
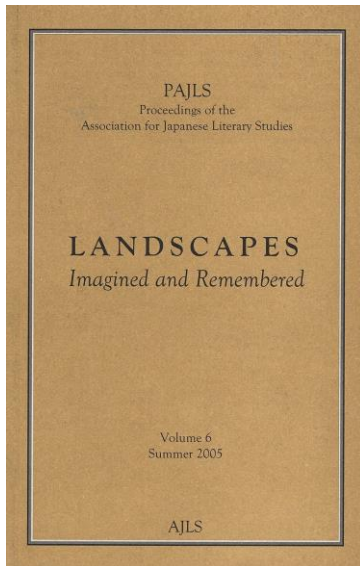


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Shigehira and Munemori in Captivity”

Elizabeth Oylar 

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Journeys of Exile in the *Heike monogatari*: Shigehira and Munemori in Captivity

Elizabeth Oyler

Washington University

During the Heian period, Kamakura was a relatively unimportant seaside hamlet far from the cultural and political center of Heian-kyō. When, however, Minamoto no Yoritomo made it his military headquarters during the Genpei War (1180-85), it quickly gained prominence as a military locus of power. From almost immediately after the conclusion of the war, it became an important location politically: Yoritomo's government expanded, and the warriors who had come to the fore during the war set up their households close to that of the warrior chieftain. The new government, although not a replacement for the central aristocracy, was viewed as something radically new, particularly in the centuries that followed. As the impetus for the rise of the military class, the Genpei War came to be seen as an important historical turning point. Kamakura – the locale from which the victor ran the war and meted out punishments following it – became an essential site in the cultural landscape.

The rise of Kamakura necessarily involved a reconsideration of traditional conceptualizations of the relationship between the center and the peripheries: how could a site conventionally considered to lie beyond the cultural pale suddenly become politically and culturally significant? Articulating this change is one important theme of the *Heike monogatari* 平家物語, the monumental tale chronicling the Genpei War. One way this transformation is effected in the *Heike* narrative is through the reconfiguration of two closely related older tropes: the *michiyuki* 道行 (road-going sequence), and the narrative pattern Orikuchi Shinobu labeled the *kishu ryūritan* 貴種流離譚 (exile of the young noble).¹ By considering the ways the *Heike* utilized these tropes in the exilic narratives of Taira no Shigehira and Taira no Munemori, two of the war's most culpable criminals, we can see how the vitality of Kamakura is used to redefine the relationship between the old capital at Heian-kyō and this formerly insignificant peripheral village.

¹ See Orikuchi Shinobu, "Nihon bungaku no naiyō" in *Orikuchi Shinobu zenshū*, vol. 7, ed. Orikuchi Hakushi Kinkenkaï (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1965-66), 242-46. Scholars note the transformation of the mythic hero (Yamato-takeru and Susanoo, specifically) into the amorous one in Heian works; see, for example, Norma Field, *The Splendor of Longing in the "Tale of Genji"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 33-39; and Haruo Shirane, *The Bridge of Dreams: A Poetics of "The Tale of Genji"* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), 3-4.

Travel is a vitally important thematic and structural element in early Japanese poetry and prose. In the *Man'yōshū*, travel was a recognized poetic topic, and it continued to structure poetry collections from the *Kokinshū* onward. Travel poems codified specific provincial topoi, which in turn became essential elements of the poetic language and sources of great allusive potential. Poetry collections mapped *michiyuki* onto these charged poetic spaces; an excursion passing through individual sites provided a frame upon which individual locales gained meaning through their lateral connections to other points along an imagined route. In classical works of both poetry and prose, travel is conceptualized as part of a world centered at the capital, from or to which one proceeds. The center is necessarily “home,” everywhere else is “away,” and, although traveling from the capital may be an adventure, the ultimate hope of all travelers is that theirs will be a round trip.

