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Drodzy Czytelnicy.

Niniejszy zeszyt otwiera szósty rok działalności kwartalnika *Silva laponicarum* 日林, przynosząc także zmianę w jego kształcie.

To pierwszy zeszyt podwójny, a zarazem z nieco większą objętościowo zawartością w postaci artykułu z dziedziny japońskiej literatury klasycznej, poświęconego postaci damy Nijō, autorki *Towazugatari*, oraz artykułu z dziedziny religioznawstwa na temat idei *gen* w nauczaniu nurtu *shugendō*.

W listopadzie roku 2010 odbędzie się w Poznaniu, przy współpracy z Polskim Stowarzyszeniem Badań Japonistycznych, międzynarodowa konferencja naukowa *Japan: New Challenges in the 21st Century*. Kolejny zeszyt *Silva laponicarum* 日林, zeszyt specjalny i zarazem prawdopodobnie największy w dotychczasowej historii periodyku, ukaże się jako zbiór artykułów pokonferencyjnych z tego wydarzenia, którego szczegóły dostępne są w serwisie Katedry Orientalistyki Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza: www.orient.amu.edu.pl. Osobno zostanie opublikowany, także jako zeszyt specjalny, zbiór artykułów o tematyce okinawskiej, której w trakcie konferencji poświęcona zostanie osobna sesja.

Niniejszym zapraszamy do udziału w tym wydarzeniu i do zgłaszania własnych propozycji wystąpień. Do zobaczenia w Polsce w listopadzie 2010.

Kolegium redakcyjne

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Poznań-Kraków-Warszawa-Kuki, wrzesień-grudzień 2009

Dear Readers,

This fascicle opens the sixth year of the *Silva Iaponicarum* 日林 quarterly activity, bringing also a change to its form.

It is the first double fascicle, bigger in volume, including the article on Japanese classical literature focused on the figure of Lady Nijō, the authoress of *Towazugatari* and an article on religious studies, the idea of *gen* in the teachings of *shugendō*.

In November 2010 an international conference *Japan: New Challenges in the 21st Century* is going to be held in Poznań, in co-operation with the Polish Association for Japanese Studies. The next fascicle of *Silva Iaponicarum* 日林, its special edition and at the same time probably the largest fascicle of *Silva* up to date, will be issued as the collection of post-conference papers. The details of the event are available at the Web service of the Adam Mickiewicz University Chair of Oriental Studies: www.orient.amu.edu.pl. Another special edition will be issued separately as the collections of papers of Okinawan studies, to which a special session of the conference is going to be devoted.

Herewith we invite our readers to participate in the event and to submit your own contributions. See you all in Poland in November 2010.

The editorial board

E-mail: silvajp@amu.edu.pl

Poznań-Cracow-Warsaw-Kuki, September-December 2009

読者のみなさまへ

本号により、季刊誌 *Silva lapponicarum* 日林の刊行は6年目に入ります。と同時に、季刊誌としては異例の形で刊行されることになりました。

初めて、二つの号すなわち「季節」を合併することになり、分量も通常の号より大きくなりました。日本古典文学研究の分野から、「とわずがたり」の作者後深草院二条に関する論文、もう一つは、宗教学の分野から、修験道の「験」概念についての論文です。

来年11月に、ポズナニで、ポーランド日本学会との共催による国際会議「日本：21世紀の新しい挑戦」が催されます。その報告集として刊行される、*Silva lapponicarum* 日林特別号は、本誌の歴史の中で最もページ数の多い一冊となることでしょう。学会の詳細についてはアダム・ミツキェヴィチ大学東洋学部のHPをご覧ください。報告集と別に、学会の一セッションとして開かれる「沖繩研究」に関する論文集も刊行されます。

この場を借りて、みなさまを学会にご招待いたします。発表のテーマをお知らせください。では、2010年11月にポーランドでお会いしましょう。

編集委員会

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2009年9月／12月 ポズナニ・クラクフ・ワルシャワ・久喜

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Małgorzata Citko

Three Faces of Lady Nijō, the Authoress of *Towazugatari*

Lady Nijō 二条 (1258-?) entered into the history of Japanese literature as the authoress of a diary titled *Towazugatari* とはずがたり (*a tale no one Asked for*). Her name means ‘The Second Alley,’ and is a sign of a very high position of her family in the court aristocratic hierarchy.¹ Nijō, who as a child was named Akako あかこ (Tomioka 1998: 15), lost her mother when she was only two years old, had been living in the imperial palace since she was four years old, and became a concubine to Retired Emperor Gofukakusa 後深草 (1243-1304)² in 1271 when she was fourteen years old. Nijō’s father, Koga Masatada 久我雅忠 (1223?-1272), died not too long after the lady had become a concubine to the Retired Emperor. Thus, Gofukakusa became her only protector after Nijō lost her father. The diary reveals the vicissitudes of lady Nijō, beginning with the years she spent at the court and ends by depicting her journeys around Japan.

Due to the fact that *Towazugatari* is the only writing of Nijō currently known, information about her life mainly comes from that diary. Moreover, Nijō’s life and work have not been mentioned, either by the authors of her times or later writers, which makes writing about her rather difficult. She was mentioned a couple of times in a chronicle of the Kamakura period (1185-1333) titled *Masukagami* 増鏡 (*the clear mirror*)³, however, the alleged author of *Masukagami*, Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基⁴ might have

¹ In the old capital Heiankyō 平安京 (present Kyoto), numbers of subsequent alleys (*ichijō* 一条 – the first alley, *nijō* 二条 – the second alley, *sanjō* 三条 – the third alley etc.) were marked counting from the imperial palace. Nijō – ‘The Second Alley’ meant a place of living that was very close to the imperial palace. Such a name defined her high position in the court aristocratic hierarchy.

² Gofukakusa, personal name Hisahito 久仁 (ruled 1246-1259) was the 89th Emperor of Japan and a son of Emperor Gosaga 後嵯峨 (1220-1272).

³ *Masukagami* (after 1338) is a historic chronicle of the Kamakura period. It includes descriptions of events in the years 1180-1333. The probable author of the chronicle, Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基 mentioned lady Nijō in *Masukagami*, which is considered unusual due to the fact that there are not many records of her existence in other historical sources. It is difficult to determine whether Nijō Yoshimoto and lady Nijō were related, whether the chronicle was indeed written by a man, or whether lady Nijō’s diary had in fact any impact on the chronicle.

⁴ Nijō Yoshimoto (1320-1388) was a courtier and poet, particularly of *renga* (linked verse). He became head of the Fujiwara family and was four times made regent. During the period of dynastic schism between the Northern and Southern Courts, Yoshimoto stood out as a scholar and authority, ranking in importance with Ichijō Kaneyoshi and Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, as a custodian and transmitter of traditional aristocratic culture (*Encyclopedia of Japan*, available through Japan Knowledge: <http://www.jkn21.com.eres.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/stdsearch/displaymain>).

used lady Nijō's diary while creating the chronicle. Kubota Jun, an editor and translator of one of the studies on *Towazugatari* into modern Japanese, reminds us that there are references to Nijō's diary in *Sanetaka Kō Ki* 実隆公記 (*the diary of Sanjōnishi Sanetaka* 三条西実隆, 1475-1536)⁵. Matsumoto Yasushi also claims *Sanetaka Kō Ki* actually includes information on the completion of copying *Towazugatari* at Emperor Gotsuchimikado's 後土御門 (1442-1500)⁶ wish in 1497 (Tonomura 2006: 301). However, neither *Gunsho Ruijū* 群書類従 (*classified collection of Japanese classics*, 1779-1819)⁷, nor *Tankaku Sōsho* 丹鶴叢書 (*library from Tankaku Castle*, 1847-1853)⁸ mention lady Nijō's diary. *Towazugatari* was 'rediscovered' only in 1938 by the scholar Yamagishi Tokuhei 山岸徳平 in a geographic section of the Imperial Household Ministry's (*Kunaishō* 宮内省) library in Tokyo. It was not an original version of the diary, but a copy created during the life of Emperor Reigen 霊元 (1654-1732)⁹, i.e. in 17th or 18th century¹⁰. It indicates that the diary had not been entirely forgotten, but was copied and kept in hiding for many centuries. The first edition of *Towazugatari* was published quite late, in 1966, due to the outbreak of the Second World War and the time-consuming process of recovery, during which research on literary writings was surely suspended. Thus, it is a relatively 'new' and valuable writing of classical Japanese literature, especially because of the mediocre quality of other court writings of the Kamakura period, so called *giko monogatari* 擬古物語 (pseudo-classical tales) (Brazell 1971: 221). *Towazugatari* as it is known now consists of five books and contains the history of thirty-five years of Nijō's life (1271-1306), from the beginning of her affair with Retired Emperor Gofukakusa until the moment Nijō began her journeys as

⁵ *Sanetaka Kō Ki* (*the diary of Sanjōnishi Sanetaka*, 1475-1536) is a diary written by Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455-1537), a poet of the Muromachi 室町 period (1336-1573) (Ariyoshi 1982: 263).

⁶ Gotsuchimikado, personal name Fusahito 成仁 (1442-1500) was the 103rd Emperor of Japan and the oldest son of Emperor Gohanazono 後花園 (1419-1471), ruling between 1464-1500.

⁷ *Gunsho Ruijū* (*a collection of pieces of many kinds*, 1779-1819) is a collection of published and unpublished literary and historical writings. It was created by Hanawa Hoki'ichi 塙保己一 and it consists of c. 1150 volumes (Ariyoshi 1982: 172).

⁸ *Tankaku Sōsho* (*the library from Tankaku*, 1847-1853) is a collection of classical works of Japanese literature. It was created by Mizuno Tadanaka 水野忠央 (1814-1865), the owner of Tankaku castle. It consists of 154 volumes (Ariyoshi 1982: 431).

⁹ Reigen, personal name Satohito 誠仁 (1654-1732) was 112th Emperor of Japan and nineteenth son of Emperor Gomizuno'o 後水尾 (1596-1680). Ruling years: 1663-1687.

¹⁰ Kubota Jun 久保田潤 quotes in his study an opinion of Ijichi Tetsu 伊地知鐵, an academic who has estimated the age and condition of a discovered copy of *Towazugatari* (Gofukakusain no Nijō 1985, v. 2: 200).

a Buddhist nun. Nijō had been recording her accounts in order to commemorate the name of her family and increase its prestige, as well as to rationalize her own actions. For more than six centuries the diary of lady Nijō had been kept in hiding, probably due to the image of Retired Emperor Gofukakusa presented in *Towazugatari* – a man possessing both virtues and weaknesses, but definitely presented not as a ruler of divine origin. Such a depiction of the Emperor was most likely acknowledged as improper and the diary hidden.

Towazugatari is believed to be a very important source for the gender studies approach, the subject of which is socio-cultural gender identity. The diary presents the history of a woman, whose life went in a certain direction because of the norms and tendencies dominating the society in which she lived. Differences between the conceptions of biological sex and social, or even cultural, gender and their significance, as well as problems of violence and gender discrimination may be examined on the basis of *Towazugatari*, where we find many examples of male dominance over women, as well as dominance of certain social classes over other ones. Furthermore, the diary very skillfully shows the world of politics, in which using sex or gender for achieving political goals is a widely acknowledged social standard. However, while attempting to use the gender studies approach, it should be remembered that this diary could have been a ‘construct’ of the authoress, who wished to present only certain aspects of the court lifestyle and customs. Thus, the world described in *Towazugatari* ought to be perceived as a reflection of the court life, not a faithful depiction of it.

I. Nijō as a lady-in-waiting – childhood and youth

1.1. From Akako to lady Nijō

Towazugatari concerns the position of ladies-in-waiting at the court of the time. It depicts Nijō becoming a concubine to Retired Emperor Gofukakusa at the age of fourteen. It is thus evident that women, as in the Heian 平安 period (8-12th century), were ‘hidden’ in the seclusion of their rooms and, at least on the surface, obedient to their masters: their father’s, husband’s or lover’s will, and they could not fully make decisions about their own lives. Their role was to spend days and nights in loneliness while awaiting visits of ‘beloved’ men. Yet, it should be remembered that the highly romanticized in Japanese literature motive of awaiting a beloved man, which probably has its origin in the ancient Chinese literature, was inscribed in the relationships between men and women of the court society, and in fact in the whole amorous ritual of the time, so it appears very often

in Japanese court poetry. Therefore, it is not surprising that such image also appears in Nijō's diary. The circumstances in which Nijō had been 'devolved' to Retired Emperor Gofukakusa, illustrate the relations of a woman with her father and lover very skillfully. The very beginning of *Towazugatari* points to this as well:

今日御薬には大納言、陪膳が参らる。外様の式果てて、また内に召し入れられて、台盤所の女房たちなど召されて、如法をれこだれたる九献の式あるに、大納言三々九とて、外様にて九返りの献盃にてありけるに、「また内々の御事にも、その数にてこそ」と申されけれども、「この度は九三にてあるべし」と仰せありて、如法上下酔ひ過ぎさせおはしましたる後、御所の御土器を大納言に賜はすとて、「この春よりは、たのむの雁もわが方によ」とて賜ふ。ことさら畏まりて、九三返したまひてまかり出づるに、何とやらむ忍びやかに仰せらるることありとは見れど、何事とはいかでか知らむ。¹¹

'My father, a major counselor¹², served today's medicinal *sake*¹³. After the formal ceremonies everyone was invited in, the ladies were summoned from the tray room, and a drinking party began. Earlier Father had proposed the customary three rounds of *sake* with three cups each time¹⁴, which meant that the participants in the formal ceremonies had already had nine cups. Now he proposed the same again, but His Majesty revised the suggestion: "This time we'll make it three rounds of nine cups each." As a result, everyone was quite drunk when Gofukakusa passed his *sake* cup to my Father and said, "Let 'the wild goose of the fields'

¹¹ Cf. Gofukakusain no Nijō 1985, v. 1-2: 11-12.

¹² Major counselor (*dainagon* 大納言) was, according to the *ritsuryō* 律令 system (Japanese legal system, or law-based state included in Taihō Code 大宝律令 promulgated in 702), the fourth most important public servant after the minister of the right (*udajin* 右大臣). *Ritsuryō* was patterned on a Chinese system and increased imperial power.

¹³ For the first three mornings of the New Year different kinds of *sake* 酒, prepared especially for the Emperor, were served to ladies-in-waiting, invited guests and the Emperor himself. This ceremony took place every year and was called *ongusuri* 御薬, was performed in order to prevent any illnesses and ensure happiness in the New Year.

¹⁴ In the original *sansankudo* 三三九度 – a traditional toast consisting of three rounds of three cups of *sake*.

come to me this spring¹⁵.” Accepting this proposal with great deference, my Father drank the cups of *sake* offered to him and retired. What did it all mean? I had seen them speaking confidentially, but I had no way of knowing what was afoot’ (Brazell 1973: 1-2).

One may observe that the future of lady Nijō was just hanging in the balance. The conversation between Retired Emperor Gofukakusa and Koga Masatada, the content of which young lady Nijō did not seem to fully understand, may seem quite surprising. Yet, in the reference to one of the episodes of *Ise Monogatari* 伊勢物語 (*the tales of Ise*, mid-10th century),¹⁶ in which a young girl desired involvement with a certain young man, Gofukakusa put himself in the role of someone who was desired by young Akako, which was obviously not a similarity to, but a discrepancy from *Ise Monogatari*. Still, this kind of intertextuality remains an important feature of medieval Japanese prose, in which we often find original source materials (*honzetsu* 本説) from earlier poems or writings. The usage of *honzetsu* to some extent ‘poeticizes’ the diary, makes it courtly ‘elegant,’ and even creates a ‘wider space’ in the writing. It is obvious that in this situation Gofukakusa did not ask for the major counselor’s daughter, he demanded her, which could be only humbly accepted by Masatada. Nijō’s father had probably been counting on such a turn of events for many years, since a daughter being an imperial concubine was an extremely comfortable means of ensuring a successful career and respected position at the court. A father had very big influence on his daughter, as he could decide about such intimate matters, i.e. the inception of the sexual life of a young lady-in-waiting, which may seem to be odious, but was a widely accepted practice in the Japanese court society.

The world described in the diary is presented from the point of view of lady Nijō, whose situation resembles the one of Murasaki no Ue 紫の上 from *Genji Monogatari* 源氏物語 (*the tale of Genji*, c. 10th century)¹⁷, the

¹⁵ In the original the Emperor uses the quotation from the 10th episode of *Ise Monogatari*, a 10th-century collection of tales describing different circumstances of poems’ creation. The episode tells a story about a mother asking the main character to marry her daughter. In the poems they exchange there occurs an expression “wild goose” which is a metaphor of a young girl. With his declaration, Gofukakusa suggested the counselor’s daughter should become his concubine.

¹⁶ *Ise Monogatari* (*the tales of Ise*, mid-10th century) is a collection of usually 125 brief lyrical episodes (different copies of this work contain different numbers of episodes), combining elements of prose and poetry of anonymous authorship. It is the oldest of the *uta monogatari* 歌物語 (collections of short tales built around one or more poems).

¹⁷ *Genji Monogatari* 源氏物語 (*the tale of Genji*) is a novel consisting of 54 chapters. It is

little girl raised by prince Genji for many years so she can become his dreamed-of concubine (Murasaki 2006: 87-89). Young Akako was ‘devolved’ to the Retired Emperor without being asked for permission to do so, though not ‘kidnapped’ as in case of Murasaki no Ue. Reading the diary from the Nijō’s point of view, it is notable she did not show any engagement into the relationship with Gofukakusa. On the contrary, the girl seemed to have avoided sexual initiation, as she did not seem to understand what was about to happen. She also did not seem aware of the fact that the power over her body and destiny had been already handed over to the Retired Emperor, who since that moment had a full right to her. The diary presents the point of view of an ‘unawakened’ Nijō, so there is no eroticism in the scene describing her sexual initiation. Tonomura Hitomi even suggests the intercourse that undoubtedly took place the next day after the first unsuccessful night with Gofukakusa, should be called rape (Tonomura 2006: 312-313). On the other hand, one should ask if it is possible that a girl raised at the court, among people amazingly well-situated, and acquainted with the reality of life at the court was indeed not aware of the significance of intimacy between her and Gofukakusa. Such emphasis on the innocence and naiveness of young Nijō in *Towazugatari*, involved in a relationship she had no wish to be involved in, could have been simply a way of increasing dramatism and bringing out all the injustices that had happened to her. Moreover, what was also mentioned by Tonomura Hitomi, Nijō wrote her diary after many years, when her life had undergone serious changes. Thus, she could have been used by men, also sexually, for the achievement of political goals, and this diary could be a ‘constructed revenge’ on her past.

1.2. Life of lady Nijō as an imperial concubine

Lady Nijō in *Towazugatari* is portrayed to have eventually become a beautiful and sophisticated court lady, respected at the court, whilst her relationship with Retired Emperor Gofukakusa was commonly accepted. However, in the beginning the affair was kept secret at the Retired Emperor’s wish. Thus, Nijō was not overtly welcomed in Gofukakusa’s residence, and she never became his official consort (*nyōgo* 女御). The nexus of many events harmful to Nijō caused her situation at the court to worsen quite dramatically. In 1272 Retired Emperor Gosaga (1220-1272)¹⁸

considered to be the first psychological novel and is widely known as a masterpiece of classical Japanese literature.

