Crossed Paths

Zeami's Transmission to Zenchiku

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STUDIES of the writings of Komparu Zenchiku 金春禅竹, 1405–1470?, *sarugaku* 猿楽 actor,[1] troupe master, and playwright, link them closely to those of the leader of the Kanze 観世 troupe, Zeami 世阿弥, 1363–1443. Zenchiku's texts are obscure and difficult in various ways, and scholars have developed various reading strategies. An approach in recent years has been to treat Zenchiku's work as if it were a systematization of Zeami's thought, reading Zenchiku's writings through the lens, as it were, of Zeami's works.[2] This strategy finds much of its justification in the personal relationship between the two men, for Zenchiku had a direct, personal, and intellectual relationship with Zeami; in addition, he married Zeami's daughter. A number of Zeami's writings on sarugaku, as well as playscripts and letters, came into Zenchiku's hands, and in his old age, Zeami wrote an assessment of him, featuring him as the artist who might transmit the Kanze tradition to future generations. The two men are, in fact, regarded as successive representatives of a single artistic tradition. Discussion of their relationship tends, in consequence, to be colored by conventional images of medieval artistic lineages, and Zeami has been treated as an exemplar of the master in a medieval *michi* 道 (a 'path' to artistic enlightenment). Zenchiku, for his part, tends to be presented as an ideal *deshi* 弟子, or disciple: respectful, sincere, and self-effacing.

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[1] Sarugaku was the name of a Japanese performance tradition that developed out of various comic and tumbling arts imported from T'ang China. By the fourteenth century, major religious institutions in the home provinces around Kyoto were maintaining permanent troupes known as *sarugaku za* to perform at festivals. Among the repertoires of these troupes were the predecessors of modern noh plays. The social position of *sarugaku za* was greatly improved when Zeami's father, Kannami 観阿弥, won the support of the third Ashikaga shogun, Yoshimitsu 義満. Within two generations sarugaku had replaced *dengaku* 田楽, a related tradition of agricultural origin, as the favorite performance art of the warrior classes.

[2] See, for example, Nose Asaji 能勢朝次, *Kodai Geki Bungaku* 古代劇文学, Nihon Bungaku Taikei 21, Kawade, 1939, pp. 165–66, and Arthur Thornhill III, *Six Circles, One Dewdrop: The Religio-Aesthetic World of Komparu Zenchiku*, Princeton U.P., 1993, p. 10.

A popular volume on noh describes the period of Zeami's transmission to Zenchiku in the following terms:

> After [his son] Motomasa died, Zeami poured all his hopes for the future into Zenchiku, and we can probably say that Zenchiku answered such expectations. He had an honest and sincere disposition. When Zeami was sent into exile, Zenchiku took care of his elderly wife and wrote letters to him in Sado begging instruction. As son-in-law and as disciple, Zenchiku's service continued without the least change.[3]

This description ascribes to Zenchiku the characteristics believed appropriate to his status as *deshi*. But should he be considered simply as Zeami's disciple? He was the hereditary leader of his own sarugaku troupe, the Komparu, which had claims to cultural legitimacy differing from those of Zeami and the Kanze. The two troupes had carved out different spheres in which they sought supremacy, and their contrasting social situations were reflected in ultimately conflicting ideas of the purpose of sarugaku. We would expect a chosen pupil to have thoroughly absorbed his master's teachings. How then can we account for the fact that the intellectual orientations of Zeami and Zenchiku are quite different? Zenchiku appears to have derived many ideas and terms from Zeami, it is true, but the way in which he uses them is so altered that we may wonder whether he really grasped Zeami's meaning at all. His work, in fact, contains spectacular creative misreadings of Zeami.

The received images of medieval artistic lineages are intrinsically problematic. Scholars characterize the conventions of these closed, conformist traditions by contrasting them with supposed 'Western' concepts of training in the arts, in which skills are said to be developed by encouraging the free exercise of creativity. We are told that the 'oriental' denial of individuality in training was essential to effect the pupil's penetration to a higher creative freedom. But there may have been factors conditioning these conventions that were not purely pedagogic. Sarugaku houses shared with other households transmitting hereditary office the need to manage the succession and to establish the house's social credentials. From the point of view of pupils, the process of achieving artistic mastery was one that also bestowed authority and autonomy. On the paths to artistic mastery people struggled for control and security. There is a dislocation between the discussions of secret traditions that regard them as paths to higher knowledge and those that treat them as, for example, ideological fronts behind which families monopolized lucrative artistic activities. The incompatibility between idealistic and skeptical conceptions of secret lineages has made it difficult to handle satisfactorily the relations between teachers and pupils, as well as questions of artistic change and development. A study of the transmission from Zeami to Zenchiku must take into account the social and po-

[3] Takemoto Mikio 竹本幹夫, '*Nōsakusha Retsuden*' 能作者列伝, in *Nō* 能 (*Bessatsu 'Taiyō'* 別冊「太陽」), 25, Winter 1978, Heibonsha, p. 70. Unless otherwise noted, all translations in this article are mine.

litical aspects of closed traditions as well as their artistic and spiritual features. Zeami's production and distribution of writings on sarugaku provide a focus for these contrasting approaches.

It is important to form a clear conception of the relationship between Zeami and Zenchiku because the latter's own writings are particularly sensitive to interpretation. Consider, for example, the late Haga Kōshirō's study of Zenchiku's series of works concerning the *rokurin ichiro* 六輪一露 theory.[4] A mistaken attribution of a colophon to the Zen priest Ikkyū Sōjun 一休宗純, 1394–1481, lent support to a since-discredited tradition that Zenchiku studied Zen under Ikkyū. Haga's analysis of the *rokurin ichiro* diagrams found them to be derived from Zen thought. In fact, Zen ideology figures little in Zenchiku's work. A simplistic conception of the connection between Zeami and Zenchiku should not be allowed to contribute to similar misreading. As it happens, a particularly strong point of Haga's work is the way in which he sites Zenchiku's thought within contemporaneous cultural developments, as a representative of certain trends that led to the establishment of a pervasive aesthetic, that of so-called Higashiyama culture. We look in vain to recently published English-language studies of Zenchiku for any attempt to account for the fundamental differences between his thought and that of his teacher in a historical, politico-geographical, or social context.[5] This is surely linked to the uncritical and vague way in which relations between the two men are presented.

The present study divides into three sections. It starts with a reading of Zeami's concept of transmission, which is seen to have various dimensions that come into prominence at certain times in his life. These dimensions are discussed in terms of three models for transmission, that within the courtly performance arts, within households transmitting public office, and within Zen lineages. In these contexts, I describe how Zeami came to believe that Zenchiku, master of a competing troupe and successor to his own performance tradition, could be an appropriate vessel for Zeami's own legacy. In the middle section, a survey of Kanze and Komparu attitudes to the Yamato tradition will highlight conflicts in the standpoints of the two men. Finally, the ambivalence of Zenchiku's attitude to Zeami and problematic aspects of Zenchiku's readings of Zeami are considered.

[4] Haga Kōshirō 芳賀幸四郎, '*Higashiyama Bunka no Seikaku to sono Seiritsu*' 東山文化の性格とその成立, in *Higashiyama Bunka no Kenkyū* 東山文化の研究, volumes 1 & 2 of *Haga Kōshirō Rekishi Ronshū* 芳賀幸四郎歴史論集, Shibunkaku, Kyoto, 1981. *Rokurin ichiro*, or six circles and one dewdrop, refer to seven essential forms that Zenchiku used to represent the elements of sarugaku. An annotated translation is given in Mark J Nearman, 'The Visions of a Creative Artist: Zenchiku's *Rokurin Ichiro* Treatises', in MN 50 (1995), pp. 235–61, 281–303 & 485–521; and 51 (1996), pp. 17–37.

[5] Different conceptions of artistic legitimation are major factors behind the dislocation between the thought of the two men. Such conceptions are embedded in contemporaneous political and religious controversies. See Noel Pinnington, *Strategies of Legitimation: An Approach to the Expository Writings of Komparu Zenchiku*, doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1994.

Zeami's Writings: Insurance Against the Loss of Knowledge

Zeami's writings are read today, some six hundred years after they were produced, for their insights into a range of human concerns: education, acting, the arts, and human relations. Linguistically they are difficult, but in every other way they are felt to be unusually accessible and relevant. As far as is known, nothing similar existed in Zeami's profession before them, and (apart from, perhaps, Zenchiku's work) nothing remotely equivalent appeared again. Yet the question of why Zeami should have written them and why they should be so readable has been accorded slight attention. A common line taken is that he wished to 'have secret writings, such as those existing for other art forms, in his family.'[6] This is, on the face of it, a strikingly trivial approach: to say that the works were a kind of 'keeping up with the Jones's' between different art forms. The evident seriousness of Zeami's content, and the fact that there is no indication that these works were known outside the family (in fact, Zeami appears to have believed in the importance not only of keeping secrets, but also of keeping secret the existence of secrets),[7] seem to dispose of this approach fairly easily. As it happens, there can be no simple answer to the question of Zeami's motives, for the significance and role of his writings clearly changed during his life, reflecting changes in both his own circumstances, and his conception of what it was he had to transmit to the future. Zeami's earliest writings conform to conventions that applied to similar works composed within traditions of performance closely connected to the court: *bugaku* 舞楽 and *gagaku* 雅楽. A consideration of these conventions sheds light on Zeami's intentions in this period.

The different lineages and traditions of courtly performance arts prided themselves on their preservation of secret transmissions. They maintained collections of technical jottings and notations of musical pieces and dances. The systems of notation employed were not adequate to the complete prescription of performance; they were rather intended to provide *aides-mémoires* for pieces learned through long hours of training. Secret artistic lineages are believed to have modeled themselves on esoteric Buddhist traditions, which maintained and handed down similar collections of notes. In the *taimitsu* 台密 tradition the greatest importance was attached to the process of oral teaching, or *kuden* 口伝, but notes were made of historical and other information to serve as reminders. These fragmentary notes were copied, collected, and passed down, and their possession was treated as proof of authority. It is interesting to note that the ideological elements of *taimitsu* faded away in time, and elements of ritual performance took predominance. Thus esoteric Buddhism itself became a kind of performance art.[8] The writings passed down in *bugaku* and *gagaku* lineages legitimated the possessor's heritage in similar fashion.

[6] Erika de Poorter, *Zeami's Talks on Sarugaku: An Annotated Translation of the Sarugaku Dangi with an Introduction on Zeami Motokiyo*, Gieben, Amsterdam, 1986, p. 45.

[7] Albeit in another context: see *Besshi Kuden* 別紙口伝, in Omote Akira 表章 & Katō Shūichi 加藤周一, ed., *Zeami, Zenchiku* 世阿弥,禅竹 [ZZ], Nihon Shisō Taikei 24, Iwanami, 1974, p. 62.

For a master of courtly performance to write a readily comprehensible and systematic account of his knowledge, however, was considered a betrayal of the principle of secrecy, only to be countenanced under particular circumstances. In *Kyōkunshō* 教訓抄, 1233, Koma Chikazane 狛近実, 1177–1242, describes his upbringing in which he had access to a wide range of musical traditions at the Kōfukuji-Kasuga complex. Subsequently he served at court and inherited the tradition of his grandfather and the written notes of his great-grandfather. He continues:

> Now I am already approaching sixty years of age. To my great regret, my two sons have no interest in this path and idle away their time fruitlessly, entering into the mountain of treasure and coming out empty-handed. They are a source of limitless grief. It seems that parents are ever confused when considering their children and so I will stubbornly make a record of a few matters. May later readers not criticize this. I have for many years served at the side of old men without compare and received the transmission of all sorts of oral teachings and various accounts concerning *bugaku*. I realize that I lack the power to keep in memory what I have heard and I am mortified that they may end up being forgotten. After I pass away, [my descendants] will be like blind men without sticks. In this latter age cursed by Heaven, a reading of this may be a first step to understanding. I have therefore compiled this ten-volume collection and called it *Kyōkunshō*.[9]

A similar introduction is found in a work on *gagaku* written in 1512 by Toyohara Muneaki 豊原統秋. He tells of the marvelous training and incomparable tradition received from his doting father. But now none has appeared to whom all this information might be transmitted. If he fails to pass it on to future generations, he commits the sin of filial impiety.

