

Dissertation

The Dynamics of Gender and Power in Zeami's Reflections
on Performance

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For Margit and Doug

Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Die Dissertation untersucht Zeami (ca. 1363 – ca. 1433) Auffassung des Tanzes der himmlischen Frau im historischen Kontext der Muromachi-Zeit. Seine Version dieses Tanzes basiert auf einer Aufführung von Inuō, einem Darsteller der Ōmi-Schauspieltruppe, und sollte das Repertoire seiner eigenen Schauspieltruppe um eine starke, weibliche Figur mit himmlischen Zügen erweitern. Im ersten Kapitel zeige ich auf, wie Zeami, geprägt von seinem Erfolg als sexualisiertes Kind im Dienste der politischen Elite (*chigo*), die Beziehung zwischen Darsteller und Publikum im Sinne von Gender versteht. In seinen Traktaten beschreibt Zeami, wie ein Schauspieler eine komplementäre Beziehung zwischen Patron und Darsteller (feminin/maskulin bzw. Yin/Yang) schafft. Diese Beziehung steigert sich in eine Ekstase der geglückten Kommunikation zwischen den beiden Polen, welche einer sexuellen Vereinigung gleicht. Als nächstes lege ich dar, wie Zeami Inuōs Beziehungen zwischen seinen Mäzenen, dem Daimyo Sasaki Doyō in Kapitel zwei und dem Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu in Kapitel drei, wahrnimmt. Inuō wurde von Doyōs Vorliebe für imposante Kunst beeinflusst, jedoch erkannte Zeami auch, dass Inuō Doyōs Maskulinität mit femininer Eleganz komplementieren konnte. Inuō wandte eine Darstellung der Subversion in seiner Beziehung mit Yoshimitsu an, sowohl als öffentliche Person als auch in der Ästhetik der Aufführung, um seine rebellische Reputation, angepasst an das unter der kriegerischen Elite herrschende konfliktträchtige Klima, zu erhalten. In seinem Stück „Aoi no ue“ gibt er Yoshimitsu die Rolle des Prinzen Genji und konfrontiert ihn mit den Konsequenzen des Verrats an der Dame Rokujō, die als Dämonin erscheint, weil

Genji sie verlassen hatte, und spielt so auf die aristokratische literarische Tradition des *Genji monogatari* an. Diese Aufführung stellt Zeamis frühere Auffassung in Frage, nämlich dass die extreme Maskulinität von Dämonen und die elegante Femininität, exemplifiziert in der Aristokratie, bei der Schaffung der Figuren getrennt gehalten werden muss. Im vierten Kapitel, zeige ich auf, wie Zeami in der Rolle der himmlischen Frau in gleicher Weise die Dominanz (Maskulinität) und Unterwerfung (Femininität) in der körperlichen Ausdruck eines einzelnen Darstellers vereinigt. Es folgt daraus, dass der Tanz der himmlischen Frau nicht nur die Maskulinität seines Patrons mit Femininität, sondern auch die politische Macht seines Patrons einer anderen dominierenden Macht gegenüberstellt. Somit beschreiben Stücke, in denen die himmlische Frau auftritt, diese Macht nicht als maskulin sondern als himmlisch.

English Abstract

This dissertation details how Zeami (ca. 1363 - ca.1443) understood his adoption of the heavenly woman dance within the historical conditions of the Muromachi period. He adopted the dance based on performances by the Ōmi troupe player Inuō in order to expand his own troupe's repertoire to include a divinely powerful, feminine character. In the first chapter, I show how Zeami, informed by his success as a sexualized child in the service of the political elite (*chigo*), understood the relationship between performer and audience in gendered terms. In his treatises, he describes how a player must create a complementary relationship between patron and performer (feminine/masculine or yin/yang) that escalates to an ecstasy of successful communication between the two poles, resembling sexual union. Next, I look at how Zeami perceived Inuō's relationships with patrons, the daimyo Sasaki Dōyo in chapter two and shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu in chapter three. Inuō was influenced by Dōyo's masculine penchant for powerful, awe-inspiring art, but Zeami also recognized that Inuō was able to complement Dōyo's masculinity with feminine elegance (*kakari* and *yūgen*). In his relationship with Yoshimitsu, Inuō used the performance of subversion, both in his public persona and in the aesthetic of his performances, to maintain a rebellious reputation appropriate within the climate of conflict among the martial elite. His play "Aoi no ue" draws on the aristocratic literary tradition of the *Genji monogatari*, giving Yoshimitsu the role of Prince Genji and confronting him with the consequences of betrayal in the form of a demonic, because jilted, Lady Rokujō. This performance challenged Zeami's early notion that the extreme masculinity of demons and elegant

femininity as exemplified by the aristocracy must be kept separate in character creation. In the fourth chapter, I show how Zeami also combined dominance (masculinity) and submission (femininity) in the corporal capacity of a single player when he adopted the heavenly woman dance. The heavenly woman dance thus complemented not only the masculinity of his male patrons with femininity but also the political power of his patrons with another dominant power, which plays featuring the heavenly woman dance label divine rather than masculine.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	xii
Notes on Translated Names, Dates, and Ages.....	xvii
Introduction.....	1
0.1 Context	4
0.2 Problem and Response	22
0.3 Chapter Overview.....	24
Chapter 1: The Player-Patron Relationship.....	30
1.1 Zeami in Yoshimitsu's Performance of Flower	37
1.1.1 <i>The Imagumano Sarugaku Performance</i>	37
1.1.2 <i>Zeami in Yoshimitsu's Performance of Flower.....</i>	41
1.1.3 <i>Zeami and Nijō Yoshimoto</i>	44
1.1.4 <i>Transience in Zeami's Use of the Floral Metaphor.....</i>	51
1.2 The Significance of Audience	54
1.2.1 <i>Sanjō Kintada's Critical Diary Entry.....</i>	55
1.2.2 <i>Zeami's Focus on Elite Patrons</i>	59
1.3 Power in Engaging with Audiences	62
1.3.1 <i>Secrecy</i>	62
1.3.2 <i>The Secret Teachings on Yin and Yang.....</i>	69
1.4 Zeami on Gender	72
1.4.1 <i>Masculine and Feminine Moments.....</i>	72
1.4.2 <i>Masculine and Feminine Characters</i>	77
1.5 In Sum.....	80
Chapter 2: Sasaki Dōyo and Inuō's Styles	82
2.1 The basara lord Sasaki Dōyō and Inuō.....	87
2.1.1 <i>Basara and the Kenmu Code.....</i>	87

2.1.2 <i>Tanabata celebration</i>	90
2.1.3 <i>Hosting the enemy</i>	91
2.1.4 <i>Shōjiji flower viewing</i>	93
2.1.5 <i>Representation and Power</i>	96
2.2 Zeami's Comparison of Ōmi and Yamato Sarugaku	99
2.2.1 <i>Dōyō's aesthetic taste and Inuō's abilities</i>	101
2.2.2 <i>Ōmi and Yamato comparison</i>	110
2.2.3 <i>Kakari and Yūgen</i>	113
2.2.4 <i>Kakari and Feeling</i>	126
2.2.5 <i>Heart in the Player-Patron Relationship</i>	132
2.3 In Sum	134
Chapter 3: Yoshimitsu and Inuō's Relationship	138
3.1 Inuō's Failure?	139
3.1.1 <i>Hosokawa Yoriyuki and the Kōryaku Disturbance</i>	139
3.1.2 <i>Inuō's appearance in the capital</i>	141
3.1.3 <i>Inuō carrying a sword</i>	143
3.1.4 <i>Yoshimitsu's trip east in Kōō 1</i>	144
3.1.5 <i>Yūki Mitsufuji all night party</i>	146
3.2 Gender and Inuō's "Aoi no ue"	151
3.2.1 <i>Summary "Aoi no ue"</i>	153
3.2.2 <i>Authorship and "Aoi no ue"</i>	155
3.2.3 <i>Genji allusions in "Aoi no ue"</i>	158
3.2.4 <i>Inuō's Performance of "Aoi no ue"</i>	161
3.2.5 <i>"Aoi no ue" and Dream Noh</i>	169
3.2.5 <i>Subversion in "Aoi no ue"</i>	174
3.3 In Sum	186

Chapter 4: The Heavenly Woman's Androgynous Tendency	191
4.1 The Five Dance Wisdoms and their Influences	207
4.1.1 <i>Dance in Fūshikaden</i>	208
4.1.2 <i>The Five Dance Wisdoms in “Kakyō”</i>	211
4.2 The Heavenly Woman's Androgyny	225
4.2.1 <i>The Two Arts and the Three Roles</i>	226
4.2.2 <i>The Heavenly Woman Dance</i>	230
4.2.3 <i>Dance the Dance, Be Danced by the Dance</i>	235
4.3 Heavenly Women	240
Bibliography	247
5.1 Common Acronyms of Edited Collections	247
5.2 Primary Sources	247
5.2.1 <i>Manuscripts</i>	247
5.2.2 <i>Edited Publications</i>	247
5.3 Secondary Sources	250
5.3.1 <i>Secondary Sources in European Languages</i>	250
5.3.2 <i>Secondary Sources in Japanese</i>	255

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Notes on Translated Names, Dates, and Ages

Names of Japanese people past and present are written in the Japanese order: family name followed by given name. The only exception to this rule are Japanese authors publishing in European languages, whose names are written to conform with European practice. Modern persons are referred to by their family name after the initial mention of their full name.

Historical persons, including the focus of this dissertation, Zeami, often had different names at different stages of their lifetimes. Zeami, for example, was referred to as Fujiwaka during his childhood career as a *chigo*. In most instances, such persons are referred to using the name they are known by in modern research despite the occasional anachronism. Many historical persons, again like Zeami, have only a given name. Historical persons with both family and given names (i.e. Ashikaga Yoshimitsu) are referred to by their given name (i.e. Yoshimitsu) after the initial introduction of their full name.

Dates are in the original *nengō* notation followed by the corresponding Gregorian year in parentheses where first mentioned or where clarity is required. Compact, numerical notations of dates follow the order year, month, and day, separated by periods.

Ages are given in the premodern *kazoedoshi* age reckoning. This begins with one at the time of birth and increases at each new year rather than at the anniversary of the date of birth. It is generally one to two digits more than in European age calculations.

Introduction

Performers of the art known today as *noh* draw on a tradition spanning over six centuries. As each generation of performers learned in practical lessons and through oral transmissions from their fathers or grandfathers how to perform, performance methods naturally evolved over that long span of history. The current technique might be considered rigid because the minutely predetermined basic posture (*kamae*) and gait (*hakobi*) support a succession of carefully codified modules of movement patterns (*kata*) that make up each dance. In the process of focusing on meticulously imitating the previous generation in reproducing such models, some performers left character creation to arise of its own accord.¹ Stanca Scholz-Cionca speaks of a resulting “alienation of the tradition-aware, even tradition-fanatic *noh* from its roots.”² External forces such as official efforts at cultural preservation contribute to this tendency. Amano Fumio refers to warnings that designating *noh* as a UNESCO intangible world heritage in 2008 contributed to its becoming “a relic of the past.”³ As a

¹ Cf. Scholz-Cionca, “Die hartnäckige Form,” pp. 133–142.

² “Die hartnäckige Form,” p. 134. Scholz-Cionca also notes recent productions involving *noh* researchers, who consulted historical notes that reveal very different performance practices. This, she argues, loosens preconceptions in order to reclaim room for interpretation and creative decision-making. “Die hartnäckige Form,” p. 137.

³ Amano, *Gendai nōgaku kōgi*, p. 2.

result, it is possible to repeat D.T. Suzuki, who in 1959 said noh was “more or less enshrined in an austere atmosphere.”⁴ However, performance practices in the early 15th century were very different.

At that time, the art form was known as *sarugaku*. Its players were itinerant performers traveling the country to sustain themselves. Zeami, his father Kan’ami, and their troupe named Yūzaki (later Kanze) from Yamato (present-day Nara Prefecture) had relationships with temples—in their case primarily the Kasuga shrine, which was a part of the temple complex at Kōfukuji,⁵ but also as far away as Sengen shrine in Suruga (present-day Shizuoka).⁶ By the late 14th century, they, and later other *sarugaku* players, had the good fortune to capture the attention of politically powerful patrons in the capital (present-day Kyoto). To hold that attention, *sarugaku* players had to be innovative. Among them was Zeami (ca. 1363 - ca. 1443) who, as a child, performed in the first showing for Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. Zeami eventually became the performer of that era who has the greatest name recognition today. To posterity, he left not only libretti imparting the exact poetic lyrics for various plays but also treatises detailing his reflections on performance practice and training. These treatises reveal that Zeami, too, sought to appeal to patrons by improving on his own performances and those by his troupe. One way in which he did so was by adopting the heavenly woman dance, a dance he

⁴ Suzuki, *Zen and Japanese Culture*, p. 419.

⁵ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, pp. 40-41.

⁶ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 19.

had previously seen performed by the *sarugaku* player Inuō, his competitor and role-model, before his death in Ōei 20 (1413). Inuō belonged to a *sarugaku* troupe from Ōmi (present-day Shiga Prefecture). This troupe originally served Hiei Shrine, a subsidiary shrine to the powerful temple of Enryakuji, and then served the power-holders in the capital as well.

This dissertation details Zeami's adoption of the heavenly woman dance as a means to improve his troupe's repertoire by expanding the range of characters in their skillset to include this both feminine and divine character. The Yūzaki troupe, like all Yamato troupes, was known for its ability to perform extremely masculine roles, such as awesome gods and ferocious demons. It was not difficult to translate this ability into the performance of proud but violent warriors. His father Kan'ami (1333-1384), who was consummate in mimesis and dramatic story-telling, had seen the need for more feminine characters and had worked to incorporate various types of feminine roles into their performances.⁷ On his deathbed in Shitoku 1 (1384), Kan'ami told Zeami to adopt the heavenly woman dance. Zeami waited until after Inuō's death to do so but then incorporated it into his notion of gender in performance. In his understanding, masculine gender aligned with a bright, optimistic, and self-assertive mood on the one hand, and the feminine aligned with a relatively less obvious, reflective, and introverted mood on the other. A player performed masculinity corporeally

⁷ He adopted the *kuse* dance previously performed by itinerant female entertainers. Zeami, *Ongyoku kuden*, p. 77. Among his compositions is also the play "Sotoba Komachi" featuring the famous poet Ono no Komachi, who debates Buddhist doctrine at an advanced age.

by moving in a demonstrative, dominating, even threatening manner. He performed femininity corporeally by moving in a reserved, responsive, and unforthcoming manner. However, Zeami saw that the player must perform gender to complement and therefore change the patron's mood by awaking his interest for a character very much different than himself. Only by affecting the patron in this way could the player hope to evoke fascination in the most important person in his audience and thus receive positive reviews. I will argue that the heavenly woman dance filled a gap in Zeami's repertoire because it combined the submissiveness of feminine roles with the dominance of masculine roles in a character type that in its femininity complemented not only the masculinity of his male patrons, but that in its power, which accompanying lyrics labelled divine rather than masculine, also complemented the political power of his patrons.

0.1 Context

In the Muromachi Period (1336-1573), new art forms became popular among the political elite as power shifted from the imperial court to the shogun. The third Ashikaga shogun, named Yoshimitsu, took full advantage of his status as the imperially designated generalissimo in charge of all military matters and his financial wealth due to international trade. Akira Imatani and Kozo Yamaura went so far as to argue that Yoshimitsu worked to usurp imperial power. As justification, they point to his involvement in promoting and appointing aristocrats (*kuge*), celebrating festivals and ceremonies, changing era names, determining imperial succession, and receiving ceremonial recognition of a kind

usually reserved for retired emperors.⁸ More recent scholarship undermines that argument. Sakurai Eiji notes that Yoshimitsu was estranged from his mother, the granddaughter of an imperial prince, arguing that this lack of filial piety to a woman whose heritage might legitimate imperial aspirations demonstrates Yoshimitsu did not seek to usurp the imperial throne.⁹ However, having been raised in the capital, the shogun knew that the currency of power in the rarified imperial world “above the clouds” consisted of cultural products such as gardens, architecture, painting, imported artifacts, and poetry. Stephen Brown points to the political value of cultural engagement in the capital in explaining how the military elite sought to become as powerful culturally as they were politically so that the court aristocracy “were compelled to follow the examples set by their precocious imitators.”¹⁰ Thomas Conlan describes the consequences in terms of a turning point between imitation and being imitated. He states that “by behaving ‘as if’ he were a sovereign (*chiten no kimi*), [Yoshimitsu] had, . . . in

⁸ Imatani and Yamamura, “Not for Lack of Will or Wile,” p. 48.

⁹ Sakurai et al., “Ashikaga Yoshimitsu no bunka senryaku,” p. 39. He shows that posthumous attempts to award Yoshimitsu the title Former Emperor (*jōkō*) can be explained by considering Yoshimitsu’s relationship with the reigning Emperor Gokomatsu’s biological mother and therefore those posthumous efforts do not require thinking that Yoshimitsu wanted his son Yoshitsugu to enter imperial succession. “Ashikaga Yoshimitsu no bunka senryaku,” pp. 40-41.

¹⁰ Brown, *Theatricalities of Power*, p. 33.

fact already become one.”¹¹ Thus, Yoshimitsu had no need to usurp the imperial throne. Instead, he positioned himself in relation to it. Catherine Ryu describes this shogun’s participation in a poetry contest (*uta-awase*) as the leader of a team opposing the emperor.¹² However, Yoshimitsu’s cultural engagement on the political stage functioned in a reciprocal interplay with the imperial court, both with the emperor and with members of the imperial aristocracy, some of whom moved to position themselves in alliance with the shogun.

Sarugaku was initially far removed from the cultural pastimes of the imperial court such as *waka* poetry of the *Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*). As non-aristocratic specialized professionals, *sarugaku* professionals were far

¹¹ Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, p. 173. Yoshimitsu’s performance of power depended on a continued reign by the emperor. Kuroda distinguishes between political power and political authority, attributing merely political authority to the emperor. Quoted in Matsuoka, *Utage noshintai*, p. 123. An example would be how Yoshimitsu had to oblige to the emperor, in this case Gokomatsu, see Catherine Ryu’s treatment of the 1407 Imperial Poetry Contest in Ninety Rounds (*Dairi kyūjūban on-utaawase*). Ryu, “Power Play,” pp. 144-147. While the shogun had political power, he wielded that power in the emperor’s name; in other words, the shogun took political authority from the emperor.

¹² Ryu, “Power Play,” pp. 144-147. However, Ryu seeks to read the 1407 poetry contest as a conflict between Yoshimitsu and Emperor Gokomatsu, although this emperor’s twenty-day visit to Yoshimitsu’s Kitayama Palace in 1408 (Ōei 15) tells a different story.

removed from the dilettantism of aristocratic cultural pursuits.¹³ Before and even after *sarugaku* players achieved renown among some of the capital elite, mostly military but also some aristocratic elite, they sustained themselves by performing supporting roles in Buddhist ceremonies and in praise of multiple gods and goddesses in various religious institutions. Michael Marra notes that, as they became familiar with the aristocratic arts cultivated in and around the imperial court and acquired “mastery over refined aristocratic expression as developed within court circles,” *sarugaku* players retained “the power of the marginalized other—the so-called “low culture”—that aristocrats feared and upon which temples built their symbolic authority.”¹⁴ Thus, *sarugaku* players’ marginal social status served also to lend them an aura of mysterious, divine power.

This was also the case with child entertainers called *chigo*. Translatable simply as “infant,” *chigo* were pre-pubescent and adolescent males who provided

¹³ Certainly aristocrats did engage in some professional work, such as medicine or divination. Klaus Vollmer notes, however, that Muromachi Period usage of the term *michi* to designate professional specialization reveals a clear distinction between professionals from the aristocratic class and those who practiced non-aristocratic trades, including *sarugaku*. Cf. Vollmer, *Professionen und ihre »Wege« im mittelalterlichen Japan*, p. 32.

¹⁴ Marra, *Representations of Power*, p. 56.

personal, including sexual services, in exchange for housing and education.¹⁵ *Chigo* participated in public events, such as processions, religious rituals, and social functions, on the one hand, and served meals, received guests, and attended closely to their masters' needs, on the other hand.¹⁶ *Chigo* were decidedly androgynous even feminine in appearance. They wore makeup, blackened their teeth, and wore sumptuous robes.¹⁷ Initially found only at

¹⁵ As Bernard Faure reflects, cultural products of that era about such relationships pose “a problem precisely because of [their] euphemization of exploitation and [their] glorification of the pederastic relationship as an elevated form of *paideia* (education).” Faure, *The Red Thread*, p. 213. Paul Atkins contends that the *chigo* might have played the social role of “a focus of erotic attention. . . to absorb the sexual desires of their clerical masters so that they would not be directed externally (toward women) or internally (against each other)” Atkins, “Chigo in the Medieval Japanese Imagination,” p. 968. Indeed, despite the way in which temple *chigo* were at times literally worshipped, it is hard to imagine masters asked *chigo* for consent. On the scarcity of consent, cf. Leupp, *Male Colors*, p. 54. On *chigo* being bought and sold as slaves, cf. Faure, *The Red Thread*, pp. 270-272.

¹⁶ Cf. Atkins, “Chigo in the Medieval Japanese Imagination,” p. 948.

¹⁷ Make-up and clothing did not necessarily mark a correspondence with biological sex in this period. Female performers called *shirabyōshi* wore male court dress and male aristocrats increasingly wore makeup. Cf. Matsuoka, *Utage noshintai*, pp. 118-19.

temples, aristocrats took up the practice of keeping *chigo* in the *insei* period (ca. 11th to 12th centuries) and military society followed suit in the Kamakura period (1185-1333).¹⁸ Even in temples, a *chigo's* education was generally secular, including music, art, poetry, and secular literature.¹⁹ Nonetheless, while temple *chigo* participated in Buddhist ceremonies, aristocratic *chigo* participated in aristocratic pastimes. In that sense, temple *chigo* were different from *chigo* who only served aristocratic or military masters. In two tales that Paul Atkins analyzes, they appear in the presence of monks as religious avatars of bodhisattva such as Kannon (Sk. Avalokiteśvara) or Monju (Sk. Mañjuśrī).²⁰ It appears that *chigo* trained in temples maintained a uniquely mysterious influence on others around them.

Zeami was just such a temple *chigo* in his childhood. He lived and began learning the arts that would serve him throughout his lifetime in the sub-temple of Sonshō-in in the temple of Tōdaiji (in present-day Nara). There, he served the sub-temples' well-connected abbot²¹ and received a secular education. Indeed, young Zeami was skilled in a variety of aristocratic arts, including a kick ball sport called *kemari* and the popular communal pastime of linked poetry (*renga*)

¹⁸ Matsuoka, *Utage noshintai*, p. 117.

¹⁹ Atkins gleans this information from a *kambun* text entitled *Uki* by the Cloistered Prince Shukaku (1150-1202), which includes strict rules on *chigo* behavior. Atkins, "Chigo in the Medieval Japanese Imagination," p. 949.

²⁰ Atkins, "Chigo in the Medieval Japanese Imagination," p. 953 and p. 954.

²¹ Matsuoka, *Utage noshintai*, p. 148.

that drew on the aristocratic poetic tradition.²² Thus, his education as a *chigo* proved to be a valuable tool in learning about the aristocratic tastes of his later patrons among the capital elite, including Ashikaga Yoshimitsu.

In young Zeami's case, the abbot of Sonshō-in regularly released the boy from his temple duties to join the Yūzaki troupe for *sarugaku* performances, tours, and visits with distinguished patrons.²³ However, even in *sarugaku* performances, young Zeami appears in his role as a *chigo* rather than integrating fully into the troupe's performances. Indeed, at the beginning of his first treatise Zeami insists that "even if [children] have to do [imitations], [one] should not teach [them] too much imitation (*monomane*)."²⁴ Instead,

during dance or vigorous movement (*hataraki*), [children] might sing or move furiously, [they] should give way to the simply arising flow (*kakari*) and be allowed to perform to their hearts' content.²⁵

Vigorous movement (*hataraki*) refers to demonic or martial moves, and flow (*kakari*) applies to the connected quality of physical movement. Children must

²² For a list of Zeami's accomplishments in aristocratic arts, see the contents of a letter from the aristocrat Nijō Yoshimoto to the abbot of Sonshō-in in section 1.1.1.

²³ Matsuoka, *Utage noshintai*, p. 149.

²⁴ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 15.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

not try to represent a character but should rather learn musical qualities of movement. This focus on music aligns with precedents for success that Zeami himself had experienced as a *chigo*.

Zeami was the first *chigo* to serve the Ashikaga shogun.²⁶ He came to Yoshimitsu's attention when he and his father were the first to show the shogun *sarugaku* at Imagumano.²⁷ That performance marked another change in performance practice: the ceremonial dance by an old man called *okina*. In a treatise he wrote many years later, Zeami designated specifically that dance at Imagumano as the source of the *sarugaku* tradition.²⁸ Previously, the *osa* (according to Omote and Kōsai a hereditary position within the troupe although it is understood elsewhere to be the eldest performer)²⁹ lead the troupe's performances of *okina*, and the *dayū* (an honorific title received from religious institutions who patronized the troupe) lead the *sarugaku* performers. This was the case until Kan'ami stepped in to perform *okina* for Ashikaga Yoshimitsu at Imagumano, thereby marking the beginning of a new tradition: "Therefore,

²⁶ Zeami met Yoshimitsu when he was 12 and the young shogun only 17.

²⁷ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 606.

²⁸ Zeami, *Kyakuraika*, p. 248.

²⁹ Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, pp. 502 n. 175; Kōsai, *Zoku Zeami shinkō*, pp. 349-353; cf. Hare, *Zeami's Style*, pp. 12-13; Rath, *The Ethos of Noh*, pp. 78-79; and Fenno Quinn, *Developing Zeami*, p. 29.

Yamato performance made this its source.”³⁰ This shows that at this time in its history, *sarugaku* players did not hesitate to make creative changes even within their oldest traditions.

Once discovered by Yoshimitsu, Zeami travelled regularly from Sonshō-in to the capital in the North as well as on tours with his father’s *sarugaku* troupe.³¹ Zeami and his father Kan’ami were thus early participants in Yoshimitsu’s performances of power. By employing Zeami and Kan’ami, Yoshimitsu demonstrated that his power reached beyond the narrow boundaries of the capital by including arts and artists beyond the scope of aristocratic pastimes. At the same time, Zeami’s education in, and continued exposure to, the elite culture of the capital and to poetry in particular led him to integrate more and more elements of his new patrons’ cultural sphere into his performances.

Approximately a year after meeting Yoshimitsu in Eiwa 4 (1375), Zeami met the regent (*kanpaku*) Nijō Yoshimoto (1320-1388), an influential and innovative politician closely aligned with the Ashikaga military government.³²

³⁰ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 293.

³¹ Matsuoka, *Utage noshintai*, p. 149. Amano claims that Zeami and other “players in service” were daily in the shogun’s company. Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 49. However, this does not account for records documenting continued activities unrelated to the shogunal court, such as Kan’ami’s performance shortly before his death in Suruga. Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 19.

³² The *Fuchiki* diary (author unknown) contains an entry for 1378 (Eiwa 4), fourth month twenty-fifth day, detailing a visit Zeami made to Yoshimoto’s

Politically, Yoshimoto was innovative, rejecting precedent and with it reverence for objects and people involved in past imperial ceremonies.³³ Instead, he supported what Conlan calls “ritual mimesis” in, among other rituals, the coronation ceremonies in Kan’nō 3 (1352) for emperor Go-Kōgon and in Ōan 7

residence. The entry refers to Zeami as the “long haired *taregami*” member of the Kanze troupe, clearly referring to the young *chigo*. The entry mentions that Zeami is now 16 and was 13 at his first meeting with Yoshimoto. This would mean that Zeami met Yoshimoto in 1375 (Eiwa 4). For a reprinted edition of the diary manuscript, see Ijichi, “Higashiyama bunkobon ‘Fuchiki’ wo shōkai shite,” p. 39. For discussions on this particular entry, see Ijichi, “Zeami to Nijō Yoshimoto to renga to sarugaku,” pp. 5-6 and Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 498 n. 168.

³³ Possible explanations for Yoshimoto’s disregard for precedent are strategic maneuvering or familial resentment because of a lack of access to knowledge necessary to engage in court ritual. Conlan relates, “Yoshimoto. . . disdained precedent and instead emphasized the primacy of Shingon rites,” suggesting justification by continuing, “Yoshimoto did not have access to courtier compendia of ritual because his great grandfather Yoshizane. . ., the progenitor of the Nijō line, had been disowned, and did not inherit any of the Fujiwara chronicles.” Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, p. 137. Yoshimoto was the son of Saionji Enshi, who was in turn a granddaughter of Saionji Sanekane, whom Yoshimitsu admired.

(1374) for Go-Enyū.³⁴ Buddhist ceremonies could invest replacements of objects vital yet missing due to the conflict between the Northern and Southern Courts with the necessary power for a ritual to survive.³⁵ Culturally, Yoshimoto was just as innovative as a proponent of popular cultural pastimes, particularly linked poetry (*renga*), about which he wrote many theoretical treatises, including the *Renri Hisho* (1349) and *Tsukuba Mondō* (1357-1373). In the *Tsukuba Mondō*, which he completed long before meeting Zeami, Yoshimoto embeds a theoretical discourse within a narrative frame that reveals his stance towards differences in social status and towards *chigo*. An old man of no rank visits an aristocratic residence to see the garden there and is received by the aristocratic owner (possibly a stand-in for Yoshimoto) and his *chigo*. The old man reveals his knowledge of linked poetry and the contents of the treatise commence in a question and answer (*mondō*) format. The child acts as the intermediary

³⁴ Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, p. 137 and p. 166. Conlan notes that “ritual mimesis” functioned on the belief that rituals mattered more than objects. It assumed missing objects and participants could be replaced in a process of “as if” analogy. Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, pp. 15-16.

³⁵ Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, p. 137. Conlan’s study focuses on Shingon ritual. Conlan suggests that the Nijō family were privy to Shingon rituals. Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, p. 150. The Ashikaga supporter and high-level Shingon monks Kenshun and Kōzei provided Yoshimoto and Yoshimitsu with the appropriate ritual knowledge. Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, pp. 142-43.

between the aristocrat and the old man.³⁶ This reveals Yoshimoto's comfort with people from outside the aristocratic system and his familiarity with *chigo* before meeting young Zeami. In time, Yoshimoto would give Zeami a new *chigo* name, Fujiwaka.

In their new capacity, Fujiwaka and Kan'ami were certainly not the only performers serving the shogun, and their service did not only include performance. Amano Fumio shows that the group of adult "players in service" (*onyōyakusha*) to Yoshimitsu throughout the shogun's lifetime was rather large and diverse. It included not only Kan'ami, Zeami, and the Yūzaki troupe, but also *dengaku* players such as Ki'ami and later Zōami, the Ōmi *sarugaku* players Inuō (also known as Dōami) and Iwatō, the Settsu *sarugaku* player Enami, the *kyōgen* player Tsuchi, the impossible to affiliate Iami, and others.³⁷ Amano's designation "players in service" is thus useful as a historiographic category to determine similarly employed performers. He is able to show that "players in service" were responsible, on the one hand, for providing entertainment at various events and, on the other hand, for attending performances of their peers and sharing reviews of those performances with the shogun.³⁸ Because Zeami attended performances

³⁶ Nijō Yoshimoto, *Tsukuba mondō*, pp. 14-15. Elsewhere, he includes a lament for the decline in female participants and welcomes an increase in non-aristocratic participants that reveals his acceptance of people of diverse social statūs. Nijō. *Tsukuba mondō*, pp. 16-17 and pp.21-22.

³⁷ Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 24 and pp. 32-39.

³⁸ Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 39.

by other players, he was able to know how his most powerful patron viewed and evaluated performances.

Many “players in service” had names ending in “-ami,” but not all people with that name were “players in service.” When, for example, Dōami (Inuō) misbehaved, it was Yoshimitsu’s trusted attendant Shuami, medical professional and connoisseur in the performing arts and poetry who scolded him and not another player in service.³⁹ Amano points out that Shuami and Na’ami were *tonseisha*, monks who were also connoisseurs and practitioners in the literary performing arts of *renga*, *sōka*, and story-telling.⁴⁰ Sometime between Ōei 7 (1400) and Ōei 9 (1402), Yoshimitsu gave the young adult *sarugaku* player the name Zeami.⁴¹ Around that time, the “-ami” name came to indicate cultural and artistic expertise rather than the ordained status of *tonseisha*.⁴² Kan’ami, Zeami,

³⁹ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 306; Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, pp. 67-68. Yoshida Shōdō, “Monogatari sō nitsuite no ichi kōsatsu,” p. 56. Amano notes that he might have been Yamashina governor, Yūki Mitsufuji’s father: Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 67. However, he was also a descendant of Ōta Muneyuki, a vassal of Nitta Yoshisada, who supported the Southern court, and thus an enemy of the Ashikaga. Yoshida Shōdō, “Monogatari sō nitsuite no ichi kōsatsu,” p. 55.

⁴⁰ Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 67.

⁴¹ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 303; cf. Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 37 and p. 46.

⁴² Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, pp. 54-55.

Dōami (Inuō), and Kiami received their names from Yoshimitsu.⁴³ Although the older Kan'ami and Dōami used these names as markers of religious practice in addition to performing, Zeami and Kiami were not.⁴⁴ Amano argues that around this time these “-ami” names came to be a “status symbol” rather than a religious indication. In giving these names to players in service, Yoshimitsu was creating a new practice drawing on the practice of using “-ami” names by *tonseisha* monks, like Na'ami and Shuami.⁴⁵ In the next generation, such cultural attendants to the shogunal court came to be known instead as *dōbōshū*.⁴⁶ Kan'ami and then Zeami were thus loosely affiliated with a diverse group of professionals and monastics from outside the aristocratic and military hierarchies who served patrons within those groups.

Although he moved in the company of “players in service,” Zeami provided services and performed before his maturity not as an adult *sarugaku* performer, but as a *chigo*. It was not until sometime after the Gion festival of Eiwa 4 (1378) that Zeami ceased being a *chigo*. Thereafter, until shortly before receiving his adult name around Ōei 7 (1400), no historical record of a performance by him exists.

⁴³ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 303.

⁴⁴ Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 61; Cf. Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 261.

⁴⁵ Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 58 and p. 71.

⁴⁶ Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 72.

In the interim, Kan'ami died in Shitoku 1 (1384) after performing fifteen days earlier at Sengen shrine in Suruga (Shizuoka).⁴⁷ The 52-year-old veteran performer received high praise from all spectators, although he left the challenging roles to younger players and took to the stage only to spectacularly perform a small, easy role.⁴⁸ Ki'ami's death left a 22-year-old Zeami to lead their troupe. The brevity of his own career as a *chigo* and his father's death brought Zeami face to face with the ephemeral nature of success. As a young troupe leader, his responsibilities must also have weighed hard on him.

Like every young artist, Zeami looked to his predecessors for inspiration and guidance. In conversations with his son Motoyoshi, Zeami mentioned an array of artistic forebears (*tōdō no senzo*), including of course Kan'ami, but also the *dengaku* players Itchū and Kiami.⁴⁹ *Dengaku* was a performing art, popular throughout the Kamakura period and thereafter, that incorporated acrobatics and used flamboyant costuming. The only *sarugaku* performer on Zeami's list of role models, besides his own father, is Inuō, a performer from Ōmi, northwest of

⁴⁷ The Yūzaki troupe was probably invited to Suruga by the Imagawa family, governors of that province. Omote and Amano, *Nōgaku no rekishi*, p. 35.

⁴⁸ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 19. In describing his father, Zeami viewed his performance as the height of the flower, as blossoms on an old tree. *Fūshikaden*, p. 20.

⁴⁹ Itchū was the star of the Honza troupe and Kiami of the Shinza troupe. Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 272; Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 261 note at head of section.

the capital. Inuō and Kan'ami both trained with Itchū, suggesting a free exchange of artistic knowledge across boundaries between troupes and even artistic styles.⁵⁰ For Zeami, Inuō was a major figure of inspiration. His star rose among the capital's elite after Zeami's career as a *chigo* came to an end.

Inuō's name is translatable as "Dog-king." Zeami and Inuō knew and respected each other. As mentioned, he and Kan'ami had both trained with the *dengaku* star Itchū. Inuō must have deeply admired Kan'ami because after Zeami's father's death, he sent two monks regularly each month to pray for his repose.⁵¹ In all likelihood, Inuō was younger than Kan'ami but, as Zeami's mention of him as an artistic forebear suggests that he was older than Zeami. Nonetheless, the year of Inuō's birth remains obscure. He was active as a performer from before Ōan 6 (1373) until Ōei 15 (1408) and died in Ōei 20 (1413).⁵² As players in service at the shogunal court, he and Zeami must have

⁵⁰ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 261. Zeami also mentions Kan'ami's affiliation with Itchū in *Fūshikaden*, p. 43.

⁵¹ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 301.

⁵² Ōan 6 (1373) is the year of Sasaki Dōyo's death, and Dōyo praised Inuō's singing. Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 278. The lyrics quoted in conjunction with this praise belong to a play that is no longer known. Omote suggests they belong to "Nenbutsu no sarugaku." Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 278 n. "yōyō." Ōei 15 (1408) is the date of Emperor Gokomatsu's visit to Yoshimitsu's Kitayama Palace and the last historical record of performances by Inuō. Ichijō Tsunetsugu, *Kitayama-dono gyōkō ki*, p. 926; Yamashina Noritoki,

had opportunities to work together.⁵³ Therefore, Inuō and Zeami's relationship was clearly amiable rather than merely competitive.

Inuō was a member of the Ōmi Hiei troupe, a *sarugaku* troupe affiliated with Hiei Shrine (known today as Hiyoshi Shrine) at the base of Mt. Hiei.⁵⁴ The shrine was a part of the religious complex of the powerful temple of Enryakuji on the same mountaintop. Eric Rath points out that with such connections to the religious, political, and military complex at the top of the mountain, the troupes of Hiei Shrine “were situated to obtain the patronage of one of the largest landowners and most powerful political forces in medieval Japan.”⁵⁵ Indeed, Zeami relates that, in their daily lives, Ōmi players behaved in a vulgar manner unbecoming for *sarugaku* players but resembling the monks who assembled at

Noritoki kyōki, p. 838 and p. 927. For documentation of Inuō's death, see Mansai, *Mansai jugō nikki*, p. 170; *Jōrakuki*, p. 171.

⁵³ Cf. Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 40. Amano calls players who received shogunal patronage “players in service *onyō yakusha*.” Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 24.

⁵⁴ The Ōmi Hiei must not be confused with the other three troupes affiliated with Hiei Shrine. Cf. Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 435 n. 18; Rath, *The Ethos of Noh*, p. 95.

⁵⁵ Rath, *The Ethos of Noh*, 95.

Enryakuji.⁵⁶ The connection to the powerful temple complex is, therefore, undeniable.

The troupe's base in Ōmi placed them in a province governed by Sasaki Dōyo (1306-1373), a daimyo and patron who appreciated ostentatious social and artistic events. Zeami's own recollections about Dōyo support the claim that, as a *chigo*, Zeami was acquainted with the daimyo.⁵⁷ One such recollection relates that Dōyo praised Inuō's singing as "the best in the realm."⁵⁸ This would suggest that Dōyo patronized the *sarugaku* player. Because of the connection between Dōyo and Zeami, Amano notes that the daimyo was likely involved in introducing Yoshimitsu to Zeami and *sarugaku*, although Dōyo died in 1373 (Ōan 6), before the event at Imagumano occurred.⁵⁹ Like Enryakuji, this daimyo, too, had considerable political heft. He regularly hosted cultural events to, among other

⁵⁶ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 306. This is another indication that Ōmi players favored a stance with bent knees and a low center of gravity.

⁵⁷ Zeami, *Shūdōsho*, p. 238; Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 261. Kōsai has even surmised that Dōyo was involved in the young Zeami's early training in literary arts, because the daimyo was an influential patron of and prolific contributor to renga gatherings (cf. Ch. 2), although this argument needs substantiation. Kōsai, *Zoku Zeami shinkō*, p. 341.

⁵⁸ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 278.

⁵⁹ Amano notes Omote's earlier reference to *Kenshunsōsho nikki* as indicative of Dōyo's mediation. Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 607. Cf. Varley, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and the World of Kitayama," p. 197 n. 31.

things, undermine his political rivals. I maintain in what follows that Inuō adopted this tendency towards subversive behavior, or at least a reputation for it, because later he, too, played a part in cultural events that appear to subvert Yoshimitsu's authority and because his performance of "Aoi no ue", as related by Zeami, combined very refined femininity with extreme ferociousness, the two extremes in what Zeami delineates as a gendered spectrum.

0.2 Problem and Response

Another performance by Inuō that subverts the same gender spectrum with submissive yet mysterious femininity at one end and assertive, occasionally even violent masculinity at the other end, is his heavenly woman dance. Zeami notes his reflections on this dance in the treatise *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, completed Ōei 28 (1421). There, Zeami says that to dance the heavenly woman, players must "dance the dance, be danced by the dance" (*mai o mai, mai ni mawarete*).⁶⁰ This formulation combines assertion (dance the dance) with submission (be danced by the dance). I find that this combination of extremes, which lends the lead figure in "Aoi no ue" an air of supernatural ferocity, also plays a role in distancing the heavenly woman dance from other human role types.⁶¹ Nonetheless, she retains an air of femininity.⁶² By describing the dance in this way, Zeami establishes it in relationship to the feminine role, martial role,

⁶⁰ Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 130.

⁶¹ Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 130.

⁶² Ibid.

and a third role, that of the old man, a role type derived from the ceremonial dance *okina*. These three roles combine in his later scheme for characterization, called, aptly enough, the three roles (*santai*). This scheme incorporates descriptions of femininity and masculinity that may be found in many of Zeami's earlier treatises.

In the seventh chapter of *Fūshikaden* entitled "Besshi kuden" and completed at least five years earlier,⁶³ Zeami relates how similarly formulated notions of gender must complement the prevailing mood in a performance. Because the dominant mood in an audience is always that of the patron, this relationship can be simply referred to as the player-patron relationship. If a player finds he cannot assert himself effectively within that relationship during a performance, Zeami says he has a "feminine moment" (*medoki*) and urges him to reserve his efforts and perform more suggestively.⁶⁴ Although he doesn't explicitly state as much, this formulation of femininity implies that masculinity is assertive, a reading supported by descriptions of femininity and masculinity in other treatises.⁶⁵ Therefore, I understand Zeami's notion of performed gender as necessarily in relation to the patron.

⁶³ Zeami gave the available copy to his younger brother Shirō in Ōei 24 (1417) and then to Mototsugu, perhaps the childhood name of his son Motomasa, in Ōei 25 (1418). Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 65. This was probably a reworked copy of the text, which he first composed earlier.

⁶⁴ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, pp. 62-63.

⁶⁵ Cf. Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 86.

Considering Zeami's allegedly sexual relationships with patrons during his childhood, he probably drew on his success in such interpersonal relationships in his reflections on how to successfully accommodate patron moods. Shelley Fenno Quinn claims that "Zeami [was]... guided by an intuition that the more... interpretive faculties in the audience are solicited and engaged in a performance, the higher the likelihood that they will be moved by it."⁶⁶ I would like to go a step further and say that Zeami confronted his audiences with either an explicitly gendered mood, as in a clearly gendered character, or an implicitly gendered mood, as in a subtly shifted approach to performance to accommodate a patron's mood. That mood had to be directly opposed to the patron's own mood in order to evoke his interest and fascination for a subtly sensual "other."