¹⁸ Gosaga, personal name Kunihito 邦仁 (1220-1272) was the 88th Emperor of Japan in the years of 1242-1246. He was a father of Emperors Gofukakusa and Kameyama.

died, which became a reason for great mourning in the aristocratic circles. Together with his death, Nijō's father – Koga Masatada – lost any hope for career's development at the court. Additionally, he had given away Nijō to the Retired Emperor, who in fact had no serious intentions of making her his official consort. Such a revolution of events was a great disappointment for Nijō's father. The lady soon became pregnant with Retired Emperor Gofukakusa's child, a positive aspect of the whole situation. However Koga Masatada unexpectedly died in 1272, which in political terms means that Nijō lost any family support at the court. Lady Nijō was lamenting and, plunged in sorrow, even thought of taking on Buddhist vows, but her condition did not allow her to abandon this 'transient world.' Additionally, Retired Emperor Gofukakusa was not present at the childbirth of his son, which turned out to be very painful for Nijō. Gofukakusa acknowledged the baby as his own son, but the boy died before he turned two years old. Despite all the tragic events for lady Nijō, the Retired Emperor expressed a great deal of sympathy towards her. He kept summoning the lady and she seemed grateful for it, as after her son had passed away, she felt only emptiness, and needed intimacy and understanding. It was the very moment when Empress Higashinijō 東二条¹⁹, jealous of the Retired Emperor's favor for Nijō, decided to get rid of her. She also emphasized that the Emperor's sympathy had been the only thing that justified Nijō's presence at the court. Higashinijō, who undeniably represents in *Towazugatari* a 'jealous lady,' might have been modeled after lady Rokujō from *Genji Monogatari*, although she did not seem to have caused anybody's death in this diary. Another cause of lady Nijō's misfortune were her numerous love affairs, which to the great extent proved her independence from the Gofukakusa. Moreover, most of the time the Retired Emperor indulged her on this matter, i.e. in case of affairs with Yuki no Akebono 雪の曙 (Saionji Sanekane 西園寺実兼)²⁰ and Ariake no Tsuki 有明の月 (monk Shōjo 性助)²¹. Frequently Gofukakusa himself encouraged Nijō to get involved

¹⁹ Higashinijō (1232-1305) was an Empress and Gofukakusa's wife. She was also the mother of Empress Yūgi 遊義 (a wife of Emperor Gouda 後宇多) and Gofukakusa's aunt.

²⁰ Yuki no Akebono was a pseudonym of Saionji Sanekane (1249-1322), which lady Nijō used in her diary when he appears as her lover. He was a high ranking court servant and a very important political figure, as he used to serve as *mōshitsugi* 申次 (a mediator between Kamakura *bakufu* 幕府 and the imperial court) for over 40 years (1269-1299) and also in the years of 1315-1322. Nijō gave birth to Sanekane's daughter, which was kept in secret, as his wife lost her child about the same time and adopted and raised the girl as her own child. This experience brought Nijō much disappointment and pain.

²¹ Ariake no Tsuki (?-1281?) is a nickname of monk Shōjo, which was used by lady Nijō in her

with other men, e.g. with regent²² Kanehira 兼平²³ in 1277, when he verbally ordered the lady to go to the regent's room, which undeniably depicts freedom, with which courtiers treated sexual relations:

御殿籠りてあるに、御腰打ちまゐらせてさぶらふに、筒井の御所の昨夜の御面影こもとに見えて、「ちと物迎せられむ」と呼びたまへども、いかが立ち上がるべき。動かで居たるを、「御寝にてある折だに」など、さまざま迎せらるるに、「はや立て。苦しかるまじ」と忍びやかに迎せらるるぞ、なかなか死ぬばかり悲しき。御後にあるを、手をさへ取りて、引き立てさせたまへば、心のほかに立たれぬるに、「御伽には、こなたにこそ」とて、障子のあなたにて、迎せられ居たることどもを、寝入りたまひたるやうにて聞きたまひけるこそ、あさましけれ。²⁴

‘His Majesty had retired, and I was massaging his back when the man who had accosted me at the Tsutsui Pavilion the previous night came to the door. “I would like to speak with you a moment,” he called.

Not knowing how to escape, I remained perfectly still.

“Just for a short time, while His Majesty is sleeping,” he replied.

Gofukakusa then whispered to me, “Hurry up, go. You have nothing to worry about.” I was so embarrassed I wanted to die.

Then His Majesty reached out, and seizing my hand – I was near

diary when he appeared as her lover. Ariake was a step-brother of Retired Emperor Gofukakusa and an abbot at the Ninnaji 仁和寺 temple. Matsumoto Yasushi, an author of *Towazugatari no Sekai (the world of Towazugatari)* claims that Ariake was rather Nijō's teacher named Hōjō (Matsumoto 2001: 95-99). Nijō gave birth to two children of Ariake. However, the monk died of an infectious disease. At first Gofukakusa was unhealthy enthusiastic and helped the lovers in their difficult situation, but due to jealousy and gossips he change his mind and derided Nijō for her affair with a monk. However, Ariake was the only man in lady Nijō's life with whom she got involved with purely for love. Political reasons were not important in their case (Sukeno 1991: 248-262).

²² Regent (*sesshō* 摂政) was a person assisting the Emperor, who was still under age.

²³ Takatsukasa Kanehira 鷹司兼平 (1228-1294) was a high rank court servant. In the years of 1252-1261 and 1275-1288, during Emperors' Gofukakusa, Kameyama 龜山 and Gouda (1267-1324) he served as a regent (*sesshō*) since 1252 and as the first secretary (*kampaku* 関白) since 1254. *Nihonjin Mei Daijiten*, available through Japan Knowledge:

<http://www.jkn21.com.eres.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/stdsearch/displaymain>)

²⁴ Cf. Gofukakusa-in no Nijō 1985, v. 1: 138-139.

the foot of his mat – he pulled me up. Without intending it, I was compelled to go.

“From here you can easily go in to attend His Majesty,” my would-be lover said. We were separated from Gofukakusa only by a frail sliding door, and though he feigned sleep I was wretchedly aware that he was listening.’ (Brazell 1973: 117-118)

It may be noticed that the Retired Emperor had a right to ‘bestow’ his ladies-in-waiting to his guests or friends who were present at the court at a given night. In such situations, even Nijō was not really allowed to refuse, and she had to follow the will of Retired Emperor Gofukakusa, who, according to *Towazugatari*, frequently made his ‘decisions’ on a whim. To a modern and feminist eye it looks like an amazingly instrumental treatment of ladies-in waiting. However, such ‘enslavement’ of women was in fact inscribed in the culture of the epoch, as no one considered it to be something wrong or improper. The ladies-in-waiting also did not seem to consider it as anything unusual, although some of them may have not liked it. The Emperor’s wish or will were the most important things, the rest of court society was only an addition, an entourage that created the aristocratic world. Yet, this world would have never existed without Emperors, who were the absolute center of the society of the time.

It should not be forgotten that lady Nijō was supposed to replace her mother, who Retired Emperor Gofukakusa used to love during his youth (it is so called *yukari* 縁 phenomenon – erotic substitute of the true love from the past), which became apparent to Nijō with time. Despite her good will, the lady was not able to fulfill the Retired Emperor’s expectations. She failed him as an imperfect substitution of her mother, which to some extent may explain her worsening situation at the court and Gofukakusa’s indulgence towards Nijō. Among other things, due to her failure as a substitute of her mother as a perfect lover, Nijō understood it is impossible to replace one’s lost love from the past. It may be guessed that the deterioration and failure experienced in the case of her relationship with Retired Emperor Gofukakusa was the reason for which lady Nijō got involved in numerous affairs. It is clear that her independence and the relationship with the Retired Emperor sometimes took on quite a specific character, as the lady was not only encouraged by Gofukakusa to get involved with other men, but she also happened to play the role of go-between for the Retired Emperor and a few ladies, with whom he got acquainted for short periods of time. However, it was again nothing unusual, as Nijō served the Emperor and should follow any of his orders. Two Emperor’s fleeting

affairs, namely the one with a Shinto priestess²⁵, which brings to mind episode 69 of *Ise Monogatari*²⁶, and with a fan-maker's daughter²⁷, were described in the diary in detail. According to *Towazugatari*, lady Nijō clearly did not like her new role of a go-between, so she often commented very severely on those ladies Retired Emperor Gofukakusa happened to be interested in. Nijō criticized mistakes in their behavior, manners, clothing, as well as the easiness with which they kept giving in to Retired Emperor Gofukakusa's courtship.²⁸ It should be emphasized that big expectations in respect to Gofukakusa's mistresses and subsequent criticism of them could have been one of the methods Nijō used in the diary to present herself from the best possible viewpoint. The lady might have brought up in *Towazugatari* only those affairs of Gofukakusa that ridiculed him as a man and presented his mistresses as trollops unworthy to even be touched by the son of gods'. Simultaneously, lady Nijō set herself as an example of virtue and refinement in regard to the court customs, such as those referring to the sphere of intimacy, and as a result presented herself as a very good and compassionate human being, while showing mercy to the pitiful women who fell victims of Gofukakusa's lust²⁹. Moreover, Nijō's affairs adulated her as a woman and emphasized that in a sexual sense she

²⁵ Gofukakusa's acquaintance with the priestess from Ise was very short-lived, as the Retired Emperor achieved his goal considerably quickly. Lady Nijō was unpleasantly surprised by the easiness with which the Ise priestess had given herself to the Retired Emperor. Gofukakusa was also disappointed and he set aside writing a letter to her the next morning. (Having spent a night with a woman, an aristocrat was obliged to send her a letter the next morning. Lack of the letter or showing any kind of reluctance to send it were understood as disappointment and were reasons for shame mainly for a woman). Nijō could not consider this affair as successful and Gofukakusa himself commented on it as a cherry blossom that is beautiful, but too easily broken (Brazell 1971: 59).

²⁶ Episode 69 of *Ise Monogatari* tells a story about the Ise Priestess's one-night-long affair with a man, who was not supposed to get involved in a relationship with her. Although it was her who approached him, the illegitimacy of their behavior was probably evident to other people, the man was called off for business and the story does not conclude whether they ever met again.

²⁷ Gofukakusa got interested in a fan-maker's daughter who could paint very beautifully. However, he was disappointed by her lack of sophistication and good manners (reticence of a woman was perceived in the court society as a sign of good manners. The fan-maker's daughter talkativeness is in this case treated as lack of sophistication). The girl was humiliated, since Gofukakusa forgot about her and she spent the whole rainy night in the carriage weeping and regretting her failure. The unpleasant situation was worsened by the fact that her carriage and robes were entirely soaked with rain. Thus, this acquaintance ended definitely and after some time the news about the fan-maker's daughter reached the palace that she allegedly took on vows in Saradera temple in Kawachi 河内 province and became a Buddhist nun.

²⁸ Nijō expresses her opinion on the fan-maker's daughter during her first and only meeting with the Retired Emperor Gofukakusa (Brazell 1971: 84-85).

²⁹ She showed mercy to the fan-maker's daughter after the most unfortunate night she spent in her carriage weeping by offering her some dry robes.

possessed power over men – also by describing Gofukakusa’s weaknesses, such as jealousy or partiality to alcohol and women. This way of depicting the court life and the Retired Emperor could have been the reason for which *Towazugatari* ‘disappeared’ for so many centuries. Lady Nijō’s courage, her daring conduct while writing down her own opinions, her frequent harsh words of critique and clear evidence for her disappointment with an aristocratic lifestyle, as well as the Retired Emperor himself, seemed to prove that Nijō craved changes in her life.

1.3. Parting with Gofukakusa and the new life of lady Nijō

Despite Gofukakusa’s tolerant approach in respect to Nijō’s affairs, her transitional relationship with the Retired Emperor’s brother, Retired Emperor Kameyama³⁰, caused Gofukakusa’s jealousy³¹, which could have been a proof of his affection for lady Nijō, but was more likely to be offensive towards Gofukakusa’s political ambitions, as Kameyama was his political rival. However, the affair was not the only reason for which lady Nijō was forced to leave the court. Since she had given birth to the second child of monk Ariake no Tsuki, who had been already dead at that time, she did not spend much time at the court and with the Retired Emperor. Gofukakusa also remained under the pressure of his main consort, Empress Higashinijō, who personally wrote a letter to Nijō’s grandfather, Shijō Takachika 四条隆親 (1202-1279)³², ordering the lady to leave the court immediately. Upon hearing such news, Nijō unexpectedly seemed relieved (Brazell 1973: 160), as she had probably not experienced full happiness as a lady-in-waiting. The lady was eventually expelled from the imperial palace in 1283 at the age of twenty-six, and she ceased to participate in the imperial family’s life. It cannot be unequivocally concluded if she regretted having been a part of the court life or not. *Towazugatari* simply expresses that Nijō’s expectations fell outside the only world she had known so far, which again presents her as a ‘victim’ of the courtly world. However, it is

³⁰ Kameyama, personal name Tsunehito 恒仁 (1249-1305) was 90th Emperor of Japan and seventh son of Emperor Gosaga (1220-1272). Ruling years: 1259-1274.

³¹ Once, when after an imperial banquet Kameyama arrived at the palace, he suggested to Gofukakusa he should ‘lend’ him Nijō for one night. Gofukakusa did not want to agree, however that night he got very drunk and fell asleep. Then, Kameyama came for Nijō, but he returned after a moment to wake Gofukakusa up. It may be guessed Kameyama wanted his brother, who was also his political rival, to know that his beloved lady Nijō was currently with another man. He perfectly knew he would awake Gofukakusa’s jealousy. Nijō was also aware of that and she feared the Retired Emperor’s reaction.

³² Shijō Takachika (1202-1279) was Nijō’s maternal grandfather. He belonged to the northern line of Fujiwara family and had big influences at the court. *Nihonjin Mei Daijiten*, available through Japan Knowledge: <http://www.jkn21.com.eres.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/stdsearch/displaymain>

mentioned in the diary numerous times Nijō wished to follow the traces of monk Saigyō's 西行³³ pilgrimages, which is why she became a Buddhist nun.³⁴ It seemed that her life priorities had already changed at the end of the third book of *Towazugatari*, when the lady gave birth to the second child of Ariake no Tsuki and was able to experience the joys of motherhood³⁵. Thus, it was obvious that her interest for Gofukakusa and the court life had diminished. However, it should be remembered that this also could have been constructed as another depiction of a negative side of the court, which 'rejected' Nijō, as if she had no influence on her position. In any case, since then, the way Nijō seemed to perceive the world changed significantly. The affair with monk Ariake and awareness of motherhood, which definitely demanded tenderness and compassion, were the introduction, at least in the diary, to a new stage of Nijō's life.

While reading the first books of *Towazugatari*, it must be noticed that the image of Gofukakusa, despite the moments praising his kindness, is not the most complimentary. The gods' descendant, who was jealous, exceedingly fond of alcohol and women (not always with mutuality), was emphasized by Nijō in the diary multiple times, and did not fit the image of an ideal ruler. At first it may seem that the Emperor's image presented in the diary was nothing unusual. However, there exist serious differences in perceiving the heads of states and members of royal or imperial families by Western and traditional Japanese societies. In order to understand the scandalous contents of lady Nijō's diary one should look back to the times of ancient and medieval Japan, when an Emperor was considered to be a god³⁶. It is sufficient even if one looks into the mentality of modern Japanese people. Even nowadays the figure of the Emperor is enshrouded in secret, and the public receives only information that is considered to be

³³ Saigyō (Satō Norikiyo 佐藤義清, 1118-1190) was a monk-poet coming from Kyoto. He was a practicing ascetic and traveled around Japan. He is considered to be one of the most remarkable poets of the late Heian period. His poetry may be found in *Sankashū* 山家集 (*poems of a mountain home*, c. 12th century) and *Kikigakishū* 聞書集 (*collection written from hearing*, after 13th century); 94 of his poems were included in *Shinkokinwakashū* 新古今和歌集 (*new collection of ancient and modern poems*, 1205) (Ariyoshi 1982: 241-242).

³⁴ Nijō's father also suggested in his deathbed that she should become a nun if things go in the wrong direction.

³⁵ Nijō was taking care of her son by herself, which seems to have been quite unusual for an aristocratic woman of the time. Usually wet nurses took care of courtiers' children. However, in the case of the second baby Nijō bore for Ariake, it was necessary for the lady to keep it in secret, so she spent a lot of time with her newborn child.

³⁶ Only in 1945, after the capitulation of Japan, Emperor Shōwa 昭和 was forced by the Americans to renounce the status of *arahitogami* 現人神 (a god/deity who is a human being), and his role was limited to representational.

proper to announce by the Imperial Household Agency (Kunaichō). The subject of the Emperor and his closest surroundings still remains a taboo in Japanese media and modern Japanese society.³⁷ If the figure of the Emperor is covered with such secrecy today, it is nothing unusual that a diary created in medieval times criticizing, or simply pointing out the Emperor's weaknesses, must have been a scandalous work. *Towazugatari* is considered to have 'uncovered' Retired Emperor Gofukakusa by presenting him as a human being who in reality remained far from a divine ideal. Probably therefore, as I have already mentioned, Nijō's diary disappeared for centuries and only in 20th century came to the surface again.

II. Nijō as a nun – life full of voyages

Leaving the transient world for religion was nothing unusual in the circles of court aristocracy of the Heian and Kamakura periods. However, the journeys and pilgrimages of lady Nijō were surely unparalleled, as it was improper for aristocrats of high position at the court, and especially for women, to overstrain themselves. The fact that nun Nijō used to travel alone, without any servants or companions, was also a reason for frequent critique of her lifestyle. Thus, Nijō's behavior was neither entirely accepted, nor well received. The nun tried to justify her behavior in the diary by saying that the journeys brought her relief after many disappointments she experienced at the court, but may also have been supporting her 'independent' image. The paragon for the former lady-in-waiting was the monk-poet Saigyō. Nijō mentioned in the first book of *Towazugatari* that as a nine-year-old girl she had been interested in his work, lifestyle and way of perceiving the world:

九つの年にや、西行が修行の記といふ絵を見しに、片方に
深き山を描きて、前には川の流れを描きて、花の散りかか
るに、居てながむるとて、
風吹けば花の白波岩超えて渡りわづらふ山川の水
と詠みたるを描きたるを見しより、うらやましく、難行苦
行はかなはずとも、我も世を捨てて、足にまかせて行きつ

³⁷ In Japan personal names of Emperors are not commonly used, as they are being used in the Western countries. Some Japanese people do not even know the princely name of the Emperor (the personal name of the current Emperor is Akihito 明仁). While speaking about the Emperor in public the expression His Majesty (*Tennō Heika* 天皇陛下) is used. There is also another name, given after the Emperor's death, which is simultaneously the name of his era (the name of a current era is Heisei 平成).

つ、花のもと、露の情を慕ひ、紅葉の秋の散る恨みをも述べて、かかる修行の記を書き記して、亡からむ後の形見にもせばやと思ひしを。三従の愁へ逃れざれば、親に愁ひて日を重ね、君の仕へても今日まで憂き世に過ぎつるも、心のほかになど思ふより、憂き世を厭ふ心のみ深くなりゆくに、...³⁸

‘I remember looking at a scroll when I was only nine years old called ”Records of the Travels of Saigyō.” It contained a particular scene where Saigyō, standing amid scattering cherry blossoms, with deep mountains off to one side and a river in front of him:

Winds scatter white blossoms, whitecaps breaking on rocks; How difficult to cross the mountain stream.