> I have not transmitted this [tradition] even to one son, and there are no other kinsmen who are really dedicated. If I do not leave it to someone, however, it will be truly lamentable. So taking advantage of the tendency of the old to lie awake at night, and to forget my miserable life alone in my poor hut, I have written the various elements as I remember them. . . . As it is unpolished with contradictions between what comes before and after, and inelegantly stiff, I feel ashamed that later generations will see it. I have deliberately not written in Chinese, for this will be fortunate for those who are not good at reading characters, as well as for those who, albeit good readers and intelligent, are not particularly scholarly. This should be read trusting only to a whole-hearted dedication to the path.[10]

These two accounts describe similar circumstances. The author has received the secret knowledge of many generations from a great exponent. His duty to

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[8] For a discussion of these oral lineages and their writings, see Kuroda Toshio, 'Historical Consciousness and Honjaku Philosophy in the Medieval Period on Mount Hiei', in George Tanabe, Jr, & Willa Tanabe, ed., *The Lotus Sutra in Japanese Culture*, University of Hawaii Press, 1989, pp. 143–58.

[9] Yamada Yoshio 山田孝雄, ed., *Kyōkunshō*, Nihon Koten Zenshū, 2nd series, 17, NKZ Kankōkai, 1928, no pagination.

[10] From *Taigenshō* 体源抄, quoted in Komiya Toyotaka 小宮豊隆, '*Nō to Hiden*' 能と秘伝, in Nogami Toyoichirō 野上豊一郎, ed., *Nōgaku Zensho* 能楽全書, 1, Sōgensha, 1943, pp. 280–81.

keep it secret and his duty to pass it on to a suitable heir are in conflict, and as a result the tradition is in danger of being lost. Conscious of exposing himself to criticism for doing so, the author determines to write down as much as he can in as accessible a way as possible, hoping that the tradition may be recreated from his writings after his death. In short, composing these *geijutsuron* 芸術論 indicates the lack of a suitable heir, and asserts the immediate peril that faces the lineage.

Zeami's first written work casts itself in a similar role to these records of the secret courtly arts. The first three sections of *Fūshikaden* 風姿花伝 were completed by the 13th day, Fourth Month, 1400, and are understood to comprise one whole.[11] In the Introduction Zeami writes: 'Now the general significance of what I have been able to see and hear from my early days concerning the practice of the art is recorded here.'[12] Zeami thus proposes himself as a conduit for knowledge that he has received directly. The second section closes with the following words:

> The above are the main points concerning the performance of different roles. Other detailed points are difficult to express in writing. Still, anyone who fully masters these clauses will grasp those finer points by himself.[13]

The implication is that the reader will be unable to question Zeami directly about the finer details.

In the final colophon, Zeami writes:

> For the preservation of the house [*ie* 家], in respect for the art [*michi* 道] I stored in my heart the things that my late father told me for the future. The fact that, regardless of any public criticism, I have recorded the essential meaning is because I am concerned that this Way [*michi*] will be lost, and definitely not because I wish to contribute to the knowledge of outsiders. I merely leave this for the instruction of my descendants.[14]

Although he does not say so directly, the implication is that Zeami had no one in the following generation capable of fully receiving the tradition. That he may have been consciously mimicking conventions in the court arts is supported by the way in which he completes the colophon:

[11] The Introduction clearly applies to all three parts, as also does the colophon to section 3. See the headnotes to these in ZZ, pp. 14 & 37.

[12] ZZ, p. 14.

[13] ZZ, p. 27.

[14] ZZ, p. 37. The interpretation of this passage follows that of Konishi Jin'ichi 小西甚一, ed., *Zeamishū* 世阿弥集, Nihon no Shisō 8, Chikuma, 1970, pp. 70–71, and other scholars. The editors of ZZ offer an alternative reading: 'The fact that I have recorded the essential meaning is because I am concerned that they [lazy noh performers who do not bother to practice] ignore the criticism of the world [for not practicing], and thus the Way will come to an end, and definitely not. . . .' This is grammatically forced, involving a change of implied subject in a subordinate clause, and it introduces elements not in the text. It is problematic in other ways in that around the related passage cited by the editors to justify their reading, the context, which they omit to quote, is of performers failing to practice because they pay too much attention to the opinions of the world, that is, to the praise of audiences. For the opposite view to mine, see ZZ, pp. 433–34.

The above are the sections of *Fūshikaden*.
Date: 13th day, Fourth Month, Ōei 7 [1400].
Written by Saemon Dayū Hada no Motokiyo 左衛門大夫秦元清 (lower junior fifth rank).[15]

This signature is unique in Zeami's works, for he arrogates to himself court rank and claims ancient descent through the name Hata 秦.[16] No intended recipient is indicated.

The 'wrapping' of *Fūshikaden*—its Introduction, colophons, and signature—puts it in the guise of a *hidensho* 秘伝書 in the court arts. How seriously, though, are we to take Zeami's professed motives for writing? Sarugaku had none of the status of court arts—despite various legendary assertions to the contrary—and would not have been subject to the same restrictions. Zeami himself suggests that a wish to contribute to the knowledge of outsiders would be an illicit motive. There is no indication that *Fūshikaden* was distributed outside the *za* 座. Zeami was aware how recently his form of *sarugaku* had developed—in his view, at the hands of his father, Kannami 観阿弥, and his contemporaries in Ōmi *sarugaku* and Kyoto *dengaku* 田楽. 'Itchū 一忠 [*dengaku*], Kiyotsugu 清次 [dharma name: Kanna 観阿], Inuō 犬王 [dharma name: Dōa 道阿], Kia 亀阿—these must be named the ancestors of this Way.'[17] He had seen the part that fashionable taste had played in its hegemony over other styles. We might speculate that his knowledge of poetics enabled him to see the advantages possessed by arts that had fixed models from the past on which to develop. He may indeed have felt that his tradition required secret works 'such as those existing for other art forms', not merely for show, but to provide it with a solid basis in the highest achievements of the past.

It is quite possible, however, to construct a reading, on the evidence of Zeami's personal circumstances, in which his comments can be taken at face value. There is no certain evidence that he had fathered a child at this time. He had at least two sons, Motomasa 元雅 and Motoyoshi 元能.[18] Little is known of the latter, but tradition consistently treats him as the younger. There is strong evidence that Motomasa was born between 1393 and 1402.[19] It is possible, then, that Zeami was childless when he embarked upon *Fūshikaden* (as noted

[15] ZZ, p. 37.

[16] This is the modern reading of the name. Zeami's and Zenchiku's writings make it clear that they read it as Hada.

[17] *Sarugaku Dangi* 申楽談儀, in ZZ, p. 261. Itchū, a *dengaku* actor of the Kyoto *honza* 本座, was old enough to have appeared in the famous 1349 performance when the stands collapsed; Kiyotsugu 清次 was Zeami's father (Kannami 観阿弥); Inuō 犬王 was a sarugaku performer in the Hie 比叡 troupe of Ōmi; and Kia 亀阿 (also known as Kameyasha 亀夜叉) was a *dengaku* actor of the *shinza* 新座.

[18] For a discussion of Zeami's successors, see de Poorter, pp. 35–37 & 57–60.

[19] In 1432, Zeami wrote in *Museki Isshi* 夢跡一紙 that his successor, Zenshun 善春, had died in the Eighth Month of that year (ZZ, p. 242). A year later, he stated in *Kyakuraika* 却来華 that he had intended Motomasa to be his successor and that Motomasa had not yet entered his fortieth year when he died (ZZ, p. 246). We may conclude that Zenshun and Motomasa were one and the same man born between the dates given.

above, the first three sections were completed in 1400). Even if Motomasa was already born, Zeami may have believed that he had insufficient time to pass on to him his father's teachings. Zeami was in his thirty-seventh year, and his father, Kannami, had died in his fifty-first, so he may have estimated that he had only fourteen more years to live.

The conventional posture of early sections of *Fūshikaden*, then, was to some degree supported by the actual circumstances of Zeami and his troupe. A proper anxiety about the future security of the troupe seems to underlie subsequent sections. The last, and most 'secret' section, *Besshi Kuden* 別紙口伝, is concerned to pass on the strategies by which the Kanze troupe maintained their hegemony over other performing groups. Zeami visualized his tradition at this time to be essentially bound up with the welfare of the troupe; it was the source of its success. He feared the loss of tradition not only for its intrinsic value, but because it was the knowledge on which the house and troupe depended.

The colophon to the extant copy of *Besshi Kuden*, completed many years later in 1418, however, indicates that by the time it was written the situation concerning the succession to the Kanze troupe had changed. *Fūshikaden* was no longer being treated simply as a substitute for oral transmission to a suitable pupil; it was instead an indication of its possessor's talents. The recipient of *Besshi Kuden* could, in fact, claim thereby that he was qualified to succeed to the Kanze house. This colophon marks the beginning of a new role for Zeami's writings, the distribution of which to members of the following generation reflected not only his assessment of their talents, but also his intentions concerning the succession. The Kanze house had official duties that brought in substantial income. We would expect the distribution of works, then, to reflect both artistic ideology and the requirements arising from the house's public role.

Sarugaku Lineages

The conventions that governed artistic transmission from generation to generation in medieval Japan have been described by Konishi Jin'ichi in his study of *michi* qua artistic vocation.[20] Konishi cites sarugaku lineages as typical examples of the operation of *michi* ideology. According to his analysis, a *michi* was a specialization in a particular art or area of knowledge. Those admitted into the Way devoted their life to it. They were to focus all their efforts therein and not waste time with other studies.[21] The goal of a *michi* was universal truth. Its authority derived from the truth achieved by its single-minded pursuit. The

[20] Konishi Jin'ichi, *Michi: Chūsei no Rinen* 道:中世の理念, Kōdansha, 1975. The analysis is also developed and summarized by Konishi in an article translated into English as 'Michi and Medieval Writing', in Earl Miner, ed., *Principles of Japanese Literature*, Princeton U.P., 1985, pp. 181–208.

[21] In *Shōbōgenzō Zuimonki*, 正法眼蔵随聞記, Dōgen invoked this ideal of specialization and applied it to the pursuit of Buddhist knowledge, asserting that a monk should specialize in a single area of study. Quoted in Konishi, 1985, pp. 194–95.

path was governed by a conformist ethic; the pupil's sole aim was to reproduce the techniques of the master. A *michi* had to have been transmitted through the generations by a line of masters deriving from an ideal situated in the past, for it transcended the individual and could not be produced in a single generation. In Konishi's analysis, these four characteristics—specialization, universality, a conformist ethic, and transmission—endowed the art with an authority that justified the use of the term *michi*.[22]

This is a useful characterization of conventions implicit in artistic transmission, but how is it linked to society? The authority conferred by intellectual and artistic lineages accrued to the social units in which transmission took place: extended households, performance troupes, or, in the case of religion, monasteries and shrines. *Michi* was realized within such units. Ethnographers have employed a model of an idealized pre-Meiji social unit that they term *ie* 家 ('house'). It is believed that the social ideology expressed in this model began to appear in actual social institutions in the fourteenth century.[23]

There is a certain correspondence between the description of the *ie* and Konishi's analysis of *michi*. The essential characteristic of the *ie* is continuity. It is commonly represented in diagrammatic form with a death line above and a birth line below. Between these two, an adult holds the position of head (*iemoto* 家元). Below him is the currently nominated successor, and below him are children and siblings. Descendants enter through the birth line below. Siblings of the successor are expected to marry out of the family. If they start a new house it could expect some aid from the main house. A successor may be a male (*yōshi* 養子) brought into the family to marry a daughter, or a son who will accept into the family a bride from outside (*yome* 嫁). The elderly parents of the head may be living in retirement. Above the death line are the recently dead, and the long dead are above them, having coalesced into ancestral spirits. It is the *ie* that owned property and had social rights. Internally the *iemoto* had total authority. All relations within the house were governed by vertical connections, the higher exerting benevolent authority over the lower, who personified gratitude and obedience. The indebtedness that individuals were supposed to feel to the house and to the ancestors was without limit. Externally all members were able to represent the house, and the *iemoto* was held responsible for the actions of the rest.

This is an idealized picture, not to be identified with any particular historical structure, but such an *ie* would be an appropriate institution in which *michi* might arise. The *michi*'s demand for specialization is understandable in the context of the *ie*'s role as the only interface with society for its members. The conformist ethic is made possible by the *iemoto*'s absolute internal authority. The ideal of transmission over many generations from revered masters in the

[22] This summary is based on Konishi, 1985, pp. 181–96.

