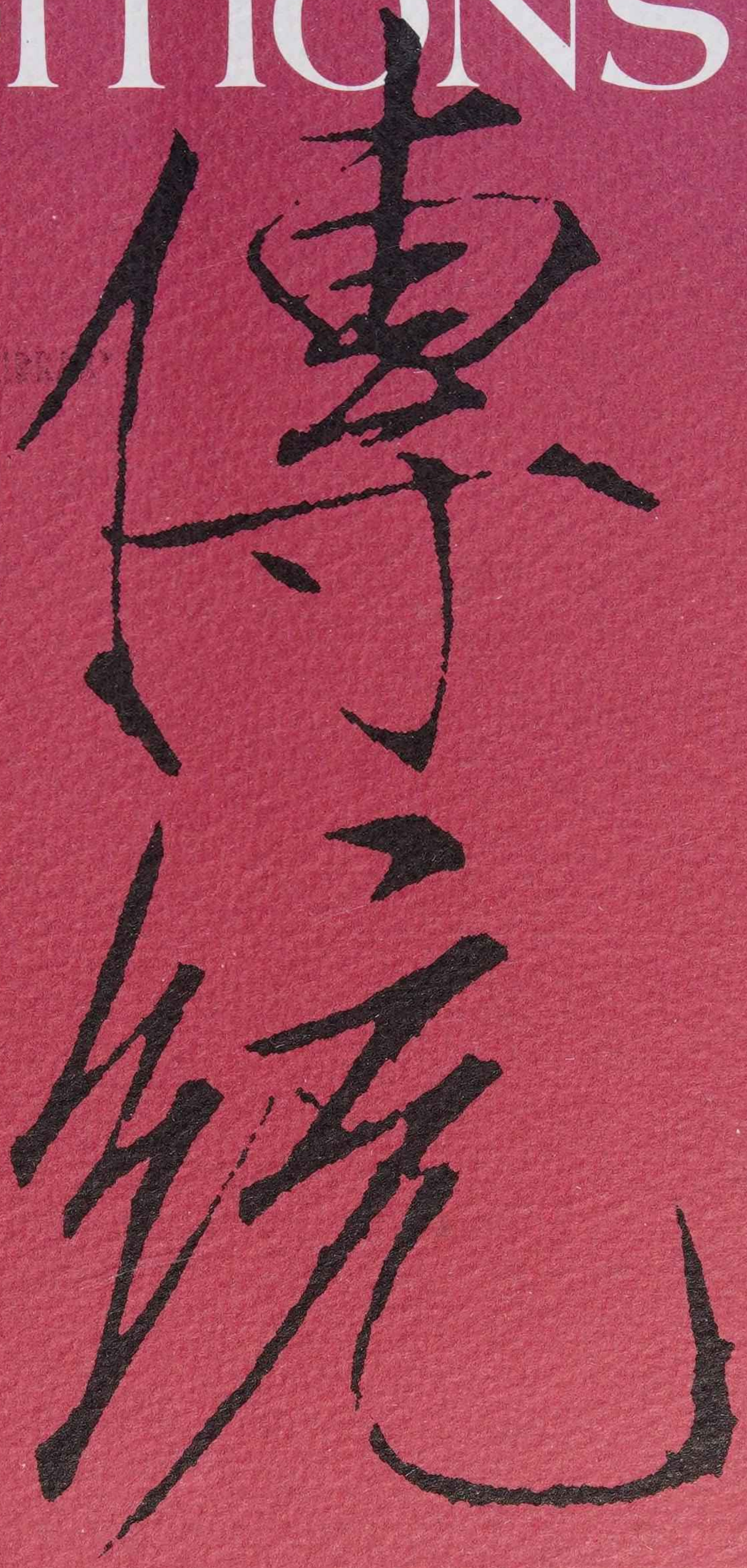
# TRADITIONS





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The characters 傳統 that appear on the front cover were written by Hui Tsung (r. 1100–1125), the 8th emperor of the Northern Sung Dynasty. Among the Chinese emperors, he was a most distinguished man of letters, skilled at calligraphy, painting, and poetry.

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*Publisher and Editor:* *Morita Tohru*
*Associate Editors:* *Ishikawa Takashi*
*Alexander McNair*
*Translators:* *Akashi Mariko*
*Tad Tohen*

# Foreword

This is the first issue of TRADITIONS, a quarterly journal that, we believe, will be of great benefit to the readers of THE EAST. THE EAST was first published in 1964 and, over the years, has received a warm welcome from its readers. For 13 years, we have striven to present the reality of Japanese culture in all its aspects—to take a fresh look at the past—and we believe that we have succeeded in presenting the fruits of this endeavour. We have constantly received requests from our readers for original translations of the classics, more specialized literature, and deep, thoughtful essays. From the beginning, we, too, have wanted to publish this sort of of material, but, because of THE EAST's character of a monthly magazine read by many different people—non-specialists as well as specialists—with diverse interests, we have been unable to do so.

However, we now feel that this is an opportune time to meet our readers' expectations and, at the same time, our own wishes. And so, we have launched TRADITIONS as a sister publication of THE EAST. In TRADITIONS, we will publish both complete and abridged translations of the classics of literature, religion, art, and thought and also recent scholarly treatises in the fields of history, sociology, linguistics, etc. TRADITIONS will fill the role of a source of records. When read together with THE EAST, it will provide further, deeper understanding of the Japanese cultural tradition and so, we firmly believe, will be a useful journal.

Morita Tohru
Publisher and Editor

# Fudōchi Shinmyō Roku
# 不動智神妙録

## Introduction

The relationship between the Zen priest Takuan (1573–1645) and Yagyū Munenori (1571–1646) was discussed in detail in the series entitled "Tales of Dauntless Swordsmen" in *The East* (XII, 4).

The *Fudōchi Shinmyōroku* was written by Takuan at Munenori's request as martial arts instructions. This text, which discusses martial arts and the spirit of Zen in a simple style, has been evaluated as a classic that has greatly influenced the development of Japanese swordsmanship.

Takuan, whose real name was Sōbō, was the pre-eminent Zen priest of the Rinzai sect at that time. Having rebelled against the government in what is called the "Purple Robe Incident" of 1629, he was exiled to Dewa Province (now in the Tōhoku District). After he was pardoned, he established Tōkai-ji temple in Shinagawa, Edo (now Tōkyō), under the special protection of the third Tokugawa shogun, Iemitsu (1604–1651).

Needless to say, Takuan was not a tactician and probably had never even held a sword in his hand. Even so, he had deep insight into the essence of swordsmanship. What was absolutely necessary in this art in which a person risks his very life was the development of a spiritual grounding, especially from the viewpoint of idealistic theories based on the Zen concept of non-existence of circumstantial factors.

Takuan's writing style in this text is both clear and simple. This is because the average *bushi* (warrior) of those days, including Yagyū Munenori, had only superficial education, and the great majority were imbued with the samurai spirit. The general acceptance by the shogunate of *bushi* training encompassing both cultural and martial arts would not be developed until a later period. Therefore, Takuan must have consciously written this text in a clear and simple style so that the samurai would be able to read it. One cannot find any meaningless, abstract discussions anywhere in the text. Rather, he reveals the spirit of Zen by simplifying, repeating, and using allegories. Even without going into the evolution of difficult Buddhist philosophy, he brings to light the legitimacy and strength of the basis of Zen, "non-existence of circumstantial factors."

We can say with certainty that Takuan's text had a very great influence on Yagyū Munenori, since the book on tactics he wrote during the latter part of his life reflects Zen thought in many places. What Takuan wanted to strongly stress, however, was technical training; he was not advocating Zen and disregarding the necessary technical expertise. He emphasized Zen as a means to control the most advanced technique because, in Zen, one seeks a higher spiritual-mental state. The word "*kokoro*" 心, which appears throughout the text, can be interpreted as a mental state in which any one or all of the modern concepts of consciousness, judgment, will, or intention may be included.

One can see the great influence of Takuan's treatise on martial arts adherents from this period on, as samurai turned their attention toward Zen and often used such expressions as "the oneness of Zen and swordsmanship."

Towards the end of the *Fudōchi Shinmyō Roku*, Takuan wrote many admonitions for Munenori. Judging from the nature of the

text, we should realize that these warnings for Munenori as an individual were the aim of Takuan's work. In this advice, Takuan did more than discuss large-scale tactics. He emphasized the need for the "proper" type of man. He warns against the pitfalls and distractions that could pull Munenori down. Consequently, the severity of Takuan's words should not be interpreted as finding actual faults in Munenori's character or personal life.

## Text

### *Mumyōjūchi Bonnō* 無明住地煩悩

The word "*mumyō*" 無明 means "unilluminated." It refers to a mind that is immersed in doubt. The word "*jūchi*" 住地 refers to the state in which the mind halts because of some obstruction. Within the various stages in Buddhist training, there exist the 52 States of Mind.[1] The "*jūchi*" indicates the state in which the mind is stopped. The character 住 *jū* means "stop," and, in this state, the mind can be captured or shackled by anything at all. [*Bonnō* originally meant "evil passions" or "irrelevant thoughts," but here means the "common people" or the "unenlightened ones."]

Let me explain this "unilluminated stopping place" by means of your tactics. If the enemy begins to strike with his sword, and, just as you notice it, you think of striking back, your mind stops, captured by the opponent's sword. You lose your own freedom of movement and will be killed by your opponent. This is what I mean by the mind stopping in something.

But, if your mind is not obstructed by the striking sword, even though you see it, and if you don't consider striking back in response to the rhythm of the opponent's sword movement—in other words, without the slightest prudence—and if your heart is not the least bit affected at the very moment you see his brandished sword, you can step into him and parry his stroke, then wrest away the enemy's sword which would have killed you. It will become the weapon of death for the enemy.

In Zen, we have a saying: "Take the spear [from your enemy] and

[1] As explained in the sutra Yōraku-kyō, the 52 states are the 52 stages of the training of a bodhisattva.

kill him [with it].” In this case, the spear is a type of halberd and the meaning of the saying is to kill your enemy by wresting away the sword he is holding. This is the same as what you call *mutō* 無刀 [swordlessness] in your tactics. Whether your opponent is striking at you or you are in the attack, whether a person attacks directly or with a sword, whether during a pause or during the rhythm of fighting, if your mind stops even slightly, your own movement will lose its substance, and, in the end, you will be killed by your opponent.

If you put your mind on your opponent, your mind will be caught by your enemy, since, when you put your mind on your own self, your mind will be lost in yourself; you cannot even concentrate on yourself. Drawing one’s mind within oneself is probably the mark of a beginner just starting training. If you concentrate on the sword, your mind will be trapped by the sword. If you concentrate on the pauses or rhythm of movement, your mind will be obstructed. Whenever your mind becomes trapped, you become a mere shell. You must have had such an experience. This is also discussed within Buddhism. In Buddhism, we call this the “wavering mind.” This, then, is the meaning of *mumyōjūchi bonnō*.

## *Shobutsu Fudōchi* 諸仏不動智

In the term “*shobutsu fudōchi*” [Unmoving Buddha Knowledge], “*fudō*” means “unmoving.” The word “unmoving” does not have the same meaning as a stone or tree being inanimate. “*Fudōchi*” means that the mind will not stop in the slightest and can move exactly as it wants—forward, to the left, or to the right, in any direction at all.

Fudō-Myō-ō 不動明王, a statue which stands erect to destroy the wickedness obstructing the true law of Buddhism, grasps a sword in his right hand, holds a rope in his left, has his teeth bared, and

fiercely glares with his penetrating eyes. This kind of figure does not exist universally throughout the world. It represents to all people a statue which serves as the embodiment of *fudōchi* [unmoving knowledge] that protects the law of Buddhism. It is a statue which transmits the knowledge that, if people strive after the knowledge of *fudōchi*, whether they be those who do not want to defy Buddhism out of awe or those who are approaching enlightenment, they, like Fudō-Myō-ō, will not be overcome by evil because of the true law of the mind. In other words, Fudō-Myō-ō is the symbol of the unmoving mind of humanity.

If your mind stops in something, various judgements will begin to operate in your mind, leading to inevitable disturbances within your very being. Thereafter, even if you attempt to move your mind, once it has stopped, it will not move.

For example, if you have 10 opponents who attack you one at a time, you can parry their swords one by one without your mind stopping. You can accept the challenge of 10 men if you forget one man and single out the next man, forget that man and single out the next, etc. In other words, you can fight each one in turn if you can move your mind against each of the 10 in turn, without having it stop on any one man. However, if your mind stops on one of them, even if you can parry a stroke from him, your movement against the next opponent will lose its meaning.

Senju Kannon [Avalokiteśvara, the Goddess of Mercy] has 1000 arms. One arm holds a bow, another a spear, and still another holds a sword. If her mind stops on the arm with the bow, the remaining 999 arms are not able to fight at all. But if the mind does not stop on one place, she can use all her arms at once. Even though she is called a Kannon,[2] why must she have 1000 arms on one body? This statue was created to teach people that all 1000 arms are bene-

ficial since the goddess has attained *fudōchi*.

For example, if, while looking at a tree, we see one red leaf near the trunk of the tree, we will not be able to see any other leaves. But if we do not direct our eyes to one leaf alone and if we do not stop our mind on the tree itself, all of the leaves will assail our vision. If our mind stops on a single leaf, we will not be able to see the remaining leaves. If our mind does not stop on one leaf, hundreds or thousands of leaves will reach our eyes. People with insight into this understand the meaning of the Kannon with 1000 eyes and 1000 arms.

The average man who doesn't know anything is apt to think of a body with 1000 arms and 1000 eyes as merely an object of blessing. On the other hand, those who possess only a superficial knowledge sharply criticize a body with 1000 eyes as nonsensical. With a little more knowledge, a man would have a noble belief based upon true knowledge rather than skepticism based upon superficial knowledge or belief without truth. He would further realize that Buddhism is exemplary as something clearly indicating the true way. Almost all ways are the same, but it is especially true of the way of the gods. Thinking that things are exactly as they appear is foolish enough, but it is even worse to deny things completely. Truth exists only internally. Whatever the path, the destination is the same.

As one progresses from the beginner's stage and gradually, through the different levels of training, reaches the state of unmoving knowledge, one is, in effect, returning to the first stage of the beginner. I shall explain this by using your tactics as an example.

[2] Although there is only one Goddess of Mercy, she is represented in six different forms. The Senju Kannon is but one of these.

During the initial beginner's stage, a person knows nothing about the proper manner of holding a sword, nor any other principles of swordsmanship, so he never stops his mind. If he is attacked, he defends himself naturally without calculation. However, as he studies various techniques, such as the positioning of the body, the holding of the sword, achieving a proper state of mind, etc., his mind comes to stop upon a variety of points and unexpectedly becomes restricted when attacked. As days, months, and years go by during the rigors of training, he becomes able to achieve the proper body stance, the proper holding of a sword, etc., without thought. The state of his mind will then resemble the mind of a beginner who knows nothing of the art.

In other words, the state of the mind is the same at the beginning and at the end. This is exactly the same as counting from 1 to 10 [around a circle]—the 1 and 10 merge into each other. An additional analogy is the pitch of a sound: if the initial pitch is at a very low level and gradually is raised until it reaches an infinitely high pitch, the lowest pitch and the highest pitch on this scale will correspond to each other.

. . . . .

In Buddhism as well, if a man achieves the profound state of enlightenment, he is totally without artifice or ostentation, as if he were a person who knows nothing at all about Buddhism. The *jūchi no mumyō bonnō* [the unilluminated state of the common people] in the initial stage becomes *fudōchi* in the latter stage. Conscious application of wisdom has no role as a man reaches a state of complete detachment. In this state of culmination, the arms, feet, and body learn naturally, and the mind reaches the state of complete indifference. A *waka* composed by the Zen priest Bukkokukokushi[3] reads:

*Kokoro arité moru to nakeredo oyamada ni*
*Itazura naranu kakashi narikeri*
Even though the scarecrow in the field has no mind,
it has purpose.

When the scarecrow is made to look human and given a bow, birds and animals see it and flee. This human-like figure has no mind, but, because deer flee when they see it, the scarecrow has a purpose and is not useless. This is an example that indicates the action of people seeking the true way. The arms, legs, and body alone function; the mind is not obstructed or stopped in any way at all. Where the mind is, no one knows. This is the state of detachment free from thought, a state similar to that of the scarecrow in the field.

