boys who play various percussion instruments and perform a dance at certain places in the district. The boys wear colourful costumes and a hat with flower decoration. The role of the rod wielder is performed by one boy, who proceeds in front of the parade together with a drum player. The performance originally sought to expel disease-bearing spirits, but since the early modern period, it has also expressed the wish for a rich harvest (Nakamura, “Minzoku geinō ni miru bōfuri: Hasei to tenkai,” pp. 53–59).

Inada points out that *bōfuri* accompany two decorative umbrella halberds that are part of the parade of the contemporary Gion festival: the *aya-kasaboko* 綾笠鉾¹⁸, recognizable by the characteristic cock on top of it, and the *shijō-kasaboko* 四条笠鉾. The *bōfuri* of the *aya-kasaboko* demonstrate an acrobatic use of the stick, while the *shijō-kasaboko* is accompanied by children who perform an elegant dance with their sticks (Inada, “Yamaguchi no Gion matsuri,” pp. 134–35).

Yamaji states that the rod wielders of the Gion festival were also incorporated into *Mibu kyōgen* 壬生狂言, a collection of masked pantomime performances of the temple Mibudera 壬生寺, located in the Kyoto ward Nakagyō-ku 中京区. The performances are mainly shown in spring, but there are additional sessions in autumn. They are divided into morning, midday and night sessions, of which the midday performances represent a ceremonial dedication to the bodhisattva Jizō. At the end of the sessions, the play *Bōfuri* is given. Unlike the other plays, the rod wielder is not masked but wears a fuzzy red wig (*shaguma*) and has his face covered with a white piece of cloth. He waves his stick in an acrobatic manner and aims to repel evil spirits (Lancashire 2016, p. 189; Yamaji 2009, pp. 169–70 [first published as an article in the journal *Engekigaku* under the title “Dainenbutsu kyōgen kō” in 1984]).

The performing art of the *bōfuri* was also incorporated into *kyōgen*, as can be seen in the play *Nabe yatsubachi* 鍋八撥. Two men, one selling earthenware plates and one *kakko* drums, argue about the leadership of the stalls of a new market,

¹⁷Compare the footnote on “*San'yare*” on page 156, in the section 3.2.1 on “Characteristics of *Furyū Hayashimono*.” Nakamura further introduces the *Kenketo* ケンケト (or *San'yare*) of Saizugawa 幸津川, Moriyama 守山 city, held on the fifth of May, which includes a performance of sword wielders (*naginata-furi* 長刀振り). She states that these sword wielders are a modification of the rod wielders, but her claim lacks sufficient evidential support. However, the performance certainly reminds one of the rod wielders of the Gion festival parade.

¹⁸Also read *aya-gasaboko*, or *aya-gasahoko*.

in order to be granted an exemption from taxation offered by a representative of the provincial governor. Both sellers wait until the morning and claim to be the first to arrive at the new market. The representative orders a contest to make the decision, so the *kakko* drum seller gives a *bōfuri* performance, waving a long stick with a flute as musical accompaniment. The plate seller imitates the dance but fails, and finally breaks his earthenware plates. Eventually, he expresses his joy at having more plates. As Hata notes, this play was incorporated into the *Mibu kyōgen* play *Hōraku wari* 炮烙割 (SNKJ 2011, Hata, “Nabeyatsubachi,” pp. 222–23).

The rod wielders of the Yamaguchi heron dance performance are nowadays interpreted as hunters who use a stick that resembles a musket or a rifle, a *teppō* perhaps.¹⁹ This prop is called *shimoto* 楯 (lit. ‘switch’) and might be a relic from medieval times, when Dōnomae-machi was inhabited by ironworkers and blacksmiths who made swords for the region (*Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, p. 457). It may be possible that they were also involved in manufacturing rifles at some later date, and thus incorporated this element into the heron dance.

Ceremonial Guards The performers are protected by four ceremonial guards: two men are carrying simple wooden rods (*bōmochi* 棒持), whereas the two other men carry a rod equipped with a barbed metal hook at the top.²⁰ They are called ‘twisted rod carriers’ (*hineri mochi* ひねり持) or ‘spear carriers’ (*yari mochi* 槍持). Apart from that, one man carries a decorative umbrella halberd (*kasabokomochi* 笠鉾持ち), and another one a lantern (*chōchin mochi* 提灯持).²¹ They all wear a short-sleeved linen *katabira nagagi*, a white *juban* undergarment, a white belt, and a brown overgarment (*haori* 羽織) with a white pattern. As headgear, they wear a plate-shaped dark hat.

Decorative Umbrella Halberds As just stated, one man carries an umbrella halberd, covered with a dark cloth with silver patterns, decorated with a pine-tree twig on top. Decorative umbrella halberds are widely used in festivals; they can be seen, for example, in the Gion festival. Their history reaches far back to ancient times, when umbrellas were used to symbolize religious or political power.

¹⁹Firearms were introduced to Japan by the first Europeans who landed in Japan, probably in 1543. It is said that two Portuguese traders arrived on board a Chinese junk at Tanegashima 種子島, an island southeast of Kyushu. When the fourteenth lord of Tanegashima, Tanegashima Tokikata 種子島時堯 (1528–1579), invited the Portuguese to his house, they carried an oblong object, which aroused his curiosity. Tokikata realized what it was when they arranged a demonstration of the musket. If this tradition is correct, Tokikata was the first Japanese to shoot a musket. Tokikata felt that he had to have this weapon, and soon it was decided that it should be manufactured on the island. Thereafter, the weapon was called *teppō* 鉄砲 (a term that had existed since the Mongol invasion in 1281) or *tanegashima*. The weapons were quickly reproduced and spread within a generation all over Japan (Lidin 2002, pp. 3–4, 19, 24, 34; Elisonas, “Christianity and the Daimyo,” p. 302).

²⁰This wooden spear was originally used in the Edo period to catch criminals and was also called *sodegarami* 袖搦 (NKD 2001, vol. 8, “Sodegarami,” p. 451).

²¹The *Sagimai kiroku* records three persons carrying *kasaboko* (*Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, p. 467).

In Japan, the first umbrellas evolved in the Kofun period (ca. 300–710) (Danjō, “Kasaboko, furyūgasa no tanjō 1,” p. 1). An early depiction of umbrellas used in festival parades can be seen in the *Nenjū gyōji emaki*²² of the twelfth century. Over time, these umbrellas evolved into a halberd combined with an umbrella, a so-called *kasaboko*. The first depiction of these *kasaboko* being carried in the Gion festival parade can be seen in the *Tsukinami saireizu* (prob. mid-fifteenth century). Orikuchi argued in 1915 that these *kasaboko* were *yorishiro* 依代, objects onto which a deity could descend, which would then become physical manifestations of the deity. As Ueki points out, these *kasaboko* gradually developed into the big wheeled festival floats of the Gion festival. The decorative umbrella halberds as well as the floats were usually encouraged by the musical accompaniment of *furyū hayashimono* (Ueki 2016, pp. 50–51).

Nowadays, two umbrella halberds proceed in the Gion festival parade: the above-mentioned *shijō-kasaboko* and *aya-kasaboko*. The latter was lost and revived numerous times in history; the performance we see today was reintroduced in 1979 and is preserved by the preservation committee “Mibu Rokusai” 壬生六斎. This group preserves other dances as well, and during the Gion festival takes the designation “Aya-kasaboko Hayashi-kata Hozonkai” 綾傘鉾保存会 for the *bōfuri* performance.²³

Dance Movements The dancers line up in their starting position: all six performers look in the same direction, the *kakko mai* dancers stand in front, behind them the heron dancers, and finally the rod wielders in the back. When the flute starts to be played, the heron dancer on the right side walks a half circle with his wings diagonally spread, so that he faces the other heron dancer. While turning the *shimoto* in his hands, the rod wielder on the right side follows the heron and walks a quarter circle, so that he stands on the same level as the *kakko mai* dancers, who in turn jump and beat their drum simultaneously two times. After that, the heron dancers flap their wings two times and the *taiko* drum is beaten two times, at the same time as the rod wielders “shoot” the herons with their *shimoto*. Now, both herons and both rod wielders walk a half circle around the *kakko mai* dancers, while the herons spread their wings diagonally. The movements are repeated, so that three full circle rounds are made. Finally, the male heron stops at its starting position, waiting for the female heron to return.²⁴

3.1.2 Tsuwano

The heron dance is performed as part of Tsuwano’s annual Gion festival, which includes a parade with a portable shrine (*mikoshi junkō*), a lion dance (*shishimai*), a Shinto deity with a tengu-mask, men carrying halberds, and other elements. July 20 is the date of the *togyo*: a sacred object (*shintai*) is transferred in a portable

²²Compare section 2.1.1 on “*Nenjū gyōji emaki*,” on page 34.

²³“Aya-kasaboko: Gion matsuri tokushū,” *Kyoto design* (online); “Aya-kasaboko bōfuri-bayashi,” *Mibu Rokusai Nenbutsu Kōjū* (online); “Aya-kasaboko ni tsuite: Genzai no aya-kasaboko,” *Aya-kasaboko Hozonkai* (online).

²⁴Refer to the dance-step diagram in Appendix C, C.1 from page 308.



Figure 3.2: Ceremonial guards in Yamaguchi (July 20, 2016)

shrine (*mikoshi*) from its place of enshrinement to the *otabisho*. The journey back to the shrine (*kangyo*) is undertaken on July 27, the last day of the festival.

Several preparatory events are celebrated in advance of the dance performance. The festival as a whole is carried out under the supervision and patronage of the *tōya*.

- June 30: Preparations at the office of the Yasaka Shrine. During a ceremony called *wa kuguri sai* 輪くぐり祭 at the shrine, people pass through a ring made of the stalks of *Imperata cylindrica* (*kaya* 茅) to gain protection from disease.
- July 15: Decorating the big zelkova tree at the shrine with a braided straw rope (*shimenawa* 注連縄). Consultations on the ceremony.
- July 16 to 19: Dance training.
- July 19: An altar (*saidan* 祭壇) is installed at the *tōya*'s house (nowadays the community center), on which the heron dance costumes are placed. Umbrella halberds are erected in front of the community center. In the evening, a man beating a drum walks through the city to inform its residents about the festival (*furedaiko* 触れ太鼓). The text of his message, "Come to the *tōya*'s house, let's beat the drum" (*tōya e gojare, furedaiko o tatakashō* 頭屋へご座れ、触れ太鼓をたたかしょう), indicates that it was originally a call for participants to gather at the *tōya*'s house.
- July 20: On the day of the transfer of the deity from the shrine to the *otabisho* (*togyo*), the *tōya* and his guards go to the *otabisho*, where the dancers are waiting. Two requests for them to dance are refused; the third time, the dancers walk half way to the community center, where they are met, and agree to dance. At 2 pm, everyone involved in the performance gathers at the community center, where they take seats in a stipulated order. The heron dancers, formerly of low strata of the social order, are seated at the head (*kamiza* 上座), in front of the altar where the costumes and offerings are being sanctified. The *tōya* sits at the opposite end of the table and reads out his greetings. After that, salted mackerel (*sashisaba* 刺し鯖) and (sacred) rice wine (*o-miki* お神酒) are served. The *tōya* of the year asks the dancers to perform. Meanwhile, elementary school girls perform the children's heron dance (*kosagi odori* 子鷺踊り) at various places in the city. At 3 pm the first heron dance performance is shown in front of the community center. They go on to perform two versions of the dance, long and short, at the following places in Tsuwano:

Community Center 15:00 – Yasaka Shrine 15:15 (Here the heron dancers join the portable shrine parade; the parade walks directly to the otabisho without stopping. The parade thus arrives at the otabisho earlier than the heron dance group.) – Karakuen park 15:40 – Elementary school 15:50 – Sara no ki shop 16:05 – Furuhashi brewery 16:15 – Takatsuya Itō Hakuseki-dō pharmacy 16:25

– Post office 16:35 – Yoshinaga rice shop 16:40 – Otabisho 16:45
– Community Center 17:10.

The heron dancers are accompanied by flutes, drums, gongs and singers. Walking around the dancers, two rod wielders (*bōfuri*) with fuzzy red wigs wave their rods to keep bad spirits away. Behind the herons two drum dancers (*kakko mai*) perform their dance. The whole group is protected by ceremonial guards (*keigo-gata*). Including eight instrumentalists, the approximate total number of performers is thirty. The portable shrine is carried in the parade from the shrine to the *otabisho*, where it is lodged during the festival until July 27. The dance group and the parade take different routes to the *otabisho*.

- July 26: Ceremony for the next *tōya* (*maikomi tōya* 舞込み頭屋). The parishioners (*ujiko* 氏子), representatives of the parishioners (*sōdai* 総代) and the priest of Yasaka Shrine gather at the *otabisho* to hand the role of the present *tōya* to the one of the following year.
- July 27: The return (*kangyo*) starts again from the community center, and the heron dancers proceed to the *otabisho*. The heron dance is performed at the following places:

Community Center 15:00 – Sara no ki shop 15:05 – Furuhashi brewery 15:15 – Takatsuya Itō Hakuseki-dō pharmacy 15:25 – Post office 15:35 – Yoshinaga rice shop 15:40 – Otabisho 15:45 (Here they join the portable shrine parade and go back to Yasaka Shrine together.) – Yasaka Shrine 16:10 (After their performance, the present tōya hands his hat over to the maikomi tōya.) – Community Center 17:20.

The Heron Dancers The heron dancers wear a white costume with red trousers. They bear white plumage made of long strips of cypress wood (*hinoki* 檜), which are struck together to produce a clapping sound. The plumage weighs approximately 11 kg. Their heads support a heron head with a long neck, decorated with white paper to represent feathers. The female heron's mouth is closed while the male's is open. The movements of the two dancers are almost the same, except for the final pose, where the male puts its wing on the female.

Drum Dance The dancers wear a brocade vest, and beneath it a white short-sleeved summer kimono (*nagagi*) made of linen imprinted with feathers. They cover their legs with colourful *hakama* trousers with oval patterns. Their shoes are straw sandals with white *tabi* socks and on their heads they wear formal headgear called *kazaori-eboshi* 風折烏帽子, which was originally worn by court nobles. The costumes worn in the current performance in Tsuwano closely resemble what can be seen on the screen *Keiraku tsukinami fūzokuzu senmen nagashi*, rather than the costumes found on the *Tsukinami saireizu*.



Figure 3.3: Rod wielders in Tsuwano (July 27, 2016)

The *kakko mai* of Tsuwano is performed by adults on the ground. They follow the movements of the heron dancers; they pull up their legs just as the heron performers do. When the heron dancers spread their plumage, the *kakko mai* performers either stand on their tiptoes, bow their upper body forward and move the sticks symbolically, or do little jumps.

Rod Wielders Walking around the dancers, two rod wielders (*bōfuri*) with fuzzy red wigs wave their rods to keep bad spirits away. They wear blue trousers, long red sleeves, and a short patterned coat. They carry a stick 150 cm in length and 4 cm in diameter in their hands. Blue and red paper strips are wrapped around the stick. People in Tsuwano believe that someone who touches the stick or is stroked by it will fall ill or bring bad luck to his or her house (Kuwabara, “Sagimai ni tsuite,” p. 53; *Tsuwano sagimai hozonkai* 2003, p. 6).

In Tsuwano the *bōfuri* are adult males who walk in circles around the heron dancers, doing relatively simple movements in comparison with those of the Gion festival. As mentioned above, the effect of the whole closely resembles the depiction of the *bōfuri*, heron dance, and *kakko mai* found on the *Keiraku tsukinami fūzokuzu senmen nagashi*. It seems very likely that these were brought to Tsuwano as a set.

Ceremonial Guards The group as a whole is protected by ceremonial guards (*keigo-gata* 警固方). They wear a stiff, sleeveless jacket, blue in color, and a long-



Figure 3.4: Drum dance in Tsuwano (July 27, 2012)



Figure 3.5: Umbrella halberds in Tsuwano (July 27, 2016)

pleated skirt made from hemp or raw silk (*kamishimo* 袴) with the family crest of the Kamei. Beneath that they wear a white *nagagi*. They wear flat, round sedge hats, and carry a bamboo stick in their hands.

Decorative Umbrella Halberds Originally thirteen halberds were carried by people at the festival, twelve of which were small and one big. Nowadays, the halberds are set up in front of the community center. Unfortunately, not all of the thirteen halberds are preserved today. The small halberds are about 2.1 m tall and made of bamboo. They are covered with a dark cloth on which the Kamei family crest is printed. On the top there are small herons and a young pine made of wood. The big halberd is a little longer, about 2.7 m. At the top is a dark cloth with the Kamei family crest and a gold phoenix. Kuwabara states that the function of the halberds is to ward off impurity; the small halberds represent each month and the big halberd represents the whole year. It is believed to bring harm to the people if the big halberd is too heavy to be carried around (Kuwabara, “Sagimai ni tsuite,” p. 52 et al.). The people of Tsuwano show concern about the fact that it would be better to carry the halberds around, but since there are not enough participants in the festival they have to be left standing where they are set up. Originally, halberds or umbrellas were an important element in the parade, a practice that derives from the medieval Gion festival.

Dance Movements All six dancers line up in their starting position, looking in the same direction: the rod wielders stand in front, behind them the heron dancers, and finally the *kakko mai* dancers in the back. When the chorus begins to sing the first line of the song (“*hashi no ue ni orita*”), the rod wielders turn their rod down. Then the drums, and gongs are played one after another. The chorus is then accompanied by the music, and all six dancers start to dance, beginning with making some steps forward. The heron dancers clap their feathers. Then they stop and turn their bodies so that they face each other. The herons and the rod wielders bend their knees. The herons spread their wings while they straighten up again, while the *kakko mai* dancers stand on their tip toes. After that, the heron performers and the rod wielders approach each other. While waving their rods, the rod wielders change positions. Subsequently, they draw a circle around the herons and the *kakko mai* dancers while they continue to wave their rods.

The herons retreat again and turn their bodies in opposite directions. When the chorus sings *ya*, the herons spread their right wing and lift up their right leg. After that, they draw a half circle, and turn their bodies so that their face each other again. They then spread both of their wings.

Meanwhile, the *kakko mai* dancers turn their bodies to the starting position and continue to lift their legs. They stick out their arms, swinging them from left to right, turning their bended upper body to the left. Their drum sticks point to the left. Holding this position, they draw a full circle. When the herons spread their wings, the *kakko mai* dancers make two little jumps backwards.

These movements are repeated about four times in total. Finally, when everyone takes their starting position looking in the same direction, the heron male spreads its right inner wing to put it on the shoulder of the female heron.²⁵

²⁵Refer to the dance-step diagram in Appendix C, C.2 from page 308.

3.1.3 Interpretation of the Heron Dance

The Biology of the Heron

There are several different kinds of herons, but the one that comes closest to that depicted in the heron dance is the little egret (*Egretta garzetta*). It is widespread in Japan, frequenting marshes and wet rice fields. It has white plumage and an elongated sinuous neck, long black legs, and a dark sharp bill for stabbing its prey. During the breeding season, adults develop two long slender nape plumes and beautiful gauzy plumage around the breast and back. The skin between the eyes becomes a bright red or blue color (“Little Egret *Egretta garzetta*,” *BirdLife International* (online), 2019.) The costume, as introduced above, imitates the nape plume, and perhaps also the red of the neck, which can be found in the color of the trousers. Misumi states that the pose taken by the heron dancers at the end of their dance recalls the courtship dance of the real heron (Misumi, “Tsuwano no sagimai,” p. 176). Not only Misumi shares this impression; the heron dancer Nagata Jōji of Tsuwano interprets the dance as a prayer for an abundance of children (interview, July 22, 2012).



Figure 3.6: *Kosagi*, Little egret, *Egretta garzetta* (NDZ 1994, vol. 9, p. 266. Illus.: Japan Knowledge online.)

According to Orikuchi, the heron brings harm to the fields, so the people felt a need to placate it, making it in turn a symbol of good fortune (Orikuchi 1957, p. 367). In fact, it feeds primarily on small fish, also consuming bivalves, crustaceans, and other invertebrates, but not young rice plants (Wildscreen Arkive 2013). While eliminating these pests, however, it may harm small rice plants as it wades through the fields (Isshiki, “Nōkō girei ni mieru sagi,” pp. 59–60). This makes the heron an ambiguous creature. Perhaps this is why, despite its beauty and association with longevity, the motif of the heron rarely appears in Japanese art. It may also be due to its Japanese name being a homophone for “fraud” or “false pretenses” (*sagi* 詐欺) (Baird 2001, p. 112).

Isshiki discusses the behaviour and habitat of the heron as a bird, pointing out that it is thought to bring harm to the fields, but actually helps to reduce pests. The heron might well be a symbol of fertility, in view of its breeding season in summer, withstanding high temperatures. For that reason, Isshiki explains, the motif of the heron is also used in rice-planting songs (*taue uta* 田植歌). He concludes that the ambivalent nature of the heron motif forms the basis for the folk beliefs reflected in the Gion festival (Isshiki, “Nōkō girei ni mieru sagi,” pp. 59–60).

Tsuwano Song Text Analysis

Whereas there is only instrumental accompaniment in Yamaguchi for the performance, a song is sung by a chorus in Tsuwano. The text of the song gives us a hint as to the meaning of the performance.

橋の上におりた / 鳥はなんどり / かわささぎの / かわささぎの / や
あ かわささぎ / 鷺がはしうわいた / 鷺がはしうわいた / 時雨の
雨にぬれとりとりやあ

*hashi no ue ni orita / tori wa nan dori / kawasasagi no / kawasasagi
no / yaa, kawasasagi / sagi ga hashi u[o] wataita / sagi ga hashi u[o]
wataita / shigure no ame ni nure tori tori (repeat) yaa*

On the bridge / What birds have landed? / The herons (magpies) /
The herons (magpies) / Yah, the herons (magpies) / The herons have
built a bridge / The herons have built a bridge / In the drizzling rain
they got wet / The birds, the birds!

Yamaji points out that this text echoes a passage relating to Kyoto’s medieval Gion festival, to be found in the *Kanmon nikki* in an entry on the Gion festival of Eikyō 永享 era 10 (1438) sixth month, fourteenth day.²⁶

笠鷺雨中参、ぬれぬれ舞、有其興

Kasasagi ame no naka mairu. Nurenure mai, sono kyō ari

The heron [dance performers] arrived in the rain. [They] got wet while dancing, which was interesting.

Yamaji is of the opinion that the song sung at that time was probably the one preserved in Tsuwano. The fact that the dance was performed in the rain on this occasion is probably why Prince Sadafusa added this entry to his diary (Yamaji, “Tsuwano no sagimai,” pp. 128–29; Yamaji 2009, p. 109).

²⁶A typographical reprint is available in vol. 6 of *Zushoryō sōkan*, ed. Kunaichō Shoryōbu, 2012. Refer to the translation of the entry in the section 2.2.3 on “*Kanmon nikki*,” page 57.

Kasasagi The term “*kawasasagi*” is problematical; if, as Katō argues, the “*wa*” is simply a prolongation of the “*a*” of the previous syllable, it then takes the form *kasasagi* (Katō, “Sagimai kō,” pp. 57, 59). It might be possible that the heron’s slender nape plumes during mating season have given rise to the name “*kasasagi*,” literally a ‘heron (*sagi* 鷺) with an umbrella or (sedge) hat (*kasa* 傘 or 笠)’ (Baird 2001, p. 113).

On the other hand, comparing related poems and literature, Katō suggests that the word “*kawasasagi*” should be interpreted as magpie (*kasasagi* 鵲) (Katō, “Sagimai kō,” pp. 56–59). The magpie is a symbol of good fortune in China and Korea.²⁷ Interestingly, magpies are not indigenous to Japan. Although they can now be seen in parts of Kyushu, this is the result of their introduction to Japan in Edo times. It seems that they were introduced from Korea to Kyushu, especially to Fukuoka and Saga, by feudal lords of the early seventeenth century (Eguchi and Kubo, “Nihon-san kasasagi,” p. 32). Knowledge of the bird, however, goes back centuries, since it plays an important symbolic role in the mythology of the Tanabata festival, which was introduced from China in ancient times (Baird 2001, p. 113).

Tanabata Tanabata (*Tanabata* 七夕) is the story of two lovers, Hikoboshi 彦星 (the Cowherd Star, Altair) and Orihime 織姫 (the Weaver Star, Vega), who are usually separated from each other by the Milky Way. They can only meet once a year, on the seventh day of the seventh month of the lunar calendar, but only if it does not rain. If it rains, magpies come and spread their wings to build a bridge on which they can meet. The story of the Weaver Star merged with native legends in Japan, and the people imagined her as a celestial maiden who wove cloth for the gods (Tanabata-tsu-me, abbr. Tanabata). The keywords “rain,” “magpie,” “heron,” “bridge” and “wet,” as well as the courtship dance itself, come together both in the Tanabata legend and heron dance and its song text. It seems possible that in sponsoring the heron dance, the weaver guild (*ōtoneri za*) invoked the goddess of weaving in prayer for a good market for their products.

The following *waka* poem from the imperial collection *Shinkokin wakashū* 新古今和歌集 makes use of the Tanabata theme (SNKZ 1995, vol. 43, No. 620, p. 184):

鵲の渡せる橋に置く霜の白きを見れば夜ぞ更けにける

*Kasasagi no / wataseru hashi ni / oku shimo no / shiraki o mireba /
yo zo fukenikeru*

When I see the whiteness of the frost that lies on the bridge the magpies spread, then do I know, indeed, that the night has deepened (Mostow 1996, pp. 127, 158).

²⁷Hooper, Rowan, “Magpie,” *The Japan Times*, 2008.06.25. See also Kuroda Katsuhiko, “Kasasagi no kikyō,” *Tōyō Keizai Nippōsha*, 2010.01.08.

Here, the “bridge the magpies spread” points to the magpies that come and spread their wings so that Hikoboshi and Orihime can pass across the Milky Way and meet. Some say that this “magpie’s bridge” symbolizes the steps of the imperial court.²⁸ The poem is also part of the *waka* collection *Hyakunin issu* 百人一首 (SNKZ 1995, vol. 43, p. 184).

Heron Motif in Folk Songs A similar song text incorporating the Tanabata theme can be found in a folk song which is sung at a festival of the Hachiman Shrine on February 14 in the village Gero 下呂 in the middle of Gifu prefecture.

The record on the natural resources, geophysical conditions, and oral traditions of the region of Hida, Gifu prefecture, entitled *Hida gofudoki* 斐太後風土記 (A New Topographical Description and Local History of Hida) of 1873²⁹, cites the dance song (*odori uta* 踊り歌) as follows:

さぎの / おんじやうせいれい / かさゝぎのはしを / 渡るや / やよがりも / サヤウナウ / 橋の上に / おりたる鳥は / 何鳥ぞ / サヤウナウ / 何鳥ぞ / 時雨の雨に / ぬれしこの鳥

Sagi no / onjō seirei / kasasagi no hashi o / wataru ya / yayogarimo / sayō nō / Hashi no ue ni / oritaru tori wa / nandori zo / sayō nō / Nandori zo / shigure no ame ni / nureshi kono tori

The benevolent soul of the heron / The magpies’ bridge / [it] crosses / [*hayashi kotoba*] / On the bridge / What birds have landed? / What birds? / These birds that got wet in the drizzling rain.³⁰

Katō states that it is not clear whether a heron or a magpie is meant by “bird.” He only gives one line of the song, so his quotation might lead to misunderstanding (Katō, “Sagimai kō,” p. 59). Okimoto points out that this shows how the song text spread throughout Japan at an early stage (Okimoto, “Gionsha,” p. 720). According to the *Hida gofudoki*, three copies of dance and song books (*odoriutabon* 踊歌本) of the Hachiman Shrine of Gero contain this song: they date to the years 1633, 1702, and 1716. Isshiki stresses that 1633 is even earlier than the common understanding that the heron dance was reintroduced from Kyoto to Tsuwano

²⁸Mostow points out that this poem probably derives from the Heian period, when the “the bridge the magpies make” (*kasasagi no wataseru hashi*) referred to bridges or stairs that led up to the palace, as evidence from the *Tales of Yamato* (*Yamato monogatari* 大和物語) implies. Poets from the thirteenth century onward, however, understood this poem to be alluding to the Tanabata legend (Mostow 1996, pp. 128–29, 158–59).

²⁹A typographical reprint of *Hida gofudoki* is available in vol. 10 of *Dainihon chishi taikei*, edited by Ashida Koreto in 1916, p. 234.

³⁰*Yayogarimo* and *sayō nō*, (usually *sōyo nō*, in this case perhaps dialect) are *hayashi kotoba* 囃し詞 (also 囃子言葉), which are often described as “seemingly meaningless but catchy words and phrases that originally filled out the rhythmic structure.” Brazell calls them “orchestra words.” They function as utterances added to maintain or complete the rhythm of a song (“Saibara Court Songs,” *Japan Arts Council* (online), 2018; Brazell “Blossoms’: A Medieval Song,” p. 243; *Kyōgen jiten: Goihen* 1963, “Yayōgari,” p. 441; *ibid.* “Sōyono,” p. 253).

under the rule of the Kamei in 1644 (Kanai, “Sagimai,” pp. 415–16; Isshiki, “Nōkō girei ni mieru sagi,” p. 58). This song appears to be quite old, and is still sung nowadays.

Former research further points out that a similar text can be found in another song, sung as a musical accompaniment at the autumn festival conducted by the Kamo Shrine in the former province of Tosa 土佐, present-day Kōchi prefecture. The song is recorded in *Kōyōhen* 巷謡篇 (1835), a compilation of folk songs of Tosa collected by Kamochi Masazumi 鹿持雅澄 (1791–1858), a specialist in Koku-gaku who is famous for his essay comprising 124 volumes on the *Man'yōshū*, the *Man'yōshū kogi* 万葉集古義 (Japan Encyclopedia 2002, p. 464; Ide, “‘Kōyōhen’ no seiritsu to sono igi,” pp. 636–49). A typographical transcription can be found in the compilation of Japanese songs *Nihon kayō shūsei* (1928) by Takano Tatsuyuki 高野辰之 (1876–1947). Here, Kamochi’s introduction to the *Kōyōhen* is given: he mainly collected songs sung at festivals, but also dance songs (*odori uta*) and rice planting songs (*taue uta*), to prevent them from passing into oblivion. For each location, Kamochi provides a short overview on the setting when the songs are sung.

For the autumn festival song, Kamochi provides the data of the location and the festival as follows: the festival is held in the middle of the eleventh month, at the Kamo Daimyōjin 加茂大明神 shrine in Takaoka-gun 高岡郡, Ōnogō 多野郷. However, neither the date nor the location could be verified. It is likely that place names have changed over the years, and so may have celebration dates. Nowadays, a Kamo Shrine (Kamo jinja 賀茂神社) can be found in Ōnogō 多ノ郷, Susaki city (Susaki-shi 須崎市) in the prefecture of Kōchi. It is not clear whether the song was sung at the autumn festival of this shrine, but it seems likely. Information as to whether this song is sung today could not be obtained at this point. The song is as follows (*Nihon kayō shūsei* (1928), p. 424):

橋の上におりたる鳥は何鳥ぞ時雨の雨にぬれし鳥 (やイ) さゝい
さき (のイ) はしを渡した (しイ)。

*Hashi no ue ni / oritaru tori wa / nandori zo / shigure no ame ni /
nureshi tori (ya) / sasaisagi (no) hashi o watashita (shi).*

On the bridge / What birds have landed? / In the drizzling rain these
birds got wet / The herons have built a bridge.³¹

Honda and Yamaji give both songs, implying that the original song is probably the one of the heron dance of the Kyoto Gion festival (Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 26). Kanai stresses that the song listed in the *Hida gofudoki* as well as the one found in the *Kōyōhen* were widely spread throughout Japan in the premodern era. It is not certain whether a dance performance was transmitted in the past to Gero or to Tosa, either. However, it seems likely that it was performed at other

³¹Alternative versions are indicated in the *Nihon kayō shūsei* by the katakana syllable *i* イ and parenthesized in the transcription.

places than Yamaguchi and Tsuwano as well (Kanai, “Sagimai,” pp. 415–16). Isshiki also thinks that the song of the heron dance at the Gion festival in Kyoto spread to these two places (Isshiki, “Nōkō girei ni mieru sagi,” pp. 58–59). Ide stresses that a great number of the songs collected and recorded in the *Kōyōhen* derive from the medieval era, but often incorporate ancient verse forms and motifs (Ide, “‘Kōyōhen’ no seiritsu to sono igi,” p. 647). One possible implication of this statement is that the above-mentioned song reaches back to the medieval period. Yet caution must be applied, as there is no definite evidence for this hypothesis.

Noh Play *Sagi* The motif of the heron is used in the noh play *Sagi* 鷺, which is based on the story of a heron that obeys the command of the emperor and is in return bestowed with the fifth court-rank (*goi* 五位). In the play, the emperor holds a banquet in the Shinsen'en 神泉苑³² on a summer evening, when he beholds a heron at the pond. The emperor orders a courtier to catch the heron. As the courtier goes to do so, the bird flies off. When the courtier says that it is in the august command of His Majesty, the heron returns and lets himself be caught and brought to the emperor. The emperor is overjoyed and grants the heron and the courtier the fifth court-rank. Expressing its gratitude towards the emperor, the heron performs a dance in celebration. Finally, the emperor sets the heron free and watches it fly off into the skies (De Garis 2002, p. 353; Emmert 2015, p. 79).³³

The play belongs to the category of miscellaneous plays (fourth category); its author is unknown. It is performed by all schools except the Konparu school (Keene 1990, p. 100). As Emmert points out, the story exists mainly for the sake of presenting the dance of the heron, which is auspicious and performed to bring good fortune. The actor wears a white costume with a heron figure on the head, without a mask. Usually, the main role (*shite* シテ) of the heron is performed either by a boy or a man over sixty years of age. It is thought that only a child or an old man can dance with true innocence and purity (Emmert 2015, p. 79; *Nō, Kyōgen jiten* 1987, “Sagi,” p. 66; Koyama 1993, *Iwanami kōza: Nō, kyōgen: Nō kanshō annai*, vol. 6, p. 584).

³²Shinsen'en. A walled Chinese-style pleasure garden originally covering thirty-three acres, built by Emperor Kanmu 桓武 (737–806) to the south of his main palace in Kyoto. The Shinsen'en stretched between Nijō to Sanjō streets. The garden was once the playground of the Heian nobility, who held moon-viewing and boating parties on the lake. From the mid-ninth century, the religious character of the garden grew stronger, and rituals for rain (*amagoi* 雨乞い), prayers and departed soul festivals (*goryō-e* 御霊会) were held (NDZ 1994, vol. 12, “Shinsen'en,” p. 12; “Shinsen-en Garden Kyoto” *Japanvisitor.com* (online), 2019).

³³In the fifth chapter of *The Tale of the Heike*, translated by McCullough in 1988, the story of the heron being decorated with the fifth rank is described as follows: “During a visit to the Shinsen'en Garden, Emperor Daigo told a Chamberlain of Sixth Rank to fetch a heron he had seen standing by the lakeside. Although the Chamberlain had no notion of how to capture the bird, he walked toward it as commanded. The heron poised its wings for flight. ‘By imperial command!’ the Chamberlain said. The heron crouched low without attempting to escape, and the Chamberlain picked it up and took it to the Emperor. ‘You are greatly to be commended for coming here as directed,’ the Emperor said to it. ‘I decree that you be given Fifth Rank forthwith.’ He wrote out a notice, ‘This bird is to be King of the Herons from now on.’ Then he attached it to the creature’s neck and released it. He did not have any use for the heron; he had simply wanted to test the extent of an Emperor’s power,” (McCullough 1988, p. 175).

Kyogen Play *Sagi* The content and music of the kyogen play *Sagi* 鷺 of the Sagi school is based on the above-mentioned noh play, but unlike its sibling, it intends to provoke laughter (*Kyōgen jiten: Jikōhen* 1976, “Sagi,” pp. 145–46; Hashimoto, “Sagi to iu kyōgen to Sagi ryū,” p. 310).

Tarō Kaja goes to Kyoto without permission, and is therefore berated by his master. Tarō Kaja then tells him that he saw a heron at the Shinsen'en garden, continuing with the story of a heron that once was granted the fifth court-rank by the emperor. Finally, Tarō Kaja starts dancing like the heron, and subsequently his master is satisfied and praises Tarō Kaja (Kanai, “Sagimai,” p. 418, *Iwanami kōza: Nō, kyōgen: Kyōgen kanshō annai*, vol. 7, pp. 97–98). The original form included the following song line (*Nō, Kyōgen jiten* 1987, “Sagi,” pp. 185–86; Kanai, “Sagimai,” p. 418):

鷺の橋を渡いた、鶺鴒（かささぎ）の橋を渡いたりや、そうよの

Sagi no hashi o wataita / kasasagi no hashi o wataitariya / sōyo no

The herons have built a bridge / The magpies have built a bridge /
[*hayashi kotoba*]

The play is an independently performed play (*hon kyōgen* 本狂言), but is no longer performed (*haikyoku* 廃曲). The *Nō, Kyōgen jiten* (1987) lists it as *bangaikyoku* 番外曲.³⁴ The play can be found among the 150 kyogen plays in the play script book *Yasunoribon* 保教本 (held by Tenri Library) compiled by Den'emon Yasunori 伝右衛門保教 (1675–1724) between 1716 and 1724.³⁵ After the staging of the play was lost, Yasunori revived it in the middle of the Edo period, but it became extinct again due to the discontinuation of the Sagi school in the Meiji period. It was staged as a revived play (*fukkyoku* 復曲) featuring Nomura Mannojo 野村万之丞 (1959–2004) at the Nogami Memorial Noh Theatre Research Institute of Hosei University in 1987. The origins of the play are unclear; however, it is said that it is an important play with regard to the naming of the Sagi school (*Nō, Kyōgen jiten* 1987, “Sagi,” pp. 185–86; *Kyōgen jiten: Jikōhen* 1976, “Sagi,” pp. 145–46; Hashimoto, “Sagi to iu kyōgen to Sagi ryū,” p. 312).

Hashimoto connects the heron dance of this kyogen piece to the one in Tsuwano. He further cites the *Yasunoribon*, which notes that the dance was unrefined and too realistic (Hashimoto, “Sagi to iu kyōgen to Sagi ryū,” p. 311). This shows how the song text was incorporated over centuries into various genres of the performing arts.

³⁴*Bangaikyoku*. Plays that were not included in the list of current plays performed by the school (*nayose* 名寄) which was submitted to shogunate during the Edo period. There are also newer plays created after the Meiji period treated as *bangai* (“Bangai,” *The-Noh.com* (online), 16 Oct. 2012).

³⁵A sketch of the stage setting can be seen in the *Kyōgen kozu* 狂言古図 (1688–1703, held by National Noh Theater).

Kyogen Play *Kujizainin* Another two kyogen plays incorporate the song and the heron motif in their story: *Kujizainin* 鬮罪人 (Sinner by Lottery) and *Senjimonono* 煎物 (Medicinal Tea)³⁶. Both plays are currently staged by the Ōkura and Izumi schools.³⁷ The oldest record of a staging of both plays dates to 1603 (Inada, “Kyōgen ni miru Gion-e furyū,” p. 42; Inada, “Kyōgen ‘Senjimonono’ kō,” p. 13).

In *Kujizainin*, a master is appointed to organise the float parade for the Gion festival for his neighbourhood this year. He orders his servant Tarō Kaja to call the neighbours to hold a meeting to plan the neighbourhood float. They all arrive and begin making suggestions for the subject of the float, but Tarō Kaja criticizes each of their ideas. The master scolds his servant for his open criticism, but the neighbours encourage Tarō Kaja to make his own suggestion. He proposes that they have a demon chasing a sinner to hell on the float. Although the master objects to his idea, the neighbours agree and vote for Tarō Kaja’s idea. Drawing lots to allocate the roles, the master draws the sinner, whereas Tarō Kaja draws the demon. They agree to hold a rehearsal, and Tarō Kaja starts chasing his master. After getting increasingly angry at Tarō Kaja’s behaviour, the master finally turns on Tarō Kaja, scolding him for treating his master so roughly (*Kyōgen jiten: Jikōhen* 1976, “Kujizainin,” pp. 118–19; Kenny 1999, p. 150).

Among the various suggestions that are refuted by Tarō Kaja, one neighbour proposes building a bridge on the float and singing the following *hayashimono* song (Koyama 1961, *Kyōgenshū (ge)*, vol. 43 of NKBT, p. 146):

鷺の橋を渡いた / かささぎの橋を渡いたりや / そうよの

Sagi no hashi o wataita / kasasagi no hashi o wataitariya / sōyo no

The herons have built a bridge / The magpies have built a bridge /
[*hayashi kotoba*]

The song itself is not sung in the play, but this short extract of the text implies that the song was commonly known. Former research often gives the *Kujizainin* as an example of how the subject of the Gion festival floats was decided every year anew in medieval times (Wakita 1999, pp. 180–81; Ueki 2001, pp. 27–28). Comparing the scene of the play when the neighbour suggests building a bridge on the float as it is recorded in various historical play scripts³⁸, Inada argues that most play scripts imagine the *hayashimono* of the heron as being connected to a float (*yama* 山), despite the fact that the heron motif was originally used for the decorative umbrella halberd (*kasasagiboko*) accompanied by a heron dance. One explanation could be that the *kasasagiboko* was not part of the Gion festival when it was revived in 1500 after an interruption during the Ōnin War, so the image of a *kasasagiboko* was already lost when the play scripts were written from the

³⁶Sometimes also translated ‘The Tea Seller.’

³⁷*Kujizainin* is categorized as Demon/mountain priest play by the *Kyōgen jiten: Jikōhen* 1976, “Kujizainin,” pp. 118–19, whereas *Senjimonono* is usually categorized as *Waki kyōgen*.

³⁸Such as *Toraakibon* 虎明本 (1642), *Torahirobon* 虎寛本 (1792), *Toramitsubon* 虎光本 (1817), *Izumi-ke kohon* 和泉家古本 (1653–1693), and *Yasunoribon* (1716–1724).

beginning of the Edo period on. Yet Inada concludes that the play *Kujizainin* reflects the state of the floats of the Gion festival between 1500 and 1615 (Inada, “Kyōgen ni miru Gion-e furyū,” pp. 45–54). He further states that the setting of a discussion on the Gion festival floats and its musical accompaniment seen in the play *Kujizainin* may have influenced the play *Senjimonono* (Inada, “Kyōgen ‘Senjimonono’ kō,” p. 16).

Kyogen Play *Senjimonono* The head of the float committee of the Gion festival calls his servant Tarō Kaja and orders him to gather the committee members to rehearse the music for their float: a decorative umbrella halberd with the motif of a heron (*kasasagiboko*). Tarō Kaja brings the committee members to the house of the committee head, where they soon start practicing their song accompanied by the drums (*hayashimono*). At one point, a medicinal tea seller (*senjimonono uri* 煎じ物売り) arrives and tries to sell his tea (*senjimonono* 煎じ物) to the musicians, disrupting the rehearsal. After the committee head complains about the disturbance, the tea seller agrees to adjust his pitch to the song of the float committee, praising his different kinds of tea. After a while the head of the committee dons a *kakko* drum and starts practicing his drum dance (*kakko mai*) as an accompaniment for the floats of the Gion festival. The tea seller tries to imitate him but falls and breaks his earthenware as a result. In the end, he expresses his joy in having more plates. The song that is sung as accompaniment for the heron umbrella halberd includes the followings lines as it is performed currently by the Ōkura and Izumi schools:

時雨の雨に濡れじとて / 鷺が橋を渡いた / 鶺鴒の橋を渡いたりや / さう
よの

*Shigure no ame ni nureji tote / sagi ga hashi o wataita / kasasagi no
hashi o wataitari ya / sōyo no*

So as not to get wet in the drizzling rain / the herons built a bridge /
it seems that [they] built a magpies’ bridge / [*hayashi kotoba*]³⁹

Former research pointed out the similarity of this song to the one sung for the heron dance in Tsuwano (Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 25; Kanai, “Sagimai,” pp. 415–16 et al.). Isshiki states that the songs of the plays *Kujizainin* and *Senjimonono* represent the original version sung at the Gion festival in Kyoto in the Muromachi period. He stresses their similarity to the one in Tsuwano, concluding that the latter has seemingly been transmitted since the Muromachi period (Isshiki, “Nōkō girei ni mieru sagi,” pp. 57–58).

Does the present music practice of the heron dance in Yamaguchi, Tsuwano, and *Senjimonono* share similarities with the performing art of the *hayashimono*? To answer this question, the history, characteristics and music structure of *hayashimono* are introduced and discussed in the following section.

³⁹Cf. “A sudden shower and I take shelter by crossing the Heron Bridge, by crossing the Magpie Bridge, Heigh ho!” [Kenny 1999, p. 231].

3.2 Preserving a Medieval Rhythm Pattern

3.2.1 The Performing Art of *Hayashimono*

The heron dance was born in the fourteenth century as an ‘encouragement’ for the floats of Kyoto’s Gion festival. These ‘encouragements’ are known as *hayashimono* 囃子物 or 拍子物, sometimes also read *hyōshimono*. Both terms derive from the verb *hayasu*⁴⁰ and describe an accompaniment comprising music and dance for festivals born in medieval times to encourage the movement of large, heavy objects like the elaborate floats of the Gion festival.

A typical *hayashimono* ensemble features drums, flutes, and gongs. According to Ueki, the players of the *hayashimono* seek to attract bad spirits with their music, so that they descend onto the floats and costumed figures, and can then be sent away from the city. Thus, the essential function of a *hayashimono* is to placate and send off gods of pestilence or vengeful spirits (Ueki, “Yama, hoko, yatai no matsuri to hayashi no tenkai,” p. 27; KD 1991, “Furyū,” p. 353).