Within this context, narratives of exile were problematic, because by definition they were open-ended and did not necessarily include a return. Starting with heroes from the legendary past like Susanoo and Yamato-takeru, men were sent forth from their homes by authority figures hoping to separate these unruly or otherwise threatening prominent males from positions of power in the center. Although, on the one hand, the exile represented a challenge to ordered society, on the other, he also inspired sympathy (albeit in varying degrees), as he was necessarily the victim of another’s political ambitions. Significantly, it was the exile, not the power-holder, whose fate generated narrative.

The *kishu ryūritan* trope was honed during the Heian period in both literary and historical discourse, as epitomized by figures like Sugawara no Michizane, the hero of *Ise monogatari*, and Genji. These well-known characters were shaped by and gave shape to existing patterns of exilic narrative – the banished nobleman was always pitiful because of his isolation from the center, but he was increasingly portrayed as a man of culture undone by jealous rivals.

While we frequently associate the *kishu ryūritan* with classical literature, it is also essential in narratives of the Genpei period. On a structural level, banishments framing the *Heike* narrative provide commentary on the state of the realm under a cruel dictator: early in the work, Kiyomori’s expulsions of high-ranking clerics and government officials serve as indications that the world has gone awry. This use of the trope is conventional: good men are removed from the capital, signifying an imbalance of power. What is of interest to us here is how the *kishu ryūritan* trope also underwent a thematic transformation in relation to the depiction of Kamakura and the east country, as illustrated in the final journeys of the prisoners-of-war Taira no Shigehira and Munemori.

The episodes describing the trips of these men down the Tōkaidō are prominent in the variants of the *Heike*. Their most elaborate versions are

found in texts of the *yomihonkei* 読本係 (read-text lineage), including the Enkyōbon 延慶本 and *Genpei jōsuiki* 源平盛衰記. Given that the general tenor of the texts of this lineage is more clearly celebratory of Yoritomo's victory and establishment of Kamakura rule, the emphasis on the bringing to judgment of these two enemies of the Minamoto is perhaps not surprising. But the poignant ends met by these most culpable criminals are also vital moments in memorializing the war's losing side, and we find them figuring prominently in texts of the *kataribonkei* 語本係 (performance-text lineage) as well. This study concentrates specifically on the most prominent of the *kataribonkei* variants, the Kakuichibon 覚一本. By focusing on a text from the lineage more closely connected to the placation of the war's losers, we can discern how texts not so clearly implicated in creating a narrative of Minamoto hegemony nevertheless contributed strongly to the same project. I will address other texts where appropriate, as it is in conversation with each other that narratives of the Genpei period created a cultural memory of that important historical moment. How, and to what effect, did *Heike* narratives help map new cultural configurations by reworking the established trope of the exiled noble?

No other Taira clansmen could have represented more important quarry for the Minamoto during the Genpei War than Shigehira and Munemori. Captured following the battle of Ichi-no-tani, Shigehira was responsible for the burning of the Nara temples (Kōfukuji and Tōdaiji) at the war's outset. The damage to the temples themselves coupled with the immense loss of life the fire caused earned him the condemnation of all and marked him as deeply sinful. Munemori, the commanding general of the Taira forces during the war, was captured when he hesitated to drown himself following the battle of Dan-no-ura.² As commander-in-chief, he bore culpability for the loss of life and the social upheaval the war caused. His removal of the three sacred regalia from the capital when the Taira fled to the west with the sovereign Antoku further resulted in the death of the sovereign and the loss of the sacred sword, events with profound political and cosmological implications.

Within Genpei narrative, broadly speaking, the capture of these two Taira lords brings closure to the war and, more generally, to the era of aristocratic rule. In the final chapters of the *Heike*, the narrative pairs them in order to represent the wrongs committed by the Taira clan: by burning the temples, Shigehira disrupted *buppō* 仏法 (Buddhist law); by losing the sacred sword and removing the sovereign from the capital, Munemori upset *ōbō* 王法

² Sakurai Yōko discusses Munemori's characterization in "'Heike monogatari' ni mirareru jinbutsu zōkei," *Kokubun*, no. 51 (1979), 8-20. She notes that he becomes a character only in this last segment of his life, and that he is judged rather harshly for allowing himself to be captured. She compares, in particular, his punishment as a public figure with his characterization in this final segment as a sympathetic private individual.

