UCLA
UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title
Imayō as a Vocal Art Supreme: Transformation of the Body in Ryōjin hishō

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7fn2h5qs

Author
Morris, Julie Marie

Publication Date
2023

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

eScholarship.org Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Imayō as a Vocal Art Supreme: Transformation of the Body in *Ryōjin hishō*

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction

of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts

in East Asian Studies

by

Julie Marie Morris

2023

© Copyright by

Julie Marie Morris

2023

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Imayō as a Vocal Art Supreme: Transformation of the Body in *Ryōjin hishō*

by

Julie Marie Morris

Master of Arts in East Asian Studies

University of California, Los Angeles, 2023

Professor Satoko Shimazaki, Chair

This thesis reconsiders the conventional marginalization narrative as reasoning for why Emperor Go-Shirakawa textualized the non-elite female vocal art of *imayō* in the late twelfth century text, *Ryōjin hishō* 梁塵秘抄. Through both an exploration of the social and religious context of the late Heian period (785-1185) and textual analysis, this study combines recent scholarship in the fields of musicology and performance studies, history of emotions, Buddhist studies, and gender studies to explore *imayō* as a social performance. I argue that in writing the accompanying treatise on *imayō*, the *Kudenshū* 口伝集, the newly tonsured Go-Shirakawa actively transformed

the body of the practice through the same sequence as the topos of the Five Obstacles, ultimately metamorphosizing the artform into a recognized Buddhist vocal art and further, as a nondual Buddhist path accessible to all, irrespective of social status, class, or gender.

The thesis of Julie Marie Morris is approved.

William M. Bodiford

Torquil Duthie

Satoko Shimazaki, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2023

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction…………………………………………………………………………………..1

Chapter 1. More Than Just Words – Towards an Understanding of *Imayō* as Social Performance…………………………………………………………………………………...14

Chapter 2. Transformation of the Body – *Imayō* as a Vocal Art Supreme………………………40

Conclusion………………………………………………………………………………….64

Works Cited…………………………………………………………………………………...66

Introduction

Overview

At the end of the tenth century in *Makura no sōshi* (The Pillow Book), Sei Shōnagon (d. early eleventh century) noted, "*imayō* are long and have unusual melodies."[1] Today the enigmatic and mellifluous world of *imayō* exists but only in visual and textual representation. Severely understudied in the English vernacular, this study examines the performance of *imayō* through the twelfth century text, *Ryōjin hishō*, and reveals the intertwined nature of the voice and body in Heian Japan as well as the impact it may have had on Go-Shirakawa's decision to textually preserve and transform the vocal art into a Buddhist vehicle.

The word "imayō" is written with two Chinese characters, respectively "now" and "way" or "manner" and is most likely an abbreviation of "imayō-uta" meaning modern-style songs,[2] identifying a performative genre that flourished throughout the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. Yung-Hee Kim considers *imayō* as "songs in modish style, with vivacious and buoyant melodies – in a sense, the pop music of the Heian age"[3]; however, such a broad definition can be problematic given the lack of information regarding musical components, as well as the comparison to modern music and the natural association it may cause. Rather, it is more useful to regard *imayō* as foremost a performative art form in which the human voice plays the most

[1] Ivo Smits, "Heian popular songs*: Imayō* and *Ryōjin hishō*," in *The Cambridge History of Japanese Literature*, eds. Haruo Shirane, Tomi Suzuki, and David Barnett Lurie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 207. Kwon translates this passage differently; however, both suggest that *imayō* was enjoyed by the inner circles of the court by the early part of Emperor Ichijō's reign. See Yung-Hee Kim Kwon, "Voices from the Periphery: Love Songs in *Ryōjin hishō,*" Monumenta Nipponica 41, no. 3 (Autumn 1986): 4.

[2] Usuda Jingorō, Shinma Shin'ichi, Tonomura Natsuko, and Tokue Gensei, eds., *Ryōjin hishō,* Vol. 3. Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 42. (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1994), 387. The songs themselves are *imamekashi* 今めかし, meaning "novelty of the times", "gorgeous", and "fresh". Also, "new and stylish".

[3] Yung-Hee Kim, *Songs to Make the Dust Dance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 3.

important role. Performed in the Heian Period by *miko* (shrine maidens), courtesans who worked on the waterfront, who were known as *asobi* or *asobime*, itinerant female entertainers called *kugutsu* (puppeteers), and later the *shirabyōshi* (dancing performers) of the Kamakura period, these non-elite female artists demonstrated the religious power of the voice, as expressed in other practices of the time such as *shōmyō*,[4] the singing or melodic chanting of Buddhist-related passages. *Imayō* singing could be sung without accompaniment, but was often accompanied by an instrument, usually a *tsuzumi* (hand drum) or the rhythmic tapping of a fan.[5] This small ensemble naturally allowed for attention to be focused on the voice. In addition, it should be noted that *imayō*, with its expansive range of songs and multiple sub-genres, was distinct for its tendency to fit the situation,[6] and could perform old songs, such as *kagura*, *saibara* (horse-readying music), or *fūzoku* (folk songs), in a new musical style, as the name implies, making it distinct from other performances.[7] The preserved song lyrics effectively providing a snapshot of a unique poetic and expressive aesthetic as well as a rare glimpse into the lives of the non-elite.

Despite being an art form in which the professional practitioners lived outside of the aristocratic circles in the late Heian period, Emperor Go-Shirakawa (1127-1192), as a zealous *imayō* devotee, patron, and dedicated practitioner, took a keen interest in the practice and undertook the textualization and compilation of *imayō* songs and practices in what was originally a twenty-volume collection entitled *Ryōjin hishō*. A controversial figure, Go-Shirakawa was emperor from 1155 to 1158 and continued to hold power as cloistered sovereign from 1158 until

[4] Terry Kawashima, *Writing Margins: The Textual Construction of Gender in Heian and Kamakura Japan* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 73-80.
[5] Sugano Fumi, "*Go-Shirakawa no imayō*," in *Chūsei no sairei: chūoū kara chihō e*, eds. Amino Yoshihiko et al. (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1991), 57.
[6] Ōki Momoko, "'Uta' no chikara: Imayō no toku wo kataru itsuwa wo megutte," *Gobun kenkyū* 78 (1994): 13.
[7] Smits, "Heian popular songs*: Imayō* and *Ryōjin hishō*", 207-8; Baba Mitsuko, *Ryōjin hishō kudenshū zenyakuchū* (Tokyo: Kōdansha: 2010), 337-9.

his death, with his rule briefly interrupted from 1179 to 1181 by the Genpei War. His retainer, Fujiwara Michinori (1106-1159), described him as a foolish ruler, unparalleled in Japan and China, who did not realize that he was surrounded by traitors and paid no attention when informed of the true situation.[8] Further, contemporary accounts provide a parallel perspective, depicting him as a man entirely lacking aptitude to reign and indulging in frivolous merrymaking.[9] Regardless, it is a direct result of what may have been regarded as Go-Shirakawa's fatuous and uncouth efforts that the words of a large number of *imayō* songs as well as anecdotes and vignettes providing a glimpse into artistic lineages and individual practitioners, desired vocal qualities, various genres and techniques, and performance settings of the artform survives today. Further, it is due to his sponsorship of the artform that the status of *imayō* was greatly bolstered, with the upper class expressing interest in what was once considered an artform associated with the non-elite female performer, as can be attested by its mention in various court diaries as well as the 1174 *imayō awase*.[10] Originally a twenty-volume collection divided evenly between *imayō* songs and a treatise on the practice, *Ryōjin hishō* stands out in late Heian Japan for its exceptional efforts to collect an oral tradition and put it in writing – ultimately utilizing text as a means to preserve what would have otherwise been a female, non-elite performing art lost to time.

---

[8] 「和漢之間少比類之暗主也、謀叛之臣在傍、一切無覚悟之御心、人雖奉悟之、猶以不覚」; as recorded in *Gyokuyō*, a diary written by Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149-1207). Cited in Watanabe Shōgo, *Ryōjin hishō no fūzoku to bungei* (Tokyo: Miyai, 1979), 8.

[9] Okami Masao and Akamatsu Toshihide eds., *Gukanshō*, Nihon koten bungaku taikei 86 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1967), 216.

[10] See Baba Mitsuko, "Kiroku no manazashi: Shōan yo-nen 'Imayō-awase' – rōei, imayō, oyobi biwa no koto," *Nihon bungaku* 56, no. 7 (2007).

The existence of *Ryōjin hishō* was known due to its mention in Yoshida Kenkō (1283-1350)'s mid-fourteenth century text, *Tsurezuregusa* (Essays in Idleness, around 1330); however, the collection was lost to time until the fall of Meiji 44 (1911) when historian Wada Hidematsu (1865-1937) discovered a two-volume manuscript entitled *Ryōjin hishō* at a used bookstore in Tokyo. The identity of the unearthed texts was later verified by Japanese classics scholar Sasaki Nobutsuna (1872-1963), who asserted that it was in fact a complete late Edo period copy of volume two from Go-Shirakawa's twelfth-century collection of *imayō*, *Ryōjin hishō*. Subsequently, it was discovered that the texts for *Ryōjin hishō* volume two were previously stored unknowingly in the archives of Muro Naosuke as well as Muraoka Ryūsuke.[11] Sasaki later located facsimile fragments of volume one from the lyrics section and volume one of the *Kudenshū* in the Aya no Kōji family archives,[12] a family well-known for *gagaku* music and *waka*,[13] and in August 1912 he published the first modern annotated edition of *Ryōjin hishō* consisting of these three sections as well as commentary and selected duplicates of the manuscript.[14] The extant text consists of a fragment of volume one and the entirety of volume two (compilation dates unknown) of the song collection as well as the treatise, hereafter referred to as the *Kudenshū*, which contains only a fragment of volume one and the entirety of volume ten

[11] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō,* 392-393.
[12] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō,* 392-393.
[13] The Aya no Kōji family specialized in music, and for generations its members served as instructors of *eikyoku* 郢曲, *koto*, and the *fue* in the Imperial Court.
[14] See Sasaki Nobutsuna, ed. *Ryōjin hishō* (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1912). Later publications by Sasaki include *Ryōjin hishō* (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1923); *Ryōjin hishō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Bunko, 1933); as well as *Ryōjin hishō* (Tokyo: Kōgakusha, 1948), which includes a full facsimile of *Ryōjin hishō*, commentary, annotation of *Ryōjin hishō* and volume one of the *Kudenshū*.

(compiled between 1169-1185).[15] Thus, at 566 songs and a partial commentary, today's *Ryōjin hishō* is just over 10% of the original text.

It is therefore unsurprising that after the discovery of what was once considered for centuries a lost text and Sasaki's resulting 1912 transcription and publication, a *Ryōjin hishō* mania swept across academic circles in Japan. Almost overnight a seeming cornucopia of over 550 late Heian songs entered the archive, teeming with quotidian topics and lyrical styles not otherwise found in *waka*. Accordingly, scholars soon labeled the text "a common people's song collection" (*shomin kayō shū* 庶民歌謡集)[16], effectively cementing its canonical status and propelling the study of *Ryōjin hishō* as predominately a work that serves as a vista peering upon the previously shrouded thoughts and practices of everyday people.

Scholarship on *Ryōjin hishō* in Japan has continued to flourish since Sasaki's publication, with the text frequently included in anthologies of premodern texts and today there is an expansive selection of published modern annotated editions with commentary available, attesting to its canonical status. Baba Mitsuko 馬場光子 is the leading scholar on *Ryōjin hishō* and *imayō*, with research spanning a wide array of articles on the topic from various angles as well as extensive detailed modern annotated translations for both the songs collection and treatise. Other

---

[15] This seems to be a matter of debate. See Baba Mitsuko, "'Ryōjin hishō' seiritsu kō: Otomae no shi," in *Nihon kayō kenkyū – genzai to tenbō,* ed. Nihon kayō Gakkai (Osaka: Izumi shoin, 1994): 161-176; and Baba Mitsuko, "Otomae no botsunen: Ryōjin hishō seiritsuron no tame ni," *Nihon kayō kenkyū* 35, (1995): 35-44.

[16] Niunoya Tetsuichi, "Chūseiteki geinō no kankyō," in Amino Yoshihiko et al., eds., *Chūsei no sairei: chūō kara chihō e*, Taikei Nihon rekishi to geinō, 4. (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1991), 47. Although not the exact phrase, as early as 1912, Sasaki notes that that he is unable to attach commentary to all of the songs due to difficulties in language, in particular, the showcasing of the customs and social conditions of the people. Also, the text is exalted for its value in the history of Japanese song and for showcasing the thoughts and customs of the people/folk in Shida Yoshihide, "Ryōjin hishō no honbun ni tsuite," in Sasaki Nobutsuna, ed., *Ryōjin hishō* (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1923), 71-77.

scholars include figures such as Okimoto Yukiko 沖本幸子, Watanabe Shōgo 渡邊昭吾, Sugano Fumi 菅野扶美, Nawate Seiko 縄手聖子, and medieval song specialist Ueki Tomoko 植木朝子. Further, as inherently textual material, the collection has even permeated the field of performing arts with publications of settings of the songs for unaccompanied female chorus, unaccompanied mixed chorus, and mixed chorus with piano accompaniment.

Scholarship on *Ryōjin hishō* first began in the English vernacular with Arthur Waley's 1921 translation of fourteen songs in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*; of which, six also appeared in Donald Keene's *Anthology of Japanese Literature* (1969). Five years prior to Keene's publication, Geoffrey Bownas and Anthony Thwaite expanded the repertoire of translated songs by including eight songs in *The Penguin Book of Japanese Verse* (1964), although four of which were included in Waley's translation. Yasuhiko Moriguchi and David Jenkin's collection intended for a general readership *The Dance of the Dust on the Rafters* (1990) largely progressed efforts by translating 141 songs; however, the authors offer neither original text nor footnotes, resulting in a text that may not satiate the needs of the curious reader or academic.

The period of 1986-2001 witnessed a *Ryōjin hishō* scholarly boom outside of Japan. Beginning with Yung-Hee Kim Kwon's article in *Monumenta Nipponica*, "Voices from the Periphery: Love Songs in Ryōjin Hishō" (Spring 1986), and a commentary and partial English translation published later that same year again in *Monumenta Nipponica*, "The Emperor's Songs: Go-Shirakawa and *Ryōjin Hishō Kudenshū*" (Autumn 1986), which to my knowledge is the only standalone attempt to translate the *Kudenshū* to English. Kim Kwon's research soon

narrowed to the role of the female performer as evidenced by her article, "The Female Entertainment Tradition in Medieval Japan: The Case of *Asobi"* (1988) which was later re-published in a collected volume of essays on performance and feminism. Kim Kwon's work and this new direction would impact later scholarship in the early 2000s. As the most prolific *Ryōjin hishō* scholar in the English vernacular, Kim Kwon is perhaps best known for her 1994 monograph *Songs to Make the Dust Dance* which provides background on *Ryōjin hishō* and presents translations with brief commentary on 222 of the songs.

Gladys Nakahara's doctoral dissertation on the songs of *Ryōjin hishō* (1999) marked the first detailed scholarly analysis in English of *imayō* as it relates to the larger tradition of *kayō* or songs. This is done by discussing form, techniques, and themes of the respective traditions, as well as by providing a complete translation of all the songs of the *Ryōjin hishō* with commentary. Nakahara later published this, yielding the first English translation of the songs in *Translation of Ryōjinhishō, a compendium of Japanese folk songs from the Heian period* (2003). Collectively, Nakahara and Kim Kwon have translated the entire extant *Ryōjin hishō* and majority of the *Kudenshū* into English.

These works reveal a general trend in the study of *imayō* that is fascinating as it points to the tendency of the songs being treated as poems, or rather, entities existing independent of the performative aspect. Selections from *Ryōjin hishō* of *imayō* songs included in Japanese poetry publications such as *The Penguin Book of Japanese Verse,*[17] as well as identifying the songs as

[17] Recently in 2009, as well as its earlier publication in 1964 which included eight translated songs, four of which had been translated by Waley. Geoffrey Bownas and Anthony Thwaite, trans., *The Penguin Book of Japanese Verse* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1964)

poems in scholarly discourse[18] further attest to this phenomenon. It is only by gleaning over both the lyrics and Go-Shirakawa's commentary on the practice that one can begin to formulate an idea of what *imayō*, as a living art form, was like at the time when preserved in Go-Shirakawa's ink.

As for works that investigate the entanglement between the performative art of *imayō* and philosophical discourses, these are varied in length, frequently appearing briefly within an article length study or as chapters within a monograph. Specifically, they are interested in social and historical understandings of either the figure of the performer or of the commoner and the space inhabited. Many of these works examine transgression and power, focusing on religious systems of thought and belief, as well as portrayals of gender and sexuality in both the medieval imagination and in literary text.

The earlier ideas of Kim Kwon come to fruition in Terry Kawashima's *Writing Margins: The Textual Construction of Gender in Heian and Kamakura Japan* (2001) through her exploration of the process of marginalization of the figure of the *asobi* in *Ryōjin hishō.* Her monograph dedicates a chapter to discuss Go-Shirakawa's process of textualizing *imayō*, arguing that Go-Shirakawa sought an artistic monopoly and used the text to displace the female non-elite performers. Kawashima's 2008 article in *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory*, "Performing Sinners: The *Asobi* and the Buddhist Discourse of *Tsumi"* examines the attribution

[18] This lack of distinction occurs quite frequently in English scholarship and can be confusing for the reader; however, it points to the history of song and poetics as well as potential problems when writing in a language other than Japanese. It should be noted that this occurrence similarly exists in other fields where songs survive in text form. Famously, this can be observed by the rhapsodist, a professional performer of epic poetry in classical Greece, whose performance included works such as the songs/poems attributed to Homer.

of sinfulness to the *asobi* and marginalization of both the *asobi* and her practiced *imayō* in twelfth and thirteenth century tale collections.