I had envied Saigyō life ever since, and although I could never endure a life of ascetic hardship, I wished that I could at least renounce this life and wander wherever my feet might lead me, learning to empathize with the dew under the blossoms and to express the resentment of the scattering autumn leaves, and make out of this a record of my travels that might live on after my death. But I could not escape the grief of the three paths a woman must follow³⁹: First I obeyed my father, then I served my Lord, but my life left something to be desired, and with each passing day I grew more averse to this sad world.’ (Brazell 1973: 52-53)

The fragment quoted above, probably applied in order to legitimize travels of the former lady-in-waiting, is not only proof of Nijō’s fascination of Saigyō’s life and work, but it also emphasizes the lady’s disappointment with her previous lifestyle. The authoress of *Towazugatari* emphasized that constant obedience and submission to men were a burden, from which she was not able to free herself, which seems like a critique of a contemporary court society. It is notable that Nijō was brought up in a time when Confucianism, and especially its social hierarchy, were deeply anchored in Japanese society. Thus, the lady had neither a choice, nor a social right to make decisions about her own life, and the only way to escape it was to become a Buddhist nun. However, even as a nun, Nijō was still a woman,

³⁸ Cf. Gofukakusain no Nijō 1985, v. 1: 61.

³⁹ According to Confucianism a woman is obliged to be obedient to her father, husband and son. Thus, she does not make any decisions independently, as she is always obedient to the men, who have power over her fate.

so she was perceived and treated differently from other Buddhist monks, who had much more freedom and whose behavior was not a subject of exceeding interest.

2.1. The influence of Saigyō's life and work on Nijō

Saigyō, whose name literarily means 'pilgrimage to the west', a reference to the Western Paradise of Buddha Amida 阿弥陀, according to *Towazugatari* was an inspiration for Nijō's new lifestyle and poetry. Saigyō's work had many stages, but he created a new style that later became representative for the late 12th century. Although his initial style referred to *Kokinwakashū* 古今和歌集⁴⁰, the new style of the *Shinkokinwakashū* 新古今和歌集 (New Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems, 1205)⁴¹, where he is the best represented poet, was a complete antithesis of it - the subjective element was reduced and there was more space for description.⁴² In practice this meant less verbal forms or more simple forms of verbs and more nouns. Saigyō introduced many colloquialisms and, taking into account *mappō* 末法⁴³ ideology, exposed loneliness and melancholy (*sabi* 寂)⁴⁴.

⁴⁰ *Kokinwakashū* or *Kokinshū* 古今集 (*collection of ancient and modern poems*, c. 905) was the first anthology of Japanese poetry created at the Emperor's order. The editors were, among others: Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 and Ki no Tomonori 紀友則. Anthology's preface called *Kanajo* 仮名序 by Ki no Tsurayuki is significant for studies on literature, as it was the first in Japan to critique poetry of the ancient and modern periods, and also contained a theoretical formulation of poetry's tasks (Ariyoshi 1982: 209-211).

⁴¹ *Shinkokinwakashū*, or *Shinkokinshū* 新古今集 was the eighth imperial anthology of Japanese poetry. It was compiled at Emperor Gotoba's order and became the second after *Kokinshū* most respected collection (Ariyoshi 1982: 346-348).

⁴² "Poets of *Kokinshū* anthology made much of court elegance (*miyabi* 雅), proper style (*sama* 様) and tone's clarity. Their poetry full of elegance and subtle shadows, using all available 'remedial' of the time, such as *kakekotoba* 掛詞 (pivot words) and *engo* 縁語 (word associations), differed from simplicity of *Man'yōshū* anthology in its perfection and intellectual contain" (Melanowicz 1994: 140). *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (*collection of ten thousand leaves*, 759-806) is the first anthology of Japanese poetry created in Nara period (710-784) by a poet named Ōtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (717?-785). It consists of twenty books and contains mainly poems about the four seasons and expressing emotions. It became a model for later poets to compose short poems called *tanka*.

⁴³ *Mappō* (the latter day of the law) is an ideology resulting from prophetic assumption of three eras following Buddha Śākyamuni's death. The latter day of the law was supposed to start 2000 years after Buddha's death and last for 10,000 years. The prophecy says that during those times people will not be able to achieve enlightenment. It was believed in Japan this era began in 1052. *Nihon daihyakka zensho* (*Nipponica*), available through Japan Knowledge: <http://www.jkn21.com.eres.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/stdsearch/displaymain>

⁴⁴ *Sabi* is an aesthetic category that contains the notion of patina, getting old, solitude and sorrow. It expresses itself in relishing loneliness and seclusion (Ariyoshi 1982: 266).

Despite many journeys to well-known places, Saigyō did not concentrate only on beautiful landscapes that had been widely admired and described in previous epochs. Thanks to him, one may also appreciate other elements of nature, sometimes called ‘uncolored’, i.e. fishes, crabs or even fishermen, which were unconventional imagery for *waka*. This remains a distinguishing feature of his poetry. The poem quoted below comes from *Sankashū* (poem 1380), representing his new approach towards creating poetry:

蜃人のいそしくかへるひじきものはこにし蛤がうなしたゞ
み⁴⁵

‘Fishermen briskly go to their homes to their bedding of corianders, clams, hermit crabs, periwinkles’⁴⁶.

Saigyō had an undeniable advantage over other aristocrats who were composing poems, as he visited all the famous places frequently used in Japanese poetry as *utamakura* 歌枕 (‘poem pillow’ – a category of poetic words, many of which are place-names or the names of features associated with them), so he was able to describe everything no one had paid attention to before. The fact that Saigyō was able to write about unsophisticated things greatly contributed to Japanese poetry, as it opened new horizons for *renga* 連歌⁴⁷ and *haikai* 俳諧⁴⁸ – poetic forms that developed later. Moreover, Saigyō was known for using the same word several times in one poem, which for centuries had been a practice conventionally forbidden in *waka*. He also often exceeded the number of syllables in a line (*jiamari* 字余り), and he frequently used *honkadori* 本歌取 (allusive variation). Monk Saigyō called things by their names, so his poetry remains an example of individuality and indifference to poetic conventions. Thus, being without a doubt a remarkable and inspiring personality, Saigyō seemed to portray an

⁴⁵ Saigyō 1915: <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/japanese/saigyō/SaiSank.html>

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*

⁴⁷ *Renga* is a kind of a group composition and a genre originally deriving from *tanka* 短歌. The first person creates an opening stanza (*hokku* 発句) consisting of 5-7-5 syllables, and the next person responds with the second stanza called *wakiku* 脇句 (7-7 syllables) (Ariyoshi 1982: 697-698).

⁴⁸ *Haikai* (comic verse) is a poetic genre usually containing seventeen syllables. Its contents are comic and sometimes even vulgar. With time, it lost its comic character and in the 17th century, during the times of bourgeois culture primacy, it became an opposition to traditional poetic forms. Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644-1694) is considered to be the most remarkable composer of *haikai* (Ariyoshi 1982: 524).

ideal lifestyle for lady Nijō since her childhood. He might have also been a symbol of freedom, both in his poetry and life, which Nijō seemed not to have had a chance to experience until the moment she left the court.

2.2. Peregrinations of nun Nijō

Nijō's peregrinations described in *Towazugatari* were not an exact imitation of monk Saigyō's journeys, although they were surely inspired by them. Many events that took place during her journeys were related to her experiences at the court, i.e. meetings with Retired Emperor Gofukakusa or giving advice on clothing to the people of the shōgun's 将軍 'entourage'. It seems that Nijō gained many valuable experiences during her solitary journeys, as her new lifestyle caused her to think of the world, religion and her own life.

Nijō used to travel alone, which was not received well in the aristocratic circles. Her solitary travels might have been a manifestation of independence and some kind of 'liberation' from any dependencies. The changes Nijō had made in her life were absolute, and nothing was to disturb the nun's peace during her pilgrimages. The former lady-in-waiting many times complained about her seclusion, clearly expressing longing for her past lifestyle, which to some extent contradicts the whole idea of her nunhood and travels. However, despite the journey's inconveniences, Nijō seemed eventually to have gotten used to her new lifestyle and was able to appreciate everything that she was experiencing during her peregrinations to various places in Japan.

2.2.1. Tracing monk Saigyō

Her new lifestyle affected Nijō's physical condition, yet the lady seemed not to have a lot of time to think about the past, Retired Emperor Gofukakusa, and to compose new poems. The nun seemed to have constantly been accompanied by a feeling of the 'uncertainty of tomorrow', which made her unable to reach peace. Furthermore, as she was to some extent following monk Saigyō, she kept recollecting his poems and recognizing places described in his poems, e.g. in 1289 when she saw Mount Fuji, she recollected one of his poems⁴⁹ and composed her own:

⁴⁹ Poem 1615 from *Shinkokinshū*: 風になびくふじのけぶりのそらにきえてゆくゑもしらぬ
わが思哉 (*Trailing in the wind the smoke of Fuji vanishes in the sky. Not knowing the reason, my
love is vanishing too*). *Shinkokinshū*. 1999 :
<http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/japanese/shinkokinshu/AnoShin.html>

言の葉もしげしと聞きし蔦はいづら夢にだに見ず宇津の山
超えて⁵⁰

*‘I realized that the leaves of words grew thick, but I do not see the
ivy even in a dream. Crossing Mount Utsu...’*

Another perfect occasion for recalling Saigyō’s poetry seemed a journey to Sanuki 讃岐 province⁵¹ (most probably in 1302 or 1303), where Nijō visited Emperor Sutoku’s 崇徳 grave, which is situated on mount Shiramine 白峰 in Matsuyama 松山, and she prayed for the peace of the Emperor’s soul. She also called to mind Saigyō’s poems he composed while visiting Sutoku’s grave⁵² and, inspired by it, she wrote her own piece:

物思ふ身の憂きことを思ひ出せば苔の下にもあはれるとは
見よ⁵³

*‘If you recall the painful things of a worrying life, then look upon
me with compassion from below the moss.’*

The next time when lady Nijō directly referred to monk Saigyō’s poetry in *Towazugatari* was the moment of her return from Kamakura 鎌倉 to the capital in 1290. The lady, while crossing mount Saya no Naka 佐夜の中, called to mind one of Saigyō’s poems⁵⁴, and moved by the situation and the beautiful view, composed her own poem again:

越えゆくも苦しかりけり命ありとまた問はましや佐夜の中山⁵⁵

*‘Even crossing and proceeding has been painful. Supposing I ask:
if I am alive, will I return to Mount Saya no Naka?’*

⁵⁰ Cf. Gofukakusain no Nijō 1985, v. 2:15.

⁵¹ Sanuki province is currently Kagawa 香川 prefecture at Shikoku 四国.

⁵² Poem 835 from *Sankashū*: よしや君むかしの玉の床とともかゝらむのちは何にかはせむ (No matter what, my lord. To what has it been changed after you dwelled in the jeweled chambers of your past anyway?)

⁵³ Cf. Gofukakusain no Nijō 1985, v. 2: 68.

⁵⁴ Poem 987 from *Shinkokinshū*: 年たけて又こゆべしと思きや命なりけりさやの中山 (Years grew and I thought: will there be enough life so I should come again to the Mount Saya no Naka?)

⁵⁵ Cf. Gofukakusain no Nijō 1985, v. 2: 34.

In the poem quoted above Nijō used a poetic figure *honkadōri* to quote lines from Saigyō's piece: Saya no Nakayama, and in general alludes to the same idea of crossing the mountain at an older age. It seems that *honkadōri* from Saigyō's poems were frequently implied by Nijō in her poetry, which testifies that she was trying to imitate not only his lifestyle, but also his poetic manner.

Nun Nijō, inspired by Saigyō's works, not only proved in *Towazugatari* that she knew his poetry, but partially also followed the monk. She skillfully recognized places at which he had composed his pieces and composed her own. By referring in her own *waka* to the problems of passing, journeys and loneliness, Nijō might have been trying to identify herself with Saigyō.⁵⁶ However, later events, memories and reflections that seemed constantly accompanying the lady indicate that her life was not only a wandering through mountains and valleys, but also a trial to travel to her past that had irrevocably passed by.

2.2.2. The “clash” with the world of province

During her solitary pilgrimages and journeys described in *Towazugatari* Nijō seemed to have gained many valuable experiences and numerous times met with commoners who turned out to be very different from aristocrats. The nun discovered in those people many similarities with herself. Besides, she seemed to admire them – prostitutes calling for possible clients and common people similarly to courtiers, gazing at the falling of cherry blossoms⁵⁷. These experiences made Nijō a mature woman who was capable of expressing compassion. We find Nijō's first observations of the new world at the beginning of the fourth book of *Towazugatari*, when the nun found herself at a place on an Ōsaka 大阪 route where the famous poet Semimaru 蟬丸⁵⁸ had once lived:

⁵⁶ Wada Hidemichi was dealing with the issue of the significance of Saigyō, his works and peregrinations for lady Nijō (Hidemichi 1991: 107-128).

⁵⁷ This is actually what distinguishes *Towazugatari* among writings of other authors. Sei Shōnagon 清少納言, an authoress from the Heian period, would have probably despised those prostitutes and commoners by the cherry blossoms by saying they are not *okashi* おかし (a term including the meaning of splendid, fascinating and delightful) enough.

⁵⁸ Semimaru was a Japanese poet and a musician living in the early Heian period. It is believed that he was a son of Emperor Uda 宇多 (867-931) or the fourth son of Emperor Daigo 醍醐 (885-930). Legends say he was blind and played *biwa* 琵琶 (a Japanese short-necked fretted lute which is the chosen instrument of Benten, goddess of music, eloquence, poetry, and education in Japanese Shinto).

...やすらはるるに、いと盛りと見ゆる桜ただ一木あるも、
これさへ見捨てがたきに、田舎人と見ゆるが馬の上四、五人、
きたなげならぬがまたこの花のもとにやすらふも、同じ心にやとおぼえて、
行く人の心をとむる桜かな花や関守逢坂の山
など思ひつづけて、鏡の宿といふ所にも着きぬ。
暮るるほどなれば、遊女ども契り求めて歩くさま、憂かり
ける世のならひかなとおぼえて、いと悲し。明けゆく鐘の
音に勧められて出で立つも、あはれに悲しき、
立ち寄りて見るとも知らじ鏡山心の内に残る面影⁵⁹

‘... As I pause to rest, my glance was caught by a cherry tree so heavy with blossoms that I could hardly take my eyes from it. Nearby four or five well-dressed local people on horseback were also resting. Did they share my feelings?’

Its blossoms detaining travelers the cheery tree guards the pass on Ōsaka Mountain.

I composed this poem as I continued on to the way station known as Mirror Lodge, where at dusk I saw prostitutes seeking companions for the night and realized that this too formed part of life. Next morning, awakened by a bell at dawn, I set out once more.

I pause to view Mirror Mountain, but it does not reflect the image hidden in my heart.

The joy Nijō felt at the sight of province’s local people and a feeling of sorrow she was overwhelmed by at the sight of few prostitutes, made her evoke memories to life at the court. Sorrow evoked by women looking for company for the night might have brought to her mind her unsuccessful affairs from the past and feelings of seclusion, lack of security and stabilization.’ (Brazell 1973: 181-182)

Meeting commoners seemed always to have put Nijō in a peculiar mood, but she understood that all people are linked within Buddhahood. A feeling of unity with the world and her apparent awareness of karma became Nijō’s hope for the future. Yet, she still felt the burden of past years spent at the court and could not become detached from her memories and earthly

⁵⁹ Cf. Gofukakusain no Nijō 1985, v. 2: 11-12.

ties (Brazell 1973: 186). She was not able to escape the past, as too many situations reminded her of it, and even newly met people and exciting experiences did not allow her to entirely forget it.

A visit to Kamakura seemed a very interesting experience for Nijō. She kept comparing it to the capital, even though in her eyes nothing was able to overshadow Heian kyō, which only proves that in fact she was not able to forget about her ‘better days’. In spite of that, she was lucky to have found some similarities with the capital, e.g. suitable behavior of the monks at Gokurakuji 極楽寺 temple⁶⁰, which made her feel like at home, but these were only ‘second shadows’ of her previous lifestyle. Nijō constantly criticized the clothing and behavior of the provincial people by estimating it as ridiculous and improper, as she was an authority of elegance. One day, while visiting a shrine of deity Hachiman 八幡⁶¹ in Tsurugaoka 鶴岡, Nijō ascertained that the landlords were not dressed properly for a visit to a shrine⁶². Also at the occasion of the shōgun’s⁶³ sudden departure to the capital, she commented on the bad manners of his servants (Brazell 1973: 190). Used to sophistication, Nijō was surprised by the ignorance of Taira Yoritsuna’s 平頼綱⁶⁴ wife – a lady addressed as Onkata 御方, who received a gift from Empress Higashinijō that consisted of very refined five-layered gown, yet she did not know how to wear it.⁶⁵ It is thus clear that Nijō judged Kamakura’s inhabitants very severely; she put ‘a Heian kyō measure’ to everything, which surely was not always just, and proved her lack of detachment from the earthly matters and her previous lifestyle. The former lady-in-waiting had certain expectations in respect to the shōgun and people who surrounded him. Used to obeying etiquette and manner at the possible highest level, Nijō eventually experienced only disillusionment in Kamakura. One may conclude her

⁶⁰ Gokurakuji temple is a temple of the Shingon 真言 school in Kamakura (a branch of a temple named Saidaiji 西大寺 in Nara). It was founded in 1259 and in the beginning was a temple of the Jōdo 浄土 (Pure Land) school, however in 1267 it became a temple of Shingon.

⁶¹ Hachiman is a Shinto deity of war and simultaneously a protective deity of Japan and the Japanese nation.

⁶² During the visit to a temple white or natural colored clothing should be worn. This kind of robe was called *jōe* 浄衣.

⁶³ Prince Koreyasu 惟康 (1264-1326) was the shōgun of the time, however in 1289 he was dismissed from his function. The shōgun’s power was not as strong as in later epochs.

⁶⁴ Taira Yoritsuna (?-1293) performed a function of *shikken*’s 執権 (regent to the shōgun) advisor in Kamakura *bakufu*. He was killed in 1293 during the Heizen Gate Incident (Heizenmon no ran 平禅門の乱) by Hōjō Sadatoki 北条貞時 (1271-1311), the ninth *shikken* of Kamakura *bakufu*.

⁶⁵ The shōgun and the people surrounding him greatly respected the culture and traditions of the imperial court. To some extent they wanted to become the part of this inaccessible world by imitating courtiers and their everyday life customs.

Buddhahood failed too, as she seemed to have perceived the world with eyes of a lady-in-waiting, not a nun.

Disappointment with country life made nun Nijō call the past to mind, especially days spent in the imperial palace among sophisticated courtiers. She afresh started to miss her former lifestyle, which, although had not brought her happiness and had been full of sorrow and pain, was a shadow of the past splendor of her family. Simultaneous nostalgia and longing for Nijō's past life was surely caused by the variety of experiences and events that took place during her peregrinations.