[23] An expression of the period reflecting the ideology of the *ie* is: 'A house is not a house but through inheritance; a man is not a man but through knowledge.' Zeami himself quotes this on p. 211, below.

distant past is an expression of the *ie*'s continuity and the deification of its ancestors. Other aspects of the *ie* model that are clearly relevant to succession in artistic lineages are: status within the house was determined by relation to the current head; an individual had access to possessions and social rights only as a result of his position within the house; and only one person in each generation could succeed to the headship.

The relationship between the *sarugaku za* 猿楽座 (acting troupe) and the household that dominated it is unclear, but it is usually taken for granted that succession in the household coincided with succession to authority within the *za*.[24] The four Yamato *za* were responsible to the Kōfukuji-Kasuga complex for certain regular performances. The administration of Kōfukuji-Kasuga acted, in effect, as a government for Yamato province. The Komparu, Kongō 金剛, Kanze, and Hōshō 宝生 family lines can be understood to have monopolized what were in effect public offices that brought with them both important duties and regular financial rewards.

Approaches to the transmission of divisible property, such as land, and indivisible social rights, such as public office, can be seen in the development of the *sōryō* 惣領 system of extended families. Jeffrey Mass discusses cases of official judgments of inheritance disputes in his study of this institution. In one case, a dying household head chose his younger son as heir-designate (*chakushi* 嫡子) and left just one quarter of the land to the elder son to set up his own household. The latter claimed that he was the rightful heir, as he was generally known to be such and was acting as his father's deputy. The younger son produced the father's testament in his favor and hereditary documents proving land rights. The Dazaifu judgment was in favor of the younger son on the basis that the former possessor's discretion was paramount. Thus, the elder son took priority over the younger until the father's death, at which point he suddenly had to accept being second.[25] Mass further describes the way in which fathers and grandfathers with bequeathing powers in a variety of household posts came to act tyrannically over younger generations, holding over them the power to revoke wills or even expel them from the family. The most common basis cited for passing over older sons was lack of ability.[26]

In bakufu law there is no discussion of succession in *sarugaku za*, but certain parallels can be drawn between succession in vassal households and that within sarugaku lineages. Precedence of talent over birth was likely to be the

[24] A complication is the fact that the structure of authority in the *za* was undergoing profound changes at this time. It is clear from the house rules of troupes that the troupe elder (*osa* 長), who had retired from the performance of *geinō* 芸能, or noh plays, was in authority when these rules were established. It seems that the usurpation of the *osa*'s prerogative (the performance of the semi-ritual role in *Okina* 翁) by the Kanze *tayū*, Kannami, in the capital, presaged the rise to power in the troupe of the leading *geinō* actor, whom Zeami termed the *tōryō no shite* 棟梁の為手, the master player.

[25] Jeffrey P. Mass, *Lordship and Inheritance in Early Medieval Japan: A Study of the Kamakura Sōryō System*, Stanford U.P., 1989, pp. 64 & 149–52.

[26] Mass, pp. 73–75. A case of 'lack of ability' cited is that of the post of shrine head, pp. 177–79.

rule in the arts as well as in households transmitting bakufu office for the same reasons: the economic basis of the house was its proper prosecution of the family task. The *sarugaku za*'s access to regular income was sometimes assured by its hereditary possession of the position of *gakutō* 楽頭 (master of performances). The loss of this position was disastrous for the lineage and occurred when the holder failed to provide adequate performances.[27] There is no reason to assume that the right, often mentioned in contemporaneous documents, of household heads to alter their choice of successor at any time was not also the convention in houses dedicated to sarugaku. There obviously could be no more than one successor to the leadership of the *za*, but it was possible for other sons to set up their own troupes (as indeed Kannami himself as well as Motoyoshi seem to have done) having the status of *bunke* 分家, subsidiary houses to some extent beholden to and dependent on the *honke* 本家, the main line. If we understand the traditions and training preserved within the family as a kind of intellectual property handed down to the following generation, the parallel with succession in the *sōryō* system becomes more pointed. The more secret teachings passed only to the successor to the *za*. Once these were put into writing, entrusting them to a member of the next generation became equivalent to the bestowal of a written testament of succession. Less secret writings could be given to sons setting up *bunke* or accompany daughters marrying into other houses.

Choice of Successor

When he started writing *Fūshikaden*, Zeami envisaged a separate section revealing more profound and more secret aspects, and this took the form of the work known as *Besshi Kuden*.[28] This work proclaims its own special significance.

> This oral tradition on separate pages [contains] the great essential [*daiji* 大事] of the house, a tradition for one man in each generation. If there is a successor without talent, it should not be passed on to him. It is said, 'A house is not a house but through inheritance; a man is not a man but through knowledge.' This [teaching] can lead a person to a full grasp of the complete and mysterious flower.[29]

[27] Bakufu retainers appointed to positions on the basis of skills in particular arts were enjoined to choose only men with ability as their successors. See J. E. de Becker, *Feudal Kamakura*, Kelly & Walsh, Yokohama. 1907, pp. 40–41. The development of the *gakutō* post and its importance to the survival of troupes are described in Hayashiya Tatsusaburō 林屋辰三郎, *Chūsei Geinōshi no Kenkyū* 中世芸能史の研究, Iwanami, 1960. The destruction of the Enami lineage was probably a punishment for the inadequate performances they arranged for the Seiryūgū. Hayashiya, pp. 472–78.

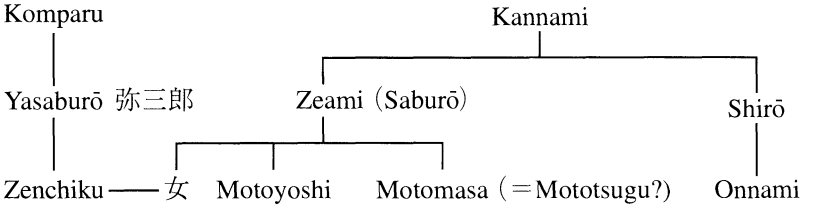
[28] The later work *Shūgyoku Tokka* 拾玉得花 refers to a series of writings that represent a path to artistic mastery, enumerated as *Kaden* from *Nenraikeiko* 年来稽古, *Monomane* 物真似, *Mondō* 問答, *Besshi* 別紙, *Shikadō* 至花道, and *Kakyō* 花鏡. This implies that the first three books of the present *Fūshikaden* (*Nenraikeiko*, *Monomane*, and *Mondō*, and the seventh *Besshi* [*Kuden* 口伝]) are a group. ZZ, p. 189. The *Mondō* section itself refers to the intention to write a '*besshi no kuden*'. *Fūshikaden*, in ZZ, p. 36.

[29] ZZ, pp. 64–65.

Instead of referring to the dangers of losing tradition, Zeami sites the work in the context of secret knowledge, individual talent, and the succession to the household. In light of this passage it would be reasonable to regard a recipient of this work as the chosen successor to the Kanze house, for the conditions are at least as stringent.

These remarks are taken from the copy of *Besshi Kuden* dated 1418. Its colophon refers to a previous version and indeed one does exist, albeit in poor condition and lacking its final page. Unfortunately it is not clear to what degree these remarks present in 1418 also appeared in the prior version.

For ease of discussion, let us recall at this point Zeami's potential successors who presented themselves at different times in his life. They are his sons, Motomasa, Mototsugu 元次, and Motoyoshi, and also his nephew, Motoshige 元重 (from now on called by his 'ami' name Onnami 音阿弥), son of younger brother Shirō 四郎. Zeami's son-in-law, Zenchiku, is also mentioned here for convenience. Scholars have generally taken Mototsugu to be Motomasa.



The 1418 colophon continues as follows:

> Although it is true that in a previous year I passed on these separately written details to my younger brother Shirō, Mototsugu is an extremely capable performer, and so again I pass them onto him. Secret tradition, secret tradition![30]

This is followed by the date and a written seal, 'Ze'. The stress on secrecy repeated within the work is in contrast to the earlier three sections of *Fūshikaden* and signals the change in role to a marker of succession. The earlier transmission to Shirō is anomalous because he belonged to the same generation as Zeami. Perhaps Shirō took it in trust for his son, Onnami? The unidentified Mototsugu shares the first element of his name, *moto* 元, with other family members of his generation. *Tsugu* 次 may derive from Kannami's name Kiyotsugu 清次, or it may imply succession, although it would normally be associated with a second son. We can read the passing of the 1418 copy to Mototsugu as a reflection of Zeami's choice, and it is indeed on this basis that Mototsugu is taken to be Motomasa, Zeami's chosen heir.

[30] *Besshi Kuden*, in ZZ, p. 65.

The Distribution of Zeami's Works

In *Fūshikaden*, Zeami recorded the teaching that he had received from Kannami, probably completing the full seven sections by about 1403. From then until the end of the 1420s, he wrote several new works that owed less to his father and more to his own developing ideas. The question of who was to receive them must have become critical as the following generation began to grow up. All of Zeami's potential successors mentioned above received writings in this period, and who received what has been seen as a reflection of his assessment of their different levels of ability and areas of interest.

The evidence for the distribution of Zeami's works among his disciples is complex and incomplete. There are internal and contemporaneous references that are relevant; some works, for example, are marked with the names of their intended recipients. Another kind of evidence lies in the distribution of works among the various overlapping collections that have come to light in the present century. Texts found in the main Kanze family alone and clearly not copied from other collections, are believed to have been passed by Zeami to his brother Shirō or to his nephew Onnami, from whom the main Kanze line derives. The so-called Yoshida collection, destroyed in the Kantō earthquake of 1923 but fortunately previously transcribed in *Zeami Jūrokubu Shū* 世阿弥十六部集,[31] is believed to have been handed down in the Ochi 越智 Kanze troupe, and to consist of writings passed to Zeami's sons, Motomasa and Motoyoshi. Works available only in the Komparu family collections were probably intended for Zenchiku.[32]

On this evidence Onnami appears to have received some sections of *Fūshikaden*, *Kashūnai Nukigaki* 花習内抜書,[33] and *Ongyoku Kowadashi Kuden* 音曲声出口伝, a summary record of Kannami's teaching on chanting—all relatively early works. We need to distinguish those in the Yoshida collection intended for Motoyoshi from those for Motomasa. Motoyoshi himself in *Shiki Shūgen* 四季祝言 stated that Motomasa received *Kakyō*, while he himself received *Sandō* 三道.[34] Motoyoshi's own record of Zeami's teachings, *Sarugaku Dangi* 猿楽談儀, both mentions and appears to quote from *Fūkyoku Shū* 風曲集, another work in the Yoshida collection. *Sandō* discusses the process of writing plays, and *Fūkyoku Shū* is concerned with chanting.[35] Motomasa, whom Zeami eventually chose as successor, is believed to have received the rest of the works: *Shikadō* 至花道, *Nikyoku Santai Ningyō Zu* 二曲三体人形図,

[31] Yoshida Tōgo 吉田東伍, ed., *Zeami Jūrokubu Shū* 世阿弥十六部集, Nōgakukai, 1909.

[32] The history of these collections is sketched in ZZ, pp. 549–51.

[33] An extract on the subject of *jo* 序, *ha* 破, and *kyū* 急 from *Kashū* 花習, the forerunner of *Kakyō*.

[34] Quoted in Itō Masayoshi 伊藤正義, *Komparu Zenchiku no Kenkyū* 金春禅竹の研究, Akao Shōbundō, Kyoto, 1970, pp. 21–22.

[35] The fact that Motomasa, rather than Motoyoshi, composed memorable plays is an anomaly. Was Zeami giving these works to Motoyoshi because his writing of plays and his singing were rather poor?

Yūgaku Shūdō Fūken 遊楽習道風見, *Kyūi* 九位, and others in addition to *Kakyō*. Most of these are major texts, concerned with higher aspects of performance, and it is striking that none of them has the recipient indicated in the colophon. Was Zeami reserving his right to alter his choice, directing the possessor to pass them to the new favorite?

All these works were completed before 1424, by which time Zeami had taken Buddhist vows and the position of leading actor of the troupe had passed to the next generation.