Janet R. Goodwin's *Selling Songs and Smiles* (2007) likewise utilizes *Ryōjin hishō* as a way in which to examine the figure of the sexual entertainer, in particular the *asobi*, in mid-Heian and Kamakura Japan. Roberta Strippoli, in her recent monograph, *Dancer, Nun, Ghost, Goddess: The Legend of Giō and Hotoke in Japanese Literature, Theater, Visual Arts, and Cultural Heritage* (2018) explores representations of the famous *shirabyōshi*, Giō, and in fact, one of Giō's performances will be discussed later in this study. Strippoli dedicates a chapter to female entertainers in Heian and Medieval Japan, detailing their representation in literary works, as well as introducing the figure of the *shirabyōshi* and their performance of *imayō*.

Notably, the respective theme and construction of the marginalization narrative is prominent in English scholarship but seems to be absent in Japanese scholarship on *Ryōjin hishō*.[19] Unfortunately, limitations of space prevent a detailed discussion here. I will return to this topic in a future paper.

Guiding Questions

Lamenting the ephemerality of *imayō*, Go-Shirakawa notes in the last pages of the treatise that he is writing the *Kudenshū* for those to see after he has passed.[20] However, unsatisfied with this vague reasoning for writing such a momentous and hefty text, I remained curious about who the target audience may have been. Go-Shirakawa provides a hint to this in the partial first volume of the *Kudenshū,* noting that he has modeled the text on Minamoto no Toshiyori's *waka*

[19] Kawashima makes a remark about this in an extensive footnote towards the beginning of the second chapter of her 2001 monograph. See Kawashima, *Writing Margins*, 74-75.
[20] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*, 380.

treatise *Toshiyori zuinō* (Toshiyori's Essentials of Poetry, 1111-1114). Written for Kunshi (1095-1155, later known as Taishi), a daughter of Regent Fujiwara no Tadazane (1078-1162), training to become an Imperial Consort,[21] it indicates that the *Kudenshū* may have possibly been written as a pedagogical device with a specific individual and potentially a student in mind,[22] particularly since the dates for the *Kudenshū* are suggested to be immediately prior to or after he had taken the tonsure, with supplements and revisions continuing for years following his vow to priesthood. Go-Shirakawa was criticized for excessive devotion to the Buddhist faith,[23] known for his exhaustive use of government resources to construct both temples and shrines including Sanjūsangendō 三十三間堂 (Rengeō-in 蓮華王院) in 1164[24] and both rebuilding the Tōdai-ji 東大寺 and performing the eye-opening ceremony in the eighth lunisolar month of 1185. In addition, he was criticized for his interest in the arts, such as the commissioning of at least eight *emaki,* of which unfortunately only two Edo-period reproductions remain.[25] In fact, it was due to his obsession with the very art of *imayō* that his father the Retired Emperor Toba (1103-1156) deemed him unfit for the throne, and only succeeded to emperor because there was no other suitable candidate following the sudden death of Emperor Konoe (1139-1155) in 1155.

---

[21] Hashimoto Fumio, Ariyoshi Tamotsu, and Fujihira Haruo, eds., *Karonshū. Shinpen nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 87 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2002), 14.
[22] Ariel G. Stilerman, "Learning with *Waka* Poetry: Transmission and Production of Social Knowledge and Cultural Memory in Premodern Japan" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2015), 47-48, 70-71.
[23] Takeuchi Rizō, *Kodai kara chūsei e* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1978), 267, 273. Quoted in Janet R. Goodwin, "The Buddhist Monarch: Go-Shirakawa and the Rebuilding of Tōdai-ji," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 17, no. 2-3 (1990): 224.
[24] A Tendai sect Buddhist temple part of the Myōhō-in temple complex located in Kyoto. Famous for its 1,001 images of the Thousand-armed Kannon, and where Go-Shirakawa is buried.
[25] These two reproductions are: *Nenjūgyōji emaki* (Picture Scroll of Annual Rites and Ceremonies) and *Shōan gosechi emaki* (Picture scroll of *Gosechi* dancing in the year of *Shōan*). See also Kim, *Songs to Make the Dust Dance*, chapter 2 for details on his patronage to the arts.

Given the fervent religious atmosphere in the latter half of the tenth volume of the *Kudenshū*, is it possible that Go-Shirakawa may have successfully combined his two passions, namely, transforming the art of *imayō* into a recognized Buddhist practice? Further, did this change need to occur and why at that moment?

Methodology and Organization

Despite its status within the Japanese literary canon, *Ryōjin hishō* is not only severely understudied in English scholarship, but also the study of performance and ritual has often overlooked the sonic dimension, which is of paramount importance in the performance of *imayō*.[26] Therefore, in approaching this study, fundamental is Lisa McCormick's notion of music as social performance. McCormick draws upon Alexander's use of the term "social performance" as that referring to the "social process by which actors, individually or in concert, display for others the meaning of their social situation."[27] McCormick outlines a performance perspective for the sociology of music as containing the elements of a script that draws on shared knowledge and can be written down, conveyed orally, or in a combination of the two; actors as "the people who encode the meanings and put patterned representations of the script into practice"[28]; the audience and other observers, whether present or imagined; means of symbolic production such as clothing, instruments, and venue; mise-en-scène, or the understanding and actualizing of the performers interpretations in a way that is meaningful to the audience; and

[26] On the need to study the sonic aspect of ritual, see Michaela Mross, *Memory, Music, Manuscripts: The Ritual Dynamics of Kōshiki in Japanese Sōtō Zen* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2022) and Fabio Rambelli, "Gagaku in Medieval Japanese Religion," *Religions* 13, no.7 (2022): 1-24, https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13070582.
[27] Jeffrey C. Alexander, "Cultural Pragmatics: Social Performance between Ritual and Strategy," *Sociological Theory* 22, no. 4 (2004): 529.
[28] Lisa McCormick, "Music as Social Performance," in *Myth, Meaning and Performance: Toward a New Cultural Sociology of the Arts*, eds. Ron Eyerman and Lisa McCormick (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2006), 125.

social power and its impact on the process of social performance.[29] Likewise, I draw upon R. Murray Shafer's concept of the soundscape.[30] As an inherently interdisciplinary field, Barry Truax offers this definition:

> An environment of sound (or sonic environment) with emphasis on the way it is perceived and understood by the individual, or by a society. It thus depends on the relationship between the individual and any such environment. The term may refer to actual environments, or to abstract constructions such as musical compositions and tape montages, particularly when considered as an artificial environment.[31]

Distinct to this definition is both the weight given to how a sound is identified and thus potentially indicative of the relationship to the listener, as well as the process of input. Ashton Lazarus has convincingly argued that despite the socially peripheral status of commoners, they were situated as symbolically central in the broad (as opposed to aristocratic) soundscape, and moreover, even textual representations of sound are tied to the "mode and medium of that representation as well as the sound's wider social context."[32] Further, given that *imayō* practitioners considered their practice to be an act of Buddhist devotion, I draw upon Schechner's notion of the interconnectedness of ritual and performance.[33]

To answer the above posed questions, this thesis is divided into two chapters. It is first necessary to consider the social and religious context at the time of Go-Shirakawa's late Heian Japan and how that may have influenced perception of *imayō* as well as the female practitioners

---

[29] McCormick, "Music as Social Performance," 121-144.

[30] For more on the concept of the soundscape, see Pauline Minevich and Ellen Waterman, eds., *Art of Immersive Soundscapes* (Saskatchewan: University of Regina Press, 2013); and Jonathan Sterne, ed., *The Sound Studies Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012).

[31] Barry Truax, ed., *The World Soundscape Project's Handbook for Acoustic Ecology*, 2nd ed. (Vancouver: Cambridge Street Publishing, 1999), CD-ROM, Soundscape.

[32] Lazarus, "Performing Culture: Representations of Commoner Performance in Early Medieval Japan" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2014), 203.

[33] Richard Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985); Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 72-76, 159-169.

performing the songs, so that I can reexamine the conventional narrative argued by Kawashima that Go-Shirakawa undertook the compilation of *imayō* songs and treatise as a self-motivated act to further himself politically and gain an "artistic monopoly."[34] I analyze how attitudes towards the voice, unprecedented modes of expression, as well as the gendered and performative body were at play in the performance of *imayō*, potentially forcing the newly tonsured Go-Shirakawa to seek to alter the physical and sonic body of *imayō* to something more masculine and ultimately Buddhist in nature. In the second chapter, I elucidate how Go-Shirakawa effectively recasts the practice of *imayō* into a recognized Buddhist artform, through the same transformative sequence as the topos of the Five Obstacles with the body of *imayō* rendered sexless. By analyzing Go-Shirakawa's textualization and dedication to the technique of the voice, or *koewaza*, throughout the *Kudenshū*, a narrative quest for nonduality in which *imayō* is rendered as an efficacious Buddhist artform triumphant over even the likes of *shōmyō*.

[34] Kawashima, *Writing Margins,* 96.

Chapter One: More Than Just Words: Towards an Understanding of *Imayō* as Social Performance

Overview

Using the sonic dimension as both a jumping point and focus, this chapter aims to contextualize how the multidimensional performance of *imayō* may have been interpreted in late Heian Japan by exploring conceptions of the voice, body, language, and space. As LaFleur has argued, during what has been considered by scholars as medieval Japan,[35] the convergent episteme between the literate and a segment of the illiterate population was that in which "the basic intellectual problems, the most authoritative texts and resources, and the central symbols were all Buddhist."[36] Indeed, the performance of *imayō* challenged contemporaneous aesthetic and religious modes, and analysis in this chapter suggests that it was due to *imayō*'s identity as a female vocal performing art that it was simultaneously subjugated to ideas of sensuality and disgust, profound empathy and idiosyncratic embodiment, as well as desire and sense-pleasure. Among this cacophony, its practitioners considered it to be a Buddhist artform, in which dedicated practice and performance resulted in a direct vehicle to enlightenment. What emerges from this discussion is an impression of the complex reception of *imayō*, and I argue that after taking the tonsure (1169), Go-Shirakawa may have felt compelled to transform the body of *imayō* through the topos of the Five Obstacles into a nondual practice and, ultimately, as a recognized Buddhist vocal art.

---

[35] The exact dates for the medieval period vary and has been used for phenomena in the eleventh century coinciding with the beginning of *mappō*; see William M. Bodiford, "The Medieval Period: Eleventh to Sixteenth Centuries," in *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions*, eds. Paul L. Swanson and Clark Chilson (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 163.
[36] William R. LaFleur, *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 9.

The intertwining of voice and body in Heian Japan

In the Heian court, the voice was highly valued and considered a sensual object. Due to the limited direct contact between opposing genders, communication was often restricted to the written word, such as the ritual courtly exchange of *waka* observed between lovers in *Izumi Shikibu Nikki* (1008?), allowing the recipient to imagine the writer through not only the contents of the correspondence, but also the penmanship, color and fragrance of ink, as well as the overall aesthetic of the packaging.[37] Only superior to the written word was the natural voice, in which shrouded under the veil of darkness or between a screen, musings would float on air, symbolizing the inherent physicality of the individual and yielding an erotics of sound.

Evidence suggests that as a performance genre, *imayō* may have designated a style of singing rather than a particular metric count.[38] However, both the vast quantity of song lyrics in the extant text of the *Ryōjin hishō* and the approach taken by Go-Shirakawa conversely imply that lyrics defined *imayō*. Consequently, the song section has tended to be read and analyzed as poetry.[39] Indeed, it is easy to read the songs in the *Ryōjin hishō* as poems, given the textual nature and isolation from the performance; however, the fact remains that *Ryōjin hishō* and its accompanying treatise, the *Kudenshū,* were written to encapsulate the performance of *imayō* as a living art form which was not only sung aloud and often included musical accompaniment, but was also developed without text and the practice of which was transmitted orally.

---

[37] Fujioka Tadaharu, Nakano Kōichi, Inukai Kiyoshi, and Ishī Fumio, eds,. *Izumi shikibu nikki*, Vol. 1. Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 26 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1994), 17-19.

[38] See Baba "Kiroku," 25-26; Roberta Strippoli, *Dancer, Nun, Ghost, Goddess: The Legend of Giō and Hotoke in Japanese Literature, Theater, Visual Arts, and Cultural Heritage* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 40; and Gladys E. Nakahara, "The Songs of *Ryōjinhishō*" (PhD diss., University of Hawai'i, 1999), among others.

[39] Most notably in the publications of *Ryōjin hishō* scholar Kim Kwon. For example, "The first part consisted of the collection of the *imayō* lyrics, and the title *Ryōjin hishō* usually refers to this poem part," Kwon, "Voices from the Periphery," 263. Although I do cite Kim throughout this paper, I try to steer clear of such slippery discourse.

According to medieval song specialist Sugano Fumi, throughout volume two of *Ryōjin hishō*, which comprises the majority of the songs collection, it can be observed that *imayō* share a common lyrical element with *waka*.[40] Given the musical "modern" or "fashionable" (*imamekashi*) take inherent to the genre, lyrics often came from fragments of other sources, such as the *Lotus Sutra* (Skt. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*; Jpn. *Hokkekyō* 法華経), Japanese *kanbun* poetry, and *kagura uta*. In addition, the syllable and line count for each song varied, including many taken directly from *waka* collections while preserving the original syllable count and, especially among the *hōmon uta* or songs of Buddhist scriptures, which comprises about two-fifths of the extant *Ryōjin hishō*, four lines of seven or eight and five morae, while others are longer than four lines or written in a free style.[41] Interpreted as poetry, this metric prosody is not necessarily unique, but when sung aloud provides a rhythmic and lilting reverberation that is a fundamental component to the aural landscape. Therefore, as Gladys Nakahara writes, "the criterion that determine *imayō* is not the cadence, but rather the fact that the words were actually put to music and sung in the *imayō* fashion."[42] Further, Baba Mitsuko notes that differences in vocabulary used to denote *imayō* in court diaries marks not the nature of the song contents itself, rather it illuminates the difference in how *imayō* is functioning, observing the listener scribe's gaze, position, and interest in the performance.[43]

As a vocal artform, the pedagogical transmission and performance of *imayō* was notable for its emphasis on aurality, in this way distinguishing it from courtly vocal arts of the time such

[40] Sugano Fumi, "Imayō to miyako no naigai: Go-shirakawain-ki wo chūshin ni," *Nihon bungaku* 42, no. 7 (1993): 16-17; Sugano Fumi, "Tsuzumi to kairaishi – shoki no imayō wo megutte: chūsei no waka to kayō," *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 81, no. 5 (2004).
[41] Nakahara, "The Songs of *Ryōjinhishō*," 19.
[42] Nakahara, "The Songs of *Ryōjinhishō*," 19.
[43] Baba, "Kiroku," 23-26.

as the recitation of *waka* in which a text was foundational. Further, as opposed to contemporaneous court songs, the nature of the voice of *imayō* expressed a direct confession from the heart. Indeed, the performance of *imayō* was the first time in which the confession of feelings from the first-person subjectivity of "I" and "we/us" had been sung and expressed in court song.[44] For example, *kagura uta* were songs for *kami*, while the reading of sutras (*dokyō*) would have acted as a form of devotional reading, and the language of *rōei* (a type of *gagaku* vocal performance popular during the late Heian and Kamakura periods), written and recited in ancient Chinese verse, would have severely diminished the likelihood of the singer's emotional confession. Although the multifaceted lyrical world of *saibara* (horse-readying music) is notable for the implementation of folk songs and depiction of the sentiments of daily life, it does not directly express the feelings of the singers or their awareness of the awakened self.[45] In this respect, the innate subjectivity of *imayō* sharply diverged from the traditional aesthetic sense of court nobility based on the avoidance of vividness, sensuality, and directness.[46] Further, the magnetism and vibrant flourishing of the artform must be underscored, effectively transitioning the court to an age of expressionism and romanticism.

How did the combined influence of non-elite female performers' language, music, and expressive bodies manage to reshape the emotional dialogue within the court? Barbara Rosenwein's theory of emotional communities proves beneficial in unraveling this phenomenon. Often formed within a distinct social sphere and similar to Bourdieu's notion of habitus, "an emotional community is a group in which people have a common stake, interest, values, and goals…also possibly [interpreted as] a 'textual community,' created and reinforced by

---

[44] Okimoto Yukiko, *Imayō no jidai hen'yō suru kyūtei geinō* (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 2006), 171.
[45] Baba Mitsuko, *Imayō no kokoro to kotoba: Ryōjin hishō no sekai* (Tokyo: Miyai shoten, 1987), 189-199.
[46] Okimoto, *Imayō no jidai*, 171.

ideologies, teaching, and common presuppositions."[47] Further, these emotional communities are not self-contained and have the ability to interact and influence one another; however, it should be noted that historically the social sphere exerting political, economic, and by extension, literary clout has overwhelmingly acted as the dominant sphere, with other emotional communities operating within such. In this way, the ability for the nondominant emotional community of non-elite female performers to influence and encapsulate the ruling court, ultimately allowing for the acquisition of new styles of expression, is truly an impressive feat.