Hayashimono usually accompany ornamentally dressed group dances at festival parades whose participants compete with each other in extravagance. These parades and dances are often described as *furyū* 風流, a term that first appears in the *Man’yōshū* 万葉集, the earliest extant collection of classical Japanese poetry dating to the eighth century. Here, the term is read *miyabi* and means elegance or compassion. The reading *furyū* predominates from medieval times, and is associated with elegant festivals comprising floats and various costumes, accompanied by song and dance (NOD 1989, “Furyū,” pp. 63–64).⁴¹ In the later Muromachi period, the Japanese language dictionary *Kagakushū* 下学集⁴² defines *furyū* as a *hayashimono*. The entry reads (*Kagakushū: Sanshu* 1988, p. 56):

風流 風情義成 日本俗 呼拍子物 曰風流

Furyū. Fuzei no yoshi nari. Nihon no nawarashi. Hayashimono to yobite, furyū to iu.

⁴⁰The term *hayasu* 囃す shares etymological roots with the word *hayasu* 榮す, which means to make something look brilliant, to encourage something. It further includes the meaning: 1) to sing and encourage the tune of a song; 2) to play the musical accompaniment *hayashi*; 3) to get in tune; 4) to make noise with a big voice (NKD 2001, vol. 10, “Hayasu,” p. 1385). McClain translates *hayasu* “to beat time to music, to applaud, to grow and extend” (McClain, “*Bonshōgatsu*,” p. 182).

⁴¹There are two Sino-Japanese readings for the Chinese characters 風流: one with a short ‘*fu*,’ as in *furyū*, referring to wide range of traditional types of performances, and one with a long ‘*fū*,’ as in *fūryū*, referring to the refined taste of a cultivated, sophisticated person and to works of art and other things associated with such persons. Lancashire points out that *fūryū* also “adjectively portrays ornamental elaboration.” However, local readings do not necessarily follow this distinction (Lancashire 2016, pp. 52–53; JIE 1993, “Fūryū,” p. 433).

⁴²The compiler is not known, but the introduction gives the name of a monk living in Kyoto, Tōroku Hanō 東麓破衲, who presumably completed the dictionary in 1444. The work comprises two volumes (KD 1983, vol. 3, “Kagakushū,” pp. 140–41).

Furyū. Indicates something of elegant taste. A custom of Japan. It is called *hayashimono*, or *furyū*.

On the other hand, the entry in the *Nippo jisho* 日葡辞書⁴³ reads (*Nippo jisho* 1960, pp. 168, 220; *Hōyaku: Nippo jisho* 1980, pp. 217, 283):

- *Fayaximono*. *Baila juntamente com canto de muitos que vão andando jūtanite*. ¶*Fayaxi monou suru. Fazer este bailo, ou canto per festa, ou alegria derepente.*
Hayashimono. A group dance with song by many people who walk together. *Hayashimono o suru*. This dance or song is performed for festivals or joyful occasions.
- *Fūriū*. *Cousa aprazivel, & graciosa à visto como vestido galante, &c.* ¶*Fūriūna coto. Idem.* ¶*Fūriū yoi fito. Homen que em algũa cousa como no [indecipherable], & c. be singular, & aprazivel à vista.*
Fūryū. Something pleasant that is delightful to look at with elegant costumes. *Fūryū na coto*. Ibid. *Fūryū yoi hito*. A person who has something special which is not ordinary, delightful to look at.
- *Furiū*. *l fūriū. Dança com varias figuras, & farsas, ou qualquer dança porque nella há sempre cousas aprazivels, & c.*
Furyū, fūryū. A dance with various figures and buffoonery, or any dance that includes these features.

Nowadays, the terms *furyū* and *hayashimono* are often used synonymously, which shows the relatively loose concept of both terms. Following a short introduction to former research on the various performing arts designated as *furyū hayashimono/furyū hyōshimono* 風流囃子物／風流拍子物, the heron dance in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano shall be analysed as a typical representative of this performing art, especially regarding its musical structure.

Pioneers of Folklore Studies

The founders of folklore studies in Japan are widely known: Yanagita Kunio 柳田国男 (1875–1962) and his disciple Orikuchi Shinobu 折口信夫 (1887–1953). Yanagita and his disciples played the major role in establishing and popularizing folklore studies in Japan, which were systematized as an academic field from the 1930s on (Schnell and Hashimoto, “Guest Editors’ Introduction: Revitalizing Japanese Folklore,” p. 186).

In his work *Nihon no matsuri* 日本の祭 (Festivals of Japan) of 1942, Yanagita argues that the most significant turning point in the history of Japanese festivals

⁴³Japanese name for the Japanese-Portuguese dictionary compiled by Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth century, *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam com a declaração em Portugues*. Published in 1603 to 1604 by the Jesuit collegium in Nagasaki, it contains entries on nearly 33,000 words. It represents an essential source for the study of Japanese during the Muromachi period (JIE 1993, “Nippo jisho,” p. 1094).

was the emergence of “festivals for showing,” represented by the Gion festival. He distinguishes this new form of festival (*sairei* 祭礼／サイレイ) from the traditional style. According to Yanagita, *sairei* are characterized by *furyū*, in contrast to conventional festivals, which feature abstinence (*imi* 忌み／イミ) and seclusion (*komori* 籠り／コモリ) (Yanagita 1942, pp. 35–65, esp. p. 44; Hur 2000, p. 241).

In Orikuchi’s opinion, *furyū* originally meant to not show one’s face, but its meaning shifted to indicate costumed parades. Later, the term was used to describe the costumes worn in these parades. The spectators of these colourful parades began to dress up in costumes as well, so they were also called *furyū*. The term was even applied to the decoration, so that the richly decorated parasols were also called *furyū* (Orikuchi 1957, pp. 153, 258).

Orikuchi further explains that the term *hayashi* derives from the verb *hayasu*, which describes the partition of a spirit which then is transferred, for example, to a tree. The tree in turn is worshiped and carried around: all together (the tree as well as the act of worshipping and carrying the tree around in a parade) is called *hayashi*. Orikuchi mentions the *Gion-bayashi* 祇園囃子 of the Gion festival as the prototype of a *hayashi*; thus, the Gion festival is an example of a *furyū* parade centering on a *hayashi*. He further states that the term *hayashi* is nowadays used to indicate the act of encouraging something with drums, gongs and flutes (*hayashitateru* 囃し立てる) (Orikuchi 1957, pp. 263–66).

Although their contribution to the field should not be underestimated, these first approaches towards a definition of *furyū* and *hayashi* are somewhat difficult to understand and reflect the intuitive impressions felt by Yanagita and Orikuchi rather than a well-founded academic categorization of both terms.

Categorization of *Furyū* and *Hayashimono*

The folklorist who had the greatest impact on modern studies of Japanese folk performing arts was Honda Yasuji 本田安次 (1906–2001). Honda, who is known for his achievements in establishing a framework for the Japanese folk performing arts, undertook the difficult task of developing a categorization for their various representatives. Although his classification has been critically discussed and altered many times since its introduction, it is still a very common and widely accepted concept.

In 1955, Honda established three categories: performing arts to pray for longevity; for a rich harvest; and for protection against illness by driving out evil spirits. *Furyū* belongs to the third category (Honda, “Furyū kō,” pp. 50–56). Developing his classification further in 1960, Honda expanded his model to five categories (Honda 1960, pp. 5–34; Lancashire 2016, pp. 6–8):

1. Ritual dance, music, and drama in shrines (*kagura* 神楽);
2. music of the fields (*dengaku*);
3. ornamentally dressed group dances (*furyū*);
4. spoken word and celebratory entertainments (*katarimono* 語り物 / *shukufukugei* 祝福芸);

5. entertainments of foreign derivation, and stage entertainments (*toraigei* 渡来芸 / *butaigei* 舞台芸).

In his report on the heron dance *Sagimai shinji* of 1974, Honda classifies the heron dance as an animal costumed *furyū* dance (*dōbutsu kasō furyū* 動物仮装風流) (Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 5). In the 1990s, Honda's writings were re-published in twenty volumes; his classification shows a large number of detailed subcategorizations. Here, the heron dance is classified in the category “costumed *furyū*” (Honda, “Furyū 1,” pp. 22–23). This shows the difficulties Honda faced in defining *furyū* as a consistent field of the performing arts.

Honda's classification has been challenged by various scholars.⁴⁴ Misumi Haruo 三隅治雄 (1927–) divided the folk performing arts into three broad groups: *furyū*, with the heron dance of Tsuwano as one representative; *kagura-gei* 神楽芸; and *dengaku-gei* 田楽芸. However, he points out critically that the term *furyū* is applicable to any kind of performing art, because its main characteristic is to be “decorative” (Misumi, “Furyū,” p. 128; *ibid.*, “Tsuwano no sagimai,” p. 174).

Ogasawara Kyōko 小笠原恭子 (1936–) introduced her critical thoughts on the usage of the term *furyū* in her widely known monograph *Kabuki no tanjō* (1972), where she reconstructs the formation of kabuki.⁴⁵ Based on former research, she points out that there is no clear definition of the term *furyū*. She makes clear that there are at least two ways to understand the term: seen from its historical development or as a description of a certain phenomenon. She concludes that it is impossible to summarize everything *furyū* describes, hence it questionable whether this term is appropriate for classification or not. Discussing the term *hayashimono*, Ogasawara points out that, like *furyū*, it is not exactly clear what *hayashimono* defines, but their texts usually contains phrases of stylized syllables (*hayashi kotoba*). It seems that the form of *hayashimono* in kyogen has been relatively stable over time (Ogasawara 1972, pp. 6–15, 37–38, 67–70).

Characteristics of *Furyū Hayashimono*

In 1984, Tokue Gensei 徳江元正 (1931–) identified the characteristics of *furyū* and *hayashimono* in his monograph *Muromachi geinōshi ronkō* (1984)⁴⁶ from the

⁴⁴Some of these scholars also see *furyū* as one category of the performing arts, e.g. Gunji Masakatsu 郡司正勝 (1913–1998), who identifies *furyū* as one category of the performing arts characterized by the usage of dance, song, and drums, featuring elaborate decoration. The heron dance belongs to this category (Gunji, 1958, pp. 35–79). Other researchers who confirm and develop Honda's approach are Nishitsunoi Masayoshi 西角井正慶 (1900–1971), and Satō Kaoru 佐藤薫 (1912–), who describe *furyū* as a performing art that aimed to soothe evil spirits. In the course of time, it turned into an entertainment for the people featuring elaborate costumes and dances (Satō 1961, pp. 50–55, 421–24). Okazaki Yoshie 岡崎義恵 (1892–1982) collected numerous records on *furyū* from ancient times to the medieval period in his monograph *Furyū no shisō* (vol. 2, 1947). Nose Asaji 能勢朝次 (1894–1955) states that the term *furyū* can be seen from the Heian period on, indicating parades with musical accompaniment for shrines and temples featuring rich make-up and costumes (Nose 1956, pp. 398–99).

⁴⁵Also compare her article “Geinō to furyū” (1973).

⁴⁶Here, Tokue examines different performing art genres of the Muromachi period, such as noh, medieval narrative literature and song.

picture scroll *Zegaibō emaki* 是害房絵巻 (Tale of the Handcart Priest)⁴⁷, which tells the story of the encounter of a *tengu* 天狗⁴⁸ of Mt. Atago⁴⁹ with a conceited priest. In one scene, the priest is carried in a litter by two *tengu*, and followed by a typical colourful costume parade, which Tokue interprets as *furyū*. The *tengu* are depicted with open mouths, causing Tokue to see this as an example of *hayashimono*, which is a musical accompaniment with a “simple melody which is sung repetitively to a steady beat” (Tokue 1984, pp. 8–10).

Referring to Tokue’s findings, Aomori Tōru 青盛透 (1948–) examines the origins of the various kinds of *furyū* dances (*furyū odori* 風流踊り) presently performed around Japan. He states that *furyū hayashimono* or *hyōshimono* are the precursor of these dances, which accompanied music and song to ‘encourage’ richly ornamented festival floats to move. He gives the heron dance in Tsuwano as an extant example of *hayashimono*.⁵⁰ However, he also points out the difficulties in specifying a genre of *hayashimono* (Aomori, “Furyū odori no kōzō,” pp. 59–76, esp. p. 73; *ibid.*, “Minzoku geinō ni okeru hayashimono no yōshiki,” p. 30).

According to Aomori, typical characteristics of *hayashimono* are the use of percussion instruments, repetitive rhythm patterns and simple songs. A common feature is its function as an ‘encouragement’ when welcoming, entertaining and finally sending off pestilent spirits. *Hayashimono* usually accompany *furyū* parades. Aomori gives the folk performing arts of *San’yare*⁵¹, *Kenketo* ケンケト⁵², and *Yasurai-bana* ヤスライ花⁵³ as typical examples of *hayashimono* (A-

⁴⁷Two volumes, dated 1308, held by the Kyoto temple Manshu-in 曼殊院 (KD 1987, vol. 8, “Zegaibō emaki,” pp. 280–81).

⁴⁸A demon mixture of bird and man.

⁴⁹Atagoyama 愛宕山, 924 m, located in the north-west of Kyoto (NKD 2001, vol. 1, “Atagoyama,” p. 376).

⁵⁰Aomori states that the heron dance of Tsuwano is even older than *furyū* dances (Aomori, “Chūsei no hayashimono geinō,” p. 93).

⁵¹The *San’yare* of Kusatsu in Shiga prefecture is well-known. It is conducted every year in May by a number of shrines of the region. The festival comprises a portable shrine parade, a dance by boys and teenagers who play gongs and wave fans, and sing the *hayashi kotoba* ‘*san’yare*,’ which can be interpreted as prayer for good fortune (*sachi are* 幸あれ). The dancers play instruments such as *taiko*, *kotsuzumi* and *kakko* drums, flutes, gongs, and clappers. It is said that this dance has been transmitted from the late Muromachi period (“Kusatsu no San’yare odori,” *Cultural Heritage Database* (online)).

⁵²*Kenketo*. The *Kenketo* festival can be seen in a number of places around the southern half of Lake Biwa in Shiga prefecture every year in May. The dancers—boys and men who wear elaborate and colourful costumes—play *dadaiko* drums, gongs, and clappers and wave richly decorated halberds. They sing the *hayashi kotoba* ‘*kenketo*.’ It is said that the beginnings of this festival date back to the Muromachi period (“Ōmi no Kenketo matsuri naginata furi,” *Cultural Heritage Database* (online)).

⁵³The folk performing art of *Yasurai-bana* is conducted in spring by four shrines in the north ward, Kita-ku 北区, of Kyoto city. Groups of dancers, wearing red or black long-haired wigs as a representation of demons, proceed through the neighbourhood performing dance and music. They are accompanied by flute, drums, and gongs, and aim to drive out evil spirits. The participants carry colourful decorations, such as large red parasols with ornamentation on top of them. People come out of their houses to see the procession and receive protection against illness from these parasols (Lancashire 2016, p. 164). Also compare the report *Yasurai-bana chōsa hōkokusho*, ed. Geinōshi Kenkyūkai, 1977.

mori, “Minzoku geinō ni okeru hayashimono no yōshiki,” pp. 30–35, 41; *ibid.*, “Hayashimono to iu geinō,” pp. 34–35).

In his study of 2007, Aomori distinguishes three different forms of *hayashimono*:

- *Hayashimono* as recorded in historical sources, of which the rhythm and melody is unclear;
- *hayashimono* as performing arts of today, which are formalized remnants of old practices;
- *hayashimono* as can be seen in kyogen performances, of which the function is unclear.

Aomori argues that a clearer picture of the nature of the *hayashimono* can be drawn by combining an understanding of these three forms. He touches on kyogen plays that make use of *hayashi kotoba*, cites historical records such as the *Kennaiki* of the fifteenth century, and refers to the song of the heron dance in Tsuwano as an example for the music of a *hayashimono*, stressing that the song text is quite short and therefore not suitable for dancing (Aomori, “Hayashimono to iu geinō,” pp. 34–39).

Aomori’s approach suffers from some serious limitations—his approach offers no solid data analysis, and he makes no attempt to conduct a systematical investigation of historical records, kyogen plays that incorporate *hayashimono*, or the music played in *hayashimono* nowadays. Therefore, some of his conclusions are questionable. However, his general understanding of *furyū hayashimono* seems to be appropriate.

During his long career, Ueki Yukinobu 植木行宣 (1932–) worked not only in the administration for protection of cultural properties of the Kyoto Prefectural Board of Education, but also as an expert committee member of the Cultural Affairs Council. His extensive research includes numerous studies on Japanese festivals featuring floats, rich decoration, and stages—especially focussing on the performing arts that are shown at these kinds of festivals. Ueki approaches the topic by combining an analysis of historical records and field research on present performances.

In his monograph *Yama, hoko, yatai no matsuri: Furyū no kaika* (2001), Ueki argues that Orikuchi’s *yorishiro* theory interpreting all floats as objects which deities or spirits descend onto cannot be applied to all of the floats of the Gion festival (Ueki 2001, p. 23). Giving a detailed analysis of the various floats, he groups them into five categories (Ueki 2001, p. 25):

1. decorative halberds (*hoko* 鉾);
2. floats that are pulled (*hikiyama* 曳山);
3. floats that are carried on the shoulders (*kakiyama* 昇山);
4. stages (*yatai* 屋台); and
5. decorative umbrella halberds (*kasaboko* 笠鉾).

As a basic concept, Ueki divides the floats into the ones that are ‘encouraged’ (*hayasareru mono* 囃されるもの) and the ones that actively ‘encourage’ others (*hayasu mono* 囃すもの). The former can be interpreted as *yorishiro*, whereas the latter serve as **encouragement of the *yorishiro***. To Ueki, the *kasaboko* is an example of an amalgamation of being ‘encouraged’ and actively ‘encouraging.’ Moreover, he points out that the *yorishiro* theory cannot be applied to stages for performances (Ueki 2001, p. 28). He identifies the *furyū hayashimono* 風流拍子物 as the precursor of these floats, and gives the following definition (Ueki 2001, p. 66):

Furyū hayashimono were performed to call down and send off divine spirits. They were conducted as group dances that ‘encouraged’ the pacification of pestilent spirits. A typical feature of this performing art is the use of percussion instruments such as *kakko* and *taiko* drums which were played by the dancers. The term ‘*furyū*’ stands for the elaborate decoration; later it was also used to describe the costumes, and finally it indicated the act of making something elaborate. Thus, ‘*furyū*’ was used whenever *hayashimono* or dance was meant. *Hayashimono* gradually grew more elaborate over time, and so ‘*furyū*’ and ‘*hayashimono*’ merged into an attraction drawing the attention of the crowd.[...]

The halberds, floats, decorative umbrella halberds, and the costumed performers represented objects that divine spirits could descend upon; therefore, they visualized the act of driving out the spirit. These floats, decorations and costumes had to be encouraged and in turn became movable. When the festival was over, all objects had to be destroyed, requiring a perpetual re-creation every year.

In continuation of this thorough examination, Ueki contributes further thoughts on festivals featuring floats, halberds, and stages in 2005, in the compilation *Toshi no sairei: Yama, hoko, yatai to hayashi*, as part of a joint research project on music ensembles for festival floats.⁵⁴ Here, Ueki traces the development of the present festival floats, stating that—except for festivals such as the Gion festival—most of the floats originate in the early modern period and are connected to the emergence of an urban culture in the Edo period. Their precursors are elaborate decorations and props that were shown at festival processions (*nerimono* 練り物). These *nerimono* in turn derive from the *furyū hayashimono* of the Gion festival (Ueki, “Yama, hoko, yatai no matsuri to hayashi no tenkai,” p. 22).⁵⁵

⁵⁴The joint study was entitled *Dashi hayashi no shosō* 山車囃子の諸相 (2000) and *Dashi no matsuri to hayashi no shosō* ダシの祭り囃子の諸相 (2001–2002), and was conducted at the Research Centre for Japanese Traditional Music, Kyoto City University of Arts [the name was changed in April 2020 to Research Institute for Japanese Traditional Music].

⁵⁵Further case studies can be found in Ueki’s monograph *Butai geinō no denryū* of 2009, where he surveys the development of urban festivals from *nerimono* parades into parades that feature *yamaboko* floats and performing stages. He also highlights how the Gion festival spread to the regions, for example to Yamaguchi (Ueki 2009, p. 397).

Referring to Aomori's study of 1985 and Higuchi's findings regarding musical structure in the above-mentioned compilation of 2005, Ueki introduces extant examples of *furyū hayashimono*, such as *Yasurai-bana*, and *Kenketo*. He sums up common characteristics of these folk performing arts as follows (Ueki, "Yama, hoko, yatai no matsuri to hayashi no tenkai," pp. 28–34, esp. p. 34):

1. The dances are mainly performed by young boys;
2. instrumentation mainly makes use of percussion instruments like *taiko* or *kakko* drums, and scrapers (*suri sasara*);
3. the dancers play the instruments using simple rhythms; the dance itself is an 'encouragement;'
4. the performances include drum dances (*kakko mai*);
5. the dances are performed in groups in a row;
6. the performances make use of *hayashi kotoba*, which are often eponymous for the dance (e.g. *San'yare*);
7. the performances sometimes incorporate short songs, but they do not use dance songs (*kumiuta* 組歌)⁵⁶ that can otherwise be seen in *furyū odori*;
8. the dances accompany "furyū" decorative umbrella halberds and other floats, which they seek to 'encourage;'
9. the dancers wear elaborate costumes, sometimes female attire, and use ornamental decoration.

Ueki concludes that the performing art of "hayashi" evolved from *furyū hayashimono*, gradually shifted to the centre of the festivals, and is nowadays conducted on stages (Ueki, "Yama, hoko, yatai no matsuri to hayashi no tenkai," p. 46).

A major survey on the origin and development of the *Gion-bayashi* festival music was conducted at the Research Centre for Japanese Traditional Music of Kyoto City University of Arts from 2004 to 2006. It showed that the *furyū hayashimono* is the precursor of the *Gion-bayashi*.⁵⁷ Tai Ryūichi 田井竜一 (1961–) sums up the results regarding the *furyū hayashimono* as follows (Tai, "Gion-bayashi' no genryū," p. 5):

Furyū hayashimono are group dances that make use of costumes, such as fuzzy red wigs (*shaguma* 赤熊), decorative umbrella halberds, elaborate props (*tsukurimono* 作り物), such as decorative halberds, and

⁵⁶Ueki describes *kumiuta* as songs that comprise a certain theme whose song text is arranged in a chain structure (Ueki, "Furyū odori kenkyū no genjō to kadai," p. 10).

⁵⁷The findings of this project entitled *Gion-bayashi no genryū ni kansuru kenkyū* 祇園囃子の源流に関する研究 can be seen in the research report *Gion-bayashi no genryū ni kansuru kenkyū* edited by Tai (2008) and in the compilation *Gion-bayashi no genryū*, edited by Ueki and Tai (2010).

flowers. While dancing, the dancers play percussion instruments (e.g. *kakko* drums, *shimedaiko* drums, *kotsuzumi* shoulder drums, *ōtsuzumi* waist drums, small and big *taiko* drums), flutes, gongs, clappers and other instruments. The dances are mostly performed in rows, making brief stops at certain places to perform. Furthermore, the use of *hayashi kotoba* is characteristic of *furyū hayashimono*. The dance group is protected by ceremonial guards (*keigo* 警護) and rod wielders (*bōfuri* 棒振り) who keep bad spirits away. Sometimes animal-guised miming or skits are performed. *Furyū hayashimono* seek to drive out evil spirits that cause pestilence by calling down, encouraging, and finally expelling the spirit from the city.

In 2007, Ueki attempted an analysis of *furyū odori* in contrast to the *furyū hayashimono* against the backdrop of *furyū* discourse. He states that the two can be distinguished as follows: *furyū odori* are elaborate group dances featuring songs that are sung while dancing, whereas *furyū hayashimono* do not encompass such dance songs (*kumiuta*). Based on case studies, he concludes that examinations of *furyū* should always take into account the aim and the function of the performance (Ueki, “Furyū odori kenkyū no genjō to kadai,” pp. 20, 28).

Musical Structure of *Hayashimono*

The ethnomusicologist and music historian Higuchi Akira 樋口昭 (1938–) conducted a number of studies on the music of *hayashimono*. He provides a full transcription of the music of the heron dance in Tsuwano in the report *Sagimai shinji* (1974). Following this examination, Higuchi carried out further studies on the *hayashimono*, especially on the performing art of *Yasurai-bana* in Kyoto as one typical representative. In his report on the *Yasurai-bana* of 1977, he provides a full transcription of the music as performed in all four places, and extracts the typical rhythm pattern of the gong and the drums as shown below (Higuchi, “Yasurai-bana no ongaku,” pp. 80–86):



Figure 3.7: *Yasurai-bana* rhythm pattern

This rhythm pattern is repeated throughout the performance and can also be seen with slight variations for the drums. Furthermore, Higuchi introduces the text of the song and analyses the form in which the phrases of the song text are repeated. Interestingly, his discovery of a typical repetitive rhythm pattern applies to other performing arts as well (Higuchi, “Yasurai-bana no ongaku,” p. 85).

Referring to depictions of *hayashimono* on medieval folding screens, Higuchi carries out a survey on performing arts which include a *hayashimono* at present.

In his study of 2005, he examines the following five performances: *Yasurai-bana* and *Kakkosuri* in Kyoto, *San'yare* and *Kenketo* in Shiga prefecture, and the heron dance of Tsuwano. He extracts a number of typical rhythm patterns for the percussion instruments of each performance. One common feature of the *Yasurai-bana*, *Kakkosuri*, *San'yare* and *Kenketo* is the use of the above-mentioned *Yasurai-bana* rhythm pattern for the gong, and in a modified form also for the *sasara* of the *San'yare*. He concludes that a repetition of a certain rhythm pattern is typical for the music structure of *hayashimono* (Higuchi, “Hashimono to sono ongaku,” pp. 55–67).⁵⁸

According to Higuchi, the heron dance, however, shows a different rhythm structure. Three percussion instruments—the *kotsuzumi* shoulder drum, the *shimedaiko* stick drum, and the gong—form a single rhythmic unit. Higuchi extracts three rhythm patterns composed of the successive playing of these three percussion instruments. He concludes that none of these patterns is identical to the *Yasurai-bana* rhythm pattern (Higuchi, “Hashimono to sono ongaku,” pp. 67–71).

Higuchi continued his survey on the musical structure of the *hayashimono* of the *kakko chigo mai*, *shishimai*, and *shagiri*, presenting his findings in 2008, followed by a reprint in 2010.⁵⁹ Higuchi shows that the common characteristic in the musical structure of *hayashimono*, *kakko chigo mai* and *shishimai* is the repetition of certain rhythm and melody patterns. He points out that the typical *hayashimono* rhythm pattern—a four-measure phrase in two-four meter with one crotchet and two quavers in each of the first three measures, and a crotchet and pause in the fourth, played repetitively throughout the performance, namely that which he earlier termed the ‘*Yasurai-bana* rhythm pattern’—can be heard not only in designated *hayashimono* performances, but also in *furyū odori* and *shishimai*. However, he again stresses that the rhythm pattern of the heron dance in Tsuwano is different, probably arranged intentionally rather than being a product of a natural process (Higuchi, “Kakko chigo mai, shishimai, shagiri,” pp. 72–92).

3.2.2 Music in Present Day Practice

Music of the Heron Dance in Yamaguchi

The Yamaguchi heron dance shows a simple instrumental accompaniment, comprising two transverse bamboo flutes (*shinobue* 篠笛)⁶⁰ with six finger holes pitched at B flat (*roppon jōshi* 六本調子), and one rope-tensioned drum (*taiko* 太鼓) held in

⁵⁸Higuchi’s article can be found in the compilation *Toshi no sairei: Yama, hoko, yatai to hayashi* (2005). It brings together his results in the research projects *Dashi hayashi no shosō* (2000), and *Dashi no matsuri to hayashi no shosō* (2001–2002) at the Research Centre for Japanese Traditional Music of Kyoto City University of Arts mentioned above.

⁵⁹Higuchi Akira, “Kakko chigo mai, shishimai, shagiri ni miru senritsu oyobi hakusetsu kōzō.” In *Gion-bayashi no genryū ni kansuru kenkyū*, ed. Tai Ryūichi, pp. 91–114. Kyoto: Kyōto Shiritsu Geijutsu Daigaku Nihon Dentō Ongaku Kenkyū Sentā, 2008. Reprinted in the compilation *Gion-bayashi no genryū: Furyū hayashimono, kakko chigo mai, shagiri*, ed. Ueki Yukinobu and Tai Ryūichi, pp. 71–99. Iwata Shoin: 2010.

⁶⁰*Shinobue* flutes are named after the type of bamboo from which they are made, *shinodake* 篠竹. They have six or seven finger holes, and are played in various musical genres such as kabuki and kagura, but mainly seen in Japanese folk music and folk performing arts. These flutes can

the left hand and beaten with one stick held in the right hand. Unlike in Tsuwano, where the *kakko* drums are only beaten symbolically, the two *kakko* dancers actually beat their waist drums in Yamaguchi. There is no song or chorus; it is not certain whether there ever has been (Ema, “Yamaguchi sagimai,” pp. 13–14). The heron dancers of Yamaguchi do not make sound on purpose when flapping their wings; yet sometimes a sound escapes when they hit their body.



Figure 3.8: Rope-tensioned drum (*taiko*) in Yamaguchi (July 20, 2016)

The music is repeated two and a half times and takes approximately two minutes, played at 80 BPM. Notated in two-four meter, the music comprises only twenty-four measures. The instruments never overlap; first, the flutes are played (nine measures), then the *kakko* drums (two beats, one measure), followed by the flapping of the wings of the herons (two “beats,” one measure), and finally the drum (two beats, one measure). Synchronized to the drum beat, the rod wielders symbolically “shoot” the herons. The same pattern is used for the second part of the piece, with a different melody played by the flutes.⁶¹

The music has only one version, which is played at every performance place. Compared to Tsuwano, the performance is relatively short and simple, without any complex rhythm patterns or overlapping instrumentation. It somehow reminds one of the prelude of the heron dance in Tsuwano: a repeated cycle of flute and percussion instruments.

The oldest extant record on the instrumentation and line-up of the heron dance in Yamaguchi can be seen in the source *Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto* of 1583:

be tuned in all twelve keys, from F to E, but the usual range of the tonic is from G to D flat (NOKYJ 2011, “Shinobue,” p. 149).

⁶¹Refer to the transcription B.1 “Heron Dance Song in Yamaguchi” attached in Appendix B.

Two heron performers, two *tsue* stick wielders, two *kakko* drum performers, one *shōko* gong player, one *kotsuzumi* shoulder drum player, one *taiko* drum player, two flute players.

This shows that originally a *kotsuzumi* drum and a gong were played in addition to the instruments that can be seen today. The *kotsuzumi* drum and the gong are also listed in the *Suō no kuni Yamaguchi Gion-e sagi no ikkan* of 1714; here, two performers are listed for both instruments. The *Gion-e yuraiki* (later than 1872) and the *Yamaguchi Gion-e ikkan* (prob. 1885) record only one instrumentalist for each. On the other hand, no mention is made of either instrument in the *Bōchō fudo chūshin'an* of 1841. The performance of the heron dance is depicted in the source *Yamaguchi meishō kyūseki zushi* (1893); the performance looks similar to the present one—without *kotsuzumi* drum or gong. Therefore, it seems likely that both instruments disappeared between the middle of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. What it may have sounded like originally is a matter for speculation; the music as it is presented today, however, does not show any rhythm pattern typical of *hayashimono* performances.



Figure 3.9: *Shinobue* flute in Yamaguchi (July 20, 2016)

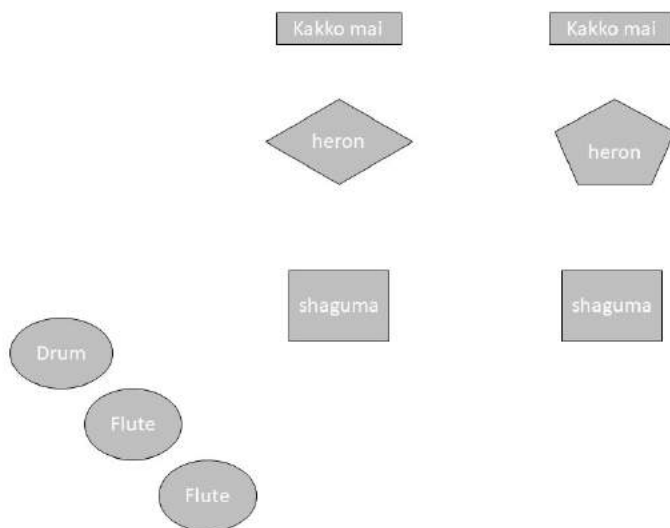


Figure 3.10: Layout of performers in the Yamaguchi heron dance (present)

Music of the Heron Dance in Tsuwano

Instrumentation

The instrumentation of the musical accompaniment for the heron dance in Tsuwano requires eight persons; it comprises two flutes, four drums of two different types, and two gongs.

The flautists play a transverse bamboo flute (*shinobue*) with six finger-holes, pitched at B flat. When the melody of the flute sounds, the singers are silent. Two types of drums are played: a ring-frame hourglass-shaped shoulder drum (*kotsuzumi*) which is played with the hands, and a larger barrel-drum tensioned with diagonal tuning cords (*shimedaiko*) which is suspended on a wooden stand at a slight angle to the floor and struck with thick wooden sticks. The gong (*surigane*) is held in the left hand suspended from a cord and struck on the inside surface with a hammer. Almost all of the instruments are decorated with white zigzag paper streamers.⁶² Additionally, the dancers clap their feathers in a repetitive rhythm.⁶³

The chorus (*jiutai*) consist of about six persons, who stand behind the instrumentalists and whose singing is supported by the clapping sound of the heron feathers. Like the ceremonial guards, the singers wear blue formal attire (*kamishimo*) carrying the family crest of the Kamei.

⁶²*Shide* 紙垂. Often used as one component of implements of purification in Shinto rituals.

⁶³According to Yamaji Kōzō, the people of Tsuwano may have imitated the sound of a clapper (*bin-zasara*) with the clapping of the wooden feathers of the heron costume (personal communication, July 27, 2016).



Figure 3.11: Instrumentation in Tsuwano (July 27, 2012)

The oldest extant depiction of the heron dance of the Kyoto Gion festival can be seen on the folding screen *Tsukinami saireizu* of the fifteenth century. Here, two heron dancers proceed in the festival parade, spreading their wings while dancing. A musical accompaniment featuring *kakko*, *kotsuzumi*, and *taiko* drums, as well as gongs, flutes and a chorus, is situated on and around a float. A similar performance can be seen on the fan of the first month of the *Keiraku tsukinami fūzokuzu senmen nagashi* of the sixteenth century, depicting a performance of the heron dance in the front garden of the imperial palace as a part of the New Year's Bonfire *sagichō*. The heron dancers are accompanied by two *kakko* drum dancers, one rod wielder, and a musical accompaniment comprising two *kotsuzumi*, one *taiko* drum, and one flute. It cannot be determined whether a gong and a song accompanied this performance. Nevertheless, both depictions include the main elements of the present heron dance of Tsuwano.

Rhythm Patterns

The music of the heron dance in Tsuwano exists in two versions: the long version lasts approximately eight minutes and is performed at important places like the community center or the shrine. In the introductory part, only one instrument is played at a time, in alternation. The entry of the chorus is accompanied by the entry of the clapping of the feathers. As Higuchi has already pointed out, the percussion instruments never overlap, but always alternate with each other. The

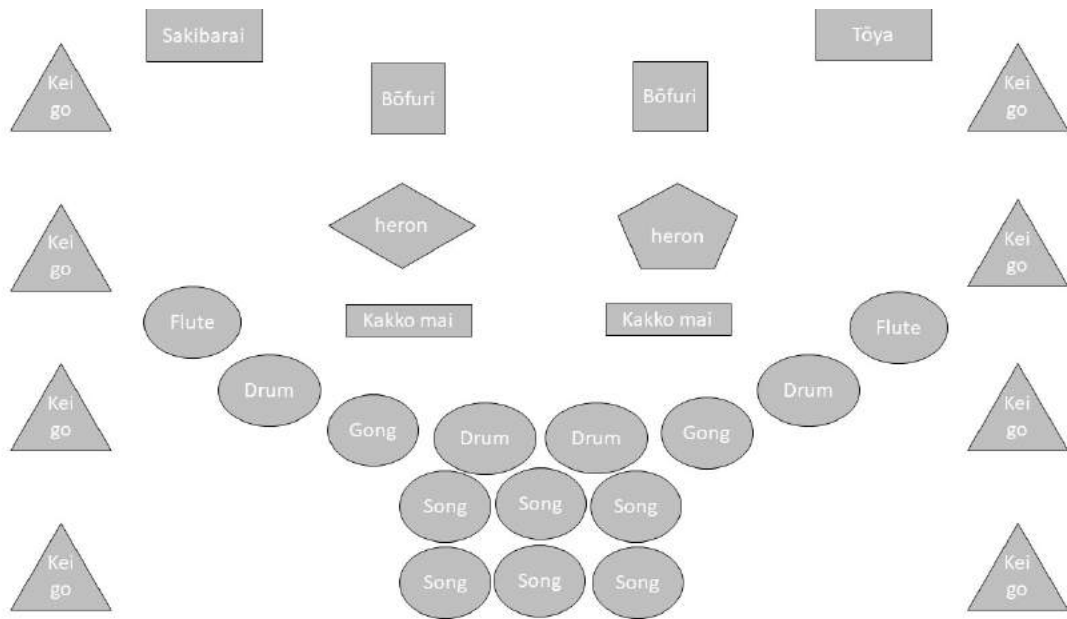


Figure 3.12: Layout of performers in the Tsuwano heron dance

overall tempo of the music is about 65–70 BPM.

The short version starts from the singing part and omits the flute prelude. It lasts approximately four minutes and is performed at less important places. Depending on the place, the song is repeated two or three times. The procession stops at certain places to play the music and show the dance.

Higuchi identifies three rhythm patterns carried by the percussion instruments: in rhythm patterns A and B the *shimedaiko* is followed by the gong, and finally the *kotsuzumi*, whereas rhythm pattern C comprises only three beats by the *shimedaiko* (Higuchi, “Hashimono to sono ongaku,” pp. 69–71).

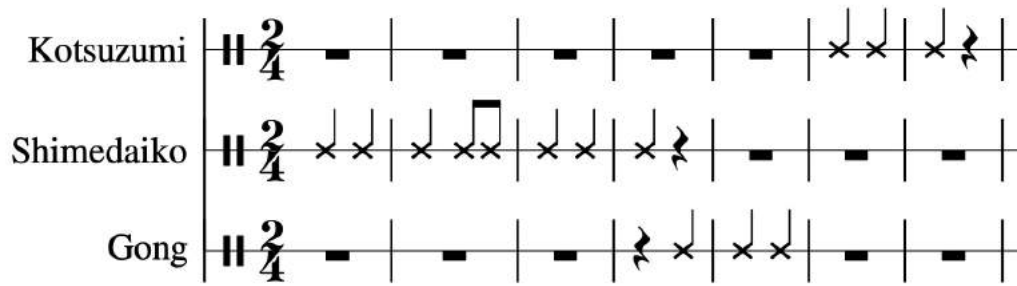


Figure 3.13: Rhythm pattern A, Tsuwano

Rhythm pattern A comprises seven measures, and is played six times in the whole piece.

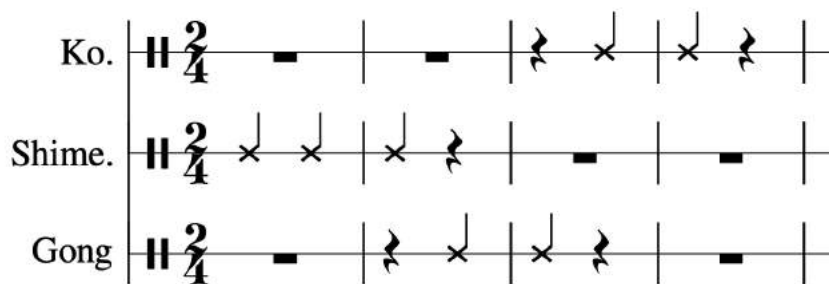


Figure 3.14: Rhythm pattern B, Tsuwano

Rhythm pattern B comprises four measures and is played thirteen times in the whole piece.

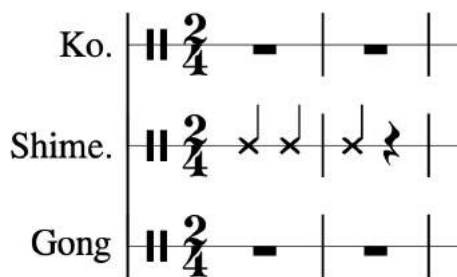


Figure 3.15: Rhythm pattern C, Tsuwano

Rhythm pattern C comprises two measures, and is played twice in the whole piece.

Higuchi is right in stating that none of these rhythm patterns resembles the above-mentioned rhythm pattern typical of *hayashimono* performances. He overlooks, however, the rhythm of the vocal part. A transcription based on field recordings by the author has shown that the vocal line of the song makes use of the *hayashimono* rhythm pattern from measures 103 to 106, and 126 to 129⁶⁴, each time repeated once:



Figure 3.16: *Hayashimono* rhythm pattern, Tsuwano

Notwithstanding the fact that the above-mentioned example is found in the vocal rather than in the percussion line, and its relatively few repetitions, it can still be stated that this phrase shows the typical characteristics of a *hayashimono* rhythm pattern as Higuchi defined it: a four-measure phrase in two-four meter with one crotchet and two quavers in each of the first three measures, and a crotchet and pause in the fourth, played repetitively throughout the performance. Therefore, Higuchi’s interpretation of the absence of a *hayashimono* rhythm pattern in the heron dance of Tsuwano does not hold true for the vocal part.

Melody

Here the melody of the heron dance in Tsuwano is examined. For this purpose, first the nuclear tones (*kakuon* 核音) of the melody are determined by means of a weighted analysis of the time value and number of tones based on the author’s transcription shown in the appendix. Then, it is determined what tetrachords are used, based on a model for categorising Japanese traditional music introduced by the ethnomusicologist Koizumi Fumio 小泉文夫 (1927–1983). Finally, melodic movement is shown in a schematic illustration model inspired by the skeletal structure model (*gaikotsuzu* 骸骨図) of Shibata Minao 柴田南雄 (1916–1996).

Table 3.1: Weighted analysis of tonal length of Tsuwano heron dance song

tone	d (d’)	f	g	a	c	total
number of tones	32	20	53	2	1	108
absolute time value in crotchets	32.5	17	53	1	0.5	104
relative length in percent	31.3	16.3	51	0.1	0.5	100

The music of the heron dance in Tsuwano displays a pentatonic scale, consisting of the tones d-f-g-a-c-d’. As table 3.1 shows, more than half of the tones used are

⁶⁴Refer to the transcription B.2 “Heron Dance Song in Tsuwano” attached in Appendix B.

g, and about thirty percent are d (d'), which is also the final tone. These two tones can therefore be seen as the nuclear tones of the melody.

Based on the tetrachord theory⁶⁵ formulated by Koizumi in 1977⁶⁶, the melody of the heron dance in Tsuwano can be analysed as follows: the tonal scale comprises two tetrachords of perfect fourths, each with an infix tone: d-f-g and a-c-d'. Both tetrachords show pitch intervals of a minor third and a major second. This makes them both typical *min'yō* tetrachords. If a melody is not covered by one tetrachord, a second tetrachord can be added above or below as necessary. This is the case with the melody of the heron dance, with its two tetrachords that do not overlap in the middle. This can be explained as a “disjunct” relationship between the two tetrachords, whereas it is called a “conjunct” relationship if they overlap (Koizumi 1977, p. 262). In short, the melody of the heron dance comprises two disjunct *min'yō* tetrachords and is hence a typical *min'yō* type folk song.

The skeletal structure⁶⁷ of the melodic movement is shown in the following schematic illustration. Two tetrachords are connected by dotted lines. The nuclear tones are depicted with a double circle, while the tone g, used most often, is highlighted in grey. The curves illustrate the melodic movement between the tones; their thickness reflects the frequency of melodic movement. The curves on the upper side show melodic movement in the upward direction, whereas the curves on the lower side show melodic movement in the downward direction. Melodic movement in both directions is most often observed between g and f.

⁶⁵A pair of tones a perfect fourth apart form a framework. The variable tone in between serves as a filler tone or infix. Such tetrachords can be linked conjunctly or disjunctly in various ways to form larger scalar units. Any of the tones separated by a fourth can serve as nuclear tones. In the resulting scales, the nuclear tones play the central melodic function, with the infixes serving a subsidiary role. Usually the nuclear tone ends a melodic section. Depending on the position of the intermediate tone, four tetrachords can be observed (McQueen Tokita and Hughes, “Context and Change in Japanese Music,” p. 19; Hughes 2008, p. 36; TGEOWM 2002, vol. 7, pp. 567–68): Tetrachord I: *min'yō* (minor third and major second), often used for folk songs (*min'yō* 民謡) and children’s songs (*warabe uta* わらべ歌); Tetrachord II: *miyakobushi* (minor second and major third), often used in instrumental and vocal music of the Edo period in genres using *shamisen* and/or *koto*; Tetrachord III: *ritsu* (major second and minor third), used in court music (*gagaku* 雅楽) and Buddhist chant (*shōmyō* 声明); Tetrachord VI: *Ryūkyū* (major third and minor second), used for folk music in Okinawa (Koizumi 1977, pp. 258–61).

⁶⁶Koizumi developed a theory to account for all Japanese musical genres in his 1958 study of Japanese traditional music *Nihon dentō ongaku no kenkyū*. He conceived of the scale based not on the unit of the octave but on the unit of the fourth and used it as a unit of musical analysis. Koizumi was influenced by Western comparative musicologists such as the German Robert Lachmann (1892–1939) who found the phenomenon of a perfect fourth composed of two main tones (*Hauptton*)—for example in *noh* song—as a centric skeleton in melodic movement, which he described as *Konsonanzprinzip* in his study of oriental music, *Musik des Orients* of 1929.

⁶⁷In 1978, the musicologist and composer Shibata Minao proposed a rival theory to that of Koizumi: he sought to describe Japanese music in a readily comprehensible model, without relying on Western staff notation, to depict Japanese songs that display use of more than one tetrachord (Shibata 1978, pp. 28–30). Shibata emphasized the dynamic scalar nature of constituent tones (TGEOWM 2002, vol. 7, pp. 569–70).

