

**SOME LITERARY ASPECTS OF FOUR *KAMBUN* DIARIES
OF THE JAPANESE COURT:
TRANSLATION WITH COMMENTARIES ON EXCERPTS FROM
UDA TENNŌ GYOKI, MURAKAMI TENNŌ GYOKI, GONKI,
and *GYOKUYŌ***

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Traditionally the Japanese court elite--bureaucrats, literati, nobility, and scholars alike--have been prolific diarists. While the vernacular diary tradition is well known to us in the West through such classics as *Kagerō Nikki* [*The Gossamer Diary*, 10th century], comparatively few scholars have concerned themselves with the far larger corpus of *kambun* diaries, these written in the Sino-Japanese hybrid medium, 'variant Chinese' (*hentai kambun*) throughout Japan's premodern history. More than 200 such works written by emperors, courtiers, scholars, and priests survive from the period between the ninth and the sixteenth centuries, with hundreds more dating from the Edo period.

These diaries constitute an invaluable source of information on the culture and history of the times, being rich in their detail and often providing candid, intimate behind-the-scenes glimpses of some of Japan's leading historical and literary figures. Scarcely any of these works have been translated even partially, and they remain one of the greatest untapped resources for the study of premodern Japanese culture. Moreover, as *kambun* diaries are generally excluded from works dealing with the premodern literary tradition, few students of the literature of Japan are even aware that many of these works possess considerable literary appeal and in some instances appear to have been composed with conscious artistic intent.

This article presents excerpts from four such diaries which can be considered representative of the tradition in its early to middle period. It is hoped that these selections, which are accompanied by commentaries and are fully annotated, will serve to demonstrate the literary qualities of *kambun* diaries in general and promote the further study of individual works within the context of the classical literary tradition.

The diaries under study here are part of a larger group of mainly Heian-period texts whose translation and explication was undertaken by the authors at

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Information on the texts used in the translations is included in the respective introductions to the works themselves. Textual notes provided by the diarists are placed in parentheses in the translation. The translators' explanatory words are in square brackets.

PART ONE BEHIND THE CURTAINED DAIS: SELECTIONS FROM THE DIARIES OF EMPERORS UDA AND MURAKAMI

The earliest of Court diaries now extant are those kept by Emperors Uda and Murakami in the ninth and tenth centuries, the *Uda Tennō Gyoki* [*The Diary of Emperor Uda*] and *Murakami Tennō Gyoki* [*Emperor Murakami's Diary*] which, together with the diary of Daigo Tennō (r. 897-930), comprise the collection known as *Sandai Gyoki* [*The Diaries of the Three Reigns*]. These three texts collectively cover, albeit in somewhat fragmentary form, the period from 887 to 967, a resplendent golden age in the culture of the Japanese Court. Translated below are four selections from the *Sandai Gyoki* which, it is hoped, will reveal the literary character and general appeal of the early imperial diary.

The Memoirs of Emperor Uda: Uda (867-931; r. 887-897) was the fifty-ninth emperor of Japan. Known as Teiji no In (the Teiji Imperial Personage) after the name of his retirement residence, he was the seventh son of Emperor Kōkō whom he succeeded at the age of twenty-one on the day that he was invested as crown prince. Uda was an intellectually astute and progressive emperor. He instituted a number of significant reforms and endeavored to strengthen the code of behavior for high officialdom. As one who appreciated the talents of his advisors, Uda promoted the interests of Sugawara no Michizane and resisted the growing influence of the Fujiwara. Uda was not born of a Fujiwara mother, making him something of a rarity among Heian emperors. In the realm of culture, Uda promoted the development of Japanese *waka* at Court. He also showed a keen interest in *yin-yang* divination and astrology and relied to an unusual degree upon the practice of omen-forecasting, which is associated with *yin-yang* dualism and the five elements.

Uda's diary, *Uda Tennō Gyoki* (10 *maki*), also known by the title *Kampyō Gyoki* [*Record of the Kampyō Period* (889-898)], is an indispensable source of information on his reign, even though it survives only in fragmentary form, covering just the years 887-890, a mere fourteen pages in the modern printed edition. The

diary assumed its present form in the Edo period when Nakatsu Hirochika brought together all the citations from the diary which were known at the time through secondary texts. Uda's writings offer us not only valuable insights into court life of the time but also precious glimpses of his private life. In the first passage translated below, Emperor Uda writes of his religious aspirations and reveals that he had prepared himself solely for a life in the priesthood, not expecting to ever take the throne. His sudden realization, on the day his father was driven away in the Phoenix Carriage, that he too was destined to serve as Emperor is the climax of the passage. Uda served for ten years, abdicating to become a priest and thereby realizing his long-held wish to enter holy orders.

In the second extract, Uda describes the charms of his cat, a most exceptional black cat with great physical prowess and a spirituality the Emperor much admired. Uda placed much faith in *yin-yang* divination and astrology, and evidently believed that the cat embodied the spirit of *yin* and *yang* and maintained a Taoist-style health regimen. This carefully written, entertaining portrait of his "insignificant" cat reveals not only a gentleness and sense of humour but also remarkable powers of observation and expression. It is indeed regrettable that the loss of the bulk of the original diary has deprived us of many of the private musings of this most skillful writer.

Emperor Murakami and the *Murakami Tennō Gyoki*: Murakami (926-967; r. 947-967) was the fourteenth son of Daigo Tennō and succeeded his brother Sujaku to the throne at the age of twenty-one. His twenty-one year reign and that of his father are together considered one of the most glorious epochs of the Heian age: emperors retained a significant level of political strength, and arts and letters flourished at Court. *Eiga Monogatari*, "First Flower," describes him as a man of exceptionally good taste, far surpassing that of any other previous emperor (*Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* (Iwanami Shoten), vol.75, p.287). The narrator of *Ōkagami* also had glowing words for this sovereign: "Emperor Murakami was another admirable sovereign. It was said of him that he was even more approachable and urbane than Emperor Daigo."¹⁾

Murakami Tennō Gyoki provides a wealth of information on Murakami and his times. Known also by the titles *Murakami Tennō Shinki* [*Emperor Murakami's Diary*] and *Tenryaku Gyoki* [*The Imperial Diary of the Tenryaku Period*], the diary was originally composed of some thirty *maki*, but like Uda's, only a tiny proportion of its original volume survives, this covering the years 949-967. Passages (3) and (4) below have been selected from the diary to demonstrate the forcefulness, descriptive clarity, and penchant for detail which characterize Murakami's writing.

In the first of the two excerpts, Murakami bemoans the death of his favourite

consort, Fujiwara Anshi, who perished at the age of 38 during the birth of her seventh child, Princess Senshi (964-1035). Anshi had entered Murakami's household in 940 and became junior consort in 946, when Murakami took the throne. This moving passage is one of the lengthiest treatments of death and dying in the non-fiction literature of the Court period, exceeded in its detail only by Kanezane's record of his son Yoshimichi's final hours, which is found in *Gyokuyō* for 1188/2/18 (translated below).

Particularly fascinating is Murakami's painstaking account of the efforts which were made to revive the Empress. When Anshi's body was discovered to be still warm, her ladies administered a breathing test using a silk cloth draped across her face. Then, when breathing (or what was thought to be breathing) was detected, exorcists were quickly called in to perform rites of resuscitation. The lingering body heat of the deceased Anshi, who is described in one instance as being "extremely hot," was taken as a sign that her death was not necessarily irreversible. Murakami himself was kept in seclusion away from Anshi's deathbed throughout the protracted ordeal and cuts a lonely, pathetic figure in the diary. Protected from the danger of defilement (*kegare*), he waited in his residence for reports on her health from hour to hour, hanging on his Chamberlain's every word and never ceasing to hope that attempts to resuscitate her would prove successful in the end.

Murakami devotion to the passionate Anshi was legendary. *Ōkagami* describes their relationship in considerable detail, relating that Murakami seemed "too much in awe of her to refuse even the most unreasonable demands, let alone such other favors as she might choose to ask."² According to this work, the Empress was often jealous and temperamental.³ But it also credits her with being "generous and considerate by nature," noting that "she took great pains on behalf of the people in her service, treating each according to his or her status...."⁴

Eiga Monogatari states that the strain of Anshi's illness had made Murakami "lose interest in all his customary diversions, even his beloved consorts...." "Though he concealed his agitation as best he could, his feelings were beyond control."⁵ She had been so loved and admired at court that her premature death was a cause for great lamentation, even in remote areas distant from Court. In fact, according to *Eiga Monogatari*, Murakami was "half-crazed by the news," and "wept aloud with a frightening lack of restraint."⁶

The diary corroborates *Eiga's* account, revealing as it does the emperor's inconsolable grief and anguish over Anshi's passing. A few months after her death, while looking into the garden near his residence on a windy autumn morning, Murakami composed this verse, *Shūi wakashū* 20:1286, bemoaning the loss of his mate:

What may be compared	akikaze ni
To my love who has vanished,	nabiku kusaba no
If not the dewdrops	tsuyu yori mo
Clinging to the leaves of grass,	kienishi hito o
Waving in the autumn wind?	nani ni tatohen

One suspects that the shock of losing Anshi hastened his own demise, for he died after a brief illness, the nature of which is unknown, at the relatively young age of 42. This was just three years after Anshi's death.

The fourth excerpt is Murakami's dramatic description of the calamitous fire of 960/9/23 which destroyed the entire Dairi, the Imperial Residential Compound. As Murakami laments, this was the first major palace fire to occur in the Heian capital since its founding in the late eighth century, a period of well over 150 years. Ironically, the fire broke out the very day after priests had been called to the palace to read sutras to ward off natural disasters and "irregularities" -- severe drought and epidemic disease, typhoons, unseasonal frosts, and even a solar eclipse and daylight sighting of Venus--all of which had occurred between the Fourth and Ninth months of that year.