0.3 Chapter Overview

In the first chapter, I will show how Zeami, informed by his experiences of success as a *chigo*, understood the relationship between performer and audience as a personal relationship between player and patron. In that focused dialogue, he expected the performer or *sarugaku* player to complement in some way the dominant mood of the most elite and powerful member of an audience, the patron. The patron's mood, he claimed, is shaped by environmental factors in the space of the venue, including time of day, season, temperature, and—after the first act in a program—the way the previous play affected the mood. To describe this mood, he used the terms yin and yang, with yin referring to a dark or lonely atmosphere and yang to a bright and cheerful atmosphere. In order to create

⁶⁶ Fenno Quinn, *Discovering Zeami*, p. 15.

fulfillment (*jōju*), Zeami's word for success, both yin and yang must be present. If the dominant mood in an audience at the beginning of a performance is depressed, for example, then the performer must include an element of brightness to create a balanced mood at the climax.

Zeami also talks about this complementary relationship in the way he understands players' gender as situational: When a performance goes smoothly, a player has a "masculine moment *odoki*" and when difficulties in communicating with the audience arise, he has a "feminine moment *medoki*." His thought about balancing yin and yang to achieve fulfillment describes a complementary relationship between audience and performer escalating to an ecstasy of fulfillment that parallels sexual union. Masculine and feminine moments describe similar qualities of movement using gendered designations. The similarity between these two lines of thought lies in the two kinds of complementary agency, yang or masculine dominance and yin or feminine submission. By playing in a mood that appropriately complements the audience's mood as shaped by environmental factors or by a previous play in the program, it is possible to achieve fulfillment, a climax that Zeami calls alternatively interest and novelty.

In chapter 2, I will turn to look at Inuō's early career under the patronage of Sasaki Dōyo and Zeami's observations of them and their relationship. Dōyo's taste in *sarugaku* and approval of Inuō in particular, as noted by Zeami, differ in key ways with Zeami's own evaluation of Inuō and Ōmi performance styles. On the basis of this difference and of Dōyo's aesthetic preferences, as may be seen in excerpts from the *Taiheiki*, I establish how Zeami identified masculinity and femininity in their relationship. Although Inuō was in many ways influenced by Dōyo's rather masculine penchant for self-confident ostentation and for creating

moments of awe, Zeami recognized that he was able to complement Dōyo's masculinity with an element of femininity. Zeami notes that he developed a high level of skill in *kakari*, a dynamic musical quality that gives rise to aristocratic suggestive elegance (*yūgen*), which arises from femininity.

In chapter 3, I will show that Inuō's reputation in the capital was informed by Sasaki Dōyo's penchant for self-assertion to a point of deviance. I call pushing boundaries of social status and conventional expectation subversive. However, I will argue that Inuō's tendency towards subversion was a strategic performance to either gain and sustain attention or to please his powerful patrons. While serving at the shogunal palace, he defiantly engaged a servant to carry a sword for him, which was inappropriate for his status. Furthermore, Inuō took a part in the Yūki Mitsufuji incident, an all night party on an important holiday for the Ashikaga family. Because Yoshimitsu reprimanded Mitsufuji for his actions and Inuō symbolically took the religious name Ken'ami to repent for his participation, they appeared to undermine Yoshimitsu's interests. However, Yoshimitsu's close affiliate Ichijō Tsunetsugu questioned those appearances. These repeated incidents suggest that Inuō used the performance of subversion as a means of maintaining a unique reputation, with which he could draw and sustain attention.

Considering the player-patron relationship and Inuō's tendency to be subversive, a new reading becomes possible of "Aoi no ue," a play about conflicts between Prince Genji's wife Lady Aoi and lover Lady Rokujō in which the key figure of the prince does not appear. Recent scholarly debate contends that

Yoshimitsu played with imagery suggesting that he was Prince Genji.⁶⁷ Analysis of *chigo* appearing in his pageantry confirm allusions to parts of the narrative. Again, during Emperor Gokomatsu's visit, a *chigo* named after Yoshiitsu appears and performs the *gagaku* dance "Seikaiha," which in *Genji monogatari* Prince Genji performs for a retired emperor. Inuō also performed during this imperial visit.

Inuō's "Aoi no ue" plays with Yoshimitsu's identification with the fictional Prince Genji. According to Zeami's description of the performance, Inuō played the role of Lady Rokujō, a lady betrayed by Prince Genji, who appears as a living ghost at Lady Aoi's sickbed and addresses the audience, Yoshimitsu (Prince Genji), in describing her plight. In so doing, he used the vocabulary of amorous relationships from the *Genji monogatari* to point out Yoshimitsu's duplicity in political affairs. Yoshimitsu tended literally to pit disgruntled vassals against each other as in the Kōryaku Disturbance or enticing problematic vassals to rebel as in the Ōei Disturbance.⁶⁸ In this context, Inuō's performance can be read as an allegory for political fidelity.

However, that subversion was made possible by Inuō's maintaining an elegant factor within a demonic character. Inuō's "Aoi no ue" must have pleased the audience because Zeami's description of the play does not mention any criticism although it clearly goes against his earlier rejection of combining extremely feminine and extremely masculine character traits in a single

⁶⁷ Sakurai Eiji et al., "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu no bunka senryaku," 4.

⁶⁸ Cf. Sather, "A Critique by Any Other Name," p. 49.

character. Instead, Zeami's review suggests the audience was fascinated by this juxtaposition of masculinity and femininity in the sight of an aristocratic lady engaging in uncharacteristic violence justified as spirit possession.

In the fourth chapter, I will show how Zeami reflected on combining dominance and submission in the capacity of a single player. The first step in that direction appears in his *Kakyō* thought on dance (the five wisdoms of dance). Therein, the first wisdom corresponds with earlier dance styles in Yamato *sarugaku*, *okina* or god dances that were rather powerful than suggestive. The second wisdom suggests elegance and includes a metaphor otherwise found only in descriptions of the heavenly woman dance. This reveals a strong influence from Ōmi performance style on Zeami's understanding of dance.⁶⁹ These he combined in the third wisdom, calling the first wisdom a style with pattern (*umon*) and the second wisdom a style without pattern (*mumon*). This synthesis in the third wisdom provides the basis for the subsequent two wisdoms. The fourth style emphasizes qualities of the first wisdom and is appropriate for performing masculine roles. The fifth style emphasizes qualities of the second wisdom and is appropriate for performing feminine roles. He then introduces his famous phrase "removed perspective *riken no ken*" to suggest that the audience's and player's perceptions of a performance are different. Zeami stresses that the player should be aware of both. Here, too, Zeami establishes gender in corporeal performance as relative to the audience's perspective.

In "Nikyoku santai ningyōzu," Zeami then introduces the heavenly woman dance in a comparison with three basic role types. In the three roles (*santai*),

⁶⁹ Takemoto, "Tennyō mai no kenkyū," p. 107.

femininity emphasizes physical submissiveness and empathic ability (heart) and masculinity emphasizes physical dominance and a lack of empathy. The old man, the third role, also combines aspects of both femininity and masculinity and, according to Zeami, gives off an impression of divinity.⁷⁰ However, because of his weak physical body, he is clearly still human. In contrast, the heavenly woman dance is other than human. It lies separate from the three roles and is the full expression of power in both body and heart.

Zeami wrote various plays that feature this dance. Each play puts the heavenly woman in a narrative context. Their language guides interpretations of the physical performance. The plays, as identified by Takemoto Mikio are “Hakozaki,” “Unoha,” “Furu,” “Ayahatori (now Kureha),” “Murogimi,” “Taema,” and the revised play “Ama.”⁷¹ Takemoto notes that the divinity appearing to dance at the climax of these plays is clearly Buddhist.⁷² Thus these plays in particular presented patrons from among the capital elite with an “other” just as powerful as themselves by drawing on the fearsome power of Buddhism.

⁷⁰ Zeami, *Shikadō*, p. 113.

⁷¹ Takemoto, “Tennyō mai no kenkyū,” pp. 109-10 and p. 118. Takemoto also includes “Ukon,” which features a goddess of the cherry blossoms, but is more feminine than divine.

⁷² Takemoto, “Tennyō mai no kenkyū,” p. 128.

Chapter 1: The Player-Patron Relationship

Players in service to Ashikaga Yoshimitsu contributed to maintaining his public image, which served a political purpose. Yoshimitsu integrated aristocratic (imperial) and military (popular) culture to demonstrate the extent of his sovereignty in cultural events like poetry competitions and pageant-like excursions into the countryside. In this way, he evoked his unique brand of power. While the imperial institution of state authorized shogunal power, the shogun held military power and financial control gained through land acquisition in war and international commerce. As shogun, Yoshimitsu sought to balance the interests of the imperial aristocracy and of his own military vassals. Although these were Ashikaga vassals, they were also warlords who had, in recompense for military achievements, become provincial governors, and thus had the resources and martial ability to precipitate a power shift. Yoshimitsu, therefore, had to contend with various political interests to maintain his supremacy.

In peacetime, cultural and artistic patronage and connoisseurship took the place of violence as a means of claiming prestige and influence. One way in which Yoshimitsu worked to push his interests was by promulgating a reputation for floral ostentation. Matsuoka Shinpei has described how Yoshimitsu carefully orchestrated his public reputation as a performance of flower, not only in the decoration of his palace and grounds, but also, as I will show subsequently in his pageantry and cultural patronage. For example, drawing on diary entries by the aristocrats Konoe Michitsugu and Hirohashi Kanenobu, Matsuoka shows how Yoshimitsu requisitioned weeping cherry trees

to grace the grounds of the Muromachi Palace.⁷³ He quotes a written remark by the monk Keijō Shūrin that people called the Muromachi Palace the “Palace of Flowers” (*hana gosho*) on the basis of this assemblage of renowned flowers.⁷⁴ His aristocratic ally Nijō Yoshimoto invented flower competitions in a format similar to poetry competitions, in which contributors on two teams assembled unusual flowers in priceless vases for comparison and evaluation, and Yoshimitsu later held the event annually on the day of the Tanabata festival.⁷⁵ By thus exercising his power over the ephemeral flower, Yoshimitsu promoted an image of himself as sovereign over the transient world.

Yoshimitsu’s flower symbolism went beyond actual flora. Matsuoka also remarks on Yoshimitsu’s affinity with a particular instance of metaphorical

⁷³ Konoe Michitsugu mentions Yoshimitsu had first a drooping cherry tree moved from the Konoe Residence to the Muromachi Palace. Konoe Michitsugu, *Gukanki* Eiwa 4 (1378).2.28. Matsuoka quotes Hirohashi Kanenobu, *Kanenobu kōki* Kakei 2 (1388).2.9 about an “extraordinary, old” drooping cherry tree moved from Sanjō Sanetsugu’s residence. “Hana no jidai no enshutsuka tachi” (2007), p. 33.

⁷⁴ Matsuoka quotes Shūrin’s collection of Chinese poetry and prose *Kanrin koro shū*. Matsuoka, “Hana no jidai no enshutsuka tachi,” (2007), p. 33.

⁷⁵ For Yoshimoto’s first, secret production of the event, Matsuoka cites Higashibōjō Hidenaga, *Ōyōki* Keiryaku 2 (1380).06.09. For Yoshimitsu’s first production of the event on Tanabata, he cites *Ōyōki* Ōei 6 (1399).7.7. Matsuoka, “Hana no jidai no enshutsuka tachi,” (2007), pp. 34-35.

“flowers,” beautiful young boys (*chigo*) who served the shogun not only publicly in his pageantry but also sexually.⁷⁶ On one occasion, after a visit with Yoshimoto, the powerful aristocrat wrote a letter in which he described Zeami’s youthful beauty with the word “wilting” (*shihore*).⁷⁷ The transient world of floral beauty that Yoshimitsu reigned over thus included even other human beings.

By appealing to patrons like Yoshimitsu, Zeami found success as a professional in the highest political centers of power and therefore outside the previously standard contractual relationships with religious institutions. This inevitably influenced his understanding of success. Indeed, as I will show, in his theoretical treatises, he refers to the most important audience members in terms of their status using the word “elite person” (*kinin*). To appeal to these important patrons, he adds training in poetry to training for performance.⁷⁸ The temple education of a *chigo* included poetry. Matsuoka points out the many poetic

⁷⁶ Matsuoka, “Hana no jidai no enshutsuka tachi,” (2008), p. 6 and “Zeami ga ikita jidai,” p. 24. Reference in the Teiheiki (Ch. 31) corroborates, *chigo* were referred to as flowers. Matsuoka also mentions Zeami’s successors, the child entertainers Ongamaru and Keigyomaru, and mentions Yoshimitsu’s own son Yoshitsugu played a similar role. “Zeami ga ikita jidai,” p. 24. Compare the practice of calling beautiful young men who served the Korean court as military guards, dancers, and ritual participants “flower boys” (Kr. *hwarang*). Cf. mention in Leupp, *Male Colors*, p. 17.

⁷⁷ Cf. Matsuoka, *Utage noshintai*, pp. 167-173.

⁷⁸ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 14.

(*waka*) exchanges between *chigo* and monks appear in the Daigoji Temple poetry collection *Shokumonyō wakashū* (1305) and relates an episode from the monk Saka Jūbutsu's record of an Ise pilgrimage *Daijingū sankeiki* in which a *chigo* contributed such a brilliant verse to a linked poetry (*renga*) gathering that he charmed the old master.⁷⁹ Poetic ability in both *waka* and *renga* was an important means for *chigo* to seduce their audiences. That poetic education taught Zeami not only aristocratic language but also the worldview belonging to his patrons. By using that language and knowledge, he appealed to the worldview of aristocratic and military audiences in the capital.

Zeami's point of entry to the cultural milieu of the capital was Yoshimitsu's court, and he later adopted another version of the metaphorical "flower" when writing his reflections on performance in treatise form. I follow Matsuoka in reading Zeami's floral metaphor as a description of the dynamics of affect (*kandō*). He states, "just as flowers bloom, the audience comes to feel something onstage as interesting."⁸⁰ Simply put, the floral metaphor describes the process giving rise to effective communication with an audience.

Zeami uses other terms to designate feeling (*kan*) and interest (*omoshiro*). In his early thought, Zeami compares flower with interest (*omoshiro*) and novelty

⁷⁹ Matsuoka, *Utage noshintai*, p. 117.

⁸⁰ Matsuoka, "Kaze no Zeami," p. 299.

(*mezurashiki*).⁸¹ Feeling (*kan*) is the sensory means of collecting information and the sensitivity to collect the right information: When a player “achieves a feeling for novelty in his heart, there is flower.”⁸² That flower is the affect the player is capable of producing in audiences. Thus “flower” describes the fulfillment of a process of communication between player and audience. Zeami uses “flower” throughout his lifetime, as can be seen in the titles of six of his treatises, “Transmitting Ambience and Flower” (*Fūshikaden*), “Selections from Learning the Flower” (*Kashu uchi nuki sho*), “Mirroring the Flower” (*Kakyō*), “Attaining the Pursuit of the Flower” (*Shikadō*), “Polishing the Jewel and Gaining the Flower” (*Shūgyoku tokka*), or “Reflection on the Flower” (*Kyakurai ka*), which include his most famous works and span the whole period of his activity as a theoretical writer. Simply put, Yoshimitsu’s use of the floral metaphor shaped Zeami’s theoretical understanding of performance.

At the same time, Zeami worked to keep his own point of view obscure. One of his most famous pieces of advice is that the flower must include secrecy (*hisureba hana*), which contains the argument that the flower—as dynamic affect in the present moment—can only arise from a hidden source. In discussions about medieval Japanese artistic pursuits (paths), secrecy can refer to a number of aspects of sharing expertise. Morinaga discusses “secret transmission” (*hiden*)

⁸¹ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 55. Eventually, Zeami locates “flower” in a hermeneutic sequence as a moment after profundity (*myō*) and before interest (*menpaku, omoshiro*). Zeami, *Shūgyoku tokka*, p. 188.

⁸² Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 56.

either as knowledge that is kept secret or as its means of transmission, a way of conveying authority for the tradition from generation to generation.⁸³ Rath reads Zeami's secrecy as a competitive strategy that would prevent other performers from recreating his own performances.⁸⁴ Both of these readings focus on keeping performance strategies secret from competitors, something along the lines of trade secrets.

I am more interested in the function of secrecy during a performance than in transmission, and therefore with respect to the audience rather than other performers. Discussing secret transmission among artists overlooks the emphasis Zeami places on keeping knowledge secret from the audience. Affect cannot arise when and where it is announced. Secrecy functions as a necessary condition for creating an impression of novelty among viewers. In emphasizing secrecy, Zeami was able to sustain a somewhat ambiguous status as a social outsider in the capital, a position that allowed him to convincingly adopt various masks in performance.

The floral metaphor is not Zeami's only means of talking about the process that gives rise to affect in audiences. It corresponds in some ways with successful fulfillment in interacting with the audience when he describes the performer and patron relationship in terms of yin and yang. In this chapter, I will show that, when beginning to perform, a player must complement rather than mirror the audience's mood and then draw the audience in, in order to

⁸³ Morinaga, *Secrecy in Japanese Arts*, p. 2.

⁸⁴ Rath, *The Ethos of Noh*, p. 52.

successfully communicate. This process resembles sexual union. Of course, because fulfillment in the more or less public space of a performance is not a literal sexual climax, I read Zeami's discussion about the interplay of yin and yang as an mentally erotic rather than a physically sexual seduction of the audience.

A further argument in favor of reading an erotic relationship between performer and audience draws on the way in which Zeami genders the performer's agency. In his theory of masculine and feminine moments, he describes how a performer must adjust his agency to reach success. He establishes that qualities of masculinity and femininity arise "even in an instant" (*toki no ma ni mo*).⁸⁵ He thus suggests that dealing with them requires awareness of the present moment. Zeami proposes that the "masculine moment" (*odoki*) consists of occasions when patrons and audiences are attentive and receptive to the performer's storytelling, allowing the performer to dominate the player-audience relationship.⁸⁶ "Feminine moments *medoki*" refer to those instances when audiences hold a critical stance rather than a receptive one and the performer must switch to a submissive, suggestive rather than demonstrative approach that defers to the audience. In so doing the performer leaves more of the story details up to the audience's imagination.⁸⁷ This thought, like that pertaining to yin and yang, suggests a complementary relationship between audience and performer and genders that relationship.

⁸⁵ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 62.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

This reading of eroticism in Zeami's theories concerning the performer and audience relationship focuses on qualities of agency. His early theoretical work reveals his understanding of an audience relationship—specifically a relationship with a patron—as a game with the complementary factors of dominance and submission that culminate in a moment of success before dissipating. That view of success was influenced by his early successes in Yoshimitsu's court as a sexually attractive *chigo*. Considering the relationship in this way, I propose that other parts of his thought suggestively play with the distance between the two parties, audience and performer or patron and player: Poetic education is thus a means of approaching the audience and secrecy a means of retaining both distance from the audience and a fluid presence. This approach was meant to repeatedly grab his audience's imaginations and sustain his popularity as a performer.

1.1 Zeami in Yoshimitsu's Performance of Flower

1.1.1 The Imagumano Sarugaku Performance

Zeami met Yoshimitsu in Eiwa 1 (1375) when he performed for him with his father at Imagumano Shrine.⁸⁸ Zeami was twelve.⁸⁹ Sasaki Dōyo, Yoshimitsu's

⁸⁸ Zeami's son Motoyoshi's notes that Zeami was twelve at the time, but this might be erroneous. Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 301. Amano notes that while Kōfukuji monks petitioned the shrine's leader, a monk named Sōen, be exiled, Sōen's movement was restricted to the capital from Ōan 5 (1372) to Ōan 7 (1374), making it highly unlikely that the event occurred in that time. Therefore,

vassal and the governor of Ōmi province, was most likely involved in introducing the young Zeami and his father to Yoshimitsu. As Amano Fumio notes on the basis of the diary *Kenshunsōsho nikki* by the politically powerful Daigoji monk Kenshun, members of the Sasaki family regularly attended *sarugaku* performed as a part of the Imagumano shrine's ritual festivities for the sixth month.⁹⁰ Although Imagumano was and continues to be a shrine, it was closely affiliated with the syncretic and ascetic Shugendō sect, and its steward was the monk Kakuōin Sōen from the politically powerful temple of Daigoji.⁹¹ Approximately a year earlier, Kan'ami and Zeami had successfully performed a seven-day subscription performance at Daigoji, a feat that is likely to have precipitated this

Amano argues, it must have occurred in Eiwa 1 (1375). Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, pp. 616-17.

⁸⁹ No historical document revealing Zeami's year of birth exists. Erika Gerline de Poorter gives a thorough analysis of arguments for and against various possibilities. De Poorter, *Motoyoshi's Sarugaku Dangi*, pp. 31-35.

⁹⁰ Fumio, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 607. Also on the basis of Kenshun's diary, Amano notes these festivities were related to ascetic Shugendō monks' departure into the mountains. *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 620.

⁹¹ Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 608, p. 611, and p. 613.

performance at Imagumano.⁹² This, Zeami claims, was Yoshimitsu's first acquaintance with *sarugaku*, but the only records of the event are in *Sarugaku dangi*, Zeami's son Motoyoshi's notes on conversations with his father.⁹³ On the basis of an entry for Ōan 1 (1368).8.2 in Sasaki Dōyo's diary *Kyōgoku kafu* documenting another *sarugaku* performance at Imagumano attended by a much younger Yoshimitsu, Amano questions the accuracy of this claim to being first, but concedes that Zeami's was probably the first *sarugaku* performance Yoshimitsu himself decided to attend.⁹⁴ Because of the significance of the occasion, the attending monk Ebina Na'ami suggested Kan'ami take over the opening *okina* performance from the troupe elder who had traditionally danced the old male divinity.⁹⁵ Na'ami was a *tonseisha*, and as Zeami's deferent reference

⁹² Zeami notes instances in which unsuccessful players had to break off a benefit performance or leave a competition midway. Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 298.

⁹³ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 293 and p. 301. Cf. Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 606.

⁹⁴ Amano, "Debyū no koro," p. 51. Amano considers Yoshimitsu unable to make such a decision himself although he had his coming-of-age ceremony (*genpuku*) and would assume the office of shogun later that same year.

⁹⁵ Today, *okina* is often considered the identifying essence of noh, but in Zeami's era, it was only just becoming integrated with the *sarugaku* tradition. Pinnington differentiates between *okina sarugaku* and *sarugaku nō* and notes that *osa* did not perform the later. *Invented Origins*, p. 493 and 494. In

to him by his full ordained name Na'amidabutsu suggests, he came from a warrior family that had served generations of Ashikaga shogun.⁹⁶ Regardless of the setting at a religious institution, political patronage called for increasing the entertainment value at the cost of precedents. In his account of the event, Zeami focuses on this subsequent change in performance practice. This was probably merely a means of ensuring that the shogun's attention followed the troupe's star, Kan'ami, but it also demonstrates the lengths to which players of that era went to please patrons. Of particular interest at this event, young Zeami's androgynous *chigo* looks also piqued the young shogun's interest. Thereafter, father and son appeared frequently in this powerful patron's presence.

Kyakuraika, Zeami considered *okina* the source of his tradition. Zeami, *Kyakuraika*, 248. However, as his adoption of the heavenly woman and his father's adoption of the *kusemai* suggest, that tradition was still in flux. Previously, the *osa* (according to Omote and Kōsai a hereditary position within the troupe although it is understood elsewhere as the eldest performer) lead the troupe's performances of *okina* and the *dayū* (an honorific received from religious institutions who patronized the troupe) lead the *sarugaku* performers. Cf. Omote, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 502 n. 175 and Kōsai, *Zoku Zeami shinkō*, pp. 349-53. This was the case until Kan'ami stepped in to perform *okina* for Ashikaga Yoshimitsu at Imagumano, thereby establishing the tradition's source: "Therefore, Yamato performance made this its source." Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 293.

⁹⁶ Amano, "Debyū no koro," p. 51-52.

1.1.2 Zeami in Yoshimitsu's Performance of Flower

For the rest of his career as a *chigo*, Zeami thus had a front row seat for watching the cultural and social interactions among the leading politicians of his age. His primary concern, however, was on how his own performances fit into the politico-cultural performance of power that his most powerful patron produced. Politically, Yoshimitsu effectively balanced imperial and military interests and reunified the northern and southern imperial courts. To attain these goals, Yoshimitsu had to assert his status and ability and did so by investing in lavish displays for imperial ceremonies, Buddhist rituals of state, and by hosting popular arts emerging at the time, such as flower competitions (*hana-awase*), linked poetry (*renga*), and *sarugaku*. This engagement in both imperial court culture and popular culture painted a picture of sustained but reinvigorated political leadership.

The way in which Yoshimitsu presented himself to justify his power may be seen in how he carefully chose his surroundings as if setting the stage for his actions. He chose to move his court to the Muromachi Palace in order to place himself in relation to both Saionji Sanekane (1249-1322), an affiliate of the previous military government, and Retired Emperor Sukō (1334-1398, r. 1348-1351), who had both lived there previously although at different times.⁹⁷ Since

⁹⁷ In the third month of Eiwa 4 (1378), Yoshimitsu acquired and moved to the Muromachi Palace, at the Imadegawa Residence, and in Kōryaku 1 (1379), he occupied the adjacent Muromachi Residence, known respectively as the Chrysanthemum Residence and the Flower Residence. Stavros, "Locational

the retired emperor's time in residence, the place was known as the Palace of Flowers (*Hana no gosho*).⁹⁸ Composed of two separate lots that had both burnt down in Eiwa 3 (1377), Yoshimitsu acquired and merged them, rebuilt, and had the grounds replanted in particular splendor, collecting famous flowers (*meika*) from other residences throughout the capital.⁹⁹ In 1380, Nijō Yoshimoto devised flower arranging competitions (*hana awase*), a type of entertainment that played into Yoshimitsu's symbolic performance of power and which Yoshimitsu subsequently hosted annually and in great extravagance on the day of the Tanabata festival.¹⁰⁰ As Matsuoka points out, Yoshimitsu used this proliferation of flowers (*hana*) to integrate his performances of power.¹⁰¹

Yoshimitsu knew to create aesthetic myths to maintain his own power. Similarly, imperial authority required poets and poetry compilations to maintain "poetic myths. . . central to the ruler's maintenance of power."¹⁰² By investing in symbolic and cultural displays of his economic means and social influence in the Pedigree and Warrior Status in Medieval Kyoto," pp. 7-8, and p. 8 n. 14 and Matsuoka, "Hana no jidai no enshutsuka tachi," (2008), p. 4.

⁹⁸ Matsuoka, "Hana no jidai no enshutsuka tachi," (2008), p. 4.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Matsuoka, "Hana no jidai no enshutsuka tachi," (2008), p. 5 and "Zeami ga ikita jidai," pp. 24-25.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Michele Marra, *Representations of Power*, p. 9.

imperial court, Yoshimitsu established himself as the highest political power with full political authority, albeit that authority was dependent on the continued presence of an emperor. The correlation of Yoshimitsu's symbolic and actual appropriation of power only worked because the emperor's power remained nominally intact. Yoshimitsu's power—as arguably all power—was thus fundamentally relational. However, by adopting a symbolism of flowers suggesting transient beauty, Yoshimitsu attempted to transcend those conditions and to claim power over the natural transience of the world. Yoshimitsu established flower symbolism as a personal brand to proclaim his power by means of displaying indulgence in, and the resources for, the continuous renewal of an extremely transient, natural occurrence: flowers.

Boy companions were an important component in that performance of flower. Matsuoka argues that the beautiful young boys Yoshimitsu gathered around himself were called “flowers,” drawing on an example of a band of young warriors who were referred to as a flower riot in the *Taiheiki* (14th century).¹⁰³ Under the name Fujiwaka (“wisteria youth”), a name given to him by the aristocratic politician and Yoshimitsu supporter Nijō Yoshimoto, Zeami was the first *chigo* to join Yoshimitsu's retinue.¹⁰⁴ A fragmentary note by Zeami reveals

¹⁰³ Matsuoka, “Hana no jidai no enshutsuka tachi,” p. 6 and “Zeami ga ikita jidai,” 24.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. He received the name Zeami from Yoshimitsu only once he established himself as an adult *sarugaku* performer. Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 303.

that “among the decorations at the grand place, a number of vases filled with all kinds of flowers lined the rooms.”¹⁰⁵ Young Zeami had access to Yoshimitsu’s Palace of Flowers and as a flower himself played a role in Yoshimitsu’s floral pageantry. That *chigo* were described metaphorically as flowers is confirmed in Nijō Yoshimoto’s letter.

1.1.3 Zeami and Nijō Yoshimoto

Shortly after meeting Yoshimitsu and entering into service for the shogun, Zeami also met his political ally, the aristocrat and poet Nijō Yoshimoto. Metaphorical flowers also appear in Yoshimoto’s treatises on linked poetry (*renga*). In his theoretical work on linked poetry called *Jūmon saishō* (1383), he takes up the floral metaphor. Kidō Saizō notes, however, that he takes up a stance that Ki no Tsurayuki introduced in an introduction to the private poetry collection *Shinsen’wakashū* (ca. 934) that argues the necessity in all poetry, including Chinese poetry and Japanese *waka* and *renga*, for both flower and fruit.¹⁰⁶ Because Yoshimoto draws on Fujiwara Teika’s understanding of the relationship between these two terms, as expressed in his *Maigetsushō* (1219),

¹⁰⁵ *Fūshikaden kobon besshi kuden*, quoted in Takemoto, *Fūshikaden Sandō*, p. 254. Cf. Zeami, “Ōei chūki hitsu ‘Kaden dai-shichi Besshi.’”

¹⁰⁶ Nijō Yoshimoto, *Jūmon saishō*, p. 114. Editor Kidō Saizō also locates Chinese precedent for this argument in *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* (Ch. *Wén Xīn Diāo Lóng*, 5th centuryYoY). *Jūmon saishō*, p. 114 n. 1.

flower aligns with mind or awareness (*kokoro*) and fruit with words.¹⁰⁷ Yoshimoto's poetic goal is a scent of refinement: Adding a further metaphor, that of a tea plant, he explains that the tea flower has little scent, but when tea is prepared properly, it produces a scent.¹⁰⁸ Even the best teas are bad when poorly prepared.¹⁰⁹ Poetry alluding to the best precedents in the poetic canon can disappoint audiences because they do so clumsily. He thus expresses the relationship between coherence and poetic faith: Poetry is believable only when the style of its language is as beautifully refined as its semantic content. Although Yoshimoto mentored Zeami, the latter focused on performing flower. Zeami's treatises include only one mention of fruit as a part of the floral metaphor in a Buddhist poem I will present next, but does not set the metaphor within the tradition of poetic theory.

Although Zeami was in direct contact with Yoshimoto and picked up on his use of the floral metaphor, he does not quote poetic theory in his own discussion of "flower." Instead, he draws on Buddhist thought that made a clearer connection between "flower" and "seed," which I read as potential.¹¹⁰ Zeami first discusses this notion of seeds residing in the heart in "Mondō jōjō." There, he

¹⁰⁷ Nijō Yoshimoto, *Jūmon sahisshōin*, p. 114 n. 2; Fujiwara Teika, *Maigetsushō*, p. 519 and p. 519 n. 7.

¹⁰⁸ Nijō Yoshimoto, *Jūmon sahisshōin*, p. 114.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Cf. Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 37.

uses a Zen poem from the *Platform Sutra* (eighth to thirteenth century) by the sixth patriarch Huineng (Jp. Enō).

The ground of the heart contains the seeds of being
and once the teachings fall like rain, flowers grow.
Once enlightenment about blossoming awareness is achieved,
the Bodhi fruit spontaneously matures.¹¹¹

This poem describes a metaphor for enlightenment using a floral motif, which I indicate in parentheses. All beings have the potential (seed) for enlightenment (fruit) deep within themselves. To achieve enlightenment, however, requires exposure to the teachings (rain) and time to train and develop knowledge of the implications of the teachings (grow) to attain a full momentary awareness of the present (flower). That awareness of the present will, of itself, develop into enlightenment (fruit). Although Zeami uses a Buddhist poem, his commentary shows that he uses it to express his own thoughts about success rather than to contemplate enlightenment.¹¹² In his lead-in to this poem, Zeami urges

¹¹¹ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 37. This poem differs from both versions (Tun-Huang and Kōshōji editions) in Philip B. Yampolski's translation of the *Platform Sutra*. Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, p. 26, p. 28, p. 178, and p. 178 n. 274). Ōnishi Ryuho locates the source of Zeami's quotation in the Toku'i edition. Ōnishi, "Zeami no hana to zen shisō," p. 184 and p. 190 n. 4.

¹¹² It is beyond the scope of this project to determine whether Zeami quotes the poem as a means to describe an understanding of original

professional performers to collect a large variety of seeds that they might draw on them in performance: “the heart that refines these things (*monokazu*) holds the flower seeds.”¹¹³ These seeds are basic skills (*waza*), including music, dance, vigorous movement, and mimesis.¹¹⁴ The heart is the flower, meaning attentiveness in caring for the seeds leads to a successful appeal to the audience.¹¹⁵ Thus, without drawing directly on poetic theory, Zeami, nonetheless, incorporated Tsurayuki and Yoshimochi’s attention to the creative process and Yoshimoto’s need for refinement to create beauty in his use of the floral metaphor. Unlike the Buddhist thought expressed in the poem, Zeami’s focus on flower aligns not with enlightenment but with a full awareness of the present moment, the moment that decides the success or failure of a performance.

In Yoshimoto’s meetings with young Zeami, they had multiple opportunities to exchange ideas about poetic and artistic success. At their first meeting in 1375 (Eiwa 1), the aging aristocrat met the *chigo* and expressed his

enlightenment (*hongaku*), i.e. “true suchness considered under the aspect of conventional deluded consciousness and thus denotes the potential for enlightenment in unenlightened beings.” Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, p. 18.

¹¹³ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 37.

¹¹⁴ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 37 and Omote, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 37 n. “hana wa kokoro, tane wa waza.”

¹¹⁵ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 37.

approval by giving him his childhood name Fujiwaka and a fan.¹¹⁶ Shortly thereafter, Yoshimoto sent a letter to the abbot of Sonshō-in, praising young Zeami and requesting another meeting. Amano and Ogawa Takeo undermine concerns expressed by Hayase Kesao, who questioned the authenticity of this letter. Hayase's bases his doubts on the letter's display of literary virtuosity despite being addressed to a rank-less boy, its ostensibly unusual appellations of the Sonshō-in abbot and Yoshimitsu, and its mention of Yoshimitsu's favor for the boy although they would have known each other less than a year at that time. Amano suggests Yoshimoto wrote it knowing third parties including the shogun would read it.¹¹⁷ Ogawa Takeo erases all suspicion by showing Yoshimoto and the aristocrat Konoe Masaie made similar appellations in other letters, by arguing that Yoshimoto would have been aware that his letters circulated among the capital elite, as their transcription in diaries suggest, and by recognizing that letters passed regularly to third parties as substantiated by the transcription of another letter by Yoshimoto in Sanjō Kintada's entry in his diary *Gogumaiki* for Ōan 2 (1369).4.20.¹¹⁸ In the letter to the abbot of Sonshō-in about the young Zeami, Yoshimoto mentions the boy's abilities in the aristocratic kickball sport

¹¹⁶ *Fuchiki*, quoted in Ijichi, "Zeami to Nijō No Yoshimoto to Renga to Sarugaku," p. 5. It's unclear what Zeami's name was before he received this name. Omote and Amano comment that "reports that he was previously called Oniyasha are unreliable." Omote and Amano, *Nōgaku no rekishi*, p. 43.

¹¹⁷ Amano, "Debyū no koro," p. 50.

¹¹⁸ Ogawa, "Yoshimoto to Zeami," p. 363-368.

called *kemari*, in *waka* poetry, and *renga* collaboration. In describing the boy's attractiveness as a *chigo*, Yoshimoto alludes to a female beauty from the Japanese canon.

More than anything, his facial features and bearing are dreamy yet strong. To think such a brilliant child should exist! The *Genji monogatari* includes the description of Lady Murasaki, the shape of [her as yet unplucked] eyebrows faint, dreamy, and sublime. [One may also] compare this child's dreaminess and blooming figure to cherries blossoming luxuriantly through the mist at a spring sunrise.¹¹⁹

Three times Yoshimoto repeats the word "dreamy" (*hokehoke to*, *hokete*, and *hokeyaka ni*) to describe the young Zeami's physical features and comportment. This word choice makes clear that the boy's beauty sends Yoshimoto on a flight of fancy. From Yoshimoto's point of view, young Zeami's beauty fits rather the framework of femininity as the comparison to the young Murasaki suggests than into that of masculinity. The word "dreamy" thus makes room for gender ambiguity and incongruence.

In the letter, Yoshimoto continues to compare young Zeami to female literary figures and draws remarkable metaphors to praise the boy's dance.

This child's gestures in dance, his steps, and the way he flings his sleeves appears more pliant than the way a willow in the second month undulates

¹¹⁹ Quoted in Matsuoka, *Utage noshintai*, p. 146.

in the wind and appears to surpass even the way the autumn flowers wilt in the evening frost. Was it the home Chinese Tang Emperor Xuanzong built out of Agarwood? It could be scented within two or three *ri*,¹²⁰ and was called the Agarwood Pavillion, where Yang Guifei enjoyed the peony flowers. A jewel flute reproduced the song of rainbow skirts and feather robes from when Xuanzong entered the capital of the moon and the heavenly woman danced (*ten'nin no mai*), flinging [her] sleeves. The poet Li Bai composed and sang many interesting poems. In that state of mind [as I watch the child's dance], I am reminded of these things.¹²¹

Matsuoka points out that the reference in Yoshimoto's letter to Zeami's dance as surpassing "the way the autumn flowers wilt" draws on a stock phrase of wilting (*shiore*) used to refer to *chigo* at that time.¹²² Considering how fleeting both childhood and blossoms are, comparing *chigo* beauty with wilting flowers supports my reading of Yoshimitsu's flower propaganda and interest in *chigo* as a claim to power over the ephemerality of existence. Yoshimoto goes so far as to compare the scene of young Zeami's dance to one in which the Chinese beauty, Yang Guifei (Jp. Yōkihi), dances to the song of rainbow skirts and feather robes (Jp. Geishōui), a song that the Emperor Xuanzong learned when in a dream he

¹²⁰ In Japan, two to three *ri* would have been ca. 7.8 to 11.7 km. In China, ca. 1 to 1.5 km.

¹²¹ Quoted in Matsuoka, *Utage noshintai*, p. 146-147.

¹²² Matsuoka, *Utage noshintai*, p. 151.

entered the palace of the moon. Yoshimoto refers to the dance as a heavenly woman dance (*ten'nin no mai*). If Zeami was ever aware of the contents of this letter addressed to the abbot of the temple he served, it might have sparked his interest in the existence of a heavenly woman dance, therefore anticipating his later adoption of a dance with the same name.

The dynamic between Yoshimoto and young Zeami reveals the power the *chigo* held in performances for his most influential patrons. As long as audience members could open themselves up to fully experience his performances, they might—like Yoshimoto—read feminine and even divine traits into his appearances. He was able to offer audiences an escape from everyday reality. This letter, therefore, reveals a moment of success that shaped Zeami's understanding of the erotic tensions in relationships with elite patrons. That suggestiveness is colored with gender ambiguity and divinity.

1.1.4 Transience in Zeami's Use of the Floral Metaphor

To describe performers' transient, age-conditional success, Zeami also uses the floral metaphor. He first mentions the flower in a general portrait of the child performer, where he notes, "in this art, [training] customarily begins at age seven."¹²³ This is the same age as a child might begin his short career as a *chigo*. The child performer, Zeami notes, should be allowed to "perform naturally" with instruction only in music, movement, and dance and not on matters of

¹²³ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 15.

imitation.¹²⁴ At age twelve or thirteen, “because [he] has a childlike figure, whatever [he] does will have profound beauty (*yūgen*).”¹²⁵ Because of this and because his voice will improve, “the good points will be splendid.”¹²⁶ The word “splendid” is specifically, “have an air of flowers” (*hanameku*). Zeami specifies, however, that this is not a “true flower” (*makoto no hana*).¹²⁷ He does not claim that the true flower must produce fruit as poetry theorists including Yoshimoto had done before him.¹²⁸ Instead he emphasizes flowers’ transience: “the true flower should in [its] natural progression (*dōri*) of both blossoming and scattering come to be the heart as it is.”¹²⁹ Reading heart as awareness, this sentence says the performer must make room in his heart—with which he means having the presence of mind—to let his flower both blossom and scatter. It is impossible to force either blossoming or scattering through sheer force of will.¹³⁰

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 16.

¹²⁷ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 16.

¹²⁸ Although Zeami mentions truth, no copy of this text uses the glyph 実 that would enable a double meaning as fruit. Cf. *Fūshikaden* (Konparu-bon); Yoshida, ed., *Nōgaku koten Zeami jūrokubu shū*.

¹²⁹ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 36.

¹³⁰ Omote reads this sentence to suggest that intention (heart) corresponds with expression (flower), and Hare reads the relationship as

Instead of lamenting the uselessness of flowers that do not produce a lasting effect, Zeami praises wilting (*shiore*) as greater than full flowering.¹³¹ Matsuoka shows how in extolling wilting as a mood of restrained, elegant, melancholy love that characterizes the child entertainer, Yoshimoto again influences Zeami.¹³² Precisely the transience of the flower is important. The beauty that unfolds in a moment of full awareness is only possible in a world of constant change and transience. By not taking up the fruit element of the floral metaphor, Zeami illustrates the brief beauty of theatrical performance, which leaves no lasting trace after its completion.

Only because Fujiwaka—later Zeami—knew how to fit himself into Yoshimitsu’s propaganda, did he experience success. Because he strove to appeal to the shogun as a *chigo* rather than spending his childhood training as a *sarugaku* performer, Zeami’s skills were different than his father’s. Zeami relates that despite being a large man, his father was able to perform the role of a temple acolyte and still draw the remark that he looked no more than sixteen or seventeen although he was over forty.¹³³ At that performance, Yoshimitsu turned to Fujiwaka and teased him, “although the *chigo* may be cunning enough to trip intentional control over the flower. Omote, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 36 n. “*saku dōri mo. . .*” and Hare, *Performance Notes*, p. 46. I do not think that flower can occur through intention alone.

¹³¹ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 35.

¹³² Matsuoka, *Utage noshintai*, p. 151 and p. 156.

¹³³ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 59-60; cf. Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 265.

up much larger opponents, this [he] will never be able to achieve.”¹³⁴ In thus saying Fujiwaka would not be able to pull off the performance like his father, Yoshimitsu refers to the different qualities of their performances. Kan’ami adopted the *kusemai* songs but his greatest skill was mimesis. As a child, Fujiwaka trained first in song and dance, as related in Yoshimoto’s letter, before learning mimesis. Because of this training as a *chigo*, Zeami lacked early training in mimesis that would have made him as skilled in imitation as his father.

Precisely this difference between father and son amused Yoshimitsu. The young Zeami must therefore have been very much aware that his relationship with Yoshimitsu was transient and successful only as long as he was able to be a flower boy or otherwise useful performer in the shogun’s floral pageantry. The difference between Yoshimitsu’s political and young Zeami’s dramatic floral performances reveals the different degrees of power they held within the socio-political systems they lived. While Yoshimitsu’s floral spectacles were a claim to power over the transient world, Zeami’s understanding of flower functioned as an appeal to the shogun for success within that same transient world.

