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The Mirror of China: Language Selection, Images of China, and Narrating Japan in the Kamakura Period (1185-1333)

Brightwell, Erin Leigh

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THE MIRROR OF CHINA: LANGUAGE SELECTION, IMAGES OF CHINA, AND NARRATING JAPAN IN THE KAMAKURA PERIOD (1185-1333)

Erin Leigh Brightwell

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ABSTRACT

The Mirror of China: Language Selection, Images of China, and Narrating Japan in the Kamakura Period (1185-1333)

Erin L. Brightwell

Kara kagami 唐鏡 (The Mirror of China) is something of an enigma—only six of an original ten scrolls survive, and there is no critical edition with comprehensive annotation or previous translation. A work composed for Imperial Prince-cum-Shogun Munetaka 宗尊親王 by the scion of a distinguished line of Confucian scholars, Fujiwara no Shigenori 藤原茂範, on a topic of pressing interest in the thirteenth century—the fate of Continental China—it embodies many of the characteristic concerns of Kamakura Japan. Tensions between privatization and circulation of learning, imperial and warrior authority, Japan's envisioning of China and her relations thereto, as well as a larger cosmological narrative all run through the work. Yet they do so ways that challenge now long-held ideas of language, stance towards the Continent and its traditions, and narratives of generic development and resistance.

This dissertation explores the ways in which *The Mirror of China* defies familiar-yet-passé conceptions of medieval Japan. It examines afresh how three issues in medieval discourse—language selection, portrayals of China, and narrating Japan—are refracted in *The Mirror of China* in order to better understand text-based claims of political, cultural, and philosophical authority. *The Mirror of China*'s linguistically diverse manuscripts invite question of the worldviews or allegiances of identity a multilingual text can intimate. Its depiction of China and the implied narratives such a vision creates likewise differ markedly from those of contemporary works. And lastly, the linguistic and thematic innovation it brings to the Heian genre of *Mirror* writing marks a previously obscured turning point in medieval historiographic writing, one that allows an appreciation of the genre as a medieval experiment in crafting

histories as legitimating narratives. Drawing on multiple understudied works in addition to better-known writings, this dissertation provides a new understanding of how medieval thinkers exploited languages, images, and traditions in order to create their own visions of authority.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....**iii**

Acknowledgments .....**vii**

Chapter One: The Foundry.....**1**

What does this 'say'? 6

Where are we? 25

Fact or Fiction? 39

Ergo 42

Chapter Two: Casting the Mirror.....**44**

The Fujiwara from the Wrong Side of the Tracks 45

Superficial Reflections 64

Other Looks at the Mirror 95

Chapter Three: Verba Volant, Scripta Manent **110**

Form and/as Translation..... 112

China's Themes 124

Finding an Audience 141

The Mirror of China and the *Gukanshō*: Personalizing Cultural History 151

Conclusion 161

Chapter Four: Classical China to Go **164**

Enter the Dragon—the *Meng qiu* as Introduction.....168

The Phantasm China of *China Tales*.....175

Telling versus Reflecting 201

China for a 'Mass' Audience—the Play's the Thing 225

Conclusion ……232

Chapter Five: What's in a Name? ……**236**

Writing About Kamakura Literary Historiography: A Stab in the Dark ……241

The Heian *Mirrors* ……249

Three *Mirrors* at Once ……268

Including the Kamakura: From Three *Mirrors* to Five ……284

Medieval Commentaries: A Contemporary Perspective ……299

Coda: *The Clear Mirror* ……313

Conclusion ……318

Chapter Six: Reflections on the Mirror ……**321**

Bibliography ……**329**

Appendix A: Catalogue of Events ……**348**

Appendix B: *The Mirror of China* ……**371**

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Chapter One: The Foundry

One thing that I should like to make clear before getting started is that, title notwithstanding, this is not a dissertation about China. Nor is it really about perceptions or constructions thereof in medieval Japan. It is an examination into the language(s), images, and traditions that medieval Japanese authors multifariously deployed to create narratives of legitimation. Or, more simply put, the following is an investigation into how people wrote, what they wrote about, and where they positioned themselves with regard to traditions in order to grant their versions of events the weight of authority.

Of course, even though this is not a dissertation about China *an sich* or Chinese influence *per se*, the fact remains that things Chinese are the lens through which much of these issues are refracted. Even if by the time period examined in this dissertation mastery of such things did not hold quite the intellectual or cultural cachet once enjoyed, it was still a, if the not the, significant marker of cultural literacy. Thus, it is unsurprising that when a medieval intellectual sat down to write an account grounded in principles for *how* the world worked, much of the discourse was informed by the need (or ability) to negotiate with and manipulate this complex cultural legacy.

Older narratives treat the transition from Heian to Kamakura Japan as a period in which this legacy was destabilized with deleterious results. The story of the downward slide of Chinese learning during this time is a familiar one to most students of medieval Japan, and I am certainly not going to argue that this is not true from a normative standpoint. However, rather than suppose that Japan ought to have cleaved to an immutable scholastic standard inherited from China, I prefer to consider this period in terms of the productive possibilities the loosening of the hold of traditional norms created.

By the mid-thirteenth century, the Northern Song was long gone, and the Southern Song was on its last legs, soon to succumb to the Mongols. Japan was recovering from her own civil war and the strain of a realignment of power with the establishment of the Kamakura *bakufu* along with the rise of a warrior class. The medieval *axis mundi* had been seriously shaken, to say the least. In more positive terms, the accompanying breakdown of established cultural hegemony (if that is not overstating the matter) brought with it new spaces for thinking and writing. In addition to the well-known warrior tales and innovative poetry of the age, there are sparkling parodies, such as the tabloid approach to the "tale" genre in *Ima monogatari* 今物語 (Tales of Today, 1239/1240[1]), or texts developing new cosmological theories, such as Jien's *Gukanshō* 愚管抄 (My Humble Summary of the Essential, ca. 1219). Also, of course, with the fall, or perhaps dislocation is more apt a term, of the ancien régime, we see new ways of writing about and perspectives on events past. There are, in short, new histories to tell.

Fujiwara no Shigenori's 藤原茂範 mid-thirteenth century composition *Kara kagami* 唐鏡 (The Mirror of China) is a text that is emblematic of the shifts and relocations taking place. The work of one highly erudite scholar of Chinese learning, it is on the one hand, the product of teachings maintained by tradition. At the same time, it is written in the seat of the warrior government, Kamakura, and for a newly appearing readership, and as such, in a sense, it subverts the very tradition that has produced it.[2] Given its ambiguous place between old and new, it lends

[1] In using this date, I follow Ōshima Takako 大島貴子 in Ōshima Takako 大島貴子 et al., "Ima monogatari: kaisetsu" 今物語：解説, in *Chūsei no bungaku*, 29-76 (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 1979): 38-39.

[2] On Kamakura as the site of writing and the intended audience, I follow Ogawa Takeo 小川剛生, "Fujiwara no Shigenori-den no kōsatsu—sakusha no shōgai" 藤原茂範伝の考察—『唐鏡』作者の生涯, in *Wa-Kan hikaku bungaku* 12 (1994): 32. This being said, Ogawa is more

itself well to questions of changing functions of language and its visual representation, negotiating stance vis-à-vis an object of reflection or study, and locating emergent historiographic voices across and between traditions.

Truth be told, *The Mirror of China* does not hold much superficial appeal. Stylistically irregular and thematically unprecedented, the work at first glance might appear to be *sui generis*. And, were that the case, one could easily argue that it would ultimately be of little value outside of some *Wunderkammer* of extant medieval Japanese writings. However, I propose that *The Mirror of China* merits being thought of from at least two different larger angles. On the one hand, we can consider it as a text of "cultural mapping." If we do that, at a meta-level *The Mirror of China* can be placed in a(n admittedly elastic) category of writings that textualize the discomfort of cultural contact, that is to say, writings that can almost be said to order their subjects through the act of committing them to paper (or other medium of choice).[3] Such works not only regulate their subjects, of course, but also can in turn be used as reflections on or commentaries to the societies that produced them.

If we approach *The Mirror of China* thusly, it is part and parcel with such diverse creations as Tacitus' *Germania*, or, closer to home, Ren Fang's 任昉 reconstructed *Shuyi ji* 述異記 (Notes Relating the Extraordinary, ca. early 6th century CE).[4] That is, as intellectual

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tentative in suggesting the work ends up as a tool for warrior readers, whereas I find it difficult to suppose that such a robust audience was not on Shigenori's radar even if the original audience was among the court. See also ibid., 36.

[3] After all, one of the earliest meanings of the character *wen* 文, which is now a bound-morpheme designating language or script, is "pattern." With this in mind, is it too much to suggest that through writing, a pattern is imposed on the potential chaos of cross-cultural contact?

[4] In my understanding of *Germania* as an account of foreigners and their ways that at the same

projects, these works can invite similar types of questions. What can be at stake when a first/second-century Roman author writes about the Germans? Or when a fifth-century literatus sets to paper all manner of oddities (including human) within and without the Chinese empire? Or, in this case, when a thirteenth-century tutor to the shogun refashions all of Chinese history into a primer for his pupil or other "non-traditional" readers of things Chinese? To what extent is it about China, and to what extent is it about other things?

Yet even as I advocate thinking about *The Mirror of China* as belonging to a larger type of project, one that is not restricted to its locus of production, at the same time, we must also look at it as very much a product of its times. This is not to suggest that by plugging it into a Kamakura context, we can somehow "de-code" it, but rather to call attention to the need to explore the ways in which it intersects with and modifies preexisting literary ideals and historiographic traditions in Japan. Ironically, it is in this more localized context that the aspect of "China" as such becomes less important. Knowledge of Chinese tradition, literature, and history enable Shigenori to create a work that revolutionizes a genre, but they are a means to an end, not the end itself. Of the two perspectives suggested here, the present project hews more closely to the second, which is, in a sense, a necessary step to being able to engage with the first.

However, I am getting ahead of myself. Fujiwara no Shigenori's *The Mirror of China* in its extant form is far from inviting at first glance. Six (of an original ten) scrolls survive, but the message or moral, if ever there was one, is not obvious in the received version of the text. The content is uneven and at times difficult to follow. Nor is it easy to grasp the relevance or

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time offers a perspective on the land of its production, I have relied on the following English translation (with a critical introduction): Cornelius Tacitus, *Agricola* and *Germania*, Harold Mattingly, trans., revised with an introduction and notes by J. B. Rives (London: Penguin Books, 2009).

appeal for a medieval readership of much of the material. Yet lack of surface allure notwithstanding, *The Mirror of China* holds value in its manifestation of some of the central issues in medieval intellectual discourse. The textual configuration of China is perhaps the most obvious, but questions of the function of writing in variant *kanbun*,[5] as well as the notion of genre and the supposed distinction between historiographic and belletristic works, are all refracted in it. Or, if one wishes to belabor the image of the bronze mirror, questions of imagery and identity, language selection, and narration as generative of a position are all alloy elements that come together in its composition. Much as with an actual mirror, though, it can be difficult to discern what lies behind the surface reflection. Therefore, before turning to the *Mirror* itself, I should first like to lay out what these elements are, beginning with the question of language selection in Kamakura Japan, moving on to the closely related issue of what the designations "China" and "Japan" themselves signify, and lastly considering the problem of genre. This is the same order in which these themes are suggested in Shigenori's preface to *The Mirror of China*, and therefore, the body chapters of the dissertation, too, follow this sequence.

[5] Jennifer Guest's 2013 dissertation analyzes *kanbun* writing in late Heian and early Kamakura Japan. Given our engagement with similar theoretical issues with regard to language, it is unsurprising that our respective discussions of the state of the field feature a limited amount of overlap, including the recognition of Classical Chinese as no one's "native" language. For her discussion of *kanbun*, see Jennifer Guest, *Primers, Commentaries, and Kanbun Literacy in Japanese Literary Culture, 950-1250CE* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2013), 15-28; for the statement on "native," see ibid., 23-24. It is important to note that while our starting points are similar, our emphases ultimately diverge, with Guest focusing more on the relationship between text and voice and my own work exploring the visual impact of written forms, as developed in Chapter Three. Nonetheless, we share an understanding of medieval writing as not conforming to binaristic categories. Ibid. 4 and *passim*.

What does this 'say'?

東行西行雲眇眇
二月三月日遲遲

How is the couplet here to be recited?[6] In medieval Japan, there is no single definitive answer to this question. In terms of training, one might perhaps be able to recite it in Chinese or an approximation thereof, though the likelihood of this would have declined in the Kamakura period (1185-1333). Alternatively or additionally, one might have chosen to provide a Japanese rendering.[7] But this latter option does not limit the possibilities to one version either. As a tale from the twelfth-century collection *Konjaku monogatarishū* 今昔物語集 (Tales of Times Now Past) about this particular composition reveals, the fixing of a text in writing did not prevent variations on oral realizations from proliferating:

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[6] Kin Bunkyō 金文京 opens the third chapter of his work *Kanbun to Higashi Ajia—kundoku no bunkaken* 漢文と東アジア—訓読の文化圏 with a similar rhetorical strategy, presenting readers with three poems in classical Chinese and asking them to identify the poets' respective nationalities. The point that he is thereby illustrating, however, is that anyone could compose written works in classical Chinese, whereas I had settled upon this device prior to reading his work as an effective means of revealing the relationship between script and sound in medieval Japan. Kin Bunkyō 金文京, *Kanbun to higashi Ajia: kundoku no bunkaken* 漢文と東アジア—訓読の文化圏 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2010), 178-179. Although I will not provide an overview of the work here, it offers a handy introduction to the mechanics of *kundoku* and its wide-ranging use in pre-modern East Asia.

[7] J. Thomas Rimer notes in the introduction to his translation of *Wa-Kan rōeishū* 和漢朗詠集 (1012), *Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing*: "Those scholars who have examined the sparse and confusing evidence available believe that the verses in Chinese were first performed by chanting their *on* readings (the Japanese pronunciation assigned to Chinese characters), which were then repeated in their *kun* readings (the appropriate word in Japanese represented by each character)." J. Thomas Rimer, *Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 10.

The Tale of how Tenjin Revealed the Reading for a Poem of his to a Person in a Dream (28)

> Once upon a time, there was a poem that had been composed by Tenjin. It was: 東行西行雲眇眇二月三月日遲遲. Although subsequent generations of people delighted in the poem and recited it, since there was not anyone who 'got' the poem, a person by the name of □□ went to Kitano Shrine and recited the poem in front of it. With him having done so, in a dream that night, a lofty, dignified person came and addressed him [as follows]: "You, do you understand how this poem ought to be recited?" When he hesitated and replied that he did not know, [the person] instructed him that it was to be recited thus: "*To sama ni yuki, kō sama ni* [*yuki*]*, kumo harubaru, kisaragi yayoi hi uraura.*" After he awoke, he made, of course, an obeisance, and withdrew.
>
> Truly indeed has it been passed down that since long ago, there have been many instances of Tenjin revealing poem [readings] in dreams like this.[8]

Here, nothing short of divine intervention is able to identify a "correct" oral recitation. In other words, the composition itself offers no inherent clues as to how it ought to be performed aloud. In most cases, where one would have to have done without a direct spiritual communiqué from the author, the decision of how to orally render in medieval Japan a poem written in Chinese characters then was not clear-cut.

I open with this anecdote because it highlights one of the key issues that underpins the following study, an examination of language selection and its relationship to creating texts in late-Heian/Kamakura Japan: in this context, Chinese characters stand as writing tools in a

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[8] Suggestively, *shi o kokorouru* 詩ヲ心得ル ('getting' the poem) appears to be equated here with knowing the correct way to recite it orally. 天神御製詩読示人夢給語第二十八。今昔、天神ノ作ラセ給ケル詩有リケリ、東行西行雲眇々二月三月日遅々ト。此詩ヲ後代ノ人翫テ詠ズト云ヘドモ、其詩ヲ心得ル人無カリケルニ、□□ト云人北野ノ宝前ニ詣テ、此詩ヲ詠ケルニ、其夜ノ夢ニ、気高ク止事無キ人来テ、教ヘテ宣ハク、「汝ヂ、此詩ヲバ何ニ可読トカ心得タル」ト。畏テ、不知ル由ヲ答ヘ申ケルニ、教ヘテ宣ハク、トサマニ行キカウサマニ[　]雲ハルバル、キサラギヤヨヒヒウラウラト可読キ也ト。夢覚テ後、礼拝シテゾ罷出ニケル。天神ハ昔ヨリ夢ノ中ニ如此ク詩ヲ示シ給フ事多カリ、トナム語リ伝ヘタルトヤ。*Konjaku monogatari-shū* 今昔物語集, *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*, [23] (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1974), 24.352-353. All translations in this text are my own unless otherwise indicated.

uniquely ambiguous relationship with their oral realizations.[9] Simply put, visually represented characters simultaneously gesture to multiple possible readings; they do not correlate with a fixed or defined single spoken counterpart. In the setting of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Japan, characters form a writing system that encodes a potential for phonological plurality and syntactic mobility in a way that *kana* writing does not.[10] I state it in these terms not in order to suggest an intrinsic superiority to either way of writing, but rather to focus attention on how, in effect, they actually do different things.

One result of this disconnect is to imbue the writing in Japan of classical Chinese-language texts, *kanbun* 漢文, with plasticity.[11] The project here is in part an

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[9] Cf. Gustav Heldt, who argues for the critical role of an ambiguous relation between *kana* and sound in early Heian poetry, attributing a need to determine a one-to-one correlation between *kana* and pronunciation to medieval exegetes. Gustav Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony: Poetry and Power in Early Heian Japan* (Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2008), passim and in closer detail, 235-240.

[10] This is not to say that there has always been a single *kana* for recording any one sound. On the contrary, there was initially a certain amount of freedom in *kana* selection. Furthermore, I should be explicit that while I will talk about *kana* as comprising a phonographic system, an actual reconstruction of the sounds *kana* represented, either in the Heian period or later, is more properly a historical linguistic concern and as such is beyond the scope of this study. For a basic introduction to the tools and issues of script in early Japan, see Roy Andrew Miller, "Writing Systems," in *The Japanese Language*, 90-140 (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1967), especially 90-101 on mechanical aspects, 112-120 on *kundoku* and its variety, and 121-126 on the emergence, aesthetics, and systematization of *hiragana* and *katakana*; 125-126 make the point about the initial potential variety of *kana* used for a phoneme. Editorializing aside, Miller's work provides a wide-ranging study of the Japanese language and attendant linguistic concerns, both current and historical. Seeley also describes a trend away from an originally more flexible use of *kana*. Christopher Seeley, *The History of Writing in Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 1991; Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000 edition), 68-69. For a more neutral position in a work that focuses narrowly on the development of writing in Japan, Seeley's study is to be recommended.

[11] The emphasis on Japan is not intended to suggest that writing in classical Chinese was limited to Japan and China. Far from it. It is simply to delineate the scope of the current study.

exploration and analysis of the ramifications of this inherent plurality. How is the fundamental functional difference of these two forms—*kana* and *kanbun*—reflected in the texts they constitute? In particular, what happens when a text moves between forms of both?

At this point, before proceeding to the study itself, I will clarify a few terms central to my argument. On a broad yet basic level, in place of the more conventional "style," I use the word "form" to refer to *buntai* 文体. This is because "form" more accurately reflects the dual aspects of external shape of script and potential shaping of content that are at the center of this inquiry. Other nomenclative decisions, though of more limited application, likewise demand reflection: how can we investigate the languages of Kamakura Japan in such a way as not to determine *a priori*, or, at least, not to influence our conclusions in our choice of terminology? This is a particularly vexing question in considerations of the relationship between *wabun* 和文 (classical Japanese prose) and *kanbun* 漢文, a term more narrowly understood to designate classical Chinese prose writings in Japan, but which Lone Takeuchi describes as "texts written in Chinese, as well as any written or spoken Japanese renderings in which the (original) Chinese in some way 'reverberates.'"[12] Takeuchi's more expansive categorization is of paramount importance in that it permits a perspective that does not fix *wabun* and *kanbun* as abstract homogeneous forms at opposite linguistic poles. The present study employs Takeuchi's notion of *kanbun* as a descriptor of multifarious writing forms.

[12] Lone Takeuchi, *The Structure and History of Japanese: from Yamatokotoba to Nihongo* (London and New York: Longman, 1999), 8-9. For a similarly expansive conception of the "logographic tradition" as "unified by its reliance on the complex system of reading and writing that is kundoku," see David Lurie, *The Origins of Writing in Early Japan: From the 1st to the 8th Century CE* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2001), 337; see also 341.

The decision to leave *kanbun* untranslated is in part a *faute de mieux* solution. The *kan* 漢 of *kanbun* has inspired various renderings of the latter as something akin to "(classical) Chinese prose" or "Sino-Japanese," as John Wixted proposes in his plea for a more inclusive concept of Japanese literature.[13] The difficulty with this is that once something is designated as "Chinese" (or "Japanese"), it is virtually impossible to use the term without implying a standard. Typically, that is tacitly understood to be the language as it is used in its land of origin.[14] Even "Sino-Japanese" does not avoid this entirely: it is, after all, suggested as a means to demarcate a style of writing with local language interference,[15] with the result that a narrative of deviation from language origins and norms is suppressed but nonetheless present.[16] Since the project at hand relies on a challenge to the very notion of writing in *kanbun* as being inherently Chinese *or* Japanese, any translation of the term that maps it to a single language becomes an obfuscator.[17] Hence the untranslated usage.[18]

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[13] John Timothy Wixted, "Kanbun, Histories of Japanese Literature, and Japanologists," in *Sino-Japanese Studies* 10.2 (April 1998), 23.

[14] Perhaps twenty-first-century English would be an important exception to this.

[15] John Wixted, 23.

[16] The fact that I am not in agreement with the use of the term "Sino-Japanese" should not, however, be taken as an indication of a lack of support for Wixted's larger argument—that *kanbun* texts deserve a place in Japanese literature. Quite the contrary!

[17] In a somewhat similar vein, David Lurie notes towards the end of his dissertation that "kundoku" (which is more or less akin to what I am calling *kanbun* here) works in such a way that "a given piece of writing can both adhere to continental norms on a scriptal level *and* embody archipelagan linguistic structures on a lexical level [...] it is impossible to choose between the two alternatives: that is, one cannot decide once and for all whether that piece of writing is 'Chinese' or 'Japanese.'" David Lurie, 347.

[18] I realize that since the term *kanbun* itself is Japanese, it does not entirely escape this issue. In

The other issue is the difficulty created by a conceptual framework that informs how twenty-first-century scholars of late Heian and Kamakura Japan talk about languages and their roles in the medieval period. Whether *kanbun* is dubbed "Chinese" or "Japanese," the significance of the *bun* 文 morpheme is essentially elided. To re-insert the significance of *bun*, we must dismantle a methodological apparatus that rests on assumptions of *kanbun* and *wabun* as "languages" in the sense that the term would be broadly employed today. Instead, we should remember that in Japan, *kanbun* as such designates first and foremost a mode of writing.[19] In order to emphasize that classical Chinese was operating by the time of the present study (12th and 13th centuries) as a system purely for writing, I will call Classical Chinese a grapholect rather than a language *per se*.[20] This is an important, if obvious, distinction, because it breaks down a

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the search for a term that would not tie it specifically to Chinese or Japanese, I considered briefly rendering it as "χan prose," but I feared this would ultimately prove unwieldy.

[19] See Peter Kornicki for a similar assessment of classical Chinese in a broader context, contrasted to the use of Latin in Europe: "Chinese was of course a *spoken* language, or rather languages, in China, but it was decidedly *not* a spoken language in the rest of East Asia, where it thrived almost entirely in the form of literary Chinese and nothing more." Peter Kornicki, "The Latin of East Asia?" lecture, Sandars Lectures in Bibliography 2008 (University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England, 10 March 2008; typeset edition), 9.

[20] David Lurie has suggested referring to *kundoku* as a "grapholect." For the purposes of the present study, however, this would be inappropriate, because of my emphasis on readings as potential oral realizations of texts. Cf. David Lurie, 227 and *passim*. My understanding of the term is not dissimilar from Walter Ong's definition: "A grapholect is a transdialectal language formed by deep commitment to writing. Writing gives a grapholect a power far exceeding that of any purely oral dialect." Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: the Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York: Methuen, 1982; Routledge, 2002 printing), 7. I do not wish to suggest that *kanbun*, as a grapholect, would have held more 'power' within Japan—that would be too vague a contention to be of much use here—but rather that its scope was different for reasons to be developed further below. In any event, despite the terminological overlap, the concerns of the present study and Ong's work are quite distinct. I will not treat the questions of how the development of two writing systems might have influenced the conceptualization(s) of narratives or thought itself, both central to Ong's work. Instead, I am focusing on a period when the plurality of writing systems as such is entrenched; the dynamics and consequences of this variety

facile one-to-one correlation between a written and a spoken form of a language as being in exclusive relationship with one another, a point to be further developed below.

Given the significance of re-conceptualizing *kanbun* as a kind of writing, a discussion of David Lurie's dissertation, *The Origins of Writing in Early Japan: From the 1st to the 8th Century C.E.*, and his more recent book, *Realms of Literacy: Early Japan and the History of Writing*, is in order prior to advancing to an investigation of this form and its deployment in medieval literature. In the former, drawing on archaeological finds as well as more traditionally cited texts, Lurie re-examines the fundamental operations of writing and argues for a broader and simultaneously more nuanced notion of how texts were utilized in early Japan. One result of his work is that the development of writing no longer emerges as a single, gradually unfolding phenomenon, but rather as something that occurs in fits and starts, which Lurie treats as four "beginnings." In the section entitled "The First Writing in Japan," the above issues and their problematization are neatly summarized as follows:

> [...] I have attempted to shift the focus from searching for possible 'origins' of writing to considering possible functions of writing. Doing so reveals both continuity and discontinuity: on the one hand, the talismanic and totemic roles of writing hinted at by these early artifacts continue to be an important element in the production and use of texts throughout the period under consideration—and indeed, up until the present. On the other hand, I am doubtful about the possibility of tracing connections between these early texts and the later efflorescence of writing-as-system that is the focus of the latter portion of this dissertation.[21]

The re-envisioning of the workings of writing and the destabilization of the teleological narrative of its rise that are key premises of Lurie's project are both explicitly stated here; of greatest concern for the study at hand is the "later efflorescence" of writing in Japan and its cause. In

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will be central to the project at hand.

[21] Ibid., 85.

Lurie's analysis, the catalyst for this is *kundoku* 訓読,[22] a technique of textual negotiation that is later described as a linguistic "compromise" cobbled together out of "literary Chinese" and "Japanese."[23]

The particular significance of his proposal that *kundoku* is present from the outset of this eruption of large-scale textual production in the seventh century is that it undermines a long-dominant perspective that frames Japanese writing in terms of a foreign-native opposition. To filter "Chinese" and *kanbun* texts through the lens of *kundoku* practices relocates *all* forms of writing within the domestic realm.[24] As proof of the ubiquity of *kundoku* already in the seventh century, Lurie contends that, in contrast to earlier examples, traces of *kundoku* conventions within these later texts attest to their consumption and production in Japanese.

That texts could be appreciated as or via Japanese is probably beyond dispute at this point. On the other hand, the productive aspect of the argument—the notion that the writing is shaped by reading—though attractive, is not as fully demonstrated.[25] Specifically, it is

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[22] "A crucial element in this explosion of writing was **kundoku**, a practice that for now I will simply gloss as 'techniques for reading and writing logographic texts.' Both kundoku and the use of wood and paper-based media for communication were brought to the Japanese archipelago from the Korean peninsula; their importation and adaptation to domestic linguistic and logistic conditions made possible a dramatic rise in written communication." Ibid., 177.

[23] Ibid., 227.

[24] For a discussion of the traditional perspective and its problems, see ibid., 340-347. Miller also attributes a domesticating function to the *kundoku* practice, but he evaluates its results pejoratively, as a factor in the "breakdown" of a clear division between Chinese and Japanese. The conclusion, that "[i]n this sense, it can accurately be said of the Heian and later periods that people often did not really know what language they were writing in, Chinese or Japanese […]," gives pause, and one wonders what, exactly, it might mean at a practical level or how this ignorance could be proved. Cf. Roy Andrew Miller, 130-131.

[25] There seems to be the suggestion that any time something can be seen as non-standard Chinese, that is a mark of *kundoku*-inflected writing, which in turn appears to imply a kind of

somewhat unclear on what basis grammatical "irregularities" are identified and their non-Chinese-ness evaluated.[26] Frankly, however, the generative role attributed to *kundoku* practices is not a truly indispensable component. One can appreciate that texts could be produced that were able to be read as some sort of Japanese without necessarily making their composition a work of *kundoku*. Perhaps it is merely a question of terminology, but subsuming both reading and writing under a single designation, *kundoku*, is, to my mind, misleadingly imprecise: after a fashion, the "writing" is the means, and the "reading" is the end. (Even if reading is a beginning, too, writing remains a middle transitional point.) This being so, one term seems insufficient to capture the differing roles of both processes.

Yet what nevertheless remains of critical value is the suggestion of *kundoku* as a synthesized system[27] and the new understanding of the innovative seventh-century relationship with textuality that it enables: "One could say that Chinese writing was accepted and put into use so rapidly because, in an important and very real sense, it was not 'Chinese' writing at all."[28] Put simply, Japanese have the tools to read and write on an unprecedented scale.

"translation" on the part of the author in the act of writing. Yet this notion seems counter-intuitive beyond a certain level of intermediate fluency. Personally, I do not, for instance, write "through" English when composing in German, despite results that are often not error-free.

[26] I would like to avoid a discussion of classical Chinese grammar here. Suffice it to say that pre-posing direct objects in a negative sentence is not, to my knowledge, as weird as Lurie suggests, and thus need not indicate Japanese "interference." For the Lurie's argument on this, see ibid., 224-227.

[27] Ibid., 226-227 for the mechanics of "compromise" in a mokkan, 337-339 for a general description including mechanics, and *passim*.

[28] Ibid., 216.

The main body of the dissertation concludes with a close reading and examination of the preface to the *Kojiki* 古事記 in order to illustrate, among other things, the insupportability of earlier claims that the text advances Japanese over Chinese. Through perspicacious analysis, Lurie demonstrates that it is highly possible that in the account's much-cited debate about language and writing, the tension "is not between Chinese and Japanese, but between everyday language and ancient language."[29] Once again, the artificiality of a Chinese-versus-Japanese framework is evinced.

Quibbles about terminology notwithstanding, Lurie performs a valuable service in re-introducing the notion of how texts might actually have been read to demand a reconsideration of the significance of writing and its relation to language. Moreover, despite our ultimately disparate focuses and substantially different corpora, in many ways, Lurie's study has laid a portion of the intellectual groundwork for my own. The *kundoku*-facilitated 'domestication' of Chinese and the resultant broadening of the scope of what is considered to be *kanbun* both have serious implications for this study to be returned to below.

In *Realms of Literacy*, Lurie opens with a thorough investigation of the nature of writing; the discussion is grounded through Lurie's inclusion of material objects, which powerfully illustrates the many ends to which writing can be used (or the many ways in which it can be appreciated). This is followed by an exploration of the various ways in which writing might communicate power. Similarly to the dissertation, Lurie then takes up the seventh-century proliferation of writing. His search for reasons underlying the phenomenon remains intimately tied to "the materiality of the text" and the interactions of readers (in a broad sense) and writers

[29] Ibid., 307.

therewith.[30] Chapter Four turns to "[t]he interrelation between writing and language."[31] The chapter opens with a brief account of the development of Chinese and the nature of Chinese characters that serves to emphasize the differences between the Chinese and Japanese languages. This sets the stage for a concise overview of the mechanics of *kundoku* reading techniques. Lurie argues persuasively here for an early genesis and underappreciated generative influence of *kundoku* not only on the reception of texts, but also on their creation. Lurie's analysis frames the *kundoku* process as a means of mediation between spoken and written. This is important because it foregrounds the inappropriateness of assuming an unproblematic equivalence between spoken and written forms.[32] Lurie next provides an overview of Korean evidence of similar practices before making the following point:

> Grasping the significance of *kundoku* opens up new avenues for analysis of the intense variety of Japanese writing, in large part because it allows us to overcome the outmoded opposition between inherently Chinese-language and inherently Japanese-language writing. Eliminating this opposition involves taking Korean writing into account, but more fundamentally it means abandoning the assumption that particular texts are necessarily written in one and only one language. I am not denying that there were real differences among Chinese, Japanese, and Korean *spoken* languages. Rather I am insisting that *texts* were potentially unaffected by such linguistic differences.[33]

The inclusion of Korean marks an expansion from Lurie's dissertation with critical implications,

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[30] More specifically, Lurie frames it as follows: "My major theme is the embodiment of writing: the materiality of the text, the relationships between the functions of inscription and different media, and the complex links between written objects and their human producers and consumers." David B. Lurie, *Realms of Literacy: Early Japan and the History of Writing* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011), 116.

[31] Ibid., 169.

[32] Ibid., *passim*, esp. 176 and 183.

[33] Ibid., 204.

for now, rather than emphasizing a Japanese inherent in the *kanbun* text as indicated by vestiges of *kundoku*, Lurie argues here for the possibility of texts that are multilingual. My own conception of *kanbun* as an inherently multilingual writing system within the context of medieval Japan, while deriving in part from a theoretical exercise to deconstruct presuppositions about the relationship between writing and language, clearly owes a great intellectual debt to Lurie's work.[34] Similarly, the book's emphasis on *kanbun* as "transregional" bears significance in confirming my conception of *kanbun*; at the same time, this in and of itself is not an unprecedented claim, as readers of Kin Bunkyō's work can attest.[35]

Lurie's following two chapters offer a richly detailed analysis that begins to untangle intricate convergences and divergences of form, sound, and meaning. In his discussion of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, Lurie looks at writing styles as a way to indicate scale of participation in a larger sphere or negotiation vis-à-vis a particular center or standard. The most dramatic example of this is the *Nihon shoki*, which is shown to have a sort of dual allegiance at both the lexical and stylistic level.[36] His subsequent discussion of the *Man'yōshū* is an inquiry into what can occur when "style" is not predetermined by setting or function and likewise yields a plethora

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[34] In truth, I am not sure how best to acknowledge my debt to Lurie here. When I wrote the portion of my dissertation suggesting that *kanbun* be seen as multilingual, much of it was inspired by discussions with Ivo Smits that took place in autumn 2011, before Lurie's book was available. I had, however, read his dissertation; thus, the idea that *kanbun* could be uncoupled from Chinese is something I owe entirely to Lurie's work. At the same time, my deconstruction itself was undertaken independently of Lurie's book, though the results are the same.

[35] Kin Bunkyō suggests a practively defined sphere of those regions/groups that employed *kundoku*-like reading techniques. See his chapter on "East Asian *kundoku*—History and Methods." Kin Bunkyō, 94-175. Though he suggests we consider this area the "*kanbun* cultural sphere," it should also be pointed out that he sees no evidence for a strong inter-community sense of belonging. Ibid., 231-232.

[36] On the *Nihon shoki* in particular, see David Lurie (2011), 236-242.

of fascinating examples of multiple trans-lingual meanings in the poetry contained therein. Lurie is careful to be explicit about the limits to what one can and should infer from this corpus, as well, but it is difficult as a reader not to be caught up in a rush of excitement at the way in which the *Man'yōshū* poetry in particular is unpacked.

The book closes with a reconsideration and recapitulation of changes and continuities in writing through the twentieth century. Lurie then takes on the "bilingual fallacy,"[37] turning to instances of Heian discourse on writing to illustrate that stylistic selection was not conceived of in terms of a supposed linguistic affiliation,[38] repeatedly pointing out the primacy of visual elements in identifying style. In his analysis, reading practices are at the heart of this: "One reason for this is that *kundoku* prevents a firm association between Chinese-style logographic writing and the Chinese language. The meaningful category of difference among texts in this period—and for a long time afterward—is not linguistic but rather graphic or stylistic."[39] In summary, Lurie contends that reducing writing to notions of Chinese-versus-Japanese is to miscast the problem entirely. He proceeds thence to an overview of the interplay between language, culture, and writing in a larger East Asian and finally global context. The implications of this are largely speculative but nonetheless invite a reconsideration of how we understand the interweaving of these elements.

Overall, it is in this evaluation of writing itself that one can see a debt to Lurie's research in the present work. In 2014, it is no longer a radical position to assert that *kanbun* or

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[37] Ibid., 323-334.

[38] Ibid., esp. 324.

[39] Ibid., 328.

kundoku-read texts are not "Chinese," or that we must complicate our understanding of the relationship between reading, writing, and orality. Nevertheless, there certainly remains much to be done. A curiosity of his impressively sweeping, materially grounded study is the relative scarcity of human agents (though this is tied, I suspect, to the nature of the early textual artifacts themselves). In his work, Lurie has conducted an astute and challenging inquiry into the nature of writing and textual manifestations that encourages critical engagement.

For those of us writing in his wake, one avenue for exploration is an integration of more individual voices into this newly shaped realm. One approach is the consideration of the implications of this new understanding of the dynamics of writing in early Japan for later literati. This is particularly relevant for the medieval period, when the dominant narrative has long been one of a decay in Chinese linguistic abilities—if, as Lurie suggests, *kanbun* was never simply classical Chinese, does this not change that story? Does thinking of language selection as occurring in terms other than those of "foreign" versus "native" allow for different understandings of the relationship between form and content? Or, to frame it in linguistic terms, can we discern "phatic functions" in a given literatus's decision to write in different forms—*kanbun* or classical Japanese—and if so, how are they manifested in the treatment of a given subject or subjects?[40] Bearing this in mind, what can we safely say about how Kamakura

[40] "*Phatic function* [:] The use of a particular language can signal an attempt to create a specific effect, e.g. dramatic (Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez, 1975; Appel and Muysken, 1987: 119; Heller, 1988)," as cited in Michael Clyne, "Multilingualism," in *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, Florian Coulmas, ed., 301-314 (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd. 1997), 309. Clyne adds: "The most important use of a 'minority language' is boundary marking." Ibid. While it is not appropriate to consider *kanbun* a "minority language," I propose that it would be worthwhile to consider what groups are being created or tacitly invoked in the decision to employ it as a discursive vehicle. In taking this approach, I am advocating one similar to that proposed by Lurie for analyzing the *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and *Man'yōshū*. "These juxtapositions of contrasting works demonstrate how style was deeply intertwined with content and context. Writing is never just a method of inscription; it always involves the sociolinguistic

intellectuals conceptualized the language(s) at their disposal and in their arenas of exchange based on the textual resources that survive?

To begin with the most basic, and perhaps most obvious, point, when we look at Kamakura sources, there is an understanding of spoken Japanese and spoken Chinese as two different languages.[41] It is impossible for now to say whether the Japanese were aware of or concerned with different dialects of Chinese at this time.[42] Yet whatever the case, Japanese writers, including Shigenori, wrote of the verbal utterances of Chinese as unintelligible and requiring an interpreter, while at the same time never (overtly) questioning their own ability to work in written Chinese.

Secondly, distinct from the medieval vernaculars, written classical Chinese was mutually intelligible to Japanese and Chinese literati. Equally significantly, Classical Chinese (or the language of the Chinese classics) was not a native language of any of those who were using it in the medieval period, not only in Japan, but also in China.[43] No one grew up speaking

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problem of the fit between register and situation, in which the texture of the text is itself inherently communicative." David B. Lurie (2011): 211-212. I in no way wish to downplay the importance of Lurie's taking this angle by consigning it to a footnote; however, my own decision to take on texts from this perspective was not a direct result of having read his work. It stems rather from my training in socio-linguistics and my own experience as someone for whom language selection is not simply about choosing my "native" language verses a "foreign" language.

[41] See Chapter Three, Note Two.

[42] For speculation on the changing position of Chinese in the Japanese of the Heian period, see Lone Takeuchi, 18-22. For a description of Japanese "updating" their readings of characters to reflect Tang pronunciation and the phonological specifics of what this involved, see Roy Andrew Miller, 102-106.

[43] I arrived at this point independently of Wixted, but I am, of course, happy to see his similar assessment: "And let us keep one fact in mind: if classical Chinese was a foreign language for Japanese, it was also a foreign one for Chinese (albeit not to the same degree), certainly from the

Classical Chinese as a mother-tongue. Essentially, it was productive as a written language. Taking classical Chinese as a grapholect, and not as one half of a written/spoken bounded linguistic whole in turn allows the conception of all oral realizations of Classical Chinese as idiolects. This would hold true regardless of their place of rendering. A corollary of considering Classical Chinese in the medieval period as a set of abstract symbols that facilitate communication is that then, even in a purely phonological sense, speakers of all of the different idiolects would have had claims to "accuracy" in their spoken delivery.[44] Thus, as a writing system, Classical Chinese would have been inherently multilingual.[45] Origins would no longer have determined the "right" way to read aloud, but rather circumstances separate from the genetic identity of the written form.[46]

Sung dynasty on, and arguably as early as the Six Dynasties or earlier." John Timothy Wixted, 23-24. See also Kin Bunkyō for a similar contention as well as the point that it is precisely this historical disconnect that makes Classical Chinese internationally accessible as a medium of literary production. Kin Bunkyō, 181.

[44] On the relationship between a grapholect and its "variants," cf. Walter J. Ong, 105-106. Ong similarly suggests the possibility, albeit limited, of a deprivileging of the written form as pertains to notions of "standard." For his brief assessment of classical Chinese as grapholect with similar emphasis on its lack of "native speakers," see ibid., 111.

[45] I am still not entirely clear how LaMarre conceives of Classical Chinese. His primary contention seems to be that "the dynamics of *awase*" require a plurality of voices and enable interplay between two broad categories, Yamato and Han, in which "Han" is not the exclusive property of the country we now call China. In the context of verse recitation, he argues: "It may be that Heian Chinese was quite idiosyncratic, but it cannot thus [because of the inability to 'to understand' or 'perform' a poem 'as classical Chinese'] be collapsed into Japanese...the Heian differentiation of terms like 'Chinese' (*kan*) and 'Japanese' (*wa*) do not correspond to our ethnolinguistic boundaries." Thomas LaMarre, 129. As I understand this, such an assertion implies that regardless of the country of origin of the languages at issue here, Chinese was still thought of as distinct from Japanese.

[46] While Lurie (2011) has already raised the point of *kanbun* as multilingual, I wish to emphasize here still further that by this time period, no one could occupy the prestige position of "native" unproblematic access to classical Chinese. Such implicitly postulated privilege is, I

What are the consequences of envisioning *kanbun* as multilingual? To begin with, it forces one to reconsider the relationship between the more "correct" classical Chinese texts produced in Japan and those written in various forms subsumed under the designation *hentai* 変体 (variant form). Traditionally, Heian Japan is depicted as a time when people were still able to compose in correct classical Chinese, with a gradual but widespread decline in this skill resulting in a proliferation of variant forms as one moves into the Kamakura period. Such a view can be sustained if one focuses solely on written texts. An exclusive emphasis on writing, one might go so far as to say a fetishization of the text, creates a narrative in which once upon a time, there was a pure classical Chinese with, presumably, a one-to-one correlation between oral and written forms, and that knowledge thereof was gradually lost in the wayward medieval period, much to the distress of its practitioners.[47] While it is true that over the course of the Heian and Kamakura

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suspect, one of the lynchpins of the trope of Japanese anxiety vis-à-vis Chinese ability.

[47] Robert Brower's dissertation offers a representative view of this earlier perspective. I cite it here not to suggest that this is a battle that still needs to be fought, but rather simply as an example of a former approach: "Chinese as written by Japanese began to take more and more of the characteristics of Japanese syntax, and as many Chinese characters came to assume special meanings in Japan, they were frequently used in a manner quite different from that in which they were employed in their country of origin. This process, natural enough when one remembers that compositions in Chinese were usually construed into Japanese when read or recited aloud, had gone so far by the end of the Heian period that it was extremely difficult for many Japanese men to write in acceptable Chinese. The obvious inferiority of their writing only served to strengthen the feelings of awe and respect with which the intellectuals of late Heian times tended to look back upon the past, and to intensify the lack of creativity which was everywhere apparent." Robert H. Brower, *Konzyaku Monogatarisyū: an historical and critical introduction, with annotated translations of seventy-eight tales* (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1952), 97-98. For an English-language introduction to "Chinese learning" in the Heian period, see Marian Ury, "Chinese Learning and Intellectual Life," in *The Cambridge History of Japan: Vol. 2, Heian Japan,* Donald H. Shively and William H. McCullough., eds. 341-389 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999; 2008 electronic edition). For an English-language introduction to classical Chinese literature produced in Japan and some of the attendant issues, see Robert Borgen, "Politics of Classical Chinese," in *Rhetoric and the Discourses of Power in Court Culture: China, Europe, and Japan,* David R. Knechtges and Eugene Vance, eds., 199-239

periods, the *kanbun* produced in Japan increasingly differs from that produced in China, characterizing this as a breakdown in classical Chinese is only arguably appropriate if *kanbun*

(Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2005).

In Mark Amsler's work on medieval Europe, his discussion of the "marker model" presents a view of multilingual literacy that enables an alternative way to think about the deployment of "variant Chinese." Amsler writes: "Markedness is distributed throughout linguistic levels (phonological, grammatical, semantic). Dominant or normative forms and modes are unmarked, taken for granted or generally accepted in a general social context, whereas marked forms and discourses are exceptional or even disputed…." In the traditional narrative of language competence in Heian and Kamakura Japan, Classical Chinese writing corresponds to the unmarked prestige form, while variant *kanbun* occupies the position of the marked. Amsler continues: "The marker model helps us reaccess the absent and the unsaid or repressed in literate discourses and language use. By bringing written discourse's other back into the textual field, all language use becomes marked within a contested field." Such an argument attributes an agenda or positionality to the selection of *any* language, classical Chinese or otherwise. Amsler then states: "There is no fundamental or original language moment or grammatical form from which all other forms depart or derive EXCEPT as the products of ideological work. So-called unmarked, standard or given forms are products of ideological work, maintaining and governing regimes of power and truth. The generic, syntactic, and semantic oppositions of marked/unmarked structure the dominant social understandings of what is considered natural and deviant." This contention has two important implications for the present study. First, it allows us to think of textual production *and* reception as processes in which authors and readers, knowingly or not, assign values to choices of language or linguistic form. Writing in *any* form is not neutral in this framework. Second, and more significantly, it enables a destabilization of the narrative of language selection as simply a passive product of declining linguistic ability in Classical Chinese. When *no* one form of writing is "natural," the choice to alter or combine forms becomes empowered rather than simply reactive. Ergo, we can think about multilingual or "non-standard" texts as something other than linguistic or formal degenerates. Or, to quote Amsler once more, "Multilingual speech and writing are legitimate, complex, effective forms of social interaction and using texts, not linguistic pathologies." His introduction moves from the presentation of the marker model to a discussion of "Primary" and "Secondary" discourse; a summary thereof is not essential to the present study, however, and will be forgone here. Mark Amsler, *Affective Literacies: Writing and Multilingualism in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2011), xviii-xix (on marker model), 65 (final quotation), xix-xx (on Primary and Secondary Discourse). He further develops his concepts of literacy (including the marker model) and multilingualism in ibid., xxi-xxiii. I did not come into contact with Amsler's work until very recently, and while I am in no position to evaluate whether or to what extent Latin use in Europe was analogous to that of Classical Chinese in Asia, it is stimulating to see work that theorizes afresh language practices in pre-modern texts. For an additional more narrowly focused exploration of medieval multilingualism in Europe, see Jonathan Hsy, *Trading Tongues: Merchants, Multilingualism, and Medieval Literature* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2013).

once existed in Japan as a sort of pure Chinese. Yet, in addition to Lurie's work, as the tale from *Konjaku monogatarishū* cited earlier illustrates and Rimer's work suggests,[48] in genres intended for oral performance, *kanbun* in all likelihood never existed solely or monolingually as "Chinese." Critical to this study, recognizing this allows us to reevaluate what sorts of texts may be classified as *kanbun*: because *kanbun* comes in this way to include those works that have something other than a one-to-one relationship between written form and oral realization, *kanbun* as a designation need not privilege works written in a "standard" and neglect those written in a variant form. *Hentai kanbun* or *kakikudashi*-form texts likewise can be taken as recordings of reflections or realizations of the *kanbun* grapholect, rather than simply as testaments to withering skills. Although this results in a messier picture in which "Chinese prose" becomes something more amorphous like "Chinese-y prose," it also creates space in which one can reexamine works heretofore sidelined as "neither-nor."

With this reconceptualization of *kanbun* as a starting premise, one aspect of this dissertation will be an examination of the relationship between form and content in medieval Japanese writing. This will be conducted in order to explore how the decision to write in *kanbun* and/or *wabun* 和文 (classical Japanese) could serve a performative function, marking authors as belonging to different kinds of groups or as negotiating with different traditions neither permanently binding nor mutually exclusive. In concrete terms, this takes the form of an analysis of how the complicated nature of the "China" that emerges in *The Mirror of China* is influenced by linguistic form, genre, and the changing intellectual landscape of medieval Japan. In particular, the linguistic forms of *The Mirror of China* articulate positions vis-à-vis both the work's subjects proper and the intellectual traditions upon which it draws that suggest yet again

[48] See Note Seven.

the shortcomings of seeing language as an either/or proposition in the Kamakura or conflating the use of multiple forms with mere linguistic incompetence.

Where are we?

It is virtually impossible to talk about writing in *kanbun* or *wabun* without delving into the question of what the *kan* and *wa* in those terms designate. Thus, in addition to a consideration of what those languages themselves were and how one ought to conceive of them, a look at their outer trappings and cultural markers is in order. In this, I am deeply indebted to the work of earlier scholars who have sought to problematize and clarify the meaning of these concepts for authors in pre-modern Japan. While perhaps few now would reduce "Kan" to "China" and "Wa" to "Japan," this has not always been the case. Several late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century studies in particular have challenged more traditional discourse on Heian and Kamakura Japan and striven to construct new apparatuses for understanding the medieval world.

David Pollack's *The Fracture of Meaning* marks an early effort to radically re-envision Japan's relations with China and is at the same time the most problematic work cited here.[49] In it, Pollack employs semiotic theory to analyze the dynamics of a millennium of Japanese interaction with Chinese culture. The reliance, in particular upon his understanding of Derridean notions of "the creation of meaning," results in a rhetoric that insists on a reductive view: China = alien, while Japan = native.[50] Japanese identity is portrayed as constantly being renegotiated

[49] David Pollack, *The Fracture of Meaning* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986). My discussion of his work focuses largely on the introduction and first chapter, since that is where the issue of writing is most forcefully taken up. Ibid., 3-54.

[50] Pollack adds in a footnote: "I am not attempting here to apply Derrida's or Barthes' theories in any systematic way, but rather find their analysis and terminology an often provocative and illuminating (if as often an exasperating and confusing) way of thinking about the problem of

with respect to the foreign (China). As illustrative of this fraught generative tension, Pollack discusses the relationship between form and content in the *Kojiki* 古事記. The following quotation, taken from the section immediately prior to the treatment of Derrida just noted, encapsulates the problematic yet unquestioned assumptions that underlie Pollack's work:

> Because at the time it was written the Japanese had developed no script of their own, however, they were constrained to record these primal matters in the script of an alien culture, China. The dissonances that resulted from the harnessing together of two forces as powerfully antagonistic to each other as we shall see the Japanese matter and Chinese script to be created a primitive and almost geological strain that permanently fractured the surface of the entire semiotic field of culture. This important semiotic fracture continued thereafter to spread itself over a thousand years and more of Japanese cultural history.[51]

The argument proves difficult to sustain, however, without a frequent insertion of bracketed "Chinese" into translations of Japanese discussing language and a valorizing of Mortoori Norinaga's 本居宣長 (1730-1801) work on the *Kojiki*.

The prose and methodological issues notwithstanding, Pollack nonetheless has contributions to make to the discourse on Japan and China, especially in making the point that the "China that existed in the imaginations of Heian writers" was not synonymous with "the 'real' geopolitical entity [of China]."[52] His insistence that the Japanese actively and selectively appropriated Chinese culture—rather than engaging in a naïve exhaustive importation thereof or

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writing." Ibid., 16, footnote 2. What to me is objectionable is not his adoption of Derrida or Barthes, but his uncritical application of their theories, as well as the rather extreme rhetoric. (Some of the citations I find particularly objectionable are also to be found in Thomas Blenman Hare's untitled 1987 review. Although I read the review in 2007, I did not revisit it until after completing the above written response to Pollack's work: my criticisms are arrived at independently. For the review, see Thomas Blenman Hare, [untitled review], *The Journal of Asian Studies* 46.3 (August, 1987): 669-671.

[51] David Pollack, 15. See also 6-7.

[52] Ibid., 57. A similar, albeit chronologically unbounded, statement can be found ibid, 3-4.

passively being inundated thereby—is also a valuable contention.[53] These points suggest fertile territory for further inquiry, and fortunately, later works adopt more nuanced perspectives with regard to both the value attached to ideas of "China" and its place within Japan.

Tomiko Yoda and Thomas LaMarre have produced two more probing subsequent investigations into the critical discourse on languages and writing forms in Heian Japan. Though Yoda draws on LaMarre's writings, I will discuss it first, since its implications for the present study are largely at the abstract level, while LaMarre's focus on the Heian period brings him closer to the parameters of my own work. In "Literary History against the National Frame, or Gender and the Emergence of Heian Kana Writing," Yoda criticizes the oft-unstated emplacement of narratives of Japanese literary development within the rhetoric of "national language, national culture, and national identity."[54] Through a comparison of *Tosa nikki* 土佐日記 and the Kana Preface to the *Kokinwakashū* 古今和歌集, she reconstructs a Heian poetics that differs in key respects from traditional versions. As part of the process, she reveals the ways in which even most newer scholarship on classical Japanese literature has operated with internalized binaries and notions of gender norms that are not grounded in the texts themselves, but instead are products of the discourse surrounding them.[55] Looking at the aforementioned works, Yoda meaningfully distinguishes between written and oral performance of poetry, noting "...it is in the sphere of writing that the overwhelming prestige of Chinese poetry is grounded."[56]

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[53] Ibid., and *passim*.

[54] Tomiko Yoda, "Literary History against the National Frame, or Gender and the Emergence of Heian Kana Writing," in *Positions* 8:2 (2000): 467.

[55] Ibid., 469-470 and *passim*.

[56] Ibid., 474.

In her analysis, the form or means of writing employed to discuss or transcribe poetry itself act as techniques for demarcating discursive realms.[57]

Turning to the nature of writing in Heian Japan, Yoda challenges the supposed etymology of the terms *kana* and *mana* that allows for classification of *mana* as Chinese and *kana* as Japanese; drawing on both Marshall Unger and LaMarre, she accepts the distinction between the two as one of character "form."[58] Summarizing LaMarre, she recapitulates arguments denying a simplistic reduction of China/*mana* vs. Japan/*kana* in the Heian intellectual world and echoes his proposal of one "in which *yamato* and *kara* modes overlap, double, and hybridize with each other."[59]

Yoda's review of current notions of language serves to problematize the retroactive imposition of a linguistic notion "valorizing phonetic writing as a medium of native voice" onto the Heian court.[60] At the same time, however, this disentanglement of *kana* from the narrative of language and the nation-state results in a conundrum similar to the one faced by LaMarre below: ideas of *kana* as phonological transcription and *kana* as "native" are inevitably collapsed into the same category. As a result, there is no examination of how *kana* texts and *mana* texts might actually have differed in performance. There is only a one-way transition from the oral to the written register in the analysis; the reverse remains largely unexplored.[61]

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[57] Ibid., 474-476.

[58] Ibid., 478-479.

[59] Ibid., 480-481, 484. For a restatement of the problematic aspects of this with an emphasis on gender, see ibid., 489-490.

[60] Ibid., 481-483. Quotation from ibid., 482.

[61] For a passage that treats writing as imposing order on a poem in *Tosa nikki* and that insists it

Thomas LaMarre's *Uncovering Heian Japan: an Archaeology of Sensation and Inscription*[62] sets an agenda at the outset of the work—extricating the study of Heian Japan from a particular nation-based frame of reference—that seems now (happily) out-of-date, but his scholarship nonetheless offers critical contributions to the study of medieval writings.[63] His reconsideration of "China" and "Chinese" is welcome, as is the objection to conceiving of language as the monopoly of an ethnic group. The latter is a particularly important claim, because it removes the locus of linguistic authority from the exclusive or privileged domain of the initial origins of said language. LaMarre re-orders language in a larger space that is accessible to a broader spectrum of users to both enable more expansive notions of community and allow the contention that China, or perhaps more precisely, Chinese, was not inevitably marked as "foreign" or threatening in the minds of Heian intellectuals.

LaMarre's desire to dismantle traditional narratives that equate Heian Japan with a "native" space leads, however, to an overemphasis on written registers of language. His initial suggestion that Chinese characters could function as a way to simultaneously activate multiple meanings is persuasively illustrated in the discussion of a poem from the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集

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functions not merely as transcription, see Tomiko Yoda, 483-484. In elaborating on the problematic nature of a Chinese/Japanese distinction in her conclusion, however, she does raise the question: "If some of the Chinese prose and poetry by Heian courtiers were written with the expectation that they would be read/translated into *kundoku* discourse, why should they not be counted among Japanese texts?" Ibid., 489.

[62] Thomas LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan: An Archaeology of Sensation and Inscription* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000).

[63] The discussion of the nation is largely confined to the introduction, but the need to view Japan as something different from the modern nation is invoked throughout the text. For this and the central tenets of his study, see ibid., 3-10.

[ca. 759].[64] There, the analysis of the piece suggests a sort of hermeneutic plasticity that parallels the literal polyvocality that I postulate for *kanbun* compositions. However, the proposal that *kana* as a writing system is always implicitly interacting with *mana* (or Chinese character) writing is less well supported. This contention appears to rest largely on an etymological identification of *kana* as a "provisional" derivative of "perfected" *mana*[65]; the suggested relationship of the two leads to the assertion that "Kana characters never replace mana, nor are they ever truly unrelated to Chinese characters. The forms of Chinese characters guide the movements of the brush, even when it draws abbreviated or simplified characters."[66] On the one hand, it is easy to see why a study based on the eradication of "ethnolinguistic" boundaries would benefit from the presentation of all Japanese writing systems as somehow engaged in a trans-sovereignty project of writing, one that denies any indigenous identity in contest with a foreign other and refuses a neat division between Japanese and Chinese writing. On the other, the insistence on the continual active presence of Chinese characters even when writing *kana* seems a forced attempt to craft a perpetual dialogue between the two writing systems with little consideration for how the systems were used or, more critically for the present study, the different nature of the relationship between written text and oral realization each form entailed.[67]

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[64] The concept of potential polysemy forms a key component for much of the first chapter. Thomas LaMarre, 13-25. For first poem and its implications for the writing system, see Thomas LaMarre, 23-25.

[65] Ibid., 26-27.

[66] Ibid., 27.

[67] Essentially, I think that LaMarre has thrown the baby out with the bathwater here. He seems to refuse to see claims of *kana* as phonographic writing as anything other than a trick by nationalists/nativists to create a unique, indigenous Japan. Reducing all arguments for thinking of *kana* as inherently subscribing to such a narrative needlessly obscures a great deal. One place he

Nonetheless, LaMarre has made a powerful and creative case for thinking of Heian Japan as a culturally and linguistically more complicated community than earlier work at times suggested. This is especially true in his analysis of the court in terms of *awase*, where he contends: "…the contest functions through the production of doubles within the court. I have shown that the logic of doubles around kana and waka is not one of opposition, negation, or sublation but rather one of differentiation and coordination. Similarly, the awase causes a mode of doubling that forgoes negation and sublation in order to sustain an incessant confrontation of doubles."[68] LaMarre paints the Heian court as a world in which there is no need for a struggle for survival against an alien force.[69] Instead, his vision is one of a court with two coexisting poles, which in a cultural sense, he defines as "Han/T'ang" and "Yamato," the linguistic and cultural resources of both of which can be deployed with equal assurance and validity in production within the court.[70]

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comes close to contradicting himself is the following passage: "The mana style, it is assumed, was one of greater visual complexity with respect to characters. It used a greater number of characters, probably in the stiff or current style. The kana style, derived from the grass style, used fewer characters, possibly rendering vocal elements in more obvious ways. Yet mana were not silent figures; nor did kana represent a transparent transcription of sound. Each presented a different configuration of sound and mark [*sic*] a different stylistic tendency." Thomas LaMarre, 160. Since whenever he does talk about the oral performance of mana in the form of *kanshi*, it is suggested to be a form of Chinese, this seems to be a deliberately vague passage about what the sounds might be.

[68] This first comes up Thomas LaMarre, 68-71. Later, *passim*.

[69] His dismissal of such notions is a key thesis, as already noted, and appears throughout the work. For an early articulation, see ibid., 15.

[70] Ibid., 29-31. I found LaMarre's depiction of a universal cosmology undergirding this system to be imprecise and riddled with generalizations about the nature of character-based writing, and as such, this is not something I wish to explore here. I think it would be more of a distraction than anything else, since I am not trying to privilege writing as "figural."

This notion of intertwined-yet-distinct ideas of Han and Tang currents culminates in LaMarre's treatment of the poetics of the *Kokinwakashū* 古今和歌集 (905). For LaMarre, "coordination" is the central impulse of the *Kokinwakashū*, which he dubs "Tsurayuki's Song Machine."[71] Here, too, the Heian court is represented as an environment in which diversity, not inward-gazing homogeneity, begets artistic production. Admittedly, the slide from the Han/Yamato terms of the preface to the internal workings of poetry composition and recording within the main body of the *Kokinwakashū* blurs the stakes of the argument somewhat. It is not always clear whether or to what extent Han poetics should be seen as informing the poems themselves or their selection, or if instead it is the notion of semi-separate-but-equal forces as demanding "coordination" that is the ultimate message to be derived from this section. Despite this, however, and though the implicit equation of Han and Tang with the respective homonymous dynasties throughout the work deserves problematization, the fact remains that LaMarre has performed a valuable service in showing a way to complicate our vision of the Heian court and read it into a larger cultural community.

In an essay re-appearing in translation a few years after LaMarre's study, Chino Kaori insightfully complicates the notion of Tang/Han.[72] Though her primary agenda is the application of gender theory to effect a deconstruction of traditional norms of Japanese analytical discourse

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[71] "Coordination" is emphasized throughout the eighth chapter, which is entitled "Tsurayuki's Song Machine." Thomas LaMarre, 161-188.

[72] Chino Kaori, "Gender in Japanese Art," in *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field*, Joshua S. Mostow, Norman Bryson, and Maribeth Graybill, eds., 17-34 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003). The acknowledgements to this work list its first published translation as included in *Aesthetics* 7 (March 1996), which pre-dates LaMarre's work. The original appeared in 1994. Chino Kaori 千野香織, "Nihon bijutsu no jendā" 日本美術のジェンダー, in *Bijutsushi* 136 (March 1994): 235-246.

in the field of art history, she grounds her work in the Heian "Search for Identity."[73] Chino argues for a "double-layered structure of 'Kara' and 'Yamato' in the Heian sphere, adding that the term Kara here explicitly refers *exclusively* to "'Kara' within Yamato."[74] This structure, akin to LaMarre's "doubling," emphasizes a logic of binaries. However, in key contrast to LaMarre, Chino conceives of both poles as internal to Japan. She does not interpret the deployment of 'Kara' or its cultural associations as signifying Heian participation in a larger cultural sphere, instead depicting the construction of a 'Kara' space as a strategy of intellectual containment, a means to appropriate the alien without being overwhelmed.[75] The psychologizing that Chino applies to this classificatory impulse is not something I wish to adopt for the present study.[76] However, the importance of the point that 'Kara' was a construct not to be understood as synonymous with contemporary China cannot be overstated with respect to the project at hand. After all, it is only once China/Kara is taken as something generated by Japanese thinkers and not just a concrete referent reachable by boat that the question of how it was conceptualized gains significance.[77]

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[73] Ibid., 22.

[74] Ibid., 23. The point that "Kara" cannot simply equal "China" is made clearer still through her discussion of the inclusive use of the term for wares of continental origin. Ibid., 24. For further development of this idea and an expansion to include Korea, see Kawazoe Fusae's article on "cultural gender" and objects marked as "Tang," "Koryŏ," and "Wa/Yamato" in *Genji monogatari*. 河添房江, "Karamono to bunkateki jendā: Wa to Kan no hazama de" 唐物と文化的ジェンダー—和と漢のはざまで, in *Kokubungaku* 44.5 (April 1999): 61-68.

[75] Chino Kaori, 24.

[76] See, for instance, the passage on Heian "masculinity." Ibid., 27.

[77] Ivo Smits persuasively argues that from the literary standpoint of the day, the imagined China was at least as real or important as its actual-world counterpart to Japanese intellectuals. In a

Lastly, Atsuko Sakaki's 2006 work *Obsessions with the Sino-Japanese Polarity in Japanese Literature*, though primarily focused on writings from the Edo period and later, is an inquiry into the mobilization of China and Japan as a contradistinctive pair within Japanese literature and its surrounding discourse.[78] The deployment of the "polarity," within which the particularities of each pole are not constant, is for her a representation of the struggle for self-identity, which requires engagement with an other.[79] In the study, the China-as-Other presence is all-encompassing, leaving little space for lines as finely drawn as Chino's. Sakaki's discussion of a broad-ranging corpus clearly establishes that the values of "China" and "Japan" were fluid and changing, often in response to larger socio-historical currents. At the same time, however, it is difficult to move beyond the conclusion that the two are in flux, which ultimately falls short of being completely satisfying. After all, if the creation of identity is predicated upon change, to imagine a thousand-year creation of the self in which the self and other were static would be, if not a paradox, at least extremely problematic.

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discussion of domestically produced Heian *kanbun* literature, he puts it thus: "Adoption of its Chinese cultural heritage is a recurrent theme in Japan's history. Chinese notions of the forms and functions of literature were not borrowed wholesale; instead Japan selected what seemed useful, and soon 'China' became a construct that was only tangentially related to the state across the East China Sea. This construction can be aptly described as 'China within Japan,' or even multiple Chinas within Japan." Ivo Smits, "The Way of the Literati: Chinese Learning and Literary Practice in Mid-Heian Japan," in *Heian Japan: Centers and Peripheries*, Mikael Adolphson, Edward Kamens, and Stacie Matsumoto, eds., 105-128 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 109. Edward Kamens' essay in this volume also challenges the notion of separate spheres of Chinese and Japanese literature in this period. Edward Kamens, "Terrains of Text in Mid-Heian Court Culture," in ibid., 129-152.

[78] Atsuko Sakaki, *Obsessions with the Sino-Japanese Polarity in Japanese Literature* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).

[79] Cf. ibid., 12 and *passim*.

This notwithstanding, Sakaki's treatment of the language of production of literary works adds a point that earlier studies have not raised: the idea of medieval Japanese literati as multilingual. In her analysis of classical travel fiction composed in Japanese, she contends: "Few if any Chinese would deign to read Japanese travel fantasies; the Japanese authors knew that and took advantage of the virtual absence of a counterresponse from their object of study."[80] Though I find this too similar to advocating Japanese composition as a means of "resistance," the emphasis on different potential readerships is extremely important for my own study as well, most notably the idea that *wabun* may be a way to localize writing. Sakaki also calls attention to Heian writers as negotiating different scripts to different ends, using examples of "international" poetry composition, both *kanshi* and *waka*, to illustrate the formation of temporary communal bonds based on the language of verse production.[81] Her point—that at any given moment, one is as one writes—is made most forcefully in her conclusion to the chapter, where the "fictional travelogues" are characterized as "instrumental in promoting the virtues of bilingualism and suggesting that one's identity be based on the language (and its corollary, cultural practices) in which one writes at a given moment."[82] In seeking to re-draw the communities enabled by choices of writing form, my own work is influenced by the ideas that affiliations are not constant and that textual production can be a powerful index of cultural alliances, however impermanent.

If this brief survey of scholarship that unpacks the very notions of "China" and "Japan" has served to clarify the terminological baggage with which designators such as *kanbun* and

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[80] Ibid., 24.

[81] Ibid., 22-25, 30, and, with less overt stress on community, 34-35.

[82] Ibid., 64.

wabun are laden, the issue then becomes one of how medieval Japanese literati who had Classical Chinese at their disposal as a language for self-expression saw the language functioning. Did the decision to write in an idiolect of Classical Chinese signal participation in a Cathayan[83] cultural sphere, a larger space not unlike the "community of signs, not sounds" Benedict Anderson postulates in his discussion of "the religious community?"[84] Thomas LaMarre, whose work also draws on Anderson, proposes precisely such potential when he writes in the introduction to *Uncovering Heian Japan*: "Rather than an ethnolinguistic opposition between Japan and China, I find a stylistic differential that literally draws or writes the Heian court into the nexus of the Middle Kingdom."[85] This suggests that composing Chinese writing of some sort could function to bring authors into a larger Sinitic cultural amalgam without clearly delineating the specific parameters of membership.[86]

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[83] I opt for the term "Cathay" precisely because of its connotations of a long-ago romanticized China. It is just such a China that is present in some of the texts taken up in this project.

[84] Specifically, he refers to the use of classical Arabic and "Chinese characters" here. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 2006 edition), 13. I use "Cathayan," because of its air of obsoleteness, or at least obsolescence. In this, I want to suggest that medieval Japanese literati were aware of Classical Chinese (the system) as the product of a distant age. At the risk of stating the obvious, however, participation in a Cathayan realm need not have been contingent upon a belief in "the non-arbitrariness of the sign." For secular communication, the minimum requirement would seem to be a shared understanding of the system itself. Cf. ibid. LaMarre at one point starts to talk about characters and how they "make manifest the sensible forms of the terrestrial domain in accordance with celestial configurations," but I am quite lost as to what he means. Cf. Thomas LaMarre, 100.

[85] LaMarre is here concerned with establishing other non-nation-based productive ways to conceive of Heian communities. Thomas LaMarre, 9. See also 77.

[86] The idea of a greater cultural space is not unique to English-language scholarship. Again, for reference to relevant passages in Kin Bunkyō's work, see Note 35.

If we suppose that the decision to write in *kanbun* did carry with it the ability to signify an author's presence and activity in a Cathayan cultural theater, we must rethink not only the notion of writing in *kanbun*, but also that of writing in *kana*. Without denying assertive possibilities to the decision to write in *kana* in the Heian period, I would like to consider whether by the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, *kana* might also have functioned as a way to write in a localized space.[87] By the same token, writing in an idiolect of Classical Chinese would not need to be framed in a discourse of linguistic decadence but could instead be seen as recording a different register, or a different part of a linguistic whole composed of the written and oral forms. This, in turn, would suggest a reconceptualization of the significance of writing in Classical Chinese is in order. Envisioning Classical Chinese as a grapholect devoid of an authentic native rendering makes the question of the genetic nature of the language of local utterance in any one place is less pressing. All idiolects are equally valid as phenomena in that all have equal potential to render the grapholect intelligible to an audience and thus enable their participation.[88] In this sense, writing in Classical Chinese itself asserts the right of active involvement in a non-geographically bounded world.[89]

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[87] Richard Okada has forcefully and persuasively argued for an assertive role in Heian hiragana writing, and I suppose one could say that writing in a localized space inherently rejects a transnational community and thus remains a form of resistance. But I use "localized" to postulate a space that does not implicitly [feel the need to] define itself vis-à-vis a China-dominated center. Cf. Richard Okada, *Figures of Resistance* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991). In a similar vein, Kornicki notes: "I know of not a single example of a vernacular work in Japanese, Vietnamese or Korean being translated into Chinese for circulation abroad; vernacular works were instead hermetically confined to the societies that produced them." Peter Kornicki, 21.

[88] Or as Anderson memorably puts it in a parenthetical aside on the general status of writing in the "religious community": "In fact, the deader the written language—the farther it was from speech—the better: in principle everyone has access to a pure world of signs." Benedict Anderson, 13.

[89] Cf. Wiebke Denecke on the participatory elements of reenactment and her notion of "Japan as

Language and China are but two-thirds of the picture: genre further complicates. To examine its impact on the contours of worlds of writing, we can turn to two roughly contemporary accounts from presumably distinct genres: the curious case of *Kara monogatari* 唐物語 (China Tales, late 12th century) and *The Mirror of China*—works that have China itself as their ostensible subject—offers an intriguing comparison on precisely this point. Their titles seem to suggest that the former is a "tale" (or rather, collection of tales), while the latter, as a "Mirror," is in a form that has conventionally been labeled a *rekishi monogatari* 歷史物語 (historical tale). Unsurprisingly, the Chinas of each are not entirely alike; nor are the receptions of the works comparable. It seems naïve to suppose this a simple case of a fictitious tale-based China as being more interesting than a historical China. Alternatively, Peter Burke's discussion of "cultural translation" offers a more productive way of making sense of this disparity. Burke succinctly summarizes the two competing impulses he identifies as potentially driving such enterprises:

> One might say that the choice of items for translation reflects the priorities of the recipient culture, though 'refraction' might make a more appropriate metaphor. The point is that works seem to be elected for translation on two opposite principles. In the first place, unsurprisingly, to fill the gaps in the host culture. For example, in 1700 Russia lacked books on mathematics, science and technology and so Peter the Great set out to remedy this deficiency.
>
> The second principle, however, is the opposite of the fist. It might be called the principle of confirmation, according to which people in a given culture translate works that support ideas or assumptions or prejudices already present in the culture. If they do not support ideas of this kind, the translations are modified, directly or indirectly (via 'paratexts' such as prefaces or letters to the reader) in order to give the impression

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China." Wiebke Denecke, "Chinese Antiquity and Court Spectacle in Early *Kanshi*," in *Journal of Japanese Studies* 30:1 (2004): 99, 101-102 and *passim* as an analytical position. This is a point reminiscent of LaMarre's conception of community writing in Classical Chinese. See Note 85.

> that they do, as in the case of what might be called the 'Protestantization' of the Italian historians Francesco Guicciardini and Paolo Sarpi (below, pp. 134ff.).[90]

These forces play out in different ways in *China Tales* and *The Mirror of China* and suggest another way in which the latter constitutes an important innovation in historiography, albeit not necessarily one that a mass readership welcomed—certainly not one that fits into later narratives of Japan's development.

Fact or Fiction?

As the above mention of *The Mirror of China* and its supposed genre hints, the remaining component is the problem of *Mirrors* in and of themselves and what to make of them. If we take a broader look at research on medieval historiography, recent scholarship in Japan gives serious attention to the ways in which historical writing in general is constructed. The collected volume *Chūsei no gunki monogatari to rekishi jojutsu* 中世の軍記物語と歴史叙述, given its focus on medieval writing, is particularly inspiring. Although its nature as an edited volume prevents the development of a sustained argument, the essays contained within the work offer myriad examples of the ways in which factually derived materials, imagery, and rhetoric can all be manipulated in a medieval context to adhere to or advance particular agendas or perspectives.[91]

Unfortunately, *Mirror* writing has yet to enjoy a study of similar breadth or subtlety. With the possible exception of *Ōkagami* 大鏡 (The Great Mirror), the *Mirrors* have typically

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[90] Peter Burke, "Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe," in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia, eds., 7-38 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press: European Science Foundation, 2007), 20.

[91] Saeki Shin'ichi 佐伯真一, ed, *Chūsei no gunki monogatari to rekishi jojutsu* 中世の軍記物語と歴史叙述 (Tokyo: Chikurinsha, 2011).

been shunted off into the rather uninviting category of the "historical tale," a genre that in English, at least, seems to be neither fish nor fowl. To date, as a genre, it has been largely ignored by literature and historical scholars alike. Although I have yet to find a study that states, "I do *not* study the *Mirrors* for reasons X, Y, and Z," I suspect it stems from a lingering prejudice against historical writings as being transparent (and possibly dull).[92] Thus, while few would suggest nowadays that histories are objective and where countless scholars have demonstrated that a basis in fact does not obviate a need for interpretation or mean that a "historical" work is free from agenda, the genre of *Mirror* writing in Heian and Kamakura Japan has languished, with a few exceptions, in an exegetical wasteland, even as the "tales" from the same period have spawned countless commentaries and studies.[93]

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[92] Although focused here on the question of Daoism in Japanese scholarship, David Bialock's summary of the state-of-the-field that informed the writings of Tsuda Sōkichi (1873-1961) and the like is worth noting for the way in which it calls attention to the anachronistic taxonomization of texts as well as the attitude towards "historiographic" materials: "At the same time, the new methodologies of literary and historical studies [from the West] brought about a reclassification and reorganization of textual production and a separation of textual production in its entirety from its former embeddedness in various kinds of ritual practice. Texts, in other words, were no longer performative. In abstract terms, the newly created category of 'literature' was subdivided into genres, and texts of a 'historical' character were transformed into 'sources' and 'documents.'" David T. Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories: Narrative, Ritual, and Royal Authority from* The Chronicles of Japan *to* The Tale of the Heike (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 31. Given our somewhat similar agendas with regard to thinking about language, writing, and *Ōkagami* as historiography, there is some overlap in the areas and texts we consider. However, the bulk of this dissertation was drafted prior to my reading Bialock's work: therefore, these similarities are coincidental.

[93] Steven Moore's ambitious (though not unproblematic) work *The Novel: an alternative history: Beginnings to 1600* laudably includes a lengthy section on "Japanese fiction." Predictably, however, *rekishi monogatari* are literally exiled to a single footnote. Moore expands on his reasons for avoiding most *gunki monogatari* as follows: "For a similar reason I'm passing over the genre known as 'historical tales' (*rekishi monogatari*), which includes such works as Akazome Emon's *Tale of Flowering Fortunes* (*Eiga monogatari*) and *The Great Mirror* (*Okagami*, both late 11th century), because they are considerably more history than tale." Steven Moore, *The Novel: an alternative history: Beginnings to 1600* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010), 584, note 67.

Further complicating the issue is the question of the aptness of the designation of the works as "historical tales" at all. Such a grouping means that they are mapped to a genre commonly conceived of as originating in *Eiga monogatari* 栄華物語 (The Tale of Flowering Fortunes, late 11th c.) and *The Great Mirror*. However, in the Heian-period works themselves, there is no mention of *The Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, one of these supposed generic progenitors, while in each case, there is an explicit connection with *The Great Mirror*, both in form and rhetoric. Each of the post-*Ōkagami* Heian *Mirrors* opens with a preface set up along nearly identical lines (a point to be discussed in Chapter Five), and each refers directly to the idea of writing a *Mirror* and/or a specific connection with an earlier *Mirror*. In other words, with the exception of *Ōkagami* itself, these are a group of texts that self-identify as a genre.[94] In the preface to *Ima kagami*, the narrator identifies herself as the granddaughter of the narrator from *Ōkagami* (Yotsugi): "His name was Yotsugi. You may perchance have heard of him. As I recall, that story he told [*Ōkagami*] is still around."[95] Furthermore, she explicitly positions her account as a supplement to Yotsugi's. *Mizu kagami*'s narrator makes a similar assertion of lineage, claiming to have heard his story from an immortal of whom Yotsugi himself was but a temporary

[94] Yamada Naoko 山田尚子 makes this point as well with regard to *Ōkagami* and *The Mirror of China*. It is less clear which other works she sees as fitting into this group. Neither *Mizu kagami* nor *Masu kagami* appear anywhere in the work, and *Ima kagami* but briefly near the end of the book. Yamada Naoko 山田尚子, *Chūgoku koji juyō ronkō: kodai chūsei Nihon ni okeru keishō to tenkai* 中国故事受容論考:古代中世日本における継承と展開 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2009), 108.

[95] 名前は世継と申しき。おのづからも聞かせ給ふらむ。口にまかせて申しける物語とどまりて侍るめり。Takehana Isao 竹鼻績, *Ima kagami: zen yakuchū* 今鏡：全訳注, 3 vol. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1984), 1.31.

incarnation![96] These self-designations and the marked absence of *The Tale of Flowering Fortunes* support treating the texts as a deliberate discrete group, separate from "historical tales."

Moving from the narrow focus on how China is portrayed across genres to a broader inquiry into how *Mirrors* can be taken as a discrete genre reveals yet another way in which *The Mirror of China* enhances our understanding of narrative and historiography in medieval Japan. An examination of *Mirrors* from both the Heian and Kamakura periods sheds light on the ways in which the *Mirrors* as a group show common cosmological preoccupations that demonstrate them to be much more than simple recitations of data. Moreover, by including *The Mirror of China* in the mix, textual phenomena that once looked to be historiographic ruptures are given a context that illustrates ways in which they can be understood as a more gradual transition.

Ergo

The Mirror of China refracts at least three major issues in medieval discourse: language selection, images of China, and narrating Japan. As a fairly sophisticated yet ultimately unpopular synthesis, it affords an opportunity to better understand the creation and reception of text-based claims of political, cultural, and philosophical authority. While the immediate field of reference is that of medieval Japan, such a work should invite a reconsideration of how texts reflect perspectives on the world, perspectives that might be obscured or marginalized by anachronistic or retroactively posited disciplinary boundaries, but that were once vital and intertwined.

To make *The Mirror of China* accessible, however, some groundwork is needed. Thus, the following chapter begins with the question of context: by way of an overview of the lineage

[96] Nakayama Tadachika 中山忠親 (1131 – 1195) and Dairoku Kaneko 大麓金子 et al., *Mizu kagami zen chūshaku* 水鏡全注釈 (Tokyo: Shintensha, 1998), 28.

of its author, I will provide a chronological and contextual background. This I will follow with a plot summary of the extant scrolls, temporarily deferring the analysis of any themes until Chapter Three. Lastly, I will treat the limited secondary scholarship to date on *The Mirror of China*. Thus armed, we can then proceed to the body of this study: the investigation of what is going on beneath the mirror's surface and the implications thereof. Moving in order of the points as they are raised in Shigenori's preface to *The Mirror of China*, Chapter Three examines the problem of language selection, Chapter Four, that of imagery of China, and Chapter Five, that of narrating Japan in writings on the past. Chapter Six offers concluding thoughts on the import of the preceding material.

As the above introduction to the discourse on themes related to *The Mirror of China* should have elucidated, it has become a commonplace by now to dismiss China-versus-Japan/Chinese-versus-Japanese/fact-versus-fiction conceptions of Heian or Kamakura writing as reductive. However, to date, we have not moved far beyond the recognition of such a mindset as passé.[97] The following study is an effort to explore what happens when we take that position as a starting point and move beyond it to ask, be it from the vantage point of identity, language, or historiography: so what?

[97] One exception to this is Wiebke Denecke's article on changing poetics in Heian Japan in which poetic engagement with continental works and tropes is demonstrated to change considerably over time in Japan. Wiebke Denecke, "'Topic Poetry Is All Ours': Poetic Composition on Chinese Lines in Early Heian Japan," in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 67.1 (June 2007): 1-49. Guest's dissertation, too, is an important step forward, albeit with a different focus.

Chapter Two: Casting the Mirror

此世乎は	I feel this world
我世とそ思	Is *my* world.
望月乃	For like
虧たる事も	The full moon—
無と思へは	I lack nothing.[1]

Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966-1028) is among the most potent symbols of political power in the mid-Heian period, and the above poem features a speaker who revels in his unrivaled position: a head of not only the most powerful of the Fujiwara houses, the Northern Branch, but in fact of the court itself. This is the image of the mid-Heian Fujiwara most familiar to us—potent and resplendent—and it is their voices we most often hear in accounts of the family's fortunes. Yet theirs is not, of course, the only voice, and Michinaga's perspective, while famous, is hardly representative. I open this chapter with a reference to Michizane, however, because he inspires not one but both of the Heian works that are most frequently designated as the origins of a new genre that emerges in this period—that of the historical tale—*The Tale of Flowering Fortunes* and *The Great Mirror*.

Similarities in title notwithstanding, *The Mirror of China* is, in several senses, a different can of worms. To begin with, it is not devoted to the glories of the most powerful branch of one of the most dominant non-imperial families in pre-modern Japanese history: the Fujiwara. It stems instead from an author in one of the branches that fared less well: the *Nanke* 南家, or Southern Branch. As such, it is perhaps no mere coincidence that our author does not present history in terms of genetic lineage. He offers instead an account of the transfer of power from one ruler to the next: authority moves between different types of bodies—individuals, clans,

[1] Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長. Cited in Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資 (957-1046), *Shōyūki* 小右記, in *Dai Nihon kokiroku* 10/5 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1969), 55.

offices, etc. It is an account, though, that has never been more than partially annotated, translated into modern Japanese (or anything else), or studied in great detail. Thus, before exploring the larger issues that *The Mirror of China* engages with as an intellectual project, it is first necessary to lay some groundwork to familiarize the reader with the work's context of production and general content and themes. The present chapter opens with an overview of the Southern Branch, focusing on the line from which Shigenori descended, in order to orient the reader. Next, it summarizes the content of *The Mirror of China* so that the analyses in subsequent chapters can be followed even by those unfamiliar with the work. Lastly, it discusses the limited scholarship on *The Mirror of China* to date that one might better be able to understand both how the work itself heretofore has been assessed and, by extension, some aspects of the larger conversation of which this dissertation is a part.

The Fujiwara From the Wrong Side of the Tracks

Locating *The Mirror of China* within a familial or scholarly lineage is not to suggest that we can or should attempt to de-code it by mapping the text onto the author's biography or those of his predecessors. Rather it should give a sense of the intellectual milieu in which this text was first produced and consumed and invite considerations of what perspectives authors outside the "mainstream," such as those from the Southern Branch, might bring to writing historiographic texts or historical tales.

From the perspective of a historical narrative, the Southern Branch itself seems to exist in a state of perpetual decline—that is, it is always referenced as descendent. At first, this seems curious, as though a period of early glory must surely have been overlooked, but in fact, it might be more accurate to refer to the line as always struggling to one degree or another. Admittedly, the beginnings are far from smooth for any of the four branches: 738 saw the four brothers who

were the progenitors of the Southern, Northern, Ceremonial, and Capital branches—Muchimaro 武智麻呂, Fusasaki 房前, Umakai 宇合, and Maro 麻呂, respectively—fall within a matter of months to a smallpox epidemic.[2] However, while the Northern Branch would bounce back from this initial setback, the Southern Branch seems to never really have come into its own (temporary respites notwithstanding).

Political intrigue plagues Muchimaro's Southern house progeny, with results that historians repeatedly characterize as devastating for the branch.[3] His second son, Nakamaro 仲麻呂 (706-764), initially enjoys considerable political success. Kunimitsu Shirō 邦光史郎 even suggests that Nakamaro was the real power behind Empress Dowager Kōmyō 光明 (701-760).[4] After the death of the Empress Dowager, however, Empress Kōken 孝謙 (718-770) falls ill, occasioning the arrival of Dōkyō 道鏡 (?-772) and one of the most infamous scandals of the early Imperial House. Threatened with the loss of his once-considerable power, Nakamaro makes an unsuccessful attempt at revolt. Met with sizable resistance, he flees to Ōmi with his family, and when an attempt to make their way to the north meets with a battle, the

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[2] Kunimitsu Shirō 邦光史郎, *Fujiwarashi no nazo: saichō, saidai no ketsumyaku wa ika ni seiritsu shita ka* 藤原氏の謎：最長・最大の血脈はいかに成立したか (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 1993), 130. Unless otherwise specified, my summary of Nakamaro's career should be understood as based on Kunimitsu's work.

[3] For a short study of Muchimaro's power-brokering, see Kimoto Yoshinobu 木本好信, "Fujiwara-Nanke to Ishikawa-uji—Fuhito, Muchimaro and Ishikawa no Iwatari" 藤原南家と石川氏—不比等・無智麻呂と石川石足, in *Koshien tanki daigaku kiyō* 20 (2001): 77-89.

[4] Kunimitsu Shirō, 139.

entire family is slain.[5] For Kunimitsu, this incident marks the originary point of the rapid decline of the Southern Branch.[6]

A few generations later, members of the Southern Branch would find themselves again on wrong side of a power struggle—"the Prince Iyo Incident"—with disastrous results. As late as 806, immediately prior to these events, the distribution of power at court suggested that the three remaining branches—the Southern, Northern, and Ceremonial—all had clout.[7] Yet this time, when casualties included the granddaughter and great-grandson of Muchimaro's third son, Otomaro 乙麻呂 (?-760), the scales tipped decisively away from the Southern Branch.[8]

The trouble began when in 807, rumors of a plot to revolt reached the ears of the Minister of the Right, Fujiwara no Uchimaro 藤原内麻呂 (756-812): Major Counselor Fujiwara no Otomo 藤原雄友 (753-811) brought news of an alleged conspiracy involving Fujiwara no Munenari 藤原宗成 (785-858) and Prince of the Blood Iyo 伊予親王 (783-807). The prince's protestations of innocence fell on deaf ears, and early in the eleventh month, he and his mother, Fujiwara no Yoshiko 藤原吉子 (?-807), were placed under house arrest at the

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[5] Ibid., 145-146.

[6] "…仲麻呂がクーデターを起こして滅亡した時点から急速に衰えていた。" Ibid., 162.

[7] Ibid., 164.

[8] Kunimitsu calls the accusations of treason that the alleged conspirators faced the "final blow for the Southern Branch." Ibid. That this incident marked a turning point for the Southern Branch is also the thesis of Abe Takeshi's 阿部猛 much earlier study: Abe Takeshi 阿部猛, "Fujiwara nanke no botsuraku—Daidō 2-nen no Iyo Shinnō jiken" 藤原南家の没落—大同二年の伊予親王事件, in *Nihon rekishi* 244 (1968.9): 26-31. Unless otherwise stated, my synopsis of the Iyo affair relies upon Abe's work.

Kawara Temple 川原寺 in Yamato, where they committed suicide.[9] Not only were Yoshiko and Iyo direct descendants of Muchimaro, making this a harsh blow to the fortunes of the Southern Branch, but the rest of the house lost cohesion after the incident.[10] As a result, although individuals from the Southern house were still able to succeed, already by the early days of the Heian period, it had lost serious pretensions to power as a lineage.[11]

Therefore, it is unsurprising that the standard Heian Fujiwara narrative tends to center on the dominant Northern Branch, which essentially held a monopoly on the Regency.[12] Yet

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[9] Though my account draws from Abe, as stated above, Kunimitsu also provides a cursory retelling of the events. Kunimitsu Shirō, 164-165.

[10] Abe Takeshi, 30. William McCullough argues that the accusations were in all likelihood baseless and perhaps an attempt by the Ceremonial Branch to jockey for power. At the same time, he calls attention to the possibility that Emperor Heizei might have had a hand in it. William H. McCullough, "The Heian Court, 794-1070," in *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 2*, 20-96 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999; 2008 edition), 34.

[11] For a discussion of ultimately unrealized Southern Branch potential for power in and around the figure of Fujiwara no Sadako 藤原貞子 (?-864) and her immediate family, see Daiwa Noriko 大和典子, "Ninmyō Tennō nyōgo Fujiwara no Sadako ni tsuite—Jōwa nennkan no kōkyū to Nanke Fujiwara-shi" 仁明天皇女御藤原貞子について—承和年間の後宮と南家藤原氏, in *Seijikeizaishigaku (The Politico-Economic History)* 266 (June 1988): 1-10.

For a discussion of developments within sub-lineages of Otomaro's descendants in light of new materials, see Konno Keishin 今野慶信, "Fujiwara-nanke Michimaro yonnan Otomaro-ryū Kamakura gokenin no keizu" 藤原南家武智麿四男乙麻呂流鎌倉御家人の系図, in *Chūsei buke keizu no shiryōron, jōkan* 中世武家系図の史料論／上巻, Minegishi Sumio 峰岸純夫, Irumada Nobuo 入間田宣夫, and Shirane Yasuhiro 白根靖大, eds., 109-135 (Tokyo: Koshi shoin, 2007). For Konno, I think "House" or "lineage" are demonstrably effective conceptual units, but I have reservations about how one might best understand the degree to which such ideas played out at the level of the individual, a point to which I shall return in the body of this chapter below.

[12] One might take as fairly representative the opening chapter of Kasahara Kazuo's 笠原一男 *Monogatari Nihon no rekishi 4: Fujiwara ichimon no hikari to kage* 物語日本の歴史 4—藤原一門の光と影, 3-41 (Tokyo: Mokujisha, 1994).

even while there is no denying the staggering influence of the incomparable Michinaga or the significance of the regental system, narrowing the narrative to the ascendance of the Northern Branch inevitably causes figures who were not a part of this line but were nonetheless significant to fall by the wayside.

Despite lacking the influence of Michinaga's branch, the Southern house was not by any means extinct. Fujiwara no Michinori 藤原通憲 (1106-1159), also known as Shinzei 信西, affords one example of how the Southern Branch was not excluded from power at the level of the individual. Indeed, Michinori was one of more famous participants in the Heiji Rebellion 平治の乱 (1159) and an ally of Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 (1118-1181). *Ima kagami* 今鏡 (The New Mirror) even slips a brief laudatory account of his life into the imperial biographies in its third scroll. Though subsumed under the entry on the "Empress's Day of the Rat New Year's Banquet," it praises his talents and credits him with complete responsibility for running the government under Emperor GoShirakawa, eventually closing with the observation that his death in the Heiji Rebellion was "regrettable indeed."[13] In other words, while the Southern Branch did not enjoy a coherent hold on or access to power, there were still opportunities at or near the pinnacle thereof for its members to excel.

The spectacular Michinori was a distant descendant of the fourth son of Muchimaro, Kosemaro 巨勢麻呂 and as such, a member of the same sub-branch (albeit a few forks removed) as Shigenori. The two shared a common ancestor in Michinori's great- and Shigenori's great-great-great-great-grandfather, Fujiwara no Sanenori 藤原実範 (fl. mid-eleventh century),

[13] Takehana Isao 竹鼻績, *Ima kagami: zen yakuchū* 今鏡：全訳注, 3 vol. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1984) 1.475-484; for the assessment of his administration, see 476; for the assessment of his death as regrettable 惜しくも侍るかな, see 481; for Takehana's clarification that this refers to his death in the Heiji Rebellion, see 482.

and Michinori was, in fact, the father of the Fujiwara no Shigenori 藤原成範 (1135-1187) who authored *China Tales*, a piece to which we shall return in Chapter Four. Of course, Michinori's achievements were far from typical of Fujiwara of any branch; certainly, Shigenori's own closer relatives do not seem to have enjoyed anywhere near the same power. Indeed, to locate a direct forbearer of Shigenori with a substantial textual presence in documents today, one must go back to the aforementioned Sanenori, who appears in the *Heian ibun* 平安遺文 13 times.[14]

Thus, in order to better grasp Shigenori's inherited artistic, social, and political capital (assuming he had any), the surviving mentions of Sanenori provide an apt point of entry. An order from the Council of State (Ministry of Ceremonial) dating to 1023 on the matter of naming Sanenori a graduate student of literature and history contained in the anonymous *Ruijūfu senshō* 類聚符宣抄 marks the earliest mention of him.[15] This notwithstanding, Sanenori is most frequently included in the late Heian work *Honchō Zoku Monzui* 本朝続文粋, an anthology attributed to his son, Fujiwara no Suetsuna 藤原季綱 (?-?). Nine of his pieces representing several genres are found therein. The earliest dates from 1028 and is a poetry preface for *waka* composed while viewing flowers with a cohort of royal intimates. The language is heavy with terms from classical Chinese texts, complete with a description of everyone's drunkenness, itself befittingly studded with references to the famous poet and tippler, Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365-427): "The bush warblers sing in profusion; a gentle breeze tugs [at us], and we withdraw

[14] I should be clear at the outset that the following is not an exhaustive survey of documents or writings in which Shigenori and his forebearers appear. It is rather an overview based on somewhat randomly selected texts. (Limited to those to which I had ready access at Rikkyō.)

[15] Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美, ed., *Shinshō kyaku chokufu shō, Hōsō ruirin, Ruijufu senshō, Shoku Sajō shō, Betsujufu senshō* 新抄格勅符抄／法曹類林／類聚符宣抄／續左丞抄／別聚符宣抄 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1933; 1999 edition), *RS* 9.247-248.

into the shadows of the verdant willows. Wine cups overflow, far and wide; we drink the 'Flowing Dew' and sink into a 'peachy' besottedness."[16] After this, Sanenori vanishes from sight for nearly twenty years: his next dated entries are from 1045 and 1046 respectively. The first is a missive composed on behalf of the Minister of the Interior/General of the Inner Palace Guards of the Left/Preceptor to the Crown Prince, Fujiwara no Norimichi 藤原教通, asking to step down.[17] The second is a dedicatory text on behalf of Fujiwara no Sukehira 藤原資平, commemorating the anniversary of the death of one Ononomiya 小野宮 Minister of the Right and describing the attendant rites and offerings.[18]

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[16] 鬻謌聲々。和風引而入翠柳之陰。燕飲陶々。 流霞**酌**而移紅桃之醉。 Cited in Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美, Fujiwara no Akihira 藤原明衡 (989-1066), and Fujiwara no Suetsuna 藤原季綱, *Honchō Monzui: Honchō Zoku Monzui* 本朝文粹／本朝續文粹 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1941; 1999 edition), *HCZMZ* 10.166-167. This preface is also included in the *Chōya gunsai* 朝野群載, whence I have taken the boldface character **酌**. The *HCZMZ* has a variant character here I have so far been unable to identify. A few such variations aside, the prefaces are identical. See Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美, *Chōya gunsai* 朝野群載 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1939; 1999 edition), 1.11. Though neither edition is annotated, I suspect that the "withdraw[al] into the shadows of the verdant willows" is a reference to Tao Yuanming's famous "autobiography," "The Biography of Master Five Willows" 五柳先生傳, an account that dwells extensively on its putative subject's debauchery. It is a delightful piece (I think), but I refrain from quoting it here, due to space constraints. For the original, see Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (579-648), *Jin shu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 94.2460-2461. For an English translation, see James Robert Hightower, *The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 4; see also Xiaofei Tian, *Tao Yuanming & Manuscript Culture: The Record of a Dusty Table* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2005), 60-61. In any case, the use of the adjective 陶々 also, of course, echoes Tao's surname, and the 紅桃 (literally "red peach") and 流霞 (an alcohol of the immortals) both bring to mind the famous *Tao hua ji* 桃花源記 (Record of the Peach Blossom Spring). (I have purposely not provided a Romanization for the *kanji* used by Sanenori, as to do so automatically privileges one linguistic realization over another, precisely the thing I am trying to avoid.)

[17] *HCZMZ*, 5.71-72. I believe the resignation pertains to all posts, since the letter lists his shortcomings with regard to each.

[18] *HCZMZ*, 13.234-235.

The next twelve years leave no record of Sanenori's writings, but 1060 ushers in a brief period with a relatively high yield of three pieces from the next two years that are included in the *Honchō Zoku Monzui*.[19] The earliest is a *jō* 状 (memorandum) written for Fujiwara no Yorimune 藤原頼宗 (993-1065), in which Yorimune divests himself of sustenance households in order to grant them to his daughter. The other two date from 1062: one is an *engi* 縁起 (originary tale) for the "Dragon Flower Assembly"[20] at Onjō Temple 園城寺, and the other is Sanenori's request that he be allowed to retire from the posts of Director of the Academy and Professor of History and Literature. The former includes the founding of the temple as well as its ties to the assembly, all refracted through multiple supernatural narrators. Sanenori then expounds on the service itself before moving onto some of the difficulties, including weather, that surround scheduling it. He closes with a prayer for divine assistance with regard to the assembly.[21] His appeal to be released from professional duties is brief, citing ignorance and ill health.[22] This is the latest dated example of Sanenori's work included in the *Honchō Zoku Monzui*.

[19] The *Heian ibun* lists a fourth piece (not found in the *HCZMZ*) from 1058, but I have not yet seen it.

[20] This literal translation for 龍華會 hails from the Digital Dictionary of Buddhism, http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=龍華會 accessed March 26, 2013, 10:13 JST.

[21] *HCZMZ*, 11.186-188.

[22] *HCZMZ*, 5.85.

In addition to the above writings, two further undated compositions survive: a poetry preface on "Celestial Bodies"[23] and a pair of exam essays in which Sanenori has set the questions and Sugawara no Kiyofusa 菅原清房 is the respondent.[24] As with Sanenori's other extant poetry preface, drinking features heavily in the former. Sanenori begins with a recital of how the locale and so on has been selected, proceeding thence to a vivid account of the effect the moon has on the landscape: "The moon illumines the earth's surface and the dam of the lake stretches broad, light shining on it. She adds a [dusting of] snow to the reed-covered banks, and the temple gates grow light to appear white and pure. She turns the cedar and cypress peaks to a greenish smoke."[25] This is followed by a vision of singing and drinking, as the participants grow increasingly cold. Sanenori concludes with a claim of embarrassment at his own lack of talent and how he has been left to "just haphazardly set down how the cinnamon flowers moved autumn."[26] The exam questions are not especially revealing, since no evaluation of the examinee's essays is included. In toto, Sanenori's extant compositions afford glimpses of a (presumably) youthful poet and a (likewise probably) middle-aged bureaucrat and academic. His prose is easily readable as classical Chinese. Nothing remains to suggest that he was a particularly visionary or iconoclastic individual; his rank at the time of his retirement is upper fourth rank, suggesting modest bureaucratic success in addition to whatever prestige may have

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[23] *Tian xiang* 天象. The preface can be found in *HCZMZ*, 8.123-124.

[24] The *Heian ibun* lists one more piece from 1075, which I have not yet been able to see.

[25] 月明地表。池塘濶而光照臨。添白雪於蘆葦之岸。山門霽而色皎潔。變翠鹽於松栢之峯。 Ibid., 8.124.

[26] 猥記桂華之洞烋情。Ibid. I admit to not knowing precisely what Sanenori means with this line, but it does somehow convey intoxicated poetic sentiment, at least to me.

accrued to him as the head of the Academy.[27] In other words, it is easy to construct, using what few materials we have, an image of Sanenori as thoroughly respectable.[28]

Coming one generation closer to Shigenori, records of ancestral activities become much sparser. While Suetsuna, the aforementioned author of the *Honchō Zoku Monzui* features six times in the *Heian ibun*, Shigenori's direct forebearer, his great-great-great grandfather Fujiwara no Narisue 藤原成季 (dates unknown) appears but twice. His only extant composition preserved in the *Chōya gunsai* 朝野群載 is the *kōmon* 告文 (prayer petition) "The Prime Minister [Nobunaga] to Erect '9-fold Kāṣāya' Hall."[29] The first several lines consist of a recital of the favor Nobunaga and his ancestors owe the imperial house. This is succeeded by recountal of a period of extreme anxiety about Nobunaga's professional posting and a subsequent illness. However, having been saved by prayers in the end, he wishes to express his veneration and gratitude appropriately. Narisue has no obvious input in terms of content, although we can perhaps see it as a mark of esteem that this request for a text is put to him by or on behalf of the Prime Minister and Michinaga's grandson, Nobunaga.

Narisue also makes appearances in Fujiwara no Munetada's 藤原宗忠 (1062-1141) famous diary, *Chūyūki* 中右記, as well as the less well known work of Fujiwara no Moromichi

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[27] Marian Ury's description of the esteem in which Chinese learning was held during the Heian period implies this would have been considerable. See Marian Ury, "Chinese Learning and Intellectual Life," in *The Cambridge History of Japan: Vol. 2, Heian Japan*, Donald H. Shively and William H. McCullough., eds. 341-389 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999; 2008 electronic edition), especially 346-347.

[28] Sanenori also appears fleetingly twice in *Shōyūki* 小右記 (977-1032), but the entries that mention him are so short that as to obviate immediate need for discussion.

[29] 太政大臣[信長]造九条堂. Nobunaga is identified in the supertitle. In *Chōya gunsai* 朝野群載, 3.49-50.

藤原師通 (1062-1099), *Gonijō Moromichi ki* 後二条師通記.[30] In *Chūyūki*, Narisue always simply appears as one of two Professors of History and Literature. He takes part in a rite honoring Confucius in 1090 that Munetada misses at least in part; he is absent from a ritual assembly in 1097 due to an unspecified hindrance; and in that same year, he is a participant in a debate on whether to change the reign name as a result of celestial portents and an earthquake, the account of which follows upon a cursory nod to a prayer petition about Kōfuku Temple 興福寺 made by (or on behalf of) Regent [Moromichi] at Kasuga Shrine.[31] These lattermost events are also noted in the *Gonijō Moromichi ki*: Moromichi explains that there was some discussion about the format for such a petition before noting the dispatch of three emissaries, including Narisue, to shrines with ties to the Fujiwara clan; from there, the entry continues on to a summary of the aforementioned deliberation on the changing of the reign name.[32] Nowhere among these entries does Narisue take any remarkable action. They reveal little beyond his rank and the duties that come with it. With no apparent examples of Narisue's "voice" here, he remains a more shadowy and generic figure than his father.

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[30] A Fujiwara no Narisue also appears once in *Shōyūki*, but since the entry is from 1017, or 50 years before the next mention of Narisue, I am disposed to see this as a different Narisue.

[31] Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠 (1062-1141), *Chūyūki* 中右記 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1993; scanned into Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo "The Full-text Database of the Old Japanese Diaries" http://wwwap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller-e), 1.58, 3.66, and 3.125, respectively. Accessed March 28, 2013.

[32] Fujiwara no Moromichi 藤原師通 (1062-1099), *Gonijō Moromichi ki* 後二条師通記 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1956-1958; scanned into Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo "The Full-text Database of the Old Japanese Diaries" http://wwwap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller-e), 3.241-232. Accessed March 28, 2013.

Though Narisue's son Nagazane 永実 appears but once in the *Heian ibun*, he does feature more prominently in courtier diaries than his father.[33] Fujiwara no Moromichi provides the earliest mention: on the twenty-second day of the first month of 1091, Princess Teishi 媞子 is made Empress, and Nagazane is one of three emissaries sent to her palace.[34] He next turns up in *Chūyūki*, wherein he is one of six outriders made imperial attendants in 1095.[35] In 1096, he is listed as a graduate student of literature and history on the reverse side of paperwork regarding the *sōgō* 僧綱 (Office of Ecclesiastical Affairs), assorted clerical positions, "flourishing talents," and remuneration.[36] Once again, he is amongst the thirty or so outriders in Fujiwara no Tadazane's 藤原忠実 (1078-1162) entourage for the latter's ceremonial entry into office.[37] Likewise, he is listed in a group of Commissioners in court dress on the twenty-seventh day of the ninth month of the same year, the day that Buddhist icons salvaged from a fire at Kōfuku Temple were enshrined at the temple's dining hall.[38] The record on Nagazane thereafter falls silent and remains so until 1108, when he is mentioned in a single entry in Fujiwara no

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[33] The *Heian ibun* reference is a document I have not been able to access, but the textual citation provided in the database suggests a simple passing mention of Nagazane.

[34] Fujiwara no Moromichi (*GMK*), 2.58.

[35] Fujiwara no Munetada (*CYK*), 2.53.

[36] Ibid., 2.298.

[37] Ibid., 3.55. "Ceremonial entry into office" is a provisional translation for 初着座. He is grouped here under the rank of *taifu* 大夫 (Commissioner).

[38] Ibid., 3.100.

Tadazane's 藤原忠実 *Denryaku* 殿暦.[39] There, he is one of two chamberlains entrusted with the removal of Tadazane's first memorandum. With these scant traces of activity, Nagazane is difficult to picture as anything beyond a vague low-ranking official. Looking at such records, there is no sense that this sub-line of the Southern Branch has anything particularly remarkable about it as a lineage other than its consistent production of Professors (or students) of History and Literature.

This situation continues with Nagazane's son, Naganori 永範, one of the only mentions of whom is as a graduate student in history and letters having submitted a successful exam essay (which yields an appointment as assistant at the Academy) on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month of 1122.[40] Ogawa Takeo points out that Naganori also becomes a senior noble, rising higher than preceding generations.[41]

Things change somewhat with Shigenori's grandfather Takanori 孝範 (1158-1233), an adopted son of Naganori.[42] His near absence from the *Heian ibun* and *Kamakura ibun* 鎌倉

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[39] Fujiwara no Tadazane. 藤原忠実 (1078 – 1162), *Denryaku* 殿暦 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1960-1970; scanned into Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo "The Full-text Database of the Old Japanese Diaries" http://wwwap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller-e), 2.303. Accessed March 29, 2013.

[40] *Chōya gunsai*, 4.72. Another Naganori appears in Hirohashi Tsunemitsu's 広橋経光 *Minkeiki* 民経記; however, the date (1260) indicates that this is clearly a separate individual. The *Heian ibun* contains note of one additional entry on Naganori from 1128 that I have not been able to view yet.

[41] Ogawa Takeo, 27. There is a certain amount of overlap in our discussion of Shigenori's family, since we draw from the same (or similar) records. I note wherever I owe a specific insight to Ogawa's work, however.

[42] Tōin Kinsada 洞院公定 (1340-1399) and Kuroita Katsumi, *Sonpi bunmyaku* 尊卑分脈, 2 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1966), 468.

遺文 notwithstanding,[43] Takanori features four times in Hirohashi Tsunemitsu's 広橋経光 *Minkeiki* 民経記 and has two surviving extant works, the *Meibunshō* 明文抄 and the *Chūshishō* 柱史抄. The initial inclusion of Takanori in the *Minkeiki* is an entry from the thirteenth day of the fourth month of 1226. Takanori, Director of the Academy, is one of numerous participants in Fujiwara no Yorisuke's 藤原頼資 inaugural celebratory composition festivities; not only does he versify, but he also serves as one of two official readers.[44] He is also put forth that same year as a candidate to compose a preface for a collection of waka, albeit a collection the circumstances of which are unclear.[45] Four years later, he still appears to hold the post of Academy Director in a document fragment, itself written on the reverse of another, that reveals little beyond his professional designation.[46] Around the same time, he is also identified as Governor of Echizen.[47] While it is still true that there is not a great deal of information about Takanori, in the documents that remain, one can observe a poet active presumably in regulated

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[43] I have not been able to see either of the two instances. However, the line contained in the Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo *Kamakura ibun* full-text database suggests that he was Director of the Academy in 1232. Accessed March 30, 2013. (The *HI* entry containing a Takanori is from 1062 and must refer to someone else.)

[44] Hirohashi Tsunemitsu 広橋経光 (fl. 1226-1268), *Minkeiki* 民経記 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1975; scanned into Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo "The Full-text Database of the Old Japanese Diaries" http://wwwap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller-e), 1.3-1.5. Accessed March 30, 2013. I suspect that Takanori is the reader who supplies the Chinese reading, since he is listed first. The second reader, designated here 下読師, would have read the "translated" poem. Cf. Chapter One, Note Seven.

[45] Ibid., 1.54.

[46] The second character in the name is missing, but the annotation suggests Takanori. Ibid., 2.212.

[47] Ibid., 3.128.

verse and waka who at the same time enjoys some repute: his post as Director of the Academy and recognition as a Chinese-style reader continue the family's scholarly tradition.

Takanori's son Fujiwara no Tsunenori 藤原経範 (1189?-1257) is the final generation before Shigenori himself. He is noted in four entries of the *Minkeiki*, with the earliest attestation to his activity occurring in 1226. There, Fujiwara no Yorisuke looks to be planning waka composition for the following week and is soliciting Tsunenori's involvement.[48] In 1227, Tsunenori appears again, this time at the Promotions in Rank Ceremony, where he is listed under the heading of Junior Fourth Rank, Lower.[49] 1232 and the Buddhist ceremony in conjunction with the prayers for the Empress' safe delivery mark Tsunenori's next turn—now Director of the Academy, he is proposed as one of two people to offer the initial toast.[50] The final references to Tsunenori in the *Minkeiki* date from the 1243 debate surrounding the change of the reign name from *Ninji* 仁治 to *Kangen* 寛元.[51] Tsunenori, by now a Professor of Literature and History cum Supernumerary Vice Governor of Echigo, originally advocates *Gen'en* 元延, although this proposal fails.

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[48] Ibid., 1.49-50. Tsunenori is in brackets identifying "Sir Supernumerary Junior Assistant Minister." I believe that the style (separation of the titles with a dot, and not 兼) indicates that the "Sir Royal Secretary" ought to refer to someone else, though no name is supplied.

[49] Ibid., 2.164-167. The heading is 従四位下, and is on ibid., 165.

[50] Ibid., 5.173-180; mention of Tsunenori on 174.

[51] Ibid., 8.201-211. The starting point for the discussion appears to be whether there are issues with Tsunenori's proposal. There are two later mentions of Tsunenori noted in the *Kamakura ibun*: one from 1240 and the other from 1246. Unfortunately, I cannot view either at the moment. Nor have I been able to see the two from 1236.