Murakami assumed personal blame for the fire, issuing a proclamation declaring that it had occurred because he had remained too many years on the throne, with "no virtue" to justify so long a reign. After a brief stay in a temporary residence in a Daijōkan building, called Aitandokoro, Murakami moved to the interim imperial residence, Reizeiin, which was located just outside the Daidairi, the Greater Imperial Palace, adjacent to its southeastern corner. This was early in the Eleventh Month. He returned to the Dairi just over a year later upon the completion of the new Seiryōden.

Although the destruction of the palace was undoubtedly the most catastrophic event ever experienced by the Heian elite of the day, their sense of loss was somewhat mitigated by the amazing discovery the next day of the palace replica of the Sacred Mirror, which had been presumed lost. It was recovered from on top of some damaged roof tiles by the courtier Minamoto no Shigemitsu (see note 31), who had been sent to the charred shell of the Unmeiden, the Regalia Court, to search for lost treasures. Murakami marvelled over how, except for one scratch, it was entirely undamaged, a cause for rejoicing throughout the Court. The mirror was subsequently put away for safekeeping in the hall of the Bureau of the Wardrobe, immediately north of the Dairi site. Other treasures were also recovered after the fire, including more than 40 swords of various kinds and dozens of gold, silver, and copper fish-shaped tallies which were worn by courtiers to identify

their rank and permit entry into the palace.

Despite the massive shock that the loss of the palace caused, further equally destructive palace fires occurred frequently in subsequent years. In fact, during the 111 year period following the fire of 960, major palace fires occurred roughly once every 6 years, as documented in the records of *Dai Nihon Shiryō*. For example, during the reign of Murakami's son, Emperor En'yū, r. 969-984, there were no fewer than three Dairi fires, these occurring in the years 976, 980, and 982. While Emperor Ichijō reigned, 986-1011, the Dairi was destroyed three more times, in 999, 1001, and 1005. After each of these blazes, the Emperor was housed in the Ichijōin, but it too burned to the ground in 1009. Historical records tend to omit details concerning how these blazes got started, but arson was likely the cause in many of these cases. The fire of 960 was most certainly the work of an arsonist, since Murakami observes that it started in four places.

In reading Emperor Murakami's account, we are surprised at the relative lack of care taken over the Emperor's personal safety. Murakami ventured out at night alone to witness the fire raging in the headquarters of the Left Military Guards, and he later waited for rather a long time for a litter to be brought to carry him out of harm's way. In fact, it seems possible that the litter was not brought at all, since he describes how he left his temporary shelter in the Nanden (Shishinden) and walked approximately 150 meters to the Chūwain to escape the approaching flames. Even this refuge was at risk of burning down, however, so at length the Emperor was taken in a litter to the relative safety of the Daijōkan. One cannot help wondering why the Emperor, the Crown Prince, and the sacred regalia, too, were not transported to a more distant haven outside the Greater Imperial Palace: Reizeiin, located in the vicinity of Horikawa Nijō, and Ichijōin, at Horikawa Ichijō, would have afforded a far higher level of security. All in all, we get the impression of a disorganized palace guard incapable of dealing efficiently with even the emperor's evacuation, and more generally, of a palace elite ill-trained to deal with catastrophes of this magnitude.

In translating *Uda Tennō Gyoki* I have used the text found in *Kokusho kankō-kai*, comp., *Zoku Zoku Gunsho Ruijū*, vol. 5 (*kiroku-bu*), pp. 6-7. However, scribal errors in the second of the two excerpts were corrected using a variant text of this particular passage which is found in *Kakaishō*, a fourteenth-century commentary on *Genji Monogatari*, which can be found in *Genji Monogatari Ko-chūshaku Taisei*, vol. 6 (of 11) [*Kakaishō*, *Kachō Yojō*] (Tokyo: Seishinsha, 1978), *maki* 13:324-325. The translation of passage (3), from the Murakami diary, follows the text contained in the same volume of *Zoku Zoku Gunsho Ruijū*, pp. 107-108. Passage (4) can also be found in this volume; however, since the text of this particular entry is

actually based on *Fusō Ryakki*, I have gone directly to this source (see Kuroita Katsumi, ed., *Shintei Zōho Kokushi Taikei*, vol. 13 [Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1965], p. 235). *Gunsho Ruijū* contains typographical errors and omissions and also lacks *Kokushi Taikei*'s excellent notes on textual variations and probable errors in the text.

(1) *Uda Tennō Gyoki*:

Entry for Kamyō gannen [889] / ? / ? : A Dream Denied

I have not eaten the flesh of living things from the time I was a young child and have devoted myself to the Three Treasures. Between the ages of eight and nine, I practiced Buddhist austerities on Mt. T'ien-t'ai,⁷ and visited temples every year after that for ascetic training. I told the Empress when I was 17 that I intended to become a priest.⁸ "Splendid," she replied. "At Ōhara Temple there is a priest named Oshun, a veteran of great experience."⁹ I have sewn a surplice and a robe of fine linen. Give these to him at the start of your training."

Some time later she replied to my request [to be allowed to join the priesthood]: "Your love of the Three Treasures is really quite admirable. But I think you should watch things for a little while before undergoing training."¹⁰ If after three or four months, you still want to proceed with this sort of thing, you can do so, provided you haven't a wife or children. If you [choose to] live in the mundane world it will surely be difficult for you to detach yourself from worldly concerns."

"Yes, indeed," I replied, even though I could not bring myself to agree with her entirely.¹¹ Four months later, Minister [Regent Fujiwara no] Mototsune came for [my father], the late emperor, bringing the Phoenix Carriage.¹² Secretly, in my heart, I was shuddering with fear.¹³ Four years then passed during which time I did not again ask for permission to become a priest. I went on to succeed my father to the throne. It has naturally been difficult to rule, since people tend to hold differing views [on the issues of our day], just as they have down through the ages. Take Emperor Wen of the Chou dynasty: now *there* was an enlightened ruler!¹⁴

(2) *Uda Tennō Gyoki*:

Entry for Kamyō gannen [899] / 2 / 6 : For the Love of a Cat

Now that I have a few spare moments I shall write a description of my cat. This black cat of mine had previously been given to the former emperor [Kōkō] by Minamoto no Suguru, the Junior Assistant Governor-General of Dazaifu, upon his return to the capital after completing his term of office. The emperor loved the color of the cat's fur, which is truly beyond compare. Other cats are a light black

color, but this cat is dark black like a crow, and very much resembles the Chinese dog "Blackie."¹⁵

My cat is a foot and a half in length and about six inches in height. When he curls up he is very small, looking like a black millet berry, but when he stretches out he is long, resembling a drawn bow. The pupils of his eyes sparkle, dazzlingly bright like shiny needles flashing with light, while the points of his ears stick straight up, unwaveringly, looking like the bowl of a spoon.¹⁶ When he crouches he becomes a ball without feet, resembling a round jade taken from the depths of a cave. My cat moves silently, making not a single sound, like a black dragon above the clouds.

By nature he has a preference for Taoist-style health practices and instinctively follows the "five-bird regimen."¹⁷ He always keeps his head and tail low against the ground. But when he arches his back, he extends some two feet in height. His fur is lustrous, perhaps on account of his Taoist health practices. He is good at catching mice at night, better at it than other cats.

The former emperor enjoyed the cat for several days and then gave him to me. I have cared for him now for five years. Every morning I give him milk gruel. It is not simply that I am impressed by the cat's many talents; I have felt particularly keen to lavish the utmost care upon him, however insignificant such a creature may really be, because he was given to me by the former emperor. I once said to the cat, "You possess the forces of *yin* and *yang* and have a body that is the way it should be."¹⁸ I suspect that in your heart you may even know all about me!" The cat heaved a sigh, raised his head, and stared fixedly at my face, seeming so choked with emotion, his heart so full of feeling, that he could not say a thing in reply.

(3) *Murakami Tennō Gyoki*:

Entry for 964/4/29: The Tragic Death of the Empress

The twenty-ninth: At the hour of the Dragon [around 8 A.M.], I had Chamberlain Fumitoshi no Ason go to see the Empress [Anshi] to ask whether or not her childbirth confinement had ended.¹⁹ He came back to report that [Fujiwara no] Koremasa no Ason had informed him that beginning at dawn, at around the hour of the Tiger [around 4 A.M.], the Empress seemed barely to be breathing and did not appear at all likely to live.²⁰ He said that no other court business could be attended to [under the circumstances]. Koremasa then summoned Korekata [unidentified]. When Korekata came he told Fumitoshi that although the Empress had stopped breathing, he had heard that her body was still very warm.

Further, he indicated that since there were doubts about her condition it was

not possible [for any of those attending her] to go [to the Dairi, the Imperial Residential Compound]. Kanemichi no Ason had come to talk with Korekata, advising that anyone who had visited the Empress before she had died could go straight to the palace.²¹⁾ Korekata then proceeded to the palace where he reported that Kanemichi had recommended that palace attendants and other court officials not go to the Dairi if they had incurred a ritual defilement. In keeping with this directive, people [who had been exposed to the Empress on her deathbed] were told not to return to the Dairi.... Once again, I sent Fumitoshi to inquire if Anshi had died at the hour of the Snake [around 10 A.M.]. He returned and said that she had died at that time and that the priests who had been conducting exorcistic rituals had all left.

The Empress was the eldest daughter of the former Minister of the Right [Fujiwara no] Morosuke no Ason. Her posthumous name is Anshi. Her mother was Shigeko, the daughter of the former Governor of Dewa, Fujiwara no Tsunekuni. We were married in the Fourth Month of 940 while I was in the provinces,²²⁾ and she became Consort to the Imperial Brother [Murakami] and received the junior fifth rank upper grade in 945, after I had become crown prince [in 944/4/22]. Following my enthronement [in 946/4/20], Anshi was made junior consort and was granted the junior fourth rank, lower grade. After that she advanced rapidly in rank, receiving the junior third.