2.2.3. Retired Emperor Gofukakusa in life of nun Nijō

Nijō mentioned Retired Emperor Gofukakusa many times in her diary. He was almost her 'spiritual companion' during long journeys. Nijō met Retired Emperor Gofukakusa during her stay in Iwashimizu 石清水, where she was visiting a shrine of the deity Hachiman. Yet, this meeting did not bring her any relief, simply renewing old feelings. Gofukakusa kept calling to mind Nijō's childhood and moments they had spent together. In the end, he offered her the robes he was wearing that day, which may be perceived as an erotic element indicating intimacy between Gofukakusa and Nijō⁶⁶. The nun expressed her wish to meet with the Retired Emperor once more, although she was not sure if it would be possible (Brazell 1973: 208-209). Meeting with the Retired Emperor left a deep impression on Nijō. The nun was trying to distract herself that day, yet in vain. The desire to see Gofukakusa one more time was so strong that Nijō put on the gown she was offered as a farewell and secretly observed him walking about the shrine in priest's robes, which strongly speaks of the condition of her mind at that moment. The scene seems almost like a fragment of a medieval *nō* 能 drama performance, in which the main role is played by a 'disturbed woman' (*monogurui* 物狂い), who cannot detach herself from the past events, and where the clothing is a symbol of her attachment. It is interesting that Nijō is in fact both a Buddhist nun and a 'disturbed woman' at the end of *Towazugatari*, which may indicate she cannot be helped. In any case, the sight of the changed Retired Emperor strongly moved Nijō, and she could not forget the moments they had spent together, even while

⁶⁶ As well as indicating that they might have spent the night together, as emphasized by Sonia Ryang in her book titled *Love in Modern Japan*, an exchange of underwear used to be a ritualistic practice on the day after intercourse. In the pre-classical era sex had more ritualistic connotations in Japan and it had to do with an exchange of souls that were believed to reside in clothes. Thus, such an exchange between the Emperor and Nijō would not only mean that former lovers spent the night together, but also that such a custom might have survived till the Kamakura period (Ryang 2006: 16-18).

she was on her way back to the capital. The former lady-in-waiting knew she would remember her meeting with the Retired Emperor in Iwashimizu. Since her stay in Ise 伊勢, Nijō kept exchanging letters with Gofukakusa. One day the Retired Emperor asked to meet with her in his palace in Fushimi 伏見. When the nun left for the meeting, she seemed very nervous. As soon as Gofukakusa appeared, Nijō noticed he looked quite different. Time was clearly branded on his face, and Nijō's eyes filled with tears, which probably symbolizes both the courtly 'pathos of things' *aware* 哀れ, and Buddhist feeling of transience of life. The former lovers talked until dawn about the past, i.e. Nijō's childhood and her removal from the court. The Retired Emperor finally asked why Nijō had never before revealed to him her true feelings, but she seemed unable to find the words to express anything at that moment. It is thus clear that Retired Emperor Gofukakusa was still a very important person in Nijō's life, from whom she could never become detached. The former lady-in-waiting could not forget him, despite being a nun and living a life so different from the one she once had lived at the court. The Retired Emperor's presence embarrassed and overwhelmed Nijō, probably due to that fact that she was not able to speak to him frankly, even as a mature, adult woman and a Buddhist nun.

Retired Emperor Gofukakusa was taken ill in the sixth month of 1304. Then, having devoutly prayed for him to the deity Takeuchi 竹内⁶⁷ in Iwashimizu Shrine, Nijō expressed her immense sorrow caused by after Emperor's death in the following part of *Towazugatari*:

夜もやうやう更けゆけども、帰らむ空もおぼえねば、空し
 き庭に一人居て、昔を思ひつづければ、折々の御面影、た
 だ今の心地して、何と申し尽くすべき言の葉もなく、悲し
 くて、月を見れば、さやかに済み昇りて見えしかば、
 隈もなき月さへつらき今宵かな曇らばいかにもうれしからま
 し
 釈尊入滅の昔は、日月も光を失ひ、心なき鳥・獣までも愁
 へたる色に沈みけるにと、げにすずろに月に向かふ眺めさ
 へつらくおぼえしこそ、我ながらせめてのことと思ひ知ら
 れはべりしか。⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Takeuchi is a Shinto deity worshiped in a shrine at Iwashimizu. The legend says Takeuchi no Sukune, a legendary patriarch of the Soga clan, had served to five Emperors in the ancient times between the 1st and 4th centuries. He is worshiped as a god of longevity.

⁶⁸ Cf. Gofukakusain no Nijō 1985, v. 2: 79-80.

‘Even when it grew late I could not bring myself to return home, and lingered alone in the empty courtyard, summoning up memories of the now distant past. As images of His Majesty floated before my eyes I felt pangs of grief impossible for words to describe. Before my eyes the bright moon slowly ascended the clear night sky.

Tonight even the bright moon seems a cruel mockery! How happy I would be if it dimmed and clouded over.

When the Buddha died long ago the light of both the sun and moon was dimmed, and birds and beasts, though mindless, mourned for him. Now surely the moon shining so intensely in the sky seemed cruel indeed, as if it refused to comprehend the depth of my sorrow.’ (Brazell 1973: 79-80)

Despite Nijō’s great sorrow and suffering, Gofukakusa again turned out to be unreachable for her. The next day, when she was not allowed to approach the body of the Retired Emperor, the nun, still in shock, forgot where she had left her sandals, so she kept running after the procession barefoot and as a result stayed far behind it and was late for the cremation. She only saw smoke floating in the air after the end of funeral ceremony. This scene could mean that she in fact was becoming a ‘disturbed woman’ similar to a character found in the plays of *nō* drama, although the codification of this performing art took place much later than the beginning of the 14th century, when *Towazugatari* is believed to have been created. Nijō returned to the capital on the forty-ninth day after Retired Emperor Gofukakusa’s death⁶⁹, however she was not allowed to participate in the official ceremony at the court. The situation the former lady-in-waiting found herself in was quite pitiful. In decline and denial, not being able to reenter the court, Nijō had only memories left. Thus, she was recollecting everything that she remembered from the times of her youth. She seemed overwhelmed by various feelings, including guilt for the fact her prayers had been not able to save Gofukakusa. Only on the occasion of the third anniversary of his death in 1306 did Nijō finally visit the grave, where she was so deeply moved that she aroused the interest of the gathered people. Despite all the experiences she gained in the country and all the people she met on her way, deep in her soul Nijō was still young Akako, who has been taken care of by and deeply attached to the ‘mighty’ Retired Emperor. As a young girl, Nijō complained about the duties she had to fulfill as a lady-in-waiting, but after many years she seemed to have learnt to

⁶⁹ 49th day was an official end of mourning.

appreciate her family's influences. It should be remembered that the lady was entangled in many dependencies from which she was not able to free herself, even after her removal from the court, as Nijō's journeys did not bring her a total relief and detachment from the earthly sorrows. Nijō remains then an example of an individual, once formed by a certain society, is not able to completely change herself, unless she is strong and aware enough. The character of Nijō portrayed in *Towazugatari* also follows a pattern of human inability to detach oneself from earthly matters, a motif found f.e. in Japanese performing art of the medieval period, the *nō* drama, strongly influenced by Buddhism. Moreover, in the later chapters of *Towazugatari*, Nijō seems to have portrayed Gofukakusa with more 'respect' and attachment than in the beginning of the diary, which could symbolize maturity and compassion of a Buddhist nun for a gradually deceasing Emperor.

From the point of view of social studies, Nijō seemed to have become the person her society wanted her to be – a weak and dependant woman, of whom only a strong man is able to take care. Thus, Nijō as a character is depicted as a woman, who had lost the sense of who she was and who she would like to become when she was very young. She simply persisted in her own insecurities until the end of her life, despite the fact that she formally left the aristocratic world and entered the 'path of Buddha'.

III. Nijō as a writer and poetess

Nijō is perceived mainly as a concubine to the Retired Emperor Gofukakusa and writer of the controversial diary *Towazugatari*, whereas less attention is paid to her poetry and the construction of the diary as a literary piece. Evaluating Nijō as a writer and poetess may seem to be quite difficult due to the fact that she wrote only one diary. However, the five books of *Towazugatari* create the possibility of estimating its literary value, as, besides prose, it contains many examples of Nijō's poetry, as well as poems by other characters in the diary. Moreover, the authoress refers to the work of a few poets and authors from earlier periods, such as Saigyō's poetry or the novel *Genji Monogatari* by Murasaki Shikibu. Nijō also mentions such poets as Semimaru and Kakinomoto no Hitomaro 柿本人麻呂⁷⁰, as well as the poetess Ono no Komachi 小野小町⁷¹.

⁷⁰ Kakinomoto no Hitomaro (7-8th century) was a court poet living during the reign of Empress Jitō 持統 (690-697) and Emperor Monmu 文武 (697-707). He is considered to be a representative poet of the anthology *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 where 85 of his poems may be found (*Encyclopedia of Japan*)

⁷¹ Ono no Komachi, (c. 860 - ?) was a poetess numbered by Ki no Tsurayuki among the six most remarkable masters of poetry, so called *rokkasen* 六歌仙. The lady was famous for her beauty and

Qualifying *Towazugatari* as a specified genre remains an issue for many scholars dealing with the diary, including Matsumura Yūji 松村雄二 (Matsumura 2001: 233-244), among others. Nijō's diary has characteristics both of a diary (*nikki* 日記) and of a narrative tale (*monogatari* 物語). Having tried to compare Nijō's work to earlier diaries, Matsumura Yūji acknowledges that although the 'monogatari factor' is included in *Towazugatari*, the work may be considered to be a diary as well (Matsumura 2001: 242-243). The authoress mostly wrote in the first person, which is typical for a diary, however she sometimes changed the point of view, quoting other persons when they spoke about her. Mizuhara Hajime 水原一 (Mizuhara 1991: 67-86) also emphasizes that the obvious presence of literary fiction in Nijō's diary should not be neglected. He points out that Nijō calls her lovers by pseudonyms when they are mentioned in an intimate context, while their real names are used in descriptions of official meetings (as in the example of Yuki no Akebono and Sai'onji Sanekane as names of the same man). It is also crucial that the diary seems to have been created at the end of Nijō's life, creating the possibility of manipulating the 'literary reality' of the diary. Kubota Jun⁷² claims that *Towazugatari* could be numbered among works on love and disillusionment of court life, against the background of writings from earlier periods, such as *Izumi Shikibu Nikki* 和泉式部日記⁷³, *Kagerō Nikki* 蜻蛉日記 (*the gossamer years*, 954-974), *Sarashina Nikki* 更級日記 (*the Sarashina diary*, 1020-1058), or *Utatane no Ki* うたたねの記⁷⁴. However, Kubota Jun also points out that the last two books of Nijō's diary, which may be inscribed in the tradition of journals, i.e. *Tosa Nikki* 土佐日記⁷⁵ or *Izayoi Nikki* 十六

talent for composing poetry. Her poems may be found in many anthologies and her figure is the subject of many legends and tales (*Encyclopedia of Japan*).

⁷² *Towazugatari*, op. cit., t. 1, p. 334-335.

⁷³ *Izumi Shikibu Nikki* (*the diary of Izumi Shikibu*, 1003-1004) is an autobiographical diary by a poetess of the Heian period named Izumi Shikibu (970?-1030?). The authoress described her affair with prince Atsumichi 敦実(981-1007), a blood prince and son of emperor Reizei 冷泉 (950-1011) and Fujiwara Kaneie's daughter.

⁷⁴ *Utatane no Ki* (*account of nap*, 13th century) was the first writing by nun Abutsu 阿仏尼 (?-1283). The diary tells a story of first and unfulfilled love. As opposed to other diaries, one may find no facts, dates and names in the diary. Chronological order is also not preserved, as emotion is the most important.

⁷⁵ *Tosa Nikki* (*the Tosa diary*, 934-935) is a journal written by poet Ki no Tsurayuki (872-945) during his travel from Tosa at Shikoku to Heiankyō. The author wrote the diary using the women's style (*onnade* 女手), i.e. *hiragana* 平仮名 – a syllabary that is used for phonetic writing in Japanese language and was used only by women. Men wrote using Chinese language, however the author made an exception and created *Tosa nikki*. Tsurayuki is considered to be the creator of a diary genre (*nikki*) in Japanese literature.

夜日記 (*the diary of the waning moon*, 1279). Moreover, what distinguishes *Towazugatari* from the diaries of other ladies-in-waiting of this period – *Ben no Naishi Nikki* 弁内侍日記⁷⁶ or *Nakatsukasa Naishi Nikki* 中務内侍日記⁷⁷, Nijō’s work is not limited to the point of view that shows only the splendor and beauty of the aristocratic world and the elegance of courtiers’ life. *Towazugatari* reveals the so-called ‘hidden agenda’ of the imperial court, as well as many issues related to the aristocratic society of that time.

The diary’s title also produces many difficulties in interpretation. The expression *towazugatari* itself consists of the verb *tou* 問う (‘to ask’) in the negative form and a noun *katari* 語り (in the voiced form *gatari* がたり), which originally comes from the verb *kataru* (‘to talk’, ‘to speak’, ‘to tell’ or ‘to narrate’). Thus, translated into English, the title is: ‘a tale no one asked for’. There exist many interpretations of the title, out of which the most popular is connected to *Towazugatari*’s disappearance and its rediscovery. Due to the fact that lady Nijō presented a very intimate image of the Retired Emperor Gofukakusa, diverging from the deity’s effigy, the title is interpreted as: *I speak although no one asked for it – I speak ‘in secret’ about the matters I am not supposed to speak about* (it is not known if out of shame or fear). Edith Sarra emphasizes that Nijō had not been the first one to use the expression *towazugatari* in classical Japanese literature (Sarra 2001: 93). We find it in *Kagerō Nikki* as *ayashiki towazugatari* 怪しき問はず語り – ‘a weird unasked-for tale’, as well as in *Takemukigaki* 竹向きが記⁷⁸ as *itazura towazugatari* 徒ら問はず語り – ‘a boresome tale no one asked for’. It is interesting that both expressions downplay what the authors have to say. Moreover, Edith Sarra reminds us that *towazugatari* is also an expression used for describing *involuntary speech of Buddhist mediums and victim of possessing spirits* (Sarra 2001: 93). It is a kind of

⁷⁶ *Ben no Naishi Nikki* (*the diary of Lady Ben*, 1246-1252) is a diary by Fujiwara Nobuzane’s 藤原信実 (1176-1265?) daughter called the lady from Ben. The authoress’s pseudonym probably comes from the name of the office she used to perform in the Imperial Household Ministry (*Kunaishō*). The Lady from Ben had been serving at the court of Retired Emperor Gofukakusa till the time of his abdication in 1259. The diary illustrates a careless life full of happiness and glory life of ladies-in-waiting, and underlines the significance of court ceremonies and the culture of the epoch.

⁷⁷ *Nakatsukasa no Naishi Nikki* (*the diary of Lady Nakatsukasa*, 1280-1292) is a diary by Fujiwara Keishi/Tsuneko 藤原経子 (1250-?), Fujiwara Nagatsune’s 藤原永経 daughter who was at service at the court of emperor Fushimi 伏見 (1265-1317). The lady’s fantasies are mixed up with reality in the diary. Moreover, the work contains many descriptions of courtiers’ daily life.

⁷⁸ *Takemukigaki* (*tacing the bamboo*, after 1349) is a diary by a lady-in-waiting named Hino Meishi 日野名子 (1310-1358), who was descended from the northern Fujiwara line.

speech coming from the other world, over which the person speaking has no control. The title *Towazugatari* may thus mean speaking nonsense, as well as a message from gods or ghosts brought by a medium. Yet, Matsumura Yūji points out that the expression *towazugatari* was not even used once in the diary (Matsumura 1991: 17-24). Moreover, the tendency to name writings with such enigmatic words as *towazugatari* occurred rather later, namely during the Muromachi period (1333-1573), when the monk-poet Shinkei 心敬 (1406-1475),⁷⁹ who used to name his writings with such expressions as *sasamegoto* 私語 (‘whispers’) or *hitorigoto* 独り言 (‘talking to oneself’), was active. Matsumura Yūji expressed his doubt if it was Nijō who in fact titled the diary.

The composition and contents of the diary allow learning more, not only about the inaccessible and intricate world of the aristocracy of the Kamakura period, but also about the Retired Emperor Gofukakusa himself, as well as the reality of the shōgun’s court and coloring of the country in the 13th century. *Towazugatari*’s authoress very skillfully comprised many elements constituting the culture and customs of Japan at that time. Numerous descriptions of aristocrats’ clothing, different types of ceremonies, festivals, and court games, as well as legends and customs connected to many Buddhist temples may be found in the diary. One may say that Nijō revealed in *Towazugatari* the existence of two worlds – the capital and the country. Thus, the diary remains a crucial writing of Japanese classical literature, being to some extent a record of the aristocratic world as opposed to the countryside. However, the authoress of *Towazugatari* does not pay as much attention to the countryside, as she does to the court. In her mind those two realities seem incomparably different and rather unequal.

3.1. Literary traditions of Koga and Shijō families

In order to understand the circumstances of the diary’s creation and its meaning for Japanese literature, one should take a look at Nijō’s descent and traditions, which for centuries had been present in the families from which the lady descended.

From her father’s side, Koga Masatada, Nijō belonged to a very influential Koga family, a branch of the Minamoto 源 clan (or in other words, the

⁷⁹ Shinkei (1406-1475) was a poet of Muromachi period. He was the master of the linked verse *renga* and the author of many theoretical writings on Buddhism and the creation of poetry (*Encyclopedia of Japan*).

Genji clan) descended from Emperor Murakami 村上.⁸⁰ It is believed that since Minamoto (Koga) Akifusa 源顕房 (1037-1094) and the *Insei* 院政 period (1086-c. 1185), Koga family had very great influence at the court, comparable to the Fujiwara family or perhaps stronger. The second book of *Towazugatari* informs us that Nijō's family was descended from prince Tomohira 具平⁸¹. Moreover, the great great-grandfather of Nijō was Minamoto Michichika 源通親 (1149-1202), who served as an inner minister (*naidaijin* 内大臣)⁸² at Emperor Tsuchimikado's 土御門 (1195-1231)⁸³ court, also kept the power at the court of his father, Retired Emperor Gotoba (1180-1239)⁸⁴. Michichika was the author of *Takakurain Itsukushima Gokōki* 高倉院巖島御幸記 (*account of the journey of the retired Emperor Takakura*⁸⁵ to *Itsukushima*, 12th century) and *Takakurain Shōkaki* 高倉院升遐記 (*the account of the retired Emperor Takakura's ascension*, 12th century), which would explain why Nijō herself refers to the pilgrimages of Retired Emperor Takakura at the beginning of the fifth book of *Towazugatari*. The third son of Michichika, Minamoto Michimitsu 源通光 (1187-1248), served as a great minister of the state 太政大臣 (*daijōdaijin*)⁸⁶ in the years of 1247-1248, which is an undeniable proof of prestige and power at the court. Nijō's father was Michimitsu's son, so he

⁸⁰ Murakami, personal name Nariakira 成明 (926-967), was 62nd emperor of Japan and fourteenth son of Emperor Daigo (885-930). Ruling years: 946-967.

⁸¹ Tomohira (964-1009) was the seventh son of emperor Murakami (926-967) and younger brother of Emperors Reizei (950-1011) and En'yū 円融 (959-991). Koga Masatada was the eighth generation descendant from prince Tomohira.

