SAMURAI, JESUITS, PUPPETS, AND BARDS:
THE END(S) OF THE KŌWAKA BALLAD

Volume One: Sagamigawa, Transformations of a Post-Kōwaka Ballad

Patrick Reinhart Schwemmer

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a transversal study of changes undergone by the kōwaka ballad during Japan’s transition from the middle ages of civil war, free exchange with Asia, and European contact, to the orderly domestic and foreign relations of the Edo period. As the kōwaka, which in the sixteenth century had rivaled the noh theatre for warrior patronage, began to change medium, format, and sociopolitical context in the seventeenth century, the traditional view is that it “quickly deteriorated once the samurai began turning to urban fads and foppery.” (Araki 1964) However, my materials tell a different story. Each chapter grows from my transcription, edition, and translation of a previously-undiscussed artifact. An illustrated handscroll of a latter-day ballad in Princeton’s library shows how that format was used for political commentary by Kyoto book craftspeople and their warrior-bureaucrat patrons in the time of Edo’s ascendency. A libretto held in Paris adapts the same ballad to the early puppet theatre, this time making the main characters female and intensifying the melodramatic sentiment that appealed to the urban commoner class created by Kyoto’s new monetized economy. A noh play extant in three libretti in Tokyo rewrites the same story as an unproblematic paean to shogunal authority, while nevertheless displaying a critical consciousness of the working of ideology. In Volume Two, I introduce three pieces of Jesuit missionary literature in Japanese from a 1591 manuscript in the Vatican Library, whose vocabulary and formulae borrow heavily from the kōwaka. A miracle story set in Japan bears a colophon suggesting its function as a polemic against Hideyoshi’s expulsion edict. A ballad of *The Passion of the Christ* displays Japanese Jesuit appropriation of kōwaka
discourse in its most developed extant form. A devotional meditation on the Instruments of the Passion grapples with a poetic paradox created by the role of honorifics in Japanese, while a theological postscript is rendered in a formulaic, Luso-Japanese discourse created on analogy with Sino-Japanese. Together, these new texts reveal not the kōwaka’s death but its diffusion and renewal along many cultural trajectories during Japan’s transition to early modernity.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Volume One: Sagamigawa, Transformations of a Post-Kōwaka Ballad

   Introduction

1. Subversive Shelf Decoration: The Princeton Sagamigawa Picture Scrolls
2. Le Ressentiment des Choses: The Puppet Play Kajiwara’s End: Shizuka Goes East
3. From Agent of Critique to State Ceremonial: Sagamigawa on the Noh Stage

Volume Two: Ballad Discourse in Jesuit Mission Literature in Japanese

4. A Literary Response to Hideyoshi’s Jesuit Expulsion Edict: The Story of a Cross Which Miraculously Appeared in Japan

   Conclusion
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NOTES ON TEXT DIRECTION AND SCRIPT

Some of the appendices to each chapter of this dissertation contain transcriptions of original materials written vertically, with short line lengths, or with paintings of various shapes and sizes. Sometimes, this means that changes in page orientation and column formatting are necessary in order both to reproduce the original materials faithfully and to use space on the page pleasingly and efficiently. Moreover, when vertical text is employed, lines progress from right to left, and so it is conventional to have the page turn from the left or the bottom edge. I have solved these problems by designing the work in such a way that the orientation of the page numbers, located at the bottom right when the volume is held with the body text right-side up, will always indicate the way in which the volume must be held to read a given section most naturally. For example, to read a section in vertical, right-to-left text in portrait orientation, the reader is asked to turn the volume upside down with respect to the title page, so that the page numbers in that section appear right-side up.

In Volume Two in particular, I quote from a manuscript in which Japanese is written using Roman script using spelling which is not standard today. When quoting from the manuscript in my discussion I use standard Romanization, often also providing a transliteration into East Asian scripts in brackets, followed by a translation in quotes. The original orthography is provided in footnotes and in the transcriptions in the appendices to each chapter. Since many manuscripts are in a poor state of conservation, especially the Jesuit Japan letters quoted in Volume Two, I preserve original orthography and letterforms as much as possible in my transcriptions, although unless orthography is
specifically at issue I similarly reduce letterforms and spelling to standard when quoting for discussion. I use Hepburn for Japanese, Pinyin for Chinese, I.A.S.T. for Sanskrit. Following convention, East Asian names are given family name first, and East Asian historical figures are referred to by their personal names when named in an abbreviated fashion: “This is Oda Nobunaga. Nobunaga is a warlord.”
INTRODUCTION

The kōwaka ballad is a form of oral narrative performance which saw its highest period of activity in the sixteenth century, as it rivaled the noh theatre for the patronage of warlords during Japan’s age of civil war (ca. 1467–1568), when Kyoto lay in ruins and producers of all kinds of culture dispersed to the countryside in search of refuge in regional capitals. However, the kōwaka is poorly represented in modern scholarship and does not occupy a prominent position in the canon of Japanese literature today, unlike noh and other traditional performing arts. The reason for this neglect is that the kōwaka is traditionally understood to have died out during the transition to orderly domestic and foreign relations under the Tokugawa shogunate (1615–1868). Although kōwaka bards were given stipends and retained on staff in the same way as noh actors and required to perform on major occasions of state ceremonial like new year’s celebrations, the ballads never anything like the central role in state ceremonial that the noh theatre did. During the Meiji-period (1868–1912) transition to a limited monarchy centered around the Emperor, too, there was nothing inevitable about even the survival of the noh, but it was eventually given a privileged designation as “national theatre” (kokugeki) by the modern state and the discipline of Japanese literary studies. This was due to a combination of the strong institutional roots that noh had put down during the Tokugawa period and a broad recognition of it as a good equivalent for theatrical traditions like opera which Japanese diplomats were shown on their visits to Europe. Nothing like this happened for the kōwaka, by contrast, and so modern scholarship on Japanese literature, particularly the
tradition of National Literary Studies (*kokubungaku*) as practiced in Japan, was slow to take it up as a subject of inquiry.

The definitive study of the kōwaka came from the brush of Sasano Ken in 1944, and it traces the ballads down to a modern practice in a village in Kyūshū which claims to preserve original performance practice, connecting the performance texts passed on by this local tradition to the historical performance records which exist for its heyday in the sixteenth century.¹ In this way, Sasano’s study is a close cousin to the pioneering 1938 work on the noh by Nose Asaji, and represents the first flowering of theatre history as a full-fledged field of academic inquiry in Japan. However, it is still influenced by nineteenth-century ideas about national development and period character to ignore the presence of religious, court, and commoner themes and patronage and thereby to understand the genre as essentially warlike and essentially medieval. Sasano’s study was summarized in English in 1964 by James Araki, who also created the first annotations of kōwaka libretti to appear in any language, as well as an ethnomusicological study of the Kyūshū tradition.² However, the relationship of this latter-day kōwaka to its sixteenth-century is quite unclear, and so the equation of these two, while also heavily mediated in the case of noh, is ultimately unsustainable for the kōwaka. This paucity of early records and rapid change combine with an anachronistically rigid conception of generic essence to make the entire genre all but inaccessible to the traditional discipline

² James Araki, *The Ballad-Drama of Medieval Japan*, (Tuttle, 1964), 77.
as practiced by Araki, who gives us for this period a picture of tiny, disconnected essences blinking in and out of existence, of which the kōwaka was one.

Having been developed to meet the aesthetic requirements of a violent and stormy age, it quickly deteriorated once the samurai began turning to urban fads and foppery and ceased being true warriors.\(^3\)

In fact, rapid sociopolitical changes of the medieval–early modern transition were accompanied by a host of changes in patronage, medium, performer, format, social class, and political function. These in turn gave birth to a profusion of cultural forms which were new but nevertheless proceeded in an unbroken tradition from the kōwaka.

The next major study on the kōwaka, that of Asahara Yoshiko in 1980, incorporated an extended discussion of its decline, including its transformation into other media and genres like the narrative picture scroll, although this moment is still understood as the destruction of an essence.\(^4\) The following year, a monograph by Muroki Yatarō dealt with the kōwaka’s generic instability by enlarging the genre to include the early puppet theatre in its jōruri and sekkyō branches under the more general designation of “ballads” (katarimono).\(^5\) Then, throughout the 1980s and –90s, a yearly journal founded by Agō Toranoshin laid crucial philological groundwork for research on the kōwaka with a series of critical editions and commentaries on the core canon of ballads.\(^6\) Based on this, a volume of annotated libretti was published as part of the Shin

\(^3\) Araki, 77.

\(^4\) Asahara Yoshiko, Kōwaka bukyoku kō (Shintensha, 1980).

\(^5\) Muroki Yatarō, Katarimono (mai/sekkyō/kojōruri) no kenkyū (Kazama shobō, 1981).

Nihon koten bungaku series, Elizabeth Oyler published a study of the kōwaka’s roots in earlier warrior literature like The Tale of the Heike, the Gikeiki, and The Tale of the Soga Brothers, and Keller Kimbrough has introduced the kōwaka’s partial successor, the early puppet theatre, to the English-speaking world.

Nevertheless, even Asahara, who pioneered the study of the kōwaka’s afterlife, repeats a certain story about its demise: as warlords became sedentary bureaucrats under the new Tokugawa order, the kōwaka experienced a neatly parallel devolution from a manly and active performance tradition to a genre of nostalgic storybooks as libretti were traded for reading material, lost their musical notation, and acquired increasingly ornate illustrations, becoming by the end of the seventeenth century culturally-inert tanakazari “shelf decoration”. However, Kobayashi Kenji has explored the relationships between the kōwaka and other genres like noh by comparing the textual and thematic features of versions of the same piece across genres, and it is this method which I take as a model for a fluid dynamics of culture which traces not stable genres but changes themselves: between spoken, written, and visual media; across different social classes of producer or patron; and through the many spheres of language, script, ideology, and material culture

7 Asahara and Kitahara, SNKBT: Mai no hon (Iwanami Shoten, 1994).
8 Elizabeth Oyler, Swords, Oaths, and Prophetic Visions: Authoring Warrior Rule in Medieval Japan (University of Hawai‘i Press, 2006).
10 Asahara & Kitahara, “Kaisetsu”, Mai no hon, 599.
11 Kobayashi Kenji, Chūsei geki bungaku no kenkyū: nō to kōwaka bukyoku (Miyai shoten, 2001).
of which Japan became a nexus during this time of transition. Each chapter of this dissertation grows from my transcription, edition, and English translation of all relevant manuscripts of a previously-undiscussed piece, which I analyze as a member of the kōwaka family and not an illegitimate descendant. In Volume One, I follow a single post-kōwaka ballad composition, Sagamigawa, across three genres: the narrative picture scroll, the early puppet theatre, and the noh theatre. In Volume Two, I present studies of three pieces of Jesuit mission literature in Japanese, a body of texts which I argue has been unjustly excluded not only from the kōwaka family but the canon of Japanese literature itself.

Chapter One stems from my discovery in Princeton’s Firestone Library of an illustrated scroll set of Sagamigawa, which tells a story of ghostly resentment and revenge against the archetypical shogun, Yoritomo. The scrolls’ calligraphy is attributable to a prolific calligrapher active in the late seventeenth century and associated with the urban-commoner book atelier Kidono in Kyoto. In comparison with other extant versions, the text of the Princeton scrolls intensifies Sagamigawa’s already anti-authoritarian overtones and initiates a new, resentfully moralistic phase in the development of the tragic figure of Yoshitsune: Yoritomo is called “foolish”, and “sins” are attributed to him in a way that is almost unprecedented in Japanese warrior literature. The scrolls’ paintings are also skillfully executed using copious amounts of expensive materials, so that they were probably commissioned by a minor daimyō family, perhaps as a wedding gift. Accordingly, I read the Princeton scrolls’ textual innovations with reference to Kyoto’s decline in political importance, the rise of the urban commoner class, and the performative possibilities of the handscroll format, overturning Asahara’s idea
that handscroll versions of ballads were the culturally-inert endpoint of a narrative of
devolution, mere “shelf decoration”.

Chapter Two treats *Kajiwara’s End: Shizuka goes East*, a late–
seventeenth-century libretto in the National Library of France which adapts *Sagamigawa*
to the puppet theatre format embraced by the rising urban commoner class in response to
shogunal restrictions on the performing body and their own bourgeois anxieties. In
addition to changes in narrative formulae, this transformation involves adding a long
road-poem (*michiyuki*) extolling Sagami as a travel destination, anticipating the booming
tourist trade that was to grow there in the coming decades. It also replaces all the main
characters with female equivalents: Yoritomo is confronted by Yoshitsune’s lover and
defended by his wife. Finally, it intensifies *Sagamigawa’s* anti-authoritarian resentment,
names it *mono no aware*, and makes it a medium by which weak characters build
alliances against the strong. This is interesting in light of the fact that the Ise
townsman-born philosopher Motoori Norinaga would use the same term a hundred years
later for an ideal of pure Japanese linguistic communication which for him was an
alternative to the moral discourse of the Tokugawa establishment, and which he claimed
to find in *The Tale of Genji*. The differences between Norinaga’s *Genji* and actual *Genji*
discourse are well known, but I argue that Norinaga may actually have gotten some of his
ideas about *aware* not from *Genji* but from the melodramatic puppet theatre.

Chapter Three addresses *The Bridge Consecration*, a noh play extant in four
late-Edo libretti but present in repertoire lists from the early eighteenth century. Like
these repertoire lists which allowed the shogunate to regulate the activities of the noh
troupes, whom they paid stipends and controlled directly from the highest levels of
government, this play is an icon of the system of noh as shogunal state ceremonial. This ritual economy linked local lords who patronizing noh and performing it themselves to the shogunal bureaucracy, to the shogun, and finally to Ieyasu himself, deified as an avatar of the sun at the Nikkō shrine complex, in a sacrament of vicarious authority. Accordingly, this noh version of *Sagamigawa* is rebuilt around the bridge consecration scene, which, despite depicting the ritual activity of Yoritomo’s clan shrine of Tsurugaoka Hachiman, is filled with sun imagery and thinly-veiled references to the benefits of Tokugawa governance, including direct reference to recent Chinese literature and the presence of “Dutch incense”. Meanwhile, Yoshitsune is cut entirely, the ghosts haunting Yoritomo are reduced in number to one, given one short speech, and then driven away at a stroke by characters representing secular and sacred authority, respectively. At the same time, the piece’s description of the precise workings of the ideological hail of shogunal spectacle is so detailed that it may reveal a critical consciousness lurking under the surface. I suggest that this piece or ones like it could have been used by powerful “outer” daimyō houses like the Maeda of Kaga Province in their rivalry against the Tokugawa, a conflict which throughout the seventeenth century was sublimated into a contest of noh performance and patronage.

Chapter Four begins my studies from a 1591 collection of Jesuit mission literature in Japanese, whose Roman script has provided valuable data for linguists and whose existence has been a point of pride for Christians, but which has scarcely ever been read as Japanese literature. When it is, it is seen to be an unrecognized descendant of sixteenth-century ballad literature, born of the Jesuits’ use of kōwaka libretti for language study. Here I discuss *The Story of a Cross which Miraculously Appeared in Japan*, a
narrative with a colophon by Gaspar Coelho, the Viceprovincial whose mixing of politics, commerce, and religion more or less precipitated Hideyoshi’s expulsion edict. Comparing Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and Japanese versions, I show that the Japanese is the oldest, and that it is written specifically in response to the edict and in support of Coelho’s plan to fight Hideyoshi using Spanish, Portuguese, and Japanese Christian arms. This text is a kind of proletarian propagandum which even on the level of honorifics raises the intuition of Japanese peasants above their temporal rulers and establishes the Jesuits as arbiters over both. This conclusion complicates recent scholarship which, under the name “invasion plot” theory, dismisses as a figment of the late-seventeenth-century Japanese imagination the idea that the Jesuits had a domestic political agenda which they sometimes pursued by domestic subversion and foreign military power.¹²

Chapter Five addresses a Japanese ballad of The Passion of the Christ which displays locutions typical of the kōwaka as well as creative misuses of Buddhist and Confucian terminology, some of which continues to appear with the Jesuits’ meaning in popular literature like the puppet theatre even after the suppression. In this chapter I concentrate my philological arguments for the inclusion of these texts within the canon of Japanese literature as, among other things, an illegitimate descendent of the kōwaka and other ballad literature. Nevertheless, passages from the Jesuit Japan letters which describe the performance contexts of literature like this do not provide any evidence of affiliation with established arts like the kōwaka, much less the noh. However, there are accounts of

performers traveling to remote areas for Christian festivals and performing ballads like this one, so some level of professionalization may have been in process. I also take this opportunity to address the ideological problems with which the issue of genre is entwined. Christian writers have tried to claim an affiliation with noh for this material because they want to disprove the still–widely-held idea that Christianity is fundamentally incompatible with authentic Japanese culture. However, in doing so they swallow whole the idea that noh would be a more authentically Japanese ancestor than the kōwaka and the other, nameless folk traditions that doubtless informed this body of work. I argue that both these premises are vestiges of Tokugawa and Meiji state ideology and are overturned by the evident fact that ordinary Japanese peasants were able to understand and express Christian legends and doctrines using low-prestige but nevertheless perfectly Japanese performing arts.

Chapter Six addresses a Dialogue on the Instruments of the Passion of Jesus: cross, nails, etc. Meditations in a smooth, poetic style are delivered in the voices of Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene, in language that sublimates maternal and erotic love for Jesus, respectively. Here, skillful use of noh-style stream of consciousness is accompanied by daring neologisms necessitated by devotional formulae centering on doctrine of the dual nature of Christ: both human and divine. Because Japanese uses honorifics to index persons, the Virgin Mary cannot refer to Jesus both as a superior and as an inferior using the same word “Son”, as she does in this text’s European-language models. However, I argue that there is nothing inherently invalid about the Virgin using an honorific on her own son, since Genji, for example, does the same on his daughter the Empress. Nevertheless, this phenomenon of “in-group honorifics” does not constitute proof of an
older system of “absolute honorifics” because, as recent linguistic research has shown, in *The Tale of Genji* and *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*, the earliest sources in which such information can be verified, characters consistently adjust the honorific level of in-group persons when speaking with outsiders, even if they also use in-group honorifics and sometimes self-honorifics. Rather, I argue that the myth of absolute honorifics arose from the need for a narrative of national development which maps the racial hierarchy of the Japanese empire onto the history of the language. First articulated by Kindaichi Kyōsuke, a linguist of Ainu during Japan’s colonial expansion, its original formulation explicitly describes an evolution from an age of “taboo” as in Polynesian culture, through absolute honorifics as in Ainu, to the endpoint of relative honorifics as in modern Japanese.

Meanwhile, the poetic dialogues between the Magdalene and the Virgin are followed by a rehearsal of the violent Insrtruments in stiff, doctrinal prose studded with Portuguese and Latin loanwords and using particles for passive and causative constructions which appear nowhere else in Japanese literature but Jesuit texts. These usages match the prescriptions for the Latin ablative and nominative cases in the verb conjugation tables of Jesuit grammars, and so I argue that they reveal the existence of Luso-Japanese reading practices, developed on analogy with Sino-Japanese practices for skipping around a Chinese or other logographic text, to produce as Japanese reading (*kundoku*). Japanese Jesuit literature made the Japanese language do many things it had never done before, and it did so with the kōwaka and other oral narrative as its base.

This dissertation traces a series of dead-ends and finds them alive, flowing uninterrupted from the kōwaka behind and on ahead into a variety of other discourses representative of much of Japan’s subsequent cultural production: a thriving popular
visual and print media culture; melodramatic and spectacular puppet theatre and kabuki supported by a capitalized economy and an urban middle class; an intricately stratified ceremonial noh theatre which functioned as a sacrament of a totalitarian yet flexibly localizing state; and last but not least, an intellectual tradition which staked out a position for Japan as counterpoint to European Christian colonialism. This last development in particular has affected the course of Japanese and even world history as profoundly as any I can think of, for better and for worse. By tracing the decline and fall of a genre, we will discover the many ways in which its diffusion not coincidentally but essentially constituted its influence and continued vitality, if under as many different names.
CHAPTER ONE

Subversive Shelf Decoration: The Princeton Sagamigawa Picture Scrolls

In the Robert Garrett Collection of Firestone Library at Princeton University, there is a previously-undiscussed set of narrative picture scrolls (emaki) whose conditions of production, medium, theme, and textual peculiarities disclose an ambivalence on the part of Kyoto’s emergent urban commoner and bureaucratic warrior classes regarding their place in the new Edo-centered order of the seventeenth century, a political message which is activated by the physical properties and display practices of the handwritten scroll.¹ These scrolls’ elegant calligraphy and lavish paintings encode Sagamigawa, a seventeenth-century tale of the renegade Yoshitsune which represents a late stage of the medieval kōwaka ballad. The standard narrative of the kōwaka’s decline during the transition to the Tokugawa peace is that its warlike vigor was reduced to a genre of nostalgic picture books like the Princeton scrolls, which were mere “shelf decoration” in Asahara Yoshiko’s words.² However, this chapter will show what a powerful performer a book could be: Sagamigawa is a revival of the Heike-related Yoshitsune cycle which brings the tale back to its martial roots while injecting a new kind of anti-authoritarian sentiment. Moreover, the Princeton version of Sagamigawa carries this tendency to an extreme, and its text is in the hand of Asakura Jūken, the most prolific Kyoto townsman

¹ “Scrolls illustrating a story about the Sagami River,” Garrett Japanese Manuscripts, no. 1, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, viewable online at: arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/3484zj30s

² SNKBT: Mai no hon, ed. Asahara Yoshiko, Kitahara Yasuo, (Iwanami shoten, 1994), 599.
calligrapher whose name and bookshop are known. Its content is therefore easy to read in context as a statement of anti-establishment politics, but as a handwritten work it would have avoided the scrutiny to which the emergent print culture was increasingly subjected. Finally, it surely needed to avoid scrutiny precisely because it was on the “shelf”, which in contemporary display practice was center stage for cultural curatorship. The Princeton scrolls, as ornate as any non-courtier production known, were produced and displayed as a statement, quite possibly by a family of the new warrior-bureaucrat class, whose anxieties also come through in Sagamigawa’s text. At the same time, as scrolls they are materially structured so that their full content and its implications can be intimated or disavowed at will. Far from being an inert relic of a dead genre, the Princeton Sagamigawa was likely made as a collaboration between urban commoners and warriors-turned-officials as a covert yet active agent of seventeenth-century Kyoto’s simultaneous resistance to and collaboration in the new Edo-centric order.3

Sagamigawa: A New Yoshitsune for the Seventeenth Century

Sagamigawa develops a little-known early-medieval story, in which the archetypal Shōgun Yoritomo is haunted by the ghosts of people he has killed, at the

3 Previous versions of this chapter have been presented as “Pruinsuton-bon Sagamigawa emaki de machi ezōshiya wo yomitoku”, International Conference on 16th/17th-c. Picture Books (Keiō University, 8/2014); “From Bard to Book: The Princeton Sagamigawa scrolls and the objectification of the ballad”, Early Modern Japan Network (Association for Asian Studies Annual Conference, 3/2013); and published as “Pruinsuton-bon Sagamigawa emaki de machi ezōshiya wo yomitoku”, Proceedings of the International Conference on 16th/17th-c. Picture Books (Keiō Univeristy, 2014).
consecration ceremony for a bridge he has built after his victory in the Heike wars. *Sagamigawa* connects this to the famous legend of Yoritomo's younger half-brother Yoshitsune, whom he had hunted down after In mid- to late-medieval versions of that story, this happened at the behest of an evil retainer, Kajiwara, who falsely convinced him that Yoshitsune was plotting against him. In *Sagamigawa*, Yoshitsune’s ghost convinces Yoritomo finally to purge the evil Kajiwara and promote the good retainer Shigetada, who has played the role of shaman in speaking to Yoshitsune. This purge leads to the ghosts’ pacification, and in this way *Sagamigawa* is a traditional story of appeasing unquiet spirits, in this case a wrongfully demoted hero. On a basic level, Japanese warrior literature from *The Tale of the Heike* on has always been torn between celebrating Yoritomo’s edifice of military government and staking claims that are both based on and that challenge this establishment on behalf of peripheral figures and lineages. The nomadic and rhizomatic order of medieval Japan is stands in an epiphenomenal relation to this literature, which can be seen to grow from real and, mostly, forged letters and deeds which claim hereditary rights and privileges based on having served Yoritomo. Nevertheless, the terms in which *Sagamigawa*’s ghosts impugn Yoritomo’s leadership represent a new development in the Yoshitsune legend, which earlier had imposed the figure of Kajiwara to absolve Yoritomo of responsibility for Yoshitsune’s death. In this section I argue that *Sagamigawa*’s composition and circulation, largely in manuscript format which was difficult to censor, reflects pervasive anxiety about the new order. Its outer veil of expiatory benediction is one of the thinnest on record, and so even as it reenacts the medieval literature of peaceful chaos and violent order, it is also mounting a critique of the same.
Counting the Princeton *Sagamigawa* scrolls, the piece is extant in ten versions:

1. Tenri Library, 1 large handwritten codex, 1629.
2. Keiō University, 1 handwritten codex, 1630.
3. Tokyo University, 1 handwritten codex, 1639.
4. Akagi Collection, 1 large handwritten codex, copy of 3.
5. National Diet Library, part of 1 handwritten codex, copy of 3.
6. Iwakuni Chōkōkan, Hiroshima, 2 printed codices, woodblock illustrations, 1655.
7. Saeki Shin’ichi collection, Tokyo, fragmentary paintings and text, late 17\(^{th}\) c.
8. Princeton University, 3 handwritten scrolls, painted illustrations, ca. 1660–1680.
9. Kanazawa University, 1 handwritten codex, 1801.
10. Aichi Women’s University, 1 handwritten codex, 1919 copy of 3.

Like the many ballad libretti-turned-reading-material popular by the late sixteenth century as *mai no hon*, the Tenri version of 1629 has no musical notation, but it intermittently provides punctuation, breaking up the entire text into short phrases for declamation in performance.\(^5\) The Keiō version has a unique text representing its own lineage despite its early date of 1630, so the piece must originate at least several years

\(^4\) Based on Matsumoto Ryūshin, “Zōtei Muromachi jidai monogatari rui genzon bon kanmei mokuroku,” Nara ehon kokusai kenkyū kaigi, ed., *Otogi zōshi no sekai* (Sanseidō, 1982), 82. Updated transcriptions of the texts and/or reproductions of the paintings from versions 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, together with a critical edition and an English translation based on the Princeton version, can be found in the appendices at the end of this chapter.

\(^5\) Also transcribed in Yokoyama Shigeru & Matsumoto Ryūshin, ed. *Muromachi jidai monogatari taisei* (Kadokawa shoten, 1977), 5:320–335. For my corrected transcription see Appendix A.
earlier.\textsuperscript{6} The text of the 1639 Tokyo University version is close to the Tenri version,\textsuperscript{7} showing that the piece had largely stabilized by that point, and less of its text is punctuated, so perhaps its connection to oral performance had thinned somewhat, though the parts which are punctuated do not completely overlap, so it is possible that it and the Tenri version share a common ancestor. Most other manuscripts belong to this Tenri lineage, including the 1655 Chōkōkan exemplar, the only printed version. Its woodblock illustrations are not close enough to the paintings of the Princeton version to posit any direct relationship, and the same is true of the fragmentary picture book held by Saeki Shin’ichi: between the three illustrated versions, no clear iconography or even canon of scenes emerges which cannot be explained simply by the fact that all three workshops were illustrating the same text and working within the same larger pictorial tradition of illustrating such texts. This means that the tale was illustrated either often enough to form at least three pictorial lineages or not often enough to form even one: the latter seems slightly more likely. Because the Chōkōkan version is printed, it might preserve the most broadly-dispersed illustrations, but controversial works tended to circulate in manuscript to avoid censorship,\textsuperscript{8} and of the eight surviving versions only this one is printed, so perhaps it was not the most widely seen. We cannot assume that print always means

\textsuperscript{6} Also transcribed in Ishikawa Tōru, “Keiō Gijuku Toshokan zō ‘Yoritomo kō hashi kuyō’ kaidai/honkoku”, \textit{Mita kokubun} 28 (9/1998). For my corrected transcription see Appendix B.

\textsuperscript{7} Also transcribed in Sasano Ken, \textit{Kōwaka bukyoku shū}, 2 vols. (Rinsen shoten, 1944), 2:383–398. For my corrected transcription see Appendix C.

wider circulation: one might be slightly more likely to throw away a printed book than a handwritten one, and any number of factors may have skewed survival so that it does not reflect initial circulation, but in the absence of other data like the book atelier ledger discovered by Ishikawa Tōru discussed below, it is what we have. The early–nineteenth-century Kanazawa version inherits many readings unique to the Princeton version while making its own changes, so it may speak to some level of circulation on the part of the latter. Since there are three main textual lineages, I will base my summary of *Sagamigawa* and review of its textual sources on the Tenri version, before comparing this with the Princeton version, with some reference to the early Keiō version throughout.

The first modern scholarship on *Sagamigawa* was Shimazu Hisamoto’s in 1928, in which he identified its basic sources based apparently on two versions from the Tenri lineage, and Higuchi Kunio improved on this in 2005. In a parallel to the Tokugawa shogunate’s censorship of literary references to any shogunal personage, which began in earnest in the late seventeenth century, the Kamakura shogunate’s official chronicle, the late–thirteenth-century *Azuma kagami*, is suddenly blank for the three years leading up to Yoritomo’s death at the end of 1198. The event itself is only mentioned later in passing, in an entry for the second month of 1212. Officials are arguing about whether to rebuild the bridge over the River Sagami at that time, and it is argued by one of them that since Yoritomo died after suffering a fall from his horse at the dedication of the current bridge

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in 1198, it would be inauspicious to rebuild it now.\(^{12}\) There is a plaque supposedly identifying the spot at a place called Tsujidō in Fujisawa City, Kanagawa Prefecture. As for the historical truth of the matter, a clue can be found in the diary of the courtier Konoe Iezane, which says that His Lordship had “a serious case of diabetes”—omoki insui no yamai, literally “water-drinking disease.”\(^{13}\) In that light it may be significant that the story of his being killed by haunting at that bridge consecration is first extant in the mid–fourteenth-century Jōkyūki, where the culprit is a water spirit, although the association of bridges with water spirits would have been enough to produce this story on its own.\(^{14}\) Finally, the unauthorized chronicle Hōryaku kanki, also from the mid–fourteenth-century, has Yoritomo haunted by the ghosts of his fallen foes, so it is perhaps Sagamigawa’s most important source.

In the winter of that same year (1198), His Lordship the Shōgun went to a bridge consecration at the River Sagami, and as he was on his way home, at a place called Yatsumato-ga-hara, departed Genji clansmen such as Yoshihiro, Yoshihiko, Yukiie, and the rest, appeared and looked Yoritomo in the eye. After he had passed them by, at Inamura-ga-saki a young boy of just ten years appeared upon the sea, saying, “All this time I have been looking for you, and now I’ve found you. Look at me: who do you think I am? I am the emperor Antoku, who sank beneath the Western Seas,” and he vanished. Then when he arrived in Kamakura he immediately showed signs of illness.

\(^{12}\) *KST: Azuma kagami* 1, ed. Kuroita Katsumi & Maruyama Jirō (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1933).

\(^{13}\) 飲水病重。Quoted in Higuchi 75.

On the thirteenth day of the first month of the following year, he passed away. He was fifty-three. This cannot be called a natural death; it was entirely due to the vengeful spirits of the Heike. They said it must have happened because he did away with so many people.  

However, the lead ghost here is Emperor Antoku. Accordingly, Sagamigawa’s greatest innovation is to refocus the story on Yoshitsune.

From this shift grows the accompanying competition between the good vassal Shigetada and the evil Kajiwara to lead in state ceremonial as warrior bureaucrats and to interpret the apparitions. By making the right choice between these two as he failed to do earlier between Yoshitsune and Kajiwara, Yoritomo expiates his earlier mistake, though at the cost of the invincible ignorance he had maintained in earlier versions of the story.

The focus on Yoshitsune also gives Sagamigawa, in the extended reminiscences of Kajiwara, Yoshitsune, and his retainers, the character of a medley of classic sixteenth-century kōwaka, and sometimes noh and kyōgen, as Fujii Natsuko demonstrated in 1993.  

Fujii proceeds on the basis of this retrospective character to

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15 同 [建久九年] 冬、大將殿、相模川ノ橋供養ニ出テ還ラセ玉ヒケルニ、八的カ原ト云処ニテ、亡サレシ源氏、義広、義経、行家已下ノ人々現シテ、頼朝ニ目ヲ見合ケリ。是ヲハ打過玉ヒケルニ、稲村崎ニテ、海上ニ十歳計ナル童子ノ現シ玉ヒテ、汝ヲ此程隠分ヲラナヒツルニ、今コソ見付タレ。我ヲハ誰トカ見ル。西海ニ沈シ安徳天皇也トテ、失給ヌ。其後、鎌倉ヘ入玉ヒテ、則病著玉ヒケリ。次年正月十三日、終ニ失給。五十三ニソ成玉フ。足ヲ老死ト云へカラス、偏ニ平家ノ怨霊也。多ノ人ヲ失ヒ給シ故トソ申ケル。Kōhon Hōryaku kanki, ed. Saeki Shin’ichi & Takagi Hiroaki (Izumi Shoin, 1999), 72.

exclude the piece from the canon of authentic kōwaka, suggesting instead that it may be related to the early puppet theatre. Indeed, the apparitions and the pageantry of the warriors on parade would have fit well with the focus on spectacle in the early puppet theatre, and two libretti exist of the story rewritten as jōruri puppet plays, one of which is treated in Chapter Two. Canonical kōwaka also do not quote from each other in the way that Sagamigawa quotes from them.

However, even sixteenth-century kōwaka are also inherently retrospective, not cut from whole cloth: Elizabeth Oyler has shown how they recombined and developed early-medieval material for the late middle ages. Sagamigawa’s investment in oral comprehensibility is certainly evident throughout from expressions of audience address like “So then…” (somosomo); paratactic markers like “After these things they saw…” (sono tsugi mite areba); and repetitive stock descriptions like “decked out his private troop of some two hundred horse like flowers all in bloom” (tezei nihyaku-yo-ki wo hana no gotoku ni idetatase) or “swinging his great halberd like a whirling water wheel” (ōnaginata wo mizuguruma ni mawashi). As is evident from these phrases, the piece conforms roughly to five-seven prosody and could easily be declaimed or sung in any number of Japanese styles, even if it does not have the polished structure of a sixteenth-century kōwaka. Performance records for kōwaka in this period are extremely rare, so we do not even have a good idea of what distinguishes it in performance, and in any case Sagamigawa does not appear in any such records known to me. Although it

17 Yamashita Noriko, private communication, 9/2014.
survives in no libretto with musical notation, this does not prove it was never performed: for one thing, its subversive content would be a disincentive to writing it down, and there is ample reference to sensitive texts circulating in oral form in the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{19} Even supposing it was never performed as a kōwaka, it is written in the style of one, which would mean that latter-day demand for kōwaka-like ballads was sometimes met with ballads that had never been kōwaka. If Sagamigawa is a kōwaka, it is a kōwaka about kōwaka. Accordingly, I read it as a new kind of post-kōwaka ballad.

All the materials treated in this dissertation are intermediate products of traditions undergoing rapid change, so it is neither easy nor meaningful to sustain a very rigid concept of genre. Thematically, however, Sagamigawa introduces a change in the story of Yoritomo’s postwar break with Yoshitsune that has major political implications. As Elizabeth Oyler has shown, this narrative had already undergone a great transformation in the middle ages. First, in early Heike variants like the thirteenth-century Engyōbon and the Genpei jōsuiki, Yoritomo hates Yoshitsune because he is strong: both men are described as “fearsome” (osoroshiki) and “not someone around whom to let down one’s guard” (uchitoku beki mono ni arazu).\textsuperscript{20} Oyler calls these interactions “motivated by varieties of self-interest that we hesitate to attribute to heroes,”\textsuperscript{21} but we need look no further than the Iliad, for example, to find such unapologetically competitive heroes—Achilles, to Agamemnon: “You wine sack, with the eyes of a dog, the heart of a

\textsuperscript{19} Kornicki, “Manuscript, Not Print”.

\textsuperscript{20} Oyler, Swords, 98.

\textsuperscript{21} Oyler, Swords, 111.
Moreover, such self-interest is perfectly in character for the historical warlords of twelfth-century Japan. ‘Epic’ would be a good label for this phase of the myth.

Next, in the fourteenth-century Gikeiki, Kajiwara Kagetoki, Yoshitsune’s adversary in a certain dispute in an unrelated Heike episode, is made into a new, existential rival: he convinces Yoritomo that Yoshitsune is plotting against him and must be eliminated. Now Yoshitsune and Kajiwara compete as equals, writing oaths to prove their loyalty to Yoritomo, who recedes into the background as an arbiter between them. Here, Yoshitsune and Yoritomo never hate each other: Yoritomo, with only Kajiwara’s slander to go on, does what he thinks he must, and Yoshitsune is a charming naïf who composes landscape poetry on his way to their fated clash: this change satisfied the Kamakura-period need for Minamoto family harmony. Here, as a strong, grudge-bearing spirit (onryō) in the classic post–ninth-century Japanese cast, Yoshitsune becomes for the first time the subject of “resentment” (urami and ikon). His resentment is directed at Kajiwara, but he dies with dignity on his own terms, surrounded by enemies weaker than he, never losing his composure. In the Gikeiki, his sidekick Benkei is fighting like one possessed, outnumbered before the gates, when suddenly he strikes a triumphant pose...

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24 McCullough, Yoshitsune, 219.


26 Oyler, Swords, 101–106.
like a statue of a *deva* king, looks his enemies in the face and laughs—and it takes a moment before they realize that he has died spontaneously on his feet at the height of his glory.\(^\text{27}\) Meanwhile, Yoshitsune cuts his belly three different ways, pulls out his intestines, and has a long final exchange with his inner circle. In the sixteenth-century kōwaka *Takadachi*, Yoshitsune’s death is not even depicted: he and Benkei pass a cup and exchange parting poems, and Benkei goes out to make his last stand, where again he dies on his feet, this time in the shallows of the River Koromo, so that the first enemy to creep out to him is swept away by the current to become one last, posthumous kill.\(^\text{28}\) Yoshitsune and his men are “beaten by Fortune, not by” Kajiwara, as Montaigne might say.\(^\text{29}\) Let us call this the story’s ‘tragic’ phase.

Now, I believe the seventeenth-century *Sagamigawa* typifies yet a third phase in the narrative’s development. This tale takes place some years after Yoritomo has won the war and killed Yoshitsune, and the evil Kajiwara is alive and well in Yoritomo’s ranks. Kajiwara begrudges the loyal and strong Hatakeyama Shigetada his position riding Yoritomo’s vanguard on the occasion of the dedication of a new bridge across the River Sagami, the latest of Yoritomo’s many construction projects in and around his shogunal capital of Kamakura. Kajiwara complains to his son that Yoritomo has forgotten all his loyal service, as when he, originally a Heike vassal, rescued Yoritomo and won a place in

\(^{27}\) *SNKBZ: Gikeiki*, ed. Kajihara Masaaki (Shōgakukan, 1999), 458–461.

\(^{28}\) Asahara & Kitahara, *Mai no hon*, 464.

\(^{29}\) “Qui regarde encore, en rendant l’ame, son ennemy d’une veue ferme et desdaigneuse, il est battu, non pas de nous, mais de la fortune.” Michel de Montaigne, “Des Cannibales,” *Les essais* (lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/projects/montaigne : The Montaigne Project, [1580]).
the ranks of the Genji. This episode, right down to signal details and rhetorical anchors, is lifted from the ballad *Kirikane Soga*. Kajiwara issues pleas and threats, and after the gallant Shigetada learns of this he lets him have the post. In these two we have an early example of the “good-guy/bad-guy” (*zendama/akudama*) dualism that would become common in Edo-period forms like the puppet theatre and kabuki. A loving narration follows of Yoritomo on parade, a martial display familiar from ballads about the Soga brothers’ assassination plot, like *Jūbangiri*—and as there, disaster strikes.

The consecration is interrupted by a series of ghostly apparitions in the river: shining orbs, a dragon, an angelic boy, a young warrior riding on an ox, ghostly hordes. All make violent gestures at Yoritomo, who falls down dead but then is called back to life by the good retainer Shigetada, who has various powers of divination and communication with spirits. Yoritomo now demands that the visions be interpreted, but the evil Kajiwara, who as vanguard rider should have seen them, can offer no satisfying explanation and retreats in disgrace. So Yoritomo asks Shigetada to take on the task, relating a story from the kōwaka *Kagekiyo* as an example of his perceptiveness. Shigetada identifies every figure in the vision as the ghost of someone Yoritomo has dispossessed: the angelic boy is the Heike child emperor Antoku; the orbs and the dragon are Kiyomori, the leader of the Heike, and his family, including his aunt who had convinced Kiyomori to spare Yoritomo’s life when he was a boy; the young warrior is the Heike noble Atsumori, and so on. The anxiety surrounding who rides where in parades, the loving descriptions of

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30 My outline of Sagamigawa’s ballad sources is based on Fujii’s with some added. Her work should be consulted for the full citations.
colorful armor and horse fittings which would be more at home in a scene of court ceremonial in *The Tale of Genji* than in the long but functional descriptions of the instruments of war in *The Heike*, as well as the focus on interdimensional communication and shamanistic insight here, reflect the concerns of a warrior class that was in the process of becoming a class of bureaucrats, ideologues, and legislators, whose lives revolved around pageantry and statecraft.³¹

Yoritomo has believed Kajiwara’s slander to the effect that Yoshitsune had been plotting against him, and so he is genuinely surprised by the revelation that his brother bore him a grudge. Accordingly, he demands that Shigetada summon Yoshitsune’s ghost and make it speak. Yoshitsune appears weeping and launches into a maudlin montage of his life, in vignettes quoted from earlier kōwaka and sometimes noh and kyōgen.³² First, his mother Tokiwa is driven from Kyoto after his father is killed by the Heike in the Heiji disturbance, and for a time she becomes homeless together with the infant Yoshitsune and his brothers, as in the kōwaka *Fushimi Tokiwa*. Then she manages to seduce her husband’s enemy, Kiyomori, and to extract from him and from his entire clan an oath to spare her children in return for her favors, as in the kōwaka *Nabiki Tokiwa*, from which the Keiō version preserves the most language. Yoshitsune’s childhood as an oblate at the temple on Mt. Kurama, where he learns the arts of war from tengu goblins and prepares for his future as toppler of the Heike, is rehearsed as in the kōwaka *Miraiki*. We run

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³² These canons were all quite porous well into the seventeenth century. Kobayashi Kenji, *Chūsei geki bungaku no kenkyū: nō to kōwaka bukyoku* (Miyai shoten, 2001).
quickly through his accomplishments in the Heike Wars, to the time of his break with Yoritomo, and here the wrathful monologues of Yoshitsune’s retainers are closely related to the noh Katari Suzuki and the kyōgen Ikedori Suzuki. Yoshitsune writes his protestations of fealty as in the kōwaka Koshigoe, but all in vain. For a time, our hero settles into a minor governorship, but as in the kōwaka Oisagashi assassins come to kill him. He tries to hide with the militant sectarians on Mt. Yoshino, but they soon turn against him and he is back on the road, this time to the deep north. To the list of clever disguises he and his men use along the way, Sagamigawa adds one particular to its seventeenth-century milieu—the merchant:

Some places we went with the women disguised as servant boys, and other provinces we passed through in the guise of merchants, floating in boats, tossed by the waves, meeting with hardship here and there across the land.\(^{33}\)

On arrival, Yoshitsune settles in with his loyal vassal Hidehira, who agrees to hide him but soon dies of illness, and Hidehira’s sons end up fighting to decide Yoshitsune’s fate as in the kōwaka Izumigajō. Eventually our hero makes a stand, and he and his men die fighting as in the kōwaka Takadachi. Here ends Sagamigawa’s medley of sixteenth-century kōwaka.

Yoshitsune’s ghost explains to Shigetada that he had come to hear the sūtra readings at the consecration, and when the Heike ghosts attacked he would have protected Yoritomo out of brotherly loyalty, but when he saw Kajiwara riding the

\(^{33}\) 女をちこに出たゝせるとる所もあり又ある時はあき人のまねをしてとる国もあり舟にうかひ浪にゆられこゝかしこにてさま／のうきめを見･･･
vanguard, “his evil works flowed over in my breast, and I sank away, spent.” One by one the ghosts of Yoshitsune’s retainers appear and repeat the point, peppered with colorful threats taken from the kōwaka *Togashi*. With this incantatory repetition of blame, *Sagamigawa*’s exorcistic energy is brought to a fever pitch. Yoritomo must purge his ranks in order to come to terms with the past. The angry masses eagerly receive Yoritomo’s call for Kajiwara’s head, but the villain has gone on the run. However, he happens to ride between an archer and his target and falls from his horse with an arrow in his neck. As with the plotline about the haunting, *Sagamigawa* draws for Kajiwara’s end on material originating in the semi-historical *Azuma kagami* and developed by the *Hōryaku kanki*, but its immediate source is the kōwaka *Fukumijō*. Yoritomo rewards the executioner with Yoshitsune’s old governorship in Iyo Province, and *Sagamigawa* makes the extermination complete by adding that Kajiwara’s sons were also caught and beheaded. During the initial scene of Kajiwara’s complaint, his son tried to remonstrate with him for disrespecting his lord but was kept from making a thoroughgoing critique by his conflicting duty to his father: this Confucian double bind is a reverse echo of the *Kakuichibon Heike*, where Kiyomori’s son Shigemori is allowed to die of illness predicting his father’s impending downfall yet piously refusing to cross him. By contrast, *Sagamigawa* implicitly condemns Kajiwara’s son for failing to turn his father over to the state.

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34 悪がうむねにあまりくんろにしつむ Tenri version.

We end on a paean to shogunal authority, but first, the Keiō version has a didactic and classicizing interlude:

It all goes to show that when a human being receives life, he has his fate as well. Wit, fortune, and misfortune are unevenly allotted. From this it is ever so clear that “they foment unrest, so the autumn winds lays them waste; a king aspires to glory, so he snuffs out the slanderer.” Since His Lordship struck down and cut off the abominable Kajiwara…

After the fatalistic and classist platitudes we have a quote from the 帝範 Difan, a collection of admonitions for rulers by the Tang emperor Taizong (598–649), which was present in Japan by the late ninth century and appears in warrior literature from the thirteenth-century political tract Jikkinshō to the Tale of the Heike. The reception of texts like the Difan proceeded according to the logic of East Asian practices for vernacular reading, in which the reader jumps around the text, in the case of Japan reading according to Japanese word order and with Japanese glosses for each character, to produce Japanese sentences from the Tang emperor’s text. This has in the past been understood as an act of ‘translation into Japanese’ of a text that was ‘in Chinese’, but as David Lurie has shown, a more organic understanding of the situation is that we have one writing system which can encode and decode multiple languages to and from the same

text, within the many mutually unintelligible Chinese languages or between, say, Vietnamese and Mongolian. Taizong’s text runs 故叢蘭欲茂，秋風敗之，王者欲明，讒人蔽之, which the Heike renders as, Sōran mokaran to suredomo, aki no kaze kore wo yaburi, ōsha akiraka naran to sureba, zanshin kore wo kura ‘u su. “Orchids eagerly multiply, but the autumn winds lay them waste; a king aspires to greater glory, but the slanderer brings darkness.” The corresponding passage in the Keiō Sagamigawa is written phonetically, and indeed the saying has been transmitted orally for so long that in the first word, a homophonic slippage according to the Japanese pronunciation has taken place with respect to the characters understood, from sōran 叡蘭 to sōran 争乱: this is evident from a change in the first verb from the vernacular Japanese gloss mokaran “multiply” through the Chinese loan-word mosen 茂せん “multiply” to the Japanese -mo sen “foment”. This, in turn, has changed the understood subject of the first clause from the king’s plans to the slanderer’s, and this is why the parallel relationships between the first and second and the third and fourth clauses have become causative rather than contrastive. Accordingly, the understood subject of the final verb changes from the slanderer to the king, and its implied object from the king’s glory to the slanderer himself: “They foment unrest, so the autumn winds lays them waste; a king aspires to glory, so he snuffs out the slanderer.”

This textual drift is made possible by the specificity of the East Asian writing system,

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39 Heike monogatari, 1:74; trans. Royall Tyler, 74.

40 争乱もせんと欲すれば秋風足を敗る。王者明らかならんと欲すれば讒人足を蔽う。
whose dual operations of logography and phonography render its ties to any one lexicon or grammar tenuous and provisional. In any case, the valedictory ending continues in all versions, not just the Keiō. In the Tenri version, the ending runs as follows.

Those who saw this and those who heard of this were heard to say: “Ever more accomplished in benevolence, with the elder showing kind solicitude for the younger and the younger following after the elder, making straight the way of the sovereign and the way of the father—the reign of the Lord of Kamakura is sure to flourish to the end of the age.”

Nevertheless, the words of the ending ring hollow because all lineages show thinly-veiled anti-authoritarian tendencies throughout.

Saeki Shin’ichi and others have shown how one of the sources of Japanese warrior literature is a voluminous body of legal documents from throughout the middle ages, the majority of them naturally pseudepigraphical, which claim Yoritomo’s affirmation of rights for some entity or other: families, temples, shops. Many of the episodes of which even long works like the Heike are composed concern themselves on some level with status claims for a particular clan based on meritorious service to Yoritomo which are very similar in form and function to these deeds and contracts. In this sense, martial ballads embody the “state of war” of medieval Japan, in which authority and responsibility operated diffusely through a network of shifting clans and

41 页面の表記は不明瞭です。

classes, whose violent energies were balanced in a mobile order of prescriptive and performative practices.43 Meanwhile, the ambiguity of supporting the system which Yoritomo symbolizes and challenging it from a peripheral position is certainly present throughout, and Sagamigawa is not its first appearance: usually, in the manner best exemplified by the eponymous hero of the kōwaka Kagekiyo, Yoritomo’s would-be assassin, a conversion takes place from insurrection against to support of the dominant order.

However, because this is the goal there are limits to the extent and the tenor of these Yoritomo critiques. The trope of “tearing enemy children from the womb”, taken from Chinese classics like the Book of Documents and appearing in Heike, Soga, and Gikeiki, makes of Yoritomo a certain kind of villain, but there is a fatalism there which precludes any very moralistic judgment, and it is always accompanied by strong and sustained statements of the payoff that Yoritomo’s unification yields. The late-medieval tale Kiyomizu kaja, about Yoritomo’s killing of Kiso Yoshinaka’s son Yoshitaka, may be seen as a precursor to Sagamigawa in this regard. In various versions it contains particularly strong statements against Yoritomo:

He was not to live long after that, and after the Hunt at Mt. Fuji, at the age of fifty-three, he achieved rebirth in the Pure Land.44


Yoritomo’s line was to die out before long, and the descendants of the Hōjō on his wife’s side would come to rule the realm.\(^{45}\)

From of old down to the present, one who is a sovereign of men but has no virtue may achieve some status, but he will not hold onto it for long. Oh, how worthy of pity! Yoritomo was unable to ‘multiply like the bush crickets’. It was fitting that the prosperity of his descendants be cut off. When one is not entirely just, one’s position is no more substantial than that of a floating cloud before the wind. To boast in fleeting fortune can only be the result of folly."\(^{46}\)

However, in the first version given here, Yoritomo is said to achieve rebirth in the Pure Land. In the second, his downfall serves only to bolster the establishment centered on his wife’s family, the Hōjō. Now, the third is a strong and moralistic condemnation based on concepts like “virtue” and “justice”, and so it does anticipate Sagamigawa, but in all three versions of the story the main villain is not Yoritomo but Kōno no Saburō, another

\(^{45}\)よりとの御すゑは程なくたえ給ふ、母かたの北条の子孫ははんしやうして天下をおさめける“Shimizu kaja monogatari”, *Denshō bungaku shiryō shū: Muromachi ki monogatari* 1, ed. Fukuda Akira et al. (Miyai Shoten, 1967).

\(^{46}\)いみしへより今にいたるまで、人の君として徳なき人は、位ありといへともひさしくたもたす。人のみちたかひぬれは、いきをひつよしひといへとも久しかるす。あはれむへきかな。よりとも蠢々の化をこなはれす。子孫のはんしやうをたつこそむへなり。すべてにありさるときはひとへにうき雲の風にあへるかことし。しばらくのゑいくわにはるる事、ひとへに心のくらきなるへし。*Hekichūdō sōsho: Shimizu kaja monogatari shū* 2, ed. Mizuhara Kazuo & Fujii Takatomo (Yanase Kazuo, 1970).
middleman who is the object of most of the tale’s disapproval. Similarly, the tragic phase of the Yoshitsune cycle reserved its condemnation for Kajiwara, whereas Yoritomo’s responsibility was seldom asked after.  

*Sagamigawa*, by contrast, is built on the idea of Yoritomo’s culpability in believing Kajiwara, specifically in his capacity as an authority figure, and the ending depends on Yoritomo’s repentance and reconsideration of his personnel choices. At the same time, Yoshitsune’s declarations of unfailing loyalty bear a sharp edge of resentment not found in earlier ballads, however tragic:

Dwelling on the past like this, meditating on my misery, my breast is filled with malice and the world weighs down upon me all the more. Now that I think about it, my grudge is even greater against His Lordship the shogun. All the same, I, Yoshitsune, do battle with those wicked Heike spirits lately plotting against Yoritomo’s life, rendering my lord service all unrecognized. From of old down to the present, wherever the lesser force loses ground against the greater, I, Yoshitsune, am there.  

Later, his ghostly retainers lament:


48 曾し今をおもひつけどうき事をあんすればあくしんむねにみち／てうかぶよさらに候はすこれもおもへばよりともにうらみはさらにつきかたしきされともこのころ平家のあくりやうとも頼朝の絵をとらんとたくみしを君としられぬみやつかひとおもひよしつねこれにてたゝかふなりむかしか今にいたるまでたせにふせいかなはねばよしつね参るなり *Tenri version.*
O Shigetada, how hateful (kuchioshikere) the mind of Yoritomo, who did away with our master, the faultless Yoshitsune.⁴⁹

Benkei’s spirit likewise declares,

How regrettable (munen) the mind of Yoritomo, who trusts in the slanderous words of him whose name is not worth mentioning!⁵⁰

Here, Yoshitsune has become a moralistic reader of his own tragic canon. He resents the evil authority figure Yoritomo, makes a point of trying nevertheless to defend him from the Heike ghosts, then deliberately fails to do so: the classic definition of passive aggression.⁵¹ Gone too is the active indignation of Gikeiki, in which Yoshitsune openly contemplates the possibility of overthrowing Yoritomo, in favor of a resentment that takes Yoritomo’s mastery for granted and hopes only to make complaints. He even universalizes his resentment with a promise of sacramental presence: “I, Yoshitsune, am there.”

With this, Sagamigawa decisively breaks with the epic Yoshitsune’s noble morality, his “capacity for and ethic of sustained gratitude and sustained revenge—both only among equals—subtlety in payback, conceptual refinement in friendship, a certain need to have enemies (as conduit systems, so to speak, for feelings of envy,

⁴⁹ しつけたゝときまなき我きをうしなひ給ふ頼朝の御心のうちこそくらおしひれ

⁵⁰ あのいひかひなきものゝざんさにつかせ給ふよりとも御心のうちこそむねんねれ Tenri.


⁵² Yoshitsune, trans. McCullough, 177.
quarrelsomeness, arrogance—fundamentally in order to be able to be a good friend),” to say nothing of his joyful savage humor, in which his closest European cousin is surely Cú Chulainn of Irish epic. Instead, Yoshitsune strikes a weepy, self-regarding victim’s pose which goes beyond anything in the kōwaka Yoshitsune canon. The mid-twentieth-century Japanologist Ivan Morris gave the medieval Yoshitsune a quasi-Christian cast along these lines, making Yoritomo into an evil authority figure who “hovers murkily as a suspicious, vindictive character consumed with envy of the resplendent hero whom he ruthlessly pursues and destroys,” but we see here that this ‘Christian’ Yoshitsune actually does not make his first appearance until Sagamigawa, in the seventeenth century—after the era of Jesuit missions, which may not be an accident as I discuss in Chapter Five. The Princeton Sagamigawa is the strongest known exemplar of this resentful Yoshitsune of the medieval-Edo transition.


The Princeton Sagamigawa: A Gilded Insurrection

The Princeton scrolls show to what uses Sagamigawa’s new Yoshitsune was being put in seventeenth-century Kyoto, in a climate of economic expansion, political marginalization vis-à-vis Edo, and artistic revival. They lavish gold, seashell white, azurite blue, and malachite green on twenty-one masterful paintings to accompany an elegantly-brushed text. Its three scrolls are thirty-two centimeters tall, and their mountings of gold, green, and persimmon-colored flowery brocade appear to be original. They come in a black lacquer box with a simple motif of flying gnats in gold. The paper on which the text is brushed has elaborate, gold-wash paintings of rolling hills and curling vines, and the gold-embossed endpaper of each scroll bears a different, exquisite vignette of auspicious birds, plants, and scenery (Figures 19–21). These endpaper paintings are actually among the best in the set, and their presence suggests that it was made for some auspicious occasion: many such objects were commissioned as wedding gifts by wealthy families.56 Accordingly, I argue the fact that some family of means chose Sagamigawa (and not, say, the tale of merchant success Bunshō) for such an occasion means that they were a petty daimyō family with anxieties about their place in the new order.

Robert Garrett (1875–1961), in whose collection the Princeton Sagamigawa scrolls are found, was an American banker of the Gilded Age, medalist in the first

56 Peter Kornicki, The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century (University of Hawai’i Press, 2001), 101.
modern Olympic Games, and dedicated Princetonian. After his father’s death in 1888, he traveled around Europe and the Near East and, inspired by J.B. Silvestre’s 1849 *Universal Palaeography: Or, Fac-similes of Writings of All Nations and Periods*, he began collecting manuscripts with the aim of acquiring samples of all the world’s writing, coming eventually to specialize in Arabic manuscripts and Mesopotamian tablets, for which his collection, now in Firestone Library, is best known today. However, among his early acquisitions are a *Hyakunin isshu* and the *Sagamigawa* scrolls. In their box, along with display labels of various ages, all in English, there is a document of several pages typed and reproduced in blue mimeograph. Its text, in an English which is colloquial except for the occasional R/L mistake, gives a half-accurate summary of the plot of *Sagamigawa* and makes puzzling assertions about the scrolls’ provenance which lead me to believe that what we have are the translated and multiply transcribed remains of the claims of Garrett’s (potentially Japanese) art dealer regarding the item. This text could also have been drawn up by a Japanese scholar at Princeton, but it is intriguing to contemplate the fact that the celebrated art dealer and father of French Japonisme Hayashi Tadamasa (1853–1906) was at the height of his powers in Paris when Garrett began his European tour. By writing that the paintings are by Mitsuyoshi and “the author of the writing was Prince Konoye of that time” the author of this text seems to have meant to claim that the paintings were done by the court painter Tosa Mitsuyoshi (1539–1613) and the calligraphy by the courtier Konoe Nobutada (1565–1614). This is not likely at all: it is too early given the dates of other versions of *Sagamigawa*, the materials in general are not quite lavish enough to be a courtier production, and the painting of
Yoritomo on parade, for example, shows no particular similarity to the same scene in Mitsuyoshi’s *Soga monogatari* screens.\(^{57}\)

Nevertheless, the object is very fine. Speaking only of materials, the blue pigment used so lavishly in all the expansive river scenes—even where the text does not explicitly suggest the presence of water (Paintings 2, 9, 13, 18)—came from South-East Asia and was very costly at the time, to say nothing of the gold-leaf clouds that frame every scene. The painterly performance also has truly inspired moments, particularly the scene of Tokiwa on the run (Painting 9), in which the nine layers of her robe are all carefully given distinct and elegant patterns, as are many costumes throughout the work. Her hair falls in two distinct, boldly-yet surgically-articulated skeins across her shoulder, one of which gradually separates at the front edge, as if thinned by stress. The snow is flecked onto the paper with the same careful chaos visible in the scene of Yoshitsune crossing the river (Painting 13), and the jagged rocks and tree roots are articulated with those chopping strokes said to originate in ink monochrome painting. The sweeping river scenes speak for themselves, though occasional miscommunications in the painters’ workshop are evident: the Genji and Heike crests are switched in the initial haunting scene (Painting 5), and although named players are carefully distinguished throughout by means of costume, the young warrior Atsumori from the apparition scene (Painting 5) reappears as Yoshitsune’s retainer Suzuki Shigeie (Painting 15). There are also interesting iconographic choices. Although the historical Shigetada was a good deal younger than Yoritomo, here he is a grizzled old man (Paintings 7, 8, 15, 16), but in the

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text Shigetada has “a beard of full one span two inches” which he strokes thoughtfully, so this choice by the painters is probably meant as a shorthand for his wisdom and shamanic powers. While Yoritomo is painted as a suave, young courtier lifted from a Genji album (Paintings 4, 6, 7, 18) in the conventional manner, Benkei’s domestication from the hairy, black-skinned, hulking berserker of medieval narrative painting into a greying and bald man with a wiry frame (Paintings 12, 13, 14, 16) is harder to explain. In any case, the execution is skillful and the use of materials lavish, and from this it is at least clear that whoever the patron or eventual buyer of the Princeton Sagamigawa was, he or she was investing a great deal of money in an elaborate adaptation of this text—which adds weight to this version’s mordant textual innovations.

I have been citing the Tenri version so far because most of the extant texts belong to its lineage, but now I want to contrast it with the Princeton version, which not only consolidates earlier versions and adds historical details with scholastic finesse, intensifies the piece’s anti-authoritarian tendencies, and adds concerns specific to the middle class created by the new shogunate’s semi-monetized economy. Its opening lines, for example, introduce the exact date in which the Genji/Heike wars began, and indeed it drops knowledge like this throughout: exact court ranks, full names and appellations, etc. Here we see the beginning of a trend of scholasticism in literature which would become so widespread by the late Edo period that we find authors denouncing it.58 I mentioned that the 1630 Keiō version is sometimes closer to Sagamigawa’s kōwaka sources than the

1629 Tenri version: the Princeton version in turn sometimes changes wordings unique to Tenri’s lineage, bringing them back in line with sixteenth-century versions—which the copyist therefore knew to be their source. More significantly for the present argument, his next word after the date is *muhon* “rebellion”:

So after Yoritomo, the Vice-Minister of Defense, *on the seventeenth of the eighth month of the fourth year of Jishō*, raised his resistance and ruled all under heaven, in the town of Kamakura in the land of Sagami, His Lordship built eight harbors and seven high mountain temples, offered worship at the three shrines of Hachiman, and built a gallery of full thirty-eight bays, those shining crimson fences and torii gates—no word can tell, no mind can comprehend it all. At shrines and temples elsewhere, too, groundbreaking ceremonies were held one after the other.59

Yoritomo’s achievement in unifying the country is called an insurrection. Now, this word does not always have bad connotations: the fourteenth-century martial tale *Taiheiki* calls its main subject, Emperor GoDaigo’s doomed struggle against the Ashikaga shogunate, *go-muhon* “his Majesty’s rebellion.” However, the anti-shogunal slant we have observed in earlier versions of *Sagamigawa* compels less friendly readings here. Meanwhile, two more changes appear in the Princeton text which are suggestive of the context in which these scrolls were produced.

59 Emphasized text is unique to the Princeton scrolls. *Sic passim.*
In this section I will also account for the specificities of the Keiō version, which I believe generally represents the earliest among extant lineages. Ishikawa Tōru published his transcription of the Keiō version in 1998, and Yamamoto Hitoshi’s transcription of the Kanazawa version, which seems to descend from the Princeton version, came out only two months before Fujii Natsuko’s 1993 article, so this chapter is the first to take account of lineages other than the Tenri one. In the Keiō version’s unique longer ending, introduced above, the instructive tone implies that the ideal readers of this story are at least imagining themselves as potential rulers learning to make personnel decisions, while at the same time most of the time Sagamigawa seems to identify with Yoshitsune, Shigetada, and Kajiwara, the personnel being decided between, all the while making various normative judgments about the decider. This desire for power and moralistic attitude toward those who actually have it would seem to link even this early version of Sagamigawa to the literary interests of low-level daimyō.

For the story of Tokiwa’s entry into Kiyomori’s household in exchange for the Heike sparing her sons, there seems to be an especially neat progression of textual change from the Keiō lineage, through the Tenri lineage, to the Princeton scrolls. In the Keiō Sagamigawa, the story goes as follows.

Tokiwa, hunted by the fearsome Heike, was approached by the Prime Minister with an offer of support, and my mother’s cunning plan was to give Kiyomori whatever he desired if only he would spare the lives of us three children. ‘If not, we three will end our lives!’ she said, and Kiyomori, though he had a bad feeling about it, signed a
pledge to that effect and brought her into his household. Not only that, the whole clan to a man wrote pledges.\textsuperscript{60}

Here, the arrangement is presented as Tokiwa’s “clever plan” to which Kiyomori only agrees reluctantly. This is closer to the original text of \textit{Nabiki Tokiwa}, the kōwaka on which it is based, in which not Kiyomori but his son Shigemori expresses reservations about leaving the boys alive. Next, the Tenri version, which represented the most common lineage, reads more neutrally.

And then the \textit{Initiate}, the Prime Minister offered to support Tokiwa, she made him write a pledge sparing us three children our lives, and not only that, she made the whole clan to a man writes pledges.\textsuperscript{61}

Finally, the Princeton text, gives Kiyomori the initiative, giving us his thoughts as he plans the arrangement and putting an otherwise-unattested soliloquy in Tokiwa’s mouth, in which she expresses principled reluctance.

“And then \textit{my mother} Tokiwa—well, back when the \textit{Initiate} Jōkai offered to support her, he thought, ‘Isn’t there something I could do to make this woman mine?’ and she, ‘Oh, the indignity of taking favors from my husband’s killer! I’ll never give in to his demands, though he torture me with water hot or cold!’”—so she had made up her

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{60}ときわはかたき平家にたたかれさせうこくせんとありしとき母御前のちりやくには若三人のたすからはともにかくにもなびくへしひぞれき名物ならばともに自害もありければ清盛不信におもひつ、きしやうをかいてまひらせけるそれのみならず一門はのこらすきしやうを書ければ

\textsuperscript{61}其後ときは入道しやうこくせんとありし時我が三人をたすけんとてきよりにきしやうをか、せそれのみならす一門のこらすかゝせなひき
mind, but then she remembered the plight of her three children and had recourse to a pledge with Jōkai: ‘If you will spare my three children, it doesn’t matter; I will entrust myself to you, Kiyomori.’ Not only that, signing pledges with the Heike, the whole clan, to a man, she passed the cup with them.”

This reluctance surely reflects anxieties on the part of producer and/or patron concerning female chastity, clear parentage, and linear inheritance of property. By the same token, an increase in prurient interest is evident in a slippage from the oath not to harm the children to Tokiwa’s giving of herself: in the Princeton version, a word (sawaru) which I have decorously translated “passed the cup” is used which can mean either “touch” or “entrust oneself to”, and it is placed adjacent to “the whole clan, to a man”. Such complexes of fear and attraction were luxuries afforded to the urban commoners of seventeenth-century Japan who had been created by the new shogunate’s capitalized economy.

Similarly, when Hidehira’s sons fight each other over Yoshitsune, the Princeton version expands the scene from a single line to an entire conversation:

“But even so, his third son, Izumi no Saburō Tadahira, alone came forth, saying, ‘I cannot ignore the last wishes of our father which he said to us his children: “Whether out of duty to the man who has been our lord for generations, whether out of duty to

62 その、ちは、のときは入道しやうかいくせんと申せしほとやせんかくやあましとおほめし

まさしくをつのかたきにしたかはんことのこ・ろうさよよしゆもみつとももならはねなひく

ましと思ひきられさふらへとも又三人のわかつものふひんさにおもひかへしてやうかいにきしな

やうをたのみ三人の子ともをたすけ給は、ともかくもきよりりにわか身をまかすへしほれのみな

らすへいけの一もんのこらすか、せてのちさはり給ひて
your father’s last wishes, remember this: your father asks this of you above all.” If you insist on drawing your bows against our lord and letting our father’s last wishes fall to the ground, then I, Tadahira, will have no part of it,” he said, and leaving their hall returned to his own lodging. The remaining brothers said, ‘What a display that hateful Saburō has made!’ ‘Oh for spite, so to storm out of the hall!’ ‘Come now, let us press in upon Izumi no Saburō and make him cut his belly!’ ‘Hear, hear!’—so they spoke, and with Terui and Kanazawa in command they hemmed him in at Izumi Castle and made him cut his belly.”

This apparent concern for filial piety, combined with the overall didactic tone touched on above, adds weight to the theory that the scrolls were produced as a wedding gift, which after all would have been commissioned by the parents and marks a moment of potential generational rupture.

Most importantly, the Princeton Sagamigawa scrolls take the ghostly rancor against Yoritomo to a new level. First, Yoshitsune in narrating his own death and that of his women and children attributes to the shogun “sin” (tsumi):

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This too is a sin. Oh for pity, how Kitayama Gozen and our infant children all were turned to flotsam on the river Koromogawa.\textsuperscript{64}

Moreover, Benkei now calls Yoritomo \textit{oroka} “foolish”:

I must say: how \textit{foolish} the mind of Yoritomo, who trusts in the slanderous words of him whose name is not worth mentioning!\textsuperscript{65}

The Princeton version is not the first to use this locution “him whose name is not worth mentioning” (\textit{ii gai mo naki mono}) in place of Kajiwara’s name, but it uses it more than any other. The phrase is mainly a gesture of contempt, but it also diminishes even further Kajiwara’s old, medieval role as antagonist and equal, leaving us with no one to blame but the evil authority figure Yoritomo, who by listening to Kajiwara has come to share equally in his guilt. Even Yoritomo blames Yoritomo:

Yoritomo listened intently and said, “Oh, what a regrettable affair! All these years Yoshitsune has borne a grudge against me, and all because of Kajiwara—and that I, Yoritomo, faced this great mortal danger, too, was all because of Kajiwara. Suffice it to say that I, Yoritomo, was \textit{foolish} in my thoughts to have any part with Kajiwara,” and his tears flowed without ceasing.\textsuperscript{66}

\textsuperscript{64} これもひとつのつみとなりて候北山のこせんいとけなきわかみなノもろも川のみくつとなし

\textsuperscript{65} いやしくもいひかひなきもの、さんけんをもちり給ふよりとの御心のうちこそをろかとなれ

\textsuperscript{66} よりともつくノ、ときこしめしあつはれむねのしたいかねんらいよしつねかうらみをうく

もよからはらへ又よりともか身の大事になるもからはらゆへなりともかくにもからはらに同

心しけるよりともか心のうちこそをろかとなれと御らるるはかぎりなし
He picks up Benkei’s wording from the passage above, where earlier versions of
*Sagamigawa* have “regrettable” (*munen*). The Princeton *Sagamigawa*’s text has the most
anti-shogunal version of this anti-shogunal ballad, and this is all the more meaningful in
light of what we can tell about its format, date, craftsmanship, and place of production.

*The Manuscript in the Age of Printed Reproduction: Rebellion on the Shelf*

The Princeton scrolls’ text is in the hand of the Kyoto-based book craftsman
Asakura Jūken (fl. ca. 1650–1680). Jūken was, at first, only a random name which
scholars have noticed on various seventeenth-century manuscripts. Ishikawa Tōru has
linked this figure to a massive list of extant picture books and scrolls all in the same
hand.67 Some colophons on these books improbably attribute them to luminaries of the
early seventeenth century, but a few bear the simple signature 市之丞朝倉氏重賢 *Ichinojō
Asakura-shi Jūken* “Jūken of the Asakura clan, Ichinojō”, an otherwise totally unknown
name in which no one would have had any incentive to make forgeries or spurious
attributions.68 Accordingly, Professor Ishikawa identifies Jūken as the calligrapher of all
the books in this list. Another set of books have seals or box inscriptions with the name 城
d殿和泉捙草紙屋藤原尊重 *Kidono Izuminojō, sōshiya, Fujiwara Takashige* “Fujiwara
Takashige, Kidono Izuminojō, bookshop,” and a majority of these are in Jūken’s hand,

67 Ishikawa Tōru, “Asakura Jūken hitsu nara ehon/emaki rui,” *Nara ehon/emaki no seisei* (Miyai Shoten,
2003). In the summer of 2012, Kobayashi Kenji was the first to identify the Princeton scrolls as a Jūken
production; Ishikawa Tōru soon confirmed the identification.

though as of this writing none have been found which also bear his signature. Kidono appears in a guidebook of 1446 as a maker of fans, objects which were often painted or brushed with calligraphy, and guidebooks of 1678 and 1685 both call it a maker of “folded paper” (tatamigami), carried for purposes like hairstyling, personal hygiene, and note-taking. The book inscriptions call Kidono a “bookshop” (sōshiya), however, so perhaps the production and/or sale of books became one of this shop’s businesses for some portion of the seventeenth century.

Professor Ishikawa has also discovered filler paper falling out of the bindings of a scroll set in the Jūken hand, which appears to come from the company ledger of a book atelier. Price and often place of sale accompany names and volume counts of books, most of which correspond to no piece known to be extant, and on one fragment the date 1633 appears: this suggests a surprisingly high volume of production at a surprisingly early date, and by corollary that the extant corpus represents a very low rate of survival of this material. Jūken’s corpus also is not reflected on this list, and so assuming that the ledger records the activities of a Jūken-associated bookshop at a time somewhat before Jūken’s day, he must have been active about the mid to late seventeenth century. Finally, a majority of entries in the ledger name the place of sale as “in Kyoto” (miyako nite), which would indicate that the producer of the ledger, whether Kidono or not, was not in Kyoto proper but was close enough to do most of its business there. This places Jūken in the

69 Ishikawa, “Asakura,” 240. Jūken could easily have been a woman for all we know, but for the purpose of simplicity in English, I will refer to her or him in the masculine.

urban commoner culture of late–seventeenth-century Kyoto. Jūken’s hand is characterized by strokes that slope down slightly to the left, with letterforms on the abbreviated side overall, and its distinctive style makes it hard to miss. Comparing the same sequence of graphs in the Princeton Sagamigawa, at right, with a copy of the urban commoner tale Bunshō bearing Jūken’s signature, for Professor Ishikawa’s private collection, leaves the attribution quite secure.

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Accordingly, the Princeton Sagamigawa is the product of an urban commoner manuscript publishing scene in late–seventeenth-century Kyoto.

One way to understand Kyoto’s cultural development in the seventeenth century is as a turn from the political to the cultural sphere, although as the century wore on even the realm of culture was besieged by regulations from Edo. In 1629, the same year the Tenri Sagamigawa was brushed, the shogunate banned women’s kabuki, and a ban on

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73 Totman 97.
young boys’ kabuki would follow in 1652, reflecting increased policing of sexuality and performance and perhaps contributing to the growth of the puppet theatre, upon which similar aspersions could not be cast. Ballad performance like that of the kōwaka flourished again under the patronage of townsfolk and members of the warrior bureaucracy, and dilettantism in noh and other performing arts also flourished in Kyoto among all classes. In 1643 the shogunate published the *Shoka keizu den* “Record of the Lineages of Various Families”, which identifies the Tokugawa with the Seiwa Genji, Yoritomo’s clan—an identification that had been initiated by Yoritomo himself, who in 1605 printed *Azuma kagami* on his Korean press and ordered it studied as a model of political theory. When the rebellion of Yui Shōsetsu was put down in 1651, it became clear that the new order was here to stay, and only four years later the Chōkōkan *Sagamigawa* was published. In 1664 Hayashi Dōshun’s *Shōgun ki* “Record of the Shoguns” listed all the shoguns of history, starting with Yoritomo and finishing with the Tokugawa. All of the first three Tokugawa shoguns sponsored rituals at Minamoto cult sites in Sagami at important junctures in their lives. Finally, as hopes faded for a revival of imperial court culture, if not politics, the boom years brought by Tokugawa economic reforms gave birth to a kaleidoscopically citational yet profoundly jaded new townsman culture, and Asakura Jūken saw his greatest period of bookmaking activity.