In the Fifth month of 950 she gave birth to a boy and in the Seventh month of that year the baby was made Crown Prince. On the day he was presented to me for the first time Anshi was promoted to the junior second rank, and in 958 she became Empress by imperial decree. On the twenty-fourth day of the Fourth Month of 964, Empress Anshi gave birth to a baby girl in [a building held by] the Office of the Bureau of Grounds. Today, at the hour of the Snake (9-11 A.M.) she died in the same place where she had given birth.

She was thirty-eight years old and had been Empress for seven years. Glory does not endure forever, and one's allotted span has its limit. Surely there is nowhere one could go to escape these truths. Who can live on forever? Nonetheless, from the Kōnin era (810-823) down to recent times no other primary consort has ever died while serving as Empress. We were married for twenty-five years; we shared a pillow and coverlets over many springs and autumns. Hearing our newborn baby crying longingly for her mother as she lay at [my] side made me all the sadder still.²³⁾ Tears streamed down my cheeks before I could even find words to express myself. When, oh when, will I ever be able to ease my grieving heart?...

At the hour of the Ram [around 2 P.M.] someone came and announced that the Empress was coming back to life. I sent Fumitoshi to ask about this report,

and he returned to say that Kanemichi told him that when the Empress' ladies-in-waiting put a piece of sheer silk over her face it seemed as if the wind were blowing, and the ladies suspected that she was breathing. Also, after her body had gone completely cold it warmed up again, so the priests performed exorcistic rituals once more

Fujiwara no Morouji no Ason, Captain of the Left Gate Guards, spoke to Fumitoshi,²⁴⁾ informing him that, according to Koremasa, the defilement [of the Empress' death] had already penetrated the Dairi. Korekata himself had returned [to the Dairi] after the Empress' death and all her siblings were there, too.²⁵⁾ [So as to avoid his having to go to the defiled Dairi] Koremasa asked if he could be contacted in the Crown Prince's Household in the event an imperial order were given, since there seemed to be no one at the Crown Prince's Household.²⁶⁾ I then dispatched Fumitoshi to direct Koremasa to proceed to the Crown Prince's Household. I also asked about the condition of... [lacuna in text]. Fumitoshi returned to report that Koremasa had said that the Empress' chest was extremely warm and that although there was still some doubt [about her condition], there was really no room for hope. In the evening Koremasa came and at the hour of the Boar we talked. Then after a little while he left for the Gyōkasha [Umetsubo].²⁷⁾

(4) *Murakami Tennō Gyoki*:

Entry for 960/9/23: Fire Destroys the Imperial Palace

The twenty-third [kanoe-saru]: This evening after I had retired to my residence, I heard one of the attendants running along shouting. Quite startled, I got out of bed and asked what the trouble was. The Lesser Counsellor [Fujiwara no] Kaneie²⁸⁾ said there was a fire in the entrance to the Left Military Guards Headquarters and that they could not put it out.²⁹⁾ I went running out to have a look. The structure was fully engulfed in flames, so I immediately put on my robes and headpiece and went to the South Court of the Nanden.³⁰⁾ The Middle Captain of the Left Bodyguards, [Minamoto no] Shigemitsu no Ason followed along after me,³¹⁾ carrying the cabinet containing the Imperial sword and Sacred Necklace.³²⁾ He sent for someone to fetch the Imperial litter, but it could not be brought right away. An attendant took the long sword and pagination seal and the like, which were kept in the Handmaids' Office, and ordered the priests in charge of sutra reading to offer prayers.³³⁾ [But] the fire grew all the more intense and in time the covered passageway to the south of the Enseimon Gate had burned down, while the smoke filled the area to the east of the Shōmeimon Gate.³⁴⁾

Knowing at the time that the blaze could not be contained, I went back to the Seiryōden.³⁵⁾ Then, passing through the Kōrōden and the Inmeimon Gate, I

managed to make my way to the Nakanoin,³⁶⁾ and there, in great distress and feeling as if I were in a dream, I sheltered myself in the Shinkaden to escape the flames.³⁷⁾ An official in the Bureau of Grounds brought over a small litter, whereupon the crown prince appeared on the scene, flanked by his attendants.³⁸⁾ The Captain of the Left Gate Guards, Fujiwara no [Morouji] no Ason, came in, and I ordered him to go to the Dairi and take care of having the fire brought under control.³⁹⁾

Next, the Major Captain of the Right Bodyguards, Fujiwara [no Morotada], came in,⁴⁰⁾ and I told him to go and get the box containing bells, seals, and keys.⁴¹⁾ Then the Minister of the Right [Fujiwara no Morosuke] appeared with some other courtiers. Since the flames were drawing near [to the Shinkaden], Right Major Captain Morotada discussed the problem with [the others] and advised me to proceed to the buildings of the Council of State. So I boarded the small litter, and left the Nakanoin. We reached the Asadokoro of the Council of State,⁴²⁾ and I stayed aboard the litter while it remained stationary there on the wooden floor [of the building]. The Crown Prince followed us into the same room. The Right Major Captain Morotada said that the way from the Council of State to the Dairi was 'closed' by a directional taboo and that Venus, too, was in this sector. Therefore, he advised that we move to the Apartments of the Empress' Household.⁴³⁾ So I hurried the litter along to the Apartments of the Empress' Household. The Crown Prince boarded his carriage and followed us out, while I summoned the Minister of the Left and issued the following Imperial proclamation: "I have met with this calamity because I have held the esteemed position of sovereign for a long time but have been without virtue. My grief knows no bounds."

[Fujiwara no] Asatada no Ason came back in and told me that the flames were gradually dying down and would not spread to the offices of the Eight Ministries.⁴⁴⁾ The fire had started in four places in the north-northwest and [spread] to four areas to the north-northeast. The following things were turned to ash: the heirloom treasures of the Sen'yōden,⁴⁵⁾ the Sacred Mirror kept in the Unmeiden; long swords, ceremonial battle-commission swords, and the official pagination seal, all of which were in the Unmeiden; the military equipment housed in both the Shunkyōden and the Anpukuden,⁴⁶⁾ the documents in the Imperial Secretaries' Office,⁴⁷⁾ and also the Imperial compass kept in the Jijūden.⁴⁸⁾ There can be no greater disaster in the world than this, and there will be no way of defending myself against the censure of future generations.

... From the Age of Man [beginning with Emperor Jimmu] down to the present day the Dairi has been destroyed by fire three times: in the first instance, it was the Naniwa Palace, then the Fujiwara Palace, and now, the Heian Palace.⁴⁹⁾ Since shifting the capital from [Heijō to Heian], some 170 years have elapsed, yet this is

the first time that a calamity like this has occurred in the palace.

NOTES

- 1) *Ōkagami, The Great Mirror: Fujiwara Michinaga (966-1027) and His Times*, as translated by Helen Craig McCullough, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980, p. 222.
- 2) McCullough, *Ōkagami*, p. 128.
- 3) McCullough, *Ōkagami*, p. 128.
- 4) McCullough, *Ōkagami*, p. 129.
- 5) William H. and Helen Craig McCullough, translators, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, 1 of 2 vols, Stanford University Press, 1980, pp. 84-85.
- 6) *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, 1 of 2 vols., p. 86.
- 7) In the T'ien-t'ai-hsien (district) of China's Chekiang province.
- 8) The Empress, former Princess Hanshi, the junior consort of Emperor Kōkō, r. 884-887. She was the daughter of Prince Nakano, the Minister of Ceremonial and became Imperial Dame in 887 and Grand Empress in 898.
- 9) Ōhara Temple, better known as San'zenin, in Ōhara, Kyoto.
- 10) Her advice to watch things for a while suggests that she perhaps had some inkling that her son might some day be called upon to take the throne, even though he was only the third son of Emperor Kōkō and had, at age 18, taken commoner status, adopting the Minamoto surname.
- 11) Uda was understandably unhappy with his mother's suggestion that he wait several more months.
- 12) Uda's father, Emperor Kōkō, was called upon to ascend the throne in the Second Month of 884, when he was 55. Prior to his enthronement, Kōkō was Governor-General of Dazaifu and Minister of Ceremonial, having followed an unextraordinary bureaucratic career which started at age 21 when he became Minister of Central Affairs (Nakatsukasa no kyō). The phoenix carriage was used to transport emperors and was thus seen by Uda as a sign that his father was about to ascend the throne.
- 13) Why was he shuddering with fear? Perhaps Uda realized that his ambition to become a priest was likely to be thwarted and that he himself might become Emperor, following his father. We may further speculate that Uda perhaps knew for certain at the time of this father's enthronement that he would have to take over from him. Other very different interpretations of Uda's fear are possible. His father's unexpected enthronement may have awakened in Uda a desire to become heir apparent, an ambition which would have been at odds with his dream of becoming a priest. Thus, one part of him may have found his own worldly ambitions disturbing.
- 14) The text is ambiguous in meaning here. It reads: 傳此寶位，而代人心有兩端，可治難周文賢哲主也。

An alternate, very different reading of this is possible: "I then succeeded my father to the throne. Thus, [I found that] my heart had two sides [i.e., Buddhist yearnings and secular ambitions]. It is a wise ruler such as Emperor Wen of Chou who can bring solutions to [political?] difficulties." The difficulties alluded to here might have been the Akō controversy, which Uda had resolved just a few months earlier, though not without suffering humiliation at the hands of Mototsune, whom Uda had

been obliged to appoint as Regent.