The transformation in norms of emotional expression has been broadly theorized by Elias and Stearns as a response to outside social, economic, religious, and political changes.[48] On the other hand, William Reddy proposes that emotions themselves act as agencies of their own transformation.[49] In the late Heian period, living in the time of *mappō* (Latter Days of the *Dharma*),[50] emotions such as fear for the decline of human abilities and a disordered society, as well as desperation for Buddhist salvation and ascent to the Pure Land may have propelled a shift to the feelings of the individual. A series of natural disasters, as recorded in Kamo no Chōmei (1155-1216)'s *Hōjōki* (An Account of a Ten-foot-square Hut, c. 1212) written after Chōmei had taken holy vows, is

> noted for its vivid descriptions of a series of disasters in the capital during a time of turmoil (the war between the Taira and Minamoto at the end of the twelfth century) and

[47] Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 24-5.
[48] Norbert Elias*, Civilizing Process*, rev. ed., trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1994), 426 and Peter N. Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style* (New York: 1994), 63, quoted *in* Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities,* 197.
[49] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities,* 197-8.
[50] This period is two millennia after the demise of Śākyamuni (B.C.E. 949, according to the Western calendar) lasting for 10,000 years or more, marked the age when only a conceptual understanding of the teachings of the Buddha would remain and deterioration of the human condition. Late in the Heian period, Eishō 7 (C.E. 1052) was considered the beginning of this period.

> for its observation on the impermanence of all things, one of the central tenants of Buddhism, which had a profound impact on Japan at this time.[51]

These events must have proven as powerful support to the notion that the world had entered *mappō.* In fact, *mappō* thought even impacted writing styles – if Buddhist clergy wished to communicate with others, it was done in vernacular Japanese, so as to accommodate those of inferior capacity.[52] Likewise, it goes without saying that the late Heian period was a time of severe political unrest, of which the Heian court was at the epicenter and the ensuing warfare wreaked havoc throughout the country, forming deep impressions and shared trauma, potentially serving as a vehicle for a new emotional style. Further, it is also striking to consider that while "religious values, ideas, and teachings, powerfully influence the expression of emotion…habits of emotional expression [likewise] shape the ways in which religion is experienced and understood."[53] Thus implying that not only did religious ideas help to shape *imayō,* but that the direct subjectivity of *imayō* may have contributed to a new emotional dynamic potentially entering the religious sphere, contributing to the longevity and social perception of the practices of the social institution of Buddhism.[54]

The subjectivity of *imayō* yielded a new type of expression revealing the direct feelings of not only the singer, but also universally encompassing the thoughts and feelings of others. It is worth considering that the novelty of this intensely emotional expressive mode can be accredited to the songs' origins in those from outside the upper echelons of society and that perhaps similar

---

[51] Haruo Shirane, *Classical Japanese Reader and Essential Dictionary* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 3.
[52] See Tendai archabbot Jien (1155-1225)'s *Gukanshō* (1219) in Okami and Akamatsu, eds., *Gukanshō* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1967).
[53] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities,* 201.
[54] For more on the development of Buddhism during this time period, see Jacqueline I. Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999).

examples are less prevalent prior to *Ryōjin hishō* due to a lack of documentation.[55] The following two songs provide an example of the multiplicity of subjective dimensions.

Song 339 intensely depicts the feelings of anger and resent of a man who has betrayed the speaker:

The man who called for me, but did not come,
(I wish him to) become a three-horned *oni*
And for him to be disagreeable to people.
For him to be a bird in the paddy field as the frost, the snow, and the hail falls upon him;
And for his feet to freeze.
I strongly wish him to become a floating weed in a pond,
Tossed this way and that, unsteadily roaming.

われを頼めて来ぬ男　角三つ生ひたる鬼になれ
さて人に疎まれよ　霜雪霰降る水田の鳥となれ
さて足冷たかれ　池の浮草となりねかし
と揺りかう揺り揺られ歩け[56]

The song is replete with imagery evocative of impermanence as well as both the overwhelming emotion of indignation and a sense of disloyalty or infidelity. Almost curse-like, the male subject is to be transformed into an *oni* with three horns, lonely and unliked by all, destined to spend his days in the cold, without a home, roaming in a life of uncertainty and instability. Notably, the position of the speaker is vague. Although voiced by the self of the performer, the thoughts and feelings of a lover scorned or any bothersome incident in which one is stood up can easily be inserted. Further, the language suggests a rhythmic and buoyant nature that when recited, the

[55] I am indebted to my committee chair, Dr. Satoko Shimazaki, for this helpful interpretation of the emotional mode of *imayō.*
[56] All *Ryōjin hishō* translations are mine, unless otherwise noted, and are derived from Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 42. Usuda Jingorō, Tonomura Natsuko, Shinma Shin'ichi, and Tokue Gensei, eds., *Ryōjin hishō,* Vol. 3. Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 42. (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1994), 275-276.

resulting effect playfully juxtaposes with the serious contents.[57] For example, lines two, three, four, and five rhyme end in *ae* あえ pattern, most often as *nare* なれ and occasionally accompanied by a *yo* よ as in line three; lines three and five begin with *sate* さて, and lines one and six likewise employ similar sounding words where the first and second morae follow the *ae* あえ pattern with respectively *ware* われ and *ike* いけ; and, the repetition in the last line sonically transposes the unsteady *yura yura* ゆらゆら wavering and rocking of the floating weed in the pond, resulting in a potent visual and musical climax. When voiced by *asobi*, whose constant wandering and sexual profession exemplified ephemerality, the lyrics of the last verse have an overtone of sadness, as though one's own lifestyle is the most unpleasant to be known.

Song 364 likewise directly expresses vivid emotion in the form of a mother's concern for her child:

It seems that my daughter is already ten-odd years old
And has become a wandering shrine maiden.
When she wanders the tides of Tago Bay[58]
I wander how many fishermen crowd about her?
Regarded as trustworthy,
On and off being asked for and accused, she is probably being tormented and played with.
How pitiful!

わが子は十余(じふよ)になりぬらん　巫(かうなぎ)してこそ歩(あり)くなれ
田子(たご)の浦(うら)に潮(しほ)踏むと　いかに海人集(あまびとつど)ふらん

[57] This song is mentioned in *Murasaki shikibu nikki*, suggesting that it was well known and perhaps had a light and rhythmic nature:「『池の浮草』とうたひて、笛など吹きあはせたる」; Fujioka Tadaharu, Nakano Kōichi, Inukai Kiyoshi, and Ishī Fumio, eds,. *Murasaki shikibu nikki*, Vol. 2. Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 26 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1994), 214; this is also briefly mentioned in Baba, "Kiroku," 24.
[58] Located near Ejiri station (Suruga province, modern day Shizuoka prefecture) on the Tōkaidō.

正しとて　　間ひみ間はずみなぶるらん

いとほしや[59]

This song wonders and laments about the livelihood of one's child, a young transitory wandering shrine maiden, and if she is being teased by rough fishermen for providing a pleasing fortune or perhaps in the role of a prostitute. The speaker sighs, augmenting a forlorn and lachrymose atmosphere, and perhaps alluding that there is nothing to be done. This song powerfully embodies and transmits the worries of both the singer and all parents alike.

Thus, while employing the language indicative of self (first person) and conveying a new, unrestrained expression of emotion, *imayō* invites both the performer and audience to empathize and reflect with the emotion and voice of the song or object, resulting in a performance which simultaneously superimposes the personal emotion of both performer and audience. Baba Mitsuko describes this mode of expression as "self-awakening".[60] Examples of this phenomenon can be observed in literary depictions of *imayō*, such as the *shirabyōshi* Giō*'s* parting song in the *Engyōbon* variant of *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 (Tale of the Heike, fourteenth century). After losing the favor of the tempestuous Kiyomori and ordered to leave his residence, Giō is abandoned by her patron and overcome with despair. Resolved to become a nun alongside her sister and mother, Giō is summoned to Kiyomori's mansion once more to perform before she leaves the capital and renounces the world. At the mansion, she expertly selects a *hōmon uta* grounding a double entendre for the name of the Buddha and the young and graceful *shirabyōshi*

[59] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*, 283.

[60] *Jiko kakusei* 自己覚醒、as in Baba, *Imayō no kokoro to kotoba*, 3; Okimoto, *Imayō no jidai*, 172-3.

who replaced her, Hotoke, thus, overlapping her own circumstances with that of the collective, moving everyone in the court, save the cold Kiyomori, to tears.[61]

This empathetic response to *imayō* was not limited to feelings of jubilation and melancholy, but even the singing of Buddhist *hōmon uta* could induce intense sexual urges.[62] As a performance that was strongly defined by both the setting where it was performed and the singer and listening audience, it is not the lyrics which transmit meaning, but rather the performance of *imayō* came into being through the interaction between performers and spectators.[63] Further, to convey direct emotion was utmost. Performance scholar Erika Fischer-Lichte notes that:

> …over its course a performance creates the possibility for all the participants to experience themselves as a subject that can co-determine the actions and behaviour of others whose own actions and behaviour are similarly determined by others. The individual participants – be they performers or spectators – experience themselves as subjects that are neither fully autonomous nor fully determined by others; subjects that accept responsibility for a situation which they have not created but which they participate in.[64]

In this way, each performance of *imayō* effectively resulted in a one-time defined meaning, in which, for example, the original meaning of the lyrics was replaced by the moment's temporary situation as can be observed in the case of Giō. The musical and emotional encounter thus

---

[61] Strippoli, *Dancer, Nun, Ghost, Goddess,* 56-65.

[62] Okimoto, *Imayō no jidai* 177-8. Eubanks also notes that the use of sympathetic response, or *kannō* 感応, in medieval Japanese Buddhist vocal arts "coheres around the human voice as an expression of sensual/spiritual desire." Charlotte Eubanks, "Sympathetic Response: Vocal Arts and the Erotics of Persuasion in the Buddhist Literature of Medieval Japan," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 72, no. 1 (2012): 53.

[63] For an analysis on Zeami's model of the theatrical experience between actor and spectator, see Frank Hoff, "Seeing and Being Seen: The Mirror of Performance," in *Flowing Traces: Buddhism in the Literary and Visual Arts of Japan,* Course Book ed., eds. Masatoshi Nagatomi, William R. LaFleur, and James H. Sanford (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 131-148.

[64] Erika Fischer-Lichte, "Interweaving Cultures in Performance: Different states of being in-between," in *The Performance Studies Reader,* 2nd ed., eds. Henry Bial and Sara Brady (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 375.

created an ephemeral space shared between performer and audience, and the product must have undeniably heightened the sympathy and excitement of the entire audience. Judith Becker, in her thought-provoking work, *Music, Emotion and Trancing: Deep Listeners*, notes that the habitus of listening is something culturally defined, and thus is inherently malleable in nature. Deep listeners, a term used throughout the text to describe those who respond with strong emotional arousal to musical stimulation, exhibit a "listening self… [which] may be the same body but may not be the same self as that inhabited in more commonplace life activities. Music, for many deep listeners, opens pathways of being not ordinarily experienced in everyday life."[65] Thus, through embodiment operating within the first-person, *imayō* paved way for a greater awareness of the self. In addition, I would argue that it yielded a coalescence of embodiment, as bodies involved with other bodies, transmitting social knowledge and cultural memory across diverse social spaces.

In sum, the performance of *imayō* centers on the vocal expression of direct subjective emotion, differing from the expressive norm in the Heian court and potentially impacting later artforms. It is due to this intimate subjective nature, that both performers and audience could empathize with the lyrics and interact with the performance, yielding a one-time defined meaning and shared space. Further, the shared space allowed for the potentiality of embodiment in the form of bodies interacting with other bodies, conveying social knowledge and cultural memory across distinct and variegated communal spheres. Most resonant in the above definition of *imayō* is the foundational understanding of the importance of the voice in Heian Japan. By considering the voice as being perceived as something sensual, *imayō* performers sonically, and

[65] Judith Becker, *Deep Listeners: Music, Emotion, and Trancing* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 106.

by extension physically, affirmed both the gendered and performative body. It is to the expression of the gendered body that I would like to discuss next.

The gendered body

The bodies of the practitioners of *imayō,* such as that of the *asobi* and *kugutsu*, "were often female sexual entertainers, whose profession depended on the intimate use of their bodies."[66] Despite their status as women and association with ritual defilement, there is a striking tendency for scholars to omit such an association and describe these figures as socially marginalized and victim to transgression.[67] Goodwin's analysis of the complex portrayal of the *asobi* in Heian and Kamakura literature asserts that the profession of the *asobi* neither served as a source of ritual pollution nor sacralization. Further, Goodwin proposes that it is instead more useful to regard the figure of the *asobi*, and by extension that of the *kugustsu* and *shirabyōshi,* as "social actors who need to be analyzed in conjunction with such quotidian matters such as marriage, law, and property… as well as the Buddhist concepts of illusion and desire."[68] Therefore, as most practitioners of *imayō* were foremost an expression of the female gender operating within a Buddhist context, it is pertinent to examine Buddhist conceptions of the female body influential in Heian Japan.

Often embedded in the songs of *imayō,* the theory of the Five Obstacles refers to the five highest positions in the Buddhist pantheon that are unattainable for women, given their inherent lesser nature. These roles are those as: the god Brahmā; the god Śakra; Māra; the universal

---

[66] Janet R. Goodwin, *Selling Songs and Smiles: The Sex Trade in Heian and Kamakura Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 103.
[67] Despite Kawashima's attempt to challenge the "marginal *asobi*" paradigm, she overlooks the notion of ritual defilement in the expression of gender. See Kawashima chapter two of *Writing Margins* on the marginal nature of female entertainers such as the *asobi* and Goodwin's *Selling Songs and Smiles* for a discussion of female sexual entertainers of Heian and Kamakura Japan.
[68] Goodwin, *Selling Songs and Smiles*, 119.

monarch and wheel-turning king, *cakravartin*; and most pertinently, as a buddha.[69] Although originally employed in India as an institutionalized means to exclude women, the theory transformed in ninth century Japan and the Five Obstacles were "read as a moral and ontological inferiority, and was associated with various female moral characteristics – deceit, greed, vanity – which were themselves both the causes and consequences of a negative karma." [70] In this vein, the female body is characterized with a moral and biological defilement, excluded from Buddhahood as well as from sacred places in response to a perceived threat to men.

Edward Kamens has shown that akin to its function in Buddhist discourse, within the poetic sphere the topos of the Five Obstacles:

> Refers to the act of setting women radically apart from men and portrays them as possessors of special handicaps that can only be overcome if they can manage to become men…that essential change is the focus of nearly every *itsutsu no sawari* poem: "five obstructions" poesy is fundamentally a poesy of transformation from sex to sex (and on to sexlessness) – from a state viewed as inferior to a state of superior and permanent perfection.[71]

Similarly, the topos of the Five Obstacles within the songs of *imayō* function as an expression of the performers' religious experience, whether in the form of false modesty or as hope for salvation. Further, as we shall later see, the gender transformation from female to male to sexlessness (Buddhahood) is pivotal in understanding Go-Shirakawa's treatise on *imayō,* the *Kudenshū.*

On a more corporeal level, the female body and its physiological functions were also associated with ritual defilement. The fear of ritual pollution and its corresponding anxieties and

---

[69] Notably, all of these figures are male – implying that only men are able to fulfill these positions. Bernard Faure, *The Power of Denial: Buddhism, Purity, and Gender* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 62.
[70] Faure, *The Power of Denial*, 63.
[71] Edward Kamens, "Dragon-Girl, Maidenflower, Buddha: The Transformation of a Waka Topos, 'The Five Obstructions'," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 53, no. 2 (1993): 398.

transgressions such as possible defilement or death manifested in the female body. Simply put, this is due to the masculine repulsion to menstrual blood. This was not limited to menses and consequently, women's natural involvement with pregnancy, birth, and even death was connected with the image of (menstrual) blood and further sullied the perception of women in Japan.

Notably, in the *Kojiki* (Record of Ancient Matters, 712) the female body is depicted as a site of ritual defilement. Despite their differences, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* (Chronicles of Japan, 720) both function as means to authenticate the political hegemony of the imperial house and its state system referred to as *ritsuryō* for the legal codes which were implemented from the late seventh century to the late tenth century. This authentication is achieved by "providing an account of how the world came into being and how that world became the present imperial system…by tracing the origins of the emperor to the Age of the Gods, a mythological realm."[72] It is in the opening scenes of this world and its creation where the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* greatly vary. The *Nihon shoki* pigments the overall worldview in a *yin-yang* philosophy, as is evidenced by the depiction of the male and female deities Izanaki and Izanami as the embodiment of *yin* and *yang*, as well as the fact that the world is created together by the deities.[73] Again, what must be emphasized here is that the continual joint actions of Izanaki and Izanami result in the manifestation of the world and its myriad deities.

---

[72] Kōnoshi Takamitsu, "Constructing Imperial Mythology: *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*," trans. Iori Jōkō, in *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature,* eds. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2000), 53.
[73] Kojima Noriyuki et al., eds., *Nihon shoki,* Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 2 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2006), 24-61.

The *Kojiki* begins by detailing the appearance of heaven and earth as well as Izanaki and Izanami's descent to earth and their procreation of deities; however, it sharply diverges from the pairing observed in *Nihon shoki* when Izanami suddenly dies due to the burns incurred while giving birth to the fire deity. Izanaki kills the fire deity, resulting in a multitude of deities born from the corpse and blood (bodily fluid) of both Izanami and the fire deity. Later, a lonesome Izanaki journeys to the land of Yomi (an afterworld) in search of Izanami, but, frightened at the sight of her rotting corpse, he quickly escapes and purifies himself with water, solely producing the deities Amaterasu, Susano'o, and Tsukuyomi.[74] In this account, the female body is associated with blood coming from the vagina, believed to be the worst kind of defilement, either as a consequence of giving birth or what has been suggested as catamenia.[75] Further, in the land of the dead, Izanaki flees from Izanami's rotting corpse, the female body a symbol of putrefaction while the male body is associated with cleanliness. Moreover, the creation of deities born out of Izanaki's male body firmly identifies males rather than females with birth. In addition, the episode's frequent use of language indicative of ritual demarcates ritualized spaces and dual ideas of defilement and purity: the female body associated with defilement of birth, blood and the vagina, spoil and rot, and death; the male body associated with the purity of fire, water, and birth. As Hulvey writes:

> Although in actuality females are the ones capable of creating life, the compilers of the creation myth denied biological fact by making females the reviled gender that threatened humanity with death. In the service of their political agenda, they launched a double-pronged attack on females: they made females the counterpart of the Grim Reaper and made the female body the site of ritual defilement in a thought system that values purity

[74] Yamaguchi, Yoshinori, and Kōnoshi Takamitsu, eds., *Kojiki*, Shinpen nihon koten bungaku zenshū 1 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1997), 28-55. Notably, this includes arguably the most important deity in Shinto ideology, Amaterasu, the sun goddess and ruler of the heavenly realm.

