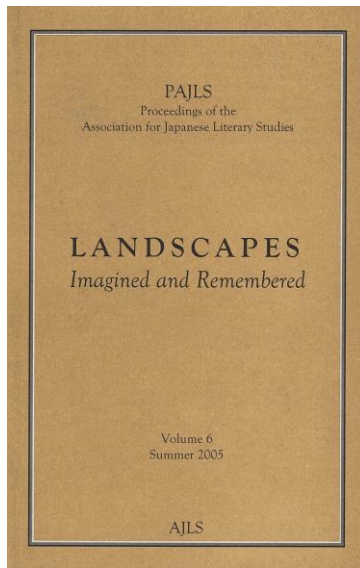


“Yoritomo’s Shrine by the Sea: The Narrative  
Function of Place Names in the Bangai Noh  
Tsurugaoka”

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**Yoritomo's Shrine by the Sea:  
The Narrative Function of Place Names in the *Bangai Noh Tsurugaoka***

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*Genpei jōsuiki* 源平盛衰記 relates how Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝, “unable to go easily” to the capital (*miyako e agaru koto wa tayasukarazu*), built a *wakamiya* 若宮 (branch shrine) at Tsurugaoka 鶴岡 in Kamakura in order to thank the Hachiman deity for bringing him fortune in the “Eastern Sea” region and enabling him to “take the realm into his grasp” (*un o Tōkai ni hiraki katsugatsu tenga o te ni nigiru koto*).<sup>1</sup> The account is given particular prominence by its position at the end of a book, and concludes with Kiyomori’s reaction: “Upon hearing of this, the Lay Priest Premier felt increasingly uneasy.”<sup>2</sup> One function of the passage is thus to signal the imminent change of fortunes from the Heike to the Genji. Perhaps equally important, however, is its emphasis on the appearance and location of the shrine itself. An explicit contrast is drawn between the eastern regions under Yoritomo’s control and the distant capital still under Heike control. An implicit comparison with other leading holy places – both “Shinto” and Buddhist – is suggested by the detailed description of its altar lavished with

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<sup>1</sup> From *Genpei jōsuiki* 源平盛衰記, book 23, “Wakamiya Hachimangū o iwau koto” (The Enshrinement of the Hachimangū Branch Shrine) in *Shintei ‘Genpei jōsuiki’* 新定源平盛衰記, ed. Mizuhara Hajime 水原一, 6 vols. (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1988-9), vol. 4, 168. (All citations of *Genpei jōsuiki* are from this edition.) The passage is undated, as is the previous section that describes Yoritomo’s entry into Kamakura. According to *Azuma kagami*, Yoritomo arrived in Kamakura on Jishō 4.10.6 (1180). On the following day he visited the Hachiman shrine founded by his ancestor Yoriyoshi 頼義 one hundred years earlier. The entry for 10.12 records his decision to move the shrine to “Kitayama in Kobayashi district” 小林郷の北山. The name Tsurugaoka 鶴岡 (鶴岳) is subsequently used to refer both to the new location and the *wakamiya* (branch or sub-shrine) built there. Many entries describe its construction (e.g. 1180.12.16, 1181.4.1, 1181.5.13, 1181.7.3, 1181.7.20); see *Zen’yaku ‘Azuma kagami’* 全訳吾妻鏡, ed. Kishi Shōzō 貴誌正造 (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1976), vol. 1 (from which all further citations will be drawn) and Minoru Shinoda, *The Founding of the Kamakura Shogunate 1180-1185 with Selected Translations from the ‘Azuma Kagami’* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 183-221. It is important to note that the *wakamiya* described here was built at the base of Tsurugaoka (Crane Hill) and not at the location of the present main shrine buildings at the top of a flight of steep steps. The shrine on the hilltop was not constructed until 1191 (Kenkyū 2).

<sup>2</sup> *Genpei jōsuiki*, book 23, vol. 4, 168 (. . . *itodo yasukarazu zo omowarekeru*).

gold, horsetrack, shrine fence, halls, pagodas, and monks' quarters (*dōtō sōdō* 堂塔・僧坊).<sup>3</sup>

This entire section is absent in the Kakuichi variant of *Heike monogatari*, but a shorter description of the shrine is included in one of its most significant scenes set in Kamakura: the story of how Yoritomo chooses to receive an imperial messenger at Tsurugaoka Hachimangū for his appointment as *seii shōgun* 征夷將軍 (barbarian-subduing commander), a fictionalized event that is chronologically displaced from 1192 to 1183.<sup>4</sup>