- 15) 韓盧, Chinese Han-lu, a clever black dog of the Han, during the Warring States period, whose legendary talents, including the ability to run 500 *li* in a day, are described in *Hanshu* and other early sources.
- 16) 'Spoon' (*kai* 匙) follows the *Kakaishō* text: 如匙上之不搖. *Zoku Zoku Gunshō Ruijū* has the obscure phrase 如起上 here, "appearing to rise up." Both texts could be corrupt.
- 17) Here the text reads 性好道引暗合五禽. *Dōin* 道引 involved special breathing, message, and meditative postures, as well as stretching and exercising the body, especially the limbs and joints. It was aimed at fostering health and longevity. The Emperor may have had in mind the feline tendency to nap and then stretch the body at regular intervals throughout the day. *Gokin* 五禽 is an allusion to *gokingi* 五禽戲, "five-bird play," practiced by the Taoist sages to promote improved circulation and health. The regimen involved imitating the movements of tiger, deer, bear, monkey, and bird, a different creature on each of five days, so as to stretch and invigorate the body and joints and thereby promote improved circulation, stave off illness, and slow the ageing process.
- 18) Literally, "you have stems [limbs] and orifices," i.e., all the requisite body parts.
- 19) Fumitoshi 文利 cannot be identified. Other readings for his name are possible: Fumiyoshi, Fumikazu, etc.
 Anshi, 927-964, was the eldest daughter of Fujiwara no Morosuke. She became junior consort in 946, Empress in 958, Grand Empress in 967, and two years later, Senior Grand Empress. Her funeral took place on the eight day of the Fifth Month. Shortly before the birth of her baby, Anshi was moved to a building in the Tonomoryō, Bureau of Grounds, located to the far northeast of the Greater Imperial Palace (*Daidairi*) some considerable distance from the *Dairi*. This was because it was believed that pregnancy, with the risk of miscarriage which it carried, and delivery were offensive to the gods. Miscarriage and routine childbirth, in which soiling by or contact with 'unclean' blood was unavoidable, constituted major ritual defilements.
- 20) Koremasa (*Koretada*), 924-972, was the eldest son of Morosuke and Anshi's elder brother. At the time of Anshi's death, he was serving as *Sangi* (Imperial Consultant) and Provisional Middle Captain in the Bodyguards.
- 21) Kanemichi, 925-977, was the brother of Anshi and Koremasa. He became Regent and Palace Minister in 972 and Chancellor two years later. At the time of Anshi's death, he was serving as Harunomiya (*Tōgū*) no Suke, Assistant Master of the Crown Prince's Quarters.
- 22) Where he was serving in 940, the year of his marriage when he was fifteen years old, is uncertain. We do know that Murakami was appointed as nominal governor (*taishu*) of *Kōzuke* province in 942 at age 17 and governor-general of *Dazaifu* in 943, according to *Sompi Bumyaku* 3:479.
- 23) It is not clear at whose side the newborn was sleeping. If Murakami could hear the baby crying at her mother's side this would suggest that he actually had paid a visit to his dead wife's side, or at least drew near to her. This seems unlikely, given the concern that his direct "defilement" would have caused. It seems more plausible that the baby was at Murakami's side or perhaps with a nurse.
- 24) Morouji, 913?-970, was a son of Tadahira and the paternal uncle of Anshi. He held the posts of Middle Counsellor and Captain of the Left Gate Guards at the time

- of Anshi's death.
- 25) The text does not explicitly state where Korekata and the Empress' siblings had gone after her death, but the implication is that they had brought the defilement into the Dairi, even though Korekata himself had previously been told by Kanemichi that people were to remain away from it if they had been in contact with the Empress on her deathbed.
 - 26) It appears that Koremasa was trying to find a "clean" place to base himself while serving Murakami. No one who had been in attendance on the Empress during the birth was in the Crown Prince's Headquarters at the time, making it a safe haven.
 - 27) Umetsubo, the Plum Court, a palace building, one of twelve such buildings, used as a residence for Imperial consorts.
 - 28) Kaneie, 929-990, was the son of Morosuke and the younger brother of Anshi. He became Regent in 986 and Chancellor in 989. He was the father-in-law of Emperor En'yū and the grandfather of Emperor Ichijō.
 - 29) The Left Military Guards Headquarters, Sahyōejin, were located at the Sen'yōmon, the east entrance to the Dairi.
 - 30) Another name for the Shishinden, the largest palace building in the Dairi, to the south. Largely used for ceremonial functions such as the *gempuku* in Murakami's day and a lonely place at night.
 - 31) Shigemitsu, 923-998, was 38 at the time of the fire and was serving concurrently as Governor of Harima.
 - 32) 御劔璽宮 might alternatively mean the imperial sword and the box containing the Sacred Jewels.
 - 33) "Long sword and pagination seal," written here as 太刀契, should probably be corrected to 太刀契印 (*tachi keiin*), which is found in Murakami's entry for the 24th. Whether there was one sword and seal or several is unclear. Pagination seals, *keiin*, were used to mark two pages at once in a document having many pages, thereby indicating consecutive pagination. Handmaids' Office, Naishidokoro, is so named because handmaids were always in attendance there. It is also known as the Unmeiden, and was located just west of the Sen'yōmon. The Kashikodokoro, the repository for the Sacred Mirror, was found here.
 - 34) The general area being delimited here is the southeastern sector of the Dairi. Enseimon was the southeastern entrance to the Dairi, south of the main Sen'yōmon. Shōmeimon was the southern central entrance to the Dairi. Below, Murakami indicates that the fire actually originated elsewhere, in the north-northwest, and that it spread eastwardly from there. However, the destruction of the area around the Enseimon appears to indicate that the blaze spread not only to the east of where it broke out but to the far southeast as well.
 - 35) The Emperor's private residence. See note 48, below.
 - 36) Kōrōden was attached by walkways to the Seiryōden. Some female attendants lived here, and it also housed the palace kitchens. Nakanoin, better known as Chūwain, was a cluster of buildings used for Shinto ceremonies, located within the Middle Enclosure (Nakanoe) of the Daidairi.
 - 37) Shinkaden was the main building in the Nakanoin.
 - 38) The Bureau of Grounds was located at the far northeast corner of the Daidairi. The small litter which was brought to transport the Emperor is identified here as a *yōyo* 腰輿, synonymous with *tagoshi* 手輿. This was carried by hand at waist level. The crown prince was the future Emperor Reizei, then aged 10.

- 39) Morouji is identified in note 24, above.
- 40) Morotada, 920-969, was the son of Tadahira and Anshi's paternal uncle. He was also serving at the time as Gon-Dainagon.
- 41) 鈴印鑑櫃. I have rendered this in the plural although the question of number is unclear.
- 42) A building in the northeast corner of the Daijōkan, directly to the south of the Daiiri and about 450 meters from the Nakanoin as the crow flies.
- 43) Venus, *taihaku*, is a reference to the Venus divinity, Taihakujin, who embodied the force of the planet, according to *yin-yang* astrology. Depicted as a military general, Taihakujin was believed to circulate through various points on the compass and to 'close' a direction when he stopped his movements. Here, the northerly direction appears to have been blocked, as the Daiiri was due north of the Chūwain.
 The Apartments of the Empress' Household, located in the Outer Enclosure (Tonoe) of the Daidairi between the Yōmeimon Gate on the east and the Kenshunmon of the Daiiri on the west, were to the northeast of the Chūwain. Although this direction was considered permanently unlucky, the trip could have been made if an indirect route, one avoiding a crossing of the Daiiri, was taken. Emperor Ichijō also lodged temporarily in the Apartments after fires during his reign. See McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, vol. 2, p. 838.
- 44) Asatada, 910-967, a well-known poet, was Sangi and Major Captain of the Right Gate Guard as well as Governor of Iyo at the time. The eight ministries of state were housed in the Chōdōin, the Court of Government, within the Daidairi, immediately to the south of the Shōkeimon.
- 45) The Sen'yōden, in the Kōkyū (Women's Quarters), was in the northern part of the Daiiri, just southeast of the Genkimon.
- 46) Shunkyōden, in the southeastern part of the Daiiri adjacent to the South Court of the Shishinden, housed armor and weaponry, while the Anpukuden, to the southwest and also adjacent to the South Court, was the base for the Court doctors and medicinal experts.
- 47) The Imperial Secretaries' Office, Naikidokoro, was located just south of the headquarters of the Left Military Guards near the Sen'yōmon.
- 48) Jijūden was the original imperial residence in earlier times, a large building just north of the Shishinden; in Murakami's day it was mainly used for Buddhist services. McCullough notes that from around 960 on emperors tended to live in the Seiryōden. The reason for this shift in premises is unknown (*A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, vol. 2, p. 841.)
- 49) The Naniwa Palace, built for Emperor Shōmu (r. 724-749), was completed in 734 at a site in modern-day Ōsaka. The separate residences of Emperors Nintoku, Kōtoku, and Temmu are also believed to have been located on this site. The Fujiwara Palace, near modern Nara, was the site of the imperial capital during the reigns of Jitō, Mommu, and Gemmyō, during the years 694-710.

PART TWO YUKINARI'S WORLD OF DREAMS: SELECTIONS FROM HIS DIARY
GONKI [THE PROVISIONAL MAJOR COUNSELLOR'S DIARY], 991-1011

Encounters with merciful bodhisattvas, vicious bashings, and the threat of incarceration at the hands of airborne tormentors: these and other themes figure in the many dreams of the well-known courtier and calligrapher, Fujiwara no Yukinari (Kōzei, 972-1027), which are recorded in his diary *Gonki* (991-1011). Dreams loomed large in the lives of Heian people, as they were seen as reliable indicators of future events, no less credible than real life itself. Yukinari was clearly fascinated with his dreams, as he recorded them at frequent intervals with a vividness of detail unsurpassed in the literature of courtier diaries. Two of the longest and most interesting of his recorded dreams are translated here.

In the first dream, Yukinari is summoned by a mysterious man riding on a fiery cloud, who sends out an armed assistant to apprehend the terror-stricken Yukinari. Yukinari's fervent prayers at the last moment, just before he is to be taken away, results in the Amida Buddha's rescuing him from the armed man, thereby reaffirming his faith in the saving power of the Buddha.