[75] Edo period *Kokugaku* scholar Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843) proposed this idea, as discussed in S. Yumiko Hulvey, "Myths and Monsters: The Female Body as the Site for Political Agendas," in *Body Politics and the Fictional Double*, ed. Debra Walker King (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 86.

> above all else. As harbingers of death and defilement in the Japanese creation myth, females are handicapped by negative associations that are hard to overcome even when facts to the contrary have been revealed.[76]

Notably, although the *Kojiki* depicts the world and the reign of the imperial rulers in a non-Buddhist past, the use of stylistic patterns from Buddhist texts, such as the phonographs used as a textual performance of the recitation of song, and the logographic style throughout prose passages suggests that Buddhist writings impacted the prose of the *Kojiki.*[77] Yet, although markedly not a Buddhist text, as an authoritative source of imperial legitimacy, its construction of the female body as a symbol of ritual defilement would have likely permeated and shaped Heian thought.

The fear of blood defilement and its associated anxieties and transgression such as possible ritual defilement manifested in the female body.[78] Although a woman's body was technically deemed polluted only during menses and while pregnant, the perception surrounding the pollution profoundly impacted life for women and their relationship with society. Further, during childbirth a woman was considered to "venture closer to the other world, and therefore [associated] to the impurity of death"[79]; however, I concur with Goodwin's opinion that birth pollution housed not only fears of death, but also that of blood defilement.[80] The *Engishiki* (Regulations and Laws of the Engi era, 907-27) is one of the earliest documents in which defilement is formally defined; the text codifies birth, pregnancy, and menstruation taboos, and prescribed regulations to prevent defilement at places such as the imperial palace and important

[76] Hulvey, "Myths and Monsters," 87.
[77] David Lurie, "Myth and history in the *Kojiki, Nihon shoki,* and related works," in *Cambridge History of Japanese Literature,* eds. Haruo Shirane, Tomi Suzuki, and David Lurie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 37-39.
[78] Faure, *The Power of Denial,* 66-7. Discussions of the female body in this section will be in the context of that viewed from and subjected to the stance of both the aristocratic sphere and Buddhist practitioner.
[79] Faure, *The Power of Denial*, 69.
[80] Goodwin, *Selling Songs and Smiles*, 104-105.

shrine festivals. In the text, blood defilement within the female body only occurs at certain times and is limited to the individual. Further, there is no perception of transferability; however, this would change by the twelfth century and the defilement would be perceived as contagious.[81]

Historian Taira Masayuki argues that female gender pollution was accepted in doctrinal theory until the late Heian period. He proposes that *nyonin kinsei,* or the exclusion of women from selected sacred places, be read as an indication of the extent to which society regarded the female body as ritually polluted. This exclusion can be observed as having evolved gradually over the Heian and Kamakura periods. While women were initially only excluded from such spaces during pregnancy or menstruation, after concepts of gender pollution amalgamated with Buddhist notions of inherent female sinfulness, such as the Five Obstacles, women were permanently restricted as a measure to prevent monks' sexual desires and female gender pollution as obstacles to enlightenment. Thus, Taira maintains that although it may have been feasible to purify the temporary pollution caused by menses or childbirth, it was impossible to erase the permanent uncleanliness of women as women.[82]

It is this uncleanliness or *kegare*[83] as demarcated by blood that ineluctably displays a fundamental difference and particular otherness of the female sex. As Nichiren would later note in *Gassui gosho* (A Letter on Menstruation, 1264), although he is quick to acknowledge that

[81] Iinuma, "Chusei zenkai no josei no shi – Jinsei no shodankai no kentō wo tsūjite," in *Nihon josei seikatsu shi,* vol.2, *Chūsei,* ed., Joseishi sōgō kenkyūkai (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1990), 40.

[82] Taira Masayuki, "Chūsei bukkyō to josei," in *Nihon josei seikatu shi,* vol. 2, *Chūsei,* ed. Joseishi sōgō kenkyūkai (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1990), 79-83. On *nyonin kinsei,* see Lindsey E. DeWitt, "A Mountain Set Apart: Female Exclusion, Buddhism, and Tradition at Modern Ōminesan, Japan" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2015), 11-18.

[83] Faure, *The Power of Denial*, 68, notes that the medieval period saw the development of the notion of *kegare*. On how the aversion to *kegare* can be observed in the bloodless deaths of the Genpei War in *Heike monogatari,* see Vyjayanthi Selinger, "A War without Blood? The Literary Uses of a Taboo Fluid in *Heike Monogatari*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 74, no. 1 (2019): 33-57.

menstruation is an essential physiological phenomenon, he compares it to a long illness borne of the "usual impurity of women," as a "principle that must have been inherited from seeds of *saṃsāra*."[84] Thus, in one fell swoop, the natural female body is imbued as something morally degenerate which cannot be alleviated, less the body inhabit a different gendered space. Moreover, when combined with the notion of the Five Obstacles, this purview of the female gender can be understood as something to be kept at a distance – defiled, corrupt, and less than. It is thus a direct function of male dominance through ideological discourse and imperial authorization that marked the female *body* as blemished.

Of course, these ideals were not monolithic, and despite the construction of the female body as the site of the repulsive, it likewise existed as an erotic object, as can be evidenced by the variety of professional sexual entertainers, such as the *asobi* and *kugutsu*.

The performative body

Although simultaneously operating within the same space as the material physical body, the performative body is void of an anthropocentric signifier, instead it is the culturally defined movement of the body performing in and *as* political space. As observed in Heian narratives, such as Murasaki Shikibu's *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji, ca. 1008), the performative body acts as a source of sexual interest and desire. In the "*Hahakigi* 帚木"chapter of *Genji monogatari*, while discussing the qualities of the ideal woman, physical appearance plays a minor role and instead erotic desire is intertwined with the graceful skill in performing the aesthetic activities of the Heian court such as the skill and artistic expression in musical

[84] Faure, *The Power of Denial*, 72.

performance, the caliber of poetic recitation, the lyrical and visual delight of both inked brush and its conveyed meaning in the composition of both poems and letters, and the delicate combination of the color of one's robes.[85] Indeed, while one of the courtiers is discussing a woman whom he had been calling upon, he is keen to note that she "wrote poetry in a flowing hand, was well trained in the plucking style of the koto, and sang like a master… she was also passably good-looking."[86] By happenchance, one night the courtier peers upon the same woman and another high-ranking courtier in an evening musical rendezvous, whereby the other man played *fue* and sang *saibara* outside on a veranda, while the woman inside and behind bamboo blinds accompanied him on *koto*. The peeping courtier remarks that:

> She then switched to a larger thirteen-string *koto* tuned to the *banshiki*[87] mode, darker in tone and thus appropriate for the season. Her style of plucking [the *koto*] was lively and contemporary, and yet even though her playing sparkled, listening to her left me feeling unsettled and embarrassed… [she] behaves too voluptuously… on the basis of what I observed that evening, I decided to end my affair with that lady.[88]

The scene is invigorated with sweeping poetic imagery and sexual desire conveyed by the allure of both genders skillfully playing a musical instrument. The performative body acts as a force of temptation: in addition to the amorous musical and poetic exchanges between the woman and other man, the tone of the narrator reflects that he simultaneously felt both overcome with lust simply by observing and listening to the performance and embarrassed by the coquettish performance by the woman he had once considered without flaw. Despite the account's provocative depiction of the woman, notably her physical appearance is only apathetically

---

[85] Rajyashree Pandey, "Desire and Disgust: Meditations on the Impure Body in Medieval Japanese Narratives," *Monumenta Nipponica* 60, no. 2 (2005): 212.
[86] Denis C. Washburn, trans., *The Tale of Genji* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2015), 34.
[87] This is one of six modes used in *gagaku*, which is based largely on the court music of Tang China (c. 607-918). Each mode usually had seasonal or poetic associations. *Banshiki* is the sixth mode based on the pitch near to B in Western music; associated with winter.
[88] Washburn, *The Tale of Genji*, 35.

mentioned once in passing, thus supporting the possibility that the physical body is subordinate to the performative body.

Okimoto points out that due to the infrequency in which women are depicted singing in both ceremonies and relaxed, private settings, it is likely that during the Heian period aristocratic women fundamentally did not sing.[89] The exception to this quandary can be found in diaries and the *monogatari* genre. Okimoto likewise utilizes the vibrant portrayals of court life in *Genji monogatari*, concluding that within the text the singing female body is characterized as far removed from the court culture of *miyabi* or elegance and refinement, thus making it easy to imagine that aristocratic women may have wanted to avoid singing.[90]

By contrast, contemporaneous depictions of *kugutsu* and *asobi* emphasize the voice and performative nature of the practitioners as supreme. For example, in the mid-tenth century *Sarashina Nikki* (Sarashina Diary, c. 1060), Sugawara Takasue's daughter (1008 -?)[91] notes in an evening performance the body of the *asobi,* cast aglow from a distant light, cover up their faces with a fan, allowing the focus to naturally settle on the singing voice and performing body. Even in the occasion in which the physical beauty of the performer is detailed, above all else, the paramount importance of the voice clearly resonates.[92] The depiction of the performative body of the *imayō* practitioner as a symbol of sexual desire will be explored in the following chapter; however, here it is important to note that the performing bodies of *imayō,* such as the *asobi* and *kugutsu*, were viewed as professional singers whose art permeated the boundary of the sacred

[89] Okimoto, *Imayō no jidai*, 152.
[90] Specifically, Okimoto uses the word *okuyukashisa* 奥ゆかしさ, a word encapsulating the qualities of refinement, elegance, grace, modesty, and restraint. Okimoto, *Imayō no jidai*, 154-155.
[91] Notably, Takasue's daughter's desire for fiction is manifested in an obsession with *The Tale of Genji*.
[92] *Sarashina Nikki* in Okimoto, *Imayō no jidai,* 155-157.

and mundane.[93] The sexually charged act of performing *imayō* yielded a "religious experience [that] colored daily life and helped produce its linguistic currency."[94] Thus, it was through the performance of this complex figure that produced contradictory feelings of both Buddhist religiosity and sexual desire. For those such as Go-Shirakawa who had already entered the Buddhist monastery while compiling the *Kudenshū*,[95] this sexual desire was not only considered a hinderance for attaining enlightenment, but also the most difficult human desire from which to detach. This predicament was similarly encountered by female poets, such as Ono no Komachi and Izumi Shikibu, in which "they came to be seen first and foremost as 'women' with bodies which aroused desire…their poetry… read as being steeped in passion and therefore inimical to the Buddhist goal of enlightenment."[96]

In addition to the physical performance, the conveyed soundscape likewise posed issues due to both its musical identity and lyrical content. The namesake of the practitioners, "*asobi* 遊び" commonly denoted the meaning to enjoy or make music. This notion of enjoying music was configured within the Buddhist canon law (*vinaya*) in which song, dance, and instrumental music were conceptualized as a triad,[97] prohibiting "secular music, particularly in the context of

---

[93] For discussions on the history and religious nature of the *asobi,* see Yung-Hee Kim Kwon, "The Female Entertainment Tradition in Medieval Japan: The Case of *Asobi,*" in *Performing Feminisms: Feminists Critical Theory and Theatre*, ed. Sue-Ellen Case (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press: 1990), 316-27; Goodwin, *Selling Songs and Smiles,* 84-119. For discussions on the marginalization of female entertainers, see Kawashima, *Writing Margins;* and Strippoli, *Dancer, Nun, Ghost, Goddess*, 23-26.

[94] Goodwin, *Selling Songs and Smiles,* 102.

[95] Go-Shirakawa took the tonsure in the sixth lunisolar month of 1169 at the Tendai temple, Myōhōin 妙法院, located in Kyoto and said to have been founded by Saichō (C.E. 766-822, founder of the Tendai school) while the compilation of the *Kudenshū* is dated between 1169-1185. Volume ten is suggested to be compiled while Go-Shirakawa was in his fifties (who would have been age fifty in 1177), although the year of completion varies.

[96] Rajyashree Pandey, "Poetry, Sex and Salvation: The 'Courtesan' and the Noblewoman in Medieval Japanese Narratives," *Japanese Studies* 24, no. 1 (2007): 68.

[97] Cuilan Liu, "Reciting, Chanting, and Singing: The Codification of Vocal Music in Buddhist Canon Law," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 46, no.4 (September 2018): 715.

entertainment", because "any music or dance that functions to please the senses could lead people to moral degeneration"[98] and ultimately functioned as a desire that was an impediment to enlightenment.[99] This sharply contrasted with the vocalization of Buddhists texts, such as recitation and chanting, which were performed within the context of religious ritual and acted as a vehicle for individuals to regulate their behaviors. [100] Viewed in this light, the performance of *imayō* prior to Go-Shirakawa's *Kudenshū* in which he depicts the artform as a musical means of attaining enlightenment, could have been classified as secular by non-practitioners.[101] As Kawashima has suggested, twelfth and thirteenth century narratives are dismissive of the *asobi*'s characteristic practice of singing *imayō* as an effectual means of attaining salvation in their very bodies "since such direct access to *ōjō* [deliverance to the Pure Land] posed a challenge to both established and nascent Buddhist orders and their supporters", and instead characterize it as inefficacious, privileging "alternative, apparently more powerful (male modes) for achieving the same goal."[102] Therefore, despite the practitioners considering the artform as a direct way to communicate with the sacred and as a vehicle to be delivered to the Pure Land, it is plausible that

---

[98] Li Wei, "The Duality of the Sacred and the Secular in Chinese Buddhist Music: An Introduction," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 24 (1992): 83.

[99] A strikingly similar notion can be found in the "Condemnation of Music" discourse by Mozi (ca 479-381 BCE), who sharply criticized the waste of materials and human effort for musical performances, condoned the listening of music as casting society astray due to the sense pleasure, and notably regarded the appreciation of music as having a useless role in society. See Philip J. Ivanhoe and Bryan W. Van Norden, eds., *Readings in Classical Chinese Philosophy* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2001), 105-109.

[100] For a detailed study on *shōmyō* (声明, Japanese Buddhist chant), see Mross, *Memory, Music, Manuscripts*: *The Ritual Dynamics of Kōshiki in Japanese Sōtō Zen*.

[101] Mross, *Memory, Music, Manuscripts,* 7, includes *imayō* in the category of Buddhist music that may have been performed outside the ritual context by lay devotees or clerics alongside performative genres such as *wasan* 和讃 (Japanese hymns) and *goeika* 御詠歌 (Buddhist devotional hymns performed by lay devotees during pilgrimages); however, I might suggest that as opposed to the above mentioned genres, due to the variety of non-Buddhist themes in the lyrics of *imayō* there is the possibility it may not have been identified as Buddhist music by non-practitioners until following Go-Shirakawa's *Kudenshū*.

[102] Kawashima, "Performing sinners: The *Asobi* and the Buddhist discourse of *Tsumi*," *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* 12, no. 1 (2008): 46. Such alternatives included *nenbutsu* or assistance from monks.

due to its feminine mode, the performance may have been cast as non-Buddhist and thus associated with sense-pleasure and desire.

With the deepening of Buddhist faith in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the use of language for non-didactic purposes, writing in ornamented frivolous speech was constituted as sinful. Mujū Dōgyō 無住道暁 (Ichienbō 一圓房; 1226-1312) describes the Buddhist objections to poetry in the prose miscellany *Shasekishū* (Sand and Pebbles, c. 1279-83):

> Now we refer to the poetry of "wild words and specious phrases" [*kyōgen kigo*] as "defiled poetry," because it lures us to attachment, imbues us with vain sensuality, and decks us out with empty words.[103]

Like *waka,* the words of secular songs would have had the ability to distort the senses. In order to combat such an unfortunate characterization, the concepts of both *hōben* or "means" and nondualism were employed, justifying secular texts which would have been problematized by Buddhist beliefs and transforming them into vehicles for enlightenment. This is quintessentially employed in the amalgamation of the poetic and Buddhist paths, yielding a nondual path to enlightenment, and would ultimately generate the notion that the *waka* of Japan were akin to the *dhāraṇī* spoken by the Buddha in India*,* expressing the same message, truth, and religious efficacy.[104] Similarly, the practitioners of *imayō,* such as the *asobi* and Go-Shirakawa,

---

[103] Robert E. Morrell, *Sand and Pebbles (Shasekishū): The Tales of Mujū Ichien, A Voice for Pluralism in Kamakura Buddhism* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1985), 163.

[104] Susan Blakeley Klein, "Wild Words and Syncretic Deities: *Kyōgen kigo* and *honji suijaku* in medieval literary allegoresis," in *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm,* eds. Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 179-85. See also R. Keller Kimbrough, "Reading the Miraculous Powers of Japanese Poetry: Spells, Truth Acts, and a Medieval Buddhist Poetics of the Supernatural," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 32, no.1 (2005): 1-33. On *waka* and esoteric Buddhism, see Klein, *Allegories of Desire: Esoteric Literary Commentaries of Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2002).

considered the performance of such lyrical verse to be a direct nondual path to enlightenment; however, it is unclear if the public opinion of *imayō* verse was comparable to that of *waka*. It should be underscored once more that the verse would have been associated with the female body. Thus, there existed a major tension between the female performance of *imayō* and Buddhist ideology of the time.