(royal law).³ In the *Kakuichibon*, their punishments restore order, and the text further includes descriptions of acts of placation for the spirits of both men aimed at ensuring that no posthumous rancor will disrupt the world in the future. This tendency within the work is mirrored extratextually by the general placatory tenor of recitational *Heike*. How does this eulogistic (Taira-focused) frame provide a space for a concomitantly celebratory (Minamoto-focused) narrative, in which the two men's endings are circumscribed by the new narrative context of Kamakura rule?

Of the Taira lords whose fates are described in the *Heike*, none receives more prolonged narrative attention than Shigehira; his captivity and expulsion from the capital occupy seven episodes in Chapter Ten of the *Kakuichibon*. After being taken prisoner at Ichi-no-tani, he is first transported to the capital, where he is held as collateral. The retired sovereign hopes to exchange his life for the three sacred regalia, which Munemori is keeping at his stronghold at Yashima. Despite the pleas of the Nun of the Second Rank, Shigehira's mother, to accept the offer, Munemori refuses.

Shigehira's arrival in the capital as a prisoner of war is typical of the war tales: the only segment of the journey the narrative lingers over is the public humiliation he suffers as he is paraded through the streets in an open carriage, exposed to the gaze of all. His journey to the capital is otherwise narratively unimportant. And although his initial departure from the capital with the rest of the Taira clan represented an expulsion initiating a collective exilic journey, this sort of return is not restorative for Shigehira. Following the humiliation of being displayed as a criminal, he is held in Minamoto custody, where he awaits final judgment. That he will be executed is a foregone conclusion.

While in the capital, Shigehira fittingly takes his leave of people dear to him – first, a lady-in-waiting at the palace who had been his lover, and then the holy man Hōnen, who had been his religious teacher. Both scenes of parting evoke the conventional pathos associated with imminent separation. The elegance and sorrow of these scenes emphasize Shigehira's sensitivity, intelligence, and manliness, all qualities that lend the texture of the “exiled noble” to his imminent trip to Kamakura.

Shigehira's *michiyuki* begins conventionally. A sympathetic condemned man journeys from the capital and toward his death. The journey originates in the capital; we have seen this earlier in the cases of Narichika, Shunkan, and the Taira clan, among others. While not entirely unfamiliar in earlier works, we should bear in mind the additional narrative weight that the *michiyuki* takes on in the context of war tales – as with both Shigehira and Munemori

³ The pairing of *buppō* and *ōbō* as interdependent constituents of a well-ordered world is discussed in Kuroda Toshio, *Ōbō to buppō* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1983), esp. 15. Although this formulation took shape during the Heian period, it became an important framing element in Genpei narrative as well. For a discussion of Shigehira's portrayal as an enemy of Buddhist law, see Saeki Shin'ichi, “Shigehira zōkei to ‘Heike monogatari’ no tachiba” in *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 62:9 (1985), 33-44.

here, *michiyuki* were becoming more definitively associated with death. There was no possibility of pardon for such important prisoners of war, which made their *michiyuki* particularly pathos-laden.

Shigehira makes his journey to Kamakura on Yoritomo's orders, under guarded escort – his is a forced journey. His *michiyuki* begins as he leaves the capital, and it unfolds in a lyrical rehearsal of poetically charged sites along the Tōkaidō – the Ōsaka (Ausaka) barrier, Kagamiyama, the Fuwa barrier, Narumigata, the Yatsushashi of Mikawa. The use of poetic allusions is conventionally appropriate; the narrative lingers, for example, on the contradictions embedded in Osaka as a place of parting and the Fuwa barrier in ruins. The image of archetypal exile Ariwara no Narihira is summoned at Yatsushashi, and evocative scenes commonly associated with expulsion from the center and listless wandering imbue the journey with appropriate sadness – the cold wind in the pines at Hamana Bridge, an arrival at the Ikeda Post Station at twilight, “the hour when the sorrows of travel weigh the heaviest.”⁴