The Marriage Portion

Contemporaneous evidence supporting the tradition that Zenchiku married Zeami's daughter is slight, but there is no reason to doubt it.[36] The Komparu, Deai 出合, and Hōshō troupes had a tradition of intermarriage and in fact the Kanze troupe derived from the Deai, so such a marriage would not have been out of place.[37] The only direct evidence is an enumeration of his forebears by Zenchiku's grandson, Zenpō 禅鳳, b. 1454:

> [Sarugaku's] origin lies in the distant past, but in recent times my great-grandfather, Kanze Zeami, my grandfather, Zenchiku, and my late father, Sōin 宗筠, made this their sole Way and, owing to their talents, received the praises of the world. . . .[38]

Zenchiku was made *tayū* 太夫 of the Komparu troupe by 1425[39] and had a son in 1432. It seems likely, then, that the marriage took place between these dates. As it happens, *Rikugi* 六義 and *Shūgyoku Tokka*, the two works explicitly addressed to Zenchiku, were handed over to him in 1428.[40] Zeami also wrote out a number of playscripts and gave them to Zenchiku in this period.[41] Zeami had retired from active performance of *geinō* 芸能 by 1422 and it seems that he set about settling various writings upon members of the following generation

[36] Unreliable works of a later period refer to Zenchiku as Zeami's son-in-law, for example, *Shiza Yakusha Mokuroku* 四座役者目録, mentioned in Itō, p. 20, or the Kanze-Fukuda genealogy, reproduced in Kitagawa Tadahiko 北川忠彦, *Zeami*, Chūō Kōronsha, 1972, p. 24.

[37] *Sarugaku Dangi*, in ZZ, p. 302.

[38] *Mōtan Shichin Shō* 毛端私珍抄, in Itō Masayoshi & Omote Akira, ed., *Komparu Kodensho Shūsei* 金春古伝書集成 [KKS], Wan'ya, 1969, p. 331. This volume includes the most complete set of Zenchiku's writings as well as other Komparu family texts.

[39] There is a report of confusion at this time as to whether a certain *kanjin* 勧進 (subscription) sarugaku was being performed by Komparu Tayū or Ōkura Tayū. This is the first mention of a Komparu Tayū in this generation, and so is believed to have been Zenchiku. The confusion might have been because he had only recently attained that position. KKS, p. 57.

[40] *Goi* 五位 is found only in Komparu collections, but its intended recipient is not marked.

[41] Of the playscripts that Zeami wrote out and gave to Zenchiku, *Morihisa* 盛久, *Tadotsu no Saemon* 多度津左衛門, *Eguchi* 江口, *Unrin'in* 雲林院, and *Kashiwazaki* 柏崎 are extant. A copy of Zeami's playscript of *Yoroboshi* 弱法師 also survives. *Kashiwazaki* is not dated, but the rest were written 1423–1429. The play *Tomoakira* 知章, 1427, also survives, but the postscript is signed by someone other than Zeami. For details of these playscripts, see Omote Akira, *Nōgakushi Shinkō* 能楽史新考, Wan'ya, 1979, pp. 524–26. They are also discussed in KKS, p. 25, and in Nishino Haruo 西野春雄, '*Zeami Bannen no Nō: "Nōhon Sanjūgoban Mokuroku" o Megutte*' 世阿弥晩年の能:「能本三十五番目録」をめぐって, in *Bungaku* 文学, 39:5 (1971), p. 38.

to clear the way to preparing his mind for the next world.[42] We can understand the writings that went to Zenchiku to represent a dowry of intellectual property accompanying Zeami's daughter to her husband's house. We would expect the choice of *Rikugi* and *Shūgyoku Tokka* to say something about Zeami's assessment of Zenchiku's interests and talents at this time. In light of the parallel between the distribution of such works as intellectual property and the distribution of wealth in land-owning families, it might be expected that the texts should provide the basic grounding in the family tradition required for the prosperity of the family into which Zeami's daughter was entering. We would not, however, expect to find anything passed that might threaten the preeminence of the Kanze. As it happens, one of the works is an outline of fundamental issues that occur in Zeami's thought, while the other deals with topics typically of interest to Zenchiku. The playscripts are of particular interest in that they contain virtually no overlap with lists of plays that Zeami recommended as exemplary to his son Motoyoshi in the same period.

Rikugi and *Shūgyoku Tokka* are concerned with quite different topics. *Rikugi* proposes equivalences that link a subset of the nine levels of performance described in Zeami's *Kyūi* to the six poetic categories deriving from Chinese poetics that were elaborated in the kana preface of *Kokin Wakashū* 古今和歌集. Several of Zenchiku's own writings generated equivalences between categories in different intellectual realms, for example, between the five modes of chanting (*go-on* 五音) and the ten poetic styles (*jittei* 十体) in *Go-on Jittei*. It might be conjectured on this basis alone that Zenchiku had something to do with Zeami's decision to write *Rikugi*. It is sufficiently unsuccessful a work for some to have doubted Zeami's authorship. The tone is somewhat half-hearted, and we can read the final colophon as something of a disclaimer, including as it does the following words: 'This volume has been handed on at the request of Komparu Tayū.'[43]

There is something odd about the production of this work, the original holograph of which is still extant. The handwriting of the colophon has been identified as Zeami's, but the rest of the work is in another hand (not Zenchiku's).[44] The paper, thick and decorated, is exceptional for Zeami's writings. Even if we accept that *Rikugi* was composed by Zeami for Zenchiku, it is likely, all things considered, that the contents were a response to Zenchiku's own interests.

The other text transmitted to Zenchiku in this period, *Shūgyoku Tokka*, is more typical of Zeami, both in terms of topic and style. It takes the form of a series of questions and answers, a style of writing known as *mondō* 問答 and commonly found in Zen works. This format mimics the conversation of master and pupil, and thus characterizes not only the subject matter but also the form of discourse considered appropriate for such discussions. The first question asks why well-prepared performances sometime fail—a topic of abid-

[42] *Kyakuraika*, in ZZ, p. 246.
[43] 此一巻,金春大夫所望依為相伝所也. *Rikugi*, in ZZ, p. 182.
[44] The handwriting is discussed in ZZ, p. 564.

ing interest to Zeami. Subsequent questions introduce discussions of key terms in his thought—*hana* 花, *omoshiroki* 面白き, *yasuki kurai* 安き位, *jōju* 成就, and *gaibun* 我意分—terms that Zenchiku uses in his own works, but in peripheral contexts. Zeami justified his transmission of *Shūgyoku Tokka* to Zenchiku in terms of his performing ability:

> This work is a secret teaching in the training of this art. As Komparu Tayū's performance is evidence of his attainment [*kenjo*], I hereupon transfer it to him.[45]

An oddity of this transmission is that *Shūgyoku Tokka* refers to other works by Zeami: *Fūshikaden*, *Shikadō*, and *Kakyō*, but it is unlikely that Zeami intended Zenchiku to have access to these other texts at this time.[46] It may be that *Shūgyoku Tokka* was not initially written with Zenchiku in mind.

Thirty-five playscripts were copied out in the Kanze house and passed to Zenchiku, and a list of their titles, in a hand believed to be Zenchiku's, is extant. Of the actual playscripts, only a few survive; of these, those that are dated were written out between 1423 and 1429. As *Rikugi* and *Shūgyoku Tokka* were transmitted in 1428, it is probable that Zeami regarded the playscripts as being part of a single act of transmission together with these two works. Two aspects of this set of plays have struck scholars as odd, and both conform to our model of a distribution of intellectual property as a wedding portion. The first is that not all the plays were composed by Zeami; on the contrary, some are by Kannami, some by Zeami, and some by Motomasa; others are conjectured to be by Motoyoshi. Some of the plays are not even by the Kanze; *Kashiwazaki* was in a version that derived from *Saemon Gorō* 左衛門五郎 of the Enami 榎並 troupe. The plays represent, in fact, a broad range of basic types. Zeami may well have considered them as a suitable basis for a young *tayū* of another troupe starting out to build his own reputation. The plays do not overlap with the exemplary list given by Zeami to Motoyoshi in 1423 in *Sandō*, nor with the list that appears in *Sarugaku Dangi*, in 1429, except possibly in the case of the first play given to Zenchiku (*Yumiyawata* 弓八幡). Zeami famously (and correctly) predicted that many of the plays in these lists would continue to be popular in future generations, so he may have wanted to keep them within the Kanze house.[47]

[45] ZZ, p. 196, glosses the term *kenjo* 見所 as superb points (*sugureta ten* すぐれた点). Zeami uses this term variously; see, for example, *Kakyō*, in ZZ, p. 104, or p. 109 (where it might be read as *miru tokoro*). My translation follows other usages similar in context to the present case, in *Kyūi* and particularly in a letter to Zenchiku in which Zeami refers to visible evidence of the receipt of the dharma: *tokuhō no miru tokoro* とく法の見所). The Buddhist context shows that the term is equivalent to *kenshō* 見証. ZZ, pp. 176 & 316.

[46] All three works were passed down in the Komparu line (see *Komparu Ke Shomotsu no Nikki* 金春家書物之日記, dated Genna 7 (1621).10.8, reproduced in KKS, pp. 20–21), but they were later copies. If Zeami had intended Zenchiku to see these works in 1428, his remarks made five years later (in *Kyakuraika*, in ZZ, p. 246) that Motomasa has let Zenchiku see just one of them makes little sense.

[47] The plays are listed as *Yumiyawata*, *Tamamizu* 玉水, *Taema* 当麻, *Fuseya* (=*Tokusa* 木賊?), *Hanjo* 班女, *Tsunemori* 経盛, *Tōgan Koji* 東岸居士, *Sumidagawa* 隅田川, *Yamamba* 山姥, *Senju* 千手, *Kashiwazaki*, *Tomonaga* 朝長, *Koremori* 維盛, *Shirotori* 城取, *Hōjōgawa* 放生川, *Yoshino*

We may conclude from this transmission that Zeami felt Zenchiku to be of sufficient talent to merit teachings on the elements of successful performance. He attempted to provide him with the basic plays and theoretical considerations necessary for success. There is no sign, however, that he wished to bring Zenchiku into the Kanze line, nor to give him his best works. Zenchiku, for his part, appears to have already shown signs of his interest in theoretical questions relating sarugaku to other intellectual spheres.

Considering Zeami's dispositions to his family in the context of the model of the *sōryō* system, it is less surprising than has perhaps been believed to discover that rivals for succession in the following generation founded their own separate lines, with Motomasa apparently the main line, and Onnami and his father, Shirō, establishing a branch troupe. It will be recalled that Zeami passed an early version of *Besshi Kuden* to his younger brother, Shirō, when he was in some anxiety about the loss of traditional strategies. This work was passed down in Onnami's line to the present day, although its colophon has unfortunately been destroyed. Zeami's later version, which went to Mototsugu, survives only in copies, but the original is believed to have been part of Motomasa's collection. Armed with their own copy, Shirō and Onnami began to perform separately from the main Kanze troupe.

Two years after Zeami's retirement, the position of the Kanze in Kyoto was greatly strengthened by their appointment to the post of *gakutō* 楽頭 at the Seiryūgū 清滝宮, where performances were offered to the guardian deity of Daigoji 醍醐寺. This was a hereditary post with a substantial income that became vacant when all the leading members of the Enami troupe had died, apparently as a punishment for some misdeed. The *gakutō* was responsible for sarugaku performances at the Seiryūgū festival, and in previous years, the Enami Tayū had arranged for both Onnami and Shirō to appear in his stead.

Saigyō 吉野西行, *Matakashiwazaki* 又柏崎, *Mimosusogawa* 御裳濯川, *Izutsu* 井筒, *Unrin'in, Morihisa, Tatsutahime* 竜田姫, *Utaura* 歌占, *Ishikawa no Jorō* 石河ノ女郎, *Sumiyoshi no Monogurui* 住吉物狂, *Ushihiki no Nō* 牛引能, *Matsu no O* 松尾, *Hikaru Genji* 光源氏 (=*Suma Genji* 須磨源氏?), *Tadotsu Saemon, Eguchi, Nokiba no Ume* 軒端梅, *Tamura* 田村, *Tomoakira, Yorobōshi*, and *Sao no Uta* 竿ノ歌 (=*Murogimi* 室君?). *Ishikawa no Jorō, Ushihiki, Shiritori*, and *Matakashiwazaki* are unidentified.

Nishino, pp. 40–41, assumes that Zeami must have given his best plays to Zenchiku and that the medium of playscripts operated as a formal permission to perform those plays. Nishino deals with the lack of coincidence between Zeami's list and those in *Sandō* and *Sarugaku Dangi* (which are essentially the same) by taking the plays in Zenchiku's list to be written after *Sandō* was completed (he excepts the plays written by former masters), and by supposing that the works listed in *Sandō* had already been transmitted to Zenchiku.

