

Kyōgen and Kyōgen Performers as Mediators of Culture, History, and Power

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In this essay I focus on the element of mediation in kyōgen. The term mediation will be used to describe performers' actions when they deliberately placed themselves as agents connecting social and political forces; it will also describe kyōgen actors' core function in the performance of noh. Mediation provided actors with the capacity to create the historical consciousness that supports the "tradition" of kyōgen. For the practitioners of kyōgen, mediation was not just the adaptation of their form of comedy to the preferences of the audiences; it was the very way they were able to survive to the present. I illustrate with a few examples the importance masters of kyōgen attached to being "mediators," and not merely entertainers who courted momentary success by furnishing comic relief. The role of the mediator provided—and continues to provide—the identity and independence necessary for the continuation of the *ryū* 流 (school) and for the development of the art itself. Failure in this role, I will show, could lead to extinction of an entire school.

The first and most influential attempt to define and limit the boundaries of kyōgen is attributed to Zeami 世阿弥. In his *Shūdōsho* 習道書,¹ he accepts the comic nature of the performances, but clearly states that when actors perform in noh it is not necessary to be amusing. The *ai* 間 role in a noh play, performed by a kyōgen actor, should simply explain the plot to the audience. Zeami warns against the kind of vulgarity that stimulates explosive laughter, and he praises those kyōgen actors who have the ability to create an atmosphere of warm contentment and joy. Those who are able to infuse *yūgen* 幽玄 into their art "possess the divine luck of the artist."² Having identified *yūgen* with the highest level of artistry, Zeami gives praise to Tsuchidayū 槌太夫, a kyōgen performer in the Kanze 観世 troupe led by Zeami's father, Kan'ami 観阿弥. In commending Tsuchidayū, Zeami's purpose was not to treat kyōgen actors as equals to himself and other noh actors, nor did he mean to recognize them as masters of a distinct genre within *sarugaku* 猿楽 that needed to be incorporated, even if only as a "filler" for the interlude between the first and second halves of the noh plays. It seems anyone with some acting ability would do. This is an extreme interpretation, especially in light of the sophistication and refinement one sees in the *ai-kyōgen* 間狂言 today. However, Zeami the theorist of the noh drama was concerned with the elevation of his art to a posi-

tion of supremacy over other forms of performance in order to establish his own “tradition.” As we know, he succeeded. The large corpus of noh dramas and treatises he wrote are the foundation for the five schools of noh and the *iemoto* 家元 system that ensures their succession.

Kyōgen never enjoyed the luxury of having a systematic thinker like Zeami. Had there been one, a very different performing art, independent of other genres, may have evolved. What did occur was the development of associations, *za* 座, with operating links to the noh schools. The need to specialize in one of the functions necessary to produce the noh dramas brought together the musicians and actors in the supporting roles for the *shite* 仕手, or central performer. Kyōgen performers who had the skill to mold themselves to the requirements set forth by Zeami and his successors joined these troupes. What occurred was a separation from the “kyōgen-like” parodying, satire, mimicry (*modoki* 擬き), and clowning that existed in the less-defined ritual plays of folk performance and religious festivals. By redefining their form of comedy, kyōgen actors took an active part in the formulation of noh as an art, and as they did so their position as mediators was strengthened. They became mediators both within the plays themselves and within the larger society that supported the noh drama—a role that has been theirs to the present. In the following, some of the aspects that have created this consciousness of being mediators within the kyōgen tradition will be introduced and discussed.

A detailed analysis of the forms that mediation takes in independent kyōgen plays (i.e., separate from noh plays) and the *ai-kyōgen* (i.e., certain roles for kyōgen actors in noh plays) is beyond the scope of this essay. Here let me simply say that the settings, characters, and methods of performance of kyōgen contain the elements out of which mediation was fabricated. The popular kyōgen Suehirogari 末広がりがり exemplifies the emphasis on mediation extremely well.