74 Miyamoto Keizō, *Kamigata nōgakushi no kenkyū* (Izumi Shoten, 2005).
75 Totman 96.
This is the milieu from which the Princeton scrolls emerge: their heightened concern for female chastity and loyalty of sons to fathers are also easy to explain with reference to this urban, bourgeois class body. Professor Ishikawa also suggests based on his name and the nature of his body of work that Jūken may have come from a warrior clan, and this may explain why the text so closely reflects the concerns of the low-level warrior bureaucrat class that was also in the process of forming at this time. Whatever his personal background, urban bookmakers seem to have maintained extensive libraries of books from which to copy, and calligraphers could and did draw on deep reservoirs of literary knowledge to customize a given text to their patrons’ wishes—or their own.  

As Peter Kornicki has shown, censorship of books in Tokugawa Japan was seldom bloody and on the whole much less severe than in other countries of the same period and later, but this is partly because there was a high degree of self-censorship among publishers and sellers of printed books. However, censorship was largely confined to printed editions, and so the ways to get around it became oral performance and manuscript circulation. Forbidden topics prominently included Hideyoshi and Ieyasu, lest the latter’s broken promises to the former should come up; the Shimabara rebellion, which was attributed to Christianity; the aforementioned Yui Shōsetsu; and the forty-seven rōnin of Chūningura fame—and these are precisely the topics on which mostly manuscript books are extant. A 1771 “List of Prohibited Books” produced by the Kyoto booksellers’ guild warns, “Apart from those listed above there may be many

77 Ishikawa, “Asakura,” 244.
78 Kornicki, “Manuscript.”
79 Kornicki, The Book in Japan, 106.
other manuscript books, … but there is not time to refer to them all,“80 so by then the establishment had certainly caught wise, but there is no evidence that it ever found an effective remedy for this practice. Many of the most subversive books of the mid-Edo period were of the type called “true records” (jitsuroku). They contained detailed accounts of current events and circulated almost exclusively in manuscript form, often with the added disguise of “interweaving” (naimaze),81 by which events of the recent past could be passed off as those of long ago and thus satirized in relative safety: this practice soon spread far beyond “true records” proper to become a cornerstone of Edo-period culture.

*Sagamigawa* is the first work I know of to couch opposition to the Tokugawa shogunate in the terms of the medieval Yoshitsune story, but this meme would undergo still further developments throughout the Edo period, including for example the dialectical flip by which shogunal ideologue Arai Hakuseki uses something like *Sagamigawa*’s evil Yoritomo as a foil for the comparatively enlightened Tokugawa82—and of course this line of reasoning could in turn provide plausible deniability for a motivated “interweaving” equation of the two shogunates. Popular literature continued to use Yoshitsune as a subversive figure throughout the period, blending him at times with the mythical Christian sorcerer Amakusa Tarō, even making him fight the Ainu or the Russians, right up to the shogunate’s nineteenth-century


twilight.\textsuperscript{83} In fact, the first explicit bookmaking ban on record, which included a blanket prohibition of “martial tales” (\textit{gunki}) and discussion of “righteousness (or its absence) in politics” (\textit{kōgi}), is datable to the 1660s.\textsuperscript{84} Professor Ishikawa has periodized Asakura Jūken’s calligraphy, and the text of the Princeton \textit{Sagamigawa} appears to belong to his late period, in the 1660s or ‘70s.\textsuperscript{85} Accordingly, these scrolls may literally have been illegal for both their content and their theme when they were produced.

By now it should be clear that nothing about these scrolls qualifies them as “shelf decoration” in any pejorative sense. Moreover, from a period perspective this term is actually very meaningful. In the seventeenth century, the new \textit{shoin} architecture had just redesigned the Japanese room around the shelf, making it the primary space for display of art objects in the contemporary curatorial practice known as the tea ceremony,\textsuperscript{86} so in seventeenth-century Kyoto an object could be nothing more culturally or politically active than shelf decoration.\textsuperscript{87} Far from a storage space for things not currently in use

\textsuperscript{83} This book was censored, but probably only for its reference to the North at a sensitive time for Russo-Japanese relations: Christianity and Yoshitsune attract no comment by this time. Fleming, “The World Beyond Walls,” 466.

\textsuperscript{84} Kornicki, \textit{The Book in Japan}, 334.

\textsuperscript{85} Ishikawa Tōru, private communication, summer 2012.


(that would be the lacquer box, the brocade bag, the warehouse), the shelf was then the primary space within which to interact with prestige objects, including texts. Extensive catalogues of objects and display practices—*Kundaikan sōchōki*, *Zashiki kazari shidai*, *O-kazari sho*, and many more—were manuals for the fine art of shelf decoration, a regime of connoisseurship around which social gatherings were orchestrated. These curatorial performances did not erase social hierarchies but could nevertheless reinscribe them in new ways. Shelf decoration could and did do serious political work: Nobunaga killed for it, Hideyoshi invited everyone in the country to see his, and it may have saved Ieyasu’s life on one occasion.\(^8^8\)

**Conclusion**

Keeping in mind, then, the sharply anti-authoritarian overtones of the Princeton *Sagamigawa*, the subversive uses of manuscripts in the age of censored print, and the political activities of prestige objects during the same period, we can make some concluding inferences about the ways in which this book might have been used. How, physically, did one read a book in the seventeenth century? Current research has so far uncovered very little about contemporary reading practices,\(^8^9\) but the possibilities are intriguing to contemplate. First, the need to unroll a handscroll sequentially in order to read its text and/or view its paintings would have allowed for extensive non-literate or semi-literate uses—uses of which a hanging scroll, exposed to immediate, non-sequential

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\(^8^8\) Morgan Pitelka, “Art, Agency, and Networks in the Career of Tokugawa Ieyasu”.

\(^8^9\) Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, 97.
comprehension, would be incapable. The role of manuscripts in safeguarding secret teachings in artistic traditions is well known, but the operations and effects of such textual concealment have not been sufficiently explored. A handscroll might have been opened to a particular painting or a passage, it and no other, and left for a visitor to see. All the most sensitive portions of the Princeton Sagamigawa quoted above come three quarters of the way through the piece, toward the end of scroll three, so it would have taken some time even to scroll quickly to that point, to say nothing of actually reading that far, so there would have been little danger of a guest plucking it off the shelf and opening at random to an offensive passage. Indeed, if the frequency of scribal errors in seventeenth-century handwritten books is any indication, casual readers would have been likely to read the first half of a book and the very end and leave the rest. I have already discussed Sagamigawa’s valedictory ending, but there is plenty of standard fare scattered throughout to conceal the anti-shogunal theme from the casual reader. But most people’s experience of the book would have emanated from it as a conversation piece, apart from any act of reading. Its owner could have said more or less about it as the situation demanded, taking it down off the shelf only for the right sort of guest. Conversely, if an authority figure asked what the book was about, its anti-authoritarian tendencies would have been easy enough to disavow. On the other hand, if its insurrectionist meaning was treated like a secret artistic tradition, then this meaning would have been insulated from the system it critiques, and so it would actually have stabilized that system by serving as


91 Ishikawa Tōru, private communication, 7/2012.
a reservoir in which potentially disruptive energies were contained and neutralized. Our knowledge of the culture of the book in this period is only beginning to take shape, but these are some of the ways in which this object is likely to have performed a simultaneous resistance to and collaboration with the violence of peacemaking in seventeenth-century Kyoto.

The Princeton Sagamigawa’s intervention thus entails both a return to the untrammeled epic and an intensification of moral preoccupations. The original conflict between Yoshitsune and Yoritomo is revived while retaining and intensifying an ahistorical sense of Yoritomo as an unassailable authority figure, an image which can only reflect the Kyoto townsman’s image of the Edo authorities. In this way, the brothers’ strife is used to make an emotional appeal for the downtrodden in a new order whose peace and stability are celebrated but whose ability to make just personnel decisions is fundamentally questioned. Kajiwara’s purge provides a kind of compensation, and we end singing the shogun’s praises, but the central function of the tale has been to inflame precisely the opposite sentiment. Fujii Natsuko declared Sagamigawa to be not an authentic kōwaka but rather perhaps an early puppet play, and even if we do not share her interest in genre classifications, it is instructive to read the Princeton scrolls as one point on a trajectory leading from the kōwaka ballad to the early puppet theatre, which indulged even more maudlin sentiment for the benefit of a rising urban commoner class, which I will discuss in the next chapter. In the puppet theatre any specific political messages were safely purged, but the Princeton Sagamigawa’s material characteristics

and resentful re-reading of the Yoshitsune cycle made it an effective vessel for a classicist yet revisionist politics of anti-shogunal resentment on the part of seventeenth-century Kyoto’s urban commoner and warrior bureaucrat classes.
APPENDIX 1A

Tenri Sagamigawa Chapbook (1629), transcription.

【文書】

Tenri Sagamigawa Chapbook (1629), transcription.
APPENDIX 1B

Keiō Sagamigawa chapbook (1630), transcription.

【巻端】織葉斜の地獄 110X-340-1
【巻端】日出がる 1

(米品) 川を越けて

【巻端】織葉斜の地獄
【巻端】織葉斜の地獄

[巻] 1

(米品) 齊森に dél

【巻】 [巻]

(米品) 齊森に dél

[巻]

(米品) 齊森に dél

【巻】 [巻]

(米品) 齊森に dél
し事又北山の卿せにけなきわかともを

「26才」

ない

「27才」
APPENDIX 1C

University of Tokyo Sagamigawa chapbook (1639), transcription.

[Transcription text]
91

[ Pakistani script ]

91

[ Arabic script ]

91
二三の御ひけを一度したへなておしへんせ
あさらなりことはに花をさかせ一點にちほと
こそかたり給ひけりさらほとにくいやもうなかはと
見へとこりふしけやる風そろきふるひよ
にん心さしまし折ふしかまくらのみねよりもひかり
物かつつさされてさかみ河にとひ人と見へかまつ
さかさまになかる、かはかみを見てあれはつるもなき
ひさけか三つつれてなか出しやとなて河に

「12才」

うせしこそせんでいてまし／候へそのついて見て
あれば十六七のわくむやむらさきそこの御ひきせなか

「12才」

きんふくりんのたちをはきあめるうしにしろくら
おかせうちのりしろうのなきなたみつるまねをして
かきけすやうにうせしこぞくわしくはしらね共
大しょう殿の御かたをこりたてまるまねをして

1のたにのみきはにてうれさせ給ひむくわん

「13才」

うせしこそそのとのかみのりつねのさまざまな
それしこのとくみのさけをみてあればきた山のかた

見しき中て候そのついて見えてあればきた山のかた
APPENDIX 1D

Iwakuni Chōkōkan Sagamigawa printed chapbooks (1655), transcription, woodblock prints. By permission of Iwakuni Chōkōkan, with all rights reserved. © 2015 Iwakuni Chōkōkan.

【資料】非公開資料 02-05-382 (1-2) 131【資料】20 cm × 27 cm, 2 vols.

【附1】【資料】はつき三

[一抒] はつき三
[写真] [Woodblock 1] 《Yoritomo and Shōhan》
[117]
[Woodblock 6] The Retainers
[Woodblock 7] 《Kajiwara’s End》
APPENDIX 1E: Saeki Shin’ichi Sagamigawa fragment, paintings.

By permission of Saeki Shin’ichi, with all rights reserved. © 2015 Saeki Shin’ichi.

【所蔵】佐伯真一氏蔵
【構造】4 pages of text, 9 paintings (originally 10?)


[Painting 3] 《Yoritomo On Parade》 [Reverse] 上ノ九 十之内
The Apparitions

Painting 6 《Shigetada Revives Yoritomo》  [Reverse] 拾之内
Painting 9 (10?) 《Kajiwara’s End》 [Reverse] 十之内
APPENDIX 1F

Princeton Sagamigawa scrolls, transcription, paintings.

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【受領】“Scrolls illustrating a story about the Sagami River,” Garrett Japanese Manuscripts, no. 1, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, viewable online at: arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/3484zj30s

【Lacquer Box】 ontvangen

【3 Scrolls in Original Binding】
[Painting 1] 《Building the Bridge》
[Painting 2] 《Kajiwara and His Son》
さほに思ひきらせ給はゝちのめい
をそむき申へき事いかてか候へきさ
りなから一しんほとくのたしき
ならはこそつたうにかなひた
まるへき人をそり身をかちて
きり給ひたるもとゆひはやまんか
まんの御たうしんにてなとか
ふたうにかなはせ給ふへきかく
御手せゐ三百よきを引具してしし
たゝうちしし名をこうたに
のこさせ給ふならば御とんせゐろう
きよのももまざりなんとおほえ候と申
せはかくときあたるつうりにつめ
とつてやつはものとて
このきもつともて
ままくしはや
ちやくしはや
おもひける
この手勢三百よきを
ひさかに
したり
もよしほをそ
てんにちかしあく千利を
ひすしにてひすしにてはるか
はさらといふことばかりはこく
ないつうけのことなれは御所中へ
この事さびけりをのさや
ささげるやうはちからふし
三人おもひるならばはるの
ぼひないかゝあらんと申ところ
はかすかはらやこ三人おもひ
さぎり候ともさまでことのあるへき
ささのけん人にてはましますこそし
[Painting 4] 《Yoritomo on Parade》
Kajiwara Interprets

Painting 6

Kajiwara Interprets
ちんまかりあり候へはくはしきこ
とをは見とかも申さるよし申され
かれはよりともきこしめされかやうの一
大しのしょもかさねてよりとも
か一せの中に申ましはやくこれ
大しのしょもかさねてよりとも
かれはよよりともきこしめされかやうの一
か大しのしょもかさねてよりとも
か一せの中に申ましはやくこれ
かれはよよりともきこしめされかやうの一
[Painting 8] 《Shigetada Calls Yoshitsune》
[Painting 9] 《Tokiwa on the Run》
Painting 10 《Yoshitsune and the Tengu》
さきみ川下

こし中でそのたれへしら
をあひしたかへ津のくににたのにた
てこもりさるによってついたうのあん
せんをたしいちふとのしりめさ
れことく的一たつかいかめを
たまんことをかへりみすあるひは
たかへもんのこらすちはたさふ
たかへもんのこらすちはたさふ
いもんぬきのやしさへてこもると
いもんぬきのやしさへてこもると
へらひ事はたかくんこうにて候へき
きはらふ
[Painting 11] 《Yoshitsune at Ichi no Tani》

The painting depicts a historical scene involving Yoshitsune, a prominent figure in Japanese history. The setting appears to be the Ichi no Tani battle site, where Yoshitsune played a significant role. The artwork captures the intensity and drama of such an event, likely highlighting Yoshitsune's leadership and strategic prowess.

The image shows Yoshitsune in a prominent position, surrounded by other characters and elements indicative of the historical period. The detailed depiction of the landscape and the interactions among the figures emphasize the narrative's importance in understanding historical context.

This piece serves as a valuable representation of the historical relevance and cultural significance of Yoshitsune and the battles he was involved in, offering insight into the art and history of Japan.
[Painting 12] 《Yoshitsune on the Run》
[Painting 13] 《River Crossing at Yoshino》
[Painting 14] 《Benkei’s Last Stand》
[Painting 16] 《Benkei’s Ghost》
[Painting 17] 《Kajiwara's End》
[Painting 18] 《Utsunomiya Is Promoted》
APPENDIX 1G

Kanazawa Sagamigawa (1801), Transcription
APPENDIX 1H

Sagamigawa, critical edition based chiefly on the Princeton scrolls

【소용】※⑥躑躅骨産久（1629）産師（米）
賀崎光弘 蹑躅骨産久（1630）産師（镰）
齋藤光弘 蹑躅骨産久（1639）産師（镰）
金子光弘 蹑躅骨産久（1655）産師（镰）
入江光弘 蹑躅骨産久（1794）産師（镰）

【.OrderBy】

1. 業験
2. 業験
3. 業験
4. 業験
5. 業験

 Scroll the Princeton,
1H APPENDIX
182
たやすくも射めさせ給ふ物かなと申せば、朝綱、なめならずに悦びて首を打ち落とし、しためて持たせ、鎌倉へ参り此出かくと申し上ぐる。顔朝、大さに御感あつて、其時枕の賞に伊予の国北の郡を賜り、所知入りところ聞こえこけり。源太兄弟は生け捕りとなり、由比の汀にて斬られけれどもを見人聞く人々は「よい／順義を嗜み、兄は弟を憐憫し、弟は兄に従ひ、君主父子の道正しくして、鎌倉殿の御世は末繁盛」とこそ聞こえり。
APPENDIX II

“Sagamigawa”, English Translation

So then, after Yoritomo, the Vice-Minister of Defense, on the seventeenth of the eighth month of the fourth year of Jishō, raised his resistance and ruled all under heaven, in the town of Kamakura in the land of Sagami, His Lordship built the town of Yatsushichi, dedicated the triple shrine of Tsurugaoka Hachiman, and built a gallery of full thirty-eight bays, those glowing crimson fences and torii gates—no word can tell, no mind can comprehend it all. At shrines and temples elsewhere, too, consecrations for new edifices were held one after the other.

About that time there was a man of the Great Heart of Mercy, Shōhan by name. One day when the worthy monk was passing by the river Sagamigawa, the bridge had collapsed and was no more. The horses and oxen that came and went, inbound and outbound alike, countless many were swept away and drowned in the water. Shōhan, seeing all this, said, “Should such a one as I, who, from the time I left the world at age nineteen with a vow in my heart, and now I have turned eighty, having constructed monasteries in high places, floated ferry boats over great rivers, built bridges over small rivers, working in accordance with the buddhas’ providence, mending each and every province with mercy as my all—should I now see this river and by failing to build a bridge across it kill a great many people, what a pitiable thing it would be: just the same as breaking the injunction against taking life.” So he firmly set his heart, and having chosen an auspicious day, a good celestial dragon’s flight under which to do it, went gathering donations all across the eight provinces of Kantō, and from his mere intention...
worth but a few brass farthings, in no time at all the subscription tithes, by the invocation of the Salvation by Faith, did at last build a great bridge across the River Sagami.

At that time, for the bridge’s dedication it was decided that both the High Priest of Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine and the Bishop of its Annex should both concelebrate. Then Shōhan came before the Lord of Kamakura, and he said, “The bridge project on the River Sagami has come to fruition. I will hold a dedication ceremony for it. Might Your Lordship deign to come among us and hear the reading of the Scriptures?” So said the humble monk, and eventually it was decided that His Lordship would go out among them. Yoritomo spoke: “On such an occasion as this, naturally I shall choose Lord Hatakeyama of Chichibu to ride my vanguard,” and for this occasion he named Shigetada to ride the vanguard.

Kajiwara Heizō Kagetoki heard of this thing and soon let malice rise up in his heart; he hurried home, called for his firstborn Genda, and said, “Come here, Genda; see if you can believe this. My Lord has all too quickly forgotten his debt to me. Which is to say, for example: he fell behind at the Battle of Ibukiyama, and because the enemy were following close behind, in desperation, I suppose, he hid His Lordship in the hollow of a rotten tree and tried to wait it out, but Soga no Tarō Sukenobu and I (who were still on the Heike side at that time) came by and, thinking and taking counsel between us, said, ‘If we were to take this man alive and hand him over to the Capital, all we’d have to do is tell Kiyomori how in the forest we did thus and such, and we could surely rely on any amount of gratitude and live in glory as masters of flourishing households, but sure enough, the decline of the houses of men is a universal fact: let us help this man and
make of him an asset to us in days to come.’ So Sukenobu and I made up our minds together. We looked, and just as we’d suspected it was Yoritomo himself.

“Then I, Kagetoki, said, ‘Let Your Lordship not be alarmed. We who speak to you now are called Kajiwara Heizō Kagetoki and Soga no Tarō Sukenobu. Although they were lords to our ancestors, although we have followed the Heike clan and received their gracious favors from the Heiji era until now, and here we are pursuing you as assassins, even so let us put our futures in your hands and make of ourselves an asset to you.’ Just then the warriors behind us ran up, saying, ‘There seems to be someone in that tree!’

“I, Kagetoki, heard this and said, ‘Gentlemen, have you any idea to whom you address yourselves? Do you take me for a two-faced traitor? Well, I never—how could there be anyone in this tree?’ and I jumped up onto the fallen tree and stomped on it so that it boomed like a drum. Truly he must have had the protection of the bodhisattva Hachiman, for a single dove flew out from within the fallen tree, set a course for the open sky, and disappeared into the clouds, and at this Sukenobu and old Kagetoki took heart and said, ‘Oh, so this tree seemed to have a person in it, but it was really just a dove in there all along!’ ‘It looks like the enemy went that way! After them, quickly!’ and we sent them off in the wrong direction. And then later, at the Battle of Ishibashiyama, when he hid in a hollow log, wasn’t old Kagetoki there with him? Just try and tally up the services I’ve rendered him time and time again: there’ll be no end to it!

“On this occasion, too, since it’s I who offer protection to our lord, since it’s I who’ve been specifically appointed to high office by His Lordship, when it comes to riding the vanguard there can be no other minister in all the world who’s up to it but me: so I thought, but here the vanguard post has been given to Shigetada of Chichibu—a
thing most regrettable, most hateful. What use is it, anyway, to serve Yoritomo when he forgets such heavy debts of gratitude? I suppose I may as well just cut my topknot, leave the world, dye my raiment black with ink, and, holing up in any grove or mountainside, devote myself to intoning the name of Amitābha—what do you think?” So he spoke.

Genda listened carefully and said, “What you say is true enough, but for those below to take the measure of those above is to stray from the way of the sovereign, and so I wonder: you think that the mistake lies with Our Lord, but won’t you reconsider?”

Kajiwara grew exceedingly angry and said, “I can’t believe that you would say such a thing to me! For those below to take the measure of those above—what a flippant attitude! Anyhow, you’ve expressed yourself clearly, Kagesue: you’re turning your back on your father’s orders. You will not be allowed any more audiences with me.” His countenance was changed; he was a terror to behold.

Then Genda listened carefully and said, “The way of the minister is not like that at all. I say these things because either I can honor My Lord’s orders, or else I can think of my own benefit. So then, if you are resolved in this, how could I ever do anything contrary to my father’s orders? All the same, if indeed yours is a single-minded, active mind on the Way, then it must be worthy of the Way of the Buddha. If you cut your topknot badmouthing others and lamenting your lot, if you seek the Way in a prideful and corrupt manner, how can you make it worthy of the Way of the Buddha? Since your mind is thus made up, if you were simply to muster your private troop of some three hundred horse, fight with Shigetada to the death, and leave for yourself a name unto posterity, I think this would be preferable to withdrawal and seclusion.”
Kagetoki could not but recognize the right reason in this; “Verily, forsooth,” he must have thought. “This saying of yours is quite right,” he said, and, putting on his weapons and armor, “Hurry now, sally forth, stout warriors!” and secretly made ready his private troop of some three hundred horse.

Heaven has no mouth, and so makes of men its messengers, they say, and ill report travels a thousand leagues, while good news goes not past the gate. Accordingly this situation became common knowledge throughout the land, and it was the talk of the Shogunal Palace. One and all they whispered among themselves, “If the Kajiwara, father and sons, all three set their minds on battle, many men will surely be lost. What can be done?” Shigetada was a wise man unmatched in his time, after all, and so, not losing his composure for a moment, he said, “Even supposing the Kajiwara, father and sons, all three set their minds on battle, it is not likely to amount to much. But even if I could make short work of them, victory is not as sweet as no battle at all, as they say. Let Kajiwara be assigned the vanguard post for this occasion,” and at first His Lordship would have none of it. When Lord Chichibu insisted, he said, “Very well, if that is how you feel,” and for this occasion he assigned the vanguard post to Kajiwara.

Heizō received the vanguard assignment with great relish, and, decking out his private troop of some three hundred horse like flowers all in bloom, the vanguard he did ride. The Shogun was outfitted on that day with an ochre-colored hunting cloak and a standing court cap bending in the wind, and his roan was equipped with a white saddle: His Personage was appointed most imposingly. His horse-attendant was Gorōmaru, who guarded His Lordship with a gilded great-sword over belly armor that shimmered yellow-green. Holding His Lordship’s China parasol was the firstborn son of the Master
of the Court Kitchens. And bearing His Lordship’s sword was Lord Motegi no Shirō, of the Genji clan. To see the greater and the lesser lords of all the various provinces riding each upon his own horse, each sporting a tasseled rump-bridle, was a spectacle like the rows of treetops in full bloom on Mt. Yoshino: there was nothing to tell one from all the rest.

And by and by, there they were at the River Sagami. Naturally the time for the dedication ceremony had come, and with the High Priest of Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine and the Bishop concelebrating—no word can tell, no mind can comprehend it all.

So then, midway through the dedication ceremony, suddenly the sky clouded over, the wind blew, the people in the crowd trembled, grew uneasy, and just then, a wonder: from the eaves of the Hachiman Shrine three flashes of light appeared and together fell into the River Sagami, and then its waters, turning all the colors of the rainbow, turned and flowed uphill.

So they looked upstream and there saw kettles with no handles, also three, borne by the current, and these became a dragon which floated down the river, turned with a crack into a blazing ball of fire, and then vanished, lost to sight.

After these things they saw an angelic boy of but twelve or thirteen, who floated up upon the face of the waters, fixed his gaze upon the Shogun, beckoned to him and sank beneath the waves.

Then after these things they saw a young warrior of the age of sixteen or seventeen wearing armor with deep-dyed skirts of purple, riding on a caramel-colored ox with a white saddle, and he swung his white-gripped halberd like a whirling water wheel, made as if to cut into the shoulder of the Shogun, then vanished, lost to sight.
After these things they saw a leviathan full ten yards long, which swung its many horns aloft, popped open its eyes which were like unto the sun and moon, and it, too, fixed its gaze upon the Shogun, then vanished, lost to sight.

After these things they saw, on the one hand, upon a band of black cloud drifting across the sky from the northern mountains, red banners hoisted high, a force of full four, five hundred horse, who raised a roaring battle cry and vanished, lost to sight.

Then after these things they saw, on the other hand, upon a band of white cloud drifting across the sky from the western mountains, white banners hoisted high, a force of full forty, fifty horse, whose chattering voices seemed to echo across the land, and they vanished, lost to sight.

So then, the moment that these apparitions came before the eyes of Yoritomo the Shogun, His Lordship fell with a thud from off his horse, and his intimates, his loyal retainers, the greater and the lesser lords, raised their eyes to heaven, fell prostrate on the earth, and wept and wailed, but all to no avail.

Hatakeyama Shigetada rested Yoritomo’s lifeless head on his knees and, crying out in a loud voice, said, “What has happened, Your Lordship? Where are you going, My Lord?” and, “Come back, quickly!” and after some time had passed, His Lordship’s breath returned to him.

Yoritomo spoke: “Hallo there! Call a servant!” and every mouth spoke and every tongue proclaimed, “Wonder of wonders—just now as Yoritomo was about to cross over the River of the Dead, Lord Chichibu raised his voice, saying, ‘Where is My Lord gone? Come back!’ and at the sound of his voice His Lordship was turned and brought back, like one reborn and come again into this world—what a wonder,” they said, and all those
in attendance, the greater and the lesser lords, took heart and raised up their drooping brows.

Then Yoritomo spoke: “Did you see the apparitions I saw just now?” and everyone said, “I did not.” Again Yoritomo spoke: “Would not Lord Chichibu know all about this sort of thing? Do tell us the tale,” he said, and Shigetada heard this, and, without saying that he hadn’t seen them, said, “This is the especial province of the vanguard, so you should ask the vanguard commander.” Then His Lordship summoned Kajiwara and asked him, “Did you see the substance of the apparitions I saw just now?”

He told His Lordship that he certainly had seen it. “Don’t hold back; tell us!” said His Lordship, and Heizō heard this and said, “Well, yes. Midway through the dedication, from the peaks of Kamakura’s hills and dales, indeed I saw three flashes of light together go into the River Sagami.” Yoritomo said, “Everyone saw the flashes of light. Ask him about all the rest,” and he said, “It was just the flashing of lightning.” Shigetada, heard this and, with a knowing look on his face, burst into laughter. All at once, those in attendance, the greater and the lesser lords, made faces, exchanged sidelong glances, and lost their composure. Kajiwara’s turn at the vanguard had ended in disgrace.

Then Yoritomo spoke: “When I went up to the Capital for the Great Buddha’s dedication and that wretched Kagekiyo of the wicked Heike crew did hide among the beggars, daubed the joints of his limbs with lacquer, pulled his woven straw hat down low over his eyes, and aimed to kill old Yoritomo by dressing in rags and falling upon us in ambush, it was Shigetada who spotted him. On this occasion, too, surely it’s Lord Chichibu who can sort it out better than any man. Tell us now,” he said again, and so Shigetada told him, “It is as Your Lordship has said, only it was the fact that I was riding
the vanguard on those occasions that made possible my discoveries of the wicked Heike crew. This time I was far away in the rearguard and so could not make out the details of what happened,” and Yoritomo heard this and said, “I, Yoritomo, will never again make such an important request of you in this lifetime. Come now, quickly tell us this thing in detail,” and so urgent were his words that Hatakeyama said, “Well then, since it is Your Lordship’s command, I will tell it in your presence,” and, thinking to give the people in the crowd, the greater and the lesser lords of all the various provinces, a shock to make their eyes grow wide with surprise, he said, “Since it is His Lordship’s command, there is no need to say it twice. Let me tell you what I know,” and, adjusting his haunches beneath him, he sat up straight and stroked his beard of full one span two inches down three times: clearly this was an eloquent man. Making flowers bloom with his words, he told his tale at length.

“So then, when the dedication ceremony was about midway through, a wonder—the wind was unquiet, people trembled and each man’s mind was filled with dread, and just then, from the peaks of Kamakura three flashes of light together seemed to fly into the River Sagami, and its waters turned and flowed uphill.

“So I looked upstream, and there I saw three kettles with no handles, borne together by the current, which became a dragon, went into the river, turned with a crack into a blazing fire, and then vanished, lost to sight. The first kettle floating there was the spirit of the Heike Shogun, the Initiate Jōkai. The second kettle floating there was the spirit of Lady Ike. The third kettle floating there was the spirit of the Lady of the Second Rank.
“After these things I saw an angelic boy of twelve or thirteen who held a scepter, beckoned to the Shogun, and vanished, lost to sight, and this, if I may say, was the late Emperor Antoku.

“Then after these things I saw a young warrior who seemed to be sixteen or seventeen wearing great armor with long, deep-dyed skirts, bearing a great sword with gold filigree, and riding upon a caramel-colored ox with a white saddle, he swung his white-gripped halberd like a whirling water wheel, made as if to cut into the shoulder of the Shogun, and immediately vanished, lost to sight, and I do not know him well, but this was the Idle Peer Atsumori who was cut down on the shore at Ichi no Tani.

“After these things I saw a leviathan full ten yards long, which swung its many horns aloft, popped open its eyes which were like unto the sun and moon, fixed its gaze upon the Shogun, then vanished, lost to sight, and indeed I perceived that this was the spirit of Noritsune, Deputy Governor of Noto.

“After these things I saw, upon a band of black cloud drifting across the sky from the northern mountains, flying red banners, a force of full four, five hundred horse in full helmets and armor, who raised a roaring battle cry and vanished, lost to sight, and it was clear that these were the departed spirits of the Heike samurai who were cut down here and there across the land.

“Then, upon no ordinary band of white cloud drifting across the sky from the western mountains, flying white banners, a force of full forty, fifty horse, whose chattering voices seemed to echo their rage across the land, and I am afraid this was Your Lordship’s younger brother. I perceived that this was the departed spirit of Lord Kurō, the honorable Minister of Justice,” he said, explaining them one after the other, and first His
Lordship and then the greater and the lesser lords of all the various provinces were all struck dumb as one, said, “Truly, Shigetada is no mere man,” and as everyone stared as one in his direction there was none who did not whisper in amazement, “This samurai who understands the deepest esoteric truths, is he the same one we have been working alongside every day?”

Yoritomo spoke: “It is no wonder that the wicked spirits of the Heike should come and vent grudges against me, but why on earth the soul of Kurō would come and do me harm is difficult to understand. All the same, since he seems to bear me some grudge, let us test this thing at once. Call him back again now, will you, and bid him speak his piece,” so again His Lordship spoke, and Shigetada heard this and, thinking this saying itself difficult to understand, yet also inwardly intending all along to call him back anyway, nonchalantly he said, “From ancient times down to the present, the cases are few and far between of dead people being called back and made to speak, and not only that, this is an apparition, so the thought never crossed my mind that I, Shigetada, might be able to call it back,”—so he spoke, and then Yoritomo said, “That may be so, but since it was so clear to your eyes, then surely there can be nothing wrong with old Yoritomo’s request. Just let me hear one word from the voice within the mist,”—so he pleaded, at which Shigetada hesitated a moment, then said, “Since it is your command, My Lord, there is nothing more to say. Understood,” and he left His Lordship’s presence, decked out his private troop of some two hundred horse like flowers all in bloom, and Shigetada himself was clothed that day in armor with deutzia stitching over a white hitatare suit, bore a great sword wrapped in a white scabbard cloth, and rode a dappled roan on a saddle with white filigree: such a martial figure did he cut, and, leading his
two-hundred-some horsemen up to the now-deserted River Sagami, he struck his quiver against his arrow-case and raised a roaring battle cry that echoed like the quaking of the earth at each of the six phases of the life of the Buddha: it was a terrifying sound.

Then Shigetada rode his horse into the river until the water wet its belly and called out in a loud voice: “So then! Just who do you suppose I am, this envoy of the shōgun who has come before you? I am Shigetada, the Sheriff of Hatakeyama, tenth scion in the line of Prince Wada. I perceive that he who stands before me is Lord Kurō, honorable Minister of Justice. Come back, quickly! Let me speak with you,” he said, and again a band of white cloud drifted across the sky from the western mountains and, white banners hoisted high, the chattering voices of a force of full forty or fifty horse echoed across the land. The foremost among them wore armor with scarlet stitching and a matching helmet decorated with stag beetle horns, who rode on a stout and sturdy black horse and, floating forth in the midst of the clouds, buried his face in the chink of his gauntlet and wept aloud.

A few moments passed, and the next to speak was Lord Chichibu. “I perceive that he whom I see before me is none other than Minamoto no Kurō Yoshitsune. If there is something on your mind, please tell me. I come before you as an envoy of the Shōgun Yoritomo, who sent me, saying, ‘Shigetada, listen carefully and report back to me.’”

Then Yoshitsune said, “Oh, for shame! Shigetada, what shame I feel, to appear before you once again. All the same, Lord Chichibu, since I have been close to you from of old, let me tell you what is on my mind, just as it is, leaving nothing out,” and with a bitter look he continued, “First of all, let me tell you how it is that I, Yoshitsune, now come before you in such a state.
“Now then, since I survived my father Yoshitomo after his defeat in the wars of Högen and Heiji, I have not had a day’s or even a single moment’s peace. My only childhood memory is of being held to my mother’s breast, sneaking out of the Capital as fugitives, dressed as homeless wanderers, not knowing where we might end up, losing our way in the white snow, and sunset found us stranded on the Kohata mountain trail, so in desperation my mother went in where there was a bit of shelter under the trees, and to give us three some rest she brushed away with her dear hand the snow that fell upon us and, even while burying her face in her sleeve to weep, laid out her garment and set us three children out upon it: her face streaked with tears, my mother became a bulwark against the blowing of the wind.

“We three in the frailty of our childish hearts could not stand the chill of the wind and the snow, and when we burned with anguish and clung tightly around her waist, she said, ‘Please, come now, children! Our way out of this is to hide from men’s eyes, but how can we do that if we keep stopping and arouse their suspicion?’ and all night long she would sink in a sea of tears: even now I remember it as if she were right here—oh, too much to bear!

Still we wandered on here and there, and then my mother Tokiwa—well, back when the Initiate Jōkai (Kiyomori) offered to support her, he thought, ‘Isn’t there something I could do to make this woman mine?’ and, ‘Oh, the indignity of taking favors from my husband’s killer! I’ll never give in to his demands, though he torture me with water hot or cold!’,—so she had made up her mind, but then she remembered the plight of her three children and had recourse to a contract with Jōkai: ‘If you will spare my three children, it doesn’t matter; I will entrust myself to you, Kiyomori.’ Not only that, signing
on with the Heike, the whole clan, to a man, she passed the cup with them, and soon
enough the coast was clear, and they gave my oldest brother, Lord Imawaka, to the
temple of Daigo as an oblate. Next, they sent Lord Otowaka to Sagano. Finally, they sent
me to Kurama.

“It was then that I thought in my childish mind, ‘Of course!’ When I heard that
this mountain was Kurama where the great tengu live, rejoicing I thought to myself, ‘In
that case, I must master the arts of war, destroy the Heike once and for all, and establish
Genji rule,’ and, going down into Bishop’s Valley, I grew familiar with the the greater
and the lesser tengu and mastered the secrets of war.

“So then, around the time of my thirteenth Spring, I snuck away from the temple
at Kurama under cover of night and, striking out toward the eastern wilds, oh, the
suffering I endured along the way: the hardships of the hostels and way stations, and on
top of that the misery of the midnight ambushes—until, outrunning my pursuers time and
again, I made my way to the deep North, where, relying on Hidehira, I executed all
manner of arrest warrants, pacifying the Yamashiro Minister of Justice and installing
Yoritomo to lord it at Kamakura, and I received appointment from then on as Deputy
Minister: it was Noriyori Governor of Mikawa and myself who were appointed
co-Shoguns and, in our first contest, marching on Kiso Yoshinaka to strike him down,
pacified him without incident, defended the imperial Capital, and then we pacified the
Heike and all their hundred thousand-some horse, and since they then holed up at Ichi no
Tani in the Province of Tsu, we accordingly received a warrant for their execution from
the Retired Emperor and, as you know, Lord Chichibu, we flanked them by marching
over Tekkai Peak at Ichi no Tani, and then, thinking nothing of the wounds we ourselves
might suffer in battles here and there across the land, thinking nothing on the one hand of
wearing ourselves out in the mountains and the wilderness, overcoming on the other hand
the hardships of wind and wave, in the space of three short years we fought and pacified
the Heike clan, hunting them down to the last man—might these not be considered deeds
of distinction?

“And since we heard that the late Emperor, the retired Empress, and the remnants
of their clan had holed up at Yashima in Sanuki Province, by and by we sent out ships
and, caring nothing for the toils of defying of an unfavorable wind, made our way across
with a mere eighty-some horse and burned the Yashima Court to the ground.

“So—having set fire to their palace and burned them out, having pursued the
enemy as they fled in full retreat, and, cornering them at Akamagaseki in the land of
Nagato, having fought and pacified them to a man, we took Munemori of the Heike alive
together with his son, and on top of that we brought back to the Capital the three sacred
treasures without incident. In view of these things, I, Yoshitsune, was made Minister of
Justice with the Fifth Rank, and did this not redound to the honor of our clan? Although
these are all things with which you are familiar, it’s now I say them and make them
heard.

“Supposing, in view of all this, that His Lordship might perhaps make me ruler of
half of Japan, I went to hand Munemori and his son over to Kamakura, but on my way
there, thanks to the slanderous words of one whose name is not worth mentioning, only
my servants were permitted to enter Kamakura, and I, Yoshitsune, was myself turned
back at Koshigoe—the indignity of which has been a source of endless regret for me. All
the same, I presented His Lordship with a letter protesting my innocence, but as you
know, he did not agree.

“And those who were with me at that time, Kamei, Kataoka, Ise, Suruga, and
Musashibō, said, ‘What a travesty, that he should so ignore your protestations of
innocence! Come now, let us force our way into Kamakura and see what your slanderer
has to say for himself!’ So they spoke, and just as they were about to give battle, I,
Yoshitsune, out of duty to my elder brother, thinking first to seek an audience in the
Capital, went slinking back there, but I was persona non grata—and so I had to turn and
slink back down the road by which I’d come the day before, hiding my face from the eyes
of men as I passed through border checkpoints and mountain passes.

“And by there I settled down to a quiet life as Governor of Iyo Province, but in
renewed hatred what did he do but send assassins after me! Lest he should be lost, no
doubt, he assigned the task to no samurai of any great name. What was
that?—dispatching instead the cursed Tosa Shōzon as an assassin to come and kill old
Yoshitsune—what a disgrace!—and then I did not feel comfortable leaving the matter to
the judgment of the Capital so, thinking to flee to Shikoku, I boarded a boat from
Watanabe and shoved off far out onto the sea-road, but just then the spirits of the wicked
Heike crew, who had met destruction here and there across the land, all floated up above
the sea and caused an evil wind to blow, and so as white waves washed over all the world
and made the boat pitch up and down, there seemed no chance now of us ever reaching
dry land again. Lady Kitayama lost consciousness from the motion of the boat, and she
fainted all away. My other women, too, all swooned away in despair—what a pitiable tale,
and all thanks to the slanderous words of that irredeemable one. O Shigetada, reflecting
on these miseries I’d met with, my mind grew sick, my breast was filled with malice, and I longed for a way out—well, I had been blown back where I’d come from, my voyage all in vain, and when I had climbed ashore at Sumiyoshi and then gone up to Mt. Yoshino, their congregants turned against me.

“So I fled that mountain and went down toward the deep North, hiding in inns and hostels, going over mountain passes and through border crossings: some places we went with the women disguised as servant boys, and other times we passed through in the guise of merchants, floating in boats, tossed by the waves, meeting with hardship here and there across the land, until after a span of a hundred twenty days we reached the deep North at last and received the solicitous protection of Hidehira—but just when I’d begun to set my mind at ease, Hidehira sadly went the way of all flesh: he was laid out on his sickbed and in no time passed away, one hundred days had not yet passed before, out of I know not what deep grudge of His Lordship’s, an order arrived at the Fortress of the Rainbow Gate to send assassins after old Yoshitsune. Hidehira while he lived had traded vows with me to fight together to the end, but after the denunciation was promulgated, one after the other his men all turned against me.

“Nevertheless, his third son, Izumi no Saburō Tadahira, alone came forth, saying, ‘I cannot ignore the last wishes of our father which he said to us his children: “Whether out of duty to the man who has been our lord for generations, whether out of duty to your father’s last wishes, remember this: your father asks this of you above all.” If you insist on drawing your bows against our lord and letting our father’s last wishes fall to the ground, then I, Tadahira, will have no part of it,’ he said, and leaving their hall returned to his own lodging.
“The remaining brothers said, ‘What a display that hateful Saburō has made!’ ‘Oh for spite, so to storm out of the hall!’ ‘Come now, let us press in upon Izumi no Saburō and make him cut his belly!’ ‘Hear, hear!’ and with Terui Kanazawa in command they hemmed him in at Izumi Castle and made him cut his belly. His women died by their own hands after stabbing all their infant children—it was an abomination how they died, beyond all help. This, too, was all because of old Yoshitsune, and so their deaths weigh on me all the more.

“And the end that I, Yoshitsune, met, likewise cannot be exhausted in the telling. Of the samurai who were with me day by day, each and every one was stronger still than any demon, any god. When we fought and pacified Kiso Yoshinaka, when we did deeds of distinction in hunting down the Heike, in provinces here and there across the land they took their own lives lightly while cherishing old Yoshitsune’s, and these men who have been with me right down to today have not had one place of refuge, one moment’s respite from mortal danger—oh, their plight as helplessly they spent themselves! This too is a sin. Oh, pitiable, how Lady Kitayama and our infant children all were turned to flotsam on the Koromo River.

“Dwelling on the past like this, meditating on my misery, my breast is filled with malice and the world weighs down upon me all the more. Now that I think of it, my grudge is even greater against His Lordship the Shogun. All the same, I, Yoshitsune, do battle with those wicked Heike spirits who were lately plotting against Yoritomo’s life, rendering service to the Court all unrecognized by My Lord. From of old down to the present, wherever the lesser force loses ground against the greater, I, Yoshitsune, am there. I came to this ceremony hoping I might at least hear the holy words of the
consecration and gain a verse’s worth of respite, but when I saw that worthless man
riding the vanguard, his evil works flowed over in my breast, and I sank away,
spent—what a shame!

“It’s because of Kajiwara that I, Yoshitsune, suffer so; it’s because of Kajiwara
that the life of His Lordship the Vice-Minister of Defense was threatened as you saw. I
could go on, but suffice it to say that Kagetoki is a scourge on Kamakura, the Demon
King from the Sixth Sphere—that is what he is: need I say more? All samurai under the
sky should see him as a blood enemy. I cannot say enough how incomparably shameful
this is. If only anyone had chanted the Buddha’s name just once on my behalf, I would
not suffer so. What shame I feel to appear once more before you, pulled about by clouds
of delusion! And now if you’ll excuse me—farewell,” he said, and vanished,
disappearing in the clouds.

Then, after these things, Lords Ise no Saburō Yoshimori, Kumagai Tarō, Jirō of
the same clan, Kamei, Kataoka, and Suzuki, all appeared among the clouds, saying,
“What an unexpected pleasure! O Shigetada, how bitterly regrettable the mind of
Yoritomo, who did away with Our Lord, the faultless Yoshitsune. And now if you’ll
excuse us, Lord Chichibu,” and no sooner had they said this than they vanished, lost to
sight.

After these things they saw a single young warrior who came forth, saying, “Now
just who do you suppose I am, this warrior just now appeared before you?” I am Izumi no
Saburō Tadahira, who met a violent death all because I honored my father’s last wishes,
all for fear of my vow. I feel ashamed thus to make a request of you, but I trust your
lordship has just now seen what are the fruits of men like my brothers. and now if you’ll excuse me, Shigetada,” he said, and vanished, lost to sight.

After these things they saw one wearing armor with black leather stitching and a great sword of four spans, who, swinging a great halberd like a whirling water wheel, said, “Well now, what an unexpected pleasure this! He who thus addresses you is the not-so-unexpected Musashibō Benkei. I must say: how foolish the mind of Yoritomo, who trusts in the slanderous words of him whose name is not worth mentioning! To relieve this indignation, I, Benkei, was thinking perhaps I might turn into a berserker-god and, taking counsel with Inari, the horse- and oxen-headed abō rakshāsas, and from sahā the world of sentient beings, the greater and the lesser tengu, and all the myriad spirits, pour a rain of fire down upon Kamakura, burning beasts and men to death together and reducing Kamakura to a ghost town, but since even now My Lord honors his duty toward his elder brother I am constrained, and so, regrettably, cannot do as my heart desires. The Kajiwara, father and sons—these three will not live through three more days. And now if you’ll excuse me, Shigetada,” and he vanished, hidden in the clouds.

Yoritomo listened intently and said, “Oh, what a regrettable affair! All these years Yoshitsune has borne a grudge against me, and all because of Kajiwara—and that I, Yoritomo, faced this great mortal danger, too, was all because of Kajiwara. Suffice it to say that I, Yoritomo, was foolish in my thoughts to have any part of Kajiwara,” and his tears flowed without ceasing.

“Bitterly I regret that I gave Kajiwara an appointment, not knowing what a curse he was! Kagetoki, father and sons, all three—off with their heads!” so His Lordship
spoke, and since this proclamation happily concerned Kagetoki whom they hated one and all, they quickly gathered warriors and pressed in upon him each and every one.

Kajiwara, before even hearing this report, must have guessed the jig was up, for he had already fled under cover of night, but here he passed by before Utsunomiya no Yasaburō as he was shooting arrows at a target—all without stopping or dismounting from his horse. Yasaburō saw this and, saying, “I know not whether this man is of my own clan or another, but to ride in front of a bowman shooting arrows without stopping or dismounting is impossible to countenance, one way or another,” he pulled out an arrow and fit it to his bowstring. He’d been shooting target arrows, but one stuck shaft-deep in the flesh below Kajiwara’s bridle-hand-side ear, and with that his luck had run out. Overcome, he fell down from his horse with a thud.

The warriors behind him rushed up, saying, “Kajiwara came here in fear, for you see he has received the Shogun’s condemnation. And to think that you shot him down so easily!” and then no small rejoicing was Tomotsuna’s, and he cut off the head, prepared it and sent it along, and then he went up to Kamakura to tell all that had happened. His Lordship Yoritomo was greatly moved and as a reward for these deeds bestowed upon him the governorship of Iyo, which he did humbly accept. Genda and his brother were taken alive and cut down by the shore at Yui. Those who saw this and those who heard of this were heard to say: “Ever more accomplished in righteous harmony, with the elder showing kind solicitude for the younger and the younger following after the elder, making straight the Way of the Sovereign and the Way of Father and Son—the reign of the Lord of Kamakura is sure to flourish down to the last generation.”
CHAPTER TWO

Le Ressentiment des Choses: The Puppet Play Kajiwara’s End: Shizuka Goes East

The Japanese term mono no aware, which is easier to translate literally into French (le sentiment des choses)\(^1\) than English (“the pathos of things”), is used in Heian-period fiction like The Tale of Genji (by 1021) to describe an emotionally dark yet aesthetically positive response, particularly to the impermanence of perceived phenomena. In the mid-Edo period, the kokugaku “nativist” philosopher Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) used it as the name for his ideal semiotics.\(^2\) On some primordial scene of Japanese speech which Norinaga professed to recover most fully in the Genji, speaker and listener, signifier and signified, poetry and prose, were harmonized if not made congruent in a discourse whose performance was its content and whose values were purely aesthetic, not moral like those of the Confucian state ideology against which he was writing. However, about a hundred years before Norinaga’s work on the Genji, roughly contemporaneous with the Princeton scrolls (ca. 1660–1680), Sagamigawa was also recast as a play for the nascent puppet theatre, whose inanimate actors (chooses) express Sagamigawa’s moralistic resentment under the name mono no aware and claim that it originates in the poetic exchanges of the Genji. In this play, entitled Kajiwara’s End: Shizuka Goes East, most characters are replaced with female equivalents, the story is reorganized around


travel, the supernatural element no longer drives the plot, and maudlin resentment is in maximum effect. I argue that this play gives us a glimpse of a moralistic *mono no aware*, allegedly based on the *Genji*, which is only a degree of separation or two away from the autonomous realm of aesthetics that Norinaga used the term to stake out. Meanwhile, the changes that *Shizuka* makes to *Sagamigawa* reflect the tastes of the puppet theatre’s chief patrons, the urban commoner class created by the new shogunate’s monetized economy. Moreover, the piece is extant in a single libretto donated to the National Library of France by Théodore Duret (1838-1927), Hayashi Tadamasa’s native informant in the enterprise of implanting Japonisme into France and inspiring the Impressionist movement by means of his work as an art dealer and promoter. Finally, the libretto bears the ownership seals of Ōta Nanpo (1749–1823) and Ishizuka Hōkaishi (1799–1861), poets connected to the eighteenth-century literary commodification of Sagami as a tourist destination and the nineteenth-century boom in popular reception of the *Genji* via print media, respectively. Accordingly, *Shizuka* gives us a glimpse of the seventeenth-century prehistory of these intellectual and cultural developments even as it continues our post-history of the kōwaka ballad.3

3 Previous versions of this chapter have been presented as “Furansu kokuritsu toshokan zō kojōruri shōhon ‘Kajiwara saigo Shizuka azuma kudari’,” [“Some Thoughts on the Early Jōruri Libretto ‘Kajiwara’s End: Shizuka Goes East’ in the Bibliothèque nationale de France,”] Kokubunken Forum (National Institute of Japanese Literature, 10/2014); “From Ballads to Books to Wooden Bodies: ‘Sagamigawa’ on the puppet stage,” European Association for Japanese Studies Conference (Ljubljana, 8/2014); and published as “Katarimono matsuryū no kenkyū: Purinsuton-bon ‘Sagamigawa’ to Pari-bon ‘Shizuka azuma kudari’ wo megutte”, [“Studies in Latter-Day Ballad Performance: The Princeton ‘Sagamigawa’ Scrolls and ‘Shizuka
Mono no Aware Before Norinaga: Aestheticizing Weakness, Chastising Strength

The Tokugawa political order was the product of a complex seventeenth-century collaboration between military hegemons who reorganized society, together with thinkers who provided ideological justifications and prescriptions for further reform by reinterpreting classical philosophical traditions, particularly Song Confucianism. Regarding literature there were three basic views: one saw culture as an epiphenomenon or indicator of good government, another saw it as an impediment to public morals, and a third saw it as a repository of models for the good life. This third view expressed the value of literature in the phrase 勸善懲惡 kanzen chōaku “approving virtue, chastising vice” and made it the moral handmaiden of the establishment.4 Writing against this in the late eighteenth century, Motoori Norinaga proclaimed mono no aware to be the medium of a now-lost native intersubjectivity which he claimed to recover most completely in The Tale of Genji. Rather than intervening to prescribe relations between persons and viewpoints, Norinaga’s mono no aware harmonizes them in a performative dialogue which embodies aesthetic rather than moral values.5 The late-seventeenth century puppet play Kajiwara’s End: Shizuka Goes East, by contrast, uses the term mono no aware to

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4 Peter Fleuckiger, “Chinese Traditions and Their Early Tokugawa Reception”, Imagining Harmony: Poetry, Empathy, and Community in Mid-Tokugawa Confucianism and Nativism (Stanford University Press, 2010).

name the resentful, anti-establishment morality that it has inherited from the ballad *Sagamigawa*. The distance that exists between Norinaga’s *mono no aware* and that of the *Genji* is well known, but a consideration of the puppet play *Shizuka* with attention to its use of the term will reveal that in one sense Norinaga appropriated a moralistic term and called it aesthetic, even as he used its already anti-establishment overtones to oppose establishment values.

From the opening lines of the play, *mono no aware* is trumpeted as its theme.

Who is best known for *mono no aware*? Isn’t it Yoshitsune’s beloved Madame Shizuka, daughter of the Iso Dowager Legate?\(^6\)

However, the full term does not appear again. Instead, the word *aware* is repeated throughout, connecting this emotional response to a vague concept of courtliness and sad beauty. However, this word was also used to describe the expected sentimental response to spectacular scenes of torture and ultraviolence against young, female slaves and other disadvantaged bodies in better-known pieces of the early puppet theatre like *Sanshō dayū*,\(^7\) so in a contemporary context it is also linked to a cathartic effect based on identification with the bottom half of a power differential.

The play opens with a gesture toward Shizuka’s role in the fifteenth-century *Gikeiki*.\(^8\) She was a shirabyōshi dancer, the greatest in the world, and Yoshitsune’s most

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\(^6\) 物のあはれをとやめしはよしほねのおもひ人。いそぜんしかむすめ。しづかのまへにてとやめたり。


intimate consort, but when Yoshitsune goes on the run from Yoritomo he has to leave her behind. She is pregnant with Yoshitsune’s child, but from Mt. Yoshino she joins a performing circuit composed of various religious institutions and manages to stay in hiding for a time, now accompanied by her mother. However, Yoritomo eventually finds her and has her brought before him in Kamakura, where a debate ensues between him and Kajiwara about whether to have the child cut out of her womb in accordance with the standard East Asian trope of the tyrant. They decide against killing Shizuka for fear of public opinion, but when the child born is a boy, they have it killed on the shore at Yui, and muted scenes of Shizuka and her mother grieving for it follow. Next, Yoritomo contrives to see Shizuka’s famous dancing by having someone suggest that she dance for the god of war Hachiman, as an offering on behalf of Yoshitsune and the child, at Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine. For lack of a way out, she ends up performing for Yoritomo’s court, with Kajiwara and Shigetada accompanying her on various instruments. In this command performance, Shizuka improvises lyrics honoring Yoshitsune and protesting Yoritomo. The result is a measured meditation on powers of appropriation, influence, and resistance between performers and patrons of differing social positions. In sixteenth-century kōwaka on Shizuka, Elizabeth Oyler has shown how, in the differential between the paintings and text in illustrated picture books, there is a deepening of interest in her suffering, even if the text there still celebrates her agency. The evil Kajiwara, who in the Gikeiki argued against cutting open Shizuka’s belly, argues enthusiastically for it here and is only overruled by Yoritomo’s wife, Hōjō Masako. Accordingly, in the

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twilight of the kōwaka, the reception of the Shizuka story as evident from its pictorialization had already drifted in a melodramatic and sadomasochistic direction.

However, the backstory that opens our puppet play Shizuka shows no interest in this. Rather, it reminds us that as a reward for her command performance Shizuka was given a stipend, on which she set up a hermitage in Kyoto together with her mother. The basic movement of the play will be a compensatorily victorious reenactment of her earlier journey to Kamakura, undertaken upon hearing that prayers are to be offered for Yoshitsune there. An argument between her and her mother about whether to go or not sets up an active critique of the way that authority structures in Japanese history co-opt the commemoration of fallen rebel figures and use it to prop up the very system that such stories might have been used to critique. Nevertheless, mother and daughter set out, and their journey is represented by a long michiyuki “road poem”, a kind of monozukushi “name poem” woven from the names of places along the way. As I argue below, the road poem experienced a spike in usage in the noh, puppet theatre, and kabuki of the seventeenth century, in response to the tourist industry that was beginning to grow under the Tokugawa peace.

Meanwhile, the word aware is not used until Shizuka and her mother have traveled as far as Koshigoe and are asking shelter for the night.

“So please: one night!” she wailed. The old man was moved. “Well, in that case I will give you shelter.”

This scene of a traveler seeking shelter is taken from the common template of the noh theatre known as mugen noh like Matsukaze, in which a traveling monk arrives at a

10 ひたすら一日となえかる、 おきなあはれと思ひ、さらばおやとをかし申さん。
famous historical place and begs shelter from a stranger, who turns out to be the ghost of some historical or literary figure associated with that locale.\footnote{“The Pining Wind”, \textit{Japanese Nō Dramas}, trans. Royall Tyler (Penguin, 1992).} However, this play uses the word \textit{aware} to allow the audience to identify with an emotion of pity which moves from the old man to Shizuka. This is a new twist, because in early- to mid-medieval noh, the old, aristocratic class structures are maintained even in travel scenes in which the traveler would in reality have been at the mercy of the locals. In \textit{Tadanori}, for example, the traveling monk goes out of his way to make broad-minded comments about his humble host’s cultural accomplishments, but these comments are framed as a benevolent gift and not the respect due an equal.\footnote{Tom Hare, “Guntai: The Martial Mode”, \textit{Zeami’s Style: The Noh Plays of Zeami Motokiyo} (Stanford University Press, 1996).}

These are fundamentally the same aristocratic dynamics at work in the \textit{Genji}. When Genji is exiled to Akashi, he receives a letter from Murasaki in the Capital, and the pity he feels for the messenger is “degrading” because it raises the abject possibility that he and the messenger might now be equals capable of sharing the same sentiments.

Someone from Nijō struggled through, though, barely recognizable and soaking wet. Genji’s \textit{rush of warm feeling} for this male peasant, whom he might have swept from his path if he had met him on the road, wondering whether he was really human, struck even him as demeaning and brought home to him how low his spirits had sunk.\footnote{二条院よりぞ、あがちにあやしき姿にて、そをちまいれる。道かびにてだに、人か何ぞとたに御覧じ分くべくもあらず、まづをひ払ひつべき貶のおの、睦ましう哀におぼさるゝも、われな}
Here I have changed Tyler’s “the man” for _shidzu no o_ to the more literal “this male peasant” to bring out the relevant point. In _Shizuka_, by contrast, it is the old provincial who pities the nun from the Capital, and this is both a praiseworthy sentiment for him to have and not particularly degrading for her. Norinaga, meanwhile, despite his overarching pessimism about the ability of political action to do more good than harm, recommends in theory an _aware_ “pity” for peasants.

Day and night, never fail to remember that the peasants of today exert themselves in body and spirit more than in the past, and suffer greatly from the annual tax. … To fix the root is namely to stop unreasonable treatment, and _have pity on_ the common people. However much they may be suffering, as long as those above treat them well, these [revolts] will not arise.¹⁴

In this use of _aware_, Norinaga is at odds with the _Genji_ and in harmony with puppet plays like _Shizuka_.

The next time the word _aware_ appears, it is in connection with the major ideological support for this puppet play, the popular Pure Land faith which Shizuka and her mother are depicted as practicing. This is a salvific faith whose main practice consists of intoning the name of the Buddha Amitābha, who, taking pity on all sentient beings too weak to achieve salvation on their own, underwent austerities on their behalf, the merits of which can be unlocked by means of said intonations.

_But only have pity on the departed soul of that one who once came in to me,_

¹⁴ Quoted in Fleckiger, “Motoori Norinaga and the Cultural Construction of Japan”, _Imagining Harmony_.

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It is not surprising, then, that the Japanese Jesuit devotional examined in Chapter Six uses a nearly identical formula to render the *kyrie eleison* in Japanese: *Ikani on-aruji Zezu Kirishito awaremi tamae.* “How now Lord IESU ἔ, have pity.”\(^\text{16}\) All its most famous practitioners in early medieval Japan were active in marketplaces, and it is not surprising to find their devotional practices, which have a low barrier to entry for those without money or connections, depicted here in the popular theatre patronized by seventeenth-century merchants. In that connection, the ceremonies for Yoshitsune which originally motivate Shizuka and her mother to journey to Kamakura never come up again, but the name of the place where they were supposedly scheduled, written all in phonographic script as *Shōjumon’in*, seems to intend 拝受門院 “Cloister of the Gate of Grace”. Presumably this is a fictitious subtemple of the Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine so central to Minamoto clan ceremonial, but its name refers to a Pure Land concept, the Gate of Grace as opposed to the Gate of Justice, even though Tsurugaoka was not historically connected to Pure Land Buddhism. Moreover, a glimpse of the relationship (or lack thereof) between the writer of the text and the creator of the woodblock illustrations for the play’s libretto is afforded by the fact that in Woodblock 1, “Shōjumon’in”, which does sound like it could be the name of an aristocratic nun, is transformed into a third lady weeping next to Shizuka and her mother.

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\(^{15}\) 入にし人の後のを、あはれみ給へやなむあみた△

\(^{16}\) “ycani Vó Aruji IESU ἔ, avarami tamae” Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 459, f. 82v.
In this scene, Shizuka and her mother have found an image of Amitābha together with a set of altar bells for intoning his name, and so they go to work interceding for Yoshitsune. At the end of her prayer, aware occurs again.

“Deign to help Lord Yoshitsune, Minister of Justice, in the world beyond!” and she bowed and did obeisance in tears, and all manner of atonement on his behalf, and her recitation was truly moving to behold.17

This usage mixes the muted eros of the old court culture with this religious sentiment, newly dominant among the townsman class supporting the puppet theatre, as I will discuss below. In that context, it may be meant as a moment of self-conscious humor at this mixing that the innkeeper, coming in upon Shizuka and her mother in the throes of erotic worship, declares:

“What efficacious intercession! Your words to Yoshitsune just now about parting the petals of the jeweled lotus platform and waiting for you there: truly you are a minister of the dharma and no ordinary person!”18

Nevertheless, this is an old mixing: considering the Cloistered Emperor GoShirakawa’s late-twelfth-century collection of imayō courtesan songs, Ryōjin hishō,19 the half-joking association of the songs of entertaining women with the songs of women religious is at

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17 大夫判官よしどの。後の世たすけたひと給へと。泪と共にふしおかみ。さまよゑかうまし／／て。くとき事こそあれれ。

18 しゆせに候御ゑかうかな。只今よしどねへ。玉のうてなのさをわめて。待給へとのことははどうおしん也、たゝ人とは思はれす。

least as old as the historical Shizuka. In any case, with this the noh play-within-a-puppet 
play continues as the innkeeper, in the mode of the lead actor in a noh, begins gradually 
to drop hints that he is related to the historical Yoshitsune, intimating at first that he was 
“with him to the end” and that he collected his decapitated head, put it in a reliquary, and 
now makes intercession before it. This suggests that the statue before which Shizuka and 
her mother have been praying is in fact the relic of Yoshitsune’s head, but presumably 
because of Yoshitsune’s holiness it only appears as a golden Amitābha, as with the head 
of the reformed assassin Kagekiyo in the eponymous kōwaka ballad.20

Finally the ghost reveals his true identity in the noh-like way described by Paul 
Atkins.21 Japanese verbs do not inflect for person, and subject dropping is common, so no 
subject is expressed throughout the speech leading up to this revelation, but eventually 
the discourse reaches a point at which the subject cannot be anyone but Yoshitsune 
himself, so I translate in the first person.

And so with Kanefusa attending, I ended my life with a quiet heart. And the pitiable 
story did not end there.22

Kanefusa is the servant who performed the duty known as kaishaku, which means to 
chop off one’s master’s head at his own command, after he has begun the process of his 
own death by cutting into his belly, ideally with six incisions, then reaching in to pull out

20 SNKBT: Mai no hon, ed. Asahara Yoshiko & Kitahara Yasuo (Iwanami Shoten, 1994). On reliquaries, 
see also Chapter Four.
21 Paul Atkins, Revealed Identity: The Noh Plays of Komparu Zenchiku (Center for Japanese Studies, 
University of Michigan, 2006).
22 それよりもかねふさかいしやくにて。心しづかに生がい有。あはれ成物語もはつす。
his own bowels and scatter them forward. This ritual, also referred to in my discussion of Yoshitsune’s death in the ballads of Chapter One, is the ultimate display of compose and control: everything happens at the command of the aristocratic self. Here too this composure works to convert perceived inferiority into self-directed cruelty, but in the manner unique to the seventeenth century it is thence aestheticized into self-pity (aware), which satisfies the desire for cruelty in a different way. However, self-pity leaves an aesthetic remainder which does not die with the subject: “and the pitiable story did not end there.” It is not over yet because Yoshitsune, as he describes at length, has been reborn into the Buddhist realm of the āśura, where souls consumed with rage fight to the death day after day on an endless battlefield.

With this revelation, the ghost disappears, again as in a noh play, and the nuns react with two occurrences of the word aware, one which returns it to its etymological roots and another which expresses a narrative evaluation of the scene according to the popular aesthetics of pity from which Norinaga borrowed.

The two nuns started in surprise, saying, “So was that old man the ghost of Yoshitsune?” and at the sadness of parting from him both mother and child wept and wept, awaiting the dawn, and what a moving sight it was.23

The first usage above is atto itte, literally, “they said, ‘A!’” and this “A!” is tied etymologically to aware as an interjection, which can be seen in Japan’s equivalent to the Oxford English Dictionary to be the usage in all its earliest occurrences, including in

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23 二人のあはれあつと云ておとろき．携は今のおきなは．よしつねのゆふれいかや．なこりおしさにおやこと共に．なく／其あかつきを待給は．あはれなりける次第なり．
Japan’s earliest extant works of prose (*Kojiki*, 712) and poetry (*Man’yōshū*, after 759).\(^{24}\)

The second usage of *aware* solicits a response of pity from the audience according to the preset popular aesthetic under discussion. This emotional altar call is followed by the reappearance of the ghost Yoshitsune, this time in his true form as a warrior in full battle dress, again just as he would do to open the second half of a noh play.

\[\text{“Since from of old the road of life and death goes but one way only, the water flows on, not stopping for anyone, no matter who, and after it has all gone sadly away, to mourn only intensifies the torments of an ašura like me, fleeting thing that I am.”}^{25}\]

In these verses from beyond the grave, Yoshitsune expresses an *aware* after the classical form seen in the *Genji*, an aesthetic response to impermanence, in this case that represented by his own death.

In her response, Shizuka uses the word *aware* as the pivot of a *kakekotoba*, a poetic figure in which some set of syllables is made to scan in one sense in connection with what comes before and in another in connection with what comes after.

\[\text{“Oh I beg you, quickly come and take pity on this body of dew so surely bound to vanish! Oh for pity! I would share in My Lord’s grief, not accounting it separate from my own!”}^{26}\]

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\(^{24}\) “*Aware*, NKD (Shögakukan, 2000).  

\(^{25}\) 生死の道はたれとても、帰らぬはいにしへ、とまらぬはかれれの水のあればときへにし其あと。  

\(^{26}\)  なけくもしゆらのくるしみもまさりてはかなき物かな。
In this case, reading toward the pivot word *aware* we get *tотемо киyu бeки tsuyu no mi wo aware*... “[May you have] pity on myself, bound to vanish with the dew,” and reading from *aware* forward we get *aware, негaвакu wa, тoку mukaeaсетaмаe*... “Oh, for pity! Quickly come to meet me...” This rhetorical figure Shizuka shares in common with the noh and, to some extent, ballads like the кówакa. In *Sагaмигaва*, when the infant Yoshitsune and his mother Tokiwa are on the run from the Heike, the text becomes this kind of stream of consciousness, and a pivot occurs on the syllables *идзукy мо шираyykи нy фумy мayoхи*, such that reading toward the pivot syllables *шyра* we read “not knowing where [we would go next]”, and reading away it becomes “getting lost among the white snow”. However, the Princeton *Sагaмyгaва* splits up the figure into *идzукy мо шyраdе, шyраyyки нy фумy мayoхи* so that it reads more transparently as “not knowing where we were going, getting lost among the white snow.” This may indicate decreased interest in such figures among late-seventeenth century audiences and readers, but on the other hand it is still used extensively in *Shизyuka*. Meanwhile, the use of *kимy* “My Lord” resonates engagingly with warrior literature like *Sагaмyгaва*, where of course it refers to the bond between lord and vassal: “Come here, Genda; see if you can believe this. My Lord has all too quickly forgotten his debt to me.” Thinking of Shizuka as a loyal vassal, she can be seen to anticipate the Forty-seven rоnин of late-eighteenth-century kabuki. Conversely, one could also rethink the relationship between Yoshitsune, Yoritomo, and Kajiwara as a

26 とてもきゅへき露の身を。あはれねかはくは、とくむかへさせ給へ君のくろしみをわらはもわけでせん物を

27 いかに源太物をきけ。君こそ我ををぬ。はやわすれさせ給へ、
love triangle, with Yoritomo the indecisive beloved who destroys his two lovers in succession.

Although some figures like the pivot word were used more or less consistently across all genres, one signature feature of the puppet theatre is the specific bardic locutions used there and only there for starting and ending sections. Whereas paragraphs in the kōwaka begin with a variety of phrases like saru hodo ni “So then—”, sareba “So—”, or sate “Well—”, puppet plays are usually divided into five acts, each of which begins with satemo sono nochi “Well now, the next thing that happened was…” sometimes even the first act, because plays were seldom performed in isolation from beginning to end in any case. Moreover, this culture of medley so common later, in the kabuki, can be connected to the mix-tape structure of the ballad Sagamigawa. In puppet theatre like Shizuka, however, this opening phrase is paired with a closing phrase, …to nakanaka mōsu bakari wa nakarikeri, a colloquialism which seems to gesture toward the inadequacy of language to describe the emotional effect of the events just depicted. Calling attention this emotional remainder becomes in fact a very concrete way to cue the emotional reaction of the audience: “Yoshitsune was a moving sight to see, in a way no tongue can tell.”28 We end Shizuka’s noh-like summoning of Yoshitsune and receipt of his command, that she pray for him and confront Yoritomo, with a repetition of the theme word from the opening lines of the play, aware. This suggests that pity has been the medium of this communication from beyond the grave, just as mono no aware motivates and informs true communication for Norinaga.29

28 かのよしつねのありさま，あはれともなか／申はかりはかりけり。

29 Yoda 527.
As they reach Kamakura, Shizuka and her mother take the place of Sagamigawa’s ghosts, going to the Shogunal Palace and confronting Yoritomo with Kajiwara’s criminality in a reversal of her audience before him in the Giikeiki, where she was on trial for her life. What motivates and facilitates this meeting, however, is more aware from another female character, Yoritomo’s wife Hōjō Masako.

“Women are the same whether noble or base, and so I feel great solidarity and sympathy for her. Oh, my! Surely we can afford to call her here; I would like to meet her.”

Here the exclamatory usage of the word performs the sympathetic connection between the two women, and the play is at pains to explain that this connection is made possible by a negation based on common gender or social class, which normally would be a barrier to sympathy between them. After Yoritomo is at last persuaded to call Shizuka before him, the interjection aware is repeated at their actual moment of meeting and tied to the Buddhist trope of fleeting female beauty.

“Though you are still young in years,

at the height of your blossoming beauty,

and yet should thus soak with tears

the sleeves of a gown dyed black—

I cannot help but feel for you and be moved.”

30 女は高きもいやしきも、おなし事に侍へは、思い合てふびんも、あはれ御所へ召れとなし、あはまほどしく候

31 おこととはとしいたまわくかして、花やか成しすかたを、すみぞめの衣の袖、さそな泪にくちぬべき、思いやられてあはれ也。
This emphasis on the impermanence of feminine charm calls to mind the early-medieval
tale *Tamatsukuri Komachi*.\(^{32}\) There, the listener is encouraged to vent cruel impulses by
pitying a fallen superior, while presumably achieving deeper understanding of the
doctrine of impermanence, by contemplating the decrepit body of a woman who was
once the most beautiful in the world but on whom time has taken its toll. Here Masako
expresses the wish that Shizuka’s beauty not be worn out by stress, but the attention to
female beauty, susceptible to change in a way that traditionally male-gendered assets are
not, again elevates their common gender over their difference in social standing.

In a replay of their encounter in the *Gikeiki*, Masako and Yoritomo once again
offer to endow Shizuka with an income and a place at one of the temples over which they
have control, but Shizuka strikes a pose of principled refusal: she would rather be
homeless. As an alternative, the hegemonic couple propose to grant her any wish.

*Shizuka*’s compensatory orientation toward those displaced by the violence of
peacemaking is stronger than *Sagamigawa*’s, and here as there, the ambiguity discussed
by Saeki Shin’ichi obtains between the ruler’s kindness and the injustice it supposedly
remedies. On the one hand it absolves him of wrongdoing, but this absolution requires the
reinscription of the wrongdoing, on which in this case more aesthetic energy is ultimately
spent. Shizuka asks for Kajiwara’s head, reiterating a view of his relationship to the strife
between the Minamoto brothers that has more in common with *Sagamigawa* and the
*Shizuka* picture book discussed by Oyler than with *Gikeiki* and the kōwaka. After a long
exchange in which she is accused of harboring base desires unworthy of a religious,

Shizuka finally convinces Yoritomo and Masako with an impassioned speech in which she declares violence to be the natural handmaiden of 慈悲 *jihi* “mercy” by reference to the medieval ideology of 本地垂迹 *honji suijaku*, a translatability of pantheons by which Shintō gods were said to embody Buddhist deities and vice versa.³³

Shizuka said, “Just as Sugawara no Michizane long ago is said to be Huan Wen reborn, from of old down to the present there is precedent for resentment when one sinks under the weight of a false accusation—to say nothing of an ordinary sinner like myself. Each Buddha and Bodhisattva, no matter how efficacious, has his own lotus-petal throne. It’s all for mercy’s sake that you, too, put on armor and helmet, take up bow, arrow, and pike, and tame the evil demons. Whose good name will Kajiwara slander next and make his blameless wife and children wail? Bringing those two to justice will save multitudes, and so it will be a great bodhisattva vow, to the benefit of one and all,” she said with all her strength, caring nothing for her composure.³⁴

The lotus petals are the means (violence), while the efficacious Buddhas and bodhisattvas are the ends (justice). Compare this to Norinaga’s theory of the unity of word (*kotoba*)

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³⁴ 静申上るは。かんしやう／おのにしへは。くわおんのさいたんと。申ったへしこんけたに。むしづつみにしつみてはうらみ給ふためし有。いわんやほんふにおいてをや。さははりやくの仏はさつ。それ／にへんさ有。かつちうをたいて。弓やほこをひつさけ。あくまをしたかへ給ふも、足みなじひの為なり。此後にかはらか。たか身の上をかざんけし。とかなきつま子共けんそく共になかせん。二人をつみするをは万人をたすけんため。一とりやくのほんくわん也。と身をおしむ所もなく。はゝかりなふそ申ける。
and intent (kokoro) in literature that performs mono no aware correctly: for him, too, the very distinction between form and content was a fall from an original unity. By now it should be clear that although Norinaga mainly claims to find his ideas about mono no aware in the Genji, they may have more in common with popular literature like Shizuka, which was well established by his day.