In recording the proceedings, Tsunemitsu includes both the general arguments for and against the several names put forth, as well as the contents of the *kanmon* 勘文 (memorandum of precedents) for each, affording a peek at the types of texts upon which lineages could draw to bolster claims: Sugawara no Tamenaga 菅原為長 (1158-1246) cites the Mao commentary to the *Shi jing* 詩經 (Book of Odes), the *Song shu* 宋書 (History of the [Liu] Song), and the *Yijing* 易經 (Book of Changes); Fujiwara no Mitsukane 藤原光兼 uses the *Shang shu* 尚書 (Book of Documents) and the *Chang duan jing* 長短經 (Book of Fortes and Foiblesses, Zhao Rui 趙蕤, 8th c.); and Tsunenori turns to the *Jin shu* 晉書 (History of the Jin).[52] (Tsunenori's preference for the *Jin shu* is particularly striking in contrast to his son Shigenori's relative lack of attention to the Jin dynasty in *The Mirror of China*.) *Kangen* emerges as the preferred selection.

The news of this, however, is followed by an account of Tsunenori suddenly changing his memorandum of precedents to offer three additional proposals. This time, he bases his arguments on the *Chun qiu* (Spring and Autumn Annals), the *Tong dian* 通典 (Comprehensive Regulations, Du You 杜佑, 801), and the *Jin shu*. These suggestions are likewise deemed infelicitous; the notes from the reverse side of the document reveal concerns about whether Tsunenori has mistakenly referenced the *Chun qiu* in lieu of the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, and there the matter rests.[53] Despite the outcome of this final matter, the overall frequency with which Tsunenori is listed as a participant at court or government events suggests his opinion was

[52] Ibid., 8.208-210. Indeed, it looks to me as though Tsunenori has supplied the write-up of these arguments.

[53] Ibid., 8.211. Ogawa draws on other documents to attest to a rivalry between Tamenaga and Tsunenori. Ogawa Taeko, 28.

not to be taken lightly, even though his rank itself in these entries is not yet outstanding. As Ogawa points out: "One can see that at the beginning of the Kamakura, though the Sanenori-school of the Southern Branch had withered and declined with the Michinori and Yorinori schools, it also had produced an outstanding talent in Takanori, and Tsunenori rose to senior nobility, while formally, too, succeeding to Naganori's scholastic lineage."[54]

Though this discussion could easily be expanded to include family members outside of whose direct line of descent Shigenori fell, even this restricted focus allows us to posit Shigenori as the product of a well-established line of scholars and moderately successful courtier bureaucrats. He appears thrice in the *Kamakura ibun* and once in the *Minkeiki* in 1264, where, like his father before him, he is called upon to submit candidates for a new reign period name.[55]

Ogawa Takeo's 1994 study of Shigenori offers a fuller portrait. After arguing that records dating Shigenori's birth to 1236 are mistaken, Ogawa proposes instead a date of 1204. He then retraces Shigenori's early academic career, calling attention to his "high renown."[56] Ogawa next turns to documents that reveal Shigenori's involvement in Kujō 九条 poetry matches, concluding that this cross-pollination between houses is "fascinating."[57] His further

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[54] 鎌倉前期における南家実範流は、光範・頼範の流が凋落傾向にあったものの、孝範というすぐれた人才を出し、経範が公卿に昇り、永範の学統を格式に於いても継承することが認められ… Ibid.

[55] Hirohashi Tsunemitsu 広橋経光, 9.140-145. Shigenori appears on 143 with the rank of Professor of History and Literature. The *Kamakura ibun* entries remain to be seen.

[56] Ogawa Takeo, 28-29. …世評の高い人物… Quotation from 29. His discussion also suggests that there are additional "hits" in the *Minkeiki* that did not appear among my search results.

[57] 興味深い. Ibid., 30.

examples of Shigenori's scholarly popularity leave little doubt that the latter was poised for additional successes when he received the order to go to Kamakura.[58]

Ogawa next turns to Shigenori's time in the east, when he served in Kamakura as tutor to Prince Munetaka, proposing that it was difficult for him to be intellectually isolated.[59] (His subsequent treatment of *The Mirror of China* as "a product of [Shigenori's] time in Kamakura" is a topic to which I will return later.[60]) Ogawa sees this as a temporary setback, however. He describes how after returning to Kyoto, despite an initial lack of scholarly networks, Shigenori is productive, at least somewhat poetically active, and also sought out for court events, including the reading of the Goryeo missive on the arrival of the Mongols; Ogawa also emphasizes that he maintains ties to the east.[61] Indeed, Shigenori continues to advance through court ranks and to participate in royal matters well into his eighties, at the same time making a brief trip east as late as 1287. Finally, in 1294, he takes the tonsure and vanishes from the records.[62]

Ogawa continues with a discussion of Shigenori's descendants, emphasizing how they, too, used the east and ties to its warriors as an alternative power base, enjoying professional successes as a result.[63] He concludes his study with the statement: "In the Kamakura, the Way of

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[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid., 30-31.

[60] …鎌倉滞在中の産物… Ibid., 32.

[61] Again, my knowledge of these events in his life, too, comes exclusively from Ogawa's research. Ibid., 32-33.

[62] Ibid., 34.

[63] Ibid., 35.

Literature and History was ever more in a state of decline, yet starting with Shigenori, the Southern Branch scholars are stand-outs, though modestly so."[64]

To return to the issue of Southern Branch decline raised at the outset of this section, there seems little overt reason in either the documents Ogawa discusses or the circumstances presented in the materials I have seen to suspect that Shigenori might have seen his "Southern Branch" lineage as languishing. It is debatable whether he saw belonging to the Southern Branch writ large as a part of his identity at all, even should more closely preceding and succeeding generations have been a real concern for him. One must wonder whether the tendency to speak about his lineage in these terms is not a reflexive response to the success of the Northern Branch rather than an inherently useful category.

Or to think about this from another angle, the writing of histories organized along genealogical lines (at least at one level) makes sense if one is writing from the perspective of a lineage, such as the Northern Branch, that has successfully exploited family ties to attain and maintain power. Yet if one's success is not defined first and foremost by blood or marriage, but rather by scholarly allegiance or some other factor, as may be the case with Shigenori, then other notions of power and/or narrative structures are perhaps more easily conceivable. Put another way, if blood and marital ties do not yield a unit that can seriously contend for authority, then might not it behoove one to think of alternative avenues for constructing affiliations or legitimizing relationships and/or versions of events? This is not a denial of the weight or potency of ideas of "hereditary" power, prestige, or position in medieval Japan, but rather an invitation to consider other possibilities.

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[64] 鎌倉時代、いよいよ紀伝道が衰微してゆく中にあって、茂範を始めとする南家の学者はささやかながらも異彩を放つ存在なのである。 Ibid., 36.

As noted above, there is no proof of how (or whether) Shigenori thought of his own authorial position. However, I propose that the very possibility that it might not have been determined by blood ties alone (or at all in any positive sense?) demands one take stock of alternative potential standpoints. A move away from an unquestioning acceptance of a lineage-oriented structure lends itself to the possibility of a historical perspective that treats other things as constant organizational principles or sees non-blood-based links as constituting valid chains of transmission. And in *The Mirror of China* that is precisely what we have: the work is not simply the product of a "Chinese learning" specialization, it can also be seen as the fruit of a way of conceptualizing history and the ties that span and shape it in terms other than primarily or dominantly familial.

Superficial Reflections

So what is this history of China that Shigenori presents? Because the work is so little known, at this point I will offer an abbreviated summary of its content. In concrete terms, *The Mirror of China* originally covered the period from the Sage Emperors to the Song, if its introduction is to be believed. While the surviving six scrolls cover only through the Jin 晉 (265-420), even in its incomplete form, it is substantial.[65] The first scroll contains the preface

[65] A few brief citations notwithstanding, the latter scrolls seem to have vanished completely. Accepting for now that they did once exist, it is tempting to see this as an indication of a lack of readerly interest in a more contemporary China. This would be in keeping with an earlier Heian attitude towards the importation of non-religious texts Ivo Smits describes as primarily privileging the past products of China. Of particular relevance to a discussion of *The Mirror of China* and its incomplete preservation is the observation that "[b]ooks attributed to Song poets or written by Song historians proved to be an extremely rare commodity in twelfth-century Japan." Ivo Smits, "China as Classic Text: Chinese Books and Twelfth-Century Japanese Collectors," in *Tools of Culture: Japan's Cultural, Intellectual, Medical, and Technological Contacts in East Asia, 1000-1500s*. Andrew Edmund Goble, Kenneth R. Robinson, and Haruko Wakabayashi, eds., 185-210 (Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, Inc., 2009), 190. If Japanese court-based literati had little use for newly produced secular texts, it is not entirely surprising that the historiography of current events would hold less interest, as well. It is curious and frustrating,

and an account spanning from Fuxi 伏羲 through the end of the Yin 殷 (Shang 商). The second runs from the Zhou 周 through the Qin 秦. The rise of the Western Han through Emperor Jing 景 comprise the third. This is followed by accounts of Emperors Wu 武 through Gengshi 更始 in the fourth scroll. The fifth section ranges from Guangwu 光武 of the Eastern Han through the early Three Kingdoms period. And lastly, the sixth encompasses the time from the destruction of Wei 魏, Wu 吳, and Shu 蜀 through the collapse of the lingering Jin.[66]

Scroll one takes the reader to the origins of Chinese civilization with the appearance of the earliest rulers: Fuxi 伏羲, Nüwa 女媧, and Shennong 神農.[67] The content itself is fairly

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however, that next to nothing from the purported scrolls on the Tang survives.

One might also conjecture that the contemporary Song-referencing scrolls somehow treated Zen in such a way as to lessen their appeal to an elite warrior audience. *The Mirror of China*, after all, likely dates from a time prior to a more serious establishment of Zen in Kamakura. Shigenori's pilgrimage has taken him to a Pure Land temple, and the high esteem in which Kang Senghui 康僧會 (? – 280 CE), whom Wu Hung labels as a member of a class of self-styled "Buddhist magicians," appears to be held (see below), do not suggest a version of events that would be particularly concerned with privileging Zen. My understanding of Zen's development in Japan and its debt to Hōjō support is derived from Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, MA and London: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1981), especially 1-78. For the assessment of Kang Senghui, see Wu Hong's study of the appearance and development of Buddhist iconography in Chinese art. Wu Hong, "Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art (2nd and 3rd Centuries A.D.)," in *Artibus Asiae* 47 3/4 (1986), 274.

[66] Sub-headings in the margins throughout the work seem to suggest items of particular interest. A translated list of all of the subheadings is provided as Appendix A. Parentheses there reflect their presence in the typeset *Koten bunko* edition. Readers wishing for a translation of the entire work are referred to Appendix B.

[67] Although this dissertation takes Japan as its frame of reference, I have nonetheless decided to render the names of the Chinese characters in *The Mirror of China* in pinyin to reflect their modern Mandarin readings. This was done primarily for practical concerns: firstly, to facilitate cross-referencing with Western-language scholarship on Chinese history, and secondly, for the simple reason that Chinese has more sounds than Japanese has morae. Rendering the names in

brief, providing the basics of each ruler's biography. More significant than the concrete details of any given figure's life is the way in which the reader at once is confronted with an indication of one of Shigenori's methods for reworking the material. For each of the primeval divine rulers, he has introduced commentary that universalizes his or her identity. Fuxi is equated with an avatar of Ōsei Daishi 応声大士 and described as having been charged with making the sun and moon by two Bodhisattvas, Hōōsei 宝応声 and Hōkisshō 宝吉祥.[68] Nüwa is designated an avatar of Hōkisshō, and both are subsequently compared to Mahāsthāmaprāpta. Lastly, Shennong is matched to his Japanese counterpart, "the Bull-headed Sovereign of Gion."[69] Thus, even as this trio of founding figures is introduced within the narrative of Chinese history, at the same time, each is specifically emplaced in a Buddhist frame of reference. This links them to a broader identity that defies national (or sovereign) boundaries, making them simultaneously Chinese entities and something more.[70] Here already, the earliest scenes challenge the feasibility of a reading that would take the work to be only about China.

Chinese thus allows greater ease in distinguishing between them. Lastly, I use pinyin simply because that has become the standard academic Romanization system, not for any ideological reasons.

[68] Fujiwara no Shigenori 藤原茂範 (ca. 1204 – ca. 1294). *Kara kagami: shōkōkanbon* 唐鏡: 彰考館本, in Hirasawa Gorō 平沢五郎 and Yoshida Kōichi 吉田幸一, eds., *Koten bunko* (Tokyo: Koten Bunko, 1965),12-13.

[69] 祇園牛頭天皇. Ibid., 15. Itō Satoshi notes this deity as "a figure of markedly amalgamatory characteriscs," adding, "[t]his deity's history in Japan was shallow, and his roots are thought to lie in Chinese traditions of Yin-Yang thought and astrological divination…" Itō, Satoshi, "The Medieval Period: The kami merge with Buddhism," Mark Teeuwen, trans, in *Shinto: A Short History*, Inoue Nobutaka, ed., 63-107 (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 78.

[70] From a Buddhist perspective, it is not particularly surprising that the text should engage with a worldview that is not locally restricted to Japan. The impact of Buddhist cosmology on Japanese thinking is a point repeatedly stressed in Willy Vande Walle, "Japan: From Petty Kingdom to

At the same time, Shigenori does not hesitate to note his academic pedigree, explaining that in the selection of these particular three rulers as the "Three Emperors," he adheres to the explanation of the Eastern Han scholar Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200).[71] He also, however, enumerates variant traditions. Upon completion of the next section, that relating the lives of the five emperors, Shigenori cites the *Shi ji* 史記 to justify his choices, though he again lists competing interpretations. Such a display of familiarity with a wide array of exegetical traditions is not surprising and probably serves to bolster the text's claims to authority. (Or, if one wishes to go one step further, the text privileges Shigenori's choices, based on putatively sound textual comparisons.)

The section on the five emperors takes up over one-third of the first scroll, although the space for each is not allotted equally. The Yellow Emperor 黃帝 features largely, with an emphasis on his struggles with Chi You 蚩尤 in route to establishing himself as ruler. In a particularly vivid passage, the soon-to-be ruler makes an oath and entreats the heavens for assistance:

> When he vied with Chi You for the sub-celestial realm, Chi You's head was [strong as] copper and his body [as] iron, [with the result that] neither arrow nor blade had any effect. So the Yellow Emperor looked up to the Heavens and made a vow: "If I am to rule the sub-celestial realm, kill Chi You!" At that time, a lustrous woman descended from the Heavens and performed the numinous dance "The Steps of Yu." [Then] Chi You's body [felt] like boiling water, and on the fifteenth day of the first month of the

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Buddha Land," in *Japan Review* 5 (1994): 87-101; the point is first made quite clearly on 88. What is striking, however, is that India plays almost no part in *The Mirror of China*, with the result that the text does not seem to subscribe to a three-country worldview, one that Vande Walle implies is coming into its own around the time of *The Mirror of China*'s probable composition. Cf. Willy Vande Walle, 90-91. Given the essay's brevity, it does not delve deeply into the specifics of Buddhist cosmology/cosmologies, but it does grant an accessible overview.

[71] Fujiwara no Shigenori, 15.

year, he was felled. His head rose up and turned into a goblin. His body dropped to the ground and turned into an earth spirit.[72]

This dramatic confrontation is the highlight of the Yellow Emperor's reign in *The Mirror of China*. The segment immediately thereafter is rather dry in comparison, essentially providing little more than a catalogue of creations.

It is not until Yao 堯, the fourth of the five emperors, that the reader again is granted something more substantial. The biography itself is not, however, remarkable. Or rather, it is no more or less remarkable in Shigenori's account than in the *Shi ji*.[73] Yao comes off, in fact, as the most stable, well-adjusted of the five great rulers. Shun 舜, in contrast, does not fare as well. While Shigenori does not re-write his story, per se, his recension heavily emphasizes Shun's youth. At some point early on, Shun's mother dies, and his father takes a new wife. When she bears a son, Shun's father's affections predictably shift to his newest progeny, and getting rid of Shun becomes a top priority. His father's subsequent schemes to do just that include attempts to burn Shun to death and to bury him alive. On the one hand, such episodes simply make entertaining reading. On the other, Shun never truly comes into his own as a ruler here. Once he has ascended the throne, Shigenori rapidly moves onto a digression about the Queen Mother of the West, before hastening to Shun's death and the termination of China's pre-history.

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[72] 蚩尤ト天下ヲ争給シニ、蚩尤ハ銅頭鉄身ニシテ、弓刃モ其身ヲ害スル事不能シカハ、黄帝天ニ仰ギテ、誓ヒテ、ノ玉ハク、我必ス天下ニ王タルヘクハ、蚩尤ヲ殺玉ヘト、其時ニ、玉女天ヨリ降テ、反閇禹歩ス、蚩尤カ身、湯ノ沸クカ如クシテ、正月十五日ニソ切殺セレケル、其首ハ升テ、天狗ト成、其身ハ伏テ、地霊トナル、 Ibid., 16.

[73] For a Western-language annotated translation of Yao's biography, see Sima Qian, *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-Ma Ts'ien: 1*, Édouard Chavannes, trans. (Paris: Leroux, 1895), 1.42-69. For the original, see Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145-ca. 86 BCE), *Shi ji* 史記, 1 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 1959) 1.15-31.

The Xia 夏, Yin 殷, and early Zhou 周 dynasties are covered in the remaining third of the scroll. The Xia is defined by its first and final rulers, Yu 禹 and Jie 桀 respectively. Both are larger-than-life figures embodying opposite extremes. Yu is the epitome of self-control, while Jie is depravity incarnate. In these poles, and the presentation of virtue as succeeded by vice, there is a telescoped version of the tale Shigenori repeats throughout the work. This dynamic of decay makes sense not only from the fact that the dynasties do all fall or because the monk who is Shigenori's informant states at the outset that things are headed downhill (at least with regards to Buddhism), but is also consistent with medieval historiographic discourse in general, a point to which I will return in Chapter Five.

The Yin dynasty of *The Mirror of China* gets off to a slightly rocky but not unpromising start before turning to the perverse and bloodthirsty. Its first ruler, Tang 湯, behaves with the spirit of self-sacrifice appropriate to a recipient of the Mandate of Heaven. The next ruler to appear in *The Mirror of China*'s account, Tai Jia 太甲, is less naturally suited to governance. Instead he misbehaves until the capable Yi Yin 伊尹 intervenes. Yi Yin shuts the wayward ruler away for three years and rules as regent, gracefully welcoming Tai Jia back to the helm of government once the latter has realized the error of his ways. Emperor Tai Wu 太戊 is similarly shaky initially, but with the rule of Emperor Wu Ding 武丁, things assume an air of eventual stabilization: "The Yin Kingdom also flourished, and all strange and odd things vanished from its virtuous government, and instead [they] became auspicious portents."[74]

[74] …弥徳政ヲヲコナハレテ、天下悉ク悦ヒ、殷国又盛也、徳政ニハ怪異皆消テ、返テ瑞祥ト成也 Fujiwara no Shigenori, 38-39.

Naturally, this does not last, and the scroll closes with the increasingly wanton exploits of two later rulers, Emperors Wu Yi 武乙 and Zhou 紂, the latter of whom occasions the downfall of the dynasty, recounted by Shigenori in vivid detail. Zhou is characterized by his sexual license and brazen cruelty: the latter is epitomized by the notorious means of capital punishment he employs to entertain a favorite mistress, Daji 妲己: "For punishment by burning at the stake, they erected a copper pillar and smeared it with oil; they made a fire at its base, and when the condemned were made to stand atop [the pillar], they slipped on the oil and fell into the flames. Daji watched and laughed, and since he [Zhou] always wished to make her laugh, it was carried out as she pleased."[75] He slays those who would advise him and is eventually forsaken by all, Heaven included. In the final struggle for the dynasty, he is abandoned by his troops in battle. At this, "Zhou ascended the Deer Tower and clutching a pearl, he set himself on fire and burned up. King Wu cut off his head and hung it from the great white banner…"[76]

While Zhou's self-immolation is the last dramatic act of the scroll, in a unique moment in *The Mirror of China*, Shigenori concludes with a commentary that summarizes the import of its content. His first point is that Yao and Shun are the *shōshu no hajime* 聖主の始 (archetypes of the sagely ruler), while Jie and Zhou are the *akuō no moto* 悪王ノモト (original wicked kings).[77] Perhaps in anticipation of charges that the Heavens ought to have given a sign that

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[75] 炮格 [*sic*]ノ刑トテ、銅ノ柱ヲ立テ、油ヲヌレリ、其下ニ火ヲオコシテ、罪科アルモノヲハ、其柱ニノホセラルルニ、油スヘリテ、火中へ落入ヲ、妲己見テ咲ケルハ、常ニ咲セントテ、好ミオコノハレキ、 Ibid., 40-41.

[76] 紂ニ（ママ）、鹿台ニ上テ、株玉ヲカフリキテ、自火ニ焼玉ヒヌ、武王其頭ヲ切テ、大白ノ旗ニソ懸給シ、Ibid., 42.

[77] Ibid., 42.

telluric events were spiraling out of control, Shigenori includes an exchange between Duke Ai 哀 of Lu 魯 and Confucius that explains the lack of celestial portents as occasioned by the complete deviation from the Way on the part of both rulers. Essentially, when rulers have gone so far astray, Shigenori/Confucius suggests, the Heavens are no longer bound to give fair warning of imminent change.

The second scroll backtracks to a time when Zhou 紂 is still alive, retelling the founding of the Zhou 周 dynasty and continuing through the Qin 秦. In a sense, the first three rulers, Kings Wen 文, Wu 武, and Cheng 成, are most remarkable for their ability to take good advice. Kings Wen and Wu both benefit from wise council, but it is King Cheng, with his famous regent Zhou Gong 周公, who has both the most extraordinary advisor and who takes the longest to learn his lesson. In a particularly charming entry, we are shown how Zhou Gong teaches the young king that words have consequences:

> King Cheng was playing with his younger brother Tang Shuwu beneath a paulownia tree. King Cheng wanted to play a joke, and he stripped off a paulownia leaf and made a seal, enfeoffing Shuwu as Marklord of Ying. When he heard this, Zhou Gong offered congratulations. When King Cheng said, "I was joking!" Zhou Gong said, "The Son of Heaven does not make jokes." And because of this, Tang was indeed made Marklord of Ying.[78]

While King Cheng needs time to realize the value of his councilor, he does come to appreciate Zhou Gong's sagacity in the end. King Cheng outlives his mentor, and when his rule comes to an end, so, too, does a golden age for the Zhou.

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[78] 成王御弟、唐叔虞ト桐樹ノ下ニ遊ビ給、成王戯テ、桐葉ヲ削テ、珪トシテ、叔虞ヲ封シテ、応侯トセント、ノ給ハスレハ、周公聞テ、賢シ玉フ、成王、我戯ツト、ノ給ケレハ、周公、天子ハ戯ノ言ナシ、申サセ給ケルニ依テ、遂ニ、応侯ニ封セラレヌ　Ibid., 49-50.

The following rulers deviate from the ideal of kingship in various ways: King Zhao 照王 [*sic*] and King Mu 穆王 both shirk their duties. The true point of including any account of King Zhao at all seems to be to enable mention of the Buddha's birth. In the following passage, there are several mysterious portents, and when King Zhao turns to a diviner to learn their import, he is told that they mark the birth of a sage:

> At that time, King Zhao was shocked, and he asked the Grand Scribe Su You about it. Su You replied: "There is a great sage being born in the west, [so] this portent appeared." The king asked him another question: "Does he pose any threat to [our] kingdom?" He replied, "He certainly does not. *After* one thousand years, his teachings will enter this kingdom."[79]

As the Buddha is never explicitly identified (other than in the subheading to the entry found in some editions), presumably his identity would have been clear to readers.

King Mu's stylistically irregular entry, which reads largely like a somewhat disjointed collection of kingly trivia, likewise derives primary significance as the time of the Buddha's death. Not much else is noted: he has supernatural horses; he meets the Queen Mother of the West; he gambles for three days in India at a mountain where the Buddha is teaching[80]; and in particularly unexpected manner, the entry closes with the death of the Buddha, as though this is related to the king's biography. King Mu's death follows in the next line: in this entry, by superimposing the Buddha's biography onto that of a king, Shigenori is perhaps intimating the

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[79] 其時、照（ママ）王驚テ、太史蘇由ニ問玉フ、蘇由答テ申サク、大ナル聖人マシマシテ、西方ニ生玉フ、其瑞見侍ル也、王、又、問玉フ、国ニ出テ損ナシヤ、答テ申サク、損ナカルヘシ、一千年ノ後ニソ、声教、此国ニ蒙シムヘシ Ibid., 51-52.

[80] On textual precedents for King Mu's gambling stint, see Otagiri Fumihiro 小田切文洋, "Kara kagami' ni okeru Kanseki juyō no hito kōsatsu (zoku)" 『唐鏡』における漢籍受容の一考察(続), in *Omon ronsō* 51 (August 2000), 5. Otagiri also identifies an apparent overlap with the *Meibunshō*'s notation of the Buddha's death. See ibid.. Otagiri also identifies an apparent overlap with the *Meibunshō*'s notation of the Buddha's death. See ibid.

supplanting of kingly authority by Buddhist authority. If nothing else, the scattered referencing of the Buddha and his teachings, as well as the identifications of figures as avatars of bodhisattvas, none of which is inherently Chinese or restricted to a Chinese space, subvert a reading that sees *The Mirror of China* as being only about China as such.

The scroll moves quickly from the relatively benign neglect of the kingly way suggested above to outright incompetence and licentiousness in the example of Kings Li 厲 and You 幽 respectively. Li's ineptitude forces a loyal advisor to sacrifice his own son in place of the crown prince, and in a reign filled with cosmic portents of disaster, King You brings war and destruction on his land in the well-known story of his infatuation with Baosi 褒姒. To briefly summarize, in the tale, King You is besotted with the extraordinarily sullen Baosi and lights signal flairs repeatedly upon discovering that this is the one thing that will elicit her laughter. His allies eventually grow tired of rushing to his aid for naught, and when a rebellion finally breaks out, though the signal flairs are lit, no one arrives to assist him. Shigenori closes the account of his ignominious rule with the dry observation that "Jie's Meixi, Zhou's Daji, and this king's Baosi—they occasioned the destruction of kingdoms and the deaths of lords. Certain versions say they were foxes or badgers."[81]

Again, the account of gradual decline is interrupted with a series of short, somewhat unorthodox entries: a meteor shower marks the birth of the Buddha [563-483][82]; Laozi is born

[81] 桀カ末嬉、紂カ妲己、此王ノ褒姒、国ヲ亡シテ、君ヲ失ヒ奉ル、或説ニハ狐狸ノ変化トモ申セリ Ibid., 57. For somewhat inconclusive speculation on potential sources for this idea, see Otagiri Fumihiro (2000), 6. While Otagiri cannot identify a specific textual source for this line, he nonetheless demonstrates that the association between the women and magic animals is not new.

[82] For various possible sources on this account of the Buddha's birth in *Kara kagami*, *s*ee ibid., 4-5.

and identified as an avatar of Mahākāśyapa [ca. 604][83]; Emperor Jinmu ascends the throne [660]; Confucius is born [551][84]; and Prince Zijin 王子晋 comes to Japan as the Kumano avatar.[85] With the apparent exception of the Buddha's birth, the dates are in accordance with received wisdom. Yet we have a span of over one hundred years squeezed into close textual and physical proximity: a cross-cultural constellation of auspicious events. In contrast with the unfavorable depiction of the Zhou rulers immediately prior, Japan emerges both as an established land with an Emperor (Emperor Kōrei 孝霊天皇) and a destination of the Chinese Crown Prince/avatar. A few lines later, even Confucius has made his way to Japan on a raft, disciples in tow.[86] With Japan thus established as a textual presence, the scroll hastens then to the end of the Zhou and lurches into the Warring States.

The Warring States section reads as a catalogue of crises.[87] The entries themselves proceed somewhat haphazardly through the kingdoms, commencing with Qi 齊. The accounts within a given kingdom do not follow strict chronological progression, with the somewhat jarring result that figures who have died can reappear a few lines later. A particularly striking example is that of Wu Zixu 伍子胥, who decapitates himself, only to resurface alive at an

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[83] For potential Laozi biography sources in *Kara kagami*, *s*ee ibid., 6-7.

[84] For a similar analysis vis-à-vis Confucius' birth, see ibid., 7.

[85] For suggested textual origins of such treatment of Prince Zijin, see ibid., 8.

[86] A few inconclusive remarks on Confucius' emigration can be found on ibid., 8.

[87] Intriguingly, the kingdom of Chu is scarcely present in the account, and its most celebrated legendary poet, Qu Yuan 屈原, does not appear.

earlier period later in the text.[88] The jumbled style of recording itself adds to the turmoil inherent in its content.

After becoming king in the forty-fourth year of Japan's Emperor Kōrei, the future Qin First Emperor 秦始皇帝 predictably embarks on a campaign of violence with occasional periods of insanity, including the enfeoffment of a [pine] tree, the dispatch of several thousand children to Penglai 蓬萊 on an expedition to attain the elixir of immortality, and an attempt to recover the tripods from the Si River (which had disappeared during the reign of the thirty-fifth Zhou ruler, King Xian 顯王[89]) that costs the lives of thousands of divers. The most dramatic and infamous moment, however, is the Qin burning of the books. This marks the culmination of the machinations of the emperor's advisor, Li Si 李斯, who urges him to deny the people the means to dissent:

> If, in this way, you do not prohibit things, Your Lordship has no authority. I ask that you burn all of the things that do not appear in the historians' annals of Qin. If there are those who would hide the hundred schools, the *Odes*, and *Documents*, have the *tingwei* 廷尉 (Commandant) set fire to them and burn them. If the historians see this and say anything, issue an edict that they are likewise guilty, and if they do not burn them within thirty days, this will be a crime. Books on medicine, divination, and horticulture need not be gathered up. If one is thinking to study the law, he should have an official as his teacher.[90]

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[88] Fujiwara no Shigenori, 72-73.

[89] Ibid., 60.

[90] 此如事ヲ禁セスハ、君ノ威アラシ、請、史官ノ秦ノ記ニアラサル物ヲハ、皆焼ソ、詩書百家ノ事ヲ隠ス者アラハ、廷尉ニタヒテ、ヤカレ、史ノ見シリテ申サランヲハ、与同罪令下テ、卅日マテ、ヤカサランヲハ、罪セン、医薬、卜筮、種樹ノ書ヲハ、不捨、若法令ヲマナヒント… Ibid., 78.

Once the emperor has thus cemented his authority, there is not much left to say about him, and Shigenori proceeds nearly directly to an almost comical account of his death. When the emperor unexpectedly passes away in transit, the matter (and corpse) is kept secret: documents are falsified, and succession disputes and plots ensue. When the stench of decomposition threatens to give matters away, the resourceful Li Si "put[s] a stone of abalone into each of the followers' carts to cause confusion about the stink."[91] Formal mourning does not occur until all are back in the capital. The final image of the larger-than-life First Emperor is curiously reduced, literally a husk of his former self.

His son fares worse. (It is perhaps not mere happenstance that one of the first "accomplishments" of his reign is the imprisonment of a Buddhist monk.)[92] Whereas the First Emperor maintains the balance of power between ruler and advisor, the second is quickly outmaneuvered by Zhao Gao, one of the original conspirators who helped to enthrone him. Although the third emperor finally manages to capture Zhao Gao and succeeds in killing him by stewing him alive, the dynasty's days are numbered. The final scene of the scroll is the arrival of Xiang Yu 項羽, who "killed Ziying and massacred Xianyang. He excavated the tomb of the First Qin Emperor and also burnt the Qin palaces. The flames did not go out until the third month, and the smoke over Xianyang Palace was in wisps."[93] The image lingers over Shigenori's closing lines that tally up the number of years since the destruction of the Zhou: a mere fifty.

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[91] 一石ノ鮑魚ヲノセテソ、其臭ヲミタリシ、 Ibid., 79-80.

[92] Ibid., 80.

[93] 子嬰ヲ殺シ、咸陽ヲ屠リ、始皇ノ塚ヲ掘る、又秦(の)宮室ヲ焼ニソ、其火三月マテ、消スシテ、咸陽宮ノ煙、片片タリシ也 Ibid., 84.

The third scroll brings us the origins of the Han dynasty, continuing through Emperor Jing 景帝 (r. 157-141 BCE). Though the scroll covers the biographies of the first five emperors, the treatment of the first Han Emperor, Gaozu 高祖, occupies more than one half of the space, effectively making the emperor one of the scroll's key figures. The initial presentation of Gaozu is stylistically consistent with the earlier imperial biographies: the miraculous circumstances of his mother's impregnation, the emperor's physical peculiarities marking him for greatness, and the notation of the cosmological nature of his virtue: fire. Foibles, too, are included, creating the image of an emperor with human weaknesses despite his semi-divine origins: "He was humane and loved the people, and was fond of alcohol and sex as well."[94]

As in the second scroll, Shigenori commences the action at a time prior to the closing of the preceding scroll. Gaozu's accession to the throne is predicted in a tale in which he drunkenly slays a snake; this is revealed to be a portent indicating the ascension of fire over metal.[95] The Qin is destroyed shortly thereafter, and the ensuing sprawling section depicts the conflict between Gaozu and Xiang Yu. An especially large amount of space is devoted to an assassination attempt orchestrated by Xiang Yu that is intended to unfold at a drinking party. Xiang Yu, having heard that Gaozu aspires to the emperorship, summons him to a round of seemingly celebratory libations after the conquest of the Qin. While Gaozu is suspicious, he is unable to refuse. Fortunately, however, the conspirators themselves are so inept that they are unable to set the plan into action. Their attempts are further frustrated by the intervention of a sympathetic Xiang Bo 項伯, who shields Gaozu until Zhang Liang 張良 manages to get word

[94] 仁アリテ、人ヲ愛シ、酒及色ヲソ好給ケル、酒ニ酔テ、[...]. Ibid., 85.

[95] A quick scan suggests that the Xia was the last dynasty to be designated as "metal." Neither the Zhou nor the Qin seems to have a designation of cosmological virtue.

to one of the latter's generals, Fan Kuai 樊噲. Fan Kuai enters the feigned party and even upbraids Xiang Yu, but Gaozu nonetheless is at a disadvantage, and he is eventually forced to flee under the pretext of going to the toilet.[96]

Xiang Yu's troops are more numerous, and Gaozu is perpetually in flight, relying on his more capable ministers to effect his escape. It is not until nature interferes in the form of a great wind that his fortune takes a turn. After a particularly brutal loss:

> Gaozu thought, "This is the end," and when he heaved a heavy sigh, a great wind came down from the northwest. It blew over all of the trees and blew down people's homes. It was so strong that even stone tiles flew up into the air! And the middle of the day grew so dark that nothing was visible. Xiang Yu's troops thought that this was divine punishment, and they were afraid. They had no desire to be sucked up into a tornado.[97]

Though Gaozu for the moment perceives this merely as an opportunity for escape, the momentum has nevertheless changed. Following several drawn-out attempts at capture that highlight Xiang Yu's indomitable spirit and indefatigable valor, the doomed general cuts off his own head in the presence of a friend in the hopes that the latter will be granted the promised reward. With Xiang Yu's final act one of loyalty and courage, Gaozu, despite being victorious, does not necessarily come across as the more "heroic" of the two.[98] This notwithstanding, the

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[96] For a brief study of the reception of this incident in Chinese and Japanese literature, see Wu Zhiliang 吳志良, "Chūsei Nihon bungaku ni okeru Chūgoku koji juyō no kenkyū— kōmon no kaiwabun ni tsuite" 中世日本文学における中国故事受容の研究—鴻門の会話文について, in *Chūkyō daigaku bungakubu kiyō* 110 (July 2004): 79-95. Wu's interest lies chiefly with the portrayal of Fan Kuai; as such, the *Kara kagami*-oriented portion of the article (88-89, and in a comparative context, 90-91) is of limited relevance.

[97] 高祖今ハ限ト思テ、大ニ嘆キ玉フ間ニ、西北ノ方ヨリ、大ナル風出来テ、木共皆吹折ラレ、人ノ家モ吹破ラレ、石瓦モ飛アカル程也、昼中ニ暮行テ、ナニモミエヌホト也、項羽カ軍、天道ノ罰也ト思テ、怖恐レツツ、キヒシク巻コメント思心ナシ、 Fujiwara no Shigenori, 93.

[98] Liu Yuan-ju has informed me that Chinese historiography also tends to paint Gaozu in a less than flattering light. Personal communication, August 2010.

Han dynasty is now established, which, Shigenori duly notes, is in the fifteenth year of Emperor Kōgen 孝元天皇.[99]

From this time forward, Gaozu's reign is marked by attention to order, with three episodes that merit closer attention. The first is the account of Gaozu's relationship with his father, Taigong 太公. Initially, Gaozu's deferentiality appears laudable. However, Taigong's retainers are quick to point out the impropriety of the suggestion that the reigning emperor be, in fact, subject to a higher mortal authority—adjustments are made accordingly.[100] The second and third incidents have more obvious connections to other Japanese writings about China across the medieval period. One is the recording of the commencement of the practice of marrying princesses off to the Xiongnu 匈奴 leaders as a means to guarantee peaceful relations. It appears only briefly here, yet it merits noting for prefiguring the tale of Wang Zhaojun 王昭君, an object of enduring fascination in both China and Japan. The other is the lengthy tale of the doomed Lady Qi, 齊夫人. Since both instances resonate beyond this particular text, I will return to them in Chapter Four.

After Gaozu's death, the second emperor's reign provides the backdrop for the rise of Empress Lü 呂后, which takes most dramatic form in the previously mentioned persecution of Lady Qi and Lü's efforts to kill off Kings Zhao and Qi. Once the second emperor has died,

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[99] Fujiwara no Shigenori, 99.

[100] Though the section itself is quite brief and Taigong himself has not held the throne, one can surmise that a medieval reader might have associated this passage with Japan's own earlier contests for power between retired and reigning rulers. A mere 30-40 years earlier, the Retired Emperor GoToba 後鳥羽上皇 had led the short-lived Jōkyū Rebellion (承久の乱, 1221) in an abortive attempt to topple the Kamakura shogunate. The issue of competing claims for authority and their institutionalization should have been a familiar one by the late thirteenth century.

Empress Lü effectively rules as Regent. Her ward, however, learns that she is not his true mother, and vows revenge. Empress Lü has him killed, but only manages to remain on the throne for four more years, after which she dies at age seventy-one. However, her ruthlessness continues to have repercussions in the posthumous negotiations to identify the next king. With the claim that Empress Lü is representative of the morality of her entire clan, descendants from a separate line are sought, with the result the enthronement of Emperor Xiaowen 孝文皇帝.

This section of the narrative is somewhat convoluted, as Shigenori appears to have conflated two Han emperors: Qianshao 前少 (r. 188-184 BCE) and Houshao 後少 (r. 184-180 BCE). This merging results in a numbering problem. It is Emperor Wen who is established after Empress Lü's death, but he is the fifth Emperor, not the fourth. In any event, the bulk of the material on Emperor (Xiao) Wen depicts him in a relatively favorable light, beginning with his ritually appropriate reluctance to take the throne and a hint of transparency in government. This is followed by the realization that he, himself, is to set an example for the people rather than to rely on draconian punishment, as well as the dawning awareness that his empire is virtually running itself, thanks to the efforts of able ministers. The final major event of his reign is the arrival of the Xiongnu, which occasions an imperial inspection tour of his forces. Even this is marked by a concern for order, as is revealed when the most lavish praise is bestowed on a guard who refuses to breach protocol, even for the emperor himself. His deathbed edict itself is a marvel of virtuous restraint: "Death is the law of Heaven and Earth, and is something natural. It is not extremely sad. You must not hoard gold, silver, or copper in an effort to be a hegemon. You ought to use earthenware vessels, and in all things, you should be frugal."[101]

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[101] 遺詔ニ云、死ハ天地ノ理、物ノ自然也、其悲ヘキニ非ス、覇陵ヲ治センニ、金銀銅ヲカサルヘカラス、瓦ノ器ヲ可用、悉ク倹約ナルヘシト也　Fujiwara no Shigenori, 119.

Characteristically, Shigenori does not conclude the scroll with such an exemplary ruler, proceeding instead to the sixth Emperor, Emperor Jing 景帝 (r.157-141); that his rule will end badly is made evident at once in the observation that "[i]n the winter [of the first year], at a place called Jiaodong, an ancient man of over seventy suddenly sprouted horns and fur. Also around then, a white egret and a black egret fought in a place called the Kingdom of Chu, and when the white egret did not win, it dove into the water and drowned."[102] Emperor Jing's portrayal is inconsistent: he murders a prince over rudeness yet encourages thrift and industry. He and the empress undertake agriculture and sericulture respectively with their own hands. His own ill-thought-out remarks result in a violent campaign by his younger brother to inherit the throne, but the emperor himself is too irresolute to take corrective action. In the end, both brothers die, thus concluding the third scroll.

The fourth scroll commences with the reign of Emperor Wu 武帝, which affords Shigenori an opportunity to incorporate a delightful array of anecdotes, above all, those relating to the emperor's fascination with the occult. The emperor is credited with the origins of linked verse, and his court is populated with such famed figures as the brilliant and eccentric Dongfang Shuo 東方朔 and the beautiful Lady Li 李夫人. Shuo's sparkling wit and Lady Li's radiance are but part of the picture, however, as the emperor devotes endless time and energy to the pursuit of Daoist arts, proving singularly uninterested in the practicalities of administering an empire. As a further sign of his ill-suited-ness to rule, the emperor is presented as slightly

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[102] 元年乙酉ノ歳、冬、膠東ト云所ニ、七十有餘(なる)古人、俄ニ角生、毛生々タル(事)アリキ、其比、又白鳥ト黒鳥ト、楚国ト云所ニテ、クヒ合テ、白鳥ハカタスシテ、水ニ入テ、死侍リキ　Ibid., 119. Cf. Bialock's observation on the *Nihon shoki* and the "favorable omen of a white pheasant": "The account consists largely of the citation of numerous precedents, from both Chinese and Japanese sources, to support the favorable interpretation of white-colored animals and birds, 'which appear when the ruler is sage and humane.'" David Bialock, 56-57.

paranoid in the waning days of his reign. Once he has chosen his heir, he has the prince's mother killed. When the people remonstrate with him, pointing out the support for the heir apparent and the senselessness of the slaying of his mother, the Emperor replies: "Truly, it is so. Nevertheless, from times of old, chaos in the sub-celestial realm has come about when there was a young prince and his mother was flourishing. No matter what—improper rule by a female sovereign is equivalent to societal chaos. Just consider the matter of Empress Lü."[103] The final act of his reign is to promote an elderly official he has forgotten, moved by the pitiful spectacle of the old man holding the same rank through three successive imperial reigns.

Over all, in the space allotted to him, roughly one-third of the scroll, Emperor Wu is more of a reactive emperor than a driving force. External powers and personalities propel him, moving him to act, but the only examples of him undertaking anything of his own accord are the ill-fated attempts at mastering Daoist arts. His is depicted as a melancholy reign.

The next few emperors receive relatively brief treatment; the most noteworthy feature of the periods they rule is the constant, virtuous regent, Huo Guang 霍光. Thus far, the Han of the fourth scroll has moved forward at a leisurely pace, its most memorable figures weak emperors and the lovely women with whom they become smitten. In an unexpected moment, however, Shigenori provides a welcome digression on the origins of kickball. I quote it in here in full:

> The Emperor was fond of kickball. One Liu Xiang observed that "[kick]ball is physically exhausting, and it depletes one's strength—it's pointless," and he changed his ways; creating *danqi* (chess), he presented that. That style truly was the Way of Kickball. Kickball was the long-ago creation of the Yellow Emperor. It is also said that it was invented by military troops in the Warring States [period]. Gaozu's father, Tai

[103] 誠に然也、サレトモ、昔ヨリ天下ノ乱事ハ、君ワカクテ、母サカリナル故也、女主ノヒカ事ハ、イカニモ世ノ乱事也、汝等呂后ノ事ヲミスヤト也　Fujiwara no Shigenori, 131.

> Gong, and Emperor Wu were also fond of it. Since kickball was invented by military troops, all of the warrior houses across the ages have been fond of it. In General Li's *Laws of Attack*, the kickball style is included among the thirty-five pieces, and General Piao Yao and Huo Qi(*sic*)bing, too, made [kick]ball schools and were fond of it. In this Way of Kickball, there was the strange ritual in which teachers bowed to disciples. In most Ways, disciples bowed to teachers, but the Kickball Way was this way. In the Buddhist teachings, there seems to have been a rite in which anointed teachers bowed to disciples.[104]

There is no other entry quite like this in the rest of *The Mirror of China*. Here, Shigenori presents the history of a medieval Japanese pass-time whose devotees included warriors and courtiers as part of an imperially endorsed combat tradition.[105] What may strike one as odd, however, is that

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[104] 帝蹴鞠ヲ好玉フ、劉向ト云人、申サク、鞠ハ人躰ヲ労シ、人力ヲ竭ス、無由トテ、其躰ヲ変シテ、弾碁ヲ作テ、マイラス、其躰、誠ニ蹴鞠ノ道也、蹴鞠ハ昔黄帝ノ造給也、兵勢ニヨテ、ツクラレキ、戦国ヨリ起レリトモ申セリ、高祖ノ父太公、武帝モ好給也、蹴鞠ハ兵勢ヨリ起キル故ニ、代々ノ間、武勇ノ家コトニ是ヲ好ム、李将軍ガ射法ニモ、三十五編ニ蹴鞠ノヤウヲノセ、嫖姚将軍、霍其(去カ)病モ、鞠室ヲ造テ、コノメリキ、此蹴鞠ノ道ハ、師ノ弟子ヲ拝スルコソ、其儀興アルコトナレ、諸道ハ弟子コソ、師ヲ拝シ侍ルニ、鞠道計ハカヤウニ侍リ、内法ニソ、灌頂ノ師ノ弟子ヲ拝スル儀アルトカヤ Ibid., 142. I altered my original translation in accordance with the voicing marks suggested by Yamada Naoko. See Yamada Naoko (2009), 117.

Subsequent to the above changes, I further substantially altered my translation of the lines on Liu Xiang and the origins of kickball in accordance with Mark Lewis's discussion of material that Shigenori's passage closely resembles. Lewis observes: "Moreover, two stories relate that when a Han emperor became overly fond of kickball, his ministers lured him away from the game by substituting the newly-invented chess, which was 'similar but not tiring.'" Mark Edward Lewis, "Cosmic Violence," in *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, 137-163 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 147. For the entire discussion of "Cosmic Kickball," see ibid., 146-150.

[105] Anecdotal evidence suggests that this passion for kickball is not now a well-known element of Emperor Cheng's biography. My colleagues at Academia Sinica found its inclusion perplexing. Perhaps this is an instance of Shigenori catering to Japanese readership? (This is precisely what Tonomura sees in the inclusion of such entries. For a list of items that would have been of special relevance to Japanese, see Tonomura Hisae, 115.) Yamada Naoko also has examined the *kemari* anecdote in *Kara kagami* in detail and notes that *kemari* was all the rage with warriors, whom she takes as *The Mirror of China*'s presumed readership. While she demurs from taking a stance on Shigenori's intent in including this particular anecdote, she nonetheless cites Masuda's earlier contention that Shigenori may have intended it "ironically." Yamada Naoko (2009), 119. (See ibid., 113-121 for the larger discussion of the representation of *kemari*.)

he makes no reference to the sport's popularity in Japan. Perhaps that would have struck a contemporary reader as stating the obvious, but in a text that often notes the removal of deities and cultural icons to Japan, the passing by of such an opportunity gives pause.[106]

After this intermission of sorts, the remainder of the Western Han careens towards disaster. The bulk of the entries prior to the usurpation of the throne by Wang Mang 王莽 is devoted to cataloguing ill omens. Flora and fauna exhibit numerous deformities, and meteorological irregularities—including a rain of blood—portend disaster. The most disturbing of all occurs when Wang Mang assumes the position of regent to the toddler Emperor Ping 孝平皇帝: "At this time, a woman gave birth to a baby boy in Chang'an. It had two heads, and its faces were different and looked at each other. It had four arms and eyes above its butt. It was about two *cun* long."[107]

Predictably, the coverage of Wang Mang, which takes up the remainder of the fourth scroll, is excoriating. One of the more striking aspects is the dismantling of the House of Han. The reader sees the former Dowager Empress destroy the Imperial Seal in grief and frustration,

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For the original, see Masuda Motomu, 685. This point is likewise made in her earlier work, with a clear sense of Shigenori writing for his audience. Yamada Naoko 山田尚子, "'Kara kagami'-kō— rekishi monogatari toshite no sokumen o megutte" 『唐鏡』考—歴史物語としての側面をめぐって, in *Kokugo kokubungaku kenkyū (Kumamoto Daigaku)* 43: 37-38.

[106] Then again, *kemari* had also inspired fanatical devotion in the eventual shogun Minamoto Sanetomo 源実朝 (1192-1219) to an extent that was deemed both ludicrous and censurable. For a description of his interests and GoToba as their inspiration, as well as a scathing assessment from *Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡, see Gomi Fumihiko 五味文彦, "Kyō, Kamakura no ōken" 京・鎌倉の王権, in *Kyō, Kamakura no ōken*, Gomi Fumihiko, ed., 7-113 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2003), 67-69.

[107] 此御時、長安ニ女子児ヲウメリ、両頭アリテ、面ヲ異ニシテ、相向フ、四臂アリテ、尻ノ上ニ目アリ、長サ二寸計　Fujiwara no Shigenori, 145.

and the demotion of the former child emperor Ruzi 孺子. Wang Mang's own flight from advancing troops is also recounted in thrilling detail. After his eventual decapitation, Wang Mang's severed head is hung in the market, but the still angry people desecrate it further, with some, Shigenori observes, "scarfing down [Wang Mang's] tongue."[108] Thereafter, the scroll breezes through the brief, incompetent rule of Gengshi 更始 (r. 23-25 CE) and concludes with the destruction wrought by the Red Eyebrow rebels. The final scene is desolate: Chang'an has been razed, tombs have been plundered, and people have resorted to cannibalism. The former would-be Emperor Penzi 盆子帝 has fallen ill and gone blind.

Scroll five is devoted to the Eastern Han, with over a quarter of the material concerning the founder of the Eastern Han, Guangwu 光武. Once again, Shigenori backtracks to a time prior to the conclusion of the preceding fascicle to commence the action (after a scant biography of Wu) with an account of his defeat of Wang Mang's brother, the general Wang Xun 王尋. Amidst a dramatic storm, the troops clash, and Guangwu emerges victorious, while the leaders of his enemies "made a light cavalry and rode over the dead bodies, fording the river in flight."[109] The significance of the events is made explicit when "an elderly official also shed[s] tears and sa[ys]: "'I had not reckoned with it—that today, I would again see the dignity of Han rule.'"[110] Although this battle marks Guangwu's ascendance as a leader, the following section continues to dwell on the hardships he and his ever-dwindling followers endure. This changes

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[108] 或ハ、其舌ヲクラヒケリ、 Ibid., 150.

[109] …軽騎シテ、死人ニノリテ、水ヲ渡テ、ニケ去ヌ、 Ibid., 156.

[110] 此時ニ、老吏、又涙ヲタレテ、申サク、ハカラサ[り]キ、今日、又漢官ノ威儀ヲミルト云、 Ibid., 157.

suddenly, though, when Shigenori jumps to Guangwu's ascension to the throne and the restoration of the Imperial Seal.

Stability, however, does not make for good reading, it would appear. A few odds and ends from the ensuing years are included—mentions of times good and bad—but Shigenori does not dwell on them. The final event of Guangwu's reign in this account is the arrival of the Japanese, which is recorded as follows: "In the spring of the second year, in the first month, an emissary arrived from the Land of Wonu. This Land of Wonu must have been Japan. This year must have corresponded to the eighty-sixth year of the Japanese emperor Emperor Suinin."[111] As if this were the culmination of Guangwu's reign, his death is recorded in the next month, followed by an encomium that emphasizes his moderation, fairness, and propriety, before concluding with an oddly throw-away mention of his intimate friendship with one Yan Guang 厳光, a curious note on which to end the biography of an emperor.

The reign of Guangwu's successor, Emperor Ming 明帝, constitutes the next quarter of the scroll. Although a substantial section is devoted to Emperor Ming's devotion to his tutor, the true focus of his biography is the contest between Buddhism and Daoism. After a dream vision of the Buddha, the emperor dispatches fourteen people to India. Their journey is

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[111] […]倭奴国ヨリ、使ヲ奉ル、此倭奴国ハ日本国ニヤ侍ラム、今年ハ、日本帝王垂仁天皇八十六年ニソアタリ侍リケム、 Ibid., 160. This entry appears to correspond to the following lines in the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書: 二年春正月辛未，[…]東夷倭奴國王遣使奉獻。 The commentary to the lines in the *HHS* makes the identification with Japan problematic. "Wo is in an area to the southeast in the vast sea; it is a mountainous island kingdom." 倭在帶方東南大海中，一山島爲國。Fan Ye 范曄 (398-445), *Hou han shu* 後漢書, Li Xian 李賢, Sima Biao 司馬彪, and Liu Zhao 劉昭, eds. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965; 1973 printing), 1: 1a.84-85. Shigenori notably has omitted the modifier *dong yi* 東夷 (Eastern Barbarian). A later entry in the section on "Eastern Barbarians" makes a more compelling case for taking the country to be Japan, but is unlikely to be the passage on which Shigenori drew, both because of the text itself and its location within the *HHS*. Cf. Ibid., 10: 75.2820-2821.

successful, and they return laden with sutras and treasures to found a temple. The tale draws to a close with the observation that Buddhism has been in decline for over a millennium.

All of this is primarily to set the stage for the subsequent dramatic confrontation instigated by a group of Daoists, who balk at an imperial order to embrace Buddhism. Setting up a contest of relics, the torch-brandishing Daoists attempt to summon divine aid to determine whose religion is legitimate with staggering results:

> [The Daoist masters said: …] "Now, Barbarian Deities are throwing the land into chaos, and the Leader of Men believes in heresy. We must get a sign from this fire." And so saying, they set a bonfire and put the scriptures into it. The Daoist scriptures were drawn to the flame and burnt to ashes. The Daoists blanched, and some cried, others died. The Buddhist relics glowed and were radiant and spun in the air, like a canopy, shining brighter than the sun. Dharma Teacher Mo Teng jumped and flew aloft. At this time, rare and precious blossoms fell from the Heavens, and divine music stirred the people's emotions. The masses were delighted, and sighed in bliss that there had never been anything like this.[112]

A mass-conversion ensues, marking the crowning moment in the era and the end of the biography of Emperor Ming, save for a brief favorable appraisal of his sensible and moderate comportment.

With the death of Emperor Ming, the narrative takes a markedly different turn in focusing primarily on the Commandant[113] Geng Gong 耿恭. As in the case of Guangwu before him, Geng Gong's military exploits and virtues are recounted in vivid detail: his use of poison-tipped arrows in conflict with barbarians, the unwavering loyalty he inspires, and the

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[112] 今胡神、国ヲ乱、人主邪ヲ信ス、火ヲモテ、験ヲ取ヘシトテ、 火ヲ縦テ、経ヲ焚ニ、道経ハ火ニ随テ、灰燼ト成、道士等色ヲ失テ、或ハ哭シ、或ハ、死ヌ、仏舎利ハ光明赫奕トシテ、空ノ中ニ旗環シ、蓋ノ如クシテ、火光ヲ映蔽ス、摩騰法師身ヲ踊シメテ、高飛、此時ニ、天ヨリ宝花降下リテ、天ノ楽、人ノ情ヲ動ス、大衆感悦シテ、未曽有也ト讃嘆ス、 Ibid., 165.

[113] *xiaowei* 校尉, per Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 238-239.

courage and resolve that enable survival in the direst circumstances. After his success and the resultant rewards are noted, the death of the emperor—a single sentence following mention of a lion received in tribute—seems almost an afterthought.

In a now-familiar pattern, the next several emperors are treated largely cursorily, with the leitmotif of the evils of ruling women appearing yet again. Child emperors ascend, and the machinations of their mothers repeatedly imperil the land. Famine sweeps the realm under its sixth ruler, Emperor An 安帝, and in contrast to the earlier ritual origins or the Way of Kickball, a precedent for corruption appears with the grim observation that "The sale of offices began at this time."[114] Assassination plots and succession disputes recur as various parties try to control the throne. Indeed, the rest of the scroll is little more than a list of crimes, rebellions, and aberrant behavior. There is spousal cannibalism,[115] continued sale of offices complete with an estimation of prices,[116] and the most undignified image of the eleventh ruler, Emperor Ling 靈帝, "taking riding shoes himself and racing [his ponies] around the capital."[117]

The situation continues to worsen with the Yellow Turban rebellion, and the empire is further threatened by the machinations of Dong Zhuo 董卓 and his lust for power. Although Emperor Xian 獻帝 at last appears to signal a return to more appropriate rule, the damage has been done. In the midst of famine, as a final blow, the palace burns to the ground, and the scene

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[114] 官ヲ売事、此御時ヨリハシマレリ Fujiwara no Shigenori, 171.

[115] Ibid., 175-176.

[116] Ibid., 176.

[117] […]自沓ヲトリテ馳テ、京ヲメクラせ給 Ibid., 176.

is ripe for Cao Cao's 曹操 entrance. The three kingdoms of Wei 魏, Wu 吳, and Shu 蜀 are born, and "[t]he sub-celestial realm was divided in three, standing just like a tripod!"[118] The final view of the once-mighty empire is of a fractured, war-ravaged land.

The sixth scroll opens with the observation that "Wei was the legitimate [kingdom]," a statement that is supported by the format of the scroll itself: the entries on Shu and Wu are all vertically "indented" so that they are entirely written at a level one character lower than the entries for the Wei.[119] (This places them, I would suggest, in a position of textual subordination.) Wei's preeminence is also manifested in the narrative trajectory—only Wei is given the full treatment of a noble founding through to an ignominious end. Shu's most noteworthy entry is that on Liu Bei's 劉備 brilliant advisor, Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮. Beyond that, Shigenori seems to have located little from this kingdom worthy of inclusion in his primer.

Wu fares slightly better, serving as the stage for two confrontations between pro- and anti-Buddhist currents. The first takes the form of a clash Wu's first ruler, Sun Quan 孫權, has with a mysterious foreign monk, Kang Senghui 康僧會. Not unlike the earlier contest held at the instigation of the Daoists, the numinousness of the relics is displayed here in their imperviousness to fire. As in the prior example, the onlooker is converted: "When [Senghui] put

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[118] 天下三ニ分テ、鼎ノ如クニソハタテリ Ibid., 180.

[119] …魏ヲ正統トセリ、 Ibid., 181. Liu Yuan-ju first called my attention to this as unexpected, as well as the curious formatting of the entries. Personal communication, August 2010. This is the format present in the Matsudaira manuscript, which can be viewed online at the National Institute of Japanese Literature database of digital and microform holdings: http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/~micro/about.html. Accessed April 17, 2012.

fire to them to burn them, the light rose up and turned into a giant lotus. A prodigious faith awakened in Quan, and he erected a temple."[120]

The second entry on Buddhism in Wu is stitched together from two separate incidents. In the first, in the face of a challenge that decries Buddhism as having "barbarian deities,"[121] the indomitable Senghui once again saves the day. He conjures up relics that glow, levitate, and prove impervious to hammer blows, awakening a temporary awe in Emperor Hao 皓. The circumstantiality of the latter's faith is, however, exposed in his second encounter with Buddhism. The tale is a gem until itself:

> After that, when [someone] was wandering around the park with palace women, landscaping the grounds, a golden figure was excavated from beneath the earth. It was of a dignified and beautiful appearance. The emperor set this figure against the side of the privy. On the eighth day of the fourth month, he urinated on top of the figure and laughed, saying: "Since this is the eighth day of the fourth month, there is an anointment." While he was diverting himself with palace women, suddenly, his scrotum swelled and ached painfully. The inflammation was unendurable, and it went on from night until morning, so he decided to lie down for the pain. Even the medicines and techniques of renowned physicians were insufficient. The Grand Astrologer[122] conducted a divination and said: "You have wronged the Great Lord." Though there were prayers in the temples, there was no sign [of improvement], and no one, high or low, could figure out what to do. One of the women in the Inner Quarters had faith in the Buddha. She loved the emperor, so this palace woman said to him: "Your Highness, ask a Buddha Icon for salvation." The emperor asked: "Is the Buddha then the Great Lord?" The palace woman said: "Of all that is worthy in heaven above or in the sub-celestial realm, none should surpass the Buddha. The Buddha figure Your Majesty got is still next to the privy. If you make offerings to it, your swollen parts will surely return to normal." The emperor, since his illness was becoming urgent, bathed

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[120] 爰ニ火ヲモチヤクニ、光升テ、大蓮花トナレリ、権大ニ信ヲ起シテ、寺ヲ立 Fujiwara no Shigenori, 188. On sources for this account, see Morita Tsurayuki 森田貫之, "'Kara kagami'-kō (shōzen)"『唐鏡』考(承前), in *Kyōtō Daigaku kokubungaku ronsō* 27 (March 2012): 45-47.

[121] 胡神. Fujiwara no Shigenori, 195.

[122] Charles O. Hucker, 481.

> the hands and eyes of the figure with perfumed water, and placed it in the palace. He kowtowed and apologized for his transgressions. With all his heart, he sought pity. On that night, the pain ceased, and the swelling, too, abated. He had Kang Senghui administer the Five Precepts to him, erected a large market-place temple, and had crowds of priests make offerings. In Yuankang 4 of the Jin, at the age of forty-two, he died. The four Wu leaders in total [ruled for] fifty-nine years.[123]

The earlier conversion clearly did not stick, or perhaps more importantly, there was no narrative need for it to do so. Wu and Shu, as "faux" dynasties, are not sites of consistency that require a well-defined narrative arc; similar to the reigns of Kings Zhao and Mu, which were chiefly noteworthy for things related to the Buddha that occurred independently of the reigns, they are merely the settings for isolated remarkable events. Through the inclusion of these anecdotes of extraordinary talents and the power of Buddhism in these lands, too, Shigenori demonstrates that the intrinsically valuable can flourish even on the margins.

While the events in Wei do take center stage in the section of the scroll devoted to the Three Kingdoms, Shigenori in fact seems to have little to record other than matters of who succeeded whom. The dramatic clashes and schemes of earlier periods are gone, albeit not the cultural accomplishments of certain leaders: Cao Zhi 曹植 is noted as a prolific poet, and Cao

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[123] 其後婇女ト園地ヲメクリテ、地ヲ治スル、土ノ下ニ、一驅ノ金像ヲ掘出セリ、形相厳麗也、帝此象ヲ廁ノ傍ニヲキツ、四月八日ニ至テ、其像ノ上ニ尿シカケテ、咲曰、今日ハ四月八日ナレハ、灌頂スル也トテ、諸ノ婇女ト遊ヒ戯ルルホトニ、陰嚢俄ニ腫、疼痛テ、熱スル事、不可堪、夜ヨリ朝ニイタル、苦痛責伏テシナントス、名医ノ上薬モ術不及、太史占申ク、大神ヲ犯スカスル所也、霊廟ニ祈禱スレトモ、験ナクシテ、上下計ナシ、中宮ニ一ノ宮人、常ニ仏ヲ信ス、帝愛アリテ、此宮人、帝ニ申サク、陛下仏図ヲ求給ヘト、帝問タマハク、仏ハ大神歟、宮中（ママ）申サク、天上天下ノ尊、仏ニ過タルハナシ、陛下得給シ像猶廁ノ傍ニアリ、供養セラレハ、腫物必ス立所ニ差ナム、帝病急ナルニヨテ、香湯ヲモテ、手、目、像ヲ洗奉テ、殿上ニ置テ、頭ヲ叩テ、過ヲ謝シ、一心ニ愍ミヲ求ム、其夜苦痛止テ、腫モ則愈ヌ、康僧会ヲ請シテ、五戒ヲ受、大市寺ヲ起テ、衆僧ヲ供養セラル、晋ノ元康四年ニ、四十二ニテ崩ヌ、呉ノ主合五十九年也 Fujiwara no Shigenori, 196-197.

Pi 曹丕 has a couplet cited that Shigenori praises as "a verse to this day said to be gentle and graceful."[124]

At the same time, the scale of the eventual collapse of the Wei is markedly reduced in comparison with the preceding dynasties. There are a mere handful of natural oddities that portend bad times, and substantially fewer examples of misbehavior in the upper echelons of power, although the misconduct of the third emperor, the King of Qi 齊王 is rendered in particularly colorful detail:

> While occupying the position of Emperor, his conduct had been ignoble. He was wanton with his wives and completely given to debauchery. He had madmen disrobe before the palace and wildly couple with women, while he looked on together with the women of the Imperial harem. Also, at Lingyun Platform, the curtains were opened, and women were blessed with his favor. Also, he was wont to boss others around. When one minister called Sun Jing remonstrated with him about such matters, he heated an iron and hit him with it, and his entire body was burnt to a crisp.[125]

Despite the lurid specifics, the dimensions of the conflict are no longer divine or larger than life. With such matters portrayed as "manageable" (as isolated instances), the "legitimate" dynasty is brought to a considerably more human scale, even in its decay.

Once Wei, Wu, and Shu have ceased to exist, the Western Jin 西晉 becomes the scroll's chief concern. Despite a beginning to the second emperor's reign that ought to have been

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[124] 此句ヤサシク、優美ニソ、今マテモ申侍レ Ibid., 183. The original couplet is: 秋風蕭瑟天氣涼，草木搖落露爲霜 (Autumn winds make the *se* plangent, and the breeze from the heavens cools./ The grasses and trees shake and shed [leaves], as dew turns to frost.) and comes from Cao Pi's 燕歌行 (Ditty on the Swallow). The poem in its entirety can be found in Cao Cao 曹操, Cao Pi 曹丕, Cao Zhi 曹植, and Yu Guanying 余冠英, *Cao Cao, Cao Pi, Cao Zhi shi xuan* 曹操曹丕曹植詩選 (Xianggang: Daguang chubanshe, 1973), 10.

[125] 帝位ニマシマス間ノ御振舞アサマシカリキ、婦人ニ淫シ、酒色ニ沈耽玉フ、狂人共ヲ殿ノ前ニ、赤裸ニシテ、女ト乱合ヲ、後宮ト共ニ見給フ、又、凌雲台ニシテハ、帷ヲ開テ、婦女ヲ幸シ給、又常ニハ好テ、人ヲハシキ給フ、カヤウノ事共ヲ、孫景ト云フ臣、諫申セハ、鉄ヲヤイテ、ウタルルニ、身モ皆焼爛レケリ Fujiwara no Shigenori, 189.

auspicious—the construction of a temple and offerings performed by one hundred monks[126]—affairs quickly degenerate. After an attempted coup, things worsen still more, while numerous aspirants to the throne struggle to establish themselves. In the midst of this, substantial room is given to the tribulations of Emperor Hui 惠帝, who eventually dies after eating a poisoned "twist" cake 索餅. His successor, Emperor Huai 懷帝, also suffers humiliations and is likewise poisoned. The final emperor, Emperor Min 愍帝, is in similar manner made to endure various degradations before being murdered. With his death, the Western Jin ends. The dynasty has been marked by violent discord and emperors unable to wield power or authority.

The Eastern Jin fares no better, cycling rapidly through emperors who indicate promise in their youth but are inevitably shoved aside in contests for power. In lieu of the more or less fully developed biographies of China's heroes of yore, the reader is presented with minimal genealogical information and brief vignettes that typically portray the emperor figure as essentially well-intentioned but incompetent. The most brilliant move effected by any of the occupants of the throne in the Eastern Jin is Emperor Ming's 明帝 flight from Wang Dun 王敦. Thinking to trick his pursuers into believing him to be far beyond their grasp, he pours water over his horse's dung to cool it and leaves behind a sword with an elderly rice vendor so that she will attest to the vanity of the chase.[127] This is hardly on par with the brilliant military exploits seen in the early scrolls.

The only cultural accomplishments during this period are attributed to Wang Xizhi 王羲之, whose famous gathering at Thoroughwort Pavilion 蘭亭 and peerless calligraphy are the

[126] Ibid., 198.

[127] Ibid., 208-209.

exclusive matters deemed worthy of note under the rule of Emperor Mu 穆皇帝.[128] The remaining Eastern Jin emperors are granted little beyond mention of their ascension to the throne and death, a format that itself suggests an accelerating decline, with each reign lasting but a few lines. Even Emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝, who occupies the throne for over twenty years, has a reign presented in a list-like, fragmented format, which prevents any sort of narrative coalescence for the dynasty's final days.

Nearing the scroll's end, *The Mirror of China* offers a feature hitherto not found in the work: a sort of summarizing qualitative observation on the state of affairs. Until now, Shigenori has merely recorded the total span of a dynasty. In contrast, he here prefaces his calculations with the comment that "The Jin fortunes and legitimacy had long been in decline."[129] Then there are the calculations for the Western and Eastern Jin. Lastly, a catalogue of Buddhist achievements is appended prior to proceeding to the final dynastic remnants.[130] The scroll closes with a rather jumbled transfer of the mandate to the Later Wei 後魏 and then to the Liu-Song 劉宋, before concluding with the remark that after the Liu-Song came to power, "the Jin

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[128] Ibid., 211. It should also be noted that John T. Carpenter, with reference calligraphic practices, notes: "…the Wang-Yukinari style had become the dominant court style of the Heian court." "Chinese calligraphic models in Heian Japan," in *The Culture of Copying in Japan: critical and historical perspectives*, Rupert Cox, ed., 156-195 (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 165. Thus, the nod to Wang Xizhi makes sense.

[129] 晋ノ祚正統長ク傾ヌ Fujiwara no Shigenori, 213.

[130] "During this period, one thousand seven hundred sixty-eight temples were built; twenty-seven people translated two-hundred sixty-three sutra sections; there were 204,000 monks and nuns." 此間寺ヲ造コト一千七百六十八所、訳経二十七人二百六十三部、僧尼二万四千人 Ibid., 213-214.

Remainder collapsed."[131] This somewhat anti-climactic comment brings to a finish the extant scrolls of *The Mirror of China*, and with that, I would like to turn to the limited work that has been done on this text to date.

Other Looks at the *Mirror*

Despite being a fairly substantial work, *The Mirror of China* has received relatively short scholarly shrift.[132] One reason for this may be a tacit tendency to classify it as a history, implying that it falls outside the traditional purview of literary studies or that it might somehow, as a history made up of translations of other histories, not require interpretation.[133] Yet to accept

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[131] 餘晋ホロヒヌ Ibid., 215.

[132] It is not even mentioned in the slightly idiosyncratic work, essentially a variation on an annotated bibliography, by Chitoshi Yanaga, "Source Materials in Japanese History: The Kamakura Period, 1192-1333," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 59.1 (March 1939): 38-55. Its existence is noted (in a single sentence) in François Lachaud's catalogue of various adaptations of and innovations to the "soul-summoning fragrance." François Lachaud (as ラショ・フランソワ), "Henkonkō" 返魂香, in *Yūrashia ni okeru bunka no kōryū to tenpen* (March 2007): 35-56 (mention on 38).

[133] Another factor may be its non-standard language register. Typically, histories were written in something that appeared much closer to classical Chinese. Although writing about a vastly removed setting—16th- through 20th-century Western academia— Françoise Waquet's work on re-integrating orality into our understanding of intellectual milieux and their workings is suggestive. In her chapter "L'historien, l'oralité et le savoir," (The historian, orality, and knowledge), Waquet discusses the ways in which disciplinary conventions have often led to the neglect of the study of "orality." Françoise Waquet, *Parler Comme un Livre: l'oralité et le savoir, XVIe-XXe siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2003), 21-69. If we think of *Kara kagami* as being written in something that is closer to, albeit still removed from, a vernacular in medieval Japan, might not there also be an institutional bias against according it historiographic value?

Gomi Fumihiko 五味文彦 includes a brief summary of the work under a section entitled 周辺の歴史書 "Shūhen no rekishisho" (Peripheral Histories). Though the section is set up to suggest that the nature of the periphery is geographic, the designation is nonetheless telling. Gomi Fumihiko 五味文彦, *Shomotsu no chūseishi* 書物の中世史, (Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 2003; 2004 printing), 460-466, write-up on 463.

The Mirror of China as a simple translation of Chinese history is to deny Shigenori and his work any sort of generative function[134]; fortunately, most recent scholarship appears well aware of this and clear strides have been made towards a reevaluation of how we ought to approach *The Mirror of China*.

However, to begin in an earlier era, the work makes a brief appearance in Kurokawa Harumura's 黒川春村 (1799-1866) encyclopedic tome *Bokusui ikō: sekiso manpitsu* 墨水遺構碩鼠漫筆.[135] Much of Kurokawa's abbreviated remarks on *The Mirror of China* center around the apparent discrepancy between the one-scroll composition he was able to view personally and the earlier attributions of a work in ten scrolls to Fujiwara no Shigenori.[136] While his comments shed light on the vagaries of cataloguing texts, they do not offer a substantive discussion of the content of *The Mirror of China*.

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[134] For an insightful look at the creative potential of translation and editing from a prestige language (Latin) into Old English, in particular how these processes can be used to accommodate an agenda, see Rhonda L. McDaniel, "Interpreting the Translator: Ælfric, His Sources, and His Critics," in *Translatio, or, The Transmission of Culture in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Modes and Messages*, Laura H. Hollengren, ed., 55-68 (Tournhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008). McDaniel's analysis makes abundantly clear how re-working a text under the guise of translation need not be a simple transparent operation, nor one in which there is no room for the translator's own voice. My thanks to Dorrit van Dalen for calling this work to my attention.

[135] Kurokawa Harumura 黒川春村 (1799-1866), *Bokusui ikō: sekiso manpitsu* 墨水遺構碩鼠漫筆 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1905). A roughly contemporary study by Kawada Takeshi 川田剛 cursorily includes *Kara kagami* as an example of a historiographic work in translation. He offers little stylistic analysis other than to note its inherent inadequacy as a work not in *genbun itchi*, a concern not germane to the present study. Kawada Takeshi 川田剛, "*Wabun Kanbun hikaku setsu*" 和文漢文比較説, in *Kokubun ronsan*, 161-182 (Tokyo: Dai Nihon Tosho Kabushiki Kaisha, 1903): 171 (concluding assessment vis-à-vis style).

[136] Kurokawa Harumura, 253-254. His reservations stem not only from the mismatch in lengths but also dating. To this description of his confusion, he appends several lines on *Kara monogatari*, which further highlight possibilities for textual conflation.

A slightly lengthier treatment appears in the expanded edition of Nomura Hachirō's 野村八郎 (1881-1966) *Kamakura jidai bungaku shinron* 鎌倉時代文學新論, wherein he devotes several pages to the work.[137] Nevertheless, this entry, too, offers little in the way of interpretation or assessment of *The Mirror of China* other than a proposal that both Shigenori's life and a Kamakura *Zeitgeist* influence the collection[138] and a postulation of a nativizing effect resulting from the "interspersal of stories" of presumably Japanese origin.[139]

One exception to this early tendency towards brevity is the work of Hirasawa Gorō 平澤五郎, author of a full-length study (1965),[140] co-editor of the *Koten bunko* 古典文庫 edition that appeared the same year, and editor of a companion volume containing collated variata and an explanatory essay (1967).[141] The study, in particular, provides a thorough introduction to the basic issues surrounding the text. The analysis consists of three sections: an introduction, a survey of extant versions, and an investigation of *The Mirror of China*'s Chinese sources and its

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[137] Nomura Hachirō 野村八郎, *Kamakura jidai bungaku shinron* 鎌倉時代文學新論 (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1942; expanded edition).

[138] Ibid., 229.

[139] ...日本へ渡りしなりとの説を載せたる、此の如き伝会の説の散見せるは、漸次主我的国民精神の勃興を来せる結果なるべし。 Though he does not identify the stories as Japanese *per se*, since both examples of "Buddhist stories" 仏説 he provides mention Japan, that seems a fair assumption. Ibid., 229-230.

[140] Hirasawa Gorō 平澤五郎, "*Kara kagami* no denpon oyobi shutten kō" 唐鏡の傳本及び出典考, in *Shidō bunko ronshū* 4 (1965.3): 309-418.

[141] The accompanying essays in the *Koten bunko* volumes are truncated versions of the *Shidō bunko ronshū* essay discussed in the following section and do not introduce new information. Hirasawa Gorō 平澤五郎, "'Kara kagami" kaidai" 「唐鏡」解題, in *Kara kagami: kōi hen* 唐鏡校異編, 191-222 (Tokyo: Koten bunko, 1967).

relation to them. The focus of the opening portion is on the original form of the text, with less space given to a discussion of its author and his biography. To resolve the question of *The Mirror of China*'s original length, Hirasawa cites a thirteenth-century catalogue sub-section (the *Honchō shojaku mokuroku kana-bu* 本朝書籍目録假名部)[142] and the fifteenth-century diary of tonsured prince Sadafusa 貞成 (1372-1456) (the *Kanmon gyoki* 看聞御記) as evidence that the work once comprised ten scrolls.[143] Further support for this is supplied in quotations of *The Mirror of China* passages drawn from the *Taishiden gyokurin shō* 太子伝玉林抄 (early 15th c.).[144] Mention of *The Mirror of China* in these texts, as well as the courtier diary *Nobutane-kyō ki* 宣胤卿記 (late fifteenth/early sixteenth century) suggest to Hirasawa that both *The Mirror of China* and its author enjoyed at least some prestige.[145] Efforts at dating *The Mirror of China*'s

[142] The designation of *Kara kagami* as a *kana* work is not necessarily as transparent as it might sound: this is not a homogeneous or comprehensive category. (The *Gukanshō*, for instance, has been put under a separate heading, "*zasshō*" 雑抄 (miscellaneous excerpts.) Fujiwara no Sanefuyu 藤原実冬, *Honchō shojaku mokuroku* 本朝書籍目録 (13th c.), in *Gunshō ruijū* 群書類従 28, Hanawa Hokinoichi 塙保己一, ed., 495.166-181 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1932; 1979 edition), 495.179. It is tempting to think of *kana* as a temporary categorical designation rather than an indication of the texts' linguistic form. Or, if that is going too far, to at least consider that the subheadings in this catalogue might not necessarily be transparent, especially considering the *Gukanshō*'s designation.

[143] Hirasawa Gorō, 310.

[144] Ibid., 311.

[145] Ibid., 311-312. Nevertheless, as I have suggested elsewhere, to my mind, listing in an index and mention in three texts fall short of convincing proof of substantial circulation. Erin L. Brightwell, " 'Kara monogatari' to 'Kara kagami' in okeru 'kara' no yōsō: Chūgoku koji no kiso chishiki"『唐物語』と『唐鏡』に於ける「唐」の様相：中国故事の基礎知識, in *Rikkyō Daigaku Nihon bungaku: Komine Kazuaki teinen ki'nen tokushūgō*: 223, note 5.

composition round out this introduction, with Hirasawa concluding that it probably dates from between 1285 and 1294.[146]

The most illuminating component of Hirasawa's study is his meticulous exploration of the various surviving manuscripts, including detailed physical descriptions of each copy viewed.[147] To roughly summarize, Hirasawa divides the extant manuscripts into three categories. The first group he discusses, of which there are three exempla, have only the fourth scroll and are derived from a manuscript he notes as traditionally attributed to Nijō Tameuji 二条為氏 (1222-1286). Dismissing the attribution as spurious, Hirasawa dates the work roughly to the Northern-Southern Courts period (1336-1392).[148] The Tameuji manuscript is substantially older than any other surviving versions, and Hirasawa suggests that "as far as the fourth scroll is concerned, it would not be amiss to suppose that in it, *The Mirror of China* has been transmitted in something relatively true to its original form."[149]

The second group, which comprises four copies, contains somewhat newer albeit longer versions, with the next in terms of age the Shōkōkan 彰考館 edition. This version takes a unique scriptorial form of mixed logographs and *katakana*.[150] Like the Shōkōkan copy, the

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[146] Ibid., 314.

[147] The summary I provide is based on the material in "On Editions" 伝本に就いて. It provides a rough grouping and overview in ibid., 315-319; analysis of group 1 on 319-325; group 2 on 325-343, and group 3 on 343-359. Hirasawa's main points appear repeatedly across these sections, *passim*. I have not noted every occurrence of any given proposal.

[148] Ibid., 316.

[149] ･･･巻四に限っては、唐鏡元来の本文を比較的正しい姿で伝写されて来ったものと推定してよいのではなかろうか。Ibid., 316.

[150] Regarding the writing style, see ibid., 316. For dating, see ibid., 326.

Matsudaira 松平 version (17th century) also contains six scrolls. Its format—a combination of characters and *hiragana* for the first five scrolls with characters and *katakana* for the sixth—and mere minor textual differences from the Shōkōkan version suggest to Hirasawa that the sixth scroll derives from the "Shōkōkan lineage,"[151] though the obvious stylistic differences and aforementioned discrepancies imply different models for the bulk of the remainder.[152]

The final group, a single copy, Hirasawa concedes repeatedly has somewhat murky origins, and he rather impressionistically posits it as slightly pre-dating the Matsudaira line.[153] After a painstaking comparison with the other surviving versions and a separate work entitled *The Mirror of China*, Hirasawa assesses this last sub-set of versions as representing a blending of textual lineages, closing with the observation that the text would be most accurately characterized as "corrected and supplemented rather than variant."[154] What is of greatest import for the current study is his evaluation of the Shōkōkan edition as the oldest of the most complete versions, and it is this version that forms the basis for the discussion of the content of *The Mirror of China* undertaken here.

In drawing his essay to a close, Hirasawa turns to the problem of identifying Chinese textual sources for *The Mirror of China*. For him, this consists primarily of identifying a parallel

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[151] Ibid., 334 and 336-337.

[152] Ibid., 317-318.

[153] Ibid., 345.

[154] やはり、本書は異本といふより、寧ろ増補改刪本と称するのが妥当な結論ではなかろうか。Ibid., 359.

passage in an official history and appraising *The Mirror of China*'s textual fidelity thereto.[155] While Hirasawa argues that the nature of the citation changes, with the content undergoing increasing truncation,[156] he tends to portray it as mindless editorial attrition of the originals; in his study, Shigenori has no voice or presence outside of the preface—he is simply a conduit for the highlights of Chinese history.[157]

It is beyond a doubt that in identifying potential textual sources for Shigenori, Hirasawa has performed an invaluable service, and he includes numerous works for comparison to demonstrate why one source might seem more likely to have been what Shigenori used than another. Such an inquiry lends itself particularly to a consideration of which Chinese sources might have enjoyed high standing among elite Japanese literati of the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, at the same time, in restricting its focus to each component story as a discreet unit, as well as in denying the act of editing or compilation any creative agency, Hirasawa leaves unexplored the question of just what it is that Shigenori builds out of these pieces.

This is not to say that Hirasawa does not credit Shigenori with any agenda. Near the end of the study, he examines the literary-intellectual environment in which he sees Shigenori carving out his space by means of a thought-provoking comparison between Shigenori's preface and the work of his grandfather's student Minamoto no Mitsuyuki 源光行 (1163-1244), *Mōgyū*

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[155] Hirasawa seems committed to finding sources in orthodox histories to the point that even when there is an "unorthodox" option, the most he is willing to consider is that Shigenori drew on more than one source. This is what we see in his analysis of the early biographies from the *Ben ji* 本紀 and *Di wang shi ji* 帝王世紀. Cf. ibid, 371-373. Liu Yuan-ju 劉苑如 has suggested that it reads much more like the latter. Personal communication, August 2010.

[156] Hirasawa Gorō, 375.

[157] He proposes the interesting position that compiling a text of "excerpts" attests to its didactic purpose. Ibid., 379. The same holds true when Shigenori selects "interesting" things. Ibid, 384.

waka 蒙求和歌.[158] Yet here, too, or even where Hirasawa raises the well-made point that *The Mirror of China* and *China Tales* take very different attitude towards their source *texts*, the discussion side-steps the issue of what each Japanese composite text has to say about the subject of all of these sources—China herself.

The substantially later work of Otagiri Fumihiro 小田切文洋, though shorter than Hirasawa's study, poses a challenge to Hirasawa's methodology and in so doing makes a valuable contribution to the discourse on textual exegesis that exclusively devotes itself to identifying source texts.[159] Otagiri dissects each of the entries in the first scroll of *The Mirror of China* into smaller episodes and then discusses potential sources for each, repeatedly emphasizing that his goal is not the definitive identification of Shigenori's sources but rather to demonstrate that these materials were not drawn exclusively from the ranks of the official histories.[160] In particular, his piece is concerned with demonstrating the influence of *ruisho* 類書 (commonplace books) and similar writings in the circulation and construction of medieval

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[158] This being said, the focus of this comparison is primarily on the like didactic "attitude" of Mitsuyuki's and Shigenori's works, as evinced by the similar closing lines of the prefaces. Ibid., 393-394. The profession of an instructive purpose aside, however, the *Mōgyū waka* 蒙求和歌 preface and Shigenori's appear to have very little in common. Minamoto no Mitsuyuki 源光行, *Mōgyū waka* 蒙求和歌*,* in *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 続群書類従 15, Minamoto Tadatomi (?) 源忠寶 ed., 74-150 (Tokyo: Keizai zasshisha, 1911), 74.

[159] Otagiri Fumihiro 小田切文洋, "'Kara kagami' ni okeru Kanseki juyō no hito kōsatsu: chūsei Nihon no rekishi jojutsu to Kanbun sekai" 『唐鏡』における漢籍受容の一考察中世日本の歴史叙述と漢文世界, in *Studies in International Relations (Intercultural Relations 22)* 20.2 (1999): 179-221. The 2000 sequel to this study continues in the same vein.

[160] Ibid., 182 and *passim*.

knowledge.[161] Otagiri concludes with the observation that the allure of *The Mirror of China* lies in its amalgamative nature, its synthesis of a broad variety of types of sources.[162] More significant in broader terms, the extensive selection of potential sources Otagiri identifies highlights the difficulty in conclusively determining the corpus upon which Shigenori relied and creates a much more varied image of textual transmission and circulation in the late Heian and Kamakura period.[163] The complex picture he outlines also hints at a non-hierarchical relationship between China- and Japan-produced sources. While Otagiri does not address this directly, in demonstrating that *The Mirror of China* likely draws on both Chinese and Japanese commonplace books and commentaries, he nods to a medieval community in which Chinese writings were not necessarily uncritically privileged over those composed domestically.

The latest substantial work on *The Mirror of China* can be found in the recently published work of Yamada Naoko 山田尚子—an article entitled "'Kara kagami'-kō— rekishi monogatari toshite no sokumen o megutte" 『唐鏡』考—歴史物語としての側面をめぐって and her later book, *Chūgoku koji juyō ronkō: kodai chūsei Nihon ni okeru keishō to tenkai* 中国故事受容論考:古代中世日本における継承と展開. The article's beginning provides a brief overview of the standard author biography and nod to audience before moving on to the more pressing question of genre, in this case, to consider what a "Mirror" is. Yamada argues

[161] Ibid., 180.

[162] このような正式の本伝的な世界からしばしば逸脱する、外伝的な拡がりへの関心に、『唐鏡』の表現世界のおもしろさがあるだろう。 Ibid., 218.

[163] Cf. ibid. This was the other goal of his study—to enrich our understanding of just what was considered the fundamental knowledge of Chinese classics in the period. (…こうした漢土由来の歴史故事に対しての知識の共有基盤がどの辺りにあるのかを探りたかったである。 Ibid.)

persuasively that the concept of the genre is inherited from Continental China and that as such, it would have been understood as "history presented in terms of knowledge, models, and admonitions as a 'mirror' to reflect actual society."[164] After establishing that *The Mirror of China*'s form distinguishes it from commonplace books, she moves on to consider the implications of taking China as subject, proposing that "If we accept that China was Japan's model in every respect, then the import of the 'Mirror' as an intellectual and exemplary history might have been greater for *The Mirror of China* than *The Great Mirror*."[165] Yamada closes the section by emphasizing the need to be aware that as a project, *The Mirror of China* caters to Japanese readership.[166]

This point provides a transition to her discussion of sources, the result of which is the suggestion that Fujiwara no Takanori's *Meibunshō* 明文抄 played a defining role in terms of the scope and core subject matter of *The Mirror of China*.[167] The final body section of the essay is an examination of the entry on the Yellow Emperor and Chi You and the ways in and ends to which the material has been manipulated.[168] Yamada argues that Shigenori's portrayal of the episode as part of the kickball tradition is made possible in part by the decision to write *The*

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[164] ･･･理知や規範や鑑戒としての歴史を現実社会を映し出す〈鏡〉として扱おうとする物語･･･ Yamada Naoko (2008), 30.

[165] あらゆる面において中国が日本の模範であったことからすれば 理知や規範や鑑戒として歴史＝〈鏡〉が持つ重みは、『大鏡』より『唐鏡』のほうが大きいものであったかもしれない。Ibid., 31.

[166] Ibid., 31.

[167] Ibid., 32-33.

[168] See Note 72 for Shigenori's original text.

Mirror of China as a narrative.[169] She closes the article with the argument that commonplace books and tales reflect different intellectual priorities (perhaps dependent upon location): the former speak to earlier ideas of a sheer amassing of knowledge, while the latter privilege a desire to "understand ancient matters" and their import. In other words, we see here a fundamental change in the way people were conceptualizing knowledge.[170] Though a very short work, the piece raises several critical points for the study of *The Mirror of China*—its genre, its relationship to source material, and the implicit influence of the notion of a target audience.

The book, though meticulous, incorporates little new challenging material with regard to *The Mirror of China*. As its title suggests, the larger theme of the work is the reception of Chinese historical events in Japan. Through a linguistically grounded analysis, Yamada examines the ways in which Chinese imagery and rhetoric were deployed in Heian Japan. The oft-repeated point that Japanese were not simply passive receptors but also creatively manipulated their imports to suit their own ends is not in itself ground-breaking.[171] However, the

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[169] Yamada Naoko (2008), 38-39, concluding point on 39. The emphasis on *Kara kagami* as telling "origins" is repeated several times from page 35 on.

[170] ･･･世の推移を測る指標として故事を用いようとしたときには、個々の故事を理解するかが重要な課題となるだろう。Ibid., 39.

[171] The insistence on this point calls to mind Geoffrey Gust's essay on different trends in American and British scholarship on Chaucer: the "Anxiety of Tradition." While the specifics of the comparison do not hold—Japanese scholars do not typically seem motivated by "nationalism" to render Chinese domestic—constructing a narrative of a Japanese reception of things Chinese may nevertheless remain subject to the legacy of traditional scholarly modes of inquiry closely bound to ideas of the nation and national identity. It must be added that, in the same way that Gust sees strengths in both the American and British approaches, I in no way wish to suggest a hierarchical relationship between Japanese and non-Japanese secondary scholarship. But I do think it worthwhile to reflect on the possible factors for their divergent directions. Geoffrey Gust, "Worlds Apart? Chaucerian (Re)Constructions in Britain and America," in *Translatio, or, The Transmission of Culture in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Modes and Messages*, Laura H. Hollengren, ed., 229-252 (Tournhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008), 251.

detailed textual comparisons through which the claim is substantiated provide clear examples of the mechanics of this process, and Yamada's frequent gestures to context of reception are welcome. What is of greater interest still is the strand in her work that ties to the earlier essay(s) by Otagiri: the discussion of the effect of commonplace books on the nature of the reception of matters and language Chinese. Yamada's work depicts an environment of textual production and consumption in which locating the supposed real meaning of an allusion or intertextual moment by pin-pointing a locus classicus would be a fool's errand, or at the very least, a serious oversimplification of the paths of medieval Japanese knowledge transmission and creation.

Within this larger project, Yamada devotes the fourth chapter to *The Mirror of China*. The central argument of the chapter is similar to one of the key points of her article—that *The Mirror of China* draws on the earlier work of Shigenori's grandfather, the *Meibunshō*, to create a *rekishi mongogatari* 歴史物語, a historical tale.[172] While the textual debt Shigenori owes to his ancestors is of less interest to the present project, the significance of contention that *The Mirror of China* is, in fact, a story cannot be overstated.[173] Yamada bases this argument on a brief

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[172] While the discussion of *MBS* unfolds over the following pages, the claim that this work is a historical narrative appears on Yamada Naoko (2009), 106. The desire to classify *Kara kagami* as a historical narrative may perhaps be a factor in her decision to use the Matsudaira edition, since it is written in a more purely *wabun* style with (what appears to be) significantly fewer Chinese characters and thus accords more nicely with traditional ideas about how *monogatari* form ought to work.

[173] Yamada is not, however, the first to make this claim. In two articles appearing in 1993 and 1994, Fukuda Akimichi 福田景道 argues for a broader definition of *rekishi monogatari* that includes *Kara kagami* as well as other theretofore ignored works. Fukuda's expanded definition of *rekishi monogatari* will be discussed elsewhere. What is important to note for the moment is that the discussion of *Kara kagami* dwells largely on authorship and issues of dating. Fukuda seeks to problematize both in order to create the possibility that *Kara kagami* was written during a postulated *rekishi monogatari* "boom." Fukuda Akimichi 福田景道, "Rekishi monogatari no han'i to keiretsu (jō)" 歴史物語の範囲と係列(上), *Shimane daigaku kyōikubu kiyō (jinbun/shakai)* 27 (December 1993): 25-34, and Fukuda Akimichi, "Rekishi monogatari no

discussion of what the *Mirror* of the title signifies, which, in turn, is accomplished by means of a comparison with *The Great Mirror*. The proposal that the works are related because of presumed consistencies in interpretive strategies on the parts of their readers is not entirely as persuasive as one might wish.[174] Nonetheless, the claim that "Therefore, we can think that *The Mirror of China'*s greatest significance as a historical narrative is the fact that it seeks to emplace each event in the flow of Chinese history and to interpret ancient events vis-à-vis a historical context"[175] remains intriguing, because it marks one of the few instances of a scholar identifying Shigenori's assemblage and editing as an act of creation.[176]

While Yamada sees largely similarities to *The Great Mirror*, for reasons to be discussed below, I find the differences most striking. Regardless, though, the fact remains that in

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han'i to keiretsu (ge)" 歴史物語の範囲と係列(下), *Shimane daigaku kyōikubu kiyō (jinbun/shakai)* 27-2 (March 1994): 17-27. For the section specifically on *Kara kagami*, see Fukuda Akimichi (1994), 22-23.

[174] Yamada Naoko (2009), 107-108.

[175] そこで、『唐鏡』が歴史物語であることの最大の意義は、個々の故事を中国史の流れの中に据え、歴史的な文脈において故事を理解しようとしたことにあったものと考えられる。Ibid., 109. For the same conclusion verbatim, see also Yamada Naoko (2008), 39.

[176] Equally importantly, but not relevant to this paragraph, the claim bears striking similarity to the ways in which a Kamakura historiographic classic, the *Gukanshō* 愚管抄, is discussed. I will return to this latter work later. Yamada never seems to consider the larger implications of positing a "historical awareness" or how Shigenori's technique relates to other medieval historians', presumably because of her emphasis on the China angle. Cf. ibid. 109 and *passim*.

Furthermore, with regard to the point of taking *Kara kagami* as a work that belongs to a genre of narrative writing (as opposed to lumping it together with 'pure' histories or ignoring it all together), such an act dovetails nicely with the more abstract, Bourdieu- inspired "model of Classical Japanese Literature" proposed by Rein Raud. The specific tenets of this scheme can be found in Rein Raud, "The Heian Literary System: a Tentative Model," in *Reading East Asian Writing: the Limits of Literary Theory*, Michael Hockx and Ivo Smits, eds., 92-116 (London and New York: RoutledgeCourzon, 2003), 98-99.

reincorporating *The Mirror of China* into the *Mirror* fold as she does, she makes visible new avenues for exploration.[177] Moreover, her conclusion, like that of the earlier essay, that the work reveals a qualitatively different notion of Chinese learning is well worth bearing in mind in any subsequent attempt to evaluate the significance of *The Mirror of China*.[178] Nonetheless, while Otagiri and Yamada have carried out invaluable work in substantially complicating the backdrop against which *The Mirror of China* was produced, neither tackles the overall image of China that *The Mirror of China* contains or the implications of such a vision, an issue the present study will take up.

Lastly, a still more recent article by Morita Tsurayuki 森田貫之 approaches *The Mirror of China* with the goal of teasing out a history of Buddhism in the work. Morita returns to the problem of identifying source texts in order to demonstrate a special status for Fa Lin's 法琳 (572-640) *Bian zheng lun* 辨正論. Based on Shigenori's privileging of this particular source and others similarly pro-Buddhist in orientation, Morita concludes: "This fact demonstrates that in both the author Shigenori and the work *The Mirror of China*, the attitude is one of wishing to recount a thoroughgoing history of Buddhism in China."[179] Morita disappointingly leaves off

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[177] Yamada notes simply that "in handling Chinese history, [*Kara kagami*] draws a line between itself and other *kagami*, including *Ōkagami*." 一方、『唐鏡』は、中国の歴史を扱うという点で、『大鏡』を含む他の鏡ものとは一線を画す。 Yamada Naoko (2009), 109.

[178] Ibid., 122. In the conclusion to her work, Yamada takes the relatively conservative position that *Kara kagami* reflects Japanese concerns and owes its form to "the strong demands [born] of contemporary society's state of affairs for something wherein Chinese history could be used as a measure by which to fathom the vicissitudes of the world." ... 当時の社会情勢が、中国故事を世の推移を測る指標として用いることを強く要請した... Ibid., 331-332.

[179] この事実は、著者茂範に、『唐鏡』に、一貫した中国仏教史を叙述しようとする姿勢があったことを示してる。Morita Tsurayuki (2012), 52.

here, however, short of explaining why Shigenori might have had such an intent or how we, as readers, ought to make sense of this text as a phenomenon in Japan. As the earlier summary of *The Mirror of China* should indicate, there is an indisputable Buddhist thread that runs through the work. Yet I do not think that "a thoroughgoing history of Buddhism" is all that is at stake. *The Mirror of China* is a text with many intermingled discourses, the ramifications and valences of which will be explored in the subsequent chapters.

Clearly, then, there is much to be done. Even as the most recent scholarship highlights the issues of genre and sources or posits intellectual or cultural preoccupations (both for the writer and readers), this is a conversation that is but beginning. Now, having familiarized ourselves with the work's content, its context of production, and the focus of secondary scholarship to date, we are in a position to enter this conversation as well. And with that, let us turn in the next chapter to the problem of language.

Chapter Three: Verba Volant, Scripta Manent·

The Mirror of China opens with a first-person account of its own transmission. The narrator has made his way to Anraku Temple, where, having completed his vow of one thousand sutra readings, he has taken part in a Double Nines banquet, complete with a poetry competition:

> When the poetry recitation ceremony had concluded, 'the autumn wind was mournfully blowing' in the depths of the cool night. There were two eminent monks there who had been in the audience since I began the sutra readings, keeping to the sidelines. Tonight, they scooted closer on their knees, saying something. One was quite a great priest. His speech was impossible to decipher. The other, who was [his] disciple, did the honors of passing on the master's words, translating them, and so on.[1]

The passage above describes the opening encounter between Shigenori and his alleged source for the content of *Kara kagami*. The senior Chinese monk has been impressed, and now he would

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· Portions of the material from this chapter were presented in the following talks: "A Multi-faceted Mirror: *Kara kagami* and Creating Hi/stories" at the Asian Studies Conference Japan (Tokyo), June 30-July 1, 2012; "Speak Knowledgeably and Carry a Big Sword" at the Association of Asian Studies Conference (Philadelphia), March 27-30, 2014.

[1] 講頌儀終リヌレハ、涼夜稍深テ、秋風蕭颯タリ、此時、二人ノ高僧アリ、転誦ノ時ヨリ、聴聞ノ躰ニテ、傍ヲ離レ給ハス、今夜近ク居ヨリテ、物ノタマフ、一人ハ師トオホシキ躰也、其ノタマフ詞ハ聞知レス、今一人ノ弟子トオホシキ人ソ、師ノ言ヲ伝ラルル、通事ナトノ儀也、 Shigenori, 9. I suspect that the section in '' in the translated text is borrowed from the poem "蔡平喜遇河陽馬判官寛話別" (Cai Ping happily encounters Secretary Ma of Heyang, they palaver, and then part) by the 9th-century poet Bao Rong 鮑溶, now preserved in the *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩. 從事東軍正四年，相逢且喜偃兵前。看尋狡兔翻三窟，見射妖星落九天。江上柳營回鼓角，河陽花府望神仙。 秋風蕭颯醉中別，白馬嘶霜雁叫煙。 The poem appears to tell of a friendly fleeting encounter between members of opposing military forces at which they drink together before parting in the chill autumn air. For the original, as the twentieth in a series attributed to Bao Rong, see Peng Dingqiu 彭定球 (1645-1719), ed., *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩, vol. 15 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), 485.5506-5507. While the spirit of temporary camaraderie the poem perhaps suggests is not ill suited to the occasion of Shigeori's meeting with the monks, the general tenor seems gloomy. This is still more true when one remembers that the Bao Rong allusion follows immediately upon Shigenori's memory of a couplet by Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 that even now, at the moment immediately preceding his making the acquaintance of the foreign clerics, moves him to tears. I have not been able to identify a source for the first four-character phrase: 涼夜稍深.

like to engage Shigenori directly. However, despite Shigenori's scholarship of things Chinese, the two have no immediate means of communication and must rely on a translator, a situation that attests to the curious problem of the nature of linguistic competence in medieval Japan: the utter disconnect between Chinese as a spoken idiom and Chinese texts, or *kanbun*.[2]

Yet, there is no suggestion that Shigenori is surprised or abashed by his inability to interact with the monk without mediation. Nor, equally significantly, does his lack of facility with the modern spoken language in any way compromise his position as transmitter of an ultimately text-based history of China.[3] In other words, for someone in Shigenori's position, that of an authority on or translator of things Chinese, direct access to contemporary China or Chinese is superfluous. Or, one might go one step further and infer that it is contemporary China as such that is rendered largely irrelevant by such a move, i.e., that the "China" worth knowing about is temporally contained.

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[2] David Lurie observes a like phenomenon already in the Heian: "Close examination of passages that discuss writing and reading shows that during the Heian period there was not a firm connection between Chinese-style logographic writing (*kanbun*) and the (spoken) Chinese language." David B. Lurie (2011), 324. His discussion of an episode in the *Tosa nikki* is similar in many ways to my independent observations on the situation in *The Mirror of China*, a coincidental result of the parallels between the scenes we discuss. Cf. ibid., 327-328. On a more practical level, this may also be in part an effort to make the account more realistic. In Ennin's 円仁 (794-864) diary, interpreters make regular appearances, and even in the limited selection from Jōjin's 成尋 (1011-1081) diary that Charlotte von Verscheur has translated, one sees various modes of communication— writing, interpreting, etc.—without any comment on them as such. See ibid. and Charlotte von Verschuer, "Le voyage de Jōjin au mont Tiantai," in *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, 77.1/3 (1991): 1-48. For the former, see Ennin and Edwin O. Reischauer, *Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1955).

[3] This written form is also in contrast to earlier *Mirrors*, an issue to which I will return in Chapter Five.

Given the way in which the preface initially draws attention to the spoken language gap between the Chinese monks and the Japanese narrator (Shigenori) only to abandon the pretense of inter-lingual communication difficulties in the written arena, language can be understood as negotiating fluid spaces betwixt and between spoken and written registers in this text. Further complicating matters is the fact that the written forms in *The Mirror of China* are neither static nor homogenous. Thus, in this chapter, I will take up the question of how we might conceive of written forms as functioning in *The Mirror of China*. In other words, what does the deployment of heterogeneous, non-unified written forms within a work enable and what types of positions does it suggest?

Because "form" for me encompasses both linguistic and visual elements, in order to explore this, I will first address the problem of form across three representative manuscripts. Then, I will offer an analysis of the dominant themes of *The Mirror of China* in order to consider how this may relate to questions of forms. Lastly, in order to contextualize *The Mirror of China* and its form or written register, I will look at Jien's 慈円 *Gukanshō* 愚管抄 (My Humble Summary of the Essential, ca. 1219), a work that explicitly addresses ideas of writing and linguistic forms.

Form and/as Translation

Even as Shigenori reveals his verbal disconnect from his "native informants," readers of the remainder of the work are reminded of his access to a textual China and Chinese through the mention of classical texts and commentaries noted earlier. Here, then, we see that China is most important or acceptable as a purely written presence, and hence Chinese as a written medium. That this should be so implies that production in *kanbun* is uncoupled from an idea of

China proper in Shigenori's circles. As a form of writing, it does not demand an oral Chinese counterpart to legitimate it.

Moreover, *The Mirror of China* is not, as Otagiri Fumihiro's work discussed in the previous chapter makes clear, a simple instance of the translation of a single text from one language into another. However, if we think of translation as not merely an inter-lingual project, but rather as a process of "transformation, alteration, change [...] renovation,"[4] then *The Mirror of China*, as a reconfiguration and partial linguistic refashioning of Chinese sources, more easily fits the bill. The issue becomes more complicated, though, when one considers the formal diversity of the translations of *The Mirror of China*: the surviving manuscripts are linguistically varied, both within a single work and between editions.[5] Somewhat surprisingly, lack formal unity notwithstanding, there is little variation in content between the extant editions (at least in

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[4] OED, online edition, accessed via Princeton VPN, June 11, 2012, 19:57 JST.

[5] Needless to say, there are earlier examples of multilingual writing in Japan: the *kana* and *mana* prefaces to the *Kokin waka-shū* 古今和歌集 (ca. 905) are an early and famous instance of nearly parallel compositions in two different forms. Similarly, works written primarily in one form could nonetheless exploit language or stylistic differences when incorporating other genres, such as the inclusion of a "letter" near the end of *Taketori monogatari* 竹取物語 (early Heian). Still, I see this as essentially different from the meandering back and forth between styles found in *The Mirror of China*, where the form does not appear bound to the source text or any obvious generic affiliation. I would further contend that the lack of a clear "original" form for a manuscript distinguishes *The Mirror of China* from a text for which there are later editions in different forms but for which an "original" linguistic choice is nonetheless relatively clear.

Of course, as previously noted in Chapter Two, *Kara kagami* is listed as a "kana" work in *Honchō shojaku mokuroku*. (See Chapter Two, note 142.) On this point, I would once again assert that an intuitive or unthinking collapse of form and language (kana/Japanese and mana/Chinese) such as was problematized in the introduction conceals the possibility of multilingual texts. In the case of *The Mirror of China*'s position in the *Honchō shojaku mokuroku*, by virtue of its classification as *kana* work, *The Mirror of China* can too easily become (mis-)identified as a "Japanese" text. This implies a formal/linguistic unity that is not, however, supported by the manuscripts themselves.

the scrolls that survive) of *The Mirror of China*. Therefore, rather than attempt to chart a linguistic-form- to-subject for each individual manuscript, I would prefer to consider them as a whole in order to think about the problem of a subject that resists linguistic confines. In this particular case, that means asking what happens when a subject exists as a multilingual construct, both within and outside of single manuscripts.[6] If we consider the three manuscript lineages of *The Mirror of China* together, what different positions are suggested by the various linguistic forms in which it exists?

Admittedly, to the extent that all of the surviving editions of *The Mirror of China* combine *kanbun* and something else, they all could simply be shunted into the category of *Wa-Kan konkōbun* 和漢混淆文 (Japanese/Chinese hybrid). Nonetheless, this is a category that is so broad as to be nearly meaningless, and even Hirasawa Gorō, though not overly concerned with form in his work on *The Mirror of China*, identifies distinct forms for the editions referenced in the current study. He categorizes them as follows: a Tameuji 為氏-attributed manuscript in *hiragana–majiri no buntai* 平仮名交りの文体 (*hiragana*-interspersed style); a Shōkōkan 彰考館 edition in *katakana*- interspersed Japanese/Chinese hybrid style; and a Matsudaira 松平 edition of which the first five scrolls are in a *hiragana*-interspersed style, while the sixth is in *katakana*- interspersed Japanese/Chinese hybrid style.[7] These designations are not in and of themselves inaccurate, but their vagueness could lead one to believe that the

[6] Haruo Shirane has suggested that *The Mirror of China* is an example of a twelfth-century "vernacular wave." Personal communication, September 15, 2010. Without discounting this possibility, the designation "vernacular" obscures the potential for formal variation within a text such as this.

[7] Hirasawa Gorō (1967), 202.

texts themselves are stylistically uniform. In fact, though, they are not. This is a critical point, because *The Mirror of China* transgresses traditional analytical boundaries in its intertextual and even more its intratextual formal diversity.

All of this sounds impressionistic, and in order to make a stronger case for multiple forms being present within a single edition, more precise terminology is necessary. Happily, Misumi Yōichi 三角洋一, in a survey of Heian and medieval writing styles, offers a more nuanced breakdown of medieval formal possibilities. He opens with a discussion of *hiragana* writing, which he divides into two rough groups: "character-interspersed *hiragana*" (in which the *hiragana* are numerically dominant) and "mixed character and *hiragana*" (in which both characters and *hiragana* are well represented).[8] *Katakana* writing is similarly subdivided, with three resultant styles: "*katakana*-interspersed *kanbun*/character-writing"; "character-interspersed *katakana* writing"; and "mixed character/*kanbun* and *katakana*."[9] These distinctions afford a means to recognize formal plurality even in editions that appear unified in Hirasawa's terms.[10]

Concretely put, applying Misumi's terminology permits one to classify the Tameuji and the first five scrolls of the Matsudaira editions as consisting of smaller portions of "mixed character and *hiragana*" very close to *kanbun* and substantial stretches in "character-interspersed

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[8] Misumi Yōichi 三角洋一, "Kanbun-tai to wabun-tai no aida: Heian chūsei no bungaku sakuhin" 漢文体と和文体の間：平安中世の文学作品, in *Koten Nihongo no sekai: Kanji ga tsukuru Nihon*, 99-123 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku shuppansha, 2007), 100-103.

[9] Ibid., 105 for initial categories, discussion continuing 105-113.

[10] Guest likewise undertakes a finer breakdown that the traditional Chinese versus Japanese, but hers is primarily oriented towards texts within the "classical Chinese/ kundoku" realm, while Misumi's work is more germane to an attempt at a more nuanced understanding of variation within "hybrid" writing forms. Cf. Jennifer Guest, 16-19.

hiragana."[11] In contrast, scroll 6 of the Matsudaira edition and the entirety of the Shōkōkan edition resemble a mix of *katakana*-interspersed *kanbun*/ character-writing and mixed character/*kanbun* and *katakana*.[12] In other words, each of the manuscripts exhibits varying degrees of affinity with *kanbun*, some quite distant, but there is no consistent formal stance that includes them all. While it is not my intention to attribute an identity crisis to Shigenori in this linguistic mélange, I would nonetheless suggest that even the possibility of such a formally multifarious text (or texts) speaks to a refreshingly messy positionality vis-à-vis the continent and continental culture.[13]

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[11] While a cursory glance suggests a correlation between the classical Chinese passages in the Matsudaira and Tameuji editions, the two cursivize differently, suggesting that the Matsudaira is not simply a copy of the Tameuji manuscript. For example, the first three full lines of the fourth scroll is written as follows in the Tameuji version ([] characters represent *kuzushi ji*): 第六主をハ孝武皇帝と申き諱ハ徹景帝の中子也［御］母を王皇后と申すこの后むかし金王孫といふ人［尓］嫁て一女を生給へり[.] Document 108-67, property of Hōsa bunko 蓬左文庫. Page 2/39 in facsimile reproduction of *Kara kagami*. In the Matsudaira version, it reads: 第六主［越］ハ孝武皇帝と申［幾］諱ハ徹景帝［能］中子也御母を王皇后と申［春］この后むかし金王孫といふ人[尓]嫁て一女を生給へ里[.] Image 97, Document 115-1, property of Hizen Matsudaira bunko, accessed electronically via the National Institute of Japanese Literature (microfilm number 358-56-5(170 コマ, A)), at http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/infolib/meta_pub/KTMSearch.cgi, June 30, 2013, 18:11 JST. Hirasawa also identifies the Naikaku bunko 内閣文庫 edition as being of the Matsudaira lineage, though he notes variations, most notably the absence of the sixth scroll. Hirasawa Gorō (1967), 214-215. I have consulted the Naikaku edition, but will not cite it.