Whereas it is Yukinari who is saved by the grace of Amida Buddha in this first dream, in the second one he himself spares the life of another man after encountering a bodhisattva. Yukinari relates how he and his cohorts had inflicted a violent beating upon a man named Chikanobu. The beating was suddenly halted when Yukinari had a change of heart. Yukinari explains himself by telling the men about a dream he had, one which he seems to have concocted on the spot. In this dream he is admonished by a bodhisattva "not to trample Chikanobu" and to "attend to important events." Yukinari's complicated dream-within-a dream narrative has all the incoherence of logic and action that typifies dream narrative, and its Buddhist theme of salvation is remarkably similar to that of the first dream.

Yukinari was the son of Yoshitaka, a courtier who died in a smallpox epidemic when Yukinari was only two. His real life seems to have been far more placid and predictable than his often turbulent dreams suggest. He enjoyed a successful bureaucratic career, his last appointed post being Provisional Major Counsellor, Gon-Dainagon. This is the source for the word *gon*, 'provisional [major counsellor],' in the title of the diary. Yukinari previously served as Minister of Defense, gentleman-in-waiting (*ijū*), Governor of Bizen, and other important posts, and was most fortunate to enjoy the favor and patronage of the greatest statesman of his day, Fujiwara no Michinaga, Yukinari's second cousin, who found his affable manner, ingenuity, and wit most appealing.

The translation is based on the text found in (*Zōho*) *Shiryō Taisei* Kankōkai, ed., (*Zōho*) *Shiryō taisei*, 2 vols. Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 1974.

Gonki [*The Provisional Major Counsellor's Diary*]:

"How Amida Saved Yukinari From A Man Riding On A Cloud,"

A Dream Recorded on the Twenty-ninth Day of the

Tenth Month of 1005

[Written on the reverse side of the diary manuscript:]

... During the night of the twenty-ninth I had a dream. There were some people gathered in a place that looked to be near the eastern eaves of the Eastern Chamber.¹⁾ Gazing off toward the east they could see some low-trailing thin clouds to the north and south, and above the clouds were flames. These clouds came together from both directions and then moved off towards the south. There was a man on the clouds who captured someone, causing quite a stir amongst the people watching. According to onlookers, the man on the clouds said, "I think I've captured the Superintendent of the Imperial Police. Now I'm going to get the Minister of the Left!" Another man on the cloud said, "You must not under any circumstances apprehend the Minister! Take the Governor of Ōmi instead of him!"²⁾

I then spoke: "I haven't done anything wrong! On what grounds are you wanting to apprehend me? So saying, I washed my hands, changed into a plain trouser-skirt, and proceeded to go before the image of the Buddha to pray, whereupon a man bearing a sword appeared. I could see that he was trying to grab me around my waist. This armed man was the servant of the man in the clouds. I told him: "I will go with you only after first praying before the Buddha. I insist it must be done this way!"

Thereupon I went before the sacred icon of worship, bowing and paying my final respects to the Bright Kings.³⁾ Meanwhile, the armed man grabbed hold of my waist. I next prayed [again] before the Five Great Bright Kings, doing obeisance four or five times. After that, I worshipped before the Healing Buddha, Yakushi Nyorai,⁴⁾ as well as the Jizō-bosatsu and the Fugen-bosatsu;⁵⁾ and then, I prayed to the Amida Nyorai, the Buddha of Infinite Light, seeking salvation as an enlightened one by chanting the Forty-Eight Vows and prostrating myself once.⁶⁾ Meanwhile, the man holding my waist started to let go of me--we were about to separate--and although he begged for Amida's assistance, he was turned down. I was free of him at last and shed tears of relief.

I then trampled on the man with my feet, did obeisance ten times, and then I prayed again before Kannon, the bodhisattva of mercy, thinking, while still in my dream, that in future I should make entreaties to the ten Buddhas who are worshipped on the fasting and purification days, and to the six bodhisattvas of mercy as well.⁷⁾ I thought in my dream that Amida Nyorai had been so noble, and that of all the Buddhas, Amida should be the one to whom I address most of my entreaties. Then I woke up.

Gonki: "How Yukinari Beat Chikanobu With An Oil Lamp,"

A Dream Recorded on the Fourteenth Day of the

Eleventh Month of 1011

[Written on the reverse side of the diary manuscript:]

During the night of the fourteenth (*mizunoto-hitsuji*) I had a dream. It was during the mourning period following the death of Emperor Ichijō [r. 986-1011].⁸⁾ Chief of the Left Capital Office [Fujiwara no?] Akinori no Ason, with [Fujiwara no?] Akinobu and four or five other former public servants were having a little altercation. I think it was over the Reizeiin Palace.⁹⁾ Amongst the men engaged in the exchange was one Chikanobu no Ason, who was speaking in an altogether disagreeable manner.¹⁰⁾ I grabbed an oil lamp and struck him in the face with it, angering him greatly. He was really behaving like an idiot, so I ordered Shigemichi, Tokiyori (Shigemichi's father; he died at a young age) and two or three [other] men present to give him a good trampling with their feet.¹¹⁾ But they could not do it, so I suddenly threw down the oil lamp and concocted a fictitious dream out of my imagination, which I related [to the men]:

"Once in a dream there appeared a priest in the form of a bodhisattva, with a body like the Kanzeon and Jizō bodhisattvas.¹²⁾ This priest said, 'Don't trample Chikanobu no Ason! There are important events upcoming to attend to, and life is terribly fleeting. The emperor's residence has already been completed,¹³⁾ and Saneyoshi is supposed to be [there] . . .'" (This person called Saneyoshi was the man who had instigated [the argument] in my dream.)¹⁴⁾

Then Priest Myōjin of Sesonji temple appeared and I told him about what had happened in the dream, whereupon Chikanobu said, "That [argument] had nothing to do with me! There is an important even taking place on the 16th -- Ex-Emperor [Reizei's] funeral -- [but] this should be postponed."¹⁵⁾

I had this dream twice during the night. To aid my memory I wrote it down by the light of my lamp, and then the cocks crowed.

NOTES

1) The Easten Chamber (*higashi no tai*) was one of three main wings off the principal chamber in traditional *shinden-zukuri* buildings (the architectural style found in the residential palaces of high nobility.) Which building Yukinari had in mind here is uncertain.

2) An apparent reference to Yukinari. It appears that this post was only a figment of his imagination, for there is no record of his having served in this capacity either before or at the time of writing, when Yukinari was 34. In his earlier years, he had appointments as provisional governor and governor of Yamato, provisional vice-

governor of Bingo, governor of Bizen, and governor of Bingo. At age 33 he became provisional governor of Mimasaka, and was governor of that province (while holding concurrently the posts of Major Controller of the Right, gentleman-in-waiting, and Minister of Defense) at the time this entry was written. See Kuroita Katsumi, ed., *Kugyō Bunin*, vol. 1 (*Zōho Kokushi Taikei* 53), Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1964, pp. 248-251.

3) Myōō [S. [Vidyārājas], the deities of terrible aspect, fierce manifestations of the five great Buddhas, whose will they carry out. Yukinari refers collectively to these five again two sentences below. They are: Myōō Fudō (S. Acalanātha, the God of Fire) is associated with Dainichi [Mahavairocana]; Gōzanze [S. Trilokavijaya] with Ashuku [Akshobhya]; Gundari [Kundali] with Hōshō [Ratnasambhava]; Daiitoku [Yamāntaka] with Mida [Amitābha]; and Kongōyasha [Vajrayaksa] with Fuku [Amoghavajra]. The *myōō* in Shingon and Tendai Buddhism were believed to have the power to drive away evil; for example, to bring down enemies and to promote safe childbirth.

4) Yakushi Nyorai, S. Bhaishajyaguru, was a popular divinity of healing in Japan from the 8th century, becoming even more popular during the Heian period. The divine physician, he was believed capable of halting epidemics and curing all maladies. He is sometimes identified with Dainichi Nyorai or Ashuku Nyorai.

5) Jizō-bosatsu, S. Ksitigarbha-bodhisattva, worshipped in Japan Buddhism as the great protector of humankind, is said to deliver all beings from suffering. His many roles include consoler of the dead, guardian of children, and protector of women in childbirth. The Jizō cult became extremely popular in eleventh-century Japan under the growing influence of the Pure Land faith.

Fugen-bosatsu, S. Samantabhadra, is one of the most important bodhisattvas, portrayed as the right-hand attendant of Śākyamuni Buddha. He is depicted seated on a lotus supported by one or two white elephants and represents constancy in wisdom and meditation, deep understanding, and intuition. These qualities together with profound compassion enable him to understand all human motives and actions, and he is said to possess the power to bestow longevity.

6) *Shijū-hachigan* are the celebrated vows to bring all sentient beings rebirth in the Pure Land. These vows are said to have been made by Hōzō-bosatsu, S. Dharmākara, the name of the Amitābha Buddha before his attainment of enlightenment. Amida, the great savior of humanity and ruler of the Western Paradise, was the most revered of all buddhas in Pure Land Buddhism.

7) The ten fast-day Buddhas, *sainichi no hotoke*, were those worshipped on the 1st, 8th, 14th, 15th, 18th, 23rd, 24th, 28th, 29th, and 30th of each month, on which days people were to observe a ritual abstention and adhere faithfully to the eight precepts (*hachigan*). Notably, the ten include important deities already mentioned by Yukinari as objects of worship: Yakushi Nyorai (8th), Fugen-bosatsu (14th), Amida Nyorai (15th), Kanzeon-bosatsu (18th), and Jizō-bosatsu (24th).

The six bodhisattvas are one of several numerical groupings of the Kanzeon-bosatsu, deities of love and compassion. These are regarded as either manifestations or disciples of Amida and are at the center of one of the most venerated bodhisattva cults in Japanese Buddhism. Kannon bodhisattvas are said to save all sentient beings unable to escape the perpetual cycle of birth and rebirth in the six realms (S. *gati*) of the world of suffering. In Japanese Buddhism, the six included Shō [All Merciful] Kannon, Senjū [Thousand-Arm] Kannon, Batō [Horse-Headed] Kannon, Jūichimen [Eleven-Headed] Kannon, and two others.

8) Ichijō abdicated 1011/6/11 and died some nine days later.