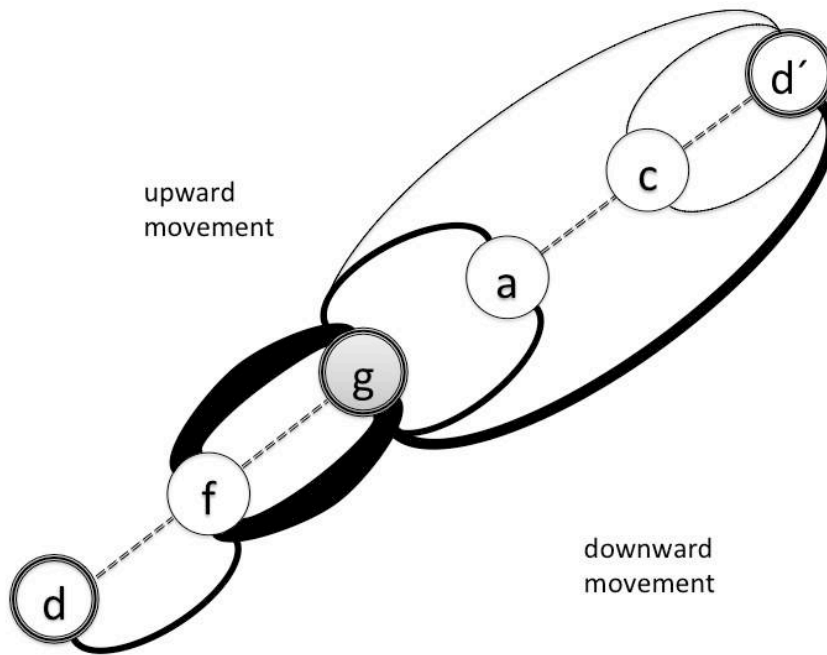


Figure 3.17: Skeletal melodic movement structure model

Conclusion

These findings suggest that both the heron dance of Yamaguchi and Tsuwano are, in essence, typical representatives of the performing art of *furyū hayashimono*. As a part of the Kyoto Gion festival parade, the heron dance originally sought to ‘encourage’ the floats, and placate and send off evil spirits. Although many layers of other interpretations have been added to the performance, such as praying for the abundance of children, it still fulfills its purpose in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano.

The investigation has shown that the heron dance in both places includes elaborate decorations and costumes. The heron performers are accompanied by two *bōfuri* with fuzzy *shaguma* wigs waving their rods, and *kakko* drum dancers. They are protected by ceremonial guards. The music comprises instruments such as *kakko*, *kotsuzumi*, and *shimedaiko* drums, flutes, and gongs. Whereas the *kotsuzumi* drum and the gong were lost over the centuries in Yamaguchi, it seems that Tsuwano preserves the original instrumentation to this day.

Whereas the music is rather simple in Yamaguchi, with its drums and flutes being played in succession, Tsuwano’s more complex arrangement shows two versions which both make use of three different rhythm patterns for the drums, incorporate the sound of the clapping wings, and include a song which uses *hayashi kotoba* typical of *furyū hayashimono*. In both places, the music is played repetitively at various stations.

One of the more significant findings emerging from this investigation is that the *hayashimono* musical structure of a four-measure phrase in two-four meter with one crotchet and two quavers in each of the first three measures, and a crotchet and pause in the fourth, played repetitively throughout the performance as extracted by Higuchi, can be identified not in the percussion, but in the vocal line of the song in Tsuwano. It is also shown that the melody is composed of two *min’yō*

tetrachords according to Koizumi's theory and can therefore be interpreted as a typical Japanese folk song. Taken together, these results suggest that the music of heron dance in Tsuwano preserves its medieval origins better than the one in Yamaguchi.

Connection to Kyogen

Following the discussion of the heron dance in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano as representative of a typical *furyū hayashimono*, the next section examines the connection of the performance practice of Tsuwano to the performing art of kyogen.

It is commonly acknowledged that kyogen incorporated elements of medieval popular songs and musical styles of various folk performing arts in its plays, for example as entertainment in banquet scenes (JIE 1993, "Kyōgen," pp. 853–55; Fujita, "Nō and Kyōgen," p. 128; Kuno, "Kyōgen no ongaku," p. 198; Takakuwa, "Nō and Kyōgen," p. 636). As former research points out, *hayashimono* in kyogen derive from the medieval *furyū hayashimono*, and appear in as many as 156 kyogen plays; that is about 60% of the general repertoire. Ogasawara states that the *hayashimono* found in kyogen are of celebrative meaning and encourage the (sacred) objects onto which the deity descends (*yorishiro*) with music and dance. This celebrative atmosphere gradually evolved into a cheerful one. In this way, kyogen preserves the different evolutionary stages of the performing art of *hayashimono* in its repertory. The play *Senjimonō*, in particular, represents a typical *furyū hayashimono* that comprises dance and song as an accompaniment for the Gion festival (Ueki, "Yama, hoko, yatai no matsuri to hayashi no tenkai," p. 34; Ogasawara, "Kouta no shūhen", pp. 255–59; *ibid.* 1972, pp. 67–70).

The song text used in this kyogen play is surprisingly similar to the one in Tsuwano. Even how the music is delivered in terms of rhythmic patterns shows many parallels. In the following section, the play *Senjimonō* is introduced and its vocal part analysed, in comparison to that of Tsuwano's heron dance. Through this analysis, it will be shown that the music of the heron dance and *Senjimonō* share the same background, originating in the medieval performing art of the *hayashimono* of the heron dance of the Gion festival parade.

3.3 The Kyogen Play *Senjimon* and the Heron Dance

3.3.1 The Performing Art of Kyogen

Kyogen is a form of comic drama that evolved as a brief interlude during a noh performance. Kyogen actors primarily use spoken language in the form of dialogues with mime, but also make use of song with instrumental accompaniment provided by noh instrumentalists. A kyogen play is meant to relieve the tension of the noh drama. Performed on the same stage as noh plays, its short skits have only one act and make use of few props (Morley 1993, pp. 7–8). It is usually performed in costumes less ornate than those of noh; usually kyogen actors do not wear masks. Having developed in medieval times, noh and kyogen together represent one of the oldest extant performing traditions in the world.

Similar to its serious counterpart, the noh drama, kyogen originates in the earlier traditions of *sangaku* 散楽, an entertainment imported to Japan from Tang China (618–907). *Sangaku* gradually turned into the Japanese performing art *sarugaku* 猿楽, which featured acrobatics, juggling, magic, comic imitations and improvisation, and was mainly performed at shrines and temples. Taking on other influences from (folk) performing arts such as *dengaku*, noh and kyogen evolved as two clearly distinguished but related genres by the fourteenth century. Following the generally accepted categorization by Koyama Hiroshi 小山弘志, this period is called the “fluid period” and lasted about two hundred years from the middle of fourteenth century until the middle of sixteenth century (NOD 1989, “Kyōgen,” p. 478).⁶⁸

The term ‘*kyōgen*’ 狂言 means “mad or crazy words” and was used in the meaning of “joke.” Its earliest example can be seen in the *Man’yōshū* (NOD 1989, “Kyōgen,” p. 478). However, the term kyogen pointing at a performance on stage was only used with that meaning from the middle of the fourteenth century. One of the first references to kyogen as a performance can be seen in the text of Zeami’s *Shūdōsho* 習道書 (1430) (Koyama, “Josetsu,” p. 12).

Whereas Zeami (1363?–1443?) and his father Kan’ami (1333–1384) refined *sarugaku* and formed the serious noh drama—with its key components, such as dance and song—kyogen continued to be performed without a fixed script. Today, some play scripts exist from the sixteenth century, and a small number of theoretical treaties survive from the seventeenth century.

After the period of Warring States (1467–1568), that is, by the end of the Muromachi period, the kyogen actors formed their own guilds (*za* 座), gaining independence from earlier ones established for *sarugaku*.⁶⁹ In the late Muromachi period, the Ōkura school came into existence, and only a little later, at the beginning of the Edo period, the Sagi and Izumi schools formed. Since then, kyogen has

⁶⁸Koyama first published his findings from 1948 to 1956 in the articles “Kyōgen no kotei,” “Kotei mae no kyōgen,” and “Kyōgen no henshen.”

⁶⁹The Ōkura school was attached to the Komparu-za and the Sagi school to the Kanze-za. Actors of the Sagi school often performed with those of the Ōkura school; it is likely that at the time they did not need their own scripts (Koyama, “Staging Kyōgen,” pp. 41, 44).

been transmitted from master to disciple under the leadership of the *iemoto* 家元, the founder or head of the school. Two schools, Ōkura and Sagi, won support from the shogunate in the Edo period. The Izumi school had the support of the Owari Tokugawa clan and was active primarily in Kyoto, Owari (Nagoya), and Kaga (Kanazawa). Their plays were even staged for the imperial court in Kyoto (NOD 1989, “Kyōgen,” pp. 478–79; Koyama, “Staging Kyōgen,” p. 39; Morley, “Kyōgen: A Theater of Play,” p. 158). With the shogunate as patron, kyogen lost much of its improvisational character and began to focus instead on stylistic beauty. The authorities demanded titles, and later scripts, to be submitted, so kyogen accordingly became codified, as befitting a “ceremonial entertainment” (*shikigaku* 式楽).

Following Koyama’s theory, this is the “formative period” that lasted for one hundred years from the middle of the sixteenth century into the seventeenth century. In this period actors formed schools, recorded their texts and formalized their acting technique. Thus, kyogen evolved from improvisation to a self-conscious acting form. There were some tendencies for a cross-over to kabuki as well (Koyama, “Kyōgen no henshen,” pp. 790–95; Morley, “Kyōgen: A Theater of Play,” p. 153, 156; NOD 1989, “Kyōgen,” p. 478). It is during this time that *Senjimonon* is first recorded in the oldest surviving play script, the *Tenshō kyōgenbon* 天正狂言本.

In the third period, the forms of kyogen were fixed, so this stage is also called the “permanent script period” by Koyama. Due to the patronage of the Tokugawa shogunate, a strong impetus was given toward formalization on every level. This period lasts from the middle of the seventeenth century until today (Koyama, “Kyōgen no henshen,” pp. 795–800; Morley, “Kyōgen: A Theater of Play,” p. 156; NOD 1989, “Kyōgen,” p. 478)

However, with the Meiji Restoration in 1868, both noh and kyogen temporarily declined. Kyogen underwent a crisis in the Meiji period (1868–1912) due to a turnaround in the official attitude. As a result, the Sagi school disappeared, while the Izumi and Ōkura schools recovered.

After the Second World War, new kyogen plays were written and produced, and the acting style of various kyogen actors was widely recognized, leading to a “kyogen boom.” Kyogen is now seen as great classical theatre with international acclaim. Even though women were not part of the kyogen world over the centuries, recently some have begun to play on stage as actors. Even English-language kyogen performances can be seen today (Leiter 2006, pp. 14–15).

Characteristics and Categorization of Kyogen

Different ways of staging kyogen can be distinguished. On the one hand, there are independent plays that are performed between noh plays or even make up a whole programme nowadays, called *hon-kyōgen* 本狂言. The general term “kyogen” usually refers to *hon-kyōgen*. As mentioned above, this sort of play involves two or three actors, traditionally male, who take on the roles of the main actor (*shite* シテ), secondary actor(s) (*ado* アド) and subsequent roles (*koado* 小アド). There are about 240 plays of *hon-kyōgen*; about 200 plays in the Ōkura school and 250 in the Izumi school, and in the combined repertoires of both school about 263 plays.

Nowadays, one kyogen play is usually performed in an ordinary noh programme of two or three plays (Aburatani 2007, p. 4; Morley 1993, p. 7; *ibid.* “Kyōgen: A Theater of Play,” p. 148; JIE 1993, “Kyōgen,” pp. 853–55; Shirane 2012, p. 488).

On the other hand, *ai-kyōgen* 間狂言, or simply *ai* アイ, are performed within a noh performance. There are two main types of *ai-kyōgen*: *katariiai* 語間 and *ashirai* アシライ. To make the story more easily understood, the *katariiai* player provides a kind of colloquial commentary and thus bridges the interval between acts, allowing the main noh actor to change costumes and put on a mask when necessary, whereas the *ai-kyōgen* player in *ashirai* shares the stage with the noh actors, performing an integral role in the play (JIE 1993, “Aikyōgen,” p. 21).⁷⁰

Thus, a kyogen play is a classical comedy that, besides its playful element, is also performed as an inseparable part of noh plays that emphasize the material world and everyday reality (Morley, “Kyōgen: A Theater of Play,” pp. 15–52).

Whereas noh is divided by theme or type of main character into five categories, there is no such general categorization of kyogen plays; the categorization varies in each school. However, most actors today designate plays according to the *shite*, or main character. The play *Senjimon* is usually categorized as a *waki kyōgen* (Morley 1993, p. 7; Aburatani 2007, p. 18; Shirane 2012, p. 1043).

Broadly speaking, seven categories of plays can be identified:

1. Supporting actor play (*waki kyōgen* 脇狂言)⁷¹;
2. big landlord plays (*daimyō kyōgen* 大名狂言);
3. minor landlord plays (*shōmyō kyōgen* 小名狂言);
4. husband/woman plays (*muko/onna kyōgen* 婿/女狂言);
5. demon/mountain priest plays (*oni/yamabushi* 鬼/山伏狂言);
6. priest/blind man plays (*shukke/zatō kyōgen* 出家/座頭狂言);
7. miscellaneous plays (*atsume kyōgen* 集狂言).

Noh and Kyogen in Comparison

Not only do noh and kyogen, collectively called *nōgaku* 能楽 by scholars since the Meiji period⁷², share the same roots, they also show many other similarities. Performed on the same stage, they make use only of a few number of props, of which the fan is probably most prominent. They show stylized gestures (*kata* 型), a special vocalization and similar musical elements, such as the singing/chanting

⁷⁰*Ai-kyōgen* is performed by a single actor, who facilitates the smooth progression of the story of the noh play in which he appears, and deepens the audience’s understanding. The actor transmits everyday reality; he is “a person from the area.” Sometimes, though quite rarely, alternative interludes, “plays within a play” (*kake-ai* 掛け合い), are performed (Morley, “Kyōgen: A Theater of Play,” p. 152).

⁷¹A play that is usually performed after a *waki nō*, a highly celebrative play. It is part of a full formal programme of five noh plays (*goban-date* 五番立).

⁷²Fujita, “Nō and Kyōgen,” p. 127. Some kyogen plays are even parodies of noh.

styles of *tsuyogin* ツヨ吟 and *yowagin* ヨワ吟, and congruent and noncongruent rhythm (*hyōshi-ai* 拍子合 and *hyōshi-awazu* 拍子不合). Further, the structures of noh and kyogen plays are alike in some aspects. In both noh and kyogen, usually only men perform on the stage, although recently female actors have become more common.

There are also differences, however, such as the abstract and mystic nature of noh as opposed to the realistic and humorous nature of kyogen.⁷³ A typical kyogen play takes about 30 minutes to perform and is thus significantly shorter than the typical noh play, which takes about 80 minutes (Aburatani 2007, pp. 4–5). In contrast to the noh drama, kyogen makes little use of masks (e.g. for animals and gods). It is a theatre of speech and mime, and sometimes even acrobatics, whereas music and dance are an integral part of noh. Still, more than half of the repertoire of kyogen plays have songs/chanting (*utai* 謡), one third have an instrumental accompaniment (*hayashi* 囃子) and more than ten percent have a chorus (*jiutai* 地謡) (NOD 1989, “Kyōgen utai,” p. 480).

Some songs are chanted in the same modes as in noh, but some are different (Takakuwa, “Nō and kyōgen,” p. 636). The play *Senjimonono* is one example of a different kind of rhythm that is usually not used in noh plays⁷⁴, called *kyōgen nori* 狂言のり, which is unique to kyogen.

Rhythm Patterns in Noh and Kyogen

For the purpose of further analysis of the rhythm patterns seen in the play *Senjimonono*, first the standard variations of rhythmic patterns (*nori* ノリ or *nori kata* ノリ型) of noh and kyogen are introduced here. The congruent rhythm in both noh and kyogen is based on an eight-beat system called *yatsubyōshi* 八拍子. Over the eight beats, a varying number of mora⁷⁵ can be distributed. For the theoretical demonstration this rhythm, the term *jibyōshi* 地拍子 (“basic rhythm”) is used, although *jibyōshi* examples seldom look or sound like actual performances. The distance between each beat (*hyōshi* 拍子) is even; however, in actual recitation the performers can compress or prolong the time between beats, so the rhythmic structure may be treated freely (Hoff and Flindt, “The Life Structure of Noh,” pp. 234–35; Malm 2000, p. 131).

The following tables show the mora distribution on the beat in the above-mentioned standard variations. The texts of all three examples are taken from *Kurama tengu* 鞍馬天狗.⁷⁶ The standard rhythmic patterns are:

⁷³Kyogen depicts, for example, human failure. The setting of kyogen focuses on everyday life in feudal society, with small lords and their attendants as main characters.

⁷⁴Some songs in noh can be traced back to *kyōgen nori* through examination of *kouta* 小歌, as Fujita has shown in his 2006 article “Kouta gakari.”

⁷⁵In Japanese phonology two units have to be recognized: the syllable and the mora. A mora is a rhythmic unit based on length. It plays an important role in the verse forms not only of Japanese poetry such as *tanka* and *haiku* but also in noh and kyogen. In poetic compositions, such as seen in the example of *hiranori*, Chōryō (Japanese pronunciation of the name Zhang Liang) is counted as having four, rather than two, rhythmic units (*cho-o ryō-o*). While ordinary syllables include a vowel, moras need not (BA (online) “Mora,” 2019.9.10).

⁷⁶“Kurama-tengu (Long-nosed Goblin in Kurama),” *The-noh.com* (online); translation edited

Hiranori The *hiranori* rhythm pattern distributes twelve (seven plus five) moras per eight-beat cycle.

Table 3.2: *Hiranori*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8							
cho	–	o	ryo	o	–	ku	tsu	o	–	sa	sa	ge	tsu	tsu	
n	–	ma	no	u	–	e	na	ru	–	se	ki	ko	o	ni	
ha	–	ka	se	ke	–	ru	ni	zo	–	ko	ko	ro	to	ke	he

張良沓を捧げつつ、馬の上なる石公に、履かせけるにぞ心解け、兵法の (...)

Chōryō kutsu o sasagetsutsu, nma no ue naru sekikō ni, hakasekeru ni zo kokoro toke, heihō no (...)

Zhang Liang put the shoes back on Huan Shigong, who was waiting on his horse. With these efforts of Zhang Liang, Huang Shigong was mollified and taught the secrets of war to him (...)

Chūnori The following table shows mora distribution on the beat in the *chūnori* rhythm pattern, which distributes two moras per beat.

Table 3.3: *Chūnori*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8							
	sa	mo	ha	na	ya	ka	na	ru	o	n	na	ri	sa	ma	ni
te	su	ga	ta	mo	ko	ko	ro	mo	a	ra	te	n	gu	o	–
	shi	sho	o	ya	bo	o	zu	to		go	sho	o	ka	n	na

さも花やかなるおん有様にて、姿も心も荒天狗を、師匠や坊主と御賞翫は、 (...)

Samo hanayaka naru on-nari sama nite, sugata mo kokoro mo aratengu o, shishō ya bōzu to go-shōkan na [wa] (...)

Although you are so lovely, you respect such a rough *tengu*, whose appearance and heart are coarse and barbarous, as your teacher and master of the priestly chamber (...)

for style.

Ōnori The following table shows mora distribution on the beat in the *ōnori* rhythm pattern, which distributes one mora per beat.

Table 3.4: *Ōnori*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		so	mo	so	mo	bu	rya	ku
	no	ho	ma	re	no	– mi	–	chi
	–	ge	– n	pe	i	to	o	ki

そもそも武略の、誉の道、源平藤橘 (...)

Somosomo buryaku no, homare no michi, Genpei Tōki (...)

The four noble families of Minamoto, Taira, Fujiwara, and Tachibana excel in the art of war and exercise honorable ways (...)

Apart from these three standard variations, a rhythm pattern typical of kyogen can be seen, first examined by Yokomichi Mario 横道万里雄 (1916–2012) in his early and often cited work on kyogen and noh, “Kyōgen to nō: Sono engijutsu no ni, san no hikaku” of 1956. Here, Yokomichi develops a system to categorize the songs of kyogen and finds that some of its most popular songs show a certain rhythm pattern which he calls *kyōgen nori* (Yokomichi, “Kyōgen to nō,” p. 48; *ibid.* 1986, p. 178).⁷⁷

The following table 3.5 shows the mora distribution on the beats as it can be seen in the song *Nanatsugo* 七つ子 (Seven-Year-Old Child).⁷⁸ This particular piece is derived from a medieval popular song, indicating that kyogen is related not only to noh but also to other musical genres (Takakuwa, “Nō and kyōgen,” p. 636).

Kyōgen nori In typical *kyōgen nori*, ten moras are distributed over the eight-beat cycle.

⁷⁷1. Songs in *ōnori* (e.g. *Mochisake* 餅酒); 2. Songs in *hīranori* or *chūnori* rhythm (e.g. *Yūzen* 祐善); 3. Songs in noncongruent rhythm (e.g. *Kuriyaki* 栗焼); 4. Songs in *kyōgen nori* (e.g. *Nanatsugo* 七つ子); 5. Songs with *hayashimono* accompaniment (e.g. *Suehirogari* 末広); 6. Songs in *odori-bushi* 踊り節 rhythm; 7. Songs of *mono no mai* 物ノ舞 (e.g. *Jizōmai* 地藏舞); 8. Songs in *kouta-bushi* 小歌節 (e.g. *Hanago* 花子); 9. Other exceptional songs (e.g. *Utsuozaru* 鞆猿) (“Kyōgen to nō,” pp. 45–50). Some thirty years later, in 1986, a revised version of his approach was published in his monograph on noh theatre *Nōgeki no kenkyū*, which omits the category of *odori-bushi* (Yokomichi 1986, p. 176).

⁷⁸*Nanatsugo* is often performed in drinking scenes. It is an example of *komai utai*, which are sung along with the “small dance” *komai* 小舞, the kyogen equivalent to noh’s independent dance pieces *shimai* 仕舞 (Kuno, “Kyōgen no ongaku,” p. 205). The text is taken from the song *Nanatsugo* of the Izumi school.

Table 3.5: *Kyōgen nori*

	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8
	to	–	no	ga	ho	–	shi	to	u	–	to	o	ta		
	sa	–	te	mo	sa	–	te	mo	wa	–	go	ryo	wa		

殿がほしと諷（うと）うた、さてもさても我御寮（わごりよ）は (...)

Tono ga hoshi to utōta, satemo satemo wagoryō wa (...)

(The seven-year-old child sang): I want a lord! Oh dear, my child...

The following sections analyse the rhythm patterns of the musical accompaniment for a float of the Gion festival as seen in the kyogen play *Senjimonō*. It will be shown that the play makes use of the *kyōgen nori* rhythm pattern. First, the story plot of *Senjimonō* as it is performed nowadays is summarized.

3.3.2 The Heron Dance Song and the Play *Senjimonō*

Story Plot of *Senjimonō*

In the play *Senjimonō* 煎じ物 (Medicinal Tea)⁷⁹, the head of the float committee of the Gion festival calls his servant Tarō Kaja and orders him to gather the committee members to rehearse the music for their float (that is, the heron umbrella halberd). Tarō Kaja brings the committee members to the house of the committee head. After they have entered the house, they soon start practicing their song accompanied by the drums, supported by shouts and calls made by the drummers (*kakegoe* 掛け声). In some cases the committee members support their singing by clapping fans against their palms. At one point, a medicinal tea seller arrives and introduces himself (*nanori* 名乗り). He walks towards the musicians (*hayashimono*) and tries to sell them his tea, disrupting the rehearsal. After the committee head complains about the disturbance, the tea seller agrees to adjust his pitch to the song of the float committee, praising his different kinds of tea. After a while the head of the committee dons a *kakko* waist drum and starts practicing his drum dance (*kakkomai*)⁸⁰, as an accompaniment for the floats of the Gion festival. The tea seller ties one of his earthenware plates to his waist and imitates him, using pine branches as drum sticks. Then, the *kakkomai* performer starts turning cartwheels, leaving the stage via the bridge-way (*hashigakari* 橋掛り). The tea seller imitates him, trying to do cartwheels as well, but falls on his stomach, breaking the earthenware. In the end he expresses his joy in having more plates.

⁷⁹Usually categorized as *hon-kyōgen*.

⁸⁰*Kakkomai* dances are performed in *noh* as well as in *kyogen* by an actor with a small drum attached to his front at waist level.

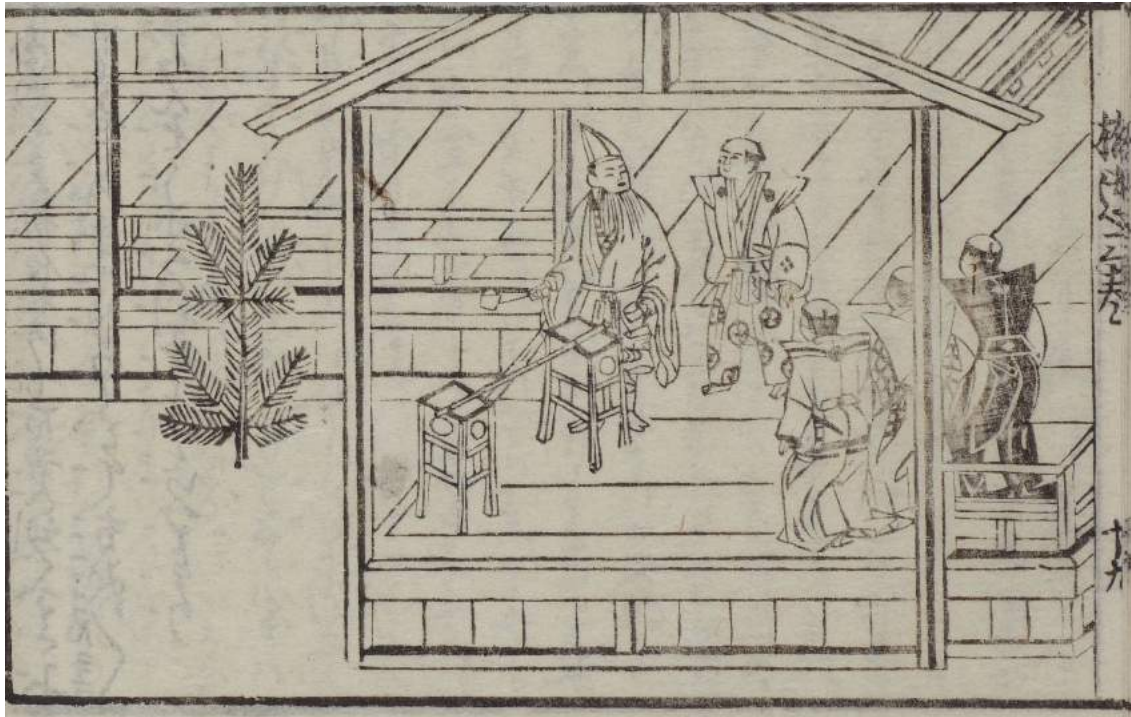


Figure 3.18: *Senjimonno uri*. In: *Eiri Kyōgenki* (date unknown), vol. 6. NIJL Database of Pre-Modern Japanese Works.

There are some small variations in the staging depending on school, e.g. in the number of committee members. The instrumental accompaniment for the song consists of four instruments: flute and three kinds of drums: *kotsuzumi* 小鼓, *ōtsuzumi* 大鼓 and *taiko* 太鼓; usually the flute (*nōkan* 能管) is played at the end of the staging.

Connection between the Heron Dance and *Senjimonno*

The connection between the heron dance and the kyogen play *Senjimonno* was first pointed out by Nakayama Yasumasa 中山泰昌 (1884–1958). Nakayama was a researcher of literature and editor, based in Tokyo (Habara, “Aru henshūsha,” pp. 1–32). He published his findings in the journal *Shimane hyōron*⁸¹, in the article “Sagimai no denrai” (1930), together with other researchers such as the head teacher of the Tsuwano Girl’s High School and member of the shrine keeper family of the Yasaka Shrine in Tsuwano, Kuwabara Hidetake 桑原秀武 (1898–1945). On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of Tokyo’s Meiji Shrine in November 1930, the heron dance was staged with a number of other performing arts. In his article, Nakayama gives his impressions on the staging in Tokyo (Nakayama, “Sagimai no denrai,” p. 59).

Nakayama discovered the connection of the heron dance and *Senjimonno* by

⁸¹Nakayama gives the title *Senjimonno uri* 煎じ物売, which can be seen in the play script *Kyōgenki shūi* 狂言記拾遺 (ND 2012, “Senjimonno,” p. 508).

chance; in his article, he gives the whole text of the play (Nakayama, “Sagimai no denrai,” pp. 60–61). He compares the song texts of both, the song in the kyogen play and the song in the heron dance of Tsuwano, and points out their similarity. Nakayama concludes that these song texts must have been well-known among the people. The heron dance was originally performed at the Gion festival in Kyoto, from whence the kyogen players presumably took it and made it part of their performance. Moreover, Nakayama argues that the heron dance might have been the most famous part of the Gion festival in Kyoto (Nakayama, “Sagimai no denrai,” p. 61). He further speculates on how the dance reached Tsuwano; he argues that it was probably taken from Kyoto to Yamaguchi under the rule of the Ōuchi clan and from there to Tsuwano.

Nakayama was the first to consider the connection of the heron dance and *Senjimonō*. It seems clear that the kyogen players of that time—that is the sixteenth century as implied by sources to be examined below—incorporated this folk performing art into their repertoire. As Nakayama has shown, the song texts are almost identical. To strengthen this argument, however, a more recent study shall be introduced.

Some seventy years after the article of Nakayama, the well-known kyogen researcher Inada Hideo 稲田秀雄 introduced the play *Senjimonō* in his article “Kyōgen ‘Senjimonō’ kō” of 2007, seemingly unaware of Nakayama’s findings. In this article, he carries out a comprehensive study on the genesis, structure and dramatic interpretation of the play. Inada’s approach is based on historical sources, represented mainly by the extant play scripts. He compares the different text lines and tries to reconstruct how the plays *Kuji zainin* 鬮罪人, *Matsuyani* 松脂 and *Nabe yatsubachi* 鍋八撥 influenced *Senjimonō* and vice versa. Apart from some research that touches on the play marginally, Inada (rightly) states there is not much former research carried out on *Senjimonō* (Inada, “Kyōgen ‘Senjimonō’ kō,” p. 13).

Senjimonō certainly came into being in medieval times since it is recorded in the oldest surviving play script, the *Tenshō kyōgenbon* (colophon dated 1578; also simply called *Tenshōbon*, to be discussed below). The first recorded staging of the play can be confirmed for the year 1603, according to an entry in the *Inishie no on-nōgumi* 古之御能組.⁸² It was originally performed by all three schools; due to the extinction of the Sagi school at the end of Meiji period it is only performed in the Ōkura and Izumi schools nowadays. Inada gives a summary of the plot as it is staged in modern performances.

First, Inada compares the play to *Kuji zainin*, emphasizing that both originally started with a discussion of the floats. This reflects the practice of the Muromachi period, when the decoration of the Gion festival float was not yet fixed and needed to be discussed anew every year.⁸³ In his findings he relies on historical sources such as the play scripts of the *Ōkura Toraakirabon* 大蔵虎明本 (1642)⁸⁴ and *Tenribon*

⁸²Koyama, “Date bunko,” pp. 1–38.

⁸³Inada is relying on findings by Wakita Haruko, 1999, and Ueki Yukinobu, 2001.

⁸⁴The *Ōkura Toraakirabon* is also known by the short form *Toraakibon* 虎明本, or by the name *Kyōgen no hon* 狂言之本 (SNKJ 2011, Takemoto, “Ōkura Toraakira,” pp. 403–04). The shorter form ‘*Toraakibon*’ is used below.

天理本 (1646) (discussed in detail below). Nowadays, only the play *Kuji zainin* shows this sort of discussion; in *Senjimonō* it was obviously cut. However, Inada concludes that the original opening part of both plays was of the same nature (Inada, “Kyōgen ‘Senjimonō’ kō,” p. 14).

Despite its short entry, the *Tenshōbon* gives an interesting insight into the old performance practice of *Senjimonō*. Inada stresses the fact that women sing the song accompanying the *hayashimono*, a scene seen nowhere else (Inada, “Kyōgen ‘Senjimonō’ kō,” p. 14). In the *Tenshōbon* as well as in other historical play scripts, the song text sung by the float committee shows a similar form in all kyogen schools. This song derives from the “umbrella-heron halberd” (*kasasagiboko*) in the parade of the Kyoto Gion festival, first recorded in the medieval source *Moromoriki* in an entry from 1365. Inada mentions historical sources such as the *Tsukinami saireizu (mohon)* (fifteenth century) and the *Kanmon nikki* (fifteenth century). He refers to Yamaji Kōzō, who discovered the correlation between the entry in the *Kanmon nikki* and the song text sung in the heron dance in Tsuwano today. Inada concludes that the setting of the Gion festival in *Senjimonō* was probably an original part of the play, and the image of the float and its *hayashimono* are very likely to have originated in the Gion festival as it was held before the Ōnin War (1467–1477). However, it must be pointed out that the *Tenshōbon* was discovered in the Tōhoku region, so it might reflect a certain regional taste and character (Inada, “Kyōgen ‘Senjimonō’ kō,” pp. 14–15).

Further, the Ōkura school nowadays displays a sudden shift from the scene of the practice of the accompaniment of the Gion festival to the scene showing the actual day of the performance. This shift can be seen in other historical play scripts as well. Inada refers to research that has been conducted on this phenomenon, which reflects the original character of kyogen in blending together interesting scenes rather than telling a consistent story (Inada, “Kyōgen ‘Senjimonō’ kō,” p. 15).⁸⁵

Finally, Inada compares the drum dance (*kakkomai*) performed by the head of the committee and imitated by the tea seller in the *Senjimonō* to the one seen in the play *Nabe yatsubachi*.⁸⁶ Moreover, *Nabe yatsubachi* shows stick wielders (*bōfuri*) before the actual *kakkomai* performance. Relying on the historical source of the folding screen *Tsukinami fūzokuzu senmen nagashi byōbu*, Inada states that both performing arts derive from the medieval *furyū hayashimono*. He gives the example of the heron dances in Tsuwano and Yamaguchi, taking their performance of the *kakkomai* and the *bōfuri* alongside with the heron dance as evidence for the medieval origin of this performing art as shown in *Senjimonō* and *Nabe yatsubachi* (Inada, “Kyōgen ‘Senjimonō’ kō,” pp. 20, 22).

From these former studies it seems clear that *Senjimonō* was influenced—in terms of content as well as music—by the heron dance performance held in medieval

⁸⁵Inada refers to Kitagawa, “Kyōgen no seikaku,” p. 119, who in turn refers to Koyama’s comments on a sudden change of scene in *Senjimonō* that does not do any harm to the storyline (Koyama 1960, *Kyōgenshū (jō)*, vol. 42 of NKBT, p. 110).

⁸⁶Inada discusses whether the tea seller (medicine seller) really needs a tea whisk or not, due to the fact that he actually does not sell green tea but rather a variety of medicine that does not necessarily need to be whisked.

times at the Gion festival. The following gives a detailed description, as well as comparative analysis, of the song text and the rhythm of the music of the heron dance in Tsuwano and *Senjimonō* of the Ōkura and Izumi schools.

The *Senjimonō* Song in the Sources

While only a small number of theoretical treatises⁸⁷ on kyogen survive or were produced, a larger number of script books survive. Since *Senjimonō* was performed in all three schools, the oldest script book sources for each school are introduced here.

***Tenshō kyōgenbon* (1578)** The oldest surviving source is the *Tenshō kyōgenbon* 天正狂言本, abbreviated to *Tenshōbon*, held by the Nogami Memorial Noh Theatre Research Institute of Hosei University. It is called *Tenshōbon* due to the date of Tenshō 6 (1578) in the colophon. The manuscript was written before the three schools of kyogen (Ōkura, Izumi and Sagi) came into existence (Morley, “Kyōgen: A Theater of Play,” p. 148). It is widely assumed that no earlier play scripts exist, because the improvisatory nature of kyogen made it unnecessary to write anything down (Shirane 2012, p. 488). Thus, the *Tenshōbon* is the earliest record of humorous texts, plot outlines and songs used in kyogen. The colophon seems to be in a different scribal hand than the main body, but it is agreed that the work as a whole dates to the latter part of the Tenshō period (1573–1593) (Hoff, “City and Country,” p. 134). Some 102 plays (with one that is mentioned twice) are described in a sketchy way, which is characteristic of this work. Twenty of these are not known to later generations. The entries on the plays are generally short (ND 2012, “Tenshō kyōgenbon,” p. 611).

The *Tenshōbon* was discovered in the Tōhoku region, so it is uncertain if it reflects the orthodox kyogen of the time (SNKJ 2011, Kobayashi, “Tenshō kyōgenbon,” p. 296). Hashimoto thinks that it is likely that a group of traveling kyogen actors in the Tōhoku region performed an even older style of kyogen than was common in 1578, due to the distance from Kyoto preventing them from being influenced by recent fashions and developments. Hashimoto concludes that the *Tenshōbon* shows one form of kyogen as it used to be in the late Muromachi period (1333–1568) (Hashimoto, “Kyōgen no keisei,” pp. 123, 127, 147). The

⁸⁷For example, *Waranbe-gusa* わらんべ草 written by Ōkura Toraakira and completed in 1660, is a tract that contains passages on training, performance practice and history. It contains records of the teachings of his father Torakiyo (1566–1646) to be handed down to the next generation, and reflects the aesthetics of kyogen in the seventeenth century. In the same year (1660), the woodblock print book *Kyōgenki* 狂言記 was published. It contains illustrations of kyogen on stage and is aimed at common readers, rather than reflecting the differences in the texts of the three schools. It was the first script book published; official texts of the professional schools were not published until the Meiji period (1868–1912). It was followed by *Kyōgenki hoka gojūban* 狂言記外五十番 and *Zoku kyōgenki* 続狂言記 in 1700 and *Kyōgenki shūi* 狂言記拾遺 in 1730, forming a collection of four separate volumes, thereafter sold as a set (SNKJ 2011, Kobayashi, “Kyōgenki,” pp. 274–75; Scholz-Cionca 1998, pp. 199–202).

Tenshōbon lists the play *Osenjimonō* おせち物⁸⁸ and gives a short outline of the story without dialogue.⁸⁹ Excerpt of *Tenshōbon*:

おせち物

一、大明出て人をよひ出す。一人出る。当年の神事に時雨のはやし物をする。女ともあまた。時雨の雨にぬれしとて、笠さきのはしを渡た、／＼。へふへ。又一人。ちんひ、かんきやう、かふのふし、葉かんさうなんととりそへて、おせち物。又一人かつこ打出る。おせち物かつこにそゝろく。さま／＼のまねする。後ほうろく打かふす。とめ。

Osenjimonō

Hitotsu, daimyō idete hito o yobiidasu. Hitori izuru. Tōnen no shinji ni shigure no hayashimono o suru. Onna domo amata. Shigure no ame ni nureji tote, kasasagi no hashi o wataita (shigure no ame ni nureji tote, kasasagi no hashi o wataita). Fue. Mata hitori. Chinpi, kankyō, kō no fushi, hakanzō nando torisoete, osenjimonō. Mata hitori kakko uchi-izuru. Osenjimonō kakko ni sozoroku. Samazama no mane suru. Nochi hōroku uchikabusu. Tome.

Medicinal Tea

First, a daimyo enters and calls for people. One person enters. This year, the ‘drizzling rain *hayashimono*’ shall be performed for the ritual service. [There are] many women. So as not to get wet in the drizzling rain, [they] built a magpies’ bridge (repeat). Flute. Again one person [enters and starts singing]. Dried citrus peel, dried ginger, Cyperus, hydrangea tea and the like are blended together, [how about] medicinal tea? Again, one person [enters and] plays a *kakko* drum. The tea seller gets absorbed in the *kakko*. He imitates [the *kakko*] in many ways. After that, [he] breaks [his] earthenware plate. End.

Even though the entry is relatively short, the *Tenshōbon* gives a good idea of the play and even offers the central lines of the song for the float accompaniment, the *hayashimono*.⁹⁰ Hence, it is certain that the song was part of the play from before 1578 and important enough to be recorded. There is no remark on any heron dance, so perhaps only the song and the *kakkomai* were selected for incorporation

⁸⁸In medieval Japanese おせち物 is to be read *Osenjimonō*; the voicing mark (*dakuten* 濁点) and syllabic nasal *n ん* are not written; *chi* ち is apparently a mistake for *shi* し (煎ずる／煎じる).

⁸⁹Kanai Kiyomitsu published a typographical reprint of the *Tenshōbon* in 1989: *Tenshō kyōgenbon zenshaku*; *Senjimonō* is on pages 209–10. For older printed editions see Furukawa Hisashi and Nonomura Kaizō, eds. *Kyōgen shū (jō, chū, ge)*. In *Nihon koten zensho*, 1953–1956. Further, Furukawa Hisashi, *Kyōgen kohon nishu*, 1964.

⁹⁰An interesting aspect of this story outline is that women sing the musical accompaniment for the float, which is unique to the *Tenshōbon*. This special detail has already been pointed out by a number of researchers (Scholz-Cionca 1998, p. 233; Inada, “Kyōgen ‘Senjimonō’ kō,” p. 14 and ND 2012, “Senjimonō,” p. 508). It leaves room for speculation.

into the kyogen play. Perhaps the heron dance itself was already lost in Kyoto at the time when the *Tenshōbon* was written, while the setting surrounding the dance was still transmitted.⁹¹

In any case, the *Tenshōbon* demonstrates the medieval origin of the song sung by the float committee as a musical accompaniment for the Gion festival.

Ōkura School: *Toraakibon* (1642) The first detailed record of kyogen scripts, the *Toraakibon*, can be found in 1642, as compiled by Ōkura Toraakira 大蔵虎明 (1597–1662), the thirteenth head of the Ōkura school.⁹² It is an anthology of eight volumes comprising 237 plays, owned by the Ōkura Yaemon family. Hitherto transmitted orally for many generations, these plays—presented here in written form for the first time—are recorded mostly in full versions (Tsubaki, “The Performing Arts,” 1977, p. 302). This is one of the earliest scripts that contains dialogue, while retaining elements of improvisation and fluidity. Toraakira intended to pass down the teachings of his father to later generations belonging to the school (Scholz-Cionca 1998, pp. 199–200; Koyama, “Staging Kyōgen,” pp. 42–43).

A typographical reprint of the *Toraakibon* is available in three volumes *Ōkura Toraakibon kyōgen shū no kenkyū* by Ikeda Hiroshi 池田広司 and Kitahara Yasuo 北原保雄, 1972–1983.⁹³ The text of *Senjimonō* can be found in the first volume of this work. Here, the dialogue is recorded in some detail, and even stage directions are given. Compared to the *Tenshōbon*, the *Toraakibon* is more than a mnemonic manuscript to remember the plays, but rather a fully formulated script book, thus clarifying how kyogen changed over more than three generations. In the case of *Senjimonō*, the *Toraakibon* shows many elements originating in the medieval performance practice of the Gion festival in Kyoto. While the *Tenshōbon* only mentions a daimyo who calls for his people, the *Toraakibon* clearly uses the wording “*tō ni atatte*,” which is very likely to imply the lord to be chosen as a *tōya*, the head of the festival assembly, a concept that is typically medieval.⁹⁴ Moreover, the medicinal tea seller introduces himself as a member of the tea house guild (*chaya no za* 茶やの座) in Kyoto; the guilds were leading institutions in medieval times. Furthermore, there are stage directions that imply a discussion on the floats, when the order of appearance of the floats was not yet fixed. This gives a hint as to the common practice of the Muromachi period, before the revival of the Gion festival in 1500, as Inada has pointed out (Inada, “Kyōgen ‘Senjimonō’ kō,” p. 14).

The song sung by the committee encouraging the float is recorded in the *Toraak-*

⁹¹Due to the scarcity of sources, we cannot know for certain, but it is very likely that the heron dance vanished together with the old form of the Gion festival during the Ōnin War (1467–1477).

⁹²Toraakira 虎明 is sometimes abbreviated to Toraaki. His common name was first Yatarō 弥太郎, and later Yaemon 弥右衛門 (SNKJ 2011, Takemoto, “Ōkura Toraakira,” pp. 403–04).

⁹³A facsimile edition can be found in Sasano Ken, ed., *Kohon nōkyōgen shū*, 1943–1944; this can be accessed online in the digital collection of the National Diet Library. Another facsimile is provided by Ōkura Yatarō, ed., *Ōkura-ke den no sho, kohon nō, kyōgen*, 1976.

⁹⁴The *tōya*-system is a method for burden sharing in the carrying out of a festival, involving rotation among a certain group, which can be a family, a council of distinguished families or even the whole village. See chapter 4 “The Transmission of the Heron Dance” below.

ibon as follows⁹⁵:

時雨の雨にぬれじとて、／＼、鷺のはしをわたひた、かさゝぎの橋を
わたひたりやさうよなふ

*Shigure no ame ni nureji tote, (shigure no ame ni nureji tote), sagi no
hashi o wataita, kasasagi no hashi o wataitari ya sō yo nō*

So as not to get wet in the drizzling rain, (repeat), the herons built a
bridge, the magpies built a bridge [*hayashi kotoba*].

The song has changed only little compared to the *Tenshōbon* version. Whereas the *Tenshōbon* records two lines of the song, the *Toraakibon* song has three lines with the *hayashi kotoba* “*sō yo nō*” at the end. The *Tenshōbon* only uses the term *kasasagi* 笠さぎ, whereas the *Toraakibon* gives both *sagi* 鷺 and *kasasagi* かさゝぎ.