1.2 The Significance of Audience

Zeami honed an awareness for his patrons’ worldview. In performance and in public, he remained alert to his primary patron’s attention. In performance, he sought to appeal to the highest ranking member of the audience, who was usually also his patron for that performance. In doing so, he drew on his experience serving the shogun during performances and events. Therefore, he

¹³⁴ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 265.

placed an emphasis on learning poetry, the language of the aristocracy, and on not revealing what he calls the vulgarity found among the lowest level of society. He or other members of his troupe would have had contact with such humble people due to their own low social status.

1.2.1 Sanjō Kintada's Critical Diary Entry

Aristocrat Sanjō Kintada's critical description of Zeami's relationship with the military elite, both Yoshimitsu and daimyo, reveals the player-patron relationship from a third point of view, thereby revealing the nature of Zeami's power within that relationship. An aristocrat in a less advantaged position than Yoshimoto, Kintada draws a critical but revealing picture of young Zeami and Yoshimitsu's relationship in a diary entry for the sixth month of Eiwa 4 (1378). He writes that young Zeami joined Yoshimitsu in attendance at the Gion festival and implicates an erotic justification for young Zeami's popularity among members of the military ruling class.

Seventh day, rain falls. In the evening, somewhat clear. Today, the portable shrines (*mikoshi*) [should] come. However, while the portable shrines are still being refurbished, the god of Gion cannot parade in them. Therefore, in recent years there are no portable shrines, and this year was the same. Nevertheless, the floats (*hoko*) were splendid. The shogun's seating was erected at Shijō Tōdōin and [he] watched from there. [The governor of Kaga,] Togashi [Masaie], built the stands, allegedly by order of the shogun. The child from the Yamato *sarugaku* troupe known as the son of Kanze *sarugaku* monk (*kanze no sarugaku hōshī*) was called to the shogun's

stands, and [he] watched from there. For a long while, the shogun has made him a favorite, and [they] sat together and shared a cup. *Sangaku* players such as this are professional beggars (*kōshoku shogyō*). Moreover, such admiration and intimate employment [for a *sarugaku* player] upheaves the realm. Those who line up to give valuables to this child find favor with the shogun. Therefore, daimyo [and people of similar status] compete in rewarding him [with presents], and it is said that these people pay vast expenses [to do so]. Because this was the portable shrine event, [I] recorded it as such.¹³⁵

That Yoshimitsu let young Zeami sit with him and let him drink sake from his own cup reveals the great favor the boy appreciated. His favor was reportedly so great that military lords gave him lavish gifts in hopes that he would pass their requests on to the shogun, who, according to Kintada, then granted their wishes.

However, Kintada's understanding of how to petition a case in a capital with two courts is clearly insufficient to assume he fully knows the outcome of others' cases. Stavros relates an incident only a few years later in Eitoku 1 (1381), also documented in Kintada's diary, that illustrates his clumsiness and misfortune in business dealing with the power dynamics between the emperor

¹³⁵ Sanjō Kintada, *Gogumaiki*, p. 16.

and the shogun.¹³⁶ That is not to say, however, that Kintada's claim concerning young Zeami's power because of his proximity to the political leader is unfounded. Wealthy individuals with business at the shogunal court probably did present the boy with gifts in hopes of reaching the leader's ear in their endeavors. Alternatively, daimyo might have given Fujiwaka presents based on his own merit and not because of his relationship to Yoshimitsu. Ijichi Tetsuo claims they must have been just as enchanted by the boy's beauty as the shogun.¹³⁷ In that case, young Zeami's power of attraction might have drawn other admirers who resented but had to respect the shogun's claim to the boy's companionship. In such scenarios, as a *chigo* Zeami enjoyed a certain degree of political influence because of his beauty.

As a professional performer, Fujiwaka must have used his physical beauty as an asset. In one incident at least, he was able to intervene in a claimant's stead although that claimant was the performer Tamarin and not a daimyo.

Tamarin wrote the lyrics to both [*kusemai* songs *Tōgoku kudari* and *Saigoku kudari*]. [He] had gone against Rokuon'in (Ashikaga Yoshimitsu)'s desires and [had to] remove [himself] to the Eastern provinces (*Tōgoku*), where in time he wrote this *kusemai*. When Zeami was known as

¹³⁶ Stavros, *Kyoto*, pp. 113-15. Instead of appealing to the emperor in a matter concerning property within the capital's city limits, Kintada turned to the shogun for help, thereby evoking the emperor's displeasure. *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ Ijichi, "Zeami to Nijō Yoshimoto to renga to sarugaku," p. 3.

Fujiwaka, [he] was able to sing [it]. At that time, the shogun asked about the librettist and sent for [Tamarin].¹³⁸

By performing Tamarin's composition, young Zeami had the power to bring the exiled performer's name to the shogun's attention and ultimately to have that artist reinstated. Perhaps military lords used his proximity to Yoshimitsu in a similar manner. Important for my purposes is to note that young Zeami appreciated a degree of power. From his own accounts, that power was not because he was the shogun's favorite but rather because of his merits as a performer.

Because Kintada's diary entry expresses a third party perspective by a person who was not sufficiently familiar with the inner workings of the shogunal palace to tend to his own affairs, it is not a conclusive record about whether Yoshimitsu and young Zeami's relationship had a sexual aspect. My interest lies rather with the erotic suggestion, the performance of gender and power within their relationship. That dimension is visible to the public. Hare maintains that this relationship's erotic dynamic was class-structured.¹³⁹ With class-structured, he means that the power dynamic of their relationship was unequal because of their differences in social status. It was also age-structured because Yoshimitsu was four years older than young Zeami, but this difference was less significant than the social difference. In reading the relationship's erotic power dynamic

¹³⁸ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 277.

¹³⁹ Hare, *Zeami's Style*, 16.

from a third-party perspective, Yoshimitsu was clearly in a position of dominance over young Zeami. However, that reading appreciates the historical social conditions of their relationship and not their relationship as performer and audience. Indeed, as I will show, Zeami appreciated that audiences relinquished their power to players during performances so that they might be entertained. Therefore, like Kintada, Zeami also recognized his power as a performer to seduce audiences.

1.2.2 Zeami's Focus on Elite Patrons

Although Zeami set himself the goal of appealing to audiences of high and low status alike,¹⁴⁰ he thought performers must look to the military and aristocratic elite (*ki'nin*) members of an audience to determine the pacing and the mood of the performance.¹⁴¹ He considered the tastes of the countryside or provincial audiences unrefined or foolish (*oroka*) and vulgar (*iyashi*).¹⁴² Even in front of a large, mixed audience, the focus remained on that elite. For example, “benefit” (*kanjin*) programs of *sarugaku* were performed for a mixed crowd of commoners, warriors, and aristocrats. However, Brown describes the spatial distribution of the audience for a benefit performance in Kanshō 5 (1464), saying

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 19 and p. 44; *Kakyō*, p. 102; and *Shūgyoku tokka*, p. 187.

¹⁴¹ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 27-28.

¹⁴² Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 45.

Although the best box in the *kanjin* theater was set aside for the gods (*kami*), who were situated immediately opposite the stage in galleries reserved for nobility, . . . the shogun and his inner circle. . . occupied the prestigious areas immediately adjacent to the gods' box. Generally the shogun and his closest advisors sat to the left of the gods' box, whereas the shogun's principal wife and family sat to the right. While the shogun and other high-ranking military and court aristocrats sat in raised and covered galleries (*sajiki*) at the rear of the theater, commoners were relegated to the open, uncovered area below the raised stage and surrounding aristocratic galleries.¹⁴³

Therefore, he concludes, "the performance was staged primarily for the shogun and his inner circle."¹⁴⁴ Although Brown refers to a document that postdates Zeami's lifetime, the situation resembles his emphasis on the elite in his own audiences and his injunctions to perform for their sake potentially even at the cost of maintaining continuity for the rest of the audience: "*sarugaku* makes the attendance of the elite its focus" (*sarugaku wa ki'nin no on'ide wo hon to su*).¹⁴⁵ Zeami, too, focused on an individual or small group within the crowd as his primary concern.

¹⁴³ Brown, *Theatricalities of Power*, p. 13; cf. "Gohanazono-in kanshō go nen kōshin shi-gatsu ni tadasu kawara kanjin nō butaizu."

¹⁴⁴ Brown, *Theatricalities of Power*, p. 13.

¹⁴⁵ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 27-28.

As evident in his theory, Zeami accepts early on that he must learn as much about his elite patrons as possible in order to perform for them. This is particularly important in performing mimetically. Zeami picked up mimetic skills from his father and continued to practice them, although he was not as skilled as his father. In his earliest notes about mimesis, “Monomane jōjō,” the second chapter of *Fūshikaden*, he expresses a need to respect audiences’ feedback, particularly on characters that audiences are more familiar with than the performer:

In the first place, because places where [one might see] how the ruling class—beginning with the sovereign and his ministers—comport themselves and how the warrior class lives are not open [to people of our position], it is difficult to satisfactorily imitate them. Therefore, take care in inquiring about [their] language and manner; and seek audiences’ opinions.¹⁴⁶

The term “sovereign” (*kokuō*) here most likely refers to the shogun rather than the emperor.¹⁴⁷ Zeami again refers to the classes to which his patrons belong,

¹⁴⁶ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 20.

¹⁴⁷ Hare points out that it likely refers to Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, who accepted the title Japanese sovereign (*kokuō*) from the Ming court. Zeami, *Performance Notes*, p. 74 n. 4; cf. Charlotte von Verschuer, “Ashikaga Yoshimitsu’s Foreign Policy 1398 to 1408 A.D.”

classes that lie far removed from his own. These two sentences reveal three things. First, Zeami focuses on making his imitation accurate in order to create believable characters onstage. Second, he values a reciprocal relationship between performer and audience in mimesis; the performer imitates the classes for which he performs but appreciates precisely their feedback on his performances in order to speak more directly to them. Third, he aims to create performances that fit the tastes of his audiences rather than insisting on his own point of view. This emphasis on learning a poetic dialect that is not the performer's own suggests a need for secrecy about his actual life experiences.

Zeami's performance strategy with respect to the audience can be broken down into three prerogatives: First, learn as much about the audience's worldview as possible while hiding your own as best you can. Second, train in as wide a variety of styles as possible to be able to respond appropriately to the conditions of any given performance. Third, select performance styles that use the dialect of the elite audience members. This strategy incorporated an awareness of the differences between his own and his patron and audiences' spheres of affinity or awareness.

1.3 Power in Engaging with Audiences

1.3.1 Secrecy

Zeami understands a need for secrecy because he is fully aware of differences in social affinities. Subsequent to establishing the reciprocal relationship with audiences, he continues to explain how differences in status between performers and patrons should influence material selection and development.

[One] should take pains to imitate the manner of the higher classes and the behavior of court poetry and music (*kachōfūgetsu*) in detail. In the case of country folk (*denbu*) and bumpkins (*yajin*), [one] should not imitate [their] vulgar behavior too exactly. [One] should exactly imitate woodcutters, grass mowers, charcoal burners, and salt makers and such by fully adopting their behavior. [However, one] should not imitate more vulgar, inferior classes as precisely. [Such sights] should not be presented before nobles' eyes. If [they] see [as much], there will be no point of interest because of excessive vulgarity.¹⁴⁸

In this passage, Zeami mentions two spheres of affinity: In one sphere, noble patrons educated in poetry know the world through their poetry, and in the other, professional performers live in a world that comes into contact with that of their noble patrons only occasionally but includes the lower and lowest classes of their social world. Zeami allows precise imitation of the occupations of woodcutters, grass mowers, charcoal burners, and salt makers because these appear in poetic contexts as idealized occupations. Noble audiences educated and socialized in the poetic tradition are likely interested in seeing behavior related to these occupations. Zeami uses the word “vulgar” (*iyashi*) to refer primarily to language that is not poetic and vicariously to the occupations that do

¹⁴⁸ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 20.

not appear in poetry.¹⁴⁹ Thus Zeami identifies appearance in poetic contexts as the differentiating factor between non-aristocratic people who belong to the sphere of characters acceptable for noble consumption and those unacceptable for noble consumption. A performer's own encounters with common people beyond the sphere of elite society are too vulgar, but that does not necessarily preclude all presentation of commoners' issues from the stage. Rather, they must be formulated in such a way as to meet with elite audiences' taste.

In addition to keeping parts of his own experience at the fringes of respectable society secret from his audience, Zeami finds it valuable to keep his own sphere of awareness obscure. As early as the third chapter of the *Fūshikaden*, Zeami explicitly mentions that a certain part of his reflections should remain secret. Indeed, he finds it necessary to keep secret how he negotiates audience's moods in order to achieve success, an aspect to his strategy that I will return to shortly.¹⁵⁰ At the end of *Fūshikaden*, he then elaborates on what he means by secrecy. "What is hidden will become the flower. What is not hidden cannot become the flower."¹⁵¹ He then mentions the need for secrecy in order to effectively affect audiences.

To begin with, concerning this flower [of secrecy]'s oral teachings, because all people know that simple novelty (*mezurashiki*) is the flower,

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 14 and p. 48 and *Shūdōsho*, p. 239.

¹⁵⁰ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 28.

¹⁵¹ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 61.

when [one] is in front of an audience (*kenbutsushū*) that anticipates “now for something novel,” even if [one] performs something novel, the viewers (*mite*) will not have a feeling (*kan*) of novelty in their hearts. Precisely what the viewers do not know to be novel will become the flower of the performer (*shite*). Thus, the viewers (*miru hito*) will see skill (*jōzu*) only in [things that are of] interest [because such things are] beyond expectation, and [their] not knowing that precisely this is the flower is the performer’s flower. Therefore, the strategy of producing a feeling (*kan*) that people will in their hearts not anticipate, this is the flower.¹⁵²

Feeling is the means of experiencing profundity. Feeling reaches the edge of awareness (*kokoro mo naki kiwa*).¹⁵³ Profundity is a matter of feeling the world beyond awareness, the feeling of no-heart (*mushin no kan*).¹⁵⁴ Keeping an element of performance secret is necessary for producing novelty (*mezurashiki*). Novelty coincides with an impression of interest (*omoshiroki*) that is none other than the flower.¹⁵⁵ It arises from a feeling (*kan*) that heralds the appearance of something previously wholly beyond the audience’s sphere of awareness.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 96.

¹⁵⁴ Zeami, *Kyūi*, p. 174.

¹⁵⁵ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 55. Zeami will later explain that interest arises out of feeling. Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 95.

That secret element is not some spectacular dance move, vocal technique, or similar skill. In this respect, what Zeami refers to with secrecy does not coincide with the secret transmissions (*hiden*) that noh performers speak of today, such as the specific, difficult skills necessary for performing *Dōjōji*. Rather, Zeami maintains that the effect is more important than the cause:

To begin with, in all things, in all of the artistic pursuits, what are called the house secrets exist because of their great efficacy (*daiyō*). Therefore, when secrets are revealed, they will not be of such importance. A person who says, “they are not of such importance,” [says so] because [he] does not know the great efficacy (*daiyō*) of secrecy.¹⁵⁶

Here, Zeami begins to address the relative importance of action over cause by twice using a term from *poetic* theory, “function” or “efficacy” (*yō*), emphasizing it by using the compound “great efficacy” (*daiyō*). Zeami mentions it again at the end of the passage:

When an opponent does not use care (*yōshin o senu*), one’s win should be easy. Achieving a win by letting [other] people trip up, is it not the great efficacy (*daiyō*) of the truth about novelty?¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 61.

¹⁵⁷ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 62.

Zeami claims that some of his competitors do not understand this “great efficacy.” The character for efficacy appears here also in the compound for “using care” (*yōshin*). Care is none other than an awareness for efficacy. As Rath writes, “the contents of the secrets sometimes mattered less than the secrecy itself.”¹⁵⁸ I would add that secrecy mattered because it hid the source or conditions of a certain effect. If a performer reveals the limits of his knowledge, he destroys any outward impression of depth in his stage and everyday presence. In order to maintain his charisma, a performer does well to hide the content and limits of his knowledge or, for that matter, the chaos of his own awareness. Thus, the hidden flower is a means of preserving potential in the audience’s imagination by fostering ambiguity at the level of potential and expectation.

That ambiguity leaves room for the audience to imagine the justification for an affect. The word efficacy or function often appears in conjunction with the word substance (*tai*) as in a *Fūshikaden* explanation of the relationship of “visible appearances” (*fūzei*) and “audible music” (*ongyoku*):¹⁵⁹

In all things, precisely because [they] follow reason (*iware*), as a matter of course [they] must arise as the myriad phenomena. Words reveal reason. Therefore, music is the substance and appearances (*fūzei*) are the function.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Rath, *The Ethos of Noh*, p. 52.

¹⁵⁹ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 49; cf. Omote, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 50 n. “fūtei.”

¹⁶⁰ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 49.

With music, he means vocal music that conveys meaning through (poetic) language. The music is the substance and appearances are the function or effect. In other words, a librettist must write in such a way as to ensure a substance (poetic narration) that a player can easily express mimetically.¹⁶¹ Zeami later develops this thought into the understanding that mimesis arises from the musical mood, a thought that forms the core of his later thought.¹⁶² In this way, he differentiates himself from his father's strikingly realistic mimesis. This passage shows that substance and function necessarily come as a pair in which function arises from substance, a thought he also states explicitly in later theory.¹⁶³ Therefore, when talking about secrecy, his emphasis on function or "great efficacy" without mentioning substance suggests that what remains hidden is the substance. That something is intention or focus, in this case a focus on narrative vocal music so that its rhythm and flow permeates corporeal movement, which the audience sees as appearances. That focus must remain veiled from the audience's view. A performer must leave room for audience members to infer the conditions that give rise to the audible and visible information they see onstage.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Cf. Zeami, *Shikadō*, p. 113.

¹⁶³ Zeami, *Shikadō*, p. 117; cf. section 4.1.2.

1.3.2 *The Secret Teachings on Yin and Yang*

Although the player mirrors the language and comportment of his high-class audiences, Zeami takes control in one vital aspect. At the beginning of the third *Fūshikaden* chapter, entitled “Mondō jōjō” and treating a variety of topics in a question and answer format, the first question concerns how to assess an audience’s mood before the start of a performance. In response, Zeami explains how to determine the start of a play by waiting for the audience to look towards the backstage area,¹⁶⁴ and the problems that arise when an elite personage (*ki'nin*) appears late.¹⁶⁵ Zeami explains that “[one] must align (*au*) the performance style (*fūtei*) with the heart of the elite personage.”¹⁶⁶ Particularly when the audience is boisterous or its members’ attention is not united, the player should in some way align or fit (*au*) his performance with the patron’s mood or awareness of the moment rather than attempt to please the whole audience.

Aligning quality of movement with the patron’s awareness does not mean, however, that the performer should reflect the patron’s state of mind back at him. Zeami speaks here of a secret teaching:

¹⁶⁴ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 27.

¹⁶⁵ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, pp. 27-28.

¹⁶⁶ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 28. Hare reads *ki'nin* as the plural, which would refer to a large segment of the audience. Zeami, *Performance Notes*, 38. I instead read it as a reference to his primary patron, the shogun or next highest ranking individual.

In the first place, in all things, [one] should know that the interval in which yin (*in*) and yang (*yō*) balance is fulfillment (*jōju*). The energy (*ki*) in the daytime is a yang energy. Thus, finding a way to perform [one's] abilities as quietly as possible is yin energy. Bringing about yin energy in a moment of yang energy, this is an awareness of balancing yin and yang. This is the beginning of [the process towards] fulfilling the expression of one's ability (*nō no yoku idekuru jōju no hajime*). This is the heart that appears interesting (*omoshiroshi*). Because the evening is again yin, performing in an excited (*ukiuki to*) [way] that in time [reveals one's] abilities well, and blossoming in people's hearts (*hito no kokoro hanameku*) is yang. Balancing evening yin with yang energy is fulfillment. Thus, because putting yin to yin energy and yang to yang energy does not balance, there will be no fulfillment. Without fulfillment, what should hold interest? Also, in the daytime, depending on the moment, if for some reason [the mood of] the house is damp (*shimeri*) and lonely, understand that this is a yin moment and be aware [of this] so that [the performance] doesn't become depressed. In this way, during the daytime yin energy may arise depending on the moment, but in the evening there is no chance of yin arising.¹⁶⁷

Environmental factors, particularly whether a performance occurs in natural daylight or at night, directly influence audiences' moods. Daylight brightens

¹⁶⁷ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, pp. 28-29.

people's mood. Nighttime darkness or loneliness dampens their mood. That dampened state allows for associations between moisture (*shimeri*), be it tears or humidity, and feelings such as loneliness, sadness, and lethargy. In order to affect an audience, a player must shift the mood away from either predominant influence. The player does this by performing in a mood complementary to both the environmental situation and the audience's state of mind shaped by that situation. The player should not let the same situational factors shape his own performance. Therefore, in this vital aspect of mood, the player does not mirror the audience. Instead, he seeks to change it by performing a different mood. Rather than the player holding up a mirror to nature and to the audience, the player introduces a factor that complements the dominant mood. Only by balancing the two extremes of yin and yang is fulfillment possible. When the player successfully brightens the mood with a yang performance, that success is fulfillment and it blossoms into the flower.

Zeami uses this notion of yin and yang as complementary moods to describe how a player might take control at the beginning of a performance. Disparity between the patron's attentiveness and the rest of the audience's attentiveness at the beginning of a performance poses a challenge for any performer. In talking about how to begin a performance when the audience has not settled down yet even though the patron is already waiting, he urges players to compensate by exaggerating the performance. The player should "make [his] gestures more colorful, [his] voice stronger, [his] steps a little higher," and his comportment both when standing still and moving "lively (*ikiiki*) to catch the

people's attention" and "quiet the house down."¹⁶⁸ The player exaggerates the performance to overpower the latecomers' mood and to signal to them that the performance is already in progress. In this case, he hopes that the audience will defer to the patron and not mirror but complement the play's energetic mood. Because forcefully imposing a mood cannot please the latecomers, he considers it sufficient if the performance appeals to the patron. Here, Zeami suggests that the complementary moods are affiliated with complementary qualities of agency, dominance and submission, in the unique space of a performance.

1.4 Zeami on Gender

1.4.1 Masculine and Feminine Moments

These complementary forms of agency appear also in Zeami's stark differentiations between masculine and feminine characters. He makes femininity and masculinity function similarly to yin and yang: they complement each other, and they describe different performance moods. Indeed, yang conventionally relates to masculinity and yin to femininity although Zeami does not explicitly state he is aware of these associations. In a discussion of "the flower of causality" (*inga no hana*), Zeami differentiates between "masculine moments" (*odoki*) and "feminine moments" (*medoki*) to indicate the difference between a performance that goes as it is supposed to (as intended) and a performance that doesn't. A "feminine moment" occurs when things do not go as planned because

¹⁶⁸ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 28.

of the performance's "inevitable causality" (*chikara naki inga*).¹⁶⁹ Omote notes that "inevitability" (*chikara naki*) describes a situation where "human power regrettably will not help."¹⁷⁰ Zeami describes femininity as a quality of agency, a lack of (physical) power. He does not, however, call this the essence of femininity. He leaves the possibility of biological males performing femininity wide open. Indeed, Zeami and his troupe is biologically masculine and performs femininity. Therefore, he does not essentialize femininity by linking it with the female sex. Instead, he uses "feminine" and "masculine" as reference points for two extreme qualities of agency that are conventionally but not necessarily attributed to the two sexes.¹⁷¹ According to Zeami, all people will experience both masculine and feminine moments:

Also, [one] must be aware of the moment. If last year [one was in] full flush, then [one] should know that this year there will be no flowers. Even in the shortest interval, masculine moments and feminine moments will arise. If [one's] ability has good moments, bad things will eventually come.

¹⁶⁹ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 62.

¹⁷⁰ Omote, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 491 n. 143.

¹⁷¹ In fact, Leupp points out that yin and yang describe the two fundamental forces permeating the whole universe; yin the feminine, dark, aquatic force and yang the masculine, bright, fiery force. All people should strive to "attain a balance of these forces within" themselves, through sexual contact where necessary. Leupp, *Male Colors*, 20.

This is inevitable causality (*chikara naki inga*). If [one becomes] aware of this in a moment of performance that is not all too important during a competition and if [one then] does not grow tenacious (*ga'ishō wo okosazu*), does not take pains (*hone wo mo orade*), does not take to heart even [the possibility] of loss, conserves [one's] movements (*te wo tabaite*), and employs only some of one's abilities (*sukuna sukuna to nō wo sureba*), where the audience will in calm amazement think “how is this?” or on an important day of performance, if [one] changes approaches and discloses spirit (*seirei*), and in turn surprise (*omoi no hoka naru kokoro*) arises among those watching, then in a vital match of an important competition, [one] will necessarily win. This is the great efficacy for novelty (*mezurashiki daiyō*). In this way, bad causality becomes good again.¹⁷²

Zeami speaks about competing against other performers, wherefore it is possible to assume he means if a competitor has a masculine moment, it is a good idea to accept the situation and follow with a feminine moment, thereby clearly differentiating oneself from the competitor.¹⁷³ A performer must either select a character and play appropriate to the conditions at hand—a masculine character when things are going well and a feminine character when they are not—or must perform a character in such a way that its gender becomes somewhat ambiguous. Because a day's program was often determined in advance, he probably meant

¹⁷² Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, pp. 62-63.

¹⁷³ Cf. Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 30.

the latter option.¹⁷⁴ However, Zeami clearly also applies this notion of masculine and feminine moments to non-competitive subscription performances that showcase a single performer or troupe.¹⁷⁵ The player can change the quality of his agency to differentiate himself from his competitors or to complement the audience's mood. This would mean that a performer can shift from one mood to the next throughout a performance in order to repeatedly move the audience from one mood to another.

Zeami focuses on feminine moments and does not yet clearly describe what it means to have a masculine moment. Nonetheless, his comparative description of a feminine moment suggests that in a masculine moment tenacity and determination might in turn be put to good use. He describes how to take advantage of a feminine moment using negations of active verb endings: “not growing tenacious *gaishū o okosazu*” and “not taking pains *hone o orade*.” Further qualifications clearly suggest an opposite, “masculine” approach: “conserving one's movements *te wo tabaite*” and “employing only some of one's abilities *sukuna sukuna to su*” suggest that in a masculine moment it is possible to go all out because everything goes as planned. Thus, it is possible to read Zeami's feminine and masculine moments as a contrastive pair analogous to his description of yin and yang moods.

¹⁷⁴ Amano points out how performers in service discussed possible acts in the event that they might be called upon to perform. Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, pp. 40-41; cf. Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, pp. 284-285.

¹⁷⁵ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 63.

I think it necessary to be careful not to define Zeami's contrast between masculine and feminine moments as active-passive because the appropriate behavior in a feminine moment is not simply passive. Instead, the performer should conserve and regulate his actions, i.e. turn his awareness inward and move his body in response to the music. As the result of this attitude of acceptance and accommodation, the performance can "produce an awareness (heart) that the audience did not expect" (*miru hito no omoi no hoka naru kokoro ideku*) and thus reach success.¹⁷⁶ This passage shows clearly that intentional action through active agency (in masculine moments) is a matter of power while giving up that intention and letting action occur (in feminine moments) is a matter of regulating power (*chikara* or *riki*) that in turn lets an unexpected effect arise in the audience. The flower of causality elucidates an approach to changes in the environment that ensures blossoming even under difficult circumstances.

Analysis of these early theories on yin and yang theory and masculine and feminine moments reveals that Zeami sought to create erotic suspense between himself and his audiences. His thought about balancing yin and yang to achieve fulfillment describes a complementary relationship between audience and performer escalating to an ecstasy of fulfillment that resembles sexual union. The theory about masculine and feminine moments describes similar qualities of movement using gendered designations. The similarity between these two theories lies in the two kinds of complementary agency, yang or masculine dominance and yin or feminine submission. By playing in a mood that appropriately complements the audience's mood as shaped by environmental

¹⁷⁶ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 63.

factors or by a previous play in the program, it is possible to achieve fulfillment, an erotic climax that Zeami calls alternatively interest and novelty. If the relationships he had with patrons as a *chigo* were precedents for success, then these likely served as a template for his understanding of success as an adult.

1.4.2 Masculine and Feminine Characters

Zeami's subsequent construction of the basic masculine and feminine characters in his middle and later theory takes up the distribution of dominance and submission that he established in the theory of masculine and feminine moments. He continues to see femininity as submissive in *Kakyō*, completed about 24 years later:

If [performing] a woman, [one] must slightly straighten the hips, extend and withdraw the hands as high as possible, make the five body parts very weak, not carry power (*chikara*) in one's heart, and use one's body pliantly.¹⁷⁷

By "straightening the hips," Zeami means keeping the knees and hips straight as opposed to bent like a powerful figure. A bent lower body is a means of storing physical power to be released at any moment. By standing straight, that power is not immediately available. Thus, by physically changing posture, it is possible to change physical potential. That physical potential is not actual but resides in the heart, in awareness. While a masculine character (especially one that performs

¹⁷⁷ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 86.

vigorous movement) will be fully aware of his physical power as potential, a feminine character is fully aware that she does not have the same power at her disposal. However, the feminine role should not be stiff either: Her body should be weak and pliant, or submissive and responsive.

In the *Kakyō* characterization of different role types, Zeami shifts from talking about masculinity to talking about furious characters—warriors and demons—as the complement to femininity: “Furious roles carry power (*chikara*) in their hearts, take a very strong physical stance, and as such stand and move vigorously.”¹⁷⁸ Having physical strength, demonic characters confront challenges with an awareness for their own ability to assert themselves violently. Such characters’ physical capacity translates directly into a threatening impression among viewers. Therefore, Zeami calls such characters “furious beings” (*ikareru mono*). These, like masculinity in masculine moments, are dominant. These two qualities of femininity and masculinity (or ferocity) are extremes. There are any number of other character types such as beautiful men and deranged women.¹⁷⁹ Unlike the extreme instances, these characters are not exclusively dominant or exclusively submissive in their behavior.

1.4.3 Dominance and Submissiveness in Zeami’s Late Thought

Zeami retains the dominant-submissive relationship between performer and audience through to his late theory. In *Shūgyoku tokka*, completed in Seichō 1

¹⁷⁸ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 86.

¹⁷⁹ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 86 and *Fūshikaden* p. 22 and pp. 23-24.

(1428) in his mid sixties, he readdresses yin and yang to discuss why the same skilled performer can be “effective” (*idekuru*) one day and “ineffective” (*idekonu*) the next. This corresponds with his description of masculine and feminine moments, where “full flush” in one year is followed by no flowers the next in an inevitable cycle of good and bad moments.¹⁸⁰ In *Shūgyoku tokka*, he refers to ineffectiveness as “the momentary coincidence of no power *chikara naki jisetsu*,”¹⁸¹ also echoing his earlier reference to feminine moments as ineffective when he writes that in those moments cause and effect have no power (*chikara naki inga*). He then resorts to the vocabulary of yin and yang.

Fundamentally, the matter of relative merit (*kō’otsu*) that the same expert will—with the same musical style that is refined to proficiency (*kannō*)—have depending on the gathering (*tōza*) probably occurs in those places were [he does] not balance the yin energy and yang energy in the specific temporal conditions (*orifushi no jibun*).¹⁸²

Here, Zeami specifically mentions energy or spirit (*ki*) and continues by describing how the artist’s first vocal entrance determines the quality of mood

¹⁸⁰ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 62.

¹⁸¹ I translate *jisetsu* as momentary coincidence to include the situational aspects that coincide to create a uniquely serendipitous moment within the transient world.

¹⁸² Zeami, *Shūgyoku tokka*, p. 185.

(*toki no chōshi*) for the performance.¹⁸³ The mood of this vocal entrance, like his analysis of yin and yang earlier, must accommodate the mood shaped by various environmental factors, aligning with a correct assessment of atmospheric energy influence by the variables of the four seasons, day or night, morning or dusk, crowd size and status.¹⁸⁴ Accommodation means beginning with a complementary mood, “[one] should provide a vocal feeling (*onkan*) that balances yin energy with yang and yang energy with yin.”¹⁸⁵ He still thinks a player must complement his patrons’ mood rather than conforming to it, and he still thinks this is necessary to achieve fulfillment. With balancing yin and yang, Zeami claims to mean—similar to his early theory — “the feeling of satisfaction (*kan’ō*) in a gathering’s fulfillment (*ichiza jōjū*)” (*Shūgyoku tokka* ZZ 145:2-4). Fulfillment is a matter of feeling. Feeling, as Zeami in the meantime identifies, is a visceral moment that precipitates interest.¹⁸⁶ That realization coincides with his experience of a competitor’s performances, a competitor named Inuō.

1.5 In Sum

In this chapter, I have presented how Zeami understood the relationship between performer and audience as a direct, face-to-face line of communication. In that confidently engaged dialogue, he expected the performer or *sarugaku*

¹⁸³ Cf. Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 84.

¹⁸⁴ Zeami, *Shūgyoku tokka*, p. 185.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 95.

player to in some way complement the dominant mood in the audience shaped by the mood of the most elite and powerful member, the patron. He looked to speak directly to that single member of the audience and to reach the others by appealing to this politically powerful patron. The patron's mood, he claimed, is shaped by environmental factors in the space of the venue, including time of day, season, temperature, and—after the first act in a program—the way the previous play affected the mood. To describe this mood, he used the terms yin and yang, yin referring to a dark or lonely atmosphere, yang to a bright and cheerful atmosphere. In order to create fulfillment, Zeami's word for success, both yin and yang must be present. If the dominant mood in an audience at the beginning of a performance is depressed, for example, then the performer must include an element of lightness to create a balanced mood at the climax.

Chapter 2: Sasaki Dōyo and Inuō's Styles

Like every young artist, Zeami looked to his predecessors for inspiration and guidance. In conversations with his son Motoyoshi, Zeami mentioned an array of artistic forebears (*tōdō no senzo*), including of course Kan'ami, but also the *dengaku* players Itchū and Kiami.¹⁸⁷ *Dengaku* was a performing art popular throughout the Kamakura period and thereafter that incorporated acrobatics and used flamboyant costuming. The only *sarugaku* performer besides his own father on Zeami's list of role models is Inuō, a performer from Ōmi, northeast of the capital. Inuō and Kan'ami both trained with Itchū, suggesting a free exchange of artistic knowledge across troupe and even genre boundaries.¹⁸⁸ For Zeami, Inuō was a major figure of inspiration, and his star rose among the capital's elite after Zeami's career as a *chigo* came to an end and he faced new challenges.

Zeami ceased being a *chigo* sometime after the Gion festival of Eiwa 4 (1378). Then, at some point between Ōei 7 (1400) and Ōei 9 (1402), Yoshimitsu

¹⁸⁷ Itchū was the star of the Honza troupe and Kiami of the Shinza troupe. Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 272; Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 261 (note at head of section).

¹⁸⁸ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 261. Zeami also mentions Kan'ami's affiliation with Itchū in *Fūshikaden*, p. 43.

gave the *sarugaku* player, who was by then in his late thirties, the name Zeami.¹⁸⁹ In the meantime, not only did Zeami fall into historical obscurity, but he also lost his father. Kan'ami died in Shitoku 1 (1384) after performing fifteen days earlier at Sengen shrine in Suruga (presently Shizuoka).¹⁹⁰ For that performance, the 52-year-old veteran performer received high praise from all spectators, although he left the challenging roles to younger players and took to the stage only to spectacularly perform a small, uncomplicated role.¹⁹¹ When Kan'ami died, a 22-year-old Zeami stepped in to lead their troupe. The brevity of his own career as a *chigo* and his father's death brought Zeami face to face with the transience of success. As a young troupe leader, his responsibilities must also have weighed hard on him.

While Zeami confronted the challenges of entering adulthood, Inuō took the capital by storm, a player whose name is translatable as “Dog-king.” Inuō and Zeami knew and respected each other. As mentioned, he and Kan'ami had both trained with the *dengaku* star Itchū. Inuō must have deeply admired Kan'ami because after Zeami's father's death, he sent two monks regularly each month to

¹⁸⁹ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 303; cf. Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 37 and p. 46.

¹⁹⁰ The Yūzaki troupe was probably invited by the Imagawa family, governors of Suruga. Omote Akira and Amano, *Nōgaku no rekishi*, p. 35.

¹⁹¹ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 19. In describing his father, Zeami sees this as the height of the flower, as blossoms on an old tree. Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 20.

pray for his repose.¹⁹² Inuō's date of birth remains obscure. Zeami's mention of him as an artistic forebear suggests he was older than Zeami.¹⁹³ However, Inuō must be younger than Kan'ami considering also the intensity of Inuō's activities after Kan'ami died. Inuō was active as a performer from before Ōan 6 (1373) until Ōei 15 (1408) and died in Ōei 20 (1413).¹⁹⁴ At his final recorded performance in Ōei 15 (1408), he performs in front of the emperor, suggesting he is still at the peak of his abilities. Therefore, he could not be as old as Kan'ami, who would have been 76 had he been alive in Ōei 15. As players in service at the shogunal court, Inuō and Zeami must have been able to work together.¹⁹⁵ Therefore, Inuō and Zeami's relationship was clearly amiable rather than competitive.

¹⁹² Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 301.

¹⁹³ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 261.

¹⁹⁴ Ōan 6 (1373) is the year of Sasaki Dōyo's death, and Dōyo praised Inuō's singing. Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 278. Ōei 15 (1408) is the date of Emperor Gokomatsu's visit to Yoshimitsu at the Kitayama Palace and the last historical record of performances by Inuō. Ichijō Tsunetsugu, *Kitayama-dono gyōkō ki*, p. 926; Yamashina Noritoki, *Noritoki kyōki*, p. 838 and p. 927. For documentation of Inuō's death, see Mansai, *Mansai jugō nikki*, p. 170; *Jōrakuki*, p. 171.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 40.

Inuō was a member of the Ōmi Hiei troupe, a *sarugaku* troupe affiliated with Hiei Shrine (known now as Hiyoshi Shrine) at the base of Mt. Hiei.¹⁹⁶ The shrine was a part of the religious complex of the powerful Enryakuji Temple on the same mountaintop. Rath points out that with such connections to the religious, political, military complex at the top of the mountain, the troupes of Hiei Shrine “were situated to obtain the patronage of one of the largest landowners and most powerful political forces in medieval Japan.”¹⁹⁷ Indeed, Zeami relates that in their daily lives Ōmi players comported themselves in a vulgar manner inappropriate for *sarugaku* players but resembling the young monks who assembled at Enryakuji.¹⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the troupe’s base in Ōmi placed them in proximity to another influential patron.

Sasaki Dōyo (1306-1373), the daimyo governing Ōmi province and a patron who appreciated ostentatious social and artistic events, was Inuō’s first secular patron. Zeami notes that Dōyo praised Inuō’s singing as “the best in the realm.”¹⁹⁹ This indicates that Inuō had attained a certain level of popularity

¹⁹⁶ The Ōmi Hiei must not be confused with the other three troupes affiliated with Hiei Shrine. Cf. Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 435 n. 18; Rath, *The Ethos of Noh*, p. 95.

¹⁹⁷ Rath, *The Ethos of Noh*, p. 95.

¹⁹⁸ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 306. This is another indication that Ōmi players favored a stance with bent knees and a low center of gravity.

¹⁹⁹ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 278.

within his home province long before Zeami's career as Fujiwaka began in the capital.

However, no historical documents relate Inuō's presence in the capital before Kōryaku 2 (1380). This date falls in the period between Zeami's success as a *chigo* and as an adult *sarugaku* player. At that time, Zeami was eighteen and the last recorded event of his activities as a *chigo* lay three years in the past. As a suddenly unpopular player, Zeami must have admired if not envied Inuō's growing popularity.

Thinking back on Inuō's success later in his life, Zeami made a point to relativize Dōyo's praise for Inuō. As discussed in the first chapter, Zeami thought it necessary to establish a complementary relationship between player and patron in a performance to achieve fulfillment. That does not mean, however, artists did not seek to appeal to their audiences', including patrons' tastes. As this chapter will show, the complement Zeami spoke of occurred within a carefully built relationship of trust. Appealing to a patron's aesthetic preferences signaled that trust. At times, however, players went so far as to outwardly subvert that trust, and Inuō was just such a player. Whether that performance of subversion fully undermined the trust between player and patron is questionable. I think, however, that Inuō learned to perform subversion from his first secular patron, the subversive political and military power that was Sasaki Dōyo. Inuō's performances of subversion were credible and even permissible because of his affiliation with Dōyo. Both Dōyo and Inuō's cultural performances of subversion had real political consequences and were more than merely the creation of imaginary worlds for diversion or escape from reality.

2.1 The basara lord Sasaki Dōyō and Inuō

2.1.1 Basara and the Kenmu Code

Sasaki Dōyō tended towards subversive behavior. His affiliation with the Ashikaga was the result of repeatedly changing sides. He first served the Kamakura regime's regent Hōjō Takatoki, and after the Genkō War, by order of the Kamakura *bakufu*, escorted Emperor Godaigo into exile in the Oki Islands.²⁰⁰ He thus became familiar with the rebellious emperor. When Ashikaga Takauji, Yoshimitsu's grandfather and the first shogun of the Ashikaga regime, turned on the Hōjō, Dōyō joined him and in time became a vassal of the new shogunate.²⁰¹ After the Ashikaga enthroned Emperor Kōmyō to authorize their power, Godaigo fled to Yoshino, where he established the Southern imperial court in Kenmu 3 (1337).²⁰²

Dōyō displayed his subversive tendencies in ostentatious self-presentation, known as *basara*. *Basara* designated a sub-culture and its adherents tended towards opulent self-presentation and disruptive behavior. Matsuoka Shinpei points out the connection between *basara* style clothing and "evildoers *akutō*," an array of vagabonds, warriors, pirates, and robbers, who flaunted not only conservative standards of dress, but political and social norms.²⁰³ Because of this connection, the Kenmu Formulary (*Kenmu shikimoku*)

²⁰⁰ Ikenaga, "Sasaki Takauji."

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Satō, "Godaigo tennō."

²⁰³ Matsuoka, *Utage noshintai*, p. 26.

of Kenmu 3 (1336), the founding text of the Ashikaga government, outlawed *basara* among warriors, and that illegality was written into law the same year that Emperor Godaigo established the Southern court.²⁰⁴

Recently, [people] called *basara* like entirely inappropriate things. Twill and gauze silks (*ryōra*), brocades and embroidery (*kinshū*), finely wrought silver swords, ostentatious (*furyū*) clothes and ornaments, nothing that doesn't dazzle the eyes. Call it exceedingly insane. The rich are ashamed when they cannot attain [it]. [In terms of] impoverishing customs [there] is nothing more extreme than this. [There] really must be stricter controls (*gensei*).²⁰⁵

This document shows that *basara* designated the outward flamboyant appearance of certain people who wore this kind of extravagant if not gaudy clothing. Pierre François Souyri adds that *basara* incorporated subversive symbolism, such as a growing trend to wear masks and veils to hide faces; yellow shawls, a color designating non-human (*hinin*) status; and clothing with writing

²⁰⁴ Matsuoka, *Utage noshintai*, p. 25.