- 9) Reizeiin was for over 200 years a residence for reigning and retired sovereigns. It was at last rebuilt in 1008 after having been destroyed by fire in 970.
- 10) Chikanobu's identity is unknown. He may even have been fictitious.
- 11) Shigemichi and Tokiyori cannot be identified.
- 12) See nn. 5 & 7 above.
- 13) A tentative translation of the phrase 燕寝已至. The 'emperor's place of residence' (燕寝) is perhaps a reference to the aforementioned Reizeiin Palace.
- 14) The dream-within-the dream appears to end here. Here, Saneyori is called a *tabakari*, "schemer, plotter," but it is not clear from this context his connection, if any, with the trouble involving Chikayori and Yukinari. Nor it is apparent why Saneyori is supposed to be at the imperial residence. Perhaps the priest is criticizing him obliquely for starting an argument with Chikanobu and the others when he should have been at the residence.
- 15) The punctuation, and thus the meaning, of the text is open to two interpretations. The original has 十六日有大事院御葬送可延引也. Another interpretation, less grammatically plausible but more logical in the context (not that dreams are necessarily logical), would be: "There is an important event taking place on the 16th [of this month] -- Ex-Emperor [Reizei's] funeral -- [so] we should put aside our differences."

By the first interpretation, Chikanobu would appear to be suggesting that the funeral not be conducted until the men have patched up their differences. By the second, Chikanobu appears to be moved by the bodhisattva's words to forget the unpleasant business with Yukinari and to devote himself to the important matters of state which require his full attention. Ex-Emperor Reizei, r. 967-969, died on the twenty-fourth of the Tenth Month of 1011. He was cremated and buried at Sakuramoto no misasagi (to the east of Kaguraoka in Atago District, Yamashiro Province) on the 16th of the Eleventh Month. According to *Eiga Monogatari*, Michinaga made all the arrangements.

PART THREE THE SPECTRE OF DEATH: THE TRAGEDY OF KUJŌ YOSHIMICHI
AS NARRATED IN *GYOKUYŌ* [*JEWELLED LEAVES*],
THE DIARY OF KUJŌ KANEZANE (1149-1207)

Kujō (Fujiwara) Kaneyane, 1149-1207, the author of *Gyokuyō*, was an influential minister of state during the reigns of Go-Shirakawa, Nijō, Rokujō, and Takakura, and in the early years of the Kamakura bakufu he was a reliable ally of Yoritomo. Under Yoritomo's patronage Kaneyane became Chieftain of the Fujiwara clan, Nairan (Imperial Inspector), and Sesshō (Regent) in 1186, and was later appointed as Kampaku (Civil Dictator) in 1191. With the death of ex-sovereign Go-Shirakawa in 1192, Kaneyane became all-powerful at Court. He attempted to accommodate the great power in the land, Yoritomo, albeit with increasing strain and distrust in the relationship, and obtained for him the imperial commission as Sei-i-Tai Shōgun. Further, while thwarting the ambitions of former advisors and favorites of Go-Shirakawa, Kaneyane also controlled in traditional Fujiwara fashion the pubescent Emperor Toba, who had taken the throne at the age of 4 in 1184 and had been married off to Kaneyane's daughter.¹⁾ But Kaneyane's power, now at its crest, proved short-lived: in 1196 he was removed from his post as Kampaku and at the same time his daughter, Go-Toba's Consort, was driven from the Palace. The resultant power vacuum was immediately filled by Minamoto no Michitaka, a former member of Go-Shirakawa's faction who had played a key role in orchestrating Kaneyane's abrupt exit from Court.²⁾ Kaneyane disappeared from court life, took religious orders, and died a decade later in 1207.

Kaneyane was a commonsensical statesman with great experience and an encyclopedic knowledge of court ceremonies and ancient precedents. With a reputation for possessing not only a keen intellect but also a strong sense of duty and high moral standards, he was ideally suited to the high Court offices to which he was appointed. In the portion of his diary which follows, dealing with the days before and after the death of his twenty-two year old (by *kazoe-doshi* reckoning) son and heir, Yoshimichi, Kaneyane gives a somber but vividly detailed account of the repeated attempts which were made to revive Yoshimichi and the near breakdown he suffered in the aftermath of his son's death. There follows an almost hagiographic description of the young man's career, revealing Kaneyane's abiding love and veneration for his son, whom he saw as the man best able to lead Japan out of the political chaos and social upheaval of the early years of the Kamakura Shogunate.

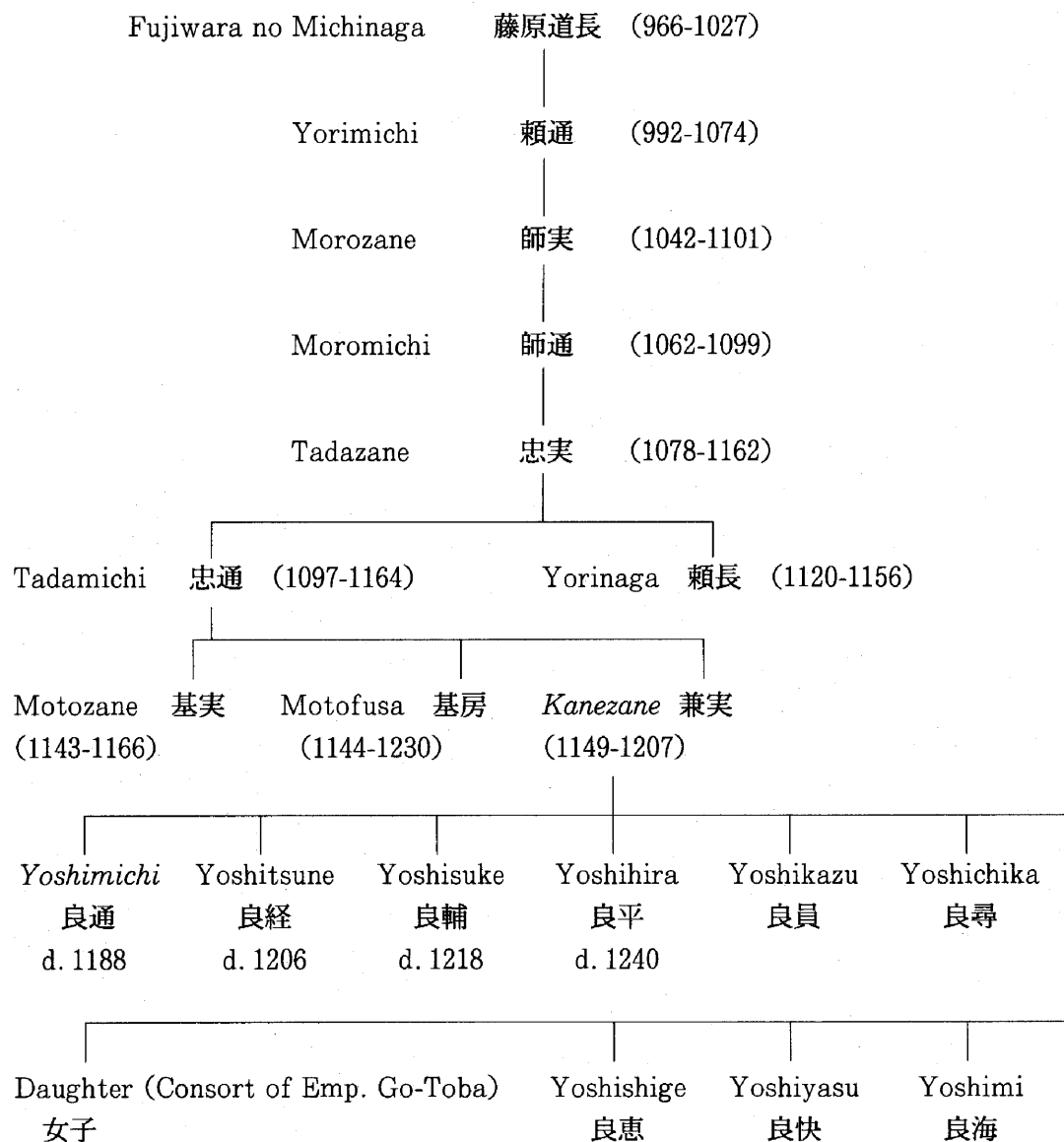
Kaneyane was racked with grief and bitter self-recrimination for months following Yoshimichi's death. His diary records his anguish over the question of whether the untimely death of so remarkable a son could have been his--the father's--

punishment for having achieved too much in life, for having exceeded his own expectations for personal success. If he were not being punished for having moved beyond his proper station, then was it that a lack of sufficient faith had angered the gods and brought Yoshimichi's premature demise? Kanezane had long been haunted by the premonition that Yoshimichi would die prematurely, but when this fear became a reality he was convinced that he had failed his son because his earnest prayers to the gods and buddhas had not helped to alter the young man's destiny. Thus, the tragedy of Yoshimichi was also the tragedy of Kanezane, for instead of easing his own suffering by trying to accept the unvarying law of human mortality, Kanezane heightened his misery by assigning to himself full blame for the supposed curse upon his family. Reading his account one is both startled by the harshness of his self-condemnation and impressed by the remarkable candor which is displayed.

Although Yoshimichi died on the 19th of the Second Month of 1188, the passage translated below includes Kanezane's entry for the 18th. The activities of this day do not really help to explain Yoshimichi's death -- he is said to have just recovered from a brief, seemingly minor ailment on the 18th. But by providing the entry for this day the reader is able to acquire a context for what was to follow and to better understand why this entirely unforeseen death so greatly shocked Kanezane and the Court.

The translation is based on the text found in *Kokusho Kankōkai*, comp., *Gyokuyō*, vol. 3 (of 3 vols.), Tokyo: Tokyo Kappan Kabushiki Kaisha, 1906. All page references to *Gyokuyō* are to this edition.