⁸² Inner minister (*naidaijin*) was an auxiliary government post (*ryōge no kan* 令外官) not prescribed by the Taihō Code (701) as part of the *ritsuryō* system. Fujiwara no Kamatari 藤原鎌足 was the first to hold the post in 669. After the appointment of Fujiwara no Michitaka (953–995) in 989, the post became permanent, directly under the ministers of the right and left (*udaijin* and *sadaijin* 左大臣). Only Chancellor of the Realm (*daijōdaijin*), minister of the left (*sadaijin*) and minister of the right (*udaijin*), being parts of the *ritsuryō* system, stood higher than *naidaijin* in the administrative hierarchy (*Encyclopedia of Japan*).

⁸³ Tsuchimikado, personal name Tamehito 為仁 (1195-1231) was 83rd emperor of Japan. He ruled in the years of 1198-1210. He was the firstborn son of Retired Emperor Gotoba 後鳥羽 (1180-1239).

⁸⁴ Gotoba, personal name Takahira 尊成 (1180-1239) was 82nd emperor of Japan. He reigned in the years of 1183-1198. He was fourth son of Emperor Takakura (1161-1181) and a grandson of Retired Emperor Goshirakawa 後白河 (1155-1158).

⁸⁵ Takakura, personal name Norihito 憲仁 (1161-1181) was 80th emperor of Japan. He reigned in the years of 1168-1180. He was fourth son of Retired Emperor Goshirakawa (1155-1158).

⁸⁶ Chancellor of the Realm (*daijōdaijin*) was the highest office in the system of the *ritsuryō* state. The office spearheaded the imperial Council of State (*Daijōkan* 太政官), a central administrative organ in the *ritsuryō* state.

was, in a straight line of descent, the successor of his ancestors' great heritage. Being very proud of his family traditions, Masatada made efforts to sustain the position and glory of the Koga family. Had he not died prematurely, he would have probably become, similarly to his father, the great minister of the state.

Also, Nijō's family from her mother's side, in the diary called *Dainagon no Naishi no Suke* 大納言典侍⁸⁷ (or Sokedai in the translation by Karen Brazell), who was a daughter of Shijō Takachika 四条隆親 (1202-1279), and was descended from the Shijō 四条 family (Fujiwara lineage, a line serving as governors of provinces) possessed poetic traditions.⁸⁸ Since the times of Shijō Akisue 四条顯季 (1055-1123)⁸⁹, who had been a well-known poet of his era, the family served as close cooperators of retired emperors. Fujiwara Ienari 藤原家成 (1107-1154)⁹⁰ was favored by Retired Emperor Goshirakawa (1127-1192)⁹¹ and Fujiwara Takafusa 藤原隆房 (1148-1209), the author of *Angen Onga no Ki* 安元御賀記 (*the account of the Angen celebration*)⁹², 12th century) and *Enshi* 艶詞 (or *Tsuyakotoba*, *glittering words*, 12th century),⁹³ had close connections with the Taira 平 family. Nijō's maternal grandfather, Shijō Takachika (1203-1280), was one of the most trustworthy people at the court of Retired Emperor Gosaga. Moreover, Empress Sadako 定子 (or Teishi), known as Lady Kitayama⁹⁴

⁸⁷ *Dainagon no Naishi no Suke* or *Dainagon no Tenji* was a lady-in-waiting, who could have been a daughter of a *Dainagon* (major counselor). Nijō's mother was named Shijō Kinshi 四条近子 (?-1259) and she was a daughter of Shijō Takachika (1203-1279?).

⁸⁸ She had been in service to Retired Emperor Gofukakusa before she became married. It is believed she was the very first mistress and love of Gofukakusa.

⁸⁹ Shijō no Akisue (1055-1123) was the author of such collections as: *Jōryaku Ninendairi Utaawase* 承暦二年代理歌合 (*Imperial Poetry Contest of the Second Year of Jōryaku* [1078]) and *Horikawa Hyakushu* 堀河百首 (*One Hundred Poems of Emperor Horikawa*) from 1093.

⁹⁰ Fujiwara Ienari (1107-1154) was an influential aristocrat of the Heian period and father of Fujiwara no Narichika 藤原成親 (1138-1177), who was involved in an intrigue against Taira family's domination at imperial court.

⁹¹ Goshirakawa, personal name Masahito 雅仁 (1127-1192), was 77th emperor of Japan. Ruling years: 1155-1158. He was fourth son of Emperor Toba 鳥羽 (1103-1156).

⁹² Era Angen is dated between July 28th 1175 and August 4th 1177 during the Emperor Takakura's ruling.

⁹³ Both texts are included in *Gunsho Ruijū* (1779-1819).

⁹⁴ Lady Kitayama or Teishi (1196-1302) was daughter of Shijō Takahira 四条尊成 (1172-1254) and wife of Sai'onji no Saneuji 西園寺実氏 (1194-1269). She was also mother of Empress Ōmiya 大宮 (1225-1292), who became wife of Retired Emperor Gosaga (she was later a mother of Gofukakusa and Kameyama). Moreover, Kitayama was mother of Empress Higashinijō, who became Gofukakusa's main consort.

and mother of Empress Higashinijō, the main consort of Retired Emperor Gofukakusa,⁹⁵ was Nijō's relative from her mother's side.

It should be noticed that since the times of Koga Michichika, whose poems were included in *Shinkokinwakashū*, poetry of many poets of the Koga family appeared in imperial anthologies. In the last book of *Towazugatari* Nijō, aware of her descent and literary achievements of famous (both paternal - Minamoto Michichika and maternal – Fujiwara Takafusa) ancestors, deplored the fact that the old times of splendor had fallen into oblivion. During the visit to her father's grave, Nijō was overwhelmed by sorrow, as Masatada's poems had not appeared in any anthology composed since the times of compiling *Shokukokinwakashū* 続古今和歌集⁹⁶ and she realized the fame of the Koga family had already passed (Brazell 1973: 251).

When Nijō was expelled from aristocratic society, the doom of her own poetry and its acknowledgement by the court was already sealed. Moreover, creating a diary that did not always describe Retired Emperor Gofukakusa highly surely did not improve Nijō's situation. The lady realized that she had probably ruined her chance to maintain the status of her family and her poetic traditions. A dream Nijō quoted at the end of the fifth book of *Towazugatari*, reminded her of this. In this dream Koga Masatada is cueing his daughter so that she remembers the literary achievements of her family:

...昔ながらの姿、私もいにしへ心地にて相向かひて、この恨みを述ぶるに、「祖父久我の大相国は『落葉が峰の露の色づく』言葉を述べ、我は『おのがこしちも春のほかかは』と言ひしより、代々の作者なり。外祖父兵部卿隆親は、鷺尾の臨幸に『今日こそ花の色は添へつれ』と詠みたまひき。いづかたにつけても、捨てらるべき身ならず。具平親王よりこの方、家久しくなるといへども、和歌の浦波絶えせず」など言ひて、立ちざまに、
なほもただかきとめてみよ藻塩草人をも別かずなさけある世に

⁹⁵ Nijō's mother was adopted by Sai'onji Saneuji, and Nijō herself by Lady Kitayama. Yet, it is difficult to define what exactly was this kind of adoption, as in medieval Japanese society there existed no documents confirming adoptions, dates of marriage, birth or death (Tonomura 2006: 297).

⁹⁶ *Shokukokinwakashū* (collection of ancient and modern poems continued, 1265) is the eleventh imperial anthology of poetry consisting of twenty books. It was compiled at Retired Emperor Gosaga's wish by Fujiwara Tameie 藤原為家 (1198-1275), Fujiwara Teika's son, and the others.

とうちながめて立ち退きぬと思ひて、うちおどろきしかば、
空しき面影は袖の涙に残り、言の葉はなほ夢の枕に留まる。
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I saw my father just as he had been long ago, and as we faced each other I was filled with emotions from the past. I poured out my discontent and he responded, “Our family contains many generations of poets. Your paternal grandfather, the prime minister Michimitsu, composed the poem ‘dew brightens fallen leaves’⁹⁸ and I wrote ‘could I but believe that spring has passed’.⁹⁹ On the occasion of an imperial visit to Washino’o¹⁰⁰ your maternal grandfather, Lord Takachika, wrote this: ‘Today’s visit adds luster to the blossoms.’¹⁰¹ No one on either side of our family has ever forsaken poetry. We are an old family, descended from Prince Tomohira, and the waves of our influence have always been felt in the Bay of Poetry.” As he stood to leave, Father gazed upon me and recited:

Sow all the words you can for in a better age men shall judge the harvest by its intrinsic worth.

I woke with a start. His shadow lingered in the tears on my sleeves; his words echoed near my pillow (Brazell 1973: 251-252).

Nijō, surprised by her own dream, woke up with the purpose to engage into poetry more. Soon she visited the grave of poet Kakinomoto Hitomaro, where she stayed for a couple of days.¹⁰²

It seems as though Nijō had obligations of respect to her family, yet it may be surmised that as a young person Nijō did not pay much attention to them. Awareness of the necessity of maintaining the prestige of Koga

⁹⁷ Cf. Gofukakusain no Nijō 1985, v. 2: 89.

⁹⁸ Poem 1095 from *Shinkokinshū*: かぎりあればしのぶの山のみもとにもおち葉がうへのつゆぞいろづく (If there were no limits, even the fallen leaves at the bottom of a hidden mountain would take a color of Ueno haze) (Japanese Text Initiative, University of Virginia Library: <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/japanese/saigyō/SaiSank.html>)

⁹⁹ Poem 63 from *Shokugosenshū*: 何ゆゑか霞めば雁の帰らむおのがこしちも春のほかかは (For what other reason than the spring would it haze, as the geese return and I myself go to the north?) (Gofukakusain no Nijō 1985, v. 2: 89).

¹⁰⁰ That day Retired Emperor Gosaga admired cherry blossoms.

¹⁰¹ Poem 1521 from *Shokukokinwakashū*: ふりにける代々のみゆきの跡なれど今日こそ花に色は添へつれ (Though these are the traces of the past imperial outings, today the color dyes into the blossoms) (Gofukakusain no Nijō 1985, v. 2: 89).

¹⁰² It is believed that Kakinomoto no Hitomaro died in Iwami 石見 province, current Shimane 島根 prefecture placed to the west of Nara and Kyoto.

appeared with time as Nijō matured. However, it was too late, as she was not able to manage the burden of the expectations she faced. This guilt and awareness of unfulfilled expectations could have been the reasons for which Nijō wrote *Towazugatari*. The importance of maintaining the Koga family tradition, which through centuries had given its members numerous opportunities to remain on the top of the court hierarchy, i.e. the possibility to publish poetry in imperial anthologies, was surely one of those reasons. The loss of the status was shameful for the whole family. *Towazugatari* could have been a specific way to redeem the memory of Koga family, by presenting the situation from not only a historical, but also a personal point of view. The diary seems to be a tale that the authoress reels off, despite the fact that no one asked her to do it, yet it is necessary for the final ‘maintenance of good name’ of the Koga family and Nijō herself.

3.2. Poetry in *Towazugatari*

Poetry plays an extremely significant role in *Towazugatari*, first of all due to the tradition of court correspondence it used to be a part of. The skill of composing poems appropriate to the situation was indispensable for each aristocrat and lady-in-waiting. Nijō, descending from a family of literary tradition, mentioned in her diary the poetry contest *uta’awase*¹⁰³ that took place on the occasion of lady Kitayama’s ninetieth birthday celebration. It is clear that poetry was the area in which aristocrats competed with each other. This allowed them to exist as talented poets, as well as politicians.¹⁰⁴ Despite the fact that Nijō’s poetic work had never been acknowledged, it is interesting to look at her poems. Due to Nijō’s colorful life she experienced many unusual situations, thanks to which one may find many kinds of love poems, as well as religious pieces and *waka* 和歌¹⁰⁵ describing the elements of nature in *Towazugatari*. By virtue of Nijō’s numerous affairs

¹⁰³ *Uta’awase* was a poetry contest and was one of the forms of court entertainment. There were two teams participating in the contest. At first the main motives that were supposed to be used in poems had to be assigned. The arbiter chose the best poems. First *uta’awase* took place in 9th century and was treated as an entertainment, only later it was inscribed in the tradition of poetry creating and was highly respected.

¹⁰⁴ This ceremonial and pompous approach in respect to the skill of creating poetry and other long traditions are bound to make one think that a talent for literature could have had more influence on the aristocrats’ career than real qualifications for a given post. According to some people, the exaggerated cult of poetry in aristocratic circles could have contributed to the fact that eventually the primacy of imperial power was lost. Yet, it allowed composing many masterpiece poems possessing great literary value (Brazell 1973: 170).

¹⁰⁵ *Waka* is traditional court poetry in Japanese style that includes many poetic forms, i.e. *tanka* (short poem), *chōka* 長歌 (long poem), *sedōka* 旋頭歌 (‘whirling head poem’), etc. (Melanowicz 2003: 77-78).

and her constant feeling of seclusion, she mostly wrote love poems.¹⁰⁶ The most frequently occurring element in Nijō's love poetry is wet sleeves, with which aristocrats used to wipe away their tears. Similar to the Heian period, the key conception describing love was a noun *koi* 恋 that may be translated as 'sorrow is love'.¹⁰⁷ The following love poems reflect exactly this kind of 'sad love sensed in loneliness':

帰るさの袂は知らず面影は袖の涙に有明の空¹⁰⁸

*I do not find the sleeves of your return. Only your shadow lingers
in the tears on my sleeves, as the morning sky brightens.*

The above piece was composed after a night spent with monk Ariake. In the poem Nijō even employed the expression *ariake no sora* ('the sky at dawn'), very similar to *ariake no tsuki* characteristic for the *Shinkokinshū* poetic style, and referring to her lover's pseudonym. It should not be forgotten that *ariake no sora* is a *taigendome* (ending a poem with a substantive), which is another trademark of the *Shinkokinshū* (Huey 2002: 172). It is thus notable that lady Nijō might have created her poems in the early medieval poetic style propagated by Fujiwara Shunzei (1114-1204) and later by his son, the renowned Fujiwara Teika (1162-1241), but the theme of her poem is even more 'classical' than *Shinkokinshū*, as she seem to follow the conventional themes of the *Kokinwakashū* 古今和歌集. This poem is believed to have been composed after a night spent with a lover, which in the court society was an inevitable 'follow-up' of courtship after moments of intimacy. This practice had been known and celebrated in Japanese poetry since the early Heian period (8-12th century). Sending a

¹⁰⁶ In the Heian period, literature had a big influence on the lifestyle at the court of Kamakura period, but the issues of human carnality, lustfulness and physical love were not raised directly. Woman's long black hair, touched by the beloved in moments of intimacy, could have been a peculiar erotic object. Yet, this does not appear in Nijō's poetry. Another element erotizing the atmosphere of a poem of above-mentioned periods was the *obi* sash, i.e. part of the traditional clothing of aristocrats. The man often untied woman's sash when he was coming to pay her a visit, whereas in the moment of leave-taking, the man tied the woman's sash again. It was a symbol of faithfulness and intimacy between the lovers. [This motive for untying the *obi* sash may be found already in poems of *Man'yōshū* anthology.]

¹⁰⁷ In its original form, this expression had been written with two Chinese characters: first *ko* 孤 signifying loneliness and second *fi* 悲 – longing and sorrow. This notation of the word appears in the anthology *Man'yōshū* exactly written the way it was described above. Analysis of ideograms' meaning points at a peculiar kind of love feeling, dominated by sadness and loneliness. A very painful feeling of longing for beloved person, who is currently not around, was hidden in expression *koi* (Kordzińska-Nawrocka 2005: 89).

¹⁰⁸ Cf: Gofukakusain no Nijō 1985, v. 1: 47.

letter, not only writing a poem, after a night spent together was inscribed in the rules of good manners in the aristocratic world. It was also proof of love and longing for the beloved person.

Nijō also used to compose poetry on subjects other than love. Numerous examples of religious poems may be found in *Towazugatari*. Many of them refer to Buddhism, which treats transience as an inevitable part of life and simultaneously a path towards enlightenment. The following poem, in which Nijō recalls issues associated with death, is a piece she composed after the funeral ceremony of her father:

わが袖の涙の海よ三瀬川に流れて通へ影をだに見む¹⁰⁹

The ocean of tears of my sleeves drifts across into the River of Three Crossings¹¹⁰, in which I appear to see only your shade.

In the original Nijō refers to the Sanzu River that flows in the underworld, and is a Buddhist image frequently referred to in Japanese poetry of the medieval period. According to Buddhist beliefs, deceased people cross it on the seventh day after death. Perhaps it is significant that during that period there are numerous allusions to the image of a river and the float of water, time, life, etc. Even such a famous medieval work as an essay entitled *Hōjōki*¹¹¹ by Kamo no Chōmei (1155?-1216)¹¹² starts with the following words: *The flow of the river is ceaseless and its water is never*

¹⁰⁹ Cf: Gofukakusain no Nijō 1985, v. 1: 40.

¹¹⁰ In original Sanzu River 三途の川 (river of three crossings) which, according to popular Japanese Buddhist beliefs, one has to cross after death. In respect to the deeds made while being alive, the dead people cross the river in a certain place. It is believed that there are two devils by the river – Datsueba 奪衣婆 and Ken'eō 懸衣翁, who take away the clothes from the dead people.

¹¹¹ *Hōjōki* (accounts of my hut, 1212) is a brief work in the *zuihitsu* (essay) mode by the elderly recluse Kamo no Chōmei (1156?–1216). In its opening passage the impermanence of life (*mujō*) is conveyed by likening man and his dwellings to the flow of a river and the bubbles that form and vanish along its surface. To convey the perils that await those who wed their fates to the worldly splendors of the capital, Chōmei then relates five disasters he has witnessed: a devastating fire, a terrible whirlwind, the ill-fated attempt to move the capital, an awful famine, and an earthquake (*Encyclopedia of Japan*).

¹¹² Kamo no Chōmei (1155?-1216) was a poet, critic, and essayist. Scion of the Kamo family, hereditary Shintō priests of the Kamo Shrines, he lived in the troubled transitional years between the Heian and Kamakura (1185-1333) periods. He has come to typify the literary recluse who abandons the world for a life of refined tranquillity in a small mountain hut. He was active in the literary world of Fujiwara Shunzei, Fujiwara Teika and Saigyō. A poetic disciple of the priest Shun'e (1113-ca. 1190?), Chōmei cultivated a complex style, examples of which appear in the *Shinkokinshū* and other imperial anthologies, as well as in his personal collection of verse, the *Kamo no Chōmei shū* from 1181 (*Encyclopedia of Japan*).

the same (Keene 1955: 197). Recalling the underworld was supposed to underline that the lady's sorrow and despair reached beyond the borders of the world of the living. Interestingly, also this poem has features of the medieval poetic style, as it contains the x-no-y-no-z pattern (*waga sode no namida no umi*), characteristic for the *Shinkokinshū poetic* style. In the poem the speaker seems to have crossed to the underworld together with her tears. If she is able to see the shadow of her father in the Sanzu River, perhaps it indicates that she is 'almost' dead, or close to abandoning the world. Thus, one may wonder if lady Nijō did not intend it to express her willingness to leave the terrestrial world.