若宮へ参りむかはれけり。八幡は鶴が岡にたたせ給へり。地形石清水にたがはず。廻廊あり、楼門あり、つくり道十余町見くだしたり。

[The imperial messenger] went to the Hachiman branch shrine. It was built at Tsurugaoka and identical in its physical layout [*chikei*] to Iwashimizu. There were galleries [*kairō*] and a two-storied gate [*rōmon*] that overlooked a newly built road [*tsukurimichi*] more than ten *chō* in length.<sup>5</sup>

The resemblance of the physical layout (地形) or topography to Iwashimizu presumably lies both in the choice of site on a hill, like Iwashimizu Hachimangū 石清水八幡宮 in Yamashiro province, and in modeling the construction of galleries, gates, and other architectural features on the same

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Specifically “Shintō” terms include *shaden* 社殿 and *miko* 神女. The “shrine” was heavily syncretic in function until 1890 (Meiji 3) when a large number of Buddhist buildings, including pagoda, halls, and belfry, were removed in the space of just ten days. For earlier photographs, see Ōmiya Tatsuhiko 大三輪龍彦, *Chūsei Kamakura no hakkutsu* 中世鎌倉の発掘 (Tokyo: Yūrin-dō, 1983), 56 and [www.d1.dion.ne.jp/~s\\_minaga/sos\\_turugaoka.htm](http://www.d1.dion.ne.jp/~s_minaga/sos_turugaoka.htm).

<sup>4</sup> *Heike monogatari* 8.5 “Seii shōgun no inzen”; *Genpei jōsuiki*, book 33, “Yoritomo seii shōgun no zen.” *Heike* variants describe the appointment ceremony in Kamakura as taking place in the ninth or tenth month of 1183 (Juei 2), whereas in historical fact Yoritomo did not receive the title until 1192 (Kenkyū 3) (7.26).

<sup>5</sup> *Heike monogatari* 8.5; from the Kakuichibon edition in *Heike monogatari* 平家物語, ed. Ichiko Teiji 市古貞次, *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*, vols. 45-46 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1994), vol. 2, 122. (All citations from *Heike monogatari* are from the NKBJ edition, unless otherwise indicated.) The distance between the shrine and Yui-ga-hama is eighteen *chō*, approximately two kilometers. See *Heike monogatari ge* 平家物語：下, eds. Kajihara Masaaki 梶原正昭 and Yamashita Hiroaki 山下宏明 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 1991-1993), 86, note 11. *Tsukurimichi* is translated as “paved road” in Arthur Lindsay Sadler, “The Heike Monogatari,” in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. 49, part I (1921), 87; and as “a formal approach” in *The Tale of the Heike*, trans. Helen C. McCullough (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 267. The *Azuma kagami* entry for 1182 (3.15) describes how Yoritomo ordered a new, straight road for pilgrims to be built between Yuigahama and the shrine. See also *Kamakurashi-shi: sōsetsuhen* 鎌倉市史：総説編, ed. Kamakurashi-shi Hensan linkai 鎌倉市史編纂委員会 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1969), 259-62.

shrine.<sup>6</sup> When Yoritomo's ancestor Yoriyoshi had set up the first Hachiman shrine in Kamakura, spirits were "invited" from the Iwashimizu in Yamashiro, just as a "division of spirits" from the Usa Hachimangū 宇佐八幡宮 in Kyushu had earlier enabled the foundation of the shrine near Kyoto.<sup>7</sup>

Like the Usa Hachiman shrine, the Kamakura shrine founded by Yoriyoshi was built close to the sea.<sup>8</sup> In moving it to a higher site with a wide sea view, Yoritomo created a shrine to rival Itsukushima 厳島, the great shrine on the inland sea revered by Kiyomori's family. The corresponding description in *Genpei jōsuiki* emphasizes the view south over the sea:

かの若宮は、鶴岡と申す所に八幡大菩薩を移し祝ひ奉る。地形石清水の如くなり。四面の廻廊あり、造道十余町を見下して、内外に鳥居を立てたり、南は海上漫々と見渡して、眺望殊に勝れたり<sup>9</sup>  
The branch shrine had been moved to a place called Tsurugaoka in worship of Hachiman *daibosatsu*. Its physical layout [*chigyō*] was like Iwashimizu. There were galleries on four sides that overlooked a newly built road of more than ten *chō* in length. *Torii* were placed inside and outside [the shrine grounds]. It was a superb sight to look out over the boundless ocean to the south.

The phrase "boundless ocean to the south" has strong poetic and religious associations. The term 漫々 *manman* (*-taru*, *-toshite*; vast, boundless) is frequently used to describe seascapes in *Heike* variants, some seven times in the Kakuichi variant, and some twenty times in the *Genpei jōsuiki*. The example that is closest in wording to the *Genpei jōsuiki* passage is the description of the Shishigatani exiles' view of the boundless sea to the south, a view that reminds them of the sacred Kumano shrines of Kii.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Southwest of Kyoto in modern Yawata city (八幡市), Kyoto prefecture.