²⁰⁵ Quoted in Matsuoka, *Utage noshintai*, p. 25; cf. Varley, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and the World of Kitayama," p. 187.

or crests (*mon*) on them, symbols of subordination.²⁰⁶ Disguises and symbols that blurred distinctions among social groups or that displayed pride for conventionally discriminated status functioned as a means of challenging conventional authority. Souryi also notes that *basara* was linked to a spreading fashion of holding casual meetings for drinking and entertainment, often for composing linked poetry (*renga*) or serving tea, occasionally for gambling and rebellious plotting.²⁰⁷ For such gatherings, hosts began building designated banquet rooms (*kaisho*) detached from their homes. People of various social backgrounds gathered at these meetings. He continues that Emperor Godaigo, too, “in step with his times, brought followers and friends together in meetings devoid of protocol.”²⁰⁸ As different social groups mixed and came to know each other more intimately than conventional formality called for, they came to find and fight for common goals. As an attempt to regulate fashion with laws, the Kenmu Formulary hints at a real challenge to social order that found expression in *basara* trends in attire.

²⁰⁶ Souryi, *The World Turned Upside Down*, p. 107 and p. 109. Klaus Vollmer notes that yellow clothing was a marker for professionals attached to religious institutions and thus had a level of immunity in the central justice system. Vollmer, *Professionen und ihre »Wege« im mittelalterlichen Japan*, p. 71-72.

²⁰⁷ Souryi, *The World Turned Upside Down*, p. 172.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

2.1.2 Tanabata celebration

Despite the Kenmu Formulary regulations, Dōyo continued to be at the forefront of *basara* fashion. His ostentation may be seen in a fondness for elaborately produced social gatherings centered around the appreciation of popular-cultural luxuries at the time, including tea, linked poetry (*renga*), incense, hanging scrolls, and flower arranging.²⁰⁹ For the Tanabata festival in Enbun 4 (1359), Hosokawa Kiyouji (future regent Yoriyuki's cousin) invited the second Ashikaga shogun Yoshiakira (Yoshimitsu's father) to a poetry contest in seven hundred rounds in a play on the festival name, "the seventh evening." Considering Kiyouji a political rival, Dōyo then invited the shogun to a party on the same day.

[I] have decorated seven locations in my home, arranged seven vegetable dishes, collected seven hundred prizes, and [prepared] seventy kinds of true and divergent teas to drink.²¹⁰

True tea (*honcha*) referred to tea grown from seeds that Eisai had imported from China and given to Myōe, who had them planted in Togano, and later to tea from

²⁰⁹ Matsuoka, *Utage noshintai*, p. 28. For a description of a tea contest Dōyo hosted, see Sen, *The Japanese Way of Tea*, pp. 91-93.

²¹⁰ *Taiheiki*, p. 357. This publication is a reproduction of the popular *Taiheiki* edition *Keichō hachi-nen han kokatsujibon. Taiheiki*, p. 7; Cf. Morita, "Taiheiki no shohon," p. 106 and p. 108.

Uji, while divergent or wrong tea meant tea grown in other places.²¹¹ Guests tried to guess which teas were true and which were divergent and received prizes for correct answers.²¹² Presented with such a prospect, Yoshiakira replied that he would join Dōyo because a poetry contest might be held any day, but “the decoration of seven locations should be a novel diversion.”²¹³ Matsuoka notes that these decorations were probably rare, imported Chinese objects, concluding that the *basara* daimyo garnered Kiyouji’s resentment by flaunting his political connections and wealth, both prerequisites for acquiring such objects.²¹⁴ By creatively employing such objects in social gatherings meant to appeal to the shogun, Dōyo furthered his political agenda .

2.1.3 Hosting the enemy

Even in the midst of the war with the Southern court, Dōyo in effect hosted his enemy. In Kōan 1 (1361), as the Northern court, including Dōyo, were forced to flee the capital, the daimyo took pains to prepare his home for a general on the enemy’s side before retreating.

[Dōyo] spread rush matting with boldly emblazoned crests on the floor of the six-bay banquet chamber (*kaisho*) and arranged everything in its

²¹¹ Sen, *The Japanese Way of Tea*, p. 90.

²¹² *Taiheiki*, p. 357 n. 21.

²¹³ *Taiheiki*, p. 357.

²¹⁴ Matsuoka, *Utage noshintai*, p. 43.

proper place, from the triptych of hanging scrolls to the flower vase, incense burner, tea kettle, and server. In the study (*shoin*) he placed a Buddhist verse in grass-writing by Wang Hsi-chih and an anthology by Han Yü, while in the sleeping chamber he laid silken night-garments beside a pillow of scented aloe wood. He provisioned the twelve-bay guardhouse with three poles bearing chickens, rabbits, pheasants, and swans and with a three-*koku* cask brimming with sake. Finally, he directed two *tonseisha* to remain behind, giving them precise instructions that “if someone should come to this dwelling, greet him with a cup of wine.”²¹⁵

The mansion was prepared to host a lavish party in a meeting hall (*kaisho*) reserved for gatherings with not only the appropriate decorations and accoutrements to enjoy tea and incense, but also sufficient alcohol and abundant game for a feast. *Tonseisha*, as noted in the chapter before, were monks who served secular lords at the time of their death in their religious function and otherwise as cultural connoisseurs and practitioners. If not their religious role then their social status allowed them to move across lines of conflict.

The *tonseisha* noted here eventually welcomed Kusunoki Masanori to the house. The southern general was so pleased with Dōyo’s welcome that he restocked the supplies even more abundantly than it had been before and left a valuable sword and suit of armor as a thank you when he was himself forced to

²¹⁵ Varley, trans., in “Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and the World of Kitayama,” p. 190; Cf. *Taiheiki*, pp. 373-374.

flee.²¹⁶ The *Taiheiki*, which provides a retrospective evaluation of this event, relates primarily how ingenious Dōyo was to protect his property.²¹⁷ Matsuoka notes that the gambler “Dōyo was able to make moves in a manner that caught people by surprise, winning his bets, and without effort gaining more than he had had before and thus recovered the decorated space.”²¹⁸ Although perhaps this episode influenced Masanori’s decision to eventually contact the Northern regent Hosokawa Yoriyuki and join the Northern side in Ōan 2 (1369), Dōyo’s welcoming the enemy into his own home and bedroom might also be considered a subversive move to hedge his own wager on the outcome of the war. In that case, this move functioned as a cultural expression of military subversion.

2.1.4 *Shōjiji flower viewing*

A third event in Jōji 5 (1366) was a strategy to outdo political rival Shiba Takatsune. Takatsune had planned a flower viewing party at the shogun’s palace. Dōyo therefore planned the event of a lifetime at a temple called Shōjiji on a mountain above Ōhara. Guests could not reach the temple by carriage, and instead “pulled themselves up on green vines along a curving path passing through misty places to reach the temple dense with flowering trees.”²¹⁹ The

²¹⁶ *Taiheiki*, p. 374.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

²¹⁸ Matsuoka, *Utage noshintai*, p. 43.

²¹⁹ *Taiheiki*, pp. 443-44.

physical exertion was rewarded with a unique spectacle. First they crossed a temple veranda,

[its] handrail wrapped in gold brocade, post ornaments covered in gold foil, the boards covered in various kinds of cloth, such as thick Chinese felt, twill from the Kuaiji district, and the best brocades, and covered in fallen flowers: this place in the valley shadow instead of on the eastern side of the mountain resembled an unusual bridge covered in snow.²²⁰

Further up, an outdoor tea gathering awaited them. An incense burner in the shape of a hornless dragon head was probably a Chinese import as were the banners hung from the wisteria covered trees. This location was surrounded by a majestic mountain landscape that competed with those found in the finest Chinese ink paintings. The guests found leaving that view painful, “lamenting three times for every step away.”²²¹ They then walked into the garden at the main temple hall to find a grand setting awaiting them: four flowering cherry trees, each ten arm spans (*i*) in circumference in two three meter (one *jō*) high brass vases, and two censers filled with no less than 600 grams (one *kin*) of a famous incense filling the area with an ethereal scent.²²² In that garden, under the arranged trees, Dōyo hosted the main events.

²²⁰ *Taiheiki*, p. 444.

²²¹ *Ibid.*

²²² *Ibid.*; Matsuoka, *Utage noshintai*, p. 45.

In the shadow [of these trees] a curtain was drawn and chairs (*kyokuroku*) arranged in a row, a hundred unusual dishes were served with a hundred bowls of true and divergent tea to drink, and prizes piled high like a mountain. After a *sarugaku* player took a turn and waved the wings of the *ran* bird and *shirabyōshi* and courtesans sang about the spring bush-warbler, the people in attendance took off and threw their own *ōguchi* trousers and *kosode* robes to reward [the artists]. As the intoxication of this virtuosic entertainment mellowed and because on the way home there was no moon, torches lit the heavens.²²³

Between the arranged cherry trees, a curtain served as a backdrop, chairs (*kyokuroku*) usually used by monks were lined up for the guests, and a bountiful banquet was served while the guests played a tea game, trying to identify the true and divergent teas and seeking a share of the impressive selection of prizes. This was followed by performances by a *sarugaku* player, who danced a piece about a mythical bird (*ran*) similar to a phoenix but in the shape of a chicken, with red feathers that shimmer in various other colors, and capable of singing in the five modes.²²⁴ This was followed by the appearance of *shirabyōshi*, dancers who dressed in male clothing, and courtesans who together sang about the bush-warbler in spring. The audience was so moved by the performances that they

²²³ *Taiheiki*, p. 444.

²²⁴ *Taiheiki*, p. 444 n. 26.

took off their own clothing to give to the performers. On the way home, the night sky was lit with torches. Dōyo did not balk at any expense in his efforts to dazzle and amaze his guests by leading them into immersive experiences that appealed to all physical senses, the touch of the cloth and fallen flowers; the taste of the feast and the tea; the smell of expensive aromas; the sight of natural landscapes and exquisite; imported fabrics, scrolls, decorative items, and dances; and hearing as well, such as in the sound of the babbling brook and the performers' songs. Considering Inuō was older than Zeami, who would himself have been a toddler at this time, he could have been the *sarugaku* player who danced the role of the *ran* bird. Even if he did not assist in this event, his geographical proximity to Dōyo and Dōyo's praise for the performer still suggests Inuō would have worked to appeal to the *basara* daimyo's tastes.

2.1.5 Representation and Power

Being able to communicate with large numbers of people meant having the means to influence popular views. Political leaders interested in shaping their own public image, such as Yoshimitsu and Dōyo, knew they could shape that image by hosting ostentatious events that became the hottest gossip. This is the context in which *sarugaku* and other performing arts proved valuable.

Other warriors such as Hosokawa Yoriyuki or Imagawa Ryōshun saw representation in texts like the *Taiheiki* advantageous.²²⁵ Hosokawa Yoriyuki edited the *Taiheiki* to highlight the frugality of Ashikaga Tadayoshi (1306-1352),

²²⁵ Morita "Taiheiki no shohon," p. 105.

the first Ashikaga shogun's brother.²²⁶ According to Sather, Ryōshun writes the *Nan Taiheiki* to complain about his family's lack of representation in the warrior epic.²²⁷ As a means of securing objective knowledge about the historical past, Conlan considers using the *Taiheiki* as a reliable historical source questionable.²²⁸ This is because the *Taiheiki*, like many histories written by conquerors, served as a means to secure broad recognition for past achievements in order to maintain power and influence. *Waka* anthologies served a similar purpose for literary honor. Holding power meant being recognized as legitimate by the military elite. This military elite could potentially, by amassing wealth, troops, and symbolic capital, threaten and overtake the center of power, the shogun. For that reason, the appearance or retrospective narration of events proved at times more important than any "objective" definition of reality.

²²⁶ Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, p. 11. Gen'e (?-1350), a powerful Tendai monk, was a contributor to the Kenmu Formulary as well as editor-in-chief of the *Taiheiki*. *Kenmu shikimoku*, p. 864; Sather, "A Critique by Any Other Name," p. 43.

²²⁷ Sather, "A Critique by Any Other Name," pp. 46-47.

²²⁸ Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, pp. 12-13. Conlan's critique reflects his interest in voices from Shingon Buddhist practitioners, which are largely ignored in the *Taiheiki* because it was authored by Tendai monks. Sather notes its plurality of voices as reason to believe it "presents as objective a view of the fourteenth century as can be expected from a time when personal interest trumped all." Sather, "A Critique by Any Other Name," p. 44.

Sarugaku performances, similar to rumors, were more transient but at times captured large, even illiterate audiences and could thus shape public opinion. A *sarugaku* player's mere participation in events could have political repercussions. The law stated in the Kenmu Formulary did not refer to *sarugaku* players per se, but to excessive extravagance, referred to as *basara*. Instead, the *Taiheiki* admonished potential bribery as a result of extravagant gift-giving to *sarugaku* players.

The accompanying *tonseisha* and those gathered for spectacle—the *dengaku* and *sarugaku* players, the “castle topplers,” *shirabyōshi*, and so forth—all received [of the riches]. [The daimyo] went home empty handed without giving to the destitute and alone and without making offerings to the Buddha or giving alms to monks. [It was] similar to simply throwing gold into mud or sending jewels to the bottom of an abyss.²²⁹

“Castle topplers *keisei*” is a euphemism for beautiful women or courtesans. This description of events including *dengaku* and *sarugaku* players and other performers attaches agency to only the patrons. It laments powerful patrons' indulgence in pleasurable pastimes, which it considers wasteful, and expresses a hope that they would give their money instead to practitioners of Buddhist ritual,

²²⁹ *Taiheiki*, p. 253; cf. Sen, *The Japanese Way of Tea*, p. 92.

which it considers morally more virtuous.²³⁰ While this description demonstrates how some cultural pastimes subverted social norms, it overlooks any agency on the part of the players.

2.2 Zeami's Comparison of Ōmi and Yamato Sarugaku

As I discuss below, Dōyo's evaluation of Inuō's capabilities as a performer contradicts Zeami's. Dōyo called Inuō's singing "the best in the realm." Zeami ranks Inuō's singing within a complex, nine-level system of categories as the upper middle rank and not within the highest three ranks. I think this difference reflects Zeami's understanding of the patron-player relationship. Because Zeami noted Dōyo's praise, it is possible to understand not only Dōyo's aesthetic tastes in *sarugaku*, but also to see how this shaped the patron-player relationship.

A further means of understanding Inuō's style is Zeami's comparison between the qualities of his and his father's Yamato troupe's performances and those of Inuō's Ōmi troupe. The ability to produce *yūgen* or the lack thereof is a key point of comparison. As I will show, Zeami understands *yūgen* as a mood arising from some dynamic factors called *kakari* that have the potential to produce viscerally novel experiences. In general terms, Ōmi *sarugaku* is capable of *yūgen* and Yamato *sarugaku* is not. However, Kan'ami is an exception to the rule. In *Fūshikaden*, Zeami says his father's performances of female characters

²³⁰ This *Taiheiki* description of *sarugaku* as mere entertainment separates it from its earlier function in religious ritual.

was “in the highest style of *yūgen*.”²³¹ Roughly twenty years later, Zeami claims that those who had mastered *yūgen* were the *dengaku* star Itchū, and his *sarugaku* students Kan’ami and Inuō.²³² He remarks,

Again and again, in antiquity and in eternity, in any age, those gone and those to come, artists’ accomplishments are various, but a performer (*shite*) who achieves a universal reputation (*tenka no meibō*) does so only [on the grounds of his] style in *yūgen*.²³³

Ishii notes that universal reputation (*tenka no meibō*) included shogunal patronage.²³⁴ Thus I think Zeami understood Kan’ami’s fame and shogunal patronage as a consequence of his ability in *yūgen*. Although Zeami looked to Ōmi as a model of that aesthetic mood, he recognized Kan’ami’s success as precedent for increasing *yūgen* in his own troupe’s repertoire.

²³¹ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, pp. 42-43.

²³² Zeami, *Sandō*, p. 143.

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ Ishii, “‘Tenka no yurusare’ soshite ‘meibō,’” pp. 94-95. Ishii sees a necessary progression from universal approval (*tenka no yurusare*) to universal reputation (*tenka no meibō*), and although she notes that universal approval denotes approval in the capital, beginning with the shogun, she gives Inuō’s public performances at Ayanokōji and Kitano shrine as examples of universal approval, and these occurred before Inuō gained shogunal patronage. p. 96.

Because Zeami's descriptions of Ōmi style appear in intellectual texts he wrote at various points in his lifetime, the following analysis cannot proceed wholly chronologically. Zeami often introduces terms without explanations in one treatise and elaborates on their meaning in a later treatise. Some important descriptions of Ōmi performance can only be found in *Sarugaku dangi*, which his son Motoyoshi wrote as a consequence of conversations with his father. The *Sarugaku dangi* provides a historical context that links to Zeami's thought by using his terms, but it does not follow a strict chronological timeline. In talking about Dōyo's praise for Inuō, for example, Motoyoshi refers anachronistically to Inuō by a name he did not use until long after Dōyo's death.²³⁵ Motoyoshi also uses terms from later in Zeami's intellectual development, such as the nine ranks for evaluating performance quality, to describe events from early in his career. Because Zeami doesn't say Inuō's style changed during his lifetime, I assume consistency. For these reasons and to maintain theoretical consistency, I have assigned chronological accuracy a secondary role.

2.2.1 Dōyo's aesthetic taste and Inuō's abilities

Zeami related Dōyo's evaluation of Inuō to his son late in life and long after both Dōyo and Inuō were dead. In talking about Inuō here, Zeami and Motoyoshi refer to him anachronistically by his later name, Dō'ami.²³⁶ The play quoted here

²³⁵ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 278.

²³⁶ Kōsai notes this anachronism: Kōsai, *Zoku Zeami shinkō*, pp. 70-71.

is unknown and might be “Prayers to Buddha” (*nenbutsu no sarugaku*) because of mention of Śhakyamuni (Jp. Shaka).²³⁷

Dōami [sang], “Oh, oh how fruitless! Why were [we] not born in Shaka’s lifetime? We the unfortunates brought this on ourselves!” Although all of this music [was] unpleasant (*kitanaki*), because the *kakari* [was] interesting, Dōyo praised him as the best in the realm.²³⁸

Zeami is critical of Inuō’s musical ability as a whole. He considers song a part of music (*ongyoku*), an umbrella term that refers to poetry, sung poetry, and musical pacing. *Kakari* is also an element of music, and he praises this one element highly, as a redeeming factor to Inuō’s singing. Precisely because *kakari* can interest audiences, it fascinates Zeami, as I will show shortly.

In his own rating of Inuō’s ability in music, Zeami is a little more reserved than Dōyo. He rates his musical ability, including song, as no higher than the upper middle rank.²³⁹ This evaluation accords, as was said above, with his nine-level system for evaluating performances. This system consists of three tiers,

²³⁷ Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 278 n. “yō yō.”

²³⁸ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 278.

²³⁹ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 263. In this ranking system, Zeami rates the *dengaku* players Kiami and even Zōami’s musical ability more highly. *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 261 and p. 262.

each broken down into three further categories for a total of nine ranks.²⁴⁰ The upper middle rank corresponds with what he calls “the accurate flower style” and describes metaphorically as either “clearing mist and a sunset in which mountains turn red” or “a blue sky [illuminated by] the single point of the white sun and a clear and distant view of mountains.”²⁴¹ This level is the consummation of training in music and mimesis (elaborated in chapter 3),²⁴² but the clarity of these images lacks any ambiguity necessary to leave room for a listener to imagine the rest. In evaluating music according to the nine ranks, Zeami evaluates poetic content or lyric quality rather than musical delivery. The reason that Zeami would not agree fully with Dōyo’s praise for Inuō’s singing is not that his singing voice is unpleasant, but because his lyrics lacked poetic allusion.

While Zeami values poetic evocation, Dōyo preferred explicit description. Dōyo was a prolific *renga* poet. Kōsai argues on the basis of notes attached to his contributions to the *renga* anthology *Tsukubashū* that Dōyo hosted regular, even monthly, *renga* gatherings.²⁴³ His influence in the realm of *renga* was such that Yoshimoto recalls a period when aspiring *renga* poets looked to his work as an

²⁴⁰ Zeami, *Kyūi*, pp. 174-77.

²⁴¹ Zeami, *Kyūi*, p. 174.

²⁴² Zeami, *Kyūi*, p. 176; cf. Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 176 n. “kore wa.”

²⁴³ Kōsai, *Zoku Zeami shinkō*, p. 340.

ideal.²⁴⁴ In his own poetry, Dōyo enjoys describing landscapes. In the first seventeen contributions by Dōyo to linked poetry gatherings that are documented in the *Tsukubashū*, ten poetic links describe vast and impressive mountain scenery. One of these describes a mountain at dusk similar to Zeami's first metaphorical description of the upper middle rank. The first, indented lines here are the previous link. Dōyo's contribution constitutes the bottom lines.

ukigumo ni koso kaze wa miekere

sora wa tsuki yamamoto wa nao yūbe nite

by floating clouds

alone the wind is seen

in the sky, the moon

at the base of the mountains it still

remains evening²⁴⁵

Dōyo reads the previous poetic link about how clouds' movements suggest the presence of wind not for its quality of suggestion, but as a scenic description. The

²⁴⁴ Nijō Yoshimoto, *Jūmon saihi shō*, p. 115. Kōsai points to these circumstances—hosting regular *renga* gatherings and gaining substantial influence on *renga* style—to substantiate his belief that Dōyo trained Zeami as a child in *renga* before he gained patronage in the capital, but this thesis would require further evidence. Kōsai, *Zoku Zeami shinkō*, p. 340.

²⁴⁵ Selden, "Renga by Sasaki Dōyo," poem 405.

moon has risen above the mountain, but its base still reflects the last light of the sunset. Dōyo repeatedly reads previous links for their seasonality and time of day, which he describes scenically in his contributions. Matsuoka describes Dōyo's style in *renga* as having "on the whole a strong visual characteristic and poor suggestiveness (*yojō*)." ²⁴⁶ Suggestiveness (*yojō*) is, as described by Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen, "the overtones and ambience of a poem that cannot be wholly accounted for by the words but leak between the lines."²⁴⁷ Rather than such subtle evocation, Dōyo clearly prefers explicit expression, which his extravagant events as described above demonstrate. Within the medium that is linked poetry, that ostentation corresponds with an emphasis on explicit, visual description. Zeami and Dōyo's evaluations of Inuō's singing are different because Zeami's notion of music considers both subtle suggestion in the lyrics as well as delivery. In contrast, Dōyo's preference in *sarugaku* lyrics—similar to his own style in *renga*—lay with explicit expression rather than subtlety.

Precisely the quality of subtle suggestion that eluded Dōyo is what Zeami praises in the highest three ranks. The third highest "tranquil flower style" creates suggestiveness by not distinguishing between similar things, like "snow

²⁴⁶ Matsuoka, *Utage noshintai*, p. 41. Coincidentally, eight of his first 17 links included in Yoshimoto's *renga* collection *Tsukubashū* mention mountains. Selden, "Renga by Sasaki Dōyo."

²⁴⁷ Ramirez-Christensen, *Emptiness and Temporality*, p. 188.

piled in a silver bowl.”²⁴⁸ The second highest “flower cherishing depth style” creates suggestiveness by going beyond the quantifiable world. Zeami mentions a description of Mt. Fuji as deep and says, “height has its limits, [but] depth cannot be measured.”²⁴⁹ The highest “profound flower style” goes beyond language and beyond the reaches of the heart. At this highest level, a player does not receive praise because he achieves the feeling of no-heart (*mushin no kan*) in his audiences.²⁵⁰ By bringing audiences to the edges of their own awareness in an encounter with something truly novel, Zeami hopes to produce an experience of profundity, the world of movement that lies beyond the graspable, quantifiable world. Simply put, Dōyo did not value such ambiguity or rather such lack of precision. Therefore, as a player who developed his performance style under his patronage, Inuō did not develop that skill.

Inuō did not compose his own repertoire and was therefore incapable of improving in Zeami’s evaluation. In fact, Zeami notes that no Ōmi players composed plays.²⁵¹ This conflicts with Zeami’s view that writing libretti is the lifeblood (*inochi*) of *sarugaku* performance.²⁵² He claims that audiences will not

²⁴⁸ Zeami, *Kyūi*, p. 174.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Zeami, *Go'on* vol. 1, p. 206.

²⁵² Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 47.

pay attention to performances that are not excellent in both sight and sound.²⁵³ When a performance produces affect or feeling (*kan*) in audiences, it is the result of a player's composite performance of both interesting lyrics and movement.²⁵⁴ In other words, audiences don't differentiate between content and delivery, but see these as a single whole. Therefore, text and performance must align.²⁵⁵ Although Inuō did not compose lyrics, he did set them to music.²⁵⁶ In this way, he was able to ensure praise for his singing even if discerning critics like Zeami considered the quality of his lyrics lacking in suggestiveness. Zeami and Dōyo's evaluations of Inuō thus differed most on their estimation of literary quality and the relationship between lyric content and musical delivery.

This difference in taste between Zeami and Dōyo extends beyond poetic language to musical pacing as well. One anecdote that Zeami relates in *Shūdōsho* indicates that Dōyo might have been easily bored by mere suggestion. The quote concerns a flutist whose playing he particularly enjoyed.

Long ago, there was a talented flutist called Meishō in Yamato *sarugaku*. His ability was such that [Sasaki] Dōyo. . . felt, "It is bad that the intervals

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 48.

²⁵⁶ Zeami, *Go'on* vol. 1, p. 206.

(*ai*) in *sarugaku* stretch on, but when I hear this Meishō's flute I forget the passing of time."²⁵⁷

While Omote contends that the interval referred to here is the time between acts when the actor changes costumes,²⁵⁸ I think this interval refers rather to the pauses in song and dance that Zeami says evoke fascination in an audience.²⁵⁹ Omote notes that Dōyo's assessment refers to "intervals *ai*" while Zeami discusses musically effective pauses using the term "pause *hima*." However, this difference in vocabulary might not indicate a semantic difference, but rather a difference in lexical preference between Dōyo and Zeami. To refer to pauses in a dance performance that evoke interest in the audience, Zeami uses the phrase "pause where [one] does nothing *senu hima*."²⁶⁰ Later, he claims that the flute should sustain the appropriate feeling of mood precisely where there are pauses (*hima*) in song and dance in such a way that the audience will not perceive the flute's intervention.²⁶¹ Dōyo was uninterested in lyrical subtlety, but enjoyed skillful musical delivery as his praise for both Inuō's singing and Meishō's flute playing reveal. Meishō and Inuō were both able to successfully satisfy Dōyo's

²⁵⁷ Zeami, *Shūdōsho*, p. 238.

²⁵⁸ Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 238 n. "sarugaku no ai."

²⁵⁹ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 100.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁶¹ Zeami, *Shūdōsho*, p. 237.

tastes in *sarugaku*. Inuō's lack of poetic ability mirrored Dōyo's disinterest in suggestive subtlety. Meishō's ability to musically bridge pauses in dance or movement entertained Dōyo, who was uninterested in emotional depth.

The daimyo was more interested in actions than feelings, a quintessentially masculine male in Zeami's view.²⁶² As I showed in the first chapter, Zeami's gender scheme paired masculinity with pitiless dominance and femininity with submissive empathy. As a warlord and therefore an extremely masculine individual, Dōyo was uninterested in subtlety and inexperienced in empathy. Nonetheless, Zeami thought it necessary to complement the gender and mood of patrons. Subtlety must factor somehow in performances for warrior audiences. Meishō was able to mediate player suggestiveness and patron insensitivity with his musical accompaniment. Similarly, his skill was such that he was able to balance an exchange between two singers who sang in different musical modes.²⁶³ Meishō's sensitivity to the musical requirements in creating a fully rounded, complete performance experience in the audience's mind mediated suggestive passages for insensitive audience members. Inuō must have been able to similarly complement Dōyo's masculinity while sustaining interest.

²⁶² In his graduate seminar, Matsuoka suggested that Dōyo might have been the quintessential warrior in Zeami's eyes. His artistic taste and self-presentation resemble Zeami's later description of the warrior role as "make power the substance and be troubled at heart." Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 127; cf. section 4.2.1.

²⁶³ Zeami, *Shūdōsho*, p. 238.

Considering Zeami's thoughts that a balance between action and heart were both necessary to create fulfillment, he would have looked to Inuō not for his similarities to Dōyo, which were a given, but for his ability to complement Dōyo's mental state. Indeed, Inuō's ability in *kakari* made up for his shortcomings in song. Furthermore, his ability in corporeal movement must have been impressive. Zeami did not think Inuō's overall performances ever fell short of the highest tier.²⁶⁴ Therefore, Inuō's overall performances must have always been subtly suggestive or deeply evocative despite his lack of poetic ability.

2.2.2 Ōmi and Yamato comparison

Zeami's first mention of Ōmi *sarugaku* appears in a treatise with the postscript Ōei 9 (1402). He does not mention the dance of the heavenly woman, but does compare the artistic qualities and strengths of Yamato *sarugaku* and Ōmi *sarugaku*. Zeami's troupe dances in the Yamato style, a style also performed by the troupes Tobi (later Hōshō), Sakado (later Kongō), and Enman'i (later Konparu), which share a common place of origin in Yamato (now Nara).²⁶⁵ Zeami describes these troupe's skills in the *Fūshikaden* chapter "Ōgi ni iwaku" as "focused on mimesis and witty dialogue (*giri*) as well as the appearance of strength and of furious behavior (*ikareru furumai*)."²⁶⁶ With imitation, Zeami refers to the broad repertoire of characters he describes earlier in the

²⁶⁴ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 263.

²⁶⁵ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 41.

²⁶⁶ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 42.

“Monomane jōjō” chapter of *Fūshikaden*: Women, old men, young men (without masks), deranged characters, monks, warriors, (male) gods, and demons. Furious behavior (*ikareru furumai*) refers to warriors, gods that induce fear (as opposed to majestic gods), demons, and foreigners, those characters most closely related to the extremes of masculinity. Witty dialogue, a quality of dialogue composition in which two characters debate the true nature of life to ultimately achieve a moment of insight, was a further Yamato strength.²⁶⁷ These skills might be classified as means of explicit expression rather than of suggestion. For that reason, Zeami sought to include more poetic language in his libretti, as his father had before him. Zeami continues by mentioning that his father achieved fame (*na o eshi sakari*) because he also performed female roles like the title roles in “Yoshino Shizuka,” the *shirabyōshi* dancer Shizuka, who dances to distract her lover, the warrior Minamoto Yoshitsune’s enemies from chasing after him, and in “Hyakuman,” a madwoman who dances in praise of the Buddha at Seiryōji temple and tells her story about the loss of her son only to be reunited with him because he is also visiting the temple.²⁶⁸ Because Kan’ami is able to receive praise for performing such roles, he achieved both universal praise and reputation (*tenka no hōbi, meibō*).²⁶⁹ Zeami considers his ability the “highest style of *yūgen*.”²⁷⁰ In

²⁶⁷ For an investigation of how Kan’ami adopted elements of Zen discourse methods in his compositions of such witty dialogue, see Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, pp. 217-69.

²⁶⁸ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, pp. 42-43.

²⁶⁹ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 43.

fact, considering Zeami's abilities at suggestion in his poetry and dance performances as a *chigo*, his description of Yamato *sarugaku* as capable in explicit expression rather than suggestion probably describes Zeami's troupe's abilities more than it does his own. To increase his troupe's means of subtle communication in other areas besides composition, which Zeami was responsible for, he looked to Ōmi performance as a model.

Zeami's description of Ōmi style performances suggests that it incorporated both aristocratic elegance and imitation, a combination that appealed to Zeami because it bridged his own skill set and that of his troupe. In "Ōgi ni iwaku," Zeami uses the words *yūgen* and *kakari* to describe Ōmi performances: "establish a realm of *yūgen*, make imitation secondary, and make *kakari* the source."²⁷¹ To understand how Zeami conceives the relationship between *yūgen* and *kakari* requires surveying his subsequent thought connecting both terms.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 42. *Kakari* is at times referred to as "artistic effect." Cf. Shelley Fenno Quinn, *Developing Zeami*, p. 100. I find this translation too broad. At the other extreme of specificity, Matsuoka claims that *kakari* describes poetic and lyric factors in a performance's mood that he describes with the word "aura *aura*," while terms incorporating the glyph "wind *kaze* or *fū*" describe similar terpsichoric or corporeal factors of a performance. Matsuoka, "Kaze no Zeami," p. 313 and p. 314.

2.2.3 Kakari and Yūgen

2.2.3.1 Yūgen in "Fūshikaden"

Zeami's initial attempt to explain his understanding of *yūgen* appears in the *Fūshikaden* chapter "Kashū ni iwaku." Omote Akira estimates this text was completed in the Ōei 10s (between 1403 and 1413).²⁷² Therein, Zeami sets up a system of comparisons.²⁷³ The system is based on four interrelated qualities: strength, roughness, *yūgen*, and weakness. Two of these, strength and *yūgen*, are qualities desirable in various types of *sarugaku* performance, and the other two, roughness and weakness, have no place in good performance. He contends, however, that strength tends towards roughness and *yūgen* towards weakness.²⁷⁴ Furthermore, any attempt to make a performance have more strength or *yūgen* than is appropriate, will produce roughness or weakness respectively.

To begin with, because giving a thing that should be weak strength is deceptive, this is roughness. Making a thing that should be strong have strength, this is strength. [It] is not roughness. If in making something that should be strong have *yūgen* the imitation no longer bears a resemblance, then it is not *yūgen*, but weakness. Therefore, if [one] simply trusts in the

²⁷² Omote Akira and Takemoto, *Nōgaku no densho to geiron*, p. 54.

²⁷³ This resembles an even earlier though not nearly as refined thought. Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 35.

²⁷⁴ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 50.

imitation, slips into the entity [to be imitated], and [there] is no deception, then there should be no roughness or weakness.²⁷⁵

Zeami's understanding of deception is a lack of faithfulness in imitation and not the fact that a player is presenting a fictive world. He goes on to elaborate the important role librettists play in establishing believability.²⁷⁶ Players' primary interest should be in creating believable narratives. Players who attempt to introduce a quality that distorts the narrative invite skepticism about the world they present. Therefore, Zeami suggests that the qualities strength and *yūgen* naturally arise from any given character. Furthermore, the qualities strength and *yūgen* function as moods rather than as essences. They color characters' appearances, suggesting their state of mind and potential, instead of defining their being.

Zeami's examples of entities and characters that naturally produce impressions of *yūgen* or strength suggest that strength is a natural quality related to masculinity and *yūgen* is naturally related to femininity. Strength appears in characters such as "warriors (*mono no fu*) and violent foreigners (*ara-ebisu*), as well as demons and gods," which belong to "the class of pine and cedar" trees.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 51.

²⁷⁷ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, pp. 50-51.

In contrast, he claims *yūgen* appears among “imperial consorts (*nyōgo*),²⁷⁸ imperial concubines (*kōi*),²⁷⁹ courtesans (*yūjo*),²⁸⁰ sensualists (*kōshoku*), and beautiful men (*binan*),” which belong to “the class of flowers.”²⁸¹ Like masculinity and femininity as in masculine moments and feminine moments, *yūgen* crosses any boundary between the sexes. It includes beautiful men and people who enjoy their sexuality, whom he calls sensualists and thereby does not explicitly identify as either male or female.²⁸² While warriors, demons, and gods are physically

²⁷⁸ Royall Tyler explains this title was held by women “whose father was at least a Minister or a Prince” and who had the rank necessary to potentially become Empress. Tyler, *The Tale of Genji*, p. 1162.

²⁷⁹ Tyler translates this court title as “intimate,” explaining that this word “literally refers to someone who dresses the Emperor.” Tyler, *The Tale of Genji*, p. 1165.

²⁸⁰ Goodwin reads the same glyphs as *asobi*, defining the occupation as “sexual entertainers who specialized in singing popular songs and performing for the aristocracy” in port towns and on small skiffs used to approach traveler’s boats. Goodwin, *Selling Songs and Smiles*, p. 177.

²⁸¹ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 50.

²⁸² Goodwin reads the word as *irogonomi*, defining the person as “one skilled in romance or fond of sexual pleasure,” and not necessarily with pejorative connotations: Goodwin, *Selling Songs and Smiles*, p. 179. Omote Akira understands the person as a “beautiful woman (*bijo*):” Zeami *Zenchiku*, p. 51 n. “*kōshoku*.” The term appears also in Zeami’s rules for performers, who should

dominant, imperial consorts, concubines, courtesans, and so forth are rather physically submissive. Within that spectrum, Zeami suggests beautiful men and sensualists are rather submissive than dominant.

These examples also demonstrate that although the model for *yūgen* is aristocratic and closely related to aristocratic poetic aesthetics, Zeami fosters the development of *yūgen* in characters of very different social classes. He is fully aware that performances must conform to aristocratic tastes. At the beginning of “Monomane jōjō,” he explains how status differences between performers and patrons should influence material selection and development.

[One] should take pains to imitate the manner of the higher classes and the behavior of court poetry and music (*kachōfūgetsu*) in detail. In the case of country folk (*denbu*) and bumpkins (*yajin*), [one] should not imitate [their] vulgar behavior too exactly. [One] should exactly imitate woodcutters, grass mowers, charcoal burners, and salt makers and such by fully adopting their behavior. [However, one] should not imitate more vulgar, inferior classes that precisely. [Such sights] should not be presented before elites’ eyes. If [they] see [as much], there will be no point of interest because of excessive vulgarity.²⁸³

not indulge in “sensuality (*kōshoku*), gambling, and excessive drinking.” *Fūshikaden*, p. 14. Therefore, I read this designation as not gender specific.

²⁸³ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 20.

In this passage, Zeami mentions two spheres of affinity: In one sphere, elite patrons educated in poetry know the world through their poetry, and in the other, professional performers live in a world that comes into contact with that of their illustrious patrons only occasionally, but includes the lower and lowest classes of society. Zeami allows precise imitation of the occupations of woodcutters, grass mowers, charcoal burners, and salt makers only because these appear in poetic contexts as idealized occupations. For that reason, aristocratic audiences educated and socialized in the poetic tradition are likely interested in seeing behavior related to these occupations.

Zeami uses the word “vulgar” (*iyashi*) to refer primarily to language that is not poetic and vicariously to the occupations that do not appear in poetry.²⁸⁴ Thus Zeami identifies appearance in poetic contexts as the differentiating factor between non-aristocratic people who belong to the sphere of characters acceptable for elite consumption and those unacceptable for their consumption. A performer’s own encounters with common people beyond the sphere of high society are too vulgar, but that does not necessarily preclude all presentation of commoners’ issues from the stage. Rather, they must be formulated in such a way as to meet with elite audiences’ interest.

Imperial consorts and imperial concubines belonged to the area of society closed to Zeami. In writing about imitation, he notes that “Concerning the imitation of imperial consorts, concubines, and such, because [one] cannot see

²⁸⁴ Cf. *Fūshikaden*, p. 14 and p. 48; *Shudōsho*, p. 239.

their behavior easily, [one] must inquire very carefully.”²⁸⁵ However, because courtesans and sensualists mingled with the aristocracy and appear in some poetry, Zeami does not consider them “vulgar” but indeed as representatives of aristocratic aesthetic qualities. These women were visible in Zeami’s daily life, and he notes that “concerning the *kakari* of women [one sees in] the everyday world, because [one] can see them every day, [performing them] should be very easy.”²⁸⁶ Thus, although Zeami has to deal with issues of class insofar as his own status limits contact with some models of *yūgen*, he claims that class is not a defining factor in the potential to produce *yūgen*. *Sarugaku* players like Zeami and Inuō, who were men of the lowest status in capital society, were also capable of performing *yūgen*.

What I find interesting here is that Zeami begins to suggest that while feminine submission is the opposite of masculine dominance, femininity is not simply weakness. It is not simply a lack of the physical strength present in masculinity but has some sort of ability that masculinity lacks. At this point, that

²⁸⁵ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 21.

²⁸⁶ Ibid. Therein, Zeami writes of “everyday women” to refer to “dancers, *shirabyōshi*, and also deranged [women].” *Shirabyōshi* were also “sexual entertainers who specialized in dancing and singing.” Goodwin, *Selling Songs and Smiles*, p. 29 and p. 181. Zeami’s reference to dancers and *shirabyōshi* emphasizes the performance skills of sexual entertainers that were easily transferrable to the stage.

capacity appears to be *yūgen*, but this is not Zeami's final answer, as the following sections will show.

2.2.3.2 *Yūgen* in *Kakyō*

In *Kakyō*, completed between Ōei 25 (1418) and Ōei 31 (1424), Zeami's list of potentially *yūgen* characters extends to cover the whole range of social statūs. He still holds up aristocrats as a model of *yūgen* in human comportment and language,²⁸⁷ but his list of character types that are capable of producing *yūgen* includes not only "high rank (*jōrō*) and low rank (*gerō*), men and women," but also "[Buddhist] monks and lay people, country bumpkins and ruffians, beggars and pariahs."²⁸⁸ However, he says that these kinds of characters should "all look similarly as if [they] are decorated with one cluster of flowers each."²⁸⁹ Zeami elaborates,

Although the details of each person differs, the flower of beauty identified [in each case] should be the same flower for them all. . . . That which shows the figure to advantage is the heart. The heart is what should thoroughly understand this pattern (*kotowari*), learn the way of poetry to attain *yūgen* in words, learn the basics of style in dress to attain *yūgen* in figure, and know in all things without exception the seed of *yūgen*, how to

²⁸⁷ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 97.

²⁸⁸ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 98.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

carry the single *kakari* that appears beautiful in all the various [roles of] imitation.²⁹⁰

No matter what status, occupation, or sex, all beings have within them the potential for beauty, the seed of *yūgen*. That potential lies within the heart of a person. “Heart” refers to mental state or awareness and is therefore subject to and capable of change. The correct care in developing *yūgen* in language and appearance is through education in poetry and dress. Kimbrough suggests that effective communication that is produced sincerely and that creates an emotional impact may be characterized as the communication of phenomenal patterns (*kotowari*).²⁹¹ Only by learning what recurring pattern (*kotowari*) in phenomena people call beautiful can a player begin to replicate that pattern faithfully in his own performances. That pattern is a pattern of change and transformation. It flows. Therefore, a unique (singular) dynamism appears in all instances and produces *yūgen*. As I will show, that dynamic cannot be grasped conceptually. Instead, a performer must be able to identify the potential for *yūgen* however small in any character’s dynamic presence. That ability requires

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Kimbrough, “Reading the Miraculous Powers of Japanese Poetry,” p. 23. Kimbrough compares *kotowari* to Buddhist magical incantations (Sk. *dharani*) and notes that this understanding of *dharani* in poetry was lost in the Nativist movement. “Reading the Miraculous Powers of Japanese Poetry,” p. 1 and p. 25.

training and refinement through repeated attempts to see what poetic and corporeal dynamics give rise to that beauty. The ability to identify and imitate that *kakari* must be thoroughly learned to be able to produce an impression of *yūgen* in performances of all kinds of characters.

2.2.3.3 Nijō Yoshimoto on Kakari

Zeami makes a parallel between carrying a single *kakari* of beauty and the seed of *yūgen*. While *yūgen* is a kind of flower, its seed is *kakari*. Indeed, he considers *kakari* the source of *yūgen*. As mentioned, Ōmi players “establish a realm of *yūgen*, . . . and make *kakari* the source.” This understanding of a causal relationship between *kakari* and *yūgen* probably stems from his contact with Yoshimoto and suggests an exchange of ideas between the two. For Yoshimoto, *yūgen* is an effect achieved as the result of *kakari*.²⁹² Zeami reveals Yoshimoto’s influence on his thought when he explains *kakari* in purely linguistic terms, saying, “*kakari* is the transition from word to word.”²⁹³ For Zeami, *kakari* bridges the gaps between the elements with recognizable form, i.e. words.²⁹⁴ Shelley

²⁹² He cites Junkaku as saying, “*kakari* became *yūgen*.” Nijō Yoshimoto, *Jūmon saihi shō*, p. 112. Fenno Quinn bases her readings of Yoshimoto and Zeami on this relationship. Fenno Quinn, *Developing Zeami*, pp. 88-93 and p. 96.