Next, the oldest sources of the remaining two schools are examined.

Izumi School: *Kyōgen Rikugi* (around 1646) The oldest surviving source of the Izumi school was written shortly after the *Toraakibon*. It is called *Kyōgen rikugi* 狂言六義, or *Tenribon* after the institution which owns it, Tenri Library. It comprises three volumes; two with the plays and one volume with excerpts (*nukigaki* 抜書) of the songs and narrative parts (*katari* 語り). It was compiled at the beginning of Edo period, around 1646, by an unidentified author. It is believed to have been produced by the founder of the Izumi school, Yamawaki Izumi Motonobu 山脇和泉元宣, and his adopted son Yamawaki Gorōzaemon Motonaga II 山脇五郎左衛門元永 (Koyama, “Staging Kyōgen,” p. 43).⁹⁶ It contains dialogue but retains elements of improvisation (Goto, “The Lives and Roles of Women,” p. 194). “The *Tenribon* generally preserves the medieval form of the kyogen, being in some instances [...] fairly near to the version of [the *Torakiyobon*, which was written in 1646 by the father of Toraaki]. Typical to its style are frequent abbreviations of the dialogue as well as an imprecise demarcation between dialogue and stage directions. Poems, recitation ‘numbers’ and songs occurring [sic] in the play are appended at the end of the text. The language is fairly close to the colloquial Japanese of the seventeenth century” (Scholz-Cionca, “What happened,” p. 11). The *Tenribon* comprises 227 plays, one of them being *Senjimonō*.

In comparative terms, the *Tenribon* is more detailed than the *Tenshōbon*, but not as detailed as the *Toraakibon*. As Scholz-Cionca points out, the dialogues are abbreviated when compared to the *Toraakibon*, and leave room for improvisation. Medieval elements such as the discussion on the floats can be found in the *Tenribon* as well. It is notable that the *Tenribon* shows more stage instructions, such as where to stand on the stage or what costume to wear, but less dialogue. Unlike the other play scripts, the word *shite* is used for “actor.” The play script of

⁹⁵The excerpt is taken from *Ōkura Toraakibon kyōgen shū no kenkyū (honbun-hen jō)* by Ikeda and Kitahara, 1972, p. 117.

⁹⁶Also see Ikeda 1967, pp. 63–67.

Senjimon in the *Tenribon* shows references in its stage directions to other plays such as *Kuji zainin*, which probably shows that the plays had become more stable than they had been at the time of the *Tenshōbon*.

The song text of the float committee song is the same as in the *Toraakibon*, only without any repetition signs; repetition was probably adjusted ad-lib on stage. The following is an excerpt, taken from the annotated typographical reprint *Tenribon: Kyōgen rikugi (jōkan)*, edited by Kitagawa Tadahiko et al. (1994), page 46.⁹⁷

時雨の雨にぬれし (じ) とて、さき (鷺) の橋をわたひた、笠鷺の橋
をわたるたりやさふよの

*Shigure no ame ni nureji tote, sagi no hashi o wataita, kasasagi no
hashi o wataitari ya sō yo no*

So as not to get wet in the drizzling rain, the herons built a bridge, the magpies built a bridge [*hayashi kotoba*].

Sagi School: Enpō Tadamasabon (1678) Finally, the oldest script book of the Sagi school is examined. The oldest surviving source of the Sagi school is the *Enpō Tadamasabon* 延宝忠政本, comprising fifteen volumes, formerly owned by Kawase Kazuma 川瀬一馬.⁹⁸ It was transmitted to a performing group in Yonezawa domain (modern Yamanashi prefecture). It is dated to 1678, and comprises 25 plays that show an old acting style. A little later the oldest surviving script book was compiled: the *Kyōhō Yasunoribon* 享保保教本, or more commonly *Yasunoribon* 保教本, dating to 1716–1724, owned by Tenri Library. This compilation of 150 plays was compiled by Den’emon Yasunori 伝右衛門保教 (1675–1724). It seems that the text was transcribed by a disciple prior to Yasunori’s death in 1724 (Taguchi, “Kyōgen no keisei,” pp. 193–96; Koyama, “Staging Kyōgen,” pp. 43–44).

The following is an excerpt of the text of the song sung by the float committee, as recorded in the *Yasunoribon*.⁹⁹

時雨ノ雨ニヌレシトテ 烏鶺ノ橋ヲ渡イタ 鷺ノ橋ヲワタイタリヤサ
ウヨノ

⁹⁷This annotated reprint comprises two volumes: *jōkan* (1994) and *gekan* (1995). An annotated edition of the *Kyōgen rikugi/Tenribon* is further provided by Kitahara Yasuo and Kobayashi Kenji, *Kyōgen rikugi zenchū*, 1991. A facsimile comprising three volumes with the title *Kyōgen rikugi* can be found in the series *Tenri toshokan zenpon sōsho: Washo no bu*, vols. 23–24, 1975–1976.

⁹⁸A typographical reprint of the *Enpō Tadamasabon* is provided by Taguchi (1979), “Sagiryū kyōgen ‘Enpō Tadamasabon’: Honkoku, kaisetsu,” pp. 31–82.

⁹⁹A facsimile edition of the *Yasunoribon* can be found in the series *Tenri toshokan zenpon sōsho: Washo no bu*, vols. 60–63, with the title *Sagiryū kyōgen densho: Yasunoribon*, 1984. The excerpt is taken from vol. 60, p. 336.

Shigure no ame ni nureji tote / kasasagi no hashi o wataita / sagi no hashi o wataitari ya sō yo no

So as not to get wet in the drizzling rain, the magpies built a bridge,
the herons built a bridge, [*hayashi kotoba*].

It is notable that the song lines “*kasasagi no hashi o wataita / sagi no hashi o wataitari ya*” are in reverse order compared to the other song versions, where the *sagi* is mentioned first and the *kasasagi* comes second. Apart from this detail, the song text is the same as in the *Tenribon*, and the *Toraakibon*, and similar to that in the *Tenshōbon*.

From these sources it becomes clear that *Senjimonon* was performed from early times on and handed down by all three schools. The texts of the song are remarkably similar in every play script, and—as shown in the following section—closely resemble the versions sung in kyogen today.

3.3.3 Musical Analysis of the Kyogen Play *Senjimonon*

Nowadays, *Senjimonon* is performed by the Ōkura school and the Izumi school; it also used to be part of the repertoire of the now extinct Sagi school. In the staging of the play today, the performing style of both schools is different even within the school, depending on the family branch. This circumstance is related to the history and development of each branch. The kyogen schools received patronage from the Tokugawa ruling family during the Edo period, but due to the collapse of the shōgunate with the Meiji Restoration in 1868, its patronage disappeared, causing a decline of the kyogen schools. Kyōgen was kept alive only by the activities of the Miyake branch within the Izumi school and the Shigeyama branch within the Ōkura school. The Sagi school disappeared completely. During these turbulent times, some of the branches moved from Kyoto to Tokyo and were able to reestablish themselves after the Second World War (JIE 1993, “Kyōgen,” pp. 853–55). The Izumi school was revived in 1940, and followed one year later by the Ōkura school (Kobayashi and Kagaya, “Kyōgen in the Postwar Era,” p. 145).

Nowadays, the Nomura and Miyake branches of the Izumi school are based in Tokyo, along with the Ōkura and Yamamoto groups of the Ōkura school. The two Shigeyama branches and the Zenchiku branch of the Ōkura school are based in the Kyoto-Osaka area, while the Kyōgen Kyōdō Sha and the Nomura branch of the Izumi school are based in Nagoya (KEJ 1983, “Kyōgen,” pp. 324–29).

Whereas the Yamamoto family has a single lineage today, represented by the Yamamoto Tōjirō family, the Shigeyama family divided in the later Edo period into two branches, the Sengorō family and the Chūzaburō family, based in Kyoto. The Zenchiku family and the head of the present Ōkura school derive from the latter. The Shigeyama and Yamamoto families share structural similarities in their texts, but the performing style is quite different: the Yamamoto family, based in Tokyo, adapted to the Edo ceremonial art of the warrior class, whereas the Shigeyama family practices a rather amusing artistic style that was preserved at the imperial house (Kobayashi and Kagaya, “Kyōgen in the Postwar Era,” p.

146). Yamamoto Tōjirō Norishige (1898–1964) strove to preserve kyogen as a ceremonial art (*shikigaku*): the incident in which he struck his son for getting too much laughter from the audience is well-known (Brandon 1997, p. 96). Father and son can be seen together on stage in the performance of *Senjimonō* broadcast by NHK in 2009.

Stagings by the Ōkura School

The following section focusses on the song part of the play *Senjimonō* as performed nowadays by the Ōkura school. There are four recordings: three are available at the National Noh Theatre (Sendagaya, Tokyo), and one is a private recording of the NHK television broadcast *Shinshun nō kyōgen* 新春能狂言 on *NHK Kyōiku* (NHK 教育). The song text is basically the same in the four recordings analysed here.¹⁰⁰

時雨の雨に濡れじとて、鷺が橋を渡いた、鶺鴒の橋を渡いたりやさうよ
の

*Shigure no ame ni nureji tote, sagi ga hashi o wataita, kasasagi no
hashi o wataitari ya sō yo no*

So as not to get wet in the drizzling rain, the herons built a bridge, it seems that [they] built a magpies' bridge, [*hayashi kotoba*].

While each play demonstrates a total length of approximately 35 minutes, music is played during more than one third of the duration of each of the plays.¹⁰¹ The vocal line is sung in alternation by a solo singer (*jigashira* 地頭, the head of the committee and the tea seller *Senjimonō uri* 煎じ物売り respectively) and the chorus (the 'standing men' or *tachishū* 立衆).¹⁰² The musical accompaniment consists of a shoulder drum (*kotsuzumi* 小鼓), a waist drum (*ōtsuzumi* 大鼓) and a stick drum (*taiko* 太鼓). The flute is played at the end.¹⁰³ In two out of the four examples, namely both Yamamoto stagings (1996 and 2009), fans are used to produce a clapping sound when hit on the palm.

¹⁰⁰The transcription of the four plays of the Ōkura school can be found in Appendix B (B.3 to B.6). A recording by the NHK television broadcast for children (*Nihongo de asobo* にほんごであそぼ, *E Tere: Kyōiku* E テレ: 教育) of a staging of the Izumi school with Nomura Mansai 野村萬齋 as *shite* can be found on YouTube (introduced here owing to a lack of other sources). Unfortunately, only a short sequence is available, so the Izumi school's staging cannot be described in detail. However, it is perceptible that the chorus is standing and uses fans. The song text is delivered in a clear rhythmical way in a relatively quick tempo with ornamentation.

¹⁰¹The length of each play ranges from 32 min to 40 min. Music is played about 30 to 40 percent of the time.

¹⁰²The song is sung in *tsuyogin* singing style.

¹⁰³When the flute is played at the end of a play, it is meant to accompany the actor's movements. This typical music pattern is called *shagiridome* しゃぎりどめ (Brazell 1998, p. 543). In *Senjimonō* it accompanies the movements of the *kakkomai* dancer.

Yamamoto 1996 The first staging analysed here was performed by the Yamamoto family on January 26th, 1996 (abbr. Yamamoto 1996). The main actor (*shite*) is Yamamoto Noritoshi 山本則俊.

The musical accompaniment consists of the three drums *kotsuzumi* (Ko), *ōtsuzumi* (O), and *taiko* (T), which accompany a chorus (Ch) of seven men (*tachishū*), and two soloists (So), as the head of the committee and Tarō Kaja. The chorus and the soloists are seated while singing and use fans to indicate the rhythm. The tempo is very slow at the beginning, about 55 beats per minute (BPM), but gradually grows faster, up to 70 BPM.

The chorus in this staging distributes ten moras over an eight-beat cycle (here in four measures), which represents the *kyōgen nori* rhythm pattern as discussed above. Most clearly it can be seen in the vocal line of the chorus from the ninth measure to the twelfth measure, and is repeated with small variations thereafter (compare figure 3.19).

Figure 3.19: Chorus of Yamamoto 1996

Table 3.6: *Kyōgen nori* mora distribution of Yamamoto 1996

Measure no.	9		10		11		12	
Beat	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Mora	sa	gi no	ha	shi o	wa	ta i	ta	
<i>Mitsuji</i>			△		○		●	○

The *kotsuzumi* and *ōtsuzumi* drums—supported by the *taiko* and the fans—form a four-measure cycle: the *ōtsuzumi* is played at the head of the second measure, whereas the *kotsuzumi* is struck at the head of the third, and twice in the fourth measure. This pattern is called *mitsuji* (literally “three ground”), and is very common in noh and kyogen. In its general form, twelve moras are divided into two hemistiches of seven and five moras, while the *ōtsuzumi* (△) is played once in the first hemistich, and the *kotsuzumi* (○ and ●) three times in the second

hemistich.¹⁰⁴ In the case of the Yamamoto 1996 staging, less than twelve moras are adjusted to this *mitsuji* rhythm pattern, as shown in table 3.6. This pattern shows no variations in the Yamamoto staging and is therefore continuously performed throughout the play. The fans support this clear rhythm by being clapped on the first beat of every measure. The song text is clearly pronounced and easy to grasp.

Yamamoto 2009 Another staging of *Senjimon* by the Yamamoto family took place on January 1st, 2009, featuring Yamamoto Tōjirō 山本東次郎 as *shite* (abbr. Yamamoto 2009). Both Yamamoto stagings are quite similar, which is only natural because it is the same family, even if not the same actors.

In this staging, five *tachishū* make up the chorus, whereas the head of the committee and Tarō Kaja sing solo. They accompany the song by clapping fans against their palms. Unlike the Yamamoto staging of 1996, everyone is standing. The song is delivered at a stable tempo of 65 BPM. The 2009 staging makes use of the *kyōgen nori* rhythm pattern as well. It can be seen in the vocal line of the chorus from the ninth measure to the twelfth measure, and is repeated with small variations thereafter.

Figure 3.20: Chorus of Yamamoto 2009

Like the Yamamoto staging of 1996, the *kotsuzumi* and *ōtsuzumi* drums distribute their beats over a four-measure cycle of the *mitsuji* rhythm pattern. The *taiko* and the fans support them. The drum pattern is continuously performed throughout the play without any variations.

Shigeyama 2001 The third staging introduced here was staged on November 30th, 2001, by the Shigeyama family (abbr. Shigeyama 2001). The *shite* is Shigeyama Sennojō 茂山千之丞.¹⁰⁵

The musical accompaniment is similar to the above-mentioned stagings: apart from the three drums *kotsuzumi*, *ōtsuzumi*, and *taiko*, four men (*tachishū*) make up the chorus. The head of committee and Tarō Kaja are the two soloists. They are standing while singing and do not use any fans. The tempo of the song is 75

¹⁰⁴The *ōtsuzumi* usually performs one more beat on the up-beat; that is the second half of the eighth beat. Refer to Emmert, “*Hiranori*,” p. 103 and Fujita, “*Nō and Kyōgen*,” pp. 138–39.

¹⁰⁵Family branch of Sengorō.

BPM and hence rather fast; it accelerates up to 80 BPM when the tea seller starts singing.

The musical score for the chorus of Shigeyama 2001 is presented in a five-staff format. The top staff is for Soprano (So), the second for Chorus (Ch), the third for Koto (Ko), the fourth for On (O), and the fifth for Taiko (T). The time signature is 2/4. The score covers measures 9 to 19. The Chorus line includes the lyrics: "Sa gi ga ha shi o wa ta i ta ka - sa ssa gi ga ha shi o wa ta i ta ri ya so o yo no". The Koto line has annotations for "4 Measures" (measures 9-12), "3 Measures" (measures 13-15), and "4 Measures" (measures 16-19). The On and Taiko lines show rhythmic patterns with 'x' marks indicating specific beats.

Figure 3.21: Chorus of Shigeyama 2001

The Shigeyama staging clearly shows the *kyōgen nori* rhythm pattern from the ninth to the twelfth measure of the vocal line. The rhythm pattern is repeated thereafter with variations; the vocal line is embellished with ornamentations. The “ka” of *kasasagi* is brought forward and breath is drawn only after “ka,” so that the word breaks into “ka/sassagi” with a fricative sound after the first mora “sa.” Therefore, this phrase could be interpreted as a question:

Sagi ga hashi o wataita ka? Sassagi no hashi o wataitari ya sō yo no

Did the herons built a bridge? It seems that [they] built a herons’ bridge.

As discussed above, magpies are not indigenous to Japan¹⁰⁶, so it is questionable whether the early audiences of this play had ever seen one and could accordingly relate to the image. But they knew what a heron (*sagi*) looked like—furthermore it can be assumed that most of them knew the *waka* poem about the magpie bridge.¹⁰⁷ For this reason, it may be said that the Shigeyama 2001 staging stresses the linguistic ambiguity of the word ‘*kasasagi*’ in a way that would have been appreciated by its audience.

Like the Yamamoto staging, the *kotsuzumi* makes use of the *mitsuji* rhythm pattern in a four-measure cycle version. From the thirteenth to the fifteenth measure, the first measure is abbreviated from this form, in order to adapt to the vocal line. It seems that the *ōtsuzumi* provides a signal to abbreviate the first measure of the cycle with an upbeat in measure twelve. This adjustment of the *mitsuji* rhythm pattern supports the interpretation of the above-mentioned phrase as a question.

Ōkura 1984 The last recording is of the Ōkura family and shows a staging of *Senjimonō* on January 4th, 1984 (abbr. Ōkura 1984). The *shite* is Ōkura Yatarō

¹⁰⁶Compare section 3.1.3 on “*Kasasagi*,” page 145.

¹⁰⁷Compare section 3.1.3 on “*Tanabata*,” page 145.

大蔵弥太郎.¹⁰⁸ Of all the examples, this staging has the longest duration, of about 40 minutes.

Apart from the accompaniment of the *kotsuzumi*, *ōtsuzumi*, and *taiko*, the chorus is sung by five men, the *tachishū*. Together with the two solo singers, namely the head of the committee and Tarō Kaja, seven persons are singing. They are standing and do not use any fans. Although the tempo of the song is about 70 to 80 BPM, the song appears to be rather slow, perhaps due to the scarcity of drum beats. Like the Shigeyama staging, the song text is pronounced slowly and is stylistically arranged: the singers bring the “ka” of *kasasagi* forward and break the word into “ka/sasagi.” Some moras are extremely prolonged.

Figure 3.22: Chorus of Ōkura 1984

This Ōkura performance also makes use of the *kyōgen nori* rhythm pattern. As shown in the transcription in figure 3.22, the pattern can be seen from the ninth to the twelfth measure, and is repeated with small variations thereafter.

Unlike the stagings discussed above, the *mitsuji* drum rhythm pattern used in this staging is elongated over an eight-measure cycle, which is repeated. As shown in figure 3.22, the *ōtsuzumi* is played at the head of the eleventh measure, whereas the *kotsuzumi* is struck at the head of the thirteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth measure. However, the following line “*sagi ga hashi o wataita / kasasagi no hashi o wataitari ya sō yo no*” consists of ten plus eighteen moras, so it is difficult to break these up and fit them to the *mitsuji* rhythm. Therefore, this Ōkura performance abbreviates the first two pause measures for the latter part of the line, so that only six measures make up the rhythm pattern, as can be seen from measure seventeen to measure twenty-two. Kuno interprets the use of the elongated *mitsuji* by the Ōkura school in particular as an attempt to refine its style by following noh practices (Kuno, “Kyōgen no ongaku,” p. 215).

Conclusion The song part of the four stagings of the Ōkura school examined here is sung by a chorus and two soloists, accompanied by the typical instrumentation of *kotsuzumi*, *ōtsuzumi*, and *taiko*. Only the Yamamoto family makes use of fans. The tempo of the song ranges from 55 to 80 BPM.

All four stagings show the *kyōgen nori* rhythm pattern—or variations of it—in the vocal line of the chorus. Although some adjustments of rhythm are made, the

¹⁰⁸Family branch of Chūzaburō.

second half of the song: “*sagi ga hashi o wataita / kasasagi no hashi o wataitari ya sō yo no*” is basically sung in *kyōgen nori*. The musical performance by the Yamamoto family in particular shows this rhythm pattern clearly. This mora distribution is remarkably similar to the one of the heron dance song in Tsuwano: a four-measure phrase in two-four meter with one crotchet and two quavers in each of the first three measures, and a crotchet and pause in the fourth, played repetitively throughout the performance. This rhythm pattern was defined by Higuchi as ‘*hayashimono* rhythm pattern’ in 1977.¹⁰⁹ This leads to the conclusion that the *kyōgen nori* is equivalent to the *hayashimono* rhythm pattern seen in folk performing arts as postulated by Higuchi.

Furthermore, each of the stagings makes use of the *mitsuji* rhythm pattern: in the case of the Yamamoto and Shigeyama families, the rhythm pattern is made up of a four-measure cycle, whereas the Ōkura family distributes the beats over an eight-measure cycle, suggesting a stylistic approach toward the sound-world of *noh*. The fans clapped in the stagings of the Yamamoto family additionally give a stable basic meter to the musical performance and leave only little room for stylistic variation. Therefore, it seems likely that the Yamamoto family transmits the oldest form of the given examples.

3.3.4 *Kyōgen nori* in Context

Kyōgen nori (KN) appears to be related to what is believed to be the older form of the *hiranori* rhythm pattern (Yokomichi 1986, pp. 177–78). This basic pattern of premodern times is what Yokomichi calls *kinkoshiki jibyōshi* 近古式地拍子 or *Edo-shiki jibyōshi* 江戸式地拍子.¹¹⁰ As shown in the table 3.7—here called “old *hiranori*” (OH)—, moras used to be sung on the beats, with the result that the songs sounded more rhythmical than today.¹¹¹ The “modern *hiranori*” (MH) went through a refining process, in which the moras of the text coinciding with the first, third, and fifth beats were delayed half a beat, probably to make the text more distinct. The drums are played loudly on these beats, and would have coincided with consonants at the head of moras in the older *hiranori* rhythm (Yokomichi, “*Kyōgen to nō*,” p. 48; NOD 1989, “*Kyōgen*,” pp. 478–81, esp. p. 481).¹¹²

¹⁰⁹Refer to section 3.2.2 on the “Music of the Heron Dance in Tsuwano” on page 168, where the *hayashimono* rhythm pattern could be seen in the vocal line of the Tsuwano heron dance performance.

¹¹⁰Yokomichi employs the term *kinkoshiki jibyōshi* in his article in 1956, and changes it in his monograph in 1986 into *koshiki jibyōshi* 古式地拍子. He changes this term again to *Edo-shiki jibyōshi* 江戸式地拍子 in his monograph *Utai rizumu no kōzō to jitsugi* in 2002, arguing that *kinko* 近古 refers to the Kamakura and Muromachi periods of Japanese history, but the rhythm was only established in the Edo period, so it is better to use a term implying the period more clearly (Yokomichi 2002, p. 172). In this dissertation, the term “old *hiranori*” shall be used.

¹¹¹The song texts were fitted to a fixed musical structure; they were metered music-centered. Refer to Emmert’s findings on metered and nonmetered rhythm forms in Emmert, “*Hiranori*,” pp. 100–07.

¹¹²The example for the modern and old *hiranori* is taken from the *noh* play *Yuya*: 河原おもてを過ぎゆけば (*Kawara omote o sugiyukeba*); “After passing the path along the Kamo river.”

Table 3.7: Rhythm Pattern Table: *Hiranori* and *Kyōgen nori*

		1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8
MH	ka	–	wa	ra	o	–	mo	te	o	–	su	gi	yu	ke	ba	
OH	ka	wa	–	ra	o	mo	–	te	o	su	–	gi	yu	ke	ba	
KN		to	–	no	ga	ho	–	shi	to	u	–	to	o	ta	–	

Banquet Songs: *Sōga* Yokomichi discovered that the *Edo-shiki jibyōshi* rhythm derives from a genre of vocal music called *sōga* 早歌 (lit. “fast song”), which employs comparatively long texts ranging from 100 to 1300 characters.¹¹³ *Sōga* is a type of ceremonial vocal song, which developed in the middle of the Kamakura period and was most popular from the period of Northern and Southern Courts (Nanboku-chō, 1336–1392) to the middle of the Muromachi period. It vanished as a living art at the end of the Muromachi period, some time early in the sixteenth century. Sixteen manuscripts, compiled from 1296 to 1319, preserve the 161 pieces and twelve external pieces (*sotomono* 外物) (Tonomura 1965, pp. 7, 15, 250–52; Brazell, “‘Blossoms’: A Medieval Song,” p. 249; NOD 1989, Yokomichi, “*Sōga*,” p. 453; Nagaike, “Review,” pp. 10–11):

- *Enkyokushū* 宴曲集 (5 vols.)
- *Enkyokushō* 宴曲抄 (3 vols.)
- *Shinkyokushō* 真曲抄
- *Kyūhyakushū* 究百集
- *Shūkashū* 拾菓集 (2 vols.)
- *Shūkashō* 拾菓抄
- *Besshi tsuika kyoku* 別紙追加曲
- *Gyokurin'en* 玉林苑 (2 vols.)

Apart from the above-mentioned titles, there is a list of pieces (*Sen'yō mokuroku* 撰要目録) which lists all songs together with their origins and content, and gives the names of lyricists and composers for many of them. It does not, however, provide the poetry texts. Most of the songs were compiled by the monks Myōkū 明空 and Gekkō 月江, whose identity is not certain.¹¹⁴ The song texts often include

¹¹³As Brazell points out, there is no general agreement on the name of this genre. Whereas the characters 早歌 can also be read *sōka*, other names such as *enkyoku* 宴曲, or the *hayashi kotoba* “*geniyasaba*” or “*ririura*” can be found (Brazell, “‘Blossoms’: A Medieval Song,” p. 243).

¹¹⁴Tonomura Hisae has shown that Myōkū was probably a monk connected with the Kamakura temple Gokurakuji 極楽寺 and that he is mentioned in Kanazawa Library documents (Tonomura 1965, p. 38). Other scholars have suggested that Gekkō is simply another name for Myōkū (Brazell, “‘Blossoms’: A Medieval Song,” p. 250).

enumeration or cataloguing of things or places (*monozukushi* 物尽くし), metered description of scenes reflected in the eyes of a traveler (*michiyukibun* 道行文) or the sceneries of temples and shrines. There are almost no narrative songs (NOD 1989, Yokomichi, “*Sōga*,” p. 453).

Sōga were originally sung in unison: an initial solo was followed by a chorus starting from the second to the fifth phrase of the song. It seems likely that the rhythm was tapped using fans. Some *sōga* are recorded in song books (*utaibon* 謡本), which include musical notation. Historical records imply that *sōga* were occasionally performed with instrumental accompaniment, such as *shakuhachi* (NOD 1989, Yokomichi, “*Sōga*,” p. 453; Brazell, “‘Blossoms’: A Medieval Song,” pp. 243–44; Tonomura 1965, pp. 191, 259).¹¹⁵

Analysing the extant manuscripts which notate the recitation praxis in detail, scholars such as Yokomichi Mario and Gamō Mitsuko 蒲生美津子 elucidated the characteristics of *sōga* as a musical form. Yokomichi mainly concentrated on its (vocal) rhythm, whereas Gamō attempted to reconstruct its melody and scale structure. Among the various notational signs found in the manuscripts, Yokomichi showed that the rhythm is notated by using small dots written with black ink.¹¹⁶ It is usually a repetition of the dot pattern ● ● ● ●●, distributed over single phrases of the song texts.¹¹⁷ In the common seven-five syllable meter (*shichigochō* 七五調), the notational signs can be seen in both the upper and lower halves of a single phrase. The distribution is very regular: the beat is fixed depending on the syllabic meter of the song text. The rules of the beat distribution are very similar to the basic rhythm (*jibyōshi*) of *noh* and *kyogen* songs: there are eight beats in one seven-five-syllable phrase, out of which only four beats are indicated by notational signs in the manuscripts. They can be seen on the uneven beats (that is, the first, third, fifth and seventh beat) as shown in table 3.8.¹¹⁸ The notational signs probably also indicate where the fans were clapped—the rhythm reminds one of the *mitsuji* rhythm pattern mentioned earlier. It seems likely that a forerunner of the modern *mitsuji* rhythm pattern existed which sounded very similar to the *sōga* rhythm pattern (Yokomichi, “*Sōga no shinkyū*,” pp. 311–12).¹¹⁹

Yokomichi has shown that the rhythm of *sōga* songs usually conforms with the rhythm of the words. There are two variants: form S1 has one (prolonged) mora

¹¹⁵The *Noritoki kyōki* 教言卿記 (1405–1411) records that five men were arranged to sing a number of *sōga* songs accompanied by *shakuhachi* music on the 24th of the third month of 1408, when Ashikaga Yoshimitsu entertained Emperor Gokomatsu at his Kitayama pavilion. (An annotated typographical reprint is available in *Noritoki kyōki* (vol. 2), in *Shiryō sanshū: Kokiroku hen*, Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1971, pp. 233–34.) Refer to Brazell, “‘Blossoms’: A Medieval Song,” p. 252; Tonomura 1965, pp. 191; Inuni 1972, pp. 489–90.

¹¹⁶Red and black ink was used to indicate different performance instructions.

¹¹⁷It is not certain whether the last two dots imply one or two beats, or if one beat is followed by a repetition of a whole line (Yokomichi, “*Sōga no shinkyū*,” pp. 312).

¹¹⁸The example is taken from *Enkyōkushō (jō): Kumano sankei* (no. 52), Tonomura and Tonomura 1993, p. 103: 御影を垂てここにすむ (*Mikage o tarete koko ni sumu*); “The deity showed its form and continues to live on here.” Also refer to Yokomichi, “*Sōga no shinkyū*,” p. 317.

¹¹⁹The article “*Sōga no shinkyū*” was reprinted in Yokomichi, *Nōgeki no kenkyū* (1986); NOD 1989, Yokomichi, “*Sōga*,” p. 453; refer to Gamō Mitsuko, *Sōga no ongakuteki kenkyū* (1983).

Table 3.8: *Sōga* Rhythm Notational Signs

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
mi	ka –	ge o	ta –	re te	ko ko	ni su	mu –	(pause)
	•		•		•		•	•

on the first and third beat, and two moras on the rest, whereas form S2 has one (prolonged) mora on the first, the third and fifth beat, and two moras on the rest. The *sōga* form S1 was often used, but form S2 is actually the one that is similar to the old *hيرانori* (Yokomichi, “Sōga no shinkyū,” pp. 324–25).¹²⁰ The rhythm pattern table 3.9 shows the mora distribution for the *sōga* rhythm patterns S1 and S2.¹²¹

Table 3.9: *Sōga* Rhythm Pattern Table

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
S1	mi	ka –	ge o	ta –	re te	ko ko	ni su	mu –	
S2	i	na –	ba no	na –	ru ko	hi –	ki ka	e te	

It was stated above that *kyōgen nori* sounded similar to the old form of the *hيرانori* rhythm pattern, the *Edo-shiki jibyōshi* rhythm (“old *hيرانori*”). It becomes clear that *kyōgen nori*, the *sōga* rhythm pattern S2, and old *hيرانori* distribute a prolonged mora on the first, third, and fifth beat; the second, fourth, and sixth beats have two moras. The seventh beat shows either a prolonged mora (KN) or two moras (OH and S2). Therefore, these three rhythm patterns sound remarkably similar, as presented in table 3.10 below.¹²²

Connections to the *Sōga* Song *Shimo* Interestingly, a phrase included in the *sōga* song *Shimo* (no. 168) of the external pieces (*sotomono*, dating 1413)¹²³

¹²⁰He introduced his findings in the encyclopedic article “Sōga” in the *Ongaku jiten*, pp. 48–49 (Heibonsha, 1954–1957). A revised version is available in *Ongaku daijiten* (Heibonsha, 1981–1983, 6 vols.). In this new edition, Yokomichi’s entry on “Sōga” can be found in vol. 3, pp. 1366–67, and later in an article in a collection in honor of Nishio Minoru in 1960 with the title “Sōga no shinkyū.” Yokomichi’s findings were republished in *Nōgeki no kenkyū*, 1986.

¹²¹Refer to footnote 118 on page 195 for the example for S1. The example for S2 is taken from *Enkyokushū* (vol. 1): *Aki* (no. 6), Tonomura and Tonomura 1993, p. 47: 稲葉の鳴子引替て (*Inaba no naruko hikikaete*); “Exchange the rattle [to scare birds away] for the [leaves of the] rice plants.”

¹²²Yokomichi points out the similarity of *kyōgen nori* and *ko-shiki jibyōshi*—that is the old *hيرانori*—in his monograph *Nōgeki no kenkyū*, 1986, pp. 177–78.

¹²³An annotated typographical reprint of the *sōga* song 168 can be found in: Tonomura Hisae and Tonomura Natsuko, *Sōga zenshishū* (1993), p. 289. Only one copy survives of this *sotomono* collection, which can be accessed online in the Digital Collection of the National Diet Library under the title *Enkyoku sotomono*.

Table 3.10: Rhythm Pattern Table

		1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8
MH	ka	–	wa	ra	o	–	mo	te	o	–	su	gi	yu	ke	ba	
OH	ka	wa	–	ra	o	mo	–	te	o	su	–	gi	yu	ke	ba	
S1	mi	ka	–	ge	o	ta	–	re	te	ko	ko	ni	su	mu	–	
S2	i	na	–	ba	no	na	–	ru	ko	hi	–	ki	ka	e	te	
KN		to	–	no	ga	ho	–	shi	to	u	–	to	o	ta	–	

reminds one of the song text of the kyogen play *Senjimonno* and the modern heron dance of Tsuwano:

鶺鴒のわたせる橋の上の霜

Kasasagi no wataseru hashi no ue no shimo

The frost on the bridge built by magpies

Sōga songs were commonly replete with allusions—this line was clearly taken from the waka poem *Kasasagi no / wataseru hashi ni / oku shimo no / shiraki o mireba / yo zo fukenikeru*, which can be seen in the imperial collection *Shinkokin wakashū* (SNKZ 1995, vol. 43, No. 620, p. 184).¹²⁴ The notational signs for the rhythm can be seen in a copy of *Enkyoku sotomono* provided by NDL Digital Collections, as shown in the illustration 3.23 on page 199.

Table 3.11: Rhythm Notational Signs for *Enkyoku sotomono: Shimo* (no. 168)

ka	sa	sa	gi	no	wa	ta	se	ru	ha	shi	no	u	e	no	shi	mo
						●			●						●●	

Adjusting the notational signs to Yokomichi’s findings discussed above, the following table 3.12 shows the rhythm pattern more clearly: twelve moras are distributed over an eight-beat cycle.¹²⁵ Therefore, it can be stated that this phrase shows the *sōga* rhythm pattern S2.

Comparing the rhythm patterns found in the *sōga* song *Shimo*, the kyogen play *Senjimonno* and the Tsuwano heron dance song as shown in table 3.13, it can be said that all three rhythm patterns are surprisingly similar, which leads to the conclusion that this pattern already existed in the beginning of the fifteenth century when the *sōga* external pieces (*sotomono*) were compiled.

¹²⁴Refer to section 3.1.3 on “Tanabata” on page 145.

¹²⁵The words “*kasasagi no*” were probably recited in free rhythm.

Table 3.12: *Sōga* Rhythm Pattern S2 as seen in *Shimo* (no. 168)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
wa	ta -	se ru	ha -	shi no	u -	e no	shi mo	
	•		•		•		• •	

Table 3.13: *Sōga* Song *Shimo* (SS), Kyogen Song (*Senjimonō*) (KS), Tsuwano Heron Dance Song (HD)

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
SS	wa	ta -	se ru	ha -	shi no	u -	e no	shi mo	
KS		sa -	gi ga	ha -	shi o	wa -	ta i	ta -	(ka)
HD		sa -	gi ga	ha -	shi o	wa -	ta i	ta -	-

Conclusion A number of similarities of the three examples (*sōga* song *Shimo*, kyogen play *Senjimonō*, Tsuwano heron dance song) discussed above could be observed: not only is the song text similar, but also the structure of its delivery. First, a solo singer sings some lines of the song, then the chorus enters. Fans (or feathers in the case of Tsuwano) are used to clap a repetitive rhythm. All song texts include *hayashi kotoba*.

It was further shown above that the vocal line of the Tsuwano heron dance song makes use of the *hayashimono* rhythm pattern.¹²⁶ A musical analysis revealed that the same rhythm pattern can be seen for the vocal line of the song sung in the kyogen play *Senjimonō*, here generally called *kyōgen nori*. Further investigation showed that the song *Shimo* of the extinct performing art of *sōga* used a similar rhythm pattern, which was called form 2 (S2) by Yokomichi. Regardless of the various names given to this particular rhythm pattern, it has become clear that it distributes ten to twelve moras over eight beats, with moras prolonged on the first, third, fifth (and seventh) beats similarly in all three examples. The major finding emerging from the analysis carried out in this section is that the modern Tsuwano heron dance song preserves an old rhythm pattern which already existed by the early fifteenth century at the latest.

¹²⁶Refer to the section 3.2.2 on “Music of the Heron Dance in Tsuwano” on pages 164 to 168.

Chapter 4

The Transmission of the Heron Dance

4.1 Transmission Systems

Japan has a highly diverse range of traditional performing arts. These include the classical theatrical performing arts, such as *noh*, *kyogen*, *kabuki*, and the puppet theatre, which have been designated as part of Intangible Cultural Heritage, as well as the folk performing arts, such as the heron dance. The theatrical arts are passed down from parent to child, or from master to disciple, mainly by imitation (Brazell 1998, p. 3). Oral mnemonic systems, which Hughes terms “acoustic-ionic mnemonic systems,” are used to learn instrumental parts, such as the flute used in *noh* (*nōkan* 能管) or the flute played in the *gagaku* ensembles (*ryūteki* 竜笛). These mnemonic systems are called *shōga* 唱歌 in Japan, and exist for many instruments, both melodic and rhythmic.¹

Japan maintains a traditional system of hereditary succession in the professional world of the performing arts.² Moreover, the classical performing arts have their own national theatres to ensure their survival and accessibility to audiences (Thornbury, “From Festival Setting to Center Stage,” pp. 163–64).

In contrast, folk performing arts show an extraordinary wealth and variety, which makes it difficult to approach to them comprehensively. Many folk performing arts are conducted nowadays by organised performing troupes who promote and preserve the art. In general, oral transmission (*kuden* 口伝) with little reliance

¹The use of syllables to memorize not only melody, but also duration, loudness, resonance, timbre, attack and decay in a piece of music, can be found all around the world. These acoustic-ionic mnemonic systems are transmitted orally, so one has to recite or sing them aloud or at least in one’s head. However, these systems are often written down as well (Hughes, “No nonsense,” pp. 93–96; compare Hughes, “Oral Mnemonics in Korean Music,” pp. 307–35).

²The *iemoto* system (*iemoto seido* 家元制度) is a hierarchical structure of teachers and students, a school of an art, whereas *iemoto* stands for the founder or the current head of the school, who is usually a direct descendant of the founder (Waseda, “The Iemoto System in Japanese Performing Arts in Southern California,” p. 103; JIE 1993, “Iemoto,” p. 583). Often, masters of various performative arts transmit their technical artistic knowledge secretly to disciples within their “house” (*ie* 家) or school. This secret transmission is called *hiden* 秘伝 (Klein, “Review,” p. 184).

on notation is a more common practice than verifiable documentation. The older generation often teaches the next generation in an informal way: the “students” imitate and internalize the movements of the instructor. The successor of the art is usually already connected to the group in a certain way due to a family relationship to one of the members, or neighbour relations. In many cases the successor already knows a lot about the traditional performance, because he or she has seen it from childhood on.³

However, due to the ongoing changes in modern Japan accompanying a decline of agriculture and an increased depopulation of rural areas, the preservation and transmission of these manifold folk performing arts has gradually become more difficult. The traditional life that once nurtured the folk performing arts has long since disappeared. Performing troupes have difficulties in finding successors among young local people (Lee, “Japanese Folk Performing Arts Today,” pp. 102, 107).

Many questions arise here. How was it possible for the traditional performance of the heron dance to survive over several hundreds of years? What system of transmission was common in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano in the past and how do they preserve the dance performance today? What are their preservation strategies for the future? Based on former research on traditional Japanese transmission systems of (folk) performing arts, interviews with the present preservers of the tradition, and an analysis of modern regulations, the following section aims to introduce and discuss the preservation, transmission and promotion of the heron dance in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano.

4.1.1 The *Miyaza* and the *Tōya*: Definitions and Characteristics

Research regarding traditional Japanese transmission systems of (folk) performing arts is mainly undertaken in the fields of sociology, ethnology, historical folklore and anthropology. Various aspects have been the object of consideration, such as the structure of Japanese villages and rural societies, as represented by terms such as “village structure discourse” (*sonraku kōzōron* 村落構造論). In the following, research that seeks to determine how festivals are organised is introduced. Two key transmission concepts are discussed, namely the *miyaza* 宮座 and *tōya* 頭屋, which are found mainly in the Kinki and Chūgoku regions of western Japan.

Definition of the *Miyaza* and its Characteristics

As the folklorist and historian Hagiwara Tatsuo 萩原竜夫 (also 龍夫, 1916–1985) states in his encyclopaedia entry in the *Nihon minzoku jiten*, the *miyaza* is a group

³There are also performance groups that are connected by their work: one example are the firemen of the Kōtō district in Tokyo, who perform a log-rolling performance *Kiba no kakunori* 木場の角乗 every year in October. Originally, this performing art was conducted by raftsmen. Other performing groups are formed by whole neighbourhoods, as is the case for the Hakata Gion Yamakasa 博多祇園山笠.

with the specialised purpose of carrying out shrine rituals among the *ujiko*⁴ of a certain village. Many names can be found for the *miyaza*; the suffix “*za*” 座 can mainly be seen in the Kinki and Chūgoku regions, and in Kyushu. Whereas the term “*za*” indicated some sort of guild-like group in its early history, the connotation shifted to a simple “seat” at the shrine in later times. The *miyaza* originated in the fifteenth century, and sought to prevent outsiders from gaining authority over expanding festivals. Likewise, the role of the *tōnin* 頭人 was established to secure a stable festival organisation system. Some places have two *za*: like the trade guilds that sometimes comprised a main guild (*honza* 本座) and the new branch guild (*shinza* 新座), there were two “guilds” conducting shrine festivals, divided into right and left, or east and west, guilds. In some places, more than two guilds can be found.

The *tōnin* is not only an assistant, but can carry out, for example, the role of the shrine priest at the time of the festival. The role of the *tōnin* rotates among the members of the *miyaza*. Due to the increasing number of professional shrine priests since the Meiji Restoration, the *miyaza* system has declined over the last two centuries. Some *miyaza* disposed of field or woodland which they administered. If a new social stratum emerged in a village, the *miyaza* began to have difficulty maintaining their restricted organisation and finally collapsed. Over the centuries, many *miyaza* managed to re-establish and adjust themselves to the social conditions. The state of development and maintenance of the *miyaza* depended on the state of the village in question (Hagiwara, “Miyaza,” pp. 694–95).

The encyclopaedia *Minzoku jiten* adds that the *miyaza* is conferred privileges to conduct their role as the sponsors of the festival. It further states that in the distant past there were family clans that worshiped their deities together, but due to a more complex village structure emerging in the Muromachi period, groups with special rights came into being. Two kinds of *miyaza* developed: the *kabuza* 株座 and the *muraza* 村座. The *miyaza* is based on a seniority principle, but young people are also allotted certain roles (*Minzoku no jiten* 1988, “Miyaza,” pp. 302–03).

Kuraishi Tadahiko 倉石忠彦 (1939–) notes that the *miyaza* is mainly formed by men, but there are also a few examples of women’s *miyaza*. The *miyaza* is a council of elders for which different terms are used. On the other hand, an organisation of young people exists in some places, which is also known by different terms, but commonly called *wakashū* 若衆. Sometimes the oldest person of the *miyaza* takes over the role of the shrine priest (*kannushi* 神主), and sometimes the role is rotated every year among the members. As a rule, one shrine has one *miyaza*, but some villages have more than one due to the influx of new families. Open

⁴The older clan (*uji* 氏) system declined in the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries, and the term *ujigami* 氏神 came to refer, as it still does today, to the local deity who protects all the inhabitants of a region (JIE 1993, “Ujigami,” p. 1645). *Ujiko* 氏子 are shrine parishioners by virtue of their residence in the community under the protection of the local Shinto deity (*ujigami*). The *ujiko* system developed gradually throughout Japanese history. By the Edo period all families of a certain geographical area were considered the *ujiko* of the local shrine, and the Meiji government institutionalized it through keeping a census of the population. This system was abolished after the Second World War (JIE 1993, “Ujiko,” p. 1646).

village societies usually organise themselves as a *muraza* so that the whole village is involved in conducting the festival (Kuraishi, “Miyaza,” p. 225).

Definition of the *Tōya* System and its Characteristics

Strongly connected to the *miyaza* system is the concept of the *tōya*. The term *tōya* dates back to the medieval period, first being mentioned in the fourteenth century, and can already be seen in 1430, in the section *Yūzaki go-za no koto* 魚崎御座之事 in the last part of the well-known *Sarugaku dangi* 猿楽談義.⁵ Omote interprets this term as a description for the manager of the *sarugaku* troupe (NKD 2001, vol. 9, “Tōya,” p. 1055, Omote 1994, p. 108).⁶

The common *tōya* system is a system for burden sharing in the carrying out of a festival, involving rotation among a certain group, such as a family, a council of distinguished families, or even the whole village. It is usually restricted to men and hereditary in nature. If there is no specialized priest in the village, the *ujiko* take responsibility for carrying out the festival. The individual (or house) who takes the leadership and offers a lodging place for the deity is called *tōya*. The *tōya* can be chosen by lot, according to a list, or in similar fashion. Sometimes the order is fixed beforehand. Usually, the *tōya* have to follow strict purification rites (Kuraishi, “Tōya,” p. 225).