Go-Shirakawa and the practice of *imayō*

This chapter has explored the perception of *imayō* and its female practitioners by considering the social and religious context in twelfth and thirteenth century Japan. The innate sensuality of the voice, the new direct emotional style and one-time defined meaning of *imayō*, the gendered and performative body of the singer, and the complex musical and poetic identity of *imayō* leads one to question if the intense Buddhist climate and late-Heian attitudes towards the voice, poetry, and the (female) body could have influenced Go-Shirakawa's interpretation of *imayō* and his decision to textualize his beloved art. Go-Shirakawa was familiar with the power of the voice, having studied *shōmyō* with the monk Kekan 家寛 (late 12th century, exact dates unknown) who was a disciple of the Tendai monk Ryōnin 良忍 (1072 – 1132) who not only founded the "all-pervading *nenbutsu"* movement, but whose extensive study of *shōmyō* is credited with the systemization of the *shōmyō* tradition in the Tendai school, founding of the *shōmyō* Ōhara lineage, and development of a neumatic notation system.[105] However, since "the culmination of his [Go-Shirakawa's] lifelong devotion to performing arts and Buddhist practice is a collection of and a treatise of *imayō* songs, not *shōmyō*, it suggests that he championed the

[105] Stone, *Original Enlightenment*, 129.

former as a special and effective method for salvation."[106] Further, throughout volume ten of the *Kudenshū* it can be observed that Go-Shirakawa firmly affirms the superiority of *imayō* as compared to other performing arts.

Despite his love for *imayō*¸ as an art form in which the practice is handed down orally from teacher to student, there is an emphasis on the body in both practice and performance through the transferal of embodied knowledge. As a predominantly female artform, this would have directly contrasted with practices such as the accepted male *shōmyō*. And as Mross notes, as "embodied practices and multidimensional performances,"[107] the sonic dimension of rituals and performance is not only understudied, but also serves a significant role in the performance, demarcating space and time, and "strongly contribut[ing] to the ritual's aesthetic quality and affective experience."[108] Further, it is suggested that medieval Buddhism understood written character, the vibration of the voice, and buddha body to comprise different modes of an inseparable synesthetic whole.[109] Thus, the sensuality of the voice and the direct emotional language of *imayō* songs sung and *performed* by a female body may have yielded a powerful emotional response in late Heian Japan where "the modern disciplinary separation between 'art' and 'religion' does not reflect medieval realities."[110]

---

[106] Terry Kawashima, "Performing Sinners," 48-9.
[107] Mross, *Memory, Music, Manuscripts,* 5.
[108] Mross, *Memory, Music, Manuscripts,* 6.
[109] Charlotte Eubanks, *Miracles of Book and Body: Buddhist Textual Culture and Medieval Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 153. For more on the relation between voice, written word, and Buddha body, see Abe Ryūichi, *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); and Collett Cox, *Disputed Dharmas: Early Buddhist Theories on Existence* (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1995).
[110] Jacqueline I. Stone, "Buddhism," in *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions*, eds. Paul L. Swanson and Clark Chilson (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 47.

I propose that after having taken the tonsure in the sixth lunisolar month of 1169, the body of Go-Shirakawa's esteemed *imayō*, namely the impurity of the female performing body as simultaneously containing both sexual temptation and blood defilement, and its secular (illusory) musical identity transformed from his beloved artform to that which starkly contrasted with Buddhist teachings to enter Pure Land and was not approved in the Buddhist purview. Given that his Buddhist faith was directly tied to *imayō,*[111] he was faced with a dilemma. Therefore, in order for Go-Shirakawa to continue practicing and transmit the definitive style even after his death, it became necessary for him to transform *imayō* into a recognized Buddhist artform. During this time period, the interrelated view of Buddhism and social practice led to the mentality in which:

> the process by which poetry and music, once shunned by clerics as worldly distractions, were appropriated as Buddhist practice in their own right, and artistic expressions, like the concrete forms of esoteric ritual (*ji* 事*),* came to be seen as instantiating formless principles (*ri* 理*);* thus the arts, too, could be conceived as the "traces" (*suijaku*) of Buddhist truth.[112]

It is this unification of Buddhism and art in the expression of *imayō* which is characteristic of the *Kudenshū*.[113] Accomplished through the manipulation of symbols utilizing the same transformative sequence as the topos of the Five Obstacles -- female to male to sexlessness (Buddhahood) – Go-Shirakawa undeniably aided in affirming *imayō*'s place to concretize abstract Buddhist concepts. This process will be discussed in the following chapter.

---

[111] Okimoto, *Imayō no jidai,* 169.
[112] Stone, "Buddhism," 47.
[113] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*, 389.

Chapter Two: Transformation of the Body – *Imayō* as a Vocal Art Supreme

Overview

In this chapter, I analyze the metamorphosis of the body of *imayō*, namely from that as female to male and then sexlessness. Noting here that the body also encompasses the voice. More importantly, as was introduced in Chapter One's definition of *imayō*, the voice dominated both the performance and the perception of its practitioners – the articulated sonic reverberations of the performer harnessing the ability to encapsulate the physical body. To support my argument, I consider how the process of textualizing *imayō* songs and its respective teachings in Go-Shirakawa's *Ryōjin hishō* resulted in a physical object representative of the superior male body and the contents of the *Kudenshū* depicting a perspective that, although distinct from that of its female practitioners, is indicative of Go-Shirakawa's deep involvement in the artform as a religious practice. This chapter concludes with an analysis of the transfiguration of *imayō* into an established Buddhist practice – beginning with the death of Go-Shirakawa's *imayō* master, the *kugutsu,* Otomae 乙前, tracing Go-Shirakawa's accounts of *imayō* performance on his various pilgrimages in the *Kudenshū*, as well as his final declaration of *imayō* as a Buddhist vehicle for deliverance to the Pure Land. These selections illuminate Go-Shirakawa's intimate involvement in the artform and his unwavering conviction in the aesthetic and ritual superiority of *imayō*.

Textualization of the practice

Go-Shirakawa asserts in the preface of volume ten of the *Kudenshū*, that it is due to the lack of critical appraisal on *imayō* that he was prompted to embark on the compilation.[114] Employing the *waka* treatise *Toshiyori zuinō* (Toshiyori's Essentials of Poetry, 1111-1114) by Minamoto no

[114] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*, 343.

Toshiyori (1055-1129) as a model, Go-Shirakawa begins by tracing the development of song in Japan from *kagura* to *imayō*. One can therefore infer that Go-Shirakawa potentially wrote the *Kudenshū* as a comprehensive guide to the art of *imayō* with a specific audience in mind, using vignettes in hopes to transmit both technical and cultural knowledge, including firsthand accounts. Further, akin to *waka* in *Toshiyori zuinō*, learning and performing *imayō* would become the "crux of a broad pedagogical and cultural project" in a "multi-dimensional, integrated process of cultural transmission."[115] Thus, through both the written word and the physical medium of text, Go-Shirakawa places *imayō* amongst the ranks of *waka* and other established aristocratic pursuits. In the last pages of volume ten of the *Kudenshū*, the emperor's lamentation on the status of vocal performance more clearly reflects how he conceived *imayō* and the way in which he aimed to utilize it. He writes:

> Generally, because those who create Chinese poetry, sing *waka*, and practice calligraphy write down their works, these live on into the future without degrading in the slightest. The sad thing about vocal art [*koewaza*] is that once I pass away it does not remain. Therefore, I have decided to create the first ever oral transmission [*kuden*] of *imayō* – an everlasting written account for people to see[116] when I am gone.

> おほかた、詩を作り、和歌を詠(よ)み、手を書く輩(ともがら)は、書きとめつれば、末(すゑ)の世までも朽(く)つることなし。こゑわざの悲しきことは、我が身隠れぬるのち、とどまることのなきなり。その故に、亡(な)からむ跡(あと)に人見よとて、いまだ世になき今様(いまやう)の口伝を作りおくところなり。[117]

Most striking is Go-Shirakawa's awareness of the fact that, as a folk performance art, *imayō* is a fleeting experience and lacks a textual resonance. Before its inevitable disappearance, he means to capture the performance in written word so as to allow the "oral transmission" to remain "for

---

[115] Stilerman, "Learning with *Waka* Poetry," 55

[116] The verb "miru" here indicates that what Go-Shirakawa is creating is a text to be read in the future. In this sense, the *kuden* is an attempt to transcribe the oral history of the artform. After having been taught orally and through performance by and in the style of an authentic and traditional *imayō* practitioner, Go-Shirakawa is committing that learned knowledge of *imayō* to written form.

[117] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*, 380.

people to see" even when they can no longer hear the performer's voice. However, his words are vague, and his intention can be interpreted as perhaps a drive to further himself politically and eternalize his name, and/or an attempt to preserve the *imayō* tradition. It is to this handwritten text, or *ato*,[118] that I would like to turn my attention to next.

While Yung-Hee Kim Kwon describes *imayō* as operating within "the supreme realm of art" in which "social differences are disregarded and replaced by relationships that transcend conventional class distinctions,"[119] the text itself represents the transfer of knowledge from non-elite female artists to the emperor. As a text, Go-Shirakawa situates the *Kudenshū* as the only resource of his style of *imayō*. When his teacher passes, the legacy is left to him. Although he finds two promising male students who have mastered a selection of *imayō* genres in his style, he expresses concern for the authenticity of artistic teaching and lineage as well as doubt in his students' ability to transmit his style,[120] and thus, entrusts the preservation to a written document. As the practice of *imayō* dissipated after the Kamakura period, it can hence be asserted that the rediscovery of the text *Ryōjin hishō* has effectively supplanted the performance itself.

As a collection of "orally transmitted teachings", the treatise on *imayō* practice, entitled *Kudenshū*「口伝集」, once more attests to the pivotal role of the sonic dimension within the artform. Terry Kawashima interprets the title literally, writing, "By its very medium of presentation, it fails to exist in its declared state; the written characters of *Kudenshū* betray its intention…he [Go-Shirakawa] eradicates the possibility of an oral transmission of his 'true' style by entrusting its preservation to a written medium."[121] Yet, the format of the *imayō kuden* (oral

---

[118] In this context, Go-Shirakawa's use of "*ato* 跡" refers to a handwritten account, as in "*fudeato* 筆跡".
[119] Yung-Hee Kim Kwon, "The Emperor's Songs: Go-Shirakawa and *Ryōjin Hishō Kudenshū," Monumenta Nipponica* 41, no. 3 (Autumn 1986): 266.
[120] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*, 380-1.
[121] Kawashima, *Writing Margins,* 88-9.

transmission) resembles the culture of secret oral transmission within Tendai Buddhism and later observed in artistic lineages, such as *waka*, in which the learned master's interpretation was written down and could only be correctly understood within "the context of master-to-disciple teaching."[122] In addition, Go-Shirakawa states that his goal *is* to create a written document in the form of a *kuden*.[123] Indeed, the textualization of *imayō* yields a distinctive performance of its own: Emperor Go-Shirakawa's interpretation of *imayō* resonates through the inked word.

The space is used to not only assert *imayō* to the level of aristocratic pursuits, but, after having separated the female performers from their songs and artform, also further establish Go-Shirakawa's position and power within both the practice and history. Given that the emperor has been taught *imayō* by and in the style of his teacher Otomae, an elderly *kugutsu* in her seventies and practitioner of an authentic and traditional *imayō* lineage, it may be possible to interpret his words as representing a *bona fide* approach and conception of the art. His extensive and nuanced assessment of the musical ability of individuals, with particular attention to the teacher and lineage is archetypal in the performing arts tradition in which students often train either directly under or in the style of a renowned performer/pedagogue and thus can be distinguished by the unique characteristics of a specific lineage/school. Rather than potentially suggesting a preoccupation with prestige, it is conversely illustrative of Go-Shirakawa's dedicated involvement in the practice. Further, should Go-Shirakawa be replicating the format of *Toshiyori zuinō* (Toshiyori's Essentials of Poetry, 1111-1114), these moments are meant to convey information deemed relevant for the study of *imayō*. Kawashima argues that Go-Shirakawa

[122] Klein, "Wild Words and Syncretic Deities," 195. For an analysis of the impact of esoteric religious and poetic thought on noh, see Klein, *Dancing the Dharma: Religious and Political Allegory in Japanese Noh Theater* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2021).
[123] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*, 380.

systematically wrote *Ryōjin hishō* in an attempt to appropriate the practice and put professional women entertainers in their place, suggesting a superficial association with the artform[124]; however, Go-Shirakawa's use of idiosyncratic *imayō* expressions, such as "*nado ka…narazaramu* などか…ならざらむ" which conveyed an individual's confession of Buddhist conviction and strong wish to be delivered to the Pure Land[125], "*ima koso wa* 今こそは" to express a sense of pressing desire, and "*warera* われら" frequently used by *imayō* singers for the humble first person as well as "we", is evidence that he was both deeply absorbed in the practice of *imayō* and that he considered his Buddhist faith directly tied to *imayō*.[126] While it has been suggested that Go-Shirakawa was inspired by Otomae to begin compiling *imayō* songs and gathering materials for the treatise[127], the situation is opaque. It is at the very least certain from the text that Go-Shirakawa identified himself as a student learning the collected teachings of a master whom he revered, and training in an artform which both he and his mother were avid enthusiasts.[128] Regardless, it should be mentioned that since Go-Shirakawa is writing from a position of power – aristocracy vs. lower class; male vs. female; individual vs. collective – his words should be read with caution. In addition, as the sole compiler of *Ryōjin hishō*, Go-Shirakawa is knowingly embarking on the maiden textualization of the performance art of *imayō*, thus granting himself a degree of license to weave in his own views.

It is important to note that the *Kudenshū* is written in *kana*. Akin to *waka* treatises, such as *Toshiyori zuinō*, Go-Shirakawa may be utilizing script in a nuanced way so as to further

[124] Kawashima, *Writing Margins,* 89-96.
[125] Baba, *Imayō no kokoro to kotoba,* 161-169. Other expressions conveying the same meaning include: "*ika bakari… amaruran* いかばかり…余るらん" and "*zo… kikitsuru* ぞ…聞きつる".
[126] Okimoto, *Imayō no jidai*, 166-171
[127] Konishi, Jin'ichi, *Ryōjin hishō kō* (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1941), 43-44; Baba, "Otomae no botsunen," 35-44.
[128] Kwon, "The Emperor's Songs*,"* 265.

legitimize the practice of *imayō*.[129] That being said, writing the *Kudenshū* in *kana* is unexpected, given Go-Shirakawa's education, gender, and status, and leads one to ask why he did not write in *kanbun*. Aside from the fragment of volume one, the remaining entirety of volume ten (compiled between 1169-1185) is written in the first person and details the narrator's own experiences and personal thoughts regarding *imayō*. While Mitani Kuniaki[130] has postulated that this be read as a men's *kana* diary[131], I suggest the possibility of a conscious construction and performance of gender. Here, the female body is at once visible and semiotic. When viewed through a phenomenological lens, a playing with a "structure of feeling" can be observed, with the material words functioning as embodied space. Raymond Williams' concept of "structure of feeling" distinguishes between formally held beliefs or ideologies, and meanings and values as they are lived and felt by the individual in relation to the formal ideologies.[132] The relational tension between the two proves useful in understanding new formations of thought vying to emerge and define a particular (personal) historical moment, often appearing not fully articulated in response to the official discourse, as may be demonstrated by Go-Shirakawa's unexpected choice of script.

---

[129] See chapter one of Stilerman, "Learning with *Waka* Poetry," especially pp. 57-58 regarding the use of script in *Toshiyori zuinō*.

[130] Mitani Kuniaki, "Nikki bungaku toshite no Ryōjin hishō kudenshū maki daijū: In-seiki ni okeru otoko no kana nikki aruiha [koewaza nikki] to kaku koto," in *Koewaza nikki 'Ryōjin hishō kudenshū' maki dai jū: sōsakuin*, ed. Imanishi Hiroko (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1994), 78-105.

[131] On the *nikki* genre, see Sonja Arntzen, "Heian literary diaries: from *Tosa nikki* to *Sarashina nikki*," in *Cambridge History of Japanese Literature,* eds. Haruo Shirane, Tomi Suzuki, and David Lurie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 165-175; and Tomi Suzuki, "Gender and Genre: Modern Literary Histories and Women's Diary Literature," in *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature,* eds. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2000), 71-95.

[132] Raymond Williams, "Structures of Feeling," in *Structures of Feeling: Affectivity and the Study of Culture,* eds. Devika Sharma and Frederik Tygstrup (Boston: De Gruyter, 2015) 23-24.