²⁹³ Zeami, *Ongyoku kuden*, p. 75; Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 104.

²⁹⁴ Fenno Quinn says *kakari* “bridge[s] the gap between the formal aspects of the chanted line and the overall mood that materializes in

Fenno Quinn says that *kakari* is how language unfolds over time.²⁹⁵ Time, however, is a conceptual system used to quantify change or transformation. Therefore, to say that *kakari* refers to qualities of language progression is even more precise. Furthermore, there are many kinds of *kakari*. Yoshimoto claims that a poem will reveal its author's *kakari*. He explains that poetry by Teika, Shunzei, and Teika's son Tameie can be identified because of the differences in their *kakari*.²⁹⁶ *Kakari* is also a marker of skill, even musicality: the same words uttered by an untrained person and by a trained poet will sound completely different because of differences in *kakari* according to Yoshimoto.²⁹⁷ Therefore, *kakari* designates a dynamic quality similar and at times touching on musicality that reveals character and refinement. By considering *yūgen* a product of refined *kakari*, Yoshimoto asks not what *yūgen* is but *how* it functions and develops amid constant transformation.

Yoshimoto talks about a plurality of *kakari* qualities because he claims that each person has a unique *kakari*. Zeami mentions a singular *kakari* that produces *yūgen*. I assume Yoshimoto's understanding of a causal relationship between *kakari* and *yūgen* and of character-specific qualities of *kakari* influenced Zeami and read his "singular" *kakari* not as a particular rhythm, for example, but performance." Fenno Quinn, *Developing Zeami*, p. 94. I would reformulate this to say *kakari* gives rise to mood, which cannot *materialize* because it is immaterial.

²⁹⁵ Fenno Quinn, *Developing Zeami*, p. 93.

²⁹⁶ Nijō Yoshimoto, *Jūmon saihi shō*, 109.

²⁹⁷ Nijō Yoshimoto, *Jūmon saihi shō*, 115.

more broadly as a single factor in a character's mood or aura that has the potential to develop into *yūgen*. He thus thinks that under scrutiny all people, no matter what their social status, have an internal dynamism that might be refined into *yūgen*. It is possible to develop *yūgen* from different kinds of *kakari*, but the ability to identify that singular potential can only be acquired through practice.

2.2.3.4 *Yūgen* and Demons

Zeami asserts even demons can be performed with an element of *yūgen*. He previously considered demons the quintessence of strength, insinuating that they are the antithesis of *yūgen*. Six years after his earlier writing on *yūgen*,²⁹⁸ Zeami says even demons can have *yūgen*.²⁹⁹ This is only possible if they have a beautiful dynamism (*utsukusiki kakari*).³⁰⁰ That *kakari* is analogous to the *kakari* in the various media of music, dance, and imitation.³⁰¹ In time, Zeami claims in *Shikadō* that early training in music and dance before learning imitation is the

²⁹⁸ The “Kashū ni iwaku” chapter of *Fūshikaden* does not have a dated colophon. “Besshi kuden” is dated Ōei 25 (1418). Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 65. Omote Akira suggests that Zeami thoroughly revised parts of *Fūshikaden* ca. Ōei 20 (1413), but claims this applies to the first five *Fūshikaden* texts. Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, pp. 436 n. 20. The colophon to *Kakyō* contains the date Ōei 31 (1424). Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 109.

²⁹⁹ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 97.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

common root for all performances of *yūgen* throughout a player's subsequent lifetime.³⁰² Furthermore, the type of demon that Zeami expresses a preference for in *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu* is none other than one who has "the shape of a demon and the heart of a human being."³⁰³ If it has a human heart, even a demon can have an element of the beautiful *kakari* that gives rise to the feminine or empathic mood of *yūgen*. This possibility indicates that masculinity and dominance on the one hand and femininity and submission on the other are two extremes of a spectrum, but are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

As noted above, physical strength lies within the capacity characteristic of masculinity and dominance, of demons and warriors. Considering that *yūgen* describes a kind of beauty often ascribed to femininity and considering that the potential for *yūgen* lies in the heart, I find it easy to believe that feminine abilities have something to do with the heart. Again, Zeami later states this explicitly when he reconsiders the role of heart after mentioning in *Kakyō* that to perform feminine characters players should perform "without carrying power (*chikara*) in [their] hearts" and to perform furious roles players should "carry power in their hearts, take a very strong physical stance, and as such stand and move vigorously."³⁰⁴ People with a feminine refined capacity for empathy can employ their familiarity with emotional landscapes for example to provide comfort or to write poetry. This awareness holds the capacity for *yūgen*. Zeami attributes this

³⁰² Zeami, *Shikadō*, p. 112.

³⁰³ Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 128.

³⁰⁴ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 86.

capacity for empathy to femininity. He states as much in *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu* when he says the feminine role, “should be called the foundational style of *yūgen*.”³⁰⁵ Feminine *yūgen* lies diametrically opposed to masculine physical strength on his gender spectrum. It also functions more flexibly and more dynamically than its opposite. Zeami refers to that flexibility and dynamism as *kakari*, the prerequisite for *yūgen*. Only by accommodating *kakari*, the dynamics of change that drive transformations in feelings and appearances, when encountering others can a person achieve *yūgen*.

2.2.3.5 Ōmi and Yūgen

As revealed in the analysis of Yoshimoto’s notions of *kakari*, he thought that *kakari* not only produces *yūgen* but also reveals character. *Kakari* is the dynamic qualities that give rise to various characters or styles. If a performer can adopt various kinds of *kakari* to imitate others, he will be able to create a range of dramatic characters that are more viscerally convincing than symbolic methods of representation. Zeami does not mention Yoshimoto in his thought on *yūgen* and *kakari*, but the way Yoshimoto understands the relationship between *yūgen* and *kakari* fits with Zeami’s description of Ōmi performance style in the *Fūshikaden* chapter “Ōgi ni iwaku.”³⁰⁶ There he says, as previously mentioned, that they “establish a realm of *yūgen*, make imitation secondary, and make *kakari*

³⁰⁵ Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 126.

³⁰⁶ Cf. Fenno Quinn, *Developing Zeami*, p. 93.

the source.”³⁰⁷ By comparing this description to Zeami’s description of his own troupe’s abilities directly thereafter, it becomes clear that with imitation he means predominantly the imitation of extremely masculine characters like demons and warriors. Ōmi performers sideline this kind of demonstrative performance and instead focus on *yūgen* and its source in *kakari*. Thus, while Yamato performances present dramatic narratives, Ōmi performances present the creation of experiential realms of aesthetic encounter (*yūgen*). Whether Zeami understands *kakari* only as a musical factor or potentially as a corporeal factor as well requires further investigation.³⁰⁸ However, *kakari* does not produce only *yūgen*.

2.2.4 *Kakari and Feeling*

Kakari can produce any number of moods, including *yūgen*. In his description of Ōmi performance as recorded in *Sargaku dangi*, Zeami explains the potential for *kakari* to give audiences a visceral experience.

³⁰⁷ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 42.

³⁰⁸ Fenno Quinn also points out that *kakari* does not describe choreography. *Developing Zeami*, p. 51-52. Matsuoka claims that flow describes poetic and lyric factors in a performance’s mood while terms incorporating the glyph “wind” (*kaze* or *fū*) describe terpsichoric or corporeal factors of a performance. “Kaze no Zeami,” p. 313.

The Ōmi [performers'] *kakari*, even when [they] come to a standstill that lets [audience members] gasp Ah!, doesn't leave so much as dew on the heart, but fluidly makes only *kakari* its source. . . . Particularly Inuō's. . . relation to *kakari* (*kakaru kakari*) was spontaneously (*onozukara*) interesting, [but] now Ōmi [performers] do not achieve [it] and create the guise, while meanwhile the music and atmosphere drag.³⁰⁹

Zeami praises Inuō as a paragon of Ōmi performance. Even a standstill does not interrupt the performance dynamism in such a way as to leave a lingering impression of that break. Of all patrons, Dōyo would have appreciated this continuity as seen in his praise for the flutist Meishō above. This dynamic quality leads audience to find the experience of the performance itself rather than anything the performance references, relates, or represents interesting. Unlike Yamato *sarugaku*'s narrative-based performances, Ōmi *sarugaku*'s experience-based performances draw its audiences into an aesthetic experience characterized by a sensitivity to constant change and movement.

Zeami describes the audience's reaction to a performance characterized by *kakari* as a spontaneous process. Mention of the performance causing the

³⁰⁹ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 264.

audience to “gasp Ah!” (*atto iwasuru*) echoes Zeami’s treatment of “feeling” (*kan*) in *Kakyō*.³¹⁰

Above the level of interest, there is a layer (*jū*) where [audience members] exclaim “Ah!” without being aware of it in their hearts. This is feeling. This is a matter of having a feeling before even thinking it is interesting because even the heart is unaware.³¹¹

Feeling precedes an impression that it is “interesting” (*omoshiroki*). Kōsai warns against reading this as a description of “popularity in the bad sense of showing off.”³¹² Rather, feeling is making audiences find themselves inadvertently “gasping Ah!” and this unexpectedness develops into a sense that the performance is interesting.³¹³ This visceral feeling necessarily happens before the knowledge that something is interesting. The latter “spontaneously” (*onozukara*) arises from the former. Feeling in this sense is a process of realization initiated by somatic stimuli. Zeami continues by explaining how this feeling does not always coincide with heart:

³¹⁰ Kōsai points out that “gasping Ah!” appears in both the *Sarugaku dangi* description of Ōmi performances and in Zeami’s *Kakyō* description of feeling. Kōsai, *Zeami shinkō*, p. 289.

³¹¹ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 95.

³¹² Kōsai, *Zeami shinkō*, p. 289.

³¹³ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 95.

This [feeling] is called untempered. Therefore, in the *I Ching* when writing the glyph for feeling 感, there is no heart radical 心 below it, leaving only 咸 to be read feeling (*kan*). This is because true feeling arises at the edge of no-heart (*kokoro mo naki kiwa*).³¹⁴

Omote Akira notes that this reading of the *I Ching*'s typography is reminiscent of Neo-Confucian Cheng-Zhu School readings that influenced Buddhist philosophy, but Zeami uses this anecdotal insight for his own intellectual purposes rather than argue his use of any specific source or philosophical worldview.³¹⁵ Although some scholarship attempts reading no-heart as the erasure of consciousness, I find this misleading because it suggests a comatose state that is unproductive.³¹⁶ No-heart (or no-mind, depending on the translation) is redolent with Buddhist

³¹⁴ Zeami, *Kakyō*, pp. 95-96.

³¹⁵ Ng mentions Rinzai Zen monk Gidō Shūshin, advisor to both Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and Nijō no Yoshimoto, punctuated a Chinese textbook for the *Book of Changes* that combines Zhu Xi and Cheng Yi commentaries: Ng, "The History of 'I Ching' in Medieval Japan," p. 30. Both also influenced the formation of the Cheng-Zhu school: Cf. Wilson, "The Ritual Formation of Confucian Orthodoxy and the Descendants of the Sage," p. 560. On Yoshimitsu's relationship with Gidō Shūshin, cf. Varley, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and the World of Kitayama," pp. 195-96.

³¹⁶ Cf. Nishihira, *Zeami no keiko tetsugaku*, p. 123.

overtone suggesting enlightenment (*satori*).³¹⁷ Michiko Yusa explains that no-heart refers to an awareness free of symbolic value “which is universally shared by all, but consciously apprehended by only those who have had the *satori* experience.”³¹⁸ Although it is possible to argue that Zeami is in some way enlightened because of his greater understanding of no-heart, he does not pursue that understanding with any clear intention to escape samsara until he enters a monastery late in life, instead taking advantage of that understanding professionally for fame and monetary gain. Thus, although Zeami claims it is possible to perform in what might be called a “pre-self-conscious” state, that ability is put to self-conscious use.³¹⁹ Neither does Zeami require his audiences to be masters of meditation. Feeling, in this case the first response to novelty and thus the first hint of something new, arises according to Zeami at the edge between awareness and unawareness or beyond awareness altogether. To use Yasuo Yuasa’s vocabulary, it arises at the boundary between bright and dark consciousness.³²⁰ Zeami says that this experience is “untempered” (*konzen*), meaning no symbolic values contort or confuse the experience. The experience of

³¹⁷ For an analysis of the Buddhist and Daoist (Dao De Ching) influences on Zeami’s understanding of no-heart, see Fenno Quinn, *Developing Zeami*, pp. 226-32.

³¹⁸ Yusa, “Riken no Ken,” p. 340.

³¹⁹ Yusa uses the word “pre-self-conscious” to describe no-heart: Yusa, “Riken no Ken,” p. 342.

³²⁰ Yasuo Yuasa, *The Body*, p. 61.

feeling does not “mean” anything. It simply is. Only after feeling something can a person ascribe concepts, naming emotions, ideas, or things to that something in order to report about the experience to others. As Nishihira Tadashi explains, the performer’s “no-heart is not submersion nor self-inebriation but rather the inchoate movement of a new heart always within no-heart.”³²¹

No person can turn off the movement that leads to thought. A performer should be able to observe new stimuli as they arise and before they become fully fledged thoughts. As a performer, Zeami wishes not to report his thoughts to his audiences but rather to watch them engage in precisely such visceral experiences of realization. That place where audiences experience no-heart is “close to the place of profundity.”³²² Furthermore, *yūgen* is also a mood “somewhat close to the place of profundity” (*myōsho ni sukoshi chikaki*).³²³ Although Zeami lets his audiences make of the experience what they will, he hopes that by bringing them to the edge of their own awareness he will acquaint them with profundity, and thus produce interest in their hearts.

One effective way of letting his audiences experience profundity that Zeami discovers early on in his reflections is through music and sound. Zeami encountered the efficacy of song and melody in bringing audiences to the edge of awareness when he saw performances by Inuō or Meishō. Not any explicit words or symbolism, but the *kakari* of their music and how that *kakari* permeated

³²¹ Nishihira, *Zeami no keiko tetsugaku*, p. 133.

³²² Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 101.

³²³ *Ibid.*

corporeal movement in dance brought audiences to the edges of their awareness, where they encountered true novelty. *Yūgen* describes one kind of mood in that kind of encounter, strength another mood.

2.2.5 Heart in the Player-Patron Relationship

Because Zeami and Motoyoshi documented information about Inuō's performances long after his death, whether Inuō's performances inspired Zeami's thought about feeling remains wholly unclear. However, to fully describe feeling in the player-patron relationship, Zeami has to develop his understanding of unequal awareness in that relationship, as seen in his emphasis on secrecy in the first chapter. The player already knows his performance, which the audience experiences as novel. The audience cannot tell the difference between its experience and the processes that produce that experience, but the player must observe both. Zeami uses a metaphor about puppetry to illustrate this difference between the performer and the audience's awareness of the same events:

In performance, too, mimesis is like puppetry. What carries it is the heart. Other people should not be able to see precisely this heart. If they see it, it is as if they can see the puppets' strings. [I] repeat, the heart is like a string, unbeknownst to others connecting myriad competences. If it is this way, competence has life (*inochi*).³²⁴

³²⁴ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 100.

The performer must factor in his abilities in order to produce an effect, but that does not mean that the audience will perceive or should perceive each individual factor. Although the performer seeks to empathize with the audience, both by modeling desirable audience behavior and by “watching” the performance from the audience’s perspective (*riken no ken*), there is yet one small part of his awareness that must remain hidden.

Nonetheless, it is bad if others can see this kind of awareness. If it is seen, it becomes skill. [In that case,] it is not a pause (*senu*). Attaining the level of no-heart and with the ease of heart which hides one’s own perspective from oneself, [one] must connect before and after the pause (*senu hima*). This is [none other than] the power of feeling that connects the myriad things with one heart (*isshin*).³²⁵

As Nishihira explains, a performer retain or rather return an awareness for their own perspective, which Zeami calls “one heart” (*isshin*).³²⁶ A sliver of heart remains within the performer’s no-heart. That sliver of active awareness is necessary in order to give the performance vitality. Sustaining care in a corner of his heart, the performer creates an atmosphere of interest, but Zeami warns that this corner must remain hidden from the audience just like the player’s knowledge of yin and yang moods during a performance. While the audience

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Nishihira, *Zeami no keiko tetsugaku*, p. 134.

knows *that* something novel happens, only the performer knows how to *let* it happen. This is the subtle difference between the audience's experience and the performer's experience of a performance. While it remains unclear whether Inuō inspired this development in Zeami's thought, at the very least performances by Inuō—and Meishō and perhaps other players in service whose performances Zeami witnessed—provided Zeami with a few experiences of novelty from the point of view of an audience member.

2.3 In Sum

Ōmi performers like Inuō were able to draw on their ability in accommodating *kakari* in order to create visceral feelings in the hearts—or rather the “no-heart”—of their audiences. While “heart” refers to mental or internal awareness, Zeami uses “feeling” (*kan*) to describe the acquisition of somatic information that often occurs at the edge or beyond the edge of awareness. Thus, “feeling” functions to inform “heart.” As mentioned earlier, “feeling” can give rise to an audience inadvertently “exclaiming ‘Ah!’” in response to a performance. It is difficult to achieve that effect on audiences because an audience comes to a performance expecting novelty. However, satisfying that desire means going beyond that expectation. Zeami moves his performance goal away from intellectual or clever displays of novelty to the more subtle, natural processes of realization or ideation, the processes by which human beings become aware of their situation at any given moment. This is a matter of breaking up the everyday tendency to jump to conclusions, which might also be described as the tendency to overlook what is self-evident or rather

preconceived and at times biased. As discussed above, what precedes such an impression of novelty—or to use Zeami’s word “interest”—is “feeling.”

As Zeami’s description of Ōmi performance as having a *kakari* that spontaneously creates interest indicates, not every person is aware of or reflective about the process of how the thought “this is interesting” wells up from vague feelings that something is not as expected. Around Ōei 29 (1422) and late in his career as he relates his memories to his son, the more aware Zeami does not hesitate to criticize Inuō’s successors’ lack of understanding for this process. Instead he says they imitate what they understand and do not successfully initiate that process. Inuō in particular was able to perform in that way by absorbing and embodying *kakari* and therefore spontaneously producing an impression of interest in his audiences. This difference between effort or active agency (necessary for imitation and representation) and the natural processes or spontaneous agency that produces interest becomes paramount as Zeami refines his thought on dance.

At the same time, Zeami’s efforts to increase *yūgen* performances by learning from the Ōmi model—and primarily Inuō’s—were extremely successful. Motoyoshi relates that players “do not learn demon roles anymore.”³²⁷ As martial leaders increasingly refined their aesthetic sensibilities, they eventually considered these roles too vulgar. That is not to say that demons were not performed at all anymore. Other Yamato troupes, specifically the leaders of the Konparu troupe, Zenchiku’s grandfather, and Kongō troupe, who were of Kan’ami’s generation, appear to have sustained the older performance styles, but

³²⁷ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 261.

they did not find acclaim in the capital.³²⁸ In *Kyūi*, Zeami notes that players should not attempt demon roles until after they have reached the highest level of accomplishment, including all three highest ranks, the “tranquil flower style,” the “flower cherishing depth style,” and even the “profound flower style” in order to sustain the suggestiveness of those ranks in demon performances.³²⁹ In a letter to his son-in-law Konparu Zenchiku, Zeami notes that demon roles are a “matter for other schools” and not for his own successors.³³⁰ Zeami continues by saying that demon roles should be left to elderly performers and he himself did not do so until after he took Buddhist vows at age sixty.³³¹ Thus, Zeami’s innovations almost completely changed his troupe’s performance practice.

Zeami’s efforts to increase *yūgen* were not merely intellectual. Zeami increased his emphases on training in song and dance, the two arts, to train in *kakari* before proceeding to mimesis. His father had introduced *kuse* dances.³³² These dances provided an opportunity for polyrhythmic innovation.³³³ However, because these dances were accompanied by sung lyrics, they contained an explicit semantic factor. A player could not reach the highest rank of

³²⁸ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 298.

³²⁹ Zeami, *Kyūi*, p. 177.

³³⁰ Zeami, *Konparu daiyū ate shojō*, p. 318.

³³¹ *Ibid.*

³³² Zeami, *Ongyoku kuden*, 77.

³³³ *Ibid.*

performance, going beyond language and beyond the reaches of the heart, with these dances. Zeami saw Inuō's heavenly woman dance as a perfect model for dances to only instrumental accompaniment. Accompanied by musicians, such as Meishō, who could sustain the continuity of a performance musically, Zeami sought to offer his audiences experiences of profundity.

Chapter 3: Yoshimitsu and Inuō's Relationship

Extremely masculine—that is to say powerful—patrons like Sasaki Dōyo or Yoshimitsu did not watch only plays about women. That would not give rise to novelty. However, simply alternating between the two poles, for example performing a play with a masculine mood and then a play with a feminine mood following it with another masculine play and back and forth, would not produce novelty either. Further innovation was necessary. One innovative play was clearly Inuō's performance of "Aoi no ue." Zeami notes this performance first in his comments about Inuō in conversations with Motoyoshi.³³⁴ In this performance, Inuō brought what Zeami would have identified as an extremely feminine character together with an extremely masculine mood. Earlier, Zeami would have considered this combination of extremes inappropriate.³³⁵ Inuō's move to perform in this style reveals nonetheless the ease with which he was able to perform subversion. In this case, subversion is not only transgressing a previous norm in aesthetic tastes but also incorporating Yoshimitsu, his patron, in the structure of the play. Thus, Inuō confronts Yoshimitsu with a character uniquely powerful and destructive yet in the realm of emotions and spirits rather than that of physicality: the vengeful ghost of Lady Rokujo from the *Genji monogatari*. However, to understand how Inuō performed "Aoi no ue" requires an appreciation for his public reputation and for his relationship with Yoshimitsu.

³³⁴ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 263.

³³⁵ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, pp. 23-24.

3.1 Inuō's Failure?

3.1.1 Hosokawa Yoriyuki and the Kōryaku Disturbance

Shortly before Inuō's appearance in the capital, a gripping series of events shook the shogunal government. At that time, Hosokawa Yoriyuki (Kiyouji's cousin) was the deputy shogun (*kanrei*), who was appointed by Yoshimitsu's father Yoshiakira on his deathbed in Jōji 6 (1367).³³⁶ As such, he held the highest possible political power when Yoshimitsu first took the office of shogun at ten years old. When a group of Ashikaga vassals led by Shiba Yoshimasa (Takatsune's son)³³⁷ marched to the Muromachi Palace, Yoriyuki was forced to resign in Kōryaku 1 (1379).³³⁸ Among the dissident military elite pushing for Yoriyuki's resignation was Sasaki Takahide, Dōyo's son.³³⁹ As tensions escalated before the march, Yoshimitsu initially sided with Yoriyuki and ordered punitive expeditions against Takahide and Toki Yoriyasu, who were gathering troops, but pardoned them shortly thereafter in accordance with a request from Yoshimasa.³⁴⁰

³³⁶ Ogawa, "Hosokawa Yoriyuki."

³³⁷ Shiba Yoshimasa's given name is sometimes read Yoshiyuki.

³³⁸ Ogawa, "Kōryaku no seihen." Akamatsu and Yampolsky note scholarship that identifies a Gozan influence on Yoshimasa through the Tenryūji monk Shun'oka Myōha. Akamatsu and Yampolsky, "Muromachi Zen and the Gozan System," p. 327.

³³⁹ Ogawa, "Kōryaku no seihen."

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

Yoshimasa, Takahide, and Yoriyasu entered the capital with their forces, surrounded the Muromachi Palace, and demanded Yoriyuki's resignation, which Yoshimitsu granted.³⁴¹ Yoriyuki fled the capital with his family and over 300 government officials on horseback after burning his own mansion.³⁴² Shortly thereafter, Yoshimasa took Yoriyuki's former position as deputy shogun, and from then on members of the Hosokawa, Shiba and Hatakeyama clans alternated in holding the position.³⁴³ Yoriyuki's resignation within the context of these events reveals, according to Ogawa, that "Yoshimitsu used the Shiba-led movement to escape his position as Yoriyuki's backer and both seize initiative within the *bakufu* and ensure the stability in the political situation."³⁴⁴ Souyri notes that this was part of Yoshimitsu's policy of alternating alliances among vassals so that he would not become a pawn to the most powerful among them.³⁴⁵ In doing so, Yoshimitsu was able to increase his own power while decreasing the size of bureaucratic institutions.³⁴⁶ Ochiai contends that Yoshimitsu did not want to

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Ibid.; Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, p. 169.

³⁴³ Cf. Ogawa, "Kōryaku no seihen;" Souyri, *The World Turned Upside Down*, p. 144.

³⁴⁴ Ogawa, "Kōryaku no seihen."

³⁴⁵ Souyri, *The World Turned Upside Down*, p. 145.

³⁴⁶ Grossberg, "Bakufu Bugyonin," p. 653.

expel Yoriyuki but did so under pressure and sought a way to bring him back.³⁴⁷ Either way, by retaining his position and not compromising his own power in this incident, Yoshimitsu successfully surfed the waves of change. Another individual to surf that wave came from the young Sasaki Takahide's province: Inuō. His appearance in the capital might have initially been a symbolic move in support of his young patron Takahide's new acclaim and influence as an affiliate of the new deputy shogun. In time, however, he served Yoshimitsu.

3.1.2 Inuō's appearance in the capital

According to available documents, Inuō appeared in the capital after Zeami ended his career as a *chigo*. As noted, the last record of Zeami's appearance as a *chigo* was in 1378 (Eiwa 4). His first recorded performances as an adult were in Ōei 1 (1394). In the meantime, he struggled to find an audience. Inuō did not struggle. In Kōryaku 2 (1380), he held public performances at the Ayanokōji dry riverbed (*kawara*) and in Eitoku 2 (1382) to a remarkably large audience at Kitano Shrine. Information about the Ayanokōji performance comes from a diary by Higashibōjō Hidenaga, wherein the aristocrat wrote that he secretly went to watch Inuō's performance.³⁴⁸ Here, an aristocrat emphasizes the difference in social spheres for aristocrats and professional performers. For Hidenaga at least, Inuō's draw was stronger than any reservations about attending a public performance. About the Kitano performance, Katakiri Noboru

³⁴⁷ Ochiai, "Inuō no jidai," p. 138 n. 3.

³⁴⁸ Quoted in Ochiai, "Inuō no jidai," p. 132.

writes that it was not a ritual performance for the god, but a performance for the various people, aristocrats, warriors, and commoners who visited the shrine.³⁴⁹ It was therefore probably a “benefit” (*kanjin*) performance. Mention of people climbing shrine buildings for a better view from the rooftops again illustrates the lengths to which people were willing to go to see Inuō perform.³⁵⁰ His star had risen.

A performer who could draw such large audiences in the capital could not remain without the shogun’s patronage for long. In a discussion about Zeami’s notions of fame, Ishii Tomoko distinguishes between “universal approval” (*tenka no yurusare*), meaning acknowledgement and patronage by the elite in the capital, first and foremost among them the shogun, and “universal reputation” (*tenka no meibō*), meaning appeal and fame that naturally followed service to the shogun.³⁵¹ She notes that the reports about Inuō’s performances to large audiences at Ayanokōji and Kitano reveal that he had attained universal approval, although at that time he was not yet in service to the shogun.³⁵² Because of his

³⁴⁹ Quoted in Ochiai, “Inuō no jidai,” p. 131.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Ishii, “‘Tenka no yurusare’ soshite ‘meibō,’” pp. 94-95. Ishii bases her distinction of the two expressions “universal approval *tenka no yurusare*” and “universal reputation *tenka no meibō*” on Omote Akira’s annotations to Zeami’s the “Nenrai keiko jōjō” chapter of *Fūshikaden*. Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 18 n. “tenka no yurusare” and “meibō.”

³⁵² Ishii, “‘Tenka no yurusare’ soshite ‘meibō,’” p. 96.

universal approval, Inuō must have quickly attained the shogun's patronage. No head of government who places as much emphasis in cultural representations of his power as Yoshimitsu did could deny the existence of such an influential performer for long.

3.1.3 *Inuō carrying a sword*

Sometime in the next few years, Yoshimitsu drew Inuō into service. There, Inuō projected an image of subversion to provoke attention. A section about appropriate attire for performers in the *Sarugaku dangi* opens with a sharp injunction that it does not behoove *sarugaku* players to have attendants carry swords for them.³⁵³ Nonetheless, Inuō did just that when out on his daily business.³⁵⁴ In response to this brazenness, Oyama Shuami, a doctor in Yoshimitsu's court, harshly scolded Inuō with the only consequence being that the sword had to be carried in a suitably nice cloth bag.³⁵⁵ This episode reveals that Inuō presented himself in everyday activities as a willful individual who ignored some social conventions. To what extent that reputation was merely a performance or reflected an actual tendency to subversion remains a matter of speculation. However, such brazenness caught the public's—including Zeami's—attention.

³⁵³ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 306.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

3.1.4 Yoshimitsu's trip east in Kōō 1

In Kōō 1 (1389), the *sarugaku* player accompanied the shogun on an official trip that lasted 23 days into the western provinces. Inuō thus accompanied Yoshimitsu on a trip that was politically important as a means of symbolically demonstrating power and of checking on his vassals. Conlan claims the trip was meant to “reinforce the notion of Japan as a mandala, and him as a *cakravartin*,” a Dharma emperor and the lord who rules the realm (*chiten no kimi*).³⁵⁶ Indeed, Yoshimitsu often wore the robes of a retired emperor at this time.³⁵⁷ This would also explain the pomp with which the travel party set out on over 100 boats across the Inland Sea.³⁵⁸ Ochiai explains that the shogun’s justifications for the trip were also to survey the strength and stance of various military lords along the route and to reestablish relations with Hosokawa Yoriyuki, perhaps with the intention of reinstating the former deputy shogun.³⁵⁹ By leaving the capital, Yoshimitsu took an opportunity to perform his power for an audience of vassals.

In that performance of power, Inuō played an important role. The records for this trip document the first known instance of Yoshimitsu’s patronage of

³⁵⁶ Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, p. xiii and p. 180.

³⁵⁷ Cf. Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, p. 181.

³⁵⁸ Ochiai, “Inuō no jidai,” p. 102. Compare also the portrait of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu in the style of retired emperors incorporating three of his own poems by Tosa Yukihiro [?] in the Rokuon-ji collection.

³⁵⁹ Ochiai, “Inuō no jidai,” p. 138 n. 3.

Inuō.³⁶⁰ During the trip, the military lords Hosokawa Yoriyuki and Ōuchi Yoshihiro gave Inuō especially extravagant gifts as a means of ingratiating themselves to the shogun.³⁶¹ This practice of rewarding Yoshimitsu's retinue with gifts reverberates with Kintada's earlier comment about lords giving the *chigo* Zeami many gifts. Indeed, Ochiai deduces from the size of gifts given to Inuō that Yoshimitsu particularly favored the Ōmi player, clearly more so than the young troupe leader Zeami, who was not on this trip.³⁶² Ishii explains this receipt of gifts fits Zeami's expression "universal reputation" because it reveals the various daimyo's respect for the shogun as much if not more so than their appreciation of the performer.³⁶³ By leaving the capital with the shogun on such a major excursion, Inuō played a different role in Yoshimitsu's political theatrics than Zeami had as a *chigo*.³⁶⁴ As Ochiai says, the reason for Inuō to be a member of the party was "not simply to provide relief from the discomforts of travel, . . . but, by bringing along an artist who was popular among the general population, to

³⁶⁰ Cf. Ochiai, "Inuō no jidai," p. 128.

³⁶¹ Ochiai, "Inuō no jidai," p. 112 and pp. 113-115. Ōuchi would later instigate the Ōei Rebellion in Ōei 6 (1399). Matsuoka Hisato, "Ōei no Ran."

³⁶² Ochiai, "Inuō no jidai," p. 121 and p. 135.

³⁶³ Ishii, "'Tenka no yurusare' soshite 'meibō,'" p. 97.

³⁶⁴ Incidentally, a child entertainer (*chigo*) named Shōjumarū also made the trip. Ochiai, "Inuō no jidai," p. 108.

project an image [of Yoshimitsu] as a patron of the arts.”³⁶⁵ By bringing a performer with ties to Dōyo, Yoshimitsu performed his own power over Yoriyuki’s adversaries in the Kōryaku Disturbance.

Inuō performed only once on this trip. When the plan to go on to Kyūshū was foiled by violent winds hampering travel, they turned back towards the capital. On the return journey, they stopped at Muro in Harima Province (now Hyōgo Pref.).³⁶⁶ There, Inuō performed a song that the lord of the province, Yamana Mitsuyuki, did not hesitate to reward with a “silver sword” (*shiro dachi*).³⁶⁷ He thus did not hesitate to ingratiate himself to the shogun. In the next section I will discuss how tensions in that relationship precipitated events that affected Inuō’s career.

3.1.5 *Yūki Mitsufuji all night party*

Seven years later in Ōei 3 (1396), Inuō played a role in a choreographed sequence of carefully calibrated political theatrics involving both the Yamashina governor Yūki Mitsufuji and Yoshimitsu.³⁶⁸ At the time, Mitsufuji was in a precarious position, as other daimyo were critical of the unusual favor he had received from Yoshimitsu after having informed him of Yamana Mitsuyuki and Ujikiyo’s intentions for an uprising in Meitoku 2 (1391). In Ōei 3 (1396), Inuō

³⁶⁵ Ochiai, “Inuō no jidai,” p. 121.

³⁶⁶ Ochiai, “Inuō no jidai,” p. 117-

³⁶⁷ Ochiai, “Inuō no jidai,” p. 118.

³⁶⁸ For a previous reference to Yūki Mitsufuji, see p. 16 note 39.

and fellow Ōmi Hiei performer Iwatō performed at an all-night party at the Mitsufuji Residence at Yamashiro.³⁶⁹ The diary *Kōryaku* by Nijō Yoshimoto's son and regent Ichijō Tsunetsugu (1358-1418) relates the incident on the fifteenth day of the eighth month:

To begin with, this morning [the fortunes of] the governor of Echigo Yūki Mitsufuji fell, and [people] say [he] is in the vicinity of Imagumano. The crowd appointed to the [Yamashiro]³⁷⁰ governor's office [faced] misfortune due to all of Yamana Ujikiyo's followers. Cannot the great Bodhisattva Hachiman divinely punish all of them? [Concerning] this matter that happened on the day of the life release ceremonies (*hōjōe*), [will] divine rebuke manifest? In this, all manner of rumors, groundless suspicions, and such arise in every direction. First according to the two children from Shōren'in Temple, Keiga and Keion, [the event] was disagreeable [because] inappropriate for the occasion. The recently [divined state of] *mō* is incurring displeasure. Last night, the *sarugaku* [player] Inuō, whose ordained name is Ken'ami, and Iwatō, who is similarly ordained [with the] name Tōami, went to the meeting at the Echigo Residence and made merry all night with song and dance. Therefore, because [Hino] Shigemitsu, acting as messenger, is hurrying to

³⁶⁹ Omote Akira, "Inuō to Iwatō," p. 407.

³⁷⁰ The original word is "Yongzhou," the name of an ancient Chinese province that was regularly used to refer to Yamashiro.

the residence to cross-examine [Mitsufuji] this morning, [Mitsufuji] is disoriented and fleeing. [People] also say this matter has its source in [Mitsufuji's] obstinacy in appointing the Nikki governor. Because [he went to] undue extremes, the lords and such are forming alliances and are preparing to petition Echigo. This matter is full of meaningless controversy.³⁷¹

This diary entry relates dire consequences because of an informal gathering. Omote Akira suggests that Yoshimitsu censured the participants because of the extravagance of the occasion.³⁷² The extravagance as such was not as problematic, however, as the inappropriate date for the event. The life release ceremony (*hōjōe*) was originally a Buddhist event at which captured animals destined for slaughter were released back into the wild, but it was also practiced at Hachiman shrines because the god of war Hachiman was considered a bodhisattva. Warriors considered the life release ceremony a measure of atonement for their sins committed in battle. The life release ceremony was celebrated annually on the fifteenth day of the eighth month at Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine, which the Ashikaga worshipped as their family shrine.³⁷³ That an Ashikaga vassal would ignore this event and instead hold an all-night party with two *chigo* companions and two *sarugau* performers seems disrespectful of

³⁷¹ Ichijō Tsunetsugu, *Kōryaku*, in DNS 7:2, Ōei 3.8.15 (p. 490).

³⁷² Omote Akira, "Inuō to Iwatō," p. 408.

³⁷³ Cf. Keene, *Yoshimasa and the Silver Pavilion*, pp. 16-17.

his lord. Therefore, Yoshimitsu sent Hino Shigemitsu, his wife Hino Yasuko's younger brother, to investigate. Sending such an important messenger emphasized the gravity of the issue. Hearing of this, Mitsufuji preemptively fled his residence in the capital and went as far as Imagumano. This narrative of the event would suggest that Inuō was complicit in undermining the shogun, his most important patron.

However, Tsunetsugu suggests another narrative of the same events in this entry. Although he claims the possibility of divine rebuke for disregarding the gravity of the day in question, he is suspicious of this narrative of careless disrespect. He mentions that, according to *I Ching* divination, the moment was designated with the hexagram “enveloping” or “youthful folly” (Ch. *méng*, Jp. *mō*). Such a designation suggests a hidden factor, a second narrative. Tsunetsugu says that Mitsufuji encountered misfortune because of Yamana Ujikiyo's followers, suggesting that Mitsufuji's leak about Ujikiyo and Mitsuyuki's rebellion to Yoshimitsu had caused conflict between Mitsufuji and the would-be rebels. He also mentions that the appointment of “the Nikki governor” was a point of strife. This refers to an incident a month earlier concerning the appointment of the governor of Ise province. At that time, tensions between Mitsufuji and the regent Shiba Yoshimasa rekindled when Mitsufuji willfully secured the appointment for one candidate although Yoshimasa disagreed.³⁷⁴ As seen in the incident of Hosokawa Yoriyuki's escape from the capital due to pressure from Yoshimasa and other daimyo, Yoshimasa was capable of calling Yoshimitsu's daimyo vassals to action against the shogun. Indeed, Tsunetsugu relates that the lords were

³⁷⁴ Ichijō Tsunetsugu, *Kōryaku*, in DNS 7:2, Ōei 3.7.12 (pp. 469–70).

forming alliances and preparing to “petition,” a euphemism for military pressure, Mitsufuji to cease taking advantage of his political influence. Therefore, Tsunetsugu suspects the event was staged to allow Mitsufuji to dodge his peers. Omote Akira and Ochiai agree that by censuring Mitsufuji’s party, Yoshimitsu was able to relieve tensions among the military lords in response to Yoshimitsu’s preferential treatment of Mitsufuji.³⁷⁵ Ochiai notes Tsunetsugu’s suspicion that the whole event was a performance.³⁷⁶ That would make Inuō complicit in a political performance put on by Yoshimitsu and his closest associates. His participation is then not truly subversive, but instead a performance of subversion. In a performance of disrespect for the shogun, he actually performed in service for the patron he was pretending to subvert.

Nonetheless, participants in the inappropriate party on the day of the life release ceremonies were quickly reprimanded. Omote and Ochiai both allow for the possibility that participating in this event might have been a mistake on Inuō’s part.³⁷⁷ In penance, Inuō and Iwatō took Buddhist vows as *tonseisha* and assumed the names Ken’ami and Gan’ami respectively. Their involvement in this event might have tarnished the players’ reputations immediately following the event, but becoming *tonseisha* did not mean joining a temple or sect or even changing their day-to-day lives to any great degree.³⁷⁸ A few days later, Mitsufuji

³⁷⁵ Omote Akira, “Inuō to Iwatō,” p. 408; Ochiai, “Inuō no jidai,” p. 136.

³⁷⁶ Ochiai, “Inuō no jidai,” p. 136.

³⁷⁷ Ochiai, “Inuō no jidai,” pp. 134-135.

³⁷⁸ Varley, “Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and the World of Kitayama,” p. 186.

also adopted a Buddhist name in a ceremony involving the prominent Zen priest Kūkoku Myōō (1328-1407).³⁷⁹ However, Mitsufuji's retreat from the realm of politics lasted only as long as the anger he had aroused among his peers. By the end of the same year, Yoshimitsu pardoned and reinstated him.³⁸⁰ Yoshimitsu was similarly magnanimous in his treatment of Inuō. At some point after this event, Yoshimitsu gave him the name Dōami, thereby bestowing a glyph from his own Buddhist name, Tenzan Dōgi.³⁸¹ This suggests that the incident did not ruin Inuō and Iwatō's careers and that Inuō probably also returned to his previous activities without extensive delay. This would indicate that Inuō's subversiveness was often a matter of mere appearances and that behind the performance he remained loyal to his shogunal patron.

3.2 Gender and Inuō's "Aoi no ue"

Inuō presented himself in everyday life as a subversive and—considering he carried a sword—rather masculine individual. Nonetheless, Zeami noted primarily his competitor's performances of complex female characters to

³⁷⁹ Ichijō, *Kōryaku*, in DNS 7:2, Ōei 3.8.15 (p. 490).

³⁸⁰ Omote Akira, "Inuō to Iwatō," p. 408.

³⁸¹ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 303. The date of this event is not marked and otherwise unknown. Omote Akira, "Inuō to Iwatō," p. 408.

Motoyoshi.³⁸² The performances that Motoyoshi documented in *Sarugaku dangi*, are the play “Aoi no ue,” the heavenly woman dance, “Nenbutsu no sarugaku,” “Morikata,” “Kowako nite naki,” and “Shisen.”³⁸³ “Aoi no ue” features the spirit of Lady Rokujō from the *Genji monogatari*, a rather feminine character albeit with violent tendencies. As its title implies, the heavenly woman dance also portrays a feminine character. The gender of Inuō’s character in “Nenbutsu no sarugaku” is unclear because the play is now lost, but Kōsai suggests it featured a feminine character.³⁸⁴ The libretto for “Morikata” is also lost, but appears to feature a masculine character who leaves his wife and mother to pursue a Buddhist

³⁸² Although the play no longer exists, in “Morikata” he plays an ostensibly male character, who while reading a sutra effectively expresses care for his wife with a glance. Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 264.

³⁸³ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, pp. 263-64 and p. 295. Omote Kiyoshi counts a total of five plays because he only considers performances with narratives plays, which discounts the heavenly woman dance. Omote Kiyoshi “Inuō to Zoami,” p. 77.

³⁸⁴ Kōsai suggests it was similar to—if not the same play as—“Hyakuman,” which features a deranged feminine character. Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 296 and Kōsai, *Zeami shinkō*, pp. 288-89. However, Zeami mentions another play entitled “Saga monogurui no kyōjo” as an earlier version of “Hyakuman.” Zeami, *Sandō*, p. 143. Omote Akira assumes Dōyo’s praise was for this lost play. *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 278 n. “yō yō.”

vocation.³⁸⁵ If “Kowako nite naki” is a precursor to the play “Danpū,” which features only masculine characters in a drama of duty and revenge, then Inuō’s role in that play must also have been masculine.³⁸⁶ Finally, “Shinsen” is probably an early version of “Kanehira,” a warrior play.³⁸⁷ Therefore, of the six performances that impressed Zeami sufficiently that he related them to his son at least a decade if not more after witnessing them, Inuō played feminine characters in three and masculine characters in the other three. While this appears to be an even balance of genders, a closer look at “Aoi no ue” will show that his feminine roles were not always submissive.