<sup>7</sup> The term "invite" translates *kanjō* 勧請. When a new shrine is founded, spirits are brought from an older shrine (*bunrei* 分霊 *o kanjō su[ru]*). Usa Hachimangū was founded in 725-45 and Iwashimizu Hachimangū in 859-60, while the original Hachiman shrine in Kamakura was founded by Yoriyoshi in 1063 in the Zaimokuza 材木座 area to the west of the central Wakamiya ōji 若宮大路. The small shrine on the original site is now known as Yui Wakamiya 由比若宮 or Moto-Hachiman 元八幡.

<sup>8</sup> The shrine in the ancient province of Bungo, now known as Usa Jingū 宇佐神宮, lies some three kilometers from the modern coast line in Usa city, Ōita prefecture. It is the location of an important scene in the Kakuichibon: *Heike monogatari* 8.3, "Odamaki."

<sup>9</sup> *Genpei jōsuiki*, book 33, vol. 5, 208.

<sup>10</sup> *Umi o nozomeba, kai manman toshite* 南を望めば、海漫々として, from *Heike monogatari* 2.15 "Yasuyori notto," vol. 2, 171. See also McCullough, *The Tale of the Heike*, 89. The reading *kai* rather than *umi* suggests that this is a recollection of a poem by Bo Juyi 白居易 beginning 海漫々 (Ch. *hai manman*) in book 3 of his *Xin yuefu* 新樂府. See *Haku Kyōi* 白居易, ed. Takagi Masakazu 高木正一, *Chūgoku shijin senshū*, vols. 12-13 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958), vol. 1, 30-34. The poem is translated as "Boundless, the great sea" by Arthur Waley in his *One Hundred*

In the Genpei narrative tradition, however, the most famous incident to occur at Tsurugaoka Hachiman was not Yoritomo's appointment as *seii shōgun* but rather the performance before him of the dancer Shizuka gozen 静御前 in the spring of the year 1186. As every new version of the tale reflects a reconfigured geography of Kamakura and its shrine, the story of her dance will be the focus of the remainder of this paper.

Shizuka's dance is remembered today in *matsuri* in many parts of Japan. She is represented in carvings on the side of festival floats<sup>11</sup> or as a doll-like figure in the *eboshi* (lacquered hat) and *suikan* (men's costume) of *shirabyōshi* 白拍子 dancers.<sup>12</sup> In Kamakura, Shizuka's dance is commemorated annually on a Sunday in early April by appropriately garbed dancers performing on the *maidono* 舞殿 dance platform at the foot of the main shrine steps of Tsurugaoka Hachimangū. These modern representations are based on medieval stories of how Shizuka performed a dance at the shrine on the eighth day of the fourth month in 1186 before Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝.

According to all medieval versions of the tale, Shizuka performs only with the greatest reluctance. The performance is ordered by Yoritomo, who has made repeated attempts on the life of his younger half-brother Yoshitsune.<sup>13</sup> Shizuka does not know herself where Yoshitsune now is, but reveals her concern for him in the songs she sings before Yoritomo. In most medieval narrative versions, Yoritomo is angered by her open defiance of his authority, but Shizuka escapes punishment thanks to the sympathetic intercession of his wife Masako 政子, and is eventually allowed to leave Kamakura for the capital.

To trace the changing meanings given to Shizuka's dance and to the religious complex itself, it is perhaps appropriate to start by looking at an

*and Seventy Chinese Poems* (London: Constable, 1962), 105. For another citation of this poem in *Heike monogatari*, see Tomikura Tokujirō 富倉徳次郎, *Heike monogatari zenchūshaku* 平家物語全注釈 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1966-68), vol. 2, 293. Other examples of *manman* use variations such as *kaishō manman* 海上漫々, *manmantaru kaishō* 漫々たる海上, and *sōkai manman toshite* 蒼海漫々として.

<sup>11</sup> See [www.geocities.jp/onao\\_chan/image/horimono/sizukanomai.jpg](http://www.geocities.jp/onao_chan/image/horimono/sizukanomai.jpg) for a photograph of a *horimono* (carved representation) of Shizuka's dance on a *danjiri* (festival float) used in an Osaka city festival.

<sup>12</sup> *Shirabyōshi* (white rhythm) performers were women in male garb who sang and danced to the accompaniment of flutes and drums. A famous description is included in *Heike monogatari* 1.6 "Giō." Shizuka's mother was the well-known *shirabyōshi* Iso no zenji. *Heike monogatari* 12.4 "Tosabō kirare," vol. 2, 450; McCullough, *The Tale of the Heike*, 406.