Finally, Shizuka uses the word jihi “mercy” rather than aware here, but both words seem to encode the same compensatory justice, which favors the weak and ultimately demands violent deposition of the unjust strong. Her lack of composure telegraphs sincerity, and at this speech the shogunal couple are converted, again expressing aware: “Yoritomo and Her Ladyship could not help but be moved, and their resolve was shaken.” And as it happens, thirty six of Yoritomo’s warriors are at that moment organizing among themselves to denounce Kajiwara, so they too come forward in support of Shizuka, calling for Kajiwara’s head: “I say, you should give Shizuka what she asks for.” We end with the purging of Kajiwara, a scene which is narrated and illustrated so similarly to the corresponding passage in Sagamigawa (Woodblock 5) that the relationship between the two pieces is crystal clear. Thus far in Shizuka, Kajiwara’s sons, who are plural in Gikeiki but led by one Genda Kagesue, have been reduced to one in number, as Shizuka explicitly states at one point by calling Kajiwara and his son futari “two”: “Bringing those two to justice will save multitudes, and so it will be a great

35 Yoda 528.

36 顔朝公もみたいも．あはれにひかされて．心にかけ給はず

37 あはれ静か所望に給はるへき
bodhisattva vow, to the benefit of one and all.” However, in the formulaic ending passage we revert to the wording Genda kyōdai as in Sagamigawa: “Genda and his brother were cut down on the shore at Yui.” Given this wording, there is at least one brother besides Genda: in Sagamigawa the brothers and the father together are said to number three, so I translate accordingly. Either way, the reversion of an extraneous detail like this is a sure sign of Shizuka’s dependence on Sagamigawa or something very like it.

We have seen how Shizuka takes mono no aware as its central theme and uses it to encode a poetic community of maudlin sentiment. I have argued that in making this same term the energy source for his lost communal linguistic interchange roughly a hundred years later, Moroori Norinaga may owe as much to popular literature like Shizuka as to The Tale of Genji where he professed to find it. One point on which he is particularly open to critique with respect to the text of the Genji is his assertion of the ultimate unity of poetry and prose.

Poetry arises from knowing mono no aware, and mono no aware is known by reading poetry. Narrative, too, is written from knowing mono no aware, and one learns much about mono no aware by reading narrative. Thus, the true meaning of poetry and narrative are the same.

The difference between poetry and prose in the Genji is in fact as plain as day: poems are only presented as literal poems that characters have written, and narration never shifts

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38 二人をつみするをは万人をたすけんため、一とりやくのほとんくわん也。
39 源太兄弟を、ゆいのはまにてきられけり。
from prose to poetry or incorporates one character or another’s thoughts in an ambiguous way. In popular oral literature like Shizuka, by contrast, I have only translated into verse where the text is broken into something like five-seven rhythms, but in general, both the narrative body text and the lines of the characters switch freely between different levels of versification. Norinaga was born in a city in Ise province, the son of a family of cotton merchants, and soon adopted into a family of paper merchants. The townspeople of Ise Province had strong trade ties with Edo, so Norinaga would have been exposed to mainstream townsman culture from an early age, and he spent the 1750s, which correspond to his twenties, studying in Kyoto.\(^{41}\) In any of these places he is likely to have encountered popular theatre like Shizuka, which may have done as much as the Genji to form his fixation on mono no aware.

**Fear and Loathing in Kyoto: Shizuka’s Sociopolitical Context**

The puppet theatre scenes in the Funaki Kyoto screens contain one of the earliest extant pictorial depictions of Japanese puppet performance.\(^{42}\) Judging from the presence of Portuguese and Indians, the newly-rebuilt Gojō Bridge, and the polarization between Toyotomi and Tokugawa landmarks on the pattern of older Kyoto screens which mapped political power in terms of a shogun-court binary, they probably do not date to long after 1615, when the Toyotomi were finally defeated in the Battles of Osaka.\(^{43}\) In the puppet

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\(^{41}\) Fleuckiger, “Motoori Norinaga and the Cultural Construction of Japan”.

\(^{42}\) Tokyo National Museum, A-11168. Viewable online at [www.emuseum.jp/detail/100318/000/000](http://www.emuseum.jp/detail/100318/000/000).

\(^{43}\) Matthew McKelway, *Capitalscapes: Folding Screens and Political Imagination in Late Medieval Kyoto* (University of Hawai‘i Press, 2006).
theatre portion, simple hand puppets appear in great numbers, while in the audience well-dressed commoner ladies dominate, and reactions range from laughter to tears and everything in between. Naturally we do not have concrete attendance figures, but the association of the early puppet theatre in both sekkyō and jōruri varieties with the urban commoner class that was being created in cities like Kyoto, Osaka, and then Edo, is clear.44 There is more than one way to interpret the predominance of female characters,45 but surely one factor was the demonstrable presence of wealthy urban commoner ladies among the patrons of this new performing art. The libretto in which Shizuka is extant was printed by Kiemon of Nijō in Kyoto, a prolific printer of puppet theatre “chanter’s proofs” (shōhon). Its calligraphy and woodblock prints are typical of the late seventeenth century,46 so many of the ways in which it develops the story of Sagamigawa can be explained with reference to its socioeconomic and geographic context. It is the product of a capitalized, middle-class theatregoing public that if not composed mainly of women was highly concerned with women as the instrument of reproduction for a healthy class body. Moreover, its audience lived in an imagined geography composed of a civilized but politically powerless Capital and a powerful warrior government in the East which was nevertheless of dubious cultural and moral status.


46 Kobayashi Kenji, private communication, 2014.
From the first scene in which Shizuka deliberates whether going to Kamakura to pray for Yoshitsune will only play into Yoritomo’s hands, her mother engages consciously with the ambiguity of anti-establishment cultural agency.

So they’ll pray for Yoshitsune’s enlightenment, will they? I see why you would be glad to hear that at first, but think about it for a moment. First they kill him, and now suddenly they care about him? Surely Yoshitsune would accept so such sentiment.

Why should we take any joy in it? … Ah, it’s Kamakura that I hate! 47

The dominant discourse, here explicitly identified with the Eastern warrior government, finds a way to reaffirm itself precisely by repeating and recontextualizing a cultural critique. Nevertheless, Shizuka reaffirms the value of memorializing the renegade because the alternative would be to give free reign to the establishment and make her and her mother complicit.

If you leave him unremembered by old Yoritomo who it seems will never do us the favor of dying, surely he will resent it. Hands clasped in prayers of remembrance, My Lord’s hands of blame for shogunal sins: how can anyone escape them? 48

This passage is particularly ambiguous with regard to subjectivity: urami “resentment” has no honorific, so it could also mean that Shizuka would resent her mother if she leaves

47 拝はきけいの御はたいをとはせ給ふとや．まつはうれしほ侍へ共．さりならな思ひてもみよ．ころし．後のうきなさけは．きけいも[請き]せ給ふまし．われらもいかてか悦ふへき．[・・・] あゝうらめしはかまくらそや

48 よにつれなき顔朝にて限とふらひもなく．すべて置せ給はゝ．うらみも侍ふ．御くやうのて我君の．御つみのせめてのかれやせん
Yoshitsune unsung. The honorific on the word *tsumi* “sin, punishment” means that she is referring to either Yoritomo’s sins or Yoshitsune’s punishments.

Either way, Shizuka argues that as nuns who have left the world in response to Yoritomo’s destruction of Yoshitsune, execution of her infant son, and continued trust in Kajiwara which is portrayed here as an active offense, she and her mother are so invested in anti-shogunlal critique that the rebel god they serve would turn on them if they turned back now. In *Sagamigawa*, Yoshitsune made a promise of sacramental presence: “wherever the lesser force loses ground against the greater, I, Yoshitsune, am there.” In *Shizuka*, his ghostly rehearsal of his death also uses this language of number to aestheticize the experience of being overwhelmed.

They sliced their way around the four points of the compass, the eight directions, striking down many a foe as they went, but after each charge the greater force would send in reinforcements, and our band, being the lesser force, with no more troops to send in, were struck down to a man.49

In remembering his suicide, Yoshitsune makes a weak gesture toward the autonomy and affirmation that the act represented in *Gikeiki* and the kōwaka: “I ended my life with a quiet heart.” However, he immediately launches into an account of his subsequent rebirth in the *aśura* realm, a poetic meditation on the wages of moralistic resentment.

This attention to power dynamics must be understood with reference to Shizuka’s positionality within seventeenth century Japanese society. We have seen how the Princeton *Sagamigawa* changes the text to reflect anxieties about female chastity and

49 四方切廻り，大させてきを打取か，よせては大くんあらてをかへみてかたはふせい，入かはるせいもなく皆と打死す.
filial piety. In several of the exchanges between the now-female main characters in *Shizuka* we see an expanded reflection of the concerns of the urban commoner class, particularly their wives who can be seen so prominently in the Funaki Kyoto screens. We have touched on the denial of class difference in Hōjō Masako’s lines above, but for all her kindness to Shizuka, there is a carefully-evoked patronizing edge which reflects the attitude not of a warrior aristocrat speaking to a dancing girl but that of a slight superior speaking to a slight inferior by whom she may nevertheless possibly be eclipsed by various measures which would matter most to an urban commoner woman. First, as in the Princeton *Sagamigawa* there is chastity.

“Goodness me! I hear that Shizuka has become a nun and come as far as Koshigoe to intercede and make atonement, and though I thought sure that one, the same daughter of the Iso Dowager Legate who took on all comers and let them have their way with her, must be worn out with lust, but no, she’s given up that land you gave her: she must truly have loved Yoshitsune.\(^{50}\)

Next, there is the prestige and ignominy to be had on the marriage market. To overcome Yoritomo’s resistance to the idea of inviting Shizuka, Masako gives an extended account of her feelings during Yoritomo’s shaky early career, including the defeat at Ishibashiyama to which Kajiwara refers in *Sagamigawa*. In this speech, *Shizuka* displays a concern for the dependence of a woman’s fate on that of her chosen mate, which does not end in a valediction of benevolent male agency. Accordingly, it might genuinely have

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\(^{50}\) 誠やらんしつかは、尼と也。御ついせんの御ゑかうに、こしごへまて来ると聞。此ものは、いそのせんしかむすめにて引手あたたに打なひき、よくにけつて、有へきと思ひに、さはなくて、一度絵はりし所領もふりすてゝ。かやうに成事は、よしつねの御事を、よく思ひ入れめ。
appealed to merchant women, who by marrying a given businessman were also tying their fates to his business. In precisely this context it is easy to imagine a struggling businesswoman bristling along with Shizuka at Masako’s deliciously-characterized backhanded encouragement.

“How bizarre of you, Sister Shizuka, to throw away the world for such a narrow preoccupation! But as long as flesh and bone remain unsundered, though one make the mistake of a lifetime and, say, choose a bad mate, hope springs eternal in the human heart.”

*Isshō no fusaku* “the mistake of a lifetime” is a byword for marrying an incompetent person, so Masako is simultaneously congratulating herself on choosing the winning brother and encouraging Shizuka to forget Yoshitsune.

As with Masako’s more explicit declaration of equality to Shizuka along the axis of gender, her dressing down of Yoritomo would also be easy for someone of relatively low social status like an urban commoner and/or a woman to enjoy. The same consciousness of the dependence of a wife’s standing on that of her husband governs the terms in which Shizuka argues the societal threat posed by Kajiwara: “Whose good name will Kajiwara slander next and make his blameless wife and children wail?”

Naturally female authorship is a strong possibility, not only as a continuation of ballads ostensibly

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51 しつかのあまひたふに思ひとり．世をすつるのにきどくさよ．去からこつにくのはなれぬ内の人心．一生はつくる共．のぞみはつきぬを目とや．

52 此後にからはらか．たか身の上をかざんけんしし．とかなきつま子共けんぞく共になけかせん．
performed by nuns in the early seventeenth century,\textsuperscript{53} but as an epiphenomenon of contemporary patronage. The capitalistic element which Hidetada grafted onto the feudal rice economy had created an urban commoner class in the Western cities of Kyoto and Osaka, whose women were both actively participating in the economy and leisured enough to become a theatregoing public, and it was for this reason that a theatre of gender, class, and regional politics like \textit{Shizuka} could arise in the late seventeenth century. However, at this time Edo was also catching up and would soon surpass the economic and even cultural power of the Western cities, which throughout the seventeenth century still cherished hopes of retaining cultural superiority even if political importance had decisively gone East.

\textit{Commodifying The Wild East: Shizuka’s Michiyuki and the Sagami Tourist Trade}

The regional consciousness evident in the puppet play \textit{Shizuka} reflects this moment even as its aestheticization of travel contributed to the growing draw of Sagami as a tourist destination whose literary associations, provincial atmosphere and convenient location would make it the preferred playground of the Edo townsman class in the eighteenth century. The cultural dialectic between a cultured West and a wild East is at least as old as the Heian-period \textit{Tales of Ise}, but it takes on a decidedly political cast with Yoritomo’s twelfth-century establishment of the first warrior government in the Eastern city of Kamakura. In \textit{Gikeiki Yoshitsune} goes into some detail about the power-sharing agreement that he imagines to be in place between himself and Yoritomo.

When Yoshitsune sends a man to the Kantō, his first duty is to report to Yoritomo on the state of affairs in Kyoto. Anyone who arrives in the Capital from Kamakura is expected to visit Yoshitsune before he does anything else.\(^{54}\)

Here and even more so in *Shizuka*, the possibility of such an agreement is raised only with chagrin, however, because the audience knows it to be an unrealized possibility, given the unilateral hegemony of the East, to some extent in the twelfth century but even more so in *Shizuka*’s seventeenth-century milieu. From *Gikeiki* on, the story of Shizuka was already associated with travel between these two poles of unequal value. This geopolitical consciousness is the reason why Shizuka’s mother opens with “Ah, it’s Kamakura that I hate!” It is also why Masako’s otherwise attractive offer of shelter is clearly marked as Eastern by the name of the temple.

At the Temple of the Auspicious East in Matsugaoka, Yoritomo’s aunt Her Ladyship was a *bhiksuni*. She used to live there, but recently she passed away. You shall be established there.\(^{55}\)

This geographical association combined with Masako’s haughty characterization primes the audience for Shizuka’s rejection of the offer.

Most prominently, however, *Shizuka* expands on the *Gikeiki* by inserting a long *michiyuki* road poem in Act One. This form is a type of *monozukushi*, a poem incorporating the names of things in a tissue of double meanings, but the *michiyuki* focuses its content on describing the experience of travel, while various place names and

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\(^{54}\) *Yoshitsune*, trans. McCullough, 142.

\(^{55}\) 松かおかのとうけいちは、より朝おは君びくにと也、こゝに住せ給ひしか、此比せんけおはし

す、おことを是にすへらるへし。
words for travel gear are worked in throughout the surface of the text. The convention became more common in the late-medieval noh theatre as it became more action-oriented and illusionistic than it had been in Zeami’s day and would be again in the ceremonial noh of warrior bureaucrats like that discussed in Chapter Three. From there, townsman forms like the puppet theatre and kabuki took it up as a central stylistic flourish. In my English translation in Appendix 2C I have tried to reproduce some of this wordplay, but in all cases where a double entendre takes place I make a line break and place a large slash mark (/') so it will be indicated graphically even where the translation fails to convey it. There were manuals and widely-used models for creating these sequences, but the authors of *Shizuka* have incorporated several place names from the area between Kyoto and Kamakura, from the well-established and classical like 逢坂 Ahusaka, “the hill of meeting” which served in classical times as the barrier between Kyoto and the Eastern wilds, to still-obscure locales around Sagami, like 大磯 Ōiso, “the great riverbed”, here paired with a “small riverbed”. The contrast to *Sagamigawa* is striking: there, loving attention is lavished on the wardrobes of the warriors, which have developed from the long parade of more functional “rattan-wrapped bows” in *The Tale of the Heike* to pageantry fit for a bureaucratic class whose grandparents were active warriors but who themselves spent more time behind a desk than a stockade. To cite only the tail end of the long procession passage, this time in the Tenri version:

To see the greater and the lesser lords of the various provinces riding each upon his own horse, each sporting a tasseled rump-bridle, was a spectacle like the rows of

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treetops in full bloom in Saga or Mt. Yoshino: there was nothing to tell one from all
the rest. And by and by, there they were at the River Sagami.\(^{57}\)

These passages in seventeenth-century warrior literature have more in common with the
rehearsals of courtiers’ exquisite wardrobes and court ceremonial from the *Genji* than
with anything in the *Heike*.

*Shizuka*, by contrast, is part of the culture of travel which was growing in tandem
with the Tokugawa Peace. Shortly before its composition, the Zen monk and cultural
giant Takuan Sōhō (1573–1645) visited the Sagami area and left a diary which became
one basis of a literary-inspired travel industry there by the early eighteenth century. This
in turn was to evolve throughout that century into a tourist trade complete with an array
of memorabilia for sale,\(^{58}\) while popular writers came out with a series of Sagami-themed
narratives.\(^{59}\) Whereas during the centuries of civil war travel was a risky proposition only
undertaken by the well-protected or the desperate, it now became a recreational activity
within the reach of urban commoner women, who begin to leave travel diaries of their
own. Cultured townsmen of Edo, meanwhile, created a new market for leisure and
pleasure at coastal sites like Mishima,\(^{60}\) which came to be memorialized in hospitality

\(^{57}\)諸国の大名小名、心／馬にのり、思い／の、ふさりがひをかけ、うつたち給ふありさまは
さがや吉野の花ぎたり、枝をならぶふぜいにて、それとわくべきやうもなし、ほとなくさか
み川につき給ひける。

\(^{58}\) Laura Nenzi, “Cultured Travelers and Consumer Tourists in Edo-Period Sagami”, *Monumenta Nipponica*

\(^{59}\) Nenzi 312.

\(^{60}\) Nenzi 304.
and sex industry guidebooks as in the previous century they had appeared in our
Shizuka’s road poem.

...and even now they see/

the sea by the three isles of Mishima, Hatsunegahara, and Hakoneyama

where the dawn comes quick... 61

Hakoneyama also became a defining site in the tourist geography of Sagami: known as
the site of a checkpoint with rather inflexible policies, it became the southern limit of the
zone in which Edo townspeople would come for short tourist trips. One of the townsman
literati who did the most to popularize Sagami tourist sites was Ōta Nanpo (1749–1823),
a poet of the kyōka “crazy verse”, which brought humorous and erotic content to the
thirty-one-syllable waka form. An anecdote survives of his having given a three-graph
Sino-Japanese literary moniker to one of his favorite inns, which proceeded to produce a
series of souvenir plates stamped with Nanpo’s new name for the establishment. 62 As it
happens, he has left ownership seals on the Shizuka libretto now in Paris, so although it is
unclear whether this play contributed directly to the Sagami tourist industry, it is likely
that it contributed to a townsman tourist like Nanpo’s understanding of Sagami and the
Japanese spatial dynamics of East and West.

Conclusion

We have seen how Shizuka rewrites the ballad Sagamigawa as a puppet play,
replacing all central characters with female equivalents and taking mono no aware as a

61 いまもみじのはつねか原。あけやすかりしはこね山。

62 Nenzi 305.
central theme, making it drive interactions between characters in a way that differs from and yet anticipates the role which Motoori Norinaga claims to see it playing in *The Tale of Genji*. Instead of ghosts, Yoritomo is now haunted by Shizuka and her mother with the backhanded encouragement of his wife Hōjō Masako, and this plot is laced with sentiments and perspectives that would have appealed to urban commoner businesswomen like Motoori Norinaga’s mother, who sent him to study literature in Kyoto rather than inherit the family cotton business. Meanwhile, there is one more ownership seal on the *Shizuka* libretto in Paris: with the sign of the elephant which was his personal seal, Ishizuka Hōkaishi (1799–1861) has also left his mark there. Hōkaishi was born into a flour manufacturing family in Kanda, Edo, but he became a celebrated writer of tales of the pleasure district, kabuki plays, and advertising copy. Known also as a collector of warrior literature, maps, libretti, and erotic literature, it is most relevant to our discussion of *Shizuka* that he was the center of a salon that included Ryūtei Tanehiko, author of *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* “A Fraudulent Murasaki’s Bumpkin Genji”.

This series of low-brow adaptations of the *Genji* touched off a boom in popular reception of that tale in media from comic books to clothing which would build throughout the nineteenth century. However, a century and a half before that, *Shizuka* also transmitted a certain popular understanding, or misunderstanding, of this classic work. *Shizuka* connects its story to the classic first via the phrase *mono no aware*, like Norinaga, but it also does so simply via the word “Genji”, which is also the Sino-Japanese name for Yoshitsune and Yoritomo’s Minamoto clan. When Shizuka and

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her mother stop at a Minamoto clan shrine near Koshigoe on their way to Kamakura, they make the following associative leap.

*So then, this is the god of the Genji, the clan of Young Murasaki, they thought, and fond memories were seen to season their worship.*

The main character of *The Tale of Genji* is known as Genji because, in the most general sense of that word, he is a member of the imperial family who has been made a commoner. Meanwhile, Yoshitsune’s is only one of many Genji families, the Seiwa Genji, to which the Minamoto (and the Tokugawa) traced their lineage. Such quibbles aside, in the seventeenth-century popular imagination as seen in *Shizuka*, Genji’s principal wife Young Murasaki can reasonably be invoked in connection with Yoshitsune because she is a member of the Genji clan. The *Genji* passage goes on to say, “*and the poem written to Prince Genji by Utsusemi, too, is moving indeed.*” Such a poem does in fact end the Utsusemi chapter in the *Genji*, but its content has no particular relevance to the scene of Shizuka visiting Koshigoe. The *Genji* is functioning here as a site of prestige, courtly beauty, and literary knowledge whose actual content popular culture at that point could only aspire to access. Accordingly, in *Shizuka* we have a precursor not only to Norinaga in the theory of *mono no aware* and the boom in Sagami tourist literature, but also an early gesture toward popular *Genji* reception in print media, however rudimentary, two centuries before *Inaka Genji*—as well as yet another descendant of the kōwaka ballad, via *Sagamigawa*.

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64 拝はげんじの氏神．若紫のゆかりとてなつかしきにもふしおかみ．

65 光げんしの御方へうつせみのよみ給ふも．あはれにこそきこゆめれ．
APPENDIX 2A

*Kajiwara’s End: Shizuka Goes East*, transcription, woodblock prints.

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[Woodblock 1]

[Upper Right: Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine]

[Lower Right: Shizuka and her mother talk to a woodcutter on the road]

[Upper Right: The Innkeeper finds Shizuka and her mother chanting the Nembutsu]

[Lower Right: Shizuka, her mother, and Shōjumon’in see Yoshitsune’s & Benkei’s ghosts]
[図3]

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[Top: Shizuka and her mother]

[Bottom: Vision of the Ashura realm, with various warriors]
Shizuka arrives at the Shogunal Palace

Woodblock 3

[Shizuka arrives at the Shogunal Palace]

[Woodblock 3]
[Translation]

The text on the page is in a language that is not clearly readable. It appears to be a mix of characters from different scripts, possibly including Chinese and other East Asian scripts. Due to the complexity and ambiguity of the characters, a precise translation cannot be accurately provided. The text might contain a combination of traditional and modern script styles, making it challenging to interpret.
Woddblock 5
Kajiwara’s End

《花のトンネル遊戯音楽》
《ゆるYoruの藤ノ弄音の譜の手帳》
《森の裸殻おさんか熟睡町の調べえとおり》
APPENDIX 2B

*Kajiwara’s End: Shizuka Goes East, critical edition.*
page 272
逢坂の、それに訪れてた泪をな、絶えぬ清水を見ること。光源氏の御用、空無の詠詞性を

男の楽平や、遙け行く方の恋しと、都を帰り見給ひしも、今なぞらへて知られたり。不らぬ物

は、美濃尾張、熱田の宫立ち伏し拝み、此社の御神、小雫命のいしへ、あつまこひしの給ひ

旅をして、想へて招けり数ふれば、さても多くの国々を、三つの七八電話の、波辺に勾ふ

杜若、た、何事も世の中の、跡の盆原にさらくさらかと音するは、浜松風の吹き落もて、木

の葉見付けの宿かや、弓手を見れば村木立、物淋し退社有り。立よりて見てあれは、巫戸が

命なりしも、照めにしはことしはりと。\n
「なぶ母と年長けて、此所を又越へんとは思さんや」にかう

等は源氏の氏姓、若細のゆかりをと懐かしくも伏し拝み、かなたの方へ遠ばへ、猶神風も

里人きつと帰り見て「永久の比かとよく、甲斐源氏の何がし、石清水を勧請申し給ひける社也

と云ひ捨て、東をさしてぞ過ぎ行きする。
278

11

第28章「我 agrees」

11

第28章「我 agrees」

11

第28章「我 agrees」

11

第28章「我 agrees」
The text is not legible due to the quality of the image. It appears to be a page with text written in a non-Latin script, possibly a language such as Chinese or Japanese. The content is not translatable due to the image quality.
の大将軍仰せ出される事は、そもそも論ずに異なる。あらあさましく心か、又は恥をかき
侍へ。悟らせの旅の道は、返すべくも嫌惡するこそ侍へ。とて袂を焉に押しつつ、さ
御台所に示し召し、思ひでも見よ静の君を。それ侍一人は、何れとでも捔てもか。こと
親子は、忠節深き者ならば、望み申すも謾りも。叶ふまし。似合はしき詐状中せ
借り、日本の賢女を承知しうる珍かさ仰せさ。あの梶原は己が遺恨有る故にさしも忠功
せぎ上総の介を識し、かれを獲ばすのみならず判官をは。逆船の意趣を心に込め
奉る。藩厳も義経の、方人とて、弓手馬手の御力にもならせ給はん。御運枝を、皆滅し奉る。
人々。ひたを散じ中さば、世の争闘は止まずして、乱の基は梶原も。千部万部の國経にて
御供養します共、梶原をそのま、置かせ給ひては、藩厳も判官も、嬉しきと申請げはし、顔
忠の焰鬼とも、怨懣共成り給はん。たへ、梶原を誅伐有れどもの諌言をは。廷臣なる御台様など申
させ給はずや。と理を尽くして攻めかけける。
頼朝公も御台も、あはれに引かされて、心に掛け給はず。頼朝朝顕の給は「やいかに静よ。」
迷いの前の是非は是非共非もとは、汝が事を掩雲ふべさ。尼と成りても安執の、迷ひはいまだ暗
れざるな。
APPENDIX 2C


Chanter’s Proof.

Kiemon, Librettist, Nijō, Kyoto.

**Act I**

Who is best known for *mono no aware*, so courtly and so sad? Isn’t it Yoshitsune’s beloved Madame Shizuka, daughter of the Iso Dowager Legate? After Yoshitsune, the Minister of Justice, had gone off to the Far North, again and again she was called up to Kamakura to dance and sing ballads before Hachiman and, having as a prize received an income, a plot of land for which men risk their lives, she was living free and easy in the fickle, floating world, when she heard that Yoshitsune had been struck down, and so, refusing to bow or bend before such a circumstance, she cut her flowing locks and left the world and, thinking only to pray for Yoshitsune’s enlightenment, together with her mother she shaved her head, dyed her robes black, set up a brushwood hermitage in a place called Shishigatani in Higashiyama, and was passing day and night chanting the Buddha’s name when she heard news from Kamakura and, rejoicing, drew near to Mother Nikō, saying, “Mother! I’ve just had word from Kamakura: it seems there is to be a service for His Lordship the Minister of Justice; ten thousand sutras are to be read at the Cloister of the Gate of Grace. Even to set foot in the garden where those ten thousand scrolls were read would be to forge a karmic link. For the sake of my late lover, come, let us go down to Kamakura and make atonement.”
Her mother Nikō heard this and said, “So they’ll pray for Yoshitsune’s enlightenment, will they? I see why you would be glad to hear that at first, but think about it for a moment. First they kill him, and now suddenly they care about him? Surely Yoshitsune would accept so such sentiment. Why should we take any joy in it? My word, just when it seemed you’d dyed your robes black and left the world, part of your heart is still not dyed to nunnish hue if every time a certain someone’s name is mentioned you forget yourself and pant and pine with that earnest look on your face, when you’re long past your prime and have become a nun and a hermit, one who I would think would have no time for such worldliness. And what is more, take care lest you meet with hardship at the hands of quick-eyed Kajiwara! Even just to think of it on awakening at dawn after a night of fitful sleep: ah, it’s Kamakura that I hate!” So she spoke, sobbing and in tears.

Sister Shizuka replied, “Well might you say that, but if you leave him unremembered by old Yoritomo who it seems will never do us the favor of dying, surely he will resent it. Hands clasped in prayers of remembrance are My Lord’s hands of blame for shogunal sins: how can anyone escape? And what is more, that hateful Kajiwara is evil in the sight of My Lord. I hear the whole clan keep company with him, and he himself is holed up safe in his domain, so that now all Kamakura breathes easy—so please let me go down there, even if all alone, disguised as a noble pilgrim on her way back East from Kumano.” So she spoke, wailing.

“If that’s how it is then I, your mother, will go on down there with you.”

“Well then, let’s get ready,” and they put on their travel clothes and went down (michi yuki) in the direction of Kamakura.

*Out they went, Shizuka and her mother together:*
provisioned with travel porridge that must be watered down/
down below wearing straw sandals, with no place to lay their heads/
heading through a mist of tears, for such austere travel/
travel wimples tied up with rain hats of woven sedge,
bamboo staves to lean on in this time so out of joint,
living out of nothing but their nunnish shoulder packs/
packed with dirt and dust throughout/
throughout each heart now blackness like the ink of their nun’s robes/
robes hitched up to wend their way through difficult terrain,
and what is more, they set off in the middle of the night,
since all the world’s a burning house in any case,
and yet by now even a brushwood hermitage had begun to seem like home;
nevertheless, for her heart’s burning for the one she loved they left it and wandered on,
and she said, “How now, my dear mother! Is it not passing strange,
how back in the Tenryaku era my true love the Minister of Justice
fled Mt. Yoshino, pretending to be a mountain ascetic come down from the heights,
and now here we are disguised as Kumano pilgrims on their way back East,
leaving the Capital and the Sovereign’s ninefold palace all behind:
come to think of it, what a deep bond we share!
The links of love which last two lifetimes, one rebirth:
in what world might we meet again/
Awataguchi, the eastern road out of the City,
for a trace of My Lord now lost, I hunt

in the hunting grounds of Katano, oh, where will it end

the east end, Yamashina district, with such misfortune to meet

the meeting-hill, Ausaka Checkpoint

never to be checked my tears, which might be thought to flow

like the pure, unceasing waters of Kiyomizu with its temple,

and the poem written to Prince Genji by Utsusemi, too, is moving indeed.

Already we are gone beyond Ishibe and Minakuchi, far the road to Ikuno

now here we go, here indeed the seashore at Kuwana,

and Narihira that man once upon a time,

who looked back toward the Capital, longing for places he’d passed by:

retracing his steps now I know his mind.

The one thing you cannot know is the end of your own life;

to spell it out in place names: Mino-Owari.

Worshiping at the Atsuta shrine, way station on the road to the Northeast,

where the god once gave the oracle, a-tsu-ma-ko-hi-shi,

which is why the Northeast countries were named Azuma.

I too am crying, ah, tsuma koishi, ‘Ah, I miss my beloved!’

a deranged woman wanderer I will surely now become

coming to the shallows of Narumigata,

the aji fish which fill the seas

off the village of Aji,
and that sound is the pounding of the raging waves
against the white pebbles of the shore, I have just realized/

eyes turned back at the long road on which I’ve traveled:
now that I stop to count them, how many

the provinces I’ve traveled though—three, four, seven, eight bridges/
of Yatsuhashi, the irises glowing by the riverbank,
and all the things of this world are to me but memories/

the sighing breeze comes sweeping, sweeping down
through the pines on the shore, and I find the pine needles/
the checkpoint with its inn, and looking toward the bow-hand side
a cluster of trees grow, and there is a lonesome old shrine.

Stepping closer I find it in a state of complete decay,
the sound of the shamans’ tabors having long ago gone silent,
though of course the gods too are but sentient beings subject to samsara,
and since I know not what god this is I stop a moment thinking to ask a villager,
and just then an aged mountain man comes by with some cuttings on his back.
Say, let me ask you, villager: to what god does this shrine belong?”

The villager snapped his head around just long enough to say, “In the Eikyū era, perhaps
it was, a certain lord of the Genji clan of Kai built it as a sub-shrine of Iwashimizu
Hachiman,” and he went on by off to the East.

So then, this is the god of the Genji, the clan of Young Murasaki, they thought,
and fond memories were seen to season their worship.

As they set off once again in their original direction
the divine wind blew more and more strongly/

strong-walled Fukuroi in Shizuoka, each setting hopes/

the settlement at Kakegawa town,

and passing by Nissaka they were at Sayo no Nakayama,

the very spot where Saigyō once looked out and sang,

“How could I have guessed that I would come this way again? That’s life,”:

well might he have had such thoughts.

“As advanced in years as we are, my dear mother, do you think that we shall ever pass this way again?”

Nikō, hearing this, composed a poem:

“Very possibly not! it makes me think how very full

is life in this world of joy and sadness both.

To relieve the toils of travel, dear, let your verse answer mine.”

By and by Shizuka hazarded this response:

“The moon shadows at Sayo can clear even a cloudy sky.”

Thus playfully she sang, and in this world it is surely a delight

when those with tales to tell do not keep mum/

and here’s Chrysanthemum River, Shimada, Fujieda, Utsunoyama Peak/

peek though she would here and there, he was gone from all but memory/

the moors of Nakanuma, where the wind sweeps up from shore and purifies/

the Pureview Shallows, and looking at Mt. Fuji they see thin clouds trail along/

long the distance to that peak, famous its name,
known to Kaguya-himê, so indeed those with a karmic link

will come around someday, and even now they see/

the sea by the three isles of Mishima, Hatsunegahara, and Hakoneyama

where the dawn comes quick, past the town of Great Riverbed

by Sagami Bay, and other, smaller riverbeds, too,

and there they were, arrived at Koshigoe,

and the trials of their journey faded all away.

With one thing and another they were truly moving,

Shizuka and her mother, in a way that no mere tongue can tell.

Act II

Then—oh, the poor things! Sister Shizuka and Mother Nikô together, rather than going on to Kamakura, took shelter at Koshigoe, and when they had rested there a while, they said, “Today at last we will arrive at the Cloister of the Gate of Grace in Kamakura,” and Shizuka accompanied Mother Nikô as they hurried along toward Kamakura, and in no time at all there they were, arrived at that great temple.

And then, drawing near to Yoshitsune’s grave, she burned incense and laid flowers, saying, “Praise, oh praise the Buddha Amitabha of the West: deign to help Lord Yoshitsune, Minister of Justice, in the world beyond!” and she bowed and did obeisance in tears, and did all manner of atonement on his behalf, and her recitation was truly moving to behold. “Ah, what a miserable turn! To think that by some unknown bond of karma I met and came together with you all unplanned, and before I’d even had a chance to take you for granted as the days and nights went by, here you are lying in this temple
yard: I miss you so much that my heart leaps up in my chest—so will you let me go home empty-handed, having come here all the way from the Capital in vain, without showing me your face?” she said, and, not caring to keep composure before others all around, she lifted up her voice and wept.

Her mother Nikō heard this and, saying, “Foolish girl! Get away from there!” pulled her back from the grave, but Shizuka went on, deranged: “Just one word! Even just, ‘Is that you, Shizuka?’ Oh, my lord the Absentee Minister, oh my Yoshitsune!” and, facing the stone tower, she struck out and beat the air and shed hot, burning tears.

Holding back tears of her own, her mother said, “Oh what a woeful thing, that when we’ve come to pray for his enlightenment, you speak to him as if he were a living man: to think on the Buddha while weeping and wailing so wantonly, caught in clouds of worldly clinging, will only do you harm, my dear. Let us keep praying for his enlightenment, coming back to worship day by day,” and pulled her back, giving her many such admonishments, and Sister Shizuka, taking her mother as a reason to keep living, took leave of that place weeping all the way.

Then, saying, “Let us look for shelter,” each one took the other’s hand and followed the road that stretched on and on like a jeweled spear, and with no one to show the way they wandered in among the grasses of the field, and it was not long before that day’s tear-stained sun had set, and it was dusk. Mother Dowager said, “Ah, I was so busy weeping that I forgot the setting sun: come, let us hurry along the road!” and although she tried her best it was not meant to be, for the sun had fully set at last, and in the dark of night they could not make out the way ahead, though from where they happened to be, they could see dimly off to one side a lantern. At this, Sister Shizuka said, “Come now,
let us take the light of that lantern for our guide to go and beg shelter for the night.” “Yes, let’s,” said her mother, and as they passed on by Odawara they found there was a simple
hermitage, a single hut in which to dwell in plain austerity.

Sister Shizuka drew near and said, “How now! Tonight I must ask your help!” and an old man came out and said, “What is it?” Shizuka held back her tears and said, “We are from the Capital, but between there and here we lost our way, and what is more the sun went down, and so we ask that you lend us a room for the night.” The old man answered, saying, “That is easy enough to do, but think how it would look: I couldn’t possibly.” Shizuka spoke again. “I don’t care how it looks. With my aged mother by my side, as I stand here I beg of you, please: one night!” she wailed.

The old man was moved. “Well, in that case I will give you shelter. Right this way,” and he let them in, saying, “This here is a beach which opens out onto a place called the Yui shore, and so you must think of it as a mere pillow of grass in a hut of reeds. On a misty moonlit night at the end of the third month, I have no bedclothes to spread for you: oh pitiable this small mat of moss!”

Shizuka’s mother heard this and said, “I am a practicing ascetic after all: what discomfort do I fear?” and looking around she saw there was a standing figure of the Buddha Amitabha in a reliquary. There was also a bell and a wooden mallet, so she said, “What a happy thing! Sister Shizuka, use these to intone the Song of the Buddha’s Name!” Sister Shizuka, rejoicing, said, “Won’t you intone it with me?” and she drew near to the reliquary, burned incense before the Thus-Come One, took bell and mallet in hand, and, chanting, “His light illuminates all,” she sang the Song of the Buddha’s Name. Though she was but a sentient being subject to samsara, it was more than any tongue can tell.
So then she sang:

“Praise the Buddha Amitabha, praise Amitabha.
I hear that those who meditate on ’Mita will be forgiven countless sins
and achieve rebirth in the Pure Land, and so,
O ghost of Yoshitsune, appear without constraint!
Praise the Buddha Amitabha, > Buddha Mita.
They say as far as the net of His vow spreads,
all together are redeemed,
and so, women being especially sinful, save us!
Praise the Buddha Amitabha.

Burning incense lights the way
through the dark road darker than darkness itself.
The light of the moon of the Thus-Come One
is pure and purifies the heart,
praise the Buddha Amitabha.

> At sunup and sundown storm winds blow and strip the trees,
and it’s then the wind of desire seeps into my bones,
a source of seething sadness,
to have wandered in among the snows of Mt. Yoshino,
but only have pity on the soul of that one who once came in to me,
praise the Buddha Amitabha.
How could I forget those prophetic words we spoke
and sealed our fates for the two lifetimes’ span of a lovers’ bond?

But you, have you forgotten, My Lord?

Part the petals of the lotus blossom,
the jeweled platform on which we will be reborn,
and wait for me there, praise the Buddha Amitabha.

Through the gate of the universal promise of salvation
I go together with my beloved,
the boat of the dharma floating merrily along,
and the oarsmen’s song goes heave, ho,
heave, ho, on to yonder shore:
we’re going to paradise, praise the Buddha Amitabha.

If His vow came true even for Gautama
who looked after his own benefit,
then surely you must have achieved Pure Land rebirth,
praise Amitabha, praise the Buddha Amitabha, Buddha Mita.

I pray that by His merit my lord the Minister of Justice
Yoshitsune might achieve rebirth in the Pure Land,
the paradise of the West, praise the Buddha Amitabha, Mita Buddha,”

and having made such sincere intercession she set the wooden mallet down right where she was and wept unceasingly.

The old man heard this and said, “What efficacious intercession! Your words to Yoshitsune just now about parting the petals of the jeweled lotus platform and waiting for
you there: truly you are a minister of the dharma and no ordinary person! The truth is that I, too, am a friend of Lord Yoshitsune, who having received his grace in abundance served by his side to the end at Takadachi, and after Our Lord had ended his life, in order to pray for his awakening I went to where they’d hung his head at the prison gate, made a reliquary, and day and night I make intercession. You must be connected to him somehow, too. Do tell me your name.”

The nuns heard this and said, “What use is it to hold back now? My name is Shizuka. I panted and pined for Our Lord so that I was reduced to my present condition, and longing for him has brought me here. If you were his companion, please tell me all about the your time with him. At least let me hear that,” and again she wept inconsolably.

The old man heard this and said, “That is easily done. Let me tell you the story of Takadachi. Now at that time, the twenty-eighth day of the fourth month of the fifth year of Bunji it was, and Nagasaki no Shirō took some seven thousand horse and pressed in upon Takadachi. In the castle were Benkei first of all, then the Suzuki brothers, Washino-o Kataoka, Kumai Tarō, Gempachi Hirotsuna, and Hizen no Heishirō: just these eight, prepared their defense. They sliced their way around the four points of the compass, the eight directions, striking down many a foe as they went, but after each charge the greater force would send in reinforcements, and our band, being the lesser force, with no more troops to send in, were struck down to a man. And so with Kanefusa attending, I ended my life with a quiet heart. A tale whose pathos is not exhausted in the telling.

With what words might I tell all that betided me?/

the eventide waves beat against the shore,

and in the hour before dawn the tide goes out,
and by and by, in come the battle cries of the ashura realm.

Let me tell you of that time, do not awaken
from the dream-bridge that connects you
to the woeful life of Yoshitsune,”
and all at once he vanished, lost to view.

The two nuns started in surprise, saying, “So was that old man the ghost of Yoshitsune?” and at the sadness of parting from him both mother and child wept and wept, awaiting the dawn, and what an affecting sight it was.

And by and by it was the hour before the dawn, and whether in reality or a dream they could not tell, but Minamoto no Yoshitsune came and appeared before them wearing full armor, saying, “I am the ghost of Yoshitsune, but oh how futile your lamentations and pleas that I come and exchange words with you!

A fallen flower returns not to its place upon the branch;
a mirror shattered never again will show an image clear.

Nevertheless, floating on the rushing waves of no shallow karma,
bottomless, at the crossroads in the ashura realm,
where in flames of overweening rage
I become a demon to torment myself,
and sink like a stone in the sea of life and death.”

Then Nikō said, “Oh, what nonsense you talk!

It’s from the heart that the sea of life and death springs
at the Springtime of the full moon’s perfect circle of truth
in the sky this night the clouds have cleared from my mind.
Yoshitsune’s ghost choked back tears and said,

“Thinking back on my old home in jambu, the world of mortals,
the long years on years that I’ve been gone,
a wayfarer on the nighttime road of dreams,
it seems I am a model of the journey hereafter.
Since from of old the road of life and death goes but one way only,
the water flows on, not stopping for anyone, no matter who,
and after it has all gone sadly away,
to mourn only intensifies the torments
of an ashura like me, fleeting thing that I am.”

Again Shizuka spoke, saying, “Thank you!
Oh, what joy to hear your voice and see you in person!
But how awful to hear of your torments, at which my heart is broken/
brocade in diamond weave, the rain of tears
which makes me sink into a fitful sleep and darkens my sleeves:
oh what a regrettable bond! Oh I beg you,
quickly come and take this body of dew so surely bound to vanish!
I would share in My Lord’s grief,
not accounting it separate from my own!”

and she could not hold back her tears a moment longer.

The ghost said,

“Well then, let me give you a rough account of the sorrows of the ashura realm.
Now the torments of Yoshitsune last twenty-six hours without a break,
and meanwhile the echo of the taiko drums of the ashura realm

and the sound of the battle cries are as terrifying as bolts of lightning.

The horrors of the heights where one keeps one’s long-sword whetted

are like nothing so much as the quaking of the earth.

When friend and foe are sorted, who will be my enemy in the ashuras’ daily fray?

What! The Heike band again! Yasuhira and the rest!

Kiso Yoshinaka comes riding in across:

oh, what a formidable figure you cut,

though we know already which of us has the skills to win!

Lost in thought, my focus breaks /

breaking in and scattering enemy troops,

cutting them down and dashing away,

sometimes on boats, sometimes on land,

the tips of arrows fall like rain, felling man on man;

the wind’s a wall of pikes, but the sleeves of my armor whirl about

as I break loose again and again, flipping and reeling, on and on,

and suddenly the skyline of mountains and sea quakes,

that horizon of life and death by which I return to Jambu, the mortal world,

and the battle cries of enemies, the roaring of my friends,

and the moon glows with the glint of blades,

the water reflects the clashing of helmets,

and all I see day in and day out

are these scenes of armies clashing,
as on the field of battle high and low /
like tidewater and rain do ebb and flow, far upon the ocean-roads,
upon the waves of the Western seas, the four seas,
and on and on I push and slash and go on the attack.
Those sins which belong to the Heike
round and round they work like the little-wheel flower,
and now are charged to Yoshitsune’s account,
and I float and sink down into a roaring sea of fire
chooking on the smoke, and who’s to blame for my heavy heart
if not the Lord of Kamakura, against whom I bear grudges beyond count /
the Count of Michinoku lent me his fortress at Takadachi,
where I made my famous last stand. Oh, pray for me!”

and, becoming a Springtime dream which rises up from the waves, he vanished, lost to view. Yoshitsune was a moving sight to see, in a way no tongue can tell.

[Act IV]

And then Her Ladyship the wife of Yoritomo, a daughter of Hōjō clan, known as Lady Asahi, full of grace, the wisest woman in Japan, being a person of feeling, when she heard that Shizuka and her mother had together taken vows to pray for Yoshitsune’s enlightenment and come down to Kamakura, she drew near to Yoritomo, saying, “Goodness me! I hear that Shizuka has become a nun and come as far as Koshigoe to intercede and make atonement, and here I thought sure that one, the same daughter of the Iso Dowager Legate who took on all comers and let them have their way with her, must
be worn out with lust, but no, she’s given up that land you gave her: she must truly have loved Yoshitsune. Women are the same whether noble or base, and so I feel great solidarity and sympathy for her. Oh surely we can afford to call her here; I would like to meet her.”

Yoritomo heard this and said, “I have heard that that bhiksuni is especially efficacious, but it would be careless for the shogun’s wife to meet with her for no good reason. And whatever do you mean by suggesting that someone in your position could have thoughts in common with her?”

Her Ladyship heard this and said, “I’ve been holding back until now because it’s an embarrassing matter, but let me tell you a story in connection with this petition of mine.

*When I married you, My Lord,*

*it was my prayer that ‘a thousand nights together would make me no more tired of you than a single night,’ as in Tales of Ise,*

*so I was parted from my father Tokimasa*

*and joined you in exile in the mountains of Izu,*

*and how many days of peace and quiet do you think I got before you started asking me to get my father’s help for you always/*

*Izumoji the god of marriage who was not sparing with his visits,*

*and just when I thought we’d settled back down in our mountain home,*

*and you swore up and down there would be no more disturbances,*

*My Lord had to deal with the local Heike magistrate Yamagi,*

*and then you lost the Battle of Ishibashiyama,*
and whether you were going to do yourself harm
or go off on the run to Awa or Kazusa or what—
no one could tell me whether you were alive or dead:
you may as well learn what was in my mind during that time.
If you were to die and leave me behind, I could have ended my life, too,
but in that case there would be no one of the Genji clan left alive,
and who would pray for the enlightenment of our children?
I at least would have to stay behind, cutting off my hair
changing my appearance, and making intercession—
weighing my choices one against the other my mind and spirit were troubled,
so I have nothing but sympathy for Shizuka right now:
after all, she and Yoshitsune were close;
she cannot just forget such an attachment,
and so she has become a nun.
If we were to extend her a sincere invitation, she would appreciate it.”

Yoritomo was convinced, so he dispatched a palanquin to fetch her, saying,
“Bring me Shizuka.” By and by a messenger was sent out. The messenger arrived at the place where Shizuka was staying, and said, “You have received a summons from My Lord. Hurry, hurry!”

Her mother Nikō heard this and said, “Here we go again: this can’t end well,” and her spirit and soul melted away. Sister Shizuka said, “Oh my dear mother, what are you moaning about? You cannot go around saying you’re a nun and expect to preserve your
life. Let us go home at last. You there, wait for us!” and, pushing Nikō into the back, Shizuka was on her way.

As the palanquin bearers brought her in, they pushed their way through the crowds, saying, “When Our Lord is inside we hide our faces, thinking, this is his palanquin, this is his cart! But who is this we’re carrying now? Some ascetics who came all the way from the capital on foot, that’s who. I wonder how much longer the road is from here to the Shogunal Palace. You there, make way!” and they hurried along to the Shogunal Palace. Old Sister Shizuka was feeling happy, in a way no tongue can tell.

[Act V]

So then they arrived at the Shogunal Palace, and by and by they came in audience before His Lordship. Yoritomo saw them and said, “Lady Shizuka, what an uncommon pleasure. Come here, come here!”

Her Ladyship had the blinds pulled up high to expose her and said, “Lady Shizuka, what an uncommon pleasure.

_Though you are still young in years,_

_at the height of your blossoming beauty,_

_and yet should thus soak with tears_

_the sleeves of a gown dyed black—_

_I cannot help but feel for you and be moved._

So where do you spend your time these days?”

Shizuka answered and said, “When the news that Yoshitsune had been struck down reached us in the Capital,
I was reduced to the state you see me in,
and leaning on a bamboo staff
and taking for my only shelter a rain hat of woven sedge,
I set off with no earthly aim at all,
and around the world I wander.”

Her Ladyship heard this and said, “Oh what a sad state you are in; it is a pitiable thing to wander aimlessly. At the Temple of the Auspicious East in Matsugaoka, Her Ladyship Yoritomo’s aunt was a bhiksuni. She used to live there, but recently she passed away. You shall be established there. Live at this temple, pray for Yoshitsune’s enlightenment, and go to his mausoleum and to the Cloister of the Gate of Grace to make intercession. Now and then if you feel like it, do come here to the Shogunal Palace. With the temple lands you may do whatever you want. But perhaps living here in the East would still be hateful to you. If there is a temple in the Capital that strikes your fancy, only name it, don’t hold back, and we will give it to you with all its lands.”

Shizuka held back tears and said, “Oh, thank you! This too is thanks to the Minister of Justice Yoshitsune’s grace. No matter what I do, longing for the past tugs at me, and I have become deranged and cannot let my mind rest anywhere. By simply enjoying my mendicant’s life I am able to forget my feelings, and so, begging your pardon, I think I will continue to practice my austerities. Now, if you’ll excuse me…”

“I will not!” said Her Ladyship. “How bizarre of you, Sister Shizuka, to throw away the world for such a narrow preoccupation! But as long as flesh and bone remain unsundered, though one make the mistake of a lifetime and, say, choose a bad mate, hope
springs eternal in the human heart. If you have any wish, whatever it is, only tell it to me now. I shall bestow it upon you.”

Then Yoritomo said, “Truly you are in a pitiable position, especially now that I hear you still have your mother to take care of: if there is anything you wish, only say the word.”

“Oh, thank you! It is as you say: people never stop having hopes and dreams in this world; let me tell you what I wish. I would be most grateful if you would bring this old nun the heads of Kajiwara and his sons,” said Lady Shizuka with aplomb.

To this quite unexpected petition, Lord Yoritomo and Her Ladyship were unable to make any answer. After a moment or two Yoritomo said, “Shizuka! Just when I thought you had left the world, shaved your head, and put on the cloth of mercy and endurance as a nun of the five precepts, but for you to love the taking of life gives the lie to any appearance of morality. Make a different wish!”

The nun heard this and said, “I’m telling you, as long as flesh and bones last, the three delusive attachments of gluttony, wrath, and ignorance will not go away. What did you mean by saying you’d grant my wish when you knew from the start I’m an ordinary sinner? Only say the word, my foot! I hate to say it, but what comes out of the mouth of the great Shogun of Japan is nothing if not valid and binding: your word is law. Oh, what a disgraceful mind you have! Go on and incur more shame with your lies. I’ll say it again: falsehood mixed with pity is disgraceful, Your Lordship!” and she pressed her sleeve against her face and wept inconsolably.

Her Ladyship heard this and said, “Think a moment, Shizuka. It is no easy thing for us to part with our samurai, even one, no matter who. Kajiwara and his sons have
shown deep loyalty, so you are remiss in making such a wish. It’s not going to happen. Make a petition that is appropriate.”

Shizuka reared her head and said, “Your Ladyship’s personage surpasses Ehuang and Nüying, the wives of Emperor Shun, and your counsels are better than those of Tai Si, wife of King Wen of Zhou. So how strange that the wisest woman in Japan should speak so. That Kajiwara bore a private grudge against the Governor of Kazusa, a model of loyal service, so he slandered him and brought him down, and what is more his stubborn commitment to his own opinion in the Reverse Oars Controversy brought about the Minister of Justice Yoshitsune’s downfall. His Lordship’s other brother Noriyori sided with Yoshitsune and was to him a source of strength on the left and the right, with the horse and the bow. All your august siblings were brought low. How can anyone see that public enemy Kajiwara and say he is a loyal minister? He is such an evil man that one could see him drawn and pulled into eight pieces and still think he’d gotten what was coming to him. Accordingly, if he should go on scattering the people of the realm, storm and strife will never cease, and the root of all the rebellion will be Kajiwara. Though you have a thousand, ten thousand sutras copied, if you leave Kajiwara unpunished, neither Noriyori nor Yoshitsune will be happy about it, and in teeming flames of rage they will become demons or vengeful spirits to haunt you. Hunt down Kajiwara and bring him to justice! Your Ladyship is a minister of state; can you not deliver to His Lordship even such an admonishment as this?” Thus did she go on the attack, using all the reasonable arguments she had.

Yoritomo and Her Ladyship could not help but be moved, and their resolve was shaken. Again Yoritomo spoke, saying, “Heigh, what there, Shizuka! It must have been
you they were talking about when they made the old saying, that when one is under some
delusion, trying to judge right and wrong, right or wrong, will end up wrong. Though
you’ve become a nun, your deluded clinging hasn’t eased up one bit, has it?”

Again Shizuka spoke, saying, “Well, a mistake of a thousand miles begins with a
single step. Water does not change, but to heavenly beings it is sweet ambrosia, to fish it
is a royal palace, a lofty pavilion, and to people it is water: enlightenment and delusion
are one and the same. It pains me to say it, Lord Yoritomo, but the state of your mind
grieves me.”

Her Ladyship struck back, saying, “Yours is a vulgar wish. So tell me, why would
My Lady cut her lovely locks and take on a cleric’s role? The essence of a nunnish life is
to cast off encumbrances and with devotion to return to nothing. Learn to pay your
enemies back with grace! Have a heart that does not feed into violent strife!”

Shizuka said, “Just as Sugawara no Michizane long ago is said to be Huan Wen
reborn, from of old down to the present there is precedent for resentment when one sinks
under the weight of a false accusation—to say nothing of an ordinary sinner like myself.
Each Buddha and Bodhisattva, no matter how efficacious, has his own lotus-petal throne.
It’s all for mercy’s sake that you, too, put on armor and helmet, take up bow, arrow, and
pike, and tame the evil demons. Whose good name will Kajiwara slander next and make
his blameless wife and children wail? Bringing those two to justice will save multitudes,
and so it will be a great bodhisattva vow, to the benefit of one and all,” she said with all
her strength, caring nothing for her composure.

Lord Yoritomo and his wife alike were struck dumb by the right reason in this.
And at that very moment, Wada and Chichibu first of all, Yūki no Tarō Tomomitsu,
Genkurō Mochinaga, Tsunetane of Chiba, Oyama no Shichirō Tomomasa, great lords of storied deeds, thirty-six in all, had just been consulting among themselves how to denounce Kajiwara before His Lordship at the Treasure Hall of Wakamiya, High Priest of Tsurugaoka Hachiman, and so Yūki no Tarō Tomomitsu came forward and said, “What Shizuka says is no lie. The fact is that if Kajiwara is allowed to remain in this world, many more people will sink under the weight of false accusations. I say, you should give Shizuka what she asks for,” and Wada, Chichibu, and the rest, all thirty-six of them, one and all echoed her petition.

Yoritomo said, “If that is the situation, then let Kajiwara and his sons be rooted out, in accordance with Shizuka’s plea.” Sister Shizuka heard this and said, “Thank you! Thank you!” and she left the Shogunal Presence, as meanwhile Kajiwara heard of this and, his spirit, mind, and body all aquiver, jumped onto a barebacked horse and tried to flee under cover of night, but he failed to see Utsunomiya Yasaburō practicing archery and rode on through without dismounting, right between the arrow and the target.

Yasaburō saw this, said, “It is impossible to countenance riding by a bowman without dismounting,” and with that he drew the bowstring back to the full and sent an arrow howling forth. It sank into the flesh behind poor Kajiwara’s bridle-hand-side ear, and he fell down from his horse as the warriors rushed up behind him, saying, “Kajiwara is under the shogun’s condemnation. And to think you shot him down so easily!” and they cut off his head and went home. His Lordship was greatly moved, and as a reward he gave him North County in Iyo Province. Genda and his brother were cut down on the shore at Yui.
Seeing this, people said, “Ever more accomplished in righteous harmony, with the elder showing kind solicitude for the younger and the younger following after the elder, making straight the way of the sovereign and the way of the father—the reign of the Lord of Kamakura is sure to flourish down to the last generation,” in a way that no mere tongue can tell.
CHAPTER THREE
From Agent of Critique to State Ceremonial: Sagamigawa on the Noh Stage

Chapter One of this dissertation showed how the post-kōwaka ballad Sagamigawa was adapted to the illustrated handscroll format for the benefit of petty daimyō patrons by Kyoto urban commoner artisans. Chapter Two did the same with an adaptation of Sagamigawa to the melodramatic style of the townsman-sponsored puppet theatre, again centered around Kyoto. Both of these versions displayed a pronounced resentful energy directed at the archetypal shogun Yoritomo, from the point of view of male and female marginal figures, respectively. This chapter completes Volume One’s study of the multimedia transformations of Sagamigawa by examining a noh play which uses the same narrative material to tell a story with the opposite political, social, and geographical orientation.

This piece, entitled The Bridge Consecration, is a mostly-unproblematic celebration of shogunal authority, firmly grounded in the East with no reference to Kyoto and supported by a sacramental apparatus of ritual spectacle centered around sun imagery. I argue that this rebuilding of Sagamigawa around the bridge consecration ceremony reflects the new function of the noh theatre itself as state ritual for the Tokugawa shogunate, while the sun imagery is a transparent reference to the Tokugawa clan’s growing cult of Ieyasu as a sun god at Nikkō. Meanwhile, Yoshitsune is cut entirely, and Yoritomo’s antagonists are reduced in number to just Taira no Noritsune, who displays pure malice free of interiority or moral claims and is simply exorcized with abandon. Similarly, the action is now driven by Yoritomo’s agents, Shigetada and the High Priest
of Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine, the Kamakura shogunate’s equivalent to Nikkō. In this sense, *The Bridge Consecration* is a control case, to be set against the other pieces in Volume One which were not taken up into establishment discourse in the seventeenth century and so reflect very different concerns.

However, certain details in the chorus’ description of the consecration ritual draw attention specifically to the bare mechanics of ritual substitution and vicarious authority that animates Tokugawa shogunal ideology. This reveals the existence of an astute critical consciousness under the surface even here, and it may explain why *The Bridge Consecration* had already been relegated to extracanonical status in the Kanze school by 1721. As we saw in Chapter One, it is impossible to raise the issue of Yoritomo’s war responsibility, as it were, without casting some doubt on the legitimacy of his authority, even if the ultimate arc of the plot is to absolve him of his “shogunal sins” as Shizuka called them in Chapter Two. Nevertheless, extracanonical status may actually be designed to give the piece some concealability, allowing it to be performed at some venues but not others in the ongoing struggle between warrior bureaucrat clans for cultural capital by means of patronage of the noh. It was this medium onto which the shogunate and the powerful outer-daimyō families like the Maeda had projected their rivalries, as part of their performance of an uneasy alliance under the Great Peace.¹ These battles are so far known in outline from the patronage record, but I believe that further examination is necessary of texts like *The Bridge Consecration* to see how they played out on the level of literary content.

The Noh Sells Out: From Counterculture to Warrior Pastime to Shogunal Sacrament

Noh began to receive the patronage of the warrior class in earnest after the most powerful of the Ashikaga shoguns, Yoshimitsu, saw Kannami and his son Zeami perform in 1374 at Imagumano Shrine. Until then, slightly more diverse traditions of noh, sarugaku in Ōmi and Kyoto as well as dengaku, had attracted a variety of support but seem to have relied mainly on large religious institutions in Nara and Kyoto, and their association is well documented with the outcaste classes traditionally in charge of religious entertainments and temple cleaning. At the sight of the teenaged Yoshimitsu carousing intimately with the preteen Zeami in Yoshimitsu’s private theater box, a courtier famously scoffed in his diary that noh was “an occupation for beggars.” Perhaps because he felt it a fit for the relative newness of warrior rule at the time, Yoshimitsu eagerly embraced not only this lowly performing art but a whole host of novelties in dress and ceremonial, as seen in an account of his 1389 visit to Itsukushima Shrine.

On this occasion [Yoshimitsu’s retinue] changed into strange costumes: a wide-hemmed garment with narrow cuffs called a throw-coat, tie-dyed light indigo in a pattern called diamond-eye or some such, and His Lordship in the same outfit himself, with a red sash, light-green shin-wraps, and red, knee-length breeches. All the Shogunal Retinue bore three-pointed golden swords. It seems the onlookers criticized


\[^3\) Jacob Raz, “The Nō Theatre”, Audience and Actors: A Study of Their Interaction in the Japanese Traditional Theatre (Brill, 1983).\]
him, but he went out of his way to do this sort of thing at every event, civil or religious, following the fashion of the day before all else. He even had special ritual vessels made “in the modern style,” as they say, for use on this occasion, which, if not without precedent in olden times, certainly invited criticism, and that must have complicated things for him.⁴

Although this occasion had nothing in particular to do with noh, we are told that Yoshimitsu expressed similarly subversive tastes on all occasions, and presumably his patronage of the still-marginal noh theatre should be understood in this context. This account was written by a poet in shogunal employ who was present at the time and so likely reflects the image that Yoshimitsu wanted to project of himself on an important political occasion, as this pilgrimage was largely staged to intimidate dissenters in Western Japan.

Those dissenters were to overwhelm his successors, however, and Ashikaga power was steadily eroded throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, plunging the country into an age of civil war until the upstart Nobunaga began the unification of the

country by occupying Kyoto in 1568. Throughout this time, the noh and other
performance traditions lost their outsider status and became a cultured accomplishment
which warlords would perform together, all the while doubtless sizing one another up,
before talking business. For this purpose any serious contender would keep noh actors on
staff, at least as much as a teacher of noh as a performer. Meanwhile, Nobunaga near the
end of his career took the medieval tradition of sacred warrior architecture to a new level
of monumental universalism with his headquarters at Azuchi Castle, completed in 1579.
Recently rediscovered plans show that it had a vaulted open space in the center, with all
floors up to the fifth consisting of hollow rings with balconies so that the first floor
afforded a view all the way up. However, perhaps the most daring feature of this design
was the inclusion of a theater jutting out into this void from the third floor, with a
bridgeway at the fourth-floor level serving as balcony seating. Nobunaga himself
performed and patronized noh, sometimes together with his two strongest subordinates,
Hideyoshi and Ieyasu.

However, at this point noh had not yet monopolized this growing interest in
amateur practice of performing arts by warrior aristocrats. Multiple Edo-period
biographies of Nobunaga relate a story in which he composed himself before a certain
battle by singing these lines from the kōwaka Atsumori.

5 Miyamoto Keizō, “Buke sarugaku no keifu: nō ga bushi no geinō ni naru made”, Nōgaku kenkyū 36
(2011).
7 Morisue Yoshiaki, Chūsei geinōshi ronkō (1971), 131.
A man’s mere fifty years, compared to the eight thousand one spends in the Heaven of Blissful Changes, are like a dream, a phantom. How could anything, once given life, fail to pass away?“8

Furthermore, in what was to be his last year of life, 1582, Nobunaga received Ieyasu with humbled rivals in tow at Azuchi and put on a show of both kōwaka and noh.

At Sōkenji temple in Azuchi, a master from the Kōwaka troupe performed kuse ballads. Next, a sarugaku master from the Tamba Umewaka troupe gave a performance. The Kōwaka bard’s ballad moved His Lordship, and so he was given ten gold coins on the spot. The Umewaka actor’s performance was poor, and although His Lordship was ill-pleased, he was also awarded ten gold coins.9

By this time the noh had become the art to which warlords like Nobunaga attached the most importance and spent the most money on themselves, but this record shows that the kōwaka could still prove decisively more pleasing on certain occasions. After this point, the kōwaka was to disappear from the political mainstream, and so it is by considering the political changes which allowed the noh to continue that we realize the causes of the

8 人間五十年、化天の内をぶれば、夢幻のごとくなり。一度生を受け、滅せぬ物のあるべきか Asahara & Kitahara, Mai no hon, 237.
kōwaka’s contrasting dissolution and rebirth in all the various genres under examination in this dissertation.

After Nobunaga was killed by a treacherous vassal later that same year, Hideyoshi quickly avenged him and took his place as the chief agent of reunification. Immediately he set in place centralization policies whose effects we will see in the Tokugawa noh of *The Bridge Consecration*. From 1582 to 1598 he instituted a nationwide cadastral survey, determining the exact production capacity of the land and thereby laying the foundation for the Tokugawa rice economy. From 1582 to 1591, Hideyoshi instituted a series of bold societal reforms that laid the foundation of the Tokugawa order: confiscating swords to monopolize the means of violence, he instituted a legal distinction between peasants and warriors, locked the peasants down on their land, and drove the warriors off the land and into castle towns. Finally, in the Jesuit expulsion edict discussed in Chapter Four, he took a firm stand against theocracy in any form. Finally, in the early 1590s Hideyoshi adopted the noh as a central means of propaganda for his new political structure and to all appearances also took a great personal interest in it himself, putting on increasingly lavish performances and even having plays written to celebrate his achievement in unifying the realm and situate it in a cosmic context. Meanwhile, he made changes to noh troupe structure that would change the art forever: in 1593 he assigned full stipends to the four

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Yamato schools of Kanze, Komparu, Hōshō, and Kongō, and bringing the troupe heads to live in his headquarters at Osaka Castle.\textsuperscript{12}

After Hideyoshi’s death in 1598 and the defeat of his party to Nobunaga’s other great vassal Tokugawa Ieyasu at the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600, the country was divided along the lines depicted in the roughly-contemporaneous Funaki Kyoto Screens mentioned in Chapter Two: in addition to containing the earliest extant depiction of the puppet theatre, the Funaki screens divide the city between the Tokugawa headquarters at Nijō Castle and Hideyoshi’s ritual complex of Kōdaiji and Hōkoku Shrine.\textsuperscript{13} Hideyoshi’s partisans remained united under his chosen heir up until their final elimination at the two Battles of Osaka in 1615, until which time they engaged in ideological and cultural projects of their own.\textsuperscript{14} However, Ieyasu slowly but steadily claimed more and more rights for himself, taking the title of shogun in 1603, then immediately passing it on to his son Hidetada (r. 1605–1623) and retiring to Sumpu in 1605, so that the Tokugawa shogunate became a two-generation institution in the space of two years. Meanwhile, in his ‘retirement’, Ieyasu worked feverishly to secure his ideological and cultural legacy, commissioning an edition of the Confucian classics and moving the noh troupes from Osaka Castle to Sumpu in 1609.\textsuperscript{15} While they were there, Ieyasu transferred


\textsuperscript{13} Matthew McKelway, Capitalscapes: Folding Screens and Political Imagination in Late Medieval Kyoto (University of Hawai’i Press, 2006).

\textsuperscript{14} Andrew Watsky, Chikubushima: Deploying the Sacred Arts in Momoyama Japan (University of Washington Press, 2003).

\textsuperscript{15} Omote Akira, Kita ryū no seiritsu to tenkai (Heibonsha, 1994), 183.
administrative control of the noh from a special Office of Actors’ Affairs (役者奉行 yakusha bugyō) to the Junior Councilors of State (若年寄 wakadoshiyori) themselves, high officials who wielded political power on a national level.

This greater prestige came at the price of more direct state control even in the short term, for Ieyasu then prevailed upon the Kanze to hand over the earliest of Zeami’s secret treatises, “Transmitting the Flower Through Effects and Attitudes” (風姿花伝 Fūshi kaden). 16 The following year, the Kanze, under which Ieyasu had studied the noh from his youth, failed to attend the annual festival commemorating Hideyoshi at Hōkoku Shrine, and after this the festival quickly died out. Upon his final victory over the Hideyoshi loyalists in 1615, Hidetada moved the noh troupe heads into Edo Castle, creating the basic conditions of noh as state ritual. 17 That same year, the shogunate promulgated the Rules for Warrior Households (武家諸法度 Buke shohatto), which imposed a broad set of restrictions on daimyō, including a requirement of official approval of all marriages. 18 Accordingly, even if the late–seventeenth-century Princeton Sagamigawa scrolls discussed in Chapter One were commissioned as a wedding gift by a daimyō family with anti-shogunal views, the wedding itself was taking place at the pleasure of the shogunate.

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16 Thomas Looser, Visioning Eternity: Aesthetics, Politics And History in the Early Modern Noh Theater (East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2008), 52.
17 Looser 31.
18 Herbert Plutschow, Japan’s Name Culture: The Significance of Names in a Religious, Political and Social Context (Psychology Press, 1995), 153–56.
In the world of noh, the Tokugawa revived Hideyoshi’s practice of official stipends for noh actors in 1618, requisitioning the necessary funds from the daimyō.\textsuperscript{19} This meant that the economic vicissitudes of the noh were tied to the shogunal rice economy, whereas the puppet theatre discussed in Chapter Two and kabuki were patronized by the urban commoners who ran the parallel, monetized economy which Ieyasu had also instituted.\textsuperscript{20} Meanwhile, the Tokugawa power structure took genealogy as its chief ordinal principle, so increasingly elaborate family trees were demanded from most quarters of society, the first major collection of these being published as \textit{Kan’ei shoke keizu den} in 1643, and followed by an equivalent from the noh world, the \textit{Yoza yakusha mokuroku} of 1646. Then in 1647, the shogunate released a set of \textit{Rules for Noh Households} on analogy with the \textit{Rules for Warrior Households}. At the same time, actors were not treated as warriors per se: they were banned from carrying swords in 1683.\textsuperscript{21} Nevertheless, all of the above constituted the foundation of noh as state ceremonial.

In this system of ritual governance, performances were given by professionals in official employ and by officials themselves, from regional daimyō all the way up to the shogun himself. In this way, the noh became a central ideological ritual marking all manner of political events, from the beginning of a new reign to an illness or death in a ruling family. A central feature of the Tokugawa power structure was hierarchy, in which lower structure mirror higher ones, so noh was performed for the public even in remote

\textsuperscript{19} Omote, \textit{Kita ryū}, 184.

\textsuperscript{20} Looser 10.

\textsuperscript{21} Amano & Omote, \textit{Nōgaku no rekishi}, 99.
locales to celebrate the accession to office of the local governor.\textsuperscript{22} At the highest level, the third shogun Iemitsu (r. 1623–1651) would have noh performed when he fell ill, then again when he recovered, and even when he had inauspicious dreams.\textsuperscript{23} At the height of Tokugawa power in the eighteenth century, the shogun Ieshige (r. 1745–1760) would have more than forty-five performances of noh in a month, most frequently at banquets and other gatherings in the inner quarters (中奥 nakaoku) of Edo Castle.\textsuperscript{24} Moreover, a similar pattern can be observed among the daimyō in the provinces, from Tokugawa branch families like the Kii Tokugawa to lesser houses like the Matsuyama of Uda.\textsuperscript{25} At the same time, certain kōwaka performers were also afforded stipends and made to perform at the New Year’s ceremonies at the least, but the art occupied nothing like the central role of the noh as sacrament of centralized rule.\textsuperscript{26} However, the noh \textit{The Bridge Consecration} represents a strain of the kōwaka which jumped that divide and rode to a different fate as a handmaiden of the official discourse.

\textit{A Ceremonial Noh about Ceremonial Noh: The Bridge Consecration as Meta-Discourse}

As we will see, the noh \textit{The Bridge Consecration} was not only a handmaiden but a performance of state ceremonial noh within itself. In lavishing dramatic attention on the bridge consecration ritual itself as performed by the High Priest of Tsurugaoka Hachiman

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{22} Looser 39.}  
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{23} Looser 60.}  
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{24} Looser 54.}  
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{25} Miyamoto Keizō, “Kinai shohan no nōgaku”, \textit{Kamigata nōgakushi no kenkyū} (Izumi Shoin, 2005).}  
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{26} Asahara Yoshiko, “Kōwaka mai no shōchō”, \textit{Kōwaka bukyoku kō} (Shintensha, 1980).}
Shrine, the ritual center of Yoritomo’s shogunate, the piece calls to mind the cult of Ieyasu at Nikkō. Meanwhile, minute descriptions of the substitutional logic that informs the sacramental power of state ceremonial may ultimately betray a critical consciousness regarding this institutional structure. Such a reading would have given the piece interesting resonance at noh sponsored by provincial daimyō, particularly powerful outer houses (tozama) like the Maeda of Kaga Province, whose rivalry with the Tokugawa was displaced onto baroque exchanges of noh patronage and performance on the part of heads of both houses. The piece is known to survive in four libretti, three of which I have transcribed in Appendices 3A–3C, edited in Appendix 4D and translated into English in appendix 4E.

The libretto on which my other two seem to depend is found in the Shimomura collection, a 108-volume manuscript set of extracanonical noh (番外曲 bangaikyoku), with two canonical pieces and one printed libretto mixed in.27 The set is so called because it was owned by the Shimomura, a family of urban commoners who owned the Daimaru department store in Kyoto from 1736 on, and it was transcribed by the noh scholar Nose Asaji (1894–1955) while still in the possession of the Shimomura. However, Nose’s transcription was lost in World War II. Nevertheless, the original set appeared on the market after the war and was bought by the Tenri Library, then passed to the Kō-school hip drummer and scholar of extracanonical noh Tanaka Makoto (1913–2002), who donated it to Hōsei University’s Noh Theatre Research Institute.28 The set includes

27 Unless otherwise specified, all information about the libretti is taken from Tanaka Makoto, Mikan yōkyoku shū, 52 vols. (Koten Bunko, 1963–1980).

multiple plays known to have debuted after 1700, and its binding, which is original, seemed to Tanaka to date to the latter half of the Edo period (after 1750). Its volumes are in at least ten different hands, and their musical notation shows what might be called a completist level of detail typical of late-Tokugawa libretti produced as heirlooms for dilettantes. As can be seen from my transcription, notations are given not only for singing but for drumming and flute patterns and orchestral calls (掛推 kakegoe) as well. However, this practice leads here to inconsistent recording of essential details, often rendering libretti unsuitable as texts from which any one element of a piece can be fully reconstructed. Text and singing notation are found from both upper-school (Kanze and Hōshō) and lower-school (Komparu and Kongō) traditions, with some pieces displaying a mix of singing from one and text from the other, and others very incomplete notation. Again, this suggests that we have here a collection cobbled together from other libretti and not the direct product of performance practice, whether amateur or professional. In the case of The Bridge Consecration, however, the singing notation at least is complete, and it is in lower-school notation, which records a distinction of pitch ( ˊ versus · ) not found in upper-school notation. This is probably because the lower schools received less patronage during the Kanze-dominated Edo period and thus had fewer opportunities to learn the pieces orally.

The second libretto I have transcribed is from the Tayasu collection of extracanonical noh. The Tayasu are a minor branch house of the Tokugawa, but Tanaka thinks the calligraphy, musical notation, and binding are too humble for this collection to have been made originally for a daimyō family. In any case, its seventy handwritten volumes are produced in the same size and stored in the same box as printed
extracanonical libretti collections from 1686, 1689, and 1698, so it is possible it was made as a sequel to these. This set was donated to The Noh Theatre Research Institute by the family of Ejima Ihei (1895–1975), the head of Wan’ya Shoten, publishing house to the Hōshō school of noh. Ejima amassed a large and diverse collection of noh-related materials, which he named Kōzan Bunko.29 Omote Akira (1927–2010) reportedly estimated the bindings of the Tayasu collection to be of late–eighteenth-century vintage and suggested that it may depend on the Shimomura collection. My textual study of this one piece has uncovered no conclusive evidence in this regard, but as in the Shimomura set, The Bridge Consecration is here given with lower-school musical notation.