[12] This is in contrast to a work like *Gukanshō*, which appears in Misumi's opening discussion of *kana* and looks closest to "character-interspersed *katakana* writing" in his citation. Cf. Misumi Yōichi, 105. Misumi does suggest that these are not always easy (or complete) distinctions. Ibid., 112.

[13] Though I am trying to avoid discussing this in terms of "identity," if we think of language selection as performing an indexing of identity (and as someone trained in socio-linguistics, I do), a multilingual text such as *The Mirror of China* brings to mind Stuart Hall's comments on the creation of identity as "…discursive work, the binding and making of symbolic boundaries, the production of 'frontier-effects.'" Stuart Hall, "Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'?," in *Questions of Cultural Identity,* 1-18 (London and Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1996), 3. If we

Having settled on a more precise means of formal identification for the manuscripts, let us consider the implications thereof. The oldest version of *The Mirror of China* is that attributed to Nijō Tameuji 二条為氏 (1222-1286). If this work is genuine, the manuscript dates to within 20 or 30 years of *The Mirror of China*'s composition. Regrettably, only the fourth fascicle survives, yet what does remain is remarkable for the presence of the two distinct styles noted above. Most entries open with a line (or lines) in "mixed character and *hiragana*" that is visually similar to Classical Chinese. These segments are primarily in Chinese characters with Japanese readings and word order indicated through glosses. (This being said, particles and inflections are sometimes rendered full-sized in the body of a phrase as well.) Entries may or may not close in like fashion. Formally, this rendering resembles the idiom(s) of the official histories. One example of this is the opening lines to the fourth scroll: 第六主をハ孝武皇帝と申き諱ハ徹景帝の中子也御母を王皇后と申すこの后むかし金王孫といふ人に嫁て一女を生給へり[.][14]

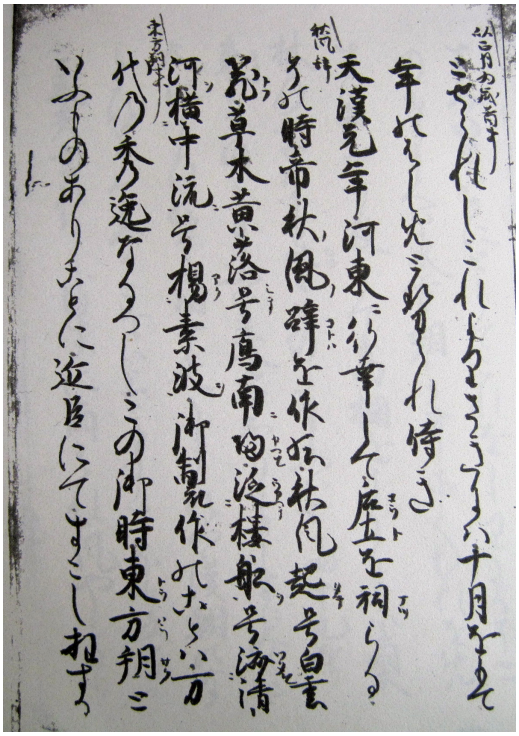
Here, nearly all information other than grammatical inflections is provided in characters. Yet between such visual anchors, the bulk of the remaining text is in a distinct cursive script much closer to that of "literary" manuscripts, that of "character- interspersed *hiragana*." Compare, for instance, the lines on the preceding page with the opening lines of the section on Wang Zhaojun 王昭君, which occur in the middle of they entry on Emperor Yuan 元帝: 王昭君といひし人ハ斉國の王嬙かむすめなり年十七にて内へまいりたりもとより

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consider crossing between linguistic forms to be akin to a negotiation of boundaries, then there are multiple shifting identities present in *The Mirror of China*.

[14] See also Note Eleven. I have not bracketed the *kuzushi ji* variations here.

美女なれハ繪師をもかたはらぬほとにわろくかきなしてけり[.][15] In portions of the text such as these, with the exception of proper nouns, nearly everything is written in *hiragana*. Thus, the text is comprised of two distinct visual styles, as in the image to the right.[16] In other words, in contrast to the now dominant discourse of texts being in either Chinese or Japanese, in the Tameuji manuscript we see a text that visually engages with both. The recurring insertion of Chinese ensures a multi-lingual text and produces a *Mirror* that formally inscribes a union of the languages of official and unofficial historiography.



(An example of formal variation in the Tameuji manuscript. See Note 16.)

As already noted, the fullest versions in the Matsudaira lineage consist of discrete sections that use characters and *hiragana* (scrolls one through five) and those that use characters and *katakana* (scroll six).[17]

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[15] Document 108-67, property of Hōsa bunko 蓬左文庫. Page 21/39 in the facsimile reproduction of *Kara kagami*. *Katahara* (in error for *kataraha*) is written in abbreviated forms of: 加堂者良. Checked against the typesetting of the Tameuji manuscript found in Tōda Emiko 刀田絵美子, "Nagoya-shi Hōsa bunko-zō 'Kara kagami' eiin oyobi honkoku" 名古屋市蓬左文庫蔵「唐鏡」影印および翻刻, in *Kuntengo to kunten shiryō* (March 2011): 103. Cf. the relatively light-on-characters rendering in the typesetting of the Shōkōkan edition: 王昭君トイヒシ人ハ、斉国ノ王嬙カ娘也、年十七ニシテ、内ヘマイリタリ、自元美女也ヘレハ、絵師ヲモカタラハヌホトニ、ワロク書ナシテケリ、 Shigenori, 138. (I have not looked at the later copy of this manuscript that is held by the University of Tokyo, since Hirasawa notes that it is virtually identical to this original. In Hirasawa Gorō (1967), 206-207.)

[16] Hōsa bunko document 108-67. Page 6/39 in facsimile reproduction of *Kara kagami*.

[17] For Hirasawa's overview of the Matsudaira texts, see Hirasawa Gorō (1967), 210-222.

This manuscript offers the most indisputable instance of formal variety.

The oldest most complete version of *The Mirror of China*, the Shōkōkan edition, is stylistically more uniform than either the Tameuji or Matsudaira texts.[18] As stated before, it is recorded in "*katakana*-interspersed *kanbun*/character-writing" and/or "mixed character/*kanbun* and *katakana*." While Hirasawa stops at identifying the form of the Shōkōkan edition as *katakana*-interspersed *kanbun*/character writing, a look at the Shōkōkan manuscript itself is necessary to grasp the extent to which it visually differs from the Matsudaira copies (or at least the first five scrolls thereof).[19] The characters are box-like and regular, arrayed evenly. While there is some variation in the density of Chinese characters, they are clearly more numerous than in the other editions, and their distribution is much more consistent. (Nowhere in the six scrolls did I see a single line without Chinese characters.) The *katakana*, too, is at times smaller, which further magnifies the sense that it is an addition to a Chinese original. Comparison of the final lines of the preface in the Matsudaira and Shōkōkan editions should give a very limited sense of the different visual impact of these lineages. In flowing cursive with characters and *hiragana* of fluctuating sizes, the Matsudaira manuscript tradition is: "古をとりて鏡とする事ありとかやきこえたまひしかハから鏡とや申し侍へき."[20] The Shōkōkan edition, even in this section

[18] I defer to Hirasawa on the dating of this edition and the Matsudaira, as well as their status vis-à-vis each other. Ibid., 208.

[19] Ibid. The following discussion of the Shōkōkan edition is based on Shōkōkan 彰考館 manuscript 亥6, reproduced from microfilm as document E2783, 102コマ, E by the National Institute of Japanese Literature. Unfortunately, photocopying is prohibited, so I am unable to include an image thereof in this study.

[20] The character 申 is also so abbreviated as to resemble *kana*, but I am unable to reproduce this on a computer. As appearing on the fifth page of text of the Matsudaira bunko edition, document 115-1.

not based on a Chinese source, makes heavier use of characters and favors even sizing and spacing: “古シ以テ鏡トスル事アリトカヤキコへ給シカハ唐鏡トヤ申侍へキ.”[21] If we accept and extrapolate a bit from Nomura Takashi’s 野村剛史 contention that “Since *katakana* developed as a part of the process for reading *kanbun* in Japanese, it’s natural that *katakana* is used more frequently than *hiragana* for *kanbun kundoku* writings,”[22] then visually, the Shōkōkan edition of *Kara kagami* and the sixth scroll of the Matsudaira edition are positioned more closely to their Chinese sources.

The *katakana* versions of *The Mirror of China* are in a form akin to a type of Sino-Japanese patois that Nomura Hachirō designates as one of two emergent styles in early Kamakura writings. (Therefore, despite the Shōkōkan edition’s late provenance, it is at the very least not inconsistent with Kamakura writing.) In Nomura’s assessment, the two styles develop along converging trajectories from earlier forms that have grown inaccessible. He contends that Heian *kana* writing required an injection of Chinese-style elements, and:

> In terms of the general public’s interest or practical use, Chinese-style prose, too was taken to have become pedantic and incomprehensible—difficult for its disconnect from mundane concerns; gradually, it deteriorated and took on blatantly Japanese airs to turn into diaries like *Gyokuyō* 玉葉 [1164-1203] or *Meigetsuki* 明月記 [1180-1235] and so on, or annals like *Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡 [1180-1266]. Thus, the reason for the increasing proximity of these two forms of writing (*buntai*) must be said to be the Kamakura-era blending and refinement of Japanese writing.[23]

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[21] Shōkōkan manuscript, page 4 of text image.

[22] カタカナは漢文を日本語読みしようとする過程で発達してきた仮名ですから、漢文訓読系の文章では、自然に平仮名よりもカタカナが使われるのです。Nomura Takashi 野村剛史, “Koramu 5: Kamakura jidai no yomikaki” コラム５：鎌倉時代の読み書き, in *Koten Nihongo no sekai: Kanji ga tsukuru Nihon*, 124-125 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku shuppansha, 2007), 124. It should be repeated that for the Shōkōkan edition, I rely on the typeset version and Hirasawa’s description of the manuscript unless otherwise noted.

[23] 漢文も亦國民の趣味と實用とのためには、衒學的なる難解の文章として世俗に超然た

Nomura's remarks are suggestive, because in order to maintain the proposition that writing in different forms has a performative function, the writers themselves must perceive the forms as different. In the account here, wherein *kana* writing receives new vigor through the incorporation of Chinese elements, and *kanbun* becomes accessible via a process of dilution, prose style evolves with a functional purpose. There is no suggestion that a single unified style was a goal, which implies that there was a purpose to maintaining two distinct forms. If ease of reading was truly the motivation, and hybridization in both cases the means, the preservation of two discursive modes suggests that the two styles were perceived as intrinsically different. In other words, there was something to be gained from maintaining multiple writing forms. This is why it is so intriguing to have a work that exists in different forms, both across and within single manuscripts: the plurality of forms creates the possibility for a variety of positions within or across editions.

To be sure, *The Mirror of China*'s formal variation across manuscripts has not garnered much attention beyond Hirasawa's efforts at establishing textual lineage, and it would be difficult to map a formally derived meaning to a given manuscript. Thus, the curious mixture of forms found within the manuscripts (which has not, to my knowledge, been addressed) may afford an easier way to think about the relationship between form and content. It is worth noting that there is a somewhat similar phenomenon in *The Water Mirror*, wherein each entry has a subheading in a form that resembles classical Chinese while the remainder is written in a form closer to classical Japanese. However, other than to observe that "[r]esearch on the significance and such of this 'sub-heading-like Sino-Japanese' must be taken into consideration with regard

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る事難く、漸次低下して和臭甚だしきを加へ、玉葉、明月記以下の日記となり、吾妻鏡の如き記録となれるなり。故に此の二文體の接近は、鎌倉時代の國文を馴致せる因由なりと言はざる可からず。Nomura Hachirō, 3-4, quotation from 4.

to [issues such as] the composition of *The Water Mirror*," the editors of a recent annotated edition thereof do not explore the issue of apparent language mixing.[24] In part, the near silence on the matter may stem from the difficulty with quantifying the variation within a text. Yet the lack of a precise lexicon with which to articulate these differences does not obviate a need for their consideration.

In the case of *The Mirror of China*, to begin with perhaps the simplest point, as noted above, there are instances of *kanbun* (or something extremely similar) in each of the manuscripts used in this study. As discussed previously, David Lurie and Kin Bunkyō have both called attention to *kanbun* (or *kundoku*'s) transcultural implications or potentials, putting classical Chinese into a multilingual, multicultural environment. If we, in turn, accept *kanbun* as such, it would be difficult not to interpret the choice to write in it *and* another linguistic form as signaling an awareness and possibly even an exploration of boundaries and multiple simultaneous identities: positions at the same time both within and without a Sinitic sphere.[25] This is, I believe, one element that is at play in Shigenori's textual rendering of China: the creation of a China that is both accessible yet distinct from Japan. Or to invert the order, Japan's access to China and/or a

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[24] この「見出し風の和漢文」がもつ意義等の研究は『水鏡』の成立等を考えるためにも無視すべきではない… Dairoku Kaneko (1998), 456.

[25] At the same time, we might see this variation as motivated interplay between oral and written registers. Tom Conlan has written about changing practices vis-à-vis the "vocalization of written records" in Heian and Kamakura Japan, calling attention to a marked increase in instances of "documents being read aloud" in the latter. Conlan notes: "The rationale for this shift in Kamakura times seems to be that the written words when read had a formality and weight otherwise missing from regular conversation." Thomas D. Conlan, "Traces of the Past: Documents, Literacy, and Liturgy in Medieval Japan," in *Currents in Medieval Japanese History: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey P. Mass*, Gordon M. Berger, Andrew Edmund Goble, Lorraine F. Harrington, and G. Cameron Hurst III, eds., 19-50 (Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2009), 22 and 31. Might one then be able to argue conversely that in inserting a more overt written register into a *Mirror* that Shigenori is according it new weight?

Sinitic sphere is asserted in the inclusion of *kanbun* while its distinction from China is maintained in the presence of lengthy passages in cursive *hiragana*.

This question of style is of particular relevance with regard to *The Mirror of China*, since given the scholastic lineage of the Southern Branch, it is unlikely that Shigenori was incapable of rendering a pure *kanbun* version. This grants more significance to the act of language/form selection than would have been reasonable had Shigenori been limited by linguistic ability. Hirasawa characterizes Shigenori's writing as translation-ese, opining:

> As I said earlier, that [the Japanese rendering] is not a so-called Japanese- ification [of the text] along the lines of a free translation or adaptation of the sources; instead it is in a form (*buntai*) that faithfully retains by and large the scent of the Chinese prose of the originals, and…in that regard, it manifests a rather different character from the Japanese-ification carried out in the like adaptation of ancient Chinese events in *China Tales*.[26]

This suggests that segments of *The Mirror of China* are written in a form that could not be taken as a purely "Japanese" product, but rather that is linguistically marked as foreign. The resultant text in *The Mirror of China* thus differs from *China Tales* in its relationship to its source material, occupying a position that suggests neither complete opposition to or independence from the Chinese nor a devoted adherence to it. It moves somewhere between two linguistic poles.[27]

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[26] 前述した如く、それは原典の意訳･翻案といふやうな、いわば完全な和文化であるのではなく、寧ろ実直に原典の漢文臭を多分にとどめた文体であって…その点、唐土故事の同様な翻案である唐物語のすすんだ和文化に比し異質な一面を示している。Hirasawa Gorō, 394.

[27] Without taking into account Benjamin's arguments on the nature of language, we can still note that from this perspective, *The Mirror of China* is a better "translation" in the sense he propounds in "Task of the Translator"—*China Tales* "reads like an original [work] in its own language," the opposite of what a true translation ought to achieve. *The Mirror of China*, in contrast, foregrounds its nature as translation in its stylistic awkwardness. Cf. Walter Benjamin: "Es ist daher, vor allem im Zeitalter ihrer Entstehung, das höchste Lob einer Übersetzung nicht, sich wie ein Original ihrer Sprache zu lesen...Die wahre Übersetzung ist durchscheinend, sie verdeckt nicht das Original, sondern läßt die reine Sprache, wie verstärkt durch ihr eigenes Medium, nur um so voller aufs Original fallen." (Thus, especially at the time of a translation's

Moreover, the multiplicity of linguistic formats across manuscripts heightens this positional fluidity: each form suggests a potentially different stance vis-à-vis the subject for the producer (and consumer?) of a given edition.[28] To try to get a better grasp on the implications of this flux, one has to ask: what *is* this China that refuses the confines of a single linguistic form? For this, we must take a closer look at *Kara kagami* itself to see what the China is that is being reflected.

China's Themes

The Mirror of China offers very little in the way of overt expressions of authorial interpretation of its content. Shigenori typically refrains from mentioning anything beyond a school of commentary or a textual comparison. Thus, what follows here are the themes that I identify within the particular scrolls—they should not be understood as having been explicitly highlighted by the author himself.

As should be evident by now, Shigenori's mirror is not simply a passive reflection of Chinese sources. On the contrary, the author assembles and arranges images that allow for multiple simultaneous interpretations.[29] Gazing at the surface face on, one is shown China as

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appearance, it is not the highest praise for it to read like an original work in the language [of the translation]…The true translation is transparent; it does not disguise the original but rather allows it to be left to pure Language all the more, as though strengthened through the medium itself.) [This English rendering is admittedly opaque, but should suggest the desirability of a translation's nature as such as being unmistakable.] Walter Benjamin, "Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers," in *Illuminationen: Ausgewählte Schriften*, 50-62 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1977), 59.

[28] Misumi provides a useful reminder that form can be the result of a copyist or other external factor, not the original author's choice. Misumi Yōichi, 110 and *passim*.

[29] Cf. Yamada Naoko's observations on the functions of a *Mirror*, and the implications of choosing China as a subject. Yamada Naoko (2008), 30-31. Amsler's following summary of the requisite conditions for interpretive appropriation of Ovid is similar to the work I see Shigenori doing in locating multiple narratives within this text. "To be susceptible to allegorical interpretation, a text must be untethered from its historical, literal situation and allowed to float within the hyperliterate archive." Mark Amsler, 215. In ignoring here Amsler's discussion of the

China, collapsing.[30] At the same time, this is not a work that is really only about China. It is also possible to read it as being about Japan's relation to China. An immediate "how the worm turns" sense is suggested both in the obvious power inversion in the preface—a Chinese monk must now come to Japan to find a worthy and willing audience—and through a subtle deployment of chronological rhetoric. As expected in a history of China, most of the material is organized chronologically and adheres to Chinese dates.[31] At seven different points in the received text, though, Shigenori makes note of the corresponding Japanese date for a certain event.[32] In the first instance, Emperor Jimmu ascends the throne in the seventeenth year of Emperor Hui: the Chinese context informs the dating. Yet once Japan (or *honchō* 本朝, "this sovereignty,") has been thus established, a reversal of positions occurs. Chinese events are now placed in a Japanese temporal framework. The moments at which this happens are relatively few, but consistent in nature. The Chinese event is characterized by change or discontinuity, taking the forms of an imperial accession, death, or commencement of a new era. The events are rarely

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archive, I am probably guilty of cherry-picking, but this does not undermine the parallel between his description and the operation Shigenori can be said to be undertaking in taking narratives of Chinese history out of China and refashioning them via an access depicted as a liminal, ill-defined transaction.

[30] Admittedly, there is a certain danger in talking about the narrative arc of a work that exists only in incomplete form. However, both the trajectory of the extant portions and the prologue itself attest to a story of decay for the entire piece. While the preface is more explicitly about religious deterioration, the stories in *The Mirror of China* are in no way limited to those of obvious Buddhist import and should not be understood as being without secular concerns or resonance.

[31] Yamada Naoko identifies this feature as largely corresponding to entries in the *Meibunshō*. Yamada Naoko (2008), 33.

[32] Fujiwara no Shigenori, 59, 76, 99, 158, 160, 181, and 193.

sensationalized in themselves in that they are not moments of dramatic conflict. Yet they are always selected such that they occur in the middle of a Japanese reign, with the result that the Japanese calendar provides the stable context suggesting continuity.[33] This sense that Japan has assumed the normative position is further strengthened by the syntax itself, in which Chinese events are made to "correspond to" a Japanese chronology.[34] In the creation of an absolute Japanese standard of time against which the Chinese narrative is positioned and the assumption of superiority this implies, Shigenori seems almost a forerunner of *han honji-suijaku* 反本地垂迹 thinking.[35]

Still, to read this work as merely being a chauvinistic account of Japan's surpassing of China would be to ignore another aspect of its represented subject. It can also be read as a cautionary model. If we take Shigenori's work to be at all informed by larger medieval Japanese

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[33] In her chapter devoted to *The Mirror of China*, Yamada Naoko also mentions these points of calendrical convergence, but notes that there is a virtually complete correspondence between Shigenori's use thereof and the examples found in the *Meibunshō*. The thrust of this portion of Yamada's argument is that Shigenori has relied heavily on his grandfather's work in composing *Kara kagami*. Yamada Naoko (2009), 112. Yet even if this technique is more a product of house learning than a single authorial assertion, the perspective at which it hints remains. See also Otagiri Fumihiro for the connection between Emperors Hui and Jinmu as drawn from *Meibunshō*. Otagiri Fumihiro (2000), 6.

[34] This always takes the form of 日本[Ruler name and title] [number]年ニ当(リ)シ, except for the two entries from Scroll Five, that on the Eastern Han. They read 日本垂仁天皇五十四年ニ当侍リシ, and 日本垂仁天皇八十六年ニソアタリ侍ケム. Ibid., 158 and 160, respectively. I am uncertain at this point what to make of this difference. In any event, Shigenori is not the first to insert a Japanese date into a primarily China-based account (nor is his grandfather), but deploying it as here on the level of narratives of emerging countries suggests more than a simple notation of chronological correspondence.

[35] Stone's succinct summary: "Here, the original relationship is inverted: the local *kami* are seen as the original ground, and the transcendent Buddhas, as their manifestations *(shinpon busshaku)*." Jacqueline I. Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999) 42.

Buddhist ideas about the inevitability of decline, then China may be said to offer a prefiguration of the fate of Japan. In this capacity, China would really function to reveal a potential future for Japan. At the same time, to see China's fate as inevitable for Japan might be going too far. If one accepts that Shigenori has managed to position Japan in the normative position, then to make her fate inevitably bound to that of a no-longer-superior China would be a curious move. Instead, in such a reading, China comes across more as a warning—one that is bound very closely to Japan without completely predetermining the latter's fate. To look in the mirror to see a very real possible future self allows one to use the mirror in the broader sense in which it has been invoked in the Chinese tradition: "To guard against transgressions."[36] Thus, at a general level, Shigenori's mirror allows more than one reading, depending on the priorities of the hand that holds it.[37]

At the level of the individual scrolls, scroll one sets the basic tone wherein the cyclical nature of change itself is one of the most clearly foregrounded features. More than any of the later scrolls, which tend to remain within the scope of one or two dynasties, scroll one is a tale of beginnings and endings, followed ever anew by beginnings and endings, rather than of any particular ruling house. Customs, laws, and conventions are established only to have the framework in which they are created crumble around them. In addition to establishing such

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[36] 以防己過. Attributed to Emperor Taizong of the Tang. Liu Xu 劉昫 (887-946), *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 8: 21.2561. This point will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

[37] Alternatively, if we bring to mind Yamada's earlier discussion of how *Mirrors* traditionally "worked," the historical China could be considered to correspond to "knowledge," while China as cautionary model could be akin to "models and admonitions." For the original citation, see Chapter Two, note 164. To my knowledge, Yamada does not apply this schematic to *The Mirror of China* in any concrete sense, so I am uncertain whether or to what degree her implementation of Chinese norms of reading *Mirrors* vis-à-vis *The Mirror of China* would yield the three "readings" I suggest.

change as a dominant theme in the very narrative structure, Shigenori also supplies potential hermeneutic guideposts in the scroll's summation. The identification of figures *as* prototypical models he performs there invites the reader to interpret subsequent characterizations in a similar light. A follow-up remark on constants in power relations similarly conveys the possibility that a larger pattern or patterns may well inform the entire work. The reader is advised to be on the lookout for recurrences.

Once the foundations are laid with fairly lengthy accounts of the earliest rulers, Shigenori edits heavily. Of the thirty emperors in the Yin, only six (including the founding and final emperors) are accorded individualized mention. Given the low rate of retention, it is striking that what sets three of the four "middle" emperors apart is their reliance upon their advisors. Emperor Tai Jia 太甲 is shut up in a palace for misbehavior by his advisor Yi Yin 伊尹, who governs in his stead until he reforms his wicked ways. Emperor Tai Wu 太戊 seeks sage counsel on the interpretation of a portent to great effect. And Emperor Wu Ding 武丁 literally dreams of a heretofore unknown sage and has him brought in to rule on his behalf. These are the glory days of the Yin, followed by its swift demise. Thus, as a corollary to the importance of origins to which the first scroll attests, one can argue that a case is tacitly made for the importance of (heeding) good advisors, as well.

If the first scroll is a scroll of beginnings and endings, the second is a scroll of disorder. The strikingly disjointed narrative is indicative of a text composed of fragments culled from other works.[38] On the one hand, the seeming lack of a well-developed limited central set of core texts may suggest that the Warring States and Qin might have been of limited interest to the average

[38] Cf. Otagiri's (1999) work on the first scroll.

medieval reader.[39] On the other hand, there is also the possibility that the scroll is chaotic by design. This seems more plausible if one looks at those events recorded which do not have to do with imperial succession or governance. In addition to a wide array of portents, among the most noteworthy events are the birth of the Buddha during the reign of King Zhao 照 [*sic*] 王,[40] his death in the fifty-third year of King Mu's 穆王 reign,[41] an omen of the Buddha's birth in the reign of King Zhuang 莊王,[42] the birth of Laozi and his identification as "an avatar of Mahākāśyapa,"[43] the birth of Confucius and his identification as "an avatar of the bodhisattva Māṇava,[44] the revelation that Yan Hui 顔回 is the Guangjing 光淨 bodhisattva,[45] the rebirth of the Crown Prince Zijin 子晉 in Japan as the Kumano avatar,[46] and the deaths of Laozi and

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[39] Otagiri identifies the use of core texts that are then fleshed out as the dominant style of Shigenori's work. Otagiri Fumihiro (1999), 186 and *passim*.

[40] Fujiwara no Shigenori, 51.

[41] Ibid., 53. For an account of this entry that ties it to larger Tang Buddhism/Daoism debates, see Morita Tsurayuki 森田貫之, "Jidō setsuwa to gohō riron" 慈童説話と護法理論, in *Kyōtō Daigaku kokubungaku ronsō* (September 2010): 54-58. The article also provides an easy-to-digest background on some of the rhetorical sleight-of-hand taking place that helps to make sense of other events Shigenori notes here—Laozi's and the Buddha's respective births in particular. See esp. ibid., 55.

[42] Fujiwara no Shigenori, 58.

[43] Ibid., 59.

[44] Ibid., 60.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid., 61. Morita also calls attention to how tales of the Crown Prince as an avatar suggest a transmission "far earlier than the eastward flow of Buddhism in the time of the first Qin Emperor or Emperor Ming of the Eastern Han." ･･･秦の始皇帝ないし後漢の明帝の時代の仏法東流

Confucius, in which Laozi wanders off to the west, and, according to a rumor, Confucius proceeds to Japan.[47] This culminates in the arrival of Buddhism in China, where it meets a hostile reception under the first Qin emperor: "Despite things being like this [the Qin burning of the books and mass deaths have just been noted], at this time, an Indian monk arrived, bringing Buddhism. Since the First Emperor did not believe [in Buddhism], he was imprisoned. A six-*zhuang* Vajra being came and smashed the jail gates, and the monk departed."[48]

Interwoven with the rise and fall of several states and the battles and machinations of numerous rulers and ministers, the text notes the births of avatars, speculated relocations to Japan, and the initial appearance of Buddhism as such in China. Because of the hinted at ties with Japan between individual figures and the problematic first encounter of Buddhism with the Qin emperor, Shigenori may be making an arguably subtle case for Japan as having a longer (or at least closer) affinity with Buddhism than China.[49] If one takes the Kumano avatar's birth and the tale of

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の遙か前・・・ Morita Tsurayuki (2010), 71.

[47] Fujiwara no Shigenori, 61-62.

[48] サテモ、此御時、天竺ノ沙門、仏教ヲ持来セシヲ、始皇信シ給ハシテ、獄舎ニ禁ラレヌ、金剛丈六ノ人来テ、獄門ヲ破テ、沙門ヲ出玉ヒヌ Ibid., 80.

[49] Or, if that is going too far, we can still accept Morita's assertion: "By means of the tale of the dispatch of the three sages, of course Buddha's preceding Laozi is demonstrated; but also all of these—Laozi's Daoism, as well as Confucius' and Yan Hui's Confucianism—are shown as 'expedient means' for the spread of Buddhism, since they end up subsumed under Buddhism." この三聖派遣説によることで、仏陀の老子に対する先行を示すことはもちろん、老子の道教および孔子・顔回の儒教を、すべて仏教の流布の方便として、 仏教に包摂してしまうことができるからである。 Morita Tsurayuki (2010), 62. Morita further observes that in the case of *Yōtenki* 耀天記, "…the reason that this tale of the dispatch of the three sages was cited is probably in order to demonstrate that just as there was *honji suijaku* in Japan, there was also an 'original state and temporary manifestation' structure in Cīnasthāna." ・・・この三聖派遣説が引用された理由は、日本での本地垂迹と同様に、震旦にも本地と垂迹の構造があったことを示すためであろう。 Ibid.

Confucius' flight as signs of a Japan willing to welcome Buddhist figures, these departures support the idea of Japan as fertile soil for the earliest manifestations outside of India. Moreover, when the monk that narrates *The Mirror of China* leaves China for Japan in search of a deserving audience, he is simply participating in a long-stranding tradition: this, too, puts him in a lineage of supernatural beings that leave the continent for more appreciative ears.[50]

At the same time, one can also consider whether Shigenori might have felt internecine violence to be a particularly relevant concern for his readers. Dwelling on the Warring States period brings the vulnerability of the six kingdoms that the First Emperor subjugates to the fore. With a civil war a relatively recent seventy or so years ago and the Mongols having established a "foreign" dynasty in China, Shigenori may well have wished to also call attention to the perils of internal disunity.[51] Or if this were not his intent, *per se*, one can imagine why war, violence, and invasion might have weighed heavily on a medieval reader's mind.[52]

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[50] We might also think of these relocations from India via and around China to Japan as illustrations of "cultural mobility." Writing on the Roman Empire within a larger discussion of conceptions of cultural mobility, Stephen Greenblatt notes, "It was this mobility of Roman codes, structures, and definitions—what we might call categorical mobility—that enabled the massive transfers of prestigious cultural norms from the ancient capital to a series of would-be heirs and successors." Stephen Greenblatt, "Cultural mobility: an introduction," in *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*, 1-23 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 11; for criticisms of this "model," see ibid., 15-16. Shigenori is creating a narrative whereby Japan is a (or the?) true "heir" to Buddhist thought, "provid[ing] the imagery that confirmed in the imagination of both the rulers and the ruled the successful transfer of cultural authority." Ibid., 12. Or in Shigenori's case, relating events in a way that emphasizes an ultimate destination for that transfer: Japan. At the same time, however, in contrast to nearly all of the essays in *Cultural Mobility*, the agency behind the transfer lies with the source culture, not the culture that is adapting it. How to think about the successful (non-imperial) exportation of culture, both real and rhetorical (as in the instance here), is something that merits further thought. (Greenblatt similarly calls for work on "mobilizers" in the "manifesto" with which the book concludes. See ibid., 251.)

[51] However, if Ogawa Takeo's proposed dating of the text to Shigenori's time in Kamakura (1253-1264) is correct, this could hardly be a text produced in the shadow of the memory of the Mongol invasions. Ogawa Takeo, 31. More intriguingly, if this earlier date is correct, then the attribution of the earliest manuscript to Fujiwara no Tameuji 藤原為氏 (1222-1286) could in

Violence and war continue to feature prominently in the third scroll, in particular in the retelling of the events leading up to the founding of the Han. The central cast of characters shrinks dramatically in number, but those that are featured often have extensive accounts of their exploits. The two most dominant characters in the third scroll are Emperor Gaozu and Empress Lü.[53] In the plot overview of the scrolls, I have already suggested the possible import of events within Gaozu's reign from a medieval Japanese perspective (and indicated that I will return to them in Chapter Four). Here, I would like to consider how we might understand the prominence given to Empress Lü. To a certain extent, the fact that that she occupies a central position is not

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theory be accurate. This, in turn, would imply at least limited circulation of texts between different branches of the Fujiwara. Such exchange might be analogous to the intra-house sharing of "secret transmissions" noted in Wajima Yoshio 和島芳男, "The reception of Confucianism" 儒学の受容, in *Chūsei no jugaku* 中世の儒学 (*Nihon rekishi sōsho* 11), 1-65 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1965), 59. Masuda Motomu 増田欣 likewise points out (or rather, pointed out before I) that the Tameuji attribution could be accurate; he goes one welcome step further to provide one or two concrete examples of where the two men's paths crossed as poets. Masuda Motomu 増田欣, "*Kara kagami* no seiritsu" 唐鏡の成立, in *Chūsei bungei hikaku bungaku ronkō* 中世文藝比較文学論考, 670-704 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 2002), 679. A large portion of this chapter in Masuda's work is devoted to a detailed explanation of why an earlier birthdate for Shigenori and an earlier date of composition for *Kara kagami* (as well as composition in Kamakura) are more likely than the traditional interpretation. Ibid., 670-686. (See ibid., 702-704 for a specific refutation of an argument by Tonomura that proposed its composition in the capital.) Masuda later draws on the work of Komatsu Yoshinori 小松芳規 to tentatively identify the voicing marks in the Hōsa bunko manuscript as potentially marking Sugawara (or Kiyohara) involvement at some stage. Ibid., 691-692. This, too, would then suggest inter-house circulation of *The Mirror of China*.

[52] Here, I am coincidentally in agreement with Tonomura Hisae 外村久江, who points out that foreign relations with the continent would not have been a concern only after the Mongol attempts at invasion. Tonomura Hisae 外村久江, "Kamakura bushi to Chūgoku koji" 鎌倉武士と中国故事, in *Kamakura bunka no kenkyū—sōka sōzō o megutte* 鎌倉文化の研究—早歌創造をめぐって, 103-119 (Tokyo: Miyai shoten, 1996), 115.

[53] Xiang Yu 項羽 is a close third, with substantial space given to portrayal of him as a feisty and fearless, but ultimately doomed, general who recognizes his fate and meets his death with honor.

unexpected, given the interest in the figure of Lady Qi attested to in other works (likewise a point to be returned to later). Nonetheless, I would suggest that it is not just the particularities of her rule that Shigenori highlights here: it is also the larger problem of women in power.[54] For it is not just Empress Lü who causes problems with her stratagems—the scroll concludes with the efforts of Dowager Empress Dou 竇皇后, who appears followed by ominous portents. Her efforts to manipulate her son Emperor Xiaojing 孝警皇帝 into allowing his younger brother Prince Xiao 孝王 to succeed him culminate in the latter's murdering of those who would stand in his way. The plans ultimately fail, and the prince dies thereafter, leaving the empress behind to grieve. The scroll closes a few lines later with the emperor's death.[55]

The pace of the narrative slows noticeably in the fourth scroll, lingering over images of a simultaneous cultural florescence and latent decadence of the later Western Han. Subtle ties to

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[54] Empress Lü's ambitions and rule call to mind a possible counterpart in the person of Hōjō Masako 北條政子 (1156–1225); if one goes a step further still and links the rather unflattering representation of her husband Gaozu with Masako's husband, Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147–1199), we can read in(to?) the text a veiled critique of events that for readers would have been much closer to home. For a sense of just how involved Masako was in the highest levels of politics, see Gomi Fumihiko 五味文彦, "Kyō, Kamakura no ōken" 京・鎌倉の王権, in *Kyō, Kamakura no ōken*, Gomi Fumihiko, ed., 7-113 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2003), 70-72, 86-87, and *passim*. (The point resurfaces throughout the essay, but is most clearly made in the section "Nyonin jugan" 女人入眼, 70-72.) If I understand correctly, Tonomura attributes just such a comparison to Yoritomo's son Sanetomo. Tonomura Hisae, 110.

Moreover, though there is no proof that this comparison was intended, there was certainly precedent for allegorical readings of Japanese texts in which the portrayal of Japanese figures or events was understood as harkening to Chinese precedent. Ikeda Toshio discusses briefly how the power relations between Genji's father and his consorts was understood as mirroring that of Empress Lü, Emperor Gaozu, etc. See Ikeda Toshio 池田利夫, "Kara monogatari to Mōgyū—Mōgyū waka to no kanren ni oite" 唐物語と蒙求蒙—求和歌とその関連に於いて, in *Tsurumi joshi daigaku kiyō* 5 (March, 1968): 85-86.

[55] Fujiwara no Shigenori, 119-122.

the Heian court are also interwoven in nods to the origins of linked verse and the Way of Kickball.[56] Verse citations from Emperor Wu, Empress Wei 衛皇后, and Favorite Beauty Ban 班婕妤 enhance a sense of artistry as appreciated in the early years of the dynasty.[57] Whereas *The Mirror of China*'s previous originary accounts have tended to dwell on ritual or the institutions of statecraft and have at the same time been less evocative of Japanese courtier life, this stage of the Han resonates with medieval Japanese depictions of high culture.

Yet even amidst the glory of this golden age, there are the seeds of its dramatic decline. Shigenori continues to give ample space to accounts of female jealousy and plots to manipulate imperial succession; the perils of excessive beauty are also well documented. Concurrent with the valorization of Han arts, there is a distancing from the increasingly marked political corruption. Likewise, Daoism is treated dismissively. Emperor Wu's fascination with the occult is noted on more than one occasion, but never without proof that it is fruitless: his trusted occultist, Shao Weng 少翁, is revealed to be a fraud, and a subsequent quest for immortality is written off in failure.[58]

The fourth scroll also features an impressive array of natural anomalies. In the most extreme example, Emperor Ai's 哀皇帝 reign is depicted solely as a catalogue of oddities:

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[56] As noted earlier, Yamada Naoko also repeatedly calls attention to *Kara kagami*'s depiction of origins, including that of the Way of Kickball. Yamada Naoko (2008), 35-38.

[57] For Emperor Wu's verse, see Fujiwara no Shigenori, 126; for Empress Wei's, 129; for Ban's, 141. Ban's is especially lovely: "Newly cut white silk of Qi./ Fresh and clean like frost and snow./ Judged meet to make a conjugal fan./ Round, round like the brilliant moon." 新裂齊紈素、鮮潔如霜雪、裁為合歡扇、團々似明月.

[58] Ibid., 125 and 128.

> At this time, there was a white vapor that appeared in the heavens. It was like a length of cloth, and it was fifteen *zhang* long. It moved to the southwest. Also, at the place called Dingxiang, there was a stallion that gave birth to a charger. That charger had three legs and followed the other horses, grazing. Also, in the place called Yangxiang, a fallen tree put out branches and leaves, taking the shape of a human. Its face was white, and it had hair. Its body was yellow-green, and it was about one *zhang* one *cun* tall. Also, in the place called Lingling, a large tree fell over. It was sixteen *zhang* seven *cun* tall. Suddenly, it stood up on its own. A large fish that was over eight *zhang* one *chi* long appeared. Also, the heavens rained blood. This was recorded by flatterers, who said the premature execution of good ministers must have brought it about. Also, at the place called Yuzhang, a boy turned into a girl, became the wife of another, and bore a child. This was said to be a disgraceful disaster.[59]

One interpretation of the inclusion of these and like events is that they were interesting reading or simply were in the source texts. Nature responds to terrible administration. This being said, however, if we think of *The Mirror of China* as a primer, these sorts of things as such hardly seem indispensible knowledge for someone just getting his or her feet wet in Chinese training. Similarly, since the events are rarely interpreted *per se*, there seems to be little instructive value in their frequent inclusion. While Shigenori never says anything that would indicate his motives for preserving anomalies in his account of China, I would like to consider the possibility of taking them as a type of "locality story." Andrew Chittick has written about a performative function for such anecdotes in the early medieval Chinese context, suggesting a strong connection with the aura of the place at which they occur.[60] In keeping with that tradition, intended or no, Shigenori's

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[59] 此御時、白気アリテ、天ニ著、如一疋ノ布ノ、長十五丈ニテ、西南ニユク、又定襄ト云所ニ、牡馬アリ、駒ヲウム、其駒三ノ足アリテ、群馬ニ随テ、物ヲクフ、又陽郷ト云所ニ、タフレタル樹、枝葉ヲナシテ、如人ノ形ノ、面目白クシテ、髪有、身色青黄ニシテ、一丈一寸許也、又零陵ト云所ニ、大ナル樹倒レタリ、長十六丈七尺、俄ニ自立タリ、大魚ノ長八丈一尺餘ナル、ミエ侍リキ、又天ヨリ血フリキ、是ハ佞人禄セラレテ、功臣戮セラルヘキ夭トソ申ケル、又豫章ト云所ニ、男子ノ女子ト成テ、人ノ妻ト成テ、一子ヲウメリ、アサマシキ災ト申シキ、 Ibid., 144-145.

[60] Andrew Chittick, *Pride of Place: The Advent of Local History in Early Medieval China* (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1997).

generous retention of the strange in his account of China can also be seen as earmarking China *as* non-normal, the kind of place where these things happen.

Scroll five is by a narrow amount the shortest of any of the extant fascicles, suggesting that relatively little of the Eastern Han had made it into elite culture in medieval Japan. Though the *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals) is mentioned occasionally, the only literary work cited is the *Dong jing fu* 東京賦 "Rhapsody on the Eastern Capital," which Shigenori obligingly notes the second time is in the *Wen xuan* 文選 (Selections of Refined Literature).[61] Suggestively, both citations occur early in the scroll, during the sections on Guangwu and Emperor Ming. Since the rhapsody itself postdates the rule of either (Zhang Heng 張衡 was not born until 78, three years after Emperor Ming's death), the link is not one of mere chronological convergence. Rather it establishes a connection between behavior that is worthy of celebration and the early days of the Eastern Han. This link is supported by the organization of the scroll itself with its relative weighting of the early years and rulers and a narrative collapse in the later ages that parallels the societal decay that Shigenori records.

Since the "plot" itself of this scroll is thinner than those of its predecessors, it is worth considering which issues are foregrounded either through repetition or narrative prominence. It is perhaps unnecessary to call attention yet again to the pattern in which a dynasty's apex lies in its founding: this continues to hold true in the Eastern Han. In terms of specific themes, the already-noted repeated mention of the risks of wily women wielding power is the most evident. As far as prominence in terms of story-telling is concerned, the three opening biographies hold this position. What is most striking about them is the type of figure who takes the helm: these

[61] Fujiwara no Shigenori, 160 and 163.

accounts do not provide a simple celebration of imperial leadership, but rather an account of extraordinary men who lead well because of military or religious vision. In both cases, positive and negative examples are provided. In the dawning days of the dynasty, Guangwu surfaces as a brilliant martial mind, and Emperor Ming as an advocate of Buddhism.[62] In the era's latter days, their respective counterparts appear in the figures of Dong Zhuo and the religious threat represented by the Yellow Turban Rebellion. In this sense, the scroll is actually well-balanced: the less developed aspect of the later stories notwithstanding, the collapse in the middle is to a certain extent flanked by exemplary narratives. The 180º turn around of the dynasty's fortunes paves the way for the tripartite narrative of the Three Kingdoms that unfolds in the final surviving fascicle.

Moving on to the final sixth scroll, what stands out about the later scrolls, and the sixth in particular, is how little content of consequence there actually is.[63] Whereas the earlier scrolls contain substantial narratives of super-human or extraordinary figures, by the time of the Three Kingdoms, events are portrayed as revolving around vastly reduced characters in settings far less grand than the cosmological level implied at the founding of the empire. The diminishing of

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[62] Morita discusses the significance of Emperor Ming's encounter with Buddhism in terms of the idea of Buddhism as transmitted to China in waves. With regard to its function vis-à-vis King Mu's earlier supposed exposure, see Morita Tsurayuki (2010), 64-65. Morita specifically credits *Kara kagami* with a view of Buddhism as "moving east in stages." …仏法東流の段階… Ibid., 67.

Also, see Morita (2012) on the sources for this episode. Morita Tsurayuki (2012), 43-45.

[63] For a similar conclusion, see Yamada Naoko (2009), 112. She first cites Hirasawa's observation on the scarceness of material and then suggests that in this, Shigenori is simply following the precedent of the *Meibunshō*. Though I noted this change in style prior to reading Yamada (and had forgotten Hirasawa's observation to that effect), it is obvious to anyone reading *The Mirror of China*. Neither Yamada nor Hirasawa, however, mentions the possibility that this achieves a "reduction in scale" in the way I suggest above.

component elements and acceleration of pace of decline come across as being of greater collective import as a pattern than in terms of any of the specific events themselves. As readers, we have descended from the temporally distant origins of civilization and an idealized Cathayan culture that spans court-bounded socio-geographic entities to the nearly trivial specificities of the Chinese manifestation thereof. To borrow Tang Taizong's 唐太宗 (599-649) famous imagery of the function of mirrors (a point to be developed in Chapter Five), Cathay, then, is the "bronze mirror" that provides a standard; the historical China and its trajectory together make up a "mirror of the past" that reveals inevitable vicissitudes; the individual figures whose acts and characters are evaluated herein are a human "mirror" that reveals behavior and its consequences— with these imposed upon or underlying the reflection of Japan, Shigenori's reader can "guard against transgression."[64]

Still, disjointed content notwithstanding, decline is not the only thing going on in the sixth scroll. As noted in Chapter Two, there are two lengthy episodes featuring confrontations between Buddhism and other religions, and the founding of temples, the installation of monks, or even just the condemnation or support of Buddhism constitute some of the few phenomena other than plots to manipulate succession or overthrow an emperor that merit inclusion in the scroll. The inept Sun Hao 孫皓 of Wu (242-284) is specifically chastised for his anti-Buddhist attitude in a few lines that summarize his character: "He was proud and wild. He did not respect the Buddhist precepts and indulged in alcohol and sex."[65] In contrast, in addition to Sun Quan's

[64] These are the three types of mirrors Taizong discusses. Emperor Taizong of the Tang in Liu Xu, 8: 21.2561.

[65] 驕リ荒クシテイム事ヲ不憚、酒色ヲコノム、 Shigenori, 192. For the account of Sun Hao urinating on a Buddhist statue, see Chapter Two.

conversion discussed in Chapter Two, Emperor Wu 武帝 (236-290) of the Western Jin 西晉 is singled out for his benevolence and, in the same breath, his Buddhist activities: "He spread Buddhist matters and erected temple compounds."[66] Even non-imperial figures are included in this disconnected catalogue: during the reign of Emperor Xiaohui 孝惠帝 (259 - 307), Grand Mentor[67] Yang Jun 太博陽駿 (? - 291) is recorded as "founding Xingsheng Temple in Luoyang and having offerings prepared for 100 monks."[68] Emperor Yuan 元皇帝 (276-323), founder of the Eastern Jin 東晉, is likewise remarked upon for his physiognomic resemblance to a Buddha at birth and his construction of temples and installation of monks therein.[69] Emperor Xiaowu's 孝武帝 (362-396) religious activity is also noted.[70] Lastly, of course, is the earlier mentioned summation of the dynasty in religious terms: "The Eastern and Western Jin were legitimate [powers] for one hundred forty(thirty?)-two years. During this period, one thousand seven hundred sixty-eight temples were built; twenty-seven people translated two hundred sixty-three sutras; there were 204,000 monks and nuns."[71] In other words, by scroll six, the fate of Buddhism under a specific ruler or its treatment by a powerful individual is intrinsically

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[66] 仏事ヲ弘メ、伽藍ヲ建玉フ、Fujiwara no Shigenori, 193.

[67] Charles O. Hucker, 477.

[68] 洛陽ニ興聖寺ヲ造テ、百僧ヲ供養セラル、Fujiwara no Shigenori, 198.

[69] Ibid., 207.

[70] Ibid., 213.

[71] 東西晋百四（三歟）十二年ハ正統ナリ、此間寺ヲ造コト一千七百六十八所、訳経二十七人二百六十三部、僧尼二万四千人 Ibid., 213-214.

valuable as a historical event in Shigenori's work, and religious achievements have also become a way to measure the worth of a dynasty.

Going scroll-by-scroll in this way suggests many recurring minor themes and variations, but when we consider what arises in *The Mirror of China* as a whole, they can be expediently reduced as follows:

1) The tension between decline and permanence, as evidenced by the cyclical nature of decay and the institutions or customs that themselves transcend any single dynasty.
2) China as a privileged site of cultural origins and as a weird or deviant locus of war, manipulations of power, and misrule, in particular by women.
3) The emergence of Buddhism in East Asia and its movement between China and Japan.[72]

A curious aspect of each of these themes, evident even in the simplistic way in which they are set forth above, is the dual nature of China as a subject. It is a legitimating source for socio-cultural and religious phenomena on the one hand, and at the same time, a setting for the corruption of the very institutions Japan has taken from it.

In other words, in *The Mirror of China* we have a text that suggests a non-unified stance towards its subject, and in a sense, a non-unified subject, as well. Perhaps such a multifarious stance is best served by a linguistic form that itself is hybrid, allowing or demanding readerly awareness of the awkwardness of such negotiation. If language selection has a performative function, as suggested earlier, the formal (linguistic) variety of *The Mirror of China* may in fact serve to reflect the complicated relationship in this text of Japan to China. Moving

[72] Although this last point seems obvious in my most recent examination of the text, I should thank Edward Vermeer for a question at ICAS 8 that encouraged me to consider more fully the role of Buddhism in the text. Personal communication, June 2013. Similarly, I owe a considerable debt to Morita's works in demonstrating how firmly embedded this is as a narrative strand.

between forms more closely affiliated with classical Chinese and those with nearer ties to Japanese may embody the tension between aligning with China as a source (or medium) of traditions and distancing from a China written as systemically corrupt.

Finding an Audience

Ideas of language and readership have long been closely related in Japan, and the image of an emergent medieval Japanese warrior elite in search of enhanced prestige through the acquisition of cultural capital is a familiar one in discussions of Kamakura-period Japan. One manifestation of this new demand for the trappings of culture was *kana* translations of key Chinese-language texts and sources that afforded access to essential literary-historical knowledge. Such projects made information that had previously been practically restricted to an educated elite accessible to a widening readership. At the same time, re-packaging in *kana* form(s) also provided opportunities to refashion the materials themselves with a new audience in mind.

The Mirror of China, with its lack of linguistic uniformity and varied content, seems very much a product of this environment. Steven Carter has described the approximate environs of its production as a "culture business" characterized by a particular commodification and privatization of cultural capital in medieval Japan.[73] In this sort of context, it is tempting to see

[73] For an account of an individual's foray into the cultural capital market, see Steven D. Carter, "Claiming the Past for the Present: Ichijō Kaneyoshi and *Tales of Ise,*" in *Rhetoric and the Discourses of Power in Court Culture: China, Europe, and Japan,* David R. Knechtges and Eugene Vance, eds., 94-116 (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2005). Susan Blakely Klein, an earlier article by whom Carter also cites, offers insightful analysis of the socio-historical factors that encouraged this sort of competitive control (and manufacture) of cultural capital. Susan Blakeley Klein, *Allegories of Desire: Esoteric Literary Commentaries of Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2002). Tonomura Hisae suggests that Mitsuyuki's bureaucratic success may be "imagined as the result of the recognition of the merit of the earlier three [shogunal primer] works." …或は前の三著作による功労が認められた結果ではないかとも想像される。 Tonomura Hisae, 107-108. If so, Shigenori would surely have been aware of this precedent. Tonomura conjectures later that Shigenori wrote *Kara kagami* as a "continuation" or "expansion"

Kara kagami as sort of an intellectual calling card or advertisement. (Even if Shigenori had a specific target reader in mind at first, he might well have wished his text to circulate beyond an original audience of one.) Nor, if this were the case, would Shigenori be without familial precedent: Gomi Fumihiko includes both Shigenori's grandfather, Fujiwara no Takanori, and Minamoto no Mitsuyuki (his student mentioned earlier) among a brief list of individuals whose works "assert claim to artistic lineages."[74] It is not difficult to imagine Shigenori with a wish to mark his intellectual territory as part of a house with a tradition of Chinese learning. For instance, when he explicitly identifies both primary texts, including the Chinese classics and well-known poetry, as well as different exegetical traditions, he may be asserting ownership over certain strands of learning. The overtly acknowledged sources contained in *The Mirror of China* demonstrate to a potential reader that the work's content is drawn from some of the fundamental Chinese texts requisite for cultural literacy in medieval Japan. It is as if to say that if one looks into this mirror, one will have a representative amalgamation of China basics.

In addition to its rather plain content, another reason for treating *The Mirror of China* as a compendium of "basics" is the suggestion of scholars such as Ogawa Takeo that the work is a primer.[75] Owaga ventures that it "could have been for the education of nobility" or "written at their behest," and his proposal that its original target might have been Prince of the

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of Mitsuyuki's work. Ibid., 114.

[74] …芸能の家を主張するものとなっている。 Gomi Fumihiko (2003), 75. Interestingly, the paragraph opens with Hōjō Masako's request for a *kana* version of *Jōgan seiyō* 貞観政要. Ibid. For mention of *setsuwa* collections functioning thus, see ibid., 113.

[75] Ogawa Takeo, 32.

Blood/Shogun Munetaka is attractive.[76] While Ogawa does not embark on a discussion of the text's content, his conclusion that *The Mirror of China* was ultimately a tool for the edification of "warrior houses" is highly persuasive.[77] This proposal gains more weight when read in conjunction with that of Tonomura Hisae 外村久江. In a brief chapter, Tonomura paints an image of a Kamakura audience eager for rapid access to the cultural accouterments of the nobility, above all in the area of attainment of poetic skill and the requisite familiarity with Chinese and Japanese history to versify well. "If they paid no mind to the correct inheritance of Japanese culture, it would be impossible to position [themselves] vis-à-vis the Kyoto court and nobility or to establish a new governmental authority that contained the same."[78] *The Mirror of*

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[76] こういう啓蒙的な書物はしかるべき貴人の教育のためか、その依頼によって執筆されたと考えるのが自然であろう。…あるいは、『唐鏡』執筆の対象として宗尊親王を想定してもよいかも知れない。 Ibid. This works if one accepts his earlier argument that Shigenori was born in the early 1200's, not 1236, as the *Kugyō bu'nin* 公卿補任 would suggest, and believes that the work was composed while he was in Kamakura (1253-1264). Ibid., 28-29 and 31-32. In light of these contentions, *The Mirror of China*'s interest in both martial and literary events would not be inconsistent with a thirteenth-century courtier *zeitgeist* described by Thomas Conlan in his survey of the notion of *bun* 文 and *bu* 武 in pre-modern Japan. He suggests that post-Jōkyū rebellion, the notion that the shogun should embody both values gained currency. Thomas Conlan, "Two Paths of Writing and Warring in Medieval Japan," in *Taiwan Journal of East Asian Studies* 8.1 (June 2011), 96-97. In fact, Conlan cites Hōjō Tokyori 北条時頼 as specifically reminding Munetaka of the importance of *bun* and *bu.* Ibid., 97.

[77] Ogawa Takeo, 36.

[78] 日本文化の正しい継承を考えなくては、京都朝廷並びに公家貴族に対し、またはこれを包含する新しい政治の主権の確立はありえないことである。 Tonomura Hisae, 103-107 (broader discussion) and 107 (quotation). Tonomura later conjectures that *Kara kagami* specifically was written for *Kantō no bushi no shakai* 関東の武士の社会 "Eastern warrior society." Ibid., 112. Most of Tonomura's coverage of *Kara kagami* is concerned with Shigenori's dates and locating its composition in Kamakura, though space is also devoted to speculation on a personal relationship between Mitsuyuki and Shigenori. In any event, there is little discussion of the work's actual content, other than a short exploration of the preface. Ibid., 111-115. For a similar depiction of the warrior desire for knowledge, see Ogawa Takeo, 36.

China, as a relatively readable text (or at least more readable than a Chinese-language work) that includes many of the more famous episodes of Chinese history, looks positioned to try to meet such needs.

Considering the text from the angle of trying to fill a certain niche, other than the fact that the work is not written in *kanbun*, and therefore is presumably not for the educated elite, there is little in its themes or privileged figures to suggest a particular intended audience. Yet there is one curiosity: regents, both official and unofficial, become increasingly prominent as the scrolls progress.[79] Minister Yi Yin[80] and the Duke of Zhou both provide idealized examples of regental stewardship, while Zhao Gao 趙高(?- 207 BCE) and Empress Lü serve as

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[79] One might also note that of the imperial advisors included in *The Mirror of China*, there is overlap with those listed at the outset of the roughly contemporary *Tale of the Heike* as examples of those who mishandled power. *Heike* lists Zhao Gao, Wang Mang, Zhu Yi, and [An] Lushan. See Helen Craig McCullough, trans., *The Tale of the Heike* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 23. Zhao Gao appears in the second scroll of *Kara kagami*, while Wang Mang features prominently in the fourth. On Zhao Gao and Wang Mang, see Fujiwara no Shigenori, 79-83 and 146-151, respectively. Likewise, Xiao He, Fan Kuai, and Han Xin, who are invoked as wronged ministers in a single passage of the *Heike*, also appear in *Kara kagami*. Peng Yue, however, the fourth name in the list, does not. Cf. Helen Craig McCullough (1988), 67. In *Kara kagami*, Xiao He and Han Xin appear only in passing; see Fujiwara no Shigenori, 99. Fan Kuai features in a lengthier account; see ibid., 90-92. It is tempting to see here a possible divergence between popular ideas of warriors and attendant warrior imagery and those that Shigenori is packaging as the fundaments of cultural literacy. In *Heike*, for instance, Xiao He is used to rebuke Kiyomori by calling attention to the ultimate authority of the emperor over that of his (martially skilled) advisor. See Helen Craig McCullough (1988), 76. If we consider *The Mirror of China* as seeking, in part, a warrior readership, omitting an episode such as this, one which obliquely places the warrior in a dependent position upon the emperor, makes sense.

In another instance of divergent representations of Chinese figures (albeit not that of an advisor) Xiang Yu also receives strikingly different treatment in *The Tale of The Heike* and *The Mirror of China*. In the former, the depiction of his demise culminates in his sorrow at parting from his wife. In the latter, the above exchange is included, but the record ends with a headlong charge into enemy forces and self-decapitation. On Xiang Yu's final moments, see Helen Craig McCullough (1988), 340 and Shigenori, 98.

[80] Fujiwara no Shigenori, 35.

counter-examples of power-hungry regents who stop at virtually nothing. In the fifth scroll, there is a veritable flood of regencies, with Empress[81] Dou 竇后 (? - 97 CE) assuming rule on behalf of the fourth ruler, the young Emperor Xiaohe 孝和帝 (79-105), Consort Dowager[82] Deng 鄧太后 (81-121) in lieu of the fifth, Emperor Xiaoshang 孝殤帝 (105-106), and Empress Liang 梁皇后[83] (116-150) governing instead of the eighth, ninth, and tenth emperors, Xiaochong 孝沖 (143-145), Xiaozhi 孝質 (138-146), and Xiaohuan 孝桓 (132-168), respectively. The trend continues with Emperor Xiaoling 孝靈 (156-189) and Imperial Prince[84] Bian 皇子辯 (189), the first of whom yields power to (another) Consort Dowager Dou 竇太后 (? - 172) and the second, to Consort Dowager [Dong] 董太后 (? - 189).[85] The sixth scroll contains further instances of regents: the Grand Mentor Yang Jun takes the reins from Emperor Xiaohui, Consort Dowager Yu 庾太后 (297 - 328) oversees Emperor Cheng 成帝 (321 - 342), and Empress Dowager[86] Chu 褚皇太后 (324 - 384) is regent to Emperor Mu 穆皇帝 (343 - 361) and Emperor Xiaowu. In most of the entries, the regency or surrogate rulership itself is not evaluated.

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[81] Rendering *hou* 后 as "empress," I follow Charles O. Hucker, 225.

[82] This is Hucker's primary translation for the term, though the explanatory note also mentions the possibility that it refers to an Empress Dowager. Ibid., 478.

[83] Ibid., 261.

[84] Ibid., 263.

[85] Uncharacteristically, Shigenori does not name the Empress Dowager here. Historically, I believe it should be Dowager Empress He 何皇后 (? - 189), but the title Shigenori provides suggests Dowager Empress Dong. Cf. Fujiwara no Shigenori, 177.

[86] Charles O. Hucker, 262.

Nonetheless, the thematic prominence suggested simply by the number of mentions of this type of institution, regardless of its consequences, ought not be ignored.

One potential explanation for the recurrence of the regental motif is the Southern Branch Fujiwara's ties to the *bakufu*. In his aforementioned study of Shigenori's biography, Ogawa contends, "The Southern Branch were the classic examples of successfully exploiting ties with the *bakufu* with an aim to resist the Sugawara house [dominance] and advance."[87] If cultivating these connections with warrior authority in the east was an active concern of Shigenori's, it would make sense that in his account of Chinese rule one would find frequent nods to extra-imperial power as well as an avoidance of condemning the exercise of such.

The inclusion of positively portrayed, powerful, non-imperial figures also suggests a broader possible imagined target audience for his work.[88] In "Cultural Life of the Warrior Elite in the Fourteenth Century," Paul Varley writes that "[c]ourt culture was also channeled to Kamakura by the Fujiwara and princes of the blood who were brought to Kyoto to be shoguns, creating their own 'courts' in the east, which became centers of courtly conduct and pursuit of the courtier arts."[89] It is not too difficult to imagine that tales in which the only potential heroes

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[87] 南家が幕府との縁故を利用して菅家に対抗し、昇進をはかった典型的な事例である. Ogawa Takeo, 35.

[88] This position dovetails with Tonomura's general assertion that Chinese history held appeal for warriors because of numerous points of "resonance." Tonomura Hisae, 110.

[89] H. Paul Varley, "Cultural Life of the Warrior Elite in the Fourteenth Century," in *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors, and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century,* Jeffrey P. Mass, ed., 192-208 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 193-194. This is nearly all that Varley has to say about the Kamakura, other than citing Sanetomo's poetic interests immediately prior. It also would accord well with the depiction of the Japanese cultural scene Gomi Fumihiko posits for the Kamakura as one in which literati and warriors have largely usurped the generative role of the court as cultural nexus. Gomi Fumihiko 五味文彦, *Bushi to bunshi no chūseishi* 武士と文士の中世史, (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1992), 233

were princes might have appealed less to such non-imperial readers than those in which military or other prowess could also serve as a means to success.

Just what the goal of such warrior artistic cultivation might have been is hinted at in the second and thirty-sixth tales from Fujiwara no Nobuzane's 藤原信実 *setsuwa* collection *Ima monogatari* 今物語 (1239/1240). Nobuzane's assemblage includes anecdotes about his contemporaries and often reads similarly to a mid-thirteenth-century tabloid. Though it has little space for warriors as such, there are two anecdotes that offer two very different images: one of warriors past, and the other of warriors present. The second entry in the collection, *No mo se ni sudaku* 野もせにすだく (An entire field a-chirp), features a romanticized warrior-cum-courtier of the type Paul Varley has noted as popularized by the *Heike Monogatari* 平家物語 (Tale of the Heike).[90]

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and *passim*. In other words, entries or sections on non-imperial figures who were culturally, politically, or militarily (not that these three descriptors were mutually exclusive) powerful might have seemed more relevant to a potential Kamakura readership than a narrow focus on characters tied by blood to the royal house. It perhaps goes without saying that Gomi's work surveys a variety of sources from several genres in his efforts at enabling a more nuanced understanding of the fabric of Kamakura society and cultural production than the sole point I extract here might imply. Anyone seeking an introduction to the types of sources available and a model for how they can be used to reconstruct or conjecture about socio-politico-cultural relationships and intellectual currents during the Kamakura should find this tome useful.

[90] Proposing that in the tale, the Taira are "surrogates for the courtier class," Varley calls attention to their depiction as having (among other things) "refined courtly tastes in music, poetry, and the like..." Paul Varley, "Cultural Life in Medieval Japan," in *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 3*, Kozo Yamakura, ed., 447-499 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; online edition, 2008), 451-452. The incident also features in *Heike monogatari.* For a translation, see Helen Craig McCullough (1988), 185.

Kōchiyama Kiyohiko cites this tale as an exemplar of *Ima monogatari*'s valorization of '*yasashi*' (refinement); to my knowledge, the work does not accord contemporary Kamakura warriors the same sensibility. Kōchiyama Kiyohiko 河内山清彦, "Ima monogatari/Yotsugi monogatari no sekai" 今物語・世継物語の世界, in *Nihon no setsuwa 4: chūsei II* (Tokyo: Bijutsu, 1974),

> There was a person called Governor of Satsuma [Taira no] Tadanori. Having something he wished to say to a palace lady-in-waiting, he had gotten as far as the entrance to the pavilion when he hesitated; since the night was already unimaginably late, he [tapped] *rat-a-tat-tat* with his fan as was his custom. When he listened, he heard the familiar lady-in-waiting of the pavilion sigh, "An entire field a-chirp with insects," and he stopped using his fan. The person fell silent, and upon her emergence to meet him, this lady-in-waiting said, "Why aren't you using your fan?"—at this, he said "Well, I heard it was 'noisy' or something," and it was charming.
>
> *How noisy—an entire field a-chirp with insects.*
> *I alone smolder*
> *with things unspoken.*[91]

Tadanori is shown as praiseworthy here precisely because of his courtier-like sensibilities. One can envision Nobuzane and his literati friends (including Teika) appreciating the level of cultural literacy that enables Tadanori to grasp the lady-in-waiting's half-spoken reproach and secure the tryst.

That the typical Kamakura warrior fell short of this is suggested by the thirty-sixth tale, *Rengedani no seme Nenbutsu* 蓮花谷の責め念仏 (The Reproachful *Nenbutsu* of Lotus Valley).[92] The warrior protagonist, who ostensibly has taken vows, is visited nightly by his wife

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260-261.

[91] 薩摩守忠度といふ人ありき。宮ばらの女房に物申さむとて、つぼねのうへざままで、ためらひけるが、事のほかに夜ふけにければ、あふぎをはら々とつかひならして、き々しらせければ、このつぼねの心しりの女房、「野もせにすだくむしのねや」とながめけるをき々て、あふぎをつかひやみにける。人しづまりて、いであひたりけるに、此女房、「あふぎをばなどやつかひたまはざりつるぞ」といひければ、「いさ、かしかましとかやきこえつれば」といひたりける、やさしかりけり。
かしかまし野もせにすだく虫のねやわれだに物はいはでこそおもへ
Fujiwara no Nobuzane 藤原信実, "Ima monogatari" 今物語, in *Ima monogatari, Takafusashū, Tōsai zuihitsu*, Kubota Jun 久保田淳 et al., eds. 119-167 (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 1979), 123. Gomi, too, has looked at this collection, though neither of the above tales is mentioned in the essay cited earlier. Cf. Gomi Fumihiko (2003), 102.

[92] Fujiwara no Nobuzane, 153-154.

to discuss practical household matters and worldly affairs. Some of his companions find the matter strange and report him to their leader, Kū-amidabutsu, who concludes that the warrior is being pursued by his wife's excessively enamored spirit. The priest orders a public exorcism of sorts, and the nocturnal visitor is revealed to have been a spirit that in turn is driven away by the power of the *nenbutsu*. The account closes with the observation: "It might have been the handiwork of a demon, or then again, perhaps it was due to the wife's ardent longing? It was very bizarre."[93]

Nobuzane's Kamakura warrior stands at quite a remove from his graceful Taira predecessor. He is engaged in a popular cult and is preoccupied with his wife and business both domestic and societal. While the image of his exorcism, in which he is surrounded by "thirty or forty people" chanting the *nenbutsu*, is powerful, it is not a predicament in which a reader is able to picture one of Nobuzane's courtier protagonists from the other stories finding himself. If there can be said to be notions of popular and elite culture in the Kamakura period, then Nobuzane's account suggests contemporary Kamakura warrior interests incline towards the former.[94]

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[93] 天魔のしわざか、又女の恋しとおもひけるがゆゑにか、いとふしぎなり. Fujiwara no Nobuzane, 155. Kōchiyama interprets the story as assessing the "attachment" as bizarre, but offers little beyond that. Ibid., 266.

[94] Jien, for one, is explicitly condemnatory of *nenbutsu* movements. Following his discussion of Hōnen, he adds: "Many others [among the '*nenbutsu* priests'] received names that were made up of 'Amitābha Buddha' preceded by a Chinese character [denoting some Buddhist truth], producing names like Kū Amida Butsu (Void Amitābha Buddha) and Hō Amida Butsu (Law Amitābha Buddha). Many priests and nuns had such names. In time, the activity of persons who called themselves the disciples of Hōnen left no doubt but that the Buddhist law had really reached its 'deteriorating phase.'" Translated in Delmer M. Brown and Ichirō Ishida, *The Future and the Past: A translation and study of the Gukanshō, an interpretive history of Japan written in 1219* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979), 172. For the original, see Jien 慈円, *Gukanshō* 愚管抄, in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 86, Okami Masao 岡見正雄 and Akamatsu Toshihide 赤松俊秀, eds. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967), 295.

Whether this was in reality the case is less crucial to determine—it is more significant here that at least some courtiers or would-be cultural elite perceived (or wanted to perceive) warriors in this way.[95] One can imagine that Shigenori might have conjectured that a certain type of warrior might wish to be seen more as the urbane "Taira" model than as the slightly comical "Kamakura *bushi*"; perhaps he saw an expeditious means to basic familiarity with things Chinese as a competitive product in this kind of environment.[96] With this in mind, we must also consider that to an extent, *The Mirror of China*'s linguistic contours may be the product of a

[95] Rein Raud's essay on poetic techniques offers a glimpse of how courtiers may have been as eager to keep "culture" beyond the reaches of the warriors as the latter were to attain access to it. Rein Raud, "An investigation of the conditions of literary borrowings in late Heian and early Kamakura Japan," in *The Culture of Copying in Japan—Critical and historical perspectives*, Rupert Cox, ed., 143-155 (London and New York: Routledge, 2008). On warriors' potential disruption to previously dominant worldviews, see David T. Bialock, 185-190. For a concise look at the warrior rise to power and the ways that undermined or challenged authority previously in the hands of the nobility, see Hongō Keiko 本郷恵子, "Kuge to Buke" 公家と武家, in *Iwanami kōza: Tennō to ōken o kangaeru* 岩波講座天皇と王権を考える, Amino Yoshihiko 網野義彦 et al, eds., 107-126 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2002). Her work, which follows surplus "energy" across social and cultural transformations, does not focus on how warriors and nobles perceived each other; however, the portrayal of changing power dynamics and conceptions of legitimacy provides a useful background for thinking about issues of mutual apprehension.

[96] Paul Varley's work implies that had Shigenori thought so, he would have been behind the times. "In earlier times the 'classical past' had been essentially a Chinese past; now the Japanese looked back increasingly to the mid-Heian period of their own history for artistic guidance and inspiration.

Keen awareness of a classical Japanese past was a major feature of the efflorescence of *waka* that occurred, ironically perhaps, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the court was a declining governmental institution." Paul Varley (1990; online edition 2008), 453. This presumes, of course, a clear distinction between Chinese and Japanese. But whether the past referenced was Chinese or Japanese, Thomas Conlan's article noted earlier supports an argument that in the thirteenth century, at least from a courtier perspective, the idea of a man who had both literary and martial prowess as an ideal would have resonated. Conlan in fact cites a passage by Shigenori as an example of a medieval intellectual familiar with the interdependence of *bun* and *bu* in the Chinese tradition. Thomas Conlan (2011), 88.

situation similar to that found in Kamakura *shōmon* 証文 (evidentiary documents). Nomura Takashi characterizes them as writings in which "getting the meaning across clearly was more important than anything else; this was one of the realities of a society that had taken in Chinese characters and Chinese prose-writing."[97] Thus, much as there may be larger theoretical implications in Shigenori's multilingual approach (or those of the later copyists of his work), practical forces were probably also at play.

The Mirror of China and the *Gukanshō*: Personalizing Cultural History

Given the problems of language, readers, content, and an intimated tension between Japan and various aspects of China, some literary contextualization and relativization of the workings of *The Mirror of China* should prove useful. For this, the roughly contemporaneous work of Jien 慈円 (1155-1225), the *Gukanshō* 愚管抄 (ca. 1219), is a prime resource. As will be made clear in Chapter Five, *The Mirror of China* does not fit into the received norms of Kamakura historiography, i.e. those inherited from the selective *Mirror* tradition. However, considering it from a different perspective, that of the suasive history à la *Gukanshō*, further aids in assessing the aims and idiosyncrasies of Shigenori's work. Looking at *The Mirror of China* not simply in terms of mainstream historiography but also in contrast with another path-breaking work should enrich our understanding of the possibilities for textualizing the past in the thirteenth century.

While an in-depth analysis of the *Gukanshō* would exceed the parameters of the present chapter, a detour in order to take a closer look at the ways in which *The Mirror of China*

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[97] ･･･明瞭に意味が通じるということが何より大切で、これが漢字・漢文を受け入れた社会の一つの現実でした。 Nomura Takashi, 125. Despite his limit to evidentiary writings here, it is tempting to imagine legibility as being of foremost importance in other situations where the transmission of data was crucial, too.

relates to this earlier work should be instructive. To begin with, given the *Gukanshō*'s rough coevality with *The Mirror of China*, it should aid in establishing a broader view of thirteenth-century historiographic writing and concepts. In fact, the works do share several similarities. Like *The Mirror of China*, the *Gukanshō* spans the entirety of imperial rule: after a brief nod to early Chinese civilization, Jien turns to Japan, working from Emperor Jinmu through the present day. The two texts also have an essentially pessimistic assessment of the historical trajectory of their subjects in common, although one must also consider to what extent this may merely be a reflection of a medieval *zeitgeist*.[98] Most strikingly and underappreciated of all, both works engage with larger discourses on how the universe works, albeit in different ways.

Delmer Brown's 1974 study of the *Gukanshō*, still one of the longest in English, offers a convenient point of entry for understanding the basics of Jien's work. Brown characterizes the *Gukanshō*'s overall thrust as "a desperate effort by Jien to convince the retired emperor [GoToba] that he was acting contrary to the divine principles of history"[99]; in a later more measured assessment (1979), he opines: "Jien (1155-1225) wrote the *Gukanshō* in an attempt to convince his readers that Japanese deities had created a divine plan by which KUJŌ Yoritsune

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[98] For a brief treatment of the "Spread of Buddhist Doctrines of Continuous Decline" in the centuries prior to the composition of the *Gukanshō* as an overview of one of the intellectual currents influencing written works (subsequently discussed), see the thusly entitled section in Brown and Ishida, 370-374. Upon concluding his discussion of these works (374-401), Brown observes: "Use of the word Principle (*dōri*) to explain crucial events in Japan's past provides further proof that Final Law belief had worked its way into Japanese thought about the passage of time." Ibid., 401. It is unclear whether this is an oblique reference to the *Gukanshō* or simply a comment on the works just discussed, but the claim to the pervasiveness of belief in "decline" holds either way. Again, for a work of similar chronological span and oriented towards the *Gukanshō*, see also Delmer M. Brown, "Buddhism and Historical Thought in Japan before 1221" in *Philosophy East and West (Time and Temporality)* 24.2 (April 1974): 215-225. Cf. also my earlier discussion of Nomura Hachirō's work.

[99] Delmer M. Brown (1974), 223.

(1218-56), a young boy of Jien's own aristocratic house, was to grow up and administer state affairs on behalf of the Emperor... this two-year-old Yoritsune was destined to become not only Regent but Shogun..."[100] So read, the text can be taken as proselytical at a basic level.[101]

Brown's subsequent textual analysis is concerned not so much with Jien's motives for writing the *Gukanshō* as it is with an appreciation of his intellectually innovative approach to the task. He suggests that the work's revolutionary character lies in its synthesis of two concepts. The first is the presence of a "divine" schema governing the unfolding of worldly events. To this, Brown adds Jien's insistence on the necessity of human ability to comprehend and manipulate these workings.[102] It is only a slight overstatement to say that Brown reads Jien's work as one in which ultimately, the exegete himself is as crucial as the events he explicates.

However, neither Brown nor his co-author, Ichirō Ishida, devotes much space to the tantalizing issue of the implicit significance of a Jien-like interpreter in such a framework, instead dedicating the bulk of their discussions to a dissection of the work's conceptual matrix: an intellectual apparatus created via the union of so-called Buddhist and Shinto elements in

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[100] Delmer M. Brown, in Brown and Ishida (1979), 1.

[101] In a similar vein, Sakurai Yoshirō 桜井好朗 offers a discussion of the *Gukanshō* vis-à-vis a potential mythic function, the definition of the latter appearing to derive primarily from the work of René Girard. Sakurai Yoshirō 桜井好朗, *Chūsei Nihon no shinwa to rekishi jojutsu* 中世日本の神と歴史叙述 (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 2006), 130-137. (Sakurai's work covers many other texts and issues, as well; to the extent that I can evaluate it, Girard, Michel de Certeau, and Dominic LaCapra look to be among the major theorists with whom he is engaging. However, as I am less interested in the problem of "myth" *per se* (at least in the way in which it is presented here), I will not treat this work in its entirety.)

[102] Delmer M. Brown, in Brown and Ishida (1979), 12.

service of a greater suasive end.[103] The *Gukanshō*'s theological fusion is without question an intriguing focus, and it is the feature that comes across in the writings of Brown and Ishida as Jien's more novel contribution. In the aforementioned article and book, Brown makes the case that in the *Gukanshō*, Jien synthesizes two discrete positions vis-à-vis time. He first identifies "the inevitable decline of history" as one of its author's significant formative preoccupations.[104] He proposes that this is coupled, however, with the possibility of forestalling the decay, a concept Brown argues derives from both Buddhist and Shinto thought, or more precisely "the

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[103] To be fair, Brown notes in his introduction that Jien "tries to show how men of 'ability' have altered, and can still alter, the course of history in deep and even drastic ways," after noting that Jien "presumably...places himself on the list" of such. Ibid., 10-11.

A passing note on terminology: in both the book and article, Brown employs the term "Shinto" in an un-deconstructed manner that would now be considered dated. To be sure, his concern is not the identification of a continuous indigenous religion. Nonetheless, his usage is imprecise. Ichirō Ishida's rhetoric is likewise problematic, suggesting a nativist bias in the representation of "Shinto." For an English-language study (translated) that demonstrates the untenability of arguments positing Shinto as a coherent, discrete religion (or construct) prior to the Meiji period, see Kuroda Toshio, James C. Robbins, and Suzanne Gay, "Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion" in *Journal of Japanese Studies* 7.1 (Winter 1981): 1-21. As Kuroda bluntly puts his thesis: "It is hoped that this article will demonstrate that before modern times Shinto did not exist as an independent religion." Ibid., 3. Readers interested in the discussion of Shinto elements in interaction with Buddhism in medieval Japan in a politico-religious context are referred to Kuroda Toshio and Fabio Rambelli, "The Discourse on the 'Land of the Kami' (Shinkoku) in Medieval Japan: National Consciousness and International Awareness," in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23.3/4 (Fall 1996): 353-385. For a detailed introduction to shifts in Heian Buddhism, the translation of another section from Kuroda's work is included in the aforementioned publication: Kuroda Toshio and James C. Dobbins, "The Development of the Kenmitsu System as Japan's Medieval Orthodoxy," in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23.3/4 (Fall 1996): 233-269. Those wishing to see a more recent look at Shinto and its historical complexities through a comparative analysis are referred to Mark Teeuwen, "Comparative perspectives on the emergence of *jindō* and Shinto," *Bulletin of School for of Oriental and African Studies* 70.2 (2007): 373-402.

[104] Delmer M. Brown (1974), 216, 219, and *passim*. See also Delmer M. Brown in Brown and Ishida (1979), 4 and *passim*.

sacred power of the ancestral *kami* [...]."[105] Ishida works from a similar starting premise in a considerably more nuanced and complicated examination of the *Gukanshō* that in large part investigates the intricacies of Jien's mechanics.[106] In the end, for both scholars, the impetus for the narrative trajectory is inextricably bound with Jien's negotiation between the two notions of the nature of historical progression.[107]

Jien's other new contribution in their analysis, of course, is the emphasis on explication of how these things are manifested by means of *dōri* 道理 (Principles).[108] The reader need not puzzle over the significance of events or how they fit together, for Jien provides

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[105] Delmer M. Brown (1974), 217 and 222-225. (Quotation from 222.) For a similar conclusion, see Delmer M. Brown in Brown and Ishida (1979), 5-9, 13-14.

[106] Ichirō Ishida, "Structure and Formation of *Gukanshō* Thought," in Delmer M. Brown and Ichirō Ishida, *The Future and the Past: A translation and study of the Gukanshō, an interpretive history of Japan written in 1219*, 420-450 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979), 420-440, esp. 427-432. To grossly simplify, Ishida's presentation of the *Gukanshō* suggests a work promoting how best to reconcile being divinely destined for greatness with living in a degenerate age, especially ibid., 434-438.

[107] At least, this is how Brown summarizes Jien's intent. Brown and Ishida (1979), 6. Or, as Brown later notes, "[...] we see that belief in the divine origins of the Imperial line has been transformed into a powerful historical development." Ibid., 9. This follows a section in which "[t]he primacy of the Sun Goddess and her Imperial agents" appears to be earmarked as one of the "Shinto principles." Ibid., 8. On the "driving" force of the narrative, see also ibid., 9. Ishida essentially starts from this point, proposing: "Let us think of *Gukanshō* thought as having a religious superstructure made up of two elements: Buddhist eschatological thought, and the Shinto belief that ancestral Kami protect their descendants." Ichirō Ishida, "Structure and Formation of *Gukanshō* Thought," in Brown and Ishida (1979): 420-450; citation from 421.

[108] Delmer M. Brown in Brown and Ishida (1979), 4. On the basics of Principles (I borrow the translation of *dōri* as such from Brown), see ibid., 4-5. For a brief note on the significance of the inclusion of/reliance on *dōri*, see ibid., 401. For a more descriptive article that treats *dōri* as being the central issue for Jien, see Charles H. Hambrick, "The 'Gukanshō': A Religious View of Japanese History," in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 5.1 (March 1978): 37-58. Hambrick grounds the *Gukanshō* strictly in Buddhist thought, giving no space to any discussion of the Shinto elements Brown and Ishida locate in the work.

explication. This is of particular import when Jien explains how seemingly irregular phenomena can be accounted for by means of positioning them within the interpretive matrix derived from the *dōri*. For instance, a vexed Jien laments the inappropriate awarding of several titles late in the autumn of 1221 before reconciling it to a greater cosmic logic. First, he accounts for the current unfortunate breach of propriety by citing an earlier similar instance involving Hōjō Masako. That deviation, in turn, he attributes to the nature of the larger workings of the universe: "But what was the precedent for giving it [the title] to Masako? Under conditions of the final reigns, such irregularities are not unusual. The Final Age is truly miserable."[109] Nothing happens that Jien cannot interpret as an embodiment of the principles that govern the universe.[110]

This overt portrayal of cosmic logic at work within a text is one point at which Shigenori's writing stands in contrast to Jien's. There is no obvious authorial plea as such contained within the portion of *The Mirror of China* that survives to indicate how Shigenori might have interpreted the inner workings of the universe or that they might be operative in his narrative. Whether this stems from authorial indifference to or confidence in the reader's ability to glean underlying truths from the narrative is never made clear. We know that

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[109] Brown and Ishida, 347. 但鎌倉ノ二位政子〈右大将頼朝卿ノ後家〉三位セラレシ例トカヤ。其例ハ又イヅレノ例ニテ侍ベキニヤ。加様ノ事、末代ザマニハ何トナキ事ニテアルニコソ。世ノ末コソ誠ニアハレナル事ニテ侍レ。 Jien, 126.

[110] I am not quite sure what, if anything, to make of this yet, but in this, he creates a cosmological perspective very similar to the one Auerbach describes as being in the Bible: "The world of the Scripture stories is not satisfied with claiming to be a historically true reality—it insists that it is the only real world, is destined for autocracy. All other scenes, issues, and ordinances have no right to appear independently of it, and it is promised that all of them, the history of all mankind, will be given their due place within its frame, will be subordinated to it." Erich Auerbach, "Odysseus' Scar," in *Mimesis: the Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, Willard R. Trask, trans. 2-23 (Berne: A. Francke Ltd. Co.; Princeton: Princeton University Press 1953; 2003 printing), 14-15.

the Chinese monk in the preface to *The Mirror of China* has offered to relate how things are in China, and we see that the transmission of this knowledge is taking place in a charged setting (for it unfolds at Anraku Temple 安楽寺); however, it is difficult to appreciate to cosmological dimension of *The Mirror of China* without recourse to other works in the *Mirror* genre. In other words, it is not that *The Mirror of China* does not engage with cosmological discourse, but taken in isolation, the work certainly does not do so with the same accessibility or intensity as the *Gukanshō*. Indeed, it is only when *The Mirror of China* is brought into dialogue with the Heian *Mirrors* that one can more readily recognize a *Gukanshō*-like presence of *dōri* (a point to be explored in detail in Chapter Five).

Another less pronounced difference between the *Gukanshō* and *The Mirror of China* is that of the authorial stance towards the events he relates. Jien, while charged with a divine mission, lends weight to the content of his works by his very narrative proximity. This is not as unproblematic or straightforward as simply restricting himself to events he could have witnessed, as is attested to in his palpably frustrated assessment of the handling of Emperor Sushun's 崇峻 murder.

> Concerning the assassination of Emperor Sushun, the current Great Imperial Chieftain (SOGA Umako) had heard that Emperor Sushun was going to kill him, and he therefore proceeded to kill the Emperor first. But was it right to overlook the act, not punishing Umako in the least and allowing him to go free? Since Prince Shōtoku was present, why didn't he at least do something about the assassination? And why did he quickly ally himself with Umako, the assassin? [These are quite incomprehensible matters. In any case, there is not the least indication that thereafter, people take this having happened as <constituting> a precedent.][111]

[111] 此崇峻ノコロサレ給フヤウハ、時ノ大臣ヲコロサントオボシケルヲキキカザドリテ、ソノ大臣ノ國王ヲコロシマイラセタルニテアリ。ソレニスコシノトガモナクテ、ツツラトシテアルベシヤハ。ナカニモ聖徳太子オハシマスオリニテ、太子ハイカニ、サテハ御サタモナクテヤガテ馬子トヒトツ心ニテオハシマシケルゾト、ヨニ心エヌ事ニアルナリ。サテ其後カカリケレバトテ、コレヲ例ト思フヲモムキツヤツヤトナシ。 Jien, 137. Translated in Delmer M. Brown and Ichirō Ishida (1979), 26. The penultimate and final

The chronological distance notwithstanding, there is a sense of immediacy in accounts such as the one above. The manner in which Jien relates them—recording the thoughts and motivations of figures, as well as freely editorializing—creates a sense of intimacy and involvement with his subjects. In contrast, imagining a voice more detached than Shigenori's would be challenging. Even as he uses suffixes such as *ki* キ which imply his source's proximity to the events reported, Shigenori draws his own authority from textual support: the classics, the commentaries, and the other writings that he cites. There *is* a personalized experience within the *Mirror of China*, but it is that of his interlocutor. Shigenori inserts distance when he mentions his textual sources with the result that there is a greater remove between author and subject than in Jien's work.

Lastly, and most germane to the present project, there is the question of form. Jien's work is written primarily in *kana*, a decision in which he lays great store. Jien explains that he has decided to do this to make his writings accessible to a broad audience. He fears that were he to write in *mana* (characters) "there would be few who understood what they meant."[112] After listing various works in *mana* and bemoaning the scarcity of those who fathom them, he adds: "It is precisely by writing in *kana* that Yamato words are in their essential form, unconnected to characters."[113] Jien seems to be saying that he has decided to write in *kana* in order to

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bracketed sentences I have re-translated after Brown and Ishida. Their rendering is as follows: "People really could not understand it. And yet there has been absolutely no inclination since then, to think that a precedent had been established." Ibid.

[112] 僅ニ真名ノ文字ヲバ讀メドモ、又其義理ヲサトリ知レル人ナシ。Jien, 127.

[113] 假名ニカクバカリニテハ、倭ト詞ノ本體ニテ文字ニエカ〈カ〉ラズ。Ibid.

disambiguate.[114] What is of particular significance is that this opposition is not framed in terms of native/foreign, but in those of sound to writing.[115]

This remains the case to a certain degree later on, near the close of the *Gukanshō*, when Jien once again lays out reasons for his decision to write in *kana*.[116] Yet, it often sounds as though this is a decision that is as much about register as it is about form, for his later pleas focus on the suitability of his idiosyncratic vernacular lexicon.[117] In the end, it is probably not fair to

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[114] I also agree with Ozaki Isamu's 尾崎勇 observation that Jien thereby seeks to address a non-exclusive readership. Ozaki Isamu 尾崎勇, "'Gukanshō' to 'Ōkagami'— sono setsuwa ni tsuite" 『愚管抄』と『大鏡』—その説話について, in *Kokubungaku ronsō* 29 (March 1984): 19-20. (Indeed, since he quotes the *Gukanshō*, it would be hard to dispute this.) As the title indicates, however, much of the article focuses on the relationship between *Gukanshō* and *Ōkagami* and the hows and whys of Jien's incorporation of *setsuwa*-like material; as such, it is of limited relevance for the present study. He restates the above point as part of a larger argument about the relationship between *Gukanshō* and *Mizukagami* in Ozaki Isamu 尾崎勇, "'Gukanshō' no hōhō to 'Mizukagami'" 『愚管抄』の方法と『水鏡』, in *Kumamoto tandai ronshū* 43.1 (October 1992), 34.

[115] This is why I refrain from quoting the Brown and Ishida translation, which uncritically renders *mana* as "Chinese characters." Cf. Brown and Ishida, 348.

[116] Jien, 319. While Brown's translation continues to suggest that difficulties stem from "Chinese," Jien initially appears to be complaining about the use of characters. This being said, he does use the term *kanji* 漢字 here, and not *moji* 文字 as earlier. Cf. Brown and Ishida (1979), 199. However, one could also argue that the problem lies (in his view) in the fact that Japanese translations of scholarly texts are translations of translations, from Sanskrit via Chinese to Japanese. Then the difficulty is that of the existence of a mediating language between Sanskrit and Japanese, not the identity of said language as Chinese *per se*. In any case, Jien again uses the term *moji* 文字 when explaining the universality of *dōri* 道理. Jien, 324; Brown and Ishida (1979), 206. This is consistent, though, with an idea that character usage can serve as a marker for trans-sovereignty space. Admittedly, I do not know at this point if "*kanbun*" existed as a viable option to differentiate between Chinese-language texts and Chinese characters. The term *kanbun* is already present in the Kamakura period (a search of the Kamakura *ibun* concordance database turned up six hits), so this may be an important distinction.

[117] The Brown translation seems a bit off-the-mark here: "Since this book has been written in Japanese, it will sound common. But meaning may be deeply embedded in Japanese words." Brown and Ishida (1979), 202. The original reads: コレダニモコトバコソ假名ナルウヘニ、

Jien to attempt to limit his statements on writing to being motivated by a single concern. There are at least three operative elements: the contrast between *kana* and character writing, the defense of the idiom Jien wishes to use *kana* to represent, and inherent in his repeated use of words that apply specifically to Japan or Japanese (*Nihonkoku* 日本國, *Wago* 和語, *Yamatokotoba* 倭ト詞, etc.), a tension with a context or discourse of which Japan is only a part, but not the whole. While China has a textual presence both implicit with regard to the question of writing itself and explicit in passages that refer to Chinese historical figures, to present Jien's position on writing as being merely in terms of "Chinese vs. Japanese" would be reductive. That one of Jien's concerns is a fundamental mismatch between writing in characters and expressing the true sentiments of Japanese words is indisputably an issue, but to collapse characters and Chinese into one analytical category discourages thinking about what writing in *kanbun* can mark.

The effect is undeniably different from that of Shigenori's *kanbun*-derived prose in the Shōkōkan edition, or even from the multifarious forms of the other manuscripts, which, as submitted above, all reveal *some* degree of affiliation with *kanbun*. Jien's work is locally oriented, and his choice of writing style reflects that. Shigenori's, however, moves between and across regional and cultural spaces, back and forth between China and Japan, and the written forms of his text likewise embody this very process of negotiation and movement.

In summary, this brief overview of the *Gukanshō* highlights provocative features of *The Mirror of China*. The two authors navigate similar intellectual spaces—those of language,

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ムゲニヲカシク耳チカク侍レドモ、猶心ハウヘニフカクコモリタルコト侍ランカシ。Jien, 321. The main point in the original (in a single sentence) is the words' possession of deep meaning despite how the use of *kana* makes them sound. See also Jien 321-322; Brown and Ishida, 202-203.

narrating the past, and ideology—but with differing results. One element in particular recurs again and again, refracted through each of the issues touched upon here: the manufacture of distance. Shigenori creates no explicit self-contained interpretive scheme that allows for the "processing" of *The Mirror of China*'s content, although emplacing the work in the larger tradition of *Mirrors* can remedy this somewhat. He maintains a greater distance from the tales he relates, which is also unsurprising, given the immediacy of Jien's subject matter. And, most significantly, he uses a mode of expression anathema to localization. Whereas Jien writes as though clearly grounded in a sovereign Japan, Shigenori creates a text that occupies an indistinct sphere with ill-defined boundaries, bridging semi-distinct geographical realms while still marking them as such through his choice of linguistic media.

Conclusion

To consider this work in terms of both "message" and form, on the one hand, it is not to be entirely unexpected that Shigenori's work suggests an endless cycle of diminishing dynastic returns in China. After all, at least some of his Chinese sources have a similar narrative arc embedded: the official histories are accounts of dynasties and rulers that have fallen. In this sense, it could be risky to over-emphasize the embedded dynastic declines.[118] On the other, it is difficult to see the sensation of the dwindling importance of China as a unified awe-inspiring

[118] Still, I think it is worth remembering that Shigenori's sources are separate histories or works—a summary of *his* synthesis thereof was thus necessary, though time-consuming. At the same time, however, this downward trajectory is not a preoccupation unique to Chinese sources. Nishio Yōtarō has also persuasively argued that the putative progenitors of the *rekishi monogatari* genre, *Eiga monogatari* and *Ōkagami*, both understand history as moving along these lines. Nishio suggests that this is shaped by an awareness of political and economic deviation from earlier standards as well as Buddhist concerns. Nishio Yōtarō 西尾陽太郎, "Heian jidai gōki no rekishi shisō—Yotsugi, kyōrui to gukanshō" 平安時代後期の歴史思想—世継ぎ・鏡類と愚管抄—, in *Nihon ni okeru rekishi shisō no tenkai* 日本における歴史思想の展開, 75-99. Sendai: Tōhoku shuppan, 1961.

power as being accidental, reinforced by the very structure of the narrative (or its crumbling) as it is. This is especially true when one considers that it is only at the beginning of the work that Shigenori repeatedly ties China and Japan together, a technique abandoned once the basics of culture have been covered.

In terms of content, where Shigenori appropriates China—through linkages with Japanese deities, avatars, and even a poem from the eleventh-century poetry anthology the *Wa-Kan rōeishū* 倭漢朗詠集 (1012) in the case of the Yellow Emperor[119]—the origins of a Cathayan culture are rendered specifically as transcending sovereignty boundaries. Where he distances Japan from the Continent, parallel to the general advancement of the decay of *Kara*, emphasis on and maintenance of a "universal" narrative alike evanesce. Correspondences with Japanese figures vanish. In other words, it is access to Cathay that China and Japan have in common; the closer the historical events are to the present, the more localized they become. Thus, while cultural origins are accessible to all, the subsequent downfall is China's province alone.

The Mirror of China is a text that moves between China and Japan, and in an oblique way, India. Its readers cross sovereign and cultural borders in a way that is exemplified in the mixture of written forms themselves. It is a work that permits readers to simultaneously see Japan in a larger trans-sovereignty cosmological order and as superior to (and thus distinct from) China. This navigation between the poles of China as a source of venerable tradition and esteemed institutions at one extremity and China as a decadent disaster at the other is, as I have

[119] The line is 遊子猶行残月. "Wayfarers even now wander beneath the late-rising moon." Cited Fujiwara no Shigenori, 19. The notes to this poem in the modern edition of the *Wa-Kan rōeishū* suggest that it is probably the work of Jia Song 賈嵩. Fujiwara no Kintō 藤原公任, "Wa-Kan rōeishū*"* 倭漢朗詠集, in *Wa-Kan rōeishū/Ryōjin hishō*, Kawaguchi Hisao 川口久雄 and Shida Nobuyoshi 志田延義, eds., 3-310 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1965), 155.

repeatedly put forth, mirrored by the movement between languages in and across the surviving manuscripts of *The Mirror of China*.

Looking at the actual manuscripts of *The Mirror of China* allows us to recover information visually encoded in calligraphic renderings, information that tends to be suppressed through the homogenization process of typesetting. Crucial to this effort, Misumi Yōichi's work demonstrates the inappropriateness of talking about Kamakura writing purely in terms of *kanbun* or *wabun*, offering instead a plethora of varyingly distinct writing forms that move along a somewhat fluid scale between these two extremes. It is precisely this mobility that enables Shigenori to tell a story about China that is at the same time about something else, a story where Japan can be present to an inconstant degree.

Equally importantly, in contrast to the image presented by the conventional version of Japan's loss of competence in *kanbun* and the postulated resultant distress, we can see that it is still quite possible to make a trans-cultural gesture by writing in variant *kanbun* or its descendants, or more provocatively still, a mélange of distinct *kanbun* and *wabun* forms. Instead of lamenting texts like *The Mirror of China* as being written in something that is "neither/nor," we can appreciate how having written it in "either/or" would have resulted in a vastly different work—one engaging in an international (or inter-sovereignty) worldview had it been in solely *kanbun* or its affiliates, or one firmly rooted in Japan, had it been exclusively in *wabun*. Shigenori's formal variety speaks to the complicated and non-unified nature of perceptions of Sino-Japanese relations, both historical and current, in medieval Japan.

Chapter Four: Classical China to Go·

The means of communication established, the preface proceeds with a further exchange between Shigenori and the Chinese monk in which the latter establishes his motivations for the transmission that is to follow:

> "For aeons, we have had ties to the *Lotus Sutra*. Life after life, age after age, we've encountered one another, and here, there, everywhere, we offer salutations. Buddhism is languishing at the Song Court, and people who venerate this teaching are rare, so we have come to Japan; our first stop was this temple, where we heard it being read a thousand times. And since the golden words of this healing elixir of eternal youth and immortality, this sutra, are true, [our] lives are long, and our looks impervious to aging. We have [lived to] see the grey seas even thrice turn to green fields [and back again]. Though India is the land of the Buddha's dwelling, its shores are distant. [But] I could roughly relate to you the aspect of the land of Cīnasthāna, if you would listen," he said.[1]
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> I replied, "Though I now come before you as a monk, long ago, I applied myself to the scholarship of the Willow Market.[2] Yet despite having read of the founding of the

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· Portions of the material from this chapter were presented in the following talks: "The Phantasm China of 'Kara monogatari'" at the Asian Studies Conference Japan (Tokyo), June 20-21, 2009; "The Divergent China(s) of *Kara monogatari* and *Kara kagami*" at the "Japanese Appropriations of Classical Chinese—*Washū kanbun* Symposium" (Princeton), May 16, 2010; "Captured Again: Wang Zhaojun in Barbarian Drama" at the conference "Japan: Pre-modern, Modern and Contemporary" (Bucharest), August 30-31, 2011; and "Classical China to Go" at the Eighth International Convention of Asia Scholars (Macau), June 24-27, 2013. Material from this chapter, including the basic argument about the fundamentally different aspects to the images of China in *The Mirror of China* and *China Tales*, likewise appears in Japanese in Brightwell 2014.

[1] Although there is a similar line in *Hōbutsushū* 宝物集 (Collection of Treasures)—"I ought to roughly relate the matters of India, China, and Our Sovereignty" 天竺・大唐・吾朝のことおろおろ申し侍るべし—I suspect this is mere coincidence. Nevertheless, were one willing to force the comparison, one could argue that since what follows in the *Hōbutsushū* are examples of non-geographically-bounded constants (the behavior of those who discern truth), what follows as a description of China in *The Mirror of China* need not be understood as applicable only to that particular geographical entity. Koizumi Hiroshi 小泉弘, Yamada Shōzen 山田昭全, Kojima Takayuki 小島孝之, and Kinoshita Motoichi 木下資一, eds., *Hōbutsushū/Hirayama kojin reitaku* 宝物集・比良山古人霊託, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 40 (Tokyo: 1993), 5.233-253, citation from 233.

[2] *Liu shi* 柳市 (willow market) is identified as one of the nine markets of Han Dynasty Chang'an. http://www.zdic.net/cd/ci/9/ZdicE6Zdic9FZdicB3312685.htm, accessed January 3,

> Han Dynasty in books, in my idiocy, I did not understand it. To now accept your offer would be the happiness of my dotage."[3]

We have seen already how the monks approached Shigenori and the mediation of the linguistic gap between the continental informants and their would-be interlocutors in the previous chapter. In the above passage from the prologue to *The Mirror of China*, we are granted additional insight into another important issue that underlies this text and others: depicting China. The conversation alludes to some of the perspectives that inform the narrative to follow. As noted earlier, with respect to Buddhist teachings, China is cast in a negative light, while Japan is positioned as a worthy safe haven. This is an undertone that runs throughout the text. India, strikingly, is portrayed as being of dubious relevance—its originary capacity is alluded to, but is insufficient to overcome its geographic marginality. This in turn suggests a point of view that does not subscribe to a three-country worldview as much as one concerned with the dynamics of Sino-Japanese relations.

Further muddying the interpretive waters is the assertion that the Cīnasthāna that will emerge in the account to come is but an approximation, a point the monk himself makes clear. As such, I would argue that the emphasis belongs less on the specifics of China's narrative

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2013, 8:50 JST. Here, I believe it to be used synecdochically for Chang'an, and, by further extension, China.

[3] 我ハ曠劫ヨリ、法華ニ縁アリキ、生々世々ニ値遇シ、在々処々ニ敬礼奉ル、宗朝ノ仏法衰ヘテ、此教ヲ崇ル人希ナル故ニ、日本ヘ渡テ、最前ニ此寺ヘ詣テツルニ、千部読誦聴聞シ侍リシ、此経ハ不老不死ノ良薬ノ金言、誠ニ実ナレハ、寿命長袁ニシテ顔色衰邁セス、蒼海三度マテ、桑田ト成シヲ見侍リキ、天竺ハ仏在ノ国ナレトモ、境遙ナリ、震旦国ノ有様、オロオロ語申サン、若、キカマホシクヤトノ玉フニ、答申テ云ク、今ハ桑門ノヨステ人ナレトモ、昔ハ柳市ノ学ヲ勤メキ、漢家ノ世位書籍ニ見タレトモ、愚昧ノ性フ二分明一ヽ今承ラン事ヽ老ノ幸ニテ侍リナント申ス、サラハヽ語リ申サントテ Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KK*), 9-10. In this chapter, I will mark citations from *The Mirror of China* with (*KK*) and from *China Tales* with (*KM*).

plight—that of being a land where "things fall apart"—and rather on the way in which the image we are granted of China in *The Mirror of China* is explicitly multiply refracted: through the monk's own admission, through Shigenori's previous scholarly exposure, and, as Shigenori will later admit (rhetorical commonplace though it may be), through his own hazy memory. In other words, the clarity of vision arguably implied by the mirror imagery in the title notwithstanding, *The Mirror of China* is more properly a subjective reflection *on* rather than an objective one *of* China.

In this, however, *The Mirror of China* is far from unique. As cited in the introduction, Ivo Smits has suggested that to Heian Japanese intellectuals, in terms of literature, the imagined China was at least as real or important as that of the real world.[4] Thus, instead of focusing on how or to what degree the China in *The Mirror of China* deviates from the "real" China, there are more pressing questions for those interested in early Sino-Japanese cultural interactions. To wit, questions of the nature(s) of textual fantasies of China. For through investigating the literary images of China in the Kamakura period, one can not only better understand how people wished to see China, but also begin to appreciate what view of Japan was by implication desired.

The task of the present chapter is to take Shigenori's constructed China/Cathay/ Cīnasthāna and place it in dialogue with generically similar or roughly contemporary works to better ascertain the medieval constellation of China to which each of these works contributed. First, I will look at Li Han's 李瀚 Tang primer, the *Meng qiu* 蒙求 (Benighted Seeking), as an introduction to Japanese consumption of a China-produced introductory guide to cultural literacy. My discussion thereof is to provide a background for later "educational" texts about China

[4] Ivo Smits (2007), 109.

produced in Japan.[5] Then, I take up Fujiwara no Shigenori's 藤原成範 late Heian work *Kara monogatari* 唐物語 (China Tales) as an important precursor to *The Mirror of China*; I subsequently perform an analysis of the China that emerges there in contrast with that of *The Mirror of China*, concluding with speculation as to why one China "worked" while the other one did not.[6] Lastly, to consider another example of China made "accessible" and gesture to a broader context of the reception and re-imagination of things Chinese, I look briefly at Konparu Gonnokami's 金春権守 mid-fourteenth-century play 昭君 "Shōkun" (Zhaojun).

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[5] Rather than referring to all three works—*Meng qiu*, *China Tales*, and *The Mirror of China*—as primers, I defer to Komine Kazuaki's argument that *China Tales* is a "poem-exhortative tale collection" with a pedagogical function. Komine Kazuaki, *Inseiki bungaku-ron* 院政期文学論 (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2006), 808, 831-832 and *passim*. While teaching about China as such is probably not what Komine would identify as the work's objective, I suggest that setting the work in China cannot but convey a message of China's emplacement vis-à-vis her consumers.

[6] After some thought, I have decided not to include a discussion of *Mōgyū waka* 蒙求和歌. Though it is important as a work compiled by someone in the same scholarly lineage as Shigenori, I suspect that it is too derivative of the *Meng qiu* to be able to talk much about a distinct authorial stance vis-à-vis China in it. Readers seeking an introduction to the work, as well as an examination of ways in which it represents an approach to language and writing that brings *kanbun* and *wabun* into conversation and plays off of them are referred to Jennifer Guest, 164-197.

Similarly, I have chosen not to undertake a comparison with the mid-eleventh-century work *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* 浜松中納言物語 (The Tale of the Hamamatsu Middle Captain): its chronological remove from *The Mirror of China* and its overtly fanciful portrayal of China place it at too far a remove to facilitate the type of analysis that is the goal of this chapter. Readers interested in an English-language introduction to and translation of the work are referred to T.M. no Sugawara and Thomas H. Rohlich, *A Tale of Eleventh Century Japan: Hamamatsu Chūnagon Monogatari* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1983). Those curious about *Mōgyū waka* are referred to Jennifer Guest, 164-194. Guest also provides an introduction to the *Meng qiu*, ibid., 39-44.

Enter the Dragon—the *Meng qiu* as Introduction

By 878, Li Han's *Meng qiu* had arrived in Japan.[7] However, its significance as a "non-chronological attempt to explain history"[8] notwithstanding, the precise form and content of the work are now unknown.[9] As Hayakawa Mitsusaburō 早川光三郎 points out, there are inconsistencies between the numbers of figures and anecdotes mentioned in the *Meng qiu*'s multiple prefaces and those actually contained in the body of the received text.[10] Moreover, the *Meng qiu* has accrued layers of commentary that are not always easy to disentangle. Hayakawa suggests that in chronological terms, these can be viewed as distinct strands of the work, one added by the author, and the other(s) added later. He further proposes that "the verse-lines and commentary comprising the *Kochū Mōgyū* 古注蒙求 (*Meng qiu With Old Commentary*) are

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[7] Hayakawa Mitsusaburō 早川光三郎, "kaisetsu" 解説, in Li Han 李瀚, *Meng qiu* 蒙求, *Shinshaku kanbun taikei* 58-59, Hayakawa Mitsusaburō 早川光三郎, ed., 25-134 (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1973), 58.95. The bulk of the material concerning the background of the *Meng qiu* draws from Hayakawa's work; while I will make every effort to cite each point, it is important to acknowledge that the information I include here on the composition or reception of the *Meng qiu* does not constitute original research unless otherwise indicated.
It should also be noted that there is a partial English translation of the *Meng qiu* by Burton Watson. Watson's introduction is extremely cursory, however, and he has selected only seventy-four entries for translation. Burton Watson, trans. *Meng Ch'iu: Famous Episodes from Chinese History and Legend* (Tokyo, New York, and San Francisco: Kodansha International, 1979).

[8] Komine Kazuaki, personal communication January 10, 2013. Guest also speculates inconclusively on the significance of its biographical framework. Jennifer Guest, 43. (As noted previously, her discussion of the *Meng qiu* spans pp. 39-44.)

[9] For similar sentiments, see Hayakawa Mitsusaburō, 28.

[10] Ibid.

probably the original form at time of composition or close thereto."[11] If this is accurate, the *Meng qiu with Old Commentary* edition is likely similar to the form of the *Meng qiu* that would have been circulating around the time of the composition of *The Mirror of China.*[12]

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[11] とすれば古注蒙求（蒙求の諸本参照）の表題と注文が制作当時の原形か、それに近いといってよかろう。Ibid., 28-29. Hayakawa adds that there were also editions that lacked commentary entirely, speculating that these, in fact, were what might have been in use at private academies. Ibid., 29. He further provides a third group of editions—*Jun kochū hon* 準古注本 (Standard old commentary editions)—that fall somewhere in between the two exegetical strands posited above. Despite marked similarities to the *Old commentary*, there are also traces of possible interaction with the *Xu* commentary in works in this third category. Ibid., 53. Furthermore, with regard to the question of which editions were in use in the Kamakura period, Hayakawa notes that in addition to the *Old Commentary*, "traces of collation with a *New Meng qiu*" have appeared, which he identifies as the *Standard Old Commentary*. …新蒙求と照合した形跡あり… Ibid., 99. In any event, he does not talk about the *Joshi chū* 徐子注 (*Xuzi Commentary*) in Japan until much later, regardless of its probable late-twelfth-century provenance. Ibid., 61 (on *Xuzi* genesis) and 100 (on existence in Japan).

On the topic of which form of the *Meng qiu* circulated in Japan, the oldest extant manuscript, the *Chōshōbon* 長承本, dates approximately to the tenth century, according to Tsukushima Hiroshi 築島裕, ed., *Chōshōbon Mōgyū* 長承本蒙求 (Tokyo: Kyuko shoin, 1990), 75. Tsukushima's volume provides a facsimile reproduction of the manuscript, a hand-written transcription, and an essay that is of particular interest for those interested in historical phonology. The *Chōshōbon Meng qiu* consists of verse lines alone, without commentary.
The more recent digest version of the *Meng qiu* published by Meiji Shoin also contains speculation that the most oft seen editions in the Heian and Kamakura were "Li Han's…*Old Commentary* or verse alone…" …李瀚自身が施した古注の系統であり、あるいは注文のない表題のみのもの… Misawa Katsumi 三澤勝己, "kaisetsu" 解説, in Li Han 李瀚, *Meng qiu* 蒙求, *Shinsho kanbun taikei* 28, Hayakawa Mitsusaburō 早川光三郎 and Misawa Katsumi 三澤勝己, 3-11 (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 2005; 2008 edition), 7.

For a brief overview of *Meng qiu*-inspired variations in Japan and China, see Aida Mitsuru 相田満, "'Mōgyū'-gata ruisho no sekai" 『蒙求』型類書の世界, in *Wa-Kan hikaku bungaku kenkyū no shomondai*. (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1988): 109-128.

[12] Cf. Hayakawa Mitsusaburō, 99-100.

In its present form, the *Meng qiu* features two prefaces and a forward; what little is known about its composition stems mostly from the preface attributed to one of its early advocates, Li Hua 李華:

> Li Han of Anping has composed one *Benighted Seeking*. He arrays the words and deeds of men and old, both fine and wicked, giving consideration to tone and poetic meter; as [the work] is to instruct the young, he follows these with explanations. His process is analogous to taking four or five tenths of the essentials from the Classics and histories or the hundred schools of thought. What he would urge, he then cites, and what he would trace to its origins, he then lets flow forth. It is easy to be learnt by heart and takes the form of prose rendered verse. If it were impossible to produce a work through which one could know the sub-celestial realm, would *Benighted Seeking* exist?
>
> In the *Zhou yi*, there is the [idea of the] appropriateness of the young and foolish seeking out one. Li Gongzi took his work to be imperfect, and did not dare pass it on to the well-informed—his service simply lay in educating the ignorant.
>
> Therefore, he used *Benighted Seeking* as the title for his work and affixed it at its head. Also, in addition to making each line consist of a couplet containing two people's names, there are things that ought to be remembered in the body of the entries. Also, these flesh things out. Although they may not accord with the [verse] lines above, they contribute a great deal. Starting with a character from the *Qie yun*'s *dong* 東 rime, there are four characters per rime—all together, there are 596 lines.[13]

All told, there are precious few factual specifics about the author other than that he hailed from Anping. The majority of the space is little more than an account of his alleged intentions in and methodology for composing such a work.