This is unsatisfactory, first because it fails to explain the lack of coincidence in the category of plays written by former masters, and next because it depends on the existence of a transmission of almost thirty plays to a Zenchiku under the age of nineteen—for which no evidence remains. But Nishino's analysis of the unconventional handling of the material in these plays is of great interest, and the list demands further study. For other lists of plays and Zeami's prediction, see *Sandō* and *Sarugaku Dangi* in ZZ, pp. 142–44 & 291. Zeami's criticism of Enami's *Kashiwazaki* is found in the same section of *Sarugaku Dangi*, where he says that he himself has written an improved version. This may be *Matakashiwazaki* in the above list.

Partly because of this, Abbot Mansai (or Manzei) 満済 chose 'Kanze Tayū' to be the next *gakutō*. Ambiguity in the records makes it difficult to know whether this was intended to signify Motomasa. In Kōfukuji, in 1427, Motomasa and Onnami performed separately on the same occasion, and in the same year, Onnami put on an independent subscription (*kanjin* 勧進) performance in the Fushimi area. He was supported in this by the cleric Gien 義円, who became shogun in the following year, taking the name Yoshinori 義教.

From then on Onnami often performed at the shogun's Muromachi residence. In a record of a performance in 1429 at the riding grounds of this estate, there is a reference to the participation of two Kanze troupes. This is believed to refer to a main Kanze troupe under Motomasa, with Zeami in the background, and a secondary troupe, led by Onnami, with the guidance of Shirō. From this time on, Yoshinori is believed to have favored the presumed *bunke* of Shirō and Onnami over the main line, although the evidence for his interference in Kanze matters is not so strong as is often claimed.[48] Motomasa's younger brother, Motoyoshi, decided to retire to monastic orders in 1430. This need not necessarily have been the result of the shogun's oppression of the main house. As a sibling who failed to be made successor and yet did not feel able to strike out on his own, he may have concluded that he had little future left in the Kanze line.

Zeami never referred to Onnami in his writings. He made it plain after Motomasa's unexpected death in 1432 that he regarded no other actor in the Kanze line qualified for the transmission. If the appointment of Onnami as successor would have pleased the shogun, consideration of the welfare of the Kanze house might have persuaded Zeami to be flexible. The Kanze troupe had gathered to itself more public positions than it had possessed in Zeami's youth. For the troupe to disregard the tastes of the ultimate public authority was surely foolish. Zeami seems to have placed a higher priority on the absolute significance of the artistic knowledge that he had to transmit. Signs of a potential conflict between the inner and outer faces of the sarugaku line, between the requirements of public office and the conditions for the transmission of *michi*, were already present in the 1418 colophon to *Besshi Kuden*, discussed above, where a mere successor was distinguished from one qualified by talent to

[48] Mansai does not record why he had to tell the retired emperor that Zeami and Motomasa could not perform at the Sentō Imperial Palace. *Mansai Jugō Nikki* 満済准后日記, Shōchō 2 (1429).5.13, in *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū* 続群書類従, supplementary volume 2, 1927, p. 52. Yoshinori's often discussed order that Onnami should be made *gakutō* of the Seiryūgū never happened. Yoshinori simply requested that Onnami should perform, as indeed Onnami had before, when Enami had been *gakutō*. *Mansai Jugō Nikki*, Eikyō 2 (1430).4.17, p. 141). The *gakutō* continued to be the Kanze Tayū, a title Onnami gained after Motomasa died in 1432. That Zeami was asked to give advice concerning the Matsubayashi performances at the shogun's palace in 1430 (*Sarugaku Dangi*, in a discussion of Eikyō 2(1430).1, in ZZ, p. 305) contradicts theories of shogunal disfavor at this time. Records of events in the Kanze troupe in this period contain contradictions and ambiguities to which scholars have applied various interpretations. The most completely argued version is found in Nose Asaji, *Nōgaku Genryūkō* 能楽源流考, Iwanami, 1938, pp. 722–33.

receive that work. *Besshi Kuden* itself, as it happens, set forth as its prime objective winning the favor of people with power. That Zeami could have considered that he had something to transmit of supreme value, quite separate from the destiny of the troupe, is probably not unconnected with the fact that he increasingly described and thought of the *michi* of sarugaku in terms of the Zen path to spiritual liberation.

Satori in Sarugaku: Zeami's Proposal of Absolute Aesthetic Standards

After the completion of *Fūshikaden*, Zeami's terminology steadily began to reflect the influence of Zen.[49] The Zen characterization of the relationship between practice and enlightenment provided him with a useful vocabulary of ideas for a discussion of training and mastery in sarugaku. But the concept of legitimacy found in Zen placed absolute authority in a line of enlightened masters and spurned external opinion. This was a fundamental theme of the Zen tradition, one that conditioned the way in which Zen attempted to establish legitimacy, internally and externally. The problems involved are clearly apparent in the legendary story of the succession to the fifth patriarch in 'Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch' (*Liu-tsu t'an-ching* 六祖壇経). Although the leading Chinese monk, the highly educated and popular Shen-hsui 神秀, 605?-706, publicly received the headship of the temple, he was not to be regarded as the legitimate sixth patriarch. The true line had passed through the illiterate barbarian, Hui-neng 慧能, 638–713, who was such an unpopular choice that he was advised to flee under the cover of night. The symbol of the transmission was Hui-neng's reception of a cloak and a bowl. But how were the unenlighted to judge the legitimacy of his claim? A cloak and bowl were no more reliable signs than temple headship. By the time Dōgen 道元, 1200–1253, went to China, it had become customary for Zen masters to keep documents of succession (*shisho* 嗣書) to confirm their enlightenment. Dōgen himself stressed the necessity of such documents, without which it was impossible to tell who had genuinely received the transmission:

> The buddhas always transmit the Dharma to the buddhas, the patriarchs always transmit the Dharma to the patriarchs; this is called the bond of evidence, this is called the single transmission. . . . No one but a buddha can bestow the seal of approval upon a buddha, and no one is a buddha without receiving the seal of approval. . . . Without determining to whom the Way of the Buddha is to be transmitted, how could it have reached this day? For this reason, in order to become a buddha, there must be a document of succession that is to be granted from a buddha to a buddha and to be received by a buddha from a buddha.[50]

Dōgen managed to get a look at five *shisho*, in which the line of masters

[49] For details of Zen language and thought in Zeami's work, and his connection with the Sōtō school, see Kōsai Tsutomu 香西精, *Zeami Shinkō* 世阿弥新考, Wan'ya, 1962, pp. 1–68.

[50] Taken from the translation of *Shōbōgenzō*, section 39, *Shisho*, in Takashi James Kodera, *Dogen's Formative Years in China: An Historical Study and Annotated Translation of the Hōkyō-ki*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1980, pp. 45–46.

back to Shakamuni were enumerated. When he pointed out discrepancies between different documents, he was told:

> Even if there are differences, the buddhas of the Yun-men School must be accepted as indicated in the document. Why do people venerate Shakamuni? It is because he realized the Way. Why do we venerate the Great Master Yun-men? It is because he realized the Way.[51]

Dōgen was apparently deeply moved by this explanation, yet it exposes a central problem. The document's purpose was to authenticate the master's enlightenment, but ultimately the document was verified by that enlightenment. Whereas other institutions or lineages embody and preserve skills mediating their relations with society, the training in Zen serves in the first instance the interests of the acolyte alone, at least in its own terms. Enlightenment justifies itself and scorns society's evaluation.[52]

Zeami did not go so far to believe that the actor performed simply for himself. Nevertheless, he shifted from an early justification of performance in terms of audience reaction toward a self-justifying aesthetic. In *Fūshikaden*, the acclaim of audiences, particularly of the culturally sophisticated, was the basis on which performance was evaluated. This reflected the means by which Kannami achieved fame. The format of the early writing may have presented sarugaku as a courtly tradition, but this was particularly inappropriate for the Kanze troupe, which had the weakest claim to lineage of the four Yamato *za*.[53] The fifth book of *Fūshikaden* stressed the need to master all roles so that the troupe could survive even if it were to find itself dependent on unsophisticated audiences far from the capital.

A tension developed in Zeami's writings between this ideal of pleasing all types of audience, associated with Kannami, and that of exquisite moments of perfection, only appreciated by those of refined tastes. This second ideal predominated after *Fūshikaden* in works such as *Shikadō* and *Kakyō*, where Zeami developed theories of grades of artistic ability and levels of audience response. He associated these standards more and more with the remembered tastes of the great cultural polymaths of his childhood, the associates of the shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満, 1358–1408. As he grew older, Zeami changed from a performer who had pandered to the tastes of a rarified society to one who remembered a great age that had passed. In *Sarugaku Dangi* it

[51] As quoted in Kodera, p. 43.

[52] Of course Zen achieved its own accommodation with social realities. Zen monks in Japan were prized for their knowledge of Neo-Confucian texts on government and for their literary ability. Both depended on expertise in Chinese, the medium of the Zen transmission in Japan.

[53] Kannami's family background is described somewhat ambiguously in *Sarugaku Dangi*: 'A son of a man called Suginoki 杉木 of Hattori [Taira clan] in the province of Iga was adopted by a man called Naka 中 of Uda. He had an illegitimate child in Kyoto. That child was adopted by a man called Mino Dayū 美濃太夫 in Yamada. He had three sons. Hōshō Tayū 宝生太夫 [heir], Shōichi 生市 [middle], Kanze [youngest]. The three are this man's issue. The Tayū of Yamada died while young.' ZZ, p. 302. Kanze (= Kannami) left to live in Obata, in Iga province, where he set up his own troupe.

is the past period of Yoshimitsu that is constantly referred to as the standard by which performance should be judged. Zeami had finally arrived at a point where his aesthetics were independent of any contemporaneous assessment.

Zenchiku: Zeami's Last Hope

It was only after Motomasa's death that Zeami began to view Zenchiku as a possible successor to bear his artistic legacy to future generations. In *Kyakuraika* 却来華, 1433, he discusses him thus:

> Now Komparu Tayū is correct in the fundamental elements of performance and is a man who will preserve the Way, but he does not yet appear to be one who can found a lineage that will lead others to enlightenment.[54] If he increases his success in artistic power and achieves a ripe age, definitely he will become one who is 'an exception among exceptions'. But it is unlikely that Zeami should live that long. It is unfortunate, but who might there be in this path who could test him and prove his attainment with the seal of enlightenment? Nevertheless, Motomasa appears to have believed that there was no one apart from Komparu who could bequeath to future generations the family name [*iena* 家名] of this *michi*, for he allowed Komparu to look at an important volume of secret tradition.[55]

This passage is couched in terms derived from Zen. The seal of enlightenment (*inka no shōken* 印可の証見) refers to the moment when a pupil's enlightenment is tested and proved by a master. Enlightenment is an indescribable experience of the Buddha mind (*busshin* 仏心) and leaves an ineradicable impress (*shin'in* 心印). It can be validated (*inka* 印可) only by a master who is able to prove it (*shōken* 証見).[56] It is not clear exactly what Zeami had in mind here. He certainly seems to believe that Zenchiku would require the seal, but it is hard to imagine its value to Zenchiku for anything other than private satisfaction. Zeami refers to the family name of this *michi*. Did he mean to absorb Zenchiku into the Kanze family? Actors certainly moved between troupes in the fifteenth century, but Zenchiku was profoundly committed to his own Komparu lineage, which he regarded as the senior line of the Yamato troupes. Zeami no longer had control of the Kanze line, with its public power, to be-

[54] *Kōjō no taiso* 向上の大祖, a Zen term for a patriarch or founder of a lineage who can lead from illusion to enlightenment. Taya Raishun 多屋頼俊 et al., ed., *Bukkyōgaku Jiten* 仏教学事典, Hōzōkan, Kyoto, 1955, p. 121.

[55] ZZ, p. 246.