The ignorant layman, lacking wisdom from the outset, never has anything come to the surface. Likewise, the wisdom of men who have achieved an advanced state is not even slightly apparent on the surface. On the other hand, those who are limited by having attained only a state of partial knowledge show their wisdom on their faces. This is a bit strange. In the same way, the seemingly ludicrous behavior of priests in recent years is, in fact, shameful.

There is a saying "*Ri no shugyō, waza no shugyō*," 理の修行, わざの修行 [study of reason and the study of technique]. *Ri* [reason], as we said earlier, is the highest stage where one is not seized by anything, a state in which it can be said that a man abandons his consciousness. There have been many things written about this. However, even if a man achieves *ri*, his arms and body will never work as he wants them to unless he practices technique. In terms of

[3] Bukkokukokushi (1240–1316) is also known as Zensokenbi. He served at Jomyo-ji and Jochi-ji temples in Kamakura.

training in technique, there are five body positions and various other techniques essential to tactics. Even if a man knows the theory, he must be able to use the technique without restraint. Conversely, even if a man can use a sword skillfully, he must also know the ultimate theory. Technique and theory are two wheels on one vehicle.

## *Kan ni hatsu wo irezu* 間に髪を入れず

There is a saying: "*Kan ni hatsu wo irezu*" [not room even for a single strand of hair]. Let us use this as an example for your tactics. The meaning intended by this is that, when two objects are placed one on the other, there is not even room for a single strand of hair between them. For example, at the instant you clap your hands together, a sound is made. In other words, the time between the production of a sound and the clapping of the hands is so instantaneous that a strand of hair could not be placed between them. The sound is not emitted after thinking for a few moments after the hands strike each other; rather, a sound issues at the very instant the hands come into contact.

If a person's mind hesitates under an attacking sword, a gap appears, and, because of this gap, an opening in his defense appears. If, however, not even a single strand of hair could fit between the attacking sword and your own movement, the opposing sword becomes no different from your own.

In Zen, the same state of mind exists, for, in Buddhism, the wavering mind is criticized as bondage to worldly passions. Just as the current carries off a ball dropped into a flowing river, the detached, unobstructed mind is important.

## *Sekka no ki* 石火の機

There is a saying: "*Sekka no ki*" [the occasion of flintstones

producing a spark]. At the same time that flintstones are struck together, a spark is emitted. At the same time the flints strike each other, light is emitted. There is not the slightest interval between them. "*Sekka no ki*" indicates that there is no interval in which the mind stops. The meaning of this expression is not, however, to hurry or to speed up the mind. Even if we say that we will not stop the mind on anything, this is nearly impossible. What is important is not to have the mind impeded even by something that is rapid. Once you consciously think about doing something quickly, your mind will be carried away. The poet Saigyō edited an anthology of poems that includes the following one by a courtesan from Eguchi [now a part of Ōsaka]:

*Yo wo itou hito toshi kikeba kari no yado ni*
*Kokoro tomuna to omou bakarizo*

There are despicable people in this world. But this
world is merely an ephemeral resting place, so no
one should stop his mind on something long
enough to come to dislike it.

The second half of this poem, which includes the phrase, "I only wish not to stop my heart," hints at the secret of fencing tactics. An unwavering mind is truly essential.

In Zen, one may ask: "What is the secret of Buddhism?"

The answer freely given before the question is completely asked would be: "The oak tree in the garden." (This answer may depend on time and location.)

Whether the answer is good or bad is of little import; rather, answering with an unwavering mind is esteemed. The unwavering

mind is not affected by color or scent. This unwavering mind can mean the way of the gods, the way of Buddhism, the way of Zen, the way of martial arts. If one thinks and then speaks, no matter how fine the words are, this is a wavering mind.

"*Sekka no ki*" indicates the speed at which light is given off by a spark. For example, if there is an instant reply of "aah" as soon as one calls out [the name] "Uemon," then this is *fudōchi*. If, on the other hand, after "Uemon" is called out, someone considers such things as "I wonder what he wants?" before answering "What can I do?," this is a wavering mind.

Those people whose minds stop and then are perplexed and moved by things, those whose minds are stopped by bewilderment, are obviously those whom we call common or ordinary people. But the prompt answer of "aah" to the name "Uemon" is Buddha Knowledge. Originally, there was no difference between the Buddha and the people; there was no difference between the gods and the people. Unchanging wisdom is something achieved by oneself. If a person gains this frame of mind, then one can be called a god, one can be called a buddha. There are many paths, the way of Confucius, the way of the poets, the way of the gods, but each makes this state of mind clear.

When we interpret what "mind" means in words, we can only say that it is that which appears according to karma as his mind or my mind, good or bad, day or night; it is that which erupts from the fate which leads men to leave their homes or destroy countries. However, since there is nobody who can see through to what "mind" really is, everyone is perplexed.

There may be people who do not know the true meaning of "mind." Not many people have been able to pierce through to it. The number of people who have the potential of knowing but do not

implement their ability into action is even smaller. Even if someone is able to skillfully explain "mind," he cannot always clearly pierce through to the mind. For example, even if someone is able to explain "water," his mouth does not become wet. Even if someone is able to explain "fire," his mouth does not become warm. Unless someone directly contacts water and fire, he cannot understand them. Even if someone can explicitly explain food, he will not be able to satisfy his hunger. He cannot expect to understand merely from explanation.

People throughout the world think that Buddhism and Confucianism explain the mind, but if the actions of the teacher do not coincide with what is being taught, one cannot completely know the mind.

If the people who study Buddhism do not reach this clarity, no matter how many of them there are, it has no meaning. The attitude of those who study Buddhism is not good. In order to clearly understand the mind, extreme efforts must be made.

## *Kokoro wo doko ni okubeki ka* 心をどこにおくべきか

Where is the best place for the mind to be? If someone places his mind on the movements of his opponent, his mind will be seized by those movements. If someone concentrates on his opponent's sword, his mind will be caught by that sword. If someone's mind is on killing his opponent, then his mind will be captured by trying to kill his opponent; if his mind is on his own sword, then his mind will be absorbed by his own sword; if his mind is on killing his opponent, then his mind will be lost in the concept of killing; if his mind is on his opponent's stance, then his mind will be lost in that stance. Consequently, the place to put one's mind is difficult to find.

Someone has said: "Wherever one's mind is, one's mind gets absorbed by that place, and one ends up being defeated by one's

opponent. Therefore, one must put one's mind below the navel and not anywhere else. In this way, one can freely respond to the actions of one's enemy."

This is a reasonable thing to say.

From the Buddhist perspective, however, pushing the mind below the navel and nowhere else is rather common and not of a high level. This is the style for stance development in the early training period. The character 敬 *kei* [respect] symbolizes this feeling.

This corresponds to a saying of Mencius: "Seek peace of mind." From the vantage point of a very high state, this is still a low ideal. Please take note that I will deal with "peace of mind" below. In short, by pushing the mind beneath the navel and nowhere else, the mind will still be caught there and, consequently, will not be able to move freely.

Another person asked: "If it is of no value to push the mind below the navel, since it cannot then be used freely, at what place in the body can the mind be placed?"

I answered: "If it is in your right hand, your mind will be absorbed by your right hand, and you will not be able to move freely; if you place your mind in your eye or in your right leg, your mind will be absorbed. If your mind is at any one place within your body, then all other parts will become empty."

"Then, where should the mind be?"

"It cannot be anywhere. In saying this, I mean that the mind must be diffused throughout the body, that it must stretch out, totally unfettered. When you use your arms, you use them freely. When your feet or your eyes are important, they can work freely in any part of your body as necessity arises. But if your mind is concentrated upon one part of your body, your mind will be seized by that part of your body and will be useless. If you think about where your mind should

be placed, your mind will be trapped by that thought. So, completely abandon the differentiation of your thoughts. Fling your mind away from your entire body. Don't place your mind in any special place. You can then have confidence in being able to use your mind anywhere on your body as needed."

Placing your mind in one place produces asymmetry. This asymmetry means that you are leaning in one direction. The correct way is for your mind to operate throughout your body. When we say "proper state of mind," we mean a mind that is diffused throughout the entire body and not inclined toward one place or part of the body. A biased mind is one that is inclined toward a specific place and cannot move elsewhere. In any case, being inclined in one direction is unacceptable. It is not acceptable for your mind to become paralyzed and oriented toward one place.

If you do not think about where to put your mind, it will naturally spread throughout your whole body and extend to all points. Without placing your mind on something in particular, you can use your mind with complete freedom, responding first here and then there to the movements of your opponent.

If your mind is spread throughout your whole body, you can use the mind that is in your legs when you need your legs, and you can use the mind that is in your arms when you have to use your arms. If you settle the mind in one place, you have to draw it out of that place each time you need it. As a result, your mind will come to a standstill at each place, and important freedom of movement will be lost. If you try not to keep your mind from wandering, it will be just like a cat on a leash. If you immerse your mind within your body, it will be captured within your body. If you abandon your mind within your body, it will not be able to proceed to any other place.

Training is the method of not stopping your mind in one place.

The most important objective is not stopping your mind anywhere.

If it is not put anywhere, it will be everywhere. If you think about where to put your mind, your mind will be seized by the place where you have put it. Even when your mind operates outside your body, it will be separated from nine places if you place it in one place alone. If you do not immerse it in one place, it will work in all ten areas.

## *Honshin to Mōshin* 本心と妄心

*Honshin* and *mōshin* are two important concepts. The word "*honshin*" [proper state of mind] is the mind extending everywhere, totally unfettered. It is the mind that does not stop at any one place. *Mōshin* [improper state of mind] is the mind that, in intently thinking, becomes inflexibly fixed on a certain point. If the unfettered *honshin* fixates upon something, it turns into the *mōshin*. Since, upon losing *honshin*, you will become ineffective at various tasks, do not lose this proper state of mind.

For example, *honshin* is like flowing water and *mōshin* is like ice. A person cannot wash his hands and face with ice. It is necessary to melt the ice down to water so that it can flow anywhere and be used in various ways. The mind stopping on one thing is like water freezing. The mind that is not able to move freely is like ice, which cannot be easily used. The *honshin*, which can be used freely and is unfettered by any part of the body, is like water flowing everywhere.

## *Ushin no Kokoro to Mushin no Kokoro* 有心の心と無心の心

"*Ushin no kokoro*" [troubled mind] and "*mushin no kokoro*" [detached mind] are also important. *Ushin no kokoro* is the same as *mōshin*. 有心 (*ushin*), which can also be read "*arukokoro*," means to intently think about only one thing. *Ushin no kokoro* is so named because it refers to a mind absorbed in various thoughts.

*Mushin no kokoro* is similar to the *honshin* mentioned above. It is not fixed upon a particular place; it does not reflect upon anything. It is a mind diffused throughout the entire body and unfettered by anything.

The mind should not be put anywhere. Yet, this mind is not inanimate like a stone or a tree. *Mushin no kokoro* is a detached mind that is not stopped on any one point. When the mind is stopped on something, it is the same as something being within the mind. The state of having nothing in the mind, of having a detached mind, is also called "*mushin-munen*" [non-existence of circumstantial factors].

If someone truly achieves a detached state of mind, his mind does not stop in any one place. It will be able to respond to any situation, do anything at all. It will be exactly like water, which flows at will.

A mind stopped in one place cannot move freely. Even the wheel of a vehicle does not remain stationary but rotates. If the wheel sticks at some point, it cannot rotate. In the same way, if the mind gets immersed in something, it cannot respond to anything else.

If you are thinking about something, it is impossible to understand even a little of what someone else is saying. This is because the mind is absorbed in its own thoughts.

If your mind is distorted, absorbed in thought, you will not hear even those words that penetrate your ears. You will not see even that which enters your field of vision. This is because something is in your mind. You have a particular thought holding your attention. If you are able to eliminate what has captured your mind, you will achieve detachment. Then you will be able to respond as necessity dictates.

However, if you consciously think about eliminating something from your mind, then this thought will capture your mind. You can achieve detachment only if you eliminate what is on your mind

without thinking about the process of how to do it.

If you are continually eliminating things from your mind in this manner, you will be able to achieve the state of detachment. If, however, you try to achieve this in haste, you will be unable to do so.

A classical poem reads:

*Omowaji to omou mo, mono wo omounari.*
*Omowaji to dani omowaji ya kimi*
Thinking of not thinking is still thinking.
Do not even think of not thinking!

## *Suijō no koroshi wo utsu; Natchaku sureba sunawachi tenzu*

水上の胡蘆子を打つ，捺着すれば即ち転ず

"Push a gourd floating on the water. It will rotate." "*Natchaku*" means "to push something with one's hands." If a gourd floating on the water is pushed, it will turn on its side for a second as it floats to a slightly different place. If you push it again, it will move again. It never stays in the same place. The minds of those who have reached a high state never stop, even for an instant. It is the same as a gourd floating on the water, which, when pushed by someone, never stops.

## *Ōmushojūjijōgoshin* 応無所住而生其心

The characters 応無所住而生其心 are read "*ōmushojūjijōgoshin*." It means that, no matter what it is you are thinking of trying, your mind will be captured by the decision to do it. Therefore, you must achieve a state of mind in which your mind does not fixate on anything when you attempt some action. If your mind concentrates on doing something, it will not be able to do anything. If your mind operates while thinking about something, it will stop. If you do some-

thing without having your mind stop on it, you can be the master of many ways.

The stopped mind is the origin of persistence and tenacity. It is also the origin of transmigration. Therefore, it is this very stopping of the mind which both divides and links life and death.

Your mind sees flowers and autumn maple leaves. However, it is essential that the mind not stop on the flowers and red maple leaves.

The priest Jien[4] wrote the following poem:

*Shiba no to ni niowan hana mo samo araba aré.*
*Nagameni keri na urameshi no yo ya.*
Even though the flower unconsciously gives off its
mellifluous fragrance, I gaze at it with my mind
stopped. How regrettable it is to have my mind
fixated on the fragrance of the flowers.

Whether a person is looking at or listening to something, at the highest level, his mind does not stop on it.

The character 敬 *kei* has been described as *shuitsumuteki* 主一無適 [concentrating the mind on one thing and not moving it].

In order to strike someone with a sword, it is important for your mind not to operate with the conscious thought of striking him. This understanding is particularly important when a person receives orders from his master.

Buddhism also teaches about the character 敬 *kei*. This is called the "gong of obedience," during which the mind is enveloped in prayer, the hands are clasped together, and a gong is rung three times.

[4] Jien (1155–1225) was a Tendai priest. Tendai Buddhism was established in Japan by Saichō in 805.

This is the same as *isshinfuran* 一心不乱 [onepointedness], and *shuitsumuteki*.

However, a mind that reflects 敬 *kei* has not yet reached the highest stage in Buddhist training. The mind is still trapped. The goal of all the stages of training is not to disturb the mind. But as the long months and years of Buddhist training pass, the mind comes to work independently, no matter where it is abandoned.

The previously mentioned stage of *ōmushojū* [without stopping] is the highest ideal.

## *Ōmushojūjijōgoshin no i* 応無所住而生其心の意

The meaning of the character 敬 *kei* is the state of mind that is stopped in fear that if it moves to another place, it will be overcome by confusion. This is a temporary method for keeping one's mind from being suddenly thrown into a state of confusion. There is never true independence in this situation.

For example, it is like not allowing a cat freedom of motion by tying a rope around it so that a young sparrow can avoid being eaten. This fettered situation of man is like the cat tied by a rope, which is man's own mind. A person cannot do what he wants to do. If a person trains the cat not to catch the sparrow, it will ignore the sparrow. Even if the cat is not tied up, it will not catch the sparrow. This is what *ōmushōjūjijōgoshin* means. You must keep your mind as free as an unleashed cat and keep it from stopping in one place.

Let us apply this to your tactics.

You can wound a person by completely forgetting about your striking arm and then striking. Don't allow your mind to stop on the arm brandishing the sword. In this way, your mind will not be moved by your opponent. Your opponent is nothing; you are nothing; the arm striking the enemy is nothing; the striking sword

is completely without substance.