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[13] 安平李瀚，著蒙求一篇，列古人言行美惡，參之聲律，以授幼童，隨而釋之。比其終始，則經史百家之要，十得其四五矣。推而引之，源而流之。易於諷誦，形於章句。不出卷之天下，其蒙求哉。周易，有童蒙求我之義。李公子以其文碎，不敢輕傳達識者，所務訓蒙而已。故以蒙求爲名，題其首。亦每行注兩句人名外，傳中有別事可記者，亦此附敍之。雖有配上文，所資廣博。此切韻東字起，每韻四字，凡五百九十六句云爾。In Li Han 李瀚, *Meng qiu* 蒙求, *Shinshaku kanbun taikei* 58-59, Hayakawa Mitsusaburō 早川光三郎, ed. (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1973), 58.140-142.

Li Liang's 李良 forward (which precedes the prefaces in this edition), however, reveals Li Han to have been in the army in some capacity in Xinzhou 信州 and to have supposedly had exceptionally literate children.[14] Drawing on Liang's account, Hayakawa summarizes what little data are available about Li Han: that he became known to Li Liang in the mid-eighth century, and that the latter's efforts to secure him employment failed.[15] The remainder of the preface explains the key features of the work, including the rationale for its title, its alleged didactic intent, and its prosimetric form. The final preface by Xu Ziguang 徐子光 dating from 1189 likewise devotes little space to Li Han's biography, instead providing Xu's conventional rationale for offering a supplementarily annotated edition.[16]

The content of the *Meng qiu* itself, consisting of approximately 592 biographical anecdotes, is multifarious to say the least. Indeed, this heterogeneity, including a certain partiality to Lao-Zhuang thought, is one of the more common reasons the work has been criticized in the past.[17] The anecdotes themselves are not strictly organized. As the preface above suggests, there is often content included that does not bear directly on the verse entitling a particular section. Such diversity notwithstanding, however, I concur with Hayakawa's assertion

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[14] Ibid., 136-137. Hayakawa's critical introduction, which spans pages 25-134, covers a number of issues important to a more detailed study of the *Meng qiu*, including its reception in Japan and China, earlier confusion about authorship and issues surrounding the ordering of the prefaces, etc. Though much of this is beyond the scope of the present discussion, readers seeking a more thorough grounding in the history of the *Meng qiu* and its reception are advised to turn thither.

[15] Ibid., 28.

[16] For this preface, see ibid., 142-144.

[17] Ibid., 5-7.

that the work is primarily Confucian in orientation.[18] More often than not, we see virtuous behavior, hard work, and awareness of proper order rewarded. In those instances where this is not the case, there is typically an observation to that effect.[19] To put it bluntly, the *Meng qiu* does not make for great reading, but it does make for largely thematically consistent reading. This, combined with its relatively simple style—it has been characterized as "draw[ing] on biographies digest-style"[20]—is perhaps not unrelated to its early popularity in Japan.[21] Indeed, with ever-widening readership circles beginning in the Heian and continuing into the Kamakura, the *Meng qiu* has been dubbed a "*Who's Who* of Chinese cultural history."[22]

It would be difficult to extract a coherent image of China from such a work. In fact, one of the most striking aspects of the China presented in the *Meng qiu* is its nearly exclusively male nature. (Surely no one would suggest this represented an ideal.) However, if we put the question another way, we can ask what constitutes exemplarity for Li Han. Once this is made clear, the degree to which Japan-produced educational writings buy into or reject these "Chinese values" or these values *as* Chinese should come into relief.

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[18] Ibid., 37.

[19] It is impossible to determine the precise formal standards, of course, given the text's complicated history. The (later) Xuzi edition forms the basis of the edition I have used, though the editors note apparent deviations from the *Old Commentary*. While an edition comprised of verse alone would not presumably have contained such explanatory comments, it seems reasonable to suppose that they are consistent with the "intent" of the original verse.

[20] 人物の伝記をダイジェスト式に摘採し… Hayakawa Mitsusaburō, 36.

[21] This is not to say that it was perfectly understood. Hayakawa takes up the problem of mis-readings and their origins early in his forward. Hayakawa Mitsusaburō, 2.

[22] Ivo Smits, "Song as Cultural History: Reading Wakan Rōeishū (Texts)," in *Monumenta Nipponica* 55.2 (Summer 2000), 240 (note 51).

When presenting models, Li Han has a consistent and limited lexicon, one that privileges honesty, frugality, and loyalty and eschews ostentation, cruelty, and excessive ambition. Many of his heroes rise from impoverished backgrounds through unflagging industry and innate talent, although martial exploits also provide a common venue for recognition and reward. Creative literary aptitude is outweighed by scholastic achievement, particularly familiarity with the Classics, in terms of desired traits. The ability to discern quality with regard to people, situations, and any number of other things is also advantageous—inability to calibrate one's response or aims has fatal consequences more than once in the work.

As comprising a value system, none of these sounds immediately problematic, which may explain in part the heavy borrowing from the *Meng qiu* that can be seen across genres in Japan. Hayakawa devotes over twenty pages to a genre-by-genre survey of works that owe a textual debt to the *Meng qiu*, including *setsuwa* 説話 (exhortative tales), *kyōkunsho* 教訓書 (didactic writings), *inbungaku* 韻文学 (verse studies), and *sho bungei/sankō bunken* 諸文芸・参考文献 (assorted literary arts and reference materials).[23] The *Meng qiu*'s promotion of hard work and the maintenance of order look to lend it to easy cooption in other normative works. Such potential ideological affinities render its influence on and importance as a source for didactic writings unsurprising.

To go back to the question of whether the *Meng qiu*'s values were seen as particularly Chinese, however, a return to the two instructional China-themed works *China Tales* and *The Mirror of China* is in order. Hayakawa has already called attention to the material overlap

[23] Hayakawa Mitsusaburō, 106-130.

between the *Meng qiu* and *China Tales*, noting eleven anecdotes common to both.[24] In contrast, for *The Mirror of China*, he identifies twenty from the *Meng qiu* (fifteen of which he traces to *Mōgyū waka* 蒙求和歌 as well).[25] Though Hayakawa sees this as a significant total, his assessment is based on scholarship on *The Mirror of China*'s sources now regarded as obsolete. Rather than seeing the *Meng qiu* as an important source for *The Mirror of China*, I would suggest that its relative unimportance as a wellspring of content is significant. There looks to be a profound difference in the degree to which the China or Chinese of the *Meng qiu* are sought as such between the composition of *China Tales* and *The Mirror of China*.[26]

Nonetheless, *The Mirror of China* does bear the *Meng qiu*'s imprint in at least one significant aspect: its author's inclusive approach towards source materials.[27] While Shigenori never explicitly admits to using sources beyond the *Shi ji* and the Thirteen Classics, his material suggests that the following lines from the *Meng qiu*'s postface could just as easily apply to his own bibliography: "From the *Shi ji* through the Jin and Song, there were nearly a thousand fascicles of history. To say nothing of the *Sou shen ji* and like anomaly accounts, and vast

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[24] Ibid., 107. For a more in depth exploration of the possible relationship between the *Meng qiu* and *China Tales*, see Ikeda Toshio 池田利夫. "Kara monogatari to Mōgyū— Mōgyū waka to no kanren ni oite" 唐物語と蒙求蒙—求和歌とその関連に於いて, in *Tsurumi joshi daigaku kiyō* 5 (March 1968): 53-91.

[25] Hayakawa Mitsusaburō, 108.

[26] On this point, we should perhaps also bear in mind that the *Mōgyū waka* 蒙求和歌 (1204) utilizes fewer than half of the anecdotes in the *Meng qiu*, so even had Shigenori wished to avoid duplicating the *Mōgyū waka*, there remained plenty of other tales to mine.

[27] Hayakawa also makes this point, though it should be obvious to anyone who has read both works. Cf. Hayakawa Mitsusaburō, 108.

numbers of miscellaneous writings."[28] Thus it is not that the *Meng qiu* has not left its mark on *The Mirror of China* as well, but rather that it has done so in a fundamentally different way. Instead of offering a data source as in the case of *China Tales*, it now provides methodological legitimization. However, prior to exploring the ramifications of the contrasting positions of *China Tales* and *The Mirror of China* vis-à-vis the *Meng qiu* and its ilk as a source, a thorough introduction to *China Tales* and its own vision of China should prove instructive.

The Phantasm China of "China Tales"

One text that is particularly well suited to the contextualization of *The Mirror of China* and the China that it reflects is the earlier work of one of Shigenori's distant relatives, (another) Fujiwara no Shigenori: *China Tales*. In form, content, and subject matter, *China Tales* differs strikingly from *The Mirror of China*. In the former, China appears as a land in which the figures recite waka and exist outside of the boundaries of temporality, having been largely drawn from sources well in the past. As such, its relation to a real or historical China (or a pretense thereof) is quite different. Whereas *The Mirror of China* on one level is presented as transmitting a truth directly from China, *China Tales* makes no such pretense. There is neither preface nor authorial guidance to indicate how readers should interpret the imagery of China provided. Yet despite a lack of unifying structure to tie the tales together, I would nonetheless argue that fashioning them as a group constitutes an active re-presentation of China.[29] Given this and the work's alleged

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[28] …自史記至晉宋，子史向千卷。況搜神列異，浩浩雜書。Ibid., 2.1073.

[29] Although I refrain from using the word "myth" when discussing the stories as having a collective import, in postulating a meta-meaning, I draw to some degree on the work of Roland Barthes, in particular as summarized in Roland Barthes, "Myth Today," in *Mythologies*, Annette Lavers trans., 109-159 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972). For a clear summary of the most basic set-up of "myth," see ibid., 114-117. I am not, of course, the first to suggest that collections of tales as such can import ideologies. In my earlier work on Chinese literature, I have been influenced in this regard in particular by Robert Campany's study of the genre of anomaly

instructional nature, as a project, it is not un-analogous to *The Mirror of China*, though the respective Chinas of both are in many ways quite different.

A collection of twenty-seven vignettes that purport to depict China, *China Tales* has been identified by Atsuko Sakaki as "a work whose partial function is to educate Japanese readers who are less competent in Chinese,[30] that is, a text that can tell the reader the basics of what she/he needs to know to "get" China. But what is the China that one is supposed to "get"? Ward Geddes' oblique indication that the collection is "a work intended to glorify Chinese literary attainment"[31] can be taken as one answer to this question. Yet this characterization is not unproblematic. Though the very act of identifying the "essential China" as one that is defined through its literary legacy might at first seem an act of approbation, a case for which could be made, since nearly all of the tales in *China Tales* have Chinese antecedents, a closer examination of the specifics of the portrayal reveals a more critical stance. Despite the fact that the work can superficially be taken as a nod to Chinese cultural glory, to do so misses the point that this is a glory long gone, something made clear in the selection of source tales that rarely post-date the

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accounts and Liu Yuanju's elegant and insightful study of the *Shiyi ji* 拾遺記. See Robert F. Campany, *Strange Writing: Anomaly Accounts in Medieval China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996) and Liu Yuanju 劉苑如, ''Ba, yuwang chen shi/jing nei Penglai—'Shi yi ji' de Zhongguo tuxiang'' 捌,欲望塵世/境內蓬萊—《拾遺記》的中國圖像, in Kongjian, diyu yu wenhua—Zhongguo wenhua kongjian de shuxie yu chanshi 空間,地域與文化—中國文化的書寫與闡釋, Li Fengmao 李豐楙 and Liu Yuanju, eds., 237–84 (Taibei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan, 2002).

[30] Atsuko Sakaki, 34. Ward Geddes has also attributed a handbook-like role to the work, at least at the time of its inception, although he suggests that this function does not diminish its literary quality. Ward Geddes, *Kara monogatari: Tales of China* (Tempe: Center for Asian Studies, 1984), 23-25.

[31] Ward Geddes, 22.

High Tang. Moreover, even in the choice of stories drawn from periods of cultural efflorescence in China, the "China" that emerges in *China Tales* is a weak one, a country riddled with intemperate passions and warfare.[32] This does not especially accord with Geddes' assessment, but it does square well with the imagery of China in Teika's roughly contemporaneous *Matsuranomiya monogatari* 松浦宮物語,[33] suggesting that medieval Japanese intellectuals did not simply (or simplistically) look at China as a treasure trove of culture. An attempt to read *China Tales* as a mere collection of happy tales from a Chinese golden age would be anachronistic.[34]

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[32] Kubota Jun 久保田淳 argues that Japanese around this time were interested in China as a site of both politics and lechery. Kubota Jun 久保田淳, *Chūsei bungaku no jikū* 中世文学の時空 (Tokyo: Wakakusa shobō, 1998), 169.

[33] Yoshida devotes three pages to the influence of *China Tales* on *Matsuranomiya monogatari*. His discussion centers on examples of intertextuality, comparing passages in *Matsuranomiya* that appear to draw on tales as they are included in *China Tales*; he does not, however, delve into the depictions of China derived from each work. Yoshida Kōichi 1957, 26-28. For Sakaki's discussion of it, see Astuko Sakaki, 40-47. In a way, her remarks on *Matsuranomiya*, which follow a comment on the current scene in China, might almost equally well be applied to *China Tales*: "Whatever the authorial intent may have been, the positive portrait of Japan in contrast to the negative one of China and the disparities between the story and the real circumstances in Japan suggest that constructing the binary opposition was a prioritized agenda." Ibid., 41. Yet *China Tales* is much more subtle in its way, since the contrast is largely implied, and, I suspect, not as simple as Sakaki suggests. My familiarity with *Matsuranomiya* is largely through Wayne Lammers' translation.

[34] Komine Kazuaki also has urged the reader of *China Tales* to remember its socio-historical context. "In particular, at the root of the idea of incorporating ancient Chinese matters into *uta monogatari* and having the characters speak in *waka*, there was probably a strong anti-Chinese superiority complex; [this sentiment] had the striking Japan-Song relations of the Insei period as its background and a consciousness of having reversed an [earlier] inferior position." とりわけ中国故事を歌物語にとりこめ、人物に歌をよませる発想の根底には、院政期に著しい日宋交渉を背景にした対中国の 劣等の裏返したる優越意識が深く介在していたであろう。 Komine Kazuaki 小峯和明, "*Kara monogatari* no hyōgen keisei" 唐物語の表現形成, in *Chūko bungaku to kanbungaku II*, 195-215 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1987), 214. He opens his essay with a similar, but less explicit, challenge. Ibid., 195.

Instead, a two-pronged agenda appears to underlie *China Tales*: it suggests, on the one hand, the utter appropriation of the highlights of Chinese cultural history. This is achieved through complete linguistic transformation of these texts—they have been rendered in the Japanese vernacular, obscuring an inherent linguistic "alien-ness"—and through temporal distancing, which places Chinese cultural sophistication worthy of appropriation squarely in the past. At the same time, it shows a land the people of which are, by and large, capricious, easily misled, and in a near-constant state of chaos. With contemporary China in mind—a violent age that saw the fall of the Northern Song (960-1127) and the establishment of a foreign dynasty, the Jin (1115-1234)—it is unsurprising that in addition to love, *China Tales* also gives substantial space to warfare, chaos, and death, suggesting a much more conflicted or ambiguous stance with regard to the land that forms the collection's putative subject.

Fujiwara no Shigenori (1)

China Tales has traditionally been attributed to Fujiwara no Shigenori (1), whom *The Tale of the Heike* describes as a man who, "incidentally, possessed a fine eye for beauty and took special delight in the Yoshino cherry blossoms—so much so that he planted rows of flowering cherry trees in his grounds, constructed a building, and went to live there." His devotion to the flowers is reported as resulting in an otherworldly extension to the period during which they remained.[35]

More recently, his biography has been carefully collated and studied by Aoki Kengō 青木賢豪 in an essay investigating Shigenori's poetics, "Fujiwara no Shigenori nenpyō-kō" 藤

[35] Both the citation and the subsequent description are from Helen Craig McCullough (1988), 29.

原成範年評孝.[36] The lack of records suggests a fairly unremarkable youth, but once Shigenori's career began to take off in 1153, other than a brief dismissal in 1159 and exile to Shimotsuke Province following the burning of the palace in the Heiji Rebellion, he survived the tumultuous period of the late Heian extremely well.[37] Over the span of a twenty-three year career, he progressed as high as the second rank, held at various times the (actual or supernumerary) governorships of Harima and Bizen, and was appointed to several court positions, including that of Assistant Head of the Office of the Retired Emperor 執事院司 (1180). At the time of his death, he had recently resigned the rank of Supernumerary Middle Counselor and taken the tonsure.

As Aoki points out, Shigenori was doubtless helped by his multifarious connections: with one-time marital ties to the Taira, a daughter who bore a child to Emperor Takakura 高倉天皇 (1161-1181), and a brother who was a close associate of Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149-1207), Shigenori seems nearly invariably to have had the connections to escape potential difficulties whenever they arose.[38] His artistic associates were no less impressive, including many prominent literati of the day, most notably Fujiwara no Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114-1204), who Aoki suggests likely played a "guiding role" in Shigenori's poetic development.[39] Indeed,

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[36] Aoki Kengō 青木賢豪, "Fujiwara no Shigenori nenpyō-kō" 藤原成範年評孝, in *Kōza Heian bungaku ronkyū*, 3: 261-305 (Tokyo: Kazama Shōbo, 1984-2004). I am relying on the arrayal of biographic data he presents, unless otherwise cited.

[37] Cf. ibid., 292.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid., 303.

Shigenori is well represented in the poetic collections of the Heian and early medieval period, with sixty-six poems included in twenty-four anthologies, including nine imperially commissioned works.[40]

Given his interest in Shigenori's poetry, Aoki pays scant attention to *China Tales*, other than to note that advocates of an attribution to Shigenori have proposed dating its composition to between 1165-1177.[41] And Sakaki's above-noted attribution of a didactic function is certainly plausible for the work of a prolific twelfth-century poet, but I would argue that the work has more to tell us than such a functionally oriented designation might suggest. That is to say, even if Shigenori solely intended his collection as a guide to the "greatest hits" of Chinese culture, through the compilation process itself, a "China" has been selectively fashioned for his contemporaries' consumption.

Earlier Discussions of China Tales

To date, *China Tales* has not been the subject of extensive research in English. Japanese studies, however, exhibit a variety of concerns. An early work of the modern era, Asai Mineji's 浅井峯治 full-length study of *China Tales*, which first appeared in 1940, includes the tales in the original classical idiom, translations of each into modern Japanese, *kanbun kundoku* renderings for each of the known source-tales, and copious annotation.[42] He also provides a brief introduction, much of which is devoted to efforts to date the piece's composition, that supplies a short history of the work, a description of various older editions, and a summary of

[40] Aoki has tabularized the distribution of Shigenori's poetry. See ibid., 298-300.

[41] Ibid., 283-284.

[42] Asai Mineji 浅井峯治, *Kara monogatari shinshaku* 唐物語新釈 (Tokyo: Yushodo Shuppan, 1940; 1989 printing).

thematic elements. In his treatment of the lattermost, Asai posits a dominant theme of love, usually unhappy, but also calls attention to Buddhist concepts, didacticism, and an interplay between the realms of the real and the fantastic, concluding that the text privileges the former.[43] Although he does not advance an interpretation of the text as a whole or of specific tales in it, his final proclamation has proven influential:

> To me, we discover the value of this work in that waka have been paired with ancient Chinese fables and judgments or morals appended, etc., thus effectively Japan-izing [these stories], and in that as works of translation, they are not word-for-word renderings, [but instead] use easily digested sentences to convey the flavor of the original, etc.; in any case, when comparing them with the texts noted as their sources, we are able to guess at what Mr. Nomura has called 'the erudition and rhetorical finesse of the author.'[44]

As will be seen below, much of the recent scholarship has explored precisely those areas, seeking meaning in the variations themselves rather than in the composite collection.[45]

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[43] For his assessment of the themes, see Asai Mineji, 14-20.

[44] 私は、支那の故事伝説に、和歌を配し、批判、教訓を加へなどして、よく日本化してゐる点、翻訳文学としては直訳ではなく、よくこなれた文章を用ひて、原文の情趣を伝へてゐる点等に本書の價値を見出すのであるが、いづれにしても、出典として掲げた文章と比較して見る時に、野村氏も云はれる如く「筆者の学殖、文藻」のほど推測されるのである。Ibid., 21.

[45] Also noted by Inokuma Noriko. Inokuma Noriko 猪熊範子, "'Kara monogatari' ni okeru sakuchū waka no isō."『唐物語』における作中和歌の位相, *Kokubungaku kenkyū* 117 (October 1995), 35; see, too, Komine Kazuaki (1987), 95. This reflects, I suspect, the larger trend in *setsuwa* studies of certain types of Chinese collections that Komine Kazuaki points out as still operative today, i.e., "In most cases, to be completely concerned with the classical Chinese/Japanese comparative method of taking a work or individual stories and comparing them one by one, converging on (ending with) a one-sided reception theory of how Japan took in China." …其の多くは、作品や個々の説話を一対一対応で扱い、日本が中国をどう受け入れたかという一方的な受容論に収束(終息)する典型的な和漢比較の方法に終始してきた。Komine Kazuaki 小峯和明, "Higashi Ajia no setsuwa sekai" 東アジアの説話世界, in *Kanbun bunkaken no setsuwa sekai: chūsei bungaku to rinsetsu shogaku*, Komine Kazuaki, ed., 27-49 (Tokyo: Chikurinsha, 2010), 28. As may be obvious from the article title, Komine's main point here is to argue for a comparative approach to the study of *setsuwa* that extends beyond China

Prior to the emergence of the trend towards episodial specialization, however, work such as Yoshida Kōichi's 吉田幸一 research in the late 1950's laid a necessary foundation via a broader treatment of *China Tales*: his 1957 article focuses on dating the work, proposing it to be a Heian composition rather than a later text as earlier studies had suggested,[46] and in 1958, he published a study that sought to further narrow the Heian-period dating (1160-1176) and to support attribution to Fujiwara no Shigenori through an examination of Shigenori's biography, training, poetic technique, and probable access to the Chinese source materials.[47] Komine Kazuaki's 小峯和明 1987 study, too, employs a wide-angled view in its investigation of the place/role of waka and the relationship between its language and the expressions employed in *China Tales*' vignettes.[48]

In contrast, much of the work in the '90's and later centers primarily on individual stories. Masuda Motomu 増田欣, for instance, traces the distribution and development of the

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and Japan to Korea and Vietnam at least.

[46] Yoshida Kōichi 吉田幸一, "*Kara monogatari* wa Heian jidai no sakuhin nari" 唐物語は平安時代の作品なり, *Heian bungaku kenkyū* 20 (September 1957): 15-34.

[47] "*Kara monogatari* wa Heian jidai no sakuhin nari (ge)—sakusha Fujiwara no Shigenori no sōsaku nenji ni tsuite" 唐物語は平安時代の作品なり（下）—作者藤原成範の創作年時について, in *Heian bungaku kenkyū* 21 (June 1958): 26-40.

[48] Komine Kazuaki (1987), 195-215. Komine also treats the work as a whole (despite his focus on the first two tales) in his study of the deployment of poetic rhetoric in *Kara monogatgari*, concluding that the work is infused with literary-aesthetic values of the Insei period. Komine Kazuaki 小峯和明, "'Kara monogatari' no hyōgen to Fujiwara no Shigenori" 『唐物語』の表現と藤原成範, in *Inseiki bungakuron* 院政期文学論, 834-957 (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2006); conclusion on 857. I assume Komine's 1987 article to be the basis for the homonymous chapter that precedes this one in *Inseiki bungakuron*, though I feel compelled to admit that I have not actually reread it.

"woman-transformed-into-stone" and "woman-refusing-to-remarry" motifs that are found in the twelfth tale to explore the possibility of a *honzetsu*-like melding of two base "types" into one new story.[49] Meanwhile, Nakagawa Satoshi 中川聡 seeks correlations between what is known of Fujiwara no Shigenori's exile and the depiction of Bai Juyi in the second tale to bolster the text's attribution and account for variation from the supposed Chinese "source."[50] Though Inokuma Noriko 猪熊範子 takes up the issue of an allusive function for waka vis-à-vis the invocation and reconfiguration of source texts in *China Tales* as it pertains to the entire work,[51] I repeat that overall, little space has of late been given to addressing the collection as a whole.[52]

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[49] Masuda Motomu 増田欣, "Kara monogatari no hōhō: 'bōfūseki' no ba'ai' 唐物語の方法—「望夫石」の場合—, in *Chūko bungaku no keisei to tenkai: chōko kara chūsei e*, 35-61 (Osaka: Izumu shoin, 1995). Inokuma also suggests that this might have been a conscious structural technique throughout the collection. Inokuma Noriko (1995), 44.

[50] Though I find his attempt to corroborate the attribution based on the argument that changes in the Chinese source text appear to dovetail with Shigenori's life problematic. See Nagawaka Satoshi 中川聡, "Kara monogatari to Fujiwara no Shigenori no hairu" 唐物語と藤原成範の配流, in *Nishō Gakusha Daigaku jinbun ronsō* 50 (March 1992): 269-274.

[51] Inokuma Noriko (1995), 35-45.

[52] It should be noted that Inokuma Noriko attempts something along these lines in her study of the structure of *China Tales* that constitutes one section of the Exegesis found in the more recent *Kara monogatari zenshaku*. Inokuma Noriko 猪熊範子, "Kōsei to monogatari hairetsu" 構成と物語配列, in *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, 308-317. She, however, does not consider the question of China as such. The titles of the rest of the *kaisetsu* should serve to indicate the relatively conservative focus of the remaining content: "Author/composition," "Assorted Editions," "'Kara monogatari' and Chinese sources," and "Typology in the history of literature." More recently, Nakane Chie 中根千絵 has also produced a provocative short study in which she argues that the use of tale language in *Kara monogatari* results in deliberate ruptures with generic conventions to satiric effect. Nakane Chie 中根千絵, "'Kara monogatari' no bungakuteki tokushitsu," 『唐物語』の文学的特質, in *Kodai bungaku kenkyū (dai ni ji)* 13 (October, 2004): 43-53.

Most recently, Morishita Yōji 森下要治 and Shibasaki Yuriko 芝崎有里子 have each continued this trend of focusing on a single story. Morishita has proposed that we take the eighteenth story, that of Yang Guifei, as the most central to the collection, and to that end, he has probed it from several angles: Buddhist imagery and rhetoric, intertextuality and the reception of the Yang Guifei mythos, and correlations between the depiction of Yang Guifei and Shigenori's daughter. Echoing Asai, Morishita closes by enjoining the reader to search for significance in the ways in which the Chinese sources have been adapted.[53] Shibasaki, for her part, turns to the story of Xu Deyan and its purported sources. She uncovers proof that elements from two distinct tales about mirrors as symbols of fidelity in China are repeatedly and variously combined in Japan, concluding with the observation that "[t]his merging had probably already begun by the time of *China Tales*."[54] Both studies contribute new insights with regard to their respective foci, but each work's restrictive scope cannot but give the sense that a certain section of Japanese scholarship on this collection has come full circle and returned to its point of origin.

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[53] Morishita Yōji 森下要治, "'Kara monogatari' no shinshō sekai—dai 18-wa 'Yōkihi' o megutte" 『唐物語』の心象世界—弟十八話「楊貴妃」をめぐって—, in *Bunkyō kokubungaku* 50 (2006): 16-30. Morishita observes: "*Setsuwa* more or less have the function of 'metaphor.' As for Komine, it's been pointed out that it is not only human affection, but the instances of political strife while ensnared in it that are described, and these things, too, ought not be unrelated to actual events observed by the author." 説話は多かれ少なかれ、「喩え」としての機能を有する。小峯氏は本作品のなかに、人間の情愛だけでなく、それに絡め捕られながら幾かの政争が描かれることを指摘されるが、このことも作者が見た現実と無縁でないはずである。Ibid., 29.

[54] ･･･両者の融合は『唐物語』の時点ですでに始まっているのではないだろうか。 Shibasaki Yuriko 芝崎有里子, " 'Kara mongatari' dai jū wa ni okeru Jo Tokugen setsuwa no tenkai" 『唐物語』第十話における徐徳言説話の展開, in 東亞細亞속의韓國과日本 (January 26-27, 2012), 316. My thanks to Iwaya Megumi 岩谷めぐみ for drawing my attention to this article.

In the only major English-language scholarship to-date on *China Tales*, Ward Geddes provides an annotated translation of the text into English, as well as a short introductory study that summarizes well much of the earlier Japanese scholarship, in addition to the history of the text itself.[55] His opening sections include a brief recounting of efforts to date the piece, a sketch of the textual history and variant versions, an assessment of its "literary qualities," an investigation of the underlying structure that proceeds tale-by-tale, and a concluding segment on the source texts and the *China Tales* versions' relationship to them. His position vis-à-vis the work as a whole is that "love" is the major theme.[56] Geddes' work is of particular assistance in that it ably distills a large body of research and presents a previously un-translated work in a western language; his study offers a solid springboard from which to launch additional inquiries. Yet in Japanese and English scholarship alike, it still remains to analyze the myth of China Shigenori creates.

The "China" Behind the Name

As *China Tales* is a work without preface or postface, perhaps the most obvious way to infer compilatory stance towards China is through an analysis of authorial asides that specifically comment on Chinese mores or customs. Three tales—nine, sixteen, and twenty-one—offer such observations. In the first instance, the import is ambiguous: the protagonist Zhang Wencheng has

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[55] After completing my translation independently, I have consulted Geddes' for comparative purposes. I have noted where our prose translations differ, but as I am not yet thoroughly committed to my translations of the poems, I have postponed a close comparison thereof for the time being, with a few notable exceptions.

[56] Ward Geddes, 17-18. His definition of love is fairly broad: "the various facets of human emotional attachment or love." Ibid., 17. I am not the only person to find fault with this reading. In his review, Martin Collcutt notes: "This reading holds up reasonably well. In some of the tales, however, … the idea of love as a unifying theme is stretched to its limits." Martin Collcutt, [untitled review], *The Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese* 20.1 (April 1986), 79.

just consummated a long-nurtured desire for the Empress. Immediately following this, the narrator tells us: "Though he did not at all feel that he needed to conceal his tears of blood beneath his sleeves, in China, it was customary that once this sort of thing got out, even in the case of a splendid minister or noble, [the offender's] life would be demanded on the spot, so [the empress] did not meet him again."[57] The story concludes with the empress' receipt of his writings that reveal an undying attachment and her resultant mortification. The message seems to be not that it is puzzling that cuckolding the Emperor would result in punishment, but that it is strange that there is no consideration given to the status of the offender. Behind this, there lies a possible suggestion that the Chinese do not have a clear or appropriate sense of social order. Such a reading might prove difficult to bolster were these the only lines that hinted at it, but this lack of social propriety is in fact the very thing that is censured each time the narrator makes a China-specific comment, as will be seen below.

Story sixteen centers around the quest of Emperor Wu of the Han for immortality and his interactions with Dongfang Shuo and the Queen Mother of the West. As in the tale that precedes it, Emperor Wu is depicted as obsessed with the desire for longevity, and the only activities in which we see him engaged are those that pertain to the occult. At last, he is successful and has a meeting with the Queen Mother of the West and her retinue; at this time,

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[57] ちのなみだ袖につつむべき心地もせざりけれど、から国のならひにて、か様の事世にきこえぬれば、いみじき大臣ししなれども、たち所にいのちをめさるる事なれば、またもあひみたまはず。 Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KM*), 62-63. (Citations are from *Kara monogatari zenshaku*.) Because of the lack of object marker after "tears of blood," I initially had the tears covering the sleeves; however, after looking at Geddes' translation ("While they did not desire to conceal their tears of happiness,") and consulting Kobayashi's *gendaigoyaku*, I have altered my version. Geddes has the subject as both the man and the Empress; I am reluctant to attribute such sincerity of passion to the latter, especially since we will discover her to be Empress Wu (r. 690-705). Cf. Ward Geddes, 83. Kobayashi likewise attributes the lack of desire for concealment only to Wencheng. Cf. *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, 65.

she tells him his hopes are misguided, and after a brief interlude, she withdraws, taking Dongfang Shuo with her. The Emperor is more despondent than ever and can think only of leaving this world, which he succeeds in doing in the end, presumably to ascend to the heavens. The narrator's closing observation is: "It's customary in China that when there is an awe-inspiring emperor, everyone, even immortals, is in his service. People even said such things as that after he had passed away, his body didn't remain behind."[58] Though at first this might seem to be an expression of awe at the scope of imperial power, if we reconsider it to take into account the ends to which this power was exercised, the assessment sounds less like an endorsement. This is even more true when we turn back to the narrator's earlier interjection, which occurs at the height of the encounter with the Queen Mother of the West: "Not only to the Queen Mother of the West, but to a dolt such as myself, too, such words would have been unthinkable from one of the sage emperors of old."[59] With this earlier remark coloring the final events of the tale, it becomes easy to locate a tongue-in-cheek quality to Shigenori's description of the Chinese emperor's accomplishment: with even the immortals at his beck and call, his only concern is with self-gratification.

The only other entry in the collection to present unmediated remarks on "China" is the twenty-first anecdote, "The Tale of How Lord Ping Yuan Killed His Beloved Mistress for Laughing at a Cripple." The story of how a lord has his concubine killed when threatened by

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[58] からくにのならひにて、かしこき御かどには仙人などもみなつかはれてまつるにこそ。はかなくならせ給ひてのちも御身はとどまらせたまはざりけるとかや。Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KM*), 108.

[59] 西王母のみにもあらず、かひなきをろかなる心にも、むかしのかしこきひじりの御門の御ことばとはおぼえず。Ibid., 107. Asai Mineji also notes his critical stance and takes it as an indication of his promotion of reality over fantasy. Asai Mineji, 17.

mutinous retainers who are angered that she has laughed at a cripple in their midst, it concludes with the observation: “Isn’t trading a beauty for a single crippled vassal a heartless business? It’s extraordinary; is it customary in China that once such an assertion has been made, even by a lowly warrior, the emperor would not thwart said person’s resolve?”[60] What is striking here is the way Shigenori’s ultimate objection is to the limits of imperial authority—how could an emperor not step in to advocate for reason? Moreover, we might keep in mind that the contemporary China for Shigenori’s immediate readers was one with a weak Southern Song court. Against this backdrop, it is not inappropriate to think that even if one were in support of the basic principle of exchange—ornament swapped for loyalty—a Chinese ruler indiscriminately swayed by whomever had access to him might have been seen as precariously positioned and indecisive, hardly a positive image. Unfortunately, with these three examples, Shigenori’s direct comments are exhausted. Nevertheless, there are also consistent themes that occur in the text from which we might extrapolate a larger idea of “China.”

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[60] Cf. Geddes: “Is the exchange of a woman of beauty for a single crippled servant an act of little heart? Not at all. Does not one find it the usual practice in China for even the emperor to respect the wishes expressed in the words of the lowly?” Geddes, 129. あしなへたるつかはれ人ひとりに、かほうつくしき人をかへけるも、いとなさけなきしわざなりや。おほかたこれならず、からくにのならひにて、あやしきもののふなれど、いひたちぬる事を、みかどもそのこころざしをば、やぶらせ給はぬにや。 Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KM*), 234. I had some difficulty with this section, and have followed Kobayashi’s modern translation to a certain extent. Cf. *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, 236. Asai’s comment is: “As for the statement in 21 that ‘Is it a very heartless business to exchange the life of a beauty for that of a single cripple?’, though this is the treatment of a Chinese tale, it does not lose the Japanese sensibility that abhors extremes, and this is felt to be extremely interesting.” Asai has listed this as the sole example of a critical tale, so he seems to be voicing disapproval of the lord’s action or the wider value system that endorses it. 21に「跛へたるつかはれ人一人に、顔美しき人を代へけるもいと情なきしわざなりや。」と云ってゐるのは、支那の説話を扱いながらも、極端を嫌ふ大和心を失ってゐないのであって、非常に興味深く感じられるのである。Asai Mineji, 19.

Love in the Time of "China"*?*

As noted earlier, Ward Geddes has identified "love" as the predominant concern of the anecdotes in *China Tales*. But what, exactly, does this mean? It is indisputable that love is a, if not the, central theme of approximately half of the stories,[61] but not all loves are created (or depicted) equally. There is love as an amusing curiosity, love as an object of praise, and in most cases, love as an occasion for tragedy.[62] At the same time, love is rarely the sole plot concern. Acknowledging this, Geddes formulates as follows: "Although many of the tales are little more than Confucian-influenced parables illustrating the nobility of approved moral values, others go beyond this level to put love in conflict with other attitudes or values."[63] While I appreciate the gesture to love's lack of a thematic monopoly, I would go one step further to argue that categorizing all of the collection as "love tales" is misleading and that many of the anecdotes defy romantic classification; moreover, even those that do treat love can be mined for more information than their dismissal as "Confucian-influenced parables" might imply. A closer look at the tales in each of these love groupings reveals additional important recurring elements that aid in the effort to reconstruct a medieval Japanese representation of love in the Chinese past.

The first subset, love oddities, consists of only two brief stories, entries three and four, both of which feature hideous protagonists and the spouses who appreciate them. In tale three, the wife of the "incomparably ugly" Mr. Jia finally breaks a three-year silence dating from their

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[61] I recognize love as a central element to tales 3-13, 15, 18, 23, and arguably 27, though I prefer to treat the latter separately.

[62] Geddes, too, finds three categories: "wise and foolish love, deep and shallow love, passing and eternal love." Ward Geddes, 18.

[63] Ibid., 18-19. He does not, however, appear concerned with these secondary elements.

marriage when he manages to shoot a pheasant, and in tale four, Liang Hong sings his "peerlessly ugly" wife's praises for her determination in serving him, claiming that her appearance is of no concern. Though they share a common message of single-minded devotion trumping physical beauty, these stories are so short as to almost disappear under the weight of the rest of the collection, and it is difficult to read anything more serious into them than a desire to provoke a laugh in the readership.[64]

The next group of love stories is that made up of the stories that have unambiguously "happy endings," i.e., none of the key figures has died, and no one has been left behind, nursing an unrequited passion. Here again, we have only two examples: tales five and eleven. In both, the protagonists share a deep emotional attachment, but one that is censured by society. In the case of Zhuo Wenjun's elopement with Sima Xiangru, it is her father who disapproves because of the latter's inferior social status. In the tale of Nong Yu and Xiao Shi, the disapprobation seems to stem from the former's aggression in pursuing the latter. Each story vindicates the lovers in the end, appearing to suggest that China is, after all, a place wherein transcendent love is possible, albeit rarely and only with difficulty. What is perhaps only a coincidence but still curious is that the latest of the source texts for any of these four love stories, the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書, dates from the fifth century. Although their number is simply too few to infer with confidence that there is an active relegation of successful relationships to a distant past, this consignment of a successful China to a long-ago time is something to keep in mind as we turn now to the bulk of the love-story content: the stories that end badly.

[64] The valorization of ugly constancy is one of the points Nakane Chie repeatedly mentions as satirical. Nakane Chie, 45 and *passim*.

In the majority of accounts, love in *China Tales* does not turn out well: entries six through nine (and arguably ten), twelve, thirteen, fifteen, eighteen, and twenty-three end in the death and/or disappointment of at least one of the lovers. Moving from bad to worse, let us first treat those stories that end with frustration before concluding the love section with the tales that center on murder and suicide.

Tale nine, referred to above, relates the affair between the infamously libidinous Empress Wu and Zhang Wencheng, which concludes with the empress' horror at Zhang's rendering of his undying affections in prose. (Presumably, her passion has not lasted as long.) Of greater interest is the tenth tale: despite ostensibly ending happily, it also features unrequited love—that of the prince. In fact, this episode is more intriguing for its extra-love-affair events than the predictable reunion between Deyan and Ms. Chen, although the latter is the presumed narrative focus set up in the tale's title. A rereading that dwells on sideline matters is, however, encouraged by the author himself in his final observation that the prince's compassion is the most outstanding thing in the story. "Even more than that person who abandoned her far-from-mean lifestyle and did not forget her long-ago vow, the prince's compassion was felt beyond compare."[65] This seems an odd note on which to end—why ought we to valorize the prince's feelings? Perhaps they are a nod to the *Genji* discussion that to an extent fetishizes love between the classes, but we can also understand the prince as a model for self-restraint, one who yields his prized to another. The ultimate shift of focus to the prince invites a refocusing of the

[65] At first, I thought that this meant that even after her departure, the prince's passion was unflagging. However, I think that Geddes' rendering is more accurate: "More than the woman who relinquished her privileged position to honor her pledge of old, the prince's understanding, one feels, is an example of virtue unmatched." Ward Geddes, 85. I have changed mine as minimally as possible to reflect that. いやしからぬありさまをふりすててむかしの契をわすれざりけん人よりも、親王の御なさけはなをたぐひあらじや。Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KM*), 70. I do not know where the "virtue" in Geddes comes from.

entire story, one in which the love story between Deyan and Ms. Chen provides the context for the prince's thwarted passion: this love is the indirect result of social disorder. Only in a world of chaos and disarray are the separation of the lovers and ill-fated infatuation of the prince possible. The nameless prince then becomes a victim of his times, a vague era of social roil. Such societal confusion recurs in the collection often enough to become a motif in itself—China equals chaos.

Most often, love in *China Tales* is a destructive force: this is borne out in stories six through eight, twelve, fifteen, eighteen, and twenty-three.[66] This is not to say that love in China is itself depicted as inherently bad or damnable—the presence of the above-mentioned "happy" stories refute such an argument—but rather that it is regularly inextricably connected with death. The concern with death manifests itself both in the form of a sometimes-fatal obsession for the departed and in that of an attendant suicide by the protagonist, a self-destructive act that typically is a result of societal pressure to remarry.

With the exception of the sixth tale, in which the dancing girl Lü Zhu throws herself from a tower in the face of her lover's rebuke while he is taken away as a prisoner of war, the drama of the act of suicide tends to increase as the collection progresses. We move from early accounts of wasting away, such as the fatally lovesick Mianmian's tale (8), the story of Song Yu's neighbor who cries herself to death for unrequited love (7), and the nameless heroine's posthumous transformation into a rock (12), through imperial obsession that ultimately ends in

[66] Death of a loved one is also a cause for sorrow in tale thirteen, but not to such a cataclysmic degree. Again, this tale is set in the mythical past of the sage emperors— perhaps we can see an implied decay from a reasonable response to death in days of yore to excessive destructive passions in later periods? Komine, on the other hand, suggests the final line emphasizes an implied continuity between the sincere love found in ancient China and that of contemporary (12th-century) Japan. Komine Kazuaki (1987), 212. In any case, I do not think such a reading necessarily calls into question the idea that the glory days of love in China are far removed from its present.

death (15, 18), to the climactic suicide of Xun Shuang (23). But other than a possible emerging authorial preference for the gory, what can these stories tell us about the world they depict?

In addition to having a strong love element, aside from tale fifteen, that of the perennially self-absorbed Emperor Wu, each of these stories exhibits a violation of social order. Most dramatically, but most rarely, this takes the shape of armed conflict. Tale six features an armed clash over the affections of Lü Zhu, and tale eighteen is Shigenori's account of the famous tale of Emperor Xuanzong and Yang Guifei. Both episodes present a world in which sexual obsession results in violent chaos.

A milder variant of this social breakdown can be located in tales eight, twelve, and twenty-three. In each of these entries, a heroine who would remain true to her departed lover's memory is met with persistent demands by a society that does not understand fidelity to take a second husband. While Mianmian and the rock-to-be both simply are noted as finding this attention unwelcome and eventually engage in a sort of passive suicide as they pine to death for the departed,[67] Xun Shuang's final dramatic exit and the pressures that lead up to it suggest a society in which ignorance of right and wrong has permeated to the family level itself. At the risk of over-reading, it is tempting to look to the decay of family values that unfolds as a microcosm of the world of the collection; thus I would like to examine the story in slightly more detail.

The tale opens with an account of Xun Shuang's youth. Admirable in both looks and character, she is treasured by her parents, who carefully screen her many suitors. At last, in Yin Yu they think they have a worthy match, and the couple's early happiness accords with their assessment. However, when Yin Yu suddenly dies, things take a turn for the worse. Seemingly

[67] Komine goes so far as to suggest that it is not love that causes the rock-to-be's suicide, but rather her sadness at the pressure to remarry—itself, a theme he, too, suggests as extending to the Mianmian vignette. Komine Kazuaki (1987), 211.

impatient with their daughter's inability to get over him, her parents rush to marry her off to a second husband, despite her heartfelt protests.[68] In their remonstrations, we hear an unthinking, slavish adherence to the letter, if not perhaps spirit, of the law: "Don't you know that it would be a boundless sin not to follow your parents' wishes? Even though it's not what you want, how could you go against your parents' intentions?"[69] Xun Shuang at last appears to give in, and she makes her way to the abode of her new husband, who is somewhat in awe of her. When she withdraws for the evening, however, it is not to simply go to bed, but to take her life: with her deathbed plea to bury her at the side of Yin Yu written on the wall in her own blood, she strangles herself with her sash and dies.

Here, then, we have a world that begins well, but which ultimately reveals a failure to cope that produces tragic results. The gradual breakdown in the family would, from a Confucian standpoint, have indicated a concurrent or impending breakdown of the state, too; with the Japanese capital rocked by rebellions and the northern half of China occupied by a foreign dynasty, it is easy to imagine that an implied social breakdown as the hidden player in this story and others like it might have resonated well with world-wise readers.[70] Thus we can argue that it

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[68] Watanabe Mariko 渡辺麻里子 reads the parents' motivations more charitably than I do, though she notes that the *China Tales* version represents a substantial embellishment of the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 account in this respect. Watanabe Mariko 渡辺麻里子, in *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, 261-262.

[69] 「おやのこころにしたがはぬはかぎりなきつみとは知らずや、みづからの心にこそふさはしからずはおもふとも、いかでか親の本意をばたがふべき」などはをいひけるに… Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KM*), 247.

[70] The depiction of remarriage as undesirable is explicit (while a hesitation to endorse suicide as too extreme an act may also be implied) in other roughly contemporary works, such as the *Tale of the Heike*: "Among women who have lost husbands, it has long been common practice to enter the religious life, but few have gone so far as to drown themselves. Might this be the kind of thing that is meant by the saying, 'A loyal vassal does not obey two masters; a chaste wife

might not be simply an act of projecting a twenty-first century historical awareness backwards to posit that despite a surface preoccupation with love, many of the seemingly romantic tales also consciously offer considerable place to concern with social order. The medieval image of romance in China is one that can only with difficulty be disentangled from associations with societal censure, obsession, and death.

From Order into Chaos

As indicated above, a crumbling of or challenge to social order occurs in several of the tales that on the surface appear to be simple love stories. In addition to such anecdotes' oblique portrayal of an unstable China, there are stories in which civil conflict, incompetent rule, and/or a fractious court is more directly brought to the fore: fourteen, seventeen, twenty, twenty-four, and twenty five. Added to the undercurrents of strife already discussed, we arrive at an image of China that is a hotbed of political intrigue, often driven by the most personal and petty motivations. While none surpasses the civil war that frames tale eighteen, that of Xuanzong and Yang Guifei, behind the promotion of loyalty and protestations of innocence, we see courts fraught with scheming and cruelty, which will be taken up below.

Tales seventeen and twenty present the longest narratives in this subset, and both offer stories of personal vengeance played out at the highest levels of government. Seventeen is the account of the temporary involvement of four sage recluses in running the government. One of the few tales that *China Tales* and *The Mirror of China* have in common, I will defer discussion of it and limit observation now to calling attention to the depiction of the emperor as inept. His mother is determined to murder Lady Qi's son, whom she sees as a potential arrival. Though the Emperor tries to protect Lady Qi's son, he fails; though he thinks that matters will stop at her

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does not serve two husbands'?" Helen Craig McCullough (1988), 323.

son's assassination, he is mistaken. When we bear in mind that this emperor was schooled by none other than revered sages, it seems a harsh commentary on Chinese power: neither the political leaders nor the supposed lofty transcendents are able to accurately assess a situation or effectively dispatch threats. And if the sages are the constants in this world, as the final line of the story suggests, one can infer that their failure is implied as unchanging, too. On the whole, the anecdote offers a rather stinging indictment of Chinese rule.

The twentieth tale is less directly critical, functioning primarily as an encomium to two servants and their willingness to set the life of their master's son above their own. As in the seventeenth tale, though, this sacrifice is necessitated by incompetent rulership that results in the master's murder and their own fifteen years in hiding, where they manage to raise the boy to adulthood. In the background here, too, lurks a negative representation of the ruling elite. On a less drastic scale, petty cruelty, too, often results in abuses of power: tales fourteen, twenty-four, and twenty-five all feature women who fall victim to the jealousy of others. In two cases, this results in life-imprisonment (14, 24), and in one, permanent exile to barbarian wilds (25). In the first two stories, the emperor is apparently duped by false accusations, and in the twenty-fifth, that of Wang Zhaojun (versions appear in both *China Tales* and *The Mirror of China*), he falls victim to his own laziness—since he is unwilling to inspect his 3,000 (!) consorts personally, he has the wool pulled over his eyes by schemers who would like to see Wang Zhaojun gone. More telling still is the fact that while the emperor did not have the sense to appreciate what he had, the barbarian king is completely devoted: another suggestion of a Chinese leader who is far from on top of things. In these stories, too, and their settings, we can detect an air of reprobation. Even though the conflicts and intrigues are not the actual focus of the tales, their results are, and time and time again, we are faced with hints of unsuitable governance.

Misc. (雜説)

Seemingly in the tradition of the Chinese anthologies that precede it, *China Tales*, too, has five anecdotes that resist thematic classification other than as "miscellaneous." Three of them include Chinese poets or people of poetic sensibility (1-2, 26), but we see also an unhappy marriage (19) and a compassionate ruler (22). In two of these, tales two and nineteen, we can read a critical note: Bai Juyi finds a musical soul-mate in exile but meets with only corruption in the capital (2), and a wife dies of shame after realizing that she ought to have stuck by her husband (19). The remaining three, however, exist in positive counterpoint to much of the collection, free of any discernable disapproval of Chinese mores. The first vignette is a brief celebration of poetic sensibilities; the twenty-second is a celebration of a compassionate ruler; and the twenty-sixth is a humorous story of a "world-wide" infatuation with the poet Pan Anren. Though we could perhaps tease out censorious elements even in these three, I am inclined to let them be. Just as many of the other tales offer mixed appraisals of China wherein positive surface elements and negative undercurrents coexist, the presence of these stories in the collection attests to a multi-faceted perception of China that is more sophisticated than a uniformly critical approach would be, suggesting a more complicated authorial (and readerly) stance towards China.

Going to the Dogs

The final entry in the collection, number twenty-seven, is worthy of individual consideration both for its position in the collection and its distinctive content.[71] In this piece, two

[71] Geddes has pointed out that in the "Yoshida variant," the final tale is that of Yang Guifei and Xuanzong. He does not come down conclusively for or against this ordering. Ward Geddes, 43. There, 27 follows 6, and 18 follows 23. Ward Geddes, 27. If we assume a thematic link between consecutive tales, as Geddes has, this ordering is a little difficult. With the current 6 and 7, both end in the suicide of the woman for love; Geddes does not find what he feels to be a satisfactory

girls, neither of whom is interested in marriage, withdraw to the mountains to become recluses. However, as they soon learn, there is no escaping the throes of passion, when first one and then both become involved with a dog that mysteriously materializes. Geddes has proposed that this tale "should be seen as possibly the ultimate illustration of the consistent theme of *Kara monogatari*. That is, that love of the highest order, whatever shape its manifestation, is finally the element that determines the quality of any relationship."[72] Komine, in contrast, identifies the story as having a theme consistent with that of the Yang Guifei tale: a "teaching to deny attachment."[73] For Geddes, the narratorial assessment that closes the piece seems to offer justification enough for reading the story as pro-love[74]:

> A human plighted her troth with a dog. Since there has never been anything like this, should there be those who understand the hearts of such matters, they will surely not find this distasteful. How deep must [their bond] have been? Though she had set her

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link. Cf. Ward Geddes, 31. To me, 6 and 27 do not share an obvious tie. Geddes, too, comments on this lack. Ward Geddes, 39. Nor do 23 and 18 share an immediately apparent connection, though we might suggest that 22 and 23 both include women caught between the attentions of two men. Geddes identifies the theme of "conflicting loyalties." Ward Geddes, 37. This would not seem to be an issue in 18.

[72] Ward Geddes, 62.

[73] 愛執を否定する説示… Komine Kazuaki (2006), 853. Komine puts this into the larger context of the pro-Pure Land orientation he sees in the work. Ibid. This certainly makes sense from the standpoint of a reading that does not ground itself in a binary of Japan-versus-China. Nonetheless, and Komine's observation on the *Hōbutsushū*'s citation of interspecies love in India, China, and Japan notwithstanding, it seems a curious final note. For *HBS* citation, see ibid., 852.

[74] Ward Geddes, 65; for his discussion of this piece as a structural conclusion to an underlying inquiry into love, which again comes down to karma, and the proposal that this is a validation of romantic love, see also 39-43. This turns on his understanding of the closing remarks to 18 and 27, both of which are points of contention (for me, at least).

> mind not to enter this path, when one meets with ties of great strength, be they lofty or base, are they not difficult things to escape? This dog's name was 'Snowy!'[75]

However, might we not take this as an indirect criticism of the degree of the heroines' devotion? The author does not suggest that such ties are impossible to escape, merely difficult. Perhaps a more sincere mind would have been able to resist canine allure. Furthermore, the heroines themselves are distressed at their inter-species relations, referring to them as something that arouses "difficult feelings,"[76] is "sordid and grievous indeed,"[77] is a matter that makes them feel "anxious and perverse,"[78] and engenders "sadness."[79] The final poem, too, questions the idea that destiny or karmic ties might somehow validate such a relationship:

> *Strange indeed!*
> *Why am I smitten with a beast?*
> *Even if we do have a deep bond*
> *From a previous life!*[80]

On the whole, no one is happy (except the dog) by the time the story closes. The parents have lost their children, and the children have failed in their efforts at eremitic reclusion. Thus, while I agree that as the concluding tale it offers an "ultimate illustration" of an underlying image, I

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[75] 人の身にしていぬにちぎりをむすびける。たぐひなきほどのことなれば、物のこころを知れらん人は、これをもうらむべからず。いかばかりは、こののみちにいらじと思とりしかど、契のふかきにあひぬれば、かしこきもはかなきも、さながらのがれがたき事にや。このいぬの名をば、雪々とぞいひける。Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KM*), 289.

[76] いとむつかしく心みだれて… Ibid. 288.

[77] あさましうこころうくぞ… Ibid.

[78] 心うく、（けしからず）おぼえて… Ibid.

[79] かなしくぞ… Ibid.

[80] あさましやなどけだものにうちとくるさこそむかしのちぎりなりとも. Ibid.

cannot accept the assertion that this tale is a celebration of the transcendence of love.[81] Given how far we have come from the delight in poetic sensibilities that opened the collection,[82] I think this tale is just as likely to be the supreme embodiment of China's path to perdition.[83]

It is with this anecdote that the oldest editions of *China Tales* conclude, but prior to moving on to the juxtaposition of the China of *China Tales* with that of *The Mirror of China*, a brief taking stock of the work as a whole would not be amiss. To summarize, then, while on the collection's surface, China often seems a country of sensitive poets and love, digging deeper reveals images of a land whose rulers and elite are fickle and frivolous and where social instability and decaying moral standards are rampant.[84] Though one can detect recognition of Chinese cultural achievements and/or admirable qualities, these are often, but not always, relegated to lower class citizens (3-4) and servants (23) or the distant past (13). The work presents a narrative of decline from a glorious golden past to a corrupt, war-torn present, and the

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[81] Komine sees thematic parallels with the Yang Guifei story in that both feature strong passions that must be overcome for a Pure Land rebirth. Komine Kazuaki (2006), 852-853.

[82] Geddes, in contrast, reads the two tales as having similar themes. For his discussion of common concerns in the opening tales and twenty-seven, see Ward Geddes, 63-68. Mita Akihiro 三田明弘 also notes this as a significant juxtaposition, but does not speculate on what it might mean beyond the offering of two emotional extremes. Mita Akihiro 三田明弘, in *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, 292.

[83] Disagreeing with my reading, Paul Schalow has suggested that I consider *chuanqi* 傳奇 in my interpretation of this tale. Personal communication, May 2010. However, in reading inter-species relations as anomalous, that is what I am doing. Tales of the strange or anomaly accounts present their content *as* abnormal; in terms of loose generic precedent, there is no reason to think that such relations would have been considered wondrous in a positive sense.

[84] Cf. Komine's observation (in the context of a larger discussion of parallels with Bai Juyi): "…the containment of political strife is another important aspect of *China Tales*." …政争をとらえていることは『唐物語』のもう一つの重要な側面である。 Komine Kazuaki (2006), 849.

prominent presence of such mixed messages surely demonstrates that much more is at issue than a simple appreciation of things Chinese. If we return to Peter Burke's notion of cultural translation introduced in Chapter One in an effort to assess the work, *China Tales* falls into the second category: the "confirmation" of how China is—good long ago, and a mess now. *China Tales* tells in effect of a glorified culture confined to a distant age, separated from that of contemporary China by a proliferation of violence, lust, and corruption.

Telling versus Reflecting

For two works taken as introductions to basic literacy in things Chinese, *China Tales* and *The Mirror of China* share surprisingly little content. In addition to two slight moments of textual overlap, there are but four anecdotes in *The Mirror of China* that also appear in *China Tales*. Surely this divergence is not insignificant. To better understand the nature of the shift, I will first examine the common tales and then conjecture as to what might have been behind this seeming realignment.

With textual overlap, I refer to points where the information in both works is the same, but the context different. The first such example is the appearance of Xu You 許由 and Chao Fu 巢父. *China Tales* includes both figures towards the end of seventeenth tale, in which the Four Luminaries of Mt. Shang have come to tutor a candidate for crown prince. Having completed their duties to their satisfaction, they ask for leave to return to reclusion, and Chao Fu appears in the context of an evaluation of their request.

> Also, in the time of Emperor Wen of the Zhou, there was one worthy known as Duke Wang. After he had been summoned by the emperor, he was so pleased at having reached a rank higher than his status [would have afforded] that he never thought to return home. Emperor Yao wanted to yield the throne to Xu You, and he summoned him three times. However, the latter [just] said, "I heard something dirty," and he went to the Ying River and washed out his ears, adding in curious fashion, "What sort of business was that?"

> Also, Chao Fu wanted to ford this river with his ox, but he thought, "Since this is the river where ears were washed for having heard something dirty, it must be impure," and he probably even made a wide detour—[the story] is thought ridiculous. Also, he had hung a gourd for drawing water on the woven bamboo door [to his home]. But whenever the wind blew, the gourd would bang the door. Pronouncing it noisy, he suddenly broke it and threw it away. When one hears these sorts of things, even if one does not feel that they are true, one feels that those Four Luminaries of Mt. Shang had compassion and a deep desire to help others; they are thought more splendid than anyone else.
>
> *Who would call 'polluted'*
> *The river water that*
> *Washed ears pure?*[85]

Chao Fu's desire to have nothing to do with worldly concerns is made to look ridiculous, as the closing poem makes patently clear. Watanabe Mariko 渡辺麻里子 likewise identifies the contrast between the Four Luminaries and the subsequent examples as a non-traditional interpretation that paints the latter in a negative light, emphasizing that their conduct is portrayed as irresponsible.[86] In other words, Shigenori adopts a position here that allows for limited praise

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[85] また、周文王と申けるみかどの御時、公望ときこゆる賢人、帝にめしいだされてのち、つかさくらひ身にあまれるによろこびて、かへるおもひなかりけり。尭と申みかど、許由にくらひをゆずらんとてみたびまでめしけるを、「きたなき事をききつ」といひて、穎川というふかはにみみをあらひけるも、「いかなる事にか」と、おかしきやうにきこゆ。

又、巣父といふひと、牛ををひてこの河をわたらんとするに、「きたなき事ききて、みみあらひたるながれしもにも、けがるべきかは」とて、はるかによけてとをりけんも、おこがましくこそ覚れ。又、みづくむひさごを一、たけのあみどにうちかけたりけんが、風のふくたびにとにあたりつつなりけるをさへ「うるさし」といひて、たちまちにわりたてけり。これをきくにも「げに」ともおぼえぬに、この商山の四皓はなさけあり、人をたすくる心もふかくてたれよりもこのもしき様にこそおぼゆれ。

いさぎよくみみをあらひし川水をけがらはしとはたれかいひけん Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KM*), 130; *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, 133. It should be noted that the translations in this section are all new or revised work and have not been compared with those of Ward Geddes beyond a cursory reading in 2008 unless specifically noted otherwise.

[86] Watanabe Mariko 渡辺麻里子, *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, 136-137.

of one example within Chinese tradition, while at the same time permitting an apparent dismissal of its larger intellectual context.

The Mirror of China account features Xu You and Chao Fu in the context of the final description of Yao's reign, simply noting: "The emperor was to yield the realm to Xu You. Xu You heard about this and fled to the Ying River to wash out his ears. Chao Fu led an ox to cross this river, but then he thought that the river would have become dirtied by Xu You's having washed his ears in it, so he didn't ford it and went back."[87] There is no detectable condescension in this account, merely a brief recording of a curiosity tacked on at the end of a reign. Shigenori (2) does not look to take issue with the notion of the freedom to accept or reject a call to service, or at least not within a temporally and geographically remote setting.

The other moment of textual overlap occurs with regard to Dongfang Shuo. In this case, it is *The Mirror of China* that features a more comprehensive account of the legendary wit. *China Tales*, on the other hand, grants him space in its sixteenth tale only as a secondary character, a thief of peaches of immortality that belong to the Queen Mother of the West and an enabler of the woebegone Emperor Wu of the Han's misguided search for the secrets of eternal life. Near the tale's conclusion, the Queen Mother of the West announces that Shuo has "done his time" for his earlier thievery, and with that, he vanishes.

The Mirror of China, in contrast, incorporates the mention of his fruit pilfering within the context of his accomplishments in the occult arts. This, in turn, is but a portion of a larger discussion of Shuo's many talents. Intriguingly, unlike in *China Tales*, Shuo does not appear in a subordinate position to the Queen Mother of the West. This is made clear in the Queen Mother's

[87] 帝天下ヲ許由ニ禅玉フ、許由是ヲ聞テ、潁川ニ遁テ、耳ヲ洗フ、巣父、牛ヲ率テ、此川ヲ渡ラントスルニ、許由耳ヲ洗テ、汚シタル水ナレハトテ、渡ズシテ、返リヌ Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KK*), 25.

investigation into her peaches, where her emissary reports: "Dongfang Shuo is the spirit of the Wood Emperor and of Jupiter—as such, he disports amongst mortals, observing the sub-celestial realm. He is not a subject of Your Majesty. Also, while Dongfang Shuo is in the world of men, Jupiter does not appear."[88] Curiously, the balance of power is reversed from that suggested by *China Tales*. It is no longer the Queen Mother of the West who beckons Shuo, but he who flits between worlds as he pleases. *The Mirror of China* account additionally suggests a broader arena for his talents, one in which his rhetorical abilities shine in their own right in his exchanges with Emperor Wu and where his supernatural powers place him beyond the reach of even one of the most famous of immortals. This is indicative of the differing dynamics of both accounts. In *China Tales*, Emperor Wu and his melancholic pursuit of immorality are the focus. In *The Mirror of China*, it is the weird and wondrous imperial-advisor-yet-so- much-more who is, quite literally, the star.

As noted earlier, *China Tales* and *The Mirror of China* actually share a few incidents as well. The first somewhat tangential example is found in *The Mirror of China* in the biography of Yao's successor, Emperor Shun. In *China Tales*, Shun is only marginally present as a sort of narrative catalyst: his death inspires the thirteenth tale:

> Long ago, there was an emperor called Shun. Myriad praiseworthy customs are said to have their origins in none other than his governance. Two empresses known as Ehuang and Nüying were in attendance on him. There was no visible difference in his affection for them—it was just like a matter of apples *and* oranges. Though they went on in this way for many months and years, since this is a world in which all things come to an end, the Emperor passed away at a place called Xiangpu. Afterwards, the two Empresses shed scarlet tears of blood. So caught up in longing for the past were they that their tears dyed the Wu bamboo next to their wall, too, and it developed a mottled pattern.

[88] 後ニ西母王使ヲ進ラセタルニ、〔東〕方朔ヲ問給フニ、使者申ケルハ、方朔ハ、木帝ノ精、歳星トシテ、人中ニ遊テ、天下ヲ観る、階下(ママ)ノ臣ニハアラシト也、又方朔在世ノ間ハ、歳星見サリケリトモも申セリ Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KK*), 128.

They say that even the bamboo is dappled
By tears of blood—
So deep was their love.

For the people of old, love was not shallow, was it?[89]

This brief story sheds little direct light on Shigenori's perspective, but it is in keeping with limiting positive portrayals of China—of which this praise of undying love is doubtless one—to a very distant past. Perhaps as important is the fact that what is lauded here is not a particularly Chinese institution or custom, but rather an emotion applicable to all. Unlike in the above-mentioned censorious accounts, there is no mention of what is "customary in China." Here, it is simply a matter for "people of old," by implication *all* people of old.

While Shun himself is accorded several pages in the *Shōkōkan* edition of *The Mirror of China*, this particular tale is not included, and his biography concludes rather unceremoniously with the observation that "He was on the throne for twenty years. At the age of one hundred, he departed for Cangwu [to die]."[90] The later *Matsudaira* edition, however, does append a brief mention of Shun's wives, noting, "The names of the two empresses who saw him off were Ehuang and Nüying. It is said that they stayed at Xiangpu, the place where they saw him off, and

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[89] むかし、尭と申御門おはしましけり。御まつりごとよりはじめて、よろづめでたき御よのためしには、まづこの御事をのみこそ申めれ。娥皇、女英ときこえ給二人のきさき、さぶらひ給けり。御心ざし、いづれまさり給へりとけぢめみえず、ただ紅紫などの様に、あさからぬ御事にてなん侍りける。かくて、おほくのとし月をなむたもたせ給けれど、この世はかぎりある所なれば、みかど、湘浦といふ所にて、はかなくならせ給ぬ。其後二人のきさき、くれなひの涙をながし給て、ふるきをおぼせりけれは、まがきのくれ竹も御涙にそまりて、まだらになりけり。
きみこふるなみだのいろのふかきは
たけもなみだにそむとこそきけ
むかしのひとの思そめつる事（は）あさからぬにや。 Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KM*), 82.

[90] 在位廿年、御年一百歳也、蒼梧ト云所ヘソ Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KK*), 28.

that their tears of longing even stained the bamboo crimson. How moving!"[91]

Where Shun's death forms the pretext for the tale in *China Tales*, it is his adolescence and perilous rise to the throne that receive the most space in *The Mirror of China*. In one of the more exciting portions of the first scroll, Shun fends off repeated attempts by his father to murder him, once by burning him alive, and a second time, by live burial in a well. Shun is even cuckolded by his younger half-brother and has the majority of his property stolen by his father. The unflappable Shun, however, presumably takes repossession of his wives and eventually is reunited with his father (curing the latter of his blindness). This is followed by a short overview of his accomplishments and then the aforementioned lines on his death. In *The Mirror of China*, Shun exists primarily in his pre-glory days. Though still problematic, this is a more potent position than the exclusively posthumous one he enjoys in *China Tales*, and the change in emphasis in his portrayal is noteworthy.

Moreover, love, if present at all in *The Mirror of China*, is marginalized, as are the female presences. The stepmother, whose giving birth to his half-brother Xiang sets things in motion, is accorded a passing mention, as are his wives. Instead of focusing on romance, the biography of Shun in *The Mirror of China* centers on homosocial public power struggles. In this new emphasis, though the account is not a paean, we see a more vigorous China (albeit in the form of an unruly adolescent). It is tempting to read the change as a sign of the second Shigenori writing from a more culturally self-assured position that does not require China's complete emasculation or confinement to private (or posthumous) love in order to produce a good read.

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[91] をくりたてまつりしふたりの后の名おは娥皇女英と申き舜におくれてたてまつりて湘浦といふところにすまし給て恋慕の涙に竹の色さへくれなゐになりたりしとそあはれに侍りしか Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KK*), 28. (This is followed by a few additional notes on other Shun legends.)

The next account shared by *China Tales* and *The Mirror of China* is the seventeenth tale in *China Tales*, that of the Four Luminaries and Empress Lü's plots to control imperial succession:

> Long ago, there was an Emperor called Gaozu of the Han. Empress Lü, as the mother of Crown Prince [Hui], seemed to be more beloved by the Emperor than anyone else. [Yet] was the emperor overly fond of Prince Yin of Zhao, a prince born to another mother? Empress Lü noticed that it seemed as though the emperor wished to appoint *him* crown prince, and she grew extraordinarily worried. She summoned two retainers, Chen Ping and Zhang Liang, and said, "This is awful. How can we put and end to this attachment [to Prince Yin]?" "Indeed," they thought and replied, "Even though things mightn't go that far, we need to come up with a plan." Then these two, too, sighed at the thought of the potential chaos, and each considered his strategy. "There are four worthies hidden away on Mt. Shang who have taken refuge from the world and don't even respond to the emperor's summonses. If we could persuade them out [of reclusion] and get them into the retinue of Crown Prince Hui, surely the emperor would be ashamed, regardless of [his affection for Prince Yin]," they realized, and they proceeded to this mountain to inquire.[92]
>
> The four people looked at the two and said in surprise, "What brings you to our lowly dwelling?" The two replied, "The world looks to be on the brink of chaos such that even we bemoan this and wish to live as recluses in these mountains. However, whether the world falls apart or not is solely up to you." At this, the [four] people smiled slightly and said, "Though it would be impossible that the emperor might be ashamed because of our presence, it would be truly heartless to send you back empty-handed. Therefore, setting aside the matter of later, just for today, we'll escort you back." The two were boundlessly happy and accompanied the four to the crown prince's residence. They immediately became "Lecturers to the Crown Prince," offering detailed instruction in matters of comportment and the like, and there was no

[92] I have decided to follow the paragraph breaks in the original text when inputting footnotes for ease of comparison with the translation. 昔漢高祖と申御門おはしけり。呂后ときこえ給后、恵太子の母にてたれよりも御心ざしをもくみえさせ給けり。ほかばらの親王に趙の隠王と申人を御心ざしのあまりにや 御かど東宮にたてんとおぼしける御気色を呂后み給て、あさましう心うき事におぼして、陳平・張良ときこゆる二人の臣下をめしよせて「かかるいみじきことなんある。いかにしてかこのうらみをやすむべき」との給あはするを、「げに」とおもひけん、「かなはざらんまでも、はからひ侍べし」とこたえかへりぬ。又こののち二人の人も世中のみだれなんずる事をなげきて、をのをのはかり事をめぐらしけり。「商山といふ山によをのがれつつ、みかどのめすにもまいらで、こもりゐたる賢人四人あり。それをこしらへいだしてこの恵太子につけたてまつりたらば、さりともはづる心おはしなん物を」とおもひよりて、この山のなかにたづね行きけり。Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KM*), 114; *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, 117-119.

end to the delight in which the crown prince held them.[93]

In this way, on the first morning of the new year, these four arrived at the palace together with the crown prince, and they attended him in a formal and lofty manner. Everyone, from the emperor down to his attendants, thought this strange. The emperor asked, “Who are these people?” One of his attendants said, “They are the Four Luminaries summoned of late.” The Emperor flinched and felt ashamed indeed. Therefore, the emperor addressed the Four Luminaries, “Since long ago, I’ve wanted to put the government in your hands, but you never heeded me. I don’t understand why you’ve come now to attend to this young, immature crown prince.” The Four Luminaries said, “Though Your Lordship is possessed of a worthy mind and governs a stable country, You are too prone to disregard others and to take worthies lightly. We heard that though the Crown Prince is young, he is deeply compassionate and correctly [adheres to] ritual propriety, so we came to be of service.” When he heard this, the Emperor thought, “Is not the Crown Prince more noble of mind than I?” He abandoned the business [of naming Prince Yin Crown Prince]. Because of this, everyone in the government, from Empress Lü, Chen Ping and Zhang Liang on down, relaxed.[94]

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[93] 四人のひとうちみつつおどろきていはく、「なにごとにいとかくあやしげなるすみかにはわた給へるにか」ときこえさするに、「よのなかみだれんとつかまつれば、我らが身にまでもなげきふかくて、この山にかくれゐむとおもふ心侍り。しかれでも、よのなかのほろびおささまらざらむ事は、ただその御こころなり」といへるに、このひとうちわらひて、「君も我に所をき、はぢ給はん事いとありがたかるべれけれど、むなしうかへしたてまつらんもむげになさけなき様なれば、後のことをかへりみず、けふばかりは御をくりにまいるべし」といへりければ、かぎりなくうれしくおぼえて、四人のひとをぐしつつとう宮の御もとへまいりぬ。たちまちに学士といふつかさになりて、ふるまひたまふべきありさまなどこまやかにをしへたてまつるに、たのもしくおぼさるる事かぎりなし。 Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KM*), 114-115; *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, 119.

[94] かくてとしたちかへるあした、とう宮内にまいり給へる御ともに、この人ども四人いとうやくしくふるまひけだかきさまにて御ともに侍けるを、御門よりはじめつかうまつる人どももをのをのあやしげに思へり。みかど「これはたれにか」とたづねとはせたまへる。御ともに侍ける人申ていはく、「ひごろめしつる商山の四皓に侍」ときこえさせ給けるに、御心もおくせられてあさましくぞおぼされける。これよりて帝四皓にのたまはく、「我むかしより、なんぢに国のまつり事をまかせんとおもへり。しかれどもあへてきかざりき。しかるを、わかくいとけなき春宮にしたがへる心しりがたし」。四皓申ていはく、「君は御心かしこくて世中をたいらげ、くにをおさめ給へども、ひとをあなづり、かしこきをもかろめ給あやまちおはします。春宮はわかくおはすれども、御心をきてなさけふかく、礼儀をただしくし給ときこえ侍によりて、まいりつかうまつれり」ときこえさせければ、「春宮は我よりも心かしこきにや」とおぼして、この事をおもひとまらせ給にけり。かかれば、呂后、陳平、張良よりはじめて、よにある人々さながら心やすくなりにけり。Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KM*), 115-116; *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, 119-120.

The mother of Prince Yin of Zhao, Lady Qi, resented and envied the emperor, which Empress Lü felt to be distasteful and unpleasant. A short while later, the emperor died, and so the crown prince ascended the throne, and all things had turned out as she, the empress, had wished. Nevertheless—perhaps because of the spleen of many years—suddenly Empress Lü apprehended Lady Qi, shaved her head, rendered her wretched looking, and had her go around in a pitiful state. The emperor remonstrated with her, saying, "This isn't right. Acting like this surely goes against the feelings of the late emperor." But somehow, none of it had any effect. The emperor was consumed with worry, and when Empress Lü resolved to do away with Prince Yin of Zhao, the emperor did not let him away from his side, day or night, waking or sleeping. Constantly distressed [by her inability to kill Prince Yin], the empress put poison in his alcohol and gave it to him. The emperor realized [what she had done] and said, "Serve me first." In a flurry, she switched the cups. In this way, unbeknownst to others, he sheltered Prince Yin. Yet somehow or other there must have been break [in his vigilance], for she dispatched three uncommonly strong ladies-in-waiting, and while Prince Yin was sleeping at the emperor's side, they heartlessly seized and slew him. His Highness found this deplorable, but there was nothing to be done, and so [the matter] ended. Well, one night when the moon was unobscured by clouds, Lady Qi was feeling bitter and sad—perhaps she longed for the past?—and she vaguely mumbled a poem to that effect. Someone with sharp ears overheard her and finding fault with it, reported having heard something to Empress Lü. The empress' hatred increased still more, and she sliced off the feet and hands of Lady Qi, had her corpse smeared with lacquer, and immersed in a filthy ditch that was reviled by all. And in this form, she was unrecognizable, and it was moving and sad. After this, Lady Qi turned into a frightful spirit and in no time at all possessed Empress Lü and killed her.[95]

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[95] この趙隠王の母戚夫人ときこゆる人は、みかどをうらみそねみたてまつり給けるを、呂后いやましく心うきことにぞおぼしける。かかるほどにみかどはかなくなり給にければ、春宮くらゐにつきてよろづ御心にまかせたりけれども、呂后としごろの御いきどをりにや、いへしか戚夫人をとらへてかみをそり、かたちをやつして、あさましく心うきさまになし給つるを、みかど「かからで侍なむ。この事さだめて先帝の御心にそむくらん」など、さまざまにいさめたてまつり給へども、いかにもかなはざりければ、心ぐるしくおぼしつつすぐし給に、この趙隠王さへうしなはんとし給ければ、みかどと夜も御かたはらにはなたずおきふし給けり。きさきひまなきことをやすからずおぼして毒いれたるさけをこの人にすすめ給けり。帝心えて「まづ我」との給ければあはててとりかへしつ。か様にひとしれずねんごろにし給けれど、いかなるひまかありけむ、たぐひなくちからつよき女房二三人ばかりをつかはして、帝の御かたはらにふし給へる人をなさくなくつかみころしてけり。うへあさましくはおぼしながらいふかひかくてやみにけり。さてこの戚夫人、月くまなかりけるよ、心うくかなしきにつけても、むかしのありさまや思いでられけん、そのよしの詩をなにとなくくちずさみたりけり。みみくせありけるものこれをききとがめて、かかることなむ侍りと呂后に申たりけるに、いまひとしほのにくさまりて、あしてをきりつつそのむくろにはうるしをぬりて、よにけがらはしくきたなきみぞにひたしてをかれたるありさまのその物ともみえずあはれにかなしげなり。

> Before this, the Four Luminaries of Mt. Shang, having seen that the emperor seemed settled, had requested leave and returned to their original abode. People in the government praised them using the following metaphor: "When there is a drought, and the grasses and trees wither, and the earth cracks, and it seems as though humans, too, are on the brink of death, with one rainfall the treetops everywhere are nourished, and the dew on the rice leaves in household fields is abundant; but once that's so, then the eight-fold thunderheads should return to the mountains." And they really felt that that was so…[96]

In *China Tales*, the title of the episode notwithstanding, this is essentially a story about Empress Lü.[97] While the piece closes with a flashback to the departure of the Four Luminaries, their appearance in the entourage of Crown Prince Hui is but one aspect of the central conflict—the hopelessly imbalanced power struggle between Empress Lü and Lady Qi. This same story is broken into two discontinuous sections in *The Mirror of China*, fundamentally altering the narrative dynamic.

> At the time when Gaozu had decided on Xiaohui as crown prince, he was very fond of the son of his beloved Lady Qi, Prince Ruyi of Zhao, and he was on the point of replacing Xiaohui and naming Ruyi as crown prince. Xiaohui's mother, Empress Lü, was shocked at this, and she asked Zhang Liang, "What should I do about my son?" Zhang Liang said, "This is a serious matter. But there are four people whom Gaozu has wished to have in his service. They are elderly and live in reclusion at Mt. Shangluo. They are saddened that though Gaozu has an outstanding mind, he is arrogant to and disregards others, so they have gone into seclusion and say that they shan't be advisors to the Han.[98] Although Gaozu finds this awfully regrettable, they

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其の後こはき物のけになりて、程なく呂后をとりころしたてまつりけり。 Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KM*), 116-117; *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, 120.

[96] これよるさきに商山の四皓は、みかどの御ありさまを、心やすく見なしたてまつりてのち、いとまを申てもとのすみかにかへりぬるを、世の人たとへをとりてほめていはく、「よのなか日でりにあひて、草木もかれ、つちさへさけて、人のいのちもたえぬべきに、ひとたび雨ふりつつ、よもの木ずゑをうるをし、かどたのいなばもつゆしげくむすびゐぬるのち、やへのあま雲山にかへりゐるなるべし」となむいひけるこそ、まことに「さも」とおぼゆれ。 Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KM*), 129-130; *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, 133.

[97] For a similar assessment, see Ikeda Toshio, 81.

[98] 漢ノ臣タラン(ママ)ト申ナル ought to mean that they wish to be advisors, but given that

will not heed his wishes, and so the years have gone by. If you were to somehow summon those four people and make them advisors of the crown prince, it would be nothing short of extraordinary." So she did so and summoned them. Afterwards, when Gaozu held a banquet, the crown prince was in attendance, and those four were at the crown prince's side. They were all over eighty years old, and with their white eyebrows and robes and caps, they did not resemble mere mortals. Gaozu found this bizarre and asked them, "Who on earth are you?" The four faced front and introduced themselves as Yuan Gong [Duke of the Garden], Mr. Jiaoli [Mr. In-the-Corner], Qili Ji [Plum in the Beautiful Village], and Xia Huang Gong [Yellow Duke of the Xia]. Gaozu was greatly surprised and said, "I've been seeking [you] for years. Since you would not come out of reclusion without my resorting to force, how is it that you could follow my no-account son?" The four said together, "Your Lordship looks down on the people and does not give a damn about them. Why should we have followed you? Since it reached our ears that the crown prince is laudable, and that thus the people of the realm are even willing to sacrifice their lives for him, we reported to attend to him." When they said this, there was nothing Gaozu could do, and he thought it extraordinary. He said, "Hurry and attend to the crown prince." When the banquet concluded and they departed, Gaozu watched after them far into the distance, and he looked as though there was something on his mind. He summoned Lady Qi and said, "I had planned to change crown princes and appoint Ruyi, but those four have already become [allies of] of the crown prince and his supporters. It would be impossible to make this move." Lady Qi wept. Gaozu said, "Dance and I will sing," thinking, "Had things gone as I wished, the coming ages would have been outstanding," and he could not suppress his tears.[99]

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this does not fit with the story and has been noted as an error, I have rendered it in the negative. Cf. Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KK*), 102.

[99] 高祖、孝恵ヲ太子ト定奉テアルホトニ、愛女戚夫人ガ子、趙王如意ヲ糸惜カリテ、孝恵ヲカヘテ如意ヲ太子ニセントスルニ、孝恵ノ母呂后驚テ、張良ニコハイカニセンスルト云合ニ、張良、ユユキ大事也、但〔高〕祖ノ召仕える（ママ）ソヤトオホシタル物、四人、年老テ、商洛山ト云所ニ隠テ居タリ、高祖ノ御心アマリニテ、人ヲ慢リ、物トモシ給ハヌヲ欝テ、隠ヰテ、漢ノ臣タラン(ママ)と申ナルヲ、高祖イミシク、口惜事ニオホシタレトモ、不叶シテ、年ヲヘニケリ、彼四人ヲイカニ〔モ〕シテ召寄テ、太子ノ臣ニナサレタラハ、ケシウアラシト、申スニ、トカクシテ、呼寄ツ、其後高祖宴会シ給ニ、太子ナン侍ケリ、彼四人、太子ノ伴ニアリ、年ミナ八十余ニテ、鬚眉白ク、衣冠ナトタタ人ニモ似ス、高祖怪ミテアレハ、ナニソト問給フニ、四人前ミテ、姓名ヲ申サク、園公、角里先生、綺里李、夏黄公トイヘリ、高祖大ニ驚テ、我求ル事数年ニ成ヌ、隠テイテネハ、力及ハテアルニ、我子ノ云カチナキニ随ヘル、イカナル事ニヤト、ノ玉フニ、四人ノ共申サク、君ハ人ヲアナトリテ、物トモシ給ハス、我等ハ何ノ故ニカ随奉ルヘキ、太子ハメテタキ人ニテ、天下ノ人、太子ノタメニハ、命ヲモ惜スト、キコユレハ、参テ随也ト、申スニ、高祖スヘキ様ナクテ、イミシク思タリ、速ニ太子ヲ守リ奉レト、ノ給ハス、宴会ハテテ、出ルヲリニ、高祖遙ニ見送玉ヒテ、オホス事アリカホ也、戚夫人ヲ呼テ、ノ玉ハク、我太子ヲカヘテ、如意ヲタテントシツルニ、彼四人已に太子ノカタ人

In the telling in *The Mirror of China*, the action is firmly centered at the court, and the primary conflict is between men. Even the early line in *China Tales* cementing Empress Lü's status as imperial favorite has no counterpart in *The Mirror of China*. The entire journey to the luminaries' abode is likewise elided, and with it, the negotiations between Empress Lü's emissary (now reduced to one) and the wise men. As a result, there is never any tension about whether they will or will not come and attend to the crown prince, and thus never any sense of urgency behind Empress Lü's role as would-be power broker. The rhetoric of the exchange between Gaozu and the now explicitly eccentric-appearing worthies, however, is more dramatically charged, in particular in the description of the crown prince: no longer is he merely a stickler for ritual with a fine mind, now he is a loyalty-inspiring figure for whom his followers are willing to forfeit their lives. Similarly, Gaozu's narrative dominance is reflected in the contrasting focuses of the segments following the dénouement that reveals the Luminaries' identities. In *China Tales*, Gaozu is not among those who can breathe easily—they are headed first and foremost by Empress Lü. In *The Mirror of China*, in contrast, the reader is shown Gaozu in a rare moment of self-reflection: he realizes he has been thwarted, but the final scene is his, and he is granted a moment of near prescience when his closing remark implies that the ages to come will not bring the florescence he had envisioned.

At this point, a short account of the events surrounding Gaozu's death is present in *The Mirror of China* before the narrative returns to events also found in *China Tales*:

> The second ruler was called Emperor Xiaohui. He was Gaozu's crown prince. In a *ding-mo* year, at the age of sixteen, he ascended the throne. Since his mother, Empress Lü, was an extremely jealous person, she hated Gaozu's beloved Lady Qi and had her

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ニ成ニケリ、羽翼ナリニタリ、難ι動ノ給フ、戚夫人涙ヲナカス高祖我タメニ舞へ、我ハ歌ハント、ノ玉テ、我思事叶マシク、世ノ末ヲソロシカランスル事ヲ思ツツケ給テ、御涙トモ難押 Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KK*), 102-104.

> arrested. She sent someone to fetch Lady Qi's son, Prince Ruyi of Zhao, three times, but the emissary always returned empty-handed. One Marklord Zhou Chang of Jianping told that emissary, "It was Gaozu's will that we serve the Prince of Zhao. I've heard a rumor that the empress hates Lady Qi and wants to kill the Prince of Zhao. How could I send him back? Must he suffer still more?" Empress Lü summoned him yet again, which Emperor Hui felt odd, so he personally welcomed the Prince of Zhao, whom he installed in the palace. They were always together, waking or sleeping, standing or sitting. Thus, even though the empress wanted to kill him, there was never a chance. And so things went on in this way until once Emperor Hui went out on one of his periodic morning hunts. Since the Prince of Zhao was still young, he was [too] slight [to go]. The Empress thought this was a golden opportunity, and she had a *zhen* brought. This *zhen* bird is comparable to a pit viper, because if you toast its wings and dip them in wine, if one swallows said wine, one dies on the spot. When Emperor Hui returned and looked in, the Prince of Zhao was already dead. The royal heart was saddened beyond words. The empress then had Lady Qi's hands and feet cut off, her eyes put out, and her ears burnt, and she made her drink medicine that would make her mute, and installed her in the latrine, calling her "Human Pig." When she called Emperor Hui and showed him, he thought of how Lady Qi was a human being, and he could not meet her eyes, and his heart was heavy. He fell ill and was unable to rise for a long time.[100]

The version in *The Mirror of China* has several relatively minor differences from the *China Tales* account. First of all, *China Tales* provides more graphic humiliation for Lady Qi at the time of her initial arrest, once again foregrounding the conflict between Empress Lü and Lady Qi. The apprehension of the Prince of Zhao, however, takes considerably more time in *The Mirror of*

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[100] 第二ノ主ハ、孝恵帝ト申キ、高祖ノ太子也、丁末ノ年、十六ニシテ、位ニ即玉フ、御母呂后極タル嫉妬ノ人ニテ、高祖ノ愛シ給シ戚夫人ヲ恨テ、トラヘ給。其子趙王如意ヲ召ニ遣スニ、御使三度、マデソ、空シク還ケル、建平侯周昌ト云人、其使ニ申ケルハ、趙王ヲハ見サハ(ママ)クリ奉ルヘキ由、高祖ノ給キ、伝聞ハ、太后戚夫人ヲ恨テ、趙王ヲ殺奉ラントスト聞ハ、イカニカ遣リ奉ヘキ、其上ニ悩玉フト申、呂后猶猶召ケレハ、恵帝浅増クオホシテ、自迎ヘ奉テ、内裏ニスヘテ、同様ニ起臥、立居テ、供御ナトモマイリケリ、サレハ、太后殺シ奉ラントシ給ケレトモ、隙ナカリケリ、カカルホトニ、アル時ニ、恵帝マタ朝ニ弓射ニ出玉フ二、趙王年若クシテ、アサイシ給ヲ、太后能隙也ト思テ、人ヲシテ、鴆ヲマイラス、鴆ト云鳥ハ、蝮クラフ故ニ、其羽ヲ焼テ、酒ニ入テ、呑ツレハ、立死ヌル者也、恵帝ノ還給テ、見玉フニ、趙王、竟ニハカナク成ヌ、悲ノ御心、申尽カタシ、太后、遂ニ戚夫人ノ手足ヲキリ、眼ヲステ、耳ヲフスヘテ、物イハヌ薬ヲノマシメテ、厠ノ中ニスエラレテ、人彘トソ名付ラレケル、恵帝ヲ呼マイラセテ、ミセ玉フニ、戚夫人トオホシテ、御目モアテラレス、心ウクソオホシケル、御病ト成リテ、久クヲキアカリ玉ハヌ Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KK*), 106.

China, allowing for a brief exchange between an emissary and the Marklord of Jianping that further clarifies Empress Lü's perversion of Gaozu's will. Yet what is most striking are the details of Empress Lü's crime (or crimes). In *China Tales*, the murder of the Prince of Zhao and attempted murder of the Prince of Qi appear to be conflated,[101] culminating in the Prince of Zhao's dramatic abduction at the hands of a few preternaturally strong palace ladies. In *The Mirror of China*, the empress goes for the more traditional option of liquor infused with a toxin from the deadly *zhen* bird, not only murdering the Prince of Zhao, but also making an attempt on the life of the Prince of Qi, in addition to later murdering Emperor Shao (少) by unspecified method. Whereas Lady Qi's ghost enacts swift justice in *China Tales*, in *The Mirror of China*, Empress Lü lives on to seize power herself, orchestrating additional murder and ruling for eight years before succumbing to the spirit of or one driven by the late Prince of Zhao, which appears in a dream as a grey dog.[102]

Thus, *China Tales* provides a more tightly knit account of female jealousy that is confined in an important sense in that the major male protagonists (Gaozu and Emperor Hui) only rarely overtly admit that her behavior has any impact on anyone other than her immediate circle.[103] When Gaozu realizes he cannot name his favored son crown prince, he seems relatively unfazed, and the narrative simply kills him off a few lines later. Emperor Hui

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[101] Inokuma Noriko has also noted this inconsistency in her evaluation of the first section of this tale in *China Tales* in contrast with its source texts and *The Tale of Genji*. In *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, 125.

[102] Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KK*), 108.

[103] Cf. Inokuma Noriko's similar observation of a shift from politics to romance. In *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, 129.

admittedly makes a brief attempt at remonstrating with her,[104] but in the end, he, too, says nothing when her behavior results in the death of his half-brother. There is none of the self-awareness we see in Gaozu's aforementioned reflection on things going other than he had planned or even Emperor Hui's physical response to the debasement and disfiguring of Lady Qi seen in *The Mirror of China*. Empress Lü and Lady Qi remain at the center.

In *The Mirror of China*, however, Empress Lü wreaks havoc on a much larger scale both chronologically and spatially within world of the account. People beyond the confines of the palace comment on and experience the perks and punishments of her preferences. In an important sense, Empress Lü is given much freer (and more interesting) rein in *The Mirror of China*, because the emphasis has shifted from a more personal contest between the two women (driven by forces such as love, jealousy, and spleen) to a woman's ruthless ambition to rule the realm. While it is true that she is "jealous" at times, she is also obviously much more and much more dangerous. The dimensions of the conflict far exceed the private sphere of *China Tales* to have explicit bearing on the public sphere of governance; in this, the depiction of China, too, is no longer confined to something suitable only for a romantic projection.

China Tales and *The Mirror of China* once again have common ground in their respective inclusion of the tale of Lady Li and Emperor Wu's attempts to summon back her shade with miraculous incense. In *China Tales*, this is the fifteenth tale:

> Long ago, Emperor Wu of the Han was in misery after Lady Li's death, and even though considerable time had passed, he showed no signs of improvement. Before, he had been going to go on an imperial progress, and she had absolutely refused to appear in front of him. The Emperor had thought this strange, but when he asked her about it, she said, "In the time I was in attendance on you, I never went even a hair against your wishes. Also, since your feelings for me aren't shallow, I've no cause for resentment.

[104] Inokuma Noriko identifies this as something for which she has not located a textual precedent. Cf. ibid., 126.

Nevertheless, even I'm guilty of going against your wishes now that I've fallen ill and my looks are wasted by disease—it's not that I have no concerns weighing on me.

The fact that my nearest and dearest kin, too, have received your beneficence and affection is because of the unflagging constancy of your sentiments. But if your feelings of old were to change given my present condition, even after I died, what could be deeper than the color of my tears of regret? At the thought of this, I am greatly worried about the prospect of appearing before you in my withered form." When the Emperor heard this, his sorrow was endless. He said, "Even were [funeral] smoke to arise at night, how could I forget my ties to your family? At least let us meet once more in this world." Though he pressed her, it was in vain—she refused, and the Emperor felt deeply resentful. Within Sweet Spings Palace, he made sketches of her form of old, but though he gazed at them morning, noon, and night, since they neither smiled nor spoke, his heart wore itself out with pointless longing.[105]

The sadness of the mere sketched form—
Though questioned it answers not,
Driving me to tears.

Also, he burnt a fragrance for summoning the soul of the departed and waited the entire night. It grew dim within the nine-fold brocade curtains, and the light of the night-torch grew faint. The night gradually deepened, and the gale that had been raging outside ceased: the night fell still. The emperor thought, "Might that be a manifestation brought by the Soul-summoning fragrance?" But the form [that had appeared] was neither Lady Li nor was it not she—it was exactly like an illusory dream-like apparition. In the blink of an eye, she vanished. Though his wait had been long, her return was as brief as the snapping of an obsidian hair-clip. Since it had been

[105] むかし、漢武帝、李夫人はかなくなりて後、思ひなげかせ給ふこと、とし月ふれどもさらにをこたり給はず。そのかみやまひをせし時、みゆきしたまひしかども、いかにもみえたてまつらざりけり。御門あやしとおぼして、このよしをとはせ給ふに、「我、君になれつかうまつりし程つゆちり気色にたがひたてまつらざりき。又御こころざしあさからねば、うらみをのこす事もなし。しかれども、やまひにしづみかたちかわりてのち、みことそむくつみあるべけれども、又おもふ所なきにあらず。むらさきのくさのゆかりまでめぐみ給 あはれみをかうぶる事は ただ君の御こころざしのあらたまらざる程也。しかるを今のかたちに昔の御心かはりならば、はかなきあとにもうれへの涙いろまさる事を思ふに、おとろえすがた、いとみえたてまつりまうし」ときこえさす。御門これをきかせ給ふに、かなしくわりなくおぼさる。たとひ夜半のけぶりとたちのぼるとも、いかでかそのゆかりをなつかしとおもはざらむ。ただこの世にて、いまひとたびあひみん事を、しゐてのたまはすれども、つゐにきかではかなくなりにければ、御門御心にうらみふさし。甘泉殿のうちに、むかしのかたちをうつして、あさゆふに見給けれど、物いひゑむ事なければ、いたづらに御心のみつかれにけり。Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KM*), 96-97; *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, 100.

> impossible to turn away from the torch, part the curtains, and converse, he was utterly heartbroken.[106]

Here we have an anecdote of futile constancy that brings neither party solace or pleasure. Because Lady Li is so contrary (or clever) as to refuse the Emperor a final parting tête-à-tête, she ensures his obsession will outlast her, ultimately leaving him unable to do much beyond simply waste away.[107]

Lady Li also figures in *The Mirror of China*, but her role there is clearly subsidiary to that of Emperor Wu, who is saddened, but not permanently incapacitated, by her death. In *The Mirror of China*, Lady Li's brilliant arrival and eclipse of other concubines are first treated; this is then followed by the account of her death and its effect on Emperor Wu:

> In the course of things, Lady Li fell ill. The emperor dispatched a doctor, and she had all sorts of attendants. Twenty-four hours, day and night, there was a ceaseless flow of

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[106] ゑにかけるすがたばかりのかなしきは

とへどこたへぬなげきなりけり

またなき人のたましゐをかへす香をたきて、夜もすがらまたせ給ふに、ここのへのにしきの帳のうちかすかにてよのともし火のかげほのかなる、やうやくさよふけゆくほど、あらしすさまじくよしづかなるに、反魂香のしるしあるにやとおぼえ給ひけれど、李夫人のかたちあるにもあらず、なきにもあらず、ゆめまぼろしのごとくまがひて、つかのまにきえうせぬ。まつことひさしけれど、かへる事はうばたまのかみすぢきるほどばかり也。ともし火をそむけて帳をへだてて、物いひこたふることなければ、なかなか御心をくだくつまとぞなりにける。 Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KM*), 97; *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, 100-101.

[107] See the sixteenth tale, discussed earlier with regard to the portrayal of Dongfang Shuo. Qiang Guohua 羌国華 also argues that in rearranging or altering source materials to privilege the romance, Shigenori has 'Japanized' the tale and effected a thematic "shift from 'reason' to 'passion.'" 「理」を「情」に変えること… I concur with the identification of a change in narrative priorities, though I am reluctant to essentialize certain elements as "Japanese" or "Chinese." See Qiang Guohua 羌国華, in *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, 103-105; citation from 105.

> envoys. As for the emperor's condition, he did not even board the Royal Palanquin, [but] came on foot to inquire after her. When she was at last laid to rest, the Emperor was disconsolate indeed.
>
> Hearing of the emperor's excessive lamentation, an occultist came and said that he would like to reveal [her whereabouts] to the emperor. He said he had heard Lady Li was an immortal and had returned to a higher realm at a place called 'Stamen of the Azure Firmament Palace.' The occultist addressed [the deity] the Lord of Mt. Tai, and there was an emissary from the latter who said that he had gone to the Stamen Palace, and His Highness, the Prime Ruler of Heaven, had had pity, and was having the Queen Mother of the West prepare to temporarily send Lady Li back.
>
> The emperor was beside himself with longing, and when he laid eyes on the Southern Garden Palace of long ago, he locked the gates there and then, and [so they remained for] many autumns. Even the plants and trees longed for the past, and their tears of dew were never dry. The lotus blossoms that had long ago perfumed [the air] in the midst of Mandarin Duck Lake infused [the air] in memory. At Parrot Tower, at the mere sight of the green moss beneath the brilliant moon, the place where they had frolicked together, the emperor was driven wild [with grief], accompanied by the sound of the flute's song of longing for the past.
>
> When he dozed off in extreme sorrow at the palace called "Hall of the Emerging Moon," Lady Li came to him in a dream. Her blue-black brows and flushed face were [as fresh as] dew, and he realized he was dreaming and awoke at once. On the next morning, he had the "Hall of the Emerging Moon" renamed "Hall of the Fragrant Dream."[108]

The Mirror of China then proceeds to an account of another imperial favorite without further ceremony. The focus is more on Emperor Wu's agency in this telling: the steps he undertakes

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[108] カクテ、李夫人例ナラス成ニケリ、帝クスシヲ遣シテ、ヤウヤウノ事共アリ、昼夜十二時、御使タユル事ナシ、帝アルヲリハ、御輿ニモメサス、歩ヨリ行幸成りテ、トハセ給。遂ニ隠給ヌレハ、帝ノ御心中セム方ナカレヘシ、餘リ歎給ヲキキテ、方士ハ参テ、ミセ奉ラントハ申也、李夫人仙女ニテ、上界珀(碧カ)落藥宮ト云所ヘ、帰リ参ニケリ、方士泰山符君ニ申セヌ(ママ)、其ヨリ御使アリテ、花藥宮へ参テ、申スニ、太上元始天尊哀ミテ、西王母ヲ相具シテ、李夫人ヲ白地ニ帰シ遣ケリトナム、帝恋慕ノ餘ニハ、昔ノ南園宮ヲ御覧スルニ、宮門一タ鎖シテ、多ノ秋ヲ過ニケリ、草モ木モ昔ヲ恋テ、露ノ泪、乾時ナシ、鴛鴦ノ池ノ中ニハ、昔匂ヒシ蓮ノ花、カタミトカホリ、鸚鵡台ニハ、青苔明月ノ色ヲノミ見ル、共ニ遊ヒシ居所、荒マサリテ、懐レ旧ヲ哥笛音計ヲトツレケリ、悲ニ堪スシテ、其宮ノ月生殿ト云所ニテ、マトロミタマヒタルニ、李夫人夢ニミエケリ、翠黛紅顔ノ粧、露モカハラス、夢ニ々ミル心地シテ、無呈覚給ヒヌ、後朝ニ、月生殿ヲ改テ、香夢殿トソ名付ラレケル Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KK*), 130-131.

during Lady Li's illness and the stages of grief through which he proceeds after her death. Indeed, the Soul-summoning Fragrance that plays such a crucial role in the *China Tales* version is only obliquely hinted at in the final lines where the emperor renames the tower that was the site of his dream encounter with Lady Li.

One slight yet intriguing additional difference is the nature of the verbal interaction in both versions. In *China Tales*, both Lady Li and Emperor Wu speak, a device that foregrounds their relationship to one another. This is further emphasized in the lines that describe Emperor Wu's inability to converse with her as a final unbearable blow. Lady Li has, however, has no voice in *The Mirror of China*. (This, despite an earlier claim that "[t]heir words were inexhaustible."[109]) Though this is indeed one of the more sentimental accounts in *The Mirror of China*, Shigenori (2) nonetheless places Lady Li in indisputable secondary importance to Emperor Wu, who is able to speak and does so. She becomes but an episode in a larger narrative of imperial politics, one of a series of things with which the emperor must deal in the course of his reign.

The final story that is present in some form in both *China Tales* and *The Mirror of China* is that of Wang Zhaojun and her marriage to the Xiongnu leader. In *China Tales,* it is the twenty-fifth tale:

> Long ago, there lived Emperor Yuan of the Han. Among his three thousand consorts and concubines, there was one called Wang Zhaojun. In brilliance, none surpassed her, but many querulously thought, "If this person were to be in intimate service to the emperor, we would certainly count for nothing." At this time, the king of the barbarians came and said, "You have in the neighborhood of three thousand consorts and concubines in attendance. Is there any way you might give one to me?" His Highness felt that it would be tedious to personally view each of them, and he had their portraits painted so that he could look at those instead. Wang Zhaojun's portrait was hideously rendered—perhaps at someone's instigation?—so he presented her to

[109] 不可言尽ス、 Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KK*), 129.

the barbarian king, who was quite happy and returned with her to his own land. On their way back, [Zhaojun's] tears of longing for her homeland were more numerous than the dew droplets on their path, and her sighs at having bid farewell to her parents and siblings stretched as far as the remote manifold mountains. She could only cry at having ended up like this, but what good could that have done?

A fleeting world indeed—
Though knowing this
In vain, did she rely on the reflection in the mirror?

Though a warrior who was neither sensitive nor of deep feeling, [the barbarian king] cherished her in her fragility, and his care and respect for her even exceeded that which he accorded to the governance of his land. Nevertheless, her tears of sorrow never dried after her parting from that long-ago capital onwards. This person relied only on the cloudless reflection in the mirror and did not understand the polluted natures of others.[110]

Wang Zhaojun appears in *China Tales* as the epitome of purity and innocence, a casualty of intra-harem machinations.[111] While this is not a love story in any traditional sense as many of

[110] むかし漢の元帝と申御かどおはしましけり。三千人の女御きさきのなかに王照君ときこゆるひとなん、はなやかなる事はだれにもすぐれ給へりけるを、「この人みかどにまぢかくむつれつかうまつらば、我らさだめて物のかずならじ」と、あまたの御こころにいやましくおぼしけり。この時にえびすの王なりけるものまいりて申さく、「三千人までさぶらひあひ給へる女御きさき、いづれにてもひとりたまはらん」と申に、うへみづから御覧じつくさん事もわづらひ有ければ、そのかたちをゑにかきて見給に、人のをしへにやありけん、この王照君のかたちをなん見にくきさまになむうつしたれば、えびすの王給テよろこびひらけつつ、我くにへぐしてかへるに、ふるさとをこふる涙はみちの露にもまさり、なれし人人にたちわかれぬるなげきは、しげきみ山の行すゑはるかなり。かかるままには、ただねをのみなけどもなにのかひかはあるべき。
うき世ぞとかつはしるしるはかなくも
かがみのかげをたのみけるかな
あはれをしらずなさけふかからぬものなれども、らうたきすがたにめでて、かしづきうやまふ事その国のいとなみにもすぎたり。かかれどもふりにしみやこをたちわかれにしより、いまにいたるまで、うれへのなみだかはくまもなし。この人はかがみのかげのくもりなきをのみたのみて、ひとの心のにごれるをしらず。 Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KM*), 272-273; *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, 275-276.

[111] A similar assessment is provided by Iwayama Taizō 岩山泰三 in *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, 280.

the other entries have been dubbed, it does, nonetheless, center around heterosocial interactions, a point to which I shall return later, and again, the political motivations for her marriage are elided. Instead of identifying it as a publicly motivated instance of marriage diplomacy, *China Tales* makes it sounds as though the Xiongnu leader simply turned up and asked for a wife.

The same events unfold somewhat differently in *The Mirror of China*:

> At this time, there were numerous beauties in the palace, beyond number, and the emperor did not have time to see all of them. He had a painter render their likenesses, and looking at those, summoned the attractive ones. So, [the ladies thought], "Me, too! Me, too!" and had the painter take [gifts] so that he would draw them flatteringly. Wang Zhaojun was a daughter of Wang Qiang of the Land of Qi. At seventeen, she entered palace service. Since she was beautiful to begin with, she did not speak to the painter, and he drew her as ugly. At that time, when the barbarian king sent word that he wanted a princess presented that he might make her his empress, the emperor decided to send Wang Zhaojun, because her portrait was ugly. When he summoned her and saw her, she was beyond compare, the best in the palace. The emperor was shocked and regretted it, but since he had said to the barbarians that he would send Wang Zhaojun, he could not change his proclamation; there was nothing to be done, and so she was dispatched. Wang Zhaojun left the palace in tears, not even meeting the eyes of the onlookers. Afterwards, the painter who had rendered her as ugly was charged with a crime, but to no avail. The barbarians received Wang Zhaojun, seated her on a horse, and departed. Those layered dyed sleeves must surely have been worn out with the sky over her journey her 'friend'! Along the way, she was saddened by the journey, and so to comfort herself, she played the *pipa*. Being in a barbarian citadel, there wasn't anything comparable to the pampering of an "empress." Though she was disconsolate, in due course, she bore two daughters.[112]

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[112] 此御時、宮中ニ美人多カリケレハ、数ヲツクシテ、御覧スルニ不及、絵師ニテ、其形ヲウツサセテ、ソレヲ御覧シテ、ミメヨキヲ召ケリ、然ハ我モ我モト、絵師ニ物ヲトラセテ、我形ヲヨクカカセケリ、王昭君トイヒシ人ハ、斉国ノ王嬙カ娘也、年十七ニシテ、内ヘマイリタリ、自元美女也ケレハ、絵師ヲモカタラハヌホトニ、ワロク書ナシテケリ、其時ニヱヒスヨリ、女王一人給テ、后ニセント申スニ、王昭君ミメワロケレハトテ、ツカハサレントシケルニ、召テ、御覧スレハ、ナヘテナラスミエケリ、宮中ニ取テハ、第一也、帝驚テ、悔オホシケレトモ、王昭君ト云人ヲツカハサント、夷ニ仰ラレテケレハ、メシカフヘキナラス(し)テ、云カヒナク遣シテケリ、王昭君ナクナク宮中ヲイテヌ、見人モ目モアテラレス、後ニワロクカキタル絵師ヲハ、ツミセラレケレトモ、カヒナシ、夷、王昭君ヲ請取テ、馬ニノセテ行ケリ、シホリカネタル袖ノシツク計ソ、旅ノ空ノ友トハ成ニケル、乍去、道ノ間ノ悲ミ、ナクサメントテ、琵琶ヲソヒカセケル、夷ノ城ニテ、后トカシツク事、可ㇾ譬方ナカリケリ、心ウシトテモ、年月ヲヘニケレハ、女子二人ヲウミテケリ、 Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KK*), 138-139.

There is no mention of her death—the text next turns to explanations for variant means of referring to her due to taboos on certain characters. However, the most noteworthy differences are the insertion of an explicitly duplicitous painter and the reference to Wang Zhaojun's eventual children. In the larger context of the depiction of Emperor Yuan's reign, which includes famine, omens good and bad, and an ursine incursion into the palace, the painter's role in the Wang Zhaojun episode can be read as the crowning example of Emperor Yuan's inability to manage well: he cannot even control the workings in the inner chambers of his own palace, and his tardily prized concubine must be surrendered to a foreign leader. Nor are we left with a final image of Wang Zhaojun as the chaste loyalist here: *The Mirror of China* account, in mentioning her offspring, further indicates the scale of the central power imbalance. This is not simply a story of a man losing a woman, but rather of forced Han recognition of the superior leverage of a non-Han potentate; this is clearer still if we recall that there is already a political precedent for trading a harem woman for a hostage in the third scroll of *The Mirror of China* when a woman is promised in exchange for Gaozu's release from the captivity in which the Xiongnu have him.[113]

These, then, are the few narrative intersections between *China Tales* and *The Mirror of China*. It is difficult to extrapolate much from so small a set of examples, but nonetheless, there are a few points worth noting. The first is that both works offer a temporally contained, romanticized vision of a classical China that contrasts with a more contemporary historical China. This is in stark contrast to the *Meng qiu*, where the relatively recent Jin dynasty features most prominently.[114] Yet this apparent similarity notwithstanding, there is a marked difference in

[113] Fujiwara no Shigenori (*KK*), 101-102.

[114] I owe the observation on the prominence of the Jin to Misawa Katsumi, 5. Misawa identifies the Han (Western and Eastern) as the second most oft occurring setting. Ibid.

what is at stake in the disparate versions. In *China Tales*, conflicts in the shared stories are primarily styled as unfolding within a private sphere and centering on male-female relations.[115] In their manifestations in *The Mirror of China*, however, the heterosocial aspect is less pronounced. The stories appear within the larger context of imperial statecraft, and narrative primacy is ceded to the emperor. In other words, the male-female dynamic does not have the pride of place it enjoys in *China Tales*.

One can imagine several reasons for this discrepancy. The simplest would be to attribute it to thematic conventions or those traditionally understood as dictated by linguistic form.[116] One could then argue that female students like romance and reading in unadulterated classical Japanese, while male learners like politics in a form that at least periodically includes something akin to classical Chinese. The problems with an uncritical mapping of gender to subject/language aside, a more interesting question is how we might make sense of the different potentials arguably encoded in generic selection. In other words, what, if anything, does presenting China in *monogatari* vignettes achieve? And how might that differ from what casting China as a *Mirror* effects?

In *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (The Tale of Genji, ca. 1008) Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部 famously has Genji explain the difference between the official histories and tales in a passage I shall analyze in the next chapter. What is important to note for now is that in so doing, Genji

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[115] Kobayashi Yasuharu 小林保治 points to the prominence of female characters, taking it as one indicator of intended female readership. Kobayashi Yasuharu 小林保治, "Kaisetsu 5: bungakushi-jō no isō" 解説:五　文学史上の位相, in *Kara monogatari zenshaku*, 318-322; citation, 322.