Finally, my third libretto is the one from which The Bridge Consecration has been known so far: it was the basis of one of the first annotated editions of noh libretti ever made, Ōwada Takeki’s Yōkyoku hyōshaku of 1908. Born on the island of Shikoku, Ōwada studied Japanese and Chinese classics in shogunal schools as a boy, then moved on to learn and teach English, German, and Latin at the newly-minted organs of higher learning of Meiji-period Japan.30 From his youth he studied gagaku court music, but his lifelong love among the performing arts seems to have been the noh: he learned singing under Kanze Kiyotaka, shoulder drum under Ōkura Rokuzō, stick drum under Komparu Iso’o, and hip drum under Ishii Issai, and after the death of Komparu Iso’o he switched to Kanze-school stick drum. By the end of his life in 1910 he seems to have become an enthusiastic supporter of the Japanese colonial project, for he died composing navy songs

while in residence at a temple, and his voluminous papers are lost because his family took
them along to Korea, where they remained in the wake of the Japanese evacuation at the
end of the war. All told, Ōwada made tremendous contributions to the revival of waka
poetry and practically initiated the critical annotation of noh libretti, which had been
ignored until that time. This single-volume collection seems all to be in the same hand,
and most of its musical notation is in the upper-school style, including Sagamigawa. This
libretto is the only one examined here which is written in this musical style, but in fact
there is a three-volume set known as the Burnt-Orange (樫表紙 kababyōshi) Libretti in the
possession of the Kanze house, which I did not examine in preparation for this
dissertation but which also contains The Bridge Consecration and is presumably also in
upper-school notation, so we should consider the balance among surviving manuscripts to
be even. Nishino Haruo believes the Ōwada collection is related to the Shimomura
among others. In fact, it contains authorial attributions which it shares only with the
Shimomura set, so the two may share an ancestor or a tradition. Moreover, every piece in
the Ōwada set is also found in the Kyōhō kakiage, a repertoire list of 1721, with the
pieces often coming in the same order, so it is likely that it represents a repertoire that
was in place before that time.\textsuperscript{31}

The Kyōhō kakiage was part of a large body of similar documents listing the
possessions and capabilities of various classes of people, which were produced at the
order of the shogunate. In the case of noh this included personnel lists, distinctive dance
steps and blockings, and repertoire of pieces performed by each of the noh troupes. Noh
kakiage, one of the earliest examples of which is the O-nō gumi oyobi kyōgen gumi of ca.

\textsuperscript{31} Nishino 156–157.
1661,\footnote{Omote Akira, “Kyōhō rokunen kakiage”, \textit{Nihon shomin bunka shiryō shūsei 3: Nō} (San-Ichi Shobō, 1978), 211.} were part of a larger program of surveillance of the performing arts and indeed all of society which the performing arts were believed to embody and even ritually control.\footnote{Looser 52.}

The \textit{Kyōhō kakiage} was drawn up under the supervision of Ōkubo Narihiro, one of the Junior Councilors of State, at the command of the shogun Yoshimune (r. 1716–1745).

\textit{The Bridge Consecration} appears in the Kanze section, under pieces which were once performed but are now discontinued. The piece does not appear in any of the lists from the lower schools as we have them, but the \textit{Kyōhō kakiage} does not survive in its entirety, so it could have been listed in a portion of the work that is now lost.\footnote{Omote, “Kyōhō rokunen kakiage”.} Accordingly, this fact also does not allow us to associate the piece with either the lower schools or the upper schools in particular. Finally, \textit{The Bridge Consecration} appears in one more source for noh history, a list of pieces entitled 遠キ論組 \textit{Tōki fū no kumi} “A List of Performance Effects of Long Ago” and bearing a colophon stating it was copied in 1711. This list is held by the Ezaki noh family of Himeji, and it bears a cipher (花押 kaō) which is unknown but is said by the current head of the family to resemble that of an Ezaki house head who died in 1754.\footnote{Tanaka Makoto, “Tōki fū no kumi”, \textit{Mikan yōkyoku shū}.} Between these two sources, it seems clear that \textit{Sagamigawa} had become a noh by the end of the seventeenth century at the very latest, and this would mean that \textit{The Bridge Consecration} was gracing daimyō stages at the same time that the
Princeton *Sagamigawa* scrolls and the puppet play *Shizuka* were produced, albeit to very different purposes as a reading of its text will show.

A change in emphasis is apparent from the personnel list on, as the story has been refocused around Shigetada, played by the first Supporting Actor (*waki*), and the High Priest of Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine (*wakamiya no bettō*), played by a second Supporting Actor (*tsure*). These two are surrounded by a Crowd (*tachishū*), a noh acting unit designating a chorus which, unlike the usual Chorus (*jiutai*), dress in costume and act and speak as a crowd of people in the diegetic world of the play. Their precise identity is not indicated by any libretto I consulted, but presumably they are the crowd of warriors and priests in attendance at the ritual, and apparently one among them was representing Yoritomo, since Shigetada introduces him to the audience during his opening monologue (*nanori*), although he never speaks or acts in the play. Yoshitsune and Kajiwara both have been cut completely and replaced by Taira no Noritsune, who is played by the Main Actor (*shite*) but in the entire play has only two lines and one *sageuta* sung by the non-diegetic Chorus (*jiutai*) to narrate his actions, after which he is immediately and definitively vanquished by the combined secular and sacred powers of Shigetada and the High Priest. Rather than a confrontation with a ghost who has something to say, this version of *Sagamigawa* is all about the auspicious ritual and the exorcism of all threats to its successful completion.

After introducing himself and Yoritomo, Shigetada sets the stage with a reference to Yoritomo’s pacification of the country.
So—now that this His Lordship has hunted down the haughty Heike and rules as one all lands under the sky...\(^{36}\)

By now, these words should be familiar from the opening of *Sagamigawa*, here given in the Tenri version:

So then, after Yoritomo, the Vice-Minister of Defense, took upon himself the rulership of the age ...\(^{37}\)

However, the playwright of *The Bridge Consecration* has excavated *Sagamigawa’s* sources even more deeply than Asakura Jūken did for the Princeton scrolls, restoring the reason why the historical Yoritomo rebuilt this bridge from the official Minamoto chronicle *Azuma Kagami*.\(^ {38}\)

What brings us here is the late wife of Inage Shigenari, who was also related to His Lordship. Now that she has passed, His Lordship is dedicating various works to her memory, among them a bridge spanning the River Sagami, on whose merits he will pray for her enlightenment.\(^ {39}\)

Inage Shigenari’s wife was a relative of Hōjō Masako, Yoritomo’s wife who was featured as an uneasy ally of Shizuka in the puppet play examined in Chapter Two. Whereas Asakura Jūken’s historicism in adding the exact date to *Sagamigawa’s* opening lines in Chapter One is born of a need to establish scholarly credibility on the part of a

\(^{36}\) 拭も此君奢る平家を御追討在り”天下一統に治り” Shimomura libretto, *sic passim*.

\(^{37}\) そもそも “ひやうへのすけよりとも,, 御世をめされて後,,


\(^{39}\) 爱に又栄毛の三郎重成の御亡妻は”君内総の御事なれば” 様々の御弔ひをなされ候” 中にも相模川に橋を懸け” 御菩提を御弔ひ候”
middle-class artisan, this noh brings in information from an ancient shogunal chronicle because its main purpose is to honor the contemporary shogun.

Meanwhile, as the Crowd of religious and secular society with Yoritomo at its head performs the Tokugawa social hierarchy, a textual detail reveals some of the work that was necessary to create it. Sagamigawa refers frequently to “the greater and the lesser lords” (大名小名 daimyō shōmyō), but here in The Bridge Consecration a further detail is included.

By and by the bridge is completed, and so it is that on this day the greater and the lesser lords stationed in Kamakura have all sallied forth at His Lordship’s side to the River Sagami for the bridge’s consecration.\(^{40}\)

The lords are “stationed” in Kamakura because they are imagined as living in castle towns, or like the warrior-bureaucrats in their mansions in Edo, and not on the land as in the historical Kamakura period. By this time, Hideyoshi’s removal of the warriors from the land had become a universal. There is an important sense in which Tokugawa ideology as a whole was a reaction to the growing power of merchants through the monetized economy and the concomitant impoverishment of warriors. This is the context in which late-seventeenth-century philosopher Hayashi Razan universalized the Tokugawa class system with reference to the Chinese classical tradition.

The separation into four classes of samurai, farmers, artisans and merchants … is part of the principles of heaven and is the Way which was taught by the Sage (Confucius).\(^{41}\)

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\(^{40}\) 則橋成就仕り” 今日橋の供養の為” 在鎌倉の大名小名供供にて” 唯今相模川へ御出馬なされ候
Similar problems were to vex states across East Asia during this time, as the Manchu bannermen of Qing China and the Yangban aristocracy of Korea’s Yi Dynasty also presented the curious spectacle of a warrior ruling class which had monopolized the means of violence but was nevertheless impoverished because they had segregated themselves from the means of commerce.42

Like Shizuka, *The Bridge Consecration* also lavishes attention on the journey from Kamakura to the River Sagami, and in the process it even uses the same pun on the name of the town Ōiso “Great Riverbed”, pairing it with “small riverbeds”.

...past mountain streams lined with plum trees
not yet woken from their winter sleep
past the town of Great Riverbed by Sagami Bay
and other, smaller riverbeds, too,
and here we are at the River Sagami,
and here we are at the River Sagami.43

This figure, őiso koiso wo uchi sugite…, appears in almost identical form in the road-poem (*michiyuki*) in Shizuka.

... past the town of Great Riverbed
by Sagami Bay, and other, smaller riverbeds, too,
and there they were, arrived at Koshigoe,
and the trials of their journey faded all away.44

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42 Benjamin Elman, private communication, November 2014.
Accordingly, perhaps along with the first rumblings of the Sagami tourist industry discussed in Chapter Two, a popular poetic vocabulary of the region was already in place by the end of the seventeenth century. The same can be said of the use of Hakoneyama as a landmark here.

How strange: a clear sky clouds over in an instant, and unseasonable lightning flashes over Mt. Hakone: do you see it, too?45

Located at the southern end of the Sagami region, Mt. Hakone marked the end of the area which urban commoner tourists usually visited because it had a checkpoint with a reputation for inflexibility.46 It is therefore not surprising that the same figure can be seen in Shizuka.

...and even now they see/

*the sea by the three isles of Mishima, Hatsunegahara, and Hakoneyama*

*where the dawn comes quick,...* 47

We discussed the association of Mishima with the sex trade in Chapter Two, but Hakoneyama is another place name from the same list which would have had real-world associations for the urban-commoner aesthetes who left their owner seals on Shizuka throughout the Edo Period.

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44大いそ小そさし過て．はやこしごへに付給ひ．たひのつかれをはらされける．

45 ふしみや晴天かき曇り“時ならぬ箱根山に雷光するを見給ひたるか


47 いまもみしまのはつねか原．あけやすかりしはこね山．
Meanwhile, during the ritual we have a reference to gagaku which harks back to the kōwaka, in which the narrative content of the gagaku Genjōraku is related by characters in the ballad Kamatari. In this case, however, the reference is limited to the dropping of a name, which is mangled in an interesting way.

the gagaku dancers’ song of “Confidence in Happy Rebirth”

echoes off the waves—oh, how sublime!48

The gagaku in question is actually a Chinese piece called 五常楽 Gojōraku “The Five Cardinal (Virtues)”, but this Confucian reference is here changed to a mahāyāna Buddhist one, 後生楽 Gojōraku “(Confidence in a Happy) Rebirth”. This mixing of ideologies is nothing new in Japanese history, and it can be understood as a reference to the iconography of the Tokugawa cultic site which this scene of Minamoto ritual is meant to evoke.

How easy it would be to mistake the allure

of these jeweled streamers twisting in the wind

for that of the five-colored clouds of paradise?49

In the architecture and decoration of the Tōshōgū Shrine at Nikkō, where Ieyasu was enshrined, Thomas Looser identifies a principle of “phantasmagoric profusion” which is meant to evoke the universality and endless convertibility of Tokugawa rule, a concept also expressed in various ceremonial noh.50 The idea that gods are the avatars of buddhas

48 伶人は後生楽“浪に響きて妙なられや”

49 玉の幡 風に靡き色めくは“五色の雲とあやまたれ”

50 Looser 62.
or kings or natural phenomena, or vice versa—the conversion or instantiation can work in any direction—is of medieval vintage, and it appears in the just war theory that Shizuka expounds before Yoritomo in Chapter Two: “Each Buddha and Bodhisattva, no matter how efficacious, has his own lotus-petal throne,” by which she means that Yoritomo’s violence can be an instrument of peacemaking. However, here in The Bridge Consecration, this logic of essence and avatar (本地垂迹 honji suijaku) is being used in its fullness to unite a wild array of pantheons in a single political ideology under the universal signified of Ieyasu through his cultic site at Tōshōgū, as anachronistically represented by Yoritomo and Tsurugaoka Hachiman, respectively.

Ieyasu’s deification as the Great Avatar of the Easter Sunlight, which has no parallel in the activities of the historical Yoritomo, was something he planned carefully in the years leading up to his death in 1616. Indeed, after a brief burial in Sumpu his body was moved to a new shrine complex at Nikkō the following year. Meanwhile, even the prerogative of initiating land surveys had in fact been the exclusive prerogative of the imperial court, but Ieyasu usurped for himself not only this right but also positioned himself as a shogunal equivalent to the sun goddess Amaterasu at the imperial shrine complex at Ise. It was thus partly in order to match Ise’s custom of rebuilding every twenty years that the third Tokugawa shogun Iemitsu rebuilt the Nikkō complex in 1634, roughly twenty years after Ieyasu’s original enshrinement there. Less than a decade

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52 Looser 44.
53 Totman 92.
later this parallel was formalized by the granting of the rank of *miya* (みや) to Tōshōgū in 1645. A distinction in mode of consumption of both the spectacles at Nikkō and the various shogunal noh programs that were open to the public can be seen in *The Bridge Consecration* as well. On the stage of shogunal ceremonial, warrior bureaucrats were seen as performers themselves engaging in a “pilgrimage” (*mairi*), in a way that can be seen in embryonic form in *Sagamigawa* but reaches its fullness here. Commoners, by contrast, were allowed to “observe” (*kenbutsu*) both noh and religious rituals.

Accordingly, the warriors on parade in this noh version of *Sagamigawa* are more aptly called “mere shelf decoration”, in contrast to the potentially-subversive handscrolls discussed in Chapter One.

Despite this rigorous class division, the image of Tokugawa Japan as a “closed country”, thoroughly questioned in recent historical scholarship, is subverted here too by a reference to a type of incense which calls to mind the trade and diplomatic relations which the shogunate had in fact actively maintained, only under tighter control.

*The scent of Dutch aloeswood wafting on the breeze fills the four directions with a mysterious perfume.*

The word in question is 蘭沈 *ranjin*, an otherwise unattested word which I have rendered “Dutch aloeswood”, but could this reading possibly be correct? 沈香 *jinkō* is a perfume

54 Looser 45.
55 Looser 68.
57 蘭 沈 の、匂い風に染し異香四方にみちノ　"
made from the 沈丁花 jinchōge “aloeswood tree”, which is native to Southeast Asia. (J.) ran means “orchid”, but there is no reason to associate this flower with aloeswood. Accordingly, we must consider its other meaning, as a moniker for Holland, the only country with which the second shogun Hidetada elected to maintain trade relations after intensive research into European politics. The figure becomes easy to understand with reference to the substitutional logic of Tokugawa state ritual just explained, by which Yoritomo prefigures Ieyasu, together with the well-documented fact that Dutch traders were a primary source of Southeast-Asian incense in the Edo period. The Pieter Nuyts embassy of 1627, which succeeded in expanding the Dutch monopoly on Japanese trade, brought large quantities of sandalwood among other perfumes. Nor was this a one-time shipment: Hayashi Shihei includes incense prominently in a list of things brought by Dutch traders in 1782 as well. Continued relations with China, albeit through intermediaries like Korea, Ryūkyū, and the Dutch, is also evident from the fact that, among the powerful spells recited by the High Priest of Tsurugaoka Hachiman we find the 大飛燕文 Dai hi en mon “Great Flying Sparrow Formula”. This word hien can refer to quick, unpredictable movement in fencing, but it is also featured prominently in Chinese literature. 趙飛燕 Zhao Feiyuan is the name of an empress of China’s Han Dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), and stories about her and other famous ladies of Chinese history were beginning to be consumed in Japan on a popular level through the international trade in


books which came into being during the seventeenth century. A popular koto piece written around 1750 adapted her story as told in Li Bai’s (701–762) *Qing ping tiao*, and so the inclusion of this Chinese magic spell may be part of the same culture of reception.

Meanwhile, a division of labor obtains between the High Priest and Shigetada, the warrior bureaucrat, which must be understood in the context of Tokugawa state ideology and noh as a sacrament of identity between the shogun and his ministers, both sacred and secular.

If it be an enemy of the Court it is a job for a warrior, and if a curse of devil hordes or changelings then we must put it down with the power of the dharma. In a European context, this division should be compared to the various developments of Pope Boniface VIII’s theory of two swords of government, sacred and secular, in the bull *Unam Sanctam* of 1302. Historians often link this idea and the complex discourse of priority it spawned to the development of limited monarchy, and even constitutional and democratic traditions. The change from fearsome warlords to genteel warrior bureaucrats is also visible in the language of composure which is used of Shigetada both here in *The Bridge Consecration* and in *Sagamigawa*.

Shigetada, not losing his composure for a moment,


draws his sword and grips it tight,
exchanging words with the vengeful spirits...\(^63\)

Shigetada draws his sword, the tool with which a warrior does his “job” (武士の業 bushi no waza), but what he exchanges with the spirits is not blows but “words”. Moreover, his primary role is to direct and facilitate ritual energy (法力 hōrika) to confront the threat which the vengeful ghost poses. The same discourse of composure can be found in 
Sagamigawa as well, but only in the late-seventeenth-century version represented by the Princeton scrolls.

Shigetada was a wise man unmatched in his day, after all, and so, not losing his composure for a moment, he said, “Even supposing the Kajiwara, father and sons, all three set their minds on battle, it is not likely to amount to much.\(^64\)

The portion in italics is found in neither the Keiō nor the Tenri lineages, which originate in the early seventeenth century, so we might connect this late-century rhetoric of warrior-bureaucrat composure to the solidification of the Tokugawa edifice in the intervening years.

Conversely, the kind of un-composed sentiment which argues a moral case from a position of weakness as we saw in 
Sagamigawa and Shizuka is gone. Instead, the single ghost in 
The Bridge Consecration makes no sentimental attempt to win the audience’s sympathy, rather pursues a program of simple revenge for his own death.

Just as he once sent the Heike sinking

\(^63\) 重忠少も騒かずして”ﾊ” 打物抜持詞をかはし”

\(^64\) しけたゝはもとりたうせいづきのけん人にてますませはすこしさはかすからはらおやこ三人おもひき候もさまたのことのあるへき
to the bottom of the Western seas
where no tongue can tell the tale,
now to make flotsam of Yoritomo!\textsuperscript{65}

The scene of Yoritomo’s original offence against the Heike is named: 西海四海 seikai shikai “The Western Seas, the Four Seas” speaks of isolation from mainstream Japanese society, exile in places unknown, but here it quickly pivots into the place where the ghostly Noritsune presumably wants to send Yoritomo as well: an eye for an eye. The same phrase is found in the puppet play Shizuka, but there it served a different purpose.

and all I see day in and day out
are these scenes of armies clashing,
as on the field of battle high and low/
like tidewater and rain do ebb and flow, far upon the ocean-roads,
upon the waves of the Western seas, the four seas,
and on and on I push and slash and go on the attack.\textsuperscript{66}

Here in the puppet theatre, seikai shikai evokes the suffering and alienation which Yoshitsune experiences in the аšura realm, and it is part of a larger structure of sentiment which doe not merely hope to over come Yoritomo but to win a moral argument against him on Yoshitsune’s behalf. In the event, ghostly power is beaten by the orderly sacred and secular powers of the state, and so The Bridge Consecration overtly performs its

\textsuperscript{65} 声をしるへの西海の底に“一門沈みし其有様に”又顔朝を“みくつとなさん

\textsuperscript{66}さしさかぶり、くんぜいの其有様、せんらやうのかけひき、引はうしも、あめは又、八重のしほちのはる／
と、西海四海の波のうへ、たゝみ付／おつつめ／せめにける．
ideological function as state ceremonial on the level of meta-discourse: it is a state ceremonial noh about state ceremonial noh.

At the same time, this self-consciousness of the piece is actually seen to undermine its otherwise unproblematic functioning.

*Artificial flowers of silver and gold
reflect the glare of the sun in such a way
that one realizes with a shock
that one has come completely to believe
that the Lotus Treasury World of the Great Sun Buddha
has been transported here to our land.*

The imagery of the cosmic Sun Buddha here once again calls to mind Ieyasu’s divine form, the Great Avatar of the Eastern Sunlight, and explicitly links this ritual of Yoritomo’s to the ritual economy of the Tokugawa state. Nevertheless, as with the streamers which one could easily mistake for the clouds of paradise above, the complex psychology of the ideological hail on display in the phrase, “one realizes with a shock that one has come completely to believe…” actually undermines its full functioning and may betray a critical consciousness on the part of the playwright, as he or she deliberately shows us the strings by which this apparatus is made to move. Given the prohibition on unflattering portrayals of daimyō in the 1647 Rules for Sarugaku Troupes, an ambivalent

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*67 金銀の作り花 照る日にえいじ偏に”華蔵世界を”我國に移しけるかと怪しある”

portrayal of the archetypal shogun Yoritomo could have become a real issue if someone had wanted to make it so.\footnote{KST: Tokugawa jikki, ed. Narushima Motonao (Kokushi Taikei Kankōkai, 1929), 3:487–88.} This may account for the piece’s designation as extracanonical by the early eighteenth century, but on the other hand it may have been deliberately kept in that position in the repertoire precisely so that it would attract little curiosity as to its content by shogunal officials. Meanwhile, as with the anti-shogunal content of the Princeton Sagamigawa scrolls, this layer of interpretation would be easy to disavow, although it stood ready to be deployed for sympathetic daimyō audiences.

The fact is that the existence of a totalizing discourse of noh as state ceremonial does not mean that noh always functioned that way in practice in the Edo period. Some of the daimyō families which had not joined Ieyasu at the 1600 Battle of Sekigahara, known as the 外様 tozama “outer clans”, were powerful enough that the shogunate could not afford to take their allegiance for granted, and noh was the medium chosen to show them particular favor. One of the strongest such daimyō houses was the Maeda of Kaga Province, and the seventeenth century saw a contest of largesse centering on the noh between their daimyō and the Tokugawa house.\footnote{Looser 34–40.} In 1617, right after the death of Ieyasu and his interment at Nikkō, the second shogun Hidetada visited Maeda Toshitsune (whose name might have made the Princeton Sagamigawa scrolls particularly significant if we suppose for a moment that they were sponsored by one of his late-century descendants) in his castle town of Kanazawa. There, Toshitsune spared no expense, sponsoring noh by all four schools in honor of the shogun. Then, from 1628 on,
Toshitsune began sponsoring his own noh family, and for this purpose he first chose Komparu, Hideyoshi’s preferred school, then switched to the Hōshō. In this way he switched to an upper school like the Kanze without choosing the Kanze themselves, on whom the shogunate had a clear monopoly. Moreover, Toshitsune continued to support the Ishii, a school of drummers who had refused Ieyasu’s order to move from Hideyoshi’s Osaka Castle to Sumpu and then Edo, remaining in Kyoto instead. In 1641, a dispute broke out due to Maeda Toshitsune’s inclusion of a drummer from the Ishii school, at which the Kanze actors at first refused to perform. However, the shogun at the time, Iemitsu, overruled the Kanze’s objections, thus neutralizing a gesture by the Maeda that was in danger of appearing defiant.

Such special treatment was not limited to that one occasion, and in fact outer-house–affiliated actors received various special privileges such as being encouraged to perform for imperial coronations and other events. By contrast, as the exclusive property of the shogunate, the Kanze were prohibited from taking part in imperial ceremonial. Furthermore, the Kanze actor tasked with living in Edo Castle and performing noh intensively there, who was said to be on 廻下番 rōkaban “hallway duty”, was not actually in a very advantageous position because his exposure outside the castle, and thus income, was limited thereby. Finally, in 1691, his grandson Maeda Tsunanori danced noh competitively against Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (r. 1680–1709), attended not only by the Junior Councilors of State who were already in charge of the noh but the Senior Councilors of State as well. Accordingly, it will be a productive avenue for future research to examine the operations of particular pieces like The Bridge Consecration in
this context, where the rivalry between the Tokugawa and their strongest vassals like the Maeda was ceremonially displaced onto patronage of the noh.

**Conclusion**

In this last sense, the noh remained a potential agent of political critique even as it was taken up and made the preferred medium of the ritual discourse of shogunal authority in early-modern Japan. Recent research on Edo-period noh, chiefly that of Miyamoto Keizō of Nohken,\(^7\) has illuminated a great variety of configurations of patron, performer, repertoire, and geographical locale, by which noh continued to function outside or alongside the shogunal context. Urban commoners, women, petty lords, and religious leaders continued to sponsor and to perform noh themselves, and we have only begun to scratch the surface of all that noh meant under the Tokugawa. Here in The Bridge Consecration, however, we have seen how the story of anti-shogunal resentment, which we encountered in the Princeton Sagamigawa scrolls and the puppet play *Shizuka Goes East*, was all but stripped of that critical content and re-presented as an unproblematic paean to shogunal ritual authority itself. References to the Great Sun Buddha and the larger discourse of Tokugawa government as the instantiation of divine will, set up a neat equation between Yoritomo and Ieyasu, Tsurugaoka Hachiman and Nikkō Tōshōgū, and a sacramental economy of participation in shogunal glory through shogunal ritual.

At the same time, anachronistic references to the products of trade with the Dutch and the importation of Chinese literature, which took place not in Yoritomo’s time but in the seventeenth century, foreground the workings of this equation yet highlight its payoff.

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\(^7\) Miyamoto, *Kamigata nōgakushi no kenkyū*, 2005.
Nevertheless, the similarly astute analysis which *The Bridge Consecration* performs on the operations of belief in such vicarious structures may reflect a critical consciousness which has the potential to endanger the entire edifice: we have seen the strings. This insight also suggests the possibility that troupe structures like the list of extracanonical pieces may have functioned to achieve a certain level of concealability of controversial material, even within the close surveillance and strictures of genealogy and repertoire which the shogunate imposed on noh in the seventeenth century. It was one of the avowed purposes of all three of the unifying hegemons to do away with theocracy in favor of a universal, secular state, but *The Bridge Consecration* piece also raises the question of just how different the Tokugawa ideological edifice ultimately was from the theocratic Buddhist regimes of medieval Japan and the Christian one almost imposed by the Jesuits in Kyūshū, which will be the subject of Chapter Four.
APPENDIX 3A

Noh *The Bridge Consecration*,
Shimomura libretto, transcription.

【抜日】

【抜日】

要旗王

【抜日】

【抜日】

【抜日】
APPENDIX 3B

Noh *The Bridge Consecration*, Tayasu libretto, transcription.
APPENDIX 3C

Noh The Bridge Consecration, Ōwada
libretto, transcription.

【謷】

【遝】

【遝】

【遝】

【遝】

【遝】

【遝】
の西海の底に一门の沈みし有様に
又願朝をみくとなさんと arquivoの長刀
取直し水車波の紋河水を竜立真砂を
吹上眼も闇心も乱れて各前後
戦ひけるを別当押隔て珠数さら

「80才」

打物抜持言葉を替し彼怨雲と

「80才」

と押もんで千手の陀羅尼尊

「81才」

陀羅尼秘密の神呪を詫懺

陀羅尼

はふしぎや東より颪吹風に化

いのり給へはふしぎや東より颪吹風に化

「81才」

なぜばたかり雪霧の消して立

に紛れて矢にけり

へ給へは悪雪次第に遠さかるを南無
APPENDIX 3D

Noh The Bridge Consecration (a.k.a. Sagamigawa), critical edition based chiefly on the Shimomura libretto.

【必読】欄曲《鎮三》（鎮三欄曲）

【参考】※欄曲（新欄曲初版）（欄曲複製版）

（長）川本舟香『欄曲新編』《鎮三》（全館「鎮三欄曲」）

（中）長谷川敬三『欄曲新編』4780川『鎮三欄曲』

（中、長）松本船山『欄曲新編』4780川『鎮三欄曲』

【長】THE BRIDGE CONSECRATION

- [長編] 『鎮三』（鎮三欄曲）

【結論】
APPENDIX 3E

The Bridge Consecration (a.k.a. Sagamigawa), a noh play, English translation.

Cast of Characters

Waki: Hatakeyama Shigetada, a warrior.

Tachishū: The crowd of warriors, courtiers, and clergy.

Wakitsure: Wakamiya Bettō, the High Priest of Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine, clan
temple of the Genji.

Shité: The ghost of Taira no Noritsune, a Heike warrior.

1. Shidai

SHIGETADA / CROWD:

This dharma we intone is itself a kind of bridge,

this dharma we intone is itself a kind of bridge,

a bridge to the other shore—so come, let us consecrate this bridge over a river.

Nanori

SHIGETADA: I am Shigetada, Overseer of the Estate at Chichibu. Here with me is Lord

Yoritomo, Commander of the Right, of the Second Court Rank. So—now that this His

Lordship has hunted down the haughty Heike and rules as one all lands under the sky,

and taken upon his brow the Imperial mandate to be Shogun, Slayer of Savages, his

glory is terrible to behold. What brings us here is the late wife of Inage Shigenari, who

was also related to His Lordship. Now that she has passed, His Lordship is dedicating

various works to her memory, among them a bridge spanning the River Sagami, on
whose merits he will pray for her enlightenment. By and by the bridge is completed, and so it is that on this day the greater and the lesser lords stationed in Kamakura have all sallied forth at His Lordship’s side to the River Sagami for the bridge’s consecration.

2. Sashi

CROWD:  *Around about the twelfth month in the ninth year of Kenkyū,*

  the parade set out, and at its head was Lord Hōjō,

SHIGETADA:  *then Ichijō, Inagaki, Wada, Chichibu,*

CROWD:  *Henmi, Takeda, Odawara,*

SHIGETADA:  *Kajiwara, Sasaki,*

CROWD:  *Do’i,*

SHIGETADA:  *Tsuchiya.*

  *One and all they ride in formation with His Lordship,*

  *one and all they ride in formation with His Lordship,*

  *along a road gaily garlanded,*

  *past mountain streams lined with plum trees*

  *not yet woken from their winter sleep*

  *past the town of Great Riverbed by Sagami Bay*

  *and other, smaller riverbeds, too,*

  *and here we are at the River Sagami,*

  *and here we are at the River Sagami.*

Sashi

SHIGETADA:  *So we build a tent of purification on the east side of the bridge,*
HIGH PRIEST: and on the bridge is the High Priest of Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine

CROWD: with several hundred monks and more, men set aside to serve the shogun,

SHIGETADA: and in the center of the bridge

  a hundred offerings of food and drink,

  streamers and dangling golden filigree,

HIGH PRIEST: dancers, beautiful boys, and musicians with their steps and chants,

MONKS: and at the west end warriors stand guard,

SHIGETADA: many thousands in full helmets and armor,

HIGH PRIEST / SHIGETADA: and now the consecration has begun.

Ageuta

CHORUS: What rare wonders to behold,

  what rare wonders to behold:

  the gagaku dancers’ song of “Confidence in Happy Rebirth”

  echoes off the waves—oh, how sublime!

How easy it would be to mistake the allure

  of these jeweled streamers twisting in the wind

  for that of the five-colored clouds of paradise!

Artificial flowers of silver and gold

  reflect the glare of the sun in such a way

  that one realizes with a shock

  that one has come completely to believe

  that the Lotus Treasury World of the Great Sun Buddha

  has been transported here to our land!
The scent of Dutch aloeswood wafting on the breeze
fills the four directions with a mysterious perfume,
and though we live and breathe we could swear
that we are rising up on lotus pedestals
in paradise, such sights do we see,
and we engrave these things on the tablets of our hearts,
and we engrave these things on the tablets of our hearts.

Kuse  (from center stage)

CHORUS:  The High Priest holds the kagura bells aloft,
raising his voice in recitation of the eight scrolls of the Lotus,
and at the harmonious intoning of the concelebrants
heavenly beings seem to float down,
and the sinners in limbo and the abyss
seem to rise up now for the moment.
The mountains on the horizon change their color,
the river water grows ever greener,
shining scales float up to the surface,
and so it is further than ever beyond any doubt
that honored souls achieve buddhahood—
so the prayer bells say as their ringing seems to echo
all the way to the Heaven of Neither Perception Nor Non-Perception.

Shigetada:  As master of ceremonies for the day,

Lord Chichibu keeps everything in check
and carries out his task, his eyes passing back and forth
between the east and west sides of the bridge.

3. Mondō

HIGH PRIEST: How now, Lord Chichibu!
SHIGETADA: Whatever is the matter?
HIGH PRIEST: Just when I was thinking that the heavenly beings would surely approve of
such a sublime consecration as this, how strange: a clear sky clouds over in an instant,
and unseasonable lightning flashes over Mt. Hakone: do you see it, too?
SHIGETADA: Truly, the aspect of the sea’s surface is turned, and the roiling waves surge
in from the West: truly this is no ordinary scene. Be not caught off guard, Your
Holiness!
HIGH PRIEST: Set your mind at ease, My Lord. If it be an enemy of the Court it is a job
for a warrior, and if a curse of devil hordes or changelings then we must put it down
with the power of the dharma. And so as I chant holy spells and form hand-seals,
and look up away into the distance ...

Ageuta (with taiko drum)

CHORUS: How strange: the river’s waves turn and flow uphill,
how strange: the river’s waves turn and flow uphill,
as a beautiful boy in jeweled clothing
rides a phoenix-topped palanquin,
a lay novice nun there at his side, and behind them
a hundred courtiers and ministers,
cavalry and infantry,
appear upon the waves,

and he raises his fan, beckoning.

(fast flute music, drums build to a climax, enter NORITSUNE)

NORITSUNE: Heigh, Lords! It is I, Noritsune

of the Heike clan, Governor of Noto,

who did famous deeds on the Western seas

and the seas of the four directions.

Kotoba

NORITSUNE: How now, Yoritomo! What an unexpected pleasure to see you.

Now at last I’ll ease my age-old grudge!

Ageuta (with taiko drum)

CHORUS: Just as he once sent the Heike sinking

to the bottom of the Western seas

where no tongue can tell the tale,

now to make flotsam of Yoritomo!

so he spoke, and by the light of the moon

upon the waves he grips and swings his halberd

like a whirling water wheel,

and kicking apart the pattern

of the waves on the river water,

sends the pebbles of the riverbed aloft,

and the eyes of all are darkened,

their minds are shocked and scattered,
and they forget which way is up.

(action scene, drums build to a climax)

4. Sageuta  (drums speed up, calmly)

**SHIGETADA:** Shigetada, not losing his composure for a moment,

**CHORUS:** Shigetada, not losing his composure for a moment,

draws his sword and grips it tight,

exchanging words with the vengeful spirits,

as the High Priest breaks for high ground

and, over the rattle of his prayer beads

as they rub together, pressed between his palms,

he attacks with wave on wave,

chanting the Mantra of Thousand-Armed Guanyin,

the Mantra of the Victory of Buddha-Wisdom,

and all the secret holy spells,

and though the evil spirits begin slowly to retreat

still he prays “Namo ratna-trayāya,“

the Great Flying Sparrow Formula,

and all the profound holy spells,

and by and by, wondrous to tell, a spirit bird

appears in the East on the wings of the dove-bearing wind,

sends those evil spirits flying far away into the distance, and,

having thus vented its rage, melts away like snow or frost,

slips down among the foaming waves,
and vanishes, lost to view.
SAMURAI, JESUITS, PUPPETS, AND BARDS:
THE END(S) OF THE KŌWAKA BALLAD
Volume Two: Ballad Discourse in Jesuit Mission Literature in Japanese

Patrick Reinhart Schwemmer

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY
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CHAPTER FOUR

A Literary Response to Hideyoshi’s Jesuit Expulsion Edict: The Story of a Cross Which Miraculously Appeared in Japan

In the Vatican Library there is a spectacularly neglected cartapacio “collection” of Christian narrative literature in Japanese, whose texts are also heavily indebted to the vocabulary and oral formulae of the kōwaka ballad. In the twentieth century, Jesuit and lay Catholic scholars took the existence of this literature as the basis for laudatory evaluations of the Jesuits’ missionary method of “cultural accommodation”, and linguists have approached their texts, written in the Roman alphabet, as sources for contemporary pronunciation and colloquial speech. Previous textual studies have directed a comparative focus toward the various European models on which it depended, either in its form, from a translation studies angle, or its content, as intellectual history. However, the Barreto Miscellany, as I call this collection, constitutes a record of the precise form in which European religious legends were disseminated in Japanese in the sixteenth century, and so literary research is needed to determine its relationship to earlier, later, and contemporary Japanese literature. However, partly because its circulation was probably limited and its language shows unusual formations necessitated by its new ideological content—but mostly because that content is still considered fundamentally un-Japanese—it has largely been neglected by the discipline of Japanese literary studies, especially as practiced in Japan. Nevertheless, the specificities of its circulation and its linguistic surface, which represent attempts to make the Japanese language do things it had never done before, are precisely what make it interesting. As a preliminary to a comprehensive
study of this material as literature, Volume Two of this dissertation will examine three texts from the Barreto Miscellany with particular attention to their place in the canon of Japanese literature.

In this chapter we will begin with the text with the clearest sociopolitical resonance, a miracle story about a cross which miraculously appears in firewood cut by peasants in Kyūshū, is handed up the Jesuit chain of command, enshrined in a reliquary, and finally brought before the local Japanese lord, Arima Harunobu (1567–1612). A Spanish-language version of this story was sent to Europe in a 1590 letter of Luis Fróis, was published in Italian translation, and became a central part of the mythology of the Japan mission in subsequent European Christian literature, but in this Japanese version copied in the 1591 Barreto Miscellany, Harunobu’s less enthusiastic reaction to the relic and the slightly less miraculous sequence of events reveal that it preserves the story in its

earliest extant form. Moreover, it bears an authenticating colophon by Gaspar Coelho (ca. 1530–1590), the Vice-Provincial of the Japan and China missions whose militant attitude precipitated Hideyoshi’s first expulsion edict in 1587. In the aftermath of the edict, Coelho began stockpiling artillery at Nagasaki and dispatched representatives to Manila and Macao to raise Spanish and Portuguese armies to invade Japan and fight Hideyoshi alongside the Christian lords of Kyūshū—apparently with the goal of making at least that island an Iberian colony. Coelho’s plan was derailed by his sudden death in 1590, but the fact that a Japanese version of the above miracle story was immediately produced under his supervision, making direct reference to the expulsion edict, means that he was preparing a propaganda campaign to support his planned invasion. The ultimate effect of this miracle story is to elevate the religious intuition of Japanese peasants over the authority of Japanese rulers, inverting the domestic social hierarchy and installing the Jesuits as arbiters of truth above both. Accordingly, the piece reminds us that it was not as an end in itself that the Jesuits adopted their mission strategy of “cultural accommodation”, nor was it a mere figment of the late–seventeenth-century Japanese imagination that the Jesuits had an active sociopolitical project, as recent studies have suggested.²

Bearing a dedication dated 1591 and signed by Manoel Barreto (ca. 1564–1620), a Portuguese Jesuit brother newly arrived in Japan at that time, codex Reg. Lat. 459 in the Vatican Library contains Gospel readings for all the Sundays and feast days of the church year, devotional meditations, doctrinal readings, and saints’ lives based on some early version of the *Golden Legend*.\(^3\) Judging from the copious mention of Christian festival plays, public devotions, and oral literature in the reports which the missionaries were sending back to Europe, Japanese and European Jesuits and laypeople had by the 1560s collaborated to produce a voluminous narrative literature in Japanese.\(^4\) Of this, almost nothing has survived the ban on Christianity, which began to be seriously enforced in 1614 and led to strict controls on all books by the late seventeenth century. However, the Barreto Miscellany must at least have been on its way back to Europe by then, because it was eventually bought for the Vatican Library by Pope Alexander VIII together with the rest of the library of Christina, Queen of Sweden (1626–1689) upon her death. After abdicating the Swedish crown in 1654, Christina became an itinerant philosopher,

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\(^3\) For a recent study of the Gospel readings, saints’ lives, and various formal and intertextual features of the Barreto Miscellany, see Kawaguchi Atsuko, “Bareto shahon no kenkyū” (Ph.D. diss., Kyoto University, 2002).

aesthete, and libertine who dressed like a man, kept close companions of both sexes, and supported Baroque art, music, and theatre across Europe.⁵

Many of Christina’s books had been acquired as booty by her father Gustav Adolf while he was fighting on the Protestant side in the Thirty Years’ War, but her papers make special mention of the Barreto Miscellany, remarking that only a few Jesuits in Rome could read it,⁶ so it was at any rate not something she merely inherited and paid no attention. It seems likely that it was a gift from the Jesuits who in 1652 had acquired in her a prized convert to Catholicism. To his great disappointment, Barreto had been passed over for profession to the Jesuit order in 1601 despite his unusually good Japanese language skills,⁷ but after fleeing to Macao with the bulk of the missionaries in 1614, served as Procurator of the now-underground Japan mission. Then, in 1616 he returned via Vietnam to Japan where he would preach in secret until his death of illness. It is possible that the Miscellany served as his private sermon notes and performance text right to the end, and indeed it contains many marginal notes in his hand in Japanese and Portuguese, which seem geared toward a native speaker of Portuguese who wishes

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⁶ Veronica Buckley, Christina Queen of Sweden: The Restless Life of a European Eccentric (HarperPerennial, 2005).

⁷ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Jap. Sin. 25, ff. 34, 107c.
effectively to recite its texts aloud. In that case it would have been sent to Europe after he died in Nagasaki in 1620 in the company of other Jesuits.

However, although the proliferation of marginal notes, cross-references, and tables of contents would suggest a certain level of use, the latter are in at least one other hand, and the volume as a whole is not nearly as heavily worn as one would expect if he had carried it with him while in hiding and used it all his life. Its pages are of Japanese paper, and the binding and leather cover (13.3 cm × 17 cm) match those of a book found in Beijing by Johannes Laures and known to originate at St. Paul’s Seminary in Goa, so the Barreto Miscellany was either rebound in Goa on its way to Europe or acquired there in the first place by Barreto, before he joined the Japanese Boys’ Embassy to Europe on their way back home in 1589. In the Ajuda Library in Lisbon there is a copy of a memorandum of the possessions Barreto left behind in Macao when he left for Japan in


9 “Father M. Barreto, after receiving the Holy Viaticum in Kyoto, set off and when he arrived here we anointed him, and he died that same night.” El padre M. Barreto, después de recibir el santo viático en Kamigata, se puso en camino, y encuanto llegó aquí le ungimos, y esta misma noche falleció. 1 Oct 1620, Letter of Juan de Baeza from Nagasaki. Quoted in Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús: Biográfico-temático, ed. Charles E. O’Neill & Joaquín M. Domínguez (Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2001).

10 Josef Franz Schütte, “Christliche Japanische Literatur, Bilder und Druckblätter in einem Unbekannten Vatikanischen Codex aus dem Jahre 1591”, Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu (1940), 229.

1616, and it includes a list of books, among them João Rodriguez’ 1604 *Arte da lingoa de Iapam* and the 1603 *Vocabulario da lingoa de Iapam*, explaining that a few other books from Japan were in the Provincial’s private quarters for safekeeping, but of books that could be the Barreto Miscellany the best candidate reads simply: “*Compendio espiritual—1.*”¹² This dissertation treats Barreto’s ballad of *The Passion of the Christ* in Chapter Five and a set of *Dialogues on the Instruments of the Passion* between the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene in Chapter Six, but first, this chapter will examine the text with which the Miscellany opens, a miracle story whose explicit sociopolitical project suggests the larger purposes of Jesuit literary production in general.

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*From “Playing Along Halfheartedly” to “Astonished and Haunted”: The Priority of the Japanese Version*

A Spanish-language version of the *Story of a Cross Which Miraculously Appeared in Japan*, transcribed for the first time in Appendix 4A and translated in Appendix 4B, appears in a letter in Spanish from the Portuguese Jesuit Luís Fróis (1532–1597) to the Superior General in Rome, dated 12 October 1590.¹³ By the late sixteenth century, Portugal’s spice trade had peaked, and the War of the Portuguese Succession culminated in the unification of all the kingdoms of Iberia and their colonial possessions


under the Spanish Habsburgs in 1580, a state of affairs which was to last until 1640.\textsuperscript{14} In the meantime a neatly parallel shift in the leadership of the Spanish-founded Jesuit order had put it in the ultimate control of Italians in Rome, with largely Portuguese membership. Nevertheless, already in 1577 the Neapolitan Jesuit Visitor Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606) wrote that since even his Latin was not up to the task, and not everyone can read Italian, “It happens that the most convenient and most intelligible language in which I can write is the Castilian.”\textsuperscript{15} In any case, as these Jesuit letters were sent, they were copied at the point of origin and sent by different routes (primeira via, secunda via, etc.) to guard against loss, copied again as they passed through outposts like Macao and Goa, then after their arrival in Rome copied and sent across Europe, and finally some were edited and printed as advertisements for the mission effort in a great variety of languages. At any of these points not only the precise wording but the language was changed freely according to the well-established patterns of translation in place among the various Romance languages, without fear that the content would be affected by these mere changes in form. This culture of translation bears interesting comparison with the translingual reading practices investigated in Chapter Six. However, as even Valignano points out, this was a game of telephone whose output “diverged from the true

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\textsuperscript{15}“Queda que la mas comun y mas intelligible lengua en que yo pueda escrevir es la castellana.” 16 Sep 1577, Valignano from Goa to the Superior General. ARSI, \textit{Jap. Sin.} 81, ff. 162-73. Transcribed in Alessandro Valignano, \textit{Historia del principio y progreso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias orientales (1542-64)}, ed. Josef Wicki (Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 1944), 481.
\end{flushright}
account” in the original letters. Fortunately, the above manuscript is a secretarial copy probably dictated by Fróis himself, although it is one of the many letters which have at some point gotten wet, bleeding the ink and rendering it illegible in facsimile, so I had to consult the original at Jesuit headquarters in Rome. This letter, too, was printed in Rome in Italian translation in 1593. From there, the story of the miraculous cross became a central element in a highly fictionalized hagiography of the Japan mission by Alfonso Liguori, published in the eighteenth century and translated into English in the nineteenth. The European-language reception of this story is engaging in its own right,

16 “Quanto a quello che tocca alle lettere che vanno impresse del Giappone da quello che nelle mie lettere scrivo a V.P. può facilmente intendere quanto si scostano dalla vera relazione di quello che qui corre.” Valignano from Japan to the Superior General. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 8II, f. 243. Transcribed in ibid., 482.
but in this case I want to depart from previous studies by focusing on the Japanese side and actually arguing for its primacy.

Previous studies of Jesuit mission literature in Japanese have aimed to describe the ways in which European material was adapted to Japanese language and culture. In the case of philosophically and doctrinally dense treatises such as were printed and distributed to aristocratic converts like Takayama Ukon and Hosokawa Gracia such an approach takes the form of an intellectual-historical inquiry, in which Orii Yoshimi is a current leader.\(^{21}\) For narrative material, a translation-studies approach has yielded a rich harvest in the work of the late Komei Rikiya.\(^{22}\) In the *Story of a Cross*, however, we have the opposite case: even in Fróis’ 1590 Spanish version, the accounts of the Japanese peasants who found the cross and the Japanese lord who used it for his own purposes are both being synthesized and interpreted by European interlocutors. However, structural differences between that version and the Japanese one copied into the Barreto Miscellany in 1591 reveal that the latter represents an older version of the story, which therefore first took shape in the Japanese language, almost certainly with input from European overseers but likely under the authorship of one or more Japanese missionaries. The version in the Barreto Miscellany has been transliterated into Japanese script by Doi Tadao,\(^{23}\) but I have transcribed the original Roman-alphabet version with all its ambiguities in Appendix 4C and translated this into English in Appendix 4D. Moreover,


\(^{22}\) Komei Rikiya, *Kirishitan to hon’yaku: ibunka sesshoku no jūjirō* (Heibonsha, 2009).

Fróis also produced a Portuguese-language version of this story as part of his *História de Japam*, which reached its present form by the time of his death in 1597. It almost certainly represents an even later reworking, as it occasionally economizes but usually adds verbiage and religious clarity vis-à-vis the Spanish. In any case, that work was never distributed either in Europe or in Japan, so it represents a dead end in terms of reception, but I provide an English translation of it in Appendix 4E for reference.

The text begins in all versions by setting the stage on Christmas Eve, 1589. Doi Tadao translates the word *breve* “brief” in the Portuguese title into Japanese as *ryaku* “abbreviation”, but there is nothing to support the assumption that this is a translation or summary of a European-language or any other previous text. On the contrary, in the first section the Japanese is consistently longer than the Spanish. The Gregorian date is explained as, “one thousand five hundred and eighty-nine years since the advent of JESUS,” then converted into “the eighteenth of Shimotsuki in the seventeenth year of Tenshō in Japan.” Moreover, the Japanese at first sets the stage on Christmas day but then backs up to the day before, an inconsistency that reveals a text still in flux. In specifying location, the local lord is named, as he is not in the Spanish, along with the court title to which he pretended: *Arima shuri no daibu Harunobu kō Don Protazio no ryōnai* “in the lands of the Chief Court Architect Lord Don Protaçio Arima Harunobu.”

Harunobu was one of the many “Christian daimyō” whom the Jesuits had cultivated in the Kyūshū area, and under whom forced conversions accounted for the greater number

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25 *Arima xurino daibu harunobu kō don Protaziono reona*
of their converts. This pattern began with Ōmura Sumitada in 1563, who was saved from his rival Ryūzōji Takanobu when four Portuguese ships carrying food, money, and ammunition arrived in his domain on Coelho’s orders. Sumitada received baptism from Coelho that same year, forced his vassals to do the same, and destroyed Shinto and Buddhist institutions in his domain. The same pattern was repeated in Amakusa by Amakusa Hisatane in 1571, in Bungo by Ōtomo Chikaie in 1575, in Hyūga by Ōtomo Sōrin in 1578, and even in Takatsuki and Akashi by Takayama Ukon in 1585. Meanwhile, in Arima, Harunobu’s father Yoshisada converted his domains in 1576, but after his death later that year Harunobu, still unconvinced, persecuted the religion. However, by 1579 Harunobu was hemmed in by Ryūzōji Takanobu and on the verge of destruction when Valignano arranged for that year’s Portuguese trading ship to bring him food, silver, and ammunition. His conversion and that of his domain were accomplished by Easter 1580, as was Ōmura Sumitada’s donation of Nagasaki to the Jesuits as an independent colony under their political and judicial control. Accordingly, in his tale as told by Harunobu’s patrons the Jesuits, agency cannot be taken at face value.

In the introductory section, the Spanish adds a statement explaining the meaning of this apparition in the context of Hideyoshi’s expulsion edict: “In the time of this persecution, [it] became no small consolation and relief of such distressing things as had come to pass these three years for the Priests as well as for the Christians.” A similar statement is found in the Japanese as well, but not until the postscript: more evidence that

the Spanish represents a later revision. I have mentioned that Fróis, the author of the letter in which the 1590 Spanish version of this story appears, also rewrote it in Portuguese for his *História de Japam*, which reached its present form by his death in 1597 but was never circulated or published until its discovery in various partial scribal copies among papers forwarded to Lisbon from Macao and Goa with the dissolution of the Portuguese empire.\(^{27}\) Despite its lack of circulation, however, it will be meaningful to compare it to the Spanish and Japanese versions: in my translation in Appendix 4E I have underlined portions unique to it, and its many elaborations and strengthened protestations not only reveal that it likely postdates the Spanish version; they also show precisely what a European missionary wanted most to emphasize when retelling the story at leisure.

Here, the Portuguese version adds *e Irmãos* “and Brothers” to the list of those distressed by the expulsion edict.

The discoverers of the miraculous cross are an elderly man named Lean and his son Miguel, who are described as *finin*. Doi transliterates this as 貧人 *hinnin* “poor people”, a term which is attested in various contemporary Christian texts like *Rosario no quiô*, but is in all cases spelled *finnin*. Barreto was not a perfectly accurate copyist, but he writes *finin* twice in the ballad of the *Passion of the Christ* discussed in Chapter Five, so the lack of a final *n* is probably not a scribal error. Therefore I would rather transliterate 非人 *hinin* “nonperson”, a better-attested word deriving ultimately from Chinese translations of the Lotus Sutra and used in Japan to denote a social status pertaining to

leather workers, butchers, undertakers, and others whose occupations were considered unclean.28 Hinin were outcastes, yet they also enjoyed certain special privileges and a sacred status in some cases. The fact that this household does not have servants is for the narrator an inconvenience worthy of mention, so we can locate him somewhat higher in the Kyūshū social hierarchy. Meanwhile, Miguel finds a cross inside his firewood, which appears on both halves of the split log, and this he shows to his father Lean. Here, the Spanish has added many empirical details of color, shape, and proportion, to the end of establishing the miraculous nature of the object and the event of its discovery: the axe has cut through a cross made of dark wood, which was growing inside the lighter wood, perfectly bisecting it lengthwise. The Portuguese repeats a clause and adds a different kind of comment on Miguel’s social status: E como elle era hum mancebo simplex... “And since he was a simple youth...” However, this comment is not aimed at maintaining social distinctions as in the Japanese; rather it valorizes the religious perceptions of the simple peasants over those of worldly rulers like Harunobu, with the Jesuits playing the role of arbiters over both.

Similarly, when the crosses change hands for the first time the various versions make unique comments which reveal differing investments in the forced conversion of peasants like Lean and Miguel. Two men, Bartholomeu and Adan, take the two pieces of wood to give them to the church. The Japanese explains at this point that the discoverers of the cross are shin-potsui no montei [新発意の門弟] “newly-converted disciples”29—that

28 Amino Yoshihiko, Chūsei no hinin to josei (Kōdansha, 2005).

29 ximpotino monteý
is, forced converts whose indoctrination was as yet incomplete—whereas its appraisers are *sato no rōjin* “village elders”. The Spanish mentions nothing which might suggest such power relations or provenance, simply identifying the newcomers as *dos christianós buenos hombres* “two good Christian men,” the Portuguese adding that they are *dous christãos muito bons homens* “two very good Christian men.” Moreover, whereas in the Spanish they come *a darlo das buenas pasaras* “to say hello,” in the Portuguese they are *lhe hão dar a boa festa do Natal* “on their way to celebrate the good feast of the Nativity.” In all versions it can be inferred that Bartholomeu and Adan are in some sense more active parishioners, but the European-language versions avoid even the question of whether Lean and Miguel are Christians at all. From here, the relic passes up the Jesuit chain of command, from a priest who, the Portuguese specifies, was based in the village of Chijiwa and making the rounds in Harunobu’s lands on the Shimabara peninsula, to Pedro Gomez (1533/35–1600), then the Superior of western Kyūshū, to the Vice Provincial, Gaspar Coelho. All versions stress that this creates great excitement in Arima, but only the Spanish and Portuguese describe how it was placed in a reliquary and how a booming culture of pilgrimage sprang up around it, with people coming from various lands—“distant lands”, adds the Portuguese—to see it. According to those versions, people even began collecting pieces of the original tree, in the Spanish _no dexando quasi nada* “leaving hardly any of it,” and in the Portuguese, *não deixando della nada* “leaving nothing of it at all.” The temporal progression evident here is of course further evidence for the posteriority of the Portuguese.

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30 *sato no rojin*
Finally, the object is presented to Harunobu himself, and here the temporal priority of the Japanese version and the propagandistic function of the story becomes clear. The Japanese tells two rather different stories about Harunobu’s reaction. First, we hear that he may not have been very interested in this miraculous apparition as his subordinates and the Jesuits were.

They sent messengers to inform the sovereign, Lord Harunobu, of this thing. The ruler Harunobu for his part played along halfheartedly, and the next day, on Circunciação Day, after the worship of that honorable father and son, when he humbly saw this his aspect was suddenly altered, and he received it with reverence: so some say.  

Harunobu is not as excited about this apparition as the village elders or the Jesuits: the words expressing his non-reaction, nazo ni ryōjō atte [等閑に領掌あって] “He played along half-heartedly,” are used for example in the kōwaka Manjū to describe a daughter reluctantly going to study at a temple on her father’s orders: chikara oyobazu, ryōjō mōsarekereba “There was nothing she could do, so she played along.” Since Harunobu is blind to the spiritual value of the object, its discoverers, presumably Lean and Miguel, are brought in to teach him to evaluate it. Here the Japanese grammatically exalts the humble and humbles the exalted, as the model believers are called by an honorific, on fushi [御父子] “that Father and Son”, while the temporal ruler’s acts of seeing and receiving are expressed with the humilifics haiken [拝見] and chōdai [頂戴], respectively.

31 cono vomomuiuo reoxu farunobuco ye xixauo motte ccugue ccucauafaru farunobumo, nauozarini reojo atte ccuguino fi Circuncizão no fi von fuxi tomonti sanquei no ccuide ni, core uo faiqenno toqi tachimachi iro uo fenjite: chodaý xeraru sono yuare ari. ~ —

32 Asahara Yoshiko, Kitahara Yasuo, ed., SNKBT: Mai no hon (Iwanami shoten, 1994), 106.
As I discuss further in Chapter Six, honorifics in premodern Japanese play an indispensable role in creating stable interpersonal reference, akin to that of person, number, gender, or tense in Indo-European languages, and so in the Japanese this inversion is not just sociopolitical but grammatical. The Barreto Miscellany leaves some white space after this last sentence, then ends the paragraph with a relativizing postscript: *sono iware arī* “—so some say.”

The second story of Harunobu’s reaction begins by turning the clock back. When IESUS is pleased to work His wonders, He is accustomed to do just as He pleases, looking not on the goodness or evil of any one person, and so, two months before He was to manifest these things, at one time He caused Harunobu to see a miraculous dream.33

While on the one hand the patronizing tone toward Harunobu is made more explicit as the text casts aspersions on his *zen’aku* [善悪] “goodness or evil”, he is made the bumbling recipient of a prophecy legitimating the apparition.

So then, early one morning Harunobu came to worship, and while attending *missa* he had an awakening of faith, and as he stood up to leave he explained that he had something to tell the Padre, and when he therefore came out to meet him and hear him out, he said, “Last night I received a mysterious spirit dream. One who seemed to have the marks of an *Anjo* remonstrated with me, saying, ‘Why are you unbelieving? First, you come to worship grudgingly; second, you come to *confissão* only with great

33 *IESUS uō gindocu uo arauaxi tamaūa to uoboximefu toqi jenaqu no sono fitowo gorājerarezu,*

*voboximefu mamani saxerare naretaru gotocu, cono uomumuqiuo arauxitamauan nicacquqī ma֊yeni*

*farunobu ni zuymu uo mixe tamo coto arī.*
reluctance; third, you take lightly the holy commands of your mentors. You must reform your mind from now on. I will surely show you the sign of IESUS.\footnote{xicareba farunobu aru axta soso ni sanquei atte gomîsa uo vogami xinjin uo vocoxite macari tataruru ni.}

The language of belief here draws together terms which are both Sino-Japanese but each connected with different Buddhist sects whose Japanese branches were of differing vintages and social standings. During Mass, Harunobu shinjin wo okoshite [信心を起こして] “has an awakening of faith” as, strictly speaking, any mahāyana Buddhist aspirant might, but especially the Pure Land or Lotus schools put more emphasis on the experience of conversion and had more mass appeal among the lower classes throughout the Middle Ages, so the word appears much more in popular fiction.\footnote{James Dobbins, Jōdo Shinshū: Shin Buddhism in Medieval Japan (University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002).} Conversely, the angel calls Harunobu shinfugyū [信不及] “unbelieving,” an expression otherwise attested only in the gozan “Five Mountains” Zen tradition, a more recent import popular among the upper classes. Gozan scholarship constituted the cutting edge of Japanese work on continental literary and philosophical traditions,\footnote{Martin Collcutt, Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan (Harvard University Asia Center, 1981).} and the Jesuits had had some level of dialogue with them from the time of Xavier’s arrival in 1549 through the various public debates of the early seventeenth century.
Because there are no quotation marks, it is impossible to tell if the sentence that follows is to be understood as a narrative aside or as Harunobu’s own comment on his dream, but either way the authenticating intent is clear.

That cannot have been the work of men. ‘Honor this!’ he said, and turned to leave, and I woke up,” and when he went home he let the matter drop, dismissing what he’d heard as an everyday admonishment, but before much time had passed, when they showed him this prodigy he was presented with the whole business anew, and by and by he came to believe in this auspicious sign.37

Here, Harunobu is a willing if imperfect subject of the Christian order, who is not particularly surprised to receive miraculous kangī [諫議] “admonishment” from an angel. In this frame of mind, he need only remember the dream to recognize the cross in the firewood as the promised sign. However, we have seen how rough the transition is to this version of his reaction: we jump back in time two months, and no mention is made of his lack of interest as related in the first version. We are left with an impression as of a miracle story still midway through its process of redaction: one more revision and the prophecy would surely be moved to the beginning and mention of Harunobu’s lukewarm reaction erased.

In the Spanish and Portuguese versions, this is exactly what we find. Immediately after the discussion of the culture of pilgrimage and trade in secondary relics which the apparition supposedly spawned, the Spanish launches directly into Harunobu’s dream.

37 sore ninsaqu nite aru becarazu. Core uo tattomu bexi totte saritamo catofureba yume famenu to catarite cayerarureba: yō no ccune fitofamano go quāgūi catō qiqi sute te vocarureba fisaxicarazu xite. Cono quidocu uo mixetamo ua sono xubi arata ni aytamo to, yōyo cono zuysō uo auogui tatemaccuru mono nari.
And for greater testimony that this cross was given to Japan as a miracle of God, it is certain that, six months before it appeared, it was manifested to Don Protasio like a shadow which later came to pass in reality, for it happened that one night he was sleeping in his house, and he says that two persons appeared to him who he thought must have been sent from Heaven, and they remonstrated with him for not being more fervent and devoted, and not confessing very often, calling him tepid, and how he had a few times failed to attend Mass for trivial reasons, that he should frequent the church and confession, and should seek to follow the good counsels which the Priests gave him, and that he should know that a sign of Jesus would soon be found in his lands, not made by human hands, and that he should greatly esteem it because with it all would be well.38

Here, the backhanded comment about “good and evil” is gone, and we will see that this is only the beginning of Harunobu’s transformation vis-à-vis the Japanese from a reluctant to a willing instrument of this apparition. The prophecy is made more impressive, as it is delivered not two but six months before the event. In keeping with the Japanese version,

38 Para mayor testimonio de como fue dada a Iapon milagrosamente es cosa cierta que antes de aparecer seis mezes se manifesto a don Protacio como por sombra lo que despues realmente acontecio, y fue que estando una noche dormiendo el en su casa diz que le aparecieron dos personas que el penso que seran embiados del cielo las cuales le reprehendieron por no ser tanto fervoroso y deuoto y no confessarsse tan a menudo llamandole tibi y que algunas vezes auia dexado de oir missa cõ pequenas ocasiones (“frequentasse) la iglia y confission y procurasse seguir buenos concejos que le dauan los padres y que supiesse que en su trº se auia de hallar una senal de Jesu hecha no por mano de hombres que la estimasse em mucho porque en ella estaua todo bien
here Harunobu was not sure but only “thought” that the figure in his dream was sent from Heaven, but in the Portuguese version they “advised him that they were” sent from Heaven. The number of heavenly figures is ambiguous in the Japanese, but in the European languages they become two, in keeping with various Biblical apparitions. The promise of the apparition’s beneficial effect is also new, and again we see that the text is being brought into line with European precedent: Constantine, the first Christian Emperor of Rome, is traditionally said to have had a vision of a cross together with the words in hoc signo vinces “In this sign, you will conquer.”\(^39\)

In the aftermath of the vision, Harunobu becomes in the Spanish an enthusiastic believer in the vision from the beginning.

Don Protasio was astonished and as it were haunted by this vision. Later, at dawn, he came to tell everything in great detail to Father Pedro Gomes, with the Priest also there who served as interpreter. That Priest entreated Pedro Gomes to do for him just as had been entreated to him, but neither he nor the other Priest made anything of this vision at the time, although they did tell it to the other Priests, recounting to them what had happened to Don Protasio. \(^40\)


\(^40\)quedo don Protacio con esta uision admirado y como asombrado luego em amaneciendo, uino a contar todo mui destintamente al p.º Pº gomes estando tambien alli o padre que servía de interprete encomendolle el pº a Pero gomez que lo hiziesse assí como se lo auía encomendado mas ninguno de los padres hizo por
This change can be accounted for by a change in expected audience. In Japan, Coelho’s mission was in the business of providing economic and military support to the losing side in domestic conflicts, then using the resulting goodwill to convert at one stroke the provinces of the petty lords thus kept afloat. Militarily, the mission was in the business of intervening in domestic affairs to invert weak and strong and thereby place itself above both. In the Japanese version of this story we have seen that it performs a similar move on a literary, even a grammatical level. Fróis’ letter, by contrast, was intended for European publication, so in the Spanish version it is perfectly safe to give Harunobu the initiative and let him understand the vision before the Jesuits do. This way, the ultimate message is that the Jesuits are such good teachers that their students have surpassed them, and therefore they are worthy of donations of money and other resources from the European elite. Indeed, letters like this one were written and published in Europe by patrons like the Archbishop of Evora for the sole and express purpose of soliciting such support. The reaction of Pedro Gomez seems to be garbled in the Spanish by the addition of an extra letter a: I have translated encomendolle el Padre a Pero Gomez que lo hizisses assi como se lo auia encomendado faithfully as, “That Priest entreated Pedro Gomez to do for him just as had been entreated to him,” but judging from the Portuguese, Fróis probably meant for his secretary to write encomendolle el Padre Pero Gomez... “Father Pedro Gomez entreated him,” i.e., entreated Harunobu.
Nevertheless, in regard to this prophecy the Jesuits are depicted dropping the ball which Harunobu has held onto. As soon as he finds out about the apparition, a point which is added to the Spanish as a marginal note but incorporated smoothly into the Portuguese, he comes to offer the appropriate worship.

He came later with his wife and sons to adore it, and looking at it attentively prostrated before it, the color of his face was changed and made astonished [by] God in the extreme, clapping his hands together, said, “Here, Fathers: what I told you would happen in six months is confirmed! And here is the sign of Jesus, not made by hands of men nor by work of nature, but by the divine virtue and infinite power of God!” And giving many thanks to our Lord, he said likewise that such a miraculous cross, being discovered at this time of persecution, seemed to him to signify one of two things, either that the holy cross and faith of Jesus Christ was to be adored and raised up with great honor in all of Japan, or that the Priests would have to die as martyrs put on the cross.\footnote{uino luego con su muger y hijos a adorarla y uiendola con grande atencion prostrado entro mudado el color del rostro y quedando en estremo admirado Dios una palmada en una mano en la otra diziendo es aquí padres verificado loque yo os dixe que auia nisto ha seis mezes e aquí la senal de Iesus no echa por manos de hombres ni por obra natural mas por uirtud, diuina y poder infinítyo de dios y dando muchas graças a nosso sô acresento que aquella cruz tan milagrosa, descubriendosse en tempo desta persecuion le parecia ã senificaua una de dos cosas o que la sancta cruz quô fie de nrô s. ã Jesu christo seria adorada y leuantada en grande honrra en todo lapon o que los pô auian de morir martires puesto ê crus} 

The first story from the Japanese, in which Harunobu shows no interest in the relic until he sees the father and son worshiping it, uses the phrase \textit{tachimachi iro wo henjite}
“suddenly his color was changed,” and this is mirrored here in the Spanish by *mudado el color del rostro* “the color of his face was changed” just as if the two stories in the Japanese had been harmonized into this one in the Spanish, where Harunobu is made to deliver the definitive interpretation of the apparition which also appears in the opening words of the story: namely, that it is directly related to Hideyoshi’s expulsion edict of 1587, and it may mean that blood is to be shed in the near future. Finally, the piece ends with a postscript that sheds light on the political reasons for this literary siege mentality.

*The Church Militarized: Gaspar Coelho’s Sanctions and Sieges*

The story ends in all versions with a postscript authenticating the apparition by means of a numbered list of various empirical measures such as the size, shape, color, and material of the cross and the circumstances of its finding. In the Japanese, this section alone contains some infelicities of language, and the Spanish and Portuguese have expanded versions of the list and repeat the information it contains throughout the story. Accordingly, this postscript seems to have been conceptualized if not authored by a non-native speaker. One feature unique to the Japanese, however, is the identification of the Viceprovincial Gaspar Coelho as the driving force behind the investigation and canonization of this miracle and the production of this narrative, in a text something like a bishop’s imprimatur.

So when they were made to go before the Prefect of Japan and Great Tang, *Padre Viceprovincial* Gaspar Coelho, he called in several of the elders of that place, made
them swear an oath and asked them all about this sequence of events, and he did
promulgate this thing to all the various lands. However, Coelho’s credentials are presented as if he is not a bishop or the Viceprovincial of the Jesuit mission to China and Japan, which he had been since 1581, but a tsukasa [ startActivityForResult] “prefect”. The question of whether the Japanese language of this time used absolute or relative honorifics is an open one which will be discussed further in Chapter Six, but for now suffice it to say that the use of honorifics for Coelho here does not necessarily preclude his having drafted it himself.

The Spanish treats the apparition not as a rallying point for the Prefect of Japan and China but as the object of a purely religious culture of pilgrimage, mentioning Coelho only by his religious title, Viceprovincial, and in series with the Visitor, Valignano.

And since God had shown this wonderful sign in the lands of Don Protasio, it seemed good to the Father Vice-Provincial and later to the Father Visitor that, in keeping with Don Protasio’s entreaties, this holy relic should be kept in Arima. The Portuguese adds to the last sentence a further clause in the perfect aspect: “Arima, where it is enshrined and many people come from many places to adore it,”

42 Sore nippon taýto uo von Ccuafa sa nite maximasu P e Viceprov÷cial G uaspar Coelho ye maýraxterarexi toqi cono Qaixo no rofai sunin mexi ýoxe chicaý uo saxete sono ýuraý uo toi qiuame tamaýte, xofoni core uo firome tamo mono nari. ~ —

43 por auer dios mostrado esta marauilosa señal en las tierras de don Protasio pareció al P.º uice Prouincial y dispues al pº Visitor haziendolo tambien sobre ello instancia el mesmo don Protasio, ã esta reliquia sancta se gardasse ê Arima
evidence of its anteriority. Coelho’s role is diminished and Valignano is brought in to corroborate him in the Spanish version because in October 1590 when Fróis wrote it, Coelho had suddenly died six months earlier, after beginning to organize a joint Spanish-Portuguese-Christian daimyō military response to Hideyoshi’s expulsion edict of 1587. This edict explicitly states as its main justification the forced conversions which had accompanied Coelho’s earlier missionary successes and the meddling in military affairs that had brought them about. Moreover, the edict was likely precipitated in the first place by Coelho’s attempts to organize a military alliance of Christian daimyō and to ingratiate himself to Hideyoshi with military assistance. Accordingly, due consideration of this political context will shed light on the purposes for which the *Story of a Cross Which Miraculously Appeared in Japan* was first drafted, sometime between December 1589 and October 1590, when the Spanish was written.

On 4 May 1586, Coelho was present at an intimate gathering in Ōsaka Castle between Hideyoshi, the Jesuits, and high-profile converts like Ōtomo Sōrin and Takayama Ukon, on which Jurgis Elisonas has done the latest historical research.\(^45\) Two accounts of this meeting are known so far, one by Fróis meant for publication in Europe and one by Organtino Gnocchi-Soldo (1530–1609) which is later but more reliable because it is a confidential message to the Superior General by a missionary based in Kyoto, far from Coelho’s headquarters in Nagasaki. According to Organtino, Coelho volunteered to arrange the military assistance of a united coalition of Christian daimyō

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\(^{44}\) Arima, aonde está depozitada e vem de muitas partes muita gente a adorá-la.

\(^{45}\) Elisonas, “Christianity and the Daimyō”, 348 *seq.*
for Hideyoshi’s Kyūshū campaign against the Shimazu and to procure two Portuguese carracks for his invasion of Korea and China. It was no doubt in an attempt to fulfill this first promise that Coelho then spent the second half of 1586 meeting with several daimyō in Shikoku, Yamaguchi, and Nagasaki, then went to Arima to meet with Harunobu early in 1587. However, Harunobu had been saved by Hideyoshi’s rivals the Shimazu in his fight against the Ryūzōji, and so he refused to join Coelho’s Christian coalition. At this, the angry Coelho pulled all Jesuit personnel out of Harunobu’s lands, as he had done to his first convert Ōmura Sumitada in the early 1580s for refusing to join a similar alliance. Coelho was never to visit him again, not even to comfort him on his deathbed.\textsuperscript{46} From the \textit{Story of a Cross} it is evident that by 1589 there were many Jesuits in Arima again, but the history of Coelho’s relationship with Harunobu must be considered in connection with his use of him as a central but ambivalent character in his propaganda literature.

Meanwhile, Hideyoshi’s pacification of Kyūshū reached a successful conclusion, and on 19 July 1587 Coelho came to see him in Hakozaki in his private ship, a two hundred- to three-hundred-ton Portuguese-style \textit{fusta armada} custom-built in Nagasaki, supposedly the fastest ship in Japan at that time. Coelho had an artillery salute fired off to congratulate the victorious hegemon and was treated to a cheerful meeting with the man himself.\textsuperscript{47} Coelho was continuing his earlier strategy of providing military aid in exchange for religious conversion, this time on a grand scale that promised the ultimate payoff: Hideyoshi even apparently promised to open all of China to Jesuit proselytization.

\textsuperscript{46} Elisonas, “Christianity and the Daimyō”, 352.

\textsuperscript{47} George Elison, \textit{Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan} (Harvard University Press, 1988), 109 \textit{seq}.
once his conquests were secure. However, it was all a ruse, for less than a week later, Hideyoshi issued his expulsion edict. This came as a surprise to the Jesuits, but it is well known that a large part of the work of Japanese unification which he had just completed had consisted of protracted conflict with politically-active religious institutions like the Pure Land sectarians of Honganji and the Lotus Sect warrior monks of Enryakuji, as explained in the text of the edict itself. Accordingly, Hideyoshi’s blandishments were a show meant to draw out Coelho’s true ambitions and to stall for time until he could consolidate his power. Coelho for his part responded to the expulsion by stockpiling artillery in Nagasaki, which as an independent Jesuit colony since 1580 had already been “fortified to withstand any attack”. In 1588 he sent a letter to Manila asking for Spanish troops, and in 1589 he dispatched a Jesuit representative to Macao to arrange the Portuguese troops from Macao, apparently with the aim of resisting Hideyoshi in an eventual military showdown. Then, apparently sometime before his sudden death in May 1590, he commissioned the miracle story under discussion here. His death, along with the return of Valignano with the Boys’ Embassy of Japan to Kyūshū in July of that year, served to bury this brush with religious war and together with the Jesuits’ acquisition of several high-status converts may have contributed to Hideyoshi’s eventual non-enforcement of the expulsion. In any case, this is the context within which Coelho’s foray into proletarian literature took place.