When the Zen priest Mugaku[5] was captured by Mongol soldiers during the Taito riots[6] and was about to be killed, he uttered the Buddhist teaching: "*Denkōeiri shunpū wo kiru.*" Upon hearing this, the soldiers threw down their swords and fled. The meaning of this scripture is that the stroke of a sword corresponds to a bolt of lightning. There is no mind and no thought. The striking sword, the striking soldier, I who am to be killed, and my mind are all nonexistent. The assailant is void, the striking sword is void, and I who am attacked am void. The attacking men are not men, the attacking swords are not swords, and even I who am to be killed am no more than things which cut the wind blowing in the spring sky, lasting as long as a bolt of lightning. The mind is stopped by nothing. Even the sword that cuts the wind has no effect on anything.

Those who are called skillful carry out all endeavors by forgetting the mind. In the case of dancing, if you do not forget the thought of trying to dance well while holding the fan and moving the feet, you will not be able to dance well. As long as your mind remains stopped in your arms and legs, you will not move gracefully. If you do not abandon your mind, you will have no ability.

## *Hōshin wo motomé yo* 放心を求めよ

The words "*Hōshin wo motomé yo*" [You must seek peace of mind] are from Mencius. This means that you must seek a liberated

[5] Mugaku (1226–1286) was born and trained in China. He immigrated to Japan, where he built Engaku-ji, the famous Zen temple of the Rinzai sect in Kamakura. The Rinzai sect, one of the two major Zen sects in Japan, was founded by Eizai in 1191.

[6] The Taitō Riots in 1275 marked the beginning of the downfall of the Southern Sung Dynasty (1127–1280) in China.

mind and reestablish it within your body. For example, it is very natural to look for a dog, cat, or bird that has run away and bring it back to your house. Then, why can't you recover your mind when it has mistakenly taken the wrong path, since your mind is actually a part of your own body?

A man named Shokosetsu[7] explained the essence of "peace of mind" in a completely different way from Mencius. He explained that, since the mind is shut up within the body and cannot move freely, like a cat that belongs to a particular person, to use it skillfully, it should be released and abandoned without tainting it by stopping it on things. Therefore, the knowledge attained by those at the initial stages of training is that the mind that sticks to something or is tainted by something should not be stopped or stained but should be retrieved and returned to the body. The lotus flower must not be tainted by mud, but it is unperturbed even if it is ensconced in mud. In the same way, a highly polished crystal will not be stained by mud even if it is enmeshed in mud. Likewise, let the mind function as it will. Constraining it eliminates its freedom. Constraining the mind is limited only to the beginning stages of training. This mental attitude must be terminated in the beginning stages of training. Progressing to another stage is impossible if this attitude is retained.

As Mencius said, it is essential to seek peace of mind during the training process. However, in attaining a higher level in the progression toward true knowledge, the words of Shokosetsu, "the essential point is the freeing of the mind," become vital.

The priest Chūhō[8] says: "Possess a liberated mind." This is the same as Shōkōsetsu's saying that the cornerstone of all endeavors is

[7] Shōkōsetsu was a Sung philosopher of the 11th century.
[8] Chūhō (1263–1323) was a Rinzai priest.

freeing the mind. Liberate the mind; do not constrain it in a particular place.

Chūhō also says: "Do not be distracted [from your purpose]." This means that one's mind must not vacillate and become distracted. No matter how well a person does, whether the first or second time, he must possess a mind that is not distracted and does not tire in extreme situations.

### *Kyūsui jō ni kyūshi wo utsu; nen nen teiryū sezu*
急水上打毬子，念々不停留

There is a saying: "*Kyūsui jō ni kyūshi wo utsu; nen nen teiryū sezu*" [A ball thrown into a swiftly moving stream does not remain still]. The meaning of this saying is that, if a small ball is thrown into churning rapids, it will ride the waves and not stop even for an instant.

### *Zengo saidan* 前後際断

There is a saying: "*Zengo no kiwa wo tatsu*" [Cut the dividing line both before and after]. It is not good to hold onto the present state of mind without abandoning the former state of mind. This means that a person must destroy the connection between the present and the past. It also indicates that the frame of mind must not stop on any one thing.

Your strategy has never included two masters. As a result, at present, your rank and income have risen and your reputation in society has become great. Whether waking or sleeping, you must never forget the thoughts about the great kindnesses you have received from the shogun. Morning and night, think about serving

with loyalty and devotion to repay your debt of gratitude.

Faithful service includes: first of all, rectifying one's own heart; maintaining self control; never, even slightly, betraying a confidence; never finding fault with or blaming others. It also includes: not neglecting your daily official duties; rendering filial piety toward your parents in their home; not neglecting relations with your spouse; acting with propriety; not allowing yourself to fall in love with another woman; never giving way to sexual desires. Loyalty also includes: pursuing the parental road with dignity; never discriminating among men of lower position in your employ; dealing only with honest men; reflecting upon your deficiencies; establishing proper policies for the domain; keeping your distance from men of mean disposition. In doing so, virtuous people will advance virtue day by day, and evil people, naturally influenced by the master's devotion to virtue, will gradually transform their vices to virtue. In this way, if lords and subjects, the higher and lower, lose their avarice and avoid luxury, the domains will prosper, the people will have their doubts removed, and peace will reign throughout the land. If children bear affection for their parents and the lower assist the higher like their arms and legs, the land will naturally establish peace. This is the beginning of loyalty.

If a sense of loyalty among the soldiers is solidified, it will become easy to have a million troops at your disposal. If your soldiers act with a rectified mind, they will become like the Senju Kannon mentioned above, who, with her proper mind, can use all of her 1,000 arms. Then, with a truly unrestricted mind, many thousands of enemy troops will fall before your sword. Isn't loyalty a wondrous thing?

Outsiders cannot distinguish whether the mind is in a proper state or not. When a person thinks of an action, he can consider it

out of both bad and good motives. If he thinks about the origin of good and evil and then takes only the good while discarding the bad, his mind will naturally develop virtue. As long as he knows evil and fails to give it up, he will be partial to evil. As long as he is ruled by his emotions, as long as he wants to indulge himself with luxuries, as long as he does not like to even look on men of virtue, as long as he refuses to evaluate men of virtue by their good offices, and as long as he advances ignorant men who are his favorites, he acts out of self-love and selfishness. If a man of virtue exists but is not utilized, it is as though there were no virtue at all. In the same manner, even if there are many thousands of soldiers, at the critical moment, there may not be even one who will follow the master's orders. An inexperienced young man who, although a favorite of the master, has not yet achieved the proper frame of mind, may, at the important moment, try to avoid an order to risk his life. There is not a single story of anyone with an improper heart being of any use to his master.

When you employ a disciple who is of this frame of mind, it is truly a bitter experience. Shouldn't you be careful about committing this evil and being dragged down by it, since it finds its origin in a slightly different desire? Even if you think others do not know, in the end they will understand by looking at those things done to even a slight degree. Things which you know are known by the gods in heaven and will be realized by all the people. This is very dangerous for the defense of the country. Evaluate this very thing as insidious disloyalty.

If you yourself wonder about the loyalty you should give your master, there will be no peace within your household; if the village of Yagyū turns against you, you will not be able to consider anything.

You can judge a person as either good or bad by looking at the retainers he employs and the friends he puts his trust in. If the master is virtuous, his trusted vassals will be virtuous; if the master is a man of impropriety, his vassals and friends will also be men of impropriety. In the latter situation, commoners will hold him in contempt and neighboring domains will scorn him. If the master and his vassals are men of virtue, the common people will regard them with kindness. Therefore, virtuous men are the precious treasures of the country. Never forget this. If you rectify the impropriety of your mind, avoid evil men, cultivate virtuous men, establish justice in the country's government, you will be imbued with loyalty and faith. In particular, in terms of the behaviour of your son, if parents do not behave with a proper mind, it is impossible to correct the evils of a child. If you rectify your own self and base your opinions upon a just mind, your actions will naturally be correct, and even the ways of your younger brother will become just. If this is done, father and son will both become virtuous men, a truly auspicious thing.

When you are deciding whether to employ or discharge people, your action should be based on loyalty. You are presently a favored retainer, and it is possible for you to gain support from many *daimyō* (feudal lords). Under no circumstances should you succumb to avarice and forget loyalty. You are fond of boisterous dancing, take pride in your own ability, and do such things as going to different *daimyō* to display your ability. But such actions are nothing but a form of disease. I understand that you said that the shōgun's song was like a *kyōgen*[9] ballad. You also praised an ingratiating *daimyō* before the shogun. You must try to think carefully about such actions.

[9] Kyōgen are farces performed between Noh performances.

# Gishi Wajin-den
# 魏志倭人傳

## Introduction

*Gishi Wajin-den* 魏志倭人傳 is the popular name for the section dealing with Japan in the *Tung Yi Chuan* (Record of Eastern Barbarians) chapter of the Wei Chronicle, a part of the *San Kuo Chih* 三國志 (Record of the Three Kingdoms). *San Kuo Chih* is the history of the time when the Chinese kingdoms of Wei, Wu, and Shu were in opposition to each other (220–280) after the fall of the Later Han Dynasty (25–220). Compiled by the historian Chen Shou (233–297), this book is valuable as the oldest extensive description of ancient Japan.

From the Edo Period (1603–1867), this book has been a source of dispute among historians specializing in ancient times. The greatest point of dispute is the location of the state of Yamatai (Yamayi). The *Gishi Wajin-den* states that Queen Himiko (Beimihu) of Yamatai ruled more than 20 countries, but where was her kingdom? The two main theories of its location remain categorically opposed; one places Yamatai in the Yamato District of central Honshū, and the other, in northern Kyūshū. The answer to this question would provide important information on the extent of Japan's unification in the 3rd century and the link, if any, between the country of Yamatai and the Imperial Family.

Although the question remains unanswered, the *Gishi Wajin-den* presents, in about 2,000 characters, a concise and vivid account of climatic features, customs and habits, domestic politics, and relations between Wa, as the Chinese then called Japan, and Wei. This document is essential reading for anyone who is interested in ancient Japan and takes the student of history to the starting point of Japan's written history.

Four appendices will be found at the end of the text:
Appendix 1: Selected Terms with Modern Japanese Equivalents
Appendix 2: Plants Mentioned in the *Gishi Wajin-den*
Appendix 3: Weights and Measures
Appendix 4: Modern Locations and Possible Equivalents in the *Gishi Wajin-den*

# Translator's Note

In translating from a language as telegraphic in its style as literary Chinese into a language as verbose as English, a great number of assumptions and interpolations must be made. Since this translation is not intended to be a word-for-word rendering of the original for the benefit of linguists, but rather a translation of the sense into standard English for the benefit of historians, we have been sparing in our use of brackets to set off words added to make a readable, and gramatically correct, English sentence.

The Yale transcription system has been used for all Chinese words, except for some proper names that have a generally accepted English spelling. Japanese words are transcribed according to the Hepburn system.

Ancient place names and personal names have been given in the modern Mandarin reading of the character used in the Wei Chronicle. The characters used for Japanese places and people were an attempt to phonetically represent Japanese words in the Chinese language. Of course, no one knows precisely how the Chinese of the 3rd century was pronounced, nor can we say which dialect of Chinese was used by the chroniclers.

The modern Japanese practice is to pronounce the characters in the Japanese *on* reading. Yet, the various *on* readings developed from the Chinese language came to Japan from many different dialects and at many different times. The closeness of the Japanese *on* reading to the pronunciation of the Wei differs from character to character. The Mandarin dialect, among the modern dialects of Chinese, is considered by many scholars to have changed the most from the ancient language. Although this would seem to represent a good argument against its use, the advantage of using the Mandarin read-

ing instead of the Japanese reading lies in the fact that, in Mandarin, the changes in pronunciation have been consistent, since, in the phenomenon of phonetic drift, the pronunciation of all words in a language tends to change at the same rate and in the same way. Therefore, the validity of each word in the modern Mandarin pronunciation as a representation of the Chinese pronunciation of the 3rd century is exactly similar.

The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes:

MC = the modern Chinese Mandarin pronunciation
MJ = the modern Japanese pronunciation

# Text

The people of Wo[1] live in the ocean to the southeast of Taifang.[2] Because of mountains and islands, it is divided into countries. Formerly, Wo had more than 100 countries, which came to pay respect as subjects of China during the Han Era. Now, 30 countries send their [tribute] missions.

To go from Taifang to Wo, you go along the seacoast, pass through the country of Han,[3] go south or turn to the east, and you arrive at the country of Gouyahan on the northern coast.[4] The distance is more than 7,000 *li*. Then you cross the sea for the first time for more than 1,000 *li* and come to the country of Dweidau.[5] The chief of the country is called Beigou,[6] and the assistant chief, Beinumuli.[7] It is an isolated island with a length of more than 400 *li*. It has steep mountains, deep forests, and narrow paths like those of

[1] The ancient Chinese name for the Japanese archipelago. Among the many theories concerning the meaning of this word, three are most generally accepted: (1) a Chinese representation of an ancient Japanese word meaning "I"; (2) "submission" or "obedience"; (3) a variant pronunciation of the character 倭 MC: *wi*, meaning "barbarian."

[2] An area in the central part of the Korean peninsula that was governed by the Chinese state of Wei.

[3] A country in the southern part of the Korean peninsula.

[4] Chinhae, located at the mouth of the Nak-tong River in the southern part of South Korea.

[5] Now Tsushima island, located between Kyūshū and Korea.

[6] Believed to be related to MJ: *hiko* 彦, a name given to many of the early Japanese emperors mentioned in the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*.

[7] Believed to mean "frontier guardian."

animals. There are about 1,000 houses. People have no proper paddy fields, and they live by fishing. They also go south or north by ship to buy rice. Cross the sea called Hanhai about 1,000 *li* to the south, and you will arrive at the country of Yida.[8] The chief is called Beigou and the assistant chief, Beinumuli. The country is about 300 *li* wide and is covered with bamboo and trees. There are about 1,000 houses. Dry fields and paddy fields are not sufficient to support the people, so they also go south or north to buy rice.

Travel further over the sea for about 1,000 *li*, and you will reach the country of Mwolu.[9] It has about 4,000 houses on the seacoast facing mountains. Grass and trees are so thick that you cannot see the person who walks before you. People are skilled at fishing and catch fish by diving in the sea, deep or shallow. Travel 500 *li* to the southeast and you will reach the country of Yidou.[10] The chief is called Erjr,[11] and the assistant chiefs, Syemwogu and Bingjugu. It has about 1,000 houses. From generation to generation, they have had kings who belonged to the country of the queen. Missions from Taifang always come to stay here.

A trip of 100 *li* further to the southeast will take you to the country of Nu.[12] The chief is Syemagu, and the assistant chief, Beinumuli. It has about 20,000 houses. A trip of 100 *li* further to the east takes you to the country of Bumi.[13] The chief is Dwomwo,[14] and the assistant chief is Beinumuli. The country has about 1,000 houses.

[8] Two chronicles of the 7th century, the *Liang Shu* and *Pei Shih*, refer to this country as 一支 MC: *yijr*. It is now called Iki island.

[9] Perhaps located in Matsuura-gun, Saga-ken, Kyūshū.

[10] Probably the Itojima Peninsula in Fukuoka-ken, Kyūshū.

[11] According to one theory, a corruption of MJ: *nushi* 主 meaning "lord."

Further to the south is the country of Touma.[15] It takes 20 days by water. The chief is Mimi, and the assistant chief is Miminali. It has about 50,000 houses.

A trip further to the south takes you to the country of Yamayi.[16] It takes 10 days by water, one month by land.[17] This is the capital, where the queen lives. The chief is Yijrma, and the assistant chiefs are Mimasheng, Mimahwojr,[18] and Nujyadi.[19] There are about 70,000 houses. The approximate number of houses and the distance to the country north of the queen's country are known, but those of

[12] Near the Hakata area of Fukuoka-shi, Fukuoka-ken.

[13] One theory places Bumi in Umi-machi, Kasuya-gun, Fukuoka-ken; another, in Dazaifu-machi, Tsukushi-gun, Fukuoka-ken.

[14] One theory suggests that the meaning is "jewel" or "spirit"; another, that it is a corruption of MJ: *tomo*, meaning "follower [of a lord]."