The servant Tarōkaja 太郎冠者 is told by his master to go to Miyako and purchase a *suehirogari* (a type of fan with flared ribs), which the master intends to present to the elder attending a formal family council. Tarōkaja does not know what a *suehirogari* is, and asks what to look for. The master instructs him to purchase one that has good paper, polished ribs, and strong joints. On arriving in Miyako with a still imperfect notion of what he is supposed to procure, Tarōkaja shouts his wish to buy a *suehirogari*. A quick-witted swindler tells him he can provide the item. The “vendor” produces an umbrella and impresses the gullible customer with its fine features: good paper, polished ribs, strong joints. A sale is concluded. The crooked “merchant” teaches Tarōkaja a song and dance routine, advising him to use it whenever his master becomes ill tempered. When the hapless servant returns home, his master is enraged to find out he has been fooled into buying another umbrella, for they already have many. Remembering the

counsel of the man who tricked him, Tarōkaja starts to sing and dance. And as the swindler promised, the master's anger turns to delight at the entertaining sight. He forgives his servant for the mistake and joins in, and the two characters exit the stage together.

Mediation in *Suehirogari* revolves around the Fool, played by the most famous character in kyōgen, Tarōkaja. In other plays, the kyōgen actor can mediate as Trickster, Drunk, or Faithful Servant to an erring master. In this particular instance, Tarōkaja, by traveling to Miyako, bridges the two geographical and cultural contexts of the play's setting, namely the sophisticated Miyako and his unsophisticated provincial home. But other relations are created through his foolishness, and these raise the story above raw buffoonery. The first and most obvious lesson embedded in this farce is that information is filtered, and can be distorted, as it passes between the two spatial settings. To Miyako, Tarōkaja takes his mistaken understanding of *suehirogari*, and back to his country home he returns with knowledge of the latest vogue in the capital (the song and dance). According to the rules of etiquette of the day, the fan he was to procure is the correct item for presenting to a family elder, while the umbrella he brings back is worthless. Although this unequal exchange of knowledge and goods creates a chaotic situation onstage, it also provides the denouement of the story and the remedy at a deeper level for Tarōkaja's dereliction in executing his master's will. The title *Suehirogari* ("ever expanding happiness") plays on the visual effect of an unfolding fan, a traditional symbol of good fortune. At a formal family council, the public presentation of a fan was to assure the members that they would be receiving its ritual blessing. Rules for ritual had their origin in the aristocratic courts of Miyako, which is also the place where the elegant fan would have been crafted. Replacing the fan with an umbrella and song, however, switches the "formal" code to an "informal" one. The open umbrella at once mimics the symbolic fan and evokes the image of priests or sages under the consecrated circle of their umbrellas; that is, the open umbrella calls to mind both family ritual and religious mystery. When Tarōkaja sings and dances "*Kasa wo sasunaru Kasuga-yama*,"³ it supports this imagery by referring to the sacred mountain of Kasuga (in Nara) and the divine rain that falls on the umbrellas of the faithful. Mediation is completed when the master realizes—along with the audience—that true happiness is to be found not in conventional formalities, but in the spiritual joy of a simple heart.

Tarōkaja is of course not the only mediating agent in kyōgen. Monks, priests, the blind, animals, tea kegs, sake, roads, temples, and supernatural beings are all utilized as mediums in social contexts that might or might not exist. They spin semiotic webs, as in *Suehirogari*.⁴

There are about one hundred eighty kyōgen plays. From these one or two are

chosen according to content or occasion, to be performed between the noh plays in a noh program. Only kyōgen actors perform in these, except in a few plays that require *hayashi* 囃子 or flute and drum accompaniment. However, kyōgen performers are also responsible for the *ai-kyōgen* (usually referred to simply as *ai*) roles in noh plays. As can be deduced from Zeami's comments in the *Shūdōsho*, the *ai* fulfill various supporting functions in the noh dramaturgy and in so doing they reinforce the symbiotic relationship between kyōgen and noh.