Towazugatari also contains poems in which Nijō directly turns her prayers or requests to the deities of the Japanese indigenous religion Shinto. Also, as a Buddhist nun she kept praying to Shinto deities, e.g. at the end of her visit in Ise Shrine, when she was leaving the territory of the sacred place. Prayers to Shinto gods show the phenomena of mutual permeating of Buddhism and Shinto in Japan:

あり果てむ身の行く末のしるべせよ憂き世の中を度会の宮
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*O god of the Ise Shrine*¹¹⁴, *guide me till the end of a long path of my life in this world of grief.*

The nun turned to goddess Toyouke with a request of guidance and protection in life. It might seem unusual that a Buddhist nun asked a Shinto deity for protection. However, during the medieval period in Japan there existed a notion of *wakō dōjin* ('softening the radiance and becoming one with dust'), according to which Buddha can 'humble himself' by manifesting on the Earth as Shinto gods. This notion unified both religions. Thus, Shinto and Buddhism coexisted in the medieval Japan without any conflict. *Wakō dōjin* is notable also at the example of this poem, as the speaker prays to a Shinto deity, but she asks for guidance in the in *ukiyo*. The expression *ukiyo* 憂世/浮世, which means 'sorrowful', 'fleeting' and 'transient' world, refers to the Buddhist way of perceiving the world that appears in this poem. It does not necessarily mean that lady Nijō

¹¹³ Cf: Gofukakusain no Nijō 1985, v. 2: 51.

¹¹⁴ Mentioned here is specifically *Watarai no Miya*, which refers to the Toyouke Ōmikami, a goddess of agriculture, who according to Japanese mythology escorted Prince Ninigi down to Earth. It resides among others in the Ise Shrine.

intentionally desired to represent *wakō dōjin* in her poetry. It seems that unifying both religions during the medieval era in Japan was not always aware, and the distinction between Shinto and Buddhism not always make clear. Nijō might have also seen the world and religion through the prism of both Buddhism (traditionally associated with going by and death) and Shinto (associated with joys of an earthy life), as well as the coexistence of those two religions in medieval Japan.

The poetic examples quoted above say much about Nijō's poetry and its inspirations - love, nature and religion. Nijō's fascination with Saigyō's poetry is obvious, but she was also interested in earlier poetry, descending from the tradition of the anthology *Man'yōshū*¹¹⁵ since the Meiji period (1868-1912) believed to have contained the so-called 'authenticity of feeling' (*makoto* 真/実/誠).¹¹⁶ Moreover, there are plenty of Nijō's poems present in *Towazugatari*, in which the poetic figure *honkadori* 本歌取 (allusive variation) from the earlier poems was used. *Honkadori* was supposed to emphasize profound grace and subtlety (*yūgen* 幽玄), expressing the mood and symbolism (*ushin* 有心) of the poem, which were all the features characteristic of medieval Japanese poetry.

Examples of Nijō's poetry are proof that she could compose very beautiful poems. Nevertheless, she was never acknowledged as a poetess whose work would be worth documenting and remembering. Thus, despite the poetic achievements of her ancestors and her diary, *Towazugatari*, Nijō's poems were never included in an imperial anthology. Additionally, *Towazugatari*'s disappearance allowed the forgetting of the existence of a lady, nun and poetess named Nijō.

3.3. Court culture and customs as one of the main subjects of *Towazugatari*

Nijō's diary is a valuable literary source, as beside many examples of poetry by the authoress herself and other characters in the diary, it contains numerous depictions of Japanese court culture of the 13th century. On the basis of Nijō's diary it is evident that life at the Kamakura period court did not greatly change in comparison to the Heian period. Despite all the shifts

¹¹⁵ *Man'yōshū* (collection of ten thousand leaves, 759-806) is the first anthology of Japanese poetry created in Nara period (710-784) by a poet named Ōtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (717?-785). It consists of twenty books and contains mainly poems about the four seasons and expressing emotions. It became a model for later poets to compose short poems called *tanka*.

¹¹⁶ *Makoto* (the truth of things) is a concept characteristic for Yamato period (late 3rd – beginning of 8th century) and consolidated in *Man'yōshū* and other relics of Japanese writings from the beginning of 8th century (Melanowicz 1994: 250).

that took place at the level of exercising authority (real power gradually moved to provincial warriors), customs and culture descended from the Heian epoch still dominated the imperial court. The aristocracy of the Kamakura period, and even the Kamakura shōgunate, were trying to imitate Heian culture. All courtiers were obliged to be familiar with classical Japanese literature as well as expected to possess the ability to compose *waka*, play at least one musical instrument, paint and skillfully select color for any clothing and correspondence. Poetry was still the most common method of communication and *Genji monogatari* remained a very important masterpiece, for lady Nijō as well.¹¹⁷

The authoress of *Towazugatari* paid much attention to the ‘beauties and charms’ of court life. Nijō did not fail to mention that the New Year’s *sake* in 1275 was served by Fujiwara Michimasa 藤原道雅, who in 1274 had been appointed chief of Retired Emperor Kameyama’s office. She also referred to an interesting custom called *kayuzue* 粥杖, that consisted of striking ladies-in-waiting’s buttocks with a wooden stick used during boiling rice porridge (*kayu* 粥) on the fifteenth day after the New Year which was supposed to ensure safe pregnancy and childbirth.¹¹⁸ Moreover, Nijō described lady Kitayama’s ninetieth birthday celebration in 1285 in detail (Brazell 1973: 157-158). She presents with great precision the sequence of individuals’ entrance, the manner they were seated during the ceremony, as well as descriptions of clothing, and the dances that were performed. During the celebration of lady Kitayama’s birthday many attractions took place – poetry contests *uta’awase*, musical performances of such instruments as *koto* 琴¹¹⁹ and *biwa*, as well as the *kemari* 蹴鞠¹²⁰ game, a version of football. By illustrating such splendor, Nijō was surely trying to display the luxury and noble character of court ceremonies.

Particular attention in *Towazugatari* is paid to very detailed descriptions of courtiers’ clothing. Even in the first lines of her diary, Nijō referred to a scene of great preparations for the New Year’s celebration and in detail

¹¹⁷ In many parts of *Towazugatari* one may find direct references to Murasaki Shikibu’s novel and its characters: the similarity of lady Nijō and Murasaki no Ue; Kameyama’s suggestions Gofukakusa should ‘lend’ him his lady-in-waiting by referring to Emperor Suzaku (in *Genji monogatari* a step-brother of Prince Genji), who gave Onna Sannomiya 女三の宮 to Genji; musical concert carefully patterned after *Genji monogatari*; Nijō’s references to Genji’s exile on the Suma coast.

¹¹⁸ Untoward Nijō, who did not like the traditional custom of *kayuzue*, hit Retired Emperor Gofukakusa with a wooden stick as revenge.

¹¹⁹ *Koto* is a Japanese musical instrument. It has thirteen strings that are plunked by a few plectrons.

¹²⁰ *Kemari* was a game similar to football, however its aim was to keep the ball as long in the air as possible. Thus, the players are not competing, but cooperating with each other.

described her gown. Robes selected adequately for the occasion and season were an amazingly important element in aristocratic circles. Clothing clearly defined the age, sex, and position of a given aristocrat in the court hierarchy. Proper choice of robes indicated a high level of education and was a sign of good taste. The following passage is the very first lines of *Towazugatari*:

呉竹の一夜に春の立つ霞、今朝しも待ち出で顔に、花を折り、匂ひを争ひて並み居たれば、我も人並々にさし出でたり。つぼみ紅梅にやあらむ、七つに、紅の桂、萌黄の表着、赤色の唐衣などにてありしやらむ。梅唐草を浮き織りたる二小袖に、唐垣に梅を縫ひてはべりしを着たりし。¹²¹

As the mist rose among the spring bamboo heralding the dawn of the New Year, the ladies of Gofukakusa's court,¹²² who had so eagerly awaited this morning, made their appearances in gorgeous costumes, each trying to surpass the others in beauty. I too took my place among them. I recall wearing a layered gown shaded from light pink to dark red, with outer gowns of deep purple and light green and a red formal jacket. My undergown was a two-layered small-sleeved brocade patterned with plum blossoms and vines, and embroidered with bamboo fences and plum trees (Brazell 1973: 1).

Nijō's garment description allows the guess that she was a very special and well-situated young lady. Robes in the shade of Japanese plum blossoms indicated a young female courtier, whereas red color and seven layers meant a person from the closest surrounding of the emperor.¹²³ Nijō must have been proud of her position as the gown she was wearing distinguished her from the crowd of other ladies-in-waiting.¹²⁴ Moreover, this description

¹²¹ Cf. Gofukakusain no Nijō 1985, v. 1: 11.

¹²² In 1271 Gofukakusa was a twenty-nine-year-old Retired Emperor, and fourteen year old lady Nijō was one of his ladies-in-waiting. According to the lunisolar calendar used in pre-modern Japan, the first day of the New Year came in late January or February and marked the official beginning of the spring (Brazell 1973: 265).

¹²³ Colors like violet, purple and dark red were restricted only for emperors and person from their closest surrounding.

¹²⁴ Authoresses of diaries who had never lived at the court, did not pay much attention to clothing. Michitsuna's Mother, the authoress of *Kagerō nikki* barely ever mentions robes in her diary. However, since Nijō was brought up at the court, she judged people on the basis of their clothing until the end of her days.

resembles a scene frequent in the opening poems of the spring books in imperial anthologies, which always refer to the beginning of the New Year. One of the court rituals was a formal gathering and an imperial celebration of the New Year. Thus, during the New Year celebration many courtiers would gather at the imperial palace and line up in the garden in order to present themselves to the Emperor, which seems very similar to the lady Nijō description of the New Year celebration.

Towazugatari also pays much attention to court games and various kinds of entertainment. Aristocrats organized many kinds of contests and games. Already very popular in the Heian period was the game *kemari*, to which Nijō referred a few times in her diary. Also frequent were performances of different kinds of dances, e.g. *kagura* 神樂¹²⁵ or *gosechi* 五節,¹²⁶ and concerts, during which aristocrats played such musical instruments as *koto* or *biwa*. Nijō also mentioned admiring the beauty of cherry blossoms in Gion Shrine¹²⁷ in Kyoto as one of the traditional forms of spending time in the early spring.

It may also be observed that superstitions and dreams that were considered to be auguries and prophecies played a large role in the aristocrats' life. In the first lines of her diary, Nijō mentioned the so-called *katatagae* 方違え, i.e. changing directions of destination. Also such situations as child's delivery or illness were associated with impurity and a peculiar kind of 'stigma'. Nijō left the imperial palace every time for a baby's delivery, the result of the impurity superstition. Aristocrats were also forced to leave the court for the time of illness, an example of which may be Koga Masatada, who stayed at his residence in Kawasaki for a couple of weeks during his indisposition. This rule of 'departing for the time of illness' was obligatory for emperors and empresses as well. Another kind of superstition that is worth mentioning, as they played a surprisingly important role in court society were dreams. There are many dreams in *Towazugatari*, most of which are lady Nijō's dreams. A dream quoted below is the one in which Yuki no Akebono offers the lady a silver jar:

¹²⁵ *Kagura* is a kind of dance that was an inspiration for the first forms of Japanese theater. It comes from Shinto rituals.

¹²⁶ *Gosechi* is a dance performed by women during various Shinto feasts. The legend says that during Emperor Temmu's reign a group of dancing ladies 'flew down on earth from the sky' and danced in the front of the emperor in Yoshino 吉野.

¹²⁷ Founded in 876, Gion Shrine is nowadays called Yasaka Jinja 八坂神社 (Yasaka Shrine). Its main deity is Gozu Tennō 牛頭天王.

さて今宵、塗骨に松を蒔きたる扇に、銀の油壺を入れて、この人の賜ぶを、人に隠して懐に入れぬと夢に見て、うちおどろきたれば、暁の鐘聞こゆ。いと思ひがけぬ夢をも見つけるかなと思ひて居たるに、そばなる人、同じさまに見たるよしを語るこそ、いかなるべきことにかと不思議なれ。
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That night I dreamed Akebono¹²⁹ gave me a silver hair-oil jar, which he proffered on a cypress-wood fan bearing a pine tree design. I had accepted this and concealed it in the boom of my kimono when I was awakened by the dawn bells. As I was pondering this extraordinary dream, Akebono told me of the dream he had had; to my amazement it was identical to mine. What did this signify? (Brazell 1973: 46).

The fact that Nijō and Yuki no Akebono had the same dream was undoubtedly supposed to reflect their mutual immense love and unity. In this case the dream meant pregnancy, but dreams in *Towazugatari* were often simply prophecies of important events in someone's life. They were a message from the underworld, which may only be passed on mysteriously and symbolically.

At these examples of *Towazugatari* one may feel that court life in the Kamakura period was not very different from the lifestyle of the Heian period, with the exception of the shōgunate and its increasing power. Court customs and culture remained unchanged. Aristocracy of the time surely thought it was primary in the area of culture, as there were new anthologies of poetry created and much attention paid to proper clothing and good manners. However, one may notice that the ideal of *imamekashisa* 今めかしさ, so called 'being up to date', that had been so important to the courtiers of the middle Heian period, was no longer alive in the Kamakura period (Brazell 1971: 223). Simultaneously, in *Towazugatari* there is a lack of information about people living in the country and their customs. Despite the fact that Nijō was traveling a lot, she paid more attention to religious aspects and she compared many issues to her past life at the court. Visiting Emperor Sutoku's grave and tracing Emperor Takakura's journeys are reminiscent of Japanese history, which was first of all the history of the aristocratic world.

¹²⁸ Cf: Gofukakusain no Nijō 1985, v. 1: 60.

¹²⁹ The name of Akebono does not appear in the original text, however it is known who was meant. Therefore, Karen Brazell uses the name in her translation.

3.4. Gender studies approach towards Nijō's work

A French female writer, philosopher and one of the pioneers of so-called 'second wave feminism', Simone de Beauvoir, wrote the following in her famous book, *The Second Sex: One is not born a woman, one becomes one* (de Beauvoir 2003: 299). Simone de Beauvoir was trying to prove that it is not biological sex, but cultural gender that shapes women and men according to certain norms consistent with the expectations of a given society. This is notable also in *Towazugatari*.

It is clear from Nijō's example that women's fate in circles of court aristocracy in medieval Japan was dependent on decisions taken by men and the power over women they thought they have the right to exert. Koga Masatada once told his daughter: *A lady-in-waiting should never be stubborn, but should do exactly as she's told* (Brazell 1973: 3-4), which on a first sight seems to present the essence of relations between women and men very clearly, not only during the Heian period, but also during the Kamakura period. Fukutō Sanae 服藤早苗, who also applied the gender studies approach in her work, used to deal with the issue of ladies-in-waiting's duties in subsequent stages of their life (Fukutō 1998). She emphasized men's dominance in every area of women's life and the existence of a fixed order in the life of aristocratic women of the time. However, it must be admitted that lady Nijō had some level of independence in her private life, as she engaged in many of her love affairs willingly. Also, she made decisions about her travels around Japan.

Some of the scholars dealing with *Towazugatari*, including Tonomura Hitomi, Michele Marra and Edith Sarra, have tried to analyze Nijō's diary from the perspective of sociocultural gender identity. All of them put much emphasis on the aspect of submission of the Kamakura period's women to men in every area of life, as well as their lack of awareness and lack of their own ideas for future. One may not quite agree with such conclusions, as there are areas of everyday life of the medieval period, in which women could be independent. It also should be remembered that all depended on a social position of a woman and her family connections. In any case, scholars mentioned above claim that in the medieval period, a woman was supposed to be weak and submit to the man's will – first the father's, then the lover's etc. However, it does not mean she did not have the right to be independent and free-thinking in some areas of life. It is true that in general position of women in the Heian period was better than in the later periods (it is notable based on the marriage living practices and women's financial independence), however this shift 'towards the worse' in the medieval

times was not a drastic ‘event’, but a gradual process. It may seem in some of the examples of classical Japanese literature that it was the man who had the power, not only over the woman’s body, but also her psyche. It is also true that literary works of the Heian and Kamakura periods are full of romantic description of moments that lovers spent together. It is rare in classical Japanese literature to face such phenomena as violence in the shape of a rape (*gōkan/reipu* 強姦・レイプ),¹³⁰ sexual abuse, or prostitution illustrated directly, although one may be sure that such things were taking place. Such moments have been hidden in romanticized depictions of exultation moments, which should be perceived rather as an indirect manifestation of female authoress’s awareness about such phenomena, not its lack. In *Towazugatari* one finds passages containing such scenes. The Retired Emperor Kameyama’s ‘courtship’, which Nijō referred to with malevolence, is an indisputable example of sexual abuse, and lady Nijō seems fully aware of it. Also the so-called ‘political-practical’ approach towards using woman’s bodies (getting pregnant with a ‘proper man in a proper time’, love affairs only with ‘proper’ men, as well as the fact that emperors used to ‘lend’ their ladies-in-waiting to other men), may evidence the existence of some kind of prostitution, but might be also perceived as women’s ‘undercover power’ over men. Tonomura Hitomi claims that the reference to prostitution that appears in *Towazugatari* at the beginning of the fourth book is a sign of Nijō’s identification with the ‘scarlet women’ (Tonomura 2006: 323-324). However, there is no evidence that Nijō anyhow referred to herself in that case. It is true that women could have been visited by a few men during one night, regardless of whether they desired those visits or not, and that in medieval Japan, there were no fixed rules considering marriage or adultery. However, women were not forced to open the door for the ‘strangers’. Examples of ignoring lovers or men arriving at a woman’s door can be in fact observed as early as in *Izumi Shikibu Nikki*, where Izumi’s behavior is perceived as rather seductive.

It is evident that in the aristocratic circles of medieval Japan it was a father, who had significant influence on a woman. One may say the father had unlimited influence in every area of his daughter’s life. He even had the right to decide about the beginning of a woman’s sexual life, as it was Koga Masatada who decided about the first phase of lady Nijō’s life at imperial court, and about her affair with the Retired Emperor Gofukakusa. He played the role of master and ruler of her world and her awareness,

¹³⁰ Hitomi Tonomura claims that the idealization of intimate moments in Japanese literature was a way to get rid of past traumatic experiences from women’s minds (Tonomura 2006: 310).

which is why Nijō felt an indescribable loss and fear for the future at the moment of Masatada's death. The young girl's, awareness shaped in this manner, compelled her to look for a new protector in the person of Retired Emperor Gofukakusa, on whom she was fully dependent, as she had once been dependent on her father. Thus, she was not used to making decisions independently. However, being relatively free, Nijō enjoyed living at the court as a concubine to Retired Emperor Gofukakusa, and it was only after she left the court that she tried to consciously make life decisions. Thus, it is notable that she must have been shaped by the social norms of her society.

By carefully reading *Towazugatari*, one may notice much critique about the treatment of ladies-in-waiting by emperors and aristocrats, which from the perspective of gender studies seems empowering. The example of the ladies forced to play *kemari* speaks for itself: one day the Retired Emperor Gofukakusa wished to properly entertain his brother, the Retired Emperor Kameyama, and decided that the women should play *kemari*. However, he did not care that the ladies-in-waiting felt uncomfortable and unwilling to play the men's role while wearing men's clothing. Nijō commented on the whole situation very severely, which shows her awareness in this regard. She also did not like the custom *kayuzue* (striking ladies-in-waiting's buttocks with a wooden stick) either. Nijō even dared to strike back Retired Emperor Gofukakusa himself with a stick. Moreover, multiple times she mentioned the disillusionment that she had experienced in the moments of humiliation, i.e. when she was not allowed to meet her own daughter, who was also Sai'onji Sanekane's baby, as he immediately took the child to his residence, by it ascribing to himself the full right to it. Perhaps Nijō was able to express critique, as according to *Towazugatari* Nijō wrote her diary at the end of her life, or maybe as she did not have anything else to lose.