[116] On the latter, see ibid., 321-322. Kobayashi cites an earlier work by Watanabe Sakae 渡部栄 with which he concurs.

initially describes more common perceptions of *monogatari* as trivial at best and falsehoods at worst.[117] To write about China in *monogatari* form is to write about it in a genre not known for serious purpose. Thus, it is not surprising to see most of the tales' plots driven by private concerns, in particular those concerning male-female relations, as demonstrated to be the case above.[118]

The Mirror of China shows the same events in a different light. The dynamic of romance is often less pronounced, and the events are couched within the context of imperial biographies and dynastic politics. To put China into a *Mirror*, in other words, seems to accord it a more serious purpose than the romantic preoccupations of its *monogatari* instantiation suggest. Where China is often a hazily and vaguely defined realm in *China Tales*, in granting China the concrete temporal and spatial specificities of historiography, Shigenori (2) accords it a non-imaginary, real-world presence. Put another way, Shigenori (2) engages with China at a different level than his homophonously named predecessor. Although impossible to prove, in granting China a powerful yet flawed public narrative presence, I would like to propose that Shigenori (2) reflects more conflicted sentiments towards the continent.

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[117] Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部, *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 vol. 2, Yanai Shigeshi 柳井滋 et al, eds. *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 20 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), 438.

[118] If I were to go truly out on a limb, I could propose that the preoccupation with heterosocial relations suggests an implicit engagement with power dynamics analogous to what Paul Rouzer has argued, albeit not unproblematically, in his work on early Chinese literature. Paul F. Rouzer, *Articulated ladies: gender and the male community in early Chinese texts* (Cambridge, Mass: Published by the Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2001). I am unwilling to go so far as to psychologize Shigenori thus, but I nevertheless think the containment of China to a "private" level of narrative interest is significant, and my focus on this aspect has been influenced by Rouzer's work.

Kubota Jun 久保田淳, in his discussion of the roughly contemporaneous the depiction of Minister Kibi 吉備大臣 in the *Fusō ryakki* 扶桑略記 (late Heian) opines, "…it is true that in the wake of the destruction of the Tang and the fall of the Song, there was a popular shift in perception [towards] overcoming an inferiority complex vis-à-vis China. But, if one goes a bit further, were not such posturing of enhanced national prestige or such consciousness of resistance warped manifestations of this very sort of inferiority complex?"[119] He identifies similar currents in Teika's *Matsuranomiya monogatari*, before concluding, "… perhaps [Teika] was disappointed in both contemporary Japan *and* the yet unseen Song kingdom."[120] It is this latterly postulated attitude that resonates most strongly with *The Mirror of China*. For on the one hand, there is the possibility that its *Mirror* reflects not only China's downfall, but the pattern of Japan's future decline, as well. On the other, there is the position set forth in the work's preface that, for the moment at least, Japan is superior. In any event, for China to be a worthy foil to Japan on the level of the cosmological discourse undergirding *The Mirror of China*, it must be afforded an existence beyond that of mere romance and its dangerous consequences.[121]

Coda: China for a 'Mass' Audience—The Play's the Thing

One of the most noteworthy differences between *China Tales* and *The Mirror of China*

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[119] …唐の滅亡、宗の没落などによって、中国に対する劣等感が克服されてゆくという、民族的な意識の変化があったに違いない。が、さらに考えれば、このような国威宣揚の姿勢、対抗意識は、やはり劣等感の歪められた形での現れではなかったであろうか。 Kubota Jun, 176. My thanks to Tom Hare for assistance in translating this passage.

[120] …おそらく現実の日本にも そしてまだ見ぬ国である宗国にも絶望していたのであろう。 Ibid., 181.

[121] For a very similar discussion of and conclusion regarding these differences, including the citation of Kubota, see Brightwell, 221-223.

in terms of structure is the way in which the former erases China-specific information while the latter includes it. In other words, in the two works, we have oppositional strategies with regard to positioning China as a real-world concrete entity. To begin to make sense of these contrasting approaches, I shall turn to Konparu Gonnokami's play "Shōkun" (Zhaojun). As a—rhetorically speaking—comparatively simple play, "Shōkun" affords the opportunity to see how the Wang Zhaojun story and its origins in China are refashioned in another relatively "accessible" version in keeping with the less-than-abstruse approaches of *China Tales* and *The Mirror of China*. In other words, it provides another point from which to consider how China is "packaged" outside of the world of *kanbun* texts.

The provenance of the *nō* play is far from exhaustively documented. Mitada Fumie 三多田文恵 cites the attribution found in Konparu Zenchiku's 金春禅竹 *Kabu zuinōki* 歌舞髄脳記 to Konparu Gonnokami (dates unknown).[122] Kobayashi Kenji 小林健二 also makes note of Zenchiku's work, as well as quoting Zeami's 世阿弥 *Go on* 五音, which lists the play as being in the Konparu repertoire.[123] Kobayashi continues his introduction with the remark that most previous research has focused on the supposed antique (or "pre-Zeami") features of the play—the most remarkable being, perhaps, the distinct identities of the *shite* and *tsure* in the first and second halves of the play.[124] He further notes that Gonnokami was renowned for his

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[122] Mitada Fumie 三多田文恵, "Yōkyoku 'Shōkun' no seiritsu to sono haikei" 謡曲『昭君』の成立とその背景, in *Chūgokugaku ronshū* 7 (2001): 28-37.

[123] Kobayashi Kenji 小林健二, "'Shōkun' kō" "昭君" 攷, in *Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan kiyō* 7 (March 1981), 2. For an introduction to and translation of *Go on*, see Tom Hare, *Zeami, Performance Notes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 238-415.

[124] Specifically, he lists the irregularity of the *shidai* and *kuse*, the changing of the *shite* roles, and the unique entr'acte (中入). Kobayashi Kenji, 3.

"acrobatic" prowess and conjectures that this might have been a factor in the decision to make the work a "demon play," rather than a play in the "woman mode."[125] Such scant information would make it difficult to discuss the work in terms of authorship or context of production. Instead, this coda will focus on ways in which the story's relocation from China proper and repurposing are made clear: the framing of the story, the narrative perspective, and the questions of what is at stake as the central conflict.

The opening scene does not simply literally set the stage, but also defines the focus of the action. Suggestively, the titular heroine is absent, with an anonymous villager as the audience's guide instead. Since the scene is quite short, I quote it in its entirety:

> **Waki (a male villager)** *(at the jōza, heading forwards)***:** I am one who lives in such-and-such a village in Cathay, and in this place, there is a couple called Hakudō and Mother Ō who have a daughter whom they call Shōkun. Anyway, since she is a peerlessly beautiful woman, she was summoned by the emperor, and his affection [for her] was boundless. Even so, for some reason or other, she was sent off to the [northern] savages in the Kingdom of the Barbars. Her parents' lamentation is not just run-of-the-mill, and since I live in their vicinity, I thought, "I wonder if I should call on them and see how they are."[126]

The most striking aspect of this opening is the erasure of nearly all historical specificity.[127] The

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[125] Ibid., 30-31.

[126] ワキ：これは唐土かうほの里に住まひ仕る者にて候、さてもこの所にはくどう王母と申す夫婦の人、一人の息女を持つ、それを昭君と名付く、されば並びなき美人にて候ふほどに、帝に召されてご寵愛限りなかりしところに、さる子細ありて胡国の夷に送られ給ひて候、夫婦の嘆きただ世の常ならず、近所のことにて候ふほどに立ち越え訪はばやと思ひ候。 "Shōkun" 昭君, in *Yōkyokushū (jō)* 謡曲集(上), Yokomichi Mario 横道萬里雄 and Omote Akira 表章, eds., 166-173 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1960; 1973 edition), 167. This is the primary edition upon which I have based my translation. For an alternative translation of this passage, see Tom Hare, 279.

[127] A few specifics crop up later in the play, but it is important that the initial presentation of the tale is divorced from a concrete history.

real Wang Zhaojun's birthplace has been replaced with an unclear designation,[128] and references to a particular dynasty or ruler have been effaced, replaced with the inclusive designation "Cathay."[129] The combined effect is the marginalization of the "actual" events, something that becomes still more pronounced when the *waki* announces that he plans to call on Zhaojun's

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In his search for a Japanification of motifs, Leo Yip employs the term "depoliticizes." Yet a few pages later, he proposes, "The Wang Zhaojun motif involves diplomatic policies between China and the barbarians. In an analogous fashion, the play *Shōkun* may be seen to comment on Japan's relations with China." This seems like a pretty political reading to me. Unfortunately, Yip does not expand on this assertion. Leo Shing Chi Yip, "Reinventing China: Cultural Adaptation in Medieval Japanese Nō Theatre" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 2004), 90-91 and 93.

[128] The editors observe in the head note (1) that かうほ is "unclear. Perhaps a made-up place name? The *History of the Former Han* gives the name of Zhaojun's hometown as Shixian." 不明。仮作の地名か。前漢書は昭君の故郷を柿県とする。 "Shōkun," 167. This differs from Hare's translation, which renders the name as "Hefu" (a *pinyin* Romanization of 合甫). Cf. Tom Hare, 278-279. Given the Iwanami notes, I would suggest that were one to provide a "name" for the *waki*'s origins, a fictional, "Chinese-sounding" name might be appropriate, e.g. something along the lines of "Tzuchow" or "Hsiehking."

[129] While I think that the excision of Emperor Yuan's specific identity is significant, I am unsure of how much to make out of the use of the generic *morokoshi* 唐土. On the one hand, it may simply be that *morokoshi* is the default term for "China" in most *nō*, and that its usage is not particularly meaningful. On the other, while *Yōkihi* is also set in *morokoshi*, albeit with an identified Emperor, Bai Juyi seems to be granted a concrete dynasty in *Hakurakuten* (唐［トウ］の太子の賓客). See *Yōkyokushū (ge)* 謡曲集(下), Itō Masayoshi, ed. (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1988), 405 and 79, respectively. Cesar says the term "was used exactly in the sense of some far-off place." However, he is here arguing for the recurring portrayal of China as an exotic other, although his analysis primarily considers plays by Zeami and later authors. Carl G. Sesar, *Nō Drama and Chinese Literature* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1971), 10. His aesthetic is, as noted, Zeami-defined, which limits its relevance to the present study, since this play is presumed to predate Zeami.

Coincidentally, Sesar's assessment of the locality of the later Zenchiku play "Yōkihi" describes a phenomenon similar to what I take to be happening here in "Shōkun." He writes: "At the same time, however, since the island of Hōrai is an imaginary place, the action in "Yōkihi" takes place on neutral or common ground free of associations to which an actual site in either China or Japan would be bound." Ibid., 211. For his plot summary of "Shōkun" and mention of related materials, see ibid., 73-75; for translations of brief passages from "Shōkun," see ibid., 120-121.

parents. This signals, namely, that this is not a tale that is going to unfold between the figures that might have been historically perceived as the key players, Wang Zhaojun and Emperor Yuan, or even Emperor Yuan and Huhanye Chanyu (the Xiongnu leader to whom Zhaojun was married). On the contrary, the action has been relocated to the margins, in this case, a liminal time *and* place. As suggested by the notes to the Iwanami edition, this will be a tale of grieving parents coming to terms with loss more than of an inter-kingdom struggle for power.[130]

Moreover, although this is not immediately explicitly stated in the *nō*, it is fair to point out that its action is revealed as occurring after the deaths of both the foreign General Hanye and Zhaojun. One critical effect of making this a story in which the key players are all already dead is the expansion of the field of potential narrative perspectives. Were this a piece that centered on the unfolding of historical events more or less as they happened, it would only make sense to have this be a Chinese-centered tale of conflict between a Sinitic center and a barbarian periphery. By removing the story from the chronological and/or geo-political clutches of the Han court, however, the *nō* creates an opening for an external or ambiguously located perspective and arguably a wider range of thematic possibility.

While the play is built upon a well-known basic story—love between Zhaojun and the Emperor; recognition of her role as daughter; betrayal by the painter; exile to a barbarian kingdom; and the heroine's death—the relationship that occupies center stage in the *nō* is not the romance one might expect. Instead, the defining ties are those of Shōkun's parents to her.

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[130] I concluded this independently from Yip, who writes: "Nonetheless, a close reading of *Shōkun* reveals that political issues are not the focal point of the Nō play. Rather, the playwright interwove several folktales and retold the Chinese story from a new perspective, which concentrates on the lament of Wang Zhaojun's parents over her tragic fate." Ibid., 93-94. For a similar assertion, see also ibid., 133. For the description of the play's "main theme" 主題 (*shudai*), see Shōkun (Iwanami), 166.

Shōkun is largely present as a narrated character, and she does not appear on stage to speak for herself until near the very end. The opening speech of the *waki* aside, the first explicit description of Shōkun comes in the second section of the modern edition. Shōkun's parents mourn her loss—which they attribute to fate—and articulate their grief primarily in the rhetoric of Shōkun's physical appearance, lamenting what they take to be the inevitable loss of her beauty. The poignancy of her premature decay is heightened through implicit comparison with the natural decrepitude of her aged parents. Shōkun's parents describe themselves, bowed by age and grief, in the following exchange:

> **Shite** *(still standing at the jōza, facing front)***:** Well, well, I think I will clean the courtyard. An old man, I struggle to take up the broom, and Mother Ō slowly [shuffles] while I wait here.
> **Tsure** *(standing in the middle, facing front throughout the following)***:** True indeed. My heart, too, thinks only of that long-ago spring, while my elderly body is like a spindly spider. Though this is most bitter, I stay my tears, tears like wind-frozen dew, with my sleeves and tie those sleeves back with a beaded cord. But such cares, too, must surely be because of my child.[131]

Like the frozen dew to which Shōkun's mother compares her tears, her parents are trapped in emotional stasis, unaware or in at least partial denial of Shōkun's fate.

Other than her identification as a beautiful, beloved daughter, the character of Shōkun remains largely a cipher across the beginning of the play. She is depicted as unlucky and having compassion for her parents, but impassive before the vivid depiction of the suffering of her late husband, the Barbarian General to whom Emperor Yuan married her. This leaves us with a somehow discordant image. How is she, despite the sympathy for her parents' suffering, able to remain completely disengaged in the face of the misery of the general's ghost? In truth, we know very little

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[131] シテ：いざいざ庭を清めんと、おほぢは箒おっ取り持ち、王母遅しと待ち居たり　ツレ：げにや心も昔の春、老いの姿も細蟹の、いと苦しとは思へども、風結ぶ涙の玉襷、かかる思ひも子のゆえか。 Shōkun, 168.

about the supposed heroine of this play: like the image her parents can almost make out in a magic mirror to which they turn for consolation, she flickers elusively, contradictorily before us. In doing away with most of this historical context for this play, what has the author left for us?[132]

For Leo Yip, the adaptations lead to the following assessment: "By shifting the focus of the play to the portrayal of parents' longing for their offspring, the playwright downplays the Chinese story with its critique of corruption. In doing so, the playwright magnifies universalized emotions—the longing for one's off-spring."[133] I read the play as a work that ultimately deals with memory, one in which the aforementioned magic mirror provides a means for Shōkun's parents to come to terms with her loss—an interpretation that could perhaps be seen as one that is simply one degree more abstracted than Yip's.[134] What is more significant, however, is that while Yip is

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[132] Sesar perhaps sums up well a larger context for Chinese-inspired plays: "The attempt by Japanese to define Japan's national and cultural identity in relationship to China and her influences constitutes a major theme running throughout Japanese religion, thought, literature, and the arts." Carl Sesar, 150. Indeed, this is the focus in particular of his final two chapters and the case studies of "Hakurakuten" and "Yōkihi" that he conducts. Ibid., 150-226. While I find his readings of both plays intelligent and engaging, the plays themselves are somewhat predictable in their jingoism, particularly "Hakurakuten." It is precisely the subtlety of the appropriation in "Shōkun" that produces so much interest.

Yip seems to ignore questions of implied appropriation or awareness of issues thereof with regard to "Shōkun." Cf. Leo Shing Chi Yip, 319. This may be due to what he postulates is a relative integration of the tale into "Japanese literature and art." Ibid., 322.

[133] Leo Shing Chi Yip, 145.

[134] We can also understand the mirror imagery in a more traditional sense, however, as part and parcel of a particular type of play. Kobayashi's study thereof (which has influenced Yip's work) traces the presence and developments of the mirror and willow motifs in early Japanese literature. From there, he moves to an examination of the pictorial representation of hell and the accouterments of the demonic bureaucracy, including the *jōruri no kagami* 浄瑠璃の鏡 ("crystal [mirror] that reveals sin"). In this, he emphasizes the eventual inseparability of the mirror image from that of *gushōjin* 倶生神, or supervisory record-keeping spirits atop one's shoulders. Kobayashi then examines the costuming of demons in similar plays before concluding that Huhanye is clearly intended to represent a *gushōjin* figure rather than a "demon" *per se*, and

concerned largely with the socio-political and literary-intellectual developments that enabled alterations to the Wang Zhaojun story over time leading up to the *nō*, I would like to prioritize the issue of the implications of the drama's textual reconfigurations. First and foremost, concomitant with the loss or blurring of geographical or historical "reality," questions of whether individual narrative elements are appropriated from Chinese or Japanese literary traditions lose their urgency. This is not to say the story is rendered entirely un-Chinese; however, in the refashioning of the tale into a play about the more abstract notion of memory, the Chinese aspect becomes merely secondarily important. The excision of most of the historical detail conceptually transforms the original Wang Zhaojun tale into a sort of common cultural resource, the appropriation of which is valid for anyone who has the learning to exploit it. This renders cultural capital something not restricted to any single socio-political, historico-geographic unit and makes the tale of Zhaojun one that can be illustrative of a local Japanese experience. In short, the manipulation of the Zhaojun/Shōkun figure in the play is seemingly much more consistent with the attitude suggested in *China Tales* than with that in *The Mirror of China*.

Conclusion

This chapter opened with the question of what the imagined essential China was for Shigenori and how that could best be fit into a larger context. Yet a more pointed way of getting at the issue might be to ask what constitutes exemplary models in the "introductions" to China examined here, as well as how, and to what extent, they are rendered something not simply

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that given the popularly entrenched linkage of the two—mirror and *gushōjin*—it is unsurprising that Huhanye should appear in the form of the latter. (In other words, a play that pairs a figure like Huhanye and mirror/willow imagery may simply be formulaic.) Kobayashi Kenji, 1-31. The topics are treated across roughly the following pagination: mirror imagery, 6-14; willow, 14-18; "crystal mirror" and pictorial representations of the underworld, 18-25; Huhanye and costuming, 25-29; conclusion, 29-31. The conclusion as phrased above is essentially a paraphrase of the final lines of the penultimate section on 29.

"Chinese." As we saw in the overview of the *Meng qiu*, Li Han marked his ideal men (as well as a few women) with thriftiness, industry, fidelity, perspicacity, modesty, and talent. With Fujiwara no Shigenori's (1) translation of China into his own vision, however, what emerges is an image of China that is as much about social instability and intemperance as about love and/or literary talent. At the same time, it is a China that is rhetorically extricated from its real-world counterpart through the erasure of nearly all specific details other than the names of the protagonists. Stories open with "long ago," and other than the odd reign period or occasional place name, everything unfolds within the swirling mists of time. Thus, even though there are figures who appear in both the *Meng qiu* and *China Tales*, the resultant constellation of stories in the latter collection could scarcely be celebrated as a reflection of "Chinese" values.

This technique is not unique to Shigenori, as the cursory look at "Shōkun" should have made clear, and what emerges is a synthesis that dovetails nicely with Peter Burke's model for cultural translations that "confirm." It is China not presented as a real, contemporary entity, but rather imagined as a treasure trove ripe for the plundering. In a sense, the China of *China Tales* is a literary parallel to a famous flute described in *Ima kagami* 今鏡 (The New Mirror) "The flute called Pipes' Passel was made by selecting for outstanding sound among Chinese and Japanese bamboo."[135] Chinese elements are combined with Japanese to produce a truly excellent and easy-to-enjoy result. In both of these configurations—the China-themed poem tales and the flute—the Chinese-ness of certain particularities is important in that it carries a certain cache, but

[135] まじり丸とは◦からのたけやまとのたけのなかにすぐれたるねなるをえらびてつくりたるとなん◦ Fujiwara no Tametsune 藤原為経, *Ima kagami* 今鏡, in *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei* 21.2 新訂増補國史体系 21.2, Kuroita Katsumi 黒坂勝美, ed., 1-261 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, first edition 1940; 1999 edition), 188.

at the same time its "foreignness" as such incidental to the greater achievement the made-in-Japan product represents.

The Mirror of China, however, presents a very different China, a historically specific entity neither enervated nor featureless. Even though the China that comes across is depicted as moving along a larger trajectory of decline, it is still a land not only of outstanding poets or romantic heroes, but also one with brilliant statement, powerful rulers, and renowned warriors. They exist, naturally, alongside corrupt, conniving, and depraved counterexamples, but their presence alone creates a stark contrast to the China of *China Tales*. One of the results of this state of affairs is that *The Mirror of China*'s China does not fit particularly well into Burke's rubric. Its China, despite its obvious flaws, is not de-clawed or narratively contained and thematically restricted in the style of *China Tales*' China (or even that of "Shōkun"). Thus, I suspect it was not an image of China that would have been widely welcomed as "confirmation." Nor does it seem to offer widely-sought supplemental information to a deficiency in knowledge about China, or at least not in any obvious way. To be sure, its lack of overlap with both the *Meng qiu* and *China Tales* indicates that *The Mirror of China* offered plenty of material that had not previously circulated in primer form. However, the paucity of records that reference *The Mirror of China* also implies that this was not especially desired information.[136] While the *Meng qiu* and *China Tales* both afford relatively "safe" visions of continental events and to varying

[136] This notwithstanding, Hirasawa Gorō proposes that "*The Mirror of China* was widely read, [circulating] as far as the palace." …『唐鏡』が広く殿上にまで閲覧された. Hirasawa Gorō (1965.3), 311-312. Nonetheless, while *The Mirror of China* may have been, in a sense, an "upwardly mobile" text, the fact remains that few works cite it and this, coupled with its but partial preservation suggest to me limited audience appreciation. See also Chapter Two, Note 145.

degrees audiences that appreciated them, Shigenori (2) seems to have misjudged reader appetite for more complicated, comprehensive, and/or contemporary imagery of China.

It is easy to assert that "the Japanese" were nursing an "inferiority complex" in this time period, but such assertions often seem to stop there, as though this were self-evident and needed no further thought. Drawing on Peter Burke's work, I have attempted here to suggest a more nuanced way to approach this issue through *The Mirror of China*. In the end, it is the work's failed attempt to introduce a new perspective on China that is important, because it helps to clarify just what sort of "China" medieval Japanese readers might have been inclined to welcome, and by extension, how they might have wished to envision the dynamics of Sino-Japanese relations.[137]

[137] For a discussion that centers mostly on works produced after *Kara kagami* but that suggests similarly fraught attitudes towards China, past and present, see Bialock's chapter "China in the Medieval Imaginary." David T. Bialock, 177-217.

Chapter Five: What's in a Name?

In the closing lines to the preface to *The Mirror of China*, Shigenori notes: "Since I have heard that there is a practice whereby one takes the past and uses it to reflect on things, I ought to call this *The Mirror of China.*"[1] In so doing, he alludes to the following remarks of Tang Taizong by way of explanation for the title of his creation:

夫以銅為鏡，	Those who use bronze as a mirror
可以正衣冠；	can set to rights their robes and caps.
以古為鏡，	Those who use the past as a mirror
可以知興替；	can comprehend changing fortunes.
以人為鏡，	Those who use man as a mirror
可以明得失。	can understand gains and losses.
朕常保此三鏡，	We always maintain these three mirrors
以防已過。[2]	to guard against transgression.

[1]古ヲ以テ、 鏡トスル事アリトカヤ、キコへ給シカハ、唐鏡トヤ申侍へキ、 Fujiwara no Shigenori, 11. Although this looks a bit odd, I take the 給 to be the humilific *tamafu* in the *ren'yōkei.*

How widely known this idea was is unclear. In her essay on "Chinese learning" in the Heian period, Marian Ury notes: "According to the ideal, the emperor should conduct himself at all times in the knowledge that Confucian histories, written by impartial observers, would hold him accountable for his actions, and he should command the compilation of such histories of the reigns of his predecessors as mirrors for future generations." No source is provided. Marian Ury, 355. The mirror imagery is invoked again ibid., 360.

[2] Attributed to Emperor Taizong of the Tang. Liu Xu 劉昫 (887-946), *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 8: 21.2561. Even if Shigenori's citation is from the *Zhen guan zheng yao* 貞觀政要, the context remains the same. See Wu Jing 吳兢 (670-749), *Zhen guan zheng yao* 貞觀政要 (Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she, 1978), 2.33. Hirasawa believes the latter is the source. Cf. Hirasawa Gorō (1965.3), 312. The latter is, in fact, perhaps more likely if we consider the representation of imperial tutorials in Teika's *Matsuranomiya monogatari* 松浦宮物語. We see the young Chinese emperor being tutored by his mother, using the *Zhen guan zheng yao*. See Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162 – 1241), Higuchi Yoshimaro 樋口芳麻呂 and Kuboki Tetsuo 久保木哲夫, eds., *Matsuranomiya monogatari* 松浦宮物語 (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1999), 90.

Wayne Lammers, after reviewing earlier scholarship, dates the work to the early 1190's; as such, it is perhaps not too distant from *The Mirror of China* to be relevant. Wayne P. Lammers, *The*

Shigenori's concluding phrases bring us to the final issue suggested by the preface: the power of naming, or, more specifically, that of generic identification. In this case, what does it mean to write a *Mirror*?

With regard to naming his work, that Shigenori should invoke precedent is unsurprising, and he does so to great effect in an adroit maneuver that allows him both to display the family's famed familiarity with Chinese learning and to position himself in a favorable light. When Emperor Taizong utters these famous lines, he is mourning the loss of his trusted advisor and former tutor, Wei Zheng 魏徵[3]; by means of this gambit, Shigenori now casts himself as a modern-day Japanese Wei Zheng positioned to bestow *his* wisdom upon subsequent generations.

Establishment of a connection with Chinese learning is not, however, the only thing accomplished here. At the same time, Shigenori's preface as a whole alludes to a domestic Japanese genre, that of the historiographic *Mirror*.[4] In Shigenori's day, this would have been a nod to *Ōkagami* (The Great Mirror, late 11th century), *Ima kagami* (The New Mirror, ca. 1170), and *Mizu kagami* (The Water Mirror, late 12th century). Splicing the two Tang and Heian lineages to create something new that simultaneously engages with multiple pasts, the double

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Tale of Matsura: Fujiwara Teika's Experiment in Fiction (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, the University of Michigan, 1992), 172. (In Lammers' translation, the above scene can be found on ibid., 124.)

[3] More precisely, Wei Zheng originally served as the *xi ma* 洗馬, which Hucker translates as the "Librarian in the editorial service of the Heir Apparent." Charles O. Hucker, 242. For the corresponding line, see Liu Xu, 8: 21.2546 and Wu Jing, 2.32.

[4] As noted earlier, on the title and prefatorial rhetoric as proof of Shigenori's deliberate emplacement of his work in the *Mirror* lineage, see also Yamada Naoko (2009), 108-109. Also as mentioned earlier, Yamada does not appear to take this as the "double gesture" that I do.

gesture articulated in these lines encapsulates another of the central issues in interpreting *The Mirror of China*: the relationship between tradition and innovation.

Both the Taizong reference and the work's engagement with the domestic *Mirror* tradition suggest that something beyond mere data ought to be revealed in this text. However, as we have seen, the specific elements do not coalesce into a coherent image. Be it in terms of linguistic form or recurrent themes, *The Mirror of China* has shown itself to be most easily and consistently characterized by its lack of uniformity. Shigenori has left us with more of a kaleidoscope than a mirror, certainly without a clear understanding of how a *Mirror* might work at the generic level.

Fortunately, five other *Mirrors* remain to allow us to assemble a more complete interpretive matrix: the three earlier Heian *Mirrors* and two additional Kamakura and early Muromachi *Mirrors—Azuma Kagami* 吾妻鏡 (The Mirror of the East, late Kamakura) and *Masu kagami* 増鏡 (The Clear Mirror, ca. 1338). The first step in this undertaking will be to ask what the pre-Shigenori Heian *Mirrors* were like. Thus, this chapter begins in the Heian, examining the three Heian *Mirrors.* It then looks at earlier scholarship on the *Mirrors* as a literary grouping, before conducting an analysis of structural and thematic commonalities of the texts to arrive at a hypothesis of how this genre might have worked in Heian Japan.

I next proceed to the Kamakura period to explore the effects of a reinsertion of the Kamakura *Mirrors* into the genre and to analyze whether or how such a move changes generic contours. To put it in terms of a better-studied field, if one can accept, in the words of Robert Huey, the "not-so-startling premise: that waka composition practices [...] change as Japanese society does,"[5] the prospect of a similar possibility with regards to historiographic writing or

[5] Robert N. Huey, "The Medievalization of Poetic Practice," in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic*

literary historiography does not seem far-fetched. One would not expect Kamakura historiography to slavishly reproduce Heian predecessors, yet little work has been done on just how this unfolds within the genre of *Mirrors*. The tendency instead has been to implicitly periodize the genre and treat *Mirrors* as essentially Heian phenomena. This allows one to ignore *The Mirror of China* and to view *The Mirror of the East* as an isolated phenomenon; inclusion of the later conservative *The Clear Mirror* appears to depend on individual preference. Such a rearrangement of the corpus is particularly curious given that the genre of *Mirrors* was also selected for the portrayal of the history of the Kamakura *bakufu*.

Bearing this conundrum in mind, the chapter then turns to a brief look at medieval commentaries. It examines whether contemporary writings on historiography and *The Tale of Genji* indicate possible origins of the Kamakura *Mirror*s' erasure and/or isolation from the *Mirror* genre and later scholarship thereon. To conclude this rather sprawling agenda, it turns in the end to *The Clear Mirror* for a re-examination of the implications of the traditional concept of *Mirrors* in comparison with the newer, more catholic notion of *Mirrors* developed in the chapter itself.

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Prior to focusing on the Heian works, however, a small digression is in order to reveal the entrenchment of the problem of *Mirror* elision. A clue to the source of this lies internalized in the modern idiom. A search of the general-audience-intended *Kōjien* 広辞苑 dictionary reveals *sankyō* 三鏡 (the three mirrors, i.e., *Ōkagami*, *Mizu kagami* and *Masu kagami*) and *shikyō* 四鏡 (the four mirrors, i.e., *Ōkagami*, *Ima kagami*, *Mizu kagami* and *Masu kagami*) to be standard

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Studies 50.2 (December 1990), 652.

compounds in contemporary Japanese.[6] (Needless to say, there is no "five mirror" or "six mirror" counterpart.)

Though the *Kōjien* provides no source for these terms, and despite current literary scholarship's tendency to tacitly accept the validity of these categorizations as bounded sets, they do not, after all, reflect timeless natural groupings. The *Kokushi daijiten* 国史大辞典 cites the an 1802 publication, the *Gunsho ichiran* 群書一覧, as the source for the "three mirrors" designation,[7] and the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典 similarly lists a text of relatively late provenance, the preface to the *Ike no mokuzu* 池藻屑 (1774), as the origin of the "four mirrors" phrasing.[8] In limiting themselves to *Mirrors* in *kana* on domestic subjects, both compounds privilege a narrow vision of *kagami*, one that allows for a narrative of the evolution of a single, continuous, stylistically and thematically homogenous historiographic discourse. The three or four works are lumped together to comprise a roughly unified set that exists as an alternative to earlier Chinese or Chinese-esque models for national history.

It is not surprising that such groupings would have found currency in late-Edo Japan. What is, however, curious, is that they should have remained unquestioned into the twenty-first century. It makes sense that Edo- or Meiji-era scholars might have had a particular historiographic agenda to advance in emphasizing these particular works as a set or sets. Yet there is no reason to unquestioningly suppose that the ways Edo thinkers conceptualized (or

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[6] While the *Kōjien* includes entries for many literary and/or historiographic works, *Kara kagami* does not appear among them.

[7] JapanKnowledge electronic edition accessed via Princeton's VPN May 5, 2013, 19:02 JST.

[8] JapanKnowledge electronic edition accessed via Princeton's VPN May 5, 2013, 19:05 JST.

packaged) Japan's historiographic tradition ought to have been identical to those of earlier intellectuals. It is time we recognize these groups of "three *Mirrors*" or "four *Mirrors*" as what they are—products of a specific time and place—and investigate afresh the intellectual climates and currents that produced the works themselves, untouched by Edo-era concerns.

Writing About Kamakura Literary Historiography: A Stab in the Dark

In 1922, Ueda Kazutoshi 上田萬年 (1867-1937) wrote in the preface to Nomura Hachirō's *Kamakura jidai bungaku shinron* that "[a]s a result of Edo-era National Learning scholars' fervor for ancient works, things related to this field [the study of Kamakura literature] have remained largely untouched."[9] Though his remarks date from ninety years ago, the comparative state of neglect of Kamakura literature has not changed a great deal, particularly as concerns prose writing. In the specific case of *The Mirror of China*, there are at least three major factors that exacerbate its ignorability. The first is the challenge in language and content—China!—that it poses to a homogenous set of Heian and Muromachi *Mirrors*. The second is a relative scholarly apathy towards non-military historical tales (non-*gunki monogatari* 軍記物語) from the Heian or Kamakura.[10] The third is the general dearth of work on Kamakura historiography writ large.

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[9] 徳川時代の國學者は復古の側の研究に熱心した結果、あまり此の邊の事には手を附けて居ない。Nomura Hachirō, 2

[10] This statement applies to English-language scholarship. One important example of a Japanese survey of *rekishi jojutsu* 歴史叙述 (historical narration) is Matsumoto Shinpachirō 松本新八郎, *Rekishi monogatari to shiron* 歴史物語と史論, in *Iwanami kōza Nihon bungaku shi 6: chūsei* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1959). Matsumoto provides important historical context for the production of the works he treats—*Eiga monogatari*, *Ōkagami*, *Ima kagami*, *Mizu kagami*, *Gukanshō*, *Masu kagami*, and *Jinnō shōtō ki* 神皇正統記. While I find the evolution of historiographic writing as it emerges in this account a little too pat, many of his individual points are valuable; those pertaining to the *Mirrors* will be referenced later as appropriate. I am also, of course, wary of ideas he invokes of Japanese *kanseiteki na rekishi ninshiki* 感性的な歴史認識

On the rare occasions that *The Mirror of China* makes an appearance in research on Kamakura literature, it is now most often dubbed a *rekishi monogatari.* Though history and literature did not constitute discrete disciplines in the Heian academy,[11] the result of this categorization seems to have been to view it as a "history." Until not so long ago, tagging a work as either "historical" or a "history" typically shunted it into an interpretive wasteland, in particular in the limited English-language scholarship on medieval Japanese prose. For a "history," a sort of generic homogeneity was often subconsciously supposed: a dry-as-dust recounting of facts that did not require (or even invite) much in the way of interpretive work.

With regard to to-date translations of Kamakura-era texts, often the extent of English scholarship on a given piece, "historical" works have most often been presented with a critical introduction that places them in an isolated synchronic context or maps them to a given genre. To be fair, such studies often do credit Kamakura histories or historical tales with a goal or agenda, but rarely do they treat them with much nuance beyond that.[12] Given this, it is unsurprising that

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(historical understanding with a [particular] sensibility). Ibid., 9 and *passim*.

[11] Again, see Robert Borgen, 215.

[12] In seeing the act of writing a history itself as performative of something beyond a mere objective transmission of events, I am to a certain extent taking a position similar to that Christopher Hill articulates vis-à-vis modern historiography. See Christopher Hill, *National History and the World of Nations: Capital State, and the Rhetoric of History in Japan, France, and the United States* (Durham and London, Duke University Press, 2008), 4. Of course, I would not argue that Japan is a "nation" in Kamakura times, but I do not think it anachronistic to say that there was some sort of idea of *honchō* 本朝 (this sovereignty) as distinct from "Others." Awareness of selectivity as inherent to historiographic writing is not, of course, limited to English-language scholarship. For a concise recent statement of these issues in Japanese, see Noe Keiichi 野家啓一, "Rekishi o kaku toiu kōi—sono ronri to rinri" 歴史を書くという行為—その論理と倫理, in *Rekishi/monogatari no tetsugaku* 歴史／物語の哲学, 2-16 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2009), 4 and *passim*. For a reader-friendly introduction to reasons for considering pre-modern Japan as a state and its role(s) in the region, see Bruce Batten, *To the Ends of Japan: Premodern Frontiers, Boundaries, and Interactions* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press,

The Mirror of China, not only a historical narrative, but one that is not even about Japan, has by and large languished in relative obscurity.

This is exacerbated by the lack, at least in English, of a well-developed discourse on Kamakura historiography. However, it would be a grave error to claim that there was no medieval concept of historiography as a type or types of writing. Texts from the period indicate otherwise. The late-Kamakura *Shaku Nihongi* 釈日本紀 (Exegesis of The Chronicles of Japan) provides a list of *honchō shisho* 本朝史書, "this sovereignty's record-writings," that comprises eight compilations: *Sendai kuji hongi* 先代舊事本紀, *Kojiki* 古事記, *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀, *Nihon kōki* 日本後記, *Shoku Nihon kōki* 續日本後紀, *Nihon Montoku-Tennō jitsuroku* 日本文徳天皇實錄, and *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代實錄.[13] Although what *shi* 史 itself represents in these texts is never explicated, given early Japan's cultural and institutional debt to China, it is convenient to borrow the much earlier definition of Xu Shen 許慎 (ca. 58-ca. 147): "*Shi* 史 is the recording of affairs."[14] From this, then, we can extrapolate that all of these are writings that record things.

In any event, clearly, there is the idea *shisho* 史書 constitute a group, that texts that record things can be classified together. This, in and of itself, is fine. Nor is the presupposition of facticity—that the notion of *ji* 記 (record) itself implies a claim that the recorded occurred—a

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2003).

[13] Urabe Kanekata 卜部兼方(fl. 1274-1301), *Shaku Nihongi* 釈日本紀, Onoda Mitsuo 小野田光雄, ed. (Tokyo: Shintō taikei hensankai, 1986), 17-19.

[14] 史記事者也。Xu Shen 許慎 (ca. 58- ca.147) and Wang Jun 王筠, *Shuo wen jie zi ju du* 説文解字句讀 (China: Han fen lou, reprint 1865 edition), 6.15b.

serious point of contention.[15] Rather, what I wish to consider here is that the designation *shisho* may be as much about style as it is about content. To collapse the terms "history" and "records" into one runs the risk of unquestioningly privileging record-keeping, a standard for early histories, as the normative form of medieval historiography.

Nonetheless, to return to the present day, I accept that there is a critical distinction between the earlier so-called *rikkokushi* 六国史 (Six National Histories)—this "record-writing"—and the more narrative *rekishi monogatari* or *kagami* that emerge later. Therefore, even though the "record-writing" version of history has lost its earlier prestige by the Kamakura period, a brief survey of the skimpy extant English scholarship on this topic should help orient the reader vis-à-vis a subsequent re-evaluation of historical writing. As there are only two full-length studies in English at the time, this discussion will necessarily be short.

The 1991 English translation of Sakamoto Tarō's 1970 *Rikkokushi* 六国史 (The Six National Histories of Japan) covers the basics of the Nara and Heian imperially commissioned histories. In the introduction, Sakamoto enumerates the works' shared features: their official sponsorship and execution, the "annalistic" style, and the language of composition as "Classical Chinese (kanbun)."[16] He then explains that what is of greater interest is the particularities, and

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[15] In this attitude, I am in agreement with scholars such as Endō Keita 遠藤慶太. Endō proposes that a more productive avenue for inquiry vis-à-vis the national histories (or *chokusen shisho* 勅撰史書 (imperially commissioned history), to use his preferred term) lies in the search for an editorial position revealed in the selection and arrangement of the materials that comprise any given national history. He terms this stance the *seijisei* 政治性 (political nature) of a work and contrasts the depictions of Emperor Kanmu 桓武天皇 (737-806, r. 781-806) in the *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀 and *Nihon kōki* 日本後紀 as a case study. Endō Keita 遠藤慶太, "Chokusen shisho no seijisei: futatsu no Kanmu tenki o meguri" 勅撰史書の政治性ふたつの桓武天紀をめぐり, in *Rekishigaku kenkyū* 826 (April 2007): 10-17.

[16] Sakamoto Tarō, *The Six National Histories of Japan*, John S. Brownlee, trans. (Vancouver and

what follows is a study that presents precisely that: it introduces each work in terms of the circumstances of composition, the content, and the reception through the modern period. The result is a largely satisfactory if not especially stimulating overview of official centralized history production. The speculation on the personal motives of compilers or emperors and the truth-value of the works is by current standards non-scholarly,[17] but the inclusion of subsequent studies of each "history" is a most welcome contribution.[18] Additionally, the occasional almost throwaway remark about the problems of state-sponsored history give pause, albeit more for their relation to historiography in the Meiji period and beyond than for any insight into the Heian court.[19] The overall impression, however, is more of description than analysis, the occasional comparative tabularization of the histories' content notwithstanding. Contrasting the six histories and the innovations of each is a valuable starting point, but much remains to be done in the analysis of what kinds of changing notions of history such developments might reflect.[20]

Tokyo: UBC Press/University of Tokyo Press, 1991), 10-11. It is important to note that it is Sakamoto (or possibly Brownlee in the translation) who equates Classical Chinese with *kanbun*. I have already explained why I find this misleading. More perplexing is that Classical Chinese appears to be counted as two separate reasons: "Third, their format is annalistic, and they are written in Classical Chinese (kanbun). [...] Fourth, the style that they all used was Classical Chinese." Ibid., 11.

[17] The following observation to explain the inclusion of waka is an extreme example: "The compilers of *Nihon Kōki* had a deep concern for Japanese poetry, and further, a passion to preserve and exalt Japanese culture in the midst of the more widespread and onrushing Chinese culture." Ibid., 138. No textual evidence is provided to support such an assertion.

[18] The basic information on composition has a great deal of overlap with that provided in the *Shaku Nihongi*. See Urabe Kanekata, 17-19.

[19] See, for instance, the remark that "History was recorded so lightly in Japan because the Emperor was involved with the historical account of his own governance." Sakamoto, 117.

[20] There is some speculation, but it seems naïve, as in the following two comments: on the *Nihon Montoku Tennō jitsuroku*, "Widening the range of biographies to the fifth rank, and writing such

John Brownlee tries his hand at a broader scope and more overt analytical agenda in his *Political Thought in Japanese Historical Writing: From* Kojiki *(712) to* Tokushi Yoron *(1712).* In it, Brownlee attempts to address issues related to emergent historiography and its development in pre-modern Japan.[21] The work is, however, deeply flawed. Although the avowed enterprise of emplacing these works in a larger Japanese context of production sounds as though the study to follow will be an attempt to evaluate the works free from an externally imposed Western set of values, this is not, in fact, what happens: the nature of the "political thought" itself as a Western construct is never seriously problematized. When pre-modern Japanese thinkers and their writings are assessed in terms of how they match up with presupposed universal goals, the results often sound vaguely condescending. Working from what seems an unquestioning acceptance of a teleological trajectory towards rationalism that operates across cultures, Brownlee characterizes Japanese deviations from this standard as "weaknesses." Thus, we are never granted a coherent understanding of the essence of Japanese historiography, if such a thing exists, or its evolution on its own terms.

This is not inconsistent with an overall tendency in the work to simply adopt preexisting categories and genres, which undermines conclusions based on generic differences.

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sympathetic accounts, means the authors held affection for people and honoured human feelings. They recognized the endeavours of the people who made history and the significance of their emotions and took pleasure in giving them beautiful literary expression." Or, on the *Nihon Sandai jitsuroku*, "In this respect the work differed from books like *Fusō Ryakki*, which recorded many fabricated tales. The result was that the National Histories were uninteresting and not much read, while the likes of *Fusō Ryakki* circulated widely; this is because of human desire for history, which is the same in ancient times and modern times alike." Ibid., 166 and 179. I have to admit that I do not even really know what the final clause means, and this, in combination with certain other irregularities, leads me to suspect the translation itself may be the issue in some instances.

[21] John S. Brownlee, *Political Thought in Japanese Historical Writing: From* Kojiki *(712) to* Tokushi Yoron *(1712)*, (Waterloo, Canada: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1991).

For instance, on the one hand, the proposal that "Historical Tales," as a genre, provided a means to "direct attention to the centre of things, the Fujiwara family, without the sense of incongruity that would have prevailed if the national histories had attempted the same," sounds appealing.[22] It makes intuitive sense that there would be some sort of discursive categorization. Yet the lack of reflection upon the works that constitute each genre leaves a dissatisfying impression. In the case of the *rekishi monogatari*, Brownlee discusses four works: the *Eiga monogatari* 栄華物語 (Tale of Flowering Fortunes), *The Great Mirror*, *The Water Mirror*, and *The New Mirror*. (*The Clear Mirror* is treated later.) It is never revealed how these works are selected for inclusion in the category, however. Given the existence of two other "*Mirrors*"— *The Mirror of China* and *The Mirror of the East*—that did not make the cut, some reflection on generic standards would not have been out of place. Overall, one wishes Brownlee might have unpacked his starting position and analytical framework more critically.

This is not to say that there is nothing worthwhile to be found in the study. Of particular relevance to a consideration of *The Mirror of China* is his ascription of a new conceptualization of time to the *Kojiki* 古事記. Brownlee argues: "*Kojiki* divided history into the Age of the Gods and the Age of Human Emperors, placing the myths of fundamental cultural importance in the Age of the Gods, and the tales of early Japanese society in the Age of Human Emperors."[23] If this is indeed the case, it is suggestive of the division between a universally accessible Cathayan sphere and the later cultural realm of China proper that I have suggested *The Mirror of China* depicts. At the same time, Brownlee's emphasis on imperial periodization as

[22] Ibid., 44.

[23] Ibid., 18.

revolutionary and formative also begs serious consideration.[24] At a very basic level: how do notions of temporal precision and notation differ across genres? As we have already seen, the obvious differences in the inclusion of date-and-time-related material in *China Tales* and *The Mirror of China* are highly suggestive.

Granted, given their status as imperial projects, it is probably only fair to see Japan's early "national histories" as standards for their time. But Sakamoto's and Brownlee's works leave unanswered (and unasked) the question of what that means for a period such as the Kamakura when imperially sponsored "record-writings" are no longer being written. It is not as though the writing of histories in the broader sense of the term ceases. What is going on when the term *Mirror*, a moniker for another form of historical writing, is repurposed in the Kamakura to encompass a generically unprecedented range of form and content?

This query is not unrelated to what Fukuda Akimichi 福田景道 attempts to address in his reconceptualization of the *rekishi monogatari*.[25] However, I would suggest that rather than ask what happens if we broaden the notion of *rekishi monogatari*, a more appropriate question is what happens if we expand the concept of *Mirror*. Where Fukuda appears disconcerted by the break in production of *Mirrors* and the like, I propose that we take that aperture as an invitation to think about these later *Mirrors* as something other than works intended to adhere to static generic standards. What do Kamakura *Mirrors* do?[26]

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[24] Ibid., 18-19 and *passim.* See also David Bialock, 48.

[25] See Chapter Two.

[26] In supposing that form (here, that of the *Mirror*) ought somehow to inform content, my position is not dissimilar to that which Hayden White takes in his discussion of emplotment at the beginning of *Metahistory*. At the most rudimentary level, *Mirrors* appear to align with his description of "stories" in contrast to "chronicles." Hayden White, *Metahistory* (Baltimore: The

If arriving at a point where intelligent speculation on the preceding question is the penultimate goal of this chapter, the most immediate question to be addressed is that of what the Heian *Mirrors* are, both individually and collectively. How are they understood, both singly and en masse? By way of an answer, an analysis of *The Great Mirror*, *The New Mirror*, and *The Water Mirror*, as well as their reception and interpretation, is in order.

The Heian *Mirrors*

To commence with the works themselves, *The Great Mirror*, the first of the *Mirrors* produced, is doubtless also the best known of the three.[27] Helen Craig McCullough's work, *Ōkagami, The Great Mirror: Fujiwara Michinaga (966-1027) and His Times*, offers a critical introduction to the work, a lightly annotated translation, and several appendices. As the study is in English and widely available, I will not devote a great deal of space to recapitulating the background or content of *The Great Mirror* here. What should be pointed out, however, is that for McCullough, the question of the "Mirror" designation appears to hold limited interest: after a

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Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973; 1975 edition), 5-7. For White, the form of a work determines how we are to interpret it: "Providing the 'meaning' of a story by identifying the *kind of story* that has been told is called explanation by emplotment." Ibid., 7. In my own analysis, however, I look to identify the common preoccupation of a genre, in this case that of *Mirrors* (or rather, to see whether such a thing even exists), without assuming a consistent generically-defined (or modally-predetermined) attitude towards it. I.e., we might establish that all *Mirrors* share a preoccupation with X without taking for granted that the nature of this concern is constant. Thus, X would provide an important interpretive key for any *Mirror* but would not suggest a particular authorial stance toward any given *Mirror*'s content. Perhaps one could go so far as to take the *Mirror* authors to be "Organicists," in that "[t]he Organicist is inclined to talk about the 'principles' or 'ideas' that inform the individual processes discerned in the field and all the processes taken as a whole," but this does not have major bearing on an investigation of the internal workings of *Mirrors*, *per se*. Citation from ibid., 16. For one thing, governing principles, though arguably present in the *kagami*, are insufficiently articulated to contend that the genre attests to a set of principles or an argument for such.

[27] I have relied primarily on the *Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei* 新潮日本古典集成 version. Ishikawa, Tōru 石川徹, ed., *Ōkagami* 大鏡 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1989).

brief note of earlier mirrors, her treatment of genre focuses primarily on *rekishi monogatari* and *setsuwa.*[28] Though she raises other issues for investigation, the most significant in terms of the present project is her summary of how *The Great Mirror* differs from *Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, typically attributed to Akazome Emon 赤染衛門 (ca. 956 – ca. 1041): "The difference between *Eiga monogatari* and *Ōkagami* is not that one praises and the other blames, but that one describes and the other explains."[29] While it would be facile to suggest that an overt explanatory function be the sole criterion for distinguishing between *monogatari* and *kagami* (and to be explicit, this is not what McCullough is claiming), her seemingly casual observation may hint at a latent potential in *Mirror* texts that has no parallel in works dubbed *monogatari*.

The critical introductions to *The Great Mirror* in both the *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (to which McCullough's work seems to owe a great debt[30]) and *Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei* series similarly offer little in the way of analysis of historiography or *Mirror* writing. In the former, Matsumura Hiroji 松村博司 presents a survey of basic background issues for *The Great Mirror*: its title, number of scrolls, author, time of composition, construction, authorial intent, the depiction of Michinaga, the work's critical character, etc. The upshot of Matsumura's review of the work's name is that despite an early proliferation of titles, "at the very least, prior to the Chisei 治世 reign period of Emperor Antoku 安徳天皇 (1180-1184), which is taken to be the

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[28] McCullough, Helen Craig, *Ōkagami, the Great Mirror: Fujiwara Michinaga (966-1027) and His Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980; co-published with University of Tokyo Press), 3 (on "mirrors"), 5-14 ("The Oral Story" and remarks immediately preceding this section), and 14-17 (*rekishi monogatari*).

[29] Ibid., 58..

[30] The *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* edition is the basis of her study, though she cites Hosaka Hiroshi's work as that from which she has "benefited enormously." Helen McCullough (1980), x.

time when *Ima kagami* was composed, the title *Ōkagami* had come into existence; gradually, there was a unification of titles in manuscripts as *Yotsugi monogatari* [Tales of Succession] or *Ōkagami*."[31] The gradual triumph of *The Great Mirror* over *Tales of Succession* (and its variations) is important for two reasons: it suggests that *Mirrors* did not have a historiographic function distinct from *monogatari* when *The Great Mirror* first appeared, and as significant, that *Mirrors* subsequently came to be perceived as somehow different.[32]

Matsumura advances the opinion that the work is that of a lower-level noble from within the Fujiwara clan and conjectures that it in likelihood dates from circa 1086.[33] As McCullough would do some twenty years later, he notes the expository quality of *The Great Mirror* in comparison with *Tale of Flowering Fortunes*: "It is not necessarily the case that *The Great Mirror*'s description of Michinaga or praise of his glory replicates [that of] *Tale of Flowering Fortunes*; in the resolve to reveal the *reasons* [my italics] for this florescence, it represents an advance over *Tale of Flowering Fortunes*."[34] He appears, however, hesitant to accept readings that assign prognosticatory potential to the representation of the past along the

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[31] "[...]一方少なくとも今鏡の成立したと考えられる安徳天皇の治世一一八〇--一一八四以前に、「お鏡」という書名も成立しており、写本では漸次、「世継物語」または「大鏡」という名称に統一されていったということになるのである。" Matsumura Hiroji 松村博司, "kaisetsu" 解説, in *Ōkagami* 大鏡, 3-32 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1960), 6.

[32] Yamada also sees the eventual dominance of the *Mirror* title as critical. Yamada Naoko (2009), 108.

[33] "藤原氏内部の下層貴族" Mastumura Hiroji, 11. For the conclusion on dating, see ibid., 14.

[34] "大鏡が道長を描いて栄光を讃美することは必ずしも栄華物語と重複することではないが、その栄花の由って来るゆえんを明らかにしようとしたことは、栄華物語に一歩を進めたことである。Ibid., 20.

lines of continental textual precedents and reluctant to attribute an admonitory purpose to the work.[35]

Given that much of the rest of Matsumura's introduction dwells on Michinaga and the text's evaluation of him, it grants little additional insight into the problem of writing history *per se*. Thus, moving on to the more recent study by Ishikawa Tōru 石川徹 would not be amiss at this point. Unfortunately for the present project, Ishikawa's lucid work has little to say about the nature of *kagami*-writing itself, instead being devoted primarily to establishing a distinction between the temporal setting of the narrator's reminiscing, the tale-within-a-tale, and that of the frame story.[36] As a part of the efforts to determine an internal and external chronology, some space is granted to a comparison with the National Histories, but the point of the section in question is the presence of a gap between periods covered and time of commission/composition.[37] This is an intriguing observation and one that reconciles apparent discrepancies in the narrator's ages within *The Great Mirror*, but it brings little if anything to bear on a broader inquiry into the evolving nature of medieval historiography.

Once again, it is a virtually throw-away remark that has the greatest import: the observation (in a single-sentence paragraph) that "Also, *The Great Mirror* precedes the later *Gukanshō* in emphasizing 'governing principles'; it is designated as a type of Principle-Tale or a

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[35] Ibid., 20.

[36] Ishikawa Tōru 石川徹, "Kaisetsu" 解説, in *Ōkagami* 大鏡, 351-397 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1989). Ishikawa makes a point similar to that of Matsumura on the conventions of naming the work. Ibid., 386-387. Authorship is another critical consideration for him, but as it bears little or no relation to the discussion at hand, I will refrain from summarizing his discussion here.

[37] Ibid., 377-378 for primary treatment, also mentioned *passim*.

work of literature with a strongly critical character."[38] Though Ishikawa says nothing further on the matter, in light of the great weight granted to Jien's use of *dōri* as discussed in Chapter Three, the idea that *The Great Mirror* might have a similar submerged cosmological logic could serve as a means to differentiate it from the apparently less principle-driven historical tale genre.

In a recent work, Komine Kazuaki dissects *The Great Mirror* from several angles in a series of chapters in *Inseiki bungaku-ron* 院政期文学論 (Japanese Literature Theory of [the] 12[th] century) that are grouped together as the *Ōkagami-ron* 大鏡論 (Arguments on *The Great Mirror*).[39] Komine devotes particular attention to the setting of the work, Unrin Temple 雲林寺 prior to religious services honoring Empress Seishi 娍子, wherein the physical and ritualistic importance thereof are inextricable.[40] Against this backdrop, he analyzes the juxtaposition of Yotsugi's account of the world with the lectures on the *Lotus Sutra* that presumably are to follow. Two of the most important points to emerge from Komine's examination as far as the present study is concerned are that *The Great Mirror* can be read as fulfilling a certain prophetic function and that the narrative site enhances claims of the content's veracity.[41] This proposed

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[38] また『大鏡』は後の『愚管抄』に先立って、「道理」を重んじており、一種の道理物語である事、また批判的性格が強い文学である事なども指摘されている。Ibid., 386.

[39] Komine Kazuaki (2006), "Ōkagami-ron 大鏡論," 527-633. While I in fact first read this particular work after completing an initial draft of this chapter, there are many instances wherein the aspects of the work I deem to be particularly noteworthy dovetail with those taken up by Komine. Needless to say, Komine's approach is multi-faceted; for expediency's sake, I limit my discussion here to those points that are more obviously germane to my own project.

[40] Komine says that the linkage between the date and the location/ceremonies was "common knowledge." Ibid., 530.

[41] On the predictive aspect of *Ōkagami*, see ibid., 538 and *passim.* On the relation between the setting and the work's truth value, see ibid., 542, 577-578, and *passim.* It is important to note that Komine sees *Ōkagami* as distinct from the other *Mirrors* in the privileged function of the setting

metaphysical import—that of bearing a cosmological truth—is a point to which I shall return as a critical defining feature of *Mirror* historiography.

Komine's study likewise draws attention to the familiar tension in medieval Japanese discourse between spoken and written registers. One of his most striking claims is that, "Although it is clear that Yotsugi's tale is not on par with Japan's official history chronicles, it does exaggeratedly claim its own meaning on equal terms with lecturers' preaching. In this, *The Great Mirror* can be said to issue a two-fold challenge to previous fictional tales and narrations of history."[42] While for Komine what is of particular interest is *The Great Mirror*'s incorporation of speaking and/or a speaker here, his subsequent observation that *The Great Mirror* is an "effort to overcome chronicles as such" is similarly significant.[43] To be sure, earlier scholars have posited *rekishi monogatari* as an attempt to break away from orthodox historiography. However, while stopping short of taking *kagami* as a new genre, Komine does rightfully (to my mind) see *The Great Mirror* as not simply a move away from orthodox historiography, but also as "putting as much distance as possible between [itself] and fiction or

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itself. Ibid., 552.

David Bialock likewise focuses on *Ōkagami*'s setting, proposing that the fact that the "enlightenment sermon" (which Yotsugi's narrative precedes) at this particular temple was "established by an 'evil man' who subsequently proves to be a Buddhist saint" is related to the work's subject: "[T]he setting of *Ōkagami* provides a sacred analogy for the acts of political violence that characterized Michinaga's and his family's rise to power." David Bialock, 157. For Bialock, locating a threatening air in the setting is central to its disruptive power.

[42] 世継の語りが正史「日本紀」に比肩しうるものではないことは明白にもかかわらず、講師の説法と対等に自らの語りの意義を大げさに宣告せずにはおかない。それによって『大鏡』は従前の作り物語と歴史叙述への二重化した挑戦を宣言しているといえよう。 Komine Kazuaki (2006), 594.

[43] Ibid., 594-595. …年代記そのものの克明を試みる。 Citation from ibid., 595.

Tale of Flowering Fortunes."[44] Yet he dismisses the use of *The Great Mirror*'s narrative conventions in subsequent "historical tales" as being largely pro forma.[45] However, while the later *Mirrors* may not lay as much emphasis on the role of speaking, *per se*, to set them aside them without further examination ignores the possibility that they may nevertheless offer similar generic counterpoints to both orthodox histories *and* historical tales; this is an issue that will reappear later in this chapter.[46]

Lastly, in a rare English-language treatment of *The Great Mirror*, David Bialock's *Eccentric Spaces* grants some space to *The Great Mirror* in consideration of its relation to court-centered historiography. Bialock argues that the work's heterodox position is reflected in the locus of narration (a temple), contending, "Once the production of court scholars, history has now become the utterance of wandering reciters at the margins of power."[47] In other words, the narration of history, as well as the authority implicit therein, has been removed from the exclusive domain of the (static) center to a "nomadic" frontier region. In Bialock's lexicon, one quality of the "nomadic" is an implicit denial of the "hierarchical."[48] Given this and the way that

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[44] For Komine, this is tied in with the explicit representation of an in-text narrator. …作り物語や『栄華物語』からできるだけ距離をおく… Ibid., 594. While I find the discussion of the role of the narrator within the text intriguing, as it is not directly relevant to my own take on the *Mirror* genre, I will not recapitulate it here. On innovation, see also ibid., 612-613.

[45] He adds that this may stem from the increasing prestige enjoyed by the written register. Ibid., 612.

[46] To be fair, Komine does not advocate ignoring the rest—they simply do not feature in his discussion.

[47] David Bialock, 157.

[48] Cf. ibid., 12.

The Great Mirror presents its own voice as authoritative, such a designation is persuasive.

Bialock also tackles the related problem of genre, though inconclusively,[49] before turning to the question of Chinese precedents. Exploring continental historiographic traditions that inform *The Great Mirror* in some way, he proposes both the *Shi ji* and the *Zhen guan zheng yao* 貞觀政要, specifically referring to the quotation by Taizong with which the present chapter opens.[50] The former is a commonly recognized point, but Bialock offers no explanation for how or where he sees a clear allusion to the Taizong quotation in *The Great Mirror*; arguing that there is Confucian strain in the work, he simply states, "The following remarks addressed by Shigeki to Yotsugi…recall *Zhenguan zhengyao*'s third mirror, the admonition to heed the voice of the people."[51] The remarks in question, he translates as: "Yet it seems that people speak only of how unbearable are Michinaga's frequent demands for laborers to work on his temple. Haven't you heard of this?"[52] I am, however, skeptical of a proposal of a link between these particular texts that seems to rest solely on things such as a passing mention of "people's" complaints in *The Great Mirror* and the rendering of 以人 as "[u]sing people" (in the sense of one's subjects) to maintain good government.[53] Even if Bialock's reading of Taizong's musings on "mirrors" is

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[49] Ibid., 160-163. Bialock's initial discussion of genre works through the implications of seeing the work as a "historical tale"; however, since I am resisting the "chronicles versus tale" dichotomy as anachronistic (for reasons to be discussed later), this section is not particularly germane to the present study, and I will not recapitulate them in detail.

[50] Ibid., 165-166.

[51] Ibid., 167.

[52] Ibid. The original reads: ただ今は、この御堂の夫を頻りに召す事こそ、人は堪へ難げに申すめれ。それは、さは聞きたまはぬか。In Ishikawa Tōru, 285. This edition does not provide any notes to the lines in question.

correct (and I have reservations), this is hardly a new or unique sentiment. There seems to be no firm basis for tying *The Great Mirror* to *Zhenguan zhengyao*, an important point to which I will return in the discussion of *The Mirror of China*'s innovations to the genre of *Mirrors*.

Nonetheless, Bialock's complication of *The Great Mirror*'s stance vis-à-vis Chinese historiography is valuable, as is the observation that: "…*Ōkagami* might be characterized as exploiting Chinese historiographic models [of praise and blame] to legitimate political aims that clashed with prevailing notions of power."[54] In other words, in *The Great Mirror*, one can see the ways in which rhetorically transferring authority beyond the control of the court could be justified by turning to precedent.[55]

In summary, while the specifics of our interests in *The Great Mirror* differ, I am in agreement with Bialock's presentation thereof as a new type of work or way of writing history. We approach the text, however, in ways overlap but little: Bialock thoroughly details how *The*

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[53] Cf. Bialock, 166. To be fair, Bialock may be positing more of an affinity than a direct link, but even were that the case, the reason for turning to *Zheng guan zhang yao* is not made clear.

[54] Ibid., 168.

[55] Cf. ibid., 174. I am uncertain how to understand the narrating perspective in texts that de-center. I would be tempted to think of them as appropriating a new center, which sounds less radical than the break Bialock seems to suggest. If I understand correctly, for him, these moves undermine the very notion of a center and valorize the idea of non-center space as such, at least to a certain degree. (However, this is perhaps best understood as a later attitude?) On *Ōkagami*, cf. ibid. 156-157; in general, *passim*. Perhaps this maneuver is not present in subsequent *Mirrors*? It is not that I do not find his discussion of changing notions of purity as bound up with this persuasive; my reluctance may be tied to genre. What would a history that denied its own claims to authority look like? For Bialock's fullest development of the evolution of "purity" and the problem of order, see ibid., 217-271.

In any case, apparently unaware of Komine's 2006 work, Bialock does not address Komine's claim of a simultaneous movement away from *Eiga* and its ilk that I find so persuasive. (I realize that these are not entirely analogous shifts, but they are nonetheless related in that both represent the transfer to a new space, institutional or generic.)

Great Mirror offers new or non-court-centered perspectives, while I take the idea of *The Great Mirror* as an innovative work as a starting point. One might say that Bialock is concerned with the features and functions of *The Great Mirror* that legitimate or explain its existence, whereas I am concerned with the rhetoric deployed within the text to legitimate its narrative. That is, what is the logic or basis that underlies the presentation and interpretation of events within *The Great Mirror*?[56] And working from there, how do the *Mirrors* evolve as a genre and how, as a genre, do they operate in a certain alternative discursive realm?

The New Mirror is the next surviving Heian *Mirror* to appear on the horizon. As it has not been translated into a Western language, I will provide a slightly more detailed summary of its contents before addressing secondary scholarship. Attributed to Fujiwara no Tametsune 藤原為経 (?-?), the ten-scroll composition forges a link with *The Great Mirror* via the biography of Emperor Ichijō 一条天皇 (980-1011, r. 986-1011): his reign closes the imperial annals in the earlier work and is the first period to appear in its successor. The first three scrolls cover the reigns of Emperor Ichijō through the ascension of Emperor Takakura 高倉天皇 (1161-1181, r. 1168-1180). In a meandering, oft-circular style, the narrative proceeds through successive reigns, giving prominence to accounts of lineage and social (typically court) events.[57] The latter often take the form of funeral observations or poetry contests and/or compositions. Characters and

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[56] This is distinct from Bialock's argument that elements in *Ōkagami* "signal a reritualization of historical narrative," which seems, in turn, not unrelated to Komine's earlier observations cited in note 41. Cf. ibid., 151.

[57] Matsumoto Shinpachirō provides a similar discussion of *Ima kagami*'s content. If I understand correctly, he sees the work as formally following the *Shi ji*-inspired *kidentai* 紀伝体 format of *Ōkagami*, a combination of basic imperial annals, biographies, treatises, and charts. See Matsumoto Shinpachirō, 26.

emotions are nearly always superlative, and poetic prowess and fecundity come across as the two most laudable attributes. The section moves towards a conclusion with remarks that bring us up to the narrative present: "Though the aforementioned [Takakura] is referred to as Emperor, His Cloistered Highness [GoShirakawa], in no way removed from governance, rules the realm. The Dowager Empress is in her prime; this will surely be a time of most laudable efflorescence. Thus, it is my privilege to transmit the thousand-year origins of the double-leaved pine in all its praiseworthiness."[58]

Yet *The New Mirror* is not an imperial history, or at the very least not limited to the imperial family. The narrator segues to the next topic, *Fujinami* ふぢなみ (Wisteria Waves), via an observation on the uniquely enduring role of the Fujiwara family. In a format more or less identical with that of the imperial family biographies, the following three scrolls cover generations of the Fujiwara house. Perhaps tellingly, when it comes to listing Michinaga's offspring, all of the females are listed first, followed by the males. The nature of the content is also not remarkably different from that of the earlier scrolls, with aptitudes and careers being among the chief concerns. For men in particular, facility with verse composition in both Chinese and Japanese are deemed admirable. Musical ability is also frequently singled out for praise. The most upwardly mobile men enter the court bureaucracy, though illegitimate or superfluous sons (in addition to those simply more piously inclined) often end up in ecclesiastical positions.

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[58] をなじみかどと申せでも。世中へだてある事もなく。一院＜後白河＞あめのしたしろしめし。御母きさきさかりにをはしませば。いとめでたき御さかへなるべし。しかあれば二葉のまつのちよのはじめ。いとめでたくつたへうけ給り侍。 Fujiwara no Tametsune 藤原為経, "Ima kagami" 今鏡, in *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei* 21.2 新訂増補國史体系 21.2, Kuroita Katsumi 黒坂勝美, ed., 1-261 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, first edition 1940; 1999 edition), 76.

While a position in a temple was also a possibility for a prince, it is worth clarifying that within the world of *The New Mirror*, royal tonsure is an exception. This is made explicit in the following remark on the fifth son of Taikenmon-in 待賢門院 (1101-1145), who had been empress to Emperor Toba 鳥羽天皇 (1103-1156, r. 1107-1123): "The Fifth Prince was called Prince of the Blood Motohito. He had renounced lay life as a child and must be the one called the Ninnaji Prince of the Blood. Though it's rare for a prince born of the Imperial womb to become a priest, he laid great store by the Way of the Buddha. It must be a very laudable matter."[59]

Once again, the best woman is a fertile one, and her career prospects lie within the Imperial Household, ideally as empress. As with the imperial family in the first three scrolls, charming individual anecdotes or asides surface, yet they are often nearly submerged in the ceaseless flow of the documentation of changes in rank and position and reminders of who is related to whom. The Fujiwara section closes rather abruptly with a reflection on the beauty of the lustration site at Ise, but *The New Mirror*'s work is far from finished, for the narrator's next task is to reveal the lesser-but-still-impressive glory of the Genji.

The Murakami Genji scroll (the seventh) opens with the assertion that it is "not the Wisteria Waves [Fujiwara] alone who flourish," and in drawing towards a conclusion explains this by means of Minamoto ties to the maternal side of those holding the post of regent.[60] It, too, is filled with genealogies interspersed with references to the *Tale of Genji* and the *Tale of Ise*, as

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[59] 第五宮は本仁親王と申し。わらはより出家し給て仁和寺の法親王＜覺悟＞と申なるべし。きさきばらの宮ほうしにならせ給事ありがたき事とまうせども。ほとけのみちををもくせさせ給。いとめでたき事なるべし。 Ibid., 170.

[60] ふちなみの御ながれのさかへ給のみにあらず。 Ibid., 173 (quote) and 196 (on the regent connection).

well as frequent citations of poetry. Impressionistically speaking, this is the most "literary" of the scrolls, perhaps a luxury permitted to a secondarily powerful family? The Genji and Narihira references continue into the eighth scroll, which relates the biographies of the Genji princes. A paltry number of anecdotes emerge amidst the reams of genealogical data, but the most striking quality of it all is how the same people continually resurface: one begins to get a sense of just how interwoven the threads of power—imperial, regental, and ecclesiastical—are in the world of *The New Mirror*.

In similar fashion to *The Great Mirror*, the final scrolls contain miscellaneous tales. The ninth is comprised of tabloid-esque accounts of various escapades, inclining heavily towards a virtuous Buddhist orientation at the end. This is a trajectory the tenth also features, though its anecdotes are more fragmentary *uchigiki* うちぎき (snippets) that culminate in a discussion of the origins of the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 and an inquiry into the truth of rumors that Murasaki Shikibu is roasting in hell for writing the *Tale of Genji*. (The elderly narrator assures us Murasaki would deserve no such strict a punishment.) Dusk has fallen in the interim, and though our author would hear more, her source, an elderly lady with an escort, demurs given the lateness of the hour. Subsequent attempts to locate her prove, needless to say, fruitless. The final words of the text are those that rue the author's loss of her interlocutor: "I live with nothing but regret!"[61]

As the above summary has perhaps hinted, *The New Mirror*'s relative neglect outside of Japan is not entirely unfathomable. Readers in search of entertainment may take pleasure in the anecdotes amidst the data, but similar content related in a more much charming (and concise) work can be found in the aforementioned *Ima monogatari*. Nor is *The New Mirror* particularly

[61] くやしくのみおぼえてこそすぎはべれ。Ibid., 253.

receptive to mining for data. The author's penchant for repetition and non-linear narrative offer a challenge to anyone in search of a single thorough account of anything more lasting than a poetry contest here or a splendid procession there.

Nevertheless, *The New Mirror* does raise provocative questions about how its author thought. Such issues are hinted at, though largely undeveloped, in Takehana Isao's 竹鼻績 exegesis (*kaisetsu*) appended to the first volume of *The New Mirror*.[62] Takehana sees *The New Mirror* first and foremost as a successor to *The Great Mirror*.[63] This means that subsequent evaluations of plot, structure, and rhetoric are all conducted in this vein. Its position as a sequel to *The Great Mirror* notwithstanding, Takehana nevertheless credits it with a distinct perspective:

> [...] the world *The New Mirror* describes is markedly qualitatively different from that of *The Great Mirror*. The age that *The New Mirror* takes as its narrative subject was one in which the regent government was essentially in its death throes, the system of rule by retired emperors had appeared, and moreover, the burgeoning might of warrior houses had arisen.[64]

Takehana adds to this the observation that politics, including the Heiji and Hōgen rebellions, have virtually no presence in the work, which for him, is linked to the narrator's gender. He

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[62] I first read the *Kokushi taikei* unannotated version of *Ima kagami*, from which the citations are drawn (unless otherwise specified). Quickly realizing the limitations of this, and I have also used Takehana's 3-volume annotated edition. Takehana Isao 竹鼻績, "Kaisetsu" 解説, in *Ima kagami: zen yakuchū* 今鏡：全訳注, 3.615-639 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1984), 1.616.

[63] Ibid., 615.

[64] …『今鏡』が描いた世界は『大鏡』とは質的にたいぶ相違がある。『今鏡』が叙述の対象とした時代は、摂関政治が実質的に崩壊の途をたどり、院生が出現し、さらに新興の武家勢力が抬頭してきた時代であった。Quotation and following observation, Takehana Isao, 616.

concludes this section by characterizing the work as one primarily concerned with creating "a history of court customs or courtier culture."[65]

Takehana next draws upon key passages from *The New Mirror* to address the notion of the author's *rekishi ishiki* 歴史意識 (historical consciousness).[66] Pointing out the work's repeated claims that the past elucidates the present, he argues that the text promotes a view of history as hortative.[67] Maintaining the comparison with *The Great Mirror*, Takehana argues that *The New Mirror* has a greater commitment to "chronological order," facts, and "objectivity."[68] Because of this, he opines, the author's near complete elision of current events is an active choice inspired by Tametsune's awareness of the precariousness of *The New Mirror*'s world.[69] Takehana sees *The New Mirror* as a testament to a vanishing way of life.[70]

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[65] 宮廷風俗史・貴族文化史… Ibid., 617.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid., 618.

[68] Ibid.

[69] bid., 618-619.

[70] Ibid., 619. This is not too different from the position taken by Sakakibara Kunihiko 榊原邦彦, who identifies a valorization of the past as one of the ideological positions informing *Ima kagami*. His slightly meandering essay also discusses the influences of poetry, religion, and veneration of the royal house. Sakakibara Kunihiko 榊原邦彦, "'Ima kagami' no shisō" 今鏡の思想, in *Rekishi monogatari kōza 4: Ima kagami*, Rekishi monogatari kōza kankō iinkai 歴史物語講座刊行委員会, ed., 117-140 (Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 1997). (The topic distribution is roughly as follows: *mukashi* 昔 and *inishie* いにしへ (the past), 125-128; poetry and religion, 128-131; religions 131-139, *kōshitsu sonsū* 皇室尊崇 (veneration of the royal house), 139-140.) In a piece covering the state of the field, Kanō Shigefumi 加納重文 observes "the debate on whether the text is about art or politics is a difficult question and central topic in [postwar scholarship]." 政治なのか芸能なのか。難しい問題であるが、この後の『今鏡』研究の主要なテーマになる。Kanō Shigefumi 加納重文, "'Ima kagami' kenkyū-shi" 今鏡研究史, in

There is something to this claim. The narrator's repeated juxtaposition of past and more current events, with the latter unfailingly assessed as in no way inferior, lends itself to a reading that sees *The New Mirror* as a plea for the possibility of continuity.[71] However, these more obvious assertions of ties between past and present are not the only ways in which Tametsune's writing embodies this perspective. Within its subdivision along family lines, the organization of *The New Mirror* itself emphasizes diachronic ties. Of course, on the one hand, this is a structure inherited from *The Great Mirror*. Yet on the other, because of the inclusion of the Genji as well as the imperial house and the Fujiwara, as the reader retreads the same periods from the standpoint of different clans, the sense that these are enduring things is heightened.[72] That this in turn suggests an attempt to create the illusion of continuity as a palliative against anxiety over impermanence is one possible reading, I admit, but it requires a psychologizing of the text I am unequipped to undertake.

Whatever Tametsune's motivation, I suggest that we can go one step farther than Takehana's proposal that:

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ibid., 59-74; quotation from 66.

[71] Ōki Masayoshi 大木正義 performs a detailed rhetorical analysis of passages comparing past to present in *Ima kagami*. Though he does not raise the particular point that I am suggesting, his work makes clear that *Ima kagami*'s stance towards the past and present is not simply one of the past being superior. Ōki Masayoshi 大木正義, "Ima kagami no buntai" 今鏡の文体, in ibid., 141-163. The conclusions of his argument are laid out most concisely in ibid., 160-162.

Cf. also Matsumoto's observation that the arts are presented as lasting. Matsumoto Shinpachirō, 28.

[72] The Taira are noted as an aberration—a clan who could only flower for a single age. Tametsune, 77.

> When we think about the reverence for art or fondness for antiquity exhibited in *The New Mirror,* we can say that *The New Mirror* is [the means] whereby the author, who had positioned the basis of his own existence on the universality or superiority of court culture, establishes the court and its culture, which were vanishing in real society, as things which actually exist.[73]

Tametsune does not simply demonstrate their existence. He writes a text in which the past is never lost. This is achieved not only through the emphasis on genealogical continuity or the comments about past/present noted above, but also at the micro-level, where the text is broken down into units of court ceremony and/or poetic moments. There is not a single story named overtly after a political event. In other words, *The New Mirror* depicts a world in which political vicissitudes are not ultimately determinative events: the passage of time is marked by rites and art. At the same time, Takehana's argument for "chronology" notwithstanding, a recursive representation of time is embedded in the narrative structure itself, one that keeps past and present in close proximity, with both very much alive.

The last of the Heian *Mirrors* is *The Water Mirror*. Like *The New Mirror*, it has never been translated, so once again, I will begin by furnishing an overview of the contents. The introduction to the work in the Iwanami edition provides little background information other than to note a traditional authorial attribution to Nakayama no Tadachika 中山忠親 (ca. 1131-1195).[74] The work itself is composed in three scrolls, complete with a preface and postface. It spans the reigns of Emperor Jinmu 神武天皇 through Emperor Ninmyō 仁明天皇 (810-850,

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[73] 『今鏡』にみられる尚古的精神と芸能尊重の精神を考えると、自己の存在の基盤を貴族文化の優越性と普遍性においていた作者が、現実の社会において衰滅しつつある王朝とその文化を、たしかに存在するものとして定着させたのが『今鏡』であるといえよう。 Takehana Isao, 619.

[74] In Nakayama Tadachika, *Mizu kagami*, 3. While my translations of *Mizu kagami* rely on the new 1998 annotated edition, the latter contains no critical introduction.

r. 833-850). The content of each entry, however, is less regular than the framework might suggest. To be sure, certain basic data appear at the beginning of nearly all of the entries: the emperor's parentage, date of designation as Heir Apparent and age at said time, date and age of accession to the throne, and reign length. Yet beyond that, it would seem that almost anything goes. In addition to anecdotes that directly concern the emperors or members of their families, one sees accounts of little or no immediately apparent relevance, including tales textually present in Japan as early as the *Nihon ryōiki* 日本霊異記 (ca. 822).[75] The only narrative anchor seems to be the fact that they ostensibly occurred during a given reign: all anecdotes within a given sub-section are roughly coeval.[76]

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[75] See, for instance, the entries on the etymology of *kitsune* under the reign of Emperor Kinmei 欽明天皇, the preternaturally strong son a man receives in recompense for helping Thunder during the reign of Emperor Bidatsu 敏達天皇, and aspects of the portrayal of En no Gyōja in the time of Emperor Monmu 文武天皇. Nakayama no Tadachika, 49, 52-54, and 73-76, respectively. Komine Kazuaki also notes the presence of tales from *Nihon ryōiki*, as well as *Nihon ōjō gokuraku ki* 日本往生極楽記 (985-987 CE), arguing that such *setsuwa* are "incompatible" (あいいれない) with a "chronicle" (年代記). Komine Kazuaki, *Setuwa no gensetsu: chūsei no hyōgen to rekishi jojutsu* 説話の言説—中世の表現と歴史叙述 (Tokyo: Shinwa-sha, 2002), 352-353.

[76] Where I see randomness, Kaneko Dairoku 金子大麓 finds a unified purpose: "to communicate to the reader, in contrast to the present age, a longed for view of life and the way of the world." …当世に対して懐いていた人生観・処世観を読者に語りかける意識…Kaneko Dairoku 金子大麓, "'Mizu kagami' no setsuwabungaku-sei shiron" 『水鏡』の説話文学性試論, in *Rekishi monogatari ronshū*, Matsumoto Haruhisa 松本治久 ed. 109-126 (Tokyo: Shintensha, 2001), 109. Regardless of our contrasting stances towards the coherence of the work, we take similar positions in supposing it to be trying to communicate something larger than merely the data found in a collection of anecdotes. The essay following Kaneko's in this work is a reassessment of the *bungaku sakuhin to shite no kachi* 文学作品としての価値 (literary worth) of *Mizu kagami*, only to conclude that it is boring. Matsumura Takeo 松村武夫, "'Mizu kagami' no hōhō—jūdai Sujin Tenno~jūyondai Chūai Tenno" 『水鏡』の方法—十代崇神天皇～十四代仲哀天皇, in ibid., 127-152. Citation, ibid., 127; conclusion, ibid., 151-152.

Matsumoto, too, sees the text as having "thematic" cohesion—*ōchō ni tai suru hangyaku* 王朝に

This flimsy-sounding connection may, in fact, be indicative of a more significant change. In the earlier two *Mirrors*, the ultimate determinative of an anecdote's emplacement within the work is family lineage. In other words, location within the works is predicated upon genealogy. To put it concretely, in the case of *The New Mirror*, this means that a story about a Fujiwara will be in "Wisteria Waves," while an anecdote featuring a contemporary Murakami Genji will be relegated to the appropriately titled subsection. If we think of time as a vertical axis along which events are arrayed, then *The New Mirror*, and even *The Great Mirror*, present multiple valid temporal standards, standards that re-trace the same temporal arcs from varying standpoints.

This is not, however, the case in *The Water Mirror*. Here, the exclusive (and comprehensive) standard by which events can or need to be organized is that of imperial chronology. The seeming randomness of some of the events included in fact strengthens the impression of the ultimate sufficiency of this framework to map all events or developments within Japan. This, in turn, suggests an outlook quite different from that of *The Great Mirror* or *The New Mirror*. To put it simply, the only means of organizing time in *The Water Mirror* is that of an essentially uni-directional progression though imperial reigns. In part, this is probably to be expected, since the work draws on *Fusō ryakki*; but relocating the content from an annals-style work to that of a *Mirror* is unlikely to be an arbitrary act. This returns us once again to the question of what is at stake in writing a *Mirror*. For that, a look at how the Heian *Mirrors* have

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たいする叛逆 (rebellions against the court)—which he also identifies as a critical innovation to the *jinbutsu o chūshin toshita kanseiteki rekishi jojutsu* 人物を中心とした感性的歴史叙述 (the sensibility-informed historical narrative that is centered on figures). Matsumoto Shinpachirō, 29.

been collectively evaluated to date and a closer examination of the claims the texts themselves make are in order.

Three *Mirrors* at Once

Regrettably, the efforts to evaluate *Mirrors* as a genre have thus far been fairly limited. Ozaki's brief summation is representative: "The narration of historical events by the elderly is the set pattern for *Mirrors*. The site of narration is…in all cases a temple or its environs in Kyoto or Yamato. There are only some slight differences in the narrated time."[77] The limitations of such a description are fairly evident: nothing is considered other than structure. Nevertheless, though few, there have been some studies that address this problem at greater length.

Onoue Hachirō's 尾上八郎 work is an early effort at appraisal of the *Mirror* phenomenon. In the introduction to the *Nihon bungaku taikei* volume dedicated to the four *Mirrors* (*Water*, *Great*, *New*, and *Clear*), Onoue suggests that writing is occurring in the wake of a paradigm shift. He posits a change described as *jijitsu no monogatari-ka* 事実の物語化, "the narrativization of reality," in the late Heian.[78] Onoue sees the impetus for this development in the splendor of the real-life Fujiwara no Michinaga, with *The Great Mirror* and *Tale of Flowering Fortunes* as the pioneering works to capitalize on this.[79] The *Mirrors* are then

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[77] 歴史上の出来事を老人が語るというのが鏡物の定型である。語られた場所は･･･といずれも京か大和の寺もしくはその周辺。ただ語られた刻限に於いては微妙に相違している。Ozaki Isamu (1992), 13.

[78] Onoue Hachirō 尾上八郎, "Kaidai" 解題, in *Kōchū Nihon Bungaku Taikei: Dai 12-Kan* 校註日本文學大系:第 12 巻, 1-60 (Tokyo: Kokumin tosho, 1916; 1928 edition), 1.

[79] Ibid., 2-3. In truth, I find this argument a bit strained. It reads as though there were early authors in search of inspiration who suddenly realized that they need look no further than Michinaga for an unsurpassable plot.

discussed in terms of how their structure, plot, and rhetoric relate to these two originary compositions. This frame of analysis works to segue into a bifurcation between old and new literature in the Kamakura, with *The Water Mirror* and *The Great Mirror* neatly falling into the former group, and *The Clear Mirror* as belonging to "'old[-style literature]' [featuring] several innovations."[80]

This is admittedly helpful as far as it goes. What is missing is a larger sense of what it might mean to write a *Mirror* in the first place. *Mirrors*, it seems, are lumped together with fact-based *monogatari* as a new way to write history. However, other than the statement that the impulse to create vernacular histories was a fitting outgrowth of "the loss in facility with *kanbun* and the flourishing of a Japanese consciousness,"[81] consideration of the genre remains sporadic and disconnected. *The Water Mirror* is granted a momentary nod with mention of its Buddhist outlook and text's closing reference to the *daienkyōchi* 大円鏡智, "great perfect mirror cognition," but there is little more.[82] With *The Great Mirror* thus positioned side-by-side with *Tale of Flowering Fortunes* within this narrative of emergent nationalism, *Mirror* is tacitly accepted as (and simultaneously reduced to) a generic designation for narrative histories in the vernacular.

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[80] 而してこの両傾向は、一致せずして、次の南北朝時代に入り、新なものは、更に数十歩を進めて太平記を現はし、舊なものも、多少の変化をして増鏡を出してゐるのである。 Ibid., 49-50 (citation from 50).

[81] 漢文の操縦が出来なくなり、日本的意識が盛んになると、この國史をも國文で書かう、而して、日本的色彩を鮮明にし、真の意味で、過去を現現しようといふ企が起こるのは、当然である。Ibid., 16.

[82] Ibid., 12. Translation from http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=大圓鏡智, accessed February 28, 2012, 17:20 CET.

Moving forward roughly fifty years to a more recent edition of *The Great Mirror* and *The Clear Mirror*, Atsuta Isao 熱田公's assessment of *Mirrors* suggests a discussion still at a nascent stage.[83] The article takes the "four *Mirrors*" and evaluates them from the standpoints of genre and content. The former inquiry unfolds beneath the subtitle "Are *Mirrors* tales or histories?"[84] Admitting the problems of this sort of categorization, Atsuta nonetheless proposes to adopt "the perspective of Japanese historiography" and treat the works as the narrative successors to the *Six Imperial Histories*.[85] He attributes their emergence to the after-effects of the collapse of the *ritsuryō* 律令 state, proposing that the *Mirrors* are a new "private" type of history.[86] To the extent that "private" stands as an alternative to imperial- or state-sponsored historiography, this is reasonable. The remainder of the section builds towards the idea that *Tale of Flowering Fortunes* and the *Mirrors* are the fruit of the narrative techniques pioneered by Murasaki Shikibu and a "historical awareness" grounded in the "feudal" (or post-*ritsuryō*)

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[83] Atsuta Isao 熱田公, "Rekishi toshite no kagamimono" 歴史としての鏡物, in *Ōkagami/Masukagami* 大鏡・増鏡, Yamagishi Tokuhei 山岸徳平, ed., 301-309 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1976; 1977 printing).

[84] 鏡物は物語か歴史書か. Ibid., 301.

[85] 日本史学史の立場 鏡物は律令国家が編纂した「六国史」が廃絶したあとをうけてあらわれた「物語風歴史」として位置づけることが常識となっている。 Or perhaps the historical position of Japanese historiography? Ibid. My summary of his article skips the rhetoric of an alleged "traditional Japanese historical consciousness" 日本人の伝統的歴史意識, which is never defined and so dated as to be distracting. It first appears on the opening page of the article.

[86] The term is *shiteki* 私的. Ibid., 302. I believe that this essay covers many of the same basic assumptions as Matsumoto Shinpachirō's work.

world.[87] To state it very simply, the thesis looks to be that *Tale of Flowering Fortunes* + selected *Mirrors* are the medieval answer to the imperial annals. But why this should be the case is never developed beyond the position taken at the starting point—that common knowledge deems them to be so.

Atsuta next moves onto a brief discussion of the factual orientation of the *Mirrors*, with the unsurprising conclusion that "[t]he privileging of a described historical truth, rather than a [mere] recording of individual facts, via the penetration of a sensitive historical consciousness, [takes] a historian's perspective, but, by our present standards, they are no more than incomplete half-truths."[88] Still, he makes an important point when he charges the *Mirrors* with an imperative that extends beyond "recording," one that can be much further developed. However, without explicitly stating what that truth is, in evaluating the works as fundamentally nostalgic (and pessimistic) products of their unstable times, Atsuta presents them as texts that have little more to do than to manifest a historical reality of fragmentation and decline.[89]

I do not wish to go so far as to say that such currents of decline are not to be found in the *Mirrors*. Yet at the same time, I am hesitant to accept this as being all that is operative. The discourse on medieval Japanese literature is so thoroughly imbued with the idea of a zeitgeist of impermanence that it risks blotting out everything else. It becomes too easy to say, "Well, these

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[87] The discussion unfolds largely on 303, while the conclusion is 303-304.

[88] 感性的歴史意識の透徹によって、記録された個々の史実よりも、描きあげた歴史的真実を重くみるのが、歴史家の立場であるが、現在の我々からみれば、それはしかし真実の半面であるにすぎない。 Ibid., 309.

[89] Ibid.

works are 'medieval.' Of course they are about things falling apart." However, to do so ignores the question: why *Mirrors*?

Moving into the early 1980's, we are presented with the least analytical take to date in a short essay by Kawakita Noboru 河北騰 entitled *Rekishi monogatari no seiritsu to tokushoku—iwayuru 'kagamimono' o chūshin to shite* 歴史物語の成立と特色いわゆる「鏡物」を中心として.[90] As Kawakita makes explicit from the outset, in his view, the *Mirrors* exist as a subset of historical narratives.[91] In terms of genre, they are defined solely vis-à-vis *Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, the "shortcomings" of which *The Great Mirror* "overcomes," according to Kawakita's narrative of generic evolution.[92] This is succeeded by an overview of issues surrounding *The Great Mirror*, including a discussion and limited analysis of its content. The following treatments of the remaining *Mirrors* offer little beyond summaries of authorship and dating, plot synopses, and opinions on how they fall short of *The Great Mirror*. The standards for evaluation are often elusive: the works are implicitly charged with the task to record facts comprehensively, but the precise reasons for this are unclear. At best, we might infer that this relates to the famous discussion on history and literature in *Genji monogatari* that is alluded to

[90] Kawakita Noboru 河北騰, *Rekishi monogatari no seiritsu to tokushoku—iwayuru 'kagamimono' o chūshin to shite* 歴史物語の成立と特色いわゆる「鏡物」を中心として, in *Dokkyō daigaku kyōyō shogaku kenkyū* 18 (September 1983): 1-20.

[91] Ibid., 1.

[92] ここに、文字通り鏡物の嫡男が雄々しいく誕生し、そしては、右に見た栄華物語の幾つかの短所を克服する形で… Ibid., 8.

early in the article.[93] Assessments of the works' interest appear completely subjective. Nowhere is any space granted to an analysis of what *kagami* as a sub-genre might signify.

Ten years later, the *Mirrors* are revisited from a comparative perspective that juxtaposes them with *setsuwa* in the work of Fukunaga Susumu 福長進.[94] Unfortunately, from the perspective of the present study, this particular article focuses nearly exclusively on *itsuwa* 逸話 and their functions in *The Great Mirror*. Fukunaga concludes that the typologization of anecdotes in *The Great Mirror* adheres to the larger task of explaining Michinaga and his genealogy.[95] This affords a more nuanced understanding of long-standing claims that *The Great Mirror* is a causally-oriented work, but brings little to bear on the larger question of how *Mirrors* themselves work. However, to be fair, Fukunaga does engage with this question briefly at the outset of his essay. There, he argues that other than a shared debt to *The Great Mirror* as generic progenitor, conventions common to the works' prefaces, and a possible significance to their shared titular designation, the other three *Mirrors* (*New, Water,* and *Clear*) share very little of substance.[96] In that sense, we have not progressed much beyond the early twentieth-century take on the genre with which this survey began.

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[93] Ibid., 2-3. Needless to say, there is no explanation for why we ought to presume the *Genji* standards (ca. 1008) to continue on, unchallenged and unchanged, for the next three hundred years.

[94] Fukunaga Susumu 福長進, *Kagamimono to setsuwa* 鏡物と説話, in *Setsuwa no kōza 6: setsuwa to sono shūen—monogatari, geinō* 説話の講座第６巻：説話とその周縁—物語・芸能, Honda Yoshinori 本田義憲 et al, eds., 70-90 (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1993).

[95] 道長に至る藤原北家の主流の系脈. Ibid., 89.

[96] Ibid., 70-71. Specifically on the title question, he writes: …書名にみられるように歴史を鑑とみる思想をいずれもが持っているといった点も考えられるが… Ibid. I wish that he had unpacked the idea of what it means to think of history *as* a mirror, but this is not where the

The long and the short of this overview is that there is little in contemporary secondary scholarship to suggest how we might productively think about the Heian *Mirrors* as a genre, let alone consider what happens to the genre when it reappears roughly one hundred years later in the Kamakura. Nonetheless, the dearth of material seeking a fundamental notion of late-eleventh- and twelfth-century *kagami* does not obviate the need for consideration of what, if any, commonalities these works might have beyond the structural. It is tempting to suppose that they share more than an otherwise random designation as a *Mirror*. If so, can one pinpoint any sort of argument in the mirrors themselves?[97] Or in slightly more neutral terms, are there themes that can be found in all of the works? As the moments at which the narrator most explicitly presents a

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discussion heads.

[97] These questions are not dissimilar to those posed by Kanō Shigefumi 加納重文 in his investigation of *rekishi monogatari*, though they are applied to the historical tale genre at large without ever seriously questioning which works fall under that rubric. Though Kanō criticizes uncritical acceptance of Haga Yaichi's 芳賀矢一 definition of the genre as *Heian jidai ni hassei shita kana monogatari no rekishi o ifu* 平安時代に発生した仮名物語の歴史をいふ ("the telling of history in *kana* tales originating in the Heian era"), his analysis does not move too far beyond it. While occasionally other works not typically regarded as historical tales are mentioned, he only analyzes those that are canonical in order to determine commonalities of the genre. The characteristics he determines are the ability to be continued, a premise of dialogue, and a need for being interpreted in a context of production. I do not see any of these as substantially contributing new insight to our understanding of the genre, though admittedly, the article is rather old. His penultimate line on the difference between *setsuwa* and *episodes* (which he sees as the building blocks for *Ōkagami*) reveals that our understandings of this work are antipodal: "S*etsuwa* are a means to communicate ideology, while the value of episode is that which is related itself—there is a clear difference here." 説話は、思想を語る手段であるが、挿話は、語られること挿話そのものが価値なのであって、ここには明瞭な隔たりがある。This is completely counter to the argument I will propose in the body of this section about meta-themes in *Mirrors*. Kanō Shigefumi 加納重文, "Rekishi monogatari no seikaku" 歴史物語の性格, in *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kanshō* 54.3 (1989): 16-23. The Haga citation is from ibid., 16; on the shared features of *rekishi monogatari*, for the ability to spawn sequels, see 18-19; the question-and-answer format, 19-20; and the importance of *Zeitgeist*, 20-22; for the quotation on *setsuwa* vs. episodes, see 23.

perspective that spans a particular *Mirror*, the texts' prefaces and postfaces suggest the most immediately fruitful sites for investigation.

Turning thither does not, however, provide a pat answer. Much of the rhetoric is vague, and, similar to living performers, the narrators do not simply say, "Here is what I'm telling you, and this is what you ought to take away from it all." Nonetheless, it is undeniable that each of them at some point avows a relationship between the past and the present that goes beyond one of mere linear chronology: this is a relationship suggested both by the narrative structures proper and the rhetoric of each work. This is not to say that each envisions the *same* relationship between the two, but rather that each presents the past as somehow bearing on the present at a level beyond simple sequential ordering.

In *The Great Mirror*, the narrator (Yotsugi) sets the stage for a tale that exists not only as a self-contained meditation on the past, but also with implied relevance for the present. This is perhaps not clear in his initial proposal to Shigeki, which makes no explicit connection between past and present: "Hmph. Since I'm all alone, how about it? Let's tell tales of the past and let the people here hear 'That's how it was in bygone ages—the world was really like this.'"[98] Yet their interdependence is made clear a few lines later, when Yotsugi observes:

> Isn't the world an interesting thing? But it's just because I *am* so old that I ought to be able to remember a few of these things. Long ago, in the time of a magnificent emperor's governance, a summons went out across the land seeking "Aged men and women, if such there be," and [that emperor] enquired about the rules in the days of yore, heeded those things reported to him, and *then* governed the world. When things are thus, being elderly is quite a wonderful thing. Youngsters, don't look down on us![99]

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[98] いで、さうざうしきに、いざ、たまへ。昔物語して、このおほさふ人々に、『さは、いにしへは、世は斯くこそ侍りけれ』と聞かせ奉らむ。Ishikawa Tōru, 18. Cf. Helen McCullough (1980), 67. "Well, since there's nothing else to do, what do you say? Shall I give you a story about the old days to let these people know what things were like?"

[99] 「世はいかに興あるものぞや。さりとも、おきなこそ少々の事は覚え侍らめ。昔、さ

Of course, to a certain extent, this sounds like so much narrator bravado. But at the same time, the point is unequivocally made that the past *should* influence the present. This connection becomes still more explicit a few lines later with Yotsugi's assertion that he will reveal the mechanisms for Michinaga's success:

> "I have only one thing of importance on my mind," he went on, "and that is to describe Lord Michinaga's unprecedented successes to all of you here, clergy and laity of both sexes. It is a complicated subject, so I shall have to discuss a fair number of Emperors, Empresses, ministers of state, and senior nobles first. Then when I reach Michinaga himself, the most fortunate of all, [the workings of the world will be completely revealed]."[100]

かしき帝の御政事には、国の内に、『年老いたるおきな･おむなやある』と召し尋ねて、いにしへの掟の有様を問はせたまひてこそ、奏する事をきこし召し合はせて、世の政事は行はせたまひけれ。されば、老いたるはいとかしこきものに侍り。若き人たち、なあなづりそ」Ibid., 19. Cf. Helen McCullough (1980), 67-68. "The world is a fascinating place," said Yotsugi. "Yet it is only the old who have learned to understand it a little. In ancient times, wise sovereigns sought out the oldest men and women in the country, asked them how various kinds of laws had worked in the past, and governed accordingly. The aged deserve your respect; don't look down on them, young people!" While I have referenced McCullough in my own translation of the preface, I have followed Ishikawa's annotation. This, as well as individual style, have produced different enough translations that I prefer to include both rather than simply cite McCullough's earlier work. In reference to a song explaining an unexpected phenomenon (a goose's unseasonal egg production) in Chapter 116 of the *Kojiki* (712), Philippi observes: "It was, of course, customary to query venerable, elderly men about strange and unusual happenings." Donald L. Philippi, *Kojiki: Translated with an Introduction and Notes* (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1968; and Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 320 (Note 6). Clearly, Yotsugi's age-derived authority has a lengthy textual precedent.

[100] The translation, other than the bracketed section, is taken from Helen McCullough (1980), 68. I have substituted my own translation for said passage in place of McCullough's "you will understand just how everything came about."「まめやかに世次が申さむと思ふ事は、こと事かは。『ただ今の入道殿下の御有様の、世にすぐれておはします事を、道俗男女のお前にて申さむ』と思ふが、いと事多くなりて、あまたの帝王・后、また、大臣・公卿の御上を続くべきなり。その中に『幸ひ人におはしますこの御有様申さむ』と思ふほどに、世の中の事の隠れなく顕はるべきなり。･･･」. Ishikawa Tōru, 19.

In other words, as implied by McCullough's above-cited observation, in elucidating the reasons for Michinaga's rise, *The Great Mirror* has a revelatory function.[101] It then follows that those workings the account makes clear can be taken to be constants (i.e. *dōri*-like rules or notions) that are equally applicable across time: the relationship of past to present is a regulated one. This harkens back to Ishikawa's earlier remark that well before *Gukanshō*, *The Great Mirror* was a "Principle-Tale."[102]

The New Mirror is the Heian *Mirror* with the least overt position. Yotsugi's granddaughter, the narrator, makes few claims, offering little beyond: "When I've been made aware of the origins [of things], upon hearing how they turn out, my mind is afilled [with understanding]."[103] While she does not spell things out in as much detail as her grandfather, this assertion nonetheless suggests that past and present are bound together in a relationship of cause and effect, not unlike that found in *The Great Mirror*.[104] The works differ, however, in the how the present relates qualitatively to the past. *The Great Mirror* tells us that such things are subject to rules: acts bear fruit that are, to a certain degree, predetermined. Resultant phenomena are positive or negative developments born of earlier events, and as such not identical with their origins. *The New Mirror*, in contrast, grants the existence of rules, but it argues for a past and present that share a continuity—that possibility that certain things can and do survive

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[101] See Note 29.

[102] Ishikawa Tōru, 386.

[103] 源を知りぬれば、末の流れ聞くに、心汲まれ侍り。 Takehana Isao, 1.33. Translation after Takehana, 1.37.

[104] Nishio Yōtarō identifies *Ōkagami*'s view of time as adhering to a 4-kalpa conception. Nishio Yōtarō, 89 and *passim*.

uncorrupted. In *The New Mirror*, there needs to be the possibility of qualitative consistency between phenomena. Still, a perspective on time is implicit in this position, as well.

When Yotsugi returns in *The Water Mirror*, the *Mirror* mission statement undergoes a substantial change. Once again, the necessity of familiarity with both past *and* present is argued. However, while the earlier works' position vis-à-vis time were more obliquely indicated, here we have an overt and expansive description of the nature of time wherein, in the broadest sense, the cycle of death and rebirth has no extremities. As the narrating immortal explains: "It is impossible to say when something is starting, and when something is ending."[105] This cycle, though, occurs within a progression through various ages, which is clarified in the Immortal's/Yotsugi's next utterance: "First, I'll explain the nature of a *kalpa*, and I'll show you that the changing aspect of the world, too, is indeed like this."[106] He so does by initially elucidating the span of a small *kalpa* and how these can be combined to form larger units. There follows a relatively lengthy enumeration of which things happened in which age. Yotsugi closes this section of his monologue by observing that with the future demise of the Buddhist law, things will take a turn for the worse, but that this, too, is part of a pattern. He concludes by admonishing his listener: "We mustn't dismiss this world as inevitably completely accursed."[107] In other words, decline is not the determinative principle in this explanation, as Komine Kazuaki

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[105] 生死は車のわのごとくにして、はじまりては、をはり、をはりてははじり、いつをはじめ、いつををはりといふ事あるべからず。 Nakayama Tadachika and Dairoku Kaneko, 21.

[106] まづ劫のありさまを申して、よのなりゆくさまもかくぞかしとしらせたてまつらん。 Ibid. Translation after Dairoku, ibid., 26.

[107] ひとへにあらぬよになるにやなどあざむき思ふべからず。 Nakayama Tadachika, 18. Nakayama Tadachika and Dairoku Kaneko, 23. My translation follows the annotation and modern Japanese translation found ibid., 26 and 28.

has pointed out in his observation that *The Water Mirror* eschews a downward trajectory in favor of the cyclical perspective inherent in a 4-*kalpa* view of the universe.[108]

This reimagining of the nature of time, complete with the more amorphous ties between past and present, is inscribed in the narrative structure itself. The earlier *Mirrors* organized along genealogical lines subscribe to a system of causality, and while individuals experience different things, the essential nature of the vicissitudes (and their underlying rationale) experienced by any one family or person is constant. We see this in the redoubling of the narrative thread itself, as we re-experience time repeatedly.[109] Yet in *The Water Mirror*,

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[108] Komine Kazuaki (2002), 349. While I initially mistook decline as trumping the cycle, I now follow the reading of Komine (and others). I further agree with Komine's proposal that: "In having transformed the 4-*kalpa* view on the grand history of humankind and the origins of the universe into a historical narrative, *Mizu kagami* should be significant." 壮大な人類史や宇宙の生成史にもまつわる四却観を歴史叙述に転化させたところに、『水鏡』の意義があろう。 Ibid. Lastly, I should note that Komine sees the 4-*kalpa* view in several works, including *Ōkagami*, though only a single sentence is cited as an example in the case of *The Great Mirror*. Ibid., 348-349. With regard to our discussions of the representation of time in *Mizu kagami*, since I look at the same sections of the text as Komine, some overlap, though unintentional, is doubtless inevitable. Once his discussion of the 4-*kalpa* view is concluded, however, he turns to questions of the author's attitude towards his present for most of the remainder of this chapter, an issue not directly relevant to the project at hand. Nishio also locates a 4-kalpa view in *Mizu kagami*, which he ties to *Ōkagami*. Nishio Yōtarō, 91-92. On *dōri* as operative in *Mizu kagami*, see ibid., 92-93. Ozaki Isamu is also concerned with the 4-kalpa view in *Mizu kagami* in Ozaki Isamu (1992). For his summary and chart of the exposition of the kalpas, see ibid., 5-8. Prior to this he makes the point that *Mizu kagami* and *Gukanshō* position themselves differently vis-à-vis the past. The former has no stake in painting the present as inherently inferior, while the latter is more functionally and contemporarily oriented. Cf. ibid., 5.

[109] Matsumoto Shinpachirō and countless other scholars have point to the *Shi ji* as the structural inspiration for *Ōkagami*. Matsumoto Shinpachirō, 18. But the same could be said for Sima Qian, i.e., that he is writing of universals (or claiming to do so, at any rate). "I have gathered up and brought together all the old traditions of the world that were scattered and lost. I have examined the events of the past and investigated the principles behind their success and failure, their rise and decay, in 130 chapters. I wished to examine into all that concerns heaven and humankind, to penetrate the changes of the past and present, putting forth my views as one school of interpretation." From the "Letter to Ren An," in Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Qin Dynasty*, Burton Watson, trans. (The Research Center for Translation the Chinese University of Hong Kong and Columbia University Press: Hong Kong and New York, 1993), 236. For this

wherein a linear imperial chronology informs everything, we have an ostensible unidirectional imperial narrative contained within a cosmological framework that suggests continuity, but beyond that, the relation between structure and content is somewhat vague. There is no discernible suggestion of the existence of imperial chronology as such as dependent upon Buddhism (even less so vice versa). Though *The Water Mirror* stops short of any articulated resolution to this tension, its negotiation between these two arguably preempts Jien's similar struggle by 40 or 50 years.[110]

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passage in Chinese, see Ban Gu 班固 (32-92), Yan Shigu 顔師古, and Ban Zhao 班昭, *Han shu* 漢書, vol. 9 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1962), 62.237. One might even argue that the structural affinity between the *Mirrors* and the *Shi ji* further attests to the plausibility of a reading that takes the *Mirrors* as having greater ends than simple transfer of information or telling of a story.

[110] I arrived at this conclusion prior to reading Matsumoto Shinpachiro's work, but he makes a similar point about the work having a guiding principle that prefigures Jien's. Matsumoto gives *Mizu kagami* and *Gukanshō* as examples of different developments of the *kidentai* form's "basic annals." See Matsumoto Shinpachirō, 30.

In later reading the McCullough's introduction to *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes: Annals of Japanese Aristocratic Life in the Heian Period*, I found a nearly identical assessment: "*Mizu kagami* […] also made what appears to have been the first Japanese attempt to interpret history to an explicitly stated theory—i.e. the belief that the world evolves through a continuous cycle of four periods (*kalpas*), characterized by greater or lesser human capacity to understand the Buddhist dharma. The work was thus a conceptual predecessor of *Gukanshō* and may have been an important influence on that famous work of medieval historiography." William H. and Helen Craig McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes: Annals of Japanese Aristocratic Life in the Heian Period*, *volume 1* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), 31-32. Given their disparaging attitude towards Jien, whose work they describe as one "which today serves mainly to illustrate the confusion of its author's mind," it is difficult to imagine them according the same worth to *Mizu kagami*'s innovation as I would like to do. Citation from ibid., 29. Nishio Yōtarō has also argued for the work's status vis-à-vis the *Gukanshō*. Nishio Yōtarō, 91-93 and *passim*. I suspect that Ozaki would differentiate between the two in part on the basis of Jien's division of things into visible and invisible realms. Cf. Ozaki (1992), 16. 4-kalpa time is sufficient to the author of *Mizu kagami*. Jien's project, of course, is different, as Ozaki repeatedly emphasizes. Ibid., *passim*.

However, the avowal of the nature of time as cyclical is but one aspect of *The Water Mirror*'s discursive innovation: the significance of the relationship between past and present also undergoes a qualitative transformation. In both *The Great Mirror* and *The New Mirror*, the key issue is the illustration of how the past informs the present. In *The Water Mirror*, this is less pressing. The immortal-cum-erstwhile-Yotsugi, though noting the arrival of Buddhist teachings and subsequent awareness of karmic causality in Japan,[111] sheds little light on the implications of causality *per se* beyond a sort of "plus ça change" refrain, enjoining his listener to recognize that the past and present are not unalike.

Instead, in *The Water Mirror*, rather than establishing the nature of time itself, the critical point is how the human subject relates to time, i.e., to both past *and* present. This is made clear by Yotsugi's two-pronged rhetoric: his message takes the form of a repeated emphasis on the similarities between past and present and a recurring plea to forswear both.[112] One of the most succinct articulations of this occurs in his assessment of the narrator/ascetic's initial impulse to renounce the world. After first offering words of praise, he tempers them as follows: "Do not make the mistake of basically despising the present as worthless, but assuming that the past was different. You must think of all of the three realms[—past, present, and future—]as things to be shunned. The aspect of this very world changes this way and that over time. One

[111] Nakayama Tadachika and Dairoku Kaneko, 23 (for original text) and 26 (for gloss on karmic causality).

[112] See also Nishio Yōtarō, who also argues that the important point in *Mizu kagami* is that "The three existences should all be equally eschewed." 「三世は等しく厭離すべし」・・・ Nishio Yōtarō, 93.

must not praise the past and despise the present."[113] In other words, the significance of the past is precisely that it is of equal despicable value with the present.

At the same time, understanding the true nature of time as cyclical carries a moral imperative new to the *Mirrors*. Yotsugi continues to admonish his listener: "But were one to either know nothing at all about the world or to single-mindedly despise the present, both would be sinful. That the things of the present age do not resemble the past is something those who know nothing of the world say."[114] To condemn the present while fetishizing the past is impermissible. One must not, it seems, renounce the world without first truly grasping its workings. *The Water Mirror* has, in essence, raised its demands on its readers. Unlike the earlier *Mirrors*, in which it is promised that the principles of things will be revealed, *The Water Mirror*

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[113] おほかたはいまのよをはかなくみうえとみ給て、いにしへはかくしもあらざりけんとあさくおぼすまじ。すべて三界はいとふべき事也とぞおぼすべき。この目のまへのよのありさまは、おりにしたがひて、ともかくもなりまかるなり。いにしへをほめいまをそしるべきにあらず。 Nakayama Tadachika and Dairoku Kaneko, 17 (original) and 19-20 (annotation and modern Japanese). While I follow Dairoku's annotation in most regards, in taking *sangai* 三界 to refer to the past, present, and future, I differ from her. She suggests interpreting it as the realms of desire, form, and formlessness. Although I recognize that as the standard interpretation of this compound, in this particular passage, with its rhetoric of past and present, it does not make much sense. Cf. ibid., 19.