At Ikeda Post Station, Shigehira encounters Jijū, with whom he exchanges poems. The narrative digresses at this point to describe her relationship with our other prisoner, Munemori, a narrative recollection that also foreshadows Munemori's similar fate. Shigehira then continues to Sayano-nakayama and composes a poem strongly suggestive of one found in the *Kaidōiki* 海道記. The resemblance we see here to the *Kaidōiki* and other Kamakura-era works including the *enkyoku* 宴曲 “Kaidō kudari” 海道下り and the *Tōkan kikō* 東関紀行 suggests that they were possible sources for this segment of *Heike*; we will return to this allusive relationship below.⁵

The party next crosses the Mariko river, passes Koiso and Ōiso beaches, and eventually reaches Kamakura, tracing an extremely sorrowful expulsion from the center. We should bear in mind, however, that the ticking off of stations and famous sites along the route measures not only distance from the capital but also proximity to Kamakura, the site where actual judgment will be passed. At Kamakura, Yoritomo receives Shigehira graciously and allows him to defend himself against the charges of the Nara monks. Shigehira takes responsibility for the unpardonable acts of his men, and asks only that Yoritomo order a speedy execution. He is praised as a “great captain,” and his dignity moves the assembled samurai to tears.⁶

⁴ *The Tale of the Heike*, trans. Helen C. McCullough (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 336; Kajiwara Masaaki and Yamashita Hiroaki, *Heike monogatari ge, Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai*, vol. 45 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1991), 216.

⁵ The relationship is even greater in the texts of the *yomihonkei* lineage, and specifically the Enkyōbon, in which Shigehira's entire journey seems based on the *Kaidōiki* in particular. The *Kaidōiki* as a source for the Enkyōbon is an important part of arguments about the development of that text. See, for example, Mizuhara Hajime, *Chūsei bungakuzō no tankyū* (Tokyo: Shintensha, 1995), 192-96.

⁶ McCullough, *The Tale of the Heike*, 338; Kajihara and Yamashita, *Heike monogatari ge*, 220.

Shigehira's famous encounter with Senju-no-mae appears at this point in the narrative; scholars have identified it as perhaps the most evident of several scenes aimed at placation of Shigehira's spirit.⁷ Like the lover from whom Shigehira parted as he left the capital, Senju-no-mae will renounce the world after his death in order to pray for Shigehira's rebirth in the Pure Land. Shigehira's narrative pauses at this juncture, but we learn later that he is kept in Izu; his captivity in the east repeats his experience in the capital. Yet it occurs after a *michiyuki*, not at its outset: the distance he has traveled, in other words, may separate him from his home, but it does not remove him from the center of power – the emphasis on Kamakura as a replication of Heian-kyō as a source of political power complicates the idea of this nobleman's expulsion.

Munemori's travels to Kamakura come somewhat later in the narrative, in the sixteenth and seventeenth episodes of Chapter Eleven. He is taken prisoner in the war's final battle at Dan-no-ura, where he is pulled from the water as he contemplates whether to drown. He decides he will share the fate of his eldest son, Kiyomune – should the boy drown, he too will drown; should the boy be captured, he will let himself be captured.⁸ This is an act of cowardice, but it emphasizes as well Munemori's redeeming love for his child, a character trait stressed in the *Kakuichibon*.⁹ Like Shigehira, Munemori is taken to the capital, where he is paraded through the streets in a carriage with raised curtains, cutting a pathetic figure. Yet, the narrative remarks, he “gazed about him as though in good spirits.”¹⁰ Throughout the sequence of episodes recounting Munemori's demise, his inappropriate and often cowardly behavior is the subject of similarly censorious commentary. But he is not unsympathetic – his former good looks have been ravaged by the time away, and all who see him pity his current condition. Munemori and Kiyomune are entrusted to Yoshitsune. After a farewell visit with his eight-year-old son Fukushō (who is then executed), Munemori begins his journey to Kamakura.