[15] One theory places Touma in Koyo-gun, Miyazaki-ken, Kyūshū, based on the existence of a shrine named Tsuma-jinja in that area. Another contends that the location is Saba-gun, Yamaguchi-ken, Honshū.

[16] Various documents dating from the 5th to the 7th centuries refer to this country as MJ: *yamadai* 邪馬臺. This word is considered to be a corruption of "Yamato," an ancient name for the Japanese state that was first recorded in the *Kojiki*. There are two generally-accepted theories concerning the location: (1) Yamato-gun, Fukuoka-ken; (2) Nara-ken, Honshū.

[17] The passage is ambiguous in the original. One meaning is a trip of 1 month 10 days, that is, 10 days by boat and then another month on foot. Another is that it was a trip of either 10 days traveling by boat or 1 month traveling on foot.

[18] Perhaps a corruption of Mimaki-irihiko, the name of the 10th emperor of Japan, who is mentioned in the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* under the reign name of Sujin.

[19] Perhaps a corruption of Nakatomi, the name of an influential clan that is mentioned in the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*.

other countries, which are more distant, are not known.

Next to Yamayi are Szma, Jibaijr, Yiya, Yunjr, Minu, Haugudu, Buhu, Dzunu, Dweisu, Sunu, Huyi, Hwanusunu, Gwei, Weiwu, Gweinu, Yama, Gungchen, Bali, Jrwei, Wunu, and Nu. These are the boundaries of the queen's country.

To the south is the country of Gounu,[20] which is ruled by a king. The chief is Gougujrbeigou. It does not belong to the queen.

It is 12,000 *li* from Taifang to the queen's country.

All men, young and old, have their faces and bodies tatooed. From olden days, all messengers who came to China called themselves Dafu.[21] When the son of Emperor Shau Kang of Sya[22] was granted a fief in Kwaiji,[23] he is said to have cut his hair and tattooed his body to avoid harm by a big dragon. Now, the divers of Wo like to dive into the water to catch fish and gather shells. With the tattoos, they surprise big fish and waterfowl and avoid their attacks. The purpose of these tattoos later changed to that of decoration. The patterns of tattoos differ from country to country; they appear on the left or right of the body, and they are large or small. These varieties express social position. It is located roughly to the east of Dungye[24] and Kwaiji.

[20] Various theories place it in Kumamoto-ken or Kagoshima-ken, both on Kyūshū, or in the Kumano region of Wakayama-ken, Honshū.

[21] Possibly the title of a government official.

[22] The Sya (Hsia) Dynasty came to an end around the 18th century BCE.

[23] Probably Kiangsu and Chekiang provinces, China.

[24] Now Foochow, Fukien Province, China.

Its customs and habits are not indecent. Men do not wear hats but wear their hair tied around their ears and bind their heads with cotton cloth. Men's robes are loose and tied in place but are not sewn. Women let their hair hang loose or bind it in back of their head and wear something like a wrapping cloth; in the center of the cloth, they open a hole to put their head through. They raise rice and flax and cultivate silkworms to produce silk. They also produce cotton and silk cloth. There are no cows, horses, tigers, leopards, sheep, or magpies. When they fight, they use a halberd, shield, and wooden bow. The bow is short in the upper part and long in the lower. The arrow is made of bamboo, and its point is made of iron or bones. [These customs] are the same as those of Taner[25] and Juya,[26] countries to the south of China.[27]

The climate of Wo is moderate, and they eat fresh vegetables both in winter and summer. People all go barefooted. In the house, father, mother, older brother, and younger brother sleep in different places. They paint their bodies with vermilion. This is like the powder used in China. When they eat or drink, they use a small one-legged table[28] and take the food with their hands. When they bury a body, they use a coffin but not an outer coffin. They pile up soil to make a mound. When someone dies, they go into mourning for about 10 days and during these days they do not eat meat. The chief mourner cries and laments while the others sing, dance, and drink wine. After

[25] Located on Hainan Island, China.

[26] Located on Hainan Island, China.

[27] The preceding description is generally considered to refer to Wo in general, but one theory suggests that it applies only to the country of Gounu.

[28] MC: *byandou*. This kind of table has been found at sites in Japan dating from the Yayoi Period (ca. 300 BCE–300 CE).

burial, people bathe themselves in water. It is like [a custom] in China.[29]

When they come to China, they are always accompanied by a man who has his hair uncombed. Even if it is infested with lice, he does not delouse it. He wears a dirty robe, does not eat meat, and keeps away from women. It is as if he were in mourning. He is called the *chrshwai*. If the trip is successful, he is given slaves and goods, but if someone falls ill or meets with violence, he is killed on the grounds of insufficient fulfilment of his duty.

Wo produces pearls and sapphires, and the mountain area produces red clay. Trees include various camphor trees, horse chestnut, quince, various oaks, cedar, wild mulberry, and poplar. There are also various bamboos. There are also various ginger plants, Mandarin oranges, and pepper trees.[30] There are monkeys and black pheasants there.

When they begin something, they take the omens by burning bones. The diviner announces the results. The interpretation is like the [Chinese] method of divining the future by burning a tortoise shell and reading the cracks. When they meet, people sit together, and there is no distinction between the seats of father and son or between man and woman. They all like rice wine.[31] When they see a

[29] MC: *iyanmu*. A ceremonial purification bath performed while wearing a silk robe one year after a death.

[30] See Appendix 2.

[31] The following annotation was made by Fei Sung-chih, a Chinese scholar of the 5th century.

"According to the Wei-lueh [a 3rd-century Chinese book written by Yu Chuan, which is no longer extant], there is no difference between the four seasons. They tell a year by planting in spring and harvesting in autumn."

great man of high position, they show respect for him by clapping their hands, kneeling down, and bowing. They live long; some, 100 years; some, 80 or 90 years.

It is the custom for each of the great men of high position to have four or five women, and even some men of low position have two or three women. Women are not unchaste and not jealous. There is no theft and few cases of trial. If someone violates the law, when the crime is light, they confiscate his wife and children, and, when heavy, they execute the family and relatives.

There are many degrees of difference and orders between high and low positions, and they observe the difference and orders quite well. They give taxes and corvée labor. There are big warehouses [for storing taxes]. Each country has markets where goods are exchanged under the supervision of the Dawo.[32]

For the area north of the queen's country [Yamayi], the Yida-shwai[33] is installed especially to inspect these countries. People of these countries have a great sense of awe toward the Yidashwai. He always stays in the country of Yidou and governs all countries, playing a role like the Jr-shr.[34] When the king of Wo sends a mission to the capital [Loyang] and the countries of Han [Korea], or when a mission comes from Taifang, they inspect the mission at the harbor [of Yidou]. They look into the documents and gifts before they are brought to the queen in order to avoid mistakes.

When people of low position see people of high position on the road, they withdraw into the grass by the road. When those of low

[32] Perhaps the title of a government official.

[33] Some scholars believe that the Yidashwai was similar to the Dazaifu, an office and officer that acted as inspector for northern Kyūshū in the Nara and Heian periods. He also had a diplomatic function.

[34] Chief administrative officer of a province in 3rd-century China.

position speak to high-ranking people, they squat or kneel and put their hands on the ground. This is the customary way of paying respect. The response is "Yi." It is comparable to the word meaning "all right."

Originally, the queen's country was ruled by a king who had been in power for 70 or 80 years. A major revolt took place in Wo, and people attacked each other for many years. Later, they acknowledged a woman as queen. Her name is Beimihu.[35] She is good at performing *gweidau*[36] and often misleads her people. She is old but has no husband. Her younger brother helps her govern the country. Since she became queen, she has been seen by few people and is attended by 1,000 female servants. Only one man approaches her to bring food or to convey messages. They built a palace, watch towers, and a fence. It is always guarded by soldiers.

You cross the sea for 1,000 *li* east from the queen's country, and there are more countries, all of the Wo people. And there is a dwarf country to the south of them. The people are 3 or 4 *chr* tall. They live 4,000 *li* from the queen's country. There is a country of naked people and a country of black-toothed people to the southeast. You can

[35] Many scholars believe that Beimihu corresponds to one of the following names that appear in the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*:

(1) Jingū-kōgō, the empress of the 14th emperor, Chūai;
(2) Yamatohimé-no-mikoto, princess of the 11th emperor, Suinin;
(3) Yamato-totohi-momoso-himé, sister of the 10th emperor, Suijin.

Those who subscribe to these theories locate Yamayi in Yamato on Honshū. Others believe that Beimihu was an influential leader of a country called Yamayi located in Kyūshū.

[36] Possibly religious ceremonies.

[37] Quotations from the Wei Chronicle in the *Nihonshoki*, and also the *Liang Shu*, date this event as 239 CE.

arrive there in one year by boat. If you visit the land of Wo, you see that they live on small islands that are near or far. A circumnavigation covers about 5,000 *li*.

In the 6th month of the 2nd year of Jing Chu [238],[37] the queen of Wo sent some people, including Dafu Nanshengmi, to Taifang, and they demanded to be allowed to go to meet the Emperor directly to offer tribute. Lyu Sya, governor of Taifang, ordered his followers to take them to the capital [Loyang]. In the 12th month of the same year, the Emperor of Wei sent an Imperial edict to the queen of Wo.

"We appoint Beimihu as Queen of Wo, Friendly to Wei.[38] Lyu Sya, governor of Taifang, sent Us a messenger, who escorted your followers Nanshengmi and Dushrnyouli. And you offered Us four male slaves, six female slaves, and 2 *pi* 2 *jang* of cloth. Although the place where you live is far, you sent a tribute mission. This shows your loyalty. We have great affection for you. Now We appoint you Queen of Wo, Friendly to Wei, and give you a gold seal with a purple ribbon.[39] We will wrap the seal and ask the chief of Taifang

[38] MC: *Chin-wei-wa-wang*. This kind of title is thought to have been granted only to powerful countries that had ties with Wei, and the granting of this title to Beimihu, leader of a relatively powerless state, seems to have been unusual. The reason she was granted this title may have been to forestall the development of ties between Beimihu and Wu, a rival Chinese state located south of Wei.

[39] At this time, two kinds of seals were presented to the rulers of tributary states of China: a gold seal with a purple ribbon and a silver seal with a blue ribbon. The former indicated a closer relation with and a higher rank among the states tributary to Wei.

to deliver it to you. We wish you to soothe your people and be loyal and obedient. Since your messengers, Nanshengmi and Nyouli, had great trouble coming a long distance, We have appointed Nanshengmi as Shwai-shan-jung-lang-jyang[40] and Nyouli as Shwai-shan-syau-wei[41] and rewarded them with a silver seal and a blue ribbon.[42] We will also give you 5 *pi* of brocade with the dragon pattern on a red background, 10 sheets of red wool crepe, 50 *pi* of crimson cloth, and 50 *pi* of deep blue cloth in order to balance your tribute, and We especially give you 3 *pi* of brocade with patterns on a dark blue background, 5 sheets of woolen cloth with patterns of various colors, 50 *pi* of white silk, 8 *lyang* of gold, two 5-*chr* swords, 100 bronze mirrors, 50 *jin* of pearls, and 50 *jin* of powdered red lead.[43] We have wrapped them all and asked Nanshengmi and Nyouli to deliver them to you. Receive them when [your mission] returns and show them all to your people throughout the country so they may know that Wei has affection for you."

In the 1st year of Jen Shr (240), Gung Dwun, governor of Taifang, sent Di Jyun, the Jyang-jung-syau-wei,[44] and others to give the Imperial edict and the seal with a ribbon to the queen of Wo. They arrived at Wo and met with the queen of Wo and gave the edict, gold brocade, woolen fabric, swords, mirrors, and colorful things. The queen of Wo gave a letter to the mission and asked it to convey her words of gratitude to the Emperor.

In the 4th year of the same era (243), the queen of Wo again sent

[40] "General of the Capital's Army."

[41] "Officer of the Capital's Army."

[42] Gold and silver seals were rewarded to individuals within the country of Wei as symbols of rank.

[43] For use as a cosmetic.

[44] A high military rank in Taifang.

eight persons, including Yishengjr and Yeyagwo, and presented slaves, Wo brocade, red and blue silk cloth, cotton clothing, silk clothing, red clay, bows, and arrows. Yeyagwo and others were given seals with ribbons and were made Shwai-shan-jung-lang-jyang.

In the 6th year of the same era (245), the Emperor of Wei gave the yellow banner[45] to Nanshengmi of Wo through Taifang.

In the 8th year of the same era (247), Wang Jin became governor [of Taifang].

From before, Beimihu, queen of Wo, had not been at peace with Beimigunghu, king of Gounu. She sent Dzaiszweywe and others to Taifang to inform [the governor] of the war-like situation between them. Therefore, [the governor] sent Jang Jeng, the Jai-tsu-ywan-shr,[46] and others to give an Imperial edict and the yellow banner to Nanshengmi. Jang Jeng made an appeal and admonished them.

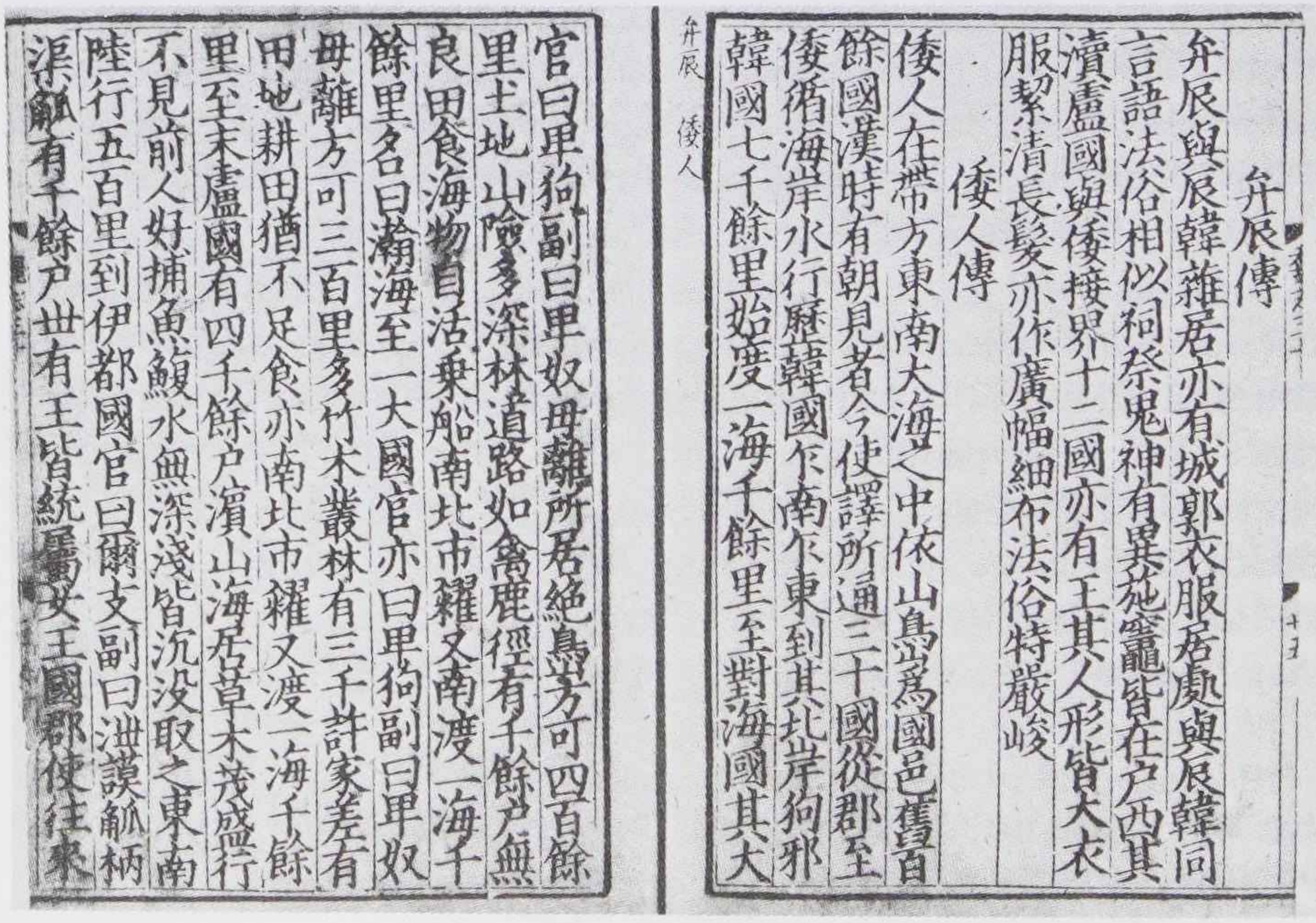
When Beimihu died during the war, a huge mound was built. It is more than 100 paces in diameter and more than 100 slaves followed her in death. Thereafter, a king appeared, but the people of the country did not obey him and fought with each other. At that time, more than 1,000 people were killed in the war. So, Yiyu,[47] a female relative of Beimihu, 13 years old, was acknowledged as queen. Then the civil war came to an end. Jang Jeng and others made an appeal and admonished Yiyu. Yiyu sent 20 persons, including Yeyagwo, and they returned with Jang Jeng. Yeyagwo and others visited the princi-

[45] According to one theory, the granting of the yellow banner meant that Wei supported Queen Beimihu. It was probably meant to display the authority of Wei over the countries of Wo.