[56] See the entries for *in* and *shin'in* in Taya, pp. 23 & 277. It is unclear whether Zeami envisaged just one satori in his Way of sarugaku. The passage quoted above is usually read in such a way, but it is unclear how strictly we should interpret Zeami's terminology. The term *inka* itself, for example, has a variety of uses. In Zeami's earlier work, *yurusu* 許す meant passing a pupil in a test (*Kakyō*, in ZZ, p. 93). In one of Zeami's letters to Zenchiku, discussed below, the term *inkamōsu* 印可申す appears twice in contexts where it is most easily understood to mean passing Zenchiku for certain roles. It seems, therefore, to be a sinified synonym for *yurusu*. There is, on the other hand, a passage in the same letter in which Zeami discusses the need for practice after enlightenment (see p. 223, below). This implies a single satori (or at least *tokuhō* 得法) for sarugaku. The use of the term *inka* is discussed in P. G. O'Neill, 'The Letters of Zeami', in *Nōgaku Kenkyū* 能楽研究, 5, Hōsei Daigaku Nōgaku Kenkyūkai, 1980, pp. 146–47.

queath it. We can only conclude that he had come to believe in a higher understanding of sarugaku that could be passed from generation to generation, that would be independent of family and troupe affiliation, something more profound and universal than the concerns of a single *ie*.

Zeami's Letters to Zenchiku

As the ideal of Zen transmission was of a special understanding 'communicated from mind to mind', a particularly close understanding between Zeami and Zenchiku would have been a sine qua non. Only fourteen months were available, however, between Zeami's new choice of Zenchiku and his forced departure for Sado on 3rd day, Fifth Month, 1434. It is doubtful how much face-to-face teaching would have been possible in that time. Two of Zeami's letters to Zenchiku survive, one of which seems to have been written in 1433, two months after *Kyakuraika*.[57] It is a reply to a letter, now lost, in which Zenchiku must have referred to his doubts about his own ability. It opens with a poem:

oroka naru	What inner jewel
kokoro yo to miru	remains to be seen
kokoro yori	other than the mind
hoka ni wa nani no	which sees
tama o mimashi ya	that the mind is deluded?[58]

Zeami reassures Zenchiku that awareness of imperfection is itself a sign of enlightenment. He then writes of his feeling of isolation while Zenchiku is traveling in the northern provinces. He has read Zenchiku's questions about his ability, but points out that he has already given his seal of approval (*inka*).[59] Zenchiku must now follow his own feelings.

> Lord Mimura saw your performance at Ōmi. He said that you had developed great ability. He is a man of discernment and his judgment can be trusted, so do not worry about it. Still, a thousand reports cannot match a single viewing, so once I have seen your performance I will be able to decide for myself.[60]

[57] Dated 14th day, Fifth Month, without the year specified. The letter is published in ZZ, pp. 316–17, from which the quotations are taken. There has been some debate about the year in which the letter was written. It is generally agreed that it must predate Zeami's exile in 1434 (it was not sent from Sado). Zeami's remarks in the letter concerning the seal of enlightenment and practice after enlightenment seem to many readers unlikely to have been written before the passage from *Kyakuraika* quoted above. This impression is supported by Zeami's reference in the letter to his anxiety that Zenchiku should be traveling so far away, which would be more understandable after Motomasa's death on such a journey. See O'Neill, pp. 146–48, for a survey of the controversy.

[58] This and other quotations from the letter are taken from ZZ, p. 316. The poem is usually taken to be Zeami's own. Note the play on the word *tama*, which can be read as both 'jewel' and 'indwelling spirit'.

[59] The reference to a seal says: *Shite onmochi sōrō koto wa haya toku yori inkamōshite sōrō* して御もち候事ハはやとくよりいんか申て候. What exactly has been validated here is not clear. Various interpretations are discussed in O'Neill, p. 137, nn. 23 & 27.

[60] ZZ, p. 316.

Zeami reminds Zenchiku that even in Zen some continued practice is necessary after enlightenment. 'In the Buddhist dharma too, continued religious study by a preceptor, that is, continued study after enlightenment, is of great importance. . . .[61] There is no doubt that your performance is visible evidence that you have already achieved enlightenment.'[62] Zenchiku must have asked about hand gestures, for Zeami replies: 'As regards the arms, you must simply understand fully the appearance and sound of the two arts and the three forms.'[63] In other words, practice the basic forms (chanting and dance, old man, woman, and warrior) over and over again. The letter ends as follows:

> From the beginning you attained the Dharma, and so, after weighing everything up, I concluded that you were accomplished. But a thousand reports cannot match a single viewing. When I have observed your abilities, I will be able to give you a definite reply.[64]

It is striking that Zeami should need to rely on second-hand reports concerning Zenchiku's performance. Indeed his original choice of Zenchiku depended on Motomasa's assessment, which itself was surmised by Zeami from the fact that his son had shown certain writings to Zenchiku. The impression of this letter is that Zeami is not able to answer Zenchiku's questions with anything other than platitudes because his knowledge of the younger man's actual ability was limited.

The other letter to Zenchiku was written from Sado, probably in 1435, the year after Zeami's banishment. Zeami thanks Zenchiku for caring for his elderly wife, and for sending 10,000 *mon*, by which he is able to maintain a reasonable standard of living. In the unlikely event that he should return to the capital, he intends to call to express his gratitude in person. The letter continues: 'I read what you said about the performance of the demon. In this [こなたの] school it is not known.'[65]

Note that the term *konata* (this) implies a contrast between Zeami's and Zenchiku's schools, that is, between the Kanze and the Komparu. The demon noh was a specialty of the Yamato tradition and of the Komparu house. Zeami disapproved of its violent (*rikidō* 力動) performance, accepting only the form that reflected a human heart in demonic guise and modified the vigor of the movements (*saidō* 砕動).[66] After repeating his school's opposition to the *rikidō* style,

[61] *Buppō nimo, sōshi no sangaku to mōsu wa tokuhō ikō no sangaku to koso* 仏法にも,宗師の参学と申は得法以降の参学とこそ.

[62] ZZ, p. 316.

[63] ZZ, pp. 316–17. 手の事 is perhaps to be read as 'the matter of (a certain) technique'.

[64] ZZ, p. 317. The phrase 'but a thousand reports cannot match a single viewing' appears twice in the letter.

[65] ZZ, p. 318.

[66] The fact that the *rikidō* style was not recognized in Zeami's school is mentioned in *Shūgyoku Tokka*, received by Zenchiku in 1428. ZZ, p. 198. The extent to which the Komparu tradition, from Zenchiku onward, misunderstood Zeami's views on the demon performance is outlined in Nishino Haruo, '*Zeami Kaden: Zeami no Geiron wa ika ni Gokai Sarete Kita ka*' 世阿弥訛伝:世阿弥の芸論はいかに誤解されてきたか, in *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to Kyōzai no Kenkyū* 国文学:解釈と教材の研究, 35:3 (1990), pp. 68–75.

Zeami goes on to say that the demon should be performed only in an actor's old age, after many years of experience. He intends to send a general account of matters that he has taught Zenchiku so far and hopes that he will read it carefully. The letter ends with an apology for the poor quality of its paper.

There still seems to be a gap between Zenchiku's expectations and Zeami's responses. However much Zeami may have intended to transmit his enlightenment by a close union of minds, he ends up having to depend on promises of a written account. Zen itself boasts a tradition independent of verbal and written representation, but the teaching that Zeami passed to Zenchiku concluded by relying on the written word. This perhaps helps to explain the intense overreading that Zenchiku himself applied to Zeami's works, many of which he was able to copy later under circumstances that are unclear. There just does not seem to have been sufficient time for the development of the close intellectual intimacy of teacher and pupil that would have made the works into reminders of insights already received, rather than a set of clues to a knowledge otherwise out of reach. Even if the two men had spent more time together, it is questionable how well they would have understood one another, for there are signs of their fundamental differences in attitude.

Zeami's Attitude toward Komparu Traditions

There were in fact contentious issues concerning sarugaku likely to divide the two men. The difference between the image of the Komparu tradition that appears in *Sarugaku Dangi*, and that found in Zenchiku's works, indicates a rift among the Yamato troupes. Related to this were different interpretations of sarugaku history and associated conceptions of artistic authority.

Behind the apparently detached aesthetic judgments of *Sarugaku Dangi* lies a network of alliances and oppositions. Performers who contributed to the hegemony of Zeami and Kannami are approved and those who compete with it are criticized. The attitudes adopted therein toward the Komparu and Kongō troupes cannot be read simply in light of artistic differences. The Komparu considered themselves descended from an extremely ancient line—a view generally accepted by their contemporaries. The Kongō also traced itself back through several generations, having a long prior association with Hōryūji, a fact not mentioned in the *Sarugaku Dangi* account of its origins.[67] Zeami's family, on the other hand, neither wished to nor could claim a comparable depth of lineage. In a discussion of 'the style of the countryside', Zeami (through the brush of Motoyoshi) singled out the performers of the two older troupes in particular for devastating criticism:

> Komparu Gonnokami 金春権守 and Kongō Gonnokami 金剛権守 in the end failed

[67] Zeami derives the Kongō troupe from 'two people called Matsu and Take coming up to the capital from Kamakura. They had no surnames.' *Sarugaku Dangi*, in ZZ, p. 302. The Kongō family records trace back to the sixth century, but Nose, 1938, pp. 286–98, manages to confirm their association with Hōryūji back to the early 1300s, and shows that they were probably active there as far back as the early twelfth century.

> to advance themselves. Even at *kanjin* performances in the capital those of the shogun's line did not attend. After two days performing a *kanjin* in the capital, Komparu went back to the countryside. Even in a competition in Nara, Kongō was made to stop and leave after two pieces. In that period, when the Way was at its height, to be famed for one's skill was a considerable feat.[68]

Here, Zeami takes popularity among the shogun's entourage in the capital, and during Yoshimitsu's hegemony, to be the standard of correct taste, and it is against this that he finds the Komparu and Kongō wanting. He reserved for Komparu Gonnokami, Zenchiku's grandfather, the harshest treatment, asserting that not only the spectators but even the Kongō considered his oddities of performance too much.[69] Komparu Gonnokami perhaps employed techniques of performance that were popular before rural audiences but considered too vulgar for the city. Zeami seems to have regarded him as the representative of those techniques and tastes. There probably were two general styles among the Yamato troupes, one more traditional and the other more refined, and each may have been supported by its own ideology. Kannami's approach to performance, preserved in *Fūshikaden*, was intimately related to the Kanze troupe's success in the capital. How Komparu Gonnokami understood his art is unfortunately lost, but indications of his self-justification are apparent in Zenchiku's fixation on his family history.

Commentators on Zeami's works have accepted the artistic judgments on the Komparu and Kongō in *Sarugaku Dangi*. Still, the use of the word 'countryside' (*inaka* 田舎) is clearly tendentious. A contrast seems intended with Kyoto, but the site of Komparu and Kongō supremacy was, in fact, the religious institutions of Nara, especially the Kōfukuji-Kasuga complex, which ill deserves the epithet *inaka*. It was, after all, the ruling elite of this vast organization, dominating the province of Yamato, that was able to both maintain continuity with Heian courtly culture and resist warrior influence at this time. It is hardly surprising that the two troupes with greatest prestige in Nara should seek legitimacy via claims to ancient lineage, for this was the traditional strategy of those who governed Yamato—the Fujiwara aristocrats. On the other hand, that Zeami and Kannami should stress repetitive training leading to performance judged by its effectiveness in competition is not surprising in the context of their hegemony in a warrior-dominated Kyoto.

Zenchiku's Attitude toward Komparu Traditions

We would expect Zenchiku's attitude to his own tradition to be apparent in his references to his predecessor in the Komparu troupe, but he never mentions his father, Yasaburō 弥三郎, apart from listing his name in family trees. Yasaburō is scarcely mentioned in contemporaneous documents; he probably made no impact as a performer and may well have died during Zenchiku's childhood.

[68] *Sarugaku Dangi*, in ZZ, p. 298.
[69] *Kongō ga kata yori amari no koto tote nan zeshi nari. Sarugaku Dangi*, in ZZ, p. 298.