Judith Butler contends that gender is constituted through the stylized repetition of performative acts and is a social role one performs.[133] Similarly, performance theorist Richard Schechner considers all performances as restored behavior in that every behavior is twice behaved or a citation of existing cultural behaviors. These culturally agreed-upon behaviors "exist separate from the performers who "do" these behaviors"[134] and, when performed, be it the difference between a formal presentation of self or waiting in line at the grocery store, affix a transformative potentiality to act as someone else or outside oneself. Butler agrees with this notion, considering gender a corporeal style emphasizing the cultural conventions that sanction and proscribe how one acts one's body, the performance that one's body is, and the way in which the body is culturally perceived.[135]

What does this mean in regard to Go-Shirakawa's language? In the late Heian court, penmanship was both indicative of and second only to the ubiquitous esteem accorded to the voice, allowing his act of writing the *Kudenshū* in exquisite flowing *kana* to potentially be interpreted as the depiction of the voice of a pulchritudinous woman. Akin to his use of *imayō* expressions throughout the *Kudenshū* text, the very act of writing in a gendered script is significant because it may suggest Go-Shirakawa's ardent involvement in the artform and effective natural use of a writing style associated with the majority female practitioners of *imayō*.[136] Moreover, it may highlight Go-Shirakawa's attitude towards the practitioners of *imayō*

---

[133] Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory," in *The Performance Studies Reader,* 2nd ed., eds. Henry Bial and Sara Brady (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 215.
[134] Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology,* 36.
[135] Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution," 216-222.
[136] Writing in the Heian period was of a dual binary structure. That in which women were to write in *kana* or women's hand, whereas men wrote in *kanbun* for public, official documents and could write in *kana* for private, unofficial documents. Chino Kaori, "Gender in Japanese Art," in *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual* Field, eds. Joshua S. Mostow, Norman Bryson and Maribeth Graybill (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 25-6.

as one that is not trying to exert authoritarian control since this could have easily been achieved through *kanbun*[137] or *hentai kanbun*[138], a script preferred by male courtiers. By contrast, contemporary literary works describing female entertainers such as the essay *Yūjo o miru* (On Looking at *Asobi*) by Ōe no Mochitoki (955-1010) and later, Ōe no Masafusa (1041-1111)'s *Yūjoki* (An Account of Female Performers, ca. 1087) and *Kairaishiki* (An Account of *Kugutsu*, ca. 1087) are written in *kanbun* and are notable for their distance from and treatment of the subject as something foreign.[139] Further, texts with a high degree of orality or performance commonly use *kana* (phonograms) – the writing style setting the scene and offering a multimedial experience for the reader.[140] Thus, firmly suggesting that the importance of the voice – the sonic dimension – in the performance of *imayō* may have impacted Go-Shirakawa's choice of script. Finally, the script narrows down who the intended readership may have been and indicates that Go-Shirakawa may have intended the *Kudenshū* to be a private document given the highly personal (*shi* 私*)* tone associated with *kana* script. Although the exact reasoning remains unclear, Go-Shirakawa's performance of gender results in an unexpected semiotic expression of the female modality.

While discussing the ontology of performance, Peggy Phelan offers this compelling perspective:

> The challenge raised by the ontological claims of performance for writing is to re-mark again the performative possibilities of writing itself. The act of writing toward disappearance, rather than the act of writing toward preservation, must remember that the after-effect of

[137] Notably, this is used on the last page of the text as an endnote recorded when and where the treatise had been stored, visibly altering the tone.
[138] David B. Lurie, *Realms of Literacy: Early Japan and the History of Writing* (Cambridge (MA) and London: Harvard University Press, 2011), 181-182.
[139] Strippoli, *Dancer, Nun, Ghost, Goddess* 14-16.
[140] Gordian Schreiber, *Japanese Morphography: Deconstructing hentai kanbun* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2022), 20; H. Mack Horton, "Japanese Spirit and Chinese Learning: Scribes and Storytellers in Pre-modern Japan," in *The Ethnography of Reading,* ed. Jonathan Boyarin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 167.

disappearance is the experience of subjectivity itself.[141]

Therefore, recognizing that it is impossible to identify the complete and true nature of the performance of *imayō*, one must look to its depiction in the text as proof of its verifiable existence. Yet, as described, Go-Shirakawa's textualization of the artform is indicative of what English scholarship views as a transgression of power between Emperor Go-Shirakawa and the non-elite female *imayō* practitioners; however, I might suggest to instead consider it as a transformation from the female to the male gender. Given the lack of the full text, one can only speculate to what degree Emperor Go-Shirakawa may have elucidated on the art of *imayō*; however, due to the fact that the opening of the *Kudenshū* states *Toshiyori zuinō* as a model for the commentary, and then proceeds to follow a similar approach, it is possible that, like *Toshiyori zuinō*, detailed sections on the art of *imayō* (illnesses, techniques, etc.) may have followed. Furthermore, the narrative style throughout volume ten may be an homage to Toshiyori's "groundbreaking, distinctive feature of…concise narrative passages to relate anecdotes that lie behind"[142] the practice at hand.

Maleness as a mandatory step for Buddhahood

Although the dates for the compilation of the first ten volumes of the *Ryōjin hishō*, which contained the song lyrics, are unknown, scholars have suggested several possible dates for the *Kudenshū*. In *Ryōjin hishō kō*, Konishi suggests that the treatise was completed in 1184,[143] while Shida Nobuyoshi in *Nihon kayō kenshi* theorizes that it was rather completed a year later in 1185.[144] By contrast, Baba Mitsuko proposes that the treatise was tentatively completed in 1169

---

[141] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (London: Routledge, 1996), 148.
[142] Ariel Stilerman, "Cultural Knowledge and Professional Training in the Poetic Treatises of Late Heian Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 72, no.2 (2017): 170.
[143] Konishi, *Ryōjin hishō kō*, 44.
[144] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*, 390.

prior to Go-Shirakawa taking the tonsure, but notes that he revised and supplemented throughout his fifties.

Although the above theories may not agree on the exact date of completion of the *Kudenshū,* it is clear that Buddhist monastic life and its teachings may have had an influence on Go-Shirakawa while writing the *Kudenshū*. In particular, the tenth volume, which is the only complete existing volume from the *Kudenshū*, concludes by triumphantly uniting the art of *imayō* and Buddhist practice, elucidating upon its superiority and magico-religious potential. Written during a decisively transformative time in Japanese history marked by the pervasiveness of religious thought and its intertwining with all aspects of society, as Go-Shirakawa's secular career as sovereign was teetering, it would have been considered typical for him and similarly other aristocrats to enter Buddhist order.[145] Go-Shirakawa took the tonsure in the sixth lunisolar month of 1169 at the Tendai temple Myōhō-in 妙法院 in Kyoto, said to be founded by founder of the Tendai school, Saichō 最澄 (766-822). Notably, the principal icon of worship at the temple is the *bodhisattva* Samantabhadra (Fugen *bosatsu* 普賢菩薩), associated with protecting the *Lotus Sutra*, sending blessings and ensuring salvation to all sentient beings.

Although the song collection is notable for its lack of criticism towards the female practitioners of *imayō*, interwoven amongst Go-Shirakawa's interpretation of *imayō* in volume ten of the *Kudenshū* is a palpable tone of condescension expressed towards the female performers of the artform. This distinction in tone between the song collection and treatise emphasizes that the gendered marginalization is not only intentional, but also not reflective of

[145] Bodiford, "The Medieval Period," 165. This can also be observed in literature of the time and appointments to high-ranking Buddhist positions.

the practice. Further, as volume ten progresses, Go-Shirakawa's conceptualization of the performative art of *imayō* and its world gradually fades away from that involving female performers. The final pages of the volume not only cast doubt on those artists originally associated with the practice, but in the same space places the masculine body of Go-Shirakawa as the authority of the artform as well as ascribes *imayō* as a Buddhist artform and path.

Death of Otomae

Go-Shirakawa trained extensively with Otomae, an esteemed *kugutsu* in her seventies and practitioner of an authentic *imayō* lineage. *Kugutsu* "led a far more mobile life than *asobi* and other groups of entertainers [and thus] they were effective agents in the propagation of *imayō*."[146] Prior to Otomae, Go-Shirakawa notes that he often listened to and learned the songs of *imayō* performers employed at the court, such as Kane from Kanzaki who was in service of his mother, Taikenmon-in 待賢門院 (1101-1145).[147] Distinct from his earlier teachers, Otomae was an older woman and menopausal. This cessation of the flow of menstrual blood "seemed to make women more appropriate vessels for the Dharma"[148] – therefore, in addition to Otomae's renowned artistic and pedagogical prowess, her physical body and its potentiality for Buddhahood may have impacted Go-Shirakawa's decision to study under her an artform its practitioners believed was a direct means to communicate with the divine.

In the *Kudenshū,* the association of Buddhist concepts occurs only after Go-Shirakawa's teacher has passed and the lineage has been left to him. In this literal and figurative removal of the female body from the practice of *imayō,* the transformation to the masculine within the space

[146] Kwon, "The Emperor's Songs," 267.
[147] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*, 344-45.
[148] Faure, *The Power of Denial*, 69.

of the text is complete, thus opening up the potential for the artform to be associated as a Buddhist path. The date of Otomae's passing is also uncertain, with one theory suggesting that she passed prior to Go-Shirakawa entering the monastery in the same year of 1169, and Baba Mitsuko arguing that Otomae passed on the 19th day of the second lunisolar month of 1174.[149] This later date is particularly important because, as Baba suggests, the passing of his beloved teacher may have been a stark reminder that "vocal art [*koewaza*] is not eternal"[150] and thus, may have served as the impetus for Go-Shirakawa to hold the only ever *imayō awase* 今様合わせ which took place from the first to fifteenth days of the ninth lunisolar month of 1174. Although the event is not mentioned in the *Kudenshū,* contemporary court diaries and musical treatises vividly depict the grand scale and fiercely competitive nature of the event.[151] In a time and society dominated by *waka*, the *imayō awase* illustrates a pivotal moment by which not only was there widespread direct aristocratic sponsorship of and participation in the artform of *imayō*, but also implies that *imayō* had in the public (non-practitioner) aristocratic sphere successfully attained a preeminent position, at least momentarily, legitimizing its status equivalent to that of *waka* warranting the "once in a lifetime"[152] event.

Following the death of his teacher, Go-Shirakawa recited the *Amitābha Sūtra* (Skt. Smaller *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*; Jpn. *Bussetsu amidakyō* 仏説阿弥陀経) continuously for fifty days as

[149] See Konishi, *Ryōjin hishō kō,* 34-44, and the lineage chart on 612-613; Baba Mitsuko, "Kiroku," 26.
[150] Baba writes: 「声技の永遠ではないことを改めて実感することになった年でもあったはずだ。」Baba, "Kiroku," 26.
[151] These include *Kikki* 吉記, *Gyokuyō* 玉葉, and *Tamakiwaru* たまきはる, and *Yoshino yoshimuzu-in gakusho* 吉野吉水院楽書. See Baba, "Kiroku no manazashi: Shōan yo-nen 'Imayō-awase' – rōei, imayō, oyobi biwa no koto," for an analysis of the event.
[152] Baba, "Kiroku," 26. The word used is "kitai 希代", meaning uncommon, rare, extraordinary.

a ritual devotion to assist Otomae attain deliverance to the Pure Land. Overcome with grief, Go-Shirakawa also chanted the *Lotus Sutra* one thousand times within the span of a year and held a memorial service on the first anniversary of her death. Ultimately, though, he replaced his chanting with the singing of *imayō* to wish for her happiness in the next life, effectively demonstrating his belief that the singing of *imayō* would assist his teacher in deliverance to the Pure Land. [153] The deliverance of Buddhahood within *Amitābha*'s Pure Land to women is likewise exhibited in the songs collection. For example, songs 116 and 117 are about the ability of women to become Buddha through the process of female to male to sexlessness of Buddhahood. Of note, song 116 additionally deploys the topos of the Five Obstacles as described in the previous chapter.

Song 116:

Women have five hinderances,
And although are distant from the purity of the Pure Land,
Just as when the lotus blossoms in mud
The daughter of the Dragon King also became a Buddha.

女人(にょにん)五つの障(さは)りあり　　無垢(むく)の浄土(じやうど)は疎(うと)けれど

蓮華(れんげ)し濁りに開くれば　　竜女(りゆうにょ)も仏に成りにけり[154]

Song 117:

Even just once
If women heard a voice reciting this chapter[155]
They could board the lotus before midnight
And be eternally separated from their female bodies.

凡(おほよ)す女人一度(ひとたび)も　　この品誦(ほんず)する声聞けば

---

[153] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*, 358-360.
[154] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*, 215.
[155] From the *Lotus Sutra* detailing the story of the daughter of the dragon king transforming first into a man and then attaining enlightenment.

蓮に上る中夜まで　女人永く離れなむ[156]

As demonstrated above, the "symbol-system of classical Buddhism was imbibed deeply by medieval Japanese"[157] and was a part of every facet of intellectual and literary life. Of particular influence during the medieval period, Tendai "original enlightenment thought" (*hongaku shisō*) expressed an "array of doctrines and concepts associated with the proposition that all beings are enlightened inherently."[158] Additionally, all concrete phenomena were identified as having a nonduality with the Buddha in which all sentient beings were considered of a Buddha nature and all actions and thoughts, even those illusory, were deemed expressions of one's innately enlightened nature.[159] This idea can be found throughout the *Lotus Sutra*, one of the major texts of the period. Notably, in the twelfth chapter of the *Lotus Sutra,* the figure of the dragon (*nāga)* girl, despite her female gender and its inherent defilement, achieves an almost instantaneous Buddhahood. While the text "does suggest that women can realize Buddhahood, its solace is only partial, as the text makes it clear that…the dragon girl first attains a male body."[160] Yet the fact remains that the tale nevertheless hinted at the possibility of salvation available to all, including women and those previously considered less than. Indeed, the Five Obstacles, or what Faure describes as the rhetoric of inequality, was often used in juxtaposition with the story of the nāga girl which expresses the rhetoric of salvation, such as in the above songs 116 and 117, suggesting that the two concepts were closely related.[161]

---

[156] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*, 215.
[157] LaFleur, *The Karma of Words*, 16.
[158] Stone, *Original Enlightenment*, 3.
[159] Stone, *Original Enlightenment*, 5-12.
[160] Lori Meeks, *Hokkeji and the Reemergence of Female Monastic Orders in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010), 68.
[161] Faure, *The Power of Denial*, 92. For more on the possibility of women's salvation in premodern Japan, see Stone "Buddhism," 49-50; and Meeks, *Hokkeji,* 67-77.

Although originally associated with the female body, with the death of Otomae, the practice of *imayō* is transferred to Go-Shirakawa, starkly marking the transferal of the artform to the male body and opening up the possibility for religious superiority. For readers of the *Kudenshū*, this is later solidified just a few lines afterwards on the first anniversary of Otomae's death when Go-Shirakawa's consort and *asobi*, Tanba no Tsubone 丹波局 (d. 1197) has a dream in which Otomae praises Go-Shirakawa's performance of various genres of *imayō* songs as peerless.[162] As LaFleur notes:

> Conversations that take place in dreams cannot be dismissed but have some very special significance and message that must be accepted by the dreamer. It is one of the hallmarks of this [medieval] era that *muchū mondō,* 'conversations taking place in dreams,' are highly valued and are considered so directly relevant to the problems faced by the dreamer that they require no act of interpretation.[163]

The conversation in Tanba no Tsubone's dream occurred between the deceased Otomae and Go-Shirakawa, who had in fact been singing *imayō* to pray for Otomae's happiness in the Pure Land. Immediately following this episode Go-Shirakawa begins discussing his extensive training from Otomae and his students, although regrettably none sing with his enthusiasm[164], suggesting that the dream served as the impetus for Go-Shirakawa to view himself as the head of the lineage. Moreover, this depicts Go-Shirakawa as exhibiting authority in the art of *imayō,* which would have been considered essential for an oral transmission (*kuden*).[165] Both of these elements are crucial in understanding Go-Shirakawa's interpretation of Otomae's passing, as the practice of *imayō* was often carried on by members of the same family, encouraging a tradition of secrecy

---

[162] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*, 359-360.
[163] LaFleur, *The Karma of Words*, 4.
[164] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*, 360.
[165] Stone, *Original Enlightenment,* 34-37.

and pride in the lineage. Hence, the starkly male Go-Shirakawa is depicted as being thoroughly adopted into and moreover, as the most trusted and talented pupil in Otomae's lineage.

Pilgrimages

In the *Kudenshū*, Go-Shirakawa makes a series of pilgrimages prior to taking the tonsure, of which three visits to the Kumano Shrine complex are detailed. The importance of Kumano is also reflected in *Ryōjin hishō* in the section of *jinja uta*, which includes songs on the important shrines of the period. As a shrine notable for integrating both *kami* and buddhas through the phenomenon of *honji suijaku* wherein Shinto *kami* were considered manifestations of Buddhist deities,[166] its multiple appearances throughout the *Ryōjin hishō* sharply contrasts with Ise Jingū, the most important Shinto shrine in Japan due to its intimate connection to the emperor, which is omitted from the text save as a geographic location.[167] This elision of Ise is likely a result of *ritsuryo* law codes, in particular the compilation of ritual procedures on both the Inner and Outer Shrine of Ise (*Kōtaijingū gishikichō* 皇大神宮儀式帳 and *Toyukegū gishikichō* 止由気宮儀式帳, both completed in 804) ordered by Emperor Kanmu (737-806) which forbade all people save the emperor to present offerings there.[168] Decline of the *ritsuryo* system in the late Heian period resulted in the development of pilgrimages to sacred sites, as can be observed in the religious

---

[166] For more on this phenomenon, see Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli, eds. *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).
[167] Nakahara, "The Songs of *Ryōjinhishō*," 29-30.
[168] I am indebted to my committee member, Dr. William M. Bodiford, for patiently guiding me in this direction; Inoue Nobutaka et al., eds. *Shinto: A Short History,* trans. Mark Teeuwen and John Breen (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 56-7.

practice by aristocracy from the late Heian period onwards as well as by the non-elite from the Kamakura period onwards.[169]

Regardless, even today the Kumano pilgrimage is famous for being difficult and requiring both dedication and rigorous effort in order to ascend its summit. For Go-Shirakawa, who made 33 visits to Kumano Shrine during his lifetime,[170] and other Buddhists, the imagery of going up the mountain paralleled ascension to the Pure Land. In addition, as has been previously suggested, Go-Shirakawa viewed *imayō* and Buddhism as a nondual practice.[171] Thus, his pilgrimage as an expression of his Buddhist faith is likewise analogous to his practice of *imayō*, in that not only was it open to anyone, as can be observed in the story of the *nāga* girl in the *Lotus Sutra* as well as later Tendai discussions of the realization of Buddhahood by grasses and trees (*sōmoku jōbutsu*), but with dedicated and rigorous practice one would be able to attain enlightenment in the Pure Land. The latter part of Go-Shirakawa's conception of a nondual path of Buddhism and *imayō* is not dissimilar to Kūkai (774-835)'s esoteric teaching *sokushin jōbutu* or 'becoming a buddha in this very body', whereby by focusing on the body and its concrete practice, one's corporeality of existence is aligned with the cosmic body. Thus, one can conclude that the Buddhism of *imayō,* although eclectic, fundamentally expresses *hongaku* thought championing that enlightenment is something already in existence rather than a future possibility.