[46] A high military rank in Taifang.

[47] The *Liang Shu* and *Pei Shih* refer to Yiyu as MC: *taiyu*. Some scholars believe this to be a corruption of the name of Toyosuki-irihime, princess of the 10th emperor, Sujin.

pal office of Wei and made tribute of 30 male and female slaves, 5,000 white beads, 2 big blue beads, and 20 *pi* of brocade of different patterns.



*Opening passages of the* Gishi Wajin-den *in a 12th century Chinese woodblock print edition of the Southern Sung Dynasty (1127–1279). (Possession of the Imperial Household Agency, Department of Archives and Mausolea.)*

# Appendix 1

## Selected Terms with Modern Japanese Equivalents

Explanations and definitions are written in terms of information contained in the *Gishi Wajin-den*. They do not include modern theories. Proper names have not been capitalized.

Abbreviations:
C = Chinese word
G = geographical place name
J = Chinese representation of Japanese word
P = personal name
T = title or rank

| Chinese | Japanese | Characters | Explanation |
|---|---|---|---|
| bali | hari | 巴利 | G A country of Wo ruled by Queen Beimihu. |
| beigou | hiku | 卑狗 | T? Title or name of the chiefs of the Wo countries of Beigou, Dweidau, and Yida. |
| beimigunghu | himikyūko | 卑彌弓呼 | P King of Gweinu. |
| beimihu | himiko | 卑彌呼 | P Queen of Wo. |
| beinumuli | hinamori | 卑奴母離 | T? Title or name of the assistant chiefs of the Wo countries of Dweidau, Nu, and Yida. |

| Chinese | Japanese | Characters | | Explanation |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| bingjugu | heikyoko | 柄渠觚 | P | Assistant chief of Yidou. |
| buhu | fuko | 不呼 | G | A country of Wo ruled by Queen Beimihu. |
| bumi | fuya | 不彌 | G | A country of Wo. |
| byandou | hentō | 籩豆 | C | One-legged table. |
| chin-wei-wo-wang | shingiwaō | 親魏倭王 | T | "Queen of Wo, Friendly to Wei." |
| chrshwai | jisui, jisai | 持衰 | J | Person who accompanied Japanese ships on trips to China to ensure a safe voyage. |
| dafu | taifu | 大夫 | T | Envoys from Wo to China. |
| dawo | daiwa | 大倭 | T | Wo government official. |
| di jyun | teishun | 梯儁 | P | Envoy of Taifang. |
| dungye | tōya | 東冶 | G | Province in China. |
| dushrnyouli | toshigyūri | 都市牛利 | P | Envoy of Wo. |
| dweidau | tsushima | 對馬 | G | A country of Wo. |
| dweisu | tsuso | 對蘇 | G | A country of Wo ruled by Queen Beimihu. |
| dwomwo | tamo | 多模 | P | Chief of Bumi. |
| dzaiszweywe | saishiuetsu | 載斯烏越 | P | Envoy of Wo. |
| dzunu | sonu | 姐奴 | G | A country of Wo ruled by Queen Beimihu. |
| erjr | niki | 爾支 | P | Chief of Yidou. |
| gougujrbei-gou | kukochihiku, kukochihiko | 狗古智卑狗 | P | Chief of Gounu. |
| gounu | kunu, kuna | 狗奴 | G | A country of Wo. |

| Chinese | Japanese | Characters | Explanation |
|---|---|---|---|
| gouyahan | kuyakan | 狗邪韓 | G A country in Korea. |
| gungchen | kyūshin | 躬臣 | G A country of Wo ruled by Queen Beimihu. |
| gungdwun | kyūjun | 弓遵 | P Governor of Taifang. |
| gwei | ki | 鬼 | G A country of Wo ruled by Queen Beimihu. |
| gweidau | kidō | 鬼道 | C A religious ceremony. |
| gweinu | kinu | 鬼奴 | G A country of Wo ruled by Queen Beimihu. |
| han | kan | 韓 | G Countries in Korea. |
| han | kan | 漢 | C 202 BCE–220 CE. Chinese dynasty. |
| hanhai | kankai | 瀚海 | G "Great Sea." |
| haugudu | kōkotsu | 好古都 | G A country of Wo ruled by Queen Beimihu. |
| huyi | koyū | 呼邑 | G A country of Wo ruled by Queen Beimihu. |
| hwanusunu | kanusonu | 華奴蘇奴 | G A country of Wo ruled by Queen Beimihu. |
| jai-tsu-ywan-shr | saisōenshi | 塞曹掾史 | T Administrative official of Taifang. |
| jang jeng | chōsei | 張政 | P Official of Taifang. |
| jen shr | shōshi | 正始 | C 240–248, an era of Wei. |
| jibaijr | ihoki | 己百支 | G A country of Wo ruled by Queen Beimihu. |
| jing chu | keisho | 景初 | C 237–239, an era of Wei. |
| jr-shr | shishi | 刺史 | T A high Wei official. |
| jrwei | shii, kii | 支惟 | G A country of Wo ruled by Queen Beimihu. |

| Chinese | Japanese | Characters | Explanation |
|---|---|---|---|
| juya | shugai | 朱崖 | G A country south of China. |
| jyang-jung-syau-wei | kenchūkōi | 建中校尉 | T A high military rank in Taifang. |
| kwaiji | kaikei | 會稽 | G Province in China, location of the fief of the Sya (Hsia) Dynasty Emperor Shau Kang (Shao K'ang). |
| lyanmu | renmoku | 練沐 | C A custom in China. |
| lyu sya | ryūka | 劉夏 | P Governor of Taifang. |
| mimahwojr | mimakashi | 彌馬獲支 | P Assistant chief of Yamayi. |
| mimasheng | mimashō | 彌馬升 | P Assistant chief of Yamayi. |
| mimi | mimi | 彌彌 | P Chief of Touma. |
| miminali | miminari | 彌彌那利 | P Assistant chief of Touma. |
| minu | minu | 彌奴 | G A country of Wo ruled by Queen Beimihu. |
| mwolu | matsuro | 末盧 | G A country of Wo. |
| nanshengmi | nanshōmai | 難升米 | P Envoy of Wo. |
| nu | na, nu | 奴 | G A country of Wo ruled by Queen Beimihu. |
| nujyadi | nukatei | 奴佳鞮 | P Assistant chief of Yamayi. |
| nyouli | gyūri | 牛利 | P See *dushrnyouli* |
| rannwo | nendaku | 然諾 | C "All right." See *yi*. |
| shau kang | shōkō | 少康 | P 6th emperor of the Chinese Sya (Hsia) Dynasty. |

| Chinese | Japanese | Characters | | Explanation |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| shwai-shan-jung-lang-jyang | sotsuzenchū-rōshō | 率善中郎将 | T | "General of the Capital's Army," a high Wei military official. |
| shwai-shan-syau-wei | sotsuzenkōi | 率善校尉 | T | "Officer of the Capital's Army," a high Wei military official. |
| sunu | sonu | 蘇奴 | G | A country of Wo ruled by Queen Beimihu. |
| syemagu | shimako | 兕馬觚 | P | Chief of Nu. |
| syemwogu | semoko | 泄謨觚 | P | Assistant chief of Yidou. |
| szma | shima | 斯馬 | G | A country of Wo ruled by Queen Beimihu. |
| taifang | taihō | 帯方 | G | Province in Korea governed by Wei. |
| taner | tanji | 儋耳 | G | A country south of China. |
| touma | tsuma, tōma | 投馬 | G | A country of Wo. |
| wang jin | ōki | 王頎 | P | Governor of Taifang. |
| wei | gi | 魏 | G | Country in northern China from 220–265. |
| weiwu | igo | 為吾 | G | A country of Wo ruled by Queen Beimihu. |
| wo | wa | 倭 | G | Chinese name for western Japan in the 3rd century. |
| wunu | unu | 烏奴 | G | A country of Wo ruled by Queen Beimihu. |
| yama | yama | 邪馬 | G | A country of Wo ruled by Queen Beimihu. |

| Chinese | Japanese | Characters | | Explanation |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| yamayi | yamaitsu | 邪馬壹 | G | Leading country of Wo, |
| [yamadai] | [yamatai] | [邪馬臺] | | capital of Queen Beimihu. |
| yeyagwo | ekiyaku | 掖邪狗 | P | Envoy of Wo. |
| yi | ai | 噫 | J | Response of a high-ranking person to obeisance by a low-ranking person. See *rannwo*. |
| yida | ichidai | 一大 | G | A country of Wo. |
| [yijr] | [isshi, iki] | 一支 | | |
| yidashwai | ichidaisotsu | 一大率 | T | A Yamayi official. |
| yidou | ito | 伊都 | G | A country of Wo. |
| yijrma | ishima | 伊支馬 | P | Chief of Yamayi. |
| yishengjr | iseiga | 伊聲耆 | P | Envoy of Wo. |
| yiya | iya | 伊邪 | G | A country of Wo ruled by Queen Beimihu. |
| yiyu | iyo | 壹與 | P | Queen of Wo after Queen Beimihu's death. |
| yunjr | gunki | 郡支 | G | A country of Wo ruled by Queen Beimihu. |

## Appendix 2

### Plants Mentioned in the *Gishi Wajin-den*

Three lists of plants are included in the *Gishi Wajin-den*. In many cases, the common English name fails to distinguish between several different plants which are given different names in the original Chinese. The following tables give the original Chinese names in the order in which they appear in the text along with their English and Japanese equivalents and scientific nomenclature.

1. Trees

| Chinese Name | Characters | English Name | Japanese Name | Scientific Name |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| nan | 枏 | camphor tree | kusu | |
| ju | 杼 | horse chestnut | tochi | Aesculus turbinata |
| syang, jang | 豫<br>樟 | camphor tree | kusu no ki | Cinnamomum camphora |
| rou | 楺 | quince | boké | Chaenomeles lagnenaria |
| li | 櫪 | oak | kunugi | Quercus acutissima |
| tou | 投 | cedar | | |

Originally written 投 MC: *tou*, which is not the name of a tree. Perhaps it was a mistake for 柀 MC: *bi*, which may refer to the Cryptomeria japonica, now written 杉 MC: *shan*, MJ: *sugi*.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| jyang | 橿 | oak | kashi | Quercus glauca |
| wuhau | 烏號 | wild mulberry | yamaguwa | Morus bombycis |
| fengsyang | 楓香 | poplar | katsura | Cercidiphyllum japonicum |

2. Bamboos

| Chinese Name | Characters | Japanese Name | Scientific Name |
|---|---|---|---|
| syau | 篠 | shino, sasa | Arundinaria pygmaea |
| gan | 竿 | yadaké | Pseudosasa japonica |
| taujr | 桃支 | kazuradaké | Marliacea makino |

3. Other Plants

| Chinese Name | Characters | English Name | Japanese Name | Scientific Name |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| jyang | 薑 | ginger | shōga | Zingiber officinale |
| ju | 橘 | Mandarin orange | tachibana | Citrus deliciosa |
| jyau | 椒 | pepper tree | sanshō | Xanthoxyum piperitum |
| ranghe | 襄荷 | ginger | myōga | Zingiber mioga |

**Appendix 3**

Weights and Measures

| Chinese chr | Japanese shaku | Character 尺 | Metric 24 cm | English Customary 9 in. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| jang | jō | 丈 | 2.4 m | 7 ft. 11 in. |
| jin | kin | 斤 | 223 g | 8 oz. |
| li | ri | 里 | 434 m | 1,423 ft. |
| lyang | ryō | 両 | 14 g | $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. |
| pi | hiki | 匹 | 9.6 m | 31 ft. 8 in. |

## Appendix 4

### Modern Locations and Possible Equivalents in the *Gishi Wajin-den*.

This appendix summarizes some of the more generally-accepted theories linking modern locations and places mentioned in the Gishi Wajin-den. Although a question mark (?) has been used to indicate that the connection between the modern and 3rd-century locations is of doubtful validity, it should be borne in mind that there is some doubt present in almost every item listed below.

English equivalents for Japanese geographical terms are as follows:

machi = town
gun = county
shi = municipality
ken = prefecture

1. China

| Modern Location | Name Used in *Gishi Wajin-den* |
|---|---|
| Chekiang and Kiangsu provinces | Kwaiji |
| Foochow, Fukien Province | Dungye |
| Hainan Island | Juya |
| Hainan Island | Taner |
| Kiangsu and Chekiang provinces | Kwaiji |

2. Japan

| Modern Location | Name Used in *Gishi Wajin-den* |
|---|---|
| Dazaifu-machi, Tsukushi-gun, Fukuoka-ken | ? Bumi |
| Hakata district, Fukuoka-shi Fukuoka-ken | ? Nu |
| Iki Island | Yida |
| Itojima Peninsula, Fukuoka-ken | ? Yidou |
| Japan, western | Wo |
| Kagoshima-ken | ? Gounu |
| Koyo-gun, Miyazaki-ken | ? Touma |
| Kumamoto-ken | ? Gounu |
| Matsuura-gun, Saga-ken | ? Mwolu |
| Nara-ken | ? Yamayi |
| Saba-gun, Yamaguchi-ken | ? Touma |
| Tsushima island | Dweidau |
| Tsushima Straits | Hanhai |
| Umi-machi, Kasuya-gun, Fukuoka-ken | ? Bumi |
| Wakayama-ken | ? Gounu |
| Yamato-gun, Fukuoka-ken | ? Yamayi |

3. Korea

| Modern Location | Name Used in *Gishi Wajin-den* |
|---|---|
| Chinhae | Gouyahan |
| Korea, central | Taifang |
| Korea, southern | Han |
| Nak-tong River, mouth of | Gouyahan |

# Towazu-gatari
# とはずがたり

## Introduction

The only available version of *Towazugatari* (literally, "a story I was not asked to tell") is the Katsura-no-miya book owned by the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency. This text was brought to the attention of the world for the first time in 1940 when Yamagishi Tokuhei introduced it in *Kokugo to Kokubungaku* (Japanese Language and Japanese Literature), a monthly journal.

There are a series of historical stories in Japan—*Ō-kagami, Ima-kagami, Mizu-kagami*, and *Masu-kagami*.[1] Apparently, *Towazugatari* was the source book of *Masu-kagami*. However, since it contains many accounts from the bedchambers of the Imperial Court, it was

[1] The *Ō-kagami*, a history that was probably written in the early 12th century, records events from the reign of the 55th emperor, Montoku (r. 850–858), to that of the 68th emperor, Go-Ichijō (r. 1016–1036). The *Ima-kagami* extends the record down to the year of its compilation in 1170 during the reign of the 80th emperor, Takakura (r. 1168–1180). The *Mizu-kagami*, probably written in the late 12th century, records events from the reign of the legendary first emperor, Jinmu, to that of the 54th emperor, Ninmyō (r. 833–850). The *Masu-kagami* records events from the reign of the 82nd emperor, Go-Toba (r. 1183–1198), to that of the 96th emperor, Go-Daigo (r. 1318–1339). The author is said to have been Nijō Yoshimoto (1320–1388), a distinguished *renga* poet and expert on ancient matters who served Emperor Go-Daigo.

thought that its publication would have a detrimental affect on the public, and so, it remained veiled to the world. It was only after World War II that the story was published in its entirety.