Sekiya Rune 関谷龍子 defines *tōya* in the *Nihon Minzoku Daijiten* (2000) as follows: *tōya* describes the role of the headman for a certain period of time of a shrine festival or ceremony, who is responsible for its preparations and management. This role is usually performed by men. The *tōya* system can be seen all around Japan; it is especially widespread in western Japan. In the Kinki region, it is often part of the *miyaza* (Sekiya, “Tōya,” p. 193).

The first character of the word ‘*tōya*’—*tō* 頭—historically means “manager,” “headman,” or “leader.” Various terms evolved in the course of time, such as *tōyaku* 頭役, *tōnin* 頭人, or *tōya* 頭屋. In the Edo period, the focus shifted to rotation in the *tōya* system, so the character for “taking charge of something” (Sino-Chinese-reading: *tō* 当) is commonly used.⁷ Not only can numerous terms be found for the headman of the festival, but also a diverse range of obligations: from the heavy duty of the management of the whole festival to preparations limited to the appointed day. This phenomenon was examined by Harada Toshiaki 原田敏明 (1893–1983), who stated that the *tōya* performs religious services for the local tutelary deity (*ujigami*) as a representative of the shrine parishioners. The *tōya* used to be endowed with the authority of a deity himself, but with the emergence of professional shrine priests in the premodern era, and the growing complexity of

⁵*Sarugaku dangi* is a collection of comments on the classical theatrical art of *sarugaku*, later called *noh*, by the actor, playwright and critic Zeami (1363–1443). It was recorded by his son Motoyoshi.

⁶De Poorter translates *tōya* as “head” and annotates “the monks who were in charge of organising the festival” (De Poorter 2002, pp. 131, 233). It is disputable whether *tōya* were monks.

⁷There are several variations in writing: 頭屋／当屋／禱屋／塔屋 (Kuraishi, “Tōya,” p. 225).

the festivals and ceremonies, the *tōya* was relegated to a supportive role, assisting the shrine priest in taking care of the preparations (Sekiya, “Tōya,” p. 193).

The order of rotation of the *tōya* role is generally based on age, family rank, a traditional order, or by drawing lots. To protect the *tōya* from ritual pollution, he has to purify himself by avoiding exposure to death, eating meat, sexual intercourse, etc. during the period of the festival. If a family member dies during the period of office, the *tōya* role has to be shifted to someone else. The entrance of the house of the *tōya* is decorated with bamboo and a sacred straw rope (*shimenawa* 注連縄), brushwood, or a banner, indicating the place where the deity descends. The festival room is ritually purified and decorated with a wand with paper or cloth streamers (*gohei* 御幣), and a hanging scroll (Sekiya, “Tōya,” p. 193).

The term of office is generally one year, and at the end a hand-over ceremony often takes place. The role of the *tōya* can be fulfilled at different ages, always indicating recognition as a full-fledged adult. Therefore, taking on the role of the *tōya* is an important rite of passage in acknowledgment as a full member of the village. In a broader meaning, the *tōya* system provides equal burden sharing among all villagers. Gamō focusses on the execution of the shrine festival when he speaks of this model as a *tōya*-system village (*tōya-sei sonraku* 頭屋制村落) that maintains an equality among all families of a village, which is mainly seen in the Kinki region (Sekiya, “Tōya,” pp. 193–94).

Nakayama Tarō One of the first researchers to examine the *miyaza* was the folklorist Nakayama Tarō 中山太郎 (1876–1947), who promoted a historical approach within folklore studies of the time. He collected folk costumes and examined their historical background. Although never an official disciple of Yanagita Kunio 柳田国男 (1875–1962), the founder of Japanese folklore studies, he was still apprenticed to him. Nakayama not only focussed on common people, but investigated a wide range of topics, compiling overviews on history and a dictionary of Japanese folk customs, *Nihon minzokugaku jiten* (1935) (NDZ 1988, vol. 17, “Nakayama Tarō,” p. 469).

In his article “Miyaza no kenkyū” of 1924, Nakayama defines the *miyaza* as follows: “The *miyaza* is an organization among the *ujiko* granted privileges different from the rest of the parishioners or *ujiko* aiming to manage the shrine and its festivals” (Nakayama, “Miyaza no kenkyū,” p. 4). He further points out that the *miyaza* derives from the belief in a tutelary deity of a village or geographic area (*ujigami*) in ancient Japan (Takamaki 1986, p. 4). Research on the *miyaza* of that time was mainly conducted by examining documentary records and local topographies.

In a comprehensive study on the *miyaza* in 1931, Nakayama examines guilds (*za* 座) for festivals at shrines in his article “Za genryū kō,” carried in the compilation *Nihon minzokugaku*. Later, his thinking was continued and completed by Toyoda Takeshi 豊田武 (1910–1980), who published numerous writings on the development and change of the *miyaza* in medieval villages and shrines, and the historical folklorist Higo Kazuo 肥後和男, who contributed to a comprehensive understanding of the *miyaza*.

Higo Kazuo In the 1930s, the historical folklorist Higo Kazuo 肥後和男 (1899–1981) contributed first case studies on the *miyaza* of the Kinki region, namely Ōsaka, Hyōgo, Kyōto, Shiga, Mie, Wakayama, and Nara prefectures. In his monograph *Ōmi ni okeru miyaza no kenkyū* (1938) he examines the *miyaza* of Ōmi 近江, present-day Shiga prefecture, on the basis of case studies. Higo defines the *miyaza* as an organization for worshipping a shrine in communities, especially in villages. In four chapters he discusses the definition and varieties of the *miyaza*, as well as its development, organisation and regular functions. He further introduces his concepts of the closed “privileged councils,” or *kabuza* 株座, that dominated village affairs and ceremonies, and the open “village councils,” or *muraza* 村座, which permitted all families to take part in them (Higo 1938, pp. 16–57; Furushima, “The village and agriculture during the Edo period,” p. 488).

He further touches on the *tōya*, stating that “[a]t the time of festivals, the *tōya* had to prepare, usually at their own expense, the sacred saké and food for the deity, and to supply food and utensils for the public feast of the members. This office was taken up in turns in order of age or the importance of the house, and was considered the greatest duty and of the highest honour; but the expenses were hard to bear,” (Higo 1938, p. 6 (Engl. Transl.)).

Based on case studies conducted in his previous examinations, Higo put together a comprehensive approach to the *miyaza* in his monograph *Miyaza no kenkyū* in 1941. The main points of his findings are:

1. the *miyaza* is an organization which is set up for religious festivals (*shinji* 神事);
2. the members within these organizations are equal;
3. members of a shrine (*ujiko* 氏子) gather regularly and temporarily to worship a deity;
4. there are two categories of *miyaza*: the *kabuza* and the *muraza*.

Fukuta Ajiō Fukuta Ajiō 福田アジヲ (1941–) is a historian and folklorist who has written many works on Japanese villages, and introductory texts on folklore studies and its pioneers, with special focus on Yanagita Kunio.

In his article “Miyaza no igi to sonraku ruikai-ron” of 1989, he discusses former researchers’ definitions of the *miyaza*, such as Higo’s division into *kabuza* and *muraza*. According to Fukuta, three criteria must be met to make use of the word “*miyaza*” as an academic term. First, the term “*miyaza*” should describe both the premodern and modern phenomenon. Second, the term “*miyaza*” should be used to describe certain festival organizations and festival forms. It should not be used to describe organizations for common religious services or groups, such as shrine parishioners (*ujiko*). Third, the development of festival organizations and festival forms cannot be isolated from the *miyaza* and *za* in the past and present. Considering these three criteria, Fukuta’s definition of the *miyaza* is as follows: “The *miyaza* is an organization of men with a specific qualification who worship the rural protective deity in a certain rural community.” Fukuta specifies “certain

rural communities” as villages and towns, the “rural protective deity” as a village tutelary shrine or deity, or a Buddhist temple. Relying on findings by Harada Toshiaki, Fukuta argues that this worship does not include ancestor veneration by certain families (Fukuta, “Miyaza no igi to sonraku ruikai-ron,” p. 12).

Concerning the various forms of the *miyaza*, Fukuta distinguishes the conditions under which villagers can qualify for membership in the *miyaza*. Taking up Higo’s ideas of *kabuza* and *muraza*, which have been applied widely in former research, Fukuta points out the limitations of this approach. He argues that Higo’s concept only sheds light on the internal borders of the *miyaza*, but fails to provide arguments to discuss the internal structure of a *miyaza*. Hence, Fukuta contributes a model for categorising the forms of *miyaza*. The order of the seats within a *miyaza* is fixed in some places; in other places the order of seats is rotated among the members, based on a seniority principle. Further, in some places the approval of membership in the *miyaza* depends on the status of the family, in other places not (Fukuta, “Miyaza no igi to sonraku ruikai-ron,” pp. 13–14).

The model of a *miyaza* comprising only certain families with a fixed seat can be seen especially in the Kantō region (typical *miyaza* model), whereas the membership in a *miyaza* in the Kinki region is based on the seniority principle, thus including the whole village.

Fukuta further introduces his idea of a “*ban*” 番 village and a “*shū*” 衆 village. Since the Kantō and Tōkai regions attach great importance to the family and the house, Fukuta calls this system “*ban*,” whereas the Kinki and Hokuriku regions consider the whole village and their individuals as important, hence the term “*shū*.” Fukuta notes that even if small in number, *miyaza* do exist in Kantō and Tōkai regions as well. Fukuta shifts the focus from privileged *miyaza* members to the manifold forms of villages which give rise to various forms of *miyaza* (Fukuta, “Miyaza no igi to sonraku ruikai-ron,” p. 15).

Fukuta develops his concept further in his monograph *Kanōsei toshite no mura shakai* (1990). In the chapter “‘Ban’ to ‘shū’” he reviews research conducted on Japanese society, especially what has been stated on Japan’s rural society since the Second World War. Since that time, investigations on local differences in Japanese society have been carried out increasingly. The beginning was made by Fukutake Tadashi 福武直 (1917–1989), who introduced two models of Japanese farming villages: villages that were based on family bonds (*dōzoku ketsugō* 同族結合)⁸ and association-based villages (*kōgumi ketsugō* 講組結合). The former could be seen in east Japan and the latter in west Japan. He based his theory on the thoughts of the sociologist Aruga Kizaemon 有賀喜左衛門 (1897–1979), who put forward the idea that families in a community are bound to each other in diverse ways. Hence a strong familial system governs social organization (Fukuta 1990, pp. 110–11; JE 2002, “Aruga Kizaemon,” p. 47).

On the other hand, studies in the field of sociology of law focussed attention on the individual. A family was understood as an organisation of individuals.

In contrast, Fukuta does not rely on former theories but reconsiders the typical form of village organisation in the Kinki region, comparing it to the Kantō

⁸*Dōzoku* are sometimes translated as “extended kin group.”

region. He states that a shifting system (*ban* 番) predominates in the Kantō region, whereas a group granted privileges (*shū* 衆) takes on the responsibility for community matters or festivals. Fukuta stresses that *shū* is an assembly of individuals deriving from families, whose ranks are based on age or the point of time they entered the *shū*.

In the entry in the *Nihon Minzoku Daijiten* of 2000, Fukuta gives a definition of the *miyaza* similar to that described in his article “Miyaza no igi to sonraku ruikei-ron” of 1989. He points out that the *miyaza* likely traces back to the Heian period but only appears in the sources for the first time in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The *miyaza* is especially developed in the Kinki region due to its close connection to the self-governed villages (*sōson* 惣村) which were common in that region in the medieval period. These *miyaza* often show a division into several branches, named for example east or west branch. Although the *miyaza* usually only comprises male members, there are also historical examples of women’s *miyaza*. Nowadays, women are partly included if the *miyaza* is based on only one person per qualified family. Fukuta explains the concepts of *kabuza* and *muraza*, stressing that the *kabuza* is the older of the two forms, which is why some researchers limit the *miyaza* to the *kabuza*. Sometimes a former *muraza* turns into a *kabuza* owing to an influx of new inhabitants. Often initiation rites pave the way for membership in the *miyaza*. Internal groups such as *wakashū* divide up the tasks of the *miyaza*. Usually the seniors take over the role of priest. Apart from that, the annually shifting role of the *tōya* prepares the festival and provides offerings. Sometimes the *tōya* fulfils the role of priest; some researchers say this is the original form of the *tōya*. Moreover, the *miyaza* usually includes a *tōya* system, but not every *tōya* system requires a *miyaza*. Until the Meiji period, the *miyaza* often possessed fields that were ploughed by the *tōya*, who then offered up the yield. The *miyaza* system has declined since the Meiji period and lost its economic foundations due to farmland reforms. A drastic decline can be seen since the bubble economy of the 1960s. However, the *miyaza* is important in understanding the structure of Japanese society (Fukuta, “Miyaza,” pp. 620–22).

Gamō Masao Gamō Masao 蒲生正男 (1927–1981) was the first researcher to discuss the “*tōya* system” as a system for burden sharing within the context of village structure. He describes the *tōya* system as follows: “In a traditional Japanese village there can be seen two main ideologies: one is the family bond (*dōzoku-sei* 同族制), and the other is the seniority system (*nenrei kaitei-sei* 年齢階梯制). However, a majority of villages lack both. Villages of this nature have a *tōya* system (*tōya-sei* 頭屋制). The characteristics of this *tōya* system are the equal burden sharing of the roles among every household for festivals, funerals, and other public events. That does not mean that head-and-branch family relationships (*honbunke kankei* 本分家関係) are ignored or that there is no seniority-based hierarchy. Both, the *dōzoku* system and the seniority system, primarily aim at managing economic objectives, and secondarily at accomplishing festivals and religious services. The *tōya* system, however, aims at administering the festivals and religious services. This system developed on the basis of autarkic and stable agriculture, and is often seen in old villages of the Kinki and Chūgoku regions (Gamō 1979, p. 43).

Ueno Kazuo Ueno Kazuo 上野和男 (1944–) is a folklorist who made many contributions to this field as a professor at the National Museum of Japanese History. Ueno gives his definition of *miyaza* in the compilation *Zusetsu Nihon minzokugaku* edited by Fukuta Ajio in 2009. Here, he describes the *miyaza* as an organisation for festivals that is based on the *tōya* system. Regardless of whether the *miyaza* is founded on a *kabuza* or a *muraza*, it is based on powerful houses that are equal within the *miyaza*, closed to others, and exclusive. Its object of worship is the local tutelary deity, which is often of Shinto and sometimes of Buddhist origin. The *miyaza* came into being in the medieval period, and gradually changed over the centuries. Many *miyaza* have already disappeared. The premodern restructuring of the family and household had the greatest impact.

Regarding the *tōya*, Ueno states that the organisational role for festivals is rotated. He distinguishes between *tōya* who fulfil the role of priest (*kannushi*) and those who support the festival by preparing offerings. Usually, both forms show some sort of consecration, involving various purification rites. By rotating this role, a sharing of costs is ensured. Depending on how the *tōya* is shifted among the *miyaza* members, numerous forms can be seen, based for example on seniority principle, status of the family, or traditional order. This is why the *miyaza* does not show a seniority or two-tiered system. The order of the *tōya* depends not only on the family but can be decided by certain local groups. However, the *miyaza* is widely spread in Shiga and Nara prefecture, as well as in the Kinki and Chūgoku regions, and northern Kyushu (Ueno, “Ujigami to *ujiko*,” pp. 235–36).

In 2011, Ueno examines the *miyaza* in his article “Miyaza kenkyū no rekishi to genzai” laying his focus on the regions Chūgoku and north Kyushu, comparing the *miyaza* to the ones found in the prefectures of Shiga and Nara, as well as the Kinki region. He conducts three case studies analysing the *miyaza* of the local shrines. Three aspects are of special interest to Ueno:

1. The *miyaza* is widely defined as “an organization for religious services at Shinto festivals based on a *tōya* system within a specific local community.” Unlike numerous previous studies, Ueno approaches the concept of the *miyaza* from the internal perspective to highlight its inner structure, and notes that regardless of the form (*kabuza* or *muraza*) of this festival organisation, it is characterised by an internal equality of the families or households, and an external closure and exclusiveness.
2. The *miyaza* shows a wide range of regional varieties. Ueno introduces his concept of an *ie tōya* system (*ie tōya-sei* 家当屋制) and a *kumi tōya* system (*kumi tōya-sei* 組頭屋制). The former can mainly be found in the Kinki region and is based on direct assignment (e.g. in order of age) of the role of the *tōya* to the families or households who are members of the *miyaza*. The latter can be seen in the west of Hyōgo prefecture, the Chūgoku region, and northern Kyushu. Here, the role of the *tōya* is assigned indirectly to the *miyaza* members according to the custom of the region or the group (*kumi* 組).
3. Many changes have occurred in the *miyaza* up until the present day: due

to the promotion of human rights, the *kabuza* declined and gave way to the *muraza*. Further, the costs for festivals which were originally carried by the *tōya* are now shared among all *miyaza* members. Moreover, the *miyaza* faces problems such as depopulation of rural areas, consolidation of arable land, decline of agriculture, and decrease in population. Interest in the *miyaza* has also weakened, leading to a dip in member numbers, which again results in a hollowing out of the organisation and an abbreviation of ceremonial rites. Thus, the number of *miyaza* has been decreasing rapidly in recent years (Ueno, “Miyaza kenkyū no rekishi to genzai,” pp. 57–58).

In summary, Ueno defines the *miyaza* as follows: 1) The basic unit of a *miyaza* is not the individual but the family; 2) The *miyaza* includes both the *kabuza* and the *muraza*; 3) The basic principle of a *miyaza* is equality rather than exclusiveness. Hence, the rotation system of the *tōya* is highly significant; 4) Neither a two-tiered society nor seniority system is the basis for the *miyaza*. As a result, the *miyaza* is “a festival organization in a certain local community which is based on the *tōya* system” (Ueno, “Miyaza kenkyū no rekishi to genzai,” p. 43).

Ueno further examines various aspects of the *tōya* system. It is often said that the *miyaza* disappeared in the Chūgoku region, whereas the *tōya* system still remains (Ueno, “Miyaza kenkyū no rekishi to genzai,” p. 40). As Higo pointed out in 1940, “a Shinto shrine priest (*kannushi*) and a *tōya* are part of the *miyaza*. The *tōya* is responsible for preparing the food and drinks, as well as the festival.” In this way, the *kannushi* can be interpreted as the leader, and the *tōya* as the supporter of the festival. Both roles show manifold variations, hence they cannot be distinguished this clearly. However, there are also cases showing that the *tōya* can also take over the role of the leader. The supportive and the leading role can also be rotated among the members of the *miyaza* (Ueno, “Miyaza kenkyū no rekishi to genzai,” pp. 54–55).

Nowadays, the leading role of the *kannushi* is gradually shifting to professional shrine priests, so that the *tōya* only takes care of the offerings for the gods, such as food and alcohol. *Tōya* can be distinguished from regular services for the festival organization, since the former have to conduct purification rites in some areas (Ueno, “Miyaza kenkyū no rekishi to genzai,” pp. 55–56).

Yagi Tōru Yagi Tōru 八木透 (1955–) mainly conducts research in the fields of folklore studies and family history. In the former field he focusses on regional characteristics of Japanese festivals and rites, as well as performing arts.

In his article “Tōya saishi to miyaza” of 2011, Yagi focuses on the various *tōya* systems of the Kansai region. He examines the *tōya* system of three different regions in six case studies, namely of villages located in Hyōgo, Shiga and Kyoto prefectures. Yagi concentrates on the following aspects:

1. Examination of two villages in Hyōgo prefecture revealed that the village community shows a strong cohesion, and the role of the *tōya* is rotated every year among neighbourhood units (*muragumi* 村組) rather than single houses or families. Thus, equality is established among these units rather than

among individuals, so this system can be interpreted as *tōgumi-sei* 当組制. There is no guarantee of equality within the units (Yagi, “Tōya saishi to miyaza,” p. 31).

2. Investigations on villages in Kyoto found that initiation rites are conducted for entering the *miyaza* (*za-iri girei* 座入り儀礼). Some initiation rites can be seen in Shiga, but none in Hyōgo prefecture. It appears to be important to take on the *tōya* role only formally without fulfilling any special task. An initiation rite is thus conducted to affirm membership of the *miyaza* (Yagi, “Tōya saishi to miyaza,” pp. 31–32).
3. The various characteristics, names and functions of the *tōya* are taken into consideration. Referring to research conducted by Sekizawa Mayumi 関沢まゆみ (1964–)⁹, which gives examples of *tōya* who have to carry out various purification rites for the time of the festival, regarding the ingestion of food, or sexual intercourse, Yagi states that if there is a professional shrine priest, the *tōya* only has to assist and take care of the preparations. Sekizawa concentrated on the functional level of the *tōya*, distinguishing a religious and a secular role, whereas the religious service is taken over by an organisation of seniors. Yagi argues that not all religious services are allocated to an organisation of seniors, hence a clear secular and religious division is not effective (Yagi, “Tōya saishi to miyaza,” pp. 32–33).
4. The role of an organisation of seniors (*miyashū* 宮衆) is determined. In the Kyoto region especially organisations of seniors called *miyashū*, *miyatoshiyori* 宮年寄, or *jūninshū* 十人衆 can be found. Among Yagi’s case studies, only the ones of Shiga and Kyoto prefectures show a senior organisation; no such organisation can be seen in Hyōgo prefecture. A village located in Shiga prefecture has a system which obliges candidates to first enter the *miyashū*, and to become a *kannushi* after eight years. After that, one becomes a so-called *furutō* 古当 for one year and eventually has to leave the *miyashū*. On the other hand, the *miyashū* of another village in Shiga prefecture (there called *miyashi*) obliges candidates first to become a *kannushi* to attain the right to enter the *miyashi*. Once entered, one stays a member life-long. The *kannushi* has to fulfil practical tasks such as taking care of the local deity, and organising the festival (Yagi, “Tōya saishi to miyaza,” pp. 34–35).

Yagi concludes that the *tōya* system basically rotates the various tasks needed for the management of the village and the shrine festival among the families of a certain village. The *tōya* system provides equality of opportunity and an equal share of costs among the villagers, so it can be interpreted as democratic. In fact, some villages rotate the role of *tōya* not among all villagers, but only within a particular group. However, it can be noted that rotation is a significant element of the *tōya* system (Yagi, “Tōya saishi to miyaza,” p. 34).

⁹Sekizawa Mayumi 関沢まゆみ. *Miyaza to bōsei no rekishi minzoku* 宮座と墓制の歴史民俗, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2005.

As Gamō states, the *tōya* system maintains equality on the long term among the villagers. Yagi acknowledges Gamō's ideas as holding true for the rotation of tasks among all villagers, but if the role of the *tōya* is limited to a particular group, this explanation is insufficient. Yagi adds that it is necessary to distinguish between Gamō's model of a *tōya* system, and a *tōya* system with certain preconditions (Yagi, "Tōya saishi to miyaza," p. 34).

Concerning the *miyaza*, Yagi relies on former research and broadens the definition of "*miyaza*" by Fukuta Ajio, stressing that the *miyaza* is an organisation for festivals with a limited number of members who enjoy certain privileges. Yagi further cites Ueno's research, which criticises the vagueness of the definition of "*miyaza*" and discusses the existence of the *miyaza* anew. Stating that the source of authority of the *tōya* system lies within the system itself, Ueno argues that the *miyaza* is not a necessary characteristic for a rural *tōya* system. Yagi agrees with his findings, stressing that the *miyaza* and the *tōya* are two different concepts which have to be examined separately. Reviewing his case studies, Yagi concludes that the villages in Hyōgo prefecture do not have a *miyaza* but a *tōya* system. The villages in Shiga and Kyoto prefecture do have some sort of a *miyaza*, although it is gradually shifting into a *muraza* (Yagi, "Tōya saishi to miyaza," p. 35).

4.1.2 The Past *Tōya* System

Yamaguchi

The sponsor of the heron dance in Yamaguchi is called *tōya*. The heron dance has been transmitted by craftsmen from the district Dōnomae-machi in Yamaguchi city, located close to the castle of the Ōuchi. In medieval times this district was inhabited by ironworkers who made swords that were famous in the region. Later, many craftsmen were assembled in this district: makers of geta shoes, towels, and tatami mats, plasterers and woodworkers (*Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, p. 457).

Originally, the rites connected to the heron dance were conducted in the house of the *tōya*. The role of the *tōya* was hereditary, but if descendants were lacking, the role was passed on to whoever lived in the house. In the past, the *tōya*—then called *sagi tōnin*—was not identical with the dance performers (*Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, p. 473).

Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto of 1583

The oldest surviving source on the Gion festival in Yamaguchi, *Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto* of 1583, records that nine groups with about seven to nine members were in charge of the festival in yearly rotation. Momota calls these members townspeople (*machikata* 町方) (Momota, "Ōuchi bunka no yūga na isan," p. 270). The source gives the term *tōnin* 頭人 for the head of each group; this is the precursor of the *tōya* (*Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, p. 473). The source already lists the name Tsumori; the costume storage box of 1784 (1898) gives the same name. Until recently, the Tsumori family was in charge of the *tōya* role. This may indicate that the Tsumori family was charged with performance of the heron dance over many centuries.

Further, the source lists the roles of the heron dance and the number of performers for each role, as well as the floats for the parade, some props, expenses, and the menu of the food served to the performers. Unfortunately, it is not clear how the dancers and the *tōya* interrelate.

Suō no kuni Yamaguchi Gion-e sagi no ikkan (1714)

As pointed out in the preceding chapter, the source *Suō no kuni Yamaguchi Gion-e sagi no ikkan* of 1714 served as a manual for the heron dance in the Edo period. Compiled by the Yamaguchi townsman Yokoya (Nanba) Rokuemon Yoshinori, it also transmits associated customs and traditions connected to the performance. The source provides some details of the preparatory events conducted by the *tōya*, here called *tōnin* 頭人. A meeting is held in the third month, and the *tōnin* are requested to purify themselves through the period of the festival. The *tōnin* further have to pay a visit to the tea house on the first day of the fifth month. A gathering of the participants of the heron dance is held on the sixth day of the sixth month at the house of the *tōnin*. Nine decorative halberds (*kasaboko*) are provided by the *tōnin* of the next year. Remuneration for the heron dance performers and the nine carriers of the decorative umbrella halberds (*kasaboko*) is provided by the *tōnin* depending on the size of his house. The costs of repairing the feathers of the heron costume are covered by the *tōnin* of that year.

In the beginning of the Keichō era (1596–1615), the responsibility of the heron dance shifted from Ōichi to Dōnomae. From that time on, four groups with about nine to ten people were in charge of the heron dance depending on the size of the *tōnin*'s house. The head of these group was also called *sagi tōnin* 鷺頭人 and rotated every year (Compare Momota, “Ōuchi bunka no yūga na isan,” p. 270). The following *tōnin* were responsible for the performance in alternation from the year 1711 until 1714:

- Itō Chūbei 伊藤忠兵衛
- Yoshimura Heizaemon 吉村平左衛門
- Tanio Chōemon 谷尾長右衛門
- Tsumori Heizaemon 津守平左衛門

The Costume Storage Box of 1784

The inscription on the lid of the costume storage box of 1784 (replaced in 1898) records that four families from Dōnomae-machi carried out the role of the *tōnin*. The names of the *tōnin* of 1784 are:

- Shinohara Chōzaemon 篠原長左衛門
- Hironaka Zensuke 広仲善介
- Kawamura Genshichi 河村源七

- Tsumori Shin'emon 津守新右衛門

The names of the *tōnin* in 1898 are:

- Okamura Ushinosuke 岡村丑之助
- Harada Tsunekichi 原田常吉
- Kawamura Genshichi 河村源七
- Tsumori Shin'emon 津守新右衛門

From this, it can be stated that the number of four *tōnin* was established at this point. It can further be pointed out that Kawamura Genshichi and Tsumori Shin'emon are mentioned for both years, 1784 and 1898, whereas the remaining four persons are only mentioned once. Further it can be highlighted that the Okamura family is still in charge of the *tōya* role nowadays.

Sagimai kiroku (1924)

The *Sagimai kiroku* of 1924 records the inventory of the heron dance performance, listing the props, the costumes, the instruments, and the order of the *tōya*. Whereas the preceding sources use the term *sagi tōnin*, the *Sagi kiroku* uses the terms *tōya* 当屋 and *hontō* 本頭. The source lists the names:

- Okamura Ushinosuke 岡村丑之助 (*hontō*)
- Shimizu Kameo 清水亀雄
- Harada Tsuneshichi 原田常七
- Kawamura Seiichi/Masakazu 河村政一

These four persons were in charge of the heron dance and thus called *tōya*, whereas the term *hontō* describes the person in charge of that particular year (*Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, p. 467). It is questionable whether the above-mentioned Okamura Ushinosuke is the same person as the one noted on the lid of the storage box for the year 1898. It seems possible, however, due to the time gap of twenty-six years, which can easily be covered in a lifetime.

Harada Tsuneshichi might be a descendent of Harada Tsunekichi, who is mentioned on the costume box lid for the year 1898. The same thing can be assumed for Kawamura Seiichi/Masakazu and Kawamura Genshichi. The latter name is given in the lists for both 1784 and 1898, but clearly does not indicate the same individual. The name Shimizu Kameo cannot be seen anywhere else except for the *Sagimai kiroku*.

Tsuwano

During the reign of the Yoshimi family, only one person took over the role of the *tōya*: the head of the Hori 堀 family. The Kamei family ruled over Tsuwano from 1614 on, and the *tōya* system was established when the heron dance was reintroduced to Tsuwano in the middle of the seventeenth century (Kuwabara, “Sagimai ni tsuite,” p. 51). Based on the entry of the *Yuishoki* of 1847¹⁰, Katō states that the heron dance was revived by the *tōya* system in 1644 and has been transmitted to the present day (Katō, “Sagimai kō,” p. 49).

According to the local historian Okimoto Tsunekichi, Hori Kurōbei 堀九郎兵衛 of Honmachi 本町, Nakanochō 中ノ丁, was the head of the *tōya* system in Tsuwano, as recorded in the *Tōya zoku* 頭屋族 of 1677. Okimoto provides a list of twenty-six names of men from Nakanochō who were part of the *tōya* system. The people in the city were expected to assist, and were later called *kumiko* 組子. If the Hori family was indisposed, other influential families from Nakanochō took over the role of the *tōya*. They were supported by people from Kaminochō 上ノ丁 and Shimonochō 下ノ丁. In this way, the *tōya yashiki* 頭屋屋敷 system came into being, aiming to share and to limit the burden among the influential families. Thus, the role of the *tōya* came to rotate between influential families. The function of the *tōya* was connected to the house, not to the individual, so anyone who lived in the *tōya* residence, where the associated ceremonies were held, was obliged to carry out the festival and take responsibility for the event (Okimoto 1989, pp. 446–48, 458–60).

Only few reprints of sources that provide insights into the *tōya* system in Tsuwano survive to the present day. Subsequent to the *Tōya zoku* of 1677, a source of 1775 lists the names of the *kumiko* participating in the festival in the An’ei 安永 era (1772–1781). Although the original was lost in recent years, a typographical reprint is provided by Okimoto. Whereas most of the *kumiko* came from the districts Kaminochō, Nakanochō, and Shimonochō of Honmachi, inhabitants of other districts, such as Imaichi 今市 and Yorozumachi 万町, were also involved. Their number counted twenty-two (Okimoto 1989, pp. 460–62).

Another source is the *Tōya kiroku* 頭屋記録 of 1847, which lists eleven *tōya* houses—beginning with the Hori family—and the number of *kumiko* that belong to each house.¹¹ This number ranges from twenty to thirty-two. The total number of *kumiko* is 293 (Okimoto 1989, pp. 462–66).

From the middle of the Edo period, twelve houses in the town center carried out the duties in rotation. The rest of the people living there were affiliated as *kumiko* with one of the twelve houses. Kuwabara and Katō state that their number was about thirty to forty people. Their task was to help the *tōya* with the festival. This relationship, similar to that of landlord and tenant, became untenable in 1872, when the feudal government was abolished. The original *tōya* system itself collapsed in the Taishō era (1912–1926). After that, influential persons in

¹⁰As discussed in the preceding chapter, the source was lost and is therefore not verifiable.

¹¹Honda and Yamaji give the title *Gionsha tōya naka kumiko sō jinbetsu-chō* 祇園社頭屋中組子惣人別帳. They state that there are 294 ordinary families that are allocated in groups of twenty to thirty families to one *tōya* house (Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 18).

the center of Tsuwano took over the role of the *tōya* (Katō, “Sagimai kō,” p. 50; Kuwabara, “Sagimai ni tsuite,” pp. 51–52 et al.). These people were representatives of the shrine, whose order was determined by lot. Nowadays, this custom no longer exists, and the ceremonies are conducted in the community hall (Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 18).

The heron dancers originally came from Igamachi 伊賀町 in Ushiroda¹², which has traditionally been a district of craftsmen, such as carpenters, and plasterers. The role was transmitted in rotation among thirty houses. Every year, two houses were in charge of the heron dance. The dancers had to live in these two houses, and were obliged to transmit the performance practice to the dancers of the following year. If the heron dancer could not fulfil his task due to high age or some other reason, the role was performed by a rod wielder or *kakko* drum dancer. This system later collapsed; nowadays, the heron dancers no longer have to live in a special house, and anyone from Tsuwano can volunteer and take over the role of heron dancer (Honda and Yamaji 1974, pp. 18–19).

4.1.3 The Present *Tōya* System

Yamaguchi

At present, the *tōya* is the “manager” of the festival and thus fulfills the important role of recruiting, gathering and supervising the people involved. Nowadays, the *tōya* rotates yearly among four houses; one house takes over the role of the *tōya*, supported by the remaining three houses. Although conflicting with the tradition, major changes have occurred in the last twenty to thirty years. Three of the families have retired and three new *tōya* have been appointed. Although women were traditionally excluded from these roles, one of them is a woman. The descendants of *tōya* families nowadays also perform the heron dance. The following families have taken over the role of the *tōya* in Yamaguchi. After Okamura Toshio 岡村俊夫 passed away, his daughter Kurata (formerly Okamura) Taeko 蔵田妙子 succeeded him; this is the only family that has taken the *tōya* role since at least 1898, as the name “Okamura” is written on the lid of the corresponding costume box. Tsumori Tatsusuke 津守達介 retired in 2013. His role was taken over by Sano Fumiaki 佐野文明. Further, Yamaguchi Masanori 山口正則, originally from Kyushu, took over the *tōya* role of Yamamoto Shigeaki 山本繁昭, father of the heron performers, who retired from his duty because he moved to a new house outside of the neighbourhood. Finally, Harada Tomoyasu 原田肥育 (1922–)¹³, whose ancestor is also noted on the costume box lid of 1898 and who was *tōya* in the fifteenth generation, was replaced by Okano Kōki 岡野公紀 (*Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, pp. 461–62, 469; DVD *Sagi no mai*, interview with Yamaguchi Masao in July 2016).

According to information gained in an interview with Yamaguchi Masanori in July 2016, many of the old members of the heron dance performance prefer candidates for the *tōya* who have lived in Yamaguchi for a long time over young

¹²Nowadays, the name “Igamachi” is no longer used.

¹³Harada still remembers times when people signed up from Niho 仁保, in the northern part of Yamaguchi city, to help the performance.



Figure 4.1: From left: *Tōya*, musical accompaniment and heron dancers in Yamaguchi (July 20, 2016)

people or those who only have moved to Yamaguchi recently. In the past, only people who lived along the main street could become *tōya*, so that at the time of the festival umbrella halberds could be displayed in front of their house.

Preparatory Events

Originally, the heron dance started with bringing the props from the Yasaka Shrine to the temple Manpukuji. The preparatory events used to be conducted at the *tōya*'s house, but the venue was changed to the temple, where the props are now stored as well. A scroll (*kakejiku* 掛け軸) used to be hung and rice wine offered for one year in the *tōya*'s house until 2007. At present, the scroll and the costume of the herons as well as the props are displayed at the temple. A *kasaboko* is displayed in front of the house of the *tōya* of that year (*Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, p. 460; personal communication with Yamaguchi Masao in July 2016 and 2017).

Nowadays, the *tōya* is obliged to bring together everyone who is involved in the performance. He further has to undertake miscellaneous duties, such as organising the schedule for meetings and training. It is always difficult to find someone who



Figure 4.2: *Tōya* in Tsuwano (July 27, 2012)

is willing to take over the role of the *tōya* for that year owing to their busy work schedule. On the day of the festival, the *tōya* has to offer a branch of the sacred sakaki tree decorated with zig zag paper streamers (*shide* 紙垂) called *tamagushi* 玉串 in front of the three portable shrines and thus worship the gods, praying for good luck and health for the people. After that, the heron dance is performed. However, this tradition cannot necessarily be carried out at present, because the *tōya* and the heron performer are sometimes the same person (Interview with Yamaguchi Masao in July 2016 and 2017).

Tsuwano

Since the system described above was too heavy a burden for the working people of Tsuwano, it was changed in the Shōwa period (1926–1989) so that representatives of the parishioners (*sōdai* 総代) of the Yasaka Shrine drew lots to determine the *tōya* (Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 18). However, they no longer draw lots at present. Today, the role is generally rotated among fifteen representatives of the *ujiko* who either live or work in the Tsuwano town center. This system was established in 1962.¹⁴ At present, one position is vacant so only fourteen people are involved in the festival as *tōya*. One of the present members (Yokoyama) was chosen as *sōdai* and future *tōya* for the year 2019 despite the fact that he does not

¹⁴Personal communication with Yamaoka Kōji, November 2014.

live in Ushiroda. Still, he works in Ushiroda, so the preceding *sōdai* regarded him as suitable.

In Tsuwano, the Yasaka Shrine offers protection as an *ujigami* shrine only for the 150 families living in Ushiroda.¹⁵ It is said that the Kuwabara family have served as professional priests for the Yasaka Shrine for the last four hundred years. Nowadays, the grandson of the previous priestess Kuwabara Fumiko 桑原典子, Kuwabara Hideyuki 桑原秀幸, is in charge of this role.

The Past *Tōya* Schedule in Tsuwano

Preparatory events involving the *tōya* are described in former research as follows (Okimoto 1989, pp. 450–57; Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 19):

- First month, ninth day. The *maikomi tōya* 舞込頭屋 becomes the *tōya* of that year (*hon tōya* 本頭屋) and takes part in the festival from this day on. He sends invitations to a meeting to the *kumiko*.
- First month, eleventh day. The *kumiko* send presents to the *tōya*, mainly food (fish, mussels, kelp, etc.) and drinks to congratulate him. At noon, the *kumiko* gather in formal dress at the *tōya*'s house. While they have lunch together, they discuss the allocation of roles in detail, as well as financial contributions.
- First month, fourteenth day to fifth month, fourteenth day. During this period, donations are collected by the *kumiko* in the town of Tsuwano.
- Second month to third month. Mackerel is ordered for the festival.
- Fifth month, fourteenth to twenty-fourth day. The various roles are allocated, e.g. who is in charge of the purchase of food.
- Fifth month, twenty-second to twenty-sixth day. The saké is brewed for the festival.
- Fifth month, twenty-fifth day. The *kumiko* gather at the *tōya*'s house and hold a meeting. The bamboo for the props is ordered.
- Fifth month, twenty-eighth day. The bamboo is picked up. The props are prepared and displayed.
- Sixth month, first day. The *kumiko* walk around the town at dawn beating a drum. They gather at the *tōya*'s house. A straw rope (*shimenawa*) is hung up. The Shinto priest conducts a ceremony at which food is offered. Further,

¹⁵According to local informants, there is no official number of *ujiko*, owing to the fact that the Yasaka Shrine is a *sūkei jinja* 崇敬神社. Before the war, *sūkeisha* 崇敬者 appears to have meant only worshippers outside the *ujiko* area. In modern urban Japan, increasing mobility and rebuilding of areas have blurred the borders of Shintō 'parishes.' Consequently, many parishioners attend and support shrines other than those they technically belong to (Bocking, "Sūkei-kai," 2005, p. 141).

the house is purified. After that, the other *tōya* and the townspeople gather in the room with the alcove (*tokonoma* 床の間) where the heron costume is displayed. Salt, rice, rice wine, and salted mackerel on persimmon tree leaves are offered. The *tōya* of that year makes a short speech. After that, they have rice wine, which is served by the *tōya*. Following this ceremony, everyone leaves the room and the *kumiko* enter. They are served rice wine and food. The menu differs every year.

- Sixth month, second day. The *kumiko* repair the costumes and the decoration, such as the *kasaboko*, for the heron dance.
- Sixth month, fourth day. A meeting is held in the evening at which the *tōya*, the performers, and the *kumiko* discuss the schedule of the performance. Again, mackerel and rice wine are served.
- Sixth month, fifth day. The *kumiko* deliver invitations to the heron dance performers and the chorus to practice on the next day.
- Sixth month, sixth day. The performers and the chorus gather early in the morning and are served rice and rice wine. After that, the musical accompaniment is practiced at the Yasaka Shrine. They go the house of the *tōya* afterwards and are served rice wine. The priest, the *kumiko* and the town magistrates exchange greetings. The ceremonial guards (*keigo*) for the festival are called in. Everyone gathers again at the *tōya*'s house on the morning of the next day.
- Sixth month, seventh day. The drum is beaten in the early morning throughout the town “Come to the *tōya*'s house, let's beat the drum” (*tōya e gojare, furedaiko o tatakashō* 頭屋へご座れ、ふれ太鼓をたたかしょう). Thirteen *kasaboko* are displayed in front of the *tōya*'s house. Further, the ceremonial guards and other participants at the festival are led to the *tōya*'s house. The heron dance performers and the chorus as well as other festival participants are invited three times (originally seven and a half times) to gather at the *tōya*'s. They are served rice wine. After that, everyone puts on their costumes and perform the first heron dance in front of the *tōya*'s house three times. Then they head for the Yasaka Shrine, where they perform three times. On the way to the *otabisho*, they perform one to one and a half times at several places on the way. They perform their dance three times at the *otabisho*. After the performance, they are served rice wine.
- Sixth month, twelfth day. Rice is prepared in the early morning, which then is served to all of the participants in the festival. Further, a boiling water ceremony (*yudate* 湯立) is conducted for the *tōya* and the *kumiko* at the *otabisho*. The *kumiko* gather at the *tōya*'s house and visit the *otabisho* afterwards. Everyone meets at the *tōya*'s again, where they are given rice. After that, everyone goes home.

- Sixth month, thirteenth day. A new pine tree is cut in the early morning and the decoration (*kasaboko*) is renewed. The *tōya* of that year and the following year as well as the heron performers meet at the *otabisho* in the evening to be purified by the priest. Greetings for the *tōya* of the next year are exchanged. Rice wine and fish are served.
- Sixth month, fourteenth day. The drum is beaten in the early morning for everyone to gather at the *tōya*'s house. The heron dance performers are asked for their services three and a half times. Rice with red beans and other dishes as well as rice wine are served. The *tōya* and the heron performers stand in a row and extend their greetings. Food and rice wine are served to the *tōya* of coming year; the heron dance performers are served rice wine as well. After that, both *tōya* and the performers visit the *otabisho*. On this day, the people of Tsuwano come to the house of the *tōya* and pay a ceremony fee. They are served rice with red beans and rice wine. Once the performers have left the *tōya*'s house, the rest of the festival participants present collect the props. The heron dancers accompany the portable shrine. The props are taken to the house of the *tōya* of the next year.
- Sixth month, fifteenth day. The *kumiko* gather at the *tōya*'s house and repair, return and take record of all props and decorations that were used for the festival.

It becomes clear from this account of the former *tōya* schedule that extensive ceremonies were associated with the role of the *tōya*. Not only did they entail high financial costs, but also a lot of work; the latter also applies to the *kumiko*. After the Meiji period, many of the ceremonies and customs were simplified. Some of them were sustained until about 1965, for example the food served, including the salted mackerel. However, since the ceremonies are conducted at the community center nowadays, they have lost much of their original atmosphere (Honda and Yamaji 1974, p. 20).

The Present *Tōya* Schedule in Tsuwano

The following information is taken from the pamphlet on the heron dance *Sagimai* published by the preservation committee in 2003, the DVD *Yasaka jinja: Sagimai (Kiroku-hen)*, produced by the Center for Ancient Culture, Education Bureau of Shimane Prefecture in 2002, and field research.

To lighten the burden of the *tōya*, associated ceremonies are no longer held at private residences, but at the community center in Tsuwano. The *tōya*, however, has to fulfil several tasks in a supportive role to the Yasaka Shrine in Tsuwano during the year, such as scattering dried beans to drive out evil spirits one day before the beginning of spring (*setsubun* 節分). With regard to the Gion festival and the heron dance in July, the *tōya* are obliged to take part in several preparatory events.

On July 15, they make a sacred braided straw rope (*shimenawa*). The first important day of duty as *tōya* is on June 30, when greetings are extended by the

tōya. The *tōya* of that year and the preservation committee president give a short speech. On July 20, the first day of the festival, a ceremony centering on the shrine priest takes place from 10:30 am inside Yasaka Shrine in which some of the parishioner representatives (*sōdai*) take part. For the *tōya* and the *maikomi tōya* participation at this event is mandatory.

The *tōya* is usually not involved in the heron dance performance. They do not undertake any purification rites before the festival. Usually men carry out the role of *tōya*.

Because the roles are clear, there is no longer any need to draw lots. The rotation is fixed. If a *tōya* is lacking, the role is covered by someone new. The requirements for Tsuwano are that the new member has to have his house or work in the district of Ushiroda in the town center and usually fulfils an important role within the town.