⁷ For a discussion of the placatory role played by Senju-no-mae, see, for example, Yamashita Hiroaki, *Katari to shite no 'Heike monogatari'* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), 123-26. Steven Nelson has noted the significance of the musical pieces the two perform as further indicative of the importance of placating Shigehira (“Performing salvation: Song in ‘Senju no Mae’ and Zenchiku’s *Senju[-Shigehira]*,” delivered at the conference “Translations and Transformations: The *Heike monogatari* in Nō,” 29 March 2005). Nelson also posits that the scene with Hōnen serves a specifically placatory role as well. The fact that two more intimates – the lady-in-waiting and Shigehira's wife, Dainagon-no-suke – renounce the world to pray for him after he is executed only reinforces the fear with which his spirit was viewed.

⁸ Munemori's inability to drown is commented upon in the major *Heike* variants as well as the *Gukanshō*, in which Jien remarks that Munemori does not drown because he is a strong swimmer. Sakurai Yōko notes the emphasis within this text and others of the *katarihonkei* on Munemori's reluctance to part with his son as the cause for his inability to drown; she contrasts this with *yomihonkei* texts that focus instead on his strength as a swimmer as cause for his capture. Sakurai, “‘Heike monogatari’ ni mirareru jinbutsu zōkei,” 10-12.

⁹ Sakurai, “‘Heike monogatari’ ni mirareru jinbutsu zōkei,” 12-16.

¹⁰ McCullough, *The Tale of the Heike*, 386; Kajihara and Yamashita, *Heike monogatari ge*, 309.

The Kakuichibon rendering of Munemori's descent down the Tōkaidō is relatively succinct. It is embedded within the "Koshigoe" episode, the central focus of which is Yoritomo's rejection of Yoshitsune when he arrives at the outskirts of Kamakura with his prisoners. Even so, the pathos of the exilic journey is palpable: as the party crosses the Ōsaka barrier, Munemori composes a poem about partings, and his sorrow prompts Yoshitsune to try to soothe the prisoner's fear of execution by promising to bargain for Munemori's life. Munemori's attachment to Kiyomune, although embarrassing for a general,¹¹ helps cast him as a hero in the context of the *kishu ryūritan*.

The relative brevity of the description of Munemori's trip to Kamakura in the Kakuichibon is unusual; in *yomihonkei* variants, its length and lyricism are on par with Shigehira's.¹² Its abbreviation here stems from a shift in focus in this particular episode, which concerns primarily the falling-out between Yoshitsune and Yoritomo. Yet, the idea that this is a final journey resonates within that context as well – this episode amounts to the same sort of exilic journey for Yoshitsune, who from this point on will be hounded to his death by Yoritomo. And the foregrounding of Yoshitsune further emphasizes the importance of Munemori's destination: he is traveling not only from the capital but also to Kamakura to be judged.

In the *Heike* narrative, we find that the *michiyuki* of Shigehira and Munemori are marked as something fundamentally new because of the functional role of their destination. Kamakura is not a site of either abandonment or execution, but rather of judgment. In both cases, it is Yoritomo's judgment, rather than that of the court in Heian-kyō, that determines each man's fate. And although Yoritomo's Bureau of Warrior Affairs did not replace the central government, the war tales emphasize Yoritomo's authority to determine punishments and rewards, as we witness here. Thus, where convention dictates that we find an end to the journeys of Shigehira and Munemori (as we do in earlier banishments resulting in executions in the tale), we encounter instead their interview with an authority figure who reverses the direction of the exile's sojourn by sending him back toward the capital. Kamakura is clearly the medieval site it would become. Although not the cultural center represented by Heian-kyō, it is a place where political as well as cultural action can take place.

The characterization of Kamakura as a significant political site is closely connected to the way travel is portrayed in pieces like the *Kaidōki* or "Kaidō kudari," works that documented or celebrated the path between the capital and

¹¹ Sakurai, "'Heike monogatari' ni mirareru jinbutsu zōkei," 10.