<sup>13</sup> *Gikeiki*, book 4, "Tosabō Yoshitsune ni utte ni agaru koto," in *Gikeiki* 義経記, ed. Kajihara Masaaki 梶原正昭, *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*, vol. 31 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1971), 217. See also *Yoshitsune: A Fifteenth-Century Japanese Chronicle*, trans. Helen C. McCullough (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), 145. Shizuka wakes Yoshitsune to warn him of the attack. In the *Heike* version, she discovers the attack by sending out spies. See *Heike monogatari* 12.4 "Tosabō kirare," vol. 2, 450-51, and McCullough, *Heike*, 406.

interpretation authorized by the modern shrine itself. Its official website introduces Shizuka in a romantic vein:

静御前は当代名うでの白拍子で、義経との悲恋はよく知られています。若き武将と美しい白拍子との出遇いは劇的であり、また悲劇的でもありました。

Shizuka gozen was the most famous *shirabyōshi* of the time. Her tragic love affair [*hiren*] with Yoshitsune is well known. The encounter between the young samurai and the beautiful *shirabyōshi* was both dramatic and tragic.<sup>14</sup>

The biography goes on in a somewhat more restrained fashion to weave together events from different sources. Its summary of the events that lead to Shizuka's arrival in Kamakura are ultimately based on the fictionalized tales of the Genpei War, *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 (The Tale of the Heike) and *Gikeiki* 義経記 (Annals of Yoshitsune), neither mentioned by name. The account of her dance and the reaction to it is based on the more authoritative *Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡 (Mirror of the East), the official chronicle of the Kamakura shogunate.<sup>15</sup> Her performance jostles “the dust on the rafters” and moves the emotions of the entire audience “high and low.”<sup>16</sup> The significance of Shizuka's two songs is underlined by a summary of Yoritomo's comments to Masako, again paraphrased closely from *Azuma kagami*, but with significant omissions.

静は頼朝が期待していた関東の繁栄を寿ぐ祝儀舞に反して義経との別れの曲を舞うのでした。

What Yoritomo had expected was a celebratory performance in praise of the glory of the Kantō, but instead, the dance Shizuka performed was about her separation from Yoshitsune.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> The professionally produced page at [www.hachimangu.or.jp/about/history/shizuka.html](http://www.hachimangu.or.jp/about/history/shizuka.html) is one of fourteen “Kamakura biographies” (*Kamakura jinbutsu-shi* 鎌倉人物誌), the only other woman featured being Yoritomo's wife Hōjō Masako.

<sup>15</sup> The account of incidents during Shizuka's stay in Kamakura has a narrative expansiveness quite unlike the brief style in earlier years. The year corresponding to 1186 is not included in the only English translation of the chronicle, Shinoda's *The Founding of the Kamakura Shogunate*.

<sup>16</sup> *Azuma kagami* Bunji 2.4.8 (1186), vol. 1, 290 (梁塵もほとほと動きつべし。上下皆興感を催す). The web page quotes the *kundoku* version accurately, but reverses the order of quotations from (1) Shizuka's songs, (2) general reaction, (3) Yoritomo's reaction, (4) Masako's response to (2), (3), (1), (4).

<sup>17</sup> Cited from [www.hachimangu.or.jp/about/history/shizuka.html](http://www.hachimangu.or.jp/about/history/shizuka.html). The word *wakare* covers a wide semantic range, from farewell and parting to separation. Here, it seems appropriate to clarify its emotional sense.

The larger political and religious context is absent here, as is the strong personal sentiment attributed to Yoritomo in the *Azuma kagami* account:

二品仰せて云はく、八幡宮の宝前において芸を施すの時、もつとも関東の万歳を祝ふべきのところ、聞しめすところを憚らず、反逆の義経を慕ひ、別れの曲歌を歌ふこと奇怪なりと云々。

[Yoritomo] spoke to [Masako] as follows: “When making an artistic performance before the shrine of Hachimangū it is proper to make celebratory wishes for the future of Kantō, but [Shizuka] paid no heed to this. It is outrageous of her to sing a song of her love for the traitor Yoshitsune and their separation.”<sup>18</sup>

In *Azuma kagami*, Masako responds by reminding Yoritomo of how he came to Izu as an exile. She remained faithful to her vows to him, even when her father (Hōjō Tokimasa 北条時政) tried to keep her locked up. She would come in the dark and cold to meet Yoritomo. When he went to fight at the battle of Ishibashiyama, she was in despair, not knowing whether he was alive or dead – just as Shizuka must feel now (*ima no Shizuka ga kokoro no gotoshi*). Shizuka would not be a *sokujo* 息女 (lady) if she could forget Yoshitsune’s affection to her over many years and cease to love him. She ends by praising Shizuka as *yūgen* 幽玄 (refined or gentle) for showing her feelings outwardly. This lengthy reply – only summarized here – is reduced still further on the Hachimangū web page, to a single phrase loosely based on Masako’s final remarks.<sup>19</sup>