The author of this work, the daughter of Koga Masatada, was born in the second year of the Shōka Era (1258). Her real name is not known, but she was called Nijō, when she entered the court. The Koga's and Shijō's, the families of her parents, had long been members of the upper aristocracy.

At 14, Nijō officially became a lady-in-waiting at the court, but she had been familiar with this life since childhood. Beautiful and highly cultured, Nijō received the tender love of Japan's 89th emperor, Go-Fukakusa (1243–1304), and gave birth to his son. She once dreamed of a glorious future for the prince.

In the meantime, many men gave their hearts to her. She spent an eventful and promiscuous life of love with dignitaries, such as those she called Yuki-no-Akebono and Ariaké-no-Ajari in her confessions.

Partly because of such love affairs, she left the court when she was 26 and became a nun. Emulating Saigyō, the samurai who became a priest-poet and spent his later years traveling and composing *waka*, she started off on a journey.

Later, from time to time, she made notes from memory and used them to write the work that became *Towazugatari*. This is not an ordinary confession, but, rather, a monologue of something within which she could not help but pour out.

With brilliant literary skill, she describes the exuberant but empty life at court, casting cool, undeceived eyes on men and women at court, including herself. The descriptive passages, almost without peer among works of nonfiction, carries on the Japanese tradition of diaries by female writers. With its exquisite literary

technique, this work gives vivid insight into Japan during the period in which Lady Nijō lived.

Before this work was produced, Japan witnessed a civil war, the Jōkyū no Ran (1221), fought between the cloistered emperor, Go-Toba, and the Kamakura Shogunate. After the war, in the 3rd year of the Ninji Era (1242), the Hōjō Shogunate enthroned Emperor Go-Saga, who married Yoshiko, the eldest daughter of Saionji Minoru. Their two sons became the emperors Go-Fukakusa and Kameyama, who ruled in succession. During the 27 years of their reigns, the cloistered emperor, Go-Saga, ruled the country.

Emperor Go-Fukakusa, whom Nijō served, ascended to the throne when he was 4 years old and reigned over the country for 14 years, until the age of 17. In 1259, he abdicated the throne in favor of Emperor Kameyama. Nijō served him until he began to rule the country as the cloistered emperor at age 46. Go-Fukakusa's court was not directly involved in politics, however.

The people in the court enjoyed placid days and nights. This seemingly peaceful and bright court life was, however, not without its share of darkness. Because of the veiled rivalry between the brothers, Go-Fukakusa and Kameyama, over the throne, an hysterical atmosphere of gaiety and licentiousness prevailed in the court. It was this atmosphere of decadence that consumed the brilliant peony in full bloom that was Nijō.

## Text

### The Spring at Age 14

As the mist rose on the morning of the New Year, the ladies-in-waiting [at Tominokōji Palace[2]] lined up in their finery, vying with one another in beauty, as if they had been anxiously looking forward to this happy occasion. I joined them. My costume at that time might have been a robe with the pattern of budding red plum blossoms, a crimson undergarment, a grass-green coat, and a red Chinese-style coat. I remember wearing a padded silk garment embroidered with plum trees and a Chinese-style fence.

My father, the Dainagon [state councillor], was present to serve at today's ritual of the New Year's spiced saké. After the ceremony was over, the former emperor, Go-Fukakusa, invited everyone, including the ladies-in-waiting, and a completely drunken party followed.

Earlier, my father had proposed three-times-three cups of saké;[3] so, at the official ceremony, each person had drunk nine cups of saké.

[2] The palace of the cloistered emperors in the 13th century.

[3] *San-san-ku-do*, drinking three cups of saké three times, expressed congratulations. It was an especially prominent part of the New Year's festivities. Today, it is still performed at weddings.

He again proposed, "Shall we drink the three-times-three cups at this informal party?" But, His Majesty said, "This time we will have three-times-nine cups each." And everybody became quite intoxicated. Then His Majesty offered a cup to my father, saying, "This spring, will you send me the beloved girl whom I have long waited for?" My father accepted the cups with great deference and then retired. At that time, I noticed that His Majesty spoke confidentially to my father, but I had no way of knowing what it was about.

## The Feathers of a Crane

After the ceremony was over, I withdrew to my room and found a letter [from a nobleman] that read, "Yesterday's snow I will tread today to pave the way to our future correspondence." The letter was wrapped in a cloth, which also contained eight robes, gradually varying in color from red to white, a dark purple unlined robe, a grass-green outer garment, a Chinese-style coat, a pleated skirt, and padded silk garments. It was quite an unexpected gift. I simply did not know what to do about it. I was going to return it, when I noticed a poem written on a piece of paper on the sleeve of one of the garments.

つばさこそ重ぬることのかなはずと
　着てだになれよ鶴の毛ごろも
*Tsubasa koso kasanuru koto no kanawazuto*
*kité dani nareyo tsuru no kegoromo*
Although our wings cannot overlap
　I wish you to wear this crane plumage
　and feel yourself close to me

Although I thought it might be heartless to reject the gift which he had sent me out of affection, I returned it with a poem attached:

よそながらなれてはよしやさよごろも
いとどたもとの朽ちもこそすれ
*Yosonagara naretewa yoshiya sayogoromo*
*itodo tamoto no kuchimokososuré*
How sure can I be of your love?
If I wear these gowns while we are apart
The sleeves can but be wet with tears

That night I went to the palace for night duty. At midnight, there was a knock on the back sliding door. I had a young serving girl open the door. She reported that a messenger had offered the same wrapping cloth and had disappeared immediately. The wrapping contained a poem:

契りおきし心の末のかはらずば
ひとりかたしけ夜半のさごろも
*Chigiri okishi kokoro no sué no kawarazuba*
*hitori katashiké yowa no sagoromo*
If our hearts remain unchanged as we have vowed,
At night spread the sleeve under your
head and sleep alone

There was no reason why I should return the gift again, so I decided to keep it.

On the third day of the month, on the occasion of the visit of the cloistered emperor, Go-Saga, to the Tominokōji Palace, I wore those gowns. My father said, "How outstanding those robes are in

both color and gloss. Did His Majesty give them to you?" The question made me feel uneasy, but I casually replied, "No, sir, I received them from my great aunt, Lady Tokiwai."

## The Bitter Evening

On the evening of the fifteenth, a messenger came from my father's residence in Kawasaki[4] to escort me there. The utterly unexpected message made me hesitate, but I could not decline and so left the palace. When I arrived at my father's residence, I found the palace more ostentatious than usual. Folding screens, *tatami* mats, curtains, and cloth separators had been specially prepared. Night fell as I was wondering whether it was all for the New Year.

On the following day, people talked about various things—what meals were being prepared, where the courtiers' horses and court nobles' oxen could be provisioned. Even my grandmother, a nun, came and joined in the discussions. I asked, "What are you talking about?" My father smiled and said, "Because of the direction taboo,[5] His Majesty will come here to stay overnight. As it is the beginning of the year, we are making special preparations. I have summoned you to serve him." "Since it is not *setsubun*[6] yet, I wonder what the direction taboo is." Everybody smiled "How

[4] An area east of Ichijō-Kyōgoku in the old capital, Kyōto. It was located on the western bank of the Kamogawa river.

[5] On specific days of the year, it was thought that to travel in a specific direction was inauspicious. To avoid evil, people would go in a different direction, stay overnight at someone's house, and then set off again on the following day. They would choose their resting place so that the road to their final destination would not entail their taking the inauspicious direction.

naive she is." Despite their words, I still did not have the slightest idea. Even in my chambers, they set up a splendid folding screen and a small curtain. I said, "I wonder if my own room will have the honor of a visit from His Majesty. Everything is decorated so." But everybody only smiled, and no one explained a thing to me.

In the evening, I was told to wear white unlined clothes and a dark purple skirt. The incense was not burning in its usual way; it was really quite elaborate. After the lamp was lit, my stepmother brought me a splendid padded silk garment. "Wear this tonight," she told me. Shortly afterward, my father came and hung the former emperor's garments on hangers and said, "Don't sleep until His Majesty arrives. Serve him well. A court lady must not be stubborn in any way. She should do whatever she is told." He told me other things as well but I had no idea what the import of his instructions were. It all seemed so troublesome. Finally, I fell asleep by a charcoal brazier. Some time later, while I was unaware of what was going on around me, His Majesty arrived. My father was busy welcoming him as he stepped out of the oxcart. Even while my father was busy entertaining the former emperor, serving him dinner, I was sleeping innocently. People shouted, "You did fall asleep! Wake up, wake up!" but, when His Majesty heard this, he said, "No, let her sleep." So no one woke me up. While leaning against the charcoal brazier inside the sliding door, I had fallen asleep, covering myself with my gown. I knew nothing of what had happened.

When I chanced to awake, the light had grown dim, and the screen had probably been closed. Next to me, inside the sliding

[6] Direction taboos were especially strong on *setsubun*, the day before spring. Today, festivals are held to expel demons and evil spirits on *setsubun*.

doors, was a man, sleeping quite comfortably. Wondering who he was, I was about to quickly get up and leave. Then, without rising, he began to say, "Ever since I fell in love with you some 14 years ago, I have been waiting for this moment." He spoke of so many things that I cannot find words to describe them. But I did not really hear them; I could only weep and weep, making His Majesty's sleeves wet with tears through and through. His Majesty was at a loss as to how to appease me.

He was decent enough not to treat me heartlessly, saying, "As I have not revealed my feelings toward you for so many years, I want to use this opportunity to convey them. That is why I am here. How can you remain so cold toward me, since, by now, I think everyone knows about this."

Now I understood that this was not a secret rendezvous which no one knew about. I was already worried about feeling bitter on the following day when tonight's dream had vanished. Now, in retrospect, I am rather surprised at how I, a young girl, could have had such presence of mind.

Wondering why no one had told me anything before and why my father had not discussed this with me, I wept, saying, "I have no desire to show my face in public again." His Majesty seemed to think that I was too childish. He did not know what to do. Not being able to leave, he stayed as he was. I was sad and bitter.

Throughout the night, I said not a single word of reply to him. In due course, there were signs of dawn. A voice was heard to say, "His Majesty is going to leave this morning, isn't he?" And Go-Fukakusa said to himself, "Now I must bid farewell just as if this had been a meeting of lovers." He got up and both complained and comforted me, "It has been unexpectedly harsh treatment, and I feel that our relationship since the days when you parted your hair in the

middle and let it hang down[7] has been shattered. You might behave in such a manner that no one suspects. If you continue your silence, I wonder what they will think about us." Nevertheless, I replied not a word.

"There is nothing left for me to do!" He got up, put on an ordinary royal robe, and ordered, "Bring my cart!" I could hear my father asking, "Will you have breakfast, my Lord?" Anyway, His Majesty seemed to be a different person, one whom I would not be able to meet again. How I longed for the me who had not known anything like this before yesterday.

## Mt. Shinobu

Although I heard that His Majesty had gone home, I still lay sleeping, covering myself with a cloth, when, promptly enough, a letter came. I was surprised. My stepmother and grandmother came and asked, "Well, why don't you get up?" Feeling sad, I replied, "I haven't felt well since last night." Then I felt sad, all the more as they seemed to think it was because I had shared my new pillow with a man the night before. People were making a fuss over the letter from Go-Fukakusa, but I did not want to even see it. The messenger was at a loss and asked, "What has happened?" He urged my father, "Please tell your daughter." It was unbearable to hear this conversation.

Then my father came to me, and said, "You must not be feeling well. Everybody is making a fuss about His Majesty's letter. How childish you are! Don't you think you should answer it?" he con-

[7] This hair style, called *furiwaké-gami*, was worn by young girls before the ceremony that marked their coming of age.

tinued as I heard the sound of his unfolding the letter which had been written on a thin, purple paper. It read:

あまたとしさすがになれしさよ衣
　かさねぬ袖にのこるうつりが
*Amata toshi sasuga ni nareshi sayogoromo*
　*kasanenu sodé ni nokoru utsuriga*
Friends for many years
　Although our clothes did not overlap last evening
　Your scent lingers on my sleeves

After looking at the former emperor's *waka*, everybody in the house said, "Our girl is different from other young girls of today." Still feeling ill, I did not get up. They were at a loss. "It would probably be impolite if someone else wrote an answer for her." So they gave some kind of gift to the messenger, and said, "She is only a child. She is still in bed and has not read His Majesty's letter yet."

Around noon I received an unexpected letter from another man. It contained a poem:

今よりや思ひきえなん一かたに
　煙のすゑのなびきはてなば
*Ima yori ya omoi kienan hito kata ni*
　*kemuri no sué no nabikihatenaba*
If you yield like smoke streaming in but one direction
　My being will surely be no more

It continued: "So far I have lived a fleeting life, waiting. But now for what should I continue to live?" This poem was penned on thin indigo paper over an old poem written in colored ink:

消えねただしのぶの山の峰の雲
かかる心のあとのなきまで
*Kiené tada shinobu no yama no miné no kumo*
*kakaru kokoro no ato no nakimadé*
May the clouds on the ridge of Mt. Shinobu vanish
As my [bitter] heart has totally disappeared[8]

I tore off the part of the paper where "Mt. Shinobu" was written and wrote my odd reply:

しられじな思ひみだれて夕煙
なびきもやらぬ下のこころは
*Shirareji na omoi midareté yūgemuri*
*nabikimo yaranu shita no kokoro wa*
You do not understand
Confused, my heart does not waft away
like evening smoke

I wondered what had made me write such a poem.

## The New Pillow

A day passed without my drinking even medicine, and the members of the household began to say to each other, "She must really be ill." About the time the sun was setting, I was informed of a visit from His Majesty. I wondered what would happen this time, when the former emperor opened the sliding door and stepped into my

[8] By Fujiwara no Masatsuné, in *Shinkokin Waka-shū*, compiled in 1205.

room in an intimate way. He asked, "What could have made you ill?" but I was in no mood to reply, and stayed in bed. He lay beside me. While I was listening to his many words, I thought that, if his words were truly sincere, I would succumb. But, at the same time, I was upset that people might think it unseemly if they knew I had succumbed whole-heartedly to His Majesty. In bewilderment, I said not a word in reply. But he was so rude that night that my thin robe was utterly ripped at the seams.

While I was at his command, the day began to break. I wished to be covered with clouds, and, alas! my heart could but reproach the bright morning light of dawn.

心よりほかにとけぬる下ひぼの
いかなるふしにうき名ながさん
*Kokoro yori hoka ni tokenuru shitahibo no*
*ikanaru fushi ni ukina nagasan*
Not of my own accord did I unbelt my clothes
What a target for gossip I would become

I continued to brood and felt it strange that I still had the composure to think, even on such an occasion. "This vow will never be cut, even as our shapes change from life to life. Although our nights of separation may be great, let there never be a separation between our hearts." While I listened to His Majesty's words on various themes, the night, too short for a dream, came to an end with the sound of a temple bell. His Majesty got up, saying, "I won't stay here until the dawn advances far into the morning and embarass other people. Even though you may not feel so sad to part from me, I would value it if you would at least see me off," he urged strongly. Since I had no reason to be cold to him, I stood up, wearing a thin unlined robe

over the undergarment with sleeves wet from a night of tears. The moon of the seventeenth of the month hung in the western sky, and a bank of clouds was crossing the eastern sky. His Majesty was dressed in a scarlet-lined grass-green robe with a thin purple robe over it and brocade trousers. That I felt his figure was unusually impressive made me wonder at the strangeness of the intertwining relationship between men and women that makes hearts attracted.

Lord Takaaki [a major counselor], dressed in light blue hunting clothes, brought up the cart. At that time, Lord Tamekata, the assistant chief investigator, was the only official in attendance. In addition, there were two or three guards and some followers on the northern side of the palace. When the cart was called in, birds were chirping as if to announce the time.

Just as the birds were chirping, the sound of a bell in Kannondō[9] felt as though it were ringing in the sleeves of my robe. It reminded me of the phrase "both left and right sleeves get wet."[10] Could this statement describe such a situation? His Majesty had not left yet and induced me "to see me off, I who will take the road alone."