[114] ･･･世中をきはめしらぬは、かたおもむきに、いまのよをそしるこころいでくるも、かつはつみにも侍らん。めのまえの事をむかしににずとは、世をしらぬ人の申すことなるべし。 Nakayama Tadachika and Dairoku Kaneko, 28. My translation again draws on the annotation and modern Japanese versions in ibid., 28-29.

Ōhashi Naoyoshi 大橋直義 concludes his essay on the representation of the Tenmu line with the assertion that *Mizu kagami* is a work in which the inclusion of negatives and positives accords with a Buddhist historical perspective, characterizing the work later as one that "relativizes the rupture with the past." 過去の断絶を相対化し･･･Ōhashi Naoyoshi, "Tenmu kōkei to rekishi jojutsu—shisen kokushi-ron e no ichi kaitei toshite" 天武皇統と歴史叙述—私撰国史論への一階梯として, in *Chūsei no gunki monogatari to rekishi jojutsu*, 376-405; citation from 400.

explains the patterns as well as how one is to relate to them. The work requires one not only to understand the rules that govern the unfolding of events, but, I would suggest, also to accept that any value assigned to occurrences derived from their relative chronology (or any chronology?) beyond that of cause and effect is arbitrary. Only in this way is it possible to equally dismiss past, present, and future.

With the above established, the narrator launches into his tale, not to return to the narrative present until the postface. There, little beyond the typical deprecatory remarks about the author's faulty memory and the work's inferior quality is added.

Nonetheless, in providing the lengthy overtly Buddhist preface and closing with nods to both *The Great Mirror* and the Great Mirror of Buddha Wisdom, *The Water Mirror* inarguably places itself in the *Mirror* tradition while making an unprecedentedly grand bid to invoke cosmological authority to bolster its message.[115]

To summarize, in the Heian *Mirrors*, we have three works that appear to impart messages for their readers based on their respective notions of how past and present relate, i.e., the nature of time itself.[116] In other words, they can be read on one level as suasive works: each work presents an account that presupposes a revelation (on the narrator's part at the very least) of how the past informs or relates to the present. That is to say, one cannot correctly grasp the meaning of any given *Mirror* without subscribing to (or perhaps recognizing?) the particular work's position vis-à-vis the workings of time and, arguably, by extension, the universe. In this,

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[115] For a possible allusion to *San guo zhi* 三國志 in selecting the title, see Dairoku's annotation in Nakayama Tadachika and Dairoku Kaneko, 454.

[116] On this point, see also Brightwell, 221.

the Heian *Mirrors* differ markedly from those *rekishi monogatari* (such as *Tale of Flowering Fortunes*) that seem to lack a philosophical position.

I would go further and suggest that in taking a certain philosophical stance predicated upon an understanding of how time works, even if the stance itself is ill-defined, the *Mirrors* have laid the groundwork for a genre with great potential to make claims of authority. After all, in couching their respective accounts of the past in terms of cosmological principles, each of the *Mirrors* can be read as a plaidoyer for understanding the universe as subject to rules. While as a genre, the *Mirrors* reflect pasts, these are pasts configured as illustrative of the workings of principles. Or, to go one step further, the events that are recorded in each *Mirror* are in a figural relationship with the laws (or truths) that determine their unfolding. So taken, the *Mirrors* appear as projects similar to Jien's *Gukanshō*: syntheses of history and cosmology in service of a particular agenda. While Jien's immediate goals are arguably more concrete, common to both *Gukanshō* and the *Mirrors* is a presupposition, tacit or explicit, that their respective perspectives are in fact grounded in an understanding of how the universe works. In the Heian *Mirrors*, the arena in which these understandings play out is limited linguistically and thematically to the local. This changes markedly in the Kamakura period, however, when via *The Mirror of China* and later *The Mirror of the East*, *Mirror*-writing is dramatically expanded in both form and content to include writing about the fate of empires in transcultural idioms. With this in mind, let us now consider anew the appearance and import of the Kamakura *Mirrors*.

Including the Kamakura: From Three *Mirrors* to Five

It is not until the mid-thirteenth century that another historiographic *Mirror* appears: *The Mirror of China*. *The Mirror of the East* then follows close upon its heels. As stated previously, these mirrors are largely absent from broader genre-based discussions of medieval

historiographic writing. Of the little scholarship on *The Mirror of China*, only limited work has attempted to bring it into a larger literary/historiographic context. With regard to *The Mirror of the East*, the situation is similarly bleak, at least in English-language scholarship. There we confront once again a paucity of material that places works in a larger constellation of historiographic writing. For example, Minoru Shinoda's highly readable introduction to the *The Mirror of the East* provides an engaging account of pre- and mid-Genpei War Japan while at the same time revealing some of the shortcomings that characterize early scholarship on said work.[117] Because so little space is devoted to considering historiography, *The Mirror of the East* comes across essentially as a product of its time and as being of interest solely in that right. Shinoda ventures little conjecture about the work as part of a larger tradition other than a paragraph in which he likens it to the earlier royally sponsored histories with the following observation: "[O]bviously [*Azuma kagami*] was intended by its sponsors to be an official history in the manner of the official histories of the imperial court."[118]

Where are we then? What happens when *The Mirror of China* appears? To seek an answer to this, I will first look at the ways in which *The Mirror of China* negotiates with the rhetoric in the prefaces of the earlier *Mirrors*. Then I will consider the work in toto (or at least the extant fascicles) from the angle of whether or how it adopts the suasive position of its generic predecessors as well as what its innovations imply.

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[117] Minoru Shinoda, *The Founding of the Kamakura Shogunate 1180-1185 with selected translations from the* Azuma Kagami (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960). I borrow the translation of the title *Sendai kuji hongi* 先代旧事本紀 from David Lurie, as it appears in the *Dictionary of Sources of Classical Japan (DSCJ)/Dictionnaire des sources du Japon classique*, "Online Draft Version" December 2004, http://wwwap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller-e, accessed March 5, 2012, 13:18 (CET).

[118] Minoru Shinoda, 8.

In his introduction to *The Great Mirror*, Matsumura Hiroji suggests that this work of indeterminate authorship is highly influential in terms of style, naming *The New Mirror*, *The Water Mirror*, and *The Clear Mirror* among the works that bear its imprint.[119] While *The Mirror of China* is not among those listed, its preface shares similarities with the openings of *The Great Mirror, The New Mirror*, and *The Water Mirror,* allowing speculation on prefatory conventions and Shigenori's work's relation thereto.

To begin with the older work, *The Great Mirror*'s preface unfolds as an exchange between four people: two elderly men, Yotsugi and Shigeki, take center stage, but Shigeki's aged wife and a young retainer occasionally interject, as well. After a lengthy exchange of banter that reveals, albeit somewhat approximately, the circumstances of the present meeting and the backgrounds of the two key figures, Yotsugi finally suggests they while away the time before the sutra readings by telling tales of the past. He proposes to take Michinaga as the central figure of his account, but to place him in a broad chronological context.[120]

In terms of the structure itself, Matsumura calls attention to the "use of the device of positioning [the account] as an actual conversation that the author overheard from the sidelines and then turned into a book."[121] There is thus a certain distance between the work's author (perhaps transcriber may be a more apt term) and the content it contains. This sense is heightened

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[119] Matsumura Hiroji, 16.

[120] Matsumura observes that in its emphasis on *how* Michinaga came to power, *Ōkagami* offers a (critical) new perspective to that of the earlier *Eiga monogatari*. Ibid., 20. For his discussion of the criticism in *Ōkagami*, see ibid., 23-25.

[121] "…いわゆる真相談などをはさんだりするのを、傍で筆者なる人が聞いていて書き写したものが本書であるという趣向をとっている。" Ibid., 17.

by the prevalence of the *-meri* suffix, indicating the narrator's visual apprehension of events.[122] The scribe's physical remove notwithstanding, however, there is ultimately no suggestion that the written *The Great Mirror* is in any way different from the spoken account the author overhears. While Yotsugi's decision to limit himself to things from his 190-year life span for veracity's sake can hardly be taken in earnest, it invokes a rhetoric of first-hand accountability, filtered through the pellucid scribe-cum-author.[123]

The New Mirror, likely the next of the mirrors to appear, does not deviate substantially from the framework Ozaki laid out above—an old person relating the past at a venue with some ties to a religious site.[124] In *The New Mirror,* the narrative persona of Fujiwara no Tametsune 藤原為経, a woman on a pilgrimage with friends, encounters an aged crone who asks to join them for a while as they rest. Once the younger women and her companions realize their new acquaintance's fantastic age—over 150—they press her for an account of her life. Blessed with experience in court service that has included acquaintance with no less than Murasaki Shikibu, the elderly storyteller proposes to begin her account of things with the life of Emperor GoIchijō.

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[122] Matsumura calls attention to its profusion in the 5th note to the main text. Ibid., 35. Komine also discusses the mutually constitutive figures of the narrator and recorder. Komine Kazuaki (2006), 604-613.

[123] Helen McCullough devotes a lengthy section of her introduction to *The Great Mirror* to discussing the "Settings and Actors" therein. Of particular interest are her observations on the figure of Yotsugi. McCullough determines certain attributes as indicating authority: his preternatural age, the fact that he reveals events at a temple as "a surrogate for the tardy preacher." Helen Craig McCullough (1980), 17-20, quotation from 19. She later credits him with trifold structural duties: "At one level he represents the historian, at another he is cloaked in supernatural authority, and at the third he functions as an entertainer." Ibid., 21. For similar points, see also ibid., 25-26.

[124] See Note 77.

She launches directly into the tale so that the preface positions the content of the body of *The New Mirror* as her words recorded, not as a later reworking thereof.

The Water Mirror employs a similar strategy. The preface's narrator, in this case an elderly nun, is returning from a pilgrimage. Exhausted from the journey, she stops at twilight to rest at a temple and dozes off. When she awakens, she finds a young wandering ascetic (修行者) reading a sutra. After a brief conversation about their respective peregrinations, the intervening night of sutra reading is glossed over, and the narrative jumps to the period before dawn. At this point, in an effort to avoid falling asleep, the narrator asks the ascetic whether he can tell her anything marvelous.[125] In response, the ascetic relates a mystical encounter with an immortal. In it, the immortal has assumed human form, and he approaches the former to listen to his sutra readings. A lengthier exchange ensues, and with a little prodding, the immortal offers an explication of Buddhist notions of time. He then states that he will finish the work begun by Yotsugi in order that the nature of the world be manifested comprehensively. This is, he argues, a necessary first step to ensure that any desire to renounce this world will be based in a true grasp its essential workings.[126] With the announcement that he will cover the 1,522 years from Emperor Jinmu's accession to the throne through Kashō 3 (850), the immortal concludes the

[125] I am not certain what to make of the presence of factors that suggest liminality to the modern reader: the fuzzy border between night and day, waking and sleeping, and even the setting near the lake nowadays invite associations with things not entirely of this world. But without more familiarity with Kamakura narrative techniques, I hesitate to read that as an inherent means to problematize the truthfulness of the following account.

[126] The immortal seems to be suggesting that he *was* Yotsugi? 万寿のころをひゝ世継と申ししさかしきおきな侍りき。Nakayama Tadachika and Dairoku Kaneko, 28.

preface, saying: “First, I’m starting with Emperor Jinmu, and then I’ll be continuing from there.”[127]

On the one hand, *The Water Mirror* has certain elements in common with *The Great Mirror* and *The New Mirror*: the narrator is on a journey, a conversation with another traveler ensues, and the result is presented to the reader. Yet the structure has not been adopted wholesale. Komine Kazuaki points out that in casting the ascetic informant as young and our narrator as elderly, the typical ages have been reversed. He adds, “Having the setting such that the ascetic re-tells the immortal’s tale and that he is able to transmit but a tenth of it increases the impression of remote history as vague and indistinct and/or its mysteriousness, and in so doing avoids [the question of] the narrator’s responsibility.”[128] Moreover, as in *The New Mirror*, in *The Water Mirror*, too, the role of the scribe is effaced to a greater degree than in *The Great Mirror*. The reader is thereby granted seemingly direct access to the conversation-within-a-conversation, as the ascetic allows the material to unfold in the words of the immortal.[129] (Indeed, though there is the immortal’s claim to a faulty memory in the postface to destabilize the narrative, the narrator-scribe herself pays only minimal lip service to the idea that she might have left out anything.) In all three prefaces, then, the role of the *text*’s creator is marginalized, as though the

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[127] まづ神武天皇より』とて、いひつづけ侍し（。）Ibid., 29.

[128] 仙人の物語をさらに修行者が語り、仙人の話の十分の一しか伝ええないという設定によって、遠い歴史の曖昧模糊とした印象や神秘性を高め、語りの責任を回避しているのである。Komine Kazuaki (2002), 347.

[129] Dairoku Kaneko finds this double framing technique extremely effective and reminiscent of *nō* or *kyōgen*, experimentally presenting the outlines of the story in dramatic form. Dairoku Kaneko (2001), 109-110 (description); 110-114 (rendering as a play).

instantiating of content as a text were a transparent process, devoid of any text-shaping impulses.[130]

The influence of the writer's presence is somewhat different in the preface to *The Mirror of China*. Like the narrators above, Shigenori is on a religious pilgrimage. After years of deferral and an eventual journey by boat, he has arrived at Anraku Temple. Again, consistent with similar prefaces, an on-site encounter (here with a Chinese monk and his translator) leads to a conversation that results in the transmission of the *Mirror*'s content to the narrator. When the recitation draws to an end, the monk promises that they will meet again. Shigenori escorts him to the main gate, where he vanishes, leaving Shigenori the exclusive conferee of his intellectual legacy.[131]

At the same time, though, Shigenori's rhetoric allows for multiple intercessions between the ostensible subject of the work, China, and his version thereof. To begin with, there is the basic problem of communication, as noted in a previous chapter. While on the one hand serving to enhance the realism of the exchange, emphasizing the language gap also reminds the reader of the distance from China proper—the information Shigenori comes to moves via a spatial filter. Likewise, the account is further complicated by Shigenori's temporal remove from the events of which he writes, which is of particular note given the emphasis the first two preface

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[130] This being said, I think that Dairoku would argue that the text's creator's presence is implied in the narrator's rhetoric. See ibid., 115-118. Also for use of *shōdō-ra no gengo* 唱導等の言語 (preaching rhetoric) in relation to the same, see ibid., 124-126. Still, the process of transformation to text is not present until the very end of the work (*Mizu kagami*).

[131] Moreover, he has not had to go to China to study to obtain this authentic knowledge. Instead, the source has come to him. Compare this also to Ong's description of "early writing" that "provides the reader with conspicuous help for situating himself imaginatively." Walter J. Ong, 100. The devices Ong notes are more similar to the framing stories in the other *Mirrors* than in Shigenori's, with its recurring textual orientation.

narrators place on first-hand knowledge and the extraordinary factors that enable it. Following the realization that his source has unexpectedly vanished (common to all of the *Mirrors*), Shigenori laments:

> Alas, his parting! There was nothing else to be done. In the matters of the worthy kings of Cīnasthāna and the governments of the Sage Emperors, the ages of governance and those of chaos, there are things outstanding and ignoble. Much as I might like to tell [these things] to the ignorant, when I hear something in the morning, I've forgotten it by evening. Such is the way of old age, and even though I don't remember things at all, I've recorded one-one hundredth of [what I heard]; [of the matters profuse as] spring trees that were to be recorded, [what remains] is a trifling amount—about as much as 'a dog molts in autumn.' While I will surely be mocked by men of talent, young boys and girls might perchance read and understand it. Since I have heard that there is a practice whereby one takes the past and uses it to reflect on things, I ought to call this *The Mirror of China*.[132]

Though the frailty of human memory Shigenori pleads as an excuse for a patchily preserved account may be little more than formulaic (and again, not dissimilar to that of *The Water Mirror*'s postface), in foregrounding the act of recording itself and the attendant difficulties, Shigenori's preface has none of the aura of proximity seen in the first two *Mirrors* in particular.

In effect, by actively calling reader attention to both linguistic and temporal distance from the (oral) origins of his text, Shigenori creates ruptures in the narrative of an unbroken or comprehensive transmission. This poses challenges to the notion of a complete or objective rendering. Even as Shigenori espouses the instructive intent of his work in the penultimate line,

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[132] 名残ノ惜サ二無サ二為一方、震旦ノ賢王、聖主ノ御政、治世、乱代ノ云為[アリサマ]、目出タキ事モアリ、浅猿シキ事モアリ、レ不ラン知人ニ語申サマホシケレトモ、朝二聞テ、暮ニ忘ルル、老ノ習ナレハ、ツヤツヤオホヘ侍ラネトモ、百分カ一端ヲ、春木ニ記ス事、秋毫計也、才人ノ為ニハ、嘲ラレヌヘシ、児女子ノ為ニハ、自ヲ見トカ[ママ]レナン、古ヲ以テ 鏡トスル事アリトカヤ 、キコヘ給シカハ 、唐鏡トヤ申侍ヘキ 、Fujiwara no Shigenori, 10-11.

these intrusive gaps invite the reader to consider the emergent China of Shigenori's discourse as a personalized creation, a China refracted through space, time, and the selectivity of memory.[133]

In adopting a conventional setting and format, the preface has placed *The Mirror of China* in conversation with the world of the Heian *Mirrors*.[134] Nevertheless, at the same time, through its double gesture to both Heian and Tang predecessors, it signals that it has altered the terms in which we ought to think about the genre. First of all, one must ask whether *The Mirror of China* can be said to engage with metaphysical issues in the same way that its Heian counterparts do. To be sure, there is no explicit rumination here on past and present. This does not, however, mean that *The Mirror of China* has no principle of its own to transmit. The transmission Shigenori's narrative counterpart receives and in turn passes on comes from devotees of the *Lotus Sutra*. Given this, it is possible to conjecture that the Chinese monks of the preface might reasonably intend their account of China to ultimately serve as a kind of *hōben* 方便 (expedient means).[135]

Alternatively, even if the idea of the text as *hōben* is going too far, in using the prefatorial conventions of the genre, Shigenori casts the content of his narrative in a familiarly

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[133] I follow Peter Burke's use of the term "refracted" in his discussion of cultural translation. Peter Burke, 20. Denecke locates in the preface to the *Kaifūsō* especially "heightened awareness and desire to emphasize Chinese dynastic shifts." Wiebke Denecke, "Chinese Antiquity and Court Spectacle in Early *Kanshi*," in *Journal of Japanese Studies* 30:1 (2004): 110.

[134] Again, Yamada Naoko has also identified this move vis-à-vis *The Great Mirror*. Yamada Naoko (2009), 108-109.

[135] This becomes a still more tempting proposition when one bears in mind that the original length of *Kara kagami*—ten scrolls—is the same as that of the *Lotus Sutra*. And of course, it resonates with Komine's earlier arguments about the function of the setting of *Ōkagami*. See Note 41. Komine also sees Yotsugi's rendering as colored by the *Lotus Sutra* and its use of expedient means. Komine Kazuaki (2009), 543-544.

powerful light. As noted earlier, Komine Kazuaki has argued persuasively that the narrative site of *The Great Mirror*—a temple, preceding lectures on the *Lotus Sutra*—could invest *The Great Mirror* itself with implicit parallel authority to the sermon to follow.[136] In essentially reproducing this setting, Shigenori cannot help but replicate the invocation to a higher authority. As with his predecessors, Shigenori, too, should have a work with something beyond mere data to reveal.

At the same time, one can see a new focus in *The Mirror of China*, a focus that moves away from revelations of how past relates to present and focuses instead on an equally abstract idea, that of the relationship between religion and the institution of imperial (in the case of China) authority. The preface makes this new emphasis clear in the monk's explanation for the reasons behind is presence in Japan: "Buddhism is languishing at the Song Court, and people who venerate this teaching are rare, so we have come to Japan…"[137] The surviving fascicles of the work may subtly suggest a vision in which mythical authority (in the early originary scrolls) is replaced by Buddhism, a manoeuver manifested in the way in which Buddhist-centered events become the most substantial narratives in the final scrolls. This stands in marked contrast to the beginning of the work, where gods and super-human emperors dominated events.

In effect, Shigenori has increased the kinds of truth principles that *Mirrors* reflect. It is possible to regard this expansion of thematic potential effectively as transforming *Mirrors* from a genre on a single type of truth (time) to truths in general (time, the relationship between secular

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[136] See Note 41.

[137] 宗朝ノ仏法衰ヘテ、此教ヲ崇ル人希ナル故ニ、日本へ渡テ. . . Fujiwara no Shigenori, 9.

and cosmological authority, etc.). *Mirrors* would then look like a genre potentially suited to the promotion of any kind of "larger" truth, a development with implications to which I will return.

This is not to say that there is no place in *The Mirror of China* to look for a representation of time. In the earlier *Mirrors*, the narrative structure itself is not unrelated to conceptualizations of the passage and/or nature of time.[138] While Shigenori is never explicit on this matter, in *The Mirror of China*, two aspects of the very organization of the text are suggestive. The first is the distribution of material across scrolls. As noted before, the beginnings and endings of the scrolls do not neatly correspond with the establishment and collapse of a dynasty. Even in the scrolls that do open with dynastic origins, there is often a certain amount of narrative retrograde before the story can move forward. This produces an effect whereby the scrolls do not strictly correspond to dynasties, and as a result, a reading of a Chinese dynasty as a normative unit of time is subverted.

The second feature of the work that can be taken as imparting temporal perspective is the diminishing scale of the narrative, also introduced earlier. Even if one were to identify the textual sources for each item in *The Mirror of China*, that would not explain why the political leaders themselves seem to shrink in scale across the scrolls. That does not mean that this diminution itself is unimportant. I would like to suggest that we take it as a human-level embodiment of a larger principle of decline, one akin to the description of the nature of time in the postface to *The Water Mirror*, wherein ages themselves wax and wane. Whether there would

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[138] Ōkuma Kiichiro 大久間喜一郎 likewise has located a perspective vis-à-vis time embedded in the narrative structure of the *Kojiki* 古事記 and *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀. Ōkuma Kiichiro 大久間喜一郎, "*Ki Ki*—rekishi monogatari to shite" 『記紀』—歴史物語として, in *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kanshō* 54.3 (1989): 34-38. For his discussion of structural representations of *zettaiteki jikan* 絶対的時間/*shinwateki jikan* 神話的時間 (absolute/mythic time) vs. *sōtaiteki jikan* 相対的時間 (relative time) in these two works, see ibid., 36-37.

be an analogous explanation in conclusion to the lost scrolls of *The Mirror of China* is anyone's guess—their absence renders positing this particular work as predominantly informed by ideas of *mappō* 末法 (Final Age) or a Four-*kalpa* view, such as that discussed by Komine Kazuaki for *The Water Mirror*, impossible.[139] Regardless, however, this interpretation of structural significance allows for understanding *The Mirror of China* as a work with an actual perspective, and not simply a random assemblage of Chinese sources.

The other half of Shigenori's double gesture is that to continental writing. Thus, we must also consider what Shigenori achieves by introducing the Tang emperor Taizong 唐太宗 (599-649).[140] First and foremost, in invoking a continental precedent in addition to engaging with the conventions of domestic *Mirrors*, Shigenori has created an opportunity to rethink the genre itself. That *Mirror* existed in late-thirteenth-century Japan as a term that could be deployed in a text's title to designate an explanatory function is attested to by much earlier domestically composed works, such as the pre-Insei-period dictionary *Jikyō* 字鏡, and Kūkai's 9th-century work on poetry, the *Bunkyō hifuron* 文鏡秘府論.[141] Moreover, medieval elite were aware that the metaphorical use of the mirror as instructive was not limited to Taizong. The *Huainanzi* 淮

[139] Readers in search of an English-language, brief, and accessible overview of *mappō* and (to a lesser degree) 4-kalpa thought in pre-modern Japan are referred to two articles: Michele Marra, "The Development of Mappō Thought in Japan (I)," in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 15.1 (March 1988): 25-54, and Michele Marra, "The Development of Mappō Thought in Japan (II)," in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 15.4 (December 1988): 287-305.

[140] David Bialock also references Taizong's lines when he interprets the notion of *Mirror* vis-à-vis *Ōkagami*, as noted earlier. Cf. David Bialock, 165-167.

[141] Yamada Naoko also proposes awareness of Bai Juyi's *Bai lian jing* 百練鏡. Yamada Naoko (2009), 108.

南子, also known already in the Heian period, enjoins one to "[e]]mbrace the mind[-set] of a great sage, using it as a mirror to illuminate the sentiments of the myriad things."[142]

Introducing China into the fray in this way has several potential results[143]: the genre of *Mirror* ceases to exist exclusively in terms of *kana* compositions, it is no longer something that can only be used to discuss things Japanese, and it reinforces the notion that a *Mirror* can be an authoritative text in a way in which I would like to suggest that *monogatari* are not. None of these fits nicely with the way the discourse on *Mirrors* has evolved to date, but it affords us new ways to think about the genre that do not rest upon ignoring a substantial part of the extant corpus.

If *Mirrors* can be taken as recognizably discoursing on authority of any sort, then this potential together with the above generic innovations has possible implications for the fifth and

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[142] 抱大聖之心,以鏡萬物之情. "Illuminations," however, has religious connotations inappropriate to *Kara kagami*. Liu An 劉安 (d. 122 BCE), *Huainanzi* 淮南子, in *Hanwen da xi* 漢文大系 (Taibei:Xin wenfeng, 1978), 11.16. <This is, in fact, a series with *kunten* added—as such, romanizing it in *pinyin* seems another example of the tendency to equate place of origin with language identity.> John T. Carpenter, in the earlier cited essay on calligraphic practices in Japan, mentions a copy of the *Huainanzi* as "in all likelihood…a transcription commissioned by the Nara or early Heian court." John T. Carpenter, 164. Its continued relevance in general and to the Southern House in particular is evidenced by its appearance in the *Okaya kanpakuki* 岡屋関白記 (roughly contemporary to *Kara kagami*), where it is among the texts cited by Shigenori's father, Tsunenori, to support a proposed reign name in a 1249 debate. Konoe Kanetsuna 近衛兼経 (1210-1259), *Okaya kanpakuki* 岡屋関白記 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1988; scanned into Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo "The Full-text Database of the Old Japanese Diaries" http://wwwap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller-e), 171. Accessed April 29, 2013.

[143] Yamada Naoko notes, "On the one hand, in that *The Mirror of China* handles the subject of Chinese history, it sets itself apart from other *Mirrors*, including *The Great Mirror*." 一方、『唐鏡』は、中国の歴史を扱うという点で、『大鏡』を含む他の鏡ものとは一線を画す。Yamada Naoko (2009), 109. Her subsequent remarks, however, turn to the significance of its Japanese readership; she does not enter into the greater implications for the genre.

final Heian/Kamakura *Mirror*: *The Mirror of the East*.[144] Dating probably from the early 14th century, *The Mirror of the East* is immense, with 52 extant scrolls that span 87 years.[145] Given its unwieldy dimensions, I will focus here on the ways in which *The Mirror of the East* seems to diverge from the earlier *Mirrors*. The first and most significant difference is that there is no preface. It simply launches directly into "Emperor Antoku (posthumous name Kotondo [?]) was the first son of Cloistered Emperor Takakura. His mother was Kenreimon-in (the daughter of Prime Minister Lord Kiyomori). On the 21st day of the 2nd month of Jishō 4, he accepted the abdication of the previous emperor. On the 2nd day of the 4th month of the same, he acceded to the throne…"[146]

There are also apparent differences in linguistic form and narrative structure. For one, *The Mirror of the East* is written in variant *kanbun*. Although portions of the extant versions of *The Mirror of China* betray Chinese origins in their writing style and form, they are certainly not on par with the wholesale adoption of a different idiom as seen in *The Mirror of the East*. *The Mirror of the East*'s chronicle style, too, differs from that of the Heian *Mirrors*. Yet when we look at *The Mirror of China*, there seems to be a shift within the work itself towards an

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[144] At this point, most of my familiarity with *Azuma Kagami* comes from English translations, specifically that of Shinoda Minoru (cited earlier) and William McCullough, "The Azuma Kagami Account of the Shōkyū War" in *Monumenta Nipponica* 23.1/2 (1986): 102-155. I have, however, also consulted Nagahara Keiji 永原慶二 and Kishi Shōzō 貴志正造, eds., *Zen yaku Azuma kagami* 全譯吾妻鏡 (Tokyo: Shin jinbutsu ōrai-sha, 2011).

[145] In using this dating, I follow Nagahara Keiji, who writes: "The probability that the early portion, too, was assembled after Shōan 2 (1300) is high." …前半部も正安二年以降編纂された可能性が大きい… "Shisho to shite no Azuma kagami" 史書としての吾妻鏡, in ibid., 5-9; citation from 8. Cf. William McCullough, 102-103.

[146] 安徳天皇(諱は言人。)高倉院の第一皇子。御母は建禮門院。(太政大臣清盛公の女。)治承四年二月廿一日、受禅。同四月廿二、即位。*Zen yaku Azuma kagami*, 43.

increasingly chronicle-style format.[147] While nowhere does it reach the frequency of *The Mirror of the East*, in the later scrolls (roughly Han on), entries tend to be introduced either by the emperor's accession or a specific date.[148] In other words, though the nature of the linguistic shift that occurs between *The Mirror of China* and *The Mirror of the East* is more difficult to categorize, the format of *The Mirror of the East* does not represent a radical stylistic break any more, once we also consider *The Mirror of China*, the other Kamakura *Mirror*.

Lastly, there is the ostensibly distinct subject matter. *The Mirror of the East* is about warriors. William McCullough characterizes it as: "a chronologically arranged record of political, economic, and religious events connected with the Kamakura *bakufu* and its leaders."[149] Perhaps, then, we can see it as the history of the creation of an institution (devotion to Minamoto no Yoritomo's portrayal notwithstanding). In this, it would once again be markedly different from its Heian predecessors. Nonetheless, it would share an affinity with *The Mirror of China* in that the latter, too, is really a history of dynasties as governing institutions (featuring plenty of martial

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[147] Sakurai Yoshirō 桜井好朗, in a discussion of post-battle purification for warriors in 940 and 941, implies a court-centered "seasonal cyclic[al]" time and a warrior-privileged "histori[cal]" time, when he writes, "In this way [through calendrical ritual], time is converted into a seasonal cycle and distanced from history." こうして、時間は季節的な循環におきかえられ、歴史から遠ざけられる。Sakurai Yoshirō 桜井好朗, *Chūsei Nihon no shinwa to rekishi jojutsu* 中世日本の神話と歴史叙述 (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 2006), 112-113 (citation 113); see ibid., 119 for a similar point. Of course, there is a substantial chronological gap at hand; nevertheless, the suggestion is intriguing.

[148] Unfortunately, the only surviving scroll of the earliest manuscript is from the portion of the text that does not feature this style, so it is impossible to determine whether this has always been the format of *Kara kagami* or is a later innovation of the Edo manuscripts.

[149] William McCullough, 102.

activity) vis-à-vis religious or cosmological authority, not of a single lineage or other private concern.[150]

All of this, combined with the argument that *Mirrors* served to transmit principles greater than themselves, makes the appearance of a *bakufu Mirror* much less surprising.[151] Indeed, when we reconsider the *Mirror* genre with its Kamakura constituents included, *The Mirror of the East* no longer seems a radical innovation sprung fully formed from an anonymous medieval scrivener's head. Instead it appears as the latest in a series of gradual generic innovations, beginning in some cases in *The Water Mirror* (also, tellingly, understudied), expanding in *The Mirror of China*, and coming to fruition in *The Mirror of the East*.[152] This perspective undermines a narrative of *Mirrors* as mere variations on *rekishi monogatari*, but it also brings together *all* of the pieces in a way that allows us to make sense of them.

Medieval Commentaries: A Contemporary Perspective

Up to this point, I have discussed what I would propose is inherently present in the Heian *Mirrors* as one way of setting the stage to consider the significance of the genre's

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[150] One could argue that this potential is already suggested in *Mizu kagami*.

[151] It is this preoccupation with principles that also appears to set the *Mirrors* apart from a work such as the mid-fourteenth-century *Baishōron* 梅松論. The latter adopts much of the conventions of the *Mirror* prefaces but does not engage in apparent way with notions of a relation between past and present. It also does away with the other-worldly narrator, claims that the narration is perceived as "divinely inspired" notwithstanding. Nor can it be said to be promoting a particular *dōri*: cosmological awareness appears limited to the refrain that a good emperor has the heavens on his side. My thanks to Thomas Conlan for suggesting this work as an object of comparison. At present, I rely on the English translation found in Shuzo Uyenaka, *A Study of* Baishōron*: A Source for the Ideology of Imperial Loyalism in Medieval Japan*, (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1978), 92-254; citation from 93.

[152] Tonomura Hisae has gone so far as to make the tantalizing suggestion of the involvement of Shigenori's 'house' in the composition of *Azuma kagami*. Tonomura Hisae, 115.

reappearance in the Kamakura period. This examination has been necessary, because of the oft-mentioned convention of merely treating *Mirrors* as part and parcel of a "historical tales" category. Even if we accept that *kagami* warrant a separate treatment, however, we still cannot hope to understand what is it stake in their production without looking at the discourse on historical writing at the time. Or to put it in the form of a question, what concerns are raised vis-à-vis history in medieval texts: what is at issue in medieval, in particular Kamakura, discourse on literature and history?

To investigate this, we can turn to the *Shaku Nihongi* 釈日本紀 and medieval commentaries to the *Hotaru* 螢 chapter of *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語.[153] Let us first look at the *Shaku Nihongi*, which is roughly contemporaneous with *The Mirror of China*. Onoda Mitsuo's 小野田光雄 bibliographical introduction to the work summarizes a court practice of lectures on the *Nihon shoki* that spans over 200 years (721-965) and then identifies the *Shaku Nihongi* as a rather distant descendant thereof, a work "intended for lectures on the *Nihon shoki.*"[154] Onoda places the *Shaku Nihongi* in a larger trend of medieval exegesis by *shintōke* 神道家 (Shinto house) scholars.[155] The text's author, Urabe Kanekata 卜部兼方 (fl. 1274-1301),

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[153] I had initially also hoped to be able to find something of use in the *Chūsei Nihongi-shū* 中世日本紀集, but an initial survey does not look promising. From what I have been able to make out, the *Nihongi* 日本記 (thus written) constitutes textual authority (in the mid 16th-century *Shin himitsu-shō* 神秘密抄, for instance), but there seems to be no discussion on par with that in the *Shaku Nihongi* that might allow us to reconsider what history or the writing thereof is.

[154] 釈日本紀は日本書紀を講義することを目標として編集されたと考えられる。Onoda Mitsuo, 16. For a brief overview of these lectures, see David Bialock, 151-154.

[155] Onoda Mitsuo, 16.

is further revealed to be a third-generation scholar of historical texts.[156] The *Shaku Nihongi* takes the form of a *mondō* 問答 "question-and-answer," and Onoda points out that the figure of authority (or "late master") is that of Kanekata's father, which allows him to roughly date the work's composition to between 1286 and 1301.[157]

If we consider the *Shaku Nihongi* as emblematic of a paradigm shift, which certainly makes sense in light of the "transfer" of historiographic authority from certain houses under the *ritsuryō* system to Shinto specialists, it is to be expected that it has a new story to tell.[158] Which is to say, it would make sense for the *Shaku Nihongi* to establish a discourse that endorses its existence.[159] Thus, it is not unexpected that in the most basic of terms, the first fascicle of the *Shaku Nihongi* reveals an obsession with origins. To begin with, there is the need to account for the *Shaku Nihongi* itself, the demand for a textual pedigree of sorts. This drifts into a debate

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[156] Ibid. Onoda later adds that the works of Kanekata's grandfather Kaneyori 兼頼 and father Kanebumi 兼文 were bound up with their professional positions on the *jingi-kan* 神祇官 (Council of Shrine Affairs). Ibid., 18. It is unclear to me, however, whether we should also think of *Shaku Nihongi* as being a work written in a professional capacity, though I suppose that makes the most sense.

[157] Ibid., 22. Later, the interview of 1293-1304 is also suggested. Ibid., 37. For an overview in English of the origins of the Urabe clan that continues beyond the composition of the *Shaku Nihongi*, see Allan Grapard, *The Shinto of Yoshida Kanetomo*, in *Monumenta Nipponica* 37.1 (Spring 1992): 30-39. Kanebumi, Kanekata, and the *Shaku Nihongi* appear briefly on page 34 of the same.

[158] Onoda points out the *utsusu* 移す (transfer), but limits his observations to noting that it happened. Ibid., 16.

[159] This is perhaps a less refined way of restating Ōsumi Kazuo's take that it "[...]中国の古典を援用して神道の理を明らかにした[...]" (uses the Chinese classics to bolster a revelation of Shintō's true reason). Ōsumi Kazuo 大隅一雄, *Chūsei rekishi to bungaku no aida* 中世 歴史と文学のあいだ (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2011), 263.

about the origins of *kana*, which is left unresolved. The title—*Nihon shoki* vs. *Nihongi*—is also disputed (again in terms of precedent), culminating in a lengthy discussion of why the country is designated as "Nihon" at all. Since so many of these questions are not definitively answered, perhaps what is at stake is not so much the promotion of a particular truth so much as that of the idea that critical inquiry into origins is indispensable.

Yet the most central question in terms of historiography is the final one presented in the "question-and-answer":

> Q: Which written work is regarded as the first history of our kingdom?
> A: The Master [Kanekata's father] said to regard the *Kojiki* as the first. Yet I propose that the *Ancient Matters and Fundamental Records of Earlier Ages* in 10 scrolls and collected by the Crown Prince of the Upper Palace [Shōtoku Taishi] is the first written history. And why? Truly, although the *Kojiki* recorded ancient words, the form it exemplified did not resemble [that of] historical writings. To wit, that preface says: "In ancient times, there was difficulty with characters when spoken meanings that had been simply set forth were put into written constructions. When I narrate things, the [spoken] words fall short of the [written] meaning. Were I to spell everything out phonetically, the matter would become even longer. That's why now, sometimes in one clause, I use a mixture of phonetic spelling and glosses, and sometimes, I record it all as a gloss. That is, when the meaning of the text would be opaque, I use commentary to elucidate." And so on. In this way, the content included is not accord with the ideal meaning of 'history.' When it comes to the work of the Crown Prince of the Upper Palace, with its linkage via years and months—it completely lives up to the example of historical transmission. Therefore, the *Ancient Matters and Fundamental Records of Earlier Ages* can be called the first history book.[160]

What is it that makes the *Kojiki* unacceptable and the *Ancient Matters and Fundamental Records of Earlier Ages* the definitive historical record? To begin with, the *Kojiki* fails to live up to formal

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[160] 問。本朝之史，以何書爲始哉。答。師説，以古事記爲始。而今案，上宮太子所撰先代舊事本紀十卷，是可謂史書之始。何者，古事記者，誠雖載古語，文例不似史書。即其序云，上古之時，言意並朴，敷文構句，於字即難。已因訓述者，詞不逮心。全以音連者，事趣更長。是以，今或一句之中，交用音訓，或一事之內，全以訓錄。即辭理難見，以注明意。云云。如此，則所修之旨，非全史意。至于上宮太子撰，繫於年繫於月，全得史傳之例。然則先代舊事本紀十卷，可謂史書之始。Urabe Kanekata, 17. I did not wish to render *bu dai* 不逮 as "fall short of," but since *dai* is literally "to reach," I could not think of anything more neutral that would be appropriate.

standards. Although it is unclear precisely how, what does come across is that the jumble of writing systems is here deemed infelicitous. This is not treated as a problem related to the origins of the writing systems themselves, however: the difficulty is that their undisciplined fusion has resulted in an incomprehensible mess.[161] Thus, we can infer that intelligibility is one objective of record-writing.

The *Ancient Matters and Fundamental Records of Earlier Ages* is praised, in contrast, for its explicit chronological progress. As a record, it is exemplary. This implies a definite and clearly indicated chronology as the fundament of coherent communication of the documented events. What this suggests is that by the time the *Shaku Nihongi* is assembled (and possibly as early as the lectures on which it draws), there is an interest in talking about effective ways to

[161] David Lurie has also translated this passage, and I follow him in using the first person (which I had overlooked). Otherwise, our translations differ markedly; I include his rendering of the relevant section of the *Kojiki* for comparison: "[I]n high antiquity, words and meanings were both forthright; spreading out sentences and constructing phrases, it is very hard to put them in writing. If one compiles them completely in accordance with the readings of the characters, the words do not extend to the meaning; if one strings them together totally relying on the sounds of the characters, the impression of the passage becomes very long. Herewith, at present, I sometimes used both sounds and readings within a single phrase; I sometimes recorded only with readings inside a single passage. Thus, when the logic of the words was hard to see, I clarified it with notes…" David Lurie (2001), 301-302. Other than slight variations in punctuation, our base texts are nearly identical. I find Lurie's rendering difficult to follow, which is why I have made an effort myself. This being said, I have had to resort to a certain amount of conjecture in the search for intelligibility, also far from an ideal solution. In addition to evaluating the preface as functioning to "legitimize the *Kojiki* iself," Lurie proposes that the disjuncture alluded to in this particular passage is that between "ancient" and contemporary lexica. David Lurie (2001), 306-307. Lurie also provides six other scholars' rendering of the passage in question before proceeding to argue that "there is no need to interpret that difficulty as caused by a gap between written 'Chinese' and spoken 'Japanese," an assertion I am inclined to accept as true. See ibid., 308-309 (309 for quotation). The discussion and translation of the preface spans ibid., 300-310. The passage is also translated in David Lurie (2011), 247-248. See ibid., 248-250 for his interpretation of the passage. "Awareness of *kundoku*, and a careful reading of the preface, make it clear that the salient contrast is not between the Chinese and Japanese languages as such, but rather between the orthodox, transregional style of formal writing and the purportedly 'ancient language' reflected in the *Kojiki*." Ibid., 249-250. For another brief treatment of this passage, see also David Bialock, 146-147. An older translation can also be found in Donald L. Philippi, 43.

write that are not bound up solely in notions of fixed linguistic form. In a sense, this may sound reminiscent of the remarks by Onoue cited earlier. Yet I would emphasize that while there is a pronounced sense of a drive for self-identification and self-definition in the earlier passages in the *Shaku Nihongi*, it is not articulated in terms of a need to break free from generic or linguistic bonds, in particular those externally imposed by a foreign culture.

If *Shaku Nihongi* demonstrates the potential for genre not to be first and foremost defined by language, it does not, however, do away with genre entirely. There is, after all, still a notion of that certain kinds of works do certain things: the *shisho* 史書 "record-writings" are explicitly identified as a group. Now, we must ask what other "groups" there were perceived to be. While the *Shaku Nihongi* does not take up this question at this juncture, the matter need not end here. The most famous (and oft-cited) literary exposition of *shisho* vis-à-vis other writings occurs, in fact, in a text that was probably much more widely read than the *Shaku Nihongi*: in the "Hotaru" 螢 (Fireflies) chapter (the twenty-fifth) of *The Tale of Genji* (ca. 1008). In it, Genji has come upon his adopted daughter Tamakazura (with whom he is infatuated), reading *monogatari*. After initially dismissing all *monogatari* as *suzurogoto* (inconsequential) or *itsuhari* (fabrications),[162] and *hakanashigoto* (lacking), he then backtracks to offer a more nuanced, if confusing, explanation of *monogatari* in contrast to the official histories.[163]

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[162] In translating *itsuhari* as "fabrications," I follow note 9. Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部, *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 vol. 2, Yanai Shigeshi 柳井滋 et al, eds. *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 20 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), 438.

[163] I have followed note 21 in taking *Nihongi* 日本記 as a collective designation for the official histories. Ibid., 439. Tyler takes it specifically to refer to the *Nihongi*, as is made clear in his note 20. Royall Tyler, *The Tale of Genji* vol.1 (New York: Viking, 2001), 461.

Responding to Tamakazura's rebuff, "Genji laughed: 'How ill-bred I've been! It seems they record affairs of the world since the Age of the Gods. The official *Chronicles* of Japan provide but the outlines. *These* [tales] contain the real details!'"[164] This is the most coherent formulation of what appears to be a *Chronicle*-vs.-Tale dichotomy position: the former offers an incomplete picture, and the latter provides instructive and exhaustive material required to flesh it out. While this is often read as an endorsement of tales over chronicles, such a value judgment may not be inherent to the text of *Genji* itself. As the notes to the *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* edition of *The Tale of Genji* make clear, both genres take the same subject matter. They simply treat it in different ways.[165]

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[164] …「骨なくも聞こえおとしてけるかな。神代より世にあることを記しを［お］きけるななり。日本記などはただかたそばぞかし。これらにこそ道々しくくはしき事はあらめ」とて笑ひ給ふ。Murasaki Shikibu, 439. Although my translation draws heavily from Tyler's, they differ enough that I deem it appropriate to provide his for comparison. "I have been very rude to speak so ill to you of tales! They record what has gone on ever since the Age of the Gods. *The Chronicles of Japan* and so on give only a part of the story. It is the tales that contain the truly rewarding particulars! He laughed." Royall Tyler, 461. Bialock also treats this passage, making a point of rendering 道々しく as a coordinate adjective, "edifying," and arguing that it is "an ironic use of a term more usually associated with the canonical Chinese works, or *Sanshi wujing*, whose moral, ethical, and political concepts informed much of *Nihongi* and the ideology of the court." David Bialock, 149-150 (quotation from 150). This would be more persuasive were the link between *michimichishiku* and official histories attested to by more than the single earlier instance within the *Genji* of the term in this capacity that Bialock's footnote provides. Ibid., 362. In the subsequent discussion, his emphasis rests firmly on late sixteenth-century perceptions of "vernacular fiction" as "writing itself *against* official history," which accords well with my admittedly imprecise understanding of late medieval/early modern notions of historiography. David Bialock, 149-151, and quotation from 151. In his treatment of the potential of "vernacular fiction," Bialock's point of *monogatari* as containing alternative and multifarious kinds of information is well made; however it seems to rest at least to an extent upon a clear-cut notion of Chinese/non- Chinese that I am reluctant to accept as determinative. (The entire study, though fascinating and provocative, tends towards an acceptance of clearly defined categories that gives pause.)

[165] See notes 20 and 21. Murasaki Shikibu, 439.

Genji goes on to elaborate in a passage that does not easily yield a coherent interpretation:

> 'As for the people in them—it's not that these [tales] talk about things just as they are. Good or bad, the people in [tales] are such that one never tires of looking at or hearing about them, and one just has to pass it on to later generations—that's how it starts: when one is overwhelmed by the desire to tell something, something one can't keep bottled up inside. If it's to be about someone good, then only the positive is chosen, and when one wants to cater to another taste, then one assembles examples of uncommon wickedness, but *none* of these multifarious things is something beyond the realm of possibility.
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> The ways of verse composition for foreign monarchs change. And in the case of our own Yamato kingdom, there is inevitably change between past and present. There *are* differences between deep and shallow things, but to simply dismiss it all in one breath as lies would be to miss the point. In the Law, too, which Buddha in his grace set forth, there is something called *upāya*, and the unenlightened inevitably suspect errors [in its seeming contradictions]. Though there are many such things in the Scriptures, when they are all laid out, they speak to a single purpose. The difference between enlightenment and ignorance becomes the 'goodness' and 'badness' of these people [in the tales]. In a nutshell, not a single bit of the entirety is superfluous!' In this way, he talked of *monogatari* as particularly essential.[166]

[166] I have taken the liberty of inserting a paragraph break here, since Genji seems to be taking up a new topic. 「その人の上とて、ありのままに言ひ出づる事こそなけれ、よきもあしきも世に経る人のありさまの、見るにも飽かず、聞くにもあまることを、後の世にも言ひ伝へさせまほしきふしぶしを、心にこめがたくて言ひを［お］きはじめたるなり。よきさまに言ふとては、よき事のかぎり選り出でて、人に従はむとては、又あしきさまのめづらしき事をとり集めたる、みなかたがたにつけたるこの世の外のことならずかし。人のみかどの才、つくりやう変はる。おなじ大和の国のことなれば、むかしいまのに変はるべし、深きこと浅き事のけぢめこそあらめ、ひたふるにそら事と言ひはてむも、ことの心たがひてなくありける。仏のいとうるはしき心にて説きを［お］き給へる御法も、方便といふ事ありて、悟りなき者は、ここかしこ違ふ疑ひをおきつべくなん、方等経の中に多かれど、言ひもてゆけば、一つ旨にありて、菩提と煩悩との隔たりなむ、この人のよきあしきばかりの事は変はりける。よく言へば、すべて何事もむなしからずなりぬや」と物語をいとわざとのことにのたまひなしつ。Murasaki Shikibu, 439-440. Again, I have referenced Tyler's translation. Cf. Royall Tyler, 461. I concede that I may be mistaken in my rendering of the first sentence of the original. Nevertheless, I think that Tyler's version awkwardly buries Genji's emphasis on the connection of tales to the real world (the end of my first paragraph).

Genji's first point appears to be that *monogatari* must maintain a balance between extremes and plausibility in order to be interesting. Thus, they are not factually based in the same way that a chronicle would be, but they must still be possible. The gist of the second paragraph is that the extreme nature of the contents is justified, because there is Buddhist precedent. On the one hand, one could take seriously Genji's nod to Buddhist rhetoric; readers wishing to rehabilitate Murasaki often do precisely this. Nevertheless, it is critical to remember that it is the fictional Genji making this speech, not Murasaki Shikibu unmediated, and as a result, it is equally possible to read the entire account as an elaborate come-on. Particularly, when one looks ahead a few lines to Genji's proposal: "So, let us make our story like no other and give it to all the world!"[167] Such a conclusion to this explication of *monogatari* as a genre makes it difficult to take the explanation itself completely seriously.

Nonetheless, I would like to consider the initial contrast between chronicles and tales as legitimate, even if the specifics are more dubious. Yamanaka Yutaka 山中裕, in an examination of the literary merits of *Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, likewise references this passage of *The Tale of Genji* and interprets it as Murasaki Shikibu's attempt to "relativize" the role of official histories, and in so doing, carve out a space for tales as a superior means of discourse.[168] Though I agree with the idea of this conversation as destabilizing the notion of a monolithic

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[167] Royall Tyler, 462. いざ、たぐひなき物語にして、世に伝へさせん… Murasaki Shikibu, 440. Somewhat predictably, Steven Moore seems inclined to take Genji's pose thus. Steven Moore, 555.

[168] 相対化する.Yamanaka Yutaka 山中裕, "Rekishi to bungaku" 歴史と文学, in *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kanshō* 54.3 (1989): 7. Yamanaka eventually concludes that *Eiga monogatari* has little to commend it in the way of literary value, arguing that the work lacks cohesion or authorial voice. (…作者自身の創造による内部論理の一貫した物語であるいい得る根拠…) For the conclusion, see ibid., 16.

authoritative historiography, asserting *monogatari* as better may be going a bit far. If we simply look at the claims within the passage in question, Genji looks to be saying that *monogatari* "tell it like it is," with the "it" left deliberately vague. The most we can safely extrapolate from such an assertion is that *monogatari* are here positioned to provide an alternate, more fully elaborated record to that found in the official histories. Whether the two types of writing are envisioned as transmitting fundamentally distinct types of knowledge is something that is at best hinted at—for the moment, we know little more than that *monogatari* are going to give us quantitatively more information. If one takes the talk of "expedient means" to be little more than Genji's own attempt to expedite a seduction of Tamakazura, a generic imperative beyond that to be interesting is, for the moment, an untapped potential.

All of this being said, we would do well to remember that Genji provides a more-or-less mid-Heian perspective, one that predates *The Mirror of China* by some two and a half centuries. To bring into better focus the contours of the supposed chronicles-vs.-tales debate, we would hope to have recourse to the late Heian *Genji shaku* 原氏釈, attributed to Fujiwara no Koreyuki 藤原伊行 (1139? – 1175?), and Fujiwara no Teika's 藤原定家 (1162-1241) commentary to *The Tale of Genji*, the *Okuiri* 奥入. The *Genji shaku* is said to be the oldest *Genji* commentary and affords the opportunity to try to locate a Heian perspective, while the *Okuiri,* roughly contemporaneous with *The Mirror of China*, has the potential to shed light on how one of the most brilliant minds of the thirteenth century interpreted the chronicle/tale divide.[169] Both

[169] The *Mumyōzōshi* 無名草子(1200-1202), attributed to Shunzei's adopted granddaughter (known as his daughter) 藤原俊成女, remains disappointingly quiet on this subject. The closest it comes to addressing the exchange on tales in the "Fireflies" chapter (other than commenting on Tamakazura's rebuff of Genji in the scene) is noting the absence of the *Lotus Sutra* in *The Tale of Genji*. For an English translation, see Michele Marra, "Mumyōzōshi. Introduction and Translation," in *Monumenta Nipponica* 39.2 (Summer 1984): 115-145; Michele Marra,

sources, however, are bafflingly dissatisfyingly silent. With regard to the *monogatari*-centered exchange between Genji and Tamakazura, the (spatially) closest topic the *Genji shaku* addresses is the identification of the source poem for Genji's observation on how Tamakazura pays no heed to "her hair tangled in the heat" as she reads.[170] The Teika commentary is even more frustrating, since the "Fireflies" chapter is completely absent.[171] The silence of Teika, a man hardly known for keeping his opinions to himself, is particularly perplexing. Did he find the passage too obvious or too inscrutable for comment? (Since the text that is the basis for the edition I have consulted is said to be in Teika's own hand, it seems unlikely that his comments for the chapter have simply vanished.[172])

In any case, given this lamentable paucity, as well as the loss of *Suigen shō* 水原抄 (a commentary attributed to the father and son duo of Minamoto no Mitsuyuki 源光行 (1163-1244) and Chikayuki 親行 (?-?)), efforts at reconstructing Heian or mid-Kamakura perspectives on the "Fireflies" chapter are problematic. Indeed, Yotsutsuji Yoshinari's 四辻善成

"Mumyōzōshi, Part 2," in *Monumenta Nipponica* 39.3 (Autumn 1984): 281-305; Michele Marra, "Mumyōzōshi, Part 3," in *Monumenta Nipponica* 39.4 (Winter 1984): 409-434. The relevant passage appears in Marra (Summer 1984), 136-137; the assessment of Tamakazura's rejection on 141. For Marra's cursory remarks on the genre of *kagami* and points of overlap between specific mirrors and *Mumyōzōshi*, see ibid., 120-121.

[170] 暑かはしきさみだれの、髪の乱れるるも知らで… Mursaki Shikibu, 438. Fujiwara no Koreyuki (12th c.) 藤原伊行, *Genji shaku* 原氏釈, in *Genji shaku/Okuiri/Hikaru Genji monogatari-shō* 原氏釈・奥入・光源氏物語抄, Nakano Kōichi 中野幸一 and Kuriyama Motoko 栗山元子, eds., 5-87 (Tokyo: Musashino shoin, 2009), 48.

[171] The *Okuiri* commentary simply moves directly from the *Hatsune* はつね scroll to *Tokonatsu* とこ夏. See Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家, *Okuiri* 奥入, 89-144 in ibid., 112-114.

[172] This lineage is given in Nakano Kōichi and Kuriyama Motoko, first page of unnumbered forward.

(1329-1402) *Kakaishō* 河海抄—a work Motoori Norinaga dubbed "First among [*Genji*] commentaries"[173]—grants the earliest look at prospective currents in medieval commentaries to the *Tale of Genji*. Unfortunately, it remains largely silent on the opening part of the *monogatari*-centered exchange, only clarifying that the *Chronicles* in question is the *Nihon shoki*, and that it is being contrasted to tales, though Yoshinari notes that this may refer to specific works or simply "tales."[174] Thus, so far, we can infer the continued existence of the notion of "tales" as a broad category of writing.

However, the bulk of Yoshinari's commentary to this chapter centers on the lines in Genji's account of how tales function as "expedient means." Such emphasis suggests that this point is both critical and contentious (or at the very least, unpersuasive as Genji articulates it). Regardless of whether Genji originally believed what he was saying or was simply trying to woo his stepdaughter, Yoshinari takes the identification of tales with *hōben* seriously. After characterizing the Law itself as "Buddha's preaching that we abide in Four Types of Intention,"[175] he passes over the earliest mention of *upāya* itself to explain just what is meant by *satorinaki mono* (unenlightened beings) in an explicitly *Lotus Sutra*-based context. There follows a longer gloss to Genji's claim that appearances notwithstanding, a unity of purpose underlies the Scriptures. Since this phrase presents few obvious lexical or syntactic difficulties in the original

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[173] 註釋ハ河海抄ゾ第一ノモノナル、… Quoted in the forward to *Kakaishō, Kachō yojō*, *Shijo shichi-ron* 河海抄・花鳥余情・紫女七論, Muromatsu Iwao 室松岩雄, et al, eds. (Tokyo: Kokugaku-in Daigaku shuppanbu, 1908), 1.

[174] Yotsutsuji Yoshinari 四辻善成, "Kakaishō" 河海抄, 1-455, in ibid., 251.

[175] 佛は四意趣に住して説法し給也。Ibid. The translation of *shii-shu* 四意趣 as "Four Types of Intention" is from the Digital Dictionary of Buddhism, accessed October 10, 2012 at 13:55 JST.

of *The Tale of Genji*, we might assume that Yoshinari has glossed it to bolster the claim itself. This, in turn, hints at a readership who, like the *satorinaki mono* of Genji's speech, might have found the proposal that anything and everything could be used as expedient means problematic.

Yoshinari's final observations on this passage claim to have hit upon Murasaki Shikibu's actual intentions in writing the work as revealed in the lines "the difference between enlightenment and ignorance." First, he cites a line attributed to one Great Teacher Miaole 妙樂 (711-782), presumably as a source for Genji's mention of this distinction: "Ignorance is Enlightenment; life and death are nirvana."[176] Then, he proceeds to explain how this notion is a lynchpin for the entire work.

> According to this, here we can see one aspect of the gist of this tale and the author's realized intent. Those "works of expedient means" are teachings prior to the *Lotus*. "The Scriptures" indicates the Mahāyāna sutras taught during the expedient period. Though we distinguish between the prior teachings and the perfected *Lotus*, they attune to the circumstances for one tie of enlightenment, for one perfect circle—it all blends together in service of a common goal. This is what "Ignorance is Enlightenment" means. When one is illuminated, then one is enlightened, and when one is fettered, one is ignorant. All of this is the heart of it.[177]

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[176] 煩悩即菩提生死即涅槃. Yotsutsuji Yoshinari, 251.

[177] 案之此物語の大意作者已證のおもむきこれにみえたり方便品とは法花已然の諸教也方等経とは方等部の諸大乗を指て云爾前之諸教雖區至法花調機於一緣悟一實圓融之旨矣煩悩即菩提等是也さとれは菩提となりまとへは煩悩と成りなり此等心也. Ibid.

Though 方便品 *hōben-bon* is also the name of the second chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*, taking it here as referring to "works of expedient means" produces a more coherent reading. The translation of as 方等部 *hōdōbu* "sutras taught during the expedient period" is from the Digital Dictionary of Buddhism, accessed October 11, 2012, 9:07 JST. The translation of *ichi jitsuen* 一實圓 is likewise based on the Digital Dictionary of Buddhism, accessed October 11, 2012, 10:04 JST.

Burton Watson's translation of the second chapter of the *Lotus Sutra* provided critical context for my translation of the *Kakaishō* commentary. See Burton Watson, trans. *The Lotus Sutra* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993 edition).

In other words, Yoshinari's commentary to this section centers more on clarifying the notion of expedient means. As long as something can be tagged as a "work of expedient means," it can, in a nutshell, be both good and good for you. What Yoshinari's earnest commitment to explicating *hōben* (and *The Tale of Genji* as one example thereof) demonstrates is that "tales" as such could, by the fourteenth century, occupy a morally dubious position as a category of writing.[178]

I am far from the first person to note medieval Japanese thinkers' preoccupation with the potential perfidy of *monogatari*.[179] My purpose in revisiting this discourse through the accreted commentary to *The Tale of Genji* is to disentangle the Heian and medieval ramifications of calling a work a *monogatari* from those that emerge in post-Kamakura discourse. As even this cursory examination ought to have shown, it is possible to locate a more morally neutral concept of *monogatari* in *The Tale of Genji* itself. Tales are distinguished from imperial histories. However, Yoshinari's commentary elucidates how over the subsequent centuries, *monogatari* becomes a fraught term.

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[178] In an article on how the *Mumyōzōshi* establishes itself as a work of *monogatari* "criticism," Thomas Rohlich argues for the fraught "relationship of literature and religion" as informing the perspective in the *Mumyōzōshi*; he dates the preoccupation to long before: "This was an age when many people believed that the reading and writing of *monogatari* led to neglect of important religious observations and the subsequent risk of eternal damnation. Evidence of this belief appeared as much as a century and a half earlier in the regrets the daughter of Sugawara no Takasue 菅原孝標女 expressed in *Sarashina nikki* 更級日記 over the time she wasted on poems and tales rather than devoting herself to prayer." Thomas H. Rohlich, "In Search of Critical Space: The Path to *Monogatari* Criticism in the *Mumyōzōshi*," in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 57.1 (June 1997), 186-187, 203-204. Quotation from 187.

[179] Though *The Tale of Genji* is but mentioned in passing, readers seeking a classic English-language introduction to medieval Buddhism and its literary reflexes are referred to William R. LaFleur, *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1983). In demonstrating the degree to which literature was imbued with Buddhist concerns, LaFleur's work provides a valuable context for understanding why medieval exegetes may have been so concerned with relating *The Tale of Genji* to notions of expedient means.

To return to the question of why write a *Mirror*, it is tempting to locate at least a part of the answer in the emergent moral ambiguity surrounding *monogatari* as a genre. Turning to a different style of writing—a *Mirror*—could enable an author to sidestep the question of whether tales were sinful, simultaneously presenting another alternative to the discourse of official histories.[180]

Coda: *The Clear Mirror*

With the appearance of *The Clear Mirror* in the early Muromachi period, *Mirror* is re-purposed once again. As there is an annotated English-language translation of and critical introduction to the work, I will not go over the content in great detail. Readers are instead referred to George W. Perkins' *The Clear Mirror: A Chronicle of the Japanese Court During the Kamakura Period (1185-1333)*. As Perkins' title indicates, the work encompasses the period of Japanese history from the founding of the Kamakura *bakufu* through the Kenmu Restoration of 1333. It dates from roughly 1368-1376.[181] Though authorship is uncertain (Perkins prefers to list the work as anonymous), Kidō Saizō 木藤才蔵 finds attribution to Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基 most persuasive.[182]

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[180] The lattermost being, as Bialock notes early on in his study, a court-centered normative historiography. David Bialock, 5.

[181] Kidō Saizō 木藤才蔵 concludes this based on internal textual evidence combined with speculation about when circumstances would best have suited the presumed author, Nijō Yoshimoto "Kaisetsu" 解説, in 二条良基. Nijō Yoshimoto (1320-1388) 二条良基 (?), *Masu kagami* 増鏡, Kidō Saizō 木藤才蔵, ed., 295-303 (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1969; 2008 edition), 298. Perkins, though not unquestioningly advocating the Yoshimoto-as- author hypothesis, nonetheless proposes similar dating. George W. Perkins, *The Clear Mirror: A Chronicle of the Japanese Court During the Kamakura Period (1185-1333)* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 224.

[182] Kidō Saizō, 295. On authorship, cf. George W. Perkins, 223-224.

The content proceeds in chronological order with one important exception: the first two scrolls feature nearly thirty years of overlap, with scroll one covering 1180-1218, and scroll two, 1190-1222. Since the former opens with a discussion of the imperial line, and the latter with "the origins of the valiant warrior class,"[183] it seems that the dual polity that characterized government of the Kamakura period is inscribed in the narrative structure itself. In contrast to the earlier *Mirrors*, the work lacks a clear structural commitment to a concrete authority or authorities, meandering instead between various figures in power.[184] Perkins writes that *The Clear Mirror* "is a historical narrative, to be sure, but it might equally be described as a nostalgic celebration of Heian-style court life, a treasure trove of elegant anecdote, which seeks to re-create the romantic world of *The Tale of the Genji*…"[185] Indeed, it does seem to lack any sort of urgency, perhaps because nowhere within the text does it claim to transmit anything beyond the fading memories of an aged nun. Unlike the quasi-oracles of the Heian *Mirrors*, the nun makes no promises to shed light on anything beyond "what happened next"[186]: for her, there is no "why."

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[183] Translation, George W. Perkins, 47. たけき武士の起こり… Nijō Yoshimoto, 27.

[184] This should not, however, be understood as saying the work has no ideological bias. Both Kidō and Perkins discuss its clear sympathy for or allegiance to the court and "court culture." Kidō Saizō, 299-300. George W. Perkins, 16-17, 24. Kidō and Perkins both discuss the weighting of the first third of the tale to GoToba and the last third to GoDaigo, as well. Kidō Saizō, 299-300; George W. Perkins, 17. Much of the remainder of Perkins' introduction is devoted to a discussion of the literary techniques found in *The Clear Mirror*. See George W. Perkins, 18-25.

[185] George W. Perkins, 2.

[186] Ibid., 28. ことのつづき… Nijō Yoshimoto, 8.

In linguistic form, the work is reminiscent of *The Great Mirror* and *The New Mirror* in particular, as though the Kamakura *Mirrors* had never existed. Indeed, neither *The Mirror of China* nor *The Mirror of the East* appears among the list of historical works the narrator professes having read in the preface to *The Clear Mirror*:

> There was one I barely glanced at, called *Mizukagami* [The Water Mirror], I believe—a very general history of the period from the reign of Emperor Jimmu on. Next, *Ōkagami* [The Great Mirror]: as I remember, that one began way back in the reign of Emperor Montoku and continued to Emperor Go-Ichijō. Then there was another in 40 chapters, called something like *Yotsugi* [A Chronicle <i.e. *Eiga monogatari* 栄華物語 (Tale of Flowering Fortunes)>], which was a fairly detailed account of the reigns of the Engi Emperor, Daigo, to Retired Emperor Horikawa. Also, there was *Imakagami* [The New Mirror], which I understand was written by a certain minister of state, and which seems to have covered the reigns from Go-Ichijō to Takakura. And yes, I think another one, *Iya Yotsugi* [Further Chronicles], by Lord Takanobu, carried events up to the beginning of Emperor Go-Toba's reign.[187]

Clearly, here we have a discussion of historical writing that does *not* take *Mirror* as a distinct genre. Its implied typology has several features. For one, the works are written in *kana*. Thus, the *kanbun*-esque *The Mirror of the East* and multilingual *The Mirror of China* have no place. Secondly, in ignoring *Mirrors* in Chinese-derived linguistic form or with Chinese subject matter, it limits the scope of material to the resolutely domestic. Lastly, by including *Tale of Flowering Fortunes* in the category, it removes any philosophical imperative suggested by treating the Heian *Mirrors* as a discreet subset. If the Heian *Mirrors* constituted a genre that permitted engagement with concepts at a meta-level beyond simply a relaying of content, the inclusion of

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[187] Translation from George W. Perkins, 28. いさ。ただおろおろ見およびし物どもは、水鏡といふにや、神武天皇の御代より、いとあららかにしるせり。其次には、大鏡、文徳のいにしへより、後一条の御門まで侍りしにや。又世継とか四十帖の草子にて、延喜より堀川の先帝まですこしこまやかなめる。又なにがしのおとどの書き給へると聞き侍りし今鏡に、後一条より高倉の院までありしなめり。いや世継は、隆信朝臣の、後鳥羽院の位の御程までをしるしたるとぞ見え侍りし。Nijō Yoshimoto, 7. The explanation enclosed in <> in the translation does not appear in Perkins' version, but is taken from annotations 13 and 14 to the Japanese version just cited, p. 7.

Tale of Flowering Fortunes opens the door for *Mirrors* (as synonymous with or reduced to *rekishi monogatari*) to simply transmit information.[188] Once *Tale of Flowering Fortunes* and the *Mirrors* are to be lumped together, then as a group, they can tell a good story, even a story based in fact, but they no longer need to be about something greater than the events they relate.[189] Or, as Perkins puts it in a laudatory description of *The Clear Mirror*: "[H]is [the author's] basic aim, like Emon's [author of *Tale of Flowering Fortunes*], was to tailor historical writing to the taste of an aristocratic readership by employing the elegant devices of the fictional tale, and in that he succeeded better than any of his peers."[190]

The tacit acceptance of *The Clear Mirror*'s concept of genre goes beyond Perkins' introduction. It also indisputably informs the McCulloughs' assessment of the *rekishi monogatari/kagami* genre in their translation of *Tale of Flowering Fortunes*. An extract from the closing paragraph of their discussion entitled "'Eiga' and the Historical Tale" brings together much of the group's supposed standard features: "Whether indirectly through *Ōkagami* or

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[188] For a recent English-language study of *Eiga monogatari* that is more sympathetic towards the work than my own reading, see Takeshi Watanabe, *Buried Mothers: Exhuming Memories of Heian Families through* Eiga Monogatari (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2005). Of particular note is Watanabe's discussion of the emergence of *rekishi monogatari* as a genre and the concerns that might underlie this taxonomic impulse. See ibid., 107-139. I should also note that he does mention a suppressed linguistic plurality in the selection of source materials, but not in the sense in which I treat multiple linguistic forms in Chapter Three. Cf. ibid., 164-167.

[189] Perkins appears content to take *Masu kagami* as "*rekishi monogatari*," and leave the problem of genre at that. Thus, while he sees *Masu kagami* as "especially indebted to…*The Great Mirror* and *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*," he does not see a re-evaluation of the *kagami* genre as inherent in this dual heritage. George W. Perkins, 13. As far as discussing *The Clear Mirror* vis-à-vis the Heian *Mirrors* is concerned, Perkins does little beyond noting the periods that each covers and the shared prefatory conventions. Ibid., 15-16.

[190] Ibid., 16, This assessment only works, of course, if one reduces the other *Mirrors* to having no function other than entertainment.

directly in its own right, *Eiga* exercised a continuing and central influence on the historical tale, for it was *Eiga*'s language, *Eiga*'s type of subject and materials, and *Eiga*'s notion of topic and theme that defined the salient features of this group."[191] To repeat once more, this is the legacy of accepting *Masu*'s claim: a halving of the *Mirror* corpus, an excision of the Kamakura period, and an elimination of all non-monolingual historiographic writings. When the Kamakura *Mirrors* are disposed of, we are left with a genre shorn of linguistic variety or any claims to constitute a discourse of authority. Needless to say, this fits very conveniently with Nativist scholarship of the Edo period (and beyond) seeking to establish a neat national narrative.

However, I suspect it goes deeper than a mere impulse to erase linguistic variety and is tied to the canonization of *The Tale of Genji* itself. Once *Mirrors* are made subordinate to the genre of *rekishi monogatari*, it becomes possible to cast *The Tale of Genji* as the locus classicus for a "Japanese" alternative to "Chinese" historiography.[192] Proposals such as Haraoka Fumiko's that "[s]ince historical tales, born of the opportunity provided by the 'Fireflies' chapter in *The Tale of Genji*, came to have particularly close ties to the world of court women's diaries, wouldn't it be fitting to consider them in the lineage of women's literature?" rest on a move whereby *Genji* itself is transformed into the original authority of resistance or alternatives to

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[191] William H. and Helen Craig McCullough, 32. Typically, the McCulloughs' introductions tend towards the conservative and are largely in line with most introductions to mainstream Japanese series in the late twentieth century. This leads me to suspect that the summary they provide here is indicative of a broadly held position in Japanese scholarship at one time, as well.

[192] A recent article by Hosoi Hiroshi 細井浩志 calls into question the idea that the *Nihongi* 日本紀 and *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀 were styled after Chinese official histories in any strict sense of the word, arguing that continental models were too little known when the *Nihongi* was composed for there have been a concerted effort to replicate them for what they were. Hosoi Hiroshi 細井浩志, "Kansen shisho no shomei to seikaku—Tō to no hikaku yori 8 seiki no shūshi jigyō" 官撰史書の書名と性格—唐との比較より見る８世紀の修史事業, in *Rekishigaku kenkyū* 826 (April 2007): 18-26.

continental (and by extension, masculine) paradigms.[193] In a single sentence such as this, one can observe the collapse of language, subject, and authorial gender. Of course, this ultimately only works if one crafts a version of events in which *Genji* truly marks a turning point after which Chinese-inspired or Chinese-influenced historiography is consistently eschewed or in which there is a clear division between "us" and "them." Given that this maneuver, too, relies on significant erasure of texts, it deserves to be challenged. Indeed, any narrative that requires the suppression of large parts of the story to work begs reevaluation.[194]

Conclusion

What *is* in a name? Shakespeare's quotation titles the chapter, but unlike Juliet, I suppose that there is something quite powerful in the act of naming. The designation *Mirror*

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[193] 『源氏物語』蛍の巻を契機として誕生した歴史物語が、とりわけ女房の日記の世界を深い関わりを持つことになったのは、女流文学の系譜という意味ではむしろ当然だったろうか。Haraoka Fumiko 原岡文子, "Chūko ni okeru rekishimonogatari- kan—*Sanuki no suke no nikki*, *Shūchū-shō*, *Fukurozōshi* nado ni miru" 中古における歴史物語観—讃岐典侍日記・袖中抄・袋草子などに見る, in *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kanshō* 54.3 (1989): 24-32. To be fair, her article is not at all concerned with the evolution of *rekishi monogatari* as a genre: this is a quotation from her closing paragraph in which she is primarily making an argument for close ties between *Sanuki no suke no nikki* and *Eiga monogatari*. Ibid., 32. Her article deals mostly with the reading, reception, and influence of *Eiga monogatari* in the context of the three twelfth-century works cited in her title.

[194] From another related angle, we can also see the separation of a "proper form" for histories along linguistic lines in Meiji debates on historiography. These, too, would not permit consideration of *Kara kagami* (to say nothing of the other earlier *Mirrors*). Sanjō Sanetomi's 三条実美 (1837-1891) observations on the appropriate language for a Meiji-era history of Japan offer a concise summary: "[G]iven that chronicles that would follow in the footsteps of those [National Histories] ought to be in the same linguistic form, we settled on *kanbun*." ･･･其跡ニ接スル編年史ハ同体然ルベシトノ事ニテ、上申ノ上漢文ト決定シタリ。 Quoted in Satō Kazuki 佐藤一樹, "Sai fuchi sareru buntai hierarukii—seishi to gesaku no hentai kanbun" 再布置される文体ヒエラルキー—正史と戯作の変体漢文, in *Nihon kenkyū (Kokusai Nihon bunka sentā*) 42 (September 2010), 175. The article also provides a concise and helpful overview of some of the early Meiji concerns about Chinese learning and language.

should have the ability to signify something quite distinct from *monogatari*, or "records," or any number of generic appellations. In my investigation of what *Mirror* might mean, I first looked at the relatively recent provenance of the groupings "three *Mirrors*" or "four *Mirrors*" to call attention to the anachronistic nature of this grouping. Then I surveyed extant scholarship on ancient and medieval Japanese historiography, before turning to the Heian *Mirrors* themselves. An examination of *The Great Mirror*, *The New Mirror*, and *The Water Mirror* suggested that there might be something more at stake in these works that the classification "historical tale" suggests. Focusing on the narrative structure of the *Mirrors* and their prefaces, as well as the postface of *The Water Mirror*, I identified a commonality unique to the *Mirror* genre: a preoccupation with conveying the nature of things that presupposed cosmological understanding. This began with an understanding of time, but moved on to include salvation and institutions, conveying, by implication, considerable power.

In this light, including *The Mirror of China* and *The Mirror of the East* does seriously alter the genre, but not in a nonsensical way: instead they demonstrate a gradual linguistic and thematic broadening of the genre while at the same time remaining true to the imperative of creating an authoritative narrative. Their elision from later discussions of *Mirrors* in favor of maintaining a story of "historical tales vs. chronicles" thus remained a puzzle. Therefore, I turned to medieval commentaries to seek the reason for the privileging of a divide that required the erasure of the Kamakura *Mirrors*. What emerged was that this rested on a polarity that was not, as such, indigenous to medieval Japan, but rather the seeming product of a fetishization of *The Tale of Genji* and Nativist impulses to purge interest in China and/or Chinese-affiliated writing from the medieval canon. The continued collapse of *Mirrors* with "historical tales" has its roots, I suspect, in these selfsame attempts at demarcation along national lines. Since the two *Mirrors*

composed in the Kamakura period, *The Mirror of China* and *The Mirror of the East*, do not fit neatly into such a paradigm, they are typically ignored in discussions of genre.

The sheer breadth of the type of materials this chapter covers attests to what a complicated issue the construction of genre is. At the same time, it suggests how risky an enterprise it can be to accept these notions without reflection. The case of *The Mirror of China* demonstrates the need for a much wider discussion about Kamakura writing and a retroactively, retrospectively posited historiographic/belletristic divide. Doing away with this division to allow for an inclusive category of *Mirrors*, for instance, reveals them to be a distinct suasive genre, a collection of texts that all attempt to persuade readers of cosmological perspectives. With this potential recognized, *Mirrors* can be positioned at the outset of the Kamakura period to offer a powerful alternative to official, imperially- commissioned history-writing—awareness of this should fundamentally alter our notions of medieval historiography.

Chapter Six: Reflections on the Mirror

Writing this, I have often imagined critical voices asking whether I am attributing to the authors and works in this dissertation a theoretical sophistication or awareness impossible for their own time. Of course, we cannot simply "consult…the oracle,"[1] but in considering the relationship of the authors in this study to a past and the ways in which they narratively shaped their understandings and articulations thereof, I am reminded of Hermannus Posthumus' 1536 painting "Tempus edax rerum," which I saw under the title "Landscape with Roman Ruins" in Tokyo in late December 2012.[2]



J. Bruyn, with reference to the painting's Latin text, has interpreted the work as "a reference to the universality of the impermanence of earthly existence."[3] I find that argument compelling,

[1] W.K. Wimsatt, Jr., and Monroe C. Beardsley, "The Intentional Fallacy," in *The Verbal Icon: Studies in the Meaning of Poetry* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1954), 18.

[2] Currently in the collection of the Prince of Lichtenstein.

[3] "…verwijzing naar de vergankelijkheid van het aardse bestaan in zijn algemeenheid." J. Bruyn, "Oude en nieuwe elementen in de 16de-eeuwse voorstellingswereld," in *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 35.3 (1987), 146.

and a critical interpretation of the artwork beyond that would be a task best left to someone more qualified than I; however what struck me upon seeing the painting was the human amidst the ruins, front and center, who appears to be measuring some aspect of the base to a column.[4] For that brought at once the role of those who consume and assess the past into the mix, which in turn suggested that this painting is not simply of "the past," but is also one of the present's relation thereto, be it in the form of the figure we see here or the implicit existence of the painter himself. In other words, the past is not merely a subject for uncritical ingestion or regurgitation, even at a time and place far removed from the twenty-first century. My point is not to make a facile equation between a sixteenth-century Dutch painter and a thirteenth-century Japanese writer, but rather to suggest an obvious yet too often forgotten point: that we, in the twenty-first century, do not enjoy a monopoly on critical thinking or awareness of positionality. While Shigenori's intellectual or philosophical priorities may have been different from my own, it would surely be a mistake to assume that he did not have any such awareness or that his work was nothing more than an assemblage of data.[5]

I began by this work by suggesting that *The Mirror of China*, as the product of an

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[4] I thank Mandy Wang for this suggestion. Personal communication, December 23, 2012.

[5] This being said, I suspect Bruyn would not necessarily agree with my layperson's take, for the article mentions at the outset a virtual "nonexistence" of the "ability to analyze present and past." "Het is duidelijk, dat het vermogen tot analyse van heden en verleden, dat de voorwaarde vormt voor elke visie op de geschiedenis als een samenhangend proces, vrijwel ontbrak." (It is clear that the ability to analyze present and past, which is a prerequisite for any vision of history as a coherent process, was as good as nonexistent.) J. Bruyn, 138. Humans in a similar painting are likened to the man here, and are dismissed: "Evenals Postma's kleine figuurtjes, druk bezig met het bestuderen, opmeten en natekenen van de antieke overblijfselen, lijkt hij de nietigheid van het kunstenaarschap te belichamen." (Just like Postma's wee figures, busy with the observation, measuring, and copying of the remains of antiquity, he [the painter in the picture] seems to embody the vanity of artistry.) Ibid., 147. Still, for me, the important element is the representation of man's attempt to cope with the past as such.

author who had no obvious reason to privilege genealogical continuity as a tool of legitimization, is in a position to reveal other perspectives on "natural orders." In other words, for a scholar such as Shigenori who did not belong to a dominant branch of one of medieval Japan's most powerful families, there would seem to have been little immediate appeal to writing a work that took genealogy or birthright as matters of course in the universe. This being the case, if *The Mirror of China* is not just a family history or a history governed by familial ties, what might it be instead? And how does it fit into our understanding of medieval Japan?

The preface to *The Mirror of China* itself suggests at least three areas of intellectual engagement for the work and its author. The first is the problem of language attested to by the inability of Shigenori to communicate directly with his source. The gradual effacement of this gap and the subsequent interweaving of overtly textual traditions highlight what a nebulous linguistic space *The Mirror of China* occupies. Even as Jien is writing about a disconnect between spoken and written registers, *The Mirror of China*, especially the earliest manuscript, resembles an effort to knit together multiple forms or a fraying of notions of distinct languages at a practical, readable level. Indeed, as the plethora of forms across the surviving manuscripts indicates, there may not be a good or effective way to talk about *The Mirror of China* as being written in a given form or language. On the one hand, this is very messy. On the other, it is an important contrast to some of the other less contentiously "Japanese" works seen here, such as *Ima monogatari* or *China Tales*.

I propose that *The Mirror of China*'s lack of stylistic coherence can be read on one level as a textual manifestation of the ambiguity of the relationship towards China itself. China is neither entirely localized in the work (unlike in *China Tales*), nor is it completely externalized. The communally accessible aspect—China as locus of classical culture—that I have been calling

Cathay cannot be rendered fully alien to Japan without undermining Japan's potential for sharing in a Cathayan heritage. At the same time, the historical China *is* distinct from Japan, a position that necessitates some sort of formal discretion. One way to account for *The Mirror of China*'s linguistic or formal variations and hybridization would be to see them as explorative attempts to navigate this line. Or, if one wishes to ground things more in the perspective of Shigenori's probable immediate readership, the warrior class, then one can think of *The Mirror of China*'s linguistic fluctuations as a synthesis-oriented back-and-forth between two traditions—one rooted in a privileging of Chinese knowledge as such and the other not. Either way, we may not approve of these results (indeed, few seem to have in this particular case), but they offer a clear corrective to a *kana* vs. *mana* framework and reveal the disorderly contingencies of language use.

The second and perhaps most obvious issue to which Shigenori's preface alludes is that of "the aspect of the land of Cīnasthāna."[6] Shigenori's China is built of layer-upon-layer of textual referents, although it is at the same time more than a mere sum of its parts. Moving from the enthusiasm for the *Meng qiu* as both cultural *Cliff's Notes* and normative writing towards China-themed educational writings produced in Japan, we have seen the differing ways in which China is reconfigured, to greater and lesser degrees of success. A more simplistic stance is suggested by *China Tales*: China exists primarily as Cathay—as a fairy tale. It was lovely and laudable once, but has sunk into a political and moral morass. There is little, if any, suggestion of China/Cathay as anything other than an object to be consumed. In *The Mirror of China*, in contrast, China is presented as more vital and no longer reduced to a romantic projection. On the one hand, in the valorization of China's past as a golden age, *The Mirror of China* continues to participate in a discourse that distinguishes a widely accessible, temporally restricted Cathayan

[6] For the original, see Chapter Four, Note Three.

cultural sphere. However, using China to talk about more than love or poetry, according it a potent political and historiographic presence—this is a substantial innovation. In an important sense, China is no longer "contained": in functioning as a site for public and private power struggles and transfer, as well as the lessons that can be abstracted thence, China as a narrative construct is positioned to be a continuingly contemporarily relevant reflection/refraction of Japan. This is a different type of engagement with the subject than that found in *China Tales*.

The degree to which *The Mirror of China* breaks new ground in its treatment of China is made clearer still when compared with other treatments of China's past. This helps us to more reasonably conjecture what it was that audiences wanted when it came to China's cultural "hits." Discussion of "Shōkun" demonstrated that the concept of a dehistoricized golden age *as such* held appeal to writers beyond Shigenori (1). In contrast, *The Mirror of China*'s resolutely political and historical orientation may be an important aspect of the apparent disconnect between what Shigenori (2) was offering and what a broader Japanese readership seemed to desire.

Indeed, one of the later manuscripts of *The Mirror of China* hints at its reception and just how far *The Mirror of China* deviated from what at least some readers sought: it is only twelve (six double-sided) pages total and contains but two sections. The first section is labeled *Bun Sennō ryakki* 文宣王略記 (Abbreviated Records of Confucius[7]) and purports to be taken from an anonymously edited second scroll of *The Mirror of China* (though it contains material not found in the received version thereof); it is dated Meiwa 6 (1769).[8] It has been recopied with

[7] Wen Xuanwang (*Bun Sennō*) is a posthumous designation for Confucius.

[8] 右先生の重修唐第二の中を鈔書語り、幼童をして曰く夫子の復歴を鈔仰語らむへし、 *Kara kagami* manuscript, Jingū bunko 神宮文庫 document 1977, 4b.

a second section appended. This new copy is dated An'ei 4 (1775) and contains an anecdote allegedly from the fourth scroll of *The Mirror of China* of which there is no trace in the received version.[9] Of the hundreds of pages of China Shigenori has offered up, only a few lines on Confucius and a handful of stray notables are deemed worthy of extraction here. Though the earliest 6-scroll manuscripts also have been dated to the Edo period, for some, *The Mirror of China* was clearly a violable work not immune to extreme pruning.

Finally, of course, there is the question of what a *Mirror* as such is. Via a re-examination of the Heian *Mirrors*, it becomes possible to contend that a cosmological discourse distinguishes the genre. This is not to say that the discourse itself is consistent, but rather that each *Mirror* participates in it to the extent that each makes claims to reveal the workings of the universe. In the case of the Heian *Mirrors*, this discussion takes the form of the relation between past and present, or rather, the nature of time itself. In the Kamakura *Mirrors*, the claims to authority remain, but the form and subject are significantly expanded.

Though this philosophical aspect of the *Mirrors* has been largely neglected, I contend that beginning with their representation of time, *Mirrors* can be read as constituting a genre for writing on abstract principles that govern the universe. That these need not be limited to time is revealed in *The Mirror of China* itself, where the scope of principles dealt with by *Mirrors* widens. In being cast as the words of an itinerant monk, Shigenori's *Mirror* is similarly positioned to transmit greater truths. The truths he ends up revealing, however, have less to do with overt meditations on time than the institutions and transmission of power. A result of this thematic expansion is that *Mirrors* are positioned to embody potential to become suasive tools

[9] 右又四巻にの語り、いささかの思ふ所なりて、并に鈔書せり、子産は、鄭の穆公の孫、公子發の子、公孫僑の字なり、 Ibid, 6b.

for *any* claims to authority derived from higher power(s) or cosmological workings.[10]

This potential is ultimately fulfilled in the decision to write the Kamakura shogunate's (1185-1333) foundational historiography, *The Mirror of the East*, as a *Mirror*. Viewed in this light, *The Mirror of the East* no longer seems a generic anomaly or the product of a stylistic rupture, but rather the culmination of a gradual generic reorientation or amplification, one largely comprehensible only when *The Mirror of China* is taken into account. Much as a position such as that in the preface to *The Clear Mirror* suggests an attempt to stuff *Mirrors* back into a less threatening, "historical narrative" bottle, the damage was done: the *Mirror* continued to exist as a productive means to textualize authority. We see this in earnest and parodic manifestations as late as the Edo period, with the appearance of works such as Hayashi Razan's 林羅山 massive *Honchō tsugan* 本朝通鑒 (A Comprehensive Mirror of Our Sovereignty, put out posthumously in 1670) or Ihara Saikaku's 井原西鶴 more digestible (and presumably more entertaining) *Nanshoku ōkagami* 男色大鑑 (The Great Mirror of Male Love, 1687).[11]

As a corollary to the discussion of what a *Mirror* is, we have also seen the ways in which retrospective concerns can be projected onto our fields of study with seriously skewed results. *The Mirror of China* is only an anomaly or idiosyncrasy when viewed from the

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[10] The late thirteenth-century work *Nomori no kagami* 野守鏡 (The Mirror of the Unseen, 1295) may provide another example of thematic expansion.

[11] *Nanshoku ōkagami*'s preface does not feature the conventional setting of the earlier *Mirrors*, but the preface invokes *The Chronicles of Japan* in the opening lines. I have relied on Paul Schalow's translation. See Ihara Saikaku and Paul Gordon Schalow, *The Great Mirror of Male Love* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 49 (unnumbered). For Schalow's discussion of Saikaku's nods to and twists on *The Great Mirror*, see ibid., 3-4.

My thanks to Niels van Steenpaal for alerting me to the existence of *Honchō tsugan*. Personal communication, January 10, 2014.

anachronistic and dated perspective of neatly bifurcated notions of writing, identity, and historiographic narration. Brought back into the intellectual fold, however, *The Mirror of China* offers a provocative opportunity to explore how texts reflect medieval perspectives on the world, perspectives that might now be obscured or marginalized by anachronistic or disciplinary boundaries, but that were vital and intertwined in medieval Japan.

Integrating works such as *The Water Mirror* and *The Mirror of China* into our study of medieval thought and writing critically enhances the image we have of medieval Japan. While the time has long been recognized as an age of brilliant poets and dramatists, prose writing—particularly prose other than the warrior tale or exhortative tales—has garnered much less attention. Yet it is only when we look at how authors like Shigenori (2) construct textual order and convey ideology in writing that we can begin to appreciate the sophistication of medieval thought, how it changes and develops, and its potential legacies for the early modern period. Moreover, it is only when we examine the forces that have determined which texts we *do* study that we recognize that they, too, convey orders and ideologies, a reminder that we must always keep our eyes open for *dōri*.

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APPENDIX A: *The Mirror of China*—Catalogue of Events

SCROLL ONE

Preface

1. The Matter of Having a Snake Body and a Human Head
2. The Matter of Receiving the Chart of the Rivers
3. The Matter of the Marriage Rite
4. (The Matter of the Eight Trigrams)
5. (The Matter of Being an Avatar of Ōsei Daishi)**
6. (The Matter of the Five Constant Virtues)
7. (The Matter of the Sun and Moon)**
8. (The Matter of the First Flute and Reed-Pipes)
9. (The Matter of Hewing Stones to Patch the Heavens)
10. (The Matter of Being an Avatar of the Bodhisattva Hōkisshō)**
11. (The Matter of Having a Human Body and a Bull Head)
12. (The Matter of Making the Five-Stringed Zither)
13. (The Matter of the Planting of the Five Grains)
14. (The Matter of the Heavens Raining Millet)
15. (The Matter of Sampling the Flavors of Plants and Trees)
16. (The Matter of Su Sha (of the People) Decocting Salt)
17. (The Matter of Master Red Pine as the Master of Rain)
18. (The Matter of the Emperor as an Avatar of the Medicine Buddha)**
19. (The Matter of the Bull-Headed Sovereign of Gion)**
20. (The Matter of Identifying the Three Emperors)

21. (The Matter of Being Born After Twenty-five Months)

22. (The Matter of the First Donning of Robes and Skirts)

23. (The Matter of the First Boat and Oars)

24. (The Matter of Chi You)

25. (The Matter of the Heavenly Maiden and the Numinous Dance)

26. (The Matter of Shooting and Kicking)

27. (The Matter of the Three Offices)

28. (The Matter of Bian Que)

29. (The Matter of Making Alcohol)

30. (The Matter of Making the Twelve-Pipe Flute)

31. (The Matter of the *Pojing*)

32. (The Matter of Removing Shoes)

33. (The Matter of the Crow-Call Bow)

34. (The Matter of Zuo Che Carving an Image)

35. (The Matter of Twenty-Five Imperial Sons)

36. (The Matter of Seven Days and Seven Nights of Fierce Rain)

Five Emperors

37. (The Matter of the Phoenix Portent)

38. (The Matter of Saying His Name Upon Birth)

39. (The Matter of Emperor Ji Being No Good)

40. (The Matter of Being Born After Fourteen Months)

41. (The Matter of His Eight-Colored Eyebrows)

42. (The Matter of the Dream of Ascending to Heaven)

43. (The Matter of Likening the Sun)

44. (The Matter of Gazing Upon Clouds)

45. (The Matter of Measuring Movement of Celestial Bodies)

46. (The Matter of the Intercalary Month)

47. (The Matter of Frugality)

48. (The Matter of Not Trimming Thatch)

49. (The Matter of the Guard From Hua and the Imperial Prayer)

50. (The Matter of the Banner for Promoting Improvement)

51. (The Matter of the Grievance Airing Tree)

52. (The Matter of Speaking)

53. (The Matter of "Lucky Pods")

54. (The Matter of Encirclement Chess)

55. (The Matter of Yin Shou Making the First Mirror)

56. (The Matter of the Nine-Year Flood)

57. (The Matter of the Ten Suns)

58. (The Matter of Xu You Washing His Ears)

59. (The Matter of the Double Pupils)

60. (The Matter of Younger Brother Xiang)

61. The Matter of the Two Daughters, Ehuang and Nüying

62. (The Matter of Taking the Government)

63. (The Matter of the Queen Mother of the West Proffering a White Ring)

64. (The Matter of the Zither and Verse)

65. (The Matter of the Five-Illuminations Fan)

66. (The Matter of the Eight Founding [Talents] and Eight Contented [Talents])

67. (The Matter of Getting Rid of Bronze and Pearls)

68. (The Matter of the Love of Two Empresses)

69. (The Matter of the Mottled Bamboo)

70. (The Matter of Imprisoning Yao)

71. (The Matter of Identifying the Five Emperors)

Xia

1. (The Matter of Yu Being Born From a Split Breast)
2. (The Matter of the Big Dipper on His Chest)
3. (The Matter on the Land Tax and Other Levies)
4. (The Matter of Two Yellow Dragons Bearing His Boat on Their Backs)
5. (The Matter of Three Days of Raining Blood)
6. (The Matter of Summer Hail)

(Jie)

7. (The Matter of Jie's Wickedness and Perversion)
8. (The Matter of Ox[-like] Drinking)
9. (The Matter of the Winter Rending of Mountains)
10. (The Matter of the Fire God Huilu)

Yin

1. (The Matter of Yi Yin)
2. (The Matter of the Seven-Year Drought)
3. (The Matter of Prayers for Rain)
4. (The Matter of Three Years of Darkness)

5. (The Matter of Being Sent to Paulownia Palace)
6. (The Matter of Welcoming the Emperor)
7. (The Matter of the Sudden Growth of Mulberry and Grain)
8. (The Matter of Dreaming of Obtaining a Sage)
9. (The Matter of Zhuan Shuo)
10. (The Matter of Pheasants Atop the Tripod Handles)
11. (The Matter of [Heavenly] Deity and Gambling)
12. (The Matter of Death by Lightning Strike)
13. (The Matter of Zhou Lacking the Way)
14. (The Matter of Long Night Banquets)
15. (The Matter of the Punishment of Burning at the Stake)
16. (The Matter of Xi Bo Incarcerated)
17. (The Matter of Assassinating Bi Gan)
18. (The Matter of Women's Speech Being Untrustworthy)
19. (The Matter of Decapitating Zhou)
20. (The Matter of a Yao or Shun)
21. (The Matter of a Jie or Zhou)
22. (The Matter of Forgetting One's Wife)
23. (The Matter of Jie and Zhou Forgetting Their Position)

SCROLL TWO

Zhou

1. (The Matter of Having Four Nipples)

2. (The Matter of the Warring of Yu and Rui)
3. (The Matter of Eating a Stew of His Son)
4. (The Matter of Magnanimity Extending to Decaying Bones)
5. (The Matter of Bo Yi and Shu Qi Remonstrating)
6. (The Matter of Releasing the Horses and Oxen)
7. (The Matter of Bo Yi and Shu Qi Starving to Death)
8. (The Matter of the Zhou Vassals Being Un-united in Spirit)
9. (The Matter of the Ten Rebellious Vassals)
10. (The Matter of a Single Intent and the Matter of One Hundred Lords)
11. (The Matter of Filial Conduct)
12. (The Matter of the Duke of Zhou Taking the Government)
13. (The Matter of the Duke of Zhou Handing Back the Government)
14. (The Matter of the Son of Heaven Not Making Jokes)
15. (The Matter of Forty Years Without Punishments)
16. (The Matter of the Buddha's Birth)**
17. (The Naming of the Eight Horses)
18. (The Matter of Three Days of Gambling)**
19. (The Matter of Communicating Method via the Eyes)
20. (The Matter of Stopping the People's Mouths)
21. (The Matter of the Government of Communal Harmony)
22. (The Matter of the Assassination of Du Bo)
23. (The Matter of Du Bo Shooting the King)
24. (The Matter of the Three Rivers Quaking)

25. (The Matter of Loving Baosi)

26. (The Matter of Being Fond of Signal Fires)

27. (The Matter of the Buddha's Birth)**

28. (The Matter of Duke Huan of Qi Becoming an Earl)

29. (The Matter of Laozi's Birth)**

30. (The Matter of Being Born With Whiskers)

31. (The Matter of Confucius' Birth)**

32. (The Matter of Sending a Carp at Birth)

33. (The Matter of Prince Zijin Attaining Immortality)**

34. (The Matter of the Kumano Avatar)**

35. (The Matter of Laozi Journeying West)

36. (The Matter of Confucius Being Welcomed in Japan)

37. (The Matter of the Nine Tripods Sinking Into the Si River)

38. (The Matter of Guan Zhong as Adversary)

39. (The Matter of Rang Ju)

40. (The Matter of the Comet Appearing)

41. (The Matter of Yanzi's Thrice Daily Remonstration)

42. (The Matter of the Drought)

43. (The Matter of Jie Zitui, the Dragon, and the Snake's Assassination)

44. (The Matter of Winter Dining)

45. (The Matter of Mars and Steadfastness)

46. (The Matter of Three Utterances of Ultimate Virtue)

47. (The Matter of the Stabbing Death of King Liao)

48. (The Matter of Wu and Yue)

49. (The Matter of Casting Fan Li's Likeness)

50. (The Matter of Assassinating Zixu)

51. (The Matter of Erecting the Platform of Yellow Bronze)

52. (The Matter of the Four Lords)

53. (The Matter of the Son Born on the Fifth Day of the Fifth Month)

54. (The Matter of the First Emperor)

55. (The Matter of the Fourth-month Freeze in Summer)

56. (The Matter of a Comet Appearing)

57. (The Matter of the Decapitation of Dan of Yan)

58. (The Matter of Seeking Penglai)

59. (The Matter of the Death Taboo)

60. (The Matter of the Death of the First Emperor)

61. (The Matter of Hu Hai's Accession to the Throne)

62. (The Matter of an Indian Monk Bringing Buddhism)**

63. (The Matter of Minor Solar and Lunar Eclipses)

64. (The Matter of Taking a Deer to be a Horse)

65. (The Matter of Executing the Second Emperor)

66. (The Matter of Assassinating Zhao Gao)

67. (The Matter of Ziying Surrendering to the Duke of Pei)

SCROLL THREE

Han

1. The Matter of the Dream Encounter with a God
2. The Matter of the Dragonish Face
3. The Matter of 72 Black Moles on His Left Side
4. (The Matter of Being Like a Dragon God)
5. (The Matter of Praising Physiognomy)
6. (The Matter of the Bamboo Bark Cap)
7. The Matter of Slicing the Snake
8. The Matter of the Portent of the Son of Heaven
9. The Matter of the Violet Clouds
10. The Matter of the (Qin) Prince Ziying Presenting the Imperial Seal
11. The Matter of the Three Laws
12. The Matter of the Meeting at Hongmen
13. (The Matter of the Dance of the Unsheathed Sword)
14. (The Matter of the Escape-Well Pigeons)
15. The Matter of Gaozu's Father Put on the Chopping Block
16. The Matter of Xiang Yu's Encirclement
17. The Matter of Xiang Yu Losing His Way
18. The Matter of the Long Boat at the (Wu)jiang Pavilion
19. The Matter of Xiang Yu Cutting Off His Head
20. The Matter of Gaozu Ascending the Throne
21. (The Matter of the Three Heroes)

22. The Matter of Zhang Liang Becoming an Imperial Tutor

23. The Matter of Zhang Liang Worshipping a Yellow Stone for Thirteen Years

24. The Matter of Zhang Liang Studying Immortality

25. The Matter of A Court Audience Once Every Five Days

26. The Matter of Heaven Not Having Two Suns

27. The Matter of Tai Gong Becoming Retired Emperor Tai

28. The Matter of the Siege of Ping[cheng]

29. The Matter of Lady Qi (Being Cherished)

30. The Matter of the Four Worthies Emerging to Attend Emperor Hui

31. (The Matter of Gaozu Attacking Qing Bu)

32. The Matter of Empress Lü Assassinating the Prince of Zhao

33. The Matter of Lady Qi Being a Human Pig

34. The Matter of Drinking a Toast (with) the Prince of Qi

35. The Matter of the Peach and Plum Bearing Fruit in Winter

36. The Matter of the Autumn Flowering of the Peach and Plum

37. The Matter of the Manifestation of the Prince of Zhao

38. The Matter of the Assorted Lü Making Chaos

39. The Matter of the Left [Shoulder] Being Bared in the Army

40. (The Matter of Establishing Prince Dai)

41. (The Matter of Song Chang's Enlivening Speech)

42. The Matter of the Plastron Divination

43. The Matter of the Assorted Ministers Making Obeisance

44. The Matter of the Five Yields

45. The Matter of Ascending to the Rank of the Son of Heaven

46. (The Matter of the Winter Flowering of the Peach and Plum)

47. (The Matter of Tirong)

48. (The Matter of Acting as the Parents to the People)

49. The Matter of the Abolition of Corporal Punishment

50. The Matter of Agriculture as the [Basis of the] Sub-Celestial Realm

51. The Matter of Reduction of the Imperial Robes

52. The Matter of the Stolen Jade Ring (From Gaozu's Ancestral Temple)

53. The Matter of the Emperor Questioning Zhou Bo

54. The Matter of the Ministers

55. (The Matter of Resisting the Xiongnu)

56. The Matter of Not Heeding (the Son of) Heaven's Command Within the Fortress

57. The Matter of the Knight of Jiezhou Not Bowing

58. The Matter of Torrential Rain for Over Forty Days

59. The Matter of Not Building A "Dew" [Open-Air] Platform

60. (The Matter of Frugality)

61. The Matter of Zhang Wu Accepting Bribes

62. The Matter of Sagely Virtue

63. The Matter of an Elderly Man Sprouting Horns

64. (The Matter of a Fight Between a White Egret and a Black Egret)

65. (The Matter of Emperor Wen and the King of Wu Gambling)

66. The Matter of Executing Chao Cuo

67. The Matter of Raising Mulberries

68. (The Matter of the Banquet With the Emperor and the Prince of Liang)

69. The Matter of the Kingdom of Liang

SCROLL FOUR

70. The Matter of Emperor Wu's Mother Having Married Jin Wangsun

71. The Matter of The Dream of Being Impregnated by the Sun

72. The Matter of the Son of Heaven

73. The Matter of Being Born on the Seventh Day of the Seventh Month

74. The Matter of the First Reign Period Name

75. The Matter of the Fish's Debt of Gratitude

76. The Matter of Obtaining the Zhou Tripods

77. The Matter of the First Day of the Month Falling on the Winter Solstice

78. The Matter of Being Fond of [Pursuit of] Immortality

79. The Matter of Shao Weng's Arts

80. The Matter of the Document in the Ox's Belly

81. (The Matter of the Mountain Calling "Long May He Reign")

82. The Matter of Wrestling

83. The Matter of the First Linked Verse

84. The Matter of Using the First Month as the Head of the Year

85. The Matter of the "Lyrics on the Autumn Wind"

86. The Matter of Dongfang Shuo

87. The Matter of Dongfang Shuo (Being) Jupiter

88. The Matter of Seeking Penglai

89. The Matter of Lady Li

90. The Matter of Lady Gouyi

91. The Matter of Assassinating Lady Gouyi

92. The Matter of Yan Si Being Incompatible with Three Ages

93. The Matter of the Gate of Yao's Mother

94. The Matter of Huo Guang Taking Government

95. The Matter of the Stone Erecting Itself

96. The Matter of the Willow Erecting Itself

97. The Matter of the Prince of Changyi Ascending the Throne

98. (The Matter of the 1,127 [*sic*] Cases of Mismanagement)

99. (The Matter of the Sun and Moon not Appearing, Day or Night)

100. (The Matter of Emperor Xuan Being Jailed After Birth)

101. (The Matter of There Being Signs of an Emperor in Prison)

102. The Matter of Huo Guang and the Reports

103. The Matter of Drawing Huo Guang's Likeness

104. (The Matter of Raining Hail)

105. The Matter of a Stone of Rice Being Worth 5 *Qian*

106. The Matter of a Chicken Turning Into a Dove

107. The Matter of Cannibalism

108. The Matter of a Chicken Turning into a Rooster

109. The Matter of the Heavens Raining Grass

110. The Matter of Peng Zhaoyi Facing Off With a Bear

111. The Matter of Wang Zhaojun

112. The Matter of Favorite Beauty Ban Refusing the Carriage

113. The Matter of the Verse on the Fan

114. The Matter of Blue Flies Swarming

115. (The Matter of Two Moons Appearing)

116. (The Matter of Sa (Xue?) Guangde's Remonstrance)

117. The Matter of Kickball

118. The Matter of it Raining Snow in the Fourth Month

119. The Matter of a Rat's Nest Atop a Tree

120. The Matter of a Chinaberry Tree Taking a Human Shape

121. The Matter of the Meteor Shower

122. The Matter of a Swallow Giving Birth to a Sparrow

123. The Matter of a Horse Sprouting Horns

124. The Matter of Kong Guang Not Speaking of the Government

125. The Matter of Wen's Trees

126. The Matter of White Vapor (Like a Length of Cloth)

127. The Matter of a Stallion Giving Birth to a Charger

128. The Matter of a Tree Taking a Human Shape

129. (The Matter of a Great Tree Suddenly Erecting Itself)

130. (The Matter of a Great Fish)

131. The Matter of the Heavens Raining Blood

132. The Matter of a Little Boy Turning into a (Little) Girl

133. The Matter of Wang Mang Taking Government

134. The Matter of the Unnatural Child

135. The Matter of Wang Mang Proffering a *Zhen* Bird

136. (The Matter of Transmission of the Imperial Seal)

137. (The Matter of Wang Mang's Appearance)

138. (The Matter of the Pygmies)

139. The Matter of the Comet

140. The Matter of the Earthquake

141. The Matter of the Sparrow Gate Singing

142. The Matter of Extreme Cold

143. The Matter of the Queer Marvelous Knight

144. The Matter of Guangwu Raising Troops

145. The Matter of Decapitating Wang Mang

146. The Matter of Liu Xuan

147. The Matter of Dividing Straw Mats

148. The Matter of Liu Penzi

149. The Matter of the Red Eyebrows

150. The Matter of the Palace Ladies Being Shut Away

151. The Matter of the Digging (Open) of the Imperial Tumuli

152. The Matter of Penzi's Fall

SCROLL FIVE

Eastern Han

1. The Matter of the "Sun Horn"

2. The Matter of a Red Light Shining at Birth

3. The Matter of “Auspicious Rice” Having Nine Ears
4. The Matter of Li Tong and Prognostication Texts
5. The Matter of Initially Riding an Ox
6. The Matter of a Giant
7. The Matter of Arrows Falling Like Rain
8. The Matter of a Meteor Shower
9. The Matter of Decapitation
10. The Matter of Thundering Drums in the Fortress
11. The Matter of the Thunder Clap
12. The Matter of Soldiers Drowning
13. (The Matter of the Elderly Official Shedding Tears)
14. The Matter of the Waters of the Hutuo (River)
15. (The Matter of Ascending the Throne)
16. (The Matter of the Imperial Seal)
17. The Matter of the White Glow Appearing
18. The Matter of Sacrificial Offerings to Confucius
19. The Matter of the Cost of Grain Soaring
20. The Matter of the Officials and the Sealed Pouches
21. The Matter of the Inaccurate Assessment of Fields
22. The Matter of the Robber Hordes
23. The Matter of it Raining Grain
24. The Matter of the Sweet Spring
25. The Matter of the Kingdom of Wonu Presenting an Emissary

26. The Matter of Sagely Virtue

27. The Matter of Yan Guang (Sleeping)

28. The Matter of the "Visiting Star"

29. The Matter of Highly Revering Huan Rong

30. The Matter of the Great Archery [Rite]

31. The Matter of the Dream of the Golden Person**

32. The Matter of the First Transmissions of the Buddhist Law**

33. The Matter of the Daoist Memorial**

34. The Matter of the Daoist Scriptures Burning**

35. The Matter of the (Buddha's) Relics Emitting Light (Brightly)**

36. The Matter of Taking the Precepts**

37. The Matter of the Sweet Dew

38. The Matter of "Borrowing" Offices

39. The Matter of Frugality

40. (The Matter of Calling the Xiongnu to Account)

41. The Matter of Adding Poison to the Arrowheads

42. The Matter of Geng Gong Praying for Water

43. The Matter of a Spring Gushing Forth

44. The Matter of Boiling [His] Armor and Bow for Food

45. The Matter of the Land of Mingshi Presenting a Lion in Tribute

46. The Matter of Pardoning Prisoners Because of Drought

47. The Matter of the Ban on the Sale of Alcohol

48. The Matter of Ascending the Throne a Bit Over 100 Days After Birth

49. The Matter of a Divine Light Illuminating the Throne Room

50. The Matter of the Red Snake Encoiling the Pillow

51. The Matter of the Conflagration

52. The Matter of Cannibalism due to Starvation

53. The Matter of the Sale of Offices

54. The Matter of the Reduction of Imperial Rations

55. The Matter of the Earthquakes

56. (The Matter of Liang Ji Assassinating the Emperor)

57. The Matter of Floods

58. (The Matter of the Conflagration)

59. The Matter of the Sale of Offices

60. The Matter of a Husband Eating His Wife

61. The Matter of the 'Chinese Scholar Tree' Standing Upside Down

62. The Matter of the Sale of Offices

63. The Matter of the Emperor and the Palace Ladies' Commerce

64. The Matter of the Yellow-Turbaned Traitors

65. The Matter of Bearing Unnatural Children

66. The Matter of a Horse Giving Birth to a Human

67. The Matter of the Blue-Green Glow

68. The Matter of the Whitecap Traitors

69. The Matter of Journeying on Foot by Firefly Light

70. The Matter of the Emperor and King Chen Liu Boarding a "Dew Cart"

71. The Matter of Dong Zhuo Deposing the King

72. The Matter of a While Glow Piercing the Sun

73. The Matter of the Price of Grain Being High

74. The Matter of Giving Congee to the Starving People

75. The Matter of the Chaotic Age

76. The Matter of Officials Taking up Plows Themselves

77. The Matter of the Three Kingdoms Being Like a Tripod

SCROLL SIX

1. The Matter of an Omen of Blue-Green Clouds at a Birth
2. The Matter of the First Ruler of Shu Selling Shoes With His Mother in His Youth
3. The Matter of the Mulberry Tree Over Five Zhang Tall
4. The Matter of Prime Minister Minister Zhuge Liang
5. The Matter of the Octagonal Form
6. The Matter of the "Fish-and-Water" Vow
7. The Matter of Sun Quan of Wu's Abnormal Appearance
8. The Matter of Emperor Wen of Wei's Literary Compositions
9. The Matter of the Ways in Which The Imperial Form [of Emperor Ming] was Unparalleled
10. The Matter of Not Shooting the Fawn
11. The Matter of Not Mixing with Court or the Ministers
12. The Matter of Being Like the Qin Emperor or Emperor Wu of the Han
13. The Matter of Establishing the "Airing of Accusations"
14. The Matter of the Erection of Chongwen Hall
15. The Matter of Wei Zhongjiang and the Cartouche for Lingyun Platform

16. The Matter of Turning White-Haired in the Blink of an Eye

17. The Matter of Fangling Park

18. The Matter of a Comet

19. The Matter of the Emperor's Illness

20. The Matter of Not Knowing the Emperor's Mother

21. The Matter of Relics Appearing**

22. The Matter of Erecting a Temple**

23. The Matter of Two Fish Appearing Atop the Roof of the Armory

24. The Matter of Heating Iron to Beat a Remonstrating Minister

25. The Matter of Descending From the Palanquin at the East Gate

26. The Matter of Mars

27. The Matter of Coming Back to Life Six Days After Dying

28. The Matter of the Destruction of Shu

29. The Matter of a Giant Appearing

30. The Matter of the End of Wei

[**Western Jin**]

1. The Matter of the Creation of Temple Compounds**
2. The Matter of a Blood-Sweating Horse
3. The Matter of the Great Burning to Death
4. The Matter of Court Being Cancelled Because of an Epidemic
5. The Matter of [the Comet] "Chi You's Banner"
6. The Matter of the Burning of the Pheasant Head Robe
7. The Matter of Sun Hao's Surrender

8. The Matter of Drinking Into a Stupor
9. The Matter of Wanting to Eradicate Buddhism**
10. The Matter of Relics Appearing**
11. The Matter of the Buddha Image Leaning on the Side of the Privy**
12. The Matter of the Swollen Scrotum**
13. The Matter of Apologizing For Transgressions**
14. The Matter of the King Taking Five Precepts**
15. The Matter of a Crab Turning Into a Rat and Eating Grain
16. The Matter of Pond Water Being Like Blood
17. The Matter of the Red Snow
18. The Matter of the Comet Appearing
19. The Matter of the Armory Fire
20. The Matter of King Lun of Zhao's Insurrection
21. The Matter of Drinking Alcohol With [Metal] Filings
22. The Matter of the Assassination of King Lun of Zhao
23. The Matter of 16 Kingdoms, Each With its Own King
24. The Matter of a Comet Appearing During the Day
25. The Matter of the Defeat of Six Armies
26. The Matter of an Arrow Striking the Emperor's Cheek
27. The Matter of Shi Chao Offering Water to the Emperor
28. The Matter of the King of Chengdu's Reception
29. The Matter of the Emperor and the Presentation of a *Sheng* of Rice
30. The Matter of an Old Man Presenting Chicken Jerky

31. The Matter of the Lost Shoes

32. The Matter of Snow on the Road to Chang'an

33. The Matter of Tumbling [From] the Horse

34. The Matter of the Sun Shining Red as Blood

35. The Matter of the Poisoned Twist-Cake

36. The Matter of the Great Drought

37. The Matter of Harming in Excess of 30,000 People

38. The Matter of Commanding the Emperor to Serve Alcohol

39. The Matter of Three Suns Rising

40. The Matter of Thieves Digging up Two Tumuli

41. The Matter of the Empress Being as She had Been While Alive

42. The Matter of There Being Much Bronze and Jade in the Tumuli

43. The Matter of the Severe Famine

44. The Matter of a Congee of Twist-Cakes Being Presented to the Emperor

45. The Matter of the Imperial Surrender to Liu Yao

46. The Matter of the Imperial Kowtow

47. The Matter of the Emperor Donning Military Attire

48. The Matter of the Emperor Serving Alcohol and Washing the Cups

Eastern Jin

1. The Matter of the White Curl and the Left "Sun Horn"
2. The Matter of Constructing Two Temples**
3. The Matter of the Heavy Fog
4. The Matter of Wang Dun's Insurrection

5. The Matter of the Seven-Jeweled Whip
6. The Matter of Su Jun's Insurrection
7. The Matter of Overcooked Rice for the Imperial Repast
8. The Matter of Sobbing in the Inner Chambers
9. The Matter of Burning the Great Hall of State
10. The Matter of Severe Famine
11. The Matter of the Severe Drought
12. The Matter of the Great Hall of State Hung With White Gauze Curtains
13. The Matter of the Wending Stream Banquet
14. The Matter of Being Fond of the Arts of Religious Daoism**
15. The Matter of Excessive Consumption of Elixirs of Longevity**
16. The Matter of Erecting a Cloister and Summoning Monks**
17. The Matter of the End of the Jin Fortune
18. The Matter of Temple Construction During the Jin**

Jin Remainder

1. The Matter of Forbidding Silk Fans
2. The Matter of Not Differentiating Between Winter and Summer

** designates entries with overtly Buddhist- or Daoist-related content

APPENDIX B: *The Mirror of China*

Although the intention to go on a one hundred-day retreat to the pure sites of many temples and perform one thousand readings of the insoluble and impenetrable True Texts was deeply lodged within me, [much as] the grasses of spring go by, wasted, and the winds of autumn easily surprise [one], the days of my prime had waned; since I had already grown old, for three or two years, I had single-mindedly—as though trying to put out a fire—not neglected my verbal offerings. Around the first third of the fifth month, I proceeded from the southern sea to the western sea. The route was so vast that the banks of clouds and billowing waves flowed together, and the thousand-league view from the solitary sailboat was boundless. More than ten days passed as we headed towards Anraku Temple. That which purified the solitary and silent faithful heart was the autumn sky over Mt. Kōshi. That which joined with the Sanskrit of the reading of these sutras was the lake by night at Goshi Temple. On the ninth of the ninth month, when I had concluded my vow of one thousand readings, it was the day of the Double Nines banquet. The literati participated, and the poetry banquet was serious [business]. At the memory of that composition—"On this night, last year, I served in the emperor's private palace./That collection of verse on autumnal reverie [leaves] me feeling wretchedly alone"—several rivulets of tears bathed the words of the Buddha's teaching. When the poetry recitation ceremony had concluded, 'the autumn wind was mournfully blowing' in the depths of the cool night. There were two eminent monks there who had been in the audience since I began the sutra readings, keeping to the sidelines. Tonight, they scooted closer on their knees, saying something. One was quite a great priest. His speech was impossible to decipher. The other, who was [his] disciple, did the honors of passing on the master's words, translating them, and so on.