A still greater omission is the brutal twist to the tale given in the medieval narratives. Shizuka is either pregnant with Yoshitsune’s child when she dances (*Azuma kagami*) or has just given birth to his son (*Gikeiki*). In either case, the infant child is taken from her and left to die on the Kamakura beach of Yuigahama 由比ヶ浜. According to the *Gikeiki* account, Yoritomo himself threatens to have the fetus torn out of her womb before a child of that *esemono* (scoundrel) Yoshitsune is born.<sup>20</sup> Shizuka and her mother are present when the threat is made. Their anguish moves Masako and her ladies, and even the Kamakura warriors, until Kajiwara Kagetoki 梶原景時 suggests that the sin of killing the mother be avoided by waiting another month until the baby is born.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Azuma kagami* Bunji 2.4.8 (1186), vol. 1, 290.

<sup>19</sup> [www.hachimangu.or.jp/about/history/shizuka.html](http://www.hachimangu.or.jp/about/history/shizuka.html): 夫を慕う本心を形にして幽玄である。

<sup>20</sup> *Gikeiki* book 6, 372 (えせ者の種継がぬ先に). See McCullough, *Yoshitsune*, 222.

<sup>21</sup> In the *kōwakamai* 幸若舞 (ballad-drama) *Shizuka* 静, it is Kajiwara who suggests that the fetus be torn out of the womb and Masako who persuades Yoritomo to allow Shizuka to give birth. See James T. Araki, *The Ballad-Drama of Medieval Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), 129-30.

No hint of the past or future killing of Shizuka's infant at Yuigahama is to be found in the last version discussed here, *Tsurugaoka* 鶴岡 (Crane Hill). This *bangaiyoku* 番外曲 (non-canonical noh play) ensures a felicitous ending by omitting Yoritomo's fury at Shizuka's defiance and ending with a very different image of Yuigahama. As a full translation is given as the appendix to this paper, my remarks concerning *Tsurugaoka* will concentrate on its use of Kamakura place names and its visualization of the shrine complex.

In the opening, the *waki*, Kudō Suketsune 工藤祐経, announces that Shizuka has been ordered by Yoritomo to give a performance at Tsurugaoka of *hōraku* 法楽, song and dance that was presented as an offering at the conclusion of a *hōe* 法会 (Buddhist ceremony).<sup>22</sup> The language, like the service itself, is Buddhist. When Shizuka shows herself reluctant, he adds that it is the eighth day of the fourth month, later explained as the birthday of Shaka 釈迦. He persuades her finally to dance by suggesting it will be both in Yoshitsune's interests and her own to do so.

The *shite* then changes costume – on stage, according to the notes in one manuscript.<sup>23</sup> The *shite* and *waki* describe in alternating lines the excitement of the audience of rich and poor, from great lords to shrine attendants, who await her performance. During the *kuri* and *sashi* sections, the chorus describes the transformation of the shrine from its plain origins (its roof “thatched temporarily with reeds”) to its present glorious state (“upper and lower galleries . . . inlaid with many precious stones of all colors”). The lotuses and pines of the garden are both real features of the shrine grounds and imagined signs of the Pure Land of Shaka Nyorai's sacred *ryōjusen* 靈鷲山 (Eagle Mountain). In the *kuse*, elements of the actual landscape come to the fore, with the crowds of rich and poor making their way to the Buddha's purification ceremony<sup>24</sup> through deutzia flowers, “making a path under the snow” 雪の下道かき分けて. The text here includes a pun on a Kamakura place name, Yukinoshita, the area in front of the shrine grounds, on either side of Wakamiya ōji 若宮大路, the pilgrim path from the seaside to Tsurugaoka Hachiman.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> From the play *Tsurugaoka* in *Kōchū yōkyokushū* 校注謡曲叢, ed. Haga Yaichi 芳賀矢一 and Sasaki Nobutsuna 佐佐木信綱 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1914-1915), vol. 2, 634: 鶴が丘にて法楽の事を仰せ出だされて候程に.

<sup>23</sup> The base text in *Mikan yōkyokushū*: *zoku* 未刊謡曲集: 続, vol. 9, ed. Tanaka Makoto 田中允 (Tokyo: Koten Bunko, 1992), 334-39 indicates simply *monogi ari* 者着アリ, but another manuscript adds the interlinear comment: “The *shite* goes to the back of the stage [*gōkenza*] and makes a costume change. She puts on long robe [*chōken* 長絹] and *Shizuka eboshi* [静エボシ], goes to the stage to her usual position and stops there.” Tanaka, *ibid.*, 331.