¹² For a brief discussion of the differences between the *yomihonkei* and *kataribonkei* versions, see Tomikura, "*Heike monogatari*" *zenchūshaku*, vol. 3, 597-98. Both the *Enkyōbon* and the *Genpei jōsuiki* give this *michiyuki* extended attention. The *Genpei jōsuiki*, for example, includes eleven poems as well as the story of the encounter between Munemori and Jijū at Ikeda Post Station in Munemori's *michiyuki*.

the warrior government at Kamakura. The Tōkaidō was fast becoming part of the cultural vernacular during the early medieval period, as demonstrated by these works as well as the *Tōkan kikō* and Abutsu's *Izayoi nikki* 十六夜日記. Although many of the sites highlighted in these Kamakura-era texts are found in earlier works, here they are strung together as signposts along a specific road, marked not only as sources of poetic inspiration, but also as waypoints along a progressively busy thoroughfare. That these texts are considered *michiyukibun* 道行文 (*michiyuki* literature) stresses the essential narrative importance of travel to give them shape. Moreover, they are motivated by something more teleological than works like the *Ise monogatari*. The authors of the *Kaidōki* and of the *Tōkan kikō* see Kamakura as the endpoint of their journeys; Abutsu travels there on specific business with the warrior government. Thus, although imbued with conventional lyrical nostalgia of any trip away from the capital, these early medieval Tōkaidō *michiyuki* also participated in giving meaning to a newly prominent destination: Kamakura is not where the road peters out, but where it leads.

Narratives of exilic journeys of the fallen Taira in accounts of the Genpei War reflect an integration of this Tōkaidō travelogue type of *michiyuki* and the *kishu ryūritan* trope.¹³ They are fundamentally narratives of expulsion: Shigehira and Munemori, who have already fled the capital once, here must undergo the humiliation of being formally sent away once again. And although their travel along the Tōkaidō calls to mind a nostalgia akin to that of other exiles, it also provokes for the traveler a palpable feeling of dread. What awaits the captive is not abandonment in an inhospitable locale, but formal judgment by a new and unfamiliar authority. The essentially medieval understanding of Kamakura as a place of action, therefore, shifts the meaning of the *kishu ryūritan* trope by reinterpreting what should be a site of exile as instead a replica (albeit in reduced form) of the seat of authority in the capital. One of the most significant indicators of Kamakura's new status in these narratives is Yoritomo's ability to redirect the movement of the captives. They are sent out from Kamakura and back toward the capital, in what in effect is a complete inversion of the exilic *michiyuki*: ultimate punishment is determined by the warrior hegemon and meted out not in the east country, but rather within the home provinces surrounding the capital.

In the *Heike* texts, the redirection of the Taira captives' route generates a certain amount of narrative concerning each man's truly final journey. Although historical records suggest that Munemori and Shigehira were taken together back down the Tōkaidō and toward their executions, their stories are presented separately in the Kakuichibon narrative, which devotes sequential, individual episodes to each. In Munemori's, which is presented first, the

¹³ In addition to the *michiyuki* discussed here, the *michiyuki* of the noh play *Morihisa* also closely follows the *Kaidōki* narrative as it traces what looks like a final journey for a Taira partisan.

poetic potential of the Tōkaidō collapses almost entirely: “He was in constant dread of meeting death at this place or that on the way, but the party passed one province and post station after another.”¹⁴ Pathos and longing are replaced by fear, as each post station passed marks not a poetic topos but rather a potential execution site. Munemori begins to take heart as they get closer to the capital and beyond Owari, where Yoritomo’s father, Yoshitomo, had been executed twenty-five years earlier. Although increasing proximity to the capital breeds hope, it only does so for this hopelessly unrealistic captive. His unwillingness to register his fate is perhaps one reason we find such a lean *michiyuki* here; he himself is unable to visualize the journey in more conventional terms. The time when such a trip would mean return, the narrative suggests, is past. Before reaching the capital, Munemori is separated from his son, attended by a cleric who seeks to set his heart right before death, and executed at Shinohara in Ōmi.