One of the earliest scholarly studies of *ai* is by Nogami Toyoichirō 野上豊一郎, who analyzed and categorized in detail the various ways in which *ai* are incorporated into noh dramas.⁵ Although each *ai* is particular to the noh play in which it appears, there are several types into which *ai* can be classified. The *katari ai* 語り間 are performed by an actor who appears onstage after the *shite* has finished the first half of the play. Usually the character portrayed by the *ai* is a commoner from the place where the story is set. The *waki* 脇, who plays the major supporting character in the noh, asks questions that allow the *katari ai* to provide comment, explanation, and background for the play. *Tachishaberi ai* 立シャベリ間 are similar in purpose, and the difference is that the *ai* does not engage in dialogue with other characters but simply provides a monologue for the audience. These two types of *ai* are the most common; by nature straightforward, they are not especially entertaining. A third type is the *massha ai* 末社間, performed in noh with divine characters, the purpose of which is essentially to provide praise of the divinity and commentary on the action. In this instance, the *ai* character is a minor god of a *massha*, or subordinate shrine. Praise to the greater divinity is accompanied with a dance before the stage is returned to the *shite*.

The fourth major type is the *hayauchi ai* 早打間 (sometimes called *hayakuchiai* 早口間), performed by two or more kyōgen actors and accompanied by rapid drumming. The actors do not address the audience, but act out a play within a play. The content is related to the developments in the noh play, and the characters provide a sense of time or setting by talking about actual events taking place. The fifth type of *ai* is the *ashirai ai* アシライ間, in which kyōgen actors are directly involved with the action. They are usually characters accompanying the *shite* or *waki*, and they often serve to advance the plot. For instance, in the noh play *Kurozuka* 黒塚, the *ai* playing the role of a mountain priest's (*yamabushi* 山伏) guard, although he has been strictly warned not to do so, looks into the room of an old lady. He finds it full of human bones, she transmutes into the demon that she really is, and the demon attacks the company. During the battle, the *yamabushi* succeeds in exorcising the demon and leads her to salvation. And finally there is the *kuchiake ai* 口開間, where an *ai* is the first to appear onstage (it is usually the *waki* who starts a noh play). The reasons mostly have to do with plot structure or

staging.

Even this brief description of the types of *ai-kyōgen*, I hope, conveys hints that allow some appreciation for the vehicles through which mediation can take place on the noh stage in the work of the kyōgen actors. Depending on the dramatic effect desired, the *ai* communicate directly to the audience by monologue or indirectly through dialogue and action with other characters.

In this essay I am concerned not only with onstage mediation, but also with how kyōgen performers positioned themselves offstage—how they behaved so as to function as mediators between the *sarugaku* performers and society at large (or at least those segments of society with which they interacted). Let us take a look at an incident recorded in the *Kammon gyoki* 看聞御記 in the year 1424:

“Eleventh day of the third month. Clear weather. Continuous performances of *sarugaku* yesterday. . . . A problem arose because the kyōgen consisted of various kinds of performance on the theme of the distress of the nobility. This kind of thing was inexcusable and, therefore, the director was dismissed from his post.”⁶

William LaFleur and other scholars have drawn attention to this passage in discussions of the satiric nature of kyōgen, particularly in its early stages.⁷ In the present context, I want to draw attention to the “director.” We are not given his name or any other designation that might help us to identify precisely who he was. What is notable, however, is that it was he who was punished for impropriety, although it was the actors who had poked fun at the aristocracy who were (we can assume) the sponsors of the event. Why was he the one to be punished and not the actors? Was it because he too was a kyōgen actor? It seems there were people in the troupe who were in charge of managing and marketing the services of the whole company. Although there is more searching to be done before we can be certain, I conjecture that everyday business was the responsibility of the kyōgen performers.

There are two reasons for this claim. One, it is hard to imagine that the master noh performer or someone at the top would involve himself with the actual production of an event. Such mundane activities would be below his station. The second reason relates to the skill with words needed by kyōgen performers. Taguchi Kazuo 田口和夫 makes a connection between professional liars and kyōgen.⁸ If Taguchi’s analysis is correct, the actor’s gifted speech would be not only useful onstage, but readily adaptable for business activity. Because the evidence is circumstantial, I am hard pressed to draw firm conclusions on this point, but almost surely a troupe of actors needed someone to deal with the group’s concerns and to act as a spokesman for the organization. A kyōgen actor would have been a good candidate. Let us look at what they themselves have to say about such

things.