GENEALOGICAL CHART
(Based on *Sompi Bummyaku*)



GYOKUYŌ: The Eighteenth Day of the Second Month of 1188

(Kinoe-tatsu)

Early in the morning I put on everyday court dress and went to the In's residence.³⁾ His close attendants had not yet arrived. I asked Takanobu no Ason [a chief aid to the In] to announce my arrival, whereupon one of the female attendants (Lady Tan) came out to meet me.⁴⁾ I informed her that I could not speak to her directly about the Yoshiaki affair and waited for some time for [Fujiwara no?] Moritaka to arrive.⁵⁾ After a while, he did come, and I spoke with him, explaining that I felt more consideration should be given to the In's decision to revoke the imperial order, indicating that it would be sufficient for it to be revised.⁶⁾ [Further], would it not be best for the imperial order to be issued in tandem with one from the In? Regarding the proposed revision of the order, I indicated that there ought to be a decision on the matter today, with [Provisional] Major Counsellor Fujiwara no] Kanemasa, [Provisional Middle Counsellor Fujiwara no] Tsunefusa, and [Provisional Middle Counsellor Fujiwara no] Kanemitsu meeting first for preliminary discussions.

Moritaka conveyed my views to the In, and before long returned to say that my suggestions had been considered entirely appropriate and that the problem of revision should be discussed by the individuals nominated by me. (Because Kanemasa was wearing religious robes he was not in attendance [at the Palace], and thus did not participate in the discussions with the others. Only Tsunefusa and Kanemitsu met. Once they had reached a decision on the nature of the proposed revision, their views were conveyed to the In.)

The executive official had not yet come, so again I sent someone to summon him, whereupon at midday the official in question, [Taira no?] Munenori, arrived, and I informed him of the revised order.⁷⁾ I returned to my home and [later] rode with the Middle Captain back to the Palace. After a short time I returned to my residence at Kujō, as *Samādhi* services were to be held in the evening of the twenty-fifth, and I was to attend them, as well as a memorial service for Akitō.⁸⁾ Later in the evening, the Palace Minister [son Yoshimichi] arrived, accompanied by his wife. He had just recovered from a short illness, and was thus able to make this visit. At around eight o'clock, the High Priest with his acolytes also came over, and I listened to his sermon all through the night. At dawn the priest departed, having stayed the night here at my residence.

The Nineteenth (Kinoto-tori)

The weather was fine. Today was the beginning of the *Saishōō-kyō* [*Sutra of the Most Virtuous Kings*] services at Enshūji. Earlier, Provisional Middle Counsellor [Fujiwara no] Sanemune had discussed and reached a decision concerning

which priests [would participate]. (As today was a day [already designated] for scheduled official functions at Court, the date and time set for this service was not given special consideration. However, the failure to do so is most unusual nowadays.) The Head of the Left Middle Controller's Office, [Minamoto no] Kanetada no Ason, prepared a document finalizing the names of [officiating] priests. (His dress indicated that he was in a period of ritual abstinence, but there is precedent for [his participation in court activities].) Thereupon I went to the temple and the service was performed. Today was the anniversary of the death of our former Lord.⁹ The priest in charge of the service, Priest Kyōchi, conducted the confessional scripture reading early in the morning and has been doing as custom requires since the anniversary of our former Lord's death. "The Sermon on the Buddha's Relics" is being presented in the usual manner. The Palace Minister listened from behind the screens with Priest Sonchū.

At the hour of the Dog (around 8 P.M.), my wife went along with me back to the Reizei Mansion. The Palace Minister rode in my carriage and along the way I intoned the *Bikuge* and the *Jigage gāthā*.¹⁰ The Palace Minister listened quietly. We returned to the Reizei Mansion and got down from the carriage. The Palace Minister ran ahead toward the north carriage station to arrange to have his mother's carriage drawn up, whereupon she disembarked and came over to me, together with the Palace Minister. The two of them were with me for several hours. We talked about a number of things, and I listened to their views and made decisions on several issues.

At the hour of the Boar [around 10 P.M.] High Priest Ōhara Shōnin (Tangaku Honjōbō) came over and I met with him.¹¹ During this time, the Palace Minister was still in the company of his wife. At midnight the Palace Minister returned to his house, I later heard. Very late in the night, Ōhara Shōnin left and I went to bed. After a little while, a lady attendant in the Palace Minister's employ (named Sochi) came running over in a panic, announcing that the Palace Minister had breathed his last. I rushed right over to see him, but his body had gone cold and he was not breathing. There was no hope in the situation. I recited the *Sonshō darani* at his side.¹² His condition did not change: nothing could be done.

I had several temples of my choosing read sutras and I presented treasures, stable horses, and other things to a number of shrines. Offerings were made all over, as is done when there is a ritual purification. I also began to make Buddhist funeral arrangements, and Ōhara Shōnin came to the residence. I had asked him to come because he was in the area. (The priest was invited in, so my wife withdrew outside the screens for the duration of his visit.) But since his death had been so sudden, I was not yet able to make comprehensive plans for the funeral and [for the

time being] merely chanted magical incantations at the Palace Minister's side. Before I began the chanting I sent for [Priest] Chisen, but since he was in the Kujō area of the city he arrived late. Meanwhile, daybreak arrived.

Yoshimichi's appearance in death, people were saying, was not that of one who had ever sinned; his face was composed and he was looking straight up as he lay there. Here was the face of a virtuous man. [The Abbot] Butsugon came over. He said that he thought the Minister would be reborn in heaven.

The Twentieth (Hinoe-Inu)

The weather was clear. At the hour of the Hare [around 6 A.M.] Priest Chisen arrived. Although he conducted the rites of *adhithāna* it did no good whatsoever.¹³ The priest had come four hours after the Minister died. Generally, in the case of a person's succumbing due to a malevolent spirit entering his body, he can be resuscitated by enlisting through prayer the awesome powers of the gods and Buddhas, there being numerous cases of this happening. However, in this particular instance it does not appear that death occurred for this reason; instead, Yoshimichi's death seems to have occurred naturally. We tried countless things to save him. My wife and I were terribly upset by this ordeal, and became oblivious to everything else that was happening. I gather that scores of courtiers, of both high and low rank, came to pay their respects during this time, and High Priest Yama came as well. Try as I might, I simply cannot recall what happened next, but I heard that at the hour of the Dragon [around 10 A.M.] the Minister breathed a bit through his nose. Again, rites of resuscitation were carried out, but his breathing soon stopped regardless. (Shōnin said that this was not real breathing and that this sort of thing occurred quite often, so one should not have one's hopes raised by it.¹⁴)

Several hours later, rites of resuscitation were carried out yet again, but the Minister's whole body had gone cold. Therefore, at the hour of the Snake [around noon], his death was finally made public and people paid their last respects, then departed.¹⁵ Meanwhile, I dispatched Suenaga no Ason, Governor of Iyo, to inform the In that I had incurred a ritual defilement. ([Provisional Middle Counsellor Fujiwara no] Sadanori, [Fujiwara no] Tsunefusa, High Priest Yama, and others advised me on this point. I was oblivious to everything that happened around this time [and had to be told what to do]).

When Suenaga returned he said that the In felt that even though I was in mourning at this time, staying away would not help the situation and that I should come to court [as usual] in [what he saw as essentially] a clean state. Nonetheless, I had been exposed to a defilement, so once again I reported that, although I myself was clean,¹⁶ I felt that I should not present myself at court, and that nothing

could be done about it. This time the In answered that this was all right. He really showed wonderful understanding. Once again, using Moritaka no Ason as my courier, I had a message conveyed in which I said that I was simply awed [by the In's generous response].

This evening, I was finally able to issue orders concerning the tonsure rite for the deceased (the officiating priest was Butsugon Shōnin) as well as the funeral scheduled for the 22nd and the plan to go to the temple in Saga secretly on the same evening. (Priest Tsunemitsu is in charge. The Saga temple is a most convenient place for us to go to as no directional taboo applies). I ordered house official Mitsutsuna, Secretary Tsuneyasu, and some others to organize the funeral arrangements.

Tonight my wife is going to go to our residence at Kujō. The Minister's wife, however, will remain here at this residence. But on the 22nd she is expected to go to Kujō. The temple at our Kujō residence is to be the place of the funeral. I had Nobutada no Ason, Director of the Bureau of Divination, send one of the master diviner's disciples over [to Kujō]. Regarding arrangements for the funeral, as I have been in a period of strict ritual seclusion I informed people that in many respects it would be most inappropriate for me to make them myself. Accordingly, with the consent of Kanemasa, I instructed Mitsutsuna to have the orders of Yoshimichi's widow carried out. At the hour of the Ram [around two P.M.] the seats were arranged and the lamps prepared.

After it became clear that Yoshimichi had definitely passed away, I fell into a state of oblivion lasting several months. In the middle of the Fifth Month, by asking people questions and managing myself to recall certain events, I recorded the events which occurred from this day, the twentieth, on. I had ceased to keep my diary during the period from the twentieth of the Second Month to the ninth day of the Fifth Month, and because several months have now passed since these events occurred, I have found it difficult to record what happened. Thus, there are bound to be errors in my account.

I wish to report that Palace Minister Yoshimichi, who held the Second Rank and served concurrently as Major Captain of the Left Bodyguards, was my family heir. Since the time he emerged from the womb, when I was 19 (and my wife 16) he had a mild, gentle disposition, and always aspired to be a most filial son. He never went against his parents' orders, in either word or deed. Year in and year out he never once failed to show filial piety. Moreover, in his public service, from the time he served as Palace Controller in the Green Horse Banquet at age 17, he never did anything wrong and always brought honor upon himself, even while his stipend was low. He was never ill from that time on, and not even once did he fail to

attend a court function or miss the special public events held during the year.