<sup>24</sup> *Kanbutsu no e* 灌仏の会. Haga and Sasaki, *Kōchū yōkyokushū*, vol. 2, 635.

<sup>25</sup> The Wakamiya bakufu 若宮幕府 headquarters were located in Yuki-no-shita, written 雪ノ下 on modern maps of Kamakura.



Praying inwardly for her lover's safety, Shizuka pays tribute to the secular and sacred power of "Kamakura that rules the age, Kamakurayama that rules the age" (治まる御代の鎌倉や、治まる御代の鎌倉山).<sup>26</sup> Two final Kamakura place names are woven into the next two lines, the first sung by the chorus, the second by the *shite*:

*ryokumō no Kamegayatsu* 緑毛の亀がやつ<sup>27</sup>  
*tanchō no Tsurugaoka* 丹頂の鶴が岡  
 green-shelled Turtle Valley  
 red-crested Crane Hill

Kamegaya 亀ヶ谷, as it is now pronounced, is one of the seven *kiritōshi* 切り通し, passes cut through the hills of Kamakura.<sup>28</sup> The pun on a type of turtle whose shell turns green with age makes for a conventional pairing with the red-capped Tanchō crane (*grus japonensis*).<sup>29</sup> Following these two auspicious symbols of longevity, Shizuka expresses her wish for Yoshitsune to live ten thousand years.

The play ends by evoking an aural image of Yui Shore.<sup>30</sup> The waves on the shore echo the voices of the onlookers to the dance, only for everything to become silent (*shizuka*) as Shizuka leaves Kamakura:

万民の感ずる声々は。由比の汀の浪に響き。是迄なれやとまかり  
 申しを、しずかになして、しずかになして、又都へこそかへりけ  
 れ。

Moved, the common people raise voices  
 that echo in the waves of Yui Shore.  
 "This is all," she says, taking her leave,  
 silence returning as Shizuka returned to the capital

<sup>26</sup> The phrase *osamaru miyo no Kamakura ya* is the last sung by the *shite* Shizuka. The chorus continues by repeating the phrase with one significant variation, *yama* for *ya*: *osamaru miyo no Kamakura yama*.

<sup>27</sup> 緑毛の亀 *ryokumō no kame*. Read 緑の亀 *midori no kame* in Tanaka, *Mikan yōkyōkushū*: zoku, vol. 9, 333.

<sup>28</sup> The Kamegaya pass is located in Ōgigaya 扇ヶ谷 3, Kamakura city.

<sup>29</sup> Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋轍次, *Dai Kanwa jiten* 大漢和辞典 (Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 1989-90), vol. 8, 1091, s.v. *Ryokumōki* 緑毛亀 explains the term as a name for a turtle whose shell becomes ivory-like with age. The expression 千年丹頂鶴万歳緑毛亀 "Thousand-year-old Tanchō crane and ten-thousand-year-old green-haired turtle" is quoted from the Muromachi-period dictionary *Bunmei honzetsu yōshū* 文明本節用集 in *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典, ed. Nihon Daijiten Kankōkai 日本大辞典刊行会 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1972-76), vol. 20, 422, s.v. *ryokumō*.

<sup>30</sup> Here called *Yui no migiwa* 由比の汀 rather than the usual *Yuigahama* 由比ヶ浜.

Although the playwright chose to omit the two famous songs in which Shizuka expressed her love for Yoshitsune in defiance of Yoritomo, other effective ways have been found to represent both the struggle in Shizuka's emotions and her effect on those who witness her dance. The play works in many references to local Kamakura place names in a way that does not detract from the broader, universal issues at stake. The drama is taken beyond the issue of personal antagonisms and warrior politics by the double image of the shrine grounds and the Pure Land, this world and the next.

Appendix: Translation of *Tsurugaoka*  
 “Crane Hill”<sup>31</sup>

SHITE Shizuka (静)  
 WAKI Kudō Suketsune (工藤祐経)  
 PLACE Kamakura (Sagami province)

WAKI [*katari*] I am Kudō Ichirō Suketsune, the deputy of the Lord of Kamakura.<sup>32</sup> Now as relations between Yoritomo and Yoshitsune are not good, Yoshitsune has left the capital.<sup>33</sup> His whereabouts are unknown, I have heard. There is a *shirabyōshi* here called Shizuka who says that she accompanied him as far as the Yoshino mountains last winter. The Kamakura Lord ordered that she should be brought here at once and asked where Yoshitsune has gone. A messenger was sent to tell Hōjō no Shirō Tokimasa<sup>34</sup> to summon her for strict interrogation. She said that she was with him as far as the Yoshino mountains, but was abandoned there, and does not know where he went. She swore many oaths so we have been ordered to let her return to the capital. But as Shizuka’s dance is famous throughout Japan, she has been ordered to perform a dance for the deity<sup>35</sup> at Tsurugaoka.