The Ōkura 大蔵 School of kyōgen is considered the oldest of the three prominent lines of performers. The other two are the Izumi 和泉 School and the Sagi 鷺 School; the former of these remains active today, but the latter disappeared in the first half of the twentieth century. It is generally accepted that the distinctions between these schools emerged when texts of kyōgen were set down in writing in the early Edo period. However, already by that time, the *iemoto* had gone through a number of generations, spanning a hundred years or so.

Ōkura Toraakira 大蔵虎明 (1592-1662), the thirteenth *iemoto* of the Ōkura School, wrote a treatise in the form of a letter that has come to be known as the *Waranbe-gusa* わらんべ草 (1651).⁹ It contains some historical accounts, criticism of actors, and instructions passed down to him from his father Torakiyo 虎清 (*tora* 虎 is the character used for the *iemoto*'s name in the school). By this time the position of noh and kyōgen actors belonging to the prominent troupes had been elevated, thanks to Tokugawa and daimyo family patronage. Actors enjoyed social and financial stability in return for formal service in the noh programs sponsored by their patrons.

Of especial interest here is the short section in *Waranbe-gusa* on protocol in the *gakuya* 楽屋 (backstage dressing rooms). First things first: the actor is to read the program and understand what is required of him in the performance. He must get the costumes and props ready, taking care not to forget anything. Then he is to prepare himself for the parts he will play by reviewing the texts. At the same time, however, he must be ready to adapt to a last-minute change in program. Next there is a warning against inappropriate activities, such as drinking, eating, argument, loud talk, laughter, and even trimming of nails. Then comes instruction on talking with the other actors. If he is performing with the *tayū* 太夫 (as an accomplished actor is honorifically called; in this case *tayū* refers to the *shite*), it is the kyōgen actor's responsibility to take the initiative and go to the *tayū* to talk over the details. If there is a need to talk to the *waki*, the kyōgen actor should consider the *waki*'s age and experience. If the kyōgen performer is the senior, then the *waki* is to come to him. But usually, and whenever the issue of seniority is in doubt, it is best for the *ai* to take the initiative. Before going onstage, if the *ai* is to go first, he must tell the other actor that he is going; if the order is the other way around, then he must invite the noh actor to go ahead.

There is more, but the reader can see that the kyōgen actor was a busy person backstage as well as onstage. The various formalities and routines that had to be observed by the kyōgen actor were not something that came about suddenly. They had evolved over a long period, and had become the very air that he breathed. Whether a

kyōgen performer consciously took this over from others or whether those around him placed these responsibilities on him, he found himself always to be in a position of mediation. He was in actuality far from the *jiyūjin* 自由人 (“free spirit”) that some would like to see him as. In relation to what we saw in the episode narrated in the *Kanmon gyoki* (whether my interpretation of the director is correct or not), it seems that eventually kyōgen and those performing them created a tradition of mediators.

Although the three schools of kyōgen succeeded in creating traditions for themselves, and although they won the honor of serving within the Tokugawa power structure, they were not free from criticism by another “tradition” of kyōgen and noh that existed outside the castle walls. Toraakira’s acting was criticized for becoming too much like noh. In *Waranbe-gusa*, he countered by saying that actually noh had started to draw closer to his kyōgen, and it was the kyōgen being performed by others that were “veering off the path” (*doke* 道外; this is also his term for kabuki) and getting farther away from the performances of the past. As Sasano Ken 笹野堅 puts it, kyōgen and noh were being infected by kabuki.¹⁰

The next question we need to ask, as we pursue the development of kyōgen actors’ function as mediators, is: what use did the Tokugawa aristocracy have for kyōgen? As is well known, the samurai authorities did not look favorably on popular urban entertainments such as kabuki; they condoned such commoner pleasures, but placed restrictions on the content. The fact that some kyōgen plays were censored and effectively excised from the repertoire that could be performed, even before kyōgen began to receive Tokugawa patronage, might well suggest that kyōgen was not exactly meant for people of high spiritual station (as Toraaki would want us to believe). Because it would not have been too difficult to have all the *ai* parts written out of the noh, we might wonder why kyōgen actors took the risk of offering entertainments that sometimes bordered on the risqué, and why the samurai authorities permitted and patronized their art.