As already discussed in Chapter 3, several preparatory events are held in advance of the dance performance. At the risk of some duplication of content, it should be noted here that the following events involve the *tōya*:

- June 30: The first important day of duty as *tōya* is on June 30, when greetings are extended by the *tōya*. Preparations are held at the shrine office, short speeches are given by the chief of the *sōdai*, the chief of the preservation committee, the chief of the heron dancers (*sagi-gashira* 鷺頭) and the *tōya*.
- July 15: The *tōya* and the heron dancers decorate the big zelkova tree with a braided straw rope (*shimenawa*). In the evening, consultations on the ceremony are held.
- July 19: An altar (*saidan* 祭壇) is installed at the *tōya*'s house (nowadays the community center), on which the heron dance costumes are placed. A dozen decorative parasols (*kasaboko*) are erected in front of the community center. In the evening, a ceremony is held in the shrine for the *sōdai*.
- At night July 19–20: At night around 2:00 am, a man beating a drum walks through the city to inform its residents about the festival (*furedaiko* 触れ太鼓). The text of his message, “Come to the *tōya*'s house, let's beat the drum” (*tōya e gojare, furedaiko o tatakashō*), indicates that it was originally a call for participants to gather at the *tōya*'s house.
- July 20: A ceremony centering on the shrine priest takes place on the first day of the festival from 10:30 am inside Yasaka Shrine, in which some of the *sōdai* take part. For the *tōya* and the *maikomi tōya* participation at this event is mandatory. On the day of the transfer (*togyo*) of the deity from the shrine to the *otabisho*, the *tōya* and his guards go to the *otabisho*, where the dancers are waiting. Two requests for them to dance are refused; the third time, the dancers walk half way to the community center, where they are met, and agree to dance. At 2:00 pm, everyone involved in the performance gathers at the community center, where they take seats in a stipulated order.

The heron dancers, formerly of low strata of the social order, are seated at the head (*kamiza* 上座), in front of the altar where the costumes and offerings are being sanctified. The *tōya* sits at the opposite end of the table and reads out his greetings. After that, salted mackerel (*sashisaba* 刺し鯖) and sacred rice wine (*omiki* お神酒) are served. The *tōya* of the year asks the dancers to perform.

- July 26: The ceremony for the next *tōya* (*maikomi tōya*) is held. The parishioners (*ujiko*), representatives of the parishioners (*ujiko sōdai* 氏子総代) and the priest of the Yasaka Shrine gather at the *otabisho* to hand the role of the present *tōya* to that of the following year.
- July 27: The return (*kangyo*) starts again from the community center; the heron dancers proceed to the *otabisho*. At the end, the present *tōya* hands over his hat to the *maikomi tōya*. The latter leads the heron dancers to the *tōya*'s house (community center), where they give their last performance.



Figure 4.3: Gathering at the community center in Tsuwano (July 27, 2016)

Conclusion

Yamaguchi The historical sources concerning the heron dance in Yamaguchi show that nine groups, each comprising a leader called *sagi tōnin* or simply *tōnin* and seven to nine assistants, were in charge of the performance at the end of the sixteenth century (*Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto*, 1583). At this point, the term “*tōnin*” was used rather than “*tōya*.” From the beginning of the eighteenth century, sources show that the number of participants decreased to four groups comprising nine to ten people and one leader, the (*sagi*) *tōnin* (*Suō no kuni Yamaguchi Gion-e sagi no ikkan*, 1714; costume storage box, 1784). In the twentieth century at the latest, the term “*tōya*,” or “*hontō*,” was used (*Sagimai kiroku*, 1924).

Interestingly, only the name Tsumori¹⁶ appears from the first record (*Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto*, 1583) on in each of the examined sources (*Suō no kuni Yamaguchi Gion-e sagi no ikkan*, 1714; costume storage box 1784, 1898; *Sagimai kiroku* 1924). As mentioned above, the Tsumori family was in charge as *tōya* until recently; only in 2013 did Sano Fumiaki 佐野文明 take that role (*Yamaguchi-shi shi*, vol. 6, p. 461). Assuming that there was no interruption of transmission within the family, the Tsumoris were conducting the role of the *tōya* for about more than 430 years. The twentieth and last representative *tōya* of the Tsumori family, Tsumori Kōsuke 津守幸介, can be seen in an interview recorded on the DVD *Sagi no mai* in 2013 by the heron dance preservation committee of Yamaguchi.

Another name that can be seen in every examined record from 1583 until 1924 except for *Suō no kuni Yamaguchi Gion-e sagi no ikkan* (1714) is Kawamura. However, considering the fact that Kawamura is a common name, it is uncertain whether this name indicates the same family. If so, it can be assumed that the Kawamura family similarly took over the role as *tōya* for over four centuries.¹⁷

As the *Suō no kuni Yamaguchi Gion-e sagi no ikkan* records, initially the people of Ōichi were engaged in the performance until the Keichō era (1596–1615). After that, it was shifted to Dōnomae-machi, whose inhabitants still support the heron dance today.

Nowadays, the *tōya* role is rotated among four families, and the *tōya* of each year is supported by the other *tōya* families and the preservation committee. Hence, the groups that supported the *tōya* mentioned in the historical sources no longer exist. The *tōya* role is no longer allocated in the traditional way, which implies a transmission among one household. New members, who are willing to take over the responsibility of the *tōya*, have to be acquired.

Further, ceremonies are no longer held in the house of the *tōya*. Preparatory events as described in the *Suō no kuni Yamaguchi Gion-e sagi no ikkan* of 1714 have been reduced to a minimum. The *tōya* mainly carries out miscellaneous duties

¹⁶According to the internet search engine *Myoji-yurai.net*, the name Tsumori 津守 is common in Yamaguchi (“Tsumori,” *Myoji-yurai.net* (online), 6 Feb. 2018.). The approximate number of Japanese citizens with this name is 2,300.

¹⁷The name Kawamura 河村 is common in Yamaguchi as well. According to the search engine *Myoji-yurai.net*, the approximate number of people with this name is 84,900 (“Kawamura,” *Myoji-yurai.net* (online), 28 Aug. 2019).

such as organising the schedule for meetings and training. The temple Manpukuji is used for storing the costumes and decorations for the festival. As a result of duplication of the role of the *tōya* and the heron performer, certain ceremonies traditionally conducted by the *tōya* are no longer being carried out.

Tsuwano Unlike Yamaguchi, there used to be only one family in charge of the *tōya* in the middle of the seventeenth century in Tsuwano. This family, the Hori family, had numerous helpers for the festival, the *kumiko*. In the course of time, the role of the *tōya* was no longer restricted to the Hori family but rotated among twelve houses. The earliest entry of 1677 and a later entry of 1847 lists the name Hori, implying that the role of the *tōya* was carried out by certain families over a period of almost two hundred years, similar to Yamaguchi.

This system was abolished, however, in the late nineteenth century. The traditional *tōya* system eventually collapsed in the Taishō era (1912–1926). After that, influential persons who were representatives of Yasaka Shrine took over the role of the *tōya*, and their order was temporally determined by lot. Nowadays, new *tōya* are recruited on recommendation. Their order is discussed and decided in a meeting.

Similar to Yamaguchi, the role of the *tōya* was connected to the house rather than the individual. Ceremonies associated with the heron dance performance were conducted in the house of the *tōya*. Nowadays, the community center is used to display associated decorations and celebrate these ceremonies. The *tōya* candidates are *sōdai* of the Yasaka Shrine. From the traditional twelve, their number has risen to fifteen people at present. There are no *kumiko* anymore; instead, members of the preservation committee support the performance.

The *tōya* role is allocated in a stricter way than it is in Yamaguchi: usually only influential and respected persons who live or work in a certain area, in Tsuwano represented by the district of Ushiroda, are chosen as *tōya*. Once chosen as *tōya*, there is usually no double appointment of roles in the same year (i.e. being *tōya* and heron performer at the same time). In Yamaguchi, a new member should be from the neighbourhood.

Relying on detailed former research concerning preparatory events held by the *tōya*, it can be stated that the number of tasks carried out by the *tōya* in the present has decreased significantly. Yet the *tōya* has to discharge his duties as a representative of the Yasaka Shrine, such as scattering dried beans to drive out evil spirits one day before the beginning of spring (*setsubun*), making a straw rope (*shimenawa*), and organising meetings and trainings with the performers. It seems that Tsuwano has a greater number of tasks fulfilled by the *tōya*: for example, there is no handing over of the *tōya* hat to the *maikomi tōya* in Yamaguchi.

Miyaza Elements Although interviewees in both Yamaguchi and Tsuwano said that they had never heard of the term *miyaza*, some elements apply to the systems in both places: following Hagiwara's definition of a *miyaza*, both places have a group with a special function of carrying out shrine rituals among the *ujiko* of a certain village with a *tōnin* (or *tōya*). To call it a guild is probably an

overstatement.

Neither in Yamaguchi nor in Tsuwano does the *tōya* carry out the role of shrine priest. In both places professional shrine priests conduct the necessary ceremonies.

In both places, the *tōya* group usually only comprises men. However, due to dramatic changes in the social structure, they are being forced to let women participate permanently in their tradition, as can be seen in Yamaguchi. In Tsuwano, the *tōya* are still mainly men. Women only participate if they are replacing their recently deceased husband for a short time. Although the preservation committee heads in both places stress that they generally welcome new members even from outside the usual pool of acquisition, for example from neighbouring towns, there are as yet no examples of such a case. The role of the *tōya* used to be connected to the house and was in this way hereditary. However, nowadays it is no longer hereditary.

Higo's concepts of *kabuza* and *muraza* might be outdated for the present system. However, it seems that the *tōya* system in the past showed *muraza* elements for Yamaguchi due to the fact that the *tōya* role was shifted among a number of families. *Kabuza* elements may be found in the *tōya* system in Tsuwano of the past, for the reason that only the Hori family occupied that position. In the course of time, it changed into a *muraza*, involving twelve houses and their helpers (*kumiko*). Nowadays, it is mainly the group of the *tōya* and supporters, organised as a preservation committee.

Higo's statement that the *tōya* had to prepare the sacred saké and food for the deity and supplied food and utensils for the public feast at their own expense holds true for the past in both Yamaguchi and Tsuwano. Nowadays, the financial burden is shared and covered by subsidies and donations from the prefecture, town, and community.

According to Sekiya's definition, the *tōya* in Yamaguchi as well as in Tsuwano carries out the role of a headman of a shrine festival or ceremony for a certain period of time, responsible for its preparations and management. In Tsuwano, they put emphasis on writing the “*tō*” of the term “*tōya*” with the Chinese character 頭 (interview with Kurisu in July 2017), contrary to Sekiya's observation of a focus shift towards the rotation expressed by the usage of the character 当. Moreover, the role of the *tōya* was rotated based on family rank or lot in the past in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano, but nowadays the *tōya* is appointed in a meeting considering everyone's work schedule. Ritual pollution does not matter in either of the places. Yet the house of the *tōya* is decorated, originally to indicate the place where the deity descends, as Sekiya has stated. Further, the heron dance is performed in front of the house of the *tōya* of that year in both places.

Fukuta's definition of a *miyaza* as an organization of men with a specific qualification who worship the rural protective deity in a certain rural community could be applied to the organisation structure in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano in the past as well as the present. Neither his “*ban*” nor “*shū*” theory necessarily applies to Yamaguchi and Tsuwano, because the *shū*—mainly found in Kinki and Hokuriku regions—describes a group with certain privileges taking on the responsibility for community matters or festivals. Privileges for the members that carry out the role of the *tōya* cannot be observed in the present system in either place, but there

may have been some in the past, e.g. for the Hori family in Tsuwano. Fukuta further points out that the *miyaza* usually includes a *tōya* system, but not every *tōya* system requires a *miyaza*. The present system in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano can be seen as representative of a *tōya* system without a *miyaza*.

In the same way, Gamō's formula for a *tōya* system without family bondage or seniority system can be applied to the system in present day Yamaguchi and Tsuwano, because it implies an equal burden sharing of the roles among every household, aiming at undertaking religious services and festivals. Corresponding with Gamō's research, both places are located in the Chūgoku region. Neither in Yamaguchi nor in Tsuwano do they have a seniority system, yet elders gain respect. A long-term equality according to Gamō can be seen in the fact that the preservation committee refuses to make a list of their members, because it could imply a ranking which would lead to dispute (Interview Yoshinaga, Inomura, Kurisu in July 2012). It can be questioned, however, whether agriculture plays or played any significant role in either place, as Gamō puts weight on an autarkic agriculture connected to this kind of *tōya* system.

More recent research by Ueno focuses on various aspects of the *miyaza* which might not necessarily be applicable to Yamaguchi and Tsuwano. Although there are rules for whom to introduce as a member of the group of *tōya*, it seems to be overstated to call it an external closure and exclusiveness. Further, the role of the *tōya* is shifted among individuals or families rather than groups, so neither Yamaguchi nor Tsuwano show similarities with what Ueno states to be the common model (*kumi tōya-sei*) in western Japan.

Ueno's thoughts on the *tōya* mainly repeat what has already been said. Some can be applied to Yamaguchi and Tsuwano, e.g. that the *tōya* aims to share the costs by rotation, or that he prepares the offerings for the festival. As stated above, purification rites cannot be seen in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano. It seems to be the case in both Yamaguchi and Tsuwano that the *tōya* takes over the leading role as described by Ueno.

Finally, Yagi examines a *tōya* system rotated among neighbourhood units (*muragumi*); this does not seem not to be applicable to Yamaguchi nor Tsuwano. The same can be stated for initiation and purification rites. A *miyashū* could not be confirmed either in Yamaguchi or Tsuwano. The system found in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano might be interpreted as being similar to the *tōya* system without a *miyaza* that Yagi determined for Hyōgo prefecture.

4.2 Present Transmission Practice

4.2.1 Field Research in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano

The following information was gathered in four field studies extending over the years 2012 to 2017. Performers and *tōya* of both Yamaguchi and Tsuwano, as well as the priest of the Yasaka Shrine in Tsuwano were interviewed. The main interviewees were:

Interviewees in Yamaguchi

- Yamaguchi Masao 山口正則 (2016, 2017)
- Yamamoto Ren 山本蓮, heron dancer (2017)
- Yamamoto Futoshi 山本太史, heron dancer (2016); has danced for thirty years
- Yamamoto Ryūji 山本竜二, heron dancer (2016); has danced for twenty years
- Matsunaka Mitsuo 松中光雄, flute (2017)
- Okano Kōki 岡野広紀, taiko drum and *tōya* (2017)

Interviewees in Tsuwano

- Yoshinaga Yasuo 吉永康男, president of the preservation committee (2012, 2014, 2016, 2017)
- Kurisu Yukimasa 栗栖志匡, ceremonial guard (*keigo-gata*) in 2012, head of secretariat and parishioners and *tōya* in 2017 (2012, 2016, 2017)
- Nagata Jōji 永田城治, heron dancer (2012)
- Inomura Mitsuo 井野村光雄, former heron dancer (2012, 2014)
- Masui Hirohisa 益井博久, *maikomi tōya* in 2017 (2017)
- Kuwabara Hideyuki 桑原秀幸, vice-priest of Yasaka Shrine (2016, 2017)
- Mikamoto Satoru 三家本悟, flute (2017)
- Tsubaki Toshiaki 椿利明, *kakko* drum (2014, 2017)
- Fujimoto Kenji 藤本憲児, *taiko* drum (2017)
- Sakurai Mikio 桜井幹雄 and Sakane Toshio 坂根敏夫, chorus (2017)

Yamaguchi In Yamaguchi, where the performance is much simpler than in Tsuwano, they only practice once or twice before the actual performance. In 2017, someone new took the part of a heron dancer. He imitated the moves of the veteran and was instructed orally beforehand. The drum is so easy that it only requires a sense of rhythm to play it; practice is not needed. The flautist was taught by a veteran at home in the beginning and has played the flute for twenty years, so he does not practice much anymore. Due to the restricted number of instruments and roles, there is less rotation in Yamaguchi than in Tsuwano. Nowadays, the heron dancers are sons of a *tōya* family, so the connection between the performing roles and the *tōya* is stronger than in Tsuwano (also due to a lack of performers).

Tsuwano In Tsuwano, all performers meet on a regular basis once every month (except for January and February) to practice at the *otabisho*.

Transmission to new members is carried out orally; they watch the veterans and imitate them (learning by doing). All performers meet on a regular basis once every month—except for January and February—at the *otabisho* to practice. They usually do not use any instruction material; even so, some of them have seen earlier performances on DVD or have listened to recordings of the flute part. Some might use computers to keep note of important things for their role.

There is no fixed order in which they rotate among the instruments. Many of them have played different instruments or have performed the dance in the past. As the flute is the most difficult to master, a veteran instrumentalist with sound musical knowledge now teaches two young players at the community center every Wednesday. When someone new is introduced to the instrumental troupe, he usually starts off with the easiest instrument, the gong.

Interview with Heron Dancers in Yamaguchi

The number of heron dancers has fluctuated in the course of history. Whereas historical source show that usually two men performed the heron dance, it seems that it was common in the Meiji and Taishō eras to hire dancers for the performance, and when the emperor came to Yamaguchi in 1915, they had a large number of heron dancers. However, nowadays two men carry out the role of the heron dance: the brothers Yamamoto Futoshi 山本太史 (b. 1965) and Yamamoto Ryūji 山本竜二 (b.1968). The following account describes present practice. Information was gained in an interview with the two heron dance performers in Yamaguchi in July 2016.

The Yamamoto brothers were born and raised in Yamaguchi. However, at present they live some distance from Yamaguchi city. Their family used to take over the role of the *tōya*; their grandfather and father also performed the role of the heron dancer. Both began to take part in the performance when they were still small children. At first, they performed the children's role of the *kakko* (also *kanko*) drum dancer. In the beginning, they felt a bit embarrassed about their participation in the performance. In contrast, the children that perform the *kakko* drum dance today are proud to participate.

Nowadays, they do not reflect too much about their performance role, but rather see it as their obligation. Yet they look forward to the dance performance every year. Yamamoto Futoshi has performed for thirty years, and his younger brother Ryūji for twenty years.

While the first performance at the temple Manpukuji is a warm up, they get more serious when they dance in front of the shrine and at the *otabisho*. Having experienced other roles as well, the heron role is somewhat special. While they dance, they pray for world peace rather than protection from diseases.

They feel that the heron dance performance contributes to a lively and closely linked community. People look after each other's children and raise them together.



Figure 4.4: Yamamoto brothers in Yamaguchi (July 20, 2016)

Interview with Heron Dancers in Tsuwano

The following account describes present practice, based on information gained in an interview with the heron dancer Nagata Jōji 永田城治 in Tsuwano in July 2012. Nagata (b. 1981) was raised on the other side of the Tsuwano river, some distance from the town center of Tsuwano. After he graduated from high school, he completed training as a cook in Kyoto. He returned and started working at a restaurant in the town center of Tsuwano. This gave him the opportunity to watch the heron dance performance at close hand, so that he decided to become a member of the preservation committee in 2010.

In 2012, Nagata performed his debut as a heron dancer at the age of 31. He learned the dance movements by attentive observation and imitation. In addition, he filmed the dance step sequences and remembered them by repeated viewing. There were no notations available. At the beginning, it was difficult.

On the day of the performance, Nagata was nervous but once he started dancing, his anxiety vanished, and he was able to concentrate completely on his dance moves. Apart from the summer heat and the high humidity, the biggest problem is the cord that ties the feathers to the body, because it chokes the neck. After he finished his performance, he felt relieved, with a sense of accomplishment. To Nagata, the heron dance resembles the mating dance of a heron couple, which is protected by the rod wielders. According to this interpretation, he prays for abundance of children. Moreover, in the past high-ranking persons of Tsuwano asked the heron dancers for their performance once a year, which indicates a reversed social order. Due to the abolishment of feudal privileges, this function no longer exists.

It is Nagata's desire to protect and transmit the heron dance with as many details as possible. Therefore, he seeks to gain more knowledge on the performance and revive its original form. He would further appreciate it if more young people were interested in the performance and contribute to its preservation notwithstanding the pressure imposed on them by their work. The financial burden is insignificant, and the practice hours are held only once a month. Training becomes more intense shortly before the performance; practice is held three times in advance of the festival. Nagata knows no one among his acquaintances who is likely to get involved in the heron dance. However, to him entering the preservation committee brought about various benefits, such as getting to know his neighbours and becoming part of a closely linked community. The members of the preservation committee are proud of their tradition. Nagata is open to changes in the tradition, such as a rescheduling of the dance on the weekend, so that more tourists can watch the performance. But he also understands the argument that the heron dance is conducted for the gods, not the tourists. In fact, changes such as an adjustment of the time of the performance have occurred in the past. Yet these questions are difficult to answer.

4.2.2 The Children's Heron Dance

The *kosagi odori* or "Children's Heron Dance" was invented in 1958 for the children of Tsuwano, to familiarize them with local culture and performing arts. The lyrics were written by the then chief of the tourist association Tanaka Ryō 田中良, the composition by the conductor and composer Sakamoto Yoshitaka 坂本良隆 (1898–1968), the choreography created by the choreographer Nishisaki Mayumi 西崎真由美, and the arrangement made by Kikumaki Komatsu 菊万亀小松 (Yamaoka, "Sagimai to kosagi odori," p. 24).

The children wear a hat in the form of a heron's head decorated with pink flowers, a white short-sleeved *kosode* which is decorated with small bells at the sleeve opening, red *hakama* pants with white *tabi* socks, and straw sandals (*zōri*). White wings are attached to their back. The song is played from a recorder



Figure 4.5: “Children’s Heron Dance” in Tsuwano (July 27, 2012)

installed on a wheeled hand cart.

The *kosagi odori* starts at 1 pm at the elementary school of Tsuwano. The dance is performed on both days, July 20 and 27. The stations of the dance on July 20 are:

Tsuwano elementary school – Yasaka Shrine – Tsuwano tourist hotel – in front of the station – at the otabisho – in front of the Furuhashi saké brewery – in front of the Tonomachi kindergarten – at the Tsuwano Town History Museum.

The stations of the dance on July 27 are:

Tsuwano elementary school – Machida Kinuya – in front of the elementary school – Ōhashi street shopping precinct – in front of the town hall – Itō pharmacy – in front of the station – in front of Tsuwano’s former telephone station.

As Yamaoka points out, the *kosagi odori* soon gained fame and was reported on by the mass media throughout the country. The performers were even invited to other places such as the city of Kitakyushu (Yamaoka, “Sagimai to kosagi odori,” p. 25).

According to the interview with Nagata in July 2012, usually only girls were interested in taking part in the *kosagi odori* when he was a child. Due to a lack of girls of a suitable age, nowadays boys take part in the children's heron dance. As stated by the preservation committee members Yoshinaga, Kurisu and Inomura in an interview conducted in July 2012, the creation of the *kosagi odori* has fostered awareness of the city's cultural heritage among the younger generation and thus helped to preserve their heritage.

4.3 Modern Regulations

4.3.1 Subsidies

The heron dance in Yamaguchi was designated as an “Intangible Cultural Property” (*Mukei bunkazai* 無形文化財) in 1973 by the prefecture of Yamaguchi and then, due to a revision in regulations, reclassified as an “Intangible Folk Cultural Property” (*Mukei minzoku bunkazai* 無形民俗文化財) by the prefecture of Yamaguchi in 1976.

On the other hand, the Agency of Cultural Affairs first classified the Tsuwano heron dance as an “Intangible Folk Cultural Property” in 1973, and then as an “Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property” (*Jūyō mukei minzoku bunkazai* 重要無形民俗文化財) in 1994. This recognition was given by the national government.

In Japan, cultural properties received their first legal definition in 1950 when the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties was enacted and took effect.¹⁸ Since then, the law has undergone numerous amendments. Nowadays, the law classifies the following six categories:

- Tangible Cultural Properties
- Intangible Cultural Properties
- Folk Cultural Properties
- Monuments
- Cultural Landscapes
- Groups of Traditional Buildings

The folk performing arts are part of the category “Folk Cultural Properties” which is subdivided into:

- Important Tangible Folk Cultural Properties
- Important Intangible Folk Cultural Properties

¹⁸Cultural promotion focusses mainly on the preservation of Japanese national treasures and cultural heritage. Six national theatres provide stages for the Japanese traditional performing arts such as kabuki, noh and kyogen as well as bunraku (Bergmann, “Der Impresario Sasaki Tadatasugu,” p. 14.).

- Registered Tangible Folk Cultural Properties
- (Intangible Folk Cultural Properties that need measures such as documentation)

Over the last years, the Agency of Cultural Affairs has promoted especially the transmission of important folk cultural properties. Unlike intangible cultural properties, there is no specified successor; the tradition is connected to the lifestyle and customs of ordinary people. However, some basic conditions must be fulfilled (Pamphlet “Intangible Cultural Heritage,” (online) p. 16).

According to the Agency for Cultural Affairs of Japan, “[n]ational subsidies are provided for part of the cost of projects conducted by protection groups for Important Intangible Folk Cultural Properties, such as successor training projects, local public performances, and repair of facilities or repair and replacement of props and other items essential for public performances.” Subsidies are further provided for transmission, utilization and other projects run by local governments (e.g. information pamphlets). Part of the costs of survey projects carried out by local governments on a particular Intangible Folk Cultural Property are subsidized, as well as projects for repair and replacement of tools and implements, and for documentation projects. Moreover, subsidies are provided for folk performing arts festivals of different regions under one roof (Pamphlet “Intangible Cultural Heritage,” (online) pp. 17–18).

Covering Costs As stated by Yamaguchi Masao in the interview of 2016, donations are made for the heron dance by the Yasaka Shrine, the Yamaguchi Tourism & Convention Association (Yamaguchi Kankō Konbenshon Kyōkai 山口観光コンベンション協会), and the townspeople. Moreover, the heron dance performance obtains a subsidy, from the city of Yamaguchi but not the prefecture. The performance was subsidized in the past by the prefecture; subsidies may have been stopped due to a change of government. The total budget is approximately 100,000 yen. This money is used to pay a compensation to the *tōya*, to hold a celebratory party, and to cover the costs of repair and cleaning.

On the other hand, Tsuwano covers its costs with donations from the inhabitants, a subsidy from the prefecture and also from the town.

The Preservation Committees

Yamaguchi The preservation committee (*honzonkai* 保存会) was established 1973 in Yamaguchi. The committee numbers twenty-six members. Women cannot be official members, but they are welcome as helpers. They are viewed as committee members. For example, two of the women help the performers to put their costumes on. In the past, they also had neighbourhood groups (*han* 班) among which the tasks were shifted. The members of the preservation committee are basically people who live in the neighbourhood. They do not necessarily have to be born in Yamaguchi, so people who have moved to Yamaguchi in the past are welcomed as

well.¹⁹

Tsuwano The preservation committee (*hozonkai* 保存会) was established in 1961 in Tsuwano. The committee has a stable number of thirty-three members. At the point of the interview in July 2012, twenty-one persons were in their sixties or seventies, two were in their fifties, one or two in their forties and eight persons were in their twenties or thirties. The sixty-years-and-older group holds the largest share with about two-thirds of the preservation committee. The youngest members of the committee are between 23 and 25 years old. Twenty-two of the members are involved in the performance as dancers, instrumentalists, and singers; eleven persons are the *sōdai* of the Yasaka Shrine (Interview with Nagata, Yoshinaga, Inomura, Kurisu in 2012).

Table 4.1: Age and Number of Preservation Committee Members (Tsuwano, as of July 2012)

Age in years	Number of persons	Percentage
60–80	21	64
50–60	2	6
40–50	2	6
30–40	6	18
20–30	2	6

4.3.2 Issues of Succession

Yamaguchi The following information is mainly based on an interview with the chief of the preservation committee in Yamaguchi, Yamaguchi Masao, conducted in July 2016. Yamaguchi points out that the biggest problem is the succession of their performing art. The increasing number of elderly persons and decreasing number of children, as depopulation continues, are causing problems. Most of the members of the preservation committee are elderly, and no less than three families were replaced in their role as *tōya* recently. Yamaguchi himself only moved to Yamaguchi from Kyushu when he was still a child, but at an advanced age he felt he should get involved somehow in neighbourhood activities and thus became a member of the preservation committee and took over the role as *tōya* as well.

While it has been stated that the role of the heron can be performed until approximately the age of sixty years, in Yamaguchi the recommended limit is about forty. One of the present heron dancers, Yamamoto Futoshi, is in his fifties now, and it seems difficult for them to find an appropriate successor.

¹⁹Unfortunately, the ages of the members of the preservation committee and their share in the committee are not official (personal communication with Kurata Noriko 藏田典子 in September 2019).

Moreover, it seems difficult to find appropriate candidates for the children's *kakko* dance. This role is officially limited until elementary school grade four; despite exceeding this limit, the older boy performing the *kakko* dance at present enjoys it so much (notwithstanding the fact that the costume is getting too small for him) that his parents are unwilling to force him to give up his role. The other child only began school in 2017. The boy performing previous to the present cast exercised his role until junior high school.

Tsuwano Like the situation in Yamaguchi, the succession of their performing art is difficult. Aging and decrease in population pose problems here as well. On the other hand, the number of the preservation committee is stable, so there are no performing roles which could be distributed at this point to young people even if they entered the committee. Even people from outside of Tsuwano might be welcomed in the future; however, at the point of the interview in 2012 this idea had not yet been discussed. Another possible resource of new female members is not discussed; women do not request to enter the committee, and its present members do not believe that the heavy work is suitable for them. Moreover, according to the interviewees, Japanese deities are reluctant to view performances conducted by women.²⁰

The preservation committee provides a venue for cooperation and exchange between the generations. Once a member of the preservation committee, one stays a member unless in the case of illness or other misfortune. This is why senior members usually do not withdraw voluntarily from the committee, neither does anyone actively voice a wish for their resignation.

Exchange Student Programme

The following information is based on an interview conducted in July 2012 with two Japanese exchange students who took part in the programme “Innovation for Japan,” which sends university students to small towns to experience the countryside of Japan, seeking to inspire young people to get involved in projects revitalising places which are affected by depopulation. The interview partners were Kuroyanagi Tomohiro 畔柳知宏 and Ishikawa Yōko 石川葉子, both then enrolled in universities in Tokyo.

Kuroyanagi first encountered the heron dance when he came to Tsuwano. He was then invited by a member of the preservation committee to take part in the performance as a ceremonial guard (*keigo-gata*). It was the first time for him to wear this kind of traditional robe. In this way, he was able to observe the performance at close hand, and attend the performance training at night at the shrine. This gave him the impetus to learn about the heron dance, including the meaning of its song text.

In contrast, Ishikawa already knew about the heron dance when she arrived in Tsuwano, thanks to her attendance at a folk performing arts show staged at

²⁰When I pointed out that the then shrine priest was nevertheless a woman, they referred to the ambiguity of the Japanese deities—the sun deity Amaterasu is a woman as well. However, they do not want women to enter their committee.

NHK Hall in Shibuya, Tokyo. Therefore, she was interested in the heron dance and wanted to participate in the performance in some way. Due to the prohibition of women in the performance, she could not take part directly, but she hoped to participate in the *kosagi odori*. Those responsible for its organisation were positive about her request at first, but, owing to some confusion shortly before the festival, she ended up being unable to participate in the children's performance. Somewhat disappointed about the course of events, she had no alternative but to support the ceremony from behind the scenes. Regarding the restrictions on gender of the performers, she expressed her misgivings, interpreting this as a kind of sexual discrimination. Nevertheless, she understands that these rules seem natural to all local participants.

4.3.3 Marketing

Yamaguchi The heron dance preservation committee of Yamaguchi made two pamphlets in 2013, both entitled *Sagi no mai*: a leaflet giving information on the route of the heron dance performance, and a pamphlet comprising eight pages with detailed information on the dance, its history, characteristics and transmission. They are handed out on the day of the performance. In addition, the preservation committee produced a DVD entitled *Sagi no mai* in 2013, which includes interviews with former *tōya* on the heron dance.

Apart from that, the Education Board of Yamaguchi provides a reprint of historical material concerning the heron dance, entitled *Sagi no mai* (1981). It might not be what the average visitor seeks for when watching the performance, but it contributes to a broader understanding of the heron dance and its history.

With regard to branding, Yamaguchi seems to be somewhat reserved compared to Tsuwano. The local characters Kyūpī and Hello Kitty are disguised as a mandarin orange (*mikan*) and globefish (*fugu*), symbolizing local specialties from Yamaguchi prefecture rather than the heron dance.

Tsuwano In contrast, Tsuwano puts a lot of energy into marketing the heron dance. The preservation committee's pamphlet *Sagimai* (2003) distributed in Tsuwano has twelve pages and is more sophisticated than that of Yamaguchi. It provides an introduction to the history, the *tōya* system, the dance moves, the procession and the ceremonial schedule of the heron dance.

Although not in circulation in Tsuwano, there are three DVDs with detailed information on the festival, the role of the Yasaka Shrine, and the heron dance, produced in 2002 by the Center for Ancient Culture, Education Bureau of Shimane Prefecture. These show a higher degree of professionalism than the DVD of the heron dance made by the preservation committee of Yamaguchi.

In 2015, Tsuwano staged an exhibition on the designated cultural property *Hundred Views of Tsuwano* (*Tsuwano hyakkeizu* 津和野百景図), a screen painted by Kurimoto Satoharu (Kakusai) in 1913, which also depicts the heron dance as it was performed at that time.²¹ The exhibition was promoted in the governmental

²¹Refer to section 2.4.4 on “*Tsuwano hyakkeizu* (1913)” on page 119.

framework of “Japan Heritage,” a project aiming at local revitalization through “(1) promotion and training, (2) publicity and education, (3) research and study, and (4) monetary support for Japan Heritage development and public use through a fund administered by the Japan Arts Council” in Japan and overseas.²² The title of the project was *Tsuwano Then and Now: Exploring the Town of Tsuwano through the One Hundred Landscapes of Tsuwano*. A guidance center explaining the story with images and panels was established and offered new ways to explore the town. As reported by the Public Relation Office of the Government of Japan, the number of international visitors staying in Tsuwano in 2016 grew by 1.6 times compared to 2014 thanks to this project.²³ According to the local historian and informant Yamaoka Kōji 山岡浩二, the campaign intends to raise the number of tourists and guide them to other places than well-known tourist hot spots like Kyoto. A 100% financial coverage is provided for three years for the objects that are chosen as heritage. The Agency for Cultural Affairs expects profit from the Japan Heritage project in return. In connection to this project, a modern website has recently been developed. Apart from that, an entry on the heron dance can be found on the website of the tourist association of Tsuwano. Probably to meet the increasing demand of information in other languages than Japanese, this website can automatically be translated into English and many other languages, but with inferior quality.

Visiting Tsuwano one will find many signboards with the heron dance motif, while in the middle of the town stands a statue of two heron dancers. The famous sweet *Genji maki* has wrapping paper depicting the dance. Moreover, one will find Hello Kitty straps, as well as Kyūpi in heron guise.

The heron dance was selected for performance in front of the emperor in 2014 as one of a limited number of folk performing arts. It should also be noted that the heron dance was performed at Meiji shrine in 1930, which was a big event for the people of Tsuwano.

Conclusion

Returning to the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter, the first section has shown that, although verifiable documentation is generally rare in folk performing arts, information regarding the heron dance, such as lists of the performers and participants, props and costumes, expenses and food menu, as well as a manual, transmitting customs and traditions associated with the performance, were recorded from the sixteenth century on and have been transmitted to the present. However, caution must be applied, as much of the historical documentation is limited by terms of its accessibility: many of the sources are likely to have been irretrievably lost. Regarding the present system of transmission, this study has found that the performers of both Yamaguchi and Tsuwano transmit their heron dance orally, mainly by imitation, without relying on musical notation. However,

²² “Japan Heritage,” *Website of the Agency for Cultural Affairs, Government of Japan* (online), 2019.9.17. Stories based on regional histories and traditions are thus designated as Japan Heritage. The application for Japan Heritage may be submitted by the municipal government.

²³ “Tsuwano Then and Now,” *Japan Heritage Portal Site* (online), 2019.4.24.

transmission is adjusted to their needs, as the examples of flute lessons and the use of recordings have shown. It was also shown that, along with the documentation, the *tōya* system contributed significantly to the preservation of the heron dance over the past several hundreds of years.

The second and third section revealed that profound changes in the performance practice have occurred: the number of participants decreased, and their organisational structure changed from a once hereditary and exclusively male transmission to a more flexible system that also allows outsiders and women to take over the role of the *tōya*. This flexibility of the present *tōya* system contributes substantially to maintaining the tradition. Additionally, the rites and duties connected to the performance have been reduced considerably. Nowadays, the financial burden is shared among the participants, and supported by public financing. Modern regulations such as maintaining a preservation committee, designating the heron dance as an Intangible Folk Cultural Property—recently even as Japan Heritage in the case of Tsuwano—and finally marketing the performing art suitably contribute to its present and future preservation and help growing recognition beyond its local borders. Efforts are being made to actively involve children and young people in the heron dance performance, as the examples of the *kosagi odori* and the exchange student programme in Tsuwano show.

Even though many relatively new strategies have been adopted, essential problems remain unsolved. These apply by no means exclusively to Yamaguchi and Tsuwano but to many other folk performing arts in Japan. Summing up the issues examined, it can be stated that most of the preservation committee members in both places are elderly, which is why both places struggle to find suitable successors. The financial burden is not sufficiently covered by donations or governmental subsidies.

Finally, the scales of both Yamaguchi and Tsuwano have to be taken into consideration. Yamaguchi city grew by merging with surrounding cities in 2005 and counts about 197,000 inhabitants at present. The city has been accessible by Shinkansen since 1975; the station was renamed “Shin-Yamaguchi” in 2003. The well-developed infrastructure contributes to a large number of tourists who visit Yamaguchi in summer to see the Gion festival and its heron dance. The construction of the Shinkansen station led to a shift from the historical city center of Yamaguchi to Shin-Yamaguchi. Additionally, the national problem of population decline and aging as well as the outflow from rural areas also applies to Yamaguchi: about thirty percent of the inhabitants of Yamaguchi city are over sixty years old as of 2019.²⁴ This leads to difficulties in finding appropriate successors for the heron dance and weakens the neighbourhood relationship.

Population decline and aging, as well as internal migration to urban areas, affect Shimane prefecture even more strongly than Yamaguchi prefecture. Tsuwano is no exception: its population has shrunk about thirty percent over the last ten years.²⁵ More than a half of its inhabitants are over sixty years old. Tsuwano was

²⁴ “Jūmin kinhon daichō ni yoru nenreibetsu jinkō,” *Yamaguchi City Website* (online), 2019.7.1.

²⁵ “Machi, hito, shigoto sōsei. Tsuwano-chō jinkō bijon,” *Shimane-ken, Tsuwano-chō* (online), 2016.1.

merged with the neighbouring town Nichihara 日原 in 2005 and counted about 7,400 inhabitants as of 2019.²⁶ Nevertheless, Tsuwano's beautiful townscape and its accessibility by bus or train contribute to a vibrant tourism. Although population decline is significant, the number of people involved in the heron dance is bigger in Tsuwano than in Yamaguchi.

Against this backdrop, the situation in Tsuwano seems to be more stable than it is in Yamaguchi. The reasons for this include the smaller scale of the town and a concentration in the hands of the inhabitants of Ushiroda in the case of Tsuwano. Several preparatory and other events connected to the Yasaka Shrine apart from the heron dance contribute to an exchange among the neighbourhood. Thus, the people of Tsuwano show a stronger identification with the performance and their home town. Despite the manifold obstacles, both places manage to adjust to new challenges with various strategies, so it may be said that they have found a way to preserve their respective dances well.

²⁶ "Nisenjūku-nen shi-gatsu chōsa. Shichōsonbetsu jinkō, setaisū," *Japan Geographic Data Center* (online), 2019.9.6.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

This dissertation sets out to determine which of the present heron dance performances, of Yamaguchi and Tsuwano, preserves its medieval origins best. To answer this question, both performances are examined in four themed chapters: the first chapter gives an introduction on the history and geography of both Yamaguchi and Tsuwano and describes the present performance practice of their heron dance performances. It further ties up former research, introducing the main historical sources examined in detail in the second chapter. The introductory chapter points out misinterpretations as well as issues that were overlooked by former research.

To remedy these problems, the second chapter examines the origins of the Gion festival in Kyoto and the creation of the heron dance as part of the festival procession in the Muromachi period based on a comprehensive introduction, translation and interpretation of the historical sources. The findings of this survey suggest that the origins of the heron dance can be traced back to the fourteenth century, or the Muromachi period, when it was first conducted as a *hayashimono* performance which aimed to ‘encourage’ the floats of Kyoto’s Gion festival. The historical records imply that a group of social outcasts, the *shōmonji*, was in charge of the heron dance performance, who were probably under the protection of the weaver-craftsmen guild of the *ōtoneri*. Historical sources of the fifteenth century show that the heron dance was conducted even outside of Kyoto, for example in Nara. After the extinction of the performing practice in the early sixteenth century, sources suggest that knowledge of the performance was transmitted over centuries largely via textbook entries.

The results of the investigation of the sources regarding the Gion festival and its heron dance performance in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano show that the earliest mention of the Gion festival dates to the end of the fifteenth century in Yamaguchi, and the beginning of the sixteenth century in Tsuwano. Records on the heron dance can be found from the late sixteenth century on in Yamaguchi.

In contrary, the beginnings of the heron dance performance in Tsuwano are difficult to determine, owing to the time gap between the event described and the date of the record as well as difficulties in obtaining the original sources. However, it seems likely that the heron dance was conducted in Tsuwano by the middle of the sixteenth century. After a discontinuation in the performance in the early seventeenth century, it seems likely that it was reintroduced in 1644 or 1668 from

Kyoto to Tsuwano.

The survey of the sources in Yamaguchi showed that the central elements of the heron dance performance (two heron dancers, two drum dances, two rod wielders) are stable over the centuries, but the number of people involved and the instruments played change. The composition of the musical accompaniment shifts from one drum, two flutes, one or two *kotsuzumi* shoulder drums, and one or two gongs in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, to two flutes and one drum as recorded in sources of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The number of decorative umbrella halberds fluctuates from nine in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries to three in the twentieth century. Today, only one umbrella halberd is carried around at the performance.

In contrast, the composition of the performance is not recorded in detail as it is in Yamaguchi, but a small number of extant pictorial historical materials from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries show that the central elements of the performance in Tsuwano (two heron dancers, two *kakkomai* performers, two rod wielders) have not changed significantly over the last centuries. Unlike Yamaguchi, it seems that the musical accompaniment has not changed in Tsuwano. Yet the number of participants has decreased dramatically and many of the floats and attractions of the Gion festival parade have vanished. The portable shrine is no longer carried on the shoulders; neither are the umbrella halberds. The portable shrine is transported on a trailer nowadays, and the umbrella halberds—whose number has decreased from thirteen to eleven at present—are put in front of the community center.

It is not possible to evaluate which performance transmits the older form of the heron dance to the present based on historical sources alone; accordingly the third chapter is concerned with the present-day performing practice of the heron dance, its interpretation and music. The major finding to emerge from this examination is that both the heron dance of Yamaguchi and Tsuwano are typical representatives of the performing art of *furyū hayashimono*, but only the vocal line of the song in Tsuwano shows the musical structure of a *hayashimono* as extracted by Higuchi. In his surveys on present-day performing arts deriving from the medieval period such as the *Yasurai-bana* and *Kakkosuri* in Kyoto, Higuchi has shown that a common rhythm pattern is used: a four-measure phrase in two-four meter with one crotchet and two quavers in each of the first three measures, and a crotchet and pause in the fourth, played repetitively throughout the performance. It is argued in this chapter that the vocal line of the heron dance song in Tsuwano uses this rhythm pattern. It is also shown that the melody is composed of two *min'yo* tetrachords according to Koizumi's theory and can therefore be interpreted as a typical Japanese folk song. Returning to the question posed at the beginning of this dissertation, these results suggest that the music of the heron dance in Tsuwano preserves its medieval origins better than the one in Yamaguchi.

Based on former research and historical sources as well as my own fieldwork, the final chapter draws upon the question of transmission, discussing the transmission system that assured the survival of the heron dance over several hundreds of years to the present in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano. It was shown that information regarding the heron dance was recorded from the sixteenth century on and has

been transmitted to the present, despite the fact that verifiable documentation is generally rare in folk performing arts. This chapter has argued that the performance practice of the heron dance in both Yamaguchi and Tsuwano is transmitted orally, mainly by imitation, without relying on musical notation. It has further found that, along with the historical records, the *tōya* system contributed significantly to the preservation of the heron dance over the past several hundreds of years.

In contrast, an analysis of the data gained in field studies revealed that profound changes in the performance practice have occurred, such as a decrease of the number of participants and a change in the organisational structure. Numerous efforts are being made to actively contribute to its present and future preservation; however, problems such as finding suitable successors as well as funding cannot be sufficiently solved at the moment.

Finally, general preconditions, for example the size of scale of the towns of both Yamaguchi and Tsuwano, have been taken into consideration. The conclusion was drawn that the performance practice and its transmission seems to be more stable in Tsuwano than it is in Yamaguchi.

The findings of this dissertation are subject to a number of limitations. The survey of historical sources was limited by the lack of accessible extant sources, especially in Tsuwano. Additionally, it is important to bear in mind the time gap between the event described and the date of records, and the difficulties in verification. Therefore, this examination could not conclusively determine the exact course of historical events.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the analysis of the musical structure and the comparison to other medieval performing arts, such as kyogen, substantiated the hypothesis that Tsuwano preserves its medieval origins best. On the other hand, this analysis and comparison has thrown up many questions in need of further investigation. Further research regarding the musical structure of *hayashimono* seen in other genres of Japanese music and (folk) performing arts, such as the *sōga* banquet songs, should be carried out.

Another arguable weakness is the paucity of information on present and future preservation strategies. Although the fourth chapter has successfully demonstrated that the *tōya* system contributed to the preservation of the heron dance in both Yamaguchi and Tsuwano despite manifold changes over the last centuries, the study was unable to analyse all factors concerning the preservation strategies. Further research might explore the financial support, the official regulations as well as the marketing and their impact on the present and future preservation of the heron dance in greater detail. By the same token, the effects of population decline and aging should be taken into account.

It is further unfortunate that this dissertation did not include a detailed examination of other heron dance performances, such as those of Fukushima and Kanagawa prefectures, or the “White Heron Dance” of the temple Sensōji in Asakusa, Tokyo. It would be interesting to compare the performance practice and music structure of each dance. Additionally, a further study could investigate their preservation strategies, in order to deepen the understanding of the transmission of performing arts.