3.2.1 Summary “Aoi no ue”

The libretto for “Aoi no ue” used in modern performances opens with a robe placed at the center front edge of the main stage representing Prince Genji’s wife Lady Aoi laying sick on her deathbed. A courtier, played by the companion to the supporting actor (*wakitsure*) and serving Genji’s brother Prince Shujakuin, enters and describes the various efforts to heal Aoi to no avail: illustrious monks intoning esoteric incantations, applying medical treatment, and so on. He then

³⁸⁵ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 264.

³⁸⁶ Omote Akira notes that “Kowako nite naki” is an old version of “Danpū,” but Takemoto disagrees. Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 264 n. “kowako nite naki to iu sarugaku;” Takemoto, *Fūshikaden Sandō*, p. 439.

³⁸⁷ Omote Akira, “Inuō to Zeami,” p. 77 and Takemoto, *Fūshikaden Sandō*, p. 440.

calls for a priestess named Teruhi who is accomplished in using the catalpa bow to contact living and dead ghosts. She, whom the supporting actor (*tsure*) plays, arrives, begins chanting, and calls forth a female ghost, played by the lead (*shite*), who laments the fate of samsara alluding to the three vehicles (carriages) in the parable of the burning house in the Lotus Sutra. In the parable, a rich man, whose house is on fire, encourages his three young sons, who are still inside and oblivious to the danger they are in, to leave the house by tempting them with three carriages full of objects they desire.³⁸⁸ In “Aoi no ue,” however, Rokujō doubts her own prospects at leaving the burning house and achieving enlightenment.

Teruhi notices that she has called forth a vengeful Rokujō. She calls her visit a “second wife beating” (*uwanari uchi*), a practice in which a primary wife would assemble a group of female friends to violently confront her husband’s new wife.³⁸⁹ Although Rokujō was not Genji’s first wife, she did have another kind of primacy because of her higher court status. Using “second wife beating” as a description of the ghostly attack is an innovation found only in the play and not in the *Genji monogatari*.³⁹⁰ Indeed, the ghost comes forward and hits the robe symbolizing Aoi with a staff, taking out her jealousy.

³⁸⁸ Cf. Brown, *Theatricalities of Power*, pp. 44-45.

³⁸⁹ Matsuoka, “Zeami nō no genten to shite no ‘Aoi no ue,’” pp. 62-64.

³⁹⁰ Matsuoka, “Zeami nō no genten to shite no ‘Aoi no ue,’” pp. 30-31; Brown, *Theatricalities of Power*, p. 63.

The ghost does not go offstage at the end of the first half of the play but rather retires to the back of the stage. In the interim before the second half, an ascetic monk (*yamabushi*) affiliated with Enryakuji is called to exorcise the ghost.³⁹¹ The monk comes, and in the second half draws the ghost forth by rubbing his rosary together noisily and chanting a spell invoking the fire god Fudōmyō'ō (Sk. *Acalanātha*).³⁹² The ghost reveals herself in a demon mask with horns (*hannya*). Their struggle is accompanied by further incantations that appear to weaken the ghost. An unspecified bodhisattva comes to welcome and lead the defeated spirit to Buddhahood and emancipation from the world of suffering.³⁹³ There the play ends.

3.2.2 Authorship and "Aoi no ue"

"Aoi no ue" illustrates how difficult it is to attribute noh libretti to any one author because of a general tendency among players to overhaul their repertoire

³⁹¹ "Aoi no ue," p. 16–24, p. 21 n. 21 and p. 22 n. 7. Omote Akira references Kōsai for noting the monk's affiliation as reason to believe the play was originally from the Ōmi repertoire. Omote Akira, "Sakuhin kenkyū: 'Aoi no ue,'" p. 8.

³⁹² "Aoi no ue," p. 23 n. 14 and p. 23 n. 19. Brown refers to these incantations as "citations" of En no Gyōja. Brown, *Theatricalities of Power*, pp. 81-83

³⁹³ "Aoi no ue," p. 24. For an analysis of the monk's incantations, see Brown, *Theatricalities of Power*, pp. 83-85.

regularly. Zeami believes authors should change their performances every three to five years to maintain interest:

First, once each at least every three to five years, [one] must consider the need for change to create novelty.³⁹⁴

The changes to which Zeami refers include performance practice and, just as much, to rewriting libretti.³⁹⁵ Zeami explicitly says play texts should be adjusted and music revised in “Sando,” where he lists seven examples of revised plays.³⁹⁶ Zeami occasionally claims authorship of a play he revised. For example, Motoyoshi notes Zeami as the author of “Ukai” and “Kashiwazaki” because he revised them.³⁹⁷ Zeami mentions “Aoi no ue” in his treatise *Go'on*, where its authorship is left blank, a convention read to mean Zeami claimed authorship, but the author noted in *Go'on* might refer to the play’s librettist, composer, or

³⁹⁴ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 59. “Once each” might refer to either character type or to performance piece. Hare’s translation focuses on a performer’s range of mimetic ability rather than his repertoire. Hare, *Performance Notes*, p. 68. However, both Omote Akira and Tanaka read it to mean performance practice must be changed regularly to ensure novelty. Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 59 n. “shi kawaru” and Tanaka, *Zeami geijutsu ronshū*, p. 88 interlinear note.

³⁹⁵ Cf. Omote Akira, “Zeami sakunō kō,” p. 485.

³⁹⁶ Zeami, *Sandō*, p. 143.

³⁹⁷ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 291.

reviser.³⁹⁸ On the one hand, because the modern libretto for “Aoi no ue” neatly aligns with Zeami’s description of Inuō’s performance, any later textual revisions were minor, suggesting that if Zeami had a hand in its composition, it happened before Inuō’s performance. On the other hand, Zeami’s fascination with the play as performed by Inuō, and his injunction against combining demonic or masculine and aristocratic or feminine traits in a single character, mentioned above, suggest Zeami probably did not produce the original idea. It would be inconceivable, as Omote Kiyoshi argues, that Inuō did not contribute to the composition in some way because he was, as previously mentioned, so famous for his singing and would have had a hand in his own materials.³⁹⁹ Omote Kiyoshi considers that the content of the play, especially the appearance of a representative from Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei to exorcise the living ghost of Lady Rokujō, a temple to which Inuō’s troupe had close relations, strongly supports attributing the play to the Ōmi *sarugaku* repertoire.⁴⁰⁰ According to Zeami, neither Inuō nor any Ōmi players wrote libretti.⁴⁰¹ Inuō merely composed music

³⁹⁸ Zeami, *Go'on* vol. 1, p. 209. Omote Akira, “Sakuhin kenkyū ‘Aoi no ue,’” p. 9. Zeami includes “Ukai” in this list but does not note an author, although, as just noted he only revised it. Zeami, *Go'on* vol. 1, p. 211.

³⁹⁹ Omote Kiyoshi, “Inuō to Zōami,” p. 78.

⁴⁰⁰ Omote Kiyoshi, “Inuō to Zōami,” p. 77.

⁴⁰¹ Zeami, *Go'on* vol. 1, p. 206.

for existing texts.⁴⁰² That, however, does not exclude the possibility that they commissioned the libretto. Therefore, one way to reconcile this contradictory information is to consider “Aoi no ue”’s composition a collaborative effort between Zeami and Inuō. Inuō produced the original idea and had Zeami write a libretto for him, which he in turn set to music.

3.2.3 *Genji allusions in “Aoi no ue”*

The play “Aoi no ue” alludes to two chapters in the *Genji monogatari* involving carriages. The first is the Yugao chapter. On his way to meet Lady Rokujō, the widow of the former crown prince, Genji visits his erstwhile nurse and finds that the gate that his carriage should be able to pass through is locked.⁴⁰³ Because of these circumstances, he notices young women in the house next door and comes to meet Yūgao, depicted in an exchange of poems.⁴⁰⁴ Later, Rokujō’s vengeful living ghost kills Yūgao during a tryst with Genji.⁴⁰⁵ The second is the Aoi chapter. Ladies Rokujō and Aoi go to the lustration celebrations for the new high priestess of Kamo Shrine in their carriages. Aoi arrives late and her attendants cannot find a place to park until they see a simple carriage in an

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, p. 100.

⁴⁰⁴ Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, p. 101.

⁴⁰⁵ Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, pp. 122-24.

excellent position.⁴⁰⁶ This carriage belongs to none other than Rokujō, who because of her high status is hoping to attend the festivities incognito. When Aoi's men attempt to take the place of Rokujo's carriage, a fight erupts between their drunk male attendants, and Rokujō's carriage is pushed back in the process.⁴⁰⁷ Shortly thereafter, Aoi becomes ill late in her pregnancy.⁴⁰⁸ Possessed by Rokujō's living ghost, she dies shortly after giving birth.⁴⁰⁹ In "Aoi no ue," the first lines that the lead character utters allude to both incidents, suggesting she is Rokujō.

The play draws primarily on the latter incident, the Kamo festival confrontation, and Aoi's subsequent possession by Rokujō's living ghost as a vehicle for performing a complex demon role. Yet, Ochiai shows that "Aoi no ue" does not actually have any direct textual relationship with the Aoi chapter of the *Genji monogatari*. To use his term, the play is "estranged" (*kairi*) from its source because, for one, the play does not mention Aoi is with child.⁴¹⁰ Rather than

⁴⁰⁶ Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, pp. 293-94

⁴⁰⁷ Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, p. 294.

⁴⁰⁸ Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, p. 303ff.

⁴⁰⁹ Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, p. 307 and p. 311.

⁴¹⁰ Ochiai, "Genji monogatari to nō," 123; Brown, *Theatricalities of Power*, 38. Brown assumes Muromachi playwrights and audiences would have known about Aoi's pregnancy and bases his reading of the play directly on this assumption.

closely following the *Genji monogatari* narrative, the play takes its basic format from narratives that were performed for proselytizing purposes and were about exalted monks exorcising possessing spirits from aristocratic ladies.⁴¹¹ Amongst numerous other reasons Ochiai considers “Aoi no ue” estranged from *Genji monogatari* is the presence of the priestess medium Teruhi and the mountain ascetic (*yamabushi*), as both play vital roles in the play but remain unnamed in the *Genji monogatari*.⁴¹²

Another significant discrepancy has to do with the appearance of a broken carriage at Aoi’s sickbed. This central symbol in the play, the broken carriage, does not appear in Rokujō’s possession of Aoi in *Genji* at all.⁴¹³ At the festival, the carriage is not broken.⁴¹⁴ Mention of a “broken carriage” is an exaggeration of the broken shaft bench (*shiji*), a separate object used to prop up the carriage when it

⁴¹¹ Ochiai, “Genji monogatari to nō,” p. 124.

⁴¹² Brown merely notes but does not elaborate on the addition of the two exorcists. Brown, *Theatricalities of Power*, p. 80. Janet Goff adds that the courtier serving the Shujakuin emperor is invented for the play. Goff, *Noh Drama and “The Tale of the Genji,”* pp. 125-26.

⁴¹³ Ochiai, “Genji monogatari to nō,” p. 125.

⁴¹⁴ Ochiai, “Genji monogatari to nō,” p. 126 and Brown, *Theatricalities of Power*, p. 46. Brown does not problematize the difference between *Genji* and “Aoi no ue” descriptions of the carriage.

is parked; the carriage proper is otherwise unharmed in *Genji*.⁴¹⁵ However, *Genji monogatari* digests (*kōgaisho*), a kind of cliff notes popular at that time, speak of a broken shaft.⁴¹⁶ However, as Ochiai argues, precisely this broken carriage functions as a means to broadly illustrate Rokujō's troubled mental state.⁴¹⁷

3.2.4 Inuō's Performance of "Aoi no ue"

Inuō's performance of "Aoi no ue" as described in the *Sarugaku dangi* fits perfectly with the text in the modern repertoire, but his performance had a few important differences from modern performances. The following is Zeami's account of the first half of the play:

⁴¹⁵ Ochiai, "Genji monogatari to nō," pp. 125-26; Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, p. 294 and p. 294 n. 15. The *Genji monogatari* does not mention a broken carriage shaft (*nagae*).

⁴¹⁶ For example, the *Genji ōkagami* mentions that both the bench and the shaft were broken, and the *Genji monogatari teiyō* mentions only a broken shaft. These texts were completed either in the period of Northern and Southern courts or in the Muromachi period. Cf. Ochiai, "Genji monogatari to nō," p. 126. Goff does not treat this source for "Aoi no ue" but notes a "surprisingly small amount of material" for the play. Goff, *Noh Drama and "The Tale of Genji,"* pp. 62-86 and p. 125.

⁴¹⁷ Ochiai, "Genji monogatari to nō," p. 126; cf. Goff, *Noh Drama and "The Tale of Genji,"* p. 126.

In “Aoi no ue,” [Inuō in the main role] rode a carriage, wore a robe with pale green lining that reached the floor; as the [serving] woman accompanying the carriage, [he had] Iwamatsu hold on to the carriage shaft; [Inuō] appeared on the bridge passageway (*hashigakari*) and [singing] the *issei* “riding three carriages on the dharma path, but are [they] leaving the burning house? The broken carriage at Yūgao’s lodgings [no] comfort” (*mitsu no kuruma ni nori no michi, kataku no kado o ya idenu ran, Yūgao no yareguruma yaru kata na*), as [the carriage] was pulling forward, and [he] said fluidly, “the transient world passes by like a small ox-drawn carriage, the transient world passes by like a small ox-drawn carriage going round and round (*ukiyo wa ushi no oguruma no ukiyo wa ushi no oguruma no meguru ya*)” and so on in the *shidai*, [he] stretched “*ma no*” when he said “carriage that. . .” (*kuruma no*), and as his chanting ended, [he] stepped tap tap (*tota to*) in rhythm.⁴¹⁸

Issei and *shidai* refer to the first two passages sung by the lead character (*shite*), in this case by Inuō in the role of Rokujō’s vengeful living ghost. Elements of the performance that caught Zeami’s attention include the pale green lining of the robe Inuō wore, the fluid quality (*tabu tabu to*) of his singing, the way he emphasized the word “carriage” by stretching the note—lengthening its duration

⁴¹⁸ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 263; Cf. Tanaka, *Zeami geijutsuron shū*, p. 178; “Aoi no ue,” p. 18; Goff, *Noh Drama and “The Tale of Genji,”* p. 126.

or, according to Omote Akira, raising its pitch—⁴¹⁹, and the way he steps in rhythm to the music. The most striking differences between modern performances of “Aoi” and this production are Inuō’s inclusion of a carriage as set piece or large prop and a serving woman played by the Ōmi player Iwamatsu. Interestingly, even the modern text mentions a figure called “the young maidservant” (*ao’nyōbo*) and describes her clinging to the shaft of the carriage and crying loudly.⁴²⁰ Considering her position next to the cart, this fits neatly with Iwamatsu’s character holding the carriage shaft.

Iwamatsu’s young maidservant character appears hidden within the modern text. It is possible to identify her commiserating with Rokujō and also trying to stop her from committing violence. Omote Akira notes that Teruhi currently sings some lines that the maidservant probably sang.⁴²¹ These include some lines accompanying Rokujō’s attack on Aoi. Because the original pre-modern Japanese language manages to convey the scene without using many grammatical subjects, including pronouns, I have added them in brackets. Because of that lack of subject identification, the following can be read as a stream of awareness description that is shared by both characters.

⁴¹⁹ Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 263 n. “hari nite.”

⁴²⁰ “Aoi no ue,” p. 19 and p. 19 n. 19.

⁴²¹ Omote Akira, “Sakuhin kenkyū ‘Aoi no ue,’” pp. 6-7. Goff gives no citation for her reference to this point: Goff, *Noh Drama and ‘The Tale of the Genji,’* p. 127. Brown does not note this point at all in his treatment of the play: Brown, *Theatricalities of Power*, p. 62.

Rokujō: Oh how jealous [I am], [I] cannot be satisfied without striking [her] now.

Teruhi/Maid servant: Oh how wretched that [someone] of the Lady Rokujō's status would [indulge in] second-wife beating behavior. Why must [my lady] do so? Please stop and think!

Rokujō: No, whatever [you] say, [I] said [I] cannot be satisfied without striking [her]. [I] approach [her] pillow, strike, and then. . .

Teruhi/Maid servant: No more! [I] say and approaching, I, too,⁴²² show [her] hardship down below.

Rokujō: [My] jealousy now is vengeance for what was.

Teruhi/Maid servant: The flames of wrath

Rokujō: scorch the body (*mi*)

Teruhi/Maid servant: [and yet no one] understands!

Rokujō: Understand [me]!⁴²³

⁴²² In comparing pre-modern and modern libretti, Omote Akira notes a change in particle (from *mo* to *wa*) and reads the earlier version as the young maidservant's admission of compliance to Rokujō. Omote Akira, "Sakuhin kenkyū 'Aoi no ue,'" p. 7. I therefore accommodate the pre-modern particle.

⁴²³ "Aoi no ue," pp. 20-21 and Omote Akira, "Sakuhin kenkyū 'Aoi no ue,'" p. 7; Cf. Koyama Hiroshi and Satō Ken, eds., "Aoi no ue," pp. 278-80.

At the beginning of this passage, the young maidservant expresses a voice of prudence, but by the end she, too, engages in beating the bedridden Aoi. Matsuoka suspects that while Rokujō's character goes to hit Aoi in the head at her pillow, the maidservant goes to hit her feet, therefore "down below." The exchange "The flames of wrath. . . scorch the body (*mi*)" includes the word body (*mi*), which can also mean social status or role. Rokujō is fixated on the incongruence between Aoi and her own roles in greater society and in their relationships to Prince Genji. She perceives her own anger is out of her control much like flames and the only response she is capable of is acting on it through violence against the person she perceives responsible for her pain: Aoi. She wishes to communicate the consequences of her rival's disrespect, demanding her understanding by acting out violently. Shortly thereafter, the chorus explains that the broken carriage has reached Aoi's pillow: "The broken carriage standing at the pillow, put [her] inside and take [her] away, put [her] inside and take [her] away."⁴²⁴ Nishimura Satoshi notes that here the carriage symbol shifts from representing a dubious means to enlightenment to representing a burning carriage that takes sinners to hell.⁴²⁵ Ochiai considers the creation of the carriage—both as a set piece and in the broad range of allusions with which it links—an inspired concretization of Rokujō's mental state.⁴²⁶ It covers both her intense suffering due to attachment and her skepticism or mistrust in the

⁴²⁴ "Aoi no ue," p. 21.

⁴²⁵ Nishimura, "'Aoi no ue' ni okeru shiryō no imēji," pp. 371-72.

⁴²⁶ Ochiai, "*Genji monogatari to nō*," p. 125.

Buddhist teachings. The young maidservant does not have the fortitude to draw Rokujō out of her delusions, and her empathy for her mistress draws her instead into the depths of the more powerful woman's suffering.

Whether the young maidservant remains onstage in the second half of the performance is unclear, based on Zeami's description of Inuō's performance. The focus in Zeami's description moves to the exchange between Rokujō's vengeful ghost and the exorcist attempting to drive her out.

Also in [playing the] ghost [that appears in the] latter [half of the play] and so forth—when the mountain ascetic, played by Toyo, prays for [Rokujō]—[Inuō] turned back and used his eyes and his robe in a style that [left the audience] unable to say anything (*emo iwanu*)."⁴²⁷

Zeami's description only includes mention of Rokujō's ghost and the mountain ascetic (*yamabushi*), who works to exorcise that ghost, as played by the player Toyo. An important element in this description is mention that Inuō uses his eyes as a performance technique. This implies that Inuō did not wear a mask for this role. In modern performance, the mask used by the *shite* in the second half of "Aoi no ue" is called *hannya*, a female demon mask with horns evoking anger and a furrowed brow evoking suffering and pain. Below, a wide, open mouth reveals long fangs that clearly portray aggression. However, Inuō did not use this mask, and he potentially did not use a mask in the first half of the play either. Zeami

⁴²⁷ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 263; cf. Tanaka, ed., *Sarugaku dangi*, pp. 178-79.

mentions that only players who have achieved a high rank (*nō no kurai*) can effectively perform without a mask.⁴²⁸ “Rank” (*kurai*) is closely related to *yūgen*.⁴²⁹ In other words, Inuō had to increase the *yūgen* quotient, Rokujō’s aristocratic elegance and erotic allure, to pull it off. Therefore, performing without a mask meant ameliorating the character’s masculine power with an emphasis on her femininity.

Although modern *noh* performance requires performers to keep their faces expressionless when they are not using a mask, something Zeami mentions as well,⁴³⁰ this does not appear to include the use of the eyes. Inuō uses his eyes also in a performance called “Morikata,” introduced above. Zeami’s description relates,

In the *sarugaku* of Morikata, [his] wife and mother come to the place where [he] is sitting on a chair and reading a sutra, and when the two [of them] say “Why?” [he] looks at his mother intently for a while and when [he] moves his face away, leaves his eyes fixed in a sidelong glance and secretly looks at his wife and turns [his head] down; at the time there was

⁴²⁸ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 22.

⁴²⁹ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 34 and *Kakyō*, p. 97; cf. Zeami, *Shūgyoku tokka*, p. 190; Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 260. The reading *kurai* also appears in references to the highest three ranks in *Kyūi*, which as discussed in the previous chapter, correspond with *yūgen*.

⁴³⁰ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 22.

a review saying [the performance revealed] an interest from the bottom of the heart.⁴³¹

What feeling Inuō conveyed with these glances remains uncertain because this play's libretto is lost, but this example does reveal how complex and effective this performance technique using the eyes could be.

What Inuō conveyed in the way he used his robe also remains open to question. Zeami remarks that both his use of the eyes and of the robe evoked a unique response in the audience, an inability to speak. Considering feeling, as discussed in the previous chapter,⁴³² refers to a range of potential emotions, then this, is probably a moment of intense visceral feeling on the part of the audience. An inability to speak might also indicate an inability to figure out the meaning of the impressions conveyed by the performance. Indeed, Rokujō's demonic ghost does not fit a spectrum in which empathetic, submissive femininity is at one extreme and violent, dominant masculinity at the other. She is unabashedly violent and therefore both extremely masculine as well as extremely feminine. As a living ghost, her violence takes place on the level of heart and not on the level of body, thus conforming with Zeami's directive in performing feminine characters to "focus on heart."⁴³³ Inuō subverts that spectrum, but his innovations with this

⁴³¹ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 264.

⁴³² Cf. section 2.2.4.

⁴³³ Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 126.

performance of subversion is not limited to overturning preconceived gender stereotypes.

3.2.5 "Aoi no ue" and Dream Noh

"Aoi no ue" inspired the development of dream noh (*mugen noh*). Dream noh are plays that take place within a dream, which in turn allows for chronological flexibility or jumps. Such plays include poetic language full of allusive references to a rich and at times conflicting inner world of the main character, often a ghost or spirit. Like dream noh, "Aoi no ue" is about a ghost, wherefore Brown and Borgen categorize it as a dream play.⁴³⁴ However, it proceeds chronologically instead of incorporating flashback narratives or dream sequences. Therefore, Ochiai and Matsuoka call it a noh with present tense narrative (*genzai nō*) and note that it is therefore not a dream noh.⁴³⁵ Furthermore, as Matsuoka notes, unlike dream noh "Aoi no ue" does not use a flashback to achieve catharsis-like salvation.⁴³⁶ Instead, Matsuoka calls "Aoi no ue" a miracle

⁴³⁴ Brown, *Theatricalities of Power*, p. 79; Borgen, *A Woman's Weapon*, p. 104.

⁴³⁵ Ochiai, "Genji monogatari to nō," p. 123. Matsuoka Shinpei, "Zeami nō no genten to shite no 'Aoi no ue,'" p. 26.

⁴³⁶ Matsuoka, "Zeami nō no genten to shite no 'Aoi no ue,'" p. 34. Therein, Matsuoka notes that a precedent for this technique can be found in "Kayoi Komachi."

play.⁴³⁷ Nonetheless, similarities to dream *noh* remain, wherefore I speak of “inspiration.”

In the quintessential dream *noh* “*Matsukaze*,” two sisters, salt makers named *Matsukaze*, which may be translated as pine wind, and *Murasame*, village rain, live on the *Suma* shore and so desperately long for their departed aristocratic lover, *Ariwara no Yukihiro*, that after their deaths they haunt the seashore. The play begins when a traveling monk finds a tree in their memory on the shore and prays for the sisters. Because it is evening, he decides to spend the night in a salt maker’s hut. Two salt making women appear pulling a wagon of saltwater and singing about fall on the seashore and their sad fate. Singing about the reflection of the moon in the water, the elder *Matsukaze* kneels next to the wagon and mimics scooping salt water to make salt. The monk asks the two women if he may spend the night in their hut. The women initially refuse, explaining it is too shabby, but eventually concede after he says he leads an austere life as a monk. The monk explains that he was at the pine to *Matsukaze* and *Murasame* and quotes a poem by *Yukihiro*. The women grow melancholy. The monk asks their names, and they reveal that they are the ghostly apparitions of the selfsame sisters. They relate how much they miss *Yukihiro*. He was banned from the imperial court for three years and spent that time on the *Suma* shore with them. Shortly after he returned to the court, he died without ever reuniting with them. They show an aristocratic man’s robe and explain that he left it as a keepsake. The older sister *Matsukaze* puts it on. In her sadness, she fantasizes that the pine tree is *Yukihiro*. *Murasame* pulls on her sleeve to keep her back,

⁴³⁷ *Matsuoka*, “*Zeami nō no genten to shite no ‘Aoi no ue,’*” p. 35.

explaining that it is only a tree. In their exchange, the two commiserate about their mutual yearning for Yukihiro. Matsukaze then dances to a poem by Yukihiro about leave-taking. At the end of the play, the monk awakes, realizing he has seen a dream, and hears only the rain in the village and the wind in the pines.

Although “Aoi no ue” is not a dream noh, it foreshadows some textual and performance techniques found in later dream noh, of which Zeami’s “Matsukaze” is a representative example.⁴³⁸ As Omote Akira notes, “Aoi no ue” and “Matsukaze” share the similarity that both include double main characters.⁴³⁹ Matsuoka reads the dynamic between the two characters in both plays, Rokujō and her maidservant’s attack on Aoi and the two sisters and their madness as they yearn for a departed lover, as the portrayal of two “selves.”⁴⁴⁰ I prefer to see the two character’s close relationship more loosely as an indication that even within similarity there can be difference. This similarity is the most obvious common trait and a rather unique similarity between the two plays.⁴⁴¹ However, this technique creates a necessary ambiguity to probe complex emotions, to which I will return shortly.

⁴³⁸ “Matsukaze” falls in the category of one act dream plays (*tanshiki mugen nō*) rather than two act dream plays (*fukushiki mugen nō*).

⁴³⁹ Omote Akira, “Sakuhin kenkyū ‘Aoi no ue,’” p. 7.

⁴⁴⁰ Matsuoka, “Zeami nō no genten to shite no ‘Aoi no ue,’” p. 31 and “Zeami Matsukaze,” p. 64. For a possible source of that reading in the *Genji monogatari*, see Brown, *Theatricalities of Power*, p. 58.

⁴⁴¹ The heavenly woman play “Kureha” also makes use of this technique.

Another similarity between the two plays lies in their use of props to highlight emotional states, admittedly also a general technique found in a great number of plays. In these two plays similar props both play a central role. “Aoi no ue” uses the robe indicating Aoi’s presence and Inuō’s carriage prop. “Matsukaze” has a small pine tree at center stage and a small wagon to suggest that used by salt makers to transport seawater. In “Matsukaze,” the reflection of the moon on water functions both as a metaphor for the transience of the human experience and as a means for demonstrating the salt makers’ awareness for aristocratic tastes. As the player performing Matsukaze uses an open fan to pantomime scooping the surface of water in the wagon, the chorus sings about the refinement of scooping the moon’s reflection. This chorus alludes to various salt making shorelines famous as poetic topoi and to the salt kiln that the aristocrat Minamoto Tōru had installed in the capital, far from any seashore, to reenact the poetic occupation.⁴⁴² The pine tree functions as a marker in memorial of the two lead figures and as a point of focus for them to establish their relationship to Yukihiro and each other. Nishimura reveals the breadth of meanings for the carriage in “Aoi no ue.” He reads the initial lines of “Aoi no ue” as “a demon riding a broken carriage is forever unable to escape the world of suffering that is life and death.”⁴⁴³ He also compares the line, “The broken carriage stands at [her] pillow; [we] will put [her] inside and steal away,”⁴⁴⁴ with contemporaneous

⁴⁴² “Matsukaze,” pp. 242-43.

⁴⁴³ Nishimura, “‘Aoi no ue’ ni okeru shiniryō no imēji,” p. 370.

⁴⁴⁴ “Aoi no ue,” p. 21.

Buddhist descriptions of hell, concluding that this line describes an attempt to take Lady Aoi into the underworld in a burning carriage.⁴⁴⁵ Ochiai notes, furthermore, that the repeated mention of a broken carriage represents Rokujō's broken self-respect or unhealed mental wound.⁴⁴⁶ The play texts thus nudge viewers contemplating the props' significance to consider a broad range of emotional states.

This breadth of associations is possible because of the main figures' ambiguous identities. Lady Rokujō's identity remains ambiguous in a decisive aspect: Nishimura notes the ambiguity created because the detail whether the ghost's spirit belongs to a living or dead person is left unspecified when the *shite* self-identifies as Lady Rokujō's ghost.⁴⁴⁷ He points out that the conditional "if. . . I should lay gone like the dew" (*warawa wa. . . tsuyu to kie mo seba*) indicates she is still alive while the contrast these lyrics establish between the two women makes it sound as if Lady Rokujō is dead.⁴⁴⁸ The same lack of specificity colors

⁴⁴⁵ Nishimura, "Aoi no ue' ni okeru shiniryō no imēji," p. 371.

⁴⁴⁶ Ochiai, "Genji monogatari to nō," p. 126.

⁴⁴⁷ Nishimura, "Aoi no ue' ni okeru shiniryō no imēji," p. 367. The character self-identifies as a vengeful ghost (*onryō*) rather than living ghost (*ikiryō*): Cf. "Aoi no ue," p. 19.

⁴⁴⁸ Nishimura, "Aoi no ue' ni okeru shiniryō no imēji," p. 369.

Zeami's description of Inuō's performance.⁴⁴⁹ While in "Aoi no ue," ambiguous identity served to expand the range of possible images of Buddhist suffering, hell, and emancipation in exploring jealous rage, in "Matsukaze" similar ambiguous identity serves to explore a poetically expressed world shaped by the overpowering emotions of lovesickness. At the end of "Matsukaze," "the dream and the night end without a trace, and the previously heard village rain dissipates in the morning as it becomes clear only the wind in the pines remains."⁴⁵⁰ The main characters' names describe the scenery in which they live, wherefore they can be understood as avatars of that landscape.⁴⁵¹ Ambiguity thus leaves room for patrons to contemplate a broad range of emotional states.

3.2.5 Subversion in "Aoi no ue"

In reading "Aoi no ue," I find it important to consider the performance a direct conversation with the most powerful of patrons. It confronts the greatest perpetrator of masculine dominance, the shogun, with the consequences of neglecting important lovers. Although "Aoi no ue" describes two women Prince Genji loved, the play does not bring the prince to the stage. There is only an oblique allusion to him where he is referred to as "the prince who glows more

⁴⁴⁹ Zeami also uses the term ghost (*ryō*) rather than specifying living ghost (*ikiryō*). Motoyoshi, "Sarugaku dangi," p. 263.

⁴⁵⁰ "Matsukaze," p. 249.

⁴⁵¹ Cf. Matsuoka, "Zeami Matsukaze," p. 64; "Yūgen ga enjaku suru toki," p. 33. In both instances, Matsuoka refers to Watanabe, "Kamen to fūkei."

brightly than the fireflies,” as quoted above from the *danuta*. One more difference between the *Genji monogatari* and the play is noteworthy: While in the *Genji monogatari*, Rokujō speaks directly to Genji and no one else can hear her voice, the play appears to let Rokujō speak to a large audience from the stage. However, in chapter one I argued that the player’s measure of success was not necessarily the approval of the whole audience as much as the approval of the highest ranking individual in the audience, the patron, and in Inuō’s case, the shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. At the shogunal court, Yoshimitsu was regularly referenced with imagery suggesting he was Prince Genji. I argue, therefore, that Inuō’s “Aoi no ue” was subversive because it spoke directly to Yoshimitsu about the emotional and vindictive consequences of betrayal.

3.2.6.1 Yoshimitsu as Prince Genji

A number of events cast Yoshimitsu in a role reminiscent of the fictional Prince Genji. These situations began occurring during his reign at the Muromachi Palace. In the *Genji monogatari*, the shining prince decides to go into exile in Suma. Poetry in the Suma Chapter twice mentions “the flower capital” (*hana no miyako*), perhaps an image to which Yoshimitsu tried to intentionally allude when he built his Palace of Flowers (*hana no gosho*) at Muromachi.⁴⁵² However, it was not until later, when Yoshimitsu entered the Kitayama Palace, that such circumstances accumulated to a point where they influenced the production of official events.

⁴⁵² Matsuoka makes this point in Eiji Sakurai et al., “Ashikaga Yoshimitsu no bunka senryaku,” p. 44.

The first similarity between Prince Genji and Yoshimitsu was the birth of a rumor about his affair with an imperial consort. In “Young Murasaki” (*Wakamurasaki*), the fifth chapter of the *Genji monogatari*, Genji has an illicit affair with the consort Lady Fujitsubo, who belongs to his father’s court. As a result, she gives birth to the imperial heir, the future Reizei Emperor. Thus, Genji infiltrates the imperial succession despite having become a commoner. Emperor Goenyū (1359-1393), who was only a year younger than Yoshimitsu, had an imperial consort, Sanjō Izuko (1351-1406). Izuko might have had an illicit affair with Yoshimitsu that resulted in her pregnancy and the birth of the subsequent Emperor Gokomatsu (1377-1433).⁴⁵³ After a later affair with Yoshimitsu in 1383 (Eitoku 3), Emperor Goenyū, frustrated with being politically crippled by the more powerful shogun, assaulted Izuko.⁴⁵⁴ Conlan notes that as a result, Goenyū became the ridicule of the imperial court.⁴⁵⁵ By appearing to walk in Prince Genji’s footsteps, Yoshimitsu’s public persona shone more brightly in the minds of the educated elite.

⁴⁵³ Varley, “Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and the World of Kitayama,” p. 199. Conlan cites records that graffiti on the wall of Hōshin’in, a temple where the powerful monk Kōzei lived, accused him of fathering the future emperor. Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, p. 167 and p. 167 n. 129 and n. 130.

⁴⁵⁴ Mitamura notes that Emperor Go’enyū injured Izuko. Mitamura, “Ashikaga Yoshimitsu no Seikaiha,” p. 64.

⁴⁵⁵ Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, p. 176.

In the second instance, Yoshimitsu attains a court rank that is otherwise unprecedented among commoners with the one exception being Prince Genji's example. At the end of the thirteenth chapter, "Akashi," Genji returns to the capital at the request of the Suzaku Emperor. In the twenty first chapter, "The Maidens" (*Otome*), Genji rises to political power and receives the station of Honorary Retired Emperor (*jun daijō tennō*) as the young Emperor Reizei's guardian.⁴⁵⁶ Yoshimitsu never went into exile like Genji, but in Eitoku 3 (1383), after welcoming Izuko into his home, he effectively became guardian to the young Emperor Gokomatsu. That year, he achieved a rank equal to members of the imperial family (*jun sangō*).⁴⁵⁷ Sakurai notes the only historical precedent for taking on the role of retired emperor without having previously been emperor occurred in the case of Retired Emperor Gotakakura (1179-1223), whose son took the imperial throne. However, Gotakakura had been an imperial prince. Sakurai continues by emphasizing that, despite being the son of an emperor, Prince Genji is a commoner who attained the rank of Retired Emperor, and his was the only such precedent for Yoshimitsu's attainment of that role.⁴⁵⁸ Here Yoshimitsu began to reap the benefits of resembling the fictional prince.

A third parallel sets Yoshimitsu into an environment echoing both the *Genji monogatari* and his role models for military government in the capital, the Saionji family. In this instance his role does not align with Prince Genji's. In the

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. Bowring, *Murasaki Shikibu*, p. 36.

⁴⁵⁷ Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, p. 137.

⁴⁵⁸ Sakurai et al., "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu no bunka senryaku," p. 44.

“Young Murasaki” chapter of the *Genji monogatari*, Genji finds Lady Murasaki, still a child, living in the Northern Hills (*Kitayama*) with her grandmother, a nun, and her brother, a distinguished monk, at the edge of the capital. Yoshimitsu built his retirement home, the Kitayama Palace in those same Northern Hills.⁴⁵⁹ Stavros notes the parallels Yoshimitsu was thus able to draw to Saionji Sanekane and retired emperors by moving to Kitayama.⁴⁶⁰ Mitamura argues that Yoshimitsu’s move to this location not only suggested affiliations with the Saionji family, who had previously owned that property, but also Genji’s discovery of the young Lady Murasaki in the same Northern Hills in part because the Saionji family claimed that the *Genji monogatari* episode occurred on precisely this property they owned.⁴⁶¹ This fictional location that Prince Genji only visits in the *Genji monogatari* thus becomes the setting in which Yoshimitsu will increasingly take on this role.⁴⁶²

A fourth resemblance again only indirectly aligns Yoshimitsu with the prince by casting his wife Hino Yasuko in the role of Lady Murasaki. After Lady

⁴⁵⁹ Matsuoka notes this similarity as significant. Sakurai et al., “Ashikaga Yoshimitsu no bunka senryaku,” p. 43.

⁴⁶⁰ Stavros, “Locational Pedigree and Warrior Status in Medieval Kyoto,” pp. 13-14.

⁴⁶¹ Mitamura, “Ashikaga Yoshimitsu no Seikaiha,” pp. 62-64.

⁴⁶² It is also possible to consider to what extent the Kitayama Palace, the home to both Yoshimitsu’s wife and Sanjō Izuko, was a women’s palace much like the retreat where the young Murasaki lived with her grandmother.

Aoi dies, Genji takes Murasaki as his primary wife. Because giving birth to a child would make Murasaki's position highly political and she has no familial political support to take on that role, she remains childless, but in the nineteenth chapter, "Wisps of Cloud" (*Usugumo*), Murasaki adopts the Akashi Lady's daughter, the Akashi Princess, and raises her to be empress.⁴⁶³ Hino Yasuko was also childless but became Emperor Gokomatsu's adoptive mother, and Yoshimitsu appointed her "mother of the nation" (*kokumo*) in Ōei 14 (1407).⁴⁶⁴ The appointment served as an opportunity to demonstrate his power to make court appointments without imperial sanction.⁴⁶⁵ Therefore, it is unclear whether this was an appointment inspired by the *Genji monogatari*, but it served to bolster such associations.

These similarities between reality and fiction inspired official events in which Yoshimitsu took the role of Prince Genji. In "The Picture Competition" (*Eawase*), the seventeenth chapter of the *Genji monogatari*, Prince Genji ensconces Lady Rokujō's daughter Lady Akikonomu as an imperial consort in the palace and discovers that the young emperor and the Lady share an interest in

⁴⁶³ Cf. Bowring, *Murasaki Shikibu*, p. 27 and p. 29.

⁴⁶⁴ Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, p. 179. As a member of the Hino family that was descended from the northern branch of the Fujiwara and that served the imperial court as Confucian scholars and *waka* poets for generations, Yasuko's reasons for remaining childless were not political. Cf. Varley, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and the World of Kitayama," p. 198 n. 34.

⁴⁶⁵ Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, p. 179.

painted scrolls. To attract the emperor's attention, Genji organizes a picture contest, which he wins by entering scrolls he himself painted about his exile in Suma. Takagishi Akira describes a similar picture contest held at the Kitayama Palace sometime between Ōei 5 (1398) and Yoshimitsu's death in Ōei 15 (1408).⁴⁶⁶ In this competition appeared none other than the original copy of the "Illustrated Record of the Kasuga Avatars' Miracles," a twenty scroll set of illustrated narratives about the Kasuga deity painted by Takashina Takakane and completed in Enkei 2 (1309).⁴⁶⁷ Saionji Kinhira (1264-1315), Sanekane's son, dedicated it to Kasuga Shrine, but it remained in the Saionji family archives at the Kitayama Residence, the location of the subsequent Kitayama Palace, until sometime after his death in Shōwa 4 (1315).⁴⁶⁸ Therefore, when these illustrated scrolls appeared at the Kitayama Palace for a painting contest, they highlighted the parallels between Yoshimitsu and the powerful Saionji family.⁴⁶⁹ They also reinforced Yoshimitsu's ties with Kasuga Shrine. Takagishi argues that not the "Kasuga Avatars' Miracles" scrolls, but five scrolls entitled "Rokuon'in's Reception of the Buddhist Commandments at Tōdai Temple" won the picture contest. Yoshimitsu's Buddhist name was Rokuon'in, and he dedicated himself to

⁴⁶⁶ Takagishi, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu no zōkei imēji senryaku," p. 90. Conlan touches on Takagishi's work establishing the parallel between Prince Genji and Yoshimitsu. Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, p. 183.

⁴⁶⁷ Takagishi, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu no zōkei imēji senryaku," p. 90.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ Takagishi, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu no zōkei imēji senryaku," 91.

Buddhist pursuits in Ōei 2 (1395), renouncing his court titles and thus ritually commencing his ascension to the role of retired sovereign.⁴⁷⁰ In celebration, Yoshimitsu commissioned the five scrolls depicting the event, including a visit to Kasuga Shrine after completing the Buddhist rite.⁴⁷¹ These painted scrolls would have won in a painting contest at Kitayama Palace because participants would have been aware that the first precedent for painting contests was in the *Genji monogatari*. Furthermore, Yoshimitsu's presentation of the images depicting his own experience at Tōdaiji Temple and Kasuga Shrine paralleled Prince Genji's win on the basis of illustrations depicting his own experience in exile at Suma.⁴⁷²

Finally, in the seventh chapter of the *Genji monogatari*, "Beneath the Autumn Leaves" (*Momiji no ga*), eighteen year old Prince Genji dances the court piece "Blue sea waves" (*Seikaiha*) at a jubilee celebrating a former emperor at which musicians performed on boats floating on a lake. Takagishi notes that the "Rokuon'in" scroll that appeared in Yoshimitsu's contest depicts a *chigo* named Mitsuchiyomaru dressed in the costume for "Blue Sea Waves" a few days after the Buddhist rite at Tōdaiji.⁴⁷³ The presence of this *chigo* wearing a costume that Genji wore to celebrate a retired emperor suggests Yoshimitsu has the child

⁴⁷⁰ Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, p. 178; Takagishi, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu no zōkei imēji senryaku," p. 93.

⁴⁷¹ Takagishi, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu no zōkei imēji senryaku," pp. 93-4.

⁴⁷² Takagishi, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu no zōkei imēji senryaku," pp. 94-5.

⁴⁷³ Takagishi, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu no zōkei imēji senryaku," p. 94.

celebrate him as a retired emperor. In this instance, Yoshimitsu takes the role of the retired emperor and not that of Prince Genji.