In the Japanese version, Coelho’s list of memoranda begins with the cross’ physical features: its color is evidence of its authenticity, as is its straightness, apparently in defiance of the grain of the wood. In his interest in precise documentation of empirical evidence, even for a miraculous sign, Coelho is a Renaissance man in spite of himself. The symbolic and calendrical connections of the subsequent items are straightforward enough, but the tortured wording of phrases like *ni ka tsuki no izen ni go tsuge no mōshi tamō koto* [二ヶ月の以前に御告げの申し給ふること] “that the proclamation said two months of in advance”, ⁵⁰ which has both a humilific and an honorific in the same verb, leaves little doubt of European authorship of this section, whose infelicities I have tried to preserve in my translation. Moreover, the Spanish specifies that “the Father Visitor has decided to make a very rich reliquary in which [the two halves of the cross] will be very well protected in some altar, thus making it possible to show them to the public,” ⁵¹ and this further suggests that the Japanese, which lacks this detail, reached the form in which Barreto copied it before July 1590, when Valignano returned to Japan. In all versions we have standard-issue numerology in quantities like forty years, two stones, two months (six in the Spanish and Portuguese). Even without knowing what Coelho was planning, a siege mentality is evident in statements about this miracle such as *tōshū no sainan no migiri, crus no on hata wo age tamaite go ninzu ni tanomoshiki wo motaseraruru koto* [当宗の災難の吶クスの御幡を挙げ給いて御人衆に頼もしきを持たせらること] “that at a moment of disaster for the Church, it raised high the banner of the crus and gave

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⁵⁰ *nicca ccuqui no ūjen ni goccuge no moxi tamo coto*

⁵¹ *el padre Visitador de hazerlo hun muy rico reliquario en que esten muy bien gardadas en algun altar para poderse mostrar al pueblo.*
confidence to the masses." The exorcistic properties which folk religion attributed to the kind of tree in which the cross was found, explained in further detail in the Spanish and Portuguese versions, contribute to a hope that even local *jentio* “Gentiles” will rejoice in this sign. More scientific details are provided in the whiteness of the tree and the type of cross it was: from the fact that the sign (INRI, etc.) was visible on top of the cross, it becomes clear that the double-barred cross appearing in the Barreto Miscellany at the beginning of the composition is meant as a diagrammatic representation of the artifact. By way of denying the possibility that the apparition was forged, Coelho’s memorandum calls the discoverers *busaiku naru yarō* [不細工なる野郎] “artless rubes.” The Spanish version expands the piece’s valorization of lower-class intuition by adding the story, probably not available at the time of composition of the Japanese, of a miraculous cure effected on a local insane man by contact with the wood of the tree in which the cross appeared. This remedy is resorted to at the instigation of “Christian relatives”, and so the spiritual destination of the man in question is left ambiguous, but the Portuguese clears this up by adding a happy ending, in which he also unfortunately dies: “And a few days later this good old man died confessed.”

As in the abortive first version of Harunobu’s reaction to the artifact as seen in the Japanese, the peasants’ artlessness is elevated above the art of Japanese rulers like Harunobu, while Coelho’s Jesuits become the arbiters of both. Harunobu’s narrative conversion to a wholehearted believer models the “obedience” to “mentors” the angel

52 toxu no sayn no minguir ir crus no von fatigue a gutama yte gonia jun tanomoxiqui uo motaxararu coto

53 busaiyu naru yaro

54 E dahi a poucos dias morre este bom velho confessado.
would surely recommend to all temporal rulers, including Hideyoshi. By reversing and displacing the domestic social binary between high and low, Coelho attempts to install himself at the top of a new binary between spiritual and temporal power, wherein the former contains and controls the latter as, for example, in Bernard of Clairveaux’s take on the medieval European theory of the two swords of spiritual and temporal governance, which I have also mentioned in connection with the division of powers between sacred and secular in the ceremonial noh in Chapter Three. At first glance it might seem that Coelho was following a new strategy by mobilizing social egalitarianism in the service of global theocracy, but recall that when he intervened in the provincial skirmishes of the 1570s, the economic and military aid with which he bought his daimyō converts always followed Yoshitsune’s promise from the Princeton Sagamigawa, discussed in Chapter One: “Wherever the weaker force loses ground against the stronger, I, Coelho, am there.” With the Story of the Cross he was only falling back on his earlier strategy on a different scale and in a different medium, and it was rather his attempt in Hideyoshi’s case to promise the strong ideological control over the weak that was new—and destined to fail because Hideyoshi recognized that by hiring such a middleman he would only be strengthening a potential rival with military capabilities of his own.

Conclusion

Throughout the twentieth century, the best scholarship on the Jesuit mission to Japan was carried out by Jesuits: Georg Schurhammer, Johannes Laures, Josef Wicki, Josef Schütte. These scholars had both easy access to the relevant materials in the Jesuit archives, the Vatican, and in repositories across Europe, and the motivation to write the
history of their own order. However, the Jesuit archives have in recent decades opened their doors to lay researchers, and so it has become possible to examine the sources from a variety of perspectives, which can only lead to the edification of all. The existence of Jesuit literature in Japanese gives the lie to narratives of Japanese exceptionalism and nativism which somehow still make it axiomatic in much of Japan that Christianity and traditional Japanese culture are not merely very different but somehow fundamentally incompatible, in a way that, say, Hawai’ian culture and Christianity were not.

However, as we have seen, the fact that the Jesuits produced this literature as part of their strategy of “cultural accommodation” does not mean that it was undertaken in the pursuit of intercultural understanding for its own sake. While the missionaries did bring many new ideas and technologies to Japan, from which it benefited in ways that have yet to be fully acknowledged, the missionaries were nevertheless spreading an ideology with a sociopolitical agenda, which they could and did use sociopolitical forces to achieve, just as they were accustomed to do in their home countries in Europe. Nor were such practices foreign to Japan, as various militant Buddhist sects governed whole provinces for a century at a time in the middle ages. However, Hideyoshi’s Jesuit expulsion edict also constituted a ban on theocracy, or perhaps a replacement of such structures with the cult of himself, and it was this that the Tokugawa were to expand into the cult of Ieyasu described in Chapter Three. In the event, Japan become one of a handful of countries in

55 Ebisawa Arimichi, Yōgaku denrai ki: Kirishitan jidai kara bakumatsu made (United Church of Christ in Japan, 1983); Hubert Cieslik, “Shūkyō shishō shi kara mita Bareto shahon”, Kirishitan kenkyū 7 (1962); Sen Sōshi (Kobayashi Chigusa), Habian: ai wa ai yori idete (Seibundō shuppan, 1991).

56 Carol Tsang, War and Faith: Ikkō Ikki in Late Muromachi Japan (Harvard University Asia Center, 2007).
world history in which European missionaries did not actively restructure indigenous society and culture.\(^{57}\) This was not because none of the Jesuits wanted to do so but because in Japan, which after the period of civil wars had accumulated the largest standing army in the world at that time, they could not—except in the realm of literature.

In that connection, this chapter serves as a corrective to recent English-language scholarship on the seventeenth-century Japanese reaction to the Jesuit mission. The problem is that these scholars tend to minimize the extent to which the Jesuits had a sociopolitical project, to which later Japanese thinkers were genuinely reacting. The Edo-period intellectual historian Kiri Paramore has demonstrated that *Haiyaso*, which the Confucian philosopher Hayashi Razan (1583–1657) presents as a record of a debate he had with the Japanese Jesuit Fabian Fucan (ca. 1565–1621) in 1606, responds not to any ideas in Fabian’s actual writings but rather to those of China Jesuit Mateo Ricci’s 1603 天主実義 *Tianzhu shiyi*, which was published in China but had found its way to Japan by the mid–seventeenth century. Accordingly, Paramore argues compellingly that *Haiyaso* is a fictional debate written by Razan in the mid–seventeenth century, with reference not to Fabian but to Ricci.\(^{58}\) Jan Leuchtenberger has likewise made a major contribution to the field of Japanese literary studies by analyzing the vast corpus of anti-Christian narrative literature that began to appear from the early seventeenth century on. She illuminates the ways in which the image of the foreign threat evolved throughout the Edo period, naturally in the near absence of further contact with Catholic missionaries.\(^{59}\) Both these

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\(^{57}\) One short list might run: Japan, Korea, Thailand, Bhutan, Iran.


studies show the development of images and ideas unmoored from their original sources, but Paramore also suggests, based on a contrast between early- and late-seventeenth-century anti-Christian literature, that the idea that the Jesuits were actively trying to acquire political power in Japan, using either European or domestic military power, which he calls the “invasion plot” theory, was a mere figment of the imagination of late-seventeenth-century Japanese thinkers. Leuchtenberger likewise treats the political and economic ambitions of the Christian villains in the tales she treats as fictions on par with their animal-like appearance and topsy-turvy customs. However, in this chapter, direct engagement with late-sixteenth-century Jesuit texts has revealed that the missionaries did indeed have active political, economic, and social projects, which they, like Hayashi Razan and the authors of anti-Christian fiction, often furthered using literature. Accordingly, the latter were both responding to something real, however far removed.

The piece under discussion here, understood in the context of its production, makes it clear that Jesuit literary production did not stand outside political power relations but rather actively sought to harness them for the sake of its message. It was precisely the reversal of domestic power relations to win converts to an international order that anti-Christian literature of the seventeenth century would criticize in these terms:

They sent out men to search throughout the Capital and its outskirts, in wayside chapels in the hills and plains, and even underneath bridges. They gathered in outcasts
and beggars and others with diseases and afflictions, had them take a bath and cleanse the body, and gave them clothing, succor, shelter, and care.  

Accordingly, the rejection of missionary influence which began with Hideyoshi’s edict may have been based on various misunderstandings, but it was not based on a failure to recognize some apolitical character which the mission purportedly had. It is no coincidence that a message written on an arrow from the Christian-inspired rebels’ side in the Shimabara conflict of 1637 reads, “Among all sentient beings there is no such distinction as noble and base.”  

The peripheral and resource-poor Kyūshū region had long resorted for survival to extralegal activities on the high seas and achieved a modicum of independence from central control by maintaining ambiguous ties to what are now considered other countries, and now it had finally found an ideology that validated its weaker position. Japan’s political class perceived the threat that this posed to their authority, however, and so it was that the next hundred years’ political thought would be dedicated to working out stable, practical formulae for balancing weak and strong in their own society.

60 Account of the Kirishitan Religion, after 1689, Kyoto University Library, quoted in Elison, Deus Destroyed, 215.
61 Ibid., 220.
APPENDIX 4A

Spanish Story of a Cross (1590), transcription.

From the Letter of Luís Fróis to the Superior General, 12 Oct 1590.

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Jap. Sin. 50, ff. 103v-106.

[103v]

En un lugar llamado Obama en las tierras de obama de Arima aconteció este año huna
dellas mas grandes y maravillosas cosas, q se ha nista hasta oj en Japon y que sobre
todas las otras causo muy grande devoción y miovimiento en los christianos hazié
dolos entrar, en grande conocimiento del misterio de la santiss.ª crus. y en grande es
perança que este glorioso estandarte auia de ser muy inxalçado y venirado en Japô
lo qual en tpô de esta perfeccion no fue pequena consolacion y refrigero de tâtas
angustias quantas en estos tres annos han passado todos assy padres como cristi =
anos el caso acontecio desta manera
la vigilia de la natividad. el ano da ochenta y nueve en q conforme a la encarna
cion de Chrô N. s.ºº entra el anno nueuo en este lugar de obama, tres leguas de Arima
un, çpiâno llamado leon enbio a son hijo suyo por nombre Miguel a buscar una poca
de leña para la fiesta de nauidad. el qual uiendo que dentro del sitio donde
estaua su casa auia un arbol muy uieyo de ningun fruto y quasi de todo sequo
por ser arbol espinosa çq en Iapon se llama Tara de dos braços de altura de gro =
sura de siete palmos en rueda que antigamente nacio alli, entre unos penascos
y no queriendo el mancebo air mas lexos, determino de cortarlo y despues de tra
bajar un grâ rato en derribarla anocheiendo se recogio, con intencion del dia
segundo en amaneciendo tornar a hender hum pedaço del pera leña corto un pedaço del tronco dia de Nauidad por la manana, y hendiendolo por medio en apartá dosse aquellos dos pedaços, uno destro, uido en el medio de cada uno, una cruz muy bien formada de mas de medio palmo de largo de color entre colorado y nengro siendo todo el mas palo muy blanca como lo es de su nãl quedando con esto admirado tomo ambos los pedaços en que estauan las dos cruzes, y se fue corriendo a mos = trarlos a su padre a este tempo que el contaua el caso legaró a visitar a su pº dos xpiãnos buenos hombres uno llamado Bartolome, y otro Adam a darlo das buenas pasaras oyendo el caso y uiendo las cruzas tomaron aquellos dos pedaços de palo y con grande deuocion adorando la sancta cruz los puzieron sobre sus cabeças y cada uno lleno el suyo para casa para mostrarlo al pº aquiê esperauã el dia seguinte que auia de venir de Chinguia a decirles missa, llego la 2.ª octaua y luego en la iglia le a presentaron ambos los pedaços assi toscos como estauan y le contarô el caso llama = sse el pº Antº hernandez que uiendo aquellas cruzes tan marauilhosas las adoro con grân deuocion y las puso sobre el altar diziendo missa con grande sentimiên = to y lagrimas pues en tal tiempo aparecia en Iapon senal tan marauilosa para que manifiestamiête se conociesse que hum obra sobrenat. estaua de tal manera figurado que siendo como se dixo todo el palo mui blanco he la cruz es de mesmo color qui tiene el uerdadrº leño de la sancta cruz entre colorado y negro y lo que mas es que siendo la cruz de un palo de color tan diferente todavuia es as continua con el otro palo blanco sin ninguna diuicion y como se uê claramiente sin profundidad en ambas las partes iuntas sera poco menos que la grosura de un toston de portug.
la cual grosura como se diuidio en dos partes cada una en su palo diferente queda en cada uno muy delgada y lo que mas espanta que qñ se hendidio el madero - quedó la cruz repartida den una parte del palo y en la otra como se estuuiera la cruz encaxada una en otra por que una crus quedo algúntanto leuâtada y la otra algo sumida y honda dentro del palo, de manr'â ñ claram'ê se ue õ fera una misma crus la cual repartiendose con el golpe quedo de quella manr'â acabada la missa emboluyendo con gran deuocion el p'º estos dos pedaços en panos de ceda. los lleno luego a Arima al padre p'º Gomes õ entonces fera sup.'â del ximo Concorriendo los mas padres y hermanos Veindo [104v]

con sus oios cosa tan admirauel se dio auiso al padre v. prou' el qual mando hacer la diliyencia deuida examinendo todos los hombres õ ariua dexi = mos, y hallosse que la santa crus se auia allada de la manera que esta referido y no podiendosse negar cosa tan marauillosa se puzieron ambos estos pedaços en un reliq'º bien hecho y dorado con su uidro para ser uista ambaf las cruzes publicada la cosa entre los xpñanos fue tan grand,'ê el concurso y deuo = cion, que que se causo en los animos de todos õ de diversas partes acodia mucha g.'ê por tr.'â y de lexos por mar uenião las embarquaciones cargadas, de hombres mujeres y ninõs no tenendo respecto ni al frío y rigor del inuierno ný a uenir de muy lexos con gastos y trabayos, andorar la sancta cruz y tocar sus cuentas en el reliq'º donde estaua õ no se contentauan con esto mas õ uan tambien a visitar el lugar donde fue cortado el arbol en que apareçió tomando por respecto della tanta deuocion al mismo arbol õ cada uno procuraua llevar del un pedacito por reliquia y
assi gastaron el tronco que yá estaua cortado y fueron adelante cortando hasta las raizes no dexando quasi nada, dells, y conforme la fie y devocion que nella tienåuan experimentando algunas efectos, de la uirtud. della sanctissima crus y el mayor de todo, y mas para estimar, es la grande devocion que uniuersalmjente ha causa = do esta cruz en toda la xpiåndad, de lapon porque de las partes de Miaco Bungo y yamangunhe y de otros diuersos regnos de lapon uienå cada dia xpiånos hombres y mugeres, y entre ellos mucha gente noble de proposito a Arima p° uer y adorar la s.ª cruz.

Para mayor testimonio de como fue dada a lapon milagrosammente es cosa cierta q antes de aparecer seis mezex se manixesto a don Protacio como por sombra loq despues realmente acontecio, y fue que estando una noche dormiendo el en su casa diz que le aparecieron dos personas que el penso que seran embiados del cielo las quales le reprehendierõ por no ser tåo feruoroso y deuoto y no confessarsse tan a menudo llamandole tibie y que algunas uezex auia dexado de oir missa cõ pequenas occa = frequentasse siones ,la iglia y confession y procurasse seguir buenos concejos que le dauan [105]

los padres y que supiesse que en su tr° se auia de hallar una senal de Jesu hecha no por mano de hombres que la estimasse em mucho porque en ella estaua todo bien quedo don Protacio con esta uision admirado y como asombrado luego em ama = neciendo, uino a contar todo mui destintamente al p° gomes estando tambien alli o padre que servia de interprete encomendolle el p° a Pero gomez que lo hizi = esse assi como se lo auia encomendado mas ninguno de los padres hizo por entonces caso desta uizion aunque la contaron a otros padres diciéndolo que auia venido
don Protasio ^ uino luego con su muger y hijos a adorarla y uiendola con grande atencion prostrado entr^ mudado el color del rostro y quedando en estremo admira = do Dios una palmada em una mano en la otra diziendo es aqui padres uerificado loque y os dixe que auia nisto ha seis mezes e aqui la senal de Iesus no echa por ma = nos de hombres ni por obra natural mas por uirtud, diuina y poder infinîto de dios y dando muchas graças a nosso sôr acrescento que aquella cruz tan milagrosa, des cubriendosse en tempo desta persecucion le parecia ã senificaua una de dos cosas o que la sancta cruz quy fie de nrô s.ôr Iesu christo seria adorada y leuantada en grande honrra en todo Iapon o que los pêos auian de morir martires puesto e crus por auer dios mostrado esta marauilosa señal en las tierras de don Protasio pareció al P.ôr vice Prouincial y dispues al pôe Visitador haziendolo tambien sobre ello instancia el mesmo don Protasio, ã esta reliquia sancta se gardasse ê Arima y assy se hizo Acerca desta sancta cruz se notaron assy por los nrôs como por los xpiânos algunãs circustancias que la hazen aun mas marauillosa la pr^ auerse hallado e dia del s.môo nafcimiento del hijo de Dios por ser esta señal muy propia y conueniente a tal dia, la 2.ô aparecer en el fin de los quarenta annos que ha ã se predica en Iapon el santo euangellio porque alem, deste numero ser tão perfecto y notable en lâ sagrada escriputura ãdando sepultada la genti lidad serã daqui adelante recibido de todo Iapon el sagrado euang.ô la 3ô fer este a marauilloso aparecimiento, reuelado seis mezes antes al sôr y rey nãl destas partes amonestandolo ã la tuuiesse, en grande estima para ã

^ [right-hand marginal note] Mas despues | ã aparecio es|ta Cruz dâto|se uientad el | caso a dô Protafio
con este testimonio se mostrasse mas cierto al mundo ser esta sancta cruz echa por uirtud diuina la 4.ª nacer este arbol dentro del qual fue formada
la cruz enfima de una piedra que estaua iunto al camino y como christo es Verdadr.ª piedra y uiua por la qual se encaminão todos los que uan desècam = nados, corresponde una cosa y otra a esta marauilosa senal de Iesus cº no fôr. la quinta ser este arbol de su naturaleza per fuera todo llado lleno do espinas
para meýor reprnítar al misterio de la passion y crus del hijo de dios, la 6.ª aperecer en tempo de esta persecucion nrã y de la χριστιandad. dando a todos los χριστianos con esta glorioso estandarte una cierta esperança de uitoria y triumpho y que a de tener fin esta persecucion y la sancta crus como bandera uitorioza y triumphante a de ser lleuantada y uenerada en todo Iapon la spª ser de su naturaleza este arbol muý uenerado y estimado de los gentiles en Iapon per suadiendosse que tiene alguna uirtud contra el demonio pello que acostumbrão universalmente todos en el prº dia de su prº año nuevo ponerlo enfrente de las puertas de sus casas pareciendolos que quedan seguros y que podia entrar en ellos el demonio y llamasse este arbol Tara la 8.-º ñ siendo esto palo naturalmente blanco el color desta crus es el mismo ñ el de la arbol de la sª uera cruz, la 9.ª hallarsse en la mitad. de un arbol tan antigo y tan grande, para con esto se entender meja ñ no era ny podia ser de ninguna manera echa por obra humana. la desima ser esta sancta crus muý perfecta y ben acabada y de una medida proporcionada, y maravillo = fa porque mediendo con compazo el tít.º iustamente es la mitad del braço
¿Atraiéza y el braco es iustamente la mitad del complimiento de la cruz de manera que con la midýda del tit.º se mide iustissimamente toda la cruz y dando son esto muy bien proporcionada y el tit.º es de la misma manera.

¿El de la uera cruz ¿ está en Roma según dizen los padres ¿ la uieron puesto ¿ no tiene escrita cosa ninguna con que se ué ser obra diuina la 11º concossir la diuina prouidencia tan particularmente al tempo ¿ se hendio este palo ¿ el moço diese el golpe por aquella parte de tal manera, que quedasse esta
cruz diuidida como quedó en una y otra parte del palo porque de qualquiera otra manr.º ¿ se hendiera quedará lá cruz cortada y perdiendo su figura y loque mas hes que hendiendosse el palo de manrº que las dós partes en cima y en baxo queda = ron desiguales, todauia quedó todo el espacio en que estaba la santa crus muy ygual y derecho la 12.º l que esta sinal desde el tiempo que apareció imprimio uniuersalmente en los coracones de los χριanos de Japon tan gran deuocion y contien = to que bien parece obra diuina de manr.º que agora es una de los mejores y mas cele bradas y veneradas reliquias que ay en Japon y por esto tiene determinado el padre Visitador de hazerlo hun muy rico reliquario en que esten muy bien gardadas en algun altar para poderse mostrar al pueblo.

En una aldea de Arie estauna hun hombre fuera de iuizio con algunos acci dentes y como loco cayo enfermo y su muger embio a llamar hun padre para có fessarlo no lo pudo hazer por estar incapaz con la locura ¿ le duro un anno intero tuuolo en casa desta manera hasta que se descubrió esta santa crus alcanzando su muger una reliquia de aquel palo donde apareció que todos los χριanos có tanta
deuocion procurauan auer, y persuadiendolo algunos sus parientes xpíanos que diesse
a beber a su marido un poco do aquel palo molido con fie y deuocion rogando a N. s."q
por los merecimientos de la santa crus quisiesse ayudarle hizolo ela assim
y luego se comenzó a hallar mejor de manr\' que em breue tpô torno a su intero
iuizio y llamado de nuevo el mismo p." para confessarle, hallolo sano y capâs del
Sacramento de que quedo espantado y preguntando como auia sido se lo referieron
dando glía y loor a la s\'a cruz
In a place called Obama in the lands of Obama of Arima, there came to pass this year one of the greatest and most marvelous things that has happened so far in Japan, and which more than all the others has been the cause of very great devotion and excitement among the Christians, causing them to enter into great understanding of the mystery of the most holy cross, and into great hope that this glorious standard will be much instilled and venerated in Japan, and which in the time of this persecution became no small consolation and relief of such distressing things as had come to pass these three years for all the Priests as well as for the Christians, and the event occurred in this way.

The vigil of the nativity. The year of eighty nine, in which for the incarnation of Christ our Lord, the new year arrived in this place, Obama, three leagues from Arima, a Christian named Leon told his son, by the name of Miguel, to look for a bit of firewood for the feast of the Nativity. He, seeing that there was within the plot where his house was a very old tree with no fruit on it and almost completely dry because it was a spiny tree which in Japan is called Tara, two fathoms in height and in width six spans around, which had grown there long before, between some boulders; and the youth, not wanting to go any farther, decided to cut it, and after working on a large piece in order to break it down it was night, so he went home with the intention of returning with the dawn to split off a
piece of it for firewood, and he cut a piece of the trunk for tomorrow the day of the Nativity, and splitting it down the middle, as these two pieces split, one from the other, he saw in the middle of each one, a very well-formed cross of more than a half a span in length and of a color between red and black, with all the rest of it being very white wood as is natural. And being amazed by this, he then took both pieces in which were the two crosses, and he went running to show them to his father. And then, as he was telling the story, two good Christian men came to visit, one named Bartholomew and the other Adam, to greet them, and hearing the story and seeing the crosses, they took those two pieces of wood and with great devotion, adoring the holy cross, put them on their heads, and each taking one for his house to show it to the Father, who they were hoping would come there the next day from Chijiwa to say Mass for them.

The second octave of Christmas came, and later in the church they presented to him both those pieces, crude as they were, and they told him the story, and Father Antonio Fernandes who had come, called those crosses so marvelous and adored them with great devotion and put them upon the alter, saying Mass with great feeling and tears, since at such a time so marvelous a sign had appeared in Japan. In order that it might be manifestly understood that this was a supernatural work, it was done in such a way that, all the wood being very white, as has been said, this cross was of the same color which the true wood of the holy cross has between red and black. And what is more, that this cross being of a wood of a color so different, was completely connected with the other wood without any division; and as can be clearly seen it was without variation in depth in both the divided parts and slightly less than the thickness of a coin of Portugal. Because its thickness was divided into two parts, one part in its wood ended up different from the
other, very slender. And what is more astounding is that where the log was split, the cross ended up on one side and on the other in such a way that they fit one into the other; for one cross was somewhat raised and the other somewhat sunken and set back inside the wood, in such a way that it was clearly seen that it was one and the same cross, which being split by the blow, became that way.

After Mass, the Priest wrapped those two pieces with great devotion in sheets of silk, and he took them to Arima to Fr. Pedro Gomes, who was then the Superior of Shimo. And most of the Priests and Brothers came together to see with their eyes such a wondrous thing, which they made known to the Father Vice-Provincial. He, having due diligence done in examining all the men whom we mentioned above, found that this holy cross had been found in the way which had been reported. And since something so marvelous could not be denied, they put both these blocks of wood in a very finely made reliquary gilded with its glass, whereby both crosses are clearly seen.

And the thing being publicized among the Christians, so great was the excitement and devotion which it caused in the souls of all, that from various lands many people flocked there not only by land but from far away by sea the vessels came loaded with men and women and children, having respect neither of cold nor of the harshness of winter, nor of coming from far away at expense and with toil, to adore the holy cross and to touch their rosaries to the reliquary in which they were. And they were not satisfied with this, but they also went to visit the place where the tree was cut in which it appeared, bringing in respect of it such great devotion to this same tree, that they each sought to take a little piece of it for a relic; and in this way they consumed not only the trunk which was cut at first, but they went so far as to cut even the roots, leaving hardly anything of it. And in
keeping with the devotion and faith which they have in it, they are going to experience some effects of the virtue of the most holy cross, and what is greatest of all, is the great devotion which this cross has universally caused in all Japanese Christendom. For Christians come every day from the regions of Miyako, Bungo, and Yamaguchi and various other kingdoms, men and women, and among them many noble people, especially to Arima to see and to adore this holy cross.

And for greater testimony that this cross was given to Japan as a miracle of God, it is certain that, six months before it appeared, it was manifested to Don Protasio like a shadow which later came to pass in reality, for it happened that one night he was sleeping in his house, and he says that two persons appeared to him who he thought were sent from Heaven, and they remonstrated with him for not being more fervent and devoted, and not confessing very often, calling him tepid, and how he had a few times failed to attend Mass for trivial reasons, that he should frequent the church and confession, and should seek to follow the good counsels which the Priests gave him, and that he should know that a sign of Jesus would soon be found in his lands, not made by human hands, and that he should greatly esteem it because with it all would be well.

Don Protasio was astonished and as it were haunted by this vision. Later, at dawn, he came to tell everything in great detail to Father Pedro Gomes, with the Priest also there who served as interpreter. That Priest entreated Pedro Gomes to do for him just as had been entreated to him; but neither he nor the other Priest made anything of this vision at the time, although they did tell it to the other Priests, recounting to them what had happened to Don Protasio. ^

^ [Marginal note:] But after | this Cross | appeared the | story found | its way to | Don Protasio.
He came later with his wife and sons to adore it, and looking at it attentively prostrated before it, the color of his face was changed and made astonished [by] God in the extreme, clapping his hands together, he said, “Here, Fathers, what I told you would happen in six months is confirmed! And here is the sign of Jesus, not made by hands of men nor by work of nature, but by the divine virtue and infinite power of God!” And giving many thanks to our Lord, he said likewise that such a miraculous cross, being discovered at this time of persecution, seemed to him to signify one of two things, either that the holy cross and faith of Jesus Christ was to be adored and raised up with great honor in all of Japan, or that the Priests would have to die as martyrs put on the cross.

And since God had shown this wonderful sign in the lands of Don Protasio, it seemed good to the Father Vice-Provincial and later to the Father Visitor that, in keeping with Don Protasio’s entreaties, this holy relic should be kept in Arima.

Regarding this cross some circumstances are noted by our own, as well as by the Christians, which make it even more wonderful.

1. That it was discovered on the very day of the most holy birth of the Son of God, to be a sign very appropriate and pertinent to such a day.

2. That it appeared at the end of the fortieth year in which the holy Gospel was preached in Japan, for this number is also very perfect and notable in the sacred Scriptures. Gentilism being buried in Japan, from now on all of Japan will receive the holy Gospel.

3. That this wonderful apparition was manifested and revealed six months before to the king and natural lord of these lands, admonishing him that he should hold it in great
esteem, that with this testimony it might be shown more clearly in the world, this
cross having been made inside that tree by divine power.

4. That the tree, within which this blessed cross was formed, grew on the edge of a
rock which was adjacent to the road, and as Jesus Christ is the truth rock and way,
by whom all who go astray are guided, one thing and another corresponds to this
wondrous sign of our Lord Jesus Christ.

5. That this tree was by nature all full of spines on the outside, the better to represent
the mystery of the passion and cross of the Son of God.

6. That it appeared in the time of our persecution and that of Christendom, giving to all
Christians with this glorious standard a certain hope of victory and of triumph, and
that this persecution will have an end and that the holy cross will be raised, as a
glorious and triumphant banner, and venerated in all Japan.

7. That this tree was by nature much venerated and esteemed by the gentiles of Japan,
persuaded as they are that it has some power against the demon, whence they are all
universally accustomed on the first day of their first new year to put it in front of the
doors of their houses, it seeming to them that it keeps them safe and that the demon
is able to enter under them, and that this tree is called Tara.

8. That although this wood is naturally white, the color of this cross is the same sort of
color as the wood of the holy true cross.

9. That this cross was found within a tree so old and so great, by this the better to
apprehend that it was not nor could it have been made by human skill by any means.

10. That this holy cross was very perfect and well finished, and in a measure both
proportionate and wonderful because, measured by the compass the title board is
precisely half of the transversal of the cross, and the arm is in turn precisely half of
the shaft of the same cross, in such a way that with the measure of the title board the
entire cross is very well proportioned, and the title board is made in the same way as
that of the true cross which is in Rome, according to what the Priests say who have
seen it, although it has nothing written on it, from which it is understood to be a
divine work.

11. That divine Providence accorded so specifically to the time when this wood was
split, that the boy should have struck the blow on that part, in such a way that this
cross should end up divided as it was into one side of the wood and the other,
because any other way he could have split it, the cross would have been cut and lost
its shape. And what is more, the wood being split in such a way that the two pieces
were uneven on the top and the bottom, nevertheless the space in which the holy
cross was left behind was very uniform and straight.

12. That, finally, the sign of this cross from the time that it appeared, universally
imprinted on the hearts of all the Christians of Japan such great devotion and
contentment, that it very much seems to be a divine work, so that it is now one of the
greatest and most celebrated relics that there is in Japan, and for this reason the
Father Visitor has decided to make a very rich reliquary in which they will be very
well protected in some altar, thus making it possible to show them to the public.

In a village called Arie there was a man who was out of his wits for some reason and, as
though insane, he fell sick, and his wife sent for a Priest that he might confess, which it
was not possible to do because he was incapacitated by his insanity, which lasted a year
keeping him at home in this way, until this holy cross was discovered; and his wife
obtaining a relic of that wood where it appeared, which all the Christians were trying with such devotion to get, and being persuaded by some Christian relatives of his to give to her husband to drink a bit of that wood ground up with faith and devotion, praying to our Lord that through the merits of the holy cross He might deign to help them, the pious woman did so for him, after which he began to feel better, so that in a short time his wits returned to him whole. And the same Priest, being called again to hear his confession, thought him sane and capable of the sacrament, and he was amazed at this, wondering how he had been thus brought back, and gave glory to our Lord and praise to the holy cross.
APPENDIX 4C

Japanese Story of a Cross (by 1591), transcription.

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 459, ff. 1–3v.


[1]

História breue da cruz q’

milagrosamente apareceo

em Jappão.

¶ JESUS goxutxe yraŷ xengofiacu fachijuqu nen me

Nipon tenxo juxichī nen ximo ccuqui ju fachi =

nichi JESUS no gotanjo no fi nari. ~ —

¶ Sono maŷe no fi Arima xurino daibu farunobu =

co don Protaziono reonay Tacacugen no vchini vba =

mato ū tocoroni qitai fuxingui no coto ūdequi tari
tari. Sono tocoroni ūchinin no rouo ari, sono nauo =

ba Lean to ēu. sono voquinani Miguel toyu niisaya

no co ari. īye juxin xite junin naqereba. Mi =
guel mizucara juxin no ūtonamini ēde, sono xi =

feqi no vchi ni xeiso furu tari ūnūdara noqi ari

Neua xeqi quen ni uadamamarite mauari fito firo
tacaʃsa nijo bacari nari. Cata ēdala uacare yma
cata ēdaula xo nari. xicaredomo quento soxet no

jixet nareba, fa uochi ūeda sambixiu xite

[1v]

fitoũení cobocuni fitoxi. Cano Miguel vomo ūoua foca

ni mucate touqui motemen ūori uacixaji, cono vyeqi uo

girite taqi qui to xen. Sunauachi qiri tauoxi voca =
tani qiri naxite ñeni mochi qui tari. Aquireba

natal no fi: couari xite tacãto vonouo quòdasu tocoro
ni, fitaccu ni varetaru mannaca ni co qu biaqu fum =
meo naru JESU χ.° no vò crus no xiruxi arite, reo =
bò tomo ni aỳ arauaruru.

¶ ñppono crus ua tacaqu, ima ñppo ua nacabiqu na =
ri. reobò tomoni sono ñro jobon no qiara no gotocu na =
ri. Cano Miguel vono uo nague uchi voqini ayàximimi =
te chichi ni core uo ccuguru. fuxi tomo ni ximpot ý =
no montey nareba fuxgui nari to bacari naru to =
coroni. sono satono rojin Bartholomeu, Adam toýu ni =
nin no mono, Natal no rey gui toxite sono ñeni saxy
ỳreba fuxi cono crus uo xosan suru uo mite vqini vò =
doroqi coreua ýcanaru reýqen zoto ninin xite ñppo =
zuccu uo ubaỳ tori. Queixu qiu fai xite sunauachi E =
clesiani sasague tatemaccuran coto uo araso. ~ —

¶ Sono coroximo Padre Antonio fernandes to mo =
su ua qingo naru Chijiua toýu tocorono vò jùji tarixi
ga caneteyori Natal no fuccucame S. João no ñuay =
bini ua vohamano teranite göguio arubeqi ýorí ýa =
qusocu[2]
nareba: mayeno yube ýori vomomucaru. xicareba
cano reonin missa ýjenni, sáqueino xonin ni maýe ni =
te P.° ye core uo quezu. P.° core uo totte qimio choray
xite Altarno uýeni sonayè: sono afàsa no miýsa no xi =
ju zuýqi cantan xi ýorocobino namida xeqiaýera =
rezu. Sunauachi qinxani ccucumi saycoquno vô
ccuacafsa naru P.° P.° Guomes ye quèferaruru. — —

¶ Arima jichu no Padre Irmão vono vono sodeuo ccu –
rane qubisuuo sobadatete, catgo xexime: cono vomomu =
qiuo reoxu farunobuco ye xiauo motte ccugue ccuca =
uafaru farunobumo, nauozarini reojo atte ccuguino
fi Circuncizão no fi von fuxi tomoni sanquei no ccuide
ni, core uo faigenno toqi tachimachi iro uo fenjite: =
choda\_\_xeraru\_\_ sono \_yuare\_ari. ~ —
¶ JESUS uõ qindocu uo arauaxi tamauã to uoboximefu to =
qi jenaqu no sono fitouo gorãjerarezu, voboximefu ma =
mani saxerare naretaru gotocu, cono uomomuqiuo ara =
usxitamauan nicaccuqi mayeni farunobu ni zu\_ymu =
uo mixe tamo coto ari. xicareba farunobu aru ax =
ta soso ni sanquei atte gomifsa uo vogami xinjin uo vo =
coxite macari tataruru ni. P.\_\_ ye mofubeqi mune ari
to ana\_\_ uo xeraruruga ju\_yeni \_ydemucate qiqitama =
\_yeba conha fuxgui no re\_yma uo comorinu Anjoto

[2v]

uoboxiqi sógo nite vare ni ÿssamete notamauaqu
naji ÿcadera xin fungiuu naru. Da\_\_ ÿchi ni s\_a =
quei ni mono vxi: da\_\_ ni confessão ni naju xi: da\_\_ san
xixo no quimei uo carozu. Ima ÿori xite sono coco =
ro uo aratamu bexi canarazu najini JESUS no
uõ xiruxi uo misubexi. sore ninsaqu nite aru be =
carazu. Core uo tattomu bexi totte saritamo catofu =
reba ÿume famenu to catarite ca\_\_ynerurebea: ÿo =
no ccune fitofamano go quãgui cato qiqi sutete vo =
carureba fisxicarazu xite. Cono quidocu uo mixe =
tamo ua sono xubi arata ni ay\_tamo to, ÿo\_yo cono zu\_yso
uo auogui tatemaccuru mono nari. —
¶ Sore nippon ta\_\_to uo von Ccuafsa nite maximasu
P.\_\_e Viceprovícial Guaspar Coelho ÿe ma\_\_raxerarexi =
toqi cono Qaixo no rofai sunin mexi ñoxe chicañ uo saxete sono ñurañ uo toi qiuame tamañte, xoñoni co = re uo firome tamo mono nari. ~ —

Coco niua mata sono crus uo võ xiruxi ni to = riuaqi juxi no câzubeqi coto ari. ~

¶ 1º niua Cono crus no ñro von Aruji JESUS no cacari tamañxi, sancta cruf no ñro ni fucoxi mo tagauaza = ru coto. ~ —

[3]

¶ 2 niua vono nite uchinariñamedom o iongui fañu cotei ari to iñedomo crus no touori bacari sunguna ru coto. —

¶ 3.ª niua cono qiua ñmadara tote focaniua ara = qenaqi ibara michi michi taru coto core naguiniatto = qi coto aru to coto narazu. —

¶ 4. niua arauaretaru sono fiua JESUS no go = tanjo no fi naru coto. ~ —

¶ 5. niua crus ñurareu Nippon ni firome fajime = te yori xiju nen me ni añ ataru coto sono cazua Efcriptura ni samazama no xifsañ ni ñotte tatqoñi nari. ~ . —

¶ Vj. niua nicca ccuqui no ñjen ni goccuge no moxi tamo coto. ~ —

¶ Vj. niua reoxeqi no naca ni tada ñppon fítono vórañ no michi no fotori ni xojitaru coto ua Calua = rio no ñama ni nitaru coto. ~ —

¶ Vjij. niua toxu no sañ nan no minguiri crus no [3v] von fattañu aguetamañte goniñu tanoiñuixoñi uo motaxeraruru coto. ~ —
ix. niua jentio mo ýusaý no tameni xoguachi niua
mon cono taccuru qi ýori arauari tamo coto. ~

x. niua ýcani mo ýcani mo xiroqi qino nacani a =
zaýacani mie tamo coto. ~

xj. tada júmôji bacarý nitemo naqu výeni gaqu
no vchi tamo coto. ~ —

xij niua sumpo sumi cane uo atetaru gotocu
caccano migoto nari coto. ~ —

xiij niua ýanimo busaýqu naru ýaro ni
qiraxetamo coto. ~ —

xiiij. niua D’s no Prouïdentia no fuxigu/fauo reo =
boný mie tamo ýoni vnraxetamo coto. Core nari.
APPENDIX 4D

Japanese Brief Story of a Cross Which Miraculously Appeared in Japan (by 1591),

English translation.

From Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 459, ff. 1–3v.

*Historia breue da cruz que milagrosamente apareceo em Jappão.*

One thousand five hundred and eighty-nine years since the advent of JESUS, on the eighteenth of Shimotsuki in the seventeenth year of Tenshō in Japan, it was the day of the nativity of JESUS.

The day before, at a place called Obama in the County of Takaku in the lands of the Chief Court Architect Lord Arima Harunobu Don Protação, a rare wonder had come to pass. In that place there was an elderly man (old man), and his name was Lean; he had a twenty-year-old son named Miguel. The family was poor and had no servants, and so Miguel went out to do the servants’ work himself, and inside the walls of their house was a dog castor tree weathered by the elements. Its roots coiled around between the rocks; it was a full fathom around and two rods tall. One branch was withered, and the other was alive. Since it was the season of winter on the zodiac’s dark pole, the time of snow like undyed silk, its leaves were fallen, and its branches looked lonesome: [1v] it was nothing but a withered tree. This Miguel thought to himself, “Rather than go outside to look for another tree, for firewood I may as well cut this one planted here.” So he cut it down, cut most of it up, and brought it to the house. At dawn on Natal Day when he went and let the axe fall, to split it finely and burn it, right in the middle where it was split in
two, clearly in black and white, there was the sign of the *crus* of IESU X°, appearing on both sides at once.

The one *crus* was tall, and the other was of middling size. Both were of the color of fine black aloe wood. Miguel threw away his axe, looked in astonishment, and told it to his father. Father and son both were newly-converted disciples, and so they were filled with wonder, but just then some elders of that village, two named Bartholomeu and Adan, came into their house to offer *Natal* greetings, and when they saw father and son praising the *crus* they were greatly surprised, saying, “What manner of miracle is this!” and, each of them snatching away one of the two pieces of wood, bowed and scraped before them and vied with one another to present them to the *Ecclesia*.

In those days one called Padre Antonio Fernandes was in residence at a nearby village called Chijiwa, and because he was already scheduled to serve at the temple in Obama on the second day of *Natal* for the feast day of São João, he had set out at dusk the night before. Accordingly, those two presented them to the Padre before *missa*, in front of all the people who had come to worship. The Padre took them and, bowing reverently in worship, arranged them on the *altar*, and all throughout that morning’s *missa* he sighed with happiness for them, unable to suppress his tears of joy. Immediately they wrapped it in brocade and presented it to the minister of the western lands, Padre Pero Gomes.

The various Padre and *Irmão* throughout Arima Temple lined up elbow to elbow and stood on tiptoe and adored it, and they sent messengers to inform the sovereign, Lord Harunobu, of this thing. Harunobu, too, played along halfheartedly, and the next day, on *Circunciação* Day, at the beginning of the worship of that Father and Son, when he
humbly saw this his aspect was suddenly altered, and he received it with reverence. So some say.

When JESUS is pleased to work His wonders, He is accustomed to do just as He pleases, looking not on the goodness or evil of any one person, and so, two months before He was to manifest these things, at one time He caused Harunobu to see a miraculous dream. So then, early one morning Harunobu came to worship, and while attending *missa* he had an awakening of faith, and as he stood up to leave he explained that he had something to tell the Padre, and when he therefore came out to meet him and hear him out, he said, “Last night I received a mysterious spirit dream. One who seemed to have the marks of an *Anjo* remonstrated with me, saying, ‘Why are you unbelieving? First, you come to worship grudgingly; second, you come to *confissão* only with great reluctance; third, you take lightly the holy commands of your mentors. You must reform your mind from now on. I will surely show you the sign of JESUS.’ That cannot have been the work of men. ‘Honor this!’ he said, and turned to leave, and I woke up,” and when he went home he let the matter drop, dismissing what he’d heard as an everyday admonishment, but before much time had passed, when they showed him this prodigy he was presented with the whole business anew, and by and by he came to believe in this auspicious sign.

So when they were made to go before the Prefect of Japan and Great Tang, *Padre Viceprovincial* Gaspar Coelho, he called in several of the elders of that place, made them swear an oath and asked them all about this sequence of events, and he did promulgate this thing to all the various lands.

Here are fourteen things, therefore, which we should especially feel concerning this sign of the *crus*. 
1. The color of this *crus*: that its color is not one bit different from that of the *sancta crus* on which our Lord JESUS hung. [3]

2. That, although it has been split with an axe and despite the fact that there is variation in size top and bottom, left and right, the line of the *crus* alone is straight.

3. That this tree, the dog castor, is rough on the outside and covered in thorns.

4. That the day on which it appeared was the day of JESUS’ nativity. This does not differ from that there are honorable things in difficulty.

5. That it coincides with the fortieth year since word of the *crus* began to be spread in Japan. This number is special in *Escriptura* for various reasons.

6. That the proclamation said two months of in advance.

7. That it resembles Mt. Caluario, how that one tree had grown between two stones by the path on which people travel.

8. That at a moment of disaster for our religion, it raised high the banner of the *crus* and gave confidence to the masses.

9. That, in order that the *jentio* might also celebrate, it appeared from the tree which is put on gates at the New Year.

10. That it appeared clearly in a tree that was so, so white.

11. That it was not merely in the shape of a cross but also had the sign hung up on top.

12. That it were so well-formed, as if it had been drawn with a T square.

13. That it was cut by such clumsy peasants.

14. That it was split, in order that the wondrousness of Deus’ *Providentia* might be visible to both sides.
APPENDIX 4E

Portuguese *Story of a Cross* (by 1597), edition by Josef Wicki.


Da santa cruz que foi achada em Obama, nas terras de Arima

    Em hum lugar chamado Obama, que dista duas legoas e meia de Canzusa, terras do senhorio de Arima, aconteceu este anno huma das maravilhas e grandes couzas [131r] que athé agora tem acontecido em Japão, e que sobre todas as outras cauzou mui grande devoção e movimento nos christãos, fazendo-os o mesmo cazo entrar em grande conhecimento do santo misterio da cruz, e em nam menos confiança e esperança que este santo estandarte há-de ser mui alevantado em Japão; o que no tempo desta perseguição foi grande consolação e refrigerio de tantas angustias, quantas nestes tres annos erão passadas assim pelos Padres e Irmãos, como por todos os mais christãos.

    O cazo aconteceu desta maneira. No fim do anno passado de 89, aos 24 do mez de Dezembro, sendo vigilia do nascimento do Filho de Deos, neste lugar de Vobama, que está como tres legoas de Arima, hum christão por nome Leão mandou hum seu filho, chamado Miguel, a buscar huma pouca de lenha para a festa do Natal. O qual vendo que dentro daquelle sitio onde tinha sua caza estava huma arvore muito velha e de nenhum fruito e quazi de todo seca, por ser arvore espinhoza, que em Japão se chama tara, que seria como duas braças em alto e tão grossa que tinha sette palmos em roda, que antigamente alli nasceo entre huns penedos escalvados; e não querendo o mancebo hir mais longe, determinou de a cortar na mesma vespera do Natal. E tendo trabalhado hum grande pedaço em a derribar, sendo já noite se recolheo com intenção de pela menhã
muito cedo tornar e partir hum pedaço della para fazer lenha. E logo pela manhã tendo
cortado hum pedaço do tronco da arvore e fendendo-o pelo meio, em se apartando
aquellas duas partes huma da outra vio no meio delle huma cruz mui bem formada de
mais de meio palmo de comprido e de cor entre vermelho e preto, sendo todo o mais pao
muy alvo como hé de seo natural. E ficando com isto admirado, olhou para outra parte do
pedaço e vio da mesma maneira nella imprimida outra cruz. E como elle era hum
mancebo simplex, ficando com isto espantado, [131v] tomou logo ambos os pedaços e se
foi correndo mostrá-los aseo pay. E estando-lhe contando o cazo, chegarão alli outros
dous christãos muito bons homens, hum chamado Bartholomeu e outro Adão, que lhe
hião dar a boa festa do Natal. E entendendo o cazo e vendo ambas as cruzes, tomarão
com grande devoção e acatamento aquellas achas de pao e, pondo-as sobre suas cabeças,
adorarão a santa cruz, guardando Adão hum dos pedaços e Bartholomeo outro em suas
cazas para os mostrar ao Padre, que ao dia seguinte estavão ahí esperando que havia de
vir da rezidencia de Chingiva para lhes dizer missa.

E vindo o Padre alli ter a segunda oitava do Natal, logo aquelles christãos lhe
apresentarão aquellas duas achas de pao assim toscas como estavão fendidas,
contando-lhe o cazo que passara. E vendo o Padre Antonio Fernandes (que tinha cuidado
daquella rezidencia de Chingiva) aquellas cruzes tão maravilhozas e de grande devoção,
as adorou e venerou e poz sobre o altar, dizendo a missa com grande sentimento e
lagrimas, poes em tal tempo aparecia em Japão sinal tão maravilhozo. O qual para que
manifestamente se conhecesse que era obra sobrenatural, estava de tal maneira feita que,
sendo, como se tem dito, o pao muito alvo, hé esta cruz da propria cor que tem o
verdadeiro lenho da santa cruz entre vermelho e preto. E o que hé mais, que sendo esta
cruz de hum pao de cor tão diferente, hé toda continuada com o outro pao; e como se vê de algumas achas desiguais que ficou com o corte quando foi fendida, o profundo da mesma cruz entre huma e outra acha será como de grossura de hum tostão, pouco menos. A qual, porque se dividio em duas partes pelo meio, fica assim em huma parte como na outra mui delgada e de menos grossura. E o que faz mais maravilhar e admirar, que no abrir que fez o pao com o golpe, fica a cruz em huma parte e em outra de tal maneira, como se estivera huma encadeada [132r] na outra; porque huma cruz ficou algum tanto alevantada e a outra ficou sumida hum pouco dentro do pao, de maneira que claramente se vê que era huma mesma cruz, que repartindo-se com o golpe, ficou daquela maneira.

Depois que o Padre acabou alli de dizer missa, envolvendo com grande reverencia e acatamento ambas as achas em hum pano de seda, o levou logo a Arima ao P.e Pedro Gomes, que então era superior do Ximo. E concorrendo os mais Padres e Irmãos, e vendo com seos olhos tão admiravel couza, o fizerão saber ao P.e Vice-Provincial. O qual fazendo uzar da diligencia divida, em examinar todos os homens que arriba dissemos, achou que sem falta se achara esta santa cruz na maneira que fica referido. E não se podendo negar huma couza tam maravilhoza, puzerão ambas estas achas de pao em hum relicario muito bem feito e dourado com seu vidro diante, por onde se vem claramente ambas as cruzes.

E publicada a couza entre os christãos, foi tão grande o concurso e devoção que se causou nos animos de todos, que de diversas partes não somente por terra acodia muita gente, mas de longe por mar vinhão as embarcações carregadas de homens e mulheres e meninos, não tendo respeito nem ao frio nem ao rigor do inverno, nem a vir de muito longe com gastos e com trabalhos, para adoram a santa cruz e tocar com suas contas no
relicario em que estão metidas as cruzes. E não se fartavão com adorar somente a crus, mas na mesma maneira com grande concurso de povo hião vizitar o lugar onde foi cortada a arvore em que apareceo a santa cruz, tomando por respeito della tão grande devoção à mesma arvore, que cada hum procurava levar hum pedaço della por reliquias; e não somente gastarão desta maneira o tronco [132v] que estava primeiro cortado, mas forão mais adiante cortando athé as raizes, não deixando della nada. E conforme a devoção e fé que nella tem, se vão experimentando alguns effeitos da virtude da santissima cruz, e o mayor de todos e mais para estimar, hé a grande devoçam que universalmente tem esta cruz cauzado em toda a christandade de Japão. Porque das partes de Yamanguchi, do Miaco e de outros diversos reynos remotos vinhão cada dia christãos, homens e mulheres, e entre elles muita gente nobre, de propozito a Arima para ver e adorar esta santa cruz.

E para maior testemunho que foi esta cruz dada a Japão por milagre de Deos, hé couza certa que, antes de aparecer quazi seis mezes, foi manifestado a Dom Protazio quazi por sombra o que depoes na realidade da couza aconteceo, e foi desta maneira.

Que estando Dom Protazio huma noite dormindo em sua caza, diz que lhe aparecerão duas pessoas que elle cuidou que erão mandadas do ceo, as quaes o reprehenderão asperamente por não ser mais fervorozo e devoto, e não se confessar tam amiudo como devera, chamando-lhe tibio e que algumas vezes deixava de ouvir missa por pequenas cauzas, dizendo-lhe que frequentasse a igreja e a confissão, e procurasse de seguir os bons conselhos que os Padres lhe davão, e que soubesse que cedo se acharia em sua terra hum sinal de Jesus, não feito por mãos de homens, e que o estimasse em muito porque nelle estava todo bem.
Ficou com esta vização Dom Protazio admirado e como assombrado. Logo em amanhecendo veio contar ao P.e Pedro Gomes o que passava, contando-lhe tudo mui distintamente, estando também ahi outro Padre que servia de interprete. Encomendou-lhe então o P.e Pedro Gomes que o fizesse assim como o aconselharão; mas nem elle nem outro Padre fizerão por então cazo desta vização, posto que a contaro a outros Padres dizendo-lhes o que vira Dom Protazio.

Mas depois que appareceu esta cruz, dando-se ao dia seguinte que foi levada a Arima, conta do cazo ao mesmo Dom Protazio, foi logo com sua mulher e filhos à igreja para a adorar; e vendo prezencialmente com seos olhos aquella santa cruz, attentadamente, mudando-se-lhe a cor do rosto e ficando em extremo admirado, batendo com huma mão na outra, disse: «Eis aqui, Padres, verificado o que eu vos tinha dito que vi haverá já seis mezes! Eis aqui o sinal de Jesus, não feito por mãos de homens nem por obra natural, mas por virtude divina e poder infinito de Deos!» E dando muitas graças ao Senhor, disse tambem que aquella cruz tam milagroza, descobrindo-se no tempo desta mesma perseguição, lhe parecia que significava huma de duas couzas, ou que a santa fé e cruz de Christo N. Senhor seria adorada e alevantada em grande honra em todo Japão, ou os Padres havião de morrer martyres postos na cruz.

E por ter Deos N. Senhor mostrado este maravilhozo milagre e gloriozo sinal nas terras de Dom Protazio, pareceo ao P.e Vice-Provincial e depois ao P.e Vizitador, fazendo-lhe tambem pelo mesmo negocio instancia Dom Protazio, que esta reliquia santa se guarde na igreja de Arima, aonde está depozitada e vem de muitas partes muita gente a adorá-la.
Acerca desta santa cruz se notarão assim pelos nossos Padres, como pelos christãos algumas circunstancias [133v] que a fazem ainda mais maravilhoza.

A primeira, ser achada e descobrir-se no proprio dia do santíssimo nascimento do Filho de Deos, por ser este sinal muy proprio e conveniente a tal dia.

A segunda, aparecer no fim dos quarenta annos que há que [se] prega em Japão o Evangelho sagrado, porque este numero hé mui perfeito e notavel na santa Escritura. No cabo deste tempo, ficando já sepultada a ley velha, comessou a obrigar a todos nossa santa ley; do que se argumenta que, sepultada em Japão a gentilidade, será daqui por diante de toda esta provincia recebido o sagrado Evangelho.

Ser este maravilhozo aparecimento manifestado e revelado seis mezes antes ao rey e senhor natural destas terras, amoestando-o que houvesse em grande estima, para que com este testemunho fosse mais certo e manifesto ao mundo ser esta santa cruz feita dentro naquella arvore por virtude divina.

A quarta, nascer a arvore (dentro da qual foi esta bendita cruz formada) em riba de huma pedra que estava junto do caminho. E como Jesus Christo há a verdadeira pedra e via, pela qual se [en]caminhão todos os que vão desencaminhados, corresponde huma couza e outra a este maravilhozo sinal de N. Senhor Jesus Christo.

A quinta, ser esta arvore de sua natureza por fora toda cheia de espinhos, para melhor [134r] representar o mysterio da sagrada paixão e cruz do Filho de Deos.

A sexta, aparecer em tempo de nossa perseguição e de toda a christandade, dando a todos os christãos com este gloriozo estandarte huma certa esperança de victoria e de triunfo, e que se há-de pôr fim a esta perseguição e que a santa cruz, como bandeira glorioza e triunfante, [será] alevantada e venerada em todo Japão.
A sétima, ser de sua natureza esta arvore muito venerada e estimada dos gentios em Jappão, persuadindo-se que tem alguma virtude contra o demonio, por onde costumão universalmente todos no primeiro dia do seu anno novo a pô-la na fronteira das portas em suas cazas, parecendo-lhes que ficarão seguras e que nelas não poderá entrar o demonio.

A oitava hé, que sendo este pao naturalmente branco, a cor desta cruz hé da mesma maneira da cor do lenho da santa vera cruz, sendo todo hum lenho continuado para melhor reprezentar a maravilha e verdade da santa cruz.

A nona, achar-se esta cruz dentro na ametade de huma arvore tam antiga e tam grande, para com isto se entender melhor que não era nem podia ser de nenhuma maneira feita por obra humana.

A décima, ser esta santa cruz perfeita e mui bem acabada, e com huma certa medida mui proporcionada e maravilhosa. Porque medida por compasso o título hé justamente a metade do braço travesso que forma a cruz, e o braço já justamente a metade [134v] da astea da mesma cruz, de maneira que com a medida do título se mede justissimamente toda a cruz, ficando com isto mui bem proporcionada, e o título hé feito da mesma maneira como o título da verdadeira cruz que está em Roma, conforme ao que dizem os Padres que o virão, posto que não tem escrito nenhumas letres, com que verdadeiramente se entende ser obra divina.

A undécima, concorrer a divina Providencia tão particularmente no tempo que se fendeo este pao, que o mosso desse com a machadinha o golpe por aquella parte em que deo, de modo que ficasse esta cruz dividida como ficou em huma e outra parte do pao, porque, de qualquer outra maneira que se fendera, ficaria a cruz cortada e perdendo sua figura. E o que mais foi que, fendendo-se no dar do golpe as achas do pao, ainda que em
cima e em baixo ficarão desiguais, todavia todo o espaço que a santa cruz está ficou muito igual e direito.

A duodecima foi, que, finalmente, o sinal desta cruz desd’o tempo que apareceo, imprimio naturalmente nos corações de todos os christãos de Japão tão grande devoção e contentamento, que bem se parece que hé effeito da obra divina, de maneira que agora hé huma das maiores e mais celebradas reliquias que há em Jappam.

Aconteceo em huma aldea de Arie, que hum homem por alguns accidentes que teve sahio de seo juizo e estava como doudo. E depoes adoeçendo elle, mandou sua mulher chamar hum Padre para que o fosse confessar; o qual hindo lá e achando-o que estava doudo e fora totalmente de seo juizo, não pode fazer o que sua mulher pretendia, mas deixou-o como incapaz desse sacramento. Durou-lhe esta doudice hum anno inteiro, [135r] athé que se descubrio esta santa cruz; e alcansando sua mulher huma lascazinha daquelle pao, que com tanta devoção os christãos todos procuravão de o haver por reliquia, e sendo persuadida de alguns christãos seos parentes que desse a beber a seo marido hum pouco daquelle pao moido com fé e devoção, rogando ao Senhor que pelo merecimento de sua santa cruz o quizesse ajudar, a devota mulher o fez assim, e logo se comessou a achar melhor, de maneira que em breve tempo tornou em seu inteiro juizo. E sendo chamado de novo o mesmo Padre para o confessar, o achou são e capaz desse sacramento, de que espantado, perguntando como tornara em sy, lhe contarão o que passara, dando gloria a N. Senhor e louvores à santa cruz. E daí a poucos dias morreo este bom velho confessado.
APPENDIX 4F

Portuguese *Story of a Cross* (by 1597), English translation.


Underlined portions do not appear in the Spanish version (Appendices 4A, 4B).

On the holy cross which was found in Obama, in the lands of Arima.

In a place called Obama, which is within two and a half leagues of Kazusa, lands in the domain of Arima, there came to pass this year one of the greatest wonders and marvels that have happened thus far in Japan, and which more than all the others has caused very great devotion and excitement in the Christians, this same event causing them to enter into great understanding of the holy mystery of the cross, and into no less confidence and hope that this holy standard will be much raised up in Japan; which in this time of persecution was a great consolation and relief of such anxieties as had come to pass these three years for the Fathers and Brothers, as well as for all the many Christians.

The event occurred in this way. At the end of last year, ’89, on the 24th of the month of December, being the vigil of the birth of the Son of God, in this place Obama, which is about three leagues from Arima, a Christian by the name of Leo told his son, named Miguel, to look for a bit of firewood for the feast of the Nativity. He, seeing that there was within the site on which he had his house a very old tree, fruitless and almost totally dried out, being a spiny tree which in Japan is called tara, about two fathoms in height and as big around as six spans, which had grown there long before between some bare boulders; and the youth, not wanting to go any farther, decided to cut it for that same
eve of the Nativity. And by the time he had worked on a large piece in order to break it down it was already night, so he went home with the intention of returning very early the next day and splitting off a piece of it to make into firewood. And then the next day having cut a piece of the trunk of the tree and split it down the middle, in these two sides split one from the other right in the middle there was a very well-formed cross of more than a half a span in length and of a color between red and black, with all the rest of it being very white wood as is natural. And being amazed by this, he looked at the other side of the piece and in just the same way another cross was imprinted on it. And since he was a simple youth, being surprised by this, he then took both pieces and he ran to show them to his father. And as he stood relating this event, two other very good Christian men arrived, one named Bartholomew and the other Adam, who were going to celebrate the good feast of the Nativity. And learning of this event and seeing both crosses, they took those logs of wood with great devotion and reverence and, putting them upon their heads, they adored the holy cross, Adam keeping one of the pieces and Bartholomew the other in their houses in order to show them to the Father, who they there were hoping would come the next day from the rectory at Chijiwa to say Mass for them.

And when the Father had come there for the second octave of Christmas, those Christians then presented to him those two logs of wood split crudely as they were, relating to him the event which had come to pass. And seeing those crosses which were so marvelous and of such devotion, Father Antonio Fernandes (who was taking care of that rectory in Chijiwa) adored and venerated them and put them upon the alter, saying Mass with great feeling and tears, since at such a time so marvelous a sign had appeared in Japan. In order that it might be manifestly understood that this was a supernatural work,
it was done in such a way that, it being, as has been said, very white wood, this cross was of the very same color which the true wood of the holy cross has between red and black. And what is more, that this cross being of a wood of a color so different, was completely connected with the other wood; and as can be seen from some uneven splinters which remained from the cut when it was split, the depth of the same cross between one block and another would be about the thickness of a coin, or a little less. This, because it was divided into two parts down the middle, remained thus on one side as on the other very slender and less thick. And what makes for more marveling and admiration is that in the opening made in the wood by the blow, the cross remained on one side and on the other in such a way that they were linked one to the other; for one cross was somewhat raised and the other was missing a bit inside the wood, in such a way that it was clearly seen that it was one and the same cross, which being split by the blow, became that way.

After Father finished saying Mass, having wrapped both blocks with great reverence and respect in a silken cloth, he then took them to Arima to Fr. Pedro Gomes, who was then the Superior of Shimo. And the many Priests and Brothers competed to see with their eyes such a wondrous thing, which they made known to the Father Vice-Provincial. He, doing due diligence in examining all the men whom we mentioned above, found there to be no doubt that this holy cross was found in the way which had been reported. And since something so marvelous could not be denied, they put both these blocks of wood in a very finely made reliquary gilded with its glass in front, whereby both crosses are clearly seen.

And the thing being publicized among the Christians, so great was the excitement and devotion which it caused in the souls of all, that many people flocked there not only
by land but from far away by sea the vessels came loaded with men and women and children, having respect neither of cold nor of the harshness of winter, nor of coming from far away at expense and with toil, to adore the holy cross and to touch with their rosaries the reliquary in which the crosses were enshrined. And they were not satisfied with adoring only the cross, but in the same way with great traffic of people they went to visit the place where the tree was cut in which the holy cross appeared, bringing in respect of it such great devotion to this same tree, that they each sought to take a piece of it for relics; and in this way they consumed not only the trunk which was cut at first, but they went so far as to cut even the roots, leaving nothing of it. And together with the devotion and faith which they have in it, they are going to experience some effects of the virtue of the most holy cross, and what is greatest and most of all to be esteemed, is the great devotion which this cross has universally caused in all Japanese Christendom. For Christians come every day from the regions of Yamaguchi, Miyako, and various other remote kingdoms, men and women, and among them many nobles, especially to Arima to see and to adore this holy cross.

And for greater testimony that this cross was given to Japan as a miracle of God, it is certain that, about six months before it appeared, it was manifested to Don Protazio like a shadow which later came to pass in matter of fact, and it was as follows. When Don Protazio was sleeping in his house one night, he says that two persons appeared to him who advised him that they were sent from Heaven, and who remonstrated with him harshly for not being more fervent and devoted, and not confessing as often as he should, calling him tepid, and how he sometimes failed to attend Mass for trivial reasons, saying he should frequent the church and confession, and should seek to follow the good
counsels which the Priests were giving him, and that he should know that a sign of Jesus would soon be found in his lands, not made by human hands, and that he should greatly esteem it because with it all would be well.

Don Protazio was astonished and as it were haunted by this vision. Shortly after dawn he came to tell Father Pedro Gomes what had happened, telling him everything in great detail, another Priest being there also who served as interpreter. Father Pedro Gomes then commanded him to do just as they had said; but neither he nor the other Priest made anything of the vision at the time, but only afterward did they tell the other Priests, recounting to them what Don Protazio had seen.

But after this cross appeared, the next day this same Don Protazio realized the fact that it was being taken up to Arima, and was soon at the church to adore it with his wife and sons; and seeing that holy cross in person with his own eyes, attentively, the color of his face was changed and made astonished in the extreme, clapping his hands together, he said, “Behold, Fathers, confirming what I have told you would happen in six months! Behold the sign of Jesus, not made by hands of men nor by any work of nature, but by the divine virtue and infinite power of God!” And giving many thanks to the Lord, he said likewise that such a miraculous cross, being discovered at this very time of persecution, seemed to him to signify one of two things, either that the holy faith and cross of Christ our Lord was to be adored and raised up with great honor in all of Japan, or that the Priests would have to die as martyrs put on the cross.

And since our Lord God had shown this wonderful miracle and glorious sign in the lands of Don Protazio, it seemed good to the Father Vice-Provincial and later to the Father Visitor, Don Protazio likewise making entreaties regarding the aforementioned
business, that this holy relic be kept in the church of Arima, where it is enshrined and
many people come from many places to adore it.

Regarding this cross some circumstances are noted by our Priests, as well as by
the Christians, which make it even more wonderful.

1. That it was discovered on the very day of the most holy birth of the Son of God, to
be a sign very appropriate and pertinent to such a day.

2. That it appeared at the end of the fortieth year in which the holy Gospel was
preached in Japan, for this number is very perfect and notable in the sacred
Scriptures. At the end of this time, the old law having been now buried, our sacred
law had begun to compel all; from which it is argued that, gentilism being buried in
Japan, from now on all this province will receive the holy Gospel.

3. That this wonderful apparition was manifested and revealed six months before to the
king and natural lord of these lands, admonishing him that he should hold it in great
esteem, that with this testimony it might be more certain and manifest in the world,
this cross having been made inside that tree by divine power.

4. That the tree (within which this blessed cross was formed) grew on the edge of a
rock which was adjacent to the road. And as Jesus Christ is the truth rock and way,
by whom all who go astray are guided, one thing and another corresponds to this
wondrous sign of our Lord Jesus Christ.

5. That this tree was by nature all full of spines on the outside, the better to represent
the mystery of the sacred passion and cross of the Son of God.

6. That it appeared in the time of our persecution and that of all of Christendom, giving
to all Christians with this glorious standard a certain hope of victory and of triumph,
and that an end will be put to this persecution and that the holy cross will be raised,
as a glorious and triumphant banner, and venerated in all Japan.

7. That this tree was by nature much venerated and esteemed by the gentiles of Japan,
persuaded as they are that it has some power against the demon, whence they are all
universally accustomed on the first day of their new year to put it on the eaves of the
doors of their houses, it seeming to them that it keeps them safe and that the demon
is not able to enter under them.

8. That although this wood is naturally white, the color of this cross is the same sort of
color as the wood of the holy true cross, being all one continuous wood the better to
represent the wonder and truth of the holy cross.

9. That this cross was found within a tree so old and great, by this the better to
apprehend that it was not nor could it have been made by human skill by any means.

10. That this holy cross was perfect and very well finished, and in certain very
proportionate and wonderful dimensions. Because, measured by the compass the
title board is precisely half of the transverse arm which forms the cross, and the arm
is in turn precisely half of the shaft of the same cross, in such a way that with the
measure of the title board the entire cross is most precisely measured out, and the
title board is made in the same way as the title board of the true cross which is in
Rome, according to what the Priests say who have seen it, although it does not have
any letters written on it, from which it is understood in truth to be a divine work.

11. That divine Providence accorded so specifically with the time when this wood was
split, that the boy should have struck the blow with the hatchet on that part that he
did, in such a way that this cross should be divided as it was into one side of the
wood and the other, because any other way he could have split it, the cross would have been cut, its shape lost. And what is more, the blocks of wood being split with the striking of the blow, although they were uneven on the top and the bottom, nevertheless the space in which the holy cross was left behind was very uniform and straight.

12. That, finally, the sign of this cross from the time that it appeared, naturally imprinted on the hearts of all the Christians of Japan such great devotion and contentment, that it very much seems it was done by divine action, so that it is now one of the greatest and most celebrated relics that there is in Japan.

It happened in a village of Arie that a man by some accident had come out of his wits and was as though insane. And then having fallen sick, his wife sent for a Priest that he might confess; and he going there and finding him insane and totally out of his wits, he could not do what the man’s wife insisted upon, but rather left as he was incapable of performing the sacrament. This madness lasted a whole year, until this holy cross was discovered; and his wife obtaining a splinter of that wood, that all the Christians were collecting with such devotion to have it for a relic, and being persuaded by some Christian relatives of hers to give to her husband to drink a bit of that wood ground up with faith and devotion, praying to our Lord that through the merits of His holy cross He might deign to help, the pious woman did so for him, and he soon began to feel better, so that in a short time his wits returned to him whole. And the same Priest, being called again to hear his confession, thought him sane and capable of the sacrament, and he was amazed at this, wondering how he had been thus brought back, so they told him what had
happened, giving glory to our Lord and praise to the holy cross. And a few days later this good old man died confessed.
CHAPTER FIVE

Jesuit Appropriation of Kōwaka Discourse: A Japanese Ballad of The Passion of the Christ

In Chapter Four we began examining Jesuit narrative literature in Japanese by exploring a piece with an especially pronounced sociopolitical project, but here we will examine the textual relationships between these works and their contemporary literary landscape as glimpsed in Volume One. In the course of this investigation, various disciplinary and ideological structures will become evident which have largely obscured these connections and fabricated others, with the ultimate effect of excluding this material from the canon of Japanese literature. To be sure, these texts seldom rise to the level of even strange beauty, and so they may not even be “literature” by some definitions. However, early attempts to adapt narrative material from the many and wildly diverse Buddhist schools still attract attention for their historical interest, and the more clearly they display the challenges of adapting new material the better: the Daoist vocabulary in Japanese literature from the eighth-century chronicles to The Tale of the Heike;¹ the kaleidoscopic readings of Indian, Chinese, and local legends in semi-logographic written

¹ Herman Ooms, Imperial Politics and Symbolics in Ancient Japan: The Tenmu Dynasty, 650-800 (University of Hawai‘i Press, 2009); David Bialock, Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories: Narrative, Ritual, and Royal Authority from The Chronicles of Japan to The Tale of the Heike (Stanford University Press, 2007).
style through Pure Land and Lotus-sect lenses in setsuwa;² the fetishizing of Middle-Chinese colloquialisms as markers of spontaneity in Zen literature.³ What happened in this case is that the suppression of Christianity, and the understanding of that suppression that evolved throughout the seventeenth century in ideological and literary texts, rendered that religion a reliable ‘other’ figure in Japan’s otherwise variegated processes of self-definition from that time right down to the present.⁴ Moreover, successive waves of literary reception and canonization from Shogunal use of noh as state ceremonial (shikigaku) to Nativism (kokugaku) to National Literature (kokubungaku) have forged a strong discursive link between national identity and certain privileged kinds of Japanese literature, particularly the performing arts.

If Christianity and Japanese culture are mutually exclusive, and Japanese literature is a privileged repository of Japaneseness, then “Japanese Jesuit literature” is a contradiction in terms. This product of two false, or at least mythological, premises is a blind spot, and it is just such a blind spot that has caused this literature to be all but ignored by the field of Japanese literary studies, especially as practiced in Japan.


Conversely, Japanese and non-Japanese Catholics have taken the existence of these texts as a point of pride and used them to try to disprove the first premise above, but invariably at the cost of swallowing the second premise whole. They have consistently tried to give these texts a prestigious pedigree with respect to prevailing narratives of national culture, situating them as the descendants of noh, kabuki, or puppet theatre. At least as often, they reach for the opposite, unsupportable claim that European and Japanese Jesuits actually invented these traditions, brought about key developments in them, or at least were intimately familiar with them. In this Christian but still nationalist narrative, the Japanese Christians were model Japanese while the Europeans enriched Japanese culture rather than ruining it as Tokugawa ideology claimed they would.

However, a careful reading of Jesuit narrative literature itself, as well as the evidence attesting to its conditions of production and performance, will show that both premises above are simply false. Japanese people in their natural state, so to speak, could and did understand Christian doctrines and legends and adapt their cultural traditions to convey them without thereby ceasing to be Japanese. Moreover, there is no evidence that they did so using any of the traditions that happened to be canonized in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as quintessentially Japanese, but that also did not make their creations somehow un-Japanese. Rather, if there is a tradition to which these texts can be securely related, it is the kōwaka, whose formulae and vocabulary can be seen throughout and whose libretti were apparently used as the common core of Japanese language study for both Japanese and Europeans in Jesuit communities. The kōwaka did not enter the canon of national literature or “national theatre” (kokugeki), so in the modern period it does not provide Jesuit mission literature in Japanese any of the
nationalist bona fides that a connection to noh or kabuki would, but the existence of such a connection is the central thesis of this chapter. A convenient locus for this investigation will be the ballad of the *Passion of the Christ* in the Barreto Miscellany.\(^5\)

*Performing Arts in the Christian Churches of Kyūshū, As Seen in the Jesuit Japan Letters*

The Catholic Church of the Counter-Reformation era had a troubled yet intimate relationship to the theatre. If on the one hand it was a rallying point for libertines, atheists, and other freethinkers like the Accademia degli Incogniti “Academy of the Unknowns” in Venice or Christina Queen of Sweden, the previous owner of the Barreto Miscellany,\(^6\) it was recognized as a powerful tool of propaganda which had already tied together local religious communities by its use in local festivals around Europe for centuries. While issuing various prohibitions on the use of theatre especially in the mission field where native converts could not be trusted not to pervert holy doctrines with *lascivi spettacoli* “lascivious spectacles”, the Jesuit order built a rich tradition of “school theatre” both in Europe and in colonies from Japan to Chile.\(^7\) The Visitor to Asia Valignano himself

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\(^5\) Previous versions of this chapter have been presented as “The Tengu Aim To Trick You, But I Have Prayed That Your Fides Not Fail: A Japanese passion narrative of 1591” Asian Studies Conference Japan (Sophia University, 6/2014); “The Passion of the *Kirisuto*: Manoel Barreto’s 1591 Japanese ‘Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ,’” School of Pacific and Asian Studies Graduate Student Conference (University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 4/2013).


promulgated several of these prohibitions but used music and theatre freely in the exchanges he organized between the Boys’ Mission of Kyūshū, both before kings and popes in Europe and for Hideyoshi upon their triumphal return. Meanwhile, on a more everyday basis, song, dance, spectacle, and theatre were an integral part of the regular activities of the major churches around Kyūshū, generally in the strongholds of Christian daimyō like Ōmura, the Ōtomo headquarters at Funai, and Arima.