Taken together, I hope that I could achieve my aim to contribute to the field of (historic) folk performing arts with a new approach to the present and past performing practice of both Yamaguchi and Tsuwano. I further hope that my approach of taking into account historical sources, conducting music analysis, as well as making use of ethnological methodology, enhanced our understanding of the history and transmission of the heron dance and will thus serve as a base for future studies.

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Published Papers

- Kahlow, Andrea Luise. “Tsuwano no sagimai: Genzai ni tsutawaru chūsei geinō” 津和野の鷺舞: 現在に伝わる中世芸能. *Hōsei Daigaku Daigakuin kiyō* 法政大学大学院紀要 78 (2017), pp. 35–47.
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- Kahlow, Andrea Luise. “The Transmission of the Heron Dance in Yamaguchi and Tsuwano.” *Kokusai nihongaku ronsō* 国際日本学論叢 17 (2019), pp. 50–93.

Papers Planned for Publication (already submitted)

- Kahlow, Andrea Luise. “Sagimai no ongaku no saikōsatsu: Tsuwano no sagimai, Yamaguchi no sagimai, Kyōgen ‘Senjimono’ ni okeru rizumu no hikaku” 鷺舞の音楽の再考察：津和野の鷺舞・山口の鷺の舞・狂言《煎物》におけるリズムの比較. *Rizumu kenkyū* リズム研究.

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Appendix A

Original Source Materials and Transliterations

A.1 Heian and Kamakura Period Sources

A.1.1 *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*

Source *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代実録. In *Nihon dentō ongaku shiryō shūsei* 日本伝統音楽資料集成, vol. 4. Ed. “Kin, Sō no keifu: Gakki, bunken to sōhō” kenkyūkai 「琴・箏の系譜: 楽器、文献と奏法」研究会, Kyōto Shiritsu Geijutsu Daigaku Nihon Dentō Ongaku Kenkyū Sentā, 2004, p. 57.

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Nihon sandai jitsuroku Original

Nihon sandai jitsuroku, Jōgan 貞観 5 (863), 5th month, 20th day
廿日壬午。於神泉苑修御靈會。勅遣左近衛中将從四位下藤原朝臣基經。右近衛權
中将從四位下兼行內藏頭藤原朝臣常行等。監會事。王公卿士赴集共觀。靈座六前
設施几筵。盛陳花果。恭敬薰修。延律師慧達為講師。演說金光明經一部。般若心
經六卷。命雅樂寮伶人作樂。以 帝近侍兒童及良家稚子為舞人。大唐高麗更出而
舞。雜伎散樂競盡其能。此日宣旨。開苑四門。聽都邑人出入縱觀。所謂御靈者。崇
道天皇。伊豫親王。藤原夫人。及觀察使。橘逸勢。文室宮田麻呂等是也。並坐事
被誅。冤魂成厲。近代以來。疫病繁發。死亡甚衆。天下以為。此災。御靈之所生
也。始自京畿。爰及外國。每至夏天秋節。修御靈會。往々不斷。或礼仏說經。或
歌且舞。令童貫之子靚粧馳射。膂力之士袒裼相撲。騎射呈芸。走馬爭勝。倡優嫚
戲。遙相誇競。聚而觀者莫不填咽。遐邇因循。漸成風俗。今茲春初咳逆成疫。百
姓多斃。朝廷為祈。至是乃修此會。以賽宿禱也。

Nihon sandai jitsuroku Transliteration (slightly amended)

廿日壬午、神泉苑に於いて御靈會を修す。勅して、左近衛中将從四位下藤原朝臣
基經、右近衛權中将從四位下兼行內藏頭藤原朝臣常行等を遣りて、會の事を監ぜ
しむ。王公卿士、赴き集ひて共に觀る。靈座六の前に几筵を設け施し、花果を盛
り陳べて恭敬薰修す。律師慧達を延きて講師と為し、『金光明經』一部、『般若心
經』六卷を演說せしむ。雅樂寮の伶人に命じて樂を作さしめ、帝の近侍の兒童、及
び良家の稚兒を以て舞人と為す。大唐、高麗、更出でて舞ふ。雜伎、散樂、競ひて
其の能を尽す。此の日、宣旨ありて、苑の四門を開き、都邑の人の出入縱觀を聽
す。所謂御靈とは、崇道天皇〔早良親王〕、伊豫親王、藤原夫人〔伊豫親王の生母
吉子〕、及び觀察使〔藤原広嗣〕、橘逸勢、文室宮田麻呂等是なり。並びに事に坐し
て誅せられ、冤魂厲と成る。近代以來、疫病繁りに發りて、死亡するもの甚だ衆
し。天下以為へらく、此の災は御靈の生ずる所なりと。京畿より始めて爰に外國
に及ぶ。夏天秋節に至る毎に、御靈會を修す。往々にして断たず。或いは仏を礼
し經を説き、或いは歌ひ且つ舞ふ。童貫の子をして靚粧、馳射し、膂力の士をし
て袒裼、相撲し、騎射芸を呈し、走馬勝を争ひ、倡優嫚戲、遙に相ひ誇りて競は
す。聚りて觀る者、填咽せざるなく、遐邇因循して漸く風俗を成す。今茲春の初
め、咳逆、疫と成りて、百姓多く斃る。朝廷為に祈り、是に至りて乃ち此の會を修
す。以て宿禱に賽ゆるなり。

A.1.2 *Gion-sha hon'enroku*

Source *Gion-sha hon'enroku* 祇園社本縁録. Alternative title: *Gion-e chōshi no koto* 祇園会張弛の事. In *Yasaka shi (kan)* 八坂誌 (乾), vol. 10. Ed. Yasaka Jinja 八坂神社, Kyoto: Yasaka Jinja, 1906, pp. 111–13.

Gion-e chōshi no koto in Yasaka-shi

清和天皇の貞観十一年疫病天下に流行しト部日良麻呂勅を奉け長二丈ばかりの矛六十六本を建て六月七日御霊会を行ふ是祇園御輿迎の嚆矢なり同十四日洛中の男兒と郊外の百姓とを率て神輿を神泉苑に送り祭礼を行ふ是祇園御霊会の濫觴なり(後略)

A.1.3 *Azuma kagami*

Source *Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡. In *Kokushi taikai* 国史大系, vol. 33. Ed. Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美 and Kokushi Taikai Henshūkai 国史大系編修会, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1965, p. 96.

Azuma kagami Original

Azuma kagami, Kangi 寛喜 2 (1230), 6th month, 7th day
六月小○五日乙丑。晴。巳尅。幕府小御所之上。白鷺集云々。○六日丙寅。晴。未以後雨下。今日為助教師員。彈正忠季氏等奉行。被召陰陽師於御所。七人恩喚。所謂親職。泰貞。晴賢。晴幸。重宗。宣賢。晴職。国継等也。各著西廊。相州。武州。隱岐入道行西。出羽前司家長等被候評定所。昨日鷺事。為助教奉行有御占。親職。晴賢申云。口舌鬭諍之上。可被慎由事御云々。泰貞以下申云。就御所並御親昵御病事。御家人中依文書及口舌可聞食鬭諍者。皆献別紙占形。次就此怪。可令去御所給否。一二被問吉凶。一吉之由令一同。今度以詞申之。一著不可令去給由也。仍有沙汰。不及令移他所給云々。

○七日丁卯。今夜。被行鷺祭。晴賢奉仕之。

Azuma kagami Transliteration

Azuma kagami, Kangi 寛喜 2 (1230), 6th month, 7th day
六月小○五日乙丑。晴る。巳の尅、幕府小御所の上に白鷺集まると云々。○六日丙寅、晴る。未以後、雨下る。今日、助教師員・彈正忠季氏等を奉行として、陰陽師を御所に召さる。七人恩喚に応ず。所謂親職・泰貞・晴賢・晴幸・重宗・宣賢・晴職・国継等なり。おのおの西廊に著く。相州・武州・隱岐入道行西・出羽前司家長等、評定所に候ぜらる。昨日の鷺の事、助教奉行として御占あり。親職・晴賢申して云はく、口舌鬭諍の上に慎しまるべきの由の事おはすと云々。泰貞以下申して云はく、御所並びに御親昵の御病事に就きて、御家人中に文書及び口舌に依り鬭諍を聞こしめすべし、てへれば、皆別紙の占形を献る。次にこの怪に就きて、御所を去らせめたまふべきや否や、一二をもって吉凶を問はる。一は吉の由一同せしむ。今度は詞をもってこれを申す。一は去らしめたまふべからざる由なり。仍って沙汰ありて、他所に移らしめたまふに及ばずと云々。

○七日丁卯。今夜、鷺祭を行はる。晴賢これを奉仕す。

A.2 Muromachi Period Sources

A.2.1 *Moromoriki*

Source *Moromoriki* 師守記. In *Shiryō sanshū* 史料纂集, vol. 8. Revisors Fujii Sadafumi 藤井貞文 and Kobayashi Hanako 小林花子. Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1974, p. 279.

Moromoriki Original

Moromoriki, Jōji 貞治 4 (1365), 6th month, 14th day
(前略) 今日祇園御霊会如例、作山一両有之云々、今年笠鷺銚无之云々、御行西一点、無為、神妙、少将井神輿為武家沙汰、仰穢多(えんた)奉昇云々、尤有其恐者歟、神慮叵測、久世舞車无之、大名不見物云々(後略)

Moromoriki Transliteration

(前略) 今日、祇園御霊会、例の如し。作山一両これ有りと云々。今年、笠鷺銚これなしと云々。御行、西の一点、無為、神妙。少將井の神輿、武家の沙汰たり。仰せて穢多に奉昇せしむと云々。尤も其の恐れある者か、神慮測りがたし。久世舞車これなし。大名見物せずと云々(後略)

A.2.2 *Kanmon nikki*

Source *Kanmon nikki* 看聞日記. In *Zushoryō sōkan* 凶書寮叢刊, vol. 1, 5 and 6. Ed. Kunaichō Shoryōbu 宮内庁書陵部. Kunaichō Shoryōbu, 2002, pp. 55-56 (1416); 2010, p. 284 (1436) and 2012, pp. 57 (1437), 173 (1438).

Kanmon nikki Original

1. *Kanmon nikki*, 応永 23 (1416), 8th month, 17th day
十七日、朝晴、昼雨下、桂地藏当所地下人等拍物参、早旦御所先参、雖無指風流、出立美麗也、警固随兵卅余人、色々鎧腹卷金銀作太刀刀帶之練歩、次御幣持法師、次棒振鬼面着、次拍手卅余人、色々風流之小笠各持之、又風流大笠一本各金欄曇(ママ)子印金等着之、雑々兵士等二百余人、見物雑人群、日暮時分下向、又御所参、賜極、雨下之間、忽退出、聞、室町殿、清和院地藏御参籠、御堂被造替更新造云々。
2. *Kanmon nikki*, Eikyō 永享 8 (1436), 6th month, 14th day
(前略) 祇園会結構云々、公方無御見物、早旦北畠笠鷺杵(ママ)参、於屏中門之内令舞、練貫一・太刀一給、往昔於菊第見物、再会目珍養眼、其後大舍人杵参、練貫一・太刀一被下、見物衆鼓操(噪)也、内裏(後花園天皇)就近所如此拍物推参、且珍重也(後略)
3. *Kanmon nikki*, Eikyō 永享 9 (1437), 6th month, 14th day
(前略) 祇園会如例、朝大舍衛杵・北畠笠鷺杵等参、昼可参之由仰、内裏参同前、真乗寺方丈入来、祭為見物也、(中略) 昼大舍衛参、屏中門内令舞、練貫一被下、其後笠鷺参暫舞、練貫一同給、雑人群集、内裏参云々、真乗寺被歸(後略)
4. *Kanmon nikki*, Eikyō 永享 10 (1438), 6th month, 14th day
(前略) 祇園会如例、夕立降雷鳴、神幸遣〔違〕乱歟、(中略) 笠鷺雨中参、ぬれ々々舞、有其興、祿物練貫一・太刀一給、其後大舍衛参、祿同前(後略)

Kanmon nikki Transliteration

1. *Kanmon nikki*, 応永 23 (1416), 8th month, 17th day
十七日、朝晴れ、昼雨下る。桂地蔵へ当所の地下人等拍物に参る。早旦御所に先づ参る。指したる風流無しと雖も、出立ち美麗なり。警固の随兵三十余人、色々の鎧・腹巻、金銀作りの太刀・刀、これを帯びて練り歩く。次に御幣持ちたる法師、次に棒振、鬼面を着す。次に拍手三十余人、色々の風流の小笠おのおのこれを持つ。また風流大笠一本、おのおの金欄曇（ママ）子印金等、これを着す。雑々の兵士等二百余人、見物の雑人群す。日暮れ時分に下向す。また御所に参りて榼を賜ふ。雨下るの間、忽て退出す。聞くに、室町殿、清和院地蔵に御参籠。御堂造り替へられ更に新造すと云々。
2. *Kanmon nikki*, Eikyō 永享 8 (1436), 6th month, 14th day
（前略）祇園会結構云々、公方御見物なし。早旦北畠の笠鷺杵（鉾か）参る。屏の中門の内において舞はしむ。練貫一・太刀一給ふ。往昔菊第において見物す。再会目に珍しく眼を養ふ。その後大舎人杵（鉾か）参る。練貫一・太刀一下さる。見物衆鼓操（噪）なり。内裏近所について如此く拍物推参す。且つ珍重なり。（後略）
3. *Kanmon nikki*, Eikyō 永享 9 (1437), 6th month, 14th day （前略）祇園会例の如し。朝、大舎衛杵・北畠笠鷺杵等参る。昼、参るべきの由仰す。内裏に参ること同前。真乗寺方丈入り来たる。祭りを見物するためなり。（中略）昼、大舎衛参る。屏の中門の内には舞はしむ。練貫一下さる。その後、笠鷺参りて、暫く舞ふ。練貫一同じく給ふ。雑人群集、内裏に参ると云々。真乗寺帰らる。（後略）
4. *Kanmon nikki*, Eikyō 永享 10 (1438), 6th month, 14th day
（前略）祇園会例の如し。夕立降り、雷鳴。神幸に違乱するか。（中略）笠鷺雨の中参る。ぬれぬれ舞、その興あり。禄物練貫一・太刀一給ふ。その後大舎衛参る。禄同前。（後略）

A.2.3 *Shinsatsu ōrai*

Source *Shinsatsu ōrai* 新札往来. In *Zoku gunsho ruiju* 続群書類従, vol. 13 (*ge* 下), Bunpitsubu Shōsokubu 文筆部消息部. Comp. Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一, *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai*, 1926 (1990), p. 1160.

***Shinsatsu ōrai* Original**

Shinsatsu ōrai, Jōji 貞治 6 (1367)

祇園御霊会。今年山濟々所々定鉾。大舎人鵲鉾。在地々神役。尤協神慮候哉。及晚白河鉾。可入京之由風聞候。

***Shinsatsu ōrai* Transliteration**

Shinsatsu ōrai, Jōji 貞治 6 (1367)

祇園御霊会。今年山濟々、所々の定鉾、大舎人の鵲鉾。在地々神の役、尤も神慮に協ひ候や。晩に及びて白河鉾、入京すべきの由、風聞候。

A.2.4 *Sekiso ōrai*

Source *Sekiso ōrai* 尺素往来. In *Gunsho ruiju* 群書類従, vol. 9, Bunpitsubu Shōsokubu 文筆部消息部. Comp. Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一, Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1928 (1960), p. 507.

***Sekiso ōrai* Original**

Sekiso ōrai, mid-15th c.

祇園御霊会今年殊結構。山崎之定銚。大舎人之鵲（笠鷺）銚。処々跳銚。家々笠車。風流之造山。八撥。曲舞。在地之所役。定叶於神慮歟。晩頃白河銚可入洛之由風聞候。

***Sekiso ōrai* Transliteration**

Sekiso ōrai, mid-15th c.

祇園御霊会、今年殊に結構。山崎の定銚、大舎人の鵲銚、処々の跳銚、家々の笠車、風流の造山、八撥、曲舞、在地の所役、定めて神慮に叶ふか。晩頃には、白河銚入洛すべきの由、風聞候。

A.2.5 *Kennaiki*

Source *Kennaiki* 建内記. In *Dai Nihon kokiroku: Kennaiki* 大日本古記録, vol. 6, Ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo 東京大学史料編纂所. Iwanami Shoten, 1974, p. 79.

***Kennaiki* Original**

Kennaiki, Kakitsu 嘉吉 3 (1443), 6th month, 14th day

祇園会也（中略）申刻、毗沙門堂鷺舞扈於牛背渡下過蓬門、聊伺見了

***Kennaiki* Transliteration**

Kennaiki, Kakitsu 嘉吉 3 (1443), 6th month, 14th day

祇園会なり。（中略）申の刻、毘沙門堂の鷺舞牛の背に扈して、渡り下りて蓬門を過ぐ。聊か伺ひ見了んぬ。

A.2.6 *Kyōgaku shiyōshō*

Source *Kyōgaku shiyōshō* 経覚私要鈔. In *Shiryō sanshū* 史料纂集, vols. 2 and 4. Revisors Takahashi Ryūzō 高橋隆三 and Koizumi Yoshiaki 小泉宜右. Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1973, p. 141 (1450) and 1977, p. 44 (1458).

Kyōgaku shiyōshō 経覚私要鈔. In *Shiryō sanshū: Kokiroku hen* 史料纂集: 古記録編, vol. 7. Revisor Koizumi Yoshiaki 小泉宜右. Yagi Shoten, 2008, p. 203 (1467).

***Kyōgaku shiyōshō* Original**

1. *Kyōgaku shiyōshō*, Hōtoku 宝徳 2 (1450), 7th month, 18th day
申刻風流在之、先ハウ持二人、次鷺舞二人、サキヲ作テ人ニキセテ舞之
2. *Kyōgaku shiyōshō*, Chōroku 長祿 2 (1458), 7th month, 16th day
入夜卒都婆堂者共令風流来了、先有笠、次鷺二人舞之

3. *Kyōgaku shiyōshō*, Ōnin 応仁 1 (1467), 7th month, 15th day
風流来、サキ二羽、ヲトリノ者済々、催興了

***Kyōgaku shiyōshō* Transliteration**

1. *Kyōgaku shiyōshō*, Hōtoku 宝徳 2 (1450), 7th month, 18th day
申の刻、風流これあり、先にぼう持二人、次に鷺舞二人、さぎを作て人にきせてこれを舞ふ。
2. *Kyōgaku shiyōshō*, Chōroku 長禄 2 (1458), 7th month, 16th day
夜に入りて、卒都婆堂の者共、風流せしめ来たりぬ、先に笠あり、次に鷺二人これを舞ふ。
3. *Kyōgaku shiyōshō*, Ōnin 応仁 1 (1467), 7th month, 15th day
風流来たりて、さぎ二羽、をどりの者済々、興を催し了んぬ。

A.2.7 *Muromachi bakufu bugyōsho an*

Source *Muromachi bakufu bugyōsho an* 室町幕府奉行書案. In *Yasaka jinja sōsho* 八坂神社叢書, vol. 3. Ed. Yasaka Jinja Shamusho 八坂神社社務所, Kyoto: Yasaka Jinja Shamusho, 1938, pp. 230–31.

***Muromachi bakufu bugyōsho an* Original**

Bunki 文亀 1 (1501), 6th month, 7th day
祇園会事、近年退転之条、去年再興之处、大舍人輩不随神役云々、以外次第也、所詮、於当年者、相懸役銭、用神事要脚、可被下行諸色掌之由候也、仍執達如件

***Muromachi bakufu bugyōsho an* Transliteration**

Bunki 文亀 1 (1501), 6th month, 7th day
祇園会の事、近年退転の条、去年再興の処、大舍人輩神役に随わずと云々。以ての外の次第なり。所詮、当年においては、役銭を相懸けて、神事の要脚に用ふ。諸色掌に下行せらるべきの由候なり。仍つて執達件の如し。

A.3 Edo Period Sources

A.3.1 *Gion goryō-e saiki*

Source *Gion-e saiki* 祇園会細記. In Ueki Yukinobu 植木行宣. In vol. 2 of *Nihon shomin bunka shiryō shūsei* 日本庶民文化史料集成, ed. Geinōshi Kenkyūkai 芸能史研究会, pp. 399–441. San'ichi Shobō, 1974, p. 425.

***Gion goryō-e saiki* Original**

Hōreki 宝暦 7 (1757)

縁起 鉾にハあらざれども傘鉾といふ。是古来鉾の形也。『尺素往来』に大舍人の鵲鉾と有。これらの姿ならんか。

A.3.2 *Shokoku zue nenjū gyōji taisei*

Source Hayami Shungyōsai 速水春暁齋. *Shokoku zue nenjū gyōji taisei* 諸国図会年中行事大成, typographical reprint by Watanabe Nobuo 渡辺伸夫. In vol. 22 of *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryō shūsei* 日本庶民生活史料集成, ed. Tanigawa Ken'ichi 谷川健一, pp. 7–156. San'ichi Shobō, 1979, p. 136.

Shokoku zue nenjū gyōji taisei Original

Bunka 文化 3 (1806), 6th month, 7th day

祇園会古図

此図はある家の所蔵にして往古祇園会の図なるよしいひ伝ふ。然共時代銚の名等分明ならず。今此銚なし。笠銚の体、按に尺素往来に云、笠鷺銚ならん歟。又牛に乗たるは放免の附物などいへる物にや後の考あるべし。

A.4 Sources from Yamaguchi

A.4.1 *Ōuchi-ke kabegaki*

Source *Ōuchi-ke kabegaki* 大内家壁書. In *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従, vol. 22. Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1928, p. 97.

Ōuchi-ke kabegaki Original

Entoku 延徳 3 (1491), 11th month, 13th day

於築山築地之上。祇園会其外自然之見物之加制止畢。殊 御宝殿。同鎮守邊諸人群集。剩於石築地之上構棧敷事。堅固御禁制也。

Ōuchi-ke kabegaki Transliteration

築山築地の上において、祇園会その外自然の見物、これ制止を加へ畢んぬ。殊に御宝殿、同鎮守辺に諸人群集し、剩へ石築地の上において、棧敷を構ふる事、堅固に御禁制なり。

A.4.2 *Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto*

Source *Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto* 祇園毎年順勤人数之事。

Yamaguchi Gion-e mainen junkin ninzu no koto 山口祇園会毎年順勤人数之事. In *Sagi no mai* 鷺の舞, ed. Yamaguchi-shi Kyōiku Iinkai 山口市教育委員会, pp. 17–21. Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, 1981.

Gion mainen junkin ninzu no koto Original

Tenshō 天正 11 (1583), 6th month

鷺舞事

さき	二人	つえ	二人
かっこ	二人	せうこ	一人
小つゝミ	一人	太小	一人
笛ふき	二人		

A.4.3 *Suō no kuni Yamaguchi Gion-e sagi no ikkan*

Source *Suō no kuni Yamaguchi Gion-e sagi no ikkan* 周防国山口祇園会鷺之一卷. In *Sagi no mai* 鷺の舞, ed. Yamaguchi-shi Kyōiku Iinkai 山口市教育委員会, pp. 45–57. Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, 1981.

鷺一卷の序

夫周防州山口の祇園は一国一社の御本社也、古昔ハ水の上に御社有、神事ハ毎年六月七日に尼方御旅所へ御幸有て、七日七夜貴賤群集せしとかや、雖然年ふりて後、大内多々良朝臣義興公御時代永正年中、市中在々大疫にて衆人多ク横夭し、或ハ門戸を滅し、或ハ家を亡す類其数をしらす、時に国主義興公御祈願の瑞驗新にして、災眚悉治り、町里安静ニ歸す、其時の御建立高嶺山の麓、伊勢の近辺に遷宮有、則今の御社は也、又御旅所ハ今市に御幸なりて、六月十四日御神事は車三輛、山ハ在々よりも出来り、其数百余と聞えし、中古より改り、山ハ十七、車ハ三輛、何も七月十四日警固役者山飭善尽し美尽し、就中鷺舞故実多キ事なれば、倫次まちまちならん事を厭ひ、御国家豊饒の御祭礼旧例の俛に書記し置、後人此巻を見て差誤なからん事を欲しきとなり、于時正徳三癸巳歳（一七一三）九月既望

難波氏栄徳謹書

水の上古跡の儀、後川原の川上にて、木町橋より未ノ方に見ゆる所也、古木の榎数多有て、今ハ疫神の森と云々、扱又鷺の儀ハ、祇園御神古昔御願ひの事御座有し時、池の上に鷺浮ミたるを御覧有しより御願ひ成就せり、其故実にて鷺は祇園御寵愛の鳥也、又、延喜の御代にハ五位鷺とめされしもたくひすくなき鳥成らし貞観十一己丑年（八六九）祇園社始テ移ス 一 山城国愛宕郡ニ 一

正徳三巳年迄八百四十五年ニ成也

長禄三己卯年（一四五九）六月十四日防州山口祇園会始也

但、大内廿四代教弘公御時代也、教弘公築山ニ居住にて築山殿と云々、御法名壁（關）雲寺殿大基昌弘大居士也、又其後御寺小早川左衛門佐隆景公御法名にて、今ハ鳴滝ノ泰雲寺ト云々長禄三卯年ヨリ正徳三巳年迄式百五拾五年ニ成ル也

周防国山口祇園会鷺之一卷目録

- 一 祇園御神事鷺の頭人寄相の事
附、潔斎の事
- 二 御茶屋え毎年鷺頭人御付届の事
附、頭人催相の名書の事
- 三 御祭礼定日の事
附、日和旁間合の事
- 四 通り物当番の事
附、御神事刻限の事

- 五 六月六日鷺勢揃の事
附、笠鉾の事
 - 六 六月七日御神事御備の事
附、鷺役人付立の事
 - 七 同日鷺舞所の事
附、今市迄鷺参様の事
 - 八 鷺堂の前戻り、通り物下立小路より出候事
附、鷺往還の事
 - 九 通り物前後の事
 - 十 通り物対堂の前町諸芸仕候事
附、三町の車かつこ打候事
 - 十一 鷺諸入目銀頭人刻符の事
附、笠鉾持手の事
 - 十二 堂の前町中鷺頭人催相間数井頭勤年号の事
附、町中軒数書付の事
 - 十三 鷺役人酒飯の事
附、雇人賃銀の事
 - 十四 鷺舞諸道具破損の時町中出銀の事
 - 十五 鷺由緒の事
附、旧記書写の事
 - 十六 鷺堂の前町より仕出候時代考の事
 - 十七 鷺のかしら并羽、等顔（雲谷）作の事
 - 十八 六月七日鷺の警固の事
 - 十九 同日警固刀脇指の事
 - 二十 一卷の年号年数書の事
 - 二十一 山口町奉行御代々名書の事
- 周防吉敷郡山口祇園会鷺の事

- 一 一 祇園御祭礼、例年六月七日鷺供奉の儀 堂の前町中より仕出候、就夫毎年
三月吉日鷺の頭人寄相、御神事の営仕候事
附、御神事始中終潔齋し、正直を本とすへき事
- 二 一 毎年五月朔日の朝、御茶屋え鷺の頭人御付届ケニ参上申候事

附、同日の願、大市・中市・米屋町車の頭人御茶屋え罷出、右四町一同ニ町奉行様御相對被成候、尤町々其年の頭人何右衛門より何左衛門・何兵衛迄催相ニと御座候通名出仕持參申候、但鷺頭人の内式人程配罷出候、堂の前町年寄同心ニて參上候、何も前日ニ堂の前年寄より町内の月行司を以、町大年寄問合仕候事

- 三 一 祇園御祭礼定日の儀、毎年六月七日ニ今市御旅所え被遊御幸、同十四日ニ還御の御神事にて候、七日の御神事少々雨降にても昔ハ御幸御座候、通り物の儀往古ニは有無の事数年御座候、然所ニ市中より通り物仕、雨降にてハ所勤難成故、八日ニ差延たる儀も御座候、其時ハ十四日御神事も十五日ニ差延候、菟角御輿今市御旅所ニ七夜被為成御座候御事ニて御座候事

附、当日の日和傍の儀ニ付ても、堂の前年寄より月行司ヲ以、大年寄諸事問合可然候事

- 四 一 通り物当番の儀、延宝四丙辰年（一六七六）四町鬮取ニ被仰付候、其年米屋町組鬮ニ取当り申候、延宝五年道場門前組、同六年大市組、同七年中市組ニ鬮当り申候、其以来一組切ニ年年通り物有之候、山口町奉行蔵田長兵衛殿代ニて候、扱又鷺の舞所の儀、古来より引例有之候へ共、延宝四年鷺舞所も改被仰付候事

附、六月七日御神事刻限の儀、延宝年中ハ通り物諸芸長ク日暮申ニ付、六月七日の早天ニ鷺、伊勢え參候様ニと被仰付候、其以後元禄十壺戊寅年（一六九八）祇園大宮司より申出有之、巳午ノ刻ニ御神事御座候筈ニ候、就夫六月七日朝五ッ時分ニ鷺并通り物、伊勢え揃イ巳ノ上刻ニ御神事仕候様ニと、町奉行御座平右衛門殿代被仰付候事

- 五 一 六月六日の晩、堂の前町内鷺頭人の所ニて勢揃の鷺舞御座候事

附、笠鉾九本来頭人の方より調出候事
笠鉾の真松ハ勘過の儀来頭人より町年寄へ申出、御茶屋より免手形取来頭人採用仕候也

- 六 一 例年六月七日御神事御備の事

鼻高
獅子
御幣（幣）
太鼓
上卿 今八幡大宮司小方内記馬上デ供奉也
社僧 神光寺輿ニテ供奉也、但昔ハ神宮寺云々
御太刀
大宮司 祇園社司松田兵部馬上ニテ供奉也
御輿 上鳳凰 鶴鶴 但六角
社官供奉
太鼓
御輿 上鳳凰 鶴鶴 但八角

社官供奉

太鼓

御輿 上宝珠 鶴鶴 但四角

社官供奉

(但、毎年御供立願のもの老若男女并山 など大分有之候、鼻高より先又ハ御輿の跡を大人数供仕候ニ付、驚いつれも間重ニて供奉仕候事)

先はり御茶屋手子四人、ひねり持式人 (但目代所より人夫式人出候)

(ひねり式本御 茶屋より出也)

堂の前町年寄 (但麻上下着仕候并町中のものハ驚役人の左右麻上下着けいご仕候也)

(但、町年寄ノ左右引つえ式人、此つゑ式本、毎年六月六日ニ御茶屋ニて借用仕候、尤頭人の内より御茶屋へ仕出る借用し返進も頭人より仕事ニ候)

(又つゑ引式人雇賃銀、頭人より払申候也)

鷺舞手 式人

つゑ遣 式人

かつこ 式人

せうこ 式人

笛ふき 式人

小鼓 式人

太鼓打 壹人

笠鉦 九本、持手九人

通り物

踊車

右、六月七日山口祇園御下の御神事御備如此ニ御座候也

七 一 鷺舞所の事

祇園御社前 伊勢御神楽所前 (但、於御神前ニ鷺舞相調候 以後ニ通り物諸芸仕候也)

多賀御社前 (但、上ノ地へハ上り不申候、道通りかけニ鷺舞候也)

山口町奉行 氷上山 常栄寺 妙寿寺 泰雲寺 周慶寺 大通院 瑠璃光寺 (町奉行ノ女中) 町大年寄兩人 御用人 大市・中市・米屋町年寄三人 (大市・中市・米屋町) 車頭人三人 道場門前ト今市辻ノ角 (但、道場門前ノ内へハ参込不申通りかけニ対道場門前へ鷺舞候也)

祇園御旅所御神前

右、例年鷺の舞所書立如此ニ候、此□ニ又□□歴□宛当所へ御出候時ハ御茶屋より御沙汰有之候、左候て踊所の札□差出候、何も於とり所の札出候所ニて大形鷺舞申候也

附、御神事ハ静々と御幸御座候て鷺ハ愈申候故、御旅所え参懸りに只様道々鷺舞にて今市へハ参候、又品ニより戻りにも鷺舞の儀有之候事

八 一 鷺堂の前町内戻り不申候内ハ諸通り物ハ下立小路の内ニ待居申候、鷺堂の前へ戻り候て、通り物下立小路より出、大市の方へ参候儀、古来よりの御神例ニて御座候、其故諸所鷺舞申候儀、随分無緩せ様ニ愈所勤仕、早速町内へ引取候儀肝要ニ御座候事

附、堂の前より仕出候鷺往還の儀、伊勢門前より築山・下立小路・
大市・中市・米屋町・今市迄御輿の跡鷺参候、又今市より戻り候儀
は米屋町・中市・大市通り候て堂の前町へもとり申候事

九 一 延宝四年通り物四町鬪取ニと仰付候以来、本町ニは大形踊仕候、扱又下町
ニ作り花かつき、又ハ通りがけニ少芸など仕候分ハ、本町踊車よりさきへ通
り候、又下町ニも踊ニて車仕候時ハ、本町の踊車ハさきへ参候、下町の踊車
ハ跡の方参候、此暇堂の前町ニは不入事共ニ候得共、六月七日の御神事始中
終の儀ニ付て書入置候事

十 一 従古来右の通諸所ニて鷺舞所勤仕候ニ付て、六月七日の通り物并踊旁の儀、
堂の前町へ対シ、下立小路と大市の辻の角ニて諸芸仕候事

附、大市・中市・米屋町三町六月十四日車の儀も大市と
下立小路辻ノ角ニてかつこ打候、何も鷺舞の返勤ニて御座候事

右山口祇園御神事、当日所勤の廉々従古来参り掛りの次第前書の分ニ御座
候也

十一 一 六月七日鷺諸入目銀、頭人の屋敷面口の間刻符ニ仕出銀申候事

附、笠鉾九本の儀、来頭人の方より仕出申候、笠鉾持手九人賃銀の
儀も来頭の方より出銀ニて払申候、但来頭九軒ニて持手九人を壱
人配軒別出銀申候事又、十軒組式組有之候、夫々ニ委細書付、笠
鉾九本の刻符明細ニ書添仕候也

十二 一 堂の前町中鷺頭人四組ニて候、催相の間数書并一町中人数出、又頭勤年
号の事

一 正徳元辛卯年頭人 本頭 伊藤忠兵衛組（北側東上ノ方）

屋敷面式間	千々松 三九郎
同 式間半	同 三右衛門
同 三間半	三右衛門
同 三間半	三戸弥兵衛
同 三間半	伊藤忠兵衛
同 五間半	同 五郎左衛門
同 五間半	わたや 安兵衛
同 三間	石川久左衛門
同 式間半	弘中善左衛門

以上九軒催相の分

一 正徳二壬辰年頭人 本頭吉村平左衛門組
(北側中上ノ方組一屋敷ノ内両方へ加ル)

屋敷面式間半	弘中 善左衛門
同 三間	津森新八
同 間	吉村平左衛門
同 四間壺	伊藤与左衛門

同	三間	小西久左衛門（下立小路の角）
同	七間半	松村了但抱（側東ノ上新福寺馬場へ行角）
同	壺間半	（寄頭） 千々松三左衛門 （同隣）
同	式間	（寄頭） 市兵衛
同	式間	（同隣）（寄頭） 水谷八右衛門

以上九軒催相の分

一	正徳三癸巳年頭人	本頭谷尾長右衛門組（南側東上ノ方）
	屋敷面三間壺	庄右衛門
同	三間壺	諸左衛門
同	式間半	宮田次郎兵衛抱
同	三間式尺	同 次郎兵衛
同	三間五尺	伊村源兵衛
同	式間三尺	山下伊佐衛門
同	三間半	谷尾長右衛門
同	三間半	弘中左衛門
同	三間	小川右衛門
同	式間	弘中武右衛門

以上拾軒催相の分、但庄左衛門・諸右衛門兩人催相ニテ笠鉾壺本出シ候也

一（来） 正徳四甲午年頭人 本頭津守平左衛門組
（南側中上ノ方但一屋敷の内両方へ加ル）

	屋敷面式間三尺	弘中武右衛門
同	七間半	伊藤三左衛門
同	四間半	吉村三郎兵衛
同	三間	弘中清左衛門
同	三間	河野与左衛門
同	四間	津守平左衛門
同	四間（立売町ノ角）	田中七郎兵衛
	（東上ノ方窪ノ浄泉寺へ行角）	
同	三間（より頭）	おいち
	（同隣）	
同	式間半（寄頭）	ゆいたや十郎左衛門
	（同隣）	
同	式間半（寄頭）	市右衛門

以上拾軒催相の分

（但笠鉾ハ弘武右衛門半本、伊三左衛門壺本半、吉三郎兵衛後、弘清左衛門・河与左衛門・津平左衛門・田七郎兵衛五人壺本充五本、又外ニ吉村三郎兵衛・弘中清左衛門兩人催相ニテ壺本、又おいち・十郎左衛門・市右衛門三人催相ニテ壺本、以上九本也）

十三 一 鷺舞の役人拾三

但、三月吉日頭人寄相の時酒飯振舞申候也

六月六日の晩、鷺舞勢揃の時ハ酒振舞候也、同七日の朝、酒振舞候也
鷺舞の役人雇候賃銀、頭人中へ出銀ヲ以渡シ候也

但、頭人屋敷面口の間割符ニ仕出銀申候、其故面々屋敷間数右ニ
書記候事

十四 一 鷺舞諸道具破損仕候時ハ、堂の前町中間前出銀ヲ以相調申 候、但屋敷面
口の割符ニて候事

附、鷺の羽毎年取繕候、是ハ其年々頭人役ニて取繕心遣仕候也

十五 鷺由緒の事

一 鷺仕出候根本の儀、大内義興様御時代山口祇園御神事中興 以後、六月七
日鷺、同十四日車式れう、大市町より調出候、其時分ハ大市頭人催相九組有
之、都合家軒数八拾八軒ニて

所勤申候、其内堂の前町住宅のもの竹内又左衛門并ニ同人抱成尾屋延寿・土
屋源次郎此四軒九組の内へ加り頭勤仕候、即天正十一癸未年（一五八三）六
月吉日祇園頭勤の一卷、横屋弥次郎（後法体名宗発但大市住難波氏）書付記
置申候、其一卷宗発孫横屋六右衛門栄徳所持仕申候
右、一卷の内鷺の儀為後知書写置申候事

旧記の内写

車式れう分

当人壺人前出物

一 汁せん四枚

一 ふさ式間

一 さし繩十

一 うち敷壺枚

かつら十五結人、壺結ノ代四百か三百五十か（のどろより出し）

繩ノわら壺貰文も

つな引卅五人

たこせつかい五人

合四十人つゝ出也

一 もち米以上式石分

又あつき入

たこせ壺荷の代百廿つゝ

一 せうこはねふつ申所より出也

検断請取也

一 年々の大頭屋のかさほこは西岡上珍より此持手出也

あいをの塩うりの司ニ付て出也

但、是ハ吉松三郎兵衛殿物語と聞也

鷺舞事

さき 二人

つえ 二人

かつこ 二人

せうこ 一人

小つゝミ 一人

太子 一人

笛ふき二人（内一人ハさゝなミの者ヲ二百やとい）此衆の食物七日ニ今朝めし
又夕めし七日ニ二度、此こんたてハ

ホシサハ	汁
うりも	ミめし

ハあつめにとうくわなすひ ひ物

夕めし汁ハはくち汁

鷺舞の中食、伊勢殿にて
まんちうとさかなハ、ひたい・こうの物
此時ハ来頭ヲふるまう也
（此奥出ニ、車の賄献立、何も宮ニ書付有之候事）
天正十壱年六月吉日 横屋弥次郎（在判）
右旧記の内、鷺の事如此ニ御座候、此外車の事委候へとも写ニ不及候也

十六 一 鷺舞大市より譲り、堂の前町中より調出候、最初八年号慶
長の始にて可有御座様ニ存候、先年古老のものへも相尋候
ても年代不極候、然共前後の段諸事見合、宮ニ相考へ申候へハ右の分ニ可有
御座候事

十七 一 当代迄御座候鷺のかしら同羽の儀ハ、其昔雲谷の家中興等顔（俗名原次
郎兵衛年代慶長年中ノ頃）堂の前町内ニ住宅にて御座候時、右雲谷等顔の自
作にて候、古来より毎年ハ手旁取繕年久敷御神事ニ出申候事

但、万治元戊戌年（一六五八）壬十二月廿二日夜、後河原より出
火有之、堂の前・円政寺町迄口火ニ候、然共町内黒地藏、昔の堂葺
葺にて、蔵屋の様ニ有之候内にてんじやうに右の鷺有之、火難遁
レ候て今以長久仕候、此外つえ遣の昔よりかつき申候唐のかしら
ハ頭人の家内ニ有之、焼失申候事

十八 一 鷺の儀前書の分ニ大市より堂の前町中へ参候、惣て大市と 堂の前町と
ハ昔ハ親子のごとくニ候て、諸事催相ニ仕申候、其故承応年中（一六五二一
五四）迄六月七日鷺のけいごニ大市より若キ者罷出候、又同十四日ニハ堂の
前より若キもの不残大市へ車の警固ニ罷出候、然所に明暦元年（一六五五）
の頃、七月ニ山口市申かけ踊有之候、就夫一踊大市・堂の前と催相候て仕候
筈にて、両町中村浄泉寺ニ相談仕、大形踊の談合相極候処ニ、堂の前の山中
角兵衛申様ニ、堂の前より津守太郎右衛門・羽隅長右衛門不罷出候ハバ大市
ニも踊ハ相成間敷候と申候、其時大市横屋弥左衛門・長谷川次郎兵衛・寺戸
与右衛門申様ニ、角兵衛只今の口上承届ケ候、ケ様ニ承候てハ大市外聞不可
然候条、大市ニハ各別ニ踊可仕候と弥左衛門・次郎兵衛・与右衛門申、大市
中のものハ相談所引取申候、左候て大市ニハ三井寺踊と申釣鐘など拵へ能踊
仕、諸町ニほめ申候、堂の前町ニも踊仕、琴の証歌をうたひ、何も能踊にて
諸人ほめ申候、其翌年六月より七日同十四日の警固、双方出相不仕、加勢断
絶申候事

附、山中角兵衛儀、堂の前古来より住宅のものにて、町年寄役久々
所勤仕候、彼津守太郎右衛門・羽隅長右衛門ハ器用成者ニ候、殊
ニ長右衛門ハ能声にて小歌の上手にて候故、角兵衛些町自慢にて、
右の通維談の様ニ申候由ニ候、然共横屋弥左衛門・寺戸与左衛門・
長谷川次郎兵衛儀は、山口市申古来より式拾貳人の年寄の内にて
も、いつれより氣勢つよきものニ候へハ、一言にて聞捨ニは不
仕候て、両町はりあひニ相成候、然共人々心底ニ別条ハ無之故、今
以両町不和なるものハ無御座候事

十九 一 六月七日前書の通、鷺の警固大市より加勢ニ出候時は、麻上下着仕、大
小指候て罷出候、尤堂の前町中皆以刀脇指にて罷出候、但笠ハ着不申候、又

十四日車警固ニは中帯にて大小指笠も着て罷出候、延宝の頃迄大形大小指候
処ニ、天和（一六八一―八三）の頃、公方綱吉様御時代、町人百姓諸職人刀
御法度の旨被仰出候、其以来驚のけいごも刀指不申、麻上下ニ脇指計にて町
人ハ罷出候、扱又町内ニ奉公人居候へハ不及申ニ大小にて罷出申候事

二十一 右一卷の内年号年数の事

永正六己巳年（一五〇九）ヨリ正徳三癸巳年（一七一三）迄百五年ニ成候也
天正十一癸未年（一五八三）ヨリ正徳三年迄百三十一年ニ成ル
慶長元丙申年（一五九六）ヨリ 同迄百十八年ニ成ル
承応三甲午年（一六五四）ヨリ 同迄六十年ニ成ル
明暦元乙未年（一六五五）ヨリ 同迄五十九年ニ成ル
万治元戊戌年（一六五八）ヨリ 同迄五十六年ニ成ル
延宝四丙辰年（一六七六）ヨリ 同迄三十八年ニ成ル
天和元辛酉年（一六八一）ヨリ正徳三年迄三十三年ニ成ル
元禄十一戊寅年（一六九八）ヨリ 同迄十六年ニ成ル也

二十一 一 吉敷郡山口町奉行御代々御名書の事

但、往古の御名ハ知レ不申候、慶長年中よりの御名也

（一）佐武三郎右衛門（後ニ若狭）（二）平川孫兵衛（嘉忠）（三）児玉丹後
（後少の間嫡子庄兵衛） 福原九郎兵衛 粟屋半左衛門 市川九郎右衛門
桜井市之允 作間新五左衛門 兼常善兵衛 蔵田長兵衛 草刈六左衛門
兼常伊右衛門 井上善兵衛 御座平右衛門 根来治右衛門 長沼九郎右衛門
内藤五郎右衛門 寺内弥次右衛門 能美四郎兵衛 平田猪右衛門 国司権右
衛門

尚々此書物始中終念は入口分潔斎仕相調申候、以上
山口祇園御祭礼鷺舞の儀ニ付て、此一巻出来候根本は、伊藤五郎左衛門殿兄弟信心
者にて候、或時舍弟忠兵衛殿へ被申様ニ、此町中より鷺舞仕出候年々の事にて所
勤仕来候、併鷺の儀ニ付て出候て物町中ニ一円無之候、自然後年ニ鷺舞者何の由
来にて堂の前町より仕出候哉と御尋共有之候時はいか様と可申候哉、左候ハ、無
是非事ニ可有之と五郎左衛門殿被申候、其時忠兵衛殿被申様ニ、成程御尤の儀ニ
候、然はいつれへ相尋、由来御問置可被成候哉と被申候、左候て兄弟談合の上、
又弘中武右衛門殿へ右の趣被申聞せ由ニ、是又信心者にて候へハ同意にて、三人
色々相談被申候所ニ伝聞候へハ、祇園え御祭礼の事書立寄進有之由ニ候、是ヲ借
候て鷺舞の所写置候へハ、先々町の覚書ニも可相成候と候て、祇園大宮司へ此段
問合被申由ニ候、然所ニ大宮司被申様ニ、成程委細書立寄進有之候、然共一旦御社
納仕候て在家へ貸候儀不相成候と被申たる由ニ候、其後又三人相談ニは、祇園え
書立寄進候者横屋六右衛門方より承候、忽て六右衛門方ニは色々覚書有之候通伝
承候間、彼方へ頼写所望可仕の由にて、人伝ヲ以、右の趣私方へ被申遣候、私申様
ニは何も控も候へ共、左様の事共書候へハ無信心の者ハ結句悪口申候ものニ付て
御請相得不仕候と申候、左候へハ堂の前町中衆も此段御聞、是ハ可然事の間、とか
く書付物出来候様ニと皆々御同意の由、右三人并伊藤三左衛門殿・三戸弥兵衛殿
連判の書状ヲ以、又被仰遣候趣ニは対シ御神え寄進と存候て書進候時は、後代堂

の前町中の重宝ニも可相成候由被仰遣候、左様候へハ諸控等も所持仕、其上私ハ横屋弥左衛門家統にて山口町大年寄役旁久々所勤仕、乍下惶明細存知たる儀ニ候故、先ハ奉対御祇園え書立の儀御請相仕候、就夫宮の覚書も所持候へ共、於萩ニ神道衆或ハ諸学達者衆へも去年以来種々相尋、無相違様ニ念ヲ入此一巻認進候、尤毎年御祭礼ハ所勤の事ニ候へハ、此書付ニ無相違段御目前の事ニ候迎の儀と奉存、此巻品々書入申候、為後年此一冊調進候次第書付相添申候、猶可為長久候、以上
正徳四甲午年
横屋六右衛門
卯月吉祥日
栄徳（判）
吉敷郡山口
堂の前町御町中

A.4.4 *Bōchō fūdo chūshin'an*

Source *Yamaguchi saiban: Bōchō fūdo chūshin'an: Kamiu no rei no ni* 山口宰判: 防長風土注進案: 上宇野令之二. In *Sagi no mai* 鷺の舞, ed. Yamaguchi-shi Kyōiku Iinkai 山口市教育委員会, pp. 85–86. Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, 1981.