However, in Ōei 15 (1408), Yoshimitsu hosts his charge, the reigning Emperor Gokomatsu at the Kitayama Palace for no less than twenty days. On one day, in a program of multiple *chigo* dances, two *chigo* named Takafujimaru and Yoshimitsumarū dance “Blue Sea Waves” for Yoshimitsu and the young reigning emperor.⁴⁷⁴ Mitamura makes clear that this performance also mimics the jubilee depicted in the *Genji monogatari*.⁴⁷⁵ In this case, too, it appears at first glance that Yoshimitsu cedes the role of Prince Genji to the young performer for the duration of the performance, but another level of meaning brings that role back to Yoshimitsu. The *chigo*’s name Yoshimitsumarū is written with a different initial glyph than Yoshimitsu’s, but I think that the close resemblance to the retired

⁴⁷⁴ Ichijō Tsunetsugu, *Kitayama-dono gyōkō ki*, p. 853; Yamashina Noritoki, *Noritoki kyōki*, p. 884 and p. 888. On a later day, musicians on boats performed “Blue Sea Waves” in a musical program. *Noritoki kyōki*, p. 907.

⁴⁷⁵ Mitamura, “Ashikaga Yoshimitsu no Seikaiha.” She suggests that the reason for the difference in season—under the autumn foliage in the *Genji monogatari* episode and under the spring blossoms in the imperial visit—is to suggest accordance with precedents in celebration of Retired Emperor Goshirakawa and Emperor Godaigo. “Ashikaga Yoshimitsu no Seikaiha,” p. 57 and p. 65.

shogun's name suggests that he performs the dance as Yoshimitsu's avatar.⁴⁷⁶ Thus filling the roles of both the performer and the retired emperor, Yoshimitsu was in effect celebrating himself, thereby making the reason for the entire imperial visit evident.

3.2.6.2 Yoshimitsu in "Aoi no ue"

Inuō also performed during the young emperor's visit, albeit on other days, and would have been aware, like all other participants in this massive imperial event, of the complex allusions to the *Genji monogatari*.⁴⁷⁷ On this

⁴⁷⁶ Yoshimitsu's name is written 義満 while the *chigo*'s name, probably a pseudonym assigned for this event, is written 慶満丸. The initial glyph of the *chigo*'s name can be read a number of ways, including *chika*, *nori*, *michi*, *yasu*, and *yoshi*, but the second glyph, the same as Yoshimitsu's second glyph makes the intended similarity very clear. Tsunetsugu and Noritoki's diary entries both highlight this fact by including these two names although the performers of most other dances remain unnamed. Ichijō Tsunetsugu, *Kitayama-dono gyōko ki*, in DNS 7:9, Ōei 15 (1408)3.14 (p. 853); Yamashina Noritoki, *Noritoki kyōki*, in DNS 7:9, Ōei 15.3.14 (p. 884).

⁴⁷⁷ Ichijō Tsunetsugu, *Kitayama-dono gyōkō ki*, in DNS 7:9, Ōei 15. 3.22 (p. 926); Yamashina Noritoki, *Noritoki kyōki*, in DNS 7:9. Ōei 15. 3.10 (p. 838) and Ōei 15.3.22 (p. 927). A third *sarugaku* performance towards the end of the imperial visit was cancelled because of rain. Yamashina Noritoki, *Noritoki kyōki*, in DNS 7:9, Ōei 15.3.26 (p. 939).

occasion at the very latest, Inuō was aware that Yoshimitsu enjoyed being associated with the shining Prince Genji. I argue that for that very reason, “Aoi no ue” does not include a character named Prince Genji and only refers to the shining prince in passing. Instead, “Aoi no ue” speaks directly to Yoshimitsu as Prince Genji.

Another reason to believe Inuō’s performance cast Yoshimitsu in the role of Prince Genji is reference in the “Aoi no ue” text to Yoshimitsu’s flower propaganda:

In bygone times, when I was still acquainted with the world
of imperial flower-viewing banquets above the clouds
and spring morning music concerts
on autumn nights filled with crimson leaves at the immortal’s cave,
taking delight in the moon, imbued with seasonal colors and scents.⁴⁷⁸

The first line of this passage contains ambiguity concerning whether the character is dead or alive.⁴⁷⁹ Does Lady Rokujō’s ghost reminisce about her life or about her life as a member of the imperial court? The rest seems to reference the ethereal world that Yoshimitsu created around himself. The imperial flower-viewing banquet can refer to either or both Emperor Goenyū’s visit to the Muromachi Palace or Emperor Gokomatsu’s visit to the Kitayama Palace.

⁴⁷⁸ Brown, trans., *Theatricalities of Power*, p. 59.

⁴⁷⁹ Nishimura, “Aoi no ue ni okeru shiniryō no imēji,” p. 368.

Similarly, mention of autumn entertainments could allude to other events that functioned as a kind of cultural propaganda for Yoshimitsu's power.

Inuō's performance of this play for Yoshimitsu appears to appeal the case of someone cast out of that world. As such, it echoes Zeami's childhood appeal in Tamarin's stead. In that case, the person that Inuō represents is most likely either a neglected lady or some other shunned individual. Considering Yoshimitsu's tendency to pit disgruntled vassals against each other as in the *Kōryaku* Disturbance or enticing problematic vassals to rebel as in the *Ōei* Disturbance, Inuō's performance can be read as an allegory for political fidelity.⁴⁸⁰ In that case, Inuō's performance might function as a warning to Yoshimitsu that neglected vassals might have reason to rebel. If Inuō represents a specific individual, identifying that individual would first require precisely dating Inuō's performance. Either way, the performance confronts Yoshimitsu with the consequences of neglect and betrayal, even holding him responsible for those consequences.

If Inuō's performance of "Aoi no ue" cast Yoshimitsu in the role of Prince Genji, as I have argued here, the performance must have been during his reign from the Kitayama Palace. Most situational similarities between Yoshimitsu and Prince Genji occurred at the beginning of his reign there, and the Kitayama Palace's previous residents, the Saionji family, had long associated the property with the *Genji monogatari*. Therefore, Inuō performed "Aoi no ue" sometime after Yoshimitsu took the Buddhist rites in *Ōei* 2 (1395), following Prince Genji's precedent to act as Honorary Retired Emperor. Of course, this performance must

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. Sather, "A Critique by Any Other Name," p. 49.

have occurred before Yoshimitsu's death in Ōei 15 (1408). Therefore, reading a comparison between Yoshimitsu and Prince Genji helps in narrowing the window in which Inuō probably performed this piece that Zeami described in careful detail.

3.3 In Sum

Inuō's performance of "Aoi no ue" must have pleased the audience because Zeami's description of the play does not mention any criticism although the play itself goes against his earlier rejection of combining extremely feminine and extremely masculine character traits. Instead, it suggests the audience was fascinated by this juxtaposition of masculinity and femininity in the sight of an aristocratic lady engaging in uncharacteristic violence justified as spirit possession. Indeed, although Zeami was skeptical about combining demon imagery with *yūgen*, Nijō Yoshimoto claimed not only that it is possible in *renga* but also that it could create a novel impact at gatherings.⁴⁸¹ Although Inuō mixed two extremes that Zeami separated in his early thought, Zeami includes the play in his own lists thereby indicating that he did not hesitate from including it in his own repertoire.⁴⁸² Despite being politically and formally subversive, "Aoi no ue" was a success.

⁴⁸¹ Nijō Yoshimoto, *Renri hishō*, pp. 51-52.

⁴⁸² Zeami alludes to the play in *Sandō*, completed Ōei 30 (1423). Zeami, *Sandō*, p. 137. It also appears in *Go'on*, albeit with no mention of the author, suggesting Zeami is the author: Zeami, *Go'on* vol. 1, p. 209.

“Aoi no ue” was successful despite or perhaps even because of its confrontational scheme. In the example of his earlier patron Sasaki Dōyo, Inuō saw how effective a tendency to subversion was in garnering attention. While serving at the shogunal palace, he took a part in the Yūki Mitsufuji incident, to all appearances undermining Yoshimitsu’s interests, although Yoshimitsu’s close affiliate Ichijō Tsunetsugu questioned those appearances. Repeated conflicts imply that Inuō used the performance of subversion as a means of maintaining a reputation for subversion, with which he could draw attention in anticipation of his next maneuver. With “Aoi no ue,” he both appealed to Yoshimitsu’s self-image as Prince Genji and attacked a weakness of that image, its implications about duplicity. However, that subversion was possible because Inuō retained *kakari* and *yūgen* as discussed in the second chapter.

Previous readings of “Aoi no ue” assume a more rigid relationship between sex and gender in Muromachi performances than what I established in chapter one. Brown assumes an identity between gender and sex, and finds it problematic that male rather than female playwrights enunciate feminine subject positions in “Aoi no ue.”⁴⁸³ As I showed in the first chapter and as is evident in Inuō’s performance abilities, Zeami recognized that at least performers were able to adopt a gender from a spectrum of possibilities that did not conform to their sex. Zeami’s understanding of gender fluidity probably stemmed from personal experience of being feminized erotically by his patrons’ masculine gaze. Other

⁴⁸³ Brown, *Theatricalities of Power*, p. 78.

players had similar sexually charged encounters with patrons.⁴⁸⁴ In delineating gender and power dynamics between players and patrons, Zeami must have seen examples among his peers and competitors. Being in a disadvantaged position in terms of status and influence, players had to be rather submissive and therefore feminine in order to appeal to their patrons. Therefore, what Brown calls a feminine subject position can include masculine factors. In “Aoi no ue,” the fate of feminine submissiveness that Lady Rokujō’s maidservant tearfully laments develops into a unique expression of demonic violence. The main character tries to secure her own fate as she sees best in a manner resembling warriors or other powerful individuals.

Misreading gender in the player-patron relationship can cause further misunderstandings. Brown reads what he calls a revisionist situation of male playwrights writing feminine subject positions as a means of exculpating masculine responsibility for female subjects. Instead of voicing masculine

⁴⁸⁴ Goodwin notes that aristocrat Fujiwara Yorinaga’s entry in his *Taiki* diary (twelfth century) recounts sexual encounters with a dancer named Kimikata and that the *Uji shūi* (thirteenth century) contains the story of an abbot’s desire for an acrobatic dancer: Goodwin, *Selling Songs and Smiles*, pp. 26-27; Cf. Mills, *A Collection of Tales from Uji*, pp. 248-50. The *Uji shūi* narrative does not specify if the performer is a *sarugaku* or *dengaku* performer: Mills, *A collection of Tales from Uji*, 248. Leupp reads the reference to the young man to suggest he is a *sarugaku* performer, but mention of the young man’s “dazzling tricks” and “dancing and hopping” suggest a closer affinity with *dengaku*. Leupp, *Male Colors*, p. 39.

responsibility for the plight of women, who, Brown shows, were more and more disadvantaged in the increasingly militarized society, Brown sees a shift in “blame for Rokujō’s possession of Aoi from the man’s neglect to the woman’s jealousy.”⁴⁸⁵ However, this reading overlooks the relationship between player and patron that Zeami describes as an obviously erotic relationship which players must accommodate in order to be successful. Within that relationship, Inuō’s performance is less a depiction of the plight of betrayed women and more a confrontation with Yoshimitsu as an authoritative figure who repeatedly betrayed his vassals in order to maintain power and who might well have neglected a woman with whom he was once intimate. For these reasons, I think “Aoi no ue” in no way shifts the blame for female violence from masculine neglect to feminine jealousy as Brown claims.

Therefore, to the innovations in “Aoi no ue,” I would like to add that “Aoi no ue” gave the patron of a performance a role, in this case the role of Prince Genji. Similarly, in a performance of “Matsukaze,” if one assumes the patron is male, it is possible to give him the role of the ghost of Yukihiro.⁴⁸⁶ At the same time, the double main character creates a richer relationship between the patron and player. The player is not alone in creating a mood to complement the patron.

⁴⁸⁵ Brown, *Theatricalities of Power*, p. 77.

⁴⁸⁶ Confirmation of this hypothesis would require further analysis that goes beyond the scope of this project. Indeed, further research should test the extent to which it is possible to read a role for the patron in plays other than “Aoi no ue.”

By including a second, supporting role, the player can fine-tune the mood of the performance. Zeami might say that Inuō was able to tease out complementary relationships within even the slightest differences of perception.

Chapter 4: The Heavenly Woman's Androgynous Tendency

When Yoshimitsu retired in Ōei 1 (1394), his son Yoshimochi succeeded as shogun, although Yoshimitsu retained control over official matters. The relationship became fraught late in Yoshimitsu's life. On the twenty eighth day of the third month of Ōei 13 (1406), a rift opened between father and son. Yoshimitsu reprimanded Yoshimochi, who fled at night to Hino Shigemitsu's residence. The cause for Yoshimitsu's displeasure is lost to history, but aristocrat and Yoshimitsu sympathizer Yamashina Noritoki notes a widespread fear on the night of Yoshimochi's flight in his diary.⁴⁸⁷ Amano believes that as a direct result of this incident Yoshimitsu began favoring Yoshimochi's younger half-brother Yoshitsugu.⁴⁸⁸ Yoshitsugu appeared prominently in events at the Kitayama Palace during Emperor Gokomatsu's extended visit in Ōei 15 (1408).⁴⁸⁹ Yoshimochi remained uninvited and did not attend these events at all.⁴⁹⁰ When

⁴⁸⁷ Yamashina Noritoki, *Noritoki kyōki*, in DNS 7:7, Ōei 13 (1406).3.28 (p. 908).

⁴⁸⁸ Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 415.

⁴⁸⁹ Sakurai, *Muromachi no seishin*, p. 72-73.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

Yoshimitsu died suddenly two months after the spectacular imperial visit, Shiba Yoshimasa was instrumental in ensuring Yoshimochi's position as shogun.⁴⁹¹

Amano argues against pre-war historians who claim that Yoshimochi was dissolute.⁴⁹² He notes that research on Yoshimochi's character is scarce and seemingly contradictory: Some claimed he indulged too much in entertainment while others focused on his activities as a patron of the Zen Five Mountains literary movement.⁴⁹³ Amano affirms both views, but claims the latter, reflective stance is more fundamental, and the former inclination towards excess a means of maintaining personal ties with Emperor Gokomatsu.⁴⁹⁴ While Yoshimitsu visited the imperial palace for official events and ceremonies, particularly around each New Year, Yoshimochi's casual visits with Emperor Gokomatsu for *renga* and *waka* gatherings, *sarugaku* performances, drinking parties, and flower gazing events were unprecedented, but similarly served to strengthen the

⁴⁹¹ Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 416; Sakurai, *Muromachi no seishin*, p. 73. Yoshimochi and Yoshitsugu appear to have had an amiable relationship thereafter until Yoshitsugu was imprisoned in Shōkokuji after his father-in-law Uesugi Zenshū lead a rebellion against his former lord, the Kantō deputy Ashikaga Mochiuji in Ōei 23 (1416). Yoshimochi had Yoshitsugu assassinated in Ōei 25 (1418). Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 416.

⁴⁹² Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 387-88.

⁴⁹³ Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 437.

⁴⁹⁴ Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 437 and p. 388.

politically advantageous tie between shogun and emperor.⁴⁹⁵ As such, Yoshimochi's historical persona can hardly be called dissolute, but rather displays a tendency to use cultural patronage as political propaganda. This tendency differs from his father's performance of self in its level of ostentation: For example, while Yoshimitsu built both the Muromachi and Kitayama Palaces and hosted imperial visits to both places to put his power on display, Yoshimochi had the Muromachi Palace demolished and instead lived at the Sanjō-bōmon Palace, which he had rebuilt to include separate private quarters for himself, and preferred low-profile engagements in "meeting places *kaisho*."⁴⁹⁶ Such anecdotal evidence suggests Yoshimochi preferred appearing on a smaller, less formal stage than his father had before him.

Not only was Yoshimochi more comfortable in intimate spaces, but his attention also focused on aesthetic refinement and detail. Zeami notes the difference between Yoshimitsu and Yoshimochi's tastes:

Previously, even [Yoshimitsu]'s criticism only regarded effective [aspects of performances], and did not address the faults. Now, because [Yoshimochi's] eye is much more discerning and [he] addresses even the

⁴⁹⁵ Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 384.

⁴⁹⁶ Stavros, *Kyoto*, p. 119, p. 122, and p. 133.

smallest fault, unless it's an elegant play (*yūkyoku*)—a polished jewel or a carefully plucked flower—, it will not please the shogun.⁴⁹⁷

Yoshimitsu's feedback reinforced aspects of performances that he appreciated and was thus able to overlook minor blunders in a performance. In contrast, Yoshimochi expected players in his service to perform with greater attention to detail. Furthermore, Yoshimochi's taste tended towards the more complex, newer kinds of plays featuring feminine beauty and seductiveness that innovative performers like Zeami had been working to develop. To appeal to Yoshimochi's expectations, Zeami notes in the above quotation that performers should perform "elegant plays" (*yūkyoku*).⁴⁹⁸ This compound term including the first character of *yūgen* suggests that Yoshimochi most appreciated plays that exhibited a refined femininity.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁷ Zeami, *Shikadō*, p. 118. In inserting Yoshimitsu and Yoshimochi's names, I rely on Omote Akira's notes "sono koro" and "tōsei" in the quoted text. Hare does not adopt this reading in his translation. Hare, *Zeami Performance Notes*, p. 137.

⁴⁹⁸ Hare notes that in this instance "elegant play *yūkyoku*" designates "a level of accomplishment in performance" instead of a play genre as elsewhere. Hare, *Zeami Performance Notes*, p. 137 n. 17.

⁴⁹⁹ For my analysis of the femininity of *yūgen*, see section 2.2.3.

After comparing Yoshimitsu and Yoshimochi's approaches towards criticism, Zeami adds that few players are able to satisfy Yoshimochi's taste.⁵⁰⁰ Indeed, aside from Zeami and his Kanze troupe, the *dengaku* performer Zōami found considerable favor with the new shogun. Like Zeami, Zōami had at one time danced for Yoshimitsu as a *chigo*.⁵⁰¹ Omote suggests therefore that they were close in age.⁵⁰² Considering Zeami was the first *chigo* to serve Yoshimitsu, Zōami must have been somewhat younger.⁵⁰³ A prominent narrative of this period by Omote Akira claims the next shogun favored *dengaku* more than *sarugaku* because the historical record included only one performance by Zeami for Yoshimochi in Ōei 17 (1410) at daimyo Shimazu Motohisa's residence.⁵⁰⁴ Since Omote's publication, Matsuoka Shinpei has presented historical evidence of a performance by Zeami for Yoshimochi in Ōei 23 (1416), thereby throwing into doubt the common assumption that Zeami was wholly unpopular with this shogun.⁵⁰⁵ Nonetheless, Zōami's popularity must have been even greater. As of Ōei 20 (1413), Sanbō'in Manzei, a powerful Shingon monk in Yoshimochi's

⁵⁰⁰ Zeami, *Shikadō*, p. 118.

⁵⁰¹ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 311.

⁵⁰² Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 311 n. "chigo nite. . ."

⁵⁰³ Matsuoka, "Hana no jidai no enshutsuka tachi," p. 6 and "Zeami ga ikita jidai," p. 24.

⁵⁰⁴ Omote Akira and Amano, *Nōgaku no rekishi*, p. 46.

⁵⁰⁵ Matsuoka, "Ashikaga Yoshimochi to Zeami," p. 4.

service, notes in his diary that Zōami performs benefit performances (*kanjin*) for ten successive years.⁵⁰⁶ This level of popularity seems to have evaded Zeami and his troupe during Yoshimochi's reign. However, these circumstances led Zeami to focus his efforts on improving his understanding of performance and his repertoire of elegant characters.

Zōami was able to develop elegant performance techniques despite being a *dengaku* performer. *Dengaku* was a performing art popular in the Kamakura period that incorporated acrobatics and used flamboyant costuming. Matsuoka talks about how *dengaku*'s popularity produced a "mass hysteria" that enveloped society for roughly 300 years following the time around the Eichō Grand *Dengaku* in the summer of Kahō 3 (1096).⁵⁰⁷ Zeami claims that although *dengaku* was distinctive, it could not be compared to *sarugaku* because it lacked the range of performance styles available to players competent in mimesis.⁵⁰⁸ He explains by noting that they separated physical movement and song: They either performed brisk acrobatics such as "dragonfly flips" (*tōbō-gaeri*), a type of mid-air spin or summersault, or stood still to sing, the quality of their song fluid and straightforward (*kaku kaku to utau*).⁵⁰⁹ Yoshimitsu reportedly joked about one *dengaku* performer named Kōhōshi, saying that he had no skill, but he could

⁵⁰⁶ Eguchi, "Zōami shojō nitsū," p. 107.

⁵⁰⁷ Matsuoka, *Utage noshintai*, p. 27.

⁵⁰⁸ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 43.

⁵⁰⁹ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 261.

perform *dengaku*.⁵¹⁰ *Dengaku* was thus more of an acrobatic show with various different acts than a dramatic performance that incorporated movement and song to tell a cohesive narrative. Zōami was heir to this tradition, but his performances had a different character.

At some point in the generations before Zeami and Zōami, *dengaku* and *sarugaku* players began learning and borrowing from each other. As mentioned before, Zeami counted some *dengaku* players among his role models. His father trained with Itchū, a *dengaku* player.⁵¹¹ Kiami, another *dengaku* player and role model for Zeami, was a master singer and an excellent composer.⁵¹² Zōami appears to have succeeded Kiami.⁵¹³ Kiami's singing achieved the second highest rank of nine, and Zōami achieved the third highest.⁵¹⁴ Zeami thought Zōami's art as a whole fell in this lowest of the top three ranks, a rank that Zeami calls the

⁵¹⁰ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 261. The performer's name is also noted as Matsuyasha. Omote notes that there is no other record about him. Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 261 n. "Kōhōshi."

⁵¹¹ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 43.

⁵¹² Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 261. Zeami, *Goi*, p. 206.

⁵¹³ Zeami notes that Zōami used a mask previously used by Kiami. Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 262. Rath notes the significance of masks as media of tradition. *The Ethos of Noh*, p. 24.

⁵¹⁴ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 261 and p. 262.

effect of the tranquil flower.⁵¹⁵ In describing the tranquil flower, Zeami alludes to a phrase from the *Hekiganroku* in a comparison with a snow filled silver bowl.⁵¹⁶ This imagery describes a quality of suggestiveness achieved by maintaining ambiguity among similar things.

Zeami makes a point to say that although Zōami was a *dengaku* player, his performances were not one-sided.⁵¹⁷ His subtlety of expression could move Zeami to tears, and yet his performances were not so sophisticated that he did not appeal to a range of audiences.⁵¹⁸

However, the *Sarugaku dangi* contains Zeami's criticism of Zōami.⁵¹⁹ Zeami found some of Zōami's unique performance practices inappropriate, including his tendency to begin dancing on the bridge passageway and not on the stage proper and his propensity to sing auspicious music in a tone of grief (*bōwoku*).⁵²⁰ Despite all criticism, Zeami certainly had a formidable competitor in Zōami. To compete, Zeami worked hard to satisfy aesthetic tastes evolving more and more towards elegant, feminine representations. It is in this period of

⁵¹⁵ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 262; Zeami, *Kyūi*, p. 174. See also the discussion of the nine ranks in section 2.2.1.

⁵¹⁶ Cr. Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 174 n. "ginwanri ni. . ."

⁵¹⁷ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 263.

⁵¹⁸ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 262.

⁵¹⁹ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 313.

⁵²⁰ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 272 and p. 313.

Yoshimochi's rule, when Zōami achieved favor, that Zeami worked to integrate the heavenly woman dance into his performances as a means of achieving *yūgen*.

To justify adopting the heavenly woman dance, Zeami claimed that Kan'ami asked him to do so on his deathbed. The senior player's last words refer to Zeami by his adolescent name, Motokiyo.

Kan'ami did not perform the heavenly woman. Nonetheless, because in his last words [he] said Motokiyo must be the one to dance [it], Zeami was the first to dance it in Yamato.⁵²¹

This testament makes clear that the heavenly woman dance was not previously a part of their repertoire. These last words are consistent with Kan'ami's move to expand the variety of female characters. Kan'ami had adopted the *kuse* dance by training with a female dancer named Otozuru.⁵²² As a child, he had Zeami train as a *chigo*.⁵²³ These last words would suggest that Kan'ami wanted his son to expand on that practice of adopting feminine performance styles by adopting the heavenly woman dance.

⁵²¹ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 312.

⁵²² Zeami, *Go'on* vol. 2, p. 223. Otozuru was a member of the Kagajo. Omote notes that the Kagajo were a group of *shirabyōshi*. Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 223 n. "kagajo."

⁵²³ See Ch. 1.

Before Kan'ami and Zeami began incorporating more female characters, their Yūzaki (later Kanze) troupe was known for performing ferocious characters. In his earliest description of demon roles, Zeami gives a nod to that heritage, "this in particular is a Yamato role."⁵²⁴ This style was easily applied to performing fierce warriors and awesome masculine deities.⁵²⁵ Although Kan'ami worked to develop feminine roles, he was better at mimesis than Zeami probably was.⁵²⁶ Training as a *chigo* precluded training in mimesis, a development that Zeami emphasizes in *Fūshikaden* by claiming the efficacy of a childhood focus on music and dance.⁵²⁷ In *Nikyoku santai ningyōzu*, completed in Ōei 28 (1421), Zeami calls the heavenly woman dance the "great dance of playful entertainment" and a "model for training and learning the way."⁵²⁸ This dance thus provided an opportunity to develop exactly those skills that Zeami learned as a child. The heavenly woman complemented the fiercer forms of mimesis and the narratives that until that time were the Yūzaki troupe's strong suit with a feminine deity that had its own unique power.

⁵²⁴ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 25.

⁵²⁵ Ibid.

⁵²⁶ See argument in section 1.1.3.

⁵²⁷ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 15.

⁵²⁸ Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 130 and p. 131.

Nonetheless, Zeami did not heed his father's words right away. Kan'ami died in Shitoku 1 (1384).⁵²⁹ At that time, Inuō had just come into his own as a player in the capital. The first subtle references to the heavenly woman dance in Zeami's treatises, allusions to the avian metaphor, which I will analyze in the following, do not appear until ca. thirty years later at the earliest.⁵³⁰ By that time, Inuō had already died in Ōei 20 (1413). Zeami's delay in executing his father's final wish may have been due to his admiration of, and deference to, this older competitor.

Zeami clearly looked to Inuō's performance as a model for the heavenly woman dance:

Among other things, [he] dances the heavenly woman confidently and fluidly (*sarari sasa to*), the same way a flying bird submits to the wind. Handing a golden sutra to the supporting performer (*waki*) and withdrawing his hand, he begins to dance. The way he takes the fan in the

⁵²⁹ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 19.

⁵³⁰ The exact date when Zeami first wrote the "Mai wa koe wo ne to nasu" section of *Kakyō* is unclear. The whole collection of eighteen sections is capped with a colophon noting the date Ōei 31 (1424). Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 109:10. Omote and Takemoto suggest this section might have been completed before Ōei 25 (1418). Omote Akira und Takemoto, *Nōgaku no densho to geiron*, p. 21.

left [hand] in the first part (*dan*) is not forced.⁵³¹ At the end with some line or other, he takes it in the left [hand] and in a pushing manner turns a large circle. [Zeami] wondered why he danced like that.⁵³²

Zeami's description of the dance does not provide an interpretation of its symbolism, but focuses rather on the fascination Inuō's movements evoked. In his own reflections on the dance, Zeami notes that it evokes a "profound style and *yūgen* musicality *myōfū yūkyoku*."⁵³³ Clearly, Inuō's dance goes beyond mere mimesis. Aside from the gesture of presenting a golden sutra to the supporting character at the very beginning, the dance does not dramatize a narrative. Instead, it provides a subjective, visceral experience of a realm that is not objective reality. To create a subjective experience, performers must thoroughly

⁵³¹ Poorter translates this sentence as, "In the first part [of his dance] he held his fan in his left hand, but it was not very good." *Motoyoshi's Sarugaku Dangi*, p. 100. "Not very good" does not account for the negation. Omote annotates the phrase "taking the fan in the left [hand]" as, "a movement element (*kata*) in the dance; probably Inuō's technical strength." Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 263 n. "hidari e ōgi toru." Tanaka reads the end of the sentence as, his performance was "not done to excess." *Zeami geijutsu ronshū*, p. 179.

⁵³² Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 263.

⁵³³ Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 130.

know how an audience will experience a performance. Zeami repeatedly advocated precisely such inquiry.⁵³⁴

Zeami noticed that his competitors' ability in dance did not approach what he had seen in Inuō's heavenly woman dance.

Nevertheless, [the heavenly woman dance] attained a high level in the pursuit [of this art], and everyone perceived it as interesting, imitating the loose obi, but not knowing how to tie it.⁵³⁵

The dance as Inuō danced it was unusually well done. Because it lacked explicit meaning, as I showed above, other performers did not quite understand how to recreate it. In this *Sarugaku dangi* description of the dance, Zeami uses a metaphor about tying an obi sash to criticize other players' ability to perform the dance. As Omote explains, they "only imitate [Inuō's] way of diverging from the rule; they don't know how to prevent failure and maintain control."⁵³⁶ These other performers could not achieve Inuō's visceral impact on audiences by performing their own understanding of the heavenly woman dance. This dance was more profound. For that reason, it proved to be a key influence on Zeami's development of dance techniques.

⁵³⁴ For a discussion of how Zeami urged players to get feedback from audiences, see chapter one.

⁵³⁵ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 263.

⁵³⁶ Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 264 n. "obi wo. . ."

Inuō was skilled at dancing the heavenly woman, but Zeami did not see that as an impediment to adopting it himself. He explains that Inuō was not the dance's originator nor was he uniquely licensed to perform it.⁵³⁷ Instead, Zeami notes difficulty in determining a source (*hon to wa rakui shigatashi*).⁵³⁸ There was no official heritage for performers of the heavenly woman dance as there are for other dances.⁵³⁹ Omote and Kōsai claim that before Kan'ami performed *okina*, the solemn dance featuring an old man was performed by a person called *osa*, a hereditary position within the *sarugaku* troupe.⁵⁴⁰ Female *kusemai* dancers were similarly rightful heirs to the *kusemai* heritage, which is why Zeami finds it important to note that Kan'ami learned that dance from Otozuru, one of the Kagajo *kusemai* dancers.⁵⁴¹ Despite being free to dance the heavenly woman due

⁵³⁷ Zeami, *Kyakuraika*, pp. 247-248.

⁵³⁸ Zeami, *Kyakuraika*, p. 248.

⁵³⁹ Cf. Takemoto, "Tennyomai no kenkyū," p. 98.

⁵⁴⁰ Previously, the *osa* (according to Omote and Kōsai a hereditary position within the troupe although it is understood elsewhere as the eldest performer) lead the troupe's performances of *okina*. Kan'ami was the *dayū* (an honorific received from religious institutions who patronized the troupe) lead the *sarugaku* performers. Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 502 n. 175; Kōsai, *Zoku Zeami shinkō*, pp. 349-53; Hare, *Zeami's Style*, pp. 12-13; Rath, *The Ethos of Noh*, pp. 78-79; and Fenno Quinn, *Developing Zeami*, p. 29.

⁵⁴¹ Zeami, *Go'on* vol. 2, p. 223 and Omote's note "Otozuru." it seems possible that Otozuru learned the *okina* dance from Kan'ami because a woman of

to a lack of such a heritage, Zeami respectfully waited to do so until after Inuō's death in Ōei 20 (1413). Although there was no official heritage of heavenly woman dancers, Zeami's writings on the dance were heavily influenced by Inuō's example.

The extent of Inuō's influence is revealed in Zeami's use of an avian metaphor to describe the dance. That metaphor appears in the above description of Inuō's performance of the dance: "[he] also danced the heavenly woman and so forth smoothly and fluidly like a flying bird (*hichō*) obliging to the wind (*kaze ni shitagau*)."⁵⁴² This metaphor appears also in Zeami's thought on dance called the five dance wisdoms. The second of the five wisdoms "should resemble the appearance of a flying bird (*hichō*) obliging to the wind (*kaze ni shitagau*)."⁵⁴³ Later, it appears again in Zeami's notes on the heavenly woman dance: "[B]e like flowers and birds (*kachō*) flying and obliging (*hizui*) to the spring wind. . ."⁵⁴⁴ The

that name danced it in Jōwa 5 (1349). O'Neill, "The Special Kasuga Wakamiya Festival of 1349," p. 414.

⁵⁴² Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 263.

⁵⁴³ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 88. Takemoto refers to this instance of the metaphor in relation to the two above by saying, Zeami uses this "figure of speech for the heavenly woman dance" here to apply the characteristics of the specific dance to a more general dance theory. Takemoto, "Tennyomai no kenkyū," p. 107. However, Takemoto and other researchers have not found a clear answer as to what those characteristics are.

⁵⁴⁴ Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 130.

metaphor's appearance in two passages describing the heavenly woman dance suggests a clear relationship to Zeami's thought on dance as it appears in "Kakyo." Therefore, it is possible to say not only that Zeami adopted the heavenly woman dance into his own repertoire, but that the dance influenced Zeami's way of thinking about dance in general.

Yoshimochi's taste influenced Zeami at a key point in his late development.⁵⁴⁵ When Yoshimochi took control of government in Ōei 15 (1408), Zeami was already an experienced and successful performer in his late forties. Having achieved a high level of proficiency in his art, he was uniquely positioned to develop approaches to performance that were based on, but went beyond, his previous knowledge. In this period he finished writing the extensive, 18 part *Kakyō* in Ōei 31 (1424) and *Nikyoku santai ningyōzu* in Ōei 30 (1423).⁵⁴⁶ Although Zeami wrote many more treatises before Yoshimochi's death in Ōei 35 (1428), these two are most pertinent in considering how the heavenly woman dance influenced Zeami's thought on dance. *Kakyō* includes Zeami's first thoroughly thought out treatment of dance. Although Yoshimochi's taste shaped Zeami's interest in femininity and the closely related *yūgen* quality of elegance,

⁵⁴⁵ Cf. Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, pp. 360-61.

⁵⁴⁶ *Kakyō* includes partially revised passages from *Onkyoku kuden*—completed Ōei 26 (1419)—and carries a colophon claiming completion in Ōei 31 (1424). Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 109. For *Shikadō* and *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu colophons*, see respectively Zeami, *Shikadō*, p. 118:13 and *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 132.

his competitor Zōami's skill in subtly evoking deep emotions pushed him to consider how to touch audiences viscerally and his memories of Inuō's performances inspired him to rework his thought on dance and adopt the heavenly woman dance.

4.1 The Five Dance Wisdoms and their Influences

While Kan'ami and the Kanze troupe was skilled at mimesis, Zeami shifted from such characterizations focusing on physical capacity to characterizations emphasizing mental states and used this ability to perform feminine characters. This shift coincides with his shift towards a musical foundation for all of performance. He calls that foundation the "two arts" (*nikyoku*), which are song and dance and which appears for the first time in the treatise *Kakyō*.⁵⁴⁷ This text includes his first innovative treatment of dance in the section "Dance has its Root in Voice" (*Mai wa koe wo ne to nasu*).⁵⁴⁸ Zeami completed this section almost a decade after the sketch of the old man's dance that appears in *Fūshikaden*.⁵⁴⁹ The

⁵⁴⁷ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 94.

⁵⁴⁸ Cf. Takemoto, "Tennyomai no kenkyū," p. 107.

⁵⁴⁹ The *Fūshikaden* chapter "Besshi kuden," in which Zeami's earliest comments about dance appear, has a colophon of Ōei 25 (1418), and early version of parts of *Kakyō* were also completed in the same year. These earlier versions have only survived in part and are published under the titles *Kashū no uchi nuki gaki* and *Ongyoku kuden*. However, Omote argues that the five dance wisdom theory was a later addition. Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchoku*, p. 447 n. 37.

Kakyō section presents an understanding of dance that is very different from and much more refined than the earlier passage.

4.1.1 Dance in *Fūshikaden*

Zeami's first broadly applicable statements about dance appear in the seventh chapter of *Fūshikaden*, entitled "Besshikuden," where the old man's dance is described.⁵⁵⁰ There, his remarks about dance treat it together with "vigorous movement" (*hataraki*).

Fundamentally, what is called dance and vigorous movement (*hataraki*) is a matter of matching musical rhythm to the myriad [roles], stepping, extending and withdrawing the hands, and allotting mannerisms (*furi*) and comportment (*fuzei*) to the beat.⁵⁵¹

These formulations about extending and withdrawing the hands and about aligning dance moves with the "rhythmic beat" (*hyōshi*) appear again in the first of the five dance wisdoms. The context here suggests that even if he wanted physical movement to arise from music as he suggests elsewhere in

This suggests a later date of completion noted in the *Kakyō* colophon as Ōei 31 (1424). Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 109.

⁵⁵⁰ Cf. Takemoto, "Tennyomai no kenkyū," pp. 106-7.

⁵⁵¹ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 58.

Fūshikaden,⁵⁵² he was as yet incapable of explaining how movement might arise from music except to say that mimetic movements and rhythm align with each other. By treating dance together with vigorous movement, Zeami discloses that at this time his primary focus was on movement patterns rather than on the dynamic qualities of musicality.

Zeami then applies these remarks to his troupe's specialty, the dance of the old man, a dance derived from *okina* rather than from the heavenly woman dance. In this treatment of the old man's dance, Zeami elaborates on a warning in his earlier treatment of mimesis, where he criticizes simply mimicking the stooped posture of elderly men.⁵⁵³ Elderly characters should instead dance "like flowers blooming on old trees."⁵⁵⁴ He elaborates on this in the following:

Concerning the place you align the beats when performing an old man, step the feet somewhat after [the beat of] the large drum (*taiko*), lyrics, and small drum (*tsuzumi*); Extending and withdrawing the hands as well as all gestures and mannerisms should be slightly after the beat. This precedent (*koshitsu*) is the most important model (*katagi*) for the old man.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵² Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 49.

⁵⁵³ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 22.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁵ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 58.

The word “precedent” (*koshitsu*) refers to practices from the long tradition in Yamato *sarugaku* of performing old men who dance. The described method of dancing as an old man is first and foremost mimetic: The performer delays his response to the music in a way that insinuates an old man’s declining physical capacities. The mimetic delay is the most important rule for dancing the old man.⁵⁵⁶ Zeami continues in a meditation about old men’s awareness of their own physical capacities, thereby revealing that the old man’s physical dynamism is attained through mimesis rather than by picking up the accompanying musical dynamic.

In general, in the old man’s heart, [he] wants to do everything in his capacity to act young. However, because his five body parts are heavy and

⁵⁵⁶ Nose comments that rules (*katagi*) are dance moves (*kata*), thereby making a connection to modern noh’s pedagogical practice of breaking dances down into small, modular elements. Nose, *Zeami jūroku bushū* vol. 1, p. 230. Considering that the term *katagi* also appears prominently in discussions of music, this comparison is somewhat misleading because here it describes a manner of performing dance moves rather than describing the dance moves themselves. Cf. Zeami, *Ongyoku kuden*, p. 75. For that reason, Omote and Tanaka are careful to instead call *katagi* a standard or criterion (*kijun*). Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 58 n. “toshiyori no katagi” and Tanaka, *Zeami geijutsu ronshū*, p. 87 n. 17.

his ears are slow, he inevitably (*chikara naku*) proceeds thusly in his heart and does not realize it in his behavior.⁵⁵⁷

This depiction of what it is like to be old reveals a modicum of understanding for variously abled bodies. The “five body parts” (*gotai*) refer to any of three ways of counting the various parts of the body: the tendons, veins, muscle, bone, and skin including hair; the head, both arms, and both legs; or the head, neck, chest, arms, and legs. However, it is divided up, the five parts of the body refers to the various parts that combine to constitute the physical body. Like women, old men have limited physical power. Unlike women, who conserve their movements, old men attempt to dance each movement as if they still had the power they had in their youth and fall short. This mimetic approach to dance continues to influence Zeami’s thought on dance, as his treatment of five “dance wisdoms” in *Kakyō* reveals. There he combines it with a more refined understanding of musical dynamism informed by the heavenly woman dance.

4.1.2 *The Five Dance Wisdoms in “Kakyō”*

Zeami’s five “dance wisdoms” (*buchī*) describe a system that integrates the mimetic approach of the old man dance with the musicality of the heavenly woman dance. The first dance wisdom is informed by the old man’s dance, the second by the heavenly woman dance. The first and second wisdoms combine in the third. The fourth and fifth dance wisdoms are based on the third, but contain different emphases. The fourth emphasizes the masculine qualities of the first

⁵⁵⁷ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 58.

dance wisdom, and the fifth emphasizes the feminine qualities of the second dance wisdom.

The mimetic quality of the old man's dance appears in the first of Zeami's five dance wisdoms. The first wisdom is called the wisdom of gesture and describes matching a series of gestures to a rhythm.

First, concerning the wisdom of gesture, it is a matter of learning to move the five body parts (*gotai*) beginning with the gesture of *gasshō*, then to extend and withdraw the hands, and the progression of the whole dance number according to rhythmic development (*jo-ha-kyū*).⁵⁵⁸ This is called the wisdom of gesture.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁸ The scale and application of rhythmic development (*jo-ha-kyū*) that Zeami is referring to here remains unclear. “[L]earning each dance number in a progression congruent with rhythmic development” could mean that the dance must not diverge from the overall development within a day's program of performances or from the rhythmic development of a single play. An analysis of rhythmic development by Takemoto suggests, but does not argue, that this quotation refers to the five parts of dance presented with the dance of the heavenly woman. Takemoto, “Shūgyoku tokka' no saikentō,” p. 112. Rather than arguing this point, Takemoto suggests that “progression” (*kyokudō*) refers to a more general idea of rhythmic development between the dance's beginning and conclusion. “Shūgyoku tokka' no saikentō,” p. 113. What remains clear is that the dance tempo should not shift into a speed that is incongruous with its context, be it the tempo of the dance, the general tempo of the part of the play where the

As in Zeami's discussion of the old man's dance earlier, the "five body parts" (*gotai*) refer to the physical body. In contemporary *noh* performance, *gasshō* is a specific gesture in which the arms are raised and the fingertips touch in front of the face, conveying deep respect or prayer.⁵⁶⁰ "Extending and withdrawing the hands" are also gestural elements. All of these dance moves must align with the dance's rhythm. A performer who has mastered the alignment of gesture and rhythm attains the wisdom of gesture. Just as Zeami said earlier that these gestures and mannerisms must align with the beat in the *Fūshikaden* description of dance, he says here that dance must be learned by aligning the progression of dance moves with the dance's rhythm. This similarity reveals that the wisdom of gesture draws on the earlier understanding of dance.

In contrast to the first dance wisdom, Zeami's description of the second dance wisdom, called the wisdom of dance, moves its focus away from the gestural use of hands, feet, and other body parts and instead draws on musical dynamism or *kakari* as a means of bringing the profundity of music into dance corporeality.

dance appears, the tempo of the play within the day's program, or—quite likely—all of these various levels of complexity.

⁵⁵⁹ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 87.

⁵⁶⁰ This is sometimes called *tappai*. Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 87 n. "gasshō no te."

Second, concerning the wisdom of dance: although [what is] called gesture is also dance, [the wisdom of dance] is [a matter of] not utilizing the hands and feet by simply making the figuration flow (*sugata-kakari*) the substance (*tai*), and producing no-gesture and no-style (*mushu mufū*). For example, it should produce an appearance of a flying bird going with the wind.⁵⁶¹

“Flow of figuration” (*sugata-kakari*) combines musical dynamism with “figuration” (*sugata*). Elsewhere in *Kakyō*, Zeami repeats that *kakari* applies to lyrical language as the quality of transitions among and between words (*moji utsuri*).⁵⁶² Although Zeami uses this term describing a dynamic connection between modular parts to primarily refer to vocal music and therefore linguistic expression, he leaves the boundaries of its applicability open to occasionally include corporeal expression. For Zeami, figuration is the process of perceiving figures that appear either visibly or audibly.⁵⁶³ By combining figuration and *kakari*, therefore, he combines linguistic and corporeal expression. Zeami also mentions figuration flow in treating *yūgen* within the context of beauty in all

⁵⁶¹ Zeami, *Kakyō*, pp. 87-88.