It is from Zenchiku's descriptions of his grandfather, Komparu Gonnokami, therefore, that we must gauge his attitude to his family style. Even here his remarks are somewhat obscure. In *Kabu Zuinōki* 歌舞髄脳記, Zenchiku describes four types of leading role: old man, warrior, woman, and 'various'. He lists plays under each heading and adds to them indications of their aesthetic qualities. The section ends as follows:

> Broadly speaking, all the above roles, from the three higher forms to the 'various', are in the original style, possessing the Way [*michi*], and are appearances that eschew vulgarity [*zoku* 俗]. People ignorant of the Way consider plays expressing the pathos of parents and children, or the duty and fate of warriors, to be best, but I fear such plays are merely worldly roles. Yet even when vulgar, disordered styles are performed by one who has attained the discrimination of a superior man, they can be of unexpected interest. It is my humble view, however, that such a performer does not suit such techniques. The role of the shore-dweller who gathers seaweed appears to be worldly, yet it has superb points. My grandfather had sublime moments of the 'bone' style, but now it is like gazing down a deep ravine and trying to grasp the jewels at the bottom. If anyone managed to attain this feeling, the performance of the role would then be appropriate for *yūgen* 幽玄.[70]

Zenchiku attempts to distinguish plays or roles that accord with the Way. *Ama* 海士 is an example of a play on the borderline; it is not included in Zenchiku's preceding list. He tells us, however, that Komparu Gonnokami's performance of it had sublime moments out of reach of contemporaneous players. But it was Komparu Gonnokami's performance of *Ama* that Zeami singled out for scorn in *Sarugaku Dangi*.[71]

One of the plays listed by Zenchiku in the mixed category is *Ōshōkun* 王照君, the modern *Shōkun* 昭君, written by Komparu Gonnokami. Zenchiku characterizes this play by quoting two poems that he considers to express equivalent aesthetic moods.[72] He then adds:

> The element of appearance here particularly bequeaths the single stream of my grandfather's aesthetic style. It has sublime moments of one appearance, one sound, and one step.[73]

These two references to Komparu Gonnokami involve no quotative structure; Zenchiku writes from his own experience.[74] There is no sign that he believed that his grandfather's style lacked taste. In a later passage of *Kabu Zuinōki*, Zenchiku recalls Zeami's judgments of four famous performers of the past. Among them is the following:

[70] KKS, p. 135. [71] ZZ, p. 298.

[72] The demonic barbarian in *Shōkun* seems to have no conceivable link to the style of a tranquil flowering (*kankafū* 閑花風) nor to *uruwashiki tei* 麗体, the mood of someone driven mad by love (in Zenchiku's definition: *Go-on Sangyoku Shū*, in KKS, p. 164), nor do the poems quoted seem appropriate.

[73] *Kabu Zuinōki*, in KKS, p. 134.

[74] *Shōkun* involves a child actor, and so it is possible that Zenchiku observed Gonnokami's performance first-hand while acting in the child's role.

> Grandfather [Gonnokami] was like the frost upon a mossy bough of a twisted pine tree, he said. . . . Again, if we were to compare him to a flower, he said that it would be like seeing red plum double-blossoms in full bloom.[75]

In *Shūgyoku Tokka*, Zeami used the metaphor of flowers when discussing differences between audiences; some flowers are admired by ordinary people and rustics, while others are savored only by those of real breeding.[76] He used plum blossom to represent the middle grade of performance. What he meant to say about Gonnokami in the present case is a matter for speculation. It is believed that he hid his real feelings about him from Zenchiku out of kindness. Be that as it may, Zenchiku must have known that his grandfather failed in the capital, and that the Komparu and Kongō troupes used techniques eschewed by the Kanze and their supporters. He never disavowed Komparu traditions, however, and made it clear elsewhere that he considered the lineage pre-eminent.[77] Whatever Zenchiku was to inherit from Zeami, the idea that the ultimate style of performance was the one admired by Yoshimitsu and his contemporaries conflicted with his allegiance to his family. The fact that the Komparu and Kanze styles were quite different lies behind remarks that Zenchiku makes in his introduction to *Rokurin Ichiro Hichū* (*Bunshōbon*) 六輪一露秘注 (文正本):

> The Way of *sarugaku kagura* arose in the age of the gods. It had the stages of the sixty-six performances that were condensed into *Okina Shikisanban* 翁式三番,[78] and, following Shinto and Buddhist rituals, this was not performed for private benefit. Still, becoming a medium for flowers, birds, wind, and moon, it developed into an entertainment for the whole realm. Let us suppose that there is a house in service to a shrine[79] with a reputation not justified in practice. Even so, by performing the functional forms of kagura[80] and preserving the Way, the house must qualify for the gaze of the hidden gods. Evil activities not in accordance with the Way must surely receive punishment, but each house severally founding various Ways and determining different varieties can in no way be an

[75] KKS, p. 136.

[76] ZZ, pp. 186–87.

[77] 'This troupe is the source, as the master and the basis, and in olden times received annual tribute from every province, from every troupe. Old men say that it was like this until recent times . . . now it has reached a point where we hesitate to speak of it and we just think of it in the bottom of our hearts. I am fearful talking like this, but as these two volumes of secret teaching will not be read by outsiders, I can speak without restraint.' *Meishukushū* 明宿集, in KKS, pp. 289–90.

[78] The performance of this ritual piece before Kasuga Shrine was the most important of the Yamato troupe's duties. Omote Akira, '*Yamato Sarugaku no "Osa" no Hensen*' (*ge*) 大和猿楽の「長」の変遷 (下), in *Nōgaku Kenkyū*, 4, 1978, p. 35. For an English-language survey of the history of *Okina*, see Erika de Poorter, 'Nō which is not Nō: The Ritual Play "Okina" ', in *Maske und Kothurn*, 35, Cologne, 1989, pp. 21–30.

[79] *Shinshoku no ie* 神職之家, a family of shrine servants, not a phrase normally applied to sarugaku performers.

[80] *Kagura no yūfū* 神楽之用風. Zenchiku uses the compound *yūfū* 用風 elsewhere to refer to the primordial sixty-six roles (see the next quotation from *Kabu Zuinōki*). Here he seems to be referring to the 'condensed' form of *Okina Shikisanban*. By *kagura*, he means its performance in front of shrines.

obstacle. This is why my grandfather's Way and Zeami's transmission are a single stream.[81]

The asserted conclusion can have been worth making only in view of evident differences. Zenchiku characterizes the task of sarugaku here in terms of ritual performance that wins divine, rather than human, favor. Within such parameters, the refinement and aesthetic analysis pursued by Zeami and the 'rural' style of Komparu Gonnokami need not be in conflict.

Tradition and Innovation

Zeami held a progressive view of history in which Kannami's enrichment and refinement of sarugaku under the influence of Yoshimitsu's entourage brought the art to its highest expression. Zenchiku, on the other hand, felt that sarugaku's cultural claims depended on its ancient origins, and as a result he seems to have had some difficulty in accepting alterations to tradition.

> The ancients simply treated the old style of *kagura* as the Way, but ever since the functional forms of the sixty-six pieces were refined it became a poetic entertainment, and eventually attained artistic elegance; it was decorated with flowers and polished jewels. . . .[82]
>
> It flourished especially since the time of Yoshimitsu, who comprehensively judged the performers of Yamato and Ōmi provinces, rejecting the vigorous and vulgar, and demanding *yūgen*.[83] He clearly informed the famous masters of the various houses of his evaluation of their good and bad points. When the levels and varieties of the structure of the Way had later been distinguished, the old investigated and the new understood, choices made and fixed, then the Way of performing skill was surely not a matter of personal opinion. Still, it is said, 'The superior man hears of the Way and works to attain it; the middling man hears of the Way and it is as if he has suffered a loss or is destroyed; and the inferior man hears of the Way and claps his hands and laughs out aloud. If it is not laughed at, then it cannot be the Way.'[84] Even if a man achieves the laughter of inferior people, then truly will he qualify for the gaze of the deities if his

[81] KKS, p. 249. Another translation of this passage is found in Mark J Nearman, 'The Visions of a Creative Artist: Zenchiku's *Rokurin Ichiro* Treatises, 4', in MN 51:1 (Spring 1996), p. 17.

[82] The passage breaks off here and starts again on a new line.

[83] The concept of *yūgen* that contrasts it with *tsuyoki* appears in *Fūshikaden* (ZZ, p. 50), and is believed to derive from *renga*, perhaps via Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基. Janet E. Goff, *Noh Drama and the Tale of Genji: The Art of Allusion in Fifteen Classical Plays*, Princeton U.P., 1991, p. 37. Ideally the two styles have equally positive status, but with the danger that they may degenerate on the one hand to weakness and on the other to roughness. Ōmi sarugaku tended toward pieces exemplifying *yūgen*, whereas Yamato sarugaku was more fierce, concentrating on warrior roles, expressing nobility and anger. But Kannami was particularly known for his *yūgen* roles. *Fūshikaden*, in ZZ, pp. 42–43.

[84] A reference to *Tao te ching* 道徳経, 14. The (mis)quotation also appears in slightly different form in *Shūgyoku Tokka* in an interlinear note where it is misattributed to *The Book of Rites* (ZZ, p. 186). Doubts have been raised whether these notes were added to the text by Zeami or Zenchiku (ZZ, p. 474, appended n. 99). Its presence in *Shūgyoku Tokka* is alongside a passage that expresses another point of view: that a master actor should adjust his performance to any audience. The same quotation is also inserted into Zeami's *Fushizuke Shidai* 曲付次第, in ZZ, p. 148.

> mind is full of the Way and without thought of self—and why should this not extend to the eyes of the nobility and the higher levels? There must not be any intention to do as one pleases.[85]

Here Zenchiku justifies Yoshimitsu's refinements by noting that they did not arise out of 'personal opinion', for it is the lack of 'thought of self' that validates performance. In another passage, Zenchiku considers an occasion in *Genji Monogatari* 源氏物語, where the emperor judges Genji's dancing to be superior to that of traditional experts:

> As told in the *Genji* as well, the highest level is not so much that of the traditional style of specialists of court dance. Rather, it is that of members of the imperial court who, carried away by the mood, perform pieces such as *Waves of the Blue Sea*, dancing forth from the shade of the autumn leaves. At this level both brilliance and emotional quality must have been profound. It is out of our reach, but if a person is steeped in that feeling, it can serve as a reminder of the Way. How valuable the awareness and understanding of this feeling is! Reaching the level of style that integrates the traditional manner with new feeling should be the initiation into the Way.[86]

Zenchiku manages here to reconcile traditional or ritual sarugaku with subsequent developments. In *Meishukushū*, however, probably written late in life, his account of sarugaku history (and of his family line, with which it was identified) shows his deep conservatism:

> Long ago in Prince Shōtoku's age, they performed the sarugaku dance in the Tachibana court. The prince intended the performance to settle the country and establish peace in the realm, and he asked Hada no Kōkatsu to dance *Okina* in the *shishinden*. . . . Later, after many generations and in the time of Murakami, the emperor saw what Shōtoku had written and he believed that the performance of the sarugaku dance could settle the country and establish peace in the realm. So he commanded Hada no Kōkatsu's descendants to perform in the *shishinden*. But after that, as generations passed, the art became superficial and merely the diversion of entertainers. What regrettable development could possibly match this?[87]

[85] *Kabu Zuinōki*, in KKS, p. 140. '. . . the old investigated and the new understood' is a reference to Confucius's definition of the quality required of a teacher: he goes over his old knowledge to develop his new. James Legge, tr., *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and The Doctrine of the Mean*, Chinese Classics 1, Oxford U.P., 1893, p. 149.

[86] *Kabu Zuinōki*, in KKS, pp. 140–41. Zenchiku is almost certainly referring to the imperial remark, 'There is something about the smallest gesture that tells of breeding. The professionals are very good in their way—one would certainly not wish to suggest otherwise—but they somehow lack freshness and spontaneity.' Edward Seidensticker, tr., *The Tale of Genji*, Secker & Warburg, New York, 1976, 1, p. 133. The compounds rendered as 'the traditional manner and new feeling' in Zenchiku's text differ in various copies of *Kabu Zuinōki*, being variously *koyō shinkyoku* 古様新曲, *koyō shintai* 古様新体, and *kosei shintai* 古精新体 (KKS, p. 141, and ZZ, p. 352). 'Initiation' (*kanjō* 潅頂) derives from esoteric Buddhism where it acts as an external confirmation of the reception of spiritual knowledge. It may have played a similar role in Zenchiku's thought to the Zen seal (*inka*) in Zeami's.

[87] KKS, pp. 283–84.