Is Shizuka there?<sup>36</sup>

SHITE What is it?

WAKI By Lord Yoritomo’s command, a performance will be held. It will be a truly splendid event.

SHITE But I am not worthy of this arrangement by the shrine.

<sup>31</sup> The translation is based on the edition in Haga and Sasaki, *Kōchū yōkyokushū*, vol. 2, 634-36, with reference to the following sources: a critical edition of a Kongō school lineage variant text in Tanaka, *Mikan yōkyokushū zoku*, vol. 9, 329-33; a facsimile edition of a 1684 *utaibon* in Itō Masayoshi 伊藤正義, ed., *Sanbyakubanshū* 三百番集, *Hanpon bangai yōkyokushū* 版本番外謡曲集, vol. 1 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 2000) 162-65; and the notes in Tanaka, *Mikan yōkyokushū: zoku*, vol. 30 (Tokyo: Koten Bunko, 1997) 255-56.

<sup>32</sup> Also known as Kudō Saemon-no-jō 工藤左衛門尉, Suketsune 祐経 was a trusted retainer of the “Kamakura Lord” (*Kamakura dono*), Minamoto no Yoritomo. *Heike* variants mention him only in passing, but *Soga monogatari* centers around his death in 1193 at the hands of the Soga brothers. For Suketsune’s selection as messenger to Shizuka, see *Gikeiki*, book 6, 383 and McCullough, *Yoshitsune*, 227.

<sup>33</sup> For Yoritomo’s suspicions of his younger half-brother Yoshitsune (1159-1189) and Yoshitsune’s flight from the capital, see Kajihara, *Gikeiki*, books 4-5. A shorter account is given in *Heike monogatari* 12.4 “Tosabō kirare” and 12.5 “Hōgan no miyako ochi”; see McCullough, *Heike*, 404-8.

<sup>34</sup> Hōjō no Shirō Tokimasa (1137-1215), Yoritomo’s father-in-law and central figure in the Kamakura government.

<sup>35</sup> “Dance for the deity” translates *hōraku* 法楽. See discussion in text.

<sup>36</sup> The variant text of the Kongō school lineage has *ika ni kono uchi ni Shizuka no watari sōrō ka*, “Is Shizuka within?” Tanaka, *Mikan yōkyokushū: zoku*, vol. 9, 330.

WAKI Today is the eighth day of the fourth month.<sup>37</sup> It is a shrine festival, so please dance a little at the shrine's dance performances.

SHITE As I said before, in my present condition I do not feel inclined to do so.

WAKI It is perfectly natural to feel like that, but a Lord's command cannot be ignored.<sup>38</sup> For Yoshitsune's sake and what will become of him, for the sake of yourself in this world, it is best to hurry and do the performance.

SHITE [*sashi*] It is the way of the world to obey the times. I rely on the heart to be the heart's guide.<sup>39</sup> What I miss, though, is the sight of my lord.<sup>40</sup> In my present state it would surely only make matters worse to say that I refuse.

"If Yoshitsune is still in the world, may he not be caught," she said.<sup>41</sup>

[*sageuta*] Detesting the world, she complained,  
she sank into gloomy thought – how sad.<sup>42</sup>

WAKI As it could not be helped,  
Shizuka gozen put on her dance costume,  
SHITE and went out in tears to perform,  
WAKI for the Lord [Yoritomo], for the first time,  
SHITE the great lords and high-ranking families came, then  
WAKI shrine priests, attendants, and others,  
SHITE rich and poor, young and old, side by side,  
WAKI whispering together,  
SHITE Shizuka's dance  
CHORUS any moment, any moment, they waited.  
SHITE Just then Shizuka rose, though reluctantly, her sleeves  
CHORUS turning again and again in the dance – how hateful.  
[*kuri*] Now to tell (the story) of this shrine –  
CHORUS when the spirits were first summoned to appear,<sup>43</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Shaka's birthday, as explained later in the text.

<sup>38</sup> *Akanu wa kimi no ōse*. The expression has a proverbial sound, but no other examples have been traced.

<sup>39</sup> The entire speech could be translated in the third person.

<sup>40</sup> *Tada kikubeki wa waga kimi no arisama ni te sōrō*. This may mean: "All I would (like to) ask is my lord's whereabouts (state)." A corruption is possible. The Kongō school variant text has *asamashiki* in place of *kikubeki*, i.e., "All that is pathetic is my lord's state." Tanaka, *Mikan yōkyokushū*: zoku, vol. 9, 330.