---

[169] Inoue et al., *Shinto: A Short History,* 96.
[170] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*, 389.
[171] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*; Okimoto, *Imayō no jidai,* among others.

In section 2, perhaps in an attempt to impress the reader, Go-Shirakawa details his unwavering dedication to the practice of *imayō*, recounting both his experiences exhausting the repertoire and losing his voice:

> Other occasions, when by myself, I opened up the *Zōgeishu*[172] and, beginning with the four seasons, *hōmon*[173], and until the *hayauta*[174], I exhausted the repertoire of *imayō* songs. I have lost my voice three times. Of which, although trying to follow the proper techniques, two times I sang to the point where I was unable to speak. Since I had tried too hard, my throat became so swollen that it was painful to even swallow water, but by some device I was able to continue singing. Sometimes when beginning practice for seven, eight, fifty, or one hundred days, I continued for even a thousand days. Although there were times when I did not sing during the day, there was not a night spent without my singing.
>
> また我ひとり雑芸集(ざふげいしふ)をひろげて、四季の今様・法文(ほふもん)・早歌(はやうた)にいたるまで、書きたる次第をうたひ尽くすをりもありき。声を破(わ)ること、三箇度なり。二度は法のごとくうたひかはして、声の出(い)づるまでうたひ出(い)だしたりき。あまり責(せ)めしかば、喉(のど)腫(は)れて、湯(ゆ)水(みづ)かよひしも術(ずち)なかりしかど、構(かま)へてうたひ出(い)だしにき。あるいは七、八、五十日、もしは百日の歌などはじめてのち、千日の歌もうたひとほしてき。昼はうたはぬ時もありしかど、夜(よる)は歌をうたひ明かさぬ夜はなかりき。[175]

Go-Shirakawa's impressive dedication seems unimaginable and unattainable for most – surely, after enduring an injury, one must take a break in order to properly recover. Yet, he depicts himself as almost superhuman, continuing unfazed, diligent, and singing for thousands of days on end. When discussing his technique of the voice in section 18, Go-Shirakawa seems to make an effort to show to the reader that through diligent practice he has mastered all *imayō* singing

---

[172]*Zōgeishu* 雑芸集, a miscellany collection of songs popular in late Heian Japan, consisting primarily of *imayō*.

[173] *Hōmon-uta* 法文歌, Buddhist songs, probably distinguished from other *imayō* styles by their slow-tempo and solemn mood.

[174] *Hayauta* 早歌, a type of *imayō* most likely characteristic for its quick tempo; however, details are unclear and needs to be distinguished from *sōka* 早歌.

[175] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*, 344.

techniques, and although he describes his voice as lackluster, his singing has even surpassed that of the female practitioners. He writes:

> Despite as a result of my years of practice I still have a shockingly insufficient voice, and I contended for a rich and splendid voice deemed impossible. Further, I even succeeded in producing the seemingly unattainable, high-pitched female voice. Although there are various competitions, I did not feel that my voice was left behind. In songs both raising one's voice, and in those using difficult low tones, I did not find it difficult and that is due to my many years of practice.
>
> その得たらぬ条、その憾みふかしといへど、力およばず。この劫のゆゑには、あさましき不足の声なれど、楽しくめでたく追ひ着くべくもなき声にあひても、また女の責めておよばぬにも、やうやう責めあひたるに、いと声およばず、棄てらるることはおぼえず。高くかりたるも、さがりてつかひ難き調子なれど、うたひ難しとおぼゆることはなきぞ、この劫のいたすところにはおぼゆる。[176]

Thus, Go-Shirakawa firmly establishes his artistic and musical authority in the art of *imayō*.

During Go-Shirakawa's pilgrimages to various temples before taking the tonsure, we can also observe what appears to be him systematically showcasing *imayō* as both aesthetically and ritually superior to other performing artforms of the period. At each shrine stopped at on his route, he is keen to offer dedication in the form of performative music, expressly mentioning *imayō*, in perhaps what is reflective of the "prevailing religious ethos of the late Heian period that increasingly recognized the correspondence between art and religion."[177] It is in these moments in which Go-Shirakawa's thoughts regarding other performances of those accompanying him and of those he encounters along the journey, and if not more important, his active decision to perform *imayō* illustrates his sincere devotion to the artform. Go-Shirakawa continually favors *imayō* over other performative forms of ritual devotion, and he likewise

[176] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*, 377-8.
[177] Kwon, "The Emperor's Songs," 270.

suggests that the deities do as well given that he only acknowledges having religious experiences within the context of *imayō* singing. For example, on Go-Shirakawa's last pilgrimage as a lay person in 1169, in the main shrine of Kumano, the dedication music commences with the chanting of sutras where "from every corner the sound of voices in unending prayers to the deities could be heard"[178]; however, it is only the reverberation of *imayō* song through the hall that conjures a religious experience palpable by all present:

> Just before daybreak, everyone had fallen asleep and there was not a sound. As I was singing this particular *ichiko*[179] with a clear heart, from the western side of the main shrine smelled an indescribable musk. Narichika asked Chikanobu, "What is going on? Did you smell that?" While all those gathered wondered about the scent, this time a rumbling sound came from the sanctuary. Startled again, Narichika asked, "What is going on?" and I replied, "It must be the sound of sleeping chickens after they were put in a temporary coop by someone." After a while, the aroma permeated the room. Then, as though someone had raised the curtain and entered, the curtain moved and the hanging *go-shintai*[180] mirrors bustled about in tintinnabulation and continued to shake for a while. At that time, people were frightened and left. It was probably the hour of the Tiger.[181]
>
> 暁方にみな人しづまりて、人音せで、心澄ましてこの伊地古をことにうたひしほどに、両所西の御前の方に、えもいはぬ麝香の香す。成親、「こはいかなることぞ。これは嗅ぐや」と親信にいふ。みなその座の人あやしみをなすほどに、また宝殿鳴りてきこゆ。また成親驚き、「これはいかに」と申す。我、「ようにんのかりおほひしたるに、鶏の寝たるが音にこそ」といふ。しばしありて、芳しさみちにほへり。さて、御簾をかかげて人の入らむやうに御簾はたらきて、懸

---

[178] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*, 371.

[179] 伊地古, one of the great genres of *imayō* with lyrics unknown. Potentially a song about a type of dancing *miko* who performs *kagura* before the deities or about a female medium who channels deities via the strumming of her catalpa bow – both called *ichiko* (various orthographies: 神巫・巫女・市子) Baba Mitsuko, *Ryōjin hishō kudenshū zenyakuchū*, 242. See also Carmen Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan* (Richmond: Japan Library, 1999).

[180] 御神体, an object of worship believed to contain the spirit of a deity, usually housed in a shrine.

[181] In a 24-hour day, between three and five o'clock in the morning.

りたる御正体の鏡ども鳴りあひて、みな揺るぎてひさし。その時、驚きて去りぬ。寅の時なるべし。[182]

Intriguingly, Ueki suggests that Go-Shirakawa's spiritual experiences should be attributed less to the mysterious powers of *imayō* and rather to Go-Shirakawa's own rigorous practice and Buddhist faith.[183] At the end of Go-Shirakawa's travels, *gagaku, shōmyō*, and *saibara* pale in comparison to *imayō* due to their inability to bring about what Ebersole describes as ritualized weeping which he considers an essential part of religious devotion "opening one to a revelatory psychosomatic experience",[184] and effectively, the accounts of these vocal arts distinctly omit epiphanic experiences. Moreover, these display a lack of narrative in which emphasis is on the voice, indicating Go-Shirakawa's perspective and sense of value. Ultimately, this section vibrantly sets the stage for Go-Shirakawa to concretely connect the practice of *imayō* with Buddhism at a logical point when he likewise enters the Buddhist order.

Meditation on the female body

In section 19, Go-Shirakawa distinguishes his "superior" practice of *imayō* from the "inferior" practice of the female performers when he considers the religious power of *imayō*:

> I have lived through more than fifty years and it seems like a dream or like an illusion. Already half of my life has passed. I think now is time to abandon everything and hope for deliverance to the Pure Land. But then again, why wouldn't singing *imayō* probably make it so that my spot on the lotus pedestal in paradise can't help but be welcomed? The reason is clear when looking at people such as *asobi*, riding aboard boats and floating on the waves, using poles to steer in the current, decorating their attire, enjoying pleasure[185] and seeking the affections of men. Without any other thought, save to please people with their songs, the *asobi* sink into sin, and do not know how to reach the shore of

[182] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*, 371-372.
[183] Ueki Tomoko, "Kieyuku koe he no shōsō*," Nihon bungaku* 55, no. 7 (2006): 28.
[184] Gary L. Ebersole, "The Poetics and Politics of Ritualized Weeping in Early and Medieval Japan," in *Holy Tears: Weeping in the Religious Imagination*, eds. Kimberley Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 30; Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*, 368-377.
[185] The noun "iro" has various meanings. In this context, Go-Shirakawa could be implying any of the following: elegance, charm, spender, sexual appetite, or lover.

enlightenment. Then if even these *asobi* can awaken in their hearts a devout belief in the Buddha, they have attained salvation. If that is so [for them], then how could it not be so for us.[186]

我が身、五十余年を過ごし、夢のごとし幻のごとし。既に半ばは過ぎにたり。今はよろづを抛げ棄てて、往生極楽をのぞまむと思ふ。たとひまた、今様をうたふとも、などか蓮台の迎へにあづからざらむ。その故は、遊女のたぐひ、舟に乗りて、波の上に浮び、流れに棹をさし、着物をかざり、色をこのみて、人の愛念をこのみ、歌をうたひても、よく聞かれんと思ふにより、ほかに他念なくて、罪にしづみて、菩提の岸にいたらむことを知らず。それだに、一念の心おこしつれば、往生しにけり。まして我らはとこそおぼゆれ。[187]

Go-Shirakawa considers that if even those like *asobi* who participate in lowly behavior are able to reach the Pure Land by singing *imayō*, then surely, he in his unyielding devotion and practice of *imayō* must be able to as well. Such belittlement is in clear juxtaposition with the reverent tone by which *imayō* is exalted for its numinous powers.

What is it exactly that creates the division between the two practices? If Go-Shirakawa was taught in the style of Otomae as he records throughout the *Kudenshū*, then the difference is fundamentally a matter of the gendered body. While Terry Kawashima suggests that within this passage Go-Shirakawa is “confirming asobi’s way…putting them in their place” [188] to exclude them from the lofty sphere in which he has placed the art form, I do not believe that this juxtaposition of Go-Shirakawa and the *asobi* took place to give Go-Shirakawa an artistic and religious monopoly, but do agree that the discussion of the female body through the figure of the *asobi* is intentional.

---

[186] People that seem to most certainly be able to achieve salvation in the Pure Land after death.
[187] Usuda et al., *Ryōjin hishō*, 379.
[188] Kawashima, *Writing Margins,* 93.

As mentioned in the earlier section on the textualization of the artform, when writing the *Kudenshū*, Go-Shirakawa had the ability to integrate his own ideas regarding *imayō*. The above passage is the first time in the *Kudenshū* when Go-Shirakawa discusses the body of the performer of *imayō*. Moreover, the body is placed in direct opposition to men vis-à-vis the figure of Go-Shirakawa. Although still a sexual body, the female body is neither an erotic object nor the site of putrefaction. Notably, there is no description of the physical appearance of these women, but rather it is the performative body – "riding aboard boats…decorating their attire, enjoying pleasure, and seeking the affections of men" – which is meant to arouse the readers' attention and showcase their ability to elicit desire and deceive men. For this reason, I propose that this passage functions as an example of *fujōkan* 不浄観 (Skt. *aśubhabhāvanā*), or meditation on the impurity of the body, part of the Buddhist practice *kansō* 観想 used to approach enlightenment in which an object is contemplated in order to realize its true form. As opposed to the use of *fujōkan* practiced by monks in which the rumination of a rotting, decaying human corpse aided to recognize sexual desire and render it powerless, its use as a literary theme functioned to conversely make both the desire and curiosity of the reader stronger by intently focusing the gaze on the body.[189] Additionally, Eubanks notes that there is an obvious gender bias within medieval Japanese *fujōkan* narratives where "men are the spectators and women's bodies the spectacle."[190] Here, the description of the *asobi* and her performative body "sink[ing] in sin" can be simultaneously read as both an aesthetic shock and as sexual enticement.

A similar depiction of performing women can be found in Ōe no Masafusa 大江匡房

[189] Eubanks, *Miracles of Book and Body*, 106-7.
[190] Eubanks, *Miracles of Book and Body*, 107.

(1041-1111)'s *Kairaishiki* (An Account of *Kugutsu*, ca. 1087). The text draws attention to the way in which *kugutsu* "paint thin curved eyebrows on their faces, wear powder and rouge, and disport themselves in a highly flirtatious manner,"[191] focusing the eye of the reader on the performance and artifice used to allure men and seduce them, effectively displacing the physical body and its appearance.

The placement of these passages at the end of the last volume of the *Kudenshū* suggests the importance of the message which Go-Shirakawa is trying to convey. Through the textualization of the performative art of *imayō*, Go-Shirakawa has directly placed himself in a position of masculine superiority and, by discrediting the collective non-elite female practitioners of *imayō*, both transgressed and established a new conception of the art. However, I argue that in the discussion of the religious powers of *imayō,* by contemplating the figure of the performing *asobi* and their sexual desires*,* it may further indicate that Go-Shirakawa viewed the practice of *imayō* as a Buddhist path or at the very least wished to convey such an interpretation in the text. Or, in other words, rather than transforming the artform as that synonymous with his name or lineage, this passage marks the complete metamorphosis of the gender of *imayō* to sexlessness, and thus opens up the potentiality for it to be recognized as an official Buddhist vocal art.

Prior to this section, Go-Shirakawa's stance on the performative embodiment of the *asobi* or *yūjo* figure was unclear. However, by seeming to suggest that it is through the contemplation of the body of the *asobi,* a figure synonymous with the art form, he is able to realize the genuine essence of *imayō.* This essence, achieved through the integration of Buddhist teachings into the devoted practice of *imayō*, exists as a non-dualistic Buddhist path. Moreover, it serves as a

[191] Pandey, "Desire and Disgust," 213.

means of enlightenment that is accessible to all, irrespective of social status, class, or gender.

Conclusion

From this discussion it is evident that central to the performance of *imayō* is the voice – functioning as a resonate singing voice conveying both the real and imagined corporeal and performative body and its inhabited space, an intensely emotional expressive lyrical mode, and the social and religious notions which these characteristic elements would have been subjected to by the listener. Yet in spite of the importance of the sonic dimension, scholarship in the field on performance and ritual has often gleaned over this key element. In the premodern setting, given the archive's natural bias to those in power, a lack of materials resulting in difficulty ascertaining a particular performance practice of the time or even the soundscape must also be considered. It is here that *Ryōjin hishō* provides a rare example in late Heian Japan by textually preserving what would have otherwise been a female, non-elite performing art lost to time.

Despite the opaque and partial nature of the text, this study has yielded variegated observations of the voice as the driving force in Emperor Go-Shirakawa's *Ryōjin hishō* by exploring the materiality of the text and its contents, revealing what I argue to be a conscious manufacturing of not Go-Shirakawa's authority, but that of *imayō* as a recognized Buddhist artform. This is accomplished through the same process as the topos of the Five Obstacles, resulting in the erasure of the voices of the female performers of *imayō*, an essential association of Go-Shirakawa's name to the practice, and ultimately, the artform identified as not only a means to the Pure Land, but also superior to all other vocal arts. Further, textual analysis of the *Kudenshū* has shed light on Go-Shirakawa's plausible intentions and provided insight into how the practice of *imayō* has been able to temporally transgress ephemerality. Although this study is

firmly grounded in the late Heian period and may seem distant on the surface, the ever-reverberating performative silence of the non-elite female practitioners of *imayō* shares many commonalities with the development and expression of performing arts even in the modern day. Shimazaki notes, "The two-dimensional surface of the printed object gestures toward the bodies of the actors and the space of performance, taking meaning from them even as it helps give them meaning."[192]

In the future, I would like to look at the development of poetic styles such as the Liang Palace Style and its gendered and religious associations which would later influence the poetic and emotional habitus of late Heian Japan.[193] In addition, I aim to explore the intimate connection between Go-Shirakawa and the lay courtier and committed Buddhist Fujiwara no Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114-1204) whom he had selected to compile the seventh imperial *waka* anthology, *Senzaishū* 千載集 (Collection of a Thousand Years, 1187), as well as the concept of *michi* expressed in the *Kudenshū* and in the vast world of poetic treatises (*karon*), such as Shunzei's *Korai fūteishō* 古来風体抄 (1197). *Ryōjin hishō* and its attempt to textualize the vocal performance art of *imayō* deserves a place in English scholarship reflective of its canonical status. As this study has briefly demonstrated, exploration of such brings about much-needed discussions of performance, gender, marginalization, poetry, emotion, textualization, and religion.