The first Jesuit missionaries arrived in Japan in the company of Francisco Xavier (1506–1552), guided there by their first Japanese convert, a pirate from Kyūshū named Yajirō, and conveyed in the ship of one “Aván”, probably some Chinese pirate like Wang Zhi (fl. ca. 1540s-1560s), who had his base at the cove in Hirado. By the late 1550s, the Jesuits were conducting sung Masses on feast days in their Kyūshū churches, and at Christmas 1560 the first record of church theatre appears in their letters back to Europe, a set of documents whose nature has been explained in Chapter Four. By Easter

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1561 in the clan church of the Ōtomo, they were incorporating props and orchestrated singing of dialogue in Japanese.

First the fall of Adam and the hope of the redemption. And for this they placed an apple tree in the middle of the church with one golden fruit, under whose branches Lucifer deceives Eve. And this with their motets in Japan, so that although it was a day of rejoicing there was no one either great or small who did not weep.12

On this occasion, the writer takes pains to stress the agency of the Japanese parishioners in putting together such spectacles: the priest delegates the work to “two or three”, giving them no instructions as to what they are to put on.

At the same time, these descriptions of church theatre, particularly numerous through about 1570, are also peppered with comments revealing an anxiety about the reception of the performances. After these spectacles, the priest in charge always says Mass but very often forbids his charges to receive the Eucharist, because “their hearts had been made insufficiently quiet by the festivities of the evening.” After the Easter performances of 1562, also at Ōtomo headquarters in Funai, the priest reprimanded the performers for “confusing the joy of the Resurrection with the sadness of the Crucifixion,” so we see that this kind of religious art was no more divorced from the social and

12 “Primero la caída de Adán y la sperança de la redemptión. Y para esso posieron em medio de la iglesia una macaneja con unos pomos dorados, debaxo del qual árbor emganó Lucifer a Eva. Y esto com suus motetes em japán, que ahumque era día de alegría no avía grande ni pequeño que non lhorase.” 8 Oct 1561 Juan Fernandez at Funai to Antonio de Quadros, Provincial of India. Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu, Monumenta historica Japoniae vol. 3: Documentos del Japón, 1558-1562, ed. Juan Ruiz de Medina (Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1995), 422-4.
religious purposes of the missionaries than the propagandistic miracle story examined in Chapter Four. The performance itself also shows developments in the tradition.

On the day of Easter, in the procession of the Resurrection were represented various things from Sacred Scripture. That is, to wit: the exodus of the sons of Israel out of Egypt. For this, devices were not lacking, for the front of our church was made into the Red Sea, so that it opened to let the Israelites pass, then turned back in on itself when Pharaoh and his army passed.\(^\text{13}\)

Here we have the first attested use of something like the complicated stage machinery of European religious plays from the middles ages to the present.\(^\text{14}\)

In 1563 the Jesuits put on what was apparently their biggest spectacle yet for Ōmura Sumitada, this time not for Christmas or Easter but for the Feast of the Epiphany, and not in his castle town of Ōmura but at his port in Yokoseura. What brought them there was the four Portuguese ships which the Jesuit Viceprovincial Coelho had sent to bail out Sumitada in his desperate battle against Ryūzōji Takanobu, as discussed in Chapter Four.\(^\text{15}\) As with Coelho’s reaction to Hideyoshi’s expulsion edict, here too his missionary strategy combined military aid with literary edification. In the port city where he had come bearing gifts, he had a program of plays put on depicting scenes from


\(^{14}\) See for example “El Misteri d’Elx: Video Promocional”, (youtu.be/9qll5HRqdUA).

\(^{15}\) Elisonas, “Christianity and the Daimyō”, 323.
Biblical history, finishing with “the advent of the Kings to visit the Child Jesus in the manger and how the Virgin preached to them and of what happened with Herod.”  

Here we have a neat pair of rulers good and evil, and perhaps the Virgin took the opportunity of her preaching to drive home the obvious moral, that what separates the two is their treatment of the baby Jesus. The first ship full of ammunition, money, and food was called in from Hirado at the end of the previous year, the Feast of the Epiphany is 9 January, and by June Sumitada would be baptized by Coelho as the first of the Christian daimyō. Granted, at that point he was less a daimyō than a local strongmen and would owe what status he later achieved to his new patrons, but the point is that even as early as 1563, for Coelho the play was the thing wherein he’d catch the allegiance of the king.

Back in the Ōtomo stronghold of Funai in 1567, another description of Easter plays provides more information on the structure and format of Japanese Jesuit theatre.

The Japanese are accustomed in these representations to show the principal passages by means of actors, and what is more suitable it is performed by the same actors. For their speeches, that which pertains to the writer chronicler or evangelist, singing in a chorus, some people being exceptionally charged with introducing for this purpose, some doctrine which makes for the declaration of the thing in each case, and the edification of the Christians.

16 fizeraõ os Autos de Adão & de Eva & dos Pastores & dos anjos & da Cibilla & do juizo final & auinda dos Reis a visitar o Minino Jesus 'na maniadoura & de como lhes pregou a Virgem & do ã passarão com Herode 17 Apr 1563, Fernandez at Yokoseura to the Jesuits in Bungo. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 5, f. 2.


18 custumão os Japõis nestas representaçõis mostrar os principais pacos ã figuras, e o ã mais convem he praticada ãlas mesmas figuras, per seus dytos, o que pertemçe ao escriptor coro nysta ou evangelista,
By this point, there are at least three classes of performers: the actors who portray particular characters onstage, a chorus which sings narrative body text, and a third group who provide explanatory notes to guide the viewer in interpreting the performance. The same report goes on to discuss viewership and the practicalities of admission to the theatre.

And since these things are mysteries of our holy faith, amazing things, a thing so novel in this gentile land, and the representation being arranged in its proper mode many people are accommodated for this performance, not only Christians but many gentiles, relatives of the same Christians who by their introduction come as secretly as possible, and if this did not have gate controls all the people would attend for the pleasure which they enjoy in it, and this would be good in a way if it could be so, because anyway they would have news of that which does so much for the salvation of souls but because in a gathering of people thus left to their own devices it will not fail to happen, many things inconvenient and dangerous the doors opening onto the yard of the church, only for the Christians and those entering with them, who by their intercession come in whoever may, and in this way, peace and silence are accommodated.19

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19 e por estas cousas serem misterios de nosa santa fee, admirables, cousa tão nova nesta gentilidade, e acomodada a representação de seu proprio modo acode a esta festa mª jente, não soomente χράνος mas muytos gentios, parentes dos mesmos χράνος que pª sua emteração como podê escomdidamª vem, a qual de se não tyuese aportã acuderia todo a gente p o gusto a nisto semtem, e o a em pª fora bom se pudera
The Jesuit theatre has become such a sensation that it now attracts large numbers of non-Christians, so large that admission must be limited due to security concerns. The earliest extant pictorial depiction of admission controls in a Japanese theatre, the portion marked “Kanze noh” on the “Rekihaku A” Kyoto Screens housed at the National Museum of Japanese History, but it seems that instead of the fence surrounding the stage in that case, the Jesuits in Funai were using the church enclosure itself, perhaps building the stage in the courtyard. Naturally, the word “dangerous” is censored from the version of this report printed in Europe, but letting outsiders into the church was considered dangerous because it was. The church in Sumitada’s port of Yokoseura, at which the plays about Biblical kings were performed to accompany Coelho’s shipments, was burned down by angry locals at the end of that year. Moreover, upon his accession to the Arima house headship, Harunobu himself was to burn churches in retaliation for the burning of shrines and temples which his father had carried out.

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ser, pera ç per qual ç via tiverá noticia do que tanto faz ao caso pera salvasão das almas mas ç que em alguntameto de gente asy solta d’ sua vontade não deixa **de acontecer, muitos incôuenyetes muyto piriguosos habrese a porta do campo da igreja, solomête aos çpãos e com lhes entrâs, os que ç sua emterçação entreão os quais ç entrarem, asy, se acomodão a paz e silencio/. 27 Sep 1567, Figueiredo from Bungo. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 6, f. 193v.

20 Viewable at: www.rekihaku.ac.jp/education_research/gallery/webgallery/z_rakuchu/rakuchu_r.html

21 Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus escreverão dos reynos de Japão & China aos da mesma Companhia da Índia, & Europa, desdo anno de 1549 até o de 1580. Primero tomo (Évora: Manoel de Lyra, 1598), 243.

22 “Christianity and the Daimyō”, 325.

23 Ibid., 331.
Far more numerous than these dramatic performances, however, are monologic narrative performances, both in the accounts of the Jesuit letters and in the texts that survive in the Barreto Miscellany. The most detailed such report I have found so far is the following, which is completely omitted from the printed Portuguese translation.\textsuperscript{24}

In the middle of a dance a Christian of the kingdom of Arima entered with a cross on his shoulder and a crown of thorns upon his head, and spoke some speeches in his language to the effect that Christ our redeemer had overcome, and won the power from the demon with his death on the cross and standing a ways apart from the fireplace to sing of the glory which there will be in this sign, and having sung it once he took his cross and followed after his Captain. Such is the devotion recently both in word and deed, to the glory and honor of the Lord.\textsuperscript{25}

The setting is again Easter 1567, this time on the opposite side of Kyūshū from Funai in the east: we are in the Gotō islands off to the west of Hirado, where the Jesuits only report local strongmen exercising administrative control. Nevertheless, here a performer from Arima down on the Shimabara peninsula has come to deliver this ballad of the Redemption, dressed as Jesus and carrying a cross as in an Easter procession in Iberia even today. This letter is written by the Spanish Jesuit Juan Bautista de Monte, but it is

\textsuperscript{24} Cartas, 1.249.

\textsuperscript{25} in megio de una dāsa into uno ḡpāno dil regno di Arima cò una cruce nelle fpale et una corona de spine fopre il capo, et dixe alcuni diti in fua lingua ṣi afi come ḡ"nofso redētore hauia superado, et uinto il potere dil demonio com la morte della cruce et staua ta gia aperto il camino ṣ andare alla gloria che fera lagræfeno, et cädahù uno pi gli ase fua cruce et seguise il fuo capitano. pi com questo fui molta la deuotione che si receuete de fimil actjs et diti molta gloria et honorefia ad signore. 26 Oct 1567, Juan Bautista de Monte from Gotō, to the Collegio Romano. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 6, f. 253.
addressed to the Collegio Romano, and so in a departure from Valignano’s recommendation to use Spanish it is written in a halting Italian. These circumstances render the word *camino* ambiguous. In Italian it means “fireplace”, and I have faithfully rendered it that way in my main translation, but because de Monte is Spanish and his Italian so shaky, it is possible that when he writes *camino* he means “road”. Accordingly, our bard above is either singing by a fireside or a roadside. The preceding text describes a feast inside the church, where there could well be a fireplace, but then it follows a procession through town streets decked with flowers and branches. Next, in an undisclosed location there are group songs and dances, and finally comes the ballad above, so I lean toward the view that we are still outdoors, at the roadside. Mass conversions would not take place in Arima until 1576, nine years later, but whether or not this performer was a Christian as de Monte claims, he has identified a demand for a particular type of oral narrative, which he has composed and then traveled a considerable distance in order to be at a place and time where he knew it would be highly valued.

As for what the content of this ballad might have been like, three main sources of Jesuit narrative literature in Japanese are extant: the 1591 Barreto Miscellany in the Vatican Library, introduced in detail in Chapter Four; *Sanctos no gosagueo* (also 1591) in Oxford’s Bodleian Library, a collection of saints’ lives which probably shares a common parent with the collection transcribed by Barreto;²⁶ and *Tenchi hajimari no koto* “The Beginning of Heaven and Earth”, a narrative representing Christian stories as transmitted orally throughout the Edo period by hidden Christian communities, the earliest

manuscript of which is dated 1827 and originates in the Gotō islands.\textsuperscript{27} The stories of Adam and Eve in this last source may reflect something of the content of the plays on that subject which are nearly universally mentioned in accounts of church theatre like the above, but its late date makes it unusable as a source of detailed evidence about the sixteenth century. Among the extant sixteenth-century narrative pieces one of the most ambitious and the closest to something that this Bard of Arima might have performed in Gotō is the ballad of \textit{The Passion of the Christ} in the Barreto Miscellany, whose genetic relationship to the kōwaka is also particularly evident.

\textit{The Kōwaka’s Red-Headed Nephew: Barreto’s Passion Ballad}

The Japanese Jesuit \textit{Passion of the Christ} is extant in at least two versions: the one treated here is from the 1591 Barreto Miscellany, but more or less the same text is printed, also in the Roman alphabet, as part of the 1607 devotional collection \textit{Spiritual xuguio}.\textsuperscript{28} There, some harmonization of terminology and other changes are evident, and a future continuation of this study will address both that text and this, but in this volume of the dissertation we are interested in the forms and functions of Christian literature in the age of Hideyoshi (1537–1598), so we will largely confine ourselves to the earlier Barreto text.

Fróis reports that Arima Harunobu’s sister Maxentia “was using a book in which the


Passion of Christ Our Lord was described in Japanese language and Japanese characters\textsuperscript{29} in 1596, so it is likely that a version in Japanese script was circulating widely by then. Parallel to the \textit{Spiritual xugio} Passion, the 1591 collection of saints’ lives \textit{Sanctos no gosagweo}\textsuperscript{30} also shares a common parent with the saints’ lives section of the Barreto Miscellany. Accordingly, assuming that most of Barreto’s sources were subsequently printed in the 1590s, then Maxentia’s Passion book would also have been similar to Barreto’s, and also printed on the Jesuit Mission Press which had arrived in Nagasaki on the same boat as Barreto, Valignano, and the returning Boys’ Mission to Europe in 1590.

Unlike the piece treated in Chapter Four, this Passion narrative is based on a European model, namely the four-gospel harmonized narratives found in missals from that time right down to the present. Even for the Latin Vulgate Bible there was no standard printed version until the Sixto-Clementine edition of 1592, so for vernacular European Passion narratives like this there was even less of a uniform tradition, and there were rather a myriad oral and written versions used locally. Therefore, unless a European-language version surfaces that was demonstrably in Nagasaki in 1590, there is no hope of establishing a specific source from which this one was adapted. Nevertheless, this lack is not an obstacle but an opportunity to explore the more poorly-understood

\textsuperscript{29} Dec 1596, Fróis from Nagasaki to the Superior General. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 52, f. 229; trans. Johannes Laures, \textit{Laures Rare Book Database & Virtual Library} (laures.cc.sophia.ac.jp).

question of this literature’ Japanese context. An examination of this Passion narrative’s
textual surface will reveal a consistent use of opening and closing formulae, quotative
structures, and epithets which increase oral comprehensibility, as well as a central set of
vocabulary which are shared with specific kōwaka ballads which the Jesuits, Japanese
and European alike, are known to have been reading as part of their academic training. I
will also follow certain words through various ideological developments, hinting at the
intellectual-historical undercurrents that flow both to and from this act of storytelling. As
a result, it will become clear that it is most appropriate to call this piece a “ballad” as I
have done in the title of this chapter.

In fact, borrowings that turn on the kōwaka can be seen throughout this material,
including in the Story of a Cross discussed in Chapter Four.

Since it was the season of winter, on the zodiac’s dark pole, the time of snow like
undyed silk, its leaves were fallen, and its branches looked lonesome: indeed, it was
nothing but a withered tree.\(^{31}\)

In describing the tree from which the miraculous cross appears, a four-character
Sino-Japanese compound is taken out for a spin in a way that is not as transparent as my
translation suggests. The term 冬の雪雪 genō sosetsu “winter, on the zodiac’s dark pole,
[time] of snow like undyed silk” enters the language via 朗詠 rōei by Minamoto no
Shitagō (911–983). The rōei is kind of poem which aestheticizes Sino-Japanese readings
produced by pan-East Asian practices for reading Chinese and other logographic texts
aloud translingually, using vernacular glosses for each graph of the text and following the

\(^{31}\) quento soset no jixet nareba, fa uochi ŭeda sambixiu xite fitoỳe ni cobocuni fitoxi.
grammar of the reader’s language: “On a frigid matriens on the zodiac’s dark pole, the
time of snow like undyed silk, the pine shows forth the virtue of the Sovereign.” In
Shitagō’s poem I have translated the word for the cold morning with a Latinate
expression to reflect the fact that they are also Sino-Japanese.

However, when the phrase is picked up by the warrior tradition with the early–
thirteenth-century Kakuichi Heike, the corresponding phrase is converted to the
vernacular: “On a cold night on the zodiac’s dark pole…” Because Sino-Japanese
expressions like gentō sosetsu were not orally comprehensible unless the listener had
seen them in writing, Japanese ballads often adapt this classical material in a double
format known as Monzen yomi for its use in reading the Chinese Wenxuan
(ca. 530) poetry collection. Here in the Heike, too, the stiff classicism is paired with a
simple, vernacular phrase which contains the really essential information, in the same
way that Macbeth’s bloody hand “will … the multitudinous seas incarnadine, making the
green one red.”


33 SNKBZ: Wakan rōei shū, ed. Sugano Hiroyuki (Shōgakukan, 1999), 228.


appears in the fourteenth-century *Tale of the Soga Brothers*. However, when *gentō sosetsu* appears in the fifteenth-century Buddhist legend *Kumano no honji*, it acquires a new element: “Even in the cold of a winter’s night in winter, on the zodiac’s dark pole…” Here, the fact that “the zodiac’s dark pole” names winter is made explicit in the vernacular Japanese portion of the phrase, leading to a redundancy when the entire thing is translated into English. In the fifteenth-century *Gikeiki*, this gloss is retained, while “cold” is dropped: “Even on winter nights on the zodiac’s dark pole…” and this state of affairs persists through the sixteenth-century kōwaka, where it appears in the ballads *Atsumori* and *Wada sakamori*. However, the Jesuits’ *Story of a Cross* takes this development one step further by failing to provide any vernacular gloss at all, leaving only *gentō sosetsu no jisetsu nareba* [玄冬素雪の時節ならば] “Since it was the season of winter on the zodiac’s dark pole…” In all likelihood this rendered the clause incomprehensible to all but the most educated hearers or readers, since the Roman characters of the Barreto Manuscript provide no hint of its origins in Sino-Japanese. The phrase appears again twelve years later in the Jesuits’ *Vocabulario* of 1603, and there it is incomprehensible to all but the most educated hearers or readers, since the Roman characters of the Barreto Manuscript provide no hint of its origins in Sino-Japanese. The phrase appears again twelve years later in the Jesuits’ *Vocabulario* of 1603, and there it is

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36 玄冬素雪の寒き夜は、会を去つてこれを与へ SNKBZ: *Soga monogatari*, ed. Kajiwhara Masaaki et al. (Shōgakukan, 2002), 354.


38 朝にはけうらの霧を払い、玄冬素雪の冬の夜も SNKBZ: *Gikeiki*, ed. Kajihara Masaaki et al. (Shōgakukan, 1999), 248.


40 玄冬素雪の冬の夜は、会の重ねて、育めり *Mai no hon*, 478.
perhaps better understood, for it is paired with the word “cold” in a partial return to the usage of Heike, Soga, and Kumano no honji.\textsuperscript{41} In the 1591 miracle story, however, the Monzen yomi gloss is whittled down beyond “winter” to just “season”: Accordingly, the writer most likely learned the word from later sources that only gloss the phrase with “winter”, like Gikeiki and the kōwaka.

I know of no evidence that the Jesuits were reading Gikeiki, but there is ample record of the fact that the kōwaka were a central part of the Japanese-language education being given to the boys growing up in their schools, both European and, as will become clear later, Japanese as well. The Jesuit Japan letters do not go into great detail on this point, since their audience was the European elite, but João Rodriguez’ grammars of Japanese both place the kōwaka front and center within the curriculum. In the Arte of 1604, he recommends:

…classic Japanese books reduced by our Japanese to a practical style that the Europeans may understand the language, such as, the practical May [kōwaka], and Feiquemonogatari [Tale of the Heike] printed in our letters.\textsuperscript{42}

In the Arte breve of 1620, he elaborates on his reasons for listing the kōwaka first.

\textsuperscript{41} “Qentô. Força, ou coraçã do Inuerno. ¶ Qentô soxeto samusa. Frio intenso do Inuerno, & de neue.”


Japanese-language books from which one could profitably read, divided into classes beginning with the easiest, would be as follows. The first and lowest class would be the May [ballads] and Sōxi [chapbooks], because their style is easy and closer to everyday usage.\(^{43}\)

Rodriguez here reflects a widespread classicism: “drinking the language from its pure wellspring,” one will be able to express anything appropriately because one is in touch with its essence.\(^{44}\) However, even more eloquent testimony to the centrality of the kōwaka in Jesuit Japanese pedagogy is the vast corpus of quotations, from nearly the entire repertoire, which Rodriguez brings into the Arte as example sentences: as listed in full by Doi Tadao and Sasano Ken, they take up nearly fifty pages.\(^{45}\) Moreover, the 1603 Vocabulario contains many quotations from the kōwaka, some of which will become important below.

Rodriguez’ “May” quotations in the Arte all provide folio numbers, apparently to something like the above-mentioned “practical May … printed in our letters”, an earlier companion to the 1592 Amakusa Heike which is not known to survive. Indeed, the marginal notes in the Barreto Miscellany also occasionally refer the reader to given folios of a book called May. These notes read as follows.

6: vide May fol. 34. Natal no fî. [Christmas.]


\(^{45}\) Sasano Ken, Kōwaka bukyoku shū, josetsu (Daiichi shobō, 1943), 106–151.
6v: _pera pintar a pobreza do lapo, nas Maj fol. 9_. [Christmas.]

11: _vide May fol. 91. 92_. [Child Jesus in the Temple.]

22v: _vide May fol. 17 como busca a Magdanela_. [The Women at Jesus’ Tomb.]

49: _vide May fol. 17. 18_. [Resurrected Jesus Appears to Mary Magdalene.]

77: _vide May fol. 17.18_. [Jesus Laid in the Tomb.]

78: _vide May fol. 19. 17. 18. 30. 58. 59. 66. 91. 92_. [Instruments of the Passion.]

91: _vide May fol. 122 Taixoquã no May_. [Mary and Martha Before Jesus.]

98v: _Pera se pintar a probeza da casa onde naceo, vide nos may fol. 9_. [Christmas.]\(^46\)

When the Barreto Miscellany was first discovered, the Jesuit scholar Hubert Cieslik argued that this _May_ must have been a collection of kōwaka composed by the Jesuits and depicting all the Christian stories named in brackets above, though the inclusion of the title _Taishokan_ on f. 91 forces us to understand that at least some of the pieces in this collection were simply taken from the kōwaka canon because they were considered edifying in some way.\(^47\) Hiiragi Gen’ichi has provided an important corrective to this view by pointing out that there is nothing to hinder the simpler explanation that all the pieces referred to were canonical kōwaka and were named only for their similar thematic content.\(^48\)

However, I believe that both these views get the direction of reference backwards: phrases like _pera pintar a pobreza da lapo_ “to portray the poverty of the cave” suggest

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\(^{46}\) In this list, the folio on which the note appears in the Barreto Miscellany is followed by the original text of the note in italic type, and then in brackets I give the content of the page on which it appears.


that the source from which Barreto copied his texts is not referring the reader elsewhere but citing its own stylistic sources. That is to say, for the descriptions of Jesus’ birth on folios 6v and 98v of the Barreto Miscellany, the author uses language borrowed from folio 9 of the Jesuit May collection, which we have no reason to believe was anything but a canonical kōwaka. Granted, the one kōwaka that is named, Taishokan, has no obvious textual influence on the retelling of the Mary and Martha story on the page where it appears, but the note could have been aspirational in nature, made before composition and reflecting the writer’s intent to translate in the style of the fisherwoman in Taishokan with her “pearl of great price” should the opportunity arise. In any case, among words used of Mary here, coreocu [合力 kōryoku] “lend a hand” is also used of the gods in Yuriwaka daijin and the tengu in Miraiki, and xizzumari [静まり shizumari] “settle” is used of Yoshitsune’s horn in Oisagashi, Benkei and a battle cry in Takadachi, the people of the neighborhood and a whirlpool in Shinkyoku, etc., so there is no lack of commonality with the kōwaka.49 If I am correct, then the vide May notes provide direct evidence not of the composition of Christian kōwaka elsewhere but of deliberate and, given the absence of citations of other Japanese works, somewhat exclusive use of phrasing and vocabulary from the kōwaka in the composition of the distinctive ballad literature found in the Barreto Miscellany.

However that may be, in Barreto’s Passion narrative there are many connections to Taishokan. For example, the story opens with Jesus predicting his death as in the Gospel of John (12:23), and this speech is paired with one by his primary antagonists, the chief priests and scribes.

Just then the chief Sacerdote, the senior retainers and all their men, having gathered at the fortress of their kingpin, Cayfas, deliberated how they might take JESUS into custody and kill Him, saying, “Might we not cause a disturbance among the multitudes? We ought to avoid the Beato day,”—so they spoke.50

This version of their plotting, in which they want to avoid the Passover, is taken from the Gospel of Mark (14:2), and its more dialogic character adds both dramatic interest and similarity to Taishokan.

The high king among the eight dragon kings who make their home on the ocean floor, having learned by divine intuition of the crystal’s passing to Japan, mustered the dragon hordes, saying, “Even we dragon kings of the ocean floor suffer unceasingly the five decays, the three entropies: we shall not see such a chance as this though we live a million kalpas more. Come now—let us snatch away the efficacious five-inch Śākyamuni image made of holy red mahogany, which rides upon these waves, and take for ourselves the true enlightenment!” “Hear, hear!”—so they spoke, and the eight dragon kings’ wind and waves arose with such a fury that the ship did founder and sway, and, thus delayed, unquiet was its road of waves.51

Yuriwaka daijin also opens with a similar consultation of gods, who set the plot in motion, and so the insertion of the Pharisees’ plotting here may even reflect an ordering of events on the part of the authors of Barreto’s Passion.

50 Vorifuxi Sacerdote no Ccucaʃa xuquro ingue torio naru Caʃfas no tachi ni ỳòri ay IESUS uo carame totte gaʃxi tatemaccuran to xengui xite moxi queru ua moxi banmin no naca ỳòri tocoro no sauáguy ỳa xi idasu bequ ỳò ɲichi uoba nozoqu bexi to iygeru narì. — — . — —

Meanwhile, for titles, epithets, and settings it uses the furniture of warrior literature: 司 tsukasa “chief”, 宿老 shukurō “senior retainers”, 格良 tōryō “kingpin”, 館 tachi “fortress”. The first two are simply titles which would have been used in the warrior society which the Jesuits actually experienced, but the last two are firmly embedded in the ballad tradition. The same is true of conventions for naming groups of people by their leader: 以下 -ige “and all his men” appears in warrior literature from Hōgen to Kakuichi Heike to Amakusa Heike, as does another expression used later on: Erodesu wo hajime to shite ige no hitobito “Herodes first and all his men…”52 Among texts discussed in this dissertation, this construction appears in Sagamigawa from Chapter One: “The High Priest of Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine first of all (wo hajime)…”53 Consider for example the quotative expression –to arikereba… “So he/she spoke, and…” as for example in Pontius Pilate’s line, “‘All things considered, we should punish him and let him go,’—so he spoke…”54 This connector is common in the kōwaka and the jōruri puppet theatre55 and also appears in Sagamigawa: “‘If not, we all will do ourselves harm,’—so she spoke…”56 Even pronouns like 御辺 gohen “you” are revealing: “If you (gohen) are the

52 Herodes wo fajime to xite ige no hitobito [エロデスをはじめとして人々]

53 はしのくやには,, わかみやのへつうをはじめ,, Tenri manuscript.

54 xenzuru tocoro caxaqu uo nxite yurusu bexi to ari quereba


56 それさなき物ならばにも自害とありければ Keiō manuscript.
Christo, show us,”⁵⁷ echoes any number of kōwaka⁵⁸ and is also common in the Princeton Sagamigawa: “First of all, let me tell you (gohen) how it is that I, Yoshitsune, now come before you in such a state.”⁵⁹

By now, my reasons for calling Barreto’s Passion of the Christ a ballad (katarimono), though naturally not a straight kōwaka, should be clear. However, one more vocabulary connection will lead us into the discussion of a key thematic word.

“As it is seen in Scriptura, the child of the Virgem must pass over, but pitiable is he who hands him over. I mean to say: that one would have done well not to be born.”

Judas said, “How now, Master, is it me?” and JESUS said, “You have said it.”⁶⁰

This expression -ni shikaji must be translated a variety of ways in English, but it appears consistently in kōwaka. See for example Shida: “There is no rejoicing like that for a wish granted.”⁶¹ Or again Takadachi: “Though I might have had from you a fief of a thousand or ten thousand acres, that would not have equaled this armor you now give me.”⁶² Then in Sagamigawa there is Shigetada’s dictum, so worthy of a warior bureaucrat of the Edo

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⁵⁷ gofen Christo nite maximasaba varera ni arauaxi tama ye [御辺キリストにてましまば我らに願し給え]

⁵⁸ 高辺は弓の上手と聞く。Gohen wa yumi no jōzu to kiku. “I hear you are a master of the bow and arrow.”

“Nasu no yoichi”, Mai no hon, 231.

⁵⁹ つく下ししつねかくをみたるよしを御へんにかたりきかせん

⁶⁰ Scriptura ni miyœqueru gotocu virgem no Co vataru bequi ga vatasan mono ua fubin nari. Sareba cano fito vmarezaru ni ua xicaji to notamo nary. Judas ſycani xixo vare nite ſya to moxiquereba IESUS gofen ſyuaruru to notamo nari. ~

⁶¹ 望む所望の叶ふ上、これにしかじ Mai no hon, 70.

⁶² 御代が御世の時に、千町万町給たるより、今此鑑にしかじ Mai no hon, 445.
“Victory is not as sweet as no battle at all.”\(^{63}\) Finally, the word 不憫 fubin “pitiable” is also common in the kōwaka, though I have shown how such sentiment and resentment take on a new centrality in the Princeton Sagamigawa, where fubin is used in the same passage that attributes 罪 tsumi “sin” to Yoritomo.

These men who have been with me right down to today have not had one place of refuge, one moment’s respite from mortal danger—oh, their plight as helplessly they spent themselves! (yamiyami hateshi koto no fubin-sa yo) This too is a sin.\(^{64}\)

We have seen in Chapter Two how in Shizuka this word fubin is also the agent of Masako’s denial of class in favor of “sympathy” based on gender: “Women are the same whether noble or base, and so I feel great solidarity and sympathy (fubin) for her.”\(^{65}\) Just as significantly, this word is absent from the triumphalist noh The Bridge Consecration.

It is not only vocabulary but a core moral orientation that link this Christian literature to the new Yoshitsune seen in the seventeenth-century ballad Sagamigawa.

At that time JESUS heard the Discipolo discussing among themselves who should be chief among them, and He said, “Human kings consider human matters, and whatever crew is in power is called deservedly successful (kahō imijiki). Among you, however,
the higher one is the more he will shrink down, the more he is chief the more he will be like a slave.”

This word 果報 kahō “fruition” originally refers to the merit that can be won from spiritual practice, as in the Heike: “Since he had exhausted all the merit (kahō) he’d accrued from keeping the five precepts and the ten goodesses…” Like 徳 toku “virtue”, in the Middle Ages this word drifts from earned strength to contingent strength like material wealth, as in this happy boast in the sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Toraakira kyōgen nukegara: “It may be that many a man has got a posse to his name, but there’s none so well-established (kahō) as yours truly.” Jesus’ words above are a direct critique of this lexical identification of moral and material values, pulling them apart by elevating weak above strong on the basis of otherworldly values. The appeal this would have had for the weakest lords of Kyūshū, who we remember from Chapter Four were the ones the Jesuits courted with bailouts and proselytization, has been well explained as follows:

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66 Sono toqui Discipolo varera ga naca no ccucafsa ua tare nite aru bequi zo to catari avaruru uo quicoxi mesarete notamauaqu, Ninguen no teýuo ua ninguen no uye uo facari.fono naca ni yxeý aru tomogara ua quao ymijiqui to ýobaruru mono nari – farinagara sore ni cauarite nadachi no naca ni tacacaran fodo fiquiqudari ccucajâbaru fodo ýaccuco no gotocu aru bexi.


68 しょうをもった者もおほけ共、わたくしほどくわほうなものはござらぬ Quoted in Nihon kokugo daijiten, 2nd ed. (Shōgakukan, 2000).
The slave is suspicious of the virtues of the powerful: he is skeptical and mistrustful, displays refinement in his mistrust, of everything ‘good’ that is honored among them—he would like to convince himself that happiness itself cannot be genuine there.69

We have seen in Chapters One and Two that in late seventeenth century, just as the Tokugawa shogunate celebrated in the noh of Chapter Three was solidifying its grip on power, old traditions of the joyful, doomed rebel as seen in Gikeiki and the purely vengeful spirit as seen in the noh transformed into a resentful moralist hero who is new to Japanese cultural history. It is therefore worth remembering that in the late sixteenth century, Barreto’s Passion of the Christ was being recited across Kyūshū. Moreover, in an adaptation of the culture of devotional sūtra copying, elite yet politically marginalized Japanese Christians copied out in hiragana Latin the words, “He hath deposed the mighty from their seat and hath exalted the humble.”70

Indeed, it is easy to read Jesus in this ballad as a Yoshitsune figure. Instead of Kajiwara, here our hero is slandered (譏戯 zansō) by the Jews.

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69 “Der Blick des Sklaven ist abgünstig für die Tugenden des Mächtigen: er hat Skepsis und Misstrauen, er hat Feinheit des Misstrauens gegen alles „Gute“, was dort geehrt wird —, er möchte sich überreden, dass das Glück selbst dort nicht acht sei.” Friedrich Nietzsche, Jenseits Von Gut Und Böse, ed. Colli & Montinari, (nietzschesource.org: Digitale Kritische Gesamtausgabe, [1886]), §260.

Then the Judeu slandered Him, saying, “We hear that this man, by way of plotting our ascendancy, has forbidden us to pay tribute to Cesar and has claimed that he himself is the Christo.”

They accuse Jesus of having political ambitions which he denies, branding him a 朝敵 chōteki “enemy of the court”, like Yoshitsune but also like the Heike themselves. “Those who present themselves as kings are all enemies of the court (chōteki) of Cesar!” Like Yoshitsune, however, Jesus has his defenders. He is crucified together with two thieves, and when one of them taunts him, the other rebukes him: “We are receiving this punishment now for crimes (科 toga) we have committed. But this Lord has not committed any crime the slightest crime (sic).” Compare this to the Princeton Sagamigawa, where the ghosts of Yoshitsune’s men say, “O Shigetada, how bitterly regrettable the mind of Yoritomo, who did away with Our Lord Yoshitsune, who had committed no crime.” I have mentioned in Chapter One that even in the nineteenth

71 Sono toqui Judeu zanfo moxi queru ua Cono fito uarera ga tótó uo tabacaran tote Cesar ye tonayé mosu miccuqui no mono uo ýmaxime vosayé vaga mi ua Chriʃto to nanorarequeru uo qiqiccuru to moxiquireba


73 Vaga mi uo Teʃu to araasusu fito ua mina Cesar no chotequi nari. [我が身を帝王と表す人は皆セザールの朝敵なり]

74 Vareru ua naxi queru toga ni ýotte ima cono caxaqu uo comuru nari. Sarinagara cono quimi ua toga Sucoxi mo toga voaxenu. [我らはなしえる科によって今この呵責を蒙るなり。さりながらこの君は科少しも科おはせぬ]

75 とかなきわかきみをうしなひ給ふよりとものしよそんの程こそくちおしけれ
century Yoshitsune was imaginatively superimposed on Amakusa Shirō, the hero of the Japanese Christians’ last stand at Shimabara, but here we see that his popular portrayal in the seventeenth century had a great deal in common with that of Jesus himself at the end of the sixteenth.

At the same time, like any good moralism that of the Passion of the Christ is ultimately aimed at the acquisition of power by the weak, and so it is not surprising that Jesus is also treated as an authority figure. Like Yoritomo in Sagamigawa, his speech is introduced with the honorific 御詫 go jō “His Word”, and indeed he is seldom allowed to be without an honorific even when he is being humiliated: all the insults and blows directed at him end with つる –tatematsuru, a humilific. Like Yoritomo who honorably “sallied forth” (on ide ari) to the bridge consecration in Sagamigawa, Jesus’ movements are described with an honorific: “He came forth (on ide nasare) and sat together with the twelve Discipolo.”

The disciple who betrays Jesus is known in Barreto’s Passion ballad as “Judas the rebel (muhonnin)”, while Joseph of Arimathea “had no part in the rebellion (muhon) of the Judeu,” so Jesus’ status as Son of God is made akin to that of a rightful but unrecognized feudal lord. This word 謀叛 muhon appears in the early–thirteenth-century Takano Heike with a negative connotation: “This Shunkan was a monk, but his heart was warlike, and wouldn’t you know it, he participated in a doomed

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76 juninin no Discipolo tomoni von yde nasare namiyite [十二人のジシボロ供に御出でなされ並み居て]
77 mufonnin no Iudas [謀叛人のジュダス]
78 Judeuno mufon ni qumi xerarezu [ジュデウの謀叛に与せられず]
rebellion.” However, the late-fourteenth-century *Taiheiki* uses the word for the actions of its hero, Emperor GoDaigo, so it is not always used disapprovingly: “Our Lord’s insurgency (*muhon*) was by and by made legendary.”80 Nevertheless, we have seen that the Princeton *Sagamigawa* shows its partiality to Yoshitsune from the beginning by calling Yoritomo’s unification of the country a *muhon*, so the term naturally remains ambivalent and contested throughout. Regardless, Barreto’s ballad of the *Passion* ultimately stresses Jesus’ rightful authority over his rebel status.

Indeed, one of the Jesuit mission’s most important selling points was the promise of tighter control over wayward vassals for the lords of Kyūshū, whose hold on power had long been tenuous.81 It is thus unsurprising to hear Peter expressing loyalty to Jesus in the philosophical terms of Japanese feudalism: “Though I be imprisoned and put to death with You, my Lord, I will accompany You. I am prepared to die (*kakugo tsukamatsuru*).”82 This last phrase is turns on 賢悟 *kakugo* “resolution”, a term with a rich history in medieval Japan. It is central to the discourse of loyalty from the beginning of Japanese warrior culture, as seen in an 1195 proclamation by the historical Kumagae Naozane, one of the warriors depicted in the *Heike*: “One and all must make up their minds (*kakugo su beki mono*) to keep the three commands above to the best of their

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79 此俊寛も僧なれども、心をたけく、おごれる人にて、よしなき謀叛にもくみしけるにこそ Quoted in “Muhon”, *NKD*.

80 君の御謀叛、次第に隠れ無りければ *SNKBZ: Taiheiki*, ed. Hasegawa Tadashi (Shōgakukan, 1994), 1.


82 tatóy quimi to tomoni roxa xerare xizáy ni vóyobu to mo vontomo ýtasu bequí cacígo ccucamaccuru
ability.\textsuperscript{83} In a 1502 entry from the Diary of Nakamikado Nobutane, the word’s use in refined courtier culture is evident by the late middle ages: “A magistrate ought to make up his mind (kakugo aru beki yoshi) about anyone who fails to send retainers to give year’s-end and new-year’s greetings.”\textsuperscript{84} Its use in a Confucian commentary of ca. 1529 reflects inventive adaptation of the Chinese classics on the part of some of the Jesuits’ rivals in ideological production: “In advance, we set before the eyes of our soldiers the fact that a battle is apt to occur, and we prepare our minds! (kakugo wo suru zo)”\textsuperscript{85} Finally, the word lives on in the full-blown townsman literature to which Shizuka is a prelude; in Ihara Saikaku’s 1688 Buke giri monogatari, it is used in an action scene: “He exchanged slashing blows with the four of them, but since his mind was unprepared (kakugo ni araneba), he was wounded with the sword for the first time.”\textsuperscript{86} For the Jesuits, Peter’s expression of loyalty to Jesus provides a model of both religious and secular morality, while emotional identification with his subsequent failure to carry out that ideal spurs the listener on to further self-improvement.

\textsuperscript{83} 右参ケ条之外、依其身器量、可覚悟者也、仍置状如件 Nagato Kumagae ke monjo, quoted in “Kakugo”, NKD.

\textsuperscript{84} 年始歳末礼令不参者、知行可有其覚悟之由 Zōho shiryō taisei: Nobutane kyō ki (Rinsen Shoten, 1965).


Peter’s identification as a follower of Jesus and denial use the word 同心 dōshin “alliance”, and this again ties his portrayal to the larger tradition of warrior literature.

He went out to the courtyard, but then another servant girl came and pointed her finger at Pedro, saying, “How now, people: this man here is a follower of JESUS!” and he dissembled, swearing oaths: “I do not know that man!”

This term originates in the Chinese Classic of Documents: “There were already ten rebel ministers, with the same mind (dōshin) and the same ethic.” Like many phrases from the classical tradition, this one is literal in the original but comes later to be used as a byword for what it described there. In Japan, it became the standard way to describe alliance and vassalage in warrior literature like the Taiheiki: “So then, you, go over to the land of Izumo, speak to the clan who are to become our allies (dōshin su beki), and bring them to join us.” It also appears in The Tale of the Soga Brothers: “They mustered warriors under their command (dōshin ni kake idasase) numbering a hundred thousand horse.” Moreover, it is used in more prosaic warrior chronicles: “Hosokawa, governor of Sanuki and all his men, all his vassals (ikke dōshin) were together.” In Sagamigawa any hierarchical relation is reversed, as the word denotes Yoritomo’s belief in Kajiwara’s assertions about Yoshitsune. Kajiwara ni dōshin shikeru Yoritomo ga kokoro no uchi koso

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87 niua ſe ideraruru ni bet no guejjo quitatte Pedro ni ſubi uo saxi ſycani fitobito core coffo Ifesus doxin no fito ſo to ſi quereba cano fito uo xirazu to chicay tamo uo motte chinji mosaruru nari:

88 㰪㰪㰪[section 106b: 6-106c: 3] Quoted in “dōshin”, NKD.

89 㰣㰣㰣㰣sect 106b: 4-106c: 3 Quoted in “dōshin”, NKD.

90 㰪)section 106b: 4-106c: 3 Quoted in “dōshin”, NKD.

91 㰣)section 106b: 4-106c: 3 Quoted in “dōshin”, NKD.
woroka nare to rakurui kagiri nashi. “I, Yoritomo, was foolish in my thoughts to have any part (dōshin shikeru) of Kajiwara.” Both the accusation of the 下女 gejo “servant girl” and Peter’s response are couched in the terms of medieval Japanese warrior society.

In a more direct cultural accommodation, the Passion ballad identifies the Jewish establishment of Jesus’ day as represented by Annas and Caiaphas with the militarized Buddhist establishment which had given the unifying hegemons so much trouble. “So the Judeu brought JESUS before Anas, a congregant (shuto) under the chief Sacerdote Cayfas.” In sixteenth-century Japanese, a 衆徒 shuto “congregant” is a monk at a warrior temple, also like those who betrayed Yoshitsune in Sagamigawa: “Then I went up to Mt. Yoshino, but the congregants (shuto) there turned against me.” The congregants are warrior monks who are commanded by Yoritomo to hunt down Yoshitsune, and they appear in many places in medieval literature, such as the kōwaka Oisagashi: “There were four mountain ascetics, who promptly identified themselves as congregants (shuto) and began behaving in an unruly manner.” The word’s usage in the Vocabulario reveals its contemporary association with militarized Buddhist sects which governed their domains as theocracies: “Heads, or chiefs of the Tendaishū, and the Shingonshū.” Coelho was not well advised to receive political control over Nagasaki the same year that Hideyoshi

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92 かちはらに同心しけるよりともか心のうちこそをろかなれ

93 Sareba Judeu ra Sacerdote no Ccuása Càyfas no xuto Anas no moto Ŷe IFSUS no fiqi tatemaccura

94 それよりよし野山に入けれはしゆと心かはりをそつかまつる

95 山伏のひしよたり。愛に衆徒となづけ、わかままにふるまふたあり “Oisagashi”, Mai no hon.

finally defeated the militant sectarians of Honganji,\textsuperscript{97} nor to boast to Hideyoshi of his military and political influence with Portugal, as discussed in Chapter Four. In that sense, this ballad’s identification of Jesus’ enemies with the recently-defeated Pure-Land theocrats of medieval Japan, if deliberate, shows a far greater strategic acumen than Coelho’s.

On the other hand, there are moments in which the foreignness of this material shines through, and I have preserved this in my translation.

“How now, Simon: like the threshing of wheat, the tengu are aiming to manipulate all of you, but I have asked that your \textit{fides} not weaken. When the good people return again, the power of the brothers must be strengthened.”\textsuperscript{98}

First, Jesus’ line begins with the greeting 如何に ikani “How now!”, identified by Jesuit mission linguistics with the Latin vocative case (\textit{ō domine}): the declension tables that spell this out, discussed further in Chapter Six, first appear in the Amakusa edition of Alvarez’ Latin grammar and are repeated in Rodriguez’ two Japanese grammars of 1604 and 1620.\textsuperscript{99} This clash of civilizational spheres and the power relations they inscribe are

\textsuperscript{97}Elisonas, “Christianity and the Daimyō”, 361.

\textsuperscript{98}\textit{ẏcanẏ fimon xobaqu uo qudaqu ga gotocu tengu mennē no xindaẏ xen to neraẏ queredomo gofēn fides youaranu ẏo ni tanomi queru nari – jennin tachi caẏeran toquī quiodaẏ domo no chicara uo ecyōraxeraru bexī

what lie behind Rodriguez’ preference above for *liuros Iaponicos clasicos reduzidos em estillo da pratica* “Classic Japanese books reduced to a practical style.” The Spanish Franciscan mission to the Maya, which unlike the mostly-Portuguese Jesuits in Japan had both the time and the military might to remake Mayan society according to their vision, practiced what they called *reducción* “reduction”. This program entailed a restructuring of not only Mayan political relations but also, by means of missionary linguistics, the Mayan language itself, into fitting vessels for Christianity. This transformation was of course facilitated in the Mayan case by the literal and material “reduction” to ashes of nearly the entire corpus of Mayan literature, whereas different material conditions made such a slash-and-burn approach impossible in Japan even if the Jesuits had wanted to adopt it. Nevertheless, the same tools of the *arte* “grammar” and the *vocabulario* “lexicon” were employed to “reduce” the specificities of the language, not only *para os Europeos aprenderem a lingoa* “that the Europeans may understand the language” but so that the language might express the new ideology it was now being called upon to express.

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100 *Arte da lingoa de Iapam*, f. 4.


102 “We found among them a large number of books in these their letters, and because they had nothing in which there was not superstition and lies of the devil, we burned them all, which they regretted to an amazing degree.” Diego de Landa Canderón (1524–1579), quoted in Michael D. Coe, “Forefathers: the Dawn of Decipherment”, *Breaking the Maya Code* (Thames & Hudson, 2012).
For all the complexity of the translator’s task, there are only two basic options: to translate into pre-existing terms in the target language, or to transliterate and create a loan word from the source language. In the sentence above we see both at work in interesting ways. Tengu are goblin-like winged men who are said to live in the mountains of Japan, and in medieval Buddhism they are identified with the power of māra (Skt.: Ch./J. 魔 ma) an evil force that tries to prevent sentient beings from achieving enlightenment. Competing sects accuse each other of actually being tengu in disguise, and popular legends describe monks being tricked by tengu into religious pride, inefficacious practices, and other mistakes. However, by the late middle ages the tengu had become morally ambiguous trickster figures, and part of Yoshitsune’s boyhood legend is that he learned the arts of war by training with the tengu on Mt. Kurama. Whether because of the term’s use in Buddhism or the resemblance of Yoshitsune’s backstory to that of Jesus being tempted by Satan in the desert, the Jesuits used tengu for “devil” and, unlike their abortive early use of the cosmic Buddha Dainichi to translate Deus, they kept this term to the end of the mission. In so doing, I am not the first to suspect that they significantly changed the image of the tengu in Japan. During the seventeenth century, at the same time that the iconography of the long-nosed European missionary spread in popular anti-Christian fiction, the tengu also underwent a change from a winged birdman

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complete with talons and a crow-like beak to a long-nosed goblin whose only non-human feature is his wings. This transformation happens to be laid out clearly in Painting 10 of the Princeton Sagamigawa scrolls (Appendix 1F), where both the new and the old type of tengu are depicted training young Yoshitsune. Komine Kazuaki has already suggested that Japanese pictorial discourse on Christianity and Europeanness might have seeped via this translational link into the iconography of the tengu, transforming them into this new long-nosed but otherwise more human variety.¹⁰⁵

Meanwhile, the other option open to the translator, that of importing a loan-word, is seen above in the use of the Latin word *fides*, which was translated in the *Story of the Cross* discussed in Chapter Four as 額 もし き *tanomoshiki* “trustiness” but here is kept pure. Indeed, loanwords could function not only to preserve the multivalence of original terminology but also to obscure inconveniently fraught passages from the uninitiated.

“This tonight you will receive a *scandalo* from Me. This is because it is seen in *Scriptura* that when the *Pastor* suffers a wound, the *Ouelha* will scatter.”¹⁰⁶

It is true that the keeping of *ovelhas* “sheep” and other animals like cattle for milk and meat had not been common in Japan for several hundred years at this time,¹⁰⁷ but it seems


¹⁰⁶ *Nandachi cojōyō vare yori scandalo ou vqueraru bexi sono yuye ua Pastor quizzu uo comurâ toqui Ouelha sanran su to scriptura ni miye tari*

doubtful that after nearly fifty years the Jesuits had not learned enough vocabulary of animal husbandry to translate, “Strike the shepherd and the sheep will scatter,” into something comprehensible. Rather, the additional retention of scandalo suggests a reluctance to raise the specter of disciples misunderstanding their master, the assassination of a religious leader, and the consequent dispersal of his followers, for uninitiated readers or listeners. As discussed above, the Jesuits had already had churches burned down, and they likely did not want to give anyone ideas about what would happen if they themselves were done away with.

This ballad also uses philosophical terminology related to the issue which the Jesuits identified, perhaps correctly, as their greatest point of disagreement with traditional Japanese religions: the doctrines of the immortality and freedom of the soul and, thereby, eternal punishment and reward. At several points Jesus uses language of soul-body dualism, either in Latin loan-words or repurposed Buddhist terms. The resulting textual surface passes rather smoothly but is nevertheless important for the glimpses it affords of the vast intellectual-historical exchange underlying it. First, in the context of the Eucharist, a new word is created to stress that although what is eaten is Jesus’ flesh and not his spirit, it is nevertheless his “self” in some essential sense: “This is my self-flesh (shinniku); eat it.” This first example goes somewhat against the grain of body-soul dualism in order to stress the competing importance of physicality in the Catholic sacrament.


109 Core vaga xinniku nari buqu xerareyō. [これ我が身肉也。服せられよ]
However, a moment later Jesus expresses a more dualistic sentiment: “I will be sad until I can leave this phenomenal body (shikitai).”¹¹⁰ This line has no exact parallel in the canonical Gospels, but it may be a confused paraphrase of John 16:5–6, which in the 1592 Sixto-Clementine version reads: “And now I am going to him who sent me; and no one of you asks me, ‘Where are you going?’ but because I have said this to you, sadness fills your hearts.”¹¹¹ The word is used again later to describe Jesus’ death: “He had already left the phenomenal body (shikitai).” One of the earliest uses of this term shikitai is in Xuanzang’s (ca. 602–664) Chinese translation of an early mahāyāna Buddhist treatise: “Broadly speaking, there are two types of what is called phenomenality: first, the four greater types, and second, created phenomenalities. Apart from these there is no third phenomenal entity (shikitai).”¹¹² However, all the early Japanese instances that I can find use this word not as an adjective-noun pair but as a binome: phenomenality and body. It appears first in a fourteenth-century vajrayāna Buddhist commentary on Japanese poetry,¹¹³ which is quoted by the noh playwright Zeami in his 1428 treatise Six Models: “Although neither its form nor its substance (shikitai) is visible, it is concurrent

¹¹⁰ vare xiquitaẏ uo fanaruru made canaxiqi nari. [我色体を離るるまで悲しきなり]

¹¹¹ “Et nunc vado ad eum qui misit me; et nemo ex vobis interrogat me: Quo vadis? sed quia haec locutus sum vobis, tristitia implevit cor vestrum.” The Clementine Vulgate Project (vulsearch.sourceforge.net).

¹¹² 諸所有色、総有二種。一四大種、二所造色。除此更無第三色体 “Dai Bishamon ron (Mahāvibhāṣa Śāstra)”, Taishō shinshū daizōkyō 27: Hidon 2 (Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924).

¹¹³ Fujiwara no Tameaki, Kokin jo kikigaki (Kansai University Press, 1997); Susan Blakeley Klein, Allegories of Desire: Esoteric Literary Commentaries of Medieval Japan (Harvard University Asia Center, 2003).
with the phenomenon in question and thus is regarded as an effect thereof.” Finally, perhaps in consultation with their Gozan Buddhist informants, the Jesuits revive the Buddhist adjective-noun usage: an example from their theological writings would be the 1599 Japanese translation of Luis de Granada’s *Guia do Pecador*: “The phenomenal body (*shikitai*) which has received life, first of all things sees what is easy, prefers it, and clings to it.” This meaning is naturally maintained in the Jesuits’ 1604 *Vocabulario*, though its Portuguese definition is simplified to “a body.” More surprisingly, however, this revival of the adjective-noun meaning and new, dualist Christian usage reappears in such everyday places as the 1708 puppet play *Teika*: “Though you have left the phenomenal body (*shikitai*), your clinging remains.” This dualism seems to have taken hold even in popular culture.

For his famous line, “The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak,” however, Jesus switches to 色身 *shikishin* “phenomenal self”.

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115 生得色体は、あるほどの物の初に、和なる事を見て好ましく思ひとり付といへども *KK: Giya do pekadoru*, ed. Obara Satoru (Kyōbunkan, 2002).


117 今汝しきたいをはなれつつ、しょうじゃくのころ Quoted in “Shikitai”, *NKD*.
“How now, Simon: have you fallen asleep? Can you not keep watch with me through one full hour? You must do oratio lest you go into tentação. The Spiritu is strong, but the phenomenal self (shikishin) is weak.”

Originally this word means a Buddha more fully present in another world who is made manifest in this one. It appears in one of the first Japanese Buddhist sūtra commentaries ever in the seventh century and in Teachings Essential for Rebirth in the tenth. The Jesuits’ meaning is apparently a synonym of shikitai “phenomenal body” and the opposite of the immortal soul (L. anima) on whose existence their ideas of sin and punishment depended. As their 1600 Japanese treatise Dochirina Kirishitan says, “A human being is not only the phenomenal self (shikishin) but has an anima which never leaves him.” This meaning of the word is used in Buddhist philosopher Suzuki Shōsan’s ca.1640 anti-Christian treatise Ha Kirishitan, naturally in order to single out the above doctrine for criticism: “…the view that, though the phenomenal self (shikishin) be

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118 ṭe[cmi Simon nemurare queru ca? tada fito toqui no ban uo faye vare to tomo ni todoquru coto canauarezaru ya? tentação ni yru majiqi tame ni banxite oratio xeraru bexi. Spu va ccuyoqueredomo xiqui xin ua youaqui nari.


destroyed, the divine self (*shinga*) is not extinguished.” However, *shikishin* also appears with the Jesuit meaning in a collection of Buddhist sermons from 1775: “Today, to live in the world, long in years, in good health of the phenomenal self (*shikishin*)…” The Neo-Platonic body/soul dualism that forms one important strand in Latin Christian thought was introduced via this word to Japan, and there it took on an immortality of its own, hiding from the Tokugawa persecution in plain sight: the popular theatre and Buddhist sermon literature.

In contrast to these heady ideas of body and soul, this ballad also localizes the Passion story in terms of some of the most visceral and distinctive medieval Japanese social structures, including the outsider subcultures described by Amino Yoshihiko. Like the peasants who discover the miraculous cross in Chapter Four, the poor people to whom the disciples imagine giving money are 非人 *hinin* “outcasts”.

“Why have you used up this medicine for no reason, instead of selling it at a high price and giving the money to the outcasts (*hinin*)?” This term ultimately comes from the *Lotus Sūtra*, but it is used to describe a variety of classes who do not fit into mainstream village or warrior society: traveling artists, homeless people, merchants, the disabled, and practitioners of a number of professions considered unclean such as undertakers, leatherworkers, and hunters. Moreover, Judas’

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124 *Cono qufuri uo tacaqui ata<y>ů ni vri finin ni fodorosazu xite nani tote ūyē naqu vxinauare qeru zo

125 Amino Yoshihiko, *Chūsei no hinin to josei* (Kōdansha, 2005).
Potter’s Field becomes a graveyard for a somewhat larger countercultural group investigated by Amino, 無縁の人 muen no hito “people without karmic links”. 126

So then the chief Sacerdote debated among themselves, saying, “This silver money is in exchange for blood, so it would be inappropriate to put it in the Cepo of the templo,” and they bought a clay pot makers’ district and, designating it a graveyard for homeless people come from other lands, they named it Aqueldemae. This means the district of blood. 127

Amino identifies “the principle of muen” as one of the defining elements of Japanese culture, even and especially underlying the Emperor System, which for him operates on a revolving sacred/outcast binary—and which also demands comparison to the homo sacer of old Roman law as described by Giorgio Agamben. 128 Meanwhile, the word for the chief priests’ “debating”, 僕議 sengi, echoes the dragon kings in Taishokan, another kōwaka which we know the Jesuits were reading: “Meanwhile, the dragon kings debated among themselves, saying, (sengi shikeru wa) ‘Whatever will we do about this?’” 129

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127 Saru fodo ni Sacerdote no Ccucafsa xengui xiqueru ua cono guinxen va chi no cauari nareba templo no Cepo ni ēru bequĩ coto fon ē ni arazu tote ccuchinabe ccuquri no ūaxiqi uo caïtori tacquq yori quitaru muyen no fito no fanmaỳ to sadame Aqueldemae to nazuaqetari core chi no ūaxiqui to ūyu coto nari


129 Mai no hon, 26.
In fact, the ballad of the Passion appropriates not only such conversation vocabulary from warrior literature but even epithets for characters.

Now, there is an ancient law whereby any one prisoner which the multitudes wish is let go by the magistrat on the day of the Paschoa. Just then there was a prisoner called Barrabas, infamous for stealing and manslaughter."^{130}

The epithet for Barrabas here is nusumi wo shi hito wo koroshi kakure naki Barrabas [盗みをし人を殺し隠れ無きバラバ], and indeed the word kakurenashi appears from the Heike^{131} to the Gikeiki^{132} and even in the ca.-1430 noh Yorimasa: “Truly, plant a crimson flower in your garden: there is no hiding it (kakurenashi).”^{133} Demand for ballad discourse was such that the Jesuits’ rivals the Confucian scholars even worked it into the lectures they delivered to regional warlords:^{134} a 1477 commentary on the Records of the Grand Historian has, “Sending those world-famous (kakurenai) stouthearted men …”^{135} while the Tsutsui commentary on the Yijing of that same year has, “The notion that bearing

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^{130} Sareba mucaxi yori no fatto ni Pafcoa no fi ni atatte banmin no nosomi ni macaxe roxa ýchinin xugonin ýori ýúrfururu coto ari. vorifuxi nufumi uo xi fito uo coroxi caquire naqui Barrabas to ýu roxa ariqueru nari

^{131} 三井寺にはそのかくれなし。堂衆の中に筒井浄妙明秀 “At Miidera is he of whom no one has not heard—Tsutsui Jómyō Akihide.” SNKBT: Heike monogatari.

^{132} 壁に耳、岩に口と云ふ事あり。くれぬはそれに植へても隠れなし “They say the walls have ears and the rocks have mouths. Plant a crimson flower in your garden: there is no hiding it.” SNKBZ: Gikeiki.

^{133} げにや紅は園生に植えても隠れなし、名のらぬ先に頜政と、ご覧こそ悲しけれ “Yorimasa”, SNKBZ: Yōkyokushū, ed. Koyama Hiroshi & Satō Ken’ichirō (Shōgakukan, 1997).

^{134} For more on this phenomenon, see Kōno Kimiko’s forthcoming commentary on Kiyohara Nobukata’s Mōgyū chōjin.

^{135} 天下にかくれないけなげな者をやりて・・・ Quoted in “Kakurenashi”, NKD.
should matter to the world-famous (kakurenaki)…”  
Finally, the word appears frequently in the kōwaka, which is no doubt where the Jesuits learned it.  

Elsewhere, unless the authors were working from an unusual European original, they make a translation mistake which is most easily explained with reference to the hypothesis that they had in mind a particular passage from the kōwaka. In the ballad of The Passion of the Christ, the legs of all the crucified except Jesus are not broken but lopped off. 

The following day was the day of the Paschoa which the Judeu use, so in order not to leave the dead bodies on the crus until the sabado, they went to Pilatos and said, “Send soldiers to chop off the legs of those on the crus,”—so they asked him, and immediately he sent warriors who chopped off the legs of the two thieves, and when they looked at JESUS He had already left the phenomenal body, so it did not come to that.  

It is hard to imagine that a European writer would have made this mistake. However, this usage of the verb nagu does match closely with one of the many kōwaka quotations in the 1604 Vocabulario: 

[J] He chopped at Benkei’s knees, and his swishing halberd stirred up a gust of wind.

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136 天下にかくれなき人は、身もちが大事なぞ ibid.

137 Mai no hon, 6, 35, 215, 349, 397, 424, 466…

138 Ccugui no fi ua Judeu no mociyru Paschoa no fi nareba sabado made xīgā y uo crus ni voqu majiqi tame Pilatos no moto ni yūyite moxi qeru ua Ccuuamono uo ccuauaxi crufr ni caqari qeru mono domo no axi uo nagaxe tamaże to tanomi qereba Sunauachi buxi uo saxiccuauxi nufubito ninin no axi uo nagaxe, IFSUS uo mi tatemaccuru ni faya von xiquita y uo fanare tamaỳeba sono gui ni voỳobazu nari.
[P] Benkei, making wind with the *naginata* near the knees with a rumbling, was cutting his legs.\(^{139}\)

This quotation comes from the kōwaka *Horikawa yo uchi*, and the subject of the sentence is not Benkei but one of Tosa Shōzon’s minions, so in this case the Portuguese is incorrect, and its author therefore probably did not consult the author of the Japanese and certainly had not read *Horikawa yo uchi*.\(^{140}\) Nevertheless, the author of the Japanese had, and so this connection via the word *nagu* between the kōwaka, the Japanese of the *Vocabulario*, and Barreto’s *Passion* ballad makes it even clearer that the reason why Jesuit literature in Japanese resembles the kōwaka is that the Jesuits, if only the Japanese Jesuits, were avid readers of the kōwaka.

That is not to say that the *Passion* ballad was written entirely by Japanese: there are awkward moments which seem to demand recourse to the theory of partial non-native authorship.

Just then the rooster crowed and JESUS looked back at Pedro, whereupon he remembered how He had said, “The chicken pre- three times, you will dissemble to me,” and he went outside the gate and shed tears of grief.\(^{141}\)

\(^{139}\)“Benqeiga fizano atarini cocajeuo fucaxete sararisararito naida. *Benquei fazendo vento com a Naguinata por perto dos joelhos com estrondo lhe cortaua as pernas.*” “*Nagui*”, *Vocabulario*, 1604.

\(^{140}\) *Mai no hon*, 365.

\(^{141}\) *Vorifuxi niuatori sude ni naqui qu eru ni IESUS Pedro uo cayerimi tamaýeba niuatori jen ni mitabi vare ni taýxite chifu bexi notamaý eccuru coto uo vomoý auaxete mongaý ni idete canaximi no manida uo nagafare qu eru nari.* –
Jesus’ line *Niwaytori zen ni mitabi ware ni taishite chisu beshi*, [踢前に三度我に対して醜すべし], connects the Sino-Japanese morpheme (it is not even a word) 前 zen “before” to the word “chicken” without any verb “to crow” or grammatical connection to “three times”. The choice of particle on ware “me” is also ill-advised: –ni taishite is a long-winded way to mark a direct object, whereas this verb, chinzuru in modern standard Japanese, would seem to demand –ni tsuite “concerning…” The verb is also used catachrestically here: it appears in Taiheiki with the meaning “make excuses”, but the Jesuit Vocabulario is the first source I know of to define it as “to deny” (negar). Nevertheless, this meaning continues to be used in places like the 1685 puppet play Shusse Kagekiyo, Ihara Saikaku’s 1687 chapbook Budō denrai ki, and the 1789 kabuki Kanjin kanmon tekuda no hajimari. Accordingly, this use of chinzuru for “dissemble concerning” appears to be yet another Jesuit-inspired usage that entered the everyday vernacular.

Meanwhile, the Barreto Passion displays another class of neologisms which did not catch on, a unique class of Japonic compound verbs which seem to have been created to recreate the unique range of meaning of various European words.

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142 再犯赦さざるは法令の定る所なければ、何と陳る共許されざるべき SNKBZ: Taiheiki.

143 “‘Tell me truly which way he went! If you try to trick me (chinzeba) I’ll put you to the torture!’ he said, glaring angrily.” 何方へ落としけるぞ真直に申せ。少しあぬせば拷問せんとはたにらんで怒りける Quoted in “chinzuru”, NKD.

144 “I don’t want to die, so there’s nothing for it but to lie my way out of this one (chinjite yaru).” 死る事はすかぬによって愛はちんじてやるにはしかず SNKBZ: Ihara Saikaku shū 4.

145 “‘I won’t have any tomfoolery (chinzuru) now!’ ‘Ah, I’ll talk! I’ll talk!’” 『こりや、陳ずると為に成らぬぞ』『アア、申ます申ます』Quoted in “chinzuru”, NKD.
The Judeu said in an angry voice, “He has taught and stirred up the multitudes (oshie midasu) from Galilea to Judea!”

The Japanese language does have a rich repertoire of compound verbs, but they are built from a limited set of verbs like “to go”, “to come”, “to take”, etc., and cannot be built from any two verbs at all, as with 敎え乱す oshie midasu “to teach stir up” here, which naturally appears nowhere else. Nevertheless, this kind of free compounding happens with some frequency here. For example, Jesus is “someone who teaches and stirs up society (oshie midarasu),”—one thinks of Socrates corrupting the youth. Similarly, the Jews 申し乱らす mōshi midarasu “speak stir up” in calling for Jesus’ crucifixion.

The Judeu said all the more in a loud voice, “Hang him on the crus!” and so Pilatos, seeing them in this state, thought, “As long as they speak and stir themselves up (mōshi midarasu) like this there is no use in talking to them.”

This use of mōsu as a verbal prefix indicating the passive or middle voice may reflect pidginization among Japanese who have grown up speaking Portuguese or vice versa.

Another novel compound verb which does not seem motivated by any uniquely European concept but nevertheless shows language change stimulated by contact is 下げ卑しめる sage imashimeru “to mock down”.

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146 Iudeu ra ẏcæreru coẏe uo motte Galilea ’yori Judea made no banmin uo voxiye midafare queru to moxiquereba
147 xequen no voxiye midarasu fito
149 Iudeu ra iyoĩyo dayuonjo uo motte cruʃ ni caque tamayẽ to moxiquereba Pilatos cono tey uo mirare cayo ni moxi midarafu vye ua łycaũ naxi.
Herodes first and all his men mocked Him down (sage imashime), and finally, in order to degrade Him they put a white garment on Him and sent Him back to Pilatos.\textsuperscript{150} The writer seems to be using sageru “to lower” as an intensifier for a negatively connoted verb, precisely like Portuguese abaixo “downward” in the colloquialism negar abaixo “to refuse (down)”. On the other hand, there are compound verbs that line up two actions that are merely envisioned as happening sequentially, even if they have different subjects:

The chief Sacerdote recommended to all the people that they ask [Pilate] to release (koi yurusu) Barrabas rather than JESUS.”\textsuperscript{151}

Naturally what the writer means is something like Baraba wo yurusu yō ni kou beshi to susume mōshi, and I have translated accordingly, but in any case this feature indicates that even the smoother portions of the Passion ballad were written by bilinguals, whether of European or Japanese extraction. Whoever they were, however, they were certainly plural, as evident already from the sudden appearance of incomprehensible passages like niwatori zen ni mitabi above. Additionally, by the end of the ballad, Jesus’ antagonists have changed from the Judeu to the Phariseu as in some of Barreto’s Gospel readings, and whereas Peter addressed Jesus with the words ikani Domine “O Lord,” at the end the Pharisees address Pontius Pilate with ikani Aruji “O Lord,” and finally the discipolo become デスドモ—-inconsistencies which the printed version in the 1596 Spiritual xuguio irons out.

\textsuperscript{150} Herodes uo fajime to xite ique no fitobito sague iyaxime tatemaccuri fate ni ua anadori moju tame ni xiroqi yxo uo quixe mayraxe mata Pilatos ye fiqi cayeri tatemaccuru nari. ~ . ~ .

\textsuperscript{151} Sacerdote no Ccucassa xonin nỹ IESUS ỹori mo Barrabas uo coỹ yurusu ỹo nỹ moxi susumete
We have seen that Barreto’s ballad of *The Passion of the Christ* provides evidence of exchange between Japanese and Europeans on the Jesuit mission not only on an intellectual level but on a narrative level as well. The degree of influence which Jesuit doctrinal literature had in Japanese intellectual history is beginning to be appreciated, and we have seen that here as well with words like *shikitai* “phenomenal body” and *shikishin* “phenomenal self”, whose meanings changed and stayed that way in subsequent Japanese discourse, even and perhaps especially in popular discourse like the theatre and printed mass media. However, it has also become clear that the same is true of less weighty words like *chinzuru* “to dissemble”. Most importantly for the present dissertation, I have shown that this Passion narrative adapts Biblical literature into the Japanese ballad format by comprehensively borrowing the formulaic structures and vocabulary of medieval Japanese warrior literature, often demonstrably with the kōwaka as its immediate source. Accordingly, this kind of Jesuit literature in Japanese must be accounted yet another unrecognized heir of the kōwaka alongside picture scrolls like *Sagamigawa*, puppet plays like *Shizuka*, and noh like *The Bridge Consecration*—with the only difference being that this particular offspring also has European heritage.

*Conclusion: Japaneseenesse, Christianity, and the Performing Arts*

Although this chapter constitutes the most sustained study to date, I am not the first to suggest that the broad body of Japanese Jesuit literature is a relative of sixteenth-century popular oral narrative, particularly the kōwaka. However, its European ideological and narrative background, combined with the peculiar relationship that obtains between Christianity, Japanese nationalism, and the performing arts, has doomed
it to an unusual history of reception by both the field of Japanese literary studies and the various Japanese and European commentators who situate themselves as the successors of its original authors. As a document of contemporary vernacular Japanese written in Roman characters, which record more sound data than Japanese kana, this material naturally attracted the attention of linguists like Shinmura Izuru (1876–1967) and Doi Tadao (1900–1995) from early on. Japanese Catholics like Anesaki Masaharu (1873–1949) and Ebisawa Arimichi (1910–1992) were justifiably proud of the existence of this literature and wrote about it extensively. Historians like Matsuda Kiichi (1887–1968) and Charles Boxer (1904–2000) have seldom made reference to these texts, but in recent years Jurgis Elisonas has illued a call for their study as Japanese literature, to which this study is a partial answer. Finally, as heirs to the missionaries themselves, Jesuit scholars like Georg Schurhammer (1882–1971) and Josef Schütte conducted research using their ready access to the primary sources. It was Schütte who rediscovered the Barreto Miscellany in the Vatican Library and introduced it to the world in 1940, and since then it has attracted the attention of all four groups into which I have roughly divided the scholars above: linguists, religious commentators, historians, and Jesuits.

Writers with various stakes in the Catholic Church have often displayed an aspiration to claim for this literature a pedigree which includes Japanese performing arts deemed typical by the discourse of modernity. In an essay accompanying the first printed


transcription of the Barreto Miscellany, the Jesuit scholar Hubert Cieslik made the claim referenced above that the vide mai notes found in the margins there mean that the Jesuits had produced a whole collection of full-fledged kōwaka on Christian themes.  

Meanwhile, Hiiragi Gen’ichi pointed out that the references could more easily be supposed to point out thematic commonalities with standard kōwaka, and I have given my own theory above. In addition to the kōwaka, Cieslik has also identified the mission performance described in the first part of this chapter with the 活人画 katsujinga “Living Tableaus” of the Meiji Period. Ebisawa similarly identifies those performances with the kōwaka and also with the noh, and while he concedes that “there is no evidence of direct contact with Japan’s central theatre establishment” on the part of the Jesuit mission, he still refers on the same page to “fusion with Japanese theatre”. It is true that at the end of his anti-Christian treatise Deus Destroyed, the Japanese Jesuit Fabian Fucan quotes from the text of the noh Tōru, but the Christian linguist–turned–historical novelist Kobayashi Chigusa has extrapolated from this the claim that he was fully trained in noh. Finally, Schütte’s lay student Thomas Leims has gone so far as to claim, based on almost no evidence and in spite of daunting timeline issues, that Japanese Jesuit


\[156\] Hubert Cieslik, “Kirishitan to ongaku”, Yūkyū 9 (1982).

\[157\] 「日本の中央演劇界[…]と直接交渉したあとは見られない」「日本演劇との融合」 Ebisawa Arimichi, Yōgaku denrai ki: Kirishitan jidai kara bakumatsu made (United Church of Christ in Japan, 1983), 74.

\[158\] 融ノ謡ヒニテ候敷、秋夜ノ永物語ヨシナヤ、先イザヤ、シホヲクマン、ト翁ノ申セシフシニ、無益ノ長物語ニ夜ヲフカシテ候 Fukansai Fabian, “Ha Daisu”, NSST: Kirishitan sho / Hai ya sho, 447.

\[159\] Sen Sōshi (Kobayashi Chigusa), Habian: ai wa ai yori idete (Seibundō shuppan, 1991).
mission theatre was instrumental in the development of the puppet theatre and kabuki.\textsuperscript{160} Meanwhile, Japanese literary studies, especially as practiced in Japan, has all but ignored these texts, with the notable exceptions of Komei Rikiya and Komine Kazuaki.\textsuperscript{161}

What is happening here is a reaction against the shared premise of Tokugawa ideology and Meiji Japanese nationalism, still widely taken for granted today, that Christianity is inherently incompatible with Japanese culture. The wartime cultural historian Okada Akio (1908–1982) reflects this common understanding when, even as he discusses their mixing in Jesuit mission theatre, he says that Japanese and Western traditions are “of completely different natures” (\textit{mattaku sono seishitsu wo koto ni shita}).\textsuperscript{162} The problem with the Christian reaction to this anti-Christian strain in Japanese nationalism is that it relies on another tendency in that ideology which is demonstrably false, namely the belief that certain dramatic traditions like noh, kabuki, and the puppet theatre are privileged repositories of Japaneseness, even though the performances described in the Jesuit Japan letters show no clear signs of coming from anything other than nameless yet perfectly Japanese folk traditions of singing, dancing, and acting. What is at stake in claims of “Christian noh” like Ebisawa’s, then, is the possibility that because of their contribution to or at familiarity with these prestigious traditions, the


\textsuperscript{161} Komei Rikiya, \textit{Kirishitan to hon’yaku: Ibunka sesshoku no jūjirō} (Heibonsha, 2009); \textit{Ajia yūgaku 127: Kirishitan bungaku to nichitō kōryū}, ed. Komine Kazuaki (Benseihsa, 2009).

\textsuperscript{162} 全くその性質を異にした Okada Akio, “Nanban Kirishitan fūzoku”, \textit{Nihon fūzoku shi}, ed. Saitō Fujitaka & Tamamuro Taijō (Ōzankaku, 1941), 3.
sixteenth- and seventeenth-century predecessors and/or ancestors of modern Japanese Christians might be rehabilitated and recognized as model Japanese, despite their adherence to the Christian religion which ever since the Tokugawa prohibition has been felt to cast aspersions on that status.