<sup>41</sup> *Yo ni mashimasaba kakaraji to*. Direct quotation of Shizuka's words followed by narratorial description. For *kakaraji* in this sense, see *hitote ni kakaraji tote jigai shite*, "taking his own life so that he might not fall into others' hands." See book 20 of the Nagato variant of *Heike* in *Heike monogatari Nagato-bon* 平家物語長門本, ed. Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会 (Tokyo: Meicho Kankōkai, 1906), 739.

<sup>42</sup> At this point Shizuka changes into the *shirabyōshi* costume.

<sup>43</sup> *Tōsho raigen* 当初来現. The Kongō variant has an attractive reading: *sono kami* [sic] *Yoriyoshi* 其初頼義. Tanaka, *Mikan yōkyokushū*: zoku, vol. 9, p. 332. Minamoto no Yoriyoshi (988-1075),

the roof was thatched temporarily with reeds in the beginning,  
and brought to this Crane Hill.

[*sashi*]

Upper and lower galleries, their roofs aligned,  
were inlaid with many precious stones of all colors.  
In the surrounding [gardens] it was like the Pure Land  
of the sacred Eagle Mountain of Shaka Nyorai,  
The lotus on the pond, the pines by the shore –  
they are identical to the seven-layered treasure trees.

CHORUS

[*kuse*]

And today of all days to conclude  
the assembly to purify the Buddha  
there are many deutzia in bloom.  
Making a path under the snow in Yukinoshita,  
the crowds of rich and poor arrayed  
close together – hems and sleeves touching.  
“For me,” she said, “the Five Obstructions are a deep cloud.”<sup>44</sup>  
It is a joy in the midst of sorrow  
to meet on such an occasion.  
When I think where he could have gone,  
Yoshitsune on whom I depend,  
I weep to imagine  
what could have happened to him.”

SHITE

These are nothing other than the traces  
in this world of Shakyamuni’s original form,  
to whom I pray, and to the other gods and Buddhas,  
that they may transfer themselves onto my sleeves  
to protect me in this world and the next.  
So praying, time passes,  
the steps of the dance forgotten at the bottom  
of the heart’s well – how pitiful.  
Trusting in the heart’s power,<sup>45</sup>  
cloudless is the direct way.

SHITE

[*waka*]

CHORUS

Kamakura which rules the age,  
Kamakura Mountain which rules the age,

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founder of the first Hachiman shrine in Kamakura, was the great-great-grandfather of Yoritomo and Yoshitsune, and the victor in the Earlier Nine-Year Campaign (*zenkunen no eki* 前九年の役).

<sup>44</sup> *Ware wa goshō no fukaki kumo* われは五障の深き雲. Haga and Sasaki, *Kōchū yōkyokushū*, vol. 2, 635. According to the classic definition in *Lotus Sūtra* chapter 12 “Devadatta,” a woman cannot become a Brahmā god king (*Bonten ō* 梵天王), Śakra (*Taishaku* 帝釈), the devil King Māra (*Maō* 魔王), a wheel-turning sage king (*Tenrinjōō* 転輪聖王), or a Buddha-body (*Busshin* 仏身). See Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 201. Kenreimon’in 建礼門院 refers to woman’s five obstructions in *Heike monogatari*, “Kanjō no maki” 4 “Rokudō no sata”; vol. 2, 517.

<sup>45</sup> *Shinriki* 心力. The Kongō variant reads *shinriki* 神力 (divine power). Tanaka, *Mikan yōkyokushū*: zoku, vol. 9, 332.

Kamakura Mountain which rules the age.  
 Green-shelled Turtle Valley,<sup>46</sup>  
 SHITE red-crested Crane Hill,  
 CHORUS the pine needles that never shed,  
 SHITE the moon travelling in a sky  
 CHORUS without clouds. May Lord Yoritomo  
 SHITE live ten thousand years,” she sings  
 CHORUS while inwardly she prays  
 SHITE for Yoshitsune’s sins,<sup>47</sup>  
 CHORUS and reverses her sleeves as encore –  
 envy spreads behind the blinds.<sup>48</sup>  
 Moved, the common people raise voices  
 that echo in the waves of Yui Shore.  
 “This is all,” she says, taking her leave,  
 silence returning as Shizuka returned to the capital.

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<sup>46</sup> *Ryokumō no kame* 緑毛の亀. Read *midori no kame* 緑の亀 in Tanaka, *Mikan yōkyokushū: zoku*, vol. 9, 333.

<sup>47</sup> *Zaishō wo inori* 罪障を祈り. The Kongō variant has *zaishō* 在生 instead, but the editor indicates his doubts. Tanaka, *Mikan yōkyokushū: zoku*, vol. 9, 333.

<sup>48</sup> *Gyoren no uchi wo namameki watari* 御簾の中を妬き渡り. According to one manuscript, 妬き is read *zazameki* (whispering). Tanaka, *Mikan yōkyokushū: zoku*, vol. 9, 333.