Nijō seems to have been kept at the court as long as she was 'politically useful', no matter if she realized it, or not. When her body lost its worth, she ceased to be an object of desire for the Retired Emperor Gofukakusa, and she was simply 'eliminated'. Tonomura Hitomi claims that only Nijō's affair with monk Ariake was 'apolitical,' and the rest of her relationships were based on power relations (Tonomura 2006: 329). Nijō's 'exile', as Michele Marra calls her peregrinations (Marra 1991: 119), in fact allowed her to get more distance from the past and properly judge her own situation, although she still remained mentally connected to the court and the Retired Emperor, the proof of which are her meetings with Gofukakusa after many years. Thus, Nijō's journeys should be rather perceived as a sign of freedom and independence, not 'exile', although she was surely perceived

as a person ‘exiled’, especially if one takes into consideration the perspective of the Capital, the center of the aristocratic world.

The image of lady Nijō presented in her diary *Towazugatari* only seemingly is the depiction of a lost, relatively weak and a little bit shiftless woman. In fact, she was stronger than it appears on the first sight. Moreover, she was a woman with many personal dependencies at the court and later also during her journeys. However, if one preserves the gender studies approach, it should be emphasized that lady Nijō’s life was determined by her socio-cultural gender. It was the tasks and duties she had to face in the society and historical period she happened to be born into, not biological sex that determined much of Nijō’s destiny. Court culture in the Kamakura period required a woman to become exactly who Nijō became during her young years – weak and dependent on men and other people, who are to some extent socially ‘more powerful’ than her. However, she transformed and thus proved that it was possible for a former lady-in-waiting to live outside of the Capital. Furthermore, since every woman was expected to wait for a beloved man and depend on his decisions, which were always taken beyond her reach, also Nijō, even as a Buddhist nun seemed attached to felt nostalgic about Gofukakusa.

Within the field of Japanese literature between the 8th and 12th centuries, both men and women created masterpieces that are currently admired. Many of them greatly influenced later generations of writers and poets. Although Japanese aristocratic women may seem to have been closed up in their houses, waiting for the men day and night, some women used to stand out with their skills and education in the area of literature. However, it is difficult to determine the reason for which male and female writers are evaluated as excellent. Was it really the sex, or gender, that was the ultimate criterion in this case? Or was it simply the excellence in literature and poetry that mattered the most?

IV. Conclusions

It may surely be concluded that lady Nijō’s diary is valuable. Regardless of whether it was intentional or not, lady Nijō presented in *Towazugatari* a certain part of Japan’s history seen ‘from the inside.’ She left out a few quite important facts, such as the Mongolian invasions of 1274 and 1281, as well as the political crisis at the court, visible in the division of the imperial dynasty into two lines,¹³¹ but she precisely portrayed the court world, commonly so admired and acknowledged, as far from the ideal.

¹³¹ The division of the imperial line took place in 1272 when Retired Emperor Gosaga died. Two lines emerged: Gofukakusa’s line named Jimyōin 持明院 and the line of his younger brother

Towazugatari, as any literary work, has many facets, out of which much information may be read, and thus, different points of view may be applied. Hitomi Tonomura thinks that lady Nijō manipulated reality for the diary's needs (Tonomura 2006: 314), whereas Tamai Kōsuke 玉井幸助 claims that *Towazugatari* remains an unusual work, a peculiar kind of confession about its authoress's fate and sacrifices (Tamai 1971: 608). It must also be admitted that beside her own experiences, Nijō was able to describe the aristocratic world, which turned out to be surprisingly intricate and odious in its indolence. It is possible that Nijō did not realize how important a political role she played for all her lovers. She gave birth to Yuki no Akebono's (Sai'onji Sanekane's) daughter, who was brought up by him and his official consort. Despite the fact that Nijō never had a chance to see her daughter, the lady mentioned in the diary that the girl had been brought up to become an imperial consort.¹³² The hostile machinations of Empress Higashinijō, who was not presented positively in the diary,¹³³ as well as the evident favoring of lady Nijō by Retired Emperor Gofukakusa, are only proof that she in fact might have been a real danger for Gofukakusa's consort.

Only at the end of *Towazugatari*, mature Nijō summed up her life in the following way:

深草の御門は御隠れの後、かこつべき御事どもも跡絶え果てたる心地してはべりしに、去年の三月八日、人丸の御影供を勤めたりしに、今年と同じ月日、御幸に参り会ひたるも不思議に、見しむばたまの後面影もうつつに思ひ会はせられて、さても宿願の行く末いかがなりゆかむとおぼつかなく、年月の心の信もさすが空しからずやと思ひつづけて、身の有様を一人思ひ居たるも飽かずおぼえはべるうへ、修

Kameyama named Daikakuji 大覚寺. The conflict was so serious that the brothers had to ask the *bakufu* government for negotiations. In 1317 it was agreed that the throne's succession would be changed into another line, but an emperor could not stay on the throne longer than ten years. The conflict eventually ended in 1333 when Emperor Godaigo returned to Kyoto. Then, there began a short period of imperial power restoration called the Kenmu Restoration.

¹³² The Sai'onji family was trying to strengthen its position at the court by giving in marriage women from their family to the emperors, e.g. Sai'onji Saneuji and his wife, lady Kitayama gave in marriage their daughter Kitsushi (later Empress Ōmiya, 1225-1292) to Retired Emperor Gosaga. She was the mother of Gofukakusa and Kameyama. Thus, giving birth to a daughter of Sanekane, lady Nijō remained politically significant for the Sai'onji family. Some scholars believe that one of the two daughters of Sanekane was Nijō's daughter, and later married Emperor Fushimi (Eifukumon'in, 1271-1342), or Retired Emperor Kameyama (Sai'onji Kishi, 1252-1318) (Tonomura 2006: 292-294, 300).

¹³³ Jealousy was perceived as one of the greatest weaknesses of a woman.

行の心ざしも、西行が修行のしき、うらやましくおぼえて
こそ思ひ立ちしかば、その思ひを空しくなさじばかりに、
かやうのいたづらごとをつづけ置きはべるこそ。後の形見
とまではおぼえはべらぬ。¹³⁴

After Gofukakusa's death I had felt as though there were no one with whom I could share my feelings. Then last year on the eighth day of the third month I held service in memory of Hitomaro, and on the exact same day of this year I met Empress Yūgi. Amazingly, the jewelike image I had seen in my dream became real¹³⁵. No I am anxious about the outcome of my long-cherished desire, and I worry lest the faith I have kept these many years prove fruitless. When I attempted to live in lonely seclusion, I felt dissatisfied and set out on pilgrimages modeled after those of Saigyō, whom I have always admired and wanted to emulate. That all my dreams might not prove empty, I have been writing this useless account – though I doubt it will long survive me (Brazell 1973: 264).

The controversial diary entitled *Towazugatari*, supposed to glorify the Koga family, eventually contributed to reestablishing its reputation. It showed the court world 'from the inside,' including the figure of Retired Emperor Gofukakusa, presented as far from a deity in lady Nijō's diary. Thus, paradoxically, the will of Nijō's father has been fulfilled, as after more than six centuries of being kept in hiding *Towazugatari* saved the honor of the Koga family. Whereas lady Nijō, due to the behavior that removed her from the court, became like many other main characters in the Heian period's novels and tales. Her life and experiences are part of the tradition of 'ascetic' suffering and loss.

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¹³⁴ Cf: Gofukakusain no Nijō 1985, v. 2: 103.

¹³⁵ While staying in Kumano, lady Nijō had a dream about her father, the Retired Emperor Gofukakusa, and Empress Yūgi. The Empress projected to her very brightly in white colors.

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修験道における「験」の概念

序

修験道についての研究において、宮家準、五来重と和歌森太郎が著しい業績を残している。彼らの研究は初めて修験道を学問的な研究対象として定めたといっても過言ではない。そのほかにも修験道に関する多くの研究が行われ、多数の書籍や論文が出版されているが、その殆どは修験道の歴史、その生成と儀式を扱うものであり、修験道の思想、哲学を専門的に論じるものは殆どみあたらない。それは研究者の間だけではなく、一般的には修験道を実践宗教として見る傾向があり、その教えまたは思想を重要かつ独特なものとして見ていない。

そのような現状において、本論文では修験道を思想・哲学的観点から吟味し、修験道の根本概念の一つであり、その性質を表すとも言うべき「験」の概念を分析し、思想全体の中の位置づけ、意義または修験道の本質を理解する上でのその重要性を検討したい。「験」の概念以外にいくつかの中心概念についてもその意味、定義、意義を明確にする必要があるが、ここでまず「験」の概念を修験道思想研究の第一歩または出発点として取り上げるのが相応しいであろう。また、「験」の概念を論じるにあたって、他概念との共通問題点などにも触れることによって、さらなる研究への準備もある程度整えることができよう。

1. 修験道研究の現状と問題点

神道、仏教、道教などと比べると修験道の研究資料またはその分野を専門的に研究している研究者の数は少ない。さらに発表された研究論文などの中で修験道の歴史、儀式または修験道像を中心としてのもものが多くて、修験道思想や哲学を専門的に論じる論文は極めてすくない。和歌森太郎は昭和初期の研究状況を下記の通り叙述している。「驚いたことに修験道の通史を書いたものが皆無でありましたので、いろいろ特殊な問題につき考究を深めることを望みつつも、いちおう筋が通ったこれの変遷史を明らめなくては話にならず、その仕事を自分がやることに精を出したのであります。それまで世人が修験道の歴史だと見做していた多くの事柄が後世に胚胎した伝説ばかりであること、教義書には偽書が多いこと、そんなことは容易

に知れて励みがつき、調べは愉しいものとなりました。」¹。同じように修験道の研究現状について、本題と関係のある叙述は宮家進の『修験道の研究』にある。「そして一般の信者たちも、この修験者の験に期待し、験の大きさによって修験者の力を判断している。それにも拘わらず、これまでの修験道の研究では、験そのものの内容や、その根拠について正面から取り上げることは試みられていない。」²確かに、宮家氏の『修験道思想の研究』が出版されるまでは修験道の思想を専門的に取り上げる著作や論文がなく、さらにそれ以降も新たな観点から修験道を論じる論文も執筆者が確認した限り見当たらない。修験道の思想は非常に複雑で、多様な要素が絡み合っただけで出来上がったものであるにもかかわらず、その複雑さ故、それを学問的に整理し、吟味する研究者が出てこないのではなかろうか？

また、戦後直後から著しい再復興を遂げた修験道は明治維新までと同じような形で復帰できたとは言え、一般信者の獲得が上手く行かず、普通の里人の生活と関わりのないような存在になり、さらに現在もまた衰退の傾向がみられ、現代人（若い研究者を含めて）に対して魅力、ひきつける力を失い、現代人に何かを貢献できるような力、活力を維持できなかつたようである。

さらに研究の対象として方法論的にも、解釈的にも多くの問題を抱える分野でもある。その問題点に簡単に触れておく。修験道の研究において最も困難な問題は修験道そのものの根本的な解釈、定義である。修験道を仏教の一派としてみるべきなのか、仏教とは根本的に異なるものなのか？ 神道、道教、陰陽道、シャマニズムや山岳信仰の要素を含んでいるにしても仏教などとの相違はどこにあるのか？ 要素の集合体にすぎないのか、それともそれを元に明確に指摘できる独自の部分を構築することができたのか？ 他の宗教から取り入れた部分、独自の展開を遂げた部分の峻別、分析は悪戦苦闘が絶えない作業となろう。

また、研究者によって修験道を仏教とみなしたり、融合宗教とみなしたり、加持祈祷を中心にした呪術宗教とみなしたりする。確かに、修験道にはその全ての要素が含まれているが、それ自身がどの

¹ 和歌 1972: 6.

² 宮家 1984: 921.

ような宗教であるのかと決定することは容易なものではない。その理由もまたいくつかある。

一つの宗教としての修験道においてその中心となる機構、機関または教義に対して絶対的な権限を持つ教祖、人物がいなくて、組織的に活動主体となるのは行者講であり、かなり自由な宗教活動ができるような状態になっている。それぞれの講が母体となる寺院があるが教義上で講に対して絶対的かつ強制的な指導を行う権限がないように思われる。すると講によってまたは派によって教えの内容が異なったり、儀礼が異なったりする可能性が十分にある。さらに、教えの正当性を監督し、守る仕組みもないため、解釈は講の指導に委ねられる。

さらなる問題点として、江戸時代までは、教義の伝授は基本的に口伝で行われ、それにおいても1つの正統派というようなものまたは考え方がなく、どうやら正道か外道かを定める基準または教団機構がなかったことを挙げられる。そのため、口伝に頼る限りは何十世代に渡る伝授においてはある意味で変更、発展や秘伝の意図的や偶然なる変異は十分に考えられる。文献資料が残っていないため、そのような展開をみるのみならず、その時代の信仰内容さえも検証できない状況になっている。

しかし、このような厳しい研究状況の中でも、「験」とは何かと問うに当たってまず、修験道とはどのような宗教であるのかを考える必要がある。教祖、教義、指導機関がはっきりと設けられている宗教においてはそのような問いかけはそれほど重要なものにはならないかもしれないが、修験道において最初から教主があつた訳でもなければ、一つの教義書がある訳でもないため、少なくとも其々の時代の間接文献を通して、外部者による修験道についての叙述を通して、その宗教の在り方も中身も吟味しなければならない。また、正統と異端を、権限を持って見分ける機構もないため、その思想研究においてどの解釈、どの見方が正しいのかと評価基準となるものが欠けている。そのような状況のなかで、二つの問題を考察する必要がある。

一つは研修者が見る修験道と信者（行者）が見る修験道は一致しているとは限らない。もう一つは中世から明治までの修験道と戦後の修験道は著しく変わってしまったのではないかという問題である。

修験道禁止令³が出され、信仰として実質上姿を消した修験道は戦後によみがえったが、その連続性がないため、または社会状況が変わったため異なった性格を持つ宗教になったのではなかろうか。現代修験道において呪術的側面が重視されなくなり、「験」または「験力」の認識やそれに対する考え方及び評価はかなり変わったように思われる。その課題は別の機会に詳細に論じたいと思う。

2. 「験」概念の定義の試み — 教理書を元にした分析の可能性

前にも触れたように修験道の教理を纏めた、いくつかの教義書があるが、それらは教えを伝授するために作成されたものであり、その絶対的な真理を伝える目的のものではない。修験者が知っておくべき情報を伝えるのに十分な役割を果たしているが、絶対に正しい、教祖若しくは神の言葉を伝えているような性格を持っていない。

「また修験道の経典というべきものも、どこにも存在しない。修験道は本来開祖をもたない自然宗教⁴であり、その一部が仏教、特に天台宗や真言宗と結合して文化宗教の形をとったにすぎない。この段階で教理書がつくられるが、それでも修験宗、修験派といわずに修験道といったのは自然宗教としての自己主張をのこしたものといえよう。したがって修験道の本質をあきらかにしようとするれば、この自然宗教としての修験道を追求しなければならない、そしてその素材は伝承しかないということになる。」⁵と五来重が『修験道の伝承文化』の中で述べている。自然宗教という性格を考量する場合、初期の修験道における実践宗教的な力としての「験」、呪術的な能力としての「験」といった解釈になるが、それに対しての分析は修験道発生後に作成された説話やその他の間接的文献にに基づくことになる。本論考に関してはより多くの資料を利用するのが望ましいが、事実上本題のみに関連する資料が多いとは言えない。そのため、代表的なものを選考し、論述を進めることにしたい。

³ 修験道禁止令は1873年に明治政府によって出された修験道を禁止する法令のこと。それ以降は修験道は殆ど全滅に近い状態になるが、宗教運動としては第二次世界大戦後に再び蘇る。

⁴ 「自然宗教」および「文化宗教」という概念は五来重に採用され、前者の自然崇拜によって発生した宗教に対して、文化宗教はある特定な文化の価値観などを根拠とする開祖によって創生された宗教を示す。

⁵ 五来重 1981: 3.

3. 概念の成立と発展

「修験道の生命は法験、あるいは功德であって、観念は不要である。わが国の原始的宗教者はこの法験をもとめて山岳にはいり、洞窟や庵室に籠入し木食苦行した。そこには教理も理論もなく、簡単な呪文や呪法（気合）や手振足踏があったとおもわれる。」⁶

五来重が指摘するように、確かに初期の修験道にとって教理・思想はそれほど重要なものではなかったかもしれないが、その宗教を吟味対象とする限りは瞑想ないし苦行を通して何かを得ようとしていた行者はその得ようとしていたものに関しては何か期待、想像を持っていたに違いないといった仮定が許される。「験」を取得するために長い間に苦行するという行為ははっきりした目的がないと続けることが困難のように思われる。とりあえず苦行をすれば、何かを得るといった環境の中で宗教的行為は生まれにくい。神の存在を信じ、それを拝んだり、超自然的力を宗教的行為によって操れる能力を手に入れたり、救済、覚りなどを求めたりといったはっきりした目的があるからこそ、人間は宗教的行為を行うのである。そうであれば、修行をするものはその目的が明確ではなくても、大凡の結果か目的を間違いなく認識しているはずだ。修験道の行者の場合、その目的は何だったであろうか？

少なくとも7・8世紀において後に修験道の開祖となった役小角が活躍していた頃、修行者は自分たちを仏教僧または神道の神主と異なる存在として認識していたに違いない。それに、一般の人々によっても異質な存在として認識されていた。従って、彼らが求めている「験」とは仏教、道教、神道などが求めるような内容とは根本的に異なっていたはずだ。

4. 「験」の認識展開

「験」に対する考え方は修験道が発生して以来、時代によって異なっていたか、あるいは時代の経過に沿って発展してきたであろう。しかし、初期修験道に関する直接的文献は全くなく、また間接的文献は非常に少ないため、それを正確に分析するのは難しい。ここで初期の思想を伺える『日本霊異記』を考察した上で、修験道の根本的な教義を含んでいる『修験三十三通記』⁷における「験」の概念

⁶ 五来重 2008: 17.

⁷ 『日本霊異記』と『修験三十三通記』の執筆の間に何百年の時が流れてきているが、その間に修験道について新たな見解を提供する注目すべき資料はあまりない。

を考えていきたいと思う。現代の行者が考えている「験」については、簡単に触れるにとどめる。

『日本霊異記』は南都薬師寺の僧侶であった景戒によって書かれたものであるとされる。本書は787年に書きあげられたもので、修験道の開祖の没後約100年も足らず、説話の中でその人物像が取り上げられるということはそれなりに彼の弟子たちがまだ活躍していて、彼の思想や教えは民衆の間に広がっていたということの意味している。『日本霊異記』の第二十八話として「孔雀王の呪法を修持して異しき験力を得、以て現に仙と作りて天を飛びし縁」⁸に役の行者の話また「験」についての叙述がある。他にも平安時代初期に編集された『続日本記』、平安時代末期に成立した『今昔物語』などが彼について記述しているが、それぞれは平安時代の一般常識に基づいたものであろう。この説話の題名に出てくる「異しき験力」は孔雀王の呪法を取得したものとされている。役小角は本当に孔雀明王の呪法を使ったかどうかはその叙述だけで立証できないにしても、空海などもよく活用したと言われており、確実な験力を生み出す呪法と見做されていたに違いない。またそのようなものとして『日本霊異記』の中で登場する。第二十八番目の説話の中で題名以外に「験」という文字が3回使われているが、各々少しずつ異なった文脈で表現されている。一回目は「葛を被り、松を餌み、清水の泉を沐み、欲界の垢を濯ぎ、孔雀の呪法を修習して、奇異の験術を証し得たり。」⁹である。ここは題名と異なり「験力」即ちある種の「力」としてではなく、「験術」というところの「術」即ち一種の能力、力を活用する能力という意味で使われている。しかも、この能力は「奇異」なものとして評価されている。題名にも本文の引用においても「験力」また「験術」の前に孔雀の呪法の修習、修持という表現が使われるため、少なくとも著者の考えでは「験」というものは孔雀呪法の取得と密接な関係にあると伺われる。実際に効く、現に効果のある力として「験力」または「験術」の裏付けようとした仕組みとして解釈してもよいのではなかろうかと思う。その理由としては次の二つを挙げられる。まず、既に触れたように伽婆羅訳の『孔雀王呪経』など、他の資料からも当時孔雀呪法は効果的呪法であったことは明確である。もう一つは中村元も『日本人の

⁸中田 1978: 166.