⁵⁶² Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 104; cf. section 2.2.3.3 discussion of *Ongyoku kuden*.

⁵⁶³ The term figuration appears—like flow—in Nijō Yoshimoto’s poetic theory of *yūgen*, where it refers to linguistic expression instead of corporeal expression. The “figuration of *yūgen*” appears in linguistic formulations of a high poetic quality. Nijō Yoshimoto, *Jūmon saihi shō*, pp. 110-11.

forms of mimesis: “Also, concerning imitation (*monomane*), when the figuration flow of the three roles (*santai*) is beautiful, this should be *yūgen*.”⁵⁶⁴ This formulation makes clear that *kakari* is not wholly divorced from mimesis. I instead understand their respective dynamism and modularity as a complementary pair, as becomes clear in the third dance wisdom. Zeami continues by stating that mimetic beauty must appear in both visual and audial sense perception for a comprehensive sense of *yūgen*.⁵⁶⁵ Analogous to flow in poetic language, flow in dance should apply to the transition among and between gestural elements or movement patterns. In his discussion of the wisdom of dance, figuration flow therefore refers to sustaining continuity between and among corporeal poses and patterns.

In dance movement, *kakari* connects the musical pattern (existence) to “nothingness *mu*.” The second dance wisdom produces what Zeami calls “no-gesture and no-style” (*mushu mufū*). “No-gesture” (*mushu*) is a relative negation of gesture analogous to no-color being a relative negation of patterns in singing. In *Ongyoku kuden*, Zeami speaks about the relative existence or nonexistence of color in singing. Existence is coloring a line of song in an expertly manner.⁵⁶⁶ Existence is here the emotional tone given to song. Profundity arises when the vocal line has no affected color.⁵⁶⁷ Zeami makes the overlap of nothingness—or

⁵⁶⁴ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 97.

⁵⁶⁵ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 98.

⁵⁶⁶ Zeami, *Ongyoku kuden*, p. 78.

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

no-pattern—with *kakari* in singing explicit in the later treatise *Fūkyokushū*.⁵⁶⁸ Just as musical flow integrates no-color, figuration flow integrates no-gesture into dance. A dance characterized by figuration flow, Zeami claims, has no gestural patterns and no stylistic patterns. In dancing in this way, a player does not intentionally execute patterns of movement, but rather brackets precisely such pre-conceived intentions and abandons the dance progression to a more basic, visceral feeling for the appropriate musical dynamic or flow.

This dance wisdom is clearly related to the heavenly woman dance because, as mentioned in this chapter’s introduction, the avian metaphor appears elsewhere only in descriptions of that dance. I read Zeami’s avian metaphor as a description of qualities of movement and agency rather than for any symbolic representation. The verbs in the avian metaphor are “flying” (*hi*- in “flying bird” (*hichō*) and “obliging” (*shitagau*).⁵⁶⁹ These verbs describe two types of agency: While “flying” describes an action with active agency, “obliging” describes submitting to some other agency.⁵⁷⁰ The adverbs in the *Sarugaku dangi* example of the metaphor further qualifies the movement: “Smoothly” (*sarari*)

⁵⁶⁸ Zeami, *Fūkyokushū*, p. 159.

⁵⁶⁹ In *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, Zeami combines the two verbs in the compound “flying and submitting” (*hizui*). Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 130.

⁵⁷⁰ Nishihira goes so far as to say the metaphor describes a bird that stops flapping its wings and coasts on the wind. Nishihira, *Zeami no keiko tetsugaku*, p. 139.

also means “unintentionally,” and “fluidly” (*sasa*) alludes to “pouring,” which can be understood as letting movements flow.⁵⁷¹ Therefore, this metaphor incorporates various qualities of agency, both actively flying and submissively obliging to the wind and also a third, relaxed or observant letting. The “flow of figuration” of the second dance wisdom describes a submissive stance towards music that complements the active or dominant quality of the first wisdom. By adopting Ōmi style dance, or more specifically Inuō’s manner of dancing the heavenly woman, Zeami is able to bring a depth of musical feeling to his own troupe’s dance performances.⁵⁷²

The third dance wisdom, called the wisdom of synthesis, combines the previous two wisdoms, the wisdoms of gesture and of dance.

Third, concerning the wisdom of synthesis, align the dance in the intervals in the rhythmic development (*jo-ha-kyū*) of the wisdom of gesture. Doing the gestures is the style of extant pattern (*umonfū*); doing the dance is the style of no-pattern (*mumonfū*). Combining the style of extant pattern and the style of no-pattern into a synthesized art achieves visual style. This is the art of the boundary (*kaikyoku*) that looks interesting. Understanding

⁵⁷¹ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 263.

⁵⁷² On the second dance wisdom’s indebtedness on Ōmi dance, cf. Takemoto, “Tennyōmai no kenkyū,” pp. 106-7.

the two [previous] ways and producing the art of dance is called the wisdom of synthesizing the art.⁵⁷³

To achieve the third wisdom, a performer must achieve awareness of both dance and gesture. Dance (figuration flow) must sustain the “intervals” (*aida*) between and among the gestures. The third wisdom combines the first two into a rich understanding of movement that addresses not only dance moves but also how all movement is connected in a continuous flow. Thus, this wisdom covers the full range of physical movement.

Zeami’s mention of a boundary might be read in two ways. Zeami calls the third wisdom the “art of the boundary” (*kaikyoku*), a compound including a glyph meaning limit or “boundary” (*kai*-). A first reading would highlight the internal boundary between the wisdom of gesture and the wisdom of dance. Once the performer fully understands these two complementary factors, he reaches the limits of physical movement. At that point, the performer reaches a second limit. Any attempt to improve on dance beyond understanding the two factors individually, requires a thorough understanding of how the two can be synthesized. The second understanding of boundary is then this third wisdom itself.

Zeami elaborates on the relative differences between the first two wisdoms. He calls them the style of extant pattern (*umonfū*) and the style of no-

⁵⁷³ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 88.

pattern (*mumonfū*).⁵⁷⁴ Gestures, because they have patterns, can potentially be symbolic. Flow does not have that potential. The third wisdom is a matter of uniting these complementary opposites within all corporeal movement.⁵⁷⁵ The formulation “synthesizing the art” (*sōkyoku*) appears only in Zeami’s discussion of the five dance wisdoms but has the same first glyph as another word Zeami uses very often, “alignment” (*sōō*). “Alignment” is a combination of a glyph meaning togetherness or reciprocity and a glyph meaning reply and immediacy, which combine to mean compatibility, balance, or alignment. The term comes from the Hossō notion that “aligns” subjective reality and “objective” reality: The seemingly objective world is no more than “the mere ideation of the mind” and therefore subjective.⁵⁷⁶ The third wisdom, the wisdom of art coordination, thus means a careful synthesis of the first two dance wisdoms, which like objectivity and subjectivity are complementary despite being contradictory. Their synthesis is necessary in order to know and perform the full breadth and depth of physical movement in dance.

To move beyond the synthesis of the two first wisdoms and describe the fourth and fifth dance wisdoms requires introducing the logical relationship between the terms “substance” and “function.” These are a necessary pair: it is

⁵⁷⁴ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 88.

⁵⁷⁵ Omote reads coordinating the art (*sōkyoku*) to mean “a technique for possessing two things at the same time,” referring to the wisdom of gesture and the wisdom of dance. Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 88 n. “sōkyoku.”

⁵⁷⁶ Michele, *Representations of Power*, p. 24.

impossible to have substance without function or function without substance.⁵⁷⁷ In Zeami's earlier use in *Fūshikaden*, these terms describe a simple causal relationship, in which substance gives rise to function.⁵⁷⁸ In *Shikadō*, however, Zeami uses them to describe the difference between superficial and thorough knowledge about an "other."

[One] should know what the substance and function of performance are. If substance is like the flower, then function is like [its] scent. Alternatively, they are like the moon and moonlight. Once [one] develops a thorough understanding of substance, function should naturally (*onozukara*) exist.⁵⁷⁹

Function is a necessary derivative of substance. Flowers are perceptible because they have a scent, and the moon is perceptible because it has moonlight. Flowers also have color and shape, but these—like scent—are not what makes a flower a

⁵⁷⁷ Zeami, *Shikadō*, p. 117.

⁵⁷⁸ See discussion in section 1.3.2. Fenno Quinn translates these terms as "causal agent" and "effect" respectively, thereby setting up a cause and effect relationship between them. Fenno Quinn, *Developing Zeami*, p. 258. Hare translates the terms as substance and instance, which seems to suggest that substance is a constant essence that produces a temporary instance. Hare, *Performance Notes*, p. 136.

⁵⁷⁹ Zeami, *Shikadō*, p. 117.

flower. Applying a word like flower or moon is a process of deduction on the basis of sensory information.

Zeami highlights precisely this difference between empirical experience and deduction:

To begin with, in watching a performance, people (*mono*) who know look with the heart. Looking with the eyes is not knowing. What the heart sees is substance. What the eyes see is function. Thus, beginners (*shoshin no hito*) see the function and imitate it. This is a matter of imitating without knowing the principle of function. In principle, [one] should not imitate function. People who know ability, not only see with the heart, but imitate substance.⁵⁸⁰

Information (empirical information) is attained by looking with the eyes (sensory perception or feeling). Any information might be tinged with or immediately give rise to feeling in both the sensory and emotional senses of the word. Empirical experience (and feeling) thus occur at the level of function. The substance must be deduced based on that information. When people see moonlight and think of the moon, that is knowing the moon. When people smell a scent and think of the flower that produces it, that is knowing the flower. Accurate, thorough knowledge is a matter of adding the appropriate substance to

⁵⁸⁰ Zeami, *Shikadō*, p. 117. Omote glosses *mono* with the character for thing, Tanaka with the character for person. I choose to use the latter for reasons of coherence. Tanaka, *Zeami geijutsu ronshū*, p. 110.

the experience of a function. It is a matter of finding a suitable, invisible substance for a perceived function. Instead of imitating the superficial qualities of a character, a performer should understand those qualities' conditions and perform from that understanding.

The fourth dance wisdom, the “wisdom of gesture as the style’s substance,” builds on the synthesis of gesture and dance and carries an emphasis on gesture as the performance’s substance.

Fourth, concerning the wisdom of gesture as the style substance, [one] must take art coordination and—within the synthesized style of existence and nothingness—[one] must have a corporeal style that makes the gesture the substance and dance the function. An understanding in this manner is called the wisdom of gesture as the style substance.⁵⁸¹

A player dancing with this emphasis on gesture draws forth a certain effect in his movement. As discussed, the performer focuses on the substance and lets the function occur naturally. In this case, the performer focuses on executing the gestures and lets the dance (*kakari*) occur of its own accord. The effect is one of physical power with a graceful quality. Zeami later notes that this gestural power is appropriate for dancing masculine roles.⁵⁸² He therefore connects a focus on physical intentionality—the intentional execution of gestures and other physical

⁵⁸¹ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 88.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*

movements, which might also be called physical dominance—with masculinity as he did in his descriptions of masculine moments and masculine characters.⁵⁸³ He suggests here that audiences should perceive such masculinity as graceful.

The fifth wisdom, that of dance as style substance, also takes the wisdom of synthesizing the art as its starting point and places an emphasis on the wisdom of dance.

Fifth, the wisdom of dance as style substance is a corporeal style (*taifū*) that makes the dance the substance and gesture the function. This is no-figuration (*mushi*).⁵⁸⁴

A player dancing in this style focuses on dance as the substance of his performance. That is not to say that he controls the natural dynamism. Rather, he loosens control over his body, making it pliant so that he can let the natural continuation of his movements proceed smoothly and continuously. That care given to terpsichorean flow lends gesture, as the function, delicacy and depth. Zeami considers the wisdom of dance as style substance appropriate for performances of feminine figures.⁵⁸⁵ Femininity is a matter of submitting to flow

⁵⁸³ See discussion in sections 1.4.1 and 1.4.3.

⁵⁸⁴ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 88.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid. Specific examples would be the aristocratic poetesses Ise or Komachi and the *shirabyōshi* entertainers Giō, Gijo, Shizuka, and Hyakuman. Zeami, *Sandō*, p. 134.

rather than intentionally controlling physical movement. Because the player loosens his intentional control over his movements and lets rhythm and momentum guide his movements, he appears elegant and feminine. The obvious function, however, according to Zeami is the movement pattern rather than the dynamism.

After addressing the conditions necessary for creating masculine and feminine qualities from a player's perspective in the final two dance wisdoms, Zeami provides an analysis of the audience's point of view by talking about "removed perspective" (*riken no ken*). This shift reveals that Zeami still considers the audience of critical importance as in his earlier treatment of yin and yang in *Fūshikaden*.⁵⁸⁶

Also in dance, there is something called eyes front and heart back. [This] is "looking forward with the eyes and placing the heart behind." This is the care (*yōshin*) [I] previously described in the [five] dance wisdom styles. The figurative style seen from the audience's position is removed from one's own perspective. However, what [one] sees with one's own eyes is one's own perspective. [That] is not seeing with a removed perspective. Seeing from a removed perspective is seeing with the same heart as the audience.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁶ See the discussion of yin and yang in the patron and player relationship in section 1.3.3.

⁵⁸⁷ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 88.

A key to understanding that Zeami is not speaking of some magical ability to see through someone else's eyes is his use of the word "care" (*yōshin*). This coincides with a feeling for musical dynamism as described in the second dance wisdom. Here Zeami shifts that care from the music to the audience and explains that seeing with removed perspective is "seeing with the same heart as the audience." He calls on the player to empathize with the audience. Rather than ascribing his own substance to a function, the player must care for the audience's point of view, learn about that perspective, and thus triangulate what the audience most likely sees in an action. By nurturing care for the audience's world view, the player sets aside his own assumptions, which he calls seeing "with one's own eyes."⁵⁸⁸ A player must be able to dance in such a way that the audience comes to understand substance gradually on the basis of the accumulation of immediate sense perceptions, although the player himself knows and sees how it gives rise to function.⁵⁸⁹

4.2 The Heavenly Woman's Androgyny

⁵⁸⁸ Nishihira explains that taking the audience's perspective allows a performer to let go of personal agency without stopping the performance. *Zeami no keiko tetsugaku*, pp. 149-50.

⁵⁸⁹ See also the discussions about secrecy and mood in section 1.3.2 and about heart in the player-patron relationship in section 2.2.5.

Zeami's *Kakyō* passage about the five wisdoms of dance shows how he sought to combine Ōmi dance practices with innovations inspired by Inuō's performance of the heavenly woman dance. In that approach, the flowing dynamic of the heavenly woman dance comes to underlie all dance performance, even dances portraying characters that are neither feminine nor divine. Nonetheless, Zeami also treats the heavenly woman dance as a unique dance piece. In *Nikyoku santai ningyōzu*, Zeami says the style of the heavenly woman dance is not human.⁵⁹⁰ For that reason, it lies apart from "the three roles" (*santai*), a scheme he sets up in this treatise to describe the relationship between feminine, martial (i.e. extremely masculine), and elderly characters. In the following, I propose that what makes the heavenly woman appear more than human is its combination of the extreme opposite types of agency dominance and submission in such a way that in the dance's performance, the player appears to mediate (submit to) or merge with a (dominant) power that is more than human.

4.2.1 *The Two Arts and the Three Roles*

In the treatise *Nikyoku santai ningyōzu*, Zeami builds a complex system that combines an expanded system of character gender, including not only the feminine and martial roles but also the elderly role, with the "two arts" (*nikyoku*), dance and song. At this point in his life, he sees that cultivation as a player must begin in childhood with these "two arts," similar to his own training as a *chigo*, and only later with training in the mimetic skills necessary to perform the three

⁵⁹⁰ Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 130.

roles.⁵⁹¹ Song and dance must form the basis on which players then perform all mimesis. Zeami notes that this foundation makes the performance of *yūgen* possible: the two arts are “the stylistic root that ensures *yūgen* remains in [the player’s] appearance until long [after childhood].”⁵⁹² In fully incorporating musical elements in all performance, Zeami signals a break with the everyday world and thus gives himself the freedom to shift into portrayals of inner lives and supernatural manifestations. Fenno Quinn argues that Zeami thus “reframed the nature of the dramatic illusion” such that on this sustained foundation of musical and choreographic elements players could portray the inner lives of—rather than a realistic imitation of—their characters.⁵⁹³ By performing otherwise invisible landscapes musically, however, players ensure that their portrayal remains as *yūgen* within the elegant world familiar to elite audiences rather than breaking the audience’s trust in a performance of the grotesque or fearsome.

For that reason, young players begin training in the three roles only after acquiring solid ability in the two arts. By adjusting these three basic roles, a skilled player can perform any character.⁵⁹⁴ The three roles portray the old man, the woman, and the warrior. As before, feminine characters do not assert themselves physically. He writes, “make the heart the substance and relinquish

⁵⁹¹ Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 123 and *Shikadō*, p. 112.

⁵⁹² Zeami, *Shikadō*, p. 112.

⁵⁹³ Fenno Quinn, *Developing Zeami*, p. 9. She goes so far as to say dance and song are “pre-mimetic.” *Developing Zeami*, 74-75.

⁵⁹⁴ Zeami, *Shikadō*, p. 113ff.

power (*chikara*).⁵⁹⁵ Training in feminine roles gives a player the ability to perform the “elegant *yūgen* of excellent *kakari*.”⁵⁹⁶ Similarly, players performing martial characters should “make power the substance and be troubled at heart.”⁵⁹⁷ “Being troubled at heart” (*kokoro wo kudaku*) can mean either persistence in the sense of wracking one’s brain or concern in the sense of worrying or mulling over something. Omote’s interpretation remains somewhat vague when he writes that it “probably means exercising the heart to appear interesting.”⁵⁹⁸ Fenno Quinn says that this mental movement is a matter of giving a “detailed exposition of what is in his mind.”⁵⁹⁹ I think that the warrior is troubled at heart because he seeks a way to overcome opposition in his intentional creation of a world that satisfies his desires (heart). The martial role is not the most extremely violent role type, which coincides rather with the demonic *saidōfū* and *rikidōfū* roles that also lie outside of the three-part role scheme. It remains suitable for elite audiences because it reveals a mental state, be it a tenacious intention or concern for that which cannot be physically

⁵⁹⁵ Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 126.

⁵⁹⁶ Zeami, *Shikadō*, p. 113.

⁵⁹⁷ Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 127.

⁵⁹⁸ Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchoku*, p. 127 n. “tai riki sai shin.”

⁵⁹⁹ Fenno Quinn, *Developing Zeami*, p. 68.

controlled. It is the source of physicality just as the feminine role is the source of *yūgen*.⁶⁰⁰ That physicality outweighs any lingering element of elegant awareness.

In *Nikyoku santai ningyōzu*, Zeami adds the elderly role to the two gendered roles to create a tripartite scheme. He now considers the elderly role subtly differently from how he did in the *Fūshikaden* discussions of the old man's dance. His emphasis shifts from the disconnect between intention and physical ability to the role's internal state. In this characterization, old men are unconcerned with the present. "[Their] hearts are calm, [and their] eyes [look off into] the distance."⁶⁰¹ Their dance reflects that shift: "The substance is completely calm" and "the calm heart should extend into the dance style."⁶⁰² With "completely calm," Zeami means the appearance of being serene and composed.⁶⁰³ Being at peace with himself, the old man's actions coincide with and reveal his self-assuredness. When Zeami wrote *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, he was nearly 60 years old and older than his father was when he had died, meaning he was older than the oldest age he described in his first treatise.⁶⁰⁴ It is possible to explain this shift in performances of the old man as reflective of

⁶⁰⁰ In *Shikadō*, Zeami notes that it is the source for "moving the body and stamping the feet." p. 113.

⁶⁰¹ Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 124.

⁶⁰² Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 125.

⁶⁰³ Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchoku*, p. 125 n. "kanzen."

⁶⁰⁴ Zeami, *Fūshikaden*, p. 19.

Zeami's own experience: As a young man, he saw primarily their declining physical capacity, but as an old man, he appreciates their mental composure. Of course, the shift is also the result of the general shift towards musically depicting characters' inner landscapes.

4.2.2 *The Heavenly Woman Dance*

The heavenly woman dance is a culmination of various elements related to dance that I have presented thus far. Zeami calls it fundamental in training and a "grand dance" in the pursuit of his art.⁶⁰⁵ He calls it a "playful dance" (*yūmai*), a word he only uses otherwise to describe the child's dance.⁶⁰⁶ This similarity highlights a similar focus on the musicality of dance, a vital element in the development of the two arts for a foundation in *yūgen*. Indeed, the heavenly woman dance should produce "an appearance from afar of a profound style and *yūgen* musicality (*yūkyoku*)."⁶⁰⁷ As mentioned, *yūgen* is a quality found in the

⁶⁰⁵ Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 130 and p. 131. In this instance, Zeami calls his art "the art of play" (*yūgaku*), which Hare, for example, translates as "musical expressiveness." *Performance Notes*, p. 147.

⁶⁰⁶ Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 122 and p. 130.

⁶⁰⁷ Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 130. "Musicality" (*kyoku*) means various things throughout Zeami's treatises. In *Fūshikaden*, Zeami writes, "What is called musicality is the wonder (*hana*) arising from notes." *Fūshikaden*, p. 57. In *Ongyoku kuden*, Zeami says that "musicality (*kyoku*) is the heart" and that although notes (*fushi*) and art (*kyoku*) are both written with the glyph 曲, they

feminine role. Although the heavenly woman dance does not belong within the scheme of the three roles, Zeami does say it should draw on “the style of the feminine role.”⁶⁰⁸ It is unlike the feminine role because, as described in *Kakyō*, players perform feminine roles with “very weak five body parts and without carrying power (*chikara*) in [their] hearts.”⁶⁰⁹ In the heavenly woman dance, too, the “five body parts” (*gotai*) come into play, but the player must in contrast “completely fill [them] with the heart’s power (*shinriki*).”⁶¹⁰ (Mention of the five body parts is also reminiscent of Zeami’s comment in his *Kakyō* treatment of dance, where he notes that dance begins when a person “moves his five body parts in response to a voice arising from five organs.”⁶¹¹) The difference between the heavenly woman dance and the feminine role’s dance (or child’s dance for that matter) is found in Zeami’s use of the term “power” (*riki* or *chikara*).

must be distinguished in practice. *Ongyoku kuden*, p. 75. Musicality (*kyoku*) might be differentiated from mere notes (*fushi*) insofar as it is a better means of conveying heart. In *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, Zeami uses the same glyph for musicality (*kyoku*) to talk about the “two arts” (*ni-kyoku*).

⁶⁰⁸ Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 130.

⁶⁰⁹ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 9.

⁶¹⁰ Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 130.

⁶¹¹ Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 87. The voice might belong to another person, but Zeami leaves that unclear.

“Power” plays an important role in Zeami’s understanding of the heavenly woman dance. He uses the term once more in saying players should perform the dance with “the body of a single power (*ichi-riki-tai*) throughout the performance.”⁶¹² This formulation demonstrates Zeami’s understanding of language as a flexible tool of expression that often includes various meanings. In the standard edition of Zeami’s treatises, *Omote* does not read three glyphs “the body of a single power” (*ichi-riki-tai*), but combines the first two (one or single and power), reading them as a single glyph meaning “ten thousand” or “myriad.” He explains that his transcription means “permeating the whole dance” (*maizentai no sumizumi made*).⁶¹³ However fitting this reading may be, it is not the only one. *Omote*, too, recognizes the high probability that this word should be transcribed to read “the body of a single power” (*ichi-riki-tai*) by making the aforementioned small typographical adjustment.⁶¹⁴ Another text by Zeami, *Goongyoku jōjō*, suggests that both readings are correct when he comments that “myriad means single power” (*man to wa ichi-riki nari*).⁶¹⁵ This comment is located within a discussion of singing with ease and confidence that quotes from the *Great Learning*:

⁶¹² Cf. Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 130. This version of the text does not include the formulation “body of a single power” (*ichi-riki-tai*), but rather “ten thousand bodies” (*bantai*).

⁶¹³ Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 461 n. 65.

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁵ Zeami, *Goongyoku jōjō*, p. 203.

The *Great Learning* relates, “if the foundation is in disarray, what follows cannot be brought under control.” Myriad means single power. [All types of singing] have the assured power of the congratulatory style. Each, if sung in a full voice, will have assurance. The rank settled in assurance has consummate *kakari* (*ranken*).⁶¹⁶ If this resolves in an assured sound, it has a single power. This is the highest accomplishment in training. If the foundation is in disarray, what follows cannot be brought under control. Therefore, one should simply guard the correct power in lessons.

Players must learn the basic, single power that forms a basis for all styles of song. That single power can be found in congratulatory plays that feature divine beings. From the full, settled voice attained by training to perform such plays, a player will be able to develop all myriad styles of song. A voice with ease and confidence in this manner has consummate *kakari*. That single power is attained by learning to identify the “correct power” (*seiriki*) in song. The word “correct power” appears also in the *Nikyoku santai ningyōzu* description of the heavenly woman dance, where Zeami explains that because the heavenly woman dance requires fully using the physical body and heart and in such a way creating a

⁶¹⁶ Omote notes that the word Zeami uses here, *ranken*, a Sino-Japanese compound including an alternate reading of *kakari*, means “consummate *kakari*.” Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 203 n. “ranken.”

playful style that produces the correct power, it is foundational in training.⁶¹⁷ Although Zeami does not mention *kakari* in his descriptions of the heavenly woman dance, this parallel between congratulatory singing as a means to achieving consummate *kakari* and a single or correct power suggests that the heavenly woman dance has the terpsichorean equivalent of *kakari* in song. This would also parallel *kakari* in Ōmi performances and in the heavenly woman influence on the second dance wisdom in *Kakyō*.⁶¹⁸ Matsuoka therefore suggests that “power” (*riki*) refers to something that, like *kakari*, remains invisible to the audience and that appears as formless “presence” (*fūshi*) sustaining the performance’s continuity through moments of stillness.⁶¹⁹ The heavenly woman dance should thus fully express a combination of physical power and the power of care for both the musical dynamic and the audience.

The word “body of a single power” or “myriad bodies” also appears in another discussion of dance by Zeami in the treatise *Kyakuraika*. There, he describes the various influences on his knowledge and ability in dance: *okina*, the ceremonial dance featuring an old man; the heavenly woman dance; and *shirabyōshi* dances.⁶²⁰ He mentions two movement patterns in dance: left-right-left and right-left-right. While he does not link the two patterns to specific dances, his son-in-law Zenchiku states that this pattern of movement pertains to

⁶¹⁷ Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 131.

⁶¹⁸ See sections 2.2.4 and 4.1.2.2.

⁶¹⁹ Matsuoka, “Nō noshintai to chikara,” pp. 70-72, p. 73, and p. 79.

⁶²⁰ On *okina*, see section 1.1. On *shirabyōshi*, see 2.1.4 and 2.2.3.1.

okina and the left-right-left pattern to the heavenly woman dance.⁶²¹ Zeami does, however, say that the left-right-left pattern, the pattern of the heavenly woman dance, should permeate body, gesture, and appearance, and that this in turn produces “the profound style of the myriad arts, the fulfillment of myriad bodies, and alignment with feeling.”⁶²² Here, too, “the fulfillment of myriad bodies” might alternatively be read as “the fulfillment of a single body.” Zeami does not elaborate on this statement, inserting instead a comment that “there are oral transmissions” on this matter. It does, however, suggest that accomplishment in dance, knowing how to guide an audience’s feeling towards an experience of profundity, is a matter of knowing the relationship between the one and the myriad bodies. Once a player has the corporeal ability to move in a basic pattern such as described by “left-right-left,” he can adjust that pattern to perform all the myriad possible dances he must dance.

4.2.3 *Dance the Dance, Be Danced by the Dance*

Zeami explains how to achieve the heavenly woman’s power by describing a juxtaposition of different types of agency. The relationship between the dancer and the dance can initially appear contradictory in translation: “dance the dance, be danced by the dance” (*mai o mai, mai ni mawarete*).⁶²³ “Be danced by the dance” cannot mean the dance dances the performer because dance

⁶²¹ Zenchiku, *Meishukushū*, p. 404.

⁶²² Zeami, *Kyakuraika*, p. 247.

⁶²³ Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 130.

cannot have agency independent of the dancer. To explain, Kōsai Tsutomu makes an analogy to the Japanese proverb “at first, the person drinks the sake, then the sake drinks itself, and finally, the sake drinks the person.”⁶²⁴ With the first drink, a person still maintains self-control; as the person becomes drunk, that self-control is disrupted; and if the drinker continues, he can lose his senses and self-control completely. Kōsai claims that “dancing the dance” corresponds to the person drinking the alcohol, when he “is aware of the number of drinks, and can calculate other peoples’ perspectives.”⁶²⁵ In this stage, Kōsai speaks of “gestural progression” (*tejun*), including mentions of the terms in modern noh practice “posture” or “comportment” (*hakobi*) and “modular patterns of movement” (*kata*). Being danced by the dance he claims corresponds to “the heavenly intoxication of alcohol drinking alcohol.”⁶²⁶ This describes a moment in which he says “there is no awareness of being in heaven.”⁶²⁷ Thus Kōsai suggests that the dancer engages in the activity with such single mindedness that he forgets himself, his own agency. With “unawareness” or “not being conscious” (*ishiki o sezu*) of the music produced by the flute and “inattention” or “lack of consideration” (*omowazu*) for the movement from one position to the next, Kōsai does not mean inattentiveness or inconsideration, which are symptomatic of disinterest and disregard, but a “lack of concern” (*ki o tsukawanai*), but to letting

⁶²⁴ Kōsai, *Zoku Zeami shinkō*, p. 55.

⁶²⁵ Ibid.

⁶²⁶ Ibid.

⁶²⁷ Ibid.

go of direct, fully conscious control over a situation. Kōsai switches to another, equestrian analogy to emphasize that these two states—“dancing the dance” and “being danced by the dance”—occur simultaneously the same way as rider and horse sometimes become one in their movements.⁶²⁸ The heavenly woman dance thus combines the active agency of intentionally dancing with the causative and spontaneous agency of letting rhythm and momentum propel the dance’s continuation.

This juxtaposition of different qualities of agency in dance functions in a manner parallel to agency in song. In talking about the highest level of virtuosity in singing in *Goongyoku jōjō*, which he calls “no art” (*mukyoku*), Zeami writes, “It is also said that there must be a situation where [one] must use the voice and be used by the voice.”⁶²⁹ The verb “to use the voice” clearly means active utilization of the voice. It is possible to imply a subject, ostensibly a player who can sing. The agent in “be used by the voice” is less easily identified. Conventionally speaking, a voice in itself has no independent causality and makes no effort independently of the person it belongs to. Therefore, this cannot be a simple passive formulation. Instead, “be used by the voice” describes a spontaneously

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

⁶²⁹ Zeami, *Goongyoku jōjō*, p. 204. A similar quote appears in *Ongyoku kuden*: “There is both a voice that is well used by the voice and a voice that uses the voice well.” Zeami, *Ongyoku kuden*, p. 76.

occurring action.⁶³⁰ As in the heavenly woman dance, here too Zeami discusses the combination of intentionally and spontaneously occurring movements.

Unlike his discussion of agency in dance, Zeami provides more elaboration here about the factors of song: “Using the voice corresponds with the notes. Being used by the voice corresponds with the *kakari*.”⁶³¹ The performer’s active agency is focused on the musical skills learned in training that relate to the notes. The spontaneous agency involved in being “used by the voice” corresponds with dynamic quality (*kakari*). This confirms my proposal relating active agency to intentionally executing performance skills and spontaneous agency to the dynamism that in music appears as *kakari*. This difference is bridged using care, as noted in the above discussion of “removed perspective.”

While *kakari* initially comes from poetry and poetic recitation practices, it flows into dance because Zeami bases dance on song. He says this most explicitly in *Kakyō*:

Dance that does not arise from the voice will not produce feeling (*kan*). At the border where [one] transitions from the *issei*’s atmosphere (*nioi*) to the dance, there should be profound power. The place where the dance resolves, too, has a rank resolving in sonorous feeling (*onkan*).⁶³²

⁶³⁰ The agentive particle (*ni*) marking “voice” is simply indicative of a factor contributing to the action and not of a single agent as reliable cause.

⁶³¹ Zeami, *Ongyoku kuden*, p. 204.

⁶³² Zeami, *Kakyō*, p. 86.

The *issei* is a lyric that often comes right before the beginning of a dance and picks up again as the dance concludes.⁶³³ In other words, dance takes over from and touches off to song. Feeling and sonorous feeling arise in the transitions from song to dance and back again. Zeami calls that which sustains the transition from singing to dance “profound power” (*myōriki*).⁶³⁴ This mention of profundity and power parallel his use of these words in the heavenly woman dance, which has “profound style and *yūgen* musicality *myōfū yūkyoku*.”⁶³⁵ As the “great dance of playful entertainment,” the heavenly woman dance necessarily incorporates the musical dynamism arising from the song that leads into the dance.

⁶³³ Alternatively a *waka* might fill that position. Omote Akira, *Zeami Zenchiku*, p. 86 n. “*issei*” and n. “*onkan e.*” The heavenly woman play “*Taema*,” for example, has a *noriji* that functions rather like a *kakeai* directly before its dance climax.

⁶³⁴ Here the term “profound power” (*myōriki*) connects with (sonorous) feeling in a way that anticipates his later statement that the “feeling of no-heart means the same thing as the profound flower.” Zeami, *Shūgyoku tokka*, p. 189. Therein, the feeling of no-heart is an initial presentiment that something previously unknown is revealing itself and the profound flower also describes a process of achieving awareness of something new and ultimately interesting because of its novelty.

⁶³⁵ Zeami, *Nikyoku santai ningyō zu*, p. 130.

4.3 Heavenly Women

Zeami innovated the heavenly woman dance by setting it within poetic narratives. By all available accounts, Inuō only performed the dance without a narrative context.⁶³⁶ Takemoto notes that the oldest surviving libretti for the dance are by or revised by Zeami.⁶³⁷ Therefore, it is reasonable to think that Zeami's innovation with the heavenly woman dance was to develop libretti that featured the dance at their final climax. The heavenly woman plays by Zeami are "Hakozaki," "Unoha," "Furu," "Ayahatori (now Kureha)," "Murogimi," and the adapted plays "Ama" and "Taema."⁶³⁸ These scripts came to more or less follow a basic five-part structure with two climaxes, a climactic song at the end of the

⁶³⁶ Inuō did not compose libretti although he set them to music. See section 3.2.2.

⁶³⁷ Takemoto, "Tennyomai no kenkyū," p. 108.

⁶³⁸ Cf. Takemoto, "Tennyomai no kenkyū," pp. 109-10. Takemoto also includes "Ukon," in which a lady reveals she is the goddess of cherry blossoms. This play appears in *Goonkyoku jōjō* as a quintessential example of *yūgen*. Zeami, *Goonkyoku jōjō*, p. 201. However, as discussed in sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.3, the heavenly woman dance draws on the feminine role, which is the true source of *yūgen*. Furthermore, the goddess in the play has no Buddhist qualities like the other plays in the list. Therefore, I hesitate to consider it a heavenly woman play. Cf. Itō, ed., "Ukon," pp. 136-44. No English translation available.

third part and the dance at the climax near the end of the final part.⁶³⁹ The lyrics drew on popular and aristocratic poetic and prose traditions, combining them with influences from religious narratives and ceremonies. Considering the plays attributed to this category, the heavenly woman generally tends towards being a Buddhist figure when she dances at the final climax of the play, much as Inuō's heavenly woman demonstrated mastery over the Buddhist teachings by presenting a golden sutra. Yet she is a multifaceted character that may initially appear as a shrine attendant as in "Hakozaki," as a low-class woman of the seashore (*ama*) as in "Ama," as a woman of the seashore worshipping at a shrine as in "Unoha," or as courtesans (*yūjo*) who serve a shrine in "Murogimi."⁶⁴⁰ In this way, Zeami sought to harmonize widely contrasting elements.

"Ama" and "Taema" undoubtedly featured the heavenly woman dance. Kōsai notes that "Ama" and "Taema" must include the dance because they mention a golden sutra similar to that referred to in the "Sarugaku dangi" description of Inuō's heavenly woman dance.⁶⁴¹ "Taema" presents the story of Princess Chūjō and the creation of the Taema mandala. This princess was left in the forbidding mountains of Nara by her step-mother, but dedicated her life to

⁶³⁹ In *Sandō*, Zeami describes the basic five-part structure and the allocation of "ear-opening" (*kaimon*) and "eye-opening" (*kaigan*) moments in congratulatory plays featuring either a masculine or feminine divinity. *Sandō*, pp. 136-137.

⁶⁴⁰ Takemoto, "Tennyomai no kenkyū," p. 114.

⁶⁴¹ Kōsai, *Zeami shinkō*, p. 267.

the Amida Buddha instead of returning to life in the capital as her father wished once he found her again. In the latter half of the play, she appears to sing and dance in praise of the grace of Amida's teachings.⁶⁴²

"Ama," probably originally written by the Konparu troupe leader Gon'nokami,⁶⁴³ tells the story of a woman of the seashore who for the sake of her son by an aristocrat dives to the dragon palace to retrieve a divine jewel representing the Buddhist teachings, which had been lost during its passage to Japan from China. In doing so, she sacrifices herself but ensures that her son Fusazaki attains the rank of minister in the capital. Fusazaki returns to the shore in search of his mother, who relates the story of her dive into the dragon palace, where she found the jewel and shoved it into a gash she cut beneath her breast to keep it safe as she succumbed to the dragons' attack. In the second half of the play, she dances as the dragon princess who attains enlightenment in the *Lotus Sutra*.

In "Sandō," Zeami lists "Hakozaki" and "Unoha" as plays featuring a feminine character.⁶⁴⁴ "Hakozaki" features in the main role the legendary empress and conqueror of the Korean peninsula Jingū Kōgo (r. 201-269), who was pregnant for the three-year duration of the foreign campaign. In the play,

⁶⁴² "Ama" and "Taema." For English translations, see Tyler, *Japanese Nō Dramas*, pp. 22-36 and Rimer, "Taema a Noh Play Attributed to Zeami," pp. 431-45.

⁶⁴³ Motoyoshi, *Sarugaku dangi*, p. 198.

⁶⁴⁴ Zeami, *Sandō*, p. 142.

she appears first as an ordinary woman sweeping the fallen needles beneath a pine tree at Hakozaki Shrine (now surrounded by the city of Fukuoka) but reveals shortly that she knows the sacred box buried beneath the tree contains Buddhist scriptures. At the final climax, she dances in praise of the Buddhist teachings.⁶⁴⁵

“Unoha” features the dragon king’s daughter Toyotama-hime, a figure who appears in the *Nihonshoki* and *Kojiki* as the mother of the future emperor Jinmu, founder of the Japanese imperial lineage. She shows herself first as a woman of the sea (*ama*) giving offerings to Toyotama-hime and her child. She tells how the earthly deity Hikohohodemi lost his fishing hook and in search of it went to the dragon palace, where he met Toyotama-hime. She soon revealed signs of being pregnant and came on shore to give birth, for which Hikohohodemi built a parturition hut thatched with cormorant feathers. Before he could finish, Toyotama-hime gave birth, and he saw that she was a sea monster, causing her to flee to the dragon palace. In the latter half of the play, she sings of the dragon daughter’s jewel, alluding to the dragon girl from the Lotus Sutra, and the tide-ebbing and flood jewels that Hikohohodemi used to fish with.⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴⁵ Amano et al., *Zeami*, pp. 342-51. For an English translation, see Tyler, *To Hallow Genji*, pp. 75–82.

⁶⁴⁶ “Unoha.” For an English translation, see Tyler, *To Hallow Genji*, pp. 227-39.

Takemoto notes that “Murogimi” was long performed with a heavenly woman dance.⁶⁴⁷ Therein, a group of courtesans (*yūjo*) appear to perform at the shrine dedicated to Kamo at the port of Muro on the Inland Sea. As they dance, the shrine’s god reveals herself in her true form as Vaidehī (jp. *Idaike*), the consort of an ancient Indian king who gained enlightenment by praying to the Buddha, and dances.⁶⁴⁸

For “Furu,” a manuscript in Zeami’s handwriting exists.⁶⁴⁹ This play presents first a woman washing a robe in a river near Isonokami Shrine, also known as Furu. She explains the name “Furu” means caught in a cloth, referring to an incident in which a sacred sword had come down the river and lodged in some cloth being washed by a washerwoman. She suggests that the sword will appear to earnestly faithful monks, those with great dharma-worth. She later reappears carrying a sword wrapped in a cloth and dances in praise of the Buddhist teachings.

“Ayahatori,” known today as “Kureha,” premiered in Shōchō 2 (1429) according to aristocrat Madenokōji Tokifusa’s diary *Kendaiki*.⁶⁵⁰ Two weaving women appear in this play and tell of their immigration from China to Japan, bringing knowledge about textile manufacturing, particularly patterned silk twill. The second half of the play describes how they weave followed by a dance

⁶⁴⁷ Takemoto, “Tennyō mai no kenkyū,” p. 109.

⁶⁴⁸ “Murogimi.”

⁶⁴⁹ “Furu.”

⁶⁵⁰ Matsuoka, “‘Kureha’ no tanjō,” p. 58.

at the climax and a final declaration that their appearance revealed the presence of a “Bodhisattva of Wondrous Banners.”⁶⁵¹

These plays reveal various similarities. In *Sandō*, Zeami claims that the heavenly woman dances and sings *kagura*, a ceremonial dance performed at shrines in praise of animistic gods and goddesses, like a goddess or young woman, such as those who might dance *gosechi* for imperial ceremonies. Takemoto notes that these heavenly women are rather goddesses than young women and that their strong Buddhist overtones echo Inuō’s heavenly woman dance rather than suggesting affiliations with imperial or animist ceremonies.⁶⁵² He points out that this Buddhist element also differentiates them from masculine gods in comparable god plays.⁶⁵³ Takemoto identifies developments in the play formats: Early versions such as “Ama” and “Taema” had a long dance and song spectacle followed in the second half by the appearance of a feminine deity praising the Buddhist teachings and handing a golden sutra to the character played by the supporting actor (*waki*). Later plays came to resemble the format of masculine god plays like “Takasago.”⁶⁵⁴ However, the plays all differed in the

⁶⁵¹ Amano argues that although only one weaving woman appears in the second half in modern performances, early performances featured both. Amano, *Zeami ga ita basho*, p. 108. “Kureha.” For an English translation, see Tyler, *Japanese Nō Dramas*, pp. 171–82.

⁶⁵² Takemoto, “Tennyomai no kenkyū,” p. 128.

⁶⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

labels they give the feminine deities they portrayed, be it a bodhisattva as in “Ayahatori,” a character from Buddhist legend as in “Murogimi,” a character from Japanese myth or legend as in “Hakozaki,” a dragoness as in “Ama” or “Unoha.” To understand each of these characters’ appeal to Zeami’s patrons would require a precise historical contextualization of early performances based on affiliations between patrons and play characters. This overview shows, however, the breadth of labels Zeami was able to attach to the audience’s subjective experiences of the heavenly woman dance.

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NKBZ *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*. 51 vols. Shōgakukan, 1970–1976.

NST *Nihon shisō taikei*. 67 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1970–1982.

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