The story of Munemori’s execution is followed immediately by that of Shigehira, who is taken from his guardian in Izu in anticipation of being sent to Nara and delivered into the hands of the clergy there. Although Nara lies beyond the capital, which would seemingly allow Shigehira one last return home, all records of his journey note that he is diverted from Ōtsu to Nara along the Yamashina-Daigo road when he nears Heian-kyō.¹⁵ This course takes him past Hino, where he asks permission to bid farewell to his wife, who is living there; their parting is heartrending and motivates yet another woman to take the tonsure and pray for Shigehira’s spirit. As with Munemori, the poetic potential of the journey is undermined as the party hurries toward Heian-kyō, and it is only once they have been routed around the city that the narrative pauses to linger on a lyric parting. Shigehira is finally handed to the monks at Nara, who execute him at the Kotsu river.

There are a number of conclusions that can be drawn from the narratives of the deaths of these two Taira lords. First, their journeys down the Tōkaidō can be viewed as exilic narratives in the tradition of the *kishu ryūritan* trope found in narratives throughout Japan’s classical age. They are, however, also colored by a medieval sense of the *michiyuki* down the Tōkaidō, a route increasingly poeticized, and perhaps more importantly, given narrative significance, in various works and genres implicated in shaping medieval ways of viewing the increasingly important eastern provinces and the city of Kamakura in particular. Within the context of the *Heike*, the overlaying of these tropes helped to establish the narrative potential of Kamakura through an exploitation of the traditionally poetic, thus giving cultural shape to a newly established, potentially divisive political locale. That we find this tendency in the more backward-glancing, eulogistic performative variants as well as in

¹⁴ McCullough, *The Tale of the Heike*, 395; Kajihara and Yamashita, *Heike monogatari ge*, 328.

¹⁵ In addition to the *Heike* narrative, Shigehira’s fate is recorded in the *Gukanshō*. See Tomikura, *Heike monogatari’ zenchūshaku*, vol. 4, 20.

those more focused on glorification of Minamoto rule indicates the degree to which the issue of justifying the new was inherently also part of the placatory act enacted by the performative *Heike* tradition. The exilic journeys of these men provide two salient examples of how new configurations had to be integrated into older tropes so as to render the new normative, a rhetorical move that represents a sort of narrative placation for an audience whose world had been changed by the war.

In addition, however, we need to recognize the profound effect of reversing the directions of the banishments described here. Although the *michiyuki* take Shigehira and Munemori to Kamakura, they do not abandon them there or restore them safely to the capital. Instead, we find that the *Heike* narratives assert Kamakura's own claim to both political and cosmological authority: the warrior capital replicates the significance of Heian-kyō by becoming a site of expulsion.¹⁶ While on one hand, Kamakura's status as a destination and a locus of power denies its (negative) value as the badlands to which one is exiled, it nevertheless cannot properly generate a *michiyuki*, as these two examples demonstrate – the road from Kamakura as political center, at least, is not poetic. Moreover, there is never any question that Kamakura could send prisoners for execution in the capital; each final journey, in fact, explicitly avoids any contact with the official center.

In narrating the end of the war, therefore, the *kishu ryūritan* trope was reworked to the profound effect of foregrounding Kamakura as a new location for narrative as well as political action. The journey of the exile provided a narrative model upon which placatory movement could then be mapped: Kamakura became a necessary step in ensuring the restoration of Buddhist and royal law, in much the same way that the *Heike* narrative itself enacted this return to order. Kamakura's unworthiness as a viable starting point for a *michiyuki*, however, points to the tentativeness of this project in the narratives of early medieval Japan.

¹⁶ This is particularly significant in Shigehira's case. The narrative attention devoted to him suggests an extratextual recognition of his troublesome nature as an enemy of the Buddhist dharma, a concern mirroring the placatory attention he receives within the text. The vital restorative role fulfilled by Kamakura is implicit in its position as the location of his judgment, as well as in Yoritomo's function in enabling his meetings with the women and holy man who will placate his spirit.