One answer might be found in the discussion of kyōgen by William LaFleur and by Thomas Looser in his more recent study of noh and the Tokugawa government.¹¹ Both scholars refer to the fact that the world depicted in the noh dramas represented the ideal of the Tokugawa reign. Looser illustrates how the gaze of the people watching the dramas was carefully controlled. The shogun himself sat directly in front of the stage, and it was as if he were looking into a mirror of himself and his rule. The common people, on those occasions when they were allowed to attend performances, were set to the side, where they had a very limited view of the stage. In other words, the noh was a one-way message to the people, an advertisement of the spiritual glory of the Tokugawa government.

On the other hand, *kyōgen*, making no pretense of having a grand philosophy or ideology, does bring from the past a vision of a society that is chaotic, backward, quaint, and powerless. By creating laughter directed at objects that were harmless, such as a medieval daimyo (a landowner or *myōshu* 名主, not a feudal lord as in the Edo period) who didn't have a servant to accompany him to the Miyako, *kyōgen* could reassure the audience of the stability of Tokugawa society by comparison to the past. Thus by inverting history in the *noh* performances, the Tokugawa government could reinforce the ideals that it wished to project. A characteristic of the humor here is that it requires a communal spirit at the same time as it demands a distancing from the object being ridiculed. *Kyōgen* as it was incorporated into the *noh* drama in the Edo period may have been seen—and therefore allowed—by the Tokugawa rulers as a medium by which the ruled could be integrated into the political order with a sense of contentment.

What happens to a *kyōgen* actor who slips out of the role of mediator, or who cannot function in that tradition? The experience of the Sagi School illustrates. Sagi actors in Toraakira's time had captured widespread popularity. There are two explanations why the name Sagi, "heron," was attached to this school; both reflect the approbation the actors had won. Toraakira's account mentions that there was an actor who had his own unique style of performing the *Sagi no mai* 鷺の舞. Another report passed down in *kyōgen* lore says that a popular *kyōgen* actor was called to entertain Toyotomi Hideyoshi. When commanded to do something funny, he walked out into the garden, climbed onto a rock, spread his arms, raised his leg, and uttered a single word: "*Sagi*." Greatly amused by this antic transformation of man into bird, Hideyoshi granted the actor the privilege of starting his own school.

Although one cannot always take the critical comments by Toraakira at face value, other accounts seem to indicate that Sagi actors were regarded as the black sheep of *kyōgen*. An incident that occurred in a performance before the third Tokugawa shogun, Iemitsu 徳川家光 (1604-51), is suggestive of this. The actor was performing a *kyōgen* called *Kuji zainin* 鬪罪人. At a point that should have been midway through the play, he mounted a pair of stilts and started to walk around the stage. He kept on going, and going, and finally—although the plot did not call for this—he walked completely off the stage. Afterward he claimed that he had become so caught up in the pleasure of a favorite childhood pastime that he had forgotten himself, but his excuse was summarily rejected. He was reprimanded severely and imprisoned for half a year.

Onstage, breaking character is never good. One may ask nevertheless why this man's eccentric impulse had met with such disfavor. After all, he was a *kyōgen* actor devoted to the art of comedy. The answer is that his act was a departure from the "tradition" in which he was required to function. To be sure, accidents sometimes happen

onstage, and the skill of the actor is tested in the adlibbing and improvising necessary on such occasions. However, a conscious breach of the standard plot of the play must have been seen as going too far. In the eyes of the shogunate the Sagi actor had transgressed into the realm of kabuki, the entertainment of commoners. The kyōgen player was not to forget his role as mediator in the creation and maintenance of his patron's world.