One of the things that makes the kōwaka interesting is its failure, because of its early death and dispersal, to be included in the definition of the modern nation state. However, I have shown that it is precisely this tradition to which Jesuit Japanese literature bears a clear relation, though it is not an uncomplicated reproduction of that genre as Cieslik claimed. Accordingly, the kōwaka overthrows both these nationalistic assumptions and sheds a new light on Jesuit mission literature in Japanese. In my discussion above I have not minimized the differences that exist between the East Asian and European intellectual traditions and the Japanese and Portuguese languages, but nevertheless we have seen not only that translation and accommodation was possible, first from the simple fact of its having been accomplished by everyday Japanese in rural Kyūshū; we have also seen some of the precise mechanisms by which the story of The Passion of the Christ was adapted to the Japanese ballad tradition and vice versa.
APPENDIX 5A

Japanese Passion of the Christ (by 1591), transcription.

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 459, ff. 60v–77v.


[60v]

Pašio Domini ſr Jefu

Chriſti.

¶ IESUS Discipolo ni notamauaqu nadachi

xireru gotocu core ſyorı fuccucame va Paschoa

ni ataru nari. Virgem no co crus ni caque =

raruru tame ni vatafaru bexi to notamo

nari. Vorfuxi Sacerdote no Ccuafṣa xu =

quro ingue torio naru Caŷfas no tachi ni

yorı ay IESUS uo carametotte gaŷxi tate =

maccuran to xengui xite moxi queru ua

moxi banmin no naca ſyorı tocoro no sauāguŷ

yा xi idasu bequi Beato nichī uoba nozo =

qu bexi to iyqeru nari. ~ — . ~ —

[61]

¶ Sarufodon IESUS Betania no Simâ

leproso no iye ni voaximasu tocoro ni aru

nhonin Alabastro no cobaco ni suguretaru qu =

furi uo mochi quitatte fandaŷ ni ide muca =

uaxe tamo. IESUS no von guxi ni caque

tatemaccurare quereba Discipolo core vo

mirare ganxoqu ni ſycari uo arauaxi, Cono
qufurui uo tacaqui ataý ni vri finin ni fodoroca =
zu xite nani tote ýuýe naqu vxinaware
qeru zo to guixerare quereba
¶ IESUS nandachi nanino ýuýe ni cano nho =
nin ni canaximi uo ataýeraru zo vareni taý =
xite ýoqui vaza uo xerarexi nari– Sare =
ba nandachi no naca ni ccume ni finin aru
bequeredomo vare ýccumo nadachi tomo ni
ýru coto aru becarazu, tadaýma qufurui uo
cauquerareccuru coto ua vaga mi uo vzumu
bequi tame ni ýtafare qu eru xiruxi narý –
[61v]
macotoni ýu nari xecaý ni cono Évangelio firo =
maran tocoro cono nhonin no vaza va =
re uo vomoý idasu tame ni ýtafare qu eru to

fata aru bexi tono tamo nari.  ~ . —
¶ Sareba juninin no Discipolo no vchi Judas
Escariotes Sacerdote no Ccuçafa ni ýuýe, Vare
IESUS uo gofentachi ni vataxi mosaba na =
nitaru coto uo ataýe tamauan ýa to iyquareba
guinxen sanju mon to ýaqusoqu su – Sore ýo =
ri Judas IESUS uo vataxi tatemaccuran to no
fima uo vcago nari.  ~ —
¶ Saru fodo ni Azýma no xonichi ni Discipo =
lo JESUS ýe maýrare Paschoa ni mochi tamo beqi
von xoqubut uoba ýzzucata nite totonoýe tatema =
ccuru bequi zo to tôy mosarequereba IESUS
ninin ni Discipolo ni notamauaqu, nadachi Je =
rusalem ni ýucareýo michi ni mizzu uo ýreta =
ru ccubo uo mochi quereu mono mi avaru bexi
[62]
Sono ato uo xitaý yuquite voci ccuqu bequi iýe
no nuxi ni xixo vaga toqui fodo chiquereba
goßen no moto nite Díscipolo tomo ni Paschoa vo
subexi to ýuareýo. ~ —
¶ Sono toqui firoqui zaxiqui mixeraru bexi
foco nite totonoyéréreýo to notamo nari. Dísci =
polo gojo no gotocu Paschoa no Cea uo totonaye
mofare quereba queregata ni IÉSUS juninin no
Díscipolo tomoni von yde nafare namiýte Pan
uo buquxi tomo toqui ni notamauaqu vare pa =
fion uo vquezaru maýe ni cono Paschoa no Cea
uo najjira tomoni buqûyuru coto uo negaý ççu =
ru nari. Deuf no von Cuni joju xen made ua
menmen tomoni buqusuru coto aru becarazu
macoto ni ximefu nari najjira no naca yori va =
re uo vatasu bequi fito ýchinin ari to notamayéba
Díscipolo voqini canaximi ýcani Dñé sorégaxi nite
soro ýa? to toý mosarequereba, IÉSUS vare tomoni
fachi ni te uo ýuru mono vatafubequi nari— —
[62v]
¶ Scripture ni miýequeru gotocu virgem no Co
vataru bequi ga vatasan mono ua fubin nari. Sa =
reba cano fito vmarezaru ni ua xicaji to notamo
nary. Iudas ýcani xixo vare nite ýa to moxiquere =
ba IÉSUS gofen ýuaruru to notamo nari. ~
¶ Sono toqui Discipolo varera ga naca no ccucafsa
ua tare nite aru bequi zo to catari avaruru uo qui
coxi mesarete notamauaqu, Ninguen no teýuo
ua ninguen no uýe uo facari. fono naca ni ýxeý aru
tomogara ua quafo ýmijiqu to ýobaruru mono
nari – farinagara sore ni cauarite nadachi no
naca ni tacacaran fodo fiqiququiri ccucaffanaru
fodo ýaccucco no gotocu aru bexi. fandaý ni ccuqui
queru mono to ccucauaruru mono to ua ýzure ga
tacaqu zó to ýu ki fandaý ni ccuqui queru mono ni
arazu ýa? vare menmen no naca ni ccucauaruru
mono no gotocu ni ariqueru nari – nadachi vare to to =
mo ni tentação ni cannin xí todoquaruru ni yote
[63]
Ten no cuni uo Deus Padre vare ni macaxe tamo go =
tocu vare mata nadachi ni macafuru nari. Core
vaga cuni narú fandaý no úye ni buquxexime Is =
rael juní no xison uo tadasu bequí Trono ni za =
su bequí tame nari to notamaý – fimon ni ýcaný
fimon xobaqu uo qudaqu ga gotocu tengu menmê
no xindaý xen to neraý quedomo gofen fides
ýouaranu ýo ni tanomi queru nari – jennin tachi ca =
ýeran toqui quiýadaý domo no chicara uo ccuýoraxe =
raru bexi to notamo nari. —

¶ IESUS cono secaý ýori Deus Padre ni uatari ta =
mo jixet chichaqu narú to xiroximexite cono xe =
caý ni aruqueru voncata no fitobito uo taýxet ni vobo =
ximesu nari. Sareba IESUS aru fodo no coto uo
Deus P. ýori manaxerare tamay Deus ýori ýdesa =
xerare Deus ni caýeri tamo to xiroximefare fono
za uo tachi tamay guioý uo nugarxerar xiroqui nu =
no uo vobi ni saxerare taray ni ýu uo mexiýoxe Di

fcipo –

[63v]
no vaga mi no chi nari. Nandachi vare uo vomo'y
idasu tame ni caqu no gotocu ýtasaýo. vô voýa no
cuni nite nadachi tomoni ataraxiqi faque uo nomu
beqi – cono saque uo nomu becarazu to notama'y ora =
tio xitamaýte nochi Díscipolo uo mexi ccucamaccer
cedron to ýu caua uo uatari tamay Díscipolo tomoni
mori no vchi ni saxi ýri notama'y queru ua. ~ —
Nandachi coýoy vare ýori scandalo uo vqueru =
ru bexi sono ýuye ua Pastor quízzu uo comurá toqui
Ouelha

[64v]
oula sanran su to sçriptura ni miýe tari xicari =
to iýedomo yomigayerite nochi Galilea ni oýte ma =
miýen to notama'y quereba P.º mofarequeru ua
fito uaxixo yori'y scandalo uo vqueraruru tomo vare =

ua nagaqu uqubecarazu tato'y quimi to tomoni ro =
xa xerare xizaý ni voýoby to mo vontomo ýtasu be =
qui cacúgo ccucamaccuru to mofarequereba

¶ IESUS macoto ni gofen ni ýu nari, coýoy tori
nanaquanu maýe ni mitabi vare uo chinferaru bexi.
to notamaýeba P.º cífanete xixo to tomoni xinu =
ru tomo chízuru coto aru becarazu to mofareqe =
ru nari. Sareba fodo naqu Jetsemani to ýu sato ni
ccuqui tamaý Díscipolo ni voxeqeru ua

¶ Vare oratio xen aýda cono tocoro ni xica to ý =
rareýo to notamaý P.º Jacob. Joan uo vontomo nite
mori no voqué ýri tamaýeba vofore canaxiqi
von cocoro uo vque fajime tamaýte cotamaý qe =
ru uax vare xiquitaý uo fanaruru made canaxi

qi
nari. Nandachi coco ni banxite ÿrareyo tote fâ =
nin no ÿraruru tocoro ÿori fucoxi ÿuqî nobi ta =
mayi, fizamazuqui tamaÿ mofare tamo va
¶ ýcani Padre nani goto mo canay tamaýeba
Vare ÿori cono calix uo nozoque tamaÿe xicaredo =
mo vaga zobun uo fodate tamo becarazu, tâ =
da voboxi mefu mama ni araxe tamaÿe to no =
tamaÿte, Discipolo no ÿrarergeru tocoro ÿe caye =
ri tamaÿ nemurare qeru uo goran atte P.º ni no =
tamaÿ qeru ua. ~ —
¶ ýcani Simon nemurare quere ca? tada fito to =
qui no ban uo faÿe vare to tomo ni todoquru coto cana =
uarezaru ÿa? tentação ni ÿru majiqi tame ni banxite
oratio xeraru bexi. Ţpû va cuûyoqueredomo xiqui

xin ua ÿouaquï nari. to notamaÿte cafânete moto =
no tocoro ni ÿtari tamaÿ
¶ ýcani P.º cono calix uo nomade canauanu ni uoÿ =
te go uontade uo togue tamaÿte to mofare tamaÿ
mata Discipolo ni cayeri tamo ni canaximi no ama =
ri ni reogan vomoqu narite nemurare quereba

[65v]
IÉSUS nadachi nemurare quere zo tachi agàrite
danxerareyo, mata moto no tocoro ni ÿtari tamaÿ
Oratio uo mosare tamaýeba Anjo amaqudari vô
cichara uo soÿe mofaruru nari. IÉSUS fucaqi vô
canaximi uo motte xibaraqu Oratio xi tamaýeba
chi no von axe xizzuqu no gotocu ni ccuchi made
nagaxi tamo nari. ~ —
¶ Sono nochi Oratio no tocoro vo tataxi tamaý Dícipo =
lo no soba ni von ÿde atte notamaý quéré uá Ima
ua nadachi cocoro ÿfuqu fusaru bexi virgem no
có aquin ni te ni vataru bequi toqui quitaru nari
tachi agari vare to tomo ni mucauari bexi to no =
tamo mi cotoba no xita ÿori junini no Dîscipolo no
vchi Iudas Ëscariotef Sacedote no torio Ëscriba
xuquro ÿori ccuaucari quere amata no ccuaamono no
annayxa toxite fiuo toboxi foco, fiojjo uo tayxite qui =
taru nari muqonjin no Iudas canete no ÿaqufoqu ni =
ua vare von cauo uo sui tatemaccuru bequi jintay
uo carame tote ÿudan naqu mexi comerareyó to
iý sute, von soba chicaqu mayri quereba ËSUS
[66]
von mi no vye ni aru fodo no coto uo xiroxi mefare
Iudeu ra quitareru michi ni ÿde mucauare tamaý
tare uo tazuneraruro zo? 10. notamaýeba ¥ vorifuxi
Judaí ÿgüe no monodomu micotoba uo vque tamaua =
ri xixo xizareuoque ni corobi quere nari – Câfanete
tare uo tazuneraruru zo? to notamaýeba Nazaret
no ËSUS to coto ~ ~

IËSUS. Vare fude ni aravaxi quereba vare uo tazu =
neraruru ni uoite ua vare to tomo ni quitareru mo =
nodomo uo caişareyó to notamo. Core scriptura ni
vare ni tamauaru mono uo ÿchinin mo vxinauazaru to =
no Profecia uo toguexoreren tame nari –

Sareba Judaí chicazququi tetemate Aue Rabi
to moxiague von cauo sui tatemacuru ni. ËSUS yca =
ni xitaxi qi naca nani no ÿuye ni ca quitarare quere
zo su coto uo ayzu ni xite virgem no co vatufare
quere ÿa? to notamo – vorifuxi ccuaamondomo tori
Pedro quen uo saña ni sasareyo von voña yori vare ni atańe tamo calix uo vare nomu coto uo nozomarezaru yá, quen nite korosaba quen nite korosaru bexi. vare von voña tanomi mosaba juni no Legiāo yori mo na = uo cazucazu no Anjo no tamauaru bequi coto uo xe = rarezaru yá? Sono gui naraba fcriptura no voquite uo nani to xite ca togu bequi yá? Caru ga yuñe ni cono coto naquite cano becarazu to notamañ = te cano mimi ni von te uo caque moto no gotocu ni ccugui tamañte, Iudeu ni voxe queru ua. ~

Vare mańichi templo niuoñe voxiyexi toqi ua

caramezu xite nani no yuñe ni ca fiogu uo tañxi nu =
subito no yó ni mexi toraruru zo? farinagara yami facan naru, nadachi no toqui ýma nari. Caq no =
gotocu aru coto mina fcriptura uo tonguë ga tame nari to notamo nari. ~ —

¶ Saru fodo ni Iudeu JESUS uo carame tatemaccu =
reba Dīcipolo tachi chirijiri ni nari mofaruru nari coco ni xiroqi fitoyeguinu vchi caquetaru vacaqi fito ýchinin JESUS no von ato xitaý maýrare qeru ni

[67]
ccuuçamonoomo toriccuqereba quinu uo núgui fiu =
te fadaca ni narite niguerare qeru nari –

¶ Sarabe Judeu ra Sacerdote no Ccuafaśa Caýfas =
no xuto Anas no moto ye JESUS no fiqui tatamaccure =
ba Pedro tomo ni ichinin no Discipolo faruca ni fedata =
ri JESUS uo miuoquri maýrare queru nari. Ca =
no ýchinin no Discípulo ua Anas no xiru fito nite IE =
SUS to tomo ni voqu ni ýrare mon no ýacuxa ni cotoua =
ri Pedro uo mo vchiye ýreraretaru nari. ~ —
¶ Sono toqui Anas ide aý von voxîye to Díscípulo no
coto uo toý mafarureba. IESUS vare xeçaý ni ara =
urete xiraxe templo Sinagoga ni uoýte moromoro
no Judeu accumaru tocoro nite ccune ni voxiye ca =
quxite ýchigon uo ýuazari qereba vare ni touaruru
made mo nari Cono fito bito ni tazunerareýo – iýgeru
coto uo quíqarexi fitobito cotaýreraren to notamo tocoro
uo Anaf no rodo Pontifice ni tajxite saýo ni fento xi =
queru ca tote von cauo uo vchi tatemaccureba —
¶ IESUS uare iýgeru coto axiqui naraba fono co =

128
Deus no templo uo quuxi sannichi sugute cuqurita =
ten to mošare qeru uo soregaxi vque tamauaru to iýqe =
redomo cono nininno xoco mo tadaxicaraneba Caifas
tachi agari, ýcami gofen ni taixite moxicaqueraru =
ru coto no fento sucoxi mo naqi ýa to moxi queredomo
toco =

[68]
toco no von ýraye moxi tamauazu cafanete facerd =
te no Ccuça'sa tatouquï Deus filho Chrišto to ua von
mo nite maximasu ýa to moxiqereba IESUS vare
uo Deus filho to ua gofen ýuaruru nari. Virgê
no co Deus Padre no von migui ni juuxi qumo ni nori =
te ýden coto uo nandachi moraru bexi to notamayeba
¶ Sono toqui Caifas acco xitamo tote vaga ýro uo
fiqui ýaburi cafodo no acco mofaruru výe ua bet no xoco

mo ýru becarazu tada ima no acco uo quicarezaru
ýa! ýcami to mošare quereba vonovono mottomo coro =
fade canaunau fito nari to xizaý ni raquijaqu itaxi
queru nari. ~ — ~ — .

¶ Sareba Judeu ra anadori tatemaccuru tame ni Vó
nauo ni cuqafäqui uo faqui caqë von reogan uo ýuy fusan
gui von vnaze uo vchi tatemaccuri, tada ima vchiqeru
monono no na uo iýatte tamaye to moxi zonin bara ni
ýtaru made mo von nauo uo vchi tatemaccuru nari –
¶ Sareba Pedro fi ni attatte ýráre queru ni guejjo
ýchinín quitatte gofen ua Nazaret no IESUS doxin

[68v]
no fito nari to iý quereba P.ª sara ni mizu xiraza =
ru fito nari tote niua ýe ideraruru ni bet no gue =
jjo quitatte Pedro ni ýubi uo saxi ýcami fitobito co =
re cofo IESUS doxin no fito yó to iy quereba cano
titifce no ródo no ychizoqu quitatte najji ua IESUS
doxin no mono nari. fono ūye ua najji no cuchi cara
fono mi uo arauifu nari to iy quereba P.º chica =
uo motte IESUS to iyěru fito uoba mixiri mofanu to
chizerauru. –

¶ Vorifuxi niuatori sude ni naqui quere ni IESUS
Pedro uo cayerimi tamayeba niuatori jen ni mitabi va =
re ni taỹxite chifu bexi notama'y curu coto uo vomo'y
auaxete monga'y ni idete canaximi no manida uo naga =
fare quere nari. –

¶ Saru fodo ni sono yó no aquegata ni facerdote no tòrió
Scriba tocoro no xuquro igue ýoria'y xengui fiojjo
toridori ni IESUS uo xiza'y ni raqujaqu xite fiqui
[69]
idaxi tatemaccuri gofen Christo nite maxima'fa =
ba varera ni arauaxi tamaye to moxi quereba IE =
SUS vare arauasu tomo nadachi macoto ni vque =
raru becarazu (chicaqi fodo) to tomo cortayeraaru
becarazu yuruwaruru coto mo aru becarazu: chi =
caqi fodo virgem no co Deus Padre no von mígui
ni ūtatte mamiyu bexi to notama'yeba Iudeu ra
fate uá Deuf filho nite gofen ýuaruru nari to nota =
maŷeba. Iudeu ra najji no bet no xoco uo caru bequi
tote carame moxi nagara Pilatos no tachi ye fiqui
tatemaccuru nari. ~ —

¶ Saru fodo ni Judas uá IESUS xiza'y ni sadamari ta =
mo uo mite coquai no cocoro uo vocoxi fanjumon no guinxé
uo mochi facerdote no Ccuçfsa xuquro domo nami ſeq =
ru tocoro ni ſuqite moxiqueru ua Iuʃto no vonchi uo vata =
su uo motte vomoqi ccumì uo ſiʔaxeru to ſiʔquereba ſā =
cerdote vare fucoxi mo quruxicarazu, najji xiru be =
xi to ſyɾaye qereba cono guinxen uo uo templo ni nāg, e

[69v]
ire tachi cayeti qubi uo ququri catasara ʃaburete xi =
xิqeru nari. Saru fodo ni Sacerdote no Ccuçfsa
xengui xiqueru ua cono guinxen va chi no caua =
ri nareba templo no Cepo ni ſyɾu beqi coto fon ſy
ni arazu tote ccuchinabe ccuquri no ſyɾxiqi uo
caytori tachoqu yori qitaru muyen no fito no ſanmay
ri quereba Pilatos ide mucay IESUS no vye ni nani =
taru daʃ makc uo vttaye mofaru zo to touare quere =
ba Iudeu ra zaʃquonin ni arazumba ʃycapeca cây =
ni vataxi moʃu beqi to yɾaʃe qeru nari. Pilatos
menmen no moto yǝ fiqi guxite voquite no gotocu

[70]
quiɔmeʃ are to mosarequereba Sacerdote fito uo
corosu coto varera ni niauanu gui nari to moxique –
ru nari. Core funauachi IESUS xixitamo be =
qui yo uo xiraxe tamo coto uo toguesaxeré tame
nari. ~ —
¶ Sono toqui Judeu zanfo moxi queru ua Cono
fito uarera ga tótó uo tabacaran tote Cesar ye tona =
ye mosu miccuqui no mono uo ymaxime vosaaye
vaga mi ua Christo to nanorarequeru uo qiqiccu =
ru to moxiquereba Pilatos gofen ua Judeu no
Teýuo ca to tazune mosarequereba IESUS sono
quiiumej ua taninno vtaye ca vatacuxi no fluxin ca
to notamaj quereba. Pilatos vare Judeu ni arazu
gofen no ninju Pontifices yori uataxi quereba nani go =
to uo xitamo zo to moxiquereba; IESUS
¶ Vaga Cuni ua cono xecaý ýori idezu fono yuyé va
cono xecaý ýori izzuru Cuni naru ni uojte ua Judeu
ni uatafu majiqui tame ni vare ni ccucaýe queru

mono domo sasaýu bexi, sarinagara vaga Cuni va
cono xecaý ýori idezu to notamaýeba Pilatos xi =
[70v]
xicaraba Teýuó nite maximaýu ya to mossarequereba
IESUS vare uo Teýuo to ua gofen mosaruru nari
cono xecaý ni vmare quitaru coto ua macoto uo ara =
uafu xoco ni taccu bequi tame nari macoto uo mo =
chiýru tomogara ua vaga cotoba uo quiu nari to co =
taýe tamo. ~ —
¶ Pilatos macoto to ua nani goto zo to moxi sute ca =
fanete, Judeu ni ide aý cano fito ni fucoxí mo toga
no daýmocu naxi to mosare quereba Judeu ra ýca =
reru coýe uo motte Galilea ýori Judea made no
banmin uo voxiýe midaýere queru to moxiquereba
Pilatos Galilea to quicaruru toqui ýori ariajqere mo =
mo no domo ni IESUS ua Galilea no fito ca to y Gali =
lea ua Érodes no facara y nareba tote vorifuxi He –
rodes Hierusalem ni zaýraqu naru ni IESUS uo
cucuauari tatemaccuru nari. ~ —
¶ Sono toqui Herodes IESUS uo mitattematte òoro =
cobarequeru nari. fono yûye ua arauaxi tamo von
coto uo ccuta'yé quiquare ccunezzune mamiye moxi
taqu uomouare quereba Ima vaga maye nite xita =
[71]
tamo bequi quindocu uo min to vomouare queri ni yotte
nari. Sareba Herodes samazama no coto uo ta =
zune mofare queredomo fucoximo gofento nacari
ccuru nari. Saru fodo ni facerdote no Ccucafsa
★criba xej uo ÿdaxite vttayé quereba Herodes uo fa =
jime to xite ique no fitobito sague iyaxime tate =
maccuri fate ni ua anadori mofu tame ni xiroqi ýxo
uo quixe maýraxe mata Pilatos ye fiqi caýeri
tatemaccuru nari. ~ . —.
¶ Saru fodo ni Pilatos Sacerdote no Ccucafsa
Écriba sono foca tocoro no xuquro me mexit yoxe fi =
ro xerare quere ua xequen no vóxíye midara =
fu fito no gotocu vaga maye ni fiqui guxi v =
ttaýerareru ni ccuýte gofen tachi no maye nite
sono toga uo quíumej su to ijdomo sara ni chufu be =
quí dori naxi. Mata Herodef mo dojen nari fo =
no yûye ua vaga moto ni caýefare quere nari
xenzuru tocoro caxaqu uo naxite ýurusu be
xi to ari quereba Sacerdote qudan no gotocu
[71v]
quioxet uo motte xiquiri ni sanzo suándezo IÈ =
SUS toco no uōfenji naxi. ~

¶ Sono toqui Pilatus amata no Judeu yorí mo =
xi caquru coto uo quiqui tamauanu yà? to mofà =
requeredomo sore ni mo von fenji xí tama =
tuzaře ba Pilatos voqini vodoroqii mofare
queru nari. Sareba mucañi yori no fatto ni Paf –
coa no fi ni atatte banmin no nosomi ni maca
xe roxa ychinīn xugonin yorí yurufaruru
coto ari. vorifuxi nufumi uo xi fito uo coroxi ca =
qure naquī Barrabas to yù roxa ariqueru na –
ri Pilatos Judeu domo IESUS uo nicumi tatema =
tte fanzo uo furu to xirare facerdote ni toua =
requeru ua cono Paschoa no fi ni atatte Chrīto
to mosu IESUS to Barrabas to uoja izzu =
re uo ca yurufu bequi zo to iýte Tribunal ni –
zařxite ýrarè queru nỳ renchu ýorí ccucaỳ
uo taterare ~ —

¶ Cano jennin no vye ni fata xitamo becarazu
sono yuỳe ua suguxi ýo sono jennin ni ccjité
[72]
samazama no nágui uo coraỳe ccuru coto ari
to mofare queru nari. Sono toqui Pilatos cañá =
nete Judeu ni izzuru uo ca yurufu bequi zo to mo =
farequerera Sacerdote no Ccucañsa xonìn nỳ
IESUS ýorí mo Barrabas uo coỳ yurufu ýo nỳ
moxi fufumeta cøyegoỳe ni Barraban uo ýuru =
xi tampàye to ýqueredomo nauo nauo Pilatos IE =
SUS uo ýuruçi tatemaccuran tote cañane
t Sacerdote ni Judeu no Teyùo uo nani to facaraj
mofu bequi yã to toua querera cruz nì caque ta =
maye to mox qeru nari. ~ —

¶ Pilatus nanitaru aquji uo xerare qeru zo to toua =
re quera ni Judeu ra iyoiyo dałyonjo uo motte

cru ni caque tamaye to moxiquereba Pilatos cono
te yu mirare cayo ni moxi midarafu yye uyucaý

naxi to vomouare vare cono lufto no chi ni quen =
garezu. vo xoru bexi tote quegarenx xiru =

xī to xīte mizzu uo mexi yoxe xonin no maye nite
te uo arauare quereba Judeu ra fono chi ua Vare

[72v]
vare vo saqi to xīte xifon no vye ni cacaru bexi to
i'y queru nari. Sono toqui Pilatos Judeo no noso =
mi ni macaxe, Barrabas uo ýuruxi, IESUS uo
chochaqu xitatemaccururu nari. ~

¶ Sono nochi guenin domo vocu ni FIGUI ñre moxī

acqi ýro uo qisaxe junco to mosu ýbara no ua vo ccu =
curi von guxi ni vchicome, vom migui no te ni ta =
que uo mayrare anadori mosu tame ni ariayque =
ru fito uo mexi accume von maye ni caxicoma =
tte Aue Rex Judeor ã to moxi ague von cauo vo vchi
cçufaquí uo faqicaqe von te ni motaxe tamo taque
uo totte von guxi uo vchi tatemaccuru nari —

¶ Caasnete Pilatos Judeu ni mofare queru ua IÆ =
SUS no vye ni xi xi tamo bequi daýmocu naqi gui
uo xerare mosu tame ni, tada ima coco ye ýdaxi ta =
tatemaccuru tote acqą ýxo ýbara no va uo mofare
nagara banmin no maye ni FIGUI idaxi Pilatos Cono
fito uo mirareyo to mofare quereba Pontifices uo fa =
quí to xīte zonin bara ni ýtaru made von arifama

uo
mi tatemaccuri na uo day uonjo uo fibicaxete cru ni caquerareyo to coýegoýe ni vamequi saquebi qe = ru nari.

\[73\] Sono toqui Pilatos vare IÉSUS uo gayxi ta =
tatemaccuru bequ dori naxi menmen vquetotte cru
ni caquerareyo to mofarequereba Judeu fono mi
Deus filho to ýuaruru výe ua varera ga fatto ni gay
furu coto moppura nari to moxi quereba Pilatos
cono coto uo quicare vosore uo naxi tatemaccu =
ri cafanete vocu ni ýri IÉSUS ni gofen ua ýzucu
ýori qitari tamo zo to toý tatemaccurreba queredomo
toco no von fenji xi tamauaneba Pilatos mofareqe
ru ua ~ –

\[73v\] Cruu ni caque tatemaccuru coto mo, ýuruxi mo fu be =

qi coto mo soregaxi ga facaraý naru ni nani tote von
fenji naqui zo to mofare quereba IÉSUS výe yori
ýurufarezumba vare no facaro coto canauaru beca =
razu vare uo vata su mono no toga ua nauo fucaqi
to notamo nari. Sono toqui Pilatos nauo IÉSUS
uo ýuruxi mosu bequ michi uo motomerare que =

\[73\] queredomo Judeu ra dayvonjo ague IÉSUS uo ýuru =
xi tamo nareba Cesar no micata nite aru becara =
zu fono ýuýe ua vaga mi uo Teýuó to arauaú fu fito
ua mina Cesar no chotequi nari to mouiqueu –
ba –

\[73v\] Pilatos cono vittaýe quicare IÉSUS uo fiqui idaxí
tatemaccuri sono mi ua xugo no ýaqu to xite Licos –
trates ni xarezare queru. Core uo Hebraýea
no cotoba ni ua Gabbata to ſu nari. Vorifuxi Pas –  
choa no fexta feira sexta doqui no maye naru ni  
Iudeu ni menmen no Teýio ua core nari to moʃa =  
requereba Iudeu ra ýcareru coye uo motte soco  
noque tamaʃe noque tamaʃe cruńi caquerareʃo  
to iʃy querëba, gofen tachi no teʃuo uo crus ni ca =  
qu bequi ſa to mofare queru ni Iudeu ra Vare Ce –  
sar ýori foca ni teʃuo uo motazu to iʃy queru na =  
ri. –  
¶ Sono toqui Pilatos IESUS uo cruʃ ni caque tate =  
maccuru bequi raqujaqu xite Iudeu no noʃomi ni ma =  
caxe uataxi mosare querëba funauachi acaqi  
[74]  
ŷxo nugaxe moxi fajime no ſyo uo quixe maŋra =  
x, crus uo cataqueʃaxe tatemaccuri. Dozaʃ  
iʃy voce no tame ni nusubito ninin aʃy soʃe Ie =  
rufalem ſyorĩ foca ni fiqii idaxi tatemaccuru ni  
Cýrino Simão to ſu mono ni ſyuqii aʃy core uo ſa =  
toŋy cruʃ uo cataque tamo go corioqu ni foʃeqeru  
nari. ~ —  
¶ Saru fodo ni von ato ſyorĩ maŋru suman no qujũ  
ni ayмаjiurι amata no nhonin naqui canaximi  
quereba IESUS caʃerimĩ tamaʃ, ýcani Jerusalé no  
mufuʃe vaga vye uo canaximarũ becarazu, sono =  
mi uo saqui to xite, xifon no vye uo nague caru bexi  
Sono ſyuʃe ua co uo vmanu nhonin to co uo sodatenu  
vonna uo beato to ſyobi taʃsan ni mucate ýcani ſama  
vaga vye ni vouoŋ cacrũ bexi to ſu jicoqu toraŋ su be =  
xi. Sore uo ycani to ſu ni auomi taru qui saʃe ca =  
yo ni areba care qui ſua ycani! to notamo nari. ~
Saru fodo ni IESUS ni crus uo cataguesaxe tate =
maccuri Caluari no yama ni figui noboxi moxi

IESUS no von crus no vye ni vchi ccuqueraruru na =
ri. Sareba moromoro no facerdote Pilatos no mo =
to ni yuyte Teyuó to caqui tamo becarazu sono =
mi Judeu no Teýuo to yuare queru to caqui tamaye to
moxi quereba Pilatos qaqu coto uo caqu to ari qe –
ru nari. ~

Sareba cruf no ban xite ygeru mono domo

IESUS no von ýxo uo ýoccu ni vaquete tori nujme
naqui fitoccu no guioý no výe uo moxiaý queru ua
core uo vaquete toru becarazu tada fu no xoret ni
macaxeýo tote qujidorý ni ýtaxi queru nari. Core vo =
motte vaga ýxo uo uaquete tori: vaga ýxo uo qu =
ji dori su bexi to no Profecía uo togue tamo nari –

Sono toqui IESUS ýcani vó voya corera
xiuaza uo uaquimañe zareba yurufaxe tamañe to no =
tamo nari. Saru fodo ni yuqi qui no mono domo anado =
ri tatemaccuru tame ni caxira uo furi acco xigeru
ua templo uo quzzuxi micca ni ccuquri taten to ari
qeru vye uo vare to sono mi uo tasuque rareyo: D’s filho
naraba crus yori vorirareyo caxi to mosu nari.
Sacerdote fcriba xuquro domo cruñ no moto ni ta =
chi narabi acco moxi queru ua tanin uo tasuque vaga =
mi uo tasuque rarezaru yá. Deus filho to nanorare
queru vye uo tada ima crus yori vorirareyo: xica
reba varera mo Israel no Tejuó to macoto ni vqu be =
xi to mosu nari —
¶ Von fidari no nufubito moxi queru ua Chrifto nite
[75v]
maximasaba von mi uo saqui to xite varera uo mo tasu =
que tamañe to acco moxi quereba; von mígui no nu =
subito fobañ uo togame qeru ua xisuru ni sadama –
ri taru mi uo mochi nagara nani tote Deus uo vo =
fore mosanu zo? varera ua naxi queru toga ni ýotte
ima cono caxaqu uo comuru nari. Sarinagara
cono quimi ua toga fucoxi mo toga voaxenu to iy su
te, IESUS yé moxi ague queru ua ýcani Dné
Von cuni yé ýtari tamauan toqui vare uo voboxime =
xi idaxi tamañe to moxi quereba IESUS najji coni =
chi vare to tomo ni Paraizo ýe ýtaru bexi to notamo
nari. . ~
¶ Saru fodo ni crus no moto ni von faua S. M.º go qio =
daý no M.º Cleofe, M.º Magdanela tachi narabite ý
tamañeba IESUS von faua to goyaýxet ni voboxi =
mefu Discipolo uo goran atte S. M.º ni ýcani nho –
nin sono mi no co uo mirareyô) to notamay, Diççççlpo ni, najji no fauua ua core nari, to notamayêba fo =
re yori Diççççlpo S. M. a uo von fauua to agame mo-fa —
ruru nari. . ~. ~ —
xica [76]
¶ xicareba Sexta doqui yori nona no jibun ma =
de nichirin ficari uo vxinay quereba, xecaë to =
co ãami to naru nari. Nona ni vccuru jibun IE =
SUS von coye uo ague tamay âcani Deuf meuf âcani Deuf meuf nani tote vare uo fanaxi tamo
zo to notamay ÌESUS aru fodo no coto uo taxxi ta =
mo to voboximexite Escriptura togue faxerarê
tame ni (Sitio) to notamayêba Iudeu ra fu ni
auaxetaru nigaqui mono uo mayraxe quereba anjiuaê
tamay, Confumatum eft, to notamayête tacaqui
von coye nite ýcani Padre vaga spû uo von te ni
uataxi tatemaccuru to notamay, von von guxi uo catamu —
que von anima uo vataxi tamo nari. ~ —
¶ Sono vorifuxi templo ni caqaritaru Veo futa =
ccu ni saja. Daj jji uoquini xido xite ýxi ua vonore to
qûdaqe, amatano jennin ýqui caýeri ÌESUS ýquicañe =
ri tamaûte nochí quanquaqu uo idete Jerusalem nite
xonin ni mamiyerare quereu nari. Sareba Centurio
tomo ni ban xite ý quereu mono domo tenchi ni ýdequi =
taru xiruxi uo mite voqui ni vofore quereu nari. Na =
cani mo [76v]
Centurio ua core macoto ni Deus filho nite maxima =
fu to moxi tattomi tatemaccuru nari. Sono ban ý
ari ay queru mono domo mune uo tataquite caìe =
ru nari. Saru fodo ni Galilea yori ccuaìe tatemar=
ccuru tame mi maìrare queru nhonin tachi no na =
ca ni M." Magdanella, M." Jacobe Josef no vò faua
Salome mo maxi mofu nari. —

¶ Ccugui no fì ua Judeu no mochiyru Paschoa no fì =
nareba sabado made xìgaì uo crus ni voqu majiìqi
tame Pilatos no moto ni yùyìte moxi qeru ua Ccu =
uamono uo ccuauxi cruñi caqari qeru mono do =
mo no axì uo nagaxe tamaìe to tanomi qereba Su =
nauachi buxi uo saxicccauari nufibito ninìn no axì
uo nagaxe, IESUS uo mi tatemacciùru ni faya von xi =
quitaìì uo fanare tamaìebe sono gui ni voỳobazaru
nari. coco ni aru buxi yàri uo motte IESUS no vò mi =
gui no vaqui uo ccuqui tatemaccureba von chi to mi =
zì uo nagaxì tamo, core uo mi tatemacciùru fito xoco ni
taccu cono xoco macoto nari ìyì ccuù macoto uo xi =
ru ni ÿotte nochi no fito no fides no tame ni xirufu
nari. ~ . — . ~ —

[77]

¶ Saru fodo ni Joseph Abarimatia tote qurày
tacoqui jëmmin ari, core Justo narù ga ÿuỳe ni Judeu =
no mufon ni qumi xerarezu Ten no quni uo nê =
gayìte tanomoxiqu vomo fito nari. IESUS no Di =
fcipolo naredomo Judeu ni voforete ccuccumi yìrare
queru ga sono toqui ua ccuyoqui cocoro vo motte Pi =
latos no moto ni yùyìte IESUS no von xìgaì uo coy
vque mofo ne queru, Pilatos fàyà xi xi tamo ca to
uodorocare Centurio uo mexì yùxìe tazune xi xi ta =
mo to quicare von xìgaì uo Iosep ni ccuaufu

Vide Maìy

fol. 17.18
nari.

¶ Sono toqui Joseph. nuno uo motaxe cruʃ no mi moto.ye maɣrare quereba ɣo fuqete IESUS ye maɣ rare ccurũ. Nicodemus to ɣu fito mo cobaxiŋi cuʃu = ri uo auaxetarœ mirrha go qin fodo motaxe qi = tatte Joseph Abaramathia tomo ni von xigau uo cruʃ ɣo rori voroxi tatemaccuri Judeu no naraɣ no goto = cu qusuri uo nuri xiroqi nuno nite maqi tatema = ccurũ sono quinpen no mori no vchi ni ɣymanda xin = gaɣ uo ɣyrezaru ɔ ɣaraxiŋi xeqi ɣquã arixi ni vosame tate
tatemaccuri ɣo uo mirare quere nari. ~

¶ Ccugui no fi facerdote no Ccucassa vonajiqu Pha = rifœu Pilatos no moto ni ɣuɣte moxiqueru ua, ɣcani Aruji cano fito zonjo no toqui sannichi ccûguite iquĩ caɣeran to ɣuaretarœ nari. xicareba dœxi domo sono xigau uo nufumĩ totte, ɣqui caɣeraruru to xonin ni firofu bexi – xicareba fajime no maɣoɣ yori mo vo = ari no midare va naufu cacarœ bexi, sannichi made sono quanmi qeigo no buxi uo voqui tamaɣe to moxi quereba, Pilatos tomo – caqu mo menmen no nosomĩ ni ma = caxe, man uo suɣerareɣo to ari xicaba, Judeu ra miqûã no vɣe ni ɣnban uo suɣe, amata no manxu

[77v]
tatematte vonovono caɣeraruɾu nari. Sareba von ato ɣori maɣrare quere Maria Magdanella betchi no Maria mo sono tocoro ni ɣtamãɣ vosame

142
APPENDIX 5B

Japanese Passion of the Christ (by 1591), English translation.

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 459, ff. 60v–77v.

[60v]

Passio Domini nostri Iesu Christi

JESUS said to the Discipolo, “As you all know, two days from now is the Paschoa. The son of the Virgem must be handed over in order to be hung on the crus,”—so He spoke. Just then the chief Sacerdote, the senior retainers and all their men, having gathered at the fortress of their kingpin, Cayfas, deliberated how they might take JESUS into custody and do Him harm, and they said, “Might we not cause a disturbance among the multitudes? We ought to avoid the Beato day,”—so they spoke.

[61] So then, while JESUS was at the house of Simão Leproso of Betania, a certain woman came bearing fine medicine in an incense box of Alabastro, and she came out to the table and applied it to Him. When she put it on His hair, the Discipolo saw it, anger showed on their countenances, and they argued with her—“Why have you done away with this medicine for no reason, instead of selling it at a high price and giving the money to the outcastes?”

And JESUS said, “For what reason do you give this woman grief? She has done a good deed to me. I mean to say: there will always be outcastes in your midst, but it will not always be the case that I sit with you. That she has put medicine on me just now is a sign that has been done because my body must be buried. [61v] Truly I tell you: wherever
this Euangelio may spread, it will be said that this, this woman’s deed was done in remembrance of me,”—so He spoke.

Then Judas Escariotes, one of the twelve Discipolo, said to the Sacerdote officers, “If I hand JESUS over to you, what will you give?”—so he spoke, and they promised him thirty mon in silver coins. From then on, Judas was looking for a chance to hand JESUS over.

So then, on the first day of Açyma, the Discipolo came to JESUS, asking, “Where will we prepare the Food which You must hold for the Paschoa?” and so JESUS said to two of the Discipolo, “You go to Jerusalem. On the road you will meet a man carrying a jar with water put in it. [62] You should follow after him and tell the owner of the house where he settles in, ‘The Master says, “My time is near at hand, and so I will do the Paschoa with my Discipolo at your place.’”

“At that time he will show you a large hall. Prepare it there,”—so He spoke. The Discipolo prepared the Cea of Paschoa as He had said, and at nightfall JESUS came forth and sat together with the twelve Discipolo, and when He was sitting with them in a row and partaking of Pan, He said, “Before I receive the pasion, I was hoping I might partake of this Cea of Paschoa with you. I will never partake of it with all of you until the Kingdom of Deus is fulfilled. Truly I will show you. There is one among you who will hand me over,”—so He spoke, and the Discipolo, being greatly saddened, asked Him, “How now, Domine, could it be me?” and JESUS said, “One who puts his hand into the dish with me will hand me over.”
As it is seen in Scriptura, the child of the Virgem must pass over, but pitiable is he who hands him over. I mean to say: that one would have done well not to be born.” Judas said, “How now, Master, is it me?” and JESUS said, “You have said it.”

At that time JESUS heard the Discipolo discussing among themselves who should be chief among them, and He said, “Human kings consider human matters, and the crew with more imposing strength is called terribly blessed. However, among you, by contrast, the higher one is the more he will shrink down, the more he is a chief the more he will be like a slave. Which is higher, the one sitting at the table or the one serving him—isn’t it the one sitting at the table? I am among all of you as one who serves. Since you have resisted tentação with me to the end, [63] just as Deus Padre has entrusted the Kingdom of Heaven to me, so I entrust it to you. This is so that you may dine upon the table in My Kingdom and sit on Trono to rule the twelve descendants of Israel,”—so he spoke. To Simon He said, “How now, Simon: like the threshing of wheat, the tengu are aiming to manipulate all of you, but I have asked that your fides not weaken. When the good people return again, the power of the brothers must be strengthened.”

JESUS knew that the time was near for Him to cross over from this world to Deus Padre, and since He cherished the people on His side who were in this world, all the more did He cherish in the extremity. So JESUS knew he had been entrusted with all things that are by Deus Padre, had come forth from Deus, and was going back to Deus, and He stood up and took off His garment, put a white cloth at his belt, brought hot water in a basin, washed the feet of the [63v] Discipolo, and wiped them with the cloth he had put at his belt.
When He drew near to Pedro, he said, “How now, Domine, will You wash my feet?” and JESUS said, “Though you may not understand this matter now, you will come to know it later,” at which Pedro said, “You must not wash my feet forever,” and JESUS said, “In the event that I do not wash your feet, you may not come to My side,” and Pedro said, “How now, Domine: my feet go without saying; wash my hands and my head as well,” and JESUS said, “The pure need not be washed anywhere but the feet; you all are pure, but not all are pure ones.” This was because He knew the one who would hand Him over.

So after He had washed the feet of the Discipolo, He put on His garment and, turning again to the table, He said, “You know what I have done. You do well to name Me Master and Lord. This is truth: I, the Master [64] and the Lord, have washed your feet, so you must wash each other. This is to manifest the example which you must do as I have done,”—so He spoke, and then he took up Pan, chanted the text, and broke it, and He bestowed it on the Discipolo, and said, “This is My body-flesh. Partake of it,” and then He took up the calix, gave thanks, and gave it to the Discipolo, and said, “Drink this, each of you. It is the blood of My body, of the new testamĕto, which will be shed so that crimes may be dismissed for you and for many others. Do this in order to remember Me. In the kingdom of my Parent I will drink new wine with you. You must not drink this wine,”—so He spoke and, after doing oratio, took the Discipolo with Him, crossed a river called Cedron, entered into the forest with the Discipolo, and said:

“Tonight you will receive a scandalō from Me. This is because it is seen in Scriptura that when the Pastor suffers a wound, [64v] the Ouelha will scatter.

Nevertheless, after I am resurrected I will meet you in Galilea,”—so He spoke, and Pedro
said, “Though others receive a *scandalo* from You, Master, I will not receive it for long. Though I be imprisoned and put to death with You, my Lord, I will accompany You. I am prepared to die,”—so he spoke.

And Jesus said, “Truly I tell you, before the rooster crows tonight, you will dissemble regarding me three times,” and again Pedro said, “Master, though I die with You, I will never dissemble,” and the rest of the *Discipolo* also said the same. In this way they soon reached a hamlet called Jetsemani, and He said to the *Discipolo*:

“Stand firm with me here while I do *oratio,*”—so He spoke, and when He had gone with Pedro, Jacob, and Joan accompanying Him deep into the forest, He began to receive a fearful and sad mind and said, “I will be sad until I can leave this phenomenal body. [65] You stay here and keep watch,” and He advanced a ways beyond where the three of them were, kneeled, and said:

“How now, Padre: You are capable of anything, so remove this *calix* from Me. However, You must not prioritize my thoughts, but make it be just the way You see fit,”—so He spoke and, coming back to the *Discipolo* were, saw that they had fallen asleep, and He said to Pedro:

“How now, Simon: have you fallen asleep? Can you not keep watch with me through one full hour? You must do *oratio* lest you go into *tentação.* The *Spiritu* is strong, but the phenomenal self is weak,”—so He spoke and, arriving again at the same place as before, He said:

“How now, Padre: given the impossibility of not drinking this *calix,* let Your *uontade* be accomplished,” and when He came back to the *Discipolo* again their eyes had become heavy with sadness and they had fallen asleep, and so JESUS: “Have you fallen
asleep? [65v] Stand up and watch!” and when He got to the place where He was before and said oratio, an Anjo came down from heaven and strengthened Him. JESUS did oratio with such deep sadness that he shed a sweat of blood like droplets unto the ground.

Afterwards He stood up from the place of oratio, came out by the Discipolo, and said, “You should lie down in peace for now. The time has come for the child of the Virgem to go over into the hands of the evil people. You must stand up and face it with me,”—so He spoke. Before He had finished speaking, one of the twelve Discipolo, Judas Escariotes, holding a torch and a pike and with a weapon at his belt, came as guide to a band of soldiers sent by the kingpin of the Sacerdote and the senior retainers of the Escriba. The renegade Judas had promised ahead of time: “Arrest the personage I kiss and take him in without delay,” he sneered, and when he drew near, [66] JESUS, knowing all that pertained to Himself, facing the road by which the Judeu had come, said, “Whom do you seek?” [“JESUS of Naçaret,” they answered, at which He said, “I am he.”] Just then, hearing His words, Judas and his band cowered, scrambled back, and fell down. Again He said, “Whom do you seek?” and they answered, “JESUS of Naçaret.”

JESUS said, “You have already turned me up, so insofar as it is I whom you seek, let those who have come with me go home.” This was so he might accomplish the Profecia in Scriptura, to wit: “I have not lost one of those whom You have given Me.”

So Judas drew near, said, “Aue Rabi,” and kissed Him, at which JESUS said, “How now, dear comrade: why have you come? Do you hand over the child of the Virgem with a kiss for the signal?” Just then the soldiers surrounded JESUS and tied Him up roughly, and Pedro drew his sword and cut off the right ear of the Pontifice’s retainer, the one called Marco, and JESUS said, [66v] “Pedro, put your sword in its scabbard.
How can I not wish to drink the *calix* that from My Parent has given Me? If you kill with a sword you will be killed with a sword. Do you not know that if I ask My Parent He would give me more even than twelve *Legião of Anjo*?” In that case how could I accomplish the dictates of *Scriptura*? For this reason it will not be possible for this not to happen,” and, putting His hand on the ear and attaching it again as it was, He spoke to the *Judeu*:

“I have been teaching in the *templo* every day, and you never arrested me; why are you carrying weapons and taking me in like a thief? Even so, the darkness flourishes, and your time is now: all of this is happening so that *Scriptura* may be accomplished.”—so He spoke.

So then, when the *Judeu* arrested JESUS, the *Discipolo* all scattered. There was one man there wearing a white *hitoe ginu* who had been following after JESUS, [67] and when the soldiers arrested Him, he threw off the robe and ran away naked.

So the *Judeu* brought JESUS before Anas, a congregant under the chief Sacerdote Cayfas, so Pedro, together with one *Discipolo*, watched Him go from a great distance. This one *Discipolo* was known to Anas, and he went inside with JESUS and talked to the gatekeeper so he would let Pedro in as well.

Then Anas came out and asked Him about His teachings and His *Discipolo*, and JESUS said, “I have always taught openly and announced in the *templo*, the *Sinagoga*, and all the various places where the *Judeu* gather, and I have not said one word in secret, so you should not need to ask me this. Ask these people. The people who have heard what I said will answer you,” but Anas’ retainer said, “Is this the way you answer the *Pontifice*?” and he struck Him in the face.
And JESUS said, “If what I said was bad, [67v] tell me the reason. If it was good, why do you strike me?” and they bound Him and brought Him before Cayfas their kingpin. So at the fortress of Cayfas were gathered the chief Sacerdote, Scriba, the senior retainers and all their men, and they were devising stratagems of falsehoods in which they might catch JESUS to harm Him.

Pedro, following after JESUS, walked up and arrived at a place where some infantry were sitting around a campfire. The kingpin of the Sacerdote, or the Escriba, or the senior retainers and all their men, asked JESUS false questions so that they might sentence Him to death, but when He was not there, two people came forth and accused Him falsely: “I heard him say, ‘I will knock down the templo of Deus and build it up three days later”—so they spoke, but the proof of these two was not correct, so Cayfas stood up and said, “How now: have you no reply at all to these accusations that are brought against you?” [68] but He made no answer at all. Again the chief Sacerdote said, “Are You the holy Deus filho Christo?” and JESUS said, “It is you who say I am Deus filho. You will see the son of the Virgem dwelling at the right hand of Deus Padre and coming forth riding on a cloud.”

And then Cayfas, saying, “He badmouths!” tore his garment and said, “Since he has done such badmouthing, we have no need of other proof. Did you not hear this badmouthing just now! How now,” and one and all said, “Indeed, this is a man we cannot afford not to kill!” and they condemned Him to death.

So the Judeu, in order to degrade Him, spit on His face, tied His eyes shut, and struck Him on the nape of the neck, saying, “Guess who just struck you!” and everyone right down to the infantry struck Him in the face.
So when Pedro sat warming himself by the fire, one servant girl came and said, “You are a follower [68v] of JESUS of Naçaret,” and Pedro said, “I’ve never ever met him. He’s no one I know,” and went out to the courtyard, but then another servant girl came and pointed her finger at Pedro, saying, “How now, people: this man here is a follower of JESUS!” and he dissembled by swearing oaths: “I do not know that man!” A while later, a member of the family of the servant of the Pontifice whose ear was cut off came and said, “You are a follower of JESUS. The reason for this is that by your mouth gives away your person,” and Pedro dissembled with an oath, saying, “I do not know this man called JESUS.”

Just then the rooster crowed and JESUS looked back at Pedro, whereupon he remembered how He had said, “The rooster pre- three times, you will dissemble to me,” and he went outside the gate and shed tears of grief.

So then, at dawn the next day, the kingpin of the Sacerdote, the senior retainers of the Escriba office, and all their men gathered together and, deliberating and debating one by one, they condemned Him to death, [69] brought Him out, saying, “If you are the Christo, show it to us,” and JESUS said, “Though I show you, you will not take it as truth. (In these days) though you ask you will not be answered. You will also never be forgiven. In these days the child of the Virgem will arrive at the right hand of Deus Padre and have an audience,” and the Judeu said, “Well now, are you Deus filho?” and JESUS said, “It is you who say that I am Deus filho,” and so the Judeu said among themselves, “Since you have said it with your own mouth, will we search for your other proof?” and while tying Him up they dragged Him off to the fortress of Pilatos.
So then Judas saw that JESUS had been sentenced to death, and regret rose up in his heart, he took the thirty pieces of silver money to where the senior retainers of the chief Sacerdote were sitting together, and he said, “I have committed a heavy sin by handing over the Blood of a Justo.”—so he spoke, and the Sacerdote answered, “We are not troubled at all. This is your affair,” and so he threw this silver money into the Templo, [69v] went home, hanged himself, tore the side of his belly, and died. So then the chief Sacerdote debated among themselves, saying, “This silver money is in exchange for blood, so it would be inappropriate to put it in the Cepo of the templo,” and they bought a clay pot makers’ district and, designating it a graveyard for outcasts come from other lands, they named it Aqueldemae. This means the district of blood. It was accomplished like it says in Jeremias Profeta’s profecia: “It is no different than the Lord has decided for me: they took the thirty pieces which by the children of Israel negotiated and handed it over in exchange for a clay pot makers’ district.”

So then the Judeu brought JESUS before Pilatos, and because they could not let him come inside lest they be polluted and unable to partake of the Cordeiro of Paschoa, Pilatos came out to them and asked, “What charges do you bring concerning JESUS?” and the Judeu answered, “Why would we hand him over to you if he were not a sinner and a criminal?” Pilatos brought Him before them all, saying, “Let there be an investigation according [70] to the rules, and so the Sacerdote said, “To kill someone is a business unbecoming to us.” This was in order that it might be accomplished, that he should announce to the world that JESUS would die.

Then the Judeu slandered Him, saying, “We hear that this man, by way of plotting our ascendancy, has forbidden us to pay tribute to Cesar and has claimed that he himself
is the *Christo,*” and Pilatos questioned Him, saying, “Are you the king of the Judeu?” and JESUS said, “Is your investigation a claim of others or a private suspicion?” and Pilatos said, “I am not a Judeu. You have been handed over by several of your Pontifices, so what are you doing?”

And JESUS said, “My kingdom does not come forth from this world. The reason for this is that were My kingdom of this world, those who serve Me would have prevented them, lest I be handed over to the *Judeu.* Even so, My kingdom does not come forth from this world,” and Pilatos said, [70v] “In that case, are you an king?” and JESUS answered, “It is you who say I am an king. I was born into this world that I might stand as testimony to the truth. The band who use the truth hear My words.”

Pilatos said, “What is truth?” and walked away, and again he came out to meet the *Judeu* and said, “There is not the slightest criminal case to be made against that man,” and the *Judeu* said in an angry voice, “He has taught and stirred up the multitudes from Galilea to Judea,” and from the time that Pilatos heard “Galilee,” he asked the people with him, “Is JESUS a Galilean?” and since Galilea was under the power of Herodes, and Herodes was in the capital of Hierusalem just then, he dispatched JESUS to him.

Then Herodes looked at JESUS and rejoiced, for since he had heard word of the things which He had been manifesting and wanted to meet Him, he was thinking, “Let me see what wonders he will do [71] in front of me now.” So Herodes asked Him all sorts of things, but He gave not the slightest answer. So then the chief *Sacerdote* and the *Scriba* accused Him energetically, and Herodes first and all his men mocked Him down, and finally, in order to degrade Him they put a white garment on Him and sent Him back to Pilatos.
So then Pilatos called in the chief Sacerdote, the Escriba, and the other senior retainers of that place, and made an announcement: “Concerning your having brought him before me like one who teaches and stirs up society, you have investigated his crimes before yourselves, but nevertheless you still have no reason to punish him. Moreover, it is the same with Herodes, for he has sent him back to me. All things considered, we should punish him and let him go,”—so he spoke, and the Sacerdote slandered him [71v] with empty accusations repeatedly as above, but JESUS made no response at all.

Then Pilatos said, “Do you not hear what these many Judeu are saying against you?” but He made no response to this either, so Pilatos was greatly surprised. Now, there is an ancient law whereby any one prisoner which the multitudes wish is let go by the magistrate on the day of the Paschoa. Just then there was a prisoner called Barrabas, infamous for stealing and manslaughter. Pilatos knew that the Sacerdote hated JESUS and were slandering Him, so he asked the Sacerdote, “On this Paschoa day, which one should I let go: JESUS called the Christo, or Barrabas?”—so he spoke, and as he was sitting in Tribunal, a messenger was sent by his wife, saying, “You must not initiate proceedings against that good man, for one night in the past I once endured [72] many sufferings concerning that good man.” Then Pilatos again said to the Judeu, “Which one should I let go?” and the chief Sacerdote recommended to all the people that they ask him to release Barrabas rather than JESUS, and they said one by one, “Let Barrabas go!” but Pilatos kept on trying to let JESUS go, asking the Sacerdote, “How do I have power over the king of the Judeu?” and they said, “Hang him on the crus!”

Pilatos asked, “What evil thing has he done?” and the Judeu said all the more in a loud voice, “Hang him on the crus!” and so Pilatos, seeing them in this state, thought, “As
long as they speak and stir themselves up like this there is no use in talking to them,” and saying, “I will not be polluted by the blood of this Justo. This is your concern,” and he took water and wash his hands in front of them all as a sign that he would not be polluted, and the Judeu said, “Let his blood fall on [72v] us first of all and on our descendants!” Then Pilatos conceded to the wishes of the Judeu, let Barrabas go and caned JESUS.

After that, the servants took him indoors, put a red garment on Him, made a ring of thorns called Junco and beat it into His head, put bamboo in His right hand and, in order to degrade Him, they called together whoever happened to be there, bowed down before Him, and said, “Ave Rex Judeorum!” striking His face and spitting on Him, and they took the bamboo they had put in His hand and struck His head.

Again Pilatos said to the Judeu, “In order to let you know the fact that there is no charge to be brought against JESUS for which he might die, I will bring him out here now,” and, bringing Him out before the multitude wearing the red garment and the ring of thorns, Pilatos said, “Look at this man!” and everyone from the Pontifices to the foot soldiers [73] saw what shape He was in, and again they all screamed and shouted in a loud and thunderous voice, “Hang him on the crus!”

Then Pilatos said, “I have no reason to hurt JESUS. You take him and hang him on the crus,” and the Judeu said, “Since he has said he himself is Deus Filho, he does nothing but hurt our law,” and Pilatos, hearing this, was overwhelmed, and again he went inside and asked JESUS, “Where have you come from?” but He gave no answer at all, and so Pilatos said,

“It is in my power to hang you on the crus or let you go: why do you give no answer?” and JESUS said, “If it were not allowed to you from above, it would not be
possible for you to have power over me. The crime of the one who hands me over is
deeper.” Then Pilatos sought again for a way to let JESUS go, but the Judeu raised
a great clamor, saying, “If you let JESUS go, you cannot be on Cesar’s side! For those
who present themselves as kings are all enemies of the court of Cesar!”

Pilatos heard this appeal, brought JESUS out, and he himself sat at Licostratos in
the role of magistrate. This is called Gabbata in the Hebraica language. Right then it was
just before the sexta hour of the sexta feira, and Pilatos said to the Judeu, “This is your
king!” and the Judeu said in an angry voice, “Get him out of there! Out of there! Hang
him on the crus!” and [Pilatos] said, “Shall I hang your king on the crus?” whereupon the
Judeu said, “We hold no king other than Cesar!”

Then Pilatos sentenced JESUS to hang on the crus, handing Him over in
accordance with the wishes of the Judeu, and immediately they took off the red garment,
[74] put His original garment on Him, made Him bear the crus, and, adding in two
thieves to be put to death together with Him, took Him away outside Hierusalem,
whereupon they met a man named Cyrineo Simão and hired him, adding him as a
helper126 to bear the crus.

So then, mixed in with the tens of thousands of people following behind Him
there were many women weeping and lamenting, so JESUS turned around to look at
them, saying, “How now, daughters of Hierusalem! You must not lament over me. You
should wail over yourselves first of all and over your descendants: for the time will arrive
when you call Beato the woman who does not bear children and the woman who does not
raise children, and you will say to the great mountain, “How now, mountain! May you
cover us over! And why is that? For it is this way even with a green tree, and how about a withered tree?"

So then they made JESUS bear the crus, brought Him up the mountain of Caluari, and [74v] to cause Him pain they brought Him vinegar and put it in His mouth, and He tasted it and did not drink it. Then the soldiers surrounded JESUS, made Him naked, and hanged Him on the crus. Then they hanged the two thieves on the crus, lining them up on His right and His left and standing the crus of JESUS right in the center.

So He accomplished the profetia which Yçayas wrote, that “He will be together with evil men.” Then Pilatos took a board and wrote, “This is JESUS of Naçaret, king of the Judeu,” with three types of letters: Hebraica, Greca, and Latina, and he stuck it on top of the crus of JESUS. So all the Sacerdote went to Pilatos and said, “You should not write ‘king’. Write, ‘He said that he himself was king of the Judeu,’” and Pilatos said, “What I write, I write.”

So when those who guarded the crus [75] divided JESUS’ garment into four, and concerning this one garment made with no stitches they said among themselve, “We should not divide this into four,” and they ended up just drawing lots, saying, “Let fortune decide.” With this, He accomplished the profecia: “They will draw lots for my garment.”

Then JESUS said, “How now, My parent! They do not discern these works, so forgive them!” So then passers-by shook their heads in order to degrade Him and badmouthed Him, saying, “Since you said, ‘I will collapse the Templo and build it up in three days,’ save us and yourself! If you Deus Filho, come down from the crus!” The Sacerdote, the Escriba, and the senior retainers lined up at the foot of the crus and
badmouthed Him, saying, “You saved others, and can you not save yourself? Since you call yourself Deus Filho, come down from the crus right now! If you do, we will also receive you truly as the king of Israel!”

The thief at His left said, “If you are the Christo, [75v] save first yourself and us as well!”—so he badmouthed Him, and the thief on His right rebuked his companion, snapping at him, “Having a self that is sure to die, how do you not fear Deus? We are receiving this punishment now for crimes we have committed. But this gentleman has not committed any crime the slightest crime,” and he said to JESUS, “How now, Domine: when You arrive at Your kingdom, remember me,”—so he spoke, and JESUS said, “Today you will arrive in Paraiso with Me.”

So then, His mother Sancta Maria, His sibling Maria Cleofe, Maria Magdanella, and the rest were sitting together at the foot of the crus, and JESUS looked upon His mother and the Discipolo whom He regarded with Cherishing, and He said, “How now, woman: look at your own child,” and to the Discipolo He said, “This is your mother,” and from then on the Discipolo honored Sancta Maria as Mother. [76]

But from the sexta hour through the time of nona the light of the sun disappeared, so the world was eternal darkness. Around the time of nona, JESUS raised His voice, saying, “How now, Deus meus! How now, Deus meus! Why have you forsaken me?” JESUS sensed that He had used up all He had, and, in order to accomplish the Scriptura, (Sitio)—so He spoke, and the Judeu brought a bitter thing mixed with vinegar, and He tasted it and said, “Consummatum est,” and in a loud voice He said, “How now, Padre: I hand over my Spiritu into Your hands!” and, tilting His head to the side, he handed over His Anima.
At that moment the *Veo* that hangs in the *Templo* was torn in two, the great earth shook with tremors, rocks were split by themselves, many good men came back to life, and after JESUS came back to life they came out of their coffins and appeared to various people in Jerusalem. So those who were keeping watch with the *Centurio* saw the signs coming forth on heaven and earth and were greatly afraid. The *Centurio* [76v] especially honored Him, saying, “Truly this was Deus Filho.” Those who were present went home beating their breasts. So then, among the women who had come from Galilea to serve Him, Maria Magdanella, Maria Jacobe, and Salome the mother of Josef were there as well.

The following day was the day of the Paschoa which the *Judeu* use, so in order not to leave the dead bodies on the *crus* until the *sabado*, they went to Pilatos and said, “Send soldiers to chop off the legs of those on the *crus,*”—so they asked him, and immediately he sent warriors who chopped off the legs of the two thieves, and when they looked at JESUS He had already left the phenomenal body, so it did not come to that. A warrior who was present took a spear and pierced JESUS’ right flank, and His blood and water flowed from it. One who saw this stood to testify. This testimony is true. We write it for the sake of the *fides* of later people, since they will come to know the truth which he spoke. [77]

So then there was a good man of high rank named Josef Abarimatia. Since he was a *Justo*, he had no part in the rebellion of the *Judeu*. He was a man who hoped for the kingdom of Heaven, inspiring confidence. He was a *Discipolo* of JESUS, but he was being discreet out of fear of the *Judeu*; nevertheless, at that time he went to Pilatos with a strong heart, asked for the body of JESUS, and received it, and Pilatos was surprised,
saying, “Has he died already?”, sent a *Centurio* there and investigated, and he heard that He had died and dispatched His body to Josef.

Then Josef took a cloth and went to the foot of the *crus*, and after traveling all night he came at last to where JESUS was. A man called Nicodemus also brought five pounds of *mirrha* mixed with sweet-smelling medicine and together with Josef Abarimatia took His body down from the *crus*, spread medicine on it according to the custom of the *Judeu* and rolled it up in white cloth, and as there was a new stone coffin in a nearby forest which had not yet had a dead body put in it, [77v] they interred it in there and went each to his home. So Maria Magdanella and the other Marias who had been following Him also were there and saw how they had interred it.

The following day the chief *Sacerdote* and also the *Phariseu* went to Pilatos and said, “How now, Lord: back when he was alive, that man said that he would come back to life after three days. Accordingly, his disciples will surely steal his body and announce to everyone that he has come back to life. Accordingly, the chaos at the end will surely be even deeper than the confusion at the beginning. Set warriors as guards at his coffin,”—so they spoke, and in the end Pilatos complied with their wishes, saying, “Post a guard there,” and the *Judeu* set a seal upon His coffin and posted there a numerous multitude of guards.
CHAPTER SIX

The Dual Nature of Christ, In-Group Honorifics, and Luso-Japanese Kundoku in Dialogues on the Instruments of the Passion

So far in Volume Two we have examined the sociopolitical functions of Japanese Jesuit narrative literature in the Barreto Miscellany, as well as its relationship to other Japanese literature of its own time, situating it in part as yet another descendent of the kōwaka ballad like the picture scroll, puppet play, and noh examined in Volume One. In this chapter, we will explore a devotional text whose poetics illustrate the challenges inherent in adapting the cultural products of Latin Christendom to late-sixteenth-century Japan. This piece, entitled Some Dialogues on Some Instruments of the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ, is part of a large body of Devotio Moderna meditational literature which contemplates Jesus’ suffering and death through the eyes of bystanders. This Japanese version, written in the voices of the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene and sublimating maternal and erotic sentiment respectively, displays competent use of a stream-of-consciousness poetics originating in renga linked verse and often used to express states of aesthetic derangement in the noh. In this context, the piece uses vocabulary and formulae in common with Shizuka Goes East, the puppet play discussed in Chapter Two, and I argue that this reflects the influence of the broader Japanese ballad tradition on the Jesuit literature and not the other way around.

However, the piece also confronts some unique linguistic challenges. Mary Magdalene’s erotic speeches are translated in a stiff style apparently intended to err on the side of infelicity rather than risk titillating the audience. Moreover, in Latin and other
European languages this type of text prominently features a poetic play on the word “son” which allows the listener to contemplate both of the dual natures of Christ—human and divine—at once, from the perspective of the Virgin Mary, who is both Jesus’ mother and his creature. However, in the Japanese language every predicate has an honorific level, and honorifics can be important for indexing persons, facts which preclude any ambiguity with respect to these two different relations as experienced by the Virgin Mary. The author works through this difficulty by naming the two relations separately and equating them, by linking them graphically using explanatory interlinear and marginal notes in Portuguese and Latin, and finally by fusing them in the bold, linguistically-hybrid catachresm featured in the title of this chapter.

This expression, in which Mary applies an honorific to her own son, constitutes a case of in-group honorifics. This phenomenon, together with self-honorifics, has been traditionally been understood as a vestige of an older system of absolute honorifics in Japanese, out of which the language evolved into today’s system of relative honorifics—where such expressions are supposedly invalid. However, recent linguistic research has shown that the ‘relative’ practice of switching honorific levels depending on the listener is not only present but prevalent in the earliest Japanese texts for which this can be tested, and that conversely both in-group honorifics and self-honorifics persist in certain regional and class dialects down to the present day. Accordingly, I argue that the evolution from absolute honorifics, an idea first posited by the linguist of Ainu Kindaichi Kyōsuke (1882–1971) and never questioned since, is a modernist myth of national self-becoming: in his earliest articulation of the idea, Kindaichi specifically aligns his evolutionary timeline with the racial hierarchy of the Japanese Empire of his day. In any
case, the Jesuit linguist João Rodriguez (ca. 1560–ca. 1633) specifically proscribes in-group honorifics while describing the Japanese language of the time and place of composition of this piece, and so I argue that in its original context Mary’s appellation for Jesus above would have sounded quite strange, though perhaps by the same token also appropriately expressive of a religious mystery.

Moreover, the Dialogues on the Instruments of the Passion display a dual structure which I argue reflects two different modes of appropriating Latin Christian discourse. After the poetic dialogue described above, a second section follows called “The Meaning of the Passion” which contemplates more or less the same repertoire of violent instruments, this time from a doctrinal perspective, cataloguing each object in terms of its theological effects. The word for these objects is道具 dōgu “implement”, the same used for the art objects displayed in the tea ceremony, and indeed we have a unique document of connoisseurship which bears comparison with the lists of famous implements made by tea men of the time. Like those lists, this second section displays a linguistic structure which is not the Japonic vernacular of the time but rather, I argue, the product of the use of translingual reading practices originally developed for reading logographic texts from Korea and China. However, in this case those conventions have been adapted for use on Latinate material, based on linkages like Latin-Japanese declension tables and lexical equivalences which were soon to be codified in printed grammars and dictionaries, starting in the mid–1590s: idiosyncratic use of particles that were used by mission linguistics to translate Latin cases, together with copious use of Portuguese and Latin loan-words, tells the story of Luso-Japanese discourse, a new mode of translingual reading formed on analogy with Sino-Japanese. The differences between
the two sections are pronounced and typify two resourceful approaches to the difficult project of adapting this literature to the Japanese context.¹

*Identifications Emotional and Grammatical: The Dialogue of the Marys.*

Jurgis Elisonas has followed Jesuit scholars like Josef Schütte in crediting Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606) with the institution of a policy of “cultural accommodation” when he became Visitor to the Asian missions in 1579,² and there is good reason to believe that the snapshot of Japanese Jesuit literature that we have in the 1591 Barreto Miscellany and the subsequent productions of the Jesuit Mission Press represent much that is the product of his policies. On the other hand, devotionals like the one treated in this chapter existed before Valignano. Luís Fróis’ *História* (by 1597) contains a unique account of the introduction of a public devotional by Gaspar Vilela (ca. 1525–1572) at the church in Nagasaki on Good Friday 1570, in which children recited devotional meditations while holding props or perhaps pictures representing the instruments of the Passion.

¹ Earlier versions of this chapter were presented as “Converting Language: Jesuit Mission Literature in Japanese”, PIIRS Colonialism and Imperialism Workshop (Princeton University, March 2015);


² George Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 51.
Here Father Gaspar Vilela first introduced something that later became customary in many places. On Good Friday fifteen boys came before the altar all in good order dressed in their black vestments with their crowns of thorns on their heads, each one of them carrying his sign of the passion in his hand, and doing his obeisance at the altar, turning himself to the people he told them in their language the significance of the sign which he carried in his hand in a loud voice so that all could hear, saying: this is a replica of the cross on which our Lord Jesus Christ the true Son of God deigned to receive a cruel death and dolorous passion in order to save us. And each one of the others did the same thing applying a saying to the sign which he carried in his hand, and the same boys when they recited this, they wept such tears that to see that act of such devotion in innocent boys, almost all those present joined in their weeping, for the Japanese naturally have soft and kind hearts. All these boys having come in sequence there before the people let their robes fall off their shoulders as far as their belts and, saying a “Miserere mei Deus,” they whipped themselves and went whipping themselves up to a cross which was very far away, and they returned to the church with the same order and devotion.³

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³ “Aqui começou o P.e Gaspar Vilela a introduzir o que depois ficou em muitas partes em costume. Sexta-feira d'Endoçens vierão 15 meninos diante do altar todos por ordem vestidos com suas vestimentas pretas e suas coroa de espinhos na cabeça, trazendo cada hum delles sua insignia da paxão na mão, e fazendo sua reverencia ao altar, virando-se para o povo lhes dizia em sua lingua a significação da insignia que trazia na mão em voz alta que todos pudessem ouvir, dizendo: Esta hé a similhansa da cruz e um qual Jesu Christo Senhor nosso e verdadeiro Filho de Deos por nos salvar quiz receber cruel morte e dolorosa paxão. E o mesmo fazia cada hum dos outros aplicando o ditto à insignia que trazia na mão, e os mesmos meninos quando isto recitavão, choravão tantas lagrimas que de ver aquelle acto de tanta devoçao em
Accordingly, there was a widespread tradition of performance established for texts like the *Dialogues on the Instruments of the Passion*, and a sizeable corpus of such texts almost certainly existed by the time Barreto transcribed this one in 1591.

The five-folio *Dialogues* are composed of a series of speeches on each of the instruments of Jesus’ Passion—whip, cross, nails, etc.—each in the voice of either the Virgin Mary or Mary Magdalene. However, these do not particularly answer one another, and one figure sometimes speaks multiple times in succession, so that the suitability of the name “dialogue” might be questioned. Nevertheless, the name is very appropriate in another sense, namely that this first rehearsal of the instruments is followed by a reprise with differences that place the two versions in a dialogue with one another. Before addressing this structural issue, I will discuss the textual surface of this first, poetic section. The opening speech, assigned to the Virgin Mary, shows both the catachrestic nature of this enterprise and the resourcefulness with which it is undertaken.

How now, O Lord who Art my child! Having heard for myself What has happened to you, my mind is shocked and scattered, for I am and yet I cannot be, and so, caring not

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meninos inocentes, quazi todos os circunstantes os ajudavão a chorar, porque tem naturalmente os japões os corações brandos e maviozos. Acabado isto todos os meninos por sua ordem alli diante da gente deixavão cahir as vestes dos hombros athé a cinta e, dizendo hum Miserere mei Deus, se disciplinavão e sahião disciplinando-se athé huma cruz que está mui longe, e tornavão à igreja com a mesma ordem e devoção.” Luís Frois, S.J., *História de Japam*, ed. José Wicki, S.J. (Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, 1976), 2:325.
at all to keep composure before the eyes of others, pushing my way through among the
multitude—do you See I’ve come, I’m here, I’m here?\textsuperscript{4}

Much of this chapter’s argument turns on honorifics, and so I have resorted to the
expedient of marking these with initial capitals in my translation in Appendix 6B.