[192] Satoko Shimazaki, *Edo Kabuki in Transition: From the Worlds of the Samurai to the Vengeful Female Ghost* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 14-15.
[193] See Xiaofei Tian, *Beacon Fire and Shooting Star: The Literary Culture of the Liang (502-557)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 162-210.

Words Cited

Abe, Ryūichi. *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Alexander, Jeffrey C. "Cultural Pragmatics: Social Performance between Ritual and Strategy." *Sociological Theory* 22, no. 4 (2004): 527-73.

Arntzen, Sonja. "Hein literary diaries: from *Tosa nikki* to *Sarashina nikki."* In *Cambridge History of Japanese Literature,* edited by Haruo Shirane, Tomi Suzuki, and David Lurie, 165-175. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Baba, Mitusko 馬場光子. *Imayō no kokoro to kotoba*: *Ryōjin hishō no sekai* 今様のこころとことば：「梁塵秘抄」の世界. Tokyo: Miyai shoten, 1987.

———. "'Ryōjin hishō' seiritsu kō: Otomae no shi 『梁塵秘抄』成立考－乙前の死." In *Nihon kayō kenkyū – genzai to tenbō* 日本歌謡研究－現在と展望, edited by Nihon kayō gakkai 日本歌謡学会, 161-176. Osaka: Izumi shoin, 1994.

———. "Kiroku no manazashi: Shōan yo-nen 'Imayō-awase' – rōei, imayō, oyobi biwa no koto 記録のまなざし・承安四年「今様合わせ」－朗詠・今様および琵琶のことー." *Nihon bungaku* 日本文学 56, no.7 (2007): 23-32.

———. *Ryōjin hishō kudenshū zenyakuchū* 梁塵秘抄口伝集全訳注. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2010.

———. "Otomae no botsunen: Ryōjin hishō seiritsuron no tame ni 乙前の没年：梁塵秘抄成立論のために." *Nihon kayō kenkyū* 日本歌謡研究 35, (1995): 35-44.

Becker, Judith. *Deep Listeners: Music, Emotion, and Trancing*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press: 2004.

Bell, Catherine. *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Blacker, Carmen. *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan.* 3rd ed. Richmond: Japan Library, 1999.

Bodiford, William M. "The Medieval Period: Eleventh to Sixteenth Centuries." In *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions*, edited by Paul L. Swanson and Clark Chilson, 163-183. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

Bownas, Geoffrey, and Anthony Thwaite, trans. *The Penguin Book of Japanese Verse.* Baltimore: Penguin Books: 1964.

Butler, Judith. "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory." In *The Performance Studies Reader*. 2nd ed., edited by Henry Bial and

Sara Brady, 214-225. London and New York: Routledge, 2016.

Chino, Kaori 千野香織. “Gender in Japanese Art.” In *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field* edited by Joshua S. Mostow, Norman Bryson and Maribeth Graybill, 17-34. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2003.

Cox, Collett. *Disputed Dharmas: Early Buddhist Theories on Existence.* Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1995.

DeWitt, Lindsey E. “A Mountain Set Apart: Female Exclusion, Buddhism, and Tradition at Modern Ōminesan, Japan.” PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2015.

Ebersole, Gary L. "The Poetics and Politics of Ritualized Weeping in Early and Medieval Japan." In *Holy Tears: Weeping in the Religious Imagination* edited by Kimberley Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley, 25-51. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Elias, Norbert. *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations.* Rev. ed. Translated by Edmund Jephcott. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1994.

Eubanks, Charlotte. *Miracles of Book and Body: Buddhist Textual Culture and Medieval Japan.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

———. “Sympathetic Response: Vocal Arts and the Erotics of Persuasion in the Buddhist Literature of Medieval Japan.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 72, no. 1 (2012): 43-70.

Faure, Bernard. *The Power of Denial: Buddhism, Purity, and Gender*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Fischer-Lichte, Erika. “Interweaving Cultures in Performance: Different states of being in-between.” In *The Performance Studies Reader*. 2nd ed., edited by Henry Bial and Sara Brady, 375-386. London and New York: Routledge, 2016.

Fujioka Tadaharu 藤岡忠春, Nakano Kōichi 中野幸一, Inukai Kiyoshi 犬養廉, and Ishī Fumio 石井文夫, eds. *Izumi shikibu nikki* 和泉式部日記, Vol. 1. Shinpen nihon koten bungaku zenshū 26. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1994.

———. *Murasaki shikibu nikki* 紫式部日記, Vol. 2. Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 26. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1994.

Goodwin, Janet. “The Buddhist Monarch: Go-Shirakawa and the Rebuilding of Tōdai-ji,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 17, no. 2-3 (1990): 219-242.

———. *Selling Songs and Smiles: The Sex Trade in Heian and Kamakura Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007.

Hashimoto Fumio 橋本不美男, Ariyoshi Tamotsu 有吉保, and Fujihira Haruo 藤平春男, eds. *Karonshū* 歌論集. Shinpen nihon koten bungaku zenshū 87. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2002.

Hoff, Frank. “Seeing and Being Seen: The Mirror of Performance.” In *Flowing Traces: Buddhism in the Literary and Visual Arts of Japan*. Course Book ed., edited by Masatoshi Nagatomi, William R. LaFleur, and James H. Sanford, 131-148. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.

Horton, H. Mack. “Japanese Spirit and Chinese Learning: Scribes and Storytellers in Pre-Modern Japan.” In *The Ethnography of Reading,* edited by Jonathan Boyarin, 156-179. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Hulvey, S. Yumiko. “Myths and Monsters: The Female Body as the Site for Political Agendas.” In *Body Politics and the Fictional Double*, edited by Debra Walker King, 71-88. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008.

Iinuma, Kenji 飯沼賢司. “Chūsei zenki no josei no shōgai 中世前期の女性の生涯.” In *Nihon josei seikatsu shi* 日本女性生活史, vol. 2, *Chūsei* 中世, edited by Joseishi Sōgō Kenkyūkai 女性史総合研究会, 31-74. Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1990.

Inoue, Nobutaka 井上順孝, Itō Satoshi 伊藤聡, Endō Jun 遠藤潤, and Mori Mizue 森瑞枝, eds. *Shinto: A Short History.* Translated by Mark Teeuwen and John Breen. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.

Ivanhoe, Philip J., and Bryan W. Van Norden, eds. *Readings in Classical Chinese Philosophy*. 2nd ed. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2001.

Kamens, Edward. “Dragon-Girl, Maidenflower, Buddha: The Transformation of a Waka Topos, ‘The Five Obstructions’.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 53, no. 2 (1993): 389-442.

Kawashima, Terry. *Writing Margins: The Textual Construction of Gender in Heian and Kamakura Japan*. Cambridge (MA) and London: Harvard University Press, 2001.

———. “Performing Sinners: The *Asobi* and the Buddhist Discourse of *Tsumi.*” *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* 12, no. 1 (2008): 43-57.

Kim, Yung-Hee. *Songs to Make the Dust Dance.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994.

Kimbrough, R. Keller. “Reading the Miraculous Powers of Japanese Poetry: Spells, Truth Acts, and a Buddhist Poetics of the Supernatural.” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 32, no.1 (2005): 1-33.

Klein, Susan Blakeley. *Allegories of Desire: Esoteric Literary Commentaries of Medieval Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.

———. “Wild Words and Syncretic Deities: *Kyōgen kigo and honji suijaku* in medieval literary allegoresis.” In *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*, edited by Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli, 177-203. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.

———. *Dancing the Dharma: Religious and Political Allegory in Japanese Noh Theater*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2021.

Kojima, Noriyuki 小島憲之, Naoki Kōjirō 直木幸次郎, Nishimiya Kazutami 西宮一民, Kuranaka Susumu 蔵中進, and Mōri Masamori 毛利正守, eds. *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀. Shinpen nihon koten bungaku zenshū 2. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2006.

Konishi, Jin'ichi 小西甚一. *Ryōjin hishō kō* 梁塵秘抄考. Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1941.

Kōnoshi, Takamitsu. "Constructing Imperial Mythology: *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*." Translated by Iori Jōkō, In *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature*, edited by Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki, 51-67. Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2000.

Kwon, Yung-Hee. "Voices From the Periphery: Love Songs in *Ryōjin Hishō.*" *Monumenta Nipponica* 41, no.1 (Spring 1986): 1-20.

Kwon, Yung-Hee Kim. "The Emperor's Songs: Go-Shirakawa and *Ryōjin Hishō Kudenshū*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 41, no. 3 (Autumn 1986): 261-298.

———. Yung-Hee Kim. "The Female Entertainment Tradition in Medieval Japan: The Case of *Asobi*." In *Performing Feminisms: Feminists Critical Theory and Theatre*, edited by Sue-Ellen Case, 316-327. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press: 1990.

LaFleur, William R. *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

Lazarus, Ashton. "Performing Culture: Representations of Commoner Performance in Early Medieval Japan." PhD diss., Yale University, 2014.

Liu, Cuilan. "Reciting, Chanting, and Singing: The Codification of Vocal Music in Buddhist Canon Law." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 46, no. 4 (September 2018): 713-752.

Lurie, David B. *Realms of Literacy: Early Japan and the History of Writing*. Cambridge (MA) and London: Harvard University Press, 2011.

———. "Myth and history in the *Kojiki, Nihon shoki,* and related works." In *Cambridge History of Japanese Literature,* edited by Haruo Shirane, Tomi Suzuki, and David Lurie, 22-39. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

McCormick, Lisa. "Music as Social Performance." In *Myth, Meaning and Performance: Toward a New Cultural Sociology of the Arts*, edited by Ron Eyerman and Lisa McCormick, 121-44. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2006.

Meeks, Lori. *Hokkeji and the Reemergence of Female Monastic Orders in Premodern Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010.

Minevich, Pauline, and Ellen Waterman, eds. *Art of Immersive Soundscapes.* (Saskatchewan: University of Regina Press, 2013.

Mitani, Kuniaki 三谷邦明. "Nikki bungaku toshite no ryōjin hishō kudenshū maki daijū: In-seiki ni okeru otoko no kana nikki aruiha [koewaza nikki] to kaku koto 日記文学としての梁

塵秘抄口伝集巻第十：院政期における男の仮名日記あるいは『こゑわざ日記』と＜書くこと＞" in *Koewaza nikki 'Ryōjin hishō kudenshū' maki dai jū: sōsakuin* こゑわざ日記「梁塵秘抄口伝集　巻第十」総索引, edited by Imanishi Hiroko 今西浩子, 78-105. Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1994.

Morrell, Robert E. *Sand and Pebbles (Shasekishū): The Tales of Mujū Ichien, A Voice for Pluralism in Kamakura Buddhism.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1985.

Mross, Michaela. *Memory, Music, Manuscripts: The Ritual Dynamics of Kōshiki in Japanese Sōtō Zen*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2022.

Nakahara, Gladys E. "The Songs of *Ryōjinhishō."* PhD diss., University of Hawai'i, 1999.

Niunoya Tetsuichi 丹生谷哲一. "Chūseiteki geinō no kankyō 中世的芸能の環境." In *Chūsei no sairei: chūō kara chihō e* 中世の祭礼：中央から地方へ, edited by Amino Yoshihiko 網野善彦 et al, 9-50. Taikei Nihon rekishi to geinō, 4. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1991.

Okami, Masao 岡見正雄 and Akamatsu Toshihide 赤松俊秀, eds. *Gukanshō* 愚管抄. Nihon koten bungaku taikei, vol. 86, Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1967.

Okimoto, Yukiko 沖本幸子. *Imayō no jidai hen'yō suru kyūtei geinō* 今様の時代変容する宮廷芸能. Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 2006.

Ōki Momoko 大木桃子. "'Uta' no chikara: Imayō no toku wo kataru itsuwa wo megutte 「うた」の力：今様の徳を語る逸話を巡って." *Gobun kenkyū* 語文研究 78 (1994): 11-21.

Pandey, Rajyashree. "Desire and Disgust: Meditations on the Impure Body in Medieval Japanese Narratives." *Monumenta Nipponica* 60, no. 2 (2005): 195-234.

———. "Poetry, Sex and Salvation: The 'Courtesan' and the Noblewoman in Medieval Japanese Narratives." *Japanese Studies* 24, no. 1 (2007): 61-79.

Phelan, Peggy. *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance.* London: Routledge, 1996.

Rambelli, Fabio. "Gagaku in Medieval Japanese Religion." *Religions* 13, no. 7 (2022): 1-24. https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13070582.

Rosenwein, Barbara H. *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.

Sasaki, Nobutsuna 佐佐木信綱, ed. *Ryōjin hishō* 梁塵秘抄. Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1912.

———. *Ryōjin hishō* 梁塵秘抄. Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1923.

———. *Ryōjin hishō* 梁塵秘抄. Tokyo: Iwanami bunko, 1933.

———. *Ryōjin hishō* 梁塵秘抄. Tokyo: Kōgakusha, 1948.

Schechner, Richard. *Between Theater and Anthropology*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.

Schreiber, Gordian. *Japanese Morphography: Deconstructing hentai kanbun*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2022.

Selinger, Vyjayanthi. "War without Blood? The Literary Uses of a Taboo Fluid in *Heike Monogatari*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 74, no. 1 (2019): 33-57.

Shida Yoshihide 志田義秀, "Ryōjin hishō no honbun ni tsuite 梁塵秘抄の本文に就いて," in *Ryōjin hishō* 梁塵秘抄*,* edited by Sasaki Nobutsuna 佐佐木信綱, 71-177. Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1923.

Shimazaki, Satoko. *Edo Kabuki in Transition: From the Worlds of the Samurai to the Vengeful Female Ghost.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2016.

Shirane, Haruo. *Classical Japanese Reader and Essential Dictionary.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Smits, Ivo. "Heian popular songs: *imayō* and *Ryōjin hishō*." In *The Cambridge History of Japanese Literature*, edited by Haruo Shirane, Tomi Suzuki, and David Barnett Lurie, 206-208. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Stearns, Peter N. *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style.* New York: New York University Press, 1994.

Sterne, Jonathan, ed. *The Sound Studies Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, 2012.

Stilerman, Ariel G. "Learning with *Waka* Poetry: Transmission and Production of Social Knowledge and Cultural Memory in Premodern Japan." PhD diss., Columbia University, 2015.

———. "Cultural Knowledge and Professional Training in the Poetic Treatises of Late Heian Japan." *Monumenta Nipponica* 72, no. 2 (2017): 153-187.

Stone, Jacqueline I. *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999.

———. "Buddhism." In *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions*, edited by Paul L. Swanson and Clark Chilson, 38-64. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

Strippoli, Roberta. *Dancer, Nun, Ghost, Goddess: The Lenged of Giō and Hotoke in Japanese Literature, Theater, Visual Arts, and Cultural Heritage*. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

Sugano, Fumi 菅野扶美. "Go-Shirakawain no imayō 後白河院の今様" in *Chūsei no sairei: chūō kara chihō e* 中世の祭礼：中央から地方へ, edited by Amino Yoshihiko 網野善

彦 et al, 4: 51-73. Taikei Nihon rekishi to geinō, 4. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1991.

———. "Imayō to miyako no naigai: Go-shirakawain-ki wo chūshin ni 今様と京の内外：後白河院期を中心に." *Nihon bungaku* 日本文学 42, no. 7 (1993): 10-19.

———. "Tsuzumi to kairaishi – shoki no imayō wo megutte: chūsei no waka to kayō 鼓と傀儡子一初期の今様をめぐって：中世の和歌と歌謡." *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 国語と国文学 81, no. 5 (2004): 109-118.

Suzuki, Tomi. "Gender and Genre: Modern Literary Histories and Women's Diary Literature." In *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature*, edited by Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki, 71-95. Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2000.

Takeuchi, Rizō 竹内理三. *Kodai kara chūsei e* 古代から中世へ. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1978.

Taira, Masayuki 平雅行. "Chūsei bukkyō to josei 中世仏教と女性." In *Nihon josei seikatsu shi* 日本女性生活史, vol. 2, *Chūsei* 中世, edited by Joseishi sōgō kenkyūkai 女性史総合研究会, 75-108. Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1990.

Teeuwen, Mark and Fabio Rambelli, eds. *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.

Tian, Xiaofei. *Beacon Fire and Shooting Star: The Literary Culture of the Liang (502-557)*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.

Truax, Barry, ed. *The World Soundscape Project's Handbook for Acountic Ecology,* 2nd ed. Vancouver: Cambridge Street Publishing, 1999. CD-ROM.

Ueki, Tomoko 植木朝子. "Kiyuku koe he no shōsō 消えゆく声への焦燥." *Nihon bungaku* 日本文学 55, no.7 (2006): 22-32.

Usuda Jingorō 臼田甚五郎, Shinma Shin'ichi 新間進一, Tonomura Natsuko 外村奈都子, and Tokue Gensei 徳江元正, eds., *Ryōjin hishō* 梁塵秘抄*,* Vol. 3. Shinpen nihon koten bungaku zenshū 42. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1994.

Washburn, Dennis C., trans. *The Tale of Genji*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2015.

Watanabe, Shōgo 渡邊昭五. *Ryōjin hishō no fūzoku to bungei* 梁塵秘抄の風俗と文芸. Tokyo: Miyai shoten, 1979.

Wei, Li. "The Duality of the Sacred and the Secular in Chinese Buddhist Music: An Introduction." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 24 (1992): 81-90.

Williams, Raymond. “Structures of Feeling.” In *Structures of Feeling: Affectivity and the Study of Culture,* edited by Devika Sharma and Frederik Tygstrup, 20-26. Boston: De Gruyter, 2015.

Yamaguchi, Yoshinori 山口佳紀, and Kōnoshi Takamitsu 神野志隆光, eds. *Kojiki* 古事記. Shinpen nihon koten bungaku zenshū 1. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1997.