"For aeons, we have had ties to the *Lotus Sutra*. Life after life, age after age, we've encountered one another, and here, there, everywhere, we offer salutations. Buddhism is languishing at the Song Court, and people who venerate this teaching are rare, so we have come to Japan; our first stop was this temple, where we heard it being read a thousand times. And since the golden words of this healing elixir of eternal youth and immortality, this sutra, are true, [our] lives are long, and our looks impervious to aging. We have [lived to] see the grey seas even thrice turn to green fields [and back again]. Though India is the land of the Buddha's dwelling, its shores are distant. [But] I could roughly relate to you the aspect of the land of Cīnasthāna, if you would listen," he said.

I replied, "Though I now come before you as a monk, long ago, I applied myself to the scholarship of the Willow Market. Yet despite having read of the founding of the Han Dynasty in books, in my idiocy, I did not understand it. To now accept your offer would be the happiness of my dotage."

"Well then," the monk said…

"As far as [things] prior to Fuxi, King Pan Gu lived 98,000 years. Next, the Emperor of Heaven and the Emperor of Earth each lived 18,000 years, and the Emperor of Men lived 45,600 years. These ages were indistinct and distant and thus are not [known] in detail." So he spoke on things from the time of Fuxi to the beginning of the current Song Court, the first year of the Jianlong period under Emperor Taizu—a *geng-shen* year—of the matters of 15,132 years, rushing along like the waters of a river. At my pleasure in hearing this discourse, he choked out, "We will surely meet again on the dawn of the Bodhisattva Maitreya's Thrice-Yearly Assembly." When he stood, I followed and saw him off. At the main gate, he vanished and was nowhere to be seen.

Alas, his parting! There was nothing else to be done. In the matters of the worthy kings of Cīnasthāna and the governments of the Sage Emperors, the ages of governance and those of chaos, there are things outstanding and ignoble. Much as I might like to tell [these things] to the ignorant, when I hear something in the morning, I've forgotten it by evening. Such is the way of old age, and even though I don't remember things at all, I've recorded one-one hundredth of [what I heard]; [of the matters profuse as] spring trees that were to be recorded, [what remains] is a trifling amount—about as much as 'a dog molts in autumn.' While I will surely be mocked by men of talent, young boys and girls might perchance read and understand it. Since I have heard that there is a practice whereby one takes the past and uses it to reflect on things, I ought to call this *The Mirror of China.*

The Mirror of China: Part I

From Fuxi to the Age of the Yin

The Emperor known as Fuxi was of wood virtue. His mother was known as Huadang, and in a place called Leize, she stepped in the footprint of a giant and gave birth to the emperor. His last name was Feng. He had a snake body and a human head. Being of wood virtue, he was the progenitor of a hundred kings.

As his throne was in the East, and because [he] presided over the brilliance of the spring sun, he was called "Great Brilliance." He received the chart of the rivers, and there was the portent of the great dragon. He took the dragon as [his] sigil, and the very name of the office was that of Dragon Master. As for the great zither, which had 45 strings and was 8 *chi* 1 *cun* in length, this was something made by the emperor. The marriage rite was also something that originated at this time. He made the Eight Trigrams for the first time; [also] he fastened rope together and made it into a net, and this was called fishing. [He] took many sacrifices to the kitchen, and so he was also called Pao [Kitchen] xi. When Fuxi ruled the sub-celestial realm, first, he made the Eight Trigrams, then he invented characters, bound rope, and had an age of governance. Thus, writing was said to have been born. He had been on the throne one hundred-ten years, when he was seen off [to the next life] at a place called Shanyang.

We say that this emperor was an avatar of Ōsei Daishi and in order to clarify the Five Turbidities, he proclaimed the Five Constant Virtues. The Five Constant Virtues are Humane-ness, Appropriety, Rituality, Wisdom, and Trust[ability]. Worrying about life and not killing is called Humane-ness. Defending against harm and not being licentious is called Appropriety. Maintaining one's mind and abstaining from liquor is called Rituality. Lucidly examining and not thieving is called Wisdom. Not saying things that are unlawful is called

Trust[ability]. These Five Virtues are the way for kings to govern lands and lordlings to establish themselves. They are things that cannot be even briefly lacking or cast aside. Therefore, they are called the Five Constant Virtues. As for the Five Constants, in Heaven, there are the Five Wefts, and on earth, there are the Five Peaks. Inside of people, there are the Five Organs. In things, there are the Five Phases. What is called the Five Admonitions in the Buddhist scriptures are these. Also, he commanded the two great bodhisattvas of the West, Amida Hōōsei and Hōkisshō, and made the sun and moon. Both what we take for enlightenment and the sun and moon, too, must have been things that date from this reign.

The next empress is called Nüwa. As the younger sister of Fuxi, she was Empress. She, too, had a snake's body and a human head. The first reed-pipes were made. In this reign, the western extremity [of the realm] was listing, rending the nine states such that heaven did not completely cover them. Since there were things that had been piled on the earth, she hewed five-colored rocks and patched the slate-colored firmament, which was rare indeed. Curtains and drapes, too, were first made in this reign. As for this empress, she was an avatar of the Bodhisattva Hōkisshō. As for the creation of the sun and moon, we say that this was in Fuxi's reign. When we see how they returned to the West, aren't Fuxi and Nüwa [like] Mahāsthāmaprāpta? From Nüwa to the time of Sir Wuhuai, there were fifty generations, and each carried on Fuxi's appellation and was of wood virtue. All in all it was 11,012 years.

As for the next emperor, we call him Shennong. He was of fire virtue. His mother is called Rensi, and she was a woman of the Qiao clan. She was also called Deng and was the concubine of Xiao Dian. She was wandering about in Huayang, when she sensed a divinity with a dragon head, and she gave birth to the emperor. He had the body of a human and the head of a bull. He invented the five-stringed zither, which is three *chi* six *cun* one *fen* in length. Also, he

made the plough, and teaching the sub-celestial realm, he planted the Five Grains. Therefore we call him the Divine Agriculturist.

The Heavens rained millet, and the emperor plowed and planted them, it is said. By day, he erected a market. He made the Eight Trigrams into the Sixty-Four Hexagrams. He sampled and discerned between the flavors of the trees and grasses and mixed them together to make medicine, eradicating the people's hardships. The person known as Su Sha decocted seawater to make the first salt. Flavored springs, too, first appeared in this time. Master Red Pine, as a Master of Rain, mastered the art of the [medicinal plant] "Pinellia" and taught it to the emperor. After being on the throne for one hundred twenty years, he died. Thereafter, his descendants took up the reins for four hundred thirty-six years. This emperor was a reincarnation of the Medicine Buddha. He distinguished between the flavors of the hundred grasses and cured diseases for the benefit of all sentient beings. As for his manifestation in Japan, is it not the Bull-headed Sovereign of Gion?

Calling Fuxi, Nüwa, and Shennong the Three Sovereigns is the explanation of Zheng Xuan. Calling Fuxi, Shennong, and the Yellow Emperor the Three Emperors is the explanation of Kong Anguo. Calling Suiren, Fuxi, and Shenhuang the Three Emperors is the teaching of the *White Tiger Propagations*.

As for the next emperor, he was called the Yellow Emperor. He was of earth virtue. He was the son of Xiao Dian. His surname was Gongsun, and his first name was Xuanyuan. As for his mother, she was called Fubao. She saw a great flash of light envelop the pivotal star of the Big Dipper, felt something in her heart, and then she was pregnant. In the twenty-fifth month, she bore the emperor at Shouqiu. He had a dragonish head, and as a youth, he was naturally precocious. He was the first to don robes and skirts, make boats and oars, craft bow and arrow.

He was also the first to build long halls and houses. Using standing troops, he made a garrison, and they took on in total twelve battles. When he vied with Chi You for the sub-celestial realm, Chi You's head was [strong as] copper and his body [as] iron, [with the result that] neither arrow nor blade had any effect. So the Yellow Emperor looked up to the Heavens and made a vow: "If I am to rule the sub-celestial realm, kill Chi You!" At that time, a lustrous woman descended from the Heavens and performed the numinous dance "The Steps of Yu." [Then] Chi You's body [felt] like boiling water, and on the fifteenth day of the first month of the year, he was felled. His head rose up and turned into a goblin. His body dropped to the ground and turned into an earth spirit. Because Chi You was the scourge of the sub-celestial realm, from that time on, at the beginning of the year, people shot at his spirit: the target was an image of Chi You. [With] a ball [for] Chi You's head, [people] shot and kicked it.

In this reign, [Minister] Feng Hou was placed on the uppermost tier, [Vice-Minister] Tian Lao on the middle tier, and the Five Sages on the lowermost tiers, and these were called the Three Offices. There were also the Seven Offices. As for Cang Jie, he created writing; Da Rao created the Sexagenary Cycle; Li Shou invented arithmetic; Rong Cheng made the calendar; Qi Bo created medicine; Gui Shi[*sic*]qu (Yuqu) created the augural post, and Xi Zhong made the chariot. Also, in the matter of Bian Que, he regulated the interior, and Wu Xian the exterior, and these two were skilled at Medicine. Afterwards, in the time of the Six Kingdoms, there was also a skilled doctor called Bian Que. He must have taken the name of this [predecessor], mustn't he? Since this was in the land of Yu, he was also called the Yu Doctor. Also, Du Kang made the first alcohol. Since alcohol was the beautiful cerulean of the firmament and was said to nourish the sub-celestial realm of the emperor, it was used for ritual, praying for wealth, aiding the fallen, nourishing the ill, and was progenitor of much happiness and chief among medicines. As for the

boiling of grains and the preparation of gruel, they began in this age. Also, as for Ling Lun, he collected the bamboo from the Xie Valley and made the twelve-pipe [flute] and fixed the *ritsu* (律, *lü*) and *ryo* (呂, *lü*) pitches. The Cloud Gate and Xian Pond songs were also made in this time. The emperor had the owl and *pojing* made into a stew, and at a banquet, he bestowed it upon the assembled vassals. The owl is a bird that eats its mother, and the *pojing* is a beast that eats its father. Wanting to get rid of such horrible things must be the reason why in the current age, at the time of the Banquet for Seasonal Change, instead of the owl and *pojing*, [the emperor] bestows a stew of abalone upon his vassals. For the emperor, leaving his wife was as [easy as] removing his shoes; given this, he went to Mt. Beici, and inquired about the way. Thereafter, he withdrew from the imperial rank, and we called him the Retired Emperor. When we compare a sovereign to the Yellow Emperor, we call him "Unshod" and refer to his dwelling as Mt. Beici. The Emperor made three precious tripods and had them distributed across the realm. Also, he took bronze from Mt. Shou and made a tripod at Mt. Jing.

[Variata in the Matsudaira version following the line "at Mt. Jing." At a time when the tripods had already been cast, there was a dragon; it had a ruff hanging down, and welcomed the emperor. The emperor mounted it. Lords and ministers, empress and consorts, followed him, with those who mounted the dragon numbering over seventy. The dragon then took off. Petty vassals who could not mount the dragon each took hold of his beard. They pulled out his beard, and the Emperor twanged his bow. The commoners gazed aloft, and holding onto their bows and the dragon's beard, they yelled. Therefore, subsequent generations called that place Lake Tripod, and they called that bow Crow Call. That imperial reign was one hundred years. It is also seems to have been said to have been three hundred years. The person called Zuo Che loved the emperor and made a carving

of him to which he made obeisance morning and evening, and these efforts were felt to be moving.]

This emperor had four empresses and consorts and twenty-five sons; as for those who were given surnames, there were fourteen. Might he who made a vow to protect travelers and was known as the "Deity of Wayfarers" have been amongst those twenty-five? As for the [verse] saying, "Wayfarers even now wander beneath the late-rising moon," it must be because of that. During this imperial reign, in the seventh month, for three days and nights, there was a heavy fog that descended from the heavens. For seven days and nights, there was also a fierce rain. In the distant age of the past, too, though there were many oddities of this kind, if one increasingly implemented benevolent government were disasters not dispelled?

The next [ruler] was called Shao Hao and was metal virtue. The son of the Yellow Emperor, his given name was Zhi, and his style name was Qingyang. He was also called Jintian. His mother was called Nüjie. When she saw a star flow down like a rainbow, she was moved by its intent and gave birth.

In this time, there was the Phoenix Portent, and [so he] took a bird and made it the symbol of office. His reign was one hundred years.

The next was called Zhuanxu Gaoyang. He was of water virtue. He was the grandson of the Yellow Emperor. The child of Changyi, his mother was called Jingpu. And when she felt the final star in the handle of the Big Dipper pierce the moon in the shape of a rainbow, she gave birth. He was born with sword and shield hung round his neck. At the age of twelve, he had the capping ceremony, and at twenty, he ascended the imperial throne. His reign was seventy-eight years, and his age was ninety-eight.

Next came Emperor Ku. He was called Gaoxin. He was of wood virtue. He was the great-grandson of the Yellow Emperor. His mother was someone no one had ever heard of. When she gave birth, he named himself. When he was thirty, he then attained the emperorship. He reigned for seventy years, and his age was one hundred-five.

Next came Emperor Ji. Since this was the eldest son of Emperor Ku, he ascended the throne. His brother by another mother, Fang Xun, he made the Tang Marklord. He had been on the throne for nine years when the marklords all submitted to this younger brother, Fang Xun, as one of flourishing virtue, so he yielded the throne. Emperor Ji was enfeoffed by Gao Xin. It was said that the establishment of Emperor Ji was not good, and so he died.

Next was the emperor called Yao. He was of fire virtue. His name was Fang Xunxun [*sic*], and he was the great-great grandson of the Yellow Emperor. He was the son of Emperor Ji, and his mother was called Qingdu. She got with child, and in the fourteenth month, gave birth. His eyebrows were eight-colored, and his height was ten *chi*. He dreamt that there were always yellow clouds gathered over him that he then ascended to the Heavens. When he was twenty, he ascended the throne. The fact that this ascension was likened to the sun is because just as people happily assemble on a clear day, so they came together due to the imperial virtue. Also, the fact that [his reign] was likened to gazing at clouds [was because] the emperor's virtue was expansive, and since it was great, it covered the sub-celestial realm, so the people thought it was just like a cloud. He surveyed the movement of the sun, moon, and constellations, and taught the people the [system of] twelve-hour time for day and night. He divided spring, summer, autumn, and winter, and set the length of the days. The establishment of intercalary months, too, began in this period. The height of [his] halls was three *chi*. He made steps from the earth, and there were only three. As for not trimming the thatched roof, did not cut the tips off the thatch for his hall. He also did

not prune the supports or finish the trees used as posts. All of this was only out of concern for not causing expense to the people.

An imperial guard from Hua said to the emperor, “You are a Sage. My wish is that I could venerate you and that you might have longevity.” Yao said, “No.” “I would pray for you to be wealthy.” Yao said, “No.” “I would pray for you to have many sons.” Yao said, “No.” The guardsman said, “Longevity, wealth, and numerous sons are what people wish for. Why is it that you alone do not?” Yao said, “When one has a lot of sons, one’s fears are many. When one has much wealth, one’s troubles are many, and when one has a long life, one’s shames are many. As for these three things, they do not engender virtue. Therefore, I refused them.”

The imperial guard said, “At first, I took you for a Sage. Now, you are a Lordling. The heavens bear the people of the realm and bequeath meet offices. As for the matter of having many sons and offices being bequeathed to them, what fear might you have? Being wealthy and having this divvied up, what would the matter be with that? Growing sated with the world at 1,000 years of age and departing it, attaining immortality, mounting the white clouds to arrive at the halls of the immortals, never experiencing the three calamities, and never undergoing harm to your body, what could the shame be in that?”

There was the thing called the “Banner for Promoting Improvement.” With regard to the way in which the sub-celestial realm needed to be governed, [the Emperor wanted] the people to speak up, but there was no means by which they could so do. So he said, “Gather at the base of this banner and voice [your opinions]!” and the banner was erected. Also, with regard to the matter of the “Grievance Airing Tree,” [he] erected something in the shape of a *torii*, and as it had boards, when there was an error in the governance of the sub-celestial realm, people wrote it down there: when he saw what people had written, he corrected the error. With regard to the

aspect of the government and the purport of what people were saying, he wished to inform [himself], so he disguised himself and wandered the main roads at night, listening to and collecting what the people said; when he battled and brought into line the sub-celestial realm, his governance was ever more adored, and the people were all happy without exception.

As for the emperor's imbibing of alcohol, it reached as much as one thousand bell-shaped cups. Also, he placed alcohol along the main thoroughfares, and the passersby happily got drunk. As for the grass called "lucky pods," it grew at the base of the stairs to the palace. On the first day of the month, a single blossom would sprout, and on the fifteenth day, fifteen blossoms would have sprouted; from the sixteenth day on, with each day, a blossom would fall, and on the thirtieth day, all would have fallen. In this way, a single month was determined. If it was a lesser month, one of the blossoms wouldn't fall, and it [was thus] known. As for this lord, in summer, he had unlined robes of kudzu-fiber cloth worn, and in winter, those of deer hide. He created *go* and had it taught to the heir Danzhu. The person called Yin Shou made the first mirror; in the matter of floods that had inundated the sub-celestial realm for up to nine years at this time, since the person called Gun failed to bring them under control, [the lord] had him exiled to a place called Mt. Yu. In this reign, ten suns rose, and the trees and grasses were scorched and withered indeed, and it was wretched. At this time, Yao had a person called Yu shoot them, and Yu shot down nine.

The emperor was to yield the realm to Xu You. Xu You heard about this and fled to the Ying River to wash out his ears. Chao Fu led an ox to cross this river, but then he thought that the river would have become dirtied by Xu You's having washed his ears in it, so he didn't ford it and went back.

He was on the throne for ninety-eight years and was one hundred eighteen years old.

Next, there was the emperor called Shun. He was of earth virtue. There are also instances of calling him Sir Yu. He was a ninth-generation descendant of the Yellow Emperor. His father was called Gu Sou, and his mother was called Wo Deng. She saw a large rainbow, and felt its will, and then gave birth [to Shun]. Because he had double pupils, he was also called "Double Blossom." The imperial countenance had a large mouth, and it was black; his body was six *chi* one *cun*.

He dreamt of eyebrows that reached as long as his hair. First, he made fields, caught fish, made pottery, and did these sorts of lowly things.

After his mother died, his father took another wife. She got with child. His name was Xiang. [Shun's] father loved this Xiang and was constantly trying to get rid of Shun. He had Shun climb up in a warehouse, and then his father set fire to it. Shun [took] two umbrellas and using them as wings, he jumped down. Also, he was made to dig a well. As a result of such [earlier experiences], Shun realized, "He wants to kill me," so he secretly prepared an escape route in the side of the well. His father was unaware of this, and he and Xiang together filled the well with earth to bury [Shun]. Shun had realized what was going on, so he escaped through the hole. Shun was Yao's son-in-law and was married to his two daughters and had also been given a *qin*. Also, he had been made to take stores and livestock, which he didn't use. Both his father and his younger brother thought they had killed him, so his father took the stores and jewels, and his younger brother took the *qin* and Yao's two daughters. He had ensconced himself in Shun's dwelling and was playing the *qin*, when Shun escaped the well. When he returned without a mark on him, his younger brother was surprised.

"We were just sighing over what happened to you," he said. Shun said "Just as I would have expected," revealing nothing [of his thoughts]. This notwithstanding, in his service to his

father and his love towards his younger brother, he was not stupid. At the age of thirty, he attained office, and he served as regent for twenty-eight years. In the eleventh month of his eighty-first year, on a *jia-zi* day, he ascended the throne. It had seemed that Yao's son, Danzhu, would succeed to the throne, [but] since he was benighted, the marklords did not submit to him, so this was the [reason] for Shun's ascension.

He went on an imperial progress to his father Gu Sou's home; Gu Sou had gone blind, but—perhaps due to a surfeit of love or happiness—his eyes then opened and cleared, surely that he might look upon [Shun]!

The Queen Mother of the West is an immortal. She admired the virtue of this second ruler, and came to proffer a white ring and promote the "Change" Trigram. These were awesome matters.

Often, [Shun] strummed the five-stringed zither and sang the Airs of the South. Poetry has its origins here. The Five-Illuminations Fan, too, was first made in this time. The Eight Founding [Talents] and Eight Contented [Talents] were sixteen remarkable ministers who aided in the administration of government.

(Interlinear commentary: The Eight Founding [Talents] were Bo Fen, Zhong Kan, Shu Xian, Ji Zhong, Bo Hu, Zhong Tai, Shu Bao, and Ji Li. The Eight Contented [Talents] were Cang Shu, Kui Kai, Tao Yan, Dai Lin, You Xiang, Ting Jian, Zhong Rong, Shu Da.)

The emperor dumped off bronze in the mountains and sunk pearls into deep lakes. This was because they were of no good to society and were things that did not support [people in times of] famine and cold, so they were useless. Also, in order to guard against covetous hearts, he cast them aside.

He was on the throne for twenty years, and at the age of one hundred, he departed for Cangwu [to die]. (The names of the two empresses who saw him off were Ehuang and Nüying. It is said that they stayed at Xiangpu, the place where they saw him off, and that their tears of longing even stained the bamboo crimson. How moving! Nevertheless, in other legends, this emperor captured Yao and killed him in order to ascend the throne. These must not be true. If they were, could he have been such a Sage Emperor? Are accounts of an "Imprisoning Yao Platform" accurate?)

Calling the Yellow Emperor, Zhuanxu, Gaoxin, Yao, and Shun the Five Emperors is the teaching of the *Classic of History*. Calling Shao Hao, Zhuanxu, Gaoxin, Yao, and Shun the Five Emperors is the teaching of Kong Ande. Calling Fuxi, Shennong, the Yellow Emperor, Shao Hao, and Zhuanxu the Five Emperors is the teaching of *The Sayings of Confucius*. Having the Yellow Emperor, Jin Tian, Gao Yang, Gaoxin, Yao and Shun as the Five Emperors and calling six people the Five Emperors, and having it be because it is said that the Five Virtuous Emperors are associated with stars, and six emperors are associated with those planets, this is the teaching of Zheng Xuan.

The next kingdom was called the Xia. It was of metal virtue. The first emperor was called Yu. His name was Wenming. He was the son of Gun, grandson of Zhuanxu, great-grandson of Chang Yi, and the great-great-grandson of the Yellow Emperor. His mother was a woman of the Shen clan. She swallowed a divine pearl and Job's Tears, her breast split, and she gave birth to Yu. He had a tigrine nose and a large mouth. Both ears had three holes, his head bore a hooked-bell [mark?], and on his chest, there was the Big Dipper. His height was nine *chi* nine *cun*. His humaneness could not but inspire affection, and his words could not but inspire trust. His voice was well-measured, and his physique regular.

He was pained that his father Gun had not been successful and had been put to death, and for thirteen years he passed by the gate of his household but did not enter. His robes and provisions wore thin, and he was filial to the deceased and gods but held his own wife in low esteem; he exhausted his efforts in the irrigation ditches [and fields]. When he wanted to go by water, he boarded a boat, and when he wanted to go by mud[dy land], he boarded a toboggan. When he wanted to go by mountain, he put on spiked climbing shoes—he never took the easy way out. Soaked by rain, his hair run through by wind, his face grew thin and swarthy; he had calluses all over his hands and feet, and not a strand of hair grew [such did he exert himself]. Consequently, he accomplished great deeds. (He divided the all in all more than seven hundred kingdoms into nine states and balanced the tributary goods and taxes.) For those people who managed fifty *mu*, he set them a tax of five *mu*. When he saw a criminal, he descended from his chariot and sighed. When he toured the Southland and crossed the Yangtze, two yellow dragons took the imperial boat upon their backs. At this, the people on the boat trembled in fear. Yu alone laughed, saying, "I received the mandate from heaven, expended my strength, and nourished the people—life and death are matters of destiny. What have I to fear?" He pulled on the dragons' tails, and [they] departed. In the time [of his reign], it rained blood for three days, hail fell from the summer sky, and the earth fissured. He was on the throne for ten years and lived to be one hundred. He was buried at the place called Mt. Kuaiji. His progeny succeeded him for seven generations.

(Interlinear commentary. I personally say the second was Wang Qi, the third was Tai Kang, the fourth was Zhong Kang, the fifth was Wang Xiang, the sixth was Xiao Kang, the seventh was Wang [Yu], the eighth was Wang Huai, the ninth was Wang Mang, the tenth was Wang Xie, the

eleventh was Fu Xiang, the twelfth was Wang Jiong, the thirteenth was Wang Jin, the fourteenth was Kong Jia, the fifteenth was Wang Gao, and the sixteenth was Wang Fa.)

The seventeenth ruler was Emperor Jie. His strength was such that he could straighten a curved hook and make iron into rope and slay fearsome beasts with his hands. He delighted in the beauteous appearance of a woman called Meixi and made her Empress. He also summoned many beautiful women in addition to her, and the Inner Quarters were filled. He erected rooms bedecked with precious stones and gem-studded towers, and had three thousand bronze pillars put up, and for the first time used tile to cover the roofs. He favored actors and actresses, made luxuriant music, and prepared wondrous and rare diversions. Day and night, he summoned Meixi and drank alcohol with the palace women; he would always have Meixi sit on his knee and flirt with her. Three hundred ladies made silk brocades, silk twills, and white twills into robes for her. He had the lakes and gardens expanded, wildlife nourished, and drum and bell music performed; he also made mountains of meat, groves of jerky, and lakes of alcohol. He circled [his] boat, and taking a rope, he fastened it to someone's head, and had him brought to the alcohol lake; he struck the drum once, and there were over three thousand people who drank, just like oxen. When someone got drunk and drowned, both Jie and Meixi took great pleasure and interest in it, laughing and delighting in it.

Also, with regard to the matter of the mountains cracking open in winter and the steam from the earth passing through them, when [ministers] remonstrated [with Jie], saying, "This business of the heavens' opening of the north side of the mountain and letting steam leak out is certainly a sign of impending disaster," [Jie] had those [who] remonstrated charged with a crime at once. Also, though there was the matter of the imprisonment of Tang of the Yin, afterwards, he was pardoned.

At this time, two suns rose, vying with and eclipsing [each other]. Also, the water from the Yi and Luo rivers dried up, and the heavens rained crimson blood, and the fire god called Huilu appeared.

When he had been on the throne for fifty-two years, he departed for Mt. Li. He did indeed regret not having killed Tang in jail and having him sent thither, and he boarded a boat together with Meixi and his favorite mistresses, journeyed to a mountain in Nanchao, and did away with himself. I think that from the time of Yu on down to this Jie, four hundred thirty years [went by].

The next kingdom was that called "Yin." It was of water virtue. The first emperor was called Cheng Tang. He was an eighteenth-generation descendant of the Yellow Emperor. He was the son of Zhu Gui. His mother was called Fu Du. She saw a white vapor pierce the moon, felt its intention, and on an *yi* day, gave birth [to the Emperor]. Therefore, he was also called Heavenly Second [since *yi* is the second of the ten heavenly stems]. He was nine *chi* tall and had four elbows. He disposed of Jie of the Xia and ascended the throne. There was an outstanding minister called Yi Yin. When this person had been a minister of Jie of the Xia, since his words of remonstrance had gone unheeded and [governance] diverged from the Way, he fled and dwelled in seclusion. But when Tang sent gifts and had him welcomed back, he shouldered his tripod and cutting board and returned. Since the governance followed the Way, and because [Yi Yin] was an outstanding talent who single-mindedly took responsibility for the government, he was dubbed "Reliable Judge."

In this time, it did not rain for seven years, and there was a fearsome drought, so prayers were offered to the mountains and rivers. Though they prayed, there were no [resulting] signs. Emperor Tang cut off his hair, clipped his nails, and made himself into an offering, and he

prayed at the shrine in the mulberry grove. Also, he used six matters to reproach himself, and when he cried in pain, then rain came down from the heavens, and the sub-celestial realm entered an especially fecund year.

At this time, as for the colors of the robes [of office], white was made foremost, and the ceremony for the court rituals was carried out in the noontide.

He was on the throne for thirteen years and lived to be one hundred.

(Interlinear commentary. The second was Gai Bing. <Tang's next son Tai Ding died early, so [Gai] was established as emperor.> The third was Zhong Ren, younger brother of Gai Bing.)

As for the fourth ruler, he was called Emperor Tai Jia. This one was the son of Emperor Tang's crown prince, Tai Ding. Tai Ding died before Tang, and when they had buried him, rank was bestowed on Tai Jia. As for Tai Jia, Yi Yin served him. For three years [Tai Jia] was benighted and tyrannical, and he did not follow Tang's laws; when he let the realm descend into chaos, Yi Yin banished him to Tang's place in the mountains called Paulownia Palace and shut him away there. During this time, Yi Yin ran the government in his stead and had the marklords serve at court. Tai Jia was at the Paulownia Palace for three years, and when he had regretted his censure and changed for the better, Yi Yin welcomed him back and gave the reins of government to him. Tai Jia mastered virtue and the marklords all returned to court to serve. The commoners were at ease and established, so Yi Yin was most pleased and made three books of Tai Jia's teachings; he presented them and called them *In Praise of Tai's Models*.

(Interlinear commentary: The fifth was Wo Jia, son of Da Jia [*sic*]; the sixth was Da Geng, son of Wo Ding; the seventh was Xiao Jia, son of Kang; the eighth was Yong Ji, younger brother of Xiao Jia. The Way of the Yin declined, and the marklords rebelled.)

The ninth ruler was called Tai Wu. He was the great-great-great-great-great-

grandson of Tang and the son of Emperor Tai Geng. At this time, a mulberry tree and a grain tree suddenly sprouted at the palace. In the course of a single evening, they grew into a thicket, and the Emperor grew afraid and asked his minister named Yi Zhi about it. At this Yi Zhi said, "Seductive sycophancy does not overcome virtue. Is there something lacking in the Emperor's government? Just govern with virtue." When he said this, because the Emperor followed this [advice], the mulberry and grain withered and were got rid of.

(Interlinear commentary: The tenth was Zhong Ding, son of Da Wu; the eleventh was Wai Ren, son of Ding; the twelfth was He Dan, younger brother of Jia Ren; the thirteenth was Zu Yi, son of Jia, the fourteenth was Zu Xin, son of Yi; the fifteenth was Wo Jia, son of Xin; the sixteenth was Zu Ding, son of Jia; the seventeenth was Nan Geng, younger brother of Ding; the eighteenth was Yang Jia, son of Ding; the nineteenth was Pan Geng, son of Jia; the twentieth was Xiao Xin, younger brother of Geng; and the twenty-first was Xiao Yi, younger brother of Xin.)

The twenty-second ruler was called Emperor Wu Ding. He was the son of Emperor Xiao Yi. He ascended the throne, but did not get any counseling ministers, and for three years, he himself ran the government. He wished for the resurgence of the land. Must not his heart have been honest? One night, in a dream, he got his hands on a sage. He dreamt that the person said his name was "Shuo," and thinking that he might have dreamt of a [real] person, he summoned the ministers and officials. When he looked at them, none was Shuo. He had all sorts of artisans make images of he whom he had seen in the dream, and when he had them bivouac in the wilds and seek him, he [finally] found Shuo at a place called Zhuanyan. The place was reinforced mud, and his physique was lowly, but since he resembled the likeness in the picture, he was summoned.

When Wu Ding saw him, he thought, "This is he," and when [they] talked together, truly, he was a sage. So, [the emperor had him] ascend to the rank of Great Minister, and yielded [the reins of] government. The Yin Kingdom was greatly ordered, and legends say that [Shuo] took the surname "Zhuanyan," and was called Zhuan Shuo. "If I would cross a great river, I have you get a boat. If the harvest (crops) are dry, I have you procure some long rains. If I would mix a great stew, I have you get some seasonings," Emperor Wu Ding said in praise of him. Because he was the spirit of the Winnowing Star, he was not a mere human. Zhuanyan is also the reason that we said "Sage Caves." Generally, there were none who said that by the standards of sageliness, he was not a sage.

In this time, on the mornings when the ancestors were venerated, a pair of pheasants appeared and perched atop the tripod handles and called out. The Emperor was afraid, and when he asked the worthy man called Zu Yi about this, he said, "Just prepare good governance and do not worry about anything else." Because of this, benevolent governance was increasingly implemented, and the sub-celestial realm was entirely pleased: the Yin Kingdom also flourished. All strange and odd things vanished from the virtuous government, and it instead became laudable.

He was on the throne for fifty-nine years.

(Interlinear commentary: The twenty-third was Zu Geng, Ding's son; the twenty-fourth, Zu Jia (Geng's younger brother was licentious and wanton, and lacked the Way); the twenty-fifth was Lin Xin, Jia's son; the twenty-sixth was Geng Ding, Lin's son [*sic*].)

The twenty-seventh ruler was called Emperor Wuyi. He was a lord who lacked the Way. He made a doll, called him "Heavenly Deity" and gambled with him. He made people sit at the side of Heavenly Deity and take turns hitting him. When Heavenly Deity lost, they would

smack the doll. Also, he sewed a leather pouch and smeared it with blood; when he looked upwards and shot at it, he called it “Shooting the Heavens.” In the area around the Yellow and Wei Rivers, when he went hunting, suddenly, he was struck dead by lightning.
(Inter-linear commentary: the twenty-eighth was Dating, son of Wuyi, and the twenty-ninth was Diyi, son of Ding.)

The thirtieth ruler was called Zhou. There was much that he had seen and heard, and his abilities surpassed those of others, and he excelled at slaying wild beasts. With [the idea of a] “Deer Tower” in mind, he amassed heavy taxes levied on the various lands and built a storehouse that was three leagues in breadth and a thousand *chi* in height, and he filled it with coins. He made a lake of alcohol, a hill of the dregs, and a grove of jerky; and he amused himself in the company of completely naked men and women, flirting and drinking without end. Because of this, the commoners grew resentful, and the marklords all turned their backs on him. He loved a woman called Daji, and he only did things as she found amusing, and governance, too, was dictated by her whims.

In the matter of punishment by burning at the stake, they erected a copper pillar and smeared it with oil; they made a fire at its base, and when the condemned were made to stand atop it, they slipped on the oil and fell into the flames. Daji watched and laughed, and since he always wished to make her laugh, it was carried out as she pleased. When a minister called Jiuhou wanted to have his daughter, who was easy on the eyes, made empress, but as she was not fond of wantonness, she was killed [by Zhou]. After that, he had the father, Jiuhou, made into jerky.

As one who held the rank of Minister, Xi Bochang lamented and was saddened at this sort of government. When Zhou heard this, he arrested him and shut him up in Youli. When Xi

Bo's vassals had beautiful women, fine steeds, etc. sent to Zhou, he was pleased and pardoned Xi Bo. Xi Bo felt burning at the stake to be most dreadful, and went to the left western half of the capital and said, "This punishment must be stopped." When he did so, it was stopped. Everyone thought, "[Thus] surely doesn't affect me—it must be for those below me on down." The person called Bi Gan said, "Your humble servant, though I might die, if I remonstrated with you, how would it be?" And so saying, he strongly upbraided him. When he did this, Zhou grew angry and said, "In the chests of sages, there are nine holes," and he sliced up Bi Gan and displayed his chest. These kinds of atrocities just piled up, so the marklords, too, turned their backs on Zhou, and Heaven, too, cast him aside, and he was killed by King Wu of Zhou.

King Wu had a yellow battle-axe to his left and a white banner to his right, and he took a great oath; and the words reported to the marklords were: "When it comes to heeding the utterances of the wife of Zhou [as Zhou did], a chicken doesn't rule the roost. A chicken's rule is [confined to] making its home. Also, she broke the Three Imperatives. She distanced the father, mother, and younger brother of the King, she cast aside the music of the ancestors, and she raised a licentious voice. Now, I must implement the punishment of Heaven." So saying, he incited the army; although Zhou's troops were many, they did not have the will to fight anymore, and since they were all quite broken, Zhou ascended the Deer Tower and, clutching a pearl, he set himself on fire and burned up. King Wu cut off his head and hung it from the great white banner; this Zhou's behavior did not differ in the least from that of Jie of the Xia. Therefore, Jie and Zhou are said to be the prototypes for evil kings, and the original sage rulers are said to be Yao and Shun. This being so, it is said that if a Yao or Shun is alive and in charge, even were there ten Jies and Zhous, there would be no chaos; and if a Jie or Zhou is born and on top, even were there ten Yaos and Shuns, there would be no just government.

The person called Duke Ai of Lu told Confucius—"People are often very forgetful creatures. [A man] builds a house and when he moves, he forgets his wife." When he said this, Confucius answered, "As for being very forgetful, there are things more extreme than that. We saw Jie and Zhou forget their positions as lords." In this time, the lack of celestial abnormalities was because they went against the Way of Heaven; since they cast it aside, Heaven did not have abnormal celestial phenomena. Also, it was further said that because chaotic and tyrannical government was grotesque, there were no celestial abnormalities during it.

From Emperor Tang down to this Zhou, there were thirty rulers, and all together, it was six hundred twenty-nine years.

The Mirror of China: Part II

From the Origins of the Zhou through the Qin

The next kingdom after the Yin was called the Zhou. King Wen, given name Chang, was a descendant of Emperor Ku and the son of King Ji. His mother was called Daren. She dreamt that a giant man felt her, and she was impregnated. She turned away from bad sights and did not heed licentious sounds, and she gave birth to King Wen. He had a dragonish face and tigrine shoulders. He was ten *chi* tall, and he his chest had four nipples. He respected elders and worried about the young. He commanded excellent men, did not eat until mid-day, and attended to his knights. Since this was so, unemployed excellent men and elders from the previous dynasty, too, emerged from the mountains and hills. All of them reported [for duty]: there were none who did not.

In the eighty-first year of his reign, he was apprehended by Zhou in Youli. He added the Sixty-four Hexagrams to the Eight Trigrams of the *Book of Changes*. The people of the Yu and Rui [kingdoms] had disputes, but they could not decide matters. When they heard about the virtue of King Wen, they were all ashamed, and stopped quarreling and went back to their homes. As for his eldest son, he was called Bo Yikao. He was taken hostage in the land of Yin, and it was in Zhou's reign. Zhou cooked him into a stew and gave it to King Wen. King Wen ate it. At this time, Zhou said, "Who would call this King Wen a sage? He ate his own son without even knowing it!" and he guffawed. Afterwards, the sub-celestial realm was divided into three parts, and King Wen had *two*.

He dreamt that a red sparrow appeared and ate the *Vermillion Writings*, remaining [atop] King Wen's door, and that the light of the sun and moon saturated his body. He decided he wanted to go out hunting, and when he performed a divination, it said that what he would get

wouldn't be a dragon, or a tiger, or a bear, or a brown bear—what he would get would be allies to overthrow the king. When he went on the hunt, as hoped, he encountered Tai Gong on the north bank of the Wei River. They chatted, and greatly pleased, he said, "I had hoped for Tai Gongzi, and I dub you Tai Gongwang." As for Tai Gongwang, he boarded the left side of the chariot, and they returned together, and Wen indeed employed him as his teacher.

Also, he wished to construct a lookout tower. This being said, when they were digging, there were human bones, and he wished to re-inter them. The official said, "This isn't your responsibility." King Wen said, "The protection of the sub-celestial realm is [the responsibility of] the Lord of the Sub-celestial realm; the protection of a kingdom is [the responsibility of] the Lord of that kingdom. Am I not responsible for those [remains], too? What kind of Lord must you be seeking?" Then, he interred the remains. The people in the sub-celestial realm said, "If his magnanimity even extends to decaying bones, how much more so to humans?"

His lived to be ninety-seven, and King Wen was his posthumous name.

The first king was called King Wu, and he was the second son of King Wen.

He had Tai Gongwang serve as his tutor, and Zhou Gong, given name Dan, supplemented. When King Wen died, a wooden mortuary tablet was made for him, and set in a tent amidst his troops. He called himself Taizi Fa, and taking the mandate of King Wen, he resolved to attack Zhou. His heart must have been grieved indeed.

At this time, there were two worthies called Bo Yi and Shu Qi. Leading a horse, they remonstrated, "Can it really be called filial to, despite a father's death, not bury him and instead immediately reach for your weapons? As a vassal, could wanting to kill one's lord have been called humane? Tai Gongwang, he is a ritual person." When they said this, he buried him, next

killed Zhou, and then ascended the throne. He implemented the various aspects of good government.

When things had calmed down in the world, the horses were released to the south of Mt. Hua and the oxen into the peach grove peaks. The troops had melted down their arms, having been shown that they would never again be needed in the realm. Bo Yi and Shu Qi were embarrassed at having remonstrated with him, and resolved not to eat the millet of Zhou; they went into the Shuyang mountains, gathered ferns, and grew famished. When a deer emerged, Shu Qi wanted to kill and eat it, but the deer left. Bo Yi resented this and died.

Tai Gongwang's daughter Yi Jiang reported as empress. She always said, "Though Zhou had millions of vassals, their hearts [i.e. loyalties] were also a million. In our case, though We have three thousand vassals, they are of one mind. We have ten rebellious vassals. As for having like minds and like virtue, there are the following ten: Zhou Gongdan, Zhao Gongshi, Tai Gongwang, Bi Gong, Rong Gong, Da Dian, Hong Yao, San Xuansheng, Nan Gongkuo, and Wen Wangmu. Since Rebellion is their inherent principle, they are called the Lords of Rebellion. As for those of single-minded [loyalty], it is imperative even among 100 lords; and as for the possibility of one hundred different loyalties, there must not be even one such case. It is so said because of this.

Long ago, when King Wen was ill, without divesting himself of his formal court dress, he served him food. When King Wen ate one meal, he ate one meal; and when it was time to eat again, he, too, ate again. His filial conduct was peerless. It was said that a brilliant and understanding ruler uses filialness to govern the sub-celestial realm. Both lords and vassals must prioritize filialness. He was on the throne for seven years, and he reached the age of ninety-seven.

The second lord was called King Cheng. He was the eldest son of King Wu, and his mother was Yi Jiang. When he was young, he ascended the throne, and his uncle Zhou Gongdan ruled in his stead; he had the various marklords appear at court and intimately serve while he carried out governance. The younger brothers of Zhou Gong spread rumors, and as Zhou Gong did not leave the side of the lord, [Emperor] Zhou's son started the Wu Kang rebellion. Zhou Gong took charge of King Cheng's fate and killed Guan Shu, Gai Shu, Wu Kang, etc. Zhou Gong established rites and made music, he erected ancestral temples and resplendent halls and sacrificed to Lord Millet. In the winter of the seventh year of Zhou Gong's regency, he restored the government to King Cheng and served in the ranks of the ministers. At this time, King Cheng was twenty.

From the following new year, King Cheng himself ruled. Zhou Gong served as his Great Tutor, and he enfeoffed Bo Qin in the Land of Lu. Zhou Gong admonished Bo Qin, saying, "I am the son of King Wen and the younger brother of King Wu, the uncle of the current king. In the sub-celestial realm, I am of no mean [position]. Being in the Land of Lu is nothing to be proud of. Stick to the teachings." At court, Zhou Gong read hundreds of writings and in the evenings watched over seventy knights—his work was endless.

King Cheng was playing with his younger brother Tang Shuwu beneath a paulownia tree. King Cheng wanted to play a joke, and he stripped off a paulownia leaf and made a seal, enfeoffing Shuwu as Marklord of Ying. When he heard this, Zhou Gong offered congratulations. When King Cheng said, "I was joking!" Zhou Gong said, "The Son of Heaven does not make jokes." And because of this, Tang was indeed made Marklord of Ying.

Long ago, when King Cheng was young and had fallen ill, Zhou Gong trimmed his nails himself and sank them in the river; he prayed to the gods saying, "The king is young and

does not yet understand things. Any contravention of the divine mandate is due to me." When he said this, King Cheng's illness was cured. He put the [prayer] document in storage; when King Cheng had grown up and was running the government, a certain person slandered Zhou Gong. Zhou Gong grew angry at this and departed for the land of Chu. King Cheng opened the storehouse and when he looked inside, there was the document that recorded Zhou Gong's prayer. King Cheng saw this and then wept, and he summoned Zhou Gong back [to court]. Zhou Gong was as loyal as ever, and assisted King Cheng for years. Zhou Gong died when he was ninety-nine, and King Cheng suffered and mourned him to no end. His posthumous name was Zhou Wengong.

King Cheng was on the throne for thirty-seven years and reached the age of fifty.

The third lord was King Kang. He was the crown prince of King Cheng and from the time of his father's reign, the sub-celestial realm was peaceful, and up through this time, over a period of more than forty years there were no punishments, as there was no need for them—rare and wondrous it was.

The fourth lord was King Zhao, son of King Kang.

In the twenty-fourth year, *jia-yin*, the Yangtze and Yellow Rivers, as well as the springs and ponds suddenly flooded. Even the water in the wells overflowed. The palaces, manors, mountains and rivers, and vast earth all quaked, and on that night, there was a five-colored light that bisected the Taiwei star and headed westward: it was green and red in color. At that time, King Zhao was shocked, and he asked the Grand Scribe Su You about it. Su You replied, "There is a great sage being born in the west, [so] this portent appeared." The king asked him another question, "Does he pose any threat to [our] kingdom?" He replied, "He certainly does not. *After* one thousand years, his teachings will enter this kingdom."

At this time, the Kingly Way was languishing, and the marklords did not come to court. He went on a southerly inspection tour, and when he was on a boat that had been stuck together with a glue-like substance, it sank in the middle of the river and he did not return. It was a shocking matter.

He was on the throne for fifty-one years.

The fifth lord was King Mu, son of King Zhao. When he was five years old, he ascended the throne. He obtained eight steed-colts. It is said that he named them Crimson Charger, Black Bandit, Opal Offertory, Grooved Golden, Splendid Sorrel, Emerald Ear, Amethyst Axel, and Mountain Bairn. Mounted on these steeds, he traveled around the sub-celestial realm, and when he did not return for a long time, to such an extent that he even forgot the governance of the land, a person called King Yan of Xu conspired to rebel. The person called Zuo Fu, who served the king exhaustively in his retainer(-like) capacity, caught wind of this matter and suppressed [the rebellion]. In his seventeenth year, [King Mu] went to the Kunlun mountains and feasted with the Queen Mother of the West. In one story, at the time of the Tathāgata Śākyamuni's preaching of the Law, along with the kings of the various lands, King Mu went to Mt. Ling. He must have mounted these eight chargers and made his way through many clouds and mists. At a place called Bing, the king gambled with Yi Gong. This went on for three days: it was the deciding throw, and he took the dice and cast them. *Suguroku* comes from India. It is probably what is called *prāsaka* in the *Nirvana Sutra*. In the fifty-third year—a *ren-shen* year—on the fifteenth day of the second month, the Buddha expired. He was seventy-nine. Is this not in numerous accounts?

This lord was on the throne for fifty-five years, and he reached the age of one hundred five.

The sixth of the kings was King Mu's son, the seventh was King Yi's son, the eighth was King Xiao's younger brother Yi, and the ninth was King Yi's son Yi.

As for the tenth lord, he was called King Li. He enjoyed taking advantage of things, and he was close with one called Duke Rong Yi. This Duke Rong enjoyed monopolizing benefits, and was ignorant of the great risks. People remonstrated, "If this [Duke Rong] is in his employ, even the Royal House will be imperiled." Nevertheless, he trusted him. He was made a minister, without a single word, he communicated his acceptance with a glance. With probably just such a wink, King Li thought, "We will stop the destruction," and he was pleased. What the minister called the Duke of Zhao said was, "As for the stopping of the people's mouths, it is even more extreme that damming water. When water is dammed and it floods, many people will inevitably be hurt. This applies to your citizens, too." They say, "Even if is is the work of a single fool, it is still a crime." When the King thought, as ruler, that he would carry out [this stopping of people's mouths], there were few indeed who reported at court. Then the lords joined together and turned their backs on him and attacked King Li.

The King aimlessly made his way to a place called Zhi. The King's crown prince hid at the Duke of Zhao's home. The band of lords heard about this and surrounded the place. The Duke of Zhao said, "Long ago, when I remonstrated with the King, he did not follow my advice, and things came to this mess. Now, if one were to kill the King's crown prince, the King would resent me." With this in mind, he took his son and switched him out with the crown prince, and the crown prince escaped [death]. The Duke of Zhao and the Duke of Zhou, when these two ministers ran the government, they had a nickname—it was "Communal Harmony."

In the fourteenth year of Gongwa, King Li expired at Zhi. With the crown prince at the Duke of Zhao's home, his attendants ascended to the rank of two senior ministers.

The eleventh lord was called King Xuan. The Dukes of Zhou and Zhao assisted in governance, and when he elevated the customs of Kings Wen, Wu, Cheng, and Kang and the kingdom flourished, many of the marklords returned to service.

As for Du Bo's innocence in the forty-fourth year, when he was killed, Du Bo said, "Before three years are out, I will inform the king without fail," and he died. In the forty-sixth year, when the king was sleeping, there was Du Bo in broad daylight, clad in vermillion robes, holding a bow and arrow, and standing at the left of the road. He felled the king, and the king died. "As a lord, he had me killed though I was innocent, and both heaven and the gods surely refused to accept it."

The twelfth lord was King You. He was the son of King Xuan. He ascended the throne, and in the spring of his second year, the three rivers quaked. What the person called Bo Yangpu said was, "Zhou is on the brink of destruction. Long ago, when the Yi and Luo Rivers dried up, the Xia were destroyed, and when the Yellow River dried up, the Shang were destroyed. A country is always [no more than] its mountains and rivers. When mountains collapse and rivers dry up, these are portents of destruction. When rivers dry, mountains always collapse. The destruction of the land will occur in ten years," and he sighed.

The following year, the king became enamored of Baosi. Baosi gave birth to Bo Fu. The king cast aside the daughter of Shen Hou and made Baosi empress and Bo Fu Crown Prince. The various ministers sighed and said, "The realm is already lost." This Baosi did not like to laugh. No matter what the king did to get her to laugh, no matter how he tried, she would not laugh. As for signal flairs—when enemies are nigh, they raise up a fire, and when such a flare goes up, the marklords all assemble. Now, the king—having tried more than 10,000 things—sent up a signal flair, and all of the marklords came from the various lands, but there was nothing the

matter. At this, Baosi laughed uproariously, and the King was pleased, so he constantly sent up beacons. Since this happened exceedingly frequently, after a while, no one would show up. The father of the former empress, Shen Hou, in an excess of pique, allied himself with Xi Yi, and they attacked the king. The king sent up signal flares and summoned troops, but having already grown accustomed to this, not a one appeared. Nor was there a defensive soldier. At the foot of Mt. Li, he was done away with. As for Baosi, they took her alive. Jie's Meixi, Zhou's Daji, and this king's Baosi—they occasioned the destruction of kingdoms and the deaths of lords. Certain versions say they were foxes or badgers.

(Interlinear commentary. The thirteenth was King Jun, the fourteenth was King Ping, the fifteenth was King Huan, and the sixteenth was King Zhuang Tuo.)

The sixteenth lord was called King Zhuang.

This king's eleventh year was the seventh year of Duke Zhuang of Lu. In the fourth month, *xin-hai*, a star disappeared, and falling stars fell like rain. Also, on the stele at a mendicant temple, the inscription [reads], "Two Zhuangs of Zhou and Lu will be mirrors that are radiant of their own accord and luminesce at night"; commentary to this explains: "In the time of King Zhuang of Zhou and Duke Zhuang of Lu, a night-time star becoming invisible refers to the dawn and is the day of the Buddha's birth." The fact that things were like these lines, surely meant they could be believed? However, from the twenty-fourth year of King Zhao till the eleventh year of this king, it had been a period of three hundred forty-four years. That there would be such a [time] lag—well, it was truly unpredictable for most.

The eighteenth lord was called King Hui. In his tenth year, Duke Huan of Qi became an earl. This person called Duke Huan was of Tai Gongwang's lineage. As for the twelve lords,

it is referring to them. As for the seventeenth year of King Hui, *xin-you*, that very year corresponds to the year that Emperor Jinmu of Japan ascended the throne.
(Interlinear commentary. The nineteenth was King Xiang. The twentieth was King Qing. The twenty-first was King Qu.)

The twenty-second lord was called King Ding.

On the night of the fourteenth day of the ninth month of the third year of this king[’s reign], at the very hour of the rat, Laozi was born. He was an avatar of Mahākāśyapa. In the *Prajñāpāramitā Sutra*, there is the line: “I will have Mahākāśyapa here take the form of Laozi. He will be dubbed ‘Superlative Path.’” In the *Sutra on the Conversion of Barbarians*, there is the line: “Laozi understood the Buddha’s wish to enter nirvana and again wander [this] world. He was dubbed Mahākāśyapa.” For the sake of the salvation of all sentient beings, he took divine form in Cīnasthāna and preached the five thousand texts. The *Laozi Sutra* is a two-fascicle [set of] writing.
(Inter linear commentary. The twenty-third was King Jian, the son of King Ding.)

The twenty-fourth lord was called King Ling. He was born with whiskers, a truly rare business.

In the twenty-first year, Confucius was born. He was an avatar of the “Learned youth Bodhisattva.” This, too, is in the *Prajñāpāramitā Sutra*, where there appear the lines: “When Rutong is here, his moniker will be Kongqiu. At last, the transformation through teaching will effect filial service.” It is said that Confucius was the son of a chief abbot, and Yan Hui was the *prabhāsvara* bodhisattva. When one speaks of the Buddha dispatching three sage avatars, this refers to Laozi, Confucius, and Yan Hui. At this time, there was [he who was] called Robber Zhi, a ferociously wicked person. In order to teach him, Confucius went to his house, but he still

refused to listen. He chased him off, and we call this Confucius' stumble. When Confucius' son Earlfish was born, Duke Zhao of Lu gave him a carp. Confucius was delighted by the lord's bestowal and did not roast it, and named [it] "Carp," and Yu got called "Fishy." That to this day we send carp on the occasion of birth must be because of this.

As for the crown prince of this king, he was called Prince Zijin. At a mountain called Weiling, he ascended to immortality, and he did not ascend the throne. There is also an account in which in order to teach sentient beings, he came to Japan in the form of a *kami* and was called the Kumano avatar. If this is true, [his] will to benefit all living sentient things was immeasurable.

(Interlinear commentary. The twenty-fifth was King Jing. The twenty-sixth was King Dao.)

The twenty-seventh lord was called King Jing. In the first year of his reign, Laozi went to the western regions with Lord Xi of Guanling. He had reached the age of eighty-six. In this reign, verily on the *ji-chou* day of the fourth month of the forty-first year, Confucius also died. He had reached the age of seventy-three. What people said was that together with seventy disciples, he had boarded a raft and had gone to sea in the East Sea, crossing over to Japan.

(Interlinear commentary. The twenty-eighth was King Yuan. The twenty-ninth was King Zhending. The thirtieth was King Ai. (Three months after his establishment, his brother Shuxi killed him and set himself up as king. He, in turn, called himself King Si. His younger brother Wei in turn attacked and killed him.) The thirty-first was Xiao King Wei.)

(The thirtieth lord was the son of King Zhending, called King Ai. It was said that in the third month after he reached the throne, his younger brother Shuxi killed this king and set himself up as King Si. It is exceptional that this King was also killed by a younger brother.)

The thirty-second lord was called King Weilie. In this time, those treasures of generation upon generation, called the nine tripods, shook.

(Interlinear commentary. The thirty-third was King An. The thirty-fourth was King Yilie.)

The thirty-fifth lord was King Xian. In his age, the nine tripods sunk beneath the waves of the Si River.

(Interlinear commentary. The thirty-sixth was King Shunjing.)

The thirty-seventh lord was called King Nan. By this reign, since the *wu-yin* year of the first year of King Wu up until the present year, eight hundred years had passed, and there had been thirty-seven generations of lords. Roughly, it was said that after the division of the Eastern and Western Zhou, in the fifty-ninth year [of King Nan's reign], [the Zhou] were destroyed by King Zhao of Qin; [the king] became a commoner, and the tripods and all of the treasures were usurped by the Qin. He died, and as for his posthumous name, he was called Xi Wugong. In this time under the Zhou, there had been twelve marklords: each of their descendants was named to one of the six kingdoms and called "king." This was also called the Warring States. Sometimes, together with Qin, they are called the Seven Hegemons. At the end of the Zhou and the beginning of the Qin, each was a king, but they were destroyed by the first emperor of Qin and [the land was] made into thirty-six commanderies. These six kingdoms' fate must have been lamented.

(Inserted outside of the columns: The twelve lords were Zheng, Song, Jin, Wu, Wei, Qin, Qi, Chen, Chu, Cai, Qi, and Yan. The six lands were Wei, Zhao, Han, Chu, Qi, and Yan.)

Duke Huan of Qi was a worthy lord. There was a worthy minister called Guan Zhong. As a minister of Lord Zijiu, he was the one who struck the hook sword of Duke Huan. Though they were archrivals, he prized his worthy talent and rescinded his arrest; pardoning him, he

granted him governance. He became Duke Huan's bannerman; to assemble the marklords nine times and in one go to straighten out the sub-celestial realm—that was Guan Zhong's plan. Duke Huan liked to wear violet robes, and when he did so, the lofty and lowly in the land took this to be because His Highness liked them, and they fought over them. Since he thought it was a waste, Duke Huan was resentful. But Guan Zhong said, "Say your Lordship's disdain for violet is extreme and that you do not like it." As for Duke Huan, when he told this to his ministers, within three days, there was not a one who wore violet in the land. Verily, it was said to be virtuous government. Truly, since the King of Wu was fond of swordsmen, there were many of the common people who were scarred. Since the King of Chu was fond of slim waists, there were many who starved to death in the inner quarters. As for these sorts of things, one must be prepared for them. Also, when Guan Zhong fell ill, Duke Huan went to see him, and he sighed and was worried about him. Then, he asked, "Among my ministers, whom can I trust?" Guan Zhong said, "To know ministers, there is none better than the lord." The Duke said, "How about Ying Ya?" He relied, "He killed his child and followed you. He has no compassion." The Duke said, "How about Kai Fang?" He replied, "He turned his back on his parents and followed you. He has no compassion. He cannot be drawn near." The Duke said, "How about Shu Diao?" He replied, "He made his own palace and followed you. He has no compassion. He would be difficult to draw close." In the time of Duke Jing of Qi, the land of Jin attacked by means of the border with the land of Yan. Duke Jing deeply resented the destruction of the Qi troops. A person called Yan Ying had a brave man come. His name was Rang Ju. What Yan Ying said was, "This person is good at amassing civility and also good at frightening enemies with his martiality. What I wish is that you might try him." When he said this, Duke Jing summoned this [Rang Ju], and together they discussed the matter of troops, and he was greatly pleased and made [Rang Ju]

a general. When he said that as general, Rang Ju needed to defend against the Yan and Jin leaders, Rang Ju, "I am, by nature, lowly, so, though Your Lordship has elevated me, your warriors are not yet on close terms [with me], nor do the commoners trust me; they are saying that since I am a trifling sort, my authority is insubstantial. What I wish is that a cherished minister or someone revered throughout the land might be granted leadership of the troops." Having heard this, Duke Jing dispatched the person called Zhuang Jia. When Rang Ju went to the army, he and Zhuang Jia made a promise, with Zhuang Jia vowing that at noon on the following day, they would meet at the camp gates. Rang Ju then hastened, and upon reaching the gates, he put up a surface, set down [on it] a water clock, and awaited Zhuang Jia. Zhuang Jia was, by nature, a robust and noble man. Since his relatives and cronies had a farewell banquet, he did not make it by noon. Rang Ju took down the post, emptied out the water clock, and entered alone; while he lined up the troops, the day turned to dusk, and Zhuang Jia arrived. Rang Ju said: "Why are you late?" Zhuang Jia apologized and said, "I was held up being seen off by officials and relatives." Rang Ju said, "On the day a general receives an order, he forgets his family; when he looks out at the troops and makes a promise, he forgets his relatives; when he hears the urgency of the of the drumsticks, he forgets his own person. Now, where we make incursions deep into enemy lands and our own land is in chaos, and the mat where you sleep is not safe nor the food that you eat sweet, and the lives of the people depend on you, how can you be late?!" Then he summoned the Military Apparitor and asked him, "By military law, what does one do about tardiness?" He replied, "It is punishable by death." Zhuang Jia was afraid and sent an emissary to Duke Jing to ask for aid. While the emissary had not yet returned, Zhuang Jia was (decapitated), and after he had been slain, he informed the army, and the men in the troops were all shaken and afraid. In a little while, Duke Jing sent an emissary to have Zhuang Jia pardoned. Rang Ju said,

"I asked the Commander what we do in cases such as this where a general receives an order from his lord but does not comply, saying, 'As far as troops are concerned, what are the rules?' and his reply was, 'This is punishable by decapitation.'" The emissary was greatly afraid. Rang Ju said, "The emissary of his Lordship cannot be decapitated." So saying, he slew the horse on the left of the servant's chariot's team and informed the army. Rang Ju had the same provisions as his men, and he strove to be first to feed them when they were exhausted and give them medicine when they were ill. When the troops of Jin and Yan heard about these kinds of things, they returned home without a fight. When [Rang Ju] and the troops had restored the borders and returned home, Duke Jing was greatly pleased and his mood was restored. Rang Ju was extraordinarily revered.

In Duke Jing's thirty-second year, a comet appeared. Duke Jing was in the Cypress Recess, and he sighed. Yanzi said, "Your Lordship is held in awe for raising towers high and making lakes deep, practically not levying taxes nor heavily punishing. Wanting even comets not to appear—why should you fear comets?"

Yanzi always remonstrated three times a day. After Yanzi died, Duke Jing's [praise] offered was: "In the old days, Yanzi reproached me three times a day. Now, who indeed will reproach me?" and he cried and was aggrieved.

Also, there was a great drought, and in the third year, he had a divination about this. There it was said, "You need to have someone hold prayers." The Duke said, "My wish for rain is for the people's sake. Of course I will have someone perform prayers; if it rains, I will appear [and do it] myself." Before he had finished speaking, it was raining.

When Duke Wen of Jin was rewarding those efficacious vassals who had followed him unto [their own] death, he did not include Jie Zitui. Zitui's followers thought this was pitiful, and hung a petition on the palace gates, saying: "When the Dragon wanted to ascend to the heavens,

five snakes aided him. Now that the dragon has ascended above the clouds, each of four snakes has entered the firmament; [but] a solitary one [has not] and is bitter." Duke Wen emerged, and he saw this document and said: "This must be Jie Zitui." He had summoned him and sent him off. When he went into the mountain called "Jin," he was burned to death. Duke Wen incorporated these mountains as a fief and called the area "Jiezi Field." As for the "Frigid Feast," it is said that on the one hundred fifth day after the winter solstice, fire is forbidden for three days. This is because of mourning for the fact that Zitui was burned to death.

In the time of Duke Jing of Song, he summoned Zi Wei and questioned him on the matter of Mars (and steadfastness). Zi Wei said: "Your Lordship is being cautious. It must move together." The Duke said: "By 'together,' do you mean 'govern together'?" Zi said: "It must be transferred to the citizenry." The Lord said: "If the people die, on whom would the lord rely?" Zi Wei said: "It must be in accordance with age." The Lord said, "If the aged starve, and people die, who would want me as their ruler?" Zi Wei said: "Your Lordship has three utterances of ultimate virtue. The heavens will surely thrice reward you." When he said this, Mars retreated ninety leagues, and there were seven stars [around it]. One star corresponded to three years, and his life was prolonged by twenty-one years.

King Liao of Wu was the son of King Yumei. King Yumei's eldest brother was the son of Zhu Fan and was called Duke Zi Guang. He thought, "Among the heirs, I should be king," so he wanted to kill King Liao. He did nothing but raise numerous valiant troops and bided his time. In the fourth month of King Liao's thirty-fourth year, Duke Zi had armed troops lie in wait in a grotto, and he had an audience with King Liao. King Liao assembled his troops and arrayed them along the road. From the royal palace to Duke Zi Guang's home, the gates and doorways were filled, all with those who were intimates of King Liao. Flanking the king, they carried long

swords. Duke Zi Guang wandered about, and made haste to the grotto. He went inside and had Zhuan Zhu conceal himself among seven broiled fish. When it was time to eat, the seven were brought, and he killed King Liao, piercing his chest with a lance. Duke Zi Guang returned and was set up as king.

The Wu King was called He Lü. In He Lü's fifty-second year, he attacked King Gou Jian. When he did this, the Wu leaders were defeated; they injured He Lü's finger, and the army departed. The King of Wu's bowels were injured, and he felt that he was going to die, so he said to Crown Prince Fuchai: "Don't forget that Gou Jian killed your father." "I will not come out for *three* years [since I will be in mourning]," was his reply. Fuchai resolved that he would become king and then pay back Yue. King Gou Jian of Yue took fifty armed soldiers and lived at Mt. Kuaiji. King Fuchai of Wu was killed in his twenty-third year by King Gou Jian of Yue. This was because of the power of Gou Jian's minister, Fan Li. Wu was starving and went to Yue to beg for millet. At this, Fan Li hatched a plot and sent them five hundred stones of steamed millet. Wu was delighted and used them not just to aid the famine—they used the cooked millet for plowing. So they starved still more and were eventually destroyed. It was said that Wu was great and powerful, but because Fuchai died, and the Yue were living at Kuaiji, Gou Jian was therefore victorious. It had nothing to do with the size of the land; it must have been because of the army's scheme. Kuaiji's shame would continue, it was said, because Gou Jian had been apprehended, which must have been a bitter pill, [leading to his resolve to] kill King Fuchai. Go Jian became hegemon king, and Fan Li became prime minister. But thinking that he would surely not last long under such fame, he rowed off to sea in a small boat and called [himself] Tao Zhugong. Father and son managed the family business, and the things that their assets produced numbered thousands of ten thousands. Gou Jian took bronze and cast the likeness of Fan Li; and

morning and evening, he made obeisance to it. This Fan Li was the spirit of Venus, and in the time of the Yellow Emperor, he was called [Minister] Feng Hou. In the time of the Zhou, he was called Laozi, and in the time of the Yue, he was called Fan Li.

Among the ministers of King Fuchai of Wu, there was one called Wu Zixu. [On the charge of being] by nature, perversion personified, Fuchai believed the slanderous words of Supervisor Pi; when it was time for Zixu to be executed, Wu raised his gaze and it lit on the Eastern Gate of Wu. Seeing that a Yue cap would defeat Wu, he decapitated himself. When Fuchai died, it was as he had said. This Zixu—when Wu destroyed Chu, they dug up the grave of King Ping of Chu, removed the body, and whipped it *three hundred times*; it was extreme. At that time, the person called Shen Baoxu spoke to Wu Zixu. "You were originally a vassal of King Ping. If you are thinking to make an enemy of your former lord, killing a dead man is an extreme method. Do you not know the saying that when there are many people gathered, they can triumph over Heaven, but [once] Heaven has stabilized, it will once again be able to destroy man?" As for Zixu, he answered, "Days go by, and the Way has grown distant; therefore, I acted perversely."

Duke Zhao of Yan flourished. He governed the land of Yan, and all of the people were extremely harmonious. When he toured the towns and districts, there were crab apple trees. Sitting beneath them, he decided the matters of government and ceased imprisonment. From the marklords down through the commoners, none thought his reasoning vapid. There was no unemployment. After Duke Zhao died, the people longed for his governance, and they cherished the crab apple trees, not daring to cut them down. They recited verses and composed a poem on the crab apple. In the Mao *Odes*, it says: "Do not cut the tiny crab apple /Do not fell that which

sheltered Marklord Zhao." "As for Duke Zhao, he was known to be humane. If the crab apple felt this, how much more so the people?" praised the Grand Historian.

In the time of King Hui, there was a person called Zou Yan. Although he was a noble man, he was slandered, so King Hui had him arrested. Zou's child looked up to Heaven and sobbed. And at this, a frost settled [though it was] in the fifth month. In some accounts, it says that Zou Yan was poor and herded the cattle and sheep of others; there was a herd of cattle people said had eaten millet seeds and run away. Zou Yan came to the tracks, and they said it was indeed *his* cattle that had eaten them. The owner of the fields beat him severely. He gazed up to Heaven and was furious with it, whereupon a frost settled [even though it was] in the sixth month.

King Zhao was lowly in status but heavy with money, so he erected a platform of yellow bronze and wished to take Guo Wei as his teacher. At this, noble things from Wei and from numerous lands arrived. Also, since they dealt in charger bones, horses were taken to be good gifts, and many fine steeds were presented.

Duke Yi of Wei loved cranes to excess and put them in his chariot. When enemies attacked Yi and wanted to go to battle, they bestowed armor upon the people, but the people said, "Present a crane as emissary. It will have official status because it is a crane. Why should we attack?" There were no fighters. In loving birds and beasts, one cannot exceed the laws, right?

In Qi there was a Lord Mengchang. And in Zhao, there was Lord Pingyuan. In Chu there was a Lord Chunshen, and in Wei, there was a Lord Xinling. Theses four lords were all wise and loyal. They were magnanimous and loved the people, respected the nobles and doubled their lands.

As for Lord Mengchang, his given name was Wen. His father was Lord Jing Guo, Tian Ying. Mengchang was born on the fifth day of the fifth month. His father said to his mother, "Don't rear this child." His mother raised him in secret. Tian Ying was furious. Mengchang said, "Though born in the fifth month, you do not raise your son—why?" His father said, "Sons born in the fifth month are like tall doors—they are of no benefit to fathers." Mengchang said, "When a person is born, is his fate determined by Heaven or by a door? If it is determined by Heaven, how can a Lord resent him? And if it is determined by a door, then that door must be made as tall as possible." His father thereupon made him his heir. His popularity was known throughout the land, and he fed 3,000 guests. Among them, there was one who clucked like a chicken. There was also a dog thief.

The first Qin emperor was the son of King Xiang of Zhuang. Actually, he was rumored to perhaps be the son of Lü Buwei. Since he was born in the first [*zheng*] month, his taboo name was "Zheng." There were Falcons, Far-seers, *shidorimune*, and the howls of wolves. When he was thirteen, because King Xiang of Zhuang died, he became the first King of Qin. That year was an *yi-mao* year indeed and corresponded to the forty-fourth year of Japan's Emperor Kōrei. When he was twenty-two, he formally donned a cap and carried a sword. At this time, there was the affair of the insurrection of Lao Ai, Marklord of Changxin. At Xianyang, in the course of battle, hundreds were decapitated, the troops were decimated, and Lao Ai et al fled. It was made known that if taken alive, there would be a million coin [reward], and if dead, 500,000. Then he was beheaded, and there were also those quartered by chariots. At this time, it was the fourth month, summer, but it was cold, and there were also rumors of people freezing to death. (Comets appeared in the west and here (*sic* in the north?) and were there for 80 days. Also) [w]hen the

minister Lü Buwei heard of what had been dealt to Lao Ai, he fled. After that, Lü Buwei died. The person called Li Si was employed to advise the government.

In the twentieth year, Crown Prince Dan of Yan dispatched an envoy Jing Ke to have him stab the king, but the king found out, killed Jing Ke, and beheaded Crown Prince Dan.

In the twenty-eighth year, there was the matter of the Fengshan [sacrifices], and he ascended Mt. Tai. He felt [a resonance with] that tree and granted it the title of Fifth Grandee. Also, he tricked several thousand boys and girls and had them accompany Xu Fu to the East Sea to seek the elixir of immortality from Penglai. As for the boy children and girl "sprouts," they were young boys and girls. Xu Fu crossed the sea and remained at a place called Pingyuan Guangze and became king there, and he dared not return to the capital. The place called the kingdom of Shinluo is this place.

The first emperor performed lustration sacrifices. Though he had several thousand people disappear into the Si River to try to bring out the Zhou tripods, they did not appear again.

In the twenty-ninth year, at a place called Mid-Bolangsha, he was frightened by a bandit. Though the sub-celestial realm was searched far and wide [for this bandit], no one apprehended him.

In the thirty-fourth year, Minister Li Si said, "Of old, when the sub-celestial realm was in chaos, there was nothing that brought unity well. The marklords would get together and stir things up, venerating the past to the detriment of the present. Now, the emperor has united the sub-celestial realm and is universally venerated. You should follow my example and censure the teachings of the Law. When you issue edicts, that learning is used to debate them. If it is included, it is mentally criticized, and it if it excluded, then it is discussed in the byways. If, in this way, you do not prohibit things, Your Lordship has no authority. I ask that you burn all of

the things that do not appear in the historians' annals of Qin. If there are those who would hide the hundred schools, the *Odes*, and *Documents*, have the Commandants set fire to them and burn them. If the historians see this and say anything, issue an edict that they are likewise guilty, and if they do not burn them within thirty days, this will be a crime. Books on medicine, divination, and horticulture need not be gathered up. If one is thinking to study the law, he should have an official as his teacher." And when he said this, there was a proclamation to that effect. One scroll of the writings of the hundred schools that must have survived the fighting, as well as, indeed, the writings of Confucius, were stored inside a wall and each hidden away. Therefore, these are called "complete classics."

In the thirty-fifth year, he built the Epang Palace, and there were countless matters. In this year, over 460 scholars were buried in Xianyang, and it was a grievous matter indeed.

In the thirty-seventh year, the first emperor went on a progress. Minister of the Left Li Si, Minister of the Right Qu Ji, the young lord Hu Hai etc. followed him. They went to the sea, and when they reached a place in the west called Pingyuan Ford, he fell ill. No one spoke of the first emperor's death; nevertheless, since his illness worsened, they prepared a document bearing the imperial seal, and when they gave it to his eldest son Fu Su, what it said was that he was to be interred at Xianyang. The letter was sealed, and it reached Zhao Gao's residence. It had not yet been given to the emissary, when the first emperor passed away at on a platform atop a sand dune. Furious that there would be a change in the realm, he concealed [it] and did not carry out mourning publicly. The coffin was loaded into a covered chariot, and the presentation of food and official reports on matters were carried out as usual. Other than five or six officials, no one knew about this matter. Perhaps because Zhao Gao had once long ago taught Hu Hai writing documents, he secretly conspired with Minister Li Si to burn the letter giving [the throne to] Fu

Su and fabricate [a new one], with Minister Li Si pretending that he had received the last will and testament of the first emperor and establishing Hu Hai as crown prince. Moreover, he crafted a letter that condemned Fu Su to death. Since it was hot, and the covered chariot began to stink, he put a stone of abalone into each of the followers' carts to cause confusion about the stench. When they arrived at Xianyang, there was public mourning.

He reigned for thirty-seven years, and was fifty [at his time of death].

Crown Prince Hu Hai ascended the throne and was called the Second Emperor. At this time, the "Transmitting the Kingdom" seal was made. A person called Meng Tian first invented the brush.

Also, at this time, an Indian monk arrived, bringing Buddhism. Since the first emperor did not believe [in Buddhism], he was imprisoned. A six-*zhuang* Vajra person came and smashed the jail gates, and the monk departed.

The second emperor was the son of the first emperor. He relied on Zhao Gao and took charge of the government.

At this time, there were numerous minor solar and lunar eclipses—[celestial] anomalies. There were few of the ministers and various lords who refrained from sinning. And thus, as after the Six Kingdoms, everyone made himself king, and there was nothing but constant rumors of treason. The ministers of the left and right either killed themselves or were killed. All of this was due to the machinations of Zhao Gao. Zhao Gao became minister. He ran the world as he wished. He was thinking to wreak havoc but was afraid that the vassals would not heed him; in order to gauge the minds of the people, he presented a deer to the second emperor and said it was a horse. The second emperor laughed and said that the minister was mistaken to call a deer a horse. When has asked those around him, there were some who said nothing. Also, to

flatter Zhao Gao, there were those who said that it was a horse. Those who said it was a deer, Zhao Gao charged with a crime. The lords grew increasingly afraid of Zhao Gao. Another account says that when the second emperor went on an imperial progress, Zhao Gao used a deer as a horse and mounted it, and said that he would present it [to him]. Since this was going too far, the emperor thought that Zhao Gao was no good. Zhao Gao was set in his ways and resolved to kill the second emperor. He instructed his son-in-law, Yan Le, about this and installed him in the palace of the second emperor. Somehow, everyone fought, and those who died numbered in the thousands. Also, they shot the second emperor's curtains, and he grew furious. Although he summoned people, they did not present themselves. Yan Le finally got close to the second emperor and scolded him, saying, "Your Majesty is arrogant and spoiled. If killing people is lawless, then the entire sub-celestial realm has turned its back [on the way]. Your Majesty would be well advised to consult [with someone] and strategize about these matters." At this, the second emperor said, "So I should meet with my ministers?" Yan Le said, "Impossible." The second emperor said, "How about becoming king of a single commandery?" Yan Le said, "Impossible." The second emperor said, "Well, how about a feudal estate of 10,000 households or so?" Yan Le said, "Impossible." The second emperor said, "How about a wife as companion or so and becoming a commoner?" Yan Le said, "I have received the mandate of minister, and I am to execute Your Majesty for the sake of the sub-celestial realm. No matter what Your Majesty says, I dare not disregard this order." And he summoned troops, and the second emperor killed himself. Although it was not strictly necessary to call the emperor 'Your Majesty,' it was because he thought it best as a person of no status. Afterwards, when Zhao Gao entered and wanted to assume the throne, the palaces trembled, and it thrice appeared that they were about to

collapse. Zhao Gao, thinking that if Heaven did not permit it, the people to would not recognize him, stopped and then established Fu Su's son, Ziying.

The second emperor was on the throne for three years, and he was twenty-three. He was seen off [to the next life] with commoners' rites.

Ziying was the grandson of the first emperor, and the son of Fu Su. Ziying, assessing his position as that of the second emperor's son said, "Zhao Gao killed the second emperor and fearing assassination, lied, and had me put on the throne. I hear that Zhao Gao has made a pact with Chu to split Qin. Now, I am to perform the purifications in the temple, and he would kill me then. If I say that I am sick and do not go, Zhao Gao will surely come himself. And if he comes, I will surely kill him." So thinking, Ziying did not go, and in the end, Zhao Gao came. Ziying stabbed him and destroyed three generations of his family. He put Zhao Gao inside a well for seven days, but he did not die. He put him in a pot and stewed it, and he boiled it for seven days. When he did this, it killed Zhao Gao. When he was first apprehended, he had a blue ball, about the size of a sparrow's egg, in the breast [of his robes]. He had received the "Cinnabar Law" of [the Immortal] Han Zhong, and in winter, he lay atop ice, while in summer, he lay atop fire. After he died, a single blue sparrow flew out of his body and into the clouds. It was the Nine-turn Omen.

Ziying ascended the throne, and on the day said to be the forty-sixth, he prepared for decapitation; taking a cord, he harnessed a white horse to a plain funeral carriage, carried the Imperial seal before him, and surrendered to the Duke of Pei. Afterwards, Xiang Yu arrived, killed Ziying, and massacred [those in] Xianyang. He excavated the tomb of the First Qin Emperor and also burnt the Qin palaces. The flames did not go out until the third month, and the smoke over Xianyang Palace was in wisps.

From the time King Zhaoxiang destroyed the Zhou to the year that Ziying died, I remember it was fifty years indeed.

The Mirror of China: Part III

From Emperor Gaozu of the Han through Emperor Jing

The next kingdom after the Qin was called the Han. It was of fire virtue. As for the first emperor, he was called Gaozu. He was of Emperor Yao's lineage. His surname was from the Liu clan, and his taboo name was Bang. His style name was Ji. His father was called Da Gong, and his mother was called Liu Ao. Long ago, when Liu Ao was resting upon the banks of Taize, she dreamt that she encountered a god, and then she became pregnant. Well, she gave birth to Gaozu, and Gaozu had a high-bridged nose and a dragonish face. His whiskers were full and beautiful, and also on his left side, he had seventy-two black dots. He was humane and loved the people, and he was fond of alcohol and sex as well. When he would go to bed drunk, he was often likened to a dragon god.

There was a physiognomer called Lü Gong. He said that although from his youth on he had taken the measure of many men [by means of physiognomy], he had never seen anyone with a physiognomy like Gaozu's; and when he wanted to have his daughter, whom he treasured, join [Gaozu], Lü Gong's wife said, "You have always treated this girl as extraordinary and wanted to present her to a noble—why must you present her to this person without even having an edict bearing an order from Pei [Gaozu's hometown]?" When she said this, Lü Gong said, "This is because he could not be aware of our children," and he presented her to Gaozu. She was called Empress Lü and she was the mother of Emperor Xiaohui and [Princess] Yuan of Lu.

Gaozu became the head of the Si River pavilion and made a cap of bamboo bark. Once, when Gaozu was crossing the wetlands late at night, one of his forerunners said, "There is a big snake ahead. It is in the middle of the path. I'd like to turn back." Gaozu was drunk, and he said, "I am in my prime—what frightening thing could there be?" He advanced and drew his sword.

He sliced the snake, and it turned into two snakes and left the pathway. So he continued on, and drunk, he fell asleep. When his retainers reached the place where the snake had been, there was an elderly woman there. She was crying in the night, but when they asked her what she was bawling about, she said, "That person killed my son." When they asked her, "Why would someone want to kill your son?" the old woman said, "My son was the son of the White Emperor. He transformed into a snake and was in the road, but he was killed by the son of the Red Emperor." When they said this to Gaozu, he felt that it was encouraging indeed.

The Qin First Emperor often cursed the fact that there were portents of a Son of Heaven in the southeast. Gaozu fled and hid in the mountains and swamps around Mangdang. Empress Lü knew and went there. When Gaozu asked her how she knew, she said that there were always purple clouds over his location, so she had availed herself of that sign. At forty-eight years of age, he became the Duke of Pei, and after that, he and Xiang Yu clashed with the Qin troops at a place called Yongqiu.

In the tenth month of the first year of the Han, the troops of the Duke of Pei were led by various lords; when they arrived at Bashang, the Qin King Ziying presented the imperial seal and surrendered. The Generals said that he should be killed. The Duke of Pei said it would be inauspicious to kill someone who had surrendered. He said that he should be entrusted to officials and confined in Xianyang Palace. When he said this, Fan Kuai and Zhang Liang remonstrated with him, so he confined him in the Qin Treasury, and went back to Bashang. He assembled those who suffered under the stringent government of the Elder[s] of the Qin and said, "I made a promise with the various lords that I would make whoever was first to enter the pass king. As I already entered first and ought to be king, I promise to follow three laws of the Elders. Those who would kill others will be put to death; those who would harm others or steal will have

criminal charges brought. Other than this, the iron laws of [the former government] will all be done away with."

In the eleventh month, Xiang Yu was leading the warious lords' troops and wanted to enter the pass. When he heard that the door to the pass was closed, he grew furious and broke through the pass at Han valley. Upon reaching a place called Xi, a vassal of the Duke of Pei, one Cao Wushang, conferred with Xiang Yu and said that the Duke of Pei wanted to take the sub-celestial realm. At this, Xiang Yu grew furious and decided to summon the Duke of Pei to a place called Hongmen on the false pretext of drinking and then to do away with him. When he was called, the Duke of Pei said that this was most irregular and protested. Xiang Yu said, "This is on account of what was reported to me by the Equerry of the Left, Cao Wushang. If we don't do this, there might be a fight, so in any case, stay a little while and have a drink." Looking fierce, he remained seated. Xiang Yu and Xiang Bo sat facing east, and Uncle [Fan] sat facing west. Speaking of Uncle [Fan], he was a person upon whom Xiang Yu relied. The Duke of Pei sat facing north, and Zhang Liang sat facing West. Uncle [Fan] raised his jade hand-guard and signaled with his eyes to Xiang Yu to indicate that this should be used to kill the Duke of Pei. Though he did so three times, Xiang Yu basically did not understand and did not follow his wishes. Uncle [Fan] stood up from his seat and summoned a man called Xiang Zhuang. He said, "Xiang Yu is not sticking to the plan. You, go in and act as though you are going to pass out drinks in celebration. Pull out your sword and dance, and near the end, without seeming as though you are going to, kill the Duke of Pei. If you don't, the Duke of Pei will be trying to kill us for the rest of our lives." Xiang Zhuang went back in and did exactly as Uncle [Fan] had instructed. The man called Xiang Bo was sitting there, and though he was of the same family as Xiang Yu, he knew the ways of the world, and he lamented the senseless slaying of the Duke of

Pei. So, he, too, drew his blade and danced. Seemingly unintentionally, he concealed the Duke of Pei and did not allow him to be struck. When Zhang Liang saw this, he was shocked. He got up from his seat and went out of the gate, where he ran into the man called Fan Kuai. Fan Kuai was someone upon whom the Duke of Pei relied. When [Fan Kuai] asked how things had turned out that day, and [Zhang Liang] said that the Duke of Pei was currently in dire straits, Fan Kuai was extremely surprised. "This is the end! I will die by his side," he said, and went inside. When he did this, the guard asked why on earth he was so wildly attempting to get in. Taking charge [of the situation], [Fan Kuai] seized his shield, knocked the guard over with it, and pushed his way in. He raised the curtain, and stood, facing east. Furious, he saw Xiang Yu with his hair standing on end. Opening his eyes wide, he took in the situation, and everyone avoided him. Xiang Yu was afraid and took his sword; but he remained kneeling and asked, "Who the hell are you?" Zhang Liang said, "It's the Duke of Pei's minister, the one called Fan Kuai." "Pour him a drink!" he added and filled a cup with a *dou* of wine and had him drink. Fan Kuai pretended that he was pleased and did not make the slightest fuss. He drank while standing, and when Xiang Yu ordered him to eat some delicacies, he did not take a single piece of raw boar. [Rather] Fan Kuai lay his shield down on the ground, and taking his long-sword, sliced the shoulder of the boar, and ate it. In excessive horror, Xiang Yu said, "This is a serious warrior," and, "Have another drink." Fan Kuai said, "If it is an order, I cannot refuse. Much less does a single *dou* of wine amount to anything. Well, since the King of Qin is a base fellow, everyone turned his back on the sub-celestial realm. Having heard that Xiang Yu wanted to do away with him, the Duke of Pei, too, joined forces with you. Upon reaching Bashang, a fortress was erected, and I was in attendance. The matter of doing away with you-know-who there requires no further discussion. There was no difference in desire to do away with the King of Qin. Xiang Yu, your conduct

today is perverse." Thus he berated him. Xiang Yu remained silent and did not say a word—only helplessly asked, "Why do you remain standing?" When has asked this, since it was reasonable, and since Zhang Liang, too, said, "Sit," Fan Kuai at last sat down at Zhang Liang's side.

There was nothing that the Duke of Pei could do, so he lied and excused himself to go to the toilet, and stood. He secretly summoned Fan Kuai, calling him out and proposing to flee. Xiang Yu sent someone to stop him. The Duke of Pei thought, "Requesting a respite and leaving without permission goes against the rules." "What should we do?" he asked Fan Kuai, who said, "One doesn't ask for leave when it's a matter of honor. And in a general situation, one pays no mind to trifling matters. Now, it appears one is facing the knife and the chopping block. I would act like a fish, and in such an extreme case, where nothing is possible, I would flee." At this time, Xiang Yu's troops were 400,000 times 1,000,000, and the Duke of Pei's were a mere twenty thousand times 10,000. They could in no way come out on top, and since they were [back] in the walled city, things could not work out, it was said, so they cast off both the few mounted troops that had accompanied them and the mounted chariots, got on horseback, and with about four people from Fan Kuai on down going on foot, they fled via the byways.

After that, there were troops upon troops. Since the capital was rocked by fighting, Gaozu was imperiled, and he fled to the middle of a thicket of pampas grass and slipped into a well. When Xiang Yu came after him, a pair of pigeons were perched atop it, and since they called out, the troops in pursuit thought that if there were pigeons there, there was surely no one around, so they rode on past. Gaozu escaped, and later folk called [the birds] Escape-well pigeons. Also, at a place called Shuishui, as for those in the troops, as many as 400,000 of Gaozu's troops were all killed, and when they fell into the water, the river grew backed up and ceased to flow. As for the few remaining troops, Xiang Yu had the superior force and made a

“Thrice Coiled Basket” [formation]. Gaozu thought, “This is the end,” and when he heaved a heavy sigh, a great wind came down from the northwest. It blew over all of the trees and blew down people’s homes. It was so strong that even stone tiles flew up into the air! And the middle of the day grew so dark that nothing was visible. Xiang Yu’s troops thought that this was divine punishment, and they were afraid. They had no desire to be blown up into a tornado. Gaozu took but little with him and fled. Since the road passed his own home, he went to pick up his two children, Xiaohui and Lu Yuan, and put them in his chariot. Thinking that Xiang Yu would send troops in pursuit, a person called Duke Teng advised him to throw the children from the back of the chariot. But no matter he urged him, they could not be abandoned. They got in the chariot three times, and Gaozu finally fled.

Also, among Gaozu’s vassals, there was one called Shen Shiqi. He was accompanying Gaozu’s father Taigong, Empress Lü and the like, and he dashed here and there, looking for Gaozu. When he was doing this, he was unlucky and ran into Xiang Yu’s troops. Xiang Yu took him as a hostage and put him within the walled city. At a place called Guangwu, when the troops clashed, Xiang Yu made a great chopping block and had Gaozu’s father lay down upon it. He summoned Gaozu and showed him, saying, “If you pursue me, I will stew your father and eat him.”

Gaozu said, “When we were going to destroy the kingdom of Qin, we swore an oath as brothers. And when we said that we would govern the sub-celestial realm, you said that my father would be like your own. If you kill that father, you must serve me a cup of the hot broth, and I will slurp it down.” He had a despondent air, and Xiang Yu was increasingly angry, and when he was already on the point of killing him, it was Zhang Bo who said, “I cannot imagine how things in the sub-celestial realm will turn out now. Making up one’s mind to do something

grand means forsaking one's household. Even if he kills that old man, Gaozu need not lament. It is because your own shortcomings will ever more increase." Xiang Yu thought, "Truly, it is so," and he stayed the killing.

When Gaozu's followers called Xiang Yu to account, Xiang Yu's people exhausted their strength. His troops, too, grew few, and Gaozu's troops penned in Xiang Yu extremely well. When the troops called out, Xiang Yu heard this, and asked for his final cup of wine. He assembled his retainers, and behind [closed] curtains, they drank wine. He loved a beautiful woman called Yu, and somehow or other, she had even accompanied him to the walled city. There was also the charger he always rode. Its name was Zhui. He went to where it was and Xiang Yu said, "Once, such strength as to uproot a mountain. Once, such spirit as to cover the world. [Yet] the time is not advantageous, and our power lost, lost, lost. Zhui, too, cannot go, go, go. What am I to do? Yu, Yu, too. What am I to do with you?" Thinking such things, he looked very sorrowful. His beloved joined her voice with his, and they were without accompaniment. When the dawn broke, it was very sorrowful, and Xiang Yu, despite being a fierce warrior, shed tears. How much the more so was the beauty unable to wring the tears from her sleeves? The warriors seated there did not meet each others' eyes. Everyone was gloomy, and no one had had enough [time]. Since Xiang Yu was a warrior at heart, he cast aside all of his longings, mounted his horse, and left. He must have had about 800 cavalry and attendants. He broke through Gaozu's enclosure and hurried off, and there was none who stayed behind. Gaozu's 5,000 strong cavalry pursued him and while they were chasing after him, they all took new heart. Xiang Yu's troops suddenly absconded, and they were reduced to but a little over 100. While they were aimlessly going along, at a place called Yinling, they lost their way. They chanced upon an elderly farmer. When they asked him the way, since they were scattered troops, this old farmer

sighed, and said, “Run off to the left.” At the road along a vast swamp, it was impossible to advance, and they sunk in. While thus in arrears, the pursuing troops drew near. Xiang Yu scarcely got away, and at a place called Dongcheng, the one hundred plus people, too, all absconded, and there were but 28 cavalry [left]. Xiang Yu thought, “The way things are now, there is nothing to be said. There were thousands of troops in pursuit. There is no way that things can turn out as I might wish.” He spoke to those twenty-eight mounted soldiers: “It has been three years since I raised troops. We have fought in more than 70 battles, and I cannot think of a single time when people deserted. Now that things have come to this, Heaven is doing away with me. It is not the fault of war. Even were I to flee, there is nothing to be done. Today, I fight to the end, and I reveal to you that I shall die.” He divided those twenty-eight horsemen into fours, and called out with a great cry. Then he rushed onward towards Gaozu’s troops. When those troops saw his fierce wildness, though all thought they ought to come at him, they all made way, and Xiang Yu got away in the end and arrived at a place called Wujiang. The head of those premises provided a boat, saying, “Though there is a gorge east of this river, there is no way to ford it. You’d better quickly get aboard this boat, and cross. This time, I am the only person with a boat. Even if Gaozu’s troops come here, they cannot cross.” Xiang Yu laughed and said, “Heaven wants to destroy me. Even if I cross, there is nothing I can do. Long ago, when I went westward with 8,000 people from that place and raised an army, the entire sub-celestial realm bent before me. Now, there is not a soul [who does], and when I want to go back, those of this old town pity the past, and even if I said I were to meet with the king, what on earth [kind of] dignity would I have? Even if he were to see me, even if he were to suffer me in silence, how could I not be ashamed? When I, atop this horse, raised troops, we would go as far as a thousand leagues in a single day. Now that I am not even worth talking about, even were I to die before my foe’s eyes

[since my foe will ride this horse, I am despondent, and I think I might as well be killed], I have no desire to resist. But I would like to be taken by you." And so he was apprehended. He was only sorry to take leave of the twenty-eight cavalrymen and his retainers, saying, "Though it is hard to leave behind [those of such] resolve as to to stick with me up until now, after I have come to naught, if you, too, were to fall into others' hands, it would be such a pity. From now on, no matter whom you serve, do so with all your might and prosper in this world!" Then he took his leave. Xiang Yu went on foot and took up a sword or the like, and dashed into the troops that had come in pursuit. He killed hundreds. Among them, he singled out one Lü Matong, saying, "I hear that whoever kills me will get a thousand districts of ten thousand households. Since you are an old friend of mine, I will give you a reward." And so saying, he cut off his own head. Since Lü Matong was an old friend of Xiang Yu's, it was impossible for him to think of violating [the corpse], and he told one Wang Yi. When he said this, Wang Yi stepped forth and took the head. The remainder of the people fought and took the pieces. There were many people, and without respite they fought one another, and it was unclear who would come out on top.

Since Xiang Yu had been killed and the world quieted down, Gaozu ascended the throne. This year was *yi-wei* and corresponded to the fifteenth year of Emperor Kōgen of Japan. The generals each received commendations for their great deeds. Gaozu summoned the generals for an arrayal in the South Palace at Luoyang, and offered wine, proclaiming, "As for strategizing behind [closed] curtains and establishing victory beyond a thousand leagues, I am no match for Zifang [Zhang Liang]. In gathering together the realms, consoling the common people, and not severing the supply lines, I am no match for Xiao He. In arraying 1,000,000 troops, and in fighting, always winning, in torturing, always getting [results], I am no match for Han Xin. Of these three people, all are outstanding. I can indeed use them to take over the sub-celestial realm."

Perhaps accordingly, Xiao He even managed military successes to an extent rarely contained in documents, so he, first of all, was awarded the first prize. He then rose to the position of Premier and assisted in government. Zhang Liang reported as a scholarly lecturer for Gaozu, and when he rose to the rank of Minster, he often thought, "With three inches of tongue, one serves as the imperial tutor. Receiving a fiefdom of 10,000 households, one reaches the rank of *liehou*. I am lowly and already satisfied." Long ago, atop the earth-paved wooden bridge at Xiabi, he ran into an old man and received a single piece of writing. When he looked at the document, it was the military strategy of Taigong. Reading it, it said that he would become the tutor to the king. This document was written in plain ink. There are other accounts that say it was not the military strategy of Taigong. Military strategies, both for Gaozu and the troops that were to kill Xiang Yu, were written simply in outline, so as for a plain ink document, it probably cannot be said to be something along the lines of a military strategy. Said elderly man who presented this document, said, "Thirteen years from now, look for me at the base of Mt. Gucheng in Beiji. That is where I will be. That yellow stone—it will be I." Upon the thirteenth year, he went to Mt. Gucheng and saw the yellow stone. He performed offerings to this stone. Zhang Liang cast aside the concerns of this world, and followed Master Red Pine, studying Immortality. Then he became the Jade Child of the King Father of the East. At this time, such noble subjects were many, and virtuous government was carried out.

It was said to be in the sixth year after that ranking, and Gaozu would see Taigong at court once every five days. As for this, and the fact that their familial [relations] were as of ritual propriety between father and son, Taigong's retainers spoke to him, saying, "In Heaven, there are not two suns. On earth, there are not two rulers. Now, although Gaozu is your son, he is also the ruler of men. Taigong, although you are his father, you are also a human subject. How could it be

that the ruler of men should make obeisance to a human subject? If it's like this, power will be carried out in duplicate." After that, when Gaozu went on an imperial progress and had court audiences, Taigong took up a broom and stood to welcome him at the gate and then withdrew. Gaozu was greatly shocked, and went down to assist Taigong. At that time, Taigong proclaimed, "The emperor is the master of men. How could he throw the laws of the sub-celestial realm into chaos on my account?" Gaozu treasured Taigong and called him Retired Emperor Tai. In the tenth month of the winter of the preceding year, the emperor arrived at Pingcheng, and was imprisoned by the Xiongnu for seven days. There was nothing he could do. A Minister called Chen Ping devised a plot and had the picture of a beautiful girl painted, and he showed it to barbarian eyes, saying, "Beauties such as this are numerous among the Han. Since you are threatening the emperor in this way, we would like to present this sort of beauty to the barbarian king." At this, what the wives were thinking was, "If such a beautiful girl as this exists, she will make us look bad." Since he said this to the barbarian king, the emperor was released and escaped.

At the time when Gaozu had decided on Xiaohui as crown prince, he was very fond of the son of his beloved Lady Qi, Prince Ruyi of Zhao, and he was on the point of replacing Xiaohui and naming Ruyi as crown prince. Xiaohui's mother, Empress Lü, was shocked at this, and she asked Zhang Liang, "What should I do about my son?" Zhang Liang said, "This is a serious matter. But there are four people whom Gaozu has wished to have in his service. They are elderly and live in reclusion at Mt. Shangluo. They are saddened that though Gaozu has an outstanding mind, he is arrogant to and disregards others, so they have gone into seclusion and say that they shan't be advisors to the Han. Although Gaozu finds this awfully regrettable, they will not heed his wishes, and so the years have gone by. If you were to somehow summon those

four people and make them advisors of the crown prince, it would be nothing short of extraordinary." So she did so and summoned them. Afterwards, when Gaozu held a banquet, the crown prince was in attendance, and those four were at the crown prince's side. They were all over eighty years old, and with their white eyebrows and robes and caps, they did not resemble mere mortals. Gaozu found this bizarre and asked them, "Who on earth are you?" The four faced front and introduced themselves as Yuan Gong [Duke of the Garden], Mr. Jiaoli [Mr. In-the-Corner], Qili Ji [Plum in the Beautiful Village], and Xia Huang Gong [Yellow Duke of the Xia]. Gaozu was greatly surprised and said, "I've been seeking [you] for years. Since you would not come out of reclusion without my resorting to force, how is it that you could follow my no-account son?" The four said together, "Your Lordship looks down on the people and does not give a damn about them. Why should we have followed you? Since it reached our ears that the crown prince is laudable, and that thus the people of the realm are even willing to sacrifice their lives for him, we reported to attend to him." When they said this, there was nothing Gaozu could do, and he thought it extraordinary. He said, "Hurry and attend to the crown prince." When the banquet concluded and they departed, Gaozu watched after them far into the distance, and he looked as though there was something on his mind. He summoned Lady Qi and said, "I had planned to change crown princes and appoint Ruyi, but those four have already become [allies of] of the crown prince and his supporters. It would be impossible to make this move." Lady Qi wept. Gaozu said, "Dance and I will sing," thinking, "Had things gone as I wished, the coming ages would have been outstanding," and he could not suppress his tears.

In the twelfth year, when [Gaozu] attacked Qing [Tattoo] Bu, he was struck by a flying arrow. Going along the road, his stops were extremely frequent. Empress Lü sent for Doctor Liang, and when shown [the patient], the doctor said, "I should be able to cure him." Gaozu said,

"I, though a commoner, raised a three-foot sword and seized the sub-celestial realm. Was this not the Mandate of Heaven? Our destiny is up to Heaven. Bian Que himself would not succeed [without it]." And he was not cured. After being presented with 50 *jin* of gold, the doctor was dispatched. On the *jia-chen* day of the fourth month, he passed away at Changle Palace. He had been on the throne for twelve years, and his age was fifty-three.

The second ruler was called Emperor Xiaohui. He was Gaozu's crown prince. In a *ding-mo* year, at the age of sixteen, he ascended the throne. Since his mother, Empress Lü, was an extremely jealous person, she hated Gaozu's beloved Lady Qi and had her arrested. She sent someone to fetch Lady Qi's son, Prince Ruyi of Zhao, three times, but the emissary always returned empty-handed. One Marklord Zhou Chang of Jianping told that emissary, "It was Gaozu's will that we serve the Prince of Zhao. I've heard a rumor that the empress hates Lady Qi and wants to kill the Prince of Zhao. How could I send him back? Must he suffer still more?" Empress Lü summoned him yet again, which Emperor Hui felt odd, so he personally welcomed the Prince of Zhao, whom he installed in the palace. They were always together, waking or sleeping, standing or sitting. Thus, even though the empress wanted to kill him, there was never a chance. And so things went on in this way until once Emperor Hui went out on one of his periodic morning hunts. Since the Prince of Zhao was still young, he was [too] slight [to go]. The empress thought this was a golden opportunity, and she had a *zhen* brought. This *zhen* bird is comparable to a pit viper, because if you toast its wings and dip them in wine, if one swallows said wine, one dies on the spot. When Emperor Hui returned and looked in, the Prince of Zhao was already dead. The royal heart was saddened beyond words. The empress then had Lady Qi's hands and feet cut off, her eyes put out, and her ears burnt, and she made her drink medicine that would make her mute and installed her in the latrine, calling her "Human Pig." When she called

Emperor Hui and showed him, he thought of how Lady Qi was a human being, and he could not meet her eyes, and his heart was heavy. He fell ill and was unable to rise for a long time.

In the second year, Prince Yuan of Chu, Prince Daohui of Qi, etc. came. Emperor Hui and the Prince of Qi had a banquet in the presence of the empress. Emperor Hui was thinking, "Although the Prince of Qi is a Prince of the Blood, he is my older brother," and he installed him higher up and adhered to familial rites. The empress was angry and drew up two cups of *zhen*, and coming up to him, she said that the Prince of Qi needed to be toasted, and he stood. Emperor Hui also stood and took his glass, too. When he was about to toast, the empress descended and stood herself, breaking the cup of Emperor Hui. The Prince of Qi thought this was bizarre, and he did not drink at all. He feigned drunkenness and departed, having realized that it was *zhen* wine.

At this time, in the third month of spring, it rained blood at a place called Yiyang. People saw that it was more than a one-time thing. Also, in the tenth month, peaches and plums bore fruit.

In the eighth month of the autumn of the seventh year, the emperor died at Weiyang Palace. He reigned for seven years, and his age was twenty-seven. Though the empress sobbed, she did not shed tears.

The third ruler was called Empress Lü. When Emperor Hui died, there was no heir born of the empress, so they took the son born to one of the beauties of the Rear Quarters and made him emperor. Since he was young, Empress Lü oversaw the court and governed.

The first year was a *jia-yin* year. The four elder brothers were made princes, and six of the Lü were feudal lords. In the autumn of that year, the peaches and plums bloomed, and it was like spring.

In the fourth year, a certain person said to Emperor [Qian]shao, "Your Lordship is not the son of the empress. Since the empress did not bear a child, she pretended that she had got pregnant and took the child of a beautiful woman and had that mother killed." The young emperor said, "When I come into my own, I shall hate her." The empress heard this, and fearing disorder, had him arrested in the rear palace and killed.

In the fifth month, the Kingly Rite of Mt. Chang was established and [she] became emperor. Since the empress was running the sub-celestial realm, this was referred to as the first year.

In the spring of the eighth year, the empress had a dream in which a grey dog-like thing gored her side. When she had the dream interpreted, [the diviner] said to sacrifice to Prince Ruyi of Zhao. The empress' side was being caused pain, and she died. She had been on the throne for eight years. Her age was seventy-one.

Because Lü Chan, Lü Lu et al were fighting, Chen Ping, Zhou Bo, etc. executed them, and among the troops, they ordered the soldiers, scolding them. They said that those who wished to ally themselves with the Lü clan should bare their right shoulders, and those who wished to ally themselves with the Liu clan should bare their left shoulders. When they did so, all of the soldiers bared their left shoulders, and the Lüs were completely exterminated.

The Ministers secretly conspired together and said, "Since the young emperor and the Mt. Chang ruler were not true offspring of Emperor Hui, now, the Lü have been completely destroyed. If we were to install one of the lords established by Lü Gong, once he grew up and it was time to manage affairs, none of us would fare well. We should make one of the princes inclined towards nobility into [our] lord." One person said, "Prince Daohui of Qi was the eldest son of Gaozu. Now his heir is the Prince of Qi. We should establish Gaozu's eldest grandson."

Another minister stood and said, “Because of the wickedness of the maternal relatives from the Lü clan, beware of the ancestral temple. The meritorious retainers will be thrown into disarray. The maternal family of the present Prince of Qi are wicked people. If we establish the Prince of Qi, this is [akin to] establishing the Lü clan again. The maternal relatives of the Prince of Huainan, too, are wicked people. Prince Dai is the apparent son of Gaozu. Quite rightly, as he has grown, he has become known in the sub-celestial realm for his humaneness and filiality. The empress’ family are good people of the Bo clan. They are trustworthy.” And so they secretly had people summoned to attend to Prince Dai, and at this, he politely refused. The ministers all assembled and presented the imperial seal, making him the Son of Heaven. This was Emperor Xiaowen.