⁹同上.

思惟方法』の中で指摘したように、日本人は思想よりも現実を見る性質があったと考えると、宗教ではまさに現実の力としての「験力」が必要であった。「験」の力をもたらしてくれる孔雀の呪法はどのようなものであるかを簡単に考察してみよう。孔雀の信仰はインドで発生し、毒蛇を食べる鳥として、特別な力を持つ存在として神格化したと思われる。毒だけではなく災害、障りを取り除く効力があると見做され、密教の僧侶によってもよく用いられた。上記を考えると、呪法の修習、修持は「験力」という力や能力として現れるということが一般的に信じられていたのであろう。しかし、そうであれば、修験道で常識となっている修行を中心とする考え方とは少しずれがあるように思われる。というのは『日本霊異記』で現れる「験」というものは修行によるものではなくて、呪法によるものであるということになる。

さらに、『日本霊異記』では「天皇勅して、使を遣はして捉ふるに、猶し験力に困りて輒く捕へられぬ」¹⁰と書いてある。役行者は「験力」があったため、天皇が出した遣いに中々彼を捕まえることができなかった。その「験力」は精神界においてのみ効力のあるものではなくて、我々人間の日常生活レベルにおいても効く現実の力であったことを証明している。

また、最後のところでは「誠に知る、仏法の験術広大なることを。帰依する者は必ず証得るせむ。」¹¹という叙述がある。その引用では「験術」は仏法に帰依する結果とみている。上記を纏めてみると、まず「験」の内容に関してはそれを孔雀呪法または仏法帰依による実践的な力として解釈している。役小角のことを優婆塞として紹介するので、山伏または修験者として見ているのではない。従って修行の結果である「験」、「験力」、「験術」を仏教と異質的なものとして見ていないということを帰結できる。おそらく、その時代においてはそれが一般的な考え方だったであろう。

しかし、中世になると口伝を基本とした教義伝授は次第に切紙という形で文字化され、一つの教義書に纏められるようになった。その理由は幾つか考えられるが、主なものとして教義の発展に伴うその複雑化、または仏教の思想導入による新概念の明確な定義の必要性を挙げられる。修験道の教義を纏めた代表的なものとして『修験

¹⁰ 同上。

¹¹ 同上: 168.

三十三通記』、『修驗修要秘決集』、『修驗頓覺速証集』（いずれも『日本大蔵経』¹²に掲載されている）などを挙げられるが、ここで『修驗三十三通記』¹³のみ考察することにする。初期修驗道思想と比べると、仏教の色彩が強く、教義を説明するのに仏教用語や仏教思想が大いに利用されているのである。その中でまた「験」という概念は驚くところには単独で独立したものとして全くと言ってもいいほど登場しないだけでなく、定義されたりもしない。中世及び近世の修驗者は修驗道の本質を語るのにその必要性は全く感じていなかったことを意味しているのではなかろうか。

明確な時代・著者が不明で15・16世紀に編集されたと思われる『修驗三十三通記』は題名にあるように三十三通の切紙から構成され、「衣体分」、「浅略分」、「深秘分」と「極秘分」に分かれているが、「衣体分」は教義というよりも修驗者が身に付けるものや携帯しているものの説明とその意義を含み、「験」の概念については何も触れていない。教義そのものの基本を解説しているその他の部分のなかで「験」の概念が登場するのは「第六 山伏三種名義事」で、それも単独ではなくて「験徳」¹⁴として表現されている。

「験」の概念についての叙述はそれほど乏しいということになるとその時代において修驗道を「験」を修める宗教ではなく、覚り、即ち本有本覚¹⁵の思想を中心とする宗教であったことが明白であろう。また、その時代の教義書によると呪術によって験力という力を修習するよりも、修行によって本覚に達することが修行の究極目的であったであろう。先に叙述した「験徳」もそのような文脈の中で表現されている。「二に修驗とは、修生始覚の行、験者本有本覚の験徳なり。始本兼備して闕減無き故に、修驗と号す。」¹⁶ 引用した部分は「三種名義」を説明しているところであり、行者には山伏、修驗者また客僧といった三種の性格が備わっている。そこで「験徳」は修行によって人間が本来持っている性質の表れとして表現されているのであろう。山に臥して（修行）、験を獲得し、客僧としてそ

¹² 1914～1922の間に出版された経典大蔵のこと。本蔵は48巻でその中に修驗道関係の典籍が含まれているため、異例なものである。

¹³ 同時代の文献は同様な切紙を元に編集されたものと思われるため、またはそれに対するある種の解説書であるため、「験」の概念に関しては新たな情報源にはならないので、ここで『修驗三十三通記』だけを取り挙げることにした。

¹⁴ 日本大蔵経編集会 1920: 421.

¹⁵ 「本有本覚」は一切の衆生に本来、（先天的に）覚性があるという考え。

¹⁶ 浅田 2000: 143.

の体験及び能力を世のために役立たせるといった仕組みになっている。山伏、験者は僧侶でもなければ、俗人でもない、両者の性格を持ちながら、それを超えるような存在でもある。

5. 験の外面的側面（解釈）と内面的側面（修験と山伏）

「まず、験に関する概念を整理した上で、特に修験道で験が行使される場である祭り、芸能や、救済儀式における験がどのようなものであるかを紹介する。」¹⁷と宮家氏が自らの験の解釈方法を定めるが、本論文では祭り、芸能、儀式的な験の解釈を験の一側面として認めるにしても、その内面的な修験者自身にとってのその意義に注目したい。宮家氏は「修験道においては『験』を修める道とのその字義が示すように、験の獲得とその行使が中心的な位置を占めている。」¹⁸と述べているが、修験道または「験」の本当の意味を理解するためにその二重構造を明確にし、「験」の分析を進めなければならないであろう。一般的には修験道または修験者と山伏（山臥）とが同義語のように思われるが、両者が同じものを示すにせよ、その異なった側面を暗含している。その二つの性格を合致する修験道解釈は和歌森太郎によって呈示された。「すなわち「山人」たるの性質を媒介にして、一面には山林抖擻家的性格をもって、他面には呪術師的性格をもって、発生活躍した呪術・宗教家が「山臥」であった、この語が本来山中に起臥して修行するという第一の性格を意味することは容易に察せられるが、この人物がまた往々「修験者」とよばれた点に、「修験」という語の意味が「験を修する」すなわち「咒験を修する」「特咒勤行を修鍊してその効験を獲得する」宗教学的にいえば咒術を行うことであるから、ここに第二の性格が現れているのである。」¹⁹その引用で指摘された通り、山伏、験者には修行という側面、即ち「験」を体得する側面と、その「験」を活用する側面がある。修験道を実践宗教と解釈される場合、その内面的、「験」を獲得する、即ち修行する側面が見落とされがちなところがあり、「験」の発揮としての呪術など外面的な、目に見える側面が注目されてしまう。そのような構造の中で教義書の中で重視されている本覚をどう考えるべきかを検討する必要がある。

¹⁷ 宮家準 1984: 921.

¹⁸ 同上.

¹⁹ 和歌 1972: 11.

6. 覚りとしての験

宮家氏も指摘したように「験」は「不明なものを明らかにする」²⁰ という意味もあり、そのような意味で捉える場合、「験」を覚りそのものとして考えることができるのではなからうか？ 宮家が指摘しているように、修行によって得られた「験」（覚りに達した結果と考えるべきか覚りそのものとするべきか）は化他のために活用される。またはその「験」によって他人に仏法の恵みないし「不明であったもの（仏法）を明らかにし（験を修め）、それを化他する」といった構造の中で験の概念を認識しなければならないように思う。呪術を行うための効験であるならば、本来の修験道の目的とははるかに遠い物となるであろう。験を修めるとは基本的に目的ではなく、修行の結果でなければならないであろう。修行の目的そのものは現世におけるご利益の範囲を超えなければならないであろう。そのような修験道の目的は一体何であろうか？ 神仏を崇拜し、厳しい修行を通して、呪力を得ることであろうか？ それとも、最終目的は輪廻を脱し、覚りの境界に達することであろうか？ 「験」を修めることは覚りへの手段であろうか？ それとも覚りへの境界への達成の自然なる結果であろうか？ こういった根本的な問いに対して単一の回答があるはずはない。

和歌森太郎が指摘しているように、修験道を考えるに当たって、山伏（山人）といった側面と修験者という呪術師といった側面がある。²¹ さらに氏の言うように修験者に対して一般人の期待と要求、さらに思い込みが働き呪術師というイメージが強くなり、修験者もそれにこたえるように、山伏の側面を軽視してきたのではなからうか？ 両立は不可能ではないというわけではないが、もともと山に伏し、究極の悟り、真理を取得し、「験」をその結果と見るべきところだったことに対して、呪術師としての修験者像が出来上がった以上、「験」の取得は修行の目的となり、利益を得る方法としてさえもみなされるようになった。

7. 「しるし」としての「験」及び「験競べ」

「世の中というものは、目に見える現象は目に見えぬ実在の何分の一か何億分の一かであろう。第一、目に見える現象を動かしている

²⁰ 宮家準 1984: 922.

²¹ 和歌 1972: 10.

『心』そのものが目に見えないのである。その心の奥にあって心を動かす『霊』や『神』の世界は尚更見えない。そのような実在の根源と交流する人間の能力が『験』である。目に見えない実在を認識の世界まで引き出し、実在の『しるし』（験）を見せる力が験力である。勉強努力した『しるし』を見るのが試験であるとおなじで、山伏の験力を試みるのが『験競べ』である。」²²と五来氏が指摘したように、「験」の概念は教義書の中で殆ど現れないとは言え、修験道の儀式や実践の中で根強く残っている。また、山伏の修行の成果を示すある具体的な尺度でもあろう。他方では験競べは邪道とみなされる傾向もあり²³、修験道の有るべき姿ではなく、大道芸的な要素が流入した結果と言えよう。そう考えた場合、「験競べ」における「験」は本当の呪術の力、また験力を人のために活用するというよりも、その名目で人の興味を引いて楽しませると言った、世俗的な側面になる。むしろ、行者自身の「験力」を確認する方法としての捉え方も可能であることは否定できない。だが、呪術で生計を立てる験者も沢山居たということ考虑すれば、「験競べ」には宗教的な意味よりも、宣伝、芸能的な要素が多く含まれているという結論を導くであろう。上記を考慮すれば、ここで「験」は修行により超自然的な「験力」よりも、「技（わざ）」に近い意味を持っている。

江戸時代では山伏や修験に関する一般民衆の認識は能や歌舞伎などによって築かれた部分が多い。山伏の「験」または「験力」も社会は厳しく評価していたようだ。修験者にとって「験競べ」は宗教的な意味を持っていたとはいえ、それを見た部外者は実際の「験」の力を容易に認めなかった。例えば、『蟹山伏』、『禰宜山伏』、『犬山伏』など山伏が登場する狂言を見ると「験」に対する疑問または「験力」の無力を訴えている。『蟹山伏』の物語りの中で蟹の精を捕えようとしている山伏は行法の無力で反対に耳を挟まれてしまう。このようにして風刺の対象となった山伏は実際に「験」というものの力を世間に証明できなかったであろう。修験道の教義を全く知らない民衆は修験者の行動をみてそのように評価していたことになる。

²² 五来重 2008: 255.

²³ 五来重 2008: 259 は『木葉衣』の引用を元に指摘している。

8. 教義に束縛されない修行

僧侶にならなかった役小角は自由に修行し、自由に自らの力を活用していた。役行者は役優婆塞²⁴とも呼ばれていたことから、正式な僧侶ではなく、国家が定めた宗教の組織には拘らない自由の身の修行者であったと言える。そういった修験道の特徴はあまり指摘されたり、強調されたりしないが、宗教集団において信者（行者）は信仰内容、修行方法やその他の宗教的行為においてそれほど自由である宗教はないといっても過言ではない。信仰は組織化されると、まず教えを纏めた教義書（聖典）ができて、集団が様々な形でその正当性を守り、宗教集団への所属の条件としてその内容の全てを信認しなければならない。しかし、修験道においては発生当初から験者自身はそのような必要性を感じていなかったであろう。冒頭で触れたような、後に作成された教義書にたいしても、それを絶対的なものと考えず、昔の先達たちが残してくれた教え、智慧として尊敬しているとはいえ、それを崇拜の対象にはしない。そのため「験」の概念を明確にする必要性も特になかったであろう。教義によって山伏とその修行方法を規定し、その修行の成果として「験」を定めただけであって、その内容について叙述する、明記することは特に行うことがなかった。ここで「験徳」をもう一度考察してみると、山伏は僧侶と違って、得た験徳を自分のためではなく、社会のために活用することは大きな違いであろう。僧侶のように社会から隔離された生活を送るのではなく、社会の中で生きているため身近なところで常に社会に貢献できる立場にあるのである。

修験道の根本的な特徴として自由な修行や絶対的な解釈のない宗教と考える限り、「験」の解釈に対しても一つの絶対的な意味がないという帰結になる。従って、本論文で示した通り、時代によってまたは考察の基盤となる観点によって様々な解釈は可能であり、それらを正統か邪道かといった評価基準でみる根拠がない。「験」の概念を数多くある教義書や章疏を一つ一つ取り上げ、さらに詳細な分析を重ねて細かく比較していく作業も必要であるが、そのような作業を論文という形で発表できる範囲を超える。

²⁴優婆塞、梵語でウパーサカ (upāsaka)、在家男性信者、国が正式に認めていない修行者のこと。

まとめ

上記の論考で明確にしたように「験」の概念は重要なものでありながら、最後まで規定、定義されていない部分が多く、複雑に絡み合う要素の融合概念であることが分かった。また時代によってその意味内容は異なり、その展開を見ることによって、修験道全体の成長や進化もある程度まで知ることができるであろう。「験」の概念をどう捉えようと、その根底に信者、行者自身の中にある力に気づき、それを自らの利益のためにではなく、社会のために活用するといった素晴らしい構造が横たわっているので、現代社会における宗教の在り方の一つの手本としても注目を浴びるべきところがある。本論文においては現在、山伏として活躍している行者はどのように「験」の概念を理解しているのか、どのように認識しているのか調査を行わず、資料と参考文献のみを利用して論述を進めてきた。しかし、修験道は現在でも発展最中の宗教であるため、そういった方法によるさらなる研究が必要である。その課題を次の論文で取り上げることにする。

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Małgorzata Citko

Three faces of lady Nijō, the authoress of *Towazugatari*

The article discusses the figure of lady Nijō who lived in the 13th century Japan and is an authoress of a controversial diary *Towazugatari* (A tale no one asked for). The article tries to analyze the authoress' life based on her writing and academic studies, both from the point of view of Nijō's personal experiences gained at the imperial court and during her peregrinations around Japan. Three faces of Nijō's are presented – a lady-in-waiting, a Buddhist nun, and a poetess and writer. The first part depicts lady Nijō's youth, when as a concubine to Retired Emperor Gofukakusa and a lady-in-waiting she had spent her time among aristocrats. The second part presents Nijō as a nun and describes her journeys around the country, whereas the third part discusses her characteristics as a creator of poetry and literature. The article also tries to evaluate *Towazugatari*'s significance for Japanese literature from the gender studies perspective. Moreover, through direct references to the diary, the article depicts the atmosphere of courtiers' life of the Kamakura period, their system of values and daily life's customs, which have their roots in the Heian period.

Tadeusz Adam Ożóg

The notion of *gen* in Shugendo teaching and practice

Shugendo is often defined as a religion focused on acquiring supernatural experiences and powers called *gen*. But although it is supposed to be one of the central notions of Shugendo there are not many studies devoted specifically to the subject. There may be two reasons for that, one is the problem of the right methodology and another one is the problem of written materials, which are not available for more than half of Shugendo history. Since these certain experiences and powers called *gen* are central and essential part of Shugendo practice and teaching it is necessary to clarify its meaning to be able to understand the nature of Shugendo itself. In this article I have tried to investigate the contents, development and the position of the notion in Shugendo doctrine and to clarify its meaning and

significance. Although Shugendo puts much stress on practice not the doctrine itself, for the most readers to understand the gist of Shugendo it is essential to make the doctrine explicit. It is important to examine Shugendo's meaningfulness and a role it can play in the lives of believers as well as of nonbelievers.

「とわずがたり」の作者、後深草院二条における三つの顔

後深草院二条（1258-?）は、たびたび論争の的になる日記「とわずがたり」作者である。本稿では、「とわずがたり」とこれまでの「とわずがたり」研究に基づいて、二条の生涯を検討しようとした。二条の宮廷の経験も日本での旅行の経験も考慮に入れた。筆者は、二条の人生の三つの局面を説明した。宮廷女房、修道女、和人である。第1章では、後深草院の恋人と貴族環境に生きる女房としての二条の青春時代を描いた。第2章では、修道女としての二条を提示し、第3章では和歌と文学の作者として説明した。さらに、ジェンダー学の観点から、日本文学における「とわずがたり」の特殊性を評価しようと試みた。日記本文の引用を通して、平安時代に形成され鎌倉時代にも続いた貴族生活の雰囲気、価値観と日常生活習慣を示した。

タデウシュ・アダム・オジュグ

修験道における「験」の概念

「験」を修める宗教として一般的に解釈されている修験道において「験」の概念そのものは十分に研究されたとは言えない現状である。専門的な研究が少ない理由としては、方法論的にも資料的にも非常に困難を伴う研究対象であることが挙げられる。しかし、根本的な概念である以上、修験道の本質を究めるためにはその概念の意味解明が不可欠であろう。本論文においては、「験」の概念の内容、展開、修験道の教義における位置づけなどを整理し、「験」研究の意義を確認し、それを基に、本研究すなわち修験道の教理研究に着手したい。修験道はもともと教理より実践を重視する宗教であり、理論をあまり展開してこなかったが、現代人が修験道の本質を理解するためには教理整備、実践との関わりを明確にし、その宗教、思想の存在意義または我々にとって修験道が果たしうる役割を考えていく必要があるだろう。

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タデウシュ・アダム・オジュグ

1986年ポズナニのアダム・ミツキェヴィッチ大学に入学し、後に同志社大学に編入。1994年に同大学にて修士号を取得、2004年に文学博士号を取得する。2002年より現在に至るまで同志社大学文学部の非常勤講師を務める。主な研究分野は哲学の比較研究——主に西田幾多郎とブロンスワフ・トレントフスキの哲学の比較、さらに修験道の哲学的背景、ミーム学研究など。

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