Bōchō fūdo chūshin'an (1714) Original

Tenpō 天保 15 (1844)

祭日 六月自七日至十四日

祭儀

七日巳の上尅神幸なり、早朝左義長笠鉾の行列堂ノ前町を発し、祇園の本社にいたり楼門の前庭に舞ふ、赤熊髪(ジャクマ)を被り楯(シモト)もたるもの二人、次に烏帽子袴着たる少年二人、腰鼓をうちながらこれを逐ふ、次に肩衣袴着たるもの数輩連りて笛鼓もて拍子(ハヤ)す、今ハ鷺の頭を戴き、羽翼つけたるもの二人、左義長にさきたてり、俗にハ鷺舞とそいふ(左義長を鷺鳥(サギチョウ)と思ひたかへし誣言よりかゝる態をなし、にそあらん、是も古くより謬れる事と見えて、大市横屋か家に天文の比の筆記といふものありとて其写しを觀るに、鷺棒つかひ(按是ハ赤熊髪を被り楯もたるものをいふなり)等の名あり、今の鷺の頭ハ慶長の頃等顔(雲谷家俗称原次兵衛尉)堂の前町に居(スミ)し時画模(エカタ)せし彫刻なりといへり)

(...) 左義長祇園楼門の前庭に舞てのち、大神宮直会殿(ナホライテン)のまへに舞ふ、畢て左義岩(是ハもと辰石といふ岩なり、宮嶺大神宮御鎮座記に此岩より上僧尼のほる事を許さざるよしを載たり)の上に鷺の頭と羽翼とを脱ぎ、己か舎り所に休らひて神幸の時剋をまつ、さて時刻にもいたりぬれば神輿三基上卿大宮司騎馬なり(...)

(...) 社家数十輩神幸にしたかふ (...) その次に左義長笠鉾八竿渡る(笠鉾もと左義長の行列にハあらず抑堂の前町よりこれを出す事其謂れなきにしもあらず、京祇園会の笠鉾は壬生より出つれハなり大内弘世朝臣平安城の景勝を摸されし時、

此堂の前町を京の壬生に準へ給ひしといへり、其は壬生の名たゞる地蔵あり堂の前町にも名地蔵あり、其堂の前といふ事より名つけしほどの所なれば壬生に準へしといふも理りあるに近からん歟) 左義長路次のほと拍(ハヤ)して所々を舞つゝ行なり、かくて神輿今市宿院(御旅宮なり)に御安座ありぬれば左義長彼所の神樂殿の前に舞ふこと本社に同じ

A.4.5 The Costume Storage Box

Source The Costume Storage Box. In *Sagi no mai* 鷺の舞, ed. Yamaguchi-shi Kyōiku Iinkai 山口市教育委員会, pp. 7–9. Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, 1981.

The costume storage box (1784, 1898) Original

Inscription on the costume box, Tenmei 天明 4 (1784)

堂之前町

鷺頭人

篠原長左衛門

広仲善介

河村源七

津守新右衛門

甲 天明四年

辰之 六月改之

町年寄

河村源七

大工 松岡 (名ハ破不知)

以上

右之通有之、夫より星霜移リヌレハ箱モ是ニ随□(分か)驚破ヌ、因茲此度原田常吉拵替、寄進仕度由四頭へ相談仕、打合之上仕調奉寄進仕候、已上

戊明治三十一年

戊六月吉日

願主

原田常吉

鷺頭人

岡村丑之助

原田常吉

河村源七

津守新右衛門

以上

町総代人

長富善兵衛

一、当代迄御座候鷺の頭羽之儀ハ昔雲谷之家中興等顔(俗名原次兵衛年代慶長年中比)堂之前町内ニ住宅ニ而有之候時、右雲谷等顔之自作ニ而候古来より毎年ハね旁取繕年久敷

御神事ニ出申候事

但万治元戊戌年閏十二月廿三日夜後河原より出火有之、堂之前円政寺まで類火ニ及候、然共町内黒地蔵昔之堂藁葺ニ而蔵屋之脇ニ有之候内

之天井ニ右之鷺有之、火難遁レ候而今次目出度長久仕候、此外之道具
ハ頭人之家内ニ有之、焼失申候事

七十一翁敬白

A.5 Sources from Tsuwano

A.5.1 *No kamiryō nakaryō shatō sairei shikihō*

Source *No kamiryō nakaryō shatō sairei shikihō* 野上領中領社頭祭礼式法. Quoted in vol. 1 of *Tsuwano-chō shi* 津和野町史, ed. Okimoto Tsunekichi 沖本常吉. Tsuwano, Shimane prefecture: Tsuwano-chō Shi Kankōkai, 1970, p. 716.

No kamiryō nakaryō shatō sairei shikihō (1532) Original

Kyōroku 享祿 5 (1532), 4th month, 12th day

一 享祿五年壬辰四月十二日、頼興御世去ニテ、祇園ハ六月十四日ニ在、御幸同廿日ニ御クワンキヤウ

A.5.2 *Chōsen tokai nikki*

Source *Chōsen tokai nikki* 朝鮮渡海日記. In vol. 6 of *Bōchō sōsho* 防長叢書, ed. Bōchō-shi Dankai 防長史談会. Yamaguchi: Bōchō-shi Dankai, 1934, p. 6.

Chōsen tokai nikki (1592) Original

Tenshō 天正 20 (1592), 6th month, 7th day

一 七日にも同所に御逗留候 国元の祇園共被思召出御祝ひ候

A.5.3 *Kuwabara shake yuisho hikae*

Source *Kuwabara shake yuisho hikae* 桑原社家由緒控. Quoted in Ishizuka Takatoshi 石塚尊俊. “Dai issō: Sagimai” 第1章: 鷺舞. In *Nishi Iwami no minzoku* 西石見の民俗, ed. Wakamori Tarō 和歌森太郎, pp. 294–301. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1962, p. 295.

Kuwabara shake yuisho hikae (1611) Original (Ishizuka)

Tenbun 天文 20 (1542), 6th month, 14th day

天文十一年壬寅六月十四日、祇園社新宮江御遷座、大疫病時、行新野市仁、旅殿造立本宮之辺、一七日有神事、鷺舞執行始ル、祇園社勸請より百五十五年、祇園社再御勸請より十四年に当

A.5.4 *Yuishoki*

Source *Yuishoki* 由緒記. Quoted in Ishizuka Takatoshi 石塚尊俊. “Dai issō: Sagimai” 第1章: 鷺舞. In *Nishi Iwami no minzoku* 西石見の民俗, ed. Wakamori Tarō 和歌森太郎, pp. 294–301. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1962, p. 295.

Yuishoki (1611) Original

Kōki 弘化 4 (1847), 6th month

扱又正保元甲申の御祭礼より当屋年番に始る也（中略）。此年より改めて鷺舞の式

始るなり。寛永二十の秋、野村仁左衛門・坂田屋種助先祖兩人上京し、鷺舞のしきあらためて習ひ来り、今伝ふる処なり。

附、鷺舞の式、笠鉾の次第迄意味有し事なれども、繋ければ爰に略す。元来、往昔より阿り来る事と見ゆ。既によし見正頼、天文十一壬寅の六月十四日方野市におゐて新たに仮殿を建てられ、疫病鎮座のため遷宮一七日の間神事鷺舞行はると、専ら旧記ニ見なり

A.5.5 *Gionsha go-sairei no setsu sagimai oboegaki*

Source *Gionsha go-sairei no setsu sagimai oboegaki* 祇園社御祭礼之節鷺舞覚書. Quoted in Honda Yasuji 本田安次 and Yamaji Kōzō 山路興造. *Sagimai shinji* 鷺舞神事. Kankō Shigen Hogo Zaidan, 1974, pp. 15–16. Also refer to the manuscript by Okimoto Tsunekichi (1938), held by the Tsuwano Town History Museum.

Gionsha go-sairei no setsu sagimai oboegaki (1848) Original

Kaei 嘉永 1 (1848), 6th month

祇園社御祭礼鷺舞之儀

往古本町・中町・堀九郎兵衛江被仰付 中丁一統世話人トシテ私先祖五代前坂田屋兵左衛門 紫福屋参吾兩人之者 寛文八年戊申四月上京仕 於京都ニ而東山大和掾殿取次ヲ以 京都祇園会之鷺之舞を授而被下候様願出候処 左候得は京都(白)鷺之舞と申者ハ神之遊ニ而吉田ニおゐて五位之(位)を受(け)候ハては出来不申段被申聞候ニ付 私共町人風情之ものニ而官仕(位)仕候而は商売之障りにも相成申候入段段々相歎申候処 不能共(其儀ニ)出来候様数日入魂(魄)ニ相成格別之御心入を以 鷺舞囃子方等残ル処なく御伝授被(下)候

A.5.6 *Gion sairei emaki*

Source *Gion sairei emaki* 祇園祭礼絵巻, held by Tsuwano Town History Museum (Tsuwano Kyōdōkan 津和野郷土館).

Gion sairei emaki Original

Gion sairei emaki Man'en 万延 1 (1860)

さぎまひやくしゃ

鷺舞役者

せき

席順ハ左ニ

しょうごこらいより

上坐古来方

- | | | |
|---|-----------|----|
| 一 | 坂田兵左衛門家筋也 | |
| 二 | 鷺舞 | 二人 |
| | かつこ | |
| 三 | 羯鼓 | 式人 |
| | ふへふき | |
| 五 | 笛吹 | 式人 |
| | ぼうふり | |
| 四 | 棒振 | 式人 |

たひこ
五 六 太鼓 二人
かね
六 七 叩鐘

たひこもち
太鼓持は当家方
よう
当日日傭二而
持之也
前後警固六人
当組方勤之
地諷ハ本町中ノ丁方
勤之尤本家倍臣方
下之家別方相勤
申候古風也

A.5.7 *Tsuwano hyakkeizu*

Source *Tsuwano hyakkeizu* 津和野百景図. Quoted in Kurimoto Kakusai 栗本格齋. *Tsuwano Hyakkeizu* 津和野百景図. Ed. Tsuwano-chō Kyōiku Iinkai 津和野町教育委員会. Tsuwano-chō: Tsuwano-chō Kyōdōkan, 2010, p. 124.

Tsuwano hyakkeizu Original

第十七図 祇園会鷺舞ひ

津和野市街祇園社（後弥栄神社と改称す）祭礼ハ土地重大の祭式なり毎年六月七日同月十四日広小路看楼に於て上覧あり鷺舞ハ祇園社前其の年の当屋及殿町原中嶋処在の諸家戸別毎（また）御旅処にて行へり途中ハ横笛大小鼓鉦にてはやしなくなりそのはやし方ハ笛ヒヤアリーヒヤーホーヒー太鼓トントン苗ヒヤラリホー

／＼ヒーヒヤアーホーヒー太鼓トントン此間に太鼓ありその鷺の舞ふ時に後ろにある袴着たるものうたふ也其の謡ハ（橋の上へにおりたあー鳥はなんどーりーかハさゝぎーのかハさゝぎーのやあかハさゝぎーのさぎが橋をわたした／＼

時雨のあーめにぬれとーりとーりー）その舞ふ時ハ鷺の次にて諫鼓二人左右にて諫鼓を打ち又二本のぶちを耳の処にあてゝ飛ふなり又棒振り二人あり其の鷺諫鼓の外カを左右に分れて廻るなり其行粧ハ鷺のあとに大鉦壺本小鉦八本随ひ行く也大鉦にハ鉦の上に鳳凰あり小鉦にハ鷺に松の造りものあり今なほこの鷺舞ひの曲執行するも祭日ハ七月廿日同廿七と変更せり

此鷺舞ひの曲ハむかしもと京都へ傳習に坂田屋吉兵衛といふもの京都にて傳習せしもの也といふ吉兵衛傳習を得て歸路つわの近在笹在山柿木の村境字唐人やまで還り来り自ら復習しけるにいさゝか忘れしともおほえぬともいかにまひ試ミても舞ふ其の曲に合ハす己むことを得ず又ひき返し京都へ登り師につきて問ひけれ

ハ謡のうちヤアかはさゝぎのヤアといふ一語を忘れたるにそありけるといひ伝ふ
されとこの舞曲今ハ京都にハ絶てあることなし

此鷺舞ひにつきおもしろき咄しありそハつわの近郷の百姓多分此祇園祭礼物見
に集ひ寄るなるその還路に同友に出あひ甲曰祇園会の鷺舞ひを見しやと乙曰見た
／＼アノ鶴をかぶりて舞ふたのか答ふおか敷答へなり

大正二年六月

栗本里治しるす（印）

A.5.8 *Tsuwano jōkamachi ezu*

Source *Tsuwano jōkamachi ezu* 津和野城下町絵図, held by Tsuwano Town History
Museum (Tsuwano Kyōdōkan 津和野郷土館)

Kotobagaki for the heron dance illustration of *Tsuwano jōkamachi ezu*
Original

Tsuwano jōkamachi ezu, Taishō 大正 3 (1914)

鷺マヒ

上ミ下モを

着せしものうたふ也








そのうた

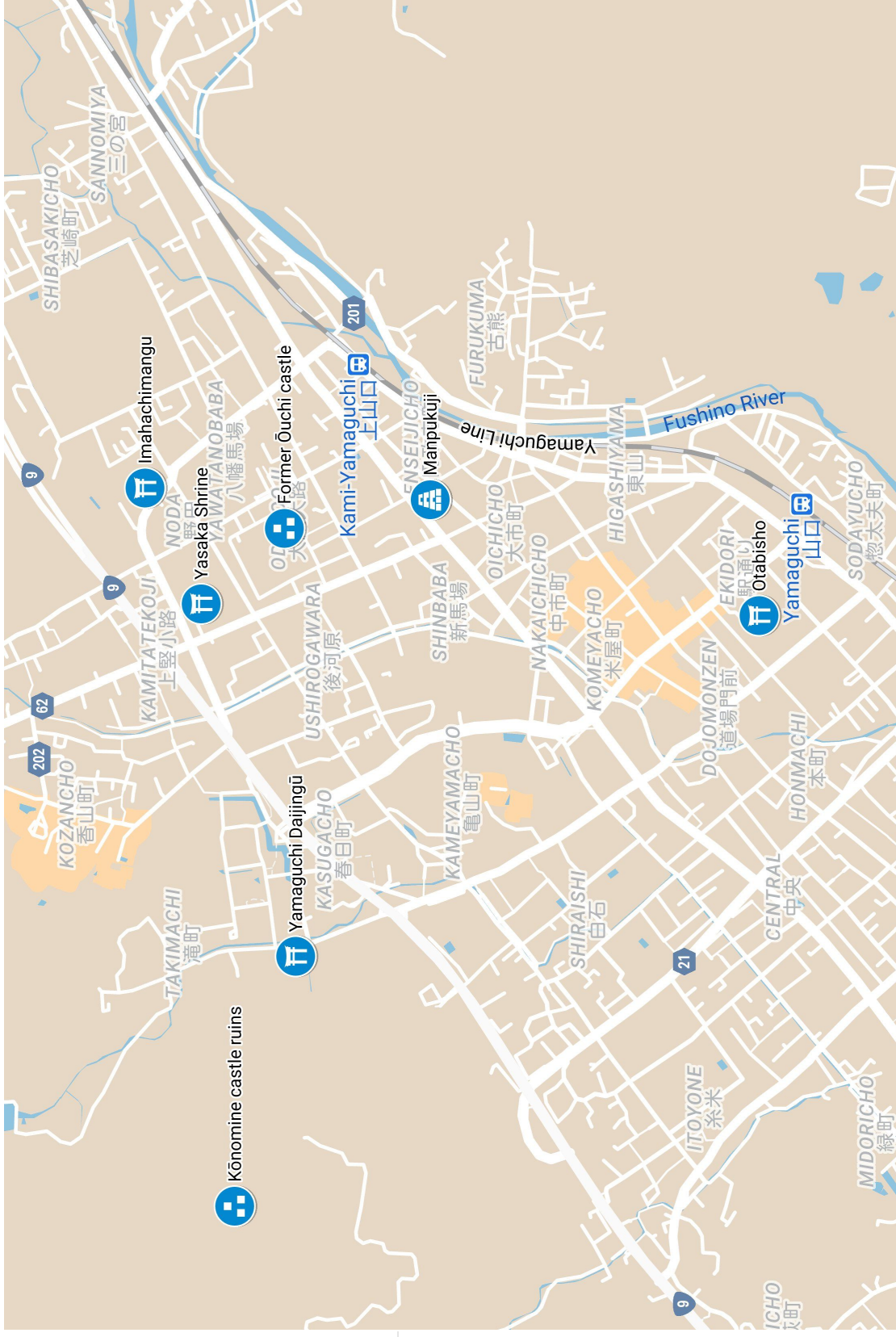
橋のうへに
おりゐた鳥は
なんどり
可ハさゝぎの
可ハさゝぎイの
ヤア可ハさゝぎの
さぎが橋を
わたした
しぐれの
阿ゝめに
ぬれ通り
とをり／＼

右を御物見の処で七度
彌栄社で五度
御通筋の四角で三度
そのほかは一度

Map of Yamaguchi City

Map of Yamaguchi City (Google Maps, October 12, 2020)

-  Yasaka Shrine
-  Former Ōuchi castle
-  Manpukuji
-  Imahachimangu
-  Kōnomine castle ruins
-  Yamaguchi Daijingu
-  Otabisho



Appendix B

Music Transcriptions

B.1 Heron Dance Song in Yamaguchi

As recorded in Yamaguchi 20 July 2016.

B.2 Heron Dance Song in Tsuwano

As recorded in Tsuwano on 27 July 2016.

B.3 Ōkura Yatarō, *Senjimonō*, 1984

Ōkura, January 4th, 1984. *Shite*: Ōkura Yatarō 大蔵弥太郎

B.4 Yamamoto Noritoshi, *Senjimonō*, 1996

Yamamoto, January 26th, 1996. *Shite*: Yamamoto Noritoshi 山本則俊

B.5 Shigeyama Sennojō, *Senjimonō*, 2001

Shigeyama, November 30th, 2001. *Shite*: Shigeyama Sennojō 茂山千之丞

B.6 Yamamoto Tōjirō, *Senjimonō*, 2009

Yamamoto (Ōkura school), January 1st, 2009. *Shite*: Yamamoto Tōjirō 山本東次郎

B.1 Heron Dance Song in Yamaguchi

Flute $\text{♩} = 80$ *tr* *tr* *tr*

Kakko $\frac{2}{4}$

Taiko $\frac{2}{4}$

Feathers $\frac{2}{4}$

16 Flute *tr* *tr*

Ka. $\frac{2}{4}$

Ta. $\frac{2}{4}$

Feathers $\frac{2}{4}$

B.2 Heron Dance Song in Tsuwano

$\text{♩} = 65-70$ Prelude

1 6 11

Flute

Song

Kotsuzumi

Shimedaiko

Gong

Feathers

16 21 26

Flute

Song

Ko.

Shi.

Gong

Feathers

31 36 *tr* 41 *tr*

Flute

Song

Ko.

Shi.

Gong

Feathers

46 51

Flute

Song

Ko.

Shi.

Gong

Feathers

56 61 *tr* 66

Flute

Song

Ko.

Shi.

Gong

Feathers

Short Pattern

71 76 81

Flute

Song

Ko.

Shi.

Gong

Feathers

Hashino u eni ori ta -



Flute

Song

Ko.

Shi.

Gong

Feathers

To ri wa na n do - ri - Ka wa sa sa - gi - no Ka wa

Spread wings

Flute

Song

Ko.

Shi.

Gong

Feathers

sa sa - gi - no - Ya - Ka wa sa sa gi - Sa giga ha shiu wa ta i ta - Sa giga

Hayashimono Rhythm Pattern

Spread w.

Flute

Song

ha shiu wa ta i ta - Shigu re no a - me ni nu re to ri

Ko.

Shi.

Gong

Feathers

Spread w.

Spread w.

Flute

Song

to - ri - Ya - Ka wa sa sa gi Sa giga ha shiu wa ta i ta - Sa giga ha shiu

Ko.

Shi.

Gong

Feathers

Hayashimono Rhythm Pattern

Spread w.

Spread w.

Flute

Song

wa ta i ta - Hashino u eni ori - ta

Ko.

Shi.

Gong

Feathers

Spread w.

Spread w.

Flute

Song

Ko.

Shi.

Gong

Feathers

B.3 Ōkura Yatarō, *Senjimon*, 1984

♩ = 70–80

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Solo

Shi gu re no a me ni nu re ji to - te

Chorus

Kotsuzumi

Ōtsuzumi

Taiko

9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

Solo

Chorus

Sa gi no ha shi o wa ta i ta ka sa sa gi no ha shi o wa ta i ta ri ya

Ko.

Ōtsu.

Ta.

18 19 20 21 22 23 24

Solo

Shi gu re no a me ni

Chorus

so o yo no

Ko.

Ōtsu.

Ta.

B.4 Yamamoto Noritoshi, *Senjimon*, 1996

$\text{♩} = 55-70$

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Solo

Chorus

Kotsuzumi

Ōtsuzumi

Taiko

Fan

9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

Solo

Chorus

Ko.

Ōtsu.

Ta.

Fan

18 19 20 21 22 23 24

Solo

Chorus

Ko.

Ōtsu.

Ta.

Fan

Shi gu re no a me ni

ta ri ya so o yo no

B.5 Shigeyama Sennojō, *Senjimon*, 2001

♩ = 75–80

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Solo

Shi gu re no a me ni nu re ji to - te

Chorus

Kotsuzumi

4 Measures

4 Measures

Ōtsuzumi

Taiko

9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

Solo

Chorus

Sa gi ga ha shi o wa ta i ta ka - sa ssa gi ga ha shi o wa ta i ta ri ya

Ko.

4 Measures

3 Measures

4 Measures

Ōtsu.

Ta.

18 19 20 21 22 23

Solo

Shi gu re no a me ni

Chorus

so o yo no

Ko.

Ōtsu.

Ta.

B.6 Yamamoto Tōjirō, *Senjimono*, 2009

♩ = 65

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Solo

Shi gu re no a me ni nu re ji to o te

Chorus

Kotsuzumi

4 Measures

4 Measures

Ōtsuzumi

Taiko

Fan

9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

Solo

Chorus

Sa gi no ha shi o wa ta i ta - ka sa sa gi no ha shi o

Ko.

4 Measures

4 Measures

Ōtsu.

Ta.

Fan

17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24

Solo

Chorus

Ko.

Ōtsu.

Ta.

Fan

Shi gu re no a me ni

wa ta i ta ri ya so o yo no

4 Measures

Appendix C

Dance-Step Diagrams

C.1 Heron Dance in Yamaguchi

As recorded in Yamaguchi 20 July 2016.

C.2 Heron Dance in Tsuwano

As recorded in Tsuwano on 27 July 2016.

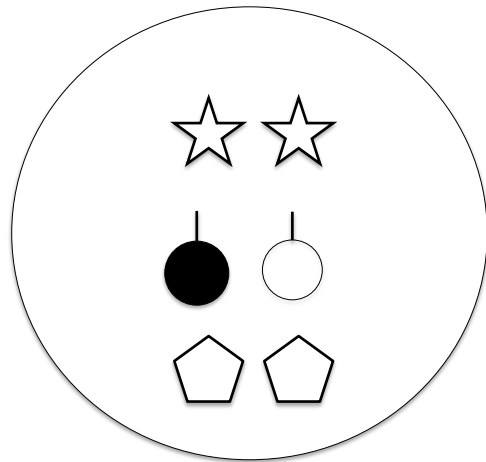
Appendix C

C.1 Heron Dance in Yamaguchi

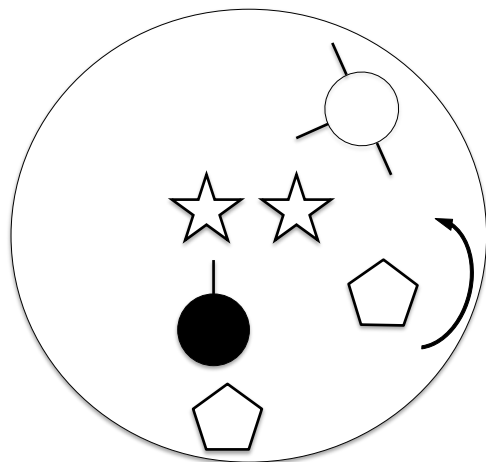
As recorded in Yamaguchi on 20 July 2016.



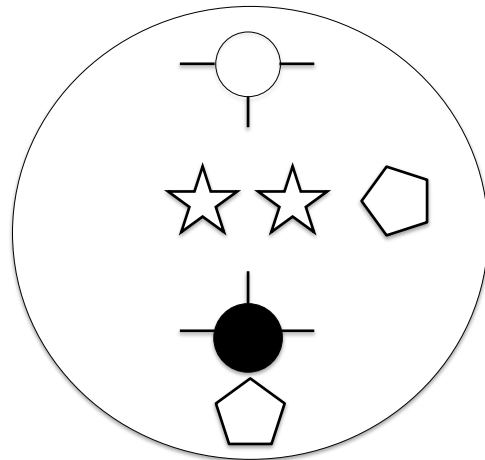
All six performers look in the same direction



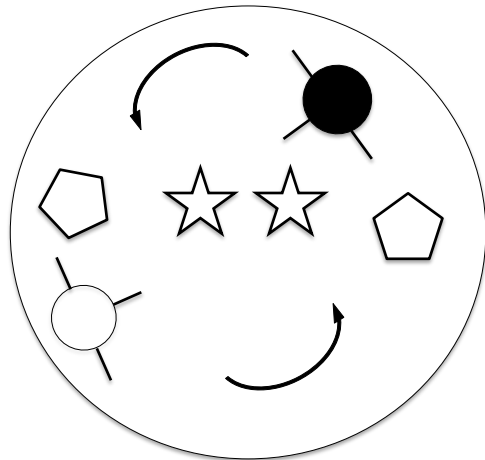
The heron dancer on the right side walks a half circle with his wings diagonally spread. The rod wielder on the right side follows the heron.



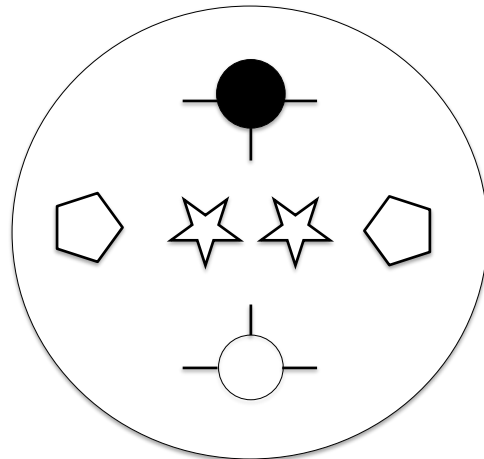
The *kakko mai* dancers jump and beat their drum simultaneously two times. After that, the heron dancers flap their wings two times. The *taiko* drum is beaten two times, at the same time as the rod wielders “shoot” the herons.



Both herons and both rod wielders walk a half circle around the *kakko mai*. The herons spread their wings diagonally.



The movements are repeated, so that three full circle rounds are made. Finally, the male heron stops at its starting position, waiting for the female heron to return.



Appendix C

C.2 Heron Dance in Tsuwano

As recorded in Tsuwano on 27 July 2016.



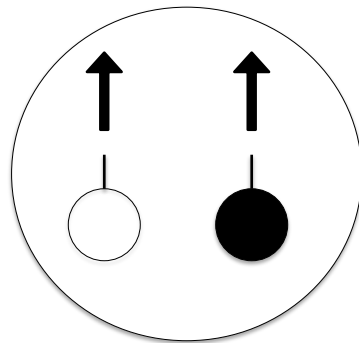
Closed
beak



Open
beak

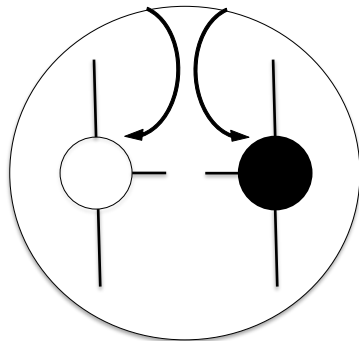
*(...)Tori wa
nan dori*

Heron dancers take
three steps forward
and begin flapping
their wings.



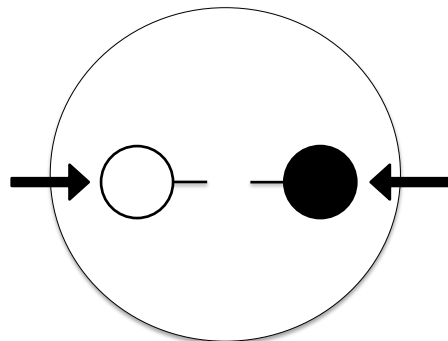
*Kawasasagi
no*

They stop, turn
backwards and face
each other. They
spread their wings.

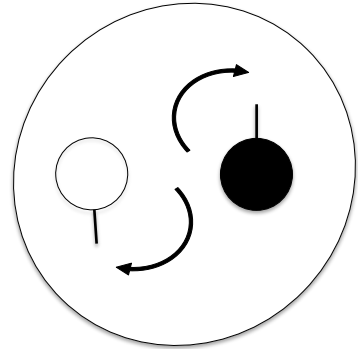


*Kawasasagi
no*

They walk towards
each other.

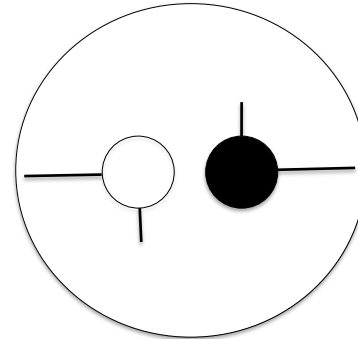


They turn their bodies and step backwards.



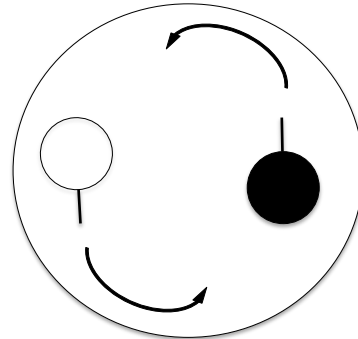
*Yaa,
kawasasagi*

They look in opposite directions and spread the right wing, while lifting the right leg.

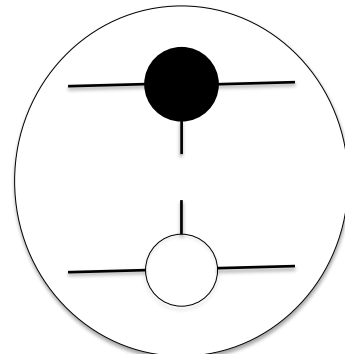


*Sagi ga hashi o
wataita, sagi
ga hashi o
wataita*

They walk a quarter circle until they face each other again.

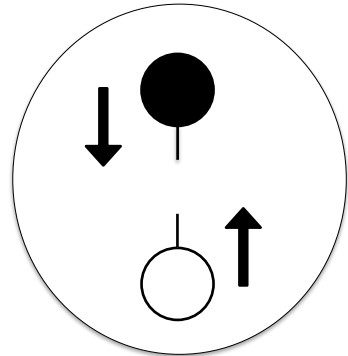


They bend their knees and spread their wings while they straighten up again.



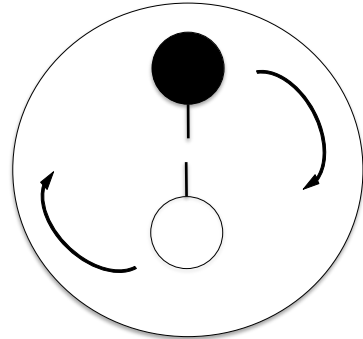
*Shigure no
ame ni*

They walk towards
each other.



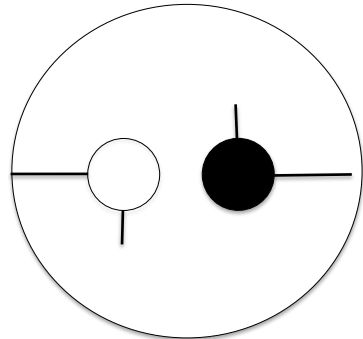
nure tori tori

They turn their
bodies and walk
backwards.



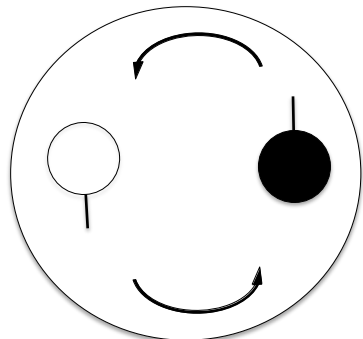
*Yaa,
kawasasagi*

They look in opposite
directions and spread
the right wing, while
lifting the right leg.

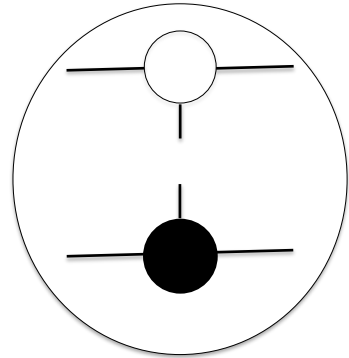


*Sagi ga hashi o
wataita, sagi
ga hashi o
wataita*

They walk three-
quarters of the circle,
and turn to face each
other again.

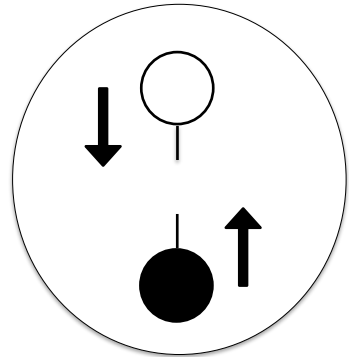


They bend their knees and spread their wings while they straighten up again.

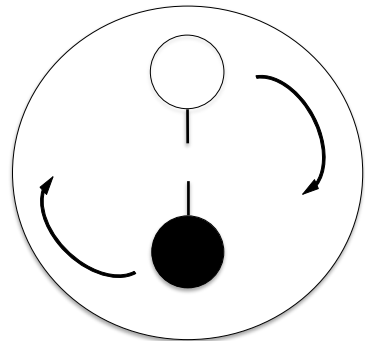


*Hashi no ue ni
orita*

They walk towards each other.

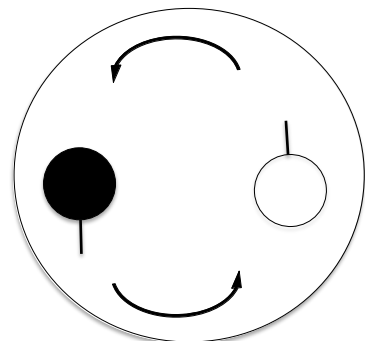


They turn their bodies and step backwards.



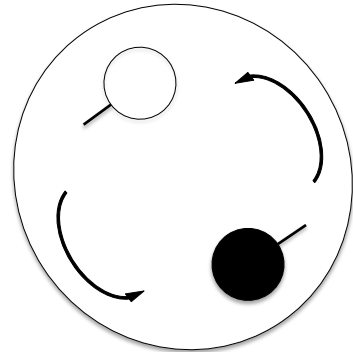
*Tori wa nan
dori?
Kawasasagi no*

From that position, they walk forwards.



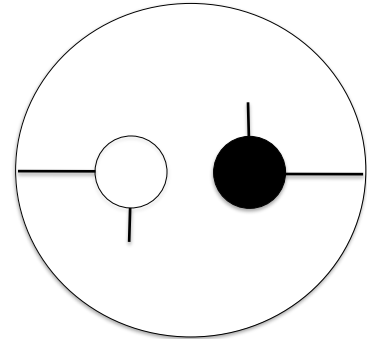
Kawasasagi no

They walk a half circle.



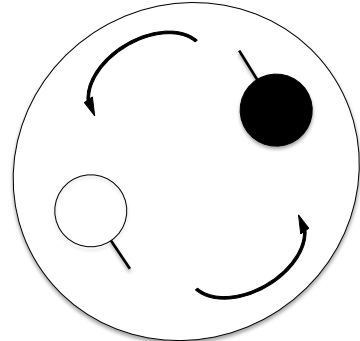
*Yaa,
kawasasagi*

They look in opposite directions and spread the right wing, while lifting the right leg.

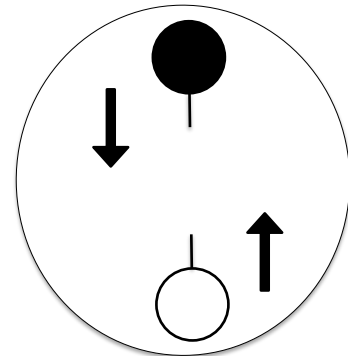


*Sagi ga hashi o
wataita*

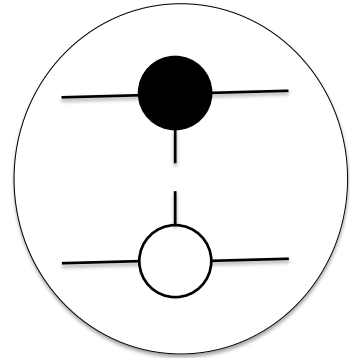
They walk a quarter circle until they face each other again.



They walk towards each other,

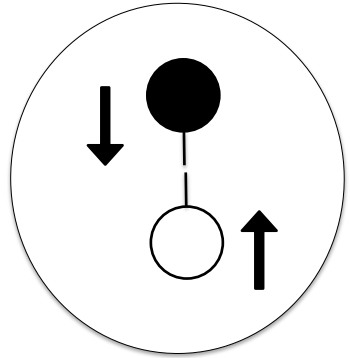


and spread their wings.



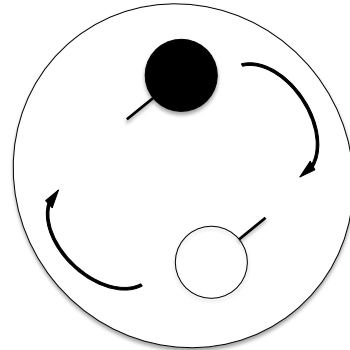
Shigure no ame ni

They walk towards each other.



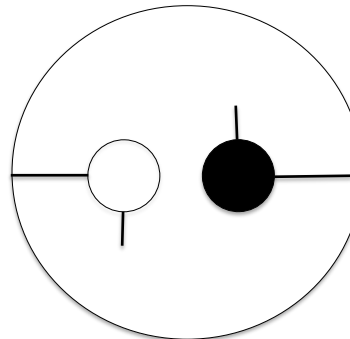
nure tori tori

They turn their bodies and step backwards.



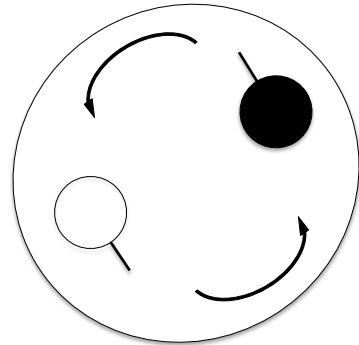
Yaa, kawasasagi

They look in opposite directions and spread the right wing, while lifting the right leg.

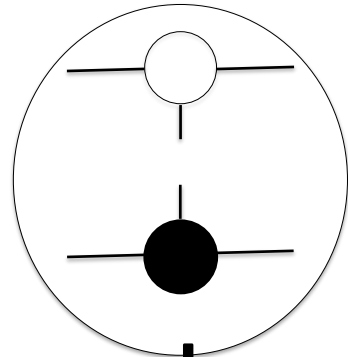


*Sagi ga hashi o
wataita, sagi
ga hashi o
wataita*

They walk three-quarters of the circle, and turn to face each other again.

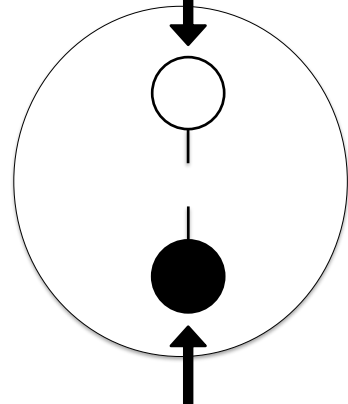


They bend their knees and spread their wings while they straighten up again.

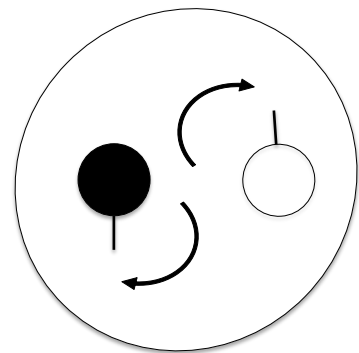


*Hashi no ue ni
orita*

They walk towards each other.

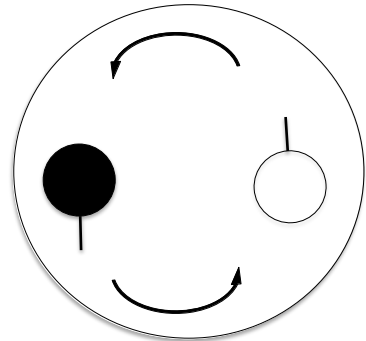


They turn their bodies and step backwards.



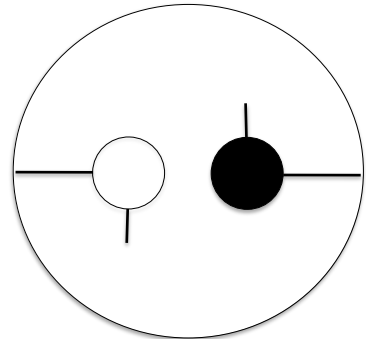
*Tori wa nan
dori?
Kawasasagi no
kawasasagi no*

From that position,
they walk forwards
and draw a half
circle.



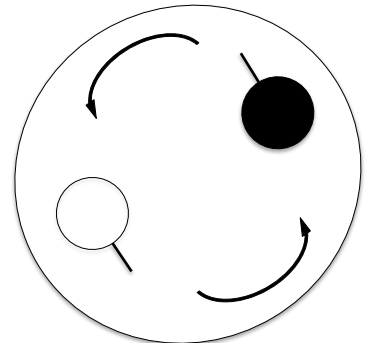
*Yaa,
kawasasagi*

They look in opposite
directions and spread
the right wing, while
lifting the right leg.

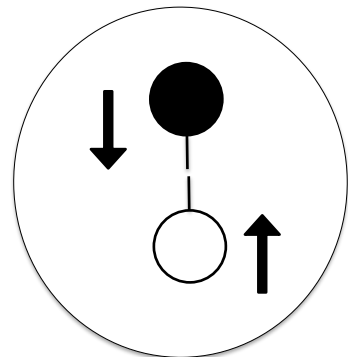


*Sagi ga hashi o
wataita, sagi
ga hashi o
watait*

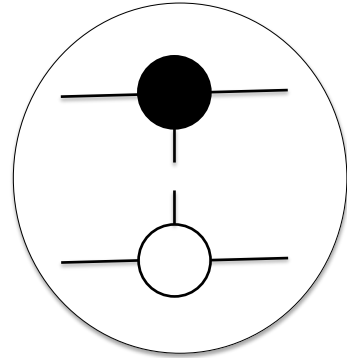
They walk a quarter
circle until they face
each other again.



They walk towards
each other,

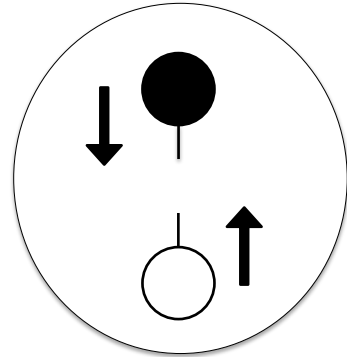


and spread their wings.



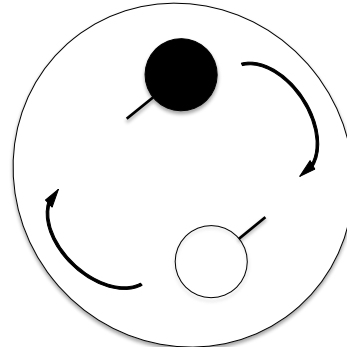
*Shigure no
ame ni*

They walk towards
each other once
more.



nure tori tori

They turn their
bodies and walk
backwards.



Yaa

Finally, the heron
dancer with open
beak puts his wing on
the shoulder of the
one with the closed
beak, who spreads
his wings only half
way.