The fourth ruler was called Emperor Xiaowen [*sic*]. His taboo name was Heng. He was Gaozu’s middle son. His mother was called Empress Bo. When Empress Lü had died and the various Lüs, [Empress] Lü Chan et al were waging battles, thinking not to endanger the Liu clan, after the ministers killed them, Imperial Aide Chen Ping, Minister of Defense Zhou Bo, etc. had people come to receive King Wen. At this, King Wen questioned one Zhang Wu. Zhang Wu said, “The Han ministers are all great generals from the time of Gaozu. They are on par with warriors, and their deceitful strategies are numerous. I wish Your Highness would claim illness, and not go. You need to see whether they rebel.” First Lieutenant Song Chang faced front and said, “The advice of the assembled ministers is wrong. Qin lost their government, and the marklords proudly thought of themselves as on par with great heroes. All of the people thought, “Anyone can do this.” Though they thought thus, finally he who got the position of the Son of Heaven was [of the] Liu clan. This was a bestowal from Heaven, not [achieved by] the force of man. Of Gaozu’s children, only the Prince of Huainan rose to the rank of king. The king, for his part,

matured, and is known in the Heavens as noble, wise, humane, and filial. For [this] reason, the ministers follow the hearts of the sub-celestial realm and welcome the great king in order to establish him. Great King, have no doubt." King Wen hesitated, and when he had a plastron divination performed, the portent he got was "Greatly Countering." What was said in the divination was: "'Greatly Countering' is firm. I shall become the heavenly king. The heavenly king is namely the Son of Heaven." From the ministers on down, all welcomed him. Emperor Wen rushed to the so-called Wei Bridge, where the assembled ministers made obeisance and proclaimed themselves to be his vassals. Emperor Wen descended from his chariot, and made obeisance. The Minister of Defense said, "I would request leave to speak." Song Chang said, "If you would speak in public, say whatever you have to say. If what you want to say is private, then the ruler will not receive private [things]." When he said this, he knelt and presented the imperial seal to the Son of Heaven. Emperor Wen said, "To be in attendance at the ancestral temple of Emperor Gao is an important business. We dare not serve there." The ministers all lay down and firmly besought him. Emperor Wen faced west and thrice yielded the throne. He faced south and twice yielded the throne. Minister Ping et al said, "We, your vassals, are (not at all) lax in preparations for the matters at the ancestral temples and shrines to the earth gods and five grains. What we wish is that you, Great King, would hear us. We vassals are circumspect and bring the imperial seal forth and again bow and present it." When he at last ascended to the rank of Son of Heaven, it was the first year of *ren-shu*. The vassals observed ritual and were in attendance in order. That night, they made obeisance to Song Chang and made him Guardian General.

In summer, in the fourth month, twenty-nine of the mountains in Qi and Chu collapsed on the same day, and vast quantities of water erupted.

In the second year, in summer, in the fifth month, he erected the banner for promoting goodness and the tree of slander.

In the fourth year, in summer, in the sixth month, frost fell.

In the tenth month, in the winter of the sixth year, the peaches and plums bloomed.

In the tenth year, a horse with horns was born. This was a bad thing.

In the fifth month of the thirteenth year, the Magistrate of the Grain Depot of Qi, Lord Chun Yu, was found guilty and in need of punishment, so he was arrested. The Lord of the Grain Depot had no sons, but he had five daughters. He scolded those daughters, saying, "I have born children, but no sons. This is good for nothing." His youngest daughter was called Tirong. She was pained and cried, and she followed her father to Chang'an. She composed a document, saying, "My father is an official, and in Qi, he is said to be fair and even-handed. Now he sits before the law and must be punished. What pains me is that those who die cannot come back to life, and those who are punished cannot be brought back into the fold. What I wish is that I might enter the palace as a servant and make recompense for my father's crime." When Emperor Wen saw this epistle, he was stirred to pity and saddened. Then he issued a rescript, saying, "In the time of You Yu [Shun], robes and gowns were painted, and penal attire was made distinct. The commoners did not violate [the law] and were governed. In current laws, we have three forms of corporal punishment. Although we have three, wickedness knows no respite. The blame for that lies with me. Although, as the son of the Lord of Amiable Gentility, I am the father and mother of the common people, the people of today transgress and are punished—which does no good and does not accord with the mind of the father and mother of the people. Corporal punishment shall be abolished. Corporal punishment involves erecting something to support the body and then flaying the person to death. Long ago, in the time of Yao and Shun, when there was an

instance of committing a crime, a different cap was put on the person, and they were made to wear an outer robe and the like. Although there was no [physical] punishment, no one committed crimes. In the current age, although there are [physical] punishments, this does not prevent crime! I am to blame." Perhaps he did feel thus. And he also proclaimed, "Agriculture is the basis of the sub-celestial realm. We should exploit the registered fields and plow ourselves." So saying, they were used for the sacrificial grains at the ancestral temples. Also, when there were times of drought or locusts, the marklords' contributions [to court] were ceased, and the various imperial robes, dogs, and horses were reduced. The storehouses were opened, and things were given to the impoverished commoners.

At this time, there was a thief, and he stole the jade ring from the front of the dais of Gaozu's ancestral temple. The emperor issues an order to the Minister of Punishment Zhang Shizhi, who suggested that he should be executed and his corpse displayed in the marketplace. The Emperor was furious and said, "I think that we should execute his entire family." Shizhi apologized and said, "Now, if we are to kill his entire family on account of the thievery of an implement from the ancestral temple, supposing some fool were to raid one of the tumuli among the Imperial Tombs, how would Your Majesty be able to add to that law [to make a more severe punishment]?" Emperor Wen thought, "Indeed."

One time, Emperor Wen asked the Minister of the Right, "What if we were to get rid of one year of imprisonments in the sub-celestial realm?" Zhou Bo said, "I don't know." Emperor Wen asked him another question: "What is the amount of money and rice for a single year in the sub-celestial realm?" Zhou Bo again said, "I don't know." Sweat ran down his back in shame, and he had no way to calculate it. Emperor Wen then questioned Minister of the Left Ping. Chen Ping said, "Your inquiries are all bureaucrats' matters. You had better ask them."

The Emperor said, “Well, whom then?” Chen Ping said, “On the matter of prisons, ask the Minister of Punishments. On the matter of money and grain, ask the Interior Secretary of Millet Management.” The Emperor said, “Truly have you spoken. What are the ministers doing?” Chen Ping said, “The ministers regulate *yin* and *yang* above, and in accordance with the four seasons, nourish all things below. They quiet the four barbarians and the feudal lords beyond the realm. Within, they hold dear the common people.” When the Emperor heard this, he said, “Outstanding.” The Minister of the Right was greatly ashamed and left. He resented the Minister of the Left and asked, “Why didn’t you tell me all of this from the first?” The Minister of the Left laughed at him, and said, “You, too, hold this rank. Why didn’t you know about all of these matters?”

At this time, in order to prevent the Xiongnu from entering the capital, generals were being dispatched along the roads. One Liu Li arrived at Bashang. And as for Xu Li, he arrived at Cimen. And Zhou Yafu arrived at Xitao. After that, the emperor surveyed the state of things in the capital, and then he went on an imperial progress to those places. At the cities of Bashang and Cimen, there was surprise and agitation. The warriors came to welcome the emperor. When he departed, they saw him off. When he went on a progress to the city of Xitao, the warriors donned their armor and looked as though ready for the matters at hand, with nary a thought of weakening resolve. The emperor’s advance guard arrived at the outskirts of the city, but could not enter. The advance guard said, “The emperor is already underway on an Imperial Progress. What are you doing?!” The person guarding the gate said, “Within the city, I heed the orders of the Great Generals, not those of the Son of Heaven.” In no time at all after that, the Imperial Progress arrived, but still he would not let them enter. The emperor sent an emissary to the Great General to show him His sigil, saying, “I want to see the state of the troops, so I am conducting

an Imperial Tour." The Great General accordingly declared, "We will open the encampment gates." When they saw how the attendants on the Imperial Progress commenced a great hustle and bustle, the warriors said, "The Great General said that there must not be a lot of noise within the city, and there should be no mention of the circumstances of the Imperial Tour." The emperor heard this ordered all of them to be quiet. At long last, they entered [the city]. Great General Zhou Yafu took his sword and merely said, "The knight of Jiezhou does not make obeisance." And so saying, observing military rites, he said, "I would have an audience with you," and the emperor truly thought, "Indeed," and composed himself; he sent an emissary, who said, "The emperor sincerely would like to show his appreciation to the General." And he saluted and withdrew. The attendants all listened in surprise, and the emperor said, "This is a true general. The troops we saw earlier at Bashang and Cimen were like children playing. Those troops would surely be easy to defeat. Vis-à-vis Zhou Yafu, they will not be able to invade," he thus commended him. Moreover, he said to the crown prince, "If it were up to me, I would rely upon Zhou Yafu as general."

In the autumn of the third year of Houyuan, a great rain fell, and it did not stop day or night for forty-five days. Over eight thousand commoner homes were washed away, and more than three hundred people died. Even in those sage ages, there were such disasters.

The emperor was going to build an open-air "dew" platform, and when he assembled artisans and asked them about it, they said the price would be quite high. The emperor said, "It would take ten middle-class households to produce that much money. If I am in attendance in the halls of the former emperor, I will be in constant awe and constraint. Why should I build a [new] Dew Platform?" and he stopped. For the Imperial Person, thin silks of scarlet were presented. And the robes of the beloved Lady Shin did not trail on the ground. Even the embroidery of the

curtains of the palace was ceased, and sometimes the casings for documents were collected and used for curtains. Since instances of Zhang Wu and the like taking bribes occurred, [the emperor] bestowed even more rewards, shaming the former indeed. In general, that emperor's virtue enriched heaven and earth equally, and implementing [such] across the realm, the Son of Heaven's enlightened feelings of the Way, virtue, humaneness, and propriety, as well as his virtuous government of frugality and amelioration of the people, were rare in the world and praised as such. In the sixth month, in the summer of the seventh year after the founding, he died. His age was forty-six, and he had been on the throne for twenty-three years. In his posthumous edict, it said, "Death is the law of Heaven and Earth and is something natural. It is not extremely sad. You must not hoard gold, silver, or copper in an effort to be hegemon. You ought to use earthenware vessels, and in all things, you should be frugal."

The fifth ruler was called Emperor Xiaojing. His taboo name was Qi, and he was the heir of Emperor Wen. His mother was called Empress Dou.

The founding year was an *yi-you* year. In the winter, at a place called Jiaodong, an elderly man of over seventy suddenly sprouted horns and fur. Also around then, a white egret and a black egret fought in a place called the Kingdom of Chu, and when the white egret did not win, it dove into the water and drowned.

When the emperor was still crown prince, the crown prince of Wu came to call, and when he gambled with Emperor Wen, he was discourteous, and so He had him killed at the *Bo* match and sent back to the King of Wu. From that time on, the King of Wu had secretly been scheming. He did not heed the remonstrations of others. When it came to this time, he rebelled together with six other kingdoms. The emperor dispatched Senior Captain (Zhou) Yafu, Generalissimo Dou Ying et al and had him done away with. They executed the Censorate

Grandee Chao Cuo, and when refused by the seven countries, the Generals destroyed them. They decapitated the King of Wu and the remaining six kings all committed suicide.

Two years later, in the fourth month, in summer, [the emperor] proclaimed, "Carving and inlay of text are destructive to agriculture. Silken embroidery with fine threads are damaging to women's work. The destruction of agriculture is the origin of famine. The damaging of women's work is the source of cold. I will plow myself, and the empress will herself raise mulberries and serve in the ancestral temple. Also, agriculture is the basis of the sub-celestial realm. Gold, pearls, and jade—in times of famine, they cannot be eaten, and in times of cold, they cannot be worn."

Among the emperor's younger brothers, there was one prince of the blood, Prince Xiao of Liang. They had the same birth mother. When there was a banquet at the residence of the dowager empress and Prince Xiao, the emperor said, "After one thousand autumns and ten thousand years, I shall have to pass on the Emperorship." A certain Dou Ying said from his seat, "Since Gaozu's promise was that after his son, it should next be passed to his grandson, why would you turn your back on that vow and pass it to your younger brother?" When the dowager empress heard this, she thought it regrettable, and from time to time, she would find a pretext for saying to the emperor, "How about having Prince Xiao ascend the throne?" The emperor asked person upon person, but though it was serious—a significant matter of the sub-celestial realm—since the people said, "How indeed?" in the end, he did not pass it on to him. Prince Xiao cannily had those who had so spoken stealthily killed. The emperor had doubts about Prince Xiao's conduct, and when he inquired, in the end, rightfully so. Presently, he dispatched an envoy, and when the latter pressed [Prince Xiao] about what had happened, Prince Xiao collapsed and said to the dowager empress, "This is a mistake." So the emperor tearfully left it

unsettled. After that, Prince Xiao left the Kingdom of Liang and came to the capital; he said that he wanted to serve in the capital since the dowager empress was ill, and he wanted to tend to her. The emperor suspected him of a dark heart and proclaimed that he was refusing for that very reason. Though it went against his desires, [the Prince] returned to Liang. Uneasy, he finally fell ill and died. When the dowager empress heard this, it was no ordinary matter, and she sighed over it for a long time.

This Prince Xiao was of the Liang Royal House. The landscape of mountains and rivers was incomparable. Nowadays, when we call the residence of a prince of the blood Liang Park, Bamboo Park, or Rabbit Park, it is something that originated with this.

Three years later, the emperor died at Weiyang Palace. He was forty-eight years old. He had been on the throne for sixteen years.

The Mirror of China: Part IV

From Emperor Wu of the Han through Gengshi

The sixth ruler was called Emperor Xiaowu. His taboo name was Che. He was the middle son of Emperor Jing. His mother was called Empress Wang. This empress had long ago married one Jin Wangsun and had borne a single daughter. The empress' mother, Zang'er, had a divination [that revealed] Empress Wang's exalted aspect, and she [her mother] went so far as to rob the Jin clan [of their bride]; when Xiaojing was [still] Crown Prince, he cherished her, and she bore three daughters and one son. She dreamt that a sun entered her bosom, and then she bore the emperor. Although generally people said things like, "The emperor does not gestate in the belly of one who has born a commoner son," this [dream] was a laudable auspicious precedent. Since the emperor emerged from having ensconced in a womb, and was protector of the thirty-three realms [of Heaven], and made offerings like a son, he was called the Son of Heaven: such is the explanation in the *Most Triumphant King Sutra*. Also, since he regards the Heavens as his father and the earth as his mother, the sun as his elder brother, and the moon as his elder sister, he is called the Son of Heaven. On the seventh day of the seventh month, in an *yi-chou* year, he was born in Yilan Palace. At sixteen years of age, he ascended the throne. That year was *xin-chou* and was called the first year of Jianyuan. As for the emperors of old, they did not yet have reign period names. This was the origin thereof.

In Yuanfu 3, he had Lake Kunming dug and naval battles practiced. It was because he wanted to strike at the Land of Kunming. This (lake) bisected White Deer Plain.

When the people tried to catch fish, the lines would break, and the fish would get away. The emperor had a dream, and in it, he took the fishing line and wanted to cast it; when he looked out over the sea, there was a large fish with a hook in its mouth. He took the hook and

released the fish. Three days passed, and when [the emperor] was disporting there, he caught a pair of translucent gems. The Emperor took them to be his karmic reward for the fish's gratitude.

In Yuanding 1, in the fifth month, in summer, at a place called Fenshui, tripods were obtained. Since these were the tripods that had sunk at the end of the Zhou, they emerged in response to the current lord's sagely virtue. For this reason, they were refurbished as the original tripods.

On the first day of the eleventh month—a *xin-si* day—in the winter of the fifth year, it was the winter solstice. This was an auspicious portent. Since the emperor was known to be particularly fond of hearing about the Way of Immortality, a man of Qi called Shao Weng arrived [to promote] his arts. At that time, one Lady Wang had been favored, but she had suddenly died; however, Shao Weng, by means of various techniques, revealed the likeness of Lady Wang in a [new] young body. The emperor was greatly please at this and regarded it as a splendid matter. He received [Shao Weng] with particular care and granted him commendations, naming him to the office of General Wencheng. Although he attempted all sorts of things related to immortality, they were all counterfeit and without effect. Having written assorted things [down], and unobtrusively having had a cow eat [the document], Wenchang looked at the cow and said that there was something strange inside of the cow's belly; and when they killed it and looked, there was a document. However, as for the form of the document, it looked to have just been written by a human, and since it was not genuine, General Wenchang was killed. All of the matters of love of the Way of Immortality are like this.

When the emperor ascended the mountain known as Mt. Song, someone shouted, "Long may he reign!" three times. All of the people heard it. Neither those above nor those below had said anything—it was the proclamation of the mountain deity.

In Yuanding 1, in the spring, there was a wrestling match. Everyone for three hundred leagues around watched it. “Wresting” is *sumo*.

In the third year, the emperor had Bailiang Palace erected, and at a banquet, he summoned his ministers and rewarded those who were skilled at heptasyllabic verse and had them take seats of honor. This indeed was the beginning of linked verse.

From the time of Taichu 1, the first month has been designated as the year’s head. Prior to this, it began in the tenth month.

In Tianhan 1, there was an Imperial Progress to Hedong, and sacrifices were made to the earth deity. At that time, the emperor composed lyrics on the Autumn Wind. “The Autumn Wind rises—ah—and white clouds soar./The plants and trees grow sere and fall—ah—and the geese return south./The floating house boats—ah—ford Qing River./They cut across the flow—ah—raising white waves.” The lyrics of this imperial composition should be [seen as] excellent for 10,000 generations.

At this time, there was a person called Dongfang Shuo. He was a minister particularly close to the emperor, and since he had a slight air of craziness about him, the world at large called him a madman. (A smooth talker and gifted rhetorician, his words were droll.) In matters of yore or things contemporary, there was nothing unknown to him. He took forty-nine dates from Shanglin Park, put them in a box to present them to the emperor; when Dongfang Shuo was visible far off in the distance, the emperor struck the palace railing with his staff and said, “Seven sevens and a sheaf of sheaves.” When Dongfang Shuo approached, the emperor asked him, “What’s in the box?” At this, [Shuo] said, “I have come with 49 dates from Shanglin.” When the emperor asked him how on earth he had known [to do this], Dongfang Shuo said, “The Imperial summons “above” [*shang*]. The striking of the railing with the staff was equivalent to

two trees—the character for "forest" [*lin*]. As for the seven sevens, seven sevens are forty-nine. And the 'sheaf of sheaves' is the character for dates." The emperor let out a huge laugh and presented him with 10 *shu* of silk. In the practice of the Han court, the emperor was called "Highness." Also, when he dwelt in the Weiyang Palace, the rain cleared and the wind stopped. In the trees behind the palace, there was the sound of magpies chirping. Though Dongfang Shuo saw all of this, his assessment was: "These birds face east and live in withered branches." The emperor asked what the meaning of this was. When he asked him, Dongfang Shuo said, "Magpies have long tails. When there is an east wind, they must know to face east. Also, when the rain stops, the young branches are slippery. The withered branches are not smooth and slippery, so they know to sit on them." The emperor laughed loudly and sent someone to see. He said it was thus, and the many strange things on which he reported were beyond count. There were also the occult arts. He thrice took the peaches of the Queen Mother of the West that granted three thousand years longevity each and ate them. Afterwards, when the Queen Mother of the West sent an emissary to question Dongfang Shuo about it, the emissary said, "Dongfang Shuo is the spirit of the tree emperor and of Jupiter—as such, he disports amongst mortals, observing the sub-celestial realm. He is not a subject of Your Majesty." Also, it was said that while Dongfang Shuo was in the world of men, Jupiter did not appear.

Also, at that time, an emissary was dispatched to Penglai to seek the Elixir of Immortality, but in the end the emperor did not obtain it.

Also, there was a beautiful woman called Lady Li. It is said her name was Susu. In her fourteenth year, she went [into service] at the palace. When she was summoned, a carriage made of fragrant wood was dispatched to welcome her and an envoy to accompany her. When she arrived, the carriage stood outside of the palace gates, and when she was thus announced, the

emperor was impatient. She was heard to be splendid. Thereafter, in flowering spring and the moonlight nights of late autumn, on snowy dawns, they toured the various scenic spots on imperial progresses and amused themselves, and when they did so, Lady Li went in the Royal Palanquin and never left her Lord's side, even for a moment. In such a way, they wrote poems and related verses. Their words were inexhaustible. At a place called Southern Park Palace, Lady Li was seated above all others and received; because of this, on the night of the changing of residence, from the thirty-six palaces and eighteen cloisters, music was performed, and they were amused and diverted.

At this time, the empress called Empress Wei caught notice of Lady Li and secluded herself in the Great Gate Palace. She composed a verse of resentment, and when she had it sent to the emperor, the following couplet was moving: "The Southern palace delights in songs/ While the Northern Palace laments." In the course of things, Lady Li fell ill. The emperor dispatched a doctor, and she had all sorts of attendants. Twenty-four hours, day and night, there was a ceaseless flow of envoys. As for the emperor's condition, he did not even board the Royal Palanquin, [but] came on foot to inquire after her. When she was at last laid to rest, the Emperor was disconsolate indeed. Hearing of the emperor's excessive lamentation, an occultist came and said that he would like to reveal [her whereabouts] to the emperor. He said he had heard Lady Li was an immortal and had returned to a higher realm at a place called 'Stamen of the Azure Firmament Palace.' The occultist addressed [the deity] the Lord of Mt. Tai, and there was an emissary from the latter who said that he had gone to the Stamen Palace, and His Highness, the Prime Ruler of Heaven, had had pity, and was having the Queen Mother of the West prepare to temporarily send Lady Li back. The emperor was beside himself with longing, and when he laid eyes on the Southern Garden Palace of long ago, he locked the gates there and then, and [so they

remained for] many autumns. Even the plants and trees longed for the past, and their tears of dew were never dry. The lotus blossoms that had long ago perfumed [the air] in the midst of Mandarin Duck Lake infused [the air] in memory. At Parrot Tower, at the mere sight of the green moss beneath the brilliant moon, the place where they had frolicked together, the emperor was driven wild [with grief], accompanied by the sound of the flute's song of longing for the past. When he dozed off in extreme sorrow at the palace called "Hall of the Emerging Moon," Lady Li came to him in a dream. Her blue-black brows and flushed face were [as fresh as] dew, and he realized he was dreaming and awoke at once. On the next morning, he had the "Hall of the Emerging Moon" renamed "Hall of the Fragrant Dream."

There was a person called Lady Gouyi. She was a beloved consort of the emperor. She was called Zhao Jieyu. She bore a prince. This was Emperor Xiaozhao. The emperor thought, "I should like to establish this prince as the emperor after me," and without cause, he reproached her and had her killed. At that time, suddenly, a great wind blew and stirred up dust. It grew infinitely darker. The people thought this was a serious matter and remonstrated with him. When the emperor asked people how it was that the world at large was gossiping about this, the people said, "Since we are willing to attend that son on the throne, why was his mother killed?" The emperor proclaimed, "Truly, it is so. Nevertheless, from times of old, matters of chaos in the sub-celestial realm have come about when there was a young prince and his mother was flourishing. No matter what—improper rule by a female sovereign is equivalent to societal chaos. Just consider the matter of Empress Lü."

Another time, when the emperor was pruning [the ranks of the] office-holders, there was one Yan Si, who had shaggy brows and white locks, in service. The emperor asked him, "Old Man, how long have you held this office? How have you grown so old?" When he replied,

"I have been in this office since the time of Emperor Wen. Emperor Wen was fond of writings, and I was fond of war; Emperor Jing was fond of beauty, and I was ugly; Your Highness is fond of vigor, and I am already old," the emperor felt this sad and made him Undersecretary of Kuaiji.

Afterwards, in the second month of the second year, the emperor died in the Five Chinquapin Palace. His age was seventy-one, and he had been on the throne for fifty-four years.

The seventh ruler was called Emperor Xiaozhao. His taboo name was Fo. He was the youngest son of Emperor Wu. His mother was Zhao Jieyu. She was pregnant with the emperor, and after fourteen months, gave birth. When Emperor Wu heard about this, he declared, "Long ago, the lord called Yao was born after fourteen months. With things being like this once again, we ought to attach a name to the gate of the house that bore him and call it 'Gate of Yao's Mother.'" When the Emperor was five or six years old, he was alarmingly flourishing, and when he was grown, he was wiser than others, so Emperor Wu loved him and thought, "How he resembles me!"

When Emperor Wu fell gravely ill, he named this emperor [Xiaozhao] crown prince. As for Huo Guang, that splendid retainer was named to the office of Great General Da Sima, and he was to aid the young ruler. These were his instructions for posterity. When he died on the next day, the emperor ascended the throne. He was eight years old. Huo Guang was regent and conducted the affairs of government. Everyone in the sub-celestial realm regarded this gravely; perhaps there were yet again slanderous accounts among them, so the emperor did not trust them and greatly relied on Huo Guang. When he was fourteen years of age, a certain person again slandered [him]. At this, the emperor grew angry and said, "The Great General is a loyal minister. The previous emperor assigned him to me. He has assisted me for a long time. To slander him is a crime." Everyone stopped [such] talk.

In Yuanfeng 3, in spring, in the first month, a large boulder fell of its own accord from Mt. Tai. It was five *zhang* five *chi*, and it was thirty-eight arm-spans in size. It made a hole in the ground eight *chi* deep. Three stones legs stood it up.

Also, in the middle of Shanglin Park, a great, withered willow tree stood up by itself and came to life. There were insects. They ate the leaves of the tree and made them into the shape of characters! It was said to be truly inconceivable.

In Yuanping 1, in summer, in the fourth month, the emperor died at Weiyang Palace. He was twenty-one. He had been on the throne for thirteen years. Since he did not have an heir to succeed him, the former emperor's empress received the grandson of Emperor Wu, the imperial descendent known as Prince He of Changyi, and he ascended the throne. For twenty-seven days, he carried out 1,120 instances of mismanagement, and since the Imperial Rites were going to be lost, Great General Hou Guang was sorrowful and devised a scheme to assassinate him. At this time, the heavens grew dark, and more than twenty days passed with no visible [sign of] day or night, no sun or moon. Then, they overthrew the king and he was enfeoffed as Marklord of Haihun.

The eighth ruler was called Emperor Xiaoxuan. His taboo name was Xun. He was the great-grandson of Emperor Wu, the grandson of Crown Prince Lei. Crown Prince Lei took in Shi Liangdi, and she bore Imperial Grandson Shi. Imperial Grandson Shi took in Lady Wang, and she bore him an emperor. He was said to be the imperial great-grandson. After he was born, he met with a disastrous curse, and while still in swaddling clothes, he was jailed in the outskirts of the commandery, but since Bing Ji was Overseer of Punishment, he took pity on the lord's innocence and gave him the milk from [one of his] female attendants and secretly clothed and fed him—thus aiding him. Since the matter of the curse was long undispelled, the diviner said,

"In a Chang'an jail, there are signs of the presence of the Son of Heaven." Emperor Wu dispatched an emissary and killed all of the prisoners, without distinction. This lord had already been removed, and Bing Ji concealed this and let him live. Since great amnesties were frequently encountered, he saw him to the household of his maternal grandmother, Shi Liangdi. He grew up, and he was fond of study and highly talented. He was fond of chivalry and herded chickens and raced horses. He was hairy down to the soles of his feet. There were also instances when he glowed while lying or sitting. When the prince of Changyi was overthrown, the ministers presented him with the Imperial Seal, and he ascended the throne. He was eighteen.

In Benshi 1, a *wu-shen* year, Great General Huo Guang returned the reins of government. The emperor then issued a proclamation, that for all matters, everyone had formerly gone to Regent Huo Guang, and thereafter should report to the emperor. The time that Huo Guang had administered the sub-celestial realm was more or less twenty years, and the sub-celestial realm had been calm and peaceful. After he withdrew from office, [the emperor] recollected the serious matters of his outstanding ministers and assistants and assembled eleven of those people in the Qilin Pavilion to have their portraits painted. The first among them was Huo Guang. As for his name, it was given as Great General Da Sima-cum-Marklord of Bolu of the Huo Clan, and his given name was not written. The fact that everyone else had his given name written and Huo Guang alone did not was because he was regarded too highly. When the Emperor first ascended the throne and went on an Imperial Progress together with Huo Guang, he thought it looked like there was grass on his shoulders.

In Dijie 4, there was hail in Luoyang. The big ones were like chicken eggs and were two *chi* five *cun* thick. Many people were injured, and a lot of flying birds died.

In the spring of Yuankang 2, there was a phoenix. A sweet dew settled. At this time, these kinds of auspicious portents could be seen all of the time. The realm was governed, and the harvests were plentiful. The value of a stone of rice was five *qian*. This was a thankful thing.

In Huanglong 1, at Weiyang Palace, a chicken turned into a dove.

In the twelfth month, the emperor died. He was forty-two years old. He had been on the throne for twenty-five years.

The ninth ruler was called Emperor Xiaoyuan. His taboo name was Shi. He was the crown prince of Emperor Xuan. His mother was called Empress Xu. The Emperor's talents and artistic [skills] were numerous, and he played the *qin* and *se*, as well as the vertical bamboo flute. The founding year was *gui-you*.

In Chuyuan 2, in summer, in the sixth month, there was a famine in the territory of Qi, and people ate each other. In this year, there was an instance of a chicken turning into a rooster and crowing.

In autumn of Yongguang 2, in the eighth month, grass fell from the heavens. It was like umbrella (grass).

In Jianzhao 5, the Emperor went on a tour to Tiger Game Preserve. He had the beasts fight while he looked on. A bear ran out and scaled the railing; it was on the verge of climbing into the hall, and the nobles of the left and right all ran away in fright. Peng Zhaoyi approached and hit the bear, and at this [those of] the left and right returned and killed the bear. The emperor asked, "This shocked people. How did you advance and hit the bear?" Zhaoyi replied, "I had heard that wild beasts only stop when they catch someone. I feared that the bear would make it to You, so I risked my life to hit it." The emperor sighed, "Aah!" and treasured him ever more.

At this time, there were numerous beauties in the palace, beyond number, and the emperor did not have time to see all of them. He had a painter render their likenesses, and looking at those, summoned the attractive ones. So, [the ladies thought,] "Me, too! Me, too!" and had the painter take [gifts] so that he would draw them flatteringly. Wang Zhaojun was a daughter of Wang Qiang of the Land of Qi. At seventeen, she entered palace service. Since she was beautiful to begin with, she did not speak to the painter, and he drew her as ugly. At that time, when the barbarian king sent word that he wanted a princess presented that he might make her his empress, the emperor decided to send Wang Zhaojun, because her portrait was ugly. When he summoned her and saw her, she was beyond compare, the best in the palace. The emperor was shocked and regretted it, but since he had said to the barbarians that he would send Wang Zhaojun, he could not change his proclamation; there was nothing to be done, and so she was dispatched. Wang Zhaojun left the palace in tears, not even meeting the eyes of the onlookers. Afterwards, the painter who had rendered her as ugly was charged with a crime, but to no avail. The barbarians received Wang Zhaojun, seated her on a horse, and departed. Those layered dyed sleeves must surely have been worn out with the sky over her journey her 'friend'! Along the way, she was saddened by the journey, and so to comfort herself, she played the *pipa*. Being in a barbarian citadel, there wasn't anything comparable to the pampering of an "empress." Though she was disconsolate, in due course, she bore two daughters. "Wang Zhaojun" was changed to "Wang Mingjun" from the time of Emperor Wen of the Jin. Since Zhao was Emperor Wen's style name, it was changed out of respect. Generally, in the customs of the Han court, the name of the reigning emperor was thus respected, and so it was altered because of its overlap with Wen's style name.

In the summer of Jingning 1, in the fifth month, the Emperor died. He was forty-three. He had been on the throne for sixteen years.

The fifteenth ruler was called Emperor Xiaocheng. His taboo name was Ao. He was the crown prince of Emperor Yuan. His mother was called Empress Wang. Emperor Xuan dearly loved him and called him Imperial Grandson, and he was always in his presence. When he was three years old, he was made crown prince. He was fond of classical writings and read widely. He was also fond of alcohol and often engaged in amusements. The empress was Beauty Ban. He loved her to excess. When the emperor wanted to ride in the same carriage as she and play around, Beauty took that for unacceptable and refused, saying, "When I see portraits of the noble and wise lords of old, renowned ministers are at their sides. After three generations, could there be a lady [there instead]?," and she flatly refused. Thereafter, when Zhao Feiyan, the Dancing Empress, emerged, [Lady Ban] fell from favor and wrote a verse of lament. "Newly cut white silk of Qi./ Fresh and clean like frost and snow./ Judged meet to make a conjugal fan./ Round, round like the brilliant moon." Calling Lady Ban "Round Snow Fan" must be because of this.

In the summer of Jianshi 1, a *ji-chou* year, in the sixth month, several tens of thousands of blue flies swarmed in Weiyang Palace. The halls were completely filled.

In autumn, in the eighth month, two moons appeared. It was said that this was because the lord was young, and a wife needed to be found for him.

The emperor performed sacrifices at the ancestral temple, and he wanted to take a boat to get there; one Sa (Xue?) Guangde said, "One must go via the bridge. If Your Lordship does not listen, I'll cut off my own head, and besmirch Your Lordship's cart with blood. How could Your Lordship then go to the ancestral temple?" The emperor refused this, and while he stood still, one Zhang Meng said, "I heard this. Your Lordship is laudable, but your minister, too, is

correct. Going by boat is dangerous. Going via the bridge is safe. There is also the saying that the Lord should not board trouble. Listen to what Guangde is saying." Well, then he went by bridge.

The Emperor was fond of kickball. One Liu Xiang observed that "[kick]ball is physically exhausting, and it depletes one's strength—it's pointless," and he changed his ways; creating *danqi* (chess), he presented that. That style truly was the Way of Kickball. Kickball was the long-ago creation of the Yellow Emperor. It is also said that it was invented by military troops in the Warring States [period]. Gaozu's father, Taigong, and Emperor Wu were also fond of it. Since kickball was invented by military troops, all of the warrior houses across the ages have been fond of it. In General Li's *Laws of Attack*, the kickball style is included among the thirty-five pieces, and General Piao Yao and Huo Qi(*sic*)bing, too, made [kick]ball schools and were fond of it. In this Way of Kickball, there was the strange ritual in which teachers bowed to disciples. In most Ways, disciples bowed to teachers, but the Kickball Way was this way. In the Buddhist teachings, there seems to have been a rite in which anointed teachers bowed to disciples.

In the summer of Jianzhi 4, in the fourth month, it snowed. In the ninth month of that same year, to the south of the city of Chang'an, a rat built its nest atop a tree! It was inconceivable.

In Yongshi 1, in the second month, at the place called He'nan, a branch of a chinaberry tree grew in the shape of a human head, with eyes, whiskers—everything. It had neither hair nor ears, and people said that it was a sign that the upper [classes] were withering and the lower growing strong. Also, stars fell like rain.

In Suihe 2, a swallow gave birth to a sparrow, and they flew away together. Also, a horse sprouted horns.

In the third month, the Emperor died at Weiyang palace. He was forty-six years old and had been on the throne for twenty-six years.

In this time, there was a nobleman called Kong Guang. His character was restrained. In banquet speeches at his brothers and their wives', he did not touch on matters of court or district governance. When a certain person asked what sort of trees were in Wen District, Kong Guang did not respond. He changed the subject to something else, and thus was his refusal to let out anything about the affairs of the world. To this day, remaining silent is called "Wen's trees."

The eleventh ruler was called Emperor Xiaoai. His taboo name was Xin. He was the grandson of Emperor Yuan by a different line. He was Prince Gong of Dingtao. His mother was called Imperial Beauty Ding. There was no son of Emperor Cheng, so this emperor was made crown prince. When he was nineteen, he ascended the throne.

At this time, there was a white vapor that appeared in the heavens. It was like a length of cloth, and it was fifteen *zhang* long. It moved to the southwest. Also, at the place called Dingxiang, there was a stallion that gave birth to a charger. That charger had three legs and followed the other horses, grazing. Also, in the place called Yangxiang, a fallen tree put out branches and leaves, taking the shape of a human. Its face was white, and it had hair. Its body was yellow-green, and it was about one *zhang* one *cun* long. Also, in the place called Lingling, a large tree fell over. It was sixteen *zhang* seven *cun* tall. Suddenly, it stood up on its own. A large fish that was over eight *zhang* one *chi* long appeared. Also, the heavens rained blood. This was recorded by flatterers, who said the premature execution of good ministers must have brought it about. Also, at the place called Yuzhang, a boy turned into a girl, became the wife of another, and bore a child. This was said to be a disgraceful disaster.

In the sixth month of Yuanshou 2, the emperor died. He was twenty-five and had been on the throne for six years.

The twelfth ruler was called Emperor Xiaoping. His taboo name was Yan. He was the grandson of Emperor Yuan by a different line and the son of Prince Xiao of Zhongshan. His mother was called Princess Wei. At the age of three [he became a prince, and at the age of nine,] he ascended the throne. The Taihuang Empress was presiding over court. Wang Mang took the [reins of] government. All of the bureaucrats heeded. Wang Mang's virtue was surely comparable to Zhou Gong's, it was felt, and he was dubbed Marklord of Anhan.

At this time, a woman gave birth to a baby boy in Chang'an. It had two heads, and its faces were different and looked at each other. It had four arms and eyes above its butt. It was about two *cun* long.

In Yuanshi 5, in winter, in the twelfth month, Wang Mang presented a *zhen* bird to the Emperor. The Emperor was poisoned and died. He was fourteen and had been on the throne for five years.

From the founding year of Gaozu's reign—an *yi-wei* year—to the fifth year of Yuanshi—an *yi-chou* year—there were eleven emperors in all. If one adds Empress Lü to that, [they covered] two hundred twenty years.

Wang Mang presented a *zhen* bird to Emperor Ping, poisoning him, and established the two-year-old great-great-grandson of Emperor Xuan, making him crown prince and dubbing him Ruzi Ying. Wang Mang managed the government in his stead and was dubbed the "Provisional Emperor." At this time, the governor of the east commandery, Xi Yi, established Liu Xin and made him crown prince, saying that Wang Mang had murdered Emperor Ping and taken over the rank of the Son of Heaven. When he said that now he would carry out the punishment of heaven

and assassinate Wang Mang, Wang Mang stepped down, clutching Ruzi, and prayed that the deities of Heaven and Earth would exact [themselves] upon [Xi Yi]. He dispatched Wang Yi et al and killed Xi Yi. His authority and command of respect grew with each day. Wang Mang then actually assumed the rank of Son of Heaven and dubbed the land [that of] the Xin House, naming the year the founding year of Jianguo. The Imperial Seal was one of the treasures of the emperor. Wang Mang thought that he would take it, and he dispatched one Wang Shun to speak to the empress. This empress was the mother of Emperor Cheng and the paternal aunt of Wang Mang. The empress was furious and scolded Wang Mang, saying, "In your life, you pay no mind to grateful propriety. I am an old lady of the House of Han. Although I don't know night from day, I wail and cry. This brings tears to my eyes." The Emissary, Wang Shun, could not endure for sadness and waited a long time before saying to the empress, "Wang Mang is bound and determined to get his hands on the Imperial Seal. Won't Your Highness hand it over?" This time, the empress grew furious with Wang Mang, and she took out the Imperial Seal and threw it on the ground, saying, "I am old and will soon die. Death to you and all of your brothers." Afterwards, the name "Han" was discarded, and Zilin was made crown prince. Ruzi was named Duke of Ding'an. Descending from the palace, he faced north and referred to himself as "vassal." The bureaucrats who looked on—not a one of them was not sad or hurt. The Duke of Ding'an was established as holding the office of Minster of the Exterior. The guards and emissaries were strict, and the wet-nurse was made emissary, and no tales were told. He controlled everything that was already walled in by the four directions. Wang Mang was the father-in-law of Emperor Chang, and the son of Wang Man. He had a large mouth, and his jaw was short. His eyes were red, and his voice was loud. He was seven *chi* five *cun* tall. He favored thick shoes and tall caps. He had owl-eyes that glowered to the left and right and a tigrine snout. His voice was that of a

wild dog or wolf. After he usurped the throne, he hid behind mica screens, and no one with whom he was not on intimate terms could look upon him.

At this time, in a place called Chiyang County, the form of the pygmies was such that they were over one *chi* tall, but some rode chariots, some walked on foot, and so on, and in all things, they looked like humans.

Also, a comet appeared and was visible for more than twenty days.

In the spring Tianfeng 3, in the second month, there was an earthquake. The bamboo, cypress, and so on withered and snapped. In winter, in the tenth month, the Sparrow Gate sang. It did not stop, day or night. In this year, it was extremely cold, and there were many humans and horses that froze to death.

In the spring of the next year, in the first month, there was a queer marvelous knight. He was one *zhang* tall, and his girth was ten arm spans. He called himself Ju Muba. Since it was impossible for him to go around by horse and chariot, four horses were hitched to a large cart, and he entered the palace. He slept with a drum for a pillow. He used iron chopsticks to eat. Wang Mang found him loathsome and condemned him to decapitation with his corpse to be displayed in the city. In the autumn of the third year of Dihuang, Venus began to descend, and it illuminated the earth like the moon. At this time, Guangwu had already raised an army. Wang Mang was extremely afraid and shook in terror, and he led the ministers to the southern outskirts [of the city], whereupon he sobbed violently. At this time, the army arrived and dug up the tombs of Wang Mang's wife, child, father, and grandfather. They burnt their coffins, coffin casings and the nine temples, and the palace. When Wang Mang saw that the city was filled with flames, he left; when he arrived at the main hall of the palace, the flames still pursued him. The palace attendants' and their wives' cries rose, as they asked, "What should we do?" At this time, Wang

Mang was wearing navy robes and was carrying a dagger. He was not the least bit deceived as to what was going on, and he was disconsolate and hard pressed. At this time, there were more than one thousand officials in pursuit. Then, the army troops forced their way into the palace, loudly shouting, "Where is the traitor Wang Mang?" While they reviled him, a beauty emerged and said that he was at Jiantai. When they heard this, they went after him. The troops that were to come were several hundreds of hundreds. From the top of the tower, arrows were shot down, and from below, too. Wang Mang went to the base of the imperial residence and hid there, but when a native of Shang, Du Wu, grabbed the Minister of Defense and asked his location, and he heard that he was in the imperial residence, beneath the northwest stairs, he went there and cut off [Wang Mang's] head. The soldiers flayed his skin and remonstrated, saying, "He killed thousands of people. What dignity could his Empress daughter still have? We want to see the House of Han again." And so saying, they burnt [the place]. They took Wang Mang's head, and when they reached Wang Xian, they called him Great General of the Han, and all of the troops within the city joined him. Wang Xian took the head to Gengshi. The latter hung the head on a platform in the marketplace. The people threw it down, and some ate his tongue. Wang Mang's usurpation of the throne lasted fifteen years. Of those things recorded in written transmissions from ancient times, there were many instances of rebellious ministers and criminal sons—people lacking the Way—but when one thinks on that disaster and loss, there is nothing as extreme as the case of Wang Mang: so wrote the people of that time. When Wang Mang had met his end, there was a drought and locusts in the sub-celestial realm. And a *jin* of gold could [only] buy a *dou* of millet.

Liu Xuan, style name Shenggong, was the seventh-generation grandson of Emperor Jing. At Wang Mang's end, there was an extreme famine in the South. He went into the fields

and swamps and lived off of the creepers and violets that he gathered. Also, troops were revolting and struggling; Liu Xuan went and followed the Pinglin Army. In the spring of Wang Mang's Dihuang 4, in the second month, the generals conspired to establish Gengshi as the Son of Heaven. They set up a platform in the middle of the Qingshui Desert and when they had the ministers conduct court, Liu Xuan, who was constitutionally weak, was ashamed, and running with sweat; unable to speak, he raised his hand, and then the year was named the founding year of Gengshi.

In the second year, Gengshi was ensconced at Changle Palace, and when he ascended to the front hall, the officials arrayed themselves in order in the courtyard. Gengshi lowered himself in embarrassment, divvied straw mats, and did not face the generals at all. Day and night, he drank wine with his wife. He slept in a stupor and paid the government no heed. As for the allotment of offices and fiefdoms, the native of Shang was employed Head of the Imperial Larder.

In the spring of the third year, in the first month, a person of Pingling established the Ruzi Ying of before as the Son of Heaven. Gengshi dispatched troops and killed him. In summer, in the sixth month, the Red Eyebrows established Liu Penzi as the Son of Heaven. These "Red Eyebrows" refer to when Wang Mang met his end, one Fan Chong raised troops, and those masses clashed with Wang Mang's troops and brought them low, and they all dyed their eyebrows red. Liu Penzi was the grandson of Gaozu, and a descendent of King Zhang of Jin. In autumn, in the ninth month, the Red Eyebrows entered the city, and Gengshi fled alone on horseback. Upon reaching the Changle Palace, they presented the Imperial Seal to Penzi. The Red Eyebrows wanted to set Gengshi in the courtyard and kill him, but one Liu Gongzi felt pity and said it would not be allowed. He became the King of Changsha. Then he was decapitated.

Within the Inner Quarters, there were still palace ladies in the hundreds. After Gengshi was destroyed, they were shut away within the palace, where they stayed alive by digging up reed roots in the courtyard and catching fish in the pond. Liu Penzi took pity on them and had them presented with rice. After they died, it was heard that they all starved to death and did not come out. The Red Eyebrows burned Chang'an, wiping it [away], and since they were tyrannical in the extreme, [people] starved and ate each other. Chang'an got to the point where it became a wasteland, and almost no one came from or went there. The Imperial Tumuli were all dug open; in the end, the very Bo tumulus and Du tumulus were completely [so]. When Penzi became emperor, he dubbed it the founding of Jiancheng. At this time, he was fifteen years old. In Jiancheng 3, he was brought low by Guangwu. Then it was between Guangwu and King Langzhong of Zhao. Afterwards, he fell ill and went blind. Wang Mang occupied the throne for eighteen years, and Liu Xuan for one: all together the throne was stolen for a period of nineteen years.

The Mirror of China: Part V

From Guangwu of the Later Han through the Emperor Xian

The next kingdom was called the Later Han. The first Emperor was called Guangwu. He was Gaozu's great-great-great-great-great-great-great-great-great- grandson. His taboo name was Xiu. His style name was Wenshu. The royal physique was seven *shi* three *cun*. He had beautiful whiskers and eyebrows, and he had a large mouth and a high-bridged nose; and there was a "sun horn" protrusion on his forehead. When he was born, a red light was visible at the residence. In this year, one stalk of Auspicious Rice had nine ears on it. For this reason, his name was Xiu [flourishing]. The man of Wan, Li Tong, and the like, used oracular writings and told Guangwu that the Liu clan would rise again, and that the Li clan would have to assist. Together, they settled upon a scheme and raised an army, and when they rose up in Wan, he was twenty-eight years old. At the beginning, he rode an ox, but when he killed the corporal of Xinye, he mounted the latter's horse.

In the second month of Gengshi 1, Liu Shenggong became crown prince, and Guangwu was made to serve as Taichang Vice-General. Wang Mang appointed his intimates Wang Xun and Wang Yi et al, as generals, with troops in the ten millions and 42,000,000 armored soldiers, and he had them go to Yingchuan. When they got there, there was the giant Ju Wuba. He was one *zhang* tall, and ten armspans around; called Hillock Corporal, he had numerous fierce beasts—tigers, panthers, rhinos, elephants and the like—aid his martial forces. In the rules of warfare, this was unprecedented throughout history. At this time, there were only about eight or nine thousand people in the city. Guangwu left the city and gathered troops. Wang Mang's army reached the base of the city walls, and their superior forces numbered about one million. They encircled the city tens upon tens of rows deep, and they glowered angrily at it.

Flags covered the fields, and clouds of dust filled the air to the heavens. The sound of war drums could be heard over hundreds of leagues. Great bows were released pell-mell, and arrows fell like rain. Within the city, they relied on wells to draw water. At this time, there was a meteor shower at night, and they fell into the encampment, and during the day, there were clouds and fog, like a landslide. The servicemen and knights were all flattened. In the sixth month, Guangwu personally led more than a thousand front-riders to advance. A large army, he led the troops over about four or five leagues. As for Xun, he deployed several thousand troops and fought with Guangwu. The number of heads Guangwu had cut off [were equal to] ten grades, and he received one noble rank for each head cut off. For this reason, decapitation is called "Ten Grades." The generals rejoiced and said, "Upon seeing a minor enemy, General Liu is unskillful, but now, upon seeing a major enemy, he is brave. How strange!" Guangwu advanced again. He pursued the troops of Xun and Yi. Again, thousands of titles were granted for decapitation, and the generals attained a decisive victory. Their aspirations flourished ever more, and there was not one who did not want to get from one to one hundred. Guangwu had prepared three thousand people for their deaths. He entered via the headwaters at the west of the city and then killed Wang Xun. Within the city, the thundering of the drums shook heaven and earth. Those who ran climbed over one another and ran for over a hundred leagues. At this time, there was a great [clap of] thunder, the wind blew, and rains gushed down in torrents. Therefore, the rivers and waters overflowed; and while the troops fought on, those that drowned numbered in the ten thousands. When the waters had ceased flowing, Wang Yi, Yan You et al, made a light cavalry and rode over the dead bodies, fording the river and fleeing. The chariots and armor of those troops—the rare treasures that were got were beyond count. Guangwu was made "Strong-Crushing Great General" and enfeoffed as Marklord of Wuxin. At this time, an elderly

official also shed tears and said, “I had not reckoned with it—that today, I would again see the dignity of Han rule.” From this time on, office-holders all gave their hearts [in loyalty]. Around this time, one person called the hegemon king of Zhao, Zi Lin, dissimulated, claiming that the diviner Wang Lang was the son of Emperor Cheng, and he made him Son of Heaven; he established his capital in Handan. Guangwu rode his chariot southwards, but did not enter the walled city. Officials and adherents had grown impoverished. He was on the move day and night; neither frost nor snow settled [on them]. At this time, the heavens were extremely cold, and everyone’s faces suffered chilblains. Driving south, he reached a place called the Hutuo River. With ice floes in the river and no boat, they thought it would be impossible to cross. The officials and adherents were greatly downcast. Guangwu summoned one Wang Ba, and when the latter presented himself, Wang Ba prevaricated and said, “It’s frozen solid, and we should be able to cross.” Therefore they advanced, and when they reached the river, the ice had frozen solid, and [Guangwu] crossed. When several cavalry had not yet finished crossing, the ice broke apart. Guangwu addressed Wang Ba, “My masses are unable to cross, and it is you who has caused this.” Wang Ba expressed his deep apologies.

In the summer of Jianwu 1—an *yi-you* year—in the sixth month, at the Pavilion of a Thousand Autumns, he ascended the Imperial throne. This year was *yi-you* and corresponded to the fifty-fourth year of Japan’s Emperor Sui’nin. In the ninth month, he made a proclamation that said, “Gengshi was beaten and fled; casting aside his city, he ran away. His wife and son are naked and wander the roads and byways, useless. I am greatly saddened. I enfeoff Gengshi as the King of Huaiyang. If there is any official who injures or maims [them], would it not be akin to *lèse majesté*?”

In the third year—a *bing-wu* [year]—the Lord of the Red Eyebrows had his hands tied (behind his back) and presented Emperor Gao's Imperial Seal. This seal was called the Seal for Transmitting the Kingdom. It was also called the Imperial Six-Seal. The first Qin emperor, after stabilizing the sub-celestial realm, took a gem from Mt. Lantian and had it cut. Minister Li Si wrote its documentation and said, "The Mandate is received from Heaven, it is namely eternal and brilliant." This seal, it is jade wyvern and tiger thread. When Gaozu arrived at Bashang, the Qin Prince Ying presented it. When Wang Mang snatched the throne, the empress dared to not hand it over. Nevertheless, he tried to force her to, and when she threw it on the ground, one of the horns of the jade wyvern atop the seal broke off. When Wang Mang was destroyed, Gengshi received it. When Gengshi was destroyed, it went to the Red Eyebrows. And when Penzi was completely broken, it was presented to Guangwu.

In the summer of the fifth year, in the fifth month, a white glow appeared and traversed the heavens. In the tenth month, [sacrifices to] Confucius were offered and there was an Imperial Progress to the Academy. Things were presented to the doctors.

In the sixth year, there were disasters: flooding, locusts, and snakes. The [cost] of grain soared, and the people were all suffering and deprived. Because of such things, the various officials presented sealed documents. There was no instance of holding things back. They were called "sealed documents," because they contained the lord's transgressions or things that he ought to do, and they were sealed and put in pouches for presentation. As for the way of the pouches and so on, there are few in the world today who know how they were.

In the autumn of the sixteenth year, in the ninth month, more than ten district governors, including Yi Zhangji of He'nan, inaccurately assessed their fields, and they were sent to prison, where they died. Fields were supposed to be things that were the signs of particularly

upright people. Around the ninth month, hordes of robbers were traversing the districts and fiefs. In the tenth month, the robbers were apprehended, and since things had quieted down, the commoner households did not lock their doors.

In the thirty-first year, it rained grain at a place called Chenliu. In shape, they were like rice grains.

In Zhongyuan 1, a sweet spring boiled up in the capital. Those who drank it had their illnesses dispelled. But it was not effective for squints or cripples.

In the spring of the second year, in the first month, an emissary arrived from the Land of Wonu. This Land of Wonu must have been Japan. This year must have corresponded to the eighty-sixth year of the Japanese Emperor Sui'nin. In the second month, in the front hall of the emperor's Southern Palace, the emperor died. He was sixty-three years old and had been on the throne for thirty-three years.

His edict for posterity was that things were to be like Xiaowen's system. The ultimate signs of this emperor's sagely virtue were seen as alike with Gaozu's, and he had perfected the Imperial Way. At the beginning of Jianwu, the sub-celestial realm was in revolt; with the first establishment of the ministers, the rules of human relations were truly originated. In the "Rhapsody on the Eastern Capital" in the *Selections of Refined Literature*, there is also [such] encomium. He pursued the companions of the twenty-eight generals and put down rebellion, calming the world. Those twenty-eight generals corresponded to the twenty-eight houses in the Heavens. As for the Imperial Body, it was clad in a coarse silk robe; he listened not to the music of Zheng and Wei; he touched not precious pearls and jade; and he loved not the palace harem. In rewarding his ministers, he was impartial. Always, he had the nobles and generals have compassion for the people. There was only governance [for him]. Also he was overly fond of

studying the Confucian classics. When he ascended the throne, before descending from the chariot, first he venerated the scholars. The emperor had a friend with whom he used to play and study. He was called Yan Guang. After ascending the throne, he did not forget the past, and they would lie down together and when [the emperor] talked about things, Yan Guang would lay his leg over the emperor's belly. After the night had grown light, a Grand Scribe reported, "A 'visiting star' has invaded the Imperial Seat." At this, the emperor laughed and said, "That is because I was sleeping with my old friend Yan Ziling."

The second ruler was called Emperor Xianzong Xiaoming. His taboo name was Zhuang. He was the fourth son of Guangwu. His mother was called Empress Yin. He was born, and his face was rosy indeed. At the age of ten, he was familiar with [the content of] the *Chun-qiu*. In Jianwu 19, he became Crown Prince. He took Professor Huan Rong as his instructor, and he was extremely respectful. At the age of thirty-four, he ascended the throne and treasured still more Attendant Reader Huan Rong. He had two children salute the *Lang*. When Rong was over eighty, because of his age, he had ever more commendations bestowed upon him. When the emperor went to his house, Rong faced east, and was bestowed with an armrest and a walking stick. From Princes of the Blood on down to the ministers and nobles, there were several hundreds of people, and they all were called his disciples. The Son of Heaven himself took on tasks and proclaimed that the Grand Tutor would be here. He sent attendants of high office to [the tutor's] house in the utmost of courteous rites. In this way, he enfeoffed him as Marklord of Guannei. The district that he lived off of consisted of fifty households. When he fell ill, the emperor sent an emissary to inquire after him. The Official Physician was constantly on the road, so the emperor himself went to his house and asked about his condition. He brought his own sutras, stroked Rong, and shed tears. He bestowed all kinds of things on him. His sons and

grandsons were hereditary tutors to the emperor across generations, and all of them reached ministerial rank.

In Yongping 2, overlooking the Imperial Instruction Area, the Great Archery Rite was carried out. It is written in the "Rhapsody on the Eastern Capital": "A brilliant spring day/ at the Imperial Instruction Area, we shoot together./ Set up together, preparations have been made in the grand courtyard./ Arm guards are already ordered/ and carved bows—these are stretched taut."

The seventh year was *geng-shen*. The Emperor dreamt that a golden person, six *zhang* in height, with the sun around his neck and who flew in the heavens, arrived. With brilliant radiance and shining sparkle, he illuminated the palace courtyard. When He summoned the ministers to court and asked them about his dream, one well-versed Zhuan Yi came forward and said, "I hear that there is a god in the west called the Buddha. What Your Majesty dreamt about must surely be he." The Emperor thought that it was so and felt it was a wondrous auspicious portent. He sent fourteen people, including the Middle Captain Cai Zi of Yulin, Professor Zou Jing, and the Disciple Wang Zun, to India. In the Land of the Yuezhi [tribe], they encountered She Moteng and copied forty-two Buddhist sutras. They got icons, loaded them onto a white horse, and returned home. They erected a temple complex in Luoyang and established it, calling it White Horse Temple. The origins of the transmission of Buddhist law to Cīnasthāna were in the fifty-third year of King Mu of Zhou. This was a *ren-shen* year, after Buddhism had entered its decline. By the time of Yongping 7, 1,016 years must have passed.

In the first month of the eleventh year, gold appeared in Lake Chao. The Governor of Lujiang presented it.

On the first day of the first month of the fourteenth year, the Daoist masters of the Five Mountains sent a memorial [in response] to the Son of Heaven's request that they cast aside their personal methods and seek the teachings of far-off barbarians [Buddhism]. They said, "In the Five Crags and Eighteen Mountains, the Disciples Gazing on the Vastness and Three Grottos are all faithful, and in response to this becoming a capital crime, submit a petition saying, 'It sounds to us like Your Highness is throwing away the trunk to seek the branch tips. Seeking the teachings of the Western Regions, lands with the accounts of barbarian deities—lands that do not engage with us Xia [people]. We wish, Your Highness, that you would retract this idle nonsense.'" On the fifteenth of this month, since there was to be a gathering at the White Horse Temple, an Imperial Proclamation was issued. The Daoists made three platforms, and in each platform, made twelve openings. The emperor proceeded there and went to the south side of the temple. Buddhist relics, sutras, and images were placed to the west of the road, and on the fifteenth day the preparations were finished. The Daoists took brushwood reeds and blended them with sandalwood and aloeswood; lighting these as torches, they addressed the Great Unity Grand Origins God on High, Numerous Immortals, and Hundred Souls: "Now, Barbarian Deities are throwing the land into chaos, and the Leader of Men believes in heresy. We must get a sign from this fire." And so saying, they set a bonfire and put the scriptures into it. The Daoist scriptures were drawn to the flame and burnt to ashes. The Daoists blanched, and some cried, others died. The Buddhist relics glowed and were radiant and spun in the air, like a canopy, shining brighter than the sun. Dharma Teacher Mo Teng jumped and flew aloft. At this time, rare and precious blossoms fell from the Heavens, and divine music stirred the people's emotions. The masses were delighted, and sighed in bliss that there had never been anything like this. [Zhu] Falan preached and spoke in Sanskrit, praising the Buddha's achievements and virtue. At this

time, the governing Marklord of Yangcheng, Liu Jun, various officials, and commoners in total of over 1,000 became monks. Also, the Daoists of the Four Crags and Mountains—six hundred twenty of them became monks. Lady Yin, Wang Jiefu, and assorted palace ladies, wives—two hundred thirty of them became nuns. Every day, they made offerings and engaged in various practices.

In the seventeenth year, there were frequent sweet dews. In the fifth month, *wu-zi*, the nobles and bureaucrats, missing the Imperial might's inapproachability, valued [this as an] auspicious omen and held a banquet in the Chao Hall; they raised their cups to toast his longevity.

In the eighth month of the eighteenth year, the emperor died. He was forty-eight and had been on the throne for eighteen years. This emperor did not contravene the system of Emperor Jianwu. When he governed, the waves of the four seas were quiet, and the myriad folk were happy. There was a single family in the Rear Quarters, and there was no allocation of fiefdoms to the marklords. When his elder sister said that the son of one Princess Guantao should be made *lang* and bestowed him with 10,000,000 coins, he did not allow him to become a *lang*. This post corresponded to a top-level lodging and control over 100 leagues. When it did not go to this person, this was a disaster for her, and she begrudged him this. Such rarity—only by implementing good governance could Jianwu have been deemed the age of eternally peaceful government and regarded as extraordinary even into later ages. In the age of Guangwu, the twenty-eight generals, for instance, were drawn in frightful human forms at the Platform of Souls in the Southern Palace always to be looked upon. Also as for robes, laundered robes were used, and even in the presentation of food, rare ornaments were not used.

The third ruler was called Emperor Su Zongxiao. His taboo name was Da, and he was the fifth son of Emperor Xianzong. His mother was called Lady Jia. In Yongping 3, he was established as crown prince. He was fond of Ruist arts, which Xianzong praised. When he was nineteen, he ascended the throne. In Jianchu 3, a lady of the Dou clan was established as empress. At this time, *wuyi*, one military officer, Geng Gong, was dispatched to call the Xiongnu to account. At the city of Jinpu, Geng Gong ascended the city wall, and in the course of the battle, added poison to the tips of arrows, and when he fired them, he said, "The Han arrows are gods. If they hit, the wound will surely be extraordinary." When he shot, and those who had been hit by the arrows looked at their lesions, they oozed without end. Also, there was suddenly a great deal of wind and rain, and there were many who died. The Xiongnu were shaken and in awe, and they said, "The Han troops are gods. We should truly be afraid." And they dissolved and took off. Around this time, the Xiongnu again came to harass them. Next to a fortress city called Shule, there was the Jian River. The flow of the river was stopped, and a well was dug within the city. It was approximately fifteen *zhang* deep, but no water came out. The officers, languishing for water, filtered the liquid in horse shit and drank it. Geng Gong looked up to Heaven and sighed, saying, "Long ago, General Ershi unsheathed the dagger he was wearing and stuck the mountain. And when he did this, a spring gushed out. Now, the Han virtue is divine. Should they be impoverished?" And so saying, he took off his robes, and faced the well and twice made two gestures of obeisance. He courteously prayed on behalf of the officers. A brief spell elapsed, and then water gushed forth. Everyone yelled, "Vivat!" They thought that being able to open a water [source] and bend the water to one's will was akin to being a divinity. And though he led them off, in the time that reinforcement troops had not yet arrived, the Xiongnu still pressed in on Geng Gong. At this time, Gong's food was exhausted, and his straits were too dire. He boiled his

armor and bow and ate their sinews. The knights teetered between life and death, and though their loyalty did not waiver, many died, and there were only several tens of men left. At this time, the emperor dispatched a great number of troops. Two thousand men were seen off, and they joined Geng Gong and returned back with him. Commendations were made, and he was made Head of the Mounted Palace Patrol. This once-in-a-lifetime sage who evaded 10,000 deaths—that was the result of Geng Gong's courage.

In the winter of Zhanghe 1, in the tenth month, a lion from the Land of Shi was presented.

In the spring of the second year, in the first month, in the Front Hall of the Imperial Palace, the emperor died.

The fourth ruler was called Emperor Xiaohe. His taboo name was Zhao. He was the fourth son of Su Zong. His mother was known as Noblewoman Liang. Empress Dou envied her. She was slandered and could not bear the [resultant] anxiety. When she died, Empress Dou adopted him and made him a prince. When he was ten, he ascended the throne. The empress held him close and oversaw court, administering the government. In the first month of Yongping 3, the emperor came of age with the ceremonial donning of robes.

In the seventh month of the sixth year, there was a great drought in the capital. The emperor made an Imperial Progress to Luoyang, and taking the prisoners to be an omen, he pardoned them; before he had even returned to the palace, rain fell.

In the Imperial edict of the second month of the sixteenth year, it said that excessive rains had resulted in severe damage to crops. Therefore the sale of alcohol was to be banned. The first casualty of the society of this time was alcohol.

In the winter of Yuanxing 1, in the second month, the emperor died. He was twenty-seven years old and had been on the throne for seven years.

The fifth ruler was called Emperor Xiaoshang. His taboo name was Long. He was the youngest son of Emperor He. He was born, and at approximately a bit over one hundred days, he ascended the throne. Empress Deng oversaw court. In the next year, in the eighth month of Yanping 1, he died.

The sixth ruler was called Emperor Gongzong Xiao'an. His taboo name was You. He was the grandson of Su Zong and the son of King Qing of Qinghe. His mother was called Princess Zuo. After he was born, there was often a divine light that illuminated the Imperial Residence. Also, there was an instance of a red snake encoiling [his pillow]. At the age of ten, he studied historical writings, and at thirteen, he ascended the throne. When Emperor Shang died, since his elder brother must have just ascended to the rank of Prince of Pingyuan, on the pretext of a long-standing illness, this lord succeeded to the throne. Taigong still oversaw the court.

In the summer of Yongchu 2, in the fourth month, there was a fire in the walled city of Hanyang, and those that were burned to death numbered 3,570. It was a lamentable matter.

In the spring of the third year, in the second month, in the capital and the provinces, there was a famine, and people ate each other. In the fourth month, since the land's revenue was insufficient, officials were dispatched to get money and grain. The domain marklords lied and became imperial bodyguards, members of the imperial guard, grandees, etc. The sale of offices began at this time.

In Yanguang 4, in the third month, when the emperor was out on a journey, he died in the Imperial Palanquin. He was thirty-two years of age, and he had been on the throne for nineteen years. Since he was on a trip, it was kept quiet, and no one knew about it. After he

returned to the palace, this news got out. The empress's elder brother conspired with one General of the Cavalry and resolved to establish the emperor's grandson—the elder son of Prince Hui of Jibei—as Markord of Beixiang, and they helped him to the throne. In the twelfth month of that year, he died.

The seventh lord was called Emperor Xiaoshun. His taboo name was Bao. He was the son of Emperor An. His mother was called Ms. Li. She suffered at the hands of Empress Yan. In Yongning 1, he became crown prince. As for Emperor An's wet-nurse, one Wang Sheng and one Jiang Jing together slandered her, and she was killed. The crown prince bemoaned this. Wang Sheng et al, fearing that there might be a disaster of some sort afterwards, caused the crown prince to fall into wickedness. [The crown prince] became Prince of Jiyin. The death of the Marklord of Beixiang was concealed, and he was not mourned. General Yanxian and Middle Constant Attendant Liu An closed the palace gates, assembled troops, and resolutely protected [the palace]. That night, Middle Officer Sun Cheng and nineteen people cut down Liu An, and the emperor ascended the throne. When Yan Xian and his brothers heard that the emperor had ascended the throne, they led troops to the Northern Palace. They clashed with Collator of Documents Guo Zhen and smote him. Then they entered the office and stole the Imperial Seal, presenting it to the emperor.

In Yongjian 4, there were disasters and anomalies within the realm, and the Son of Heaven administered the government. He reduced the Imperial Rations and did not accept exotica.

In the winter of Yangxi 1, in the eleventh month, at a place called Wangdu, there was a wolf that killed ninety-one boys and girls.

Starting from Yonghe 2 and continuing till [Yonghe] 5, there were frequent earthquakes in the capital. In the bronze-reinforced fortress of Longxi, too, there was a quake, and the earth was rent, and there were fatal landslides in the mountains.

In Jiankang 1, the emperor died. He was thirty and had been on the throne for nineteen years.

The eighth ruler was called Emperor Xiaochong. His taboo name was Bing. He was the son of Emperor Shun. His mother was called Noblewoman Yu.

In Jiankang 1, he became crown prince, and in the eighth month, ascended the throne. He was two years old. The empress oversaw court and ran the government.

The next year, in Yongxi 1, at the age of three, the emperor died.

The ninth ruler was called Emperor Xiaozhi. His taboo name was Zuan. He was the great-great-grandson of Su Zong. Emperor Chong died, and the empress and Liang Ji ensconced themselves in the palace and settled things; they welcomed the [new] emperor and had him ascend the throne. He was eight years old.

In Honchu 1, in the intercalary sixth month, Great General Liang Ji secretly gave *zhen* to the Emperor and brought about his death. He had been on the throne for one year.

The tenth ruler was called Emperor Xiaohuan. His taboo name was Zhong (Zhi?). He was the great-grandson of Su Zong. When Emperor Zhi died, the empress conspired with her elder brother, Great General Liang Ji, and settled things within the palace. They received the [new] emperor in the South Palace, and he ascended the throne. He was fifteen years old. The empress oversaw the court.

In Jianhe 1, starting from the third month, there were frequent earthquakes in the capital and the provinces. There were landslides and floods, droughts and locusts. The Yellow

and Luo Rivers overflowed, and there were many people who were washed away and drowned. There were fires in the tumuli parks, the palaces, and palace pavilions. Those who burned to death were beyond number.

In Yanji 2, in the seventh month, after Empress Liang died, Liang Ji's treason came to light, and when asked for his seal of office, he killed himself, and all of his close conspirators submitted to execution.

In the fourth year, there were various matters such as the selling of the offices of Domain Marklord, Imperial Bodyguard, and so on.

In Yonghu 1, in the twelfth month, the emperor died. He was thirty-six. He had been on the throne for twenty-one years.

The eleventh leader was called Emperor Xiaoling. His taboo name was Hong. He was the great-great-grandson of Emperor Su Zi (Zong?). When Emperor Huan died, since he had no royal heir, Empress Dou conspired with her father, Mr. Dou, and they received the [new] emperor, and he ascended the throne. He was twelve years old.

In the spring of Jianning 3, in the first month, in He'nei, there was a woman who ate her husband. In He'nan, there was a man who ate his wife.

In spring of the fourth year, in the fifth month, the emperor came of age in the formal donning of robes rite.

In the fifth year, in the tenth month, the "Chinese scholar tree" behind the palace spontaneously uprooted itself and stood upside down.

In Yuanhe 1, there were numerous sales of office. For a Duchy, it was 10,000,000. For ministerial rank, it was 5,000,000.

In the fourth year, the emperor set up a market in the rear quarters and had the "chosen women" [in his service] engage in commerce; because of this, there was no respite to thieving and quarreling. The emperor made them don the robes of merchants and pressed sake on them and made merry. Also, he raced four rabbit-eared ponies, pulling along a dog; repeatedly, he made them run around the capital.

In Zhongping 1, one Zhang Jiao called himself the Yellow Emperor and followed by 360,000 yellow turbaned people, there was treasonous rebellion. Huangfu Song destroyed them. In the sixth month of this year, a girl in Luoyang gave birth to a two-headed child. In the next year, again, there was someone who bore a two-headed four-armed child. Also, a horse gave birth to a human. And in the palace courtyard, a blue-green glow appeared. At this time, these sorts of disasters were beyond measure.

The remnants of the Yellow Turbans and the like also sprung up in a place called Whitecap Valley, in Xihe. Threatening people from land to land and stealing. They were known as the Whitecap Traitors. There were about ten-plus people, but Dong Zhuo dispatched Middle Captain Niu Fu, who destroyed them. Calling thieves "Whitecaps" originated from this.

In Zhongping 6, the emperor died. He was thirty-four years old. He had been on the throne for twenty-two years.

Imperial Prince Bian ascended the throne. He was seventeen. The empress oversaw court. The reign period was changed to Guangxi. The matters of Yuan Wei, He Jin, and the Collator of Documents were recorded, and the government was taken. In the eighth month, Constant Attendants Zhang Rang, Jia Gui, He Jin, and Yuan Wei were killed, and the East and West Imperial Residences were burnt, and the officials were blamed. Rang, Gui, etc. threatened this young emperor and his younger brother, the prince of Chenliu. They left the palace and ran

away to a place called Shaoping Harbor. Collator of Documents Lu Zhi pursued them and cut down numerous people. The remainder of them made it to He'nan and died there. As the night deepened, the emperor and the prince of Chenliu made their way through the dark by firefly light. They continued on for numerous leagues. Grasping that there was a "dew" cart at a commoner household, they climbed aboard and returned to the palace. A "dew cart" is an uncovered cart in which one piles things.

In Guangxi 1, it was changed to Zhaoning. Dong Zhuo himself became one of the Six Ministers, and when the various officials grandly gathered, Dong Zhuo nodded his head and said, "The emperor is benighted and weak, and he should not rule the sub-celestial realm. Via the ancient exempla of Yi Yin and Huo Guang, what if we were to establish the prince of Chenliu? How would that be?" The nobles on down did not respond. Collator of Documents Lu Zhi alone replied, saying, "Tai Jia [Emperor Taizong of the Shang] was not brilliant. And Chang Yi's crimes were more than a thousand, so that his establishment grew rotten. This emperor is rich in springs and autumns, and there is no instance of him having lost his virtue." Dong Zhuo was greatly angered, and on the following day, he deposed the young Emperor, making him Prince of Hongnong, and then he established the prince of Chenliu. The prince of Hongnong was on the throne for approximately one hundred seventy days. Dong Zhuo then gave him *zhen* poison.

The twelfth ruler was called Emperor Xiaoxian. His taboo name was Xie. He was the middle son of Emperor Ling. His mother was called Wang Meiren. She suffered at the hands of Empress He. At the age of nine, he ascended the throne. Dong Zhuo killed the empress of the He clan and himself assumed the position of Lieutenant; then, also he became Senior Captain.

In Chuping 1, in the second month, the capital was moved to Chang'an. At that time, a white glow pierced the sun. In the third month, the emperor entered Chang'an, and when he

made an Imperial Progress to Weiyang Palace, Dong Zhuo burnt each and every palace and temple at Luoyang, and even individual's homes right off [the map].

In the third year, Dong Zhuo was executed and his father's, mother's, and wife's families annihilated.

In Xingping 1, the emperor did like unto plowing the fields [for the ancestral rites] himself. For grains, one *dou* was worth 500,000 coins, and beans and wheat were at one *dou* for 200,000. People ate each other, and bleached skeletons piled up. The emperor brought the rice and beans from the Great Granary and made congee that the starving people might endure.

In Jian'an 1, the palace and Imperial Residence burnt completely down, and there was nowhere for palace denizens to be, so [they] underwent the thorns of hardship and gathered at the crannies in walls. Land upon land sent out their strong troops, but since nothing was yielded, the groups of officials starved in deprivation. From the Apprentice Collator of Documents on down, they went out themselves and took up plows. Some starved to death, and others were killed by soldiers. At this time, Cao Cao of his own accord became Minister of Public Works, and all of the officials heeded him of their own accord.

In the eighteenth year, Cao Cao established himself and became Duke of Wei. In the twenty-first year, Cao Cao named himself King of Wei. In the twenty-fifth year, Cao Cao died, and his son Cao Pi ascended the [throne]. In the third month, the reign period was changed to Yankang. In the tenth month, the emperor yielded his rank to the King of Wei and did not call himself the Son of Heaven but rather became Duke of Shanyang. The next year, Liu Bei named himself Emperor in Shu, and Sun Quan also named himself King of Wu. The sub-celestial realm was divided in three, standing up just like a tripod!

In the second year of the Wei Qinglong [period], the duke of Shangyang died. It had been fourteen years since he had abdicated. His age was fifty-four. His posthumous name was Emperor Xiaoxian. From Guangwu to Emperor Xian, it was twelve years. All together there were one hundred ninety-seven years.

The Mirror of China: Part VI

From the Wei, Shu, and Wu through the Emperor Gong of the Jin Remainder

Following the Later Han, there were what are called the Wei, Shu, and Wu—Three Kingdoms that coexisted. Wei was the legitimate [kingdom]. It was of earth virtue. He was the descendent of the Han Prime Minister Cao San.

Emperor Wen of Wei's taboo name was Pi. His style name was [Zi]huan. He was the crown prince of the founder, Cao Cao. When he was born, there was an omen of blue-green clouds: they were like a chariot canopy and were visible above him—it was said to be an outstanding auspicious portent. When he was eight, he had an affinity for writing and was possessed of an outstanding talent; he understood matters both ancient and contemporary, [practiced] mounted archery, and was fond of the two-handed sword.

In the winter of Yanjian 1, in the tenth month, he received the Han robe and ascended the throne. The reign period name was changed to Huangchu. This year was a *geng-zi* year, and it corresponded to the twentieth year of Japan's Empress Jingū.

> The Shu leader had the surname Liu and taboo name Bei. His style name was Xuande. He was the son of the Han Emperor Jing and a descendant of Prince Sheng of Zhongshan. When he was young, he was an only child, and together with his mother, he sold shoes and straw mats for their livelihood. A single mulberry tree grew over the southeast corner of the rough-woven fence at their lodging. It was over five *zhang* [tall] and shaped like a carriage canopy. Passers-by thought this tree was strange and said that it had to be a portent of the emergence of a noble. The first lord was seven *chi* five *cun* tall. His dangling arms reached past his knees, and he could see his own ears. He was taciturn and did not reveal his pleasure or anger in his countenance. In the

summer of Zhangwu 1, in the fourth month, at Chengdu, he ascended the throne as emperor and made Zhuge Liang Prime Minister. Zhuge Liang was eight *chi* tall. [People] compared him to Guan Zhong of old called Zhuge Kongming "Sleeping Dragon." At the place called Qinyang, there were waters to the front and mountains to the rear, and white stones were stacked to form an octagon. Being the first leader of Shu was due largely to the power of Ge Liang. The first leader said that having Kongming was like a fish having water! The origins of the saying a "fish-and-water" vow were surely these.

Sun Quan of Wu—his taboo name was Quan, and his style name was Zhongmou. He was a descendent of Sun Wu. He had a square jaw and a large mouth, and his eyes glittered with spirit.

In Wei's Huangchu 2, in the eighth month, he was enfeoffed as the King of Wu. In the summer of Huangchu 4, in the sixth month, a great rain fell, and many were washed away to their deaths.

In the summer of Shu's Zhangwu 3, in the fourth month, the first ruler passed away at Yong'an Palace. He was sixty-three and had been on the throne for three years. Posthumously, he was called Emperor Zhaolie. His son received the sovereign rights of the emperor and was called Houzhu. When the first leader's illness appeared to be worsening, he summoned Zhuge Liang and set down [for him] the matters of succession. Ge Liang shed tears, and said that as his right-hand man he would do everything in his power. The first leader the then commissioned Houzhu saying, "You handle the matter of Prime Minister; in naming the Prime Minister, you

must do exactly as your father." Ge Liang was enfeoffed as Marklord of Wu[xiang]. In matters of government, large and small, Ge Liang indeed was made to decide.

In the summer of Huangchu 7, in the fifth month, the emperor died in Jade Hall. He was forty-six years old and had been on the throne for seven years.

This emperor was fond of literary compositions and kept many reams of poetry. Among them, there is a verse: "Autumn winds make the *se* plangent, and the breeze from the heavens cools./ The grasses and trees shake and shed [leaves], as dew turns to frost." To this day, it said to be gentle and graceful.

Emperor Ming's taboo name was Rui, and his style name was Zhongyuan. He was the crown prince of Emperor Wen. His appearance at birth was atypical, and his hair reached to the ground. He had a slight stutter, and was few of words. His mother was called Ms. Zhen and was killed by Emperor Wen.

He attended Emperor Wen, and when he went out hunting, a doe with her fawn in tow emerged. Emperor Wen shot and killed her. Then he told this lord, "Shoot the fawn." At this, he replied, "Your Highness has killed the doe. What good would it do for me to kill the fawn?" and he cried. Emperor Wen was deeply ashamed, and it was thought strange.

He ascended the throne after Emperor Wen. This emperor had had nothing to do with court and vassals from the time he had occupied the palace of the crown prince. He did not ask about matters of government. He only secretly yearned for books. Even after he had ascended the throne, Liu Ye alone from among his attendants responded to summons. When he appeared before the emperor and was asked "What about the ministers?" he replied, "Be like the Qin Emperor or Emperor Wu of the Han." At this, the reign period was changed to Taihe.

In Taihe 3, the concept of "Airing Accusations" was established, and as for the judgments on the various accusations, the emperor oft proclaimed, "The jails are [markers] of the nature and lot of the sub-celestial realm indeed." He requested the major accusations and listened in detail and then decided them.

For Liu Shan of Shu, this was in Jian[xing] 7.

For Sun Quan of Wu, this was Huanglong 1. In this year, he made sacrifices in the southern suburbs and assumed the rank of Emperor. He changed [the reign period] to Huanglong.

In the autumn of Taihe 6, in the ninth month, the Jingfu [Cheng]guang Hall was erected. Prince Si of Chen, [Cao] Zhi, died. He was one who wrote heptasyllabic verse.

In Qinglong 3, in the third month, Luoyang Palace was erected on a grand scale, and the Zhaoyang Hall of State was built; while the Zhang the observatory was being built, the commoners had crop failure.

In the summer of Qinglong 4, in the fourth month, Chongwen Hall was erected, and the professional literati were summoned. Also, Lingyun Platform was erected. One capable calligrapher—Wei Zhongjiang—was made to write the cartouche. This platform was elevated. It was thirteen *zhang* nine *chi* seven *cun* five *fen*. Some said that it was twenty-five *zhang*. It swayed in the wind and shook, and as a result, Wei Zhongjiang was out of his mind [with fright], and his hair turned white in the blink of an eye. Also he admonished his son and grandson, saying, "You mustn't be fond of calligraphy."

Sun Quan of Wu—this year was Jiahe 5—saw a comet in the east.

In Jingchu 1, an earthen mound was built in Fanglin Park. The nobles and officials each shouldered earth and planted bamboo and auspicious grasses on top of it. Many assorted wild beasts from the mountains were released within [the park].

In the autumn of the second year, in the eighth month, a comet was sighted.

In the spring of the third year, in the first month, there was a grave illness, and an officer (*sic*) led Prince Xuan to the place to where [the emperor] was reposing; taking Prince Xuan's hand, [he said], "I leave subsequent matters up to you. Together with [Lord] Cao Shuang, assist my young son! Looking at you, I find no cause for resentment." He died in Jiafu Hall. He was thirty-six years old and had been on the throne for thirteen years.

For Liu Shan of Shu, this was the year Yanxi 2.

For Sun Quan of Wu, this was the year Chiniao 2.

The Prince of Qi had a taboo name of Fang and a style name of Lanqing. He was not an actual son of Emperor Ming, who adopted this king. The identity of his mother was kept secret, and no one knew who she was. After he ascended the throne, the Great General Cao Shuang assisted Lieutenant Sima and Prince Xuan with the government. The reign period was changed to Zhengshi 1.

For Liu Shan of Shu, this was Yanxi 3.

For Sun Quan of Wu, this was Chiniao 3.

Zhengshi 2.

For Sun Quan of Wu, this was Chiniao 4. A foreign monk, Kang Senghui, arrived in Jiangbiao, set up images, and implemented the Way. The people of Wu thought he was a demon. Quan summoned Senghui and questioned him. "What sort of udumbara does the Buddha have?" Senghui said, "The Buddha darkens the

numinous traces and manifests the holy relic bones." Quan asked again, "Where is he?" Senghui answered, "If you pray for salvation, you will surely get him." He also said, "If you have relics, you must build a temple. On the thirty-seventh day, having attained sincerity, when you would pray for salvation, he would manifest amidst the bottles and illumine the Guanggong Hall." Quan took bottles and when he went to move them to bronze [plates], the relics fell out and smashed the plates. Quan was greatly surprised. Senghui drew near and said, "The Buddha's holy bones are immortal, and even if you set fire to them, they do not burn. You cannot smash them with an oaken block. Even if you attack them, you cannot break them by force." Hereupon, when he put fire to them to burn them, the light rose up and turned into a giant lotus. A prodigious faith awakened in Quan, and he erected a temple. He called it Jianchu Temple. The land where it was he called Buddha Village. One hundred seventy-five years had passed from Yongping 10 of the Han, when Buddhism first came over, up until the current year of Chiniao 4.

In the summer of Jiaping 4, in the fifth month, two fish appeared on the roof of the armory.

For Liu Shan of Shu, this was Yanxi 15.

In the summer of Taiyuan 2, in the fourth month, Sun Quan of Wu died. He was seventy, and he had been on the throne for forty-one years. Posthumously, he was called Emperor Tai. His son's taboo name was Liang. His style name was Ziming. He ascended to the throne and changed [the reign period] to Jianxing.

In the autumn of Jiaping 6, in the ninth month, the Great General Sima Jingwang, at the behest of the empress, removed the emperor and sent him to a detached palace. He was

twenty-three years old and had been on the throne for fifteen years. While occupying the position of emperor, his conduct had been ignoble. He was wanton with his wives and completely given to debauchery. He had madmen disrobe before the palace and wildly couple with women, while he looked on together with the women of the Imperial Harem. Also, at Lingyun Platform, the curtains were opened, and women were blessed with his favor. Also, he was wont to boss others around. When one minister called Sun Jing remonstrated with him about such matters, he heated an iron and hit him with it, and his entire body was burnt to a crisp.

Township Duke Gao Gui had the taboo name Mao and the style name Yanshi. He was the grandson of Emperor Wen. When the Prince of Qi was overthrown, the nobles consulted one another and established [him]. In winter, in the twelfth month, he entered Luoyang. At the chariot gate, he descended from his palanquin. The ministers said, "You should enter while riding," but the duke said, "I am entering at the behest of the empress," and he entered on foot, and when he reached the Eastern Hall of the Great Hall of State, he was seen by the empress. On this day, he ascended to the rank of emperor in the Great Hall of State. The reign period name was changed to Zhengyuan. Prince Jing of Jin said, "What sort of person is this emperor?" Zhong Hui replied, "In talent, he is like Chen Si, and in martiality, he is of a kind with Taizu." Prince Jing said, "If he is as you say, then he will be the delight of the gods of earth and grain!"

In the first month of Zhengyuan 2, Sima Jingwang died.

For Liu Shan of Shu, it was Yanxi 18.

For Sun Liang of Wu, it was Wufeng 2. In autumn, in the seventh month, at a mountain at the village of Yangyan, a great stone stood up by itself.

In Ganlu 5, a retainer of the crown prince, Cheng Qi, killed the duke. Cheng Qi used a pike and stabbed the duke. He ran him through from the back with a sword. Prince Wen of Jin

was greatly shocked and flung him to the ground. He cried, “How can such things that are not what I wish be done in the sub-celestial realm?!” The duke was twenty years old and had been on the throne for six years.

> In Wu, in Yong’an 2, in the third month, an unnatural child of six or seven years of age [appeared]; he wore blue-green robes and played together with a group of children. The children were in awe of him and questioned him. He said, “I am the planet Mars. The three leading [posts in government] are destructive Sima.” He rose aloft and departed for the heavens; from far away, he looked just like a length of lacquered silk. Afterwards in the fifth year, Wu was destroyed, and Jin flourished. Wu was destroyed by the Simas, just as the child had said.

Township Duke Chang Dao had the taboo name Huan and the style name Jingming. He was the grandson of Emperor Wu. After Township Duke Gao Gui was killed, he ascended the throne and changed the reign period name to Jingyuan.

Jingyuan 2.

> In Wu, this was Yongping 4. A native of Wu, Chen Jiao, died. On the day said to be the sixth day after his burial, he came back to life, dug away he earth, and emerged.

In Jingyuan 4, in the tenth month, Deng Ai leveled Shu.

> For Liu Shan of Shu it was Yanxing 1. In winter, in the tenth month, Liu Shan was brought forward, with both hands bound behind his back, and made to surrender to General Deng Ai of Wei. He was fifty-seven years old and had been on the throne for eleven years. Afterwards, he was enfeoffed as Duke of Changle County.

He died in the Jin reign period Taishi 7. In total, the two leaders of Shu had gone through forty-three years.

In the spring of Xianxi 1, in the second month, Zhong Hui reached Shu and was executed. Deng Ai was also executed.

Sun Xiu of Wu died in the seventh month, in the autumn of Yong'an 7. He was thirty, and he had been on the throne for six years. He was posthumously called Emperor Jing. Sun Hao was called Peng Zu in one account. At twenty-three, he ascended the throne. He was proud and wild. He did not respect the Buddhist precepts and indulged in alcohol and sex.

In the summer of Xianxi 2, in the fourth month, there was a giant in Xiangwu County who was over three *zhang* tall. He had white hair and appeared in a yellow turban and yellow robes. In this year, the divine blessings bestowed upon the Wei at long last were finished. The Imperial Seal was presented to the Jin. The duke was twenty, and he had been on the throne for five years. The Jin enfeoffed him and called him Prince Liu of Chen. From the time of Emperor Wen of Wei and Huangchu 1 until Xianxi 2, five leaders had in total [reigned for] forty-six years.

Next there was that called the Western Jin. They were of metal virtue. The first leader was called Emperor Wu. His taboo name was Yan. His style name was Anshi. He was the eldest son of Taizu, and a descendant of the Gaoyang clan. Of broad benevolence and substantial humaneness, he was markedly deep. He spread Buddhist matters and erected temple compounds. In the winter of Wei's Xianxi 2, in the twelfth month, for the first time, he accepted the Wei abdication. He changed the year to Taishi 1. This year—*yi-you*— corresponded to the sixty-fifth year of Japan's Empress Jingū. He established Luoyang as his capital.

In the autumn of Taishi 2, in the seventh year, he had a great temple built.

For Sun Hao of Wu, this was Baoding 1. At a place called Danyang, a girl turned into a tortoise.

In Taishi 6, in the ninth month, Dawan sent a blood-sweating horse [in tribute].

For Sun Hao of Wu, it was Jianheng 2. In spring, in the third month, there was a great fire; more than 10,000 households burned, and the dead numbered 700.

In spring of Xianning 2, in the first month, court was cancelled. An epidemic had been raging since the winter of the previous year, and more than half of [the population of] Luoyang had died. As a result of this, court was cancelled.

In the summer of Xianning 4, in the fourth month, [the comet] "Chi You's Banner" appeared in the constellation "Eastern Well." In winter, in the eleventh month, Grand Physician Sima Cheng presented a robe made of pheasant heads. Robes of mysterious artistry were forbidden by the ritual classics, so it was burnt before the palace.

In Yuankang 1, in the third month, "Longboat" Admiral Wang Jun went with a navy to Jianye Rock. Sun Hao of Wu was brought forward with his hands bound behind his back, and he surrendered. In the fifth month, Sun Hao was enfeoffed and made Marklord of Guiming.

Sun Hao of Wu, in the spring of Tianji 4, in the third month, was killed by the Jin. He had been on the throne for sixteen years. While Sun Hao was on the throne, when he held banquets, none of his ministers did not drink themselves into stupors. The Imperial Harem numbered in the thousands. He dug a river and brought it into the palace. Those who went against the wishes of the palace ladies were killed—some were washed off by the river, some had their faces cut, and some had their eyeballs removed. Lofty and base alike wanted nothing other than to scatter.

At this time, there was a minister called Wang Zhengbian. He said that Buddhism needed to be annihilated and that the Middle Kingdom should not have barbarian deities. When he wanted to issue an edict that would assemble all of the monks, summon troops, have them encircle temples, and execute [said monks], the emperor told this to Dharma Master Senghui: "If the Buddha is like a god, we must venerate him. If he is not numinous, the monks will need to be killed and Buddhism annihilated." Senghui requested seven days, and saying that there would certainly be a sign, he filled a copper bowl with water and set it in the courtyard. Suddenly, it began to shine and sparkle, and from the bowl there was the metallic sound of relics manifesting. As [they] watched, the relics emerged and emitted light, floating above the bowl. The emperor and the crowd came forward to see and were shocked. Senghui said, "Your Majesty, even were Meng Fen to use force to attack them and strike them with a hundred mallets, they are adamantine in essence and utterly unbreakable." The emperor made obeisance, scattered flowers, burnt incense, and chanted verse. When he had valiant men hit them with mallets, though they exhausted their might and the hammers were smashed, the relics did not suffer the slightest damage and [continued to] shine. The emperor prostrated himself in veneration and was pierced by sincerity. He erected a stupa and enshrined [the relics] there.

After that, when [someone] was wandering around the park with palace women, landscaping the grounds, a golden figure was excavated from beneath the earth. It was of a dignified and beautiful appearance. The emperor set this figure against the side of the privy. On the eighth day of the fourth month, he urinated on top of the figure and laughed, saying: "Since this is the eighth day of the fourth month,

there is an anointment." While he was diverting himself with palace women, suddenly, his scrotum swelled and ached painfully. The inflammation was unendurable, and it went on from night until morning, so he decided to lie down for the pain. Even the medicines and techniques of renowned physicians were insufficient. The Grand Astrologer conducted a divination and said: "You have wronged the Great Lord." Though there were prayers in the temples, there was no sign [of improvement], and no one, high or low, could figure out what to do. One of the women in the Inner Quarters had faith in the Buddha. She loved the emperor, so this palace woman said to him: "Your Highness, ask a Buddha Icon for salvation." The emperor asked: "Is the Buddha then the Great Lord?" The palace woman said: "Of all that is worthy in heaven above or in the sub-celestial realm, none should surpass the Buddha. The Buddha figure Your Majesty got is still next to the privy. If you make offerings to it, your swollen parts will surely return to normal." The emperor, since his illness was becoming urgent, bathed the hands and eyes of the figure with perfumed water, and placed it in the palace. He kowtowed and apologized for his transgressions. With all his heart, he sought pity. On that night, the pain ceased, and the swelling, too, abated. He had Kang Senghui administer the Five Precepts to him and erected a large market-place temple and had crowds of priests make offerings. In Yuankang 4 of the Jin, at the age of forty-two, he died. The four Wu leaders in total [ruled for] fifty-nine years.

In Yuankang 2, Sun Hao of Wu selected five thousand sing-song girls and brought them into the palace.

In the fourth year, at Kuaiji, a crab turned into a rat and ate rice.

In the summer of the fifth year, in the fourth month, the lakes and rivers of Lu were red as blood.

In the twelfth month of the seventh year, red snow twice fell.

In the summer of (Tai)xi 1, in the fourth month, the emperor died at Hanzhang Palace. He was fifty-five years old and had been on the throne for twenty-five years.

The next [one] was called Emperor Xiaohui. His taboo name was Zhong, and his style name was Zhengdu. He was the second son of Emperor Wu. He ascended the throne and changed [the year] to Yongxi 1. He established his concubine Ms. Jia as empress. Grand Tutor Yang Jun took over the government and built Xingsheng Temple in Luoyang. He had offerings prepared for one hundred monks.

In the spring of Yongping 1, in the third month, Empress Jia executed Yang Jun, and the dowager empress was moved to the walled city of Jinyong. The dowager empress could not bear her grief and anxiety and died in You Palace.

In the summer of the fifth year, in the fourth month, a comet was sighted in the west. In winter, in the tenth month, there was a great fire in the armory, and heaps of valuables were all burnt up. Confucius' rain clogs, the sword that Han Gaozu had used to slice the serpent, Wang Mang's head—all were burnt at this time. It was also said that the sword of Gaozu of the Han aimed eastward and flew off.

In the ninth year, King Lun of Zhao led troops into the palace. He deposed Empress Jia. She was shocked and asked, "Why are troops in the palace?!" King Jiong of Qi replied, "There was an order to seize the empress." She said, "Edicts are to come from Us. Who issued this edict?!" King Lun of Zhao then presented an alcohol made of metal filings to the empress and killed her, whereupon he became Prime Minister.

In the spring of Yongkang 1, in the third month, it rained blood.

In the spring of Yongning 1, in the first month, King Lun of Zhao usurped the Imperial throne and transferred the emperor to the walled city of Jinyong. In the third month, King Jiong of Qi et al raised troops and captured King Lun of Zhao. On the next day, the emperor returned to the palace. When King Lun of Zhao was made to drink bitter alcohol made from metal filings, he was deeply ashamed, and he covered his face with a cloth and said, "Sun Xiu, I am being wronged, and I am being plotted against!" The troops rose up and fought for over sixty days, and the death and injury toll reached 100,000 people. All of the malcontents who took part in this were executed.

From this time, barbarians [who laid claim] to the Middle Kingdom were called Hegemon Kings, and there were sixteen [such] pretenders to the throne. The "Sixteen Kingdoms" are these. There were five Liang, four Yan, three Qin, two Zhao, one Xia, and one Shu. Having Three Kingdoms on par with one another had already been called chaotic, but Sixteen Kingdoms, each with its own King—it was beyond words.

In the summer of Da'an 1, in the fourth month, a comet appeared during the day.

In Da'an 2, in the second month, the Regional Official of the state of Liang, Luo Shang, killed Li Te and hung his head in the capital. In autumn, in the ninth month, King Yong of Hejian brought troops to the capital and burnt the Qingming and Kaiyang Gates. The dead reached 10,000.

In Yong'an 1, King Ying of Chengdu became Imperial Crown Prince. In the seventh month, General of the Guards of the Right Chen Zhen summoned the officials to the palace and took control of the troops, conspiring to attack the king of Chengdu. The emperor went north and reached Anyang. At this time the masses were just over 100,000. When the king of Chengdu had

General Shi Chao fight a defensive battle, six armies were destroyed, and the emperor's cheek was struck by an arrow. The six seals were also lost. The emperor was taken by Chao's enemy troops. There was not even food or drink brought to the emperor. In imitation of that, Shi Chao asked for water and brought it saying, "I again present the peaches of autumn." The king of Chengdu led the officer to the left of the road and received him as a superior. In the manner of an Imperial Progress [they were] welcomed at Ye. At this time, General Wang Jun of Anbei was pressing in on the king of Chengdu. Since [the latter] was largely destroyed, the king of Chengdu got into the same carriage as the emperor and fled to Luoyang. Since it was a sudden business, royal robes were not even donned. Without regard for rank and at a loss, he used his own scant 3,000 coins, which he had hastily brought along in a pouch of a middle palace attendant, to purchase rice, which he gave to the palace women. Also he sought over a *sheng* of rice and chives, and when he presented them to the emperor, the emperor ate it up, and he took and presented the hempen robes and night cover of the palace attendant. Also, an old man was said to have presented chicken jerky that the emperor [then] ate, and that improved the Imperial mood. When he paid respects at the tumulus of the previous emperor, since he had lost his own shoes, he asked for different shoes; when he was there, the tears that dampened his sleeves were about enough to soak them. As for those in attendance at his side, there was not a one who did not cry in sorrow. [Sima] Yang of Hejian raised three thousand cavalry and welcomed the emperor; when he came to Chang'an, the sky over the road grew dark, snow fell, the air was extremely cold, and he fell from his horse. He concealed that his feet were in pain. So doing, when he arrived at Bashang, a local official was sought, and [he] offered a weird hut indeed as a palace where he could live. After this, the king of Chengdu was sent to his residence, and King Yuzhang, the Emperor's younger brother, was established.

In Yongxing 3, in the fifth month, the rays of the sun divided into four parts and were blood red. At this time, King Yue of Donghai had his General Qi Hong return the emperor to Luoyang, and he had him ride in an ox-drawn cart. At the way-stations and temporary palaces, [the emperor] used grass as offertory grain, and even the nobles who expressly presented the offerings were barefoot. From among the twist-cakes, the emperor ate one that had been poisoned and died shortly thereafter. He was forty-eight years old and had been on the throne for seventeen years.

The next one was called Emperor Xiaohuai. His taboo name was Chi, and his style name was Fengdu. He was the twenty-fifth son of Emperor Wu. When Emperor Hui died, he ascended the throne. The Regent, King Yue of Donghai, assisted with the government.

In the spring of Yongjia 3, in the third month, there was a great drought, and the Yangtze, Han, Yellow, and Luo Rivers all dried up and could be walked across.

In Yongjia 5, in the sixth month, Liu [Cong] of the Former Zhao et al forced their way into Luoyang. When the Emperor opened the gate to Hualin Garden in the hopes of going to Chang'an, he was apprehended by enemies. One by one, they seized the palace ladies and rare treasures, and the kings, lords, etc. who were harmed numbered in excess of 30,000. They burned the palaces and temples and drove out the empress and concubines, and made the emperor Duke of Kuaiji. At this time, there were not even 100 houses left in Chang'an. The walls and homes had been knocked completely to the ground and become mugwort and brambles, and among the trees or in the courtyard, there were no carriages, horses, or ritually prescribed brocades. Only four of the duke's private carriages remained. Liu [Cong] summoned the Emperor and said to him, "Long ago, when you were King Yuzhang, you led me to the Imperial Hall and for shooting. I got twelve arrow hits. You and the son of King Wu got nine. You gave

me a boxwood bow and an ink-stone. You, now did you ever you think things would turn out to have to be this way?" The emperor said, "I daren't forget. But I shall resent that you did not recognize the Imperial countenance." Liu Cong also said, "As for the flesh and bones of your household, if they are all lost, how would that be?" The emperor said, "This is something that is up to Heaven. If my household were annihilated, how would Your Majesty seize it?" Thinking that he had to present a wife to the emperor, Liu [Cong] proffered Noblewoman Liu.

In the spring of Yongjia 7, on the morning of the first day of the first month, there was a big banquet. Liu Cong had the emperor wear blue-green robes and present alcohol to the ministers. Among the retainers, Yu Min lamented this more than any other. Liu Cong hated this and killed him. Then he also presented *zhen* to the emperor. He was thirty years old and had been on the throne for seven years.

The next [one] was called Emperor Xiaomin. His taboo name was Ye, and his style name was Yanqi. He was the grandson of Emperor Wu and the son of King Yan of Xiaowu.

In Yongjia 6, he became crown rrince, and in the fourth month of the next year, he ascended the throne. He changed the year to Jianxing 1.

In Jianxing 2, around spring, three suns rose and were visible in the west.

In the summer of the third year, in the sixth month, thieves dug up the two Han Tumuli Ba [of Emperor Wen] and Du [of Emperor Xuan] and stole treasures, and Empress Bo was exactly like when she was alive and had not changed the slightest bit, which was said to be inconceivable. In these tumuli, there was bronze and jade, and silks both dyed patterned and white beyond count. The Emperor had them brought to the palace and stored there.

In the autumn of the fourth year, in the eighth month, Liu Yao besieged the capital and all of the people fled and hid, without knowing where they were headed. In winter, in the tenth

month, there was a severe famine, and the price of one *dou* of rice was two *liang* of gold. Unknown numbers starved to death. In the Imperial Granary, there was a small number of twist-cakes, so these were smashed into pieces and made into gruel and then presented to the emperor. When this, too, was used up, the emperor bemoaned what was to be done next. Resources exhausted, he dispatched a document to the location of Liu Yao and finally rode there in a sheep-drawn cart. Stripping to the waist, holding the gem, he surrendered. The ministers cried and howled and approached the cart; when they took the emperor's hands, the emperor, too, cried in sorrow. Imperial Scribe/Vice Censor-in-Chief Ji Liang saw this and killed himself. Liu Yao provided the emperor with an escort back to the palace; afterwards he was apprehended at Pingyang with one Qu Yun and some ministers still in attendance on him. The emperor served as Grandee Guanglu and Marklord of Huai'an. When Liu Cong was present in the palace, the emperor was respectful and kowtowed. Qu Yun saw this and threw himself onto the ground, crying and sobbing, and he killed himself.

In the winter of the fifth year, in the eleventh month, when Liu Yao went hunting, in the matter of the emperor's military uniform, he ordered the emperor to wear strange robes and had him carry a halberd and hurry off before the horses and lead the way. Also when he assembled a great many of the ministers and had a banquet, he had the emperor bring around the alcohol, (wash the glasses) and also take the covers. The Jin vassals who were there soundlessly wept tears of sorrow. Collator of Documents Xin Bin's eyes, too darkened, and his heart, too, was at a loss; he, too, cherished the emperor and stifled tears. Liu Cong was furious and killed him. In the twelfth month, he killed the emperor. He was eighteen years old, and he had been on the throne for five years.

From Emperor Wu up to Emperor Min, the four generations of emperors had all together [ruled for] fifty-four years. The number of temples built during that time was one hundred eighty.

The [one] after this was called the Eastern Jin. The emperor was called Emperor Yuan. His taboo name was Rui, and his style name was Jingwen. He was the great-grandson of Emperor Xuan, and the son of King Jin of Langya. When he was born, there was a divine light; he was tall and born with the curl between the eyebrows [of the Buddha] and the "sun horn" protuberance [indicating high status] on the left. He had a dragonish face. When Emperor Min died, he ascended the throne and changed [the year] to (Tai)xing 1. In this year, Liu Cong of the Former Zhao died, and his son Can ascended the throne.

In the summer of Taixing 3, in the fourth month, there was a "crooked arrow" meteor shower at Pingyang, and the emperor cried for three days. To the left of the river, he built the two temples Wagong and Longgong and installed a thousand monks.

In the winter of Yongchang 1, in the eleventh month, a heavy fog settled, and it was black as ink. It concealed the Heavens. In the intercalary eleventh month, the emperor died in the Inner Hall. He was forty-seven and had been on the throne for five years.

The next [one] was called Emperor Ming. His taboo name was Shao, and his style name was Daoji. He was the eldest son of Emperor Yuan. When he was young, he was intelligent and sensitive. Emperor Yuan doted on him and he always sat before his knees. One time, an emissary arrived from Chang'an. Emperor Yuan asked, "Which is farther away—the sun or Chang'an?" The [future] emperor replied, "I have never heard of anyone coming here from the sun region," and Emperor Yuan loved this. On the next day, when numerous ministers had come, and they were at a banquet, he asked him again. [The future emperor] replied, "The

sun is closer." Emperor Yuan blanched and said, "Why have you changed [your answer] since yesterday?" The [boy] replied, "When I open my eyes, I see the sun. But I can't see Chang'an." Emperor Yuan's wonder increased. When Emperor Yuan died, he ascended the throne at the age of twenty-four.

In the summer of Da'ning 1, in the sixth month, Wang Dun raised troops and had treason in his heart. The emperor [secretly] became aware of this and mounted a charger and clandestinely took off, arriving at Huyin. When Wang Dun brought soldiers [in the form of] five cavalry to pursue him, the emperor again raced away. Fearing that if horse dung were left behind, it would attract notice, he asked for water and poured water over it. As there was an old lady selling rice at the side of the road, he gave her his jeweled whip and said, "If anyone comes afterwards in pursuit of me, show them this," and he went on. After a short while, the five cavalry came, and when they asked, "Has anyone passed through here?" the old woman replied, "The one who passed through must by now be long gone." Those people looked at the whip, and while they were playing with it, they dallied there. When they saw the horse shit, it was cold, so they thought, "He must really be far off"; and since they stopped there, the emperor got away. In the seventh month, Wang Dun was executed.

In the third [year] in the intercalary eighth month, the emperor died in the East Hall. He was twenty-seven years old, and he had been on the throne for six years.

The next [one] was called Emperor Cheng. His taboo name was Yan, and his style name was Shiyan. He was the eldest son of Emperor Ming. When Emperor Ming died, he ascended the throne. Empress Yu oversaw court and called herself the Law. Minister Wang Dao recorded the matters of the collation of documents. The Organizer of Documents had Yu (Liang?) report to court.

In the winter of Xianhe 2, in the eleventh month, there was the matter of Su Jun's conspiracy to commit treason.

In the spring of the third year, in the second month, Su Jun's troops arrived. Although it was said that the troops fighting were Wang's, they were decisively defeated, so Wang Dao et al were in the Great Hall of State, safeguarding the emperor. Elated by victory, Jun's troops closed in on the throne. Also they entered the Rear Quarters of the empress, and all of the attendants plundered. At this time, in the Royal Scullery, there was over-cooked rice, and this was presented as the Imperial Repast. The commoners wept and sobbed beyond measure. In the fifth month, Su Jun attacked the emperor at Shitou. The emperor sobbed with sorrow, and when he called for his cart, the palace ladies cried to extreme. Su Jun offered him the granary as a palace in which to live. In the ninth month, Yu Liang et al pressed in on Su Jun.

In spring of the fourth year, in the first month, Su Jun's son, Shi (Shuo?) burnt the Great Hall of State. At this time, within the city, there was a severe famine, and the price of a *dou* of rice was 10,000 coins. In the second month, Su Jun was utterly destroyed, and the emperor returned to the capital in one of Wen Qiao's boats.

In Xiankang 1, there was a severe drought. The price of one *dou* of rice was 500 *wen*.

In the summer of the eighth year, the emperor died in the Western Hall. He was twenty-two years old, and he had been on the throne for seventeen years.

Emperor Mu's taboo name was Dan, and his style name was Pengzi. He was the son of Emperor Kang. When he was two years old, he ascended the throne. The dowager empress of the Chu clan oversaw the court.

In the spring of Yonghe 1, in the first month, on the first day, the dowager empress hung a white gauze curtain in the Hall of State (*sic*); embracing the emperor, she gazed at the eaves.

In Yonghe 9, on the third day of the third month, Wang Youjun [Xizhi] was at the Thoroughwort Pavilion to the south of the mountain, and there was a Wending Stream Banquet. Turning to the flowing stream, they floated along the glasses, and the renowned knights of the sub-celestial realm all gathered. There was poetry and alcohol, but no woodwinds or strings. Wang Xizhi composed a preface. He was a peerlessly capable calligrapher. The people at large called him the Grass-script Sage. He encountered Master Whitecloud, and he received the transmission on the Way of Wielding the Brush, and [his indentations] in the wood went up to 3 *cun*. His son, Wang Xianzhi, too, followed in his father's footsteps and was a capable calligrapher.

In the spring of (Sheng)ping 1, in the first month, the emperor formally donned robes [and came of age], and he took care of myriad important affairs on his own.

In the fifth year, in the fifth month, the emperor died at Xianyang Hall. He was nineteen years old and had been on the throne for seventeen years.

The next [one] was called Emperor Ai. His taboo name was Pi, and his style name was Qianling. He was the eldest son of Emperor Cheng. He ascended the throne after Emperor Mu. The Emperor was fond of "Huanglao" [religious Daoism]; he abstained from grains and consumed longevity medicines to an excessive degree and died. He was twenty-five years old and had been on the throne for four years. While he was on the throne, he did not at all understand important matters. Empress Chongde oversaw the court and administered the government.

Emperor Jianwen had a taboo name of Yu and a style name of Daowan. He was the youngest son of Emperor Yuan. At a young age, he was capable of critical reading. Emperor Yuan doted on him. When Guo Pu had an audience, the Emperor asked about the rising monarch of Jin, and [Guo Pu] said, “It is surely this Lord!”

In Xian’an 2, he ascended the throne. In the second year, in the seventh month, [the emperor] died in the Eastern Hall. He was fifty-three years old and had been on the throne for two years.

The next [one] was called Emperor Xiaowu. His taboo name was Yao, and his style name was Changming. He was the third son of Emperor Jianwen. When Emperor Jianwen died, he ascended the throne.

In Ningkang 1, in the fifth month, Heng Wen died, and Dowager Empress Chongde oversaw the court and took care of the government.

In Taiyuan 1, the emperor donned ceremonial robes and came of age. The dowager empress returned the government to him.

In the sixth year, in the first month, the emperor venerated Buddhist teachings and erected a cloister within the palace, and he brought various monks and had them installed there.

In the twenty-first year, Qingshu Hall was built. Emperor Daowu of the Later Wei attained the rank of King of Wei. In the ninth month, the emperor died. He was thirty-five years old and had been on the throne for twenty-four years.

The Jin fortune and legitimacy had long been in decline. The eldest son Dezong ascended the throne. He was called Emperor An. From the time that Emperor Wu of the Jin accepted the abdication of the Wei through the time of Emperor Min was called the Western Jin. All together, the four emperors [ruled for] fifty-three years. From Emperor Yuan through

Emperor Xiaowu, the nine emperors [ruled for] seventy-nine years. This was called the Eastern Jin. The Eastern and Western Jin were legitimate [powers] for one hundred forty-two (thirty-two?) years. During this period, one thousand seven hundred sixty-eight temples were built; twenty-seven people translated two hundred sixty-three sutras; there were 204,000 monks and nuns.

After this, [the emperor] was called Emperor An. His taboo name was Dezong. He was the eldest son of Emperor Wu. When Emperor [Wu] died, he ascended the throne. In Long'an 1, there was the Royal Donning of the Robes.

In Yuanxing 2, Huan Xuan moved the emperor to Yong'an Palace. In the twelfth month, Huan Xuan usurped the throne and made the prince of Pinggu Emperor, relocating to Xunyang.

In the [third] year, in the fifth month, Liu Yi crushed Huan Xuan's army and then killed him. When the emperor was returning, the remnants of Huan Xuan's troops apprehended him again.

In Yixi 1, the traitors were executed, and the emperor returned to the palace. As originally, he carried out governance and forbid silk fans; also, he prohibited gambling.

In the fourth year, the emperor was done in by Liu Yu. He was thirty-seven years old and had been on the throne for twenty-four years.

From this emperor's youth until the time he became adult, he was incapable of speech; he did not even differentiate between winter and summer.

The next [one] was called Emperor Gong. His taboo name was De, and he was the younger brother of the mother of Emperor Wen. When Emperor An died, he ascended the throne. [Liu] Yu made the emperor Prince of Lingling (*sic*) and ensconced him in Moling. Song troops

breached the walls and killed the emperor within an inner chamber. He was thirty-six years old and had been on the throne for two years.

Emperor Xiaowu died in Taiyuan 1, and Emperor Daowu of the Later Wei accepted the abdicated throne; after he ascended it, there was the "Jin Remainder." In Emperor Gong's Yuanxi 2, after Emperor Gaozu of the [Liu-]Song received the Imperial [sovereignty] and ascended the throne, the Jin Remainder collapsed.