The phrases in this passage, and several like them appearing throughout Zenchiku's writings,[88] are similar to those of the opening section of *Fūshikaden*. The implications are, however, quite different, for Zeami says:

> That [*sarugaku ennen* 猿楽延年] has become in recent times everybody's entertainment. But in Empress Suiko's reign, Prince Shōtoku commanded Hada no Kōkatsu to perform it, on the one hand for the safety of the realm, and on the other, for everyone's enjoyment. The sixty-six-piece carnival was put on, and called sarugaku. Since that time, generation by generation, men have borrowed the scenes of wind and moon[89] and made them the medium for this diversion.[90]

Zeami's terminology (*ennen* 延年, *moteasobu tokoro* もてあそぶ所, *kairaku no tame* 快楽のため, *yūen* 遊宴 ['carnival']) contrasts strongly with Zenchiku's. In the latter's account, Shōtoku's and Murakami's motives for having sarugaku performed did not include entertainment. In fact, Zenchiku never mentions entertainment as a proper goal of sarugaku. For him, its ultimate significance lay in its being a magical ritual bringing order to the world. In *Meishukushū*, Zenchiku proposed *Okina Shikisanban*, the least entertaining and most ritual of pieces, as the major task of sarugaku players. The delight of audiences, the kernel of Zeami's thought, has no role at all in Zenchiku's writings.

Zenchiku's Attitude toward Zeami

Our outline of the way in which Zeami took Zenchiku on as his final pupil has largely depended on Zeami's words. The one-sidedness of the evidence even extends to the letters; indeed, it may be significant that Zenchiku's half of the correspondence has not been preserved. But what of Zenchiku's references to Zeami? He mentions him by name only a few times and what he has to say tells us little. Zenchiku actually describes Zeami only once, in an account of famous actors of the past:

> The above assessments [of former actors] were made by the lay priest Zeami. His knowledge, compositions, and acting were each of the highest level. He was like the moon remaining in the blossoms at dawn.[91]

The purpose of this description appears to be to validate the quoted judgments. Apart from this passage, there are only passing references to Zeami by name: he 'repaired' the nine levels of styles of performance,[92] he declared that a certain dance should start from the right,[93] and his Buddhist name contained

[88] In *Kabu Zuinōki, Rokurin Ichiro Hichū* (*Kanshōbon* 寛正本 and *Bunshōbon*), and *Meishukushū* (as here), in KKS, pp. 140, 231, 249 & 283–84.

[89] The descriptions of natural beauty found in poetry.

[90] ZZ, p. 14.

[91] *Kabu Zuinōki*, in KKS, p. 137. The simile is typical of contemporaneous definitions of *yūgen* in poetry.

[92] *Yūgen Sanrin* 幽玄三輪, in KKS, pp. 264–65. Zenchiku uses the term *iyasu* 癒す, implying that Zeami is not the originator of the nine levels.

[93] *Meishukushū*, in KKS, p. 286.

the character for *okina* 翁.[94] Nowhere do we find the praise of his character and an account of his lineage that might be expected from a major recipient of his tradition. Zenchiku twice gives detailed accounts of his own lineage back to the time of Prince Shōtoku, without mentioning either Zeami or Kannami, and so we must conclude that he had no wish to claim Zeami as his artistic master.

The ambivalence of Zenchiku's attitude is also apparent in the colophons that he added to his copies of Zeami's major works. As mentioned above, *Rikugi* and *Shūgyoku Tokka*, as well as several playscripts, had colophons written by Zeami authorizing their transmission. Some time after Zeami's banishment to Sado, Zenchiku copied other works, including *Fūshikaden*, *Kakyō*, and *Shikadō*, which were central to Kanze tradition. These copies are not accompanied by authorizing statements.[95] On the contrary, Zenchiku behaves as if he is aware that his copying is not strictly legitimate. He adds to *Kakyō* the following remarks:

> Zeami passed this volume to his grandson's house and it should not go to any outsider. But the mind that reveres the Way penetrates to divine will and so I have acquired this work. As it is the essence of that lineage, I have copied it myself for the sake of the Way and for the sake of our house. By no means should it be shown to outsiders.[96]

The grandson's house is the Kanze troupe in Ochi that centered around Motomasa's son. The 'divine will' that has arranged for Zenchiku's temporary possession of the work is used as an excuse.[97] In 1441, having copied *Besshi Kuden*, Zenchiku appended another colophon, now partially destroyed, including the following: 'This single section has been obtained by divine will.'[98] This has similar implications. Zenchiku does not attempt to justify these appropriations by referring to his relationship with Zeami. He does, however, mention a teacher on occasion. That this teacher was Zeami is apparent from the colophon appended to his holograph of *Shūgyoku Tokka* in 1453: 'This single collection was passed to me by my teacher when I was young.'[99]

Zeami's own colophon makes it clear that he was the source of the work. We have suggested that he may have been unable to establish the intellectual intimacy that was expected of a medieval teacher and his major pupil. We have surmised that the eventual transmission became almost wholly dependent on Zeami's writings. Such a conclusion is supported by Zenchiku's references to

[94] *Meishukushū*, in KKS, p. 295.

[95] The transmission of these works to another troupe was sufficiently unusual for later generations to conclude that it was Zeami's favoring the leader of another troupe over his own heir that caused his banishment. Given that the heir was Motomasa, the theory does not fit the evidence. See Kobayashi Shizuo 小林静雄, *Zeami*, Hinoki, 1958, pp. 66–67.

[96] ZZ, p. 109.

[97] When Motoyoshi retired into Buddhist orders in 1430, he entrusted both *Kakyō* and *Sandō* into Zenchiku's keeping, as he wrote in *Shiki Shūgen*. Itō, 1970, p. 21.

[98] See ZZ, p. 553.

[99] ZZ, p. 196.

his teacher, which act as authorizations of Zenchiku's ideas. For example, in *Kabu Zuinōki*, Zenchiku states:

> By and large, this volume has resulted from the extremely hard work that I have done upon receiving my teacher's explanations; I have repeatedly thought over them and dwelt upon them.[100]

We shall see, in passing, more examples below. Zenchiku seems to have pored over Zeami's writings, just as he did other 'secret' works that he gathered: works of poetics, various esoteric discussions of medieval Shinto, and the commentaries to his *rokurin ichiro* theory that he acquired from contemporaneous intellectuals. His approach to all these writings has something in common: he is in search of profound meanings behind the surface reading. We have referred to this above as over-reading. A good example is his use of Zeami's analogy of skin, flesh, and bone, to discuss aspects of performance. We start with Zeami's analogy in *Shikadō*:

> Item. In this art of performance there are skin [*hi* 皮], flesh [*niku* 肉], and bone [*kotsu* 骨]. These three are never fully present. That is why tradition tells us that, even in handwriting, the three are never equally present, with the exception of the hand of the great master [Kūkai].[101]
>
> Now if we were to indicate the locus of skin, flesh, and bone in this performance art, for a start what we term 'bone' would be the evidence of auspicious ability observed in a performer whose innate talent has developed of its own accord into mastery. What appears to sight as the aspect of total ability acquired by training in dance and song should be termed 'flesh'. The performance achieved when these elements are brought to a maturity that is thoroughly settled and attractive, had best be called 'skin'. Again, if [this analogy] were applied to what is seen, heard, and felt, the seen would be skin, the heard, flesh, and the felt, bone. Again these three must also be present in vocal art [voice-skin, aesthetic quality-flesh, breath-bone]. In dance, too, they must be present [appearance-skin, arms-flesh, mind-bone]. These must be well understood and distinguished.[102]

This kind of analogy is widely used in traditional Japanese artistic discussions. A metaphorical set that has been useful in one art is often extended to others. These analogies have an important role to play in oral transmission as they highlight complex relations and condense information.

Let us examine the same analogy as employed by Zenchiku.

> Now, as I have stated in the Introduction, the three devices were orally transmitted and consequently are difficult to express in writing, but under pressure I will record their general import. The three devices are skin, flesh, and bone. Skin arises from flesh, flesh from bone, and bone from the five organs. The impurity of the five organs arises from the single water, and the single water's place of emergence is from the single thought of the Sanskrit character 'A'. From what

[100] *Kabu Zuinōki*, in KKS, p. 140.

[101] This form of classification derives from handwriting, where the strokes are compared to the human form. See the head notes for *Hinikukotsu* 皮肉骨, in ZZ, p. 116.

[102] ZZ, p. 116.

> does this character arise? What indeed? This is inexplicable, simply inexplicable. We must hold within us that flavorless wisdom-water of this inexplicability and then sing. Then, directly, will the voice become the superb sound of *bodhi* that creates Buddhist ritual. Unless we understand this seed of impurity, the bone and the flesh, [our singing] will not be made just like skin, however much we may think so. Knowing the seed and bone, we hide it with the flesh; knowing the flesh, we hide it with the skin; and so it appears as truly attractive skin.[103]

The intellectual role of the analogy here is quite different from Zeami's. Commentators point out that Zenchiku derived this metaphor from the passage in Zeami's *Shikadō*, quoted above, as well as from some of Zeami's remarks in *Kakyō*, in which the elements of music are related to the five bodily organs.[104] This assertion must partially rest on Zenchiku's own remark at the end of the passage:

> This apportionment is therefore an extremely secret art. It is a great secret in the two arts of dance and song. It is the level reached by profound consideration and thinking about my teacher's Way.[105]

Here Zenchiku sanctions his own interpretation by tracing it back to his teacher's ideas, but there is clearly a considerable distance between the two approaches. Zenchiku takes the analogy itself far more literally, and, instead of using it to communicate some perception about performance, gives it center stage. The structure of skin, flesh, and bone is now put to the task of telling the author the secrets of performance. Zenchiku seems to have pored over the analogy itself in search of hidden meanings. His reading of *hi*, *niku*, and *kotsu* appears to go well beyond Zeami's intentions. This is perhaps the general pattern of his reception of Zeami's thought. In 1456, Zenchiku discussed the genesis of his *rokurin ichiro* theory as follows:

> Overall, this *rokurin ichiro* is not simply a record of the understanding that I gained from my master's instruction. It is the realization to which I awoke while in retreat at the Hase Bodhisattva Kanzeon: the explication of the skillful means of benefitting living beings and the path of admonitions [precepts] for all creatures. Thus it can also be named the six circles of Kannon.[106]

Zenchiku returns again to the connection with Zeami's ideas ten years later:

> When the true form of body and mind is taken as the absolute dharma realm, all things are identically transcendent paths of equal perfection. Among them, this system of six circles and one dewdrop is my own invention, attained after much thought, using my teacher's aesthetic classifications [*kyokumi* 曲味], and so it is not a purely personal thing.[107]

[103] *Go-on Sangyoku Shū* 五音三曲集, in KKS, pp. 170–71.

[104] KKS, p. 170, n. 3. Zeami's remarks are found in *Kakyō*, in ZZ, pp. 86–87, and have little evident connection with Zenchiku's account.

[105] *Go-on Sangyoku Shū*, in KKS, p. 171.

[106] *Rokurin Ichiro no Kichū* 六輪一露之記注, in KKS, p. 220.

[107] *Rokurin Ichiro Hichū* (*Bunshōbon*), in KKS, p. 250.

In each case Zenchiku appears to want to avoid being accused of having made up these ideas on his own. If they were merely a personal invention, they would be without authority. On the other hand, he does not want to ascribe them to someone else. As the *rokurin ichiro* theory came to him in retreat, it is to be regarded as having divine sanction, and therefore cosmic significance. The teacher's instruction was merely a starting point for a journey that goes well beyond it.

Conclusion

That Zenchiku's writings differ in their rhetorical stance, in their lucidity, and in their apparent relevance to modern readers from those of Zeami is not necessarily to be explained in terms of Zenchiku's lack of genius or metaphysical temperament.[108] Certain ideas and terminology in Zenchiku are derived from Zeami, but it is the way in which he misreads, alters the emphasis, or recombines that reveals his own intellectual world. He worked on Zeami's writings along with other culturally sanctioned texts to generate something quite new. Despite the familiar ideology of Japanese artistic training, which involves idealization of the teacher and denial of the student's individuality, the relation between teacher and taught, between creative artists and their famous forerunners, was likely to be as problematic in medieval Japan as many have discerned it to have been in Europe. The pupil must resist the crushing authority of the master. Misreading is a powerful tool for establishing a person's own artistic space. The needs and circumstances of the new generation often differ from those of the master. In Zenchiku's case this was particularly true. Once we accept the cracks in the seamless characterization of his relationship with Zeami, we can begin to consider what he was trying to do, and why, in terms of his own place and time.

[108] Such common explanations are discussed in Itō, 1970, pp. 72–74.