He did not know how bitter my heart felt. I lost my composure and simply stood there.[11] The dawn, without a single shadow in the sky, began to brighten. Then, what a surprise! His Majesty suddenly picked me up and placed me in the cart, which began to move. It was almost like an episode in an old story, to be carried off without say-

[9] The major temple of the Kawasaki District. Also called Kawasaki-dera, it was dedicated to Kannon (Avalokiteśvara), the Goddess of Mercy.

[10] This is a phrase from the *Genji Monogatari* (Tales of Genji). It describes a sense of gratitude for the emperor's benevolence, not bitterness.

[11] Because her confusion was so great that she could not show any emotion.

ing anything in advance to anyone. I was very worried about what would become of me.

鐘のおとにおどろくとしもなき夢の
　名残もかなしあり明の空
*Kané no oto ni odoroku toshimo naki yumé no*
　*nagori mo kanashi ariaké no sora*
Not awakened by the sound of the bell
　The memory of my dream becomes sad
　The sky of dawn

I suppose the way His Majesty pledged his everlasting love along the road, as if he were abducting a woman for the first time, could have been called charming, but, because of my growing bitterness, I now had nothing but tears to comfort myself. Then we arrived at the Tominokōji Palace.

## The Inseparable Tie

The cart was drawn through the main gate to a building in a corner of the palace, and His Majesty got off, saying to Uncle Takaaki, "Since she is like a child without a grain of sense, I could not return and leave her behind. I wouldn't let anyone in the palace know about this for awhile. Please take care of her," and then he retired to his room.

I no longer felt comfortable in the palace, as I had as a child. Filled with dread, I wished to avoid the eyes of others. Yet, hesitating to leave, I continued to wonder what would become of me. While tears flowed from my eyes without cease, I heard my father's voice. I was struck by the thought of how worried he was about me.

When my Uncle Takaaki told him what His Majesty had said, my father remarked, "Such special treatment of my daughter will do her no good. She would be better off employed here as before. Even if things are kept secret, the secret will get out anyway." After he said this, I heard him leave.

Truly worried about what would become of me, my heart grew even sadder, for I had no place to settle down. But then, the former emperor came to my room, and, when I heard about his inexhaustible affection for me, I regained my serenity. I began to philosophize that this was a tie that was destined.

About ten days passed, and I received the former emperor's love every night, but, strangely enough, I still recalled that person who had written, "If you yield like smoke streaming in but one direction."

My father repeated, "If you stay in the palace, it will not be good." So finally I left the palace. I felt very sad, and, besides, it was unbearable to see people. I stayed at home, saying that I was still ill. His Majesty wrote me a very warm letter, saying, "Since I used to keep you at my side, I feel now as if many, many days have passed. Come back to me soon." With the letter was a poem:

かくまでは思ひおこせじ人しれず
　みせばや袖にかかる涙を
*Kaku madé wa omoi okoseji hito shirezu*
　*miseba ya sodé ni kakaru namida wo*
You may not think of me as I do of you
　How I wish I could show you my sleeves
　wet with tears

Before I loathed his letters very much, but today I was impatient to

read it. And probably, in excitement, my reply symbolized my true state of mind.

我ゆゑの思ひならねどさよ衣
　なみだのきけばぬるる袖かな
*Waré yué no omoi naranedo sayogoromo*
　*namida no kikeba nururu sodé kana*
Your grief may not be because of me
　But when I hear of your tears I wet
　my sleeves with tears

A few days passed. I returned to the palace in my usual capacity, but I felt ill at ease there, and people were quick to say spiteful things. "The major counselor certainly treasures her and provides for her in a splendid manner, as though she were the consort of the former emperor." Many such slanders arose, and soon Lady Higashi Nijō [Go-Fukakusa's official wife] gradually became unpleasant. I felt chilly inside. However, I watched and waited. She may have been offended because she passed night after night alone. There were many other women at court, but, since I was in no position to say anything about their visits [to the former emperor], I continued my painful road of love.

To resign myself to such a relationship between a man and a woman was, it seemed to me, a trying fate. Anyway, hoping that someday the present bitterness might be looked back upon with nostalgia, the days and nights passed and, before long, autumn came.

## The Childbirth of Lady Higashi Nijō

In the eighth month of the year, the time for Lady Higashi Nijō

to give birth to a baby in a building in a corner of the palace approached. Since she was no longer young and since her former delivery had been difficult, everybody was alarmed and conducted the prayers of Taihō and Hihō.[12] The prayers Shichibutsu-Yakushi, Godan-no-Mizuhō, Fugen-Enmei, Kongō Dōji, and Nyohō-Aizen[13] were said.

Godan-no-Gundari[14] had been conducted from time to time in my father's domain, Owari, but this time, my father offered prayers for Kongō Dōji as well, in compliance with His Majesty's desire. A priest of Jōjū-in temple acted as conjurer.[15]

Around the 20th of the eighth month, the people were excited over the imminent delivery. Everyone kept thinking that the time had come, but two or three days passed in this manner. Everyone felt uneasy. In time, her condition changed; His Majesty was informed and came at once. Since Lady Higashi Nijō looked very weak, His Majesty called in a conjurer and had him pray with only a screen

[12] Literally "Great Law" and "Secret Law," esoteric rites of Shingon, the Buddhist sect established by Kūkai in 806.

[13] The objects of these prayers and incantations were: (1) Shichibutsu-Yakushi, to Buddha Yakushi, who transforms his body into seven aspects to save all living things; (2) Godan-no-Mizuhō, to the Godai-Myō-ō, five buddhas who subjugate evils and devils; (3) Fugen-Enmei, to the bodhisattva of the same name, who can prolong one's life; (4) Kongō-Dōji, to the boy-shaped Kongō-Dōji, one of the guardian deities of Shingon Buddhism, for an easy delivery; (5) Nyohō-Aizen, to Aizen-Myō-ō, the Buddha of Love.

[14] Incantations and prayers for Gundari, one of the Godai-Myō-ō, the five buddhas who subjugate evils and demons.

[15] The conjurer conducted prayers to attract auspicious spirits. This is in contrast to an exorcist, who would only expel evil spirits.

separating him from her. He also called a priest inside the screen to act as a high priest of Nyohō-Aizen.

His Majesty said, "She looks like she may not survive. What shall we do?" "The pledge of the Buddhist saints will change even a predetermined fate. There is no need to worry," replied the high priest. Then he prayed to Buddha. Outside the screen, the conjurer hung a picture of Fudō-son, to whom Jōjū-in was dedicated. Fudo-son had supposedly replaced Shōkū Ajari many years ago. While telling the beads, he intoned, "Fushi shugyōsha yunyohakabon ichiji himitsu jushōshōni kago."[16] He prayed, "I have told the beads until light began to break in my childhood. Even now as an adult, I spend a life of penance day after day. How can the divine favor be empty?" As the delivery looked more imminent, the priest gained strength and prayed so earnestly that he looked as if he would raise smoke.

Court ladies passed out unlined undergarments and silk robes from under the screens. The official in charge of the delivery took them and gave them to the courtiers. Then the guards gave them to the priests intoning the sutra. At the foot of the steps sat some courtiers waiting for the birth of a prince. In the courtyard, the masters of divination set up an eight-footed table and repeated a purification prayer a thousand times. Courtiers took cutouts,[17] and the court ladies spread their sleeves from under the screen to receive

[16] "Those who practice asceticism and serve Fudō Myō-ō are equivalent to Nyorai. Those who attain and observe the esoteric formulae are placed under the eternal protection of Fudō-Myō-ō." Fudō-Myō-ō is a manifestation of Dainichi-Nyorai (Maha Vairocana), the central Buddha of Shingon Buddhism.

[17] White paper cut out in the shape of a human figure and used for divination.

them. Followers and guards of the northern palace grounds brought out sacred horses. After His Majesty made a ritual bow, they were led to twenty-one shrines.

Such a grand ceremony seemed like the best a woman could hope for.

The chief priest of Shichibutsu-yakushi was called in to chant the Yakushi Sutra, together with three other priests chosen for their resonant voices. Just as they were chanting the passage, "all people rejoiced at the sight," the baby was born. All the people, both inside the outside the house, called out congratulations. Since the baby was a girl, a basket for steaming rice was dropped, according to the custom, from the roof down into the north courtyard. It [birth of a girl] was regrettable, but the conjurers received a sizable fee which did not differ at all from the usual. **(to be continued)**

## Translator's Note

This translation has been made by referring to Tomikura Tokujirō's modern Japanese version *Towazugatari* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1969) and the *Nihon Koten Zensho* (Complete Japanese Classics) (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbun-sha, 1966), revised and annotated by Tsugita Kasumi. The original manuscript was not divided into chapters. The chapter division and titles used here are from *Towazugatari*, edited by Tamai Kōsuké (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1968).

# Birth of the Ōsaka Merchants

*by Dr. Miyamoto Mataji*
*Professor Emeritus,*
*Ōsaka University*

## Development of Ōsaka

If we were to name the Japanese city which most reflects a mercantile flavor, it would unquestionably be Ōsaka. At the end of the medieval period, in the 5th year of the Meiō Era (1496), the priest Rennyo (1415–1499, 8th patriarch of Jōdo Shin-shū) built a temple on the site of the present-day Ōsaka Castle. With the temple at the center, streets sprouted up in all directions, thus forming the "temple gate" or "inner temple" town of Ishiyama. The 872-square-meter area comprising the temple grounds was enclosed by a moat and was, therefore, well fortified. The Jōdo Shin-shū adherents built the main temple building as well as their own homes and, within the temple precincts, conducted their daily lives and occupations. Numerous dwellings were built within the six main towns, which were called Kitamachi, Kitamachiya, Nishimachi, Minamimachi, Shinyashiki, and Shimizumachi. And thus, a new city arose.

According to the *Tenmon Nikki* (Tenmon Diary, written in the 16th century), these six main towns of the Ishiyama Hongan-ji temple in Ōsaka were administered by a type of self-government, consisting of six townsmen during the time of Rennyo and sixteen men during the time of the priest Shōnyo (1516–1554, 10th patriarch of Jōdo Shin-shū). That these townsmen who had originally been master-builders in charge of coordinating construction activities subsequently performed a municipal administration function is par-

ticularly noteworthy. In return for the protection accorded them by the abbot of Ishiyama Hongan-ji temple, the townspeople participated in such projects as building the temple priest-quarters. *Za* (kinds of guilds) that were organized in the different trades of the townspeople received protection from the temple and offered their labor in return. Under the abbot's orders, the merchants contributed to the temple's defensive works and also took part in warfare. The relationship between the temple and the townsmen was one of dependence and protection.

The six towns of the Ishiyama Hongan-ji inner temple resembled a fortress with their high earthen walls and surrounding moat. Even though it could strictly be called the Ishiyama Hongan-ji temple town, it was, in truth, quite different from other temple towns, such as Zenkō-ji temple's Nagano and Isé Grand Shrine's Ujiyamada. The Ishiyama Hongan-ji organization assumed feudal-lord characteristics, and Ōsaka itself radiated the flavor of the religious believers who founded it. Even Kaizuka and Tondabayashi (both in present-day Ōsaka Prefecture) were mixtures of both the traditional castle town and temple town.

In ancient times, Ōsaka had been called Naniwa (rapid waves). Although it had once been an Imperial capital, with such palaces as Takatsu-no-miya and Naniwa-no-Nagara-no-Toyosaki-no-miya, there was little direct connection between this past and the Ishiyama Hongan-ji temple town.

The word "*machi*" (町, primarily meaning "town" in modern Japanese) is of ancient origins: "*machikata*" (町形) meant the pattern of cracks used for oracles made in the shoulder bone of a deer when held over a flame; "*machi*" also referred to the measurement and division of rice paddy land. Even in the configuration of nobles' palaces and mansions, an architectural style known as "*shinden*

*zukuri*," the houses built were partitioned and came to be called "*machi*." "*Machi*" is still in use today as the name of inserts placed in seams when sewing clothing.

In the eastern and western districts of Heian-kyō (Kyōto) in the Heian Period (794–1191), a distinction was already made between the market area (*ichimachi*) and the back of the market area (*ichiura*), so we can assume that "*machi*" related to markets had already come into existence by that time. Although market days were not at first standardized, they later were held at regular intervals: originally once every 12 days,[1] later in a cycle of, first, every six days, then every three days, then every six days, etc. As the frequency of markets increased, towns naturally sprang up in those areas. *Machi* were thus created where shops and racks stood side by side.

These *machi* were quite different from the *mura* 村 (village), a word derived from "*muré*" 群 (group), which meant agricultural communities. Society was classified by environment: the city in which *miyakobito* 都人, a word derived from "*miyabi*" 風雅 (elegance, taste, refinement) gathered, and the natural rustic (*hinabi*) area of the *hina* or *inaka* 田舎 (countryside). However, outside of the capital, the distinction between country and city was not clear cut; even those called "city dwellers" were probably integrally linked to agricultural villages. They left their agricultural communities and then lived in the towns only temporarily. In other words, once people left the country, they did not yet have the consciousness of having a

[1] The Japanese calendar was at that time divided according to the Chinese system, in which the names of days corresponded to the 12 signs of the zodiac. For example, *uma-no-hi* (horse day) was the 7th day of a 12-day "week." Every month, which consisted of either 29 or 30 days, had a market on those days named after the same sign of the zodiac; thus, markets occured twice or three times per month.

distinct social position or rank.

From the end of the middle ages, the port towns of Hakata (now in Fukuoka Prefecture), Sakai (now in Ōsaka Prefecture), and Ōminato (now in Mié Prefecture) were developing. In certain respects, these port towns resembled free cities, but, of course, relating them to free cities in Europe would probably be an exaggeration.

After the destruction of Kyōto during the Ōnin Rebellion (1467–1477), *machi-gumi* (town assembly) were formed. Instead of assuming the castle-town system, towns developed forms of self-government among the citizenry. The people in these communities were first called "*machishū*" 町衆 and then came to be called "*chōnin*" or "*machibito*" 町人. Certain *chōnin* acquired great power and were called "*yūtokusha*" ("man of profit" 有得者 or "man of virtue" 有徳者, depending on the *kanji* used) or "*daifukuchōja*" (man of great fortune). These *machishū* enjoyed considerable social status. The senior townsmen acting as *machishū* representatives (called *toshiyoriyaku* or *tsukigyōji*) met at monthly assemblies called "*yoriai*" (except in Sakai, where they were called "*egōshū*") to carry out the affairs of self government. There was a major relationship that developed between Ishiyama, Ōsaka's inner temple town, and such important men of trade and commerce from Sakai as Konishi Sōzaemon.

Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582) razed Ishiyama Hongan-ji temple in 1576, but Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598) built his castle on the site of the old Ishiyama temple. In Tenshō 11 (1583), the construction of the castle began and a chain of construction projects soon followed in the Ōsaka vicinity: reclaiming the delta at Shima-no-uchi and Senba; establishing city streets proper; dredging the Tenma and Higashiyoko canals.

The merchants of Sakai were the first to be summoned to Ōsaka,

and merchant houses sprang up here and there throughout the seven-and-a-half mile area between Sakai, Sumiyoshi, and Tennōji. The Awa-za and Tosa-za guilds were established, attracting various merchants from all over the country. After the Battle of Winter (1614) and the Battle of Summer (1615), Matsudaira Tadaaki, the *daimyō* (feudal lord) appointed to administer Ōsaka, restored the war-devastated city. Soon thereafter, the merchants of Fushimi (a southern suburb of Kyōto) were invited to the city. Merchants from the Kyōmachi district of Fushimi moved to and from Ōsaka in great numbers, settled in Shimo-senba, and dug the Kyōmachi Canal (also known as the Fushimi Canal). As a result, the Ōsaka merchants were primarily made up of merchants from the cities of Sakai, Fushimi, Hirano-gō (now part of Ōsaka), and later, of the merchants of Gōshū (Ōmi in Shiga Prefecture).