Here in the first word of the Dialogues, however, we face an issue not of
honorifics but of case. This word, \textit{ikani} “How now!”, is a greeting used to ask politely for
attention, but it is used here in the manner of the Latin vocative case. This is an instance
of formulaic adaptation from European-language models, an issue to which we will
return below, but this greeting is a natural enough way to begin a line in a noh play, so it
does not seem out of place. Indeed, this passage as a whole shows not only linguistic
competence but some literary skill. Japanese lacks person, number, and gender as
grammatical phenomena, and it is an exclusively left-branching language, which means
that each word or phrase becomes the grammatical antecedent of what came before. Its
traditional poetry strings together predicates using a great variety of subordinating and
coordinating conjunctions, sometimes pivoting ambiguously among multiple points of
reference in such a way as to produce kaleidoscopic shifts of consciousness from moment
to moment.\textsuperscript{5} Here the subject of every clause is unambiguously Mary, but the absence of
pronouns and predicates specifying person makes the discourse hew closer to an
individual stream of consciousness than if she kept specifying “I” from an objective point

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{4} \textit{ýcani vaga co nite maximasu Vó Aruji, mizzucara cono von coto uo qiqu ýori cocoro vodoroqi midarete,}
arumo arareneba fitome uo sarani fabacarazu, banmin no naca uo vaque xinoguite, core made core made
maýritaru vo goranji tamo ca?
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\end{flushright}
of view: her subjectivity is the only reality. The long sentence in which she forces her way through the crowd performs her agitated state of mind as it winds breathlessly from clause to clause—while piling up a hypotactic stack which balances like an upside-down pyramid on that final, quotative frame: …*goranji tamō ka?* “Do you See…?” Strictly speaking this modifies everything else, back to the second phrase, so that a grammatically literal rendering would read, “Do you See that I have come…” In grammatical order, Mary’s act of coming then results in turn on her hearing, whose content is what has happened to Jesus, named all the way back at the beginning of the sentence.

This poetics of shifting yet cumulative frame of reference has immediate antecedents in renga linked verse and the noh theatre, where the playwright Zeami describes a “Woman’s mode” which creates “a state of aesthetic derangement.” ⁶ Numerous thematic precedents can be found in medieval Japanese literature for Mary’s distressed motherly sentiment: the mother of the doomed child emperor in the *Tale of the Heike*, ⁷ destitute mothers miraculously reunited with lost children in noh plays like *The Sumida River*, ⁸ or Yoshitsune’s mother Tokiwa in the tragic cycle that bears his name, ⁹ but a close contemporary to this piece would be the puppet play *Shizuka Goes East*,

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explored in Chapter Two, in which Shizuka describes herself precisely in Zeami’s terms: “A deranged woman wanderer I will surely now become.” Not only thematic but textual commonalities abound: Mary’s *hitome wo sara ni habakarazu* “caring not at all to keep composure before the eyes of others” neatly reproduces phrasing used for Shizuka chanting the Buddha’s name before Yoshitsune’s grave: *atari hotori mo habakarazu, koe wo agete zo nakitamo.*

I miss you so much that my heart leaps up in my chest—so will you let me go home empty-handed, having come here all the way from the Capital in vain, without showing me your face?” she said, and, not caring to keep composure before others all around, she lifted up her voice and wept.10

Furthermore, Mary’s phrase *kokoro odoroki midaret e* “my mind is shocked and scattered” is echoed in the noh *The Bridge Consecration*, discussed in Chapter Three: “The eyes of all are darkened, their minds are shocked and scattered, and they forget which way is up.”11 Finally, her phrase *kore made kore made* “I’m here, I’m here,” also has a parallel in *Shizuka* in Yoritomo’s phrase *kore he kore he*: “Lady Shizuka, what an uncommon pleasure. Come here, come here!”12 As I argued in more detail in Chapter Five, these commonalities result from the fact that all four bodies of literature treated in this dissertation are descendants of sixteenth-century ballads like the kōwaka.

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10 とひたつ計恋しくて都よりはる \ 最遠来るかいもなく、其おもかけをも見せ給はてつれなふかへさせ給ふかや、何をるへに帰らんと、あたりほりもはゝからす。こゑを上てそなき給ふ。

11 眼もくらみ心も乱れて、各前後を亡しけり

12 頼朝御らんして、しつかのまへかめつらしや。是へgettoとの御でう也。
However, the same subject dropping that makes such sinuous discourse possible also causes a classic trope to misfire, because even in the modern period, when the translation of the Western canon has created a class of first-, second-, and third-person pronouns, Japanese relies largely on honorifics for stable intersubjective reference, and this is often why subjects can be dropped.\textsuperscript{13} The Visitor Valignano, after spending only a year in Japan, displays an understanding of this fact in his 1580 \textit{Sumario}.

According to the status of persons and things, they have to use higher and lower vocabulary, of contempt and of honor. … To speak or to write in a way other than that to which they are accustomed is a thing laughable and inconsiderate, as if among us one were to speak incorrectly, with many mistakes in his Latin.\textsuperscript{14} Naturally, the grammarian João Rodriguez also highlights the indexical function of honorifics in his 1604 \textit{Arte}.

Since this language lacks conjugation of persons and of numbers in its verbs, unless one pays careful attention to [honorifics], the result can be that it is not even clear who

\textsuperscript{13} Kikuchi Yasuto, “Keigo no \textit{ninshō henka / ninshō anji} teki kinō”, \textit{Keigo} (Kōdansha, 1997).

\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Han de usar de sus vocablos altos y bajos, de desprecio y de honra. … Y hablar o escribir de otra manera de lo que ellos acostumbran es cosa ridícula y de poco miramiento, como fuera entre nosotros hablar al revés y con muchos solecismos en el latín.} Alessandro Valignano, “Sumario de las cosas de Japón,” Ch. 2. \textit{Jesuitas na Ásia} 49-IV-56 (Biblioteca do Palácio da Ajuda), f. 64v; ed. José Luis Alvarez-Taladriz, \textit{Sumario de las cosas de Japón} (1583), \textit{Adiciones del Sumario de Japón} (1592), (Sophia University, 1954), 53.
is being spoken about, or to whom a given verb pertains, and so it is possible to mean one thing and say another.¹⁵

Such statements are made prominently by both executive and specialist members of the Jesuit mission, so it follows that honorifics had an important grammatical function in the Japanese language of Kyūshū in this period.

Now, in devotional literature on Jesus’ Passion in Latin, which has no articles, the word *filius* “son” when spoken by or with reference to Mary can be understood to mean both “Son of God” and “my (her) human son” at once. Here in the Japanese of 1591, however, the problem is that for Mary, Jesus with his dual nature is both a superior and an inferior, but ambiguity is impossible: either a given predicate has an honorific or it does not. The opening sentence above addresses this issue by naming the two relationships separately and then equating them with a copula: *waga ko nite mashimasu on aruji* “O Lord who Art my child”. A host of other copulative phrases like *ten ni te mashimasu on-chichi* “Our Father who art in Heaven” exist in the discourse of the mission, but here the honorific level changes, and this has consequences for indexicality. It sounds momentarily as if there are two separate people under discussion, and so the phrase hovers on the edge of unintelligibility until we understand the complicated relationship between Mary and Jesus. Equation takes work: even the formula for identity,

¹⁵ “‘Item, como careça esta lingoa de variedade de pessoas nos verbos, & de numeros, se senam olha bem pello antecedente, & consequente nam se entende de quem se fala, ou aquê pertence o verbo, & assi se diz hûa cousa por outra, &c.’” João Rodriguez, *Arte da lingoa de Iapam* (Nagasaki: Collegio de Japão da Companhia de Iesu, 1604), f. 172; trans. Doi Tadao, *Nihon dai bunten* (Seibundō, 1969), 618.
“A = A,” contains two terms which must be considered in relation, and here we have two identities for Jesus (a = A), so it requires even more effort to apply the equation and forget the duality. In English, a similar confusion can be created with gender by a sentence like, “John went to Thailand, and she came back a month later,”—even if we understand that John has had a sex change, reference is disrupted because of the prominent indexical role of gender in English: so it is with the mobile honorifics necessitated in Japanese by the dual nature of Christ.

Later, in her speech on the pillar where Jesus is whipped, the Virgin switches the honorific level more slowly, speaking one sentence in honorifics and the next in unmarked, familiar language.

Fig. 1 - Reg. lat. 459, by permission of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, with all rights reserved. © 2015 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

If the Blood that Flows from the body of the Child (fº) could seep into me, I feel we would never part. Since it is the pillar against which this dear child of mine

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16 Martin Heidegger, Identität und Differenz (Verlag Günther Neske Pfullingen, 1957).
("dilectíssimo filho) Presses his Skin, I too will embrace it and worship it as the precious Pillar of heaven.\textsuperscript{17}

This time no copula is needed, but the splitting of the sentences heightens the impression of there being two addressees, as if there are two sons, one honored and one beloved. To compensate for this distance, a graphic link is introduced between the honorific and unmarked versions of ko “child” (the word is not gendered): Portuguese glosses are added to both instances, each containing the same word filho “son” but also suggesting each of its two meanings in turn: over on-ko “honored child”, filho “son” is written fº as in doctrinal formulations involving the Son of God, and in the margin near waga omoigo “my beloved child”, dilectíssimo filho “dearest son” stresses the human relation. Like the body text, these notes are still in Barreto’s hand as far as I can tell, and although we cannot know exactly what he hoped to get from copying and studying this passage, since he had just arrived in Japan at this point and was enrolled in a Japanese language course,\textsuperscript{18} it is likely that he hoped at least to learn to recite this text expressively if not to speak freely of these matters in Japanese. Accordingly, it is evident from these notes that he found this double identification of Jesus particularly challenging.

Nevertheless, this workaround would seem to have solved the problem, in however convoluted a way. Further on, an even bolder catachresm is ventured: waga

\textsuperscript{17} Vó co (fº) no mi ýori nagare tamo Vó chì core ni somi tamaýeba fanare gataqu uomoý tatemaccuru. Vaga uomoýgo no ("dilectís fil.) vó fadaýe uo auaxe tamo faxira nareba, vare mo ýdaqi ecuqi tatemaccurite, ten no tatoqi vó faxira to faixi tatemaccuru nari. ~

\textsuperscript{18} Josef Schütte, “Christliche Japanische Literatur, Bilder und Druckblätter in einem Unbekannten Vatikanischen Codex aus dem Jahre 1591” Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu 9 (1940), 235.
on-ko Deus “my Child Deus”\(^{19}\) applies both a first-person possessive and an honorific directly to the noun ko “child”, resulting in a construction so densely packed that it becomes impossible to ignore any longer a peculiar feature which has been present from the beginning: more than half the time, the Virgin has been using honorifics to refer to her own son. Modern standard Japanese is understood to have a system of relative honorifics (相対敬語 sōtai keigo), which means that the honorific level of a given predicate is always changed according to the social position of the listener relative to the person under discussion, such that the topic is never elevated above the listener if a great social distance between speaker and topic person would not make this appear impertinent. For example, parents discuss their own children in unmarked or humilific speech in addressing people outside the family, while for other people’s children they use honorifics, and to do otherwise would disrupt the indexing of persons: they are no more given an honorific than they are called “yours” in English. Nevertheless, a low-ranking worker might still refer to the C.E.O. of his own company using honorifics if he is speaking to the C.E.O. of another company, because his own position is so much lower that the two C.E.O.s have more in common with each other than they do with him. That is, to use unmarked or humilific speech, even on his own C.E.O., might appear disrespectful of C.E.O.s in general.\(^{20}\) The Virgin’s calling Jesus waga on-ko is therefore a special case known as in-group honorifics (身内敬語 miuchi keigo), which together with self-honorific expressions (自敬表現 jikei hyōgen), has traditionally been interpreted as a telltale vestige of an earlier system of absolute honorifics (絶対敬語 zettai keigo), like

\(^{19}\) uaga uonco Deus [我が御子デウス]

\(^{20}\) Kikuchi Yasuto, “Zettai keigo to sōtai keigo: Keigo no tsukaikata no rekishi”, Keigo (Kōdansha, 1997).
those apparently found in the Korean and Ainu languages. The first to articulate this concept was the linguist Kindaichi Kyōsuke (1882–1971), and a postwar formulation of this concept runs as follows.

Absolute honorifics are a mode of honorifics in which the same object(s), whether first, second, or third person, and in any linguistic circumstances whatsoever, are expressed using the same honorifics.\footnote{Kindaichi Kyōsuke, \textit{Nihon no keigo} (Kadokawa Shoten, 1959).}

Kindaichi’s litmus test for absolute honorifics is the presence of the two special cases named above, self-honorifics and in-group honorifics, and his two-part evolutionary narrative, from absolute to relative, went unquestioned throughout the twentieth century.

If this narrative is true, then the question of the validity of Mary’s use of honorifics on Jesus turns on the question of whether the transition took place before or after 1591. In-group honorifics are of course found in early literature like the \textit{Man’yōshū} collection of vernacular song (by 759): “Here I’ve met you, as was meant to be, and yet Mother says not to sleep with you.”\footnote{逢ふべし…逢ひたる君を…Yūgiri uses honorifics on Genji while talking about him to the younger Kashiwagi, and Genji uses honorifics on his own daughter, the Akashi Empress, when addressing her directly. Genji often uses light honorifics on himself, reserving double honorifics for others which}

Moreover, the same phenomenon is found in the earliest pieces of narrative literature to record extensive dialogue, like \textit{The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter} (10\textsuperscript{th} c.) and \textit{The Tale of Genji} (by 1021). For example, Genji’s son Yūgiri uses honorifics on Genji while talking about him to the younger Kashiwagi, and Genji uses honorifics on his own daughter, the Akashi Empress, when addressing her directly. Genji often uses light honorifics on himself, reserving double honorifics for others which

\textsuperscript{21} 絶対敬語（絶対性敬語）は、一定の対象について、どんな人称の場合も、また、どんな言語の場合においても、常に一定の敬語で表現されるという敬語のあり方を言う。Kindaichi Kyōsuke, \textit{Nihon no keigo} (Kadokawa Shoten, 1959).

\textsuperscript{22} 逢ふべしと 逢ひたる君を な寝そと 母聞こせとも…MYS 3289. Honorifics are underlined.
he wishes to elevate. Those light self-honorifics can be understood as a case of simple formality of register, not honorifics, but what is important in reference to Mary’s speech is that in-group honorifics are used prominently.

Moving forward in time, however, we find examples of in-group honorifics right down through the early-modern period. In our puppet play Shizuka (late 17th c.), Shizuka’s mother uses the honorific verb omohi tamahu “think, feel” in such a way that it is ambiguous who she is talking about, but whether its subject is Shizuka or herself, we have a case of either in-group honorifics or self-honorifics and therefore apparently an absolute honorific system: “My word, just when it seemed you’d dyed your robes black and left the world, part of your heart is still not dyed to nunnish hue.”23 The same is true of the kyōgen Heiroku the House Painter, as printed in 1700: “So then, are you [my husband] Heiroku’s master who lives in the Capital? Oh, it’s all very sad, the matter of himself: you see, Heiroku’s just passed away this spring.”24 Likewise Chikamatsu Monzaemon’s puppet play The Oil-Hell Murder, which premièred in 1721: “No, my [husband]’s just gone out to run errands two or three places, and he’s sure to come

23 拝御身か心には、もはやさかりもすきの庵あまと也。世の中をすてしと思ひ給へ共。つねの人にはしなかはり。衣はすみにそめなら、色なままきてあてやかに。しんざう成かほぼせは、そめてぞまらぬ所也。

running back in any minute now.”25 Again, Namiki Shōzō’s kabuki Kuwanaya Tokuzō
irifune monogatari, first performed in 1770, has: “[My husband] Tokuzō has just gone
out; how may I help you?”26 Finally, in-group honorifics are used by the mother of a
family of fallen aristocrats in Dazai Osamu’s 1947 novel The Setting Sun,27 and many
regional dialects, particularly in Western Japan, still use them to this day.28 Kindaiichi’s
two litmus tests of self-honorifics and in-group honorifics yield the result that the
Japanese language never stopped using absolute honorifics.

Naturally this is not the case, and so we must have made a wrong turn. In fact,
Fukushima Naoyasu has shown in a pair of articles beginning in 2010 that the Japanese
language never started using absolute honorifics, at any point in the written record.
Rather, the examples of self-honorifics and in-group honorifics listed above exist within a
system which in the majority of cases does switch honorific levels depending on the
listener and therefore is relative in a way not essentially different from the modern
language. Self-honorifics are the easier litmus test to dispense with, as it is immediately
clear on examination of the many texts, again more or less spanning recorded history
though tapering off by the middle ages, in which gods and emperors use honorifics on

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25 iedy, kochi no ino tame ni san seto no yori, o tsuke koko e mae iru han Chikamatsu Monzaemon, “Onna
goroshi abura jigoku”, SNKB: Chikamatsu jōruri shū, ed. Matsuzaki Hitoshi (Iwanami Shoten, 1995), 2..
26 dekaseki he iarama ta, 10 nyo do to yasunamis Namiki Shōzō, “Kuwanaya Tokuzō irifune
monogatari”. Quoted in Kikuchi, “Zettai keigo to sōtai keigo”.
27 kazu noi, o mo sa ma ga im we no sa ita kara, atete gora Dazai Osamu, Shayō, revised edition
(Shinchōsha, 2003).
28 Kikuchi, “Zettai keigo to sōtai keigo”, 111.
themselves, that they only do so in contexts in which their office or divine status is itself under discussion, or in which their subordinates are writing or speaking for them, and the servants’ honorific intent toward the master bleeds into the master’s quoted speech.

Something similar happens in the ballad of *The Passion of the Christ* discussed in Chapter Five, where the writer’s understanding of who Jesus is causes even the scribes and Pharisees to use honorifics for him, even though in the diegetic world of the ballad they have no reason to treat him as a person of status: “If you are the Christo, show us!”

Whatever the actual parameters may be for the use of self-honorifics is a topic for further study, but Kindaichi claims above that a consistent, in fact absolute, “mode” (*arikata*) existed in which gods and emperors use self-honorifics “in any linguistic circumstances whatsoever” (*donna gengoteki bamen ni oite mo*), and so all that is necessary to disprove the existence of such a mode is one early example in which these gods and emperors fail to use honorifics on themselves. Sure enough, they not only sometimes but usually do not do so, in the earliest texts we have.

However, Mary’s address to Jesus is a case of in-group honorifics. What about them? Here, too, whereas other scholars have apparently been content to accept the logic of Kindaichi’s litmus tests, Fukushima has now compiled charts tracking speaker, listener, topic, and honorific level for a variety of utterances in the *Bamboo Cutter* and the *Genji*, testing not only for “absolute honorifics” but for relative honorifics as well, and here too he has overwhelmingly found the latter: Genji uses honorifics of his daughter the Akashi

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29 *gofen Christo nite maximasaba varera ni arauaxi tamaïe* [御辺キリストにてままさば我らに願し給仏]

Empress when addressing her directly more than two thirds of the time, but when speaking to others about her he uses unmarked speech or humilifies four times as often as honorifics. In speaking both to and about his son Yūgiri, who is merely a competent courtier, Genji uses honorifics only half the time, but in speaking about Yūgiri to others he almost always uses non-honorific expressions. Finally, in speaking about his younger, favorite wife Murasaki to her face, Genji almost always uses honorifics, and when speaking about her to others he uses them less than a third of the time. The Bamboo Cutter presents a similar picture: namely, of an honorific system that sometimes uses both self-honorifics and in-group honorifics but is anything but absolute. The precise logic by which Genji makes all the above choices is a rich topic for further study, but what concerns us here is the fact that it is a relative logic. In the case of servants, the great chronicler of high Heian manners Sei Shōnagon (966–1025) specifically proscribes in-group honorifics: “I just hate it when my servant says to others, ‘Her Ladyship So-And-So will grace you with her presence, deigns to say to you, etc.’” This represents the opposite convention to the modern rule regarding the lowly worker and the two CEOs above, but it is not for that reason an absolute system.

The question then remains how Kindaichi arrived at this idea of a development out of absolute honorifics and why this narrative has persisted for so long. His earliest articulation of the concept, from 1942, reveals that it grows from his disciplinary projects

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of ethnography and linguistics in support of, though perhaps at the same time in
resistance to, Japanese colonialism.

When one considers in aggregate the grammar of honorifics in our nation, taking into
account all the processes of development through which honorifics have come, there
seem to be three main stages. The first period is the age of taboos, which one imagines
by contemplating its traces in the mode of life of races in a state of nature, and the
second period is the age of absolute honorifics which developed therefrom. Absolute
honorifics represent the first phase of development of honorifics, as represented today
by the honorifics of the Ainu language etc. … Then the third period, the age of relative
honorifics, signifies the honorifics of the present era.\textsuperscript{33}

We have here a three-step Hegelian or Fichtean progression from imaginary primitive
past, through an age of development, to the actualized national self of the present. It is
significant that Kindaichi identifies each step along the way with a different race: \textit{tabu} is
in fact a useful environmental-ethical concept in the culture of Polynesia, where Japan
had colonial ambitions, but in Kindaichi’s day European attitudes had made “taboo” a

\textsuperscript{33} さて、我が思の敬語の語法を過して、すべての敬語法発達の過程を考えて見ると、大体三つの
段階があるように思われる。第一期はすなばちタブーの時代で、自然民族の生活にその面影を偲
んで想像するのであるが、第二期が、それから発達した絶対敬語の時代である。絶対敬語は、敬
語としては初期の発達で、例へば、今日のアイヌ語の敬語などがそれである。…次の第三期の相
対敬語の時代が、即ち今の時代の敬語である。Kindaichi Kyōsuke, \textit{Kokugo kenkyū} (Yakumo Shorin,
1943).
byword for primitive societal structures. Meanwhile, the Ainu likely represent the last remnant of the hunter-gatherers who had inhabited the Japanese archipelago before the agriculturalists who largely became the Japanese began migrating there in the early first millennium BCE. Kindaichi built his career describing their language and transcribing their oral literature before it could be lost to the final Japanese colonization of the northern island of Hokkaidō.

Kindaichi’s scholarship naturally has great intrinsic value in that it documents the last vestiges of a disappearing culture, but it was also part of a larger project of ethnography and linguistic documentation carried out throughout the Japanese empire, for example in Korea, whose language, like Ainu, also has absolute honorifics and so is the likely referent of Kindaichi’s *nado* “etc.” above. In wartime Japan, Korea was widely situated as a kind of primitive self which was lower on some evolutionary scale and therefore the focus of both condescension and nostalgia. This ambivalence was reflected in the career of the linguist Tokieda Motoki (1900–1967), a contemporary of Kindaichi who began his career setting Japanese-language education policy in colonial Korea. Tokieda thought of Korean as primitive but also senescent, in that it had fallen away from an original Altaic purity due to too much Chinese influence and thus needed to be replaced by the still-pure Japanese. Looked at in this larger context of the

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discipline of imperial Japanese linguistics, the myth of absolute honorifics is seen to have been born of a need to map the racial hierarchy of the Japanese empire onto Japanese linguistic history, for a narrative in which Japan evolves into itself out of its various subject nations: first we were Pacific Islanders, then we were Koreans and Ainu, now we have become Japanese—and so can you.

Meanwhile, back in Kyūshū at the turn of the seventeenth century, the Jesuit linguist Rodriguez, documenting the Japanese language for reasons of his own, explicitly proscribes in-group honorifics.

Many errors are likewise committed in the use of the particles of honor on nouns as well as on verbs. To wit: in the use of honorific verbs and of those of humility, & in the simple verb: in a way that overwhelms the ears of the listeners, because either they or their companions & equals are honored altogether excessively. …

First, one Priest talking about another in front of outsiders using honor excessively: sama, ōseraruru, nasaruru, etc., when he should only be speaking of him as of an equal because they are of the same family, & of equal seed: before speaking with people from outside even of one’s own superior one must not honor him with anything more than raruru, because the subordinate speaks thus with outsiders about his superior, the disciple about his master, the son about his father, and the vassal about his lord, when they are persons of quality.37

37 “ERROS QVE SE COMETEM NAS honras, & cortesias. ¶ Tambem se cometem muitos erros no vso das particulas de honra assi dos nomos como dos verbos. Item no vso dos verbos honrados & no dos humildes, & no verbo simples: de modo que da muyto nas orelhas dos ouuintes, porque ou se honram assi mesmos demasiadamente, ou aos companheiros, & igoais, ou dam honra a gente baixa como a moços, &
From all this it is evident that *uaga uonco Deus* is certainly uncolloquial, if not technically invalid, and would have required a moment’s thought to take in. Nevertheless, its novelty may have added to its religious effect. At any rate, the vast theological distance between parent and child in the case of Jesus and Mary means that if the same logic is at all active by which Genji addresses his daughter the Akashi Empress with honorifics, then there is nothing invalid about Mary using honorifics for Jesus. Overall, the Virgin’s speeches use Japanese poetics to great effect, but their attempt to reproduce the Latin play on *filius* “son (of God and of Mary)” strains the language to the breaking point.

As the speeches of the Virgin Mary spiritualize maternal sentiment, those of Mary Magdalene take erotic sublimation for their theme. We have seen above how Shizuka and the Virgin use the same word *habakarazu* “not caring to keep composure” to describe their attitude as they contemplate Yoshitsune in his grave and Jesus on the cross, respectively. However, an even better equivalent for Shizuka would be Mary Magdalene, who is here unambiguously portrayed as Jesus’ lover but nevertheless converts all of her sexual desire into spiritual devotion by channeling it through masochistic vicarious suffering. In this context it is easy to see why the Jesuits may have thought the *kōwaka*...
Taishokan edifying, as discussed in Chapter Five: although the gender binary is reversed, its climactic scene has the hero contemplating the body of his fisherwoman lover, who has died retrieving a magic crystal for him from the dragons at the bottom of the sea. They pulled up her lifeless body and set it in the midst of the company, and all at once they cried out. Taishokan saw her and said, “She failed to hold onto the crystal, and so it seems a once-in-two-lifetimes chance has passed us by. There is a wound between her breasts. More has happened to her than just the dragon’s ripping,” and in wonderment he looked on as the crystal ball emerged, from within this very wound. “So then, when the dragon was chasing her and she was seen to swing a sword, it was not to protect herself but to hide the crystal: does this mean it was for this reason that she did harm to her own body? If only I could bear this wound in my body just a little, I would not feel so overcome.”

A similar construction was seen in the Virgin’s speech above: “If the Blood that Flows from the body of the Child could seep into me, I feel we would never part.” If this reflects direct borrowing, however, it means that the authors of the Japanese text are not distinguishing rigorously between maternal and erotic love, because this line belongs to the Virgin Mary. Nevertheless, this is not surprising in light of the fact that “love” in general presented a great translation challenge. Returning to Mary Magdalene, her speeches focus throughout on the sensual properties of each instrument: the tight squeezing of the rope, the pain of the thorns which pierces to the core, the pounding of the hard hammer.

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38 せめてこの傷を、我が身少し負ひたらば、かほどにものは思ふまじきを Asahara Yoshiko, Kitahara Yasuo, ed., SNKBT: Mai no hon (Iwanami shoten, 1994), 41.
Oh, what a precious Crux! This is the soft Bed (^matting-leito) on which the Lord for whom I long so deeply lies in Sleep of agonizing death. From now on this, this is what I will use to lie back and let myself go.\textsuperscript{39}

If the theme of erotic mysticism was not already apparent, this would surely get any listener there.

However, the sensual theme also raises challenges because the piece’s European models turn on the paradox of “bitter” violence turning “sweet” because of the communion it brings with Jesus. This is a problem because although bitterness also has a negative connotation in sixteenth-century Japanese, the symbolic valence of sweetness did not feature an association with pleasure or goodness in general. On the contrary, traditional Japanese diets prominently feature foods preserved with salt or vinegar, and Japan had no ready source of sugar until Satsuma’s annexation of Ryūkyū (Okinawa) in 1609 and the subsequent birth of a sugarcane industry there.\textsuperscript{40} It was no doubt for these reasons, combined with the pervasive influence of Buddhist asceticism, that through the seventeenth century the only texts that give amashi “sweet” a positive connotation are literal-minded commentaries on Chinese Buddhist texts and nothing approaching

\textsuperscript{39} Satemo, tattoqi uon crux cana; Core coso vaga fucaqu uomoy tatemaccuru Vó Aruji no vô ýtomaxiqi xisuru no Vó nemuri ni fuxi tamo ýauara(‘ca)naru Von ýuca (‘toco-leito) nare. ýma ýori nochi va core uo coso vaga quccurogúi toua mochý tatemaccuru beqere.

\textsuperscript{40} Gregory Smits, \textit{Visions of Ryukyu: Identity and Ideology in Early-Modern Thought and Politics} (University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999), 39.
everyday language.

On the contrary, a 1477 commentary uses the word to denote laxity:

“Though we are all clergymen, we monks have our rules, and then we tend to go easy on (amau ataru) the acolytes.”

An early-sixteenth-century commentary likewise uses it as a synonym for “weak”: “The difference between these words ‘muscle’ and ‘flesh’ is that muscle is strong. Flesh is inferior. It is the weaker (amai hō) of the two. It means something like ‘paunch’.”

The closest the word comes to a positive connotation is in the tenth-century warrior chronicle Shōmonki, where it refers to insincere flattery: “Sadamori believes whatever blandishments come from people’s mouths (hitokuchi no amaki), and whether they mean it or not he’ll have himself convinced they’re blood brothers.”

The positive, Christian meaning also appears in doctrinal Jesuit texts like the 1600 Dochirina Kirishitan, and it is taken up and used by later popular discourse, as for example the 1789 kabuki Kanjin kanmon tekuda no hajimari: “Why don’t you give us junior scholars

Exegetical anthology on the Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra (ca. 850), vol. 11. Quoted in “amashi”, NKD.

Doi bon Shūeki shō (1477), ch. 6. Quoted in “amashi”, NKD.

Kan’ei kanpon Mōgyū shō (ca. 1529), ch. 2. Quoted in “amashi”, NKD.

Kōhon Dochirina Kirishitan, ed. Kojima Yukie (Fukui Kokugogaku Group, 1966), ch. 5.
just a short lesson on the pomp and circumstance of the Way of Pleasure as it’s practiced at this establishment, ‘suave’ and ‘sweet’ and all that? (iki to yara amai to yara)”

Nevertheless, this positive sweetness was brand new in 1591, and so the figure of sweetness here in the *Dialogues* cannot help but evoke the image of Mary Magdalene eating nails which literally taste sweet.

Oh, what deeply flavorful and sweet nails! They are hard and bitter in that they painfully pierce the sinewy Hands and Feet of the Helper, but because they are the implements which stick him fast in sweet Cherishing to his *Crux* so that as long as he Lives he will never Leave it, I experience them as truly sweet. 47

Before the Jesuits had settled on 救世主 (J.) *kyūseishu* “world-saving lord” for “savior”, and 愛 *ai*, the condescension of superiors for their inferiors, for that Christian solecism “love”, they had 御扶手 *on-tasuke-te* “The Helper” and [ご大切] *go-taisetsu* “His cherishing”. Kiri Paramore has shown that it was late-seventeenth-century Sino-Japanese translingual reading of texts written by not Japanese but Chinese Jesuits that finally brought Christianity into the mainstream philosophical conversation in Japan, even if typecast as a villain. 48 Hansun Hsiung will show in his forthcoming dissertation that it

46 彼駄で、もし粋とやら甘いとやら、色道の格式を後学の為、ちと教へてくりゃるまいか “Kanjin kanmon tekuda no hajimari”, act 2 (1789). Quoted in “amashi”, *NKD*.

47 *Satemo ajjinaí fucau amaqi cugui cana? Vó tasqete no mite to miaxi no sujji no uoqi naca uo ýtamaksiq mo ccuramuqi tatemaccuri tareba catacu nigaqeredomo amaqi gotayxet uo motte Vó crus ni somi eçuqi tamaí y nóochi no vchi ni ua eçuí ni Vó crus uo fanare tamauazaru dogu nareba macotoní amacu uoboýuru nari.*

was through a matrix of Chinese translations and Sino-Japanese reading practices that European science and medicine were finally adopted in late-nineteenth-century Japan. The sixteenth-century Jesuit mission did not use Sino-Japanese reading practices, but what it did use was nevertheless not simply translation in the European sense but a new set of reading practices developed on analogy with Sino-Japanese. I will call these reading practices Luso-Japanese.

*Luso-Japanese Discourse in “The Meaning of the Passion”: 「葡文訓詁」*

Of these Luso-Japanese reading practices we have seen what might be called the kun-yomi or translational reading in expressions like on-tasukete “the Helper” (i.e. Savior) above. However, the Dialogues on the Instruments of the Passion have an analytic postscript which is peppered with the opposite phenomenon: on-yomi or transliterational readings of theological terms, which are stitched together into Japanese sentences according to preset formulae which were later to be codified in Jesuit grammars. Entitled Gopassion no cotouari [御パッションの理] “The Meaning of the Passion”, This second section is notable for its theological formulae and linguistic formalism: though written in Japanese, it treats that language like a wild horse that might at any moment carry it off into uncharted territory, and rather than translating colloquially seems to be using the translation conventions of Japanese Jesuit mission linguistics to carry out something like the translingual reading used to read Chinese and other logographic texts aloud as Japanese, this time adapting the same processes to the texts of Latin Christendom and providing a dramatic contrast to the poetic and supple dialogues between the Marys above.
As for the content of this section, it explains that the Passion is a transaction between “our Lord JESUS χ,” and “Deus Padre”, necessitated by the sin of “Adam of the beginning and his wife” which had made humanity tēgu no fuday [天狗の譜代] “hereditary vassals of tengu”. As explained in Chapter Five, tengu are mischievous birdmen or long-nosed goblins who appear in Japanese literature as enemies of Buddhism, embodiments of religious pride, or morally neutral trickster figures. As mentioned in Sagamigawa in Chapter One, the renegade Yoshitsune learned the arts of war as a boy by sparring with friendly tengu in the mountains, and I suspect that the Jesuits may have connected them to the devil because of the resemblance between this story and the story of Jesus tempted by the devil in the wilderness. Unlike Xavier’s early translational use of the cosmic Buddha Dainichi for Deus, the use of the tengu for “devil” continued up until the expulsion. In “The Meaning of the Passion”, the sentiment of the Marys is replaced by a clinical appraisal of each object for its theological effect: the hammer is “the implement which Drives his inescapable Cherishing into us human beings.” An interest in precise numbers is also evident: we learn that at the pillar Jesus “received some five thousand six hundred strokes with the rod,” suffered on the cross for three hours, and had three nails driven into him. To the ten instruments of the earlier dialogues, the “Meaning” adds the tague [竹] “bamboo”—the reed which Jesus is made to hold while he wears the crown of thorns—and the pliers with which the nails were pulled out of his limbs, for a felicitous total of twelve. Moreover, the name by which this text calls its subjects deepens its resemblance to a carefully curated exhibition: dogu [道具] “implement” is the word for the art objects displayed in the tea ceremony, a central medium of contemporary elite social interaction in which the Jesuits themselves actively participated: Valignano
recommended that all Jesuit residences be equipped with tea rooms. This word *dōgu* also appears in the dialogue between the Marys, but here it is methodically repeated for each object, and in this sense the “Meaning of the Passion” bears comparison with the catalogues produced by connoisseurs like Yamanoue no Sōji of famous tea jars, kettle stands, and cups.

Finally, formulaic Luso-Japanese reading practices are evident from the opening section of “The Meaning of the Passion”.

These numerous implements are signs of the way in which our Lord JESUS χ.º, being commanded by *Deus Padre* to Be hung on a *crux* as a scapegoat for the crimes of all humanity, pitifully Withstood various sufferings, and so we ought to savor well its meaning.

At issue here is the non-standard and poorly-understood use of the particle *-yori* to mark the agent of a causative like “*Deus Padre*”, as well as to mark the subject of a passive construction, with the honorific verb suffix *-tamō* used instead of the usual *-ru/raru* to mark the passive voice. The same phenomenon occurs in the section on the “bamboo” in “The Meaning of the Passion”, where it is combined with a causative verb, apparently 負わせる *owaseru* “to cause to bear”, for a causative passive with Judas as the subject.

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51 Cono cazucazu no dogu ua varera ga vô Aruji IESU χ.º yssaē no ninguē no togauno migauari to xite D’s P.e yori cruxni cacari tamaēe to fadame tamaēeba nafaqe naqu mo yroýro no curuxime Vo vque coraē tamo xiruxī nareba sono cotouari uo ŷoqu ŷoqu ajjuaē mosu bexi.
Thirty mon in silver coin is the money that the criminal Judas was made to bear.\textsuperscript{52} As the linguist Shirai Jun has demonstrated, this construction can be found in warrior literature, but it appears in the above form almost exclusively in Jesuit literature in Japanese.\textsuperscript{53} I believe that this usage can be explained as part of a set of emergent Luso-Japanese practices for reading Latinate texts, built on analogy to pan–East Asian practices for writing and reading from logographic texts “in” a great variety of languages using systems of ordinal transformations and vernacular glosses for each character.\textsuperscript{54} Japanese Jesuits, raised in Jesuit schools where they spoke and read Japanese under elder Japanese Jesuit tutors but also spoke Portuguese and read from the Latin classical tradition under European teachers, were incorporating Sino-Japanese–style formulaic reading practices in their reading of European texts.

One of their main guides for doing so was the declension table which would appear in print for the first time in the 1594 Amakusa edition of Alvarez’ \textit{De institutione grammatica}, the standard Latin grammar in use throughout Europe at the time,\textsuperscript{55} and repeated in both of Rodriguez’ \textit{Artes} (1604, 1620).

\begin{tabular}{lll}
Nomina\textsubscript{t}iuo & Dominus, & Aruji, arujiua, ga, no, yori. \\
Geni\textsubscript{t}iuo & Domini, & Arujino, ga.
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{52} \textit{manju monno guinxen va toganin no Judaf yori vaxe tamo jeni nari.}

\textsuperscript{53} Shirai Jun, “Joshi yori/kara no shukaku hyōji yōhō ni tsuite: Kirishitan bunken wo chūshin to shite”, \textit{Kokugogaku} 52/3 (2001).


\textsuperscript{55} Manuel Alvarez, \textit{De institutione grammatica libri tres, coniugationibus accesis interpretatio Iaponica} (Amakusa: Collegio Iapanico Societatis Iesu, 1594).
Datiuo  Domino,  Arujini, ye.
Accufatiuo  Dominum,  Arujiuo.
Vocatiuo  ó Domine,  Aruji, A, icani aruji.
Ablatiuo  à Domino,  Aruji yori, cara, ni.

In all versions of this chart, -yori is given for the nominative case, which in Latin marks the subject of a passive construction as in “Judas was made to bear,” and the ablative case, which would mark the agent of a causative construction like “being commanded by Deus Padre.” Furthermore, if we suppose that the mysterious use of -tamô for -ru/raru results from a mistaken belief that it, like -ru/raru, can signify either an honorific or the passive voice (when in fact it only indicates an honorific), then this peculiarity arose because the Jesuits’ native informants had already drifted from their ‘native’ reading practices due to the bicultural and bilingual environment in which they were educated. Whatever their reason for using -tamô, their consistent use of -yori for equivalents of the Latin ablative and the nominative cases means that what we have is a Luso-Japanese reading of a European text. In this light, the oddly frequent use of European loan-words is seen to be no stranger than the predominance of Sino-Japanese words in a translingual reading of a Chinese text. Zhu Xi’s 一手光陰不可輕 Yicun guangyin buke qing, becomes, Issun no kōin karonzu bekarazu, “The shadows lengthen: seize the day!” and for the same reason, Jesus’ death “Frees us from the suffering of iustiça in inferno”, to be “brought back to life in graça” and “Bestows on us the Life of gloria.”

Naturally, Portuguese loanwords are also used for a variety of other reasons. Adam and Eve “Partook of the fruit of the maçã tree,” and in that case, maçã for “apple” results not from the foreignness of the concept but rather from a desire to hide from the
uninitiated the teaching, widely ridiculed in Japanese anti-Christian discourse,\(^56\) that evil entered the world through the eating of a common apple. Another Latinate loanword reveals an important detail about the ritual context in which this text was used. In the “Meaning of the Passion,” Japanese *buchi* “whip,” used earlier in the dialogue, is replaced by *disciplina* “whip”.

*Disciplina.* This *disciplina* is the implement by which the Body of our Lord JESU \(\chi\).\(^6\) Is beaten and broken. That is to say, it is the sign which Frees us from the denunciation of suffering which we were to receive in *inferno*\(^57\).

From this it seems clear that self-flagellation was part of the use of this text, and indeed we find copious reference to the practice, public and private, as early as 1557.\(^58\) As we have seen, it was also central to the 1570 show-and-tell on the Instruments of the Passion by young boys in Nagasaki, described by Fróís above. After the expulsion, mass self-flagellation even became a prominent feature of public protest by the Christians of Nagasaki,\(^59\) and this piece is a part of the mechanism which first inculcated this practice in such a large group of people.

Whereas the dialogue of the Marys above made skillful use of noh-like stream of consciousness discourse and language of aesthetic derangement from ballad traditions like the kōwaka, “The Meaning of the Passion” is written in the style of a semi-automatic


\(^{57}\) – *Disciplina* ~ Cono disciplina ua Vó Aruji JESU \(\chi\).\(^6\) no Vó mi uo vchi yaburi tatemaccuri taru dogu nari Core sunauachi inferno nite vqubeqi curuximi no caxaqu uo nogaxi tamo xiruxi nari. ~

\(^{58}\) Louis Froís, *Historia de Japam*, ed. Wicki, 1:25, 89, 109, 123, etc.

literal translation of a European text, or a Luso-Japanese reading. Based on the idiosyncratic use of -yori for the subject of a passive and the agent of a causative, where Latin would use the nominative and the ablative respectively, together with the use of -tamō to mark the passive voice, I have shown that this style represents a hybrid of the translation practices current between European languages at the time and older Sino-Japanese practices. Based on recent archaeological discoveries, David Lurie has shown how, from the time of the introduction of a widespread culture of writing in the seventh century, speakers of Japanese and other East Asian languages mostly read logographic texts by skipping around the text, reading each graph using a predetermined gloss, to produce a very literal rendering which resembles a literal translation but which is functionally indistinguishable from and best understood as a practice of reading.60 Morioka Kenji has shown that similar systems of vernacular glosses and ordinal transformations were used to translate Dutch, English, and other European discourse in the nineteenth century.61 Here, we have seen that similar reading practices were developed for Portuguese and Latin texts on the Jesuit mission. This mode of discourse is no doubt chosen here because its writers’ priority was to provide theologically correct explanations of the “implements” just contemplated in the maternal and erotic terms of the more poetic and colloquial earlier section. It treats the Japanese language like a wild horse that must be broken and guided every step of the way, lest it carry the discussion off into uncharted territory as we have seen that the earlier section did more than once.


61 Morioka Kenji, Ōbun kundoku no kenkyū: Ō bunmyaku no keisei (Meiji Shoin, 1999).
Conclusion

*Some Dialogues on Some Instruments of the Passion* is a valuable record of the variety of poetic devices and translation practices used by the Jesuits to adapt their ideological material to a Japanese literary and ritual context. We have seen both from in the overall structure of the piece and from its use of the word *disciplina* for “whip” that it almost certainly represents the actual spoken content of the group devotional tradition with whose introduction on Good Friday 1570 Fróis credits Gaspar Vilela above. This version is spoken in the voices of the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene, however, so it may have been recited by two actors rather than the group of boys described there. In the main dialogue section, the Virgin’s speeches before the cross use renga-inspired stream-of-consciousness poetry to good effect, even using some stock expressions in common with Shizuka before Yoshitsune’s grave in the puppet play treated in Chapter Two, as well as the reaction of the crowd to the weird apparitions in the noh from Chapter Three.

Surely the greatest challenge which the writer of these lines faced was the inability of the Japanese language to reproduce the double meaning in European texts of “son” as both Son of God and the Virgin’s own son. Every predicate either has an honorific or it does not, and so ambiguity on this point is impossible. Accordingly, the word must be split in two and each of the two relations, and thus the two natures of Christ, contemplated separately. First the two are named and equated in a single sentence. Then they are split into separate sentences and graphically linked with marginal Portuguese and Latin glosses. Finally they are crammed together into a single, enigmatic phrase, *uaga*.
uonco Deus “My honored Child Deus”: an honorific and a first-person possessive are applied to one and the same noun, which is equated without a copula to Deus. The field of Japanese linguistics has defined in-group honorifics like this as a vestige of an older system of absolute honorifics, in which high-ranking persons are always given honorifics regardless of context, but recent research has shown that the very notion of such a system is based on false premises. I have argued that in fact it has its origins in the mythology of Japanese empire in the twentieth century, in which the racial hierarchy of Japan’s colonies is mapped onto Japan’s linguistic past, so that it can be made to evolve from its subject nations, which are thereby situated as primitive selves. Rather, old, middle, and modern Japanese all use honorifics in a variety of complex situations, in which identities, ranks, and in-groups exert a variety of influences. Within such a shifting matrix, the above phrase would surely have had a unique ring to it, but this is actually quite suitable to the occasion.

The speeches of Mary Magdalene, meanwhile, sublimate the erotic desire of a female subject for the spectacularly wounded male body of Jesus, transforming it into a Christian spiritual good by means of the moral energy which the self-weakening of masochism imparts. The piece actually passes up the opportunity to quote from the scene of the fisherwoman’s death in the kōwaka Taishokan, using similar phrasing instead for the Virgin’s lines, and this may provide an avenue for further reflection on the different taxonomies of love in East Asian and European cultures, if indeed the identical concept can be found in both at all. On a more concrete question of value, the binary of bitter and sweet on which the pain and pleasure of Mary Magdalene’s sadomasochism turn misfires in Japanese because it was only the Christian discourse of the Jesuit mission that finally
associated the word *amashi* “sweet” with pleasure and the good in general. Chinese sūtra commentaries can be found whose language equates the sweet with the good in the ancient period, but in medieval discourse sweetness is associated with weakness, unreliability, and frivolity. Nevertheless, the association which Mary Magdalene catachrestically makes here would become a watchword of the avant-garde even after the suppression of Christianity: urbane epicures in eighteenth-century kabuki take “sweetness” for one of their core values.

Finally, “The Meaning of the Passion” provides a glimpse into the hybrid reading practices that were in the process of forming as learned Japanese and their young Japanese charges in the seminary began to appropriate the Latin classical tradition using two different modes. European teachers would have taught translational discourse, but this text’s peculiarly formulaic use of certain particles according to the glosses they are given in Jesuit grammars is an example of what I call Luso-Japanese reading. It is evident here that such a set of practices was evolving from Sino-Japanese, Japan’s version of the translingual reading culture used throughout East Asia chiefly on the texts of the Han classical tradition. For this second section, the authors are at pains to translate close to the source text and reproduce the relations that obtain between the various theological terms in their original European context, as evident from the frequency of Latin and Portuguese loan-words. This new register of Luso-Japanese represents a fascinating road not taken, an alternative channel to the Chinese translations through which both Christianity and Western science would ultimately win their first few generations of serious readers in the mainstream Japanese intellectual tradition. That it is paired with poetic and emotionally
resonant oral ballad discourse like that of the Marys may have been a particularly
effective strategy and makes even this piece yet another ‘end’ of the kōwaka.
APPENDIX 6A

Some Dialogues on Some Instruments of the Passion (by 1591).

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 459, ff. 78–82v.


[78]

Algūs colloquios a algūns

Instrumentos da paixão

de Christo no fso

~ Snôr. ~

N.S.

[78v]

Vide Maý fol. 19, 17

18, 30, 38

59, 66, 91, 92×

¶ ųcani vaga co nite maximasu Vó Aruiji, mizzucara co no von cotouo qīu ųori cocoro vodorqi midare –
te, arumo arareneba fitomeuo sarani fabacara –

zu, banmin no nacauo vaque xinoguite, core made core made maýritaru vo goranji tamo ca?

Satemo fatemo ųoni safodo made tamēxi = fiɾiːmonai

naqi von curuximiuo vque caʃane tamo,

fone fone vye nauo mata cruxni caʃerare, fã –

mo afamaxiqi von arifamani nari tamaʃtaru

uo mitatemaccureba, memo cure, cocoromo quiʃete ȳqumo vare cono von crux vo fa –
naru coto aru majiqi nari. –

ȳixo no faxira. N.S.

¶ ųcani tenchino Vó Aruijino sugari ccuiq tamo

ȳximo faxira, tenchivo ccucuri tamavan tame

ni sugari tamoniva arazu xite, nasaque na

qu chôchaqu uo motte Vó mi uo vchifacare tama –
uan Vó tame nari. Vó co no mi ýori nagare ta –
mo Vó chi core ni somi tamaýeba fanare gataqu
uomoý tatemaccuru. Vaga uomoýgono Vó fa – dilecís fil.
daýe uo auaxe tamo faxira nareba, vare
mo ýdaqi ccuqi tate maccurite, tenno tattooqi Vó
faxira to faixi tate maccuru. –

Ccuna. M.° m.

¶ ýma ýori ua tattooqi Vó nava to coso moxi tate
maccuru beqere, xecay uó tasqeteno mi teuo cara –
tocosó
me tatemaccurixi naua nareba, satemo ýoni
mezuraxií coto naru cana; tenchiuo ccucu –
sonovýe arder
ri xicamo Vó niquo vchíye xíme ýrite, výeni
miýezaru fodo ýtami tatemaccuritaru cono
fosoíqi nari. Sareba cono naua nite vagaqui =

no mýe. miteuo careme tatemaccuru uomotte, xecay
no togano quizzunauo toqi ýuruxi taru dogu na –
reba, tattomi faýxi tatemaccuru nari. –

[79]

Von buchi. N.S.

¶ Tareacon buchiuo namida naqute mi tatema =
ccuran mizzucara naru cono von ýro cana ca =
fodo made aque no chixiuo ni somi tamo ua ýro –
dori tamo zo vaga uomoý go von finiqu no v =
chi saqi tatemaccuri taru Vó xiruxi nari. Sa =
tato
temo vo uoqu no vó chi naru cana? goxen ama =
ri no tabigoto ni Vó ýtami qimi no Von fada
ýeni atari tatemaccuri ýma mata cazu uo mo
xirazu Vaga cocoro vo ýtami tamo mono cana
Vaga von co D’s no Vó fadaýeni ûre tamo
no nonareba, tattomi faixi tatemaccuru nari. –

sásai sa
uaru, tocar
Von Camuri. M."m.

¶ ycani sora no Anjo vono vono core goranji tama'yé.

Vaga Vó Aruji mina mina no xuqí nite maxi =

mašazuýa! Coreua Teiuó ni atari tatemaccu =

ru, fon no vó camuri ca? fatemo vosoroxiqu

agudo

furudo naru farino faqi cana vomoý tatema =

ccuru. vaga von Arujino tattoqi vó quxi vo

Vó finiquuno fachí made ccuranuqi tatemaccuri = míolos

[79]

taru Cono fari nari Canaxiqi cana vó mi no

cuëxín ni touiri tamo von ýtami coso vomoý

ýari tatemaccureba, vaga cocoro ýori ýccuma –
demo fanaxi tatemaccuru coto aru majiqi nari—

Von ýxó. M.S.

¶ Core coso vaga vomoýgoni mefare tatemaccurá

tote tezzucara vori nui tate taru vó ýxó nare·mi

narezaru vó ýrocana! ýcani vó co core coso

Vó mi no von chino ýro nare. chóchaqu no ccuye

nité von finiquuo vchisaqi tatemaccuri taru výe

ni mefare xíme tamo cono von ýxó uo faguí tori      apêtar

tatemaccuri taru toqui Vón finiqu Vómiuo fana

rete, Core ni ccuqi tatemaccuri taru cotono cana –

xífa ýo? connichi vófadaýeno miyetamo výeni

go taýxetno gonaýxó made arauare tamô vó

tasuqeteno cono guióy nareba tattomí faixi tate

maccuru nari. – .  – —

Crux no coto. Maria. m.

¶ Sate mo, tattoqi uon crux cana; Core coso vaga

fucaqu uomoý tatemaccuru Vó Aruijino Vó ýtomaxiqi

[80]
xisuruno Vó nemurini fixi tamo ſauara, naru
Von ſuca napare. ſyamorochiva core uo cofo wo-leito.
Vaga quccurogui toua mochý tetemaccuru be = qere. Vaga uo tasqeteno fixi tamo mi toco na = reba, tattomi faixi tetemaccuru nari. —.

Von cugui. M.ª m.
¶ Satemo ajiua ſuca arma cugui cana? Vó tasqe =
tenon mi te mi axi no sujji no uoqi nacauo ýtamaxi qu mo ccuranuqi tetemaccuritareba catacu nigaqere =
domo armaqi gota/ifet uomotte Vó crus ni somi cuqi tamaý von ýnochi no vchinntua cuui ni Vó crux uo fanare tamauazaru dogu nareba macotonu amacu uoboýuru nari. Von crus uo fanare tama – uazaru ýoni facaraý tetemaccuri taru gotocu ne – gauacu ua vare uo Vó Aruji ýori fanare tatema –
ccuranu ýoni vchi ccuqe tamaýe tattoji vó cugui uo cocoro ýori faixi tetemaccuru nari. —

Von canazuchi. M.ª m.
¶ Satemo tattooũ cataqi cono ccuchi cana fito vchi no uotoni futari no cocoro uo ýtamaxime tamo mono cana. fono uotouo qiixitoqi vaga Vó Aruijino Vó te mi axi uo vchi tovofuyoto vomoý ýoreba cocoro [80v]
quiýe ýru bacari nari. ýma uomoý ýdasu saýe coco = chi ýasucarazu mi tetemaccuru ni ccuqetemo vã
ga cocoro no quisu mata futatabi uocoru nari. —
Sponja. N.S.
¶ Satemo cono sponjaua xešuen no togangimo xeme uo cómurú ni saýe cocoro ýouaru toqiua qui uo ccucuru cufuri uo atayuru ni foreni masa
rite ĭtami cutabire fate tamo JESUS ni vó qui –
ccuqe toxite quedamono no nigaqi mono vo ajjiua
uaxe tatemaccureba, cono sponja ua iyoiyo
von curuximi uo soye tatemaccuru mono to nari
qeru nari. JESUS no vó tameniua nigaqi spôja
sono nigami uoba fayaqi mino ajjiuai fataxi ta –
mo uomotte vagatame niuacanmi fucaqui spô
ja nareba tattomi faixi tatemaccuri nari. —
ŷari. N.S.

Nasaqe naqu vlatexiqi cono ŷari cana? vaga quimi
go zomei no vchini vque corayê tamo goxinro von
ŷtami ua amaru bacari ni maximasazu ŷa? sono
vyenï nauo xixi tamayê nochí mademô vó uagui
uo cono ŷari no ccuqui touoxi tatemaccureba cana –

xiqi faua no cocoro uo tada saxi ccuranuqi taru –
ua cono ŷari no uaza nari. fareba tatocu qua –
fô ymiiji cono ŷari cana! core uo motte quimi no
Von mune ni uareraga ŷnochi no minamoto
uo firâqi tamo von dogu nareba tattomi faixi
tatemaccuru nari. — .~ .
~. Gopassion no cotouari .~

Cono cazucazu no doguua vareraga vó Aruji IESU
χ.º ýssaý no ninguê no togauno migauari to xite D's
P.º ýori cruxni cacari tamaýeto fadame tamaýe –
ba nafaque naqu mo ýroýro no curuxime Vo vque
coraýe tamo xiruxi nareba sono cotouari uo ýoqu
ýoqu ajjiuaý mosu bexi.

~ ŷxi no faxira ~
Cono ţxi no faxira ua Vó Aruji JESU χ.º araqenaqu
carame cuquerare tamaythe goxen roppiacu amari no
cuyc uo uque tamo dogu nari. varera go ta\x7f\x7fet
no faxira ni caramere mofubeqi xiruxi nari —

~ Naua . ~

Cono naua tomosua Vó Aruji JESU \x7f\x7fnvonafa
qe naqu carame cuquete taru dogunari togani ca
rame taru acu no qizzunaufanaxi tamo xiruxi
nari

[81\v]

~ Disciplina ~

Cono disciplina ua vó Aruji JESU \x7f\x7fn Vó mi uo vchi \x97a
buri tatemaccuri taru dogu nari Core sunauachi in
ferno nite vqubeqi curuximi no caxaqu uo nogaxi ta –
mo xiruxi nari. ~

~ Camuri . ~

Cono ybara no Camuri ua vó Aruji JESU \x7f\x7fn teiuó to ¶
anadori vó cobe ni qibxicuvchi comitaru dogu nari
Varera ningué no manqi no acu uo cayermifaxera
re uocuraxeraren vó tame no xiruxi nari —

~ Von ýxo ~

Core cofo uareraga vó Aruji JESU \x7f\x7fn crus ni caqeta ¶
temaccuran tote nugaxi tatemaccurutaru guioy nare
ba, chôchaqu no araqui cuyceni faxe ýabure tamo vó fa
daýe mexi xime qeru uo araqenaqu fiqi fagui tatema –
cureba Vó xiximura qirete cuqi tamo vó fadaguinu
nite maximafu nari. ~ — .

~ Von crux ~

Cono crux tomosuua fajimarino Adã fufu maçano qino ¶
miuo bucu xeraretaru ni ýotte xifon ni ýtaru made sono tó –
gano fempô to xite xi su beqi ni fadame tamayedomo gra –
ca no ýnochí ni ýomigaýexi tamauá tamení vó Aruji Ie
fu χ.º cacari tamaite xixi tamo dogu no xituxi nari. —

[82]

~ Cugui . ~

Cono cugui ua Vó Aruji IESU χ.º no Vó teto miaxi
uo crux ni vchi ccuque tatemaccuri taru miccu no cugui
nari. Mitoqui no aýda coraýe tamo curuximi no fucaci
vó jifi uo motte varera inferno niteno iustiça no cu =
ruximi uo nogaxi tamo dogu nari. —

~ Canazuchi . ~

Cono d. ccuchi ua vó Aruji IESU χ.º reó no vóte mi
axi uo cugui uo motte nasaquenaqu mo vchi comitaru
canazzuchi nari. Varera níguen fanaregataqi gotaý —
xet vchi ccuqerare dogu nari. —

~ Sponja . ~

Cono sponja ua Vó Aruji IESU χ.º cruñho Vó Výe
nité nodo cuaqu to notamo vorifuxi aquí domo
fucacu nicumi tatemaccuri uomotte níqaq monoü Vó cu =
chi ni ýre tatemaccuri uo ajiuaý tamaý taru nomina —
razu níqaq acu uo fute amaýi jé no ajiuaý uo cudaýa —
ruru dogu nari. —

~ ýari . ~

Cono foco ua Vó Aruji IESU χ.º Vó miqui no Va —
qí uo araquenaqu ccuqi tatemaccuri qeredomo sono vóchi to
mizu uo nígué no ýchi meý uo fodate gloriano Vó ýno —
chi uo atáýe tamo dogu nari.

[82v]

~ Taque . ~

Cono taqey tomofiua Vó Aruji IESU χ.º uo soxiri azaqe —
ru xiruxi tosite Vó te ni motaxe tamaý ccuqu dogu nari. Co
re tada xequé no banji ua mimonaqi coto uo mixexime
tamauan tono coto nari. fanju monno guinxen va
togarin no Judah yori vaxe tamo jeni nari. Core
tada ýfsay ningué tēgu no fuday ni nari taru vo
cay modoxi tamo dogu nareba jiyu ni narithu xiru
xi nari. —

~ fasami . ~

Cono fasami ua Vó Aruji IESU χ.° no miccuno vô cu ~
gui vo nuqi tori taru dogu nari. Core tada varera fito
bito no acu ni vchi ccuquerare taru cocoro uo fasami noqi sa
xeraren xiruxi nari. ~ .

Finis Laus Deo.

ýcani Vó Aruji IESU χ.° Vareragauo avaremitamaye. ¶
ýcani Vó Aruji IESU χ.° avarami tama ye ningué
no togauo ýuruxi tama ye.
APPENDIX 6B

_Alguns colloquios a alguns Instrumentos da paixão de Christo nosso Senhor._

_NOSSA SENHORA:_ How now, O Lord who art my child! Having heard for myself What has happened to you, my mind is shocked and scattered and, caring not at all to keep composure before the eyes of others, for I am and yet I cannot be, and so, pushing my way through among the multitude, do you See I’ve come, I’m here, I’m here? Oh my, oh my, to see you Piling up such Suffering unknown in all the world, how you are moreover hung upon a _crux_, and to what a sorry State you Are reduced, my eyes go dark; my mind fades all away: never will I leave this _Crux_.

_The pillar of stone._

_NOSSA SENHORA:_ How now, O pillar of stone on which Leans the Lord of heaven and earth! He leans upon you not to Make heaven and earth but rather So that his Body may Be mercilessly beaten and torn with thrashings. If the Blood that Flows from the body of the Child (_dilectos fil_.) could seep into me, I feel we would never part. Since it is the pillar against which this dear child of mine (_dilectos fil._) Presses his Skin, I too will embrace it and worship it as the precious Pillar of heaven.
The rope.

*Maria Madalena:* From now on we must call this a precious Cord! Since it is the cord which tied up the Hands of the world Helper, oh, what a rare event in all the world, that you should make heaven and earth, then should even enter and bind yourself inside Flesh, and on top of that: this twine which causes such pain that you cannot see! So then, because this cord, in binding the Hands of my sovereign, is the implement which looses the bonds of crime of the world, I do esteem and worship it.

The Whip.

*Nossa Senhora:* Who can look on this whip without tears? Oh, this Color which it has turned all on its own! Now it has Been dyed so in the vermillion blood-tide: How Colorful it is! It is the Sign of my dear child’s Skin and Flesh having been beaten and torn. Oh, how much Blood there is! Some five thousand lashes—each and every time the Pain met your Skin, and now indeed they are beyond counting. Ah, how it Hurts my heart! Since it is stroking the skin of my Child Deus, I do esteem and worship it.

The Crown.

*Maria Madalena:* How now, O you *anjo* of the sky! Each of you, Look at this: is not my Lord also the Sovereign of you all? Is this the true Crown which pertains to a king? Oh, how terribly sharp the tips of the spines! It is these spines that pierce through the Hair of my Lord for whom I long, even to the Skull of his skin and Flesh. Ah, how sad! In sympathy I partake of his Pain, the Pain which passes through to the core of his Body, and never will I ever release it from my heart.
The Garment.

NOSSA SENHORA: This is the very Garment that I wove and sewed together to be worn by my dear child. Ah, what an unfamiliar Color it is! How now, my Child! This, this is the color of the Blood of your Body! When, having beaten and torn your Skin and Flesh with a thrashing rod, they stripped off this Garment which you Wore bound around you, your Skin and Flesh were separated from your Body and stuck to it—oh, the sadness! Since this day your Skin Is seen, because it is the Clothing of the Helper whose Plans of Cherishing Stand revealed, I do esteem and worship them.

The matter of the crux.

MARIA MADALENA: Oh, what a precious Crux! This, this is the soft Bed on which the Lord for whom I long so deeply Lies in Sleep of agonizing death. From now on this, this will be the cushion on which I lie back and take my ease. Since it is the Bed on which my Helper Lies, I do esteem and worship it.

The Nails.

MARIA MADALENA: Oh, what sweet and deeply flavorful nails! They are hard and bitter in that they painfully pierce through the sinewy Hands and Feet of the Helper, but because they are the implements which stick him fast in sweet Cherishing to his Crux so that as long as he lives he will never Leave it, I experience them as truly sweet. Just as he has planned never to Leave his Crux, I pray you, nail me down so I may never leave my Lord! I worship these precious Nails with all my heart.
The Hammer.

*Maria Madalena*: Oh this precious and hard hammer! How it makes our two hearts ache with the sound of each stroke! When I hear its sound and think of how it is striking through the Hands and Feet of my Lord, my mind goes all dim. Even to remember it now makes my heart ill at ease; at the sight the wounds in my heart also erupt anew.

The *sponja*.

*Nossa Senhora*: Oh this *sponja* which, when he was weak at heart, receiving even the blame of the criminals of society, beyond even that, by way of administering a medicine to revive him, gave a taste of the bitter thing of a wild animal as a restorative for JESUS, who was hurt and completely exhausted, and by and by this *sponja* became something that added to his sufferings. *O Sponja*, to JESUS bitter, by means of his truly and fully tasting your bitterness, you are for me a *sponja* of deep sweetness, and so I do esteem and worship you.

The Spear.

*Nossa Senhora*: Oh how merciless and hateful this spear! Ah, the Pain and Suffering which my sovereign Endured in Life is just excessive! On top of that, moreover, even after he had Died, this spear pierced through his Side, and so it was the doing of this spear that his grieving mother’s heart was stabbed right through. Accordingly what terribly good Karma this spear has! Because it is the implement which in this way
Opened a spring of life for us in the Breast of the sovereign, I do esteem and worship it.

The meaning of the Passion.
These numerous implements are signs of the way in which our Lord JESUS $\chi.$, Deus Padre Commanding him to Be hung on a crux as a scapegoat for all the crimes of humanity, pitifully Withstood various sufferings, and so we ought to savor well its meaning.

The stone pillar.
This stone pillar is the implement to which the Lord JESUS $\chi.$ Was tied and Received some five thousand six hundred strokes with the rod. It is the sign by which we must be tied to the pillar of his Cherishing.

The rope.
This rope is the implement by which the Lord JESUS $\chi.$ was mercilessly bound. It is the sign which Loosens and sets free even the wounds of evil bound to crime.

Disciplina.
This disciplina is the implement which did beat and break the Body of the Lord JESUS $\chi.$. To wit, it is the sign which Frees us from the denunciation of suffering which we were to receive in inferno.
The crown.

This crown of thorns is the implement by which the Lord JESUS χ.° was mocked as king and his Head severely attacked with blows. It is the sign for whose Sake he Looks upon the evil of the vanity of us men and Sends it away.

His Garment.

This, this is the Clothing which they stripped off our Lord JESUS χ.° in order to hang him on the crux, and so they roughly peeled off his Skin which had Been torn and broken by the savage rod of beating and bound to it, and so it Is an Undergarment to which his cut Flesh Is stuck.

His Crux.

Regarding this crux, because Adam of the beginning and his wife Partook of the fruit of the maçã tree, in retribution for their crime he Decreed that they should die right on down to their descendants, but this crux is the sign of the implement on which the Lord JESUS χ.° Was hung and Died, in order to Resurrect them to a life of graça.

The nails.

These nails are the three nails which fixed the Hands and Feet of the Lord JESUS χ.°. Because of the deep Mercy of the suffering which he Endured for three hours, they are the implements which Frees us from the sufferings of iustiça in inferno.

The hammer.
This hammer is the hammer with which nails were mercilessly driven into each Hand and Foot of the Lord JESUS χ.º. It is the implement that Drives his inescapable Cherishing into us human beings.

The *sponja*.

This *sponja* is not only that by which the Lord JESUS χ.º, when he was thirsty Upon the *crux* and evil men in their deep hatred put bitter things in his Mouth and he Tasted it: it is the implement which throws away bitter evil and Gives us sweet goodness to taste.

The spear.

This pike was savagely stuck into the Right side of the Lord JESUS χ.º, but his Blood and water are the implements by which He nourishes human beings their whole lives long and Bestows on them the Life of *gloria*.

The bamboo.

Regarding this bamboo, it is the implement which, as a sign to scorn and mock the Lord JESUS χ.º, he Held in his Hand. They say this was simply to Show that there is no profit in the myriad things of the world. Thirty mon in silver coin is the money that the criminal Judas was made to bear. This is the implement which Buys back all humanity which had become vassals of tengu, and so it is the sign of our becoming free.

The pliers.
These pliers are the implement which pulled out the three Nails of the Lord JESUS χ.º.

These are simply the sign which Grasps and pulls out the evil which we people have driven into our hearts.

*Finis Laus Deo.*

How now, O Lord JESUS χ.º, Have mercy. How now, O Lord JESUS χ.º, Have mercy.

Forgive the crimes of humanity.
CONCLUSION

In this dissertation we have explored six pieces of four basic types, in which the influence of the kōwaka ballad is evident. We have traced this influence through changes and continuities of medium, plot, theme, vocabulary, structure, and mechanics of oral storytelling, and well as of political, social, and civilizational context of patronage, production, and consumption. On the one hand, the pieces in Volume Two were all produced in the late sixteenth century and so are temporally closest to the kōwaka’s heyday, whereas Volume One treats three products which looked back to the kōwaka by adapting the already-retrospective ballad Sagamigawa a hundred years after its sources ceased to be widely performed. On the other hand, Jesuit mission literature was produced in a geographically and politically marginal part of Japan, under the influence of Latin Christendom, which as we have seen affected everything from the way a classical tradition is adapted for oral performance, to the way persons are indexed with honorifics, to the question of whether the Kyūshū Christians would even remain a part of the newly-unified Japan. Our three mutations of Sagamigawa, by contrast, were produced in the cultural centres of Japan in response to the rise of the warrior bureaucrat, the urban commoner, and the noh as state ceremonial. The variety of relations in which our materials stand to the original kōwaka canon of the sixteenth century thus provides rich material for contemplation of what it means for a genre to die.

However, that original is itself already compromised and changed, and in this sense, our materials are rather food for thought about what it means for a genre to live. The thirty-six Mai no hon annotated by Asahara and Kitahara for the Shin Nihon koten
bungaku taikei are the canon that developed along with the first rumblings of popular print culture around the turn of the seventeenth century, as kōwaka libretti began to be traded as reading material. In the process they lost their musical notation and acquired a standard set of woodblock illustrations, often illuminated with spot-coloring in red and green, and it is from these early–seventeenth-century chapbooks, and not from any great corpus of early performance texts, that the sixteenth-century kōwaka is chiefly known. Nevertheless, there is a sense in which this is not an unusual state of affairs. In the world of noh, it is only with the growth of amateur performance among the warlords of sixteenth-century Japan that blocking notebooks (katatsuke) and libretti with detailed musical notation even came into existence. This is because the users of these texts were not professional actors and thus did not have the time to learn every aspect of noh performance simply by repeating them in the presence of their mentors. Noh had to be de-professionalized before it could be recorded in detail, whereas its great founding figures like Zeami and Zenchiku flourished a century earlier. They left relatively few texts, which provide nothing like the sixteenth-century level of evidence for performance practice. In this sense, the kōwaka is not the only cultural form to have been “born posthumously.”

Indeed, Zeami himself seems to have ended his life with no particular assurance that his cultural contributions would be recognized by future generations. After the boy Zeami and his father Kannami won the patronage of the shogun Yoshimitsu in 1374, he

\[1\] “Erst das Übermorgen gehört mir. Einige werden posthum geboren.” Friedrich Nietzsche, Der Antichrist. Fluch auf das Christenthum, ed. Colli & Montinari (nietzschesource.org: Digitale Kritische Gesamtausgabe, [1888]).
had many years of steady support under which to develop his art. Then he was able to weather the transition after 1408 to the next shogun Yoshimochi, who preferred other types of noh to Zeami’s Yamato sarugaku style, and in 1422 Zeami took Zen vows in preparation for his retirement.² By 1424 his son Motomasa seems to have inherited the troupe headship, but Zeami had years earlier also adopted a certain nephew and also taught him to act. After the shogun Yoshinori acceded to power in 1425, this nephew, who went by the name Onnami, became decisively more successful than Zeami’s chosen heir. Indeed, a recently-discovered playbill from 1427 shows Motomasa, who had been troupe head for at least three years by then, failing to monopolize the program in the conventional way and instead only splitting lead roles evenly, not only with Onnami but with one Jūnijirō, a disciple of a disciple of Zeami.³ In 1429, Yoshinori explicitly forbade Zeami to appear at a certain palace of the Emperor’s, and while the precise meaning of this gesture is unclear, that of Yoshinori’s steadily increasing patronage of Onnami is not.

Meanwhile, it was precisely during this decade of frustrated succession that Zeami turned out all of his most famous treatises. In his earliest treatise, Transmitting the Flower through Effects and Attitudes, which he completed in 1418, Zeami runs through the phases of life of the ideal actor from childhood to old age. Tom Hare has read this as a semi-autobiographical gesture, and indeed, Zeami was a prodigy in his childhood, at the height of his powers at thirty, and by 1420 was thinking about getting out of the way to let the next generation rise. However, the opening lines of an undated treatise from the


³ Takemoto Mikio, “Zeami bannenki nō to nō sakusha”, Nō to kyōgen 1 (2003), 127.
late 1420s seem when read in the same way to express a deep disappointment on Zeami’s part at either his own career after that initial prodigy phase, or someone’s.

The owl is cute as a chick but later looks funnier and funnier, so they say. Similarly, in human arts, a fully effective artistic style in a child appears to be a sign that things are not likely to turn out well over the years.4

Zeami’s phrase ending in …to mietari may also be translated, “I have realized that a fully effective style in a child is…”, and this would raise with even more urgency the question of what experience lies behind such a realization.

Zeami may have answered this question himself in Learning the Profession, a treatise written the year after he was banned from the Emperor’s palace: in 1430, Motomasa lost the musical directorship of a certain shrine to Onnami, and although it is again not clear just how much of a disaster this was, Zeami’s words written that year suggest some serious disappointment. Until then, his treatises had been written as secret manuscripts for the eyes of his chosen heirs only, but he uncharacteristically circulated Learning the Profession to the entire troupe. From the opening section, the theme is the admonishment of weak troupe leaders.

It is entirely unprofessional when the primary actor relinquishes the opportune effect to be created by his own particular solo performance … on the grounds that he can’t

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do it himself. In all the arts, being the troupe leader and primary actor means that you have already attained an expert level of performance. You cannot be considered expert if you don’t have enough power to hold the attention of the audience.\(^5\)

That same year, Motomasa suddenly died, Zeami’s only remaining son became a monk, and Onnami continued to enjoy a successful career without him. In his final full treatise in 1433, Zeami laments, “Were there anyone, even a stranger, to whom I might entrust my legacy, I would do just that, but no such artist exists.”\(^6\) The following year, the shogun Yoshinori exiled Zeami to a remote island, and Zeami would die roughly a decade later after returning to a quiet retirement in his home region in Nara. Now, the treatise above was very likely addressed to Komparu Zenchiku, who in some ways did become Zeami’s artistic heir, and indeed it mentions Zenchiku immediately after this passage as a qualified candidate who may yet save the day, so the claim that “no such artist exists” cannot be taken at face value. Nevertheless, Noel Pinnington has argued persuasively that the collaboration between Zeami and Zenchiku was a wary and fraught negotiation between two performers who were both well established.\(^7\) In any case, public veneration of Zeami is an artefact of the seventeenth-century archaeology of the lineage.

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\(^5\) 近ら、一心一会一会の節風を、叶わねばとて人数を立て、さらに /

\(^6\) たと故人なりとも、其人あらば、此一跡をも預け置くべけれども、しかもべき芸人もなし。 Zeami, “Shūdōsho”, \(NST\); trans. Tom Hare, “Learning The Profession”, \(Performance Notes\).

\(^7\) Noel Pinnington, “Crossed Paths: Zeami’s Transmission to Zenchiku”, \(Monumenta Nipponica\) 52/2 (1997).
of Zeami’s Kanze school, which faced the unenviable challenge of tracing its own lineage back to Zeami through his rejected heir Onnami.

In this light, the retroactive work that goes into creating a living art form becomes visible. Granted, in one sense, a tremendous number of people today still perform and avidly view the noh as they do not perform or view the kōwaka, and that is the end of the story. In another sense, however, this life which the noh enjoys is the product of specifically calibrated and fiercely tendentious remembrances, practiced at important junctures over the centuries. Moreover, these acts of canonization possess a greater degree of retroactivity than we normally realize, and so I thought while conceptualizing this dissertation that it should be possible to trace the aftereffects of a cultural phenomenon of relatively less institutional coherence than the noh and find there a different kind of coherent tradition if one went looking for it. Accordingly, I have traced the end(s) of the kōwaka ballad, into a wide range of media, social, political, and even civilizational contexts, and found that although its illegitimate heirs make for a rather more diffuse family tree than Zeami’s illegitimate heirs, they nevertheless do cohere into a different sort of structure, a kind of anti-lineage whose analogues we might profitably explore in other contexts as well.
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Abbreviations:

ARSI: Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu.

BAV: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

BPA: Biblioteca do Palácio da Ajuda.

KK: Kirishitan Kenkyū.

KST: Kokushi taikei.

MHSI: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu.

NKD: Nihon kokugo daijiten.

NST: Nihon shisō taikei.

SNKBT: Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei.

SNKBZ: Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū.

TSD: Taishō shinshū daizōkyō (Taishō Tripitaka).


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