The reign of the Tokugawa family came to an end with the Meiji Restoration, and so did the patronage enjoyed by noh and kyōgen actors and musicians throughout Japan. Many simply gave up and entered other paths of life. A few, lucky enough to be in positions to perform at the relatively few events still being held, continued. Then after a period of deprivation and decline, a revival occurred, from the middle of Meiji, when noh was compared to opera in the West. Iwakura Tomomi 岩倉具視 (1825-1883), who had experienced opera when he led the famous Japanese government embassy to the United States and Europe in 1872-73, was instrumental in establishing the Nōgakusha 能楽社, an association for noh actors, in 1881, and in promoting noh as the traditional performing art of the nation. Actors welcomed this new turn of events, but dividing them and their schools, there were differences of opinion as to how the revival should develop.

The Hakusui 白水 incident sheds light on the problems in the kyōgen world of that era. The case involved the *iemoto* and some actors of the Izumi School. For some time internal tensions had been building within the school, and they came to a head when an actor performed *Kanaoka* 金岡 (a kyōgen found only in the Izumi School repertoire, and a play that is reserved for actors of proven skill and experience) without receiving the permission of the *iemoto*. The offending actor was promptly expelled. This caused a schism. A splinter group organized an association called the Hakusuikai 白水會. It is clear that the authority of the school head—not only the man personally but his office—had been seriously challenged.¹² It would seem that some Izumi actors wished to have greater freedom to move around in society and explore new possibilities for their kyōgen, and that the response of the *iemoto* was refusal. One of the reasons for this refusal was probably that the head of the school was loath to give up the right to act as a mediator to the outside world. Eventually the Hakusuikai members returned to the Izumi fold, but only after the *iemoto* who had decreed the expulsion had passed away.

Insight into the contemporary situation of the kyōgen actor as mediator can be obtained from the views of Shigeyama Sennojō 茂山千之丞 (born 1923), an actor living in Kyoto. The Shigeyama family is a *bunke* 分家, or branch family, of the Ōkura School, and it has been responsible for kyōgen performances in the Kansai area since the end of the Edo period. The family now has close to thirty members performing professionally. Sennojō, a key leader of the troupe, has been active in productions of new kyōgen and has acted in television dramas. He has also gotten into hot water with traditionalists,

because he has performed with kabuki actors.

After World War II, beginning when much of the nation was still in ruins and continuing through the years of high economic growth to the present, the Shigeyama family undertook travels around Japan, visiting schools to perform for the students. In this capacity, they have had a great influence on the popular conception of kyōgen. Invariably, the first—and often the only—time that a Japanese ever sees a kyōgen, it is in his or her school years. For people living today, very frequently that first kyōgen was presented by the Shigeyamas.

Looking back at the changes in kyōgen since the war, Sennojō observes that in comparison to the prewar era when formality was much more important, kyōgen since the end of the war—even though it is accurately presented—tends to be keenly attuned to and influenced by the audience. And when performing in front of students who possess no knowledge of kyōgen, he says, he finds a high level of tension that cannot be experienced in front of a sophisticated audience. Students are spontaneous in their reactions, and if the performance is poor or hard to understand, they will not listen.¹³

Although Sennojō seems to many to be quite liberal, even radical, in his views, he is not the only professional kyōgen actor who has chosen adaptive strategies in the face of the age-old challenge of attracting new patrons. It is not unusual now for play guides to advertise, putting the matter in the most positive of terms, kyōgen performances that feature experiments in fusion with other forms of art.

More than ever, innovation seems necessary for young kyōgen actors to appeal and attract audiences in today's competitive entertainment market. However, kyōgen performers cannot ignore their traditional position in the noh drama, and they are affected by the fact that noh also is caught in the tension between "tradition" and the modern.