## The Wholesalers of the Commodity Price Market

Although Ōsaka prospered as the Ishiyama Hongan-ji temple-gate town, the Ōsaka we know today grew from the castle town established by Hideyoshi. During the Battle of Winter and the Battle of Summer, Ōsaka was ravaged, and the citizenry scattered in all directions. But following the fall of Ōsaka Castle, the city came under the direct control of Matsudaira Shimofusa-no-kami Tadaaki, Tokugawa Ieyasu's grandson. Ōsaka was under his control only for about the first five years of the Genna Era (1615–1619) and afterwards was governed directly by the Tokugawa Shogunate from Edo. During this short period, however, Tadaaki exerted tremendous efforts as the post-war administrator to restore the devastated city. The area that had previously been the San-no-maru portion of Ōsaka Castle was incorporated into the city as the residence for the Fushimi

merchants who were invited to return. Some 80 square blocks were thus added to the center of Ōsaka. Later, the Tokugawa Shogunate rebuilt Ōsaka Castle to such an extent that it no longer retained its former appearance.

When Iemitsu, the third shogun, came to Ōsaka in Kan-ei 11 (1634), he exempted the city from any land tax. No longer would a land tax be levied on land in the center of Ōsaka. Delighted at the great boon realized by the land tax exemption, the Ōsaka townspeople built a "house with a bell tower" to commemorate this event for posterity. This "bell tower" was used to announce the time of day. At the beginning of the Kan-ei Era, unrest still assailed the government. A contemporary contract read: "This contract cannot be violated even if a moratorium is announced or the world is rent with great changes." However, a lasting peace settled upon Japan following the Shimabara Rebellion in Kan-ei 14 (1637).

Ōsaka's population in Kan-ei 10 (1633) was 279,610. This remained relatively stable for approximately 75 years. Later, the population reached 330,000 in Genroku 2 (1689), and 352,000 in Genroku 16 (1703). It continued to gradually increase through the Meiwa (1764–1771) and An-ei (1772–1780) eras until the city population reached approximately 400,000. From this point, there was a gradual decline in population to approximately 350,000 just prior to the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

In comparison, Edo's official population was 500,000, not including *hatamoto* (direct shogunate retainers with the privilege of an audience with the shogun), *goké-nin* (lower–ranking direct shogunate retainers), *daimyō* and their retainers fulfilling the regulations of alternate-year residence in Edo, *rōnin* (masterless samurai), and the homeless. If these people were to be counted, the population figure would probably reach almost one million. Dr. Yoshida Tōgo claims

that, since rice shipments into the city during the Kōka (1844–1848) and Kaei (1848–1854) eras annually averaged 1.4 million *koku* (1 *koku*=5.1 U.S. bushels) and since per capita rice consumption is estimated to have been roughly 1 *koku* per year, Edo's population must have totaled some 1.4 million. Thus Edo was quite a bit larger than Ōsaka at that time. However, in the West at the same time, few cities had reached the size of either Edo or Ōsaka; the population of London at the beginning of the 18th century was 700,000; of Paris, 500,000; and of Vienna, 250,000. Other European cities were far smaller than these three.

In those days, Ōsaka was known as "the nation's kitchen" or the "commodity price center." The tax in kind of each domain, especially the rice exacted as the annual rice tax, was brought to Ōsaka where it was stored in warehouses pending future sale. In addition to rice, soybeans, salt, paper, and wax were sold. These articles are all called "*kuramono*" (objects stored and sold to provide domains with revenue). Ōsaka's Dōjima Market was the central rice market for the country, and it was there that the commodity price level for the nation was fixed. Even when *kuramono* shipped to Ōsaka were not sold immediately, Ōsaka merchants lent the *daimyō* money based on the stored commodities, thus conducting a primitive futures market. For these reasons, Ōsaka was justly known as "the nation's kitchen."

Books of that day also referred to Ōsaka as "the financial and trading center of the country." Thus, the decline of economic activity in Ōsaka was soon followed by similar declines in other parts of the country. If goods and commodities were not marketed in Osaka, prices for those goods could not be quoted, and, as a result, the price structure established there strongly influenced other regions. For example, the Dōjima Market influenced the rice markets in various locations and could be described as a wholesale price-setting

institution. With Ōsaka as the center, the commercialization of the Japanese economy was realized. In addition to *kuramono*, goods not directly related to domains, such as personal goods, farm goods, and producer goods, were largely concentrated in Ōsaka. These were called "*nayamono*" (articles merchants purchased directly from those who produced them without going through the feudal lords). Although commodity traders, rice brokers, freight forwarders, and warehousers dealing in *kuramono* were Ōsaka's representative merchants, the wholesalers dealing in *nayamono* also flourished.

## The Silver Standard and Commercial Drafts

The Edo Period is often described as having had a rice-based economy, as taxes were collected in kind and samurai stipends were evaluated in terms of rice. However, the gold and silver standards were also used in that period.

As explained above, the wholesalers were the central organ governing Ōsaka's economic activity. Trading was carried out principally by means of a currency exchange that was quite troublesome, for three different standards were used simultaneously. There were gold, silver, and copper coins, but none could be called the sole legal tender. There was no such system as establishing gold as the basic monetary standard with silver as a supplementary currency. If we were to distinguish between them, we could say that gold was the standard for the Kantō District and silver for the Kansai District. However, this does not mean that gold was not used in Kansai as well. Although gold was the currency standard, sayings such as "*koban no ginmi tsuyoku*" ("close scrutiny of gold coins," meaning that the percentage of gold varied from coin to coin) indicate that, rather than gold coins being used as a standard currency, the gold

circulating as currency was still thought of as an object evaluated by the actual gold content.

Gold denominations, which were on the quarterly scale, were divided into *ryō*, *bu*, and *shu*: 4 *shu* equalled 1 *bu*, and 4 *bu* equalled one *ryō*. There were five types of gold coins. The largest, which consisted of one gold leaf, was called *ōban* or *ōgon* (literally "gold"). Although *koban* (smaller coins) were also made of gold, when the word "*ōgon*" was used, it usually referred to the *ōban*. The value of 10 *ryō* was inscribed on the face of the *ōban*, but it was not equivalent to 10 *koban* of 1 *ryō* each. The *ōban* was, in reality, equivalent to 7 *ryō* and 2 *bu* (7.5 *ryō*); therefore, it did not represent true currency parity. Some people said that the *ōban* could not be used as a currency at all. In addition, the value of 10 *ryō* was written on the coin with Indian ink; after being handled only two or three times, the marking would disappear. Consequently, the *ōban* was usually wrapped in cloth and kept in a storebox.

At first, silver was divided into *chōgin* and *mameitagin*. It was currency-by-weight. Consequently, when settling a transaction, it was necessary to weigh silver piece by piece. In contrast, gold was currency-by-tale. In order to transact business in such a dual monetary system, some sort of exchange system was essential. The value of gold and silver constantly fluctuated. During the first part of the Keichō Era (1596–1615), one gold *ryō* was worth 50 *mommé* of silver (1 *mommé* = .1325 oz.) or 4 *kanmon* of copper. By the Genroku Era (1688–1704), the value of one *ryō* of gold had risen to 60 *mommé*. This was not the only difficulty. A separate market for copper existed, further complicating the system.

In general, the commoners and farmers used copper, the upper-class samurai with high political rank used gold, and the merchants used silver. Consequently, gold was the legal, governmental currency

while silver was the standard used for commercial and economic transactions. In other words, a classification by which high-ranking samurai used gold, low-ranking samurai used silver, and the commoners used copper was in vogue. Even when presentations were made, the gold-silver distinction marking the relative social position of samurai was maintained, as indicated by the words "*kinbadai*" 金馬代 and "*ginbadai*" 銀馬代.[2]

Commerce was primarily based upon silver, particularly in the Ōsaka area. Economically, there was a major need to control silver transactions. Eventually, with silver the commercial standard, *chōgin* and *mameitagin* became the silver coin of the market place. Gold, which had a fixed calculated value initially, was not a traded currency, but a market developed only to establish its relationship to silver.

Although it is often said that rice functioned as a purchasing currency, it was used only in exceptional cases in regions where copper was not in sufficient supply. In general, silver and gold rather than rice served as the value standard. Because of the relationship between the market value of rice and the money-rice conversion ratio set by the government, rice increasingly assumed the characteristics of a commodity, and its use as currency gradually diminished.

As the economy gradually became commercialized, the volume and flow of currency increased, thus giving rise to the development

[2] In olden days, samurai used to pay for services by sending horses to their creditors. As gold and silver became accepted currencies, this custom changed. Instead of horses, the samurai would send either gold or silver, depending on their rank. Thus, the money sent by upper-ranking samurai came to be called "*kinbadai*" (gold-horse money), and the money sent by lower-ranking samurai came to be called "*ginbadai*" (silver-horse money).

of moneychangers. This, too, became a representative function of the Ōsaka merchants.

With the prevalence of *azukari-tegata* 預手形 (deposit certificates), *furidashi-tegata* 振出手形 (checks), bills of exchange, and promissory notes in the Ōsaka of that time, moneychangers were an absolute necessity. Representative houses that developed included the Jūninryōgaé (10-man house), the Honryōgaé (the basic exchange house), the Komegataryōgaé (the exchange house for rice traders), the Minamiryōgaé (the southern exchange house), and the Zeniryōgaé (the copper exchange house).[3] These moneychangers, together with the wholesalers who handled the commercial transactions, were the mainstays of the city's commercial activity. Ōsaka could truly be called the area where drafts and notes thrived.

Why did drafts and notes become so prevalent in Ōsaka? First, as commercial transactions in Ōsaka increased, gold-silver settlements became inconvenient for all parties, and transferring *chōgin* and *mameitagin*, both currency whose value was determined by weight, was equally inconvenient. Second, curtailing the need to appraise the value of gold or silver currency became apparent. Third, in spite of the fact that silver-currency transactions were strongly

[3] The money exchange houses were organized in the following way:
Honryōgaé—the central trading houses dealing in both gold and silver. Representatives from the ten major exchange houses composed the Jūninryōgaé, which regulated all the various types of exchange houses.
Zeniryōgaé—the trading houses dealing in copper. These were subdivided into two groups. The more important of the two was the Minamiryōgaé with its headquarters in southern Ōsaka.
Komegataryōgaé—the trading houses dealing in rice.

rooted in the Ōsaka area, by the latter half of the Edo Period, both gold and silver currency was in wide circulation. Based on their custom, however, the Ōsaka merchants continued to appraise all goods and commodities in terms of silver, i.e., currency-by-weight. Therefore, rather than converting silver into the equivalent gold tender for each transaction, it was far more convenient to use drafts that represented a particular weight in silver. These drafts were called either *gin-tegata* or *ginmé-tegata*.

In other words, drafts were so widespread in the Ōsaka and Kyōto areas because commercial trading was based on the backward silver-standard system. Of course, by the latter part of the Edo Period, silver coins had become standardized at a fixed value, and, consequently, not only drafts in silver but also those in gold gradually became prevalent, even in Ōsaka. But, in Ōsaka, most of the drafts in circulation as credible currency were still based upon the *chōgin*, the original silver currency standard in that area.

In contrast to the money issued and circulated in the regional domains of the *daimyō*, the drafts used in Ōsaka were a reliable and trustworthy currency. The *Ryōgaeshō Enkaku-shi* ("The History of the Development of the Money Merchants") states: "It was not unusual to issue 60,000 to 70,000 *ryō* in drafts based upon 10,000 *ryō* in capital. In this situation, tracing the drafts back to their origin would indicate that the *chōgin* was not available to back them up. In other words, it could be said that empty drafts were circulating, which had been drawn without necessary collateral." The *Segaikō Jireki Ishin-zaiseidan*[4] adds: "The silver standard as such has no

[4] Inoué Kaoru (1835–1915), a minister of finance in the Meiji Period, wrote this document by compiling data from various sources about the financial situation around the time of the Meiji Restoration. The pen name he used was Segai.

meaning. We have had silver currency called *chōgin*. This, however, is almost non-existent these days. Since it cannot be distributed as a real currency, silver, especially real silver, has been set at a very high value. 1 *kan* (8.72 pounds) of real silver was equivalent to as much as 1 *kan* and 400 to 500 *mommé* in silver drafts. What was called *chōgin* was represented in the cities, but, it was really only silver on the surface. Almost all *chōgin* notes were actually useless."

As previously stated, Ōsaka was not a feudal domain. Because it was a semi-independent territory, it could not mint money and circulate it for common use as the domains did. Instead, drafts circulated. Eventually the drafts came to be printed in the form of private notes in Ōsaka.

As a result of the prosperity resulting from wholesalers' transactions, the circulation of notes, with its center in Ōsaka, had reached some 99% of total commercial transactions in Ōsaka at the end of the Edo Period. Gradually, coins ceased to be used. In Kyōto, 50% of all business was conducted with drafts, but metallic currency was used far more widely than drafts in Edo. *Furi-tegata* (checks) were circulating so thoroughly in Ōsaka that they came to be called "Ōsaka drafts." Rather than utilizing drafts within the Edo city limits, however, bills of exchange were in widespread use only for whatever money had to be sent to distant areas. In addition, endorsed transaction documents were transferred from person to person, mainly within the same commercial undertaking, but this custom was almost non-existent in Edo.

Even though almost all commercial credit was based on "book credit" at that time, and commercial drafts were not generally transferrable, it is important to note that, to a certain extent, draft transfers had spread throughout Ōsaka. *Azukari-tegata* had changed from being simply securities in trust for silver currency to deposit

certificates, which, in turn, ultimately developed into promissory notes payable on demand and drawn on money exchange houses; *nobé-tegata*, which were post-dated checks; and promissory notes drawn on the merchant houses themselves. *Furidashi-tegata* were issued by merchants and drawn on money exchange houses where the merchants had deposits and were also used among the various exchange houses. Such drafts were the equivalent of our present-day checks.

If the date that appeared on the face of the draft was actually the date the draft was drawn, it was called a "*jikibarai-tegata*" (immediate draft). However, when negotiations between the draftor and draftee elicited an agreement that the date appearing on the face of the draft could be later than the actual date the check was drawn, the resulting draft was called a *nobé-tegata* (postdated check).

In Ōsaka, all payments for sales transactions were recorded in receipt/credit books, and drafts were subsequently issued during the season when accounts were to be settled. Consequently, issuing drafts at the time goods were purchased was very rare. Drafts originated and developed from the accounts recorded in the receipt/credit books. Upon receiving a draft, a merchant would forward it to the money changer who handled his financial affairs. The money appropriately credited to his account could then be used to offset debts to other merchants associated with money changers. This had not yet developed into a central draft-clearing system, however. Although drafts were transferrable by endorsement, loans based on discounted drafts were not advanced. *Nobé-tegata* did closely resemble commercial drafts, but, because discounting was impossible, *nobé-tegata* had to be kept on hand when the maturation date neared. After the maturation date, they were entrusted to the money changers.

Therefore, although the use of commercial drafts was still in its

infancy, commercial trading in Ōsaka was largely advanced through the use of drafts. In a sense, the *hansatsu*, money minted and circulated within a single domain, could be called reliable currency, but its development can be attributed primarily to the relative poverty of the feudal domains. The Ōsaka drafts developed and circulated as an indication of the wealth and resources of the city.

The Ōsaka merchants spearheaded technical advancement and commercial rationalization. Even in these spheres, we can find the personality of the Ōsaka merchants. I personally question the line of thinking that claims that no progress developed from amassed assets, which were conservative, or from early commercial capital. Early technological and commercial progress definitely did not originate from the middle-sized industrial class, nor did it derive from regional or local merchants. I feel that technical rationalization and progress can be traced to the merchant class in the large metropolitan areas in central Japan. Even though local capital and regional merchants had gained influence by the end of the Edo Period, their influence had not extended beyond being minor producers operating with the capital and credit extended them by large wholesalers. Even after the traditional Ōsaka wholesalers had changed, the character of their successors never became small in scale or minor in terms of influence. Without doubt, we should view the influence of the traditional Ōsaka merchants as continuing in terms of technical and progressive rationalization.

Dr. Miyamoto Mataji, the foremost scholar of 17th–19th century economic history in Japan, was born in 1909. He received his B.A. and PhD. degrees from Kyōto University in 1931 and 1949 respectively. He has taught at Kyūshū University and Ōsaka University. He is presently lecturing on economic history at Kansei Gakuin in Nishinomiya, Hyōgo Prefecture.

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