A long time ago, the Kyōgoku Chancellor [Fujiwara no Morozane, 1042-1101] won acclaim for his court service at a young age, but surely his work would not have measured up to the Palace Minister's devoted service. Amongst all the men who were once heir to the regency there was certainly not a man like this before: we should call him a great minister of state. From an early age he strove to learn, and he was indeed widely read in both Chinese and Japanese works. Amongst ministers presently holding positions, surely none has talents even half as impressive as those of Yoshimichi. His writing showed a great native ability, and many lines of his poems are known among the people at large. Further, on many occasions he took instruction on the Chinese transverse flute from the musician Munekata, learning the fine points of its technique and the subtleties of musical style, and he had virtually mastered at last the art of Chinese music. In recent times, he had also been studying the language of Japanese poetry, and the verses which he had composed, while few in number, were rich in the *yūgen* style of mystery and depth.

In statecraft Yoshimichi had great natural talent. He gave deep thought to the political ways of old and never ceased to lament the abandonment of the old rituals of state. He had copied many scrolls from Chinese and Japanese texts -- virtually enough to fill several boxes. His dedication to learning was so great that even those whom we would call Confucian scholars could scarcely compare to him, though he was only 22 years old. He was indeed a major national figure, an important minister on whom we could rely in these Latter Days of the Law, someone who was most certainly suited to dealing with these times of disorder.

When one stops to consider the record of generation after generation of my forebears in the six areas of fidelity, talent in Chinese studies, statecraft, the arts, dedication to work, and filial piety, there were few who could have compared to my son. My own service at Court owes everything to the assistance he rendered me. Suffering this loss will truly mean the end of the family. What wretched fortune indeed! There is no end to the regret I feel; my sadness cannot be contained. Words cannot describe how I feel, nor can I put my feelings into writing. All my hopes for the rest of my days are now extinguished, and I can only await earnestly my rebirth in Amida's paradise.

From a very young age, I have fervently believed in the gods and the Three Treasures and have long eschewed evildoing, remaining loyal and faithful always. I have looked to the gods and Buddhas, seeking their protection. And yet now I am filled with such bitterness and disappointment. When the people, both those officials at court and the public at large, see what has happened to me, how could they possibly continue to believe that a man should devote himself to keeping a pure,

chaste, and sincere heart? Might they not just let selfish ambition take over? Yesterday, my son was a model of filial piety, and yet today, he is on his way to the world of the dead. All that I can do is pray that he attain perfect and immediate enlightenment as a Buddha. I simply cannot bear the sadness of his death nor the attachment I still feel.

There are numerous examples in both ancient and recent times of fathers mourning the death of their children. In my family there was [Fujiwara no] Michifusa during the Kantoku period [1044-1046] and Lord Nijō during the Kōwa period [1099-1104].¹⁷ The sadness and grief of their families was of a level rarely encountered. But it is nonetheless incomparable to the misery and pity I feel at present. What crime have I committed for Heaven to have visited this calamity upon me? When I think hard about the reasons for it, perhaps it is having had too much go well that has brought me to this.

My ancestor Lord Tadahira's two sons were ministers of the left and right, respectively, which was truly a rare and remarkable occurrence, one that happened, as one might expect, when Tadahira was advanced in years.¹⁸ I am still in the prime of my life, and my son held both the ministerial post [of Palace Minister] and the post in the palace guards. Not since the periods 1087-1094 and 1113-1118 has this occurred; it has since then been considered a rare event. But in the end I cannot but feel an enduring regret. I for my part have not a single virtue, nor any goodness; neither do I have any learning or talent in Chinese letters nor any great wisdom. It is because of the accumulated merit of my forebears that I now undeservedly hold the highly responsible post of Regent and that my son was able to gain appointment to important posts as well.

That we both have held high rank and have served at court has brought me honour and respect beyond my due, and a position better than I deserve. Heaven is punishing me and the spirits are devouring me! There is good reason, it makes sense. But the blame rests with me, the father, and so why has this punishment extended to my son as well? This must be because it was his fate to be short-lived; his karmic destiny was a shortened lifespan. I may be dull-witted, but I did manage to foresee that it was Yoshimichi's destiny to die young. I prayed to the Buddha and to the gods, never wearying and never slackening in my efforts. But in the end my prayers had no effect. However, this was not due to the gods' failure to respond to my entreaties. It was simply a lack of sufficient religious faith on my part, which I now lament.

Although I am most unworthy of the post I have held, I have always had the nation's best interests at heart. Just one tiny oversight on my part might have gone against the wishes of the spirits who would do me harm, and they have perhaps

taken umbrage, inflicting this punishment on me. The gods failed to respond to my prayers, and I now wonder if the political climate was not yet right [for a leader like my son]. I not only mourn the loss of my devoted son; I lament that imperial government has, [owing to my son's death], lost the power and the virtue to bring about positive change.

There is no use in talking about why everything has happened as it has, and no amount of talking about this time of grief can adequately describe it. I look heavenward and prostrate myself [in prayer before the gods]. I have rent my heart to shreds and broken my spirit. When will I be relieved of this bitterness? When will this grieving abate? The only way to overcome the pain is to give my life to my work.

NOTES

- 1) I am indebted to Jeffrey P. Mass, *The Development of Kamakura Rule 1180-1250*, Stanford University Press, 1979, pp. 8-10, for my interpretation of this late period in Kanezane's career.
- 2) Mass, p. 10.
- 3) Retired Former Emperor Go-Shirakawa, Cloistered Emperor from 1158-1192, with a brief hiatus in 1180, during the reigns of Emperors Nijō, Rokujō, Takakura, Antoku, and Go-Toba.
- 4) "Lady Tan," Tan-sanpon [Tan of the third rank], is better known as Tango no Tsubone, Takashina Eishi (Hideko), ?-1216. Reputedly the favorite mistress of Go-Shirakawa, she was the mother of princess Senyōmon'in and wielded considerable influence in all affairs of state. She is often depicted in the diary as trying to obstruct Kanezane's access to the In. In 1191/7 she was promoted to the junior second rank and was thereafter referred to in the diary as Tan-nihon.
- 5) "Yoshiaki" was a name which the Court assigned to Minamoto no Yoshitsune, the half brother of Shōgun Yoritomo, late in 1186, in the belief that it could help 'reveal' [= 'aki' in Yoshiaki] his whereabouts. See Helen McCullough, tr., *Yoshitsune; A Fifteenth Century Japanese Chronicle* (Stanford U.P., 1971), p. 300. The Yoshiaki affair alluded to here was the problem of apprehending the fugitive Yoshitsune.
- 6) Yoritomo had asked the Court early in 1188 to issue an edict ordering Fujiwara no Yasuhira (Hidehira's successor in Mutsu) to have Yoshitsune, a fugitive under Fujiwara protection since 1187, put to death. On 1188/2/21 and 2/26, the reigning sovereign, Emperor Horikawa, and the ex-Emperor Go-Shirakawa responded by issuing orders for Yoshitsune's arrest, as recommended here by Kanezane. (*Gyokuyō*, pp. 501-502; McCullough, *Yoshitsune*, p. 29) Presumably, the dual issuance of this order for his arrest was meant to give the order extra weight, but in fact Yoshitsune's protectors did not move to apprehend him as ordered. Yoshitsune was not actually attacked until the fourth intercalary month of 1189, when he committed suicide instead of surrendering. Kanezane was frequently called upon to revise drafts of Court orders and imperial edicts, but he does not specify the exact nature of the revisions he recommended.

Why did the In try to revoke the order which Kanezane wanted only to revise? The position of the In was typically complex and marked by ambivalence toward Yoshitsune. While seeing Yoshitsune as a threat to political stability, Go-Shirakawa often played one brother off against the other in moves to safeguard court power. In this particular instance he may have seen Yoshitsune and his powerful Fujiwara allies in Mutsu as an effective counterweight to the northward expansion and consolidation of Bakufu power.

- 7) This executive official (*bugyōshiki*) was presumably serving Yoritomo.
- 8) The purpose of the *Samādhi* services, which were based on the *Lotus Sutra*, was to rid the deceased, presumably Akitō (identity unknown) here, of sins and to facilitate his attainment of Buddhahood.
- 9) Kanezane's father or brother? Father Fujiwara no Tadamichi died in 1164; brother Motozane died in 1166.
- 10) Verses which were intoned to sing the praises of the Buddha or to restate succinctly major points of Buddhist doctrine in the *Lotus Sutra*.
- 11) Ōhara may be an error for Ōharano here and elsewhere.
- 12) The *Sonshō darani* (S. *Usnīsavijayā dhāranī*), a kind of mantra on the *usnīsa* (J. *butchō-son*), the supreme Buddha within the flesh on the crown of the Buddha's head, which stands as a symbol of the merits of Buddhahood. *Darani* is a prolonged invocation of mystic syllables uttered to sustain the faith of its reciters, especially in esoteric Buddhism, as a charm to bring about miracles or to assist them to achieve their desires.
- 13) *Adhishthāna*, J. *kaji*; exorcistic prayers and rituals utilized in esoteric Buddhism to bring back the sick to health.
- 14) This "breathing" was presumably a death rattle.
- 15) The meaning of the text here is not entirely clear. The passage reads: 仍已刻披露事一定之由人々降立. The phrase 人々降立 might alternatively mean that people came to hear the announcement of his death.
- 16) By saying that he was clean or unsullied, *kiyoshi*, Kanezane was perhaps implying that he had not been the source of the defilement.
- 17) Michifusa, 1024-1044 (age 21 at death), Provisional Major Counsellor (1042); 'Lord Nijō' is a reference to Kampaku Fujiwara no Moromichi, who died prematurely in 1099 at age 38 and served under Emperor Horikawa 1094-1099. His *tsūshō* was Go-Nijō Kampaku.
- 18) Fujiwara no Tadahira (880-949) had three sons, all of whom served as Minister of the Left or Minister of the Right or as both. However, only the elder two served in these posts within Tadahira's lifetime: Saneyori (900-970) held both posts in the 940s; Morosuke (908-960) served as *udaijin* from 947. The youngest son, Morotada (Moromasa, 920-969), held the two posts in the late 960s.