But one can ask whether the situation of kyōgen and noh has changed at all. Zeami's systematization of his art occurred when the most aggressive innovator had a chance to succeed. In this sense Zeami himself was a mediator between noh and various other art forms of his day, and for that reason was able to capture patrons. As I have tried to show, actors such as Toraakira, in their adaptive responses to social and political dynamics, were successful throughout the history of kyōgen in negotiating between art and society, between performer and patron, between rulers and the ruled. Subject to social change themselves, they have transmitted their art to succeeding generations, as they have remained faithful to their core function as mediator. It is still the role of the mediator that the kyōgen actors perform.

NOTES

- 1 The *Shūdōsho*, written by Zeami in 1430, discusses the functions of the various performers in *noh*. See *Shūdōsho* 習道書. In vol. 2 of *Zeami jūroku bushū hyōshaku* 世阿弥十六部集評釈, ed. Nose Asaji 能勢朝次 (Iwanami Shoten, 1969). For the English translation see *On the Art of the Nō Drama: The Major Treatises of Zeami*, trans. J. Thomas Rimer and Yamazaki Masakazu (Princeton University Press, 1984).
- 2 Rimer and Yamazaki, *On the Art of the Nō Drama*, p. 170.
- 3 “Mount Kasuga has spread its umbrella—this is the god’s promise to us; if other people are opening their umbrellas, I will open my umbrella too” (*kasa wo sasunaru kasuga yama kore mo kami no chikai tote hito ga kasa wo sasu naraba ware mo kasa wo sasō* 傘をさすなる春日山、これも神の誓ひとて人が傘をさすならば、我也も傘をさそう).
- 4 See Timothy D. Kern, “Michi no dainamikkusu: kyōgen no kigōron” 〈路〉のダイナミックス：狂言の記号論. *Eureka* ユリイカ 19, 19 (1987), and Timothy D. Kern, “Kyōgen ni okeru shūgensei: indekkusu kaidoku o tsūjite” 狂言における祝言性：インデックス解説を通じて. *Nihongaku* 日本学 13 (1989).
- 5 Nogami Toyochirō 野上豊一郎, *Nō no saisei* 能の再生 (Iwanami Shoten, 1935), pp. 177-212.
- 6 William LaFleur, *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan* (University of California Press, 1983), pp. 139-140.
- 7 Ibid., p. 140. See also Kitagawa Tadahiko 北川忠彦, “Yoza no kyōgen” 四座の狂言. In *Nihon shomin bunka shiryō shūsei* 日本庶民文化史料集成, *Kyōgen* 狂言, vol. 4, ed. Geinōshi Kenkyūkai 芸能史研究会 (San’ichi Shobō, 1983), pp. 2-3.
- 8 Taguchi Kazuo 田口和夫, *Kyōgen ronkō: setsuwa kara no keisei to sono tenkai* 狂言論考：説話からの形成とその展開 (Miyai Shoten, 1977), pp. 32-56.
- 9 A version of the text can be found in *Kodai chūsei geijutsu ron* 古代中世芸術論. In *Nihon shisō taikai* 日本思想大系, vol. 23 (Iwanami Shoten, 1973), pp. 668-694. In the same volume, Kitagawa Tadahiko gives a short history and critique of the text and existing manuscripts (pp. 803-808).
- 10 Sasano Ken 笹野堅, “Kyōgen no hassei to hatten” 狂言の発生と発展. In *Nōgaku zensho* 能楽全書, vol. 5, ed. Nogami Toyochirō (Tokyo Sōgensha, 1980), p. 81.
- 11 Tom Looser, “Locating Tokugawa Power: The Place of the Nō in Early Modern Japan.” In *Productions of Culture in Japan* (University of Chicago, The Center for East Asian Studies, Select Papers, vol. 10, 1995), pp. 154-163. LaFleur, *The Karma of Words*, pp. 143-145.
- 12 Nonomura Kaizō 野々村戒三, “Kyōgen no tenkai: Meiji ikō no kyōgen” 狂言の展

開：明治以降の狂言. In *Nōgaku zensho*, vol. 5, pp. 105-107.

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